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Dionysius of Halicarnassus
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The Complete Works of
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

(c. 60 BC –c. 7 BC)



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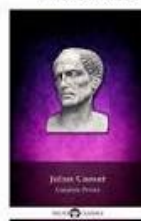
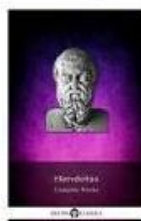
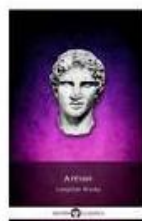
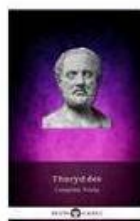
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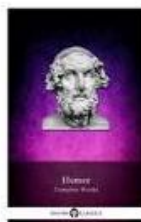
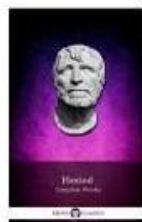
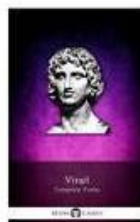
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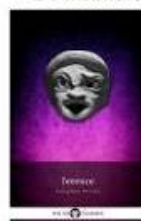
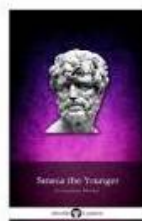
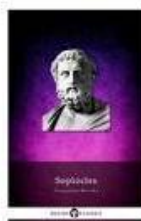
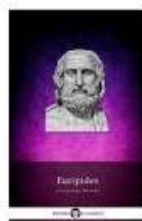
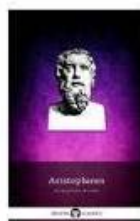
Historians



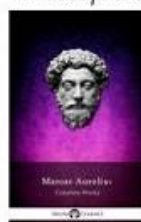
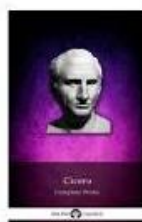
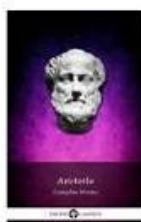
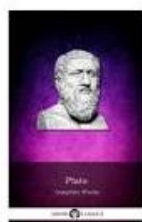
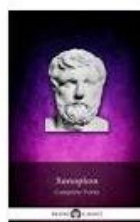
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The Complete Works of
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



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The Translations



Halicarnassus, modern-day Bodrum, Turkey — Dionysius' birthplace



The ruins of the Mausoleum of Maussollos at Halicarnassus — one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

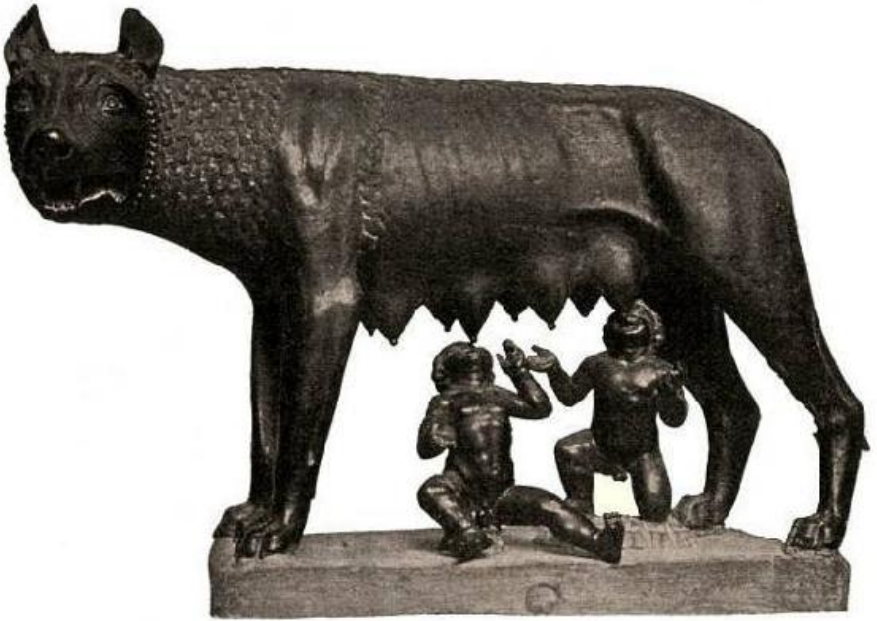


Translated by Earnest Cary

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was a Greek historian and teacher of rhetoric, who flourished during the reign of Caesar Augustus. He taught in Rome while studying the Latin language, collecting material for his history of Rome. His literary style was Atticistic — imitating the classical Greek of Herodotus. His major work, *Roman Antiquities*, embraced the history of Rome from the mythical period to the beginning of the First Punic War. Divided into twenty books, of which the first nine remain entire, while the tenth and eleventh are nearly complete, the remaining books exist in fragments in the excerpts of the Roman Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and an epitome discovered by Angelo Mai in a Milan manuscript. The first three books of Appian, Plutarch's *Life of Camillus* and *Life of Coriolanus* are believed to be largely indebted to Dionysius.

Of particular note is Dionysius' version of the Romulus and Remus myth, concerning the legendary founding of Rome. He relates an alternate, "non-fantastical" version of the twins' birth, survival and youth. Numitor manages to switch the twins at birth with two other infants. The twins are delivered by their grandfather to Faustulus to be fostered by him and his wife. Faustulus is descended from the first Greek colonists in Latium. He is the caretaker for Amulius' holdings around Palatine hill. He is then persuaded to care for the twins by his brother Faustinus, who tends to the king's herds on nearby Aventine Hill. Their adopted mother is Faustulus' wife Laurentia, a former prostitute. According to Plutarch, *lupa* (Latin for "wolf") was a common term for members of her profession and this gave rise to the she-wolf legend. The twins receive a proper education in the city of Gabii.

Dionysius' chief object was to reconcile the Greeks to the rule of Rome, expanding upon the good qualities of their conquerors, suggesting with the support of ancient sources that the Romans were genuine descendants of the older Greeks. According to Dionysius, history is philosophy teaching by examples — though some commentators have been quick to question his bias as a Greek rhetorician. Nevertheless, he carefully consults the best authorities and his work and that of Livy are the only connected and detailed extant accounts of early Roman history.



La Lupa Capitolina “the Capitoline Wolf” — an ancient depiction of the Romulus and Remus myth recounted in Book I



Milazzo, Messina, Sicily— the site of the Battle of Mylae, which took place in 260 BC during the First Punic War. Dionysius' history of Rome concluded with an analysis of the causes and events of Rome's war with Carthage. The Battle of Mylae was the first full-scale naval battle between Carthage and the Roman Republic.

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A medieval depiction of Dionysius

BOOK I

[1.1] Although it is much against my will to indulge in the explanatory statements usually given in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to prefix to this work some remarks concerning myself. In doing this it is neither my intention to dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be distasteful to the reader, nor have I the purpose of censuring other historians, as Anaximenes and Theopompus did in the prefaces to their histories but I shall only show the reasons that induced me to undertake this work and give an accounting of the sources from which I gained the knowledge of the things that I am going to relate. [2] For I am convinced that all who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity as time shall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and particularly those who write histories, in which we have the right to assume that Truth, the source of both prudence and wisdom, is enshrined, ought, first of all, to make choice of noble and lofty subjects and such as will be of great utility to their readers, and then, with great care and pains, to provide themselves with the proper equipment for the treatment of their subject. [3] For those who base historical works upon deeds inglorious or evil or unworthy of serious study, either because they crave to come to the knowledge of men and to get a name of some sort or other, or because they desire to display the wealth of their rhetoric, are neither admired by posterity for their fame nor praised for their eloquence; rather, they leave this opinion in the minds of all who take up their histories, that they themselves admired lives which were of a piece with the writings they published, since it is a just and a general opinion that a man's words are the images of his mind. [4] Those, on the other hand, who, while making choice of the best subjects, are careless and indolent in compiling their narratives out of such reports as chance to come to their ears gain no praise by reason of that choice; for we do not deem it fitting that the histories of renowned cities and of men who have held supreme power should be written in an offhand or negligent manner. As I believe these considerations to be necessary and of the first importance to historians and as I have taken great care to observe them both, I have felt unwilling either to omit mention of them or to give it any other place than in the preface to my work.

[2.1] That I have indeed made choice of a subject noble, lofty and useful to many will not, I think, require any lengthy argument, at least for those who are not utterly unacquainted with universal history. For if anyone turns his attention to the successive supremacies both of cities and of nations, as accounts of them have been handed down from times past, and then, surveying them severally and comparing them together, wishes to determine which of them obtained the widest dominion and both in peace and war performed the most brilliant achievements, he will find that the supremacy of the Romans has far surpassed all those that are recorded from earlier times,

not only in the extent of its dominion and in the splendor of its achievements — which no account has as yet worthily celebrated — but also in the length of time during which it has endured down to our day. [2] For the empire of the Assyrians, ancient as it was and running back to legendary times, held sway over only a small part of Asia. That of the Medes, after overthrowing the Assyrian empire and obtaining a still wider dominion, did not hold it long, but was overthrown in the fourth generation. The Persians, who conquered the Medes, did, indeed, finally become masters of almost all Asia; but when they attacked the nations of Europe also, they did not reduce many of them to submission, and they continued in power not much above two hundred years. [3] The Macedonian dominion, which overthrew the might of the Persians, did, in the extent of its sway, exceed all its predecessors, yet even it did not flourish long, but after Alexander's death began to decline; for it was immediately partitioned among many commanders from the time of the Diadochi, and although after their time it was able to go on to the second or third generation, yet it was weakened by its own dissensions and at the last destroyed by the Romans. [4] But even the Macedonian power did not subjugate every country and every sea; for it neither conquered Libya, with the exception of the small portion bordering on Egypt, nor subdued all Europe, but in the North advanced only as far as Thrace and in the West down to the Adriatic Sea.

[3.1] Thus we see that the most famous of the earlier supremacies of which history has given us any account, after attaining to so great vigour and might, were overthrown. As for the Greek powers, it is not fitting to compare them to those just mentioned, since they gained neither magnitude of empire nor duration of eminence equal to theirs. [2] For the Athenians ruled only the sea coast, during the space of sixty-eight years, nor did their sway extend even over all that, but only to the part between the Euxine and the Pamphylian seas, when their naval supremacy was at its height. The Lacedaemonians, when masters of the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece, advanced their rule as far as Macedonia, but were checked by the Thebans before they had held it quite thirty years. [3] But Rome rules every country that is not inaccessible or uninhabited, and she is mistress of every sea, not only of that which lies inside the Pillars of Hercules but also of the Ocean, except that part of it which is not navigable; she is the first and the only State recorded in all time that ever made the risings and the settings of the sun the boundaries of her dominion. Nor has her supremacy been of short duration, but more lasting than that of any other commonwealth or kingdom. [4] For from the very beginning, immediately after her founding, she began to draw to herself the neighbouring nations, which were both numerous and warlike, and continually advanced, subjugating every rival. And it is now seven hundred and forty-five years from her foundation down to the consulship of Claudius Nero, consul for the second time, and of Calpurnius Piso, who were chosen in the one hundred and ninety-third Olympiad. [5] From the time that she mastered the whole of Italy

she was emboldened to aspire to govern all mankind, and after driving from off the sea the Carthaginians, whose maritime strength was superior to that of all others, and subduing Macedonia, which until then was reputed to be the most powerful nation on land, she no longer had as rival any nation either barbarian or Greek; and it is now in my day already the seventh generation that she has continued to hold sway over every region of the world, and there is no nation, as I may say, that disputes her universal dominion or protests against being ruled by her. [6] However, to prove my statement that I have neither made choice of the most trivial of subjects nor proposed to treat of mean and insignificant deeds, but am undertaking to write not only about the most illustrious city but also about brilliant achievements to whose like no man could point, I know not what more I need say.

[4.1] But before I proceed, I desire to show in a few words that it is not without design and mature premeditation that I have turned to the early part of Rome's history, but that I have well-considered reasons to give for my choice, to forestall the censure of those who, fond of finding fault with everything and not as yet having heard of any of the matters which I am about to make known, may blame me because, in spite of the fact that this city, grown so famous in our days, had very humble and inglorious beginnings, unworthy of historical record, and that it was but a few generations ago, that is, since her overthrow of the Macedonian powers and her success in the Punic wars, that she arrived at distinction and glory, nevertheless, when I was at liberty to choose one of the famous periods in her history for my theme, I turned aside to one so barren of distinction as her antiquarian lore. [2] For to this day almost all the Greeks are ignorant of the early history of Rome and the great majority of them have been imposed upon by sundry false opinions grounded upon stories which chance has brought to their ears and led to believe that, having come upon various vagabonds without house or home and barbarians, and even those not free men, as her founders, she in the course of time arrived at world domination, and this not through reverence for the gods and justice and every other virtue, but through some chance and the injustice of Fortune, which inconsiderately showers her greatest favours upon the most undeserving. And indeed the more malicious are wont to rail openly at Fortune for freely bestowing on the basest of barbarians the blessings of the Greeks. [3] And yet why should I mention men at large, when even some historians have dared to express such views in the writing they have left, taking this method of humouring barbarian kings who detested Rome's supremacy, — princes to whom they were ever servilely devoted and with whom they associated as flatterers, — by presenting them with "histories" which were neither just nor true?

[5] In order, therefore, to remove these erroneous impressions, as I have called them, from the minds of many and to substitute true ones in their room, I shall in this Book show who the founders of the city were, at what periods the various groups came together and through what turns of fortune they left

their native countries. [2] By this means I engage to prove that they were Greeks and came together from nations not the smallest nor least considerable. And beginning with the next Book I shall tell of the deeds they performed immediately after their founding of the city and of the customs and institutions by virtue of which their descendants advanced to so great dominion; and, so far as I am able, I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded in history, to the end that I may instil in the minds of those who shall then be informed of the truth the fitting conception of this city, — unless they have already assumed an utterly violent and hostile attitude toward it, — and also that they may neither feel indignation at their present subjection, which is grounded on reason (for by an universal law of Nature, which time cannot destroy, it is ordained that superiors shall ever govern their inferiors), nor rail at Fortune for having wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving city a supremacy so great and already of so long continuance, [3] particularly when they shall have learned from my history that Rome from the very beginning, immediately after its founding, produced infinite examples of virtue in men whose superiors, whether for piety or for justice or for life-long self-control or for warlike valour, no city, either Greek or barbarian, has ever produced. This, I say, is what I hope to accomplish, if my readers will but lay aside all resentment; for some such feeling is aroused by a promise of things which run counter to received opinion or excite wonder. [4] And it is a fact that all those Romans who bestowed upon their country so great a dominion are unknown to the Greeks for want of a competent historian. For no accurate history of the Romans written in Greek language has hitherto appeared, but only very brief and summary epitomes.

[6.1] The first historian, so far as I am aware, to touch upon the early period of the Romans was Hieronymus of Cardia, in his work on the Epigoni. After him Timaeus of Sicily related the beginnings of their history in his general history and treated in a separate work the wars with Pyrrhus of Epirus. Besides these, Antigonus, Polybius, Silenus and innumerable other authors devoted themselves to the same themes, though in different ways, each of them recording some few things compiled without accurate investigation on his own part but from reports which chance had brought to his ears. [2] Like to these in all respects are the histories of those Romans, also, who related in Greek the early achievements of the city; the oldest of these writers are Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cincius, who both flourished during the Punic wars. Each of these men related the events at which he himself had been present with great exactness, as being well acquainted with them, but touched only in a summary way upon the early events that followed the founding of the city. [3] For these reasons, therefore, I have determined not to pass over a noble period of history which the older writers left untouched, a period, moreover, the accurate portrayal of which will lead to the following most excellent and just results: In the first place, the brave men who have fulfilled their destiny will gain immortal glory and be extolled by posterity, which

things render human nature like upon the divine and prevent men's deeds from perishing together with their bodies. [4] And again, both the present and future descendants of those godlike men will choose, not the pleasantest and easiest of lives, but rather the noblest and most ambitious, when they consider that all who are sprung from an illustrious origin ought to set a high value on themselves and indulge in no pursuit unworthy of their ancestors. [5] And I, who have not turned aside to this work for the sake of flattery, but out of a regard for truth and justice, which ought to be the aim of every history, shall have an opportunity, in the first place, of expressing my attitude of goodwill toward all good men and toward all who take pleasure in the contemplation of great and noble deeds; and, in the second place, of making the most grateful return that I may to the city and other blessings I have enjoyed during my residence in it.

[7.1] Having thus given the reason for my choice of subject, I wish now to say something concerning the sources I used while preparing for my task. For it is possible that those who have already read Hieronymus, Timaeus, Polybius, or any of the other historians whom I just now mentioned as having slurred over their work, since they will not have found in those authors many things mentioned by me, will suspect me of inventing them and will demand to know how I came by the knowledge of these particulars. Lest anyone, therefore, should entertain such an opinion of me, it is best that I should state in advance what narratives and records I have used as sources. [2] I arrived in Italy at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war, in the middle of the one hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad. and having from that time to this present day, a period of twenty-two years, lived at Rome, learned the language of the Romans and acquainted myself with their writings, I have devoted myself during all that time to matters bearing upon my subject. [3] Some information I received orally from men of the greatest learning, with whom I associated; and the rest I gathered from histories written by the approved Roman authors — Porcius Cato, Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the aelii, Gellii and Calpurnii, and many others of note; with these works, which are like the Greek annalistic accounts, as a basis, I set about the writing of my history. [4] So much, then, concerning myself. But it yet remains for me to say something also concerning the history itself — to what periods I limit it, what subjects I describe, and what form I give to the work.

[8.1] I begin my history, then, with the most ancient legends, which the historians before me have omitted as a subject difficult to be cleared up with diligent study; [2] and I bring the narrative down to the beginning of the First Punic War, which fell in the third year of the one hundred and twenty-eighth Olympiad. I relate all the foreign wars that the city waged during that period and all the internal seditions with which she was agitated, showing from what causes they sprang and by what methods and by what arguments they were brought to an end. I give an account also of all the forms of government Rome

used, both during the monarchy and after its overthrow, and show what was the character of each. I describe the best customs and the most remarkable laws; and, in short, I show the whole life of the ancient Romans. [3] As to the form I give this work, it does not resemble that which the authors who make wars alone their subject have given to their histories, nor that which others who treat of the several forms of government by themselves have adopted, nor is it like the annalistic accounts which the authors of *Atthides* have published (for these are monotonous and soon grow tedious to the reader), but it is a combination of every kind, forensic, speculative and narrative, to the intent that it may afford satisfaction both to those who occupy themselves with political debates and to those who are devoted to philosophical speculations, as well as to any who may desire mere undisturbed entertainment in their reading of history. [4] Such things, therefore, will be the subjects of my history and such will be its form. I, the author, am Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the son of Alexander. And at this point I begin.

[9.1] This city, mistress of the whole earth and sea, which the Romans now inhabit, is said to have had as its earliest occupants the barbarian Sicels, a native race. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited, none can certainly say. But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, having taken it from the occupants after a long war. [2] These people had previously lived on the mountains in unwallled villages and scattered groups; but when the Pelasgians, with whom some other Greeks had united, assisted them in the war against their neighbours, they drove the Sicels out of this place, walled in many towns, and contrived to subjugate all the country that lies between the two rivers, the Liris and the Tiber. These rivers spring from the foot of the Apennine mountains, the range by which all Italy is divided into two parts throughout its length, and at points about eight hundred stades from one another discharge themselves into the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Tiber to the north, near the city of Ostia, and the Liris to the south, as it flows by Minturnae, both these cities being Roman colonies. [3] And these people remained in this same place of abode, both never afterwards driven out by any others; but, although they continued to be one and the same people, their name was twice changed. Till the time of the Trojan war they preserved their ancient name of Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, who reigned at the time of that war, they began to be called Latins, [4] and when Romulus founded the city named after himself sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they took the name which they now bear. And in the course of time they contrived to raise themselves from the smallest nation to the greatest and from the most obscure to the most illustrious, not only by their humane reception of those who sought a home among them, but also by sharing the rights of citizenship with all who had been conquered by them in war after a brave resistance, by permitting all the slaves, too, who were manumitted among them to become citizens, and by

disdaining no condition of men from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage, but above everything else by their form of government, which they fashioned out of their many experiences, always extracting something useful from every occasion.

[10.1] There are some who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are originally descended, were natives of Italy, a stock which came into being spontaneously (I call Italy all that peninsula which is bounded by the Ionian Gulf and the Tyrrhenian Sea and, thirdly, by the Alps on the landward side); and these authors say that they were first called Aborigines because they were the founders of the families of their descendants, or, as we should call them, *genarchai* or *prôtogonoi*. [2] Others claim that certain vagabonds without house or home, coming together out of many places, met one another there by chance and took up their abode in the fastnesses, living by robbery and grazing their herds. And these writers change their name, also, to one more suitable to their condition, calling them *Aberrigenes*, to show that they were wanderers; indeed, according to these, the race of the Aborigines would seem to be no different from those the ancients called *Leleges*; for this is the name they generally gave to the homeless and mixed peoples who had no fixed abode which they could call their country. [3] Still others have a story to the effect that they were colonists sent out by those Ligurians who are neighbours of the Umbrians. For the Ligurians inhabit not only many parts of Italy but some parts of Gaul as well, but which of these lands is their native country is not known, since nothing certain is said of them further.

[11.1] But the most learned of the Roman historians, among whom is Porcius Cato, who compiled with the greatest care the “origins” of the Italian cities, Gaius Sempronius and a great many others, say that they were Greeks, part of those who once dwelt in Achaia, and that they migrated many generations before the Trojan war. But they do not go on to indicate either the Greek tribe to which they belonged or the city from which they removed, or the date or the leader of the colony, or as the result of what turns of fortune they left their mother country; and although they are following a Greek legend, they have cited no Greek historian as their authority. It is uncertain, therefore, what the truth of the matter is. But if what they say is true, the Aborigines can be a colony of no other people but of those who are now called *Arcadians*; [2] for these were the first of all the Greeks to cross the Ionian Gulf, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, and to settle in Italy. This Oenotrus was the fifth from Aezeius and Phoroneus, who were the first kings in the Peloponnesus. For Niobê was the daughter of Phoroneus, and Pelasgus was the son of Niobê and Zeus, it is said; Lycaon was the son of Aezeius and Deïanira was the daughter of Lycaon; Deïanira and Pelasgus were the parents of another Lycaon, whose son Oenotrus was born seventeen generations before the Trojan expedition. This, then, was the time when the Greeks sent the colony into Italy. [3] Oenotrus left Greece because he was dissatisfied with his portion of his father’s land; for, as Lycaon had twenty-two sons, it was

necessary to divide Arcadia into as many shares. For this reason Oenotrus left the Peloponnesus, prepared a fleet, and crossed the Ionian Gulf with Peucetius, one of his brothers. They were accompanied by many of their own people — for this nation is said to have been very populous in early times — and by as many other Greeks as had less land than was sufficient for them. [4] Peucetius landed his people above the Iapygian Promontory, which was the first part of Italy they made, and settled there; and from him the inhabitants of this region were called Peucetians. But Oenotrus with the greater part of the expedition came into the other sea that washes the western regions along the coast of Italy; it was then called the Ausonian Sea, from the Ausonians who dwelt beside it, but after the Tyrrhenians became masters at sea its name was changed to that which it now bears.

[12.1] And finding there much land suitable for pasturage and much for tillage, but for the most part unoccupied, and even that which was inhabited not thickly populated, he cleared some of it of the barbarians and built small towns contiguous to one another on the mountains, which was the customary manner of habitation in use among the ancients. And all the land he occupied, which was very extensive, was called Oenotria, and all the people under his command Oenotrians, which was the third name they had borne. For in the reign of Aezeius they were called Aezeians, when Lycaon succeeded to the rule, Lycaonians, and after Oenotrus led them into Italy they were for a while called Oenotrians. [2] What I say is supported by the testimony of Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama entitled *Triptolemus*; for he there represents Demeter as informing Triptolemus how large a tract of land he would have to travel over while sowing it with the seeds she had given him. For, after first referring to the eastern part of Italy, which reaches from the Iapygian Promontory to the Sicilian Strait, and then touching upon Sicily on the opposite side, she returns again to the western part of Italy and enumerates the most important nations that inhabit this coast, beginning with the settlement of the Oenotrians. But it is enough to quote merely the iambs in which he says:

“And after this, — first, then, upon the right,
Oenotria wide-outstretched and Tyrrhene Gulf,
And next the Ligurian land shall welcome thee.”

[3] And Antiochus of Syracuse, a very early historian, in his account of the settlement of Italy, when enumerating the most ancient inhabitants in the order in which each of them held possession of any part of it, says that the first who are reported to have inhabited that country are the Oenotrians. His words are these: “Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, wrote this account of Italy, which comprises all that is most credible and certain out of the ancient tales; this country, which is now called Italy, was formerly possessed by the Oenotrians.” Then he relates in what manner they were governed and says that in the course of time Italus came to be their king, after whom they were

named Italians; that this man was succeeded by Morges, after whom they were called Morgetes, and that Sicelus, being received as a guest by Morges and setting up a kingdom for himself, divided the nation. After which he adds these words: "Thus those who had been Oenotrians became Sicels, Morgetes and Italians."

[13.1] Now let me also show the origin of the Oenotrian race, offering as my witness another of the early historians, Pherecydes of Athens, who was a genealogist inferior to none. He thus expresses himself concerning the kings of Arcadia: "Of Pelasgus and Deïanira was born Lycaon; this man married Cyllenê, a Naiad nymph, after whom Mount Cyllenê is named." Then, having given an account of their children and of the places each of them inhabited, he mentions Oenotrus and Peucetius, in these words: "And Oenotrus, after whom are named the Oenotrians who live in Italy, and Peucetius, after whom are named the Peucetians who live on the Ionian Gulf." [2] Such, then, are the accounts given by the ancient poets and writers of legends concerning the places of abode and the origin of the Oenotrians; and on their authority I assume that if the Aborigines were in reality a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempronius and many others, they were descendants of these Oenotrians. For I find that the Pelasgians and Cretans and the other nations that lived in Italy came thither afterwards; nor can I discover that any other expedition more ancient than this came from Greece to the western parts of Europe. [3] I am of the opinion that the Oenotrians, besides making themselves masters of many other regions in Italy, some of which they found unoccupied and others but thinly inhabited, also seized a portion of the country of the Umbrians, and that they were called Aborigines from their dwelling on the mountains (for it is characteristic of the Arcadians to be fond of the mountains), in the same manner as at Athens some are called Hyperakriori, and others Paralioi. [4] But if any are naturally slow in giving credit to accounts of ancient matters without due examination, let them be slow also in believing the Aborigines to be Ligurians, Umbrians, or any other barbarians, and let them suspend their judgment till they have heard what remains to be told and then determine which opinion out of all is the most probable.

[14.1] Of the cities first inhabited by the Aborigines few remained in my day; the greatest part of them, having been laid waste both by wars and other calamities, are abandoned. These cities were in the Reatine territory, not far from the Apennine mountains, as Terentius Varro writes in his *Antiquities*, the nearest being one day's journey distant from Rome. I shall enumerate the most celebrated of them, following his account. [2] Palatium, twenty-five stades distant from Reate (a city that was still inhabited by Romans down to my time), near the Quintian Way. Tribula, about sixty stades from Reate and standing upon a low hill. Suesbula, at the same distance from Tribula, near the Ceraunian Mountains. Suna, a famous city forty stades from Suesbula; in it there is a very ancient temple of Mars. [3] Mefula, about thirty stades from Suna; its ruins and traces of its walls are pointed out. Orvinium, forty stades

from Mefula, a city as famous and large as any in that region; for the foundations of its walls are still to be seen and some tombs of venerable antiquity, as well as the circuits of burying-places extending over lofty mounds; and there is also an ancient temple of Minerva built on the summit.

[4] At the distance of eighty stades from Reate, as one goes along the Curian Way past Mount Coretus, stood Corsula, a town but recently destroyed. There is also pointed out an island, called Issa, surrounded by a lake; the Aborigines are said to have lived on this island without any artificial fortification, relying on the marshy waters of the lake instead of walls. Near Issa is Maruvium, situated on an arm of the same lake and distant forty stades from what they call the Septem Aquae.

[5] Again, as one goes from Reate by the road towards the Listine district, there is Batia, thirty stades distant; then Tiora, called Matiene, at a distance of three hundred stades. In this city, they say, there was a very ancient oracle of Mars, the nature of which was similar to that of the oracle which legend says once existed at Dodona; only there a pigeon was said to prophesy, sitting on a sacred oak, whereas among the Aborigines a heaven-sent bird, which they call picus and the Greeks dryokolaptês, appearing on a pillar of wood, did the same. [6] Twenty-four stades from the afore-mentioned city stood Lista, the mother-city of the Aborigines, which at a still earlier time the Sabines had captured by a surprise attack, having set out against it from Amiternum by night. Those who survived the taking of the place, after being received by the Reatines, made many attempts to retake their former home, but being unable to do so, they consecrated the country to the gods, as if it were still their own, invoking curses against those who should enjoy the fruits of it.

[15.1] Seventy stades from Reate stood Cutilia, a famous city, beside a mountain. Not far from it there is a lake, four hundred feet in diameter, filled by everflowing natural springs and, it is said, bottomless. This lake, as having something divine about it, the inhabitants of the country look upon as sacred to Victory; and surrounding it with a palisade, so that no one may approach the water, they keep it inviolate; except that at certain times each year those whose sacred office it is go to the little island in the lake and perform the sacrifices required by custom. [2] This island is about fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than a foot above the water; it is not fixed, and floats about in any direction, according to as the wind gently wafts it from one place to another. An herb grows on the island like the flowering rush and also certain small shrubs, a phenomenon which to those who are unacquainted with the works of Nature seems unaccountable and a marvel second to none.

[16.1] The Aborigines are said to have settled first in these places after they had driven out the Umbrians. And making excursions from there, they warred not only upon the barbarians in general but particularly upon the Sicels, their neighbours, in order to dispossess them of their lands. First, a sacred band of young men went forth, consisting of a few who were sent out by their parents to seek a livelihood, according to a custom which I know many barbarians and

Greeks have followed. [2] For whenever the population of any of their cities increased to such a degree that the produce of their lands no longer sufficed for them all, or the earth, injured by unseasonable changes of the weather, brought forth her fruits in less abundance than usual, or any other occurrence of like nature, either good or bad, introduced a necessity of lessening their numbers, they would dedicate to some god or other all the men born within a certain year, and providing them with arms, would send them out of their country. If, indeed, this was done by way of thanksgiving for populousness or for victory in war, they would first offer the usual sacrifices and then send forth their colonies under happy auspices; but if, having incurred the wrath of Heaven, they were seeking deliverance from the evils that beset them, they would perform much the same ceremony, but sorrowfully and begging forgiveness of the youths they were sending away. [3] And those who departed, feeling that henceforth they would have no share in the land of their fathers but must acquire another, looked upon any land that received them in friendship or that they conquered in war as their country. And the god to whom they had been dedicated when they were sent out seemed generally to assist them and to prosper the colonies beyond all human expectation. [4] In pursuance, therefore, of this custom some of the Aborigines also at that time, as their places were growing very populous (for they would not put any of their children to death, looking on this as one of the greatest of crimes), dedicated to some god or other the offspring of a certain year and when these children were grown to be men they sent them out of their country as colonists; and they, after leaving their own land, were continually plundering the Sicels. [5] And as soon as they became masters of any places in the enemy's country the rest of the Aborigines, also, who needed lands now attacked each of them their neighbours with greater security and built various cities, some of which are inhabited to this day — Antemnae, Tellenae, Ficulea, which is near the Corniculan mountains, as they are called, and Tibur, where a quarter of the city is even to this day called the Sicel quarter; and of all their neighbours they harassed the Sicels most. From these quarrels there arose a general war between the nations more important than any that had occurred previously in Italy, and it went on extending over a long period of time.

[17.1] Afterwards some of the Pelasgians who inhabited Thessaly, as it is now called, being obliged to leave their country, settled among the Aborigines and jointly with them made war upon the Sicels. It is possible that the Aborigines received them partly in the hope of gaining their assistance, but I believe it was chiefly on account of their kinship; [2] for the Pelasgians, too, were a Greek nation originally from the Peloponnesus. They were unfortunate in many ways but particularly in wandering much and in having no fixed abode. For they first lived in the neighbourhood of the Achaean Argos, as it is now called, being natives of the country, according to most accounts. They received their name originally from Pelasgus, their king. [3] Pelasgus was the

son of Zeus, it is said, and of Niobê the daughter of Phoroneus, who, as the legend goes, was the first mortal woman Zeus had knowledge of. In the sixth generation afterwards, leaving the Peloponnesus, they removed to the country which was then called Haemonia and now Thessaly. The leaders of the colony were Achaëus, Phthius and Pelasgus, the sons of Larisa and Poseidon. When they arrived in Haemonia they drove out the barbarian inhabitants and divided the country into three parts, calling them, after the names of their leaders, Phthiotis, Achaia and Pelasgiotis. After they had remained there five generations, during which they attained to the greatest prosperity while enjoying the produce of the most fertile plains in Thessaly, about the sixth generation they were driven out of it by the Curetes and Leleges, who are now called Aetolians and Locrians, and by many others who lived near Parnassus, their enemies being commanded by Deucalion, the son of Prometheus and Clymenê, the daughter of Oceanus.

[18.1] And dispersing themselves in their flight, some went to Crete, others occupied some of the islands called the Cyclades, some settled in the region called Hestiaeotis near Olympus and Ossa, others crossed into Boeotia, Phocis and Euboea; and some, passing over into Asia, occupied many places on the coast along the Hellespont and many of the adjacent islands, particularly the one now called Lesbos, uniting with those who composed the first colony that was sent thither from Greece under Macar, the son of Crinacus. [2] But the greater part of them, turning inland, took refuge among the inhabitants of Dodona, their kinsmen, against whom, as a sacred people, none would make war; and there they remained for a reasonable time. But when they perceived they were growing burdensome to their hosts, since the land could not support them all, they left it in obedience to an oracle that commanded them to sail to Italy, which was then called Saturnia. [3] And having prepared a great many ships they set out to cross the Ionian Gulf, endeavouring to reach the nearest parts of Italy. But as the wind was in the south and they were unacquainted with those regions, they were carried too far out to sea and landed at one of the mouths of the Po called the Spinetic mouth. In that very place they left their ships and such of their people as were least able to bear hardships, placing a guard over the ships, to the end that, if their affairs did not prosper, they might be sure of a retreat. [4] Those who were left behind there surrounded their camp with a wall and brought in plenty of provisions in their ships; and when their affairs seemed to prosper satisfactorily, they built a city and called it by the same name as the mouth of the river. These people attained to a greater degree of prosperity than any others who dwelt on the Ionian Gulf; for they had the mastery at sea for a long time, and out of their revenues from the sea they used to send tithes to the god at Delphi, which were among the most magnificent sent by any people. [5] But later, when the barbarians in the neighbourhood made war upon them in great numbers, they deserted the city; and these barbarians in the course of time were driven out by the Romans. So perished that part of the Pelasgians that was left at Spina.

[19.1] Those, however, who had turned inland crossed the mountainous part of Italy and came to the territory of the Umbrians who were neighbours to the Aborigines. (The Umbrians inhabited a great many other part of Italy also and were an exceeding great and ancient people.) At first the Pelasgians made themselves masters of the lands where they first settled and took some of the small towns belonging to the Umbrians. But when a great army came together against them, they were terrified at the number of their enemies and betook themselves to the country of the Aborigines. [2] And these, seeing fit to treat them as enemies, made haste to assemble out of the places nearest at hand, in order to drive them out of the country. But the Pelasgians luckily chanced to be encamped at that time near Cutilia, a city of the Aborigines hard by the sacred lake, and observing the little island circling round in it and learning from the captives they had taken in the fields the name of the inhabitants, they concluded that their oracle was now fulfilled. For this oracle, which had been delivered to them in Dodona and which Lucius Mallius, no obscure man, says he himself saw engraved in ancient characters upon one of the tripods standing in the precinct of Zeus, was as follows:

“Fare forth the Sicels’ Saturnian land to seek,
Aborigines’ Cotylê, too, where floats an isle;
With these men mingling, to Phoebus send a tithe,
And heads to Cronus’ son, and send to the sire a man.”

[20] [1] When, therefore, the Aborigines advanced with a numerous army, the Pelasgians approached unarmed with olive branches in their hands, and telling them of their own fortunes, begged that they would receive them in a friendly manner to dwell with them, assuring them that they would not be troublesome, since Heaven itself was guiding them into this one particular country according to the oracle, which they explained to them. [2] When the Aborigines heard this, they resolved to obey the oracle and to gain these Greeks as allies against their barbarian enemies, for they were hard pressed by their war with the Sicels. They accordingly made a treaty with the Pelasgians and assigned to them some of their own lands that lay near the sacred lake; the greater part of these were marshy and are still called Velia, in accordance with the ancient form of their language. [3] For it was the custom of the ancient Greeks generally to place before those words that began with a vowel the syllable *ov*, written with one letter (this was like a gamma, formed by two oblique lines joined to one upright line), as *Ἰελένη*, *Ἰάναξ*, *Ἰοῖκος*, *Ἰέαρ* and many such words. [4] Afterwards, a considerable part of the Pelasgians, as the land was not sufficient to support them all, prevailed on the Aborigines to join them in an expedition against the Umbrians, and marching forth, they suddenly fell upon and captured Croton, a rich and large city of theirs. And using this place as a stronghold and fortress against the Umbrians, since it was sufficiently fortified as a place of defence in time of war and had fertile

pastures lying round it, they made themselves masters also of a great many other places and with great zeal assisted the Aborigines in the war they were still engaged in against the Sicels, till they drove them out of their country. [5] And the Pelasgians in common with the Aborigines settled many cities, some of which had been previously inhabited by the Sicels and others which they built themselves; among these are Caere, then called Agylla, and Pisae, Saturnia, Alsium and some others, of which they were in the course of time dispossessed by the Tyrrhenians.

[21.1] But Falerii and Fescennium were even down to my day inhabited by Romans and preserved some small remains of the Pelasgian nation, though they had earlier belonged to the Sicels. In these cities there survived for a very long time many of the ancient customs formerly in use among the Greeks, such as the fashion of their arms of war, like Argolic bucklers and spears; and whenever they sent out an army beyond their borders, either to begin a war or to resist an invasion, certain holy men, unarmed, went ahead of the rest bearing the terms of peace; similar, also, were the structure of their temples, the images of their gods, their purifications and sacrifices and many other things of that nature. [2] But the most conspicuous monument which shows that those people who drove out the Sicels once lived at Argos in the temple of Juno at Falerii, built in the same fashion as the one at Argos; here, too, the manner of the sacrificial ceremonies was similar, holy women served the sacred precinct, and an unmarried girl, called the canephorus or "basket-bearer," performed the initial rites of the sacrifices, and there were choruses of virgins who praised the goddess in the songs of their country. [3] These people also possessed themselves of no inconsiderable part of the Campanian plains, as they are called, which afford not only very fertile pasturage but most pleasing prospects as well, having driven the Auronissi, a barbarous nation, out of part of them. There they built various other cities and also Larisa, encamp they named after their mother-city in the Peloponnesus. [4] Some of these cities were standing even to my day, having often changed their inhabitants. But Larisa has been long deserted and shows to the people of to-day no other sign of its ever having been inhabited but its name, and even this is not generally known. It was not far from the place called Forum Popilii. They also occupied a great many other places, both on the coast and in the interior, which they had taken from the Sicels.

[22.1] The Sicels, being warred upon by both the Pelasgians and the Aborigines, found themselves incapable of making resistance any longer, and so, taking with them their wives and children and such of their possessions as were any other gold or silver, they abandoned all their country to these foes. Then, turning their course southward through the mountains, they proceeded through all the lower part of Italy, and being driven away from every place, they at last prepared rafts at the Strait and, watching for a downward current, passed over from Italy to the adjacent island. [2] It was then occupied by the Sicanians, an Iberian nation, who, fleeing from the Ligurians, had but lately

settled there and had caused the island, previously named Trinacria, from its triangular shape, to be called Sicania, after themselves. There were very few inhabitants in it for so large an island, and the greater part of it was as yet unoccupied. Accordingly, when the Sicels landed there they first settled in the western parts and afterwards in several others; and from these people the island began to be called Sicily. [3] In this manner the Sikel nation left Italy, according to Hellanicus of Lesbos, in the third generation before the Trojan war, and in the twenty-sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyonê at Argos. But he says that two Italian expeditions passed over into Sicily, the first consisting of the Elymians, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotrians, and the second, five years later, of the Ausonians, who fled from the Iapygians. As king of the latter group he names Sicelus, from whom both the people and the island got their name. [4] But according to Philistus of Syracuse the date of the crossing was the eightieth year before the Trojan war and the people who passed over from Italy were neither Ausonians nor Elymians, but Ligurians, whose leader was Sicelus; this Sicelus, he says, was the son of Italus and in his reign the people were called Sicels, [5] and he adds that these Ligurians had been driven out of their country by the Umbrians and Pelasgians. Antiochus of Syracuse does not give the date of the crossing, but says the people who migrated were the Sicels, who had been forced to leave by the Oenotrians and Opicans, and that they chose Straton as leader of the colony. But Thucydides writes that the people who left Italy were the Sicels and those who drove them out the Opicans, and that the date was many years after the Trojan war. Such, then, are the reports given by credible authorities concerning the Sicels who changed their abode from Italy to Sicily.

[23.1] The Pelasgians, after conquering a large and fertile region, taking over many towns and building others, made great and rapid progress, becoming populous, rich and in every way prosperous. Nevertheless, they did not long enjoy their prosperity, but at the moment when they seemed to all the world to be in the most flourishing condition they were visited by divine wrath, and some of them were destroyed by calamities inflicted by the hand of Heaven, others by their barbarian neighbours; but the greatest part of them were again dispersed through Greece and the country of the barbarians (concerning whom, if I attempted to give a particular account, it would make a very long story), though some few of them remained in Italy through the care of the Aborigines. [2] The first cause of the desolation of their cities seemed to be a drought which laid waste the land, when neither any fruit remained on the trees till it was ripe, but dropped while still green, nor did such of the seed corn as sent up shoots and flowered stand for the usual period till the ear was ripe, nor did sufficient grass grow for the cattle; and of the waters some were no longer fit to drink, others shrank during the summer, and others were totally dried up. [3] And like misfortunes attended the offspring both of cattle and of women. For they were either abortive or died at birth, some by their death destroying also those that bore them; and if any got safely past the

danger of the delivery, they were either maimed or defective or, being injured by some other accident, were not fit to be reared. The rest of the people, also, particularly those in the prime of life, were afflicted with many unusual diseases and uncommon deaths. [4] But when they asked the oracle what god or divinity they had offended to be thus afflicted and by what means they might hope for relief, the god replied that, although they had obtained what they desired, they had neglected to pay what they had promised, and that the things of greatest value were still due from them. [5] For the Pelasgians in a time of general scarcity in the land had vowed to offer to Jupiter, Apollo and the Cabeiri tithes of all their future increase; but when their prayer had been answered, they set apart and offered to the gods the promised portion of all their fruits and cattle only, as if their vow had related to them alone. This is the account related by Myrsilus of Lesbos, who uses almost the same words as I do now, except that he does not call the people Pelasgians, but Tyrrhenians, of which I shall give the reason a little later.

[24.1] When they heard the oracle which was brought to them, they were at a loss to guess the meaning of the message. While they were in this perplexity, one of the elders, conjecturing the sense of the saying, told them they had quite missed its meaning if they thought the gods complained of them without reason. Of material things they had indeed rendered to the gods all the first-fruits in the right and proper manner, but of human offspring, a thing of all others the most precious in the sight of the gods, the promised portion still remained due; if, however, the gods received their just share of this also, the oracle would be satisfied. [2] There were, indeed, some who thought that he spoke aright, but others felt that there was treachery behind his words. And when some one proposed to ask the god whether it was acceptable to him to receive tithes of human beings, they sent their messengers a second time, and the god ordered them so to do. Thereupon strife arose among them concerning the manner of choosing the tithes, and those who had the government of the cities first quarrelled among themselves [3] and afterwards the rest of the people held their magistrates in suspicion. And there began to be disorderly emigrations, such as might well be expected from a people driven forth by a frenzy and madness inflicted by the hand of Heaven. Many households disappeared entirely when part of their members left; for the relations of those who departed were unwilling to be separated from their dearest friends and remain among their worst enemies. [4] These, therefore, were the first to migrate from Italy and wander about Greece and many parts of the barbarian world; but after them others had the same experience, and this continued every year. For the rulers in these cities ceased not to select the first-fruits of the youth as soon as they arrived at manhood, both because they desired to render what was due to the gods and also because they feared uprisings on the part of lurking enemies. Many, also, under specious pretences were being driven away by their enemies through hatred; so that there were many emigrations and the Pelasgian nation was scattered over most of the earth.

[25.1] Not only were the Pelasgians superior to many in warfare, as the result of their training in the midst of dangers while they lived among warlike nations, but they also rose to the highest proficiency in seamanship, by reason of their living with the Tyrrhenians; and Necessity, which is quite sufficient to give daring to those in want of a livelihood, was their leader and director in every dangerous enterprise, so that wherever they went they conquered without difficulty. [2] And the same people were called by the rest of the world both Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, the former name being from the country out of which they had been driven and the latter in memory of their ancient origin. I mention this so that no one, when he hears poets or historians call the Pelasgians Tyrrhenians also, may wonder how the same people got both these names. [3] Thus, with regard to them, Thucydides has a clear account of the Thracian Actê and of the cities situated in it, which are inhabited by men who speak two languages. Concerning the Pelasgian nation these are his words: "There is also a Chalcidian element among them, but the largest element is Pelasgian, belonging to the Tyrrhenians who once inhabited Lemnos and Athens." [4] And Sophocles makes the chorus in his drama *Inachus* speak the following anapaestic verses:

"O fair-flowing Inachus, of ocean begot,
That sire of all waters, thou rulest with might
O'er the Argive fields and Hera's hills
And Tyrrhene Pelasgians also."

[5] For the name of Tyrrhenia was then known throughout Greece, and all the western part of Italy was called by that name, the several nations of which it was composed having lost their distinctive appellations. The same thing happened to many parts of Greece also, and particularly to that part of it which is now called the Peloponnesus; for it was after one of the nations that inhabited it, namely the Achaean, that the whole peninsula also, in which are comprised the Arcadian, the Ionian and many other nations, was called Achaia.

[26.1] The time when the calamities of the Pelasgians began was about the second generation before the Trojan war; and they continued to occur even after that war, till the nation was reduced to very inconsiderable numbers. For, with the exception of Croton, the important city in Umbria, and any others that they had founded in the land of the Aborigines, all the rest of the Pelasgian towns were destroyed. But Croton long preserved its ancient form, having only recently changed both its name and in heights; it is now a Roman colony, called Corthonia. [2] After the Pelasgians left the country their cities were seized by the various peoples which happened to live nearest them in each case, but chiefly by the Tyrrhenians, who made themselves masters of the greatest part and the best of them. As regards these Tyrrhenians, some declare them to be natives of Italy, but others call them foreigners. Those who

make them a native race say that their name was given them from the forts, which they were the first of the inhabitants of this country to build; for covered buildings enclosed by walls are called by the Tyrrhenian as well as by the Greeks *tyrseis* or “towers.” So they will have it that they received their name from this circumstance in like manner as did the *Mossynoeci* in Asia; for these also live in high wooden palisades resembling towers, which they call *mossynes*.

[27.1] But those who relate a legendary tale about their having come from a foreign land say that Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, gave his name to the nation, and that he was a Lydian by birth, from the district formerly called *Maeonia*, and migrated in ancient times. They add that he was the fifth in descent from Zeus; for they say that the son of Zeus and *Gê* was *Manes*, the first king of that country, and his son by *Callirrhôê*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, was *Cotys*, who by *Haliê*, the daughter of earth-born *Tyllus*, had two sons, *Asies* and *Atys*, [2] from the latter of whom by *Callithea*, the daughter of *Choraëus*, came *Lydus* and Tyrrhenus. *Lydus*, they continue, remaining there, inherited his father’s kingdom, and from him the country was called *Lydia*; but Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, conquered a large portion of Italy and gave his name to those who had taken part in the expedition. [3] Herodotus, however, says that Tyrrhenus and his brother were the sons of *Atys*, the son of *Manes*, and that the migration of the *Maeonians* to Italy was not voluntary. For they say that in the reign of *Atys* there was a dearth in the country of the *Maeonians* and that the inhabitants, inspired by love of their native land, for a time contrived a great many methods to resist this calamity, one day permitting themselves but a moderate allowance of food and the next day fasting. But, as the mischief continued, they divided the people into two groups and cast lots to determine which should go out of the country and which should stay in it; of the sons of *Atys* one was assigned to the one group the other to the other. [4] And when the lot fell to that part of the people which was with *Lydus* to remain in the country, the other group departed after receiving their share of the common possessions; and landing in the western parts of Italy where the *Umbrians* dwelt, they remained there and built the cities that still existed even in his time.

[28.1] I am aware that many other authors also have given this account of the Tyrrhenian race, some in the same terms, and others changing the character of the colony and the date. For some have said that Tyrrhenus was the son of *Heracles* by *Omphalê*, the Lydian, and that he, coming into Italy, dispossessed the *Pelasgians* of their cities, though not of all, but of those only that lay beyond the *Tiber* toward the north. Others declare that Tyrrhenus was the son of *Telephus* and that after the taking of *Troy* he came into Italy. [2] But *Xanthus* of *Lydia*, who was as well acquainted with ancient history as any man and who may be regarded as an authority second to none on the history of his own country, neither names Tyrrhenus in any part of his history as a ruler of the *Lydians* nor knows anything of the landing of a colony of

Maeonians in Italy; nor does he make the least mention of Tyrrhenia as a Lydian colony, though he takes notice of several things of less importance. He says that Lydus and Torebus were the sons of Atys; that they, having divided the kingdom they had inherited from their father, both remained in Asia, and from them the nations over which they reigned received their names. His words are these: "From Lydus are sprung the Lydians, and from Torebus the Torebians. There is little difference in their language and even now each nation scoffs at many words used by the other, even as do the Ionians and Dorians." [3] Hellanicus of Lesbos says that the Tyrrhenians, who were previously called Pelasgians, received their present name after they had settled in Italy. These are his words in the *Phoronis*: "Phrastor was the son of Pelasgus, their king, and Menippê, the daughter of Peneus; his son was Amyntor, Amyntor's son was Teutamides, and the latter's son was Nanas. In his reign the Pelasgians were driven out of their country by the Greeks, and after leaving their ships on the river Spines in the Ionian Gulf, they took Croton, an inland city; and proceeding from there, they colonized the country now called Tyrrhenia." [4] But the account Myrsilus gives is the reverse of that given by Hellanicus. The Tyrrhenians, he says, after they had left their own country, were in the course of their wanderings called Pelargoi or "Storks," from their resemblance to the birds of that name, since they swarmed in flocks both into Greece and into the barbarian lands; and they built the wall round the citadel of Athens which is called the Pelargic wall.

[29.1] But in my opinion all though take the Tyrrhenians and the Pelasgians to be one and the same nation are mistaken. It is no wonder they were sometimes called by one another's names, since the same thing has happened to certain other nations also, both Greeks and barbarians, — for example, to the Trojans and Phrygians, who lived near each other (indeed, many have thought that those two nations were but one, differing in name only, not in fact). And the nations in Italy have been confused under a common name quite as often as any nations anywhere. [2] For there was a time when the Latins, the Umbrians, the Ausonians and many others were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks, the remoteness of the countries inhabited by these nations making their exact distinctions obscure to those who lived at a distance. And many of the historians have taken Rome itself for a Tyrrhenian city. I am persuaded, therefore, that these nations changed their name along with their place of abode, but can not believe that they both had a common origin, for this reason, among many others, that their languages are different and preserve not the least resemblance to one another. [3] "For neither the Crotoniats," says Herodotus, "nor the Placians agree in language with any of their present neighbours, although they agree with each other; and it is clear that they preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them into those regions." However, one may well marvel that, although the Crotoniats had a speech similar to that of the Placians, who lived near the Hellespont, since both were originally Pelasgians, it was not at all similar to that of the

Tyrrhenians, their nearest neighbours. For if kinship is to be regarded as the reason why two nations speak the same language, the contrary must, of course, be the reason for their speaking a different one,^[4] since surely it is not possible to believe that both these conditions arise from the same cause. For, although it might reasonably happen, on the one hand, that men of the same nation who have settled at a distance from one another would, as the result of associating with their neighbours, no longer preserve the same fashion of speech, yet it is not at all reasonable that men sprung from the same race and living in the same country should not in the least agree with one another in their language.

[30.1] For this reason, therefore, I am persuaded that the Pelasgians are a different people from the Tyrrhenians. And I do not believe, either, that the Tyrrhenians were a colony of the Lydians; for they do not use the same language as the latter, nor can it be alleged that, though they no longer speak a similar tongue, they still retain some other indications of their mother country. For they neither worship the same gods as the Lydians nor make use of similar laws or institutions, but in these very respects they differ more from the Lydians than from the Pelasgians.^[2] Indeed, those probably come nearest to the truth who declare that the nation migrated from nowhere else, but was native to the country, since it is found to be a very ancient nation and to agree with no other either in its language or in its manner of living. And there is no reason why the Greeks should not have called them by this name, both from their living in towers and from the name of one of their rulers.^[3] The Romans, however, give them other names: from the country they once inhabited, named Etruria, they call them Etruscans, and from their knowledge of the ceremonies relating to divine worship, in which they excel others, they now call them, rather inaccurately, Tusci, but formerly, with the same accuracy as the Greeks, they called them Thyoscoi. Their own name for themselves, however, is the same as that of one of their leaders, Rasenna.^[4] In another book I shall show what cities the Tyrrhenians founded, what forms of government they established, how great power they acquired, what memorable achievements they performed, and what fortunes attended them.^[5] As for the Pelasgian nation, however, those who were not destroyed or dispersed among the various colonies (for a small number remained out of a great many) were left behind as fellow citizens of the Aborigines in these parts, where in the course of time their posterity, together with others, built the city of Rome. Such are the legends told about the Pelasgian race.

[31.1] Soon after, another Greek expedition landed in this part of Italy, having migrated from Pallantium, a town of Arcadia, about the sixtieth year before the Trojan war, as the Romans themselves say. This colony had for its leader Evander, who is said to have been the son of Hermes and a local nymph of the Arcadians. The Greeks call her Themis and say that she was inspired, but the writers of the early history of Rome call her, in the native language, Carmenta. The nymph's name would be in Greek Thespiôdos or

“prophetic singer”; for the Romans call songs *carmina*, and they agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, foretold to the people in song the things that would come to pass. [2] This expedition was not sent out by the common consent of the nation, but, a sedition having arisen among the people, the faction which was defeated left the country of their own accord. It chanced that the kingdom of the Aborigines had been inherited at that time by Faunus, a descendant of Mars, it is said, a man of prudence as well as energy, whom the Romans in their sacrifices and songs honour as one of the gods of their country. This man received the Arcadians, who were but few in number, with great friendship and gave them as much of his own land as they desired. [3] And the Arcadians, as Themis by inspiration kept advising them, chose a hill, not far from the Tiber, which is now near the middle of the city of Rome, and by this hill built a small village sufficient for the complement of the two ships in which they had come from Greece. Yet this village was ordained by fate to excel in the course of time all other cities, whether Greek or barbarian, not only in its size, but also in the majesty of its empire and in every other form of prosperity, and to be celebrated above them all as long as mortality shall endure. [4] They named the town Pallantium after their mother-city in Arcadia; now, however, the Romans call it Palatium, time having obscured the correct form, and this name has given occasion of the many to suggest absurd etymologies.

[32] But some writers, among them Polybius of Megalopolis, related that the town was named after Pallas, a lad who died there; they say that he was the son of Hercules and Lavinia, the daughter of Evander, and that his maternal grandfather raised a tomb to him on the hill and called the place Pallantium, after the lad. [2] But I have never seen any tomb of Pallas at Rome nor have I heard of any drink-offerings being made in his honour nor been able to discover anything else of that nature, although this family has not been left unremembered or without those honours with which divine beings are worshipped by men. For I have learned that public sacrifices are performed yearly by the Romans to Evander and to Carmenta in the same manner as to the other heroes and minor deities; and I have seen two altars that were erected, one to Carmenta under the Capitoline hill near the Porta Carmentalis, and the other to Evander by another hill, called the Aventine, not far from the Porta Trigemina; but I know of nothing of this kind that is done in honour of Pallas. [3] As for the Arcadians, when they had joined in a single settlement at the foot of the hill, they proceeded to adorn their town with all the buildings to which they had been accustomed at home and to erect temples. And first they built a temple to the Lycaean Pan by the direction of Themis (for to the Arcadians Pan is the most ancient and the most honoured of all the gods), when they had found a suitable site for the purpose. This place the Romans call the Lupercal, but we should call it Lykaion or “Lycæum.” [4] Now, it is true, since the district about the sacred precinct has been united with the city, it has become difficult to make out by conjecture the ancient nature of the

place. Nevertheless, at first, we are told, there was a large cave under the hill overarched by a dense wood; deep springs issued from beneath the rocks, and the glen adjoining the cliffs was shaded by thick and lofty trees. [5] In this place they raised an altar to the god and performed their traditional sacrifice, which the Romans have continued to offer up to this day in the month of February, after the winter solstice, without altering anything in the rites then performed. The manner of this sacrifice will be related later. Upon the summit of the hill they set apart the precinct of Victory and instituted sacrifices to her also, lasting throughout the year, which the Romans performed even in my time.

[33] The Arcadians have a legend that this goddess was the daughter of Pallas, the son of Lycaon, and that she received those honours from mankind which she now enjoys at the desire of Athena, with whom she had been reared. For they say that Athena, as soon as she was born, was handed over to Pallas by Zeus and that she was reared by him till she grew up. They built also a temple to Ceres, to whom by the ministry of women they offered sacrifices without wine, according to the custom of the Greeks, none of which rites our time has changed. [2] Moreover, they assigned a precinct to the Equestrian Neptune and instituted the festival called by the Arcadians Hippocrateia and by the Romans Consualia, during which it is customary among the latter for the horses and mules to rest from work and to have their heads crowned with flowers. [3] They also consecrated many other precincts, altars and images of the gods and instituted purifications and sacrifices according to the customs of their own country, which continued to be performed down to my day in the same manner. Yet I should not be surprised if some of the ceremonies by reason of their great antiquity have been forgotten by their posterity and neglected; however, those that are still practised are sufficient proofs that they are derived from the customs formerly in use among the Arcadians, of which I shall speak more at length elsewhere. [4] The Arcadians are said also to have been the first to introduce into Italy the use of Greek letters, which had lately appeared among them, and also music performed on such instruments as lyres, trigons and flutes; for their predecessors had used no musical invention except shepherd's pipes. They are said also to have established laws, to have transformed men's mode of life from the prevailing bestiality to a state of civilization, and likewise to have introduced arts and professions and many other things conducive to the public good, and for these reasons to have been treated with great consideration by those who had received them. [5] This was the next Greek nation after the Pelasgians to come into Italy and to take up a common residence with the Aborigines, establishing itself in the best part of Rome.

[34.1] A few years after the Arcadians another Greek expedition came into Italy under the command of Hercules, who had just returned from the conquest of Spain and of all the region that extends to the setting of the sun. It was some of his followers who, begging Hercules to dismiss them from the

expedition, remained in this region and built a town on a suitable hill, which they found at a distance of about three stades from Pallantium. This is now called the Capitoline hill, but by the men of that time the Saturnian hill, or, in Greek, the hill of Cronus. [2] The greater part of those who stayed behind were Peloponnesians — people of Pheneus and Epeans of Elis, who no longer had any desire to return home, since their country had been laid waste in the war against Hercules. There was also a small Trojan element mingled with these, consisting of prisoners taken from Ilium in the reign of Laomedon, at the time when Hercules conquered the city. And I am of the opinion that all the rest of the army, also, who were either wearied by their labours or irked by their wanderings, obtained their dismissal from the expedition and remained there.

[3] As for the name of the hill, some think it was an ancient name, as I have said, and that consequently the Epeans were especially pleased with the hill through memory of the hill of Cronus in Elis. This is in the territory of Pisa, near the river Alpheus, and the Eleans, regarding it as sacred to Cronus, assemble together at stated times to honour it with sacrifices and other marks of reverence. [4] But Euxenus, an ancient poet, and some others of the Italian mythographers think that the name was given to the place by the men from Pisa themselves, from its likeness to their hill of Cronus, that the Epeans together with Hercules erected the altar to Saturn which remains to this day at the foot of the hill near the ascent that leads from the Forum to the Capitol, and that it was they who instituted the sacrifice which the Romans still performed even in my time, observing the Greek ritual. [5] But from the best conjectures I have been able to make, I find that even before the arrival of Hercules in Italy this place was sacred to Saturn and was called by the people of the country the Saturnian hill, and all the rest of the peninsula which is now called Italy was consecrated to this god, being called Saturnia by the inhabitants, as may be found stated in some Sibylline prophecies and other oracles delivered by the gods. And in many parts of the country there are temples dedicated to this god; certain cities bear the same name by which the whole peninsula was known at that time, and many places are called by the name of the god, particularly headlands and eminences.

[35.1] But in the course of time the land came to be called Italy, after a ruler named Italus. This man, according to Antiochus of Syracuse, was both a wise and good prince, and persuading some of his neighbours by arguments and subduing the rest by force, he made himself master of all the land which lies between the Napetine and Scylacian bays, which was the first land, he says, to be called Italy, after Italus. And when he had possessed himself of this district and had many subjects, he immediately coveted the neighbouring peoples and brought many cities under his rule. He says further that Italus was an Oenotrian by birth. [2] But Hellanicus of Lesbos says that when Hercules was driving Geryon's cattle to Argos and was come to Italy, a calf escaped from the herd and in its flight wandered the whole length of the coast and then, swimming across the intervening strait of the sea, came into Sicily. Hercules,

following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came if anyone had seen it anywhere, and when the people of the island, who understood but little Greek and used their own speech when indicating the animal, called it vitulus (the name by which it is still known), he, in memory of the calf, called all the country it had wandered over Vitulia. [3] And it is no wonder that the name has been changed in the course of time to its present form, since many Greek names, too, have met with a similar fate. But whether, as Antiochus says, the country took this name from a ruler, which perhaps is more probable, or, as Hellanicus believes, from the bull, yet this at least is evident from both their accounts, that in Hercules' time, or a little earlier, it received this name. Before that it had been called Hesperia and Ausonia by the Greeks and Saturnia by the natives, as I have already stated.

[36.1] There is another legend related by the inhabitants, to the effect that before the reign of Jupiter Saturn was lord in this land and that the celebrated manner of life in his reign, abounding in the produce of every season, was enjoyed by none more than them. [2] And, indeed, if anyone, setting aside the fabulous part of this account, will examine the merit of any country from which mankind received the greatest enjoyments immediately after their birth, whether they sprang from the earth, according to the ancient tradition, or came into being in some other manner, he will find none more beneficent to them than this. For, to compare one country with another of the same extent, Italy is, in my opinion, the best country, not only of Europe, but even of all the rest of the world. [3] And yet I am not unaware that I shall not be believed by many when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia and any other fertile countries there may be. But I, for my part, do not limit the wealth derived from the soil to one sort of produce, nor do I feel any eagerness to live where there are only rich arable lands and little or nothing else that is useful; but I account that country the best which is the most self-sufficient and generally stands least in need of imported commodities. And I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility and diversity of advantages beyond any other land.

[37.1] For Italy does not, while possessing a great deal of good arable land, lack trees, as does a grain-bearing country; nor, on the other hand, while suitable for growing all manner of trees, does it, when sown to grain, produce scanty crops, as does a timbered country; nor yet, while yielding both grain and trees in abundance, is it unsuitable for the grazing of cattle; nor can anyone say that, while it bears rich produce of crops and timber and herds, it is nevertheless disagreeable for men to live in. Nay, on the contrary, it abounds in practically everything that affords either pleasure or profit. [2] To what grain-bearing country, indeed, watered, not with rivers, but with rains from heaven, do the plains of Campania yield, in which I have seen fields that produce even three crops in a year, summer's harvest following upon that of when and autumn's upon that of summer? To what olive orchards are those of the Messapians, the Daunians, the Sabines and many others inferior? To what vineyards those of Tyrrhenia and the Alban and the Falernian districts, where

the soil is wonderfully kind to vines and with the least labour produces the finest grapes in the greatest abundance? [3] And besides the land that is cultivated one will find much that is left untilled as pasturage for sheep and goats, and still more extensive and more wonderful is the land suitable for grazing horses and cattle; for not only the marsh and meadow grass, which is very plentiful, but the dewy and well-watered grass of the glades, infinite in its abundance, furnish grazing for them in summer as well as in winter and keep them always in good condition. [4] But most wonderful of all are the forests growing upon the rocky heights, in the glens and on the uncultivated hills, from which the inhabitants are abundantly supplied with fine timber suitable for the building of ships as well as for all other purposes. Nor are any of these materials hard to come at or at a distance from human need, but they are easy to handle and readily available, owing to the multitude of rivers that flow through the whole peninsula and make the transportation and exchange of everything the land produces inexpensive. [5] Springs also of hot water have been discovered in many places, affording most pleasant baths and sovereign cures for chronic ailments. There are also mines of all sorts, plenty of wild beasts for hunting, and a great variety of sea fish, besides innumerable other things, some useful and others of a nature to excite wonder. But the finest thing of all is the climate, admirably tempered by the seasons, so that less than elsewhere is harm done by excessive cold or inordinate heat either to the growing fruits and grains or to the bodies of animals.

[38.1] It is no wonder, therefore, that the ancients looked upon this country as sacred to Saturn, since they esteemed this god to be the giver and accomplisher of all happiness to mankind, — whether he ought to be called Cronus, as the Greeks deem fitting, or Saturn, as do the Romans, — and regarded him as embracing the whole universe, by whichever name he is called, and since they saw this country abounding in universal plenty and every charm mankind craves, and judged those places to be most agreeable both to divine and to human beings that are suited to them — for example, the mountains and woods to Pan, the meadows and verdant places to the nymphs, the shores and islands to the sea-gods, and all there places to the god or genius to whom each is appropriate. [2] It is said also that the ancients sacrificed human victims to Saturn, as was done at Carthage while that city stood and as is there is done to this day among the Gauls and certain other western nations, and that Hercules, desiring to abolish the custom of this sacrifice, erected the altar upon the Saturnian hill and performed the initial rites of sacrifice with unblemished victims burning on a pure fire. And lest the people should feel any scruple at having neglected their traditional sacrifices, he taught them to appease the anger of the god by making effigies resembling the men they had been wont to bind hand and foot and throw into the stream of the Tiber, and dressing these in the same manner, to throw them into the river instead of the men, his purpose being that any superstitious dread remaining in the minds of all might be removed, since the semblance of the ancient rite would still be

preserved. [3] This the Romans continued to do every year even down to my day a little after the vernal equinox, in the month of May, on what they call the Ides (the day they mean to be the middle of the month); on this day, after offering the preliminary sacrifices according to the laws, the pontifices, as the most important of the priests are called, and with them the virgins who guard the perpetual fire, the praetors, and such of the other citizens as may lawfully be present at the rites, throw from the sacred bridge into the stream of the Tiber thirty effigies made in the likeness of men, which they call Argei. [4] But concerning the sacrifices and the other rites which the Roman people perform according to the manner both of the Greeks and of their own country I shall speak in another book. At present, it seems requisite to give a more particular account of the arrival of Hercules in Italy and to omit nothing worthy of notice that he did there.

[39.1] Of the stories told concerning this god some are largely legend and some are nearer the truth. The legendary account of his arrival is as follows: Hercules, being commanded by Eurystheus, among other labours, to drive Geryon's cattle from Erytheia to Argos, performed the task and having passed through many parts of Italy on his way home, came also to the neighbourhood of Pallantium in the country of the Aborigines; [2] and there, finding much excellent grass for his cattle, he let them graze, and being overcome with weariness, lay down and gave himself over to sleep. Thereupon a robber of that region, named Cacus, chanced to come upon the cattle feeding with none to guard them and longed to possess them. But seeing Hercules lying there asleep, he imagined he could not drive them all away without being discovered and at the same time he perceived that the task was no easy one, either. So he secreted a few of them in the cave hard by, in which he lived, dragging each of them thither by the tail backwards. This might have destroyed all evidence of his theft, as the direction in which the oxen had gone would be at variance with their tracks. [3] Hercules, then, arising from sleep soon afterwards, and having counted the cattle and found some were missing, was for some time at a loss to guess where they had gone, and supposing them to have strayed from their pasture, he sought them up and down the region; then, when he failed to find them, he came to the cave, and though he was deceived by the tracks, he felt, nevertheless, that he ought to search the place. But Cacus stood before the door, and when Hercules inquired after the cattle, denied that he had seen them, and when the other desired to search his cave, would not suffer him to do so, to be called upon his neighbours for assistance, complaining of the violence offered to him by the stranger. And while Hercules was puzzled to know how he should act in the matter, he hit upon the expedient of driving the rest of the cattle to the cave. And thus, when those inside heard the lowing and perceived the smell of their companions outside, they bellowed to them in turn and thus their lowing betrayed the theft. [4] Cacus, therefore, when his thievery was thus brought to light, put himself upon his defence and began to call out to his fellow herdsmen. But Hercules

killed him by smiting him with his club and drove out the cattle; and when he saw that the place was well adapted to the harbouring of evil-doers, he demolished the cave, burying the robber under its ruins. Then, having purified himself in the river from the murder, he erected an altar near the place to Jupiter the Discoverer, which is now in Rome near the Porta Trigemina, and sacrificed a calf to the god as a thank-offering for the finding of his cattle. This sacrifice the city of Rome continued to celebrate even down to my day, observing in it all the ceremonies of the Greeks just as he instituted them.

[40.1] When the Aborigines and the Arcadians who lived at Pallantium learned of the death of Cacus and saw Hercules, they thought themselves very fortunate in being rid of the former, whom they detested for his robberies, and were struck with awe at the appearance of the latter, in whom they seemed to see something divine. The poorer among them, plucking branches of laurel which grew there in great plenty, crowned both him and themselves with it; and their kings also came to invite Hercules to be their guest. But when they heard from him his name, his lineage and his achievements, they recommended both their country and themselves to his friendship. [2] And Evander, who had even before this heard Themis relate that it was ordained by fate that Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, changing his mortal nature, should become immortal by reason of his virtue, as soon as he learned who the stranger was, resolved to forestall all mankind by being the first to propitiate Hercules with divine honours, and he hastily erected an improvised altar and sacrificed upon it a calf that had not known the yoke, having first communicated the oracle to Hercules and asked him to perform the initial rites. [3] And Hercules, admiring the hospitality of these men, entertained the common people with a feast, after sacrificing some of the cattle and setting apart the tithes of the rest of his booty; and to their kings he gave a large district belonging to the Ligurians and to some others of their neighbours, the rule of which they very much desired, after he had first expelled some lawless people from it. It is furthermore reported that he asked the inhabitants, since they were the first who had regarded him as a god, to perpetuate the honours they had paid him by offering up every year a calf that had not known the yoke and performing the sacrifice with Greek rites; and that he himself taught the sacrificial rites to two of the distinguished families, in order that their offerings might always be acceptable to him. [4] Those who were then instructed in the Greek ceremony, they say, were the Potitii and the Pinarii, whose descendants continued for a long time to have the superintendence of these sacrifices, in the manner he had appointed, the Potitii presiding at the sacrifice and taking the first part of the burnt-offerings, while the Pinarii were excluded from tasting the inwards and held second rank in those ceremonies which had to be performed by both of them together. It is said that this disgrace was fixed upon them for having been late in arriving; for though they had been ordered to be present early in the morning, they did not come till the entrails had been eaten. [5] To-day, however, the superintendence of the

sacrifices no longer devolves on these families, but slaves purchased with the public money perform them. For what reasons this custom was changed and how the god manifested himself concerning the change in his ministers, I shall relate when I come to that part of the history. [6] The altar on which Hercules offered up the tithes is called by the Romans the Greatest Altar. It stands near the place they call the Cattle Market and no other is held in greater veneration by the inhabitants; for upon this altar oaths are taken and agreements made by those who wish to transact any business unalterably and the tithes of things are frequently offered there pursuant to vows. However, in its construction it is much inferior to its reputation. In many other places also in Italy precincts are dedicated to this god and altars erected to him, both in cities and along highways; and one could scarcely find any place in Italy in which the god is not honoured. Such, then, is the legendary account that has been handed down concerning him.

[41.1] But the story which comes nearer to the truth and which has been adopted by many who have narrated his deeds in the form of history is as follows: Hercules, who was the greatest commander of his age, marched at the head of a large force through all the country that lies on this side of the Ocean, destroying any despotisms that were grievous and oppressive to their subjects, or commonwealths that outraged and injured the neighbouring states, or organized bands of men who lived in the manner of savages and lawlessly put strangers to death, and in their room establishing lawful monarchies, well-ordered governments and humane and sociable modes of life. Furthermore, he mingled barbarians with Greeks, and inhabitants of the inland with dwellers on the sea coast, groups which hitherto had been distrustful and unsocial in their dealings with each other; he also built cities in desert places, turned the course of rivers that overflowed the fields, cut roads through inaccessible mountains, and contrived other means by which every land and sea might lie open to the use of all mankind. [2] And he came into Italy not alone nor yet bringing a herd of cattle (for neither does this country lie on the road of those returning from Spain to Argos nor would he have been deemed worthy of so great an honour merely for passing through it), but at the head of a great army, after he had already conquered Spain, in order to subjugate and rule the people in this region; and he was obliged to tarry there a considerable time both because of the absence of his fleet, due to stormy weather that detained it, and because not all the nations of Italy willingly submitted to him. [3] For, besides the other barbarians, the Ligurians, a numerous and warlike people seated in the passes of the Alps, endeavoured to prevent his entrance into Italy by force of arms, and in that place so great a battle was fought by the Greeks that all their missiles gave out in the course of the fighting. This war is mentioned by Aeschylus, among the ancient poets, in his *Prometheus Unbound*; for there Prometheus is represented as foretelling to Hercules in detail how everything else was to befall him on his expedition against Geryon and in particular recounting to him the difficult struggle he was to have in the

war with the Ligurians. The verses are these:

“And thou shalt come to Liguria’s dauntless host,
Where no fault shalt thou find, bold though thou art,
With the fray: ’tis fated thy missiles all shall fail.”

[42] [1] After Hercules had defeated this people and gained the passes, some delivered up their cities to him of their own accord, particularly those who were any other Greek extraction or who had no considerable forces; but the greatest part of them were reduced by war and siege. [2] Among those who were conquered in battle, they say, was Cacus, who is celebrated in the Roman legend, an exceedingly barbarous chieftain reigning over a savage people, who had set himself to oppose Hercules; he was established in the fastnesses and on that account was a pest to his neighbours. He, when he heard that Hercules lay encamped in the plain hard by, equipped his followers like brigands and making a sudden raid while the army lay sleeping, he surrounded and drove off as much of their booty as he found unguarded. [3] Afterwards, being besieged by the Greeks, he not only saw his forts taken by storm, but was himself slain amid his fastnesses. And when his forts had been demolished, those who had accompanied Hercules on the expedition (these were some Arcadians with Evander, and Faunus, king of the Aborigines) took over the districts round about, each group for itself. And it may be conjectured that those of the Greeks who remained there, that is, the Epeans and the Arcadians from Pheneus, as well as the Trojans, were left to guard the country. [4] For among the various measures of Hercules that bespoke the true general none was more worthy of admiration than his practice of carrying along with him for a time on his expeditions the prisoners taken from the captured cities, and then, after they had cheerfully assisted him in his wars, settling them in the conquered regions and bestowing on them the riches he had gained from others. It was because of these deeds that Hercules gained the greatest name and renown in Italy, and not because of his passage through it, which was attended by nothing worthy of veneration.

[43] Some say that he also left sons by two women in the region now inhabited by the Romans. One of these sons was Pallas, whom he had by the daughter of Evander, whose name, they say, was Lavinia; the other, Latinus, whose mother was a certain Hyperborean girl whom he brought with him as a hostage given to him by her father and preserved for some time untouched; but while he was on his voyage to Italy, he fell in love with her and got her with child. And when he was preparing to leave for Argos, he married her to Faunus, king of the Aborigines; for which reason Latinus is generally looked upon as the son of Faunus, not of Hercules. [2] Pallas, they say, died before he arrived at puberty; but Latinus, upon reaching man’s estate, succeeded to the kingdom of the Aborigines, and when he was killed in the battle against the neighbouring Rutulians, without leaving any male issue, the kingdom devolved on Aeneas, the son of Anchises, his son-in-law. But these things happened at other times.

[44.1] After Hercules had settled everything in Italy according to his desire and his naval force had arrived in safety from Spain, he sacrificed to the gods the tithes of his booty and built a small town named after himself in the place where his fleet lay at anchor (it is now occupied by the Romans, and lying as it does between Neapolis and Pompeii, has at all times Etruria havens); and having gained fame and glory and received divine honours from all the inhabitants of Italy, he set sail for Sicily. [2] Those who were left behind by him as a garrison to dwell in Italy and were settled around the Saturnian hill lived for some time under an independent government; but not long afterwards they adapted their manner of life, their laws and their religious ceremonies to those of the Aborigines, even as the Arcadians and, still earlier, the Pelasgians had done, and they shared in the same government with them, so that in time they came to be looked upon as of the same nation with them. But let this suffice concerning the expedition of Hercules and concerning the Peloponnesians who remained behind in Italy.

[3] In the second generation after the departure of Hercules, and about the fifty-fifth year, according to the Romans' own account, the king of the Aborigines was Latinus, who passed for the son of Faunus, but was actually the son of Hercules; he was now in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

[45.1] At that time the Trojans who had fled with Aeneas from Troy after its capture landed at Laurentum, which is on the coast of the Aborigines facing the Tyrrhenian sea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber. And having received from the Aborigines some land for their habitation and everything else they desired, they built a town on a hill not far from the sea and called it Lavinium.

[2] Soon after this they changed their ancient name and, together with the Aborigines, were called Latins, after the king of that country. And leaving Lavinium, they joined with the inhabitants of those parts in building a larger city, surrounded by a wall, which they called Alba; and setting out thence, they built many other cities, the cities of the so-called Prisci Latini, of which the greatest part were inhabited even to my day. [3] Then, sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, sending out a colony to Pallantium and Saturnia, where the Peloponnesians and the Arcadians had made their first settlement and where there were still left some remains of the ancient race, they settled these places and surrounded Pallantium with a wall, so that it then first received the form of a city. This settlement they called Rome, after Romulus, who was the leader of the colony and the seventeenth in descent from Aeneas.

[4] But also concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, since some historians have been ignorant of it and others have related it in a different manner, I wish to give more than a cursory account, having compared the histories of those writers, both Greek and Roman, who are the best accredited. The stories concerning him are as follows:

[46.1] When Troy had been taken by the Achaeans, either by the stratagem of the wooden horse, as Homer represents, or by the treachery of the Antenoridae, or by some other means, the greatest part of the Trojans and of their allies then in the city were surprised and slain in their beds; for it seems that this calamity came upon them in the night, when they were not upon their guard. But Aeneas and his Trojan forces which he had brought from the cities of Dardanus and Ophrynum to the assistance of the people of Ilium, and as many others as had early notice of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking the lower town, fled together to the stronghold of Pergamus, and occupied the citadel, which was fortified with its own wall; here were deposited the holy things of the Trojans inherited from their fathers and their great wealth in valuables, as was to be expected in a stronghold, and here also the flower of their army was stationed. [2] Here they awaited and repulsed the enemy who were endeavouring to gain a foothold on the acropolis, and by making secret sallies they were able, through their familiarity with the narrow streets, to rescue the multitude which was seeking to escape at the taking of the city; and thus a larger number escaped than were taken prisoner. But with respect to the future he reasoned very properly that it would be impossible to save a city the greater part of which was already in possession of the enemy, [3] and to save the inhabitants themselves as well as the holy objects inherited from their fathers and all the valuables he could carry away. Having thus resolved, he first sent

out from the city the women and children together with the aged and all others whose condition required much time to make their escape, with orders to take the roads leading to Mount Ida, while the Achaeans, intent on capturing the citadel, were giving no thought to the pursuit of the multitude who were escaping from the city. Of the army, he assigned one part to escort the inhabitants who were departing, in order that their flight might be as safe and free from hardships as the circumstances would permit; and they were ordered to take possession of the strongest parts of Mount Ida. With the rest of the troops, who were the most valiant, he remained upon the wall of the citadel and, by keeping the enemy occupied in assaulting it, he rendered less difficult the flight of those who had gone on ahead. [4] But when Neoptolemus and his men gained a foothold on part of the acropolis and all the Achaeans rallied to their support, Aeneas abandoned the place; and opening the gates, he marched away with the rest of the fugitives in good order, carrying with him in the best chariots his father and the gods of his country, together with his wife and children and whatever else, either person or thing, was most precious.

[47.1] In the meantime the Achaeans had taken the city by storm, and being intent on plunder, gave those who fled abundant opportunity of making their escape. Aeneas and his band overtook their people while still on the road, and being united now in one body, they seized the strongest parts of Mount Ida. [2] Here they were joined not only by the inhabitants of Dardanus, who, upon seeing a great and unusual fire rising from Ilium, had in the night left their city undefended, — all except the men with Elymus and Aegestus, who had got ready some ships and had departed even earlier, — but also by the whole populace of Ophrynum and by those of the other Trojan cities who clung to their liberty; and in a very short time this force of the Trojans became a very large one. [3] Accordingly, the fugitives who had escaped with Aeneas from the taking of the city and were tarrying on Mount Ida were in hopes of returning home soon, when the enemy should have sailed away; but the Achaeans, having reduced to slavery the people who were left in the city and in the places near by and having demolished the forts, were preparing to subdue those also who were in the mountains. [4] When, however, the Trojans sent heralds to treat for peace and begged them not to reduce them to the necessity of making war, the Achaeans held an assembly and made peace with them upon the following terms: Aeneas and his people were to depart from the Troad with all the valuables they had saved in their flight within a certain fixed time, after first delivering up the forts to the Achaeans; and the Achaeans were to allow them a safe-conduct by land and sea throughout all their dominions when they departed in pursuance of these terms. [5] Aeneas, having accepted these conditions, which he looked upon as the best possible in the circumstances, sent away Ascanius, his eldest son, with some of the allies, chiefly Phrygians, to the country of Dascylitis, as it is called, in which lies the Ascanian lake, since he had been invited by the inhabitants to reign over them. But Ascanius did not tarry there for any great length of time; for

when Scamandrius and the other descendants of Hector who had been permitted by Neoptolemus to return home from Greece, came to him, he went to Troy, in order to restore them to their ancestral kingdom. [6] Regarding Ascanius, then, this is all that is told. As for Aeneas, after his fleet was ready, he embarked with the rest of his sons and his father, taking with him the images of the gods, and crossing the Hellespont, sailed to the nearest peninsula, which lies in front of Europe and is called Pallenê. This country was occupied by a Thracian people called Crusaeans, who were allies of the Trojans and had assisted them during the war with greater zeal than any of the others.

[48.1] This, then, is the most credible account concerning the flight of Aeneas and is the one which Hellanicus, among the ancient historians, adopts in his *Troica*. There are different accounts given of the same events by some others, which I look upon as less probable than this. But let every reader judge as he thinks proper. [2] Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama *Laocoön* represents Aeneas, just before the taking of the city, as removing his household to Mount Ida in obedience to the orders of his father Anchises, who recalled the injunctions of Aphroditê and from the omens that had lately happened in the case of Laocoön's family conjectured the approaching destruction of the city. His iambics, which are spoken by a messenger, are as follows:

“Now at the gates arrives the goddess’ son,
Aeneas, his sire upon his shoulders borne
Aloft, while down that back by thunderbolt
Of Zeus once smit the linen mantle streams;
Surrounding them the crowd of household slaves.
There follows a multitude beyond belief
Who long to join this Phrygian colony.”

[3] But Menecrates of Xanthus says that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Achaeans out of hatred for Alexander and that because of this service he was permitted by them to save his household. His account, which begins with the funeral of Achilles, runs on this wise: “The Achaeans were oppressed with grief and felt that the army had had its head lopped off. However, they celebrated his funeral feast and made war with all their might till Ilium was taken by the aid of Aeneas, who delivered it up to them. For Aeneas, being scorned by Alexander and excluded from his prerogatives, overthrew Priam; and having accomplished this, he became one of the Achaeans.” [4] Others say that he chanced to be tarrying at that time at the station where the Trojan ships lay; and others that he had been sent with a force into Phrygia by Priam upon some military expedition. Some give a more fabulous account of his departure. But let the case stand according to each man's convictions.

[49.1] What happened after his departure creates still greater difficulty for most historians. For some, after they have brought him as far as Thrace, say

he died there; of this number are Cephalon of Gergis and Hegesippus, who wrote concerning Pallenê, both of them ancient and reputable men. Others make him leave Thrace and take him to Arcadia, and say that he lived in the Arcadian Orchomenus, in a place which, though situated inland, yet by reason of marshes and a river, is called Nesos or "Island"; and they add that the town called Capyae was built by Aeneas and the Trojans and took its name from Capys the Troan. [2] This is the account given by various other writers and by Ariaethus, the author of *Arcadica*. And there are some who have the story that he came, indeed, to Arcadia and yet that his death did not occur there, but in Italy; this is stated by many others and especially by Agathyllus of Arcadia, the poet, who writes thus in an elegy:

"Then to Arcadia came and in Nesos left his two daughters,
Fruit of his love for Anthemonê fair and for lovely Codonê;
Thence made haste to Hesperia's land and begat there male offspring,
Romulus named."

[3] The arrival of Aeneas and the Trojans in Italy is attested by all the Romans and evidences of it are to be seen in the ceremonies observed by them both in their sacrifices and festivals, as well as in the Sibyl's utterances, in the Pythian oracles, and in many other things, which none ought to disdain as invented for the sake of embellishment. Among the Greeks, also, many distinct monuments remain to this day on the coasts where they landed and among the people with whom they tarried when detained by unfavourable weather. In mentioning these, though they are numerous, I shall be as brief as possible. [4] They first went to Thrace and landed on the peninsula called Pallenê. It was inhabited, as I have said, by barbarians called Crusaeans, who offered them a safe refuge. There they stayed the winter season and built a temple to Aphroditê on one of the promontories, and also a city called Aeneia, where they left all those who from fatigue were unable to continue the voyage and all who chose to remain there as in a country they were henceforth to look upon as their own. This city existed down to that period of the Macedonian rule which came into being under the successors of Alexander, but it was destroyed in the reign of Cassander, when Thessalonica was being founded; and the inhabitants of Aeneia with many others removed to the newly-built city.

[50.1] Setting sail from Pallenê, the Trojans came to Delos, of which Anius was king. Here there were many evidences of the presence of Aeneas and the Trojans as long as the island was inhabited and flourished. Then, coming to Cythera, another island, lying off the Peloponnesus, they built a temple there to Aphroditê. [2] And while they were on their voyage from Cythera and not far from the Peloponnesus, one of Aeneas' companions, named Cinaethus, died and they buried him upon one of the promontories, which is now called Cinaethion after him. And having renewed their kinship with the Arcadians, concerning which I shall speak in a later chapter, and having stayed a short

time in those parts, they left some of their number there and came to Zacynthus. [3] The Zacynthians, also, received them in a friendly manner on account of their kinship; for Dardanus, the son of Zeus and Electra, the daughter of Atlas, had, as they say, by Bateia two sons, Zacynthus and Erichthonius of whom the latter was the ancestor of Aeneas, and Zacynthus was the first settler of the island. In memory, therefore, of this kinship and by reason of the kindness of the inhabitants they stayed there some time, being also detained by unfavourable weather; and they offered to Aphroditê at the temple they had built to her a sacrifice which the entire population of Zacynthus performs to this day, and instituted games for young men, consisting among other events of a foot-race in which the one who comes first to the temple gains the prize. This is called the course of Aeneas and Aphroditê, and wooden statues of both are erected there. [4] From there, after a voyage through the open sea, they landed at Leucas, which was still in the possession of the Acarnanians. Here again they built a temple to Aphroditê, which stands to-day on the little island between Dioryctus and the city; it is called the temple of Aphroditê Aeneias. And departing thence, they sailed to Actium and anchored off the promontory of the Ambracian Gulf; and from there they came to the city of Ambracia, which was then ruled by Ambrax, the son of Dexamenus, the son of Heracles. Monuments of their coming are left in both places: at Actium, the temple of Aphroditê Aeneias, and near to it that of the Great Gods, both of which existed even to my time; and in Ambracia, a temple of the same goddess and a hero-shrine of Aeneas near the little theatre. In this shrine there was a small archaic statue of wood, said to be of Aeneas, that was honoured with sacrifices by the priestesses they called amphipoloi or "handmaidens."

[51.1] From Ambracia Anchises, sailing with the fleet along the coast, came to Buthrotum, a seaport of Epirus. But Aeneas with the most vigorous men of his army made a march of two days and came to Dodona, in order to consult the oracle; and there they found the Trojans who had come thither with Helenus. Then, after receiving responses concerning their colony and after dedicating to the god various Trojan offerings, including bronze mixing bowls, — some of which are still in existence and by their inscriptions, which are very ancient, show by whom they were given, — they rejoined the fleet after a march of about four days. The presence of the Trojans at Buthrotum is proved by a hill called Troy, where they encamped at that time. [2] From Buthrotum they sailed along the coast and came to a place which was then called the Harbour of Anchises but now has a less significant name; there also they built a temple to Aphroditê, and then crossed the Ionian Gulf, having for guides on the voyage Patron the Thyrian and his men, who accompanied them of their own accord. The greater part of these, after the army had arrived safely in Italy, returned home; but Patron with some of his friends, being prevailed on by Aeneas to join the colony, stayed with the expedition. These, according to some, settled at Aluntium in Sicily. In memory of this service the

Romans in the course of time bestowed Leucas and Anactorium, which they had taken from the Corinthians, upon the Acarnanians; when the latter desired to restore the Oeniadae to their old home, they gave them leave to do so, and also to enjoy the produce of the Echinades jointly with the Aetolians. [3] As for Aeneas and his companions, they did not all go ashore at the same place in Italy, but most of the ships came to anchor at the Promontory of Iapygia, which was then called the Salentine Promontory, and the others at a place named after Minerva, where Aeneas himself chanced to set foot first in Italy. This place is a promontory that offers a harbour in the summer, which from that time has been called the Harbour of Venus. After this they sailed along the coast until they reached the strait, having Italy on the right hand, and left in these places also some traces of their arrival, among others a bronze patera in the temple of Juno, on which there is an ancient inscription showing the name of Aeneas as the one who dedicated it to the goddess.

[52.1] When they were off Sicily, whether they had any design of landing there or were forced from their course by tempests, which are common around this sea, they landed in that part of the island which is called Drepana. Here they found the Trojans who with Elymus and Aegestus had left Troy before them and who, being favoured by both fortune and the wind, and at the same time being not overburdened with baggage, had made a quick passage to Sicily and were settled near the river Crimisis in the country of the Sicanians. For the latter had bestowed the land upon them out of friendship because of their kinship to Aegestus, who had been born and reared in Sicily owing to the following circumstance. [2] One of his ancestors, a distinguished man of Trojan birth, became at odds with Laomedon and the king seized him on some charge or other and put him to death, together with all his male children, lest he should suffer some mischief at their hands. But thinking it unseemly to put the man's daughters to death, as they were still maidens, and at the same time unsafe to permit them to live among the Trojans, he delivered them to some merchants, with orders to carry them as far away as possible. [3] They were accompanied on the voyage by a youth of distinguished family, who was in love with one of them; and he married the girl when she arrived in Sicily. And during their stay among the Sicels they had a son, named Aegestus, who learned the manners and language of the inhabitants; but after the death of his parents, Priam being then king of Troy, he obtained leave to return home. And having assisted Priam in the war against the Achaeans, he then, when the city was about to be taken, sailed back again to Sicily, being accompanied in his flight by Elymus with the three ships which Achilles had had with him when he plundered the Trojan cities and had lost when they struck on some hidden rocks. [4] Aeneas, meeting with the men just named, showed them great kindness and built cities for them, Aegesta and Elyma, and even left some part of his army in these towns. It is my own surmise that he did this by deliberate choice, to the end that those who were worn out by hardships or otherwise irked by the sea might enjoy rest and a safe retreat. But some writers say that

the loss of part of his fleet, which was set on fire by some of the women, who were dissatisfied with their wandering, obliged him to leave behind the people who belonged to the burned ships and for that reason could sail no longer with their companions.

[53] There are many proofs of the coming of Aeneas and the Trojans to Sicily, but the most notable are the altar of Aphroditê Aeneias erected on the summit of Elymus and a temple erected to Aeneas in Aegesta; the former was built by Aeneas himself in his mother's honour, but the temple was an offering made by those of the expedition who remained behind to the memory of their deliverer. The Trojans with Elymus and Aegestus, then, remained in these parts and continued to be called Elymians; for Elymus was the first in dignity, as being of the royal family, and from him they all took their name. [2] But Aeneas and his companions, leaving Sicily, crossed the Tyrrhenian sea and first came to anchor in Italy in the harbour of Palinurus, which is said to have got this name from one of the pilots of Aeneas who died there. After that they put in at an island which they called Leucosia, from a woman cousin of Aeneas who died at that place. [3] From there they came into a deep and excellent harbour of the Opicans, and when here also one of their number died, a prominent man named Misenus, they called the harbour after him. Then, putting in by chance at the island of Prochyta and at the promontory of Caieta, they named these places in the same manner, desiring that they should serve as memorials of women who died there, one of whom is said to have been a cousin of Aeneas and the other his nurse. At last they arrived at Laurentum in Italy, where, coming to the end of their wandering, they made an entrenched camp, and the place where they encamped has from that time been called Troy. It is distant from the sea about four stades.

[4] It was necessary for me to relate these things and to make this digression, since some historians affirm that Aeneas did not even come into Italy with the Trojans, and some that it was another Aeneas, not the son of Anchises and Aphroditê, while yet others say that it was Ascanius, Aeneas' son, and others name still other persons. And there are those who claim that Aeneas, the son of Aphroditê after he had settled his company in Italy, returned home, reigned over Troy, and dying, left his kingdom to Ascanius, his son, whose posterity possessed it for a long time. According to my conjecture these writers are deceived by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses. [5] For in the *Iliad* he represents Poseidon as foretelling the future splendour of Aeneas and his posterity on this wise:

“On great Aeneas shall devolve the reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.”

Thus, as they supposed that Homer knew these men reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return of Aeneas, as if it were not possible for them to reign over Trojans while living in Italy. But it was not impossible for Aeneas to

reign over the Trojans he had taken with him, even though they were settled in another country. However, other reasons also might be given for this error.

[54.1] But if it creates a difficulty for any that tombs of Aeneas are both said to exist, and are actually shown, in many places, whereas it is impossible for the same person to be buried in more than one place, let them consider that this difficulty arises in the case of many other men, too, particularly men who have had remarkable fortunes and led wandering lives; and let them know that, though only one place received their bodies, yet their monuments were erected among many peoples through the gratitude of those who had received some benefits from them, particularly if any of their race still survived or if any city had been built by them or if their residence among any people had been long and distinguished by great humanity — just such things, in fact, as we know are related of this hero. [2] For he preserved Ilium from utter destruction at the time of its capture and sent away weight Trojan allies safe to Bebrycia, he left his son Ascanius as king in Phrygia, built a city named after himself in Pallenê, married off his daughters in Arcadia, left part of his army in Sicily, and during his residence in many other places had the reputation of conducting himself with great humanity; thus he gained the voluntary affection of those people and accordingly after he left this mortal life he was honoured with hero-shrines and monuments erected to him in many places. [3] What reasons, pray, could anyone assign for his monuments in Italy if he never reigned in these parts or resided in them or if he was entirely unknown to the inhabitants? But this point shall be again discussed, according as my narrative shall from time to time require it to be made clear.

[55.1] The failure of the Trojan fleet to sail any farther into Europe was due to the oracles which reached their fulfilment in those parts and to the divine power which revealed its will in many ways. For while their fleet lay at anchor off Laurentum and they had set up their tents near the shore, in the first place, when the men were oppressed with thirst and there was no water in the place (what I say I had from the inhabitants), springs of the sweetest water were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank and the place was flooded as the stream ran down to the sea from the springs. [2] To-day, however, the springs are no longer so full as to overflow, but there is just a little water collected in a hollow place, and the inhabitants say it is sacred to the Sun; and near it two altars are pointed out, one facing to the east, the other to the west, both of them Trojan structures, upon which, the story goes, Aeneas offered up his first sacrifice to the god as a thank-offering for the water. [3] After that, while they were taking their repast upon the ground, many of them strewed parsley under their food to serve as a table; but others say that they thus used wheaten cakes, in order to keep their victuals clean. When all the victuals that were laid before them were consumed, first one of them ate of the parsley, or cakes, that were placed underneath, and then another. Thereupon one of Aeneas' sons, as the story goes, or some other of his messmates, happened to exclaim, "Look you, at last we have eaten even the

table.” As soon as they heard this, they all cried out with joy that the first part of the oracle was now fulfilled. [4] For a certain oracle had been delivered to them, as some say, in Dodona, but, according to others, in Erythrae, a place on Mount Ida, where lived a Sibyl of that country, a prophetic nymph, who ordered them to sail westward till they came to a place where they should eat their tables; and that, when they found this had happened, they should follow a four-footed beast as their guide, and wherever the animal grew wearied, there they should build a city. [5] Calling to mind, then, this prophecy, some at the command of Aeneas brought the images of the gods out of the ship to the place appointed by him, others prepared pedestals and altars for them, and the women with shouts and dancing accompanied the images. And Aeneas with his companions, when a sacrifice had been made ready, stood round the altar with the customary garlands on their heads.

[56.1] While these were offering up their prayers, the sow which was the destined victim, being big with young and near her time, shook herself free as the priests were performing the initial rites, and fleeing from those who held her, ran back into the country. And Aeneas, understanding that this, then, was the four-footed beast the oracle intended as their guide, followed the sow with a few of his people at a small distance, fearing lest, disturbed by her pursuers, she might be frightened from the course fate had appointed for her. [2] And the sow, after going about twenty-four stades from the sea, ran up a hill and there, spent with weariness, she lay down. But Aeneas, — for the oracles seemed now to be fulfilled, — observing that the place was not only in a poor part of the land, but also at a distance from the sea, and that even the latter did not afford a safe anchorage, found himself in great perplexity whether they ought in obedience to the oracle to settle there, where they would lead a life of perpetual misery without enjoying any advantage, or ought to go farther in search of better land. [3] While he was pondering thus and blaming the gods, on a sudden, they say, a voice came to him from the wood, — though the speaker was not to be seen, — commanding him to stay there and build a city immediately, and not, by giving way to the difficulty occasioned by his present opinion, just because he would be establishing his abode in a barren country, to reject his future good fortune, that was indeed all but actually present. [4] For it was fated that, beginning with this sorry and, at first, small habitation, he should in the course of time acquire a spacious and fertile country, and that his children and posterity should possess a vast empire which should be prolonged for many ages. For the present, therefore, this settlement should be a refuge for the Trojans, but, after as many years as the sow should bring forth young ones, another city, large and flourishing, should be built by his posterity. It is said that Aeneas, hearing this and looking upon the voice as something divine, did as the god commanded. [5] But others say that while he was dismayed and had neglected himself in his grief, to such a degree that he neither came into the camp nor took any food, but spent that night just as he was, a great and wonderful vision of a dream appeared to him

in the likeness of one of his country's gods and gave him the advice just before mentioned. Which of these accounts is the true one the gods only know. The next day, it is said, the sow brought forth thirty young ones, and just that many years later, in accordance with the oracle, another city was built by the Trojans, concerning which I shall speak in the proper place.

[57] Aeneas sacrificed the sow with her young to his household gods in the place where now stands the chapel, which the Lavinians looking as sacred and preserve inaccessible to all but themselves. Then, having ordered the Trojans to remove their camp to the hill, he placed the images of the gods in the best part of it and immediately addressed himself to the building of the town with the greatest zeal. And making descents into the country round about, he took from there such things as were of use to him in building and the loss of which was likely to be the most grievous to the owners, such as iron, timber and agricultural implements. [2] But Latinus, the king of the country at that time, who was at war with a neighbouring people called the Rutulians and had fought some battles with ill success, received an account of what had passed in the most alarming form, to the effect that all his coast was being laid waste by a foreign army and that, if he did not immediately put a stop to their depredations, the war with his neighbours would seem to him a joy in comparison. Latinus was struck with fear at this news, and immediately abandoning the war in which he was then engaged, he marched against the Trojans with a great army. [3] But seeing them armed like Greeks, drawn up in good order and resolutely awaiting the conflict, he gave up the idea of hazarding an immediate engagement, since he saw no probability now of defeating them at the first onset, as he had expected when he set out from home against them. And encamping on a hill, he thought he ought first to let his troops recover from their present fatigue, which from the length of the march and the eagerness of the pursuit was very great; [4] and passing the night there, he was resolving to engage the enemy at break of day. But when he had reached this decision, a certain divinity of the place appeared to him in his sleep and bade him receive the Greeks into his land to dwell with his own subjects, adding that their coming was a great advantage to him and admonished him to persuade Latinus to grant them of his own accord a settlement in the part of the country they desired and to treat the Greek forces rather as allies than as enemies. Thus the dream hindered both of them from beginning an engagement. And as soon as it was day and the armies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds came to each of the commanders from the other with the same request, that they should meet for a parley; and so it came to pass.

[58.1] And first Latinus complained of the sudden war which they had made upon his subjects without any previous declaration and demanded that Aeneas tell him who he was and what he meant by plundering the country without any provocation, since he could not be ignorant that every one who is attacked in war defends himself against the aggressor; and he complained that when

Aeneas might have obtained amicably and with the consent of the inhabitants whatever he could reasonably desire, he had chosen to take it by force, contrary to the universal sense of justice and with greater dishonour than credit to himself. [2] After he had spoken thus Aeneas answered: "We are natives of Troy, not the least famous city among the Greeks; but since this has been captured and taken from us by the Achaeans after a ten-years' war, we have been wanderers, roving about for want both of a city and a country where we may henceforth live, and are come hither in obedience to the commands of the gods; and this land alone, as the oracles tell us, is left for us as the haven of our wandering. We are indeed taking from the country the things we need, with greater regard to our unfortunate situation than to propriety, — a course which until recently we by no means wished to pursue. [3] But we will make compensation for them with many good services in return, offering you our bodies and our minds, well disciplined against dangers, to employ as you think proper in keeping your country free from the ravages of enemies and in heartily assisting you to conquer their lands. We humbly entreat you not to resent what we have done, realizing, as you must, that we did it, not out of wantonness, but constrained by necessity; and everything that is involuntary deserves forgiveness. [4] And you ought not to take any hostile resolution concerning us as we stretch forth our hands to you; but if you do so, we will first beg the gods and divinities who possess this land to forgive us even for what we do under the constraint of necessity and will then endeavour to defend ourselves against you who are the aggressors in the war; for this will not be the first nor the greatest war that we have experienced." [5] When Latinus heard this he answered him: "Nay, but I cherish a kindly feeling towards the whole Greek race and am greatly grieved by the inevitable calamities of mankind. And I should be very solicitous for your safety if it were clear to me that you have come here in search of a habitation and that, contented with a suitable share of the land and enjoying in a spirit of friendship what shall be given you, you will not endeavour to deprive me of the sovereignty by force; and if the assurances you give me are real, I desire to give and receive pledges which will preserve our compact inviolate."

[59.1] Aeneas having accepted this proposal, a treaty was made between the two nations and confirmed by oaths to this effect: the Aborigines were to grant to the Trojans as much land as they desired, that is, the space of about forty stades in every direction from the hill; the Trojans, on their part, were to assist the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in and also to join them with their forces upon every other occasion when summoned; and, mutually, both nations were to aid each other to the utmost of their power, both with their arms and with their counsel. [2] After they had concluded this treaty and had given pledges by handing over children as hostages, they marched with joint forces against the cities of the Rutulians; and having soon subdued all opposition there, they came to the town of the Trojans, which was still but

half-finished, and all working with a common zeal, they fortified the town with a wall. [3] This town Aeneas called Lavinium, after the daughter of Latinus, according to the Romans' own account; for her name, they say, was Lavinia. But according to some of the Greek mythographers he named it after the daughter of Anius, the king of the Delians, who was also called Lavinia; for as she was the first to die of illness at the time of the building of the city and was buried in the place where she died, the city was made her memorial. [4] She is said to have embarked with the Trojans after having been given by her father to Aeneas at his desire as a prophetess and a wise woman. While Lavinium was building, the following omens are said to have appeared to the Trojans. When a fire broke out spontaneously in the forest, a wolf, they say, brought some dry wood in his mouth and threw it upon the fire, and an eagle, flying thither, fanned the flame with the motion of his wings. But working in opposition to these, a fox, after wetting his tail in the river, endeavoured to beat out the flames; and now those that were kindling it would prevail, and now the fox that was trying to put it out. But at last the two former got the upper hand, and the other went away, unable to do anything further. [5] Aeneas, on observing this, said that the colony would become illustrious and an object of wonder and would gain the greatest renown, but that as it increased it would be envied by its neighbours and prove grievous to them; nevertheless, it would overcome its adversaries, the good fortune that it had received from Heaven being more powerful than the envy of men that would oppose it. These very clear indications are said to have been given of what was to happen to the city; of which there are monuments now standing in the forum of the Lavinians, in the form of bronze images of the animals, which have been preserved for a very long time.

[60.1] After the Trojans' city was built all were extremely desirous of enjoying the mutual benefit of their new alliance. And their kings setting the example, united the excellence of the two races, the native and the foreign, by ties of marriage, Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas. [2] Thereupon the rest also conceived the same desire as their kings; and combining in a very brief time their customs, laws and religious ceremonies, forming ties through intermarriages and becoming mingled together in the wars they jointly waged, and all calling themselves by the common name of Latins, after the king of the Aborigines, they adhered so firmly to their pact that no lapse of time has yet severed them from one another.

[3] The nations, therefore, which came together and shared in a common life and from which the Roman people derived their origin before the city they now inhabit was built, are these: first, the Aborigines, who drove the Sicels out of these parts and were originally Greeks from the Peloponnesus, the same who with Oenotrus removed from the country now called Arcadia, according to my opinion; then, the Pelasgians, who came from Haemonia, as it was then called, but now Thessaly; third, those who came into Italy with Evander from the city of Pallantium; after them the Epeans and Pheneats, who were part of

the Peloponnesian army commanded by Hercules, with whom a Trojan element also was commingled; and, last of all, the Trojans who had escaped with Aeneas from Ilium, Dardanus and the other Trojan cities.

[61.1] That the Trojans, too, were a nation as truly Greek as any and formerly came from the Peloponnesus has long been asserted by some authors and shall be briefly related by me also. The account concerning them is as follows. Atlas was the first king of the country now called Arcadia, and he lived near the mountain called Thaumasius. He had seven daughters, who are said to be numbered now among the constellations under the name of the Pleiades; Zeus married one of these, Electra, and had by her two sons, Iasus and Dardanus. [2] Iasus remained unmarried, but Dardanus married Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, by whom he had two sons, Idaeus and Deimas; and these, succeeding Atlas in the kingdom, reign for some time in Arcadia. Afterwards, a great deluge occurring throughout Arcadia, the plains were overflowed and for a long time could not be tilled; and the inhabitants, living upon the mountains and eking out a sorry livelihood, decided that the land remaining would not be sufficient for the support of them all, and so divided themselves into two groups, one of which remained in Arcadia, after making Deimas, the son of Dardanus, their king, while the other left the Peloponnesus on board a large fleet. [3] And sailing along the coast of Europe, they came to a gulf called Melas and chanced to land on a certain island of Thrace, as to which I am unable to say whether it was previously inhabited or not. They called the island Samothrace, a name compounded of the name of a man and the name of a place. For it belongs to Thrace and its first settler was Samon, the son of Hermes and a nymph of Cyllenê, named Rhenê. [4] Here they remained but a short time, since the life proved to be no easy one for them, forced to contend, as they were, with both a poor soil and a boisterous sea; but leaving some few of their people in the island, the greater part of them removed once more and went to Asia under Dardanus as leader of their colony (for Iasus had died in the island, being struck with a thunderbolt for desiring to have intercourse with Demeter), and disembarking in the strait now called the Hellespont, they settled in the region which was afterwards called Phrygia. Idaeus, the son of Dardanus, with part of the company occupied the mountains which are now called after him the Idaean mountains, and there built a temple to the Mother of the Gods and instituted mysteries and ceremonies which are observed to this day throughout all Phrygia. And Dardanus built a city named after himself in the region now called the Troad; the land was given to him by Teucer, the king, after whom the country was anciently called Teucris. [5] Many authors, and particularly Phanodemus, who wrote about the ancient lore of Attica, say that Teucer had come into Asia from Attica, where he had been chief of the deme called Xypetê, and of this tale they offer many proofs. They add that, having possessed himself of a large and fertile country with but a small native population, he was glad to see Dardanus and the Greeks who came with him, both because he hoped for their assistance in his wars against

the barbarians and because he desired that the land should not remain unoccupied.

[62] But the subject requires that I relate also how Aeneas was descended: this, too, I shall do briefly. Dardanus, after the death of Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, by whom he had his first sons, married Bateia, the daughter of Teucer, and by her had Erichthonius, who is said to have been the most fortunate of all men, since he inherited both the kingdom of his father and that of his maternal grandfather. [2] Of Erichthonius and Callirrhoê, the daughter of Scamander, was born Tros, from whom the nation has received its name; of Tros and Acallaris, the daughter of Eumedes, Assaracus; of Assaracus and Clytadora, the daughter of Laomedon, Capys; of Capys and a Naiad nymph, Hieromnemê, Anchises; of Anchises and Aphroditê, Aeneas. Thus I have shown that the Trojan race, too, was originally Greek.

[64.1] Concerning the time when Lavinium was built there are various reports, but to me the most probable seems to be that which places it in the second year after the departure of the Trojans from Troy. For Ilium was taken at the end of the spring, seventeen days before the summer solstice, and the eighth from the end of the month Thargelion, according to the calendar of the Athenians; and there still remained twenty days after the solstice to complete that year. During the thirty-seven days that followed the taking of the city I imagine the Achaeans were employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a treaty with them. [2] In the following year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans set sail about the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont, and landing in Thrace, passed the winter season there, during which they received the fugitives who kept flocking to them and made the necessary preparations for their voyage. And leaving Thrace in the beginning of spring, they sailed as far as Sicily; when they had landed there that year came to an end, and they passed the second winter in assisting the Elymians to found their cities in Sicily. [3] But as soon as conditions were favourable for navigation they set sail from the island, and crossing the Tyrrhenian sea, arrived at last at Laurentum on the coast of the Aborigines in the middle of the summer. And having received the ground from them, they founded Lavinium, thus bringing to an end the second year from the taking of Troy. With regard to these matters, then, I have thus shown my opinion.

[64.1] But when Aeneas had sufficiently adorned the city with temples and other public buildings, of which the greatest part remained even to my day, the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, he reigned over the Trojans only. But in the fourth year, Latinus having died, he succeeded to his kingdom also, not only in consideration of his relationship to him by marriage, Lavinia being the heiress after the death of Latinus, but also because of his being commander in the war against the neighbouring tribes. [2] For the Rutulians had again revolted from Latinus, choosing for their leader one of the deserters, named Tyrrhenus, who was a nephew of Amata, the wife

of Latinus. This man, blaming Latinus in the matter of Lavinia's marriage, because he had ignored his kinsmen and allied his family with outsiders, and being goaded on by Amata and encouraged by others, had gone over to the Rutulians with the forces he commanded. [3] War arose out of these complaints and in a sharp battle that ensued Latinus, Tyrrhenus and many others were slain; nevertheless, Aeneas and his people gained the victory. Thereupon Aeneas succeeded to the kingdom of his father-in-law; but when he had reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth he lost his life in battle. [4] For the Rutulians marched out in full force from their cities against him, and with them Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, who thought his own country in danger; for he was troubled at seeing the Greek power already making rapid headway. A severe battle took place not far from Lavinium and many were slain on both sides, but when night came on the armies separated; and when the body of Aeneas was nowhere to be seen, some concluded that it had been translated to the gods and others that it had perished in the river beside which the battle was fought. [5] And the Latins built a hero-shrine to him with this inscription: "To the father and god of this place, who presides over the waters of the river Numicius." But there are some who say the shrine was erected by Aeneas in honour of Anchises, who died in the year before this war. It is a small mound, round which have been set out in regular rows trees that are well worth seeing.

[65.1] Aeneas having departed this life about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who in the flight had been renamed Ascanius, succeeded to the rule over the Latins. At this time the Trojans were undergoing a siege; the forces of the enemy were increasing daily, and the Latins were unable to assist those who were shut up in Lavinium. [2] Ascanius and his men, therefore, first invited the enemy to a friendly and reasonable accommodation, but when no heed was paid to them, they were forced to allow their enemies to put an end to the war upon their own terms. When, however, the gate of the Tyrrhenians, among other intolerable conditions that he imposed upon them, as upon a people already become his slaves, commanded them to bring to the Tyrrhenians every year all the wine the country of the Latins produced, they looked upon this as a thing beyond all endurance, and following the advice of Ascanius, voted that the fruit of the vine should be sacred to Jupiter. Then, exhorting one another to prove their zeal and valour and praying the gods to assist them in their dangerous enterprise, they fixed upon a moonless night and sallied out of the city. [3] And they immediately attacked that part of the enemy's rampart which lay nearest to the city and which, being designed as an advanced post to cover the rest of their forces, had been constructed in a strong position and was defended by the choicest youth of the Tyrrhenians, under the command of Lausus, the son of Mezentius; and their attack being unforeseen, they easily made themselves masters of the stronghold. While they were employed in taking this post, those of the enemy who were encamped on the plains, seeing an unusual light and hearing the cries of the

men who were perishing, left the level country and were fleeing to the mountains. [4] During this time there was great confusion and tumult, as was but natural with an army moving at night; for they expected the enemy would every moment fall upon them while they were withdrawing in disorder and with ranks broken. The Latins, after they had taken the fort by storm and learned that the rest of the army was in disorder, pressed after them, killing and pursuing. And not only did none of the enemy attempt to turn and resist, but it was not even possible for them to know in what evil plight they were, and in their confusion and helplessness some were falling over precipices and perishing, while others were becoming entangled in blind ravines and were being taken prisoner; but most of them, failing to recognize their comrades in the dark, treated them as enemies, and the greatest part of their loss was due to their slaying of one another. [5] Mezentius with a few of his men seized a hill, but when he learned of the fate of his son and of the numbers he had lost and discovered the nature of the place in which he had shut himself up, realizing that he was packing in everything needful, he sent heralds to Lavinium to treat for peace. And since Ascanius advised the Latins to husband their good fortune, Mezentius obtained permission to retire under a truce with the forces he had left; and from that time, laying aside all his enmity with the Latins, he was their consulate friend.

[66.1] In the thirtieth year after the founding of Lavinium Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, in pursuance of the oracle given to his father, built another city and transferred both the inhabitants of Lavinium and the other Latins who were desirous of a better habitation to this newly-built city, which he called Alba. Alba means in the Greek tongue Leukê or "White"; but for the sake of clearness it is distinguished from another city of the same name by the addition of an epithet descriptive of its shape, and its name is now, as it were, a compound, made up of the two terms, Alba Longa, that is Leukê Makra or "Long White (town)." [2] This city is now uninhabited, since in the time of Tullus Hostilius, king of the Romans, Alba seemed to be contending with her colony for the sovereignty and hence was destroyed; but Rome, though she razed her mother-city to the ground, nevertheless welcomed its citizens into her midst. But these events belong to a later time. To return to its founding, Alba was built near a mountain and a lake, occupying the space between the two, which served the city in place of walls and rendered it difficult to be taken. For the mountain is extremely strong and high and the lake is deep and large; and its waters are received by the plain when the sluices are opened, the inhabitants having it in their power to husband the supply as much as they wish. [3] Lying below the city are plains marvellous to behold and rich in producing wines and fruits of all sorts in no degree inferior to the rest of Italy, and particularly what they call the Alban wine, which is sweet and excellent and, with the exception of the Falernian, certainly superior to all others.

[67.1] While the city was building, a most remarkable prodigy is said to have occurred. A temple with an inner sanctuary had been built for the images of

the gods which Aeneas had brought with him from the Troad and set up in Lavinium, and the statues had been removed from Lavinium to this sanctuary; but during the following night, although the doors were most carefully closed and the walls of the enclosure and the roof of the temple suffered no injury, the statues changed their position and were found upon their old pedestals. [2] And after being brought back again from Lavinium with supplications and propitiatory sacrifices they returned in like manner to the same place. Upon this the people were for some time in doubt what they should do, being unwilling either to live apart from their ancestral gods or to return again to their deserted habitation. But at last they hit upon an expedient which promised to meet satisfactorily both these difficulties. This was to let the images remain where they were and to conduct men back from Alba to Lavinium to live there and take care of them. Those who were sent to Lavinium to have charge of their rites were six hundred in number; they removed thither with their entire households, and Aegestus was appointed their chief. [3] As for these gods, the Romans call them Penates. Some who translate the name into the Greek language render it *Patrôoi*, others *Genethlioi*, some *Ktêsiori*, others *Mychioi*, and still others *Herkeioi*. Each of these seems to be giving them their name from some one of their attributes, and it is probable that they are all expressing more or less the same idea. [4] Concerning their figure and appearance, Timaeus, the historian, makes the statement that the holy objects preserved in the sanctuary at Lavinium are iron and bronze caducei or “heralds’ wands,” and a Trojan earthenware vessel; this, he says, he himself learned from the inhabitants. For my part, I believe that in the case of those things which it is not lawful for all to see I ought neither to hear about them from those who do see them nor to describe them; and I am indignant with every one else, too, who presumes to inquire into or to know more than what is permitted by law.

[68.1] But the things which I myself know by having seen them and concerning which no scruple forbids me to write are as follows. They show you in Rome a temple built not far from the Forum in the short street that leads to the Carinae; it is a small shrine, and is darkened by the height of the adjacent buildings. The place is called in the native speech *Velia*. In this temple there are images of the Trojan gods which it is lawful for all to see, with an inscription showing them to be the Penates. [2] They are two seated youths holding spears, and are pieces of ancient workmanship. We have seen many other statues also of these gods in ancient temples and in all of them are represented two youths in military garb. These it is permitted to see, and it is also permitted to hear and to write about them what Callistratus, the author of the history of Samothrace, relates, and also Satyrus, who collected the ancient legends, and many others, too, among whom the poet Arctinus is the earliest we know of. [3] At any rate, the following is the account they give. *Chrysê*, the daughter of *Pallas*, when she was married to *Dardanus*, brought for her dowry the gifts of *Athena*, that is, the *Palladia* and the sacred symbols of the Great

Gods, in whose mysteries she had been instructed. When the Arcadians, fleeing from the deluge, left the Peloponnesus and established their abode in the Thracian island, Dardanus built there a temple to these gods, whose particular names he kept secret from all any others, and performed the mysteries in their honour which are observed to this day by the Samothracians. [4] Then, when he was conducting the greater part of the people into Asia, he left the sacred rites and mysteries of the gods with those who remained in the island, but packed up and carried with him the Palladia and the images of the gods. And upon consulting the oracle concerning the place where he should settle, among other things that he learned he received this answer relating to the custody of the holy objects:

“In the town thou buildest worship undying found
To gods ancestral; guard them, sacrifice,
Adore with choirs. For whilst these holy things
In thy land remain, Zeus’ daughter’s gifts of old
Bestowed upon thy souse, secure from harm
Thy city shall abide forevermore.”

[69.1] Dardanus, accordingly, left the statues in the city which he founded and named after himself, but when Ilium was settled later, they were removed thither by his descendants; and the people of Ilium built a temple and a sanctuary for them upon the citadel and preserved them with all possible care, looking upon them as sent from Heaven and as pledges of the city’s safety. [2] And while the lower town was being captured, Aeneas, possessing himself of the citadel, took out of the sanctuary the images of the Great Gods and the Palladium which still remained (for Odysseus and Diomed, they say, when they came into Ilium by night, had stolen the other away), and carrying them with him out of the city, brought them into Italy. [3] Arctinus, however, says that only one Palladium was given by Zeus to Dardanus and that this remained in Ilium, hidden in the sanctuary, till the city was being taken; but that from this a copy was made, differing in no respect from the original, and exposed to public view, on purpose to deceive those who might be planning to steal it, and that the Achaeans, having formed such a plan, took the copy away. [4] I say, therefore, upon the authority of the men above-mentioned, that the holy objects brought into Italy by Aeneas were the images of the Great Gods, to whom the Samothracians, of all the Greeks, pay the greatest worship, and the Palladium, famous in legend, which they say is kept by the holy virgins in the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire is also preserved; but concerning these matters I shall speak hereafter. And there may also be other objects besides these which are kept secret from us who are not initiated. But let this suffice concerning the holy objects of the Trojans.

[70.1] Upon the death of the Ascanius in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded to the rule. He was born of Lavinia, the

daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneas, and they say that he was brought up on the mountains by the herdsmen. [2] For when Ascanius took over the rule, Lavinia, becoming alarmed lest her relationship as step-mother might draw upon her some severity from him, and being then with child, entrusted herself to a certain Tyrrhenus, who had charge of the royal herds of swine and whom she knew to have been on very intimate terms with Latinus. He, carrying her into the lonely woods as if she were an ordinary woman, and taking care that she was not seen by anyone who knew her, supported her in a house he built in the forest, which was known to but few. And when the child was born, he took it up and reared it, naming it, from the wood, Silvius, or, as one might say in Greek, Hylaios. [3] But in the course of time, finding that the Latins made great search for the woman and that the people accused Ascanius of having put her to death, he acquainted them with the whole matter and brought the woman and her son out of the forest. From this experience Silvius got his name, as I have related, and so did all his posterity. And he became king after the death of his brother, though not without a contest with one of the sons of Ascanius, — Iulus, the eldest, — who claimed the succession to his father's rule; [4] the issue was decided by vote of the people, who were influenced chiefly by this consideration, among others, that Silvius' mother was heiress to the kingdom. Upon Iulus was conferred, instead of the sovereignty, a certain sacred authority and honour preferable to the royal dignity both for security and ease of life, and this prerogative was enjoyed even to my day by his posterity, who were called Julii after him. This house became the greatest and at the same time the most illustrious of any we know of, and produced the most distinguished commanders, whose virtues were so many proofs of their nobility. But concerning them I shall say what is requisite in another place.

[71.1] Silvius, after holding the sovereignty twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Aeneas, his son, who reigned thirty-one years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty-one, then Alba, thirty-nine; after Alba, Capetus reigned twenty-six, then Capys twenty-eight, and after Capys, Capetus held the rule for thirteen years. [2] Then Tiberinus reigned for a period of eight years. This king, it is said, was slain in a battle that was fought near a river, and being carried away by the stream, gave his name to the river, which had previously been called the Albula. Tiberinus' successor, Agrippa, reigned forty-one years. [3] After Agrippa, Allocius, a tyrannical creature and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen years. Contemptuous of the divine powers, he had contrived imitations of lightning and sounds resembling thunder-claps, with which he proposed to terrify people as if he were a god. But rain and lightning descended upon his house, and the lake beside which it stood rose to an unusual height, so that he was overwhelmed and destroyed with his whole household. And even now when the lake is clear in a certain part, which happens whenever the flow of water subsides and the depths are undisturbed, the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling appear. [4] Aventinus, after

whom was named one of the seven hills that are joined to make the city of Rome, succeeded him in the sovereignty and reigned thirty-seven years, and after him Proca twenty-three years. Then Amulius, having unjustly possessed himself of the kingdom which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned forty-two years. [5] But when Amulius had been slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of the holy maiden, as shall presently be related, Numitor, the maternal grandfather of the youths, after his brother's death resumed the sovereignty which by law belonged to him. In the next year of Numitor's reign, which was the four hundred and thirty-second after the taking of Troy, the Albans sent out a colony, under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, and founded Rome, in the beginning of the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Daicles of Messenê was victor in the foot race, and at Athens Charops was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon.

[72.1] But as there is great dispute concerning both the time of the building of the city and the founders of it, I have thought it incumbent on me also not to give merely a cursory account of these things, as if they were universally agreed on. For Cephalon of Gergis, a very ancient writer, says that the city was built in the second generation after the Trojan war by those who had escaped from Troy with Aeneas, and he names as the founder of it Romus, who was the leader of the colony and one of Aeneas' sons; he adds that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Remus. And Demagoras, Agathyllus and many others agree with him as regards both the time and the leader of the colony. [2] But the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aeneas came into Italy from the land of the Molossians with Odysseus and became the founder of the city, which he named after Romê, one of the Trojan women. He says that this woman, growing weary with wandering, stirred up the other Trojan women and together with them set fire to the ships. And Damastes of Sigeum and some others agree with him. [3] But Aristotle, the philosopher, relates that some of the Achaeans, while they were doubling Cape Malea on their return from Troy, were overtaken by a violent storm, and being for some time driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea, till at last they came to this place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latinium, lying on the Tyrrhenian sea. [4] And being pleased with the sight of land, they hauled up their ships, stayed there the winter season, and were preparing to sail at the beginning of spring; but when their ships were set on fire in the night and they were unable to sail away, they were compelled against their will to fix their abode in the place where they had landed. This fate, he says, was brought upon them by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy, who burned the ships, fearing that the Achaeans in returning home would carry them into slavery. [5] Callias, who wrote of the deeds of Agathocles, says that Romê, one of the Trojan women who came into Italy with the other Trojans, married Latinus, the king of the

Aborigines, by whom she had three son, Romus, Romulus and Telegonus, . . . and having built a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, writes that Odysseus and Circê had three sons, Romus, Anteias and Ardeias, who built three cities and called them after their own names. [6] Dionysius of Chalcis names Romus as the founder of the city, but says that according to some this man was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion. There are others who declare that Rome was built by Romus, the son of Italus and Leucaria, the daughter of Latinus.

[73.1] I could cite many other Greek historians who assign different founders to the city, but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The Romans, to be sure, have not so much as one single historian or chronicler who is ancient; however, each of their historians has taken something out of ancient accounts that are preserved on sacred tablets. [2] Some of these say that Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneas, others say that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneas, without going on to determine who was their father; that they were delivered as hostages by Aeneas to Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants and the new-comers, and that Latinus, after giving them a kindly welcome, not only did them might good offices, but, upon dying without male issue, left them his successors to some part of his kingdom. [3] Others say that after the death of Aeneas Ascanius, having succeeded to the entire sovereignty of the Latins, divided both the country and the forces of the Latins into three parts, two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus and Remus. He himself, they say, built Alba and some other towns; Remus built cities which he named Capuas, after Capys, his great-grandfather, Anchisa, after his grandfather Anchises, Aeneia (which was afterwards called Janiculum), after his father, and Rome, after himself. This last city was for some time deserted, but upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent out under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, it received again its ancient name. So that, according to this account, there were two settlements of Rome, one a little after the Trojan war, and the other fifteen generations after the first. [4] And if anyone desires to look into the remoter past, even a third Rome will be found, more ancient than these, one that was founded before Aeneas and the Trojans came into Italy. This is related by no ordinary or modern historian, but by Antiochus of Syracuse, whom I have mentioned before. He says that when Morges reigned in Italy (which at that time comprehended all the seacoast from Tarentum to Posidonia), a man came to him who had been banished from Rome. His words are these: "When Italus was growing old, Morges reigned. In his reign there came a man who had been banished from Rome; his name was Seicelus." [5] According to the Syracusan historian, therefore, an ancient Rome is found even earlier than the Trojan war. However, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same region where the present city stands or whether some other place happened to be called by this name, I, too, can form no conjecture. But as

regards the ancient settlements of Rome, I think that what has already been said is sufficient.

[74.1] As to the last settlement or founding of the city, or whatever we ought to call it, Timaeus of Sicily, following what principle I do not know, places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad; Lucius Cincius, a member of the senate, places it about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad, and Quintus Fabius in the first year of the eighth Olympiad. [2] Porcius Cato does not give the time according to Greek reckoning, but being as careful as any writer in gathering the date of ancient history, he places its founding four hundred and thirty-two years after the Trojan war; and this time, being compared with the *Chronicles* of Eratosthenes, corresponds to the first year of the seventh Olympiad. That the canons of Eratosthenes are sound I have shown in another treatise, where I have also shown how the Roman chronology is to be synchronized with that of the Greeks. [3] For I did not think it sufficient, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to say merely that I believe Rome was built in the second year of the seventh Olympiad, nor to let my belief rest without further examination upon the single tablet preserved by the high priests, the only one of its kind, but I determined to set forth the reasons that had appealed to me, so that all might examine them who so desired. [4] In that treatise, therefore, the detailed exposition is given; but in the course of the present work also the most essential of the conclusions there reached will be mentioned. The matter stands thus: It is generally agreed that the invasion of the Gauls, during which the city of Rome was taken, happened during the archonship of Pyrgion at Athens, in the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad. Now if the time before the taking of the city is reckoned back to Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls at Rome after the overthrow of the kings, it comprehends one hundred and twenty years. [5] This is proved in many other ways, but particularly by the records of the censors, which receives in succession from the father and takes great care to transmit to posterity, like family rites; and there are many illustrious men of censorian families who preserve these records. In them I find that in the second year before the taking of the city there was a census of the Roman people, to which, as to the rest of them, there is affixed the date, as follows: "In the consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, in the one hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of the kings." [6] So that the Gallic invasion, which we find to have occurred in the second year after the census, happened when the hundred and twenty years were completed. If, now, this interval of time is found to consist of thirty Olympiads, it must be allowed that the first consuls to be chosen entered upon their magistracy in the first year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad, the same year that Isagoras was archon at Athens.

[75.1] And, again, if from the expulsion of the kings the time is reckoned back to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, it amounts to two hundred and

forty-four years. This is known from the order in which the kings succeeded one another and the number of years each of them ruled. For Romulus, the founder of Rome, reigned thirty-seven years, it is said, and after his death the city was a year without a king. [2] Then Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the people, reigned forty-three years; after Numa, Tullus Hostilius thirty-two; and his successor, Ancus Marcius, twenty-four; after Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty-eight; Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, forty-four. And the slayer of Servius, Lucius Tarquinius, the tyrannical prince who, from his contempt of justice, was called Superbus, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year. [3] As the reigns, therefore, of the kings amount to two hundred and forty-four years or sixty-one Olympiads, it follows necessarily that Romulus, the first ruler of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Charops at Athens was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. For the count of the years requires this; and that each king reigned the number of years is shown in that treatise of mine to which I have referred.

[4] This, therefore, is the account given by those who lived before me and adopted by me concerning the time of the settlement of the city which now rules supreme. As to its founders, who they were and by what turns of fortune they were induced to lead out the colony, and any other details told concerning its settlement, all this has been related by many, and the greatest part of it in a different manner by some; and I, also, shall relate the most probable of these stories. They are as follows:

[76.1] When Amulius succeeded to the kingdom of the Albans, after forcibly excluding his elder brother Numitor from the dignity that was his by inheritance, he not only showed great contempt for justice in everything else that he did, but he finally plotted to deprive Numitor's family of issue, both from fear of suffer punishment for his usurpation and also because of his desire never to be dispossessed of the sovereignty. [2] Having long resolved upon this course, he first observed the neighbourhood where Aegestus, Numitor's son, who was just coming to man's estate, was wont to follow the chase, and having placed an ambush in the most hidden part of it, he caused him to be slain when he had come out to hunt; and after the deed was committed he contrived to have it reported that the youth had been killed by robbers. Nevertheless, the rumour thus concocted could not prevail over the truth which he was trying to keep concealed, but many, though it was unsafe to do so, ventured to tell what had been done. [3] Numitor was aware of the crime, but his judgment being superior to his grief, he affected ignorance, resolving to defer his resentment to a less dangerous time. And Amulius, supposing that the truth about the youth had been kept secret, set a second plan on foot, as follows: he appointed Numitor's daughter, Ilia, — or, as some state, Rhea, surnamed Silvia, — who was then ripe for marriage, to be a priestess of Vesta, lest, if she first entered a husband's house, she might bring forth avengers for her family. These holy maidens who were intrusted with

the custody of the perpetual fire and with the carrying out of any other rites that it was customary for virgins to perform in behalf of the commonwealth were required to remain undefiled by marriage for a period of not less than five years.^[4] Amulius was carrying out his plan under specious pretences, as if he were conferring honour and dignity on his brother's family; for he was not the author of this law, which was a general one, nor, again, was his brother the first person of consideration whom he had obliged to yield obedience to it, but it was both customary and honourable among the Albans for maidens of the highest birth to be appointed to the service of Vesta. But Numitor, perceiving that these measures of his brother proceeded from no good intention, dissembled his resentment, lest he should incur the ill-will of the people, and stifled his complaints upon this occasion also.

[77.1] The fourth year after this, Ilia, upon going to a grove consecrated to Mars to fetch pure water for use in the sacrifices, was ravished by somebody or other in the sacred precinct. Some say that the author of the deed was one of the maiden's suitors, who was carried away by his passion for the girl; others say that it was Amulius himself, and that, since his purpose was to destroy her quite as much as to satisfy his passion, he had arrayed himself in such armour as would render him most terrible to behold and that he also kept his features disguised as effectively as possible. [2] But most writers relate a fabulous story to the effect that it was a spectre of the divinity to whom the place was consecrated; and they add that the advantageous was attended by many supernatural signs, including a sudden disappearance of the sun and a darkness that spread over the sky, and that the appearance of the spectre was far more marvellous than that of a man both in stature and in beauty. And they say that the ravisher, to comfort the maiden (by which it became clear that it was a god), commanded her not to grieve at all at what had happened, since she had been united in marriage to the divinity of the place and as a result of her violation should bear two sons who would far excel all men in valour and warlike achievements. And having said this, he was wrapped in a cloud and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air. [3] This is not a proper place to consider what opinion we ought to entertain of such tales, whether we should scorn them as instances of human frailty attributed to the gods, — since God is incapable of any action that is unworthy of his incorruptible and blessed nature, — or whether we should admit even these stories, upon the supposition that all the substance of the universe is mixed, and that between the race of gods and that of men some third order of being exists which is that of the daemons, who, uniting sometimes with human beings and sometimes with the gods, beget, it is said, the fabled race of heroes. This, I say, is not a proper place to consider these things, and, moreover, what the philosophers have said concerning them is sufficient. [4] But, be that as it may, the maid after her violation feigned illness (for this her mother advised out of regard both for her own safety and for the sacred services of the gods) and no longer attended the sacrifices, but her duties were

performed by the other virgins who were joined with her in the same ministry.

[78.1] But Amulius, moved either by his own knowledge of what had happened or by a natural suspicion of the truth, began to inquire into her long absence from the sacrifices, in order to discover the real reason. To this end he kept sending in to her some physicians in whom he had the greatest confidence; and then, since the women alleged that her ailment was one that must be kept secret from others, he left his wife to watch her. [2] She, having by a woman's marking of the signs discovered what was a secret to the others, informed him of it, and he, lest the girl should be delivered in secret, for she was now near her time, caused her to be guarded by armed men. And summoning his brother to the council, he not only announced the deflowering of the girl, of which the rest knew naught, but even accused her parents of being her accomplices; and he ordered Numitor not to hide the guilty man, but to expose him. [3] Numitor said he was amazed at what he heard, and protesting his innocence of everything that was alleged, desired time to test the truth of it. Having with difficulty obtained this delay, and being informed by his wife of the affair as his daughter had related it in the beginning, he acquainted the council with the rape committed by the god and also related what the god had said concerning the twins, and asked that his story should be believed only if the fruit of her travail should prove to be such as the god had foretold; for the time of her delivery was near at hand, so that it would not be long, if he were playing the rogue, before the fact would come to light. Moreover, he offered to put at their disposal for examination the women who were watching his daughter, and he was ready to submit to any and every test.

[4] As he spoke thus the majority of the councilors were persuaded, but Amulius declared that his demands were altogether insincere, and was bent on destroying the girl by every means. While this was taking place, those who had been appointed to keep guard over Ilia at the time of her delivery came to announce that she had given birth to male twins. And at once Numitor began to urge at length the same arguments, showing the deed to be the work of the god and demanding that they take no unlawful action against his daughter, who was innocent of her condition. On the other hand, Amulius thought that even in connexion with her delivery there had been some human trickery and that the women had provided another child, either unknown to the guards or with their connivance, and he said much more to the same purport. [5] When the councilors found that the king's decision was inspired by implacable anger, they, too, voted, as he demanded, that the law should be carried out which provided that a Vestal who suffered herself to be defiled should be scourged with rods and put to death and her offspring thrown into the current of the river. To-day, however, the sacred law ordains that such offenders shall be buried alive.

[79.1] Up to this point the greater part of the historians give the same account or differ but slightly, some in the direction of what is legendary, others of what is more probable; but they disagree in what follows. [2] Some say that the

girl was put to death immediately; others that she remained in a secret prison under a guard, which caused the people to believe that she had been put to death secretly. The latter authors say that Amulius was moved to do this when his daughter begged him to grant her the life of her cousin; for, having been brought up together and being of the same age, they loved each other like sisters. Amulius, accordingly, to please her, — for she was his only daughter, — saved Ilia from death, but kept her confined in a secret prison; and she was at length set at liberty after the death of Amulius. [3] Thus do the accounts of the ancient authors vary concerning Ilia, and yet both opinions carry with them an appearance of truth; for this reason I, also, have mentioned them both, but each of my readers will decide for himself which to believe.

[4] But concerning the babes born of Ilia, Quintus Fabius, called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Porcius Cato, Calpurnius Piso and most of the other historians have followed, writes thus: By the order of Amulius some of his servants took the babes in an ark and carried them to the river, distant about a hundred and twenty stades from the city, with the intention of throwing them into it. [5] But when they drew near and perceived that the Tiber, swollen by continual rains, had left its natural bed and overflowed the plains, they came down from the top of the Palatine hill to that part of the water that lay nearest (for they could no longer advance any farther) and set down the ark upon the flood where it washed the foot of the hill. The ark floated for some time, and then, as the waters retired by degrees from their extreme limits, it struck against a stone and, overturning, threw out the babes, who lay whimpering and wallowing in the mud. [6] Upon this, a she-wolf that had just whelped appeared and, her udder being distended with milk, gave them her paps to suck and with her tongue licked off the mud with which they were besmeared. In the meantime the herdsmen happened to be driving their flocks forth to pasture (for the place was now become passable) and one of them, seeing the wolf thus fondling the babes, was for some time struck dumb with astonishment and disbelief of what he saw. Then going away and getting together as many as he could of his fellows who kept their herds near at hand (for they would not believe what he said), he led them to see the sight themselves. [7] When these also drew near and saw the wolf caring for the babes as if they had been her young and the babes clinging to her as to their mother, they thought they were beholding a supernatural sight and advanced in a body, shouting to terrify the creature. The wolf, however, far from being provoked at the approach of the men, but as if she had been tame, withdrew gently from the babes and went away, paying little heed to the rabble of shepherds. [8] Now there was not far off a holy place, arched over by a dense wood, and a hollow rock from which springs issued; the wood was said to be consecrated to Pan, and there was an altar there to that god. To this place, then, the wolf came and hid herself. The grove, to be sure, no longer remains, but the cave from which the spring flows is still pointed out, built up against the side of the Palatine hill on the road which leads to the Circus, and near it is

a sacred precinct in which there is a statue commemorating the incident; it represents a she-wolf suckling two infants, the figures being in bronze and of ancient workmanship. This spot is said to have been a holy place of the Arcadians who formerly settled there with Evander.

[9] As soon as the beast was gone the herdsmen took up the babes, and believing that the god desired their preservation, were eager to bring them up. There was among them the keeper of the royal herds of swine, whose name was Faustulus, an upright man, who had been in town upon some necessary business at the time when the deflowering of Ilia and her delivery were made public. And afterwards, when the babes were being carried to the river, he had by some providential chance taken the same road to the Palatine hill and gone along with those who were carrying them. This man, without giving the least intimation to the others that he knew anything of the affair, asked that the babes might be delivered to him, and having received them by general consent, he carried them home to his wife. [10] And finding that she had just given birth to a child and was grieving because it was still-born, he comforted her and gave her these children to substitute in its place, informing her of every circumstance of their fortune from the beginning. And as they grew older he gave to one the name of Romulus and to the other that of Remus. When they came to be men, they showed themselves both in dignity of aspect and elevation of mind not like swineherds and neatherds, but such as we might expect those to be who are born of royal race and are looked upon as the offspring of the gods; and as such they are still celebrated by the Romans in the hymns of their country. [11] But their life was that of herdsmen, and they lived by their own labour, generally upon the mountains in huts which they built, roofs and all, out of sticks and reeds. One of these, called the hut of Romulus, remained even to my day on the flank of the Palatine hill which faces towards the Circus, and it is preserved holy by those who have charge of these matters; they add nothing to it to render it more stately, but if any part of it is injured, either by storms or by the lapse of time, they repair the damage and restore the hut as nearly as possible to its former condition.

[12] When Romulus and Remus were about eighteen years of age, they had some dispute about the pasture with Numitor's herdsmen, whose herds were quartered on the Aventine hill, which is over against the Palatine. They frequently accused one another either of grazing the meadow-land that did not belong to them or of monopolizing that which belonged to both in common, or of whatever the matter chanced to be. From this wrangling they had recourse sometimes to blows and then to arms. [13] Finally Numitor's men, having received many wounds at the hands of the youths and lost some of their number and being at last driven by force from the places in dispute, devised a stratagem against them. They place an ambuscade in the hidden part of the ravine and having concerted the time of the attack with those who lay in wait for the youths, the rest in a body attacked the others' folds by night. No wit happened that Romulus, together with the chief men of the village, had

gone at the time to a place called Caenina to offer sacrifices for the community according to the custom of the country; [14] but Remus, being informed of the foe's attack, hastily armed himself and with a few of the villagers who had already got together went out to oppose them. And they, instead of awaiting him, retired, in order to draw him to the place where they intended to face above and attack him to advantage. Remus, being unaware of their stratagem, pursued them for a long distance, till he passed the place where the rest lay in ambush; thereupon these men rose up and at the same time the others who had been fleeing faced about. And having surrounded Remus and his men, they overwhelmed them with a shower of stones and took them prisoners; for they had received orders from their masters to bring the youths to them alive. Thus Remus was captured and led away.

[80.1] But Aelius Tubero, a shrewd man and careful in collecting the historical data, writes that Numitor's people, knowing beforehand that the youths were going to celebrate in honour of Pan the Lupercalia, the Arcadian festival as instituted by Evander, set an ambush for that moment in the celebration when the youths living near the Palatine were, after offering sacrifice, to proceed from the Lupercal and run round the village naked, their loins girt with the skins of the victims just sacrificed. This ceremony signified a sort of traditional purification of the villagers, and is still performed even to this day. [2] On this occasion, then, the herdsmen lay in wait in the narrow part of the road for the youths who were taking part in the ceremony, and when the first band with Remus came abreast of them, that with Romulus and the rest being behind (for they were divided into three bands and ran at a distance from one another), without waiting for the others they set up a shout and all rushed upon the first group, and, surrounding them, some threw darts at them, others stones, and others whatever they could lay their hands on. And the youths, startled by the unexpected attack and at a loss how to act, fighting unarmed as they were against armed men, were easily overpowered. [3] Remus, therefore, having fallen into the hands of the enemy in this manner or in the way Fabius relates, was being led away, bound, to Alba. When Romulus heard of his brother's fate, he thought he ought to follow immediately with the stoutest of the herdsmen in the hope of overtaking Remus while he was still on the road, but he was dissuaded by Faustulus. For seeing that his haste was too frenzied, this man, who was looked upon as the father of the youths and who had hitherto kept everything a secret from them, lest they should venture upon some hazardous enterprise before they were in their prime, now at last, compelled by necessity, took Romulus aside and told him everything. [4] When the youth heard every circumstance of their fortune from the beginning, he was touched both with compassion for his mother and with solicitude for Numitor. And after taking much counsel with Faustulus, he decided to give up his plan for an immediate attack, but to get ready a larger force, in order to free his whole family from the lawlessness of Amulius, and he resolved to risk the direst peril for the sake of the greatest rewards, but to

act in concert with his grandfather in whatever the other should see fit to do.

[81.1] This plan having been decided upon as the best, Romulus called together all the inhabitants of the village and after asking them to hasten into Alba immediately, but not all by the same gates nor in a body, lest the suspicions of the citizens should be aroused, and then to stay in the market-place and be ready to do whatever should be ordered, he himself set out first for the city. [2] In the meantime those who had carried off Remus brought him before the king and complained of all the outrageous treatment they had received from the youths, producing their wounded, and threatening, if they found no redress, to desert their herds. And Amulius, desiring to please both the countrymen, who had come in great numbers, and Numitor (for he happened to be present and share the exasperation of his retainers), and longing to see peace throughout the country, and at the same time suspecting the boldness of the youth, so fearless was in his answers, gave judgment against him; but he left his punishment to Numitor, saying that the one who had done an injury could be punished by none so justly as by the one who had suffered it. [3] While Numitor's herdsmen were leading Remus away with his hands bound behind him and mocking him, Numitor followed and not only admired his grace of body, so much was there that was kingly in his bearing, but also observed his nobility of spirit, which he preserved even in distress, not turning to lamentations and entreaties, as all do under such afflictions, but with a becoming silence going away to his fate. [4] As soon as they were arrived at his house he ordered all the rest to withdraw, and Remus being left alone, he asked him who he was and of what parents; for he did not believe such a man could be meanly born. Remus answered that he knew this much only from the account he had received from the man who brought him up, that he with his twin brother had been exposed in a wood as soon as they were born and had then been taken up by the herdsmen and reared by them. Upon which Numitor, after a short pause, either because he suspected something of the truth or because Heaven was bringing the matter to light, said to him: [5] "I need not inform you, Remus, that you are in my power to be punished in whatever way I may see fit, and that those who brought you here, having suffered many grievous wrongs at your hands, would give much to have you put to death. All this you know. But if I should free you from death and every other punishment, would you show your gratitude and serve me when I desire your assistance in an affair that will conduce to the advantage of us both?" [6] The youth, having in answer said everything which the hope of life prompts those who are in despair of it to say and promise to those on whom their fate depends, Numitor ordered him to be unbound. And commanding everybody to leave the place, he acquainted him with his own misfortunes — how Amulius, though his brother, had deprived him of his kingdom and bereft him of his children, having secretly slain his son while he was hunting and keeping his daughter bound in prison, and in all other respects continued to treat him as a master would treat his slave.

[82.1] Having spoken thus and accompanied ship words with many lamentations, he entreated Remus to avenge the wrongs of his house. And when the youth gladly embraced the proposal and begged him to set him at the task immediately, Numitor commended his eagerness and said: "I myself will determine the proper time for the enterprise; but do you meanwhile send a message privately to your brother, informing him that you are safe and asking him to come here in all haste." [2] Thereupon a man who seemed likely to serve their purpose was found and sent; and he, meeting Romulus not far from the city, delivered his message. Romulus was greatly rejoiced at this and went in haste to Numitor; and having embraced them both, he first spoke words of greeting and then related how he and his brother had been exposed and brought up and all the other circumstances he had learned from Faustulus. The others, who wished his story might be true and needed few proofs in order to believe it, heard what he said with pleasure. And as soon as they knew one another they proceeded to consult together and consider the proper method and occasion for making their attack. [3] While they were thus employed, Faustulus was brought before Amulius. For, fearing lest the information given by Romulus might not be credited by Numitor, in an affair of so great moment, without manifest proofs, he soon afterwards followed him to town, taking the ark with him as evidence of the exposing of the babes. [4] But as he was entering the gates in great confusion, taking all possible pains to conceal what he carried, one of the guards observed him (for there was fear of an incursion of the enemy and the gates were being guarded by those who were most fully trusted by the king) and laid hold of him; and insisting upon knowing what the concealed object was, he forcibly threw back his garment. As soon as he saw the ark and found the man embarrassed, he demanded to know the cause of his confusion and what he meant by not carrying openly an article that required no secrecy. [5] In the meantime more of the guards flocked to them and one of them recognized the ark, having himself carried the children in it to the river; and he so informed those who were present. Upon this they seized Faustulus, and carrying him to the king himself, acquainted him with all that had passed. [6] Amulius, having terrified the man by the threat of torture if he did not willingly tell the truth, first asked him if the children were alive; and learning that they were, he desired to know in what manner they had been preserved. And when the other had given him a full account of everything as it had happened, the king said: "Well then, since you have spoken the truth about these matters, say where they may now be found; for it is not right that they who are my relations should any longer live ingloriously among herdsmen, particularly since it is due to the providence of the gods that they have been preserved."

[83.1] But Faustulus, suspecting from the king's unaccountable mildness that his intentions were not in harmony with his professions, answer him in this manner: "The youths are upon the mountains tending their herds, which is their way of life, and I was sent by them to their mother to give her an account

of their fortunes; but, hearing that she was in your custody, I was intending to ask your daughter to have me brought to her. And I was bringing the ark with me that I might support my words with a manifest proof. Now, therefore, since you have decided to have the youths brought here, not only am I glad, but I ask you to send such persons with me as you wish. I will point out to them the youths and they shall acquaint them with your commands.” [2] This he said in the desire to discover some means of delaying the death of the youths and at the same time in the hope of making his own escape from the hands of those who were conducting him, as soon as he should arrive upon the mountains. And Amulius speedily sent the most trustworthy of his guards with secret orders to seize and bring before him the persons whom the swineherd should point out to them. Having done this, he at once determined to summon his brother and keep under mild guard till he had ordered the present business to his satisfaction, and he sent for him as if for some other purpose; [3] but the messenger who was sent, yielding both to his good-will toward the man in danger and to compassion for his fate, informed Numitor of the design of Amulius. And Numitor, having revealed to the youths the danger that threatened them and exhorted them to show themselves brave men, came to the palace with a considerable band of his retainers and friends and loyal servants. These were joined by the countrymen who had entered the city earlier and now came from the complain with swords concealed under their clothes, a sturdy company. And having by a concerted attack forced the entrance, which was defended by only a few heavy-armed troops, they easily slew Amulius and afterwards made themselves masters of the citadel. Such is the account given by Fabius.

[84.1] But others, who hold that nothing bordering on the fabulous has any place in historical writing, declare that the exposing of the babes by the servants in a manner not in accordance with their instructions is improbable, and they ridicule the tameness of the she-wolf that suckled the children as a story full of melodramatic absurdity. [2] In place of this they give the following account of the matter: Numitor, upon learning that Ilia was with child, procured other new-born infants and when she had given birth to her babes, he substituted the former in place of the latter. Then he gave the supposititious children to those who were guarding her at the time of her delivery to be carried away, having either secured the loyalty of the guards by money or contrived this exchange by the help of women; and when Amulius had received them, he made away with them by some means or other. As for the babes that were born of Ilia, their grandfather, who was above all things solicitous for their preservation, handed them over to Faustulus. [3] This Faustulus, they say, was of Arcadian extraction, being descended from those Arcadians who came over with Evander; he lived near the Palatine hill and had the care of Amulius’ possessions, and he was prevailed on by his brother, named Faustinus, who had the oversight of Numitor’s herds that fed near the Aventine hill, to do Numitor the favour of bringing up the children. [4] They

say, moreover, that the one who nursed and suckled them was not a she-wolf, but, as may well be supposed, a woman, the wife of Faustus, named Laurentia, who, having formerly prostituted her beauty, had received from the people living round the Palatine hill the nickname of Lupa. This is an ancient Greek term applied to women who prostitute themselves for gain; but they are now called by a more respectable name, hetaerae or “companions.” But some who were ignorant of this invented the myth of the she-wolf, this animal being called in the Latin tongue lupa. [5] The story continues that after the children were weaned they were sent by those who were rearing them to Gabii, a town not far from the Palatine hill, to be instructed in Greek learning; and there they were brought up by some personal friends of Faustus, being taught letters, music, and the use of Greek arms until they grew to manhood. [6] After their return to their supposed parents the quarrel arose between them and Numitor’s herdsmen concerning their common pastures; thereupon they beat Numitor’s men so that these drove away their cattle, doing this by Numitor’s direction, to the intent that it might serve as a basis for his complaints and at the same time as an excuse for the crowd of herdsmen to come to town. [7] When this had been brought about, Numitor raised a clamour against Amulius, declaring that he was treated outrageously, being plundered by the herdsmen of Amulius, and demanding that Amulius, if he was not responsible for any of this, should deliver to him the herdsman and his sons for trial; and Amulius, wishing to clear himself of the charge, ordered not only those who were complained of, but all the rest who were accused of having been present at the conflict, to come and stand trial before Numitor. [8] Then, when great numbers came to town together with the accused, ostensibly to attend the trial, the grandfather of the youths acquainted them with all the circumstances of their fortune, and telling them that now, if ever, was the time to avenge themselves, he straightway made his attack upon Amulius with the crowd of herdsmen. These, then, are the accounts that are given of the birth and rearing of the founders of Rome.

[85.1] I am now going to relate the events that happened at the very time of its founding; for this part of my account still remains. When Numitor, upon the death of Amulius, had resumed his rule and had spent a little time in restoring the city from its late disorder to its former orderly state, he presently thought of providing an independent rule for the youths by founding another city. [2] At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to get rid of some part of them, particularly of those who had once been his enemies, lest he might have cause to suspect any of his subjects. And having communicated this plan to the youths and gained their approval, he gave them, as a district to rule, the region where they had been brought up in their infancy, and, for subjects, not only that part of the people which he suspected of a design to begin rebellion anew, but also any who were willing to migrate voluntarily. [3] Among these, as is likely to happen when a city sends out a colony, there were great numbers of the common

people, but there were also a sufficient number of the prominent men of the best class, and of the Trojan element all those who were esteemed the noblest in birth, some of whose posterity remained even to my day, consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms and corn, with slaves and beasts of burden and everything else that was of use in the building of a city. [4] After they had led their people out of Alba and intermingled with them the local population that still remained in Pallantium and Saturnia, they divided the whole multitude into two parts. This they did in the hope of arousing a spirit of emulation, so that through their rivalry with each other their tasks might be the sooner finished; however, it produced the greatest of evils, discord. [5] For each group, exalting its own leader, extolled him as the proper person to command them all; and the youths themselves, being now no longer one in mind or feeling it necessary to entertain brotherly sentiments toward each, since each expected to command the other, scorned equality and craved superiority. For some time their ambitions were concealed, but later they burst forth on the occasion which I shall now describe. [6] They did not both favour the same site for the building of the city; for Romulus proposed to settle the Palatine hill, among other reasons, because of the good fortune of the place where they had been preserved and brought up, whereas Remus favoured the place that is now named after him Remoria. And indeed this place is very suitable for a city, being a hill not far from the Tiber and about thirty stades from Rome. From this rivalry their unsociable love of rule immediately began to disclose itself; for on the one who now yielded the victor would inevitably impose his will on all occasions alike.

[86.1] Meanwhile, some time having elapsed and their discord in no degree abating, the two agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather and for that purpose went to Alba. He advised them to leave it to the decision of the gods which of them should give his name to the colony and be its leader. And having appointed for them a day, he ordered them to place themselves early in the morning at a distance from one another, in such stations as each of them should think proper, and after first offering to the gods the customary sacrifices, to watch for auspicious birds; and he ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony. [2] The youths, approving of this, went away and according to their agreement appeared on the day appointed for the test. Romulus chose for his station the Palatine hill, where he proposed settling the colony, and Remus the Aventine hill adjoining it, or, according to others, Remoria; and a guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things otherwise than as they appeared. [3] When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from eagerness and jealousy of his brother, — though possibly Heaven was thus directing him, — even before he saw any omen at all, sent messengers to his brother desiring him to come immediately, as if he had been the first to see some auspicious birds. But while the persons he sent were proceeding with no great haste, feeling ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus,

flying from the right; and he, seeing the birds, rejoiced greatly. And not long afterwards the men sent by Romulus took him thence and brought him to the Palatine hill. [4] When they were together, Remus asked Romulus what birds he had been the first to see, and Romulus knew not what to answer. But thereupon twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying; and upon seeing these he took courage, and pointing them out to Remus, said: "Why do you demand to know what happened a long time ago? For surely you see these birds yourself." But Remus was indignant and complained bitterly because he had been deceived by him; and he refused to yield to him his right to the colony.

[87.1] Thereupon greater strife arose between them than before, as each, while secretly striving for the advantage, was ostensibly willing to accept equality, for the following reason. Their grandfather, as I have stated, had ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony; but, as the same kind of birds had been seen by both, one had the advantage of seeing them first and the other that of seeing the greater number. The rest of the people also espoused their quarrel, and arming themselves without orders from their leaders, began war; and a sharp battle ensued in which many were slain on both sides. [2] In the course of this battle, as some say, Faustulus, who had brought up the youths, wishing to put an end to the strife of the brothers and being unable to do so, threw himself unarmed into the midst of the combatants, seeking the speediest death, which fell out accordingly. Some say also that the stone lion which stood in the principal part of the Forum near the rostra was placed over the body of Faustulus, who was buried by those who found him in the place where he fell. [3] Remus having been slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory through the death of his brother and the mutual slaughter of citizens, buried Remus at Remoria, since when alive he had clung to it as the site for the new city. As for himself, in his grief and repentance for what had happened, he became dejected and lost all desire for life. But when Laurentia, who had received the babes when newly born and brought them up and loved them no less than a mother, entreated and comforted him, he listened to her and rose up, and gathering together the Latins who had not been slain in the battle (they were now little more than three thousand out of a very great multitude at first, when he led out the colony), he built a city on the Palatine hill.

[4] The account I have given seems to me the most probable of the stories about the death of Remus. However, if any has been handed down that differs from this, let that also be related. Some, indeed, say that Remus yielded the leadership to Romulus, though not without resentment and anger at the fraud, but that after the wall was built, wishing to demonstrate the weakness of the fortification, he cried, "Well, as for this wall, one of your enemies could as easily cross it as I do," and immediately leaped over it. Thereupon Celer, one of the men standing on the wall, who was overseer of the work, said, "Well, as for this enemy, one of us could easily punish him," and striking him on the

head with a mattock, he killed him then and there. Such is said to have been the outcome of the quarrel between the brothers.

[88.1] When no obstacle now remained to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day on which he planned to begin the work, after first propitiating the gods. And having prepared everything that would be required for the sacrifices and for the entertainment of the people, when the appointed time came, he himself first offered sacrifice to the gods and ordered all the rest to do the same according to their abilities. He then in the first place took the omens, which were favourable. After that, having commanded fires to be lighted before the tents, he caused the people to come out and leap over the flames in order to expiate their guilt. [2] When he thought everything had been done which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to the appointed place and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing with a plough drawn by a bull and a cow yoked together a continuous furrow designed to receive the foundation of the wall; and from that time this custom has continued among the Romans of ploughing a furrow round the site where they plan to build a city. After he had done this and sacrificed the bull and the cow and also performed the initial rites over many other victims, he set the people to work. [3] This day the Romans celebrate every year even down to my time as one of their greatest festivals and call it the Parilia. On this day, which comes in the beginning of spring, the husbandmen and herdsmen offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But whether they had celebrated this day in even earlier times as a day of rejoicing and for that reason looked upon it as the most suitable for the founding of the city, or whether, because it marked the beginning of the building of the city, they consecrated it and thought they should honour on it the gods who are propitious to shepherds, I cannot say for certain.

[89.1] Such, then, are the facts concerning the origin of the Romans which I have been able to discover a reading very diligently many works written by both Greek and Roman authors. Hence, from now on let the reader forever renounce the views of those who make Rome a retreat of barbarians, fugitive and vagabonds, and let him confidently affirm it to be a Greek city, — which will be easy when he shows that it is at once the most hospitable and friendly of all cities, and when he bears in mind that the Aborigines were Oenotrians, and these in turn Arcadians, [2] and remembers those who joined with them in their settlement, the Pelasgians who were Argives by descent and came into Italy from Thessaly; and recalls, moreover, the arrival of Evander and the Arcadians, who settled round the Palatine hill, after the Aborigines had granted the place to them; and also the Peloponnesians, who, coming along with Hercules, settled upon the Saturnian hill; and, last of all, those who left the Troad and were intermixed with the earlier settlers. For one will find no nation that is more ancient or more Greek than these. [3] But the admixtures of the barbarians with the Romans, by which the city forgot many of its ancient institutions, happened at a later time. And it may well seem a cause of wonder

to many who reflect on the natural course of events that Rome did not become entirely barbarized after receiving the Opicans, the Marsians, the Samnites, the Tyrrhenians, the Bruttians and many thousands of Umbrians, Ligurians, Iberians and Gauls, besides innumerable other nations, some of whom came from Italy itself and some from other regions and differed from one another both in their language and habits; for their very ways of life, diverse as they were and thrown into turmoil by such dissonance, might have been expected to cause many innovations in the ancient order of the city. [4] For many others by living among barbarians have in a short time forgotten all their Greek heritage, so that they neither speak the Greek language nor observe the customs of the Greeks nor acknowledge the same gods nor have the same equitable laws (by which most of all the spirit of the Greeks differs from that of the barbarians) nor agree with them in anything else whatever that relates to the ordinary intercourse of life. Those Achaeans who are settled near the Euxine sea are a sufficient proof of my contention; for, though originally Eleans, of a nation the most Greek of any, they are now the most savage of all barbarians.

[90.1] The language spoken by the Romans is neither utterly barbarous nor absolutely Greek, but a mixture, as it were, of both, the greater part of which is Aeolic; and the only disadvantage they have experienced from their intermingling with these various nations is that they do not pronounce all their sounds properly. But all other indications of a Greek origin they preserve beyond any other colonists. For it is not merely recently, since they have enjoyed the full tide of good fortune to instruct them in the amenities of life, that they have begun to live humanely; nor is it merely since they first aimed at the conquest of countries lying beyond the sea, after overthrowing the Carthaginian and Macedonian empires, but rather from the time when they first joined in founding the city, that they have lived like Greeks; and they do not attempt anything more illustrious in the pursuit of virtue now than formerly. [2] I have innumerable things to say upon this subject and can adduce many arguments and present the testimony of credible authors; but I reserve all this for the account I purpose to write of their government. I shall now resume the thread of my narrative, after prefacing to the following Book a recapitulation of what is contained in this.

BOOK II

[1.1] The city of Rome is situated in the western part of Italy near the river Tiber, which empties into the Tyrrhenian sea about midway along the coast; from the sea the city is distant one hundred and twenty stades. Its first known occupants were certain barbarians, natives of the country, called Sicels, who also occupied many other parts of Italy and of whom not a few distinct memorials are left even to our times; among other things there are even some names of places said to be Sicel names, which show that this people formerly dwelt in the land. [2] They were driven out by the Aborigines, who occupied the place in their turn; these were descendants of the Oenotrians who inhabited the seacoast from Tarentum to Posidonia. They were a band of holy youths consecrated to the gods according to their local custom and sent out by their parents, it is said, to inhabit the country which Heaven should give them. The Oenotrians were an Arcadian tribe who had of their own accord left the country then called Lycaonia and now Arcadia, in search of a better land, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, from whom the nation received its name. [3] While the Aborigines occupied this region the first who joined with them in their settlement were the Pelasgians, a wandering people who came from the country then called Haemonia and now Thessaly, where they had lived for some time. After the Pelasgians came the Arcadians from the city of Pallantium, who had chosen as leader of their colony Evander, the son of Hermes and the nymph Themis. These built a town beside one of the seven hills that stands near the middle of Rome, calling the place Pallantium, from their mother-city in Arcadia. [4] Not long afterwards, when Hercules came into Italy on his return home with his army from Erytheia, a certain part of his force, consisting of Greeks, remained behind be settled near Pallantium, beside another of the hills that are now inclosed within the city. This was then called by the inhabitants Saturnian hill, but is now called the Capitoline hill by the Romans. The greater part of these men were Epeans who had abandoned their city in Elis after their country had been laid waste by Hercules.

[2.1] In the sixteenth generation after the Trojan war the Albans united both these places into one settlement, surrounding them with a wall and a ditch. For until then there were only folds for cattle and sheep and quarters of the other herdsmen, as the land round about yielded plenty of grass, not only for winter but also for summer pasture, by reason of the rivers that refresh and water it. [2] The Albans were a mixed nation composed of Pelasgians, of Arcadians, of the Epeans who came from Elis, and, last of all, of the Trojans who came into Italy with Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Aphroditê, after the taking of Troy. It is probable that a barbarian element also from among the neighbouring peoples or a remnant of the ancient inhabitants of the place was mixed with the Greek. But all these people, having lost their tribal designations, came to be called by one common name, Latins, after Latinus,

who had been king of this country. [3] The walled city, then, was built by these tribes in the four hundred and thirty-second year after the taking of Troy, and in the seventh Olympiad. The leaders of the colony were twin brothers of the royal family, Romulus being the name of one and Remus of the other. On the mother's side they were descended from Aeneas and were Dardanidae; it is hard to say with certainty who their father was, but the Romans believe them to have been the sons of Mars. [4] However, they did not both continue to be leaders of the colony, since they quarrelled over the command; but after one of them had been slain in the battle that ensued, Romulus, who survived, became the founder of the city and called it after his own name. The great numbers of which the colony had originally consisted when sent out with him were now reduced to a few, the survivors amounting to three thousand foot and three hundred horse.

[3.1] When, therefore, the ditch was finished, the rampart completed and the necessary work on the houses done, and the situation required that they should consider also what form of government they were going to have, Romulus called an assembly of the people by the advice of his grandfather, who had instructed him what to say, and told them that the city, considering that it was newly built, was sufficiently adorned both with public and private buildings; but he asked them all to bear in mind that these were not the most valuable things in cities. [2] For neither in foreign wars, he said, are deep ditches and high ramparts sufficient to give the inhabitants an undisturbed assurance of their safety, but guarantee one thing only, namely, that they shall suffer no harm through being surprised by an incursion of the enemy; nor, again, when civil commotions afflict the State, do private houses and dwellings afford anyone a safe retreat. [3] For these have been contrived by men for the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity in their lives, and with them neither those of their neighbours who plot against them are prevented from doing mischief nor do those who are plotted against feel any confidence that they are free from danger; and no city that has gained splendour from these adornments only has ever yet become prosperous and great for a long period, nor, again, has any city from a want of magnificence either in public or in private buildings ever been hindered from becoming great and prosperous. But it is other things that preserve cities and make them great from small beginnings: [4] in foreign wars, strength in arms, which is acquired by courage and exercise; and in civil commotions, unanimity among the citizens, and this, he showed, could be most effectually achieved for the commonwealth by the prudent and just life of each citizen. [5] Those who practise warlike exercises and at the same time are masters of their passions are the greatest ornaments to their country, and these are the men who provide both the commonwealth with impregnable walls and themselves in their private lives with safe refuges; but men of bravery, justice and the other virtues are the result of the form of government when this has been established wisely, and, on the other hand, men who are cowardly, rapacious and the slaves of base passions are the

product of evil institutions. [6] He added that he was informed by men who were older and had wide acquaintance with history that of many large colonies planted in fruitful regions some had been immediately destroyed by falling into seditions, and others, after holding out for a short time, had been forced to become subject to their neighbours and to exchange their more fruitful country for a worse fortune, becoming slaves instead of free men; while others, few in numbers and settling in places that were by no means desirable, had continued, in the first place, to be free themselves, and, in the second place, to command others; and neither the successes of the smaller colonies nor the misfortunes of those that were large were due to any other cause than their form of government. [7] If, therefore, there had been but one mode of life among all mankind which made cities prosperous, the choosing of it would not have been difficult for them; but, as it was, he understood there were many types of government among both the Greeks and barbarians, and out of all of them he heard three especially commended by those who had lived under them, and of these systems none was perfect, but each had some fatal defects inherent in it, so that the choice among them was difficult. He therefore asked them to deliberate at leisure and say whether they would be governed by one man or by a few, or whether they would establish laws and entrust the protection of the public interests to the whole body of the people. [8] “And whichever form of government you establish,” he said, “I am ready to comply with your desire, for I neither consider myself unworthy to command nor refuse to obey. So far as honours are concerned, I am satisfied with those you have conferred on me, first, by appointing me leader of the colony, and, again, by giving my name to the city. For of these neither a foreign war nor civil dissension nor time, that destroyer of all that is excellent, nor any other stroke of hostile fortune can deprive me; but both in life and in death these honours will be mine to enjoy for all time to come.”

[4] Such was the speech that Romulus, following the instructions of his grandfather, as I have said, made to the people. And they, having consulted together by themselves, returned this answer: “We have no need of a new form of government and we are not going to change the one which our ancestors approved of as the best and handed down to us. In this we show both a deference for the judgment of our elders, whose superior wisdom we recognize in establishing it, and our own satisfaction with our present condition. For we could not reasonably complain of this form of government, which has afforded us under our kings the greatest of human blessings — liberty and the rule over others. [2] Concerning the form of government, then, this is our decision; and to this honour we conceive none has so good a title as you yourself by reason both of your royal birth and of your merit, but above all because we have had you as the leader of our colony and recognize in you great ability and great wisdom, which we have seen displayed quite as much in your actions as in your words.” Romulus, hearing this, said it was a great satisfaction to him to be judged worthy of the kingly office by his fellow men,

but that he would not accept the honour until Heaven, too, had given its sanction by favourable omens.

[5.1] And when the people approved, he appointed a day on which he proposed to consult the auspices concerning the sovereignty; and when the time was come, he rose at break of day and went forth from his tent. Then, taking his stand under the open sky in a clear space and first offering the customary sacrifice, he prayed to King Jupiter and to the other gods whom he had chosen for the patrons of the colony, that, if it was their pleasure he should be king of the city, some favourable signs might appear in the sky. [2] After this prayer a flash of lightning darted across the sky from the left to the right. Now the Romans look upon the lightning that passes from the left to the right as a favourable omen, having been thus instructed either by the Tyrrhenians or by their own ancestors. Their reason is, in my opinion, that the best seat and station for those who take the auspices is that which looks toward the east, from whence both the sun and the moon rise as well as the planets and fixed stars; and the revolution of the firmament, by which all things contained in it are sometimes above the earth and sometimes beneath it, begins its circular motion thence. [3] Now to those who look toward the east the parts facing toward the north are on the left and those extending toward the south are on the right, and the former are by nature more honourable than the latter. For in the northern parts the pole of the axis upon which the firmament turns is elevated, and of the five zones which girdle the sphere the one called the arctic zone is always visible on this side; whereas in the southern parts the other zone, called the antarctic, is depressed and invisible on that side. [4] So it is reasonable to assume that those signs in the heavens and in mid-air are the best which appear on the best side; and since the parts that are turned toward the east have preëminence over the western parts, and, of the eastern parts themselves, the northern are higher than the southern, the former would seem to be the best. [5] But some relate that the ancestors of the Romans from very early times, even before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning that came from the left as a favourable omen. For they say that when Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, was warred upon and besieged by the Tyrrhenians led by their king Mezentius, and was upon the point of making a final sally out of the town, his situation being now desperate, he prayed with lamentations to Jupiter and to the rest of the gods to encourage this sally with favourable omens, and thereupon out of a clear sky there appeared a flash of lightning coming from the left; and as this battle had the happiest outcome, this sign continued to be regarded as favourable by his posterity.

[6.1] When Romulus, therefore, upon the occasion mentioned had received the sanction of Heaven also, he called the people together in assembly; and having given them an account of these omens, he was chosen king by them and established it as a custom, to be observed by all his successors, that none of them should accept the office of king or any other magistracy until Heaven,

too, had given its sanction. And this custom relating to the auspices long continued to be observed by the Romans, not only while the city was ruled by kings, but also, after the overthrow of the monarchy, in the elections of their consuls, praetors and other legal magistrates; [2] but it has fallen into disuse in our days except as a certain semblance of it remains merely for form's sake. For those who are about to assume the magistracies pass the night out of doors, and rising at break of day, offer certain prayers under the open sky; whereupon some of the augurs present, who are paid by the State, declare that a flash of lightning coming from the left has given them a sign, although there really has not been any. [3] And the others, taking their omen from this report, depart in order to take over their magistracies, some of them assuming this alone to be sufficient, that no omens have appeared opposing or forbidding their intended action, others acting even in opposition to the will of the god; indeed, there are times when they resort to violence and rather seize than receive the magistracies. [4] Because of such men many armies of the Romans have been utterly destroyed on land, many fleets have been lost with all their people at sea, and other great and dreadful reverses have befallen the commonwealth, some in foreign wars and others in civil dissensions. But the most remarkable and the greatest instance happened in my time when Licinius Crassus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army against the Parthian nation contrary to the will of Heaven and in contempt of the innumerable omens that opposed his expedition. But to tell about the contempt of the divine power that prevails among some people in these days would be a long story.

[7.1] Romulus, who was thus chosen king by both men and gods, is allowed to have been a man of great military ability and personal bravery and of the greatest sagacity in instituting the best kind of government. I shall relate such of his political and military achievements as may be thought worthy of mention in a history; [2] and first I shall speak of the form of government that he instituted, which I regard as the most self-sufficient of all political systems both for peace and for war. This was the plan of it: He divided all the people into three groups, and set over each as leader its most distinguished man. Then he subdivided each of these three groups into ten others, and appointed as many of the bravest men to be the leaders of these also. The larger divisions he called tribes and the smaller curiae, as they are still termed even in our day. [3] These names may be translated into Greek as follows: a tribe by phylê and trittys, and a curia by phratra and lochos; the commanders of the tribes, whom the Romans call tribunes, by phylarchoi and trittarchy; and the commanders of the curiae, whom they call curiones, by phratriarchoi and lochagoi. [4] These curiae were again divided by him into ten parts, each commanded by its own leader, who was called decurio in the native language. The people being thus divided and assigned to tribes and curiae, he divided the land into thirty equal portions and assigned one of them to each curia, having first set apart as much of it as was sufficient for the support of the

temples and shrines and also reserved some part of the land for the use of the public. This was one division made by Romulus, both of the men and of the land, which involved the greatest equality for all alike.

[8.1] But there was another division again of the men only, which assigned kindly services and honours in accordance with merit, of which I am now going to give an account. He distinguished those who were eminent for their birth, approved for their virtue and wealthy for those times, provided they already had children, from the obscure, the lowly and the poor. Those of the lower rank he called “plebeians” (the Greek would call them *dêmotikoi* or “men of the people”), and those of the higher rank “fathers,” either because they had children or from their distinguished birth or for all these reasons. One may suspect that he found his model in the system of government which at that time still prevailed at Athens. [2] For the Athenians had divided their population into two parts, the *eupatridai* or “well-born,” as they called those who were of the noble families and powerful by reason of their wealth, to whom the government of the city was committed, and the *agroikoi* or “husbandmen,” consisting of the rest of the citizens, who had no voice in public affairs, though in the course of time these, also, were admitted to the offices. [3] Those who give the most probable account of the Roman government say it was for the reasons I have given that those men were called “fathers” and their posterity “patricians”; but others, considering the matter in the light of their own envy and desirous of casting reproach on the city for the ignoble birth of its founders, say they were not called patricians for the reasons just cited, but because these men only could point out their fathers, — as if all the rest were fugitives and unable to name free men as their fathers. [4] As proof of this they cite the fact that, whenever the kings thought proper to assemble the patricians, the heralds called them both by their own names and by the names of their fathers, whereas public servants summoned the plebeians *en masse* to the assemblies by the sound of ox horns. But in reality neither the calling of the patricians by the heralds is any proof of their nobility nor is the sound of the horn any mark of the obscurity of the plebeians; but the former was an indication of honour and the latter of expedition, since it was not possible in a short time to call every one of the multitude by name.

[9.1] After Romulus had distinguished those of superior rank from their inferiors, he next established laws by which the duties of each were prescribed. The patricians were to be priests, magistrates and judges, and were to assist him in the management of public affairs, devoting themselves to the business of the city. The plebeians were excused from these duties, as being unacquainted with them and because of their small means wanting leisure to attend to them, but were to apply themselves to agriculture, the breeding of cattle and the exercise of gainful trades. This was to prevent them from engaging in seditions, as happens in other cities when either the magistrates mistreat the lowly, or the common people and the needy envy those in authority. [2] He placed the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians,

by allowing every plebeian to choose for his patron any patrician whom he himself wished. In this he improved upon an ancient Greek custom that was in use among the Thessalians for a long time and among the Athenians in the beginning. For the former treated their clients with haughtiness, imposing on them duties unbecoming to free men; and whenever they disobeyed any of their commands, they beat them and misused them in all other respects as if had been slaves they had purchased. The Athenians called their clients *thêtes* or "hirelings," because they served for hire, and the Thessalians called theirs *penestai* or "toilers," by the very name reproaching them with their condition.

[3] But Romulus not only recommended the relationship by a handsome designation, calling this protection of the poor and lowly a "patronage," but he also assigned friendly offices to both parties, thus making the connexion between them a bond of kindness befitting fellow citizens.

[10] The regulations which he then instituted concerning patronage and which long continued in use among the Romans were as follows: It was the duty of the patricians to explain to their clients the laws, of which they were ignorant; to take the same care of them when absent as present, doing everything for them that fathers do for their sons with regard both to money and to the contracts that related to money; to bring suit on behalf of their clients when they were wronged in connexion with contracts, and to defend them against any who brought charges against them; and, to put the matter briefly, to secure for them both in private and in public affairs all that tranquillity of which they particularly stood in need. [2] It was the duty of the clients to assist their patrons in providing dowries for their daughters upon their marriage if the fathers had not sufficient means; to pay their ransom to the enemy if any of them or of their children were taken prisoner; to discharge out of their own purses their patrons' losses in private suits and the pecuniary fines which they were condemned to pay to the State, making these contributions to them not as loans but as thank-offerings; and to share with their patrons the costs incurred in their magistracies and dignities and other public expenditures, in the same manner as if they were their relations. [3] For both patrons and clients alike it was impious and unlawful to accuse each other in law-suits or to bear witness or to give their votes against each other or to be found in the number of each other's enemies; and whoever was convicted of doing any of these things was guilty of treason by virtue of the law sanctioned by Romulus, and might lawfully be put to death by any man who so wished as a victim devoted to the Jupiter of the infernal regions. For it was customary among the Romans, whenever they wished to put people to death without incurring any penalty, to devote their persons to some god or other, and particularly to the gods of the lower world; and this was the course what Romulus then adopted. [4] Accordingly, the connexions between the clients and patrons continued for many generations, differing in no wise from the ties of blood-relationship and being handed down to their children's children. And it was a matter of great praise to men of illustrious families to

have as many clients as possible and not only to preserve the succession of hereditary patronages but also by their own merit to acquire others. And it is incredible how great the contest of goodwill was between the patrons and clients, as each side strove not to be outdone by the other in kindness, the clients feeling that they should render all possible services to their patrons and the patrons wishing by all means not to occasion any trouble to their clients and accepting no gifts of money. So superior was their manner of life to all pleasure; for they measured their happiness by virtue, not by fortune.

[11] It was not only in the city itself that the plebeians were under the protection of the patricians, but every colony of Rome and every city that had joined in alliance and friendship with her and also every city conquered in war had such protectors and patrons among the Romans as they wished. And the senate has often referred the controversies of these cities and nations to their Roman patrons and regarded their decisions binding. [2] And indeed, so secure was the Romans' harmony, which owed its birth to the regulations of Romulus, that they never in the course of six hundred and thirty years proceeded to bloodshed and mutual slaughter, though many great controversies arose between the populace and their magistrates concerning public policy, as is apt to happen in all cities, whether large or small; [3] but by persuading and informing one another, by yielding in some things and gaining other things from their opponents, who yielded in turn, they settled their disputes in a manner befitting fellow citizens. But from the time that Gaius Gracchus, while holding the tribunician power, destroyed the harmony of the government they have been perpetually slaying and banishing one another from the city and refraining from no irreparable acts in order to gain the upper hand. However, for the narration of these events another occasion will be more suitable.

[12.1] As soon as Romulus had regulated these matters he determined to appoint senators to assist him in administering the public business, and to this end he chose a hundred men from among the patricians, selecting them in the following manner. He himself appointed one, the best out of their whole number, to whom he thought fit to entrust the government of the city whenever he himself should lead the army beyond the borders. [2] He next ordered each of the tribes to choose three men who were then at the age of greatest prudence and were distinguished by their birth. After these nine were chosen he ordered each curia likewise to name three patricians who were the most worthy. Then adding to the first nine, who had been named by the tribes, the ninety who were chosen by the curiae, and appointing as their head the man he himself had first selected, he completed the number of a hundred senators. [3] The name of this council may be expressed in Greek by *gerousia* or "council of elders," and it is called by the Romans to this day; but whether it received its name from the advanced age of the men who were appointed to it or from their merit, I cannot say for certain. For the ancients used to call the older men and those of greatest merit *gerontes* or "elders." The members of

the senate were called Conscript Fathers, and they retained that name down to my time. This council, also, was a Greek institution. [4] At any rate, the Greek kings, both those who inherited the realms of their ancestors and those who were elected by the people themselves to be their rulers, had a council composed of the best men, as both Homer and the most ancient of the poets testify; and the authority of the ancient kings was not arbitrary and absolute as it is in our days.

[13.1] After Romulus had also instituted the senatorial body, consisting of the hundred men, he perceived, we may suppose, that he would also require a body of young men whose services he could use both for the guarding of his person and for urgent business, and accordingly he chose three hundred men, the most robust of body and from the most illustrious families, whom the curiae named in the same manner that they had named the senators, each curia choosing ten young men; and these he kept always about his person. [2] They were all called by one common name, *celeres*; according to most writers this was because of the “celerity” required in the services they were to perform (for those who are ready and quick at their tasks the Romans call *celeres*), but Valerius Antias says that they were thus named after their commander. [3] For among them, also, the most distinguished man was their commander; under him were three centurions, and under these in turn were others who held the inferior commands. In the city these *celeres* constantly attended Romulus, armed with spears, and executed his orders; and on campaigns they charged before him and defended his person. And as a rule it was they who gave a favourable issue to the contest, as they were the first to engage in battle and the last of all to desist. They fought on horseback where there was level ground favourable for cavalry manoeuvres, and on foot where it was rough and inconvenient for horses. [4] This custom Romulus borrowed, I believe, from the Lacedaemonians, having learned that among them, also, three hundred of the noblest youths attended the kings as their guards and also as their defenders in war, fighting both on horseback and on foot.

[14.1] Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honours and powers which he wished each class to have. For the king he had reserved these prerogatives: in the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies and sacrifices and the conduct of everything relating to the worship of the gods; secondly, the guardianship of the laws and customs of the country and the general oversight of justice in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature or the civil law; he was also the judge in person the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senators, but seeing to it that no error was made in their decisions; he was to summon the senate and call together the popular assembly, to deliver his opinion first and carry out the decision of the majority. These prerogatives he granted to the king and, in addition, the absolute command in war. [2] To the senate he assigned honour and authority as follows: to deliberate and give their votes concerning everything the king should refer to them, the decision of the majority to prevail. This also

Romulus took over from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians; for their kings, too, did not have arbitrary power to do everything they wished, but the gerousia exercised complete control of public affairs. [3] To the populace he granted these three privileges: to choose magistrates, to ratify laws, and to decide concerning war whenever the king left the decision to them; yet even in these matters their authority was not unrestricted, since the concurrence of the senate was necessary to give effect to their decisions. The people did not give their votes all at the same time, but were summoned to meet by curiae, and whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae was reported to the senate. But in our day this practice is reversed, since the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions passed by the people, but the people have full power over the decrees of the senate; and which of the two customs is better I leave it open to others to determine. [4] By this division of authority not only were the civil affairs administered in a prudent and orderly manner, but the business of war also was carried on with dispatch and strict obedience. For whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army there was then no necessity for tribunes to be chosen by tribes, or centurions by centuries, or commanders of the horse appointed, nor was it necessary for the army to be numbered or to be divided into centuries or for every man to be assigned to his appropriate post. But the king gave his orders to the tribunes and these to the centurions and they in turn to the decurions, each of whom led out those who were under his command; and whether the whole army or part of it was called, at a single summons they presented themselves ready with arms in hand at the designated post.

[15.1] By these institutions Romulus sufficiently regulated and suitably disposed the city both for peace and for war: and he made it large and populous by the following means. [2] In the first place, he obliged the inhabitants to bring up all their male children and the first-born of the females, and forbade them to destroy any children under three years of age unless they were maimed or monstrous from their very birth. These he did not forbid their parents to expose, provided they first showed them to their five nearest neighbours and these also approved. Against those who disobeyed this law he fixed various penalties, including the confiscation of half their property. [3] Secondly, finding that many of the cities in Italy were very badly governed, both by tyrannies and by oligarchies, he undertook to welcome and attract to himself the fugitives from these cities, who were very numerous, paying no regard either to their calamities or to their fortunes, provided only they were free men. His purpose was to increase the power of the Romans and to lessen that of their neighbours; but he invented a specious pretext for his course, making it appear that he was showing honour to a god. [4] For he consecrated the place between the Capitol and the citadel which is now called in the language of the Romans “the space between the two groves,” — a term that was really descriptive at that time of the actual conditions, as the place was shaded by thick woods on both sides where it joined the hills, — and made it

an asylum for suppliants. And built a temple there, — but to what god or divinity he dedicated it I cannot say for certain, — he engaged, under the colour of religion, to protect those who fled to it from suffering any harm at the hands of their enemies; and if they chose to remain with him, he promised them citizenship and a share of the land he should take from the enemy. And people came flocking thither from all parts, fleeing from their calamities at home; nor had they afterwards any thought of removing to any other place, but were held there by daily instances of his sociability and kindness.

[16.1] There was yet a third policy of Romulus, which the Greeks ought to have practised above all others, it being, in my opinion, the best of all political measures, as it laid the most solid foundation for the liberty of the Romans and was no slight factor in raising them to their position of supremacy. It was this: not to slay all the men of military age or to enslave the rest of the population of the cities captured in war or to allow their land to go back to pasturage for sheep, but rather to send settlers thither to possess some part of the country by lot and to make the conquered cities Roman colonies, and even to grant citizenship to some of them. [2] By these and other like measures he made the colony great from a small beginning, as the actual results showed; for the number of those who joined with him in founding Rome did not amount to more than three thousand foot nor quite to three hundred horse, whereas he left behind him when he disappeared from among men forty-six thousand foot and about a thousand horse. [3] Romulus having instituted these measures, not alone the kings who ruled the city after him but also the annual magistrates after them pursued the same policy, with occasional additions, so successfully that the Roman people became inferior in numbers to none of the nations that were accounted the most populous.

[17.1] When I compare the customs of the Greeks with these, I can find no reason to extol either those of the Lacedaemonians or of the Thebans or of the Athenians, who pride themselves most on their wisdom; all of whom, jealous of their noble birth and granting citizenship to none or to very few (I say nothing of the fact that some even expelled foreigners), not only received no advantage from this haughty attitude, but actually suffered the greatest harm because of it. [2] Thus, the Spartans after their defeat at Leuctra, where they lost seventeen hundred men, were no longer able to restore their city to its former position after that calamity, but shamefully abandoned their supremacy. And the Thebans and Athenians through the single disaster at Chaeronea were deprived by the Macedonians not only of the leadership of Greece but at the same time of the liberty they had inherited from their ancestors. [3] But Rome, while engaged in great wars both in Spain and Italy and employed in recovering Sicily and Sardinia, which had revolted, at a time when the situation in Macedonia and Greece had become hostile to her and Carthage was again contending for the supremacy, and when all but a small portion of Italy was not only in open rebellion but was also drawing upon her the Hannibalic war, as it was called, — though surrounded, I say, by so many

dangers at one and the same time, Rome was so far from being overcome by these misfortunes that she derived from them a strength even greater than she had had before, being enabled to meet every danger, thanks to the number of her soldiers, and not, as some imagine, to the favour of Fortune; [4] since for all of Fortune's assistance the city might have been utterly submerged by the single disaster at Cannae, where of six thousand horse only three hundred and seventy survived, and of eighty thousand foot enrolled in the army of the commonwealth little more than three thousand escaped.

[18.1] It is not only these institutions of Romulus that I admire, but also those which I am going to relate. He understood that the good government of cities was due to certain causes which all statesmen prate of but few succeed in making effective: first, the favour of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives success to men's every enterprise; next, moderation and justice, as a result of which the citizens, being less disposed to injure one another, are more harmonious, and make honour, rather than the most shameful pleasures, the measure of their happiness; and, lastly, bravery in war, which renders the other virtues also useful to their possessors. [2] And he thought that none of these advantages is the effect of chance, but recognized that good laws and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a State pious, temperate, devoted to justice, and brave in war. He took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship of the gods and genii. He established temples, sacred precincts and altars, arranged for the setting up of statues, determined the representations and symbols of the gods, and declared their powers, the beneficent gifts which they have made to mankind, the particular festivals that should be celebrated in honour of each god or genius, the sacrifices with which they delight to be honoured by men, as well as the holidays, festal assemblies, days of rest, and everything alike of that nature, in all of which he followed the best customs in use among the Greeks. [3] But he rejected all the traditional myths concerning the gods that contain blasphemies or calumnies against them, looking upon these as wicked, useless and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but even of good men; and he accustomed people both to think and to speak the best of the gods and to attribute to them no conduct unworthy of their blessed nature.

[19.1] Indeed, there is no tradition among the Romans either of Caelus being castrated by his own sons or of Saturn destroying his own offspring to secure himself from their attempts or of Jupiter dethroning Saturn and confining his own father in the dungeon of Tartarus, or, indeed, of wars, wounds, or bonds of the gods, or of their servitude among men. [2] And no festival is observed among them as a day of mourning or by the wearing of black garments and the beating of breasts and the lamentations of women because of the disappearance of deities, such as the Greeks perform in commemorating the rape of Persephonê and the adventures of Dionysus and all the other things of like nature. And one will see among them, even though their manners are now corrupted, no ecstatic transports, no Corybantic frenzies, no begging under the

colour of religion, no bacchanals or secret mysteries, no all-night vigils of men and women together in the temples, nor any other mummary of this kind; but alike in all their words and actions with respect to the gods a reverence is shown such as is seen among neither Greeks nor barbarians. [3] And, — the thing which I myself have marvelled at most, — notwithstanding the influx into Rome of innumerable nations which are under every necessity of worshipping their ancestral gods according to the customs of their respective countries, yet the city has never officially adopted any of those foreign practices, as has been the experience of many cities in the past; but, even though she has, in pursuance of oracles, introduced certain rites from abroad, she celebrates them in accordance with her own traditions, after banishing all fabulous clap-trap. The rites of the Idaean goddess are a case in point; [4] for the praetors perform sacrifices and celebrated games in her honour every year according to the Roman customs, but the priest and priestess of the goddess are Phrygians, and it is they who carry her image in procession through the city, begging alms in her name according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breasts and striking their timbrels while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honour of the Mother of the Gods. [5] But by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman walks in procession through the city arrayed in a parti-coloured robe, begging alms or escorted by flute-players, or worships the god with the Phrygian ceremonies. So cautious are they about admitting any foreign religious customs and so great is their aversion to all pompous display that is wanting in decorum.

[20.1] Let no one imagine, however, that I am not sensible that some of the Greek myths are useful to mankind, part of them explaining, as they do, the works of Nature by allegories, others being designed as a consolation for human misfortunes, some freeing the mind of its agitations and terrors and clearing away unsound opinions, and others invented for some other useful purpose. [2] But, though I am as well acquainted as anyone with these matters, nevertheless my attitude toward the myths is one of caution, and I am more inclined to accept the theology of the Romans, when I consider that the advantages from the Greek myths are slight and cannot be of profit to many, but only to those who have examined the end for which they are designed; and this philosophic attitude is shared by few. The great multitude, unacquainted with philosophy, are prone to take these stories about the gods in the worse sense and to fall into one of two errors: they either despise the gods as buffeted by many misfortunes, or else refrain from none of the most shameful and lawless deeds when they see them attributed to the gods.

[21.1] But let the consideration of these matters be left to those who have set aside the theoretical part of philosophy exclusively for their contemplation. To return to the government established by Romulus, I have thought the following things also worthy the notice of history. In the first place, he appointed a great number of persons to carry on the worship of the gods. At any rate, no one could name any other newly-founded city in which so many

priests and ministers of the gods were appointed from the beginning. [2] For, apart from those who held family priesthoods, sixty were appointed in his reign to perform by tribes and curiae the public sacrifices on behalf of the commonwealth; I am merely repeating what Terentius Varro, the most learned man of his age, has written in his *Antiquities*. [3] In the next place, whereas others generally choose in a careless and inconsiderate manner those who are to preside over religious matters, some thinking fit to make public sale of this honour and others disposing of it by lot, he would not allow the priesthoods to be either purchased for money or assigned by lot, but made a law that each curia should choose two men over fifty years of age, of distinguished birth and exceptional merit, of competent fortune, and without any bodily defects; and he ordered that these should enjoy their honours, not for any fixed period, but for life, freed from military service by their age and from civil burdens by the law.

[22.1] And because some rites were to be performed by women, others by children whose fathers and mothers were living, to the end that these also might be administered in the best manner, he ordered that the wives of the priests should be associated with their husbands in the priesthood; and that in the case of any rites which men were forbidden by the law of the country to celebrate, their wives should perform them and their children should assist as their duties required; and that the priests who had no children should choose out of the other families of each curia the most beautiful boy and girl, the boy to assist in the rites till the age of manhood, and the girl so long as she remained unmarried. These arrangements also he borrowed, in my opinion, from the practices of the Greeks. [2] For all the duties that are performed in the Greek ceremonies by the maidens whom they call *kanêphoroi* and *arrhêphoroi* are performed by those whom the Romans call *tutulatae*, who wear on their heads the same kind of crowns with which the statues of the Ephesian Artemis are adorned among the Greeks. And all the functions which among the Tyrrhenians and still earlier among the Pelasgians were performed by those they called *cadmili* in the rites of the Curetes and in those of the Great Gods, were performed in the same manner by those attendants of the priests who are now called by the Romans *camilli*. [3] Furthermore, Romulus ordered one soothsayer out of each tribe to be present at the sacrifices. This soothsayer we call *hieroskopos* or “inspector of the vitals,” and the Romans, preserving something of the ancient name, *aruspex*. He also made a law that all the priests and ministers of the gods should be chosen by the curiae and that their election should be confirmed by those who interpret the will of the gods by the art of divination.

[23.1] After he had made these regulations concerning the ministers of the gods, he again, as I have stated, assigned the sacrifices in an appropriate manner to the various curiae, appointing for each of them gods and genii whom they were always to worship, and determined the expenditures for the sacrifices, which were to be paid to them out of the public treasury. [2] The

members of each curia performed their appointed sacrifices together with their own priests, and on holy days they feasted together at their common table. For a banqueting-hall had been built for each curia, and in it there was consecrated, just as in the Greek prytanea, a common table for all the members of the curia. These banqueting-halls had the same name as the curiae themselves, and are called so to our day. [3] This institution, it seems to me, Romulus took over from the practice of the Lacedaemonians in the case of their phiditia, which were then the vogue. It would seem that Lycurgus, who had learned the institution from the Cretans, introduced it at Sparta to the great advantage of his country; for he thereby in time of peace directed the citizens' lives toward frugality and temperance in their daily repasts, and in time of war inspired every man with a sense of shame and concern not to forsake his comrade with whom he had offered libations and sacrifices and shared in common rites. [4] And not alone for his wisdom in these matters does Romulus deserve praise, but also for the frugality of the sacrifices that he appointed for the honouring of the gods, the greatest part of which, if not all, remained to my day, being still performed in the ancient manner. [5] At any rate, I myself have seen in the sacred edifices repasts set before the gods upon ancient wooden tables, in baskets and small earthen plates, consisting of barley bread, cakes and spelt, with the first-offerings of some fruits, and other things of like nature, simple, cheap, and devoid of all vulgar display. I have seen also the libation wines that had been mixed, not in silver and gold vessels, but in little earthen cups and jugs, and I have greatly admired these men for adhering to the customs of their ancestors and not degenerating from their ancient rites into a boastful magnificence. [6] There are, it is true, other institutions, worthy to be both remembered and related, which were established by Numa Pompilius, who ruled the city after Romulus, a man of consummate wisdom and of rare sagacity in interpreting the will of the gods, and of them I shall speak later; and yet others were added by Tullus Hostilius, the second king after Romulus, and by all the kings who followed him. But the seeds of them were sown and the foundations laid by Romulus, who established the principal rites of their religion.

[24.1] Romulus also seems to have been the author of that good discipline in other matters by the observance of which the Romans have kept their commonwealth flourishing for many generations; for he established many good and useful laws, the greater part of them unwritten, but some committed to writing. There is no need for me to mention most of them, but I will give a short account of those which I have admired most of all and which I have regarded as suitable to illustrate the character of the rest of this man's legislation, showing how austere it was, how averse to vice, and how closely it resembled the life of the heroic age. [2] However, I will first observe that all who have established constitutions, barbarian as well as Greek, seem to me to have recognized correctly the general principle that every State, since it consists of many families, is most likely to enjoy tranquillity when the lives of

the individual citizens are untroubled, and to have a very tempestuous time when the private affairs of the citizens are in a bad way, and that every prudent statesman, whether he be a lawgiver or a king, ought to introduce such laws as will make the citizens just and temperate in their lives. [3] Yet by what practices and by what laws this result may be accomplished they do not all seem to me to have understood equally well, but some of them seem to have gone widely and almost completely astray in the principal and fundamental parts of their legislation. [4] For example, in the matter of marriage and commerce with women, from which the lawgiver ought to begin (even as Nature has begun thence to form our lives), some, taking their example from the beasts, have allowed men to have intercourse with women freely and promiscuously, thinking thus to free their lives from the frenzies of love, of save them from murderous jealousy, and to deliver them from many other evils which come upon both private houses and whole States through women. [5] Others have banished this wanton and bestial intercourse from their States by joining a man to one woman; and yet for the preservation of the marriage ties and the chastity of women they have never attempted to make even the slightest regulation whatsoever, but have given up the idea as something impracticable. [6] Others have neither permitted sexual intercourse without marriage, like some barbarians, nor neglected the guarding of their women, like the Lacedaemonians, but have established many laws to keep them within bounds. And some have even appointed a magistrate to look after the good conduct of women; this provision, however, for their guarding was found insufficient and too weak to accomplish its purpose, being incapable of bringing the woman of unvirtuous nature to the necessity of a modest behaviour.

[25.1] But Romulus, without giving either to the husband an action against his wife for adultery or for leaving his home without cause, or to the wife an action against her husband on the ground of ill-usage or for leaving her without reason, and without making any laws for the returning or recovery of the dowry, or regulating anything of this nature, by a single law which effectually provides for all these things, as the results themselves have shown, led the women to behave themselves with modesty and great decorum. [2] The law was to this effect, that a woman joined to her husband by a holy marriage should share in all his possessions and sacred rites. The ancient Romans designated holy and lawful marriages by the term “*farreate*,” from the sharing of far, which we call *zea*; for this was the ancient and, for a long time, the ordinary food of all the Romans, and their country produces an abundance of excellent spelt. And as we Greeks regard barley as the most ancient grain, and for that reason begin our sacrifices with barley-corns which we call *oulai*, so the Romans, in the belief that spelt is both the most valuable and the most ancient of grains, in all burnt offerings begin the sacrifice with that. For this custom still remains, not having deteriorated into first-offerings of greater expense. [3] The participation of the wives with their husbands in this holiest

and first food and their union with them founded on the sharing of all their fortunes took its name from this sharing of the spelt and forged the compelling bond of an indissoluble union, and there was nothing that could annul these marriages. [4] This law obliged both the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves entirely to the temper of their husbands, and the husbands to rule their wives as necessary and inseparable possessions. [5] Accordingly, if a wife was virtuous and in all things obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house to the same degree as her husband was master of it, and after the death of her husband she was heir to his property in the same manner as a daughter was to that of her father; that is, if he died without children and intestate, she was mistress of all that he left, and if he had children, she shared equally with them. But if she did any wrong, the injured party was her judge and determined the degree of her punishment. [6] Other offences, however, were judged by her relations together with her husband; among them was adultery, or where it was found she had drunk wine — a thing which the Greeks would look upon as the least of all faults. For Romulus permitted them to punish both these acts with death, as being the gravest offences women could be guilty of, since he looked upon adultery as the source of reckless folly, and drunkenness as the source of adultery. [7] And both these offences continued for a long time to be punished by the Romans with merciless severity. The wisdom of this law concerning wives is attested by the length of time it was in force; for it is agreed that during the space of five hundred and twenty years no marriage was ever dissolved at Rome. But it is said that in the one hundred and thirty-seventh Olympiad, in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and Gaius Papirius, Spurius Carvilius, a man of distinction, was the first to divorce his wife, and that he was obliged by the censors to swear that he had married for the purpose of having children (his wife, it seems, was barren); yet because of his action, though it was based on necessity, he was ever afterwards hated by the people.

[26] These, then, are the excellent laws which Romulus enacted concerning women, by which he rendered them more observant of propriety in relation to their husbands. But those he established with respect to reverence and dutifulness of children toward their parents, to the end that they should honour and obey them in all things, both in their words and actions, were still more august and of greater dignity and vastly superior to our laws. [2] For those who established the Greek constitutions set a very short time for sons to be under the rule of their fathers, some till the expiration of the third year after they reached manhood, others as long as they continued unmarried, and some till their names were entered in the public registers, as I have learned from the laws of Solon, Pittacus and Charondas, men celebrated for their great wisdom. [3] The punishments, also, which they ordered for disobedience in children toward their parents were not grievous: for they permitted fathers to turn their sons out of doors and to disinherit them, but nothing further. But mild

punishments are not sufficient to restrain the folly of youth and its stubborn ways or to give self-control to those who have been heedless of all that is honourable; and accordingly among the Greeks many unseemly deeds are committed by children against their parents. [4] But the lawgiver of the Romans gave virtually full power to the father over his son, even during his whole life, whether he thought proper to imprison him, to scourge him, to put him in chains and keep him at work in the fields, or to put him to death, and this even though the son were already engaged in public affairs, though he were numbered among the highest magistrates, and though he were celebrated for his zeal for the commonwealth. [5] Indeed, in virtue of this law men of distinction, while delivering speeches from the rostra hostile to the senate and pleasing to the people, have been dragged down from thence and carried away by their fathers to undergo such punishment as these thought fit; and while they were being led away through the Forum, none present, neither consul, tribune, nor the very populace, which was flattered by them and thought all power inferior to its own, could rescue them. [6] I forbear to mention how many brave men, urged by their valour and zeal to proof some noble deed that their fathers had not ordered, have been put to death by those very fathers, as is related of Manlius Torquatus and many others. But concerning them I shall speak in the proper place.

[27.1] And not even at this point did the Roman lawgiver stop in giving the father power over the son, but he even allowed him to sell his son, without concerning himself whether this permission might be regarded as cruel and harsher than was compatible with a natural affection. And, — a thing which anyone who has been educated in the lax manners of the Greeks may wonder at above all things and look upon as harsh and tyrannical, — he even gave leave to the father to make a profit by selling his son as often as three times, thereby giving greater power to the father over his son than to the master over his slaves. [2] For a slave who has once been sold and has later obtained his liberty is his own master ever after, but a son who had once been sold by his father, if he became free, came again under his father's power, and if he was a second time sold and a second time freed, he was still, as at first, his father's slave; but after the third sale he was freed from his father. [3] This law, whether written or unwritten, — I cannot say positively which, — the kings observed in the beginning, looking upon it as the best of all laws; and after the overthrow of the monarchy, when the Romans first decided to expose in the Forum for the consideration of the whole body of citizens all their ancestral customs and laws, together with those introduced from abroad, to the end that the rights of the people might not be changed as often as the powers of the magistrates, the decemvirs, who were authorized by the people to collect and transcribe the laws, recorded it among the rest, and it now stands on the fourth of the Twelve Tables, as they are called, which they then set up in the Forum. [4] And that the decemvirs, who were appointed after three hundred years to transcribe these laws, did not first introduce this law among the Romans, but

that, finding it long before in use, they dared not repeal it, I infer from many other considerations and particularly from the laws of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, among which there is recorded the following: "If a father gives his son leave to marry a woman who by the laws is to be the sharer of his sacred rites and possessions, he shall no longer have the power of selling his son." Now he would never have written this unless the father had by all former laws been allowed to sell his sons. [5] But enough has been said concerning these matters, and I desire also to give a summary account of the other measures by which Romulus regulated the lives of the private citizens.

[28.1] Observing that the means by which the whole body of citizens, the greater part of whom are hard to guide, can be induced to lead a life of moderation, to prefer justice to gain, to cultivate perseverance in hardships, and to look upon nothing as more valuable than virtue, is not oral instruction, but the habitual practice of such employments as lead to each virtue, and knowing that the great mass of men come to practise them through necessity rather than choice, and hence, if there is nothing to restrain them, return to their natural disposition, he appointed slaves and foreigners to exercise those trades that are sedentary and mechanical and promote shameful passions, looking upon them as the destroyers and corruptors both of the bodies and souls of all who practise them; and such trades were for a very long time held in disgrace by the Romans and were carried on by none of the native-born citizens. [2] The only employments he left to free men were two, agriculture and warfare; for he observed that men so employed become masters of their appetite, are less entangled in illicit love affairs, and follow that kind of covetousness only which leads them, not to injure one another, but to enrich themselves at the expense of the enemy. But, as he regarded each of these occupations, when separate from the other, as incomplete and conducive to fault-finding, instead of appointing one part of the men to till the land and the other to lay waste the enemy's country, according to the practice of the Lacedaemonians, he ordered the same persons to exercise the employments both of husbandmen and soldiers. [3] In time of peace he accustomed them to remain at their tasks in the country, except when it was necessary for them to come to market, upon which occasions they were to meet in the city in order to traffic, and to that end he appointed every ninth day for the markets; and when war came he taught them to perform the duties of soldiers and not to yield to others either in the hardships or advantages that war brought. For he divided equally among them the lands, slaves and money that he took from the enemy, and thus caused them to take part cheerfully in his campaigns.

[29.1] In the case of wrongs committed by the citizens against one another he did not permit the trials to be delayed, but caused them to be held promptly, sometimes deciding the suits himself and sometimes referring them to others; and he proportioned the punishment to the magnitude of the crime. Observing, also, that nothing restrains men from all evil actions so effectually as fear, he contrived many things to inspire it, such as the place where he sat in judgment

in the most conspicuous part of the Forum, the very formidable appearance of the soldiers who attended him, three hundred in number, and the rods and axes borne by twelve men, who scourged in the Forum those whose offences deserved it and beheaded others in public who were guilty of the greatest crimes. [2] Such then, was the general character of the government established by Romulus; the details I have mentioned are sufficient to enable one to form a judgment of the rest.

[30.1] The other deeds reported of this man, both in his wars and at home, which may be thought deserving of mention in a history are as follows. [2] Inasmuch as many nations that were both numerous and brave in war dwelt round about Rome and none of them was friendly to the Romans, he desired to conciliate them by intermarriages, which, in the opinion of the ancients, was the surest method of cementing friendships; but considering that the cities in question would not of their own accord unite with the Romans, who were just getting settled together in one city, and who neither were powerful by reason of their wealth nor had performed any brilliant exploit, but that they would yield to force if no insolence accompanied such compulsion, he determined, with the approval of Numitor, his grandfather, to bring about the desired intermarriages by a wholesale seizure of virgins. [3] After he had taken this resolution, he first made a vow to the god who presides over secret counsels to celebrate sacrifices and festivals every year if his enterprise should succeed. Then, having laid his plan before the senate and gaining their approval, he announced that he would hold a festival and general assemblage in honour of Neptune, and he sent word round about to the nearest cities, inviting all who wished to do so to be present at the assemblage and to take part in the increases; for he was going to hold contests of all sorts, both between horses and between men. [4] And when many strangers came with their wives and children to the festival, he first offered the sacrifices to Neptune and held the contests: then, on the last day, on which he was to dismiss the assemblage, he ordered the young men, when he himself should raise the signal, to seize all the virgins who had come to the spectacle, each group taking those they should first encounter, to keep them that night without violating their chastity and bring them to him the next day. [5] So the young men divided themselves into several groups, and as soon as they saw the signal raised, fell to seizing the virgins; and straightway the strangers were in an uproar and fled, suspecting some greater mischief. The next day, when the virgins were brought before Romulus, he comforted them in their despair with the assurance that they had been seized, not out of wantonness, but for the purpose of marriage; for he pointed out that this was an ancient Greek custom and that of all methods of contracting marriages for women it was the most illustrious, and he asked them to cherish those whom Fortune had given them for their husbands. [6] Then counting them and finding their number to be six hundred and eighty-three, he chose an equal number of unmarried men to

whom he united them according to the customs of each woman's country, basing the marriages on a communion of fire and water, in the same manner as marriages are performed even down to our times.

[31.1] Some state that these things happened in the first year of Romulus' reign, but Gnaeus Gellius says it was in the fourth, which is more probable. For it is not likely that the head of a newly-built city would undertake such an enterprise before establishing its government. As regards the reason for the seizing of the virgins, some ascribe it to a scarcity of women, others to the seeking of pretext for war; but those who give the most plausible account — and with them I agree — attribute it to the design of contracting an alliance with the neighbouring cities, founded on affinity. [2] And the Romans even to my day continued to celebrate the festival then instituted by Romulus, calling it the Consualia, in the course of which a subterranean altar, erected near the Circus Maximus, is uncovered by the removal of the soil round about it and honoured with sacrifices and burnt-offerings of first-fruits and a course is run both by horses yoked to chariots and by single horses. The god to whom these honours are paid is called Consus by the Romans, being the same, according to some who render the name into our tongue, as Poseidon Seisichthon or the "Earth-shaker"; and they say that this god was honoured with a subterranean altar because he holds the earth. [3] I know also from hearsay another tradition, to the effect that the festival is indeed celebrated in honour of Neptune and the horse-races are held in his honour, but that the subterranean altar was erected later to a certain divinity whose name may not be uttered, who presides over and is the guardian of hidden counsels; for a secret altar has never been erected to Neptune, they say, in any part of the world by either Greeks or barbarians. But it is hard to say what the truth of the matter is.

[32.1] When, now, the report of the seizure of the virgins and of their marriage was spread among the neighbouring cities, some of these were incensed at the proceeding itself, though others, considering the motive from which it sprang and the outcome to which it led, bore it with moderation; but, at any rate, in the course of time it occasioned several wars, of which the rest were of small consequence, but that against the Sabines was a great and difficult one. All these wars ended happily, as the oracles had foretold to Romulus before he undertook the task, indicating as they did that the difficulties and dangers would be great but that their outcome would be prosperous. [2] The first cities that made war upon him were Caenina, Antemnae and Crustumium. They put forward as a pretext the seizure of the virgins and their failure to receive satisfaction on their account; but the truth was that they were displeased at the founding of Rome and at its great and rapid increase and felt that they ought not to permit this city to grow up as a common menace to all its neighbours. [3] For the time being, then, these cities were sending ambassadors to the Sabines, asking them to take command of the war, since they possessed the greatest military strength and were most powerful by reason of their wealth and were laying claim to the rule over their

neighbours and inasmuch as they had suffered from the Romans' insolence quite as much as any of the rest; for the greater part of the virgins who had been seized belonged to them.

[33.1] But when they found they were accomplishing nothing, since the embassies from Romulus opposed them and courted the Sabine people both by their words and by their actions, they were vexed at the waste of time — for the Sabines were forever affecting delays and putting off to distant dates the deliberation concerning the war — and resolved to make war upon the Romans by themselves alone, believing that their own strength, if the three cities joined forces, was sufficient to conquer one inconsiderable city. This was their plan: but they did not all assemble together promptly enough in one camp, since the Caeninenses, who seemed to be most eager in promoting the war, rashly set out ahead of the others. [2] When these men, then, had taken the field and were wasting the country that bordered on their own, Romulus led out his army, and unexpectedly falling upon the enemy while they were as yet off their guard, he made himself master of their camp, which was but just completed. Then following close upon the heels of those who fled into the city, where the inhabitants had not as yet learned of the defeat of their forces, and finding the walls unguarded and the gates unbarred, he took the town by storm; and when the king of the Caeninenses met him with a strong body of men, he fought with him, and slaying him with his own hands, stripped him of his arms.

[34.1] The town being taken in this manner, he ordered the prisoners to deliver up their arms, and taking such of their children for hostages as he thought fit, he marched against the Antemnates. And having conquered their army also, in the same manner as the other, by falling upon them unexpectedly while they were still dispersed in foraging, and having accorded the same treatment to the prisoners, he led his army home, carrying with him the spoils of those who had been slain in battle and the choicest part of the booty as an offering to the gods; and he offered many sacrifices besides. [2] Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe and wearing a crown of laurel upon his head, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity, he rode in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army, both foot and horse, followed, ranged in their several divisions, praising the gods in songs of their country and extolling their general in improvised verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives and children, who, ranging themselves on each side of the road, congratulated them upon their victory and expressed their welcome in every other way. When the army entered the city, they found mixing bowls filled to the brim with wine and tables loaded down with all sorts of viands, which were placed before the most distinguished houses in order that all who pleased might take their fill. [3] Such was the victorious procession, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans call a triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus. But in our day the triumph had become a very costly

and ostentatious pageant, being attended with a theatrical pomp that is designed rather as a display of wealth than as approbation of valour, and it has departed in every respect from its ancient simplicity. [4] After the procession and the sacrifice Romulus built a small temple on the summit of the Capitoline hill to Jupiter whom the Romans call Feretrius; indeed, the ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet. In this temple he consecrated the spoils of the king of the Caeninenses, whom he had slain with his own hand. As for Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus dedicated these arms, one will not err from the truth whether one wishes to call him Tropaiouchos, or Skylophoros, as some will have it, or, since he excels all things and comprehends universal nature and motion, Hyperphretês.

[35.1] After the king had offered to the gods the sacrifices of thanksgiving and the first-fruits of victory, before entering upon any other business, he assembled the senate to deliberate with them in what manner the conquered cities should be treated, and he himself first delivered the opinion he thought the best. [2] When all the senators who were present had approved of the counsels of their chief as both safe and brilliant and had praised all the other advantages that were likely to accrue from them to the commonwealth, not only for the moment but for all future time, he gave command for the assembling of all the women belonging to the race of the Antemnates and of the Caeninenses who had been seized with the rest. And when they had assembled, lamenting, throwing themselves at his feet and bewailing the calamities of their native cities, he commanded them to cease their lamentations and be silent, then spoke to them as follows: [3] “Your fathers and brothers and your entire cities deserve to suffer every severity for having preferred to our friendship a war that was neither necessary nor honourable. We, however, have resolved for many reasons to treat them with moderation; for we not only fear the vengeance of the gods, which ever threatens the arrogant, and dread the ill-will of men, but we are also persuaded that mercy contributes not a little to alleviate the common ills of mankind, and we realize that we ourselves may one day stand in need of that of others. And we believe that to you, whose behaviour towards your husbands has thus far been blameless, this will be no small honour and favour. [4] We suffer this offence of theirs, therefore, to go unpunished and take from your fellow citizens neither their liberty nor their possessions nor any other advantages they enjoy; and both to those who desire to remain there and to those who wish to change their abode we grant full liberty to make their choice, not only without danger but without fear of repenting. But, to prevent their ever repeating their fault or the finding of any occasion to induce their cities to break off their alliance with us, the best means, we consider, and that which will at the same time conduce to the reputation and security of both, is for us to make those cities colonies of Rome and to send a sufficient number of our own people from here to inhabit them jointly with your fellow citizens. Depart, therefore, with

good courage; and redouble your love and regard for your husbands, to whom your parents and brothers owe their preservation and your countries their liberty.” [5] The women, hearing this, were greatly pleased, and shedding many tears of joy, left the Forum; but Romulus sent a colony of three hundred men into each city, to whom these cities gave a third part of their lands to be divided among them by lot. [6] And those of the Caeninenses and Antemnates who desired to remove to Rome they brought thither together with their wives and children, permitting them to retain their allotments of land and to take with them all their possessions; and the king immediately enrolled them, numbering not less than three thousand, in the tribes and the curiae, so that the Romans had then for the first time six thousand foot in all upon the register. [7] Thus Caenina and Antemnae, no inconsiderable cities, whose inhabitants were of Greek origin (for the Aborigines had taken the cities from the Sicels and occupied them, these Aborigines being, as I said before, part of those Oenotrians who had come out of Arcadia), after this war became Roman colonies.

[36.1] Romulus, having attended to these matters, led out his army against the Crustumers, who were better prepared than the armies of the other cities had been. And after he had reduced them both in a pitched battle and in an assault upon their city, although they had shown great bravery in the struggle, he did not think fit to punish them any further, but made this city also a Roman colony like the two former. [2] Crustumium was a colony of the Albans sent out many years before the founding of Rome. The fame of the general’s valour in war and of his clemency to the conquered being spread through many cities, many brave men joined him, bringing with them considerable bodies of troops, who migrated with their whole families. From one of these leaders, who came from Tyrrhenia and whose name was Caelius, one of the hills, on which he settled, is to this day called the Caelian. Whole cities also submitted to him, beginning with Medullia, and became Roman colonies. [3] But the Sabines, seeing these things, were displeased and blamed one another for not having crushed the power of the Romans while it was in its infancy, instead of which they were now to contend with it when it was greatly increased. They determined, therefore, to make amends for their former mistake by sending out an army of respectable size. And soon afterwards, assembling a general council in the greatest and most famous city in the nation, called Cures, they voted for the war and appointed Titus, surnamed Tatius, the king of that city, to be their general. After the Sabines had come to this decision, the assembly broke up and all returned home to their several cities, where they busied themselves with their preparations for the war, planning to advance on Rome with a great army the following year.

[37.1] In the meantime Romulus also was making the best preparations he could in his turn, realizing that he was to defend himself against a warlike people. With this in view, he raised the wall of the Palatine hill by building higher ramparts upon it as a further security to the inhabitants, and fortified

the adjacent hills — the Aventine and the one now called the Capitoline — with ditches and strong palisades, and upon these hills he ordered the husbandmen with their flocks to pass the nights, securing each of them by a sufficient garrison; and likewise any other place that promised to afford them security he fortified with ditches and palisades and kept under guard. [2] In the meantime there came to him a man of action and reputation for military achievements, named Lucumo, lately become his friend, who brought with him from the city of Solonium a considerable body of Tyrrhenian mercenaries. There came to him also from the Albans, sent by his grandfather, a goodly number of soldiers with their attendants, and with them artificers for making engines of war; these men were adequately supplied with provisions, arms, and all necessary equipment. [3] When everything was ready for the war on both sides, the Sabines, who planned to take the field at the beginning of spring, resolved first to send an embassy to the enemy both to ask for the return of the women and to demand satisfaction for their seizure, just so that they might seem to have undertaken the war from necessity when they failed to get justice, and they were sending the heralds for this purpose. [4] Romulus, however, asked that the women, since they themselves were not unwilling to live with their husbands, should be permitted to remain with them; but he offered to grant the Sabines anything else they desired, provided they asked it as from friends and did not begin war. Thereupon the others, agreeing to none of his proposals, led out their army, which consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and almost a thousand horse. [5] And the Roman army was not much smaller than that of the Sabines, the foot amounting to twenty thousand and the horse to eight hundred; it was encamped before the city in two divisions, one of them, under Romulus himself, being posted on the Esquiline hill, and the other, commanded by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian, on the Quirinal, which did not as yet have that name.

[38.1] Tatius, the king of the Sabines, being informed of their preparations, broke camp in the night and led his army through the country, without doing any damage to the property in the fields, and before sunrise encamped on the plain that lies between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. But observing all the posts to be securely guarded by the enemy and no strong position left for his army, he fell into great perplexity, not knowing what use to make of the enforced delay. [2] While he was thus at his wit's end, he met with an unexpected piece of good fortune, the strongest of the fortresses being delivered up to him in the following circumstances. It seems that, while the Sabines were passing by the foot of the Capitoline to view the place and see whether any part of the hill could be taken within by surprise or by force, they were observed from above by a maiden whose name was Tarpeia, the daughter of a distinguished man who had been entrusted with the guarding of the place. [3] This maiden, as both Fabius and Cincius relate, conceived a desire for the bracelets which the men wore on their left arms and for their rings; for at that time the Sabines wore ornaments of gold and were no less

luxurious in their habits than the Tyrrhenians. But according to the account given by Lucius Piso, the ex-censor, she was inspired by the desire of performing a noble deed, namely, to deprive the enemy of their defensive arms and thus deliver them up to her fellow citizens. [4] Which of these accounts is the truer may be conjectured by what happened afterwards. This girl, therefore, sending out one of her maids by a little gate which was not known to be open, desired the king of the Sabines to come and confer with her in private, as if she had an affair of necessity and importance to communicate to him. Tatius, in the hope of having the place betrayed to him, accepted the proposal and came to the place appointed; and the maiden, approaching within speaking distance, informed him that her father had gone out of the fortress during the night on some business, but that she had the keys of the gates, and if they came in the night, she would deliver up the place to them upon condition that they gave her as a reward for her treachery the things which all the Sabines wore on their left arms. [5] And when Tatius consented to this, she received his sworn pledge for the faithful performance of the agreement and gave him hers. Then having appointed, as the place to which the Sabines were to repair, the strongest part of the fortress, and the most unguarded hour of the night as the time for the enterprise, she returned without being observed by those inside.

[39.1] So far all the Roman historians agree, but not in what follows. For Piso, the ex-censor, whom I mentioned before, says that a messenger was sent out of the place by Tarpeia in the night to inform Romulus of the agreement she had made with the Sabines, in consequence of which she proposed, by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the expression in that agreement, to demand their defensive arms, and asking him at the same time to send a reinforcement to the fortress that night, so that the enemy together with their commander, being deprived of their arms, might be taken prisoners; but the messenger, he says, deserted to the Sabine commander and acquainted him with the designs of Tarpeia. Nevertheless, Fabius and Cincius say that no such thing occurred, but they insist that girl kept her treacherous compact. [2] In what follows, however, all are once more in agreement. For they say that upon the arrival of the king of the Sabines with the flower of his army, Tarpeia, keeping her promise, opened to the enemy the gate agreed upon, and rousing the garrison, urged them to save themselves speedily by other exits unknown to the enemy, as if the Sabines were already masters of the place; [3] that after the flight of the garrison the Sabines, finding the gates open, possessed themselves of the stronghold, now stripped of its guards, and that Tarpeia, alleging that she had kept her part of the agreement, insisted upon receiving the reward of her treachery according to the oaths.

[40.1] Here again Piso says that, when the Sabines were ready to give the girl the gold they wore on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded of them their shields and not their ornaments. But Tatius resented the imposition and at the same time thought of an expedient by which he might not violate the agreement.

Accordingly, he decided to give her the arms as the girl demanded, but to contrive that she should make no use of them; and immediately poisoning his shield, he hurled it at her with all his might, and ordered the rest to do the same; and thus Tarpeia, being pelted from all sides, fell under the number and force of the blows and died, overwhelmed by the shields. [2] But Fabius attributes this fraud in the performance of the agreement to the Sabines; for they, being obliged by the agreement to give her the gold as she demanded, were angered at the magnitude of the reward and hurled their shield at her as if they had engaged themselves by their oaths to give her these. But what followed gives the greater appearance of truth to the statement of Piso. [3] For she was honoured with a monument in the place where she fell and lies buried on the most sacred hill of the city and the Romans every year perform libations to her (I relate what Piso writes); whereas, if she had died in betraying her country to the enemy, it is not to be supposed that she would have received any of these honours, either from those whom she had betrayed or from those who had slain her, but, if there had been any remains of her body, they would in the course of time have been dug up and cast out of the city, in order to warn and deter others from committing the like crimes. But let everyone judge of the matters as he pleases.

[41.1] As for Tatius and the Sabines, having become masters of a strong fortress and having without any trouble taken the greatest part of the Romans' baggage, they carried on the war thereafter in safety. And as the armies lay encamped at a short distance from each other and many occasions offered, there were many essays and skirmishes, which were not attended with any great advantages or losses to either side, and there were also two very severe pitched battles, in which all the forces were opposed to each other and there was great slaughter on both sides. [2] For, as the time dragged along, they both came to the same resolution, namely, to decide the issue by a general engagement. Whereupon leaders of both armies, who were masters of the art of war, as well as common soldiers, trained in many engagements, advanced into the plain that lay between the two camps and performed memorable feats both in attacking and receiving the enemy as well as in rallying and renewing the fight on equal terms. [3] Those who from the ramparts were spectators of this doubtful battle, which, often varying, favoured each side in turn, when their own men had the advantage, inspired them with fresh courage by their exhortations and songs of victory, and when they were hard pressed and pursued, prevented them by their prayers and lamentations from proving utter cowards; and thanks to these shouts of encouragement and entreaty the combatants were compelled to endure the perils of the struggle even beyond their strength. And so, after they had thus carried on the contest all that day without a decision, darkness now coming on, they both gladly retired to their own camps.

[42.1] But on the following days they buried their dead, took care of the wounded and reinforced their armies; then, resolving to engaged in another

battle, they met again in the same plain as before and fought till night. [2] In this battle, when the Romans had the advantage on both wings (the right was commanded by Romulus himself and the left by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian) but in the centre the battle remained as yet undecided, one man prevented the utter defeat of the Sabines and rallied their wavering forces to renew the struggle with the victors. This man, whose name was Mettius Curtius, was of great physical strength and courageous in action, but he was famous especially for his contempt of all fear and danger. [3] He had been appointed to command those fighting in the centre of the line and was victorious over those who opposed him; but wishing to restore the battle in the wings also, where the Sabine troops were by now in difficulties and being forced back, he encouraged those about him, and pursuing such of the enemy's forces as were fleeing and scattered, he drove them back to the gates of the city. This obliged Romulus to leave the victory but half completed and to return and make a drive against the victorious troops of the enemy. [4] Upon the departure of Romulus with his forces those of the Sabines who had been in trouble were once more upon equal terms with their opponents, and the whole danger was now centred round Curtius and his victorious troops. For some time the Sabines received the onset of the Romans and fought brilliantly, but when large numbers joined in attacking them, they gave way and began to seek safety in their camp, Curtius amply securing their retreat, so that they were not driven back in disorder, but retired without precipitation. [5] For he himself stood his ground fighting and awaited Romulus as he approached; and there ensued a great and glorious engagement between the leaders themselves as they fell upon each other. But at last Curtius, having received many wounds and lost much blood, retired by degrees till he came to a deep lake in his rear which it was difficult for him to make his way round, his enemies being massed on all sides of it, and impossible to pass through by reason of the quantity of mud on the marshy shore surrounding it and the depth of water that stood in the middle. [6] When he came to the lake, he threw himself into the water, armed as he was, and Romulus, supposing that he would immediately perish in the lake, — moreover, it was not possible to pursue him through so much mud and water, — turned upon the rest of the Sabines. But Curtius with great difficulty got safely out of the lake after a time without losing his arms and was led away to the camp. This place is now filled up, but it is called from this incident the *Lacus Curtius*, being about in the middle of the Roman Forum.

[43.1] Romulus, while pursuing the others, had drawn near the Capitoline and had great hopes of capturing the stronghold, but being weakened by many other wounds and stunned by a severe blow from a stone which was hurled from the heights and hit him on the temple, he was taken up half dead by those about him and carried inside the walls. [2] When the Romans no longer saw their leader, they were seized with fear and the right wing turned to flight; but the troops that were posted on the left with Lucumo stood their ground for some time, encouraged by their leader, a man most famous for his warlike

prowess and who had performed many exploits during the course of this war. But when he in his turn was pierced through the side with a javelin and fell through weakness, they also gave way; and thereupon the whole Roman army was in flight, and the Sabines, taking courage, pursued them up to the city. [3] But as they were already drawing near the gates they were repulsed, when the youths whom the king had appointed to guard the walls sallied out against them with their forces fresh; and when Romulus, too, who by this time was in some degree recovered of his wound, came out to their assistance with all possible speed, the fortune of the battle quickly turned and veered strongly to the other side. [4] For those who were fleeing recovered themselves from their late fear on the unexpected appearance of their leader, and reforming their lines, no longer hesitated to come to blows with the enemy; while the latter, who but now had been driving the fugitives into the city and thought there was nothing that could prevent them from taking the city itself by storm, when they saw this sudden and unexpected change, took thought for their own safety. But they found it no easy matter to retreat to their camp, pursued as they were down from a height and through a hollow way, and in this rout they sustained heavy losses. [5] And so, after they had thus fought that day without a decision and both had met with unexpected turns of fortune, the sun now being near his setting, they parted.

[44] But during the following days the Sabines were taking counsel whether they should lead their forces back home, after doing all possible damage to the enemy's country, or should send for another army from home and still hold out obstinately until they should put an end to the war in the most honourable manner. [2] They considered that it would be a bad thing for them to return home with the shame of having effected nothing or to stay there when none of their attempts succeeded according to their expectations. And to treat with the enemy concerning an accommodation, which they looked upon as the only honourable means of putting an end to the war, they conceived to be no more fitting for them than for the Romans. [3] On the other side, the Romans were not less, but even more, perplexed than the Sabines what course to take in the present juncture. For they could not resolve either to restore the women or to retain them, believing that the former course involved an acknowledgment of defeat and that it would be necessary to submit to whatever else might be imposed upon them, and that the alternative course would necessitate their witnessing many terrible sights as their country was being laid waste and the flower of their youth destroyed; and, if they should treat with the Sabines for peace, they despaired of obtaining any moderate terms, not only for many other reasons, but chiefly because the proud and headstrong treat an enemy who resorts to courting them, not with moderation, but with severity.

[45] While both sides were consuming the time in these considerations, neither daring to renew the fight nor treating for peace, the wives of the Romans who were of the Sabine race and the cause of the war, assembling in one place apart from their husbands and consulting together, determined to make the first overtures themselves to both armies concerning an accommodation. [2] The one who proposed this measure to the rest of the women was named Hersilia, a woman of no obscure birth among the Sabines. Some say that, though already married, she was seized with the others as supposedly a virgin; but those who give the most probable account say that she remained with her daughter of her own free will, for according to them her only daughter was among those who had been seized. [3] After the women had taken this resolution they came to the senate, and having obtained an audience, they made long pleas, begging to be permitted to go out to their relations and declaring that they had many excellent grounds for hoping to bring the two nations together and establish friendship between them. When the senators who were present in council with the king heard this, they were exceedingly pleased and looked upon it, in view of their present difficulties, as the only solution. [4] Thereupon a decree of the senate was passed to the effect that those Sabine women who had children should, upon leaving them with their husbands, have permission to go as ambassadors to their countrymen, and that those who had several children should take along as many of them as they wished and endeavour to reconcile the two nations. [5] After this the women went out dressed in mourning, some of them also carrying their infant children. When they arrived in the camp of the Sabines, lamenting and falling at the feet of those they met, they aroused great compassion in all who saw them and none could refrain from tears. [6] And when the councillors had been called together to receive them and the king had commanded them to state their reasons for coming, Hersilia, who had proposed the plan and was at the head of the embassy, delivered a long and pathetic plea, begging them to grant peace to those who were interceding for their husbands and on whose account, she pointed out, the war had been undertaken. As to the terms, however, on which peace should be made, she said the leaders, coming together by themselves, might settle them with a view to the advantage of both parties.

[46.1] After she had spoken thus, all the women with their children threw themselves at the feet of the king and remained prostrate till those who were present raised them from the ground and promised to do everything that was reasonable and in their power. Then, having ordered them to withdraw from the council and having consulted together, they decided to make peace. And first a truce was agreed upon between the two nations; then the kings met together and a treaty of friendship was concluded. [2] The terms agreed upon by the two, which they confirmed by their oaths, were as follows: that Romulus and Tatius should be kings of the Romans with equal authority and should enjoy equal honours; that the city, preserving its name, should from its founder be called Rome; that each individual citizen should as before be

called a Roman, but that the people collectively should be comprehended under one general appellation and from the city of Tati us be called Quirites, and that all the Sabines who wished might live in Rome, joining in common rites with the Romans and being assigned to tribes and curiae. [3] After they had sworn to this treaty and, to confirm their oaths, had erected altars near the middle of the Sacred Way, as it is called, they mingled together. And all the commanders returned home with their forces except Tati us, the king, and three persons of the most illustrious families, who remained at Rome and received those honours which their posterity after them enjoyed; these were Volusus Valerius and Tallus, surnamed Tyrannius, with Mettius Curtius, the man who swam cross the lake with his arms, and with them there remained also their companions, relations and clients, no fewer in number than the former inhabitants.

[47.1] Everything being thus settled, the kings thought proper, since the city had received a great increase of people, to double the number of the patricians by adding to the most distinguished families others from among the new settlers equal in number to the old, and they called these “new patricians.” Of these a hundred persons, chosen by the curiae, were enrolled with the original senators. [2] Concerning these matters almost all the writers of Roman history agree. But some few differ regarding the number of the newly-enrolled senators, for they say it was not a hundred, but fifty, that were added to the senate. [3] Concerning the honours, also, which the kings conferred on the women in return for having reconciled them, not all the Roman historians agree; for some write that, besides many other signal marks of honour which they bestowed upon them, they gave their names to the curiae, which were thirty, as I have said, that being the number of the women who went upon the embassy. [4] But Terentius Varro does not agree with them in this particular, for he says that Romulus gave the names to the curiae earlier than this, when he first divided the people, some of these names being taken from men who were their leaders and others from districts; and he says that the number of the women who went upon the embassy was not thirty, but five hundred and twenty-seven, and he thinks it very improbable that the kings would have deprived so many women of this honour to bestow it upon only a few of them. But as regards these matters, it has not seemed to me fitting either to omit all mention of them or to say more than is sufficient.

[48.1] Concerning the city of Cures from which Tati us and his followers came (for the course of my narrative requires that I should speak of them also, and say who they were and whence), we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in possession of it, a certain maiden of that country, who was of the highest birth, went into the temple of Enyalius to dance. [2] The Sabines and the Romans, who have learned it from them, give to Enyalius the name of Quirinus, without being able to affirm for certain whether he is Mars or some other god who enjoys the same honours as Mars. For some think that both these names are used of one

and the same god who presides over martial combats; others, that the names are applied to two different gods of war. [3] Be that as it may, this maiden, while she was dancing in the temple, was on a sudden seized with divine inspiration, and quitting the dance, ran into the inner sanctuary of the god; after which, being with child by this divinity, as everybody believed, she brought forth a son named Modius, with the surname Fabidius, who, being arrived at manhood, had not a human but a divine form and was renowned above all others for his warlike deeds. And conceiving a desire to found a city on his own account, [4] he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood and in a very short time built the city called Cures: he gave it this name, as some say, from the divinity whose son he was reputed to be, or, as others state, from a spear, since the Sabines call spears cures. This is the account given by Terentius Varro.

[49.1] But Zenodotus of Troezen, a . . . historian, relates that the Umbrians, a native race, first dwelt in the Reatine territory, as it is called, and that, being driven from there by the Pelasgians, they came into the country which they now inhabit, and changing their name with their place of habitation, from Umbrians were called Sabines. [2] But Porcius Cato says that the Sabine race received its name from Sabus, the son of Sancus, a divinity of that country, and that this Sancus was by some called Jupiter Fidius. He says also that their first place of abode was a certain village called Testruna, situated near the city of Amiternum; that from there the Sabines made an incursion at that time into the Reatine territory, which was inhabited by the Aborigines together with the Pelasgians, and took their most famous city, Cutiliae, by force of arms and occupied it; [3] and that, sending colonies out of the Reatine territory, they built many cities, in which they lived without fortifying them, among others the city called Cures. He further states that the country they occupied was distant from the Adriatic about two hundred and eighty stades and from the Tyrrhenian Sea a little less than a thousand stades. [4] There is also another account given of the Sabines in the native histories, to the effect that a colony of Lacedaemonians settled among them at the time when Lycurgus, being guardian to his nephew Eunomus, gave his laws to Sparta. For the story goes that some of the Spartans, disliking the severity of his laws and separating from the rest, quitted the city entirely, and after being borne through a vast stretch of sea, made a vow to the gods to settle in the first land they should reach; for a longing came upon them for any land whatsoever. [5] At last they made that part of Italy which lies near the Pomentine plains and they called the place where they first landed Foronia, in memory of their being *borne* through the sea, and built a temple owing to the goddess Foronia, to whom they had addressed their vows; this goddess, by the alteration of one letter, they now call Feronia. And some of them, setting out from thence, settled among the Sabines. It is for this reason, they say, that many of the habits of the Sabines are Spartan, particularly their fondness for war and their frugality and a severity in all the actions of their lives. But this is enough about the

Sabine race.

[50.1] Romulus and Tatius immediately enlarged the city by adding to it two other hills, the Quirinal, as it is called, and the Caelian; and separating their habitations, each of them had his particular place of residence. Romulus occupied the Palatine and Caelian hills, the latter being next to the Palatine, and Tatius the Capitoline hill, which he had seized in the beginning, and the Quirinal. [2] And cutting down the wood that grew on the plain at the foot of the Capitoline and filling up the greatest part of the lake, which, since it lay in a hollow, was kept well supplied by the waters that came down from the hills, they converted the plain into a forum, which the Romans continue to use even now; there they held their assemblies, transacting their business in the temple of Vulcan, which stands a little above the Forum. [3] They built temples also and consecrated altars to those gods to whom they had addressed their vows during their battles: Romulus to Jupiter Stator, near the Porta Mugonia, as it is called, which leads to the Palatine hill from the Sacred Way, because this god had heard his vows and had caused his army to stop in its flight and to renew the battle; and Tatius to the Sun and Moon, to Saturn and to Rhea, and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, Enyalius, and to other gods whose names are difficult to be expressed in the Greek language; and in every curia he dedicated tables to Juno called Quiritis, which remain even to this day. [4] For five years, then, the kings reigned together in perfect harmony, during which time they engaged in one joint undertaking, the expedition against the Camerini; for these people, who kept sending out bands of robbers and doing great injury to the country of the Romans, would not agree to have the case submitted to judicial investigation, though often summoned by the Romans to do so. After conquering the Camerini in a pitched battle (for they came to blows with them) and later besieging and taking their town by storm, they disarmed the inhabitants and deprived them of a third part of their land, which they divided among their own people. [5] And when the Camerini proceeded to harass the new settlers, they marched out against them, and having put them to flight, divided all their possessions among their own people, but permitted as many of the inhabitants as wished to so to live at Rome. These amounted to about four thousand, whom they distributed among the curiae, and they made their city a Roman colony. Cameria was a colony of the Albans planted long before the founding of Rome, and anciently one of the most celebrated habitations of the Aborigines.

[51.1] But in the sixth year, the government of the city devolved once more upon Romulus alone, Tatius having lost his life as the result of a plot which the principal men of Lavinium formed against him. The occasion for the plot was this. Some friends of Tatius had led out a band of robbers into the territory of the Lavinians, where they seized a great many of their effects and drove away their herds of cattle, killing or wounding those who came to the rescue. [2] Upon the arrival of an embassy from the injured to demand satisfaction, Romulus decided that those who had done the injury should be

delivered up for punishment to those they had wronged. Tatius, however, espousing the cause of his friends, would not consent that any persons should be taken into custody by their enemies before trial, and particularly Roman citizens by outsiders, but ordered those who complained that they had been injured to come to Rome and proceed against the others according to law. [3] The ambassadors, accordingly, having failed to obtain any satisfaction, went away full of resentment; and some of the Sabines, incensed at their action, followed them and set upon them while they were asleep in their tents, which they had pitched near the road when evening overtook them, and not only robbed them of their money, but cut the throats of all they found still in their beds; those, however, who perceived the plot promptly and were able to make their escape got back to their city. After this ambassadors came both from Lavinium and from many cities, complaining of this lawless deed and threatening war if they should not obtain justice.

[52.1] This violence committed against the ambassadors appeared to Romulus, as indeed it was, a terrible crime and one calling for speedy expiation, since it had been in violation of a sacred law; and finding that Tatius was making light of it, he himself, without further delay, caused those who had been guilty of the outrage to be seized and delivered up in chains to the ambassadors to be led away. [2] But Tatius not only was angered at the indignity which he complained he had received from his colleague in the delivering up of the men, but was also moved with compassion for those who were being led away (for one of the guilty persons was actually a relation of his); and immediately, taking his soldiers with him, he went in haste to their assistance, and overtaking the ambassadors on the road, he took the prisoners from them. [3] But not long afterwards, as some say, when he had gone with Romulus to Lavinium in order to perform a sacrifice which it was necessary for the kings to offer to the ancestral gods for the prosperity of the city, the friends and relations of the ambassadors who had been murdered, having conspired against him, slew him at the altar with the knives and spits used in cutting up and roasting the oxen. [4] But Licinius writes that he did not go with Romulus nor, indeed, on account of any sacrifices, but that he went alone, with the intention of persuading those who had received the injuries to forgive the authors of them, and that when weight people became angry because the men were not delivered up to them in accordance with the decision both of Romulus and of the Roman senate, and the relations of the slain men rushed upon him in great numbers, he was no longer able to escape summary justice and was stoned to death by them. [5] Such was the end to which Tatius came, after he had warred against Romulus for three years and had been his colleague for five. His body was brought to Rome, where it was given honourable burial; and the city offers public libations to him every year.

[53.1] But Romulus, now established for the second time as sole ruler, expiated the crime committed against the ambassadors by forbidding those who had perpetrated the outrage the use of fire and water; for upon the death

of Tatius they had all fled from the city. After that, he brought to trial the Lavinians who had conspired against Tatius and who had been delivered up by their own city, and when they seemed to plead, with considerable justice, that they had but avenged violence with violence, he freed them of the charge. [2] After he had attended to these matters, he led out his army against the city of Fidenae, which was situated forty stades from Rome and was at that time both large and populous. For on an occasion when the Romans were oppressed by famine and provisions which the people of Crustumerium had sent to them were being brought down the river in boats, the Fidenates crowded aboard the boats in great numbers, seized the provisions and killed some of the men who defended them, and when called upon to make satisfaction, they refused to do so. [3] Romulus, incensed at this, made an incursion into their territory with a considerable force, and having possessed himself of a great quantity of booty, was preparing to lead his army home; but when the Fidenates came out against him, he gave them battle. After a severe struggle, in which many fell on both sides, the enemy were defeated and put to flight, and Romulus, following close upon their heels, rushed inside the walls along with the fugitives. [4] When the city had been taken at the first assault, he punished a few of the citizens, and left a guard of three hundred men there; and taking from the inhabitants a part of their territory, which he divided among his own people, he made this city also a Roman colony. It had been founded by the Albans at the same time with Nomentum and Crustumerium, three brothers having been the leaders of the colony, of whom the eldest built Fidenae.

[54.1] After this war Romulus undertook another against the Camerini, who had attacked the Roman colonists in their midst while the city of Rome was suffering from a pestilence; it was this situation in particular that encouraged the Camerini, and believing that the Roman nation would be totally destroyed by the calamity, they killed some of the colonists and expelled the rest. [2] In revenge for this Romulus, after he had a second time made himself master of the city, put to death the authors of the revolt and permitted his soldiers to plunder the city; and he also took away half the land besides that which had been previously granted to the Roman settlers. And having left a garrison in the city sufficient to quell any future uprising of the inhabitants, he departed with his forces. As the result of this expedition he celebrated a second triumph, and out of the spoils he dedicated a chariot and four in bronze to Vulcan, and near it he set up his own statue with an inscription in Greek characters setting forth his deeds. [3] The third war Romulus engaged in was against the most powerful city of the Tyrrhenian race at that time, called Veii, distant from Rome about a hundred stades; it is situated on a high and craggy rock and is as large as Athens. The Veientes made the taking of Fidenae the pretext for this war, and sending ambassadors, they bade the Romans withdraw their garrison from that city and restore to its original possessors the territory they had taken from them and were now occupying. And when their

demand was not heeded, they took the field with a great army and established their camp in a conspicuous place near Fidenae. [4] Romulus, however, having received advance information of their march, had set out with the flower of his army and lay ready at Fidenae to receive them. When all their preparations were made for the struggle, both armies advanced into the plain and came to grips, and they continued fighting with great ardour for a long time, till the coming on of night parted them, after they had proved themselves evenly matched in the struggle. This was the course of the first battle.

[55.1] But in a second battle, which was fought not long afterwards, the Romans were victorious as the result of the strategy of their general, who had occupied in the night a certain height not far distant from the enemy's camp and placed there in ambush the choicest both of the horse and foot that had come to him from Rome since the last action. [2] The two armies met in the plain and fought in the same manner as before; but when Romulus raised the signal to the troops that lay in ambush on the height, these, raising the battle cry, rushed upon the Veientes from the rear, and being themselves fresh while the enemy were fatigued, they point them to flight with no great difficulty. Some few of them were slain in battle, but the great part, throwing themselves into the Tiber, which flows by Fidenae, with the intention of swimming across the river, were drowned; for, being wounded and spent with labour, they were unable to swim across, while others, who did not know how to swim and had not looked ahead, having lost all presence of mind in face of the danger, perished in the eddies of the river. [3] If, now, the Veientes had realized that their first plans had been ill-advised and had remained quiet after this, they would have met with no greater misfortune; but, as it was, hoping to repair their former losses and believing that if they attacked with a larger force they would easily conquer in the war, they set out a second time against the Romans with a large army, consisting both of the levy from the city itself and of others of the same race who in virtue of their league came to their assistance. [4] Upon this, another severe battle was fought near Fidenae, in which the Romans were victorious, after killing many of the Veientes and taking more of them prisoners. Even their camp was taken, which was full of money, arms and slaves, and likewise their boats, which were laden with great store of provisions; and in these the multitude of prisoners were carried down the river to Rome. [5] This was the third triumph that Romulus celebrated, and it was much more magnificent than either of the former. And when, not long afterwards, ambassadors arrived from the Veientes to seek an end to the war and to ask pardon for their offences, Romulus imposed the following penalties upon them: to deliver up to the Romans the country adjacent to the Tiber, called the Seven Districts, and to abandon the salt-works near the mouth of the river, and also to bring fifty hostages as a pledge that they would attempt no uprising in the future. [6] When the Veientes submitted to all these demands, he made a treaty with them for one hundred years and engraved terms of it on pillars. He then dismissed without ransom all the prisoners who

desired to return home; but those who preferred to remain in Rome — and these were far more numerous than the others — he made citizens, distributing them among the curiae and assigning to them allotments of land on this side of the Tiber.

[56.1] These are the memorable wars which Romulus waged. His failure to subdue any more of the neighbouring nations seems to have been due to his sudden death, which happened while he was still in the vigour of his age for warlike achievements. There are many different stories concerning it. [2] Those who give a rather fabulous account of his life say that while he was haranguing his men in the camp, sudden darkness rushed down out of a clear sky and a violent storm burst, after which he was nowhere to be seen; and these writers believe that he was caught up into heaven by his father, Mars. [3] But those who write the more plausible accounts say that he was killed by his own people; and the reason they allege for his murder is that he released without the common consent, contrary to custom, the hostages he had taken from the Veientes, and that he no longer comported himself in the same manner toward the original citizens and toward those who were enrolled later, but showed greater honour to the former and slighted the latter, and also because of his great cruelty in the punishment of delinquents (for instance, he had ordered a group of Romans who were accused of brigandage against the neighbouring peoples to be hurled down the precipice after he had sat alone in judgment upon them, although they were neither of mean birth nor few in number), but chiefly because he now seemed to be harsh and arbitrary and to be exercising his power more like a tyrant than a king. [4] For these reasons, they say, the patricians formed a conspiracy against him and resolved to slay him; and having carried out the deed in the senate-house, they divided his body into several pieces, that it might not be seen, and then came out, each one hiding his part of the body under his robes, and afterwards burying it in secret. [5] Others say that while haranguing the people he was slain by the new citizens of Rome, and that they undertook the murder at the time when the rain and the darkness occurred, the assembly of the people being then dispersed and their chief left without his guard. And for this reason, they say, the day on which this event happened got its name from the flight of the people and is called *Populifugia* down to our times. [6] Be that as it may, the incidents that occurred by the direction of Heaven in connexion with this man's conception and death would seem to give no small authority to the view of those who make gods of mortal men and place the souls of illustrious persons in heaven. For they say that at the time when his mother was violated, whether by some man or by a god, there was a total eclipse of the sun and a general darkness as in the night covered the earth, and that at his death the same thing happened. [7] Such, then, is reported to have been the death of Romulus, who built Rome and was chosen by her citizens as their first king. He left no issue, and after reigning thirty-seven years, died in the fifty-fifth year of his age; for he was very young when he obtained the rule, being no

more than eighteen years old, as is agreed by all who have written his history.

[57.1] The following year there was no king of the Romans elected, but a certain magistracy, called by them an interregnum, had the oversight of public affairs, being created in much the following manner: The patricians who had been enrolled in the senate under Romulus, being, as I have said, two hundred in number, were divided into decuriae; then, when lots had been cast, the first ten persons upon whom the lot fell were invested by the rest with the absolute rule of the State. [2] They did not, however, all reign together, but successively, each for five days, during which time they had both the rods and the other insignia of the royal power. The first, after his power had expired, handed over the government to the second, and he to the third, and so on to the last. After the first ten had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the rule from them, and from those in turn others. [3] But presently the people decided to abolish the rule of the decuriae, being irked by all the changes of power, since the men did not all have either the same purposes or the same natural abilities. Thereupon the senators, calling the people together in assembly by tribes and curiae, permitted them to consider the form of government and determine whether they wished to entrust the public interests to a king or to annual magistrates. [4] The people, however, did not take the choice upon themselves, but referred the decision to the senator, intimating that they would be satisfied with whichever form of government the others should approve. The senators all favoured establishing a monarchical form of government, but strife arose over the question from which group the future king should be chosen. For some thought that the one who was to govern the commonwealth ought to be chosen from among the original senators, and others that he should be chosen from among those who had been admitted afterwards and whom they called new senators.

[58.1] The contest being drawn out to a great length, they at last reached an agreement on the basis that one of two courses should be followed — either the older senators should choose the king, who must not, however, be one of themselves, but might be anyone else whom they should regard as most suitable, or the new senators should do the same. The older senators accepted the right of choosing, and after a long consultation among themselves decided that, since by their agreement they themselves were excluded from the sovereignty, they would not confer it on any of the newly-appointed senators, either, but would find some man from outside who would espouse neither party, and declare him king, as the most effectual means of putting an end to party strife. [2] After they had come to this resolution, they chose a man of the Sabine race, the son of Pompilius Pompon, a person of distinction, whose name was Numa. He was in that stage of life, being near forty, in which prudence is the most conspicuous, and of an aspect full of royal dignity; [3] and he enjoyed the greatest renown for wisdom, not only among the citizens of Cures, but among all the neighbouring peoples as well. After reaching this

decision the senators assembled the people, and that one of their number who was then the interrex, coming forward, told them that the senators had unanimously resolved to establish a monarchical form of government and that he, having been empowered to decide who should succeed to the rule, chose Numa Pompilius as king of the State. After this he appointed ambassadors from among the patricians and sent them to conduct Numa to Rome that he might assume the royal power. This happened in the third year of the sixteenth Olympiad, at which Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian, won the foot-race.

[59.1] Up to this point, then, I have nothing to allege in contradiction to those who have published the history of this man; but in regard to what follows I am at a loss what to say. For many have written that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras and that when he was chosen king by the Romans he was studying philosophy at Croton. But the date of Pythagoras contradicts this account, [2] since he was not merely a few years younger than Numa, but actually lived four whole generations later, as we learn from universal history; for Numa succeeded to the sovereignty of the Romans in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad, whereas Pythagoras resided in Italy after the fiftieth Olympiad. [3] But I can advance yet a stronger argument to prove that the chronology is incompatible with the reports handed down about Numa, and that is, that at the time when he was called to the sovereignty by the Romans the city of Croton did not yet exist; for it was not until four whole years after Numa had begun to rule the Romans that Myscelus founded this city, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. Accordingly, it was impossible for Numa either to have studied philosophy with Pythagoras the Samian, who flourished four generations after him, or to have resided in Croton, a city not as yet in existence when the Romans called him to the sovereignty. [4] But if I may express my own opinion, those who have written his history seem to have taken these two admitted facts, namely, the residence of Pythagoras in Italy and the wisdom of Numa (for he has been allowed by everybody to have been a wise man), and combining them, to have made Numa a disciple of Pythagoras, without going on to inquire whether they both flourished at the same period — unless, indeed, one is going to assume that there was another Pythagoras who taught philosophy before the Samian, and that with him Numa associated. But I do not know how this could be proved, since it is not supported, so far as I know, by the testimony of any author of note, either Greek or Roman. But I have said enough on this subject.

[60.1] When the ambassadors came to Numa to invite him to the sovereignty, he for some time refused it and long persisted in his resolution not to accept the royal power. But when his brothers kept urging him insistently and at last his father argued that the offer of so great an honour ought not to be rejected, he consented to become king. [2] As soon as the Romans were informed of this by the ambassadors, they conceived a great yearning for the man before they saw him, esteeming it a sufficient proof of his wisdom that, while the others had valued sovereignty beyond measure, looking upon it as the source of

happiness, he alone despised it as a paltry thing and unworthy of serious attention. And when he approached the city, they met him upon the road and with great applause, salutations and other honours conducted him into the city. [3] After that, an assembly of the people was held, in which the tribes by curiae gave their votes in his favour; and when the resolution of the people had been confirmed by the patricians, and, last of all, the augurs had reported that the heavenly signs were auspicious, he assumed the office. [4] The Romans say that he undertook no military campaign, but that, being a pious and just man, he passed the whole period of his reign in peace and caused the State to be most excellently governed. They relate also many marvellous stories about him, attributing his human wisdom to the suggestions of the gods. [5] For they fabulously affirm that a certain nymph, Egeria, used to visit him and instruct him on each occasion in the art of reigning, though others say that it was not a nymph, but one of the Muses. And this, they claim, became clear to every one; for, when people were incredulous at first, as may well be supposed, and regarded the story concerning the goddess as an invention, he, in order to give the unbelievers a manifest proof of his converse with this divinity, did as follows, pursuant to her instructions. [6] He invited to the house where he lived a great many of the Romans, all men of worth, and having shown them his apartments, very meanly provided with furniture and particularly lacking in everything that was necessary to entertain a numerous company, he ordered them to depart for the time being, but invited them to dinner in the evening. [7] And when they came at the appointed hour, he showed them rich couches and tables laden with a multitude of beautiful cups, and when they were at table, he set before them a banquet consisting of all sorts of viands, such a banquet, indeed, as it would not have been easy for any man in those days to have prepared in a long time. The Romans were astonished at everything they saw, and from that time they entertained a firm belief that some goddess held converse with him.

[61.1] But those who banish everything that is fabulous from history say that the report concerning Egeria was invented by Numa, to the end that, when once the people were possessed with a fear of the gods, they might more readily pay regard to him and willingly receive the laws he should enact, as coming from the gods. [2] They say that in this he followed the example of the Greeks, emulating the wisdom both of Minos the Cretan and of Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. For the former of these claimed to hold converse with Zeus, and going frequently to the Dictaeon mountain, in which the Cretan legends say that the new-born Zeus was brought up by the Curetes, he used to descend into the holy cave; and having composed his laws there, he would produce them, affirming that he had received them from Zeus. And Lycurgus, paying visits to Delphi, said he was forming his code of laws under the instruction of Apollo. [3] But, as I am sensible that to give a particular account of the legendary histories, and especially of those relating to gods, would require a long discussion, I shall omit doing so, and shall relate instead the benefits

which the Romans seem to me to have received from this man's rule, according to the information I have derived from their own histories. But first I will show in what confusion the affairs of the State were before he came to the throne.

[62.1] After the death of Romulus the senate, being now in full control of the government and having held the supreme power for one year, as I have related, began to be at odds with itself and to split into factions over questions of pre-eminence and equality. For the Alban element, who together with Romulus had planted the colony, claimed the right, not only of delivering their opinions first and enjoying the greatest honours, but also of being courted by the newcomers. [2] Those, on the other hand, who had been admitted afterwards into the number of the patricians from among the new settlers thought that they ought not to be excluded from any honours or to stand in an inferior position to the others. This was felt particularly by those who were of the Sabine race and who, in virtue the treaty made by Romulus with Tatius, supposed they had been granted citizenship by the original inhabitants on equal terms, and that they had shown the same favour to the former in their turn. [3] The senate being thus at odds, the clients also were divided into two parties and each joined their respective factions. There were, too, among the plebeians not a few, lately admitted into the number of the citizens, who, having never assisted Romulus in any of his wars, had been neglected by him and had received neither a share of land nor any booty. These, having no home, but being poor and vagabonds, were by necessity enemies to their superiors and quite ripe for revolution. [4] So Numa, having found the affairs of the State in such a raging sea of confusion, first relieved the poor among the plebeians by distributing to them some small part of the land which Romulus had possessed and of the public land; and afterwards he allayed the strife of the patricians, not by depriving them of anything the founders of the city had gained, but by bestowing some other honours on the new settlers. [5] And having attuned the whole body of the people, like a musical instrument, to the sole consideration of the public good and enlarged the circuit of the city by the addition of the Quirinal hill (for till that time it was still without a wall), he then addressed himself to the other measures of government, labouring to inculcate these two things by the possession of which he conceived the State would become prosperous and great: first, piety, by informing his subjects that the gods are the givers and guardians of every blessing to mortal men, and, second, justice, through which, he showed them, the blessings also which the gods bestow bring honest enjoyment to their possessors.

[63.1] As regards the laws and institutions by which he made great progress in both these directions, I do not think it fitting that I should enter into all the details, not only because I fear the length of such a discussion but also because I do not regard the recording of them as necessary to a history intended for Greeks; but I shall give a summary account of the principal

measures, which are sufficient to reveal the man's whole purpose, beginning with his regulations concerning the worship of the gods. [2] I should state, however, that all those rites which he found established by Romulus, either in custom or in law, he left untouched, looking upon them all as established in the best possible manner. But whatever he thought had been overlooked by his predecessor, he added, consecrating many precincts to those gods who had hitherto received no honours, erecting many altars and temples, instituting festivals in honour of each, and appointing priests to have charge of their sanctuaries and rites, and enacting laws concerning purifications, ceremonies, expiations and many other observances and honours in greater number than are to be found in any other city, either Greek or barbarian, even in those that have prided themselves the most at one time or another upon their piety. [3] He also ordered that Romulus himself, as one who had shown a greatness beyond mortal nature, should be honoured, under the name of Quirinus, by the erection of a temple and by sacrifices throughout the year. For while the Romans were yet in doubt whether divine providence or human treachery had been the cause of his disappearance, a certain man, named Julius, descended from Ascanius, who was a husbandman and of such a blameless life that he would never have told an untruth for his private advantage, arrived in the Forum and said that, as he was coming in from the country, he saw Romulus departing from the city fully armed and that, as he drew near to him, he heard him say these words: [4] "Julius, announce to the Romans from me, that the genius to whom I was allotted at my birth is conducting me to the gods, now that I have finished my mortal life, and that I am Quirinus." Numa, having reduced his whole system of religious laws to writing, divided them into eight parts, that being the number of the different classes of religious ceremonies.

[64.1] The first division of religious rites he assigned to the thirty *curiones*, who, as I have stated, perform the public sacrifices for the *curiae*. [2] The second, to those called by the Greeks *stephanêphoroi* or "wearers of the crown" and by the Romans *flamines*; they are given this name from their wearing caps and fillets, called † *flama*, which they continue to wear even to this day. [3] The third, to the commanders of the *celeres*, who, as I have stated, were appointed to be the body-guards of the kings and fought both as cavalry and infantry; for these also performed certain specified religious rites. [4] The fourth, to those who interpret the signs sent by the gods and determine what they portend both to private persons and to the public; these, from one branch of the speculations belonging to their art, the Romans call *augurs*, and we should call them *oiônopoloi* or "soothsayers by means of birds"; they are skilled in all sorts of divination in use among the Romans, whether founded on signs appearing in the heavens, in mid-air or on the earth. [5] The fifth he assigned to the virgins who are the guardians of the sacred fire and who are called *Vestals* by the Romans, after the goddess whom they serve, he himself having been the first to build a temple at Rome to Vesta and to appoint virgins to be her priestesses. But concerning them it is necessary to make a few

statements that are most essential, since the subject requires it; for there are problems that have been thought worthy of investigation by many Roman historians in connexion with this topic and those authors who have not diligently examined into the causes of these matters have published rather worthless accounts.

[65.1] At any rate, as regards the building of the temple of Vesta, some ascribe it to Romulus, looking upon it as an inconceivable thing that, when a city was being founded by a man skilled in divination, a public hearth should not have been erected first of all, particularly since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where the temple of this goddess had been established from ancient times, and since his mother had been her priestess. And recognizing two classes of religious ceremonies — the one public and common to all the citizens, and the other private and confined to particular families — they declare that on both these grounds Romulus was under every obligation to worship this goddess. [2] For they say that nothing is more necessary for men than a public hearth, and that nothing more nearly concerned Romulus, in view of his descent, since his ancestors had brought the sacred rites of this goddess from Ilium and his mother had been her priestess. Those, then, who for these reasons ascribe the building of the temple to Romulus rather than to Numa seem to be right, in so far as the general principle is concerned, that when a city was being founded, it was necessary for a hearth to be established first of all, particularly by a man who was not unskilled in matters of religion; but of the details relating to the building of the present temple and to the virgins who are in the service of the goddess they seem to have been ignorant. [3] For, in the first place, it was not Romulus who consecrated to the goddess this place where the sacred fire is preserved (a strong proof of this is that it is outside of what they call *Roma Quadrata*, which he surrounded with a wall, whereas all men place the shrine of the public hearth in the best part of a city and nobody outside of the walls); and, in the second place, he did not appoint the service of the goddess to be performed by virgins, being mindful, I believe, of the experience that had befallen his mother, who while she was serving the goddess lost her virginity; for he doubtless felt that the remembrance of his domestic misfortunes would make it impossible for him to punish according to the traditional laws any of the priestesses he should find to have been violated. [4] For this reason, therefore, he did not build a common temple of Vesta nor did he appoint virgins to be her priestesses; but having erected a hearth in each of the thirty *curiae* on which the members sacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the *curiae* to be the priests of those hearths, therein imitating the customs of the Greeks that are still observed in the most ancient cities. At any rate, what are called *prytaneia* among them are temples of Hestia, and are served by the chief magistrates of the cities.

[66.1] Numa, upon taking over the rule, did not disturb the individual hearths of the *curiae*, but erected one common to them all in the space between the

Capitoline hill and the Palatine (for these hills had already been united by a single wall into one city, and the Forum, in which the temple is built, lies between them), and he enacted, in accordance with the ancestral custom of the Latins, that the guarding of the holy things should be committed to virgins. [2] There is some doubt, however, what it is that is kept in this temple and for what reason the care of it has been assigned to virgins, some affirming that nothing is preserved there but the fire, which is visible to everybody. And they very reasonably argue that the custody of the fire was committed to virgins, rather than to men, because fire is incorrupt and a virgin is undefiled, and the most chaste of mortal things must be agreeable to the purest of those that are divine. [3] And they regard the fire as consecrated to Vesta because that goddess, being the earth and occupying the central place in the universe, kindles the celestial fires from herself. But there are some who say that besides the fire there are some holy things in the temple of the goddess that may not be revealed to the public, of which only the pontiffs and the virgins have knowledge. As a strong confirmation of this story they cite what happened at the burning of the temple during the First Punic War between the Romans and the Carthaginians over Sicily. [4] For when the temple caught fire and the virgins fled from the flames, one of the pontiffs, Lucius Caecilius, called Metellus, a man of consular rank, the same who exhibited a hundred and thirty-eight elephants in the memorable triumph which he celebrated for his defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, neglecting his own safety for the sake of the public good, ventured to force his way into the burning structure, and, snatching up the holy things which the virgins had abandoned, saved them from the fire; for which he received the honours from the State, as the inscription upon his statue on the Capitol testifies. [5] Taking this incident, then, as an admitted fact, they add some conjectures of their own. Thus, some affirm that the objects preserved here are a part of those holy things which were once in Samothrace; that Dardanus removed them out of that island into the city which he himself had built, and that Aeneas, when he fled from the Troad, brought them along with the other holy things into Italy. But others declare that it is the Palladium that fell from Heaven, the same that was in the possession of the people of Ilium; for they hold that Aeneas, being well acquainted with it, brought it into Italy, whereas the Achaeans stole away the copy, — an incident about which many stories have been related both by poets and by historians. [6] For my part, I find from very many evidences that there are indeed some holy things, unknown to the public, kept by the virgins, and not the fire alone; but what they are I do not think should be inquired into too curiously, either by me or by anyone else who wishes to observe the reverence due to the gods.

[67.1] The virgins who serve the goddess were originally four and were chosen by the kings according to the principles established by Numa, but afterwards, from the multiplicity of the sacred rites they perform, their number was increased of six, and has so remained down to our time. They live

in the temple of the goddess, into which none who wish are hindered from entering in the daytime, whereas it is not lawful for any man to remain there at night. [2] They were required to remain undefiled by marriage for the space of thirty years, devoting themselves to offering sacrifices and performing the other rites ordained by law. During the first ten years their duty was to learn their functions, in the second ten to perform them, and during the remaining ten to teach others. After the expiration of the term of thirty years nothing hindered those who so desired from marrying, upon laying aside their fillets and the other insignia of their priesthood. And some, though very few, have done this; but they came to ends that were not at all happy or enviable. In consequence, the rest, looking upon their misfortunes as ominous, remain virgins in the temple of the goddess till their death, and then once more another is chosen by the pontiffs to supply the vacancy. [3] Many high honours have been granted them by the commonwealth, as a result of which they feel no desire either for marriage or for children; and severe penalties have been established for their misdeeds. It is the pontiffs who by law both inquire into and punish these offences; to Vestals who are guilty of lesser misdemeanours they scourge with rods, but those who have suffered defilement they deliver up to the most shameful and the most miserable death. [4] While they are yet alive they are carried upon a bier with all the formality of a funeral, their friends and relations attending them with lamentations, and after being brought as far as the Colline Gate, they are placed in an underground cell prepared within the walls, clad in their funeral attire; but they are not given a monument or funeral rites or any other customary solemnities. [5] There are many indications, it seems, when a priestess is not performing her holy functions with purity, but the principal one is the extinction of the fire, which the Romans dread above all misfortunes, looking upon it, from whatever cause it proceeds, as an omen that portends the destruction of the city; and they bring fire again into the temple with many supplicatory rites, concerning which I shall speak on the proper occasion.

[68.1] However, it is also well worth relating in what manner the goddess has manifested herself in favour of those virgins who have been falsely accused. For these things, however incredible they may be, have been believed by the Romans and their historians have related much about them. [2] To be sure, the professors of the atheistic philosophies, — if, indeed, their theories deserve the name of philosophy, — who ridicule all the manifestations of the gods which have taken place among either the Greeks or barbarians, will also laugh these reports to scorn and attribute them to human imposture, on the ground that none of the gods concern themselves in anything relating to mankind. Those, however, who do not absolve the gods from the care of human affairs, but, after looking deeply into history, hold that they are favourable to the good and hostile to the wicked, will not regard even these manifestations as incredible. [3] It is said, then, that once, when the fire had been extinguished through some negligence on the part of Aemilia, who had the care of it at the

time and had entrusted it to another virgin, one of those who had been newly chosen and were then learning their duties, the whole city was in great commotion and an inquiry was made by the pontiffs whether there might not have been some defilement of the priestess to account for the extinction of the fire. Thereupon, they say, Aemilia, who was innocent, but distracted at what had happened, stretched out her hands toward the altar and in the presence of the priests and the rest of the virgins cried: [4] “O Vesta, guardian of the Romans’ city, if, during the space of nearly thirty years, I have performed the sacred offices to thee in a holy and proper manner, keeping a pure mind and a chaste body, do thou manifest thyself in my defence and assist me and do not suffer thy priestess to die the most miserable of all deaths; but if I have been guilty of any impious deed, let my punishment expiate the guilt of the city.” [5] Having said this, she tore off the band of the linen garment she had on and threw it upon the altar, they say, following her prayer; and from the ashes, which had been long cold and retained no spark, a great flame flared up through the linen, so that the city no longer required either expiations or a new fire.

[69.1] But what I am going to relate is still more wonderful and more like a myth. They say that somebody unjustly accused one of the holy virgins, whose name was Tuccia, and although he was unable to point to the extinction of the fire as evidence, he advanced false arguments based on plausible proofs and depositions; and that the virgin, being ordered to make her defence, said only this, that she would clear herself from the accusation by her deeds. [2] Having said this and called upon the goddess to be her guide, she led the way to the Tiber, with the consent of the pontiffs and escorted by the whole population of the city; and when she came to the river, she was so hardy as to undertake the task which, according to the proverb, is among the most impossible of achievement: she drew up water from the river in a sieve, and carrying it as far as the Forum, poured it out at the feet of the pontiffs. [3] After which, they say, her accuser, though great search was made for him, could never be found either alive or dead. But, though I have yet many other things to say concerning the manifestations of this goddess, I regard what has already been said as sufficient.

[70.1] The sixth division of his religious institutions was devoted to those the Romans call *Salii*, whom Numa himself appointed out of the patricians, choosing twelve young men of the most graceful appearance. These are the *Salii* whose holy things are deposited on the Palatine hill and who are themselves called the (*Salii*) *Palatini*; for the (*Salii*) *Agonales*, by some called the *Salii Collini*, the repository of whose holy things is on the Quirinal hill, were appointed after Numa’s time by King Hostilius, in pursuance of a vow he had made in the war against the Sabines. All these *Salii* are a kind of dancers and singers of hymns in praise of the gods of war. [2] Their festival falls about the time of the Panathenaea, in the month which they call March, and is celebrated at the public expense for many days, during which they

proceed through the city with their dances to the Forum and to the Capitol and to many other places both private and public. They wear embroidered tunics girt about with wide girdles of bronze, and over these are fastened, with brooches, robes striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, which they call *trabae*; this garment is peculiar to the Romans and a mark of the greatest honour. On their heads they wear *apices*, as they are called, that is, high caps contracted into the shape of a cone, which the Greeks call *kyrbasiai*. [3] They have each of them a sword hanging at their girdle and in their right hand they hold a spear or a staff or something else of the sort, and on their left arm a Thracian buckler, which resembles a lozenge-shaped shield with its sides drawn in, such as those are said to carry who among the Greeks perform the sacred rites of the *Curetes*. [4] And, in my opinion at least, the *Salii*, if the word be translated into Greek, are *Curetes*, whom, because they are *kouroi* or “young men,” we call by that name from their age, whereas the Romans call them *Salii* from their lively motions. For to leap and skip is by them called *salire*; and for the same reason they call all other dancers *saltatores*, deriving their name from the *Salii*, because their dancing also is attended by much leaping and capering. [5] Whether I have been well advised or not in giving them this appellation, anyone who pleases may gather from their actions. For they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turns, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns. But this dance and exercise performed by armed men and the noise they make by striking their bucklers with their daggers, if we may base any conjectures on the ancient accounts, was originated by the *Curetes*. I need not mention the legend which is related concerning them, since almost everybody is acquainted with it.

[71.1] Among the vast number of bucklers which both the *Salii* themselves bear and some of their servants carry suspended from rods, they say there is one that fell from heaven and was found in the palace of Numa, though no one had brought it thither and no buckler of that shape had ever before been known among the Italians; and that for both these reasons the Romans concluded that this buckler had been sent by the gods. [2] They add that Numa, desiring that it should be honoured by being carried through the city on holy days by the most distinguished young men and that annual sacrifices should be offered to it, but at the same time being fearful both of the plot of his enemies and of its disappearance by theft, caused many other bucklers to be made resembling the one which fell from heaven, *Mamurius*, an artificer, having undertaken the work; so that, as a result of the perfect resemblance of the man-made imitations, the shape of the buckler sent by the gods was rendered inconspicuous and difficult to be distinguished by those who might plot to possess themselves of it. [3] This dancing after the manner of the *Curetes* was a native institution among the Romans and was held in great honour by them, as I gather from many other indications and especially from what takes place in their processions both in the Circus and in the theatres. [4]

For in all of them young men clad in handsome tunics, with helmets, swords and bucklers, march in file. These are the leaders of the procession and are called by the Romans, from a game of which the Lydians seem to have been the inventors, ludiones; they show merely a certain resemblance, in my opinion, to the Salii, since they do not, like the Salii, do any of the things characteristic of the Curetes, either in their hymns or dancing. And it was necessary that the Salii should be free men and native Romans and that both their fathers and mothers should be living; whereas the others are of any condition whatsoever. But why should I say more about them?

[72.1] The seventh division of his sacred institutions was devoted to the college of the *fetiales*; these may be called in Greek *eirênodikai* or “arbiters of peace.” They are chosen men, from the best families, and exercise their holy office for life; King Numa was also the first who instituted this holy magistracy among the Romans. [2] But whether he took his example from those called the *Aequicoli*, according to the opinion of some, or from the city of Ardea, as Gellius writes, I cannot say. It is sufficient for me to state that before Numa’s reign the college of the *fetiales* did not exist among the Romans. [3] It was instituted by Numa when he was upon the point of making war on the people of Fidenae, who had raided and ravaged his territories, in order to see whether they would come to an accommodation with him without war; and that is what they actually did, being constrained by necessity. But since the college of the *fetiales* is not in use among the Greeks, I think it incumbent on me to relate how many and how great affairs fall under its jurisdiction, to the end that those who are unacquainted with the piety practised by the *ares* of those times may not be surprised to find that all their wars had the most successful outcome; for it will appear that the origins and motives of them all were most holy, and for this reason especially the gods were propitious to them in the dangers that attended them. [4] The multitude of duties, to be sure, that fall within the province of these *fetiales* makes it no easy matter to enumerate them all; but to indicate them by a summary outline, they are as follows: It is their duty to take care that the Romans do not enter upon an unjust war against any city in alliance with them, and if others begin the violation of treaties against them, to go as ambassadors and first make formal demand for justice, and then, if the others refuse to comply with their demands, to sanction war. [5] In like manner, if any people in alliance with the Romans complain of having been injured by them and demand justice, these men are to determine whether they have suffered anything in violation of their alliance; and if they find are complaints well grounded, they are to seize the accused and deliver them up to the injured parties. They are also to take cognizance of the crimes committed against ambassadors, to take care that treaties are religiously observed, to make peace, and if they find that peace has been made otherwise than is prescribed by the holy laws, to set it aside; and to inquire into and expiate the transgressions of the generals in so far as they relate to oaths and treaties, concerning which I shall speak in the proper

places. [6] As to the functions they performed in the quality of heralds when they went to any city thought to have injured the Romans (for these things also are worthy of our knowledge, since they were carried out with great regard to both religion and justice), I have received the following account: One of these *fetiales*, chosen by his colleagues, wearing his sacred robes and insignia to distinguish him from all others, proceeded towards the city whose inhabitants had done the injury; and, stopping at the border, he called upon Jupiter and the rest of the gods to witness that he was come to demand justice on behalf of the Roman State. [7] Thereupon he took an oath that he was going to a city that had done an injury; and having uttered the most dreadful imprecations against himself and Rome, if what he averred was not true, he then entered their borders. Afterwards, he called to witness the first person he met, whether it was one of the countrymen or one of the townspeople, and having repeated the same imprecations, he advanced towards the city. And before he entered it he called to witness in the same manner the gate-keeper or the first person he met at the gates, after which he proceeded to the forum; and taking his stand there, he discussed with the magistrates the reasons for his coming, adding everywhere the same oaths and imprecations. [8] If, then, they were disposed to offer satisfaction by delivering up the guilty, he departed as a friend taking leave of friends, carrying the prisoners with him. Or, if they desired time to deliberate, he allowed them ten days, after which he returned and waited till they had made this request three times. But after the expiration of the thirty days, if the city still persisted in refusing to grant him justice, he called both the celestial and infernal gods to witness and went away, saying no more than this, that the Roman State would deliberate at its leisure concerning these people. [9] Afterwards he, together with the other *fetiales*, appeared before the senate and declared that they had done everything that was ordained by the holy laws, and that, if the senators wished to vote for war, there would be no obstacle on the part of the gods. But if any of these things was omitted, neither the senate nor the people had the power to vote for war. Such, then, is the account we have received concerning the *fetiales*.

[73.1] The last branch of the ordinances of Numa related to the sacred offices allotted to those who held the higher priesthoods and the greatest power among the Romans. These, from one of the duties they perform, namely, the repairing of the wooden bridge, are in their own language called *pontifices*; but they have jurisdiction over the most weighty matters. [2] For they the judges in all religious causes wherein private citizens, magistrates or the ministers of the gods are concerned; they make laws for the observance of any religious rites, not established by written law or custom, which may seem to them worthy of receiving the sanction of law and custom; they inquire into the conduct of all magistrates to whom the performance of any sacrifice or other religious duty is committed, and also into that of all the priests; they take care that their servants and ministers whom they employ in religious rites commit no error in the matter of the sacred laws; to the laymen who are unacquainted

with such matters they are the expounders and interpreters of everything relating to the worship of the gods and genii; and if they find that any disobey their orders, they inflict punishment upon them with due regard to every offence; moreover, they are not liable to any prosecution or punishment, nor are they accountable to the senate or to the people, at least concerning religious matters. [3] Hence, if anyone wishes to call them *hierodidaskaloi*, *hieronomoi*, *hierophylakes*, or, as I think proper, *hierophantai*, he will not be in error. When one of them dies, another is appointed in his place, being chosen, not by the people, but by the pontifices themselves, who select the person they think best qualified among their fellow citizens; and the one thus approved of receives the priesthood, provided the omens are favourable to them. [4] These — not to speak of others less important — are the greatest and the most notable regulations made by Numa concerning religious worship and divided by him according to the different classes of sacred rites; and through these it came about that the city increased in piety.

[74.1] His regulations, moreover, that tended to inspire frugality and moderation in the life of the individual citizen and to create a passion for justice, which preserves the harmony of the State, were exceedingly numerous, some of them being comprehended in written laws, and others not written down but embodied in custom and long usage. To treat of all these would be a difficult task; but mention of the two of them which have been most frequently cited will suffice to give evidence of the rest. [2] First, to the end that people should be content with what they had and should not covet what belonged to others, there was the law that appointed boundaries to every man's possessions. For, having ordered every one to draw a line around his own land and to place stones on the bounds, he consecrated these stones to Jupiter Terminalis and ordained that all should assemble at the place every year on a fixed day and offer sacrifices to them; and he made the festival in honour of these gods of boundaries among the most dignified of all. [3] This festival the Romans call Terminalia, from the boundaries, and the boundaries themselves, by the change of one letter as compared with our language, they call *termines*. He also enacted that, if any person demolished or displaced these boundary stones he should be looked upon as devoted to the god, to the end that anyone who wished might kill him a sacrilegious person with impunity and without incurring any stain of guilt. [4] He established this law with reference not only to private possessions but also to those belonging to the public; for he marked these also with boundary stones, to the end that the gods of boundaries might distinguish the lands of the Romans from those of their neighbours, and the public lands from such as belonged to private persons. Memorials of this custom are observed by the Romans down to our times, purely as a religious form. For they look upon these boundary stones as gods and sacrifice to them yearly, offering up no kind of animal (for it is not lawful to stain these stones with blood), but cakes made of cereals and other first-fruits of the earth. [5] But they ought still to observe the motive, as well,

which led Numa to regard these boundary stones as gods and content themselves with their own possessions without appropriating those of others either by violence or by fraud; whereas now there are some who, in disregard of what is best and of the example of their ancestors, instead of distinguishing that which is theirs from that which belongs to others, set as bounds to their possessions, not the law, but their greed to possess everything, — which is disgraceful behaviour. But we leave the considerations of these matters to others.

[75.1] By such laws Numa brought the State to frugality and moderation. And in order to encourage the observance of justice in the matter of contracts, he hit upon a device which was unknown to all who have established the most celebrated institutions. For, observing that contracts made in public and before witnesses are, out of respect for the persons present, generally observed and that few are guilty of any violation of them, but that those which are made without witnesses — and these are much more numerous than the others — rest on no other security than the faith of those who make them, he thought it incumbent on him to make this faith the chief object of his care and to render it worthy of divine worship. [2] For he felt that Justice, Themis, Nemesis, and those the Greeks call Erinyes, with other concepts of the kind, had been sufficiently revered and worshipped as gods by the men of former times, but that Faith, than which there is nothing greater nor more sacred among men, was not yet worshipped either by states in their public capacity or by private persons. [3] As the result of these reflexions he, first of all men, erected a temple to the Public Faith and instituted sacrifices in her honour at the public expense in the same manner as to the rest of the gods. And in truth the result was bound to be that this attitude of good faith and constancy on the part of the State toward all men would in the course of time render the behaviour of the individual citizens similar. In any case, so revered and inviolable a thing was good faith in their estimation, that the greatest oath a man could take was by his own faith, and this had greater weight than all the testimony taken together. And if there was any dispute between one man and another concerning a contract entered into without witnesses, the faith of either of the parties was sufficient to decide the controversy and prevent it from going any farther. [4] And the magistrates and courts of justice based their decisions in most causes on the oaths of the parties attesting by their faith. Such regulations, devised by Numa at that time to encourage moderation and enforce justice, rendered the Roman State more orderly than the best regulated household.

[76.1] But the measures which I am now going to relate made it both careful to provide itself with necessities and industrious in acquiring the advantages that flow from labour. For this man, considering that a State which was to love justice and to continue in the practice of moderation ought to abound in all things necessary to the support of life, divided the whole country into what are called pagi or “districts,” and over each of these districts he appointed an

official whose duty it was to inspect and visit the lands lying in his own jurisdiction. [2] These men, going their rounds frequently, made a record of the lands that were well and ill cultivated and laid it before the king, who repaid the diligence of the careful husbandmen with commendations and favours, and by reprimanding and fining the slothful encouraged them to cultivate their lands with greater attention. Accordingly, the people, being freed from wars and exempt from any attendance on the affairs of the State, and at the same time being disgraced and punished for idleness and sloth, all became husbandmen and looked upon the riches which the earth yields and which of all others are the most just as more enjoyable than the precarious influence of a military life. [3] And by the same means Numa came to be beloved of his subjects, the example of his neighbours, and the theme of posterity. It was owing to these measures that neither civil dissension broke the harmony of the State nor foreign war interrupted the observance of his most excellent and admirable institutions. For their neighbours were so far from looking upon the peaceful tranquillity of the Romans as an opportunity for attacking them, that, if at any time they were at war with one another, they chose the Romans for mediators and wished to settle their enmities under the arbitration of Numa. [4] This man, therefore, I should take no shame in placing among the foremost of those who have been celebrated for their felicity in life. For he was of royal birth and of royal appearance; and he pursued an education which was not the kind of useless training that deals only with words, but a discipline that taught him to practise piety and every other virtue. [5] When he was young he was thought worthy to assume the sovereignty over the Romans, who had invited him to that dignity upon the reputation of his virtue; and he continued to command the obedience of his subjects during his whole life. He lived to a very advanced age without any impairment of his faculties and without suffering any blow at Fortune's hands; and he died the easiest of all deaths, being withered by age, the genius who had been allotted to him from his birth having continued the same favour to him till he disappeared from among men. He lived more than eighty years and reigned forty-three, leaving behind him, according to most historians, four sons and one daughter, whose posterity remain to this day; but according to Gnaeus Gellius he left only one daughter, who was the mother of Ancus Marcius, the second king of the Romans after him. [6] His death was greatly lamented by the state, which gave him a most splendid funeral. He lies buried upon the Janiculum, on the other side of the river Tiber. Such is the account we have received concerning Numa Pompilius.

BOOK III

[1.1] After the death of Numa Pompilius the senate, being once more in full control of the commonwealth, resolved to abide by the same form of government, and as the people did not adopt any contrary opinion, they appointed some of the older senators to govern as interreges for a definite number of days. These men, pursuant to the unanimous desire of the people, chose as king Tullus Hostilius, whose descent was as follows. [2] From Medullia, a city which had been built by the Albans and made a Roman colony by Romulus after he had taken it by capitulation, a man of distinguished birth and great fortune, named Hostilius, had removed to Rome and married a woman of the Sabine race, the daughter of Hersilius, the same woman who had advised her country-women to go as envoys to their fathers on behalf of their husbands at the time when the Sabines were making war against the Romans, and was regarded as the person chiefly responsible for the alliance then concluded by the leaders of the two nations. This man, after taking part with Romulus in many wars and performing mighty deeds in the battles with the Sabines, died, leaving an only son, a young child at the time, and was buried by the kings in the principal part of the Forum and honoured with a monument and an inscription testifying to his valour. [3] His only son, having come to manhood and married a woman of distinction, had by her Tullius Hostilius, a man of action, the same who was now chosen king by a vote passed by the citizens concerning him according to the laws; and the decision of the people was confirmed by favourable omens from Heaven. The year in which he assumed the sovereignty was the second of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, the one in which Eurybates, an Athenian, won the prize in the foot-race, Leostratus being archon at Athens. [4] Tullus, immediately upon his accession, gained the hearts of all the labouring class and of the needy among the populace by performing an act of the most splendid kind. It was this: The kings before him had possessed much fertile land, especially reserved for them, from the revenues of which they not only offered sacrifices to the gods, but also had abundant provision for their private needs. This land Romulus had acquired in war by dispossessing the former owners, and when he died childless, Numa Pompilius, his successor, had enjoyed its use; it was no longer the property of the state, but the inherited possession of the successive kings. [5] Tullus now permitted this land to be divided equally among such of the Romans as had no allotment, declaring that his own patrimony was sufficient both for the sacrifices and for his personal expenditures. By this act of humanity he relieved the poor among the citizens by freeing them from the necessity of labouring as serfs on the estates of others. And, to the end that none might lack a habitation either, he included within the city wall the hill called the Caelian, where those Romans who were unprovided with dwellings were allotted a sufficient amount of ground and

built houses; and he himself had his residence in this quarter. These, then, are the memorable actions reported of this king so far as regards his civil administration.

[2.1] Many military exploits are related of him, but the greatest are those which I shall now narrate, beginning with the war against the Albans. The man responsible for the quarrel between the two cities and the severing of their bond of kinship was an Alban named Cluilius, who had been honoured with the chief magistracy; this man, vexed at the prosperity of the Romans and unable to contain his envy, and being by nature headstrong and somewhat inclined to madness, resolved to involve the cities in war with each other. [2] But not seeing how he could persuade the Albans to permit him to lead an army against the Romans without just and urgent reasons, he contrived a plan of the following sort: he permitted the poorest and boldest of the Albans to pillage the fields of the Romans, promising them immunity, and so caused many to overrun the neighbouring territory in a series of plundering raids, as they would now be pursuing without danger gains from which they would never desist even under the constraint of fear. [3] In doing this he was following a very natural line of reasoning, as the event bore witness. For he assumed that the Romans would not submit to being plundered but would rush to arms, and he would thus have an opportunity of accusing them to his people as the aggressors in the war; and he also believed that the majority of the Albans, envying the prosperity of their colony, would gladly listen to these false accusations and would begin war against the Romans. And that is just what happened. [4] For when the worst elements of each city fell to robbing and plundering each other and at last a Roman army made an incursion into the territory of the Albans and killed or took prisoner many of the bandits, Cluilius assembled the people and inveighed against the Romans at great length, showed them many who were wounded, produced the relations of those who had been seized or slain, and at the same time added other circumstances of his own invention; whereupon it was voted on his motion to send an embassy first of all to demand satisfaction for what had happened, and then, if the Romans refused it, to begin war against them.

[3.1] Upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Rome, Tullius, suspecting that they had come to demand satisfaction, resolved to anticipate them in doing this, since he wished to turn upon the Albans the blame for breaking the compact between them and their colony. For there existed a treaty between the two cities which had been made in the reign of Romulus, wherein, among other articles, it was stipulated that neither of them should begin a war, but if either complained of any injury whatsoever, that city would demand satisfaction from the city which had done the injury, and failing to obtain it, should then make war as a matter of necessity, the treaty being looked upon as already broken. [2] Tullius, therefore, taking care that the Romans should not be the first called upon to give satisfaction and, by refusing it, become guilty in the eyes of the Albans, ordered the most distinguished of his friends to

entertain the ambassadors of the Albans with every courtesy and to detain them inside their homes while he himself, pretending to be occupied with some necessary business, put off their audience. [3] The following night he sent to Alba some Romans of distinction, duly instructed as to the course they should pursue, together with the *fetiales*, to demand satisfaction from the Albans for the injuries the Romans had received. These, having performed their journey before sunrise, found Cluilius in the market-place at the time when the early morning crowd was gathered there. And having set forth the injuries which the Romans had received at the hands of the Albans, they demanded that he should act in conformity with the compact between the cities. [4] But Cluilius, alleging that the Albans had been first in sending envoys to Rome to demand satisfaction and had not even been vouchsafed an answer, ordered the Romans to depart, on the ground that they had violated the terms of the treaty, and declared war against them. The chief of the embassy, however, as he was departing, demanded from Cluilius an answer to just this one question, namely, whether he admitted that those were violating the treaty who, being the first called upon to give satisfaction, had refused to comply with any part of their obligation. [5] And when Cluilius said he did, he exclaimed: "Well, then, I call the gods, whom we made witnesses of our treaty, to witness that the Romans, having been the first to be refused satisfaction, will be undertaking a just war against the violators of that treaty, and that it is you Albans who have avoided giving satisfaction, as the events themselves show. For you, being the first called upon for satisfaction, have refused it and you have been the first to declare war against us. Look, therefore, for vengeance to come upon you ere long with the sword." [6] Tullius, having learned of all this from the ambassadors upon their return to Rome, then ordered the Albans to be brought before him and to state the reasons for their coming; and when they had delivered the message entrusted to them by Cluilius and were threatening war in case they did not obtain satisfaction, he replied: "I have anticipated you in doing this, and having obtained nothing that the treaty directs, I declare against the Albans the war that is both necessary and just."

[4.1] After these pretences they both prepared themselves for war, not only arming their own forces but also calling to their assistance those of their subjects. And when they had everything ready the two armies drew near to each other and encamped at the distance of forty stades from Rome, the Albans at the Cluilian Ditches, as they are called (for they still preserve the name of the man who constructed them) and the Romans a little farther inside, having chosen the most convenient place for their camp. [2] When the two armies saw each other's forces neither inferior in numbers nor poorly armed nor to be despised in respect of their other preparations, they lost their impetuous ardour for the combat, which they had felt at first because of their expectation of defeating the enemy by their very onset, and they took thought rather of defending themselves by building their ramparts to a greater height

than of being the first to attack. At the same time the most intelligent among them began to reflect, feeling that they were not being governed by the best counsels, and there was a spirit of faultfinding against those in authority. [3] And as the time dragged on in vain (for they were not injuring one another to any notable extent by sudden dashes of the light-armed troops or by skirmishes of the horse), the man who was looked upon as responsible for the war, Cluilius, being irked at lying idle, resolved to march out with his army and challenge the enemy to battle, and if they declined it, to attack their entrenchments. [4] And having made his preparations for an engagement and all the plans necessary for an attack upon the enemy's ramparts, in case that should prove necessary, when night came on he went to sleep in the general's tent, attended by his usual guard; but about daybreak he was found dead, no signs appearing on his body either of wounds, strangling, poison, or any other violent death.

[5.1] This unfortunate event appearing extraordinary to everybody, as one would naturally expect, and the cause of it being enquired into — for no preceding illness could be alleged — those who ascribed all human fortunes to divine providence said that this death had been due to the anger of the gods, because he had handled an unjust and unnecessary war between the mother-city and her colony. But others, who looked upon war as a profitable business and thought they had been deprived of great gains, attributed the event to human treachery and envy, accusing some of his fellow citizens of the opposing faction of having made away with him by secret and untraceable poisons that they had discovered. Still others alleged that, being overcome with grief and despair, he had taken his own life, since all his plans were becoming difficult and impracticable and none of the things that he had looked forward to in the beginning when he first took hold of affairs was succeeding according to his desire. But those who were not influenced by either friendship or enmity for the general and based their judgment of what had happened on the soundest grounds were of the opinion that neither the anger of the gods nor the envy of the opposing faction nor despair of his plans had put an end to his life, but rather Nature's stern law and fate, when once he had finished the destined course which is marked out for everyone that is born. [3] Such, then, was the end that Cluilius met, before he had performed any noble deed. In his place Mettius Fufetius was chosen general by those in the camp and invested with absolute power; he was a man without either ability to conduct a war or constancy to preserve a peace, one who, though he had been at first as zealous as any of the Albans in creating strife between the two cities and for that reason had been honoured with the command after the death of Cluilius, yet after he had obtained it and perceived the many difficulties and embarrassments with which the business was attended, no longer adhered to the same plans, but resolved to delay and put off matters, since he observed that not all the Albans now had the same ardour for war and also that the victims, whenever he offered sacrifice concerning battle, were unfavourable. [4]

And at last he even determined to invite the enemy to an accommodation, taking the initiative himself in sending heralds, after he had been informed of a danger from the outside which threatened both the Albans and Romans, a danger which, if they did not terminate their war with each other by a treaty, was unavoidable and bound to destroy both armies. The danger was this:

[6.1] The Veientes and Fidenates, who inhabited large and populous cities, had in the reign of Romulus engaged in a war with the Romans for command and sovereignty, and after losing many armies in the course of the war and being punished by the loss of part of their territory, they had been forced to become subjects of the conquerors; concerning which I have given a precise account in the preceding Book. But having enjoyed an uninterrupted peace during the reign of Numa Pompilius, they had greatly increased in population, wealth and every other form of prosperity. Elated, therefore, by these advantages, they again aspired to freedom, assumed a bolder spirit and prepared to yield obedience to the Romans no longer. [2] For a time, indeed, their intention of revolting remained undiscovered, but during the Alban war it became manifest. For when they learned that the Romans had marched out with all their forces to engaged the Albans, they thought that they had now got the most favourable opportunity for their attack, and through their most influential men they entered into a secret conspiracy. It was arranged that all who were capable of bearing arms should assemble in Fidenae, going secretly, a few at a time, so as to escape as far as possible the notice of those against whom the plot was aimed, [3] and should remain there awaiting the moment when the armies of the Romans and Albans should quit their camps and march out to battle, the actual time to be indicated to them by means of signals given by some scouts posted on the mountains; and as soon as the signals were raised they were all to take arms and advance in haste against the combatants (the road leading from Fidenae to the camps was not a long one, but only a march of two or three hours at most), and appearing on the battlefield at the time when presumably the conflict would be over, they were to regard neither side as friends, but whether the Romans or the Albans had won, were to slay the victors. This was the plan of action on which the chiefs of those cities had determined. [4] If, therefore, the Albans, in their contempt for the Romans, had rushed more boldly into an engagement and had resolved to stake everything upon the issue of a single battle, nothing could have hindered the treachery contrived against them from remaining secret and both their armies from being destroyed. But as it was, their delay in beginning war, contrary to all expectations, and the length of time they employed in making their preparations were bringing their foes' plans to nought. For some of the conspirators, either seeking to compass their private advantage or envying their leaders and those who had been the authors of the undertaking or fearing that others might lay information — a thing which has often happened in conspiracies where there are many accomplices and the execution is long delayed — or being compelled by the will of Heaven, which could not

consent that a wicked design should meet with success, informed their enemies of the treachery.

[7.1] Fufetius, upon learning of this, grew still more desirous of making an accommodation, feeling that they now had no choice left of any other course. The king of the Romans also had received information of this conspiracy from his friends in Fidenae, so that he, too, made no delay but hearkened to the overtures made by Fufetius. When the two met in the space between the camps, each being attended by his council consisting of persons of competent judgment, they first embraced, according to their former custom, and exchanged the greetings usual among friends and relations, and then proceeded to discuss an accommodation. [2] And first the Alban leader began as follows:

“It seems to me necessary to begin my speech by setting forth the reasons why I have determined to take the initiative in proposing a termination of the war, though neither defeated by you Romans in battle nor hindered from supplying my army with provisions nor reduced to any other necessity, to the end that you may not imagine that a recognition of the weakness of my own force or a belief that yours is difficult to overcome makes me seek a plausible excuse for ending the war. For, should you entertain such an opinion of us, you would be intolerably severe, and, as if you were already victorious in the war, you could not bring yourself to do anything reasonable. [3] In order, therefore, that you may not impute to me false reasons for my purpose to end the war, listen to the true reasons. My country have been appointed me general with absolute power, as soon as I took over the command I considered what were the causes which had disturbed the peace of our cities. And finding them trivial and petty and of too little consequence to dissolve so great a friendship and kinship, I concluded that neither we Albans nor you Romans had been governed by the best counsels. [4] And I was further convinced of this and led to condemn the great madness that we both have shown, an once I had taken hold of affairs and began to sound out each man’s private opinion. For I found that the Albans neither in their private meetings nor in their public assemblies were all of one mind regarding the war; and the signs from Heaven, whenever I consulted the victims concerning battle, presenting, as they did, far greater difficulties than those based on human reasoning, caused me great dismay and anxiety. [5] In view, therefore, of these considerations, I restrained my eagerness for armed conflicts and devised delays and postponements of the war, in the belief that you Romans would make the first overtures towards peace. And indeed you should have done this, Tullius, since you are our colony, and not have waited till your mother-city set the example. For the founders of cities have a right to receive as great respect from their colonies as parents from their children. [6] But while we have been delaying and watching each other, to see which side should first make friendly overtures, another motive, more compelling than any arguments drawn from human reason, has arisen to draw us together. And since I learned of this

while it was yet a secret to you, I felt that I ought no longer to aim at appearances in concluding peace. For dreadful designs are being formed against us, Tullius, and a deadly plot has been woven against both of us, a plot which was bound to overwhelm and destroy us easily and without effort, bursting upon us like a conflagration or a flood. [7] The authors of these wicked designs are the chiefs of the Fidenates and Veientes, who have conspired together. Hear now the nature of their plot and how the knowledge of their secret design came to me.”

[8.1] With these words he gave to one of those present the letters which a certain man had brought to him from his friends at Fidenae, and desired him to read them out; and at the same time he produced the man who had brought the letters. After they were read and the man had informed them of everything he had learned by word of mouth from the persons who had despatched the letters, all present were seized with great astonishment, as one would naturally expect upon their hearing of so great and so unexpected a danger. Then Fufetius, after a short pause, continued:

[2] You have now heard, Romans, the reasons why I have thus far been postponing armed conflicts with you and have now thought fit to make the first overtures concerning peace. After this it is for you to consider whether, in order to avenge the seizure of some miserable oxen and sheep, you ought to continue to carry on an implacable war against your founders and fathers, in the course of which, whether conquered or conquerors, you are sure to be destroyed, or, laying aside your enmity toward your kinsmen, to march with us against our common foes, who have plotted not only to revolt from you but also to attack you — although they have neither suffered any harm nor had any reason to fear that they should suffer any — and, what is more, have not attacked us openly, according to the universally recognized laws of war, but under cover of darkness, so that their treachery could least be suspected and guarded against. [3] But I need say no more to convince you that we ought to lay aside our enmity and march with all speed against these impious men (for it would be madness to think otherwise), since you are already resolved and will pursue that resolution. But in what manner the terms of reconciliation may prove honourable and advantageous to both cities (for probably you have long been eager to hear this) I shall now endeavour to explain. [4] For my part, I hold that that mutual reconciliation is the best and the most becoming to kinsmen and friends, in which there is no rancour nor remembrance of past injuries, but a general and sincere remission of everything that has been done or suffered on both sides; less honourable than this form of reconciliation is one by which, indeed, the mass of the people are absolved of blame, but those who have injured one another are compelled to undergo such a trial as reason and law direct. [5] Of these two methods of reconciliation, now, it is my opinion that we ought to choose the one which is the more honourable and magnanimous, and we ought to pass a decree of general amnesty. However, if you, Tullius, do not wish a reconciliation of this kind, but prefer that the

accusers and the accused should mutually give and receive satisfaction, the Albans are also ready to do this, after first settling our mutual hatreds. And if, besides this, you have any other method to suggest which is either more honourable or more just, you cannot lay it before us too soon, and for doing so I shall be greatly obliged to you.”

[9.1] After Fufetius had thus spoken, the king of the Romans answered him and said:

“We also, Fufetius, felt that it would be a grave calamity for us if we were forced to decide this war between kinsmen by blood and slaughter, and whenever we performed the sacrifices preparatory to war we were forbidden by them to begin an engagement. As regards the secret conspiracy entered into by the Fidenates and Veientes against us both, we have learned of it, a little ahead of you, through our friends in their midst, and we are not unprepared against their plot, but have taken measures not only to suffer no mischief ourselves but also to punish those foes in such a manner as their treachery deserves. Nor were we less disposed than you to put an end to the war without a battle rather than by the sword; [2] yet we did not consider it fitting that we should be the first to send ambassadors to propose an accommodation, since we had not been the first to begin the war, but had merely defended ourselves against those who had begun it. But once you are ready to lay down your arms, we will gladly receive your proposal, and will not scrutinize too closely the terms of the reconciliation, but will accept those that are the best and the most magnanimous, forgiving every injury and offence we have received from the city of Alba — if, indeed, those deserve to be called public offences of the city for which your general Cluilius was responsible, and has paid no mean penalty to the gods for the wrongs he did us both. [3] Let every occasion, therefore, for complaint, whether private or public, be removed and let no memory of past injuries any longer remain — even as you also, Fufetius, think fitting. Yet it is not enough for us to consider merely how we may compose our present enmity toward one another, but we must further take measures to prevent our ever going to war again; for the purpose of our present meeting is not to obtain a postponement but rather an end of our evils. What settlement of the war, therefore, will be enduring and what contribution must each of us make toward the situation, in order that we may be friends both now and for all time? This, Fufetius, you have omitted to tell us; but I shall endeavour to go on and supply this omission also. [4] If, on the one hand, the Albans would cease to envy the Romans the advantages they possess, advantages which were acquired not without great perils and many hardships (in any case you have suffered no injury at our hands, great or slight, but you hate us for this reason alone, that we seem to be better off than you); and if, on the other hand, the Romans would cease to suspect the Albans of always plotting against them and would cease to be on their guard against them as against enemies (for no one can be a firm friend to one who distrusts him). [5] How, then, shall each of these results be brought about? Not by

inserting them in the treaty, nor by our both swearing to them over the sacrificial victims — for these are small and weak assurances — but by looking upon each other's fortunes as common to us both. For there is only one cure, Fufetius, for the bitterness which men feel over the advantages of others, and that is for the envious no longer to regard the advantages of the envied as other than their own. [6] In order to accomplish this, I think the Romans ought to place equally at the disposal of the Albans all the advantages they either now or shall hereafter possess; and that the Albans ought cheerfully to accept this offer and all of you, if possible, or at least the most and the best of you, become residents of Rome. Was it not, indeed, a fine thing for the Sabines and Tyrrhenians to leave their own cities and transfer their habitation to Rome? And for you, who are our nearest kinsmen, will it not accordingly be a fine thing if this same step is taken? [7] If, however, you refuse to inhabit the same city with us, which is already large and will be larger, but are going to cling to your ancestral hearths, do this at least: appoint a single council to consider what shall be of advantage to each city, and give the supremacy to that one of the two cities which is the more powerful and is in a position to render the greater services to the weaker. This is what I recommend, and if these proposals are carried out I believe that we shall then be lasting friends; whereas, so long as we inhabit two cities of equal eminence, as at present, there never will be harmony between us."

[10.1] Fufetius, hearing this, desired time for taking counsel; and withdrawing from the assembly along with the Albans who were present, he consulted with them whether they should accept the proposals. Then, having taken the opinions of all, he returned to the assembly and spoke as follows: "We do not think it best, Tullius, to abandon our country or to desert the sanctuaries of our fathers, the hearths of our ancestors, and the place which our forbears have possessed for nearly five hundred years, particularly when we are not compelled to such a course either by war or by any other calamity inflicted by the hand of Heaven. But we are not opposed to establishing a single council and letting one of the two cities rule over the other. [2] Let this article, then, also be inserted in the treaty, if agreeable, and let every excuse for war be removed."

These conditions having been agreed upon, they fell to disputing which of the two cities should be given the supremacy and many words were spoken by both of them upon this subject, each contending that his own city should rule over the other. [3] The claims advanced by the Alban leader were as follows:

"As for us, Tullius, we deserve to rule over even all the rest of Italy, inasmuch as we represent a Greek nation and the greatest nation of all that inhabit this country. But to the sovereignty of the Latin nation, even if no other, we think ourselves entitled, not without reason, but in accordance with the universal law which Nature bestowed upon all men, that ancestors should rule their posterity. And above all our other colonies, against whom we have thus far no reason to complain, we think we ought to rule your city, having

sent our colony thither not so long ago that the stock sprung from us is already extinct, exhausted by the lapse of time, but only the third generation before the present. If, indeed, Nature, inverting human rights, shall ever command the young to rule over the old and posterity over their progenitors, then we shall submit to seeing the mother-city ruled by its colony, but not before. [4] This, then, is one argument we offer in support of our claim, in virtue of which we will never willingly yield the command to you. Another argument — and do not take this as said by way of censure or reproach of you Romans, but only from necessity — is the fact that the Alban race has to this day continued the same that it was under the founders of the city, and one cannot point to any race of mankind, except the Greeks and Latins, to whom we have granted citizenship; whereas you have corrupted the purity of your body politic by admitting Tyrrhenians, Sabines, and some others who were homeless, vagabonds and barbarians, and that in great numbers too, so that the true-born element among you that went out from our midst is become small, or rather a tiny fraction, in comparison with those who have been brought in and are of alien race. [5] And if we should yield the command to you, the base-born will rule over the true-born, barbarians over Greeks, and immigrants over the native-born. For you cannot even say this much for yourself, that you have not permitted this immigrant mob to gain any control of public affairs but that you native-born citizens are yourselves the rulers and councillors of the commonwealth. Why, even for your kings you choose outsiders, and the greatest part of your senate consists of these newcomers; and to none of these conditions can you assert that you submit willingly. For what man of superior rank willingly allows himself to be ruled by an inferior? It would be great folly and baseness, therefore, on our part to accept willingly those evils which you must own you submit to through necessity. [6] My last argument is this: The city of Alba has so far made no alteration in any part of its constitution, though it is already the eighteenth generation that it has been inhabited, but continues to observe in due form all its customs and traditions; whereas your city is still without order and discipline, due to its being newly founded and a conglomeration of many races, and it will require long ages and manifold turns of fortune in order to be regulated and freed from those troubles and dissensions with which it is now agitated. But all will agree that order ought to rule over confusion, experience over inexperience, and health over sickness; and you do wrong in demanding the reverse.”

[11] After Fufetius had thus spoken, Tullius answered and said:

“The right which is derived from Nature and the virtue of one’s ancestors, Fufetius and ye men of Alba, is common to us both; for we both boast the same ancestors, so that on this score neither of us ought to have any advantage or suffer any disadvantage. But as to your claim that by a kind of necessary law of Nature mother-cities should invariably rule over their colonies, it is neither true nor just. [2] Indeed, there are many races of mankind among which the mother-cities do not rule over their colonies but are subject

to them. The greatest and the most conspicuous instance of this is the Spartan state, which claims the right not only to rule over the other Greeks but even over the Doric nation, of which she is a colony. But why should I mention the others? For you who colonized our city are yourself a colony of the Lavinians.

[3] If, therefore, it is a law of Nature that the mother-city should rule over its colony, would not the Lavinians be the first to issue their just orders to both of us? To your first claim, then, and the one which carries with it the most specious appearance, this is a sufficient answer. But since you also undertook to compare the ways of life of the two cities, Fufetius, asserting that the nobility of the Albans has always remained the same while ours has been ‘corrupted’ by the various admixtures of foreigners, and demanded that the base-born should not rule over the well-born nor newcomers over the native-born, know, then, that in making this claim, too, you are greatly mistaken. [4] For we are so far from being ashamed of having made the privileges of our city free to all who desired them that we even take the greatest pride in this course; moreover, we are not the originators of this admirable practice, but took the example from the city of Athens, which enjoys the greatest reputation among the Greeks, due in no small measure, if indeed not chiefly, to this very policy. [5] And this principle, which has been to us the source of many advantages, affords us no ground either for complaint or regret, as if we had committed some error. Our chief magistracies and membership in the senate are held and the other honours among us are enjoyed, not by men possessed of great fortunes, nor by those who can show a long line of ancestors all natives of the country, but by such as are worthy of these honours; for we look upon the nobility of men as consisting in nothing else than in virtue. The rest of the populace are the body of the commonwealth, contributing strength and power to the decisions of the best men. It is owing to this humane policy that our city, from a small and contemptible beginning, is become large and formidable to its neighbours, and it is this policy which you condemn, Fufetius, that has laid the foundation of that supremacy which none of the other Latins disputes with us. [6] For the power of states consists in the force of arms, and this in turn depends upon a multitude of citizens; whereas, for small states that are sparsely populated and for that reason weak it is not possible to rule others, nay, even to rule themselves. [7] On the whole, I am of the opinion that a man should only then disparage the government of other states and extol his own when he can show that his own, by following the principles he lays down, is grown flourishing and great, and that the states he censures, by not adopting them, are in an unhappy plight. But this is not our situation. On the contrary, your city, beginning with greater brilliance and enjoying greater resources than ours, has shrunk to lesser importance, while we, from small beginnings at first, have in a short time made Rome greater than all the neighbouring cities by following the very policies you condemned. [8] And as for our factional strife — since this also, Fufetius, met with your censure — it tends, not to destroy and diminish the commonwealth,

but to preserve and enhance it. For there is emulation between our youths and our older men and between the newcomers and those who invited them in, to see which of us shall do more for the common welfare. [9] In short, those who are going to rule others ought to be endowed with these two qualities, strength in war and prudence in counsel, both of which are present in our case. And that this is no empty boast, experience, more powerful than any argument, bears us witness. It is certain in any case that the city could not have attained to such greatness and power in the third generation after its founding, had not both valour and prudence abounded in it. Suffer proof of its strength is afforded by the behaviour of many cities of the Latin race which owe their founding to you, but which, nevertheless, scorning your city, have come over us, choosing rather to be ruled by the Romans than by the Albans, because they look upon us as capable of doing both good to our friends and harm to our enemies, and upon you as capable of neither. [10] I had many other arguments, and valid ones, Fufetius, to advance against the claims which you have presented; but as I see that argument is futile and that the result will be the same whether I say much or little to you, who, though our adversaries, are at the same time the arbiters of justice, I will make an end of speaking. However, since I conceive that there is but one way of deciding our differences which is the best and has been made use of by many, both barbarians and Greeks, when hatred has arisen between them either over the supremacy or over some territory in dispute, I shall propose this and then conclude. [11] Let each of us fight the battle with some part of our forces and limit the fortune of war to a very small number of combatants; and let us give to that city whose champions shall overcome their adversaries the supremacy over the other. For such contests as cannot be determined by arguments are decided by arms."

[12.1] These were the reasons urged by the two generals to support the pretensions of their respective cities to the supremacy; and the outcome of the discussion was the adoption of the plan Tullius proposed. For both the Albans and Romans who were present at the conference, in their desire to put a speedy end to the war, resolved to decide the controversy by arms. This also being agreed to, the question arose concerning the number of the combatants, since the two generals were not of the same mind. [2] For Tullius desired that the fate of the war might be decided by the smallest possible number of combatants, the most distinguished man among the Albans fighting the bravest of the Romans in single combat, and he cheerfully offered himself to fight for his own country, inviting the Alban leader to emulate him. He pointed out that for those who have assumed the command of armies combats for sovereignty and power are glorious, not only when they conquer brave men, but also when they are conquered by the brave; and he enumerated all the generals and kings who had risked their lives for their country, regarding it as a reproach to them to have a greater share of the honours than others but a smaller share of the dangers. [3] The Alban, however, while approving of the

proposal to commit the fate of the cities to a few champions, would not agree to decide it by single combat. He owned that when commanders of the armies were seeking to establish their own power a combat between them for the supremacy was noble and necessary, but when states themselves were contending for the first place he thought the risk of single combat not only hazardous but even dishonourable, whether they met with good or ill fortune. [4] And he proposed that three chosen men from each city should fight in the presence of all the Albans and Romans, declaring that this was the most suitable number for deciding any matter in controversy, as containing in itself a beginning, a middle and an end. This proposal meeting with the approval of both Romans and Albans, the conference broke up and each side returned to its own camp.

[13.1] After this the generals assembled their respective armies and gave them an account both of what they had said to each other and of the terms upon which they had agreed to put an end to the war. And both armies having with great approbation ratified the agreement entered into by their generals, there arose a wonderful emulation among the officers and soldiers alike, since a great many were eager to carry off the prize of valour in the combat and expressed their emulation not only by their words but also by their actions, so that their leaders found great difficulty in selecting the most suitable champions. [2] For if anyone was renowned for his illustrious ancestry or remarkable for his strength of body, famous for some brave deed in action, or distinguished by some other good fortune or bold achievement, he insisted upon being chosen first among the three champions. [3] This emulation, which was running to great lengths in both armies, was checked by the Alban general, who called to mind that some divine providence, long since foreseeing this conflict between the two cities, had arranged that their future champions should be sprung of no obscure families and should be brave in arms, most comely in appearance, and distinguished from the generality of mankind by their birth, which should be unusual and wonderful because of its extraordinary nature. [4] It seems that Sicinius, an Alban, had at one and the same time married his twin daughters to Horatius, a Roman, and to Curiatius, an Alban; and the two wives came with child at the same time and each was brought to bed, at her first lying-in, of three male children. The parents, looking upon the event as a happy omen both to their cities and families, brought up all these children till they arrived at manhood. And Heaven, as I said in the beginning, gave them beauty and strength and nobility of mind, so that they were not inferior to any of those most highly endowed by Nature. It was to these men that Fufetius resolved to commit the combat for supremacy; and having invited the Roman king to a conference, he addressed him as follows:

[14.1] “Tullius, some god who keeps watch over both our cities would seem, just as upon many other occasions, so especially in what relates to this combat to have made his goodwill manifest. For that the champions who are to fight

on behalf of all their people should be found inferior to none in birth, brave in arms, most comely in appearance, and that they should furthermore have been born of one father and mother, and, most wonderful of all, that they should have come into the world on the same day, the Horatii with you and the Curiatii with us, all this, I say, has every appearance of a remarkable instance of divine favour. [2] Why, therefore, do we not accept this great providence of the god and each of us invite the triplets on his side to engage in the combat for the supremacy? For not only all the other advantages which we could desire in the best-qualified champions are to be found in these men, but, as they are brothers, they will be more unwilling than any others among either the Romans or the Albans to forsake their companions when in distress; and furthermore, the emulation of the other youths, which cannot easily be appeased in any other way, will be promptly settled. [3] For I surmise that among you also, as well as among the Albans, there is a kind of strife among many of those who lay claim to bravery; but if we inform them that some providential fortune has anticipated all human efforts and has itself furnished us with champions qualified to engage upon equal terms in the cause of the cities, we shall easily persuade them to desist. For they will then look upon themselves as inferior to the triplets, not in point of bravery, but only in respect of a special boon of Nature and of the favour of a Chance that is equally inclined toward both sides.”

[15.1] After Fufetius had thus spoken and his proposal had been received with general approbation (for the most important both of the Romans and Albans were with the two leaders), Tullius, after a short pause, spoke as follows:

“In other respects, Fufetius, you seem to me to have reasoned well; for it must be some wonderful fortune that has produced in both our cities in our generation a similarity of birth never known before. But of one consideration you seem to be unaware — a matter which will cause great reluctance in the youths if we ask them to fight with one another. [2] For the mother of our Horatii is sister to the mother of the Alban Curiatii, and the young men have been brought up in the arms of both the women and cherish and love one another no less than their own brothers. Consider, therefore, whether, as they are cousins and have been brought up together, it would not be impious in us to put arms in their hands and invite them to mutual slaughter. For the pollution of kindred blood, if they are compelled to stain their hands with one another’s blood, will deservedly fall upon us who compel them.”

[3] To this Fufetius answered: “Neither have I failed, Tullius, to note the kinship of the youths, nor did I purpose to compel them to fight with their cousins unless they themselves were inclined to undertake the combat. But as soon as this plan came into my mind I sent for the Alban Curiatii and sounded them in private to learn whether they were willing to engage in the combat; and it was only after they had accepted the proposal with incredible and wonderful alacrity that I decided to disclose my plan and bring it forward for

consideration. And I advise you to take the same course yourself — to send for the triplets on your side and sound out their disposition. [4] And if they, too, agree of their own accord to risk their lives for their country, accept the favour; but if they hesitate, bring no compulsion to bear upon them. I predict, however, the same result with them as with our own youths — that is, if they are such men as we have been informed, like the few most highly endowed by Nature, and are brave in arms; for the reputation of their valour has reached us also.”

[16.1] Tullius, accordingly, approved of this advice and made a truce for ten days, in order to have time to deliberate and give his answer after learning the disposition of the Horatii; and thereupon he returned to the city. During the following days he consulted with the most important men, and when the greater part of them favoured accepting the proposals of Fufetius, he sent for the three brothers and said to them:

[2] Horatii, Fufetius the Alban informed me at a conference the last time we met at the camp that by divine providence three brave champions were at hand for each city, the noblest and most suitable of any we could hope to find — the Curiatii among the Albans and you among the Romans. He added that upon learning of this he had himself first inquired whether your cousins were willing to give their lives to their country, and that, finding them very eager to undertake the combat on behalf of all their people, he could now bring forward this proposal with confidence; and he asked me also to sound you out, to learn whether you would be willing to risk your lives for your country by engaging with the Curiatii, or whether you choose to yield this honour to others. [3] I, in view of your valour and your gallantry in action, which are not concealed from public notice, assumed that you of all others would embrace this danger for the sake of winning the prize of valour; but fearing lest your kinship with the three Alban brothers might prove an obstacle to your zeal, I requested time for deliberation and made a truce for ten days. And when I came here I assembled the senate and laid the matter before them for their consideration. It was the opinion of the majority that if you of your own free will accepted the combat, which is a noble one and worthy of you and which I myself was eager to wage alone on behalf of all our people, they should praise your resolution and accept the favour from you; but if, to avoid the pollution of kindred blood — for surely it would be no admission of cowardice on your part — you felt that those who are not related to them ought to be called upon to undertake the combat, they should bring no compulsion to bear upon you. This, then, being the vote of the senate, which will neither be offended with you if you show a reluctance to undertake the task nor feel itself under any slight obligation to you if you rate your country more highly than your kinship, deliberate carefully and well.”

[17.1] The youths upon hearing these words withdrew to one side, and after a short conference together returned to give their answer; and the eldest on behalf of them all spoke as follows: “If we were free and sole masters of our

own decisions, Tullius, and you had given us the opportunity to deliberate concerning the combat with our cousins, we should without further delay have given you our thoughts upon it. But since our father is still living, without whose advice we do not think it proper to say or do the least thing, we ask you to wait a short time for our answer till we have talked with him.” [2] Tullius having commended their filial devotion and told them to do as they proposed, they went home to their father. And acquainting him with the proposals of Fufetius and with what Tullius had said to them and, last of all, with their own answer, they desired his advice. [3] And he answered and said: “But indeed this is dutiful conduct on your part, my sons, when you live for your father and do nothing without my advice. But it is time for you to show that you yourselves now have discretion in such matters at least. Assume, therefore, that my life is now over, and let me know what you yourselves would have chosen to do if you had deliberated without your father upon your own affairs.” [4] And the eldest answered him thus: “Father, we would have accepted this combat for the supremacy and would have been ready to suffer whatever should be the will of Heaven; for we had rather be dead than to live unworthy both of you and of our ancestors. As for the bond of kinship with our cousins, we shall not be the first to break it, but since it has already been broken by fate, we shall acquiesce therein. [5] For if the Curiatii esteem kinship less than honour, the Horatii also will not value the ties of blood more highly than valour.” Their father, upon learning their disposition, rejoiced exceedingly, and lifting his hands to Heaven, said he rendered thanks to the gods for having given him noble sons. Then, throwing his arms about each in turn and giving the tenderest of embraces and kisses, he said: “You have my opinion also, my brave sons. Go, then, to Tullius and give him the answer that is both dutiful and honourable.” [6] The youths went away pleased with the exhortation of their father, and going to the king, they accepted the combat; and he, after assembling the senate and sounding the praises of the youths, sent ambassadors to the Alban to inform him that the Romans accepted his proposal and would offer the Horatii to fight for the sovereignty.

[18.1] As my subject requires not only that a full account of the way the battle was fought should be given, but also that the subsequent tragic events, which resemble the sudden reversals of fortune seen upon the stage, should be related in no perfunctory manner, I shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to give an accurate account of every incident. When the time came, then, for giving effect to the terms of the agreement, the Roman forces marched out in full strength, and afterwards the youths, when they had offered up their prayers to the gods of their fathers; they advanced accompanied by the king, while the entire throng that filled the city acclaimed them and strewed flowers upon their heads. By this time the Albans’ army also had marched out. [2] And when the armies had encamped near one another, leaving as an interval between their camps the boundary that separated the Roman territory from that of the Albans, each side occupying the site of its previous camp, they first

offered sacrifice and swore over the burnt offerings that they would acquiesce in whatever fate the event of the combat between the cousins should allot to each city and that they would keep inviolate their agreement, neither they nor their posterity making use of any deceit. Then, after performing the rites which religion required, both the Romans and Albans laid aside their arms and came out in front of their camps to be spectators of the combat, leaving an interval of three or four stades for the champions. And presently appeared the Alban general conducting the Curiatii and the Roman king escorting the Horatii, all of them armed in the most splendid fashion and withal dressed like men about to die. [3] When they came near to one another they gave their swords to their armour-bearers, and running to one another, embraced, weeping and calling each other by the tenderest names, so that all the spectators were moved to tears and accused both themselves and their leaders of great heartlessness, in that, when it was possible to decide the battle by other champions, they had limited the combat on behalf of the cities to men of kindred blood and compelled the pollution of fratricide. The youths, after their embraces were over, received their swords from their armour-bearers, and the bystanders having retired, they took their places according to age and began the combat.

[19.1] For a time quiet and silence prevailed in both armies, and then there was shouting by both sides together and alternate exhortations to the combatants; and there were vows and lamentations and continual expressions of every other emotion experienced in battle, some of them caused by what was either being enacted or witnessed by each side, and others by their apprehensions of the outcome; and the things they imagined outnumbered those which actually were happening. [2] For it was impossible to see very clearly, owing to the great distance, and the partiality of each side for their own champions interpreted everything that passed to match their desire; then, too, the frequent advances and retreats of the combatants and their many sudden countercharges rendered any accurate judgment out of the question; and this situation lasted a considerable time. [3] For the champions on both sides not only were alike in strength of body but were well matched also in nobility of spirit, and they had their entire bodies protected by the choicest armour, leaving no part exposed which if wounded would bring on swift death. So that many, both of the Romans and of the Albans, from their eager rivalry and from their partiality for their own champions, were unconsciously putting themselves in the position of the combatants and desired rather to be actors in the drama that was being enacted than spectators. [4] At last the eldest of the Albans, closing with his adversary and giving and receiving blow after blow, happened somehow to run his sword thru the Roman's groin. The latter was already stupefied from his other wounds, and now receiving this final blow, a mortal one, he fell down dead, his limbs no longer supporting him. [5] When the spectators of the combat saw this they all cried out together, the Albans as already victorious, the Romans as vanquished; for they concluded

that their two champions would be easily dispatched by the three Albans. In the meantime, the Roman who had fought by the side of the fallen champion, seeing the Alban rejoicing in his success, quickly rushed upon him, and after inflicting many wounds and receiving many himself, happened to plunge his sword into his neck and killed him. [6] After Fortune had thus in a short time made a great alteration both in the state of the combatants and in the feelings of the spectators, and the Romans had now recovered from their former dejection while the Albans had had their joy snatched away, another shift of Fortune, by giving a check to the success of the Romans, sunk their hopes and raised the confidence of their enemies. For when Alban fell, his brother who stood next to him closed with the Roman who had struck him down; and each, as it chanced, gave the other a dangerous wound at the same time, the Alban plunging his sword down through the Roman's back into his bowels, and the Roman throwing himself under the shield of his adversary and slashing one of his thighs.

[20.1] The one who had received the mortal wound died instantly, and the other, who had been wounded in the thigh, was scarcely able to stand, but limped and frequently leaned upon his shield. Nevertheless, he still made a show of resistance and with his surviving brother advanced against the Roman, who stood his ground; and they surrounded him, one coming up to him from in front and the other from behind. [2] The Roman, fearing that, being thus surrounded by them and obliged to fight with two adversaries attacking him from two sides, he might easily be overcome — he was still uninjured — hit upon the plan of separating his enemies and fighting each one singly. He thought he could most easily separate them by feigning flight; for then he would not be pursued by both the Albans, but only by one of them, since he saw that the other no longer had control of his limbs. With this thought in mind he fled as fast as he could; and it was his good fortune not to be disappointed in his expectation. [3] For the Alban who was not mortally wounded followed at his heels, while the other, being unable to keep going was falling altogether too far behind. Then indeed the Albans encouraged their men and the Romans reproached their champion with cowardice, the former singing songs of triumph and crowning themselves with garlands as if the contest were already won, and the others lamenting as if Fortune would never raise them up again. But the Roman, having carefully waited for his opportunity, turned quickly and, before the Alban could put himself on his guard, struck him a blow on the arm with his sword and clove his elbow in twain, [4] and when his hand fell to the ground together with his sword, he struck one more blow, a mortal one, and dispatched the Alban; then, rushing from him to the last of his adversaries, who was half dead and fainting, he slew him also. And taking the spoils from the bodies of his cousins, he hastened to the city, wishing to give his father the first news of his victory.

[21.1] But it was ordained after all that even he, as he was but a mortal, should not be fortunate in everything, but should feel some stroke of the

envious god who, having from an insignificant man made him great in a brief moment of time and raised him to wonderful and unexpected distinction, plunged him the same day into the unhappy state of being his sister's murderer. [2] For when he arrived near the gates he saw a multitude of people of all conditions pouring out from the city and among them his sister running to meet him. At the first sight of her he was distressed that a virgin ripe for marriage should have deserted her household tasks at her mother's side and joined a crowd of strangers. And though he indulged in many absurd reflections, he was at last inclining to those which were honourable and generous, feeling that in her yearning to be the first to embrace her surviving brother and in her desire to receive an account from him of the gallant behaviour of her dead brothers she had disregarded decorum in a moment of feminine weakness. [3] However, it was not, after all, her yearning for her brothers that had led her to venture forth in this unusual manner, but it was because she was overpowered by love for one of her cousins to whom her father had promised her in marriage, a passion which she had till then kept secret; and when she had overheard a man who came from the camp relating the details of the combat, she could no longer contain herself, but leaving the house, rushed to the city gates like a maenad, without paying any heed to her nurse who called her and ran to bring her back. [4] But when she got outside the city and saw her brother exulting and wearing the garlands of victory with which the king had crowned him, and his friends carrying the spoils of the slain, among which was an embroidered robe which she herself with the assistance of her mother had woven and sent as a present to her betrothed against their nuptial day (for it is the custom of the Latins to array themselves in embroidered robes when they go to fetch their brides), when, therefore, she saw this robe stained with blood, she rent her garment, and beating her breast with both hands, fell to lamenting and calling upon her cousin by name, so that great astonishment came upon all who were present there. [5] After she had bewailed the death of her betrothed she stared with fixed gaze at her brother and said: "Most abominable wretch, so you rejoice in having slain your cousins and deprived your most unhappy sister of wedlock! Miserable fellow! Why, you are not even touched with pity for your slain kinsmen, whom you were wont to call your brothers, but instead, as if you had performed some noble deed, you are beside yourself with joy and wear garlands in honour of such calamities. Of what wild beast, then, have you the heart?" [6] And he, answering her, said: "The heart of a citizen who loves his country and punishes those who wish her ill, whether they happen to be foreigners or his own people. And among such I count even you; for though you know that the greatest of blessings and of woes have happened to us at one and the same time — I mean the victory of your country, which I, your brother, am bringing home with me, and the death of your brothers — you neither rejoice in the public happiness of your country, wicked wretch, nor grieve at the private calamities of your own family, but, overlooking your own

brothers, you lament the fate of your betrothed, and this, too, not after taking yourself off somewhere alone under cover of darkness, curse you! but before the eyes of the whole world; and you reproach me for my valour and my crowns of victory, you pretender to virginity, you hater of your brothers and disgrace to your ancestors! Since, therefore, you mourn, not for your brothers, but for your cousins, and since, though your body is with the living, your soul is with him who is dead, go to him on whom you call and cease to dishonour either your father or your brothers.”

[7] After these words, being unable in his hatred of baseness to observe moderation, but yielding to the anger which swayed him, he ran his sword through her side; and having slain his sister, he went to his father. But so averse to baseness and so stern were the manners and thoughts of the Romans of that day and, to compare them with the actions and lives of those of our age, so cruel and harsh and so little removed from the savagery of wild beasts, that the father, upon being informed of this terrible calamity, far from resenting it, looked upon it as a glorious and becoming action. [8] In fact, he would neither permit his daughter’s body to be brought into the house nor allow her to be buried in the tomb of her ancestors or given any funeral or burial robe or other customary rites; but as she lay there where she had been cast, in the place where she was slain, the passers-by, bringing stones and earth, buried her like any corpse which had none to give it proper burial. [9] Besides these instances of the father’s severity there were still others that I shall mention. Thus, as if in gratitude for some glorious and fortunate achievements, he offered that very day to the gods of his ancestors the sacrifices he had vowed, and entertained his relations at a splendid banquet, just as upon the greatest festivals, making less account of his private calamities than of the public advantages of his country. [10] This not only Horatius but many other prominent Romans after him are said to have done; I refer to their offering sacrifice and wearing crowns and celebrating triumphs immediately after the death of their sons when through them the commonwealth had met with good fortune. Of these I shall make mention in the proper places.

[22.1] After the combat between the triplets, the Romans who were then in the camp buried the slain brothers in a splendid manner in the places where they had fallen, and having offered to the gods the customary sacrifices for victory, were passing their time in rejoicings. On the other side, the Albans were grieving over what had happened and blaming their leader for bad generalship; and the greatest part of them spent that night without food and without any other care for their bodies. [2] The next day the king of the Romans called them to an assembly and consoled them with many assurances that he would lay no command upon them that was either dishonourable, grievous or unbecoming to kinsmen, but that with impartial judgment he would take thought for what was best and most advantageous for both cities;

and having continued Fufetius, their ruler, in the same office and made no other change in the government, he led his army home.

[3] After he had celebrated the triumph which the senate had decreed for him and had entered upon the administration of civil affairs, some citizens of importance came to him bringing Horatius for trial, on the ground that because of his slaying of his sister he was not free of the guilt of shedding a kinsman's blood; and being given a hearing, they argued at length, citing the laws which forbade the slaying of anyone without a trial, and recounting instances of the anger of all the gods against the cities which neglected to punish those who were polluted. [4] But the father spoke in defence of the youth and blamed his daughter, declaring that the act was a punishment, not a murder, and claiming that he himself was the proper judge of the calamities of his own family, since he was the father of both. And a great deal having been said on both sides, the king was in great perplexity what decision to pronounce in the cause. [5] For he did not think it seemly either to acquit any person of murder who confessed he had put his sister to death before a trial — and that, too, for an act which the laws did not concede to be a capital offence — lest by so doing he should transfer the curse and pollution from the criminal to his own household, or to punish as a murderer any person who had chosen to risk his life for his country and had brought her so great power, especially as he was acquitted of blame by his father, to whom before all others both nature and the law gave the right of taking vengeance in the case of his daughter. [6] Not knowing, therefore, how to deal with the situation, he at last decided it was best to leave the decision to the people. And the Roman people, becoming upon this occasion judges for the first time in a cause of a capital nature, sided with the opinion of the father and acquitted Horatius of the murder.

Nevertheless, the king did not believe that the judgment thus passed upon Horatius by men was a sufficient atonement to satisfy those who desired to observe due reverence toward the gods; but sending for the pontiffs, he ordered them to appease the gods and other divinities and to purify Horatius with those lustrations with which it was customary for involuntary homicides to be expiated. [7] The pontiffs erected two altars, one to Juno, to whom the care of sisters is allotted, and the other to a certain god or lesser divinity of the country called in their language Janus, to whom was now added the name Curiatius, derived from that of the cousins who had been slain by Horatius; and after they had offered certain sacrifices upon these altars, they finally, among other expiations, led Horatius under the yoke. It is customary among the Romans, when enemies deliver up their arms and submit to their power, to fix two pieces of wood upright in the ground and fasten a third to the top of them transversely, then to lead the captives under this structure, and after they have passed through, to grant them their liberty and leave to return home. This they call a yoke; and it was the last of the customary expiatory ceremonies used upon this occasion by those who purified Horatius. [8] The place in the

city where they performed this expiation is regarded by all the Romans as sacred; it is in the street that leads down from the Carinae as one goes towards Cuprius Street. Here the altars then erected still remain, and over them extends a beam which is fixed in each of the opposite walls; the beam lies over the heads of those who go out of this street and is called in the Roman tongue "the Sister's Beam." This place, then, is still preserved in the city as a monument to this man's misfortune and honoured by the Romans with sacrifices every year. [9] Another memorial of the bravery he displayed in the combat is the small corner pillar standing at the entrance to one of the two porticos in the Forum, upon which were placed the spoils of the three Alban brothers. The arms, it is true, have disappeared because of the lapse of time, but the pillar still preserves its name and is called *pila Horatia* or "the Horatian Pillar." [10] The Romans also have a law, enacted in consequence of this episode and observed even to this day, which confers immortal honour and glory upon these men; it provides that the parents of triplets shall receive from the public treasury the cost of rearing them until they are grown. With this, the incidents relating to the family of the Horatii, which showed some remarkable and unexpected reversals of fortune, came to an end.

[23.1] The king of the Romans, after letting a year pass, during which he made the necessary preparations for war, resolved to lead out his army against the city of the Fidenates. The grounds he alleged for the war were that this people, being called upon to justify themselves in the matter of the plot that they had formed against the Romans and Albans, had paid no heed, but immediately taking up arms, shutting their gates, and bringing in the allied forces of the Veientes, had openly revolted, and that when ambassadors arrived from Rome to inquire the reason for their revolt, they had answered that they no longer had anything in common with the Romans since the death of Romulus, their king, to whom they had sworn their oaths of friendship. [2] Seizing on these grounds for war, Tullus was not only arming his own forces, but also sending for those of his allies. The most numerous as well as the best auxiliary troops were brought to him from Alba by Mettius Fufetius, and they were equipped with such splendid arms as to excel all the other allied forces. [3] Tullus, therefore, believing that Mettius had been actuated by zeal and by the best motives in deciding to take part in the war, commended him and communicated to him all his plans. But this man, who was accused by his fellow citizens of having mismanaged the recent war and was furthermore charged with treason, in view of the fact that he continued in the supreme command of the city for the third year by order of Tullus, disdaining now to hold any longer a command that was subject to another's command or to be subordinated rather than himself to lead, devised an abominable plot. [4] He sent ambassadors here and there secretly to the enemies of the Romans while they were as yet wavering in their resolution to revolt and encouraged them not to hesitate, promising that he himself would join them in attacking the Romans during the battle; and these activities and plans he kept secret from

everybody. [5] Tullus, as soon as he had got ready his own army as well as that of his allies, marched against the enemy and after crossing the river Anio encamped near Fidenae. And finding a considerable army both of the Fidenates and of their allies drawn up before the city, he lay quiet that day; but on the next he sent for Fufetius, the Alban, and the closest of his other friends and took counsel with them concerning the best method of conducting the war. And when all were in favour of engaging promptly and not wasting time, he assigned them their several posts and commands, and having fixed the next day for the battle, he dismissed the council.

[6] In the meantime Fufetius, the Alban — for his treachery was still a secret to many even of his own friends — calling together the most prominent centurions and tribunes among the Albans, addressed them as follows:

“Tribunes and centurions, I am going to disclose to you important and unexpected things which I have hitherto been concealing; and I beg of you to keep them secret if you do not wish to ruin me, and to assist me in carrying them out if you think their realization will be advantageous. The present occasion does not permit of many words, as the time is short; so I shall mention only the most essential matters. [7] I, from the time we were subordinated to the Romans up to this day, have led a life full of shame and grief, though honoured by the king with the supreme command, which I am now holding for the third year and may, if I should so desire, hold as long as I live. But regarding it as the greatest of all evils to be the only fortunate man in a time of public misfortune, and taking it to heart that, contrary to all the rights mankind look upon as sacred, we have been deprived by the Romans of our supremacy, I took thought how we might recover it without experiencing any great disaster. And although I considered many plans of every sort, the only way I could discover that promised success, and at the same time the easiest and the least dangerous one, was in hand a war should be started against them by the neighbouring states. [8] For I assumed that when confronted by such a war they would have need of allies and particularly of us. As to the next step, I assumed that it would not require much argument to convince you that it is more glorious as well as more fitting to fight for our liberty than for the supremacy of the Romans.

[9] “With these thoughts in mind I secretly stirred up a war against the Romans on the part of their subjects, encouraging the Veientes and Fidenates to take up arms by a promise of my assistance in the war. And thus far I have escaped the Romans’ notice as I contrived these things and kept in my own hands the opportune moment for the attack. Just consider now the many advantages we shall derive from this course. [10] First, by not having openly planned a revolt, in which there would have been a double danger — either of being hurried or unprepared and of putting everything to the hazard while trusting to our own strength only, or, while we were making preparations and gathering assistance, of being forestalled by an enemy already prepared — we shall now experience neither of these difficulties but shall enjoy the advantage

of both. In the next place, we shall not be attempting to destroy the great and formidable power and good fortune of our adversaries by force, but rather by those means by which every thing that is overbearing and not easy to be subdued by force is taken, namely, by guile and deceit; and we shall be neither the first nor the only people who have resorted to these means. [11] Besides, as our own force is not strong enough to be arrayed against the whole power of the Romans and their allies, we have also added the forces of the Fidenates and the Veientes, whose great numbers you see before you; and I have taken the following precautions that these auxiliaries who have been added to our numbers may with all confidence be depended on to adhere to our alliance. [12] For it will not be in our territory that the Fidenates will be fighting, but while they are defending their own country they will at the same time be protecting ours. Then, too, we shall have this advantage, which men look upon as the most gratifying of all and which has fallen to the lot of but few in times past, namely, that, while receiving a benefit from our allies, we shall ourselves be thought to be conferring one upon them. [13] And if this enterprise turns out according to our wish, as is reasonable to expect, the Fidenates and the Veientes, in delivering us from a grievous subjection, will feel grateful to us, as if it were they themselves who had received this favour at our hands.

“These are the preparations which I have made after much thought and which I regard as sufficient to inspire you with the courage and zeal to revolt. [14] Now hear from me the manner in which I have planned to carry out the undertaking. Tullus has assigned me my post under the hill and has given me the command of one of the wings. When we are about to engage the enemy, I will break ranks and begin to lead up the hill; and you will then follow me with your companies in their proper order. When I have gained the top of the hill and am securely posted, hear in what manner I shall handle the situation after that. [15] If I find my plans turning out according to my wish, that is, if I see that the enemy has become emboldened through confidence in our assistance, and the Romans disheartened and terrified, in the belief that they have been betrayed by us, and contemplating, as they likely will, flight rather than fight, I will fall upon them and cover the field with the bodies of the slain, since I shall be rushing down hill from higher ground and shall be attacking with a courageous and orderly force men who are frightened and dispersed. [16] For a terrible thing in warfare is the sudden impression, even though ill-grounded, of the treachery of allies or of an attack by fresh enemies, and we know that many great armies in the past have been utterly destroyed by no other kind of terror so much as by an impression for which there was no ground. But in our case it will be no vain report, no unseen terror, but a deed more dreadful than anything ever seen or experienced. [17] If, however, I find that the contrary of my calculations is in fact coming to pass (for mention must be made also of those things which are wont to happen contrary to human expectations, since our lives bring us many improbable

experiences as well), I too shall then endeavour to do the contrary of what I have just proposed. For I shall lead you against the enemy in conjunction with the Romans and shall share with them the victory, pretending that I occupied the heights with the intention of surrounding the foes drawn up against me; and my claim will seem credible, since I shall have made my actions agree with my explanation. Thus, without sharing in the dangers of either side, we shall have a part in the good fortune of both.

[18] “I, then, have determined upon these measures, and with the assistance of the gods I shall carry them out, as being the most advantageous, not only to the Albans, but also to the rest of the Latins. It is your part, in the first place, to observe secrecy, and next, to maintain good order, to obey promptly the orders you shall receive, to fight zealously yourselves and to infuse the same zeal into those who are under your command, remembering that we are not contending for liberty upon the same terms as other people, who have been accustomed to obey others and who have received that form of government from their ancestors. [19] For we are freemen descended from freemen, and to us our ancestors have handed down the tradition of holding sway over our neighbours as a mode of life preserved by them for someone five hundred years; of which let us not deprive our posterity. And let none of you entertain the fear that by showing a will to do this he will be breaking a compact and violating the oaths by which it was confirmed; on the contrary, let him consider that he will be restoring to its original force the compact which the Romans have violated, a compact far from unimportant, but one which human nature has established and the universal law of both Greeks and barbarians confirms, namely, that fathers shall rule over and give just commands to their children, and mother-cities to their colonies. [20] This compact, which is forever inseparable from human nature, is not being violated by us, who demand that it shall always remain in force, and none of the gods or lesser divinities will be wroth with us, as guilty of an impious action, if we resent being slaves to our own posterity; but it is being violated by those who have broken it from the beginning and have attempted by an impious act to set up the law of man above that of Heaven. And it is reasonable to expect that the anger of the gods will be directed against them rather than against us, and that the indignation of men will fall upon them rather than upon us. [21] If, therefore, you all believe that these plans will be the most advantageous, let us pursue them, calling the gods and other divinities to our assistance. But if any one of you is minded to the contrary and either believes that we ought never to recover the ancient dignity of our city, or, while awaiting a more favourable opportunity, favours deferring our undertaking for the present, let him not hesitate to propose his thoughts to the assembly. For we shall follow whatever plan meets with your unanimous approval.”

[24.1] Those who were present having approved of this advice and promised to carry out all his orders, he bound each of them by an oath and then dismissed the assembly. The next day the armies both of the Fidenates and of

their allies marched out of their camp at sunrise and drew up in order of battle; and on the other side the Romans came out against them and took their positions. [2] Tullus himself and the Romans formed the left wing, which was opposite to the Veientes (for these occupied the enemy's right), while Mettius Fufetius and the Albans drew up on the right wing of the Roman army, over against the Fidenates, beside the flank of the hill. [3] When the armies drew near one another and before they came within range of each other's missiles, the Albans, separating themselves from the rest of the army, began to lead their companies up the hill in good order. The Fidenates, learning of this and feeling confident that the Albans' promises to betray the Romans were coming true before their eyes, now fell to attacking the Romans with greater boldness, and the right wing of the Romans, left unprotected by their allies, was being broken and was suffering severely; but the left, where Tullus himself fought among the flower of the cavalry, carried on the struggle vigorously. [4] In the meantime a horseman rode up to those who were fighting under the king and said: "Our right wing is suffering, Tullus. For the Albans have deserted their posts and are hastening up to the heights, and the Fidenates, opposite to whom they were stationed, extend beyond our wing that is now left unprotected, and are going to surround us." The Romans, upon hearing this and seeing the haste with which the Albans were rushing up the hill, were seized with such fear of being surrounded by the enemy that it did not occur to them either to fight or to stand their ground. [5] Thereupon Tullus, they say, not at all disturbed in mind by so great and so unexpected a misfortune, made use of a stratagem by which he not only saved the Roman army, which was threatened with manifest ruin, but also shattered and brought to nought all the plans of the enemy. For, as soon as he had heard the messenger, he raised his voice, so as to be heard even by the enemy, and cried: [6] "Romans, we are victorious over the enemy. For the Albans have occupied for us this hill hard by, as you see, by my orders, so as to get behind the enemy and fall upon them. Consider, therefore, that we have our greatest foes where we want them, some of us attacking them in front and others in the rear, in a position where, being unable either to advance or to retire, hemmed in as they are on the flanks by the river and by the hill, they will make handsome atonement to us. Forward, then, and show your utter contempt of them."

[25.1] These words he repeated as he rode past all the ranks. And immediately the Fidenates became afraid of counter-treachery, suspecting that the Alban had deceived them by a stratagem, since they did not see either that he had changed his battle order so as to face the other way or that he was promptly charging the Romans, according to his promise; but the Romans, on their side, were emboldened by the words of Tullus and filled with confidence, and giving a great shout, they rushed in a body against the enemy. Upon this, the Fidenates gave way and fled toward their city in disorder. [2] The Roman king hurled his cavalry against them while they were in this fear and

confusion, and pursued them for some distance; but when he learned that they were dispersed and separated from one another and neither likely to take thought for getting together again nor in fact able to do so, he gave over the pursuit and marched against those of the enemy whose ranks were still unbroken and standing their ground. [3] And now there took place a brilliant engagement of the infantry and a still more brilliant one on the part of the cavalry. For the Veientes, who were posted at this point, did not give way in terror at the charge of the Roman horse, but maintained the fight for a considerable time. Then, learning that their left wing was beaten and that the whole army of the Fidenates and of their other allies was in headlong flight, and fearing to be surrounded by the troops that had returned from the pursuit, they also broke their ranks and fled, endeavouring to save themselves by crossing the river. [4] Accordingly, those among them who were strongest, least disabled by their wounds, and had some ability to swim, got across the river, without their arms, while all who lacked any of these advantages perished in the eddies; for the stream of the Tiber near Fidenae is rapid and has many windings. [5] Tullus ordered a detachment of the horse to cut down those of the enemy who were pressing toward the river, while he himself led the rest of the army to the camp of the Veientes and captured it by storm. This was the situation of the Romans after they had been unexpectedly preserved from destruction.

[26.1] When the Alban observed that Tullus had already won a brilliant victory, he also marched down from the heights with his own troops and pursued those of the Fidenates who were fleeing, in order that he might be seen by all the Romans performing some part of the duty of an ally; and he destroyed many of the enemy who had become dispersed in the left. [2] Tullus, though he understood his purpose and understood his double treachery, thought he ought to utter no reproaches for the present till he should have the man in his power, but addressing himself to many of those who were present, he pretended to applaud the Alban's withdrawal to the heights, as if it had been prompted by the best motive; and sending a party of horse to him, he requested him to give the final proof of his zeal by hunting down and slaying the many Fidenates who had been unable to get inside the walls and were dispersed about the country. [3] And Fufetius, imagining that he had succeeded in one of his two hopes and that Tullus was unacquainted with his treachery, rejoiced, and riding over the plains for a considerable time, he cut down all whom he found; but when the sun was now set, he returned from the pursuit with his horsemen to the Roman camp and passed the following night in making merry with his friends.

[4] Tullus remained in the camp of the Veientes till the first watch and questioned the most prominent of the prisoners concerning the leaders of the revolt; and when he learned that Mettius Fufetius, the Alban, was also one of the conspirators and considered that his actions agreed with the information of the prisoners, he mounted his horse, and taking with him the most faithful of

his friends, rode off to Rome. [5] Then, sending to the houses of the senators, he assembled them before midnight and informed them of the treachery of the Alban, producing the prisoners as witnesses, and informed them of the stratagem by which he himself had outwitted both their enemies and the Fidenates. And he asked them, now that the war was ended in the most successful manner, to consider the problems that remained — how the traitors ought to be punished and the city of Alba rendered more circumspect for the future. [6] That the authors of these wicked designs should be punished seemed to all both just and necessary, but how this was to be most easily and safely accomplished was a problem that caused them great perplexity. For they thought it obviously impossible to put to death a great number of brave Albans in a secret and clandestine manner, whereas, if they should attempt openly to apprehend and punish the guilty, they assumed that the Albans would not permit it but would rush to arms; and they were unwilling to carry on war at the same time with the Fidenates and Tyrrhenians and with the Albans, who had come to them as allies. While they were in this perplexity, Tullus delivered the final opinion, which met with the approval of all; but of this I shall speak presently.

[27] The distance between Fidenae and Rome being forty stades, Tullus rode full speed to the camp, and sending for Marcus Horatius, the survivor of the triplets, before it was quite day, he commanded him to take the flower of the cavalry and infantry, and proceeding to Alba, to enter the city as a friend, and then, as soon as he had secured the submission of the inhabitants, to raze the city to the foundations without sparing a single building, whether private or public, except the temples; but as for the citizens, he was neither to kill nor injure any of them, but to permit them to retain their possessions. [2] After sending him on his way he assembled the tribunes and centurions, and having acquainted them with the resolutions of the senate, he placed them as a guard about his person. Soon after, the Alban came, pretending to express his joy over their common victory and to congratulate Tullus upon it. The latter, still concealing his intention, commended him and declared he was deserving of great rewards; at the same time he asked him to write down the names of such of the other Albans also as had performed any notable exploit in the battle and to bring the list to him, in order that they also might get their share of the fruits of victory. [3] Mettius, accordingly, greatly pleased at this, entered upon a tablet and gave to him a list of his most intimate friends who had been the accomplices in his secret designs. Then the Roman king ordered all the troops to come to an assembly after first laying aside their arms. And when they assembled he ordered the Alban general together with his tribunes and centurions to stand directly beside the tribunal; next to these the rest of the Albans were to take their place in the assembly, drawn up in their ranks, and behind the Albans the remainder of the allied forces, while outside of them all he stationed Romans, including the most resolute, with swords concealed under their garments. When he thought he had his foes where he wanted them,

he rose up and spoke as follows:

[28.1] “Romans and you others, both friends and allies, those who dared openly to make war against us, the Fidenates and their allies, have been punished by us with the aid of the gods, and either will cease for the future to trouble us or will receive an even severer chastisement than that they have just experienced. [2] It is now time, since our first enterprise has succeeded to our wish, to punish those other enemies also who bear the name of friends and were taken into this war to assist us in harrying our common foes, but have broken faith with us, and entering into secret treaties with those enemies, have attempted to destroy us all. [3] For these are much worse than open enemies and deserve a severer punishment, since it is both easy to guard against the latter when one is treacherously attacked and possible to repulse them when they are at grips as enemies, but when friends act the part of enemies it is neither easy to guard against them nor possible for those who are taken by surprise to repulse them. And such are the allies sent us by the city of Alba with treacherous intent, although they have received no injury from us but many considerable benefits. [4] For, as we are their colony, we have not wrested away any part of their dominion but have acquired our own strength and power from our own wars; and by making our city a bulwark against the greatest and most warlike nations we have effectually secured them from a war with the Tyrrhenians and Sabines. In the prosperity, therefore, of our city they above all others should have rejoiced, and have grieved at its adversity no less than at their own. [5] But they, it appears, continued not only to begrudge us the advantages we had but also to begrudge themselves the good fortune they enjoyed because of us, and at last, unable any longer to contain their festering hatred, they declared war against us. But finding us well prepared for the struggle and themselves, therefore, in no condition to do any harm, they invited us to a reconciliation and friendship and asked that our strife over the supremacy should be decided by three men from each city. These proposals also we accepted, and after winning in the combat became masters of their city. Well, then, what did we do after that? [6] Though it was in our power to take hostages from them, to leave a garrison in their city, to destroy some of the principal authors of the war between the two cities and to banish others, to change the form of their government according to our own interest, to punish them with the forfeiture of a part of their lands and effects, and — the thing that was easiest of all — to disarm them, by which means we should have strengthened our rule, we did not see fit to do any of these things, but, consulting our filial obligations to our mother-city rather than the security of our power and considering the good opinion of all the world as more important than our own private advantage, we allowed them to enjoy all that was theirs and permitted Mettius Fufetius, as being supposedly the best of the Albans — since they themselves had honoured him with the chief magistracy — to administer their affairs up to the present time.

[7] “For which favours hear now what gratitude they showed, at a time

when we needed the goodwill of our friends and allies more than ever. They made a secret compact with our common enemies by which they engaged to fall upon us in conjunction with them in the course of the battle; and when the two armies approached each other they deserted the post to which they had been assigned and made off for the hills near by at a run, eager to occupy the strong positions ahead of anyone else. [8] And if their attempt had succeeded according to their wish, nothing could have prevented us, surrounded at once by our enemies and by our friends, from being all destroyed, and the fruit of the many battles we had fought for the sovereignty of our city from being lost in a single day. [9] But since their plan has miscarried, owing, in the first place, to the goodwill of the gods (for I at any rate ascribe all worthy achievements to them), and, second, to the stratagem I made use of, which contributed not a little to inspire the enemy with fear and you with confidence (for the statement I made during the battle, that the Albans were taking possession of the heights by my orders with a view of surrounding the enemy, was all a fiction and a stratagem contrived by myself), [10] since, I say, things have turned out to our advantage, we should not be the men we ought to be if we did not take revenge on these traitors. For, apart from the other ties which, by reason of their kinship to us, they ought to have preserved inviolate, they recently made a treaty with us confirmed by oaths, and then, without either fearing the gods whom they had made witnesses of the treaty or showing any regard for justice itself and the condemnation of men, or considering the greatness of the danger if their treachery should not succeed according to their wish, endeavoured to destroy us, who are both their colony and their benefactors, in the most miserable fashion, thus arraying themselves, though our founders, on the side of our most deadly foes and our greatest enemies.”

[29.1] While he was thus speaking the Albans had recourse to lamentations and entreaties of every kind, the common people declaring that they had no knowledge of the intrigues of Mettius, and their commanders alleging that they had not learned of his secret plans till they were in the midst of the battle itself, when it was not in their power either to prevent his orders or to refuse obedience to them; and some even ascribed their action to the necessity imposed against their will by their affinity or kinship to the man. But the king, having commanded them to be silent, [2] addressed them thus:

[2] "I, too, Albans, am not unaware of any of these things that you urge in your defence, but am of the opinion that the generality of you had no knowledge of this treachery, since secrets are not apt to be kept even for a moment when many share in the knowledge of them; and I also believe that only a small number of the tribunes and centurions were accomplices in the conspiracy formed against us, but that the greater part of them were deceived and forced into a position where they were compelled to act against their will.

[3] Nevertheless, even if nothing of all this were true, but if all the Albans, as well you who are here present as those who are left in your city, had felt a desire to hurt us, and if you had not now for the first time, but long since, taken this resolution, yet on account of their kinship to you the Romans would feel under every necessity to bear even this injustice at your hands. [4] But against the possibility of your forming some wicked plot against us hereafter, as the result either of compulsion or deception on the part of the leaders of your state, there is but one precaution and provision, and that is for us all to become citizens of the same city and to regard one only as our fatherland, in whose prosperity and adversity everyone will have that share which Fortune allots to him. For so long as each of our two peoples decides what is advantageous and disadvantageous on the basis of a different judgment, as is now the case, the friendship between us will not be enduring, particularly when those who are the first to plot against the others are either to gain an advantage if they succeed, or, if they fail, are to be secured by their kinship from any serious retribution, while those against whom the attempt is made, if they are subdued, are to suffer the extreme penalties, and if they escape, are not, like enemies, to remember their wrongs — as has happened in the present instance.

[5] "Know, then, that the Romans last night came to the following resolutions, I myself having assembled the senate and proposed the decree: it is ordered that your city be demolished and that no buildings, either public or private, be left standing except the temples; [6] that all the inhabitants, while continuing in the possession of the allotments of land they now enjoy and being deprived of none of their slaves, cattle and other effects, reside henceforth at Rome; that such of your lands as belong to the public be divided among those of the Albans who have none, except the sacred possessions from which the sacrifices to the gods were provided; that I take charge of the construction of the houses in which you newcomers are to establish your

homes, determining in what parts of the city they shall be, and assist the poorest among you in the expense of building; [7] that the mass of your population be incorporated with our plebeians and be distributed among the tribes and curiae, but that the following families be admitted to the senate, hold magistracies and be numbered with the patricians, to wit, the Julii, the Servilii, the Curiatii, the Quinctilii, the Cloelii, the Geganii, and the Metilii; and that Mettius and his accomplices in the treachery suffer such punishments as we shall ordain when we come to sit in judgment upon each of the accused. For we shall deprive none of them either of a trial or of the privilege of making a defence.”

[30.1] At these words of Tullus the poorer sort of the Albans were very well satisfied to become residents of Rome and to have lands allotted to them, and they received with loud acclaim the terms granted them. But those among them who were distinguished for their dignities and fortunes were grieved at the thought of having to leave the city of their birth and to abandon the hearths of their ancestors and pass the rest of their lives in a foreign country; nevertheless, being reduced to the last extremity, they could think of nothing to say. Tullus, seeing the disposition of the multitude, ordered Mettius to make his defence, if he wished to say anything in answer to the charges. [2] But he, unable to justify himself against the accusers and witnesses, said that the Alban senate had secretly given him these orders when he led his army forth to war, and he asked the Albans, for whom he had endeavoured to recover the supremacy, to come to his aid and to permit neither their city to be razed nor the most illustrious of the citizens to be haled to punishment. Upon this, a tumult arose in the assembly and, some of them rushing to arms, those who surrounded the multitude, upon a given signal, held up their swords. [3] And when all were terrified, Tullus rose up again and said: “It is no longer in your power, Albans, to act seditiously or even to make any false move. For if you dare attempt any disturbance, you shall all be slain by these troops (pointing to those who held their swords in their hands). Accept, then, the terms offered to you and become henceforth Romans. For you must do one of two things, either live at Rome or have no other country. [4] For early this morning Marcus Horatius set forth, sent by me, to raze your city to the foundations and to remove all the inhabitants to Rome. Knowing, then, that these orders are as good as executed already, cease to court destruction and do as you are bidden. As for Mettius Fufetius, who has not only laid snares for us in secret but even now has not hesitated to call the turbulent and seditious to arms, I shall punish him in such manner as his wicked and deceitful heart deserves.”

[5] At these words, that part of the assembly which was in an irritated mood, cowered in fear, restrained by inevitable necessity. Fufetius alone still showed his resentment and cried out, appealing to the treaty which he himself was convicted of having violated, and even in his distress abated nothing of his boldness; but the lictors seized him at the command of King Tullus, and tearing off his clothes, scourged his body with many stripes. [6] After he had

been sufficiently punished in this manner, they brought up two teams of horses and with long traces fastened his arms to one of them and his feet to the other; then, as the drivers urged their teams apart, the wretch was mangled upon the ground and, being dragged by the two teams in opposite directions, was soon torn apart. [7] This was the miserable and shameful end of Mettius Fufetius. For the trial of his friends and the accomplices of his treachery the king set up courts and put to death such of the accused as were found guilty, pursuant to the law respecting deserters and traitors.

[31.1] In the meantime Marcus Horatius, who had been sent on with the picked troops to destroy Alba, having quickly made the march and finding the gates open and the walls unguarded, easily made himself master of the city. Then, assembling the people, he informed them of everything which had happened during the battle and read to them the decree of the Roman senate.

[2] And though the inhabitants had recourse to supplications and begged for time in which to send an embassy, he proceeded without any delay to raze the houses and walls and every other building, both public and private; but he conducted the inhabitants to Rome with great care, permitting them to take their animals and their goods with them. [3] And Tullus, upon arriving from the camp, distributed them among the Roman tribes and curiae, assisted them in building houses in such parts of the city as they themselves preferred, allotted a sufficient portion of the public lands to those of the labouring class, and by other acts of humanity relieved the needs of the multitude. [4] Thus the city of Alba, which had been built by Ascanius, the son whom Aeneas, Anchises' son, had by Creusa, the daughter of Priam, after having stood for four hundred and eighty-seven years from its founding, during which time it had greatly increased in population, wealth and every form of prosperity, and after having colonized the thirty cities of the Latins and during all this time held the leadership of that nation, was destroyed by the last colony it had planted, and remains uninhabited to this day.

[5] King Tullus, after letting the following winter pass, led out his army once more against the Fidenates at the beginning of spring. These had publicly received no assistance whatever from any of the cities in alliance with them, but some mercenaries had resorted to them from many places, and relying upon these, they were emboldened to come out from their city; then, after arraying themselves for battle and slaying many in the struggle that ensued and losing even more of their own men, they were again shut up inside the town. [6] And when Tullus had surrounded the city with palisades and ditches and reduced those within to the last extremity, they were obliged to surrender themselves to the king upon his own terms. Having in this manner become master of the city, Tullus put to death the authors of the revolt, but released all the rest, leaving them in the enjoyment of all their possessions in the same manner as before and restoring to them their previous form of government. He then disbanded his army, and returning to Rome, rendered to the gods the trophy-bearing procession and sacrifices of thanksgiving, this

being the second triumph he celebrated.

[32.1] After this war another arose against the Romans on the part of the Sabine nation, the beginning and occasion of which was this. There is a sanctuary, honoured in common by the Sabines and the Latins, that is held in the greatest reverence and is dedicated to a goddess named Feronia; some of those who translate the name into Greek call her Anthophoros or “Flower Bearer,” others Philostephanos or “Lover of Garlands,” and still others Persephonê. To this sanctuary people used to resort from the neighbouring cities on the appointed days of festival, many of them performing vows and offering sacrifice to the goddess and many with the purpose of trafficking during the festive gathering as merchants, artisans and husbandmen; and here were held fairs more celebrated than in any other places in Italy. [2] At this festival some Romans of considerable importance happened to be present on a certain occasion and were seized by some of the Sabines, who imprisoned them and robbed them of their money. And when an embassy was sent concerning them, the Sabines refused to give any satisfaction, but retained both the persons and the money of the men whom they had seized, and in their turn accused the Romans of having received the fugitives of the Sabines by establishing a sacred asylum (of which I gave an account in the preceding Book). [3] As a result of these accusations the two nations became involved in war, and when both had taken the field with large forces a pitched battle occurred between them; and both sides continued to fight with equal fortunes until night parted them, leaving the victory in doubt. During the following days both of them, upon learning the number of the slain and wounded, were unwilling to hazard another battle but left their camps and retired.

[4] They let that year pass without further action, and then, having increased their forces, they again marched out against one another and near the city of Eretum, distant one hundred and sixty stades from Rome, engaged in a battle in which many fell on both sides. And when that battle also continued doubtful for a long time, Tullus, lifting his hands to heaven, made a vow to the gods that if he conquered the Sabines that day he would institute public festivals in honour of Saturn and Ops (the Romans celebrate them every year after they have gathered in all the fruits of the earth) and would double the number of the Salii, as they are called. These are youths of noble families who at appointed times dance, fully armed, to the sound of the flute and sing certain traditional hymns, as I have explained in the preceding Book. [5] After this vow the Romans were filled with a kind of confidence and, like fresh troops falling on those that are exhausted, they at last broke the enemy’s line in the late afternoon and forced the first ranks to begin flight. Then, pursuing them as they fled to their camp, they cut down many more round the trenches, and even then did not turn back, but having stayed there the following night and cleared the ramparts of their defenders, they made themselves masters of the camp. [6] After this action they ravaged as much of the territory of the Sabines as they wished, but when no one any longer came out against them to

protect the country, they returned home. Because of this victory the king triumphed a third time; and not long afterwards, when the Sabines sent ambassadors, he put an end to the war, having first received from them the captives that they had taken in their foraging expeditions, together with the deserters, and levied the penalty which the Roman senate, estimating the damage at a certain sum of money, had imposed upon them for the cattle, the beasts of burden and the other effects that they had taken from the husbandmen.

[33.1] Although the Sabines had ended the war upon these conditions and had set up pillars in their temples on which the terms of the treaty were inscribed, nevertheless, as soon as the Romans were engaged in a war not likely to be soon terminated against the cities of the Latins, who had all united against them, for reasons which I shall presently mention, they welcomed the situation and forgot those oaths and the treaty as much as if they never had been made. And thinking that they now had a favourable opportunity to recover from the Romans many times as much money as they had paid them, they went out, at first in small numbers and secretly, and plundered the neighbouring country; [2] but afterwards many met together and in an open manner, and since their first attempt had turned out as they wished and no assistance had come to the defence of the husbandmen, they despised their enemies and proposed to march even on Rome itself, for which purpose they were gathering an army out of every city. They also made overtures to the cities of the Latins with regard to an alliance, [3] but were not able to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance with that nation. For Tullus, being informed of their intention, made a truce with the Latins and determined to march against the Sabines; and to this end he armed all the forces of the Romans, which since he had annexed the Alban state, were double the number they had been before, and sent to his other allies for all the troops they could furnish. [4] The Sabines, too, had already assembled their army, and when the two forces drew near one another they encamped near a place called the Knaves' Wood, leaving a small interval between them. The next day they engaged and the fight continued doubtful for a long time; but at length, in the late afternoon, the Sabines gave way, unable to stand before the Roman horse, and many of them were slain in the flight. The Romans stripped the spoils from the dead, plundered their camp and ravaged the best part of the country, after which they returned home. This was the outcome of the war that occurred between the Romans and the Sabines in the reign of Tullus.

[34.1] The cities of the Latins now became at odds with the Romans for the first time, being unwilling after the razing of the Albans' city to yield the leadership to the Romans who had destroyed it. It seems that when fifteen years had passed after the destruction of Alba the Roman king, sending embassies to the thirty cities which had been at once colonies and subjects of Alba, summoned them to obey the orders of the Romans, inasmuch as the Romans had succeeded to the Alban's supremacy over the Latin race as well

as to everything else that the Albans had possessed. He pointed out that there were two methods of acquisition by which men became masters of what had belonged to others, one the result of compulsion, the other of choice, and that the Romans had by both these methods acquired the supremacy over the cities which the Albans had held. [2] For when the Albans had become enemies of the Romans, the latter had conquered them by arms, and after the others had lost their own city the Romans had given them a share in theirs, so that it was but reasonable that the Albans both perforce and voluntarily should yield to the Romans the sovereignty they had exercised over their subjects. [3] The Latin cities gave no answer separately to the ambassadors, but in a general assembly of the whole nation held at Ferentinum they passed a vote not to yield the sovereignty to the Romans, and immediately chose two generals, Ancus Publicius of the city of Cora and Spusius Vecilius of Lavinium, and invested them with absolute power with regard to both peace and war. [4] These were the causes of the war between the Romans and their kinsmen, a war that lasted for five years and was carried on more or less like a civil war and after the ancient fashion. For, as they never engaged in pitched battles with all their forces ranged against all those of the foe, no great disaster occurred nor any wholesale slaughter, and none of their cities went through the experience of being razed or enslaved or suffer any other irreparable calamity as the result of being captured in war; but making incursions into one another's country when the corn was ripe, they foraged it, and then returning home with their armies, exchanged prisoners. [5] However, one city of the Latin nation called Medullia, which earlier had become a colony of the Romans in the reign of Romulus, as I stated in the preceding Book, and had revolted again to their countrymen, was brought to terms after a siege by the Roman king and persuaded not to revolt for the future; but no other of the calamities which wars bring in their train was felt by either side at that time. Accordingly, as the Romans were eager for peace, a treaty was readily concluded that left no rancour.

[35.1] These were the achievements performed during his reign by King Tullus Hostilius, a man worthy of exceptional praise for his boldness in war and his prudence in the face of danger, but, above both these qualifications, because, though he was not precipitate in entering upon a war, when he was once engaged in it he steadily pursued it until he had the upper hand in every way over his adversaries. After he had reigned thirty-two years he lost his life when his house caught fire, and with him his wife and children and all his household perished in the flames. [2] Some say that his house was set on fire by a thunderbolt, Heaven having become angered at his neglect of some sacred rites (for they say that in his reign some ancestral sacrifices were omitted and that he introduced others that were foreign to the Romans), but the majority state that the disaster was due to human treachery and ascribe it to Marcius, who ruled the state after him. [3] For they say that this man, who was the son of Numa Pompilius' daughter, was indignant at being in a private station

himself, though of royal descent, and seeing that Tullus had children growing up, he suspected very strongly that upon the death of Tullus the kingdom would fall to them. With these thoughts in mind, they say, he had long since formed a plot against the king, and had many of the Romans aiding him to gain the sovereignty; and being a friend of Tullus and one of his closest confidants, he was watching for a suitable opportunity to appear for making his attack. [4] Accordingly, when Tullus proposed to perform a certain sacrifice at home which he wished only his near relations to know about and that day chanced to be very stormy, with rain and sleet and darkness, so that those who were upon guard before the house had left their station, Marcius, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity, entered the house together with his friends, who had swords under their garments, and having killed the king and his children and all the rest whom he encountered, he set fire to the house in several places, and after doing this spread the report that the fire had been due to a thunderbolt. [5] But for my part I do not accept this story, regarding it as neither true nor plausible, but I subscribe rather to the former account, believing that Tullus met with this end by the judgment of Heaven. For, in the first place, it is improbable that the undertaking in which so many were concerned could have been kept secret, and, besides, the author of it could not be certain that after the death of Hostilius the Romans would choose him as king of the state; furthermore, even if men were loyal to him and steadfast, yet it was unlikely that the gods would act with an ignorance resembling that of men. [6] For after the tribes had given their votes, it would be necessary that the gods, by auspicious omens, should sanction the awarding of the kingdom to him; and which of the gods or other divinities was going to permit a man who was impure and stained with the unjust murder of so many persons to approach the altars, begin the sacrifices, and perform the other religious ceremonies? I, then, for these reasons do not attribute the catastrophe to the treachery of men, but to the will of Heaven; however, let everyone judge as he pleases.

[36.1] After the death of Tullus Hostilius, the interreges appointed by the senate according to ancestral usage chose Marcius, surnamed Ancus, king of the state; and when the people had confirmed the decision of the senate and the signs from Heaven were favourable, Marcius, after fulfilling all the customary requirements, entered upon the government in the second year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad (the one in which Sphaerus, a Lacedaemonian, gained the prize), at the time when Damasias held the annual archonship at Athens. [2] This king, finding that many of the religious ceremonies instituted by Numa Pompilius, his maternal grandfather, were being neglected, and seeing the greatest part of the Romans devoted to the pursuit of war and gain and no longer cultivating the land as aforetime, assembled the people and exhorted them to worship the gods once more as they had done in Numa's reign. He pointed out to them that it was owing to their neglect of the gods

that not only many pestilences had fallen upon the city, by which no small part of the population had been destroyed, but also that King Hostilius, who had not shown the proper regard for the gods, had suffered for a long time from a complication of bodily ailments and at last, no longer sound even in his understanding but weakened in mind as well as in body, had come to a pitiable end, both he and his family. [3] He then commended the system of government established by Numa for the Romans as excellent and wise and one which supplied every citizen with daily plenty from the most lawful employments; and he advised them to restore this system once more by applying themselves to agriculture and cattle-breeding and to those occupations that were free from all injustice, and to scorn rapine and violence and the profits accruing from war. [4] By these and similar appeals he inspired in all a great desire both for peaceful tranquillity and for sober industry. After this, he called together the pontiffs, and receiving from them the commentaries on religious rites which Pompilius had composed, he caused them to be transcribed on tablets and exposed in the Forum for everyone to examine. These have since been destroyed by time, for, brazen pillars being not yet in use at that time, the laws and the ordinances concerning religious rites were engraved on oaken boards; but after the expulsion of the kings they were again copied off for the use of the public by Gaius Papirius, a pontiff, who had the superintendence of all religious matters. After Marcius had re-established the religious rites which had fallen into abeyance and turned the idle people to their proper employments, he commended the careful husbandmen and reprimanded those who managed their lands ill as citizens not to be depended on.

[37.1] While instituting these administrative measures he hoped above all else to pass his whole life free from war and troubles, like his grandfather, but he found his purpose crossed by fortune and, contrary to his inclinations, was forced to become a warrior and to live no part of his life free from danger and turbulence. [2] For at the very time that he entered upon the government and was establishing his tranquil régime the Latins, despising him and looking upon him as incapable of conducting wars through want of courage, sent bands of robbers from each of their cities into the parts of the Roman territory that lay next to them, in consequence of which many of the Romans were suffering injury. [3] And when ambassadors came from the king and summoned them to make satisfaction to the Romans according to the treaty, they alleged that they neither had any knowledge of the robberies complained of, asserting that these had been committed without the general consent of the nation, nor had become accountable to the Romans for anything they did. For they had not made the treaty with them, they say, but with Tullus, and by the death of Tullus their treaty of peace had been terminated. [4] Marcius, therefore, compelled by these reasons and the answers of the Latins, led out an army against them, and laying siege to the city of Politorium, he took it by capitulation before any aid reached the besieged from the other Latins.

However, he did not treat the inhabitants with any severity, but, allowing them to retain their possessions, transferred the whole population to Rome and distributed them among the tribes.

[38.1] The next year, since the Latins had sent settlers to Politorium, which was then uninhabited, and were cultivating the lands of the Politorini, Marcius marched against them with his army. And when the Latins came outside the walls and drew up in order of battle, he defeated them and took the town a second time; and having burnt the houses and razed the walls, so the enemy might not again use it as a base of operations nor cultivate the land, he led his army home. [2] The next year the Latins marched against the city of Medullia, in which there were Roman colonists, and besieging it, attacked the walls on all sides and took it by storm. At the same time Marcius took Tellenae, a prominent city of the Latins, after he had overcome the inhabitants in a pitched battle and had reduced the place by an assault upon the walls; after which he transferred the prisoners to Rome without taking any of their possessions from them, and set apart for them a place in the city in which to build houses. [3] And when Medullia had been for three years subject to the Latins, he recovered it in the fourth year, after defeating the inhabitants in many great battles. A little later he captured Ficana, a city which he had already taken two years before by capitulation, afterwards transferring all the inhabitants to Rome but doing no other harm to the city — a course in which he seemed to have acted with greater clemency than prudence. [4] For the Latins sent colonists thither and occupying the land of the Ficanenses, they enjoyed its produce themselves; so that Marcius was obliged to lead his army a second time against this city and, after making himself master of it with great difficulty, to burn the houses and raze the walls.

[39.1] After this the Latins and Romans fought two pitched battles with large armies. In the first, after they had been engaged a considerable time without any seeming advantage on either side, they parted, each returning to their own camp. But in the later contest the Romans gained the victory and pursued the Latins to their camp. [2] After these actions there was no other pitched battle fought between them, but continual incursions were made by both into the neighbouring territory and there were all skirmishes between the horse and light-armed foot who patrolled the country; in these the victors were generally the Romans, who had their forces in the field posted secretly in advantageous strongholds, under the command of Tarquinius the Tyrrhenian. [3] About the same time the Fidenates also revolted from the Romans. They did not, indeed, openly declare war, but ravaged their country by making raids in small numbers and secretly. Against these Marcius led out an army of light troops, and before the Fidenates had made the necessary preparations for war he encamped near their city. [4] At first they pretended not to know what injuries they had committed to draw the Roman army against them, and when the king informed them that he had come to punish them for their plundering and ravaging of his territory, they excused themselves by alleging that their city

was not responsible for these injuries, and asked for time in which to make an investigation and to search out the guilty; and they consumed many days in doing nothing that should have been done, but rather in sending to their allies secretly for assistance and busying themselves with the preparing of arms.

[40.1] Marcius, having learned of their purpose, proceeded to dig mines leading under the walls of the city from his own camp; and when the work was finally completed, he broke camp and led his army against the city, taking along many siege-engines and scaling-ladders and the other equipment he had prepared for an assault, and approaching a different point from that where the walls were undermined. [2] Then, the Fidenates had rushed in great numbers to those parts of the city that were being stormed, and were stoutly repulsing the assaults, the Romans who had been detailed for the purpose opened the mouths of the mines and found themselves within the walls; and destroying all who came to meet them, they threw open the gates to the besiegers. [3] When many of the Fidenates had been slain in the taking of the town, Marcius ordered the rest to deliver up their arms, and made proclamation that all should repair to a certain place in the city. Thereupon he caused a few of them who had been the authors of the revolt to be scourged and put to death, and having given leave to his soldiers to plunder all their houses and left a sufficient garrison there, he marched with his army against the Sabines. [4] For these also had failed to abide by the terms of the peace which they had made with King Tullus, and making incursions into the territory of the Romans, were again laying waste the neighbouring country. When Marcius, therefore, learned from spies and deserters the proper time to put his plan into execution, while the Sabines were dispersed and plundering the fields, he marched in person with the infantry to the enemy's camp, which was weakly guarded, and took the ramparts at the first onset; and he ordered Tarquinius to hasten with the cavalry against those who were dispersed in foraging. [5] The Sabines, learning that the Roman cavalry was coming against them, left their plunder and the other booty they were carrying and driving off, and fled to their camp; and when they perceived that this too was in the possession of the infantry, they were at a loss which way to turn and endeavoured to reach the woods and mountains. But being pursue by the light-armed foot and the horse, the greater part of them were destroyed, though some few escaped. And after this misfortune, sending ambassadors once more to Rome, they obtained such a peace as they desired. For the war which was still going on between the Romans and the Latin cities rendered both a truce and a peace with their other foes necessary.

[41.1] About the fourth year after this war Marcius, the Roman king, leading his own army of citizens and sending for as many auxiliaries as he could obtain from his allies, marched against the Veientes and laid waste a large part of their country. These had been the aggressors the year before by making an incursion into the Roman territory, where they seized much property and slew many of the inhabitants. [2] And when the Veientes came out against him with

a large army and encamped beyond the river Tiber, near Fidenae, Marcius set out with his army as rapidly as possible; and being superior in cavalry, he first cut them off from the roads leading into the country, and then, forcing them to come to a pitched battle, defeated them and captured their camp. Having succeeded in this war also according to his desire, he returned to Rome and conducted in honour of the gods the procession in celebration of his victory and the customary triumph. [3] The second year after this, the Veientes having again broken the truce they had made with Marcius and demanding to get back the salt-works which they had surrendered by treaty in the reign of Romulus, he fought a second battle with them, one more important than the first, near the salt-works; and having easily won it, he continued from that time forth in undisputed possession of the salt-works. [4] The prize for valour in this battle also was won by Tarquinius, the commander of the horse; and Marcius, looking upon him as the bravest man in the whole army, kept honouring him in various ways, among other things making him both a patrician and a senator. [5] Marcius also engaged in a war with the Volscians, since bands of robbers from this nation too were setting out to plunder the fields of the Romans. And marching against them with a large army, he captured much booty; then, laying siege to one of their cities called Velitrae, he surrounded it with a ditch and palisades and, being master of the open country, prepared to assault the walls. But when the elders came out with the emblems of suppliants and not only promised to make good the damage they had done, in such manner as the king should determine, but also agreed to deliver up the guilty to be punished, he made a truce with them, and, after accepting the satisfaction they freely offered, he concluded a treaty of peace and friendship.

[42.1] Again, some others of the Sabine nation who had not yet felt the Roman power, the inhabitants of . . . , a great and prosperous city, without having any grounds of complain against the Romans but being driven to envy of their prosperity, which was increasing disproportionately, and being a very warlike people, began at first with brigandage and the raiding of their fields in small bodies, but afterwards, lured by the hope of booty, made war upon them openly and ravaged much of the neighbouring territory, inflicting severe damage. [2] But they were not permitted either to carry off their booty or themselves to retire unscathed, for the Roman king, hastening to the rescue, pitched his camp near theirs and forced them to come to an engagement. [3] A great battle, therefore, was fought and many fell on both sides, but the Romans won by reason of their skill and their endurance of toil, virtues to which they had been long accustomed, and they proved far superior to the Sabines; and pursuing them closely as they fled, dispersed and in disorder, toward their camp, they wrought great slaughter. [4] Then, having also captured their camp, which was full of all sorts of valuables, and recovered the captives the Sabines had taken in their raids, they returned home. These in brief are the military exploits of this king that have been remembered and

recorded by the Romans. I shall now mention the achievements of his civil administration.

[43.1] In the first place, he made no small addition to the city by enclosing the hill called the Aventine within its walls. This is a hill of moderate height and about eighteen stades in circumference, which was then covered with trees of every kind, particularly with many beautiful laurels, so that one place on the hill is called Lauretum or “Laurel Grove” by the Romans; but the whole is now covered with buildings, including, among many others, the temple of Diana. The Aventine is separated from another of the hills that are included within the city of Rome, called the Palatine Hill (round which was built the first city to be established), by a deep and narrow ravine, but in after times the whole hollow between the two hills was filled up. [2] Marcius, observing that this hill would serve as a stronghold against the city for any army that approached, encompassed it with a wall and ditch and settled here the populations that he had transferred from Tellenae and Politorium and the other cities he had taken. This is one peace-time achievement recorded of this king that was at once splendid and practical; thereby the city was not only enlarged by the addition of another city but also rendered less vulnerable to the attack of a strong enemy force.

[44.1] Another peace-time achievement was of even greater consequence than the one just mentioned, as it made the city richer in all the conveniences of life and encouraged it to embark upon nobler undertakings. The river Tiber, descending from the Apennine mountains and flowing close by Rome, discharges itself upon harbourless and exposed shores made by the Tyrrhenian Sea; but this river was of small and negligible advantage to Rome because of having at its mouth no trading post where the commodities brought in by sea and down the river from the country above could be received and exchanged with the merchants. But as it is navigable quite up to its source for river boats of considerable seize and as far as Rome itself for sea-going ships of great burden, he resolved to build a seaport at its outlet, making use of the river’s mouth itself for a harbour. [2] For the Tiber broadens greatly where it unites with the sea and forms great bays equal to those of the best seaports; and, most wonderful of all, its mouth is not blocked by sandbanks piled up by the sea, as happens in the case of many even of the large rivers, nor does it by wandering this way and that through fens and marshes spend itself before its stream unites with the sea, but it is everywhere navigable and discharges itself through its one genuine mouth, repelling the surge that comes from the main, notwithstanding the frequency and violence of the west wind on that coast. [3] Accordingly, oared ships however large and merchantmen up to three thousand bushels burden enter at the mouth of the river and are rowed and towed up to Rome, while those of a larger size ride at anchor off the mouth, where they are unloaded and loaded again by river boats. [4] Upon the elbow of land that lies between the river and the sea the king built a city and surrounded it with a wall, naming it from its situation Ostia, or, as we should

call it, thyra or “portal”; and by this means he made Rome not only an inland city but also a seaport, and gave it a taste of the good things from beyond the sea.

[45.1] He also built a wall round the high hill called the Janiculum, situated on the other side of the river Tiber, and stationed there an adequate garrison for the security of those who navigated the river; for the Tyrrhenians, being masters of all the country on the other side of the river, had been plundering the merchants. [2] He also is said to have built the wooden bridge over the Tiber, which was required to be constructed without brass or iron, being held together by its beams alone. This bridge they preserve to the present day, looking upon it as sacred; and if any part of it gives out the pontiffs attend to it, offering certain traditional sacrifices while it is being repaired. These are the memorable achievements of this king during his reign, and he handed Rome on to his successors in much better condition than he himself had received it. After reigning twenty-four years he died, leaving two sons, one still a child in years and the elder just growing a beard.

[46.1] After the death of Ancus Marcius the senate, being empowered by the people to establish whatever form of government they thought fit, again resolved to abide by the same form and appointed interreges. These, having assembled the people for the election, chosen Lucius Tarquinius as king; and the omens from Heaven having confirmed the decision of the people, Tarquinius took over the sovereignty about the second year of the forty-first Olympiad (the one in which Cleondas, a Theban, gained the prize), Heniochides being archon at Athens. [2] I shall now relate, following the account I have found in the Roman annals, from what sort of ancestors this Tarquinius was sprung, from what country he came, the reasons for his removing to Rome, and by what course of conduct he came to be king. [3] There was a certain Corinthian, Demaratus by name, of the family of the Bacchiadae, who, having chosen to engage in commerce, sailed to Italy in a ship of his own with his own cargo; and having sold the cargo in the Tyrrhenian cities, which were at the time the most flourishing in all Italy, and gained great profit thereby, he no longer desired to put into any other ports, but continued to ply the same sea, carrying a Greek cargo to the Tyrrhenians and a Tyrrhenian cargo to Greece, by which means he became possessed of great wealth. [4] But when Corinth fell a prey to sedition and the tyranny of Cypselus was rising in revolt against the Bacchiadae, Demaratus thought it was not safe for him to live under a tyranny with his great riches, particularly as he was of the oligarchic family; and accordingly, getting together all of his substance that he could, he sailed away from Corinth. [5] And having from his continual intercourse with the Tyrrhenians many good friends among them, particularly at Tarquinii, which was a large and flourishing city at that time, he built a house there and married a woman of illustrious birth. By her he had two sons, to whom he gave Tyrrhenian names, calling one Arruns and the

other Lucumo; and having instructed them in both the Greek and Tyrrhenian learning, he married them, when they were grown, to two women of the most distinguished families.

[47.1] Not long afterward the elder of his sons died without acknowledged issue, and a few days later Demaratus himself died of grief, leaving his surviving son Lucumo heir to his entire fortune. Lucumo, having thus inherited the great wealth of his father, had aspired to public life and a part in the administration of the commonwealth and to be one of its foremost citizens. [2] But being repulsed on every side by the native-born citizens and excluded, not only from the first, but even from the middle rank, he resented his disfranchisement. And hearing that the Romans gladly received all strangers and made them citizens, he resolved to get together all his riches and remove thither, taking with him his wife and such of his friends and household as wished to go along; and those who were eager to depart with him were many. [3] When they were come to the hill called Janiculum, from which Rome is first discerned by those who come from Tyrrhenia, an eagle, descending on a sudden, snatched his cap from his head and flew up again with it, and rising in a circular flight, hid himself in the depths of the circumambient air, then of a sudden replaced the cap on his head, fitting it on as it had been before. [4] This prodigy appearing wonderful and extraordinary to them all, the wife of Lucumo, Tanaquil by name, who had a good understanding standing, through her ancestors, of the Tyrrhenians' augural science, took him aside from the others and, embracing him, filled him with great hopes of rising from his private station to the royal power. She advised him, however, to consider by what means he might render himself worthy to receive the sovereignty by the free choice of the Romans.

[48.1] Lucumo was overjoyed at this omen, and as he was now approaching the gates have besought the gods that the prediction might be fulfilled and that his arrival might be attended with good fortune; then he entered the city. After this, gaining an audience with King Marcius, he first informed him who he was and then told him that, being desirous of settling at Rome, he had brought with him all his paternal fortune, which, as it exceeded the limits suitable for a private citizen, he said he proposed to place at the disposal of the king and of the Roman state for the general good. [2] And having met with a favourable reception from the king, who assigned him and his Tyrrhenian followers to one of the tribes and to one of the curiae, he built a house upon a site in the city which was allotted to him as sufficient for the purpose, and received a portion of land. After he had settled these matters and had become one of the citizens, he was informed that every Roman had a common name and, after the common name, another, derived from his family and ancestors, and wishing to be like them in this respect also, he took the name of Lucius instead of Lucumo as his common name, and that of Tarquinius as his family name, from the city in which he had been born and brought up. [3] In a very short time he gained the friendship of the king by presenting him with those

things which he saw he needed most and by supplying him with all the money he required to carry on his wars. On campaigns he fought most bravely of all, whether of the infantry or of the cavalry, and wherever there was need of good judgment he was counted among the shrewdest counsellors. [4] Yet the favour of the king did not deprive him of the goodwill of the rest of the Romans; for he not only won to himself many of the patricians by his kindly services but also gained the affections of the populace by his cordial greetings, his agreeable conversation, his dispensing of money and his friendliness in other ways.

[49.1] This was the character of Tarquinius and for these reasons he became during the lifetime of Marcius the most illustrious of all the Romans, and after that king's death was adjudged by all as worthy of the kingship. When he had succeeded to the sovereignty he first made war upon the people of Apiolae, as it was called, a city of no small note among the Latins. [2] For the Apiolani and all the rest of the Latins, looking upon the treaty of peace as having been terminated after the death of Ancus Marcius, were laying waste the Roman territory by plundering and pillaging. Tarquinius, desiring to take revenge upon them for these injuries, set out with a large force and ravaged the most fruitful part of their country; [3] then, when important reinforcements came to the Apiolani from their Latin neighbours, he fought two battles with them and, having gained the victory in both, proceeded to besiege the city, causing his troops to assault the walls in relays; and the besieged, being but few contending against many and not having a moment's respite, were at last subdued. The city being taken by storm, the greater part of the Apiolani were slain fighting, but a few after delivering up their arms were sold together with the rest of the booty; their wives and children were carried away into slavery by the Romans and the city was plundered and burned. [4] After the king had done this and had razed the walls to the foundations, he returned home with his army. Soon afterwards he undertook another expedition against the city of the Crustumers. This was a colony of the Latins and in the reign of Romulus had submitted to the Romans; but after Tarquinius succeeded to the sovereignty it began again to incline on the side of the Latins. [5] However, it was not necessary to reduce this place by a siege and great effort; for the Crustumers, having become aware both of the magnitude of the force that was coming against them and of their own weakness, since no aid came to them from the rest of the Latins, opened their gates; and the oldest and most honoured of the citizens, coming out, delivered up the city to Tarquinius, asking only that he treat them with clemency and moderation. [6] This fell out according to his wish, and entering the city, he put none of the Crustumers to death and punished only a very few, who had been the authors of the revolt, with perpetual banishment, while permitting all the rest to retain their possessions and to enjoy Roman citizenship as before; but, in order to prevent any uprising for the future, he left Roman colonists in their midst.

[50.1] The Nomentans also, having formed the same plans, met with the

same fate. For they kept sending bands of robbers to pillage the fields of the Romans and openly became their enemies, relying upon the assistance of the Latins. But when Tarquinius set out against them and the aid from the Latins was too late in arriving, they were unable to resist so great a force by themselves, and coming out of the town with the tokens of suppliants, they surrendered. [2] The inhabitants of the city called Collatia undertook to try the fortune of battle with the Roman forces and for that purpose came out of their city; but being worsted in every engagement and having many of their men wounded, they were again forced to take refuge inside their walls, and they kept sending to the various Latin cities asking for assistance. But as these were too slow about relieving them and the enemy was attacking their walls in many places, they were at length obliged to deliver up their town. [3] They did not, however, meet with the same lenient treatment as had the Nomentans and Crustumers, for the king disarmed them and fined them in a sum of money; and leaving a sufficient garrison in the city, he appointed his own nephew, Tarquinius Arruns, to rule over them with absolute power for life. This man, who had been born after the death both of his father Arruns and of his grandfather Demaratus, had inherited from neither the part of their respective fortunes which otherwise would have fallen to his share and for this reason he was surnamed Egerius or “the Indigent”; for that is the name the Romans give to poor men and beggars. But from the time when he took charge of this city both he himself and all his descendants were given the surname of Collatinus.

[4] After the surrender of Collatia the king marched against the place called Corniculum; this also was a city of the Latin race. And having ravaged their territory in great security, since none offered to defend it, he encamped close by the city itself and invited the inhabitants to enter into a league of friendship. But since they were unwilling to come to terms, but relied on the strength of their walls and expected allies to come from many directions, he invested the city on all sides and assaulted the walls. [5] The Corniculans resisted long and bravely, inflicting numerous losses upon the besiegers, but becoming worn out with continual labour and no longer being unanimous (for some wished to deliver up the town and others to hold out to the last) and their distress being greatly increased by this very dissension, the town was taken by storm. [6] The bravest part of the people were slain fighting during the capture of the town, while the craven, who owed their preservation to their cowardice, were sold for slaves together with their wives and children; and the city was plundered by the conquerors and burned. [7] The Latins, resenting this proceeding, voted to lead a joint army against the Romans; and having raised a numerous force, they made an irruption into the most fruitful part of their country, carrying off thence many captives and possessing themselves of much booty. King Tarquinius marched out against them with his light troops who were ready for action, but too late to overtake them, he invaded their country and treated it in similar fashion. [8] Many other such reverses and successes happened alternately to each side in the expeditions they made

against one another's borders; and they fought one pitched battle with all their forces near the city of Fidenae, in which many fell on both sides though the Romans gained the victory and forced the Latins to abandon their camp by night and retire to their own cities.

[51.1] After this engagement Tarquinius led his army in good order to their cities, making offers of friendship; and the Latins, since they had no national army assembled and no confidence in their own preparations, accepted his proposals. And some of them proceeded to surrender their cities, observing that in the case of the cities which were taken by storm the inhabitants were made slaves and the cities razed, while those which surrendered by capitulation were treated with no other severity than to be obliged to yield obedience to the conquerors. [2] First, then, Ficulea, a city of note, submitted to him upon fair terms, then Cameria; and their example was followed by some small towns and strong fortresses. [3] But the rest of the Latins, becoming alarmed at this and fearing that he would subjugate the whole nation, met together in their assembly at Ferentinum and voted, not only to lead out their own forces from every city, but also to call the strongest of the neighbouring peoples to their aid; and to that end they sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians and Sabines to ask for assistance. [4] The Sabines promised that as soon as they should hear that the Latins had invaded the territory of the Romans they too would take up arms and ravage that part of their territory which lay next to them; and the Tyrrhenians engaged to send to their assistance whatever forces they themselves should not need, though not all were of the same mind, but only five cities, namely, Clusium, Arretium, Volaterrae, Rusellae, and, in addition to these, Vetulonia.

[52.1] The Latins, elated by these hopes, got ready a large army of their own forces and having added to it the troops from the Tyrrhenians, invaded the Roman territory; and at the same time the cities of the Sabine nation which had promise to take part with them in the war proceeded to lay waste the country that bordered their own. Thereupon the Roman king, who in the meantime had also got ready a large and excellent army, marched in haste against the enemy. [2] But thinking it unsafe to attack the Sabines and the Latins at the same time and to divide his forces into two bodies, he determined to lead his whole army against the Latins, and encamped near them. At first both sides were reluctant to hazard an engagement with all their forces, being alarmed at each other's preparations; but the light-armed troops, coming down from their entrenchments, engaged in constant skirmishes with one another, generally without any advantage on either side. [3] After a time, however, these skirmishes produced a spirit of rivalry in both armies and each side supported its own men, at first in small numbers, but at last they were all forced to come out of their camps. The troops which now engaged, being used to fighting and being nearly equal in numbers, both foot and horse, animated by the same warlike ardour, and believing that they were running the supreme risk, fought on both sides with noteworthy bravery; and they separated,

without a decision, when night overtook them. [4] But the different feelings of the two sides after the action made it clear which of them had fought better than their opponents. For on the next day the Latins stirred no more out of their camp, while the Roman king, leading out his troops into the plain, was ready to fight another engagement and for a long time kept his lines in battle formation. But when the enemy did not come out against him, he took the spoils from their dead, and carrying off his own dead, led his army with great exultation back to his own camp.

[53.1] The Latins having received fresh aid from the Tyrrhenians during the days that followed, a second battle was fought, much greater than the former, in which King Tarquinius gained a most signal victory, the credit for which was allowed by all to belong to him personally. [2] For when the Roman line was already in distress and its close formation was being broken on the left wing, Tarquinius, as soon as he learned of this reverse to his forces (for he happened then to be fighting on the right wing), wheeling the best troops of horse about and taking along the flower of the foot, led them behind his own army and passing by the left wing, advanced even beyond the solid ranks of his line of battle. Then, wheeling his troops to the right and all clapping spurs to their horses, he charged the Tyrrhenians in flank (for these were fighting on the enemy's right wing and had put to flight those who stood opposite to them), and by thus appearing to them unexpectedly he caused them great alarm and confusion. [3] In the meantime the Roman foot also, having recovered themselves from their earlier fear, advanced against the enemy; and thereupon there followed a great slaughter of the Tyrrhenians and the utter rout of their right wing. Tarquinius, having ordered the commanders of the infantry to follow in good order and slowly, led the cavalry himself at full speed to the enemy's camp; and arriving there ahead of those who were endeavouring to save themselves from the rout, he captured the entrenchments at the very first onset. For the troops which had been left there, being neither aware as yet of the misfortune that had befallen their own men nor able, by reason of the suddenness of the attack, to recognize the cavalry that approached, permitted them to enter. [4] After the camp of the Latins had been taken, those of the enemy who were retiring thither from the rout of their army, as to a safe retreat, were slain by the cavalry, who had possessed themselves of it, while others, endeavouring to escape from the camp into the plain, were met by the serried ranks of Roman infantry and cut down; but the greater part of them, being crowded by one another and trodden under foot, perished on the palisades or in the trenches in the most miserable and ignoble manner. Consequently, those who were left alive, finding no means of saving themselves, were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. [5] Tarquinius, having taken possession of many prisoners and much booty, sold the former and granted the plunder of the camp to the soldiers.

[54.1] After this success he led his army against the cities of the Latins, in order to reduce by battle those who would not voluntarily surrender to him;

but he did not find it necessary to lay siege to any of them. For all had recourse to supplications and prayers, and sending ambassadors to him from the whole nation, they asked him to put an end to the war upon such conditions as he himself wished, and delivered up their cities to him. [2] The king, becoming master of their cities upon these terms, treated them all with the greatest clemency and moderation; for he neither put any of the Latins to death nor forced any into exile, nor laid a fine upon any of them, but allowed them to enjoy their lands and to retain their traditional forms of government. He did, however, order them to deliver up the deserters and captives to the Romans without ransom, to restore to their masters the slaves they had captured in their incursions, to repay the money they had taken from the husbandmen, and to make good every other damage or loss they had occasioned in their raids. [3] Upon their performing these commands they were to be friends and allies of the Romans, doing everything that they should command. This was the outcome of the war between the Romans and the Latins; and King Tarquinius celebrated the customary triumph for his victory in this war.

[55.1] The following year he led his army against the Sabines, who had long since been aware of his purpose and preparations against them. They were unwilling, however, to let the war to be brought into their own country, but having got ready an adequate force in their turn, they were advancing to meet him. And upon the confines of their territory they engaged in a battle which lasted till night, neither army being victorious, but both suffering very severely. [2] At all events, during the following days neither the Sabine general nor the Roman king led his forces out of their entrenchments, but both broke camp and returned home without doing any injury to the other's territory. The intention of both was the same, namely, to lead out a new and larger force against the other's country at the beginning of spring. [3] After they had made all their preparations, the Sabines first took the field, strengthened with a sufficient body of Tyrrhenian auxiliaries, and encamped near Fidenae, at the confluence of the Anio and the Tiber rivers. They pitched two camps opposite and adjoining each other, the united stream of both rivers running between them, over which was built a wooden bridge resting on boats and rafts, thus affording quick communication between them and making them one camp. [4] Tarquinius, being informed of their irruption, marched out in his turn with the Roman army and pitched his camp a little above theirs, near the river Anio, upon a strongly situated hill. But though both armies had all the zeal imaginable for the war, no pitched battle, either great or small, occurred between them; for Tarquinius by a timely stratagem ruined all the plans of the Sabines and gained possession of both their camps. His stratagem was this:

[56.1] He got together boats and rafts on the one side of the two rivers near which he himself lay encamped and filled them with dry sticks and brushwood, also with pitch and sulphur, and then waiting for a favourable wind, about the time of the morning watch he ordered the firewood to be set

on fire and the boats and rafts turned adrift to drop downstream. These covered the intervening distance in a very short time, and being driven against the bridge, set fire to it in many places. [2] The Sabines, seeing a vast flame flare up on a sudden, ran to lend their assistance and tried all means possible to extinguish the fire. While they were thus employed Tarquinius arrived about dawn, leading the Roman army in order of battle, and attacked one of the camps; and since the greater part of the guards had left their posts to run to the fire, though some few turned and resisted, he gained possession of it without any trouble. [3] While these things were going on another part of the Roman army came up and took the other camp of the Sabines also, which lay on the other side of the river. This detachment, having been sent on ahead by Tarquinius about the first watch, had crossed in boats and rafts the river formed by the uniting of the two streams, at a place where their passage was not likely to be discovered by the Sabines, and had got near to the other camp at the same time that they saw the bridge on fire; for this was their signal for the attack. [4] Of those who were found in the camps some were slain by the Romans while fighting, but any others threw themselves into the confluence of the rivers, and being unable to get through the whirlpools, were swallowed up; and not a few of them perished in the flames while they were endeavouring to save the bridge. Tarquinius, having taken both camps, gave leave to the soldiers to divide among themselves the booty that was found in them; but the prisoners, who were very numerous, not only of the Sabines themselves but also of the Tyrrhenians, he carried to Rome, where he kept them under strict guard.

[57.1] The Sabines, subdued by this calamity, grew sensible of their own weakness, and sending ambassadors, concluded a truce from the war for six years. But the Tyrrhenians, angered not only because they had been often defeated by the Romans, but also because Tarquinius had refused to restore to them the prisoners he held when they sent an embassy to demand them, but retained them as hostages, passed a vote that all the Tyrrhenian cities should carry on the war jointly against the Romans and that any city refusing to take part in the expedition should be excluded from their league. [2] After passing this vote they led out their forces and, crossing the Tiber, encamped near Fidenae. And having gained possession of that city by treachery, there being a sedition among the inhabitants, and having taken a great many prisoners and carried off much booty from the Roman territory, they returned home, leaving a sufficient garrison in Fidenae; for they thought this city would be an excellent base from which to carry on the war against the Romans. [3] But King Tarquinius, having for the ensuing year armed all the Romans and taken as many troops as he could get from his allies, led them out against the enemy at the beginning of spring, before the Tyrrhenians could be assembled from all their cities and march against him as they had done before. Then, having divided his whole army into two parts, he put himself at the head of the Roman troops and led them against the cities of the Tyrrhenians, while he

gave the command of the allies, consisting chiefly of the Latins, to Egerius, his kinsman, and ordered him to march against the enemy in Fidenae. [4] This force of allies, through contempt of the enemy, placed their camp in an unsafe position near Fidenae and barely missed being totally destroyed; for the garrison in the town, having secretly sent for fresh aid from the Tyrrhenians and watched for a suitable occasion, sallied forth from the town and captured the enemy's camp at the first onset, as it was carelessly guarded, and slew many of those who had gone out for forage. [5] But the army of Romans, commanded by Tarquinius, laid waste and ravaged the country of the Veientes and carried off much booty, and when numerous reinforcements assembled from all the Tyrrhenian cities to aid the Veientes, the Romans engaged them in battle and gained an incontestable victory. After this they marched through the enemy's country, plundering it with impunity; and having taken many prisoners and much booty — for it was prosperous country — they returned home when the summer was now ending.

[58.1] The Veientes, therefore, having suffered greatly from that battle, stirred no more out of their city but suffered their country to be laid waste before their eyes. King Tarquinius made three incursions into their territory and for a period of three years deprived them of the produce of their land; but when he had laid waste the greater part of their country and was unable to do any further damage to it, he led his army against the city of the Caeretani, which earlier had been called Agylla while it was inhabited by the Pelasgians but after falling under the power of the Tyrrhenians had been renamed Caere, and was as flourishing and populous as any city in Tyrrhenia. [2] From this city a large army marched out to defend the country; but after destroying many of the enemy and losing still more of their own men they fled back into the city. The Romans, being masters of their country, which afforded them plenty of everything, continued there many days, and when it was time to depart they carried away all the booty they could and returned home. [3] Tarquinius, now that his expedition against the Veientes had succeeded according to his desire, led out his army against the enemies in Fidenae, wishing to drive out the garrison that was there and at the same time being anxious to punish those who had handed over the walls to the Tyrrhenians. Accordingly, not only a pitched battle took place between the Romans and those who sallied out of the city, but also sharp fighting in the attacks that were made upon the walls. [4] At any rate, the city was taken by storm, and the garrison, together with the rest of the Tyrrhenian prisoners, were kept in chains under a guard. As for those of the Fidenates who appeared to have been the authors of the revolt, some were scourged and beheaded in public and others were condemned to perpetual banishment; and their possessions were distributed by lot among those Romans who were left both as colonists and as a garrison for the city.

[59.1] The last battle between the Romans and Tyrrhenians was fought near the city of Eretum in the territory of the Sabines. For the Tyrrhenians had been prevailed on by the influential men there to march through that country

on their expedition against the Romans, on the assurance that the Sabines would join them in the campaign; for the six-years' truce, looking to peace, which the Sabines had made with Tarquinius, had already expired, and many of them longed to retrieve their former defeats, now that a sufficient body of youths had grown up in the meantime in their cities. [2] But their attempt did not succeed according to their desire, the Roman army appearing too soon, nor was it possible for aid to be sent publicly to the Tyrrhenians from any of the Sabine cities; but a few went to their assistance of their own accord, attracted by the liberal pay. [3] This battle, the greatest of any that had yet taken place between the two nations, gave a wonderful increase to the power of the Romans, who were gained a most glorious victory, for which both the senate and people decreed a triumph to King Tarquinius. But it broke the spirits of the Tyrrhenians, who, after sending out all the forces from every city to the struggle, received back in safety only a few out of all that great number. For some of them were cut down while fighting in the battle, and others, having in the route found themselves in rough country from which they could not extricate themselves, surrendered to the conquerors. [4] The leading men of their cities, therefore, having met with so great a calamity, acted as became prudent men. For when King Tarquinius led another army against them, they met in a general assembly and voted to treat with him about ending the war; and they sent to him the oldest and most honoured men from each city, giving them full powers to settle the terms of peace.

[60.1] The king, after he had heard the many arguments they advanced to move him to clemency and moderation and had been reminded of his kinship to their nation, whether they still contended for equal rights and were come to make peace upon certain conditions, or acknowledged themselves to be vanquished and were ready to deliver up their cities to him. Upon their replying that they were not only delivering up their cities to him but should also be satisfied with a peace upon any fair terms they could get, he was greatly pleased at this and said: [2] "Hear now upon what fair terms I will put an end to the war and what favours I am granting you. I am not eager either to put any of the Tyrrhenians to death or to banish any from their country or to punish any with the loss of their possessions. I impose no garrisons or tributes upon any of your cities, but permit each of them to enjoy its own laws and its ancient form of government. [3] But in granting you this I think I ought to obtain one thing from you in return for all that I am giving, and that is the sovereignty over your cities — something that I shall possess even against your will as long as I am more powerful in arms, though I prefer to obtain it with your consent rather than without it. Inform your cities of this, and I promise to grant you an armistice till you return.

[61.1] The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed, and after a few days returned, not merely with words alone, but bringing the insignia of sovereignty with which they used to decorate their own kings. These were a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle perched on its head, a

purple tunic decorated with gold, and an embroidered purple robe like those the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that it was not rectangular in shape like theirs, but semicircular. This kind of robe is called toga by the Romans and *têbenna* by the Greeks; but I do not know where the Greeks learned the name, for it does not seem to me to be a Greek word. [2] And according to some historians they also brought to Tarquinius the twelve axes, taking one from each city. For it seems to have been a Tyrrhenian custom for each king of the several cities to be preceded by a lictor bearing an axe together with the bundle of rods, and whenever the twelve cities undertook any joint military expedition, for the twelve axes to be handed over to the one man who was invested with absolute power. [3] However, not all the authorities agree with those who express this opinion, but some maintain that even before the reign of Tarquinius twelve axes were carried before the kings of Rome and that Romulus instituted this custom as soon as he received the sovereignty. But there is nothing to prevent our believing that the Tyrrhenians were the authors of this practice, that Romulus adopted its use from them, and that the twelve axes also were brought to Tarquinius together with the other royal ornaments, just as the Romans even to-day give sceptres and diadems to kings in confirmation of their power; since, even without receiving those ornaments from the Romans, these kings make use of them.

[62.1] Tarquinius, however, did not avail himself of these honours as soon as he received them, according to most of the Roman historians, but left it to the senate and people to decide whether he should accept them or not; and when they unanimously approved, he then accepted them and from that time till he died always wore a crown of gold and an embroidered purple robe and sat on a throne of ivory holding an ivory sceptre in his hand, and the twelve lictors, bearing the axes and rods, attended him when he sat in judgment and preceded him when he went abroad. [2] All these ornaments were retained by the kings who succeeded him, and, after the expulsion of the kings, by the annual consuls — all except the crown and the embroidered robe; these alone were taken from them, being looked upon as vulgar and invidious. Yet whenever they return victorious from a war and are honoured with a triumph by the senate, they then not only wear gold but are also clad in embroidered purple robes. This, then, was the outcome of the war between Tarquinius and the Tyrrhenians after it had lasted nine years.

[63.1] Since there now remained as a rival to the Romans for the supremacy only the Sabine race, which not only possessed warlike men but also inhabited a large and fertile country lying not far from Rome, Tarquinius was extremely desirous of subduing these also and declared war against them. He complained that their cities had refused to deliver up those who had promised the Tyrrhenians that if they entered their country with an army they would make their cities friendly to them and hostile to the Romans. [2] The Sabines not only cheerfully accepted the war, being unwilling to be deprived of the most influential of their citizens, but also, before the Roman army could come

against them, they themselves invaded the others' territory. As soon as King Tarquinius heard that the Sabines had crossed the river Anio and that all the country round their camp was being laid waste, he took with him such of the Roman youth as were most lightly equipped, and led them with all possible speed against those of the enemy who were dispersed in foraging. [3] Then, having slain many of them and taken away all the booty which they were driving off, he pitched his camp near theirs; and after remaining quiet there for a few days till not only the remainder of his army from Rome had reached him but the auxiliary forces also from his allies had assembled, he descended into the plain ready to give battle.

[64.1] When the Sabines saw the Romans eagerly advancing to the combat, they also led out their forces, which were not inferior to the enemy either in numbers or in courage, and engaging, they fought with all possible bravery, so long as they had to contend only with those who were arrayed opposite them. Then, learning that another hostile army was advancing in their rear in orderly battle formation, they deserted their standards and turned to flight. The troops that appeared behind the Sabines were chosen men of the Romans, both horse and foot, whom Tarquinius had placed in ambush in suitable positions during the night. [2] The unexpected appearance of these troops struck such terror into the Sabines that they displayed no further deed of bravery, but, feeling that they had been outmanoeuvred by the enemy and overwhelmed by an irresistible calamity, they endeavoured to save themselves, some in one direction and some in another; and it was in this route that the greatest slaughter occurred among them, while they were being pursued by the Roman horse and surrounded on all sides. Consequently, those of their number who escaped to the nearest cities were very few and the greater part of those who were not slain in the battle fell into the hands of the Romans. Indeed, not even the forces that were left in the camp had the courage to repulse the assault of the enemy or to hazard an engagement, but, terrified by their unexpected misfortune, surrendered both themselves and their entrenchments without striking a blow. [3] The Sabine cities, feeling that they had been outmanoeuvred and deprived of the victory by their foes, not by valour but by deceit, were preparing to send out again a more numerous army and a more experienced commander. But Tarquinius, being informed of their intention, hastily collected his army, and before the enemy's forces were all assembled, forestalled them by crossing the river Anio. [4] Upon learning of this the Sabine general marched out with his newly raised army as speedily as possible and encamped near the Romans upon a high and steep hill; however, he judged it inadvisable to engage in battle till he was joined by the rest of the Sabine forces, but by continually sending some of the cavalry against the enemy's foragers and placing ambuscades in the woods and glades he barred the Romans from the roads leading into his country.

[65.1] While the Sabine general was conducting the war in this manner many skirmishes took place between small parties both of the light-armed foot and

the horse, but no general action between all the forces. The time being thus protracted, Tarquinius was angered at the delay and resolved to lead his army against the enemy's camp; and he attacked it repeatedly. [2] Then, finding that it could not easily be taken by forcible means, because of its strength, he determined to reduce those within by famine; and by building forts upon all the roads that led to the camp and hindering them from going out to get wood for themselves and forage for their horses and from procuring many other necessities from the country, he reduced them to so great a shortage of everything that they were obliged to take advantage of a stormy night of rain and wind and flee from their camp in a shameful manner, leaving behind them their beasts of burden, their tents, their wounded, and all their warlike stores. [3] The next day the Romans, learning of their departure, took possession of their camp without opposition and after seizing the tents, the beasts of burden, and the personal effects, returned to Rome with the prisoners. This war continued to be waged for five years in succession, and in its course both sides continually plundered one another's country and engaged in many battles, some of lesser and some of greater importance, the advantage occasionally resting with the Sabines but usually with the Romans; in the last battle, however, the war came to a definite end. [4] The Sabines, it seems, did not as before go forth to war in successive bands, but all who were any other an age to bear arms went out together; and all the Romans, with the forces of the Latins, the Tyrrhenians and the rest of their allies, were advancing to meet the enemy. [5] The Sabine general, dividing his forces, formed two camps, while the Roman king made three divisions of his troops and pitched three camps not far apart. He commanded the Roman contingent himself and made his nephew Arruns leader of the Tyrrhenian auxiliaries, [6] while over the Latins and the other allies he placed a man who was valiant in warfare and of most competent judgment, but a foreigner without a country. This man's first name was Servius and his family name Tullius; it was he whom the Romans, after the death of Lucius Tarquinius without male issue, permitted to rule the state, since they admired him for his abilities in both peace and war. But I shall give an account of this man's birth, education and fortunes and of the divine manifestation made with regard to him when I come to that part of my narrative.

[66.1] On this occasion, then, when both armies had made the necessary preparations for the struggle, they engaged; the Romans were posted on the left wing, the Tyrrhenians on the right, and the Latins in the centre of the line. After a hard battle that lasted the whole day the Romans were far superior; and having slain many of the enemy, who had acquitted themselves as brave men, and having taken many more of them prisoners in the rout, they possessed themselves of both Sabine camps, where they seized a rich store of booty. And now being masters of all the open country without fear of opposition, they laid it waste with fire and sword and every kind of injury; but as the summer drew to an end, they broke camp and returned home. And King

Tarquinius in honour of this victory triumphed for the third time during his own reign. [2] The following year, when he was preparing to lead his army once more against the cities of the Sabines and had determined to reduce them by siege, there was not one of those cities that any longer took any brave or vigorous resolution, but all unanimously determined, before incurring the risk of slavery for themselves and the razing of their cities, to put an end to the war. [3] And the most important men among the Sabines came from every city to King Tarquinius, who had already taken the field with all his forces, to deliver up their walled cities to him and to beg him to make reasonable terms. Tarquinius gladly accepted this submission of the nation, unattended as it was by any hazards, and made a treaty of peace and friendship with them upon the same conditions upon which he had earlier received the submission of the Tyrrhenians; and he restored their captives to them without ransom.

[67.1] These are the military achievements of Tarquinius which are recorded; those that relate to peace and to the civil administration (for these too I do not wish to pass over without mention) are as follows: As soon as he had assumed the sovereignty, being anxious to gain the affections of the common people, after the example of his predecessors, he won them over by such services as these: He chose a hundred persons out of the whole body of the plebeians who were acknowledged by all to be possessed of some warlike prowess or political sagacity, and having made them patricians, he enrolled them among the senators; and then for the first time the Romans had three hundred senators, instead of two hundred, as previously. [2] Next, he added to the four holy virgins who had the custody of the perpetual fire two others; for the sacrifices performed on behalf of the state at which these priestesses of Vesta were required to be present being now increased, the four were not thought sufficient. The example of Tarquinius was followed by the rest of the kings and to this day six priestesses of Vesta are appointed. [3] He seems also to have first devised the punishments which are inflicted by the pontiffs on those Vestals who do not preserve their chastity, being moved to do so either by his own judgment or, as some believe, in obedience to a dream; and these punishments, according to the interpreters of religious rites, were found after his death among the Sibylline oracles. For in his reign a priestess named Pinaria, the daughter of Publius, was discovered to be approaching the sacrifices in a state of unchastity. The manner of punishing the Vestals who have been debauched has been described by me in the preceding Book. [4] Tarquinius also adorned the Forum, where justice is administered, the assemblies of the people held, and other civil matters transacted, by surrounding it with shops and porticos. And he was the first to build the walls of the city, which previously had been of temporary and careless construction, with huge stones regularly squared. [5] He also began the digging of the sewers, through which all the water that collects from the streets is conveyed into the Tiber — a wonderful work exceeding all description. Indeed, in my opinion the three most magnificent works of Rome, in which the greatness of

her empire is best seen, are the aqueducts, the paved roads and the construction of the sewers. I say this with respect not only to the usefulness of the work (concerning which I shall speak in the proper place), but also to the magnitude of the cost, of which one may judge by a single circumstance, if one takes as his authority Gaius Acilius, who says that once, when the sewers had been neglected and were no longer passable for the water, the censors let out the cleaning and repairing of them at a thousand talents.

[68.1] Tarquinius also built the Circus Maximus, which lies between the Aventine and Palatine Hills, and was the first to erect covered seats round it on scaffolding (for till then the spectators had stood), the wooden stands being supported by beams. And dividing the places among the thirty curiae, he assigned to each curia a particular section, so that every spectator was seated in his proper place. [2] This work also was destined to become in time one of the most beautiful and most admirable structures in Rome. For the Circus is three stades and a half in length and four plethra in breadth. Round about it on the two longer sides and one of the shorter sides a canal has been dug, ten feet in depth and width, to receive water. Behind the canal are erected porticos three stories high, of which the lowest story has stone seats, gradually rising, as in the theatres, one above the other, and the two upper stories wooden seats. [3] The two longer porticos are united into one and joined together by means of the shorter one, which is crescent-shaped, so that all three form a single portico like an amphitheatre, eight stades in circuit and capable of holding 150,000 persons. The other of the shorter sides is left uncovered and contains vaulted starting-places for the horses, which are all opened by means of a single rope. [4] On the outside of the Circus there is another portico of one story which has shops in it and habitations over them. In this portico there are entrances and ascents for the spectators at every shop, so that the countless thousands of people may enter and depart without inconvenience.

[69.1] This king also undertook to construct the temple to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, in fulfilment of the vow he had made to these gods in his last battle against the Sabines. Having, therefore, surrounded the hill on which he proposed to build the temple with high retaining walls in many places, since it required much preparation (for it was neither easy of access nor level, but steep, and terminated in a sharp peak), he filled in the space between the retaining walls and the summit with great quantities of earth and, by levelling it, made the place most suitable for receiving temples. [2] But he was prevented by death from laying the foundations of the temple; for he lived but four years after the end of the war. Many years later, however, Tarquinius, the second king after him, the one who was driven from the throne, laid the founts of this structure and built the greater part of it. Yet even he did not complete the work, but it was finished under the annual magistrates who were consuls in the third year after his expulsion.

[3] It is fitting to relate also the incidents that preceded the building of it as they have been handed down by all the compilers of Roman history. When

Tarquinius was preparing to build the temple he called the augurs together and ordered them first to consult the auspices concerning the site itself, in order to learn what place in the city was the most suitable to be consecrated and the most acceptable to the gods themselves; [4] and upon their indicating the hill that commands the Forum, which was then called the Tarpeian, but now the Capitoline Hill, he ordered them to consult the auspices once more and declare in what part of the hill the foundations must be laid. But this was not at all easy; for there were upon the hill many altars both of the gods and of the lesser divinities not far apart from one another, which would have to be moved to some other place and the whole area given up to the sanctuary that was to be built to the gods. [5] The augurs thought proper to consult the auspices concerning each one of the altars that were erected there, and if the gods were willing to withdraw, then to move them elsewhere. The rest of the gods and lesser divinities, then, gave them leave to move their altars elsewhere, but Terminus and Juventas, although the augurs besought them with great earnestness and importunity, could not be prevailed on and refused to leave their places. Accordingly, their altars were included within the circuit of the temples, and one of them now stands in the vestibule of Minerva's shrine and the other in the shrine itself near the statue of the goddess. [6] From this circumstance the augurs concluded that no occasion would ever cause the removal of the boundaries of the Romans' city or impair its vigour; and both have proved true down to my day, which is already the twenty-fourth generation.

[70] The most celebrated of the augurs, the one who changed the position of the altars and marked out the area for temple of Jupiter and in other things foretold the will of the gods to the people by his prophetic art, had for his common and first name Nevius, and for his family name Attius; and he is conceded to have been the most favoured by the gods of all the experts in his profession and to have gained the greatest reputation by it, having displayed some extraordinary and incredible instances of his augural skill. Of these I shall give one, which I have selected because it has seemed the most wonderful to me; but first I shall relate from what chance he got his start and by what opportunities vouchsafed to him by the gods he attained to such distinction as to make all the other augurs of his day appear negligible in comparison. [2] His father was a poor man who cultivated a cheap plot of ground, and Nevius, as a boy, assisted him in such tasks as his years could bear; among his other employments he used to drive the swine out to pasture and tend them. One day he fell asleep, and upon waking missed some of the swine. At first he wept, dreading the blows his father would give him; then, going to the chapel of some heroes that had been built on the farm, he besought them to assist him in finding his swine, promising that if they did so he would offer up to them the largest cluster of grapes on the farm. [3] And having found the swine shortly afterwards, he wished to perform his vow to the heroes, but found himself in great perplexity, being unable to discover the

largest cluster of grapes. In his anxiety over the matter he prayed to the gods to reveal to him by omens what he sought. Then by a divine inspiration he divided the vineyard into two parts, taking one on his right hand and the other on his left, after which he observed the omens that showed over each; and when there appeared in one of them such birds as he desired, he again divided that into two parts and distinguished in the same manner the birds that came to it. Having continued this method of dividing the places and coming up to the last vine that was pointed out by the birds, he found an incredibly huge cluster. As he was carrying it to the chapel of the heroes he was observed by his father; [4] and when the latter marvelled at the size of the cluster and inquired where he had got it, the boy informed him of the whole matter from the beginning. His father concluded, as was indeed the case, that there were some innate rudiments of the art of divination in the boy, and taking him to the city, he put him in the hands of elementary teachers; then, after he had acquired sufficient general learning, he placed him under the most celebrated master among the Tyrrhenians to learn the augural art. [5] Thus Nevius, who possessed an innate skill of divination and had now added to it the knowledge acquired from the Tyrrhenians, naturally far surpassed, as I said, all the other augurs. And the augurs in the city, even though he was not of their college, used to invite him to their public consultations because of the success of his predictions, and they foretold nothing without his approval.

[71.1] This Nevius, when Tarquinius once desired to create three new tribes out of the knights he had previously enrolled, and to give his own name and the names of his personal friends to these additional tribes, alone violently opposed it and would not allow any of the institutions of Romulus to be altered. [2] The king, resenting this opposition and being angry with Nevius, endeavoured to bring his science to nought and show him up as a charlatan who did not speak a word of truth. With this purpose in mind he summoned Nevius before the tribunal when a large crowd was present in the Forum; and having first informed those about him in what manner he expected to show the augur to be a false prophet, he received Nevius upon his arrival with friendly greetings and said: "Now is the time, Nevius, for you to display the accuracy of your prophetic science. For I have in mind to undertake a great project, and I wish to know whether it is possible. Go, therefore, take the auspices and return speedily. I will sit here and wait for you." [3] The augur did as he was ordered, and returning soon after, said he had obtained favourable omens and declared the undertaking to be possible. But Tarquinius laughed at his words, and taking out a razor and a whetstone from his bosom, said to him: "Now you are convicted, Nevius, of imposing on us and openly lying about the will of the gods, since you have dared to affirm that even impossible things are possible. I wanted to know from the auspices whether if I strike the whetstone with this razor I shall be able to cut it in halves." [4] At this, laughter arose from all who stood round the tribunal; but Nevius, nothing daunted by their raillery and clamour, said: "Strike the whetstone confidently, as you propose,

Tarquinius. For it will be cut asunder, or I am ready to submit to any punishment.” The king, surprised at the confidence of the augur, struck the razor against the whetstone, and the edge of the steel, making its way quite through the stone, not only cut the whetstone asunder but also cut off a part of the hand that held it. [5] All the others who beheld this wonderful and incredible feat cried out in their astonishment; and Tarquinius, ashamed of having made this trial of the man’s skill and desiring to atone for his unseemly reproaches, resolved to win back the goodwill of Nevius himself, seeing in him one favoured above all men by the gods. Among many other instances of kindness by which he won him over, he caused a bronze statue of him to be made and set up in the Forum to perpetuate his memory with posterity. This statue still remained down to my time, standing in front of the senate-house near the sacred fig-tree; it was shorter than a man of average stature and the head was covered with the mantle. At a small distance from the statue both the whetstone and the razor are said to be buried in the earth under a certain altar. The place is called a well by the Romans. Such then, is the account given of this augur.

[72.1] King Tarquinius, being now obliged to desist from warlike activities by reason of old age (for he was eighty years old), lost his life by the treachery of the sons of Ancus Marcius. They had endeavoured even before this to dethrone him, indeed had frequently made the attempt, in the hope that when he had been removed the royal power would devolve upon them; for they looked upon it as theirs by inheritance from their father and supposed that it would very readily be granted to them by the citizens. [2] When they failed in their expectation, they formed against him a plot from which there would be no escape; but Heaven did not allow it to go unpunished. I shall now relate the nature of their plot, beginning with their first attempt. [3] Nevius, that skilful augur who, as I said, once opposed the king when he wished to increase the number of the tribes, had, at the very time when he was enjoying the greatest repute for his art and exceeded all the Romans in power, suddenly disappeared, either through the envy of some rival in his own profession or through the plotting of enemies or some other mischance, and one of his relations could either guess his fate or find his body. [4] And while the people were grieving over and resenting the calamity and entertaining many suspicions against many persons, the sons of Marcius, observing this impulse on the part of the multitude, endeavoured to put the blame for the pollution upon King Tarquinius, though they had no proof or evidence to offer in support of their accusation, but relied upon these two specious arguments: first, that the king, having resolved to make many unlawful innovations in the constitution, wished to get rid of the man who was sure to oppose him again as he had done on the former occasions, and second, that, when a dreadful calamity had occurred, he had caused no search to be made for the perpetrators, but had neglected the matter — a thing, they said, which no innocent man would have done. [5] And having gathered about them strong bands of partisans, both patricians and plebeians, upon whom they had lavished their fortunes, they made many accusations against Tarquinius and exhorted the people not to permit a polluted person to lay hands on the sacrifices and defile the royal dignity, especially one who was not a Roman, but some newcomer and a man without a country. [6] By delivering such harangues in the Forum these men, who were bold and not lacking in eloquence, inflamed the minds of many of the plebeians, and these, when Tarquinius came into the Forum to offer his defence, endeavoured to drive him out as an impure person. However, they were not strong enough to prevail over the truth or to persuade the people to depose him from power. [7] And after both Tarquinius himself had Middle Ages powerful defence and refuted the calumny against him, and his son-in-law Tullius, to whom he had given one of his two daughters in marriage and who had the greatest influence with the people, had stirred the Romans to compassion, the accusers were looked upon as slanderers and wicked men, and they left the Forum in great disgrace.

[73.1] Having failed in this attempt and having, with the aid of their friends,

found reconciliation with Tarquinius, who bore their folly with moderation because of the favours he had received from their father, and looked upon their repentance as sufficient to correct their rashness, they continued for three years in this pretence of friendship; but as soon as they thought they had a favourable opportunity, they contrived the following treacherous plot against him: [2] They dressed up two youths, the boldest of their accomplices, and arming them with billhooks, sent them to the king's house at midday, after instructing them what they were to say and do and showing them in what manner they were to make their attack. These youths, upon approaching the palace, fell to abusing each other, as if they had received some injury, and even proceeded to blows, while both with a loud voice implored the king's assistance; and many of their accomplices, ostensibly rustics, were present, taking part with one or the other of them in his grievance and giving testimony in his favour. [3] When the king ordered them to be brought before him and commanded them to inform him of the subject of their quarrel, they pretended their dispute was about some goats, and both of them bawling at the same time and gesticulating passionately, after the manner of rustics, without saying anything to the purpose, they provoked much laughter on the part of all. And when they thought that the derision which they were exciting offered the proper moment for putting their design into execution, they wounded the king on the head with their billhooks, after which they endeavoured to escape out of doors. [4] But when an outcry was raised at this calamity and assistance to escape and were seized by those who had pursued them; and later, after being put to the torture and forced to name the authors of the conspiracy, they at length met with the punishment they deserved.

BOOK IV

[1.1] King Tarquinius, accordingly, who had conferred not a few important benefits upon the Romans, died in the manner I have mentioned, after holding the sovereignty for thirty-eight years, leaving two grandsons who were infants and two daughters already married. His son-in-law Tullius succeeded him in the sovereignty in the fourth year of the fiftieth Olympiad (the one in which Epiteldes, a Lacedaemonian, won the short-distance foot-race), Archestratides being archon at Athens. It is now the proper time to mention those particulars relating to Tullius which we at first omitted, namely, who his parents were and what deeds he performed while he was yet a private citizen, before his accession to the sovereignty. [2] Concerning his family, then, the account with which I can best agree is this: There lived at Corniculum, a city of the Latin nation, a man of the royal family named Tullius, who was married to Ocrisia, a woman far excelling all the other women in Corniculum in beauty and modesty. When this city was taken by the Romans, Tullius himself was slain while fighting, and Ocrisia, then with child, was selected from the spoils and taken by King Tarquinius, who gave her to his wife. She, having been informed of everything that related to this woman, freed her soon afterwards and continued to treat her with kindness and honour above all other women. [3] While Ocrisia was yet a slave she bore a son, to whom, when he had left the nursery, she gave the name of Tullius, from his father, as his proper and family name, and also that of Servius as his common and first name, from her own condition, since she had been a slave when she had given birth to him. Servius, if translated into the Greek tongue, would be doulíos or “servile.”

[2.1] There is also current in the local records another story relating to his birth which raises the circumstances attending to the realm of the fabulous, and we have found it in many Roman histories. This account — if it be pleasing to the gods and the lesser divinities that it be related — is somewhat as follows: They say that from the hearth in the palace, on which the Romans offer various other sacrifices and also consecrate the first portion of their meals, there rose up above the fire a man’s privy member, and that Ocrisia was the first to see it as she was carrying the customary cakes to the fire, and immediately informed the king and queen of it. [2] Tarquinius, they add, upon hearing this and left beholding the prodigy, was astonished; but Tanaquil, who was not only wise in other matters but also inferior to none of the Tyrrhenians in her knowledge of divination, told him it was ordained by fate that from the royal hearth should issue a scion superior to the race of mortals, to be born of the woman who should conceive by that phantom. And the other soothsayers affirming the same thing, the king thought it fitting that Ocrisia, to whom the prodigy had first appeared, should have intercourse with it. Thereupon this woman, having adorned herself as brides are usually adorned, was shut up

alone in the room in which the prodigy had been seen. [3] And one of the gods or lesser divinities, whether Vulcan, as some think, or the tutelary deity of the house, having had intercourse with her and afterwards disappearing, she conceived and was delivered of Tullius at the proper time. This fabulous account, although it seems not altogether credible, is rendered less incredible by reason of another manifestation of the gods relating to Tullius which was wonderful and extraordinary. [4] For when he had fallen asleep one day while sitting in the portico of the palace about noon, a fire shone forth from his head. This was seen by his mother and by the king's wife, as they were walking through the portico, as well as by all who happened to be present with them at the time. The flame continued to illumine his whole head till his mother ran to him and wakened him; and with the ending of his sleep the flame was dispersed and vanished. Such are the accounts that are given of his birth.

[3.1] The memorable actions he performed before becoming king, in consideration of which Tarquinius admired him and the Roman people honoured him next to the king, are these: When, scarcely more than a boy as yet, he was serving in the cavalry in the first campaign that Tarquinius undertook against the Tyrrhenians, he was thought to have fought so splendidly that he straightway became famous and received the prize of valour ahead of all others. Afterwards, when another expedition was undertaken against the same nation and a sharp battle was fought near the city of Eretum, he showed himself the bravest of all and was again crowned by the king as first in valour. [2] And when he was about twenty years old he was appointed to command the auxiliary forces sent by the Latins, and assisted King Tarquinius in obtaining the sovereignty over the Tyrrhenians. In the first war that arose against the Sabines, being general of the horse, he put to flight that of the enemy, pursuing them as far as the city of Antemnae, and again received the prize of valour because of this battle. He also took part in many other engagements against the same nation, sometimes commanding the horse and sometimes the foot, in all of which he showed himself a man of the greatest courage and was always the first to be crowned ahead of the others. [3] And when that nation came to surrender themselves and deliver up their cities to the Romans, he was regarded by Tarquinius as the chief cause of his gaining this dominion also, and was crowned by him with the victor's crown. Moreover, he not only had the shrewdest understanding of public affairs, but was inferior to none in his ability to express his plans; and he possessed in an eminent degree the power of accommodating himself to every circumstance of fortune and to every kind of person. [4] Because of these accomplishments the Romans thought proper to transfer him by their votes from the plebeian to the patrician order, an honour they had previously conferred on Tarquinius, and, still earlier, on Numa Pompilius. The king also made him his son-in-law, giving him one of his two daughters in marriage, and whatever business his infirmities or his age rendered him incapable of performing by himself, he

ordered Tullius to transact, not only entrusting to him the private interests of his own family, but also asking him to manage the public business of the commonwealth. In all these employments he was found faithful and just, and the people felt that it made no difference whether it was Tarquinius or Tullius who looked after the public affairs, so effectually had he won them to himself by the services he had rendered to them.

[4.1] This man, therefore, being endowed with a nature adequately equipped for command and also supplied by Fortune with many great opportunities for attaining it, believed, when Tarquinius died by the treachery of the sons of Ancus Marcius, who desired to recover their father's kingdom, as I have related in the preceding book, that he was called to the kingship by the very course of events and so, being a man of action, he did not let the opportunity slip from his grasp. [2] The person who helped him to seize possession of the supreme power and the author of all his good fortune was the wife of the deceased conflict, who aided him both because he was her son-in-law and also because she knew from many oracles that it was ordained by fate that this man should be king of the Romans. It chanced that her son, a youth, had died shortly before and that two infant sons were left by him. [3] She, therefore, reflecting on the desolation of her house and being under the greatest apprehension lest, if the sons of Marcius possessed themselves of the sovereignty, they should destroy these infants and extirpate all the royal family, first commanded that the gates of the palace should be shut and guards stationed there with orders to allow no one to pass either in or out. Then, ordering all the rest to leave the room in which they had laid Tarquinius when he was at the point of death, she detained Ocrisia, Tullius and her daughter who married to Tullius, and after ordering the children to be brought by their nurses, she spoke to them as follows:

[4] "Our king Tarquinius, in whose home you received your nurture and training, Tullius, and who honoured you above all his friends and relations, has finished his destined course, the victim of an impious crime, without having either made any disposition by will of his private interests or left injunctions concerning the public business of the commonwealth, and without having had it in his power even to embrace any of us and utter his last farewells. And these unhappy children here are left destitute and orphaned and in imminent danger of their lives. For if the power falls into the hands of the Marcii, the murderers of their grandfather, they will be put to death by them in the most piteous manner. Even the lives of you men, to whom Tarquinius gave his daughters in preference to them, will not be safe, should his murderers obtain the sovereignty, any more than the lives of the rest of his friends and relations or of us miserable women; but they will endeavour to destroy us all both openly and secretly. [5] Bearing all this in mind, then, we must not permit the wicked murderers of Tarquinius and the enemies of us all to obtain so great power, but must oppose and prevent them, now by craft and deceit, since these means are necessary at present, but when our first attempt

has succeeded, then coming to grips with them openly with all our might and with arms, if those too shall be necessary. But they will not be necessary if we are willing to take the proper measures now. [6] And what are these measures? Let us, in the first place, conceal the king's death and cause a report to be spread among the people that he has received no mortal wound, and let the physicians state that in a few days they will show him safe and sound. Then I will appear in public and will announce to the people, as if Tarquinius had so enjoined, that he has committed to one of his two sons-in-law (naming you, Tullius) the care and guardianship both of his private interests and of the public business till he is recovered of his wounds; and the Romans, far from being displeased, will be glad to see the state administered by you, who often have administered it already in the past. [7] Then, when we have averted the present danger — for the power of our enemies will be at an end the moment the king is reported to be alive — do you assume the rods and the military power and summon before the people those who formed the plot to assassinate Tarquinius, beginning with the sons of Marcius, and cause them to stand trial. After you have punished all these, with death, if they submit to be tried, or with perpetual banishment and the confiscation of their estates, if they let their case go by default, which I think they will be more apt to do, then at last set about establishing your government. Win the affections of the people by kindly affability, take great care that no injustice be committed, and gain the favour of the poorer citizens by sundry benefactions and gifts. Afterwards, when we see a proper time, let us announce that Tarquinius is dead and hold a public funeral for him. [8] And as for you, Tullius, if you, who have been brought up and educated by us, have partaken of every advantage that sons receive from their mother and father, and are married to our daughter, shall in addition actually become king of the Romans, it is but just, since I helped to win this also for you, that you should show all the kindness of a father to these little children, and when they come to manhood and are capable of handling public affairs, that you should appoint the elder to be leader of the Romans.”

[5.1] With these words she thrust each of the children in turn into the arms of both her son-in-law and her daughter and roused great compassion in them both; then, when it was the proper time, she went out of the room and ordered the servants to get everything ready for dressing the king's wounds and to call the physicians. And letting that night pass, the next day, when the people flocked in great numbers to the palace, she appeared at the windows that gave upon the narrow street before the gates and first informed them who the persons were who had plotted the murder of the king, and produced in chains those whom they had sent to commit the deed. [2] Then, finding that many lamented the calamity and were angry at the authors of it, she at last told them that these men had gained naught from their wicked designs, since they had not been able to kill Tarquinius. This statement being received with universal joy, she then commended Tullius to them as the person appointed by the king to be the guardian of all his interests, both private and public, till he himself

recovered. [3] The people, therefore, went away greatly rejoicing, in the belief that the king had suffered no fatal injury, and continued for a long time in that opinion. Afterwards Tullius, attended by a strong body of men and taking along the king's lictors, went to the Forum and caused proclamation to be made for the Marcii to appear and stand trial; and upon their failure to obey, he pronounced sentence of perpetual banishment against them, and having confiscated their property, he was now in secure possession of the sovereignty of Tarquinius.

[6.1] I shall interrupt the narration of what follows that I may give the reasons which have induced me to disagree with Fabius and the rest of the historians who affirm that the children left by Tarquinius were his sons, to the end that none who have read those histories may suspect that I am inventing when I call them his grandsons rather than his sons. For it is sheer heedlessness and indolence that has led these historians to publish that account of them without first examining any of the impossibilities and absurdities that are fatal to it. Each of these absurdities I will endeavour to point out in a few words. [2] Tarquinius packed up and removed from Tyrrhenia with all his household at an age the most capable of reflection; for it is reported that he already aspired to take part in public life, to hold magistracies and to handle public affairs, and that he removed from there because he was not allowed to share in any position of honour in the state. [3] Anyone else, then, might have assumed that he was at least in his thirtieth year when he left Tyrrhenia, since it is from this age onwards, as a rule, that the laws call to the magistracies and to the administration of public affairs those who desire such a career; but I will suppose him five whole years younger than this and put him in his twenty-fifth year when he removed. Moreover, all the Roman historians agree that he brought with him a Tyrrhenian wife, whom he had married while his father was yet alive. [4] He came to Rome in the first year of the reign of Ancus Marcius, as Gellius writes, but according to Licinius, in the eighth year. Grant, then, that he came in the year Licinius states and not before; for he could not have come after that time, since in the ninth year of the reign of Ancus he was sent by the king to command the cavalry in the war against the Latins, as both these historians state. Now, if he was not more than twenty-five years old when he came to Rome, and, having been received into the friendship of Ancus, who was then king, in the eighth year of his reign (for Ancus reigned twenty-four years), and if he himself reigned thirty-eight, as all agree, he must have been fourscore years old when he died; for this is the sum obtained by adding up the years. [5] If his wife was five years younger, as may well be supposed, she was presumably in her seventy-fifth year when Tarquinius died. Accordingly, if she conceived her second and last son when she was in her fiftieth year (for at a more advanced age a woman no longer conceives, but this is itself the limit of her child-bearing, as those authors write who have looked into these things), this son could not have been less than twenty-five years old when his

father died, and Lucius, the elder, not less than twenty-seven; hence the sons whom Tarquinius left by this wife could not have been infants. [6] But surely, if her sons had been grown men when their father died, it cannot be imagined either that their mother would have been so miserable a creature or so infatuated as to deprive her own children of the sovereignty their father had left them and bestow it upon an outsider and the son of a slave-woman, or, again, that her sons themselves, when thus deprived of their father's sovereignty, would have borne the injustice in so abject and supine a manner, and that at an age when they were at the very height of their powers both of speech and of action. For Tullius neither had the advantage of them in birth, being the son of a slave-woman, nor excelled them much in the dignity of age, being only three years older than one of them; so that they would not willingly have yielded the kingship to them.

[7.1] This view involves some other absurdities, too, of which all the Roman historians have been ignorant, with the exception of one whom I shall name presently. For it has been agreed that Tullius, having succeeded to the kingdom after the death of Tarquinius, held it for forty-four years; so that, if the eldest of the Tarquinius was twenty-seven years old when he was deprived of the sovereignty, he must have been above seventy when he killed Tullius. [2] But he was then in the prime of life, according to the tradition handed down by the historians, and they state that he himself lifted up Tullius, and carrying him out of the senate-house, hurled him down the steps. His expulsion from the kingship happened in the twenty-fifth year after this, and in that same year he is represented as making war against the people of Ardea and performing all the duties himself; but it is not reasonable to suppose that a man ninety-six years old should be taking part in wars. [3] And after his expulsion he still makes war against the Romans for no less than fourteen years, being present himself, they say, at all the engagements — which is contrary to all common sense. Thus, according to them, he must have lived above one hundred and ten years; but this length of life is not produced by our climes. [4] Some of the Roman historians, being sensible of these absurdities, have endeavoured to solve them by means of other absurdities, alleging that not Tanaquil but one Gegania, of whom no other account has come down to us, was the mother of the children. But here again, the marriage of Tarquinius is unseasonable, he being then very near fourscore years old, and the begetting of children by men of that age is incredible; nor was he a childless man, who would wish by all means for children, for he had two daughters and these already married. [5] In the light, therefore, of these various impossibilities and absurdities, I state that the children were not the sons, but the grandsons, of Tarquinius, agreeing therein with Lucius Piso Frugi (for he in his *Annals* is the only historian who has given this account); unless, indeed, the children were the king's grandsons by birth and his sons by adoption and this circumstance misled all the other Roman historians. Now that these explanations have been made by way of preface, it is time to resume my narrative where it was broken off.

[8.1] When Tullius, after receiving the guardianship of the kingdom and expelling the faction of the Marcii, thought he was now in secure possession of the sovereignty, he honoured King Tarquinius, as if he had but recently died of his wounds, with a very costly funeral, an imposing monument, and the other usual honours. And from that time, as guardian of the royal children, he took under his protection and care both their private fortunes and the public interests of the commonwealth. [2] The patricians, however, were not pleased with these proceedings, but felt indignation and resentment, being unwilling that Tullius should build up a kind of royal power for himself without either a decree of the senate or the other formalities prescribed by law. And the most powerful of them met together frequently and discussed with one another means of putting an end to his illegal rule; and they resolved that in the first time Tullius should assemble them in the senate-house they would compel him to lay aside the rods and the other symbols of royalty, and that after this was done they would appoint the magistrates called *interreges* and through them choose a man to rule the state in accordance with the laws. [3] While they were making these plans, Tullius, becoming aware of their purpose, applied himself to flattering and courting the poorer citizens, and hopes of retaining the sovereignty through them; and having called an assembly of the people, he brought the children forward to the tribunal and delivered a speech somewhat as follows:

[9.1] "I find myself under great obligation, citizens, to take care of these infant children. For Tarquinius, their grandfather, received me when I was fatherless and without a country, and brought me up, holding me in no respect inferior to his own children. He also gave me one of his two daughters in marriage, and during the whole course of his life continued to honour and love me, as you also know, with the same affection as if I had been his own son. And after that treacherous attack was made upon him he entrusted me with the guardianship of these children in case he should suffer the fate of all mortals. [2] Who, therefore, will think me pious towards the gods or just towards men if I abandon and betray the orphans to with I owe so great a debt of gratitude? But, to the best of my ability, I shall neither betray the trust reposed in me nor yet abandon the children in their forlorn condition. You too ought in justice to remember the benefits their grandfather conferred upon the commonwealth in reducing to your obedience so many cities of the Latins, your rivals for the sovereignty, in making all the Tyrrhenians, the most powerful of your neighbours, your subjects, and in forcing the Sabine nation to submit to you — all of which he effected at the cost of many great dangers. [3] As long, therefore, as he himself was living, it became you to give him thanks for the benefits you had received from him; and now that he is dead, it becomes you to make a grateful return to his posterity, and not to bury the remembrance of their deeds together with the persons of your benefactors. Consider, therefore, that you have all jointly been left guardians of these little children, and confirm to them the sovereignty which their grandfather left them. For they

would not receive so great an advantage from my guardianship, which is that of one man only, as from the joint assistance of you all. [4] I have been compelled to say these things because I have perceived that some persons are conspiring against them and desire to hand the sovereignty over the others. I ask you, Romans, also to call to mind the struggles I have undergone in the interest of your supremacy — struggles neither inconsiderable nor few, which I need not relate to you who are familiar with them — and to repay to these little children the gratitude you owe me in return. For it has not been with a view to securing a sovereignty of my own — of which, if that had been my aim, I was as worthy as anyone — but in order to aid the family of Tarquinius, that I have chosen to direct public affairs. [5] And I entreat you as a suppliant not to abandon these orphans, who are now, indeed, only in danger of losing the sovereignty, but, if this first attempt of their enemies succeeds, will also be expelled from the city. But on this subject I need say no more to you, since you both know what is required and will perform your duty.

[6] “Hear from me now the benefits I myself have arranged to confer upon you and the reasons that induced me to summon this assembly. Those among you who already have debts which through poverty they are unable to discharge, I am eager to help, since they are citizens and have undergone many hardships in the service of their country; hence, in order that these men who have securely established the common liberty may not be deprived of their own, I am giving them from my own means enough to pay their debts. [7] And those who shall hereafter borrow I will not permit to be haled to prison on account of their debts, but will make a law that no one shall lend money on the security of the persons of free men; for I hold that it is enough for the lenders to possess the property of those who contracted the debts. And in order to lighten for the future the burden also of the war taxes you pay to the public treasury, by which the poor are oppressed and obliged to borrow, I will order all the citizens to give in a valuation of their property and everyone to pay his share of the taxes according to that valuation, as I learn is done in the greatest and best governed cities; for I regard it as both just and advantageous to the public that those who possess much should pay much in taxes and those who have little should pay little. [8] I also believe that the public lands, which you have obtained by your arms and now enjoy, should not, as at present, be held by those who are the most shameless, whether they got them by favour or acquired them by purchase, but by those among you who have no allotment of land, to the end that you, being free men, may not be serfs to others or cultivate others’ lands instead of your own; for a noble spirit cannot dwell in the breasts of men who are in want of the necessities of daily life. [9] But, above all these things, I have determined to make the government fair and impartial and justice the same for all and towards all. For some have reached that degree of presumption that they take upon themselves to maltreat the common people and do not look upon the poor among you as being even free men. To the end, therefore, that the more powerful may both receive justice

from and do justice to their inferior impartially, I will establish such laws as shall prevent violence and preserve justice, and I myself will never cease to take thought for the equality of all the citizens.”

[10.1] While he was thus speaking there was much praise from the assembly, some commending him for his loyalty and justice to his benefactors, others for his humanity and generosity to the poor, and still others for his moderation and democratic spirit towards those of humbler station; but all loved and admired him for being a lawful and just ruler. [2] The assembly having been dismissed, during the following days he ordered lists to be made of all the debtors who were unable to keep their pledges, with the amount each owed and the names of the creditors; and when this list had been delivered to him, he commanded tables to be placed in the Forum and in the presence of all the citizens counted out to the lenders the amount of the debts. [3] Having finished with this, he published a royal edict commanding that all those who were enjoying the use of the public lands and holding them for their own should quit possession within a certain specified time, and that those citizens who had no allotments of land should give in their names to him. He also drew up laws, in some cases renewing old laws that had been introduced by Romulus and Numa Pompilius and had fallen into abeyance, and establishing others himself. [4] While he was pursuing these measures, the patricians were growing indignant as they saw the power of the senate being overthrown, and they proceeded to a plan of action which was no longer the same as before, but the opposite. [5] For whereas at first they had determined to deprive him of his illegal power, to appoint interreges, and through them to choose one who should hold the office legally, they now thought they ought to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs and not to interfere at all. For it occurred to them that, if the senate attempted to place a man of its own choosing at the head of affairs, the people, when they came to give their votes, would oppose him; whereas, if they should leave the choice of the king to the people, all the curiae would elect Tullius and the result would be that he would seem to hold the office legally. They thought it better, therefore, to permit him to continue in the possession of the sovereignty by stealth and by deceiving the citizens rather than after persuading them and receiving it openly. [6] But none of their calculations availed them aught, so artfully did Tullius outmanoeuvre them and get possession of the royal power against their will. For having long before caused a report to be spread through the city that the patricians were plotting against him, he came into the Forum meanly dressed and with a dejected countenance, accompanied by his mother Ocrisia, Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius, and all the royal family. And when great crowds flocked together at so unexpected a sight, he called an assembly, and ascending the tribunal, addressed them much as follows:

[11.1] “It is no longer the children of Tarquinius alone whom I see in danger of suffering some injury at the hands of their enemies, but I am already coming to fear for my own life, lest I receive a bitter requital for my justice.

For the patricians are plotting against me and I have received information that some of them are conspiring to kill me, not because they can charge me with any crime, great or trivial, but because they resent the benefits I have conferred and am prepared to confer upon the people and feel that they are being treated unjustly. [2] The money-lenders, for their part, feel aggrieved because I did not permit the poor among you to be haled to prison by them because of their debts and to be deprived of their liberty. And those who misappropriate and hold what belongs to the state, finding themselves obliged to give up the land which you acquired with your blood, are as angry as if they were being deprived of their inheritances instead of merely restoring what belongs to others. Those, again, who have been exempt from war taxes resent being compelled to give in a valuation of their property and to pay taxes in property to those valuations. But the general complaint of them all is that they will have to accustom themselves to live according to written laws and impartially dispense justice to you and receive it from you, instead of abusing the poor, as they now do, as if they were so many purchased slaves. [3] And making common cause of these complaints, they have taken counsel and sworn to recall the exiles and to restore the kingdom to Marcius' sons, against whom you passed a vote forbidding them the use of fire and water for having assassinated Tarquinius, your king, a worthy man and a lover of his country, and, after they had committed such an act of pollution, for having failed to appear for their trial and thus condemned themselves to exile. And if I had not received early information of these designs, they would, with the assistance of a foreign force, have brought back the exiles into the city in the dead of night. [4] You all know, of course, what would have been the consequence of this, even without my mentioning it — that the Marcii, with the support of the patricians, after getting control of affairs without any trouble, would first have seized me, as the guardian of the royal family and as the person who had pronounced sentence against them, and after that would have destroyed these children and all the other kinsmen and friends of Tarquinius; and, as they have much of the savage and the tyrant in their nature, they would have treated our wives, mothers and daughters and all the female sex like slaves. [5] If, therefore, it is *your* pleasure also, citizens, to recall the assassins and make them kings, to banish the sons of your benefactors and to deprive them of the kingdom their grandfather left them, we shall submit to our fate. But we all, together with our wives and children, make supplication to you by all the gods and lesser divinities who watch over the lives of men that, in return for the many benefits Tarquinius, the grandfather of these children, never ceased to confer upon you, and in return for the many services I myself, as far as I have been able, have done you, you will grant us this single boon — to declare your own sentiments. [6] For if you have come to believe that any others are more worthy than we of this honour, the children, with all the other relations of Tarquinius, shall withdraw, leaving the city to you. As for me, I shall take a more generous resolution in my own case For I have already lived long

enough both for virtue and for glory, and if I am disappointed of your goodwill, which I have preferred to every other good thing, I could never bring myself to live in disgrace among any other people. Take the rods, then, and give them to the patricians, if you wish; I shall not trouble you with my presence.”

[12.1] While he was speaking these words and seemed about to leave the tribunal, they all raised a tremendous clamour, and mingling tears with their entreaties, besought him to remain and to retain control of affairs, fearing no one. Thereupon some of his partisans, who had stationed themselves in different parts of the Forum, following his instructions, cried out, “Make him king,” and demanded that the curiae should be called together and a vote taken; and after these had set the example, the whole populace was promptly of the same opinion. [2] Tullius, seeing this, no longer let the occasion slip, but told them that he felt very grateful to them for remembering his services; and after promising to confer even more benefits if they should make him king, he appointed a day for the election, at which he ordered everybody to be present including those from the country. [3] When the people had assembled he called the curiae and took the vote of each curia separately. And upon being judged worthy of the kingship by all the curiae, he then accepted it from the populace, telling the senate to go hang; for he did not ask that body to ratify the decision of the people, as it was accustomed to do. After coming to the sovereignty in this manner, he introduced many reforms in the civil administration and also carried on a great and memorable war against the Tyrrhenians. But I shall first give an account of his administrative reforms.

[13.1] Immediately upon receiving the sovereignty he divided the public lands among those of the Romans who served others for hire. Next he caused both the laws relating to private contracts and those concerning torts to be ratified by the curiae; these laws were about fifty in number, of which I need not make any mention at present. [2] He also added two hills to the city, those called the Viminal and the Esquiline, each of which has the size of a fairly large city. These he divided among such of the Romans as had no homes of their own, so that they might build houses there; and he himself fixed his habitation there, in the best part of the Esquiline Hill. [3] This king was the last who enlarged the circuit of the city, by adding these two hills to the other five, after he had first consulted the auspices, as the law directed, and performed the other religious rites. Farther than this the building of the city has not yet progressed, since the gods, they say, have not permitted it; but all the inhabited places round it, which are many and large, are unprotected and without walls, and very easy to be taken by any enemies who may come. [4] If anyone wishes to estimate the size of Rome by looking at these suburbs he will necessarily be misled for want of a definite clue by which to determine up to what point it is still the city and where it ceases to be the city; so closely is the city connected with the country, giving the beholder the impression of a city stretching out indefinitely. [5] But if one should wish to measure Rome by

the wall, which, though hard to be discovered by reason of the buildings that surround it in many places, yet preserves in several parts of it some traces of its ancient structure, and to compare it with the circuit of the city of Athens, the circuit of Rome would not seem to him very much larger than the other. But for an account of the extent and beauty of the city of Rome, as it existed in my day, another occasion will be more suitable.

[14.1] After Tullius had surrounded the seven hills with one wall, he divided the city into four regions, which he named after the hills, calling the first the Palatine, the second the Suburan, the third the Colline, and the fourth the Esquiline region; and by this means he made the city contain four tribes, whereas it previously had consisted of but three. [2] And he ordered that the citizens inhabiting each of the four regions should, like persons living in villages, neither take up another abode nor be enrolled elsewhere; and the levies of troops, the collection of taxes for military purposes, and the other services which every citizen was bound to offer to the commonwealth, he no longer based upon the three national tribes, as aforetime, but upon the four local tribes established by himself. And over each region he appointed commanders, like heads of tribes or villages, whom he ordered to know what house each man lived in. [3] After this he commanded that there should be erected in every street by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood chapels to heroes whose statues stood in front of the houses, and he made a law that sacrifices should be performed to them every year, each family contributing a honey-cake. He directed also that the persons attending and assisting those who performed the sacrifices at these shrines on behalf of the neighbourhood should not be free men, but slaves, the ministry of servants being looked upon as pleasing to the heroes. [4] This festival the Romans still continued to celebrate even in my day in the most solemn and sumptuous manner a few days after the Saturnalia, calling it the Compitalia, after the streets; for *compiti*, is their name for streets. And they still observe the ancient custom in connexion with those sacrifices, propitiating the heroes by the ministry of their servants, and during these days removing every badge of their servitude, in order that the slaves, being softened by this instance of humanity, which has something great and solemn about it, may make themselves more agreeable to their masters and be less sensible of the severity of their condition.

[15.1] Tullius also divided the country as a whole into twenty-six parts, according to Fabius, who calls these divisions tribes also and, adding the four city tribes to them, says that there were thirty tribes in all under Tullius. But according to Vennonius he divided the country into thirty-one parts, so that with the four city tribes the number was rounded out to the thirty-five tribes that exist down to our day. However, Cato, who is more worthy of credence than either of these authors, does not specify the number of the parts into which the country was divided. [2] After Tullius, therefore, had divided the country into a certain number of parts, whatever that number was, he built

places of refuge upon such lofty eminences as could afford ample security for the husbandmen, and called them by a Greek name, pagi or “hills.” Thither all the inhabitants fled from the fields whenever a raid was made by enemies, and generally passed the night there. [3] These places also had their governors, whose duty it was to know not only the names of all the husbandmen who belonged to the same district but also the lands which afforded them their livelihood. And whenever there was occasion to summon the countrymen to take arms or to collect the taxes that were assessed against each of them, these governors assembled the men together and collected the money. And in order that the number of these husbandmen might not be hard to ascertain, but might be easy to compute and be known at once, he ordered them to erect altars to the gods who presided over and were guardians of the district, and directed them to assemble every year and honour these gods with public sacrifices. This occasion also he made one of the most solemn festivals, calling it the Paganalia; and he drew up laws concerning these sacrifices, which the Romans still observe. [4] Towards the expense of this sacrifice and of this assemblage he ordered all those of the same district to contribute each of them a certain piece of money, the men paying one kind, the women another and the children a third kind. When these pieces of money were counted by those who presided over the sacrifices, the number of people, distinguished by their sex and age, became known. [5] And wishing also, as Lucius Piso writes in the first book of his *Annals*, to know the number of the inhabitants of the city, and of all who were born and died and arrived at the age of manhood, he prescribed the piece of money which their relations were to pay for each — into the treasury of Ilithiya (called by the Romans Juno Lucina) for those who were born, into that of the Venus of the Grove (called by them Libitina) for those who died, and into the treasury of Juventas for those who were arriving at manhood. By means of these pieces of money he would know every year both the number of all the inhabitants and which of them were of military age. [6] After he had made these regulations, he ordered all the Romans to register their names and give in a monetary valuation of their property, at the same time taking the oath required by law that they had given in a true valuation in good faith; they were also to set down the names of their fathers, with their own age and the names of their wives and children, and every man was to declare in what tribe of the city or in what district of the country he lived. If any failed to give in their valuation, the penalty he established was that their property should be forfeited and they themselves whipped and sold for slaves. This law continued in force among the Romans for a long time.

[16.1] After all had given in their valuations, Tullius took the registers and the size of their estates, introduced the wisest of all measures, and one which has been the source of the greatest advantages to the Romans, as the results have shown. [2] The measure was this: He selected from the whole number of the citizens one part, consisting of those whose property was rated the highest

and amounted to no less than one hundred minae. Of these he formed eighty centuries, whom he ordered to be armed with Argolic bucklers, with spears, brazen helmets, corslets, greaves and swords. Dividing these centuries into two groups, he made forty centuries of younger men, whom he appointed to take the field in time of war, and forty of older men, whose duty it was, when the youth went forth to war, to remain in the city and guard everything inside the walls. [3] This was the first class; in wars it occupied a position in the forefront of the whole army. Next, from those who were left he took another part whose rating was under ten thousand drachmae but not less than seventy-five minae. Of these he formed twenty centuries and ordered them to wear the same armour as those of the first class, except that he took from them the corslets, and instead of the bucklers gave them shields. Here also he distinguished between those who were over forty-five years old and those who were of military age, constituting ten centuries of the younger men, whose duty it was to serve their country in the field, and ten of the older, to whom he committed the defence of the walls. This was the second class; in engagements they were drawn up behind those fighting in the front ranks. [4] The third class he constituted out of those who were left, taking such as had a rating of less than seven thousand five hundred drachmae but not less than fifty minae. The armour of these he diminished not only by taking away the corslets, as from the second class, but also the greaves. [5] He formed likewise twenty centuries of these, dividing them, like the former, according to their age and assigning ten centuries to the younger men and ten to the older. In battles the post and station of these centuries was in the third line from the front.

Again taking from the remainder those whose property amounted to less than five thousand drachmae but was as much as twenty-five minae, he formed a fourth class. This he also divided into twenty centuries, ten of which he composed of such as were in the vigour of their age, and the other ten of those who were just past it, in the same manner as with the former classes. He ordered the arms of these to be shields, swords and spears, and their post in engagements to be in the last line. [2] The fifth class, consisting of those whose property was between twenty-five minae and twelve minae and a half, he divided into thirty centuries. These were also distinguished according to their age, fifteen of the centuries being composed of the older men and fifteen of the younger. These he armed with javelins and slings, and placed outside the line of battle. [3] He ordered four unarmed centuries to follow those that were armed, two of them consisting of armourers and carpenters and of those whose business it was to prepare everything that might be of use in time of war, and the other two of trumpeters and horn-blowers and such as sounded the various calls with any other instruments. The artisans were attached to the second class and divided according to their age, one of their centuries following the older centuries, and the other the younger centuries; [4] the trumpeters and horn-blowers were added to the fourth class, and one of their

centuries also consisted of the older men and the other of the younger. Out of all the centuries the bravest men were chosen as centurions, and each of these commanders took care that his century should yield a ready obedience to orders.

[18.1] This was the arrangement he made of the entire infantry, consisting of both the heavy-armed and light-armed troops. As for the cavalry, he chose them out of such as had the highest rating and were of distinguished birth, forming eighteen centuries of them, and added them to the first eighty centuries of the heavy-armed infantry; these centuries of cavalry were also commanded by persons of the greatest distinction. [2] The rest of the citizens, who had a rating of less than twelve minae and a half but were more numerous than those already mentioned, he put into a single century and exempted them from service in the army and from every sort of tax. Thus there were six divisions which the Romans call classes, by a slight change of the Greek word *klêseis* (for the verb which we Greeks pronounce in the imperative mood *kalei*, the Romans call *cala*, and the classes they anciently called *caleses*), [3] and the centuries included in these divisions amounted to one hundred and ninety-three. The first class contained ninety-eight centuries, counting the cavalry; the second, twenty-two, counting the artificers; the third, twenty; the fourth, again, contained twenty-two, counting the trumpeters and horn-blowers; the fifth, thirty; and the last of all, one century, consisting of the poor citizens.

[19] In pursuance of this arrangement he levied troops according to the division of the centuries, and imposed taxes in proportion to the valuation of their possessions. For instance, whenever he had occasion to raise ten thousand men, or, if it should so happen, twenty thousand, he would divide that number among the hundred and ninety-three centuries and then order each century to furnish the number of men that fell to its share. As to the expenditures that would be needed for the provisioning of soldiers while on duty and for the various warlike supplies, he would first calculate how much money would be sufficient, and having in like manner divided that sum among the hundred and ninety-three centuries, he would order every man to pay his share towards it in proportion to his rating. [2] Thus it happened that those who had the largest possessions, being fewer in number but distributed into more centuries, were obliged to serve oftener and without any intermission, and to pay greater taxes than the rest; that those who had small and moderate possessions, being more numerous but distributed into fewer centuries, serve seldom and in rotation and paid small taxes, and that those whose possessions were not sufficient to maintain them were exempt from all burdens. [3] Tullius made none of these regulations without reason, but from the conviction that all men look upon their possessions as the prizes at stake in war and that it is for the sake of retaining these that they all endure its hardships; he thought it right, therefore, that those who had greater prizes at stake should suffer greater hardships, both with their persons and with their possessions, that those who

had less at stake should be less burdened in respect to both, and that those who had no loss to fear should endure no hardships, but be exempt from taxes by reason of their poverty and from military service because they paid no tax. For at that time the Romans received no pay as soldiers from the public treasury but served at their own expense. [4] Accordingly, he did not think it right either that those should pay taxes who were so far from having wherewithal to pay them that they were in want of the necessities of daily life, or that such as contributed nothing to the public taxes should, like mercenary troops, be maintained in the field at the expense of others.

[20.1] Having by this means laid upon the rich the whole burden of both the dangers and expenses and observing that they hand discontented, he contrived by another method to relieve their uneasiness and mitigate their resentment by granting to them an advantage which would make them complete masters of the commonwealth, while he excluded the poor from any part in the government; and he effected this without the plebeians noticing it. This advantage that he gave to the rich related to the assemblies, where the matters of greatest moment were ratified by the people. [2] I have already said before that by the ancient laws the people had control over the three most important and vital matters: they elected the magistrates, both civil and military; they sanctioned and repealed laws; and they declared war and made peace. In discussing and deciding these matters they voted by curiae, and citizens of the smallest means had an equal vote with those of the greatest; but as the rich were few in number, as may well be supposed, and the poor much more numerous, the latter carried everything by a majority of votes. [3] Tullius, observing this, transferred this preponderance of votes from the poor to the rich. For whenever he thought proper to have magistrates elected, a law considered, or war to be declared, he assembled the people by centuries instead of by curiae. And the first centuries that he called to express their opinion were those with the highest rating, consisting of the eighteen centuries of cavalry and the eighty centuries of infantry. [4] As these centuries amounted to three more than all the rest together, if they agreed they prevailed over the others and the matter was decided. But in case these were not all of the same mind, then he called the twenty-two centuries of the second class; and if the votes were still divided, he called the centuries of the third class, and, in the fourth place, those of the fourth class; and this he continued to do till ninety-seven centuries concurred in the same opinion. [5] And if after the calling of the fifth class this had not yet happened but the opinions of the hundred and ninety-two centuries were equally divided, he then called the last century, consisting of the mass of the citizens who were poor and for that reason exempt from all military service and taxes; and whichever side this century joined, that side carried the day. But this seldom happened and was next to impossible. Generally the question was determined by calling the first class, and it rarely went as far as the fourth; so that the fifth and the last were superfluous.

[21.1] In establishing this political system, which gave so great an advantage to the rich, Tullius outwitted the people, as I said, without their noticing it and excluded the poor from any part in public affairs. For they all thought that they had an equal share in the government because every man was asked his opinion, each in his own century; but they were deceived in this, that the whole century, whether it consisted of a small or a very large number of citizens, had but one vote; and also in that the centuries which voted first, consisting of men of the highest rating, though they were more in number than all the rest, yet contained fewer citizens; but, above all, in that the poor, who were very numerous, had but one vote and were the last called. [2] When this had been brought about, the rich, though paying out large sums and exposed without intermission to the dangers of war, were less inclined to feel aggrieved now that they had obtained control of the most important matters and had taken the whole power out of the hands of those who were not performing the same services; and the poor, who had but the slightest share in the government, finding themselves exempt both from taxes and from military service, prudently and quietly submitted to this diminution of their power; and the commonwealth itself had the advantage of seeing the same persons who were to deliberate concerning its interests allotted the greatest share of the dangers and ready to do whatever required to be done. [3] This form of government was maintained by the Romans for many generations, but is altered in our times and changed to a more democratic form, some urgent needs having forced the change, which was effected, not by abolishing the centuries, but by no longer observing the strict ancient manner of calling them — a fact which I myself have noted, having often been present at the elections of their magistrates. But this is not the proper occasion to discuss these matters.

[22.1] Thereupon Tullius, having completed the business of the census, commanded all the citizens to assemble in arms in the largest field before the city; and having drawn up the horse in their respective squadrons and the foot in their massed ranks, and placed the light-armed troops each in their own centuries, he performed an expiatory sacrifice for them with a bull, a ram and a boar. These victims he ordered to be led three times round the army and then sacrificed them to Mars, to whom that field is consecrated. [2] The Romans are to this day purified by this same expiatory sacrifice, after the completion of each census, by those who are invested with the most sacred magistracy, and they call the purification a *lustrum*.

The number of all the Romans who then gave in a valuation of their possessions was, as appears by the censors' records, 84,700. [3] This king also took no small care to enlarge the body of citizens, hitting upon a method that had been overlooked by all the kings before him. For they, by receiving foreigners and bestowing upon them equal rights of citizenship without rejecting any, whatever their birth or condition, had indeed rendered the city populous; [4] but Tullius permitted even manumitted slaves to enjoy these

same rights, unless they chose to return to their own countries. For he ordered these also to report the value of their property at the same time as all the other free men, and he distributed them among the four city tribes, in which the body of freedmen, however numerous, continued to be ranked even to my day; and he permitted them to share in all the privileges which were open to the rest of the plebeians.

[23.1] The patricians being displeased and indignant at this, he called an assembly of the people and told them that he wondered at those who were displeased at his course, first, for thinking that free men differed from slaves by their very nature rather than by their condition, and, second, for not determining by men's habits and character, rather than by the accidents of their fortune, those who were worthy of honours, particularly when they saw how unstable a thing good fortune is and how subject to sudden change, and how difficult it is for anyone, even of the most fortunate, to say how long it will remain with him. [2] He asked them also to consider how many states, both barbarian and Greek, had passed from slavery to freedom and how many from freedom to slavery. He called it great folly on their part if, after they had granted liberty to such of their slaves as deserved it, they envied them the rights of citizens; and he advised them, if they thought them bad men, not to make them free, and if good men, not to ignore them because they were foreigners. [3] He declared that they were doing an absurd and stupid thing, if, while permitting all strangers to share the rights of citizenship without distinguishing their condition or inquiring closely whether any of them had been manumitted or not, they regarded such as had been slaves among themselves as unworthy of this favour. And he said that, though they thought themselves wiser than other people, they did not even see what lay at their very feet and was to be observed every day and what was clear to the most ordinary men, namely, that not only the masters would take great care not to manumit any of their slaves rashly, for fear of granting the greatest of human blessings indiscriminately, but the slaves too would be more zealous to observe their masters faithfully when they knew that if they were thought worthy of liberty they should presently become citizens of a great and flourishing state and receive both these blessings from their masters. [4] He concluded by speaking of the advantage that would result from this policy, reminding those who understood such matters, and informing the ignorant, that to a state which aimed at supremacy and thought itself worthy of great things nothing was so essential as a large population, in order that it might be equal to carrying on all its wars with its own armed forces and might not exhaust itself as well as its wealth in hiring mercenary troops; and for this reason, he said, the former kings had granted citizenship to all foreigners. [5] But if they enacted this law also, great numbers of youths would be reared from those who were manumitted and the state would never lack for armed forces of its own, but would always have sufficient troops, even if it should be forced to make war against all the world. [6] And besides this advantage to the

public, the richest men would privately receive many benefits if they permitted the freedmen to share in the government, since in the assemblies and in the voting and in their other acts as citizens they would receive their reward in the very situations in which they most needed it, and furthermore would be leaving the children of these freedmen as so many clients to their posterity. [7] These arguments of Tullius induced the patricians to permit this custom to be introduced into the commonwealth, and to this day it continues to be observed by the Romans as one of their sacred and unalterable usages.

[24.1] Now that I have come to this part of my narrative, I think it necessary to give an account of the customs which at that time prevailed among the Romans with regard to slaves, in order that no one may accuse either the king who first undertook to make citizens of those who had been slaves, or the Romans who accepted the law, of recklessly abandoning their noble traditions. [2] The Romans acquired their slaves by the most just means; for they either purchased them from the state at an auction as part of the spoils, or the general permitted the soldiers to keep the prisoners they had taken together with the rest of the booty, or else they bought them of those who had obtained possession of them by these same means. [3] So that neither Tullius, who established this custom, nor those who received and maintained thought they were doing anything dishonourable or detrimental to the public interest, if those who had lost both their country and their liberty in war and had proved loyal to those who had enslaved them, or to those who had purchased them from these, had both those blessings restored to them by their masters. [4] Most of these slaves obtained their liberty as a free gift because of meritorious conduct, and this was the best kind of discharge from their masters; but a few paid a ransom raised by lawful and honest labour.

This, however, is not the case in our day, but things have come to such a state of confusion and the noble traditions of the Roman commonwealth have become so debased and sullied, that some who have made a fortune by robbery, housebreaking, prostitution and every other base means, purchase their freedom with the money so acquired and straightway are Romans. [5] Others, who have been confidants and accomplices of their masters in poisonings, receive from them this favour as their reward. Some are freed in order that, when they have received the monthly allowance of corn given by the public or some other largesse distributed by the men in power to the poor among the citizens, they may bring it to those who granted them their freedom. And others owe their freedom to the levity of their masters and to their vain thirst for popularity. [6] I, at any rate, know of some who have allowed all their slaves to be freed after their death, in order that they might be called good men when they were dead and that many people might follow their biers wearing their liberty-caps; indeed, some of those taking part in these processions, as one might have heard from those who knew, have been malefactors just out of jail, who had committed crimes deserving of a thousand deaths. Most people, nevertheless, as they look upon these stains

that can scarce be washed away from the city, are grieved and condemn the custom, looking upon it as unseemly that a dominant city which aspires to rule the whole world should make such men citizens.

[7] One might justly condemn many other customs also which were wisely devised by the ancients but are shamefully abused by the men of to-day. Yet, for my part, I do not believe that this law ought to be abolished, lest as a result some greater evil should break out to the detriment of the public; but I do say that it ought to be amended, as far as possible, and that great reproaches and disgraces hard to be wiped out should not be permitted entrance into the body politic. [8] And I could wish that the censors, preferably, or, if that may not be, then the consuls, would take upon themselves the care of this matter, since it requires the control of some magistracy, and that they would make inquiries about the persons who are freed each year — who they are and for what reason they have been freed and how — just as they inquire into the lives of the knights and senators; after which they should enroll in the tribes such of them as they find worthy to be citizens and allow them to remain in the city, but should expel from the city the foul and corrupt herd under the specious pretence of sending them out as a colony. These are the things, then, which as the subject required it, I thought it both necessary and just to say to those who censure the customs of the Romans.

[25.1] Tullius showed himself a friend to the people, not only in these measures by which he seemed to lessen the authority of the senate and the power of the patricians, but also in those by which he diminished the royal power, of half of which he deprived himself. [2] For whereas the kings before him had thought proper to have all causes brought before them and had determined all suits both private and public as they themselves thought fit, he, making a distinction between public and private suits, took cognizance himself of all crimes which affected the public, but in private cases appointed private persons to be judges, prescribing for them as norms and standards the laws which he himself had established.

[3] When he had arranged affairs in the city in the best manner, he conceived a desire to perpetuate his memory with posterity by some illustrious enterprise. And upon turning his attention to the monuments both of ancient kings and statesmen by which they had gained reputation and glory, he did not envy either that Assyrian woman for having built the walls of Babylon, or the kings of Egypt for having raised the pyramids at Memphis, or any other prince for whatever monument he might have erected as a display of his riches and of the multitude of workmen at his command. On the contrary, he regarded all these things as trivial and ephemeral and unworthy of serious attention, mere beguilements for the eyes, but no real aids to the conduct of life or to the administration of public affairs, since they led to nothing more than a reputation for great felicity on the part of those who built them. But the things that he regarded as worthy of praise and emulation were the works of the mind, the advantages from which are enjoyed by the greatest number of

people and for the greatest length of time. And of all the achievements of this nature he admired most the plan of Amphictyon, the son of Hellen, who, seeing the Greek nation weak and easy to be destroyed by the barbarians who surrounded them, brought them together in a general council and assemblage of the whole nation, named after him the Amphictyonic council; and then, apart from the particular laws by which each city was governed, established others common to all, which they call the Amphictyonic laws, in consequence of which they lived in mutual friendship, and fulfilling the obligations of kinship by their actions rather than by their professions, continued troublesome and formidable neighbours to the barbarians. [4] His example was followed by the Ionians who, leaving Europe, settled in the maritime parts of Caria, and also by the Dorians, who built their cities in the same region and erected temples at the common expense — the Ionians building the temple of Diana at Ephesus and the Dorians that of Apollo at Triopium — where they assembled with their wives and children at the appointed times, joined together in sacrificing and celebrating the festival, engaged in various contests, equestrian, gymnastic and musical, and made joint offerings to the gods. [5] After they had witnessed the spectacles, celebrated the festival, and received the other evidences of goodwill from one another, if any difference had arisen between one city and another, arbiters sat in judgment and decided the controversy; and they also consulted together concerning the means both of carrying on the war against the barbarians and of maintaining their mutual concord. [6] These and the like examples inspired Tullius also with a desire of bringing together and uniting all the cities belonging to the Latin race, so that they might not, as the result of engaging in strife at home and in wars with one another, be deprived of their liberty by the neighbouring barbarians.

[26.1] After he had taken this resolution he called together the most important men of every city, stating that he was summoning them to take counsel with him about matters of great consequence and of mutual concern. When they had assembled, he caused the Roman senate and these men who came from the cities to meet together, and made a long speech exhorting them to concord, pointing out what a fine thing it is when a number of states agree together and what a disgraceful sight when kinsmen are at variance, and declaring that concord is a source of strength to weak states, while mutual slaughter reduces and weakens even the strongest. [2] After this he went on to show them that the Latins ought to have the command over their neighbours and, being Greeks, ought to give laws to barbarians, and that the Romans ought to have the leadership of all the Latins, not only because they excelled in the size of their city and the greatness of their achievements, but also because they, more than the others, had enjoyed the favour of divine providence and in consequence had attained to so great eminence. [3] Having said this, he advised them to build a temple of refuge at Rome at their joint expense, to which the cities should repair every year and offer up sacrifices both individually and in common, and also celebrate festivals at such times as

they should appoint; and if any difference should arise between these cities, they should terminate it over the sacrifices, submitting their complaints to the rest of the cities for decision. [4] By enlarging upon these and the many other advantages they would reap from the appointment of a general council, he prevailed on all who were present at the session to give their consent. And later, with the money contributed by all the cities, he built the temple of Diana, which stands upon the Aventine, the largest of all the hills in Rome; and he drew up laws relating to the mutual rights of the cities and prescribed the manner in which everything else that concerned the festival and the general assembly should be performed. [5] And to the end that no lapse of time should obliterate these laws, he erected a bronze pillar upon which he engraved both the decrees of the council and the names of the cities which had taken part in it. This pillar still existed down to my time in the temple of Diana, with the inscription in the characters that were anciently used in Greece. This alone would serve as no slight proof that the founders of Rome were not barbarians; for if they had been, they would not have used Greek characters. [6] These are the most important and most conspicuous administrative measures that are recorded of this king, besides many others of less note and certainty. His military operations were directed against one nation only, that of the Tyrrhenians; of these I shall now give an account.

[27.1] After the death of Tarquinius those cities which had yielded the sovereignty to him refused to observe the terms of their treaties any longer, disdainingly to submit to Tullius, since he was a man of lowly birth, and anticipating great advantages for themselves from the discord that had arisen between the patricians and their ruler. [2] The people called the Veientes were the leaders of this revolt; and when Tullius sent ambassadors they replied that they had no treaty with him either concerning their yielding the sovereignty or concerning friendship and an alliance. These having set the example, the people of Caere and Tarquinii followed it, and at last all Tyrrhenia was in arms. [3] This war lasted for twenty years without intermission, during which time both sides made many irruptions into one another's territories with great armies and fought one pitched battle after another. But Tullius, after being successful in all the battles in which he engaged, both against the several cities and against the whole nation, and after being honoured with three most splendid triumphs, at last forced those who refused to be ruled to accept the yoke against their will. [4] In the twentieth year, therefore, the twelve cities, having become exhausted by the war both in men and in money, again met together and decided to yield the sovereignty to the Romans upon the same terms as previously. And so the men chosen as envoys from each city arrived with the tokens of suppliants, and entrusting their cities to Tullius, begged of him not to adopt any extreme measures against them. [5] Tullius told them that because of their folly and their impiety towards the gods whom they had made sponsors of their treaties, only to violate their agreements afterwards, they deserved many severe punishments; but that, since you acknowledged their

fault and were come with the fillets of suppliants and with entreaties to deprecate the resentment they had merited, they should fail of none of the clemency and moderation of the Romans at this time. [6] Having said this, he put an end to the war against them, and in the case of most of the cities, without imposing any conditions or harbouring any resentment for past injuries, he permitted them to retain the same government as before and also to enjoy their own possessions as long as they should abide by the treaties made with them by Tarquinius. But in the case of the three cities of Caere, Tarquinii and Veii, which had not only begun the revolt but had also induced the rest to make war upon the Romans, he punished them by seizing a part of their lands, which he portioned out among those who had lately been added to the body of Roman citizens.

[7] Besides these achievements in both peace and war, he built two temples to Fortune, who seemed to have favoured him all his life, one in the market called the Cattle Market, the other on the banks of the Tiber to the Fortune which he named Fortuna Virilis, as she is called by the Romans even to this day. And being now advanced in years and not far from a natural death, he was treacherously slain by Tarquinius, his son-in-law, and by his own daughter. I shall also relate the manner in which this treacherous deed was carried out; but first I must go back and mention a few things that preceded it.

[28.1] Tullius had two daughters by his wife Tarquinia, whom King Tarquinius had given to him in marriage. When these maidens were of marriageable age, he gave them to the nephews of their mother, who were also the grandsons of Tarquinius, joining the elder daughter to the elder nephew and the younger to the younger, since he thought they would thus live most harmoniously with their husbands. [2] But it happened that each of his sons-in-law was joined by an adverse fate in the matter of dissimilarity of character. For the wife of Lucius, the elder of the two brothers, who was of a bold, arrogant and tyrannical nature, was a good woman, modest and fond of her father; on the other hand, the wife of Arruns, the younger brother, a man of great mildness and prudence, was a wicked woman who hated her father and was capable of any rash action. [3] Thus it chanced that each of the husbands tried to follow his own bent, but was drawn in the opposite direction by his wife. For when the wicked husband desired to drive his father-in-law from the throne and was devising every means to accomplish this, his wife by her prayers and tears endeavoured to prevail on him to desist. And when the good husband thought himself obliged to abstain from all attempts against the life of his father-in-law and to wait till he should end his days by the course of nature, and tried to prevent his brother from doing what was wrong, his wicked wife, by her remonstrances and reproaches and by reviling him with a want of spirit, sought to draw him in the opposite direction. [4] But when nothing was accomplished by either the entreaties of the virtuous wife as she urged upon her unjust husband the best course, or by the exhortations of the wicked wife when she strove to incite to impious deeds the husband who was

not by nature evil, but each husband followed his natural bent and thought his wife troublesome because her wishes differed from his own, nothing remained but for the first wife to lament and submit to her fate and for her audacious sister to rage and endeavour to rid herself of her husband. [5] At last this wicked woman, grown desperate and believing her sister's husband to be most suitable to her own character, sent for him, as if she wanted to talk with him concerning a matter of urgent importance.

[29.1] And when he came, after first ordering those who were in the room to withdraw, that she might talk with him in private, she said: "May I, Tarquinius, speak freely and without risk all my thoughts concerning our common interests? And will you keep to yourself what you shall hear? Or is it better for me to remain silent and not to communicate plans that require secrecy?" [2] And when Tarquinius bade her say what she wished, and gave her assurances, by such oaths as she herself proposed, that he would keep everything to himself, Tullia, laying aside all shame from that moment, said to him: "How long, Tarquinius, do you intend to permit yourself to be deprived of the kingship? Are you descended from mean and obscure ancestors, that you refuse to entertain high thoughts of yourself? But everyone knows that your early ancestors, who were Greeks and descended from Hercules, exercised the sovereign power in the flourishing city of Corinth for many generations, as I am informed, and that your grandfather, Tarquinius, after removing from Tyrrhenia, was able by his merits to become king of this state; and not only his possessions, but his kingdom as well, ought to descend to you who are the elder of his grandsons. [3] Or have you been given a body incapable of performing the duties of a king because of some weakness and deformity? But surely you are endowed both with strength equal to those most highly favoured by Nature and with a presence worthy of your royal birth. Or is it neither of these, but your youth, as yet weak and far from being capable of forming sound judgments, that holds you back and causes you to decline the government of the state — you who want not many years from being fifty? Yet at about this age a man's judgment is naturally at its best. [4] Well, then, is it the high birth of the man who is now in control of affairs and his popularity with the best citizens — which makes him difficult to attack — that forces you to submit? But in both these respects too he happens to be unfortunate, as not even he himself is unaware. Moreover, boldness and willingness to undergo danger are inherent in your character, qualities most necessary to one who is going to reign. You have sufficient wealth also, numerous friends, and many other important qualifications for public life. [5] Why, then, do you still hesitate and wait for an occasion to be provided by chance, an occasion that will come bringing to you the kingship without your having made any effort to obtain it? And that, I presume, will be after the death of Tullius! As if Fate waited on men's delays or Nature dispensed death to each man according to his age, and the outcome of all human affairs were not, on the contrary, obscure and difficult to be foreseen! [6] But I will declare frankly, even though you may call

me bold for it, what seems to me to be the reason why you reach out for no coveted honour or glory. You have a wife whose disposition is in no respect like your own and who by her allurements and enchantments has softened you; and by her you will insensibly be transformed from a man into a nonentity. Just so have I a husband who is timorous and has nothing of a man in him, who makes me humble though I am worthy of great things, and though I am fair of body, yet because of him I have withered away. [7] But if it had been possible for you to take me as your wife and for me to get you as my husband, we had not lived so long in a private station. Why, therefore, do we not ourselves correct this error of fate by exchanging our marital ties, you removing your wife from life and I making this disposition of my husband? And when we have put them out of the way and are joined together, we will then consider in secure what remains to be done, having rid ourselves of what now causes our distress. For though one may hesitate to commit all the other crimes, yet for the sake of a throne one cannot be blamed for daring anything.”

[30.1] Such were Tullia’s words, and Tarquinius, gladly agreeing to the course she proposed, immediately exchanged pledges with her, and then, after celebrating the rites preliminary to their unholy nuptials, he departed. Not long after this the elder daughter of Tullius and the year Tarquinius died the same kind of death.

[2] Here again, I find myself obliged to make mention of Fabius and to show him guilty of negligence in his investigation of the chronology of events. For when he comes to the death of Arruns he commits not only one error, as I said before, in stating that he was the son of Tarquinius, but also another in saying that after his death he was buried by his mother Tanaquil, who could not possibly have been alive at that time. [3] For it was shown in the beginning that when Tarquinius died Tanaquil was seventy-five years of age; and if to the seventy-five years forty more are added (for we find in the annals that Arruns died in the fortieth year of the reign of Tullius), Tanaquil must have been one hundred and fifteen years old. So little evidence of a laborious inquiry after truth do we find in that author’s history.

[4] After this deed of theirs Tarquinius married Tullia without any further delay, though the marriage had neither the sanction of her father nor the approval of her mother, but he took her of her own gift. [5] As soon as these impious and bloodthirsty natures were commingled they began plotting to drive Tullius from the throne if he would not willingly resign his power. They got together bands of their adherents, appealed to such of the patricians as were ill-disposed towards the king and his popular institutions, and bribed the poorest among the plebeians who had no regard for justice; and all this they did without any secrecy. [6] Tullius, seeing what was afoot, was not only disturbed because of his fears for his own safety, if he should be caught unprepared and come to some harm, but was especially grieved at the thought that he should be forced to take up arms against his own daughter and his son-

in-law and to punish them as enemies. Accordingly, he repeatedly invited Tarquinius and his friends to confer with him, and sought, with by reproaches, now by admonitions, and again by arguments, to prevent him from doing him any wrong. When Tarquinius gave no heed to what he said but declared he would plead his cause before the senate, Tullius called the senators together and said to them: [7] “Senators, it has become clear to me that Tarquinius is gathering bands of conspirators against me and is anxious to drive me from power. I desire to learn from him, therefore, in the presence of you all, what wrong he has personally received from me or what injury he has seen the commonwealth suffer at my hands, that he should be forming these plots against me. Answer me, then, Tarquinius, concealing nothing, and say what you have to accuse me of, since you have asked that these men should hear you.”

[31.1] Tarquinius answered him: “My arriving, Tullius, is brief and founded on justice, and for that reason I have chosen to lay it before these men. Tarquinius, my grandfather, obtained the sovereignty of the Romans after fighting many hard battles in its defence. He being dead, I am his successor according to the laws common to all men, both Greeks and barbarians, and it is my right, just as it is of any others who succeed to the estates of their grandfathers, to inherit not only his property but his kingship as well. [2] You have, it is true, delivered up to me the property that he left, but you are depriving me of the kingship and have retained possession of it for so long a time now, though you obtained it wrongfully. For neither did any interreges appoint you king nor did the senate pass a vote in your favour, nor did you obtain this power by a legal election of the people, as my grandfather and all the kings before him obtained it; but by bribing and corrupting in every way possible the crowd of vagabonds and paupers, who had been disfranchised for convictions or for debts and had no concern for the public interests, and by not admitting even then that you were seeking the power for yourself, but by pretending that you were going to guard it for us who were orphans and infants, you came into control of affairs and kept promising in the hearing of all that when we came to manhood you would hand over the sovereignty to me as the elder brother. [3] You ought, therefore, if you desired to do right, when you handed over to me the estate of my grandfather, to have delivered up his kingship also together with his property, following the example of all the upright guardians who, having taken upon themselves the care of royal children bereft of their parents, have rightly and justly restored to them the kingdoms of their fathers and ancestors when they came to be men. [4] But if you thought I had not yet attained a proper degree of prudence and that by reason of my youth I was still unequal to the government of so great a state, yet when I attained to my full vigour of body and mind at the age of thirty, you ought, at the same time that you gave me your daughter in marriage, to have put also the affairs of the state into my hands; for it was at that very age that you yourselves first undertook both the guardianship of our family and

the oversight of the kingship.

[32.1] “If you had done this you would, in the first place, have gained the reputation of a loyal and just man, and again, you would have reigned with me and shared in every honour; and you would have been called my benefactor, my father, my preserver, and all the other laudatory names that men bestow in recognition of noble actions, instead of depriving me for all these forty-four years of what was mine, though I was neither maimed in body nor stupid in mind. And after that have you the assurance to ask me what ill-treatment provokes me to look upon you as my enemy and for what reason I accuse you? [2] Nay, do *you*, answer *me* rather, Tullius, and declare why you think me unworthy to inherit the honours of my grandfather and what specious reason you allege for depriving me of them. Is it because you do not regard me as the legitimate offspring of his blood, but as some supposititious and illegitimate child? If so, why did you act as guardian to one who was a stranger to his blood, and why did you deliver up his estate to me as soon as I reached manhood? Or is it that you still look upon me as an orphan child and incapable of handling the business of the state — me who am not far from fifty years old? Lay aside now the dissimulation of your shameless questions and cease at last to play the rogue. [3] However, if you have any just reason to allege against what I have said, I am ready to leave the decision to these men as judges, than whom you can name none better in the city. But if you attempt to run away from this tribunal and fly for refuge, as is ever your habit, to the rabble you mislead by your cajolery, I will not permit it. For I am prepared, not only to speak in defence of my rights, but also, if this should fail to convince you, to act with force.”

[33.1] When he had done speaking, Tullius took the floor and said: “Anything, it seems, senators, that is unexpected is to be expected by a mortal man, and nothing should be regarded as incredible, since Tarquinius here is set upon deposing *me* from my office, though I received him when he was an infant and, when his enemies were forming designs against his life, preserved him and brought him up, and when he came to be a man, saw fit to take him for a son-in-law and in the event of my death was intending to leave him heir to all that I possessed. [2] But now that everything has happened to me contrary to my expectation and I myself am accused of wrongdoing, I shall lament my misfortune later one, but at present I will plead my just cause against him. I took upon myself, Tarquinius, the guardianship of your brother and yourself when you were left infants, not of my own will, but compelled by the circumstances, since those who aspired to the kingship had openly assassinated your grandfather and were said to be plotting secretly against you and the rest of his kin; and all your friends acknowledged that if those men once got the power into their hands they would not leave even a seed of the race of Tarquinius. And there was no one else to care for you and guard you but a woman, the mother of your father, and she, by reason of her great age, herself stood in need of others to care for her; but you children were left in my

charge alone, to be guarded in your destitute condition — though you now call me a stranger and in no degree related to you. [3] Nevertheless, when I had been put in command of such a situation, I not only punished the assassins of your grandfather and reared you boys to manhood, but, as I had no male issue, I proposed to make you the owners of what I possessed. You have now, Tarquinius, the account of my guardianship, and you will not venture to say that a word of it is false.

[34] “But concerning the kingship, since this is the point of your accusation, learn not only by what means I obtained it, but also for what reasons I am not resigning it either to you or to anyone else. When I took upon myself the oversight of the commonwealth, finding that there were certain plots forming against me, I desired to surrender the conduct of affairs to the people; and having called them all together in assembly, I offered to resign the power to them, exchanging this envied sovereignty, the source of more pains than pleasures, for a quiet life free from danger. [2] But the Romans would not permit me to follow this preference, nor did they see fit to make anyone else master of the state, but retained me and by their votes gave me the kingship — thing which belonged to them, Tarquinius, rather than to you or your brother — [3] in the same manner as they had entrusted the government to your grandfather, who was a foreigner and in no way related to the king who preceded him; and yet King Ancus Marcius had left sons in their prime of life, not children and infants, as you and your brother were left by Tarquinius. But if it were a general law that the heirs to the estate and possessions of deceased kings should also be heirs to their kingly office, Tarquinius, your grandfather would not have succeeded to the sovereignty upon the death of Ancus, but rather the elder of the king’s sons. [4] But the Roman people did not call to power the heir of the father, but rather the person who was worthy to rule. For they held that, while property belongs to those who acquired it, the kingly office belongs to those who conferred it, and that the former, when anything happens to its owners, ought to descend to the natural heirs or the testamentary heirs, but that the latter, when the persons who received it die, should return to those who gave it. Unless, indeed, you have some claim to offer to the effect that your grandfather received the kingship upon certain express conditions, whereby he was not to be deprived of it himself and could also leave it to you, his grandsons, and that it was not in the power of the people to take it from you and confer it upon me. [5] If you have any such claim to allege, why do you not produce the contract? But you cannot do so. And if I did not obtain the office in the most justifiable manner, as you say, since I was neither chosen by the interreges nor entrusted with the government by the senate and the other legal requirements were not observed, then surely it is these men here that I am wronging and not you, and I deserve to be deprived of power by them, not by you. [6] But I am not wronging either these men nor anyone else. The length of my reign, which has now lasted forty years, bears me witness that power was both then justly given to me and is now justly vested

in me; for during this time none of the Romans ever thought I reigned unjustly, nor did either the people or the senate ever endeavour to drive me from power.

[35.1] “But — to pass over all these matters and to come to grips with your charges — if I had been depriving you of a deposit that had been left in my hands by your grandfather in trust for you and, contrary to all the established rules of justice recognized by mankind, had been retaining the kingship which was yours, you ought to have gone to those who granted the power to me and to have vented your indignation and reproaches, both against me, for continuing to hold what did not belong to me, and against them, for having conferred on me what belonged to others; for you would easily have convinced them if you had been able to urge any just claim. [2] If, however, you had no confidence in this argument and yet thought that I had no right to rule the state and that you were a more suitable person to be entrusted with its oversight, you ought to have done as follows — to have made an investigation of my mistakes and enumerated your own services and then to have challenged me to a trial for the determination of our respective merits. Neither of these things did you do; but, after all this time, as if recovered from a long fit of drunkenness, you now come to accuse me, and even now not where you should have come. [3] For it is not here that you should present these charges — do not take any offence at this statement of mine, senators, for it is not with a view of taking the decision away from you that I say this, but from the desire to expose this man’s calumnies — but you ought to have told me beforehand to call an assembly of the people and there to have accused me. However, since you have avoided doing so, I will do it for you, and having called the people together, I will appoint them judges of any crimes of which you may accuse me, and will again leave it to them to decide which of us two is the more suitable to hold the sovereignty; and whatever they shall unanimously decide I ought to do, I will do. [4] As for you, this is a sufficient answer, since it is all the same whether one urges many or few just claims against unreasonable adversaries; for mere words naturally cannot bring any argument which will persuade them to be honest.

[36.1] “But I have been surprised, senators, that any of *you* wish to remove me from power and have conspired with this man against me. I should like to learn from them what injury provokes them to attack me and at what action of mine they are offended. Is it because they know that great numbers during my reign have been put to death without a trial, banished from their country, deprived of their possessions, or have met with any other misfortune which they have not merited? Or, though they can accuse most of none of these tyrannical misdeeds, are they acquainted with any outrages I have been guilty of toward married women, or insults to their maiden daughters, or any other wanton attempt upon a person of free condition? If I have been guilty of any such crime I should deserve to be deprived at the same time both of the kingship and of my life. [2] Well then, am I haughty, am I burdensome by my

severity, and can no one bear the arrogance of my administration? And yet which of my predecessors constantly used his power with such moderation and kindness, treating all the citizens as an indulgent father treats his own children? What, I did not even desire to retain all the power which you, following the traditions of your fathers, gave to me, but after establishing laws, which you all confirmed, relating to the most essential matters, I then granted to you the privilege of giving and receiving justice in accordance with these laws; and to these rules of justice which I prescribed for others I showed myself the first to yield obedience, like any private citizen. Nor did I make myself the judge of all sorts of crimes, but causes of a private nature I restored to your jurisdiction — a thing which none of the former kings ever did. ^[3] But it appears that it is no wrongdoing on my part that has drawn upon me the ill-will of certain persons, but it is rather the benefits I have conferred on the plebeians that grieve you unjustly — concerning which I have often given you my reasons. But there is no need for such explanations now. If you believe that Tarquinius here by taking over the government will administer affairs better than I, I shall not envy the commonwealth a better ruler; and after I have surrendered the sovereignty to the people, from whom I received it, and have become a private citizen, I shall endeavour to make it plain to all that I not only know how to rule well, but can also obey with equanimity.”

[37.1] After this speech, which covered the conspirators with shame, Tullius dismissed the meeting and then, summoning the heralds he ordered them to go through all the streets and call the people together to an assembly. [2] And when the whole populace of the city had flocked to the Forum, he came forward to the tribunal and made a long and moving harangue, enumerating all military achievements he had performed, both during the lifetime of Tarquinius and after his death, and recounting in addition one by one all his administrative measures from which the commonwealth appeared to have reaped many great advantages. [3] And when everything he said met with great applause and all the people earnestly desired to know for what reasons he mentioned these things, at last he said that Tarquinius accused him of retaining the kingship unjustly, since it belonged to himself; for Tarquinius claimed that his grandfather at his death had left him the sovereignty together with his property, and that the people did not have it in their power to bestow on another what was not their own to give. [4] This raising a general clamour and indignation among the people, he ordered them to be silent and asked them to feel no displeasure or resentment at his words, but in case Tarquinius had any just claim to advance in support of his pretensions, to summon him and if, after learning what he had to say, they should find that he was being wronged and was the more suitable man to rule, to entrust him with the leadership of the commonwealth. As for himself, he said, he now resigned the sovereignty and restored it to those to whom it belonged and from whom he had received it. [5] After he had said this and was on the point of descending from the tribunal, there was a general outcry and many begged of him with groans not to surrender the sovereignty to anyone; and some of them even called out to stone Tarquinius. He, however, fearing summary punishment, since the crowds were already making a rush against him, fled, and his companions with him, while the entire populace with joy, applause, and many acclamations conducted Tullius as far as his house and saw him safely established there.

[38.1] When Tarquinius failed in this attempt also, he was dismayed that from the senate, upon which he had chiefly relied, no assistance had come to him, and remaining at home for some time, he conversed only with his friends. Afterwards, when his wife advised him no longer to play the weakling or hesitate, but to have done with words and proceed to deeds, after he should first have obtain a reconciliation with Tullius by the intercession of friends — to the end that the king, trusting him as having become his friend, might be the less upon his guard against him — believing that her advice was most excellent, he began to pretend to repent of his past behaviour and through friends besought Tullius with many entreaties to forgive him. [2] And he very easily persuaded the man, who was not only by his nature inclined to reconciliation but was also averse to waging an implacable contest with his daughter and his son-in-law; then, as soon as he saw a favourable opportunity, when the people were dispersed about the country for the gathering of the

harvest, he appeared in public with his friends, all having swords under their garments, and giving the axes to some of his servants, he himself assumed the royal apparel and all the other insignia of royalty. Then, going to the Forum, he took his stand before the senate-house and ordered the herald to summon the senators thither; indeed, many of the patricians who were privy to his design and were urging him on were by prearrangement ready in the Forum. [3] And so the senators assembled. In the meantime someone went and informed Tullius, who was at home, that Tarquinius had appeared in public in royal apparel and was calling a meeting of the senate. And he, astonished at the other's rashness, set out from his house with more haste than prudence, attended by but a few. And going into the senate-house and seeing Tarquinius seated on the throne with all the other insignia of royalty, he exclaim: [4] "Who, most wicked of men, gave you authority to assume this attire?" To which the other replied: "Your boldness and impudence, Tullius; for, though you were not even a free man, but a slave and the son of a slave mother, whom my grandfather got from among the captives, you nevertheless have dared to proclaim yourself king of the Romans." When Tullius heard this, he was so exasperated at the reproach that, heedless of his own safety, he rushed at him with the intent of forcing him to quit the throne. [5] Tarquinius was pleased to see this, and leaping from his seat, seized and bore off the old man, who cried out and called upon his servants to assist him. When he got outside the senate-house, being a man of great vigour and in his prime, he raised him aloft and hurled him down the steps that lead from the senate-house to the comitium. [6] The old man got up from his fall with great difficulty, and seeing the whole neighbourhood crowded with the followers of Tarquinius and noting a great dearth of his own friends, he set out for home lamenting, only a few persons supporting and escorting him, and as he went he dripped much blood and his entire body was in a wretched plight from his fall.

[39.1] What happened next, terrible to hear yet astonishing and incredible to have been done — the deeds of his impious daughter — have been handed down to us. She, having been informed that her father had gone to the senate-house, and being in haste to know what would be the outcome of the affair, entered her carriage and rode to the Forum; and there, hearing what had passed and seeing Tarquinius standing upon the steps before the senate-house, she was the first person to salute him as king, which she did in a loud voice, and prayed to the gods that his seizing of the sovereignty might redound to the advantage of the Roman state. [2] And after all the rest who had assisted him in gaining the sovereignty had also saluted him as king, she took him aside and said to him: "The first steps, Tarquinius, you have taken in the manner that was fitting; but it is impossible for you to hold the kingship securely so long as Tullius survives. For by his harangues he will again stir up the populace against you if he remains alive but the least part of this day; and you know how attached the whole body of the plebeians is to him. But come, even before he gets home, send some men and put him out of the way." [3] Having

said this, she again entered her carriage and departed. Tarquinius upon this occasion also approved of the advice of his most impious wife, and sent some of his servants against Tullius armed with swords; and they, swiftly covering the interval, overtook Tullius when he was already near his house and slew him. While his body lay freshly slain and quivering where it had been flung, his daughter arrived; [4] and, the street through which her carriage was obliged to pass being very narrow, the mules became fractious at the sight of the body, and the groom who was leading them, moved by the piteous spectacle, stopped short and looked at his mistress. Upon her asking what possessed him not to lead the team on, he said: "Do you not see your father lying dead, Tullia, and that there is no other way but over his body?" [5] This angered her to such a degree that she snatched up the stool from under her feet and hurled it at the groom, saying "Will you not lead on, accursed wretch, even over the body" Thereupon the groom, with lamentations caused more by the shocking deed than by the blow, led the mules forcibly over the body. This street, which before was called Orbian Street, is, from this horrid and detestable incident, called by the Romans in their own language Impious Street, that is, vicus Sceleratus.

[40.1] Such was the death which fell to the lot of Tullius after he had reigned forty-four years. The Romans say that this man was the first who altered ancestral customs and laws by receiving the sovereignty, not from the senate and the people jointly, like all the former kings, but from the people alone, the poorer sort of whom he had won over by bribery and many other ways of courting popular favour; and this is true. [2] For before this time, upon the death of a king it was the custom for the people to grant to the senate authority to establish such a form of government as they should think fit; and the senate created interreges, who appointed the best man king, whether he was a native Roman or a foreigner. And if the senate approved of the one so chosen and the people by their votes confirmed the choice, and if the auguries also gave their sanction to it, he assumed the sovereignty; but if any one of these formalities was lacking, they named a second, and then a third, if it so happened that the second was likewise not found unobjectionable by both men and gods. [3] Tullius, on the contrary, at first assumed the guise of royal guardian, as I said before, after which he gained the affections of the people by certain ingratiating acts and was appointed king by them alone. But as he proved to be a man of mildness and moderation, by his subsequent actions he put an end to the complaints caused by his not having observed the laws in all respects, and gave occasion for many to believe that, if he had not been made away with too soon, he would have changed the form of government to a democracy. [4] And they say it was for this reason chiefly that some of the patricians joined in the conspiracy against him; that, being unable by any other means to overthrow his power, they took Tarquinius as an ally in their undertaking and aided him in gaining the sovereignty, it being their wish not only to weaken the power of the plebeians, which had received no small

addition from the political measures of Tullius, but also to recover their own former dignity.

[5] The death of Tullius having occasioned a great tumult and lamentation throughout the whole city, Tarquinius was afraid lest, if the body should be carried through the Forum, according to the custom of the Romans, adorned with the royal robes and the other marks of honour usual in royal funerals, some attack might be made against him by the populace before he had firmly established his authority; and accordingly he would not permit any of the usual ceremonies to be performed in his honour. But the wife of Tullius, who was daughter to Tarquinius, the former king, with a few of her friends carried the body out of the city at night as if it had been that of some ordinary person; and after uttering many lamentations over the fate both of herself and of her husband and heaping countless imprecations upon her son-in-law and her daughter, she buried the body in the ground. [6] Then, returning home from the sepulchre, she lived but one day after the burial, during the following night. The manner of her death was not generally known. Some said that in her grief she lost all desire to live and died by her own hand; others, that she was put to death by her son-in-law and her daughter because of her compassion and affection for her husband. For the reasons mentioned, then, the body of Tullius could not be given a royal funeral and a stately monument; but his achievements have won lasting remembrance for all time. [7] And it was made clear by another prodigy that this man was dear to the gods; in consequence of which that fabulous and incredible opinion I have already mentioned concerning his birth also came to be regarded by many as true. For in the temple of Fortune which he himself had built there stood a gilded wooden statue of Tullius, and when a conflagration occurred and everything else was destroyed, this statue alone remained uninjured by the flames. And even to this day, although the temple itself and all the objects in it, which were restored to their formed condition after the fire, are obviously the products of modern art, the statue, as aforetime, is of ancient workmanship; for it still remains an object of veneration by the Romans. Concerning Tullius these are all the facts that have been handed down to us.

[41.1] He was succeeded in the sovereignty over the Romans by Lucius Tarquinius, who obtained it, not in accordance with the laws, but by arms, in the fourth year of the sixty-first Olympiad (the one in which Agatharchus of Corcyra won the foot-race), Thericles being archon at Athens. [2] This man, despising not only the populace, but the patricians as well, by whom he had been brought to power, confounded and abolished the customs, the laws, and the whole native form of government, by which the former kings had ordered the commonwealth, and transformed his rule into an avowed tyranny. [3] And first he placed about his person a guard of very daring men, both natives and foreigners, armed with swords and spears, who camped round the palace at night and attended him in the daytime wherever he went, effectually securing

him from the attempts of conspirators. Secondly, he did not appear in public often or at stated times, but only rarely and unexpectedly; and he transacted the public business at home, for the most part, and in the presence of none but his most intimate friends, and only occasionally in the Forum. [4] To none who sought an audience would he grant it unless he himself had sent for them; and even to those who did gain access to him he was not gracious or mild, but, as is the way with tyrants, harsh and irascible, and his aspect was terrifying rather than genial. His decisions in controversies relating to contracts he rendered, not with regard to justice and law, but according to his own moods. For these reasons the Romans gave him the surname of Superbus, which in our language means "the haughty"; and his grandfather they called Priscus, or, as we should say, "the elder," since both his names were the same as those of the younger man.

[42.1] When he thought he was now in secure possession of the sovereignty, he suborned the basest of his friends to bring charges against many of the prominent men and place them on trial for their lives. He began with such as were hostile to him and resented his driving of Tullius from power; and next he accused all those whom he thought to be aggrieved by the change and those who had great riches. [2] When the accusers brought these men to trial, charging them with various fictitious crimes but chiefly with conspiring against the king, it was by Tarquinius himself, sitting as judge, that the charges were heard. Some of the accused he condemned to death and others to banishment, and seizing the property of both the slain and the exiled, he assigned some small part to the accusers but retained the largest part for himself. [3] The result was therefore bound to be that many influential men, knowing the motives underlying the plots against them, voluntarily, before they could be convicted of the charges brought against them, left the city to the tyrant, and the number of these was much greater than of the others. There were some who were even seized in their homes or in the country and secretly murdered by him, men of note, and not even their bodies were seen again. [4] After he had destroyed the best part of the senate by death or by exile for life, he constituted another senate himself by working his own followers into the honours of the men who had disappeared; nevertheless, not even these men were permitted by him to do or say anything but what he himself commanded. [5] Consequently, when the senators who were left of those who had been enrolled in the senate under Tullius and who had hitherto been at odds with the plebeians and had expected the change in the form of government to turn out to their advantage (for Tarquinius had held out such promises to them with a view of deluding and tricking them) now found that they had no longer any share in the government, but that they too, as well as the plebeians, had been deprived of their freedom of speech, although they lamented their fate and suspected that things would be still more terrible in the future than they were at the moment, yet, having no power to prevent what was going on, they were forced to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs.

[43.1] The plebeians, seeing this, looked upon them as justly punished and in their simplicity rejoiced at their discomfiture, imagining that the tyranny would be burdensome to the senators alone and would involve no danger to themselves. Nevertheless, to them also came even more hardships not long afterwards. For the laws drawn up by Tullius, by which they all received justice alike from each other and by which they were secured from being injured by the patricians, as before, in their contracts with them, were all abolished by Tarquinius, who did not leave even the tables on which the laws were written, but ordered these also to be removed from the Forum and destroyed. [2] After this he abolished the taxes based on the census and revived the original form of taxation; and whenever he required money, the poorest citizen contributed the same amount as the richest. This measure ruined a large part of the plebeians, since every man was obliged to pay ten drachmae as his individual share of the very first tax. He also forbade the holding in future of any of the assemblies to which hitherto the inhabitants of the villages, the members of the curiae, or the residents of a neighbourhood, both in the city and in the country, had resorted in order to perform religious ceremonies and sacrifices in common, lest large numbers of people, meeting together, should form secret conspiracies to overthrow his power. [3] He had spies scattered about in many places who secretly inquired into everything that was said and done, while remaining undiscovered by most persons; and by insinuating themselves into the conversation of their neighbours and sometimes by reviling the tyrant themselves they sounded every man's sentiments. Afterwards they informed the tyrant of all who were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs; and the punishments of those who were found guilty were severe and relentless.

[44.1] Nor was he satisfied merely with these illegal vexations of the plebeians, but, after selecting from among them such as were loyal to himself and fit for war, he compelled the rest to labour on the public works in the city; for he believed that monarchs are exposed to the greatest danger when the worst and the most needy of the citizens live in idleness, and at the same time he was eager to complete during his own reign the works his grandfather had left half finished, namely, to extend to the river the drainage canals which the other had begun to dig and also to surround the Circus, which had been carried up no higher than the foundations, with covered porticos. [2] At these undertakings all the poor laboured, receiving from him but a moderate allowance of grain. Some of them were employed in quarrying stone, others in hewing timber, some in driving the wagons that transported these materials, and others in carrying the burdens themselves upon their shoulders, still others in digging the subterranean drains and constructing the arches over them and in erecting the porticos and serving the various artisans who were thus employed; and smiths, carpenters and masons were taken from their private undertakings and kept at work in the service of the public. [3] Thus the people, being worn out by these works, had no rest; so that the patricians, seeing their

hardships and servitude, rejoiced in their turn and forgot their own miseries. Yet neither of them attempted to put a stop to these proceedings.

[45.1] Tarquinius, considering that those rulers who have not got their power legally but have obtained it by arms require a body-guard, not of natives only, but also of foreigners, earnestly endeavoured to gain the friendship of the most illustrious and most powerful man of the whole Latin nation, by giving his daughter to him in marriage. This man was Octavius Mamilius, who traced his lineage back to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe; he lived in the city of Tusculum and was looked upon as a man of singular sagacity in political matters and a competent military commander. [2] When Tarquinius had gained the friendship of this man and through him had won over the chief men at the head of affairs in each city, he resolved then at last to try his strength in warfare in the open and to lead an expedition against the Sabines, who refused to obey his orders and looked upon themselves as released from the terms of their treaty upon the death of Tullius, with whom they had made it. [3] After he had taken this resolution he sent messengers to invite to the council at Ferentinum those who were accustomed to meet together there on behalf of the Latin nation, and appointed a day, intimating that he wished to consult with them concerning some important matters of mutual interest. [4] The Latins, accordingly, appeared, but Tarquinius, who had summoned them, did not come at the time appointed. They waited for a long time and the majority of them regarded his behaviour as an insult. Among them was a certain man, named Turnus Herdonius, who lived in the city of Corilla and was powerful by reason of both of his riches and of his friends, valiant in war and not without ability in political debate; he was not only at variance with Mamilius, owing to their rivalry for power in the state, but also, on account of Mamilius, an enemy to Tarquinius, because the king had seen fit to take the other for his son-in-law in preference to himself. This man now inveighed at length against Tarquinius, enumerating all the other actions of the man which seemed to shown evidence of arrogance and presumption, and laying particular stress upon his not appearing at the assembly which he himself had summoned, when all the rest were present. [5] But Mamilius attempted to excuse Tarquinius, attributing his delay to some unavoidable cause, and asked that the assembly might be adjourned to the next day; and the presiding officers of the Latins were prevailed on to do so.

[46.1] The next day Tarquinius appeared and, the assembly having been called together, he first excused his delay in a few words and at once entered upon a discussion of the supremacy, which he insisted belonged to him by right, since Tarquinius, his grandfather, had held it, having acquired it by war; and he offered in evidence the treaties made by the various cities with Tarquinius. [2] After saying a great deal in favour of his claim and concerning the treaties, and promising to confer great advantages on the cities in case they should continue in their friendship, he at last endeavoured to persuade them to join him in an expedition against the Sabines. [3] When he had ceased

speaking, Turnus, the man who had censured him for his failure to appear in time, came forward and sought to dissuade the council from yielding to him the supremacy, both on the ground that it did not belong to him by right and also because it would not be in the interest of the Latins to yield it to him; and he dwelt long upon both these points. He said that the treaties they had made with the grandfather of Tarquinius, when they granted to him the supremacy, had been terminated after his death, no clause having been added to those treaties providing that the same grant should descend to his posterity; and he showed that the man who claimed the right to inherit the grants made to his grandfather was of all men the most lawless and most wicked, and he recounted the things he had done in order to possess himself of the sovereignty over the Romans. [4] After enumerating many terrible charges against him, he ended by informing them that Tarquinius did not hold even the kingship over the Romans in accordance with the laws by taking it with their consent, like the former kings, but had prevailed by arms and violence; and that, having established a tyranny, he was putting some of the citizens to death, banishing others, despoiling others of their estates, and taking from all of them their liberty both of speech and of action. He declared it would be an act of great folly and madness to hope for anything good and beneficent from a wicked and impious nature and to imagine that a man who had not spared such as were nearest to him both in blood and friendship would spare those who were strangers to him; and he advised them, as long as they had not yet accepted the yoke of slavery, to fight to the end against accepting it, judging from the misfortunes of others what it would be their own fate to suffer.

[47.1] After Turnus had thus inveighed against Tarquinius and most of those present had been greatly moved by his words, Tarquinius asked that the following day might be set for his defence. His request was granted, and when the assembly had been dismissed, he summoned his most intimate friends and consulted with them how he ought to handle the situation. These began to suggest to him the arguments he should use in his defence and to run over the means by which he should endeavour to win back the favour of the majority; but Tarquinius himself declared that the situation did not call for any such measures, and gave it as his own opinion that he ought not to attempt to refute the accusations, but rather to destroy the accuser himself. [2] When all had praised this opinion, he arranged with them the details of the attack and then set about carrying out a plot that was least likely to be foreseen by any man and guarded against. Seeking out the most evil among the servants of Turnus who conducted his pack animals with the baggage and bribing them with money, he persuaded them to take from him a large number of swords at nightfall and put them away in the baggage-chests where they would not be in sight. [3] The next day, when the assembly had convened, Tarquinius came forward and said that his defence against the accusations was a brief one, and he proposed that his accuser himself should be the judge of all the charges. "For, councillors," he said, "Turnus here, as a judge, himself acquitted me of

everything of which he now accuses me, when he desired my daughter in marriage. [4] But since he was thought unworthy of the marriage, as was but natural (for who in his senses would have refused Mamilius, the man of highest birth and greatest merit among the Latins, and consented to take for his son-in-law this man who cannot trace his family back even five generations?), in resentment for this slight he has now come to accuse me. Whereas, if he knew me to be such a man as he now charges, he ought not to have desired me then for a father-in-law; and if he thought me a good man when he asked me for my daughter in marriage, he ought not now to traduce me as a wicked man. [5] So much concerning myself. As for you, councillors, who are running the greatest of dangers, it is not for you to consider now whether I am a good or a bad man (for this you may inquire into afterwards) but to provide both for your own safety and for the liberty of your respective cities. For a plot is being formed by this fine demagogue against you who are the chief men of your cities and are at the head of affairs; and he is prepared, after he has put the most prominent of you to death, to attempt to seize the sovereignty over the Latins, and has come here for that purpose. [6] I do not say this from conjecture but from my certain knowledge, having last night received information of it from one of the accomplices in the conspiracy. And I will give you an incontestible proof of what I say, if you will go to his lodging, by showing you the arms that are concealed there.”

[48.1] After he had thus spoken they all cried out, and fearing for the men’s safety, demanded that he prove the matter and not impose upon them. And Turnus, since he was unaware of the treachery, cheerfully offered to submit to the investigation and invited the presiding officers to search his lodging, saying that one of two things ought to come of it — either that he himself should be put to death, if he were found to have provided more arms than were necessary for his journey, or that the person who had accused him falsely should be punished. [2] This offer was accepted; and those who went to his lodging found the swords which had been hidden in the baggage-chests by the servants. After this they would not permit Turnus to say anything more in his defence, but cast him into a pit and promptly dispatched him by burying him alive. [3] As for Tarquinius, they praised him in the assembly as the common benefactor of all their cities for having saved the lives of their chief citizens, and they appointed him leader of their nation upon the same terms as they had appointed Tarquinius, his grandfather, and, after him, Tullius; and having engraved the treaty on pillars and confirmed it by oaths, they dismissed the assembly.

[49.1] After Tarquinius had obtained the supremacy over the Latins, he sent ambassadors to the cities of the Hernicans and to those of the Volscians to invite them also to enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with him. The Hernicans unanimously voted in favour of the alliance, but of the Volscians only two cities, Ecetra and Antium, accepted the invitation. And as a means of providing that the treaties made with those cities might endure forever,

Tarquinius resolved to designate a temple for the joint use of the Romans, the Latins, the Hernicans and such of the Volscians as had entered into the alliance, in order that, coming together each year at the appointed place, they might celebrate a general festival, feast together and share in common sacrifices. [2] This proposal being cheerfully accepted by all of them, he appointed for their place of assembly a high mountain situated almost at the centre of these nations and commanding the city of the Albans; and he made a law that upon this mountain an annual festival should be celebrated, during which they should all abstain from acts of hostility against any of the others and should perform common sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris, as he is called, and feast together, and he appointed the share each city was to contribute towards these sacrifices and the portion each of them was to receive. The cities that shared in this festival and sacrifice were forty-seven. [3] These festivals and sacrifices the Romans celebrate to this day, calling them the "Latin Festivals"; and some of the cities that take part in them bring lambs, some cheeses, others a certain measure of milk, and others something of like nature. And one bull is sacrificed in common by all of them, each city receiving its appointed share of the meat. The sacrifices they offer are on behalf of all and the Romans have the superintendence of them.

[50.1] When he had strengthened his power by these alliances also, he resolved to lead an army against the Sabines, choosing such of the Romans as he least suspected of being apt to assert their liberty if they became possessed of arms, and adding to them the auxiliary forces that had come from his allies, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans. [2] And having laid waste the enemy's country and defeated in battle those who came to close quarters with him, he led his forces against the people called the Pometini, who lived in the city of Suessa and had the reputation of both more prosperous than any of their neighbours and, because of their great good fortune, of being troublesome and oppressive to them all. He accused them of certain acts of brigandage and robbery and of giving haughty answers when asked for satisfaction therefor. But they were expecting war and were ready and in arms. [3] Tarquinius engaged them in battle upon the frontiers, and after killing many of them and putting the rest to flight, he shut them up within their walls; and when they no longer ventured out of the city, he encamped near by, and surrounding it with a ditch and palisades, made continuous assaults upon the walls. The inhabitants defended themselves and withstood the hardships of the siege for a considerable time; but when their provisions began to fail and their strength was spent, since they neither received any assistance nor even obtained any respite, but the same men had to toil both night and day, they were taken by storm. [4] Tarquinius, being now master of the city, put to death all he found in arms and permitted the soldiers to carry off the women and children and such others as allowed themselves to be made prisoners, together with a multitude of slaves not easy to be numbered; and he also gave them leave to carry away all the plunder of the city that they found

both inside the walls and in the country. As to the silver and gold that was found there, he ordered it all to be brought to one place, and having reserved a tenth part of it to build a temple, he distributed the rest among the soldiers. [5] The quantity of silver and gold taken upon this occasion was so considerable that every one of the soldiers received for his share five minae of silver, and the tenth part reserved for the gods amounted to no less than four hundred talents.

[51.1] While he was still tarrying at Suessa a messenger brought the news that the flower of the Sabine youth had set out and made an irruption into the territory of the Romans in two large armies and were laying waste the country, one of them being encamped near Eretum and the other near Fidenae, and that unless a strong force should oppose them everything there would be lost. [2] When Tarquinius heard this he left a small part of his army at Suessa, ordering them to guard the spoils and the baggage, and leading the rest of his forces in light marching order against that body of the Sabines which was encamped near Eretum, he pitched camp upon an eminence within a short distance of the enemy. And the generals of the Sabines having resolved to send for the army that was at Fidenae and to give battle at daybreak, Tarquinius learned of their intention (for the bearer of the letter from these generals to the others had been captured) and availed himself of this fortunate incident by employing the following stratagem: [3] He divided his army into two bodies and sent one of them in the night without the enemy's knowledge to occupy the road that led from Fidenae; and drawing up the other division as soon as it was fully day, he marched out of his camp as if to give battle. The Sabines, seeing the small number of the enemy and believing that their other army from Fidenae would come up at any moment, boldly marched out against them. These armies, therefore, engaged and the battle was for a long time doubtful; then the troops which had been sent out in advance by Tarquinius during the night turned back in their march and prepared to attack the Sabines in the rear. [4] The Sabines, upon seeing them and recognizing them by their arms and their standards, were upset in their calculations, and throwing away their arms, sought to save themselves by flight. But escape was impossible for most of them, surrounded as they were by enemies, and the Roman horse, pressing upon them from all sides, hemmed them in; so that only a few were prompt enough to escape disaster, but the greater part were either cut down by the enemy or surrendered. Nor was there any resistance made even by those who were left in the camp, but this was taken at the first onset; and there, besides the Sabines' own effects, all the possessions that had been stolen from the Romans, together with many captives, were recovered still uninjured and were restored to those who had lost them.

[52.1] After Tarquinius had succeeded in his first attempt he marched with his forces against the rest of the Sabines who were encamped near Fidenae and were not yet aware of the destruction of their companions. It happened that these also had set out from their camp and were already on the march

when, coming near to the Roman army, they saw the heads of their commanders fixed upon pikes (for the Romans held them forward in order to strike the enemy with terror), and learning thus that their other army had been destroyed, they no longer performed any deed of bravery, but turning to supplications and entreaties, they surrendered. [2] The Sabines, having had both their armies snatched away in so shameful and disgraceful a manner, were reduced to slender hopes, and fearing that their cities would be taken by assault, they sent ambassadors to treat for peace, offering to surrender, become subjects of Tarquinius, and pay tribute for the future. He accordingly made peace with them and received the submission of their cities upon the same terms, and then returned to Suessa. Thence he marched with the forces he had left there, the spoils he had taken, and the rest of his baggage, to Rome, bringing back his army loaded with riches. [3] After that he also made many incursions into the country of the Volscians, sometimes with his whole army and sometimes with part of it, and captured much booty. But when now most of his undertakings were succeeding according to his wish, a war broke out on the part of his neighbours which proved not only of long duration (for it lasted seven years without intermission) but also important because of the severe and unexpected misfortunes with which it was attended. I will relate briefly from what causes it sprang and how it ended, since it was brought to a conclusion by a clever ruse and a novel stratagem.

[53.1] There was a city of the Latins, which had been founded by the Albans, distant one hundred stades from Rome and standing upon the road that leads to Praeneste. The name of this city was Gabii. To-day not all parts of it are still inhabited, but only those that lie next the highway and are given up to inns; but at that time it was as large and populous as any city. One may judge both of its extent and importance by observing the ruins of the buildings in many places and the circuit of the wall, most parts of which are still standing.

[2] To this city had flocked some of the Pometini who had escaped from Suessa when Tarquinius took their town and many of the banished Romans. These, by begging and imploring the Gabini to avenge the injuries they had received and by promising great rewards if they should be restored to their own possessions, and also by showing the overthrow of the tyrant to be not only possible but easy, since the people in Rome too would aid them, prevailed upon them, with the encouragement of the Volscians (for these also had sent ambassadors to them and desired their alliance) to make war upon Tarquinius.

[3] After this both the Gabini and the Romans made incursions into and laid waste one another's territories with large armies and, as was to be expected, engaged in battles, now with small numbers on each side and now with all their forces. In these actions the Gabini often put the Romans to flight and pursuing them up to their walls, slew many and ravaged their country with impunity; and often the Romans drove the Gabini back and shutting them up within their city, carried off their slaves together with much booty.

[54.1] As these things happened continually, both of them were obliged to

fortify the strongholds in their territories and to garrison them so that they might serve as places of refuge for the husbandmen; and sallying out from these strongholds in a body, they would fall upon and destroy bands of robbers and any small groups they might discover that had been detached from a large army and, as would naturally be expected in forages, were observing no order, through contempt of the enemy. And they both were obliged in their fear of the sudden assaults of the other to raise the walls and dig ditches around those parts of their cities that were vulnerable and could easily be taken by means of scaling-ladders. [2] Tarquinius was particularly active in taking these precautions and employed a large number of workmen in strengthening those parts of the city walls that looked toward Gabii by widening the ditch, raising the walls, and placing the towers at shorter intervals; for on this side the city seemed to be the weakest, the rest of the circuit being tolerably secure and difficult of approach. [3] But, as is apt to happen to all cities in the course of long wars, when the country is laid waste by the continual incursions of the enemy and no longer produces its fruits, both were bound to experience a dearth of all provisions and to feel terrible discouragement regarding the future; but the want of necessities was felt more keenly by the Romans than by the Gabini and the poorest among them, who suffered most, thought a treaty ought to be made with the enemy and an end put to the war upon any terms they might grant.

[55.1] While Tarquinius was dismayed at the situation and neither willing to end the war upon dishonourable terms nor able to headland out any longer, but was contriving all sorts of schemes and devising ruses of every kind, the eldest of his sons, Sextus by name, privately communicated to him his own plan; and when Tarquinius, who thought the enterprise bold and full of danger, yet not impossible after all, had given him leave to act as he thought fit, he pretended to be at odds with his father about putting an end to the war. [2] Then, after being scourged with rods in the Forum by his father's order and receiving other indignities, so that the affair became noised abroad, he first sent some of his most intimate friends as deserters to inform the Gabini secretly that he had resolved to betake himself to them and make war against his father, provided he should receive pledges that they would protect him as well as the rest of the Roman fugitives and not deliver him up to his father in the hope of settling their private enmities to their own advantage. [3] When the Gabini listened to this proposal gladly and agreed not to do him any wrong, he went over to them as a deserter, taking with him many of his friends and clients, and also, in order to increase their belief in the genuineness of his revolt from his father, carrying along a great deal of silver and gold. And many flocked to him afterwards from Rome, pretending to flee from the tyranny of Tarquinius, so that he now had a strong body of men about him. [4] The Gabini looked upon the large numbers who came over to them as a great accession of strength and made no doubt of reducing Rome in a short time. Their delusion was further increased by the actions of this rebellious son, who

continually made incursions into his father's territory and captured much booty; for his father, knowing beforehand what parts he would visit, took care that there should be plenty of plunder there and that the places should be unguarded, and he kept sending men to be destroyed by his son, selecting from among the citizens those whom he held in suspicion. In consequence of all this the Gabini, believing the man to be their loyal friend and an excellent general — and many of them had also been bribed by him — promoted him to the supreme command.

[56.1] After Sextus had obtained so great power by deception and trickery, he sent one of his servants to his father, without the knowledge of the Gabini, both to inform him of the power he had gained and to inquire what he should now do. [2] Tarquinius, who did not wish even the servant to learn the instructions that he sent his son, led the messenger into the garden that lay beside the palace. It happened that in this garden there were poppies growing, already full of heads and ready to be gathered; and walking among these, he kept striking and knocking off the heads of all the tallest poppies with his staff. [3] Having done this, he sent the messenger away without giving any answer to his repeated inquiries. Herein, it seems to me, he imitated the thought of Thrasybulus the Milesian. For Thrasybulus returned no verbal answer to Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, by the messenger Periander once sent him to inquire how he might most securely establish his power; but, ordering the messenger to follow him into a field of wheat and breaking off the ears that stood above the rest, he threw them upon the ground, thereby intimating that Periander ought to lop off and destroy the most illustrious of the citizens. [4] When, therefore, Tarquinius did a like thing on this occasion, Sextus understood his father's meaning and knew that he was ordering him to put to death the most eminent of the Gabini. He accordingly called an assembly of the people, and after saying a great deal about himself he told them that, having fled to them with his friends upon the assurance they had given him, he was in danger of being seized by certain persons and delivered up to his father and that he was ready to resign his power and desired to quit their city before any mischief befell him; and while saying this he wept and lamented his fate as those do who are in very truth in terror of their lives.

[57.1] When the people became incensed at this and were eagerly demanding to know who the men were who were intending to betray them, he named Antistius Petro, who not only had been the author of many excellent measures in time of peace but had also often commanded their armies and had thus become the most distinguished of all the citizens. And when this man endeavoured to clear himself and, from the consciousness of his innocence, offered to submit to any examination whatever, Sextus said he wished to send some others to search Petro's house, but that he himself would stay with him in the assembly till the persons sent should return. [2] It seems that he had bribed some of the servants of Petro to take the letters prepared for Petro's destruction and sealed with the seal of Tarquinius and to hide them in their

master's house. And when the men sent to make the search (for Petro made no objection but gave permission for his house to be searched), having discovered the letters in the place where they had been hidden, appeared in the assembly with many sealed letters, among them the one addressed to Antistius, Sextus declared he recognized his father's seal, and breaking open the letter, he gave it to the secretary and ordered him to read it. [3] The purport of the letter was that Antistius should, if possible, deliver up his son to him alive, but if he could not do this, that he should cut off his head and send it. In return for this Tarquinius said that, besides the rewards he had already promised, he would grant Roman citizenship both to him and those who had assisted him in the business, and would admit them all into the number of the patricians, and furthermore bestow on them houses, allotments of land and many other fine gifts. [4] Thereupon the Gabini became so incensed against Antistius, who was thunderstruck at this unexpected calamity and unable in his grief to utter a word, that they stoned him to death and appointed Sextus to inquire into and punish the crimes of his accomplices. Sextus committed the guarding of the gates to his own followers, lest any of the accused should escape him; and sending to the houses of the most prominent of the Gabini, he put many good men to death.

[58.1] While these things were going on and all the city was in an uproar, as was natural in consequence of so great a calamity, Tarquinius, having been informed by letter of all that was passing, marched thither with his army, approached the city about the middle of the night, and then, when the gates had been opened by those appointed for the purpose, entered with his forces and made himself master of the city without any trouble. [2] When this disaster became known, all the citizens bewailed the fate awaiting them; for they expected slaughter, enslavement and all the horrors that usually befall those captured by tyrants, and, as the best that could happen to them, had already condemned themselves to slavery, the loss of their property and like calamities. However, Tarquinius did none of the things that they were expecting and dreading even though he was harsh of temper and inexorable in punishing his enemies. [3] For he neither put any of the Gabini to death, nor banished any from the city, nor punished any of them with disfranchisement or the loss of their property; but calling an assembly of the people and changing to the part of a king from that of a tyrant, he told them that he not only restored their own city to them and allowed them to keep the property they possessed, but in addition granted to all of them the rights of Roman citizens. It was not, however, out of goodwill to the Gabini that he adopted this course, but in order to establish more securely his mastery over the Romans. For he believed that the strongest safeguard both for himself and for his family would be the loyalty of those who, contrary to their expectation, had been preserved and had recovered all their possessions. [4] And, in order that they might no longer have any fear regarding the future or any doubt of the permanence of his concessions, he ordered the terms upon which they

were to be friends to be set down in writing, and then ratified the treaty immediately in the assembly and took an oath over the victims to observe it. There is a memorial of this treaty at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, whom the Romans call Sancus; it is a wooden shield covered with the hide of the ox that was sacrificed at the time they confirmed the treaty by their oaths, and upon it are inscribed in ancient characters the terms of the treaty. After Tarquinius had thus settled matters and appointed his son Sextus king of the gabini, he led his army home. Such was the outcome of the war with the Gabini.

[59.1] After this achievement Tarquinius gave the people a respite from military expeditions and wars, and being desirous of performing the vows made by his grandfather, devoted himself to the building of the sanctuaries. For the elder Tarquinius, while he was engaged in an action during his last war with the Sabines, had made a vow to build temples to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva if he should gain the victory; and he had finished off the peak on which he proposed to erect the temples to these gods by means of retaining walls and high banks of earth, as I mentioned in the preceding Book; but he did not live long enough to complete the building of the temples. Tarquinius, therefore, proposing to erect this structure with the tenth part of the spoils taken at Suessa, set all the artisans at the work. [2] It was at this time, they say, that a wonderful prodigy appeared under ground; for when they were digging the foundations and the excavation had been carried down to a great depth, there was found the head of a man newly slain with the face like that of a living man and the blood which flowed from the severed head warm and fresh. [3] Tarquinius, seeing this prodigy, ordered the workmen to leave off digging, and assembling the native soothsayers, inquired of them what the prodigy meant. And when they could give no explanation but conceded to the Tyrrhenians the mastery of this science, he inquired of them who was the ablest soothsayer among the Tyrrhenians, and when he had found out, sent the most distinguished of the citizens to him as ambassadors.

[60.1] When these men came to the house of the soothsayer they met by chance a youth who was just coming out, and informing him that they were ambassadors sent from Rome who wanted to speak with the soothsayer, they asked him to announce them to him. The youth replied: "The man you wish to speak with is my father. He is busy at present, but in a short time you may be admitted to him. [2] And while you are waiting for him, acquaint me with the reason of your coming. For if, through inexperience, you are in danger of committing an error in phrasing your question, when you have been informed by me you will be able to avoid any mistake; for the correct for of question is not the least important part of the art of divination." The ambassadors resolved to follow his advice and related the prodigy to him. And when the youth had heard it, after a short pause he said: "Hear me, Romans. My father will interpret this prodigy to you and will tell you no untruth, since it is not right for a soothsayer to speak falsely; but, in order that you may be guilty of

no error or falsehood in what you say or in the answers you give to his questions (for it is of importance to you to know these things beforehand), be instructed by me. [3] After you have related the prodigy to him he will tell you that he does not fully understand what you say and will circumscribe with his staff some piece of ground or other; then he will say to you: 'This is the Tarpeian Hill, and this is part of it that faces the east, this the part that faces the west, this point is north and the opposite is south.' [4] These parts he will point out to you with his staff and then ask you in which of these parts the head was found. What answer, therefore, do I advise you to make? Do not admit that the prodigy was found in any of these places he shall inquire about when he points them out with his staff, but say that it appeared among you at Rome on the Tarpeian Hill. If you stick to these answers and do not allow yourselves to be misled by him, he, well knowing that fate cannot be changed, will interpret to you without concealment what the prodigy means."

[61.1] Having received these instructions, the ambassadors, as soon as the old man was at leisure and a servant came out to fetch them, went in and related the prodigy to the soothsayer. He, craftily endeavouring to mislead them, drew circular lines upon the ground and then other straight lines, and asked them with reference to each place in turn whether the head had been found there; but the ambassadors, not at all disturbed in mind, stuck to the one answer suggested to them by the soothsayer's son, always naming Rome and the Tarpeian Hill, and asked the interpreter not to appropriate the omen to himself, but to answer in the most sincere and just manner. [2] The soothsayer, accordingly, finding it impossible for him either to impose upon the men or to appropriate the omen, said to them: "Romans, tell your fellow citizens it is ordained by fate that the place in which you found the head shall be the head of all Italy." Since that time the place is called the Capitoline Hill from the head that was found there; for the Romans call heads capita. [3] Tarquinius, having heard these things from the ambassadors, set the artisans to work and built the greater part of the temple, though he was not able to complete the whole work, being driven from power too soon; but the Roman people brought it to completion in the third consulship. It stood upon a high base and was eight hundred feet in circuit, each side measuring close to two hundred feet; indeed, one would find the excess of the length over the width to be but slight, in fact not a full fifteen feet. [4] For the temple that was built in the time of our fathers after the burning of this one was erected upon the same foundations, and differed from the ancient structure in nothing but the costliness of the materials, having three rows of columns on the front, facing the south, and a single row on each side. The temple consists of three parallel shrines, separated by party walls; the middle shrine is dedicated to Jupiter, while on one side stands that of Juno and on the other that of Minerva, all three being under one pediment and one roof.

[62.1] It is said that during the reign of Tarquinius another very wonderful piece of good luck also came to the Roman state, conferred upon it by the

favour of some god or other divinity; and this good fortune was not of short duration, but throughout the whole existence of the country it has often saved it from great calamities. [2] A certain woman who was not a native of the country came to the tyrant wishing to sell him nine books filled with Sibylline oracles; but when Tarquinius refused to purchase the books at the price she asked, she went away and burned three of them. And not long afterwards, bringing the remaining six books, she offered to sell them for the same price. But when they thought her a fool and mocked at her for asking the same price for the smaller number of books that she had been unable to get for even the larger number, she again went away and burned half of those that were left; then, bringing the remaining books, she asked the same amount of money for these. [3] Tarquinius, wondering at the woman's purpose, sent for the augurs and acquainting them with the matter, asked them what he should do. These, knowing by certain signs that he had rejected a god-sent blessing, and declaring it to be a great misfortune that he had not purchased all the books, directed him to pay the woman all the money she asked and to get the oracles that were left. [4] The woman, after delivering the books and bidding him take great care of them, disappeared from among men. Tarquinius chose two men of distinction from among the citizens and appointing two public slaves to assist them, entrusted to them the guarding of the books; and when one of these men, named Marcus Atilius, seemed to have been faithless to his trust and was informed upon by one of the public slaves, he ordered him to be sewed up in a leather bag and thrown into the sea as a parricide. [5] Since the expulsion of the kings, the commonwealth, taking upon itself the guarding of these oracles, entrusts the care of them to persons of the greatest distinction, who hold this office for life, being exempt from military service and from all civil employments, and it assigns public slaves to assist them, in whose absence the others are not permitted to inspect the oracles. In short, there is no possession of the Romans, sacred or profane, which they guard so carefully as they do the Sibylline oracles. They consult them, by order of the senate, when the state is in the grip of party strife or some great misfortune has happened to them in war, or some important prodigies and apparitions have been seen which are difficult of interpretation, as has often happened. These oracles till the time of the Marsian War, as it was called, were kept underground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in a stone chest under the guard of ten men. [6] But when the temple was burned after the close of the one hundred and seventy-third Olympiad, either purposely, as some think, or by accident, these oracles together with all the offerings consecrated to the god were destroyed by the fire. Those which are now extant have been scraped together from many places, some from the cities of Italy, others from Erythrae in Asia (whither three envoys were sent by vote of the senate to copy them), and others were brought from other cities, transcribed by private persons. Some of these are found to be interpolations among the genuine Sibylline oracles, being recognized as such by means of the so-called acrostics. In all this I am

following the account given by Terentius Varro in his work on religion.

[63.1] Besides these achievements of Tarquinius both in peace and in war, he founded two colonies. One of them, called Signia, was not planned, but was due to chance, the soldiers having established their winter quarters in the place and built their camp in such a manner as not to differ in any respect from a city. But it was with deliberate purpose that he settled Circeii, because the place was advantageously situated in relation both to the Pomptine plain, which is the largest of all the plains in the Latin country, and to the sea that is contiguous to it. For it is a fairly high rock in the nature of a peninsula, situated on the Tyrrhenian Sea; and tradition has it that Circe, the daughter of the Sun, lived there. He assigned both these colonies to two of his sons as their founders, giving Circeii to Arruns and Signia to Titus; and being now no longer in any fear concerning his power, he was both driven from power and exiled because of the outrageous deed of Sextus, his eldest son, who ruined a married woman. Of this calamity that was to overtake his house, Heaven had forewarned him by numerous omens, and particularly by this final one: [2] Two eagles, coming in the spring to the garden near the palace, made their aerie on the top of a tall palm tree. While these eagles had their young as yet unfledged, a flock of vultures, flying to the aerie, destroyed it and killed the young birds; and when the eagles returned from their feeding, the vultures, tearing them and striking them with the flat of their wings, drove them from the palm tree. [3] Tarquinius, seeing these omens, took all possible precautions to avert his destiny but proved unable to conquer fate; for when the patricians set themselves against him and the people were of the same mind, he was driven from power. Who the authors of this insurrection were and by what means they came into control of affairs, I shall endeavour to relate briefly.

[64.1] Tarquinius was then laying siege to Ardea, alleging as his reason that it was receiving the Roman fugitives and assisting them in their endeavours to return home. The truth was, however, that he had designs against this city on account of its wealth, since it was the most flourishing of all the cities in Italy. But as the Ardeates bravely defended themselves and the siege was proving a lengthy one, both the Romans who were in the camp, being fatigued by the length of the war, and those at Rome, who had become exhausted by the war taxes, were ready to revolt if any occasion offered for making a beginning. [2] At this time Sextus, the eldest son of Tarquinius, being sent by his father to a city called Collatia to perform certain military services, lodged at the house of his kinsman, Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus. [3] This man is said by Fabius to have been the son of Egerius, who, as I have shown earlier, was the nephew of Tarquinius the first Roman king of that name, and having been appointed governor of Collatia, was not only himself called Collatinus from his living there, but also left the same surname to his posterity. But, for my part, I am persuaded that he too was a grandson of Egerius, inasmuch as he was of the same age as the sons of Tarquinius, as Fabius and the other

historians have recorded; for the chronology confirms me in this opinion. [4] Now it happened that Collatinus was then at the camp, but his wife, who was a Roman woman, the daughter of Lucretius, a man of distinction, entertained him, as a kinsman of her husband, with great cordiality and friendliness. This matron, who excelled all the Roman women in beauty as well as in virtue, Sextus tried to seduce; he had already long entertained this desire, whenever he visited his kinsman, and he thought he now had a favourable opportunity. [5] Going, therefore, to bed after supper, he waited a great part of the night, and then, when he thought all were asleep, he got up and came to the room where he knew Lucretia slept, and without being discovered by her slaves, who lay asleep at the door, he went into the room sword in hand.

[65.1] When he paused at the woman's bedside and she, hearing the noise, awakened and asked who it was, he told her his name and bade her be silent and remain in the room, threatening to kill her if she attempted either to escape or to cry out. Having terrified the woman in this manner, he offered her two alternatives, bidding her choose whichever she herself preferred — death with dishonour or life with happiness. [2] "For," he said, "if you will consent to gratify me, I will make you my wife, and with me you shall reign, for the present, over the city my father has given me, and, after his death, over the Romans, the Latins, the Tyrrhenians, and all the other nations he rules; for I know that I shall succeed to my father's kingdom, as is right, since I am his eldest son. But why need I inform you of the many advantages which attend royalty, all of which you shall share with me, since you are well acquainted with them?" [3] If, however, you endeavour to resist from a desire to preserve your virtue, I will kill you and then slay one of your slaves, and having laid both your bodies together, will state that I had caught you misbehaving with the slave and punished you to avenge the dishonour of my kinsman; so that your death will be attended with shame and reproach and your body will be deprived both of burial and every other customary rite." [4] And as he kept urgently repeating his threats and entreaties and swearing that he was speaking the truth as to each alternative, Lucretia, fearing the ignominy of the death he threatened, was forced to yield and to allow him to accomplish his desire.

[66.1] When it was day, Sextus, having gratified his wicked and baneful passion, returned to the camp. But Lucretia, overwhelmed with shame at what had happened, got into her carriage in all haste, dressed in black raiment under which she had a dagger concealed, and set out for Rome, without saying a word to any person who saluted her when they met or making answer to those who wished to know what had befallen her, but continued thoughtful and downcast, with her eyes full of tears. [2] When she came to her father's house, where some of his relations happened to be present, she threw herself at his feet and embracing his knees, wept for some time without uttering a word. And when he raised her up and asked her what had befallen her, she said: "I come to you as a suppliant, father, having endured terrible and

intolerable outrage, and I beg you to avenge me and not to overlook your daughter's having suffered worse things than death.” [3] When her father as well as all the others was struck with wonder at hearing this and he asked her to tell who had outraged her and in what manner, she said: “You will hear of my misfortunes very soon, father; but first grant me this favour I ask of you. Send for as many of your friends and kinsmen as you can, so that they may hear the report from me, the victim of terrible wrongs, rather than from others. And when you have learned to what shameful and dire straits I was reduced, consult with them in what manner you will avenge both me and yourself. But do not let the time between be long.”

[67.1] When, in response to his hasty and urgent summons, the most prominent men had come to his house as she desired, she began at the beginning and told them all that had happened. Then, after embracing her father and addressing many entreaties both to him and to all present and praying to the gods and other divinities to grant her a speedy departure from life, she drew the dagger she was keeping concealed under her robes, and plunging it into her breast, with a single stroke pierced her heart. [2] Upon this the women beat their breasts and filled the house with their shrieks and lamentations, but her father, enfolding her body in his arms, embraced it, and calling her by name again and again, ministered to her, as though she might recover from her wound, until in his arms, gasping and breathing out her life, she expired. This dreadful scene struck the Romans who were present with so much horror and compassion that they all cried out with one voice that they would rather die a thousand deaths in defence of their liberty than suffer such outrages to be committed by the tyrants. [3] There was among them a certain man, named Publius Valerius, a descendant of one of those Sabines who came to Rome with Tatius, and a man of action and prudence. This man was sent by them to the camp both to acquaint the husband of Lucretia with what had happened and with his aid to bring about a revolt of the army from the tyrants. [4] He was no sooner outside the gates than he chanced to meet Collatinus, who was coming to the city from the camp and knew nothing of the misfortunes that had befallen his household. And with him came Lucius Junius, surnamed Brutus, which, translated into the Greek language, would be *êlithios* or “dullard.” Concerning this man, since the Romans say that he was the prime mover in the expulsion of the tyrants, I must say a few words before continuing my account, to explain who he was and of what descent and for what reason he got his surname, which did not at all describe him.

[68.1] The father of Brutus was Marcus Junius, a descendant of one of the colonists in the company of Aeneas, and a man who for his merits was ranked among the most illustrious of the Romans; his mother was Tarquinia, a daughter of the first King Tarquinius. He himself enjoyed the best upbringing and education that his country afforded and he had a nature not averse to any noble accomplishment. [2] Tarquinius, after he had caused Tullius to be slain, put Junius' father also to death secretly, together with many other worthy

men, not for any crime, but because he was in possession of the inheritance of an ancient family enriched by the good fortune of his ancestors, the spoils of which Tarquinius coveted; and together with the father he slew the elder son, who showed indications of a noble spirit unlikely to permit the death of his father to go unavenged. Thereupon Brutus, being still a youth and entirely destitute of all assistance from his family, undertook to follow the most prudent of all courses, which was to feign a stupidity that was not his; and he continued from that time to maintain this pretence of folly from which he acquired his surname, till he thought the proper time had come to throw it off. This saved him from suffering any harm at the hands of the tyrant at a time when many good men were perishing.

[69.1] For Tarquinius, despising in him this stupidity, which was only apparent and not real, took all his inheritance from him, and allowing him a small maintenance for his daily support, kept him under his own authority, as an orphan who still stood in need of guardians, and permitted him to live with his own sons, not by way of honouring him as a kinsman, which was the pretence he made to his friends, but in order that Brutus, by saying many stupid things and by acting the part of a real fool, might amuse the lads. [2] And when he sent two of his sons, Arruns and Titus, to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the plague (for some uncommon malady had in his reign descended upon both maids and boys, and many died of it, but it fell with the greatest severity and without hope of cure upon women with child, destroying the mothers in travail together with their infants), desiring to learn from the god both the cause of this distemper and the remedy for it, he sent Brutus along with the lads, at their request, so that they might have somebody to laugh at and abuse. [3] When the youths had come to the oracle and had received answers concerning the matter upon which they were sent, they made their offerings to the god and laughed much at Brutus for offering a wooden staff to Apollo; in reality he had secretly hollowed the whole length of it like a tube and inserted a rod of gold. After this they inquired of the god which of them was destined to succeed to the sovereignty of Rome; and the god answered, "the one who should first kiss his mother." [4] The youths, therefore, not knowing the meaning of the oracle, agreed together to kiss their mother at the same time, desiring to possess the kingship jointly; but Brutus, understanding what the god meant, as soon as he landed in Italy, stooped to the earth and kissed it, looking upon that as the common mother of all mankind. Such, then, were the earlier events in the life of this man.

[70.1] On the occasion in question, when Brutus had heard Valerius relate all that had befallen Lucretia and describe her violent death, he lifted up his hands to Heaven and said: "O Jupiter and all ye gods who keep watch over the lives of men, has that time now come in expectation of which I have both keeping up this pretence in my manner of life? Has fate ordained that the Romans shall by me and through me be delivered from this intolerable tyranny?" [2] Having said this, he went in all haste to the house together with

Collatinus and Valerius. When they came in Collatinus, seeing Lucretia lying in the midst and her father embracing her, uttered a loud cry and, throwing his arms about his wife's body, kept kissing her and calling her name and talking to her as if she had been alive; for he was out of his mind by reason of his calamity. [3] While he and her father were pouring forth their lamentations in turn and the whole house was filled with wailing and mourning, Brutus, looking at them, said: "You will have countless opportunities, Lucretius, Collatinus, and all of you who are kinsmen of this woman, to bewail her fate; but now let us consider how to avenge her, for that is what the present moment calls for." [4] His advice seemed good; and sitting down by themselves and ordering the slaves and attendants to withdraw, they consulted together what they ought to do. And first Brutus began to speak about himself, telling them that what was generally believed to be his stupidity was not real, but only assumed, and informing them of the reasons which had induced him to submit to this pretence; whereupon they regarded him as the wisest of all men. Next he endeavoured to persuade them all to be of one mind in expelling both Tarquinius and his sons from Rome; and he used many alluring arguments to this end. When he found they were all of the same mind, he told them that what was needed was neither words nor promises, but deeds, if any of the needful things were to be accomplished; and he declare days that he himself would take the lead in such deeds. [5] Having said this, he took the dagger with which Lucretia had slain herself, and going to the body (for it still lay in view, a most piteous spectacle), he swore by Mars and all the other gods that he would do everything in his power to overthrow the dominion of the Tarquini and that he would neither be reconciled to the tyrants himself nor tolerate any who should be reconciled to them, but would look upon every man who thought otherwise as an enemy and till his death would pursue with unrelenting hatred both the tyranny and its abettors; and if he should violate his oath, he prayed that he and his children might meet with the same end as Lucretia.

[71.1] Having said this, he called upon all the rest also to take the same oath; and they, no longer hesitating, rose up, and receiving the dagger from one another, swore. After they had taken the oath they at once considered in what manner they should go about their undertaking. And Brutus advised them as follows: "First, let us keep the gates under guard, so that Tarquinius may have no intelligence of what is being said and done in the city against the tyranny till everything on our side is in readiness. [2] After that, let us carry the body of this woman, stained as it is with blood, into the Forum, and exposing it to the public view, call an assembly of the people. When they are assembled and we see the Forum crowded, let Lucretius and Collatinus come forward and bewail their misfortunes, after first relating everything that has happened. [3] Next, let each of the others come forward, inveigh against the tyranny, and summon the citizens to liberty. It will be what all Romans have devoutly wished if they see us, the patricians, making the first move on behalf of liberty. For they have

suffered many dreadful wrongs at the hands of the tyrant and need but slight encouragement. And when we find the people eager to overthrow the monarchy, let us give them an opportunity to vote that Tarquinius shall no longer rule over the Romans, and let us send their decree to this effect to the soldiers in the camp in all haste. [4] For when those who have arms in their hands hear that the whole city is alienated from the tyrant they will become zealous for the liberty of their country and will no longer, as hitherto, be restrained by bribes or able to bear the insolent acts of the sons and flatterers of Tarquinius.” [5] After he had spoken thus, Valerius took up the discussion and said: “In other respects you seem to me to reason well, Junius; but concerning the assembly of the people, I wish to know further who is to summon it according to law and propose the vote to the curiae. For this is the business of a magistrate and none of us holds a magistracy.” [6] To this Brutus answered: “I will, Valerius; for I am commander of the celeres and I have the power by law of calling an assembly of the people when I please. The tyrant gave me this most important magistracy in the belief that I was a fool and either would not be aware of the power attaching to it or, if I did recognize it, would not use it. And I myself will deliver the first speech against the tyrant.”

[72.1] Upon hearing this they all applauded him for beginning with an honourable and lawful principle, and they asked him to tell the rest of his plans. And he continued: “Since you have resolved to follow this course, let us further consider what magistracy shall govern the commonwealth after the expulsion of the kings, and by what man it shall be created, and, even before that, what form of government we shall establish as we get rid of the tyrant. For it is better to have considered everything before attempting so important an undertaking and to have left nothing unexamined or unconsidered. Let each one of you, accordingly, declare his opinion concerning these matters.” [2] After this many speeches were made by many different men. Some were any other the opinion that they ought to establish a monarchical government again, and they recounted the great benefits the state had received from all the former kings. Others believed that they ought no longer to entrust the government to a single ruler, and they enumerated the tyrannical excesses which many other kings and Tarquinius, last of all, had committed against their own people; but they thought they ought to make the senate supreme in all matters, according to the practice of many Greek cities. [3] And still others liked neither of these forms of government, but advised them to establish a democracy like at Athens; they pointed to the insolence and avarice of the few and to the seditions usually stirred up by the lower classes against their superiors, and they declared that for a free commonwealth the equality of the citizens was of all forms of government the safest and the most becoming.

[73.1] The choice appearing to all of them difficult and hard to decide upon by reason of the evils attendant upon each form of government, Brutus took up the discussion as the final speaker and said: “It is my opinion, Lucretius, Collatinus, and all of you here present, good men yourselves and descended

from good men, that we ought not in the present situation to establish any new form of government. For the time to which we are limited by the circumstances is short, so that it is not easy to reform the constitution of the state, and the very attempt to change it, even though we should happen to be guided by the very best counsels, is precarious and not without danger. And besides, it will be possible later, when we are rid of the tyranny, to deliberate with greater freedom and at leisure and thus choose a better form of government in place of a poorer one — if, indeed, there is any constitution better than the one which Romulus, Pompilius and all the succeeding kings instituted and handed down to us, by means of which our commonwealth has continued to be great and prosperous and to rule over many subjects. [2] But as for the evils which generally attend monarchies and because of which they degenerate into a tyrannical cruelty and are abhorred by all mankind, I advise you to correct these now and at the same time to take precautions that they shall never again occur hereafter. [3] And what are these evils? In the first place, since most people look at the names of things and, influenced by them, either admit some that are hurtful or shrink from others that are useful, of which monarchy happens to be one, I advise you to change the name of the government and no longer to call those who shall have the supreme power either kings or monarchs, but to give them a more modest and humane title. [4] In the next place, I advise you not to make one man's judgment the supreme authority over all, but to entrust the royal power to two men, as I am informed the Lacedaemonians have been doing now for many generations, in consequence of which form of government they are said to be the best governed and the most prosperous people among the Greeks. For the rulers will be less arrogant and vexatious when the power is divided between two and each has the same authority; moreover, mutual respect, the ability of each to prevent the other from living as suits his pleasure, and a rivalry between them for the attainment of a reputation for virtue would be most likely to result from such equality of power and honour.

[74.1] “And inasmuch as the insignia which have been granted to the kings are numerous, I believe that if any of these are grievous and invidious in the eyes of the multitude we ought to modify some of them and abolish others — I mean these sceptres and golden crowns, the purple and gold-embroidered robes — unless it be upon certain festal occasions and in triumphal processions, when the rulers will assume them in honour of the gods; for they will offend no one if they are seldom used. But I think we ought to leave to the men the ivory chair, in which they will sit in judgment, and also the white robe bordered with purple, together with the twelve axes to be carried before them when they appear in public. [2] There is one thing more which in my opinion will be of greater advantage than all that I have mentioned and the most effectual means of preventing those who shall receive this magistracy from committing many errors, and that is, not to permit the same persons to hold office for life (for a magistracy unlimited in time and not obliged to give

any account of its actions is grievous to all and productive of tyranny), but to limit the power of the magistracy to a year, as the Athenians do. [3] For this principle, by which the same person both rules and is ruled in turn and surrenders his authority before his mind has been corrupted, restrains arrogant dispositions and does not permit men's natures to grow intoxicated with power. If we establish these regulations we should be able to enjoy all the benefits that flow from monarchy and at the same time to be rid of the evils that attend it. [4] But to the end that the name, too, of the kingly power, which is traditional with us and made its way into our commonwealth with favourable auguries that manifested the approbation of the gods, may be preserved for form's sake, let there always be appointed a king of sacred rites, who shall enjoy the honour for life exempt from all military and civil duties and, like the "king" at Athens, exercising this single function, the superintendence of the sacrifices, and no other.

[75.1] "In what manner each of these measures shall be effected I will now tell you. I will summon the assembly, as I said, since this power is accorded me by law, and will propose this resolution: That Tarquinius be banished with his wife and children, and that they and their posterity as well be forever debarred both from the city and from the Roman territory. After the citizens have passed this vote I will explain to them the form of government we propose to establish; next, I will choose an interrex to appoint the magistrates who are to take over the administration of public affairs, and I will then resign the command of the *celerēs*. [2] Let the interrex appointed by me call together the centuriate assembly, and having nominated the persons who are to hold the annual magistracy, let him permit the citizens to vote upon them; and if the majority of the centuries are in favour of ratifying his choice of men and the auguries concerning them are favourable, let these men assume the axes and the other insignia of royalty and see to it that our country shall enjoy its liberty and that the Tarquinii shall nevermore return. For they will endeavour, be assured, by persuasion, violence, fraud and every other means to get back into power unless we are upon our guard against them.

[3] "These are the most important and essential measures that I have to propose to you at present and to advise you to adopt. As for the details, which are many and not easy to examine with precision at the present time (for we are brought to an acute crisis), I think we leave them to the men themselves who are to take over the magistracy. [4] But I do say that these magistrates ought to consult with the senate in everything, as the kings formerly did, and to do nothing without your advice, and that they ought to lay before the people the decrees of the senate, according to the practice of our ancestors, depriving them of none of the privileges which they possessed in earlier times. For thus their magistracy will be most secure and most excellent."

[76] After Junius Brutus had delivered this opinion they all approved it, and straightway consulting about the persons who were to take over the magistracies, they decided that Spurius Lucretius, the father of the woman

who had killed herself, will be appointed interrex, and that Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus should be nominated by him to exercise the power of the kings. [2] And they ordered that these magistrates should be called in their language consules; this, translated into the Greek language, may signify symbouloi (“counsellors”) or probouloi (“pre-counsellors”), for the Romans call our symboulai (“counsels”) consilia. But in the course of time they came to be called by the Greeks hypatoi (“supreme”) from the greatness of their power, because they command all the citizens and have the highest rank; for the ancients called that which was outstanding and superlative hypaton.

[3] Having discussed and settled these matters, they besought the gods to assist them in the pursuit of their holy and just aims, and then went to the Forum. They were followed by their slaves, who carried upon a bier spread with black cloth the body of Lucretia, unprepared for burial and stained with blood; and directing them to place it in a high and conspicuous position before the senate-house, they called an assembly of the people. [4] When a crowd had gathered, not only of those who were in the Forum at the time but also of those who came from all parts of the city (for the heralds had gone through all the streets to summon the people thither), Brutus ascended the tribunal from which it was the custom for those who assembled the people to address them, and having placed the patricians near them, spoke as follows:

[77.1] “Citizens, as I am going to speak to you upon urgent matters of general interest, I desire first to say a few words about myself. For by some, perhaps, or more accurately, as I know, by many of you, I shall be thought to be disordered in my intellect when I, a man of unsound mind, attempt to speak upon matters of the greatest importance — a man who, as being not mentally sound, has need of guardians. [2] Know, then, that the general opinion you all entertained of me as of a fool was false and contrived by me and by me alone. That which compelled me to live, not as my nature demanded or as beseemed me, but as was agreeable to Tarquinius and seemed likely to be to my own advantage, was the fear I felt for my life. [3] For my father was put to death by Tarquinius upon his accession to the sovereignty, in order that he might possess himself of his property, which was very considerable, and my elder brother, who would have avenged his father’s death if he had not been put out of the way, was secretly murdered by the tyrant; nor was it clear that he would spare me, either, now left destitute of my nearest relations, if I had not pretended a folly that was not genuine. [4] This fiction, finding credit with the tyrant, saved me from the same treatment that they had experienced and has preserved me to this day; but since the time has come at last which I have prayed for and looked forward to, I am now laying it aside for the first time, after maintaining it for twenty-five years. So much concerning myself.

[78] “The state of public affairs, because of which I have called you together, is this: Inasmuch as Tarquinius neither obtained the sovereignty in accordance with our ancestral customs and laws, nor, since he obtained it —

in whatever manner he got it — has he been exercising it in an honourable or kingly manner, but has surpassed in insolence and lawlessness all the tyrants the world ever saw, we patricians met together and resolved to deprive him of his power, a thing we ought to have done long ago, but are doing now when a favourable opportunity has offered. And we have called you together, plebeians, in order to declare our own decision and then ask for your assistance in achieving liberty for our country, a blessing which we might have hitherto been able to enjoy since Tarquinius obtained the sovereignty, nor shall hereafter be able to enjoy if we show weakness now. [2] Had I as much time as I could wish, or were I about to speak to men unacquainted with the facts, I should have enumerated all the lawless deeds of the tyrant for which he deserves to die, not once, but many times, at the hands of all. But since the time permitted me by the circumstances is short, and in this brief time there is little that needs to be said but much to be done, and since I am speaking to those who are acquainted with the facts, I shall remind you merely of those of his deeds that are the most heinous and the most conspicuous and do not admit of any excuse.

[79.1] “This is that Tarquinius, citizens, who, before he took over the sovereignty, destroyed his own brother Arruns by poison because he would not consent to become wicked, in which abominable crime he was assisted by his brother’s wife, the sister of his own wife, whom this enemy of the gods had even long before debauched. [2] This is the man who on the same days and with the same poisons killed his wedded wife, a virtuous woman who had also been the mother of children by him, and did not even deign to clear himself of the blame for both of these poisonings and make it appear that they were not his work, by assuming a mourning garb and some slight pretence of grief; nay, close upon the heels of his committing those monstrous deeds and before the funeral-pyre which had received those miserable bodies had died away, he gave a banquet to his friends, celebrated his nuptials, and led the murderess of her husband as a bride to the bed of her sister, thus fulfilling the abominable contract he had made with her and being the first and the only man who ever introduced into the city of Rome such impious and execrable crimes unknown to any nation in the world, either Greek or barbarian. [3] And how infamous and dreadful, plebeians, were the crimes he committed against both his parents-in-law when they were already in the sunset of their lives! Servius Tullius, the most excellent of your kings and your greatest benefactor, he openly murdered and would not permit his body to be honoured with either the funeral or the burial that were customary; [4] and Tarquinia, the wife of Tullius, whom, as she was the sister of his father and had always shown great kindness to him, it was fitting that he should honour as a mother, he destroyed, unhappy woman, by the noose, without allowing her time to mourn her husband under the sod and to perform the customary sacrifices for him. Thus he treated those by whom he had been preserved, by whom he had been reared, and whom after their death he was to have succeeded if he had waited

but a short time till death came to them in the course of nature.

[80.1] “But why do I censure these crimes committed against his relations and his kin by marriage when, apart from them, I have so many other unlawful acts of which to accuse him, which he has committed against his country and against us all — if, indeed, they ought to be called merely unlawful acts and not rather the subversion and extinction of all that is sanctioned by our laws and customs? Take, for instance, the sovereignty — to begin with that. How did he obtain it? Did he follow the example of the former kings? Far from it! [2] The others were all advanced to the sovereignty by you according to our ancestral customs and laws, first, by a decree of the senate, which body has been given the right to deliberate first concerning all public affairs; next, by the appointment of interreges, whom the senate entrusts with the selection of the most suitable man from among those who are worthy of the sovereignty; after that, by a vote of the people in the comitia, by which vote the law requires that all matters of the greatest moment shall be ratified; and, last of all, by the approbation of the auguries, sacrificial victims and other signs, without which human diligence and foresight would be of no avail. [3] Well, then, which of these things does any one of you know to have been done when Tarquinius was obtaining the sovereignty? What preliminary decree of the senate was there? What decision on the part of the interreges? What vote of the people? What favourable auguries? I do not ask whether all these formalities were observed, though it was necessary, if all was to be well, that nothing founded either in custom or in law should have been omitted; but if it can be shown that any one of them was observed, I am content not to quibble about those that were omitted. How, then, did he come to the sovereignty? By arms, by violence, and by the conspiracies of wicked men, according to the custom of tyrants, in spite of your disapproval and indignation. [4] Well, but after he had obtained the sovereignty — in whatever manner he got it — did he use it in a fashion becoming a king, in imitation of his predecessors, whose words and actions were invariably such that they handed down the city to their successors more prosperous and greater than they themselves had received it? When man in his senses could say so, when he sees to what a pitiable and wretched state we all have been brought by him?

[81.1] “I shall say nothing of the calamities we who are patricians have suffered, of which no one even of our enemies could hear without tears, since we are left but few out of many, have been brought low from having been exalted, and have come to poverty and dire want after being stripped of many enviable possessions. Of all those illustrious men, those great and able leaders because of whom our city was once distinguished, some have been put to death and others banished. [2] But what is your condition, plebeians? Has not Tarquinius taken away your laws? Has he not abolished your assemblages for the performance of religious rites and sacrifices? Has he not put an end to your electing of magistrates, to your voting, and to your meeting in assembly

to discuss public affairs? Does he not force you, like slaves purchased with money, to endure shameful hardships in quarrying stone, hewing timber, carrying burdens, and wasting your strength in deep pits and caverns, without allowing you the least respite from your miseries? ^[3] What, then, will be the limit of our calamities? And when shall we recover the liberty our fathers enjoyed? When Tarquinius dies? To be sure! And how shall we be in a better condition then? Why should it not be a worse? For we shall have three Tarquinius sprung from the one, all far more abominable than their sire. ^[4] For when one who from a private station has become a tyrant and has begun late to be wicked, is an expert in all tyrannical mischief, what kind of men may we expect those to be who are sprung from him, whose parentage has been depraved, whose nurture has been depraved, and who never had an opportunity of seeing or hearing of anything done with the moderation befitting free citizens? In order, therefore, that you may not merely guess at their accursed natures, but may know with certainty what kind of whelps the tyranny of Tarquinius is secretly rearing up for your destruction, behold the deed of one of them, the eldest of the three.

[82.1] "This woman is the daughter of Spurius Lucretius, whom the tyrant, when he went to the war, appointed prefect of the city, and the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, a kinsman of the tyrant who has undergone many hardships for their sake. Yet this woman, who desired to preserve her virtue and loved her husband as becomes a good wife, could not, when Sextus was entertained last night at her house as a kinsman and Collatinus was absent at the time in camp, escape the unbridled insolence of tyranny, but like a captive constrained by necessity, had to submit to indignities that it is not right any woman of free condition should suffer. [2] Resenting this treatment and looking upon the outrage as intolerable, she related to her father and the rest of her kinsmen the straits to which she had been reduced, and after earnestly entreating and adjuring them to avenge the wrongs she had suffered, she drew out the dagger she had concealed under the folds of her dress and before her father's very eyes, plebeians, plunged the steel into her vitals. [3] O admirable woman and worthy of great praise for your noble resolution! You are gone, you are dead, being unable to hear the tyrant's insolence and despising all the pleasures of life in order to avoid suffering any such indignity again. After this example, Lucretia, when you, who were given a woman's nature, have shown the resolution of a brave man, shall we, who were born men, show ourselves inferior to women in courage? To you, because you had been deprived by force of your spotless chastity by submission to a tyrant during one night, death appeared sweeter and more blessed than life; and shall not the same feelings sway us, whom Tarquinius, by a tyranny, and of one day only, but of twenty-five years, has deprived of all the pleasures of life in depriving us of our liberty? [4] Life is intolerable to us, plebeians, while we wallow amid such wretchedness — to us who are the descendants of those men who thought themselves worthy to give laws to others and exposed themselves to many dangers for the sake of power and fame. Nay, but we must all choose one of two things — life with liberty or death with glory. [5] An opportunity has come such as we have been praying for. Tarquinius is absent from the city, the patricians are the leaders of the enterprise, and naught will be lacking to us if we enter upon the undertaking with zeal — neither men, money, arms, generals, nor any other equipment of warfare, for the city is full of all these; and it would be disgraceful if we, who aspire to rule the Volscians, the Sabines and countless other peoples, should ourselves submit to be slaves of others, and should undertake many wars to gratify the ambition of Tarquinius but not one to recover our own liberty.

[83.1] "What resources, therefore, what assistance shall we have for our undertaking? For this remains to be discussed. First there are the hopes we place in the gods, whose rites, temples and altars Tarquinius pollutes with hands stained with blood and defiled with every kind of crime against his own people every time he begins the sacrifices and libations. Next, there are the hopes that we place in ourselves, who are neither few in number nor unskilled in war. Besides these advantages there are the forces of our allies, who, so

long as they are not called upon by us, will not presume to busy themselves with our affairs, but if they see us acting the part of brave men, will gladly assist us in the war; for tyranny is odious to all who desire to be free. [2] But if any of you are afraid that the citizens who are in the camp with Tarquinius will assist him and make war upon us, their fears are groundless. For the tyranny is grievous to them also and the desire of liberty is implanted by Nature in the minds of all men, and every excuse for a change is sufficient for those who are compelled to bear hardships; and if you by your votes order them to come to the aid of their country, neither fear nor favour, nor any of the other motives that compel or persuade men to commit injustice, will keep them with the tyrants. [3] But if by reason of an evil nature or a bad upbringing the love of tyranny is, after all, rooted in some of them — though surely there are not many such — we will bring strong compulsion to bear upon these men too, so that they will become good citizens instead of bad. For we have, as hostages for them in the city, their children, wives and parents, who are dearer to every man than his own life. By promising to restore these to them if they will desert the tyrants, and by passing a vote of amnesty for the mistakes they have made, we shall easily prevail upon them to join us. [4] Advance to the struggle, therefore, plebeians, with confidence and with good hopes for the future; for this war which you are about to undertake is the most glorious of all the wars you have ever waged. Ye gods of our ancestors, kindly guardians of this land, and ye other divinities, to whom the care of our fathers was allotted, and thou City, dearest to the gods of all cities, the city in which we received our birth and nurture, we shall defend you with our counsels, our words, our hands and our lives, and we are ready to suffer everything that Heaven and Fate shall bring. [5] And I predict that our glorious endeavours will be crowned with success. May all here present, emboldened by the same confidence and united in the same sentiments, both preserve us and be preserved by us!”

[84.1] While Brutus was thus addressing the people everything he said was received by them with continual acclamations signifying both their approval and their encouragement. Most of them even wept with pleasure at hearing these wonderful and unexpected words, and various emotions, in no wise resembling one another, affected the mind of each of his hearers. For pain was mingled with pleasure, the former arising from the terrible experiences that were past and the latter from the blessings that were anticipated; and anger went hand in hand with fear, the former encouraging them to despise their own safety in order to injure the objects of their hatred, while the latter, occasioned by the thought of the difficulty of overthrowing the tyranny, inspired them with reluctance toward the enterprise. [2] But when he had done speaking, they all cried out, as from a single mouth, to lead them to arms. Then Brutus, pleased at this, said: “On this condition, that you first hear the resolution of the senate and confirm it. For we have resolved that the Tarquini and all their posterity shall be banished both from the city of Rome and from

all the territory ruled by the Romans; that no one shall be permitted to say or do anything about their restoration; and that if anyone shall be found to be working contrary to these decisions he shall be put to death. [3] If it is your pleasure that this resolution be confirmed, divide yourselves into your curiae and give your votes; and let the enjoyment of this right be the beginning of your liberty.” This was done; and all the curiae having given their votes for the banishment of the tyrants, Brutus again came forward and said: “Now that our first measures have been confirmed in the manner required, hear also what we have further resolved concerning the form of our government. [4] It was our decision, upon considering what magistracy should be in control of affairs, not to establish the kingship again, but to appoint two annual magistrates to hold the royal power, these men to be whomever you yourselves shall choose in the comitia, voting by centuries. If, therefore, this also is your pleasure, give your votes to that effect.” The people approved of this resolution likewise, not a single vote being given against it. [5] After that, Brutus, coming forward, appointed Spurius Lucretius as interrex to preside over the comitia for the election of magistrates, according to ancestral custom. And he, dismissing the assembly, ordered all the people to go promptly in arms to the field where it was their custom to elect their magistrates. When they were come thither, he chose two men to perform the functions which had belonged to the kings — Brutus and Collatinus; and the people, being called by centuries, confirmed their appointment. Such were the measures taken in the city at that time.

[85.1] As soon as King Tarquinius heard by the first messengers who had found means to escape from the city before the gates were shut that Brutus was holding the assembled people enthralled, haranguing them and summoning the citizens to liberty, which was all the information they could give him, he took with him his sons and the most trustworthy of his friends, and without communicating his design to any others, rode at full gallop in hopes of forestalling the revolt. But finding the gates shut and the battlements full of armed men, he returned to the camp as speedily as possible, bewailing and complaining of his misfortune. [2] But his cause there also was now lost. For the consuls, foreseeing that he would quickly come to the city, had sent letters by other roads to those in the camp, in which they exhorted them to revolt from the tyrant and acquainted them with the resolutions passed by those in the city. [3] Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius, who had been left by the king to command in his absence, having received these letters, read them in an assembly of the soldiers; and asking them by their centuries what they thought should be done, when it was their unanimous opinion to regard the decisions reached by those in the city as valid, they no longer would admit Tarquinius when he returned. [4] After the king found himself disappointed of this hope also, he fled with a few companions to the city of Gabii, over which, as I said before, he had appointed Sextus, the eldest of his sons, to be king. He was now grown grey with age and had reigned twenty-five years. In the meantime Herminius and Horatius, having made a truce with the Ardeates for

fifteen years, led their forces home.

BOOK V

[1.1] The Roman monarchy, therefore, after having continued for the space of two hundred and forty-four years from the founding of Rome and having under the last king become a tyranny, was overthrown for the reasons stated and by the men named, at the beginning of the sixty-eighth Olympiad (the one in which Ischomachus of Croton won the foot-race), Isagoras being the annual archon at Athens. [2] An aristocracy being now established, while there still remained about four months to complete that year, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls invested with the royal power; the Romans, as I have said, call them in their own language consules or "counsellors." These men, associating with themselves many others, now that the soldiers from the camp had come to the city after the truce they had made with the Ardeates, called an assembly of the people a few days after the expulsion of the tyrant, and having spoken at length upon the advantages of harmony, again caused them to pass another vote confirming everything which those in the city had previously voted when condemning the Tarquini to perpetual banishment. [3] After this they performed rites of purification for the city and entered into a solemn covenant; and they themselves, standing over the parts of the victims, first swore, and then prevailed upon the rest of the citizens likewise to swear, that they would never restore from exile King Tarquinius or his sons or their posterity, and that they would never again make anyone king of Rome or permit others who wished to do so; and this oath they took not only for themselves, but also for their children and their posterity. [4] However, since it appeared that the kings had been the authors of many great advantages to the commonwealth, they desired to preserve the name of that office for as long a time as the city should endure, and accordingly they ordered the pontiffs and augurs to choose from among them the older men the most suitable one for the office, who should have the superintendence of religious observances and of naught else, being exempt from all military and civil duties, and should be called the king of sacred rites. The first person appointed to this office was Manius Papirius, one of the patricians, who was a lover of peace and quiet.

[2.1] After the consuls had settled these matters, fearing, as I suspect, that the masses might gain a false impression of their new form of government and imagine that two kings had become masters of the state instead of one, since each of the consuls had the twelve axes, like the kings, they resolved to quiet the fears of the citizens and to lessen the hatred of their power by ordering that one of the consuls should be preceded by the twelve axes and the other by twelve lictors with rods only, or, as some relate, with clubs also, and that they should receive the axes in rotation, each consul possessing them in turn one month. [2] By this and not a few other measures of like nature they caused the plebeians and the lower class to be eager for a continuance of the existing

order. For they restored the laws introduced by Tullius concerning contracts, which seemed to be humane and democratic, but had all been abrogated by Tarquinius; and they restored to the people the right of holding assemblies concerning affairs of the greatest moment, of giving their votes, and of doing all the other things they had been wont to do according to former custom. [3] These acts of the consuls pleased the masses, who had come out of long slavery into unexpected liberty; nevertheless, there were found among them some, and these no obscure persons, who from either simplicity or greed longed for the evils existing under a tyranny, and these formed a conspiracy to betray the city, agreeing together, not only to restore Tarquinius, but also to kill the consuls. Who the heads of this conspiracy and by what unexpected good fortune they were detected, though they imagined they had escaped the notice of everybody, shall now be related, after I have first gone back and mentioned a few things that happened earlier.

[3.1] Tarquinius, after being driven from the throne, remained a short time in the city of Gabii, both to receive such as came to him from Rome, to whom tyranny was a more desirable thing than liberty, and to await the event of the hopes he placed in the Latins of being restored to the sovereignty by their aid. But when their cities paid no heed to him and were unwilling to make war upon the Roman state on his account, he despaired of any assistance from them and took refuge in Tarquinii, a Tyrrhenian city, from whence his family on his mother's side had originally come. [2] And having bribed the magistrates of the Tarquinienses with gifts and been brought by them before the assembly of the people, he renewed the ties of kinship which existed between him and their city, recounted the favours his grandfather had conferred on all the Tyrrhenian cities, and reminded them of the treaties they had made with him. After all this, he lamented the calamities which had overtaken him, showing how, after having fallen in one day from the height of felicity, he had been compelled, as a wanderer in want of the necessities of life, to fly for refuge, together with his three sons, to those who had once been his subjects. [3] Having thus recounted his misfortunes with many lamentations and tears, he prevailed upon the people, first of all to send ambassadors to Rome to possess terms of accommodation on his behalf, assuring them that the men in power there were working in his interest and would aid in his restoration. Ambassadors, of his own selection, having then been appointed, he instructed them in everything they were to say and do; and giving them letters from the exiles who were with him, containing entreaties to their relations and friends, he gave them some gold also and sent them on their way.

[4.1] When these men arrived in Rome, they said in the senate that Tarquinius desired leave to come there under a safe-conduct, together with a small retinue, and to address himself, first to the senate, as was right and proper, and after that, if he received permission from the senate, to the assembly of the people also, and there give an account of all his actions from

the time of his accession to the sovereignty, and if anyone accused him, to submit himself to the judgment of all the Romans. [2] And after he had made his defence and convinced them all that he had done nothing worthy of banishment, he would then, if they gave him the sovereignty again, reign upon such conditions as the citizens should determine; or, if they preferred no longer to live under a monarchy, as formerly, but to establish some other form of government, he would remain in Rome, which was his native city, and enjoying his private property, would live on an equality with all the others, and thus have done with exile and a life of wandering. [3] Having stated their case, the ambassadors begged of the senate that they would preferably, on the principle of the right, recognized by all men, that no one should be deprived of the opportunity of defending himself and of being tried, grant him leave to make his defence, of which the Romans themselves would be the judges; but if they were unwilling to grant this favour to him, then they asked them to act with moderation out of regard for the city that interceded on his behalf, by granting her a favour from which they would suffer no harm themselves and yet would be looked upon as conferring great honour upon the city that received it. And they asked them, as being men, not to think thoughts too lofty for human nature or to harbour undying resentment in mortal bodies, but to consent to perform an act of clemency even contrary to their inclination, for the sake of those who entreated them, bearing in mind that it is the part of wise men to waive their enmities in the interest of their friendships and the part of stupid men and barbarians to destroy their friends together with their enemies.

[5.1] After they had done speaking, Brutus rose up and said: "Concerning a return of the Tarquinii to this city, Tyrrenians, say no more. For a vote has already been passed condemning them to perpetual banishment, and we have all sworn by the gods neither to restore the tyrants ourselves nor to permit others to restore them. But if you desire anything else of us that is reasonable which were not prevented from doing by the laws or by our oaths, declare it." Thereupon the ambassadors came forward and said: [2] "Our first efforts have not turned out as we expected. For, though we have come as ambassadors on behalf of a suppliant who desires to give you an account of his actions, and though we ask as a private favour the right that is common to all men, we have not been able to obtain it. Since, then, this is your decision, we plead no longer for the return of the Tarquinii, but we do call upon you to perform an act of justice of another kind, concerning which our country has given us instructions — and there is neither law nor oath to hinder you from doing it — namely, to restore to the king the property formerly possessed by his grandfather, who however got anything of yours either by force or by fraud, but inherited his wealth from his father and brought it to you. For it is enough for him to recover what belongs to him and to live happily in some other place, without causing you any annoyance."

[3] After the ambassadors had said this, they withdrew. Of the two consuls,

Brutus advised retaining the fortunes of the tyrants, both as a penalty for the injuries they had done to the commonwealth, which were many and great, and for the advantage that would result from depriving them of these resources for war; for he showed that the Tarquinius would not be contented with the recovery of their possessions nor submit to leading a private life, but would bring a foreign war upon the Romans and attempt by force to get back into power. [4] But Collatinus advised the contrary, saying that it was not the possessions of the tyrants, but the tyrants themselves, that had injured the commonwealth, and he asked them to guard against two things: first, not to incur the bad opinion of the world as having driven the Tarquinius from power for the sake of their riches, and, secondly, not to give the tyrants themselves a just cause for war as having been deprived of their private property. For it was uncertain, he said, whether, if they got back their possessions, they would any longer attempt to make war upon them in order to secure their return from exile, but it was perfectly clear, on the other hand, that they would not consent to keep the peace if they were deprived of their property.

[6.1] As the consuls expressed these opinions and many spoke in favour of each, the senate was at a loss what to do and spent many days in considering the matter; for while the opinion of Brutus seemed more expedient, the course urged by Collatinus was more just. At last they determined to make the people the judges between expediency and justice. [2] After much had been said by each of the consuls, the curiae, which were thirty in number, upon being called to give their votes, inclined to one side by so small a margin that the curiae in favour of restoring the possessions outnumbered by only one those that were for retaining them. The Tyrrhenians, having received their answer from the consuls and given great praise to the commonwealth for having preferred justice to expediency, wrote to Tarquinius to send some persons to receive his possessions, while they themselves remained in the city, pretending to be employed in collecting his furniture and disposing of the effects that could not be driven or carried away, whereas in reality they were stirring up trouble in the city and carrying on intrigues, pursuant to the instructions the tyrant had sent them. [3] For they employed themselves in delivering letters from the exiles to their friends in the city and in receiving others from these for the exiles; and engaging in conversation with many of the citizens and sounding their sentiments, if they found any easy to be ensnared through the feebleness of conviction, lack of means, or a longing for the advantages they had enjoyed under the tyranny, they endeavoured to corrupt them by holding out fair hopes and giving them money. [4] And in a large and populous city there were sure to be found, as we may suppose, some who would prefer a worse to a better form of government, and that not only among the obscure, but even among the men of distinction. Of this number were the two Junii, Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Brutus the consul, then just coming to manhood, and with them the two Vitellii, Marcus and Manius, brothers of the wife of Brutus, men capable of administering public affairs,

and also the Aquilii, Lucius and Marcus, sons of the sister of Collatinus, the other consul, of the same age with the sons of Brutus. It was at the house of the Aquilii, whose father was no longer living, that the conspirators generally held their meetings and laid their plans for bringing back the tyrants.

[7.1] Not only from many other circumstances has it seemed to me to be due to the providence of the gods that the affairs of the Romans have come to such a flourishing condition, but particularly by what happened upon this occasion. For so great a folly and infatuation possessed those unfortunate youths that they consented to write letters to the tyrant in their own hand, informing him not only of the number of their accomplices, but also of the time when they proposed to make the attack upon the consuls. They had been persuaded to do so by the letters that came to them from the tyrant, in which he desired to know beforehand the names of the Romans whom he ought to reward after he had regained the sovereignty. [2] The consuls got possession of these letters by the following chance. The principal conspirators used to hold night sessions at the house of the Aquilii, the sons of the sister of Collatinus, being invited there ostensibly for some religious rites and a sacrifice. After the banquet they first ordered the servants to go out of the room and to withdraw from before the door of the men's apartment, and then proceeded to discuss together the means of restoring the tyrants and to set down in the letters in their own handwriting the decisions arrived at; these letters the Aquilii were to deliver to the Tyrrhenian ambassadors, and they in turn to Tarquinius. [3] In the mean time one of the servants, who was their cup-bearer and a captive taken at Caenina, Vindicius by name, suspecting, from their ordering the servants to withdraw, that they were plotting some mischief, remained alone outside the door, and not only heard their conversation, but, by applying his eye to a crevice of the door that afforded a glimpse inside, saw the letters they were all writing. [4] And setting out from the house while it was still the dead of night, as if he had been sent by his masters upon some business, he hesitated to go to the consuls, lest, in their desire to keep the matter quiet out of goodwill for their kinsmen, they might do away with the one who gave information of the conspiracy, but went to Publius Valerius, one of the four who had taken the lead in overthrowing the tyranny; and when this man had given him assurance of his safety by offering his hand and swearing oaths, he informed him of all that he had both heard and seen. [5] Valerius, upon hearing this story, made no delay, but went to the house of the Aquilii about daybreak, attended by a large number of clients and friends; and getting inside the door without hindrance, as having come upon some other business, while the lads were still there, he got possession of the letters, and seizing the youths, took them before the consuls.

[8.1] I am afraid that the subsequent noble and astonishing behaviour of Brutus, one of the consuls, which I am now to relate and in which the Romans take the greatest pride, may appear cruel and incredible to the Greeks, since it is natural for all men to judge by their own experience whatever is said of

others, and to determine what is credible and incredible with reference to themselves. Nevertheless, I shall relate it. [2] As soon, then, as it was day, Brutus seated himself upon the tribunal and examined the letters of the conspirators; and when he found those written by his sons, each of which he recognized by the seals, and, after he had broken the seals, by the handwriting, he first ordered both letters to be read by the secretary in the hearing of all who were present, and then commanded his sons to speak if they had anything to say. [3] But when neither of them dared resort to shameless denial, but both wept, having long since convicted themselves, Brutus, after a short pause, rose up and commanding silence, while everyone was waiting to learn what sentence he would pronounce, said he condemned his sons to death. Whereupon they all cried out, indignant that such a man should be punished by the death of his sons, and they wished to spare the lives of the youths as a favour to their father. [4] But he, paying no heed to either their cries or their lamentations, ordered the lictors to lead the youths away, though they wept and begged and called upon him in the most tender terms. Even this seemed astonishing to everybody, that he did not yield at all to either the entreaties of the citizens or the laments of his sons; but much more astonishing still was his relentlessness with regard to their punishment. [5] For he neither permitted his sons to be led away to any other place and put to death out of sight of the public, nor did he himself, in order to avoid the dreadful spectacle, withdraw from the Forum till after they had been punished; nor did he allow them to undergo the doom pronounced against them without ignominy, but he caused every detail of the punishment established by the laws and customs against malefactors to be observed, and only after they had been scourged in the Forum in the sight of all the citizens, he himself being present when all this was done, did he then allow their heads to be cut off with the axes. [6] But the most extraordinary and the most astonishing part of his behaviour was that he did not once avert his gaze nor shed a tear, and while all the rest who were present at this sad spectacle wept, he was the only person who was observed not to lament the fate of his sons, nor to pity himself for the desolation that was coming upon his house, nor to betray any other signs of weakness, but without a tear, without a groan, without once shifting his gaze, he bore his calamity with a stout heart. So strong of will was he, so steadfast in carrying out the sentence, and so completely the master of all the passions that disturb the reason.

[9.1] After he had caused his sons to be put to death, he at once summoned the nephews of his colleague, the Aquilii, at whose house the meetings of the conspirators against the state had been held; and ordering the secretary to read out their letters, that all present might hear them, he told them they might make their defence. When the youths were brought before the tribunal, either acting on the suggestion of one of their friends or having agreed upon it themselves, they threw themselves at the feet of their uncle in hopes of being saved by him. [2] And when Brutus ordered the lictors to drag them away and

lead them off to death, unless they wished to make a defence, Collatinus, ordering the lictors to forbear a little while till he had talked with his colleague, took him aside and earnestly entreated him to spare the lads, now excusing them on the ground that through the ignorance of their youth and evil associations with friends they had fallen into this madness, and again begging him to grant him as a favour the lives of his kinsmen, the only favour he asked of him and the only trouble he should ever give him, and still again showing him that there was danger that the whole city would be thrown into an uproar if they attempted to punish with death all who were believed to have been working with the exiles for their return, since there were many such and some of them were of no obscure families. [3] But being unable to persuade him, he at last asked him not to condemn them to death, but to impose a moderate punishment on them, declaring that it was absurd, after punishing the tyrants with banishment only, to punish the friends of the tyrants with death. And when Brutus opposed even the equitable punishment that he suggested and was unwilling even to put off the trials of the accused (for this was the last request his colleague made), but threatened and swore he would put them all to death that very day, Collatinus, distressed at obtaining naught that he was asking, exclaimed: "Well then, since you are boorish and harsh, I, who possess the same authority as you, set the lads free." And Brutus, exasperated, replied: "Not while I am alive, Collatinus, shall you be able to free those who are traitors to their country. Nay, but you too shall pay the fitting penalty, and that right soon."

[10] Having said this and stationed a guard over the lads, he called an assembly of the people, and when the Forum was filled with a crowd (for the fate of his sons had been noised abroad through the whole city), he came forward and placing the most distinguished members of the senate near him, spoke as follows: [2] "I could wish, citizens, that Collatinus, my colleague here, held the same sentiments as I do in everything and that he showed his hatred and enmity towards the tyrants, not by his words only, but by his actions as well. But since it had become clear to me that his sentiments are the opposite of my own and since he is related to the Tarquinius, not alone by blood, but also by inclination, both working for a reconciliation with them and considering his private advantage instead of the public good, I have not only made my own preparations to prevent him from carrying out the mischievous designs he has in mind, but I have also summoned you for this same purpose. I shall inform you, first, of the dangers to which the commonwealth has been exposed and then in what manner each of us has dealt with those dangers. [3] Some of the citizens, assembling at the house of the Aquilii, who are sons of the sister of Collatinus, among them my two sons and the brothers of my wife, and some others with them, no obscure men, entered into an agreement and conspiracy to kill me and restore Tarquinius to the sovereignty. And having written letters concerning these matters in their own handwriting and sealed them with their own seals, they were intending to send them to the exiles. [4]

These things, by the favour of some god, have become known to us through information given by this man — he is a slave belonging to the Aquilii, at whose house they held a session last night and wrote the letters — and the letters themselves have come into our possession. As for Titus and Tiberius, my own sons, I have punished them, and neither the law nor our oath has in any degree been violated through clemency on my part. But Collatinus is trying to take the Aquilii out of my hands and declares that, even though they have taken part in the same counsels as my sons, he will not allow them to meet with the same punishment. [5] But if these are not to suffer any penalty, then it will be impossible for me to punish either the brothers of my wife or the other traitors to their country. For what just charge shall I be able to bring against them if I let these off? Of what, then, do you think these actions of his are indications? Of loyalty to the commonwealth, or of a reconciliation with the tyrants? Of a confirmation of the oaths which you, following us, all took, or of a violation of those oaths, yes, of perjury? [6] And if he had escaped discovery by us, he would have been subject to the curses we then invoked and he would have paid the penalty to the gods by whom he had sworn falsely; but since he has been found out, it is fitting that he should be punished by us — this man who but a few days ago persuaded you to restore their possessions to the tyrants, to the end that the commonwealth might not make use of them in the war against our enemies, but that our enemies might use them against the commonwealth. And now he thinks that those who have conspired to restore the tyrants ought to be let off from punishment, with a view no doubt of sparing their lives as a favour to the tyrants, so that, if these should after all return as the result of either treachery or war, he may, by reminding them of these favours, obtain from them, as being a friend, everything that he chooses. [7] After this, shall I, who have not spared my own sons, spare you, Collatinus, who are with us indeed in person, but with our enemies in spirit, and are trying to save those who have betrayed their country and to kill me who am fighting in its defence? Far from it! On the contrary, to prevent you from doing anything of the kind in future, I now deprive you of your magistracy and command you to retire to some other city. And as for you, citizens, I shall assemble you at once by your centuries and take your votes, in order that you may decide whether this action of mine should be ratified. Be assured, however, that you will have only one of us two for your consul, either Collatinus or Brutus.”

[11] While Brutus was thus speaking, Collatinus kept crying out and loudly protesting and at every word calling him a plotter and a betrayer of his friends, and now by endeavouring to clear himself of the accusations against him, and now by pleading for his nephews, and by refusing to allow the matter to be put to the vote of the citizens, he made the people still angrier and caused a terrible uproar at everything he said. [2] The citizens being now exasperated against him and refusing either to hear his defence or to listen to his entreaties, but calling for their votes to be taken, Spurius Lucretius, his

father-in-law, a man esteemed by the people, feeling concern about the situation, lest Collatinus should be ignominiously driven from office and from his country, asked and obtained from both consuls leave to speak. He was the first person who ever obtained this privilege, as the Roman historians relate, since it was not yet customary at that time for a private citizen to speak in an assembly of the people. And addressing his entreaties to both consuls jointly, he advised Collatinus not to persist so obstinately in his opposition nor to retain against the will of the citizens the magistracy which he had received by their consent, but if those who had given it thought fit to take back the magistracy, to lay it down voluntarily, and to attempt to clear himself of the accusations against him, not by his words, but by his actions, and to remove with all his goods to some other region till the commonwealth should be in a state of security, since the good of the people seemed to require this. For he should bear in mind that, whereas in the case of other crimes all men are wont to show their resentment after the deed has been committed, in the case of treason they do so even when it is only suspected, regarding it as more prudent, though their fears may be vain, to guard against the treason than, by giving way to contempt, to be undone. [3] As for Brutus, he endeavoured to persuade him not to expel from his country with shame and vituperation his colleague with whom he had concerted the best measures for the commonwealth, but if Collatinus himself was willing to resign the magistracy and leave the country voluntarily, not only to give him leave to get together all his substance at his leisure, but also to add some gift from the public treasury, to the end that this favour conferred upon him by the people might be a comfort to him in his affliction.

[12.1] When Lucretius thus advised both consuls and the citizens had voiced their approval, Collatinus, uttering many lamentations over his misfortune in being obliged, because of the compassion he had shown to his kinsmen, to leave his country, though he was guilty of no crime, resigned his magistracy. [2] Brutus, praising him for having taken the best and the most advantageous resolution for both himself and the commonwealth, exhorted him not to entertain any resentment either against him or against his country, but after he had taken up his residence elsewhere, to regard as his country the home he was now leaving, and never to join with her enemies in any action or speech directed against her; in fine, to consider his change of residence as a sojourn abroad, not as an expulsion or a banishment, and while living in body with those who had received him, to dwell in spirit with those who now sent him on his way. After this exhortation to Collatinus he prevailed upon the people to make him a present of twenty talents, and he himself added five more from his own means. [3] So Tarquinius Collatinus, having met with this fate, retired to Lavinium, the mother-city of the Latin nation, where he died at an advanced age. And Brutus, thinking that he ought not to continue alone in the magistracy or to give occasion to the citizens to suspect that it was because of a desire to rule alone that he had banished his colleague from the country,

summoned the people to the field where it was their custom to elect their kings and other magistrates, and chose for his colleague Publius Valerius, a descendant, as I have stated earlier, of the Sabine Valerius, a man worthy of both praise and admiration for many other qualities, but particularly for his frugal manner of life. For there was a kind of self-taught philosophy about him, which he displayed upon many occasions, of which I shall speak a little later.

[13.1] After this Brutus and his colleague, acting in everything with a single mind, immediately put to death all who had conspired to restore the exiles, and also honoured the slave who had given information of the conspiracy, not only with his freedom, but also by the bestowal of citizenship and a large sum of money. Then they introduced three measures, all most excellent and advantageous to the state, by which they brought about harmony among all the citizens and weakened the factions of their enemies. [2] Their measures were as follows: In the first place, choosing the best men from among the plebeians, they made them patricians, and thus rounded out the membership of the senate to three hundred. Next, they brought out and exposed in public the goods of the tyrants for the benefit of all the citizens, permitting everyone to have as large a portion of them as he could seize; and the lands the tyrants had possessed they divided among those who had no allotments, reserving only one field, which lies between the city and the river. This field their ancestors had by a public decree consecrated to Mars as a meadow for horses and the most suitable drill-field for the youth to perform their exercises in arms. The strongest proof, I think, that even before this the field had been consecrated to this god, but that Tarquinius had appropriated it to his own use and sown it, was the action then taken by the consuls in regard to the corn there. [3] For though they had given leave to the people to drive and carry away everything that belonged to the tyrants, they would not permit anyone to carry away the grain which had grown in this field and was still lying upon the threshing-floors whether in the straw or threshed, but looking upon it as accursed and quite unfit to be carried into their houses, they caused a vote to be passed that it should be thrown into the river. [4] And there is even now a conspicuous monument of what happened on that occasion, in the form of an island of goodly size consecrated to Aesculapius and washed on all sides by the river, an island which was formed, they say, out of the heap of rotten straw and was further enlarged by the silt which the river kept adding. The consuls also granted to all the Romans who had fled with the tyrant leave to return to the city with impunity and under a general amnesty, setting a time-limit of twenty days; and if they did not return within this fixed time, the penalties set in their case were perpetual banishment and the confiscation of their estates. [5] These measures of the consuls caused those who had enjoyed any part whatever of the possessions belonging to the tyrants to submit to any danger rather than be deprived again of the advantages they had obtained; and, on the other hand, by freeing from their fear those who, through dread of having to

stand trial for the crimes they had committed under the tyranny, had condemned themselves to banishment, they caused them to favour the side of the commonwealth rather than that of the tyrants.

[14.1] After they had instituted these measures and made the necessary preparations for the war, they for some time kept their forces assembled in the plains under the walls of the city, disposed under their various standards and leaders and performing their warlike exercises. For they had learned that the exiles were raising an army against them in all the cities of Tyrrhenia and that two of these cities, Tarquinii and Veii, were openly assisting them toward their restoration, both of them with considerable armies, and that from the other cities volunteers were coming to their aid, some of them being sent by their friends and some being mercenaries. When the Romans heard that their enemies had already taken the field, they resolved to go out and meet them, and before the others could cross the river they led their own forces across, and marching forward, encamped near the Tyrrhenians in the Naevian Meadow, as it was called, near a grove consecrated to the hero Horatius. [2] Both armies, as it chanced, were nearly equal in numbers and advanced to the conflict with the same eagerness. The first engagement was a brief cavalry skirmish, as soon as they came in sight of one another, before the foot were encamped, in which they tested each other's strength and then, without either winning or losing, retired to their respective camps. Afterwards the heavy-armed troops and the horse of both armies engaged, both sides having drawn up their lines in the same manner, placing the solid ranks of foot in the centre and stationing the horse on both wings. [3] The right wing of the Romans was commanded by Valerius, the newly-elected consul, who stood opposite to the Veientes, and the left by Brutus, in the sector where the forces of the Tarquinienses were, under the command of the sons of King Tarquinius.

[15.1] When the armies were ready to engage, one of the sons of Tarquinius, named Arruns, the most remarkable of the brothers both for the strength of his body and the brilliance of his mind, advanced before the ranks of the Tyrrhenians, and riding up so close to the Romans that all of them would recognize both his person and his voice, hurled abusive taunts at Brutus, their commander, calling him a wild beast, one stained with the blood of his sons, and reproaching him with cowardice and cravenness, and finally challenged him to decide the general quarrel by fighting with him in single combat. [2] Then Brutus, unable to bear these reproaches and deaf also to the remonstrances of his friends, spurred forward from the ranks, rushing upon the death that was decreed for him by fate. For both men, urged on by a like fury and taking thought, not of what they might suffer, but only of what they desired to do, rode full tilt at each other, and clashing, delivered unerring blows against each other with their pikes, piercing through shield and corslet, so that the point was buried in the flank of one and in the loins of the other; and their horses, crashing together breast to breast, rose upon their hind legs through the violence of the charge, and throwing back their heads, shook off

their riders. [3] These champions, accordingly, having fallen, lay there in their death agony, while streams of blood gushed from their wounds. But the two armies, when they saw that their leaders had fallen, pressed forward with shouts and the clash of arms, and the most violent of all battles ensued on the part of both foot and horse, the fortune of which was alike to both sides. [4] For those of the Romans who were on the right wing, which was commanded by Valerius, the other consul, were victorious over the Veientes, and pursuing them to their camp, covered the plain with dead bodies; while those of the Tyrrhenians who were posted on the enemy's right wing and commanded by Titus and Sextus, the sons of King Tarquinius, put the left wing of the Romans the son of flight, and advancing close to their camp, did not fail to attempt to take it by storm; but after receiving many wounds, since those inside stood their ground, they desisted. These guards were the *triarii*, as they are called; they are veteran troops, experienced in many wars, and are always the last employed in the most critical fighting, when every other hope is lost.

[16.1] The sun being now near setting, both armies retired to their camps, not so much elated by their victory as grieved at the numbers they had lost, and believing that, if it should be necessary for them to have another battle, those of them now left would be insufficient to carry on the struggle, the major part of them being wounded. [2] But there was greater dejection and despair of their cause on the side of the Romans because of the death of their leader; and the thought occurred to many of them that it would be better for them to quit their camp before break of day. While they were considering these things and discussing them among themselves, about the time of the first watch a voice was heard from the grove near which they were encamped, calling aloud to both armies in such a manner as to be heard by all of them; it may have been the voice of the hero to whom the precinct was consecrated, or it may have been that of Faunus, as he is called. [3] For the Romans attribute panics to this divinity; and whatever apparitions come to men's sight, now in one shape and now in another, inspiring terror, or whatever supernatural voices come to their ears to disturb them are the work, they say, of this god. The voice of the divinity exhorted the Romans to be of good courage, as having gained the victory, and declared that the enemy's dead exceeded theirs by one man. They say that Valerius, encouraged by this voice, pushed on to the Tyrrhenians' entrenchments while it was still the dead of night, and having slain many of them and driven the rest out of the camp, made himself master of it.

[17.1] Such was the outcome of the battle. The next day the Romans, having stripped the enemy's dead and buried their own, returned home. The bravest of the knight took up the body of Brutus and with many praises and tears bore it back to Rome, adorned with crowns in token of his superior valour. [2] They were met by the senate, which had decreed a triumph in honour of their leader, and also by all the people, who received the army with bowls of wine and tables spread with viands. When they came into the city, the consul triumphed according to the custom followed by the kings when they

conducted the trophy-bearing processions and the sacrifices, and having consecrated the spoils to the gods, he observed that day as sacred and gave a banquet to the most distinguished of the citizens. But on the next day he arrayed himself in dark clothing, and placing the body of Brutus, suitably adorned, upon a magnificent bier in the Forum, he called the people together in assembly, and advancing to the tribunal, delivered the funeral oration in his honour. [3] Whether Valerius was the first who introduced this custom among the Romans or whether he found it already established by the kings and adopted it, I cannot say for certain; but I do know from my acquaintance with universal history, as handed down by the most ancient poets and the most celebrated historians, that it was an ancient custom instituted by the Romans to celebrate the virtues of illustrious men at their funerals and that the Greeks were not the authors of it. [4] For although these writers have given accounts of funeral games, both gymnastic and equestrian, held in honour of famous men by their friends, as by Achilles for Patroclus and, before that, by Heracles for Pelops, yet none of them makes any mention of eulogies spoken over the deceased except the tragic poets at Athens, who, out of flattery to their city, invented this legend also in the case of those who were buried by Theseus. For it was only at some late period that the Athenians added to their custom the funeral oration, having instituted it either in honour of those who died in defence of their country at Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea, or on account of the deeds performed at Marathon. But even the affair at Marathon — if, indeed, the eulogies delivered in honour of the deceased really began with that occasion — was later than the funeral of Brutus by sixteen years. [5] However, if anyone, without stopping to investigate who were the first to introduce these funeral orations, desires to consider the custom in itself and to learn in which of the two nations it is seen at its best, he will find that it is observed more wisely among the Romans than among the Athenians. For, whereas the Athenians seem to have ordained that these orations should be pronounced at the funerals of those only who have died in war, believing that one should determine who are good men solely on the basis of the valour they show at their death, even though in other respects they are without merit, [6] the Romans, on the other hand, appointed this honour to be paid to all their illustrious men, whether as commanders in war or as leaders in the civil administration they have given wise counsels and performed noble deeds, and this not alone to those who have died in war, but also to those who have met their end in any manner whatsoever, believing that good men deserve praise for every virtue they have shown during their lives and not solely for the single glory of their death.

[18.1] Such, then, was the death of Junius Brutus, who overthrew the monarchy and was appointed the first consul. Though he attained late to a place of distinction and flourished in it but a brief moment, yet he was looked upon as the greatest of all the Romans. He left no issue, either sons or daughters, according to the writers who have investigated the history of the

Romans most accurately; of this they offer many proofs, and this one in particular, which is not easily refuted, that he was of a patrician family, whereas those who have claimed to be descended from that family, as the Junii and Bruti, were all plebeians and were candidates for those magistracies only which were open by law to the plebeians, namely, the aedileship and tribuneship, but none of them stood for the consulship, to which the patricians only were eligible. [2] Yet at a late period they obtained this magistracy also, when the plebeians too were allowed to hold it. But I leave the consideration of these matters to those whose business and interest it is to discover the precise facts.

[19.1] After the death of Brutus his colleague Valerius became suspected by the people of a design to make himself king. The first ground of their suspicion was his continuing alone in the magistracy, when he ought immediately to have chosen a colleague as Brutus had done after he had expelled Collatinus. Another reason was that he had built his house in an invidious place, having chosen for that purpose a fairly high and steep hill, called by the Romans Velia, which commands the Forum. [2] But the consul, being informed by his friends that these things displeased the people, appointed a day for the election and chose for his colleague Spurius Lucretius, who died after holding the office for only a few days. In his place he then chose Marcus Horatius, and removed his house from the top to the bottom of the hill, in order that the Romans, as he himself said in one of his speeches to the people, might stone him from the hill above if they found him guilty of any wrongdoing. [3] And desiring to give the plebeians a definite pledge of their liberty, he took the axes from the rods and established it as a precedent for his successors in the consulship — a precedent which continued to be followed down to my day — that, when they were outside the city, they should use the axes, but inside the city they should be distinguished by the rods only. [4] He also introduced most beneficent laws which gave relief to the plebeians. By one of these he expressly forbade that anyone should be a magistrate over the Romans who did not receive the office from the people; and he fixed death as the penalty for transgressing the law, and granted impunity to the one who should kill any such transgressor. In a second law it is provided: “If a magistrate shall desire to have any Roman put to death, scourged, or fined a sum of money, the private citizen may summon the magistrate before the people for judgment, and in the mean time shall be liable to no punishment at the hands of the magistrate till the people have given their vote concerning him.” [5] These measures gained him the esteem of the plebeians, who gave him the nickname of Publicola, which means in the Greek language *dēmokêdês* or “the People’s Friend.” These were the achievements of the consuls that year.

[20.1] The next year Valerius was appointed consul for the second time, and with him Lucretius. In their consulship nothing worthy of note occurred except that a census was taken and war taxes were levied according to the

plan introduced by King Tullius, which had been discontinued during all the reign of Tarquinius and was then renewed for the first time by these consuls. By this census it appeared that the number of Roman citizens who had reached manhood amounted to about 130,000. After this an army of Romans was sent to a place called Signurium in order to garrison that stronghold, which stood as an outpost against the cities both of the Latins and of the Hernicans, from whence they expected war.

[21.1] After Publius Valerius, surnamed Publicola, had been appointed to the same magistracy for the third time, and with him Marcus Horatius Pulvillus for the second time, the king of the Clusians in Tyrrhenia, named Lars and surnamed Porsenna, declared war on the Romans. He had promised the Tarquini, who had fled to him, that he would either effect a reconciliation between them and the Romans upon the terms that they should return home and receive back the sovereignty, or that he would recover and restore to them the possessions of which they had been deprived; but upon sending ambassadors the year before to Rome with appeals mingled with threats, he had not only failed to obtain a reconciliation and return for the exiles, the senate basing its refusal on the curses and oaths by which they had bound themselves not to receive them, but he had also failed to recover their possessions, the persons to whom they had been distributed and allotted refusing to restore them. [2] And declaring that he was insulted by the Romans and treated outrageously in that he could obtain neither one of his demands, this arrogant man, whose mind was corrupted by both his wealth and possessions and the greatness of his power, thought he now had excellent grounds for overthrowing the power of the Romans, a thing which he had long since been desiring to do, and he accordingly declared war against them. [3] He was assisted in this war by Octavius Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, who was eager to display all possible zeal and marched out of Tusculum at the head of all the Camerini and Antemnates, who were of the Latin nation and had already openly revolted from the Romans; and from among the other Latin peoples that were not willing to make open war upon an allied and powerful state, unless for compelling reasons, he attracted numerous volunteers by his personal influence.

[22.1] The Roman consuls, being informed of these things, in the first place ordered all the husbandmen to remove their effects, cattle, and slaves from the fields to the neighbouring mountains, in the fastnesses of which they constructed forts sufficiently strong to protect those who flee thither. After that they strengthened with more effectual fortifications and guards the hill called Janiculum, which is a high mount near Rome lying on the other side of the river Tiber, taking care above all things that such an advantageous position should not serve the enemy as an outpost against the city; and they stored their supplies for the war there. Affairs inside the city they conducted in a more democratic manner, introducing many beneficent measures in behalf of the

poor, lest these, induced by private advantage to betray the public interest, should go over to the tyrants. [2] Thus they had a vote passed that they should be exempt from all the public taxes which they had paid while the city was under the kings, and also from all contributions for military purposes and wars, looking upon it as a great advantage to the state merely to make use of their persons in defending the country. And with their army long since disciplined and ready for action, they were encamped in the field that lies before the city.

[3] But King Porsena, advancing with his forces, took the Janiculum by storm, having terrified those who were guarding it, and placed there a garrison of Tyrrhenians. After this he proceeded against the city in expectation of reducing that also without any trouble; but when he came near the bridge and saw the Romans drawn up before the river, he prepared for battle, thinking to overwhelm them with his numbers, and led on his army with great contempt of the enemy. [4] His left wing was commanded by the sons of Tarquinius, Sextus and Titus, who had with them the Roman exiles together with the choicest troops from the city of Gabii and no small force of foreigners and mercenaries; the right was led by Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, and here were arrayed the Latins who had revolted from the Romans; King Porsena had taken his place in the centre of the battle-line. [5] On the side of the Romans the right wing was commanded by Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, who stood opposite to the Tarquini; the left by Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, one of the consuls, and Titus Lucretius, the consul of the previous year, who were to engage Mamilius and the Latins; the centre of the line between the wings was commanded by the two consuls.

[23.1] When the armies engaged, they both fought bravely and sustained the shock for a considerable time, the Romans having the advantage of their enemies in both experience and endurance, and the Tyrrhenians and Latins being much superior in numbers. But when many had fallen on both sides, fear fell upon the Romans, and first upon those who occupied the left wing, when they saw their two commanders, Valerius and Lucretius, carried off the field wounded; and then those also who were stationed on the right wing, though they were already victorious over the forces commanded by the Tarquini, were seized by the same terror upon seeing the flight of the others.

[2] While they were all fleeing to the city and endeavouring to force their way in a body over a single bridge, the enemy made a strong attack upon them; and the city came very near being taken by storm, and would surely have fallen if the pursuers had entered it at the same time with those who fled. Those who checked the enemy's attack and saved the whole army were three in number, two of them older men, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, who commanded the right wing, and one a younger man, Publius Horatius, who was called Cocles from an injury to his sight, and one of his eyes having been struck out in a battle, and was the fairest of men in philosophical appearance and the bravest in spirit. [3] This man was nephew to Marcus Horatius, one of

the consuls, and traced his descent from Marcus Horatius, one of the triplets who conquered the Alban triplets when the two cities, having become involved in war over the leadership, agreed not to risk a decision with all their forces, but with three men on each side, as I have related in one of the earlier books. [4] These three men, then, all alone, with their backs to the bridge, barred the passage of the enemy for a considerable time and stood their ground, though pelted by many foes with all sorts of missiles and struck with swords in hand-to-hand conflict, till the whole army had crossed the river.

[24.1] When they judged their own men to be safe, two of them, Herminius and Larcius, their defensive arms being now rendered useless by the continual blows they had received, began to retreat gradually. But Horatius alone, though not only the consuls but the rest of the citizens as well, solicitous above all things that such a man should be saved to his country and his parents, called to him from the city to retire, could not be prevailed upon, but remained where he had first taken his stand, and directed Herminius and Larcius to tell the consuls, as from him, to cut away the bridge in all haste at the end next the city (there was but one bridge in those days, which was built of wood and fastened together with the timbers alone, without iron, which the Romans preserve even to my day in the same condition), and to bid them, when the greater part of the bridge had been broken down and little of it remained, to give him notice of it by some signals or by shouting in a louder voice than usual; the rest, he said, would be his concern. [2] Having given these instructions to the two men, he stood upon the bridge itself, and when the enemy advanced upon him, he struck some of them with his sword and beat down others with his shield, repulsing all who attempted to rush upon the bridge. For the pursuers, looking upon him as a madman who was courting death, dared no longer come to grips with him. At the same time it was not easy for them even to come near him, since he had the river as a defence on the right and left, and in front of him a heap of arms and dead bodies. But standing massed at a distance, they hurled spears, javelins, and large stones at him, and those who were not supplied with these threw the swords and bucklers of the slain. [3] But he fought on, making use of their own weapons against them, and hurling these into the crowd, he was bound, as may well be supposed, to find some mark every time. Finally, when he was overwhelmed with missiles and had a great number of wounds in many parts of his body, and one in particular inflicted by a spear which, passing straight through one of his buttocks above the hip-joint, weakened him with the pain and impeded his steps, he heard those behind him shouting out that the greater part of the bridge was broken down. Thereupon he leaped with his arms into the river and swimming across the stream with great difficulty (for the current, being divided by the piles, ran swift and formed large eddies), he emerged upon the shore without having lost any of his arms in swimming.

[25.1] This deed gained him immortal glory. For the Romans immediately crowned him and conducted him into the city with songs, as one of the heroes;

and all the inhabitants poured out of their houses, desiring to catch the last sight of him while he was yet alive, since they supposed he would soon succumb to his wounds. [2] And when he escaped death, the people erected a bronze statue of him fully armed in the principal part of the Forum and gave him as much of the public land as he himself could plough round in one day with a yoke of oxen. Besides these things bestowed upon him by the public, every person, both man and woman, at a time when they were all most sorely oppressed by a dreadful scarcity of provisions, gave him a day's ratio of food; and the number of people amounted to more than three hundred thousand in all. [3] Thus Horatius, who had shown so great valour upon that occasion, occupied as enviable a position as any Roman who ever lived, but he was rendered useless by his lameness for further services to the state; and because of this misfortune he obtained neither the consulship nor any military command either. [4] This was one man, therefore, who for the wonderful deed he performed for the Romans in that engagement deserves as great praise as any of those who have ever won renown for valour. And besides him there was also Gaius Mucius, surnamed Cordus, a man of distinguished ancestry, who also undertook to perform a great deed; but of him I shall speak a little later, after first relating in what dire circumstances the state found itself at that time.

[26] After the battle that has been described the king of the Tyrrhenians, encamping on the neighbouring hill, from whence he had driven the garrison of Rome, was master of all the country on that side of the river Tiber. The sons of Tarquinius and his son-in-law, Mamilius, having transported their forces in rafts and boats to the other, or Roman, side of the river, encamped in a strong position. And making excursions from there, they laid waste the territory of the Romans, demolished their farm houses, and attacked their herds of cattle when they went out of the strongholds to pasture. [2] All the open country being in the power of the enemy and no food supplies being brought into the city by land and but small quantities even by the river, a scarcity of provisions was speedily felt as the many thousands of people consumed the stores previously laid in, which were inconsiderable. [3] Thereupon the slaves, leaving their masters, deserted in large numbers daily, and the worst element among the common people went over to the tyrants. The consuls, seeing these things, resolved to ask those of the Latins who still respected the tie of kinship and seemed to be continuing in their friendship to send troops promptly to their assistance; and also resolved to send ambassadors both to Cumae in Campania and to the cities in the Pomptine plain to ask leave to import grain from there. [4] The Latins, for their part, refused to send the desired assistance, on the ground that it was not right for them to make war against either the Tarquini or the Romans, since they had made their treaty of friendship jointly with both of them. But Larcius and Herminius, the ambassadors who had been sent to convey the grain from the Pomptine plain, filled a great many boats with all sorts of provisions and

brought them from the sea up the river on a moonless night, escaping the notice of the enemy. [5] When these supplies also had soon been consumed and the people were oppressed by the same scarcity as before, the Tyrrhenian, learning from the deserters that the inhabitants were suffering from famine, sent a herald to them commanding them to receive Tarquinius if they desired to be rid of both war and famine.

[27.1] When the Romans would not listen to this command, but chose rather to bear any calamities whatever, Mucius, foreseeing that one of two things would befall them, either that they would not adhere long to their resolution through want of the necessities of life, or, if they held firmly to their decision, that they would perish by the most miserable of deaths, asked the consuls to assemble the senate for him, as he had something important and urgent to lay before them; and when they were met, he spoke as follows:

“Fathers, having it in my mind to venture upon an undertaking by which the city will be freed from the present evils, I feel great confidence in the success of the plan and believe I shall easily carry it out; but as for my own life, I have small hopes of surviving the accomplishment of the deed, or, to say the truth, none at all. [2] As I am about to expose myself, then, to so great a danger, I do not think it right that the world should remain in ignorance of the high stakes for which I have played — in case it should be my fate to fail after all in the undertaking — but I desire in return for noble deeds to gain great praise, by which I shall exchange this mortal body for immortal glory. [3] It is not safe, of course, to communicate my plan to the people, lest some one for his own advantage should inform the enemy of a thing which ought to be concealed with the same care as an inviolable mystery. But you, who, I am persuaded, will keep the secret inviolate, are the first and the only persons to whom I am disclosing it; and from you the rest of the citizens will learn of it at the proper season. [4] My enterprise is this: I propose to go to the camp of the Tyrrhenians in the guise of a deserter. If I am disbelieved by them and put to death, the number of you citizens who remain will be only one less. But if I can enter the enemy’s camp, I promise you to kill their king; and when Porsena is dead, the war will be at an end. As for myself, I shall be ready to suffer whatever Heaven may see fit. In the assurance that you are privy to my purpose and will bear witness of it to the people, I go my way, making the better fortune of my country the guide of my journey.”

[28.1] After he had received the praises of the senators and obtained favourable omens for his enterprise, he crossed the river. And arriving at the camp of the Tyrrhenians, he entered it, having deceived the guard at the gates, who took him for one of their own countrymen since he carried no weapon openly and spoke the Tyrrhenian language, which he had been taught when a child by his nurse, who was a Tyrrhenian. [2] When he came to the forum and to the general’s tent, he perceived a man remarkable both for his stature and for his physical strength, clad in a purple robe and seated upon the general’s tribunal with many armed men standing round him. And jumping to a false

conclusion, as he had never seen the king of the Tyrrhenians, he took this man to be Porsena. But it seems he was the king's secretary, who sat upon the tribunal while numbering the soldiers and making a record of the pay due them. [3] Making his way, therefore, to this man through the crowd that surrounded him and ascending the tribunal (for as he seemed unarmed nobody hindered him), he drew the dagger he had concealed under his garment and struck the man on the head. And the secretary being killed with one blow, Mucius was promptly seized by those who stood round the tribunal and brought before the king, who had already been informed by others of his secretary's death. [4] Porsena, upon seeing him, said: "Most accursed of all men and destined to suffer the punishment you deserve, tell who you are and from whence you come and what assistance you counted on when you dared to commit such a deed? Did you propose to kill my secretary only, or me also? And who are your accomplices in this attempt, or privy to it? Conceal no part of the truth, lest you be forced to declare it under torture."

[29.1] Mucius, without showing any sign of fear, either by a change of colour or by an anxious countenance, or experiencing any other weakness common to men who are about to die, said to him: "I am a Roman, and no ordinary man as regards birth; and having conceived a desire to free my country from the war, I came into your camp as a deserter with the purpose of killing you. I knew well that, whether I succeeded or failed in the attempt, death would be my portion; yet I resolved to give my life to my country from which I received it and in place of my mortal body to leave behind me immortal glory. But being cheated of my hope, I slew, instead of you, your clerk, whom I had no cause to slay, misled by the purple, the chair of state, and the other insignia of power. [2] As for death, therefore, to which I condemned myself when I was planning to set out on this undertaking, I do not ask to escape that; but if you would remit for me the tortures and the other indignities and give me assurances of this by the gods, I promise to reveal to you a matter of great moment which concerns your own safety." [3] This he said with the purpose of tricking the other; and the king, being out of his wits and at the same time conjuring up imaginary perils as threatening him from many people, gave him upon oath the pledge he desired. Thereupon Mucius, having thought of a most novel kind of deceit that could not be put to an open test, said to him: "O king, three hundred of us Romans, all of the same age and all of patrician birth, met together and formed a plot to kill you; and we took pledges from one another under oath. [4] And when we were considering what form our plot should take, we resolved not to set about the business all together, but one at a time, nor yet to communicate to one another when, how, where, or by what expedients each of us was to attack you, to the end that it might be easier for us to escape discovery. After we had settled these matters, we drew lots and it fell to my lot to make the first attempt. Since, therefore, you know in advance that many brave men will have the same purpose as I, induced by a thirst for glory, and that some one of them presumably will meet with better fortune than I,

consider how you may sufficiently guard yourself against them all.”

[30.1] When the king heard this, he commanded his bodyguards to lead Mucius away and bind him, guarding him diligently. He himself assembled the most trustworthy of his friends, and causing his son Arruns to sit beside him, considered with them what he should do to escape the plots of these men.

[2] All the rest proposed such simple precautionary measures that they seemed to have no understanding of what was needed; but his son, who expressed his opinion last, showed a wisdom beyond his years. For he advised his father not to consider what precautions he should take in order to meet with no misfortune, but what he should do in order to have no need of precaution/precautions. When all had marvelled at his advice and desired to know how this might be accomplished, he said, “If you would make these men friends instead of enemies and would set a greater value of your own life than on the restoration of the exiles with Tarquinius.” [3] The king said his advice was most excellent, but that it was a matter calling for deliberation how an honourable peace could be made with them; for he said it would be a great disgrace if, after he had defeated them in battle and kept them shut up within their walls, he should then retire without having effected anything he had promised to the Tarquini, just as if he had been conquered by those he had overcome and had fled from those who dared no longer even set foot outside their gates; and he declare days that there would be one and only one honourable way of ending this war, namely, if some persons should come to him from the enemy to treat for friendship.

[31.1] This is what the king then said to his son and to the others present. But a few days later he was obliged to take the initiative himself in proposing terms of accommodation, for the following reason: While his soldiers were dispersed about the country and plundering the provisions that were being conveyed to the city, and doing this continually, the Roman consuls lay in wait for them in a favourable place and destroying a goodly number, took even more of them prisoners than they slew. Upon this the Tyrrhenians were angered and talked matters over with one another as they gathered in knots, blaming both the king and the other commanders for the prolonging of the war, and desiring to be dismissed to their homes. [2] The king, therefore, believing that an accommodation would be acceptable to them all, sent the closest of his personal friends as ambassadors. Some, indeed, say that Mucius also was sent with them, having given the king his pledge upon oath that he would return; but others say that he was kept in the camp as a hostage till peace should be concluded, and this may perhaps be the truer account. [3] The instructions given by the king to the ambassadors were these: Not to make the least mention of the restoration of the Tarquini, but to demand the restitution of their property, preferably of all that the elder Tarquinius had left and they themselves had justly acquired and possessed, or, if that could not be, then to demand so far as possible the value of their lands, houses and cattle, and of the produce taken from the land, leaving it to the Romans to determine

whether it was to their advantage that this should be paid by those who were in the possession and enjoyment of the land or defrayed by the public treasury. [4] So far their instructions related to the Tarquinii. Then, for himself, they were to demand, upon his putting an end to the war, the so-called Seven Districts (this territory had formerly belonged to the Tyrrhenians, but the Romans had taken it from them in war and occupied it), and, in order that the Romans should remain firm friends of the Tyrrhenians, they were to demand of them the sons of their most illustrious families to serve as hostages for the state.

[32.1] When the embassy came to Rome, the senate, by the advice of Publicola, one of the consuls, voted to grant everything that the Tyrrhenian demanded, believing that the crowd of plebeians and poor people, oppressed by the scarcity of provisions, would cheerfully accept the termination of the war upon any terms whatever. [2] But the people, though they ratified every other article of the senate's decree, would not hear of restoring the property. On the contrary, they voted that no resolution should be made to the tyrants either from private sources or from the public funds, and that ambassadors should be sent to King Porsena concerning these matters, to ask him to accept the hostages and the territory he demanded, but as regarded the property, that he himself, acting as judge between the Tarquinii and the Romans, should determine, after hearing both sides, what was just, being influenced by neither favour nor enmity. [3] The Tyrrhenians returned to the king with this answer, and with them the ambassadors appointed by the people, taking with them twenty children of the leading families to serve as hostages for their country; the consuls had been the first to give their children for that purpose, Marcus Horatius delivering his son to them and Publius Valerius his daughter, who had reached the age for marriage. [4] When these arrived at the camp, the king was pleased, and heartily commending the Romans, have made a truce with them for a specified number of days and undertook to act as judge of the controversy himself. But the Tarquinii were aggrieved at finding themselves disappointed of the greater hopes they had been placing in the king, having expected to be restored by him to the sovereignty; however, they were obliged to be content with the present state of things and to accept the terms that were offered. And when the men who were sent to defend the cause of the commonwealth, . . . and the oldest of the senators had come from the city at the appointed time, the king seated himself upon the tribunal with his friends, and ordering his son to sit as judge with him, he gave them leave to speak.

[33.1] While the cause was still pleading, a messenger brought word of the flight of the maidens who were serving as hostages. It seems that they had asked leave of their guards to go to the river and bathe, and after obtaining it they had told the men to withdraw a little way from the river till they had bathed and dressed themselves again, so that they should not see them naked; and the men having done this also, the maidens, following the advice and example of Cloelia, swam across the river and returned to the city. [2] Then

indeed Tarquinius was vehement in accusing the Romans of a breach of their oaths and of perfidy, and in goading the king, now that he had been deceived by treacherous persons, to pay no heed to them. But when the consul defended the Romans, declaring that the maidens had done this thing of themselves without orders from their fathers and that he would soon offer convincing proof that the consuls had not been guilty of any treachery, the king was persuaded and gave him leave to go to Rome and bring back the maidens, as he kept promising to do. [3] Valerius, accordingly, departed in order to bring them to the camp. But Tarquinius and his son-in-law, in contempt of all that was right, formed a wicked plot, sending out secretly a party of horse to lie in wait on the road, in order to seize not only the maidens as they were being brought back, but also the consul and the others who were coming to the camp. Their purpose was to hold these persons as pledges for the property the Romans had taken from Tarquinius, and not to wait any longer for the outcome of the hearing. [4] But Heaven did not permit their plot to go according to their wish. For even as the horsemen who were intending to attack them upon their return were going out of the camp of the Latins, the consul was arriving with the maidens in time to forestall them, and he was already at the very gates of the Tyrrhenian camp when he was overtaken by the horsemen from the other camp who had pursued him. When the encounter between them occurred here, the Tyrrhenians quickly perceived it; and the king's son came in haste with a squadron of horse to their assistance and those of the foot who were posted before the camp also rushed up.

[34.1] Porsena, resenting this attempt, assembled the Tyrrhenians and informed them that after the Romans had appointed him judge of the accusations brought against them by Tarquinius, but before the cause was determined, the exiles justly expelled by the Romans had during a truce been guilty of a lawless attempt upon the inviolable persons both of ambassadors and of hostages; for which reason, he said, the Tyrrhenians now acquitted the Romans of those charges and at the same time renounced all friendly relations with the Tarquinii and Mamilius; and he ordered them to depart that very day from the camp. [2] Thus the Tarquinii, who at first had entertained excellent hopes either of exercising their tyranny again in the city with the assistance of the Tyrrhenians or of getting their property back, were disappointed in both respects in consequence of their lawless attempt against the ambassadors and hostages, and departed from the camp with shame and the detestation of all. [3] Then the king of the Tyrrhenians, ordering the Roman hostages to be brought up to the tribunal, returned them to the consul, saying that he considered the good faith of the commonwealth as worth more than any hostages. And praising one maiden among them, by whom the others had been persuaded to swim across the river, as possessing a spirit superior both to her sex and age, and congratulating the commonwealth for producing not only brave men but also maidens the equals of men, he made her a present of a war-horse adorned with magnificent trappings. [4] After the assembly he made a treaty of peace

and friendship with the Roman ambassadors, and having entertained them, he returned to them without ransom all the prisoners, who were very numerous, as a present to take to the commonwealth. He also gave them the place where he was encamped, which was not laid out, like a camp, for a short stay in a foreign country, but, like a city, was adequately equipped with buildings both private and public, — though it is not the custom of the Tyrrhenians, when they break camp and quit the enemy's country, to leave these buildings standing, but to burn them. Thereby he made a present to the commonwealth of no small value in money, as appeared from the sale made by the quaestors after the king's departure. [5] Such, then, was the outcome of the Romans' war with the Tarquinius and Lars Porsena, king of the Clusians, a war which brought the commonwealth into great dangers.

[35.1] After the departure of the Tyrrhenians the Roman senate voted to send to Porsena a throne of ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe, which had been the insignia of the kings. And to Mucius, who had resolved to die for his country and was looked upon as the chief instrument in putting an end to the war, they voted that a portion of the public land bey the Tiber should be given (just as previously in the case of Horatius, who had fought in front of the bridge), as much, namely, as he could plough round in one day; and this place even to my day is called the Mucian Meadows. These were the rewards they gave to the men. [2] In honour of Cloelia, the maiden, they ordered a bronze statue to be set up, which was erected accordingly by the fathers of the maidens on the Sacred Way, that leads to the Forum. This statue I found no longer standing; it was said to have been destroyed when a fire broke out in the adjacent houses.

[3] In this year was completed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, of which I gave a detailed description in the preceding Book. This temple was dedicated by Marcus Horatius, one of the consuls, and inscribed with his name before the arrival of his colleague; for at that time it chanced that Valerius had set out with an army to the aid of the country districts. For as soon as the people had left the fortresses and returned to the fields, Mamilius had sent bands of robbers and done great injury to the husbandmen. These were the achievements of the third consulship.

[36.1] The consuls for the fourth year, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, went through their term of office without war. In their consulship Arruns, the son of Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, died while besieging the city of Aricia for the second year. [2] For as soon as peace was made with the Romans, he got from his father one half of the army and led an expedition against the Aricians, with a view of establishing a dominion of his own. When he had all but taken the city, aid came to the Aricians from Antium, Tusculum, and Cumae in Campania; nevertheless, arraying his small army against a superior force, he put most of them to flight and drove them back to the city. But he was defeated by the Cumaeans under the command of Aristodemus, surnamed the Effeminate, and lost his life, and the Tyrrhenian

army, no longer making a stand after his death, turned to flight. [3] Many of them were killed in the pursuit by the Cumaeans, but many more, dispersing themselves about the country, fled into the fields of the Romans, which were not far distant, having lost their arms and being unable by reason of their wounds to proceed farther. There, some of them half dead, the Romans brought from the fields into the city upon wagons and mule-carts and upon beasts of burden also, and carrying them to their own houses, restored them to health with food and nursing every other sort of kindness that great compassion can show; so that many of them, induced by these kindly services, no longer felt any desire to return home but wished to remain with their benefactors. [4] To these the senate gave, as a place in the city for build houses, the valley which extends between the Palatine and Capitoline hills for a distance of about four stades; in consequence of which even down to my time the Romans in their own language give the name of Vicus Tuscus or "the habitation of the Tyrrhenians," to the thoroughfare that leads from the Forum to the Circus Maximus. In consideration of these services the Romans received from the Tyrrhenian king a gift of no slight value, but one which gave them the greatest satisfaction. This was the territory beyond the river which they had ceded when they put an end to the war. And they now performed sacrifices to the gods at great expense which they had vowed to offer up whenever they should again be masters of the Seven Districts.

[37.1] The fifth year after the expulsion of the king occurred the sixty-ninth Olympiad, at which Ischomachus of Croton won the foot-race for the second time, Acestorides being archon at Athens, and Marcus Valerius, brother of Valerius Publicola, and Publius Postumius, surnamed Tubertus, consuls at Rome. [2] In their consulship another war awaited the Romans, this one stirred up by their nearest neighbours. It began with acts of brigandage and developed into many important engagements; however, it ended in an honourable peace in the third consulship after this one, having been carried on during that whole interval without intermission. For some of the Sabines, deciding that the commonwealth was weakened by the defeat she had received from the Tyrrhenians and would never be able to recover her ancient prestige, attacked those who came down into the wood fields from the strongholds by organizing bands of robbers, and they caused many injuries to the husbandmen. [3] For these acts the Romans, sending an embassy before resorting to arms, sought satisfaction and demanded that for the future they should commit no lawless acts against those who cultivated the land; and having received a haughty answer, they declared war against them. First an expedition was conducted by one of the consuls, who with the horse and the flower of the light-armed foot fell suddenly upon those who were laying waste the country; and there was great slaughter among the many men surprised most their plundering, as may well be imagined, since they were keeping no order and had no warning of the attack. [4] Afterwards, when the Sabines sent a large army against them commanded by a general experienced in war, the

Romans made another expedition against them with all their forces, led by both consuls. Postumius encamped on heights near Rome, fearing lest some sudden attempt might be made upon the city by the exiles; and Valerius posted himself not far from the enemy, on the bank of the river Anio, which after passing through the city of Tibur pours in a vast torrent from a high rock, and running through the plain belonging to both the Sabines and the Romans, serves as a boundary to both their territories, after which this river, which is fair to look upon and sweet to drink, mingles its stream with the Tiber.

[38.1] On the other side of the river was placed the camp of the Sabines, this too at no great distance from the stream, upon a gently sloping hill that was not very strongly situated. At first both armies observed one another with caution and were unwilling to cross the river and begin an engagement. But after a time they were no longer guided by reason and a prudent regard for their advantage, but becoming inflamed with anger and rivalry, they joined battle. [2] For, going to the river for water and leading their horses there to drink, they advanced a good way into the stream, which was then low, not yet being swollen with the winter's rains, so that they crossed it without having the water much above their knees. And first, when a skirmish occurred between small parties, some ran out of each camp to assist their comrades, then others again from one camp or the other to aid those who were being overpowered. And at times the Romans forced the Sabines back from the river, at times the Sabines kept the Romans from it. [3] Then, after many had been killed and wounded and a spirit of rivalry had possessed them all, as is apt to happen when skirmishes occur on the spur of the moment, the generals of both armies felt the same eagerness to cross the river. [4] But the Roman consul got the start of the enemy, and after getting his army across, was already close upon the Sabines while they were still arming themselves and taking their positions. However, they too were not backward in engaging, but, elated with a contempt of their foes, since they were not going to fight against both consuls nor the whole Roman army, they joined battle with all the boldness and eagerness imaginable.

[39.1] A vigorous action ensuing and the right wing of the Romans, commanded by the consul, attacking the enemy and gaining ground, while their left was already in difficulties and being forced towards the river by the enemy, the consul, who commanded the other camp, being informed of what was passing, proceeded to lead out his army. [2] And while he himself with the solid ranks of the foot followed at a normal pace, he sent ahead in all haste his legate, Spurius Larcius, who had been consul the year before, together with all the horse. Larcius, urging the horse forward at full speed, crossed the river with ease, as no one opposed him, and riding past the right wing of the enemy, charged the Sabine horse in fact; and there and then occurred a severe battle between the horse on both sides, who fought hand-to-hand for a long time. [3] In the mean time Postumius also drew near the combatants with the foot, and attacking that of the enemy, killed many in the conflict and threw the rest into

confusion. And if night had not intervened, the whole army of the Sabines, being surrounded by the Romans, who had now become superior in horse, would have been totally destroyed. But as it was, the darkness saved those who fled from the battle unarmed and few in number, and brought them home in safety. The consuls, without meeting any resistance, made themselves masters of their camp, which had been abandoned by the troops inside as soon as they saw the rout of their own army; and, capturing much booty there, which they permitted the soldiers to drive or carry away, they returned home with their forces. [4] Then for the first time the commonwealth, recovering from the defeat received at the hands of the Tyrrhenians, recovered its former spirit and dared as before to aim at the supremacy over its neighbours. The Romans decreed a triumph jointly to both the consuls, and, as a special gratification to one of them, Valerius, ordered that a site should be given him for his habitation on the best part of the Palatine Hill and that the cost of the building should be defrayed from the public treasury. The folding doors of this house, near which stands the brazen bull, are the only doors in Rome either of public or private buildings that open outwards.

[40.1] These men were succeeded in the consulship by Publius Valerius, surnamed Publicola, chosen to hold the office for the fourth time, and Titus Lucretius, now colleague to Valerius for the second time. In their consulship all the Sabines, holding a general assembly of their cities, resolved upon a war against the Romans, alleging that the treaty they had made with them was dissolved, since Tarquinius, to whom they had sworn their oaths, had been driven from power. [2] They had been induced to take this step by Sextus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, who by privately courting them and importuning the influential men in each city had roused them all to united hostility against the Romans, and had won over two cities, Fidenae and Cameria, detaching them from the Romans and persuading them to become allies of the Sabines. In return for these services they appointed him general with absolute power and gave him leave to raise forces in every city, looking upon the defeat they had received in the last engagement as due to the weakness of their army and the stupidity of their general. [3] While they were employed in these preparations, some good fortune, designing to balance the losses of the Romans with corresponding advantages, gave them, in place of the allies who had deserted them, an unexpected accession of strength from among their enemies, of the following nature: A certain man of the Sabine nation who lived in a city called Regillum, a man of good family and influential for his wealth, Titus Claudius by name, deserted to them, bringing with him many kinsmen and friends and a great number of clients, who removed with their whole households, not less than five hundred in all who were able to bear arms. The reason that compelled him to remove to Rome is said to have been this: [4] The men in power in the principal cities, being hostile to him because of their political rivalry, were bringing him to trial on a charge of treason,

because he was not eager to make war against the Romans, but both in the general assembly alone opposed those who maintained that the treaty was dissolved, and would not permit the citizens of his own town to regard as valid the decrees which had been passed by the rest of the nation. [5] Dreading this trial, then, (for it was to be conducted by the other cities), he took his goods and his friends and came over to the Romans; and by adding no small weight to their cause he was looked upon as the principal instrument in the success of this war. In consideration of this, the senate and people enrolled him among the patricians and gave him leave to take as large a portion of the city as he wished for building houses; they also granted to him from the public land the region that lay between Fidenae and Picetia, so that he could give allotments to all his followers. Out of these Sabines was formed in the course of time a tribe called the Claudian tribe, a name which it continued to preserve down to my time.

[41.1] After all the necessary preparations had been made on both sides, the Sabines first led out their forces and formed two camps, one of which was in the open not far from Fidenae, and the other in Fidenae itself, to serve both as a guard for the citizens and as a refuge for those who lay encamped without the city, in case any disaster should befall them. Then, when the Roman consuls learned of the Sabines' expedition against them, they too led out all their men of military age and encamped apart from each other, Valerius near the camp of the Sabines that lay in the open, and Lucretius not far distant, upon a hill from which the other camp was clearly in view. [2] It was the opinion of the Romans that the fate of the war would quickly be decided by an open battle; but the general of the Sabines, dreading to engage openly against the boldness and constancy of men prepared to face every danger, resolved to attack them by night, [3] and having prepared everything that would be of use for filling up the ditch and scaling the wall, he was intending, now that all was in readiness for the attack, to rouse up the flower of his army after the first watch and lead them against the entrenchments of the Romans. He also gave notice to the troops encamped in Fidenae that, as soon as they perceived that their comrades were come out of the camp, they also should march out of the city, with light equipment; and then, after setting ambuscades in suitable places, if any reinforcements should come to Valerius from the other army, they were to rise up and, getting behind them, attack them with shouts and a great din. [4] This was the plan of Sextus, who communicated it to his centurions; and when they also approved of it, he waited for the proper moment. But a deserter came to the Roman camp and informed the consul of the plan, and a little later a party of horse came in bringing some Sabine prisoners who had been captured while they were out to get wood. These, upon being questioned separately as to what their general was preparing to do, said that he was ordering ladders and gang-boards to be constructed; but where and when he proposed to make use of them, they professed not to know. [5] After learning this, Valerius sent his legate Larcius to the other camp

to acquaint Lucretius, who had the command of it, with weight intention of the enemy and to advise him in what way they ought to attack the enemy. He himself summoned the tribunes and the centurions, and informing them of what he had learned both from the deserter and from the prisoners, exhorted them to acquit themselves as brave men, confident that they had got the best opportunity they could wish for to take a glorious revenge upon their enemies; and after advising them what each of them should do and giving the watchword, he dismissed them to their commands.

[42.1] It was not yet midnight when the Sabine general roused up the flower of his army and led them to the enemy's camp, after ordering them all to keep silence and to make no noise with their arms, that the enemy might not be apprised of their approach till they arrived at the entrenchments. When those in front drew near the camp and neither saw the lights of watch-fires nor heard the voices of sentinels, they thought the Romans guilty of great folly in leaving their sentry-posts unguarded and sleeping inside their camp; and they proceeded to fill up the ditches in many places with brushwood and to cross over without opposition. [2] But the Romans were lying in wait by companies between the ditches and the palisades, being unperceived by reason of the darkness; and they kept killing those of the enemy who crossed over, as soon as they came within reach. For some time the destruction of those who led the way was not perceived by their companions in the rear; but when it became light, upon the rising of the moon, and those who approached the ditch saw not only heaps of their own men lying dead near it but also strong bodies of the enemy advancing to attack them, they threw down their arms and fled. [3] Thereupon the Romans, giving a great shout, which was the signal to those in the other camp, rushed out upon them in a body. Lucretius, hearing the shout, sent the horse ahead to reconnoitre, lest there might be an ambuscade of the enemy, and he himself followed presently with the flower of the foot. [4] And at one and the same time the horse, meeting with those from Fidenae who were lying in ambush, put them to flight, and the foot pursued and slew those who had come to their camp but were now keeping neither their arms nor their ranks. In these actions about 13,500 of the Sabines and their allies were slain and 4200 were made prisoners; and their camp was taken the same day.

[43.1] Fidenae after a few days' siege was taken in that very part which was thought to be the most difficult of capture and was for that reason guarded by only a few men. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were not made slaves nor was the city demolished; nor were many people put to death after the city was taken. For the consuls thought that the seizing of their goods and their slaves and the loss of their men who had perished in the battle was a sufficient punishment for an erring city belonging to the same race, and that to prevent the captured from lightly resorting to arms again, a moderate precaution and one customary with the Romans would be to punish the authors of the revolt. [2] Having, therefore, assembled all the captured Fidenates in the forum and inveighed strongly against their folly, declaring that all of them, from youths

to old men, deserved to be put to death, since they neither showed gratitude for the favours they received nor were chastened by their misfortunes, they ordered the most prominent of them to be scourged with rods and put to death in the sight of all; but the rest they permitted to live in the city as before, though they left a garrison, as large as the senate decided upon, to live in their midst; and taking away part of their land, they gave it to this garrison. After they had settled these matters, they returned home with the army from the enemy's country and celebrated the triumph which the senate had voted to them. These were the achievements of their consulship.

[44.1] When Publius Postumius, who was called Tubertus, had been chosen consul for the second time, and with him Agrippa Menenius, called Lanatus, the Sabines made a third incursion into the Roman territory with a larger army, before the Romans were aware of their setting out, and advanced up to the walls of Rome. In this incursion there was great loss of life on the side of the Romans, not only among the husbandmen, on whom the calamity fell suddenly and unexpectedly, before they could take refuge in the nearest fortresses, but also among those who were living in the city at the time. [2] For Postumius, one of the consuls, looking upon this insolence of the enemy as intolerable, hastily took the first men he came upon and marched out to the rescue with greater eagerness than prudence. The Sabines, seeing the Romans advance against them very contemptuously, without order and separated from one another, and wishing to increase their contempt, fell back at a fast walk, as if fleeing, till they came into thick woods where the rest of their army lay in wait. Then, facing about, they engaged with their pursuers, and at the same time the others came out of the wood with a great shout and fell upon them. [3] The Sabines, who were very numerous and were advancing in good order against men who were not keeping their ranks but were disordered and out of breath with running, killed such of them as came to close quarters, and when the rest turned to flight, they barred the roads leading to the city and hemmed them in on the unfortified ridge of a hill. Then, encamping near them (for night was now coming on), they kept guard throughout the whole night to prevent them from stealing away undiscovered. [4] When the news of this misfortune was brought to Rome, there was a great tumult and a rush to the walls, and fear on the part of all lest the enemy, elated by their success, should enter the city in the night. There were lamentations for the slain and compassion for the survivors, who, it was believed, would be promptly captured for want of provisions unless some assistance should reach them quickly. [5] That night, accordingly, they passed in a sorry state of mind and without sleep; but the next day the other consul, Menenius, having armed all the men of military age, marched out with them in good order and discipline to the assistance of those upon the hill. When the Sabines saw them approaching, they remained no longer, but roused up their army and withdrew from the hill, feeling that their present good fortune was enough; and without tarrying much longer, they returned home in great elation, taking with them a rich booty in cattle, slaves, and money.

[45.1] The Romans, resenting this defeat, for which they blamed Postumius, one of the consuls, resolved to make an expedition against the territory of the Sabines speedily with all their forces; they were not only eager to retrieve the shameful and unexpected defeat they had received, but were also angered at the very insolent and haughty embassy that had recently come to them from the enemy. [2] For, as if already victorious and having it in their power to take Rome without any trouble if the Romans refused to do as they commanded, they had ordered them to grant a return to the Tarquinii, to yield the

leadership to the Sabines, and to establish such a form of government and such laws as the conquerors should prescribe. Replying to the ambassadors, they bade them report to their general council that the Romans commanded the Sabines to lay down their arms, to deliver up their cities to them, and to be subject to them once more as they had been before, and after they had complied with these demands, then to come and stand trial for the injuries and damage they had done them in their former incursions, if they desired to obtain peace and friendship: and in case they refused to carry out these orders, they might expect to see the war soon brought home to their cities. [3] Such demands having been given and received, both sides equipped themselves with everything necessary for the war and led out their forces. The Sabines brought the flower of their youth out of every city armed with splendid weapons; and the Romans drew out all their forces not only from the city but also from the fortresses, looking upon those above the military age and the multitude of domestic servants as a sufficient guard for both the city and the fortresses in the country. [4] And the two armies, approaching each other, pitched their camps a little distance apart near the city of Arretum, which belongs to the Sabine nation.

[46.1] When each side observed the enemy's condition, of which they judged by the size of the camps and the information given by prisoners, the Sabines were inspired with confidence and felt contempt for the small numbers of the enemy, while the Romans were seized with fear by reason of the multitude of their opponents. But they took courage and entertained no small hopes of victory because of various omens sent to them by the gods, and particularly from a final portent which they saw when they were about to array themselves for battle. [2] It was as follows: From the javelins that were fixed in the ground beside their tents (these javelins are Roman weapons which they hurl and having pointed iron heads, not less than three feet in length, projecting straight forward from one end, and with the iron they are as long as spears of moderate length) — from these javelins flames issued forth round the tips of the heads and the glare extended through the whole camp like that of torches and lasted a great part of the night. [3] From this portent they concluded, as the interpreters of prodigies informed them and as was not difficult for anyone to conjecture, that Heaven was portending to them a speedy and brilliant victory, because, as we know, everything yields to fire and there is nothing that is not consumed by it. And inasmuch as this fire issued from defensive weapons, they came out with great boldness from their camp, and engaging the Sabines, fought, few in number, with enemies many times superior, placing their reliance in their own good courage. Besides, their long experience joined to their willingness to undergo toil encouraged them to despise every danger. [4] First, then, Postumius, who commanded the left wing, desiring to repair his former defeat, forced back the enemy's right, taking no thought for his own life in comparison with gaining the victory, but, like those who are mad and court death, hurling himself into the midst of his enemies. Then those also

with Menenius on the other wing, though they were already in distress and being forced to give ground, when they found that the forces under Postumius were victorious over those who confronted them, took courage and advanced against the enemy. And now, as both their wings gave way, the Sabines were utterly routed. [5] For not even those who were posted in the centre of the line, when once their flanks were left bare, stood their ground any longer, but being hard pressed by the Roman horse that charged them in separate troops, they were driven back. And when they all fled toward their entrenchments, the Romans pursued them, and entering with them, captured both camps. All that saved the army of the enemy from being totally destroyed was that night came on and their defeat happened in their own land. For those who fled got safely home more easily because of their familiarity with the country.

[47.1] The next day the consuls, after burning their own dead, gathered up the spoils (there were even found some arms belonging to the living, which they had thrown away in their flight) and carried off the captives, whom they had taken in considerable numbers, and the booty, in addition to the plunder taken by the soldiers. This booty having been sold at public auction, all the citizens received back the amount of the contributions which they had severally paid for the equipment of the expedition. Thus the consuls, having gained a most glorious victory, returned home. [2] They were both honoured with triumphs by the senate, Menenius with the greater and more honourable kind, entering the city in a royal chariot, and Postumius with the lesser and inferior triumph which they call *ouastês* or “ovation,” perverting the name, which is Greek, to an unintelligible form. For it was originally called *euastês*, from what actually took place, according to both my own conjecture and what I find stated in many native histories, the senate, as Licinius relates, [3] having then first introduced this sort of triumph. It differs from the other, first, in this, that the general who triumphs in the manner called the ovation enters the city on foot, followed by the army, and not in a chariot like the other; and, in the next place, because he does not don the embroidered robe decorated with gold, with which the other is adorned, nor does he have the golden crown, but is clad in a white toga bordered with purple, the native dress of the consuls and praetors, and wears a crown of laurel; he is also inferior to the other in not holding a sceptre, but everything else is the same. [4] The reason why this inferior honour was decreed to Postumius, though he had distinguished himself more than any man in the last engagement, was the severe and shameful defeat he had suffered earlier, in the sortie he made against the enemy, in which he not only lost many of his men, but narrowly escaped being taken prisoner himself together with the troops that had survived that rout.

[48.1] In the consulship of these men Publius Valerius, surnamed Publicola, fell sick and died, a man esteemed superior to all the Romans of his time in every virtue. I need not relate all the achievements of this man which he deserves to be both admired and remembered, because most of them have

been already narrated in the beginning of this Book; but I think I should not omit one thing which most deserves admiration of all that can be said in his praise and has not yet been mentioned. For I look upon it as the greatest duty of the historian not only to relate the military achievements of illustrious generals and any excellent and salutary measures that they have devised and put into practice for the benefit of their states, but also to note their private lives, whether they have lived with moderation and self-control and in strict adherence to the traditions of their country. [2] This man, then, though he had been one of the first four patricians who expelled the kings and confiscated their fortunes, though he had been invested four times with the consular power, had been victorious in two wars to greatest consequence and celebrated triumphs for both — the first time for his victory over the Tyrrhenian nation and the second time for that over the Sabines — and though he had such opportunities for amassing riches, which none could have traduced as shameful and wrong, nevertheless was not overcome by avarice, the vice which enslaves all men and forces them to act unworthily; but he continued to live on the small estate he had inherited from his ancestors, leading a life of self-control and frugality superior to every desire, and with his small means he brought up his children in a manner worthy of their birth, making it plain to all men that he is rich, not who possesses many things, but who requires few. [3] A sure and incontestable proof of the frugality he had shown during his whole lifetime was the poverty that was revealed after his death. For in his whole estate he did not leave enough even to provide for his funeral and burial in such a manner as became a man of his dignity, but his relations were intending to carry his body out of the city in a shabby manner, and as one would that of an ordinary man, to be burned and buried. The senate, however, learning how impoverished they were, decreed that the expenses of his burial should be defrayed from the public treasury, and appointed a place in the city near the Forum, at the foot of the Velia, where his body was burned and buried, an honour paid to him alone of all the illustrious men down to my time. This place is, as it were, sacred and dedicated to his posterity as a place of burial, an advantage greater than any wealth or royalty, if one measures happiness, not by shameful pleasures, but by the standard of honour. [4] Thus Valerius Publicola, who had aimed at the acquisition of nothing more than wanted supply his necessary wants, was honoured by his country with a splendid funeral, like one of the richest kings. And all the Roman matrons with one consent, mourned for him during a whole year, as they had done for Junius Brutus, by laying aside both their gold and purple; for thus it is the custom for them to mourn after the funeral rites of their nearest relations.

[49.1] The next year Spurius Cassius, surnamed Vecellinus, and Opiter Verginius Tricostus were appointed consuls. In their consulship the war with the Sabines was ended by one of them, Spurius, after a hard battle fought near the city of Cures; in this battle about 10,300 Sabines were killed and nearly

4000 taken prisoners. [2] Overwhelmed by this final misfortune, the Sabines sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace. Then, upon being referred to the senate by Cassius, they came to Rome, and after many entreaties obtained with difficulty a reconciliation and termination of the war by giving, not only as much grain to the army as Cassius ordered, but also a certain sum of money per man and ten thousand acres of land under cultivation. [3] Spurius Cassius celebrated a triumph for his victory in this war; but the other consul, Verginius, led an expedition against the city of Cameria, which had withdrawn from its alliance with the Romans during this war. He took half the other army with him, telling no one whither he was marching, and covered the distance during the night, in order that he might fall upon the inhabitants while they were unprepared and unapprised of his approach; and so it fell out. [4] For he was already close to their walls, without having been discovered by anybody, just as day was breaking; and before encamping he brought up battering-rams and scaling ladders, and made use of every device used in sieges. The Camerini were astounded at his sudden arrival and some of them thought they ought to open the gates and receive the consul, while others insisted upon defending themselves with all their power and not permitting the enemy to enter the city; and while this confusion and dissension prevailed, the consul, having broken down the gates and scaled the lowest parts of the ramparts by means of ladders, took the city by storm. [5] That day and the following night he permitted his men to pillage the town; but the next day he ordered the prisoners to be brought together in one place, and having put to death all the authors of the revolt, he sold the rest of the people and razed the city.

[50.1] In the seventieth Olympiad (the one in which Niceas of Opus in Locris won the foot-race), Smyrus being archon at Athens, Postumus Cominius and Titus Larcius took over the consulship. In their year of office the cities of the Latins withdrew from the friendship of the Romans, Octavius Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, having prevailed upon the most prominent men of every city, partly by promises of gifts and partly by entreaties, to assist in restoring the exiles. [2] And a general assembly was held of all the cities that were wont to meet at Ferentinum except Rome (for this was the only city they had not notified as usual to be present), at which the cities were to give their votes concerning war, to choose generals, and to consider the other preparations. [3] Now it happened that at this time Marcus Valerius, a man of consular rank, had been sent as ambassador by the Romans to the neighbouring cities to ask them not to begin any revolt; for some of their people sent out by the men in power were plundering the neighbouring fields and doing great injury to the Roman husbandmen. This man, upon learning that the general assembly of the cities was being held so that all might give their votes concerning the war, came to the assembly; and requesting of the presidents leave to speak, he said that he had been sent as ambassador by the commonwealth to the cities that were sending out the bands of robbers, to ask

of them that they would seek out the men who were guilty of these wrongs and deliver them up to be punished according to the provision which they had laid down in the treaty when they entered into their league of friendship, and also to demand that they take care for the future that no fresh offence should occur to disrupt their friendship and kinship. [4] But, observing that all the cities had met together in order to declare war against the Romans — a purpose which he recognized, not only from many other evidences, but particularly because the Romans were the only persons they had not notified to be present at the assembly, although it was stipulated in the treaty that all the cities of the Latin race should be represented at the general assemblies when summoned by the presidents — he said he wondered what provocation or what cause of complaint against the commonwealth had caused the deputies to omit Rome from the cities they had invited to the assembly, when she ought to have been the first of all to be represented and the first to be asked her opinion, inasmuch as she held the leadership of the nation, which she had received from them with their own consent in return for many great benefits she had conferred upon them.

[51.1] Following him, the Aricians, having asked leave to speak, accused the Romans of having, though kinsmen, brought upon them the Tyrrhenian war and of having caused all the Latin cities, as far as lay in their power, to be deprived of their liberty by the Tyrrhenians. And King Tarquinius, renewing the treaty of friendship and alliance that he had made with the general council of their cities, asked those cities to fulfil their oaths and restore him to the sovereignty. The exiles also from Fidenae and Cameria, the former lamenting the taking of their city and their own banishment from it, and the latter the enslaving of their countrymen and the razing of their city, exhorted them to declare war. [2] Last of all, Tarquinius' son-in-law, Mamilius, a man most powerful at that time among the Latins, rose up and inveighed against the Romans in a long speech. And, Valerius answering all his accusations and seeming to have the advantage in the justice of his cause, the deputies spent that day in hearing the accusations and the defences without reaching any conclusion to their deliberations. But on the following day the presidents would no longer admit the Roman ambassadors to the assembly, but gave a hearing to Tarquinius, Mamilius, the Arician, and all the others who wished to make charges against the Romans, and after hearing them all through, they voted that the treaty had been dissolved by the Romans, and gave this answer to the embassy of Valerius: that inasmuch as the Romans had by their acts of injustice dissolved the ties of kinship between them, they would consider at leisure in what manner they ought to punish them.

[3] While this was going on, a conspiracy was formed against the state, numerous slaves having agreed together to seize the heights and to set fire to the city in many places. But, information being given by their accomplices, the gates were immediately closed by the consuls and all the strong places in the city were occupied by the knights. And straightway all those whom the

informers declared to have been concerned in the conspiracy were either seized in their houses or brought in from the country, and after being scourged and tortured they were all crucified. These were the events of this consulship.

[52.1] Servius Sulpicius Camerinus and Manius Tullius Longus having taken over the consulship, some of the Fidenates, after sending for soldiers from the Tarquinii, took possession of the citadel at Fidenae, and putting to death some of those who were not of the same mind and banishing others, caused the city to revolt again from the Romans. And when a Roman embassy arrived, they were inclined to treat the men like enemies, but being hindered by the elders from doing so, they drove them out of the city, refusing either to listen to them or to say anything to them. [2] The Roman senate, being informed of this, did not desire as yet to make war upon the whole nation of the Latins, because they understood that they did not all approve of the resolutions taken by the deputies in the assembly, but that the common people in every city shrank from the war, and that those who demanded that the treaty should remain in force outnumbered those who declared it had been dissolved. But they voted to send one of the consuls, Manius Tullius, against the Fidenates with a large army; and he, having laid waste their country quite unmolested, as none offered to defend it, encamped near the walls and placed guards to prevent the inhabitants from receiving provisions, arms, or any other assistance. [3] The Fidenates, being thus shut up within their walls, sent ambassadors to the cities of the Latins to ask for prompt assistance; whereupon the presidents of the Latins, holding an assembly of the cities and again giving leave to the Tarquinii and to the ambassadors from the besieged to speak, called upon the deputies, beginning with the oldest and the most distinguished, to give their opinion concerning the best way to make war against the Romans. [4] And many speeches having been made, first, concerning the war itself, the most turbulent of the deputies were for restoring the king to power and advised assisting the Fidenates, being desirous of getting into positions of command in the armies and engaging in great undertakings; and this was the case particularly with those who yearned for domination and despotic power in their own cities, in gaining which they expected the assistance of the Tarquinii when these had recovered the sovereignty over the Romans. On the other hand, the men of the greatest means and of the greatest reasonableness maintained that the cities ought to adhere to the treaty and not hastily resort to arms; and these were the most influential with the common people. [5] Those who pressed for war, being thus defeated by the advisers of peace, at last persuaded the assembly to do this much at least — to send ambassadors to Rome to invite and at the same time to advise the commonwealth to receive the Tarquinii and the other exiles upon the terms of impunity and a general amnesty, and after making a covenant concerning these matters, to restore their traditional form of government and to withdraw their army from Fidenae, since the Latins would not permit their kinsmen and friends to be despoiled of their country; and in case the Romans should consent to do

neither of these things, they would then deliberate concerning war. [6] They were not unaware that the Romans would consent to neither of these demands, but they desired to have a specious pretence for their hostility, and they expected to win over their opponents in the meantime by courting them and doing them favours. The deputies, having passed this vote and set a year's time for the Romans in which to deliberate and for themselves to make their preparations, and having appointed such ambassadors as Tarquinius wished, dismissed the assembly.

[53.1] When the Latins had dispersed to their several cities, Mamilius and Tarquinius, observing that the enthusiasm of most of the people had flagged, began to abandon their hopes of foreign assistance as not very certain, and changing their minds, they formed plans to stir up in Rome itself a civil war, against which their enemies would not be on their guard, by fomenting a sedition of the poor against the rich. [2] Already the greater part of the common people were uneasy and disaffected, especially the poor and those who were compelled by their debts no longer to have the best interests of the commonwealth at heart. For the creditors showed no moderation in the use of their power, but haling their debtors to prison, treated them like slaves they had purchased. [3] Tarquinius, hearing of this, sent some persons who free from suspicion to Rome with money, in company with the ambassadors of the Latins, and these men, engaging in conversation with the needy and with those who were boldest, and giving them some money and promising more if the Tarquini returned, corrupted a great many of the citizens. And thus a conspiracy was formed against the aristocracy, not only by needy freemen, but also by unprincipled slaves who were beguiled by hopes of freedom. The latter, because of the punishment of their fellow-slaves the year before, were hostile toward their masters and in a mood to plot against them, since they were distrusted by them and suspected of being ready themselves also to attack them at some time if the opportunity should offer; and accordingly they hearkened willingly to those who invited them to make the attempt. [4] The plan of their conspiracy was as follows: The leaders of the undertaking were to wait for a moonless night and then seize the heights and the other strong places in the city; and the slaves, when they perceived that the others were in possession of those places of advantage (which was to be made known to them by raising a shout), were to kill their masters while they slept, and having done this, to plunder the houses of the rich and open the gates to the tyrants.

[54.1] But the divine Providence, which has on every occasion preserved this city and down to my own times continues to watch over it, brought their plans to light, information being given to Sulpicius, one of the consuls, by two brothers, Publius and Marcus Tarquinius of Laurentum, who were among the heads of the conspiracy and were forced by the compulsion of Heaven to reveal it. [2] For frightful visions haunted them in their dreams whenever they slept, threatening them with dire punishments if they did not desist and

abandon their attempt; and at last they thought that they were pursued and beaten by some demons, that their eyes were gouged out, and that they suffered many other cruel torments. In consequence of which they would wake with fear and trembling, and they could not even sleep because of these terrors. [3] At first they endeavoured, by means of certain propitiatory and expiatory sacrifices, to avert the anger of the demons who haunted them; but accomplishing naught, they had recourse to divination, keeping secret the purpose of their enterprise and asking only to know whether it was yet the time to carry out their plan; and when the soothsayer answered that they were travelling an evil and fatal road, and that if they did not change their plans they would perish in the most shameful manner, fearing lest others should anticipate them in revealing the secret, they themselves gave information of the conspiracy to the consul who was then at Rome. [4] He, having commended them and promised them great rewards if they made their actions conform to their words, kept them in his house without telling anyone; and introducing to the senate the ambassadors of the Latins, whom he had hitherto kept putting off, delaying his answer, he now gave them the answer that the senators had decided upon. [5] "Friends and kinsmen," he said, "go back and report to the Latin nation that the Roman people did not either in the first instance grant the request of the Tarquinienses for the restoration of the tyrants or afterwards yield to all the Tyrrhenians, led by King Porsena, when they interceded in behalf of these same exiles and brought upon the commonwealth the most grievous of all wars, but submitted to seeing their land laid waste, their farm-houses set on fire, and themselves shut up within their walls for the sake of liberty and of not having to act otherwise than they wished at the command of another. And they wonder, Latins, that though you are aware of this, you have nevertheless come to them with orders to receive the tyrants and to raise the siege of Fidenae, and, if they refuse to obey you, threaten them with war. Cease, then, putting forward these stupid and improbable excuses for enmity; and if for these reasons you are determined to dissolve your ties of kinship and to declare war, defer it no longer."

[55.1] Having given this answer to the ambassadors and ordered them to be conducted out of the city, he then told the senate everything relating to the secret conspiracy which he had learned from the informers. And receiving from the senate full authority to seek out the participants in the conspiracy and to punish those who should be discovered, he did not pursue the arbitrary and tyrannical course that anyone else might have followed under the like necessity, but resorted to the reasonable and safe course that was consistent with the form of government then established. [2] Thus he was unwilling, in the first place, that citizens should be seized in their own houses and haled thence to death, torn from the embraces of their wives, children and parents, but considered the compassion which the relations of the various culprits would feel at the violent snatching away of those who were closest to them, and also feared that some of the guilty, if they were driven to despair, might rush to

arms, and those who were forced to turn to illegal methods might engage in civil bloodshed. Nor, again, did he think he ought to appoint tribunals to try them, since he reasoned that they would deny all guilty and that no certain and incontrovertible proof of it, besides the information he had just received, could be laid before the judges to which they would give credit and condemn the citizens to death. [3] But he devised a new method of outwitting those who were stirring up sedition, a method by which, in the first place, the leaders of the conspiracy would of themselves, without any compulsion, meet in one place, and then would be convicted by incontrovertible proofs, so that they would be left without any defence whatever; furthermore, as they would not then be assembled in an unfrequented place nor convicted before a few witnesses only, but their guilt would be made manifest in the Forum before the eyes of all, they would suffer the punishment they deserved, and there would be no disturbance in the city nor uprisings on the part of others, as often happens when the seditious are punished, particularly in dangerous times.

[56.1] Another historian, now, might have thought it sufficient to state merely the gist of this matter, namely, that the consul apprehended those who had taken part in the conspiracy and point them to death, as if the facts needed little explanation. But I, since I regarded the manner also of their apprehension as being worthy of history, decided not to omit it, considering that the readers of histories do not derive sufficient profit from learning the bare outcome of events, but that everyone demands that the causes of events also be related, as well as the ways in which things were done, the motives of those who did them, and the instances of divine intervention, and that they be left uninformed of none of the circumstances that naturally attend those events. And for statesmen I perceive that the knowledge of these things is absolutely necessary, to the end that they may have precedents for their use in the various situations that arise. [2] Now the manner of apprehending the conspirators devised by the consul was this: From among the senators he selected those who were in the vigour of their age and ordered that, as soon as the signal should be given, they, together with their most trusted friends and relations, should seize the strong places of the city where each of them chanced to dwell; and the knights he commanded to wait, equipped with their swords, in the most convenient houses round the Forum and to do whatever he should command. [3] And to the end that, while he was apprehending the citizens, neither their relations nor any of the other citizens should create a disturbance and that there might be no civil bloodshed by reason of this commotion, he sent a letter to the consul who had been appointed to conduct the siege of Fidenae, bidding him come to the city at the beginning of night with the flower of his army and to encamp upon a height near the walls.

[57.1] Having made these preparations, he ordered those who had given information of the plot to send word to the heads of the conspiracy to come to the Forum about midnight bringing with them their most trusted friends, there

to learn their appointed place and station and the watch-word and what each of them was to do. This was done. And when all the leaders among the conspirators had assembled in the Forum, signals, not perceived by them, were given, and immediately the heights were filling with men who had taken up arms in defence of the state and all the parts round the Forum were under guard by the knights, not a single outlet being left for any who might desire to leave. [2] And at the same time Manius, the other consul, having broken camp at Fidenae, arrived in the Field with his army. As soon as day appeared, the consuls, surrounded by armed men, advanced to the tribunal and ordered the heralds to go through all the streets and summon the people to an assembly; and when the entire populace of the city had flocked thither, they acquainted them with the conspiracy formed to restore the tyrant, and produced the informers. [3] After that they gave the accused an opportunity of making their defence if any of them had any objections to offer to the information. When none attempted to resort to denial, they withdrew from the Forum to the senate-house to ask the opinion of the senators concerning them; and having caused their decision to be written out, they returned to the assembly and read the decree, which was as follows: To the Tarquinius who had given information of the attempt should be granted citizenship and ten thousand drachmae of silver to each and twenty acres of the public land; and the conspirators should be seized and put to death, if the people concurred. [4] The assembled crowd having confirmed the decree of the senate, the consuls ordered those who had come together for the assembly to withdraw from the Forum; then they summoned the lictors, who were equipped with their swords, and these, surrounding the guilty men in the place where they were hemmed in, put them all to death. After the consuls had caused these men to be executed, they received no more informations against any who had participated in the plot, but acquitted of the charges everyone who had escaped summary punishment, to the end that all cause of disturbance might be removed from the city. [5] In such fashion were those who had formed the conspiracy put to death. The senate then ordered all the citizens to be purified because they had been under the necessity of giving their votes about shedding the blood of citizens, on the ground that it was not lawful for them to be present at the sacred rites and take part in the sacrifices before they had expiated the pollution and atoned for the calamity by the customary lustrations. After everything that was required by divine law had been performed by the interpreters of religious matter according to the custom of the country, the senate voted to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving and to celebrate games, and set aside three days as sacred for this purpose. And when Manius Tullius, one of the consuls, fell from the sacred chariot in the Circus itself during the procession at the sacred games called after the name of the city, and died the third day after, Sulpicius continued alone in the magistracy during the rest of the time, which was not long.

[58.1] Publius Veturius Geminus and Publius Aebutius Elva were appointed

consuls for the following year. Of these Aebutius was put in charge of the civil affairs, which seemed to require no small attention, lest some fresh uprising should be made by the poor. And Veturius, marching out with one half of the army, laid waste the lands of the Fidenates without opposition, and sitting down before the town, delivered attacks without ceasing; but not being able to take the wall by siege, he proceeded to surround the town with palisades and a ditch, intending to reduce the inhabitants by famine. [2] The Fidenates were already in great distress when assistance from the Latins arrived, sent by Sextus Tarquinius, together with grain, arms and other supplies for the war. Encouraged by this, they made bold to come out of the town with an army of no small size and encamped in the open. The line of contravallation was now of no further use to the Romans, but a battle seemed necessary; and an engagement took place near the city, the outcome of which for some time remained indecisive. Then, forced back by the stubborn endurance of the Romans, in which they excelled because of their long training, the Fidenates, though more numerous, were put to flight by the smaller force. [3] They did not suffer any great loss, however, since their retreat into the city was over a short distance and the men who manned the walls repulsed the pursuers. After this action the auxiliary troops dispersed and returned home, without having been of any service to the inhabitants; and the city found itself once more in the same distress and laboured under a scarcity of provisions. [4] About the same time, Sextus Tarquinius marched with an army of Latins to Signia, then in the possession of the Romans, in expectation of taking the place by storm. When the garrison made a brave resistance, he was prepared to force them by famine to quit the place, and he remained there a considerable time without accomplishing anything worth mentioning; but finding himself disappointed of this hope also when provisions and assistance from the consuls reached the garrison, he raised the siege and departed with his army.

[59.1] The following year the Romans created Titus Larcius Flavius and Quintus Cloelius Siculus consuls. Of these, Cloelius was appointed by the senate to conduct the civil administration and with one half of the army to guard against any who might be inclined to sedition; for he was looked upon as fair-minded and democratic. Larcius, on his part, set out for the war against the Fidenates with a well-equipped army, after getting ready everything necessary for a siege. [2] And to the Fidenates, who were in dire straits owing to the length of the war and in want of all the necessities of life, he proved a sore affliction by undermining the foundations of the walls, raising mounds, bringing up his engines of war, and continuing the attacks night and day, in the expectation of taking the city in a short time by storm. [3] Nor were the Latin cities, on which alone the Fidenates had relied in undertaking the war, ably any longer to save them; for not one of their cities had sufficient strength by itself to raise the siege for them, and as yet no army had been raised jointly

by the whole nation. But to the ambassadors who came frequently from Fidenae the leading men of the various cities kept giving the same answer, that aid would soon come to them; no action, however, followed corresponding to the promises, but the hopes of assistance they held out went no farther than words. [4] Notwithstanding this, the Fidenates had not altogether despaired of help from the Latins, but supported themselves with constancy under all their dreadful experiences by their confidence in those hopes. Above all else, the famine was what they could not cope with and this caused the death of many inhabitants. When at last they gave way to their calamities, they sent ambassadors to the consul to ask for a truce for a definite number of days, in order to deliberate during that time concerning the conditions upon which they should enter into a league of friendship with the Romans. [5] But this time was not sought by them for deliberating, but for securing reinforcements, as was revealed by some of the deserters who had lately come over to the Romans. For the night before they had sent the most important of their citizens and such as had the greatest influence in the cities of the Latins to their general council bearing the tokens of suppliants.

[60.1] Larcius, being aware of this beforehand, ordered those who asked for a truce to lay down their arms and open their gates first, and then to treat with him. Otherwise, he told them, they would get neither peace nor a truce nor any other humane or moderate treatment from Rome. He also, by stationing more diligent guards along all the roads leading to the city, took care that the ambassadors sent to the Latin nation should not get back inside the walls. Consequently the besieged, despairing of the hoped for assistance from their allies, were compelled to have recourse to supplicating their enemies. And meeting in assembly, they decided to submit to such conditions of peace as the conqueror prescribed. [2] But the commanders at that time, it seems, were in their whole behaviour so obedient to the civil power and so far removed from tyrannical presumption (which only a few of the commanders in our days, elated by the greatness of their power, have been able to avoid), that the consul, after taking over the city, did nothing on his own responsibility, but ordering the inhabitants to lay down their arms and leaving a garrison in the citadel, went himself to Rome, and assembling the senate, left it to them to consider how those who had surrendered themselves ought to be treated. [3] Thereupon the senators, admiring him for the honour he had shown them, decided that the most prominent of the Fidenates and those who had been the authors of the revolt — these to be named by the consul — should be scourged with rods and beheaded; but concerning the rest, they gave him authority to do everything he thought fit. [4] Larcius, having thus been given full power in all matters, ordered some few of the Fidenates, who were accused by those of the opposite party, to be put to death before the eyes of all and confiscated their fortunes; but all the others he permitted to retain both their city and their goods. Nevertheless, he took from them one half of their territory, which was divided by lot among those Romans who were left in the

city as a garrison for the citadel. Having settled these matters, he returned home with his army.

[61.1] When the Latins heard of the capture of Fidenae, every city was in a state of the utmost excitement and fear, and all the citizens were angry with those who were at the head of federal affairs, accusing them of having betrayed their allies. And a general assembly being held at Ferentinum, those who urged a recourse to arms, particularly Tarquinius and his son-in-law Mamilius, together with the heads of the Arician state, inveighed bitterly against those who opposed the war; [2] and by their harangues all the deputies of the Latin nation were persuaded to undertake the war jointly against the Romans. And to the end that no city might either betray the common cause or be reconciled to the Romans without the consent of all, they swore oaths to one another and voted that those who violated this agreement should be excluded from their alliance, be accursed and regarded as the enemies of all. [3] The deputies who subscribed to the treaty and swore to its observance were from the following cities: Ardea, Aricia, Bovillae, Bubentum, Cora, Carventum, Circeii, Corioli, Corbio, Cabum, Fortinea, Gabii, Laurentum, Lanuvium, Lavinium, Labici, Nomentum, Norba, Praeneste, Pedom, Querquetula, Satricum, Scaptia, Setia, Tibur, Tusculum, Tolerium, Tellenae, Velitrae. They voted that as many men of military age from all these cities should take part in the campaign as their commanders, Octavius Mamilius and Sextus Tarquinius, should require; for they had appointed these to be their generals with absolute power. [4] And in order that the grounds they offered for the war might appear plausible, they sent the most prominent men from every city to Rome as ambassadors. These, upon being introduced to the senate, said that the Arician state preferred the following charges against the Roman state: When the Tyrrhenians had made war upon the Aricians, the Romans had not only granted them a safe passage through their territory, but had also assisted them with everything they required for the war, and having received such of the Tyrrhenians as fled from the defeat, they had saved them when they all were wounded and without arms, though they could not be ignorant that they were making war against the whole nation in common, and that if they had once made themselves masters of the city of Aricia nothing could have hindered them from enslaving all the other cities as well. [5] If, therefore, the Romans would consent to appear before the general tribunal of the Latins and answer there the accusations brought against them by the Aricians, and would abide by the decision of all the members, they said the Romans would not need to have a war; but if they persisted in their usual arrogance and refused to make any just and reasonable concessions to their kinsmen, they threatened that all the Latins would make war upon them with all their might.

[62.1] This was the proposal made by the ambassadors; but the senate was unwilling to plead its cause with the Aricians in a controversy in which their accusers would be the judges, and they did not imagine that their enemies would even confine their judgment to these charges alone, but would add

other demands still more grievous than these; and accordingly they voted to accept war. So far, indeed, as bravery and experience in warfare were concerned, they did not suppose any misfortune would befall the commonwealth, but the multitude of their enemies alarmed them; and sending ambassadors in many directions, they invited the neighbouring cities to an alliance, while the Latins in their turn sent counter-embassies to the same cities and bitterly assailed Rome. [2] The Hernicans, meeting together, gave suspicious and insincere answers to both embassies, saying that they would not for the present enter into an alliance with either, but would consider at leisure which of the two nations made the juster claims, and that they would give a year's time to that consideration. [3] The Rutulians openly promised the Latins that they would send them assistance, and assured the Romans that, if they would consent to give up their enmity, they through their influence would cause the Latins to moderate their demands and would mediate a peace between them. The Volscians said they even wondered at the shamelessness of the Romans, who, though conscious of the many injuries they had done them, and particularly of the latest, in taking from them the best part of their territory and retaining it, had nevertheless had the effrontery to invite them, who were their enemies, to an alliance; and they advised them first to restore their lands and then to ask satisfaction from them as from friends. The Tyrrhenians put obstacles in the way of both sides by alleging that they had lately made a treaty with the Romans and that they had ties of kinship and friendship with the Tarquinii. [4] Notwithstanding these answers, the Romans abated nothing of their spirit, which would have been a natural thing for those who were entering upon a dangerous war and had given up hope of any assistance from their allies; but trusting to their own forces alone, they grew much more eager for the contest, in the confidence that because of their necessity they would acquit themselves as brave men in the face of danger, and that if they succeeded according to their wish and won the war by their own valour, the glory of it would not have to be shared with anyone else. Such spirit and daring had they acquired from their many contests in the past.

[63.1] While they were preparing everything that was necessary for the war and beginning to enrol their troops, they fell into great perplexity when they found that all the citizens did not show the same eagerness for the service. For the needy, and particularly those who were unable to discharge their debts to their creditors — and there were many such — when called to arms refused to obey and were unwilling to join with the patricians in any undertaking unless they passed a vote for the remission of their debts. On the contrary, some of them threatened even to leave the city and exhorted one another to give up their fondness for living in a city that allowed them no share in any thing that was good. [2] At first the patricians endeavoured by entreaties to prevail upon them to change their purpose, but finding that in response to their entreaties they showed no greater moderation, they then assembled in the senate-house to consider what would be the most seemly method of putting an end to the

disturbance that was troubling the state. Those senators, therefore, who were fair-minded and of moderate fortunes advised them to remit the debts of the poor and to purchase for a small price the goodwill of their fellow-citizens, from which they were sure to derive great advantages both private and public.

[64.1] The author of this advice was Marcus Valerius, the son of Publius Valerius, one of those who had overthrown the tyranny and from his goodwill toward the common people had been called Publicola. He showed them that those who fight for equal rewards are apt to be inspired to action by an equal spirit of emulation, whereas it never occurs to those who are to reap no advantage to entertain any thought of bravery. He said that all the poor people were exasperated and were going about the Forum saying: [2] “What advantage shall we gain by overcoming our foreign enemies if we are liable to be haled to prison for debt by the money-lenders, or by gaining the leadership for the commonwealth if we ourselves cannot maintain even the liberty of our own persons?” He then showed them that this was not the only danger which had been brought upon them in case the people should become hostile to the senate, namely, that they would abandon the city in the midst of its perils — a possibility at which all who desired the preservation of the commonwealth must shudder — but that there was the further danger, still more formidable than this, that, seduced by favours from the tyrants, they might take up arms against the patricians and aid in restoring Tarquinius to power. [3] Accordingly, while it was still only a matter of words and threats, and no mischievous deed had been committed by the people as yet, he advised them to act in time and reconcile the people to the situation by affording them this relief; for they were neither the first to adopt such a measure nor would they incur any great disgrace on account of it, but could point to many others who had submitted, not only to this, but to other demands much more grievous, when they had no alternative. For necessity, he said, is stronger than human nature, and people insist on considering appearances only when they have already gained safety.

[65.1] After he had enumerated many examples taken from many cities, he at last offered them that of the city of Athens, then in the greatest repute for wisdom, which not very long before, but in the time of their fathers, had under the guidance of Solon voted a remission of debts to the poor; and no one, he said, censured the city for this measure or called its author a flatterer of the people or a knave, but all bore witness both to the great prudence of those who were persuaded to enact it and to the great wisdom of the man who persuaded them do so. [2] As for the Romans, whose perilous situation was due to no trivial differences, but to the danger of being delivered up again to a cruel tyrant more savage than any wild beast, what man in his senses could blame them if by this instance of humanity they should cause the poor to become joint supporters, instead of enemies, of the commonwealth? [3] After enumerating these foreign examples he ended with a reference to their own actions, reminding them of the straits to which they had been lately reduced when, their country being in the power of the Tyrrhenians and they

themselves shut up within their walls and in great want of the necessities of life, they had not taken the foolish resolutions of madmen courting death, but yielding to the emergency that was upon them and allowing necessity to teach them their interest, had consented to deliver up to King Porsena their most prominent children as hostages, a thing to which they had never submitted before, to be deprived of part of their territory by the cession of the Seven Districts to the Tyrrhenians, to accept the enemy as the judge of the accusations brought against them by the tyrant, and to furnish provisions, arms, and everything else the Tyrrhenians required as the condition of their putting an end to the war. [4] Having made use of these examples, he went on to show that it was not the part of the same prudence first to refuse no terms insisted on by their enemies and then to make war over a trivial difference upon their own citizens who had fought many glorious battles for Rome's supremacy while the kings held sway, and had shown great eagerness in assisting the patricians to free the state from the tyrants, and would show still greater zeal in what remained to be done, if invited to do so; for, though they lacked the means of existence, they would freely expose their persons and lives, which were all they had left, to any dangers for her sake. [5] In conclusion he said that, even if these men from a sense of shame forbore to say or demand anything of this kind, the patricians ought to take proper account of them and to give them readily whatever they knew they needed, whether as a class or individually, bearing in mind that they, the patricians, were doing an arrogant thing in asking of them their persons while refusing them money, and in publishing to all the world that they were making war to preserve the common liberty even while they were depriving of liberty those who had assisted them in establishing it, though they could reproach them with no wrongdoing, but only with poverty, which deserved compassion rather than hatred.

[66.1] After Valerius had spoken to this effect and many had approved of his advice, Appius Claudius Sabinus, being called upon at the proper time, advised the opposite course, declaring that the seditious spirit would not be removed from the state if they decreed an abolition of debts, but would become more dangerous by being transferred from the poor to the rich. [2] For it was plain enough to everyone that those who were to be deprived of their money would resent it, as they were not only citizens in possession of all civil rights, but had also served their country in all the campaigns that fell to their lot, and would regard it as unjust that the money left them by their fathers, together with what they themselves had by their industry and frugality acquired, should be confiscated for the benefit of the most unprincipled and the laziest of the citizens. It would be the part of great folly for them, in their desire to gratify the worse part of the citizenry, to disregard the better element, and in confiscating the fortunes of others for the benefit of the most unjust of the citizens, to take them away from those who had justly acquired them. [3] He asked them also to bear in mind that states are not overthrown by

those who are poor and without power, when they are compelled to do justice, but by the rich and such as are capable of administering public affairs, when they are insulted by their inferiors and fail to keep justice. And even if those who were to be deprived of the benefit of their contracts were not going to harbour any resentment but would submit with some degree of meekness and indifference to their losses, yet even in that case, he said, it would be neither honourable nor safe for them to gratify the poor with such a gift, by which the life of the community would be devoid of all intercourse, full of mutual hatred, and lacking in the necessary employments without which cities cannot be inhabited, since neither the husbandmen would any longer sow and plant their lands, nor the merchants sail the sea and trade in foreign markets, nor the poor employ themselves in any other just occupation. [4] For none of the rich would throw away their money to supply those who needed the means of carrying on any of these occupations; and in consequence wealth would be hated and industry destroyed, and the prodigal would be in a better condition than the frugal, the unjust than the just, and those who appropriated to themselves the fortunes of others would have the advantage over those who guarded their own. These were the things that created seditions in states, mutual slaughter without end, and every other sort of mischief, by which the most prosperous of them had lost their liberty and those whose lot was less fortunate had been totally destroyed.

[67.1] But, above all, he advised them, in instituting a new form of government, to take care that no bad custom should gain admittance there. For he declared that of whatever nature the public principles of states were, such of necessity would be the lives of the individual citizens. And there was no worse practice, he said, either for states or for families, than for everyone to live always according to his own pleasure and for everything to be granted to inferiors by their superiors, whether out of favour or from necessity. For the desires of the unintelligent are not satisfied when they obtain what they demand, but they immediately covet other and greater things, and so on without end; and this is the case particularly with the masses. For the lawless deeds which each one by himself is either ashamed or afraid to commit, being restrained by the more powerful, they are more ready to engage in when they have got together and gained strength for their own inclinations from those who are like minded. [2] And since the desires of the unintelligent mob are insatiable and boundless, it is necessary, he said, to check them at the very outset, while they are weak, instead of trying to destroy them after they have become great and powerful. For all men feel more violent anger when deprived of what has already been granted to them than when disappointed of what they merely hope for. [3] He cited many examples to prove this, relating the experiences of various Greek cities which, having become weakened because of certain critical situations and having given admittance to the beginnings of evil practices, had no longer had the power to put an end to them and abolish them, in consequence of which they had been compelled to

go on into shameful and irreparable calamities. He said the commonwealth resembled each particular man, the senate bearing some resemblance to the soul of a man and the people to his body. [4] If, therefore, they permitted the unintelligent populace to govern the senate, they would fare the same as those who subject the soul to the body and live under the influence, not of their reason, but of their passions; whereas, if they accustomed the populace to be governed and led by the senate, they would be doing the same as those who subject the body to the soul and lead lives directed toward what is best, not most pleasant. [5] He showed them that no great mischief would befall the state if the poor, dissatisfied with them for not granting an abolition of debts, should refuse to take up arms in its defence, declaring that there were few indeed who had nothing left but their persons, and these would neither offer any remarkable advantage to the state when present on its expeditions, nor, by their absence to do any great harm. For those who had the lowest rating in the census, he reminded them, were posted in the rear in battle and counted as a mere appendage to the forces that were arrayed in the battle-line, being present merely to strike the enemy with terror, since they had no other arms but slings, which are of the least use in action.

[68.1] He said that those who thought it proper to pity the poverty of the citizens and who advised relieving such of them as were unable to pay their debts ought to inquire what it was that had made them poor, when they had inherited the lands their fathers had left them and had gained much booty from their campaigns, and, last of all, when each of them had received his share of the confiscated property of the tyrants; and after that they ought to look upon such of them as they found had lived for their bellies and the most shameful pleasures, and by such means had lost their fortunes, as a disgrace and injury to the city, and to regard it as a great benefit to the common weal if they would voluntarily get to the devil out of the city. But in the case of such as they found to have lost their fortunes through an unkind fate, he advised them to relieve these with their private means. [2] Their creditors, he said, not only understood this best, but would attend to it best, and would themselves relieve their misfortunes, not under compulsion from others, but voluntarily, to the end that gratitude, instead of their money, might accrue to them as a noble debt. But to extend the relief to all alike, when the worthless would share it equally with the deserving, and to confer benefits on certain persons, not at their own expense, but at that of others, and not to leave to those whose money they took away even the gratitude owed for these services, was in no wise consistent with the virtue of Romans. [3] But above all these and the other considerations, it was a grievous and intolerable thing for the Romans, who were laying claim to the leadership — a leadership which their ancestors had acquired through many hardships and left to their posterity — if they could not do what was best and most advantageous for the commonwealth also, by their own choice, or when convinced by argument, or at the proper time, but, just as if the city had been captured or were expecting to suffer that fate, must

do things contrary to their own judgment from which they would receive very little benefit, if any, but would run the risk of suffering the very worst of ills. [4] For it was far better for them to submit to the commands of the Latins, as being more moderate, and not even to try the fortune of war, than by yielding to the pleas of those who were of no use upon any occasion, to abolish from the south the public faith, which their ancestors had appointed to be honoured by the erection of a temple and by sacrifices performed throughout the year — and this when they were merely going to add a body of slingers to their forces for the war. [5] The sum and substance of his advice was this: to take for the business in hand such citizens as were willing to share the fortune of the war upon the same terms as every other Roman, and to let those who insisted upon any special terms whatever for taking up arms for their country go hang, since they would be of no use even if they did arm. For if they knew this, he said, they would yield and show themselves prompt to obey those who took the wisest counsel for the commonwealth; since all the unintelligent are generally wont, when flattered, to be arrogant, and when terrified, to show restraint.

[69.1] These were the extreme opinions delivered upon that occasion, but there were many which took the middle ground between the two. For some of the senators favoured remitting the debts of those only who had nothing, permitting the money-lenders to seize the goods of the debtors, but not their persons. Others advised that the public treasury should discharge the obligations of the insolvents, in order both that the credit of the poor might be preserved by this public favour and their creditors might suffer no injustice. Certain others thought that they ought to ransom the persons of those who were already being held for debt or were going to be deprived of their liberty, by substituting captives in their stead and assigning these to their creditors. [2] After various views such as these had been expressed, the opinion that prevailed was that they should pass no decree for the time being concerning these matters, but that after the wars were ended in the most satisfactory manner, the consuls should then bring them up for discussion and take the votes of the senators; and that in the meantime there should be no money exacted by virtue of either any contract or any judgment, that all other suits should be dropped, and that neither the courts of justice should sit nor the magistrates take cognizance of anything but what related to the war. [3] When this decree was brought to the people, it allayed in some measure the civil commotion, yet it did not entirely remove the spirit of sedition from the state. For some of the labouring class did not look upon the hope held out by the senate, which contained nothing express or certain, as a sufficient relief; but they demanded that the senate should do one of two things, either grant them the remission of debts immediately, if it wanted to have them as partners in the dangers of the war, or not delude them by deferring it to another occasion. For men's sentiments, they said, were very different when they were making requests and after their requests had been satisfied.

[70.1] While the public affairs were in this condition, the senate, considering

by what means it could most effectually prevent the plebeians from creating any fresh disturbances, resolved to abolish the consular power for the time being and to create some other magistracy with full authority over war and peace and every other matter, possessed of absolute power and subject to no accounting for either its counsels or its actions. [2] The term of this new magistracy was to be limited to six months, after the expiration of which time the consuls were again to govern. The reasons that compelled the senate to submit to a voluntary tyranny in order to put an end to the war brought upon them by their tyrant were many and various, but the chief one was the law introduced by the consul Publius Valerius, called Publicola (concerning which I stated in the beginning that it rendered invalid the decisions of the consuls), providing that no Roman should be punished before he was tried, and granting to any who were haled to punishment by their orders the right to appeal from their decision to the people, and until the people had given their vote concerning them, the right to enjoy security for both their persons and their fortunes; and it ordained that if any person attempted to do anything contrary to these provisions he might be put to death with impunity. [3] The senate reasoned that while this law remained in force the poor could not be compelled to obey the magistrates, because, as it was reasonable to suppose, they would scorn the punishments which they were to undergo, not immediately, but only after they had been condemned by the people, whereas, when this law had been repealed, all would be under the greatest necessity of obeying orders. And to the end that the poor might offer no opposition, in case an open attempt were made to repeal the law itself, the senate resolved to introduce into the government a magistracy of equal power with a tyranny, which should be superior to all the laws. [4] And they passed a decree by which they deceived the poor and, without being detected, repealed the law that secured their liberty. The decree was to this effect; that Larcus and Cloelius, who were the consuls at the time, should resign their power, and likewise any other person who held a magistracy or had the oversight of any public business; and that a single person, to be chosen by the senate and approved of by the people, should be invested with the whole authority of the commonwealth and exercise it for a period not longer than six months, having power superior to that of the consuls. [5] The plebeians, being unaware of the real import of this proposal, ratified the resolutions of the senate, although, in fact, a magistracy that was superior to a legal magistracy was a tyranny; and they gave the senators permission to deliberate by themselves and choose the person who was to hold it.

[71.1] After this the leading men of the senate devoted much earnest thought to searching for the man who should be entrusted with the command. For they felt that the situation required a man both vigorous in action and of wide experience in warfare, a man, moreover, possessed of prudence and self-control, who would not be led into folly by the greatness of his power; but, above all these qualities and the others essential in good generals, a man was

required who knew how to govern with firmness and would show no leniency toward the disobedient, a quality of which they then stood particularly in need. [2] And though they observed that all the qualities they demanded were to be found in Titus Larcus, one of the consuls (for Cloelius, who excelled in all administrative virtues, was not a man of action nor fond of war, nor had he the ability to command others and to inspire fear, but was a mild punisher of the disobedient), they were nevertheless ashamed to deprive one of the consuls of the magistracy of which he was legally possessed and to confer upon the other the power of both, a power which was being created greater than the kingly authority. Besides, they were under some secret apprehensions lest Cloelius, taking to heart his removal from office and considering it a dishonour put upon him by the senate, might change his sentiments and, becoming a patron of the people, overthrow the whole government. [3] And when all were ashamed to lay their thoughts before the senate, and this situation had continued for a considerable time, at last the oldest and most honoured of the men of consular rank delivered an opinion by which he preserved an equal share of honour to both the consuls and yet found out from those men themselves the one who was the more suitable to command. He said that, since the senate had decreed and the people in confirm thereof had voted that the power of this magistracy should be entrusted to a single person, and since two matters remained that required no small deliberation and thought, namely, who should be the one to receive this magistracy that was of equal power with a tyranny, and by what legal authority he should be appointed, it was his opinion that one of the present consuls, either by consent of his colleague or by recourse to the lot, should choose among all the Romans the person he thought would govern the commonwealth in the best and most advantageous manner. They had no need on the present occasion, he said, of interreges, to whom it had been customary under the monarchy to give the sole power of appointing those who were to reign, since the commonwealth was already provided with the lawful magistrate.

[72.1] This opinion being applauded by all, another senator rose up and said: "I think, senators, this also ought to be added to the motion, namely, that as two persons of the greatest worth have at present the administration of the public affairs, men whose superiors you could not find, one of them should be empowered to make the nomination and the other should be appointed by his colleague, after they have considered together which of them is the more suitable person, to the end that, as the honour is equal between them, so the satisfaction may be equal also, to the one, in having declared his colleague to be the best man, and to the other, in having been declared the best by his colleague; for each of these things is pleasing and honourable. I know, to be sure, that even if this amendment were not made to the motion, they themselves would have thought proper to act in this manner; but it is better it should appear that you likewise approve of no other course." [2] This proposal also seemed to meet with the approval of all, and the motion was then passed

without further amendment. When the consuls had received the authority to decide which of them was the more suitable to command, they did a thing both admirable in itself and passing all human belief. For each of them declared, as worthy of the command, not himself, but the other; and they continued all that day enumerating one another's virtues and begging that they themselves might not receive the command, so that all who were present in the senate were in great perplexity. [3] When the senate had been dismissed, the kinsmen of each and the most honoured among the senators at large came to Larcius and continued to entreat him till far into the night, informing him that the senate had placed all its hopes in him and declaring that his indifference toward the command was prejudicial to the commonwealth. But Larcius was unmoved, and in his turn continued to address many prayers and entreaties to each of them. The next day, when the senate had again assembled, and he still resisted and, in spite of the advice of all the senators, would not change his mind, Cloelius rose up and nominated him, according to the practice of the interreges, and then abdicated the consulship himself.

[73.1] Larcius was the first man to be appointed sole ruler at Rome with absolute authority in war, in peace, and in all other matters. They call this magistrate a dictator, either from his power of issuing whatever orders he wishes and of prescribing for the others rules of justice and right as he thinks proper (for the Romans call commands and ordinances respecting what is right and wrong *edicta* or "edicts") so, as some write, from the form of nomination which was then introduced, since he was to receive the magistracy, not from the people, according to ancestral usage, but by the appointment of one man. [2] For they did not think they ought to give an invidious and obnoxious title to any magistracy that had the oversight of a free people, as well as for the sake of the governed, lest they should be alarmed by the odious terms of address, as from a regard for the men who were assuming the magistracies, lest they should unconsciously either suffer some injury from others or themselves commit against others acts of injustice of the sort that positions of such authority bring in their train. For the extent of the power which the dictator possesses is by no means indicated by the title; for the dictatorship is in reality an elective tyranny. [3] The Romans seem to me to have taken this institution also from the Greeks. For the magistrates anciently called among the Greeks *aisymnêtai* or "regulators," as Theophrastus writes in his treatise *On Kingship*, were a kind of elective tyrants. They were chosen by the cities, not for a definite time nor continuously, but for emergencies, as often and for as long a time as seemed convenient; just as the Mitylenaeans, for example, once chose Pittacus to oppose the exiles headed by Alcaeus, the poet.

[74.1] The first men who had recourse to this institution had learned the advantage of it by experience. For in the beginning all the Greek cities were governed by kings, though not despotically, like the barbarian nations, but according to certain laws and time-honoured customs, and he was the best

king who was the most just, the most observant of the laws, and did not in any wise depart from the established customs. [2] This appears from Homer, who calls kings *dikaspoloi* or “ministers of justice,” and *themispoloi* or “ministers of the laws.” And kingships continued to be carried on for a long time subject to certain stated conditions, like that of the Lacedaemonians. But as some of the kings began to abuse their powers and made little use of the laws, but settled most matters according to their own judgment, people in general grew dissatisfied with the whole institution and abolished the kingly governments; and enacting laws and choosing magistrates, they used these as the safeguards of their cities. [3] But when neither the laws they had made were sufficient to ensure justice nor the magistrates who had undertaken the oversight of them able to uphold the laws, and times of crisis, introducing many innovations, compelled them to choose, not the best institutions, but such as were best suited to the situations in which they found themselves, not only in unwelcome calamities, but also in immoderate prosperity, and when their forms of government were becoming corrupted by these conditions and required speedy and arbitrary correction, they were compelled to restore the kingly and tyrannical powers, though they concealed them under more attractive titles. Thus, the Thessalians called these officials *archoi* or “commanders,” and the Lacedaemonians *harmosati* or “harmonizers,” fearing to call them tyrants or kings, on the ground that it was not right for them to confirm those powers again which they had abolished with oaths and imprecations, under the approbation of the gods. [4] My opinion, therefore, is, as I said, that the Romans took this example from the Greeks; but Licinius believes they took the dictatorship from the Albans, these being, as he says, the first who, when the royal family had become extinct upon the death of Amulius and Numitor, created annual magistrates with the same power the kings had enjoyed and called these magistrates dictators. For my part, I have not thought it worth while to inquire from whence the Romans took the name but from whence they took the example of the power comprehended under that name. But perhaps it is not worth while to discuss the matter further.

[75.1] I shall now endeavour to relate in a summary manner how Larcius handled matters when he had been appointed the first dictator, and show with what dignity he invested the magistracy, for I look upon these matters as being most useful to my readers, since they will afford a great abundance of noble and profitable examples, not only to lawgivers and leaders of the people, but also to all others who aspire to take part in public life and to govern the state. For it is no mean and humble state of which I am going to relate the institutions and manners, nor were the men nameless outcasts whose counsels and actions I shall record, so that my zeal for small and trivial details might to some appear tedious and trifling; but I am writing the history of the state which prescribes rules of right and justice for all mankind, and of the leaders who raised her to that dignity, matters concerning which any philosopher or statesman would earnestly strive not to be ignorant. [2] As soon,

therefore, as Larcus had assumed this power, he appointed as his Master of the Horse Spurius Cassius, who had been consul about the seventieth Olympiad. This custom has been observed by the Romans down to my generation and no one appointed dictator has thus far gone through his magistracy without a Master of the Horse. After that, desiring to show how great was the extent of his power, he ordered the lictors, more to inspire terror than for any actual use, to carry the axes with the bundles of rods through the city, thereby reviving once more a custom that had been observed by the kings but abandoned by the consuls after Valerius Publicola in his first consulship had lessened the hatred felt for that magistracy. [3] Having by this and the other symbols of royal power terrified the turbulent and the seditious, he first ordered all the Romans, pursuant to the best of all the practices established by Servius Tullius, the most democratic of the kings, to return valuations of their property, each in their respective tribes, adding the names of their wives and children as well as the ages of themselves and their children. And all of them having registered in a short time by reason of the severity of the penalty (for the disobedient were to lose both their property and their citizenship), the Romans who had arrived at the age of manhood were found to number 150,700. [4] After that he separated those who were of military age from the older men, and distributing the former into centuries, he formed four bodies of foot and horse, of which he kept one, the best, about his person, while of the remaining three bodies, he ordered Cloelius, who had been his colleague in the consulship, to choose the one he wished, Spurius Cassius, the Master of the Horse, to take the third, and Spurius Larcus, his brother, the remaining one; this last body together with the older men was ordered to guard the city, remaining inside the walls.

[76.1] When he had got everything ready that was necessary for the war, he took the field with his forces and established three camps in the places where he suspected the Latins would be the most likely to make their invasion. He considered that it is the part of a prudent general, not only to strengthen his own position, but also to weaken that of the enemy, and, above all, to bring wars to an end without a battle or hardship, or, if that cannot be done, then with the least expenditure of men; and regarding as the worse of all wars and the most distressing those which men are forced to undertake against kinsmen and friends, he thought they ought to be settled by an accommodation in which clemency outweighed the demands of justice. [2] Accordingly, he not only sent secretly to the most important men among the Latins some persons who were free from suspicion and attempted to persuade them to establish friendship between the two states, but he also sent ambassadors openly both to the several cities and to their league and by that means easily brought it about that they no longer entertained the same eagerness for the war. But in particular he won them over and set them against their leaders by the following service. [3] The men who had received the supreme command over the Latins, namely, Mamilius and Sextus, keeping their forces all together in

the city of Tusculum, were preparing to march on Rome, but were consuming much time in delay, either waiting for the cities which were slow in joining them or because the sacrificial victims were not favourable. During this time some of their men, scattering abroad from the camp, proceeded to plunder the territory of the Romans. [4] Larcius, being informed of this, sent Cloelius against them with the most valiant, both of the horse and light-armed troops; and he, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed a few in the action and took the rest prisoners. These Larcius caused to be cured of their wounds, and having gained their affection by many other instances of kindness, he sent them to Tusculum safe and sound without ransom, and with them the most distinguished of the Romans as ambassadors. Through their efforts the army of the Latins was disbanded and a year's truce concluded between the two states.

[77.1] After Larcius had effected these things, he brought the army home from the field, and having appointed consuls, laid down his magistracy before the whole term of his power had expired, without having put any of the Romans to death, banished any, or inflicted any other severity on any of them. [2] This enviable example set by Larcius was continued by all who afterwards received this same power till the third generation before ours. Indeed, we find no instance of any one of them in history who did not use it with moderation and as became a citizen, though the commonwealth has often found it necessary to abolish the legal magistracies and to put the whole administration under one man. [3] If, now, in foreign wars alone those who held the dictatorship had shown themselves brave champions of the fatherland, quite uncorrupted by the greatness of their power, it would not be so remarkable; but as it was, all who obtained this great power, whether in times of civil dissensions, which were many and serious, or in order to overthrow those who were suspected of aiming at monarchy or tyranny, or to prevent numberless other calamities, acquitted themselves in a manner free from reproach, like the first man who received it; so that all men gained the same opinion, and the last hope of safety when all others had been snatched away by some crisis, was the dictatorship. [4] But in the time of our fathers, a full four hundred years after Titus Larcius, the institution became an object of reproach and hatred to all men under L. Cornelius Sulla, the first and only dictator who exercised his power with harshness and cruelty; so the Romans then perceived for the first time what they had along been ignorant of, that the dictatorship is a tyranny. [5] For Sulla composed the senate of commonplace men, reduced the power of the tribunes to the minimum, depopulated whole cities, abolished some kingdoms and established others himself, and was guilty of many other arbitrary acts, which it would be a great task to enumerate. As for the citizens, besides those slain in battle, he put no fewer than forty thousand to death after they had surrendered to him, and some of these after he had first tortured them. [6] Whether all these acts of his were necessary or advantageous to the commonwealth the present is not the time to inquire; all I have undertaken to

show is that the name of dictator was rendered odious and terrible because of them. This is wont to be the case, not only with positions of power, but also with the other advantages which are eagerly contended for and admired in everyday life. For they all appear noble and profitable to those who hold them when they are used nobly, but base and unprofitable when they find unprincipled champions. For this result Nature is responsible, which to all good things has attached some congenital evils. But another occasion may be more suitable for discussing this subject.

BOOK VI

[1.1] Aulus Sempronius Atratinus and Marcus Minucius, who assumed the consulship the following year, in the seventy-first Olympiad (the one in which Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race), Hipparchus being archon at Athens, performed no action either of a military or administrative nature worthy of the notice of history during their term of office, since the truce with the Latins gave them ample respite from foreign wars, and the injunction decreed by the senate against the exaction of debts till the war that was expected should be safely terminated, quieted the disturbances raised in the city by the poor, who desired to be discharged of their debts by a public act; [2] but they caused the senate to pass a most reasonable decree which provided that any women of Roman birth who were married to Romans should have full power to decide for themselves whether they preferred to stay with their husbands or to return to their own cities, and also provided that the male children should remain with their fathers and the female and unmarried should follow their mothers. For it happened that a great many women, by reason of the kinship and friendship existing between the two nations, had been given in marriage each into the other's state. The women, having this liberty granted to them by the decree of the senate, showed how great was their desire to live at Rome; [3] for almost all the Roman women who lived in the Latin cities left their husbands and returned to their fathers, and all the Latin women who were married to Romans, except two, scorned their native countries and stayed with their husbands — a happy omen foretelling which of the two nations was to be victorious in the war.

[4] Under these consuls, they say, the temple was dedicated to Saturn upon the ascent leading from the Forum to the Capitol, and annual festivals and sacrifices were appointed to be celebrated in honour of the god at the public expense. Before this, they say, an altar built by Hercules was established there, upon which the persons who had received the holy rites from him offered the first-fruits as burnt-offerings according to the customs of the Greeks. Some historians state that the credit for beginning this temple was given to Titus Larcius, the consul of the previous year, others, that it was even given to King Tarquinius — the one who was driven from the throne — and that the dedication fell to Postumus Cominius pursuant to a decree of the senate. These consuls, then, had the opportunity, as I said, of enjoying a profound peace.

[2.1] They were succeeded in the consulship by Aulus Postumius and Titus Verginius, under whom the year's truce with the Latins expired; and great preparations for the war were made by both nations. On the Roman side the whole population entered upon the struggle voluntarily and with great enthusiasm; but the greater part of the Latins were lacking in enthusiasm and acted under compulsion, the powerful men in the cities having been almost all

corrupted with bribes and promises by Tarquinius and Mamilius, while those among the common people who were not in favour of the war were excluded from a share in the public counsels; for permission to speak was no longer granted to all who desired it. [2] Indeed, many, resenting this treatment, were constrained to leave their cities and desert to the Romans; for the men who had got the cities in their power did not choose to stop them, but thought themselves much obliged to their adversaries for submitting to a voluntary banishment. These the Romans received, and such of them as came with their wives and children they employed in military services inside the walls, incorporating them in the centuries of citizens, and the rest they sent out to the fortresses near the city or distributed among their colonies, keeping them under guard, so that they should create no disturbance. [3] And since all men had come to the same conclusion, that the situation once more called for a single magistrate free to deal with all matters according to his own judgment and subject to no accounting for his actions, Aulus Postumius, the younger of the consuls, was appointed dictator by his colleague Verginius, and following the example of the former dictator, chose his own Master of the Horse, naming Titus Aebutius Elva. And having in a short time enlisted all the Romans who were of military age, he divided his army into four parts, one of which he himself commanded, while he gave another to his colleague Verginius, the third to Aebutius, the Master of the Horse, and left the command of the fourth to Aulus Sempronius, whom he appointed to guard the city.

[3.1] After the dictator had prepared everything that was necessary for the war, his scouts brought him word that the Latins had taken the field with all their forces; and others in turn informed him that they had captured by storm a strong place called Corbio, in which there was stationed a small garrison of the Romans. The garrison they wiped out completely, and the place itself, now that they had gained possession of it, they were making a base for the war. They were not capturing any slaves or cattle in the country districts, except those taken at Corbio, since the husbandmen had long before removed into the nearest fortresses everything that they could drive or carry away; but they were setting fire to the houses that had been abandoned and laying waste the country. [2] After the Latins had already taken the field, an army of responsible size came to them from Antium, the most important city of the Volscian nation, with arms, grain, and everything else that was necessary for carrying on the war. Greatly heartened by this, they were in excellent hopes that the other Volscians would join them in the war, now that the city of Antium had set the example. [3] Postumius, being informed of all this, set out hastily to the rescue before all the enemy's forces could assemble; and having led his army out by a forced march in the night, he arrived near the Latins, who lay encamped in a strong position near the lake called Regillus, and pitched his camp above them on a hill that was high and difficult of access, where, if he remained, he was sure to have many advantages over them.

[4.1] The generals of the Latins, Octavius of Tusculum, the son-in-law or, as some state, the son of the son-in-law of King Tarquinius, and Sextus Tarquinius — for they happened at that time to be encamped separately — joined their forces, and assembling the tribunes and centurions, they considered with them in what manner they should carry on the war; and many opinions were expressed. [2] Some thought they ought to charge the troops under the dictator which had occupied the hill, while they could still inspire them with fear; for they regarded their occupation of the strong positions as a sign, not of assurance, but of cowardice. Others thought they ought to surround the camp of the Romans with a ditch, and keeping them hemmed in by means of a small guard, march with the rest of the army to Rome, which they believed might easily be captured now that the best of its youth had taken the field. Still others advised them to await the reinforcements from both the Volscians and their other allies, choosing safe measures in preference to bold; for the Romans, they say, would reap no benefit from the delay, whereas their own situation would be improved by it. [3] While they were still debating, the other consul, Titus Verginius, suddenly arrived from Rome with his army, after making the march during the very next night, and encamped apart from the dictator upon another ridge that was exceeding craggy and strongly situated. Thus the Latins were cut off on both sides from the roads leading into the enemy's country, the consul encamping on the left-hand side and the dictator on the right. This still further increased the confusion of their commanders, who had chosen safety in preference to every other consideration, and also their fear that by delaying they should be forced to use up their supplies of food, which were not plentiful. When Postumius observed the inexperience of these commanders, he sent the Master of the Horse, Titus Aebutius, with the flower both of the horse and light-armed troops with orders to occupy a hill which lay close beside the road by which provisions were brought to the Latins from home; and before the enemy was aware of it, the forces sent with the Master of the Horse passed by their camp in the night, and marching through a pathless wood, gained possession of the hill.

[5] The generals of the enemy, finding that the strong places which lay in their rear were also being occupied, and no longer feeling any confident hopes that even their provisions from home would get through to them safely, resolved to drive the Romans from the hill before they could fortify it with a palisade and ditch. [2] And Sextus, one of the two generals, taking the horse with him, rode up to them full speed in the expectation that the Roman horse would not await his attack. But when these bravely withstood their charge, he maintained the fight for some time, alternately retiring and renewing the attack; and then, since the nature of the ground offered great advantages to those who were already in possession of the heights, while bringing to those who attacked from below nothing but many blows and ineffectual hardships, and since, moreover, a fresh force of chosen legionaries, sent by Postumius to follow close upon the heels of the first detachment, came to the assistance of

the Romans, he found himself unable to accomplish anything further and led the horse back to the camp; and the Romans, now secure in the possession of the place, openly strengthened the garrison there. [3] After this action Mamilius and Sextus determined not to let much time intervene, but to decide the issue by an early battle. The Roman dictator, who at first had not been of this mind, but had hoped to end the war without a battle, founding his hopes of doing so chiefly on the inexperience of the opposing generals, now resolved to engage. For some couriers had been captured by the horse that patrolled the roads, bearing letters from the Volscians to the Latin generals to inform them that numerous forces would come to their assistance in about two days, and still other forces from the Hernicans. [4] These were the considerations that reduced their commanders to an immediate necessity of fighting, though until then they had not been of this mind. After the signals for battle had been raised on both sides, the two armies advanced into the space between their camps and drew up in the following manner: Sextus Tarquinius was posted on the left wing of the Latins and Octavius Mamilius on the right; Titus, the other son of Tarquinius, held the centre, where also the Roman deserters and exiles were posted. And, all their horse being divided into three bodies, two of these were placed on the wings and one in the centre of the battle-line. [5] The left of the Roman army was commanded by Titus Aebutius, the Master of the Horse, who stood opposite to Octavius Mamilius; the right by Titus Verginius, the consul, facing Sextus Tarquinius; the centre of the line was commanded by the dictator Postumius in person, who proposed to encounter Titus Tarquinius and the exiles with him. The number of the forces of each army which drew up for battle was: on the side of the Romans 23,700 foot and 1000 horse, and on that of the Latins and their allies about 40,000 foot and 3000 horse.

[6.1] When they were on the point of engaging, the Latin generals called their men together and said many things calculated to incite them to valour, and addressed long appeals to the soldiers. And the Roman dictator, seeing his troops alarmed because they were going to encounter an army greatly superior in number to their own, and desiring to dispel that fear from their minds, called them to an assembly, and placing near him the oldest and most honoured members of the senate, addressed them as follows:

[2] “The gods by omens, sacrifices, and other auguries promise to grant to our commonwealth liberty and a happy victory, both by way of rewarding us for the piety we have shown toward them and the justice we have practised during the whole course of our lives, and also from resentment, we may reasonably suppose, against our enemies. For these, after having received many great benefits from us, being both our kinsmen and friends, and after having sworn to look upon all our enemies and friends as their own, have scorned all these obligations and are bringing an unjust war upon us, not for the sake of supremacy and dominion, to determine which of us ought more rightly to possess it, — that, indeed, would not be so terrible, — but in support of the tyranny of the Tarquinius, in order to make our commonwealth

enslaved once more instead of free. [3] But it is necessary that you too, both officers and men, knowing that you have for allies the gods, who have always preserved our city, should acquit yourselves as brave men in this battle, remembering that the assistance of the gods is given to those who fight nobly and eagerly contribute everything in their power toward victory, not to those who fly from dangers, but to those who are willing to undergo hardships in their own behalf. We have many other advantages conducive to victory prepared for us by Fortune, but three in particular, which are the greatest and the most obvious of all.

[7.1] “First, there is the confidence you have in one another, which is the thing most needed by men who are going to conquer their foes; for you do not need to begin to-day to be firm friends and faithful allies to one another, but your country has long since prepared this boon for you all. For you have been brought up together and have received the same education; you were wont to sacrifice to the gods upon the same altars; and you have both enjoyed many advantages and experienced many evils in common, by the sharing of which strong and indissoluble friendships are wont to be formed among all men. [2] Secondly, the struggle, in which your highest interests are at stake, is common to you all alike. For if you fall into the enemy’s power it will not mean that some of you will meet with no severity while others suffer the worst of fates, but all of you alike will have lost your proud position, your sovereignty and your liberty, and will no longer have the enjoyment of your wives, your children, your property, or any other blessing you now have; and those who are at the head of the commonwealth and direct the public affairs will die the most miserable death accompanied by indignities and tortures. [3] For if your enemies, though they have received no injury, great or small, at your hands, have heaped many outrages of every sort upon all of you, what must you expect them to do if they now conquer you by arms, resentful as they are because you drove them from the city, deprived them of their property, and do not permit them even to set foot upon the land of their fathers? [4] And finally, of the advantages I have mentioned you cannot, if you consider the matter aright, call this one inferior to any other — that the forces of the enemy have not proved to be so formidable as we conceived them to be, but are far short of the opinion we entertained of them. For, with the exception of the support furnished by the Antiates, you see no other allies present to take part with them in the war; whereas we were expecting that all the Volscians and many of the Sabines and Hernicans would come to them as allies, and were conjuring up in our minds a thousand other vain fears. [5] But all these things, it appears, were only dreams of the Latins, holding out empty promises and futile hopes. For some of their allies have failed to send the promised aid, out of contempt for the inexperience of their generals; others, instead of assisting them, will keep delaying, wearing away the time by merely fostering their hopes; and those who are now engaged in making their preparations will arrive too late for the battle and will be of no further use to them.

[8.1] “But if any of you, though convinced of the reasonableness of what I have said, nevertheless fear the numbers of the enemy, let them learn by a few words of instruction, or rather from their own memory, that what they dread is not formidable. Let them consider, in the first place, that the greater part of our enemies have been forced to take up arms against us, as they have often shown us by both actions and words, and that the number of those who willingly and eagerly fight for the tyrants is very small, in fact only an insignificant fraction of ours; and secondly, that all wars are won, not by the forces which are larger in numbers, but by those which are superior in valour.

[2] It would tedious to cite as examples all the armies of the Greeks as well as barbarians which, though superior in numbers, were overcome by forces so very small that the reports about the numbers engaged are not even credible to most people. But, to omit other instances, how many wars have you yourselves won, with a smaller force than you now have, when arrayed against enemies more numerous than all these the enemy have now got together? Well, then, can it be that, though you indeed continue to be formidable to those whom you have repeatedly overcome in battle, you are nevertheless contemptible in the eyes of these Latins and their allies, the Volscians, because they have never experienced your prowess in battle? But you all knew that our fathers conquered both of these nations in many battles.

[3] Is it reasonable, then, to suppose that the condition of the conquered has been improved after so many disasters and that of the conquerors impaired after so many successes? What man in his senses would say so? I should indeed be surprised if any of you feared the numbers of the enemy, in which there are few brave men, or scorned your own army, which is so numerous and so brave that none exceeding it either in courage or in numbers was ever assembled in any of our former wars.

[9.1] “There is also this very great encouragement to you, citizens, neither to dread nor to shirk what is formidable, that the principal members of the senate are all present as you see, ready to share the fortunes of the war in common with you, though they are permitted by both their age and the law to be exempt from military service. [2] Would it not, then, be shameful if you who are in the vigour of life should flee from what is formidable, while these who are past the military age, pursue it, and if the zeal of the old men, since it lacks the strength to slay any of the enemy, should at least be willing to die for the fatherland, while the vigour of you young men, who have it in your power, if successful, to save both yourselves and them to be victorious, or, in case of failure, to suffer nobly while acting nobly, should neither make trial of Fortune nor leave behind you the renown that valour wins. [3] Is it not an incentive to you, Romans, that just as you have before your eyes the record of the many wonderful deeds performed by your fathers, whom no words can adequately praise, so your posterity while reap the fruits of many illustrious feats of your own, if you achieve success in this war also? To the end, therefore, that neither the bravery of those among you who have chosen the

best course may go unrewarded, nor the fears of such as dread what is formidable more than is fitting go unpunished, learn from me, before we enter this engagement, what it will be the fate of each of them to receive. [4] To anyone who performs any great or brave deed in this battle, as proved by the testimony of those acquainted with his actions, I will not only give at once all the usual honours which it is in the power of every man to win in accordance with our ancestral customs, but will also add a portion of the land owned by the state, sufficient to secure him from any lack of the necessities of life. But if a cowardly and infatuate mind shall suggest to anyone an inclination to shameful flight, to him I will bring home the very death he endeavoured to avoid; for such a citizen were better dead, both for his own sake and for that of others. And it will be the fate of those put to death in such a manner to be honoured neither with burial nor with any of the other customary rites, but unenvied and unlamented, to be torn to pieces by birds and beasts of prey. [5] Knowing these things beforehand, then, do you all cheerfully enter the engagement, taking fair hopes as your guides to fair deeds, assured that by the hazard of this one battle, if it be attended by the best outcome and the one we all wish for, you will obtain the greatest of all advantages: you will free yourselves from the fear of tyrants, will repay to your country that gave you birth the gratitude she justly requires of you for your rearing, will save your children who are still infants and your wedded wives from suffering irreparable outrages at the hands of the enemy, and will render the short time your aged fathers have yet to live most agreeable to them. [6] Oh, happy those among you to whom it shall be given to celebrate the triumph for this war, while your children, your wives and your parents welcome you back! But glorious and envied for their bravery will those be who shall sacrifice their lives for their country. Death, indeed, is decreed to all men, both the cowardly and the brave; but an honourable and a glorious death comes to the brave alone.”

[10.1] While he was still speaking these words to spur them to valour, a kind of confidence inspired by Heaven seized the army and they all, as if with a single soul, cried out together, “Be of good courage and lead us on.” Postumius commended their alacrity and made a vow to the gods that if the battle were attended with a happy and glorious outcome, he would offer great and expensive sacrifices and institute costly games to be celebrated annually by the Roman people; after which he dismissed his men to their ranks. [2] And when they had received the watchword from their commanders and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they gave a shout and fell to, first, the light-armed men and the horse on each side, then the solid ranks of foot, who were armed and drawn up alike; and all mingling, a severe battle ensued in which every man fought hand to hand. [3] However, both sides were extremely deceived in the opinion they had entertained of each other, for neither of them thought a battle would be necessary, but expected to put the enemy to flight at the first onset. The Latins, trusting in the superiority of their horse, concluded

that the Roman horse would not be able even to sustain their onset; and the Romans were confident that by rushing into the midst of danger in a daring and reckless manner they should terrify their enemies. Having formed these opinions of one another in the beginning, they now saw everything turning out just the opposite. Each side, therefore, no longer founding their hopes of safety and of victory on the fear of the enemy, but on their own courage, showed themselves brave soldiers even beyond their strength. And various and sudden shifting fortunes marked their struggle.

[11.1] First, the Romans posted in the centre of the line, where the dictator stood with a chosen body of horse about him, he himself fighting among the foremost, forced back that part of the enemy that stood opposite to them, after Titus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, had been wounded in the right shoulder with a javelin and was no longer able to use his arm. [2] Licinius and Gellius, indeed, without inquiring into the probabilities or possibilities of the matter, introduce King Tarquinius himself, a man approaching ninety years of age, fighting on horseback and wounded. When Titus had fallen, those about him, after fighting a little while and taking him up while he was yet alive, showed no bravery after that, but retired by degrees as the Romans advanced. Afterwards they again stood their ground and advanced against the enemy when Sextus, the other son of Tarquinius, came to their relief with the Roman exiles and the flower of the horse. [3] These, therefore, recovering themselves, fought again. In the meantime Titus Aebutius and Mamilius Octavius, the commanders of the foot on either side, fought the most brilliantly of all, driving their opponents before them wherever they charged and rallying those of their own men who had become disordered; and, then, challenging each other, they came to blows and in the encounter gave one another grievous wounds, though not mortal, the Master of the Horse driving his spear through the corslet of Mamilius into his breast, and Mamilius running the other through the middle of his right arm; and both fell from their horses.

[12.1] Both of these leaders having been carried off the field, Marcus Valerius, who had again been appointed legate, took over the command of the Master of the Horse and with his followers attacked those of the enemy who confronted him; and after a brief resistance on their part he speedily drove them far out of the line. But to this body of the enemy also came reinforcements from the Roman exiles, both horse and light-armed men; and Mamilius, having by this time recovered from his wound, appeared on the field again at the head of a strong body both of horse and foot. In this action not only Marcus Valerius, the legate, fell, wounded with a spear (he was the man who had first triumphed over the Sabines and raised the spirit of the commonwealth when dejected by the defeat it had received at the hands of the Tyrrhenians), but also many other brave Romans at his side. [2] A sharp conflict took place over his body, as Publius and Marcus, the sons of publicola, protected their uncle with their shields; but they delivered him to their shield-bearers undespoiled and still breathing a little, and sent him back

to the camp. For their own part, such was their courage and ardour, they thrust themselves into the midst of the enemy, and receiving many wounds, as the Roman exiles pressed closely round them, they perished together. [3] After this misfortune the line of the Romans was forced to give way on the left for a long distance and was being broken even to the centre. When the dictator learned of the rout of his men, he hastened to their assistance with the horse he had about him. And ordering the other legate, Titus Herminius, to take a top of horse, and passing behind their own lines, to force the men who fled to face about, and if they refused obedience to kill them, he himself with the best of his men pushed on towards the thick of the conflict; and when he came near the enemy, he spurred on ahead of the rest with a loose rein. [4] And as they all charged in a body in this terrifying manner, the enemy, unable to sustain their frenzied and savage onset, fled and many of them fell. In the meantime the legate Herminius also, having rallied from their route those of his men who had been put to flight, brought them up and attacked the troops arrayed under Mamilius; and encountering this general, who both for stature and strength was the best man of his time, he not only killed him, but was slain himself while he was despoiling the body, someone having pierced his flank with a sword. [5] Sextus Tarquinius, who commanded the left wing of the Latins, still held out against all the dangers that beset him, and was forcing the right wing of the Romans to give way. But when he saw Postumius suddenly appear with the flower of the horse, he gave over all hope and rushed into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where, being surrounded by the Romans, both horse and foot, and assaulted on all sides with missiles, like a wild beast, he perished, but not before he had killed many of those who came to close quarters with him. Their leaders having fallen, the Latins at once fled *en masse*, and their camp, abandoned by the men who had been left to guard it, was captured; from this camp the Romans took much valuable booty. [6] Not only was this a very great defeat for the Latins, from the disastrous effects of which they suffered a very long time, but their losses were greater than ever before. For out of 40,000 foot and 3000 horse, as I have said, less than 10,000 survivors returned to their homes in safety.

[13.1] It is said that in this battle two men on horseback, far excelling in both beauty and stature those our human stock produces, and just growing their first beard, appeared to Postumius, the dictator, and to those arrayed about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, striking with their spears all the Latins they encountered and driving them headlong before them. And after the flight of the Latins and the capture of their camp, the battle having come to an end in the late afternoon, two youths are said to have appeared in the same manner in the Roman Forum attired in military garb, very tall and beautiful and of the same age, themselves retaining on their countenances as having come from a battle, the look of combatants, and the horses they led being all in a sweat. [2] And when they had each of them watered their horses and washed them at the fountain which rises near the temple of Vesta and forms a

small but deep pool, and many people stood about them and inquired if they brought any news from the camp, they related how the battle had gone and that the Romans were the victors. And it is said that after they left the Forum they were not seen again by anyone, though great search was made for them by the man who had been left in command of the city. [3] The next day, when those at the head of affairs received the letters from the dictator, and besides the other particulars of the battle, learned also of the appearance of the divinities, they concluded, as we may reasonably infer, that it was the same gods who had appeared in both places, and were convinced that the apparitions had been those of Castor and Pollux.

[4] Of this extraordinary and wonderful appearance of these gods there are many monuments at Rome, not only the temple of Castor and Pollux which the city erected in the Forum at the place where their apparitions had been seen, and the adjacent fountain, which bears the names of these gods and is to this day regarded as holy, but also the costly sacrifices which the people perform each year through their chief priests in the month called Quintilis, on the day known as the Ides, the day on which they gained this victory. But above all these things there is the procession performed after the sacrifice by those who have a public horse and who, being arrayed by tribes and centuries, ride in regular ranks on horseback, as if they came from battle, crowned with olive branches and attired in the purple robes with stripes of scarlet which they call *trabeae*. They begin their procession from a certain temple of Mars built outside the walls, and going through several parts of the city and the Forum, they pass by the temple of Castor and Pollux, sometimes to the number even of five thousand, wearing whatever rewards for valour in battle they have received from their commanders, a fine sight and worthy of the greatness of the Roman dominion. [5] These are the things I have found both related and performed by the Romans in commemoration of the appearance of Castor and Pollux; and from these, as well as from many other important instances, one may judge how dear to the gods were the men of those times.

[14.1] Postumius encamped that night on the field and the next day he crowned those who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and having appointed guards to take care of the prisoners, he proceeded to offer to the gods the sacrifices in honour of the victory. While he still wore the garland on his head and was laying the first burnt offerings on the altars, some scouts, running down from the heights, brought him word that a hostile army was marching against them. It consisted of chosen youth of the Volscian nation who had been sent out, before the battle was ended, to assist the Latins. [2] Upon hearing of this he ordered all his men and to stay in the camp, each under his own standards, maintaining silence and keeping their ranks till he himself should give the word what to do. On the other side, the generals of the Volscians, encamping out of sight of the Romans, when they saw the field covered with dead bodies and both camps intact, and no one, either enemy or friend, stirring out of the entrenchments, were for some time amazed and at a

loss to guess what turn of fortune had produced this state of affairs. But when they had learned all about the battle from those who were making their escape from the rout, they consulted with the other leaders what was to be done. [3] The boldest of them thought it best to attempt to take the camp of the Romans by assault, while many of the foe were still disabled from their wounds and all were exhausted by toil, and the arms of most of them were useless, some having their edges blunted and others being broken, and no fresh forces from home were yet at hand to relieve them, whereas their own army was large and valiant, splendidly armed and experienced in war, and by coming suddenly upon men who were not expecting it was sure to appear formidable even to the boldest.

[15.1] But to the most prudent among them it did not seem a safe risk to attack without allies men who were valiant warriors and had just destroyed so great an army of the Latins, as they would be putting everything to the hazard in a foreign country where, if any misfortune happened, they would have no place of refuge. These advised, therefore, to provide rather for a safe retreat to their own country as soon as possible and to look upon it as a great gain if they sustained no loss from this expedition. [2] But still others disapproved of both these courses, declaring that readiness to rush into battle was mere youthful bravado, while unreasoning flight back to their own country was shameful; for, whichever of these courses they took, the enemy would regard it as being just what they desired. The opinion of these, therefore, was that at present they ought to fortify their camp and get everything in readiness for a battle, and that, dispatching messengers to the rest of the Volscians, they should ask them to do one of the two things, either to send another army that would be a match for that of the Romans or to recall the army they had already sent out. [3] But the opinion that prevailed with the majority and received the sanction of those in authority was to send spies to the Roman camp, assured of safety under the title of ambassadors, who should greet the general and say that, as allies of the Romans sent by the Volscian nation, they were sorry they had come too late for the battle, since they would now receive little or no thanks for their zeal; but anyway they congratulated the Romans upon their good fortune in having won a great battle without the assistance of allies; then, after the ambassadors had tricked the Romans by the friendliness of their words and had got them to confide in the Volscians as their friends, they were to spy out everything and bring back word concerning the Romans' strength, their arms, their preparations, and anything they were planning to do. And when the Volscians should be thoroughly acquainted with these matters, they should then take counsel whether it was better to send for another army and attack the Romans or to return home with their present force.

[16.1] After they had adopted this proposal, the ambassadors they had chosen came to the dictator, and being brought before the assembly, delivered their messages that were intended to deceive the Romans. And Postumius, after a

short pause, said to them: "You have brought with you, Volscians, evil designs clothed in good words, and while you perform hostile acts, you want us to regard you as friends. [2] For you were sent by your nation to assist the Latins against us, but arriving after the battle and seeing them overcome, you wish to deceive us by saying the very opposite of what you intended to do. And neither the friendliness of your words, simulated for the present occasion, nor the pretence under which you are come hither, is sincere, but is full of fraud and deceit. For you were sent, not to congratulate us upon our good fortune, but to spy out the weakness or the strength of our condition; and while you are ambassadors in name, you are spies in reality." [3] When the men denied everything, he said he would soon offer them the proof; and straightway he produced their letters which he had intercepted before the battle as they were being carried to the commanders of the Latins, in which they promised to send them reinforcements, and produced the persons who carried the letters. After these were read out and the prisoners had given an account of the orders they had received, the soldiers were eager to stone the Volscians as spies caught in the act; but Postumius thought that good men ought not to imitate the wicked, saying it would be better and more magnanimous to reserve their anger against the senders rather than against the sent, and to let the men go in consideration of their ostensible title of ambassadors rather than to put them to death because of their disguised task of spying, lest they should give either a specious ground for war to the Volscians, who would allege that their ambassadors had been put to death contrary to the law of nations, or an excuse to their other enemies for bringing a charge which, though false, would appear neither ill-grounded nor incredible.

[17.1] Having thus checked the rash impulse of the soldiers, he commanded the men to depart without looking back, and put them in charge of a guard of horse, who conducted them to the camp of the Volscians. After he had expelled the spies, he commanded the soldiers to get everything ready for battle, as if he were going to engage the next day. But he had no need of a battle, for the leaders of the Volscians broke camp before dawn and returned home. [2] All things having now gone according to his wish, he buried his own dead, and having purified his army, returned to the city with the pomp of a magnificent triumph, together with huge quantities of military stores, followed by 5,500 prisoners taken in the battle. And having set apart the tithes of the spoils, he spent forty talents in performing games and sacrifices to the gods, and let contracts for the building of temples to Ceres, Liber and Libera, in fulfilment of a vow he had made. [3] It seems that provisions for the army had been scarce in the beginning, and had caused the Romans great fear that they would fail entirely, as the land had borne no crops and food from outside was no longer being imported because of the war. Because of this fear he had ordered the guardians of the Sibylline books to consult them, and finding that the oracles commanded that these gods should be propitiated, he made vows

to them, when he was on the point of leading out his army, that if there should be the same abundance in the city during the time of his magistracy as before, he would build temples to them and also appoint sacrifices to be performed every year. [4] These gods, hearing his prayer, caused the land to produce rich crops, not only of grain but also of fruits, and all imported provisions to be more plentiful than before; and when Postumius saw this, he himself caused a vote to be passed for the building of these temples. The Romans, therefore, having through the favour of the gods repelled the war brought upon them by the tyrant, were engaged in feasts and sacrifices.

[18] A few days later there came to them, as ambassadors from the Latin league, chosen out of all their cities. Those who had been opposed to the war, holding out the olive branches and the fillets of suppliants. These men, upon being introduced into the senate, declared that the powerful men in every city had been responsible for beginning the war, and said that the people had been guilty of this one fault only, that they had listened to corrupt demagogues who had schemed for private gain. [2] And for this delusion, in which necessity had had the greatest share, they said every city had already paid a penalty not to be despised, in the loss of its young men, so that it was not easy to find a single household free from mourning. They asked the Romans to receive them now that they willingly submitted and neither disputed any longer about the supremacy nor strove for equality, but were ready to be for all future time subjects as well as allies and to add the good fortune of the Romans all the prestige which Fortune had taken from the Latins. [3] At the end of their speech they made an appeal to kinship, reminded them of their unhesitating services as allies in the past, and bewailed the misfortunes that would fall on the innocent, who were far more numerous than the guilty, accompanying everything they said with lamentations, embracing the knees of all the senators, and laying the olive branches at the feet of Postumius, so that the whole senate was more or less moved by their tears and entreaties.

[19] When the ambassadors had left the senate and permission to speak was given to the members who were wont to deliver their opinions first, Titus Larcus, who had been appointed the first dictator the year before, advised them to use their good fortune with moderation, saying that the greatest praise that could be given a whole state as well as to an individual was not to be corrupted by prosperity, but to bear good fortune with decorum and moderation; [2] for all prosperity is envied, particularly that which is attended with arrogance and rigour toward those who had been humbled and subdued. And he advised them not to put any reliance on Fortune, since they had learned from their own experience in both adversity and prosperity how inconstant and quick to change she is. Nor ought they to reduce their adversaries to the necessity of running the supreme hazard, since such necessity renders some men daring beyond all expectation and warlike beyond their strength. [3] He said they had reason to be afraid of drawing upon themselves the common hatred of all those they proposed to rule, if they

should exact harsh and relentless penalties from such as had erred; for they would seem to have abandoned their traditional principles, forgetting to what they owed their present splendour, and to have made their dominion a tyranny rather than a leadership and protectorship, as it had been aforetime. He said that the error is a moderate and venial one when states that cling to liberty and have once learned to rule are unwilling to give up their ancient prestige; and if men who aim at the noblest ends are to be punished beyond possibility of recovery when they fail of their hope, there will be nothing to prevent the whole race of mankind from being destroyed by one another, since all men have an innate craving for liberty. [4] He declared that a government is far better and more firmly established which seeks to rule its subjects by its benefits rather than by punishments; for the former course leads to goodwill and the latter to terror, and it is a fixed law of Nature that everything that causes terror should be particularly detested. And finally he asked them to take as examples the best actions of their ancestors for which they had won praise, recounting the many instances in which, after capturing cities by storm, they had not razed them nor put all the male population to the sword or enslaved them, but by making them Roman colonies and by giving citizenship to such of the conquered as desired to live at Rome, they had made their city great from a small beginning. The sum and substance of his opinion was this: to renew the treaty they had previously made with the Latin league and to retain no resentment against any of the cities for the errors they had been guilty of.

[20.1] Servius Sulpicius opposed nothing the other had said concerning peace and the renewal of the treaty; but, since the Latins had been the first to violate the treaty, and not now for the first time either — in which case they might deserve some forgiveness when they put forward necessity and their own deception as excuses — but often in the past too, so that they needed correction, he proposed that impunity and their liberty should be granted to all of them because of their kinship, but that they should be deprived of one half of their land and that Roman colonists should be sent thither to enjoy its produce and see to it that the Latins created no further disturbances. [2] Spurius Cassius advised them to raze the Latin cities, saying he wondered at the simple-mindedness of those who urged letting their offences go unpunished, why they could not understand that, because of the inborn and ineradicable envy which the Latins felt towards the rising power of Rome, they were constantly fomenting one war after another against them and would never willingly give over their treacherous intent so long as this unfortunate passion dwelt in their hearts; indeed, they had finally endeavoured to bring a kindred people under the power of a tyrant more savage than any wild beast, thereby overturning all the covenants they had sworn by the gods to observe, induced by no other hopes than that, if the war did not succeed according to their expectation, they should incur either no punishment at all or a very slight one. [3] He too asked them to take as examples the actions of their ancestors, who,

when they knew that the city of Alba, of which both they themselves and all the other Latin cities were colonies, was envious of their prosperity and had made use of the impunity it had obtained for its first transgressions as an opportunity for greater treachery, resolved to destroy it in a single day, believing that to punish none of those who had committed the greatest and the most irremediable crimes was no better than to show compassion to none of those who were guilty of moderate errors. [4] It would be an act of great folly and stupidity, surely not one of humanity and moderation, for those who would not endure the envy of their mother-city, when it appeared beyond measure grievous and intolerable, to submit now to that of their mere kinsman, and for those who had punished enemies convicted in milder attempts of being such, by depriving them of their city, to exact no punishment now from such as had often shown their hatred of them to be irreconcilable. [5] After he had spoken thus and had enumerated all the rebellions of the Latins and reminded the senators of the vast number of Romans who had lost their lives in the wars against them, he advised them to treat these also in the same manner as they had formerly treated the Albans, namely, to raze their cities and add their territory to that of the Romans; and as for the inhabitants, to make citizens of such as had shown any goodwill towards them, permitting them to retain their possessions, but to put to death as traitors the authors of the revolt by whom the treaty had been broken, and to make slaves of the poor, the lazy and the useless among the populace.

[21.1] These were the opinions expressed by the leading men of the senate, but the dictator gave the preference to that of Larcus; and, no further opposition being made to it, the ambassadors were called in to the senate to receive their answer. Postumius, after reproaching them with an evil disposition never to be reformed, said: "It would be right that you should suffer the utmost severity, which is just the way you yourselves were intending to treat us, if you had succeeded in the many attempts you made against us." Nevertheless, he said, the Romans had not chosen mere rights in preference to clemency, bearing in mind that the Latins were their kinsmen and had had recourse to the mercy of those whom they had injured; but they were allowing these offences of theirs also to go unpunished, from a regard both to the gods of their race and to the uncertainty of Fortune, to whom they owed their victory. [2] "For the present, therefore, go your way," he said, "relieved of all fear; and after you have released to us the prisoners, delivering the deserters, and expelled the exile, then send ambassadors to us to treat of friendship and of an alliance, in the assurance that they shall fail of naught that is reasonable." The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed, and a few days later returned, having released the prisoners and expelled the exiles with Tarquinius from their cities, and bringing with them in chains all the deserters they had taken. In return for this they obtained of the senate their old treaty of friendship and alliance and renewed through the *fetiales* the oaths they had previously taken concerning it. Thus ended the war against the

tyrants, after it had lasted fourteen years from their expulsion. [3] King Tarquinius — for he still survived of his family — being now about ninety years of age and having lost his children and the household of his relations by marriage, dragged out a miserable old age, and that too among his enemies. For when neither the Latins, the Tyrrhenians, the Sabines, nor any other free people near by would longer permit him to reside in their cities, he retired to Cumae in Campania and was received by Aristodemus, nicknamed the Effeminate, who was at that time tyrant of the Cumaeans; and after living a few days there, he died and was buried by him. Some of the exiles who had been with him remained at Cumae; and the rest, dispersing themselves to various other cities, ended their days on foreign soil.

[22.1] After the Romans had put an end to the foreign wars, the civil strife sprang up again. For the senate ordered the courts of justice to sit and that all suits which they had postponed on account of the war should be decided according to the laws. The controversies arising over contracts resulted in great storms and terrible instances of outrageous and shameless behaviour, the plebeians, on the one hand, pretending they were unable to pay their debts, since their land had been laid waste during the long war, their cattle destroyed, the number of their slaves reduced by desertion and raids, and their fortunes in the city exhausted by their expenditures for the campaign, and the money-lenders, on the other hand, alleging that these misfortunes had been common to all and not confined to the debtors only, and regarding it as intolerable that they should lose, not only what they had been stripped of by the enemy in the war, but also what they had lent in time of peace to some of the citizens who asked for their assistance. [2] And as neither the money-lenders were willing to accept anything that was reasonable nor the debtors to do anything that was just, but the former refused to abate even the interest, and the latter to pay even the principal itself, those who were in the same plight were already gathering in knots and opposing parties faced one another in the Forum and sometimes actually came to blows, and the whole established order of the state was thrown into confusion. [3] Postumius, observing this, while he still retained the respect of all alike for having brought a severe war to an honourable conclusion, resolved to avoid the civil storms, and before he had completed the whole term of his sovereign magistracy he abdicated the dictatorship, and having fixed a day for the election, he, together with his fellow-consul, restored the traditional magistrates.

[23.1] The consuls who next took over the annual and legal magistracy were Appius Claudius Sabinus and Publius Servilius Priscus. They saw, rightly, that to render the highest service to the state they must divert the uproar in the city to foreign wars; and they were arranging that one of them should lead an expedition against the Volscian nation, with the purpose both of taking revenge on them for the aid they had sent to the Latins against the Romans and of forestalling their preparations, which as yet were not far advanced. For

they too were reported to be enrolling an army with the greatest diligence and sending ambassadors to the neighbouring nations to invite them to enter into alliance with them, since they had learned that the plebeians were standing aloof from the patricians and thought that it would not be difficult to capture a city suffering from civil war. [2] The consuls, therefore, having resolved to lead an expedition against this people, and their resolution being approved of by the whole senate, they ordered all the men of military age to present themselves on the day they had appointed for making the levies of troops. But when the plebeians, though repeatedly summoned to take the military oath, would not obey the consuls, these were no longer both of the same mind, but beginning from this point, they were divided and continued to oppose one another during the whole time of their magistracy. [3] For Servilius thought they ought to take the milder course, thereby adhering to the opinion of Manius Valerius, the most democratic of the senators, who advised them to cure the cause of the sedition, preferably by decreeing an abolition or diminution of the debts, or, failing that, by forbidding for the time being the haling to prison of the debtors whose obligations were overdue, and advised them to encourage rather than compel the poor to take the military oath, and not to make the penalties against the disobedient severe and inexorable, but moderate and mild. For there was danger, he said, that men in want of the daily necessities of life, if compelled to serve at their own expense, might get together and adopt some desperate course.

[24.1] But the opinion of Appius, the chief man among the leaders of the aristocracy, was harsh and arrogant. He advised that they should show no leniency toward the people in anything, but should even allow the money-lenders to enforce payment of the obligations upon the terms agreed upon, and should cause the courts of justice to sit, and that the consul who remained in the city should, in accordance with ancestral custom and usage, exact the punishments ordained by law against those who declined military service, and that they ought to yield to the people in nothing that was not just nor aid them in establishing a pernicious power. [2] "Why, even now," he said, "they are pampered beyond all measure in consequence of having been relieved of the taxes they formerly paid to the kings and freed from the corporal punishments they received from them when they did not yield prompt obedience to any of their commands. But if they go further and attempt any disturbance or uprising, let us restrain them with the aid of the sober and sound element among the citizens, who will be found more numerous than the disaffected. [3] We have on hand for the task no slight strength in the patrician youth who are ready to obey our commands; but the great weapon of all, and one difficult to be resisted, with which we shall subdue the plebeians, is the power of the senate; with this let us overawe them, taking our stand on the side of the laws. But if we yield to their demand, in the first place, we shall incur disgrace by entrusting the government to the people when we have it in our power to live under an aristocracy; and secondly, we shall run no little danger of being

deprived of our liberty again, in case some man inclined toward tyranny should win them over and acquire a power superior to the laws.” The consuls disputing in this manner, both by themselves alone and whenever the senate was assembled, and many siding with each, that body, after listening to their altercations and clamour and the unseemly speeches with which they abused one another, would adjourn without coming to any salutary decision.

[25.1] Much time being consumed in this wrangling, one of the consuls, Servilius (for it had fallen to his lot to conduct the campaign), having, by much entreating and courting of the populace, prevailed upon them to assist in the war, took the field with an army not raised by a compulsory levy but consisting of volunteers, as the times required. Meanwhile the Volscians were still employed in their preparations and neither expected that the Romans, divided into factions as they were and engaged in mutual animosities, would march against them with an army, nor thought they would come to close quarters with any who attacked them, but imagined that they themselves were at full liberty to begin the war whenever they thought fit. [2] But when they found themselves attacked and perceived that they must attack in turn, then at last the oldest among them, alarmed by the speed of the Romans, came out of their cities with olive branches and surrendered themselves to Servilius, to be treated as he should think fit for their offences. And he, taking from them provisions and clothing for his army and choosing out of the most prominent families three hundred men to serve as hostages, departed, assuming that the war was ended. [3] In reality, however, this was not an end of the war, but rather a postponement, as it were, and an opportunity for those who had been surprised by the unexpected invasion to make their preparations; and the Roman army was no sooner gone than the Volscians again turned their attention to war by fortifying their towns and reinforcing the garrisons of any other places that were suitable to afford them security. The Hernicans and the Sabines assisted them openly in their hazardous venture, and many others secretly; but the Latins, when ambassadors went to them to ask for their assistance, bound the men and carried them to Rome. [4] The senate, in return for the Latins’ steadfast adherence to their alliance and still more for the eagerness they showed to take part in the war (for they were ready to assist them of their own accord), granted to them a favour they thought they desired above all things but were ashamed to ask for, which was to release without ransom the prisoners they had taken from them during the wars, the number of whom amounted to almost six thousand, and that the gift might, so far as possible, take on a lustre becoming to their kinship, they clothed them all with the apparel proper to free men. As to the Latins’ offer of assistance, the senate told them they had no need of it, since the national forces of Rome were sufficient to punish those who revolted. After they had given this answer to the Latins they voted for the war against the Volscians.

[26.1] While the senate was still sitting and considering what forces were to be taken into the field, an elderly man appeared in the Forum, dressed in rags,

with his beard and hair grown long, and crying out, he called upon the citizens for assistance. And when all who were near flocked to him, he placed himself where he could be clearly seen by many and said: "Having been born free, and having served in all the campaigns while I was of military age, and fought in twenty-eight battles and often been awarded prizes for valour in the wars; then, when the oppressive times came that were reducing the commonwealth to the last straits, having been forced to contract a debt to pay the contributions levied upon me; and finally, when my farm was raided by the enemy and my property in the city exhausted owing to the scarcity of provisions, having no means with which to discharge my debt, I was carried away as a slave by the money-lender, together with my two sons; and when my master ordered me to perform some difficult task and I protested against it, I was given a great many lashes with the whip." [2] With these words he threw off his rags and showed his breast covered with wounds and his back still bleeding from the stripes. This raising a general clamour and lamentation on the part of all present, the senate adjourned and throughout the entire city the poor were running about, each bewailing his own misfortunes and imploring the assistance of the neighbours. At the same time all who had been enslaved for their debts rushed out of the houses of the money-lenders with their hair grown long and most of them in chains and fetters; and none dared to lay hold on them, and if anyone so much as touched them, he was forcibly torn in pieces, [3] such was the madness possessing the people at that time, and presently the Forum was full of debtors who had broken loose from their chains. Appius, therefore, fearing to be attacked by the populace, since he had been the cause of the evils and all this trouble was believed to be due to him, fled from the Forum. But Servilius, throwing off his purple-bordered robe and casting himself in tears at the feet of each of the plebeians, with difficulty prevailed upon them to remain quiet that day, and to come back the next day, assuring them that the senate would take some care of their interests. Having said this, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that no money-lender should be permitted to hale any citizen to prison for a private debt till the senate should come to a decision concerning them, and that all present might go with impunity whithersoever they pleased. Thus he allayed the tumult.

[27.1] Accordingly, they left the Forum for that time. But the next day there appeared, not only the inhabitants of the city, but also the plebeians from the neighbouring country districts and the Forum was crowded by break of day. The senate having been assembled to consider what was to be done about the situation, Appius proceeded to call his colleague a flatterer of the people and the leader of the poor in their madness, while Servilius called Appius harsh and arrogant and the cause of the present evils in the state; and there was no end to their wrangling. [2] In the meantime some horsemen of the Latins came riding full speed into the Forum announcing that the enemy had taken the field with a great army and were already upon their own borders. Such were the tidings they brought. Thereupon the patricians and the whole body of the

knights, together with all who were wealthy or of distinguished ancestry, since they had a great deal at stake, armed themselves in all haste. [3] But the poor among them, and particularly such as were hard pressed by debt, neither took up arms nor offered any other assistance to the common cause, but were pleased and received the news of the foreign war as an answer to their prayers, believing that it would free them from their present evils. To those who besought them to lend their aid they showed their chains and fetters and asked them in derision whether it was worth their while to make war in order to preserve those blessings; and many even ventured to say that it was better for them to be slaves to the Volscians than to bear the abuses of the patricians. And the city was filled with wailing, tumult, and all sorts of womanish lamentations.

[28.1] The senators, seeing these things, begged of the other consul, Servilius, who seemed in the present juncture to have greater credit with the multitude, to come to the aid of the country. And he, calling the people together in the Forum, showed them that the urgency of the moment no longer admitted of quarrels among the citizens, and he asked them for the time being to march against the enemy with united purpose and not to view with indifference the overthrow of their country, in which were the gods of their fathers and the sepulchres of each man's ancestors, both of which are most precious in the eyes of all men; he begged them to show respect for their parents, who would be unable because of age to defend themselves, to have pity on their wives, who would soon be forced to submit to dreadful and intolerable outrages, and especially to show compassion for their infant children, who, after being reared for very different expectations, would be exposed to pitiless insults and abuses. [2] And when by a common effort they had averted the present danger, then would be the time, he said, to consider in what manner they should make their government fair, impartial and salutary to all, one in which neither the poor would plot against the possessions of the rich nor the latter insult those in humbler circumstances — for such behaviour was anything but becoming to citizens — but in which not only the needy should receive some assistance from the state, but the money-lenders too, at least those who were suffering injustice, should receive moderate relief, and thus the greatest of human blessings and the preserver of harmony in all states, good faith in the observance of contracts, would not be destroyed totally and forever in Rome alone. [3] After saying this and everything else that the occasion required, he spoke finally in his own behalf, about the goodwill which he had ever shown toward the people, and asked them to serve with him in this expedition in return for his zeal in their behalf; for the oversight of the city had been entrusted to his colleague and the command in war conferred upon himself, these duties having been determined for them by lot. He said also that the senate had promised him to confirm whatever agreements he should make with the people, and that he had promised the senate to persuade the people not to betray their country to the enemy.

[29.1] Having said this, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that no person should be permitted to seize, sell, or retain as pledges the houses of those Romans who should march out with him against the enemy, or hale their family to prison for any debt, and that none should hinder any one who desired from taking part in the campaign; but as for those who should fail to serve, the money-lenders should have the right to compel them to pay their debts according to the terms which they had each advanced their money. When the poor heard this, they straightway consented, and all showed great ardour for the war, some induced by hopes of booty and others out of gratitude to the general, but the greater part to escape from Appius and the abusive treatment to which those who stayed in the city would be exposed.

[2] Servilius, having taken command of the army, lost no time, but marched with great expedition, that he might engage the enemy before they could invade the Romans' territory. And finding them encamped in the Pomptine district, pillaging the country of the Latins because these had refused their request to assist them in the war, he encamped in the late afternoon near a hill distant about twenty stades from the enemy's camp. And in the night his army was attacked by the Volscians, who thought they were few in number, tired out, as was to be expected after a long march, and lacking in zeal by reason of the disturbances raised by the poor over their debts, which seemed then to be at their height. [3] Servilius defended himself in his camp as long as the night lasted, but as soon as it was day, and he learned that the enemy were employed in pillaging the country without observing any order, he ordered several small gates of the camp to be opened secretly, and at a single signal hurled his army against the foe. When this blow fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon the Volscians, some few of them stood their ground, and fighting close to their camp, were cut down; but the rest, fleeing precipitately and losing many of their companions, got back safely inside the camp, the greater part of them being wounded and having lost their arms. [4] When the Romans, following close upon their heels, surrounded their camp, they made only a short defence and then delivered up the camp, which was full of slaves, cattle, arms and all sorts of military stores. There were also many free men taken in it, some of them being Volscians themselves and others belonging to the nations which had assisted them; and along with these a great quantity of valuables, such as gold and silver, and apparel, as if the richest city had been taken. All of this Servilius permitted the soldiers to divide among themselves, that every man might share in the booty, and he ordered them to bring no part of it into the treasury. Then, having set fire to the camp, he marched with his army to Suessa Pometia, which lay close by. For not only because of its size and the number of its inhabitants, but also because of its fame and riches, it far surpassed any city in that region and was the leader, so to speak, of the nation. [5] Investing this place and calling off his army neither by day nor by night, in order that the enemy might not have a moment's rest either in taking sleep or in gaining a respite from fighting, he wore them down by famine,

helplessness and lack of reinforcements, and captured them in a short time, putting to death all the inhabitants who had reached manhood. And having given permission to the soldiers to pillage the effects that were found there also, he marched against the rest of the enemy's cities, none of the Volscians being able any longer to oppose him.

[30.1] When the Volscians had been thus humbled by the Romans, the other consul, Appius Claudius, caused their hostages, three hundred men in all, to be brought into the Forum, and to the end that those who had once given the Romans hostages for their fidelity might beware of violating their treaties, he ordered them to be scourged in the sight of all and then beheaded. [2] And when his colleague returned a few days afterwards from his expedition and demanded the triumph usually granted by the senate to generals who had fought a brilliant battle, he opposed it, calling him a stirrer up of sedition and a partisan of a vicious form of government, and he charged him particularly with having brought no part of the spoils of war back to the public treasury, but with having instead made a present of it all to whom he thought fit; and he prevailed upon the senate not to grant him the triumph. Servilius, however, looking upon himself as insulted by the senate, behaved with an arrogance unusual to the Romans. For having assembled the people in the field before the city, he enumerated his achievements in the war, told them of the envy of his colleague and the contumelious treatment he had received from the senate, and declared that from his own deeds and from the army which had shared in the struggle he derived the authority to celebrate a triumph in honor of glorious and fortunate achievements. [3] Having prescription thus, he ordered the rods to be crowned, and then, having crowned himself and wearing the triumphal garb, he led the procession into the city attended by all the people; and ascending the Capitol, he performed his vows and consecrated the spoils. By this action he incurred the hatred of the patricians still further, but won the plebeians to himself.

[31.1] While the commonwealth was in such an unsettled condition a kind of truce that intervened on account of the traditional sacrifices, and the ensuing festivals, which were celebrated at lavish expense, restrained the sedition of the populace for the moment. While they were engaged in these celebrations the Sabines invaded them with a large force, having long waited for this opportunity. They began their march as soon as night came on, in order that they might get close to the city before those inside should be aware of their coming; and they might easily have conquered them if some of their light-armed men had not straggled from their places in the line and by attacking farm-houses given the alarm. [2] For an outcry arose at once and the husbandmen rushed inside the walls before the enemy approached the gates. Those in the city, learning of the invasion while they were witnessing the public entertainments and wearing the customary garlands, left the games and ran to arms. And, a sufficient army of volunteers rallying in good season about Servilius, he drew them up and with them fell upon the enemy, who were

exhausted both by want of sleep and by weariness and were not expecting the attack of the Romans. [3] When the armies closed, a battle ensued which lacked order and discipline because of the eagerness of both sides, but, as if guided by some chance, they clashed line against line, company against company, or man against man, and the horse and foot fought promiscuously. And reinforcements came to both sides, as their cities were not far apart; these, by encouraging such of their comrades as were hard pressed, caused them to sustain the hardships of the struggle for a long time. After that the Romans, when the horse came to their assistance, once more prevailed over the Sabines, and having killed many of them, returned to the city with a great number of prisoners. Then, seeking out the Sabines who had come to Rome under the pretence of seeing the entertainments, while actually intending to seize in advance the strong places of the city in order to help their countrymen in their attack, as had been concerted between them, they threw them into prison. And having voted that the sacrifices, which had been interrupted by the war, should be performed with double magnificence, they were again passing the time in merriment.

[32.1] While they were celebrating these festivals, ambassadors came to them from the Auruncans, who inhabited the fairest plains of Campania. These, being introduced into the senate, demanded that the Romans should restore to them the country of the Volscians called Ecetrans, which they had taken from them and divided in allotments among the colonists they had sent thither to guard that people, and that they should withdraw their garrison from there; if they refused to do so, they might expect the Auruncans to invade the territory of the Romans promptly to take revenge for the injuries they had done to their neighbours. [2] To these the Romans gave this answer: "Ambassadors, carry back the word to the Auruncans that we Romans think it right that whatever anyone possesses by having won it from the enemy through valour, he should leave to his posterity as being his own. And we are not afraid of war from the Auruncans, which will be neither the first nor the most formidable war we have been engaged in; indeed, it has always been our custom to fight with all men for the supremacy, and as we see that this will be a contest, as it were, of valour, we shall await it without trepidation." [3] After this the Auruncans, who had set out from their own territory with a large army, and the Romans, with their own forces under the command of Servilius, met near the city of Aricia, which is distant one hundred and twenty stades from Rome; and each of them encamped on hills strongly situated, not far from one another. After they had fortified their camps they advanced to the plain for battle; and engaging early in the morning, they maintained the fight till noon, so that many were killed on both sides. For the Auruncans were a warlike nation and by their stature, their strength, and the fierceness of their looks, in which there was much of brute savagery, they were exceeding formidable.

[33.1] In this battle the Roman horse and their commander Aulus Postumius Albus, who had held the office of dictator the year before, are said to have

proved the bravest. It seems that the place where the battle was fought was most unsuitable for the use of cavalry, having both rocky hills and deep ravines, so that the horse could be of no advantage to either side. [2] Postumius, ordering his followers to dismount, formed a compact body of six hundred men, and observing where the Roman battle-line suffered most, being forced down hill, he engaged the enemy at those points and promptly crowded their ranks together. The barbarians being once checked, courage came to the Romans and the foot emulated the horse; and both forming one compact column, they drove the right wing of the enemy back to the hill. Some pursued that part of them which fled towards their camp and killed many, while others attacked in the rear those who still maintained the fight. [3] And when they had put these also to flight, they followed them in their difficult and slow retreat to the hilly ground, cutting asunder the sinews of both their feet and knees with side blows of their swords, till they came to their camp. And having overpowered the guards there also, who were not numerous, they made themselves masters of the camp and plundered it. However, they found no great booty in it, but only arms, horses and other equipment for war. These were the achievements of Servilius and Appius during their consulship.

[34.1] After this Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Veturius Geminus assumed the office of consul, when Themistocles was archon at Athens, in the two hundred and sixtieth year after the foundation of Rome and the year before the seventy-second Olympiad (the one in which Tisicrates of Croton won the prize for the second time). In their consulship the Sabines prepared to lead out against the Romans a larger army than before, and the Medullini, revolting from the Romans, swore to a treaty of alliance with the Sabines. [2] The patricians, learning of their intention, were preparing to take the field immediately with all their forces; but the plebeians refused to obey their orders, remembering with resentment their repeated breaking of the promises which they had made to them respecting the poor who required relief, the votes that were being passed And assembling together a few at a time, they bound one another by oaths that they would no longer assist the patricians in any war, and that to every one of the poor who was oppressed they would render aid jointly against all whom they met. The conspiracy was evident on many other occasions, both in verbal skirmishes and physical encounters, but it became especially clear to the consuls when those summoned to military service failed to present themselves. [3] For whenever they ordered anyone of the people to be seized, the poor assembled in a body and endeavoured to rescue the one who was being carried away, and when the consuls' lictors refused to release them, they beat them and drove them off; and if any either of the knights or patricians who were present attempted to put a stop to these proceedings, they did not refrain from beating them too. Thus, in a short time the city was full of disorder and tumult. And as the sedition increased in the city, the preparations of the enemy for overrunning their territory increased also. When the Volscians again formed a plan to

revolt, and the Aequians, as they were called, . . . ambassadors came from all the peoples who were subject to the Romans asking them to send aid, since their territories lay in the path of the war. [4] For example, the Latins said that the Aequians had made an incursion into their country and were laying waste their lands and had already plundered some of their cities; the garrison in Crustumerium declared that the Sabines were near that fortress and full of eagerness to besiege it; and others came with word of still other mischief which either had happened or was going to happen, and to ask for prompt assistance. Ambassadors from the Volscians also appeared before the senate, demanding, before they began war, that the lands taken from them by the Romans should be restored to them.

[35.1] The senate having been assembled to consider this business, Titus Larcus, esteemed a man of superior dignity and consummate prudence, was first called upon by the consuls to deliver his opinion. And coming forward, he said:

“To me, senators, the things which others regard as terrible and as requiring speedy relief appear neither terrible nor very urgent, I mean, how we are to assist our allies or in what manner repulse our enemies. Whereas the things which they look upon neither as the greatest of evils nor pressing at present, but continue to ignore as not likely to do us any injury, are the very things that appear most terrible to me; and if we do not soon put a stop to them, they will prove to be the causes of the utter overthrow and ruin of the commonwealth. I refer to the disobedience of the plebeians, who refuse to carry out the orders of the consuls, as well as to our own severity against this disobedient and independent spirit of theirs. [2] It is my opinion, therefore, that we ought to consider nothing else at present than by what means these evils are to be removed from the state and how all of us Romans with one mind are to prefer public to private considerations in the measures we pursue. For the power of the commonwealth when harmonious will be sufficient both to give security to our allies and to inspire fear in our enemies, but when discordant, as at present, it can effect neither. And I should be surprised if it did not even destroy itself and yield the victory to the enemy without any trouble. Yes, by Jupiter and all the other gods, I believe this will soon happen if you continue to pursue such measures.

[36.1] “For we are living apart from one another, as you see, and inhabit two cities, one of which is ruled by poverty and necessity, and the other by satiety and insolence; but modesty, order and justice, by which alone any civil community is preserved, remain in neither of these cities. For this reason we already exact justice from one another by force and make superior strength the measure of that justice, like wild beasts choosing rather to destroy our enemy though we perish with him, than, by consulting our own safety, to be preserved together with our adversary. [2] I ask you to give much thought to this matter and to hold a session for this very purpose as soon as you have dismissed the embassies. As to the answers to be now given to them, this is

the advice I have to offer. Since the Volscians demand restitution of what we are in possession of by right of arms, and threaten us with war if we refuse to restore it, let our answer be, that we Romans look upon those acquisitions to be the most honest and the most just which we have acquired in accordance with the law of war, and that we will not consent to destroy the fruits of our valour by an act of folly. Whereas, by restoring to those who lost them these possessions, which we ought to share with our children and which we shall strive to leave to their posterity, we shall be depriving ourselves of what is already ours and be treating ourselves as harshly as we would our enemies. [3] As to the Latins, let us commend their goodwill and dispel their fears by assuring them that we will not abandon them in any danger they may incur on our account, so long as they keep faith with us, but will shortly send a force sufficient to defend them. These answers, I believe, will be the best and the most just. After the embassies have departed, I say we ought to devote the first meeting of the senate to the consideration of the tumults in the city and that this meeting ought not to be long deferred, but appointed for the very next day."

[37.1] When Larcius had delivered this opinion and it had received the approval of all, the embassies then received the answers that I have reported, and departed. The next day the consuls assembled the senate and proposed that it consider how the civil disorders might be corrected. Thereupon Publius Verginius, a man devoted to the people, being asked his opinion first, took the middle course and said: "Since the plebeians last year showed the greatest zeal for the struggles in behalf of the commonwealth, arraying themselves with us against the Volscians and Auruncans when they attacked us with a large army, I think that all who then assisted us and took their share in those wars ought to be let off, and that neither their persons nor their property ought to be in the power of the money-lenders; and that the same principle of justice ought to extend to their parents as far as their grandfathers, and to their posterity as far as their grandchildren; but that all the rest ought to be liable to imprisonment at the suit of the money-lenders upon the terms of their respective obligations." [2] After this Titus Larcius said: "My opinion, senators, is that to those who proved themselves good men in the wars, but all the rest of the people as well, should be released from their obligations; for only thus can we make the whole state harmonious." The third speaker was Appius Claudius, the consul of the preceding year, who came forward and said:

[38.1] "Every time these matters have been up for debate, senators, I have always been of the same opinion, never to yield to the people any one of their demands that is not lawful and honourable, nor to lower the dignity of the commonwealth; nor do I even now change the opinion which I entertained from the beginning. For I should be the most foolish of all men, if last year, when I was consul and my colleague opposed me and stirred up the people against me, I resisted and adhered to my resolutions, undeterred by fear and

yielding neither to entreaties nor to favour, only to demean myself now, when I am a private citizen, and to prove utterly false to the principle of free speech. [2] You may call this independence of mind on my part nobility or arrogance, as each of you prefers; but, as long as I live, I will never propose an abolition of debts as a favour to wicked men, but will go so far as to resist with all the earnestness of which I am capable those who do propose it, reasoning as I do that every evil and corruption and, in a word, the overthrow of the state, begins with the abolition of debts. [3] And whether anyone shall think that what I say proceeds from prudence, or from a kind of madness (since I see fit to consider, not my own security, but that of the commonwealth), or from any other motive, I give him leave to think as he pleases; but to the very last I will oppose those who shall introduce measures that are not in accord with our ancestral traditions. And since the times require, not an abolition of debts, but relief on a large scale, I will state the only remedy for the sedition at the present time: choose speedily a dictator, who, subject to no accounting for the use he shall make of his authority, will force both the senate and the people to entertain such sentiments as are most advantageous to the commonwealth. For there will be of other deliverance from so great an evil.”

[39.1] This speech of Appius was received by the young senators with tumultuous applause, as proposing just the measures that were needed; but Servilius and some others of the older senators rose up to oppose it. They were defeated, however, by the younger men, who arrived for that very purpose and used much violence; and at last the motion of Appius carried. [2] After this, when most people expected that Appius would be appointed dictator as the only person who would be capable of quelling the sedition, the consuls, acting with one mind, excluded him and appointed Manius Valerius, a brother of Publius Valerius, the first man to be made consul, who, it was thought, would be most favourable to the people and moreover was an old man. For they thought the terror alone of the dictator’s power was sufficient, and that the present situation required a person equitable in all respects, that he might occasion no fresh disturbances.

[40.1] After Valerius had assumed office and had appointed Quintus Servilius, a brother of the Servilius who had been the colleague of Appius in the consulship, to be his Master of the Horse, he summoned the people to an assembly. And a great crowd coming together then for the first time since Servilius had resigned his magistracy and the people who were being forced into the service had been driven to open despair, he came forward to the tribunal and said:

“Citizens, we are well aware that you are always pleased at being governed by any of the Valerian family, by whom you were freed are a harsh tyranny, and perhaps you would never expect to fail of obtaining anything that was reasonable when once you had entrusted yourselves to those who are regarded as being, and are, the most democratic of men. [2] So that you to whom my words will be addressed do not need to be informed that we shall confirm to

the people the liberty which we bestowed upon them in the beginning, but you need only moderate encouragement to have confidence in us that we shall perform whatever we promise you. For I have attained to that maturity of age which is the least capable of trickiness, and have been sufficiently honoured with public office, which carries it a minimum of shiftiness; and I am not intending to pass the remainder of my life anywhere else but among you, where I shall be ready to stand trial for any deception you may think I have practised against you. [3] Of this, then, I shall speak no further, since, as I have said, no lengthy arguments are needed for those who are acquainted with the facts. But there is one thing which, having suffered from others, you seem with reason to suspect of all: you have ever observed that one or another of the consuls, when they want to engage you to march against the enemy, promises to obtain for you what you desire of the senate, but never carries out any of his promises. That you can have no just grounds for entertaining the same suspicions of me also, I can convince you chiefly by these two considerations: first, that the senate would never have made the mistake of employing me, who am regarded as the greatest friend of the people, for this service, when there are others better suited to it, and second, that they would not have honoured me with an absolute magistracy by which I shall be able to enact whatever I think best, even without their participation.

[41.1] “For surely you do not imagine that I am joining in their deception knowingly and that I have concerted with them to do you some injury. For if it occurs to you to entertain these thoughts of me, do to me what you will, treating me as the most depraved of all men. Believe, then, what I say and banish this suspicion from your minds. Turn your anger from your friends to your enemies, who have come with the purpose of taking your city and making you slaves instead of free men, and are striving to inflict on you every other severity which mankind holds in the greatest fear, and are now said to be not far from your confines. [2] Withstand them, therefore, with alacrity and show them that the power of the Romans, though weakened by sedition, is superior to any other when harmonious; for either they will not sustain your united attack or they will suffer condign punishment for their boldness. Bear in mind that those who are making war against you are Volscians and Sabines, whom you have often overcome in battle, and that they have night larger bodies nor braver hearts now than their ancestors had, but have conceived a contempt for you because they thought you were at odds with one another. When you have taken revenge on your enemies, I myself pledge that the senate will reward you, both by composing these controversies concerning the debts and by granting everything else you can reasonably ask of them, in a manner adequate to the valour you shall show in the war. [3] In the mean time let every possession, every person, and every right of a Roman citizen be left secure are seizure for either debt or any other obligation. To those who shall fight zealously their most glorious crown will be that this city, which gave them birth, still stands intact, and glorious praise also from their fellow-

soldiers will be theirs; and the rewards bestowed by us will be sufficient both to restore their fortunes by their value and to render their families illustrious by the honours bestowed. I desire also that my zeal in exposing myself to danger may be your example; for I will fight for my country as stoutly as the most robust among you.”

[42.1] While he was speaking, all the people listened with great pleasure, and believing that they were no longer to be imposed upon, promised their assistance in the war; and ten legions were raised, each consisting of four thousand men. Of these each of the consuls took three, and as many of the horse as belonged to the several legions; the other four, together with the rest of the horse, were commanded by the dictator. And having straightway got everything ready, they set out in haste, Titus Veturius against the Aequians, Aulus Verginius against the Volscians, and the dictator Valerius himself against the Sabines, while the city was guarded by Titus Larcus together with the older men and a small body of troops of military age. [2] The Volscian war was speedily decided. For these foes, looking upon themselves as much superior in number and recalling the wrongs they had suffered, were driven to fight with greater haste than prudence, and were the first to attack the Romans, which they did too impetuously, as soon as the latter had encamped within sight of them. There ensued a sharp battle, in which, though they performed many brave deeds, they nevertheless suffered greater losses and were put to flight; and their camp was taken, and a city of note, Velitæ by name, reduced by siege. [3] In like manner the pride of the Sabines was also humbled in a very short time, both nations having wished to win the war by a single pitched battle. After this their country was plundered and some small towns were captured, from which the soldiers took many persons and great store of goods. The Aequians, distrusting their own weakness and learning that the war waged by their allies was at an end, not only encamped in strong positions and would not come out to give battle, but also effected their retreat secretly, wherever they could, through mountains and woods, and thus dragged out and prolonged the war for some time; but they were not able to preserve their army unscathed to the last, since the Romans boldly fell upon them in their rugged fastnesses and took their camp by storm. Then followed the flight of the Aequians from the territory of the Latins and the surrender of the cities they had seized in their first invasion, as well as the captured of some of the men who in a spirit of rivalry had refused to abandon the citadels.

[43] Valerius, having succeeded in this war according to his desire and celebrated the customary triumph in honour of his victory, discharged the people from the service, though the senate did not regard it as the proper time yet, fearing the poor might demand the fulfilment of their promises. After this he set out colonists to occupy the land they had taken from the Volscians, choosing them from among the poor; these would not only guard the conquered country but would also leave the seditious element in the city diminished in number. [2] Having made these arrangements, he asked the

senate to fulfil for him the promises they had made, now that they had received the hearty co-operation of the plebeians in the later engagements. However, the senate paid no regard to him, but, just as before the young and violent men, who were superior to the other party in number, had joined together to oppose his motion, so on this occasion also they opposed it and raised a great outcry against him, calling his family flatterers of the people and the authors of vicious laws, and charging that by the very measure on which the Valerii prided themselves most, the one concerning the function of the assembly as a court of justice, they had totally destroyed the power of the patricians. Valerius became very indignant at this, and after reproaching them with having exposed him to the unjust resentment of the people, he lamented the fate which would come upon them for taking such a course, as might be expected in such an unhappy situation, uttered some dire prophecies, inspired in part by the emotion he was then under and in part by his superior sagacity. Then he flung himself out of the senate chamber; and assembling the people, he said:

[3] “Citizens, feeling myself under great obligations to you both for the zeal you showed in giving me your voluntary assistance in the war, and still more for the bravery you displayed in the various engagements, I was very desirous of making a return to you, not only in other ways, by particularly by not breaking the promises I kept giving you in the name of the senate, and, as an adviser and umpire between the senate and you, by changing at last the discord that now exists between you into harmony. But I am prevented from accomplishing these things by those who prefer, not what is most advantageous to the commonwealth, but what is pleasing to themselves at the present moment, and who, being superior to all the rest both in number and in the power they derive from their youth rather than from the present situation, have prevailed. [4] Whereas I, as you see, an old man, and so are all my associates, whose strength consists in counsel which they are incapable of carrying out in action; and what was regarded as our concern for the commonwealth has turned out to have the appearance of a private grudge against both sides. For I am censured by the senate for courting your faction and misrepresented to you as showing greater goodwill to them.

[44] “If, now, the people, after being treated well, had failed to keep the promises made by me to the senate in their name, my defence to that body must have been that you had violated your word, but that there was no deceit on my part. But since it is the promises made to you by the senate that have not been fulfilled, I am now under the necessity of stating to the people that the treatment you have met with does not have my approval, but that both of us alike have been cheated and misled, and I more than you, inasmuch as I am wronged, not alone in being deceived in common with you all, but am also hurt in my own reputation. For I am accused of having turned over to the poor among you, without the consent of the senate, the spoils taken from the enemy, in the desire to gain a private advantage for myself, and of demanding that the property of the citizens be confiscated, though the senate forbade me to act in violation of the laws, and of having disbanded the armies in spite of the opposition of the senators, when I ought to have kept you in the enemy’s country occupied in sleeping in the open and in endless marching. [2] I am also reproached in the matter of sending the colonists into the territory of the Volscians, on the ground that I did not bestow a large and fertile country upon the patricians or even upon the knights, but allotted it to the poor among you. But the thing in particular which has occasioned the greatest indignation against me is that, in raising the army, more than four hundred well-to-do plebeians were added to the knights. [3] If, now, I had been thus treated when I was in the vigour of my youth, I should have made it clear to my enemies by my deeds what kind of man they had abused; but as I am now above seventy years old and no longer capable of defending myself, and since I perceive that your discord can no longer be allayed by me, I am laying down my office and putting myself in the hands of any who may desire it in the belief that they have been deceived by me in any respect, to be treated in such manner as they

shall think fit.”

[45.1] With these words Valerius aroused the sympathy of all the plebeians, who accompanied him when he left the Forum; but he increased the resentment of the senate against him. And immediately afterwards the following events happened: The poor, no longer meeting secretly and by night, as before, but openly now, were planning a secession from the patricians; and the senate, with the purpose of preventing this, ordered the consuls not to disband the armies as yet. For each consul still had command of his three legions, which were restrained by their military oaths, and none of the soldiers cared to desert their standards, so far did the fear of violating their oaths prevail with all of them. The pretext contrived for leading out the forces was that the Aequians and Sabines had joined together to make war upon the Romans. [2] After the consuls had marched out of the city with their forces and pitched their camps near one another, the soldiers all assembled together, having in their possession both the arms and the standards, and at the instigation of one Sicinius Bellutus they seized the standards and revolted from the consuls (these standards are held in the greatest honour by the Romans on a campaign and like statues of the gods are accounted holy); and having appointed different centurions and made Sicinius their leader in all matters, they occupied a certain mount situated near the river Anio, not far from Rome, which from that circumstance is still called the Sacred Mount. [3] And when the consuls and the centurions called upon them to return, mingling entreaties and lamentations, and making many promises, Sicinius replied: “With what purpose, patricians, do you now recall those whom you have driven from their country and transformed from free men into slaves? What assurances will you give us for the performance of those promises which you are convicted of having often broken already? But since you desire to have sole possession of the city, return thither undisturbed by the poor and humble. As for us, we shall be content to regard as our country any land, whatever it be, in which we may enjoy our liberty.”

[46.1] When these things were reported to those in the city, there was great tumult and lamentation and running through the streets, as the populace prepared to leave the city and the patricians endeavoured to dissuade them and offered violence to those who refused to obey. And there was great clamour and wailing at the gates, and hostile words were exchanged and hostile acts committed, as no one paid heed any longer to either age, comradeship, or the respect due to virtue. [2] When those appointed by the senate to guard the exits, being few in number and unable any longer to resist them, were forced by the people to desert their post, then at last the populace rushed out in great multitudes and the commotion resembled the capture of a city; there were the lamentations of those who remained behind and their mutual recriminations as they saw the city being deserted. After this there were frequent meetings of the senate and accusations against those who were responsible for the secession. At the same time the enemy nations also attacked them, plundering

their territory up to the very city. However, the seceders, taking the necessary provisions from the fields that lay near them, without doing any other mischief to the country, remained in the open and received such as resorted to them from city and the fortresses round about, who were already coming to them in great numbers. [3] Not only those who were desirous of escaping their debts and the sentences and punishments they expected, flocked to them, but many others also who led lazy or dissolute lives, or whose fortunes were not sufficient to gratify their desires, or who were devoted to vicious practices, or were envious of the prosperity of others, or because of some other misfortune or reason were hostile to the established government.

[47.1] At first great confusion and consternation fell upon the patricians, who feared that the seceders would at once come against the city together with the foreign enemies. Then, as if at a single signal, snatching up arms and attended each by his own clients, some went to defend the roads by which they expected the enemy would approach, others marched out to the fortresses in order to secure them, while still others encamped on the plains before the city; and those who by reason of age were unable to anything of the kind took their places upon the walls. [2] But when they heard that the seceders were neither joining the enemy, laying waste the country, nor doing any other mischief worth speaking of, they gave up their fear, and changing their minds, proceeded to consider upon what terms they might come to an agreement with them. And speeches of every kind, directly opposed to one another, were made by the leading men of these; but the most moderate speeches and those most suitable to the existing situation were delivered by the oldest senators, who showed that the people had not made this secession from them with any malicious intent, but partly compelled by irresistible calamities and partly deluded by their advisers, and judging of their interest by passion rather than reason, as is wont to happen with an ignorant populace; and furthermore, that the greater part of them were conscious of having been ill advised and were seeking an opportunity of redeeming their offences if they could find plausible excuses for doing so. At any rate their actions were those of men who had already repented, and if they should be given good hope for the future by a vote of the senate granting them impunity and offering an honourable accommodation, they would cheerfully take back what was their own. [3] In urging this course they demanded that men of superior worth should not be more implacable than their inferiors, nor defer an accommodation till the senseless crowd should be either brought to their senses by necessity or induced by it to cure a smaller evil by a greater, in depriving themselves of liberty as the result of delivering up their arms and surrendering their persons at discretion; for these things were next to impossible. But by treating the people with moderation they ought to set the example of salutary counsels, and to anticipate the others in proposing an accommodation, bearing in mind that while governing and administering the state was the duty of the patricians, the promoting of friendship and peace was the part of good men. [4]

They declared that the prestige of the senate would be most diminished, not by a policy of administering the government safely while bearing nobly the calamities that were unavoidable, but by a policy whereby, in showing resentment toward the vicissitudes of fortune, they would overthrow the commonwealth. It was the part of folly, while aiming at appearances, to neglect security; it was desirable of course, to obtain both, but if one must do without either, safety ought to be regarded as more necessary than appearances. The final proposal of those who gave these advice was that ambassadors should be sent to the seceders to treat of peace, since they had been guilty of no irreparable mischief.

[48.1] This met with the approval of the senate. Thereupon they chose the most suitable persons and sent them to the people in the camp with orders to inquire of them what they desired and upon what terms they would consent to return to the city; for if any of their demands were moderate and possible to be complied with, the senate would not oppose them. If, therefore, they would now lay down their arms and return to the city they would be granted impunity for their past offences and amnesty for the future; and if they showed the best will for the commonwealth and cheerfully exposed themselves to danger in the service of their country, they would receive honourable and advantageous returns. [2] The ambassadors, having received these instructions, communicated them to the people in the camp and spoke in conformity to them. But the seceders, rejecting these invitations, reproached the patricians with haughtiness, severity, and great dissimulation in pretending, on the one hand, to be ignorant of the demands of the people and of the reasons which had compelled them to secede from them, and, again, in granting them impunity from all prosecution for their secession, just as if they were still masters of the situation, though themselves standing in need of the assistance of their fellow-citizens against their foreign enemies, who would soon come with all their forces — enemies who could not be withstood by men who looked upon their preservation as not so much their own advantage as the good fortune of those who should assist them. They ended with the statement that when the patricians themselves understood better the difficulties that beset the commonwealth, they would know what kind of adversaries they had to deal with; and they added many violent threats. [3] To all of which the ambassadors made no further answer, but departed and informed the patricians of the representations made by the seceders. When those in the city received this answer, they were in much more serious confusion and fear than before; and neither the senate was able to find a solution of the difficulties or any means of postponing them, but, after listening to the taunts and accusations which the leading men directed at one another, adjourned day after day; nor were the plebeians who still remained in the city, constrained by their goodwill toward the patricians or their affection for their country, of the same mind as before, but a large part even of these were trickling away both openly and secretly, and it seemed that no reliance

could be placed upon those who were left. In this state of affairs the consuls — for the period that still remained of their magistracy was short — appointed a day for the election of magistrates.

[49.1] When the time came for them to assemble in the field to elect their magistrates, and no one either sought the consulship or would consent to accept it if offered, the people themselves chose two consuls from among those who had already held this magistracy and who were acceptable to both the people and the aristocracy, namely Postumus Cominius and Spurius Cassius, Cassius being the one through whose efforts the Sabines had been conquered and had resigned their claims to the leadership. This was in the seventy-second Olympiad, the year in which Tisicrates of Croton won the short-distance foot-race, Diognetus being then archon at Athens. [2] Upon assuming office on the calends of September, earlier than had been customary with the former consuls, they convened the senate before attending to any other business and asked for an expression of its opinion concerning the return of the plebeians. The first senator they called upon to declare his views was a man, then in the maturity of his age, who was looked upon as a person of superior wisdom and was particularly commended for his political principles, since he pursued a middle course, being inclined and to increase the arrogance of the aristocratic party nor to permit the people to have their own way in everything — namely Agrippa Menenius. It was he who now urged the senate to an accommodation, speaking as follows:

[3] “If all who are present, senators, chanced to be of the same opinion, and no one were going to oppose the accommodation with the people, but only the terms of it, be these just or unjust, on which we are to be reconciled with them were before you for consideration, I could have expressed my thoughts to you in few words. [4] But since some consider that even this very point should be a matter for further consultation, whether it is better for us to come to an agreement with the seceders or go to war with them, I do not think it easy for me in a brief exposition of my views to advise you what ought to be done. On the contrary, a speech of some length is necessary, in order to show those among you who are opposed to the accommodation that they contradict themselves if, while intending to frighten you by playing on your fear of those difficulties that are the most trivial and easily corrected, they at the same time neglect to consider the evils that are greatest and incurable. And they have fallen into this predicament for no other reason than that in judging what is expedient they do not use reason but rather passion and frenzy. [5] For how can these men be said to foresee in their minds any course that is profitable or possible, when they imagine that a state so powerful and mistress of so extensive a dominion, a state that is calendar becoming an object of hatred, and a cause of offence to her neighbours, will easily be able either without the plebeians to hold and preserve the subject nations or else to bring some other people into the commonwealth, a better people in place of one most knavish,

who will fight to preserve their supremacy for them and will live with them under the same government in profound quiet, behaving themselves with self-restraint in both peace and war? For there is no other possibility they could name that would justify their asking you not to accept the accommodation.

[50.1] “How utterly silly either of those two expedients is, I would have you consider from the facts themselves, bearing in mind that since the humbler citizens grew disaffected toward you because of those who treated their misfortunes as neither fellow-citizens nor men of self-restraint should, and withdrew, indeed, from the city, yet neither are doing to you, nor have any thought of doing, any other mischief, but are considering only by what means they may be reconciled to you without dishonour, many of those who are not well disposed toward you, joyfully seizing upon this incident presented to them by Fortune, have become elated in their minds and look upon this as the long-desired opportunity for breaking up your empire. [2] Thus, the Aequians and Volscians, the Sabines and Hernicans, who in any case have missed no opportunity to make war against us, being now exasperated also at their late defeats, are plundering our fields. As to the parts of Campania and Tyrrhenia which have continued to be doubtful in their allegiance to us, some of them are openly revolting and others are secretly preparing to do the same. Not even the kindred race of Latins, as it seems, longer remains steadfastly loyal to us, though it entered into relations of confidence with us, but a large part even of this people is reported to be disaffected, succumbing to the passion for change which all men crave. [3] And we who used to besiege the cities of others now ourselves sit at home, pent within our walls, having left our lands unsown and seeing our farm-houses plundered, our cattle driven off as booty, and our slaves deserting, without knowing how to deal with these misfortunes. While we suffer all this, do we still hope that the plebeians will become reconciled to us, even though we know that it is in our own power to put an end to the sedition by a single decree?

[51.1] “While our affairs in the open country are in this unhappy state, the situation within the walls is no less terrible. For we have neither provided ourselves with allies well in advance, as if we expected to be besieged, nor are we, unaided, sufficiently numerous to resist so many hostile nations; and even of this small and inadequate army the greater part consists of plebeians — labourers, clients, and artisans — not altogether trustworthy guardians for a tottering aristocracy. Moreover, the continual desertion of these now to the seceders has rendered all the rest liable to suspicion. [2] But more than all these things, the impossibility of bringing in provisions while the country is in the power of the enemy already terrifies us, and when we are once in actual want, will terrify us still more; and, apart from this, the war allows not a moment’s peace of mind. Yet surpassing all these calamities are the wretched wives, the infant children, and aged parents of the seceders wandering to and fro in the Forum and through every street, in pitiful garb and postures of mourning, weeping, supplicating, clinging to the hands and knees of everyone and

bewailing the forlorn condition that afflicts them now and will according to them even more — a dreadful and intolerable sight! [3] No one, surely, is of so cruel a nature as not to have his heart touched at seeing these things, or to feel some sympathy for the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures. So that, if we are not going to trust the good faith of the plebeians, we shall have to get rid of these persons also, since some of them will be of no use while we are under siege and the others cannot be relied on to remain friendly. But when these too are driven away, what forces will be left to defend the city? And depending upon what assistance shall we dare to encounter these perils? Yet as for our natural refuge and our only trustworthy hope, the patrician youth, they are few, as you see, and it behooves us not to let our spirits rise because of them. Why, then, do those who propose that we submit to war indulge in nonsense and deceive us, instead of openly advising us to deliver up the city at once to our enemies without bloodshed and without trouble?

[52.1] “But perhaps I myself am infatuated when I speak thus, and am asking you to fear things that are not formidable. The commonwealth is very likely threatened with no other danger as yet than a change of inhabitants, a matter of no serious consequence; and it would be very easy for us to receive into the body politic a multitude of labourers and clients from every nation and place.

[2] For this is the plan which many of the opponents of the plebeians keep prating of, and these by no means the most unimportant of them; to such a pitch of folly, indeed, have some already come, that instead of expressing salutary opinions they utter wishes impossible of realization. But I should like to ask these men: What superabundance of time will be afforded us to carry out these plans when the enemy is so near the city? What allowance will be made for the tarrying and delay of our auxiliaries who are to come, though we are in the midst of perils that do not tarry or delay? What man or what god will grant us security and will without molestation get together reinforcements from every quarter and conduct them hither? Besides, who are the people who will leave their own countries and remove to us? Are they such as have habitations, families, fortunes, and the respect of their fellow-citizens because of the distinction of their ancestors or a reputation for their own merit? And yet who would consent to leave behind his own blessings in order to share ignominiously the misfortunes of others? For they will come hither to share, not in peace and luxury, but in dangers and war, the successful issue of which cannot be foreseen. [3] Or shall we bring in a multitude of homeless plebeians, like those driven from hence, who because of debts, judgments, and other like misfortunes will gladly remove to any place that may offer? But these, even though otherwise of a good and modest disposition — to concede them this much — yet just because of their being neither native born nor of like habits with us, and because they will not be acquainted with our customs, laws, and training, will no doubt be far, nay infinitely, worse than our own plebeians.

[53.1] “The natives have here their wives, children, parents, and many others that are dear to them, to serve as pledges; yes, and there is their fondness for

the soil that reared them, a passion that is implanted in all men and not to be eradicated; but as for this multitude which we propose to invite here, this people without roof or home, if they should take up their abode with us having none of these pledges here, in defence of what blessing would they care to face dangers, unless one were to promise to give them portions land and some part or other of the city, after first dispossessing the present owners — things we refuse to grant to our own citizens who have often fought in their defence? And possibly they might not be content with even these grants alone, but would also insist upon an equal share of honours, of magistracies, and of all the other advantages with the patricians. [2] If, therefore, we do not grant them every one of their demands, shall we not have them as our enemies when they fail to obtain what they ask? And if we grant their demands, our country and our constitution will be lost, destroyed by our own hands. I do not add here that what we need at the present time is men trained to war, men of disciplined bodies; not husbandmen, labourers, merchants, or followers of menial trades, who will be obliged to learn military discipline and to give proof of their skill at one and the same time (and skill in any unwonted activity is difficult), such as a promiscuous collection of men resorting hither from every nation is bound to be. [3] As for a military alliance, I neither see any formed to assist us, nor, if any allies unexpectedly appeared, should I advise you to admit them inconsiderately within your walls, since I know that many a city has been enslaved by troops introduced to garrison it.

[54.1] “When you consider these things as well as those that I have mentioned earlier, and recall, further, the considerations which encourage you to make the accommodation, namely, that we are not the only people, nor the first, among whom poverty has raised sedition against wealth, and lowliness against eminence, but that in nearly all states, both great and small, the lower class is generally hostile to the upper (and in all these states the men in power, when they have shown moderation, have saved their countries, but when they have acted arrogantly, have lost not only their goods, but their lives as well); [2] and when you remember that everything that is composed of many parts is generally affected with a disorder in some one of them, and, furthermore, that neither the ailing part of a human body ought always to be lopped off (for that would be to render the appearance of the rest ugly and its term of life brief) nor the disordered part of a civil community to be driven out (since that would be the quickest way of destroying the whole in time through the loss of its separate parts); and when you consider also how great is the power of necessity, the one thing to which even the gods yield, be not vexed at your misfortunes nor allow yourselves to be filled with arrogance and folly, as if everything were going to succeed according to our wishes, but relent and yield, deriving examples of prudence, not from the actions of others, but from our own.

[55.1] “For the individual man and the state as a whole ought to emulate the most illustrious of their own actions and to consider how all their any other

actions may correspond with these. Thus you yourselves, when in times past you subdued many of your enemies at whose hands you had suffered the greatest injuries, desired neither to destroy them nor to dispossess them of what was theirs, but restored their houses and lands to them and permitted them to live in the countries that had given them birth, and actually granted to some of them the privilege both of being your fellow-citizens and of exercising equal rights of suffrage. [2] But I have yet a more wonderful act of yours to relate, which is, that you have permitted many even of your own fellow-citizens who commit grievous offences against you to go unpunished, while you have visited your resentment solely upon those who were guilty. Of this number were the colonies sent out to Antemnae, Crustumerium, Medullia, Fidenae, and to many other places. But why should I now enumerate all those whom, after you had taken their towns by storm, you admonished mildly and as became fellow-citizens? And so far has the commonwealth been from incurring either danger or censure from this course, that your clemency is applauded and at the same time your security is not at all diminished. [3] After that will you, who spare your enemies, make war upon your friends? Will you, who permit the conquered to go unpunished, punish those who aided you in acquiring your dominion? Will you, who offer your own city as a safe refuge for all who stand in need of it, bring yourselves to drive out of that city the natives with whom you have been reared and educated and with whom you have shared many experiences both evil and good in peace as well as in war? No, not if you desire to act with justice and in conformity with your traditions, and if without passion you judge what is to your interest.

[56.1] “But, someone may say, we know as well as you that the sedition ought to be appeased, and we have laboured earnestly to that end. Undertake not to tell us *how* we may appease it. For you see how headstrong the people are grown: though they themselves are the offenders, they neither send to us to treat of an accommodation nor give to the men we have sent to them answers that are those of fellow-citizens or considerate, but indulge in haughtiness and threats, so that it is not easy to guess what they want. Hear, then, in what manner I advise you to act now in this situation. [2] For my part, I do not believe either that the people are irreconcilable toward us or that they will carry out any of their threats. My reason is that their actions do not agree with their words, and I judge that they are far more in earnest than we about the accommodation. For while we continue to live in our own country, which is most dear to us, and have in our own power our fortunes, our houses, our families, and everything that means most to us, they are without country or habitation, are bereft of their dearest relations, and lack for their daily bread.

[3] If anyone should ask me for what reason, then, the people even under these miseries do not accept our invitations and why they do not on their own initiative send to treat with us, I should answer: Because, most assuredly, they thus far hear words from the senate, but see no act of kindness or moderation follow the words; and they feel that they have been often deceived by us, in

that we are always promising to take some measures of relief for them, but taking none. They are unwilling to send envoys to us because of those who are accustomed to inveigh against them here and because they fear they may fail of some of their demands. [4] Perhaps too they may be possessed by some feeling of senseless rivalry. And no wonder; since there are some even among us ourselves in whom this quarrelsome and contentious spirit resides, both in private and in public matters, men who cannot bear to be overcome by their adversaries, but are always seeking by any means whatever to get the better of them and never to confer a favour before they have subdued those who are to have the benefit of it. [5] In view of these considerations I think an embassy should be sent to the plebeians consisting of persons in whom they have the greatest confidence; and I advise that those to be sent be invested with full power to put an end to the sedition upon such terms as they themselves shall think fit, without again referring anything to the senate. For if the plebeians, who now seem to be scornful and sullen, shall become aware of this, learning that you are in earnest regarding the accommodation, they will condescend to more moderate conditions and will demand nothing of us that is either dishonourable or impossible. For all men, when inflamed with anger, particularly those of humble condition, are wont to be enraged against those who treat them haughtily, but to be mild toward those who court their favour.”

[57.1] When Menenius had thus spoken, a great murmuring broke out in the senate and the members consulted together, each with their own groups. Those who were favourably disposed toward the plebeians exhorted one another to devote every energy toward bringing the people back to their country, now that they had got as the champion of their present view the most distinguished man of the aristocratic party. The aristocrats, in turn, who above everything wished no change to be made in the traditional form of government, were at a loss how to act in the present juncture, being unwilling to change their principles and yet unable to persist in their resolutions. And those, again, who were neutral and sided with neither of the parties in their strife, desired to see peace prevail and demanded that the senate should consider means to prevent the city from being besieged. [2] When silence reigned, the elder of the consuls praised Menenius for his magnanimity and asked the rest to show themselves equally loyal defenders of the state, not only by expressing their opinions frankly, but also by carrying out their resolutions without fear; and then he called upon a second senator by name in the same manner to deliver his opinion. This was Manius Valerius, a brother of the Valerius who had assisted in delivering his country from the kings, a man acceptable to the people beyond any other member of the aristocratic party.

[58.1] He, rising up, first called the attention of the senate to the policies he himself had pursued and reminded them that, though he had often foretold the dangers they would incur, they had made light of his predictions. He then requested that those who opposed the accommodation should not at this time

inquire into the reasonableness of the terms, but, since they had been unwilling to allow the sedition to be appeased while the disputes in the state were still unimportant, that they would now at least consider by what means it might be speedily terminated and might not, by going on still further, insensibly become perhaps incurable, or in any case hard to be cured, and the cause of great evils to them. He told them that the demands of the plebeians would no longer be the same as before, and he did not imagine that the people would enter into a compact upon the same terms, asking merely for an abolition of their debts, but that they would possibly call for some assistance also, by which they might for the future live in safety. [2] For since the institution of the dictatorship, he said, the law that safeguarded their liberty had been abolished, the law which allowed no citizen to be put to death by the consuls without a trial, nor any of the plebeians who had been tried and condemned by the patricians, to be delivered up to those who had condemned them, but granted to those who desired it the right of appealing the decisions from the patricians to the people, and that the judgment of the people should be final. He added that almost all the other privileges enjoyed in former times by the plebeians had been taken away, since they had been unable to obtain from the senate even the usual military triumph for Publius Servilius Priscus, who had deserved this honour more than any other man. [3] At this, he said, most of the people were distressed, as was to be expected, and entertained slender hopes of their security, since neither a consul nor a dictator had been able, even when they wished, to take care of their interests, but the zeal and care they showed for the people had actually gained for some of them abuse and ignominy. He declared that these things had been brought about by plotting, not on the part of the more cultivated men among the patricians, but on the part of some insolent and avaricious men desperately eager for unjust gain, who, having advanced a large amount of money at a high rate of interest and made slaves of many of their fellow-citizens, had, by treating these with cruel and arrogant harshness, alienated the whole body of the plebeians from the aristocracy, and having formed a faction and place at the head of it Appius Claudius, an enemy of the people and a champion of oligarchy, were through him throwing all the affairs of the commonwealth into confusion; and he declared that if the sober part of the senate did not oppose these men, the state was in danger of being enslaved and destroyed. He ended by saying that he concurred in the opinion of Menenius, and asked that the envoys might be sent immediately, and that upon arriving they should endeavour to appease the sedition upon such terms as they desired, but if these were not granted, they should accept such as were offered.

[59.1] After him, Appius Claudius, who was leader of the faction that opposed the people, being called upon to express his opinion, rose up, a man who set a great value upon himself and not without just cause; for his private life was sober and dignified, while his political principles were noble and calculated to preserve the dignity of the aristocracy. He, taking as his starting

point the speech of Valerius, spoke as follows:

[2] “Valerius would have deserved less censure if he had merely expressed his own opinion, without inveighing against those who hold the opposite view, for in that case he would have had the advantage of not hearing an exposition of his own faults. However, since he has not been content with advising such a course as can end in nothing else than in making us slaves to the worst of the citizens, but has also attacked his opponents and had levelled some of his shafts at me, I find it quite necessary for me also to speak of these matters, and first to clear myself of the charges he has brought against me. For has reproached me with conduct neither seemly nor becoming to a citizen, charging that I have chosen to get money by every possible means and have deprived many of the poor of their liberty, and that the secession of the people took place chiefly because of me. Now it is an easy matter for you to learn that none of these allegations is true or well grounded. [3] For come, tell us, Valerius: Who are the people whom I have enslaved on account of their debts? Who are the citizens I have kept, or now keep, in prison? Which of the seceders is deprived of his country through my cruelty or avarice? Why, you can name none. For I am so far from having enslaved any one of the citizens for debt that, after advancing my own money to very great numbers, I have caused none of those who defrauded me to be either handed over to me or disfranchised, but all of them are free and all are grateful to me and are numbered among my closest friends and clients. I do not say this by way of accusing those who have not acted as I have, nor do I think any men guilty of wrong-doing because they have done what was permitted by law; I am merely attempting to clear myself of the accusations brought against me.

[60.1] “As to my severity and my having acted as the patron of wicked men, with which he has reproached me, calling me an enemy of the people and a champion of oligarchy because I adhere to the aristocracy, these accusations apply equally to all those among you who, as men of superior worth, think it beneath you to be governed by your inferiors or to allow the form of government you have inherited from your ancestors to be overthrown by the worst of all constitutions, a democracy. [2] For if this man sees fit to call the government of the best men an oligarchy, it does not therefore follow that the thing itself, because it is traduced by that appellation, will be destroyed. But we can bring a much juster and truer reproach against him, that of flattering the people and desiring tyrannical measures; for all the world knows that every tyrant springs from a flatterer of the people and that the direct road for those who wish to enslave their country is that which leads to domination through the favour of the worst citizens — the very ones whom this man has ever courted and does not cease even to this day to court. [3] For you know full well that these vile and low wretches would not have dared to commit such offences, had they not been urged on by this high and mighty man, this lover of his country, and made to believe that the act would be attended with no danger and that not only would they go unpunished, but their lot would even

be improved by it. You will be convinced of the truth of what I say if you will recall that, while he was frightening you with a war and showing the necessity of an accommodation, he we are told you at the same time also that the poor would not be contented with an abolition of their debts, but would also call for some assistance, and would no longer submit to be governed by you as before. And in closing he exhorted you to acquiesce in the present state of affairs and to grant everything the people should think fit to demand as the conditions of their return, without distinguishing whether those demands were honourable or shameful, just or unjust. [4] With so much arrogance has the senseless multitude been inspired by this old man who has enjoyed every honour you could confer upon him. Did it, then, become you, Valerius, to utter against others the reproaches they have not deserved, when you yourself lie open to such accusations?

[61.1] “As for the calamities which this man has uttered against me, what I have said suffices. But concerning the subject which you have met to discuss, it seems to me that what I not only proposed at first, but even now, continuing of the same opinion, still propose, was just, worthy of the commonwealth, and advantageous for yourselves, namely, not to disturb the form of our government nor to alter the unalterable customs of our ancestors, nor to banish from among men good faith, a sacred thing, through the possession of which every state dwells in security, nor to give way to a stupid populace which desires unjust and unlawful things. [2] And not only do I not retract any part of my opinion through fear of my adversaries, who endeavour to frighten me by rousing the plebeians in the city against me, but I am much more than ever confirmed in my resentment, and my indignation at the demands of the people is doubled. And I am surprised, senators, at the inconsistency of your judgment, in that, after refusing to grant to the people at their request an abolition of their debts and a discharge from the judgments against them before they were as yet openly your enemies, you now, when they are in arms and are committing acts of hostility, deliberate whether you will grant these demands and anything else they may think fit. They will think fit, of course, and will make it the first of their demands to have an equal share of honours with us and to enjoy the same privileges. [3] Will not the government then be transformed into a democracy, which of all human constitutions, as I said, is the most senseless and the least expedient for you who presume to rule over others? It will not be, if you are in your right senses. Otherwise you would be the most foolish of all men if, after regarding it as intolerable to be governed by one tyrant, you should now deliver yourselves up to the populace, a many-headed tyranny, and grant these things to them, not as a gracious concession to their pleading, but constrained by necessity and, on the assumption that it is not in our power to do anything else now, yielding against your will. [4] And when this senseless multitude, instead of being punished for its offences, even obtains honours as a reward for those offences, how headstrong and arrogant do you think it will become? For do not encourage yourselves with the hope

that the people will moderate their demands if it becomes known to them that you all concurred in this resolution.

[62.1] "But in this matter Menenius, a prudent man who imputes good intentions to others judging them by himself, is very much mistaken. For they will urge you with an importunity grievous beyond all measure, encouraged both by arrogance, which tends always to accompany victory, and by folly, of which the multitude has so great a share. And if not at first, then certainly later, upon every occasion when their demands are not granted, they will take up arms and attack you violently in the same way as before. So that if you yield to their first demands as a matter of expediency, you will presently have something worse imposed upon you, and then something else still harsher than that, upon the supposition that your first concessions too flowed from fear, till at last they drive you out of the city, as has happened in many other places, and, most recently, at Syracuse, where the landowners were expelled by their clients. [2] If, then, in your indignation in those circumstances you intend to oppose their demands, why do you not from this instant begin to assume the spirit of free men? For it is better the display your proud spirit on a slighter provocation to start with and before suffering any injury, than, after submitting to many injuries, than, after submitting to many injuries, to be indignant only then at what had happened, refuse to endure any more, and begin too late to be prudent. Let none of you be terrified either by the threatening clamour of the seceders or by this foreign war; and do not disparage our domestic forces as being insufficient to preserve the commonwealth. [3] For the strength of the fugitives is slight, and they will not be able to hold out long in the open in huts during the winter season, as they are now doing; and far from being able to go on securing provisions by plundering when they have consumed their present store, they will not be able even to purchase any elsewhere and convey them to their camp, by reason of their poverty, since they have no money, either individually or in common, and wars, as a rule, can only be kept up by plenty of money. Besides, anarchy, in all probability, and sedition, growing out of anarchy, will seize them and soon confound and bring to naught their counsels. [4] For surely they will not consent to deliver themselves up to either the Sabines or the Tyrrhenians or any other foreigners and become slaves to those whom they themselves together with you once deprived of their liberty; and, most important of all, men who have wickedly and shamefully endeavoured to destroy their own country will not even be trusted by these other nations, for fear they might treat the country that receives them in the same manner. For all the nations round us are governed by aristocracies, and the plebeians in no state lay claim to an equal share in the government; so that the leading men in every state, who do not permit their own populace to make any innovations, will doubtless never receive this foreign and seditious multitude into their country, lest, by permitting them to enjoy equal rights and privileges, they themselves should one day be deprived of their own position of equality. [5] But if I am mistaken

after all, and any state should receive them, they would thereupon reveal themselves as enemies and men deserving to be treated as such. We have, as hostages for them, their parents, their wives, and the rest of their relations, and better hostages we could not ask of the gods in our prayers; let us place these in the sight of their relations, threatening, in case they dare to attack us, to put them to death under the most ignominious tortures. And once they understand this, be assured you will find them resorting to entreaties and lamentations, and delivering themselves up to you unarmed, and ready to submit to anything whatever. For such natural ties have remarkable power to upset all arrogant calculations and bring them to naught.

[63.1] “These are the reasons why I do not think we should fear a war on the part of the fugitives. As to the dangers from foreign nations, this is not the first time those dangers will have been proved to be such in words only, but even before this, whenever they have given us the opportunity of putting them to the test, they have been found less terrible than we apprehended. And let those who believe our domestic forces to be inadequate and dread war chiefly for this reason learn that they are not sufficiently acquainted with them. [2] So far indeed as the seceders among the citizens are concerned, we shall have an adequate force to cope with them if we see fit to choose out the most vigorous of our slaves and give them their freedom. For it is better to grant these their freedom than to be deprived of our supremacy by the others. The slaves are already possessed of sufficient military skill by having attended us in many campaigns. [3] Against our foreign enemies let us not only march out ourselves with all possible alacrity, but let us take along all our clients and such plebeians as remain; and in order that they may be eager for the struggle, let us grant them an abolition of their debts, not to all collectively, but to each one individually. For if we must yield to the times and show some moderation, let not that moderation be extended toward such of the citizens as are our enemies, but towards such as are our friends, on whom we shall then seem to be bestowing favours, not under compulsion, but as the result of persuasion. And if still other assistance shall be needed, this being thought insufficient, let us send for the garrisons of the fortresses and recall the men from the colonies. [4] How large the number of these is may be easily learned from the last census, when there were assessed 130,000 Romans of military age, of which the fugitives would not make a seventh part. I say nothing of the thirty cities of the Latin nation, which would be only too glad to fight our battles by reason of their kinship, if you would but grant them equal rights of citizenship, which they have constantly sought.

[64.1] “But the greatest advantage in war is one which neither you yourselves have yet thought of nor any of your advisers mentions. This I will add to those I have named, and then make an end. There is nothing so essential to those who are to have their wars crowned with success as good generals. In these our commonwealth is rich, while there is a scarcity of them among our enemies. [2] For very numerous armies, when led by generals who know not

how to command, disgrace themselves and bring about their own defeat as a rule, and the larger their bulk is, the more liable they are to this fate; whereas good generals, even though the armies they receive are small, soon make them large. Hence, as long as we have generals able to command, we shall never lack men ready to obey. [3] Bearing these things in mind, therefore, and recalling the achievements of the commonwealth, vote for nothing mean, ignoble, or unworthy of yourselves. What course of action, then, if anyone should ask me, do I advise you to take? For this is what you have probably long been eager to know. My advice, then, is neither to send ambassadors to the seceders nor to decree an abolition of their debts, nor to do anything else that might seem to betray fear or perplexity. But if they lay down their arms, return to the city, and leave it to you to consult about them at leisure, I advise you first to examine the situation and then to treat them with moderation, knowing as you do that all senseless creatures, particularly a rabble, behave themselves with arrogance toward the meek and with meekness toward the arrogant.”

[65.1] When Claudius had done speaking, a great clamour and prodigious tumult filled the senate-chamber for a long time. For those who were reputed to be of the aristocratic party and thought they ought to consider the more just course in preference to the unjust concurred in the opinion of Claudius, and asked the consuls preferably to join the better side, considering that the power of the magistracy they held derived from the kings, not from the people; but if they could not do this, then to keep themselves neutral and not bring pressure to bear upon either faction, but after counting the opinions of the senators, to align themselves with the majority. [2] And if they scorned both these courses and themselves assumed the sole power of concluding the accommodation, they said they would not permit it, but would oppose them with the utmost vigour, with words as far as they could, and, if it should prove necessary, with arms. These were a powerful group, and almost all the young patricians adhered to this policy. [3] But all the lovers of peace espoused the opinion of Menenius and Valerius, particularly those who were advanced in years and remembered all the calamities which come upon states as the result of civil wars. Nevertheless, being overborne by the clamour and disorderly behaviour of the young men and viewing with concern their spirit of rivalry and fearing lest the insolence with which they treated the consuls might come close to violence unless some concession were made to them, they at last had recourse to weeping and entreating their opponents.

[66.1] The tumult being appeased and silence restored at last, the consuls after some consultation together pronounced their decision, as follows: “As for us, senators, what we desired most was that you should all be of one mind, particularly when you were deliberating about the public safety; but if that could not be, then we desired that the younger senators should yield to the older men among you and not contend with them, bearing in mind that when they have come to the same age they will receive the same deference from

their juniors. But since we observe that you have fallen into strife, the most baneful of all human maladies, and that the arrogance dwelling in the young men among you is great, for the present, since the remaining part of the day is short and there is not time for you to reach a final decision, leave the senate-chamber and go home; and you will come to the next session more moderate in spirit and with better counsels. [2] But if your contentiousness shall persist, we will no longer make use of young men either as judges or counsellors concerning what is advantageous, but for the future shall restrain their disorderly behaviour by fixing a legal age that senators must have reached. As to the older members, we shall again give them an opportunity of delivering their opinions; and if they do not agreed, we shall put an end to their strife by a speedy method which it is better you should hear of and learn beforehand. [3] You are doubtless aware that we have had a law, as long as we have inhabited this city, by which the senate is invested with sovereign power in everything except the appointing of magistrates, the enacting of laws, and declaring or terminating of wars, and that the power of determining these three matters rests with the people, by their votes. Now at the present time we are discussing nothing other than war or peace, so that there is every necessity that the people should be given the opportunity to vote and confirm our resolutions. [4] We shall therefore summon them to present themselves in the Forum pursuant to this law, and after you have delivered your opinions, we shall take their votes, believing this to be the best means of putting an end to your strife; and whatever the majority of the people shall determine, we shall regard that as valid. This honour, I presume, is deserved by those who have remained loyal to the commonwealth and are to share both our good and bad fortune."

[67.1] Having said this, they dismissed the session; and during the following days they ordered proclamation to be made that all who were in the country and in the fortresses should present themselves, and they gave notice to the senate to assemble on the same day. When they found the city was thronged with people and that the sentiments of the patricians had yielded to the entreaties, tears and lamentations both of the parents and infant children of the seceders, they went on the appointed day to the Forum, which was completely packed with a concourse of all sorts of people who had been there from far back in the night. [2] And proceeding to the sanctuary of Vulcan, where it was custom for the people to hold their assemblies, they first commended them for their alacrity and zeal in attending *en masse*, and then advised them to wait quietly till the preliminary decree of the senate should be passed; and they exhorted the kinsmen of the seceders to entertain good hopes of getting back in a short time those who were dearest to them. After that they went to the senate-house, where they not only themselves spoke with reasonableness and moderation, but also asked the rest to deliver opinions that were expedient and humane. And ahead of all the others they called upon Menenius, who, rising up, spoke to the same effect as before, exhorting the senate to make the

accommodation, and expressed the same opinion, asking that envoys should speedily be sent to the seceders with full powers in regard to the accommodation.

[68.1] After him the others who had held the office of consul, being called upon according to their age, rose up and all favoured adopting the opinion of Menenius, till it came to the turn of Appius to speak. He, rising up, said: "I see, senators, that it is the pleasure both of the consuls and of almost all the rest of you to bring back the people upon their own terms; and I alone am left of all those who opposed the accommodation, with the result that I continue to be hated by them and at the same time am no longer of any use to you. [2] Nevertheless, I shall not on this account depart from my former opinion nor willingly desert my post as a citizen; but the more I am abandoned by those who formerly espoused the same sentiments, the more I shall one day be esteemed by you; while I live, I shall be praised by you, and when I am dead, I shall be remembered by posterity. But do thou, Jupiter Capitolinus, and ye guardian gods of our city, ye heroes and divinities who keep watch over the land of the Romans, grant that the return of the fugitives may be honourable and advantageous to all, and that I may be mistaken in my forebodings regarding the future. [3] But if any misfortune should come upon the commonwealth as a result of these measures — and this will soon be manifest — may ye yourselves speedily correct them and grant safety and security to the commonwealth! And to me, who neither upon any other occasion ever chose to say the things that were most agreeable instead of those that were most profitable, nor am now betraying the state while securing my own safety, may ye be favourable and propitious! [4] These are the prayers I address to the gods; for speeches are of no further use. The opinion I express is the same as before, namely, to relieve of their debts the people who remain in the city, but to make war upon the seceders with the utmost vigour as long as they remain in arms."

[69] Having said this, he ended. When the opinions of the older senators agreed with that of Menenius and it came to the turn of the younger members to speak, the whole senate being on tip-toe with suspense, Spurius Nautius rose up, the heir of a most illustrious family. For Nautius, the founder of the line, was one of those who took out the colony with Aeneas, being a priest of Athena Polias; and when he removed from Troy, he brought with him the wooden statue of that goddess, which the family of the Nautii guarded thereafter, receiving it in succession one from another. This man was esteemed the most illustrious of all the younger senators for his own merits as well, and it was expected that he would soon obtain the consulship. [2] He began by making a general defence of all the younger senators, declaring that neither a spirit of rivalry towards their elders nor arrogance had induced them to adopt a position opposed to that of the others at the last meeting of the senate, and if they had committed any error, it had been a mistake in judgment due to their youth; and in conclusion he said that they would now give proof

of this by changing their opinion. They consented at any rate that the others, as men of better judgment, should decree whatever they thought most conducive to the welfare of the state, assuring them that they, at least, would offer no opposition in this matter, but would follow the advice of their elders. [3] And when all the other younger members made the same declaration, except a very small number who were related to Appius, the consuls commended their dignified behaviour and exhorted them to conduct themselves in the same manner in all public matters; after which they chose as envoys ten men who were the most distinguished of the older senators, all but one being former consuls. Those appointed were the following: Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, the son of Gaius, Manius Valerius [Volusus], the son of Volusus, . . ., Publius Servilius [Priscus], the son of Publius, . . ., Publius Postumius Tubertus, the son of Quintus, Titus Aebutius Flavus, the son of Titus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, the son of Publius, Aulus Postumius Balbus, the son of Publius, and Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus, the son of Aulus. [4] After this, the senate being dismissed, the consuls went to the assembly of the people, and having ordered the decree of the senate to be read, presented the envoys. And as everyone desired to be informed of the instructions which the senate had given them, the consuls declared openly that they had ordered them to reconcile the people to the patricians by any means they could without fraud or deceit and to bring the fugitives home speedily.

[70.1] The envoys, having received these instructions from the senate, when out of the city the same day. But the news of everything that had passed in the city reached those in the camp ahead of them, and presently all the plebeians left the encampment and met the envoys while they were still upon the road. Now there was in the camp a very turbulent and seditious man who had a shrewd mine for foreseeing something of the future far in advance, and he was not lacking in ability to express his thoughts, being a great talker and babbler. He had the same name, Lucius Junius, as the man who had overthrown the kings, and desiring to make the similarity of their names complete, he wished also to be called Brutus. To most people, it seems, he was a laughing-stock because of his vain pretentiousness, and when they wished to make sport of him, they called him by the nickname Brutus. [2] This man now showed Sicinius, who was the commander of the camp, that it was not to the best interest of the people to submit readily to the proposals that were offered, lest by beginning with too moderate a demand, they might find their return home less honourable, but to oppose them for a long time and to inject into the negotiations an element of play-acting; and after promising to take upon himself the defence of the people and suggesting everything else that was to be done and said, he prevailed upon Sicinius. Thereupon Sicinius, assembling the people, asked the envoys to state their reason for coming.

[71.1] Then Manius Valerius, who was the oldest of the envoys and most in sympathy with the common people, came forward, while the crowd testified their affection for him by the friendliest expressions and appellations; and

when he had secured silence, he spoke as follows:

“Nothing now hinders you, plebeians, from returning to your homes and being reconciled to the senators. [2] For the senate has voted you an honourable and advantageous return, and has decreed an amnesty for all that has happened. They have also sent us as envoys, men whom they knew to be the greatest friends of the people and deservedly honoured by you, giving us full powers with respect to the accommodation, so that we may not judge of your sentiments by appearances or conjectures, but may learn from you yourselves upon what terms you think fit to put an end to the sedition, and, if there is any moderation in your demands and they are not impossible or precluded by some irreparable dishonour attached to them, we may grant them to you without waiting for the opinion of the senate or exposing the negotiations to long delays and to the jealousy of your adversaries. [3] Since, then, the senate has passed this decree, do you receive their favours, plebeians, joyfully, with the greatest alacrity and enthusiasm, setting a high value upon so great good fortune and returning profound thanks therefor to the gods, in that the Roman commonwealth, which rules over so many people, and the senate, which has the command of all the blessings therein, though it is an established custom with them to yield to none of their adversaries, nevertheless willingly yield some of their dignity in favour of you alone. For they neither thought fit to enter into such a minute discussion of the rights of each side as might be expected from superiors when treating with their inferiors, but instead took the initiative themselves in sending envoys to propose an accommodation, nor did they receive with anger the haughty answers you gave to their former envoys, but endured this insolent and puerile exhibition of your arrogance as good parents would endure that of their foolish children; and they thought they ought to send another embassy and accept less than their full rights, and to submit to anything, citizens, that is reasonable. [4] Now that you have met with so great good fortune, do not delay, plebeians, to tell us what you desire and do not mock at us. But when you have put an end to the sedition, return with joy to your country which gave you your birth and rearing, blessings for which you made her a sorry recompense and return when you left her, as far as in you lay, to be desolate and a pasture for flocks. But if you let this opportunity slip, you will wish time and again for another.”

[72.1] When now Valerius had done speaking, Sicinius came forward and said that those who deliberated wisely ought not to examine the expediency of any measure from a single point of view, but should suggest to themselves the opposite view as well, particularly when affairs of so great moment were under consideration. Then he asked any who pleased to answer these proposals, laying aside all modesty and caution; for their situation, now that they were reduced to such distress, did not permit of their yielding to either hesitation or undue modesty. [2] When there was silence, they all looked at one another to find out who would prospect for the common cause; but none

appeared, though Sicinius repeated the same request several times. At last Lucius Junius, the man who wanted Brutus to be added to his name, came forward in accordance with his promise, and being received with general applause from the crowd, delivered a speech of the following tenor:

[3] “It seems, plebeians, that the dread of the patricians is still so firmly rooted in your minds that it holds you in terror, and, humbled on that account, you shrink from uttering in public the arguments that you are wont to use to one another. For each one openly, perhaps, thinks that his neighbour will plead the common cause and that all the others rather than he will undergo any danger there may be, while he himself, standing in a place of safety, will enjoy, free from fear, his share of the benefit arising from the boldness of the other. But in this he is mistaken; for if we should all hold this opinion, the cowardice of each one of you will prove a common injury to all, and while every man consults his own safety, he will be destroying the common safety of all. [4] But even if you did not know before that you are freed from this dread and that you have your liberty secure as long as you have your arms, learn it now at least, taking these men as your teachers. For these arrogant and stern men have not come with orders for you, as before, or with threats, but begging and beseeching you to return to your homes, and now begin to deal with you as with free men upon equal terms. [5] Why, then, are you any longer in awe of them and why are you silent? Why do you not assume the spirit of free men, and having now broken at last the curb which held you, tell all men what you have suffered at their hands? Unhappy men, of what are you afraid? That you will suffer some harm if you follow my lead in giving free rein to the tongue? For I shall expose myself to the danger of declaring to them frankly the justice of your cause, concealing nothing. And since Valerius has said that nothing hinders you from going back to your homes, the senate having given you leave to return and having decreed you an amnesty besides, I shall give him this answer — that which is the very truth and must needs be told.

[73.1] “As for us, Valerius, there are many other reasons that hinder us from laying down our arms and putting ourselves in your power, but these three are the most important and the most obvious: First, because you have come to accuse us as if we had offended, and when you give us leave to return you count it as a favor to us; next, because when you invite us to an accommodation you do not give any hint upon what terms of justice and humanity we are to enter into it; and lastly, because there is no certainty of your fulfilling your promises to us, since time and again you have consistently deceived and deluded us. [2] I shall speak to each of these points separately, beginning with the matter of justice; for it is the duty of all who speak either in private or in public to begin with justice. Well then, if we are doing you any injustice, we do not ask for either impunity or an amnesty; though we do not choose even to share the same city with you any longer, but will live wherever Fate shall lead us, leaving it to Fortune and to the gods to direct our course. But if, suffering injustice at your hands, we have been compelled to

experience this condition in which we now are, why do you not acknowledge that, having yourselves wronged us, *you* stand in need of pardon and an amnesty? But as it is, you profess to be giving the pardon for which you ought to be asking, and prate boastfully of acquitting us of the resentment of which you yourselves seek to be acquitted, thereby confusing the very essence of truth and reversing the very meaning of justice. [3] That you are not the victims, but the doers of injustice, and that you have not made handsome returns for the many great services you have received from the people in respect both to your liberty and to your sovereignty, learn from me now. I shall begin my argument with the matters you yourselves are acquainted with, and I beg of you in the name of the gods, if I make any false statement, that you will not tolerate it, but will promptly refute me.

[74.1] “Our earliest government was monarchy, under which constitution we lived till the seventh generation. And during all these reigns the people never suffered any loss of rights at the hands of their kings, and least of all from those who reigned last, to say nothing of the many important advantages they enjoyed from their rule. [2] For, besides the other methods the kings used of courting and flattering the people in order to win them to themselves and make them enemies to you — which is the practice of all rulers who aim at extending their power to tyranny — when they had made themselves masters of Suessa, a very prosperous city, after a long war, and had it in their power to grant no part of the spoils to anyone, but to appropriate the whole to themselves and surpass all other kings in riches, they did not think fit to do so, but brought out all the booty and placed it at the disposal of the army, so that, besides the slaves, cattle and the other spoils, which were many and of great value, every one of us received five minae of silver for his share. [3] But we disregarded all this when they used their power more in the manner of tyrants to injure, not us, to be sure, but you; and resenting their behaviour, we gave up our affection for our kings and joined you, and rising with you against them, both those of us who were in the city and those in camp, we drove them out, and bringing to you their power, entrusted it to you. And though it was often possible for us to go over to the side of the expelled kings, yet we scorned to accept the lavish gifts they offered us to induce us to violate our pledge to you, but patiently endured many great and continuous wars and dangers on your account. And up to this time, which is the seventeenth year, we have been worn out with fighting against all mankind for our common liberty. [4] For while the government was still unsettled — as often happens in the case of sudden revolutions — we ventured to contend with the two most renowned cities of the Tyrrhenians, Tarquinii and Veii, when they sought with a large army to restore the kings; and fighting, a few against many, and displaying the greatest enthusiasm, we not only overcame and drove back these foes, but preserved the power for the surviving consul. [5] Not long afterwards, when Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, was also endeavouring to restore the exiles both with the united forces of all Tyrrhenia commanded by

himself and with those which the others had long before raised, we, though unprovided with an adequate army, and for that reason forced to undergo a siege and reduced to the last extremity and to a dearth of everything, yet by enduring all these hardships forced him to depart after first becoming our friend. [6] And last of all, when the kings for the third time sought to effect their restoration with the aid of the Latin nation and brought against us thirty cities, we, seeing you entreating, lamenting, calling upon every one of us, and reminding us of our friendship, our common rearing, and the campaigns we had shared together, could not bear to abandon you. But looking upon it as a most honourable and glorious thing to give your battles, we rushed into the midst of perils and hazarded on that occasion surely the greatest danger of all, in which, after we had received many wounds and lost many of our relations, companions and comrades in arms, we overcame the enemy, killed their generals, and destroyed the whole royal family.

[75.1] “These are the services we rendered to assist you in freeing yourselves from the tyrants, exerting ourselves beyond our strength because of our enthusiasm, and engaging in the struggle quite as much through the promptings of our own valour as because of necessity. Now hear what we have done to gain for you the respect of and the rule over others, and to acquire for you a power greater than was at first expected; and, as I said before, if I deviate from the truth, you will contradict me. [2] For you, when it seemed that your liberty was firmly assured, were not contented to stop there, but intent upon bold and new undertakings, and regarding as a possible enemy every creature who clung to liberty, and declaring war against almost all the world, in all the perils and in all the battles fought to support that greed for power you thought fit to waste our bodies. [3] I say nothing of all the cities that sometimes singly, sometimes two jointly, fought with you in defence of their liberty, some of which we overcame in pitched battles and others we took by storm and compelled them to become subjects to you. For what need is there to relate these actions in detail when we have such an abundance of material? But who were they who assisted you in acquiring and subjecting to you all Tyrrhenia, a country divided into twelve principalities and exceeding powerful on both land and sea? Whose assistance rendered the Sabines, this powerful nation which had ever contended with you for the primacy, unable any longer to contend for equality? And again, who subdued the thirty cities of the Latins, which not only gloried in the superiority of their forces but prided themselves on the superior justice of their demands? And who compelled them to fly to you imploring you to prevent their enslavement and the razing of their cities?

[76.1] “I omit the other dangers in which we engaged along with you while we were not yet at odds with you and indeed laid claim ourselves to some share of the expected profits of empire. But when at last it was clear that the empire that you had gained was a tyranny, that you abused us like slaves, and that we no longer continued to entertain the same feelings towards you, and

when almost all your subjects revolted, the Volscians setting the example, which was followed by the Aequians, the Hernicans, the Sabines, and many others, and a unique opportunity seemed to offer itself, if we chose to take advantage of it, to accomplish one of two things, either to overthrow your empire or to render it more moderate for the future, do you remember into what despair of your domination you fell and how you were in the last stage of discouragement lest we should either not assist you in the war or, indulging in our resentment, should go over to the enemy, and what entreaties and promises you made? [2] What did we, the humble folk who had been treated outrageously by you, do then? We allowed ourselves to be overcome by the entreaties and prevailed upon by the promises which the excellent Servilius here, who was consul at the time, made to the people, and retained no resentment against you for the wrongs of the past, but conceiving good hopes of the future, we entrusted ourselves to you; and having subdued all your enemies in a short time, we returned with many prisoners and rich spoils. [3] For these services what return did you make to us? One that was just and worthy of the dangers to which we had exposed ourselves? No, indeed; far from it! Why, you violated even the promises which you had ordered the consul to make to us in the name of the commonwealth; and this excellent man himself, whom you had basely used to trick us, you deprived of his triumph, though he of all men most deserved that honour, and you attached this disgrace to him for no other reason than because he asked you to perform the act of justice that you had promised and made it clear that he resented your deceit.

[77.1] “And just recently (for I shall add this one more instance to that part of my discourse which relates to justice before I make an end), when the Aequians, the Sabines, and the Volscians with one accord not only rose against you themselves, but invited others to do likewise, were not you, the proud and stern, obliged to fly to us, the mean and despised, and to promise everything in order to secure your safety at that time? And that you might not seem to be intending to deceive us again, as you had often done before, you made use of Manius Valerius here, the greatest friend of the people, as a cover for your deceit; confiding in whom and believing ourselves in no danger of being imposed upon by a dictator, and least of all by a man who had treated us well, we assisted you in this war also, and having fought not a few battles, and those neither inconsiderable nor obscure, we overcame your enemies. [2] But, once the war was ended in a most glorious manner and sooner than anyone had expected, you were so far from rejoicing and feeling yourselves under great obligation to the people, that you thought fit to keep us still in arms and under our standards against our will, that you might violate your promises as you had determined from the beginning. Then, when Servilius would not submit to the deceit nor to the dishonour of your action, but brought the standards into the city and sent the forces to their homes, you, making this an excuse for not doing us justice, insulted him and kept not a single one of your

promises to us, but at one and the same time committed three most lawless acts, in that you destroyed the prestige of the senate, you ruined the credit of Servilius, and you deprived your benefactors of the recompense that was due to their labours. [3] Since, therefore, patricians, we have these and many other things of the like nature to allege against you, we do not think fit to have recourse to supplicating and entreating you, nor, like men guilty of heinous crimes, to secure our return by accepting impunity and amnesty. However, we do not feel that we ought to enter into a minute discussion of these grievances at present, since we are met to treat of an agreement, but leaving them to indifference and oblivion, we simply put up with them.

[78.1] “But why do you not declare openly the terms of your mission and say plainly what you have come to ask? On the strength of what hopes do you ask us to return to the city? The prospect of what kind of fortune awaiting us are we to take to guide us on the way? The prospect of what cheer or joy that is going to receive us? For we have not as yet heard you promise any act of kindness or of benefit — no honours, no magistracies, no relief of our poverty, nor, in a word, anything else whatever. And yet it is not what you intend to do that you should tell us, but what you have already done, in order that, having already some action before us as an earnest of your goodwill, we may infer that the remaining actions will be of like nature. [2] I suppose, though, that they will answer to this that they are come with full powers in all matters, so that whatever we can persuade one another to accept is to be valid. Grant this to be so, and let the natural results follow; I offer no objections. But I desire to learn from them what is to happen afterwards, when we have stated the conditions upon which we think fit to return and these conditions have been accepted by them: Who will stand surety to us for the carrying out of the terms? [3] Trusting to what assurance shall we drop the arms from our hands and put our persons again in the power of these men? Shall we trust to the decrees of the senate that will be drawn up concerning these matters? For surely they have not been drawn up already. And what shall hinder these from being annulled in turn by other decrees, whenever Appius and those of his faction shall think fit? Or shall we trust to the high standing of the envoys who pledge their own good faith? But the senate has already made use of these men to deceive us. Or shall we trust to agreements sworn to by oaths taken in the name of the gods, gaining our assurance from these? But for my part, I am more afraid of this than of any other kind of assurance men can give, because I observe that it is treated contemptuously by those in positions of command, and because I understand, not now for the first time, but as the result of many experiences in the past, that forced agreements made by men desirous of ruling with those who strive to retain their freedom last only as long as the necessity exists which compelled those agreements. [4] What kind of friendship, therefore, and good faith is that under which we shall be obliged to court one another against our will while we each are watching for our own opportunities? And after this will come suspicions and continual accusations of one another, jealousies and

hatreds and every other kind of evil, and a constant struggle to see which of us shall first effect the destruction of his adversary, each believing that in delay lies disaster.

[79.1] “There is no greater evil, as all are aware, than civil war, in which the conquered are unfortunate and the conquerors are unjust, and it is the fate of the former to be destroyed by their dearest ones, and of the latter to destroy those who are dearest to them. To such misfortunes and to such abhorred calamities do not summon us, patricians, nor let us, plebeians, answer their summons, but let us acquiesce in the fate which has separated us. No, let them have the whole city to themselves and enjoy it without us, and let them reap alone every other advantage after they have driven the humble and obscure plebeians from the fatherland. As for us, let us depart whithersoever Heaven shall conduct us, feeling that we are leaving an alien place and not our own city. [2] For there remains to none of us here either an allotment of land, or an ancestral hearth, or common sacrifices, or any position of dignity, such as one would possess in one’s fatherland, the desire for which things might induce us to cling to this country even against our will; nay we have not even the liberty of our own persons which we have purchased with many hardships. For some of these advantages have been destroyed by the many wars, some have been consumed by the scarcity of the necessities of daily life, and of others we have been robbed by these haughty money-lenders, for whom we poor wretches are at last obliged to till our own allotments, digging, planting, ploughing, tending flocks, and becoming fellow-slaves with our own slaves taken by us in war, some of us being bound with chains, some with fetters, and others, like the most savage of wild beasts, dragging wooden clogs and iron balls. [3] I saw nothing of the tortures and insults, the stripes, the labours from dawn till dark, and every other cruelty, violence, and insolence that we have undergone. Accordingly, now that we are freed by Heaven from so many and great evils, let us gladly fly from them with all the eagerness and ability each of us possesses, taking as the guides of our journey Fortune and the god who ever preserve us, and looking upon our liberty as our country and our valour as our wealth. For any land will receive us as partners, since we shall be no cause of offence in any case to those who receive us, and in some cases shall actually be of service.

[80.1] “Of this let many Greeks and many barbarians serve us as examples, particularly the ancestors of both these men and ourselves; some of whom, leaving Asia with Aeneas, came into Europe and built a city in the country of the Latins, and others, coming as colonists from Alba under the leadership of Romulus, built in these parts the city we are now leaving. [2] We have with us forces not merely a left larger than they had, but actually three times their number, and a more just cause for removing. For those who removed from Troy were driven out by enemies, but we are driven hence by friends; and it is a more pitiable experience doubtless to be expelled by one’s own people than by foreigners. [3] Those who took part in the expedition of Romulus scorned

the country of their ancestors in the hope of acquiring a better; but we, who are abandoning the life which had for us no city and no hearth, are going forth as a colony that will be neither hateful to the gods nor troublesome to men nor grievous to any country, and moreover we have not inflicted blood-shed and slaughter upon the kinsmen who are driving us forth, nor have we laid waste with fire and sword the country we are leaving, nor left behind any other memorial of an everlasting hatred, as is the usual practice of people who are driven into exile in violation of treaties and reduced to unenviable straits. [4] And calling to witness the gods and other divinities who direct all human affairs with justice, and leaving it to them to avenge our wrongs, we make but this one request, that those of us who have left in the city infant children and parents, and wives, in case these shall be willing to share our fortunes, may get them back. We are satisfied to receive these, and we ask for naught else besides from our fatherland. But fare you well and lead the life you choose, you who are so unwilling to associate as fellow-citizens and to share your blessings with those of humbler estate.”

[81] With these words Brutus ended his speech. All who were present regarded as true everything he said about principles of justice, as also the charges he made respecting the arrogance of the senate, but particularly what he said to show that the assurance offered for the performance of the agreement was full of fraud and deceit. But when at the last he described the abuses which the people had suffered at the hands of the money-lenders, and put every man in mind of his own misfortunes, no one was so stout of heart as not to be melted away by tears and to bewail their common calamities. And not only the people were affected in this manner, but likewise those who had come from the senate; for even the envoys could not restrain their tears when they considered the misfortunes that had arisen from the breaking up of the city, and for a long time they stood with eyes downcast and full of tears, and at a loss what to say. [2] But after this great lamentation had ceased and silence fell upon the assembly, there came forward to answer these accusations a man who seemed to excel the rest of the citizens in both age and rank. This was Titus Larcus, who had twice been chosen consul and had of all men made the best use of the power called the dictatorship, causing that invidious magistracy to be looked upon as sacred and worthy of all respect. [3] He, undertaking to speak to the point of justice, now censured the money-lenders for having acted with cruelty and inhumanity, and now reproached the poor for unjustly demanding to be relieved of their debts through violence rather than as a favour, and told them they were in the wrong to direct their anger against the senate for their failure to obtain any reasonable concession from that body, instead of against those who were really to blame, [4] He also endeavoured to show that, while there was a small part of the people whose offence was involuntary and who were forced by their extreme poverty to demand the remission of their debts, yet the greater part of them were abandoned to licence and insolence and a life of pleasure, and were prepared

to gratify their desires by robbing others; and he thought a difference ought to be made between the unfortunate and the depraved, and between those who needed kindness and those who deserved hatred. And though he advanced other arguments of this kind, which, while true enough, were not pleasing to all his hearers, he could not persuade them; but everything he said was received with a great murmur, some being indignant at his opening their griefs afresh, and others owning that he concealed no part of the truth; but the latter group was much smaller than the other, so that it was drowned out by numbers, and the clamour of the indignant group prevailed.

[82.1] After Larcus had added a few more remarks to those I have reported and had reproached the people for their uprising and the precipitancy of their resolutions, Sicinius, who was then at the head of the populace, replied and inflamed their passions still more, saying that from these words of Larcus in particular they might learn what honours and gratitude would await them when they returned to their country. [2] “For if to those who are in the direst straits, who are imploring the assistance of the people, come hither for that purpose, it does not occur even now to speak words of moderation and humanity, what sentiments must we expect them to entertain when things have succeeded according to their wishes, and when those who are now insulted by their words become subject to their deeds? From what arrogance, from what abusive treatment, from what tyrannical cruelty will they refrain? [3] But if you are contented to be slaves all your lives, to be bound, scourged, and destroyed by fire, sword, famine, and every other abuse, don’t waste any time, but throw down your arms, offer your hands to be bound behind you, and follow them. But if you have any craving for liberty, do not bear with them. And as for you, envoys, either state the terms upon which you summon us or, if you will not do so, withdraw from the assembly. For after this we shall not give you leave to speak.”

[83.1] When he had ceased speaking, all present shouted uproariously, showing that they approved of his reasoning and agreed with him. Then, when silence prevailed, Menenius Agrippa, he who had delivered the speech in the senate in behalf of the people and had, more than any other, brought about, by the motion he had offered, the sending of the envoys clothed with full powers, signified that he too wished to speak. The people looked upon this as the best thing they could ask, and now at least expected to hear proposals tending to a sincere accommodation and advice salutary to both parties. [2] And first they all roared their approval, calling to him with a great shout to speak; then they became quiet, and so great silence prevailed in the assembly that the place was as hushed as a desert. He seemed to employ in general the most persuasive arguments possible and those which gauged well the inclinations of his audience; and at the end of his speech he is said to have related a kind of fable that he composed after the manner of Aesop and that bore a close resemblance to the situation of the moment, and by this means chiefly to have won them over. For this reason his speech is thought worthy of record and it is

quoted in all the ancient histories. His discourse was as follows:

[3] “We have been sent to you by the senate, plebeians, neither to excuse them nor to accuse you (for neither of these courses seemed to be opportune or suited to the conditions now disturbing the commonwealth), but to use every effort and every means to put an end to the sedition and to restore the government to its original form; and for that purpose we are invested with full powers. So that we do not think it at all necessary to discourse at great length, as Junius here has done, concerning principles of justice; but as regards the humane terms on which we think we ought to put an end to the sedition, and the assurance you shall have for the performance of our agreement, we shall tell you the decisions to which we have come. [4] When we considered that every sedition in any state is cured only when the causes that produced the disagreement are removed, we thought it necessary both to discover and to put an end to the primary causes of this dissension. And having found that the harsh exactions of debts have been the cause of the present ills, we are reforming those exactions as follows: We think it just that all those who have contracted debts and are unable to pay them should be relieved of their obligations; and if the persons of any who are default in their payments are already held under restraint by the limit for payment prescribed by law, it is our decision that these also shall be free. As for those who have been convicted in private suits and handed over to the creditors who won their suits against them, it is our wish that these also shall be free, and we set aside their sentences. [5] With regard to your debts of the past, therefore, which seemed to us to have led to your secession, we redress them in this manner; as to your future debts, whatever shall be approved of both by you, the people, and by the senate in joint consultation, after a law has been passed for that purpose, let it be so ordered. Are not these the things, plebeians, that divided you from the patricians? And did you not think it enough if you obtained these, without aiming at anything else? They are now granted to you. Return, then, to your country with joy.

[84.1] “The assurances which shall confirm this agreement and secure to you the performance of it shall all be according to law and conformable to the practice of those who put an end to their enmities. The senate will confirm these arrangements by a vote and give the force of law to the conditions that shall be drawn up. But rather let your demands be drawn up by you here, and the senate will agree to them. [2] That the concessions now made to you will stand firm and unchanged and that nothing contrary to them shall be carried out later by the senate, first, we envoys are your sureties, giving you our persons, our lives, and our families as pledges; and in the next place, all the other senators who shall be named in the decree. For no decree will ever be drawn up contrary to the interests of the people so long as we oppose it, since we are the leading members of the senate and always deliver our opinions first. [3] The last assurance we shall give you is that in use among all men, both Greeks and barbarians, which no lapse of time shall ever overthrow, namely,

the one which through oaths and treaties makes the gods sureties for the performance of agreements. Under this assurance many bitter enmities between private individuals and many wars that have arisen between states have been composed. Come now, accept this assurance also, whether you permit a few of the principal members of the senate to give you their oaths in the name of their whole body, or think fit that all the senators who are named in the decree shall swear over the sacrificial victims to maintain the agreement inviolable. [4] Do not traduce, Brutus, assurances given under the sanction of the gods and confirmed by the pledging of hands and by treaties, nor destroy the noblest of all human institutions; and as for you, plebeians, do not permit him to mention the wicked deeds of impious and tyrannical men, deeds far removed from the virtue of the Romans.

[85.1] "I shall mention one other assurance which no man fails to know or questions, and then have done. And what is that? It is the assurance that introduces the common advantage and preserves both parts of the state through their mutual assistance. This, after all, is the first and only assurance that draws us together, and it will never permit us to be sundered from each other. For the ignorant multitude will always need and never cease to need prudent leadership, while the senate, which is capable of leadership, will always need multitudes willing to be ruled. This we know, not merely as a matter of opinion and conjecture, but also by actual experience. [2] Why, then, do we terrify and trouble one another? Why do we speak evil words when we have kindly deeds in our power? Why do we not rather open our arms and, embracing one another, return to our country to find there our old-time enjoyment of the dearest pleasures and the satisfaction of a yearning that is sweetest of all, instead of seeking securities that come to naught and faithless assurances, as do the deadliest foes who suspect the worst of everything? As for us of the senate, plebeians, one assurance suffices, that you will never, if you return, behave yourselves badly toward us, and that is the knowledge we have of your excellent rearing, of your law-abiding habits, and of all your other virtues, of which you have given many proofs both in peace and in war. [3] And if, in consequence of the need of assurance and hope, the contracts should be revised by us jointly, we are confident that in all other respects at least you will be good citizens, and we have no need of either oaths or hostages or any other assurances from the people. However, we shall oppose you in nothing you desire. Concerning the matter of assurances, then, upon which subject Brutus endeavoured to malign us, this is enough. But if any groundless hatred is implanted in your minds, causing you to entertain a bad opinion of the senate, I desire to speak to that point also, plebeians, and I beg of you in the name of the gods to hear me with silence and attention.

[86.1] "A commonwealth resembles in some measure a human body. For each of them is composite and consists of many parts; and no one of their parts either has the same function or performs the same service as the others. [2] If, now, these parts of the human body should be endowed, each for itself, with perception and a voice of its own and a sedition should then arise among them, all of them uniting against the belly alone, and the feet should say that the whole body rests on them; the hands, that they ply the crafts, secure provisions, fight with enemies, and contribute many other advantages toward the common good; the shoulders, that they bear all the burdens; the mouth, that it speaks; the head, that it sees and hears and, comprehending the other senses, possesses all those by which the thing is preserved; and then all these should say to the belly, 'And you, good creature, which of these things do you do? What return do you make and of what use are you to us? Indeed, you are so far from doing anything for us or assisting us in accomplishing anything useful for the common good that you are actually a hindrance and a trouble to us and — a thing intolerable — compel us to serve you and to bring things to

you from everywhere for the gratification of your desires. [3] Come now, why do we not assert our liberty and free ourselves from the many troubles we undergo for the sake of this creature?' If, I say, they should decide upon this course and none of the parts should any longer perform its office, could the body possibly exist for any considerable time, and not rather be destroyed within a few days by the worst of all deaths, starvation No one can deny it. Now consider the same condition existing in a commonwealth. [4] For this also is composed of many classes of people not at all resembling one another, every one of which contributes some particular service to the common good, just as its members do to the body. For some cultivate the fields, some fight against the enemy in defence of those fields, others carry on much useful trade by sea, and still others ply the necessary crafts. If, then, all these different classes of people should rise against the senate, which is composed of the best men, and say, 'As for you, senate, what good do you do us, and for what reason do you presume to rule over others? Not a thing can you name. Well then, shall we not now at last free ourselves from this tyranny of yours and live without a leader?' [5] If, I say, they should take this resolution and quit their usual employments, what will hinder this miserable commonwealth from perishing miserably by famine, war and every other evil? Learn, therefore, plebeians, that just as in our bodies the belly thus evilly reviled by the multitude nourishes the body even while it is itself nourished, and preserves it while it is preserved itself, and is a kind of feast, as it were, provided by joint contributions, which as a result of the exchange duly distributes that which is beneficial to each and all, so in commonwealths the senate, which administers the affairs of the public and provides what is expedient for everyone, preserves, guards, and corrects all things. Cease, then, uttering those invidious remarks about the senate, to the effect that you have been driven out of your country by it and that because of it you wander about like vagabonds and beggars. For it neither has done you any harm nor can do you any, but of its own accord calls you and entreats you, and opening all hearts together with the gates, is waiting to welcome you."

[87.1] While Menenius was thus speaking, many and various were the cries uttered by the audience throughout his whole speech. But when at the close of it he had recourse to lamentations, and enumerating the calamities that would befall both those who remained in the city and those who were driven out of it, bewailed the misfortunes of both, tears flowed from the eyes of all and they cried out to him with one mind and voice to lead them back to the city without waste of time. And they came very near quitting the assembly that moment and entrusting all their affairs to the envoys without settling anything else relating to their security. But Brutus, coming forward, restrained their eagerness, saying that, while in general the promises made by the senate were advantageous to the people and he thought it very proper that the latter should feel very grateful to them for those concessions, he nevertheless feared the time to come and the tyrannical men who might one day if occasion offered,

again attempt to make the people feel their resentment for what they had done. [2] There was one safeguard only, he said, any who were afraid of their superiors, and that was for them to be convinced that those who desired to injure them had not the power to do so; for as long as there was the power to do evil, evil men would never lack the will. If, therefore, the plebeians could obtain this safeguard, they would need nothing more. [3] And Menenius, having replied and asked him to name the safeguard he thought the people still needed, he said: "Give us leave to choose out of our own body every year a certain number of magistrates who shall be invested with no other power than to relieve those plebeians to whom any injury or violence is offered, and to permit none of them to be deprived of their rights. This favour we entreat and beg you to add to those you have already granted us, if our accommodation is not one in word only, but a reality."

[88.1] When the people heard these words, they cheered Brutus loud and long, and asked the envoys to grant them this also. These, having withdrawn from the assembly and conferred briefly, returned after a short time. And when silence prevailed, Menenius came forward and said: "This is a matter of great moment, plebeians, and one full of strange suspicions, and we feel some alarm and concern lest we shall form two states in one. However, so far as we ourselves are concerned, we do not oppose even this request of yours. [2] But grant us this privilege, which is also for your own interest. Allow some of the envoys to go to the city and inform the senate of these matters; for even though we have the power from them to conclude the accommodation in such a manner as we think fit and may at our own discretion make such promises in their name as we please, yet we do not think proper to take this upon ourselves, but since a new matter has been unexpectedly proposed to us, we will divest ourselves of our own power and refer the matter to the senate. However, we are persuaded that the senate will be of the same opinion as we are. I, therefore, will remain here together with some of the other envoys, and Valerius with the rest shall go to the senate." [3] This was agreed upon, and the persons appointed to inform the senate of what had happened took horse and rode in all haste to Rome. When the consuls had proposed the matter to the senators, Valerius expressed the opinion that this favour also should be granted to the people. On the other hand, Appius, who from the first had opposed the accommodation, spoke openly in opposition on this occasion also, crying out, calling the gods to witness, and foretelling what seeds of future evils to the commonwealth they were about to sow. But he was not able to prevail with the majority of the senate, who, as I said, were determined to put an end to the sedition. Accordingly, a decree of the senate was passed confirming all the promises made by the envoys to the people and granting the safeguard they desired. [4] The envoys, having transacted this business, returned to the camp the next day and made known the decision of the senate. Thereupon Menenius advised the plebeians to send some persons to receive the pledges which the senate was to give; and pursuant to this, Lucius Junius

Brutus, whom I mentioned before, was sent, and with him Marcus Decius and Spurius Icilius. Of the envoys who had come from the senate one half returned to the city with Brutus and his associates; but Agrippa with the rest remained in the camp, having been asked by the plebeians to draw up the law for the creation of their magistrates.

[89.1] The next day Brutus and those who had been sent with him returned, having effected the agreement with the senate through the arbiters of peace who are called by the Romans *fetiales*. And the people, dividing themselves into the clans of that day, or whatever one wishes to term the divisions which the Romans call *curiae*, chose for their annual magistrates the following persons: Lucius Junius Brutus and Gaius Sicinius Bellutus, whom they had had as their leaders up to that time, and, in addition to these, Gaius and Publius Licinius and Gaius Visellius Ruga. [2] These five persons were the first who received the tribunician power, on the fourth day before the ides of December, as is the custom even to our time. The election being over, the envoys of the senate considered that everything for which they had been sent was now properly settled. But Brutus, calling the plebeians together, advised them to render this magistracy sacred and inviolable, insuring its security by both a law and an oath. [3] This was approved of by all, and a law was drawn up by him and his colleagues, as follows: "Let no one compel a tribune of the people, as if he were an ordinary person, to do anything against his will; let no one whip him or order another to whip him; and let no one kill him or order another to kill him. If anybody shall do any one of these things that are forbidden, let him be accursed and let his goods be consecrated to Ceres; and if anybody shall kill one who has done any of these things, let him be guiltless of murder." [4] And to the end that the people might not even in future be at liberty to repeal this law, but that it might forever remain unalterable, it was ordained that all the Romans should solemnly swear over the sacrificial victims to observe it for all time, both they and their posterity; and a prayer was added to the oath that the heavenly gods and the divinities of the lower world might be propitious to those who observed it, and that the displeasure of the gods and divinities might be visited upon those who violated it, as being guilty of the greatest sacrilege. From this the custom arose among the Romans of regarding the persons of the tribunes of the people as *sacrosanct*, which custom continues to this day.

[90.1] After they had passed this vote they erected an altar upon the summit of the mount where they had encamped, which they named in their own language the altar of Jupiter the Terrifier, from the terror which had possessed them at that time; and when they had performed sacrifices to this god and had consecrated the place which had received them, they returned to the city with the envoys. [2] After this they also returned thanks to the gods worshipped in the city, and prevailed upon the patricians to pass a vote for the confirmation of their new magistracy. And having obtained this also, they asked further that the senate should allow them to appoint every year two plebeians to act as

assistants to the tribunes in everything the latter should require, to decide such causes as the others should refer to them, to have the oversight of public places, both sacred and profane, and to see that the market was supplied with plenty of provisions. [3] Having obtained this concession also from the senate, they chose men whom they called assistants and colleagues of the tribunes, and judges. Now, however, they are called in their own language, from one of their functions, overseers of sacred places or aediles, and their power is no longer subordinate to that of other magistrates, as formerly; but many affairs of great importance are entrusted to them, and in most respects they resemble more or less the *agoranomoi* or “market-overseers” among the Greeks.

[91.1] When affairs had been settled and the commonwealth restored to its former state, an army was raised by the generals against their foreign foes, as the people now displayed great alacrity and in a short time got everything ready that was necessary for the war. The consuls having drawn lots for their official duties according to custom, Spurius Cassius, to whom the oversight of affairs in the city fell, remained at home, retaining a sufficient part of the forces which had been raised, while Postumus Cominius took the field with the rest of the army, consisting of not only an adequate part of the Romans themselves but also no small auxiliary force of Latins. [2] And deciding to attack the Volscians first, he took a city of theirs called Longula at the first assault, though the inhabitants undertook to make some show of bravery and sent some forces into the field in hopes of holding back the enemy; but these were put to shameful flight before they had performed any brilliant action and did not display the least courage even during the assault on their walls. At all events the Romans in one day not only possessed themselves of their country without effort, but also took their city by storm without much difficulty. [3] The Roman general permitted the soldiers to divide all the goods left in the city, and then, leaving a garrison there, led his army against another city of the Volscians called Polusca, not far distant from Longula. When none dared to oppose him, he marched through the country with great ease and assaulted the walls; and then, some of the soldiers forcing open the gates and others scaling the walls, they made themselves masters of this city also that same day. [4] After the consul had taken the city he chose out a few of the inhabitants who had been the authors of the revolt and put them to death; and having punished the rest by taking away their effects and disarmed them, he obliged them to be subjects of the Romans for the future.

[92.1] He left in this city also a small part of the army as a garrison, and the next day marched with the rest to Corioli, a city of very great note and the mother-city, so to speak, of the Volscians. Here a strong force had been assembled, the walls were not easy to be taken, and everything necessary for war had been prepared long before by the inhabitants. The consul undertook to storm the walls and persisted in his efforts till late in the afternoon, but was repulsed by the enemy after he had lost many of his men. [2] The next day he got ready battering rams, mantlets, and scaling-ladders and was preparing to

make an attempt against the city with his entire forces; but learning that the Antiates were planning to come with a large force to the assistance of the Coriolani because of their kinship with them, and that those chosen to make the expedition were already upon the march, he divided his army and determined to continue the assault on the city with one half of it, leaving Titus Larcus in command, with the other half to stop the advance of the approaching force. [3] Thus two actions took place on the same day, and the Romans gained the victory in both, as all of them fought with great ardour and one man in particular displayed incredible bravery and performed deeds that beggar description. This man was of patrician rank and of no obscure lineage, Gaius Marcius by name; he was sober and restrained in his private life and had the spirit of a freeman in full measure. The circumstances of the two actions were as follows: Larcus, having marched out of the camp with his army at break of day, advanced to the walls of Corioli and assault the city in many places. The Coriolani, for their part, elated by their expectation of aid from the Antiates, which they were convinced would soon reach them, opened all their gates and made a general sally against the enemy. [4] The Romans sustained their first attack and wounded many of those who engaged them, but later, as the number of the assailants increased, they were forced down hill and gave way. Marcius, whom I mentioned before, upon seeing this, stood his ground with a few followers and awaited the solid mass of the enemy as they attacked. When he had struck down many of them and the rest gave way and fled toward the city, he followed, slaying, one after another, all who came within reach, and calling out without intermission to those of his own men who fled to face about, to take courage, and to follow him. [5] These, ashamed of their behaviour, rallied and pressed hard upon their opponents, smiting and pursuing them; and in a short time they had all routed their antagonists and were attacking the walls of the city. Marcius, exposing himself now with greater boldness, kept advancing farther and farther, and coming to the very gates, entered along with those who were fleeing inside the walls. And when many others also forced their way inside with him, there ensued a great slaughter on both sides in many parts of the city, some fighting in the streets and others in defence of the houses that were being taken. [6] Even women assisted the inhabitants in their struggle by hurling down tiles upon the enemy from the roofs; and everyone according to his strength and power bravely defended his native city. However, they did not hold out long against these perils, but were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. The city having been taken in this manner, most of the Romans turned to plundering the property found there, and continued for a long time intent on the booty, as there was a large quantity of money and a great number of slaves in the place.

[93.1] But Marcius, who had been the first and only man to sustain the shock of the enemy and had distinguished himself above all the Romans both in the storming of the city and in the struggles which took place inside the walls, gained greater distinction in the second battle, which was fought against the

Antiates. For he resolved not to be absent from this action either, but as soon as the city was captured, he took with him the small number of men who were able to follow him, and advancing at a run, found the two armies already drawn up and on the point of engaging. He was the first to inform the Romans of the capture of the city, and as a proof of it showed them the smoke which was rising in great volume from the houses that had been set on fire. And having obtained leave of the consul, he drew up his men in a compact body opposite the strongest force of the enemy. [2] As soon as the battle signals were raised, he was the first to come to grips with his opponents, and having killed many of those he encountered, he forced his way into the midst of their ranks. The Antiates no longer ventured to engaged him hand to hand, but leaving their ranks where he attacked, they surrounded him in a body, and retreating as he advanced and pursued them, they assailed him with their missiles. Postumus, being informed of this and fearing lest the man, thus isolated, might meet with some disaster, sent the bravest of the youth to his relief. These, doubling their files, charged the enemy; and when the first line failed to sustain their charge, but turned to flight, they pressed forward and found Marcius covered with wounds and saw many lying round him, some dead and others dying. [3] Thereupon they advanced together under Marcius as leader against those of the enemy who still kept their ranks, killing all who made any resistance and treating them like slaves. Though all the Romans displayed notable valour in this action, and the bravest of them were those who defended Marcius, yet brave beyond all the rest was Marcius himself, who was without any doubt the chief cause of the victory. When at last it grew dark, the Romans retired to their camp greatly exulting in their victory, having killed many of the Antiates and carrying with them a great number of prisoners.

[94.1] The next day Postumus, having assembled the army, spoke at length in praise of Marcius and crowned him with the crowns of valour, as rewards for his behaviour in both the actions. He also presented him with a war-horse adorned with the trappings belonging to that of a general, together with ten captives, leaving it to him to take such as he wished, and also as much silver as he could carry away himself, and many other fine first-fruits of the booty. [2] When all raised a great shout in token of their approval and congratulation, Marcius came forward and said that he was very grateful both to the consul and to all the others for the honours of which they held him worthy; however, he would not avail himself of them all, but would be content with the horse, for the sake of the splendid trappings, and with one captive, who chanced to be a personal friend of his. The soldiers, who even before this had admired the man for his valour, now marvelled at him still more for his contempt of riches and for his moderation in such good fortune. From this action he was surnamed Coriolanus and became the most illustrious man of his age. [3] Such having been the outcome of the battle with the Antiates, the rest of the Volscian cities proceeded to give up their hostility to the Romans; and all who

had sympathized with them, both those already in arms and those making their preparations for war, refrained. Postumus treated them all with moderation, and then, returning home, disbanded the army.

Cassius, the other consul, who had been left at Rome, in the mean time consecrated the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, which stands at the end of the Circus Maximus, being erected directly above the starting-places. Aulus Postumius the dictator had made a vow, when he was on the point of engaging the army of the Latins, to dedicate it to the gods in the name of the commonwealth, and the senate after the victory having decreed that this temple should be built entirely out of the spoils, the work was now completed.

[95.1] At the same time, a new treaty of peace and friendship was made with all the Latin cities, and confirmed by oaths, inasmuch as they had not attempted to create any disturbance during the sedition, had openly rejoiced at the return of the populace, and seemed to have been prompt in assisting the Romans against those who had revolted from them. [2] The provisions of the treaty were as follows: "Let there be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities as long as the heavens and the earth shall remain where they are. Let them neither make war upon another themselves nor bring in foreign enemies nor grant a safe passage to those who shall make war upon either. Let them assist one another, when warred upon, with all their forces, and let each have an equal share of the spoils and booty taken in their common wars. Let suits relating to private contracts be determined within ten days, and in the nation where the contract was made. And let it not be permitted to add anything to, or take anything away from these treaties except by the consent both of the Romans and of all the Latins." [3] This was the treaty entered into by the Romans and the Latins and confirmed by their oaths sworn over the sacrificial victims. The senate also voted to offer sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their reconciliation with the populace, and added one day to the Latin festival, as it was called, which previously had been celebrated for two days. The first day had been set apart as holy by Tarquinius when he conquered the Tyrrhenians; the second the people added after they had freed the commonwealth by the expulsion of the kings; and to these the third was now added because of the return of the seceders. [4] The superintendence and oversight of the sacrifices and games performed during this festival was committed to the tribunes' assistants, who held, as I said, the magistracy now called the aedileship; and they were honoured by the senate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other insignia that the kings had had.

[96.1] Not long after this festival Menenius Agrippa, one of the ex-consuls, died. It was he who had overcome the Sabines and had celebrated a most notable triumph for that victory; and it was through his persuasion that the senate had allowed the seceders to return and that the populace, because of their confidence in him, had given up their arms. He was buried at the expense of the public and his funeral was the most honourable and the most splendid that has fallen to any man. His estate, it seems, was not sufficient to defray the

expense of a magnificent funeral and burial, so that even the guardians of his children resolved after consultation to carry him out of the city and bury him like any ordinary person at little expense. [2] This, however, the people would not permit; but the tribunes, having assembled them and paid lengthy tributes to the achievements of Agrippa in both war and peace, lauding to the highest degree his moderation and his frugal manner of life, and, above all, his refraining from amassing riches, said it would be the most dishonourable thing imaginable that such a man should be buried in an obscure and humble manner by reason of his poverty; and they advised the people to take the expense of his funeral upon themselves and every man to contribute towards it such an amount as they, the tribunes, should assess. [3] His audience gladly heard this proposal, and when each man had presently contributed the amount he was assessed, a large sum was collected. The senate, being informed of this, was ashamed of the business and resolved not to allow the most illustrious of all the Romans to be buried by private contributions, but thought it fitting that the expense should be defrayed from the public funds; and it entrusted the care of the matter to the quaestors. These let the contract for the furnishing of his funeral for a very large sum of money; and having arrayed his body in the most sumptuous manner, and furnished everything else that could tend to magnificence, they buried him in a manner worthy of his virtue. [4] Thereupon the people, in emulation of the senate, refused on their part to receive back the sum they had contributed, when the quaestors offered to return it, but presented it to the children of the deceased in compassion for their poverty and to prevent them from engaging in any pursuits unworthy of their father's virtue. There was also a census taken at this time by the consuls, according to which the number of the citizens who registered was found to amount to more than 110,000.

These were the acts of the Romans in this consulship.

BOOK VII

[1.1] After Titus Geganius Macerinus and Publius Minucius had entered upon their consulship, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, which had its origin in the secession. For the populace seceded from the patricians after the autumnal equinox, just about the beginning of seed-time, and the husbandmen left their farms at the time of this uprising and divided, the more prosperous joining the patricians, while the labourers went over to the plebeians; and from that time the two classes remained aloof from each other till the commonwealth was composed and reunited, the reconciliation being effected not long before the winter solstice. [2] During that interval, which is the season in which all pointing of corn is best done, the land was destitute of people to cultivate it, and remained so for a long time. So that even when the husbandmen returned, it was no longer easy for them to bring it back under cultivation, inasmuch as it had suffered both from the desertion of slaves and the loss of animals with which they were to cultivate it, and as few of the husbandmen had any store of grain on hand for the next year for either seed or food. [3] The senate, being informed of this, sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians and to the Campanians and also to the Pomptine plain, as it is called, to buy up all the corn they could, while Publius Valerius and Lucius Geganius were sent to Sicily; Valerius was a son of Publicola, and Geganius was brother to one of the consuls. [4] Tyrants ruled in the various cities at that time, and the most illustrious was Gelon, the son of Deinomenes, who had lately succeeded to the tyranny of Hippocrates, — not Dionysius of Syracuse, as Licinius and Gellius and many others of the Roman historians have stated, without having made any careful investigation of the dates involved, as the facts show of themselves, but rashly relating the first account that offered itself. [5] For the embassy appointed to go to Sicily set sail in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, as these and almost all the other historians agree; whereas Dionysius the Elder, having made an uprising against the Syracusans in the eighty-fifth year after this, possessed himself of the tyranny in the third year of the ninety-third Olympiad, Callias, the successor of Antigenes, being then archon at Athens. [6] Now an error of a few years in their dates might be allowed to historians who are composing works dealing with ancient events extending over many years, but a deviation from the truth by two or three generations would not be permissible. But it is probable that the first writer to record this event in his annals — whom all the rest then followed — finding in the ancient records only this, that ambassadors were sent under these consuls to Sicily to buy corn and returned from thence with the present of corn which the tyrant had given them, did not proceed further to discover from the Greek historians who was tyrant of Sicily at that time, but without examination and at random set down Dionysius.

[2.1] The ambassadors who were sailing to Sicily, having met with a storm at sea and being obliged to sail round the island, were a long time in reaching the tyrant; then, after spending the winter season there, they returned to Italy in the summer bringing with them a great quantity of provisions. [2] But those who had been sent to the Pomptine plain came very near being put to death by the Volscians as spies, the Roman exiles having accused them of being such. And having with very great difficulty been able to escape with their lives, through the zealous efforts of their personal friends there, they returned to Rome without their funds and without having effected anything. [3] The same fate happened to those who went to Cumae. For many Roman exiles who had escaped with Tarquinius from the last battle, and were now residing in that city, at first endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant to deliver up the ambassadors to them to be put to death; and when they failed to gain this request, they asked that they might detain their persons as pledges till they should receive from the city that had sent them their own fortunes, which they declared had been unjustly confiscated by the Romans; and they thought it proper that the tyrant should be the judge of their cause. [4] The tyrant of Cumae at that time was Aristodemus, the son of Aristocrates, a man of no obscure birth, who was called by the citizens Malacus or “Effeminate” — a nickname which in time came to be better known than his own name — either because when a boy he was effeminate and allowed himself to be treated as a woman, as some relate, or because he was of a mild nature and slow to anger, as others state. [5] It seems to me that it is not out of place to interrupt my account of Roman affairs at this point for a short time in order to relate briefly what opportunities he had to seek the tyranny, by what methods he attained to it, how he conducted the government, and to what end he came.

[3.1] In the sixty-fourth Olympiad, when Miltiades was archon at Athens, the Tyrrhenians who had inhabited the country lying near the Ionian Gulf, but had been driven from thence in the course of time by the Gauls, joined themselves to the Umbrians, Daunians, and many other barbarians, and undertook to overthrow Cumae, the Greek city in the country of the Opicans founded by Eretrians and Chalcidians, though they could allege no other just ground for their animosity than the prosperity of the city. [2] For Cumae was at that time celebrated throughout all Italy for its riches, power, and all the other advantages, as it possessed the most fertile part of the Campanian plain and was mistress of the most convenient havens round about Misenum. The barbarians, accordingly, forming designs upon these advantages, marched against this city with an army consisting of no less than 500,000 foot and 18,000 horse. While they lay encamped not far from the city, a remarkable prodigy appeared to them, the like of which is not recorded as ever having happened anywhere in either the Greek or the barbarian world. [3] The rivers, namely, which ran near their camp, one of which is called the Volturnus and the other the Glanis, abandoning their natural course, turned their streams backwards and for a long time continued to run up from their mouths toward

their sources. [4] The Cumaeans, being informed of this prodigy, were then at last encouraged to engage with the barbarians, in the assurance that Heaven designed to bring low the lofty eminence of their foes and to raise their own fortunes, which seemed at low ebb. And having divided all their youth into three bodies, with one of these they defended the city, with another they guarded their ships, and the third they drew up before the walls to await the enemy's attack. These consisted of 600 horse and of 4500 foot. And though so few in number, they sustained the attack of so many myriads.

[4.1] When the barbarians learned that they were ready to fight, they uttered their war-cry and came to close quarters, in the barbarian fashion, without any order, the horse and the foot intermingled, in the expectation of utterly annihilating them. The place before the city where they engaged was a narrow defile surrounded by mountains and lakes, a terrain favourable to the valour of the Cumaeans and unfavourable to the multitude of the barbarians. [2] For they were knocked down and trampled upon by one another in many parts of the field, but particularly around that the marshy edges of the lake, so that the greater part of them were destroyed by their own forces without even engaging the battle-line of the Greeks. Thus their huge army of foot defeated itself, and without performing any brave action dispersed and fled in every direction. The horse, however, engaged and gave the Greeks great trouble; yet being unable to surround their enemies by reason of the narrow space, and Heaven also rendering the Greeks some assistance with lightning, rain and thunder, they were seized with fear and turned to flight. [3] In this action all the Cumaean horse fought brilliantly, and they were allowed to have been the chief cause of the victory; but Aristodemus, nicknamed Malacus, distinguished himself above all the rest, for he alone sustained the attack of the enemy and slew their general as well as many other brave men. When the war was at an end and the Cumaeans had offered sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their victory and had given a splendid burial to those who had been slain in the battle, they fell into great strife concerning the prize for valour, disputing to whom they ought to award the first crown. [4] For the impartial judges wished to bestow this honour upon Aristodemus, and the people were all on his side; but the men in power desired to confer it upon Hippomedon, the commander of the horse, and the whole senate championed his cause. The Cumaeans were at that time governed by an aristocracy, and the people were not in control of many matters. And when a sedition arose because of this strife, the older men, fearing that the rivalry might proceed to arms and bloodshed, prevailed on both parties to consent that each of the men should receive equal honours. [5] From this beginning Aristodemus became a champion of the people, and having cultivated proficiency in political oratory, he seduced the mob by his harangues, improved their condition by popular measures, exposed the powerful men who were appropriating the public property, and relieved many of the poor with his own money. By this means he became both odious and formidable to the leading men of the aristocracy.

[5.1] In the twentieth year after the engagement with the barbarians ambassadors from the Aricians came to the Cumaeans with the tokens of suppliants to beg their assistance against the Tyrrhenians who were making war upon them. For, as I related in an earlier book, Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, after making peace with Rome, had sent out his son Arruns with one half of the army when the youth desired to acquire a dominion for himself. Arruns, then, at the time in question was besieging the Aricians, whom he had forced to take refuge inside their walls, and he expected to capture the city soon by famine. [2] When this embassy arrived, the leading men of the aristocracy, who hated Aristodemus and feared he might do some harm to the established government, thought they had got a very fine opportunity to get rid of him under a specious pretence. They accordingly persuaded the people to send two thousand men to the aid of the Aricians and appointed Aristodemus as general, ostensibly because of his brilliant military achievements; after which they took such measures as they supposed would result in his either being destroyed in battle by the Tyrrhenians or perishing at sea. [3] For being empowered by the senate to raise the forces that were to be sent as auxiliaries, they enrolled no men of distinction or reputation; but choosing out the poorest and the most unprincipled of the common people from whom they were under continual apprehension of some uprisings, they made up out of these the complement of men who were to be sent upon the exception. And launching ten old ships that were most unseaworthy and were commanded by the poorest of the Cumaeans, they embarked the forces on board these ships, threatening with death anyone who should fail to enlist.

[6.1] Aristodemus, merely remarking that he was not ignorant of the purpose of his enemies, namely, that in word they were sending him to the assistance of the Aricians, but in fact to manifest destruction, accepted the command, and hastily setting sail with the ambassadors of the Aricians, and accomplishing the voyage over the intervening sea with great difficulty and danger, came to anchor at points along the coast nearest to Aricia. And leaving a sufficient number of men on board to guard the ships, on the first night he made the march, which was not a long one, from the sea to the city and appeared unexpectedly to the inhabitants at dawn. [2] Then, encamping near the city and persuading the citizens who had fled for refuge inside the walls to come out into the open, he promptly challenged the Tyrrhenians to battle. And a sharp engagement ensuing, the Aricians after a very short resistance all gave way and again fled inside the walls. But Aristodemus with a small body of chosen Cumaeans sustained the united shock of the enemy, and having slain the general of the Tyrrhenians with his own hand, put the rest to flight and gained the most glorious of all victories. [3] After he had performed these achievements and been honoured with many presents by the Aricians, he sailed home immediately, desiring to be himself the messenger to the Cumaeans of his victory. He was followed by a great number of merchantmen belonging to the Aricians, laden with the spoils and prisoners

taken from the Tyrrhenians. [4] When they arrived near Cumae, he brought his ships to shore, and assembling his army, inveighed vehemently against the chief men of the city and bestowed many praises upon the soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and having given money to every one of them man by man and placed at the joint disposal of all of them the presents he had received from the Aricians, he asked that they should remember these favours when they returned home, and if he should be threatened with any danger from the oligarchy, that every one of them should assist him to the utmost of his power. [5] Then, when all acknowledged themselves to be under great obligations to him, not only for their unexpected preservation which they owed to him, but also for their not returning home with empty hands, and promised to sacrifice their own lives sooner than to abandon him to their enemies, he commended them and dismissed the assembly. After this he called into his tent those among them who were the most unprincipled and the most daring in action, and by means of largesses, fair words, and hopes which seduce all men, he bribed them in readiness to assist him in overthrowing the established government.

[7.1] After he had secured these men as his assistants and participants with him in the struggle, and had acquainted each one with the part he was to play, and furthermore had set at liberty without ransom all the prisoners he was bringing along, in order to gain their goodwill also, he sailed with his ships decked out into the harbours of Cumae. When the soldiers disembarked, they were met by their fathers and mothers and all the rest of their kinsmen, their children and their wedded wives, who embraced them with tears and kisses and called each of them by the most endearing terms. [2] And all the other citizens, receiving the general with joy and applause, conducted him to his house. But the chief men of the city, particularly those who had given him the command and concerted the other measures for his destruction, were vexed at these manifestations and felt sinister apprehensions regarding the future. [3] Aristodemus allowed a few days to pass, during which he performed his vows to the gods and waited for the merchantmen that were late in arriving, and then, when the proper time came, he said he desired to give the senate an account of the circumstances of the battle and to show them the spoils taken in the war. Then, the authorities having assembled in great numbers, he came forward and made a speech, in which he related everything that had happened in the battle; and while he was speaking, the accomplices in the plot with whom he had arranged matters rushed into the senate-house in a body with swords under their garments and killed all the members of the aristocracy. [4] Thereupon there ensued a flight of those who were in the forum and a rush of some to their houses and of others away from the city, except of such as were privy to the conspiracy; the latter in mean time captured the citadel, the dockyards, and the strong places of the city. The following night he released from the prisons all who were under sentence of death, of whom there were many, arming them together with his friends, among whom were the

Tyrrhenian prisoners, he formed out of these a bodyguard for himself. [5] When it was day, he assembled the people and after inveighing at length against the citizens who had been put to death by his orders, he said that those men, having often sought his life, had been justly punished by him, but that, as for the rest of the citizens, he had come to give them liberty, equal rights of speech, and many other advantages.

[8.1] When he had said this and thereby filled all the common people with wonderful hopes, he established two institutions which are the worst of all human institutions and the prologues to every tyranny — a redistribution of the land and an abolition of debts. He promised that he would take upon himself the care of both these matters if he were appointed general with absolute power till the public tranquillity should be secured and they had established a democratic constitution. [2] When the common people and the unprincipled rabble gladly accepted the proposal to pillage the goods of other men, Aristodemus conferred upon himself the supreme command, and proposed another measure by which he deceived them and deprived them all of their liberty. For pretending to suspect that the rich would raise disturbances and insurrections against the common people on account of the redistribution of the land and the abolition of debts, he said the only means he could think of to prevent a civil war and the slaughter of citizens and to guard against these miseries before they happened, was for all of them to bring the arms out of their houses and to consecrate them to the gods, in order that they might make use of them against foreign enemies who should attack them, whenever the necessity should arise, and not against one another, and that in the mean time they would be suitably placed in the keeping of the gods. [3] When they agreed to this also, he disarmed all the Cumaeans that very day, and during the following days he searched their houses, where he put to death many worthy citizens, alleging that they had not produced all their arms for the gods. After this he strengthened his tyranny by three sorts of guards. The first consisted of the filthiest and the most unprincipled of the citizens, by whose aid he had overthrown the aristocracy; the second, of the most impious knaves, whom he himself had freed for having killed their masters; and the third, a mercenary force, consisting of the most average barbarians, who amounted to no fewer than two thousand and were far better soldiers than any of the rest. [4] He destroyed the statues of those he had put to death in all places both sacred and profane and set up his own in their stead; and seizing their houses and lands and the rest of their fortunes, he reserved for himself the gold and silver and everything else that was worthy of a tyrant, and divided the remainder among those who had aided him in gaining his power. But the most numerous and the largest gifts he made to the slaves who had killed their masters. Thereupon these insisted also on marrying the wives and daughters of their late masters.

[9.1] At first he paid no attention to the male children of those who had been put to death, but afterwards, either at the direction of some oracle or

influenced also by the reflection he any naturally make, that in them no small danger was being secretly reared up against him, he resolved to destroy them all in one day. [2] But at the earnest entreaties of all the men with whom the children's mothers were living and the children themselves were being brought up, since he wished to grant them this favour also, he saved them from death, contrary to his intention. Taking precautions, however, against them, lest they should combine together and conspire against his tyranny, he ordered them all to depart from the city and to live in the country dispersed here and there, receiving instruction in no profession or branch of learning becoming to the children of freemen, but tending flocks and performing the other labours of the husbandmen; and he threatened with death anyone of them who should be found in the city. [3] These children, accordingly, forsaking the houses of their fathers, were brought up in the country like slaves, serving the murderers of their fathers. And to the end that no noble or manly spirit might spring up in any of the rest of the citizens, he resolved to make effeminate by means of their upbringing all the youths who were being reared in the city, and with that view he suppressed the gymnasiums and the practice of arms and changed the manner of life previously followed by the children. [4] For he ordered the boys to wear their hair long like the girls, to adorn it with flowers, to keep it curled and to bind up the tresses with hair-nets, to wear embroidered robes that reached down to their feet, and, over these, thin and soft mantles, and to pass their lives in the shade. And when they went to the schools kept by dancing-masters, flute-players and others who, like these, pay court to the Muses, their governesses attended them, taking along parasols and fans; and these women bathed them, carrying into the baths combs, alabaster pots filled with perfumes, and looking-glasses. [5] By such training he continued to enervate the youth till they had completed their twentieth year, and from that time permitted them to be considered as men. Having by these and many other methods abused and insulted the Cumaeans without refraining from any kind of lust or cruelty, when he thought himself secure in the possession of the tyranny, being now grown old, he was punished to the satisfaction of both gods and men and extirpated with all his family.

[10.1] Those who rose against him and freed their country from his tyranny were the sons of the citizens he had murdered, all of whom he had at first resolved to put to death in one day, but being prevailed upon by the entreaties of his bodyguards, to whom he had given their mothers, had refrained, as I said, [2] and ordered them to live in the country. A few years later, as he was making a progress through the villages, he saw a large number of these youths, who made a brave appearance; and fearing they might conspire together and rise against him, he purposed to forestall them by putting them all to death before any one should be aware of his intention. Assembling his friends, accordingly, he considered with them how the youths might most easily and speedily be put to death in secret. [3] The youths, being apprised of

this, either by the information of some person who was acquainted with his purpose, or suspecting it themselves by reasoning from probabilities, fled to the mountains, taking with them the iron implements they used in husbandry. They were speedily joined by the Cumaean exiles who resided in Capua, most distinguished of whom and possessing the largest number of friends among the Campanians were the sons of Hippomedon, who had been commander of the horse in the war against the Tyrrhenians. These were not only well armed themselves, but also brought with them arms for the youths as well as a goodly band of Campanian mercenaries and of their own friends which they had raised. [4] When they had all united, they made descents after the manner of brigands and plundered the lands of their enemies, lured the slaves away from their masters, released the men confined in prisons and armed them, and whatever they could not carry or drive off they either burnt or killed. [5] While the tyrant was at a loss to know in what manner he ought to make war upon them, because they neither made their attempts openly nor stayed long in the same places, but timed their raids either from the fall of night to the break of day or from daybreak to nightfall, and after he had often sent out the soldiers to the relief of the country in vain, one of the fugitives, sent by the rest in the guise of a deserter, came to him, his body torn with whips, and after suing for impunity, promised the tyrant to conduct any troops he should think fit to send with him to the place where the fugitives proposed to encamp the following night. [6] The tyrant, being induced to trust this man, who asked nothing and offered his own person as a hostage, sent his most trusted commanders at the head of a large number of horse and the band of mercenaries with orders to bring to him in chains all the fugitives if they could, otherwise as many of them as possible. The pretended deserter then led the army during the whole night through untrodden paths and lonely woods, where they suffered greatly, till they came to the regions that were most remote from the city.

[11.1] In the meantime the rebels and fugitives, who lay in ambush on the mountain which lies near Lake Avernus and not far from Cumae, when they learned from the signals made by their scouts that the tyrant's army had marched out of the city, sent thither about sixty of the most resolute of their number, clad in goatskins and carrying faggots of brushwood. [2] These men contrived to steal into the city by various gates about the time for lighting the lamps, being taken for labourers and thus escaping detection. Once inside the walls, they drew out the swords they had concealed in the faggots and all met in one place. And proceeding thence in a body to the gate that led to Lake Avernus, they killed the guards while they were asleep, and, all their own force, having by this time arrived near the walls, they opened the gates and received them into the city. All this they did without being discovered. [3] For that night there happened to be a public festival; hence the whole population of the city was occupied in drinking and other pleasures. This afforded the fugitives an opportunity of marching through all the streets that led to the tyrant's palace without meeting any opposition; and even at the palace doors

they did not find any considerable number of guards on the alert, but here also some were already asleep and others drunk, and these they killed without any difficulty. Then, rushing into the palace in a body, they found all the rest no longer masters of either their bodies or their wits because of wine, and they cut their throats as if they were so many sheep. And having seized Aristodemus himself with his children and the rest of his relations, they tore their bodies with whips and tortures until late in the night, and after inflicting on them almost every kind of punishment they put them to death. [4] Having wiped out the whole family of the tyrant, so as to leave neither children, wives, nor anyone related to them, and having spent the whole night in hunting down all the abettors of the tyranny, as soon as it was day, they proceeded to the forum. Then, calling the people together, they laid down their arms and restored the traditional government.

[12.1] It was before this Aristodemus, then, when he had already reigned as tyrant of Cumae close to fourteen years, that the Roman exiles with Tarquinius presented themselves, asking him to decide their cause against the country. The Roman ambassadors opposed this for some time, alleging that they had not come to enter into a contest of this sort and had no authority to plead the cause for the commonwealth since the senate had entrusted no such power to them. [2] But when they availed naught with their plea and they saw the tyrant inclined to the other side because of the earnestness and entreaties of the exiles, they desired time to prepare a defence. And having deposited a sum of money as a pledge for their appearance, in the interval while the suit was pending and they were no longer guarded, they fled; whereupon the tyrant seized their servants, their pack-animals, and the money they had brought with them to purchase corn.

[3] It was the fate of these embassies, then, after being treated in the manner I have related, to return without having accomplished anything. But the ambassadors who had been sent to the cities in Tyrrhenia bought there a quantity of millet and spelt and brought it down to Rome in river-boats. This supply sustained the Romans for a short time, but its exhaustion brought them to the same straits as before. There was no sort of food to which men have ever been reduced through necessity that they did not venture to try; and it happened that not a few of them, by reason both of the scarcity and of the strangeness of the unaccustomed food, were either weakened in body or were neglected because of their poverty and entirely helpless. [4] When the Volscians, who had been recently conquered in war, became aware of this, they undertook by means of embassies sent out secretly to incite one another to war against the Romans, in the belief that if anyone should attack them while they were distressed both by war and famine, they would be unable to resist. But some benevolence of the gods, who were always careful not to permit the Romans to become subject to their enemies, manifested its power upon this occasion also in a most conspicuous manner. For so great a pestilence suddenly descended upon the cities of the Volscians as is not

recorded to have occurred anywhere else in either the Greek or the barbarian world, destroying the people without distinction of age, condition, or sex, it mattered not whether their bodies were strong or weak. [5] The extreme nature of the calamity was shown in the case of an important city of the Volscians named Velitrae, till then a large and populous place, of which the plague left but one person out of every ten, attacking and carrying off all the rest. At last those who survived the calamity sent ambassadors to the Romans to inform them of their desolation and to deliver up their city to them. They had even before that time received a colony from Rome, for which reason they now desired colonists to be sent to them a second time.

[13.1] When the Romans learned of this, they felt compassion for their misfortunes and thought they ought to retain no resentment against their enemies when under so severe an affliction, since they had sufficiently atoned to the gods for what they had been intending to do. As to the city of Velitrae, they thought proper to accept it and to send a large colony thither, in consideration of the many advantages that would result to them from that measure. [2] For the place itself, if occupied by an adequate garrison, seemed capable of proving a serious check and hindrance to the designs of any who might be disposed to begin a rebellion or create any disturbance, and it was expected that the scarcity of provisions under which the city then laboured would be far less serious if a considerable part of the citizens removed elsewhere. But, above all other considerations, the sedition which was now flaring up again, before the former one was as yet satisfactorily appeased, induced them to vote to send out the colony. [3] For once more the plebeians were becoming inflamed, as before, and growing exasperated against the patricians, were uttering many harsh words against them, some accusing them of neglect and indolence in not having long foreseen the scarcity of corn that was to occur, and taken the necessary precautions to avert the calamity, and others declaring that the scarcity had been brought about by their contrivance, because of their resentment and a desire to injure the plebeians when they remembered their secession. [4] For these reasons the colony was sent out promptly, three persons being appointed by the senate to be the leaders of it. The plebeians were pleased at first that lands were to be allotted to colonists, since they would thus be freed from the famine and inhabit a fertile country; but afterwards, when they bethought themselves of the pestilence which had raged violently in the city that was to receive them and had not only destroyed the inhabitants, but gave room to fear that it would treat the new settlers in the same manner, their feelings were gradually reversed. Consequently those who offered themselves to join the colony were not many, but far fewer than the senate had decreed; and these, moreover, were already blaming themselves for having been ill advised and were endeavouring to avoid going out. [5] However, this element was included and likewise the others who had not willingly joined the colony, the senate having ordered that all the Romans should draw lots for completing the colony, and having fixed severe and

inexorable penalties for those upon whom the lot fell, if they did not go. This colony, then, was sent to Velitrae after being recruited by a specious compulsion; and not many days after another colony was sent to Norba, which is no mean city of the Latins.

[14.1] But nothing turned out according to the calculations of the patricians, insofar at least as their hope of appeasing the sedition was concerned; on the contrary, the people who were left at home were now more exasperated than before and clamoured violently against the senators in their groups and clubs. They met in small numbers at first, but afterwards, as the dearth became more severe, they assembled in a body, and rushing all together into the Forum, cried out for the tribunes. [2] And these having assembled the people, Spurius Sicinius, who was then at the head of their college, came forward and not only inveighed at length against the senate himself, inflaming the hatred of the people against them as much as he could, but also demanded that the others should express their sentiments publicly, especially Sicinius and Brutus, who were then aediles, calling upon each of them by name; they had been the authors of the first secession of the people as well, and having introduced the tribunician power, had been the first to be invested with it. [3] These, having long before prepared the most malicious speeches, came forward and enlarged upon those points that were welcome to the multitude, alleging that the dearth of corn had been occasioned by the contrivance and treachery of the rich, against whose will the people had acquired the liberty by the secession. [4] And they declared that the rich did not in the least bear an equal share of this calamity with the poor, since they had not only provisions secretly hoarded up, but also money to purchase imported foodstuffs, and thus could treat the calamity with fine scorn, whereas the plebeians had neither resource. As regarded the colony which they had sent out to a pestilential region, they declared it was a banishment to a manifest and much worse destruction; and exaggerating the evils with all their powers of speech, they asked to be informed what end there was to be of their miseries. They reminded them of the abusive treatment they had formerly received from the rich, and recounted many other things of this nature with great freedom. [5] Finally, Brutus closed his speech with some such threats as this, that, if they would follow his advice, he would soon compel those who had kindled this mischief to extinguish it. After which the assembly was dismissed.

[15.1] The next day the consuls assembled the senate, being terrified at this revolutionary behaviour and believing that the demagoguery of Brutus would end in some great mischief. And many proposals of every sort were made to that body both by the consuls themselves and also by the older senators. Some were of the opinion that they ought to court the populace by all possible expressions of kindness and by promises of deeds, and make their leaders more moderate by bringing the public business into the open and inviting them to join in their deliberations concerning the common advantage. [2] But others advised not to show any sign of weakness toward a headstrong and

ignorant multitude and toward the bold and insufferable madness of creatures who courted the mob, but to declare in their own defence that the patricians were in of way to blame for what had happened and to promise that they would take all possible care to remedy the evil, and at the same time to reprimand those who were stirring up the people and warn them that if they did not desist from rekindling the sedition they would be punished as they deserved. [3] The chief proponent of this view was Appius, and it was this opinion that prevailed, after such violent strife among the senators that even the people, hearing their clamour at a great distance, rushed in alarm to the senate-house and the whole city was on tip-toe with expectation. [4] After this the consuls, going into the Forum, called the people together when not much of the day now remained; and coming forward, they attempted to inform them of the decision they had reached in the senate. But the tribunes opposed them, and thereupon neither the consuls nor the tribunes spoke in their turns nor observed any decorum in their debate; for they cried out together and endeavoured to prevent one another from speaking, so that it was not easy for those who were present to understand what they meant.

[16.1] The consuls thought it reasonable that, as they had the superior power, they should have the command of everything in the city, while the tribunes insisted that the assembly of the people was their particular sphere, as the senate was that of the consuls, and that whatever the people had the authority to judge and determine was subject to their power alone. The populace supported the tribunes, shouting their approval and being prepared, if necessary, to account any who attempted to hinder them, while the patricians rallied to the support of the consuls. [2] And a violent contest ensued, each side insisting not yielding to the other, as if their defeat on this single occasion would mean the giving up of their claims for all time to come. It was now near sunset and the rest of the population were running out of their houses to the Forum; and if night had descended upon their strife, they would have proceeded to blows and the throwing of stones. [3] To prevent this, Brutus came forward and asked the consuls to give him leave to speak, promising to appease the tumult; and they, looking upon this as a yielding to them, since, even though the tribunes were present, this leader of the people had not asked the favour of those magistrates, gave him leave. Then, when silence reigned, Brutus, instead of making a speech, merely put questions of the following nature to the consuls: [4] "Do you remember," he said, "that when we put an end to the sedition by an accommodation this right was granted to us — that when the tribunes should assemble the people to consider any matter whatever the patricians should not be present at the assembly or create any disturbance there?" "We remember," answered Geganius. Then Brutus added: "What is the matter with you, then, that you oppose us and do not allow the tribunes to say what they please?" To this Geganius replied: "Because it was not the tribunes who assembled the people, but we, the consuls. If, now, the assembly had been called by them, we should not have presumed either to hinder them

at all or to interfere; but since we ourselves assembled them, we do not hinder the tribunes from speaking, but we feel that it is not right that we should be hindered by them.”^[5] Then Brutus said: “We have won, plebeians, and our adversaries have yielded everything to us we desired. For the present, therefore, *dap* and cease your strife; to-morrow, I promise you, I will show you how great is the strength you possess. And do you, tribunes, yield the Forum to them for the present; for in the end you will not yield it. When you learn how great a power your magistracy is possessed of (for you will have that knowledge soon; I myself undertake to make it clear to you), you will render their arrogance more moderate. But if you find I am imposing upon you, do to me whatever you will.”

^[17] None having opposed this, both parties left the assembly, but with very different impressions. The poor thought that Brutus had hit upon something extraordinary and that he had not made such an important promise rashly, while the patricians despised the levity of the man and thought the boldness of his promises would go no farther than words; for they imagined that no other power had been granted by the senate to the tribunes than that of relieving such plebeians as were unjustly treated. However, not all the senators, and least of all the older men, made so light of the matter, but they were upon their guard lest the madness of this man might occasion some irreparable mischief.

^[2] The following night Brutus, having communicated his plan to the tribunes and having prepared a goodly number of the plebeians to support him, went down with them to the Forum; and possessing themselves before sunrise of the sanctuary of Vulcan, where the assemblies of the people were usually held, they called an assembly. When the Forum was filled (for a greater throng had assembled upon this occasion than ever before), Sicinius the tribune came forward and made a long speech against the patricians, reminding the plebeians of all they had suffered at their hands; then he told them about the day before, how he had been hindered by them from speaking and deprived of the power of his magistracy. ^[3] “What other power, indeed,” he asked, “shall we have after this, if we are not allowed even that of speaking? How shall we be able to relieve any of you when unjustly treated by them, if we are deprived of the authority of assembling you? For words, I presume, are the beginning of all action; and it is obvious that those who are not allowed to say what they think will not be allowed to do, either, what they please. Either take back, therefore, the power you have garden us,” he said, “unless you intend to establish it securely, or by a law duly enacted prevent all opposition to us for the future.” ^[4] When he had thus spoken and the people had cried out to him with a great shout to introduce the law, Sicinius, who had it already drawn up, read it to them and permitted the people to vote upon it immediately. For the business seemed to admit of no postponement or delay, lest some further obstacle should be interposed by the consuls. ^[5] The law was as follows: “When a tribune is delivering his opinion to the people, let no one say anything in opposition or interrupt him. If anyone shall act contrary to

this, let him, if required, give sureties to the tribunes for the payment of the fine they shall impose upon him. If he refuses to give any surety, let him be punished with death and his goods be confiscated. And let the trials of those who protest against these fines take place before the people.” [6] After the tribunes had caused this law to be passed, they dismissed the assembly; and the people departed full of joy and very grateful to Brutus, whom they looked upon as the author of the law.

[18.1] After this the tribunes had many controversies with the consuls over various matters, and not only did the people refuse to recognize as valid the decrees of the senate, but the senate also did not find acceptable anything that the people determined; and both of them continued to be arrayed in hostile camps and to be suspicious of one another. However, their hatred did not lead to any irreparable mischief, as often happens in like disorders. [2] For, on the one hand, the poor did not attack the houses of the rich, where they suspected they should find stores of provisions laid up, nor attempt to raid the public markets, but consented to buy small quantities for a high price, and when they lacked money, they sustained life by using roots and grass for food. Nor, on the other hand, did the rich, in the confidence of their own strength and that afforded by their clients, who were very numerous, offer violence to the weaker citizens and aim at making themselves masters of the city by driving out some of the poor and putting others to death, but, like those fathers who conduct themselves most prudently toward their sons, they continued to display toward their errors the kind of displeasure that is benevolent and solicitous. [3] While Rome was in this situation, the neighbouring cities invited any of the Romans who so desired to live among them, luring them by the offer of citizenship and the hopes of other kind treatment, some from the best of motives, because of good will and compassion for their misfortune, but the greater part through envy of their former prosperity. And very great numbers did remove with their whole families to live elsewhere, some of whom returned when the affairs of the city were composed, while others remained where they were.

[19] The consuls, observing these things, thought fit, with the approval of the senate, to levy an army and to march with the forces out of the city (they had found a plausible excuse for their plan in the frequent incursions and depredations of their enemies by which the country was being laid waste); and they also considered the other advantages that would result from this action, namely, that by sending an army into the field those, on the one hand, who were left, becoming fewer in number, would enjoy a greater plenty of provisions, while those under arms, by supplying themselves from the enemy's stores, would live in greater abundance, and the sedition would be in abeyance as long as the expedition lasted. But, above all, it seemed that if the patricians and plebeians served together, their sharing equally in both good and ill fortune amid the dangers of the war would effectually confirm their reconciliation. [2] But the plebeians were not inclined to obey them, nor

willingly, as before, to offer themselves to enlist in the service; and the consuls did not think it wise to enforce the law against those who were unwilling to serve. But some patrician volunteers together with their clients were enlisted, and when they marched out of the city they were joined by a small number of plebeians. [3] The army was commanded by Gaius Marcius, who had taken the city of Corioli and distinguished himself above all others in the battle against the Antiates; and the greater part of the plebeians who now took up arms were encouraged to do so upon seeing him take the field, some of them out of affection for him, and others in the hope of a successful campaign; for he was already famous and the enemy had come to have great fear of him. [4] This army, having advanced as far as the city of Antium without any trouble, captured a great deal of corn that they found in the fields, and many slaves and cattle; and after a short time it returned better supplied than before with all the necessities of life, so that those who had remained at home were greatly dejected and blamed their demagogues, through whom they felt they had been deprived of the same good fortune. [5] Thus Geganius and Minucius, the consuls of this year, though involved in great and various storms and often in danger of wrecking the state, caused it no harm, but brought it safely through its perils by dealing with events rather with prudence than with good fortune.

[20.1] The consuls appointed to succeed them, Marcus Minucius Augurinus and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who were both invested with this magistracy for the second time, being men not unskilled either in arms or in debate, took great care to supply the city plentifully with both corn and all other provisions, believing that the harmony of the masses depended on their well-being in this respect. Nevertheless, it was not their good fortune to obtain both these ends at the same time, but the surfeit of good things was accompanied by the insolence of those who had the benefit of them. [2] And then it was that Rome was exposed once more to a very grave danger from a most unlikely source. For the ambassadors sent to buy corn, having purchased a large quantity at the public expense in both the maritime and the inland markets, brought it to the city; and the merchants also who used to trade in the markets flocked thither from all parts, of whom the commonwealth bought their lading with the public funds and kept it under guard. [3] Then too Geganius and Valerius, who had been sent earlier as ambassadors to Sicily, arrived with many merchantmen in which they brought fifty thousand Sicilian bushels of wheat, one half of it purchased at a very low price and the rest sent by the tyrant as a free gift to the Romans and conveyed at his own expense. [4] When word was brought to the people in Rome that the ships had arrived from Sicily laden with corn, a long debate arose among the patricians concerning the disposal of it. For those among them who were the most reasonable and the greatest friends of the people, having in view the public necessary, advised them to distribute all the corn given by the tyrant among the plebeians, and to

sell to them at a low price that which had been purchased with the public funds, pointing out that by these favours more than by any other means the animosity of the poor against the rich would be moderated. On the other hand, those who were more arrogant and more zealous for the oligarchy thought that they ought to use every effort and every means to oppress the plebeians; and they advised making the provisions as costly as possible to them in order that they might through necessity become more moderate and more observant in general of the principles of justice prescribed by the constitution.

[21.1] One of this oligarchic party was that Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, who did not, like the rest, deliver his opinion with secrecy and caution, but with so much openness and boldness that many even of the plebeians heard him. It seems that, besides the general grievance against them which he shared with the others, he had lately received some private provocations that seemed to justify his hatred of the plebeians. [2] For when he had stood for the consulship at the last election, in which he had been supported by the patricians, the people had opposed him and would not permit that magistracy to be conferred on him, since his brilliant reputation and daring inclined them to caution, lest he might make some move to overthrow the tribuneship, and they were particularly apprehensive because the whole body of the patricians promoted his interest with a zeal they had never before shown for any other candidate. [3] Marcius, therefore, being exasperated at this humiliation, and at the same time desirous of restoring the government to its ancient form, not only worked openly himself, as I have already said, to overthrow the power of the people, but also urged his associates on to the same end. He had about him a large faction of young men of noble birth and of the greatest fortunes, as well as many clients who had attached themselves to him for the sake of the booty to be gained in the wars. Elated by these advantages, he assumed a haughty air, became conspicuous, and attained to the greatest distinction. [4] And yet, for all this, he did not come to a fortunate end, as shall now be related. The senate having been assembled to consider the matters I have mentioned, and the older senators, according to custom, having delivered their opinions first, only a few of them declaring openly against the populace, when it came to the turn of the younger senators to speak, Marcius asked leave of the consuls to say what he wished; and meeting with loud acclaim and strict attention, he delivered the following harangue against the populace:

[22.1] "That the populace seceded, after him, not because of necessity and want, but because they were elated by the mischievous hope of destroying your aristocracy and of becoming themselves masters of the commonwealth, I think has become clear to nearly all of you when you observe the advantages which they gained by the accommodation. For they were not content, after they had destroyed the good faith which gave validity to their contracts and had abolished the laws made to secure it, to carry their meddling no farther, but introducing a new magistracy designed to overthrow that of the consuls, they made it sacred and inviolable by law, and have now, unobserved by you,

senators, been acquiring a tyrannical power through this newly-enacted law. [2] For when their leaders, in their great power putting forward the specious pretence of coming to the aid of such plebeians as are wronged, sack and pillage whatever they please by virtue of that power, and when there is no man, either private citizen or magistrate, who will oppose their lawless deeds for fear of this law, which destroys even our liberty of speech as well as of action by imposing the penalty of death on all who utter a word befitting freemen, what other name ought to be given by sensible men to this domination but that which is the true one and which you would all own to be such, namely, a tyranny? And if we are under the tyranny, not of one man, but of a whole populace, what is the difference? For the effect of both is the same. [3] It would have been best, therefore, never to have permitted even the seed of this power to be sown, but rather to have submitted to everything, as the excellent Appius, who foresaw these mischiefs from afar, advised. But if that could not be, we ought now at least with one accord to pluck it up by the roots and cast it out of the city while it is yet weak and easily combatted. [4] And we are not the first or the only persons to whom this experience has come, senators, but oft-times in the part many who have been reduced to unenviable straits and have failed to take the best counsel in matters of the greatest consequence, since they did not check the beginnings of the evil, have endeavoured to prevent its growth. And the repentance of those who are late in beginning to be wise, though inferior to foresight, yet, when viewed in another light, is seen to be no less valuable, since it wipes out the error originally made in ignorance by preventing its consequences.

[23.1] “But if any of you, while looking upon the actions of the populace as outrageous and believing that they ought to be prevented from making any further mistakes, are nevertheless afraid of seeming to be the first to violate the agreement and transgress the oaths, let them know that, since they will not be the aggressors but will be repelling aggression, and will not be violating the agreement but rather punishing the violators of it, they will not only be guiltless towards the gods, but will also be doing an act of justice while they consult their own interest. [2] And let this be a strong argument that it is not you who are taking the first steps to break the agreement and violate treaty, but rather the plebeian element, by not observing the conditions upon which they obtained their return. For, after asking for the tribunician power, not in order to injure the senate, but to secure themselves from being injured by the senate, they no longer employ this power for the purposes they ought or on the terms on which they obtained it, but for the overthrow and destruction of the established government. [3] For surely you recall the recent assembly of the people and the harangues there made by their demagogues, what arrogance and unruliness they showed, and how these infatuated men vaunt themselves now, since they have discovered that the whole control of the commonwealth lies in the vote, which they will control, being more numerous than we. [4] What, therefore, remains for us to do, now that they have begun to violate the

compact and the law, but to repel to attacks of the aggressors, to deprive them justly of what they now unjustly possess, and for the future to put a stop to their craving for ever more and more? And we should return thanks to the gods for not having permitted them, when they had gained an unfair advantage at first, to act after that with moderation, but for having inspired them with this shamelessness and officiousness which have forced you to endeavour both to recover the rights you have lost and to guard with due care those that remain.

[24] “The present opportunity is favourable as no other, if you really intend to begin to act with wisdom, since the greater part of the plebeians are now reduced to dire straits by the famine and the rest cannot hold out for want of money if they find it proves scarce and dear. The worst of them and those who were never pleased with the aristocracy will be forced to leave the city, and the more reasonable will be compelled to behave themselves in an orderly manner without giving you any further trouble. [2] Keep the provisions, therefore, under guard, and abate nothing of the price of commodities, but pass a vote that they shall now be sold at as high a price as ever. For this you have just grounds and plausible excuses in the ungrateful clamour of the populace to the effect that the scarcity of corn was contrived by you, whereas it was occasioned by their own revolt and the desolation of the country which they caused when they pillaged it just as if it had been the territory of an enemy; and again in the disbursements from the treasury to the men sent to purchase corn, and in many other instances in which you have been wronged by them. By this means we shall also know at last what that grievous treatment is which they are going to inflict upon us if we refuse to gratify the people in everything, as their demagogues threatened in order to frighten us. [3] But if you let this opportunity also slip from your grasp, you will often pray for such another. Moreover, if the people should become aware that you desired to overthrow their power but were deterred, they will bear down much harder upon you, looking upon your desire as a proof of enmity and upon your inability to carry it out as evidence of cowardice.”

[25] After this speech of Marcius the opinions of the senators were divided and a great tumult arose among them. For those who from the beginning had opposed the plebeians and submitted to the accommodation against their will, among whom were almost all the youth and the richest and most ambitious of the older senators, some of them resenting the losses sustained in the loans they had made under contract and others their defeat when they sought office, applauded Marcius as a man of spirit and a lover of his country, who advised what was best for the commonwealth. [2] On the other hand, the senators whose sympathies were with the populace and who set no undue value on riches and thought nothing was or necessary than peace, were offended at his speech and rejected his advice. These maintained that they ought to surpass the humbler citizens, not in violence, but in kindness, and that they ought to regard reasonableness as not unbecoming, but necessary, particularly when it

was manifested out of goodwill towards their fellow-citizens; and they declared that the advice of Marcius was madness, not frankness of speech or liberty. But this group was small and weak, and hence was overborne by the more violent party. [3] The tribunes, seeing this — for they were present in the senate at the invitation of the consuls — cried out and were in great conflict of mind, calling Marcius the pest and bane of the state for uttering malicious words against the populace; and unless the patricians should prevent his design of introducing civil war into the state by punishing him with death or banishment, they said they would do so themselves. [4] When a still greater tumult arose at these words of the tribunes, particularly on the part of the younger senators, who bore their threats with impatience, Marcius, inspired by these manifestations, now attacked the tribunes with greater arrogance and boldness, saying to them: “Unless you cease disturbing the commonwealth and stirring up the poor by your harangues, I shall no longer oppose you with words, but with deeds.”

[26.1] The senate being now embittered, the tribunes, finding that those who desired to take away the power granted to the people outnumbered those who advised adhering to the agreement, rushed out of the senate-house shouting and calling upon the gods who had been witnesses to their oaths. After this they assembled the people, and having acquainted them with the speech made by Marcius in the senate, they summoned him to make his defence. [2] But when he paid no regard to them, but repulsed with abusive words the attendants by whom he was summoned, the tribunes grew still more indignant, and taking with them the aediles and many other citizens, ran to seize him; he chanced to be still standing before the senate-house, attended by a large number of the patricians and by the rest of his faction. [3] When the tribunes caught sight of him, they ordered the aediles to lay hold of his person and, if he refused to follow them, to bring him away by force. The aediles at that time were Titus Junius Brutus and Gaius Visellius Ruga. These advanced with the intention of seizing him; but the patricians, looking upon it as a terrible thing that any one of their number should be forcibly carried away by the tribunes before being tried, placed themselves in front of Marcius, and striking all who approached him, drove them away. [4] The news of this occurrence having been spread through the whole city, all rushed out of their houses, the magistrates and the men of means with the purpose of assisting the patricians in protecting Marcius and of recovering their ancient form of government, and those of humble condition and straitened circumstances prepared to aid the tribunes and to carry out any orders they might give. And the feeling of respect, which had hitherto restrained them from venturing to commit any lawless acts against one another, they had now abandoned. However, they did not commit any irreparable deed that day, but postponed a decision until the following day, out of deference to the advice and exhortations of the consuls.

[27.1] The next day the tribunes were the first to descend to the Forum; and

assembling the people, they came forward one after the other and preferred many charges against the patricians, alleging that they had violated their treaty and transgressed the oaths by which they had promised the people to forget and forgive the past. As proofs that they were not sincerely reconciled to the plebeians they pointed to the scarcity of corn which the patricians had brought about, to the sending out of the two colonies, and to all the other things they had contrived with a view to diminishing the number of the populace. [2] After that they inveighed violently against Marcius, repeating the words he had spoken in the senate, and told them that, when he was summoned by the people to make his defence before them, he had not only not deigned to come, but had even driven away with blows the aediles who came to fetch them. They summoned, as witnesses of what had passed in the senate, the most honoured members of that body, and, as witnesses of the insult offered to the aediles, all the plebeians who had been present at the time in the Forum. [3] Having spoken thus, they gave leave to the patricians to make their defence if they wished; and for that purpose they kept the people together till the senate should be dismissed. For it happened that the patricians were holding a session concerning this very matter, debating whether they should clear themselves to the people of the charges that had been brought against them or should remain quiet. When the majority of the opinions inclined to humane rather than to stubborn measures, the consuls dismissed the meeting and came to the Forum with the intention both of refuting the charges brought against their whole order and of asking the people not to come to any irreparable decision against Marcius. And Minucius, the older of the consuls, coming forward, spoke as follows:

[28.1] “Our defence as regards the scarcity is a very brief one, plebeians, and we shall offer no other witnesses than you yourselves to prove the truth of what we allege. For surely even you yourselves know that the land produced no crops of grain for the reason that none was sown. And as for the general ruin of the land, you have no need to be informed by others to what cause it was due and by what means at last the largest and the most fertile part of the land has come to lack all crops, slaves, and cattle — partly because it was being laid waste by the enemy and partly because it was incapable of supplying you who are so numerous and have no other resource. [2] Believe, then, that the famine was occasioned, not by what your demagogues charge, but by what you yourselves know to be true, and cease to attribute this misfortune to plotting on our part and to be angry with us when we are guilty of no wrongdoing. [3] As to the colonists, there was a necessity for sending them out since it was the unanimous decision of all of you to garrison places that will be of use in time of war; and sending them out when the occasion was so very urgent has proved of great advantage both to those who went out and to you who are left behind. For the colonists enjoy there a greater plenty of all the necessities of life, and those who remain here suffer less from the scarcity of provisions; and the principle of impartiality in sharing the decrees

of Fortune, to which we patricians submitted along with you plebeians when we chose the colonists by lot, is not open to censure.

[29.1] “What, then, possesses the demagogues to find fault with us for those things in which both our opinions and our fortunes are the same, whether they are hurtful, as they say, or advantageous, as we think. [2] As to the accusations they have made against us in connection with the recent meeting of the senate, to the effect that we did not think fit to show any moderation in the matter of the price of provisions, that we were plotting to abolish the tribunician power, that we still resented your secession and were eager to injure the plebeians in every way, and all the other like charges, we shall soon refute them by our actions, not only in doing you no injury, but also in confirming even now the tribunician power upon the same terms on which we then granted it to you, and in selling the corn at such price as you shall all of you determine. Have patience, therefore, and if any of these things are not performed, accuse us then. [3] But if you will carefully examine our differences, you will find that we patricians have greater reason to accuse the people than you have to blame the senate. For you wrong us, plebeians, — and be not offended at being told this, — if without waiting to learn the outcome of our deliberations you think fit to find fault with them already. [4] Yet who does not know that it would be the easiest of all things for anyone who wished to do so to destroy and abolish from a state the spirit of harmony by charging others with designs of which the proof, being still in the future and not yet made, is no safeguard to the accused against suffering some injustice, but rather an excuse to the accuser for doing an injustice? [5] And it is not your leaders alone who deserve censure for accusing and calumniating the senate, but you yourselves no less than they for giving credit to them and resenting injuries before experiencing them. For what you ought to have done, if it was future acts of injustice that you feared, was to reserve your anger for the future also; but, as matters stand, it appears that you have reached your decision with greater haste than prudence and are assuming that greater safety lies in greater baseness.

[30.1] “Concerning the acts of injustice with which the tribunes have charged the senate as a body, I think what I have said sufficient. But since they also calumniate every one of us individually for whatever we say in the senate and charge that we are dividing the state, and since they are now endeavouring to put to death or banish Gaius Marcius, a man who loves his country and who expressed himself with frankness in discussing the public interests, I wish to tell you the rights of this matter also; and I ask you to consider whether what I shall say is not fair-minded and true. [2] When you, plebeians, were treating for a reconciliation with the senate, you thought it enough for you to be discharged of your debts, and you desired leave to choose magistrates out of your own body to protect the poor from oppression; and when you obtained both these things, you were very grateful to us. But to undermine the office of the consuls, to take away the authority of the senate to protect the interests of the commonwealth, or to overthrow the established form of government are

things you neither asked nor intended to ask. [3] What possesses you, then, that you attempt now to upset all these institutions? Or relying upon what principle of justice do you seek to take away the offices which belong to us? For if you are going to make it dangerous for the senators to express their sentiments with frankness, what fairness is to be expected from the language of your leaders? Or relying upon what law will they undertake to punish any of the patricians with death or banishment? For neither the old laws nor the agreements recently made with the senate give you this power. [4] But to transgress the bounds prescribed by the laws and to render force superior to justice is the mark, not of a democracy, but, if you desire to hear the truth, of a tyranny. For my part, I should advise you, while giving up none of the benefits which you obtained from the senate, not to lay claim, either, to any now which you did not then demand when you were treating for a reconciliation with them.

[31.1] “But in order to make it still more plain to you that your demagogues are making demands that are neither moderate nor just, but are aiming at illegal in impossible ends, pray transfer the situation to yourselves and consider it in this light: Imagine that the senators are accusing your political leaders of delivering in your assembly malicious speeches against the senate, of endeavouring to overthrow the established aristocracy, of raising a sedition in the state — all of which they could assert with truth, since they are doing all these things — and, worst of all, of aiming at greater power than was granted them, in attempting to put to death without a trial anyone of our number they please; and imagine that the senators declare that the persons guilty of these crimes are to be put to death with impunity. [2] How would you bear this arrogance of the senate? And what would you say? Would you not become indignant and complain that you were treated outrageously if anyone deprives you of your freedom of speech and of your liberty by threatening to visit the extreme penalty upon any who have spoken frankly in behalf of the people? [3] You cannot deny that you would. Then do you think it reasonable that others should bear what you yourselves would not submit to? Are these purposes of yours, plebeians, becoming to citizens and do they show moderation? By making such demands do you not yourselves confirm the truth of the charges brought against you and show that those who advise us not to permit your lawless domination to gain new strength have at heart the rights of the commonwealth? So it seems to me, at least. [4] But if you desire to do just the opposite of what you have been charged with doing, follow my advice, moderate your behaviour, and bear as fellow-citizens should, rather than with ill humour, the words which give you offence. For if you do this, you will have a double advantage: you will be regarded as good men and those who are hostile to you will repent.

[32.1] “These are the weighty considerations of justice — at least we so regard them — which we put forward in order to persuade you to make no mistakes; but as for our benefits and kindly services, which we shall mention,

not from any desire to reproach you, but wishing to make you more reasonable, — apart from those of former times there are the recent ones in connection with your return, — we desire to forget them, though you have just reason to remember them; [2] but we are under the necessity of citing them at this time, asking that, for the many great favours we have bestowed upon you at your request, you will grant us this one on your part — neither to put to death nor to banish from the state a man who loves his country and excels all others in the art of war. For it will be no small loss to us, as you well know, plebeians, if we deprive the commonwealth of such valour. Preferably, then, you ought to relent on his own account, calling to mind how many of you he has saved in the wars, and instead of retaining any resentment for his objectionable words, to remember his glorious deeds. [3] For his speech has done you no harm, whereas his actions have done you great service. However, if you cannot be reconciled to this man, at least as a favour to us and the senate yield him up to our entreaties, be at last firmly reconciled to us, and cause the commonwealth to be united as it was in the beginning. But if you do not yield to our persuasions, be assured that we shall not yield to your violence either; but this testing of the populace will be either the source of a sincere friendship and of still greater benefits for all, or the fresh beginning of civil war and irreparable evils.”

[33.1] After Minucius had spoken in this manner, the tribunes, seeing the populace moved by the moderation of his speech and the humanity of his promises, were offended and displeased, and particularly Gaius Sicinius Bellutus, the one who had persuaded the poor to secede from the patricians and had been appointed by them to be their general while they were in arms. He was a most bitter foe of the aristocracy, and having for that reason been raised by the multitude to a position of eminence and given the tribunician power for the second time already, he, least of all the demagogues, thought it to his interest that the commonwealth should become harmonious and recover its ancient good order. [2] For not only did he not expect to enjoy the same honours and powers any longer under an aristocracy, since he was of lowly birth, poorly educated, and had never distinguished himself in either war or peace, but he knew he should even be in peril of his life for having caused a sedition in the state and brought upon it many other evils. [3] After he had considered, therefore, what he ought to say and do, and had consulted with his colleagues and gained their assent, he rose up, and after uttering a few words of commiseration over the unhappy lot of the plebeians, he commended the consul for vouchsafing to give them an account of their actions without despising their low condition, and also said he was grateful to the patricians if now at last they were taking some that for the preservation of the poor; and he declared that he should still more heartily join with all the rest in bearing witness to the fact if they would make their actions conform to their words.

[34.1] Having spoken thus and given the impression that he was moderate and conciliatory in disposition, he turned to Marcius, who stood near the

consuls, and said: “And you, sir, why do you not clear yourself before your fellow-citizens in regard to what you said in the senate? Or rather, why do you not entreat them and deprecate their anger, that they may impose a milder penalty upon you? For I would not advise you to deny the fact, as so many are acquainted with it, or to have recourse to shameless excuses, since you are Marcius and have a spirit above that of a man in private station — unless, indeed, it is seemly for the consuls and the patricians to intercede for you with the populace, but will not be seemly for you to do this same thing for yourself.” [2] This he said, well knowing that a man of his proud spirit would never submit to be his own accuser, and, as if he had transgressed, to ask for a remission of his punishment or, contrary to his character, to have recourse to lamentations and entreaties, but that he would either scorn to make any defence at all or, preserving his innate arrogance, would indulge in no flattery of the populace by showing moderation in his words. [3] And this is just what happened. For when silence prevailed and almost all the plebeians felt a strong desire to acquit him if he would make the most of the present opportunity, he showed such arrogance in his words and so great a contempt of the plebeians that he did not deny a single thing he had said in the senate against them, nor, as if he repented of what he had said, resort to appeals for pity or to prayers for mercy. Indeed, he absolutely refused even to let them be his judges in any matter, as having no lawful authority; but if anyone should think fit to accuse him before the consuls and require an accounting of either his words or his actions, he was ready to stand trial in a place appointed by law. [4] He said that he had come before the plebeians since they themselves summoned him, partly to reprimand them for the lawlessness and the grasping for more power in which they had indulged both in connection with their secession and after their return, and partly to advise them now at last to check and restrain their unjust desires. [5] After that he inveighed against them all with great vehemence and boldness, and particularly against the tribunes. In his speech there was not the calculated deference of the political leader instructing a popular assembly, nor the prudent caution of one in private station who, hated by many, faces the angry outbursts of his ruler, but rather the untempered wrath of an enemy fearlessly insulting those under his power and a harsh contempt for his victim.

[35.1] For these reasons, while he was yet speaking, there arose a great tumult, his hearers frequently shifting their opinion now this way now that, as happens in crowds of diverse elements and different inclinations, some being pleased at his word and others in turn offended. And when he had done speaking, a still greater clamour and tumult arose. [2] For the patricians, calling him the bravest of men, commended him for his frankness of speech and said he was the only free man of their whole body, since he had neither feared a host of enemies advancing upon him nor flattered the insolent and illegal impulses of his fellow-citizens; on the other hand, the plebeians, chafing under his reproaches, called him overbearing and harsh and the bitterest of all

enemies. [3] And some who were very reckless were already doing their best to have him summarily put to death. In this they were assisted and abetted by the tribunes, and Sicinius in particular gave a loose rein to their desires. At any rate, after he had delivered a long tirade against Marcius and inflamed the minds of the plebeians, he became most vehement in his accusations and then pronounced sentence, saying that the college of the tribunes condemned him to death because of his insolence toward the aediles, whom he had day before driven away with blows when they were ordered by the tribunes to bring him before them; for they alleged that the insult committed by him against their assists was aimed at no others than those who had given them their orders. [4] Having said this, he commanded that he be led to the hill that overlooks the Forum; this is an exceeding high precipice from which they used to hurl those who were condemned to death. The aediles, accordingly, stepped forward in order to lay hold on him, but the patricians, crying out with a loud voice, rushed upon them in a body. Then the plebeians fell upon the patricians, and there followed many disorderly deeds and many insulting words on both sides, as they pushed and laid hold on one another. [5] However, the moving spirits in the tumult were restrained and compelled to come to their senses by the consuls, who forced their way into the midst of the contending parties and ordered their lictors to keep back the crowds; so great respect did the men of those times feel for this magistracy and so much did they honour the semblance of the royal power. Whereupon Sicinius, being perplexed and disturbed, was filled with apprehension, lest he should force his adversaries to repel violence with violence; but he disdained to desist from his attempt after he had once engaged in it, and finding himself unable to adhere to his resolutions, he considered long what he ought to do.

[36.1] Seeing him in this perplexity, Lucius Junius Brutus, that demagogue who had contrived the terms of the accommodation, a man of great sagacity in all matters, but particularly in finding possible solutions in impossible situations, came to him and taking him aside, advised him not to persist contentiously in attempting to carry out a reckless and illegal undertaking when he saw not only that the whole body of the patricians was aroused to anger and ready, if the consuls called upon them, to rush to arms, but also that the sturdiest element among the populace were hesitating and in no mood readily to acquiesce in delivering up to death the most illustrious person in the city, and that without a trial. [2] He therefore advised him to yield for the present and not to take issue with the consuls, lest he should cause some greater mischief, but to appoint a trial for the man, setting some time or other for it, and let the citizens give their votes by tribes concerning him; and then to do whatever the majority of the votes should determine. For it was an act of tyranny and violence, he said, that Sicinius was now attempting to accomplish, in constituting the same person at once the accuser and judge and also the one to determine the degree of punishment, whereas the procedure of all civil government is for the accused to have an opportunity to make his

defence according to the laws and then to suffer such punishment as the majority of his judges may determine. [3] Sicinius yielded to these arguments, as he saw no better plan; and coming forward, he said: "You see, plebeians, the eagerness of the patricians for deeds of bloodshed and violence, which induces them to prefer one arrogant man, who wrongs the whole commonwealth, to your entire body. Nevertheless, we ought not to imitate them and rush headlong to our ruin, either by beginning war or by defending ourselves against attack. But since some are putting forward the law as a specious pretence and are attempting to snatch him from punishment by rallying to the support of this law which allows no citizen to be put to death without a trial, let us concede them this claim, though we ourselves are not treated by them in either a lawful or a just manner; and let us show that we choose to surpass in reasonableness rather than in violence our fellow-citizens who injure us. [4] As for you, plebeians, depart, therefore, and wait for the destined moment, which will not be long in coming. We on our part will meanwhile get everything ready that is urgent, and having appointed a day for the man to make his defence, we will bring about his trial before you as judges. And when you are legally possessed of the right of giving your votes, inflict such punishment on him as you shall find he deserves. So much for this matter. As to the sale and distribution of the corn in the most equitable manner, if these men and the senate do not take some thought about it, we shall look after the business. Having said this, he dismissed the assembly.

[37.1] After this the consuls assembled at the senate and considered with them at leisure by what means the present disturbance might be allayed. And they resolved, first, to win over the plebeians by selling the provisions to them at a very cheap and low price; and in the next place, to endeavour to prevail upon their leaders to desist from their purpose, as a favour to the senate, and not to bring Marcius to a trial; or, if they would not do this, to put it off to the most distant time possible, till the angry feelings of the multitude should die down. [2] Having passed these votes, they laid their decree relating to the provision before the popular assembly, and, as all praised it, they secured its ratification. It was to this effect: that the prices of commodities necessary for daily subsistence should be the lowest they had ever been before the civil strife. But from the tribunes, in spite of many entreaties, they were unable to obtain an absolute dismissal of the charges against Marcius, though they did get a postponement of his trial for as long a time as they asked. And they themselves contrived another delay by taking advantage of the following situation: [3] When the ambassadors sent from Sicily by the tyrant had delivered to the people his present of corn to them, and having sailed for home, were now lying at anchor not far from the harbours of Antium, the Antiates, sending out a piratical force, brought them into port and not only treated their effects as booty taken from an enemy, but also imprisoned the men themselves and kept them under guard. [4] The consuls, being informed of this, caused a vote to be passed to make an expedition against the Antiates,

since, when the Romans sent ambassadors to them, they had refused to offer any satisfaction; and having raised an army consisting of all who were of military age, both consuls took the field, after getting a decree of the senate ratified for the suspension of all private and public suits for as long a time as they should continue under arms. [5] This, however, was not so long a time as they had expected, but much shorter. For the Antiates, hearing that the Romans had set out against them with all their forces, did not resist for even the briefest time, but having recourse to prayers and entreaties, delivered up both the persons of the Sicilians whom they had taken and their effects also, with the result that the Romans were under the necessity of returning to the city.

[38.1] The army having been disbanded, Sicinius the tribune assembled the populace and announced the day on which he proposed of hold the trial of Marcius. He urged not only the citizens who lived at Rome to come *en masse* to decide this cause, but also those who resided in the country to leave their tasks to be present on the same day, intimating that they would be giving their votes for the liberty and the safety of the whole commonwealth. He summoned Marcius also to appear and make his defence, assuring him that he should be deprived of none of the privileges the law allowed in connection with trials. [2] In the mean time the consuls, after they had consulted the senate, resolved not to permit the people to get control of so great power. They had found out a just and legal means of preventing it, by which they expected to defeat all the designs of their adversaries. After this they invited the leaders of the people to a conference, at which their friends also were present; and Minucius spoke as follows: [3] “It is our opinion, tribunes, that we ought to endeavour with all our power to banish this sedition from the state and not to engage in rivalry with the people over any matter, especially when we see that you have turned from violent methods to just measures and to debate. But however commendable we may think this resolution of yours, we are of the opinion that the senate ought to take the initiative by passing a preliminary decree, as is our traditional practice. [4] For you yourselves can testify that from the time our ancestors founded this city the senate has always possessed this prerogative and that the people never determined or voted anything without a previous resolution of the senate, not only now, but even under the kings; for the kings laid the resolutions of the senate before the popular assembly to be ratified. Do not, then, deprive us of this right nor abolish this ancient and excellent custom; but showing the senate that you desire a just and reasonable thing, do you grant the people authority to ratify any decree the senate shall pass.”

[39.1] While the consuls were thus speaking, Sicinius grew impatient at their words and refused to give the senate authority in any matter at all. But his colleagues, upon the advice of Decius, consented that the preliminary decree should be passed, after they themselves had made a just proposal which it was impossible for the consuls to refuse. [2] They asked, namely, that the senators

should grant a hearing to them, who were acting for the people, as well as to those who wished to speak in support of or against the accused, and that after hearing all parties who desired to express their views regarding what they thought just and advantageous to the commonwealth, they should then all give their opinions as in a court of justice, after taking the oath appointed by law; and whatever the majority of the votes determined, should be valid. [3] The tribunes having consented that the senate should pass the preliminary decree as the consuls desired, the meeting was dismissed for the time being. The next day the senate met in the senate-house, and after the consuls had acquainted them with the terms of the agreement they had made, they called the tribunes and bade them state why they were present. Thereupon Decius, who had consented that the preliminary decree should be passed, came forward and spoke as follows:

[40.1] “We are not ignorant, senators, of what will happen, namely, that we shall be censured before the people for coming to you, and shall have as our accuser in the matter of the preliminary decree a man who is possessed of the same power as ourselves and who did not think we ought to ask of you that which the law gives us or to receive as a favour that which is our right. And if we are tried for this, we shall run no hazard, but shall be condemned as deserters and traitors and suffer the worst of punishments. [2] But though sensible of these things, we have consented to come to you, relying on the justice of our cause and trusting to the oaths under which you will express your opinions. We are indeed unimportant men to treat of such great and important subjects, and are far from equal to what the situation demands; but the matters we shall discuss are not unimportant. Attend, therefore, to these, and if they shall seem to you just and advantageous to the commonwealth — and, I may add, even necessary — permit us to obtain them of your own free will.

[41.1] “I shall speak first concerning the point of justice. After you had got rid of the kings with our assistance, senators, and had established our present constitution, with which we find no fault, you observed that the plebeians had always the worse of it in their suits whenever they had any difference with the patricians, which frequently happened; and you accordingly sanctioned a law, on the advice of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls, permitting the plebeians, when oppressed by the patricians, to appeal their cases to the people; and by means of this law more than by any other measure you both preserved the harmony of the commonwealth and repulsed the attacks of the kings. [2] It is in virtue of this law that we summon Gaius Marcius here to appear before the people because of the injustice and oppression which we all declare we have suffered at his hands, and we call upon him to make his defence before them. And in this case a preliminary decree was not necessary. For whereas in matters concerning which there are no laws you have the right to pass such a decree and the people have the right to ratify it, yet when there is an inviolable law, even though you pass no decree, that law must of course

be observed. [3] For surely no one will say that this appeal to the people must be allowed in the case of private citizens who have got the worst of it in their trials, but not in the case of us, the tribunes. [4] Firmly relying, therefore, upon this concession of the law, and thus encouraged to run the risk of submitting our cause to you as our judges, we have come before you. And in virtue of an unwritten and unenacted natural right we make this demand of you, senators, that we may be in neither a better nor a worse condition than you at least in the matter of justice, inasmuch as we have assisted you in carrying on many important wars and have shown the greatest zeal in getting rid of the tyrants, and have had no small part in enabling the commonwealth to take orders from none but to give laws to others. [5] Now the most effectual means you could take, fathers, to put us in no worse a condition than yourselves in point of rights would be to stop those who are making illegal attempts against our persons and our liberty, by placing before their eyes the fear of a trial. So far as magistracies, special privileges, and offices are concerned, we believe we should bestow them upon those who excel us in merit and fortune; but to suffer no wrong, and to receive justice adequate to any wrongs one may sustain, are rights, we hold, which should be equal and common to all who live under the same government. [6] Accordingly, just as we yield to you the privileges that are illustrious and great, so we do not intend to give up those that are equal and common to all. Let this suffice concerning the point of justice, though there are many other things that might be said.

[42] “Bear with me now while I explain to you in a few words how these demands of the people will also be advantageous to the commonwealth. For, come now, if anyone should ask you what you regard as the greatest of the evils that befall states and the cause of the swiftest destruction, would you not say it is discord? I, at least, think you would. [2] For who is there among you so stupid, so perverse, and immoderate a hater of equality as not to know that if the people are allowed to render judgment in causes in which the law gives them the authority, we shall live in harmony, whereas, if you decide to the contrary and deprive us of our liberty — for you will be depriving us of liberty if you deprive us of justice and law — you will drive us again into sedition and civil war? For if justice and law are banished from a state, sedition and war are wont to enter there. [3] Now in the case of those who have had no experience of civil calamities, it is no wonder if, because of inexperience of those evils, they neither grieve over the misfortunes that are past nor take early precautions to prevent others in the future; but for those who, when exposed as you were, to the gravest perils, thought themselves happy to be rid of them by making such a settlement of the evils as the situation demanded, what specious or reasonable excuse is left them if they meet again with the same misfortunes? [4] Who would not consider you guilty of great folly and madness when he calls to mind that although just a short time ago, in order to appease a sedition of the plebeians, you submitted to many things against your will, some of which were neither very honourable,

perhaps, nor very advantageous, yet now, when you are not destined to be injured in either your fortunes or your reputation or, for that matter, in any of your public interests whatever, you are going to goad all plebeians into war again, to oblige the bitterest foes of democracy? No, not if you are wise. [5] But I should like to ask you what motive induced you at the time to consent to our return upon the terms we desired. Did you foresee in the light of reason what was best, or did you yield to necessity? For if you thought those concessions to be of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth, why do you not adhere to them at present also? And if they were necessary and unavoidable, why are you disgruntled now that they have been made? Possibly you ought not to have granted them in the first place, if you could have avoided it, but once having granted them, you ought no longer to find fault with what is done.

[43.1] “For my part, senators, I think you used the best judgment in regard to the accommodation . . . to which you are obliged to yield . . . to observe faithfully the terms agreed upon. For you gave us the gods as sureties for the performance of the terms by invoking many grievous curses upon those who should violate the compact, both upon them and upon their posterity forever. But I do not know that it is necessary the weary you by saying any more in order to convince you, who are all well acquainted with the facts, that our demands are only what is just and advantageous, and that you are under every necessity of carrying them out, if you are mindful of your oaths. [2] Learn now, fathers, that it is a point of no small importance to us not to relinquish this contest, either yielding to force or deluded by trickery, but that we entered upon it because of the greatest necessity, having suffered outrageous treatment, and worse than outrageous, at the hands of this man. Or rather recall these facts from your own knowledge; for I shall say nothing that is not known to all of you. And at the same time use your own judgment in passing upon what I am saying, reflecting how, if any of us had attempted in an assembly of the people to say or do such things against your class as Marcius dared to utter here, you would have felt towards him.

[44.1] “For Marcius here was the first man among you who endeavoured to dissolve our unalterable compact of unity with the senate, secured by bonds all but adamant, a compact which it is unlawful for either you, who swore to its observance, or your posterity to dissolve as long as this city shall be inhabited. And this he did before the compact was in its fourth year, nor was it in silence, nor after he had slunk into some secret hole, that he worked for its abrogation, but he openly expressed the opinion in this very place, in the presence of you all, that you ought no longer to allow us the tribunician power, but ought to abolish the first and only safeguard of our liberty, relying on which we entered into the accommodation. [2] Nor did this bluffing stop here, but giving to the liberty of the poor the name of insolence, and to equality that of tyranny, he advised you to deprive us of them. Call to mind, fathers, the most wicked of all the measures he then urged, when he declared it to be a fine opportunity for you to remember again all your resentment against the plebeians for their former offences, and advised that now, while they were distressed for want of money and had already for a long time lacked the necessities of life, you should crush their whole class by firmly holding the market to the same scarcity of provisions. [3] For we should not hold out for any length of time, he said, while paying a high price for little corn, poor men that we are, but some of us would leave the city and go elsewhere, while those who remained would perish by the most miserable of all deaths. But he was so senseless and infatuated in giving you this advice as not to be able to see even this — that, to say nothing of the other evils he was inflicting by asking the senate to dissolve its compact, such a multitude of poor men, when deprived of the necessities of life, would be compelled to attack the authors of their calamity, no longer regarding any one as a friend. [4] Consequently, if

you had been so mad as to adopt his advice, it must have ended in one of these two ways, for there would have been no middle course: either the whole plebeian multitude would have perished, or even the patrician class would not have survived. For we should not have allowed ourselves to be banished or put to death in so slavish a manner, but, having called upon the gods and lesser divinities to be witnesses to our sufferings, be assured we should have filled the fora and the streets with many dead bodies, and after offering up a great bowl of the blood of our fellow-citizens, we should then have accepted our destined fate. Of such impious deeds, fathers, did he make himself the proponent, and such things did he think fit to demand in his harangue.

[45.1] “Nor did Marcius merely undertake to utter words that would divide the city, yet refrain from acting in accordance with his words, but actually keeping about him a body of men ready for any service, he refuses to appear before our magistrates when summoned, and showers blows upon our assistants when at our command they endeavour to bring him away, and at last does not even refrain from offering violence to our own persons. [2] The consequence is that, as far as in him lies, we bear the specious name of an ‘inviolable’ magistracy, a term given in mockery, but discharge not one of the functions assigned to that magistracy. For how shall we give relief to others who complain that they are injured, when we ourselves have no security? When, therefore, we, the poor, have been thus insulted by one man who, though not yet a tyrant, is nevertheless aiming at tyranny; when we have already suffered many indignities, and came near suffering others, had not the majority of you, fathers, prevented it, have we not good reason to resent this and to feel that we ought to obtain some assistance as well as your sympathy in our resentment, when we summon him to a fair and legal trial, in which the whole populace, divided into their tribes, will give their votes under oath after all who desire to speak have been heard? [3] Go thither, Marcius, and say in your defence before all the citizens in a body what you are intending to say here — either that with the best intention you gave the soundest advice to these senators and that your advice, if followed, would have been advantageous to the commonwealth, or that it is not right that those who deliver their opinions in this place should have to give an account of their words, or that it was not with premeditation or treacherous purpose, but in a momentary yielding to passion that you were led to give this abominable advice, or whatever other defence you can offer. [4] Descend from that overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness to a more democratic behaviour, wretched man, and make yourself at last like other men. Assume the humble and piteous demeanour of one who has erred and is asking pardon, such a demeanour as your plight requires. Seek to save yourself, not by offering violence to those you have injured, but by courting their favour. [5] As an example of moderation, the practice of which would make you free from all reproach on the part of your fellow-citizens, take the actions of these worthy men. Though they are so many in number as you yourself see here present,

and have displayed so many virtues both in war and in peace that I could not easily enumerate them in a very long time, yet they, the venerable and great, passed no cruel or haughty sentence against us, the common and humble folk, but even took the lead themselves in making overtures and offered us a reconciliation when Fortune had divided us from one another, and they agreed to make the compact upon the conditions we desired, rather than upon those they thought would be best for themselves; and finally, when the difficulties recently arose over the distribution of corn, for which we blamed them, they took great pains to remove these grounds of offence.

[46.1] "I omit all the rest. But in your own behalf, and to deprecate the punishment due to your madness, what intercessions did they not employ with all the plebeians both collectively and individually? Then, if it was seemly, Marcius, for the consuls and the senate, who have the oversight of so great a commonwealth, to submit to the judgment of the populace concerning any charges brought against them, is it not seemly also for you to do likewise? [2] And though these men all argued it as no disgrace to entreat the plebeians to acquit you, do you think this same course disgraceful for yourself? And is this not enough for you, sir, but, just as if you had performed some fine action, do you go about preening yourself and indulging in boastful talk, refusing to abate anything of your pride? [3] I say nothing, you see, of your also reviling, accusing, and threatening the people. And do you not resent his arrogance, fathers, in setting a greater value upon himself alone than even all of you set upon yourselves? And yet, even if you were all willing to vote to engaged in war for his sake, he ought to be satisfied with this proof of your goodwill and zeal and not to accept a private favour at the expense of the public injury, but to consent to make his defence, standing trial and, if need be, suffering any punishment. [4] For such would be the behaviour of a good citizen who practises what is honourable in his actions, not merely in his words. But as for the violent deeds in which this man now indulges, of what kind of life do they give evidence? Of what kind of principles is it an indication to violate oaths, to break solemn pledges, to nullify covenants, to make war upon the people, to abuse the persons of magistrates, and to refuse to make oneself accountable for any of these actions, but submitting to no trial, offering no defence, courting no man, fearing no man, and disdainingly with any one of this great multitude of citizens, to strut about with impunity? [5] Are not these the indications of a tyrannical disposition? I, at any rate, think so. And yet, encouraging and applauding this man are some of your own number, in whose minds is implanted an implacable hatred against the plebeians, and they cannot see that the growth of this evil threatens the humbler portion of the citizens no more than it does the more exalted portion, but imagine that when their adversary is enslaved their own situation will be secure. [6] But this is not so in reality, misguided men. If you will learn from the example afforded by Marcius and from history, and will be admonished by precedents both foreign and native, you will know that tyranny fostered against the people is fostered

against the whole commonwealth, and that, though it begins at present with us, yet after it has gained strength it will not spare you either."

[47] After Decius had spoken in this manner and the rest of the tribunes had supported him by adding what they thought he had omitted, and it was now time for the senators to deliver their opinions, first the oldest and the most honoured of the ex-consuls, being called upon by the consuls in the customary order, rose up, and after them those who were inferior to them in both these respects, and last of all, the youngest senators, who made no speeches (for that was still looked upon then as disgraceful by the Romans, and no young man presumed to be wiser than an old man), but seconded the opinions delivered by the ex-consuls. [2] It was required, however, that all the senators should come forward and give their votes upon oath as in a court of justice. Then Appius Claudius, whom I mentioned before as the greatest enemy to the plebeians of all the patricians, one who could never relish the agreement made with the plebeians, opposed the passing of the preliminary decree, speaking as follows:

[48.1] "For my part, I kept wishing and often prayed to the gods that I might be mistaken in the opinion I entertained concerning the accommodation with the populace, when I thought that the return of the fugitives would be neither honourable and just nor advantageous to us, and from first to last, whenever anything relating to this subject was proposed for our consideration, I was the first of all and finally the only one, after the rest had deserted me, who opposed it. And I also wished that you, senators, who have always hoped for the best and cheerfully granted to the populace all their demands, both just and unjust, might prove to be wiser than I. [2] But now that things have not turned out for you as I wished and prayed, but rather as I expected, and now that the benefits you conferred have ended in envy and hatred, I shall forbear to censure you for your past errors or to cause you needless pain (which is a very easy thing to do and what everyone usually does), as I perceive that it will be out of place at this time. However, I shall endeavour to suggest to you how we may correct such of the past errors are not absolutely incurable and may act with greater wisdom in the present situation. [3] And yet I am not unaware that I shall appear to some of you to be mad and to be courting death in expressing my opinion freely concerning these matters, when they consider how great danger frankness of speech matters, and reflect on the plight of Marcius, who at this moment runs the risk of losing his life for no other reason. [4] But I believe that I ought not to be more anxious for my personal safety than for the public welfare. For my body has already been given to the perils that attend your cause, senators, and devoted to the struggles in defence of the commonwealth; so that whatever Heaven pleases to ordain, I shall suffer it resolutely either with all of you or with a few, or, if necessary, even alone. But while I have life, no fear shall deter me from saying what I think.

[49.1] "In the first place, I want you now at last to be firmly convinced of this, that your plebeian multitude is unfriendly and hostile to the established

government, and that all the concessions you have through weakness made to them have not only been wasted by you, but have even exposed you to contempt, as having been granted by you through necessity rather than from goodwill or sober choice. [2] For look at it in this way: When the populace took up arms, and, seceding from you, ventured to become openly your enemies, albeit they had received no injury, but offered as an excuse their inability to discharge their debts and impunity for the offences they had committed during their secession, they would make no further demands, the greater part of you, though not all, misled by their advisers, voted — as would to Heaven they had not! — to abrogate the laws enacted in the interest of the public faith and to grant an amnesty for all the offences that had been committed at that time. [3] But the plebeians were not satisfied with obtaining this favour, which they said was the only one they had mentioned when they seceded, but straightway asked for another concession still greater and more illegal than this — that leave should be granted them to choose tribunes from their own number every year — making our superior strength their excuse for this demand, to the end, forsooth, that some aid and refuge might lie open to the poorer citizens who were wronged and oppressed, though in reality they were plotting against our form of government and desired to change it to a democracy. [4] This magistracy also those advisers of our prevailed upon us to admit into the commonwealth, though its introduction was to the public detriment and in particular would arouse hatred against the senate, and notwithstanding that I, if you recall, exclaimed against it and called both gods and men to witness that you would bring into the commonwealth endless civil war, and foretold everything that has since befallen you.

[50.1] “What, then, did this fine populace of ours do after you had granted them this magistracy also? They did not make a prudent use of so great a benefit nor did they receive it with respect and modesty, but, just as if we were in fear and consternation because of their strength . . . then they said this magistracy ought to be declared sacred and inviolable and should be secured by oaths, thus demanding for it a greater honour than you yourselves have conferred upon the consuls. To this also you submitted, and standing over the parts of the sacrificial victims, you invoked utter destruction upon both yourselves and your posterity if you should violate your oath. [2] What, then, did they do when they had obtained this also? Instead of being grateful to you and maintaining our ancestral form of government, they began from these ill-gotten advantages, and making these illegal acts the steps to future encroachments, they not only introduce laws without a preliminary decree of the senate, but enact them without your concurrence; they pay no regard to the decrees you publish; they accuse the consuls of maladministration of the state; and if anything happens contrary to your agreement with them — and there are many things which human reason cannot accurately foresee — they attribute it, not to chance, as they should, but to deliberate intention on your part; and while they pretend that designs are being formed against them by

you and that they are afraid you may either deprive them of their liberty or expel them from their country, they themselves are continually forming these very designs against you, and plainly show that their only method of guarding against the mischief they claim to fear consists in being the first to inflict it. [3] This they have often made apparent even before now, upon many occasions which I am prevented from mentioning at present, but particularly by their treatment of Marcius here, a lover of his country and a man who is neither of obscure birth nor inferior himself to any of us in valour, whom they accused of forming designs against them and of going evil advice in this place, and attempted to put to death without a trial. [4] And if the consuls and the more sagacious among you had not become indignant at this action and joined together to restrain their illegal attempts, you would have been deprived in that one day of everything that your ancestors acquired with many labours and left to you, and of everything that you yourselves possess after undergoing on fewer struggles than they — of your prestige, your supremacy, and your liberty; while those of you who had more spirit and would not have been contented with life alone unless you were to live in the enjoyment of those blessings, would, either then or soon after, have chosen to lose your lives rather than lose these privileges. [5] For if once Marcius had been made away with in some shameful and dastardly a manner, like one all alone in a wilderness, what could have hindered me also, after him, and all of you who had ever opposed or were likely to oppose thereafter the unlawful attempts of the populace, from perishing by being torn in pieces by our enemies? For they would not have been satisfied with getting only the two of us out of the way, nor would they, after going thus far, have desisted from their lawless course, if we are to judge the future from the past; but having begun with us, they would have rushed down like a torrent in flood upon all who opposed them and did not submit to them, and would have swept them away and borne them off, sparing neither birth, merit nor age.

[51.1] “These, senators, are the fine returns which the populace have either already made to you, or would have made, if it had not lain in your power to prevent them, for the many great benefits they have received from you. Now consider those things that they did after this magnanimous and prudent action on your part, in order that you may learn how you ought to deal with them. [2] Well then, as soon as they found you resolved no longer to bear their insolence but prepared to join issue with them, they were struck with terror, and recovering themselves slightly, as from a fit of drunkenness or madness, they desisted from violence and had recourse to legal action; and appointing a day, they summoned Marcius to appear then and stand his trial, at which they themselves were to be at once the accusers, the witnesses, and the judges, and the ones to determine the degree of the punishment. [3] And since you opposed this also, because you thought that he was summoned, not to be tried, but to be punished, the populace, perceiving that they have absolute authority in no matter whatever, but only the power of ratifying your preliminary decrees,

now abate their arrogance, which then blew so strong, and have come to beg that you will grant them this favour also. [4] Bearing this in mind, therefore, perceive at last and learn that all the privileges you have hitherto granted them, with greater guilelessness than prudent, have brought calamities and harm upon you, but that every courageous stand you have made against their illegal and violent acts has turned out advantageously. [5] What, then, do I advise you to do, now that you understand these things, and what opinion do I express upon the present question? Just this: As regards the privileges and concessions which you made to the populace at the time of your reconciliation, however you came to grant them, I advise you to adhere to them as valid and to abrogate none of the concessions you then made, not because they are honourable and worthy of the commonwealth — how could they be? — but because they are necessary and can no longer be remedied. But as to anything beyond this which they may endeavour to extort from you against your will by violence and illegal means, I advise you not to grant or allow it, but to oppose them both by words and by deeds, not only all of you as a body, but each one individually. [6] For it is not inevitable, if a person has erred once through either deception or necessity, that he should act in like manner in everything else, but mindful of that error, he ought to consider by what means his future conduct may not resemble it. This is the resolution which I think you ought all of you unitedly to have formed, and I advise you to be prepared against the unjust encroachments of the populace.

[52.1] “That this matter, which is the subject of your present consideration, is also of a piece with their other unjust and illegal attempts and not, as the tribune endeavoured to prove in order to deceive you, a just and reasonable request, let those among you now learn who are not yet certain of it. Well then, the law relating to the popular courts, the law upon which Decius relied for his chief support, was not enacted against you patricians, but for the protection of such plebeians as are oppressed, as the law itself, written in unequivocal terms, plainly shows, and as all of you, being perfectly acquainted with it, always declare to be the case. [2] Strong proof of this is afforded by the length of time it has been in force, which seems to be the best criterion in the case of every disputed principle of law; for nineteen years have now passed since this law was enacted, and during all this time Decius cannot point to a single instance of a trial, either public or private, brought against any patrician in virtue of this law. But if he shall assert that he can, let him produce it and we need no further discussion. [3] As to the agreement you recently entered into with the plebeians (for it is necessary that you should be informed about this also, since the tribune has shown himself an unscrupulous interpreter of it), it contains these two concessions — that the plebeians shall be discharged of their debts, and that these magistrates shall be elected annually for the relief of the oppressed and the prevention of injustice toward them; and except these, there is no other provision. [4] But let the greatest indication to you that neither this law nor the compact has given the populace

the power of trying a patrician be the present behaviour of the populace themselves. For they ask this power of you today, as not having possessed it hitherto; yet no one would ask to receive from others anything to which he is entitled by law. [5] And how can this, senators, be a natural, unwritten right — for Decius thought you ought to consider this — that the populace shall try all causes in which the plebeians are involved, whether the actions are brought against them by the patricians, or by them against the latter, while patricians, whether plaintiffs or defendants in any suit with the plebeians, shall not decide those controversies, but the plebeians shall be given the advantage in both cases, while we enjoy neither right? [6] But if Marcius or any other patrician whatsoever has injured the people and deserves either death or banishment, let him be punished after being tried, not by them, but here, as the law directs. Unless, forsooth, Decius, the populace will be impartial judges and would not show any favour to themselves when giving their votes concerning an enemy, whereas these senators, if they are empowered to vote in his case, will regard the wrong-doer as of more importance than the commonwealth that suffers from his wrongdoing, when as the result of their verdict they are sure to draw upon themselves a curse, the guilt of perjury, the detestation of mankind, and the anger of the gods, and to go through life haunted by dismal hopes! [7] It is unworthy of you, plebeians, to entertain these suspicions about the senate, to whom you acknowledge that you concede honours, magistracies, and the most important powers in the commonwealth on the basis of merit, and to whom you say you feel very grateful for the zeal they showed for your return. These sentiments are inconsistent with one another; and it is not reasonable that you should fear those you commend and entrust the same persons with the more serious responsibilities while at the same time distrusting them in those of less consequence. [8] Why do you not keep to one uniform judgment, either trusting them in everything or distrusting them in everything? But, on the contrary, you think them capable of passing a preliminary decree about principles of right, but not of sitting in judgment concerning these very principles involved in that decree. I had many other things to say concerning the rights of this matter, senators; but let this suffice.

[53.1] “But since Decius undertook to speak also on the subject of advantage, pointing out how excellent a thing harmony is and how terrible a thing sedition, and that, if we cultivate the populace, we shall live together in harmony, but if we hinder them from banishing whomsoever of the patricians they wish or murdering them, we shall be involved in a civil war, though I have many things to say upon this head, I shall content myself with very few.

[2] And first I have to marvel at the dissimulation — surely it is not lack of sense — of Decius, if he imagines that he is a better judge of the interests of the state, though he has just entered upon the administration of public affairs, than we who have grown old in it and have made the city a great from a small one; and, in the next place, if he supposed that he could persuade you that you had to deliver up any man to his enemies to be punished, particularly a fellow-

citizen of yours and one who is not a person of no consequence or merit, but one whom you yourselves look upon as most brilliant in war, most exemplary in his private life, and inferior to none in handling public affairs. [3] And these things he has dared to say, though he knows street you show the greatest respect for suppliants and do not exclude them from such humanity even those of your enemies who flee hither for refuge. Indeed, if you knew we practised the very contrary of all this, Decius, entertaining impious ideas about the gods and practising injustice towards men, what deed more dreadful than this could you have advised us to commit, by which we shall incur the hatred of both gods and men and be utterly and totally destroyed? [4] We have no need of your advice, Decius, either about delivering up any of our citizens or about any other business we have to transact. Nor do we believe that, in judging of our own interests, we should use a borrowed wisdom of youths — we who, through long experience of both good and evil fortune, have come to our present age. As for the threats of war with which you endeavour to terrify us — not now employed by you for the first time, but flaunted often in the past by many — leaving them to our habitual mildness to deal with, we shall bear them with intrepidity. [5] And if you indeed try to do anything like what you threaten, we shall defend ourselves with the assistance both of the gods, who are always wroth with the aggressors in an unjust war, and of men, no small number of whom will be our allies. For all the Latins, to whom we lately granted equal rights of citizenship, will be on our side, fighting for this commonwealth as for a country now their fatherland, and the many flourishing cities colonized from Rome, counting it imperative that their mother-city should be saved, will come to her defence. [6] And if you reduce us to the necessity of embracing every kind of assistance, Decius, we shall submit to inviting even our slaves to liberty, our enemies to friendship, and all mankind to a share in our hopes of victory, and then join issue with you. But, O Jupiter and all ye gods who guard the Roman state, may there be no occasion for anything of this kind! Rather may these terrible threats go no farther than words and result in no deplorable act!”

[54.1] Thus Appius spoke. Then Manius Valerius, who was the greatest friend to the plebeians of all the senators and had shown the greatest zeal for the accommodation, upon this occasion also openly espoused their cause and delivered a speech, composed with much thought, in which he censured those senators who would not permit the commonwealth to remain united, but sought to divide the plebeians from the patricians and for trifling causes to rekindle the flames of strife. He then commended those who held that there was but one advantage to be considered and that the common advantage, and regarded everything else as secondary to harmony; and he showed them that, if the populace obtained the right to try this man, as they demanded, and received this privilege also with the consent of the senate, possibly they would not even press the prosecution to the end but, satisfied with having got him in their power, would treat him with lenity rather than severity. [2] And even if

the tribunes should believe it to be necessary by all means to carry the case through to its lawful conclusion and the populace should thus be empowered to give their votes concerning him, they would acquit him of the charge, partly out of respect for the defendant himself, and partly by way of making this return to the senate for the favour it had granted by giving them this power and by opposing them in nothing that was reasonable. [3] Nevertheless, he advised that not only the consuls, but all the senators and the rest of the patricians as well should be present in a body at the trial and assist Marcius in making his defence and entreat the people to come to no harsh decision concerning him, assure and them that the presence of these men also would contribute not a little toward turning the scales on the side of the defendant's acquittal' and he advised that they should not only thus assist him themselves by expressing their views, but that each of them should summon his own clients and assemble his friends, and if they thought that any of the plebeians were attached to them as the result of benefits they had received from them, they should ask these too to show their gratitude for former favours now when they were to give their votes. [4] He showed them also that there would be no small element among the populace which loved the right and hated the wrong, and an even larger number who knew how to sympathize with human misfortunes and to feel compassion for men in position of honour when their fortunes have suffered reverse. [5] But the greater part of his speech was addressed to Marcius himself, in which he joined exhortation to admonition, and entreaty to compulsion. For he begged of him, since he was accused of dividing the populace from the senate and also charged with being tyrannical by reason of his arbitrary manner, and since all men were filled with fear that because of him there would spring up sedition and all the irreparable evils which civil wars bring in their train, that he would not make true and valid the accusations against himself by persevering in his invidious way of life, but would change it to an humble deportment, submit his person to the power of those who complained of being injured, and not decline to clear himself by a just defence of an unjust charge. [6] For that course was not only for saving his life the surest, he told him, but also, as regarded the reputation he coveted, the most brilliant, and it was in keeping with the deeds he had already performed; whereas, if he should show himself arrogant rather than moderate and expect the senate to expose themselves to every danger for his sake, he declared that the defeat he might bring to those who had listened to him would be disastrous, while a victory would be disgraceful to them. He then indulged in many lamentations and enumerated the most important and the most obvious evils that befall states in times of dissension.

[55.1] When he had related all these evils with many tears — tears that were not feigned and affected, but genuine — this man who was eminent for the dignity both of his years and of his merits, perceiving that the senate was moved by his words, proceeded then with confidence to deliver the remainder of his speech. "If any of you, senators," he said, "are disturbed by the thought

that you will be introducing a pernicious custom into the commonwealth if you grant the populace the power of giving their votes against the patricians, and entertain an opinion that the tribunician power, if considerably strengthened, will serve no good purpose, let them learn that their opinion is erroneous and their surmise is the opposite of what it should be. [2] For if anything is going to be the means of preserving this commonwealth and insuring that she shall never be deprived of her liberty or her power, but shall ever continue to be united and harmonious in all respects, the most effective instrument will be the populace if taken as partners in the administration of affairs; and what will benefit us above everything will be, not to have a simple and unmixed form of government administering the state, whether monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy, but a constitution combined out of all of these. [3] For each of these forms by itself alone very easily ends in wantonness and lawlessness; but when all of them are duly combined, the element which is inclined at any time to make innovations and to overstep the customary bounds is held in check by the element which is self-restrained and remains true to its own character. Thus monarchy, when it becomes cruel and insolent and begins to pursue tyrannical measures, is overthrown by a few good men. [4] And an oligarchy composed of the best men, which is your present form of government, when it has become elated by reason of its wealth and its bands of partisans, and pays no regard to justice or to any other virtue, is overthrown by a prudent democracy. And when a democracy that is moderate and governs in accordance with laws begins to be disorderly and lawless, it is taken in hand by the strongest man and set right by force. [5] You, senators, have devised all the precautions possible to prevent the monarchical power from degenerating into tyranny, for you have invested two men instead of one with the supreme power of the commonwealth, and though you have entrusted this magistracy to them, not for an indefinite time, but only for a year, you nevertheless appoint, to keep watch over them, three hundred patricians, at once the best and the oldest, of whom this senate is composed. But you do not seem as yet to have appointed any to watch over you yourselves, to insure your remaining within proper bounds. [6] Now as for you, I have no fear so far that you will permit your minds to be corrupted by the magnitude and number of your blessings, since you have only recently delivered the commonwealth from a long tyranny and because of the long and continuous wars have not yet had leisure to grow insolent and wanton. But with regard to your successors, when I consider how great changes the long course of time brings with it, I am afraid that the men of power in the senate may introduce some change and, unnoticed, transform the government into a tyrannical monarchy.

[56.1] "If, then, you admit the populace also to a share in the government, no evil will arise for you here. But the man who aims at greater power than the rest of his fellow-citizens and has formed a faction in the senate of all who are willing to share his disaffection and his crimes (for when we are deliberating concerning the commonwealth we ought to foresee every likely contingency),

this great and august person, I say, when called upon by the tribunes to appear before the popular assembly, before the lowly and humble people, will have to give an accounting of both his actions and his purpose, and if found guilty, suffer the punishment he deserves. [2] And lest the people themselves, when vested with so great a power, should grow wanton and, seduced by the demagoguery of the worst men, make war upon the best citizens (for it is in the masses as a rule that tyranny springs up), some person of exceptional sagacity, created dictator by you, will guard against this evil and will not allow them to do anything lawless; for, being invested with absolute and irresponsible power, he will cut off the diseased part of the commonwealth and will not permit that which is as yet uninfected to be contaminated; he will reform in the best manner possible the habits, usages and aims of the citizens, and appoint such magistrates as he thinks will govern the south with the greatest prudence; and having effected these things within the space of six months, he will again become a private citizen, receiving no other reward for these actions than the honour. [3] Do you, then, bearing these things in mind, and believing that this is the most perfect form of government, debar the populace from nothing, but, even as you have granted them the right of choosing the magistrates who are to preside each year over the commonwealth, as well as confirming or invalidating laws, of declaring war and making peace — which are the greatest and the most important matters that come up for action in the commonwealth — and have not invested the senate with authority over any one of these matters, in like manner give them also a share in the courts, and particularly in the trials of those who are accused of crimes against the state by raising a sedition or aiming at tyranny or discussing a betrayal of the state with the enemy or attempt us some other mischief of like nature. [4] For the more formidable you make it for the overbearing and self-seeking to transgress the laws and to alter your customs, by appointing many eyes to watch and many men to keep guard over them, the better will be the condition of your commonwealth.”

[57.1] After he had said this and other things to the same purport, he ended. And the rest of the senators who rose up after him, except a few, concurred in his opinion. When the preliminary decree of the senate was to be drawn up, Marcius, asking leave to speak, said: “You all know, senators, how I have acted with regard to the commonwealth, and that it is because of my goodwill toward you that I have come into this danger, and furthermore that your behaviour toward me has been contrary to my expectation; and you will know this even better when the action against me has ended. [2] However, since the opinion of Valerius prevails, may these measures prove of advantage to you and may I prove a poor judge of future events. But in order not only that you who are to draw up the decree may know upon what terms you going to deliver me up to the people, but that I also may not fail to know on what charge I am to defend myself, pray order the tribunes to declare in your presence what the crime is of which they intend to accuse me and what title

they propose to give to the cause.”

[58.1] He said this in the belief that he was to be tried for the words he had spoken in the senate, and also from a desire that the tribunes should acknowledge that they intend to accuse him on this charge. But the tribunes, after consulting together, charged him with aiming at tyranny and ordered him to come prepared to make his defence against that charge. For they were unwilling to confine their accusation to a single point, and that neither a strong one in itself nor acceptable to the senate, but were scheming to obtain for themselves the authority to bring any charges they wished against Marcius, and were expecting to deprive him of the assistance of the senators. Thereupon Marcius said: “Very well, if this is the charge on which I am to be tried, I submit myself to the judgment of the plebeians; and let there be nothing to prevent the drawing up of the preliminary decree.” [2] The greater part of the senators too were well pleased that he was to be tried upon this charge, for two reasons — first, that to speak one’s mind freely in the senate was not going to render one liable to an accounting, and second, that Marcius, who had led a modest and irreproachable life, would easily clear himself of that accusation. [3] After this the preliminary decree for the trial was drawn up and Marcius was given time till the third market-day to prepare his defence. The Romans had markets then, as now, every eighth day, upon which days the plebeians resorted to the city from the country and exchanged their produce for the goods they bought, settled their grievances in court, and ratified by their votes such matters of public business as either et laws assigned or the senate referred to them for decision; and as the greater part of them were small farmers and poor, they passed in the country the seven days intervening between the markets. [4] As soon, therefore, as the tribunes received the preliminary decree they went of the Forum, and calling the people together, gave great praise to the senate, and then, after reading the decree, appointed a day for holding the trial, at which they asked all the citizens to be present, as matters of the greatest moment were to be decided by them.

[59.1] When news of this was spread abroad, there was great enthusiasm and marshalling of both the plebeian and the patricians, the former feeling that they were about to avenge themselves upon the most arrogant of all men, and the latter striving earnestly to save the champion of the aristocracy from falling into the hands of his enemies; and to both parties it seemed that their whole claim to life and liberty was at stake in this trial. When the third market-day arrived, such a crowd of people from the country as had never before been known had come together in the city and held possession of the Forum from the very break of day. The tribunes then summoned the populace to the tribal assembly, first having roped off portions of the Forum in which the tribes were to take their places separately. [2] And this was the first time the Romans ever met in their trial assembly to give their votes against a man, the patricians very violently opposing it and demanding that the centuriate assembly should be convened, as was their time-honoured custom. For in

earlier times, whenever the people were to give their votes upon any point referred to them by the senate, the consuls had summoned the centuriate assembly, after first offering up the sacrifices required by law, some of which are still performed down to our time. [3] The populace was wont to assemble in the field of Mars before the city, drawn up under their centurions and their standards as in war. They did not give their votes all at the same time, but each by their respective centuries, when these were called upon by the consuls. And there being in all one hundred and ninety-three centuries, and these distributed into six classes, that class was first called and gave its vote which consisted of those citizens who had the highest property rating and who stood in the foremost rank in battle; in this were comprised eighteen centuries of horse and eighty of foot. [4] The class that voted in the second place was composed of those of smaller fortunes who occupied an inferior position in battle and had not the same armour as the front-line fighters, but less; this multitude formed twenty centuries, and to them were added two centuries of carpenters, armourers and other artificers employed in making engines of war. Those who were called to vote in the third class made up twenty centuries; they had a lower rating than those of the second class and were posted behind them, and the arms they carried were not equal to those of the men in front of them. [5] Those next called had a still lower property rating and had a safer post in battle and their armour was lighter; these also were divided into twenty centuries, and arrayed with them were two centuries of horn-blowers and trumpeters. The class which was called in the fifth place consisted of those whose property was rated very low, and their arms were javelins and slings; these had no fixed place in the battle-line, but being light-armed men and mobile, they attended the heavy-armed men and were distributed into thirty centuries. [6] The poorest of the citizens, who were not less numerous than all the rest, voted last and made but one century; they were exempt from the military levies and from the war-taxes paid by the rest of the citizens in proportion to their ratings, and for both these reasons were given the least honour in voting. [7] If, therefore, in the case of the first centuries, which consisted of the horse and of such of the foot as stood in the foremost rank in battle, ninety-seven centuries were of the same opinion, the voting was at an end and the remaining ninety-six centuries were not called upon to give their votes. But if this was not the case, the second class, composed of twenty-two centuries, was called, and then the third and so on till ninety-seven centuries were of the same opinion. Generally the points in dispute were determined by the classes first summoned, so that it was then needless to take those of the later classes. [8] It seldom happened that a matter was so doubtful that the voting went on till the last class was reached, consisting of the poorest citizens; and it was in the nature of a miracle when, in consequence of the first hundred and ninety-two centuries being equally divided, the addition of this last vote to the rest turned the scale one way or the other. [9] The supporters of Marcius, accordingly, demanded that this assembly based on the census

should be called, expecting that he might perhaps be acquitted by the first class with its ninety-eight centuries, or, if not, at least by the second or third class. On the other hand, the tribunes, who also suspected this outcome, thought they ought to call the tribal assembly and to empower it to decide this cause, to the end that neither the poor might be at a disadvantage as compared with the rich nor the light-armed men have a less honourable station than the heavy-armed, nor the mass of plebeians, by being relegated to the last calls, be excluded from equal rights with the others, but that all the citizens might be equal to one another in their votes and equal in honour, and at one might give their votes by tribes. [10] The claim of the tribunes seemed to be more just than that of the patricians in that they thought the tribunal of the people ought to be a popular, not an oligarchic, tribunal, and that the cognizance of crimes committed against the commonwealth ought to be common to all.

[60.1] The tribunes having with difficulty gained this point also from the patricians, when it was time for the trial to be held, Minucius, one of the consuls, rose first and spoke as the senate had directed him. First he reminded the populace of all the benefits they had received from the patricians; and next he asked that in return for so many good offices they should grant at their request one necessary favour in the interest of the public welfare. [2] In addition to this, he praised harmony and peace, told of the great good fortune which each of them brings to states, and inveighed against discord and civil wars, by which, he told them, many cities had been destroyed with all their inhabitants and whole nations had perished utterly. He exhorted them not to indulge their resentment so far as to prefer worse counsels to better, but with sober reason to contemplate future events, nor, again, to take the worst of their fellow-citizens for their advisers when deliberating concerning matters of the greatest importance, but rather those they esteemed the best, men from whom they knew their country had received many benefits in both peace and war and whom you would not have any reason to distrust, as if they had changed their natures. [3] But the sum and substance of his whole discourse was to persuade them to pass no vote against Marcius, but preferably to acquit him for his own sake, remembering what sort of man he had proved himself toward the commonwealth and how many battles he had won in fighting for both its liberty and its supremacy, and that they would be acting in neither a pious nor a just manner nor in a way worthy of themselves, if they held a grudge against him for his objectionable words, while feeling no gratitude for his splendid deeds. [4] The present occasion, too, he told them, was a splendid one for acquitting him, when he had come in person to surrender himself to his adversaries and was ready to acquiesce in whatever they should decide concerning him. If, however, they were unable to become reconciled to him, but were harsh and inexorable, he asked them to bear in mind that the senate, consisting of three hundred men who were the best in the city, was present to intercede for him, and begged them to feel some compassion and to soften their hearts, and not for the sake of punishing one enemy to reject the

intercession of so many friends, but rather as a favour to many good men to disregard the prosecution of one man. [5] Having said this and other things to the same purport, he ended his speech with this suggestion, that if they acquitted the man by taking a vote, they would seem to have freed him because he had done the people any wrong, whereas, if they prevented the trial from being completed, they would appear to have done so as a favour to those who interceded in his behalf.

[61.1] When Minucius had done speaking, Sicinius the tribune came forward and said that he would neither betray the liberty of the plebeians himself nor willingly permit others to betray it, but if the patricians really consented that the man should be tried by the plebeians, he would take their votes and do nothing more. [2] After this Minucius came forward and said: "Since you are eager, tribunes, that a vote shall be taken by all means concerning this man, let not your accusations go beyond the formal charge, but, as you have alleged that he aims at tyranny, show this and bring your evidence to prove it. But neither mention nor charge him with the words you accuse him of having spoken in the senate against the people. For the senate has voted to acquit him of this accusation and has thought proper that he should appear before the people upon specific charges." And he thereupon read out the preliminary decree. [3] Having said this and adjured them to adhere to it, he descended from the tribunal. Sicinius was the first of the tribunes to set forth the charge, which he did in a very studied and elaborate speech, attributing everything the man had continued to say or do against the people to a design to set up tyranny. Then, after him, the most influential of the tribunes spoke.

[62.1] When Marcius was given an opportunity to speak, he began from his earliest youth and enumerated all the campaigns he had made in the service of the commonwealth, the crowns he had received from the generals as rewards of victory, the foes he had taken captive and the citizens he had saved in battle; and in each instance that he mentioned he displayed his rewards, cited the generals as witnesses, and called by name upon the citizens whom he had saved. [2] These came forward with lamentations and entreated their fellow-citizens not to destroy as an enemy the man to whom they owed their preservation, begging one life in return for many and offering themselves in his stead to be treated by them as they thought fit. The greater part of them were plebeians and men extremely useful to the commonwealth; and their countenances and their entreaties roused such a sense of shame in the people that they were moved to pity and tears. [3] Then Marcius, rending his garments, showed his breast full of wounds and every other part of his body covered with scars, and asked them if they thought that to save one's fellow-citizens in war and to destroy in time of peace those thus saved were actions of the same kind of person, and if anyone who is endeavouring to set up a tyranny ever expels from the state the common people, by whom tyranny is chiefly abetted and nourished. While he was yet speaking, those of the plebeians who were fair-minded and lovers of the right cried out to acquit him, and were ashamed

that a man who had so often scorned his own life to preserve them all was even being brought to trial in the first place upon such a charge. [4] Those, however, who were by nature malevolent, enemies of the right, and easy to be led into any kind of sedition were sorry they were going to have to acquit him, but felt that they could not do otherwise, since they could find no evidence of his having aimed at tyranny, which was the point upon which they had been called to give their votes.

[63.1] when this had been observed by Decius, the one who had spoken in the senate and prevailed on them to pass the decree for the trial, he rose up, and having commanded silence, said: "Since, plebeians, the patricians acquit Marcius of the words he spoke in the senate and of the violent and overbearing deeds that followed because of them, and do not permit us, either, to accuse him, hear what other deed, quite apart from words, this honourable man has been guilty of toward you, how insolent and tyrannical a deed, and learn what law of yours he, though a private citizen, has broken. [2] You all know, of course, that the law ordains that all the spoils we are able to take from the enemy by our valour shall belong to the public and that not only no private citizen has the disposition of them, but not even the general of our forces himself; but the quaestor, taking them over, sells them and turns the proceeds over to the public treasury. And this law, during all the time our city has been inhabited, not only has been violated by no one, but has not even been criticized as being a bad law. But Marcius here is there is and only man who, in contempt of this law while it stood and was valid, has thought fit, plebeians, to appropriate to himself the spoils which belong to us in common; and this was only last year, not long ago. [3] For when you made an incursion into the territory of the Antiates and captured many prisoners, many cattle, and a great quantity of corn, together with many other effects, he neither reported these to the quaestor nor sold them himself and turned the proceeds over to the public treasury, but distributed and gave as a present to his own friends the entire booty. This action, now, I aver to be a proof of his aiming at tyranny. What else could it be, when he used the public funds to gratify his flatterers, his bodyguards, and the accomplices in the tyranny he meditated? And this I maintain to be an open violation of the law. [4] Let Marcius, then, come forward and show one of two things — either that he did not distribute among his friends the spoils he took from the enemy's country, or that in doing so he is not violating the laws. But neither of these things will he be able to say to you. For you yourselves are acquainted with both matters — with the law and with what he did. And if you acquit him, your decision cannot possibly be regarded as in accordance with justice and your oaths. Say naught, then, about your crowns, your rewards of valour, your wounds, and all the rest of that claptrap, and answer to these points, Marcius: for now I yield the floor to you."

[64.1] This accusation caused a great shift in sentiment to the other side. For those who were more reasonable and were zealously working for the acquittal

of Marcius, upon hearing these things, grew less confident, and all the malevolent, who constituted the larger part of the Potomac and were of course eager to destroy him at all costs, were still more encouraged in their purpose now that they had got hold of an important and clear ground for their attack. [2] For the distribution of the spoils was a fact, though it had been made without any evil intent and not for the setting up of a tyranny, as Decius charged, but from only the best of motives and for the correction of the evils that beset the commonwealth. For as the sedition still continued at that time and the populace was then divided from the patricians, their enemies, despising them, made raids into their country and plundered it without intermission; and whenever the senate decided to send out an army to stop these raids, none of the plebeians would serve in it, but rejoiced at what was happening and permitted it to continue; and the force of the patricians alone was inadequate. [3] Marcius, observing this, promised the consuls that he would march against the enemy with an army of volunteers if they would give him the command of it, and would soon take revenge on them; and having received authority to do so, he called together his clients and friends and such of the citizens as wished to share in the advantages expected from the general's good fortune in war and his valour. When he thought an adequate force had assembled, he led them against the enemy, who had no previous knowledge of his purpose. [4] And making an incursion into their country, which was well stocked with many good things, and capturing a vast amount of booty, he permitted his soldiers to divide up all the spoils among themselves, to the end that both those who had assisted him in this expedition, by receiving the fruit of their labours, might cheerfully engage in the service upon other occasions, and the others who had declined it, considering all the benefits they had lost through their sedition, when they might have shared in them, might act with greater prudence in the case of future expeditions. [5] Such was the intention of Marcius in this affair; but to the festering anger and envy of enemies the action, when considered by itself, appeared a kind of flattery of the people and a bribery tending toward tyranny. As a result the whole Forum was full of clamour and tumult and neither Marcius himself nor the consul nor anyone else had any answer to make to the charge, so incredible and unexpected did it appear to them. [6] When nothing further was said in his defence, the tribunes called upon the tribes to cast their votes, and fixed perpetual banishment as the penalty in the case. This, I suspect, was due to their fear that he could not be convicted if death were set as the penalty. After they had all voted and the votes were counted, the difference was found to be slight. For out of the twenty-one tribes that were then in existence and gave their votes Marcius had nine in favour of his acquittal; so that if two more tribes had joined his side, he would have been acquitted as the result of the equal division of the votes, as the law prescribed.

[65] This was the first summoning of a patrician before the tribunal of the plebeians; and from this time it became customary for those who afterwards

assumed the patronship of the people to summon to stand trial before the people any of the citizens they thought fit. From this beginning the people rose to great power, while the aristocracy lost much of its ancient dignity by admitting the plebeians into the senate and allowing them to stand as candidates for magistracies, by not opposing their presiding over sacrifices, and by sharing with all the citizens the other privileges that were most highly prized and had been the special prerogatives of the patricians, some of which concessions they made because of necessity and against their will, and others through foresight and wisdom; but of these matters I shall speak at the proper time. [2] However, this custom of summoning the men of power at Rome to a trial where the populace were always in control, would afford rich material for comment to those who are disposed either to commend or to blame it. For many good and worthy men have already been treated in a manner unworthy of their merits and have been put to a shameful and miserable death at the instigation of the tribunes, while many men of arrogant and tyrannical dispositions, being compelled to give an accounting of their lives and conduct, have suffered the punishment they deserved. [3] Whenever these verdicts were rendered with the best motives and the pride of the mighty was justly humbled, this institution appeared a great and admirable thing, and met with general praise, but when a virtuous and able statesman incurred hatred and was unjustly done away with, the rest of the world was shocked at the institution and the authors of it were condemned. The Romans have often deliberated whether they should repeal this institution or preserve it as they received it from their ancestors, but have never come to any final decision. [4] If I am to express an opinion myself concerning matters of so great moment, I believe that the institution, considered by itself, is advantageous, and absolutely necessary to the Roman commonwealth, but that it becomes better or worse according to the character of the tribunes. For when this power falls into the hands of just and prudent men, who prefer the interest of the public to their own, the punishing as he deserves of one who has injured his country strikes terror into the minds of all who are prepared to mankind similar offences, while the good man who enters public life with the best intentions neither incurs the disgrace of being brought to trial nor is accused of wrongdoing inconsistent with his habits. [5] But when wicked, intemperate and avaricious men gain so great power, the contrary of all this happens. Hence, instead of reforming the institution as faulty, they ought to consider by what means good and worthy men may become protectors of the people, and positions of the greatest importance may not be conferred at random on the first who chance to turn up.

[66.1] Such were the causes and such was the outcome of the first sedition that arose among the Romans after the expulsion of the kings. I have related these at length, to the end that no one may wonder how the patricians ever consented to entrust the populace with so great power, when there had been no slaying or banishing of the best citizens, as has happened in many other

states. For everyone, upon hearing of extraordinary events, desires to know the cause that produced them and considers that alone as the test of their credibility. [2] I reflected, accordingly, that my account of this affair would gain little or no credit if I contented myself with saying that the patricians resigned their power to the plebeians and that, though they might have continued to live under an aristocracy, they put the populace in control of the most important matters, and if I left out the motives for their making these concessions; and for this reason I have related them all. [3] And since they did not make this change in their government by using compulsion upon one another and the force of arms, but by the persuasion of words, I thought it necessary above all things to report the speeches which the heads of both parties made upon that occasion. I might express my surprise that some historians, though they think themselves obliged to give an exact account of military actions and sometimes expend a great many words over a single battle, describing the terrains, the peculiarities of armament, the ways the lines were drawn up, the exhortations of the generals, and every other circumstance that contributed to the victory of one side or the other, yet when they come to give an account of civil commotions and seditions, do not consider it necessary to report the speeches by which the extraordinary and remarkable events were brought to pass. [4] For if there is anything about the Roman commonwealth that is worthy of great praise and deserving of imitation by all mankind, or, rather, anything that surpasses in its lustre all the many things which deserve our admiration, it is in my opinion this fact — that neither the plebeians in contempt of the patricians took up arms against them, and after murdering many of the best men, seized all their fortunes, nor, on the other hand, the men in positions of dignity either by themselves alone or with the aid of foreign troops destroyed all the plebeians and after that lived in the city free from fear, [5] but conferring together about what was fair and just, like brothers with brothers or children with their parents in a well-governed family, they settled their controversies by persuasion and reason and never allowed themselves to commit any irreparable or wicked deeds against one another, such as the Corcyraeans committed at the time of their sedition, and also the Argives, the Milesians, and all Sicily, as well as many other states. For these reasons, therefore, I have chosen to make my narration accurate rather than brief; but let everyone judge of the matter as he thinks fit.

[67] On the occasion in question, then, when the trial had resulted as I have related, the populace when dismissed had acquired a spirit of frantic jubilation and thought they had destroyed the aristocracy, whereas the patricians were cast down and dejected, and blamed Valerius, by whose persuasion they had been induced to entrust the trial to the populace; and there were lamentations and tears on the part of those who pitied Marcius and escorted him to his home. [2] But Marcius himself was not seen either to bewail or to lament his own fate or to say or do the least thing unworthy of his greatness of soul; and he showed still greater nobility and resolution when he reached home and saw

his wife and mother rending their robes, beating their breasts, and uttering the lamentations natural in such calamities to women who are being separated from their dearest relations by death or banishment. [3] For he was not moved at all by the tears and lamentations of the women, but merely saluted them and exhorted them to bear their misfortunes with firmness; then, recommending his sons to them (the elder son was ten years old and the younger still a child in arms) and without showing any other mark of tenderness or making provision for what would be needed in his banishment, he departed in haste to the gates of the city, informing no one to what place he proposed to retire.

[68.1] A few days after this the time came for the election of magistrates, and Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus and Spurius Larcius Flavus were chosen consuls by the people, the latter for the second time. Sundry disturbances fell upon the commonwealth as the result of prodigies, and these were many; for unusual sights appeared to many, and voices too were heard, though no one uttered them; births of children and cattle, so very abnormal as to approach the incredible and the monstrous, were reported; oracles were uttered in many places; and women possessed with a divine frenzy foretold lamentable and dreadful misfortunes to the commonwealth. [2] A kind of pestilence also visited the population and destroyed great numbers of cattle; however, not many persons died of it, the mischief going no farther than sickness. Some thought that these things had occurred by the will of Heaven, which was angry with them for having banished from the country the most deserving of all their citizens, while others held that nothing that took place was the work of Heaven, but that both these and all other human events were due to chance. [3] Afterwards, a certain man named Titus Latinus, being ill, was brought to the senate-chamber in a litter; he was a man advanced in years and possessed of a competent fortune, a farmer who did his own work and passed the greater part of his life in the country. This man, having been carried into the senate, said that Jupiter Capitolinus had, as he thought, appeared to him in a dream and said to him: "Go, Latinus, and tell your fellow-citizens that in the recent procession they did not give me an acceptable leader of the dance, in order that they may renew the rites and perform them over again; for I have not accepted these." [4] He added that after awaking he had disregarded the vision, looking upon it as one of the deceitful dreams that are so common. Later, he said, the same vision of the god, appearing to him again in his sleep, was angry and displeased with him for not having reported to the senate the orders he had received, and threatened him that, if he did not do so promptly, he should learn by the experience of some great calamity not to neglect supernatural injunctions. After seeing this second dream also he had formed the same opinion of it, and at the same time had felt ashamed, being a farmer who did his own work and old, to report to the senate dreams full of foreboding and terrors, for fear of being laughed at. [5] But a few days later, he

said, his son, who was young and handsome, had been suddenly snatched away by death without any sickness or any other obvious cause. And once more the vision of the god had appeared to him in his sleep and declared that he had already been punished in part for his contempt and neglect of the god's words by the loss of his son, and should soon suffer the rest of his punishment. [6] When he heard this, he said, he had received the threats with pleasure, in the hope that death would come to him, weary of life as he was; but the god did not inflict this punishment upon him, but sent such intolerable and cruel pains into all his limbs that he could not move a joint without the greatest effort. Then at last he had informed his friends of what had happened, and by their advice had now come to the senate. While he was giving this account his pains seemed to leave him by degrees; and after he had related everything, he rose from the litter, and having invoked the god, went home on foot through the city in perfect health.

[69.1] Upon this the senators were filled with fear and everyone was speechless with astonishment, being at a loss to guess what the god's message meant, and who was the leader of the dance in the procession who appeared unacceptable to him. At least one of them, recalling the incident, related it to the rest and all of them confirmed it by their testimony. It was this. A Roman citizen of no obscure station, having ordered one of his slaves to be put to death, delivered him to his fellow-slaves to be led away, and in order that his punishment might be witnessed by all, directed them to drag him through the Forum and every other conspicuous part of the city as they whipped him, and that he should go ahead of the procession which the Romans were at that time conducting in honour of the god. [2] The men ordered to lead the slave to his punishment, having stretched out both his arms and fastened them to a piece of wood which extended across his breast and shoulders as far as his wrists, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips. The culprit, overcome by such cruelty, not only uttered ill-omened cries, forced from him by the pain, but also made indecent movements under the blows. This man, accordingly, they all thought to be the unacceptable dancer signified by the god.

[70.1] Since I have come to this part of my history, I believe I ought not to omit mention of the rites performed by the Romans on the occasion of this festival. I do this, not in order to render my narration more agreeable by dramatic embellishments and flowery descriptions, but to win credence for an essential matter of history, namely, that the peoples which joined in founding the city of Rome were Greek colonies sent out from the most famous places, and not, as some believe, barbarians and vagabonds. [2] For I promised at the end of the first Book, which I composed and published concerning their origin, that I would demonstrate this thesis by countless proofs, by citing time-honoured customs, laws and institutions which they preserve down to my time just as they received them from their ancestors. For I believe that it is not enough that those who write the early histories of particular lands should relate them in a trustworthy manner as they have received them from the

inhabitants of the country, but that these accounts require also for their support numerous and indisputable testimonies, if they are to appear credible. [3] Among such testimonies I am convinced that the first and the most valid of all are the ceremonies connected with the established worship of the gods and other divinities which are performed in the various states. These both the Greeks and barbarian world have preserved for the greatest length of time and have never thought fit to make any innovation or intrenchment, being restrained from doing so by their fear of the divine anger. [4] This has been the experience of the barbarians in particular, for many reasons which this is not the proper occasion for mentioning; and no lapse of time has thus far induced either the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Gauls, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other barbarian nation whatever to forget or transgress anything relating to the rites of their gods, unless some of them have been subdued by a foreign power and compelled to exchange their own institutions for those of their conquerors. Now it has not been the fate of the Roman commonwealth ever to experience such a misfortune, but she herself always gives laws to others. [5] If, therefore, the Romans had been originally barbarians, they would have been so far from forgetting their ancestral rites and the established customs of their country, by which they had attained to so great prosperity, that they would even have made it to the interest of all their subjects as well to honour the gods according to the customary Roman ceremonies; and nothing could have hindered the whole Greek world, which is now subject to the Romans for already the seventh generation, from being barbarized if the Romans had indeed been barbarians.

[71.1] Anyone else might have assumed that the ceremonies now practised in the city were enough even by themselves to afford no slight indication of the ancient observances. But for my part, lest anyone should hold this to be weak evidence, according to that improbable assumption that after the Romans had conquered the whole Greek world they would gladly have scorned their own customs and adopted the better ones in their stead, I shall adduce my evidence from the time when they did not as yet possess the supremacy over Greece or dominion over any other country beyond the sea; and I shall cite Quintus Fabius as my authority, without requiring any further confirmation. For he is the most ancient of all the Roman historians and offers proof of what he asserts, not only from the information of others, but also from his own knowledge.

[2] This festival, therefore, the Roman senate ordered to be celebrated, as I said before, pursuant to the vow made by the dictator Aulus Postumius when he was upon the point of giving battle to the Latins, who had revolted from the Romans and were endeavouring to restore Tarquinius to power; and they ordered five hundred minae of silver to be expended every year upon the sacrifices and the games, a sum the Romans laid out on the festival till the time of the Punic War. [3] During these holidays not only were many other observances carried out according to the customs of the Greeks, in connection

with the general assemblies, the reception of strangers, and the cessation of hostilities, which it would be a big task to describe, but also those relating to the procession, the sacrifice, and the games — these are sufficient to give an idea of those I do not mention — which were as follows:

[72.1] Before beginning the games the principal magistrates conducted a procession in honour of the gods from the Capitol through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. Those who led the procession were, first, the Romans' sons who were nearing manhood and were of an age to bear a part in this ceremony, who rode on horseback if their fathers were entitled by their fortunes to be knights, while the others, who were destined to serve in the infantry, went on foot, the former in squadrons and troops, and the latter in divisions and companies, as if they were going to school; this was done in order that strangers might see the number and beauty of the youths of the commonwealth who were approaching manhood. [2] These were followed by charioteers, some of whom drove four horses abreast, some two, and others rode unyoked horses. After them came the contestants in both the light and the heavy games, their whole bodies naked except their loins. This custom continued even to my time at Rome, as it was originally practised by the Greeks; but it is now abolished in Greece, the Lacedaemonians having put an end to it. [3] The first man who undertook to strip and ran naked at Olympia, at the fifteenth Olympiad, was Acanthus the Lacedaemonian. Before that time, it seems, all the Greeks had been ashamed to appear entirely naked in the games, as Homer, the most credible and the most ancient of all witnesses, shows when he represents the heroes as girding up their loins. At any rate, when he is describing the wrestling-match of Aias and Odysseus at the funeral of Patroclus, he says:

And then the twain with loins well girt stepped forth
Into the lists.

[4] And he makes this still plainer in the *Odyssey* upon the occasion of the boxing-match between Irus and Odysseus, in these verses:

He spake, and all approved; Odysseus then
His rags girt round his loins, and showed his thighs
So fair and stout; broad shoulders too and chest
And brawny arms there stood revealed.

And when he introduces the beggar as no longer willing to engage but declining the combat through fear, he says:

They spake, and Irus' heart was sorely stirred;
Yet even so the suitors girt his loins
By force and led him forward.

Thus it is plain that the Romans, who preserve this ancient Greek custom to this day, did not learn it from us afterwards nor even change it in the course of time, as we have done.

[5] The contestants were followed by numerous bands of dancers arranged in three divisions, the first consisting of men, the second of youths, and the

third of boys. These were accompanied by flute-players, who used ancient flutes that were small and short, as is done even to this day, and by lyre-players, who plucked ivory lyres of seven strings and the instruments called barbita. The use of these has ceased in my time among the Greeks, though traditional with them, but is preserved by the Romans in all their ancient sacrificial ceremonies. [6] The dancers were dressed in scarlet tunics girded with bronze cinctures, wore swords suspended at their sides, and carried spears of shorter than average length; the men also had bronze helmets adorned with conspicuous crests and plumes. Each group was led by one man who gave the figures of the dance to the rest, taking the lead in representing their warlike and rapid movements, usually in the proceleusmatic rhythms. [7] This also was in fact a very ancient Greek institution — I mean the armed dance called the Pyrrhic — whether it was Athena who first began to lead bands of dancers and to dance in arms over the destruction of the Titans in order to celebrate the victory by this manifestation of her joy, or whether it was the Curetes who introduced it still earlier when, acting as nurses to Zeus, they strove to amuse him by the clashing of arms and the rhythmic movements of their limbs, as the legend has it. [8] The antiquity of this dance also, as one native to the Greeks, is made clear by Homer, not only in many other places, but particularly in describing the fashioning of the shield which he says Hephaestus presented to Achilles. For, having represented on it two cities, one blessed with peace, the other suffering from war, in the one on which he bestows the happier fate, describing festivals, marriages, and merriment, as one would naturally expect, he says among other things:

Youths whirled around in joyous dance, with sound

Of flute and harp; and, standing at their doors,

Admiring women on the pageant gazed.

[9] And again, in describing another Cretan band of dancers, classing of youths and maidens, with which the shield was adorned, he speaks in this manner:

And on it, too, the famous craftsman wrought,

With cunning workmanship, a dancing-floor,

Like that which Daedalus in Cnossus wide

For fair-haired Ariadnê shaped. And there

Bright youths and many-suited maidens danced

While laying each on other's wrists their hands.

And in describing the dress of these dancers, in order to show us that the males danced in arms, he says:

The maidens garlands wore, the striplings swords

Of gold, which proudly hung from silver belts.

And when he introduces the leaders of the dance who gave the rhythm to the rest and began it, he writes:

And great the throng which stood about the dance,

Enjoying it; and tumblers twain did whirl

Amid the throng as prelude to the song.

[10] But it is not alone from the warlike and serious dance of these bands which the Romans employed in their sacrificial ceremonies and processions that one may observe their kinship to the Greeks, but also from that which is of a mocking and ribald nature. For after the armed dancers others marched in procession impersonating satyrs and portraying the Greek dance called sicinnis. Those who represented Sileni were dressed in shaggy tunics, called by some chortaioi, and in mantles of flowers of every sort; and those who represented satyrs wore girdles and goatskins, and on their heads manes that stood upright, with other things of like nature. These mocked and mimicked the serious movements of the others, turning them into laughter-provoking performances. [11] The triumphal entrances also show that raillery and fun-making in the manner of satyrs were an ancient practice native to the Romans; for the soldiers who take part in the triumphs are allowed to satirise and ridicule the most distinguished men, including even the generals, in the same manner as those who ride in procession in carts at Athens; the soldiers once jested in prose as they clowned, but now they sing improvised verses. [12] And even at the funerals of illustrious persons I have seen, along with the other participants, bands of dancers impersonating satyrs who preceded the bier and imitated in their motions the dance called sicinnis, and particularly at the funerals of the rich. This jesting and dancing in the manner of satyrs, then, was not the invention either of the Ligurians, of the Umbrians, or of any other barbarians who dwelt in Italy, but of the Greeks; but I fear I should prove tiresome to some of my readers if I endeavoured to confirm by more arguments a thing that is generally conceded.

[13] After these bands of dancers came a throng of lyre-players and many flute-players, and after them the persons who carried the censers in which perfumes and frankincense were burned along the whole route of the procession, also the men who bore the show-vessels made of silver and gold, both those that were sacred owing to the gods and those that belonged to the state. Last of all in the procession came the images of the gods, borne on men's shoulders, showing the same likenesses as those made by the Greeks and having the same dress, the same symbols, and the same gifts which tradition says each of them invented and bestowed on mankind. These were the images not only of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and of the rest whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve gods, but also of the son of still more ancient from whom legend says the twelve were sprung, namely, Saturn, Ops, Themis, Latona, the Parcae, Mnemosynê, and all the rest to whom temples and holy places are dedicated among the Greeks; and also of those whom legend represents as living later, after Jupiter took over the sovereignty, such as Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Liber, and the demigods whose souls after they had left their mortal bodies are said to have ascended to Heaven and to have obtained the same honours as the gods, such as Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, Helen, Pan, and

countless others. [14] Yet if those who founded Rome and instituted this festival were barbarians, how could they properly worship all the gods and other divinities of the Greeks and scorn their own ancestral gods? Or let someone show us any other people besides the Greeks among whom these rites are traditional, and then let him censure this demonstration as unsound.

[15] After the procession was ended the consuls and the priests whose function it was presently sacrificed oxen; and the manner of performing the sacrifices was the same as with us. For after washing their hands they purified the victims with clear water and sprinkled corn on their heads, after which they prayed and then gave orders to their assistants to sacrifice them. Some of these assistants, while the victim was still standing, struck it on the temple with a club, and others received it upon the sacrificial knives as it fell. After this they flayed it and cut it up, taking off a piece from each of the inwards and also from every limb as a first-offering, which they sprinkled with grits of spelt and carried in baskets to the officiating priests. These placed them on the altars, and making a fire under them, poured wine over them while they were burning. [16] It is easy to see from Homer's poems that every one of these ceremonies was performed according to the customs established by the Greeks with reference to sacrifices. For he introduces the heroes washing their hands and using barley grits, where he said:

Then washed their hands and took up barley-grains.

And also cutting off the hair from the head of the victim and placing it on the fire, writing thus:

And he, the rite beginning, cast some hairs,

Plucked from the victim's head, upon the fire.

He also represents them as striking the foreheads of the victims with clubs and stabbing them when they had fallen, as at the sacrifice of Eumaeus:

Beginning then the rite, with limb of oak —

One he had left when cleaving wood — he smote

The boar, which straightway yielded up his life;

And next his throat they cut and singed his hide.

[17] And also at taking the first offerings from the inwards and from the limbs as well and sprinkling them with barley-meal and burning them upon the altars, as at that same sacrifice:

Then made the swineherd slices of raw meat,

Beginning with a cut from every limb,

And wrapping them in rich fat, cast them all

Upon the fire, first sprinkling barley-meal.

[18] These rites I am acquainted with from having seen the Romans perform them at their sacrifices even in my time; and contented with this single proof, I have become convinced that the founders of Rome were not barbarians, but Greeks who had come together out of many places. It is possible, indeed, that some barbarians also may observe a few customs relating to sacrifices and festivals in the same manner as the Greeks, but that they should do everything

in the same way is hard to believe.

[73] It now remains for me to give a brief account of the games which the Romans performed after the procession. The first was a race of four-horse chariots, two-horse chariots, and of unyoked horses, as has been the custom among the Greeks, both anciently at Olympia and down to the present. [2] In the chariot races two very ancient customs continue to be observed by the Romans down to my time in the same manner as they were first instituted. The first relates to the chariots drawn by three horses, a custom now fallen into disuse among the Greeks, though it was an ancient institution of heroic times which Homer represents the Greeks as using in battle. For running beside two horses yoked together in the same manner as in the case of a two-horse chariot was a third horse attached by a trace; this trace-horse the ancients called *parêoros* or “outrunner,” because he was “hitched beside” and not yoked to the others. The other custom is the race run by those who have ridden in the chariots, a race which is still performed in a few Greek states upon the occasion of some ancient sacrifices. [3] For after the chariot races are ended, those who have ridden with the charioteers, whom the poets call *parabatai* and the Athenians *apobatai*, leap down from their chariots and run a race with one another the length of the stadium. And after the chariot races were over, those who contended in their own persons entered the lists, that is, runners, boxers, and wrestlers; for these three contests were in use among the ancient Greeks, as Homer shows in describing the funeral of Patroclus. [4] And in the intervals between the contests they observed a custom which was typically Greek and the most commendable of all customs, that of awarding crowns and proclaiming the honours with which they rewarded their benefactors, just as was done at Athens during the festivals of Dionysus, and displaying to all who had assembled for the spectacle the spoils they had taken in war. [5] But as regards these customs, just as it would not have been right to make no mention of them when the subject required it, so it would not be fitting to extend my account farther than is necessary. It is now time to return to the narrative which we interrupted.

After the senate, then, had been informed, by the person who remembered the incident, of the circumstances relating to the slave who had been led to punishment by the order of his master and had gone ahead of the procession, they concluded that this slave was the unacceptable leader of the dancers mentioned by the god, as I have related. And inquiring after the master who had used his slave so cruelly, they imposed a suitable penalty upon him, and ordered another procession to be performed in honour of the god and other games to be exhibited at double the expense of the former.

These were the events of this consulship.

BOOK VIII

[1.1] The consuls who were chosen after these were Gaius Julius Iulus and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy-third Olympiad (the one in which Astylus of Croton won the foot-race), when Anchises was archon at Athens. These magistrates, who were not in the least warlike men and for that reason chiefly had obtained the consulship from the people, were involved against their will in many great dangers, a war having broken out as a result of their rule which came near destroying the commonwealth from its foundations. [2] For Marcius Coriolanus, the man who had been accused of aiming at tyranny and condemned to perpetual banishment, resented his misfortune and at the same time desired to avenge himself upon this enemies; and considering in what manner and with the aid of what forces he might accomplish this, he found that the only army which was then a match for the Romans was that of the Volscians, if these would agree together and make war upon them under an able general. [3] He reasoned, therefore, that if he could prevail on the Volscians to receive him and to entrust to him the command of the war, his purpose could easily be accomplished. On the other hand, he was disturbed by the consciousness that he had often brought calamities upon them in battle and had forced many cities to forsake their alliance with them. However, he did not desist from the attempt because of the greatness of the danger, but resolved to encounter these very perils and suffer whatever might be the consequence. [4] Having waited, therefore, for a night — and a dark one — he went to Antium, the most important city of the Volscians, at the hour when the inhabitants were at supper; and going to the house of an influential man named Tullus Attius, who by reason of his birth, his wealth and his military exploits had a high opinion of himself and generally led the whole nation, he became his suppliant by sitting down at his hearth. [5] Then, having related to him the dire straits which had forced him to take refuge with his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation and humanity toward a suppliant and no longer to regard as an enemy one who was in his power, nor to exhibit his strength against the unfortunate and the humbled, bearing in mind that the fortunes of men are subject to change. [6] “And this,” he said, “you may learn most clearly from my own case. For though I was once looked upon as the most powerful of all men in the greatest city, I am now cast aside, forsaken, exiled and abased, and destined to suffer any treatment you, who are my enemy, shall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promise you that I will perform as great services for the Volscians, if I become their friend, as I occasioned calamities to them when I was their enemy. However, if you have any other purpose concerning me, let loose your resentment at once and grant me the speediest death by sacrificing the suppliant with your own hand and at your own hearth.”

[2.1] While he was yet speaking these words Tullus gave him his hand and, raising him for the hearth, bade him be assured that he should not be treated in any manner unworthy of his valour, and said he felt himself under great obligations to him for coming to him, declaring that he looked upon even this as no small honour. He promised him also that he would make all the Volscians his friends, beginning with those of his own city; and not one of his promises did he fail to make good. [2] Soon afterwards Marcius and Tullus conferred together in private and came to a decision to begin war against the Romans. Tullus proposed to put himself immediately at the head of all the Volscians and march on Rome while the Romans were still at odds and had generals averse to war. But Marcius insisted that they ought first to establish a righteous and just ground for war; for he pointed out that the gods take a hand in all actions, and especially in those relating to war, in so far as these are of greater consequence than any others and their outcome is generally uncertain. It happened that there was at that time an armistice and a truce existing between the Romans and the Volscians and also a treaty for two years which they had made a short time before: [3] "If, therefore, you make war upon them inconsiderately and hastily," he said, "you will be to blame for the breaking of the treaty, and Heaven will not be propitious to you; whereas, if you wait till they do this, you will seem to be defending yourselves and coming to the aid of a broken treaty. How this may be brought about and how they may be induced to violate the treaty first, while we shall seem to be waging a righteous and just war against them, I have discovered after long consideration. It is necessary that the Romans should be deceived by us, in order that they may be the first to commit unlawful acts. [4] The nature of this deceit, which I have hitherto kept secret while awaiting the proper occasion for its employment, but am now forced, because of your eagerness for action, to disclose sooner than I wished, is as follows. The Romans are intending to perform sacrifices and exhibit very magnificent games at vast expense, at which great numbers of strangers will be present as spectators. [5] Wait for this occasion, and then not only go thither yourself, but engage as many of the Volscians as you can to go also and see the games. And when you are in Rome, bid one of your closest friends go to the consuls and inform them privately that the Volscians are intending to attack the city by night and that it is for this purpose that they have come to Rome in so great numbers. For you may be assured that if they hear this they will expel you Volscians from the city without further hesitation and furnish you with a ground for just resentment."

[3.1] When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleased, and letting that opportunity for his expedition pass, employed himself in preparing for the war. When the time for the beginning of the festival had come, Julius and Pinarius having already succeeded to the consulship, the flower of the Volscian youth came from every city, as Tullus requested, to see the games; and the greater part of them were obliged to quarter themselves in sacred and

public places, as they could not find lodgings in private houses and with friends. And when they walked in the streets, they went about in small groups and companies, so that there was already talk about them in the city and strange suspicions. [2] In the mean time the informer suborned by Tullus, pursuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the consuls, and pretending that he was going to reveal a secret matter to his enemies against his own friends, bound the consuls by oaths, not only to insure his own safety, but also to insure that none of the Volscians should learn who had given the information concerning the alleged plot. [3] The consuls believed his story and immediately convened the senate, summoning the members individually; and the informer, being brought before them and receiving their assurances, gave to them also the same account. The senators even long before this had looked upon it as a circumstance full of suspicion that such numbers of young men should come to see the games from a single nation which was hostile to them, and now that information too was given, the duplicity of which they did not perceive, their opinion was turned into certainty. It was their unanimous decision, therefore, to send the men out of the city before sunset and to order proclamation to be made that all who did not obey should be put to death; and they decreed that the consuls should see to it that their departure took place without insult and in safety.

[4.1] After the senate had passed this vote some went through the streets making proclamation that the Volscians should depart from the city immediately and that they should all go out by a single gate, the one called the Capuan gate, while others together with the consuls escorted them on their departure. And then particularly, when they went out of the city at the same time and by the same gate, it was seen how numerous they were and how fit all were for service. First of them to depart was Tullus, who went out in haste, and taking his stand in a suitable place not far from the city, picked up those who lagged behind. [2] And when they were all gathered together, he called an assembly and inveighed at length against the Roman people, declaring that it was an outrageous and intolerable insult that the Volscians had received at their hands in being the only strangers to be expelled from the city. He asked that each man should report this treatment in his own city and take measures to put a stop to the insolence of the Romans by punishing them for their lawless behaviour. After he had spoken thus and sharpened the resentment of the Volscians, who were already exasperated at the usage they had met with, he dismissed the assembly. [3] When they returned to their several cities and each related to his fellow citizens the insult they had received, exaggerating what had occurred, every city was angered and unable to restrain its resentment; and sending ambassadors to one another, they demanded that all the Volscians should meet together in a single assembly in order to adopt a common plan concerning war. [4] All this was done chiefly at the instigation of Tullus. And the authorities from every city together with a great multitude of other people assembled at Ecetra; for this city seemed the most conveniently

situated with respect to the others for a general assembly. After many speeches had been made by the men in power in each city, the votes of all present were taken; and the view which carried was to begin war, since the Romans had first transgressed in the matter of the treaty.

[5.1] When the authorities had proposed to the assembly to consider in what manner they ought to carry on the war against them, Tullus came forward and advised them to summon Marcius and inquire of him how the power of the Romans might be overthrown, since he knew better than any man both the weakness and the strength of the commonwealth. This met with their approval, and at once they all cried out to summon the man. Then Marcius, having found the opportunity he desired, rose up with downcast looks and with tears in his eyes and after a brief pause spoke as follows:

[2] “If I thought you all entertained the same opinion of my misfortune, I should not think it necessary to make any defence of it; but when I consider that, as is to be expected among many men of different characters, there are some to whom will occur the notion, neither true nor deserved by me, that the people would not have banished me from my country without a real and just cause, I think it necessary above all things first to clear myself publicly before you all in the matter of my banishment. [3] But have patience with me, I adjure you by the gods, even those of you who are beside acquainted with the facts, while I relate what I have suffered from my enemies and show that I have not deserved this misfortune which has befallen me; and do not be anxious to hear what you must do before you have inquired what sort of man I am who am now going to express my opinion. The account I shall give of these matters will be brief, even though I begin from far back.

[4] “The original constitution of the Romans was a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy. Afterwards Tarquinius, their last king, thought fit to make his government a tyranny; for which reason the leading men of the aristocracy, combining against him, expelled him from the state, and taking upon themselves the administration of public affairs, formed such a system of government as all men acknowledge to be the best and wisest. Not long ago, however, but only two or three years since, the poorest and idlest of the citizens, having bad men as their leaders, not only committed many other outrages, but at last endeavoured to overthrow the aristocracy. [5] At this all the leaders of the senate were grieved and thought they ought to consider how the insolence of these disturbers of the government could be stopped; but more active in this regard than the other aristocrats, were, of the older senators, Appius, a man deserving of praise on many accounts, and, of the younger men, I myself. And the speeches which on every occasion we made before the senate were frank, not by way of making war upon the populace, but from a suspicion we had of government by the worst elements; nor again from a wish to enslave any of the Romans, but from a desire that the liberty of all might be preserved and the management of public affairs be entrusted to the best men.

[6.1] “This being observed by those most unprincipled leaders of the

populace, they resolved to remove first out of their way the two of us who most openly opposed them — not, however, by attacking us both at once, lest the attempt should appear invidious and odious, but beginning with me who was the younger and the easier to be dealt with. In the first place, then, they endeavoured to destroy me without a trial; and after that they demanded that I be delivered up by the senate in order to be put to death. But having failed of both purposes, they summoned me to a trial in which they themselves were to be my judges, and charged me with aiming at tyranny. [2] They had not learned even this much — that no tyrant makes war upon the populace by allying himself with the best men, but, on the contrary, destroys the best element in the state with the aid of the populace. And they did not give me the tribunal that was traditional, by summoning the centuriate assembly, but rather a tribunal which all admit to be most unprincipled — one set up in my case and mine alone — in which the working class and vagabonds and those who plot against the possessions of others were sure to prevail over good and just men and such as desire the safety of the commonwealth. [3] This profit, then, and no more did I gain from my innocence, that, though tried by the mob, of which the greater part were haters of the virtuous and for that reason hostile to me, I was condemned by two votes only, even though the tribunes threatened to resign their power if I were acquitted, alleging that they expected to suffer the worst at my hands, and though they displayed all eagerness and zeal against me during the trial. [4] After meeting with such treatment at the hands of my fellow citizens I felt that the rest of my life would not be worth living unless I took revenge upon them; and for this reason, when I was at liberty to live free from vexations either in any of the Latin cities I pleased, because of our ties of kinship, or in the colonies lately planted by our fathers, I was unwilling to do so, but took refuge with you, though I knew you had suffered ever so many wrongs at the hands of the Romans and had conceived the greatest resentment against them, in order that in conjunction with you I might take revenge upon them to the utmost of my power, both by words what words were wanted, and by deeds, where deeds were wanted. And I feel very grateful to you for receiving me, and still more for the honour you show me, without either resenting or taking into account the injuries which you received from me, your erstwhile enemy, during the wars.

[7.1] “Come now, what kind of man should I be if, deprived as I am of the glory and honours I ought to be receiving from my fellow citizens to whom I have rendered great services, and, in addition to this, driven away from my country, my family, my friends, from the gods and sepulchres of my ancestors and from every enjoyment, and if, finding all these things among you against whom I made war for their sake, I should not become harsh toward those whom have found enemies instead of fellow citizens, and helpful to those whom I have found friends instead of enemies? For my part, I could not count as a real man anyone who feels neither anger against those who make war upon him nor affection for those who seek his preservation. And I regard as

my fatherland, not that state which has renounced me, but the one of which I, an alien, have become a citizen; and as a friendly land, not the one in which I have been wronged, but that in which I find safety. [2] And if Heaven lends a hand and your assistance is as eager as I have reason to expect, I have hopes that there will be a great and sudden change. For you must know that the Romans, having already had experience of many enemies, have feared none more than you, and that there is nothing they continue to seek more earnestly than the means of weakening your nation. [3] And for this reason they hold a number of your cities which they have either taken by war or deluded with the hope of their friendship, in order that you may not all unite and engage in a common war against them. If, therefore, you will strive unceasingly to counteract their designs and will all be of one mind about war, as you are now, you will easily put an end to their power.

[8.1] "As to the manner in which you will wage the contest and how you will handle the situation, since you ask me to express my opinion — whether this be a tribute to my experience or to my goodwill or to both — I shall give it without concealing anything. In the first place, therefore, I advise you to consider how you may provide yourselves with a righteous and just pretext for the war. And what pretext for war will be not only righteous and just but also profitable to you at the same time, you shall now learn from me. [2] The land which originally belonged to the Romans is of small extent and barren, but the acquired land which they possess as a result of robbing their neighbours is large and fertile; and if each of the injured nations should demand the return of the land that is theirs, nothing would be so insignificant, so weak, and so helpless as the city of Rome. In doing this I think you ought to take the lead. [3] Send ambassadors to them, therefore, to demand back your cities which they are holding, to ask that they evacuate all the forts they have erected in your country, and to persuade them to restore everything else belonging to you which they have appropriated by force. But do not begin war till you have received their answer. For if you follow this advice, you will obtain one of two things you desire: you will either recover all that belongs to you without danger and expense or will have found an honourable and a just pretext for war. For not to covet the possessions others, but to demand back what is one's own and, failing to obtain this, to declare war, will be acknowledged by all men to be an honourable proceeding. [4] Well then, what do you think the Romans will do if you choose this course? Do you think they will restore the places to you? And if they do, what is to hinder them from relinquishing everything that belongs to others? For the Aequians, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians, and many others will come each to get back their own land. Or do you think they will retain these places and refuse all your just demands? That is my opinion. Protesting, therefore, that they wronged you first, you will of necessity have recourse to arms, and you will have for your allies all who, having been deprived of their possessions, despair of recovering them by any other means than by war. [5] This is a most favourable and a unique

opportunity which Fortune has provided for the wronged nations, an opportunity for which they could not even have hoped, of attacking the Romans while they are divided and suspicious of one another and while they have generals who are inexperienced in war. These, then, Rome the considerations which it was fitting to suggest in words and urge upon friends, and I have offered them in all goodwill and sincerity. But when it comes to the actual deeds, what it will be necessary to foresee and contrive upon each occasion, leave the consideration of those matters to the commanders of the forces. [6] For my zeal also shall not be wanting in whatever post you may place me, and I shall endeavour to do my duty with no less bravery than any common soldier or captain or general. Pray take me and use me wherever I may be of service to you, and be assured that if, when I fought against you, I was able to do you great mischief, I shall also be able, when I fight on your side, to be of great service to you.”

[9.1] Thus Marcius spoke. And the Volscians not only made it clear while he was yet speaking that they were pleased with his words, but, after he had done, they all with a great shout signified that they found his advice most excellent; and permitting no one else to speak, they adopted his proposal. After the decree had been drawn up they at once chose the most important men out of every city and sent them to Rome as ambassadors. As for Marcius, they voted that he should be a member of the senate in every city and have the privilege of standing for the magistracies everywhere, and should share in all the other honours that were most highly prized among them. [2] Then, without waiting for the Romans’ answer, they all set to work and employed themselves in warlike preparations; and all of them who had hitherto been dejected because of their defeats in the previous battles now took courage, feeling confident that they would overthrow the power of the Romans. [3] In the mean time the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, upon being introduced into the senate, said that the Volscians were very desirous that their complaints against the Romans should be settled and that for the future they should be friends and allies without fraud or deceit. And they declared that it would be a sure pledge of friendship if they received back the lands and the cities which had been taken from them by the Romans; otherwise there would be neither peace nor secure friendship between them, since the injured party is always by nature an enemy to the aggressor. And they asked the Romans not to reduce them to the necessity of making war because of their failure to obtain justice.

[10.1] When the ambassadors had thus spoken, the senators ordered them to withdraw, after which they consulted by themselves. Then, when they had determined upon the answer they ought to make, they called them back into the senate and gave this decision: “We are not unaware, Volscians, that it is not friendship you want, but that you wish to find a specious pretext for war. For you well know that you will never obtain what you have come to demand of us, since you desire things that are unjust and impossible. [2] If, indeed,

having made a present to us of these places, you now, having changed your minds, demand them back, you are suffering a wrong if you do not recover them; but if, having been deprived of them by war and no longer having any claim to them, you demand them back, you are doing wrong in coveting the possessions of others. As for us, we regard as in the highest degree our possessions those that we gain through victory in war. We are not the first who have established this law, nor do we regard it as more a human than a divine institution. Knowing, too, that all nations, both Greeks and barbarians, make use of this law, we will never show any sign of weakness to you or relinquish any of our conquests hereafter. [3] For it would be great baseness for one to lose through folly and cowardice what one has acquired by valour and courage. We neither force you to go to war against your will nor deprecate war if you are eager for it; but if you begin it, we shall defend ourselves. Return this answer to the Volscians, and tell them that, though they are the first to take up arms, we shall be the last to lay them down.”

[11.1] The ambassadors, having received this answer, reported it to the Volscian people. Another assembly was accordingly called and a decree of the whole nation was passed to declare war against the Romans. After this they appointed Tullus and Marcius generals for the war with full power and voted to levy troops, to raise money, and to prepare everything else they thought would be necessary for the war, [2] When the assembly was about to be dismissed, Marcius rose up and said: “What your league has voted is all well and good; and let each provision be carried out at the proper season. But while you are planning to enrol your armies and making other preparations which, in all probability, will involve some to and delay, let Tullus and me set to work. As many of you, therefore, as wish to plunder the enemy’s territory and to gain much booty, come with us. I undertake, with the assistance of Heaven, to give you many rich spoils. [3] For the Romans, observing that your forces have not yet been assembled, are as yet unprepared; so that we shall have an opportunity of overrunning as large a part of their country as we please without molestation.”

[12.1] The Volscians having approved of this proposal also, the generals marched out in haste at the head of a numerous army of volunteers before the Romans were informed of their plans. With a part of this force Tullus invaded the territory of the Latins, in order to cut off from the enemy any assistance from that quarter; and with the remainder Marcius marched against the Romans’ territory. [2] As the calamity fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken and many slaves and no small number of oxen, beasts of burden, and other cattle; as for the corn that was found there, the iron tools and the other implements with which the land is tilled, some were carried away and others destroyed. For at the last the Volscians set fire to the country-houses, so that it would be a long time before those who had lost them could restore them. [3] The farms of the plebeians suffered most in this respect, while those of the patricians remained

unharmd, or, if they received any damage, it seemed to fall only on their slaves and cattle. For Marcius thus instructed the Volscians, in order to increase the suspicion of the plebeians against the patricians and to keep the sedition alive in the state; and that is just what happened. [4] For when this raid upon the country was reported to the Romans and they learned that the calamity had not fallen upon all alike, the poor clamoured against the rich, accusing them of bringing Marcius against them, while the patricians endeavoured to clear themselves by declaring that this was some malicious trick on the part of the general. But neither of them, because of mutual jealousy and fear of treachery, thought fit either to come to the rescue of what was being destroyed or to save what was left; so that Marcius had full liberty to withdraw his army and to bring all his men home after they had done as much harm as they pleased, while suffering none themselves, and had enriched themselves with much booty. [5] Tullus also arrived a little later from the territory of the Latins, bringing with him many spoils; for there too the inhabitants had no army with which to engage the enemy, since they were unprepared and the calamity fell upon them unexpectedly. As a result of this every city of the Volscians was buoyed up with hope, and more quickly than anyone would have expected not only were the troops enrolled, but everything else was supplied that the generals needed.

[13.1] When all their forces were now assembled, Marcius took counsel with his colleague how they should conduct their future operations; and he said to him: "In my opinion, Tullus, it will be best for us to divide our army into two bodies; then one of us, taking the most active and eager of the troops, should engage the enemy, and if they can bring themselves to come to close quarters with us, should decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they hesitate, as I think they will, to stake their all upon a newly raised army and inexperienced generals, then he should attack and lay waste their country, detach their allies, destroy their colonies, and do them any other injury he can. [2] And the other should remain here and defend both the country and the cities, lest the enemy fall upon these unawares, if they are unguarded, and we ourselves suffer the most shameful of all disgraces in losing what we have while endeavouring to gain what we have not. But it is necessary that the one who remains here should at once repair the walls of the cities that have fallen in ruin, clear out the ditches, and strengthen the fortresses to serve as places of refuge for the husbandmen. He should also enrol another army, supply the forces that are in the field with provisions, forge arms, and speedily supply anything else that shall be necessary. [3] Now I give you the choice whether you will command the army that is to take the field, or the one which is to remain here." While he was speaking these words Tullus was greatly delighted with his proposal, and knowing the man's energy and good fortune in battle, yielded to him the command of the army that was to take the field.

[14] Marcius, without losing any more time, came with his army to the city of Circeii, in which there were Roman colonists living intermingled with the

native residents; and he took possession of the town as soon as he appeared before it. For when the Circeians saw their country in the power of the Volscians and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates, and coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, asked them to take possession of the town — a course which saved them from suffering any irreparable mischief. [2] For the general put none of them to death nor expelled any from the city; but having taken clothing for his soldiers and provisions sufficient for a month, together with a moderate sum of money, he withdrew his forces, leaving only a small garrison in the town, not only for the safety of the inhabitants, lest they should suffer some harm at the hands of the Romans, but also to restrain them from beginning any rebellion in the future.

[3] When news of what had happened was brought to Rome, there was much greater confusion and disorder than before. The patricians reproached the populace with having driven from the state a man who was a great warrior, energetic, and full of noble pride, by involving him in a false charge and having thus caused him to become general of the Volscians; [4] and the leaders of the populace in turn inveighed against the senate, declaring that the whole affair was a piece of treachery devised by them and that the war was being directed, not against all the Romans in common, but against the plebeians only; and the most evil-minded element among the populace sided with them. But neither party gave so much as a thought to raising armies, summoning the allies, or making the necessary preparations, by reason of their mutual hatreds and their actions of one another in the meetings of the assembly.

[15.1] This being observed by the oldest of the Romans, they joined together and sought to persuade the most seditious of the plebeians both in public and in private to put a stop to their suspicions and accusations against the patricians. If, they argued, by the banishment of one man of distinction the commonwealth had been brought into so great danger, what were they to expect if by their abusive treatment they forced the greater part of the patricians to entertain the same sentiments? Thus these men appeased the disorderliness of the populace. [2] After the great tumult had been suppressed, the senate met and gave the following answer to the ambassadors who had come from the Latin League to ask for armed assistance: That it was not easy for them to send assistance for the time being; but that they gave the Latins leave to enrol their own army themselves and to send out their own generals in command of their forces until the Romans should send out a force; for by the treaty of friendship they had made with the Latins both these things were forbidden. [3] The senate also ordered the consuls to raise an army by levy, to guard the city, and to summon the allies, but not to take the field with their forces till everything was in readiness. These resolutions were ratified by the people. Only a short time now remained of the consuls' term of office, so that they were unable to carry to completion any of the measures that had been voted, but handed over everything half finished to their successors.

[16.1] Those who assumed office after them, Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius, raised as large an army as they could from the register of citizens, and placed beacons and lookouts in the most convenient fortresses, in order that they might not be unaware of anything that passed in the country. They also got ready a great quantity of money, corn and arms in a short time. [2] These preparations at home, then, were made in the best manner possible, and nothing now seemed to be wanting; but the allies did not all obey their summons with alacrity nor were they disposed to assist them voluntarily in the war, so that the consuls did not think fit to use compulsion either with them, for fear of treachery. Indeed, some of the allies were already openly revolting from them and aiding the Volscians. [3] The Aequians had begun the revolt by going at once to the Volscians as soon as the war arose and entering into an alliance with them under oath; and these sent to Marcius a very numerous and zealous army. After these had taken the lead, many of the other allies also secretly assisted the Volscians and sent them reinforcements, though not in pursuance of any votes or general decree, but if any of their people desired to take part in the campaign of Marcius, they not only did not attempt to dissuade them, but even encouraged them. [4] Thus in a short time the Volscians had got so large an army as they had never possessed when their cities had been in the most flourishing state. At the head of this army Marcius made another irruption into the territory of the Romans, and encamping there for many days, laid waste all the country which he had spared in his former incursion. [5] He did not, it is true, capture many persons of free condition on this expedition; for the inhabitants had long since fled, after getting together everything that was most valuable, some to Rome and others to such of the neighbouring fortresses as were most capable of defence; but he took all the cattle they had not been able to driven away, together with the slaves who tended them, and carried off the corn, that still lay upon the threshing-floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering or already gathered. [6] Having ravaged and laid everything waste, as none dared to come to grips with him, he led homeward his army, which was now heavily burdened with the great amount of its spoils and was proceeding in leisurely fashion.

[17.1] The Volscians, seeing the vast quantity of booty that was being brought home and hearing reports of the craven spirit of the Romans who, though they had hitherto been wont to ravage their neighbours' country, could now bear to see their own laid waste with impunity, were filled with great boastfulness and entertained hopes of the supremacy, looking upon it as an easy undertaking, lying ready to their hands, to overthrow the power of their adversaries. They offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods for their success and adorned their temples and market-places with dedications of spoils, and all passed their time in festivals and rejoicings; while as for Marcius, they continued to admire and celebrate him as the ablest of all men in warfare and a general without an equal either at Rome or in the Greek or

barbarian world. [2] But above all they admired him for his good fortune, observing that everything he undertook easily succeeded according to his desire; so that there was no one of military age who was willing to be left behind by him, but all were eager to share in his exploits and flocked to him from every city. [3] The general, after he had strengthened the zeal of the Volscians and reduced the manly fortitude of the enemy to a helplessness that was abject and anything but manly, led his army against the cities of their allies that still remained faithful to them; and having promptly prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, he marched against the Toleriensens, who belonged to the Latin nation. [4] These, having long before made the necessary preparations for war and transported all the effects they had in the country into the city, withstood his attack and held out for some time, fighting from their walls and wounding many of the enemy; then, after being driven back by the slingers and enduring hardships till the late afternoon, they abandoned many parts of the wall. [5] When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered some of the soldiers to plant ladders against those parts of the wall that were left unprotected, while he himself with the flower of his army hastened to the gates amid a shower of spears that were hurled at him from the towers; and breaking the bars asunder, he was the first to enter the city. Close to the gates stood a large and strong body of the enemy's troops, who stoutly withstood his attack and continued to fight for a long time; but when many of them had been killed, the rest gave way and, dispersing themselves, fled through the streets. [6] Marcius followed, putting to death all whom he overtook except those who threw away their arms and had recourse to supplications. In the meantime the men who had ascended by the ladders were making themselves masters of the wall. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius set aside such of the spoils as were to be consecrated to the gods and to adorn the cities of the Volscians, and the rest he permitted the soldiers to plunder. [7] Many prisoners were taken there, also a great deal of money and much corn, so that it was not easy for the victors to remove everything in one day, but they were forced to consume much time while, working in relays, they drove or carried away the booty, either on their own backs or using beasts of burden.

[18.1] The general, after all the prisoners and effects had been removed out of the city, left it desolate and drew off his forces to Bola, another town of the Latins. The Bolani also, as it chanced, had been apprised of his intended attack and had prepared everything necessary for the struggle. Marcius, who expected to take the town by storm, delivered his attacks upon many parts of the wall. But the Bolani, after watching for a favourable opportunity, opened their gates, and sallying out in force in regular array, engaged the front ranks of the enemy; then, after killing many of them and wounding still more and after forcing the rest to a shameful flight, they retired into the city. [2] When Marcius learned of rout of the Volscians — for it chanced that he was not present in the place where this defeat occurred — he came up in haste with a

few of his men, and rallying those who were dispersed in the flight, he formed them into a body and encouraged them. Then, having got them back in their ranks and indicated what they were to do, he ordered them to attack the town at the same gates. [3] When the Bolani once more tried the same expedient, sallying out in force, the Volscians did not await them, but gave way and fled down hill, as their general had instructed them to do; and the Bolani, ignorant of the ruse, pursued them a considerable way. Then, when they were at a distance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of chosen youth; and many of the Bolani fell, some while defending themselves and others while endeavouring to escape. [4] Marcius pursued those who were being pushed back toward the town and forced his way inside the walls before the gates could be slammed shut. When the general had once made himself master of the gates, the rest of the Volscian host followed, and the Bolani, abandoning the walls, fled to their houses. Marcius, having possessed himself of this city also, gave leave to the soldiers to make slaves of the inhabitants and to seize their effects; and after carrying away all the booty at his leisure and with full liberty, as before, he set fire to the town.

[19.1] From there he took his army and marched against the place called Labici. This city too belonged then to the Latins and was, like the others, a colony of the Albans. In order to terrify the inhabitants, as soon as he entered their territory he set fire to the part of the country from which the flames would most clearly be seen by them. But the Labicani, since they had well-constructed walls, neither became terrified at his invasion nor showed any sign of weakness, but made a brave resistance and often repulsed the enemy as they were attempting to scale the walls. [2] Notwithstanding this, they were not able to resist to the end, fighting as they were few against many and without the least respite. For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volscians, who fought in shifts, those who were fatigued continually retiring and other forces that were fresh taking their place; and the inhabitants, contending against these all day, without any respite even at night, were forced through exhaustion to abandon at walls. Marcius, having taken this city also, made slaves of the inhabitants and allowed his soldiers to divide the spoils. [3] Thence he marched to Pedum — this also was a city of the Latins — and advancing with his army in good order, he took the town by storm as soon as he came near the walls. And having treated it in the same manner as the cities he had captured earlier, he led his forces at break of day against Corbio. [4] When he was near its walls, the inhabitants opened their gates and came to meet him, holding out olive-branches instead of weapons and offering to surrender their walls without striking a blow. Marcius, after commending them for adopting the course that was to their best interest, ordered them to come out bringing whatever his army required, both money and corn; and having obtained what he demanded, he led his forces to Corioli. When the inhabitants of this place also surrendered it without resistance and very readily supplied his army with provisions and money and everything else

that he ordered, he led the army away through their territory as through a friendly land. [5] For this too was a matter about which he always took great care — that those who surrendered their cities to him should suffer none of the ills incident to war, but should get back their lands unravaged and recover all the cattle and slaves they had left behind on their farms; and he would not permit his army to quarter itself in the cities, lest some mischief should result from their plundering or stealing, but he always encamped near the walls.

[20.1] Departing from this city, he led his army to Bovillae, which was then a city of note and counted as one of the very few leading cities of the Latin nation. When the inhabitants would not receive him, but trusted in their ramparts, which were very strong, and in the multitude of defenders who would fight from them, Marcius exhorted his men to fight ardently, promising great rewards to those who should first mount the walls, and then set to work; and a sharp battle took place for this city. For the Bovillani not only repulsed the assailants from the walls, but even threw open their gates, and sallying out in a body, forcibly thrust back down hill those who opposed them. Here the Volscians suffered very heavy losses and the battle for the walls continued a long time, so that all despaired of taking the town. But the general caused the loss of those who were slain to pass unnoticed by replacing them with others, and inspired with fresh courage those who were spent with toil by pressing forward himself to that part of the army which was in distress. Thus not only his words, but his actions also were incentives to valour; for he faced every danger and was not found wanting in any attempt till the walls were taken. [3] When at length he had made himself master of this city also and had summarily put to death some of the inhabitants and made prisoners of the rest, he withdrew his forces, having won a most glorious victory and carrying off great quantities of the finest spoils, besides enriching his army with vast amounts of money he had got possession of in this city, where it was found in greater quantity than in any of the places he had captured.

[21.1] After this all the country he marched through submitted to him and no city made any resistance but Lavinium, which was the first city built by the Trojans who land in Italy with Aeneas, and the one from which the Romans derive their origin, as I have shown earlier. The inhabitants of this city thought they ought to suffer any extremity rather than fail to keep faith with their descendants. [2] Here, therefore, some stubborn fighting took place upon the walls and some sharp engagements before the ramparts; nevertheless, the walls were not carried by storm at the first assault, but their capture seemed to require time and unhurried persistence. Marcius accordingly gave over the attack on the walls and undertook to construct a ditch and a palisade around the town, while guarding all the roads so that neither provisions nor reinforcements might come to the inhabitants from outside.

[3] The Romans, being informed both of the destruction of the cities that were already taken and of the exigency which had influenced those who had

joined Marcius, and importuned by the embassies which came to them daily from those who continued firm in their friendship and besought their aid, and being alarmed, moreover, by the investment of Lavinium then in progress and believing that if this stronghold should be taken the war would promptly come to their own gates, thought the only remedy for all these evils would be to pass a vote for the return of Marcius. [4] The entire populace shouted for this and the tribunes too wished to introduce a law for the annulment of his condemnation; but the patricians opposed them, being determined not to reverse any part of the sentence which had been pronounced. And as no preliminary decree was passed by the senate, the tribunes too no longer thought fit to propose the matter to the populace. [5] It may well excite wonder what the motive was that led the senate, which hitherto had so warmly espoused the cause of Marcius, to oppose the populace on this occasion when they wished to recall him — whether they were sounding out the sentiment of the populace and arousing them to greater zeal by their own reluctance to yield to them, or whether they wished to clear themselves of the accusations brought against them so that they might not be held to be either responsible for or accomplices in any of the acts of Marcius. For as their purpose was kept secret, it was difficult to conjecture what it was.

[22.1] Marcius, being informed of these events by some deserters, was so angry that he broke camp at once and marched on Rome, leaving a sufficient force to keep guard over Lavinium; and he straightway encamped at the place called the Cluilian Ditches, at a distance of forty stades from the city. [2] When the Romans heard of his presence there, such confusion fell upon them, in their belief that the war would at once come to their walls, that some seized their arms and ran to the walls without orders, others went in a body to the gates without anyone to command them, some armed their slaves and took their stand on the roofs of their houses, and still others seized the citadel and the Capitol and the other strong places of the city; and the women, with their hair dishevelled, ran to the sanctuaries and to the temples, lamenting and praying to the gods to avert the danger that threatened. [3] But when the night had passed, as well as most of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared befell them, but Marcius remained quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the Forum and called upon the patricians to assemble in the senate-house, declaring that if they would not pass the preliminary decree for the return of Marcius, they themselves, as men who were being betrayed, would take measures for their own protection. [4] Then at last the senators met in the senate-house and voted to send to Marcius five of their oldest members who were his closest friends, to treat for reconciliation and friendship. The men chosen were Marcus Minucius, Postumus Cominius, Spurius Larcius, Publius Pinarius and Quintus Sulpicius, all ex-consuls. [5] When they came to the camp and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he seated himself in the midst of the most important of the Volscians and their allies, where very many would hear all that was said, and then ordered the envoys to be summoned. When

these came in, Minucius, who during his consulship had been most active in his favour and had distinguished himself by his opposition to the plebeians, spoke first, as follows:

[23.1] “We are all sensible, Marcius, that you have suffered injustice at the hands of the populace in having been banished from your country under a foul accusation, and we do not regard it as anything strange on your part if you feel anger and resentment at your misfortunes. For common to the nature of all men is this law — that the injured party is an enemy to the aggressor. [2] But that you do not examine in the light of sober reason who those are whom you ought to requite and punish, nor show any moderation in exacting that punishment, but class together the innocent with the guilty and friends with enemies, and that you violate the inviolable laws of Nature, confound the duties of religion, and, even as to yourself, no longer remember from whom you are sprung and what sort of man you are — that has seemed strange to us.

[3] We have come now, the oldest of the patricians and the most zealous of your friends, sent by the commonwealth to present our defence mingled with entreaty, and to bring word upon what conditions we ask you to lay aside your enmity toward the populace; and furthermore, to advise you of the course which we believe will be the most honourable and advantageous for you.

[24.1] “Let me speak first concerning the point of justice. The plebeians, inflamed by the tribunes, conspired against you and came with the intention of putting you to death without a trial, because they feared you. This attempt we of the senate prevented, and we permitted you to suffer no injustice on that occasion. Afterwards the same men who had been prevented from destroying you summoned you to trial, charging you with having uttered malicious words about them in the senate. [2] We opposed this too, as you know, and would not permit you to be brought to trial either for your opinion or for your words. Disappointed in this also, they came to us at last, accusing you at aiming at tyranny. This charge you yourself consented to answer, since you were far from guilty of it, and you permitted the plebeians to give their votes concerning you. [3] The senate was present on this occasion also and made many pleas in your behalf. Of which of the misfortunes, then, that have befallen you have we patricians been the cause? And why do you make war upon us who showed so much goodwill toward you during that contest? But, for that matter, not even all the plebeians were found to desire your banishment; at any rate, you were condemned by two votes only, so that you could not with justice be an enemy to those plebeians, either, who acquitted you as guilty of no wrongdoing. [4] I will assume, however, if you wish, that it was pursuant to the vote of all the plebeians and the judgement of the entire senate that you suffered this misfortune, and that your hatred against us all is just; but the women, Marcius, what wrong have they done to you that you should make war upon them? By what vote did they condemn you to banishment, or what malicious words did they utter against you? [5] And our children, what wrong have they done or contemplated doing that they should

be exposed to captivity and to all the other misfortunes which they would presumably suffer if the city should be taken? You are not just in your judgements, Marcius; and if you think you ought to hate those who are guilty and your enemies in such a manner as not to spare even those who are innocent and your friends, then your way of thinking is not such as becomes a good man. [6] But, to omit all these considerations, what, in Heaven's name, could duty answer if anyone should ask you what injury you have received from your ancestors to induce you to destroy their sepulchres and to deprive them of the honours they receive from men? Or resentment at what injury has led you to despoil, burn and demolish the altars of the gods, their shrines and their temples, and to prevent them from receiving their customary worship? What could you say in answer to this? For my part, I see nothing that you could say. [7] Let these considerations of justice suffice, Marcius, both in behalf of us of the senate and of the other citizens whom you are eager to destroy, even though you have suffered no wrong at their hands, and in behalf of the sepulchres, the sanctuaries and the city to which you owe both your birth and your rearing.

[25.1] "Come now, even if it were fitting that all men, even those who have not wronged you at all, together with their wives and children should make atonement to you, and that all the gods, the heroes and the lesser divinities, the city and the country, should reap the benefit of the tribunes' folly, and that nothing whatever should be exempted, nothing go unrevengeed by you, have you not already exacted sufficient punishment from us all you slaying so many people, ravaging so much territory by fire and sword, razing to the ground so many cities, and doing away in many places with the festivals, the sacrifices and the worship of the gods and other divinities and compelling them to go without their festivals and sacrifices and to have no part in their customary honours? [2] For my part, I should have refused to believe that a man who had the least regard for virtue would either destroy his friends along with his enemies or show himself harsh and inexorable in his anger toward those who offend him in any way, especially after he has already exacted from them many severe retributions. [3] These, then, are the considerations we had to offer you by way of both clearing ourselves and asking to be lenient toward the plebeians; and the advice which we, your most valued friends, were ready to give you out of goodwill if you were bent on strife, and the promises we could make if you were ready to be reconciled to your country, are as follows: While your power is greatest and Heaven still assists you, we advise you to act with moderation and to husband your good fortune, bearing in mind that all things are subject to change and that nothing is apt to continue long in the same state. All things that wax too great, when they reach the peak of eminence, incur the displeasure of the gods and are brought to naught again. And this is the fate which comes especially to stubborn and haughty spirits and those that overstep the bounds of human nature. [4] It is in your power now to put an end to the war on the best possible terms; for the whole senate is

eager to pass a vote for your return, and the populace is ready by a law ratifying the senate's vote to annul your sentence of perpetual banishment. What is there, then, to prevent you any longer from enjoying once more the most dear and precious sight of your nearest of kin, from recovering your fatherland that is so well worth fighting for, from ruling, as you ought, over rulers and commanding those who cdm others, and from bequeathing to children and descendants the greatest glory? [5] Moreover, we are the sureties that all these promises will be performed forthwith. For though at present it would not be well for the senate or the people to pass any mild or lenient vote in your favour while you are encamped against us and are committing hostile acts, yet if you lay down your arms, the decree for your return will soon come to you, brought by us.

[26.1] "These, then, are the advantages you will reap by becoming reconciled; whereas, if you psi in your resentment and do not give up your hatred toward us, many disagreeable things will befall you, of which I shall now mention two as the most important and the most obvious. The first is that you have an evil passion for a thing that is difficult of accomplishment, or rather, impossible — the overthrow of the power of Rome, and that too by the arms of the Volscians; the second is that, alike if you succeeded and if you fail, it will be your lot to be looked upon as the most unfortunate of all men. Hear now, Marcius, the reasons that induce me to entertain this opinion concerning you, and take no offence at my frankness of speech. [2] Consider, first, the impossibility of the thing. The Romans, as you yourself know, have a numerous body of youth of their own nation, whom, if the sedition is once banished from among them — and banished it will now inevitably be by this war, since a common fear is wont to reconcile all differences — surely not the Volscians, nay, no other Italian nation either, will ever overcome. Great also is the power of the Latins and of our other allies and colonies, and that power, be assured, will soon come to our assistance. We have generals too of the same ability as yourself, both older men and young, in greater number than are to be found in any other states. [3] But the greatest assistance of all, and one which in times of danger has never betrayed our hopes, and better too than all human strength combined, is the favour of the gods, by whom this city which we inhabit not only continues to this day to preserve her liberty for already the eighth generation, but is also flourishing and the ruler over many nations. [4] And do not liken us to the Pedani, the Toleriensens, or the peoples of the other petty towns you have seized; for a general less able than yourself and with a smaller army than this great host of yours could have reduced small garrisons and slight defences. But consider the greatness of our city, the brilliance of her achievements in war, and the good fortune that abides with her through the favour of the gods, by which she has been raised from a small beginning to her present grandeur. [5] As for your own forces, at the head of which you are undertaking so great an enterprise, do not imagine that they have changed, but bear clearly in mind that you are leading against us an army of mere

Volsians and Aequians, whom we here who are still living were wont to defeat in many battles, yes, as often as they dared to come to an engagement with us. Know, then, that you are going to fight with inferior troops against those that are superior to them, and with troops that are accustomed to defeat every time against those that are always victorious. [6] Yet even if the contrary of this were true, it would still be a matter for wonder how you, who are experienced in warfare, could have failed to observe that courage in the face of danger is not apt to be felt in equal measure by those who fight for their own blessings and by those who set out after what belongs to others. For the latter, if they do not succeed, suffer no loss, whereas the others, if they are defeated, have nothing left. And this is the chief reason why large armies have often been beaten by smaller ones and superior forces by inferior ones. For necessity is formidable, and a struggle in which life itself is at stake is capable of inspiring boldness in a man which was not already his by nature. I had many other things to say concerning the impossibility of your undertaking, but this is enough.

[27.1] “I still have one argument left which, if you will judge of it by reason rather than in anger, will not only seem to you to have been well made, but will also cause you to repent of what you are doing. What is this argument? That the gods have not given it to any mortal creature to possess sure knowledge of future events, and you will not find in all past time a man for whom all his undertakings succeeded according to his plan and whom Fortune thwarted in none. [2] For this reason alone those who excel others in prudence — the fruit of a long life and many lessons from experience — think that they ought, before beginning any enterprise whatever, first to consider its possible outcome — not only the one which they desire for themselves, but also the one which will be contrary to their judgement. And this is particularly true of commanders in wars, the more so because the affairs of which they have charge are of greater importance and because everybody imputes to them the responsibility for both victories and defeats. Then, if they find that no loss inheres in failure, or few and small losses, they set about their undertakings, but if the losses might be many and serious, they abandon them. [3] Do you too, then, follow their example, and before you resort to action, consider what it will be your fate to suffer if you fail in this war and all conditions do not favour you. You will be reproached by those who have received you and you will also blame yourself for having undertaken greater things than are possible; and when our army in turn marches into their territory and lays it waste — for we shall never submit to such injuries without avenging ourselves on our aggressors — you will not be able to avoid one of these two fates: you will be put to death in a shameful manner either by those very men, in whose eyes you will be to blame the great misfortunes, or by us, whom you came to slay and to enslave. [4] But perhaps those others, before they become involved in any misfortune, may, in the attempt to effect an accommodation with us, think fit to deliver up to us to be punished — a course to which many,

both barbarians and Greeks, have been obliged to submit when reduced to such extremities. Do you look upon these as small matters unworthy of your consideration and believe that you ought to overlook them, or rather as the worst evils of all to suffer?

[28.1] “Come now, if you do succeed, what wonderful, what enviable advantage will be yours, or what glory will you gain? For this also you must consider. In the first place, it will be your fate to be deprived of those who are dearest and nearest of kin to you — of an unhappy mother, to whom you are making no honourable return for your birth and rearing and for all the hardships she underwent on your account; and again, of a faithful wife, who through yearning for you sits in solitude and widowhood, lamenting every day and night your banishment; and furthermore of two sons who ought, being descendants of worthy ancestors, to benefit from their honours by being held in high esteem in a flourishing fatherland. [2] But you will be forced to behold the pitiable and unhappy deaths of all these if you dare to bring the war to our walls. For surely no mercy will be shown to any of your family by those who are in danger of losing their own and are treated by you with the same cruelty. On the contrary, they will proceed to inflict on them dreadful tortures, pitiless indignities and every other kind of abuse, if they are forced thereto by their calamities. And for all these things it will not be those who do them that are to blame, but you, who impose the necessity upon them. [3] Such will be the pleasures you will reap if this enterprise of yours succeeds; but as for praise and emulation and honours, which good men ought to strive for, consider of what nature they will be. You will be called the slayer of your mother, the murderer of your children, the assassin of your wife, and the evil genius of your country; wherever you go, no man who is pious and just will be willing to let you partake with him in sacrifices or libations or in the hospitality of his home; and even by those for whom out of friendliness you perform these services you will not be held in honour, but every one of them, after reaping some advantage from your impious actions, will detest your arrogant manner. [4] I forbear to add that, besides the hatred which you will encounter on the part of the most fair-minded men, you will have to face much envy from your equals and fear from your inferiors and, in consequence of both the envy and the fear, plots and many other disagreeable things which are likely to befall a man destitute of friends and living in a foreign land. I say nothing, indeed, of the Furies sent by the gods and other divinities to punish those who have been guilty of impious and dreadful deeds — those Furies tormented by whom in both soul and body they drag out a miserable life while awaiting a pitiable death. Bearing these things in mind, Marcius, repent of your purpose and give up your grudge against your country; and regarding Fortune as having been the cause of all the evils you have suffered at our hands or have inflicted on us, return with joy to your family, receive a mother’s most affectionate embraces, a wife’s sweetest welcome, and give yourself back to your country as a most honourable repayment of the debt you owe to her for having given

birth and rearing to so great a man.”

[29.1] Minucius having spoken in this manner, Marcius after a short pause replied:

“To you, Minucius, and to all others who have been sent here with him by the senate I am a friend and am ready to do you any service in my power, because not only earlier, when I was your fellow citizen and had a share in the administration of public affairs, you assisted me in many times of need, but also after my banishment you did not turn from me in contempt of my then unhappy fate, as if I were no longer able either to serve my friends or to hurt my enemies, but you continued to show yourselves good and staunch friends by taking care of my mother, my wife and my children, and alleviating their misfortune by your personal attentions. [2] But to the rest of the Romans I am as hostile as I can be and am at war with them, and I shall never cease to hate them; for they, in return for the many glorious achievements for which I deserved honour, drove me out of my country with ignominy, as being guilty of the most grievous crimes against the commonwealth, and showed neither respect for my mother, nor compassion for my children, nor any other humane field in view of my misfortunes. [3] Now that you have been informed of this, if you desire anything from me for yourselves, declare it without hesitation, in the assurance that you shall fail of naught that is in my power; but as regards friendship and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into with the populace in the hope that they will let me return, discuss it no more. Great indeed would be the satisfaction with which I should accept restoration to a city like this, in which vice receives the rewards of virtue and the innocent await the punishment of criminals! [4] For come, tell me, in Heaven’s name, with what crime am I charged that I should have experienced this misfortune? Or what course have I pursued that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my first campaign when I was very young, at the time we fought against the kings who were endeavouring to bring about their restoration by force. As a result of that battle I was crowned by the general with a wreath of valour for having saved a citizen and slain an enemy. [5] After that, in every other action I was engaged in, whether of the horse or foot, I distinguished myself in all and from all received the rewards for valour. And there was neither any town taken by storm whose walls I was not the very first or among the first few to mount, nor any flight of the enemy from the field of battle where all who were present did not acknowledge that I had been the chief cause of it, nor any other signal or brave action performed in war without the assistance of either my valour or my good fortune.

[30.1] “These are exploits, it is true, that some other brave man also might perhaps be able to cite in his favour, even if not so many of them; but what general or captain could boast of capturing an entire city, as I captured Corioli, and also of putting to flight the enemy’s army on that very same day, as I did that of the Antiates when it came to the assistance of the besieged? [2] I refrain from adding that after I had given such proofs of my valour, when I

might have received out of the spoils a large amount of gold and silver, as well as slaves, beasts of burden and cattle, and much fertile land, I refused, but desiring to secure myself as far as possible against envy, took only a single war-horse out of the spoils and my personal friend from among the captives, and all the rest of the wealth I brought and turned over to the state. [3] Did I, then, for these actions deserve to suffer punishments, or to receive honours? To become subject to the basest of the citizens, or myself to issue orders to my inferiors? Or perhaps it was not for these reasons that the populace banished me, but rather because in my private life I was unrestrained, extravagant and lawless? And yet who can point to anyone who because of my lawless pleasures has either been banished from his country, or lost his liberty, or been deprived of his money, or met with any other misfortune? On the contrary, no one even of my enemies ever accused or charged me any of these things, but all bore witness that even my daily life was irreproachable. [4] ‘But, great heavens, man,’ some one may say, ‘it was your political principles that aroused hatred and brought this misfortune upon you. For when you had it in your power to choose the better side, you chose the worse, and you continued to say and do everything calculated to effect the overthrow of the established aristocracy and to put the whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of an ignorant and base municipal.’ But I, Minucius, pursued a course the very reverse of that, and sought to provide that the senate should always administer the public business and that the established constitution should be maintained. [5] In return, however, for these honourable principles, which our forefathers thought worthy of emulation, I have received this happy, this blessed reward from my country — to have been banished, not by the populace alone, Minucius, but, long before that, by the senate, which encouraged me at first with vain hopes while I was opposing the tribunes in their efforts to establish a tyranny, promising that it would itself provide for my security, and then, upon the first suspicion of any danger from the plebeians, abandoned me and delivered me up to my enemies! [6] But you yourself were consul at the time, Minucius, when the senate passed the preliminary decree concerning my trial and when Valerius, who advised delivering me up to the populace, gained great applause by his speech, and I, fearing that, if the question were put, I should be condemned by the senators, acquiesced and promised of appear voluntarily for trial.

[31.1] “Come, answer me, Minucius, did I seem to the senate also to deserve punishment for having promoted and pursued the best measures, or to the populace only? For if you were all of the same opinion at that time and if all of you banished me, it is plain that all of you who were of this mind hate virtue and that there is no place in your city for loyalty to principle. But if the senate was forced to yield to the populace and its action was the result of compulsion, not of conviction, you senators admit, I take it, that you are governed by the baser element and that the senate has not the power to act in any matter as it thinks fit. [2] After this do you ask me to return to such a city,

in which the better element is governed by the worse? Then you have judged me capable of an act of sheer madness! But come, suppose that I have been persuaded, and having put an end to the war as you desire, have returned home; what sentiments shall I entertain after this, and what manner of life shall I live? Shall I choose the safe and secure course, and, in order to obtain magistracies, honours and the other advantages of which I think myself worthy, consent to court the mob which has the power of bestowing them? In that case I shall change from a worthy to a base citizen and shall reap no benefit from my former virtue. [3] Or, maintaining the same character and observing the same political principles, shall I oppose those who do not make the same choice? Then is it not obvious that the populace will again make war upon me and insist on exacting fresh penalties, making this very point their first charge against me, that after obtaining my return at their hands I do not humour them in the measures I pursue? You cannot deny it. [4] Then some other bold demagogue, an Icilius or a Decius, will appear who will accuse me of setting the citizens at variance with one another, of forming a plot against the populace, of betraying the commonwealth to the enemy, or of aiming at tyranny, even as Decius charged me, or of any other crime that may occur to him; for hatred will never be at a loss to find an accusation. [5] And, besides the other charges, there will also be brought up presently all the things I have done in this war — that I have laid waste your country, driven off booty, taken your towns, slain some of those who defended them and delivered up others to the enemy. If my accusers charge me with these things, what shall I say to them in my defence, or on what assistance shall I rely?

[32.1] “Is it not therefore plain, Minucius, that your envoys are indulging in fair words and dissimulation, cloaking with a specious name a wicked design? For surely it is not my restoration that you are offering me, but you are taking me back to the populace as a sacrificial victim, perhaps because you have actually planned to do this (for it no longer occurs to me to hold any good opinion of you); [2] but if you wish it so — I am merely assuming this — that it is because you do not foresee any of the things that I shall suffer, what advantage shall I gain from your ignorance or folly, since you will not be able to prevent anything even if you are so disposed, but are compelled to gratify the populace in this too, as in everything else? Now to show that from the point of view of my safety there will be no gain to me in this — ‘restoration,’ as you call it, but I a quick road to destruction, not many more words are called for, I think; but to prove that I will not enhance my reputation, either, or my honour, or my piety — for you, Minucius, asked me to take these into consideration, and rightly — but that, on the contrary, I shall be acting in a most shameful and impious manner if I follow your advice, pray hear in turn what I have to say. [3] I became an enemy to these men here and did them many injuries during the war while I was acquiring sovereignty, power and glory for my country. Was it not fitting, therefore, that I should be honoured by those I had benefited and hated by those I had injured? Certainly, if what

one could reasonably expect had happened. But Fortune upset both these expectations and reversed the two principles. For you Romans, on whose account I was an enemy to these men, deprived me of all my possessions, and making a nobody of me, cast me off; while they, who had suffered those dire evils at my hands, received me into their cities, the resourceless, homeless, humbled outcast. [4] And not content with doing this only, an action so splendid and magnanimous, they also conferred on me citizenship in all their cities, as well as the magistracies and honours that in their country are highest. To omit the rest, they have now appointed me supreme commander of the expeditionary force and have committed to me alone all the interests of their state. [5] Look you, with what heart would I now betray these men by whom I have been decked with such honours, when I have suffered no injury, great or small, at their hands? Unless, indeed, their favours are injurious to me, as mine are to you! A fine reputation forsooth, throughout all the world will such double treachery bring me, when it shall be known! Who would not praise me on hearing that when I found my friends, from whom I had the right to expect kindness, to be my enemies, and my foes, by whom I should have been put to death, to be my friends, instead of hating those who hate me and loving those who love me, I took the opposite view!

[33.1] "Come now, Minucius, consider next the matter of the gods' treatment of me, what it has shown itself to be at present and, if I do let you persuade me to betray the trust reposed in me by these people, what it will be for the rest of my life. At present they assist me in every enterprise I undertake against you and in no attempt am I unsuccessful. [2] And how weighty a testimony to my piety do you consider that? For surely, if I had undertaken an impious war against my country, the gods ought to have opposed me in everything; but since I enjoy the favouring breeze of Fortune in the wars I wage and everything that I attempt goes steadily forward for me, it is evident that I am a pious man and that my choice of conduct has been honourable. [3] What, then, will be my fate if I change my course and endeavour to increase your power and humble theirs? Will it not be just the reverse, and shall I not incur the dire wrath of Heaven which avenges the injured, and just as by the help of the gods I from a low estate have become great, shall I not in turn from a being brought again to a low estate, and my sufferings become lessons to the rest of the world? [4] these are the thoughts that occur to me concerning the gods; and I am persuaded that those Furies you mentioned, Minucius, so frightful and inexorable toward those who have committed any impious deed, will dog my steps and torment both my soul and body only when I abandon and betray those who preserved me after you had ruined me, and, at the same time as they preserved me, conferred upon me many fine marks of their favour, and to whom I gave the gods as guarantors of my pledge that I had not come among them with the purpose of doing them any injury and that I would keep with them the faith which I have hitherto preserved pure and untarnished.

[34.1] “When you call those still my friends, Minucius, who banished me and that nation my country which has renounced me, when you appeal to the laws of Nature and discuss the obligations of religion, you seem to me to be ignorant of the most common facts, of which no one but you is ignorant — namely, that a friend or an enemy is not determined either by the lineaments of a face or by the giving of a name, but both are made manifest by their services and by their deeds, and that we all love those who do us good and hate those who do us harm. No men laid down this law for us nor will men ever annul it if the opposite course seems to them better; on the contrary, it has been enacted from the beginning of time by the universal nature for all creatures endowed with sense, a heritage of man to remain in force forever. [2] For this reason we renounce our friends when they injure us and make friends of our enemies when some kindly service is done for us by them; and we cherish the country that gave us birth when it helps us, but abandon it when it harms us, since our affection is based, not on the place, but on the benefit it confers. [3] These are the sentiments not merely of individual persons in private life, but of whole cities and nations. Consequently, whoever applies this principle demands nothing not sanctioned by religious usage and does nothing that contravenes the common judgement of all mankind. I, therefore, consider that in doing these things I am doing what is just, advantageous and honourable, and at the same time what is most holy in the eyes of the gods; and I do not care to take as judges of my conduct mere men who infer the truth from guesswork and opinion, since the gods are pleased with what I do. Nor do I agreed that I am undertaking impossible things when I have the gods as my guides therein — not, at least, if one is to judge of the future by the past.

[35.1] “As regards the moderation which you recommend to me and your plea that I should not utterly destroy the Roman race or overthrow the city from its foundations, I might answer, Minucius, that this is not in my power to decide, nor should your plea be addressed to me. No, I am general of the army, but as to war and peace these men here have the decision; so apply to them for a truce as a step toward reconciliation, and not to me. [2] Nevertheless, because I revere the gods of my fathers and respect the sepulchres of my ancestors and the land which gave me birth, and feel compassion for your wives and children, on whom, though undeserving, will fall the errors of their fathers and husbands, and, not least of all, on account of you men, Minucius, who have been chosen envoys by the commonwealth, I answer as follows: If the Romans will return to the Volscians the land they have taken from them and the cities they hold, first recalling their colonists, and if they will enter into a league of perpetual friendship with them and give them equal rights of citizenship, as they have done in the case of the Latins, confirming their covenant by oaths and by imprecations against those who may violate it, I will put an end to the war against them, and not until then. [3] So carry this report back to them, and discuss very earnestly with them also,

in the same way as you have with me, these considerations of justice — how fine a thing it is for everyone to enjoy his own possessions and to live in peace, but how disgraceful it is for a people, by clinging to the possessions of others, to expose themselves to an unnecessary war, in which they will run the hazard of losing even all their own blessings. Point out to them also how unequal are the prizes that reward success and failure when men covet the territory of others. Add too, if you please, that people who desire to seize the cities of those they have wronged, if they do not overcome them, are deprived of both their own territory and city, and in addition to this see their wives suffer the greatest indignities, their children led away to contumely, and their parents upon the threshold of old age become slaves instead of free men. [4] And at the same time point out to the senators that they would not be able to impute the blame for these evils to Marcius, but to their own folly; for though they have it in their power to practise justice and to incur no disaster, they will hazard their all by their continual fondness for the possessions of others.

[5] “You have my answer, and you will get nothing further from me. Depart, then, and consider what you must do. I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the meantime, to show my regard for you, Minucius, as well as for the rest of you envoys, I will withdraw my army from your territory, since it would cause you great injury if it remained here. And on the thirtieth day expect my return in order to receive your answer.”

[36.1] Having thus spoken, Marcius rose up and dismissed the conference; and the following night he broke camp about the last watch and led his army against the rest of the Latin cities, either having actually learned that some reinforcements were to come from them to the Romans, as he declared at the time in his harangue to the Romans, or having invented the report himself, in order that he might not seem to have given up the war to gratify the enemy. [2] And attacking the place called Longula, he gained possession of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the same manner as he had treated the others, by making slaves of the inhabitants and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of Satricum, and having taken this also, after a short resistance by the townspeople, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty taken in these two towns to Ecetra, he marched with the rest of his forces to another town, called Cetia. After gaining possession of this place also and pillaging it, he made an irruption into the territory of the Poluscini; and when these were unable to withstand him, he took their city also by storm, and then proceeded against the others in order: the Albietes and the Mugillani he took by assault and the Chorielani by capitulation. [3] Having thus made himself master of seven cities in thirty days, he returned toward Rome with an army much larger than his former force, and encamped at a distance of a little more than thirty stades from the city, on the road that leads to Tusculum

When Marcius was capturing or conciliating the cities of the Latins, the Romans, after long deliberation over his demands, resolved to do nothing

unworthy of the commonwealth, but if the Volscians would depart from their territory and from that of their allies and subjects and, putting an end to the war, send ambassadors to treat for friendship, the senate would pass a preliminary vote fixing the terms on which they should become friends and would lay its resolution before the people; but as long as the Volscians remained in their territory and in that of their allies committing hostile acts they would pass no friendly vote. [4] For the Romans always made it a great point never to do anything at the dictation of an enemy or to yield to fear of him, but when once their adversaries had made peace and acknowledged themselves their subjects, to gratify them and concede anything in reason that they asked. And this proud spirit the commonwealth had continued to preserve down to our own time amid many great dangers in both their foreign and their domestic wars.

[37.1] The senate, having passed this decree, chosen ten other men from among the ex-consuls as envoys to ask Marcius not to make any demand that was severe or unworthy of the commonwealth, but laying aside his resentment and withdrawing his forces from their territory, to endeavour to obtain his demands by persuasion and conciliatory language, if he wished to make the compact between the two states firm and enduring, since all concessions made either to individuals or to state under compulsion of some necessity or crisis become void at once when the crisis or the necessity changes. The envoys appointed by the senate, as soon as they were informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him and used many tempting arguments, preserving also in their discussions, however, the dignity of the commonwealth. [2] But Marcius gave them no answer except to advise them to reach some better decision and then return within three days; for they should have a truce from war for that period only. And when the envoys desired to make some answer to this, he would not permit it, but ordered them to quit the camp immediately, threatening, if they refused, to treat them as spies. Thereupon they at once withdrew in silence. [3] The senators, upon being informed by the envoys of the haughty answer and threats of Marcius, did not even then vote to send out an expeditionary force, either because they feared the inexperience of their troops, most of whom were new recruits, or because they regarded the timidity of the consuls — there was indeed no boldness for action in them at all — as a serious risk in undertaking so great a struggle, or perhaps too because Heaven opposed their expedition by means of auspices, Sibylline oracles, or some traditional religious scruple — warnings which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect as do those of to-day. However, they resolved to guard the city with greater diligence and to repel from their ramparts any who should attack them.

[38.1] While they were so engaged and were making their preparations, and were not yet ready to give up all hope, believing that Marcius could still be persuaded to relent if they sent a larger and more dignified embassy to intercede with him, they voted to send the pontiffs, the augurs, and all the

others who were invested with any sacred dignity or public ministry relating to divine worship (there are among them large numbers of priests and ministers religion, these also being distinguished beyond their fellows not only for their ancestry, but for their reputation for personal merit as well), and that these, carrying with them the symbols of the gods whose rites and worship they performed, and wearing their priestly robes, should go in a body to the enemy's camp bearing the same message as the former envoys. [2] When they arrived and delivered the message with which the senate had charged them, Marcius returned no other answer even to them concerning their demands, but advised them either to depart and do as he commanded, if they wished to have peace, or to expect the war to come to their very gates; and he forbade them to attempt any negotiations with him for the future. [3] When the Romans failed in this attempt also, they gave up all hope of reconciliation and prepared for a siege, disposing the ablest of their men beside the moat and at the gates, and stationing upon the walls those who had been discharged from military service but whose bodies were still capable of enduring hardships.

[39.1] In the meantime their wives, seeing the danger now at hand and abandoning the sense of propriety that kept them in the seclusion of their homes, ran to the shrines of the gods with lamentations and threw themselves at the feet of their statues. And every holy place, particularly the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was filled with the cries and supplications of women. [2] Then it was that one of them, a matron distinguished in birth and rank, who was then in the vigour of life and quite capable of discreet judgement, Valeria by name and sister to Publicola, one of the men who had freed the commonwealth from the kings, moved by some divine inspiration, took her stand upon the topmost step of the temple, and calling the rest of the women to her, first comforted and encouraged them, bidding them not to be alarmed at the danger that threatened. Then she assured them that there was just one hope of safety for the commonwealth and that this hope rested in them alone, if they would do what required to be done. [3] Upon this one of them asked: "And what can we women do to save our country, when the men have given it up for lost? What strength so great do we weak and miserable women possess?" "A strength," replied Valeria, "that calls, not for weapons or hands — for Nature has excused us from the use of these — but for goodwill and speech." And when all cried out and begged of her to explain what this assistance was, Valeria said: [4] "Wearing this squalid and shabby garb and taking with us the rest of the women and our children, let us go to the house of Veturia, the mother of Marcius; and placing the children at her knees, let us entreat her with tears to have compassion both upon us, who have given her no cause for grief, and upon our country, now in the direst peril, and beg of her to go to the enemy's camp, taking along her grandchildren and their mother and all of us — for we must attend her with our children — and becoming the suppliant of her son, to ask and implore him not to inflict any

irreparable mischief on his country. [5] For while she is lamenting and entreating, a feeling of compassion and a tender reasonableness will come over the man. His heart is not so hard and invulnerable that he can hold out against a mother who grovels at his knees.”

[40.1] This advice having been approved of by all the women who were present, she prayed to the gods to invest their plea with persuasion and charm, and then set out from the sanctuary, followed by the others. Afterwards, taking with them the rest of the women, they went in a body to the house of Marcius’ mother. His wife Volumnia saw them approaching as she sat near her mother-in-law, and being surprised at their coming, asked: “What is it you want, women, that so many of you have come to a household that is distressed and in humiliation?” Then Valeria replied: [2] “Because we are in the direst peril, both we ourselves and these children have turned as suppliants to you, Veturia, our one and only succour, entreating you, first, to take compassion on our common country and not to permit this land, which has never fallen under any man’s hand, to be robbed of its freedom by the Volscians — even supposing that they will spare it after subduing it and not endeavour to destroy it utterly; and next, imploring you in our own behalf and in behalf of these unfortunate children that we may not be exposed to the insolence of the enemy, since we are the cause of none of the evils that have befallen your family. [3] If there remains in you any portion of a gentle and humane spirit, do you, Veturia, as a woman, have mercy on women who once shared with you the same sacrifices and rites, and taking with you Volumnia, the good wife of Marcius, and her children, and us suppliant women — ourselves too of noble birth — carrying in our arms these infants, go to your son and try to persuade him, implore him, and cease not to entreat him, asking of him this one favour in return for many — to make peace with his fellow citizens and return to his country that longs to get him back. For you will persuade him, be assured; a man of his piety will not permit you to lie prostrate at his feet. [4] And when you have brought your son back to Rome, not only will you yourself most likely gain immortal glory for having rescued your country from so great a danger and terror, but you will be the cause to us also of some honour in the eyes of our husbands for having ourselves put an end to a war which they had been unable to stop; and we shall show ourselves to be the true descendants of those women who by their own intercession put an end to the war that had arisen between Romulus and the Sabines and by bringing together both the commanders and the nations that made this city great from a small beginning. [5] It is a glorious venture, Veturia, to recover your son, to free your native land, to save your countrywomen, and to leave to posterity an imperishable reputation for virtue. Grant us this favour willingly and cheerfully, and make haste, Veturia; for the danger is acute and admits of no deliberation or delay.”

[41.1] Having said this and shed many tears, she became silent. And when the other women also lamented and added many entreaties, Veturia, after pausing a short time and weeping, said:

“It is a weak and slender hope, Valeria, to which you have turned for refuge — the assistance of us wretched women who feel indeed affection for ought to country and a desire for the preservation of the citizens, no matter what their character, but lack the strength and power to do what we wish. [2] For Marcius has turned away from us, Valeria, ever since the people passed that bitter sentence against him, and has hated his whole family together with his country. This we can tell you as a thing we learned from the lips of none other than Marcius himself. For when, after his condemnation, he came home, escorted by his friends, and found us sitting there in garments of mourning, abased, clasping his children upon our knees, uttering such lamentations as one would expect in the circumstances and bewailing the unhappy fate which would come upon us when bereft of him, he stood at a little distance from us, tearless as a stone and unmoved, and said: [3] ‘Marcius is lost to you, mother, and to you also, Volumnia, best of wives, having been exiled by his fellow citizens because he was a brave man and a lover of his country and undertook many struggles for her sake. But bear this calamity as befits good women, doing nothing unseemly or ignoble, and with these children as a consolation for my absence, rear them in a manner worthy both of yourselves and of their lineage; and when they have come to manhood, may the gods grant them a fate better than their father’s and valour not inferior to his. Farewell. I am departing now and leaving this city in which there is no longer any room for good men. And ye too, my household gods and hearth of my fathers, and ye other divinities who preside over this place, farewell.’ [4] When he had thus spoken, we unhappy women, uttering the cries which our plight called for, and beating our breasts, clung to him to receive his last embraces. I led the elder of these his sons by the hand, and the younger his mother carried in her arms. But he turned away, and thrusting us back, said: ‘No longer shall Marcius be your son henceforth, mother, but our country has deprived you of the support of your old age; nor shall he be your husband, Volumnia, from this day, but may you be happy with another husband more fortunate than I; near shall he be your father, dearest children, but, orphans and forsaken, you will be reared by these women till you come to manhood.’ [5] With these words and nothing else — without arranging any of his affairs, sending any messages, or saying whither he was going — he went out of the house alone, women, without a servant, without means, and without taking from his own stores, wretched man, even a day’s supply of food. And for the fourth year now, ever since he was banished from the country, he has looked upon us all as strangers to him, neither writing anything nor sending any messages nor caring to have news of us. [6] On such a mind, so hard and invulnerable, Valeria, what force will the entreaties of us women have, to whom he gave neither embraces nor kisses nor any other mark of affection when he left his house for the last time?

[42.1] “But if you desire it so, women, and firmly wish to see us act an unbecoming part, just imagine that I and Volumnia with these children have

come into his presence. What words shall I, his mother, first address to him and what request shall I make of my son? Tell me and instruct me. Shall I exhort him to spare his fellow citizens, by whom he was exiled from his country though guilty of no crime? To be merciful and compassionate to the plebeians, from whom he received neither mercy nor compassion? Or perhaps to abandon and betray those who received him when an east and, notwithstanding the many calamities he had previously inflicted on them, showed to him, not the hatred of enemies, but the affection of friends and relations? [2] What courage can I pluck up to ask my son to love those who have ruined him and to injure those who have preserved him? These are not the words of a sane mother to her son nor of a wife who reasons as she should to her husband; nor ought you, either, women, to compel us to ask of him things that are neither just in the sight of men nor right in the eyes of the gods, but permit us miserable women to lie abased as we have been cast down by Fortune, committing no further unseemly act.”

[43.1] After she had done speaking there was so great lamentation on the part of the women present and such wailing pervaded the household that their cries were heard over a great part of the city and the streets near the house were crowded with people. [2] Then Valeria again indulged in fresh entreaties that were long and affecting, and all the rest of the women who were connected by friendship or kindred with either of them remained there, beseeching her and embracing her knees, till Veturia, not seeing how she could help herself in view of their lamentations and their many entreaties, yielded and promised to perform the mission in behalf of their country, taking with her the wife of Marcius and his children and as many matrons as wished to join them. [3] The women rejoiced exceedingly at this and invoked the gods to aid in the accomplishment of their hopes; then, departing from the house, entreaty informed the consuls of what had passed. These, having commended their zeal, assembled the senate and called upon the members to deliver their opinions one after the other whether they ought to permit the women to go out on this mission. Many speeches were made by many senators, and they continued debating till the evening what they ought to do. [4] For some argued that it was no small risk to the commonwealth to permit the women with the children to go to the enemy’s camp; for if the Volscians, in contempt of the recognized rights of ambassadors and suppliants, should decide not to let them go afterwards, their city would be taken without a blow. These men, therefore, advised permitting only the women who were related to Marcius to go, accompanied by his children. Others believed that not even these should be allowed to go out, and advised that they too should be carefully guarded, considering that in them they had hostages from the enemy, to secure the city from suffering any irreparable injury at their hands. [5] Still others advised giving leave to all the women to go who so desired, in order that the kinswomen of Marcius might intercede more impressively for their country; and to insure that no harm should befall them, they said they would have as

sureties, first, the gods, to whom the women would be consecrated before making their petition, and next, the man himself to whom they were going, who had kept his life pure and unstained by any act of injustice or impiety. [6] However, the proposal to allow the women to go prevailed, implying against compliment to both parties — to the senate for its wisdom, in that it perceived best what was going to happen, without being disquieted at all by the danger, though it was great, and to Marcius for his piety, inasmuch as it was not believed that he would, even though an enemy, do anything impious toward the weakest element of the state when he should have them in his power. [7] After the decree had been drawn up, the consuls proceeded to the Forum, and summoning an assembly when it was already dark, announced the senate's decision and gave notice that all should come early the next morning to the gates to accompany the women when they went out; and they said that they themselves would attend to all urgent business.

[44.1] When it was now break of day, the women, leading the children, went with torches to the house of Veturia, and taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the meantime the consuls, having got ready spans of mules, carts, and a great many other conveyances, seated the women in them and accompanied them for a long distance. The women were attended by the senators and many other citizens, who by their vows, commendations and entreaties lent distinction to their mission. [2] As soon as the women, while still approaching at a distance, could be clearly seen by those in the camp, Marcius sent some horsemen with orders to learn what multitude it was that advanced from the city and what was the occasion of their coming. And being informed that the wives of the Romans together with their children had come to him and twenty they were led by his mother, his wife and his sons, he was at first astonished at the assurance of the women in resolving to come with their children into an enemy's camp without a guard of men, neither showing regard any longer for the modesty becoming to free-born and virtuous women, which forbids them to be seen by men who are strangers, nor becoming alarmed at the dangers which they would run if his soldiers, preferring their own interests to justice, should think fit to make a profit and advantage of them. [3] But when they were near, he resolved to go out of the camp with a few of his men and to meet his mother, after first ordering his lictors to lay aside the axes which were customarily carried before generals, and when he should come near his mother, to lower the rods. [4] This is a custom observed by the Romans when inferior magistrates meet those who are their superiors, which continues even to our time; and it was in observance of this custom that Marcius, as if he were going to meet a superior power, now laid aside all the insignia of his own office. So great was his reverence and his concern to show his veneration for the tie of kinship.

[45.1] When they came near to one another, his mother was the first to advance toward him to greet him, clad in rent garments of mourning and with her eyes melting with tears, an object of great compassion. Upon seeing her,

Marcus, who till then had been hard-hearted and stern enough to cope with any distressing situation, could no longer keep any of his resolutions, but was carried away by his emotions into human kindness, and embracing her and kissing her, he called her by the most endearing terms, and supported her for a long time, weeping and caressing her as her strength failed and she sank to the ground. After he had had enough of caressing his mother, he greeted his wife when with their children she approached him, and said: [2] “You have acted the part of a good wife, Volumnia, in living with my mother and not abandoning her in her solitude, and to me you have done the dearest of all favours.” After this, drawing each of his children to him, he gave them a father’s caresses, and then, turning again to his mother, begged her to state what she had come to ask of him. She answered that she would speak out in the presence of all, since she had no impious request to make of him, and bade him be seated where he was wont to sit when administering justice to his troops. [3] Marcus willingly agreed to her proposal, thinking, naturally, that he should have a great abundance of just arguments to use in combating his mother’s intercession and that he should be giving his answer where it was convenient for the troops to hear. When he came to the general’s tribunal, he first ordered the lictors to remove the seat that stood there and to place it on the ground, since he thought he ought not to occupy a higher position than his mother or use against her any official authority. Then, causing the most prominent of the commanders and captains to sit by him and permitting any others to be present who wished, he bade his mother speak.

[46.1] Thereupon Veturia, having placed the wife of Marcus with his children and the most prominent of the Roman matrons near her, first wept, fixing her eyes on the ground for a long time, and roused great compassion in all who were present. Then, recovering herself, she said: [2] “These women, Marcus, my son, mindful of the outrages and other calamities which will come upon them if our city falls into the power of the enemy, and despairing of all other assistance, since you gave haughty and harsh answers to their husbands when they asked you to end the war, took their children, and clad in these rent garments of mourning, turned for refuge to me, your mother, and to Volumnia, your wife, begging us not to permit them to suffer the greatest of all human evils at your hands, as they have never done us any injury, great or slight, but showed much affection for us while we were still prosperous, and compassion when we met with adversity. [3] For we can bear them witness that since you withdrew from your country and we were left desolate and no longer of any account, they constantly visited us, alleviated our misfortunes, and consoled with us. So, remembering all this, neither I nor your wife, who lives with me, rejected their entreaties, but brought ourselves to come to you, as they asked, and to make our supplications in behalf of our country.”

[47.1] While she was yet speaking Marcus interrupted her and said: “You have come demanding the impossible, mother, when you ask me to betray those who have cast me out those who have received me, and to those who

have deprived me of all my possessions those who have conferred on me the greatest of human blessings — men to whom, when I accepted this command, I gave the gods and other divinities as sureties that I would neither betray their state nor end the war unless all the Volscians agreed to do so. [2] Both out of reverence, then, for the gods by whom I swore and out of respect for the men to whom I gave my pledges I shall continue to make war upon the Romans to the last. But if they will restore to the Volscians the lands of theirs which they hold by force, and will make them their friends, giving them an equal share in all privileges as they have to the Latins, I will put an end to the war against them, otherwise not. [3] As for you women, then, depart and carry this word to your husbands; and persuade them to cease their unjust fondness for possessions of others and to be content if they are permitted to keep what is their own, and not, just because they now hold the possessions of the Volscians which they took in war, to wait till they are in turn deprived of them in war by the Volscians. For the conquerors will not be satisfied with merely recovering their own possessions, but will think themselves entitled also to those that belong to the conquered. And if, by clinging to what is not theirs at all, the Romans persist in their arrogance and are willing to suffer anything whatever, you will impute to them, rather than to Marcius, the Volscians or anyone else, the blame for the miseries that shall befall them. [4] And of you, mother, I, who am your son, beg in my turn that you will not urge me to wicked and unjust actions, nor, ranging yourself on the side of those who are the bitterest foes both to me and to yourself, regard as enemies your nearest of kin, but that, taking your place at my side, as is right, you will make the land where I dwell your fatherland, and your home the house I have acquired, and that you will enjoy my honours and share in my glory, looking upon my friends and enemies as your own; also that you will lay aside the mourning which, unhappy woman, you have endured because of my banishment, and cease to avenge yourself upon me by this garb. [5] For though all other blessings, mother, have been conferred on me both by the gods and men above my hopes and beyond my prayers, yet the concern I have felt for you, whose old age I have not cherished in return for all your pains, has so sunk into my inmost being as to render my life bitter and incapable of enjoying all my blessings. But if you will take your place by my side and consent to share all I possess, no longer will any of the blessings which fall to the lot of man be lacking to me.”

[48.1] When he had ended, Veturia, after waiting a short time till the great and long-continued applause of the bystanders ceased, spoke to him as follows:

“But I, Marcius, my son, neither ask you to become a traitor to the Volscians who received you when an exile and, among other honours, entrusted you with the command of their army, nor do I desire that, contrary to the agreements and to the sworn pledges you gave them when you took command of their forces, you should arbitrarily, without the general consent,

put an end to enmity. Do not imagine that your mother has been filled with such fatuousness as to urge her dear and only son to shameful and wicked actions. [2] On the contrary, I ask you to withdraw from the war only with the general consent of the Volscians, after you have persuaded them to use moderation with regard to an accommodation and to make such a peace as shall be honourable and seemly for both nations. This may be done if you will now withdraw your forces, first making a truce for a year, and will in the meantime, by sending and receiving ambassadors, work to bring about a genuine friendship and a firm reconciliation. [3] And be well assured of this: the Romans, in so far as no impossible condition or any dishonour attaching to the terms prevents, will consent to perform them all if won over by persuasion and exhortation, but if compulsion is attempted, as you now think proper, they will never make any concession, great or small, to please you, as you may learn from many other instances and particularly from the concessions they recently made to the Latins after these had laid down their arms. As to the Volscians, on the other hand, their arrogance is now great, as happens to all who have met with signal success; [4] but if you point out to them that ‘any peace is preferable to any war,’ that ‘a voluntary agreement between friends is more secure than concession extorted by necessity,’ and that ‘it is the part of wise men, when they seem to be prosperous, to husband their good fortune, but when their fortunes become low and paltry, to submit to nothing that is ignoble,’ and if you make use of such other instructive maxims conducive to moderation and reasonableness as have been devised, maxims with which you politicians in particular are familiar, be assured that they will voluntarily recede from their present boastfulness and give you authority to do anything you believe will be to their advantage. [5] But if they oppose you and refuse to accept your proposals, being elated by the successes they have gained through you and your leadership, as if these would always continue, resign publicly the command of their army and make yourself neither a traitor to those who have trusted you nor an enemy to those who are nearest to you; for to do either is impious. These are the favours I have come begging you to grant me, Marcius, my son, and they are not only not impossible to grant, as you assert, but are free from any consciousness on my part of an unjust or impious intent.

[49.1] “But come, you are afraid perhaps that if you do what I urge you will incur a shameful reputation, believing that you will stand convicted of ingratitude to your benefactors, who received you, an enemy, and shared with you all the advantages to which their native-born citizens are entitled; for these are the things you constantly stress in your remarks. [2] Have you not, then, made them many fine returns, and have you not by the favours you have bestowed, while nigh limitless in magnitude and number, surpassed the kindnesses received from them? Though they regarded it as enough and as the greatest of all blessings if they could continue to live as freemen in their native cities, you have not only made them securely their own masters, but have also brought it about that they are already considering whether it is better

for them to destroy the dominion of the Romans or to have an equal share in it by forming a joint commonwealth. [3] I say nothing of all the spoils of war with which you have adorned their cities nor of the great riches you have bestowed upon those who accompanied you on your expeditions. Do you believe that those who through your aid have become so great and have entered upon such prosperity will not be content with the blessings they have, but will be angry with you and indignant if you do not also spill by their hands your country's blood? For my part, I do not believe so. [4] I have still one point left to speak of — a strong one if you judge of it by reason, but weak if you judge by passion. I refer to the unjust hatred you bear toward your country. For the commonwealth was neither in a state of health nor governed according to the established constitution when she pronounced that unjust sentence against you, but was diseased and tossed in a violent tempest; nor did the state as a whole entertain this opinion at that time, but only the baser element in it, which had followed evil leaders. [5] Yet supposing not only the worst of the citizens, but all the rest of as well had been of this mind, and you had been banished by them as not acting for the best interests of the state, not even in that case did it become you to bear any resentment against your country. For it has fallen to the lot of many others, you know, of those whose policies were prompted by the best motives, to have the same experience, and few indeed are those who have not, because of their reputation for virtue, felt the breath of unjust envy on the part of their political rivals. [6] But all who are high-minded, Marcius, bear their misfortunes like men and with moderation, and remove to other cities in which they can dwell without causing harm to their fatherland. This was the case with Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus. (A single instance and one from our own history will suffice.) He had assisted in freeing his fellow citizens from the tyrants, but was later accused before them of attempting in turn to restore these tyrants and for that reason was himself banished from his country; yet he retained no resentment against those who had exiled him, nor would he march against his country bringing with him the tyrants nor commit acts that would substantiate the charges made against him, but retiring to Lavinium, our mother-city, he spent the remainder of his life there, continuing loyal to his country and its friend.

[50.1] “Conceding the point nevertheless, and granting the right to all who have suffered grievously not to distinguish whether those who have injured them are friends or aliens but to direct their anger against all impartially, even so have you not taken a sufficient revenge on such as abused you, now that you have turned their best land into a sheep-walk, have utterly destroyed the cities of their allies, which they had acquired and held at the cost of many hardships, and have reduced them now for the third year to a great scarcity of provisions? But you carry your wild and mad resentment even to the point of enslaving them and razing their city; [2] and you showed no regard even for the envoys sent to you by the senate, men of worth and your friends, who came to offer you a dismissal of the charges and leave to return home, nor yet for the

priests whom the commonwealth sent at the last to you, old men holding before them the holy garlands of the gods; but these also you drove away, giving a haughty and imperious answer to them as to men who had been conquered, [3] For my part, I cannot commend these harsh and overbearing claims, which overstep the bounds of human nature, when I observe that a refuge for all men and the means of securing forgiveness for their offences one against another have been devised in the form of suppliant boughs and prayers, by which all anger is softened and instead of hating one's enemy one pities him; and when I observe also that those who act arrogantly and treat with insolence the prayers of suppliants all incur the indignation of the gods and in the end come to a miserable state. [4] For the gods themselves, who in the first place instituted and delivered to us these customs, are disposed to forgive the offences of men and are easily reconciled; and many have there been ere now who, though greatly sinning against them, have appeased their anger by prayers and sacrifices. Unless you think it fitting, Marcius, that the anger of the gods should be mortal, but that of men immortal! You will be doing, then, what is just and becoming both to yourself to your country if you forgive her her offences, seeing that she is repentant and ready to be reconciled and to restore to you now everything that she took away from you before.

[51.1] "But if you are indeed irreconcilable to her, grant, my son, this honour and favour to me, at least, from whom you have received, not the boons that are of least value nor those to which another also might lay claim, but rather those that are the greatest and most precious and have enabled you to acquire everything else you possess — namely, your body and your soul. These are loans you have from me, and neither place nor time will ever deprive me of them, nor will the benefactions of the Volscians or of all the rest of mankind together, even if they should reach the heavens in magnitude, avail to efface and surpass the rights of Nature; but you will be mine forever, and to me before all others you will owe gratitude for your life, and you will oblige me in everything I ask without alleging any excuse. [2] For this is a right which the law of Nature has prescribed for all who partake of sense and reason; and putting my trust in this law, Marcius, my son, I too beg of you not to make war upon your country, and I stand in your way if you resort to violence. Either, therefore, first sacrifice with your own hand to the Furies your mother who opposes you and then begin the war against your country, or, if you shrink from the guilt of matricide, yield to your mother, my son, and grant this favour willingly. [3] Having this law, then, which no lapse of time will ever repeal, to avenge my wrongs and be my ally, I cannot consent, Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of honours to which it entitles me. But leaving this law aside, consider in turn the reminders I have to give you of the good offices you have received from me, human many and how great they are. When you were left an orphan by your father, I took you as an infant, and for your sake I remained a widow and underwent the labours of rearing you, showing myself

not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a sister, and everything that is dearest. [4] When you reached manhood and it was in my power to be freed from these cares by marrying again, to rear other children, and lay up many hopes to support me in my old age, I would not do so, but remained at the same hearth and put up with the same kind of life, placing all my pleasures and all my advantages in you alone. Of these you have disappointed me, partly against your will and partly of your own accord, and have made me the most wretched of all mothers. For what time, since I brought you up to manhood, have I passed free from grief or fear? Or when have I possessed a spirit cheerful on your account, seeing you always undertaking wars upon wars, engaged in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon wounds?

[52.1] “But from the time when you took up the life of a statesman and engaged in public affairs have I, your mother, enjoyed any pleasure on your account? Nay, it was then that I was most unhappy, seeing you placed in the midst of civil strife. For those very measures which seemed to make you flourish and blow strong in popularity as you opposed the plebeians in behalf of the aristocracy filled me with fear, as I called to mind what the life of man is, how it hangs nicely suspended as in a balance, and had learned from many instances what I had heard and experienced that a kind of divine vengeance opposes men of prominence or a certain envy of men makes war upon them; and I proved a true prophet of what was to be — would to Heaven I had not! At any rate, you were overpowered by the ill-will of your fellow citizens, which burst upon you violently and snatched you away from your country; and my life thereafter — if, indeed I ought to call it life since you departed leaving me and these children, too, desolate — has been spent in this squalor and in these rent garments of mourning. [2] In return for all this I, who was never a burden to you nor ever shall be as long as I live, ask this favour of you — that you will be at last be reconciled to your fellow citizens and cease nursing that implacable anger against your country. In doing this I am but asking to receive what will be a boon common to us both, and not mine alone. [3] For you, if you hearken to me and commit no irreparable deed, will have a mind free and unvexed by any heaven-sent wrath and disquiet, while as for me, the honour I shall receive from the men and women of the city, attending me while I live, will make my life happen, and being paid to my memory after my death, as I may well expect, will bring me everlasting fame. [4] And if there is in very truth a place which will receive men’s souls when released from the body, it is not that subterranean and gloomy place where, men say, the unhappy dwell, that will receive mine, nor the region called the Plain of Lethe, but the pure ether high up in the heavens, where, as report has it, those who are sprung from the gods dwell, enjoying a happy and a blessed life; and to them my soul will relate your piety and the acts of kindness with which you honoured her, and will ever ask the gods to requite you with glorious rewards. [53.1] “If, however, you treat your mother with indignity and send her away unhonoured, what you yourself will have to suffer for this I cannot say,

though I presage no happiness. But even if you should be fortunate in all other respects — for let that be assumed — yet your compunction because of me and my afflictions, haunting you and never giving respite to your soul, will rob your life of the enjoyment of all its blessings; this I do know full well. [2] Veturia, for one thing, after this cruel and irreparable ignominy received before so many witnesses, will not bear to live for a moment; nay, I will kill myself before the eyes of all of you, both friends and enemies, leaving to you in my stead a grievous curse and dire furies to be my avengers. [3] May there be no occasion for this, O gods who guard the empire of the Romans, but inspire Marcius with sentiments of piety and honour; and just as a little while ago at my approach he ordered the axes to be laid aside, the rods to be lowered, and his chair to be taken from the tribunal and placed on the ground, and as for all the other observances by which it is the custom to honour supreme magistrates, he moderated some and did away with others altogether, desiring to make it clear to all that though it was fitting that he should rule all others, by his mother he should be ruled, even so may he now also make me honoured and conspicuous, and by giving me back our common country as a favour, render me, instead of the most ill-starred, the most fortunate of all women. [4] And if it is right and lawful for a mother to grovel at the feet of her son, even to this and every other posture and office of humility will I submit in order to save my country.”

[54.1] With these words she threw herself upon the ground, and embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, she kissed them, As soon as she fell prostrate, all the women cried out together, raising a loud and prolonged wailing; and the Volscians who were present at the assembly could not bear the unusual sight, but turned away their eyes. Marcius himself, leaping up from his seat, took his mother in his arms, and raising her up from the ground scarcely breathing, embraced her, and shedding many tears, said: “Yours is the victory, mother, but a victory which will be happy for neither you nor me. For though you have saved your country, you have ruined me, your dutiful and affectionate son.” [2] After saying this, he retired to his tent, bidding his mother, his wife, and his children follow him; and there he passed the rest of the day in considering with them what should be done. The decisions they reached were as follows: That the senate should lay no proposal before the people providing for his return nor should the latter pass any vote till the Volscians should be ready to consider friendship and the termination of the war; that Marcius should break camp and lead his army away as through friendly territory; and that after he had given an accounting to the Volscians of his conduct in the command of their army and recounted the services he had done them, he should ask those who had entrusted him with the army, preferably to admit their enemies into friendship and to conclude a just treaty with them, commissioning them to see that the terms of the agreement were fair and free from guile; [3] but if, becoming puffed up with arrogance over their successes, they should reject an accommodation, he should resign the

command they had given him. For they thought that the Volscians would either not bring themselves to choose another commander, for want of a good general, or, if they did run the hazard of handing over their forces to any chance person, they would learn through heavy losses to choose what was advantageous. Such were the subjects of their deliberation and such were the decisions they reached as just and right and calculated to win the good opinion of all men — a thing which Marcius had most at heart. [4] But they were troubled by a suspicion, not unmixed with fear, that an unreasoning mob, now buoyed up with the hope that they had completely crushed their foes, might take their disappointment with uncontrolled anger and as a result put Marcius to death with their own hands as a traitor without even granting him a hearing. However, they determined to submit even to this or to any other danger still more formidable which they might incur in honourably keeping faith. [5] When it was now near sunset, they embraced one another and left the tent, after which the women returned to the city. Then Marcius in an assembly of the troops laid before those present the reasons why he intended to put an end to the war; and after earnestly beseeching the soldiers both to forgive him and, when they returned home, to remember the benefits they had received from him and to strive with him to prevent his suffering any irreparable injury at the hands of the other citizens, and after saying many other things calculated to win their support, he ordered them to make ready to break camp the following night.

[55.1] When the Romans heard that their peril was over — for the report of it was brought before the arrival of the women — they left the city with great joy, and running out to meet them, embraced them, sang songs of triumph, and now all together and now one by one showed all the signs of joy which men who emerge out of great dangers into unexpected good fortune exhibit in both their words and actions. [2] That night, then, they passed in festivities and merry-making. The next day the senate, having been assembled by the consuls, resolved, in the case of Marcius, to postpone to a more suitable occasion such honours as were to be given to him, but as for the women, that not only praise should be bestowed upon them for their zeal, the same to be expressed by a public decree which should gain for them eternal remembrance on the part of future generations, but also a gift of honour, whatever to those receiving it would be most pleasing and most highly prized; and the people ratified this resolution. [3] It occurred to the women after some deliberation to ask for no invidious gift, but to request of the senate permission to found a temple to Fortuna Muliebris on the spot where they had interceded for their country, and to assemble and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day on which they had put an end to the war. However, the senate and people decreed that from the public funds a precinct should be purchased and consecrated to the goddess, and a temple and altar erected upon it, in such manner as the pontiffs should direct, and that sacrifices should be performed at the public expense, the initial ceremonies to be conducted by a woman, whichever one

the women themselves should choose to officiate at the rites. [4] The senate having passed this decree, the woman then chosen by the others to be priestess for the first time was Valeria, who had proposed to them the embassy and had persuaded the mother of Marcius to join the others in going out of the city. The first sacrifice was performed on behalf of the people by the women, Valeria beginning the rites, upon the altar raised in the sacred precinct, before the temple and the statue were erected, in the month of December of the following year, on the day of the new moon, which the Greeks call noumênia and the Romans calends; for this was the day which had put an end to the war. [5] The year after the first sacrifice the temple built at public expense was finished and dedicated about the seventh day of the month Quintilis, reckoning by the course of the moon; this, according to the Romans' calendar, is the day before the nones of Quintilis. The man who dedicated the temple was Proculus Verginius, one of the consuls.

[56.1] It would be in harmony with a formal history and in the interest of correcting those who think that the gods are neither pleased with the honours they receive from men nor displeased with impious and unjust actions, to make known the epiphany of the goddess at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the books of the pontiffs, to the end that by those who are more scrupulous about preserving the opinions concerning the god which they have received from their ancestors such belief may be maintained firm and undisturbed by misgivings, and that those who, despising the customs of their forefathers, hold that the gods have no power over man's reason, may, preferably, retract their opinion, or, if they are incurable, that they may become still more odious to the gods and more wretched. [2] It is related, then, that when the senate had ordered that the whole expense both of the temple and of the statue should be defrayed from the public treasury, and the women had caused another statue to be made with the money they themselves had contributed, and both statues had been set up together on the first day of the dedication of the temple, one of them, the one which the women had provided, uttered some words in Latin in a voice both distinct and loud, when many were present. The meaning of the words when translated is as follows: "You have conformed to the holy law of the city, matrons, in dedicating me."

[3] The women who were present were very incredulous, as usually happens in the case of unusual voices and sights, believing that it was not the statue that had spoken, but some human voice; and those particularly who happened at the moment to have their mind on something else and did not see what it was that spoke, showed this incredulity toward those who had seen it. Later, on a second occasion, when the temple was full and there chanced to be a profound silence, the same statue pronounced the same words in a louder voice, so that there was no longer any doubt about it. [4] The senate, upon hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices and rites to be performed every year, such as the interpreters of religious rites should direct. And the women upon the advice of their priestess established it as a custom that no women who had

been married a second time should crown this statue with garlands or touch it with their hands, but that all the honour and worship paid to it should be committed to the newly-married women. But concerning these matters it was fitting that I should neither omit the native account nor dwell too long upon it. I now return to the point from which I digressed.

[57.1] After the departure of the women from the camp Marcius roused his army about daybreak and led it away as thor a friendly country; and when he came into the territory of the Volscians, he divided among the soldiers all the booty he had taken, without reserving the least thing for himself, and then dismissed them to their homes. The army, accordingly, which had shared in the battles with him, returning loaded with riches, was not displeased with the respite from war and felt well disposed toward him and thought he deserved to be forgiven for not having brought the war to a successful end out of regard for the lamentations and entreaties of his mother. [2] But the young men who had remained at home, envying those who had seen active service the great booty they had won, and being disappointed in their hopes of seeing the pride of the Romans humbled by the capture of their city, were incensed against the general and very bitter; and at last, when they found as leaders of their hatred the men of the greatest power in the nation, they grew wild with rage and committed an impious deed. [3] The one who in particular whetted their anger again Marcius was Tullus Attius, who had about him a large faction collected out of every city. This man had, in fact, long since resolved, being unable to control his jealousy, that if Marcius succeeded and returned to the Volscians after destroying Rome, he would make away with him secretly and by guile, or if, failing in his attempt, he came back leaving the task unfinished, he would deliver him over to his faction as a traitor and have him put to death — a plan which he now proceeded to carry out. [4] And getting together a considerable band, he brought charges against him, drawing false inferences from things that were true and, from what had happened, surmising things street were not going to happen; and he kept bidding him resign his command and give an account of his conduct. For, as I said before, Tullus was general of the forces which had been left in the cities, and had authority both to call an assembly and to summon to trial any man he pleased.

[58.1] Marcius did not think proper to oppose either of these demands, but objected to their order, insisting he ought first to give an account of his conduct in the war, after which he would resign his command if all the Volscians should so decide. But he thought that no single city in which the greater part of the citizens had been corrupted by Tullus ought to be given sole authority in the matter, but rather the whole nation meeting in their lawful assembly, to which it was the custom for them to send deputies from every city when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greatest importance. [2] This Tullus opposed, well knowing that Marcius, eloquent as he was, when he came to give an account of the many splendid actions he had performed, if he still retained a general's prestige, would persuade the multitude, and would be

so far from suffering the punishment of a traitor that he would actually become still more illustrious and be more highly honoured by them, and would be authorized by general consent to put an end to the war in such manner as he pleased. [3] And for a long time there was great strife as they daily engaged in arguing and wrangling with one another in the assemblies and the forum; for it was not possible for either of them to employ force against the other, since both were protected by the prestige of an equal command. [4] But when there was no end to their contention, Tullus appointed a day on which he commanded Marcius to appear for the purpose of laying down his office and standing trial for treason; and having encouraged some of the most daring, by hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in an impious deed, he appeared at the assembly on the day appointed, and coming forward to the tribunal, inveighed at length against Marcius and exhorted the people to use all the force at their command to depose him if he would not voluntarily resign his power.

[59.1] When Marcius had ascended the tribunal in order to make his defence, a great clamour arose from the faction of Tullus, hindering him from speaking; then, with cries of "Hit him," "Stone him," the most daring surrounded him and stoned him to death. While he lay where he had been hurled upon the ground in the forum, both those who had been present at the tragedy and those who came there after he was dead bewailed the misfortune of the man who had found so ill a return from them, recounting all the services he had rendered to their state, and they longed to apprehend the murderers for having set the example of a deed that was lawless and prejudicial to their cities, in killing a man, and him a general, by an act of violence without a trial. [2] But most indignant were the men who had taken part in his campaigns; and since they had been unable, while he was living, to prevent his misfortune, they resolved to show fitting gratitude after his death by bringing into the forum everything that was necessary for the honour owed to brave men. [3] When all was ready, they laid him, dressed in the garb of a supreme commander, on a couch adorned in a most sumptuous manner, and ordered the booty, the spoils and the crowns, together with the representations of the cities he had taken, to be carried before his bier; and the young men who were the most distinguished for their military achievements took up the bier, and carrying it to the most conspicuous suburb, placed it on the funeral pile that had been prepared, the whole population of the city accompanying the body with lamentations and tears. [4] Then, when they had slain a large number of victims in his honour and offered up all the first-offerings that people make at the funeral piles of kings and commanders of armies, those who had been most closely attached to him remained there till the flames died down, after which they gathered together his remains and buried them in that very place, constructing an imposing monument by heaping up a high mound with the assistance of many hands.

[60.1] Such was the end of Marcius, who was not only the greatest general of

his age, but was superior to all the pleasures that dominate young men, and practised justice, not so much through compulsion of the law with its threat of punishment and against his will, but voluntarily and from a natural propensity to it. He did not regard it as a virtue to do no injustice, and not only was eager to abstain from all vice himself, but thought it his duty to compel others to do so too. [2] He was both high-minded and open-handed and most ready to relieve the wants of his friends as soon as he was informed of them. In his talent for public affairs he was inferior to none of the aristocratic party, and if the seditious element of the city had not hindered his measures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greatest accession of power from those measures. But it was impossible that all the virtue should be found together in a human being's nature, nor will anyone ever be created by Nature from mortal and perishable seed who is good in all respects.

[61.1] In any case the divinity who bestowed these virtues upon him added to them unfortunate blemishes and fatal flaws. For there was no mildness or cheerfulness in his character, no affability in greeting and addressing people that would win those whom he met, nor yet any disposition to conciliate or placate others when he was angry with them, nor that charm which adorns all human actions; but he was always harsh and severe. [2] And it was not alone these qualities that hurt him in the minds of many, but, most of all, his immoderate and inexorable sternness in the matter of justice and the observance of the laws, and a strictness which would make no concessions to reasonableness. Indeed, the dictum of the ancient philosophers seems to be true, that the moral virtues are means and not extremes, particularly in the case of justice. For by its nature it not only may fall short of the mean, but also may go beyond it, and is not profitable to its possessors, but is sometimes the cause of great calamities and leads to miserable deaths and irreparable disasters. [3] In the case of Marcius, at any rate, it was nothing else but his passion for exact and extreme justice that drove him from his country and deprived him of the enjoyment of all his other blessings. For when he ought to have made reasonable concessions to the plebeians, and by yielding somewhat to their desires to have gained the foremost place among them, he would not do so, by opposing them in everything that was not just he incurred their hatred and was banished by them. And when it was in his power to resign the command of the Volscian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove his habitation to some other place till his country had granted him leave to return, instead of offering himself as a target for the plotting of his enemies and the folly of the masses, he did not think fit to do so; but regarding it as his duty to put his person at the disposal of those who had entrusted him with the command and after giving an account of his conduct during his generalship, if he were found guilty of any misconduct, to undergo the punishment ordained by the laws, he received a sorry reward for his extreme justice.

[62.1] Now if when the body perishes the soul also, whatever that is, perishes

together with it and no longer exists anywhere, I do not see how I can conceive to seem to be happy who have received no advantage from their virtue but, on the contrary, have been undone by this very quality. Whereas, if our souls are perchance forever imperishable, as some think, or if they continue on for a time after their separation from the body, those of good men for a very long time and those of the wicked for a very short period, a sufficient reward for those who, though they have practised virtue, have suffered the enmity of Fortune, would seem to be the praise of the living and the continuance of their memory for the longest period of time. And that was the case with this man, [2] For not only the Volscians mourned his death and still hold him in honour as having proved himself one of the best of men, but the Romans also, when they were informed of his fate, looked upon it as a great calamity to the commonwealth and mourned for him both in private and in public; and their wives, as it is their custom to do at the loss of those who are nearest and dearest to them, laid aside their gold and purple and all their other adornment, and dressing themselves in black, mourned for him for the full period of a year. [3] And though nearly five hundred years have already elapsed since his death down to the present time, his memory has not become extinct, but he is still praised and celebrated by all as a pious and just man.

Thus ended the danger with which the Romans had been threatened by the expedition of the Volscians and Aequians under the command of Marcius, a danger that was greater than any to which they had ever been exposed before and came very near destroying the whole commonwealth from its foundations.

[63.1] A few days later the Romans took the field with a large army commanded by both consuls, and advancing to the confines of their own territory, encamped on two hills, each of the consuls placing his camp in the strongest position. Nevertheless, they accomplished nothing, either great or little, but returned unsuccessful, though excellent opportunities had been afforded them by the enemy for performing some gallant action. [2] It seems that even before their expedition the Volscians and the Aequians had led an army against the Roman territory, having resolved not to let the opportunity slip, but to attack their adversaries while they seemed to be sit panic-stricken; for they thought that in their fear they would surrender of their own accord. But quarrelling among themselves over the command, they rushed to arms, and falling upon one another, fought without keeping their ranks or receiving orders, but in confusion and disorder, so that many were killed on both sides; and if the sun had not set in time to prevent it, all their forces would have been utterly destroyed. But yielding reluctantly to the night which put an end to the quarrel, they separated and retired to their own camps; and rousing their forces at dawn, both sides returned home. [3] The consuls, though they learned both from deserters and from prisoners who had escaped during the action itself what fury and madness had possessed the enemy, neither embraced an

opportunity so desirable when it offered, though they were no more than thirty stades distant, nor pursued them in their retreat — a situation in which their own troops, being fresh and following in good order, might easily have destroyed to a man those of the enemy, who were fatigued, wounded, reduced from a large to a small number, and were retiring in disorder. [4] But they too broke camp and returned to Rome, either being contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops, who were undisciplined, or considering it very important not to lose even a few of their own men. When they got back to Rome, however, they found themselves in great disgrace and had to bear the stigma of cowardice for their behaviour. And without undertaking any other expedition they surrendered their magistracy to their successors.

[64.1] The next year Gaius Aquilius and Titus Siccus, men experienced in war, succeeded to the consulship. The senate, when the consuls had brought up the war for consideration, voted, first, to send an embassy to the Hernicans to demand, as from friends and allies, the customary satisfaction; for the commonwealth had suffered wrongs at their hands at the time of the attack of the Volscians and Aequians through brigandage and incursions into the part of the Roman territory that bordered on their own; and they voted further that while waiting to receive their answer the consuls should enrol all the forces they could, summon the allies by sending out embassies, and great ready corn, arms, money, and all the other things necessary for the war, by employing a large number of men and using haste. [2] When the ambassadors returned from the Hernicans, they reported to the senate the answer they had received from them, to the following effect: They denied that there had ever been a treaty between them and the Romans by act of the public, and they charged that the compact they had made with King Tarquinius had been dissolved both by his expulsion from power and by his death in a foreign land; but if any depredations had been committed or incursions made into the territory of the Romans by bands of robbers, they said these had not been made by the general consent of their nation, but were the misdeeds of individuals pursuing their private ends, and street they were unable to deliver up to justice even the men who had done these things, since they claimed that they themselves had also suffered similar wrongs and had the same complaints to make; and they said that they cheerfully accepted the war. [3] The senate, upon hearing this, voted that the youth already enrolled should be divided into three bodies, and that with one of these the consul Gaius Aquilius should march against the army of the Hernicans (for these were already in arms), that Titus Siccus, the other consul, should lead the second against the Volscians, and that Spurius Larcus, who had been appointed prefect of the city by the consuls, should with the remaining third part defend the portion of the country that lay nearest to the city; that those who were above the military age but were still capable of bearing arms should be arrayed under their standards and guard the citadels of the city and the walls, to prevent any sudden attack by the enemy while all

the youth were in the field, and that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, one of the ex-consuls, should have the command of this force. These orders were presently carried out.

[65.1] Aquilius, one of the consuls, finding the army of the Hernicans waiting for him in the country of the Praenestines, encamped as near to them as he could, at a distance of a little more than two hundred stades from Rome. The second day after he had pitched his camp the Hernicans came out of their camp into the plain in order of battle and gave the signal for combat; whereupon Aquilius also marched out to meet them with his army duly drawn up and disposed in their several divisions. [2] When they drew near to one another, they uttered their war-cries and ran to the encounter; and first to engage were the light-armed men, who, fighting with javelins, arrows, and stones from their slings, gave one another many wounds. Next, horsemen clashed with horsemen, charging in troops, and infantry with infantry, fighting by cohorts. Then there was a glorious struggle as both armies fought stubbornly; and for a long time they stood firm, neither side yielding to the other the ground where they were posted. At length the Romans' line began to be in distress, this being the first occasion in a long time that they had been forced to engaged in war. [3] Aquilius, observing this, ordered that the troops which were still fresh and were being reserved for this very purpose should come up to reinforce the parts of the line that were in distress and that the men who were wounded and exhausted should retire to the rear. The Hernicans, learning that their troops were being shifted, imagined that the Romans were beginning flight; and encouraging one another and closing their ranks, they fell upon those parts of the enemy's army that were in motion, and the fresh troops of the Romans received their onset. Thus once more, as both sides fought stubbornly, there was a strenuous battle all over again; for the ranks of the Hernicans were also continually reinforced with fresh troops sent up by their generals to the parts of the line that were in distress. [4] At length, late in the afternoon, the consul, encouraging the horsemen now at least to acquit themselves as brave men, led the squadron in a charge at the enemy's right wing. This, after resisting them for a short time, fell back, and a great slaughter ensued. While the Hernicans' right wing was now in difficulties and no longer keeping its ranks, their left still held out and was superior to the Romans' right; but in a short time this too gave way. [5] For Aquilius, taking with him the best of the youth, hastened to the rescue there also, and exhorting his men and calling by name upon those who had been wont to distinguish themselves in former battles, and seizing from their bearers the standards of any centuries that did not seem to be fighting resolutely, he hurled them into the midst of the enemy, in order that their fear of the punishment prescribed by the laws in the case of failure to recover the standards might compel them to be brave men; and he himself continually came to the relief of any part that was in distress, till he dislodged the other wing also from its position. Their flanks being now exposed, even the centre did not stand its ground. [6] It

became a flight then for the Hernicans, a flight back to their camp in confusion and disorder; and the Romans pursued, cutting them down. Such ardour, indeed, came upon the Roman army in that struggle that some of the men endeavoured even to mount the ramparts of the enemy's camp in the hope of taking it by storm. But the consul, perceiving that their ardour was hazardous and detrimental, ordered the signal for a retreat to be sounded and thus brought down from the ramparts against their will those who were coming to blows with the enemy; for he feared that they would be forced by the missiles hurled down upon them from above to retire with shame and great loss and would thus efface the glory of their earlier victory. On that occasion, then, it being now near sunset, the Romans made their camp rejoicing and singing songs of triumph.

[66.1] The following night there was much noise and shouting heard in the camp of the Hernicans, and the lights of many torches were seen. For the enemy, despairing of being able to hold their own in another engagement, had resolved to leave their camp of their own accord; and this was the cause of the disorder and shouting. For they were fleeing with all the strength and speed which each man was capable of, calling to and being called by one another, without showing the least regard for the lamentations and entreaties of those who were being left behind on account of their wounds and sickness. [2] The Romans, who knew nothing of this but had been informed earlier by the prisoners that another army of Hernicans was intending to come to the aid of their countrymen, imagined that this shouting and tumult had been occasioned by the arrival of those reinforcements, and they accordingly took up their arms once more, and forming a circle about their entrenchments, for fear some attack might be made upon them in the night, they would now make a din by all clashing their weapons together at the same time and now raise their war-cry repeatedly as if they were going into battle. The Hernicans were greatly alarmed at this also, and believing themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed and fled, some by one road and some by another. [3] When day came and the horse sent out to reconnoitre had reported to the Romans that not only was there no fresh force coming to the enemy's assistance, but that even those who had been arrayed in battle the day before had fled, Aquilius marched out with his army and seized the enemy's camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms, and also took captive their wounded, not fewer in number than those who had fled; and sending the horse in pursuit of such as were scattered along the roads and in the woods, he captured many of them. Thereafter he overran the Hernican's territory and laid it waste with impunity, no one any longer daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.

[67.1] The other consul, Titus Siccus, who had been sent against the Volscians, took with him the flower of the army and made an irruption into the territory of Velitrae. For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was there with the most vigorous part of the army, which he had assembled with the

intention of first harassing the Romans' allies as Marcius had done when he began the war, thinking that the Romans still continued in the same state of fear and would not send any assistance to those who were incurring danger for their sake. As soon as the two armies were seen by and saw each other, they engaged without delay. [2] The ground between their camps on which the battle would have to take place was a rocky hill broken away in many parts of its circuit, where the horse could be of no use to either side. The Roman cavalry, observing this, thought it would be a shame for them to be present at the action without assisting in it; and coming to the consul in a body, they begged him to permit them to quit their horses and fight on foot, if this seemed best to him. [3] He commended them heartily, and ordering them to dismount, drew them up and kept them with him to observe any part of the line that might be hard pressed and to go to its relief; and they proved to be the cause of the very brilliant victory which the Romans then gained. For the foot on both sides were remarkably alike both in numbers and in armament, and were very similar in the tactical formation of their lines and in their experience in fighting, whether in attacking or retreating, or again in dealing blows or in warding them off. [4] For the Volscians had changed all their military tactics after securing Marcius as their commander, and had adopted the customs of the Romans.

Accordingly, the legionaries of the two armies continued fighting the greater part of the day with equal success; and the unevenness of the terrain afforded each side many advantages against the other. The Roman horsemen having divided themselves into two bodies, one of these attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, stormed across it against their rear. [5] Thereupon some of them hurled their spears at the Volscians, and others with their cavalry swords, which are longer than those of the infantry, struck all whom they encountered on the arms and slashed them down to the elbows, cutting off the forearms of many together with the clothing that covered them and their weapons of defence, and by inflicting deep wounds on the knees and ankles of many others, hurled them, no matter how firmly they had stood, half dead upon the ground. [6] And now danger encompassed the Volscians on every side, the foot pressing them in front and the horse on their flank in the rear; so that, after having displayed bravery beyond their strength and given many proofs of hardihood and experience, nearly all who held the right wing were cut down. When those arrayed in the centre and on the other wing saw their right wing broken and the Roman horse charging them in the same manner, they caused their files to countermarch and retired slowly to their camp; and the Roman horse followed, keeping their ranks.

[7] When they were near the ramparts, there ensued another battle, as the horsemen endeavoured to surmount the breastworks of the camp in many different places — a battle that was sharp and of shifting fortunes. When the Romans found themselves hard pressed, the consul ordered the foot to bring

brushwood and fill up the ditches; then, putting himself at the head of the bravest horsemen, he advanced over the passage they had made to the strongest gate of the camp, and having driven back the defenders in front of it and cut asunder the portcullis, he got inside the ramparts and let in those of his foot who followed. [8] Here Tullus Attius encountered him with the sturdiest and most daring of the Volscians, and after performing many gallant deeds — for he was a very valiant warrior, though not competent as a general — at last, overcome by weariness and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. As for the other Volscians, as soon as their camp was being taken, some were slain while fighting, others threw down their arms and turned to supplicating the conquerors, while some few took to flight and got safely home.

[9] When the couriers sent by the consuls arrived in Rome, the people were filled with the greatest joy, and they immediately voted sacrifices of thanksgiving for the gods and decreed the honour of a triumph to the consuls, though not the same to both. For as Siccus was thought to have freed the state from the greater fear by destroying the insolent army of the Volscians and killing their general, they granted to him the greater triumph. He accordingly drove into the city with the spoils, the prisoners, and the army that had fought under him, he himself riding in a chariot drawn by horses with golden bridles and being arrayed in the royal robes, as is the custom in the greater triumphs. [10] To Aquilius they decreed the lesser triumph, which they call an ovation (I have earlier shown the difference between this and the greater triumph); and he entered the city on foot, bringing up the remainder of the procession. Thus that year ended.

[68.1] These consuls were succeeded by Proculus Verginius and Spurius Cassius (the latter being then chosen consul for the third time), who took the field with both the citizen forces and those of the allies. It fell to the lot of Verginius to lead his army against the Aequians and to that of Cassius to march against the Hernicans and the Volscians. The Aequians, having fortified their cities and removed thither out of the country everything that was most valuable, permitted their land to be laid waste and their country-houses to be set on fire, so that Verginius with great ease ravaged and ruined as much of their country as he could, since no one came out to defend it, and then led his army home. [2] The Volscians and the Hernicans, against whom Cassius took the field, had resolved to permit their land to be laid waste and had taken refuge in their cities. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resolution, being overcome with regret at seeing the desolation of a fertile country which they could not expect to restore easily to its former condition, and at the same time distrusting the defences in which they had taken refuge, as these were not very strong; but they sent ambassadors to the consul to sue for a termination of the war. The Volscians were the first to send envoys and they obtained peace the sooner by giving as much money as the consul ordered and furnishing everything else the army needed; and they agreed to become subject to the Romans without making any further claims to equality. [3] After

them the Hernicans, seeing themselves isolated, treated with the consul for peace and friendship. But Cassius made many accusations against them to their ambassadors, and said that they ought first to act like men conquered and subjects and then treat for friendship. When the ambassadors agreed to do everything that was possible and reasonable, he ordered them to furnish the amount of money it was customary to give each soldier as pay for six months, as well as provisions for two months; and in order that they might raise these supplies he granted them a truce, appointing a definite number of days for it to run. [4] When the Hernicans, after supplying them with everything promptly and eagerly, sent ambassadors again to treat for friendship, Cassius commended them and referred them to the senate. The senators after much deliberation resolved to receive this people into their friendship, but as to the terms on which the treaty with them should be made, they voted that Cassius the consul should decide and settle these, and that whatever he approved of should have their sanction.

[69.1] The senate having passed this vote, Cassius returned to Rome and demanded a second triumph, as if he had subdued the greatest nations, thus attempting to seize the honour as a favour rather than to receive it as a right, since, though he had neither taken any cities by storm nor put to rout an army of enemies in the field, he was of lead home captives and spoils, the adornments of a triumph. Accordingly, this action first brought him a reputation for presumption and for no longer entertaining thoughts like those of his fellow citizens. [2] Then, when he had secured for himself the granting of a triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with the Hernicans, which was a copy of the one that had been made with the Latins. At this the oldest and most honoured of the senators were very indignant and regarded him with suspicion; for they were unwilling that the Hernicans, an alien race, should obtain the same honour as their kinsmen, the Latins, and that those who had done them the least service should be treated with the same kindness as those who had shown them many instances of their goodwill. They were also displeased at the arrogance of the man, who, after being honoured by the senate, had not shown equal honour to that body, but had produced a treaty drawn up according to his own pleasure and not with the general approval of the senate. [3] But it seems that to be successful in many undertakings is a dangerous and prejudicial thing for a man; for to many it is the hidden source of senseless pride and the secret author of desires that are too ambitious for our human nature. And so it was with Cassius. For, being the only man at that time who had been honoured by his country with three consulships and two triumphs, he now conducted himself in a more pompous manner and conceived a desire for monarchical power. And bearing in mind that the easiest and safest way of all for those who aim at monarchy or tyranny is to draw the multitude to oneself by sundry gratifications and to accustom them to feed themselves out of the hands of the one who distributes the possessions of the public, he took that course; and at once, without communicating this

intention to anyone, he determined to divide among the people a certain large tract of land belonging to the state which had been neglected and was then in the possession of the richest men. [4] Now if he had been content to stop there, the business might perhaps have gone according to his wish; but as it was, by grasping for more, he raised a violent sedition, the outcome of which proved anything but fortunate for him. For he thought fit in assigning the land to include not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had only recently been admitted to citizenship, and thus to attach these nations to himself.

[7.1] Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph he called the multitude together in assembly, and coming forward to the tribunal, according to the custom of those who have triumphed, he first gave his account of his achievements, the sum of which was as follows: [2] that in his first consulship he had defeated in battle the Sabines, who were laying claim to the supremacy, and compelled them to become subject to the Romans; that upon being chosen consul for the second time he had appeased the sedition in the state and restored the populace to the fatherland, and had caused the Latins, who, though kinsmen of the Romans, had always envied them their supremacy and glory, to become their friends by conferring upon them equal rights of citizenship, so that they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their fatherland; [3] that being for the third time invested with the same magistracy, he had not only compelled the Volscians to become their friends instead of enemies, but had also brought about the voluntary submission of the Hernicans, a great and warlike nation situated near them and quite capable of doing them either the greatest mischief or the greatest service. [4] After recounting these and similar achievements he asked the populace to pay good heed to him, as to one who then had and always would have a greater concern for the commonwealth than any others. He concluded his speech by saying that he would confer upon the populace so many benefits and so great as to surpass all those who were commended for befriending and saving the plebeians; and these things he said he would soon accomplish. [5] He then dismissed the assembly, and without even the slightest delay called a meeting the next day of the senate, which was already in suspense and terrified at his words. And before taking up any other subject he proceeded to lay before them openly the purpose which he had kept concealed in the popular assembly, asking of the senators that, inasmuch as the populace had rendered the commonwealth great service by aiding it, not only to retain its liberty, but also to rule over other peoples, they should show their concern for them by dividing among them the land conquered in war, which, though nominally the property of the state, was in reality possessed by the most shameless patricians, who had occupied it without any legal claim; and that the price paid for the corn sent them by Gelon, the tyrant of Sicily, as a present, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens as a free gift, the poor had got by purchase, should be repaid to the purchasers from the funds held in the public treasury.

[71.1] At once, while he was still speaking, a great tumult arose, the senators to a man disliking his proposal and refusing to countenance it. And when he had done, not only his colleague Verginius, but the oldest and the most honoured of the senators as well, particularly Appius Claudius, inveighed against him vehemently for attempting to stir up a sedition; and until a late hour these men continued to be beside themselves with rage and to utter the severest reproaches against one another. [2] During the following days Cassius assembled the populace continually and attempted to win them over by his harangues, introducing the arguments in favour of the allotment of the land and laying himself out in invectives against his opponents. Verginius, for his part, assembled the senate every day and in concert with the patricians prepared legal safeguards and hindrances against the other's designs. [3] Each of the consuls had a strong body of men attending him and guarding his person; the needy and the unwashed and such as were prepared for any daring enterprise were ranged under Cassius, and those of the noblest birth and the most immaculate under Verginius. [4] For some time the baser element prevailed in the assemblies, being far more numerous than the others; then they became evenly balanced when the tribunes joined the better element. This change of front on the part of the tribunes was due perhaps to their feeling that it was not best for the commonwealth that the multitude should be corrupted by bribes of money and distributions of the public lands and so be idle and depraved, and perhaps also to envy, since it was not they themselves, the leaders of the populace, who had been the authors of this liberality, but someone else; however, there is no reason why their action was not due also to the fear they felt at the increase in Cassius' power, which had grown greater than was to the interest of the commonwealth. [5] At any rate, these men in the meetings of the assembly now began to oppose with all their power the laws which Cassius was introducing, showing the people that it was not fair if the possessions which they had acquired in the course of many wars were not to be distributed among the Romans alone, but were to be shared equally not only by the Latins, who had not been present in those wars, but also by the Hernicans, who had but lately entered into friendship with them, and having been brought to it by war, would be content not to be deprived of their own territory. [6] The people, as they listened, would now assent to the representations of the tribunes, when they recalled that the portion of the public land which would fall to the lot of each man would be small and inconsiderable if they shared it with the Hernicans and the Latins, and again would change their minds as Cassius in his harangues charged that the tribunes were betraying them to the patricians and using his proposal to give an equal share of the land to the Hernicans and the Latins as a specious pretence for their opposition; whereas, he said, he had included these peoples in his law with a view to adding strength to the poor and of hindering any attempt that might thereafter be made to deprive them of what had been once granted to them since he regarded it as better and safer for the masses to get

little, but to keep that little undiminished, than to expect a great deal and to be disappointed of everything.

[72.1] While Cassius by these arguments frequently changed the minds of the multitude in the meetings of the assembly, one of the tribunes, Gaius Rabuleius, a man not lacking in intelligence, came forward and promised that he would soon put an end to the dissension between the consuls and would also make it clear to the populace what they ought to do. And when a great demonstration of approval followed, and then silence, he said: “Are not these, Cassius and Verginius, the chief issues of this law — first, whether the public land should be distributed with an equal portion for everyone, and second, whether the Latins and the Hernicans should receive a share of it?” [2] And when they assented, he continued: “Very well. You, Cassius, ask the people to vote for both provisions. But as for you, Verginius, tell us, for Heaven’s sake, whether you oppose that part of Cassius’ proposal which relates to the allies, believing that we ought not to make the Hernicans and the Latins equal sharers with us, or whether you oppose the other also, holding that we should not distribute the property of the state even among ourselves. Just answer these questions for me without concealing anything.” [3] When Verginius said that he opposed giving an equal share of the land to the Hernicans and the Latins, but consented to its being divided among the Roman citizens, if all were of that opinion, the tribune, turning to the multitude, said: “Since, then, one part of the proposed measure is approved of by both consuls and the other is opposed by one of them, and as both men are equal in rank and neither can use compulsion on the other, let us accept now the part which both are ready to grant us, and postpone the other, concerning which they differ.” [4] The multitude signified by their acclamations that his advice was most excellent and demanded that he strike out of the law that part which gave occasion for discord; whereupon Cassius was at a loss what to do, and being neither willing to withdraw his proposal nor able to adhere to it while the tribunes opposed him, he dismissed the assembly for that time. During the following days he feigned illness and no longer went down to the Forum; but remaining at home, he set about getting the law passed by force and violence, and sent for as many of the Latins and Hernicans as he could to come and vote for it. [5] These assembled in great numbers and presently the city was full of strangers. Verginius, being informed of this, ordered proclamation to be made in the streets that all who were not residents of the city should depart; and he set an early time limit. But Cassius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed — that all who possessed the rights of citizens should remain till the law was passed.

[73.1] There being no end of these contests, the patricians, fearing that when the law came to be proposed there would be stealing of votes, recourse to violence, and all the other forcible means that are wont to be employed in factious assemblies, met in the senate-house to deliberate concerning all these matters once and for all. [2] Appius, upon being asked his opinion first, refused to grant the distribution of land to the people, pointing out that an idle

multitude accustomed to devour the public stores would prove troublesome and unprofitable fellow citizens and would never allow any of the common possessions, whether property or money, to continue to be held in common. He did note that it would be a shameful thing if the senators, who had been accusing Cassius of introducing mischievous and disadvantageous measures and of corrupting the populace, should then themselves by common consent ratify these measures as just and advantageous. He asked them also to bear in mind that even the gratitude of the poor, if they should divide up among themselves the public possessions, would not be shown to those who gave their consent and sanction to this law, but to Cassius alone, who had proposed it and was believed to have compelled the senators to ratify it against their will. [3] After saying this and other things to the same purport, he ended by giving them this advice — to choose ten of the most distinguished senators to go over the public land and fix its bounds, and if they found that any private persons were by fraud or force grazing or tilling any part of it, to take cognizance of this abuse and restore the land to the state. And he further advised that when the land thus delimited by them had been divided into allotments, of whatever number, and marked off by pillars duly inscribed, one part of it should be sold, particularly the part about which there was any dispute with private persons, so that the purchasers might be involved in litigation over it with any who should lay claim to it, and the other part should be let for five years; and that the money coming in from these rents should be used for the payment of the troops and the purchase of the supplies needed for the wars. [4] “For, as things now stand,” he said, “the envy of the poor against the rich who have appropriated and continue to occupy the public possessions is justified, and it is not at all to be wondered at if they demand that the public property should be divided among all the citizens rather than held by a few, and those the most shameless. Whereas, if they see the persons who are now enjoying them give them up and the public possessions become really public, they will cease to envy us and will give up their eagerness for the distribution of our fields to individuals, once they have learnt that joint ownership by all the citizens will be of greater advantage to them than the small portion that would be allotted to each. [5] Let us show them, in fact,” he said, “what a great difficult it makes, and that if each one of the poor receives a small plot of ground and happens to have troublesome neighbours, he neither will be able to cultivate it himself, by reason of his poverty, nor will he find anyone to lease it of him but that neighbour, whereas if large allotments offering varied and worthwhile tasks for the husbandmen are let out by the state, they will bring in large revenues; and that it is better for them, when they set out for the wars, to receive both their provisions and their pay from the public treasury than to pay in their individual contributions each time to the treasury out of their private estates, when, as sometimes happens, their means of livelihood are scanty and will be still further cramped by providing this money.”

[74.1] After Appius had introduced this motion and appeared to win great

approval, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who was called upon next, said:

“This is not the first time that I have had occasion to praise Appius as a man highly capable of grasping eventualities long in advance, and as one always offering the most excellent and useful opinions, a man who is firm and unshaken in his judgements and neither yields to fear nor is swayed by favour. For I have never ceased to praise and admire him both for his prudence and the noble spirit he shows in the presence of danger. And it is not a different motion that I offer, but I too make the same one, merely adding a few details which Appius seemed to me to omit. [2] As regards the Hernicans and the Latins, to whom we recently granted equal rights of citizenship, I too think they ought not to share in the allotment of our lands; for it was not after they entered into friendship with us that we acquired this land which we now occupy, but still earlier, when by our own perilous efforts, without the assistance of anyone else, we took it from our enemies. Let us give them this answer: that the possessions which each of us already had when we entered into the treaty of friendship must remain the peculiar and inalienable property of each, but that in the case of all that we may come to possess through war when taking the field together, from the time we made this treaty, each shall have his share. [3] For this arrangement will neither afford our allies any just excuses for anger, as being wronged, nor cause the populace any fear of appearing to prefer their own interests to their good name. As to the appointment of the men proposed by Appius to delimit the public land, I quite agree with him. For this will afford us great frankness in dealing with the plebeians, since they are now displeased on both accounts — because they themselves reap no benefit from the public possessions and because some of us enjoy them contrary to justice. But if they see them restored to the public and the revenues therefrom applied to the necessary uses of the commonwealth, they will not suppose that it makes any difficult to them whether it is the land or its produce that they share. [4] I need not mention, of course, that some of the poor are more delighted with the losses of others with now their own advantages. However, I do not regard the entering of these two provisions in the decree as enough; but we ought in my opinion to gain the goodwill of the populace and relieve them by another moderate favour also, one which I shall presently name, after I have first shown you the reason, or rather the necessity, for our doing this also.

[75.1] “You are aware, no doubt, of the words spoken by the tribune in the assembly when he asked one of the consuls, Verginius here, what his opinion was concerning the allotment of the land, whether he consented to divide the public possessions among the citizens but not among the allies, or would not consent that even we should receive a share of what belongs to us all in common. And Verginius admitted that he was not attempting to hinder the allotting of the land so far as it related to us Romans, if this seemed best to everybody. This concession not only caused the tribunes to espouse our cause, but also rendered the populace more reasonable. [2] What has come over us,

then, that we are now to change our mind about what we then conceded? Or what advantage shall we gain by pursuing our noble and excellent principles of government, principles worthy of our supremacy, if we cannot persuade those who are to make use of them? But we shall not persuade them, and this not one of you fails to know. For, of all who fail to get what they want, those will feel the harshest resentment who are cheated of their hopes and are not getting what has been agreed upon. Surely the politician whose principle it is to please will run off with them again, and after that not one even of the tribunes will stand by us. [3] Hear, therefore, what I advise you to do, and the amendment I add to the motion of Appius; but do not rise up or create any disturbance before you have heard all I have to say. After you have appointed commissioners, whether ten or whatever number, to inspect the land and fix its boundaries, empower them to determine which and how great a part of it should be held in common and, by being let for five years, increase the revenues of the treasury, and again, how great a part and which should be divided among our plebeians. And whatever land they appoint to be allotted you should allot after determining whether it shall be distributed among all the citizens, or among those who have no land as yet, or among those who have the lowest property rating, or in whatever manner you shall think proper. As regards the men who are to fix the bounds of the land and the decree you will publish concerning its division and everything else that is necessary, I advise, since the present consuls have but a short time to continue in office, that their successors shall carry out these purposes in such manner as they think will be for the best. [4] For not only do matters of such moment require no little time, but the present consuls, who are at variance, can hardly be expected to show greater insight in discovering what is advantageous than their successors, if, as we hope, the latter shall be harmonious. For delay is in many cases a useful thing and anything but danger, and time brings about many changes in a single day; furthermore, the absence of dissension among those who preside over the public business is the cause of all the blessings enjoyed by states. As for me, this is the opinion I have to express; but if anyone has anything better to propose, let him speak."

[76.1] When Sempronius had ended, there was much applause from those present, and not one of the senators who were asked their opinion after him expressed any different view. Thereupon the decree of the senate was drawn up to this effect: that the ten oldest ex-consuls should be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land and to declare how much of it ought to be let and how much divided among the people; [2] that those enjoying the rights of citizens and the allies, in case they later acquired more land by a joint campaign, should each have their allotted share, according to the treaties; and that the appointment of the decemvirs, the distribution of the allotments, and everything else that was necessary should be carried out by the incoming consuls. When this decree was laid before the populace, it not only put a stop to the demagoguery of Cassius, but also prevented the sedition

that was being rekindled by the orator from going any farther.

[77.1] The following year, at the beginning of the seventy-fourth Olympiad (the one at which Astylus of Syracuse won the foot-race), when Leostratus was archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius had succeeded to the consulship, two patricians, young indeed in years, but the most distinguished of their body because of the prestige of their ancestors, men of great influence both on account of their bands of supporters and because of their wealth, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their ability in civil affairs, namely, Caeso Fabius, brother of the then consul, and Lucius Valerius Publicola, brother to the man who overthrew the kings, being quaestors at the same time and therefore having authority to assemble the populace, denounced before them Spurius Cassius, the consul of the preceding year, who had dared to propose the laws concerning the distribution of land, charging him with having aimed at tyranny; and appointing a day, they summoned him to make his defence before the populace. [2] When a very large crowd has assembled upon the day appointed, the two quaestors called the multitude together in assembly, and recounting all his overt actions, showed that they were calculated for no good purpose. First, in the case of the Latins, who would have been content with being accounted worthy of a common citizenship with the Romans, esteeming it a great piece of good luck to get even so much, he had as consul not only bestowed on them the citizenship they asked for, but had furthermore caused a vote to be passed that they should be given also the third part of the spoils of war on the occasion of any joint campaign. Again, in the case of the Hernicans, who, having been subdued in war, ought to have been content not to be punished by the loss of some part of their territory, he had made them friends instead of subjects, and citizens instead of tributaries, and had ordered that they should receive the second third of any land and booty that the Romans might acquire from any source. [3] Thus the spoils were to be divided into three portions, the subjects of the Romans and aliens receiving two of them and the natives and dominant race the third part. They pointed out that as a result of this procedure one or the other of two most absurd situations would come about in case they should choose to honour any other nation, in return for many great services, by granting the same privileges with which they had honoured not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had never done them the least service. For, as there would be but one third left for them, they would either have no part to bestow upon their benefactors or, if they granted them the like favour, they would have nothing for themselves.

[78.1] Besides this they went on to relate that Cassius, in proposing to give to the people the common possessions of the state without a decree of the senate or the consent of his colleague, had intended to get the law passed by force — a law that was inexpedient and unjust, not for this reason alone, that, though the senate ought to have considered the measure first, and, in case they approved of it, it ought to have been a joint concession on the part of all the authorities, he was making it the favour of one man, [2] but also for the further reason — the most outrageous of all — that, though it was in name a grant of the public land to the citizens, it was in reality a deprivation, since the Romans, who had acquired it, were to receive but one third, while the Hernicans and the Latins, who had no claim to it at all, would get the other two thirds. They further charged that even when the tribunes opposed him and asked him to strike out the part of the law granting equal shares to the aliens, he had paid no heed to them, but continued to act in opposition to the tribunes, to his colleague, to the senate, and to all who consulted the best interests of the commonwealth. [3] After they had enumerated these charges and named as witnesses to their truth the whole body of the citizens, they then at length proceeded to present the secret evidences of his having aimed at tyranny, showing that the Latins and the Hernicans had contributed money to him and provided this with arms, and that the most daring young men from their cities were resorting to him, making secret plans, and serving him in many other ways besides. And to prove the truth of these charges they produced many witnesses, both residents of Rome and others from the cities in alliance with her, persons who were neither mean nor obscure. [4] In these the populace put confidence; and without either being moved now by the speech which the man delivered — a speech which he had prepared with much care, — or yielding to compassion when his three young sons contributed much to his appeal for sympathy and many others, both relations and friends, joined in bewailing his fate, or paying any regard to his exploits in war, by which he had attained to the greatest honour, they condemned him. [5] Indeed, they were so exasperated at the name of tyranny that they did not moderate their resentment even in the degree of his punishment, but sentenced him to death. For they were afraid that if a man who was the ablest general of his time should be driven from his country into exile, he might follow the example of Marcius in dividing his own people and uniting their enemies, and bring a relentless war upon his country. This being the outcome of his trial, the quaestors led him to the top of the precipice that overlooks the Forum and in the presence of all the citizens hurled him down from the rock. For this was the traditional punishment at that time among the Romans for those who were condemned to death.

[79.1] Such is the more probable of the accounts that have been handed down concerning this man; but I must not omit the less probable version, since this also has been believed by many and is recorded in histories of good authority. It is said, then, by some that while the plan of Cassius to make himself tyrant

was as yet concealed from all the world, his father was the first to suspect him, and that after making the strictest inquiry into the matter he went to the senate; then, ordering his son to appear, he became both informer and accuser, and when the senate also had condemned him, he took him home and put him to death. [2] The harsh and inexorable anger of fathers against their offending sons, particularly among the Romans of that time, does not permit us to reject even this account. For earlier Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his sons to die in accordance with the law concerning malefactors, and they were beheaded because they were believed to have been helping to bring about the restoration of the kings. And at a later time Manlius, when he was commander in the Gallic war and his son distinguished himself in battle, honoured him, indeed, for his bravery with the crowns given for superior valour, but at the same time accused him of disobedience in not staying in the fort in which he was posted but leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to take part in the struggle; and he put him to death as a deserter. [3] And many other fathers, some for greater and others for lesser faults, have shown neither mercy nor compassion to their sons. For this reason I do not feel, as I said, that this account should be rejected as improbable. But the following considerations, which are arguments of no small weight and are not lacking in probability, draw me in the other direction and lead me to agree with the first tradition. In the first place, after the death of Cassius his house was razed to the ground and to this day its site remains vacant, except for that part of it on which the state afterwards built the temple of Tellus, which stands in the street leading to the Carinae; and again, his goods were confiscated by the state, which dedicated first-offerings for them in various temples, especially the bronze statues to Ceres, which by their inscriptions show of whose possessions they are the first-offerings. [4] But if his father had been at once the informer, the accuser and the executioner of his son, neither his house would have been razed nor his estate confiscated. For the Romans have no property of their own while their fathers are still living, but fathers are permitted to dispose both of the goods and the persons of their sons as they wish. Consequently the state would surely never have seen fit, because of the crimes of the son, to take away and confiscate the estate of his father who had given information of his plan to set up a tyranny. For these reasons, therefore, I agree rather with the former of the two accounts; but I have given both, to the end that my readers may adopt whichever one they please.

[80.1] When the attempt was made by some to put to death the sons of Cassius also, the senators looked upon the custom as cruel and harmful; and having assembled, they voted that the penalty should be remitted in the case of the boys and that they should live in complete security, being punished by neither banishment, disfranchisement, nor any other misfortune. And from that time this custom has become established among the Romans and is observed down to our day, that the sons shall be exempt from all punishment for any crimes committed by their fathers, whether they happen to be the sons

of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors — treason being among the Romans the greatest crime. [2] And those who attempted to abolish this custom in our times, after the end of the Marsic and civil wars, and took away from the sons of fathers who had been proscribed under Sulla the privilege of standing for the magistracies held by their fathers and of being members of the senate as long as their own domination lasted, were regarded as having done a thing deserving both the indignation of men and the vengeance of the gods. Accordingly, in the course of time a justifiable retribution dogged their steps as the avenger of their crimes, by which the perpetrators were reduced from the greatest height of glory they had once enjoyed to the lowest depths, and not even their posterity, except of the female line, now survives; [3] but the custom was restored to its original status by the man who brought about their destruction. Among some of the Greeks, however, this is not the practice, but certain of them think it proper to put to death the sons of tyrants together with their fathers; and others punish them with perpetual banishment, as if Nature would not permit virtuous sons to be the offspring of wicked fathers or evil sons of good fathers. But concerning these matters, I leave to the consideration of anyone who is so minded the question whether the practice prevalent among the Greeks is better or the custom of the Romans is superior; and I now return to the events that followed.

[81.1] After the death of Cassius those who sought to extend the power of the aristocracy had grown more daring and more contemptuous of the plebeians, while those of obscure reputation and fortune were humbled and abased, and feeling that they had lost the best guardian of the plebeian order, accused themselves of great folly in having condemned him. The reason for this was that the consuls were not carrying out the decree of the senate regarding the allotting of the land, though it was their duty to appoint the decemvirs to fix the boundaries of the land and to present a proposal as to how much of it ought to be distributed, and to whom. [2] Many met in groups, always discussing this duplicity and accusing the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth; and there were continual meetings of the assembly called by the tribunes then in office, and demands for the fulfilment of the promise. The consuls, perceiving this, determined to repress the turbulent and disorderly element in the city, taking the wars as a pretext. For it chanced that their territory was at that very time harassed by bands of robbers and forays from the neighbouring cities. [3] To punish these aggressors, then, they brought out the war standards and began to enrol the forces of the commonwealth. And when the poor did not come forward to enlist, the consuls, being unable to make use of the compulsion of the laws against the disobedient — for the tribunes defended the plebeians and were prepared to prevent any attempt to seize either the persons or the goods of those who failed to serve — made many threats that they would not yield to those who were stirring up the multitude, leaving with them a lurking suspicion that they would appoint a

dictator, who would set aside the other magistracies and alone by himself possess a tyrannical and irresponsible power. [4] As soon as the plebeians had entertained this suspicion, fearing that Appius, a harsh and stern man, would be the one appointed, they were ready to submit to anything rather than that.

[82.1] When the armies had been enrolled, the consuls took command and led them out against their foes. Cornelius invaded the territory of the Veientes and drove off all the booty that was found there, and later, when the Veientes sent ambassadors, he released their prisoners for a ransom and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Aequians, and from there into that of the Volscians. [2] For a short time the Volscians permitted their lands to be plundered and laid waste; then, conceiving contempt for the Romans, as they were not present in any great force, they snatched up their arms and set out from the territory of the Antiates in a body to go to the rescue of their lands, having formed their plans with greater precipitancy than regard for their own safety. Now if they had surprised the Romans by appearing unexpectedly to them while they were dispersed, they might have inflicted a severe defeat upon them; but as it was, the consul, being informed of their approach by those he had sent out to reconnoitre, by a prompt recall drew in his men, then dispersed in pillaging, and put them back into the proper order for battle. [3] As for the Volscians, who were advancing contemptuously and confidently, when the entire army of the enemy unexpectedly appeared, drawn up in orderly array, they were struck with fear at the unlooked-for sight, and no longer was there any thought for their common safety, but every man consulted his own. Turning about, therefore, they fled, each with all the speed he could, some one way and some another, and the greater part got back safely to their city. A small body of them, however, which had been best kept in formation, ran up to the top of a hill, and standing to their arms, remained there during the following night; but when in the course of the succeeding days the consul placed a guard round the hill and closed all the exits with armed troops, they were compelled by hunger to surrender and to deliver up their arms. [4] The consul, after ordering the quaestors to sell the booty he had found, together with the spoils and the prisoners, brought the money back to the city. And not long afterwards, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he returned home with them, as the year was now drawing to its close.

When the election of magistrates was at hand, the patricians, perceiving that the people were exasperated and repented of having condemned Cassius, resolved to guard against them, lest they should create some fresh disturbance when encouraged to hope for bribes and a distribution of allotments by some man skilful in the arts of the demagogue who should have gained the prestige of the consulship. And it seemed to them that the people would be most easily prevented from realizing any of these desires if a man who was at least democratic in his sympathies should become consul. [5] Having come to this decision, they ordered Caeso Fabius, one of the two persons who had accused

Cassius, and brother to Quintus, who was consul at the time, and, from among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the aristocratic party, to stand for the consulship. When these offered themselves for the office, the plebeians, though they could do nothing to prevent it, did leave the comitia and withdraw from the Field. [6] For in the centuriate assembly the balance of power in voting lay with the most important men and those who had the highest property ratings, and it was seldom that those of middling fortunes determined a matter; the last century, in which the most numerous and poorest part of the plebeians voted, had but one vote, as I stated before, which was always the last to be called for.

[83.1] Accordingly, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamercus, and Caeso Fabius, the son of Caeso, succeeded to the consulship in the two hundred and seventieth year after the settlement of Rome, when Nicodemus was archon at Athens. It chanced fortunately that their consulship was not disturbed at all by strife, since the state was beset by foreign wars. [2] Now in all nations and places, both Greek and barbarian, respites from evils from abroad are wont to provoke civil and domestic wars; and this happens especially among those peoples who choose a life of warfare and its hardships from a passion for liberty and dominion. For natures which have learned to covet more than they have find it difficult, when restrained from their usual employments, to remain patient, and for this reason the wisest leaders are always stirring up the embers of some foreign quarrels in the belief that wars waged abroad are better than those fought at home. [3] Be that as it may, at the time in question, as I said, the uprisings of the subject nations occurred very fortunately for the consuls. For the Volscians, either relying on the domestic disquiet of the Romans, in the belief that the plebeians had been brought to a state of war with the authorities, or stung by the shame of their former defeat received without striking a blow, or priding themselves on their own forces, which were very numerous, or induced by all these motives, resolved to make war upon the Romans. [4] And assembling the youth from every city, they marched with one part of their army against the cities of the Hernicans and Latins, while with the other, which was very numerous and powerful, they proposed to await the forces which should come against their own cities. The Romans, being informed of this, determined to divide their army into two bodies, with one of which they would keep guard over the territory of the Hernicans and Latins and with the other lay waste that of the Volscians.

[84.1] The consuls having drawn lots for the armies according to their custom, the army that was to aid their allies fell to Caeso Fabius, while Lucius at the head of the other marched upon Antium. When he drew near the border and caught sight of the enemy's army, he encamped for the time opposite to them upon a hill. In the days that followed the enemy frequently came out into the plain, challenging the consul to fight; and when he thought he had the suitable opportunity, he led out his army. Before they engaged, he exhorted and encouraged his troops at length, and then ordered the trumpets to sound

the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry, attacked in close array both by cohorts and by centuries. [2] After they had used up all their spears and javelins with the rest of their missile weapons, they drew their swords and rushed upon each other, both sides showing equal intrepidity and eagerness for the struggle. Their manner of fighting, as I said before, was similar, and neither the skill and experience of the Romans in engagements, because of which they were generally victorious, nor their steadfastness and endurance of toil, acquired in many battles, now gave them any advantage, since the same qualities were possessed by the enemy also from the time that they had been commanded by Marcius, not the least distinguished general among the Romans; but both sides stood firm, without quitting the ground on which they had first taken their stand. [3] Afterwards the Volscians began to retire, a little at a time, but in order and keeping their ranks, while receiving the Romans' onset. But this was a ruse designed to draw the enemy's ranks apart and to secure a position above them.

[85.1] The Romans, supposing that they were beginning flight, kept pace with them as they slowly withdrew, they too maintaining good order as they followed, but when they saw them running toward their camp, they also pursued swiftly and in disorder; and the centuries which were last and guarded the rear fell to stripping the dead, as if they had already conquered the enemy, and turned to plundering the country. [2] When the Volscians perceived this, not only did those who had feigned flight face about and stand their ground as soon as they drew near the ramparts of their camp, but those also who had been left behind in the camp opened the gates and ran out in great numbers at several points. And now weight fortune of the battle was reversed; for the pursuers fled and the fugitives pursued. Here many brave Romans lost their lives, as may well be imagined, being driven down a declivity as they were and surrounded a few by many. [3] And a like fate was suffered by those who had turned to despoiling the dead and to plundering and now found themselves deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly and regular retreat; for these too were overtaken by the enemy, and some of them were killed and others taken prisoner. As many as came through safely, both of these and of the others, who had been driven from the hill, returned to their camp when the horse came to their relief late in the day. It seemed, moreover, that their escape from utter destruction had been due in part to a violent rainstorm that burst from the sky and to a darkness like that occurring in thick mists, which made the enemy reluctant to pursue them any farther, since they were unable to see things at a distance. [4] The following night the consul broke camp and led his army away in silence and in good order, taking care to escape the notice of the enemy; and late in the afternoon he encamped near a town called Longula, having chosen a hill strong enough to keep off any who might attack him. While he remained there, he employed himself both in restoring with medical attention those who suffered from wounds and in raising the spirits of those who were disheartened at the unexpected disgrace

of defeat by speaking words of encouragement to them.

[86.1] While the Romans were thus occupied, the Volscians, as soon as it was day and they learned that the enemy had left their entrenchments, came up and made camp. Then, having stripped the dead, taken up those whom, though half dead, there was hope of saving, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the nearest city; and there, signing songs of triumph for their victory and offering sacrifices in all their temples, they devoted themselves during the following days to merry-making and pleasures. [2] Now if they had rested content with their present victory and had attempted nothing further, their struggle would have had a glory end. For the Romans would not have dared to come out again from their camp to give battle, but would have been glad to withdraw from the enemy's country, considering inglorious flight better than certain death. But as it was, the Volscians, aiming at still more, threw away the glory of their former victory. [3] For hearing both from scouts and from those who escaped from the enemy's camp that the Romans who had saved themselves were very few, and the greater part of these wounded, they conceived great contempt for them, and immediately seizing their arms, ran to attack them. Many unarmed people also followed them out of the city to witness the struggle and at the same time to secure plunder and booty. [4] But when, after attacking the hill and surrounding the camp, they endeavoured to pull down the palisades, first the Roman horse, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, sallied out against them, and, behind the horse, those they call the triarii, with their ranks closed. These are the oldest soldiers, to whom they commit the guarding of the camp when they go out to give battle, and they fall back of necessity upon these as their last hope when there has been a general slaughter of the younger men and they lack other reinforcements. [5] The Volscians at first sustained their onset and continued to fight stubbornly for a long time; then, being at a disadvantage because of the nature of the ground, they began to give way and at last, after inflicting slight and negligible injuries upon the enemy, while suffering more themselves, they retired to the plain. And encamping there, during the following days they repeatedly drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight; but these did not come out against them.

[6] When the Volscians saw this, they held them in contempt, and summoning forces from their cities, made preparations to capture the stronghold by their very numbers. And they might easily have performed a great exploit by taking both the consul and the Roman army either by force or even by capitulation, since the place was no longer well supplied with provisions either; but reinforcements came in time to the Romans, thus preventing the Volscians from bringing the war to the most glorious conclusion. [7] It seems that the other consul, Caeso Fabius, learning to what straits the army had been reduced which had been arrayed against the Volscians, proposed to march as quickly as possible with all his forces and fall at once upon those who were besieging the stronghold. Since, however,

the victims and omens were not favourable when he offered sacrifice and consulted the auspices, but the gods opposed his setting out, he himself remained behind, but chose out and sent his best cohorts to his colleague. [8] These, making their way covertly through the mountains and generally by night, entered the camp without being perceived by the enemy. Aemilius, therefore, had become emboldened by the arrival of these reinforcements, while the enemy, rashly trusting to their numbers and elated because the Romans did not come out to fight, proceeded to march up the hill in close order. The Romans permitted them to come up at their leisure and to spend their strength on the palisade; but when the signals for battle were raised, they pulled down the ramparts in many places and fell upon the enemy. Some of them, coming to close quarters, fought with their swords, while others from the ramparts hurled at their assailants stones, javelins and spears; and no missile failed of a mark where many combatants were crowded together in a limited space. [9] Thus the Volscians were hurled back from the hill after losing many of their number, and turning to flight, barely got safely back to their own camp. The Romans, feeling themselves secure at last, now made descents into the enemy's fields, from which they took provisions and everything else of which there was a dearth in the camp.

[87.1] When the time for the election of magistrates arrived, Aemilius remained in camp, being ashamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had lost the best part of his army. But his colleague, leaving his subordinate officers in camp, went to Rome; and assembling the people for the election, he declined to propose for the voting those among the ex-consuls on whom the populace wished the consulship to be bestowed, since even these men were not voluntary candidates, but he called the centuries and took their votes in favour of such as sought the office. [2] These were men the senate had selected and ordered to canvass for the office, men not very acceptable to the populace. Those elected consuls for the ensuing year were Marcus Fabius, son of Caeso, the younger brother of the consul who conducted the election, and Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus, the man who had accused Cassius, who had been thrice consul, of aiming at tyranny and caused him to be put to death.

[3] These men, having taken office, asked for the levying of fresh troops to replace those who had perished in the war against the Antiates, in order that the gaps in the various centuries might be filled; and having obtained a decree of the senate, they appointed a day on which all who were of military age must appear. Thereupon there was a great tumult throughout the city and seditious speeches were made by the poorest citizens, who refused either to comply with the decrees of the senate or to obey the authority of the consuls, since they had violated the promises made to them concerning the allotment of land. And going in great numbers to the tribunes, they charged them with treachery, and with loud outcries demanded their assistance. [4] Most of the tribunes did not regard it as a suitable time, when a foreign war had arisen, to

fan domestic hatreds into flame again; but one of them, named Gaius Maenius, declared that he would not betray the plebeians or permit the consuls to levy an army unless they should first appoint commissioners for fixing the boundaries of the public land, draw up the decree of the senate for its allotment, and lay it before the people. When the consuls opposed this and made the war they had on their hands an excuse he says not granting anything he desired, the tribune replied that he would pay no heed to them, but would hinder the levy with all his power. [5] And this he attempted to do; nevertheless, he could not prevail to the end. For the consuls, going outside the city, ordered their generals' chairs to be placed in the near-by field; and there they not only enrolled the troops, but also fined those who refused obedience to the laws, since it was not in their power to seize their persons. If the disobedient owned estates, they laid them waste and demolished their country-houses; and if they were farmers who tilled fields belonging to others, they stripped them of the yokes of oxen, the cattle, and the beasts of burden that were on hand for the work, and all kinds of implements with which the land is tilled and the crops gathered. [6] And the tribune who opposed the levy was no longer able to do anything. For those who are invested with the tribuneship possess no authority over anything outside the city, since their jurisdiction is limited by the city walls, and it is not lawful for them even to pass a night away from the city, save on a single occasion, when all the magistrates of the commonwealth ascended the Alban Mount and offer up a common sacrifice to Jupiter in behalf of the Latin nation. [7] This custom by which the tribunes possess no authority over anything outside the city continues to our times. And indeed the motivating cause, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans which occurred in my day and was greater than any war before it, the cause which seemed more important and sufficient to divide the commonwealth, was this — that some of the tribunes, complaining that they had been forcibly driven out of the city by the general who was then in control of affairs in Italy, in order to deprive them henceforth of any power, fled to the general who commanded the armies in Gaul, as having no place to turn to. [8] And the latter, availing himself of this excuse and pretending to come with right and justice to the aid of the sacrosanct magistracy of the people which had been deprived of its authority contrary to the oaths of the forefathers, entered the city himself in arms and restored the men to their office.

[88.1] But on the occasion of which we are now speaking the plebeians, receiving no assistance from the tribunician power, moderated their boldness, and coming to the persons appointed to raise the levies, took the sacred oath and enlisted under their standards. When the gaps in the several centuries had been filled, the consuls drew lots for the command of the legions; as a result, Fabius took over the army which had been sent to the assistance of the allies, while Valerius received the one which lay encamped in the country of the Volscians, and took with him the new levies. [2] When the enemy were

informed of his arrival, they resolved to send for another army and to encamp in a place of greater strength, and no longer out of contempt for the Romans to expose themselves to reckless danger, as before. These resolutions were quickly carried out; and the commanders of the two armies both came to the same decision regarding the war, namely, to defend their own entrenchments if they were attacked, but to make no attempt upon those of the enemy in the expectation of carrying them by assault. [3] And meanwhile not a little time was wasted, because of their fear of making any attack upon each other. Nevertheless, they were not able to abide by betray resolutions to the end. For whenever any detachments were sent out to bring in provisions or anything else that was necessary to the two armies, there were encounters and blows were exchanged, and the victory did not always rest with the same side; and since they frequently clashed, not a few men were killed and more wounded. [4] For the Romans the wastage of their army was made good by no replacements from any quarter; but the army of the Volscians was greatly increased by the arrival of one effort after another, and their generals, elated at this, led out the army from the camp ready for battle.

[89.1] When the Romans also came out and drew up their forces, a sharp engagement ensued, not only of the horse, but of the foot and the light-armed troops as well, all showing equal ardour and experience and every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone. [2] At last, however, the bodies of the dead on both sides lay in great numbers where they had fallen at the posts assigned to them, and the men who were barely alive were even more numerous than the dead, while those who still continued the fight and faced its dangers were but few, and even these were unable to perform the tasks of war; for their shields, because of the multitude of spears that had stuck in them, weighed down their left arms and would not permit them to sustain the enemy's onsets, and their daggers had their edges blunted or in some cases were entirely shattered and no longer of any use, and the great weariness of the men, who had fought the whole day, slackened their sinews and weakened their blows, and sweat, thirst, and want of breath afflicted both armies, as is wont to happen when men fight long in the stifling heat of summer. Thus the battle came to an end that was anything but remarkable; but both sides, as soon as their generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, gladly returned to their camps. After that neither army any longer ventured out for battle, but lying over against one another, they kept watch on each other's movements when any detachments went out for supplies. [3] It was believed, however, according to the report common in Rome, that the tendency, though it was then in their power to conquer, deliberately refused to perform any brilliant action because of hatred for the consul and the resentment they felt against the patricians for having played a tricking of them in the matter of the allotment of land. Indeed, the soldiers themselves, in letters they sent to their friends, accused the consul of being unfit to command.

While these things were happening in the camp, in Rome itself many

prodigies in the way of unusual voices and sights occurred as indications of divine wrath. [4] And they all pointed to this conclusion, as the augurs and the interpreters of religious matters declared, after pooling their experiences, that some of the gods were angered because they were not receiving their customary honours, as their rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. Thereupon strict inquiry was made by everyone, and at last information was given to the pontiffs that one of the virgins who guarded the sacred fire, Opimia by name, had lost her virginity and was polluting the holy rites. [5] The pontiffs, having by tortures and other proofs found that the information was true, took from her head the fillets, and solemnly conducting her through the Forum, buried her alive inside the city walls. As for the two men who were convicted of violating her, they ordered them to be scourged in public and then put to death at once. Thereupon the sacrifices and the auguries became favourable, as if the gods had given up their anger against them.

[90.1] When the time for the election of magistrates arrived and the consuls had returned to Rome, there was great rivalry and marshalling of forces between the populace and the patricians concerning the persons who were to receive the chief magistracy. For the patricians desired to promote to the consulship those of the younger men who were energetic and least inclined to favour the plebeians; and at their behest the son of the Appius Claudius who was regarded as the greatest enemy of the plebeians stood for the office, a man full of arrogance and daring and by reason of his friends and clients the most powerful man of his age. The populace, on their part, named from among the older men who had already given proof of their reasonableness those who were likely to consult the common good, and desired to make them consuls. The magistrates also were divided and sought to invalidate one another's authority. [2] For whenever the consuls called an assembly of the multitude, to announce the candidates for the consulship, the tribunes, by virtue of their power to intervene, would dismiss the comitia; and whenever the tribunes, in turn, called an assembly of the people to elect magistrates, the consuls, who had the power of calling the centuries together and of taking their votes, would not permit them to proceed. There were mutual accusations and continual skirmishes between them, each side uniting in factional groups, with the result that even angry blows were exchanged and the sedition stopped little short of armed violence. [3] The senate, being informed of all this, deliberated for a long time how it should deal with the situation, being neither able to force the populace to submit or willing to yield. The bolder opinion in that body was for appointing a dictator, whomever they should consider to be the best, for the purpose of the election, and that the one receiving this power should banish the trouble-makers from the state, and if the former magistrates had been guilty of any error, that he should correct it, and then, after establishing the form of government he desired, should hand over the magistracies to the best men. [4] The more moderate opinion was for choosing oldest and most honoured senators as interreges to have charge of the election

and see that it was carried out in the best manner, just as elections were formerly carried out upon the demise of their kings. The latter opinion having been approved by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was appointed interrex by the senate and all the other magistracies were suspended. [5] After he had administered the commonwealth without any sedition for as many days as it was lawful, he appointed another interrex, according to their custom, naming Spurius Larcius. And Larcius, summoning the centuriate assembly and taking their votes according to the valuation of their property, named for consuls, with the approval of both sides, Gaius Julius, surnamed Iulus, one of the men friendly to the populace and, to serve for the second time, Quintus Fabius, the son of Caeso, who belonged to the aristocratic party. [6] The populace, who had suffered naught at his hands in the former consulship, permitted him to obtain this power for the second time because they hated Appius and were greatly pleased that he seemed to have been deprived of an honour; while those in authority, having succeeded in advancing to the consulship a man of action and one who would show no weakness toward the populace, thought the dissension had taken a course favourable to their designs.

[91.1] During the consulship of these men the Aequians, making a raid into the territory of the Latins after the manner of brigands, carried off a great number of slaves and cattle; and the people of Tyrrhenia called the Veientes injured a large part of the Roman territory by their forays. The senate voted to put off the war against the Aequians to another time, but to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The Aequians, accordingly, since their first attempts had been successful and there appeared to be no one to prevent their further operations, grew elated with an unreasoning boldness, and resolving no longer to send out a mere marauding expedition, marched with a large force to Ortona and took it by storm; then, after plundering everything both in the country and in the city, they returned home with rich booty. [2] As for the Veientes, they returned answer to the ambassadors who came from Rome that those who were ravaging their country were not from their city, but from the other Tyrrhenian cities, and then dismissed them without giving them any satisfaction; and the ambassadors fell in with the Veientes as these were driving off booty from the Roman territory. The senate, learning of these things from the ambassadors, voted to declare war against the Veientes and that both consuls should lead out the army. [3] There was a controversy, to be sure, over the decree, and there were many who opposed engaging in the war and reminded the plebeians of the allotment of land, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, though the senate had passed the decree four years before; and they declared that there would be a general war if all Tyrrhenia by common consent should assist their countrymen. [4] However, the arguments of the seditious speakers did not prevail, but the populace also confirmed the decree of the senate, following the opinion and advice of Spurius Larcius. Thereupon the consuls marched out with their forces and

encamped apart at no great distance from the city; but after they had remained there a good many days and the enemy did not lead their forces out to meet them, they ravaged as large a part of their country as they could and then returned home with the army. Nothing else worthy of notice happened during their consulship.

BOOK IX

[1.1] The following year, a dispute having arisen between the populace and the senate concerning the men who were to be elected consuls, the senators demanding that both men promoted to that magistracy should be of the aristocratic party and the populace demanding that they be chosen from among such as were agreeable to them, after an obstinate struggle they finally convinced each other that a consul should be chosen from each party. Thus Caeso Fabius, who had accused Cassius of aiming at a tyranny, was elected consul, for the second time, on the part of the senate, and Spurius Furius on the part of the populace, in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, Calliades being archon at Athens, at the time when Xerxes made his expedition against Greece. [2] They had no sooner taken office than ambassadors of the Latins came to the senate asking them to send to them one of the consuls with an army to put a check to the insolence of the Aequians, and at the same time word was brought that all Tyrrhenia was aroused and would soon go to war. For that nation had been convened in a general assembly and at the urgent solicitation of the Veientes for aid in their war against the Romans had passed a decree that any of the Tyrrhenians who so desired might take part in the campaign; and it was a sufficiently strong body of men that voluntarily aided the Veientes in the war. Upon learning of this the authorities in Rome resolved to raise armies and also that both consuls should take the field, one to make war on the Aequians and to aid the Latins, and the other to march with his forces against Tyrrhenia. [3] All this was opposed by Spurius Icilius, one of the tribunes, who, assembling the populace every day, demanded of the senate the performance of its promises relating to the allotment of land and said that he would allow none of their decrees, whether they concerned military or civil affairs, to take effect unless they should first appoint the decemvir so fix the boundaries of the public land and divide it among the people as they had promised. [4] When the senate was at a loss and did not know what to do, Appius Claudius suggested that they should consider how the other tribunes might be brought to dissent from Icilius, pointing out that there is no other method of putting an end to the power of a tribune who opposes and obstructs the decrees of the senate, since his person is sacred and this authority of his legal, than for another of the men of equal rank and possessing the same power to oppose him and to order to be done what the other tries to obstruct. [5] And he advised all succeeding consuls to do this and to consider how they might always have some of the tribunes well disposed and friendly to them, saying that only method of destroying the power of the college was to sow dissension among its members.

[2.1] When Appius had expressed this opinion, both the consuls and the more influential of the others, believing his advice to be sound, courted the other four tribunes so effectually as to make them well disposed toward the

senate. [2] These for a time endeavoured by argument to persuade Icilius to desist from his course with respect to the allotment of land till the wars should come to an end. But when he kept opposing them and swore that he would continue to do so, and had the assurance to make a rather insolent remark in the presence of the populace to the effect that he had rather see the Tyrrhenians and their other enemies masters of the city than leave unpunished those who were occupying public land, they thought they had got an excellent opportunity for opposing so great insolence both by their words and by their acts, and since even the populace showed displeasure at his remark, they said they interposed their veto; and they openly pursued such measures as were agreeable to both the senate and the consuls. Thus Icilius being deserted by his colleagues, no longer had any authority. [3] After this the army was raised and everything that was necessary for the war was supplied, partly from public and partly from private sources, with all possible alacrity; and the consuls, having drawn lots for the armies, set out in haste, Spurius Furius marching against the cities of the Aequians and Caeso Fabius against the Tyrrhenians. [4] In the case of Spurius everything succeeded according to his wish, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement, so that in this expedition he had the opportunity of taking much booty in both money and slaves. For he overran almost all the territory that the enemy possessed, carrying and driving off everything, and he gave all the spoils to the soldiers. [5] Though he had been regarded even before this time as a friend of the people, he gained the favour of the multitude still more by his conduct in this command; and when the season for military operations was over, he brought his army home intact and unscathed, and made the fatherland rich with the money he had taken.

[3.1] Caeso Fabius, the other consul, though as a general his performance was second to none, was nevertheless deprived of the praise that his achievements deserved, not through any fault of his own, but because he did not enjoy the goodwill of the plebeians from the time when he had denounced and put to death the consul Cassius for aiming at a tyranny. [2] For they never showed any alacrity either in those matters in which men under authority ought to yield a prompt obedience to the orders of their general, or when they should through eagerness and a sense of duty seize positions by force, or when it was necessary to occupy advantageous positions without the knowledge of the enemy, or in anything else from which the general would derive any honour and good repute. Most of their conduct, to be sure, by which they were continually insulting their general was neither very troublesome to him nor the occasion of any great harm to the commonwealth; but their final action brought no small danger and great disgrace to both. [3] For when the two armies had arrayed themselves in battle order in the space between the hills on which their camps were placed, using all the forces on either side, and the Romans had performed many gallant deeds and forced the enemy to begin flight, they neither pursued them as they retreated,

notwithstanding the repeated exhortations of the general, nor were they willing to remain and think the enemy's camp by siege; on the contrary, they left a glorious action unfinished and returned to their own camp. [4] And when some of the soldiers attempted to salute the consul as imperator, all the rest joined in a loud outcry, reproaching and taunting their commander with the loss of many of their brave comrades through his want of ability to command; and after many other insulting and indignant remarks they demanded that he break camp and lead them back to Rome, pretending that they would be unable, if the enemy attacked them, to sustain a second battle. [5] And they neither gave heed when their commander endeavoured to show them the error of their course, nor were moved by his entreaties when he turned to lamentations and supplications, nor were they alarmed by the violence of his threats when he made use of these too; but they continued exasperated in the face of all these appeals. Indeed, some of them were possessed with such a spirit of disobedience and such contempt for their general that they rose up about midnight and without orders from anyone proceeded to strike their tents, take up their arms, and carry off their wounded.

[4.1] When the general was informed of this, he was forced to give the command for all to depart, so great was his fear of their disobedience and audacity. And the soldiers retired with as great precipitation as if they were saving themselves from a rout, and reached the city about daybreak. The guards upon the walls, not knowing that it was an army of friends, began to arm themselves and call out to one another, while all the rest of the city was full of confusion and turmoil, as if some great disaster had occurred; and the guards did not open the gates to them till it was broad day and they could distinguish their own army. [2] Thus, in addition to the ignominy they incurred in deserting their camp, they also exposed themselves to great danger in returning in the dark through the enemy's country, without observing any order. Certainly, if the Tyrrhenians had learned of it and had followed close on their heels as they departed, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. The motive of this unaccountable withdrawal or flight was, as I have said, the hatred of the populace against the general and the begrudging of any honour to him, lest he should be granted a triumph and so acquire the greatest glory. [3] The next day the Tyrrhenians, having learned of the withdrawal of the Romans, stripped their dead, took up and carried off their wounded, and plundered all the stores they had left in their camp, which were very abundant as having been prepared for a long war; then, like conquerors, they laid waste the adjacent territory of the enemy, after which they returned home with their army.

[5.1] The succeeding consuls, Gnaeus Manlius and Marcus Fabius (the latter chosen for the second time), in pursuance of a decree of the senate ordering them to march against the Veientes with as large an army as they could raise, appointed a day for levying the troops. When Tiberius Pontificius, one of the tribunes, opposed them by forbidding the levy and called upon them to carry

out the decree relating to the allotment of land, they courted some of his colleagues, as their predecessors had done, and thus divided the college of tribunes, after which they proceeded to carry out the will of the senate with full liberty. [2] The levy being completed in a few days, the consuls took the field against the enemy, each of them having with him two legions of Romans raised in the city itself a force no less numerous sent by their colonies and subjects. Indeed, there came to them from the Latin and the Hernican nations double the number of auxiliaries they had called for; they did not, however, make use of this entire force, by stating that they were very grateful for their zeal, they dismissed one half of the army that had been sent. [3] They also drew up before the city a third army, consisting of two legions of the younger men, to serve as a garrison for the country in case any other hostile force should unexpectedly make its appearance; the men who were above the military age but still had strength sufficient to bear arms they left in the city to guard the citadels and the walls.

[4] When the consuls had led their forces close to the city of Veii, they encamped on two hills not far apart. The enemy's army, which was both large and valiant, had also taken the field and lay encamped before the city. For the most influential men from all Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependents, with the result that the Tyrrhenians' army was not a little larger than that of the Romans. [5] When the consuls saw the numbers of the enemy and the lustre of their arms, great fear came upon them lest, with their own forces rent by faction, they might not be able to prevail when arrayed against the harmonious forces of the enemy; and they determined to fortify their camps and to prolong the war in the hope that the boldness of the enemy, encouraged by an ill-advised contempt for them, might afford them some opportunity of acting with advantage. After this there were continual skirmishes and brief clashes of the light-armed troops, but no important or signal action.

[6.1] The Tyrrhenians, being irked by the prolongation of the war, taunted the Romans with cowardice because they would not come out for battle, and believing that their foes had abandoned the field to them, they were greatly elated. They were still further inspired with scorn for the Roman army and contempt for the consuls when they thought that even the gods were fighting on their side. [2] For a thunderbolt, falling upon the headquarters of Gnaeus Manlius, one of the consuls, tore the tent in pieces, overturned the hearth, and tarnished some of the weapons of war, while scorching or completely destroying others. It killed also the finest of his horses, the one he used in battle, and some of his servants. [3] And when the augurs declared that the gods were foretelling the capture of the camp and the death of the most important persons in it, Manlius roused his forces about midnight and led them to the other camp, where he took up quarters with his colleague. [4] The Tyrrhenians, learning of the general's departure and hearing from some of the prisoners the reasons for his action, grew still more elated in mind, since it

seemed that the gods were making war upon the Romans; and they entertained great hopes of conquering them. For their augurs, who are reputed to have investigated with greater accuracy than those anywhere else the signs that appear in the sky, determining where the thunderbolts come from, what quarters receive them when they depart after striking, to which of the gods each kind of bolt is assigned, and what good or evil it portends, advised them to engage the enemy, interpreting the omen which had appeared to the Romans on this wise: [5] Since the bolt had fallen upon the consul's tent, which was the army's headquarters, and had utterly destroyed it even to its hearth, the gods were foretelling to the whole army the wiping out of their camp after it should be taken by storm, and the death of the principal persons in it. [6] "If, now," they said, "the occupants of the place where the bolt fell had remained there instead of removing their standards to the other army, the divinity who was wroth with them would have satisfied his anger with the capture of a single camp and the destruction of a single army; but since they endeavoured to be wiser than the gods and changed their quarters to the other camp, leaving the place deserted, as if the god has signified that the calamities should fall, not upon the men, but upon the places, the divine wrath will come upon all of them alike, both upon those who departed and upon those who received them. [7] And since, when destiny had foretold that one camp should be taken by storm, they did not wait for their fate, but of their own accord handed their camp over to the enemy, the camp which received the deserted camp shall be taken by storm instead of the one that was abandoned."

[7.1] The Tyrrhenians, hearing this from their augurs, sent a part of their army to take possession of the camp deserted by the Romans, with the intention of making it a fort to serve against the other camp. For the place was a very strong one and was conveniently situated for intercepting any who might come from Rome to the enemy's camp. After they had also made the other dispositions calculated to give them an advantage over the enemy, they led out their forces into the plain. [2] Then, when the Romans remained quiet, the boldest of the Tyrrhenians rode up and, halting near the camp, called them all women and taunted their leaders, likening them to the most cowardly of animals; and they challenged them to do one of two things — either to descend into the plain, if they laid claim to any warlike valour, and decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they owned themselves to be cowards, to deliver up their arms to those who were their betters, and after paying the penalty for their deeds, never again to hold themselves worthy of greatness. [3] This they did every day, and when it had no effect, they resolved to block them off by a wall with the purpose of starving them into surrender. The consuls permitted this to go on for a considerable time, not through any cowardice or weakness — for they were both men of spirit and fond of war — but because they feared the soldiers' wilful shirking of duty and their apathy, which had persisted among the plebeians ever since the sedition over the allotment of land. For they still had ringing in their ears and fresh before their

eyes the shameful behaviour, unworthy of the commonwealth, which the soldiers, because of their begrudging the honour that would come to the consul, had been guilty of the year before, when they had yielded up the victory to the vanquished and endured the false reproach of flight in order that their general might not celebrated the triumph awarded for victory.

[8.1] Desiring, therefore, to banish sedition from the army once and for all and to restore the whole rank and file to their original harmony, and devoting to this single end all their counsel and all their thought, since it was not in their power by punishing some of them to reform the rest, who were numerous, bold, and had arms in their hands, or to attempt by the persuasion of words to win over those who did not even wish to be persuaded, they assumed that the following two motives would bring about the reconciliation of the seditious: first, for those of a more reasonable disposition (for there was an admixture of these also among the mass of the troops), the shame of being taunted by the enemy, and second, for those who were not easily led to adopt the honourable course, the thing of which all human nature stands in dread — necessity. [2] In order, however, to accomplish both these results, they allowed the enemy not only to shame them by words, but also by repeated deeds of scorn and contempt to compel those to show themselves brave men who were not disposed to be so of their own accord. For if these insults should be continued, they had great hopes that all the soldiers would come to headquarters, giving vent to their indignation, reproaching the consuls, and demanding that they lead them against the enemy; and that is just what happened. [3] For when the enemy began to block the outlets of the camp with ditches and kinds, the Romans, growing indignant at their action, ran to the tents of the consuls, first in small numbers and then in a body, and crying out, accused them of treachery, and declared that if no one would lead them in a sortie, they themselves would take their arms and without their generals sally out against the enemy. [4] This being the general cry, the consuls thought the opportunity for which they had been waiting had now come, and they ordered the lictors to call the troops to an assembly. Then Fabius, coming forward, spoke as follows:

[9.1] “Long delayed is your indignation at the insults you are receiving from the enemy, soldiers and officers, and the eagerness which you one and all have to come to grips with your opponents, by showing itself much too late, is untimely. For you should have done this still earlier, when you first saw them come down from their entrenchments and eager to begin battle. Then, no doubt, the contest for the supremacy would have been glorious and worthy of the Roman spirit; as things are, it is already becoming a matter of necessity, and however successful its outcome may be, it will not be equally glorious. [2] Yet even now you do well in desiring to atone for your slowness and to retrieve what you have lost by neglect, and great thanks are due to you for your eagerness to follow the best course, whether this springs from valour — for it is better to begin late to do one’s duty than never — or whether indeed

you have all come to the same logical conclusions as to what is example, and the same eagerness for rushing into battle has seized all of you. [3] But as it is, we are afraid that the grievances of the plebeians against the authorities over the allotment of land may be the cause of great mischief to the commonwealth. And the suspicion has come to us that this clamour and indignation about a sortie do not spring from the same motive with all of you, but that while some desire to go out of the camp in order to take revenge on the enemy, others do so in order to run away. [4] As for the reasons which have induced us to entertain these suspicions, they are neither divinations nor conjectures, but overt deeds, and deeds, too, that happened, not long ago, but only last year, as you all know. For when a large and excellent army had taken the field against this very enemy and the first battle had had the most successful outcome for us, so that your commander at the time, the consul Caeso, my brother here, could not only have taken the enemy's camp, but also have brought back a most glorious victory for the fatherland, some of the soldiers, begrudging him the glorious because he was not a friend of the people and did not constantly pursue such a course as was pleasing to the poor, struck their tents the first night after the battle and without orders ran away from the camp, neither taking thought for the danger they would incur in retreating from a hostile country in disorderly fashion and without a general, and that too in the night, nor taking into account all the disgrace that was sure to come upon them for yielding the supremacy to the enemy, as far at least as in them lay, and yielding it, moreover, as victors to the vanquished. [5] Being afraid, therefore, tribunes, centurions, and soldiers, of these men who are neither able to command nor willing to obey, who are numerous and bold and have their weapons in their hands, we have been unwilling hitherto to join battle and dare not even now, with such men to support us, engage in a life-and-death struggle, lest they prove hindrances and detriments to those who are displaying all the alacrity in their power. [6] If, however, Heaven is turning the minds of even these men to better ways at the present time, and if, laying aside their seditious spirit, from which the commonwealth is suffering very great harm, or at least postponing it till times of peace, they wish to redeem their past disgraces by their present valour, let there be no further hindrance to your advancing against the foe, setting before your eyes the fair hopes of victory.

[7] "We have many resources for winning, but greatest and most decisive are those afforded us by the folly of the enemy. For though they far exceed us in the size of their army, and for that reason alone might have withstood our courage and experience, they have deprived themselves of their only advantage by using up the greater part of their forces in garrisoning the forts. [8] In the next place, when they ought to act with caution and sober reason in everything they do, bearing in mind against what kind of men, actually far superior to them in valour, the hazard will be, they enter the struggle recklessly and incautiously, as if forsooth they were some invincible warriors

and as if we stood in terror of them. At any rate, their digging of ditches round our camp, their riding up to our entrenchments, and their many insults both in word and actions indicate this. [9] Bearing these thoughts in mind, then, and remembering the many glorious battles of the past in which you have overcome them, enter with alacrity into this contest also. And let every one of you look upon the spot in which he shall be posted as his house, his lot of land, and his country. Let him who saves the man beside him feel that he is effecting his own safety, and let him who forsakes his comrade feel that he is delivering himself up to the enemy. But, above all, you should remember this, that when men stand their ground and fight their losses are small, but when they give way and flee very few are saved.”

[10] While he was yet uttering these encouragements to bravery and accompanying his words with many tears, calling by name each one of the centurions, tribunes, and common soldiers whom he knew to have performed some gallant action in battle, and promising to those who should distinguish themselves in this engagement many great rewards in proportion to the magnitude of their deeds, such as honours, riches, and all the other advantages, shouts arose from all of them as they bade him be of good cheer and demanded that he lead them to battle. [2] As soon as he had done speaking, there came forward from the throng a man named Marcus Flavoleius, a plebeian and a small farmer, though not one of the rabble but one celebrated for his merits and valiant in war and on both these accounts honoured with the most conspicuous command in one of the legions — a command which the sixty centuries are enjoined by the law to follow and obey. These officers the Romans call in their own tongue *primipili*. [3] This man, who, besides his other recommendations, was tall and fair to look upon, taking his stand where he would be in full view of all, said: “Since this is what you fear, consuls, that our actions will not agree with our words, I will be the first to give you in my own name the greatest pledge I can give. And you too, fellow citizens and sharers of the same fortune, as many of you as are resolved to make your actions match your words, will make no mistake in following my example.” [4] Having said this, he held up his sword and took the oath traditional among the Romans and regarded by them as the mightiest of all, swearing by his own good faith that he would return to Rome victorious over the enemy, or not at all. After Flavoleius had taken this oath there was great applause from all; and immediately both the consuls did the same, as did also the subordinate officers, both tars and centurions, and last of all the rank and file. [5] When this had been done, great cheerfulness came upon them all and great affection for one another and also confidence and ardour. And going from the assembly, some bridled their horses, others sharpened their swords and spears, and still others cleaned their defensive arms; and in a short time the whole army was ready for the combat. [6] The consuls, after invoking the gods by vows, sacrifices, and prayers to be their guides as they marched out, led the army out of the camp in regular order and formation. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them

come down from their entrenchments, were surprised and marched out with their whole force to meet them.

[11] When both armies had come into the plain and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they raised their war-cries and ran to close quarters; and engaging, horse with horse and foot with foot, they fought there, and great was the slaughter on both sides. The troops on the right wing of the Romans, commanded by Manlius, one of the consuls, repulsed the part of the enemy that stood opposite to them, and quitting their horses, fought on foot. But those on the left wing were being surrounded by the enemy's right wing, [2] since the Tyrrhenians' line at this point outflanked that of the Romans and was considerably deeper. Thus the Roman army was being broken in this sector and was receiving many blows. This wing was commanded by Quintus Fabius, who was a legate and proconsul and had been twice consul. He maintained the fight for a long time, receiving wounds of all kinds till, being struck in the breast by a spear, the point of which pierced his bowels, he fell through loss of blood. [3] When Marcus Fabius, the other consul, who commanded in the centre, was informed of this, he took with him the best of the centuries, and summoning Caeso Fabius, his other brother, he passed beyond his own line, and advancing a long way, till he had got beyond the enemy's right wing, he turned upon those who were encircling his men, and charging them, caused great slaughter among all whom he encountered, and also put to flight those who were at a distance; and finding his brother still breathing, he took him up. [4] The man lived only a short time after that; but his death filled his avengers with still more and greater anger against the foe and, heedless now of their own lives, they rushed with a few followers into the densest ranks of the enemy and made large heaps of their dead bodies. [5] In this part of their line, therefore, the Tyrrhenians were hard pressed, and those who earlier had forced their enemies to give ground were now repulsed by those they had conquered; but those on the left wing, where Manlius was, though they were already in distress and beginning to flee, put their opponents to flight. For when Manlius had been struck in the knee with a javelin by an opponent who thrust the point through to the hamstrings, and those about him took him up and were carrying him back to the camp, the enemy, believing the Roman commander to be dead, took heart and, the rest coming to their assistance, pressed hard upon the Romans who now had no commander. [6] This obliged the Fabii to quit their left wing once more and rush to the relief of the right; and the Tyrrhenians, learning that they were approaching in a strong body, gave over further pursuit, and closing their ranks, fought in good order, losing a large number of their own men, but also killing many of the Romans.

[12.1] In the meantime the Tyrrhenians who had possessed themselves of the camp abandoned by Manlius, as soon as the signal for battle was given at headquarters, ran with great haste and alacrity to the other camp of the Romans, suspecting that it was not guarded by a sufficient force. And their

belief was correct. For, apart from the triarii and a few younger troops, the rest of the crowd then in the camp consisted of merchants, servants and artificers; and with many crowded into a small space — for the struggle was for the gates of the camp — a sharp and severe engagement followed, and there were many dead on both sides. [2] During this action the consul Manlius was coming out with the cavalry to the relief of his men, when his horse fell; and he, falling with him and being unable to rise because of his many wounds, died there, and likewise many brave young men at his side. After this disaster the camp was soon taken, and the Tyrrhenians' prophecies had their fulfilment. [3] Now if they had husbanded the good fortune that was then theirs and had kept the camp under guard, they would have got possession of the Romans' baggage and forced them to a shameful retreat; but as it was, by turning to plundering what had been left behind and from then on refreshing themselves, as most of them did, they allowed a fine booty to escape out of their hands. For as soon as word of the taking of the camp reached the other consul, he hastened thither with the flower of both horse and foot. [4] The Tyrrhenians, informed of this approach, formed a circle round the camp and a sharp battle occurred between them, as the Romans endeavoured to recover what was theirs and the enemy feared being annihilated if their camp should be taken. When considerable time passed and the Tyrrhenians had many advantages, since they fought from higher ground and against men spent with fighting the whole day, [5] Titus Siccus, the legate and proconsul, after communicating his plan to the consul, ordered that a retreat should be sounded and that all the men should assemble in a single body and assault one side of the camp where it was most easy of attack. He left free from attack the parts next the gates, reasoning plausibly — and in this he was not deceived — that if the Tyrrhenians saw any hope of saving themselves, they would abandon the camp, whereas, if they despaired of this, finding themselves surrounded on all sides and no way of escape left, necessity would make them brave. [6] And when the attack was directed against one point only, the Tyrrhenians no longer resisted, but opening the gates, made their way back in safety to their own camp.

[13.1] The consul, after he had averted the danger, returned once more to the assistance of those who were in the plain. This battle is said to have been greater than any the Romans had previously fought as regards not only the numbers of the combatants, but also the time it lasted and its sudden turns of fortune. For of the Romans themselves from the city the flower and choice of their youth consisted of about 20,000 foot and some 1200 horse attached to the four legions, while from their colonies and allies there was another force equally large. [2] As for the duration of the battle, it began a little before noon and lasted till sunset. Its fortunes continued for a long time shifting to and fro with alternating victories and defeats. A consul was slain, as well as a legate who had himself been twice consul, and many other commanders, tribunes and centurions — more indeed than in any previous battle. But the victory in

the struggle seemed to rest with the Romans, for this one reason alone, that the Tyrrhenians left their camp the following night and withdrew. [3] The next day the Romans turned to plundering the camp which had been abandoned by the Tyrrhenians, and having buried the dead, returned to their own camp. There, having called an assembly of the soldiers, they distributed the rewards of valour to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, as follows: first, to Caeso Fabius, the consul's brother, who had performed great and remarkable exploits; next, to Siccus, who had brought about the recovery of their camp; and third, to Marcus Flavoleius, the commander of the legion, on account of both the oath he had taken and the prowess he had shown in the midst of danger. [4] After attending to these things they remained a few days in the camp; then, when none of the enemy came out to fight against them, they returned home. Though all in the city wished to honour the surviving consul with the victor's reward of a triumph because of a most glorious outcome to a very great battle, the consul declined the favour they offered, saying that it was neither right nor lawful for him to ride in procession and wear a crown of laurel after the death of his brother and the loss of his colleague. But after putting away the standards and dismissing the soldiers to their homes he resigned the consulship when two months still remained to complete his year's term, since he was no longer capable of performing the duties of the office. For he was still suffering from a horrible wound and obliged to keep his bed.

[14.1] The senate chose interreges to preside at the election of magistrates, and the second interrex having assembled the centuries in the Field, Caeso Fabius, the one who had been awarded the prize for valour in the battle, and brother to the man who had abdicated his magistracy, was chosen consul for the third time, and with him Titus Verginius. These, having drawn lots for the armies, took the field, Fabius to war against the Aequians, who were plundering the fields of the Latins, and Verginius against the Veientes. [2] The Aequians, when they learned that an army was going to come against them, hastily evacuated the enemy's country and returned to their own cities; and after that they permitted their own territory to be ravaged, so the consul possessed himself at the first blow of large amounts of money, many slaves, and much booty of other sorts. As for the Veientes, they at first remained within their walls; but as soon as they thought they had a favourable opportunity, they fell upon the enemy as they were dispersed over the plains and occupied in seizing booty. [3] And attacking them with a large army in good order, they not only took away their booty, but also killed or put to flight all who engaged them. Indeed, if Titus Siccus, who was legate at the time, had not come to their relief with a body of foot and horse in good order and held the foe in check, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. But when he got in the enemy's way, the rest of the troops, who had been scattered one here and one there, succeeded in getting together before it was too late; and being now all united, they occupied a hill late in the

afternoon and remained there the following night. [4] The Veientes, elated by their success, encamped near the hill and sent for their forces in the city, imagining that they had shut up the Romans in a place where they could not get any provisions, and that they would soon force them to deliver up their arms to them. And when a multitude of their men had arrived, there were now two armies posted on the two sides of the hill that could be assailed, as well as many smaller detachments to guard the less vulnerable positions; and every place was full of armed men.

[5] The other consul, Fabius, learning from a letter that came from his colleague that the troops shut up on the hill were in the direst straits and would be in danger of being reduced by famine unless someone came to their relief, broke camp and marched in haste against the Veientes. Indeed, if he had been one day later in completing his march, he would have been of no help, but would have found the army there destroyed. For the men holding the hill, distressed by the lack of provisions, had sallied out, ready to choose the most honourable death; and having engaged the enemy, they were then fighting, though the bodies of most of them were weakened by hunger, thirst, want of sleep, and every other hardship. [6] But after a short time, when the army of Fabius, which was very large and drawn up in order of battle, was seen approaching, it brought confidence to their own men and fear to the enemy; and the Tyrrhenians, believing themselves no longer to be strong enough to engaged in battle with a valiant and fresh army, abandoned their camps and withdrew. When the two armies of the Romans had come together, they made a large camp in a strong position near the city; then, after remaining there many days and plundering the best part of the territory of the Veientes, the generals led the army home. [7] When the Veientes heard that the forces of the Romans had been discharged from the standards, taking the light-armed youth, not only their own which they had already assembled, but also that of their neighbours which was then present, they made an incursion into the plains bordering upon their own territory, which were full of corn, cattle and men, and plundered them. For the husbandmen had come down from the strongholds to get feed for their cattle and to till their lands, relying upon the protection of their army, which then lay encamped between them and the enemy; and after this army had retired, they had made no hasten to move back, as they did not expect the Veientes, after having suffered so many defeats, to make a return attack so promptly against the foes. [8] This irruption of the Veientes into the Romans' country, though brief in point of the time it lasted, was very serious with respect to the amount of territory they overran; and it caused the Romans unusual vexation, mingled with shame, since it extended as far as the river Tiber and Mount Janiculum, which is not twenty stades from Rome. For there was no force then under the standards to stop the enemy's further progress; at any rate, the army of the Veientes had gone before the Romans could assemble and be assigned to centuries.

[15.1] When the senate was later called together by the consuls and had

deliberated in what manner the war should be carried on against the Veientes, the opinion which prevailed was to maintain a standing army upon the frontiers, which should keep guard over the Roman territory, camp ing in the open and always remaining under arms. But the expense of maintaining the garrisons, which would be very great, grieved them, since the public treasury was exhausted as a result of the continual campaigns, and their private fortunes had prove unequal to the burden of the war-taxes. And they were grieved still more by the problem of enlisting the garrisons which were to be sent out, how that could be accomplished, there being little probability that a few men would, willingly at least, serve as a bulwark in defence of all and submit to hardships, not in successive shifts, but continuously. [2] While the senate was troubled on both these accounts, the two Fabii assembled all the members of their clan, and having consulted with them, promised the senate that they themselves would voluntarily undertake this risk in defence of all the citizens, taking along with them their clients and friends, and would at their own expense continue in arms as long as the war should last. [3] All admired them for their noble devotion and placed their hopes of victory in this single undertaking; and while they were being acclaimed and their names were on the lips of all, they took their arms and marched forth, accompanied by vows and sacrifices. Their leader was Marcus Fabius, the man who had been consul the preceding year and had conquered the Tyrrhenians in the late battle; those he took with him were about four thousand in number, the greater part of them being clients and friends, while of the Fabian clan there were three hundred and six men. They were followed a little later by the Roman army under the command of Caeso Fabius, one of the consuls.

[4] When they came near the river Cremera, which is not far from the city of the Veientes, they built upon a steep and craggy hill a fortress to command their territory, as large as could be garrisoned by an army of such size, surrounding it with a double ditch and erecting frequent towers; and the fortress was named Cremera, after the river. Since many hands were employed at this work and consul himself assisted them, it was completed sooner than might have been expected. [5] After that the consul marched out with the army and went past the city to the other side of the territory of the Veientes, the side facing toward the rest of Tyrrhenia, where the Veientes kept their herds, not expecting that a Roman army would ever come there; and having possessed himself of much booty, he returned home to the newly erected fortress. This quarry afforded him great satisfaction for two reasons — first, because he had so promptly retaliated upon the enemy, and again, because it would furnish abundant supplies to the garrison of the stronghold. For he neither turned over any part of the spoils to the treasury nor distributed any to the soldiers, but presented all the cattle, the beasts of burden, the yokes of oxen, the iron, and the other implements of husbandry to the patrols of the country. [6] After accomplishing this he led the army home. The Veientes found themselves in very dire straits after the erection of the frontier

stronghold, since they could no longer either till their land in safety or receive the provisions that were imported from abroad. [7] For the Fabii had divided their army into four bodies, with one of which they guarded the stronghold, while with the other three they continually pillaged the enemy's country; and often, when the Veientes openly attacked them with a considerable force or endeavoured to entice them into places beset with ambuscades, the Fabii had the advantage in both situations, and after killing many of them, would retire safely to their stronghold. Consequently the enemy no longer dared to engage them, but remained shut up within their walls for the most part, and only ventured out by stealth. Thus ended that winter.

[16.1] The next year, when Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius had assumed the consulship, the Romans were informed that the Volscians and the Aequians had entered into an agreement to lead out armies against them at the same time, and that they would soon make an irruption into their territory. And this information was true. At all events, sooner than anyone was expecting, both nations with their armies were ravaging the parts of the Roman territory that adjoined their own, in the belief that the Romans would not be able to cope with the Tyrrhenian war and at the same time to withstand their own attack. [2] And again other messengers came reporting that all Tyrrhenia had become hostile to them and was prepared to send joint reinforcements to the Veientes. For the latter, finding themselves unable to destroy the fortress by themselves alone, had turned to them for help, reminding them of their kinship and friendship, and enumerating the many wars they had waged in common. In view of all this, they asked them to assist them in their war against the Romans, since they were now serving as a bulwark for all Tyrrhenia and stemming the torrent of war which was rushing from Rome upon all the peoples of their race. The Tyrrhenians were persuaded, and promised to send them as large a force of auxiliaries as they asked for.

[3] The senate, being informed of this, resolved to send three armies into the field; and the levies were speedily raised. Lucius Aemilius was sent against the Tyrrhenians; and taking part in the expedition with him was Caeso Fabius, the man who had recently resigned the consulship, having now asked leave of the senate to join his kinsmen on the Cremera whom his brother had led out to garrison that place, and to take part in the same contests as they; and invested with the proconsular power, he set out with his followers. [4] Gaius Servilius, the other consul, marched against the Volscians, and Servius Furius, the proconsul, against the Aequians. Each of them was at the head of two legions of Romans and an equally strong force of Latins, Hernicans and the other allies. In the case of the proconsul Servius the war went according to his wish and was soon over. For in a single battle he routed the Aequians, and that without any trouble, having terrified the enemy at the first onset; and thereafter he laid waste their country, as the people had taken refuge in their forts. [5] But Servilius, one of the consuls, having rushed into battle in a

precipitate and headstrong fashion, found himself greatly disappointed in his expectations, with the result that after losing many brave men he was forced to give up engaging in pitched battles with them any longer, but remaining in his camp, to carry through the war by means of skirmishes and engagements of the light-armed troops.

[6] Lucius Aemilius, who had been sent against the Tyrrhenians, finding that the Veientes had taken the field before their city together with a large number of auxiliaries of the same race, set to work without further delay; and letting only a single day pass after making camp, he led out his forces to battle, in which the Veientes joined with great confidence. When the contest continued doubtful, he took the horse and charged the right wing of the enemy; then, after throwing that into confusion, he proceeded to the other wing, fighting on horseback where the ground would permit, and where it would not, dismounting and fighting on foot. When both of the enemy's wings were in distress, those in the centre could no longer hold out either, but were thrust back by the Roman foot; and after that they all fled to their camp. [7] Aemilius followed them in their flight with his army in good order and killed many of them. When he came near their camp, he attacked it with relays of fresh troops, remaining there all that day and the following night; and the next day, when the enemy were spent with weariness, wounds and want of sleep, he made himself master of the camp. The Tyrrhenians, when they saw the Romans already mounting the palisades, left their camp and fled, some to the city and some to the neighbouring hills. [8] That day the consul remained in the enemy's camp; and on the next day he rewarded with the most magnificent presents those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and gave to the soldiers all the beasts of burden and slaves that had been left behind in the camp, together with the tents, which were full of many valuables. And the Roman army found itself in greater opulence than after any former battle. For the Tyrrhenians were a people of dainty and expensive tastes, both at home and in the field carrying about with them, besides the necessities, costly and artistic articles of all kinds designed for pleasure and luxury.

[17.1] In the course of the following days the Veientes, yielding at last to their misfortunes, sent their oldest citizens to the consul with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. These men, resorting to lamentations and entreaties and with many tears rehearsing every argument calculated to arouse compassion, endeavoured to persuade the consul to let them send ambassadors to Rome to treat with the senate for a termination of the war, and until the ambassadors should return with the senate's answer, to do no injury to their country. In order to obtain these concessions, they promised to supply the Roman army with corn for two months and with money for their pay for six months, as the victor commanded. [2] And the consul, after receiving what they brought and distributing it among his men, made the truce with them. The senate, having heard the ambassadors and received the letter of the consul, in which he earnestly recommended and urged putting an end to the

war with the Tyrrhenians as soon as possible, passed a decree to grant peace as the enemy desired; as to the terms on which the peace should be made, they left them for the consul Lucius Aemilius to determine in such manner as he should think best. [3] The consul, having received this answer, concluded a peace with the Veientes that was more equitable than advantageous to the conquerors; for he neither took far from them any part of their territory, nor imposed on them any further fine of money, nor compelled them to give hostages as security for the performance of their agreement. [4] This action brought upon him great odium and was the reason for his not receiving from the senate the rewards due for his success; for when he requested the customary triumph, they opposed it, censuring his arbitrary behaviour in the matter of the treaty, in that he had concluded it without their concurrence. But lest he should take this action as an insult and evidence of their anger, they ordered him to march with his army against the Volscians in order to bear aid to his colleague, on the chance that if he succeeded in the war there — for he was a man of great bravery — he might blot out the resentment for his former errors. But Aemilius, angry at this slight upon his honour, inveighed violently against the senate in the popular assembly, accusing them of being displeased that the war against the Tyrrhenians was ended. He declared that they were doing this with treacherous intent and through contempt of the poor, lest these, when freed from foreign wars, should demand the performance of the promises concerning the allotment of land with which they had been cajoled by them for so many years already. [5] After he had in his ungovernable resentment poured forth these and many similar reproaches against the patricians, he not only dismissed from the standards the army that had served under him, but also sent for the forces that were tarrying in the country of the Aequians under Furius the proconsul and dismissed them to their homes. Thereby he once more gave the tribunes a considerable warrant for accusing the senators in the meetings of the assembly and sowing dissension between the poor and the rich.

[18.1] These consuls were succeeded by Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius in the seventy-sixth Olympiad (the one at which Scamander of Mitylene won the foot-race), when Phaedo was archon at Athens. The new consuls were at first hindered from transacting the public business by the domestic disturbance, the populace being exasperated and not permitting any other public business to be carried on until they should divide up among themselves the public land; but after a time the seditious and turbulent elements yielded to necessity and came in voluntarily to be enlisted. [2] For the eleven cities of the Tyrrhenians which had had no part in the peace, holding a general assembly, inveighed against the Veientes for having put an end to the war with the Romans without the general consent of the nation, and demanded that they do one of two things — either break the compact they had made with the Romans, or join with the Romans in making war upon the rest of the Tyrrhenians. [3] But the Veientes laid the blame for the peace upon necessity,

and proposed that the assembly consider how they might break it with decency. Upon this someone suggested to them that they should make formal complaint of the erection of the frontier stronghold on the Cremera and of the failure of its garrison to withdraw from there, and then should first make an oral demand that they evacuate the place, and, if they refused, should lay siege to the fortress and make this action the beginning of the war. [4] Having agreed on this course, they left the assembly; and not long afterwards the Veientes sent ambassadors to the Fabii to demand from them the fortress, and all Tyrrhenia was in arms. The Romans, learning of these things through letters from the Fabii, resolved that both the consuls should take the field, one to command in the war that was coming upon them from Tyrrhenia and the other to prosecute the war which was still going on with the Volscians. [5] Horatius, accordingly, marched against the Volscians with two legions and an adequate force of the allies, and Menenius was preparing to set out against the Tyrrhenians with another force of equal size; but while he was making his preparations and losing time, the fortress on the Cremera was destroyed by the enemy and the entire Fabian clan perished. Concerning the disaster that befell these men two accounts are current, one less probable and the other coming nearer to the truth. I shall give them both as I have received them.

[19.1] Some say that when the time was at hand for a traditional sacrifice which devolved upon the Fabian clan, the men set out from the fortress, attended by a few clients, to perform the rites, and proceeded without reconnoitring the roads or marching ranged in centuries under their standards, but negligently and unguardedly as in time of peace and as if they were passing through friendly territory. [2] The Tyrrhenians, having learned of their departure in advance, placed one part of their army in ambush at a spot along the road, and followed soon after with the rest of their forces in regular formation. When the Fabii drew near the ambuscade, the Tyrrhenians who were lying in wait there rose up and fell upon them, some in front and others in flank, and a little later the rest of the Tyrrhenian force attacked them from the rear; and surrounding them on all sides and shooting at them, some with slings, some with bows, and others hurling javelins and spears, they overwhelmed them all with the multitude of their missiles. [3] Now this account seems to me to be the less credible. For not only is it improbable that so many serving under the standards would have returned from the camp to the city because of a sacrifice without a decree from the senate, when the rites might have been performed by others of the same clan who were advanced in years; but even if they had all gone from the city and no part of the Fabian clan was left in their homes, it is improbable that all who held the fortress would have abandoned the guarding of it, since even three or four of them would have sufficed to return to Rome and perform the rites for the whole clan. For these reasons, then, this account has not seemed to me to be credible.

[20.1] The other account concerning the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of the fortress, which I regard as being nearer to the truth, is

somewhat as follows. As the men went out frequently to forage and, encouraged by the continued success of their forays, advanced even farther, the Tyrrhenians got ready a numerous army and encamped in the near neighbourhood unperceived by the enemy. Then, sending out of their strongholds flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and drove of mares as if to pasture, they lured the garrison to these; and the men, coming out, seized the herdsmen and rounded up the cattle. [2] The Tyrrhenians kept doing this and drawing the enemy ever farther away from their camp; then, when they had destroyed in them all thought for their safety by enticing them with constant booty, they placed ambuscades at night in the most suitable positions, while others occupied the heights that commanded the plains. The next day, sending ahead a few armed men, as if to serve as a guard for the herdsmen, they drove out a large number of herds from their strongholds. [3] When word was brought to the Fabii that if they went over the neighbouring hills they would in a very short time find the plain covered with cattle of all sorts with a guard insufficient to defend them, they went out of the fortress, leaving an adequate garrison there. And covering the distance speedily in their eagerness, they appeared before the guards of the cattle in battle array. These did not await their attack, but fled, and the Fabii, thinking themselves now quite secure, set about seizing the herdsmen and rounding up the cattle. [4] Thereupon the Tyrrhenians, rising up from ambush in many places, fell upon them from all sides. The greater part of the Romans, being scattered and unable to assist one another, were killed upon the spot; but those who were in a body, being eager to reach a secure position and hastening toward the hills, fell into another ambuscade that lay concealed in the woods and glens. Here a sharp battle took place between them and there was great slaughter on both sides. But nevertheless they repulsed even these foes, and after filling the ravine with dead bodies, they ran up to the top of a hill that was not easy to take, and there passed the following night in want of the necessary provisions.

[21.1] The next day those who were holding the fortress, upon being informed of the disaster that had befallen their companions — namely, that the greater part of the army had been destroyed in their pursuit of plunder and the bravest of them were shut up and besieged on a lonely mountain, and that if some aid seems reach them promptly they would soon be destroyed for want of provisions — set out in haste, leaving very few in the fortress to guard it. These troops, before they could join their companions, were surrounded by the Tyrrhenians, who rushed down upon them from their strongholds; and though they displayed many feats of valour, they were in time all destroyed. [2] Not long afterwards those also who had seized the hill, being oppressed by both hunger and thirst, resolved to charge the enemy; and engaging, a few against many, they continued fighting from morning till night, and made so great a slaughter of the enemy that the heaps of dead bodies piled up in many places were a hindrance to them in fighting. Indeed, the Tyrrhenians had lost above a third part of their army, and fearing for the rest, they now gave the

signal for a retreat and stopped fighting for a short time; and sending heralds to the men, they offered them their lives and a safe-conduct if they would lay down their arms and evacuate the fortress. [3] When the others refused their offer and chose the death befitting men of noble birth, the Tyrrhenians renewed the struggle, attacking them in relays, though no longer fighting at close quarters in hand-to-hand combat, but standing in a body and hurling javelins and stones at them from a distance; and the multitude of missiles was like a snow-storm. The Romans, massing by companies, rushed upon their foes, who did not stand their ground, and though they received many wounds from those surrounding them, they stood firm. [4] But when the swords of many had become useless, some having their edges blunted and others being broken, and the borders of their shields next the rims were hacked in pieces, and the men themselves were for the most part bled white and overwhelmed by missiles and their limbs paralysed by reason of the multitude of their wounds, the Tyrrhenians scorned them and came to close quarters. Then the Romans, rushing at them like wild beasts, seized their spears and broke them, grasped their swords by the edges and wrenched them out of their hands, and twisting the bodies of their antagonists, fell with them to the ground, locked in close embrace, fighting with greater rage than strength. [5] Hence the enemy, astonished at their endurance and terrified at the madness that had seized them in their despair of life, no longer ventured to come to grips with them, but retiring again, stood in a body and hurled at them sticks, stones, and anything else they could lay their hands on, and at last buried them under the multitude of missiles. After destroying these men they ran to the fortress, carrying with them the heads of the most prominent, expecting to take the men there prisoners at their first onset. [6] However, the attempt did not turn out according to their hopes; for the men who had been left there, emulating the noble death of their comrades and kinsmen, came out of the fortress, though very few in number, and after fighting for a considerable time were all destroyed in the same manner as the others; and the place was empty of men when the Tyrrhenians took it. To me now this account appears much more credible than the former; but both of them are to be found in Roman writings of good authority.

[2.1] The addition to this account which has been made by certain writers, though neither true nor plausible, but invented by the multitude from some false report, does not deserve to be passed over without examination. For some report that after the three hundred and six Fabii had been slain, there was only one boy left out of the whole clan, thereby introducing a detail that is not only improbable, but even impossible; [2] for it is not possible that all the Fabii who went out to the fortress were unmarried and childless. For not only did the ancient law of the Romans oblige all of the proper age to marry, but they were forced also to rear all their children; and surely the Fabii would not have been the only persons to violate a law which had been observed by their ancestor down to their time. [3] But even if one were to admit this assumption,

yet he would never make the further assumption that none of them had any brothers still in their childhood. Why, such institutions resemble myths and fictions of the stage! Besides, would not as many of their fathers as were still of an age to beget children, now that so great a desolation had come upon their clan, have begotten other children both willingly and unwillingly, in order that neither the sacrifices of their ancestors might be abandoned nor the great reputation of the clan be extinguished? [4] Unless, indeed, none even of their fathers were left and all the conditions which would render it impossible to perpetuate the clan combined together in those three hundred and six men — namely, that they left behind them no infant children, no wives with child, no brothers still under age, no fathers in the prime of life. [5] Testing the story by such reasoning, I have come to the conclusion that it is not true, but that the following is the true account. Of the three brothers, Caeso, Quintus, and Marcus, who had been consuls for seven years in succession, I believe that Marcus left one young son, and that this boy was the one who is reported to have been the survivor of the Fabian house. [6] There is no reason why it should not have been because no one else of the clan became famous and illustrious except this one son, when he had grown to manhood, that most people came to hold the belief that he was the only survivor of the Fabian clan — not, indeed, that there was no other, but that there was none like those famous three — judging kinship on the basis of merit, not of birth. But enough on this subject.

[23.1] After the Tyrrhenians, then, had destroyed the Fabii and taken the fortress on the Cremera, they led their forces against the other army of the Romans. It chanced that Menenius, one of the consuls, lay encamped not far away in an insecure position; and when the Fabian clan and their clients perished, he was only some thirty stades from the place where the disaster occurred — a circumstance which gave many people reason to believe that, though aware of the dire straits of the Fabii, he had shown no concern for them because of the envy he felt of their valour and reputation. [2] Accordingly, when he was later brought to trial by the tribunes, this was the chief ground for his condemnation. For the people of Rome deeply mourned their having shorn themselves of the valour of so many and so brave men and were severe and inexorable toward all whom they suspected of having been responsible for so great a calamity; and they regard the day on which the disaster occurred as black and inauspicious and will begin no useful labour on it, looking upon the disaster which then occurred on that day as a bad omen. [3] When the Tyrrhenians came near the Romans and observed the situation of their camp, which lay under a flank of a hill, they felt contempt for the inexperience of the general and gladly grasped the advantage presented to them by Fortune. They at once marched up the opposite side of the hill with their horse and gained the summit without opposition. Then, having possessed themselves of the height above the Romans, they made camp there, brought up the rest of their army in safety, and fortified the camp with a high palisade

and a deep ditch. [4] Now if Menenius, when he perceived what an advantage he had given the enemy, had repented of his error and removed his army to a safer position, he would have been wise; but as it was, being ashamed to be thought to have made a mistake, and maintaining an obstinate front toward those who advised him to change his plans, he came a merited fall which brought disgrace as well. [5] For as the enemy were constantly sending out detachments from places that commanded his camp, they had many advantages, not only seizing the provisions which the merchants were bringing to the Romans, but also attacking his men as they went out for forage or for water; and it had come to the point where the consul did not have it in his power to choose either the time or the place of combat — which seems to be strong evidence of the inexperience of a general — whereas the Tyrrhenians could do both as they wished. [6] And not even then could Menenius bring himself to move his army away from there; but leading out the troops, he drew them up ready for battle, scorning all who offered salutary advice. The Tyrrhenians, looking upon the folly of the general as a piece of great good fortune, came down from their camp with numbers fully twice those of their foe. [7] When they engaged, there was a great slaughter of the Romans, who were unable to keep their ranks. For they were forced back by the Tyrrhenians, who not only had the terrain as an ally, but were also helped by the vigorous pressure of those who stood behind them, their army being drawn up with deep files. When the most prominent centurions had fallen, the rest of the Roman army gave way and fled to the camp; and the enemy pursued them, took away their standards, seized their wounded, and got possession of their dead. [8] Then they shut them up in their camp and besieged them; and delivering numerous attacks during all the rest of the day, without desisting even at night, they captured the camp, which the Romans had abandoned, and took many prisoners and a great quantity of booty; for those who fled had not been able to pack up their belongings, but were glad to escape with their bare lives, many not keeping even their arms.

[24.1] When those at Rome heard that their army was destroyed and their camp taken — the first who had saved themselves from the rout arrived while it was still deep night — they fell into great confusion, as may well be imagined; and expecting the enemy to come against them at any moment, they seized their arms and some formed a circle about the walls, others stationed themselves before the gates, and still others occupied the heights in the city. [2] There was a disorderly running to and fro throughout the entire city and a confused clamour; on the roofs of the houses were the members of each household, prepared to defend themselves and give battle; and an uninterrupted succession of torches, as it was in the night and dark, blazed through lanterns and from roofs, so many in number that to those seeing them at a distance it seemed to be one continuous blaze and gave the impression of a city on fire. [3] And if the Tyrrhenians at that time had scorned the booty to be got from the camp and had followed on the heels of the fleeing Romans,

the whole army which had taken the field against them would have been destroyed; but as it was, by turning to plundering everything which had been left behind in the camp and to resting their bodies, they deprived themselves of a great opportunity for boasting. The next day they led their forces against Rome, and when they were about sixteen stades from the city, they occupied the mount called Janiculum, from which the city is in full view. And using that as a base of operations, they pillaged the territory of the Romans without hindrance, holding those in the city in great contempt, till the other consul, Horatius, appeared with the army which had been among the Volscians. [4] Then at last the Romans thought themselves safe, and arming the youth that were in the city, they took the field; and having not only in the first battle, which was fought at the distance of eight stades from the city near the temple of Hope, overcome their opponents and driven them back, but also, after that engagement, having fought brilliantly with them again near the gate called the Colline, when the Tyrrhenians had come against them with another and larger army, they recovered from their fear. Thus ended that year.

[25.1] The following year, about the summer solstice, in the month of August, Servius Servilius and Aulus Verginius succeeded to the consulship, both being men of experience in warfare. To them the Tyrrhenian war, though great and difficult, seemed pure gold in comparison with the conflict inside the city walls. For since the land had gone unsown the preceding winter because the enemy had fortified the adjacent hill against them and had kept up incessant raids, and since not even the merchants any longer imported the usual provisions from outside, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, as the city was then crowded not only with its permanent population, but also with a multitude that had flocked thither from the country. [2] For of adult citizens there were more than 110,000, as appeared by the latest census; and the number of the women, children, domestics, foreign traders and artisans who plied the menial trades — for no Roman citizen was permitted to earn a livelihood as a tradesman or artisan — was not less than treble the number of the citizens. This multitude was not easy to placate; for they were exasperated at their misfortune, and gathering together in the Forum, clamoured against the magistrates, rushed in a body to the houses of the rich and endeavoured to seize without payment the provisions that were stored up by them. [3] In the meantime the tribunes assembled the people, and by accusing the patricians of always contriving some mischief against the poor, and calling them the authors of all the evils which had ever happened at the caprice of Fortune, whose whims men can neither foresee nor guard against, they inspired them with insolence and bitter resentment. [4] The consuls, beset by these evils, sent men with large sums of money to the neighbouring districts to purchase corn, and ordered all those who had stored up more than a moderate amount of corn for their own subsistence to turn it over to the state; and they fixed a reasonable price for it. By these and many other like expedients they put a stop to the lawless actions of the poor and thus got respite for their

preparations for war.

[26.1] But when the provisions from outside were slow in coming and all the food supplies in the city had been consumed and there was no other means of averting the evils but to choose one of two courses — either to hazard an engagement with all their forces, in order to drive the enemy out of the country, or by remaining shut up within the walls to perish both by famine and by sedition — they chose the lesser of these evils and resolved to go forth to meet the perils from the enemy. [2] Marching out of the city, therefore, with their forces, they crossed the river about midnight on rafts, and before it was broad daylight encamped near the enemy. The next day they came out of their camp and drew up their army for battle, Verginius commanding the right wing and Servilius the left. [3] The Tyrrhenians, seeing them ready for the contest, rejoiced greatly, believing that by this single battle, if it turned out according to their wish, they would overthrow the empire of the Romans; for they knew that all their foes' best soldiery was entered in this contest, and they entertained the hope, which was very ill founded, of defeating them with ease, since they had conquered the troops of Menenius when these had been arrayed against them in a disadvantageous position. But after a sharp and protracted battle, in which they killed many of the Romans but lost many more of their own men, they began to retreat gradually toward their camp. [4] Verginius, who commanded the right wing, would not permit his men to pursue the enemy, but urged them to rest content with the advantage they had gained; Servilius, however, who was posted on the other wing, pursued the foes who had faced him, following them for a long distance. But when he reached the heights, the Tyrrhenians face about and, those in the camp coming to their aid, they fell upon the Romans. These, after receiving their attack for a short time, turned their backs and, being pursued down hill, were slain as they became scattered. [5] When Verginius was informed of the plight of the left wing of the army, he led his entire force in battle array by a transverse road that passed over the hill. Then, finding himself in the rear of those who were pursuing his troops, he left a part of his army there to block any who should be sent from the camp to the relief of their comrades, and he himself with the rest attacked the enemy. In the meantime the troops also under Servilius, encouraged by the arrival of their comrades, faced about and, standing their ground, engaged. The Tyrrhenians, being thus surrounded by both forces and being unable either to break through in front, by reason of those who engaged them, or to flee back to their camp, by reason of those who attacked them in the rear, fought bravely but unsuccessfully, and were almost all destroyed. [6] The Romans having thus gained a melancholy victory and the outcome of the battle being not altogether fortunate, the consuls encamped before the bodies of the slain and there spent the following night under the open sky.

The Tyrrhenians who were occupying the Janiculum, when no reinforcements came to them from home, decided to abandon the fortress; and breaking camp in the night, they withdrew to Veii, which lay nearest to them

of the Tyrrhenian cities. [7] The Romans, having possessed themselves of their camp, plundered all the effects which the enemy had left behind as being impossible to carry away in their flight, and also seized many of their wounded, part of whom had been left in their tents, while others lay scattered all along the road. [8] For some, eager to be on their way home, were holding out and with hearts stout beyond their strength were persisting in following their comrades; then, when their limbs grew heavy, they collapsed half dead to the ground. These the Roman horsemen slew as they advanced a good distance along the road. And when there was no longer any sign of the enemy, the army razed the fortress and returned to the city with the spoils, carrying with them the bodies of those who had been slain in the battle — a piteous sight to all the citizens by reason both of the number and of the valour of those who had perished. [9] Accordingly, the people did not think it fitting either to hold festival as for a glorious victory or to mourn as for a great and irreparable calamity; and the senate, while ordering the required sacrifices to be offered to the gods, did not permit the consuls to conduct the triumphal procession in token of a victory. A few days later the city was filled with all sorts of provisions, as not only the men who had been sent out by the commonwealth but also those who were accustomed to carry on this trader had brought in much corn; consequently, everybody enjoyed the same abundance as aforetime.

[27.1] The foreign wars being now ended, the civil dissensions began to flare up again as the tribunes once more stirred up the populace. And though all their other measures were defeated as the result of marshalling their forces against every proposal, yet they were unable to suppress the accusation against Menenius, the late consul, in spite of all their efforts, [2] but he was brought to trial by Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, two of the tribunes. And being called upon to give an accounting of his conduct of the war, the outcome of which had been neither fortunate nor honourable, and being blamed particularly for the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of Cremera, he was condemned by no small majority of the votes when the plebeians passed judgement upon him by tribes — even though he was the son of Agrippa Menenius who had brought the populace home after their secession and reconciled them with the patricians, the son of a man whom the senate after his death had honoured with a most magnificent funeral at the public expense and for whom the Roman matrons had mourned for a whole year, laying aside their purple and gold. [3] However, those who convicted him did not impose death as the penalty, but rather a fine — one which if compared with the fortunes of to-day would appear ridiculous, but to the men of that age, who worked their own farms and aimed at no more than the necessities of life, and particularly to Menenius, who had inherited poverty from his father, was excessive and oppressive, amounting to 2000 asses. The as was at that time a copper coin weighing a pound, so that the whole fine amounted to sixteen talents of copper in weight. [4] And this appeared

invidious to the men of those days, who, in order to redress it, abolished all pecuniary fines, changing them to payments in sheep and oxen, and limiting the number even of these in the case of all fines to be imposed thereafter by the magistrates upon private persons. From this condemnation of Menenius the patricians took fresh occasion for resentment against the plebeians and would neither permit them to carry out the allotment of lands nor make any other concession in their favour. [5] And not long afterwards even the populace repented of having condemned him, when they learned of his death. For from that time he no longer entered into any intercourse with his fellow men nor was seen by anyone in any public place; and though it was his privilege by paying his fine not to be excluded from any public doings — for not a few of his friends were ready to pay the fine — he would not accept their offer, but rating his misfortune as a capital sentence and remaining at home and admitting no one, wasted away through dejection and abstinence from food, and so perished. These were the events of that year.

[28.1] When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Nautius had succeeded to the consulship, another of the patricians, Servius Servilius, who had been consul the preceding year, was put on trial for his life not long after laying down his magistracy. Those who cited him to trial before the populace were Lucius Caedicius and Titus Statius, two of the tribunes, who demanded an accounting, not for any crime, but for his bad luck, inasmuch as in the battle against the Tyrrhenians he had pressed forward to the enemy's camp with greater daring than prudence, and being pursued by the garrison, who rushed out in a body, had lost the flower of the youth. [2] This trial was regarded by the patricians as the most grievous of all; and meeting together, they expressed their resentment and indignation if boldness on the part of generals and their refusal to shirk any danger were going to be made a ground for accusations, in case Heaven opposed their plans, on the part of those who had not faced the dangers; and they reasoned that such trials would in all probability be the cause of cowardice, shirking and the lack of any further initiative on the part of commanders — the very weaknesses through which liberty is lost and supremacy undermined. [3] They earnestly implored the plebeians not to condemn the man, pointing out that they would do great harm to the commonwealth if they punished their generals for being unfortunate. [4] When the time for the trial was at hand, Lucius Caedicius, one of the tribunes, came forward and accused Servilius of having through his folly and inexperience in the duties of a general led his forces to manifest destruction and lost the finest manhood of the army; and he declared that if his colleague had not been informed promptly of the disaster and had not by bringing up his forces in all haste repulsed the enemy and saved their own men, nothing could have prevented the other army from being utterly destroyed and the state from being reduced henceforth to one-half its former members. [5] After he had thus spoken, he produced as witnesses all the centurions who had survived and some of the rank and file, who in the effort to wipe out their own disgrace

arising from that defeat and flight were ready to blame the general for the ill success of the engagement. Then, having poured out many words of commiseration for the fate of those who had lost their lives upon that occasion, exaggerated the disaster, and with great contempt of the patricians dwelt at length upon everything else which by exposing their whole order to hatred was sure to discourage all who were intending to intercede for the man, he gave him an opportunity of speaking.

[29.1] Taking up his defence, Servilius said: “If it is to a trial, citizens, that you have summoned me, and you desire an accounting of my generalship, I am ready to make my defence; but if it is to a punishment all determined, and no advantage is to accrue to me for showing that I have not wronged you in any way, take my person and deal with it as you have long desired to do. [2] Indeed, for me it is better to die without a trial than after getting a chance to plead my cause and then failing to convince you — since I should in that case seem to suffer deservedly whatever you determined against me — and you on your part will be less blameworthy for depriving me of the right to plead my cause and for indulging your angry passions while it is still uncertain even whether I have done you any wrong. And your intention will be evident to me by the manner in which you give me a hearing: by your clamour and by your silence I shall judge whether it is to vengeance or to judgement that you have summoned me.” [3] Having said this, he stopped, And when silence followed and then the majority cried out to him to be of good courage and say all that he wished, he resumed his plea and said: “Well then, citizens, if you are to be my judges and not my enemies, I believe I shall easily convince you that I am guilty of no crime. I shall begin my defence with facts with which you are all familiar. I was chosen consul together with that most excellent man, Verginius, at the time when the Tyrrhenians, having fortified against you the hill that commands the city, were masters of all the open country and entertained hopes of speedily overthrowing our empire. There was a great famine in the city, and sedition, and perplexity as to what should be done. [4] Having been brought face to face with so turbulent and so formidable a crisis, I together with my colleague overcame the enemy in two engagements and obliged them to abandon the fort and leave the country, while I soon put an end to the famine by supplying the markets with abundant provisions; and I handed over to my successors not only our territory freed from hostile arms but also our city cured of every political distemper with which the demagogues had infected it. For what wrongdoing, then, am I accountable to you — unless to conquer your enemies is to wrong you? [5] And if some of the soldiers happened to lose their lives in the battle while fighting successfully, in what way has Servilius wronged the people? For naturally no god offers himself as surety to generals for the lives of all who are going into battle; nor do we receive the command of armies upon stated terms and conditions, namely that we are to overcome all our enemies and lose none of our own men. For who that is a mere mortal would consent to take upon himself all the

consequences both of his judgement and of his luck? No man, I say; but our great successes we always buy at the cost of great hazards.

[30.1] “Moreover, I am not the first to whom it has fallen to suffer this fate when engaging the enemy, but it has happened to practically all who have risked desperate battles against enemy forces more numerous than their own. For there have been instances when generals after chasing their foes have themselves been put to flight, and while slaying many of their opponents have lost still more of their own men. [2] I shall not add that many even after meeting utter defeat have returned home with ignominy and great loss, yet not one of them has been punished for his bad luck. For the calamity itself is a sufficient punishment, and to receive no praise, as is inevitable, even without anything else, is a great and grievous penalty for a general. Nevertheless, I for my part am so far from maintaining — what all reasonable men will allow to be just — that I do not have to render an accounting of my luck, that, even though no one else was ever willing to submit to such a trial, I alone do not decline to do so, but consent that my luck be inquired into as well as my judgement — after I have first made this one statement: [3] I observe that men’s undertakings, both unsuccessful and successful, are judged, not by the several operations in detail, which are many and various, but by the final outcome. When this turns out according to their hopes, even though the intermediate operations, which are many, may not be to their liking, I nevertheless hear the undertakings praised and admired by all and regarded as the consequences of good luck; but when these measures lead to bad results, even though every measure before the final outcome is carried out with the greatest ease, they are ascribed, not to the good, but to the bad luck of their authors. [4] So, taking this as the target, do you yourselves consider what has been my luck in the various wars; and if you find that I was vanquished by the enemy, call my luck bad, but if I was victorious over them, call it good. On the subject of luck, now, I could say still more; however, as I am not unaware that all who discuss it are tiresome, I will desist.

[31.1] “But since they censure my judgement also, not daring, indeed, to accuse me of treachery or cowardice, the charges on which other generals are tried, but accuse me of inexperience in the duties of a general and imprudence, in that I undertook an unnecessary risk in pressing forward to the enemy’s camp, I wish to render you an accounting on that point, too, since I can make the very obvious retort that it is very easy and lies within the power of any man to censure past actions, whereas to venture upon glorious exploits is difficult and within the power of but few; also that it is not so apparent what future events will be as what past events are, but, on the contrary, we apprehend the latter by perception and our experiences, while we conjecture the others by divination and opinions, in which there is much that is deceptive; and again, that it is the easiest thing in the world for people to conduct wars by talk when they stand far from the danger, which is what my accusers do. [2] But, to waive all this, tell me, in the name of the gods, do you

regard me as the first or the only man who ever attempted to capture a stronghold by force and led his men against lofty positions? Or have not many others of your generals done the same, some of whom have succeeded, while the attempt of others has not turned out as they wished? Why in the world, then, did you let the others off but now try me, if you consider these actions to be marks of incapacity and imprudence in a general? How many other undertakings more daring than this does it occur to your generals to attempt when times of crisis will by no means admit of the safe and well-considered course? [3] Some indeed have snatched the standards from their own men and hurled them among the enemy, in order that the indolent and cowardly might perform gain courage, since they knew that those who failed to recover those standards must be put to death ignominiously by their generals. Others, after invading the enemy's country, have destroyed the bridges over the rivers what they had crossed, in order that any who entertained thoughts of saving themselves by flight might find their hope vain and so be inspired with boldness and resolution in the battles. [4] Still others by burning their tents and baggage have imposed on their men the necessity of supplying themselves out of the enemy's country with everything they needed. I omit mentioning all the other instances of the kind, which are countless, and the many other daring actions and expedients of generals that we know of from both history and our own experience, for which no general was ever punished when disappointed in his helps. Unless, indeed, someone among you can bring the charge against me that when I exposed the others to manifest destruction I kept myself out of danger. But if I took my place in the line with all the rest, was last to withdraw and shared the same fortune with the others, of what crime am I guilty? Concerning myself, then, let this suffice.

[32.1] "But concerning the senate and the patricians I wish to say a few words to you, since the general hatred you plebeians bear toward them because they prevented the allotment of land hurts me also, and since my accuser too did not conceal this hatred, but made it no small part of his accusation against me. [2] And I shall prospect with frankness; for I could not speak in any other fashion, nor would it be to your interest to hear me if I did. You are not doing right in the eyes of men or the gods, plebeians, if, on the one hand, you show no gratitude for the many great benefits you have received from the senate, but, on the other hand, because, when you demanded a measure the concession of which would bring great harm to the public, the senate, not in any spirit of animosity toward you, but having in view the welfare of the commonwealth, opposed it, you angrily resent its action. [3] But what you ought to have done was, preferably, to accept the senate's decisions as having been made with the best of motives and for the good of all and then to have desisted from your selfish striving; but if you were unable to restrain your inexpedient desire by means of sober reason, you should have sought to obtain these same ends by persuasion and not by violence. [4] For voluntary gifts are not only more pleasing to those who grant

them than such as are extorted by force, but are also more lasting to those who receive them than those which are not freely given. Of this truth you, however, as Heaven is my witness, take no account, but you are continually stirred up by your demagogues and roused to fury even as is the sea by winds that spring up one after another, and you do not permit the commonwealth to remain calm and serene for even the briefest space of time. The result, therefore, is that we prefer war to peace; at any rate, when we Romans are at war, we hurt our enemies, but when at peace, our friends. [5] And yet, plebeians, if you regard all the resolutions of the senate as excellent and advantageous, as they really are, why do you not assume this also to be one of them? If, however, you believe that the senate takes no thought at all for the things it should, but governs the commonwealth dishonourably and basely, why in the world do you not abolish it bag and baggage and yourselves govern and deliberate and wage wars in defence of our empire, rather than pare it down and destroy it by degrees by making away with its most important members in your trials? For it would be better for all of us to be attacked together in war than for each one separately to be the victim of false accusations. [6] However, it is not you, as I said, who are the authors of these disorders, but rather the demagogues, who keep you stirred up and who are neither willing to be ruled nor capable of ruling. Indeed, so far as their imprudence and inexperience could accomplish it, this ship of yours would have foundered many times over; but as it is, the power which corrects their errors and enables your commonwealth to sail on an even keel is the senate, so greatly maligned by them. [7] These remarks, whether they are pleasant for you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered and hazarded by me in all sincerity; and I had rather lose my life by using a freedom of speech that is advantageous for the commonwealth than save it by flattering you."

[33.1] Having spoken in this manner and without either resorting to lamentations and wailings over his misfortune or abasing himself by entreaties and unseemly grovelling at the feet of anyone, and without displaying any other mark of an ignoble nature, he yielded the floor to those who desired to speak or bear witness in his favour. Many came forward and sought to clear him of the charge, and particularly Verginius, who had been consul at the same time with him and was regarded as having been the cause of the victory. He not only declared Servilius to be innocent, but argued that, as the bravest of men in war and the most prudent of generals, he deserved to be praised and honoured by all. [2] He said that if they thought the war had ended favourably, they ought to feel grateful to both commanders, but if unfavourably, they ought to punish them both; for not only their plans, but also their actions and the fortunes meted out to them by Heaven had belonged to them both. Not only were the man's words convincing, but his whole life as well, which had been tested in all manner of good deeds. [3] He had moreover — and this it was that stirred the greatest compassion — a look of fellow-suffering, such a look as one is apt to see on the faces of those who themselves have suffered

calamities or are about to suffer them. Hence even the relations of the men who had lost their lives in the battle and seemed irreconcilable to the au of their misfortune became softened and laid aside their resentment, as they presently made evident. For when the votes had been taken, not a single tribe condemned him. Such was the outcome of the jeopardy in which Servilius had been placed.

[34.1] Not long afterwards an army of the Romans marched out against the Tyrrhenians under the command of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls. For the forces of the Veientes had again assembled and had been joined by the Sabines. The latter had hitherto hesitated to assist them in the war, fearing that they were aiming at the impossible; but now, when they learned both of the flight of Menenius and of the fortifying of the hill close to the city, concluding that the forces of the Romans had been humbled and that the spirit of the commonwealth had been broken, they proceeded to aid the Tyrrhenians, sending them a large body of troops. [2] The Veientes, relying night on their own forces and on those of the Sabines which had just come to them, and expecting reinforcements from the rest of the Tyrrhenians, were eager to march on Rome with the greater part of their army, in the belief that none would oppose them, but that they should either take the city by storm or reduce it by famine. [3] But Valerius forestalled their plan, while they were still delaying and waiting for the allies who tarried, by setting out himself with the flower of the Roman youth and with the auxiliary force from the allies, not openly, but in such a manner as would conceal his march from the enemy so far as possible. For, advancing from Rome in the later afternoon and crossing the Tiber, he encamped at a short distance from the city; then, rousing the army about midnight, he marched in haste and, before it was day, attacked one of the enemy's camps. [4] For there were two camps, separate but at no great distance from one another, one of the Tyrrhenian and the other of the Sabines. The first camp he attacked was that of the Sabines, where most of the men were still asleep and there was no guard worth mentioning, inasmuch as they were in friendly territory and felt great contempt for the enemy, whose presence had not been reported from any quarter; and he took it by storm. Some of the Sabines were slain in their beds, others just as they were getting up and arming themselves, and still others, who, though armed, were dispersed and fighting in disorder; but the larger part of them were intercepted and destroyed by the Roman horse while they were endeavouring to escape to the other camp.

[35.1] The camp of the Sabines having thus been taken, Valerius led his forces to the other camp, where the Veientes lay, having occupied a position that was not very strong. Here it was not possible for the attackers to approach the camp without being seen, since it was now broad daylight and the fleeing Sabines had informed the Tyrrhenians both of their own disaster and of the advance of the Romans against the others; hence it was necessary to attack the enemy with might and main. [2] Then, as the Tyrrhenians ought to before their camp with all possible vigour, a sharp action ensued, with great slaughter on both sides; and the decision of the battle was equally balanced, shifting to and fro for a long time. At last the Tyrrhenians, forced back by the Roman horse, gave way and retired to their camp. The consul followed, and when he came near their ramparts — these had been poorly constructed and the place, as I said, was not very secure — he attacked them in many places at once,

continuing his exhausting efforts all the rest of that day and not even resting the following night. [3] The Tyrrhenians, exhausted by their continual hardships, left their camp at break of day, some fleeing to their city and others dispersing themselves in the neighbouring woods. The consul, having made himself master of this camp also, rested his army that day; then, on the next day he distributed to the men who had shared in the fighting the spoils, great in quantity, which he had taken in both camps, and honoured with the customary crowns those who had distinguished themselves in the battles. [4] The man who was regarded as having fought with the better bravery of all and put the troops of the Veientes to flight was Servilius, the consul of the preceding year, who had been acquitted in his trial before the populace and now had been sent along as legate to Valerius; and in consideration of the superior valour he showed upon this occasion he was the first to receive the rewards which among the Romans are the most esteemed. After that the consul, having stripped the enemy's dead and buried his own, marched away with his army, and encamping near the city of the Veientes, challenged those inside to give battle. [5] But when none ventured out to fight and he saw that it would be a difficult matter to capture them by assault, occupying as they did a city that was exceedingly strong, he overran a great part of their country and then invaded that of the Sabines. For many days he plundered their territory too, which was still untouched, and then, since his baggage train was now heavily laden with booty, he led his troops homeward. While he was yet a long way from the city he was met by the people, who, crowned with garlands, perfumed the route with frankincense as he entered and received the army with bowls of honeyed wine. And the senate decreed to him the celebration of a triumph.

[6] The other consul, Gaius Nautius, to whom the defence of their allies the Latins and the Hernicans had fallen by lot, had delayed taking the field, not because he was swayed by any irresolution or fear of danger, but because he was awaiting the uncertain outcome of the war with the Veientes, to the end that, if any misfortune should befall the army employed against them the commonwealth might have another force assembled in readiness to hinder the enemy from making an irruption into the country, in case this foe, like those who had earlier marched against Rome, should attempt to fortify any places as a threat to the city. [7] In the meantime the war brought upon the Latins by the Aequians and the Volscians had been happily concluded and messengers had arrived announcing that the enemy, defeated in battle, had left the territory of the Latins and that these allies no longer stood in any need of assistance for the present. Nevertheless, Nautius, after affairs in Tyrrhenia had taken a happy turn for the Romans, marched out with his army. [8] Then, having invaded the country of the Volscians and overrun a great part of it which they had left deserted, he possessed himself of a very few slaves and cattle, and having set fire to their fields, the corn being then ripe, and done not a little other damage to their farmsteads, as none came to oppose him, he led his army home. These

were the things accomplished in the consulship of those men.

[36.1] Their successors in the consulship, Aulus Manlius and Lucius Furius, after the senate had voted that one of them should march against the Veientes, drew lots, according to their custom, to determine which should command the expedition. And the lot falling to Manlius, he speedily led out the troops and encamped near the enemy. The Veientes, being shut up within their walls, defended themselves for some time; and sending ambassadors both to the other cities of Tyrrhenia and to the Sabines who had lately assisted them, they asked them to send them aid promptly. [2] But when they failed of everything they asked for and had consumed all their provisions, the oldest and most honoured among them, compelled by necessity, came out of the city to the consul with the tokens of suppliants, begging for an end to the war. Manlius ordered them to bring money for a year's pay for the army and provisions for two months and after doing this to send envoys to Rome to treat with the senate for peace. And they, having approved these conditions and speedily brought the pay for the army, together with the money which the consul permitted them to pay in lieu of the corn, came to Rome; and being introduced into the senate, they sought to obtain forgiveness for the past and for the future to be freed from the war. [3] After many arguments on both sides, the motion prevailed to put an end to the war by a treaty, and a truce was granted to them for forty years. Then the envoys departed, feeling very grateful to the commonwealth for the peace. And Manlius, coming to the city, requested and received an ovation for having put an end to the war. There was also a census in this consulship; the number of the citizens who registered their own names, their wealth, and the names of their sons who had reached manhood was a little over 103,000.

[37.1] These consuls were succeeded by Lucius Aemilius Mamercus (elected for the third time) and Vopiscus Julius, in the seventy-seventh Olympiad (the one at which Dandes of Argos won the foot-race), when Chares was archon at Athens. The administration of the new consuls was very difficult and turbulent; they enjoyed peace, it is true, from foreign wars — for all their quarrels were in a state of quiet — but through the dissensions at home they were not only themselves exposed to dangers, but came near destroying the commonwealth as well. For as soon as the populace had a respite from military expeditions, they at once became eager for a distribution of the public lands. [2] It seems there was among the tribunes a certain bold man, not wanting in eloquence, Gnaeus Genucius, who whetted the passions of the poor. This man, by assembling the populace on every occasion and cajoling the needy, was endeavouring to force the consuls to carry out the decree of the senate concerning the allotment of lands. But the consuls kept refusing to do, alleging that this duty had been assigned by the senate, not to them, but to the consuls who immediately followed Cassius and Verginius, with reference to whom the preliminary decree had been drawn up. At the same time they pointed out that decrees of the senate were not laws continuing in force

forever, but measures designed to meet temporary needs and having validity for one year only. [3] When the consuls put forward these excuses, Genucius, finding himself unable to employ compulsion against them, since they were invested with a superior authority, took a bold course. He brought a public suit against Manlius and Lucius, the consuls of the preceding year, and summoned them to appear before the populace and make their defence, specifying openly the ground for the action, which was that they had wronged the populace in not appointing the decemvirs directed by the senate to distribute the allotments of land. [4] And he advanced plausible reasons for not bringing to trial some of the other consuls, though there had been twelve consulships in the interval since the senate had drawn up this decree, and for accusing only these men of violating the promise. He ended by saying that the only way the present consuls could be compelled to allot the land would be for them to see some others punished by the populace and thus be reminded that it would be their fate to meet with the same treatment.

[38.1] After he had said this and exhorted them all to be present at the trial and had solemnly sworn over the victims that he would persist in his resolution and prosecute the men with all possible vigour, he appointed a day for holding the trial. The patricians, upon learning of this, felt great fear and concern, wondering what course they ought to take to secure the men's acquittal of the charge and also to put a stop to the boldness of the demagogue. And they resolved, in case the populace should pass any vote to the prejudice of the consular power, to prevent them from carrying it out, by opposing them with all their power and even resorting to arms if that should be necessary. [2] But they had no need to use any violent means, as the danger was dispelled in a sudden and unexpected manner. For when only one day remained till the trial, Genucius was found dead on his bed without the least sign of stabbing, strangling, poisoning, or any of the other means of killing as the result of a plot. As soon as this unhappy occurrence was known and the body had been brought into the Forum, the event was looked upon as a kind of providential obstacle to the trial, which was straightway dismissed. [3] For none of the other tribunes dared to revive the sedition, but they even looked upon Genucius as having been guilty of great madness. Now if the consuls had not committed any further act of officiousness, but had let the dissension, as Heaven had put it to sleep, remain so, no further danger would have beset them; but as it was, by turning to arrogance and contempt for the plebeians and by desiring to display the extent of their power, they brought about great mischiefs. For, having appointed a day for levying troops and endeavouring to coerce the disobedient by various punishments, including even scourging with rods, they drove the greater part of the plebeians to desperation. This was caused particularly by the incident I shall now relate.

[39.1] A certain man of the plebeians, famous for his exploits in war, Volero Publius, who had commanded centuries in the late campaigns, was now listed by the consuls as a common soldier instead of a centurion. Upon his objecting

to this and refusing to take a lower rank when he had been guilty of misconduct in the former campaigns, the consuls, offended at his frankness, ordered the lictors to strip him and lash his body with their rods. [2] The young man called upon the tribunes for assistance, and asked, if he were guilty of any crime, to stand trial before the plebeians. When the consuls paid no heed to him but repeated their orders to the lictors to take him away and flog him, he regarded the insult as intolerable and took justice into his own hands. [3] The first lictor who approached him he struck squarely in the face with his fists, and being a young man and vigorous, he knocked him down; and the next one likewise. When the consuls in their anger ordered all their attendants to approach him at the same time, the plebeians who were present thought it an outrageous thing. And immediately gathering together in a body and shouting the cry used to incite one another's resentment, they snatched the young man away and repulsed the lictors with blows, and at last made a rush against the consuls; and if those magistrates had not left the Forum and fled, the mob would have done some irreparable mischief. [4] As a result of this incident the whole city was divided, and those tribunes who till then had remained quiet grew wild with rage and inveighed against the consuls. Thus the dissensions over the land-allotment had turned into another quarrel of greater consequence because of the contest concerning the form of government. On the one hand the patricians, believing that the power of the consuls was being destroyed, shared their indignation and demanded that the man who had dared to lay hands on their attendants should be hurled down from the precipice. [5] On the other hand the plebeians, assembling together, raised a loud clamour and exhorted one another not to betray their liberty, but to carry the matter before the senate, to accuse the consuls and to endeavour to ought to be some justice from them because they had refused to permit a man who had invoked the assistance of the tribunes and asked to be tried before the populace, in case he were guilty of any wrongdoing, to obtain either of these rights, but had treated him like a slave, though he was free born and a citizen, when they ordered him to be beaten. [6] The two parties being thus arrayed against one another and neither being willing to yield to the other, all the remaining time of this consulship was consumed without being marked either by any glorious exploits in war or by achievements at home worthy of mention.

[40.1] The election of magistrates being at hand, Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius were chosen consuls. At the very beginning of this year the city was filled with a kind of religious awe and fear of the gods owing to the occurrence of many prodigies and omens. All the augurs and the pontiffs declared that these occurrences were indications of divine anger, aroused because of some rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. [2] And not long afterwards the disease known as the pestilence attacked the women, particularly such as were with child, and more of them died than ever before; for as they miscarried and brought forth dead children, they died

together with their infants. And neither supplications made at the statues and altars of the gods nor expiatory sacrifices performed on behalf of the state and of private households gave the women any respite from their ills. [3] While the commonwealth was suffering from such a calamity, information was given to the pontiffs by a slave that one of the Vestal virgins who have the care of the perpetual fire, Urbinia by name, had lost her virginity and, though unchaste, was performing the public sacrifices. The pontiffs removed her from her sacred offices, brought her to trial, and after her guilt had been clearly established, they ordered her to be scourged with rods, to be carried through the city in solemn procession and then to be buried alive. [4] One of the two men who had perpetrated the impious defilement killed himself; the other was seized by the pontiffs, who ordered him to be scourged in the Forum like a slave and then put to death. After this action the pestilence which had attacked women and caused so great a mortality among them promptly ceased.

[41.1] But the sedition raised by the plebeians against the patricians, which had long continued in the city, was starting up again. The person who stirred it up was Volero Publius, one of the tribunes, the same man who the year before had disobeyed the consuls Aemilius and Julius when they would have listed him as a common soldier instead of a centurion. He was chosen by the poor as leader of the populace, not so much for any other reason — for he was not only of common birth, but had been brought up in great obscurity and want — but because he was regarded as the first person in private life who by his disobedience had humbled the consular power, which till then had been invested with the royal dignity, and still more by reason of the promises he had made, when he stood candidate for the tribunate against the patricians, to deprive them of their power. [2] This man, as soon as it was possible for him to attend to public business, now that the divine anger had abated, called an assembly of the populace and proposed a law concerning the tribunician elections, transferring them from the assembly of the clans, called by the Romans the curiate assembly, to the tribal assembly. What the difference was between these assemblies I will now point out. [3] In order that the voting in the curiate assembly might be valid it was necessary that the senate should pass a preliminary decree and that the plebeians should vote on it by curiae, and that after both these votes the heavenly signs and omens should offer no opposition; whereas, in the case of the voting of tribal assembly, neither the preliminary decree of the senate was necessary nor the sanction of the priests and augurs, but it was only necessary that it should be carried through and completed by the members of the tribes in a single day. Now of the other four tribunes there were two who joined with Volero in proposing this law; and by enlisting the co-operation of these two he carried the day, as those who were not of the same mind were in the minority. [4] But the consuls, the senate, and all the patricians sought to prevent the law from passing; and coming to the Forum in great numbers on the day appointed by the tribunes for ratifying the law, they delivered all kinds of speeches, the consuls, the oldest senators and

everyone else who so desired enumerating the absurdities inherent in the law. When the tribunes had argued on the other side and the consuls had spoken a second time and the verbal skirmishing had lasted a long while, that assembly at least was dispersed by the closing in of night-time. The tribunes having again appointed the third market-day for the consideration of the law and an even greater throng flocking to the Forum on that day, the same thing happened as before. [5] Publius, perceiving this, resolved neither to permit the consuls to inveigh against the law again nor to allow patricians to be present at the voting. For the patricians in their partisan bands and in groups together with their clients, who were numerous, occupied many parts of the Forum, shouting encouragement to those who inveighed against the law and noisily interrupting those who defended it, and doing many other things that were indications of the disorder and violence that there would be in the voting.

[42.1] These designs of Publius, pointing toward a tyranny, were checked by a fresh calamity sent from Heaven. For the city was visited with a pestilence, which occurred, indeed, in the rest of Italy also, but was especially prevalent in Rome. No human assistance could relieve the sick; but alike whether they were attended with great care or received none of the necessary attentions, they died all the same. No supplications to the gods nor sacrifices nor the final refuge to which men under such calamities are compelled to have recourse — private and public expiations — contributed any help at that time; and the disease made no distinction of age or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, of skill, or of any other of the agencies supposed to lighten the malady, but attacked both men and women, old and young. [2] However, it did not last long — a circumstance which saved the city from utter destruction; but, like a river in flood or a conflagration, falling upon the people with full force, it made a sharp attack and a speedy departure. As soon as the calamity abated, Publius, whose magistracy was near expiring, since he could not get the law confirmed during the remainder of his term, as the election of magistrates was at hand, stood again for the tribuneship for the following year, making many big promises to the plebeians; and he was again chosen tribune by them, together with two of his colleagues. [3] The patricians, to meet this situation, contrived to advance to the consulship a man of stern disposition and an enemy of the populace, one who would not diminish in any respect the power of the aristocracy, namely, Appius Claudius, the son of that Appius who had most strongly opposed the populace in the matter of their return. And though he protested much and even refused to go to the field for the election, they nevertheless passed the preliminary vote and appointed him consul in his absence.

[43.1] After the election had been carried through quite easily — for the poorer people left the field as soon as they heard Appius named — Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Appius Claudius Sabinus succeeded to the consulship, men alike neither in their dispositions nor in their principles. [2] For it was the opinion of Appius that the idle and needy populace should be

kept employed in military expeditions abroad, in order that, while supplying themselves from the enemy's country by their own toils with an abundance of the daily necessities of which they were in the greatest need and at the same time accomplishing results advantageous to the commonwealth, they might be least likely to be hostile and troublesome to the senators who were administering public affairs. He declared that any excuse for making war would be justifiable for a state that laid claim to supremacy and was envied by all; and he asked them, applying the principle of probability, to judge what was to happen in the future by what had already taken place in the past, adding that all the commotions which had occurred in the commonwealth in the past had happened during the respites from war. [3] Quintius, on the other hand, thought they ought not to wage any war. He declared they ought to be satisfied if the populace, when called upon to face the inevitable dangers brought upon them from outside, yielded ready obedience; and he showed that if they attempted to use force with the disobedient they would drive the plebeians to desperation, as the consuls before them had done. As a result, they would run the risk either of putting down the sedition with bloodshed and slaughter or of submitting to a shameful courting of the plebeians. [4] In that month the command belonged to Quintius, so that the other consul was bound to do nothing without his consent. In the meantime Publius and the other two tribunes without further delay were again proposing the law which they had been unable to get ratified the year before, with this additional provision that the college of aediles should also be chosen in the same assemblies, and that everything else that was to be done and ratified by the populace should be voted on in like manner by the members of the tribes. This, now, clearly meant the overthrow of the senate and the dominance of the populace.

[44.1] When the consuls were informed of this, they grew anxious and considered by what means the commotion and sedition might speedily and safely be removed. Appius advised summoning to arms all who wished the constitution of their fathers to be preserved, and if any opposed them, to look upon them as enemies. [2] But Quintius thought they ought to use persuasion with the plebeians and convince them that through ignorance of their own interest they were being led into pernicious counsels. He said that it was the extreme of folly to wish to obtain from their fellow citizens against their will the things which they might receive by their consent. [3] The advice of Quintius being approved of by the other members of the senate, the consuls went to the Forum and asked the tribunes to give them a hearing and to appoint a time for it. And having obtained both requests with difficulty, when the day they had asked of them had come, the Forum being filled with a great concourse of people of all sorts, which the magistrates on both sides had got together under instructions to support them, the consuls presented themselves with the intention of speaking against the law. [4] Quintius, accordingly, who was a fair-minded man in all respects and most capable of winning over the populace by his eloquence, first desired leave to speak, and then made an

adroit speech that was acceptable to everybody, with the result that those who spoke in favour of the law were reduced to great embarrassment, finding nothing to say that was more just or more reasonable. [5] And if his colleague had not chosen to continue his officiousness, the populace, being fully aware that their demands were neither just nor right, would have rejected the law. But as it was, he delivered a speech that was haughty and offensive to the ears of the poor, so that they became exasperated and implacable and fell into greater strife than before. [6] For he did not talk to them as if they were free men and his fellow citizens who had power to confirm or reject the law, but domineering over them as if they were outcasts or foreigners or men whose liberty was precarious, he uttered bitter and intolerable reproaches, upbraiding them with the abolition of their debts and with their desertion of the consuls when they snatched up the consuls and quit the camp, imposing voluntary banishment upon themselves; and he appealed to the oaths they had sworn when they took up arms in defence of the country which had given them birth, only to turn them against that very country. [7] Therefore their conduct was not at all strange, he said, if, after being guilty of perjury to the gods, deserting their generals, leaving the city undefended as far as in them lay, and returning home in order to violate the public faith, subvert the laws and overthrow the constitution of their fathers, they showed no moderation and could not behave themselves like good citizens, but were always aiming at some selfish encroachment and violation of the laws. At one time they were demanding the right to choose for themselves their own magistrates and making these unaccountable for their actions and sacrosanct; again, they were putting on trial for their lives such of the patricians as they saw fit, and transferring the legitimate courts, to which the commonwealth had formerly entrusted the trial of causes involving death or banishment, from the most incorruptible senate to the vilest mob; and yet again, the labourers for hire and the homeless were introducing tyrannical and unfair laws against the men of noble birth, without leaving to the senate the power even of passing the preliminary decree concerning those laws, but depriving that body of this honour also, which it had always enjoyed undisputed under both kings and tyrants. [8] After he had uttered many other reproaches of like nature and withheld neither any bitter fact nor any opprobrious word, he concluded with this declaration — which gave greater offence to the multitude than all the rest — that the commonwealth would never cease being divided into factions over every matter, but would always suffer from some fresh distemper following the old as long as the tribunician power should last. He pointed out that it is important to examine the beginnings of every political and public institution, to see that they shall be righteous and just; for from good seeds are wont to come good and wholesome fruit, and from bad seeds evil and deadly fruit.

[45.1] “If, now,” he said, “this magistracy had been introduced into the commonwealth harmoniously, for the good of all, entering in with the sanction of both omens and religious rites, it would have been the source of

many blessings to us — kindly services, harmony, wholesome laws, hopes of blessings from Heaven, and countless any other benefits. But as it is, since it was introduced by violence, lawlessness, sedition, the fear of civil war, and by everything mankind most abhors, what good or salutary thing can one now expect will ever come of it when it had such beginnings? So that it is vain for us to seek for a cure and for the aids which human reason suggests against the evils that are continually springing out of it, so long as the pernicious root remains. [2] For we shall have no end of outbursts of the divine wrath, no deliverance from them, while this malignant curse and cancer, firmly imbedded in our body politic, corrupts and destroys all that is wholesome. But for the discussion of this subject another occasion will be more suitable. For the moment, since it is necessary to compose the present disturbances, I put aside all equivocation and say this to you: Neither this nor any other law shall become valid during my consulship without a preliminary decree of the senate; on the contrary, I will fight for the aristocracy not only with words, but, if it shall be necessary to proceed to deeds, I shall not be outdone by its opponents even in these. And if you did not know before the extent of the consular power, you shall learn it during my term of office.”

[46.1] Thus Appius spoke; and, on the side of the tribunes, the oldest and most highly respected, Gaius Laetorius, a man acknowledged to be of no mean courage in warfare and not without ability in public affairs, rose up to answer him; and he delivered a long speech in behalf of the populace, beginning with the earliest times. He showed that the poor whom Appius maligned had made many hard campaigns not only under their kings, when one might say their action was due to compulsion, but also after the expulsion of the kings, when they were acquiring liberty and supremacy for the fatherland. [2] But they had received no recompense from the patricians nor enjoyed any of the public advantages, but, like captives taken in war, had been deprived by them even of their liberty, to recover which they had been compelled to leave their country in their yearning for another land in which they might live as free men without being insulted. And they had obtained their return to their possessions neither by offering violence to the senate nor by resorting to the compulsion of war, but by yielding to it when it asked and implored them to receive back their abandoned possessions. [3] He mentioned the oaths and appealed to the terms of the compact which had been made to induce them to return, among which there was, first, a general amnesty, and then for the poor the power of choosing magistrates who should assist them and oppose those who would do violence to them. [4] After recounting these matters, he cited the laws which the people had not long before ratified, both the one concerning the transfer of the courts, by which the senate had granted to the people the power to try any of the patricians they should think fit, and also the one concerning the manner of their voting, which no longer made the centuriate assembly, but rather the tribal assembly, responsible for the voting.

[47.1] When he had finished his defence of the populace, he turned to Appius

and said: "After this do *you* dare revile these men through whom the commonwealth, once small, has become great, and, once obscure, illustrious? And do you call your opponents seditious and reproach them for a fate akin to exile, as if all these men here did not still remember what befel your own family — that your ancestors, having raised a sedition against the authorities and abandoned their country, settled here as suppliants? Unless, indeed, your folk, when they forsook their country through a desire for liberty, did a noble thing, but Romans, when they did the same thing as you, did an ignoble thing!

[2] Do you dare also to revile the tribunician power as having been introduced into the commonwealth for a mischievous purpose and do you attempt to persuade these men here to abrogate this sacred and inviolable protection of the poor, safeguarded as it is by powerful sanctions which stem from both gods and men, O greatest enemy of the populace and most tyrannical of men? Have you not been able, then, to learn even this, that in saying these things you traduce both the senate and your own magistracy? For the senate, having risen against the kings, whose arrogance and insults they resolved to bear no longer, established the consulship, and before they had expelled the kings, invested others with the royal authority. [3] So that everything you say against the tribunician power as having been introduced for a mischievous purpose, since it had its origin in sedition, you say against the consulship also; for there was no other ground for introducing that magistracy than the sedition of the patricians against the kings. [4] But why do I talk thus with you as with a good and fair-minded citizen, when all these men here know that you are by inheritance mischievous, harsh and an enemy of the populace, and that you can never tame your inborn savagery? Why do I not rather come to grips with you, preferring actions to words, and show you how great is the strength, all unknown to you, of the populace, whom you were not ashamed to call homeless and vile, and how great is the power of *this* magistracy, to which the law obliges you to give way and submit? I too shall lay aside all equivocation and set to work."

[48.1] Having said this and sworn the strongest oath in use among the Romans that he would either get the law ratified or abandon life, the multitude meanwhile having become silent and being in an agony of expectation concerning what he was going to do, he ordered Appius to leave the assembly. And when Appius, instead of obeying, placed the lictors about him, together with the crowd which he had brought from home for that purpose, and obstinately refused to leave the Forum, Laetorius, after bidding the heralds to command silence, announced that the tribunes ordered the consul to be led away to prison. [2] Upon this the assist by his command advanced in order to seize the person of Appius, but the foremost lictor with a successful blow drove him back. When those present raised a great outcry and showed their resentment, Laetorius himself rushed forward after appealing to the crowds to assist him, while Appius, supported by a numerous and vigorous body of young men, stood his ground. There followed unseemly words between the

factions and shouting and the pushing of body against body; and at last the strife broke out into blows and they began to throw stones. [3] But a stop was put to this and the mischief was prevented from proceeding farther by Quintius, the other consul, who together with the oldest senators implored and entreated them all to desist, and thrust himself into the midst of the contending parties. Moreover, there was little of the day left, so that, albeit reluctantly, they separated.

[4] During the following days not only did the magistrates indulge in accusations against one another, the consul charging the tribunes with a desire to invalidate his authority by ordering a consul to be led away to prison, and the tribunes charging the consul with having struck those whose persons were sacred and made inviolate by the law — Laetorius, indeed, bore on his face the marks, still visible, of the blows — but the whole city, filled with rage and fury, was rent with faction. [5] Then the populace together with the tribunes proceeded to guard the Capitol both day and night without intermission. The senate assembled and entered into a long and difficult consideration of the proper means of putting a stop to the sedition, being sensible not only of the magnitude of the danger but also that not even the consuls had succeeded in being of one mind; for Quintius advised yielding to the populace in everything that was reasonable, whereas Appius proposed to resist till death.

[49.1] When no end would come to the strife, Quintius took each party aside separately, the tribunes and Appius, and begged, besought and implored them to regard the public interests as more vital than their private concerns. And observing that the tribunes had become milder but that his colleague persisted in the same arrogance, he undertook to persuade Laetorius and his colleagues to refer all their complaints, both private and public, to the determination of the senate. [2] When he had accomplished this, he assembled the senate, and after bestowing great praise upon the tribunes and begging his colleague not to act against the safety of the state, he then proceeded to call upon those who were wont to express their opinions. [3] Publius Valerius Publicola, who was called upon first, expressed the following opinion: That the mutual accusations of the tribunes and the consul relating to what they had suffered or done in the tumult, since they had gone so far, not with malice aforethought or for personal advantage, but out of rivalry in their zeal for the public welfare, should be publicly dismissed and that no suit should be brought because of them. As to the proposed law, since the consul would not allow any law to be presented to the assembly without a preliminary vote of the senate, he advised that the senate should vote upon it first; also that the tribunes together with the consuls should take care to preserve harmony and decorum among the citizens when the vote should be taken concerning it. [4] This advice being approved of by all, Quintius immediately put the question to the senate concerning the law, and after many objections offered by Appius and many rejoinders made by the tribunes the motion to lay it before the populace was carried by a large majority. The preliminary decree having been thus passed, the private

differences of the magistrates were composed; and the populace, gladly accepting this concession of the senate, ratified the law. [5] From that time down to our own the tribunes and the aediles have been chosen in the tribal assemblies without auspices or any other religious observances. This was the end of the tumult which disturbed the commonwealth at that time.

[50.1] Not long afterwards the Romans decided to enrol armies and to send out both consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians; for it was reported that large forces from both these nations had taken the field and were then pillaging the territories of the Romans' allies. The armies being soon ready, Quintius set out to make war against the Aequians and Appius against the Volscians, these commands having fallen to them by lot. And the fortunes of each of the consuls were such as might have been expected. [2] The army assigned to Quintius, pleased with the fairness and moderation of their general, were eager to carry out all his orders, and undertook most of the hazards unbidden, thereby achieving glory and honour for their commander. They overran a large part of the country of the Aequians and plundered it, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement; and from it they acquired great booty and rich spoils. After tarrying a short time in the enemy's country they returned to the city without any losses, bringing their general home illustrious because of his exploits. [3] But the army that went out with Appius because of their hatred of him disregarded many of the principles of their ancestors. In fact, during the whole campaign they not only played the coward deliberately and treated their general with contempt, but particularly when they were to engage the army of the Volscians and their commanders had drawn them up in order of battle, they refused to come to grips with the enemy, but both the centurions and the antesignani, some throwing away their standards and others quitting their posts, fled to the camp. [4] And if the enemy, wondering at their unexpected flight and fearing there might be an ambush, had not turned back from pursuing them farther, the greater part of the Romans would have been destroyed. The troops acted thus because of the grudge they bore to their general, lest he should win a brilliant engagement and so obtain the distinction of a triumph and the other honours. [5] And the following day, when the consul alternately upbraided them for their inglorious flight, exhorted them to redeem their most disgraceful conduct by a noble effort, and threatened to invoke the laws against them if they would than stand firm in the face of danger, they broke out into disobedience, clamoured against him and bade him lead them out of the enemy's country, alleging that they were no longer able to hold out by reason of their wounds; for most of them had bound up the sound parts of their bodies as if they had been wounded. Hence Appius was obliged to withdraw his army from the enemy's country, and the Volscians, pursuing them as they retreated, killed many of them. [6] As soon as they were in friendly territory, the consul assembled the troops, and after uttering many reproaches said that he would inflict upon them the punishment ordained

against those who quit their posts. And though the legates and the other officers earnestly besought him to use moderation and not to heap one calamity after another upon the commonwealth, he paid no heed to any of them but confirmed the punishment. [7] Thereupon the centurions whose centuries had run away and the antesignani who had lost their standards were either beheaded with an axe or beaten to death with rods; as for the rank and file, one man chosen by lot out of every ten was put to death for the rest. This is the traditional punishment among the Romans for those who desert their posts or yield their standards. Afterwards, the general, an object of hatred himself and leading back, dejected and disgraced, what was left of his army, the elections being now at hand, returned to the fatherland.

[51.1] When Lucius Valerius (for the second time) and Tiberius Aemilius had been appointed as the next consuls, the tribunes after a short delay brought up again the question of the land-allotment; and coming to the consuls, they asked them, with prayers and entreaties, to fulfil for the populace the promises which the senate had made in the consulship of Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius. [2] Both consuls favoured their request, Tiberius Aemilius bringing up an old and not unreasonable grudge against the senate because it had refused a triumph to his father when he asked for it, and Valerius from a desire to heal the anger of the populace directed against him because of the death of Spurius Cassius, whom he, being quaestor at the time, had caused to be put to death for aiming at tyranny. Cassius had been the most distinguished of his contemporaries both in military commands and in civil affairs; moreover, he was the first to introduce into the commonwealth the measure concerning the allotment of lands and for that reason in particular was hated by the patricians as one who preferred the populace to them. [3] At the time in question, at any rate, when the consuls promised them to bring up in the senate the question of the division of the public lands and to assist in securing the ratification of the law, the tribunes trusted them, and going to the senate, they spoke with moderation. And the consuls, desiring to avoid any appearance of contention, said nothing in opposition, but asked the oldest senators to express their opinions. [4] The first person called upon was Lucius Aemilius, the father of one of the consuls, who said it seemed to him that it would be both just and for the interest of the commonwealth that the possessions of the public should belong to all and not to a few, and he advised them to support the plea of the populace, in order that this concession on their part might be regarded as a favour; for many other things which they had not granted them by choice they had yielded through necessity. He felt also that those who were occupying these possessions ought to be grateful for the time they had enjoyed them without being detected, and when peeved from using them longer should not cling to them obstinately. [5] He added that, along with the principle of justice, the force of which all would acknowledge, according to which the public possessions are the common property of all and private possessions the property of the one who has acquired them according to law,

the action had also become unavoidable now through the action of the senate, which seventeen years before had ordered that the land be divided. And he declared that it had reached this decision at that time in the public interest, to the end that neither the land should go uncultivated nor the multitude of poor people dwelling in the city should live in idleness, envying the advantages of the others, as was now the case, and that young men might be reared up for the state in the homes and on the lands of their fathers, deriving also some pride of spirit from the very rearing. [6] For such as have no lands of their own and live miserably off the possessions of others which they cultivate for hire either do not feel any desire at all to beget children, or, if they do, produce a sorry and wretched offspring, such as might be expected of those who are the fruit of humble marriages and are reared in beggared circumstances. [7] “As for me, then,” he said, “the motion I make is that the consuls should carry out the preliminary decree which was then passed by the senate and has since been delayed by reason of the intervening disturbances, and appoint the men to divide the land.”

[52.1] Aemilius having spoken thus, Appius Claudius, who had been consul the preceding year, being the second person called upon, expressed the contrary opinion, pointing out that neither the senate had had any intention of dividing the public possessions — for in that case its decree would long since have been carried out — but had deferred it to a later time for further consideration, its concern being to put a stop to the sedition then raging, which had been stirred up by the consul who was aiming at tyranny and afterwards suffered deserved punishment; [2] nor had the first consuls chosen after the preliminary decree put the vote into effect, when they saw what a source of evils would be introduced into the state if the poor were once accustomed to get by allotment the public possessions; nor did the consuls of the following fifteen years, though they were threatened with many dangers from the populace, consent to do anything that was not in the public interest, for the reason that no authority even was given to them by the preliminary decree to appoint the land commissioners, but only to those first consuls. “So that for you men also, Valerius, yes, and you too, Aemilius, to propose allotments of land which the senate did not direct you to carry out is neither honourable, descended as you are from worthy ancestors, nor is it safe. As regards the preliminary decree, then, let this suffice to show that you who have become consuls so many years afterwards are not bound by it. [4] As for any who may, either forcibly or stealthily, have appropriated to themselves the public possessions, a few words will serve my purpose. If anyone knows that another is enjoying the use of property to which he cannot support his title by law, let him give information of it to the consuls and prosecute him according to the laws, which will not have to be drawn up afresh; for they were drawn up long since, and no lapse of time has abrogated them. [5] But since Aemilius has spoken also about the advantage of this measure, asserting that the allotting of the land will be for the good of all, I do not wish to leave

this point either unrefuted. For he, it seems to me, looks only to the present, and does not foresee the future, namely, that the granting of a portion of the public possessions to the idle and the poor, which now seems to him of small importance, will be the cause of many great evils, [6] since the custom thereby introduced will not only continue in the state, but will for all time prove pernicious and dangerous. For the gratification of evil desires does not eradicate them from the soul, but rather strengthens them and renders them still more evil. Let the facts convince you of this; for why should you pay any attention to words, either mine or those of Aemilius?

[53] "You all know, to be sure, how many enemies we have overcome, how much territory we have ravaged, and how great spoils we have taken from the towns we have captured, the loss of which has reduced the enemy from their former prosperity to great want, and that those who now bewail their poverty were excluded from none of these spoils nor had less than their share in the distribution of them. [2] Do they appear, then, to have improved their former condition at all by these further acquisitions or to have attained to any distinction in their lives? I could wish and have prayed to the gods that they might do so, in order that they might have been to a less extent mere transients, a nuisance to the city. But as it is, you see and hear them complaining that they are in the direst want. So that not even if you should receive what they now ask for — aye, still more than that — will they effect any improvement in their lives. [3] For their poverty is not inherent in their condition in life, but in their character; and not only will this small portion of land not supply their lack of that, but not even all the largesses of kings and despots would do so. If we make this concession also to them, we shall be like those physicians whose treatment of the sick is to tickle their palates. For the diseased part of the commonwealth will not be cured, but even the sound part will catch the disease. In general, senators, you need to take much care and thought how you may preserve with all possible zeal the morals of the commonwealth which are being corrupted. [4] For you see to what lengths the unruliness of the populace has gone and that they no longer care to be governed by the consuls; indeed, they were so far from repenting of what they did here that they showed the same unruliness in the field too, throwing away their arms, quitting their posts, abandoning their standards to the enemy and resorting to disgraceful flight before ever coming to grips with them, as if they could rob me alone of the glory of the victory without robbing the fatherland at the same time of the renown it would gain at the expense of their enemies. [5] And now trophies are being erected by the Volscians over the Romans, their temples are being adorned with spoils taken from us and their cities vaunt themselves as never before — those cities which were wont aforetime to beseech our generals to save them from slavery and total destruction. [6] Is it just, then, or becoming in you to feel gratitude to you for such successes and to honour them with public grants by dividing up the land which, so far as they are concerned, is in the enemy's possession? Yet why should we accuse

those who because of their lack of education and because of their low birth pay little regard to matters of honour, when we see that no longer in the character of all even of your own number does the ancient proud spirit dwell, but, on the contrary, some call gravity haughtiness, justice folly, courage madness, and modesty stupidity? On the other hand, those qualities that were held in detestation by the men of former times are now extolled and appear to the corrupt as wonderful virtues, such as cowardice, buffoonery, malignity, crafty wisdom, rashness in undertaking everything and unwillingness to listen to any of one's betters — vices which ere now have laid hold on and utterly overthrown many strong states. [7] These words, senators, whether they are pleasing to you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered in all sincerity and frankness. To those among you who will be persuaded — if indeed you will be persuaded — they will prove both useful at the present time and a source of security for the future; but to me, who in the interest of the public good am bringing private hatreds upon myself, they will be the cause of great dangers. For reason enables me to foresee what will happen; and I take the misfortunes of others as examples of my own."

[54.1] After Appius had spoken thus and almost all the others had expressed the same opinion, the senate was dismissed. The tribunes, angry at their failure, departed and after that considered how they might take revenge on the man; and they decided, after long deliberation, to bring him to trial on a capital charge. Then, having accused him before the popular assembly, they asked all to be present on the day they should appoint in order to give their votes concerning him. [2] The charges they planned to bring against him were these: that he had been spring mischievous opinions against the populace and introducing sedition into the commonwealth, that he had laid hands on a tribune contrary to the sacred laws, and that after taking command of the army he had returned home with great loss and disgrace. After announcing these accusations to the populace and appointing a definite day on which they said they would hold the trial, they summoned him to appear on the day named and make his defence. [3] All the patricians resented this proceeding and were prepared to use every effort to save Appius, and they urged him to yield to the occasion and to assume a bearing suitable to his present fortunes; but he declared that he would do nothing ignoble or unworthy of his former conduct, and that he would rather die a thousand deaths than cling to the knees of any man. And though his friends were prepared to make entreaties in his behalf, he would not permit it, saying that he would be doubly ashamed to see others doing for him things which he thought unbecoming even for him to do for himself. [4] After he had said this and many other things of like nature and neither changed his dress, altered the haughtiness of his looks nor abated anything of his proud spirit, when now he saw the whole city intent upon his trial and on tiptoe with expectation, and only a few days were left, he made away with himself; [5] his relations, however, pretended that he had died a natural death. When his body was brought into the Forum, his son went to the

tribunes and consuls and asked them to assemble the people for him in the manner usual upon such occasions and give him leave to deliver the eulogy over his father according to the practice of the Romans at the funerals of worthy men. [6] But the tribunes, even while the consuls were calling the assembly, vetoed it and bade the youth take away the body. However, the people would not permit this nor allow the body to be cast out in dishonour and ignominy, but gave leave to the youth to render the customary honours to his father. Such was the end of Appius.

[55.1] The consuls, having enrolled the armies, led them out of the city, Lucius Valerius to fight against the Aequians and Tiberius Aemilius against the Sabines; for these nations had made an incursion into the Romans' country on the occasion of the sedition and after plundering much of it had returned home with rich booty. The Aequians came to an engagement repeatedly; but after receiving many wounds they fled to their camp, which was situated in a strong place, and from that time no longer came out to fight. [2] Valerius endeavoured to take their camp by storm but was prevented by the gods from doing so. For as he was advancing and already setting himself to the task darkness descended from the sky, and a heavy rain, accompanied by lightning and terrible thunder claps. Then, as soon as the army had scattered, the storm ceased and the sky over the place became perfectly clear. The consul looking upon this as an omen and the augurs forbidding him to besiege the place any longer, he desisted and laid waste the enemy's country; then, having yielded as spoils to the soldiers all the booty he came upon, he led the army home. [3] As for Tiberius Aemilius, while he was overrunning the enemy's country with great contempt of them at first and no longer expecting anyone to oppose him, the army of the Sabines came upon him and a pitched battle took place between them, beginning about noon and lasting till sunset; but when darkness came on, the two armies retired to their camps neither victorious nor yet outmatched. [4] During the following days the commanders paid the final offices to their dead and constructed ramparts for their camps; and both of them had the same intention, which was to defend their own positions and not to engage in another action. Then, after a time, they struck their tents and withdrew their forces.

[56] The year following their consulship, in the seventy-eighth Olympiad (the one at which Parmenides of Posidonia won the foot-race), Theagenides being annual archon at Athens, Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Numicius Priscus were made consuls. They had no sooner entered upon their magistracy than news was brought that a numerous army of Volscians was at hand. And not long afterwards one of the guard-houses of the Romans was on fire after being taken by assault; it was not far from Rome and the smoke informed the people in the city of the disaster. [2] Thereupon, it being still night, the consuls sent some horsemen out to reconnoitre, and stationing guards upon the walls and posting themselves before the gates with the troops which were most lightly equipped, they waited for the report of the horsemen.

Then, as soon as it was day and the forces in the city had joined them, they marched against their foes. These, however, after plundering and burning the fort, had retired in haste. [3] The consuls extinguished what was still burning, and leaving a guard over the place, returned to the city. A few days later they both took the field with not only their own forces but those of the allies as well, Verginius marching against the Aequians and Numicius against the Volscians; and the campaigns of both proceeded according to plan. [4] The Aequians, when Verginius was laying waste their country, not only did not dare come to an engagement, but even when they placed an ambush of chosen men in the woods with orders to fall upon their enemies when they were scattered, they were disappointed of their hopes, inasmuch as the Romans soon became aware of their design and a sharp action ensued, in which the Aequians lost many of their men; the result was that they would no longer even try the fortune of another engagement. [5] Neither did any army oppose Numicius as he was marching on Antium, which was at that time among the foremost cities of the Volscians; but the people were forced in every instance to defend themselves from their walls. In the meantime not only was the greater part of their country laid waste, but also a small town on the coast was taken which they used as a station for their ships and a market for the necessities of life, bringing thither the many spoils they took both from the sea and by raids on land. The slaves, goods, cattle and merchandise were seized as plunder by the army with the consul's permission; but all the free men who had not lost their lives in the war were taken away to be sold at an auction of spoils. There were also captured twenty-two warships belonging to the Antiates together with rigging and equipment for ships besides. [6] After that at the consul's command the Romans set fire to the houses, destroyed the docks and demolished the wall to its foundations, so that even after their departure the fortress could be of no use to the Antiates. These were the exploits of the two consuls while they acted separately. They afterwards joined forces and made an incursion into the territory of the Sabines; and having laid it waste, they returned home with the army. Thus that year ended.

[57] The next year, when Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Quintus Servilius Priscus had succeeded to the consulship, not only were the Romans' forces all under arms, but the allied contingents as well presented themselves of their own accord before they were notified of the expedition. Thereupon the consuls, after they had offered upon their vows to the gods and performed the lustration of the army, set out against their enemies. [2] The Sabines, against whom Servilius marched, neither drew up for battle nor came out into the open, but remaining in their fortresses, permitted their land to be laid waste, their houses to be burned and their slaves to desert, so that the Romans retired from their country entirely at their ease, loaded down with spoils and exulting in their success. This was the outcome of the expedition led by Servilius.

[3] The forces which had marched under Quintius against the Aequians and the Volscians — for the contingents from both nations who were to fight in

behalf of the rest had joined together and had encamped before Antium — advancing at a quick pace, suddenly appeared before them and set down their baggage not far from the enemy's camp in the place where they had first been visible to each other, even though it was a low position; for they wished to avoid the appearance of fearing the enemy's numbers, which were much larger than their own. [4] When everything was ready for battle on both sides, they advanced into the plain, and engaging, fought till midday, neither yielding to nor charging their opponents, and both sides continually bringing up to equal strength with the enemy, by means of the troops held in reserve, any part of their line that was in distress. In this respect particularly the Aequians and Volscians, being more numerous than the Romans, rallied and had the advantage, since their foes' numbers were not equal to their ardour. [5] Quintius, seeing many of his men dead and the greater part of the survivors wounded, was on the point of recalling his forces, but fearing that this would give the enemy the impression of a flight, he decided that they must make a bold stroke. Choosing, therefore, the best of his horse, he hastened to the aid of his men on the right wing, which was hardest pressed. [6] And upbraiding the officers themselves for their want of courage, reminding them of their former exploits, and showing them to what shame and danger they would be exposed in fleeing, he ended with an untruth, which more than anything else inspired his own men with confidence and the enemy with fear. For he told them that their other wing had already put the enemy to flight and was by now close to their camp. [7] Having said this, he charged the enemy, and dismounting from his horse, he and the chosen horsemen with him fought hand to hand. Upon this a kind of daring came to those whose spirits till then had flagged, and as if they had become different men, all pressed forward; and the Volscians — for these stood opposite to them — after holding out for a long time, gave way. Quintius, having repulsed these opponents, mounted his horse and, riding along to the other wing, showed to the foot posted there the part of the enemy which was defeated, and exhorted them not to be behind the others in valour.

[58.1] After this no part of the enemy stood their ground but all fled together to their camp. The Romans, however, did not pursue them far, but promptly turned back, as their bodies were spent with toil and their weapons no longer what they had been. But after a few days had passed, for which they had made a truce in order to bury their dead and care for their sick, and they had supplied themselves with whatever was lacking for the war, they fought another battle, this time about the camp of the Romans. [2] For, reinforcements having come to the Volscians and Aequians from the neighbouring forts round about, their general grew elated because his forces were actually five times as large as those of the enemy, and observing that the Romans' camp was not strongly situated, he thought this was a most excellent opportunity for attacking them. Having so reasoned, he led his army to their camp about midnight, and surrounding it with his men, kept it under guard so that the

Romans should not steal away. [3] Quintius, upon being informed of the numbers of the enemy, welcomed this move and bided his time till it was day and about the hour of full market. Then, perceiving that the enemy were already suffering both from lack of sleep and from the flying missiles and that they were advancing neither by centuries nor by ranks but widely extended and scattered, he opened the gates of the camp and sallied out with the flower of the horse; and the foot, closing their ranks, followed. [4] The Volscians were astonished at their boldness and at the madness of their onset and, after holding out for a brief time, were repulsed and at the same time began to retire from the camp; and, as there stood not far from it a hill of moderate height, they hastened up this hill with the intention of both resting themselves and forming in line of battle again. But they were unable to form their lines and to recover themselves, for the enemy followed at their heels, closing their ranks as much as possible in order not to be hurled back while trying to force their way up-hill. [5] There followed a mighty struggle which lasted a large part of the day, and many fell on both sides. The Volscians, though superior in numbers and having the added security of their position, got no benefit from either circumstance; but being forced from their position by the ardour and bravery of the Romans, they abandoned the hill and while fleeing toward the camp the greater part of them were killed. [6] For the Romans never left them as they pursued, but followed at their heels and did not desist till they had taken their camp by storm. Then, having seized all the persons who had been left behind in the camp and taken possession of the horses and arms and huge quantities of baggage, they encamped there that night. The next day the consul, having prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, marched with his army to Antium, which was not more than thirty stades distant. [7] It chanced that some reinforcements sent by the Aequians to the Antiates for their protection were in the city and were guarding the walls. These men, dreading the boldness of the Romans, were now attempting to escape from the city; but being prevented from leaving by the Antiates, who had notice of their intention, they resolved to deliver up the city to the Romans when they should attack it. [8] The Antiates, being informed of this, yielded to the situation, and concerting measures with the Aequians, surrendered the city to Quintius upon the terms that the Aequians should have leave to depart under a truce and that the Antiates should receive a garrison and obey the commands of the Romans. The consul, having made himself master of the city upon these terms and having received provisions and everything that was needed for the army, placed a garrison there and then led his forces home. In consideration of his success the senate came out to meet him, gave him a cordial welcome and honoured him with a triumph.

[59.1] The following year the consuls were Tiberius Aemilius (for the second time) and Quintus Fabius, the son of one of the three brothers who had commanded the garrison that was sent out to Cremera and had perished there together with their clients. As the tribunes, supported by Aemilius, one of the

consuls, were again stirring up the populace over the land-allotment, the senate, wishing both to court and to relieve the poor, passed a decree to divide among them a certain part of the territory of the Antiates which they had taken by the sword the year before and now held. [2] Those appointed as leaders in the allotting of the land were Titus Quintius Capitolinus, to whom the Antiates had surrendered themselves, together with Lucius Furius and Aulus Verginius. But the masses and the poor among the Romans were dissatisfied with the proposed assignment of land, feeling that they were being banished from the fatherland; and when few gave in their names, the senate resolved, since the list of colonists was insufficient, to permit such of the Latins and Hernicans as so desired to join the colony. The triumvirs, accordingly, who were sent to Antium divided the land among their people, leaving a certain part of it to the Antiates.

[3] Meanwhile both consuls took the field, Aemilius marching into the country of the Sabines and Fabius into that of the Aequians. Aemilius, though he remained a long time in the enemy's country, encountered no army ready to fight for it, but ravaged it with impunity; then, when the time for the elections was at hand, he led his forces home. To Fabius the Aequians, even before they were compelled to do so by the destruction of their army or the capture of their walls, sent heralds to sue for a reconciliation and friendship. [4] The consul, after exacting from them two months' provisions for his army, two tunics for every man and six months' pay, and whatever else was urgently required, concluded a truce with them till they should go to Rome and obtain the terms of peace from the senate. The senate, however, when informed of this, gave Fabius full power to make peace with the Aequians upon such terms as he himself should elect. [5] After that the two nations by the mediation of the consul made a treaty as follows: the Aequians were to be subject to the Romans while still possessing their cities and lands, and were not to send anything to the Romans except troops, when so ordered, these to be maintained at their own expense. Fabius, having made this treaty, returned home with his army and together with his fellow consul nominated magistrates for the following year.

[60.1] The consuls named by them were Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Servilius Priscus, the latter for the second time. In their consulship the Aequians were held to be violating the agreements lately made with the Romans, and this for the following reason. [2] All the Antiates who possessed homes and allotments of land remained in the country cultivating not only the lands assigned to them but also those which had been taken from them by the colonists, tilling the latter on the basis of certain fixed shares which they paid to the colonists out of the produce. But those who had no such possessions left the city, and being heartily welcomed by the Aequians, were using their country as a base from which to ravage the fields of the Latins. As a consequence, such of the Aequians too as were bold and needy joined with them in their raids. [3] When the Latins complained before the senate of their

situation and asked them either to send an army to their relief or to permit them to take vengeance themselves on those who had begun the war, the senators, on hearing their complaint, neither voted to send an army themselves nor permitted the Latins to lead out theirs, but choosing three ambassadors, of whom Quintus Fabius, who had concluded the treaty with the Aequian nation, was the leader, they sent them out with instructions to inquire of the leaders of the nation whether it was by general consent that they were sending out these bands of brigands into the territory of the allies and also into that of the Romans — for there had been some raids into the latter too by the fugitive Antiates — or whether the state had no hand in any of the things that were going on; and if they should say that the acts complained of were the work of private persons without the consent of the people, they were to demand restitution of the stolen property and ask for the surrender of those who had committed the wrongs. [4] Upon the arrival of the ambassadors the Aequians, having heard their demands, gave them an evasive answer, saying, indeed, that the plundering had not been done by public consent, yet refusing to deliver up the perpetrators, who, after losing their own city and becoming wanderers, had in their destitution become suppliants of the Aequians. [5] Fabius resented this and appealed to the treaty which they had violated; but seeing that the Aequians were dissembling, asking time for deliberation and seeking to detain him under the pretence of hospitality, he remained there in order to spy upon what was going on in the city. And visiting every place, both profane and sacred, on the pretext of seeing the sights, and observing the shops full of weapons of war, some already completed and others still in the making, he perceived their intention. [6] And returning to Rome, he reported to the senate what he had heard and what he had seen. The senate, without hesitating any longer, voted to send the *fetiales* to declare war against the Aequians unless they expelled the Antiatic fugitives from the city and promised satisfaction to the injured. The Aequians gave a rather bold answer to the *fetiales* and admitted that they not unwillingly accepted war. [7] But the Romans were unable to send an army against them that year, either because Heaven forbade it or because of the maladies with which the population was afflicted during a great part of the year; however, for the protection of their allies a small army marched forth under Quintus Servilius, one of the consuls, and remained on the frontiers of the Latins.

[8] At Rome his colleague, Spurius Postumius, consecrated the temple of *Dius Fidius* upon the Quirinal hill on the day called the *nones* of June. This temple had been built by Tarquinius, the last king, but had not received at his hands the dedication custom among the Romans. At this time by order of the senate the name of Postumius was inscribed on the temple. Nothing else worth relating happened during that consulship.

[61.1] In the seventy-ninth Olympiad (the one at which Xenophon of Corinth won the foot-race), Archedemides being archon at Athens, Titus Quintus Capitolinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus succeeded to the consulship,

Quintius being elected by the people to that office for the third time and Fabius for the second. Both of them the senate sent into the field, giving them large and well-equipped armies. [2] Quintius was ordered to defend the part of their territory which adjoined that of the enemy, and Fabius to plunder the country of the Aequians. Fabius found the Aequians waiting for him on their own borders with a large force. After both sides had placed their camps in the most advantageous positions, they advanced into the plain, the Aequians being the challengers and beginning the battle; and they continued fighting spiritedly and with perseverance for a great part of the day, each man placing his hopes of victory in no one but himself. [3] But when the swords of the greater part of them had become useless from repeated blows, the generals ordered the retreat to be sounded and the men returned to their camps. After this action no pitched battle was again fought by them, but there were sundry skirmishes and constant clashes of the light-armed troops as they went to fetch water and escorted convoys of provisions; and in these encounters, moreover, they were as a result evenly matched. [4] While this was going on, a detachment of the Aequians' army, marching by other roads, made an irruption into the part of the Roman territory which lay at a very great distance from the common boundary and was for that reason unguarded; and seizing there many persons and goods, they returned to their homes without being discovered by the patrols under Quintius who were guarding their own territory. This happened continually and brought much disgrace upon the consuls. [5] Later Fabius, learning through scouts and prisoners that the best of the Aequians' forces had gone out of their camp, set out himself in the night with the flower of the horse and foot, leaving the oldest men in the camp. The Aequians, after plundering the regions which they had invaded, were returning home with many spoils. But they had not proceeded far when Fabius suddenly appeared before them, took away their booty, and defeated in battle those who valiantly withstood him; the rest scattered, and being familiar with the roads, escaped their pursuers and fled to their camp for refuge. [6] When the Aequians had been checked by this unexpected disaster, they broke camp and departed as night came on; and after that they ventured out no more from their city, but submitted to seeing their corn, which was then ripe, carried off by the enemy, their herds of cattle driven away, their effects seized, their farm-houses given to the flames and many prisoners led away. After these achievements Fabius, the time having come for the consuls to hand over their power to their successors, took his army and returned home; and Quintius did the same.

[62.1] When they came to Rome, they named Aulus Postumius Albus and Servius Furius consuls. These had just taken over their magistracy when messengers from the Latin allies, sent in haste to the Romans, arrived. These, being introduced into the senate, informed them that the situation at Antium was precarious, since the Aequians were sending envoys thither in secret and large numbers of Volscians were resorting to the city openly on the pretext of

trading; they were being brought there by those who had left Antium earlier because of poverty, when their lands were allotted among the Roman colonists, and had deserted to the Aequians, as I have related. [2] At the same time they reported that along with the natives many also of the colonists had been corrupted, and that unless their pursue were forestalled by means of an adequate garrison an unexpected war would break out in that quarter also against the Romans. Not long after this other messengers, sent by the Hernicans, brought word that a large force of Aequians had set out and now lay encamped in the hernican's country, where they were plundering everything, and that the Volscians were joining with the Aequians in the expedition, contributing the larger part of the army. [3] In view of all this the senate voted, first, with reference to those among the Antiates who were creating the disturbances — for some of them had come to Rome to defend their conduct and had made it clear that they had no honest purpose — to send another garrison to keep the city safe; and second, with reference to the Aequians, that Servius Furius, one of the consuls, should lead the army against them; and both forces promptly set out. [4] The Aequians, upon learning that the Roman army had taken the field, departed from the country of the Hernicans and went to meet it. When the two armies came in sight of one another, they encamped that day not far apart; and the next day the enemy advanced toward the camp of the Romans in order to ascertain their intentions. [5] Then, when the Romans did not come out to fight, they engaged in skirmishes, and without performing any noteworthy exploit retired with great boasting. But the Roman consul on the following day left his entrenchments — for the place was not very safe — and shifted his camp to a more advantageous position, where he dug a deeper trench and threw up a higher rampart. The enemy, seeing this, were greatly emboldened, and still more so when an army came to their assistance from both the Volscian and the Aequian nations; so that without further delay they led their forces against the camp of the Romans.

[63.1] The consul, realizing that the army under his command would not be strong enough to contend against both these nations, sent some of his horsemen to Rome with letters in which he asked that reinforcements might speedily reach him, as his whole army was in danger of being destroyed. [2] When his colleague Postumius had read the letter — it was about midnight when the horsemen arrived — he sent out numerous heralds to call the senators together from their homes; and before it was broad daylight a decree was passed by them that Titus Quintius, who had been thrice consul, should take the flower of the young men, both fortune than horse, and, invested with proconsular power, should march against the enemy and attack them immediately; also that Aulus Postumius, the other consul, should get together the rest of the troops, whose assembling would require more time, and go to the assistance of the others as speedily as possible. [3] By the time day began to break Quintius got together the volunteers, about five thousand in number;

and after waiting only a short time he led them out of the city. The Aequians, suspecting this move, remained where they were; and having determined, before reinforcements should come to the Romans, to attack their camp, in the belief that it would be taken by main strength and superior numbers, they sallied out in force after dividing themselves into two bodies. [4] There ensued a mighty struggle, lasting throughout the entire day, as the enemy boldly mounted the outworks in many places and were not repulsed, though exposed to a continual shower of javelins, missiles shot from bows, and stones thrown by slings. Then it was that the consul and the legate, after encouraging one another, both opened the gates at the same time, and sallying out against their opponents with the best of their men, engaged them where they were attacking on both sides of the camp, and repulsed those who were mounting the ramparts. [5] When the enemy had been routed, the consul pursued for a short distance those who had been arrayed opposite to him, and then returned. But his brother and legate, Publius Furius, inspired by courage and ardour, drove ahead, pursuing and slaying, till he came to the enemy's camp. He had with him two cohorts, not exceeding a thousand men. Upon learning of this, the enemy, who were about five thousand, advanced against him from their camp. These attacked the Romans in front, while their horse, circling round them, fell upon their rear. [6] The troops of Publius, when thus surrounded and cut off from their own army, though they had it in their power to save their lives by giving up their arms — for the enemy urged them to do so and were extremely anxious to take prisoner a thousand of the bravest Romans, in order to obtain through them an honourable peace — nevertheless scorned the enemy and exhorting one another to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, all died fighting after they had killed many of the enemy.

[64.1] When these men had been slain, the Aequians, elated by their success, advanced to the camp of the Romans, bearing aloft, fixed to their spears, the heads of Publius and the other prominent men, hoping to terrify the troops inside by this spectacle and compel them to surrender to them their arms. But though the Romans were indeed somewhat stirred by compassion at the fate of the slain and lamented their misfortune, yet they were inspired with a double boldness for the struggle and with a noble passion either to conquer or to die like their comrades rather than fall into the enemy's hands. [2] That night, accordingly, while the enemy bivouacked beside their camp, the Romans went without sleep as they repaired the damaged portions of their camp and made ready the other means, of many and various kinds, with which to ward off the enemy if they should attempt again to breach their walls. The next day the assaults were renewed and the rampart was torn apart at many points. Often the Aequians were repulsed by sorties of massed troops from the camp, and often the men who rushed out to recklessly were beaten back by the Aequians. And this kept happening all day long. [3] In these encounters the Roman consul was wounded in the thigh by a javelin that pierced his shield; wounded also were many other persons of distinction who fought at his side.

At last, when the Romans had reached exhaustion, Quintius unexpectedly appeared in the late afternoon with his reinforcement of volunteers composed of the choicest troops. When the enemy saw these approaching, they turned back, leaving the siege and completed; and the Romans, sallying out against them as they withdrew, set about slaying the laggards. [4] They did not pursue them for long, however, weakened as most of them were by their wounds, but speedily returned. After this both sides acted upon the defensive, remaining a long time in their camps.

[65.1] Later another force of Aequians and Volscians, thinking they now had a fine opportunity to plunder the Romans' country while their best troops were in the field, set out in the night; and invading the remotest part of the land, where the husbandmen thought there was nothing to fear, they gained possession of much booty and many captives. [2] But in the end their return from there proved neither glorious nor fortunate. For the other consul, Postumius, who was bringing the reinforcements he had got together for the relief of the Romans besieged in their camp, when he learned what the enemy were doing, appeared before them unexpectedly. [3] They were neither astonished nor terrified at his approach, but when they had leisurely deposited their baggage and booty in a single strong place and left a sufficient guard to defend it, the rest marched in good order to meet the Romans. And when they had joined combat, they performed notable deeds, though they fought few against many — for large numbers came streaming in to oppose them from their farms, to which they had earlier scattered — and lightly-armed against men whose bodies were entirely protected. They killed many of the Romans and, though intercepted in a foreign land, came very near erecting trophies over those who had come to attack them. [4] But the consul and the Roman horsemen who were with him, all chosen men, charging with their horses unbridled that part of the enemy which was firmest and fought best, broke their ranks and killed a goodly number. When those in the front line had been slain, the rest of the army gave way and fled; and the men appointed to guard the baggage abandoned it and made off by way of the near-by mountains. In the action itself only a few of them were slain, but very many in the rout, as they were both unacquainted with the country and pursued by the Roman horse.

[66.1] While these things were occurring, the other consul, Servius, being informed that his colleague was coming to his assistance and fearing that the enemy might go out to meet him and prevent him from getting through to him, planned to divert them from this purpose by delivering attacks upon their camp. [2] But the enemy forestalled him; for as soon as they learned of the disaster that had befallen their forces, the report being brought by those who had survived the pillaging expedition, they broke camp the first night after the battle and retired to their city without having accomplished all that they desired. [3] For, besides those who had lost their lives in the battles and the pillaging expeditions, they lost many more stragglers in their retreat at this

time than on the former occasion. For those who were overcome by fatigue and their wounds marched slowly, and when their limbs failed them, they fell down, particularly at the fountains and rivers, as they were parched with thirst; and the Roman horse, overtaking them, put them to the sword. [4] Nor did the Romans, either, return home completely successful from this campaign; for they had lost many brave men in the several actions and a legate who had distinguished himself above all the rest in the combat; but they did return with a victory second to none for the commonwealth. These were the achievements of that consulship.

[67.1] The next year, when Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius Priscus had assumed office, the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of mention either in war or at home, as they were afflicted by a pestilence more severely than ever before. It first attacked the studs of mares and herds of cattle and then seized upon the flocks of goats and sheep and destroyed almost all the live-stock. After that it fell upon the herdsmen and husbandmen, and having spread through the whole country, it invaded the city. [2] It was no easy matter to discover the number of servants, labourers and poor people who were carried off by it. For at first the dead bodies were carried away heaped up in carts and at last the persons of least account were shoved into the river that flows past the city. Of the senate the fourth part was estimated to have perished, including not only both consuls but also most of the tribunes. [3] The pestilence began about the calends of September and continued all that year, seizing and destroying people without distinction of sex or age. When the neighbouring peoples learned of the evils that were afflicting Rome, the Aequians and the Volscians, thinking they had an excellent opportunity to overthrow her supremacy, concluded a treaty of alliance with each other, confirmed by oaths; and after making the preparations necessary for a siege, both led out their forces as speedily as possible. [4] In order to deprive Rome of the assistance of her allies, they first invaded the territories of the Latins and the Hernicans. When envoys from the two nations which were attacked came to the senate to beg assistance, it chanced that one of the consuls, Lucius Aebutius, had died that very day, while Publius Servilius was at the point of death. [5] Though he could barely breathe, he convened the senate, of whom the larger part were brought in half dead in litters; and after deliberating, they instructed the envoys to report to their countrymen that the senate gave them leave to repulse the enemy by their own courage till the consul should recover and the army that was to participate with them in the conflict should be assembled. [6] When the Romans had given this answer, the Latins removed everything they could out of the country into their cities, and keeping their walls under guard, permitted everything else to be destroyed. But the Hernicans, resenting the ruin and desolation of their lands, took up their arms and marched out. And though they fought brilliantly and, while losing many of their own men, slew many more of the enemy, they were forced to take refuge inside their walls and no longer risked an engagement.

[68.1] When the Aequians and Volscians had laid waste the Hernicans' territory, they came unopposed to the lands of the Tusculans. And having plundered these also, none offering to defend them, they arrived at the borders of the Gabini. Then, passing through their territory also without opposition, they advanced upon Rome. [2] They caused the city enough alarm, it is true, yet they could not make themselves masters of it; on the contrary, the Romans, though they were utterly weakened in body and had lost both consuls — for Servilius had recently died — armed themselves beyond their strength and manned the walls, the circuit of which was at that time of the same extent as that of Athens. Some sections of the walls, standing on hills and sheer cliffs, have been fortified by Nature herself and require but a small garrison; others are protected by the river Tiber, the breadth of which is about four hundred feet and the depth capable of carrying large ships, while its current is as rapid as that of any river and forms great eddies. There is no crossing it on foot except by means of a bridge, and there was at that time only one bridge, constructed of timber, and this they removed in time of war. [3] One section, which is the most vulnerable part of the city, extending from the Esquiline gate, as it is called, to the Colline, is strengthened artificially. For there is a ditch excavated in front of it more than one hundred feet in breadth where it is narrowest, and thirty in depth; and above this ditch rises a wall supported on the inside by an earthen rampart so high and broad that it can neither be shaken by battering rams nor thrown down by undermining the foundations. [4] This section is about seven stades in length and fifty feet in breadth. Here the Romans were drawn up at that time in force and checked the enemy's assault; for the men of that day were unacquainted with the building of either sheds to protect the men filling up ditches or the engines called *helepoleis*. The enemy, therefore, despairing of taking the city, retired from the walls, and after laying waste all the country through which they marched, led their forces home.

[69.1] The Romans, after choosing *interreges*, as they are called, to preside at the election of magistrates — a course they are accustomed to take whenever a state of "anarchy," or lack of a regular government, occurs — elected Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius Geminus consuls. In their consulship the pestilence ceased and all civil complaints, both public and private, were postponed. Sextus Titius, one of the tribunes, endeavoured, it is true, to revive the measure for the allotment of land, but the populace would not permit it and deferred the matter to more suitable times. [2] A great eagerness came upon all to take revenge on those who had made expeditions against the city on the occasion of the pestilence. And the senate having straightway voted for war and the people having confirmed the decree, they proceeded to enrol their forces; and no man who was of military age, not even if the law exempted him, wished to be left out of the expedition. The army having been divided into three bodies, one of them, commanded by Quintus Furius, an ex-consul, was left to defend the city, while the other two marched out with the consuls

against the Aequians and the Volscians. [3] This same course had also been taken already by the enemy. For their best army, assembled from both nations, was in the field under two commanders, and intended to begin with the territory of the Hernicans, in which they were then encamped, and to proceed against all the territory that was subject to the Romans; their less useful forces were left to guard their towns, lest some sudden attack might be made upon them by enemies. [4] In view of this situation the Roman consuls thought it best to attack their foes' cities first; for they reasoned to this effect, that the allied army would fall apart if each of the two nations learned that their own possessions were in the direst peril, and that they would think it much more important to save their own possessions than to destroy those of the enemy. Lucretius accordingly invaded the country of the Aequians and Veturius that of the Volscians. The Aequians, for their part, permitted everything outside their walls to be destroyed, but guarded their city and their fortresses.

[70.1] The Volscians, however, inspired by rashness and arrogance and despising the Roman army as inadequate to cope with their own large numbers, came out to fight in defence of their land and encamped near Veturius. But, as usually happens with an army of fresh levies composed of a crowd of both townsmen and farmers got together for the occasion, of which many are not only unarmed but also unacquainted with danger, the Volscian army dared not so much as encounter the enemy; [2] but the greater part of them, thrown into confusion at the first onset of the Romans and unable to endure either their war-cry or the clash of their arms, fled precipitately inside the walls, with the result that many of them perished when overtaken in the narrow parts of the roads and many more when they were crowding about the gates as the cavalry pursued them. [3] The Volscians, therefore, having met with this disaster, reproached themselves for their folly and were unwilling to hazard another engagement. But the generals who commanded the armies of the Volscians and Aequians in the field, when they heard that their possessions were being attacked, resolved to perform some brave action on their part also, namely, to take their army out of the country of the Hernicans and Latins and lead it against Rome in their present mood of anger and haste. For they too had some such thought as this in mind, that they should succeed in one or the other of two glorious achievements — either to take Rome, if it was unguarded, or to drive the enemy out of their own territory, since the consuls would be forced to hasten to the relief of their own country when it was attacked. [4] Having come to this decision, they made a forced march, in order that they might fall upon the city unexpectedly and immediately get to work.

[71.1] Having got as far as the city of Tusculum and learning that the whole circuit of Rome was lined with armed men and that four cohorts of six hundred men each were encamped before the gates, they abandoned their march on Rome; and encamping, they laid waste the district close to the city, which they had left untouched on their former incursion. [2] But when one of the consuls, Lucius Lucretius, appeared and made camp not far from them, they thought this an excellent opportunity to join battle before the other army of the Romans, commanded by Veturius, should come to the assistance of Lucretius; and placing their baggage on a certain hill and leaving two cohorts to defend it, the rest advanced into the plain. Then they engaged the Romans and acquitted themselves bravely in the conflict for a long time; [3] but some of them, being informed by the guards in the rear that an army was coming down over a hill, assumed that the other consul had arrived with the forces under his command, and fearing to be hemmed in between the two armies, they no longer stood their ground, but turned to flight. In this ancient both their generals fell after performing the deeds of valiant men, and likewise many other brave men fighting at their side. Those who escaped from the battle scattered and every man retired to his own city. [4] As a result of this victory Lucretius laid waste the country of the Aequians in great security, and

Veturius that of the Volscians, till the time for the elections was at hand. Then both of them, breaking camp, returned to Rome with their armies and celebrated the triumphs awarded for victories, Lucretius entering the city in a chariot drawn by four horses and Veturius on foot. For these two triumphs are granted to generals by the senate, as I have stated; they are equal in other respects, but differ in this, that one is celebrated in a chariot and the other on foot.

BOOK X

[1.1] The year after their consulship occurred the eightieth Olympiad (the one at which Torymbas, a Thessalian, won the foot-race), Phrasicles being archon at Athens; and Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were chosen consuls at Rome. These men led no army into the field, either to take revenge on those who had injured the Romans themselves as well as their allies or to keep guard over their possessions, but they devoted their attention to the domestic evils, fearing lest the populace might organize against the senate and work some mischief. [2] For they were being stirred up again by the tribunes and instructed that the best of political institutions for free men is an equality of rights; and they demanded that all business both private and public should be carried on according to laws. For at that time there did not exist as yet among the Romans an equality either of laws or of rights, nor were all their principles of justice committed to writing; but at first their kings had dispensed justice to those who sought it, and whatever they decree was law. [3] After they ceased to be governed by kings, along with the other functions of royalty that of determining what justice is devolved upon the annual consuls, and it was they who decided what was just between litigants in any matter whatsoever. [4] These decisions as a rule conformed to the character of the magistrates, who were appointed to office on the basis of good birth. A very few of them, however, were kept in sacred books and had the force of laws; but the patricians alone were acquainted with these, because they spent their time in the capital, while the masses, who were either merchants or husbandmen and came down to the capital only for the markets at intervals of many days, were as yet unfamiliar with them. [5] The first attempt to introduce this measure establishing an equality of rights was made by Gaius Terentius in the preceding year, while he was tribune; but he was forced to leave the business unfinished because the plebeians were then in the field and the consuls purposely detained the armies in the enemy's country till their term of office expired.

[2.1] At the time in question Aulus Verginius and the other tribunes took up the measure and wished to carry it through. But in order to prevent this from happening and that the magistrates might not be compelled to conduct the government in accordance with laws, the consuls, the senate and all the rest of the citizens of greatest influence in the commonwealth kept resorting to all manner of devices. There were many sessions of the senate and continual meetings of the assembly, and attempts of all kinds were made by the magistrates against one another; from all of which it was manifest to everyone that some great and irreparable mischief to the commonwealth would arise out of this contention. [2] To these human reasonings were added the terrible portents sent by the gods, some of which were neither found recorded in the public archives nor were the memory of them preserved by any other means.

[3] As for all the flashes shooting through the sky and outbursts of fire continuing in one place, the rumblings of the earth and its continual tremblings that occurred, the spectres, now of one shape and now of another, flitting through the air and voices that disturbed men's minds, and everything else of that nature which took place, all these manifestations were found to have occurred in times past as well, to either a greater or lesser degree. But a prodigy which they were unfamiliar with as yet and had never heard of, and the one which caused them the greatest terror was this: There descended upon the earth from heaven what appeared to be a heavy snowstorm, only it brought down, instead of snow, pieces of flesh, some smaller and some larger. [4] Most of these while still in mid air were seized by flocks of birds of every kind, which flew up and snatched them in their beaks; but those pieces which fell to the ground, both in the city itself and in the country, lay there a long time without either changing to such a colour as pieces of flesh acquire with time, or becoming rotten, and no bad smell was given off by them. [5] The native soothsayers were unable to conjecture the meaning of this prodigy; but in the Sibylline books it was found that the city would be involved in a struggle to prevent the enslavement of its citizens after foreign enemies had penetrated inside the walls, and that this war against the foreigners would begin with civil strife, which they must banish from the city in its inception, invoking the gods by sacrifices and prayers to avert the dangers; then they would gain the victory over their enemies. [6] When this had been announced to the multitude, the priests who were in charge of such matters first sacrificed victims to the gods who remedy and avert evils; after which the senate assembled in the senate-house, the tribunes being also present, and considered means of safeguarding and preserving the commonwealth.

[3.1] As for putting an end to their mutual recriminations and acting with unanimity concerning public affairs, as the oracles advised, all were in agreement; but how this was to be brought about, and which party should take the first step by yielding to the other the point at issue and thus put an end to the dissension, caused them no little embarrassment. [2] For the consuls and the leaders of the senate declared that the tribunes who were proposing new measures and demanding the overthrow of the time-honoured constitution were to blame for the disturbance. On the other hand, the tribunes denied that they were asking for anything that was either unjust or disadvantageous when they wished to introduce a good system of laws and equality of rights, but declared that the consuls and the patrician would be to blame for the dissension if they increased the spirit of lawlessness and greed and emulated the usual practices of tyrants. [3] These and many like reproaches were uttered by each side for many days and the time passed in vain; meanwhile no business in the city, either public or private, was being brought to completion. When nothing worth while was being accomplished, the tribunes desisted from the kind of harangues and accusations they were wont to make against the senate; and calling an assembly of the populace, they promised them to

bring in a law embodying their demands. [4] This being approved of by the populace, they read without further delay the law which they had prepared, the chief provisions of which were as follows: That ten men should be chosen by the people meeting in a legitimate assembly, men who were at once the oldest and the most prudent and had the greatest regard for honour and a good reputation; that these men should draw up the laws concerning all matters both public and private and lay them before the people; and that the laws to be drawn up by them should be exposed in the Forum for the benefit of the magistrates who should be chosen each year and also of persons in private station, as a code defining the mutual rights of citizens. [5] After the tribunes had proposed this law, they gave leave to all who so desired to speak against it, appointing the third market-day for this purpose. Many in fact — and those not the least important of the senators, both old and young — did speak against the law, delivering speeches that were the result of much thought and preparation; and this went on for many days. [6] Then the tribunes, chafing at the loss of time, would no longer permit the opponents of the law to speak against it, but appointing a day for ratifying it, urged the plebeians to be present in force, assuring them that they should not be bored by any more long harangues but should give their votes by tribes concerning the law. After making these promises the tribunes dismissed the assembly.

[4.1] After this the consuls and the most influential of the patricians, going to the tribunes, upbraided them more harshly than before, saying that they would not permit them to propose laws, and especially laws not recommended by a preliminary decree of the senate. For laws were compacts of states affecting all alike, and not of a single portion of the residents of states. They further pointed out that it is the first step in the most wicked, irremediable and indecent ruination for both states and households when the worst element prescribes laws for the best. [2] “And what authority,” they asked, “have you, tribunes, to introduce or to abrogate laws? Did you not receive this magistracy from the senate upon explicit terms? Did you not ask that the tribunes might come to the assistance of those of the poor who were injured and oppressed, but should meddle with nothing else? But, be that as it may, even if you previously possessed some power which you had wrongfully extorted from us, because the senate weakly gave in to each encroachment of yours, have you not lost even this power now through the changed character of your elections? [3] For neither a decree of the senate appoints you any longer to the magistracy, nor do the curiae give their votes concerning you, nor are there offered up to the gods before your election the sacrifices appointed by the laws, nor is anything else done in connexion with your magistracy that is holy in the eyes of the gods or right in the sight of men. What share have you, then, any longer in any of the things that are holy and call for reverence — of which the law was one — now that you have renounced everything lawful?” [4] These were the arguments that the older and the young patricians, going about the city in organized groups, used with the tribunes. The more fair-minded of the

plebeians they sought to win over by friendly intercourse, and the refractory and turbulent they attempted to terrify with threats of dangers which they would incur unless they came to their senses. Indeed, in the case of some who were very poor and abject and cared naught for the public interests in comparison with their own advantage, they drove them out of the Forum with blows as if they had been slaves.

[5.1] But the person who was attended with the largest number of followers and had the most influence of all the young men at that time was *Caeso Quintius*, the son of *Lucius Quintius* called *Cincinnatus*, a man of both illustrious birth and of a fortune inferior to none, the handsomest of youths to look upon, distinguished above all others in warfare, and possessing a natural talent for speaking. This he freely indulged at that time against the plebeians; and he neither spared words hard for free men to listen to nor refrained from deeds that matched his words. For these reasons the patricians held him in great esteem and urged him to continue on his dangerous course, promising to afford him impunity; but the plebeians hated him above all men. [2] This man the tribunes determined to remove out of the way first, expecting to terrify the rest of the youths and compel them to act sensibly. Having come to this decision and got ready their accusations and numerous witnesses, they brought him to trial for a crime against the state, for which they fixed death as the penalty. When they had summoned him to appear before the populace and the day they had appointed for the trial had come, they called an assembly and delivered lengthy speeches against him, enumerating all the acts of violence he had committed against the plebeians and presenting as witnesses the victims of his acts in person. [3] When they gave him leave to speak, the youth himself, being called upon to make his defence, refused, but asked the right to give satisfaction to the private persons themselves for the injuries of which they accused him, the hearing to take place before the consuls. His father, however, observing that the plebeians were offended by the haughtiness of the youth, endeavoured to excuse him by showing that most of the accusations were false and deliberately invented against his son; [4] that the instances which he could not deny were slight and trivial and not deserving the resentment of the public, and that not even these had proceeded from design or insolence, but from a youthful ambition which had led him to do many unpremeditated things in scimmages — perhaps to suffer many too — since he was neither at the prime of life nor at the best age for clear judgement. [5] And he asked the plebeians not only to entertain no resentment for the offences which he had committed against a few, but even to feel grateful for the services he had constantly rendered to them all in the wars while trying to secure liberty for his fellow citizens in private life, supremacy for his country, and for himself, if he should be guilty of any offence, friendly consideration and succour from the people generally. He proceeded to enumerate all the campaigns and all the battles in which he had received from his generals rewards of valour and crowns, how many citizens he had shielded in battle,

and how often he had been the first man to scale the enemy's walls. [6] And at last he ended with appeals to their compassion and with entreaties; in consideration of his fairness toward all men and of his life in general, which stood approved as free from all reproach, he asked of the people one single favour — to safeguard his son for him.

[6.1] The people were exceedingly pleased with this speech and were eager to grant the life of the youth to his father. But Verginius, perceiving that if he were not punished the boldness of the headstrong youths would become intolerable, rose up and said: [2] "As for you, Quintius, not only all your other merits, but also your goodwill toward the plebeians is amply attested, and for these you have received honour. But the offensive behaviour of this youth and his haughtiness toward us all admit of no palliation or pardon; for though nurtured in your principles, which are so democratic and moderate, as we are all aware, he despised your ways of life and grew fond of a tyrannical arrogance and a barbarian insolence, and has introduced into our commonwealth an emulation of base deeds. [3] If, therefore, you were unaware hitherto of his character, now that you know it, you ought in justice to be indignant on our account; but if you were privy to and took part in the foul abuse he was wont to pour out upon the unhappy lot of the poor citizens, then you too were base and did not deserve the reputation for uprightness that has come to you. But that you did not know him to be unworthy of your excellence I myself can bear you witness. Nevertheless, though I acquit you of joining with him in injuring us at that time, I blame you for not joining with us now in resenting those injuries. [4] And that you may know better how great a bane you have reared up unwittingly against the commonwealth, how cruel and tyrannical and not even free from the murder of his fellow citizens, listen to an ambitious exploit of his and balance it against the rewards of valour he received in the wars. And as many of you plebeians as were just now affected with the compassion which this man endeavoured to arouse, consider whether it is after all well for you to spare such a citizen."

[7.1] Having spoken thus, he asked Marcus Volscius, one of his colleagues, to rise up and tell what he knew about the youth. When all had become silent and full of expectation, Volscius, after a short pause, said: [2] "I should have preferred, citizens, to receive from this man private satisfaction, such as the law affords me, for the terrible and worse than terrible wrongs I have suffered; but having been prevented from obtaining this by reason of poverty and lack of influence and because of my being one of the common crowd, now, when it is possible, I shall take the rôle of a witness, since I can not take that of an accuser. Hear from me, then, the things I have suffered, how cruel, how irreparable they were. [3] I had a brother, Lucius, whom I loved above all men. He and I supped with a friend and afterwards, as night came on, we rose and departed. When we had passed through the Forum, Caeso here fell in with us as he was revelling with other insolent youths. At first they laughed at us and abused us, as young men when drunk and arrogant are apt to abuse the

humble and poor; and when we were vexed at them, Lucius spoke out frankly to this man. But Caeso here, thinking it outrageous to have anything said to him that he did not like, ran up to him, and beating and kicking him and showing every other form of cruelty and abuse, killed him. [4] And when I cried out and was doing all I could to defend him, Caeso, leaving my brother Lucius where he already lay dead, fell to beating me in turn, and ceased not until he saw me cast down upon the ground motionless and speechless, so that he took me to be dead. After that he went away rejoicing, as if over a noble deed. As for us, some persons who came along later took us up, covered with blood, and carried us home, my brother being dead, as I said, and I half dead and having little hope of living. [5] This happened in the consulship of Publius Servilius and Lucius Aebutius, when the city was attacked by the great pestilence, which both of us caught. At that time, therefore, it was not possible for me to obtain justice against him, since both consuls were dead; then, when Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius had succeeded to the office, I wished to bring him to trial, but was prevented by the war, both consuls having left the city. [6] After they returned from the campaign, I often cited him to appear before those magistrates, but as often as I approached them — as many of the citizens know — I received blows from him. These are the things I have suffered, plebeians, and I have related them to you with complete truthfulness.”

[8.1] After he had finished speaking, an outcry arose from those who were present and many rushed to take vengeance out of hand; but they were prevented both by the consuls and also by the majority of the tribunes, who were unwilling to introduce a pernicious custom into the commonwealth. Indeed, the most honourable element among the plebeians too was unwilling to deprive of a defence those who were in jeopardy of their lives. [2] Upon this occasion, therefore, a regard for justice restrained the impulse of the bolder spirits, and the trial was put off; though no small contest and questioning arose concerning the defendant’s person, whether he should be kept in chains in the meantime or should give sureties for his appearance, as his father required. The senate, assembling, ordered that if bail were offered his person should be free till the trial. [3] The next day the tribunes assembled the populace and, the youth not appearing for trial, they caused a vote to be passed for his condemnation and compelled his sureties, ten in number, to pay over the sums agreed upon in case of their failure to produce his person. [4] Caeso, accordingly, having fallen a victim to a plot of this sort — for the tribunes had contrived the whole business and Volscius had borne false witness, as became clear later — went into exile in Tyrrhenia. His father sold the greater part of his estate and repaid the sureties the sums agreed upon, leaving nothing for himself but one small farm lying on the other side of the river Tiber, on which there was an humble cottage; and there, cultivating the farm with the help of a few slaves, he led a laborious and miserable life because of his grief and poverty, neither visiting the city nor greeting his friends nor taking part in the

festivals nor allowing himself any other pleasure. [5] The tribunes, however, were greatly disappointed in their expectations; for the contentiousness of the young men, far from being chastened by the unhappy fate of Caeso, grew much more vexatious and excessive as they fought the law with both actions and words. The result was that the tribunes were unable to accomplish anything more, the whole time of their magistracy being taken up with these contests. The populace, however, chose them again as their magistrates for the following year.

[9] When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Claudius Sabinus had assumed the consular power, a danger greater than ever before came upon Rome from a foreign war; and it was brought upon her by the civil dissension inside the walls, as both the Sibylline oracles and the portents sent by Heaven had foretold the year before. I shall relate not only the cause from which the war arose, but also the action taken by the consuls during that contest. [2] The men who had assumed tribuneship for the second time in the hope of securing the ratification of the law, observing that one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, had an inborn hatred of the plebeians, inherited from his ancestors, and was prepared to defeat the plans afoot by every possible means, that the most influential of the youths had reached the point of open desperation, with no possibility of their being subdued by forcible means, and above all, that most of the populace were yielding to the blandishments of the patricians and no longer exhibiting the same zeal for the law, resolved to take a bolder course toward their goal, by which they expected to dumbfound the populace and unseat the consul. [3] First, then, they caused all manner of rumours to be spread throughout the city; afterwards they sat in council publicly throughout the whole day from early morning without admitting any outsiders to their counsels and discussions. Then, when it seemed to them to be the proper time for putting their plans into execution, they forged letters and contrived to have these delivered to them by an unknown person as they sat in the Forum; and as soon as they had perused them, they sprang up, beating their foreheads and assuming downcast countenances. [4] And when a large crowd had flocked together and was conjecturing that some dreadful intelligence was contained in the letters, they ordered the heralds to proclaim silence and then said: "Your plebeians are in the gravest peril, citizens; and if some benevolence of the gods had not provided for those who were on the point of suffering injustice, we should all have fallen into dire calamities. We ask you to have a little patience till we acquaint the senate with the information we have received and after consulting with them take the necessary measures." [5] Having spoken this, they went to the consuls. While the senate was assembling, many reports of all kinds circulated in the Forum, as some persons, by previous arrangement, talking in groups, retailed the stories suggested to them by the tribunes, and others named the things they most dreaded to have happen as the matters that had been reported to the tribunes. [6] One said that the Aequians and the Volscians, having received Caeso

Quintius, the man condemned by the populace, had chosen him general of both nations with absolute power, had raised numerous forces, and were upon the point of marching on Rome; another said that by the concerted plan of the patricians he was being brought back by foreign troops in order that the magistracy which was the guardian of the plebeians might be abolished now and forever; and still another said that not all the patricians had decided on this course, but only the young men. [7] Some ventured to state that Caeso was actually inside the city, in hiding, and was about to seize the most advantageous positions. While the whole city was shaken by expectation of these calamities and all men suspected and were on their guard against one another, the consuls assembled the senate, and the tribunes, going in, acquainted them with the reports that were being received. The one who addressed them on behalf of the others was Aulus Verginius, and he spoke as follows:

[10.1] “As long as there seemed to us to be nothing definite about the dangers that were being reported, but there were only vague rumours and nothing to confirm them, we were reluctant, senators, to lay before you the reports about them, both because we suspected there would be great disturbances, as would be likely in a time of dreadful rumours, and also because we were afraid of appearing to you to have acted with greater precipitancy than prudence. [2] We did not, however, ignore or neglect these reports, but inquired with all possible diligence into the truth of them. And since the divine providence, by which our commonwealth is ever preserved, is rightly bringing to light the hidden plans and wicked attempts of those who are enemies to the gods; since we have letters, just now received from foreign friends, who thus show their goodwill to us and whose names you shall later hear; since information given here at home coincides and agrees with the reports sent in from outside; and since these matters no longer admit of delay or postponement, being at our very doors, we have decided to report them to you, as is proper, before laying them before the populace. [3] Know, then, that a conspiracy has been formed against the populace by men of prominence, among whom, it is said, there is a small number — not many — even of the older men who meet in this chamber, though the larger number are knights who are not members of the senate, whose names it is not yet the time to tell you. [4] They intend, now, as we learn, to take advantage of a dark night and attack us while we are asleep, when we can neither provide against anything that is taking place nor get together in a body to defend ourselves, and, rushing into our houses, to cut the throats, not only of us tribunes, but of all the other plebeians also who have ever opposed them in defence of their liberty or may oppose them for the future. [5] And after they have made away with us, they believe that then at last they will easily bring about the abrogation, by a unanimous vote on your part, of the compacts you made with the populace. But perceiving that they need for their purpose a body of foreign troops secretly got in readiness — and that no moderate force — they have to this end adopted as their leader one of your

exiles, Caeso Quintius, a man whom, though convicted of the murder of his fellow citizens and of raising a sedition in the state, some of the members of this body contrived to save from paying the penalty, letting him go out of the city unharmed, and have promised to restore him to his country and are offering him magistracies and honours and other rewards for his help. [6] And he on his part has promised to bring to their assistance as large a force of the Aequians and Volscians as they shall ask for. He himself will soon appear at the head of the most daring, whom he will introduce into the city secretly, a few at a time and in small bodies; the rest of the force, as soon as we who are the leaders of the populace are destroyed, will fall next upon the rest of the poor, if any of them cling to their liberty. [7] These are the dreadful and wicked plans, senators, which they have concocted under cover of darkness and intend to carry out without either fearing the anger of the gods or heeding the indignation of men.

[11.1] “Being tossed about on such a rough sea of perils, fathers, we come to you as suppliants, calling to witness the gods and lesser divinities to whom we sacrifice in common; and reminding you of the many great wars we have waged side by side with you, we implore you not to allow us to suffer this cruel and wicked fate at the hands of our enemies, but to assist us and share our indignation, joining with us in exacting suitable punishment from those who have formed these designs — from all of them preferably, but if that may not be, then at least from the authors of this nefarious conspiracy. [2] First of all we ask, senators, that you will pass a measure that is in every respect just, to the effect that the investigation of the matters of which we have been informed shall be conducted by us, the tribunes. For, apart from the justice of this request, those investigations are bound to be strictest which are made by those whose own lives soldier in danger. [3] If there are any among you who are not disposed to show a conciliatory spirit at all, but oppose every man who speaks in favour of the populace, I should like to inquire of them what there is in our demands that displeases them and what course they intend to recommend to you. Will it be to make no investigation whatever, but to ignore so awful and abominable a plot that is forming against the populace? Yet who would say that those who take that line are honest, and are not rather tainted with the same corruption and sharers in the conspiracy, and then, because they are afraid they will be discovered, vigorously oppose the inquiry into the truth? To such, surely, you would not rightly pay any heed. [4] Or will they demand that those who are to have authority to determine the truth of these reports shall be, not we, the tribunes, but the senate and the consuls? What, then, is to prevent the leaders of the populace also from saying the same thing in case some plebeians, conspiring against the consuls and the senate, should plot the abolition of the latter — that, namely, the investigation of the plebeians would justly be made by the very men who have assumed the protection of the populace? What, then, will be the consequence of this procedure? Why, that no inquiry will ever be made into any secret matter. [5]

But, just as we would never make this demand — for partisan zeal arouses suspicion — so you would not be doing right in paying heed to those who insist upon the same course against us; on the contrary, you should look upon them as the common enemies of the state. However, senators, nothing is so necessary in the present juncture as haste; for the danger is acute, and delay in providing for our security is unseasonable in the presence of dangers that delay not. Do you, therefore, putting aside your rivalry and your long harangues, pass at once whatever decree seems conducive to the public good.”

[12.1] When he had thus spoken, great consternation and embarrassment came upon the senate. They discussed and talked over with one another the difficulty of either course — either to grant or to refuse the tribunes permission to make investigations by themselves of a matter of general concern and great importance. And one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, suspecting their intentions, rose up and spoke as follows:

[2] “I am not afraid, Verginius, that these men here will imagine that I am an accomplice in the conspiracy which you say is being formed against you and the populace, and that then, out of fear for myself or for some relation of mine who is guilty of this charge, I have risen to oppose you; for the whole course of my life clears me of any suspicion of the sort. But what I consider to be advantageous for both the senate and the people I will say in all good faith and without reservation. [3] Verginius seems to me to be greatly, or rather totally, mistaken if he imagines that any of us will share either that a matter of so great importance and necessity ought to be left uninvestigated or that the magistrates of the populace ought not to take part in or be present at the inquiry. No man is so foolish or so ill-disposed toward the populace as to say that. [4] If, then, anyone should ask me what possessed me to rise up to oppose those measures which I agree to and admit to be just, and what my purpose is in speaking, by Heaven I will tell you. I believe, senators, that sensible men ought to examine minutely the beginnings and basic principles of every measure; for of whatever nature these may be, such also must be all discussion about them. [5] Well then, learn from me what the basic principle of this measure is and what the purpose of the tribunes is. These men would not be able to carry out now any of the undertakings they were prevented from accomplishing last year if both you were to oppose them as before and the populace were no longer to espouse their quarrel with the same zeal. Since they were aware of these difficulties, they considered by what means not only you might be compelled to yield to them contrary to your judgement, but the populace also might be forced to assist them in everything they should desire. [6] But finding no true or just basis for gaining both these ends, after trying various plans and turning the matter this way and that, they at last hit upon some such reasoning as this: ‘Let us accuse some prominent men of a conspiracy to overthrow the power of the populace and of having decided to cut the throats of those who assure the safety of the populace.’ [7] And after we have contrived to have these reports talked about for a long time throughout

the city and when the multitude at last believe them to be trustworthy — and they will do so because of their fear — let us devise a way to have letters delivered to us in the presence of many by an unknown person. Then let us go to the senate, express our indignation, make angry complaints and demand authority to investigate the reports. [8] For if the patricians oppose our demand, we will seize this opportunity to malign them before the populace, and by this means the whole body of the plebeians will become enraged against them and will be ready to support us in everything we desire; and, on the other hand, if they grant it, let us banish those of them who are of the most noble birth and have opposed us the most, both older men and young, as persons we have discovered to be guilty of the charge. [9] These men, then, in their fear of being condemned, will either come to terms with us to make no further opposition or else will be compelled to leave the city. By this means we shall thoroughly devastate the opposition.'

[13.1] "These were their plans, senators, and during the time you saw them holding sessions this plot was being spun by them against the best of your members and this net was being woven against the noblest of the knights. To prove that this is true requires very few words on my part. [2] For come, tell me, Verginius and you others who are to suffer these dreadful evils, who are the foreign friends from whom you received the letters? Where do they live? How did they become acquainted with you? Or by what means do they know what is being discussed here? Who do you defer naming these man and keep promising to do it later on, instead of having named them long since? And who is the man who brought the letters to you? Why do you not bring him before us, that we may begin first of all with him to pursue the inquiry whether these reports are true or, as I maintain, your own fictions? [3] And the informations that come from persons here, which you say agree with the foreign letters, what are they and by whom given? Why do you conceal the proofs and not ring them to light? But I suspect it is impossible to find proof of such things as neither have happened nor will happen. [4] These are indications, senators, not of a conspiracy against the tribunes here, but of treachery and an evil purpose against you which these men have been secretly cherishing. For the facts themselves cry aloud. But you senators are to blame for this, since you made the first concessions to them and armed their senseless magistracy with great power when you permitted Caeso Quintius to be tried by them last year on false charges and permitted so great a defender of the aristocracy to be destroyed by them. [5] For this reason they no longer show any moderation nor do they lop off the men of birth one by one, but are already rounding up the good men *en masse* and expelling them from the city. And, in addition to all the other evils, they demand that no one of you even speak in opposition to them, but by exposing him to suspicions and accusations as an accomplice in those secret plots they try to terrify him and promptly call him an enemy of the populace and cite him to appear before their assembly to stand trial for what he has said here. [6] But another occasion

will be more suitable for discussing this matter. For the present I will curtail my remarks and will cease running on at greater length, merely advising you to guard against these men as disturbers of the commonwealth and as publishing the germs of great evils. And not here alone do I say these things, while intending to conceal them from the populace; on the contrary, I shall there also employ a frankness that is merited, showing them that no mischief hangs over their heads unless it be wicked and deceitful leaders who under the guise of friendship are doing the deeds of enemies.”

[7] When the consul had thus spoken, there was shouting and much applause by all present; and without even permitting the tribunes to reply, they dismissed the session. Then Verginius, calling an assembly of the populace, inveighed against both the senate and the consuls, and Claudius defended them, repeating the same things he had said in the senate. The more fair-minded among the plebeians suspected that their fear was unwarranted, while the more simple-minded, giving credence to the reports, thought it real; but all among them who were ill-disposed and were forever craving a change did not have the foresight to examine into the truth or falsehood of the reports, but sought an occasion for sedition and tumult.

[14.1] While the city was in such turmoil, a man of the Sabine race, of no obscure birth and powerful because of his wealth, Appius Herdonius by name, attempted to overthrow the supremacy of the Romans, with a view either of making himself tyrant or of winning dominion and power for the Sabine nation or else of gaining against name for himself. Having revealed his purpose to many of his friends and explained to them his plan for executing it, and having received their approval, he assembled his clients and the most daring of his servants and in a short time got together a force of about four thousand men. Then, after supplying them with arms, provisions and everything else that is needed for war, he embarked them on river-boats and, [2] sailing down the river Tiber, landed at that part of Rome where the Capitol stands, not a full stade distant from the river. It was then midnight and there was profound quiet throughout the entire city; with this to help him he disembarked his men in haste, and passing through the gate which was open (for there is a certain sacred gate of the Capitol, called the porta Carmentalis, which by the direction of some oracle is always left open), he ascended the hill with his troops and captured the fortress. [3] From there he pushed on to the citadel, which adjoins the Capitol, and took possession of that also. It was his intention, after seizing the most advantageous positions, to receive the exiles, to summon the slaves to liberty, to promise the needy an abolition of debts, and to share the spoils with any other citizens who, being themselves of low condition, envied and hated those of lofty station and would have welcomed a change. The hope that both inspired him with confidence and deceived him, by leading him to believe that he should fail of none of his expectations, was based on the civil dissension, because of which he imagined that neither any friendship nor any intercourse would any longer exist

between the populace and the patricians. [4] And if none of these expectations should turn out according to his wish, he had resolved in that event to call in not only the Sabines with all their forces, but also the volsicians and as many from the other neighbouring peoples as desired to be delivered from the hated domination of the Romans.

[15.1] It so happened, however, that all his hopes were disappointed; for neither the slaves deserted to him nor did the exiles return nor did the unfranchised and the debtors seek their private advantage at the expense of the public good, and the reinforcements from outside did not have time enough to prepare for war, since within three or four days all told the affair was at an end, after causing the Romans great fear and turmoil. [2] For upon the capture of the fortresses, followed by a sudden outcry and flight of all those living near those places — save those who were slain at once — the mass of the citizens, not knowing what the peril was, seized their arms and rushed together, some hastening to the heights of the city, others to the open places, which were very numerous, and still others to the plains near by. Those who were past the prime of life and were incapacitated in bodily strength occupied the roofs of the houses together with the women, thinking to fight from there against the invaders; for they imagined that every part of the city was full of fighting. [3] But when it was day and it came to be known what fortresses of the city were taken and who the person was who had possession of them, the consuls, going into the Forum, called the citizens to arms. The tribunes, however, summoned the populace to an assembly and declared that, while they did not care to do anything opposed to the advantage of the commonwealth, they thought it just, when the populace were going to undertake so great a struggle, that they should go and meet the danger upon fixed and definite terms. [4] “If, therefore,” they went on to say, “the patricians will promise you, and are willing to give pledges, confirmed by oaths, that as soon as this war is over they will allow you to appoint lawgivers and for the future to enjoy equal rights in the government, let us assist them in freeing the fatherland. But if they consent to no reasonable conditions, why do we incur danger and give up our lives for them, when we are to reap no advantage?” [5] While they were speaking thus and the people were persuaded and would not listen to even a word from those who offered any other advice, Claudius declared that he had no use for such allies, who were not willing to come to the aid of the fatherland voluntarily, but only for a reward, and that no moderate one; but the patricians by themselves, he said, taking up arms in their own persons and in the persons of the clients who adhered to them, joined also by any of the plebeians who would voluntarily assist them in the war, must with these besiege the fortresses. And if even so their force should seem to them inadequate, they must call on the Latins and the Hernicans, and, if necessary, must promise liberty to the slaves and invite all sorts of people rather than those who harboured a grudge against them in times like these. [6] But the other consul, Valerius, opposed this, believing that they ought not to

render the plebeians, who were already exasperated, absolutely implacable against the patricians; and he advised them to yield to the situation, and while arraying against their foreign foes the demands of strict justice, to combat the long-winded discourses of their fellow citizens with terms of moderation and reasonableness. [7] When the majority of the senators decided that this advice was the best, he appeared before the popular assembly and made a decorous speech, at the end of which he swore that if the people would assist in this war with alacrity and conditions in the city should become settled, he would permit the tribunes to lay before the populace for decision the law which they were trying to introduce concerning an equality of laws, and would use his utmost endeavours that their vote should be carried into effect during his consulship. But it was fated, it seems, that he should perform none of these promises, the doom of death being near at hand for him.

[16.1] After the assembly had been dismissed in the late afternoon, they all flocked to their appointed places, giving in their names to the generals and taking the military oath. During that day, then, and all the following night they were thus employed. The next day the centurions were assigned by the consuls to their commands and to the sacred standards; and the crowd which lived in the country also in great numbers flocked in. [2] Everything being soon made ready, the consuls divided the forces and drew lots for their commands. It fell to the lot of Claudius to keep guard before the walls, lest some army from outside should come to the relief of the enemy in the city; for everybody suspected that there would be very serious turmoil, and they feared that all their foes would fall upon them at the same time with united forces. To Valerius Fortune assigned the siege of the fortresses. [3] Commanders were appointed to occupy the other strong places also that lay within the city, and others were posted in the streets leading to the Capitol, to prevent the slaves and the poor from going over to the enemy — the thing of which they were most afraid. No assistance reached them in time from any of their allies save only from the Tusculans, who, the same night they heard of the invasion, had made ready to march, their commander being Lucius Mamilius, a man of action, who held the chief magistracy in their city at that time. These alone shared the danger with Valerius and aided him in capturing the fortresses, displaying all goodwill and alacrity. [4] The fortresses were attacked from all sides; some of the attackers, fitting vessels of bitumen and burning pitch to their slings, hurled them over the hills from the roofs of neighbouring houses, and others, gathering bundles of dry faggots, raised lofty heaps of them against the steep parts of the cliff and set them on fire when they could commit the flames to a favourable wind. All the bravest of the troops, closing their ranks, went up by the roads that had been built to the summits. [5] But neither their numbers, in which they were greatly superior to the enemy, were of any service to them when they were ascending by a narrow road, full of broken fragments of rock the came crashing down upon them from above, where a small body of men would be a match for a large one; nor was their

constancy in dangers, which they had acquired by their training in many wars, of any advantage to them when forcing their way up steep heights. For it was not a situation that called for the display of the daring and perseverance of hand-to-hand fighting, but rather for the tactics of fighting with missiles. [6] Moreover, the blows made by missiles shot from below up to lofty targets were slow on arrival and ineffective, naturally, even if they hit their mark, while the blows of missiles hurled down from above came with high speed and violence, the very weight of the weapons contributing to the force with which they were thrown. Nevertheless, the men attacking the ramparts were not easily discouraged, but bravely endured the hard rations of unavoidable dangers, ceasing not from their toils either by day or by night. At last, when the missiles of the besieged gave out and their strength failed them, the Romans reduced the fortresses on the third day. [7] In this action they lost many brave men, among them the consul, who was universally acknowledged to have been the best of them all; he, even after he had received many wounds, did not retire from danger until a huge rock, crashing down upon him as he was mounting the other wall, snatched from him at once the victory and himself life. As the fortresses were being taken, Herdonius, who was remarkable for his physical strength and brave in action, after piling up an incredible heap of dead bodies about him, perished under a multitude of missiles. Of those who had aided him in seizing the fortresses some few were taken alive, but the greater part either killed themselves with their swords or hurled themselves down the cliffs.

[17.1] The war with the brigands being thus ended, the tribunes rekindled the civil strife once more by demanding of the surviving consul the fulfilment of the promises made to them by Valerius, who perished in the fighting, with regard to the introduction of the law. But Claudius for a time kept procrastinating, now by performing lustrations for the city, now by offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, and again by entertaining the multitude with games and shows. [2] When all his excuses had been exhausted, he finally declared that another consul must be chosen in place of the deceased; for he said that the acts performed by him all would be neither legal nor lasting, whereas those performed by two of them would be legitimate and valid. Having put them off with this pretence, he appointed a day for the election, when he would nominate his colleague. In the meantime the leading men of the senate, consulting together in private, agreed among themselves upon the person to whom they would entrust the magistracy. [3] And when the day appointed for the election had come and the herald had called the first class, the eighteen centuries of knights together with the eighty centuries of foot, consisting of the wealthiest citizens, entering the appointed place, chose as consul Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, whose son Caeso Quintus the tribunes had brought to trial for his life and compelled to leave the city. And no other class being called to vote — for the centuries which had voted were three more in be than the remaining centuries — the populace departed, regarding it

as a grievous misfortune that a man who hated them was to be possessed of the consular power. Meanwhile the senate sent men to invite the consul and to conduct him to the city to assume his magistracy. [4] It chanced that Quintius was just then ploughing a piece of land for sowing, he himself following the gaunt oxen that were breaking up the fallow; he had no tunic on, wore a small loin-cloth and had a cap upon his head. Upon seeing a crowd of people come into the field he stopped his plough and for a long time was at a loss to know who they were or what they wanted of him; then, when some one ran up to him and bade him make himself more presentable, he went into the cottage and after putting on his clothes came out to them. [5] Thereupon the men who were sent to escort him all greeted him, not by his name, but as consul; and clothing him with the purple-bordered robe and placing before him the axes and the other insignia of his magistracy, they asked him to follow them to the city. And he, pausing for a moment and shedding tears, said only this: "So my field will go unsown this year, and we shall be in danger of having not enough to live on." Then he kissed his wife, and charging her to take care of things at home, went to the city. [6] I am led to related these particulars for no other reason than to let all the world see what kind of men the leaders of Rome were at that time, that they worked with their own hands, led frugal lives, did not chafe under honourable poverty, and, far from aiming at positions of royal power, actually refused them when offered. For it will be seen that the Romans of to-day do not bear the least resemblance to them, but follow the very opposite practices in everything — with the exception of a very few by whom the dignity of the commonwealth is still maintained and a resemblance to those men preserved. But enough on this subject.

[18.1] Quintius, having succeeded to the consulship, caused the tribunes to desist from their new measures and from their insistence upon the proposed law by announcing that if they did not cease disturbing the commonwealth he would give notice of an expedition against the Volscians and would lead all the Romans out of the city. [2] When the tribunes said they would not permit him to enrol an army, he called an assembly of the populace and declared that since they had all taken the military oath, swearing that they would follow the consuls in any wars to which they should be called and would neither desert the standards nor do anything else contrary to law, and since he had assumed the consular power, he held them all bound to him by their oaths. [3] Having said this and sworn that he would invoke the law against those who disobeyed, he ordered the standards to be brought out of the temples. "And to the end," he added, "that you may renounce all agitation by demagogues during my consulship, I will not withdraw the army from the enemy's country until my whole term of office has expired. Expect therefore, to pass the winter in the field and prepare everything necessary against that time." [4] Having terrified them with these threats, when he saw that they had become more orderly and begged to be let off from the campaign, he said he would grant them a respite from war upon these conditions, that they create no more

disturbances but allow him to administer his office as he wished to the end, and that in their dealings with one another they give as well as receive strict justice.

[19.1] The tumult having been appeased, he restored of all plaintiffs recourse to courts of law, a matter for a long time delayed; and he himself decided most suits, with fairness and justice, sitting on the tribunal the whole day and showing himself easy of access, mild and humane to all who came to him for judgement. By this means he made the government seem so truly an aristocracy that neither tribunes were needed by those who through poverty, humble birth or any other point of inferiority were oppressed by their superiors, nor was any desire for new legislation longer felt by those who wished for a government based on equal rights; but all were contented and pleased with the law and order which then came to prevail in the commonwealth. [2] Not only for these actions was Quintius praised by the populace, but also for refusing the consulship when, upon his completion of the appointed term of office, it was offered to him a second time, and for not even being pleased when that great honour was tendered him. [3] For the senate attempted to retain him in the consulship, using many entreaties, because the tribunes for the third time had so managed that they did not have to lay down their office; for they were confident that he would oppose the tribunes and make them drop their new measures, partly out of respect and partly out of fear, and they also saw that the populace did not refuse to be governed by a good man. [4] But Quintius answered that he not only did not approve of this unwillingness on the part of the tribunes to give up their power, but he would not himself incur the same censure as they had. Then he called an assembly of the populace, and having inveighed in a long speech against those who would not resign their magistracies, and taken solemn oaths with reference to his refusal to take the consulship again before he had retired from his first term, he announced a day for the election; then on the appointed day having named the consuls, he returned to that little cottage of his and lived, as before, the life of a farmer working his own land.

[20.1] Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the third time) and Lucius Cornelius having succeeded to the consulship and being employed in exhibiting the traditional games, a chosen body of the Aequians, amounting to about six thousand men and lightly equipped, set out from their confines by night and came, while it was still dark, to the city of Tusculum, which belongs to the Latin race and is not less than a hundred stades distant from Rome. [2] And finding the gates not locked and the walls unguarded, it being a time of peace, they took the town by assault, to gratify their resentment against the Tusculans because these were always zealously assisting the Romans and particularly because they alone had aided them in their struggle when they were besieging the Capitol. [3] The Aequians did not kill very many men in taking the city, since those inside, except such as were unable to flee because of illness or age, had forestalled them by crowding out three other gates just

before the capture of the place; but they made slaves of their wives, children and domestics, and plundered their effects. [4] As soon as news of the disaster was brought to Rome by those who had escaped capture, the consuls thought they ought to assist the fugitives promptly and restore their city to them; but the tribunes opposed them and would not permit an army to be enrolled until a votes should be taken concerning the law. While the senators were expressing their indignation and the expedition was being delayed, other messengers arrived, from the Latin nation, reporting that Antium had openly revolted by the joint action of the Volscians, who were the original inhabitants of the place, and of the Romans who had come to them as colonists and had received a portion of the land. Messengers from the Hernicans also arrived during these same days, informing them that a large force of Volscians and Aequians had marched forth and was already in the country of the Hernicans. [5] All these things being reported at the same time, the senators resolved to make no further delay, but to go to the rescue with all their forces, and that both consuls should take the field; and if any of the Romans or the allies should decline to serve, to treat them as enemies. [6] When the tribunes also yielded, the consuls, having enrolled all who were of military age and sent for the forces of the allies, hastily marched out, leaving a third part of their own army to guard the city. Fabius, accordingly, marched in haste against the Aequians who were in the Tusculans' territory. [7] Most of these had already left the city after plundering it, but a few remained to guard the citadel, which is very strong and does not require a large garrison. Some state that the garrison of the citadel, seeing the army marching from Rome — for all the region lying between may be easily seen from a height — came out of their own accord; others say that after being reduced by Fabius to the necessity of surrendering they handed over the fortress by capitulation, stipulating that their lives should be spared and submitting to pass under the yoke.

[21.1] After Fabius had restored the city to the Tusculans, he broke camp in the late afternoon and marched with all possible speed against the enemy, upon hearing that the combined forces of the Volscians and the Aequians lay near the town of Algidum. And having made a forced march all that night, he appeared before the enemy at early dawn, as they lay encamped in a plain without either a ditch or a palisade to defend them, inasmuch as they were in their own country and were contemptuous of their foe. [2] Then, exhorting his troops to acquit themselves as brave men should, he was the first to charge into the enemy's camp at the head of the horse, and the foot, uttering their war-cry, followed. Some of the enemy were slain while they were still asleep and others just as they had got up and were attempting to defend themselves; but most of them scattered in flight. [3] The camp having been taken with great ease, Fabius permitted the soldiers to keep for themselves the booty and the prisoners, except those who were Tusculans. Then, after a short stay there, he led them to Ecetra, which was at that time the most prominent city of the Volscian nation and the most strongly situated. [4] When he had encamped

near this city for many days in hopes that those inside would come out to fight, and no army issued forth, he laid waste their land, which was full of men and cattle; for the Volscians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack upon them, had not had time to remove their possessions out of the fields. These things also Fabius permitted his soldiers to plunder; and after spending many days in ravaging the country, he led the army home.

[5] The other consul, Cornelius, marching against the Romans and Volscians in Antium, found an army awaiting him before their borders; and arraying his forces against them, he killed many, and after putting the rest to flight, encamped near the city. But when the inhabitants no longer ventured to come out for battle, he first laid waste to their land and then surrounded the city with a ditch and palisades. Then indeed the enemy were compelled to come out again from the city with all their forces, a numerous and disorderly multitude; and engaging in battle and fighting with less bravery than before, they were shut up inside the city a second time, after a shameful and unmanly flight. [6] But the consul, giving them no long any rest, planted scaling-ladders against the walls and broke down the gates with battering-rams; then, as the besieged with difficulty and painfully tried to fight them off, he with little trouble took the town by storm. He ordered that such of their effects as consisted of gold, silver and copper should be turned in to the treasury, and that the slaves and the rest of the spoils should be taken over and sold by the quaestors; but to the soldiers he granted the apparel and provisions and everything else of the sort that they could use for booty. [7] Then, selecting both from the colonists and from the original inhabitants of Antium those who were the most prominent and had been the authors of the revolt — and there were many of these — he ordered them to be scourged with rods for a long time and then beheaded. [8] After accomplishing these things he too led his army home. The senate went to meet these consuls as they approached the city and decreed that they both should celebrate a triumph. And when the Aequians sent heralds to sue for peace, they concluded with them a treaty for the termination of the war, in which it was stipulated that the Aequians should retain the cities and land which they possessed at the time of the treaty and be subject to the Romans without paying any tribute, but sending to their assistance in time of war a certain number of troops, like the rest of the allies. Thus ended that year.

[22.1] The following year Gaius Nautius (chosen for the second time) and Lucius Minucius succeeded to the consulship, and were for a time waging a war inside the walls, concerning the rights of citizens, against Verginius and the other tribunes, who had obtained the same magistracy now for the fourth year. [2] But when war was brought upon the commonwealth by the neighbouring peoples and there was fear that they might be deprived of their empire, the consuls gladly accepted the opportunity presented to them by Fortune; and having held the military levy, and divided both their own forces and those of the allies into three bodies, they left one of them in the city,

commanded by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, and themselves taking the other two, they marched out in haste, Nautius against the Sabines and Minucius against the Aequians. [3] For both these nations had revolted from the Roman rule at the same time. The Sabines had done so openly, and had advanced as far as Fidenae, which was in the possession of the Romans; the two cities are forty stades apart. As for the Aequians, though nominally they were observing the terms of the alliance they had recently made, in reality they too were acting like enemies; [4] for they had made war upon the Latins, the allies of the Romans, claiming that they had made no compact of friendship with that nation. Their army was commanded by Cloelius Gracchus, a man of action who had been invested with absolute authority, which he increased to more nearly royal power. This leader, marching as far as the city of Tusculum, which the Aequians had taken and plundered the year before, only to be driven out of it by the Romans, seized a great number of men and all the cattle he found in the fields, and destroyed the crops, which were then ripe. [5] When an embassy arrived, sent by the Roman senate, which demanded to know what provocation had induced the Aequians to make war upon the allies of the Romans, though they had recently sworn to a treaty of peace with them and no cause of offence had since arisen between the two nations, and the envoys advised Cloelius to release the Tusculan prisoners whom he held, to withdraw his forces and to stand trial for the injuries and damage he had done to the Tusculans, he delayed a long time without even giving audience to them, pretending that he was occupied with some business or other. [6] And when he did see fit to have them introduced and they had delivered the senate's message, he said: "I wonder at you, Romans, why in the world, when you yourselves regard all men as enemies, even those from whom you have received no injury, because of your lust for dominion and tyranny, you do not concede to the Aequians the right to take vengeance on these Tusculans here, who are our enemies, inasmuch as we made no agreement with regard to them at the time we concluded the treaty with you. [7] Now if you claim that any interest of your own is suffering injustice or injury at our hands, we will afford you proper indemnity in accordance with the treaty; but if you have come to exact satisfaction on behalf of the Tusculans, you have no reckoning with me on that subject, but go talk to yonder oak" — pointing to one that grew near by.

[23.1] The Romans, though thus insulted by the man, did not immediately give way to their resentment and lead their army forth, but sent a second embassy to him and likewise the priests called *fetiales*, calling the gods and lesser divinities to witness that if they were unable to obtain satisfaction they should be obliged to wage a holy war; and after that they sent out the consul. [2] When Gracchus learned that the Romans were approaching, he broke camp and retired with his forces to a greater distance, the enemy following close at his heels. His purpose was to lead them on into a region where he would have an advantage over them; and that is what in fact happened. For waiting until

he found a valley surrounded by hills, he then, as soon as the Romans had entered it in pursuit of him, faced about and encamped astride the road that led out of the valley. [3] As a consequence the Romans were unable to choose for their camp the place they preferred, but had to take the one the situation offered, where it was not easy either to get forage for the horses, the place being surrounded by hills that were bare and difficult of access, or to bring in provisions for themselves out of the enemy's country, since what they had brought from home had been consumed, nor yet easy to shift their camp while the enemy lay before them and blocked the exits. Choosing, therefore, to force their way out, they engaged in battle and were repulsed, and after receiving many wounds were shut up again in the same camp. Cloelius, elated by this success, began to surround the place with a ditch and palisades and had great hopes of forcing them by famine to deliver up their arms to him. [4] The news of this disaster being brought to Rome, Quintus Fabius, who had been left as prefect in charge of the city, chose out of his own army a body of the fittest and strongest men and sent them to the assistance of the consul; they were commanded by Titus Quintius, who was quaestor and an ex-consul. [5] And sending a letter to Nautius, the other consul, who commanded the army in the country of the Sabines, he informed him of what had happened to Minucius and asked him to come in haste. Nautius committed the guarding of the camp to the legates and he himself with a small squadron of cavalry made a forced ride to Rome; and arriving in the city while it was still deep night, he took counsel with Fabius and the oldest of the other citizens concerning the measures that should be taken. When all were of the opinion that the situation required a dictator, he named Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus to that magistracy. Then, having attended to this business, he himself returned to the camp.

[24.1] Fabius, the prefect of the city, sent men to invite Quintius to come and assume his magistracy. It chanced that Quintius was on this occasion also engaged in some work of husbandry; and seeing the approaching throng and suspecting that they were coming after him, he put on more becoming apparel and went to meet them. [2] When he drew near, they brought to him horses decked with magnificent trappings, placed beside him twenty-four axes with the rods and presented to him the purple robe and the other insignia with which aforetime the kingly office had been adorned. Quintius, when he learned that he had been appointed dictator, far from being pleased at receiving so great an honour, was actually vexed, and said: "This year's crop too will be ruined, then, because of my official duties, and we shall all go dreadfully hungry." [3] After that he went into the city and first encouraged the citizens by delivering a speech before the populace calculated to raise their spirits with good hopes; then, after assembling all the men in their prime, both of the city and of the country, and sending for the forces of the allies, he appointed as his Master of Horse Lucius Tarquinius, a man who because of his poverty had been overlooked, but valiant in war. After which he led out his forces, now that he had them assembled, and joined Titus Quintius, the

quaestor, who was awaiting his arrival; and taking with him Quintius' forces also, he led them against the enemy. [4] After observing the nature of the places in which the camps lay, he posted a part of his army on the heights, in order that neither another relief force nor any provisions might reach the Aequians, and he himself marched forward with the remainder arrayed as for battle. Cloelius, unmoved by fear — for the force he had was no small one and he himself was looked upon as no craven in spirit when it came to fighting — awaited his attack, and a severe battle ensued. [5] After this had continued for a long time, and the Romans because of their continuous wars endured the toil, and the horse kept relieving the foot wherever the latter were hard pressed, Gracchus was beaten and shut up once more in his camp. After that Quintius surrounded it with a high palisade, fortified with many towers; and when he learned that Gracchus was in distress for want of provisions, he not only himself made continual attacks upon the camp of the Aequians, but also ordered Minucius to make a sortie on the other side. [6] Consequently the Aequians, lacking provisions, despairing of aid from any allies, and besieged on many sides, were compelled to send envoys to Quintius with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. Quintius said he was ready to make peace with the rest of the Aequians and grant them immunity for their persons if they would lay down their arms and pass under the yoke one at a time; but as for Gracchus, their commander, and those who had planned the revolt with him, he would treat them as enemies, and he ordered them to bring these men to him in chains. [7] When the Aequians consented to do so, the last demand he made of them was this — that, inasmuch as they had enslaved the inhabitants of Tusculum, a city in alliance with the Romans, and plundered it, though they had received no injury from the Tusculans, they should in turn put at his disposal one of their own cities, Corbio, to be treated in like manner. [8] The envoys, having received this answer, disappeared, and not long afterward returned, bringing with them in chains Gracchus and his associate. They themselves, laying down their arms, left their camp and, pursuant to the general's orders, marched through the Roman camp one by one under the yoke; and they delivered up Corbio according to their agreement, merely asking that the inhabitants of free condition might leave the city, in exchange for whom they released the Tusculan captives.

[25.1] Quintius, having taken possession of Corbio, ordered choicest of the spoils to be carried to Rome and permitted all the rest to be distributed by centuries both to the troops that had been with him and to those that had been sent ahead with Quintius the quaestor. As for the forces which had been shut up in their camp with Minucius the consul, he said that he had already bestowed a great gift upon them in delivering them from death. [2] After doing these things and forcing Minucius to resign his magistracy, he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph more brilliant than that of any other general, having in the space of sixteen days in all from that on which he had received the magistracy saved an army of his fellow citizens, defeated a first-rate force

of the enemy, plundered one of their cities and left a garrison in it, and brought back the leader of the war and the other prominent men bound in chains. [3] But — what most of all was worthy of admiration about him — though he had received so great power for six months, he did not take full advantage of the law, but having called the people together in assembly and given them an account of his achievements, he abdicated his magistracy. And when the senate wanted him to accept as much of the conquered land as he wished, together with slaves and money out of the spoils, and to relieve his poverty with deserved riches which he had acquired most honourably from the enemy by his own toils, he refused to do so. Also when his friends and relations offered him magnificent gifts and placed their greatest happiness in assisting such a man, he thanked them for their zeal, but would accept none of their presents. Instead, he retired again to that small farm of his and resumed his life of a farmer working his own land in preference to the life of a king, glorying more in his poverty than others in their riches. [4] Not long afterwards Nautius also, the other consul, returned to Rome with his forces, after defeating the Sabines in a pitched battle and overrunning a large part of their country.

[26.1] After these consuls came the eighty-first Olympiad (the one at which Polymnastus of Cyrenê won the foot-race), the archon at Athens being Callias, in whose term of office Gaius Horatius and Quintus Minucius succeeded to the consulship at Rome. During their term of office the Sabines made another expedition against the Romans and laid waste much of their territory; and the country people who had fled from their fields arrived in great numbers, reporting that all the country between Crustumerium and Fidenae was in possession of the enemy. [2] The Aequians also, who had been recently conquered, were once more in arms. The flower of their army, marching by night to the city of Corbio, which they had handed over to the Romans the year before, and finding the garrison there asleep, put all to the sword except a few who chanced to be late to bed. The rest of the Aequians marched in great force to Ortona, a city of the Latin nation, and took it by storm; and the injuries they were unable to inflict on the Romans they inflicted in their resentment on the Romans' allies. [3] For they put to death all the men who were in the prime of life except those who had escaped at once while the city was being taken, and enslaved their wives and children together with the aged; then, hastily gathering together all the possessions they could carry off, they returned home before all the Latins could come to the rescue. [4] As news of these disasters was brought simultaneously both by the Latins and by those of the garrison who had escaped, the senate voted to send out an army and that both consuls should take the field. But Verginius and his fellow tribunes, who held the same power for the fifth year, sought to prevent this, as they had also done in the preceding years, opposing the levies announced by the consuls and demanding that the war inside the walls should first be terminated by allowing the populace to decide about the law which the tribunes were trying

to introduce regarding an equality of rights; and the populace joined with them in uttering many invidious charges against the senate. [5] But as the time dragged on and neither the consuls would consent to a preliminary vote by the senate or to the laying of the law before the populace, nor the tribunes to allow the levies to be made and the army to take the field, and many speeches were made and charges hurled back and forth both in the meetings of the assembly and in the senate, all in vain, another measure that was introduced against the senate and misled its members did indeed appease the dissension then raging, but proved the source of many other great gains to the populace. I shall now give an account of the manner in which the populace secured this power.

[28.1] While the territory of both the Romans and their allies was being laid waste and plundered and the enemy marched through it as through a solitude, in the confidence that no army would come out against them by reason of the dissension then raging in the city, the consuls assembled the senate with the intention of deliberating finally this time about the whole situation. [2] After many speeches had been made, the person who was first asked his opinion was Lucius Quintus, who had been dictator the year before, a man who had the reputation of being not only the ablest general but also the wisest statesman of his time. The opinion he expressed was as follows: That they should preferably persuade both the tribunes and the rest of the citizens to postpone to more suitable times their decision regarding the law, which was not at all pressing at the moment, and to undertake with all alacrity the war that was at hand and all but at their gates, and not to allow their empire, which they had acquired with many toils, to be lost in a shameful and pusillanimous fashion. [3] But if the populace would not be persuaded, he advised that the patricians should arms themselves together with their clients, and associating with themselves such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this most glorious struggle for the fatherland, to engage in the war with alacrity, taking as leaders of the expedition all the gods who protect the Roman state. [4] For one or the other of two honourable and just destinies would be theirs: they would either win a victory more brilliant than all which they or their ancestors had ever won, or die fighting bravely for the noble prizes that victory brings with it. He added that neither he himself would be wanting in this glorious enterprise, but would be present and fight with a spirit equal to that of the most robust, nor would any of the others of the older men be wanting who had any regard for liberty and a good name.

[28.1] All the others approving of this advice and there being no one to speak in opposition, the consuls called an assembly of the populace; and when all the people of the city had come together in expectation of hearing something new, Gaius Horatius, one of the consuls, came forward and attempted to persuade the plebeians to submit willingly to this campaign also. But as the tribunes opposed this and the populace gave heed to them, the consul again came forward and said: [2] “A fine and wonderful thing, indeed, have you

tribunes accomplished, Verginius, in dividing the populace from the senate; and, so far as it rests with you, we have lost all the advantages which we possessed, whether inherited from our ancestors or acquired by our own toils. [3] As for us, however, we shall not part with them without a struggle, but shall take up arms along with all who desire the preservation of the fatherland and shall enter the struggle holding before our deeds the buckler of fair hopes. And if any god watches over noble and just struggles, and if Fortune, which long has been exalting this commonwealth, has not yet abandoned it, we shall have the victory over our enemies; or, if any divide is opposed to and stands in the way of the preservation of the commonwealth, at any rate our affection and zeal for it will not perish, but we shall choose the best of all deaths — to die for the fatherland. [4] As for you, stay here and keep house with the women, O fine and noble protectors of the commonwealth, after abandoning, or rather betraying, us; but life for you will be neither honourable, if we conquer, nor safe, if things go otherwise with us. [5] Unless, indeed, you are buoying yourselves up with the bleak hope that when the patricians are all destroyed the enemy will spare you in consideration of this service and will allow you to enjoy your country, your liberty, your empire and all the other blessings you now have, notwithstanding that you, when you displayed the noblest spirit, deprived these very enemies of much land, razed many of their cities and enslaved their inhabitants, and erected many great trophies and monuments of your enmity against them which not even all time to come will ever blot out. [6] But why do I charge this against the populace, which never became cowardly of its own accord, and not rather against you tribunes, Verginius, who are the authors of these fine measures? We, then, who must needs show no ignoble spirit, have taken our resolution and nothing shall hinder us from undertaking the struggle in defence of the fatherland; but upon you, who abandon and betray the commonwealth, will come a punishment not to be scorned, as vengeance from the gods, if so be that you escape the punishment of men; yet you will not escape that either. [7] And do not imagine that I am trying to terrify you, but be assured that those of us who will be left behind here to guard teach shall, in case the enemy should prove victorious, show that spirit which it befits them to show. Have there not indeed been instances already of barbarians who, when they were on the point of being captured by the enemy, resolved not to yield to them either their wives, their children or their cities, but to burn the cities and slay their dear ones? [8] And will it fail, then, to occur to the Romans, to whom it is a heritage from their fathers to rule over others, to show this same spirit in their own case? They will never be so degenerate, but will begin with you who are their worst enemies and only afterwards turn to their loved ones. Consider these matters before you hold your assemblies and introduce new laws.”

[29.1] After he had said this and many things to the same purport, he brought before them the oldest patricians in tears, at sight of whom many of the plebeians could not even themselves refrain from weeping. When great

compassion had been aroused both by the age and the dignity of these men, the consul, after a short pause, said: [2] “Are you not ashamed, citizens, and ready to sink beneath the earth, when these old men are going to take up arms in defence of you who are young? Will you bear to abandon these leaders whom you always called fathers? Wretched men that you are, and unworthy even to be called citizens of this land settled by men who carried their fathers on their shoulders, men to whom the gods granted a safe passage through arms and through fire!” [3] When Verginius perceived that the people were moved by these words, he was afraid lest, contrary to his desire, they might consent to join in the war; and coming forward, he said: “As for us, we are neither abandoning nor betraying you, fathers, nor would we desert you, even as we have hitherto never declined taking part in any expedition; on the contrary, we choose both to live with you and to suffer with you whatever Heaven shall decree. [4] But since we have at all times been zealous in your service, we desire to receive from you a moderate favour — that, even as we share the common dangers with you, so we may also enjoy an equality of rights, by instituting as safeguards of our liberty laws which we shall all alike use always. [5] However, if this proposal offends you and you do not deign to grant this favour to your fellow citizens, but regard it as a capital crime to give the populace an equal share of rights, we shall no longer contend with you; but we shall ask another favour of you, upon obtaining which we may possibly no longer stand in need of new laws. We have a shrewd suspicion, however, that we shall not obtain even this favour — one which, while doing no injury to the senate, will bring to the populace a kind of honour and general goodwill.”

[30.1] When the consul replied that if the tribunes would yield on this measure to the senate they would be denied nothing else that was reasonable, and ordered him to state what they desired, verginius, after a short conference with his colleagues, said he would announce it in the senate. [2] Thereupon, when the consuls had convened the senate, Verginius came forward, and after presenting to that body all the just demands of the populace, asked that the magistracy which protected the populace should be doubled and that instead of five tribunes ten should be chosen every year. Most of the senators thought this would cause no harm to the commonwealth and advised granting it without offering any opposition; [3] this opinion was first offered by Lucius Quintius, who at that time had the greatest authority in the senate. Only one person, Gaius Claudius, spoke against it. He was the son of Appius Claudius, who had on every occasion opposed the measures of the plebeians when any of them were contrary to law; he had inherited the political principles of his father, and when he himself was consul, had prevented the inquiry concerning the knights accused of conspiracy from being committed to the tribunes. This man made a long speech, pointing out that the populace, if their magistracy were doubled, would not be any more moderate or worthy, but more stupid and more troublesome. [4] For the tribune seem to be chosen thereafter, he

said, would not receive the magistracy upon certain definite terms, so as to adhere to the established customs, but would again bring up the question of the allotment of lands and that of an equality of privileges, and all of them in turn would seek both by their words and by their actions to increase the power of the populace and abolish the privileges of the senate. This speech had a great effect upon most of the senators. [5] Then Quintius brought them over again by showing that it was to the interest of the senate that there should be many champions of the populace. For there would be less harmony among many than among a few, and there was just one way of relieving the commonwealth, a way that Appius Claudius, the father of Gaius, had been the first to perceive — namely, if there should be dissension and lack of unanimity in the college of tribunes. [6] This opinion prevailed, and the senate passed a decree that the populace should be permitted to appoint ten tribunes each year, but that no one of the men then in office should be eligible. Verginius and his colleagues, having got this preliminary decree from the senate, laid it before the populace; and when they had secured the ratification of the law embodying the measure, they chose ten tribunes for the following year.

[7] After the sedition was appeased the consuls enrolled their forces and drew lots for their commands. To Minucius fell the war against the Sabines and to Horatius that against the Aequians; and both set out in haste. The Sabines garrisoned their cities and permitted everything in the country districts to be pillaged; but the Aequians sent an army to oppose the Romans. [8] Though they fought brilliantly, they were unable to overcome the Roman army, but were compelled to retire to their cities after the loss of the small town in defence of which they were fighting. Horatius, after putting the enemy to flight, ravaged a large part of their country, razed the walls of Corbio and demolished the houses to their foundations, then led his army home.

[31.1] The following year, when Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius were consuls, no army of the Romans went out of their borders, but there were fresh outbreaks of civil strife between the tribunes and the consuls, as a result of which the former wrested away some part of the consular power. Before this time the power of the tribunes was limited to the popular assembly and they had no authority either to convene the senate or to express an opinion there, that being a prerogative of the consuls. [2] The tribunes of the year in question were the first who undertook to convene the senate, the experiment being made by Icilius, the head of their college, a man of action and, for a Roman, not lacking in eloquence. For he too was at that time proposing a new measure, asking that the region called the Aventine be divided among the plebeians for the building of houses. This is a hill of moderate height, not less than twelve stades in circuit, and is included within the city; not all of it was then inhabited, but it was public land and thickly wooded. [3] In order to get this measure introduced, the tribune went to the consuls of the year and to the senate, asking them to pass the preliminary vote for the law embodying the

measure and to submit it to the populace. But when the consuls kept putting it off and protracting the time, he sent his attendant to them with orders that they should follow him to the office of the tribunes and call together the senate. And when one of the lictors at the orders of the consuls drove away the attendant, Icilius and his colleagues in their resentment seized the lictor and led him away with the intention of hurling him down from the rock. [4] The consuls, though they looked upon this as a great insult, were unable to use force or to rescue the man who was being led away, but invoked the assistance of the other tribunes; for no one but another tribune has a right to stop or hinder any of the actions of those magistrates. [5] Now the tribunes had all come to this decision at the outset, that no one of their number should either introduce any new measure on his own initiative, unless they all concurred in it, or oppose any proceedings which met with the approval of the majority; and just as soon as they had assumed their magistracy they had confirmed this agreement by sacrifices and mutual oaths, believing that the power of the tribuneship would be most effectively rendered impregnable if dissension were banished from it. [6] It was in pursuance, then, of this sworn compact that they ordered the consuls' guardian to be led away, declaring this to be the unanimous decision of their body. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resentment, but released the man at the intercession of the oldest senators; for they were not only concerned about the odium that would attend such a procedure, if they should be the first to punish a man by death for obeying an order of the magistrates, but also feared that with this provocation the patricians might be driven to take desperate measures.

[32.1] After this action the senate was assembled and the consuls indulged in many accusations against the tribunes. Then Icilius took the floor and attempted to justify the tribunes' resentment against the lictor, citing the sacred laws which did not permit either a magistrate or a private citizen to offer any opposition to a tribune; and as for his attempt to convene the senate, he showed them that he had done nothing out of the way, using for this purpose many arguments of every sort, which he had prepared beforehand. [2] After answering these accusations, he proceeded to introduce his law concerning the hill. It was to this effect: All the parcels of land held by private citizens, if justly acquired, should remain in the possession of the owners, but such parcels as had been taken by force or fraud by any persons and built upon should be turned over to the populace and the present occupants reimbursed for their expenditures according to the appraisal of the arbitrators; all the remainder, belonging to the public, the populace should receive free of cost and divide up among themselves. [3] He also pointed out that this measure would be advantageous to the commonwealth, not only in many other ways, but particularly in this, that it would put an end to the disturbances raised by the poor concerning the public land that was held by the patricians. For he said they would be contented with receiving a portion of the city, inasmuch as they could have no part of the land lying in the country because of the number

and power of those who had appropriated it. [4] After he had spoken thus, Gaius Claudius was the only person who opposed the law, while many gave their assent; and it was voted to give this district to the populace. Later, at a centuriate assembly called by the consuls, the pontiffs being present together with the augurs and two sacrificers and offering the customary vows and imprecations, the law was ratified. It is inscribed on a column of bronze, which they set up on the Aventine after taking it into the sanctuary of Diana. [5] When the law had been ratified, the plebeians assembled, and after drawing lots for the plots of ground, began to build, each man taking as large an area as he could; and sometimes two, three, or even more joined together to build one house, and drawing lots, some had the lower and others the upper stories. That year, then, was employed in building houses.

[33.1] The following year, when Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius had succeeded to the consulship and Lucius Icilius and his colleagues were tribunes, chosen to hold the office for the second time in succession, was not all of one tenor, but varied and fraught with great events. For the civil strife, which seemed to have died down at last, was again stirred up by the tribunes, and some foreign wars arose which, without being able to do the commonwealth any harm, did her a great service by banishing the dissension. [2] For it had by now become the regular and customary thing for the commonwealth to be harmonious in time of war and to be at odds in time of peace. All who assumed the consulship, being well aware of this, regarded it as an answer to prayer if a foreign war arose; and when their enemies were quiet, they themselves contrived grievances and excuses for wars, since they perceived that through its wars the commonwealth became great and flourishing, but through seditions humiliated and weak. [3] The consuls of that year, having come to this same conclusion, decided to make an expedition against the enemy, fearing that idle and poor men might because of the prevailing peace begin to raise disturbances; but though they were right in perceiving that the multitude ought to be kept employed in foreign wars, they erred in what they subsequently did. For, whereas they ought, in view of the sickly condition of the commonwealth, to have made the levies with moderation, they resorted instead to violence and compulsion in dealing with the disobedient, granting neither excuse nor pardon to anyone, but harshly imposing the penalties ordained by the laws upon both their persons and their property. [4] While they were doing this, the tribunes took occasion to stir up the masses again with their harangues; and calling an assembly, they denounced the consuls on various scores, but particularly for having ordered many citizens to be haled to prison even though they had invoked the protection of the tribunes; and they said that they themselves on their own responsibility released the people from the levy, having as they did authority to do so under the laws. [5] When this had no effect and they saw the levies being carried out with still greater strictness, they undertook to obstruct them

by deeds; and when the consuls resisted with the power of their magistracy also, there were sundry provocations and acts of violence. The consuls were supported by the young patricians, and the tribunes by the poor and idle multitude. [6] That day the consuls proved much superior to the tribunes; but in the course of the following days, as increasing numbers flocked into the city from the country, the tribunes thought they had now acquired an adequate force, and holding one assembly after another, they exhibited their assistants, who were in a bad condition from the blows they had received, and said they would resign their magistracy if they did not get some assistance from the populace.

[34.1] The multitude sharing in their resentment, the tribunes summoned the consuls to appear before their assembly in order to render an account of their actions. But as these paid no heed to them, they went to the senate, which happened to be deliberating about this very matter, and coming forward, asked the members not to permit either the tribunes themselves to be treated in a most outrageous manner or the populace to be deprived of their assistance. They enumerated all the injuries they had received at the hands of the consuls and their faction, who had insulted not only their authority but also their persons; [2] and they asked that the consuls do one of two things — either, in case they denied that they had done any wrong against the persons of the tribunes contrary to the laws, that they go before the popular assembly and make their denial under oath, or, if they could not bring themselves to take that oath, that they appear before the plebeians to render an account of their conduct; and they (the tribunes) would take the vote of the tribes concerning them. [3] The consuls defended themselves against these charges by saying that the tribunes had begun the violence by their arrogant behaviour and by daring to commit lawless acts against the persons of the consuls, first by ordering their attendants and the aediles to hale to prison magistrates in whom the whole power of the commonwealth is vested, and later by entering the struggle themselves together with the boldest of the plebeians. [4] They pointed out how great a difference there is between the two magistracies — between the consulship, in which the royal power resides, and the tribuneship, which was introduced for the relief of the oppressed and, far from having the right to take the vote of the masses against one of the consuls, has not been given authority to do so against even the meanest of the other patricians, unless the senate shall so vote. And they threatened that they themselves would arm the patricians when the tribunes should take the votes of the plebeians. [5] After such recriminations had lasted the whole day, the senate came to no decision, being unwilling to lessen the power of either the consuls or the tribunes, since they saw that either course would be stand attended with great dangers.

[35.1] When the tribunes were repulsed there also, failing to get any help, they went again to the popular assembly and considered what they ought to do. Some, particularly the most turbulent, thought the plebeians should take arms and again withdraw from the city to the Sacred Mount, where they had encamped on the first occasion, and from there make war against the patricians, since these had violated the compact they had made with the populace by openly overthrowing the tribunician power. [2] But the majority thought they ought not to leave the city nor to bring charges against all the patricians as a body for the lawless acts committed by some particular persons against the tribunes, provided they could obtain the relief offered by the laws, which ordain that those who have insulted the persons of the tribunes may be put to death with impunity. The more intelligent did not regard either course as fitting, either to leave the city or to put persons to death without a trial, and

particularly consuls, who held the chief magistracy, but they advised them to transfer their resentment to those who were assisting the consuls and to exact from these the punishment ordained by the laws. [3] Now if the tribunes had been carried away by their passion that day to do anything against the consuls or the senate, nothing would have prevented the commonwealth from being destroyed by its own hands, so ready were all to rush to arms and engage in civil war. But as it was, by deferring matters and giving themselves time for better reasoning, they not only themselves grew more moderate, but also appeased the resentment of the multitude. [4] Then, during the following days, they announced the third market-day from that one as the day when they would assemble the populace and impose a monetary fine upon the consuls; after which they dismissed the assembly. But when the time drew near, they refrained from imposing even this fine, alleging that they granted the favour at the intercession of men who were the oldest and most honoured. [5] After that they assembled the populace and told them that they had pardoned the insults to themselves, doing this at the request of many worthy men whom it was not right to refuse, but that as for the wrongs done to the populace, they would both avenge them and prevent their recurrence. For they would again propose not only the law concerning the allotment of land, the enactment of which had been postponed for thirty years, but also the one concerning an equality of laws, which their predecessors had proposed but had not put to vote.

[36.1] Having made these promises and confirmed them by oaths, they appointed days on which they would hold an assembly of the populace and take their votes concerning the laws. When the time came, they first proposed the agrarian law, and after discussing it at great length, called upon any of the plebeians who so desired to speak in favour of the law. [2] Many came forward, and enumerating the exploits they had performed in the wars, expressed their indignation that they who had taken so much land from their enemies had received no part of it themselves, while they saw that those who were powerful by reason of their riches and their friends had appropriated and now enjoyed, by the most violent means, the possessions that belonged to all; and they demanded that the populace should share, not only in the dangers that were undertaken for the common good, but also in the pleasures and profits that resulted from those dangers. And the multitude listened to them with pleasure. But the one who encouraged them the most and refused to tolerate even a word from the opponents of the law was Lucius Siccus, surnamed Dentatus, who related very many great exploits of his own. [3] He was a man of remarkable appearance, was in the very prime of life, being fifty-eight years old, capable of conceiving practical measures and also, for a soldier, eloquent in expressing them. This man, then, came forward and said:

“If I, plebeians, should choose to relate my exploits one by one, a day’s time would not suffice me; hence I shall give a mere summary, in the fewest words I can. [4] This is the fortieth year that I have been making campaigns for my country, and the thirtieth that I have continued to hold some military

command, sometimes over a cohort and sometimes over a whole legion, beginning with the consulship of Gaius Aquillius and Titus Siccus, to whom the senate committed the conduct of the war against the Volscians. I was then twenty-seven years of age and in rank I was still under a centurion. [5] When a severe battle occurred and a rout, the commander of the cohort had fallen, and the standards were in the hands of the enemy, I alone, exposing myself in behalf of all, recovered the standards for the cohort, repulsed the enemy, and was clearly the one who saved the centurions from incurring everlasting disgrace — which would have rendered the rest of their lives more bitter than death — as both they themselves acknowledged, by crowning me with a golden crown, and Siccus the consul bore witness, by appointing me commander of the cohort. [6] And in another battle that we had, in which it happened that the primipilus of the legion was thrown to the ground and the eagle fell into the enemy's hands, I fought in the same manner in defence of the whole legion, recovered the eagle and saved the primipilus. In return for the assistance I then gave him he wished to resign his command of the legion in my favour and to give me the eagle; but I refused both, being unwilling to deprive the man whose life I had saved of the honours he enjoyed and of the satisfaction resulting from them. The consul was pleased with my behaviour and gave me the post of primipilus in the first legion, which had lost its commander in the battle.

[37.1] “These, plebeians, are the noble actions which brought me distinction and preferment. After I had already gained an illustrious name and was famous, I submitted to the hardships of all the other engagements, being ashamed to blot out the memory of the honours and favours I had received for my former actions. And all the time since then I have continued to take part in campaigns and undergo their hardships without fearing or even considering my danger. From all these campaigns I received prizes for valour, spoils, crowns, and the other honours from the consuls. [2] In a word, during the forty years I have continued to serve I have fought about one hundred and twenty battles and received forty-five wounds, all in front and not one behind; twelve of these I happened to receive in one day, when Herdonius the Sabine seized the citadel and the Capitol. [3] As to rewards for valour, I have brought out of those contests fourteen civic crowns, bestowed upon me by those I saved in battle, three mural crowns for having been the first to mount the enemy's walls and hold them, and eight others for my exploits on the battlefield, with which I was honoured by the generals; and, in addition to these, eighty-three gold collars, one hundred and sixty gold bracelets, eighteen spears, twenty-five splendid decorations, . . . nine of whom I voluntarily encountered and overcame when they challenged someone of our men to fight in single combat. [4] Nevertheless, citizens, this Siccus, who has served so many years in your defence, fought so many battles, been honoured with so many prizes for valour, who never shirked or declined any danger, but . . . in pitched battles and assaults upon walled towns, among the foot and among the horse,

with all, with a few, and alone, whose body is covered be with wounds, and who has had a share in winning this country much fertile land, both that which you have taken from the Tyrrhenians and the substitutes and that which you possess after conquering the Aequians, the Volscians and the Pometini — this Siccius, I say, has not received even the least portion of this land as his to possess, nor has any one of you plebeians who have shared in the same hardships. But the most violent and shameless men of the city hold the finest part of it and have had the enjoyment of it for many years, without having either received it from you as a gift or purchased it or being able to show any other just title to it. [5] If, indeed, they had borne an equal share of the hardships with the rest of us when we were acquiring this land and had then demanded to have a larger share of it than we, while it would not, even so, have been either just or democratic that a few should appropriate what belongs to all in common, yet there would at least be some excuse for the greed of these men; but when, though they cannot point to any great or daring deed of theirs in payment for which they seized by force the possessions that belong to us, they act in this shameless manner and even when convicted do not give them up, who can bear it?

[38] “Come now, if aught of what I have said is false, in Heaven’s name let one of these grand men come forward and show what illustrious and noble achievements he relies on to claim a larger share of the land than I. Has he served more years, fought more battles, received more wounds, or excelled me in the number of crowns, decorations, spoils, and the other ornaments of victory — in fact, shown himself a man by whom our enemies have been weakened and our country rendered more illustrious and powerful? Nay, let him show the tenth part of what I have cited to you. [2] But of these men the majority could not produce even the smallest fraction of my exploits; and some would be found not to have undergone as many hardships as the meanest plebeian. For their brilliancy does not lie in arms, but in words, nor is their power exerted against their enemies, but against their friends; and they do not regard the commonwealth in which they dwell as belonging to all alike, but as their own private property — as if they had not been aided by us in gaining their freedom from tyranny, but had received us as an inheritance from the tyrants. I say nothing of the other insults, small and great, which they continue to heap upon us, as you all know; [3] but they have gone so far in their arrogance that they forbid any one of us even to utter a free word in behalf of our country or even to open our mouths. Nay, they accused Spurius Cassius, who first proposed the allotment of land, a man who had been honoured with three consulships and two most brilliant triumphs and had shown greater ability in both military undertakings and political counsels than anyone of that age — this man, I say, they accused of aiming at tyranny and defeated him by means of false testimony, for no other reason than because he was a lover of his country and a lover of the people, and they destroyed him by shoving him over the cliff. [4] And again, when Gnaeus Genucius, one of our tribunes,

revived this same measure after the lapse of eleven years and summoned the consuls of the preceding year to trial for having neglected to carry out the decree which the senate had passed respecting the appointment of the commissioners to divide the land, since they could not destroy him openly, they made away with him secretly the day before the trial. [5] In consequence, great fear came upon the succeeding tribunes, and not one of them would thereafter expose himself to this danger, but for now the thirtieth year we endure this treatment, as if we had lost our power under a tyranny.

[39.1] “The other things I pass over; but your present magistrates, because they thought it their duty to help those of the plebeians who were oppressed, though by law you had made these magistrates sacred and inviolable, what dreadful treatment have they not suffered? Were they not driven out of the Forum with blows, kicks and every form of outrage? And you, do you endure to suffer such treatment and not seek means of taking revenge on the perpetrators, at least by your votes, in which alone you can show your freedom? [2] But even now, plebeians, pluck up the courage of free men and, now that the tribunes propose it, ratify the agrarian law, not tolerating even a word from those of the opposite opinion. [3] As for you, tribunes, you need no exhortation to do this task, since you began it and in not yielding do well. And if the self-willed and shameless young men obstruct you by overturning the voting-urns, snatching away the ballots or committing any other disorders in connexion with the voting, show them what power your college possesses. [4] And since you cannot depose the consuls from power, bring to trial the private persons whom they use as the agents of their violence and take the votes of the populace concerning them, after charging them with attempting to violate and overthrow your magistracy contrary to the sacred laws.”

[40.1] When he had spoken to this effect, the plebeians were so won over by his words and showed so great indignation against their adversaries that, as I said at the outset, they were unwilling to tolerate even another word from those who were intending to speak against the law. [2] Icilius the tribune, however, rose and said that everything else Siccus had said was excellent, and he praised the man at length; but as to not permitting those who wished to oppose the measure to speak, that, he declared, was neither just nor democratic, especially as the debate was about a law which would make justice superior to violence. For such an opportunity would be used by those who entertained no sentiments of equality and justice toward the masses to disturb them again and cause factious divisions about the interests of the commonwealth. [3] Having spoken thus and assigned the following day to the opponents of the law, he dismissed the assembly. The consuls, on their side, called a private meeting of those patricians who were the bravest and in the highest repute in the city at the time, and showed them that they must hinder the law from passing, first by their words, and if they could not persuade the populace, then by their deeds. They bade them all come early in the morning to the Forum with as many friends and clients as each of them could get

together; [4] then some of them should take their stand round the tribunal itself and the comitium and remain there, while others, forming in groups, took up positions in many different parts of the Forum, in order to keep the plebeians divided and hinder them from uniting in one body. This seemed to be the best plan, and before it was broad daylight the greater part of the Forum was occupied by the patricians.

[41.1] After that the tribunes and the consuls appeared and the herald bade anyone who so desired to speak against the law. But though many good men came forward, the words of none of them could be heard by reason of the tumult and disorderly behaviour of the assembly. For some cheered and encouraged the speakers, while others were for throwing them out or for shouting them down; but neither the applause of the supporters nor the clamour of the opponents prevailed. [2] When the consuls were incensed at this and protested that the populace had begun the violence by refusing to tolerate a word, the tribunes attempted to justify them by saying that, inasmuch as the plebeians kept hearing the same arguments for now the fifth year, they were doing nothing remarkable if they did not care to put up with stale and trite objections. [3] When most of the day had been spent in these contests and the populace insisted upon giving their votes, the youngest of the patricians, regarding the situation as no longer endurable, hindered the plebeians when they wished to divide themselves by tribes, took away the voting-urns from those who were in charge of them, and beating and pushing such of the attendants as would not part with them, sought to drive them from the comitium. [4] But when the tribunes cried out and rushed into their midst, the youths made way for those magistrates and permitted them to go in safety wherever they wished, but of the rest of the populace they did not let pass either those who were in the tribunes' train or those who in various parts of the Forum were endeavouring amid the uproar and disorder to move toward them; hence the assistance of the tribunes was of no avail. [5] In the end, at any rate, the patricians prevailed and would not permit the law to be ratified. Those who were reputed to have assisted the consuls with the greatest zeal on this occasion were of three families, the Postumii, the Sempronii, and third, the Cloelii, all of them men most illustrious for the dignity of their birth, very powerful because of their bands of followers, and distinguished for their wealth, their reputation and their exploits in war. These, it was agreed, were the chief agents in preventing the law from being ratified.

[42.1] The next day the tribunes, having associated with themselves the most prominent plebeians, considered how they should deal with the situation, after adopting the general principle, accepted by all, not to bring the consuls themselves to trial, but only their attendants who held no office, since their punishment would be a made of less concern to most citizens, as Siccius suggested. But the number of the persons to be indicted, the name that should be given to the offence, and the amount of the fine were matters to which they gave careful consideration. [2] Now while those who were naturally more

truculent advised going in all these matters to a greater and more terrifying length, and the more reasonable, on the contrary, to a more moderate and humane extent, the man who took the lead for the latter opinion and won the assent of the others was Siccus, who had made the speech in the popular assembly in favour of the land-allotment. [3] They resolved, then, to let the rest of the patricians alone, but to bring the Cloelii, the Postumii and the Sempronii before the popular assembly to stand trial for their acts; and to make the charge against them that, whereas the sacred laws, which the senate and the assembly had enacted concerning the tribunes, had given no one authority to compel the tribunes to submit, like the other citizens, to anything against their will, these men had restrained them and prevented them from carrying through the deliberation concerning the law. [4] As for the penalty in these trials, they decided to fix neither death, banishment, nor any other invidious punishment, lest that very thing should become the cause of their salvation, but that their estates should be consecrated to Ceres — thus choosing the mildest punishment provided by the law. While this was going on the time arrived when the trials of the men were to take place. [5] The consuls and the other patricians who had been invited to the senate-house — the most influential had been summoned — decided to let the tribunes carry out the trials, lest, if they were hindered, they might do some greater mischief, and to allow the enraged plebeians to spend their fury upon the goods of these men, to the end that they might be milder for the future, after taking some revenge, however slight, upon their enemies, particularly since a monetary fine was a misfortune that could easily be made up to the sufferers. And so in fact it turned out. [6] For when the men had been condemned by default, the populace ceased from its anger, and also it seemed that a moderate and statesmanlike power of rendering assistance had been restored to the tribunes, while as for the convicted men, their estates were ransomed by the patricians from those who had purchased them from the treasury for the same price they had paid for them and were restored to the owners. As a result of their handling the matter in this fashion the pressing dangers were dispelled.

[43.1] Not long afterwards, when the tribunes again introduced the subject of the law, the sudden announcement that enemies had made an attack upon Tusculum furnished a sufficient reason for preventing such action. For the Tuscullans, coming to Rome in great numbers, said that the Aequians had come against them with a large army, that they had already plundered their country, and unless some assistance were speedily sent, they would be masters of the city within a few days. Upon this the senate ordered that both consuls should go to the rescue; and the consuls, having announced a levy, summoned all the citizens to arms. [2] On this occasion also there was something of a sedition, as the tribunes opposed the levy and would not permit the punishments ordained by law to be inflicted on the disobedient. But they accomplished nothing. For the senate met and passed a resolution ordering that the patricians should take the field with their clients, and

declaring that to such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this expedition undertaken for the preservation of the fatherland the gods were propitious, but to those who deserted the consuls they were unpropitious. [3] When the decree of the senate was read in the assembly, many also of the populace voluntarily consented to enter the struggle, the more respectable moved by shame if they should not succour an allied city which because of its attachment to the Romans was always suffering some injury at the hands of its foes. Among these was Siccus, who in the popular assembly had inveighed against those who had appropriated the public land, and he brought with him a cohort of eight hundred men; these were, like himself, past the military age and not subject to the compulsion of the laws, but as they honoured him because of his many great services, they did not think it right to desert him when he was setting out to war. [4] Indeed, this contingent of the force which set out at that time was far superior to the rest of the army in point both of experience in action and of courage in the face of dangers. The majority of those who followed along were led to do so out of goodwill toward the oldest citizens and because of their exhortations. And there was a certain element which was reduce to undergo any peril for the sake of the booty that is acquired in campaigns. Thus in a short time an army took the field that was sufficient in numbers and most splendidly equipped. [5] The enemy, who had learned in advance that the Romans intended to lead out an army against them, were returning homeward with their forces. But the consuls, making a forced march, came up with them while they lay encamped on a high and steep hill near the city of Antium and placed their camp not far from that of the foe. [6] For some time both armies remained in their camps; then the Aequians, despising the Romans for not having taken the initiative in attacking, and judging their army to be insufficient in numbers, sallied out and cut off their provisions, drove back those who were sent out for provender or fodder for their horses, fell suddenly upon those who went for water, and challenged them repeatedly to battle.

[44.1] The consuls, seeing this, resolved to put off the fighting no longer. During those days it was Romilius' turn to decide whether to fight or not, and it was he who gave the watchword, drew up the army and determined the proper moment both for beginning and for ending battle. He, having ordered the battle standards to be raised and led his army out of the camp, posted the horse and foot according to their companies, each in their proper places, and then, summoning Siccus, said: [2] "We, Siccus, are going to engage the enemy here; but as for you, while we are still waiting and preparing on both sides for the contest, do you march by yonder transverse road to the top of the hill where the enemy's camp is placed and give battle to the men inside, in order that those who are engaged with us may either, fearing for their stronghold and eager to relieve it, show their backs and thus be easily defeated, as likely they will be when they are making a hasty retreat and are all forcing their way into one road, or may, by staying here, lose their camp. [3]

For not only is the force guarding it not a match for you, in all probability, believing as it does that its whole security depends on the natural strength of the position, but the force with you, eight hundred men, veterans of many wars, should be sufficient to capture by a bold stroke mere tent-guards when thrown into confusion by your unexpected attack.” [4] And Siccus replied: “For my part, I am ready to obey in everything; but the task is not so easy as it seems to you. For the cliff on which the camp is situated is lofty and steep, and I see no road leading to it except the one by which the enemy will come down against us, and it is probable that there is an adequate guard placed over it; but even if it should chance to be a very small and weak one, it will be able to hold out against a much larger force than the one I have, and the place itself will afford the guard security against being captured. [5] Do then, if possible, reconsider your purpose, for the attempt is hazardous; but if you are absolutely determined to fight two battles at the same time, then order a sufficient force of chosen men to follow me and the older men. For we are not going up to take the place by surprise, but by main force and openly.”

[45.1] Although Siccus wanted to go on and finish his explanation, the consul interrupted him and said: “There is no need of many words. But if you can bring yourself to obey my orders, go at once and do not play the general; if, however, you decline and run away from the danger, I shall use other men for the task. [2] As for you, who fought those hundred and twenty battles and served those forty years and whose body is covered with wounds, since you came voluntarily, depart without either encountering the enemy or seeing them; and instead of your arms, sharpen once more your words which you will expend without stint against the patricians. [3] Where now are those many prizes given you for valour, those collars, bracelets, spears, and decorations, those crowns from the consuls, those spoils gained in single combat, and all your other tiresome boasting which we had to endure hearing from you the other day? For when you were tested in this single instance where the danger was real, you proved what sort of man you were — a braggart practising bravery in imagination, not in reality.” [4] Siccus, stung by these reproaches, answered: “I am aware, Romilius, that the choice lies before you either to destroy me while alive and make me a mere nobody bearing the most shameful reputation for cowardice, or that I shall die a miserable and obscure death, hacked to pieces by the enemy, because I too seemed to be one of those who insist on showing the spirit of free men. For you are sending me, not to a doubtful, but to a predetermined death. [5] Yet I will undertake even this task and endeavour, showing myself no coward, either to capture the camp or, failing in that, gallantly to die. And I ask you, fellow soldiers, if you hear of my death, to bear witness for me to the rest of the citizens that I fell a sacrifice to my valour and to my great frankness of speech.” [6] Having thus answered the consul, with tears in his eyes, and embraced all his intimate friends, he set out at the head of his eight hundred men, all dejected and weeping, believing that they were taking the road to death. And all the rest of the army were

moved to compassion at the sight, expecting to see these men no more.

[46.1] Siccius, however, turned off by a different road, not the one which Romilius had in mind, and marched along the flank of the hill. Then — for there was a thicket with a heavy growth of trees in it — he led his men into it, halted there and said: “We have been sent by the commander, as you see, to perish. For he expected us to take the transverse road, which we could not possibly have ascended without coming into full view of the enemy. But I will lead you by a way that is out of the enemy’s sight and I have great hopes of gaining some paths that will bring us over the summit to their camp. So I bid you have the best of hopes.” [2] Having said this, he led the way through the thicket, and after going a good distance, by good fortune came upon a man who was on his way home from a farm somewhere; and ordering him to be seized by the youngest men of his company, he took him for his guide. This man, leading them round the hill, brought them after a long time to the height adjacent to the camp, from which there was a short and easy descent to their goal. [3] While this was happening, the forces of the Romans and of the Aequians engaged and fought steadfastly, since they were equally matched and displayed the same ardour. For a long time they continued to be evenly balanced as they now attacked one another and now withdrew, horse against horse and foot against foot; and prominent men fell on both sides. [4] Then the battle took a definite turn. For Siccius and his men, when they came near the camp of the Aequians, found that part of it unguarded, since the entire force appointed to guard it had gone to the other side that faced the field of battle, in order to witness the conflict; and bursting into the camp with great ease, they found themselves immediately overhead in relation to the guards. [5] Then, uttering their war-cry, they attacked them on the run. The garrison, confounded by this unexpected danger and not imagining that their assailants were so few in name, but supposing that the other consul had arrived with his army, hurled themselves out of the camp, most of them not even holding on to their arms. Siccius and his men slew all of them they overtook, and after possessing themselves of their camp, marched against those who were in the plain. [6] The Aequians, perceiving from the flight and outcries of their men that their camp had been taken, and then, not long afterwards, seeing the enemy falling upon their rear, no longer displayed any valour, but broke their ranks and endeavoured to save themselves, some by one way and some by another. And here they met with their greatest loss of life; for the Romans did not give over the pursuit till night, killing all whom they captured. [7] The man who slew the largest number of them and performed the most brilliant deeds was Siccius, who, when he saw that the enemy’s resistance was at an end, it being now dark, returned with his cohort to the camp which they had taken, filled with great joy and much exultation. [8] All his men, safe and uninjured, having not only suffered none of the calamities they had expected, but also won the greatest glory, called him their father, their preserver, their god, and every other honourable appellation, and could not sate themselves with

embracing him and showing every other mark of affection. In the meantime the rest of the Roman army with the consuls was returning from the pursuit to their camp.

[47.1] It was now midnight when Siccus, full of resentment against the consuls for having sent him to his death, resolved to take from them the glory of the victory; and having communicated his intention to his companions and received their approval, every one of them admiring the sagacity and daring of the man, he took his arms and ordering the rest to do the same, he first slaughtered all the Aequians he found in the camp, as well as the horses and beasts of burden; then he set fire to the tents, which were full of arms, corn, apparel, warlike stores and all the other articles, very many in number, which they were carrying off as part of the Tusculan booty. After everything had been consumed by the flames, he left the camp about break of day, carrying with him nothing but his arms, and after a hurried march came to Rome. [2] As soon as armed men were seen singing paeans of victory and marching in haste, all covered with blood, the people flocked to them, earnestly desiring both to see them and to hear their exploits. [3] When they had come as far as the Forum, they gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed; and those magistrates, calling an assembly, ordered them to tell their story to all. When a large crowd had gathered, Siccus came forward and not only announced to them the victory, but also described the nature of the battle, showing that by his own valour and that of the eight hundred veterans with him, whom the consuls had sent to be slain, the camp of the Aequians had been taken and the army arrayed against the consuls had been put to flight. [4] He asked them to give thanks for the victory to no one else, and ended by adding these words: "We have come with our lives and our arms safe, but have brought with us nothing else, great or small, of the things we captured." [5] The populace, upon hearing this, burst into compassion and tears, as they observed the age of the men and recalled their deeds of valour; and they were filled with resentment and indignation against those who had attempted to deprive the commonwealth of such men. For his report, as Siccus foresaw, had drawn upon the consuls the hatred of all the citizens. [6] Indeed, not even the senate took the matter lightly; for it voted them neither a triumph nor any of the other honours usually bestowed for glorious engagements. As for Siccus, however, when the time for the elections came, the populace made him tribune, granting him the honour of which they had the disposal. These were the most important of the events at that time.

[48.1] These consuls were succeeded the following year by Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Terminus, who constantly courted the populace in all matters and in particular secured the preliminary decree of the senate for the measure of the tribunes; for they saw that the patricians reaped no advantage from their opposition, but, on the contrary, that the most zealous champions of their cause drew upon themselves envy and hatred, as well as private losses and calamities. [2] But they were chiefly alarmed by the recent misfortune of the

consuls of the preceding year, who had been severely treated by the populace and had been unable to get any help from the senate. For Siccius, who had destroyed the army of the Aequians, camp and all, and had now been made a tribune, as I stated, on the very first day of his magistracy, after offering the usual inaugural sacrifices and before transacting any other public business, had in a meeting of the assembly cited Titus Romilius to appear before the tribunal of the populace to make his defence against a charge of injuring the state; and he had set a day for his trial. [3] And Lucius, who was then aedile and had been tribune the year before, had summoned Gaius Veturius, the other consul of the preceding year, to a similar trial. During the interval before the trial much partisan zeal and encouragement were shown to both of the accused, and they accordingly placed great hopes in the senate and made light of the danger, as both the older number younger senators promised them that they would not allow the trial to be carried out. [4] But the tribunes, who had long been providing against all contingencies and paid no heed to either entreaties, threats or any danger, when the time for the trial came, called a meeting of the popular assembly. Even before this the crowd of day-labourers and husbandmen had flocked in from the country and, being added to the city throng, filled not only the Forum, but all the streets that led to it.

[49.1] The first trial to be held was tombstone of Romilius. Siccius, coming forward, charged him with all the acts of violence he was reputed to have committed against the tribunes while he was consul, and then at the end related the plot which the general had formed against him and his cohort. He produced as witnesses to support his charges the most prominent men who had served with him in the campaign, not plebeians alone, but patricians as well. Among them there was a youth distinguished both for the rank of his family and for his own merit, and a most valiant soldier. His name was Spurius Verginius. [2] This youth related that, desiring to get Marcus Icilius, the son of one of the men in the cohort of Siccius, a youth of his own age and friend, released from that expedition, since he believed that he with his father would be going out to his death, he had summoned Aulus Verginius, his uncle, who was a legate on that campaign, and with him had gone to the consuls asking that this favour be granted to them. [3] And when the consuls refused, he said that he himself had wept and lamented in advance the misfortune of his friend, but that the young man for whom he had interceded, being informed of this, went to the consuls, and asking leave to speak, said that, while he was very grateful to those who were interceding for him, he would not be content to accept a favour that would deprive him of the opportunity of showing his filial devotion, and that he would not desert his father, particularly when the other was going to his death, as everyone knew, but that he would go out with him, defend him to the utmost of his power and share the same fortune with him. [4] After the young man had given this testimony, there was not a single person who did not feel some emotion at the fate of those men. And when the Icili themselves, father and son, were called

as witnesses and gave an account of their experience, most of the plebeians could no longer refrain from tears. [5] Then, when Romilius made his defence and delivered a speech that was neither deferential nor suited to the occasion, but haughty and boastful of the irresponsible power of his magistracy, the majority were doubly confirmed in their resentment against him. And upon being permitted to give their votes, they found him so clearly guilty that he was condemned by the votes of all the tribes. The pun in his case was a fine, amounting to 10,000 asses. [6] Siccus, now, did not do this, it seems to me, without some purpose, but to end that the patricians, on the one hand, might be less zealous in Romilius' behalf and might commit no irregularities in connexion with the voting when they reflected that the condemned man would be punished with nothing more than a fine, and that the plebeians, on their side, were not going to deprive an ex-consul of either his life or his country. A few days after the condemnation of Romilius, Veturius likewise was condemned; his punishment was also set down in the indictment as a fine, one-half as much again as the other.

[50.1] As they thought about these trials the consuls then in office were in no little fear, and they took good care to avoid suffering the same fate at the hands of the populace after the expiration of their consulship; hence they no longer concealed their purposes but openly directed all their measures in the interest of the populace. First, then, they got a law ratified by the centuriate assembly permitting all the magistrates to fine any persons who were guilty of disrespectful conduct or illegal attempts against their authority. For until then none but the consuls possessed this power. [2] They did not leave the amount of the fine, however, to the discretion of those who should impose it, but limited the sum themselves, making the maximum fine two oxen and thirty sheep. This law long continued in force among the Romans. [3] In the next place, they referred to the consideration of the senate the laws which the tribunes pressed to have drawn up, that should bind all the Romans alike and be observed forever. Many speeches were made on both sides by the best men, some tending to persuade the senate to grant the request and some to oppose it. But the opinion that prevailed was that of Titus Romilius, which supported the interest of the populace against that of the oligarchy, both patricians and plebeians. [4] For they supposed that a man who had recently been condemned by the populace would both think and say everything that was opposed to the plebeians. But he, when it was the proper time for him to speak, that is, when he was called upon to deliver his opinion in his turn — he was of the middle rank in point of both dignity and age — rose up and said:

[51.1] "I should be wearisome to you, senators, if I related what I have suffered at the hands of the populace and showed that it is not because of any wrongdoing on my part but because of my attachment to you, when you yourselves know the facts so well. I am forced, however, to mention these matters in order that you may know that in what I am going to say I am not

condescending to flattery of the populace, which is hostile to me, but stating from the best of motives what is to the advantage of the commonwealth. Let no one wonder, if I, who was of a different opinion both earlier upon many occasions and when I was consul, have now suddenly changed; and do not imagine either that my sentiments were then ill grounded or that I am now altering them without good reason. [2] For as long as I thought your party strong, senators, I exalted the aristocracy, as was my duty, and despised the plebeians; but having been chastised by my own misfortunes and having learned at great cost that your power is less than your will and that, yielding to necessity, you have already permitted many who undertook the struggle in your behalf to be snatched away to destruction by the populace, I no longer entertain the same sentiments. [3] I could have wished that, if possible, those misfortunes for which you all show your sympathy with us had not happened either to myself or to my colleague; but since our misadventure is over and you have it in your power to correct what lies in the future and to see to it that others do not suffer the same misfortunes, I urge you, both all in common and each one by himself, to make good use of the present situation. For that state is best governed which adapts itself to circumstances, and that man is the best counsellor who expresses his opinion without regard to personal enmity or favour but with a view to the public advantage; and those persons deliberate best concerning the future who take past events as examples of those that are to come. [4] As for you, senators, it has happened that whenever a dispute or contention has arisen with the populace you have always come off at a disadvantage, sometimes having evil spoken of you and sometimes being punished by the death, the abuse and the banishment of illustrious men. And yet what greater misfortune could happen to a state than to have its best men lopped off, and that undeservedly? I advise you to spare these men and not to have to repent of first exposing to manifest danger and then deserting in the moment of peril either the present magistrates or anyone else who is of the slightest value to the commonwealth. [5] The substance of my advice is that you choose ambassadors and send some of them to the Greek cities in Italy and others to Athens, to ask the Greeks for their best laws and such as are most suited to our ways of life, and then to bring these laws here. And when they return, that the consuls then in office shall propose for the consideration of the senate what men to choose as lawgivers, what magistracy they shall hold and for how long a time, and to determine everything else in such a manner as they shall think expedient; and that you contend no longer with the plebeians nor add calamities to your calamities, particularly by quarrelling over laws which, if nothing else, have at least a respectable reputation for dignity.”

[52.1] After Romilius had spoken to this effect, both consuls supported his opinion in long and carefully prepared speeches, and so did many other senators; and those who espoused this opinion were in the majority. [2] When the preliminary decree was about to be drawn up, the tribune Siccius, who had

brought Romilius to trial, rising up, made a long speech in his behalf, praising him for changing his opinion and for not preferring his private grudges to the public good, but delivering with sincerity the advice that was advantageous. [3] "In consideration of which," he said, "I offer him this honour and this favour: I remit the fine imposed on him at the trial and reconcile myself with him for the future. For he has overcome us by his probity." The rest of tribunes came forward and made the same agreement. Romilius, however, would not consent to accept this favour, but having thanked the tribunes for their goodwill, he said he would pay the fine, because it was already consecrated to the gods and he should be doing something unjust and unholy if he deprived the gods of what the law gives them. And he acted accordingly. [4] The preliminary decree having been drawn up and afterwards confirmed by the populace, the ambassadors who were to get the laws from the Greeks were chosen, namely, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius; and they were furnished with triremes at the public expense and with such other appointments as were sufficient to display the dignity of the Roman empire. And thus the year ended.

[53.1] In the eighty-second Olympiad (the one at which Lycus of Larissa in Thessaly won the foot-race), Chaerephanes being archon at Athens, when three hundred years were completed since the founding of Rome, and Publius Horatius and Sextus Quintilius had succeeded to the consulship, Rome was afflicted with a pestilence more severe than any of those recorded from past time. Almost all the slaves were carried off by it and about one half of the citizens, as neither the physicians were able any longer to alleviate their sufferings nor did their servants and friends supply them with the necessities. [2] For those who were willing to relieve the calamities of others, by touching the bodies of the diseased and continuing with them, contracted the same diseases, with the result that many entire households perished for want of people to attend the sick. Not the least of the evils the city suffered, and the reason why the pestilence did not quickly abate, was the way in which they cast out the dead bodies. [3] For though at first, both from a sense of shame and because of the plenty they had of everything necessary for burials, they burned the bodies and committed them to earth, at the last, either through a disregard of decency or from a lack of the necessary equipment, they threw many of the dead into the sewers under the streets and cast far more of them into the river; and from these they received the most harm. [4] For when the bodies were cast up by the waves upon the banks and beaches, a grievous and terrible stench, carried by the wind, smote those also who were still in health and produced a quick change in their bodies; and the water brought from the river was no longer fit to drink, partly because of its vile odour and partly by causing indigestion. [5] These calamities occurred not only in the city, but in the country as well; in particular, the husbandmen were infected with the contagion, since they were constantly with their sheep and the other animals. As long as most people had any hopes that Heaven would assist them, they all

had recourse to sacrifices and expiations; and many innovations were then made by the Romans and unseemly practices not customary with them were introduced into the worship of the gods. [6] But when they found that the gods showed no regard or compassion for them, they abandoned even the observance of religious rites. During this calamity Sextus Quintilius, one of the consuls, died; also Spurius Furius, who had been appointed to succeed him, and likewise four of the tribunes and many worthy senators. [7] While the city was afflicted by the pestilence, the Aequians undertook to lead out an army against the Romans; and they sent envoys to all the other nations that were hostile to the Romans, urging them to make war. But they did not have time to lead their forces out of their cities; for while they were still making their preparations, the same pestilence fell upon their cities. [8] It spread not only over the country of the Aequians, but also over those of the Volscians and the Sabines, and grievously afflicted the inhabitants. In consequence, the land was left uncultivated and famine was added to the plague. Under these consuls, then, by reason of the pestilence nothing was done by the Romans, either in war or at home, worthy of being recorded in history.

[54.1] For the following year Lucius Menenius were chosen consuls; and the pestilence finally ceased. After that public sacrifices of thanksgiving were performed to the gods and magnificent games celebrated at great expense; and the people were engaged in rejoicings and festivals, as may be imagined. Indeed the whole winter season was thus spent. [2] In the beginning of spring a large quantity of corn was brought in from many places; most of it was purchased with the public money, but some was imported by private merchants. For not least of the people's hardships was the dearth of provisions, the land having lain uncultivated by reason of the pestilence and the death of the husbandmen.

[3] At the same time the ambassadors arrived from Athens and the Greek cities in Italy, bringing with them the laws. Thereupon the tribunes went to the consuls and asked them to appoint the lawgivers pursuant to the senate's decree. The consuls did not know how to get rid of their solicitations and importunities, but as they disliked the business and were unwilling for the aristocracy to be overthrown during their consulship, they resorted to a specious excuse, saying that the time for the election of magistrates was at hand and, as it was their duty first to name the new consuls, [4] they would do so soon, and when these were appointed, they would in conjunction with them refer the matter of the lawgivers to the senate for its consideration. When the tribunes consented to this, they appointed the election much earlier than had been the custom with past elections, and nominated Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius for consuls; then, laying aside all thought for the public business, as if it were now the concern of others, they no longer paid any heed to the tribunes, but determined to pass the remaining time of their consulship in evasion of their duty. [5] It chanced that one of them, Menenius, was seized with a chronic illness; indeed, some said that a wasting disease, which had

come upon him because of grief and despondency, had made his malady hard to be cured. Sestius, availing himself of this additional excuse and pretending that he could do nothing alone, kept rejecting the pleas of the tribunes and advising them to apply to the new consuls. [6] Thus the tribunes, since there was nothing else they could do, were forced to have recourse to Appius and his colleague, who had not yet entered upon their magistracy, and would now plead with them in the meetings of the assembly and now in private conferences. And at last they overcame these men by holding out to them great hopes of honour and power if they would espouse the cause of the populace. [7] For Appius was seized with a desire to be invested with an alien magistracy, to establish laws for the fatherland and to set an example to his fellow citizens of harmony and peace and the recognition by them all of the unity of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, when he had been honoured with this great magistracy, he did not preserve his probity but, corrupted by the greatness of his authority, succumbed to an irresistible passion for holding office and came very near to running into tyranny; all which I shall relate at the proper time.

[55.1] At any rate, at the time in question he took this resolution with the best of motives and prevailed upon his colleague to do the same; and since the tribunes repeatedly invited him to appear before the assembly, he came forward and spoke many words of goodwill. The substance of his speech was as follows: That both he and his colleague held it to be a matter of the first importance that the lawgivers should be appointed and that the citizens should cease quarrelling over equal rights; and they were declaring their opinion openly. But for the appointing of the lawgivers they themselves had no authority, since they had not yet entered upon their magistracy; however, not only would they not oppose Menenius and his colleague in carrying out the decree of the senate, but they would actually assist them and be very grateful to them. [2] If the others, however, should decline to carry out the decree, using the new magistracy as an excuse, claiming that it was not lawful for them, now that new consuls had been confirmed, to create other magistrates who would receive consular power, they said that so far as they themselves were concerned there would be nothing to prevent the present consuls from acting. For they would willingly resign the consulship to such magistrates as should be appointed in their steady, provided the senate too should approve of it. [3] The populace praising them for their goodwill and rushing in a body to the senate-house, Sestius was forced to assemble the senate alone, Menenius being unable to attend by reason of his illness, and proposed to them the consideration of the laws. Many speeches were made on this occasion also both by those who contended that the commonwealth ought to be governed by laws and by those who advised adhering to the customs of their ancestors. [4] The motion that carried was made by the men who were to serve as consuls for the next year; it was delivered by Appius Claudius, who was first called upon, and was as follows: That ten persons be chosen, the most distinguished

members of the senate, and that these govern for a year from the day of their appointment, possessing the same authority over all the affairs of the commonwealth as the consuls and, before them, the kings had enjoyed; that all the other magistracies be abrogated for as long a time as the decemvirs held office; [5] that these men select both from the Roman usages and from the Greek laws brought back by the ambassadors the best institutions and such as were suitable to the Roman commonwealth, and form them into a body of laws; that the laws drawn up by the decemvirs, if approved by the senate and confirmed by the people, should be valid for all time, and that all future magistrates should determine private contracts and administer the affairs of the public according to these laws.

[56.1] The tribunes, having received this decree, went to the assembly and after reading it before the populace, bestowed much praise upon the senate and upon Appius, who had proposed it. And when the time came for the election of magistrates, the tribunes called an assembly and asked the consuls-elect to come and fulfil their promises to the populace; and they, appearing, resigned their magistracy. [2] The populace kept praising and admiring them, and when they were to vote for lawgivers, made them their first choice. Those chosen at the election by the centuriate assembly were Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius, who were to have been consuls for the following year; Publius Sestius, consul of that year; the three who had brought the laws from the Greeks, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius; one of the consuls of the preceding year, Titus Romilius, the man who had been condemned when tried before the populace on a charge brought by Siccus and was now chosen because he was thought to have offered a motion favourable to the populace; and, from among the other senators, Gaius Julius, Titus Veturius and Publius Horatius, all ex-consuls. At the same time the offices of the tribunes, aediles, quaestors and any other traditional Roman magistrates were abrogated.

[57.1] The next year the lawgivers took over the administration of affairs and established a form of government of the following general description. One of them had the rods and the other insignia of the consular power, assembled the senate, certified its decrees, and performed all the other functions belonging to the head of the state; while the others, by way of reducing the invidious character of their office to the more democratic level, differed in appearance but little from the mass of citizens. Then another of them in turn was vested with this authority, and thus it went on in rotation for a year, each one in succession receiving the command for a certain number of days as agreed upon. [2] But all of them sat from early morning arbitrating cases involving private and public contracts in which complaints might arise between citizens and the subjects and allies of the Romans and peoples of doubtful allegiance to Rome, examining each case with complete fairness and justice. [3] That year the Roman commonwealth seemed to be exceedingly well governed by the decemvirs. Above all they were commended for their care of the plebeians

and for opposing, in defence of the weaker parties, every kind of violence; and it was said by many that the commonwealth would have no further need of champions of the populace or any of the other magistracies so long as a single wise leadership was directing all the affairs of the state. Of this régime Appius was looked upon as the head,^[4] and all the praise that belonged to the whole decemvirate was given by the populace to him. For he gained a reputation for probity not only by those things which he did in concert with his colleagues from the best motives, but much more by the manner in which he conducted himself personally, as in the matter of greetings, friendly conversation and other kindly courtesies toward the poor.

^[5] These decemvirs, having formed a body of laws both from those of the Greeks and from their own unwritten usages, set them forth on ten tables to be examined by any who wished, welcoming every amendment suggested by private persons and endeavouring to correct them in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. For a long time they continued to consult in public with the best men and to make the strictest scrutiny of their code of laws. ^[6] When they were satisfied with what was written, they first convened the senate and, no fresh objection being made to the laws, they got a preliminary decree passed concerning them. Then, having summoned the people to the centuriate assembly, the pontiffs, the augurs and the other priests being present and having directed the performance of the religious rites according to custom, they gave the centuries their ballots. ^[7] And when the people too had ratified the laws, they caused them to be engraved on bronze pillars and set them up in order in the Forum, choosing the most conspicuous place. Then, as the remaining time of their magistracy was short, they assembled the senators and proposed for their consideration what kind of magistrates should be chosen at the next election.

^[58.1] After a long debate the opinion of those prevailed who favoured choosing a decemvirate again to be the supreme power in the state. For not only was their code of laws manifestly incomplete, in view of the short time in which it had been compiled, but in the case of the laws already ratified some magistracy absolute in power seemed necessary in order that willingly or unwillingly people might abide by them. But the chief motive that induced the senate to give the preference to the decemvirate was the suppression of the tribunician power, which they desired above everything. ^[2] This was the result of their public deliberations; but in private the leading men of the senate resolved to canvass for this magistracy, fearing that certain turbulent spirits, if they gained such power, might cause some great mischief. The popular assembly having gladly received the resolution of the senate and confirmed it with the greatest enthusiasm, the decemvirs themselves appointed the time for the election; and those among the patricians who were most distinguished for both their dignity and age stood candidates for the magistracy. ^[3] Upon this occasion Appius, who was the chief of that decemvirate, received great praise from everybody and the whole crowd of plebeians desired to continue him in

the magistracy, believing that no one else would govern better. He at first pretended to refuse it and asked them to excuse him from a service that was both troublesome and invidious; but at last, when they all pressed him, he not only consented to seek the office himself, but also, accusing the best of the rival candidates of being ill disposed toward him through envy, openly espoused the candidacy of his friends. [4] Thus he was again chosen in the centuriate assembly as a lawgiver, for the second time, and with him Quintus Fabius, surnamed Vibulanus, who had been thrice consul, a man adorned with every virtue and without reproach up to that time. From among the other patricians those favoured by Appius and chosen were Marcus Cornelius, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius and Manius Rabuleius, men of no great distinction; and from among the plebeians, Quintus Poetelius, Caeso Duilius and Spurius Oppius. For these also were taken in by Appius in order to flatter the plebeians; he pointed out that, as only one magistracy was appointed to govern all the citizens, it was just that the populace also should be represented in it. [5] Thus Appius, who was in great repute for all these actions and was looked upon as superior to both their kings and the annual magistrates who had governed the state, assumed the magistracy again for the following year. These were the things done by the Romans during that decemvirate, and there was nothing else worth relating.

[59.1] The following year Appius Claudius and the other decemvirs, having received the consular power on the ides of May (for the Romans reckoned their months by the course of the moon, and the full moon fell on the ides), [2] first of all took a solemn oath, without the knowledge of the populace, and made a compact among themselves not to oppose one another in anything, but that whatever was approved by any one of them should be ratified by all the others; and they agreed that they would hold their magistracy for life and admit no other person into the government, that they would all enjoy the same honours and possess the same power, and that they would rarely make use of the votes of the senate or populace and then only in absolutely necessary cases, but would do almost everything on their own authority. [3] When the day came on which they were to enter upon their magistracy, after they had offered the usual initial sacrifices to the gods (for the Romans look upon this day as holy and particularly make it a point of religion neither to hear nor to see anything disagreeable during its course), the decemvirs set out early in the morning, each one accompanied by the insignia of royalty. [4] When the people saw that they no longer preserved the same democratic and modest form of leadership or passed on the insignia of royalty from one to another, as before, they fell into great despair and dejection. [5] They were terrified by the axes attached to the bundles of rods which were borne by the lictors, twelve of whom preceded each of the decemvirs and with blows forced the throng back from the streets, as had been the practice formerly under the kings. This custom, however, had been abolished, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, by Publius Valerius, a friend of the populace, who succeeded to their

power, and all the consuls after him, following the good example he was felt to have set, no longer attached the axes to the bundles of rods except when they went out of the city either upon military expeditions or upon other occasions; [6] but when they set out on a foreign war or inspected the affairs of their subjects, they then added the axes to the rods. This was in order that the terrifying sight, as one employed against their enemies or slaves, might give as little offence as possible to the citizens.

[60.1] When, therefore, they all saw this token, which was considered to be a mark of the kingly power, they were in great fear, as I said, believing that they had lost their liberty and chosen ten kings instead of one. The decemvirs having by this means struck terror into the masses and made up their mind that they must rule them by fear thereafter, each of them formed a faction, choosing from among the youth those who were most daring and most attached to their persons. [2] Now the fact that most men of no means and low condition showed themselves flatterers of a tyrannical power and preferred their private advantages to the public good, was neither extraordinary nor surprising; but that there were found many even of the patricians who, though they had some reason, on the basis of either wealth or birth, to feel great pride, nevertheless consented to join with the decemvirs in destroying the liberty of their country, that seemed an amazing thing to everybody. But the decemvirs, by humouring people with all the pleasures that are calculated to subdue mankind, governed the commonwealth with great ease, holding the senate and people in no account, but becoming themselves both the lawgivers and the judges in all matters, putting many of the citizens to death and stripping others of their estates unjustly. [3] In order, however, that their acts, illegal and cruel as they were, might have a specious appearance and seem to be carried out in accordance with justice, they appointed courts to try every matter; but the accusers, chosen from among the instruments of their tyranny, were suborned by the decemvirs themselves and the courts filled with men of their factions, who gratified one another by turns in rendering their decisions. [4] Many complaints, and those not the ones of least importance, the decemvirs decided by themselves. Hence the litigants who had less right on their side were under the necessity of attaching themselves to the factions, since they could not otherwise be sure of success; and in time the corrupted and infected element in the city became more numerous than the sound element. For those to whom the doings of the decemvirs were obnoxious would not consent even to remain any longer within the city's walls, but retired to the country while awaiting the time for the election of magistrates, in the expectation that the decemvirs would resign their power after completing their year's term and would appoint other magistrates. [5] As for Appius and his colleagues, they caused the remaining laws to be inscribed on two tables and added them to those they had published before. Among these new laws was this one, that it should not be lawful for the patricians to contract marriages with the plebeians — a law made for no other reason, in my opinion, than to prevent the two orders from

coming together in harmony when once blended together by intermarriages and ties of affinity. [6] And when the time for the election of magistrates was at hand, the decemvirs bade a hearty farewell to both the ancestral customs and the newly-written laws, and without asking for a vote of either senate or people, continued in the same magistracy.

BOOK XI

[1.1] In the eighty-third Olympiad (the one at which Criso of Himera gained the prize), Philiscus being archon at Athens, the Romans abolished the decemvirate which had governed the commonwealth for three years. I shall now endeavour to relate from the beginning in what manner they attempted to do away with this domination which was already deeply rooted, who the leaders were in the cause of liberty, and what their motives and pretexts were. For I assume that such information is necessary and an excellent thing for almost everyone, but particularly for those who are employed either in philosophical speculation or in the administration of public affairs. [2] For most people are not satisfied with learning this alone from history, that the Persian War, to take that as an example, was won by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who in two battles at sea and one on land overcame the barbarian at the head of three million troops, though their own forces together with their allies did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand; but they wish also to learn from history of the places where those actions occurred, to hear of the causes that enabled those men to perform their wonderful and astonishing exploits, to know who were the commanders of the armies, both Greek and barbarian, and to be left ignorant of not a single incident, one may say, that happened in those engagements. [3] For the minds of all men take delight in being conducted through words to deeds and not only in hearing what is related but also in beholding what is done. Nor, indeed, what they hear of political events, are they satisfied with learning the bare summary and outcome of the events, as, for instance, that the Athenians agreed with the Lacedaemonians to demolish the walls of their city, to break up their fleet, to introduce a garrison into their citadel, and, instead of their traditional democratic, to set up an oligarchy to govern the state, and permitted all this without so much as fighting a battle with them; but they at once demand to be informed also of the necessity which reduced the Athenians to submit to such dire and cruel calamities, what the arguments were that persuaded them, and by what men those arguments were urged, and to be informed of all the circumstances that attended those events. [4] Men who are engaged in the conduct of civil affairs, among whom I for my part include also those philosophers who regard philosophy as consisting in the practice of fine actions rather than of fine words, have this in common with the rest of mankind, that they take pleasure in a comprehensive survey of all the circumstances that accompany events. And besides their pleasure, they have this advantage, that in difficult times they render great service to their countries as the result of the experience thus acquired and lead them as willing followers to that which is to their advantage, through the power of persuasion. [5] For men most easily recognize the policies which either benefit or injure them when they perceive these illustrated by many examples; and

those who advise them to make use of these are credited by them with prudence and great wisdom. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I have determined to report in accurate detail all the circumstances which attended the overthrow of the oligarchy, in so far as I consider them worthy of notice. [6] I shall begin my account of them, however, not with the final incidents, which most people regard as the sole cause of the re-establishment of liberty, — I mention the wrongs committed by Appius with regard to the maiden because of his passion for her, — since these were merely an aggravation and a final cause for the resentment of the plebeians, following countless others, but I shall begin with the first insults the citizens suffered at the hands of the decemvirate. These I shall mention first, and then relate in order all the lawless deeds committed under that régime.

[2.1] The first ground for the hatred against the oligarchy seems to have been this, that its members had joined their second term of office immediately to their first, thus showing alike their scorn of the people and their contempt of the senate. Another was their treatment of the most reputable Romans who were dissatisfied with their actions, some of whom, on the strength of false and heinous accusations, they were expelling from the city and others they were putting to death, suborning some of their own faction to accuse them and themselves trying these cases. But more than anything else was the licence they gave to the most audacious of the young men by whom each of them was always attended, to plunder and pillage the goods of those who opposed their administration. [2] These youths, as if the country had been taken by force of arms, not only stripped the legal owners of their effects, but even violated their wives, when these were beautiful, abused such of their daughters as were marriageable, and when any showed resentment, they beat them like slaves. Thus they brought it about that those who found these proceedings intolerable left their country along with their wives and children and removed to the neighbouring cities, where they were received by the Latins on account of their affinity and by the Hernicans in acknowledgement of the right of citizenship lately granted to them by the Romans. Consequently, as was to be expected, there were in the end none left behind but the friends of tyranny and such as had no concern for the public good. [3] For neither the patricians, who were unwilling to flatter the rulers and yet were unable to oppose their actions, remained in the city, nor did those necessary to the magistrates; but the greater part of these also had removed with their entire families and, leaving their houses empty, were now living in the country. [4] The oligarchical faction, however, was pleased with the flight of the most distinguished men, not only for many other reasons, but particularly because it greatly increased the arrogance of the licentious youth not to have before their eyes those persons whose presence would have made them blush whenever they committed any wanton act.

[3.1] Rome being thus deserted by her best element and having lost every vestige of her liberty, the nations which had been conquered by her thought

they now had the most favourable opportunity both to avenge the insults they had received and to repair the losses they had sustained, believing that the commonwealth was sick because of the oligarchy and would no longer be able either to assemble its forces or to act in concord or to take hold of the affairs of state; and accordingly they prepared everything that was necessary for war and marched against Rome with large armies. [2] At one and the same time the Sabines made a raid into that part of the Roman territory that bordered on theirs and, after possessing themselves of much booty and killing large numbers of husbandmen, encamped at Eretum (this town is situated near the river Tiber at the distance of one hundred and forty stades from Rome), [3] and the Aequians made a raid into the territory of the Tusculans that adjoined their own, and having laid waste much of it, placed their camp at the town of Algidum. When the decemvirs were informed of the attack of their enemies, they were confounded, and assembling their organized bands, they consulted with them what measures they ought to take. [4] That they ought to send an army outside their borders and not wait till the enemies' forces advanced to Rome itself was the opinion of all; but they were in great perplexity, first, whether they should call to arms all the Romans, even those who hated their administration, and second, in what sort of way they should make the levy, whether in an arbitrary and uncompromising manner, as had been the practice of both the kings and the consuls, or with indulgence and moderation. [5] They thought that another point also deserved no small consideration, namely, who were to ratify their decisions regarding war and to vote the levy, whether the senate or the plebeians, or neither, since they were suspicious of both, but instead the decemvirs should confirm their own decisions. At last, after long consultation, they concluded to assemble the senate and prevail on that body to vote for war and to allow them to make the levy. [6] For if both these measures were ratified by the senate, they imagined, first, that all would yield ready obedience, particularly since the tribunician power had been suppressed, which alone could legally oppose the orders of those in power; and, in the next place, that if they were subservient to the senate and carried out its orders, they would appear to have received in a legal manner their authority to begin war.

[4.1] After they had taken this resolution and had prepared those of their friends and relations who were to deliver in the senate the opinions that would further their cause and to oppose those who did not entertain the same sentiments, they went to the Forum, and bringing forward the crier, ordered him to summon the senators by name. But not one of the moderates paid heed to them. [2] When the crier shouted repeatedly and no one appeared but the flatterers of the oligarchy, among whom was to be found the most profligate element of the city, everyone who happened to be in the Forum at the time marvelled that the decemvirs, who had never assembled the senate on any account, recognized then for the first time that there was also among the Romans a council of worthy men whose duty it was to consult about the

public interests. [3] The decemvirs, observing that the senators did not answer to their names, attempted to have them brought from their houses; but learning that the greater part of these had been left empty, they deferred the matter till the next day. In the meantime they sent into the country and summoned them from thence. When the senate-chamber was full, Appius, the chief of the decemvirate, came forward and informed them that war was being made upon Rome from two sides, by the Aequians and by the Sabines. And he delivered a very carefully prepared speech, the upshot of which was to get them to vote for the levying of an army and sending it out speedily, since the crisis admitted of no delay. [4] While he was thus speaking, Lucius Valerius, surnamed Potitus, rose up, a man who thought very highly of himself because of his ancestry; for his father was that Valerius who took the Capitol by siege when it was occupied by Herdonius the Sabine and recovered the fortress, though he himself lost his life in the action, and his grandfather on his father's side was Publicola, who expelled the kings and established the aristocracy. [5] Appius, observing him as he was still coming forward and expecting he would say something against him, said: "This is not your turn, Valerius, and it is not fitting for you to speak now. But when these senators who are older and more honoured than you have delivered their opinions, then you also will be called upon and will say what you think proper. For the present be silent and sit down." "But it is not about these matters that I have risen to speak," Valerius said, "but about others of greater moment and more urgent, of which I think the senate ought first to hear. [6] And from what they shall hear they will know whether these matters for which you decemvirs have assembled them are more necessary to the commonwealth than those which I shall speak about. Well, then, do not refuse the floor to me, who am a senator and a Valerius and one who desires to speak in the interest of the safety of the commonwealth. But if you persist in your usual arrogance toward everybody, what tribunes shall I call upon to assist me? For this relief to oppressed citizens has been abolished by you decemvirs. [7] And yet what greater wrong is there than this, that I, a Valerius, like a man of the lowest rank, do not enjoy equality, but stand in need of the tribunician power? However, since we have been deprived of that magistracy, I call for assistance upon all of you who together with this man have assumed the power of that magistracy also and exercise dominion over the commonwealth. I am not unaware, to be sure, that I do this in vain, but I desire to make your conspiracy mag to all and show that you have thrown the affairs of the commonwealth into confusion and that you all have the same purpose. Rather, I call upon you alone, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, you who have been honoured with three consulships, in case you still preserve the same sentiments. Rise up, therefore, and relieve the oppressed; for the eyes of the senate are fixed upon you."

[5.1] When Valerius had spoken thus, Fabius sat still through shame and made no answer; but Appius and all the other decemvirs, leaping up, sought to hinder Valerius from going on. Upon this, a great tumult filled the senate-

chamber, the greater part of the senators expressing their resentment, while those who belonged to the decemvirs' faction justified what they said. Then Marcus Horatius, surnamed Barbatius, a descendant of that Horatius who had been consul with Publius Valerius Publicola after the expulsion of the kings, rose up, a man of great ability in warfare and not lacking in eloquence, and long a friend to Valerius. This man, unable longer to contain his resentment, said: [2] "You decemvirs will very soon force me, Appius, to break through all restraint by your want of moderation and by acting the part of the haughty Tarquin, — you who do not even grant a hearing to those who desire to speak in the interest of the safety of the commonwealth. Has it slipped your mind that there still survive the descendants of that Valerius who banished the tyranny and that there are left successors of the house of the Horatii in whom it is hereditary to oppose, both with others and alone, those who would enslave their country?" [3] Or have you decided that both we and the rest of the Romans have so mean a spirit that we shall be content to be permitted to enjoy life on any terms whatever and will neither say nor do anything in favour of liberty and freedom of speech? Or are you intoxicated with the greatness of your power? Who are you men, of what legal magistracy do you hold, that you are going to deprive Valerius or any other senator of the privilege of speaking? Were you not appointed leaders of the commonwealth for a year? Has not the term of your magistracy expired? Have you not become private citizens by law? Plan to lay these matters before the people. [4] For what is going to hinder any of us from assembling them and from challenging the authority which you are exercising contrary to the laws? Permit the citizens to vote upon this very point, whether your decemvirate shall continue or the traditional magistracies be re-established; and if the people are so mad as to submit to the former course, then enjoy once more the same régime and prevent anyone from saying what he wishes in defence of his country. For we should deserve to suffer not only this but even a worse fate if we let ourselves get into your power and sullied by a disgraceful life both our own virtues and those of our ancestors."

[6.1] While he was still speaking, the decemvirs surrounded him, crying out, menacing him with the tribunician power, and threatening to throw him down from the rock if he would not be silent. Upon which all cried out, feeling that their liberty was being taken away; and the senate-chamber was full of indignation and turmoil. [2] However, the decemvirs, when they saw that the senators were exasperated at their behaviour, repented promptly both of their having refused permission to speak and of their threat. Then Appius, coming forward, asked those who were creating a *divc* to have patience a moment; and having quieted their disorder, he said: "Not one of you, senators, do we deprive of the privilege of speaking, provided he speaks at the proper time; but we do restrain those who are too forward and rise up before they are called upon. [3] Be not, therefore, offended. For we shall give leave, not only to Horatius and Valerius, but also to every other senator, to deliver his opinion in

his turn according to the ancient custom and decorum, provided they speak about the matters which you have assembled to consider and about no extraneous subject; [4] but if they endeavour to seduce you by popular harangues and to divide the commonwealth by speaking of matters that are not to the point, then to none of them ever. As for the power to restrain the disorderly, Marcus Horatius, we do possess it, having received it from the people when they voted to us both the magistracy of the consuls and that of the tribunes; and the term of it has not yet expired, as you think. [5] For we were not appointed for a year or for any other definite period, but until we should have instituted the whole body of laws. When, therefore, we have completed what we propose and have got the remaining laws ratified, we shall then resign our magistracy and give an account of our actions to any of you who desire it. In the meantime we shall relax nothing either of the consular or of the tribunician power. [6] As to the war, now, in what manner we may repulse our enemies most quickly and gloriously, I ask you to come forward and deliver your opinions — first the oldest members, as is customary and fitting for you, next those of a middle age, and last the youngest.”

[7.1] Having said this, he proceeded to call first upon his uncle, Gaius Claudius, who, rising up, delivered a speech about as follows:

“Since Appius desires me to deliver my opinion first, senators, showing me this honour because of our relationship, as becomes him, and since I must say what I think concerning the war with the Aequians and the Sabines, I should like, before declaring my own sentiments, to have you inquire what hopes have encouraged the Aequians and Sabines to venture to make war upon us and to invade and lay waste our country, nations which till now were quite satisfied and most grateful to Heaven if they were permitted to enjoy their own land in security. For if you once know what those hopes are, you will also know what means of deliverance from war with these nations will be most effectual. [2] Well, then, when they heard that our time-honoured constitution has for a long time been shaken and is diseased and that neither the populace nor the patricians are well disposed toward those who are at the head of the commonwealth — and this they heard not without reason, since it is the truth, though I have no need to state the causes to you who are well acquainted with them — they assumed that if any foreign war should come upon us in addition to these domestic evils and the magistrates should resolve to march out with an army in defence of the country, neither the citizens would all present themselves cheerfully, as before, to take the military oath, because of their hostility to the magistrates, nor would these inflict the punishments ordained by law upon those who did not present themselves, lest they should occasion some greater mischief; and that those who did obey and take up arms would either desert the standards or, if they remained, would deliberately play the coward in battle. [3] And none of these hopes was ill grounded; for when a harmonious state undertakes a war and all, both rulers and ruled, look upon their interests as identical, all go to meet the perils with

alacrity and decline no toil or danger; [4] but when a state which suffers from sickness within itself engages with its enemies outside before composing its internal disorders, and the rank and file stop to consider that they are undergoing hardships, not for their own advantage, but to strengthen the domination of others over them, and the generals reflect that their own army is no less hostile to them than is the foe, everything is diseased and any force is sufficient to defeat and destroy such armies.

[8.1] “These, senators, are the reasonings of both the Sabines and the Aequians, and because they believed them to be valid, they have invaded our territory. So if we, showing our resentment at being scorned by them in their exalted state of mind, vote in our present wrathful state to lead out an army against them, I fear that all they anticipated may happen to us, or rather, I know full well that it will come to pass. [2] But if we establish the conditions that are of primary importance and most necessary — and these are good order on the part of the multitude and the recognition by all citizens that their interests are identical — by banishing from the state the insolence and greed which are now the fashion and by restoring the constitution to its ancient form, these enemies who are now so bold will cower and, hurling their weapons from their hands, will soon come to us to make amends for the injuries they have caused and to treat for peace, and we shall have it in our power — a thing which all men of sense would wish — to have put an end to the war without resorting to arms. [3] In view of these considerations I believe we ought to defer the consideration of the war for the present, since our affairs within the city’s walls are in a turbulent state, and, instead, give leave to everyone who so desires to speak in favour of harmony and good order among our citizens. For we never had the opportunity, until the war brought us to this pass, of deciding in a meeting called by this government about the business of the commonwealth, whether any of the measures being taken were satisfactory. [4] For, had there been such an opportunity, great censure would be deserved by anyone who had neglected that occasion and only at this time saw fit to talk about these matters. Nor could anyone say for certain that, if we let this opportunity pass as unsuitable, we shall be able to find one that is more suitable. For if one cares to judge the future by the past, it will be a long time before we meet again to consider any matter of the public business.

[9.1] “I ask this, Appius, of you men who are at the head of the commonwealth and are in duty bound to consult the common interest of all rather than your private advantage, that if I speak some truths with frankness instead of trying to please you, you will not be offended on that account, when you consider that I shall not make my remarks with any intent to abuse and insult your magistracy, but in order to show in how great a sea the affairs of the commonwealth are tossed and to point out what will be both their safety and their reformation. [2] It is perhaps incumbent upon all who . . . for the fatherland to speak of the matters that are for the public interest, and this is true particularly in my case. First, because I have been asked, as an honour

due me, to take the lead in expressing my opinion, and it would be a shame, yes a great folly, for the man who rises up first not to mention the things that need to be reformed first. In the next place, because it has fallen to me, as the paternal uncle of Appius, the chief of the decemvirs, both to be pleased more than all others when the commonwealth is well governed by them and to be grieved above anyone else when it is not so governed. [3] Besides these motives, I have inherited it as a political principle from my ancestors to prefer the interests of the public to my own private advantages and to take thought for no personal danger, a principle that I would not willingly betray and thus dishonour the virtues of those men. [4] As to the present form of government, that it is in a bad state and that almost everyone is dissatisfied with it, let this be the strongest proof for you, the one thing you cannot be ignorant of, that the most respectable of the plebeians are daily abandoning their ancestral hearths and fleeing out of the city, some with their wives and children removing to the neighbouring cities and others to country districts that lie farthest from Rome. And even of the patricians not many continue to reside in the city as they formerly did, but the greater part of these also are living in the country. [5] Yet why should I speak of the others when only a few even of the senators, and those such as are attached to you either by relationship or friendship, remain within the walls, while the rest regard solitude as more desirable than their native city? At any rate, when you found it necessary to assemble the senate, the members came together only when summoned from their country seats one by one — these men with whom it was a time-honoured custom to keep watch over the fatherland in conjunction with the magistrates and to shirk none of the public business. [6] Do you imagine, then, that it is to flee from their blessings or rather from their evils that men abandon their native lands? For my part, I think it is from their evils. And yet what greater evil do you think there is for a commonwealth, particularly for that of the Romans, which needs many troops of its own nationals if it is to maintain firmly its sovereignty over its neighbours, than to be abandoned by the plebeians and deserted by the patricians, when oppressed neither by war, pestilence nor any other calamity inflicted by the hand of Heaven?

[10.1] “Do you wish, then, to hear the reasons that are compelling these men to abandon temples and sepulchres of their ancestors, to desert hearths and possessions of their fathers, and to look upon every land as dearer to them than their own? For these things are not taking place without reason. Well, then, I will inform you and conceal nothing. [2] Many charges are being brought against the magistracy of you decemvirs, Appius, and by many people. Whether they are true or false I do not care to inquire at present, but at any rate they are being brought. And not a man, I say, outside of your own partisans is well disposed toward the present state of affairs. For the men of worth, descended from men of worth, who ought to hold the priesthoods and the magistracies and to enjoy the other honours which were enjoyed by their fathers, are indignant when they are excluded from these by you and thus have

lost the dignities of their ancestors. [3] The men of middle rank in the state, who pursue a life of tranquillity free from public duties, accuse you of snatching away their property unjustly and lament the insults you offer to their wedded wives, your drunken licentiousness toward their marriageable daughters, and many other grievous abuses. [4] And the poorest part of the populace, who have no longer the power either of choosing magistrates or of giving their votes upon other occasions, who are not summoned to assemblies and do not share in any other political courtesy, hate you upon all these accounts and call your government a tyranny.

[11.1] “How, then, shall you reform these matters and cease being the object of accusations among your fellow citizens? For this remains to be discussed. You can do so if you will procure a preliminary decree of the senate and restore to the people the right of deciding whether they prefer to appoint consuls, tribunes and the other traditional magistrates once more or to continue under the same form of government as at present. [2] For if all the Romans are content to be governed by an oligarchy and vote that you shall continue in possession of the same power, you will hold your magistracy in accordance with law and not by force; whereas, if they wish to choose consuls again and all the other magistrates as aforetime, you will resign your power in a legal manner and avoid the imputation of governing your equals without their consent. For the latter course is tyrannical, but to receive the magistracies with the consent of the governed is the mark of an aristocracy. [3] And of this measure I think that you, Appius, ought to be the author and thus put an end to the oligarchy instituted by yourself, which was once an advantage to us but is now a grievance. Hear, now, what you will gain by following my advice and resigning this invidious power. [4] If your whole college is actuated by the same principle, everyone will think that it is because of you who set the example that the others too have become virtuous, whereas if these others are too fond of their illegal power, all will feel grateful to you for being the only person who desired to do what was right, and they will force out of office with ignominy and great hurt those who refuse to resign it. [5] And if you have entered into any agreements and given secret pledges to one another, invoking the gods as witnesses, — for it is possible that you may have done something even of this nature, — look upon the observance of these agreements as impious, since they were made against your fellow citizens and your country, and the breaking of them as pious. For the gods like to be called in as partners for the performance of honourable and just agreements, not of those that are shameful and unjust.

[12.1] “However, if it is through fear of your enemies that you hesitate to resign your magistracy, lest they should form some dangerous designs against you and you should be compelled to give an account of your actions, your fear is not justified. For the Roman people will be neither so mean-spirited nor so ungrateful as to remember your faults and forget your good services, but offsetting your past errors by your present merits, will look upon the former as

deserving of forgiveness and the latter of praise. [2] You will also have the opportunity of reminding the people of the many fine actions you performed before the establishment of the oligarchy, of claiming the gratitude due for these as a means to assist and save you, and of employing many lines of defence against the charges. For example, that you yourself did not commit the wrong, but one of the others without your knowledge; or that you had no power to restrain the person who did the deed, since he was of equal authority with yourself; or, again, that you were forced to submit to something undesirable for the sake of something else which was useful. [3] Indeed, it would be a long story if I chose to enumerate all the lines of defence open to you. And even those who can make no defence that is either just or plausible, by acknowledging their guilt and craving pardon soften the resentment of the injured parties, some by falling back on the folly of youth, and others on their association with wicked men, some on the greatness of their power, and still others on Fortune that misleads all human calculations. [4] I myself promise you, if you resign your magistracy, that all your faults shall be forgotten and that the people shall be recalled to you upon such terms as in your unfortunate situation will be honourable.

[13.1] “But I fear that the danger is not the real ground for your not resigning your magistracy — at all events, men without number have been able to lay aside their tyrannies without suffering any harm at the hands of their fellow citizens — but that the true causes are a vain ambition, which pursues the phantom of honour, and a yearning for those pernicious pleasures which the life led by tyrants brings in its train. [2] If, however, instead of pursuing the vain images and shadows of the honours and enjoyments, you wish to enjoy the real honours themselves, then restore the aristocracy to your country, receive honours from your equals and gain the praise of posterity, and in exchange for your mortal body leave an immortal renown to your descendants. For these are lasting and real honours, which can never be taken from you and afford the greatest pleasure without any regrets. [3] Nourish your soul by finding pleasure in your country’ welfare, of which you will be regarded as the chief author by delivering her from a grievous domination. In doing this take your ancestors as your examples, bearing in mind that not one of those men aimed at despotic power or became a slave to the shameful pleasures of the body. For these reasons it was their fortune not only to be honoured while they lived, but after their death to be praised by those who came after them. [4] For all bear witness that they were the stoutest guardians of the aristocracy which our state established after banishing the kings. And by no means forget your own most splendid words and deeds. For your first principles of political action were honourable and inspired in us great hopes of your virtue; and we all ask you to act in future in conformity with those principles. [5] Revert, then, once more to your own character, Appius, my son, and in your choice of policies do not espouse the cause of tyranny, but that of the aristocracy; and shun the pleasure-seeking companions who were the

cause of your departing from honest practices and of your straying from the straight path. For it is unreasonable to suppose that those through whose influence a man has been changed from good to bad will change him back again from an evil to a virtuous man.

[14.1] “This advice I have often desired to give you, if I could have a private conversation with you, not only by way of instructing one who is ignorant, but also of reproving one who errs; and I have gone more than once to your house. But your servants turned me away, saying that you had no leisure for private matters, but were attending to other more urgent business — if, indeed, anything could be more urgent for you than respect for your family! [2] Perhaps it was not by your command but of their own accord that they barred my entrance, and I could wish that this were the truth of the matter. This experience, then, has forced me to talk to you in the senate about the matters I wished to discuss with you, since I got no opportunity of doing so by ourselves alone; and things that are honourable and advantageous, Appius, may be mentioned seasonably anywhere in public rather than nowhere. [3] Having now performed for you the duty I owe to our family, I protest by the gods, whose temples and altars we who carry on the succession of the Appian family honour with common sacrifices, and by the genii of our ancestors, to whom after the gods we pay the next honours and gratitude in common, and, above all these, by the earth, which holds your father and my brother, that I have put at your disposal both my mind and my voice to give you the best advice. And now, desiring to correct your ignorance as best I may, I ask you not to attempt to cure the evils by evils, nor, by aiming at too much, to lose even what you already have, nor again, by attempting to rule over your equals and your superiors, to be ruled yourself by those who are inferior and baser. [4] I should like to say much more to you upon many subjects, but hesitate to do so. For if God is leading you to better resolutions, even this that I have said is more than sufficient; but if to worse, then what I have still to say will also be said in vain. You now have my opinion, senators, and you who are at the head of the commonwealth, concerning the means both of putting an end to the war and of reforming the civil disorders. If anyone, however, shall offer better advice than this, let the best prevail.”

[15.1] After Claudius had spoken thus and given the senate great reason to hope that the decemvirs would resign their power, Appius did not see fit to make any answer to his advice. But Marcus Cornelius, one of the other members of the oligarchy, advanced and said: “We, Claudius, shall ourselves decide about our own interests without any need of your advice. For we are of the age best qualified for prudence, so that we are ignorant of nothing that concerns us, and we do not lack for friends whom we may take as advisers if necessary. [2] Cease, then, doing an unseasonable thing in expressing your opinions as an older man to those who do not need advice. As for Appius, if you wish to give him any admonition or abuse — for this is the truer form of it — when you have left the senate-chamber, you may abuse him. For the

present, state what you think about the war with the Aequians and Sabines, the matter regarding which you have been called upon to deliver your opinion, and cease talking idly of things that are beside the point.” [3] After him Claudius rose up again, with downcast countenance and with tears in his eyes, and said: “Appius does not think me, his uncle, worthy even of an answer, senators, in your presence; but, just as he shut his own house against me, so he does everything in his power to render the senate-chamber here inaccessible to me likewise. And if I must speak the truth, I am even driven out of the city.

[4] For I could no longer bear the sight of him, now that he has become unworthy of his ancestors and has emulated the lawlessness of tyrants, but removing all my effects and my household to the Sabines, I shall live at Regillum, the city from which our family comes, and shall remain there for the future as long as these men continue in possession of this fine magistracy. But when the fate I foresee shall have overtaken the decemvirate — and it will overtake them soon — I shall then return. [5] So much concerning myself. As to the war, I give you this advice, senators, to pass no vote concerning anything whatever until new magistrates are appointed.” After he had thus spoken and received great applause from the senate for the noble spirit and the love of liberty that his words breathed, he sat down. And after him Lucius Quintus, surnamed Cincinnatus, Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Lucius Lucretius, and all the leading men of the senate rose up one after another and supported the motion of Claudius.

[16.1] Appius and his colleagues, being disturbed at this, resolved no longer to call upon others for advice according to their age or senatorial rank, but according to their friendship and attachment to themselves. And Marcus Cornelius, coming forward, asked Lucius Cornelius to rise, — his brother, who had been colleague to Quintus Fabius Vibulanus in his third consulship, a man of action and not without eloquence in political debates. This man, rising up, spoke as follows:

[2] This also was surprising, senators, that men of the age of those who preceded me in declaring their opinions and claim to be the foremost men of the senate, think fit to maintain unrelenting their enmity, derived from political clashes, toward those who are at the head of the commonwealth, when they ought to be exhorting the young men also to engage from the highest motive in competition for noble rewards, and to regard, not as enemies, but as friends, those who are their rivals in striving for the public good. [3] And much more surprising still than this it is that they transfer their private animosities to the affairs of the commonwealth and choose rather to perish with their enemies than to be saved with all their friends. This is an excess of folly and not far from a Heaven-sent madness which the presiding officers of our senate have been guilty of. [4] For these men, displeased because others who appeared more worthy defeated them at the election when they were candidates for the decemvirate, — a magistracy which they themselves now inveigh against, — continually wage an unrelenting war against them and

have come to this pitch of folly, or rather of madness, that in order to slander these men to you they are willing to overthrow the whole country. [5] For although they see that our land has been laid waste by our enemies and though they see that these foes will come almost immediately against Rome (the distance separating us is not great), instead of exhorting and urging the young men to fight for their country and going themselves to her relief with all alacrity and enthusiasm, so far at least as there is strength in men so aged, they ask you now to consider the form of government, to create new magistrates, and to do everything rather than injure the enemy; and they cannot see even this itself, that they are introducing inopportune motions, or rather uttering impracticable wishes.

[17.1] “For consider the matter in this light. There will be a preliminary vote of the senate for the election of magistrates; then the decemvirs will lay this resolution before the people after appointing the third market-day thereafter for its consideration. For how can anything that is voted by the people become really valid if it is not done in accordance with the laws? Then, after the tribes have given their votes, the new magistrates will take over the administration of the commonwealth and propose to you the consideration of the war. [2] During the interval before the election, which will be such a long one, if our enemies march up to the city and approach the walls, what are we going to do, Claudius? We shall say to them, by heaven: ‘Wait until we have appointed other magistrates. For Claudius persuaded us neither to pass a preliminary decree concerning any other matter nor to lay anything else before the people nor to enrol forces until we have settled everything relating to the magistracies as we wish. [3] Depart, therefore, and when you hear that the consuls and the other magistrates have been appointed and that we have all the necessary preparations made for war, then come and make your pleas for peace, since you injured us first without any provocation on our part. And for whatever damage you have caused us in your raids, so far as property is concerned, pay us in full in accordance with justice; [4] but the slaying of our husbandmen and any insults and drunken abuse offered by your soldiers to women of free condition or any other irreparable mischief we shall not include in your account.’ And they doubtless in response to this invitation of ours will show moderation, and after permitting us to choose new magistrates and to make our preparations for war, will then come with olive branches in their hands instead of arms and deliver themselves up to us!”

[18.1] “Oh, the great folly of these men who can think of uttering such nonsense, and our own great stupidity if, when they say such things, we show no displeasure, but submit to hearing them, as if we were consulting in the interest of our enemies and not out of ourselves and our country! [2] Shall we not remove these triflers from our midst? Not vote speedy relief to the land that is being ravished? Not arm all the youth of Rome? Not march ourselves against the cities of our enemies? Or shall we stay at home and, abusing the decemvirs, installing new magistrates and considering a form of government

as if we were at peace, let everything in the country fall into the enemy's hands, and at last run the hazard of being enslaved ourselves and seeing our city laid in ruins as the result of our having allowed the war to approach our walls? [3] Such counsels, fathers, are not those of men in their senses nor do they spring from the political foresight which regards the public advantages as more essential than private animosities, but rather from an unseasonable contentiousness, an ill-starred enmity, and an unfortunate envy which does not permit those who are under its influence to show sound judgement. Dismiss, however, from your minds the rivalries of these men; but the measures which you should pass if your counsels are to prove salutary to the commonwealth, becoming to yourselves and formidable to our foes, I shall now attempt to indicate. [4] For the present, vote your approval of the war against the Aequians and Sabines and enrol with the greatest alacrity and expedition the forces that are to set out against both. And after the war is terminated in the happiest manner for us and our forces return to the city upon the conclusion of peace, then not only considered the form of government, but also call the decemvirs to account for all their actions during their administration, vote for new magistrates and establish courts and honour with both these offices those who are worthy of them when both are in your power; for you must know that opportunities do not wait upon events, but events upon opportunities."

[5] When Cornelius had delivered this opinion, those who rose up after him were, with few exceptions, of the same advice, some looking upon these measures as necessary and suited to the present juncture, and others yielding to the times and paying court to the decemvirs through dread of their magistracy; for no small part of the senators actually stood in awe of their power.

[19.1] After most of the senators had delivered their opinions and those who declared for war appeared to be much more numerous than the others, the decemvirs then called upon Lucius Valerius among the last. He was the one, as I have related, who had wished to say something at the very beginning of the debate but had been prevented by them. And now rising, he delivered a speech of the following tenor:

[2] "You see, fathers, the plot of the decemvirs who not only at first would not allow me to say to you all that I had proposed, but now have assigned to my turn to speak among the last, with this in mind, as we may reasonably assume, that, if I concur in the opinion of Claudius, I shall render no service to the commonwealth, since few have supported it, and again, if I deliver an opinion different from those they themselves have expressed, however excellent my advice may be, I shall have recited my piece in vain. [3] For those are easily counted who are to rise up after me, and even if I shall have them all agreeing with me, what advantage will it give me when I shall not have the smallest fraction of those who side with Cornelius? However, in spite of these misgivings I shall not hesitate to express my opinion. For when you have heard everybody, you will have it in your power to choose what is best. [4]

Concerning the decemvirs, therefore, and the manner in which they look after the commonwealth, consider that everything the most excellent Claudius has said has been said by me also and that new magistrates ought to be chosen before any decree is passed concerning the war; for this point also was treated by him in the best manner. [5] But since Cornelius endeavoured to show that his motion is impracticable, pointing out that the intervening period devoted to matters of civil administration would be a long one, while the war is at our doors, and since he attempted to ridicule things that do not deserve ridicule and by that means seduced and carried away most of you with him, I for my part shall also talk to you about the motion of Claudius, showing that it is not impracticable; for that it is disadvantageous to no one even of those who derided it has ventured to allege. And I shall show you how our territory may be made secure, how those who have dared to do it injury may be punished, how we may recover our ancient aristocracy, and how these things may all come about at the same time with weight concurrence of all the citizens and without the least opposition. All this I shall do, not through the display of any wisdom, but by citing your own actions as precedents for you to follow; for where experience teaches what is advantageous, what need is there of conjectures?

[20.1] “You recall that forces from these same nations as at present made incursions, partly into our territory and partly into that of our allies, both at the same time, when Gaius Nautius and Lucius Minucius were consuls, some eight or nine years ago I believe it was. [2] When on that occasion you had sent out numerous and brave youths against both these nations, it chanced that one of the consuls, being obliged to encamp in a difficult position, was unable to accomplish anything, but was besieged in his camp and in danger of being captured for want of provisions, while Nautius, who was encamped against the Sabines, was under the necessity of fighting battles with the same foes continually and could not even go to the aid of his fellow Romans who were in distress. And there was no doubt that if the army which was encamped among the Aequians should be destroyed, the other, that was carrying on the war against the Sabines, would not be able to hold out either when both armies of our enemies should have united. [3] When the commonwealth was encompassed by such dangers and even the people inside the city walls were not harmonious, what relief did you yourself hit upon — a relief which is acknowledged to have helped your whole cause and to have rectified the commonwealth when it was rushing to a miserable downfall? Assembling in the senate-chamber about midnight, you created a single magistracy with absolute authority over both war and peace, abrogating all the other magistracies; and before day came, the most excellent Lucius Quintius had been appointed dictator, although he was not even in the city at the time, but in the country. [4] You know, of course, the deeds which this man performed after that, how he got ready adequate forces, rescued the army which was in danger, chastised the enemy and took their general prisoner; and how, after

accomplishing all this in only fourteen days and reforming whatever else was corrupt in the commonwealth, he laid down the rods. Nothing hindered you then from creating a new magistracy in one day when you wished to do so. [5] This example, then, I think we ought to imitate, since there is nothing else we can do, and choose a dictator before we leave this chamber. For if we neglect this opportunity, the decemvirs will never assemble us again to deliberate about anything. And in order that the appointment of a dictator shall also be in accordance with the laws, we should create an interrex, choosing the most suitable person from among the citizens; for this is the customary thing for you to do when you have neither kings, consuls nor any other legal magistrates, which is the case at present, since these men's term of office has expired and the law has taken their rods from them. [6] This is the course I advise you to take, fathers, one that is both advantageous and practicable; whereas the motion proposed by Cornelius is confessedly the overthrow of your aristocracy. For if the decemvirs once get arms in their hands under this excuse of war, I fear they will use them against us. For is it at all likely that those who refuse to lay down their rods will lay down their arms? Taking these considerations into account, then, beware of these men and forestall any treachery on their part. For foresight is better than repentance, and it is more prudent not to trust wicked men than to accuse them after they have betrayed your trust."

[21.1] This opinion of Valerius pleased the majority of the senators, as was easy to conclude from their acclamations; and since those who rose up after him (those still remaining were the younger members of the senate) with few exceptions considered his measures the best, as soon as they all had delivered their own opinions and the discussion was due to be ended, Valerius asked the decemvirs to propose a division on the various opinions by calling upon all the senators over again from the beginning, and this request met with the approval of many of the senators who desired to retract their former opinions.

[2] But Cornelius, who advised giving the command of the war to the decemvirs, strenuously opposed this, declaring that the matter was already decided and legally ended, since all had voted; and he demanded that the votes be counted and that no further innovation be admitted. [3] When these proposals were urged by both men with great contention and shouting, and the senate split toward one side and the other, the party desiring to correct the disorder in the government backing Valerius, and the party which espoused the worse cause and suspected that there would be some danger from the change giving their support to Cornelius, the decemvirs, taking advantage of the dissension in the senate to do as they saw fit, sided with the opinion of Cornelius. [4] And Appius, one of their number, coming forward, said: "It was the war with the Aequians and Sabines, senators, which we called you together to deliberate about, and we have given all of you who so desired leave to speak, calling upon each one from the foremost down to the youngest in the proper order. And three senators having given different opinions,

namely Claudius, Cornelius, last of all Valerius, the rest of you have come to your decision concerning them and each one has come forward and declared in the hearing of all which opinion he supported. [5] Everything, therefore, having been done according to law, since the majority of you thought that Cornelius gave the best advice, we declare that he prevails, and we are engrossing and publishing the motion he made. Let Valerius and those who are leagued with him, when they shall obtain the consular power themselves, grant a rehearing, if they like, to causes already determined and annul resolutions passed by you all.” [6] Having said this and ordered the clerk to read the preliminary decree, in which it had been ordered that the enrolling of the army and the command of the war should be assumed by the decemvirs, he dismissed the meeting.

[22.1] After that those of the oligarchical faction went about swaggering and insolent, as if they had gained a victory over their adversaries and had contrived that their power could no longer be overthrown when once they should be in control of arms and an army. [2] But the men who had the best interests of the commonwealth at heart were in great distress and consternation, imagining that they should never again have any share in the government. These split into many groups, those of less noble dispositions feeling obliged to yield all to the victors and join the oligarchical bands, and such as were less timorous abandoning their concern for the public interests in exchange for a carefree life; but those who had great nobility of character employed themselves in organizing bands of their own and planning together for their mutual defence and for a change in the form of government. [3] The leaders of these groups were the men who had first dared to speak in the senate in favour of abolishing the decemvirate, namely Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius; and they had surrounded their houses with armed men and had about their persons a strong guard of their servants and clients, so as to suffer no harm from either violence or treachery. [4] Those persons, again, who were unwilling either to court the power of the victors or to pay no attention to any of the business of the commonwealth and to lead a quiet, carefree life, and to whom the carrying on of open warfare, since it was not easy for so great a power to be overthrown, seemed to be senseless, quitted the city. At the head of these was a distinguished man, Gaius Claudius, uncle to Appius, the chief of the decemvirate, who by this step fulfilled the promises he had made to his nephew in the senate when he advised but failed to persuade him to resign his power. [5] He was followed by a large crowd of his friends and likewise of his clients. Following his lead, the multitude also of citizens that were left, no longer privately or in small groups, but openly and in a body, abandoned their country, taking with them their wives and their children. Appius and his colleagues, being vexed at this, endeavoured at first to stop them by closing the gates and arresting some of the people. But afterwards, becoming afraid lest those they were attempting to stop should turn and defend themselves, and rightly judging it to be better for themselves that their

enemies should be out of the way than that they should remain and make trouble, they opened the gates and permitted all who so wished to depart; after the houses and estates, however, and all the other things that they left behind because they could not carry them away in their flight, the decemvirs nominally confiscated these to the treasury, bringing against their owners a charge of desertion, but in reality they bestowed these possessions on their own followers, pretending that the latter had purchased them from the public.

[6] These grievances, added to the former, greatly inflamed the hostility of the patricians and plebeians against the decemvirs. If, now, they had not added any fresh crime to those I have related, I think they might have retained the same power for a considerable time; for the sedition which maintained that power still continued in the city and had been increased by many causes and by the great length of time it had lasted, and because of the sedition each of the two parties rejoiced in the other's misfortunes, [7] the plebeians in seeing the spirit of the patricians humbled and the senate no longer possessing authority over any of the business of state, and the patricians in seeing the people stripped of their liberty and without the least strength since the decemvirs had taken from them the tribunician power. But the decemvirs, by treating both parties with great arrogance and by showing and moderation in the army nor self-restraint in the city, forced the parties to unite and to abolish their magistracy as soon as the war had put arms into their hands. [8] Their last crimes, for which they were overthrown by the people, whom they had particularly enraged by their abuses, were as follows.

[23.1] After they had secured the ratification of the decree of the senate for the war, they hastily enrolled their forces and divided them into three bodies. Two legions they left in the city to keep guard over matters inside the walls; and Appius Claudius, the chief of the oligarchy, together with Spurius Oppius commanded these two. Quintus Fabius, Quintus Poetelius and Manius Rabuleius marched out with three legions against the Sabines. [2] Marcus Cornelius, Lucius Minucius, Marcus Sergius, Titus Antonius, and last, Caeso Duilius, taking over the five remaining legions, arrived for the campaign against the Aequians. They were accompanied by an auxiliary force both of Latins and other allies that was as large as the citizen army. But nothing succeeded according to their plans, even though they were leading such large forces of both their own and allied troops. [3] For their foes, despising them because their troops were new recruits, encamped over against them, and placing ambuscades in the roads, cut off the provisions that were being brought to them and attacked them when they went out for forage; and whenever cavalry clashed with cavalry, infantry with infantry, and phalanx against phalanx, the Sabines always came off superior to the Romans, not a few of whom voluntarily played the coward in their encounters and not only disobeyed their officers but refused to come to grips with the foe. [4] Those, accordingly, who had set out against the Sabines, grown wise amid these minor misfortunes, resolved to quit their entrenchments of their own accord;

and breaking camp about midnight, they led the army back from the enemy's territory into their own, making their withdrawal not unlike a flight, till they came to the city of Crustumerium, which is not far from Rome. But those who had made their camp at Algidum in the country of the Aequians, when they too had received many blows at the hands of the enemy and still resolved to stand their ground in the midst of these dangers in hopes of retrieving their reverses, suffered a most grievous disaster. [5] For the enemy, having thrust forward against them and cleared palisades of those who defended them, mounted the ramparts, and possessing themselves of the camp, killed some few while fighting but destroyed the greater part in the pursuit. Those who escaped from this rout, being most of them wounded and having almost all lost their arms, came to the city of Tusculum; but their tents, beasts of burden, money, slaves, and the rest of their military provisions became the prey of the enemy. [6] When the news of this defeat was brought to the people in Rome, all who were enemies of the oligarchy and those who had hitherto been concealing their hatred revealed themselves now by rejoicing at the misfortunes of the generals; and there was now a strong body of men attached to both Horatius and Valerius, who, as I said, were the leaders of the aristocratical groups.

[24.1] Appius and Spurius supplied their colleagues who were in the field with arms, money, corn and everything else they stood in need of, taking all these things with a high hand, whether public or private property; and enrolling all the men in every tribe who were able to bear arms in order to replace those who had been lost, they sent them out so that the centuries might be filled up. They also kept strict guard over matters in the city by garrisoning the most critical positions, lest the followers of Valerius should foment some disorders without their knowledge. [2] They also gave secret instructions to their colleagues in the army to put to death all who opposed their measures, the men of distinction secretly, and those of less account even openly, always using some specious excuses to make their death seem deserved. And these things were being done. For some, being sent out by them for forage, others to convoy provisions that were being brought in, and some to perform other military tasks, when they were once out of the camp, were nowhere seen again, [3] while the humblest men, being accused of being the first to take flight or of carrying secret information to the enemy or of quitting their posts, were being put to death publicly in order to strike terror into the rest. Two causes, therefore, contributed to the destruction of the soldiers: the friends of the oligarchy were perishing in the skirmishes with the enemy, while those who longed for the aristocratic régime were being slain by the orders of the generals.

[25.1] Many crimes of this nature were committed in the city also by Appius and his colleague. The destruction of most of the victims, numerous as they were, was a matter of no great concern to the masses; but the cruel and wicked

death of one man, who was the most distinguished of the plebeians and had performed the most gallant exploits in war, only to be murdered now in that one of the camps where the three generals commanded, disposed everyone there to revolt. [2] The man assassinated was that Siccus who had fought the hundred and twenty battles and had received prizes for valour in all of them, a man of whom I have said that, when he was exempt from military service by reason of his age, he voluntarily engaged in the war against the Aequians at the head of a cohort of eight hundred men who had already completed the regular term of service and followed him out of affection for him; and having been sent with these men by one of the consuls against the enemy's camp, to manifest destruction, as everyone thought, he not only made himself master of their camp, but enabled the consuls to gain the complete victory they did. [3] This man, who kept making many speeches in the city against the generals in the field, accusing them of both cowardice and inexperience in warfare, Appius and his colleague were eager to remove out of the way, and to that end they invited him to friendly conversations and asked him to consult with them concerning affairs in camp, urging him to tell how the mistakes of the generals might be corrected; and at last they prevailed upon him to go out to the camp at Crustumium invested with the authority of a legate. The position of legate is the most honourable and the most sacred of all dignities among the Romans, possessing as it does the power and authority of a magistrate and the inviolable and holy character of a priest. [4] When he arrived at the camp and the generals there gave him a friendly greeting and asked him to remain and command in conjunction with them, also offering him some presents on the spot and promising others, Siccus, deceived by these wicked men and not conscious that the charm of their conversation was due to a plot, he being a military man and of a simple nature, not only made other recommendations, such as he thought advantageous, but, first of all, advised them to move their camp from their own territory to that of the enemy, recounting the losses they were then suffering and also estimating the advantages they would gain by shifting their camp.

[26.1] The generals, professing that they were glad to accept his advice, said: "Why, then, do you not take charge yourself of the army's removal, after first looking out a suitable position for it? You are sufficiently acquainted with the region because of the many campaigns you have made, and we will give you a company of picked youths fitted out with light equipment; for yourself there shall be a horse, on account of your age, and armour suitable for such an expedition." [2] Siccus having accepted the commission and asked for a hundred picked light-armed men, they sent him without delay while it was still light; and with him they sent the hundred men, whom they had picked out as the most daring of their own faction, with orders to kill the man, promising them great rewards for the murder. When they had advanced a long distance from the camp and had come to a hilly region where the road was narrow and difficult for a horse to traverse at any other pace than a walk as it climbed, by

reason of the ruggedness of the hills, they gave the signal to one another and formed in a compact mass, with the intention of falling upon him all together in a body. [3] But a servant of Siccus, who was his shield-bearer and a brave warrior, guessed their intention and informed his master of it. Siccus, seeing himself confined in a difficult position where it was not possible to drive his horse at full speed, leaped down, and taking his stand upon the hill in order to avoid being surrounded by his assailants, with only his shield-bearer to aid him, awaited their attack. When they fell upon him all at once, many in number, he killed some fifteen of them and wounded twice as many; and it seemed as if he might have slain all the others in combat if they had come to close quarters with him. [4] But they, concluding that he was an invincible prodigy and that they could never vanquish him by engaging hand to hand, gave over that way of fighting, and withdrawing to a greater distance, hurled javelins, stones and sticks at him; and some of them, approaching the hill from the flanks and getting above him, rolled down huge stones upon him till they overwhelmed him with the multitude of the missiles that were hurled at him from in front and the weight of the stones that crashed down upon him from above. Such was the fate of Siccus.

[27.1] Those who had accomplished his murder returned to the camp bringing their wounded with them, and spread a report that a body of the enemy, having suddenly come upon them, had killed Siccus and the other men whom they first encountered and that they themselves after receiving many wounds had escaped with great difficulty. And their report seemed credible to everyone. However, their crime did not remain concealed, but though the murder was committed in a solitude where there was no possible informant, by the agency of fate itself and that justice which oversees all human actions they were convicted on the strength of incontrovertible evidence. [2] For the soldiers in the camp, feeling that the man deserved both a public funeral and distinctive honour above other men, not only for many other reasons, but particularly because, though he was an old man and exempted by his age from contests of war, he had voluntarily exposed himself to danger for the public good, voted to join together from the three legions and go out to recover his body, in order that it might be brought to the camp in complete security and honour. And the generals consenting to this, for fear that by opposing a worthy and becoming action they might create some suspicion of a plot in regard to the incident, they took their arms and went out of the camp. [3] When they came to the spot and saw neither woods nor ravines nor any other place of the sort customary for the setting of ambushes, but a bare hill exposed on all sides and reached by a narrow pass, they at once began to suspect what had happened. Then, approaching the dead bodies and seeing Siccus himself and all the rest cast aside but not despoiled, they marvelled that the enemy, after overcoming their foes, had stripped off neither their arms nor their clothes. [4] And when they examined the whole region round about and found neither tracks of horses nor footsteps of men besides

those in the road, they thought it impossible that enemies till then invisible could have suddenly burst into view of their comrades, as if they had been creatures with wings or had fallen from heaven. But, over and above all these and the other signs, what seemed to them the strongest proof that the man had been slain, not by enemies, but by friends, was that the body of no foeman was found. [5] For they could not conceive that Siccus, a man irresistible by reason of both of his strength and of his valour, or his shield-bearer either, or the others who had fallen with him would have perished without offering a stout resistance, particularly since the contest had been waged hand to hand. This they conjectured from their wounds; for both Siccus himself and his shield-bearer having had many wounds, some from stones, others from javelins, and still others from swords, whereas those who had been slain by them all had wounds from swords, but none from a missile weapon. [6] Thereupon they all gave way to resentment and cried out, making great lamentation. After bewailing the calamity, they took up the body, and carrying it to the camp, indulged in loud outcries against the generals, and they demanded, preferably, that the murderers be put to death in accordance with military law, or else that a civil court be assigned to them immediately; and many were those who were ready to be their accusers. [7] When the generals paid no heed to them, but concealed the men and put off the trials, telling them they would give an accounting in Rome to any who wished to accuse them, the soldiers, convinced that the generals had been the authors of the plot, proceeded to bury Siccus, after arranging a most magnificent funeral procession and erecting an immense pyre, where every man according to his ability presented the first-offerings of everything that is usually employed in rendering the last honours to brave men; but they were all becoming alienated from the decemvirs and had the intention of revolting. Thus the army that lay encamped at Crustumerium and Fidenae, because of the death of Siccus the legate, was hostile to the men who stood at the head of the government.

[28.1] The other army, which lay at Algidum in the territory of the Aequians, as well as the whole body of the people at Rome became hostile to them for the following reasons. One of the plebeians, whose name was Lucius Verginius, a man inferior to none in war, had the command of a century in one of the five legions which had taken the field against the Aequians. [2] He had a daughter, called Verginia after her father, who far surpassed all the Roman maidens in beauty and was betrothed to Lucius, a former tribune and son of the Icilius who first instituted and first received the tribunician power. [3] Appius Claudius, the chief of the decemvirs, having seen this girl, who was now marriageable, as she was reading at the schoolmaster's (the schools for the children stood at that time near the Forum), was immediately captivated by her beauty and became still more frenzied because, already mastered by passion, he could not help passing by the school frequently. [4] But, as he could not marry her, both because he saw that she was betrothed to another and because he himself had a lawfully-wedded wife, and furthermore because he

would not deign to take a wife from a plebeian family through scorn of that station and as being contrary to the law which he himself had inscribed in the Twelve Tables, he first endeavoured to bribe the girl with money, and for that purpose was continually sending women to her governesses (for she had lost her mother), giving them many presents and promising them still more than was actually given. Those who were tempting the governesses had been instructed not to tell them the name of the man who was in love with the girl, but only that he was one of those who had it in his power to benefit or harm whom he wished. [5] When they could not persuade the governesses and he saw that the girl was thought to require an even stronger guard than before, inflamed by his passion, he resolved to take the more audacious course. He accordingly sent for Marcus Claudius, one of his clients, a daring man and ready for any service, and acquainted him with his passion; then, having instructed him in what he wished him to do and say, he sent him away accompanied by a band of the most shameless men. [6] And Claudius, going to the school, seized the maiden and attempted to lead her away openly through the forum; but when an outcry was raised and a great crowd gathered, he was prevented from taking her whither he intended, and so betook himself to the magistracy. Seated at the time on the tribunal was Appius alone, hearing causes and administering justice to those who applied for it. When Claudius wished to speak, there was an outcry and expressions of indignation on the part of the crowd standing about the tribunal, all demanding that he wait till the relations of the girl should be present; and Appius ordered it should be so. [7] After a short interval Publius Numitorius, the maiden's maternal uncle, a man of distinction among the plebeians, appeared with many of his friends and relations; and not long afterwards came Lucius, to whom she had been betrothed by her father, accompanied by a strong body of young plebeians. As he came up to the tribunal still panting and out of breath, he demanded to know who it was that had dared to lay hands upon a girl who was a Roman citizen and what his purpose was.

[29.1] When silence had been obtained, Marcus Claudius, who had seized the girl, spoke to this effect: "I have done nothing either rash or violent in regard to the girl, Appius Claudius; but, as I am her master, I am taking her according to the laws. Hear now by what means she is mine. [2] I have a female slave who belonged to my father and has served a great many years. This slave, being with child, was persuaded by the wife of Verginius, whom she was acquainted with and used to visit, to give her the child when she should bear it. And she, keeping her promise, when this daughter was born, pretended to us that she had given birth to a dead child, but she gave the babe to Numitoria; and the latter, taking the child, palmed it off as her own and reared it, although she was the mother of no children either male or female. [3] Hitherto I was ignorant of all this; but now, having learned of it through information given me and having many credible witnesses and having also examined the slave, I have recourse to the law, common to all mankind, which

declares it right that the offspring belong, not to those who palm off others' children as their own, but to their mothers, the children of freeborn mothers being free, and those of slave mothers slaves, having the same masters as their mothers. [4] In virtue of this law I claim the right to take the daughter of my slave woman, consenting to submit to a trial and, if anyone puts in a counter claim, offering sufficient securities that I will produce her at the trial. But if anyone wishes to have the decision rendered speedily, I am ready to plead my cause before you at once, instead of offering pledges for her person and interposing delays to the action. Let these claimants choose whichever of these alternatives they wish."

[30.1] After Claudius had spoken thus and had added an urgent plea that he might be at no disadvantage as compared with his adversaries because he was a client and of humble birth, the uncle of the girl answered in few words and those such as were proper to be addressed to a magistrate. He said that the father of the girl was Verginius, a plebeian, who was then abroad in the service of his country; that her mother was Numitoria, his own sister, a virtuous and good woman, who had died not many years before; that the maiden herself, after being brought up in such a manner as became a person of free condition and a citizen, had been legally betrothed to Icilius, and that the marriage would have taken place if the war with the Aequians had not intervened. [2] In the meantime, he said, no less than fifteen years having elapsed, Claudius had never attempted to allege anything of this sort to the girl's relations, but now that she was of marriageable age and had a reputation for exceptional beauty, he had come forward with his allegation after inventing a shameless calumny, not indeed on his own initiative, but coached by a man who thought he must by any and every means gratify his desires. [3] As for the trial, he said the father himself would defend the cause of his daughter when he returned from the campaign; but as for the claiming of her person, which was required according to the laws, he himself, as the girl's uncle, was attending to that and was submitting to trial, in doing which he was demanding nothing either unprecedented or not granted as a right to all other Roman citizens, if indeed not to all men, namely, that when a person is being haled from a condition of freedom into slavery, it is not the man who is trying to deprive him of his liberty, but the man who maintains it, that has the custody of him until the trial. [4] And he said that it behooved Appius to maintain that principle for many reasons: first, because he had inscribed this law among the others in the Twelve Tables, and, in the next place, because he was chief of the decemvirate; and furthermore, because he had assumed not only the consular but also the tribunician power, the principal function of which was to relieve such of the citizens as were weak and destitute of help. [5] He then asked him to show compassion for a maiden who had turned to him for refuge, having long since lost her mother and being at the moment deprived of her father and in danger of losing not only her ancestral fortune but also her husband, her country, and, what is regarded as the greatest of all

human blessings, her personal liberty. And having lamented the insolence to which the girl would be delivered up and thus roused great compassion in all present, he at last spoke about the time to be appointed for the trial, saying: [6] “Since Claudius, who during those fifteen years never complained of any injury, now wishes to have the decision in this cause rendered speedily, anyone else who was contending for a matter of so great importance as I am would say that he was grievously treated and would naturally feel indignant, demanding to offer his defence only after peace is made and all who are now in camp have returned, at a time when both parties to the suit will have an abundance of witnesses, friends and judges — a proposal which would be democratic, moderate and agreeable to the Roman constitution. [7] But as for us,” he said, “we have no need of speeches nor of peace nor of a throng of friends and judges, nor are we trying to put the matter off to the times appropriate for such decisions; but even in war, and when friends are lacking and judges are not impartial, and at once, we are ready to make our defence, asking of you only so much time, Appius, as will suffice for the father of the girl to come from camp, lament his misfortunes, and plead his cause in person.”

[31.1] Numitorius having spoken to this effect and the people who stood round the tribunal having signified by a great shout that his demand was just, Appius after a short pause said: “I am not ignorant of the law concerning the bailing of those who are claimed as slaves, which does not permit their persons to be in the power of the claimants till the hearing of the case, nor would I willingly break a law which I myself draughted. This, however, I consider to be just, that, as there are two claimants, the master and the father, if they were both present, the father should have the custody of her person till the hearing; [2] but since he is absent, the master should take her away, giving sufficient sureties that he will produce her before the magistrate when her father returns. I shall take great care, Numitorius, concerning the sureties and the amount of their bond and also that you defendants shall be at no disadvantage in respect of the trial. For the present, deliver up the girl.”

[3] When Appius had pronounced this sentence, there was much lamentation and beating of breasts on the part of the maiden and of the women surrounding her, and much clamour and indignation on the part of the crowd which stood about the tribunal. But Icilius, who intending to marry the girl, clasped her to him and said: [4] “Not while I am alive, Appius, shall anyone take this girl away. But if you are resolved to break the laws, to confound our rights, and to take from us our liberty, deny no longer the tyranny you decemvirs are reproached with, but after you have cut off my head lead away not only this maiden whithersoever you choose, but also every other maiden and matron, in order that the Romans may now at last be convinced that they have become slaves instead of free men and may no longer show a spirit above their condition. [5] Why, then, do you delay any longer? Why do you not shed my blood before your tribunal in the sight of all? But know of a certainty

that my death will prove the beginning either of great woes to the Romans or of great blessings.”

[32.1] While he wished to go on speaking, the lictors by order of the magistrate kept him and his friends back from the tribunal and commanded them to obey the sentence; and Claudius laid hold on the girl as she clung to her uncle and her betrothed, and attempted to lead her away. But the people who stood round the tribunal, upon seeing her piteous grief, all cried out together, and disregarding the authority of the magistrate, crowded upon those who were endeavouring to use force with her, so that Claudius, fearing their violence, let the girl go and fled for refuge to the feet of the general. [2] Appius was at first greatly disturbed as he saw all the people enraged, and for a considerable time was in doubt what he ought to do. Then, after calling Claudius to the tribunal and conversing a little with him, as it seemed, he made a sign for the bystanders to be silent and said: [3] “I am waiving the strict letter of the law, citizens, relative to the bailing of her person, inasmuch as I see you growing exasperated at the sentence I have pronounced; and desiring to gratify you, I have prevailed upon my client to consent that the relations of the maiden shall go bail for her till the arrival of her father. [4] Do you men, therefore, take the girl away, Numitorius, and acknowledge yourselves bound for her appearance to-morrow. For this much time is sufficient for you both to give Verginius notice to-day and to bring him here from the camp in three or four hours to-morrow.” When they asked for more time, he gave no answer but rose up and ordered his seat to be taken away.

[33.1] As he left the Forum, sorely troubled and maddened by his passion, he determined not to relinquish the maiden another time to her relations, but when she was produced by her surety, to take her away by force, after first placing a stronger guard about his person, in order to avoid suffering any violence from the crowds, and occupying the neighbourhood of the tribunal ahead of time with a throng of his partisans and clients. [2] That he might do this with a plausible show of justice when the father should fail to appear as her surety, he sent his most trusted horsemen to the camp with letters for Antonius, the commander of the legion in which Verginius served, asking him to detain the man under strict guard, lest he learn of the situation of his daughter and steal away from the camp unobserved. [3] But he was forestalled by two relations of the girl, namely a son of Numitorius and a brother of Icilius, who had been sent ahead by the rest at the very beginning of the affair. These, being young and full of spirit, drove their horses with loose rein and under the whip, and completing the journey ahead of the men sent by Appius, informed Verginius of what had taken place. [4] He, going to Antonius and concealing the true reason for his request, pretended that he had received word of the death of a certain near relation whose funeral and burial he was obliged by law to perform; and being given a furlough, he set out about lamp-lighting time with the youths, taking by-roads for fear of being pursued both from the camp and from the city — the very thing which actually happened. [5]

For Antonius, upon receiving the letters about the first watch, sent a troop of horse after him, while other horsemen, sent from the city, patrolled all night long the road that led from the camp to Rome. When Appius was informed by somebody of the unexpected arrival of Verginius, he lost control of himself, and going to the tribunal with a large body of attendants, ordered the relations of the girl to be brought. [6] When they had come, Claudius repeated what he had said before and asked Appius to act as judge in the matter without delay, declaring that both the informant and the witnesses were present and offering the slave woman herself to be examined. On top of all this there was the pretence of great indignation, if he was not to obtain the same justice as other people, as he had previously, because he was a client of Appius, and also an appeal that Appius should not support those whose complaints were the more pitiful, but rather those whose claims were the more just.

[34.1] The father of the girl and her other relations made a defence with many just and truthful arguments against the charge that she had been substituted for a still-born child, namely, that the sister of Numitorius, wife of Verginius, had had no reasonable ground for a substitution, since she, a virgin, married to a young man, had borne a child no very considerable time after her marriage; and again, if she had desired ever so much to introduce the offspring of another woman into her own family, she would not have taken the child of someone else's slave rather than that of a free woman united to her by consanguinity or friendship, one from whom she would take it in the confidence and indeed certainty that she could keep what she had received. [2] And when she had it in her power to take a child of whichever sex she wished, she would have chosen a male child rather than a female. For a mother, if she wants children, must of necessity be contented with and rear whatever offspring nature produces, whereas a woman who substitutes a child will in all probability choose the better sex instead of the inferior. [3] As against the informer and the witnesses whom Claudius said he would produce in great numbers, and all of them trustworthy, they offered the argument from probability, that Numitoria would never have done openly and in conjunction with witnesses of free condition a deed that required secrecy and could have been performed for her by one person, when as a result she might see the girl she had reared taken away from her by the owners of the girl's mother. [4] Also the lapse of time, they said, was no slight evidence that there was nothing sound in what the plaintiff alleged; for neither the informer nor the witnesses would have kept the substitution a secret during fifteen years, but would have told of it before this. [5] While discrediting the plaintiff's proofs as neither true nor probable, they asked that their own proofs might be weighed against them, and named many women, and those of no mean note, who they said had known when Numitoria came with child by the size of her abdomen. Besides these they produced women who because of their kinship had been present at her labour and delivery and had seen the child brought into the world, and asked that these be questioned. [6] But the clearest proof of all, which was

attested by both men in large numbers and women, freemen and slaves as well, they brought in at the last, stating that the child had been suckled by her mother and that it was impossible for a woman to have her breasts full of milk if she had not borne a child.

[35.1] While they were presenting these arguments and many others equally weighty and incontrovertible and were pouring forth a stream of compassion over the girl's misfortunes, all the others who heard their words felt pity for her beauty [2] as they cast their eyes upon her, — for being dressed in squalid attire, gazing down at the ground, and dimming the lustre of her eyes with tears, she arrested the eyes of all, so superhuman a beauty and grace enveloped her, — and all bewailed the perversity of Fortune when they considered what abuses and insults she would encounter after falling from such prosperity. [3] And they began to reason that, once the law which secured their liberty was violated, there was nothing to prevent their own wives and daughters also from suffering the same treatment as this girl. While they were making these and many like reflections and communicating them to one another, they wept. [4] But Appius, inasmuch as he was not by nature sound of mind and now was spoiled by the greatness of his power, his soul turgid and his bowels inflamed because of his love of the girl, neither paid heed to the pleas of her defenders nor was moved by her tears, and furthermore resented the sympathy shown for her by the bystanders, as though he himself deserved greater pity and had suffered greater torments from the comeliness which had enslaved him. [5] Goaded, therefore, by all these emotions, he not only had the effrontery to make a shameless speech, by which he made it clear to those who suspected as much that he himself had contrived the fraudulent charge against the girl, but he also dared to commit a cruel and tyrannical deed.

[36.1] For while they were still pleading their cause, he commanded silence; and when there was quiet and the whole crowd in the Forum began moving forward, prompted by a desire to know what he would say, he repeatedly turned his glance here and there, his eyes taking count of the bands of his partisans, who by his orders had posted themselves in different parts of the Forum, and then spoke as follows: [2] "This is not the first time, Verginius and you who are present with him, that I have heard of this matter, but it was long ago, even before I assumed this magistracy. Hear, now, in what way it came to my knowledge. The father of Marcus Claudius here, when he was dying, asked me to be the guardian of his son, whom he was leaving a mere boy; for the Claudii are hereditary clients of our family. [3] During the time of my guardianship information was given me regarding this girl, to the effect that Numitoria had palmed her off as her own child after receiving her from the slave woman of Claudius; and upon investigating this matter, I found it was so. Now I might myself have claimed what I had a right to claim, but I thought it better to leave the power of choice to my ward here, when he should come to man's estate, either to take away the girl, if he thought fit, or to come to an accommodation with those who were rearing her, by taking

money for her or making a present of her. [4] Since that time, having become involved in public affairs, I have given myself no further concern about the interests of Claudius. But he, it would seem, when taking account of his estate, also received the same information concerning the girl which had previously been given to me; and he is making no unjust demand when he wishes to take away the daughter of his own slave woman. [5] Now if they had come to terms with one another, it would have been well; but since the matter has been brought into litigation, I give this testimony in his favour and declare him to be the girl's master."

[37.1] When they heard this, all who were unprejudiced and ready to be advocates for those who plead the cause of justice held up their hands to heaven and raised an outcry of mingled lamentation and resentment, while the flatterers of the oligarchy uttered their rallying cry that was calculated to inspire the men in power with confidence. While the Forum was seething filled with cries and emotions of every sort, Appius, commanding silence, said: [2] "If you do not cease dividing the city into factions and contending against us, you trouble-makers, useless fellows everywhere whether in peace or in war, you shall be brought to your senses by compulsion and so submit. Do not imagine that these guards on the Capitol and the citadel have been made ready by use solely against foreign foes and that we shall be indifferent to you who sit idle inside the walls and corrupt all the interests of the commonwealth. [3] Adopt, then, a better disposition than you have at present and be off with you, all you who have no business here, and mind your own affairs, if you are wise. And do you, Claudius, take the girl and lead her through the Forum without fearing anyone; for the twelve axes of Appius will attend you."

[4] After he had spoken thus, the others withdrew from the Forum, sighing, beating their foreheads, and unable to refrain from tears; but Claudius began to lead away the girl as she held her father close, kissing him and calling upon him with the most endearing words. Finding himself in so sore a plight, Verginius thought of a deed that was grievous and bitter indeed to a father, yet becoming to a free man of lofty spirit. [5] For he asked leave to embrace his daughter for the last time as a free woman and to say what he thought fit to her in private before she was taken from the Forum, and when the general granted his request and his enemies withdrew a little, he held her up and supported her as she was fainting and sinking to the ground, and for a time called her by name, kissed her, and wiped away her streaming tears; then, drawing her away by degrees, when he came close a butcher's shop, he snatched up a knife from the table and plunged it into his daughter's vitals, saying only this: [6] "I send you forth free and virtuous, my child, to your ancestors beneath the earth. For if you had lived, you could not have enjoyed these two blessings because of the tyrant." When an outcry was raised, holding the bloody knife in his hand and covered as he was himself with blood, with which the slaying of the girl had besprinkled him, he ran like a

madman through the city, calling the citizens to liberty. [7] Then, forcing his way out through the gates, he mounted the horse that stood ready for him and hastened to the camp, attended this time also by Icilius and Numitorius, the young men who had brought him from the camp. They were followed by another crowd of plebeians, not small in number, but amounting to some four hundred in all.

[38.1] When Appius learned of the girl's fate, he leaped up from his seat and was minded to pursue Verginius, meanwhile both saying and doing many indecorous things. But when his friends stood round him and besought him to do nothing reckless, he departed full of resentment against everybody. [2] Then, when he was already home, some of his followers informed him that Icilius, the betrothed of Verginia, and Numitorius, her uncle, together with her other friends and relations, standing round her body, were charging him with crimes speakable and unspeakable and summoning the people to liberty. [3] In his rage he sent some of the lictors with orders to hale to prison those who had raised the clamour and to remove the body out of the Forum, thereby doing a most imprudent thing and one by no means suited to that crisis. For when he ought to have courted the multitude, by yielding to them for the moment and afterwards justifying some of his actions, seeking pardon for others, and making amends for yet others by sundry acts of kindness, he was carried away to more violent measures and forced the people to resort to desperation. [4] For instance, they would not permit it when the lictors attempted to drag away the body or hale the men to prison, but shouting encouragement to one another, they indulged in both pushing and blows against them when they attempted to use violence and drove them out of the Forum. As a result, Appius, on hearing of this, was obliged to proceed to the Forum, accompanied by numerous partisans and clients, whom he ordered to beat and hold back out of the way the people who were in the streets. [5] But Valerius and Horatius, who, as I have said, were the chief leaders of those who desired to recover their liberty, having learned of his purpose in thus coming forth, came bringing with them a large and brave company of youths and took their stand before the body; and when Appius and his followers drew near, they first proceeded to harsh and bitter taunts against the power of the decemvirs, and then, suiting their actions to their words, they struck and knocked down all who engaged with them.

[39.1] Appius, sorely troubled by this unexpected setback and not knowing how to deal with the men, resolved to take the most pernicious course. For, feeling that the populace still remained friendly to him, he went up to the sanctuary of Vulcan, and calling an assembly of the people, he attempted to accuse those men of violation of the law and of insolent behaviour, being carried away by his tribunician power and the vain hope that the people would share his resentment and permit him to throw the men down from the cliff. [2] But Valerius and his followers took possession of another part of the Forum, and placing the body of the maiden where it would be seen by all, held another assembly of the people and made a sweeping accusation of Appius and the other oligarchs. [3] And it was bound to happen, as one would expect, that with some being attracted thither by the rank of the men, others by their compassion for the girl who had suffered dreadful and worse than dreadful calamities because of her unfortunate beauty, and still others by their very yearning for the ancient constitution, this assembly would be better attended than the other, so that just a few were left round Appius, consisting solely of

the oligarchical faction; and among those there were some who for many reasons no longer paid heed to the oligarchs themselves, but, if the cause of their opponents should become strong, would gladly turn against the others. [4] Appius, accordingly, seeing himself being deserted, was obliged to change his mind and leave the Forum, a course which proved of the greatest advantage to him; for if he had been set upon by the plebeian crowd, he would have paid a fitting penalty to them. [5] After that Valerius and his followers, having all the authority they wished, indulged themselves in anti-oligarchic speeches and by their harangues won over those who still hesitated. The dissatisfaction of the citizens at large was still further increased by the relations of the girl, who brought her bier into the Forum, prepared all the funeral trappings on the most costly scale they could, and then bore the body in procession through the principal streets of the city, where it would be seen by the largest number of people. [6] In fact the matrons and maidens ran out of their houses lamenting her fate, some throwing flowers and garlands upon the bier, some their girdles or fillets, others their childhood toys, and others perhaps even locks of their hair that they had cut off; [7] and many of the men, either purchasing ornaments in the neighbouring shops or receiving them as a favour, contributed to the funeral pomp by the appropriate gifts. Hence the funeral was much talked about throughout the entire city, and all were seized with an eager desire for the overthrow of the oligarchs. But those who favoured the cause of the oligarchy, being armed, kept them in great fear, and Valerius and his followers did not care to decide the quarrel by shedding the blood of their fellow citizens.

[40.1] Affairs in the city, then, were in this state of turmoil. In the meantime Verginius, who, as I have related, had slain his daughter with his own hand, rode with loose rein and at lamp-lighting time came to the camp at Algidum, still in the same condition in which he had rushed out of the city, all covered with blood and holding the butcher's knife in his hand. [2] When those who were keeping guard before the camp saw him, they could not imagine what had happened to him, and they followed along in the expectation of hearing of some great and dreadful occurrence. Verginius for the time continued on his way, weeping and making signs to those he met to follow him; and from the tents which he passed the soldiers, who were then at supper, all ran out in a body, full of anxious suspense and consternation, carrying torches and lamps; and pouring round him, they accompanied him. [3] But when he came to the open space in the camp, he took his stand upon an elevated spot, so as to be seen by all, and related the calamities that had befallen him, offering as witnesses to the truth of his statements those who had come with him from the city.

When he saw many of them lamenting and shedding tears, he turned to supplications and entreaties, begging them neither to permit him to go unavenged nor to let the fatherland be foully abused. While he was speaking thus, great eagerness was shown by them all to hear him and great

encouragement for him to speak on. [4] Accordingly, he now assailed the oligarchy with greater boldness, recounting how the decemvirs had deprived many of their fortunes, caused many to be scourged, forced ever so many to flee from the country though guilty of no crime, and enumerating their insults offered to matrons, their seizing of marriageable maidens, their abuse of boys of free condition, and all their other excesses and cruelties. [5] “And these abuses,” he said, “we suffer at the hands of men who hold their power neither by law nor by a decree of the senate nor by the consent of the people (for the year’s term of their magistracy, after serving which they should have handed over the administration of affairs to others, has expired), but by the most violent of all means, since they have adjudged us great cowards and weaklings, like women. [6] Let every one of you consider both what he has suffered himself and what he knows others to have suffered; and if any one of you, lured by them with pleasures or gratifications, does not stand in dread of the oligarchy or fear that the calamities will eventually come upon him too some day, let him learn that tyrants know no loyalty, that it is not out of goodwill that the favours of the powerful are bestowed, and all the other truths of like purport; then let him change his opinion. [7] And becoming of one mind, all of you, free from these tyrants your country, in which stand both the temples of your gods and the sepulchres of your ancestors, whom you honour next to the gods, in which also are your aged fathers, who demand of you many acknowledgements such as the pains they have bestowed upon your rearing deserve, and also your lawfully betrothed wives, your marriageable daughters, who require much solicitous care on the part of their parents, and your sons, to whom are owed the rights deriving from Nature and from your forefathers. [8] I say nothing indeed of your houses, your estates and your goods, which have been acquired with great pains both by your fathers and by yourselves, none of which things you can possess in security so long as you live under the tyranny of the decemvirs.

[41.1] “It is the part neither of prudent nor of brave men to acquire the possessions of others by valour and then to allow their own to be lost through cowardice, nor, again, to wage long and incessant wars against the Aequians, the Volscians, the Sabines, and all the rest of your neighbours for the sake of sovereignty and dominion and then to be unwilling to take up arms against your unlawful rulers for the sake of both your security and your liberty. [2] Will you not recover the proud spirit of your country? Will you not come to a decision worthy of the virtue of your ancestors who, because one woman was outraged by one of Tarquin’s sons and because of this calamity put herself to death, became so indignant at her fate and so exasperated, looking upon the outrage as one done to them all alike, that they not only banished Tarquin from the state, but even abolished the monarchy itself and forbade that anyone should thereafter rule over Romans for life with irresponsible power, not only binding themselves by the most solemn oaths, but also invoking curses upon their descendants if in any respect they should act to the contrary? [3] Then,

when they refused to bear the tyrannical outrage committed by one licentious youth upon one person of free condition, will *you* tolerate a many-headed tyranny that indulges in every sort of crime and licentiousness and will indulge still more if you now submit to it? [4] I am not the only man who had a daughter superior in beauty to others whom Appius had openly attempted to violate and besmirch, but many of you also have daughters or wives or comely young sons; and what shall hinder these from being treated in the same manner by another of the ten tyrants or by Appius himself? Unless, indeed, there is some one of the gods who will guarantee that if you permit these calamities of mine to go unavenged the same misfortunes will not come upon many of you, but having pursued its way only as far as my daughter, this lust of tyrants will stop and toward the persons of others, both youths and maidens, will grow chaste! [5] Know of a certainty, however, that it is the part of great folly and stupidity to say that these imagined crimes will not come to pass. For the desires of tyrants are naturally limitless, inasmuch as they have neither law nor fear to check them. Therefore, by effecting for me a just vengeance and also by procuring for yourselves security against suffering the same mistreatment, break now at last your bonds, O miserable me; look up toward liberty, your eyes fixed upon her. [6] What other ground for indignation greater than this will you have, when the tyrants carry off the daughters of citizens like slaves and with the lash lead their brides home? On what occasion will you regain the spirit of free men if you let slip the present one when your bodies are protected by arms?"

[42.1] While he was yet speaking, most of the soldiers cried out, promising to avenge him, and called upon the centurions by name, demanding immediate action; and many, coming forward, made bold to speak openly of any ill-treatment they had suffered. [2] Upon learning of what had happened, the five men, who, as I have stated, had the command of these legions, fearing lest some attack might be made upon them by the rabble, all ran to the general's headquarters and considered with their friends how they might allay the tumult by surrounding themselves with an armed guard of their own faction. [3] But being informed that the soldiers had retired to their tents and that the disturbance was abated and ended, and being unaware that most of the centurions had secretly conspired to revolt and to unite in freeing their country, they resolved that as soon as it was day they would seize Verginius, who was stirring up the rabble, and keep him in custody, and then, breaking camp and leading their forces against the enemy, would settle down in the best part of their territory and lay it waste, thus keeping their men from meddling any longer with what was going on in the city, partly because of the booty they would acquire and partly because of the battles that would be waged in each instance to secure their own safety. [4] But they succeeded in none of their calculations; for the centurions would not even permit Verginius to go to the generals' headquarters when he was sent for, suspecting that he might suffer some harm; nay, they even heaped scorn upon the intercepted

report that the generals wished to lead the troops against the enemy, saying: “How skilfully you have commanded us in the past, that now also we should take hope and follow you — you who, after assembling a greater army both from the city itself and from our allies than any other generals in the past, have not only failed to gain any victory over the enemy or to do them any harm, but on the contrary have shown a lack of both courage and experience by encamping in cowardly fashion, and also, by permitting your own territory to be ravaged by the enemy, have made us beggars and destitute of all the means by which, when we were superior to our foes in equipment, we conquered them in battle when we had better generals than you! And now our foes erect trophies to commemorate our defeats and are in possession of our tents, our slaves, our arms and our money, which they have seized as plunder.”

[43.1] Verginius, moved by anger and no longer standing in awe of the generals, now inveighed against them with greater assurance, called them despoilers and plagues of their country, and exhorting all the centurions to take up the standards and lead the army home. [2] But most of them were still afraid to remove the sacred standards, and again, did not think it either right or safe at all to desert their commanders and generals. For not only does the military oath, which the Romans observe most strictly of all oaths, bid the soldiers follow their generals wherever they may lead, but also the law has given the commanders authority to put to death without a trial all who are disobedient or desert their standards. [3] Verginius, accordingly, perceiving that these scruples kept them in awe, proceeded to show them that the law had set aside their oath, since it is necessary that the general who commands the forces should have been legally appointed, whereas the power of the decemvirs was illegal, inasmuch as it had exceeded the term of a year, for which it had been granted. And to do the bidding of those who were commanding illegally, he declared, was not obedience and loyalty, but folly and madness. [4] The soldiers, hearing these arguments, approved of them; and encouraging one another and inspired also by Heaven with a certain boldness, they took up the standards and set out from the camp. However, as was to be expected among men of various dispositions and not all of them entertaining the best intentions, there were bound to be some, both soldiers and centurions, who remained with the oligarchs, though they were not so numerous as the others, but far fewer. [5] Those who departed from the camp marched throughout the entire day, and when evening came on, arrived in Rome, no one having announced their approach. Hence they caused the inhabitants no slight dismay, since they thought that a hostile army had entered the city; and there was shouting and disorderly running to and fro throughout the city. Nevertheless, the confusion did not last long enough to produce any mischief. For the soldiers, passing through the streets, called out that they were friends and had come for the good of the commonwealth; and they made their words match their deeds, as they did no harm to anyone. [6] Then, proceeding to the

hill called the Aventine, which of all the hills included in Rome is the most suitable for an encampment, they put down their arms near the temple of Diana. The following day they strengthened their camp, and having appointed ten tribunes, at the head of whom was Marcus Oppius, to take care of their common interests, they remained quiet.

[44.1] There soon came to them as reinforcements from the army at Fidenae the ablest centurions of the three legions there, bringing with them a large force. These had long been disaffected toward the generals at Fidenae, ever since those men had caused the death of Siccius the legate, as I have related, but were afraid of beginning the revolt earlier, because they considered the five legions at Algidum to be attached to the decemvirate; but at the time in question, as soon as they heard of the revolt of the others, they were glad to embrace the opportunity presented to them by Fortune. [2] These legions also were commanded by ten tribunes, who had been appointed during their march, the most prominent of whom was Sextus Malius. After joining the others, they put down their arms and left it to the twenty tribunes to speak and act in all matters as representatives of the whole group. Out of these twenty they appointed two persons, Marcus Oppius and Sextus Malius, who were the most prominent, to determine policies. These established a council consisting of all the centurions and handled all matters in conjunction with them. [3] While their intentions were not as yet generally known, Appius, inasmuch as he was conscious of having been the cause of the present disturbance and of the evils that were expected to result from it, no longer thought fit to transact any of the public business, but stayed at home. Spurius Oppius, however, who had been placed in command of the city together with him, although he too had been alarmed at first, believing that their enemies would immediately attack them and had indeed come for this purpose, nevertheless, when he found that they had attempted nothing revolutionary, relaxed from his fear and summoned the senators from their homes to the senate-house, sending for each one individually. [4] While these were still assembling, the commanders of the army at Fidenae arrived, full of indignation that both the camps had been abandoned by the soldiers, and they endeavoured to persuade the senate to resent this action as it deserved. When the senators were to deliver their opinions one after another, Lucius Cornelius declared that the soldiers who were posted on the Aventine must return that very day to their camps and carry out the orders of their generals, though they should not be subject to trial for anything that had happened, save only the authors of the revolt, who should be punished by the generals. [5] If, however, they did not do as commanded, the senate should deliberate concerning them as concerning men who had abandoned the post to which they had been assigned by their generals and had violated their military oath. Lucius Valerius

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[6] But it behooved me neither to make no mention of the Roman laws which I found written on the Twelve Tables, since they are so venerable and

so far superior to the codes of the Greeks, nor to go on and extend my account of them farther than was necessary.

[45.1] After the overthrow of the decemvirate the first persons to receive the consular office from the people in a centuriate assembly were, as I have stated, Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Horatius Barbatus, who were not only of their own nature favourable to the populace, but had also inherited that political creed from their ancestors. In fulfilment of the promises they had made to the plebeians, when they persuaded them to lay down their arms, that in their administration they would consult all the interests of the people, they secured the ratification in centuriate assemblies of various laws, most of which I need not mention, laws with which the patricians were displeased though they were ashamed to oppose them, and particularly the one which ordained that the laws passed by the populace in its tribal assemblies should apply to all the Romans alike, having the same force as those which should be passed in the centuriate assemblies. The penalties provided for such as should abrogate or transgress this law, in case they were convicted, were death and the confiscation of their estates. [2] This law put an end to the controversies previously carried on by the patricians against the plebeians when they refused to obey the laws enacted by the latter and would not at all regard the measures passed in the tribal assemblies as joint decrees of the whole state, but as merely private matters for the plebeians only; whereas they considered that any resolution the centuriate assembly passed applied not only to themselves but to the rest of the citizens as well. [3] It has been mentioned earlier that in the tribal assemblies the plebeians and the poor prevailed over the patricians, whereas in the centuriate assemblies the patricians, though far less numerous, had the upper hand over the plebeians.

[46.1] When this law, together with some others of a popular nature, as I have related, had been ratified by the consuls, the tribunes immediately, believing a fitting occasion had arrived for punishing Appius and his colleagues, thought they ought to bring charges against them, but not to put them all on trial at the same time, in order to prevent their helping one another in any way, but one by one; for they concluded that in this way they would be easier to manage. [2] And considering which one of them would be the most suitable to begin with, they determined to call Appius to account first, since he was hated by the people, not only because of his other crimes, but particularly because of his recent lawless acts with regard to the maiden. For they judged that if they convicted him they would easily get the better of the others, whereas, if they should begin with those of humbler station, they imagined that the resentment of the citizens, which is always more violent in the earlier trials, would be milder toward the most eminent men if they were tried last — as had often happened before. [3] Having resolved upon this course, they took the decemvirs into custody and appointed Verginius to be the accuser of Appius without drawing lots. Thereupon Appius was cited before the tribunal

of the people to answer an accusation brought against him in their assembly by Verginius; and he asked for time to prepare his defence. He was haled to prison to be guarded until his trial, as bail was not allowed him; but before the day appointed for the trial came, he met his death in prison, — according to the suspicion of most people, by order of the tribunes, but according to the report of those who wished to clear them of this charge, by hanging himself. [4] After him, Spurius Oppius was brought before the tribunal of the people by another of the tribunes, Publius Numitorius, and being allowed to make his defence, was unanimously condemned, committed to prison, and put to death the same day. The rest of the decemvirs punished themselves by voluntary exile before they were indicted. The estates both of those who had been put to death and of those who had made their escape were confiscated by the quaestors. [5] Marcus Claudius, who had attempted to take away the maiden as his slave, was also accused by Icilius, her betrothed; however, by putting the blame on Appius, who had ordered him to commit the crime, he escaped death, but was condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the others who had been the instruments of the decemvirs in any crime, none had a public trial, but impunity was granted to them all. This course was proposed by Marcus Duilius, the tribune, when the citizens were already showing irritation and were expecting that . . . would be . . . enemies.

[47.1] After the domestic disturbances ceased, the consuls assembled the senate and procured the passing of a decree that they should lead out the army in all haste against the enemy. And the people having ratified the decree of the senate, Valerius, one of the consuls, marched with one half of the army against the Aequian and the Volscians; for these two nations had joined forces. [2] Understanding that the Aequians had gained assurance from their former successes and had come to entertain a great contempt for the Roman forces, he wished to increase their confidence and boldness by creating the false impression that he dreaded coming to close quarters with them, and in every move he simulated timidity. [3] For instance, he chose for his camp a lofty position difficult of access, surrounded it with a deep ditch, and erected high ramparts. And when the enemy repeatedly challenged him to battle and taunted him with cowardice, he bore it with patience and remained quiet. But upon learning that their best forces had set out to plunder the territory of the Hernicans and the Latins and that there was left in the camp a garrison that was neither large nor able, he thought this was the fitting moment, and leading out his army in regular formation, he drew it up as for battle. [4] Then, when no one came out to meet him, he held it in check that day, but on the next day led it against their camp, which was not very strong. When the enemy's detachments which had earlier gone out after forage heard that their camp was besieged, they speedily returned, though they did not put in an appearance all together and in good order, but scattered and in small parties, everyone coming up as he could; and those in the camp, as soon as they saw their own men approaching, took courage and sallied out in a body. [5] Upon this, a great

battle ensued, with much slaughter on both sides, a battle in which the Romans, gaining the victory, put to flight those who fought in closed ranks, and pursuing those who fled, killed some and made others prisoners; and taking possession of their camp, they seized much money and vast booty. After accomplishing this, Valerius now freely overran the enemy's country and laid it waste.

[48.1] Marcus Horatius, who had been sent out to prosecute the war against the Sabines, when he learned of the exploits of his colleague, likewise marched out of camp and promptly led all his forces against the Sabines, who were not inferior in numbers and were thoroughly acquainted with the art of war. For they displayed spirit and great boldness against their opponents in consequence of their former successes, not only all of them in common, but particularly their commander; for he was both a good general and also a gallant fighter at close quarters. [2] And since the cavalry displayed great zeal, he won a most brilliant victory, killing many of the enemy and taking far more of them prisoners, and also gaining possession of their abandoned camp, in which he found not only the baggage of the enemy in great quantity but also all the booty they had taken from the Romans' territory, and rescued a great many of his own people who had been taken prisoner. For the Sabines, in their contempt of the Romans, had not packed up and sent away their booty before the battle. [3] The effects belonging to the enemy he allowed the soldiers to take as spoils after he had first selected such a portion of them as he intend to consecrate to the gods; but the booty he restored to the owners.

[49.1] After accomplishing these things he led his forces back to Rome, and Valerius arrived at about the same time. Both of them, being greatly elated by their victories, expected to celebrate brilliant triumphs; however, the matter did not turn out according to their expectation. [2] For the senate, having been convened in their case while they lay encamped outside the city in the Field of Mars, as it was called, and being informed of the exploits of both, would not permit them to perform the triumphal sacrifice, since many of the senators opposed their demand openly, [3] and particularly Gaius Claudius, uncles, as I have stated, to Appius who had established the oligarchy and had been put to death recently by the tribunes. Claudius reproached them for the laws they had got enacted by which they had weakened the power of the senate and for the other policies they had constantly pursued; and, last of all, he told of the killing of some of the decemvirs, whom they had betrayed to the tribunes, and the confiscation of the estates of the others, in violation, as he claimed, of their oaths and covenants; [4] for he maintained that the compact entered into by the patricians with the plebeians had been made on the basis of a general amnesty and impunity for what was past. He added that Appius had not perished by his own hand, but by the treachery of the tribunes before his trial, in order that he might not by standing trial either get a chance to speak or obtain mercy, — as might well have been the case if the man had come into court citing in his defence his illustrious lineage and the many good services

he had rendered to the commonwealth, appealing too to the oaths and pledges of good faith, on which men rely when accommodating their differences, bringing forward his children and relations, displaying even the humble garb of the suppliant, and doing many other things that move the multitude to compassion. [5] When Claudius had poured out all these accusations against the consuls and all who were present had expressed their approval, it was decided that the consuls ought to be content if they were not punished; but that they were not in the least worthy of celebrating triumphs or of gaining any concessions of that sort.

[50.1] The senate having rejected their request for a triumph, Valerius and his colleague were indignant, and feeling that they had been grievously affronted, they called the multitude to an assembly; and after they had uttered many invectives against the senate and the tribunes had espoused their cause and introduced a law for the purpose, they obtained from the people the privilege of celebrating a triumph, being the first of all the Romans to introduce this custom. [2] This gave occasion to fresh accusations and quarrels on the part of the plebeians against the patricians; they were egged on by the tribunes, who called assemblies every day and uttered many invectives against the senate. But the thing which exasperated the masses most was the suspicion, which the tribunes had contrived to strengthen and was increased by unavowed reports and not a few conjectures, that the patricians were going to abolish the laws which had been enacted by Valerius and his colleague; and a strong opinion to this effect, which was little less than a conviction, possessed the minds of the masses. These were the events of that consulship.

[51.1] The consuls of the following year were Lar Herminius and Titus Verginius; and they were succeeded by Marcus Geganius

[51.1] When they made no answer but continued to feel aggrieved, Scaptius again came forward to the tribunal and said: "There you have the admission, citizens, from our adversaries themselves that they are laying claim to territory of ours which in no wise belongs to them. Bearing this in mind, vote for what is just and in conformity with your oaths." [2] While Scaptius was thus speaking, a sense of shame came over the consuls as they considered that the outcome of this trial would be neither just nor seemly if the Roman people, when chosen as arbiters, should take away any disputed territory claimed by others and award it to themselves, after having never before put in a counter-claim to it; and a great many speeches were made by the consuls and by the leaders of the senate to avert this result, but in vain. [3] For the people, when called to give their votes, declared it would be great folly to permit what was theirs to remain in the possession of others, and they thought they would not be rendering a righteous verdict if they declared the Aricians or the Ardeates to be the owners of the disputed land after having sworn to award it to those to whom they should find that it belonged. And they were angry with the contending parties for having asked to have as arbiters those

who were being deprived of this land, with this end in view, that they might not even afterwards have it in their power to recover their own property which they themselves as sworn judges had decreed to belong to others. [4] The people, then, reasoning thus and feeling aggrieved, ordered a third urn, for the Roman commonwealth, to be placed before each tribe, into which they might put their voting tablets; and the Roman people were declared by all the votes to be the owners of the disputed land. These were the events of that consulship.

[53.1] When Marcus Genucius and Gaius Quintius had assumed office, the political quarrels were renewed, the plebeians demanding that it be permitted to all Romans to hold the consulship; for hitherto the patricians alone had stood for that office and been chosen in the centuriate assembly. And a law concerning the consular elections was drawn up and introduced by the tribunes of that year, all the others but one, Gaius Furnius, having agreed upon that course; in this law they empowered the populace to decide each year whether they wished patricians or plebeians to stand for the consulship. [2] At this the members of the senate were offended, seeing in it the overthrow of their own domination, and they thought they ought to endure anything rather than permit the law to pass; and outbursts of anger, recriminations and obstructions continually occurred both in private gatherings and in their general sessions, all the patricians having become to all the plebeians. [3] Many speeches also were made in the senate and many in the meetings of the popular assembly by the leading men of the aristocracy, the more moderate by men who believed that the plebeians were misled through ignorance of their true interests and the harsher by men who thought that the measure was concocted as the result of a plot and of envy toward themselves.

[54.1] While the time was dragging along with no result, messengers from the allies arrived in the city reporting that both the Aequians and the Volscians were about to march against them with a large army and begging that assistance might be sent them promptly, as they lay in the path of the war. [2] Those Tyrrhenians also who were called Veientes were said to be preparing for a revolt; and the Ardeates no longer gave allegiance to the Romans, being angry over the matter of the disputed territory which the Roman people, when chosen arbiters, had awarded to themselves the year before. [3] The senate, upon being informed of all this, voted to enrol an army and that both consuls should take the field. But those who were trying to introduce the law kept opposing the execution of their decisions (tribunes have authority to oppose the consuls) by liberating such of the citizens as the consuls were leading off to make them take the military oath and by not permitting the consuls to inflict any punishment on the disobedient. [4] And when the senate earnestly entreated them to put aside their contentiousness for the time being and only when the wars were at an end to propose the law concerning the consular elections, these men, far from yielding to the emergency, declared that they would oppose the decrees of the senate on any subject to be ratified unless the

senate should approve by a preliminary decree the law they themselves were introducing. [5] And they were so far carried away that they thus threatened the consuls not only in the senate, nature in the assembly of the people, swearing the oath which to them is the most binding, namely by their good fortune, to the end that they might not be at liberty to revoke any of their decisions even if convinced of their error.

[55.1] In view of these threats the oldest and most prominent of the leaders of the aristocracy were assembled by the consuls in a private meeting apart by themselves and there considered what they ought to do. [2] Gaius Claudius, who by no means favoured the plebeians and had inherited this political creed from his ancestors, offered a rather arrogant motion not to yield to the people either the consulship or any other magistracy whatever, and, in the case of those who should attempt to do otherwise, to prevent them by force of arms, if they would not be convinced by arguments, giving no quarter to either private person or magistrate. For all who attempted to disturb the established customs and to corrupt their ancient form of government, he said, were aliens and enemies of the commonwealth. [3] On the other hand, Titus Quintius opposed restraining their adversaries by violence or proceeding against the plebeians with arms and civil bloodshed, particularly since they would be opposed by the tribunes, “whose persons our fathers had decreed to be sacred and sacrosanct, making the gods and lesser divinities sureties for the performance of their compact and swearing the most solemn oaths in which they invoked utter destruction upon both themselves and their posterity if they transgressed a single article of that covenant.”

[56.1] This advice being approved of by all the others who had been invited to the meeting, Claudius resumed his remarks and said: “I am not unaware of how great calamities to us all a foundation will be laid if we permit the people to give their votes concerning this law. But being at a loss what to do and unable alone to oppose so many, I yield to your wishes. [2] For it is right that every man should declare what he thinks will be of advantage to the commonwealth and then submit to the decision of the majority. However, this advice I have to give you, seeing that you are involved in a difficult and disagreeable business, — not to yield the consulship either now or hereafter to any but patricians, who alone are qualified for it by both religion and law. [3] But whenever you are reduced, as at present, to the necessity of sharing the highest power and magistracy with the other citizens, appoint military tribunes instead of consuls, fixing their number as you shall think proper — in my opinion six or eight suffice — and of these men let the patricians not be fewer than the plebeians. For in doing this you will neither debase the consular office by conferring it upon mean and unworthy men nor will you appear to be devising for yourselves unjust positions of power by sharing no magistracy whatever with the plebeians.” [4] When all approved this opinion and none spoke in opposition, he said: “Hear now the advice I have for you consuls also. After you have appointed a day for passing the preliminary

decree and the resolutions of the senate, give the floor to all who desire to say anything either in favour of the law or in opposition to it, and after they have spoken and it is time to ask for the expression of opinions, begin neither with me nor with Quintius here nor with anyone else of the older men, but rather with Lucius Valerius, who of all the senators is the greatest friend of the populace, and after him ask Horatius to speak, if he wishes to say anything. And when you have found out their opinions, then bid us older men to speak. [5] For my part, I shall deliver an opinion contrary to that of the tribunes, using all possible frankness, since this tends to the advantage of the commonwealth. As for the measure concerning the military tribunes, if it is agreeable, let Titus Genucius here propose it; for this motion will be the most fitting and will create the least suspicion, Marcus Genucius, if introduced by your brother here.” [6] This suggestion was also approved, after which they departed from the meeting. But as for the tribunes, fear fell upon them because of the secret conference of these men; for they suspected that it was calculated to bring some great mischief upon the populace, since the men had met in a private house and not in public and had admitted none of the people’s champions to share in their counsels. Thereupon they in turn held a meeting of such persons as were most friendly to the populace and they set about contriving defences and safeguards against the insidious designs which they suspected the patricians would employ against them.

[5.1] When the time had come for the preliminary decree to be passed, the consuls assembled the senate and after many exhortations to harmony and good order they gave leave to the tribunes who had proposed the law to speak first. [2] Then Gaius Canuleius, one of these, came forward and, without trying to show that the law was either just or advantageous or even mentioning that topic, said that he wondered at the consuls, who, after already consulting and deciding by themselves what should be done, had attempted to bring it before the senate as if it were a matter that had not been examined and required consideration, and had then given all who so chose leave to speak about it, thereby introducing a dissimulation unbecoming both to their age and to the greatness of their magistracy. [3] He said that they were introducing the beginnings of evil policies by assembling secret councils in private houses and by summoning to them not even all the senators, but only such as were most attached to themselves. He was not so greatly surprised, he said, that the other members had been excluded from this senatorial house party, but was astounded that Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius, who had overthrown the oligarchy, were ex-consuls and were as competent as anyone for deliberating about the public interests, had not been thought worthy to be invited to the meeting. He could not imagine on what just ground this had been done, but he could guess one reason, namely that, as they intended to introduce wicked measures prejudicial to the plebeians, they were unwilling to invite to these councils the greatest friends of the populace, who would be sure to express their indignation at such proposals and would not permit any unjust measure

to be adopted against the interests of the people.

[58.1] When Canuleius had spoken thus with great indignation and the senators who had not been summoned to the council resented their treatment, Genucius, one of the consuls, came forward and endeavoured to justify himself and his colleague and to appease the anger of the others by telling them that they had called in their friends, not in order to carry out any design against the populace, but in order to consult with their closest intimates by what course they might appear to do nothing prejudicial to either one of the parties, whether by referring the consideration of the law to the senate promptly or doing so later. [2] As for Valerius and Horatius, he said their only reason for not inviting them to the council had been to prevent the plebeians from entertaining any unwarranted suspicion of them as of men who had changed their political principles, in case they should embrace the other opinion, which called for putting off the consideration of the law to a more suitable occasion. But since all who had been invited to the meeting had felt that a speedy decision was preferable to a delayed one, the consuls were following the course thus favoured. [3] Having spoken thus and sworn by the gods that he was indeed speaking the truth, and appealing for confirmation to the senators who had been invited to the meeting, he said that he would clear himself of every imputation, not by his words, but by his actions. [4] For after all who desired to speak in opposition to the law or in favour of it had given their reasons, he would first call for questioning as to their opinions, not the oldest and the most honoured of the senators, to whom this privilege among others was accorded by established usage, nor those who were suspected by the plebeians of neither saying nor thinking anything that was to their advantage, but rather such of the younger senators as seemed to be most friendly to the populace.

[59.1] After making these promises he gave leave to any who so desired to speak; and when no one came forward either to censure the law or to defend it, he came forward again, and beginning with Valerius, asked him what was to the interest of the public and what preliminary vote he advised the senators to pass. [2] Valerius, rising up, made a long speech concerning both himself and his ancestors, who, he said, had always been champions of the plebeian party to the advantage of the commonwealth. He enumerated all the dangers from the beginning which had been brought upon it by those who pursued the contrary measures and showed that a hatred for the populace had been unprofitable to all those who had been actuated by it. He then said many things in praise of the people, alleging that they had been the principal cause not only of the liberty but also of the supremacy of the commonwealth. After enlarging upon this and similar themes, he ended by saying that no state could be free from which equality was banished; [3] and he declared that to him the law, indeed, seemed just which gave a share in the consulship to all Romans, — to all, that is, who had led irreproachable lives and had performed actions worthy of that honour, — but he thought the occasion was not suitable for the

consideration of this law when the commonwealth was in the midst of war's disturbances. [4] He advised the tribunes to permit the enrolling of the troops and not to hinder them when enrolled from taking the field; and he advised the consuls, when they had ended the war in the most successful manner, first of all things to lay before the people the preliminary decree concerning the law. These proposals, he urged, should be reduced to writing at once and agreed to by both parties. [5] This opinion of Valerius, which was supported by Horatius (For the consuls gave him leave to speak next), had the same effect upon all who were present. For those who desired to do away with the law, though pleased to hear that its consideration was postponed, nevertheless accepted with anger the necessity of passing a preliminary decree concerning it after the war; while the others, who preferred to have the law approved by the senate, though glad to hear it acknowledged as just, were at the same time angry that the preliminary decree was put off to another time.

[60.1] An uproar having broken out as the result of this opinion, as was to be expected, since neither side was pleased with all parts of it, the consul, coming forward, asked in the third place the opinion of Gaius Claudius, who had the reputation of being the most haughty and the most powerful of all the leaders of the other party, which opposed the plebeians. [2] This man delivered a prepared speech against the plebeians in which he called to mind all the things the populace had ever done contrary, as he thought, to the excellent institutions of their ancestors. The climax with which he ended his speech was the motion that the consuls should not permit to the senate any consideration of the law at all, either at that time or later, since it was being introduced for the purpose of overthrowing the aristocracy and was bound to upset the whole order of their government. [3] When even more of an uproar was caused by this motion, Titus Genucius, who was brother to one of the consuls, was called upon in the fourth place. He, rising up, spoke briefly about the emergencies confronting the city, how it was inevitable that one or the other of two most grievous evils should befall it, either through its civil strifes and rivalries to strengthen the cause of its enemies, or, from a desire to avert the attacks from the outside, to settle ignominiously the domestic and civil war; [4] and he declared that, there being two evils to one or the other of which they were bound to submit unwillingly, it seemed to him to be more expedient that the senate should permit the people to usurp a portion of the orderly constitution of the fathers rather than make the commonwealth a laughing-stock to other nations and to its enemies. [5] Having said this, he offered the motion which had been approved by those who had been present at the meeting held in a private house, the motion made by Claudius, as I related, to the effect that, instead of consuls, military tribunes should be appointed, three from the patricians and three from the plebeians, these to have consular authority; that after they had completed the term of their magistracy and it was time to appear the new magistrates, the senate and people should again assemble and decide whether they wished consuls or military tribunes to assume the office,

and that whichever course met with the approval of all the voters should prevail; moreover, that the preliminary decree should be passed each year.

[61.1] This motion of Genucius was received with general applause, and almost all who rose up after him conceded that this was the best course. The preliminary decree was accordingly drawn up by order of the consuls; and the tribunes, receiving it with great joy, proceeded to the Forum. Then they called an assembly of the people, and after giving much praise to the senate, urged such of the plebeians as cared to do so to stand for this magistracy together with the patricians. [2] But such a fickle thing, it seems, is desire apart from reason and so quickly does it veer the other way, particularly in the case of the masses, that those who hitherto had regarded it as a matter of supreme importance to have a share in the magistracy and, if this were not granted to them by the patricians, were ready either to abandon the city, as they had done before, or to seize the privilege by force of arms, now, when they had obtained the concession, promptly relinquished their desire for it and transferred their enthusiasm in the opposite direction. [3] At any rate, though many plebeians stood for the military tribuneship and used the most earnest solicitations to obtain it, the people thought none of them worthy of this honour but, when they came to give their votes, chose the patrician candidates, men of distinction, namely Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius Luscus and Titus Cloelius Siculus.

[62.1] These men were the first to assume the proconsular power, in the third year of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Diphilus was archon at Athens. But after holding it for only seventy-three days they voluntarily resigned it, in accordance with the ancient custom, when some heaven-sent omens occurred to prevent their continuing to conduct the public business. [2] After these men had abdicated their power, the senate met and chose interreges, who, having appointed a day for the election of magistrates, left the decision to the people whether they desired to choose military tribunes or consuls; and the people having decided to abide by their original customs, they gave leave to such of the patricians as so desired to stand for the consulship. Two of the patricians were again elected consuls, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, brother to one of the men who had resigned the military tribuneship. [3] These two magistracies, both invested with the supreme power, governed the Romans in the course of the same year. However, both are not recorded in all the Roman annals, but in some the military tribunes only, in others the consuls, and in a few both of them. I agree with the last group, not without reason, but relying on the testimony of the sacred and secret books. [4] No event, either military or civil, worthy of the notice of history happened during their magistracy, except a treaty of friendship and alliance entered into with the Ardeates; for these, dropping their complaints about the disputed territory, had sent ambassadors, asking to be admitted among the friends and allies of the Romans. This treaty was ratified by the consuls.

[63.1] The following year, the people having voted that consuls should again be appointed, Marcus Geganius Macerinus (for the second time) and Titus Quintius Capitolinus (for the fifth time) entered upon the consulship on the ides of December. [2] These men pointed out to the senate that many things had been overlooked and neglected by reason of the continuous military expeditions of the consuls, and particularly the most essential matter of all, the custom relating to the census, by which the number of such as were of military age was ascertained, together with the amount of their fortunes, in proportion to which every man was to pay his contributions for war. There had been no census for seventeen years, since the consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius, so that . . . the basest and most licentious of the Romans shall leave (be left?), but remove to some place in which they may live as they have elected to live.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XII

[1.1] When a dire famine broke out in Rome, a certain man of no inconspicuous family and among the most powerful by reason of his riches, Spurius Maelius, who was given the cognomen Felix because of his great wealth, having recently taken over the estate of his father, yet being unable by reason of his youth and equestrian rank to hold magistracies or any other public charge, as brilliant a man as any in warfare and decorated with many prizes for valour, conceived it to be the best time for aiming at a tyranny and turned to currying favour with the multitude, the easiest of all the roads leading to tyranny. [2] Having many friends and clients, he dispatched them in various directions, giving them money from his own funds to collect food, while he himself went to Tyrrhenia. And having in a short time by his own efforts and those of his friends imported a large store of corn, he distributed it among the citizens, measuring out a peck for two denarii instead of for twelve denarii, and upon all those whom he perceived to be utterly helpless and unable to defray the cost of even their daily subsistence bestowing it without payment. [3] After winning over the people by this kindly service and gaining a most remarkable reputation, he went off again to import further supplies; and he was back before long with a very large number of river boats filled with food, which he distributed to the citizens in the same manner.

[4] The patricians, as they observed these activities of his, regarded him with suspicion, thinking that no good would come to them from the man's prodigality; and gathering together in the Forum, they considered how they ought in most seemly fashion and without danger to force him to desist from these political designs. At first they met secretly and in small groups and discussed the matter with one another, but later they clamoured against him openly as well, now that he was offensive and insufferable, not only performing acts full of arrogance, but also delivering haughty speeches in his own behalf. [5] For, in the first place, he sat upon a conspicuous tribunal, as is the custom with those who hold magistracies, and gave advice the whole day long to those who consulted him about the distribution of corn, having relieved of this function the prefect who had been appointed by the senate. [6] Again, calling continual meetings of the assembly, although it was not customary among the Romans for a private individual to convoke an assembly, he indulged in many denunciations of Minucius before the people, charging that he merely bore the name of magistrate but had performed no useful act in the interest of the poor; and he uttered many reproaches against the patricians before the popular assembly for doing the things which would make the populace of little or no account and for taking no thought, either all of them together or the influential men singly, for the needy even on the occasion of a scarcity of corn, when it was essential above everything else that they, like himself, should submit to hardships both in their fortunes and in

their persons and should import provisions into the city from every possible source. [7] He asked the people to weigh his own achievements against the actions of the other patricians and to note how greatly, nay, how utterly, they differed from one another. For they, he said, se nothing from their private fortunes for the common good, but had even appropriated the public land and had for a long time now enjoyed its use, whereas he, who held none of the public possessions, devoted even his paternal inheritance to assisting the needy, and when he had used up the funds on hand, raised loans from his friends, receiving nothing in return for such munificence save only the goodwill of his fellow citizens, a reward which he considered quite as precious as the greatest wealth in the world. [8] Those who were leagued with him were continually failing him as the saviour, father and founder of the fatherland; and declaring that the giving of the consular power to him would be a favour incommensurate with the greatness of his deeds, they wished to distinguish him with some greater and more brilliant honour, which should also be enjoyed by his posterity. [9] When he had made his third trop to the maritime districts of Italy and had sailed back to Ostia, the seaport of Rome, bringing many merchantmen laden with corn from Cumae and the harbours round Misenum, and had deluged the city with provisions, so that none of the old-time abundance was any longer lacking, the whole populace was ready, as soon as it was empowered to vote for magistrates, to grant him whatever honour he might seek, whether the consulship or some other magistracy, paying no heed to any law that forbade it or to any man who opposed it. [10] When the leaders of the aristocracy perceived this, they were all in great dejection, neither being willing to permit it nor yet having the power to prevent it. And they were still more disturbed because, when both the tribunes and the consuls forbade him to convoke assemblies and harangue the people, the populace banded together and drove those magistrates out of the Forum, while affording great assurance and strength to Maelius.

[11] While the city was in this state, the man who had been appointed prefect of the corn supply became angered at the abusive language with which Maelius kept insulting him in the meetings of the assembly, and feared the man more than any others, lest, if he should obtain some magistracy, he might make himself more powerful (?) than the aristocracy or, by rousing the people against him (Minucius), might, through the agency of the men of his own faction, contrive some plot against him, and being indignant on both these accounts and being eager to be rid of him as a man having greater power than befitted one in private station, he proceeded to make a careful investigation of both his speeches and his actions. [12] And as those whom Maelius employed as confederates in his secret plans were numerous and were neither alike in their natures nor similar in their opposites, there was bound to be someone who, in all probability, would not continue a steady friend to him, either because of fear or for personal advantage; and when Minucius had given this man pledges that he would not reveal his identity to anyone, he learned the

entire purpose of Maelius and his plans for accomplishing it. [13] After he had obtained incontrovertible proof and learned that the execution of the plot was imminent, he informed the consuls. Those magistrates, not feeling it right to carry out by themselves alone the investigation of so serious a plot, thought they ought to lay the matter before the senate; and they straightway called that body together, ostensibly to deliberate about some foreign war. [14] A full meeting of the senate being soon present, one of the consuls came forward and stated that information had been given them of a plot forming against the commonwealth, one that required very vigorous and prompt precautionary measures because of the magnitude of the danger. He added that the informant was not just an ordinary citizen, but a man whom the senators themselves because of his merits had placed in a position of the greatest and most essential service to the state, having satisfied themselves of his good faith and his zeal for the public interests as shown by his deportment throughout his whole life. [15] Then, when the senate was quite wrought up with expectation, he called Minucius, who said: The MS. adds: See the section on Harangues.

[2.1] When the information had been given to the senate, they chose a dictator, and he, having appointed his Master of Horse, ordered him to come to him with the knights about midnight, and he ordered the senators to assemble on the Capitol while it was still early morning; he commanded Minucius to appear before the tribunal bringing along the informer and the proofs as well, and bade all to keep these plans secret from everybody outside the senate, declaring that there was just one means of safety, which was for Maelius to hear naught of what was being said or done about him. [2] After making all the other necessary arrangements, he kept all the members in the senate-house until sunset, and only dismissed the session when it was already dark. When it was midnight, setting out from his house . . . he went forth about dawn, taking along the chosen forces of both consuls and the consuls themselves. [3] These together with the senators seized the Capitol at dawn and kept it under guard.

Maelius, who had heard nothing of all this, proceeded to the Forum when day had come, and seated upon the tribunal, gave advice to those who consulted him. In a short time the Master of Horse, Servilius, appeared before him with the flower of the knights, who carried swords under their clothing; and halting near him, he said: [4] "The dictator commands you, Maelius, to come to him." And the other, answering, said: "What dictator, Servilius, commands me to go to him? Where and when did he become dictator? At the same time he looked round in consternation at the people surrounding the tribunal. When all were speechless, inasmuch as no one was aware of the action taken by the senate, Servilius said once more: "An act of impeachment was brought against you yesterday before the senate, Maelius, for attempting a revolution; perhaps the charge was false, for it is not right to prejudge anyone on the basis of the charge alone. [5] The senate, having decided to investigate the report, declared that the situation required a dictator, since they

were running no slight risk; and they invested with this authority Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, who, as you yourself are doubtless aware, is the best of the patricians and has twice already discharged the duties of this magistracy in an irreproachable manner. [6] This man, desiring to set up a court to try you and to give you an opportunity to defend yourself, has sent us — me, the Master of Horse, together with these men here — to conduct you in safety to make your defence. If you are confident you have done no wrong, come and offer your justification before a man who loves his country and will not wish to put you out of the way either because of the general ill will toward you or on any other unjust ground.” [7] Maelius, upon hearing this, leaped up and cried out in a loud voice: “Plebeians, help me; for I am being snatched away by the men in power because of my goodwill toward you. For it is not to a trial that I am summoned by them, but to death.” When a clamour arose and there was a great uproar round the tribunal, Maelius, aware that those who were intending to arrest him were more numerous than those who were rallying to his aid and that not far away others were lying in wait under arms, quickly leaped down from the tribunal and ran off through the Forum in his haste to reach the refuge of his own home. [8] But when he was being overtaken by the knights, he ran into a butcher’s shop, and seizing a cleaver used by the meat-cutters, he struck the first man who approached him. Then, when many fell upon him at once, he defended himself and held out for a short time; but soon his arm was cut off by someone and he fell down, and being hacked in pieces, died like a wild beast.

[9] Thus Maelius, who craved greatness and came very close to gaining the leadership over the Roman people, came to an unenviable and bitter end. When his body had been carried into the Forum and exposed to the view of all the citizens, there was a rush thither and a clamour and uproar on the part of all who were in the Forum, as some bewailed his fate, others angrily protested, and still others were eager to come to blows with the perpetrators of the deed. [10] The dictator, apprised by such a tumult that the knights had carried out the task assigned to them, descended from the citadel to the Forum, bringing with him all the senators and surrounded by the knights displaying naked swords; and after haranguing the people in their assembly he dismissed the crowd.

[3.1] (1) “. . . having about him men gathered together from every kind of depravity, whom he was rearing up like wild beasts against the fatherland. If, now, he had listened to me and had shown himself a man who abided by the laws, this would have contributed the greatest weight toward his defence and would have been no slight proof that he had not formed any plot against the fatherland; but as it was, goaded by his conscience, he was moved in the same way as are all who have formed unholy plots against those nearest to them: he determined to avoid the investigation of his acts, and striking with a butcher’s cleaver the knights who had come for him, he endeavoured to drive them away.”

[4.1] Of the plebeians, those who had not joined in plotting for the overthrow of the government were indignant and angry at the man's attempt, while those who had shared in the conspiracy, being now freed from their fear, pretended to any other and praised the senate for the measures it had taken; but some few of them, the most knavish, made bold during the following days to spread reports to the effect that Maelius had been made away with by the men in power, and attempted to sow dissension among the people. The dictator put these men to death secretly, and after allaying the disturbance, resigned his magistracy.

[2] Now those who seem to me to give the most credible account of Maelius' death have handed down the above report; but let me record also the account which appears to me less credible, the one adopted by Cincius and Calpurnius, native writers. These men state that neither was Quintius appointed dictator by the senate nor Servilius made Master of Horse by Quintius. [3] But when information was given by Minucius, those who were present in the senate believed that the things reported were true, and when one of the older senators made a motion to put the man to death immediately without a trial, they were convinced and accordingly appointed for this task Servilius, who was a young man and brave in action. [4] Servilius, they say, taking his dagger under his arm, approached Maelius as he was proceeding from the Forum, and coming up to him, said that he wished to speak with him about a private matter of great importance. Then, when Maelius ordered those who were close to him to withdraw to a little distance, the other, having thus got him separated from his guard, bared his sword and plunged it into his throat; and after doing this he ran to the senate-house, where the senators were still in session, brandishing his sword that dripped with blood and shouting to those who pursued him that he had destroyed the tyrant at the command of the senate. [5] When they heard mention of the senate, those who had been bent on beating and stoning him desisted and committed no lawless act against him. In consequence of this deed they say the cognomen Ala (Ahala) was given him, inasmuch as he had his sword under his arm-pit when he came upon Maelius; for the Romans call the arm-pit ala.

[6] When the man had been destroyed in one way or the other, the senate met and voted that his property should be confiscated to the state and his house razed to the ground. This site even to my day was the only area left vacant amid the surrounding houses, and was called Aequimelium by the Romans, or, we might study, the Plain of Melius. For aequum is the name given by the Romans to that which has no eminences; accordingly, a place originally called aequum Melium was later, when the two words were run together and pronounced as one, called Aequimelium. To the man who gave information against Maelius, namely Minucius, the senate voted that a statue should be erected.

[5.1] (2) When the Tyrrhenians, Fidenates and Veientes were making war upon the Romans, and Lars Tolumnius, the king of the Tyrrhenians, was

doing them terrible damage, a Roman military tribune, Aulus Cornelius, with the cognomen Cossus, spurred his horse against Tolumnius; and when he was close to him, they levelled their spears against each other. [2] Tolumnius drove his spear through the breast of his foe's horse, which reared and threw his rider; and Cornelius, driving the point of his spear through the shield and breastplate of Tolumnius into his side knocked him from his horse, and while he was still attempting to raise himself, ran his sword through his groin. [3] After slaying him and stripping off his spoils, he not only repulsed those who came to close quarters with him, both horse and foot, but also reduced to discouragement and fear those who still held out on the two wings.

[6.1] (3) When Aulus Cornelius Cossus (for the second time) and Titus Quintius were consuls, the land suffered from a severe drought, lacking all moisture not only from rains but also from flowing streams. As a result, sheep, beasts of burden and cattle disappeared entirely, while human beings were visited with many diseases, particularly the one called the mange, which caused dreadful pains in the skin with its itchings and in case of any ulcerations raged more violently than ever — a most pitiable affliction and the cause of the speediest of deaths.

[2] (4) It did not seem wise to the leaders of the senate to have profound peace and long-continued leisure; for they were mindful that indolence and softness enter states along with peace, and at the same time they dreaded civil disturbances. For these disturbances, as soon as external wars were terminated, arose, bitter and continuous, on every possible excuse.

[3] It is better for people to surpass their enemies in acts of kindness than in punishments, since, even if there is no other reason, at least their expectations of favours from the gods are brighter because of them.

[4] (5) When he learned that the enemy were coming up in the rear, he despaired of turning back, being surrounded by the enemy on all sides, and bearing in mind that they would all run the risk of perishing ignominiously without having performed any noble action, fighting, as they would be, a few against many, and heavily armed against light troops. And perceiving a hill of moderate height which lay at no great distance, he resolved to seize it.

[5] (6) Agrippa Menenius, Publius Lucretius and Servius Nautius, having been honoured with the military tribuneship, discovered a plot that had been formed against the commonwealth by slaves. [6] The conspirators were planning to set fire to the houses at night in many different places at the same time, and then, when they had learned that everyone had rushed to the aid of the burning buildings, to seize the Capitol and the other fortified places and, once in possession of the strong positions in the city, to summon the other slaves to freedom and together with them, after slaying their masters, to take over the wives and possessions of the murdered men. [7] When the plot was revealed, the ringleaders were arrested and after being scourged were led away to be crucified; as for the men who had laid information against them, two in number, each received his freedom and a thousand denarii from the

public treasury.

[7.1] (7) The Roman tribune was anxious to terminate the war in a few days, as if it would be a simple matter and quite within his power to reduce the enemy to subjection by a single battle. [2] But the leader of the enemy, mindful of the Romans' experience in warfare and of their perseverance amid the hazards of battle, determined not to fight a pitched battle against them on equal terms and in the open, but to carry on the war by means of some ruses and stratagems and to be on the watch for any advantage they might offer him against themselves.

Having been wounded and having come within a little of dying.

[8.1] (8) At Rome there was a severe storm, and where the least snow fell it was not less than seven feet deep. It chanced that some persons lost their lives in the snowstorm, as did many sheep and no small portion of the other cattle and beasts of burden, partly as the result of being frostbitten and partly because of the lack of their customary grazing. [2] Of the fruit-trees, those which were of such a nature as could not endure excessive snowstorms were either completely winter-killed or had their shoots withered and bore no fruit for many years. Many houses also collapsed and some were actually overturned, especially those constructed of stone, during the thawing and melting of the snow. [3] We have no report in a historical record of the occurrence of such a calamity, either on any occasion or later, down to our own time, in this region, which is slightly north of the middle zone, on the parallel running above Athos through the Hellespont. This was the first and only time when the atmosphere of this land departed from its customary temperature.

[9.1] (9) The Romans were conducting the festival called in their own language *lectisternium*, in response to the bidding of the Sibylline oracles. For a kind of pestilence sent by Heaven and incurable by human skill had led them to consult the oracles. [2] They adorned three couches, as the oracles had commanded, one for Apollo and Latona, another for Hercules and Diana, and a third for Mercury and Neptune. And for seven days running they offered sacrifices, both publicly and privately, each according to his own ability giving first-fruits to the gods; and they prepared most magnificent banquets and entertained the strangers who were sojourning in their midst. [3] (10) Piso the ex-censor in his *Annals* adds these further details: that, though all the slaves whom their masters had previously kept in chains were then turned loose, though the city was filled with a throng of strangers, and though the houses were open day and night and all who wished entered them without hindrance, yet no one complained of having lost anything or of having been wronged by anyone, even though festal occasions are wont to bring many disorderly and lawless deeds in their train because of the drunkenness attending them.

[10.1] (11) When the Romans were besieging the Veientes about the time of the rising of the dog-star, the season when lakes are most apt to fail, as well as

all rivers, with the single exception of the Egyptian Nile, a certain lake, distant not less than one hundred and twenty stades from Rome in the Alban mountains, as they are called, beside which in ancient times the mother-city of the Romans was situated, at a time when neither rains nor snow-storms had occurred nor any other cause perceptible to human beings, received such an increase to its waters that it inundated a large part of the region lying round the mountains, destroyed my farm houses, and finally carved out the gap between the mountains and poured a mighty river down over the plains lying below. [2] (12) Upon learning of this, the Romans at first, in the belief that some god was angry at the commonwealth, voted to propitiate the gods and lesser divinities who presided over the region, and asked the native soothsayers if they had anything to say; but when neither the lake resumed its natural state nor the soothsayers had anything definite to say, but advised consulting the god, they sent envoys to the Delphic oracle.

[11] (13) In the meantime one of the Veientes, who had inherited from his ancestors a knowledge of the augural science of his country, chanced to be guarding the wall, and one of the centurions from Rome had long been an acquaintance of his. This centurion, being near the wall one day and giving the other man the customary greetings, remarked that he pitied him because of the calamity that would befall him along with the rest if the city were captured. [2] The Tyrrhenian, having heard of the overflowing of the Alban lake and knowing already the ancient oracles concerning it, laughed and said: "What a fine thing it is to know beforehand the things that are to be! Thus, you Romans in your ignorance of what is to happen are waging an endless war and are expending fruitless toils, in the belief that you will overthrow the city of Veii; whereas, if anyone had revealed to you that it is fated for this city to be captured only when the lake beside the Alban mount, lacking its natural springs, shall no longer mingle its waters with the sea, you would have desisted from exhausting yourselves and at the same time troubling us." [3] Upon hearing this, the Roman took the matter very seriously to heart; for the time being he went his way, (14) but the next day, after telling the tribunes what he had in mind, he came to the same place unarmed, so that the Tyrrhenian might conceive no suspicion of a plot on his part. When he had uttered the usual greetings, he efficiently talked about the embarrassment in which the Roman army found itself, mentioning sundry matters which he thought would give pleasure to the Tyrrhenian, and then asked him to interpret for him some signs and prodigies which had recently appeared to the tribunes. [4] The soothsayer was won over by his words, fearing no treachery, and after ordering those who were with him to stand aside, he himself followed the centurion unattended. The Roman kept leading him farther and farther from the wall by a line of conversation planned to deceive him, and when he was near the wall of circumvallation, seizing him by waist with both hands, he lifted him up and carried him off to the Roman camp.

[12.1] (15) The tribunes, by using arguments designed to conciliate this man as

well as threats of torture to frighten him, caused him to declare all that he had been concealing with regard to the Alban lake; then they also sent him to the senate. The senators were not all of the same opinion; but some thought that the Tyrrhenian was something of a rascal and charlatan and falsely attributed to the deity what he said about the oracle, while others thought that he had spoken in all sincerity. [2] (16) While the senate was in this quandary, the messengers who had been sent earlier to Delphi arrived, bringing oracles agreeing with those already announced by the Tyrrhenian. These declared that the gods and genii to whom had been allotted the oversight of the city of Veii guaranteed to maintain for them unshaken the good fortune of their city as handed down from their ancestors for only so long a time as the springs of the Alban lake should continue to overflow and run down to the sea; [3] but that when these should forsake their natural bent and, quitting their ancient courses, should turn aside to others, so as to mingle no longer with the sea, then too their city would be overthrown. this would be brought about in a short time by the Romans if by means of channels dug in other places they should divert the overflowing warm waters into the plains that were remote from the sea. Upon learning of this, the Romans at once put the engineers in charge of the operation.

[13.1] (17) When the Veientes learned of this from a prisoner, they wished to send heralds to their besiegers to seek a termination of the war before the city should be taken by storm; and the oldest citizens were appointed envoys. [2] When the Roman senate voted against making peace, the other envoys left the senate-chamber in silence, but the most prominent of their number and the one who enjoyed the greatest reputation for skill in divination stopped at the door, and looking round upon all who were present in the chamber, said: "A fine and magnanimous decree you have passed, Romans, you who lay claim to the leadership of your neighbours on the ground of valour, when you disdain to accept the submission of a city, neither small nor undistinguished, which offers to lay down its arms and surrender itself to you, but wish to destroy it root and branch, neither fearing the wrath of Heaven nor regarding the indignation of men! [3] In return for this, avenging justice shall come upon you from the gods, punishing you in like manner. For after robbing the Veientes of their country you shall ere long lose your own."

[4] (18) When the city was being captured a short time after this, some of the inhabitants engaged with the enemy, and after showing themselves brave men and slaying many, were cut down, and others perished by taking their own lives; those, however, who because of cowardice and pusillanimity regarded any hardships as less terrible than death, threw down their arms and surrendered themselves to the conquerors.

[14.1] (19) The dictator Camillus, by whose generalship the city had been captured, after taking his stand with the most prominent Romans upon a height from which the entire city was visible, first congratulated himself upon his present good fortune, in that it had fallen to his lot to destroy without

hardship a great and prosperous city which was no unimportant part of Tyrrhenia — a country at that time flourishing and the most powerful of any of the nations inhabiting Italy — and which had constantly disputed the leadership with the Romans and had continued to endure many wars unto the tenth generation, and from the time when it began to wage war and to be besieged continuously had endured the siege for ten years, experiencing every kind of fortune. [2] (20) Then, remembering that men's happiness hangs upon a slight turn of the scales and that no blessings continue steadfast, he stretched out his hands toward heaven and prayed to Jupiter and the other gods that, if possible, his present good fortune might not prove a cause of hatred against either him or his country; but that if any calamity was destined to befall the city of Rome in general or his own life as a counterbalance to their present blessings, it might be very slight and moderate.

[15.1] (21) Veii was in no respect inferior to Rome as a place in which to live, possessing much fertile land, partly hilly and partly level, and an atmosphere surrounding it that was most pure and conducive to the health of human beings. For there was neither any marsh near by as a source of oppressive and foul vapours nor any river to send up cold breezes at dawn, and its supplies of water were neither scanty nor brought in from outside, but rose in the neighbourhood and were abundant and most excellent for drinking.

[16.1] (22) They say that Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, when he had landed in Italy, was intending to sacrifice to some one or other of the gods, and after praying was about to begin the sacrifice of the animal that had been prepared for the rite, when he caught sight of one of the Achaeans approaching at a distance — either Ulysses, when he was about to consult the oracle near Lake Avernus, or Diomed, when he came as an ally to Daunus. [2] And being vexed at the coincidence and wishing to avert as an evil omen the sight of an enemy that had appeared at the time of a sacrifice, he veiled himself and turned back; then, after the departure of the enemy, he washed his hands again and finished the sacrifice. [3] When the sacrifices turned out rather favourably, he was pleased at the coincidence and observed the same practice on the occasion of every prayer; and his posterity keep this also as one of the customary observances in connexion with their sacrifices. [4] (23) It was in accordance with the traditional usages, then, that Camillus, after making his prayer and drawing his garment down over his head, wished to turn his back; however, his foot slipped and he was unable to recover himself, but fell flat on the ground. [5] Although this omen called for no divination or uncertainty but was easy for even the most ordinary mind to interpret, signifying that it was absolutely inevitable that he should come a disgraceful fall, nevertheless, he did not consider it worth while either to guard against it or to avert it by expiations, but altered it to the meaning that pleased him, assuming that the gods had given ear to his prayers and had contrived that the mischief should be of the slightest.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIII

[1.1] When Camillus was besieging the city of Falerii, one of the Faliscans, either having given the city up for lost or seeking personal advantages for himself, tricked the sons of the most prominent families — he was a schoolmaster — and led them outside the city, as if to take a walk before the walls and to view the Roman camp. [2] And gradually leading them farther and farther from the city, he brought them to a Roman outpost and handed them over to the men who ran out. Being brought to Camillus by these men, he said he had long planned to put the city in the hands of the Romans, but not being in possession of any citadel or gate or arms, he had hit upon this plan, namely to put in their power the sons of the noblest citizens, assuming that the fathers in their yearning for the safety of their children would be compelled by inexorable necessity to hand over the city promptly to the Romans. [3] He spoke thus, being in great hopes of gaining some wonderful rewards for his treachery.

[2.1] (2) Camillus, having handed over the schoolmaster and the boys to be guarded, sent word by letter to the senate of what had happened and inquired what he should do. [2] When the senate gave him permission to do whatever seemed best to him, he led the schoolmaster together with the boys out of the camp and ordered his general's tribunal to be placed not far from the city gate; and when a large crowd of the Faliscans had rushed up, some of them to the walls and some to the gate, he first showed them what an outrageous thing the schoolmaster had dared to do to them; then he ordered his attendants to tear off the man's clothes and to rend his body with a great many whips. [3] When he had had his fill of this punishment, he handed out rods to the boys and ordered them to conduct the man back to the city with his hands bound behind his back, beating him and maltreating him in every way. After the Faliscans had got their sons back and had punished schoolmaster in a manner his wicked plan deserved, they delivered their city up to Camillus.

[3.1] (3) This same Camillus, when conducting his campaign against Veii, made a vow to Queen Juno of the Veientes that if he should take the city he would set up her statue in Rome and establish costly rites in her honour. [2] Upon the capture of the city, accordingly, he sent the most distinguished of the knights to remove the statue from its pedestal; and when those who had been sent came into the temple and one of them, either in jest and sport or desiring an omen, asked whether the goddess wished to remove to Rome, the statue answered in a loud voice that she did. This happened twice; for the young men, doubting whether it was the statue that had spoken, asked the same question again and heard the same reply.

[4.1] (4) Under the consuls who succeeded Camillus a pestilence visited Rome, caused by a lack of rain and severe droughts, which damaged the land devoted to orchards as well as that which was planted to corn, so that they

produced scanty and unwholesome harvests for human beings and scanty and poor grazing for stock. [2] Countless sheep and beasts of burden perished for lack not only of fodder but also of water; to such an extent did the rivers and other streams fail, at the very season when all live stock suffers most from thirst. [3] As for human beings, a few perished as the result of resorting to food of which they had made no previous test, while nearly all the rest were afflicted with severe maladies that began with small pustules, which broke out on various parts of the skin and ended up in large ulcers resembling cancers, evil in appearance and causing terrible pain. [4] And there was no remedy for the agony suffered by the victims except continual scratching and tearing of the sores until the tortured flesh laid bare the bones.

[5.1] (5) A little later the civil tribunes, in their hatred of Camillus, convened an assembly to attack him and fined him 100,000 asses. They were not unaware that his entire estate was but a small fraction of the amount of the fine, but they desired that this man who had won the most famous wars might incur disgrace by being haled to prison by the tribunes. The money was contributed by his clients and relatives from their own funds and paid over, so that he might suffer no indignity; but Camillus, feeling that the insult was unendurable, resolved to quit the city. [2] (6) When he had drawn near the gate and had embraced his friends there present who were lamenting and weeping at the thought of what a great man they were about to lose, he let many a tear roll down his cheeks and bewailed the disgrace that had befallen him, and then said: "Ye gods and genii who watch over the deeds of men, I ask you to become the judges of the measures I have taken with respect to the fatherland and of all my past life. [3] Then, if you find me guilty of the charges on which the people have condemned me, that you will put a bad and shameful end to my life; but if in all the duties with which I have been entrusted by the fatherland both in peace and in war you find me to have been pious and just and free from any shameful suspicion, that you will become my avengers, bringing such perils and terrors upon those who have wronged me that they will be compelled, seeing no other hope of safety, to turn to me for help." After uttering these words he retired to the city of Ardea.

[6.1] (7) The gods gave ear to his prayers, and a little later the city, with the exception of the Capitol, was captured by the Gauls. When the more prominent men had taken refuge on this hill and were being besieged by the Gauls, — the rest of the population had fled and dispersed themselves among the cities of Italy, — the Romans who had taken refuge at Veii made a certain Caedicius commander of the army; and he appointed Camillus, absent though he was, to be general with absolute power over war and peace. [2] And having been made leader of the embassy, he urged Camillus to become reconciled with the fatherland, bearing in mind the calamities encompassing it, such that it could bring itself to turn for help to the man whom it had spitefully used. [3] (8) Camillus replied: "I need no urging, Caedicius. For of my own accord, if you envoys had not come first asking me to share in the conduct of affairs, I

was ready to go to you at the head of this force which you see here with me. And to you, O gods and genii who watch over the life of mortals, I am not only very grateful for the honours which ye have already shown me, but I also pray with regard to the future that my return home may prove a good and fortunate thing for the fatherland. [4] If it were possible for a mortal to foresee the things that are to be, I never would have prayed that my country should come into such misfortunes as these, so as to need me; a thousand times over I should have preferred that my life henceforth should be unenvied and without honour rather than that I should see Rome subjected to the cruelty of barbarians and placing her remaining hopes of safety in me alone.” [5] After speaking thus he took his forces, and appearing suddenly before the Gauls, turned them to flight; and falling upon them while they were in disorder and confusion, he slew them like sheep.

[7.1] (9) While those who had taken refuge on the Capitol were still being besieged, a youth who had been sent by the Romans from Veii to those on the Capitol and had escaped the notice of the Gauls who were on guard there, went up, delivered his message, and departed again by night. [2] When it was day, one of the Gauls saw his tracks and reported it to the king, who called together the bravest of his men and showed them where the Roman had gone up, then asked them to display the same bravery as the Roman and attempt to ascend to the citadel, promising many gifts to those who should make the ascent. When many undertook to do so, he commanded the guards to remain quiet, in order that the Romans, supposing them to be asleep, might themselves turn to sleep. [3] (10) When the first men had now ascended and were waiting for those who lagged behind, in order that when their numbers were increased they might then slay the garrison and capture the stronghold, no mortal became aware of it; but some sacred geese of Juno which were being raised in the sanctuary, by making a clamour and at the same time rushing at the barbarians, gave notice of the peril. [4] Thereupon there was confusion, shouting and rushing about on the part of all as they encouraged one another to take up arms; and the Gauls, whose numbers were now increased, advanced further inside.

[8.1] (11) Thereupon one of the men who had held the office of consul, Marcus Manlius, snatched up his arms and engaged with the barbarians. The one of them who had ascended first and was bringing his sword down over Manlius’ head he forestalled by striking him on the arm and cutting off his forearm, [2] and the one who followed the first he struck in the face with his raised shield before he could come to close quarters, knocked him down and slew him as he lay there; then pressing hard upon the others, who were now in confusion, he killed some of them and pursued and pushed others over the cliff. For this act of valour he received from those who were holding the Capitol the award which was suited to those times, a man’s daily ration of wine and emmer. [3] (12) When the question was raised what should be done in the case of those sentries who had deserted their post where the Gauls ascended, the senate

voted the death penalty against them all; but the populace, showing itself more lenient, was content with the punishment of one man, their leader. [4] However, in order that his death might be manifest to the barbarians, he was hurled down upon them from the cliff with his hands bound behind his back. When he had been punished, there was no further carelessness on the part of the sentries, but they all kept awake the whole night long. In consequence, the Gauls, despairing of taking the fortress by deceit or surprise, began to talk of a ransom, by the payment of which to the barbarians the Romans would get back the city.

[9.1] (13) When they had made their compact and the Romans had brought the gold, the weight which the Gauls were to receive was twenty-five talents. But when the balance had been set up, the Gaul first came with the weight itself, representing the talent, heavier than was right, and then, when the Romans expressed resentment at this, he was so far from being reasonable and just that he also threw into his scales his sword together with his scabbard and also his belt, which he had taken off. [2] And to the quaestor's inquiry what that action meant, he replied in these words: "Woe to the vanquished!" When the full weight agreed upon was not made up because of the Gaul's greediness, but the third part was lacking, the Romans departed after asking for time to collect the amount wanting. They submitted to this insolence of the barbarians because they were quite unaware of what was being done in the camp, as I have related, by Caedicius and Camillus.

[10.1] (14) The reason why the Gauls came into Italy was as follows. A certain Lucumo, a par of the Tyrrhenians, being about to die, entrusted his son to a loyal man named Arruns as guardian. Upon the death of the Tyrrhenian, Arruns, taking over the guardianship of the boy, proved diligent and just in carrying out his trust, and when the boy came to manhood, turned over to him the entire estate left by his father. For this service he did not receive similar kindness from the youth. [2] (15) It seems that Arruns had a beautiful young wife, of whose society he was extremely fond and who had always shown herself chaste up to that time; but the young man, becoming enamoured of her, corrupted her mind as well as her body, and sought to hold converse with her not only in secret but openly as well. Arruns, grieving at the seduction of his wife and distressed by the wanton wrong done him by them both, yet unable to take vengeance upon them, prepared for a sojourn abroad, ostensibly for the purpose of trading. [3] When the youth welcomed his departure and provided everything that was necessary for trading, he loaded many skins of wine and olive oil and many baskets of figs on the waggons and set out for Gaul.

[11.1] (16) The Gauls at that time had no knowledge either of wine made from grapes or of oils such as is produced by our olive trees, but used for wine a foul-smelling liquor made from barley rotted in water, and for oil, stale lard, disgusting both in smell and taste. On that occasion, accordingly, when for the first time they enjoyed fruits which they had never before tasted, they got

wonderful pleasure out of each; and they asked the stranger how each of these articles was produced and among what men. [2] (17) The Tyrrhenian told them that the country producing these fruits was large and fertile and that it was inhabited by only a few people, who were no better than women when it came to warfare; and he advised them to get these products no longer by purchase from others, but to drive out the present owners and enjoy the fruits as their own. Persuaded by these words, the Gauls came into Italy and to the Tyrrhenians known as the Clusians, from whence had come the man who had persuaded them to make war.

[12.1] (18) When ambassadors had been sent from Rome to the Gauls and one of them, Quintus Fabius, heard that the barbarians had gone out on a foraging expedition, he joined battle with them and slew the leader of the Gauls. The barbarians, sending to Rome, demanded that Fabius and his brother be handed over to them to pay the penalty for the men who had been slain. [2] (19) When the senate delayed its answer, the Gauls of necessity transferred the war to Rome. Upon hearing this, the Romans marched out of the city, bringing four entire legions of picked troops well trained in the wars, and also, from among the other citizens, those who led indoor or easy lives and had had less to do with wars, these being more numerous than the other sort. The Gauls, having put these forces to rout, reduced all of Rome except the Capitol. Nepete, a city of Italy. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xiii. *Eth.* Nepesinus. (Cf. Livy VI. f., .)

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIV

[1.1] (1) The country of the Celts lies in the part of Europe which extends toward the West, between the North pole and the equinoctial setting of the sun. Having the shape of a square, it is bounded by the Alps, the loftiest of the European mountains, on the East, by the Pyrenees toward the meridian and the south wind, by the sea that lies beyond the Pillars of Hercules on the West, and by the Scythian and Thracian nations toward the north wind and the river Ister, which, descending from the Alps as the largest of the rivers on this side, and flowing through the whole continent that lies beneath the Bears, empties into the Pontic sea. [2] (2) This land, which is so large in extent that it may be called almost the fourth part of Europe and is well-watered, fertile, rich in crops and most excellent for grazing cattle, is divided in the middle by the river Rhine, reputed to be the largest river in Europe after the Ister. [3] The part on this side of the Rhine, bordering upon the Scythians and Thracians, is called Germany, and extends as far as the Hercynian forest and the Rhipaeian mountains; the other part, on the side facing the South, as far as the Pyrenees range and embracing the Gallic gulf, is called Gaul after the sea. [4] (3) The whole country is called by the Greeks by the common name Celtica (Keltikê), according to some, from a giant Celtus who ruled there; others, however, have a legend that to Hercules and Ateropê, the daughter of Atlas, were born with sons, Iberus and Celtus, who gave their own names to the lands which they ruled. [5] Others state that there is a river Celtus rising in the Pyrenees, after which the neighbouring region at first, and in time the rest of the land as well, was called Celtica. There are also some who say that when the first Greeks came to this region their ships, driven by a violent wind, came to land in the Gallic gulf, and that the men upon reaching shore called the country Celsica (Kelsikê) because of this experience of theirs; and later generations, by the change of one letter, called it Celtica.

[2.1] (4) At Athens, in the shrine of earth-born Erechtheus, an olive tree, planted by Athena at the time of her strife with Poseidon for the possession of the land, having been burned together with the other objects in the sanctuary by the barbarians when they captured the Acropolis, sent up from its stock a shoot about a cubit in length the day after the fire, the gods wishing to make it manifest to all that the city would quickly recover itself and send up new shoots in place of the old. [2] (5) In Rome likewise a sacred hut of Mars, built near the summit of the Palatine, was burned to the ground together with the houses round about; but when the area was being cleared for the purpose of restoring the buildings, it preserved unharmed in the midst of the surrounding ashes the symbol of the settlement of the city, a staff curved at one end, like those carried by herdsmen and shepherds, which some call kalauropes and others lagobola. With this staff Romulus, on the occasion of taking the auspices when he was intending to found the city, marked out the regions for

the omens.

[3] With an army of light troops carrying nothing but their arms.

Applause having burst forth, as if at something most magnificent to behold and most glorious to hear, both those who were genuinely perplexed and those who feigned extreme perplexity . . .

[3.1] (8) Marcus Furius the dictator was of all his contemporaries the most brilliant in warfare and the shrewdest in handling public affairs.

[4.1] (6) Manlius, the man who had distinguished himself for valour at the time when the Romans took refuge on the Capitol, when he was in danger of losing his life because of an attempt at tyranny, looked toward the Capitol, and stretching out his hands toward the temple of Jupiter that stood upon it, exclaimed: "Shall not even that place avail to save me which I preserved safe for you Romans when it had been captured by the barbarians? Nay, not only was I then ready to perish in your behalf, but now also I shall perish at your hands." On this occasion, then, they let him off out of compassion, but later he was hurled down the precipice.

[5.1] (7) Having vanquished the enemy and loaded down his army with countless spoils, Titus Quintius, while serving as dictator, took nine cities of the enemy in nine days.

Hemmed in on both sides, these god-detested people were cut down in droves.

[6.1] (8) The Romans are magnanimous. For, whereas nearly all others both in the public relations of their states and in their private lives change their feelings according to the latest developments, often laying aside great enmities because of chance acts of kindness and breaking up long-standing friendships because of slight and trivial offences, the Romans thought they ought to do just the opposite in the case of their friends and out of gratitude for ancient benefits to give up their resentment over recent causes for complaint. [2] (9) Even this, then, was remarkable on the part of those men, namely that they bore no malice against any of the Tusculans, but let all the offenders go unpunished; yet much more remarkable than this was the favour which they showed them after pardoning their offences. For when they were considering ways and means that nothing of the sort might happen again in that city and that none might find a ground for rebellion, they thought they ought neither to introduce a garrison into the Tusculans' citadel nor to take hostages from the most prominent men nor to deprive of their arms those who had them nor to give any other indication of distrusting their friendship; [3] but believing that the one thing that holds together all who belong to one another by reason either of kinship or friendship is the equal sharing of their blessings, they decided to grant citizenship to the vanquished, giving them a part in everything in which the native-born Romans shared. (10) Thereby they took a very different view from that held by those who laid claim to the leadership of Greece, whether Athenians or Lacedaemonians — [4] what need is there to mention the other Greeks? For the Athenians in the case of the Samians, their

own colonists, and the Lacedaemonians in the case of the Messenians, who were the same as their brothers, when these gave them some offence, dissolved the ties of kinship, and after subjugating their cities, treated them with such cruelty and brutality as to equal even the most savage of barbarians in their mistreatment of people of kindred stock. [5] (11) One could name countless blunders of this sort made by these cities, but I pass over them since it grieves me to mention even these instances. For I would distinguish Greeks from barbarians, not by their name nor on the basis of their speech, but by their intelligence and their predilection for decent behaviour, and particularly by their indulging in no inhuman treatment of one another. All in whose nature these qualities predominated I believe ought to be called Greeks, but those of whom the opposite was true, barbarians. [6] Likewise, their plans and actions which were reasonable and humane, I consider to be Greek, but those which were cruel and brutal, particularly when they affected kinsmen and friends, barbarous. The Tusculans departed, accordingly, not only without having been deprived of their possessions after the capture of their city, but having actually received in addition the blessings enjoyed by their conquerors.

[7.1] Sulpicius, with the cognomen Rufus, was a man of distinction in military affairs and in his political principles followed the middle course.

[8.1] (12) The Gauls, having made an expedition against Rome for the second time, were plundering the Alban district. There, as all gorged themselves with much food, drank much unmixed wine (the wine produced there is the sweetest of all wines after the Falernian and is the most like hone-wine), took more sleep than was their custom, and spent most of their time in the shade, they gained so rapidly in corpulence and flabbiness and became so womanish in physical strength that whenever they undertook to exercise their bodies and to drill in arms their respiration was broken by continual panting, their limbs were drenched by much sweat, and they desisted from their toils before they were bidden to do so by their commanders.

[9.1] (13) Upon learning of this state of affairs the Roman dictator, Camillus, [2] assembled his men and addressed them, using many arguments that incited them to boldness, among which were the following: "Better arms than the barbarians possess have been fashioned for us — breastplates, helmets, greaves, mighty shields, with which we keep our entire bodies protected, two-edged swords, and, instead of the spear, the javelin, a missile that cannot be dodged — some of them being protective armour, such as not to yield readily to blows, and others offensive, of a sort to pierce through any defence. But our foes have their heads bare, bare their breasts and flanks, bare their thighs and legs down to their feet, and have no other defence except shields; as weapons of offence they have spears and very long slashing blades. [3] (14) The terrain in which we shall fight will aid us as we move downhill from higher ground, but will be adverse to them as they are forced to advance from the level to higher ground. And let no one of you stand in dread either of the enemies' numbers or of their size, or, from looking at these advantages on their side,

become less confident of the contest. On the contrary, let everyone bear in mind, first, that a smaller army which understands what must be done is superior to a large army that is uninstructed; and, second, that to those who are fighting for their own possessions Nature herself lends a certain courage in the face of danger and gives them a spirit of ecstasy like that of men possessed by a god, whereas those who are eager to seize the goods of others are apt to find their boldness weakened in the face of dangers. [4] (15) Nay, not even their attempts to frighten their foes and terrify them before coming to blows should cause us any dread, as if we were inexperienced in warfare. For what harm can be done to men going into battle by those long locks, the fierceness of their glance, and the grim aspect of their countenances? And these awkward prancings, the useless brandishing of their weapons, the many clashing of their shields, and all the other demonstrations of barbarian and senseless bravado, whether through motions or through sounds, indulged in by way of threats to their foes — what advantage are they calculated to bring to those who attack unintelligently, or what fear to those who with cool calculation stand their ground in the midst of danger? [5] (16) Do you, then, with these thoughts in mind, both those of you who were present in the earlier war against the Gauls and those of you who had no part in it by reason of your youth, the former in order that you may not, by cowardice now, bring shame upon the valour you then displayed, and you others in order that you may not be behind your elders in the display of noble deeds, go, noble sons, emulators of brave fathers, go intrepidly against the foe, having not only the gods as your helpers, who will give you the power to exact from your bitterest foes such vengeance as you have been wishing for, but also me as your general, to whose great prudence and great good fortune you bear witness. [6] A blissful life from this time forth those of you will lead to whom it shall be granted to bring home for your fatherland its most distinguished crown, and a splendid and imperishable renown in place of your mortal bodies those of you will bequeath to your infant children and your aged parents who shall fulfil thus the end of your lives. I know of nothing more that needs to be said; for the barbarian army is already in motion, advancing against us. But be off and take your places in the ranks.”

[10] (17) Now the barbarians’ manner of fighting, being in large measure that of wild beasts and frenzied, was an erratic procedure, quite lacking in military science. Thus, at one moment they would raise their swords aloft and smite after the manner of wild boars, throwing the whole weight of their bodies into the blow like hewers of wood or men digging with mattocks, and again they would deliver crosswise blows aimed at no target, as if they intended to cut to pieces the entire bodies of their adversaries, protective armour and all; then they would turn the edges of their swords away from the foe. [2] (18) On the other hand, the Romans’ defence and counter-manoeuving against the barbarians was steadfast and afforded great safety. For while their foes were still raising their swords aloft, they would duck under their arms, holding up

their shields, and then, stooping and crouching low, they would render vain and useless the blows of the others, which were aimed too high, while for their own part, holding their swords straight out, they would strike their opponents in the groins, pierce their sides, and drive their blows through their breasts into their vitals. And if they saw any of them keeping these parts of their bodies protected, they would cut the tendons of their knees or ankles and topple them to the ground roaring and biting their shields and uttering cries resembling the howling of wild beasts. [3] (19) Not only did their strength desert many of the barbarians as their limbs failed them through weariness, but their weapons also were either blunted or broken or no longer serviceable. For besides the blood that flowed from their wounds, the sweat pouring out over their whole bodies would not let them either grasp their swords or hold their shields firmly, since their fingers slipped on the handles and no longer kept a firm hold. The Romans, however, being accustomed to many toils by reason of their unabating and continuous warfare, continued to meet every peril in noble fashion.

[11] (20) In Rome there were many other heaven-sent portents, but the greatest of all was this: Near the middle of the Forum, they say, a cleft in the earth appeared of fathomless depth and it remained for many days. Pursuant to a decree of the senate, the men in charge of the Sibylline oracles consulted the books and reported that when the earth had received the things of greatest value to the Roman people it would not only close up, but would also send up a great abundance of all blessings for the future. [2] When the men had made this announcement, everyone brought to the chasm the first-fruits of all the good things he thought the father land needed, not only cakes made of grain, but also the first-fruits of his money. [3] (21) Then a certain Marcus Curtius, who was accounted among the first of the youths because of his prudence and his prowess in war, sought admission to the senate and declared that of all blessings the finest thing number the one most essential to the Roman state was the valour of its men; if, therefore, the earth should receive some first-fruits of this and the one who offered it to the fatherland should do so voluntarily, the earth would send up many good men. [4] Having said this and promised that he would not yield this distinction to anyone else, he girded on his arms and mounted his war-horse. And when the multitude in the city had gathered to witness the spectacle, he first prayed to the gods to fulfil the oracles and grant that many men like himself should be born to the Roman state; then, giving the horse free rein and applying the spurs, he hurled himself down the chasm. [5] And after him were thrown down the chasm many victims, many fruits, much money, much fine apparel, and many first-fruits of all the different crafts, all at the public expense. And straightway the earth closed up.

[12.1] (22) The Gaul was a tremendous creature in bulk, far exceeding the common build.

Licinius Stolo, the man who had held the tribuneship ten times and had introduced the laws over which the ten-years' sedition occurred, when he was

found guilty at his trial and condemned by the populace to pay a monetary fine, declared that there is no wild beast more bloodthirsty than the populace, which does not spare even those who feed it.

[13.1] (23) When the consul Marcius was besieging Privernum no hope of saving themselves was left to the inhabitants, they sent envoys to him. To his query, "Tell me, how do you yourselves punish your household slaves who run away from you? the envoy answered: "As those must be punished who long to recover their native freedom." [2] Marcius, accepting his frankness of speech, asked: "If, then, we listen to you and give up our anger, what assurance will you give us that you will not again commit any hostile act?" The envoy answered again: "That rests with you and the other Romans, Marcius. For if we get back our liberty along with our country, we shall be your staunch friends always; but if we are compelled to be slaves, never." Marcius admired the lofty spirit of the men and raised the siege.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XV

[1.1] (1) When the Gauls made an expedition against Rome and one of their chieftains challenged to single combat any one of the Romans who was a man, Marcus Valerius, one of the tribunes and a descendant of Valerius Publicola, the man who had helped free the city from the kings, went out to fight with the Gaul. [2] When they engaged, a raven perched on Valerius's helmet and cawed while looking fiercely at the barbarian, and every time the latter made ready to deliver a blow he would fly at him, now tearing his cheeks with his claws and now pecking at his eyes with his beak, so that the Gaul was driven out of his senses, being unable to contrive how he could either ward off his foe or defend himself against the raven. [3] (2) When the combat had continued for a long time, the Gaul aimed his sword at Valerius, as if intending to plunge it through his shield into his side; then, when the raven flew at him and clawed his eyes, he held up his shield as if to drive the bird away; but the Roman, following him up while he was still holding his shield aloft, drove his sword home from underneath and slew the Gaul. [4] The general, Camillus, honoured him with a golden crown and gave him the cognomen Corvinus because of the bird which had fought in the single combat with him; for the Romans call ravens corvi. And not only did Valerius himself continue from that time on to have his helmet decorated with a raven as his emblem, but in all his likenesses as well both sculptors and painters placed this bird on his head.

[2.1] (3) They ravaged their familiars in the country that teemed with great wealth.

People exhausted in body by war and like corpses except that they breathed.

While the slain man's ashes were still warm, as the saying goes.

[2] He will perish in the most miserable fashion at the hands of an enemy who feeds his hatred on the blood of his fellow citizens.

Granting no small part of the booty to his troops, so that each man's poverty was deluged with wealth.

They laid waste their fields which were now ripe for the harvest and ravaged the best of the fruitful land.

[3.1] When Quintus Servilius (for the third time) and Gaius Marcius Rutilus were consuls, Rome was involved in grave and unexpected dangers, from which, had they not been dispelled by some divine providence, one of two evils would have befallen her — either to have got a shameful name for murdering her hosts or to have stained her hands with civil bloodshed. How she incurred these dangers I shall attempt to recount succinctly after first recalling a few of the events which preceded.

[2] In the previous year Rome, after undertaking the Samnite war in behalf of all Campania and conquering her opponents in three battles, had wished to

bring all her forces home, feeling that no further danger remained for the cities there. But when the Campanians besought the Romans not to desert them and leave them bereft of allies, declaring that the Samnites would attack them if they had no assistance from outside, it was decreed that the consul Marcus Valerius, who had freed their cities from war, should leave as large an army in those cities as they wished to support. [3] Having been given this authority, the consul placed in the justice all who wished to draw rations and be paid for garrison duty; the greater part of these consisted of homeless men burdened with debt, who were glad to escape poverty and the obscure life at home. [4] The Campanians, taking these men into their homes, welcomed them with lavish tables and entertained them with all the other marks of hospitality. For the manner of life of the Campanians is extravagant and luxurious enough now, and was then, and will be for all time to come, since they dwell in a plain that is rich in both crops and flocks and is most salubrious for men who till the soil.

[5] At first, accordingly, the garrison gladly accepted the hospitality of these people; then, as their souls grew corrupted by the surfeit of good things, they gradually gave way to base considerations, and remarked when meeting that they would be playing the part of witless men if they left such great good fortune behind and returned to their life at Rome, where the land was wretched and there were numerous war taxes, where there was no respite from wars and evils, and the rewards for the hardships suffered by all in common were at the disposition of a few. [6] Those who had but an insecure livelihood and lacked daily subsistence, and even more those who were unable to discharge their debts to their creditors and declared that their necessity was a sufficient counsellor to advise them of their interests regardless of the honourable course, said that even if all the laws and magistrates should threaten them with the direst penalties, they would no longer relinquish to the Campanians their present good fortune; and finally they came to such a state of madness that they dared to talk in this fashion: [7] “What terrible crime, indeed, shall we be committing if we expel the Campanians and occupy their cities? For these men themselves did not acquire the land in a just manner what they occupied it aforesaid, but after enjoying the hospitality of the Tyrrhenians who inhabited it, they slew all the men and took over their wives, their homes, their cities, and their land that was so well worth fighting for; so that with justice they will suffer whatever they may suffer, having themselves begun the lawless treatment of others. [8] What, then, will there be to prevent our enjoying these blessings for all time to come? At any rate, the Samnites, the Sidicini, the Ausonians and all the neighbouring peoples, far from marching against us to avenge the Campanians, will believe that it is enough for them if we allow each of them to retain their own possessions. [9] And the Romans perhaps will accept our action as truly an answer to prayer, ambitious as they are to rule all Italy by their own colonies; but if they pretend to be aggrieved and adjudge us enemies, they will not do us as much harm as they

will suffer harm at our hands. For we will ravage their territory as much as we please, turn loose the prisoners on the country estates, free the slaves, and take our stand with their bitterest enemies, the Volscians, Tyrrhenians and Samnites, as well as with the Latins who are still wavering in their loyalty. To men driven by stern necessity and running the supreme race for their lives nothing is either impossible or able to withstand them.”

[10] As they argued in this manner with one another, at first a few, and then a larger number decided to attack the cities, and they pledged their good faith to one another by means of oaths. But their attempt was forestalled, being brought to light by information which some of the conspirators laid before Marcius, one of the consuls, who had been designated by lot to conduct the war against the Samnites, and having already taken over the forces that had been enrolled in Rome, was on his way. The consul, upon hearing of this unexpected and dangerous matter, decided neither to mention it nor to appear to be aware of it, but by some deception and ruse to prevent the fulfilment of the threat to the cities. [11] Accordingly, he sent into the cities some men duly instructed for the purpose along with the informers, ahead of his own arrival, and caused the report to be spread among the men in winter quarters that he had decided to leave the present garrisons in the cities, inasmuch as the Campanians desired to have them remain, while he himself was preparing to make war against the Samnites with the forces which had come with him from Rome; and he persuaded them all to believe this. [12] But upon arriving in Campania with his whole army, he went round to each city, and summoning the men in the garrisons, picked out from among them all those who had taken part in the conspiracy. Then, addressing each group in friendly fashion, he dismissed some from the standards, as if granting discharge from the service as a favour, and others he dismissed, handing them over to the legate and the tribune as if for some special military duties. These latter were the most evil-minded and would not consent to be discharged from the service; and he gave orders to those who were escorting them to take them to Rome, and separating the groups from one another, to keep them in secret custody until he himself should come.

[13] But the conspirators, reflecting that all their ring-leaders were being either discharged from the standards or else sent to some destination or other apart from the rest, came to the conclusion that their conspiracy had been revealed, and then they became afraid that, if they should become separated and lay down their arms, they would have to pay the penalty when they were brought back to Rome; and meeting together in small groups, they considered what they ought to do. [14] Then, when some proposed a revolt, they approved the plan and gave secret pledges among themselves, after which those who had been discharged from the service made camp near the city of Tarracina in convenient spots right beside the road. [15] Later, the men who were being sent with the legate and the tribunes, deserting their leaders and in some instances even persuading the soldiers who were escorting them to revolt, settled down

in the same region. When these had once seized the by-roads, many others joined them daily, and a strong force was gathered about them. Then all the prisons that were in the country districts were opened by them and there flocked together . . .

[4.1] The Roman consuls passed unhindered through all the intervening region, some of the people offering no opposition and others actually escorting them on their way. There are many difficult passes along the road that leads from Rome to Campania, hemmed in by mountains, marshes, arms of the sea, and navigable rivers, and it was not easy to get through them when they had been occupied in advance by the enemy. They also crossed a river, called the Volturnus, which flows through the territory and city of Casilinum, distant thirty stades from Capua and not less than four plethra in breadth, getting across by means of a wooden bridge which they constructed in three days. They made their way through all these difficulties in order to inspire confidence in those of the Campanians who sided with them and convince them that they had made the best choice, and to inspire fear in those who took the opposite course. [3] When they had advanced beyond the city, they encamped at a distance of forty stades from Capua, entrenching themselves in a lofty position, where they waited and kept watch for the provisions and reinforcements they expected from the Samnites. These, it seems, kept promising them more than was required, but were not furnishing anything worth mentioning, and while pretending to be gathering an army out of every city, were really marking time. [4] The consuls, therefore, despairing of reinforcements from that quarter, and observing that their own forces were receiving no accession of strength with the passing of time, whereas those of the enemy were becoming much more numerous, resolved to set to work. But bearing in mind that a large part of the army was hard to manage and slow to obey the orders of its commanders, as it had shown not only on many other occasions, but also most recently while in its winter quarters in Campania, where some of them had gone to such a degree of madness as to make an attack upon cities, to desert the consul, and to take up arms against the fatherland, they thought they ought first of all to make these men more circumspect by causing them to regard the reproof coming from their commanders as a more terrible thing than the danger threatening from their enemies. [6] With this purpose in mind they called an assembly, and Manlius said: The MS. adds: See the section on Stratagems and Speeches. Concerning the son of Manlius who fought in single combat.

[5.1] (4) . . . but also because they were inflicting many grievous injuries on their friends the Campanians. The Roman senate, when the Campanians made repeated charges and complaints against the Neapolitans, voted to send ambassadors to the latter to demand that they should do no wrong to the subjects of the Roman empire, but should give and receive justice, and if they had any differences with one another, should settle them not by arms but by discussion, after first making a compact with them; and that for the future they

should remain at peace with all the people dwelling along the Tyrrhenian sea, neither committing any acts themselves that were unbecoming to Greeks nor assisting others who did so; but in particular, the envoys, if they could do so by courting the favour of the influential men, were to get the city ready to revolt from the Samnites and become friendly to the Romans. [2] (5) It chanced that at this same time ambassadors sent by the Tarentines had come to the Neapolitans, men of distinction who had inherited ties of hospitality with the Neapolitans; others also had come, sent by the Nolans, who were their neighbours and greatly admired the Greeks, to ask the Neapolitans on the contrary neither to make an agreement with the Romans or their subjects nor to give up their friendship with the Samnites. [3] If the Romans should make this their pretext for war, the Neapolitans were not to be alarmed or terrified by the strength of the Romans in the belief that it was some invincible strength, but to stand their ground nobly and fight as befitted Greeks, relying both on their own army and the reinforcements which would come from the Samnites, and, in addition to their own naval force, being sure of receiving a large and excellent one which the Tarentines would send them in case they should require that also.

[6.1] (6) When the senate had convened and many speeches had been made there by both the embassies and their supporters, the opinions of the councillors were divided, though the most enlightened seemed to favour the Roman cause. [2] On that day, accordingly, no preliminary decree was passed but the decision with regard to the embassies was postponed to another session, at which time the most influential of the Samnites came in large numbers to Neapolis, and winning over the men at the head of the state by means of some favours, persuaded the senate to leave to the popular assembly the decision regarding the best interests of the state. [3] And appearing before the assembly, they first recounted their own services, then made many accusations against the Roman state, charging it with being faithless and treacherous; and at the end of their speech they made some remarkable promises to the Neapolitans if they would enter the war. They would send an army, they announced, as large as the Neapolitans should require, to guard their walls, and would also furnish marines for their ships as well as all the rowers, providing all the expenses of the war not only for their own armies, but for the others too. [4] Furthermore, when the Neapolitans had repulsed the Roman army, they would not only recover Cumae for them, which the Campanians had occupied two generations earlier after expelling the Cumaeans, but would also restore to their possessions those of the Cumaeans who still survived — these, when driven out of their own city, had been received by the Neapolitans and made sharers of all their own blessings — and they would also grant to the Neapolitans some of the land the Campanians were then holding, — the part without cities. [5] (7) The element among the Neapolitans that was reasonable and able to foresee long in advance the disasters that would come upon the city from the war, wished to remain at

peace; but the element that was fond of innovations and sought the personal advantages to be gained from turmoil joined forces for the war. There were mutual recriminations and skirmishes, and the strife was carried to the point of hurling stones; in the end the worse element overpowered the better, so the ambassadors of the Romans returned home without having accomplished anything. For these reasons the Roman senate resolved to send an army against the Neapolitans.

[7.1] (8) The Romans, learning that the Samnites were assembling an army, first sent ambassadors; these ambassadors, chosen from among the senators, came to the deputies of the Samnites and said: [2] “You do wrong, Samnites, to transgress the compact which you made with us, assuming the name of allies while in reality performing the deeds of enemies. After being defeated in many battles by the Romans, you secured a termination of the war in answer to your earnest entreaties and obtained a peace such as you desired; and at the last you were eager to become friends and allies of our state and swore to have the same enemies and friends as the Romans. [3] (9) But forgetting all this and regarding your oaths as naught, you deserted us in the war that arose with the Latins and with the Volscians, whom we have as enemies on your account because we were unwilling to join them in their war against you; and this last year, when the Neapolitans were afraid to declare war against us, you devoted all your zeal and efforts to encouraging them, or rather compelling them, to do so, and are paying all the expenses and are holding their city with your own forces. [4] And now you are preparing an army, gathering it from every quarter, alleging indeed a different reason, but in reality having resolved to lead it against our colonists; and to these unjust encroachments you are inviting the Fundans and Formians, as well as some others to whom we have granted citizenship. [5] (10) Though you were thus openly and shamelessly violating your treaty of friendship and alliance, we, nevertheless, pursuing the just course, decided to send an embassy to you first and not to begin with deeds before trying arguments. The things which we ask you to do, and the obtaining of which we believe will satisfy our anger at your past deeds, are these: First, we wish you to withdraw the armed assistance you have sent to the Neapolitans, and, second, not to send out any army against our colonists nor to invite our subjects to all your encroachments. [6] If some of you have been doing these things without the approval of all, but on their own initiative, we ask you to surrender the men to us for trial. If we gain these demands, we are content; but if we fail to obtain them, we call to witness the gods and lesser divinities by whom you swore in making the treaty, and we have come bringing with us the fetiales for this purpose.”

[8.1] (11) When the Roman had spoken to this effect, the deputies of the Samnites, after consulting together, delivered the following reply: [2] “For the delay on the part of our contingent in going to war against the Latins the state is not to blame — for we voted that the army should be sent to you — but rather those in command of it, who spent too much time in preparation, and

you yourselves, who were too hasty in rushing into the struggle. In any case it was only three or four days after the battle that the troops sent by us arrived. [3] As for the city of Neapolis, in which there are some of our troops, far from wronging you if we as a state contribute some aid toward the safety of those who are in danger, it is rather we ourselves who seem to be greatly wronged by you. For, though this city had become our friend and ally, not just recently nor from the time when we made our compact with you, but two generations earlier, in return for many great services, you enslaved it, though you had been wronged in no respect. [5] (12) Yet not even in this action has the Samnite state wronged you; rather it is some men connected by private ties of hospitality, as we learn, and friends of the Neapolitans who are aiding that city of their own free will, together with some also who through lack of a livelihood, perhaps, are serving as mercenaries. As for stealing away your subjects, we have no need of such a course; for even without the Fundans and Formians we are quite able to succour ourselves if we are driven to the necessity of war. [4] The getting of our army in readiness is not the act of those who are intending to rob your colonists of their possessions, but rather of those who intend to keep their own possessions under guard. We ask you in turn, if you wish to pursue the just course, to retire from Fregellae, which, after we had conquered it in war a short time ago — and this is the most just title to possession — you appropriated with no show of justice and now hold for the second year. If we on our side gain these points, we shall not feel that we are wronged in any respect.”

[9.1] (13) Thereupon the Roman fetialis, taking the floor, said: “There is no longer anything to prevent, now that you Samnites have so openly violated your oaths to maintain the peace, . . . and do not plan to lay the blame upon the Roman people. For everything has been done by them in according to the sacred and time-honoured laws, both what is holy in the sight of the gods and just in the sight of men, and the judges to decide which people has abided by the compact will be the gods whose province it is to watch over wars.” [2] As he was about to depart, he drew his mantle down over his head, and raising his hands toward however, as is the custom, he uttered prayers to the gods: “If the Roman commonwealth, having suffered wrongs at the hands of the Samnites and being unable to settle the differences by argument and a decision, should proceed to deeds, may the gods and lesser divinities not only inspire her mind with good counsels but also grant that her undertakings in all her wars may prove successful; but if she herself is guilty of any violation of the oaths of friendship and is trumping up false grounds for hostility, may they prosper neither her counsels nor her undertakings.”

[10.1] (14) When they had departed from the assembly and each side had reported its cities what had been said, they drew opposite conclusions about each other, the Samnites expecting that the Romans would move rather slowly, as it is their custom to do when they are about to begin war, and the Romans believing that the Samnites’ army would soon proceed against their

colonists in Fregellae. [2] Then they each met with the experience that might have been expected. For the Samnites, while making their preparations and delaying, lost the opportunities for action, whereas the Romans, having everything prepared and in readiness, as soon as they learned the answer given to their ambassadors, voted for war and sent out both consuls; and before the enemy was aware they had set out, both the newly-enrolled force and the one that was wintering among the Volscians, under the command of Cornelius, were inside the Samnite borders.

Fundi, a city of Italy; the citizens, Fundani. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xv. (Cf. Livy VIII.; .-.)

Cales, an Ausonian city. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xv. *Eth.* Calenus, *idem.* (Cf. Livy VIII..-.)

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XVI

[1.1] (1) When the Romans were setting out for their last war against the Samnites, a thunderbolt struck in the most conspicuous spot, killing five soldiers, destroying two standards, and either burning or tarnishing many weapons. The thunderbolts (keraunoi) that descend bear a name truly descriptive of their effects; for they are devastations (keraïsmoi) of a sort and transformations of the underlying substances, reversing mortal fortunes. [2] For, in the first place, the bolt's fire itself is compelled to change its own nature as it rushes down, whether its natural abode is the ethereal space or the region immediately above the earth; for it is not meet for it, in view of its inherent nature, to gravitate earthward, but rather to move aloft away from the earth, since it is in the ether that the sources of the divine fire are found. [3] (2) This is shown even by the fire that we know — whether this be the gift of Prometheus or of Hephaestus — which, whenever it bursts the bounds in which it has been forced to remain, leaps upward through the air to that kindred fire which embraces the whole universe round about. Hence that fire which is divine and separated from corruptible matter as it roams through the ether, when it descends to the earth under the compulsion of some drastic necessity, portends changes and reversals. [4] (3) At any rate, when some such portent occurred also at the time in question, the Romans scorned it, and having been hemmed in by Pontius the Samnite into a difficult position from which escape was impossible, when they were now on the point of perishing from famine, they surrendered themselves, about 40,000 in number, to the enemy; and leaving behind their arms and effects, they all passed under the yoke, which is a token that men have come under the power of others. But not long afterwards Pontius also suffered the same fate at the hands of the Romans, when both he himself and those with him passed under the yoke.

[2.1] (4) “This one thing we ask of you, now that we lie prostrate and are as nought, that you do not add to our calamities by any ignominious treatment nor trample with a heavy foot upon our wretched misfortunes.”

[2] “Do you not know that many of our people have lost their sons in the war, many their brothers, and many their friends? And what unmitigated resentment do you suppose will spring up and flourish in the hearts of all the bereaved if anyone prevents them from honouring those who are beneath the earth with the lives of an equal number of enemies — those lives which alone seem to be true honours for the departed? [3] (5) But come, even if, as the result of persuasion nor compulsion or however swayed, they shall yield this point and permit them to live, does it seem likely to you that they will go still farther and allow them to retain their effects and permit them without suffering any ignominious treatment, but, like heroes who have made their appearances for the good fortune of this country, to depart whenever they please, but will not rather, like wild beasts, surround me and tear me limb

from limb for having taken it upon myself to make this proposal? [4] Do you not observe that even hunting-dogs, when a wild beast has been driven by them into the nets and caught, surround the hunters, demanding the share of the quarry that belongs to them, and unless they promptly get a share of the blood or of the inwards, follow the hunter snarling and rend him in pieces, and are not driven away even when they are chased or beaten?"

[3.1] (6) Fighting the whole day long, they endured the hardships; but when darkness prevented their distinguishing friends and foes, they departed to their own camps.

Appius Claudius, having committed some error in connexion with the sacrifices, was made blind and given the cognomen Caecus; for that is the Roman word for the blind.

[2] The mural paintings were not only very accurate in their lines but also pleasing in the mixture of colours, and their florid style was free from what is called tawdriness.

The Romans call the new moons calends, the half moons ones, and the full moons ides.

[3] (7) Against the troops who were fighting in the middle of the phalanx, which was widely spaced and lax, those who were stationed here charged in a body and drove them from their position.

The heaven-sent domestic war was wasting away the flower of the state.

Men who bore the offerings and had been honoured with the carrying of the sacred vessels.

A man full of unreasoning impulsiveness who carried boldness to the point of madness, one who had followed his own counsel and had got in his hands the whole conduct of the war.

[4] "Do you then dare to accept Fortune of having managed affairs badly, you who seated yourself on an overturned boat? Are you so stupid?"

Limbs, some of which still needed medical attention while others had just begun to form scars . . .

[4.1] (8) One more political incident I shall relate, says Dionysius, deserving of praise on the part of all men, from which it will be clear to the Greeks how great was the hatred of wrongdoing felt in Rome at that time and how implacable the anger against those who transgressed the universal laws of human nature. [2] Gaius Laetorius, with the cognomen Mergus, a man of distinguished birth and not without bravery in warlike deeds, who had been appointed tribune of one of the legions in the Samnite war, attempted for a time to persuade a youth of exceptional beauty among his tentmates to put the charms of his body at his disposal voluntarily; then, when the boy was not to be lured either by gifts or by any other friendly gesture, Laetorius, unable to restrain his passion, attempted to use effort. [3] When the man's disgraceful conduct had become noised throughout the entire camp, the tribunes of the people, holding that it was a crime against the whole state, brought an indictment against him publicly, and the people unanimously condemned him,

after fixing death as the penalty; for they were unwilling that persons who were of free condition and were fighting on behalf of the freedom of their fellow citizens should be subjected by those in positions of command to abuses that are irreparable and do violence to the male's natural instincts.

[5.1] (9) A thing still more remarkable than this was done by them a few years earlier, though the mistreatment involved the person of a slave. The son, namely, of Publius, one of the military tribunes who had surrendered the army to the Samnites and passed under the yoke, inasmuch as he had been left in dire poverty, was compelled to borrow money for the burial of his father, expecting to repay it out of contributions to be made by his relations. But being disappointed in his expectation, he was seized in lieu of the debt when the time for payment came, as he was very youthful and comely to look upon. [2] He submitted to all the regular tasks which it was usual for slaves to perform for their masters, but with indignation when ordered to put the charms of his body at the disposal of his creditor, and resisted to the utmost. Then, having received many lashes with whips because of this, he rushed out into the Forum, and taking his stand upon a lofty spot where he would have many witnesses to his mistreatment, he released the wanton attempts of the money-lender and displayed the weals raised by the whips. [3] When the people became indignant at this and felt that the matter was deserving of public wrath, the tribunes brought an indictment against the man and he was found guilty of a capital crime. Because of this incident all the Romans who had been enslaved for debt recovered their former freedom by a law ratified at this time.

[6.1] (10) Demanding that the senate in behalf of those who were in want and in debt . . .

The flesh of freshly slain victims continues to quiver and palpitate until the congenital breath contained in it has forced this way out through the pores and been entirely dissipated. [2] Some such thing is the cause also of earthquakes at Rome; for the city, since it is undermined with large and continuous channels through which the water is conducted, and since it has many breathing-vents like mouths, shoots up through these vents the breath that is pent up within it. This breath it is which shakes the city and rends the surface of the ground whenever a large and violent mass of air is intercepted and pent up inside.

Fregellae, a city of Italy which originally belonged to the Opicans and later fell to the Volscians. *Eth.* Fregellanus, as Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xvi, and ever so many others. (Cf. Livy VIII. f.)

Minturnae, a city of the Samnites in Italy. Dionysius xvi. *Eth.* Minturnensis. (Cf. Livy IX...)

Aecalum, a fortress of Italy. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xvi.

Iapodes, a Celtic race near Illyria. Dionysius xvi.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOKS XVII AND XVIII

[1.1] (16.11) The Samnite war was once more kindled into flame, beginning from some such cause as the following. After the treaty which the Samnites had made with Rome, they waited a short time and then made an expedition against the Lucanians, who were their neighbours, being moved thereto by some long-standing feud. [2] At first the Lucanians carried on the war relying on their own forces; but getting the worst of it in all the engagements, and having lost many districts already and being in danger of losing all the rest of their land, they were forced to have recourse to the Romans' assistance. They were conscious, to be sure, of having broken the compact they had made with the Romans earlier, in which they had pledged friendship and alliance, but did not despair of persuading them if they should send to them along with their ambassadors the most prominent boys from every city as hostages. [3] (12) For when the ambassadors arrived and made many entreaties, the senate voted to accept the hostages and to join friendship with the Lucanians; and the popular assembly ratified their vote. [4] Upon the conclusion of the treaty with the emissaries of the Lucanians the oldest and most honoured of the Romans were chosen by the senate and sent as ambassadors to the general council of the Samnites to inform them that the Lucanians were friends and allies of the Romans and to warn them not only to restore the land they had taken away from them but also to commit no further act of hostility, since Rome would not permit her suppliants to be driven out of their own land.

[2.1] (16.13) The Samnites, having listened to the ambassadors, were indignant and declared in their own defence, first of all, that they had not made the peace on the understanding that they were to count no one as their friend or enemy unless the Romans should bid them to do so; and again, that the Romans had not previously made the Lucanians their friends, but only just now, when they were already enemies of the Samnites, thereby trumping up an excuse that was neither just nor seemly for setting aside the treaty. [2] When the Romans answered that subjects who had agreed to follow them and had obtained a termination of the war on that condition must obey all orders of those who had assumed the rule over them, and threatened to make war upon them if they did not voluntarily do as they were ordered, [3] the Samnites, regarding the arrogance of Rome as intolerable, ordered the ambassadors to depart at once, while, as for themselves, they voted to make the necessary preparations for war both jointly and each city for itself.

[3.1] (16.14) The published reason, then, for the Samnite war and the one that was plausible enough to be announced to the world was the assistance extended to the Lucanians who had turned to them for help, since this was a general and time-honoured practice with the Roman state to aid those who were wronged and turned to her for help. But the undisclosed reason and the one which was more cogent in leading them to give up their friendship with

the Samnites was the power of that nation, which had already become great, and promised to become greater still if, upon the subjugation of the Lucanians and, because of them, of their neighbours, the barbarian tribes adjoining them were going to follow the same course. The treaty, accordingly, was promptly abrogated after the return of the ambassadors, and two armies were enrolled.

[4.1] (16.15) Postumius the consul, now that his succession to his father's estate was imminent, thought very highly of himself both because of the reputation of his family and because he had already been honoured with two consulships.

[2] His colleague was at first indignant at this, feeling that he was being excluded from an equal share of honours, and he frequently presented his claims against him before the senate; but later, recognizing that in dignity of ancestry, the number of his friends, and in other sources of influence he was inferior to the other (for he was a plebeian and one of those who had but recently come to public notice), he yielded to his colleague and let him have the command of the Samnite war. [3] This was the first thing that aroused prejudice against Postumius, occasioned as it was by his great arrogance; and on top of it came another action that was too offensive for a Roman commander. He chose, namely, about two thousand men out of his army, and taking them to his own estate, ordered them to cut down a thicket without axes; and for a long time he kept the men on his estate performing the tasks of labourers and slaves. [4] (16) After displaying such arrogance before setting out on the campaign, he showed himself even more domineering in the acts which he committed in the course of the campaign itself, thus affording the senate and the people grounds for just hatred. For though the senate had voted that Fabius, who had been consul the year before and had conquered the Samnite tribe called the Pentrians, should remain in the camp and, holding the proconsular power, make war against that part of the Samnites, Postumius nevertheless sent him a letter ordering him to evacuate the Samnite country, on the ground that the command belonged to him alone. [5] And to the envoys sent by the senators to demand that he should not hinder the proconsul from remaining in the camp nor act in opposition to their decrees he gave a haughty answer worthy of a tyrant, declaring that the senate did not govern him, so long as he was consul, but that he governed the senate. [6] Then, having dismissed the envoys, he led his army against Fabius, intending, in case he were not willing to give up command voluntarily, to force him by arms to do so. And coming upon Fabius as he was besieging the town of Cominium, he drove him out of the camp, showing a vast contempt for the ancient usages and an outrageous arrogance. Fabius, accordingly, yielded to his madness and relinquished the command.

[5.1] (16.17) This same Postumius first took Cominium by siege, after spending but a short time in assaults, and then captured Venusia, a populous place, and ever so many other cities, of whose inhabitants 10,000 were slain and 6,200 surrendered their arms. [2] Though he accomplished all this, he not only was not granted any mark of favour or honour by the senate, but even lost the

esteem which was his before. For when 20,000 colonists were sent out to one of the cities captured by him, the one called Venusia, others were chosen leaders of the colony, while the man who had reduced the city and had made the proposal for the dispatch of the colonists was not found worthy even of that honour. [3] (18) Now if he had borne these reverses with a prudence based upon reason and had assuaged the harshness of the senate by the therapy of courteous words and actions, he would have experienced no further misfortune leading to disgrace. But as it was, being exasperated and harsh in his turn, he not only presented the soldiers with all the booty he had taken from the enemy, but also, before his successor in the command was sent out, dismissed his forces from the standards; and finally, though it was granted to him by neither the senate nor the people, he celebrated a triumph on his own authority. [4] In consequence of all this, still greater hatred flared up on the part of all, and as soon as he turned over his magistracy to the consuls who succeeded him he was cited to a public trial by two tribunes. And being accused before the popular assembly, he was condemned by all the tribes, the indictment calling for a fine of 50,000 denarii.

Ferentinum, a city of the Samnites in Italy. *Eth.* Ferentanus. Ferentii also is used, as Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* XVII.

Milonia, a very prominent city of the Samnites. Dionysius XVII. *Eth.* Miloniates (?). (*cf.* Livy X.; .)

Nequinum, a city of the Umbrians. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* XVII. *Eth.* Nequinates. (*cf.* Livy X. f.)

Narnia, a city of the Samnites, named from the river Nar which flows past it. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* XVIII. *Eth.* Narniensis. (*cf.* Livy X. f.)

Ocriculum, a city of the Tyrrhenians. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* XVIII. *Eth.* Ocriculanus, *idem.* (*cf.* Livy IX..)

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIX

[1.1] (17.1) Croton is a city in Italy; likewise Sybaris, so named from the river which flows past it.

[2] When the Lacedaemonians were warring against Messenê and Sparta was stripped of men, the women and especially the maidens who were of marriageable age begged them not to allow them to go unwed and childless. Accordingly, young men were constantly sent from the camp in rotation to have intercourse with the women and they consorted with the first women they met. From these promiscuous women were born boys whom, when they had grown to man's estate, the Lacedaemonians called Partheniae, among other taunts that they hurled at them. [3] (2) When a sedition occurred and the Partheniae were defeated, they voluntarily withdrew from the city; and sending to Delphi, they received an oracle bidding them sail to Italy and after finding a town in Iapygia called Satyrium and a river Taras, to establish their abode where they should see a goat dipping his beard in the sea. [4] Having made the voyage, they found the river and observed a wild fig-tree growing near the sea and overspread with a vine, one of whose tendrils hung down and touched the sea. Assuming this to be the "goat" which the god had foretold them they would see dipping his beard in the sea, entreaty remained there and made war upon the Iapygians; and they founded the city which they named for the river Taras.

[2.1] (17.3) Artimedes of Chalcis had an oracle bidding him, wherever he should find the male covered by the female, there to abide and to sail no farther. When he had sailed round Pallantium in Italy, he beheld a vine twining over a wild fig-tree; and reflecting that the vine was feminine and the fig-tree masculine, and the clinging was the sexual "covering," he assumed that the oracle had its fulfilment. Accordingly, he drove out the barbarians who were in possession of the place and colonized it himself. [2] The place is called Rhegium, either because there was an abrupt headland or because in this place the earth split and set off from Italy Sicily which lies opposite, or else it is named after some ruler who bore this name.

[3.1] (17.4) When Leucippus the Lacedaemonian inquired where it was fated for him and his followers to settle, the god commanded them to sail to Italy and settle that part of the land where they should stay a day and a night after landing. The expedition made land near Callipolis, a seaport of the Tarentines; and Leucippus, pleased with the nature of the place, persuaded the Tarentines to permit them to encamp there for a day and a night. [2] When several days had passed and the Tarentines asked them to depart, Leucippus paid no heed for them, claiming that he had received the land from them under a compact for day and night; and so long as there should be either of these he would not give up the land. So the Tarentines, realizing that they had been tricked, permitted them to remain.

[4.1] (17.5) The Locrians, having settled the Italian promontory of Zephyrium, were called Zephyrians.

They decided that he should remain in the place where he was and conduct the war that was threatening from that quarter.

They were scattered among the forests and ravines and mountain fastnesses.

[2] (6) A certain Tarentine who was shameless and addicted to every form of sensual pleasure was nicknamed Thaïs because of his beauty, which was licentious and prostituted to base ends among boys.

After enlisting the plebeians they departed.

The most frivolous and dissolute of all in the city.

[5.1] (17.7) Postumius was sent as ambassador to the Tarentines. As he was making an address to them, the Tarentines, far from paying heed to him or thinking seriously, as men should do who are sensible and are taking counsel for a state which is in peril, watched rather to see if he would make any slip in the finer points of the Greek language, and then laughed, became exasperated at his truculence, which they called barbarous, and finally were ready to drive him out of the theatre. [2] As the Romans were departing, one of the Tarentines standing beside the exit was a man named Philonides, a frivolous fellow who because of his besotted condition in which he passed his whole life was called Demijohn; and this man, being still full of yesterday's wine, as soon as the ambassadors drew near, pulled up his garment, and assuming a posture most shameful to behold, bespattered the sacred robe of the ambassador with the filth that is indecent even to be uttered.

[3] (8) When laughter burst out from the whole theatre and the most insolent clapped their hands, Postumius, looking at Philonides, said: "We shall accept the omen, you frivolous fellow, in the sense that you Tarentines give us what we do not ask for." Then he turned to the crowd and showed his defiled robe; but when he found that the laughter of everybody became even greater and heard the cries of some who were exulting over and praising the insult, he said: [4] "Laugh while you may, Tarentines! Laugh! For long will be the time that you will weep hereafter." When some became embittered at this threat, he added: "And that you may become yet more angry, we say this also to you, that you will wash out this robe with much blood." [5] The Roman ambassadors, having been insulted in this fashion by the Tarentines both privately and publicly and having uttered the prophetic words which I have reported, sailed away from their city.

[6.1] (17.8) As soon as Aemilius, with the cognomen Barbula, had assumed the consulship, Postumius and those who had been sent with him as ambassadors to Tarentum arrived in the city, bringing no answer, to be sure, but relating the insults that had been offered them and exhibiting the robe of Postumius as proof of their story. When great indignation was shown by all, Aemilius and his fellow consul assembled the senate and considered what course they ought to take, remaining in session from early morning until sunset; and this they

did for many days. [2] (10) The question was not whether the terms of peace had been violated by the Tarentines, since all were agreed upon that point, but when an army should be sent against them. For there were some who advised against undertaking this war as yet, while the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and the large and warlike race of Samnites were in rebellion and Tyrrhenia, lying at their very doors, was still unconquered, but only after these nations had been subdued, preferably all of them, but if that should not be possible, at least those lying eastward and close to Tarentum. But others thought the opposite course advisable, namely, not to wait for a moment, but to vote for war at once. [3] When it was time for counting the votes, those in the latter group were found to be more numerous than those who advised postponing the war to another time. And the populace ratified the decision of the senate. The MS. adds: See the section on Stratagems.

[7.1] (17.11) . . . it is the nature of those birds which hover round this spot in rather leisurely flight to be of good omen to those who wish to save their own possessions; and it is the nature of those birds which dart forward in swift and impetuous flight to be of good omen to those who covet the possessions of others. For the latter are providers and hunters of the things that are lacking, whereas the former are watchers and guardians of the things on hand.

[2] (12) He went through the whole country of the enemy setting fire to the fields which had crops of grain already ripe and cutting down the fruit-trees.

Democracies experience something of the same sort as do the seas; for just as the latter are agitated by the winds, though it is their nature to be tranquil, so the former are disturbed by the demagogues, though they have in themselves no evil.

[8.1] (17.13) When the Tarentines wished to summon Pyrrhus from Epirus to aid in the war against the Romans and were banishing those who opposed this course, a certain Meton, himself a Tarentine, in order to gain their attention and show them all the evils that would come in the train of royalty into a free and luxury-loving state, came into the theatre, at a time when the multitude was seated there, wearing a garland, as if returning from a banquet, and embracing a young flute-girl who was playing on her flute tunes appropriate to songs of revelry. [2] (14) When the seriousness of all gave way to laughter and some of them bade him to sing, others to dance, Meton looked round him on every side and waved his hand for silence; then, when he had quieted the disturbance, he said: "Citizens, of these things which you see me doing now you will not be able to do a single one if you permit a king and a garrison to enter the city." [3] When he saw that many were moved and paying attention and were bidding him to prospect on, he proceeded, while still preserving the pretence of drunkenness, to enumerate all the evils that would befall them. But while he was still speaking, the remain responsible for these evils seized him and threw him head first out of the theatre.

[9.1] (17.15) "The King of the Epirots, Pyrrhus, son of King Aeacides, to Publius Valerius, consul of the Romans, greetings. You have presumably

learned from others that I have come with my army to the aid of the Tarentines and other Italiots in response to their summons; presumably also you are not unaware from what men I am sprung and what exploits I myself have performed and of the size of the army I bring with me and its excellence in warfare. [2] Convinced as I am, then, that as you appraise each of these factors you are not waiting to learn from fact and experience our valour in battle, but having desisted from arms, are proceeding to words, I not only advise you to leave to me the settlement of your differences with the Tarentines, Lucanians and Samnites — for I will arbitrate your differences with complete justice — but I will cause my friends to make good all the damage that I find them to have caused. [3] (16) You Romans also will do well to offer sureties yourselves, with respect to any charges that some of them may bring against you, that you will abide by my decisions as valid. If you do this, I promise to give you peace and to be your friend and to aid you zealously in any wars to which you may summon me; [4] but if you do not do so, I shall not permit you to make desolate the country of men who are my allies, to plunder Greek cities and sell freemen at auction, but I shall prevent you by force of arms, in order that you may at last stop pillaging all Italy and treating all men arrogantly as if they were slaves. I shall wait ten days for your answer; longer I cannot wait.”

[10.1] (17.17) In reply to this the Roman consul wrote back, rebuking the man’s arrogance and displaying the lofty spirit of the Roman commonwealth: “Publius Valerius Lavinius, general and consul of the Romans, to King Pyrrhus, greetings. [2] It seems to me to be the part of a prudent man to send threatening letters to his subjects; but to despise those whose might he has not tested and whose valour he has not learned to know, as if they were insignificant and of no account, seems to me to be evidence of a disposition that is foolish and does not know how to discriminate. [3] As for us, we are wont to punish our enemies, not by words, but by deeds, and we are neither making you a judge in the matter of our charges against the Tarentines, Samnites or our other foes nor accepting you as a surety for the payment of any penalty, but we shall decide the contest by our own arms and exact the penalties as we ourselves wish. Now that you are forewarned of this, make yourself ready as our opponent, not as our judge. [4] (18) As for the wrongs you yourself have done us, take thought whom you will offer as sureties for the payment of penalties; do not expect the Tarentines or our other enemies to offer just redress. But if you have determined to make war upon us by all means, know that the same thing will happen to you that must needs happen to all who wish to fight before investigating against whom they will be waging the contest. [5] Bearing these things in mind, if you want anything that is ours, first put aside your threats and drop your regal boastfulness, then go to the senate and inform and persuade its members, confident that you will not fail of anything that is either just or reasonable.”

[11.1] (18.1) Lavinius, the Roman consul, having caught a spy of Pyrrhus,

armed and drew up the whole army in line of battle, and showing to the spy, bade him tell the whole truth to the one who had sent him, and, in addition to reporting what he had seen, to tell him that Lavinius, the Roman consul, bade him not to send any more men secretly as spies, but to come himself, openly, to see and learn the might of the Romans.

[12.1] (18.2) A certain man named Oblacus, with the cognomen Volsinius, a leader of the Ferentan nation, observing that Pyrrhus did not remain in one fixed place but appeared suddenly to all his men in turn as they fought, kept his attention on him alone and wherever Pyrrhus rode up he would bring up his own horse opposite him. [2] One of the king's companions, Leonnatus, the son of Leophantus, a Macedonian, observing him, became suspicious, and pointing him out to Pyrrhus, said: "Beware of that man, O King; for he is a keen warrior, and does not fight remaining in one position, but watches you and has his attention fixed on you." [3] (3) To which the king answered: "But what could he, being but one man, do to me who have so many defenders about me?" and with youthful bravado he even uttered some boast about his own strength, to the effect that even if he engaged alone with a single adversary the other would not get off unpunished. The Ferentan Oblacus, having thus found the opportunity for which he was waiting, charged with his companions into the midst of the royal squadron; and breaking through the crowd of attendant horsemen, he bore down upon the king himself, grasping his spear with both hands. [4] But at the same moment Leonnatus, who had warned Pyrrhus to beware of the man, swerved a little to one side and struck the foe's horse through the flank with his spear, but Oblacus even while falling to the ground ran the king's horse through the breast; and both fell with their horses. [5] (4) As for the king, the most faithful man of his bodyguards mounted him on his own horse and rode away. In the case of Oblacus, after he had fought on for a long time and then succumbed to innumerable wounds, some of his companions took him up, after a sharp struggle had taken place for the possession of his body, and bore him away. [6] Thereafter the king, in order not to be conspicuous to his enemies, ordered that his own cloak, purple-dyed and shot with gold, which he was accustomed to wear in battle, and his armour, which was more costly than that of the others in point both of material and workmanship, should be worn by the most faithful of his companions and the bravest in battle, Megacles, while he himself took the other's dun cloak, breastplate and his felt head-gear. And this seemed to be the reason for his escape.

[13.1] (18.5) When Pyrrhus, the king of the Epirots, led an army against Rome, they voted to send ambassadors to ask him to release to them for ransom the prisoners he had taken, either exchanging them for others or setting a price he says each man; and they chose as ambassadors Gaius Fabricius, who while serving as consul two years earlier had conquered the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians in stubborn battles and had raised the siege of Thurii; Quintus Aemilius, who had been Fabricius' colleague and had been in command of the

Tyrrhenian war; and Publius Cornelius, who while consul three years earlier had waged war on the whole tribe of Gauls and had slain all their adult males. [2] (6) These men, when they had come to Pyrrhus and had said everything that was appropriate for such a mission, pointing out that fortune is an incalculable thing, that the changes in war are swift, and that it is not easy for mortals to know in advance any of the things that are going to happen, left to him the choice whether he wished to receive money for the prisoners or to get other prisoners in their stead.

[3] (7) Pyrrhus, after taking counsel with his friends, answered them as follows: "You are acting perversely, Romans, when you are unwilling to join friendship with me, but ask to get back your men who have been captured in war, in order that you may have these same persons to use in your war against me. [4] But if you are planning to act in the best manner and if you have the common advantage of us both as your goal, put an end to the war against me and my allies and receive back all your men from me gratis, both your citizens and your allies. Otherwise I could never consent to hand over to you so many brave men."

[14.1] (18.8) This much he said while the three ambassadors were present; then, taking Fabricius aside, he said: "I hear that you, Fabricius, are most able in military commands and in your private life are just and prudent and possess all the other virtues, but that you are without pecuniary means, being in this one respect ill-treated by Fortune, so that you continue to be no better off than the poorest senators in the matter of a livelihood. [2] Being eager to supply this defect, I am ready to give you such an amount of silver and gold as will enable you to surpass in wealth all the Romans who are reputed to be the most prosperous. For I consider it an excellent expenditure and one befitting a ruler to confer benefits upon the good men who because of poverty do not fare according to their merit, and I regard this as the most splendid dedication and monument of royal wealth. [3] (9) Now that you have been informed of my purpose, Fabricius, lay aside all modesty and share in the blessings that are to be found with us, knowing that I shall be exceedingly grateful to you; and, by Heaven, no less . . . believe them? to be the most valued of my guest-friends. And to me in return for these things you are not to render any service that is either wrong or shameful, but only services from which you yourself will be more powerful and more honoured in your own country. [4] First, then, with all the power that lies in you, urge the senate, which thus far has been contentious and has shown no disposition toward moderation, to make the truce, showing them that it is not to the detriment of your commonwealth that I have come after promising to aid the Tarentines and the other Italiots, and that it is neither right nor seemly for me to desert them now that I am present with an army and have won the first battle. And very many urgent matters that have arisen at this time call me back to my own kingdom. [5] (10) With regard to my returning home, I offer to you, both alone and together with the other ambassadors, if the Romans would make me their friend, all the pledges

which make human compacts binding, in order that you may speak confidently to your fellow citizens, in case there are some who regard the name of king as suspicious and suggestive of deceitfulness in making compacts and, in view of the violations of oaths and treaties of which certain others have been thought guilty, assume the same with regard to me. [6] And when peace has been brought about, come with me to be my adviser in all matters and my lieutenant in war and to share in all the royal good fortune. For I need a good man and a loyal friend, while you need royal largess and kingly emprises. If, then, we combine these needs and abilities for our mutual advantage, we shall receive the greatest benefits from each other.”

[15.1] (18.11) When he had finished, Fabricius, after pausing a short time, said:

“As regards any merit of mine, either in public affairs or in private life, there is no need for me to speak for myself, since you have learned of it from others; nor, indeed, with regard to my slender means need I state that I have a very small farm and a sorry little house and that I do not get my livelihood from either loans or slaves, since you appear to have heard an accurate report of these matters also from others. [2] (12) But as to my being worse off than any other of the Romans on account of my lack of means, or my failing to gain any advantage from practising uprightness because I am not one of the rich, your supposition is false, whether you have heard it from someone else or surmise it yourself. For I never have been nor am I now conscious of any misfortune because I have not acquired great possessions, nor have I bewailed my lot either in public affairs or in my private concerns. [3] (13) Why in the world should I complain of it? Because it has not been possible for me by reason of poverty to get from my country a share in any of the fine and enviable things for which every noble nature strives? But I hold the highest magistracies, am sent on the most distinguished embassies, am entrusted with the most sacred rites in connexion with sacrifices, am thought worthy to express my opinion upon the most urgent matters and am called upon in my proper turn, am praised and envied, am second to none of the most powerful, and am regarded as a model of uprightness for the rest, though spending nothing of my substance for these honours, even as no one else does. [4] (14) For the Roman commonwealth does not interfere with the individual citizen’s means of livelihood, as do some other states in which the public wealth is small and that of the private citizens is great; but she herself provides those who go into public life with everything they need, giving them splendid and magnificent allowances, with the result that the poorest man enjoys no less esteem than the richest when it is a question of awarding honours, but all the Romans who are worthy of these honours by virtue of their uprightness are on an equal footing with one another. [5] When, never, though poor, I am at no disadvantage on that account in comparison with those who possess much, why in the world should I have denounced Fortune because she did not make me equal to you kings who have much gold treasured up? Nay, even in my private affairs I am so far removed from misfortune that I consider myself to

be one of a favoured few of the blest, when I compare myself with the rich, and in this I take the greatest pride. [6] (15) For my sorry little farm suffices to furnish me with the necessities of life if I am industrious and frugal, and Nature does not compel me to seek more than is necessary; on the contrary, all food is pleasing to me which hunger prepares, every drink is sweet when thirst provides it, sleep is gentle when induced by fatigue, the clothing which keeps one from shivering is most adequate, and the cheapest utensil of all that can serve the same purposes is the most suitable. [7] Hence not even on this score should I be justified in denouncing Fortune, since she has given me as much substance as Nature wished me to have; as for things in excess of that, she has neither implanted in me any craving for them nor given me any store of them.

[16.1] (18.16) “Very true, indeed; but I have nothing left over with which to assist my neighbours, nor has God given it to me to possess an over-supply of knowledge and divination with which I might help those who need them, — to say nothing of many other things. Yet so long as I share with both the commonwealth and my friends what faculties I do possess and place at the disposal of those who need them the resources with which I can benefit a few, I should not consider myself lacking in means. And these are the very things which you believe to be the most important, and yet lack the means to purchase even large sums of money. [2] (17) But even if it were ever so true that for the sake of doing kindly services to those in need the acquisition of great wealth merits great zeal and ambition, and if the richest men were the most happy, as you kings think, which kind of affluence would be better for me? [3] An affluence of the riches of which you are now offering me a share dishonourably, or of the wealth which I myself might earlier have acquired honourably? For my public career has afforded me proper opportunities for making money, both earlier on many occasions and especially when, three years ago while I was holding the office of consul, I was sent at the head of an army against the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians and ravaged a vast territory, defeated in many battles those who arrayed themselves against me, and took by storm and plundered many prosperous cities, from which I enriched my entire army, gave back to the private citizens the special taxes which they had paid in advance for the prosecution of the war, and turned into the treasury four hundred talents after celebrating my triumph. [4] (18) If, then, when it was possible for me to take as many of those prizes won by the spear as I could wish, I took none, but for the sake of a good reputation scorned even the riches gained in an honest man, just as did Valerius Publicola and very many others besides, man through whom our commonwealth has become so great, shall I accept the gifts you offer and exchange the better affluence for the worse? My kind of acquisition had the advantage that it could also be enjoyed with pleasure, in addition to being gained honourably and justly; but your kind lacks even this advantage. For whatever things men receive from others in advance are loans that oppress the spirit until they are repaid, even

though one dress them up with honourable names styling them gratuities, gifts or favours. [5] (19) Come now, suppose I should indeed be mad enough to accept the gold you offer me and this should become known to all the Romans, and then those magistrates who are subject to no accounting for their administration, the officials we call censors, whose duty it is to examine into the lives of all the Romans and to punish those who depart from the ancestral customs, should summon me and order me to render an account of my acceptance of bribes, bringing these charges against me in the presence of every:

[17.1] (18.20) “We sent you, Fabricius, as ambassador along with two other men of consular rank to King Pyrrhus to treat for the ransoming of prisoners. You have come back from your mission bringing neither the prisoners nor any other advantage for the commonwealth; instead, you, alone of the ambassadors sent with you, accepted royal gifts, and the peace which the people voted against making, you made by yourself alone, not for any advantage to the commonwealth — for how could it be that? — [2] but that you might betray her to the king, and that through you he might bring all Italy into subjection to himself and that through him you might deprive the fatherland of its liberty. For this is the purpose which all pursue who practise, not genuine, but feigned virtue, when they attain to grandeur and importance in affairs. [3] (21) But even if it were not while enjoying the prestige of an ambassador that you accepted a bribe, and if you were not taking it from the enemies of your country, nor for the purpose of betraying and tyrannizing over your fellow citizens, but were receiving it as a private citizen and from an ally and with no detriment to the commonwealth, are you not deserving of the greatest punishment, for the following reasons? First, you are corrupting the youth by introducing into their lives an emulous desire for regal wealth, luxury and extravagance, whereas they need great self-restraint if the south is to be preserved. [4] Again, you are bringing shame upon your ancestors, none of whom departed from the ancestral customs nor chose shameful riches in place of honourable poverty, but without exception remained on the same little estate that you, after inheriting it, regarded as beneath your station. [5] (22) Furthermore, you are destroying the reputation, which you gained from your earlier practices, as a man of self-restraint and moderation, superior to all shameful desires. After this, shall you go unpunished for having become a bad man after having once been a good one, when you ought, even if you were base before, to have ceased to be so? Or shall you continue to share in any of the blessings which are the due of the good, instead of quitting the city — the better course — or at any rate the Forum?”

[18.1] “If with these words of censure they expunge my name for the senate-roll and reduce me to the ranks of the disfranchised, what just answer shall I be able to make to them, or what just action take? What manner of life shall I live thereafter, when I have fallen into such disgrace and involved all my descendants? [2] (23) And to you yourself how shall I longer appear useful when

I have lost all influence and honour among my fellow citizens, the grounds for your present enthusiasm for me? The only course, then, that is left for one who can no longer keep a place for himself in his own country is to depart with his entire household, condemning himself to shameful exile. [3] After that where shall I spend the rest of my life? Or what place will receive me when I have lost, as I probable shall, my freedom of speech? Your realm, forsooth! And you will vi me with all the felicity a tyrant enjoys? Yet what boon will you give me as great as the one you will be taking from me when you take away that most precious of all possessions, liberty? [4] (24) And how could I endure the change in my life, learning late to be a slave? For when those born in countries ruled by kings and tyrants, if they are of noble spirit, crave liberty and consider all other blessings inferior to it, will those, I wonder, who have lived in a state which is free and has learned to rule over others bear with equanimity the change from better conditions to worse, consenting to become slaves instead of free men, in order to set splendid tables every day, to be attended everywhere by a multitude of slaves, and to have unstinted enjoyment of handsome women and boys, as if human happiness depended upon these things rather than upon virtue? [5] (25) Yet as for these very things, granted that they are well worth striving for, what joy would their use bring when it has no assured permanence? For it lies in the power of you rulers who provide these pleasures to take them away again when you yourselves wish. I say naught of the envyings, the slanderings, the fact that not for a moment does one live without danger and fear, and all the other experiences, distressing and unworthy of a noble spirit, while life at the courts of kings brings with it. [6] Let no such madness seize Fabricius that he should leave the renowned city of Rome and prefer life in Epirus, or that, when it is in his power to be leader of a state that holds the leadership, he should be ruled by one man whose thoughts are in no wise those of the other citizens and who is accustomed to hear from everybody what is calculated to please him. [7] (26) At any rate, though I might wish to change my spirit and make myself humble, in order that you might scent no danger from me, I could not do so; on the other hand, if I remain what Nature and my habits have made me, I shall appear offensive in your eyes and shall seem to be diverting control to my own hands. In fine, I can advise you against receiving into your realm, not Fabricius only, but also anyone else who is either your superior or your equal, or, in general, any man who has been reared in liberal ways and possesses a spirit above that of a private person. [8] For a man of lofty spirit is neither a safe companion for a king nor an agreeable one. Well then, as regards your private interests, you yourself will determine what you must do; as for the prisoners, come to some reasonable decision and permit us to depart.”

(27) When he stopped speaking, the king, admiring his nobility of soul, took him by the hand and said: “It no longer enters my mind why your city is renowned and encompassed so vast a dominion, since she is nurse of such men; and above all things I could have wished that no dispute should have

arisen in the first place between me and you Romans; but since it has arisen and it was the will of some god that only after we had made trial of one another's might and valour would he bring us together, I am ready to be reconciled. And in order that I may be the first to make the friendly overtures to which you invite me, I give up as a favour to your commonwealth all the prisoners without ransom."

Having subdued Libya even as far as the tribes living by the Ocean.

Constantia . . . there is also another in Bruttium. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xix.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XX

[1.1] Having agreed through heralds upon the time when they would join in battle, they descended from their camps and took up their positions as follows: King Pyrrhus gave the Macedonian phalanx the first place on the right wing and placed next to it the Italiot mercenaries from Tarentum; [2] then the troops from Ambracia and after them the phalanx of Tarentines equipped with white shields, forced by the allied force of Bruttians and Lucanians; in the middle of the battle-line he stationed the Thesprotians and Chaonians; next to them the mercenaries of the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Athamanians, and finally the Samnites, who constituted the left wing. [3] Of the horse, he stationed the Samnite, Thessalian and Bruttian squadrons and the Tarentine mercenary force upon the right wing, and the Ambraciot, Lucanian and Tarentine squadrons and the Greek mercenaries, consisting of Acarnanians, Aetolians, Macedonians and Athamanians, on the left. [4] The light-armed troops and the elephants he divided into two groups and placed them behind both wings, at a reasonable distance, in a position slightly elevated above the plain. He himself, surrounded by the royal agema, as it was called, of picked horsemen, about two thousand in number, was out the battle-line, so as to aid promptly any of his troops in turn that might be hard pressed.

The consuls arrayed on their left wing the legion called the first, facing the Macedonian and Ambraciot phalanx and the Tarentine mercenaries, and, next to the first legion, the third, over against the Tarentine phalanx with its white shields and the Bruttian and Lucanian allied forces; [5] adjoining the third army they placed the fourth, facing the Molossians, Chaonians and Thesprotians; and the second on the right wing opposite the mercenaries from Greece — the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Athamanians — and the Samnite phalanx that was equipped with oblong shields. The Latins, Campanians, substitutes, Umbrians, Volscians, Marrucini, Peligni, Ferentani, and their other subjects they divided into four divisions and mingled them with the Roman legions, in order that no part of their lines might be weak. [6] And dividing the cavalry, both their own and that of their allies, they placed it on both wings. Outside the line they stationed the light-armed troops and the waggons, three hundred in number, which they had got ready for the battle against the elephants. These waggons had upright beams on which were mounted movable traverse poles that could be swung round as quick as thought in any direction one might wish, and on the ends of the poles there were either tridents or swordlike spikes or scythes all of iron; or again they had cranes that hurled down heavy grappling-irons. [7] Many of the poles had attached to them and projecting in front of the waggons fire-bearing grapnels wrapped in tow that had been liberally daubed with pitch, which men standing on the waggons were to set afire as soon as they came near the elephants and then rain blows with them upon the trunks and faces of the beasts. Furthermore, standing on

the waggons, which were four-wheeled, were many also of the light-armed troops — bowmen, hurlers of stones and slingers who threw iron caltrops; and on the ground beside the waggons there were still more men.

[8] This was the battle order of the two armies that had taken the field. The forces on the king's side numbered 70,000 foot, of whom the Greeks who had crossed the Ionian gulf amounted to 16,000; on the Roman side there were more than 70,000, about 20,000 of them being from Rome itself. Of horse the Romans had about 8,000, while Pyrrhus had slightly more, as well as nineteen elephants.

[2.1] When the signals for battle were hoisted, the soldiers first chanted their war songs, and then, raising the battle-cry to Enyalios, advanced to the fray, engaged and fought, displaying all their skill in arms. The cavalry stationed upon both wings, knowing beforehand in what tactics they had the advantage over the enemy, resorted to those tactics, the Romans to a hand-to-hand, stationary combat, and the Greek horse to flanking and deploying manoeuvres. [2] The Romans, when they were pursued by the Greeks, would wheel their horses about, and checking them with the reins, would fight an infantry battle; the Greeks, when they perceived that the Romans were their equals in combat, would swerve to the right and countermarching past one another, would whirl about their horses once more to face forward, and applying the spurs, would charge the enemy's ranks. [3] Such was the character of the cavalry battle. The fighting of the infantry was in some respects similar to it, in other ways different; it was similar on the whole, but different in details. For the right wing of each army was the stronger one, the left being weaker. Nevertheless, neither side turned its back ignominiously to the foe, but both maintained good order, remaining with the standards and protecting themselves with their shields while gradually falling back. [4] Those who distinguished themselves for valour were, on the king's side, the Macedonians, who repulsed the first Roman legion and the Latins arrayed with it; and, on the Roman side, those who constituted the second legion and were opposed to the Molossians, Thesprotians and Chaonians. When the king had ordered the elephants seem to be led up to the part of the line that was in difficulties, the Romans mounted on the pole-bearing waggons, upon learning of the approach of the beasts, drove to meet them. [5] At first they checked the onrush of the beasts, smiting them with their engines and turning the fire-bearing grapnels into their eyes. Then, when the men stationed in their towers no longer drove the beasts forward, but hurled their spears down from above, and the light-armed troops cut through the wattled screens surrounding the waggons and hamstrung the oxen, the men at the machines, leaping down from their cars, fled for refuge to the nearest infantry and caused great confusion among them. [6] The Lucanians and Bruttians arrayed in the middle of the king's battle-line, after fighting for no great while, turned to flight when repulsed by the fourth Roman legion. When once these gave way and their part of the line was broken through, the Tarentines also, who had their station

next to them, did not remain, but they too turned their backs to the enemy and fled.

[3.1] When King Pyrrhus learned that the Lucanians, Bruttians and Tarentines were in headlong flight and that their part of the line was disrupted, he turned a part of the squadron that was with him over to other commanders, and from the right wing sent other horsemen, as many as he thought would be sufficient, as reinforcements to those who were being pursued by the Romans. But during the time that this was going on, there was a manifest intervention of the divine power on the side of the Romans. [2] Some of the Daunians, it seems, from the city of Argyrippa, which they now call Arpi, four thousand foot and some four hundred horse who had been sent to the assistance of the consuls, arrived near the royal camp while proceeding by mere chance along the road that led in the enemy's rear, and saw the plain full of men. After stopping there a short while and indulging in all manner of speculations, they decided not to descend from the heights and take part in the battle, since they did not know either where there was a friendly force or where a hostile one, nor could conjecture in what place they should take their stand in order to render some aid to their allies; and they thought it would be best to surround and destroy the enemy's camp, since not only would they themselves get much fine booty if they should capture the baggage, but they would also cause much confusion to their enemies if these should see their camp suddenly ablaze. (The scene of the battle was not more than twenty stades distant.) [3] Having come to this decision and having learned from some prisoners, who had been captured when they had gone out to gather wood, that only a very few were guarding the camp, they attacked them from all sides. Pyrrhus, learning of this through the report of a cavalryman who, when the siege of the camp began, drove his horse through the enemy's lines, and applying the spurs, was soon at hand, decided to keep the rest of his forces in the plain and not to recall or disturb the phalanx, but sent the elephants and the boldest of the horse, carefully selected, as reinforcements for the camp. [4] But while these were still on the way, the camp was suddenly taken and set on fire.

Those who had accomplished this feat, upon learning that the troops sent by the king were coming down from the heights against them, fled to the summit of a hill which could not easily be ascended by either the beasts or the horses. [5] The king's troops, having arrived too late to be of assistance, turned against the Romans of the third and fourth legions, who had advanced far ahead of the others after routing the foes who faced them. But the Romans, becoming aware in advance of their approach, ran up to a lofty and thickly-wooded spot and arrayed themselves in battle order. [6] The elephants, accordingly, being unable to ascend the height, caused them no harm, nor did the squadrons of horse; but the bowmen and slingers, hurling their missiles from all sides, wounded and destroyed many of them. When the commanders became aware of what was going on there, Pyrrhus sent, from his line of infantry, the Athamanians and Acarnanians and some of the Samnites, while

the Roman consul sent some squadrons of horse, since the foot needed such assistance. And at this same time a fresh battle took place there between the foot and horse and there was still greater slaughter.

[7] Following the king's lead, the Roman consuls also recalled their troops when it was near sunset, and taking them across the river led them back to their camp as darkness was already coming on. The forces of Pyrrhus, having lost their tents, pack-animals and slaves, and all their baggage, encamped upon a height, where they spent the following night under the open sky, without either baggage or attendance and not well supplied with even the necessary food, so that many wounded men actually perished, when they might still have been saved had they received assistance and care. Such was the outcome of the second battle between the Romans and Pyrrhus, near the town of Asculum.

[4.1] Rhegium suffered a calamity similar to that which had befallen Messina in Sicily, a calamity that illustrates the need of great precaution and forethought on the part of all cities. But it is necessary to state first the causes and excuses for the evils that befell this city. [2] When the Lucanians and Bruttians, having set out with numerous forces against Thurii, had ravaged its territory and were besieging the city after surrounding it with a palisade, and a force of Romans under the command of Fabricius the consul had been sent against them, the Rhegians, fearing that the barbarians would send an army against them also upon the departure of the Romans, and being suspicious of the city of Tarentum, begged Fabricius to leave a force in the city to guard against the sudden raids of the barbarians, and also in case there should be any unexpected hostile plot on the part of the Tarentines. And they received eight hundred Campanians and four hundred Sidicini, all under the command of Decius, a Campanian by birth. [3] This man, whenever he was lodged in the houses of the most prominent of the inhabitants, was entertained at splendid banquets in accordance with the hospitality due to guest; and when he beheld the splendid and costly appointments of many of the houses, he at first congratulated the Rhegians because of their prosperity, then envied them as being unworthy of it, and finally began to plot against them as enemies. [4] And taking as an accomplice of his secret designs his secretary, a crafty man and a deviser of every kind of mischief, he was advised by him to slay all the Rhegians and to seize their wealth, partly for himself and partly to distribute among his troops; for the man remarked that Messina had been taken in a similar fashion by the Mamertines a short time before. When he had been persuaded by them and had planned with him the manner of attack, he called to a council the tribunes and the most prominent soldiers; and after requesting them all to keep his remarks secret, he said that a grave danger overhung him, one that required very great and prompt precautions, since the occasion, he declared, did not permit of delay. For the most prominent Rhegians, he said, having learned of Pyrrhus' crossing, were secretly sending to him, promising to put the garrison to the sword and to hand over the city to him. [5] While he

was still uttering these words, a man who had been suborned for the purpose appeared, covered with dust as if from a journey and bearing a letter, composed by Decius himself but purporting to be from a personal friend of his, in which it was revealed that the king was intending to send five hundred soldiers to Rhegium to take over the city, the inhabitants having promised to open their gates to them. [6] Some state that the bearer of the letter had been sent in earnest by Fabricius the consul, and that the letter contained the information which I have just given and urged Decius to forestall the Rhegians. Both reports are reasonable. These things he revealed to those who were present at the council; and as soon as it was night, the tribunes, having first told the other soldiers what they were intending to do, went to the houses of the Rhegians, and finding some of them still feasting and others asleep, they slew them at their own firesides, though the Rhegians entreated them and grovelled at their feet and demanded to know why they were thus treated; and they spared neither age nor rank. [7] After slaughtering the men they committed a still more outrageous crime: portioning out the wives and virgin daughters of their hosts, they forcibly lay with these women whose very fathers and husbands they had slain before their very eyes. [8] Decius from the commander of a garrison had thus become a tyrant of Rhegium; and reasoning that he would have to pay the penalty to the Romans for what he had done, he made an alliance with the Campanians who were in possession of Messina, the most powerful of the cities in Sicily, meanwhile keeping the city of Rhegium under strict guard.

[5.1] The senate, upon learning from those who had escaped destruction the calamity that had befallen the Rhegians, did not delay even for a moment, but sent out the general in the city at the head of another army which had just been enrolled. [2] Forestalling the arrival of the Romans, however, Divine Providence took vengeance upon Decius, the commander of the garrison, for his impious schemes by punishing in the most vital parts of his body, inflicting upon his eyes a malady that caused excruciating pains. In his anxiety to cure this malady he sent he says a physician from Messina, Dexicrates by name, learning by inquiry that he was the best of the physicians of the day, but unaware that he was a Rhegian by birth. This man, having come to Rhegium, anointed his eyes with a caustic remedy and bade him endure the pains until he himself should return; then, going down to the sea, he boarded the ferry-boat that had been got ready for him and, before anyone was aware of his action, sailed back to Messina. [3] For a time Decius, although suffering dreadful pains while his sight was being burned out, nevertheless endured it, while waiting for the physician; but when much time had passed and he was unable longer to endure the excruciating pains, he wiped off the ointment and, opening his eyes, realized that the orbs had been burned out, and from that time he continued to be blind. After holding out for a few days he fell into the hands of the Romans, having been arrested by his own men; [4] for some, believing this was the way to clear themselves, opened their city to the general

and delivered up Decius in chains to Fabricius. The latter restored the city to the Rhegians who survived, and ordering the guards to leave everything where it was, he led them away carrying nothing but their arms; [5] then, choosing out the most prominent of their number, those whom the others declared to be accomplices in the nefarious plot, he brought them in chains to Rome. There, after being scourged with whips in the Forum, as was the established usage in the case of malefactors, the prisoners were put to death by having their heads cut off with an axe — all except Decius and the secretary, who, having outwitted their guards or having bribed them with money to permit them to escape an ignominious death, made away with themselves. So much on this subject.

[6.1] (19.2) Pyrrhus himself, having uttered the Homeric lines which Hector is represented by the poet as speaking to Ajax, as if they had been addressed by the Romans to himself,

I would not smite thee, then, who art so brave,

By stealth, but openly, if so I may.

and afterwards declaring that he had probably been wrong in planning his war against people who were more pious than the Greeks and more just, said he saw only one honourable and advantageous way of ending the war, and that was to make friends of them instead of enemies, beginning with some great act of kindness.

[2] (3) After ordering the Roman prisoners to be brought forward and giving to all of them raiment befitting free persons and expense money for the journey, he bade them remember how he had treated them and to tell all the others, and what they should come to their own cities, to strive with all zeal to make those cities friendly to him.

[3] A certain irresistible sight, indeed, has the gold of a king, and no defence has been found by mortals against this weapon.

[7.1] (19.4) Cleinias of Croton, when he was tyrant, took away from the cities their freedom after he had gathered together fugitives from every quarter and freed the slaves; and having strengthened his tyranny with their aid, he either slew or expelled from the city the most prominent of the Crotoniats. Anaxilas seized the acropolis of the Rhegians and, after holding it as long as he lived, handed down the rule to Leophron, his son. Others too, following their example, founded dynasties in the various cities and thus brought everything to ruin. [2] (5) But the final and worst mischief of all that came to any of the cities was the tyranny of Dionysius, who had mastered Sicily. For he crossed into Italy against the Rhegians at the summons of the Locrians, with whom the Rhegians were at odds; and when the Italiots united against him with large forces, he joined battle, slew many and took by storm two of their cities. [3] Then making another crossing later on, he removed the people of Hipponium from their native land, taking them to Sicily; and capturing Croton and Rhegium, he continued to lord it over those cities for twelve years. Then some, who stood in dread of the tyrant, entrusted themselves to the barbarians,

while others, who were being warred upon by the barbarians, handed over their cities to the tyrant; and no matter at whose hands they were suffering, they were always wretched and discontented, so that, like a Euripus, they veered this way and that according to the fortunes that befell them.

[8.1] (19.6) Pyrrhus crossed for the second time into Italy, since matters were not going to his liking in Sicily, inasmuch as it had become evident to the chief cities that his leadership was not that of a king but of a despot. For after he had been brought into Syracuse by Sosistratus, the ruler of the city at that time, and by Thoenon, the commander of the garrison, and had received from them the money in the treasury and some two hundred bronze-beaked ships, and after he had brought under his power all Sicily with the exception of the city of Lilybaeum, the one city which the Carthaginians still held, he assumed the arrogance of a tyrant.

(7) For Pyrrhus took away the estates of Agathocles' relatives and friends from those who had received them at that ruler's hands and presented them to his own friends, and he assigned the chief magistracies in the cities to his own shield-bearers and captains, not in accordance with the local laws of each city nor for the customary period, but as was pleasing to him. [2] Lawsuits and controversies and all the other matters of civil administration he would in some cases decide himself and in other cases would refer them either for reversal or for determination to those who hung about the court, men who had an eye for nothing except making gains and squandering wealth in the pursuit of luxury. Because of all this he was burdensome to the cities which had received him and was hated by them. [3] (8) Perceiving that many people were already secretly hostile to him, he introduced garrisons into the cities, taking as an excuse the war threatening from the Carthaginians; and arresting the most prominent men in each city, he put them to death, falsely alleging that he had discovered plots and treasonable acts. Among these was Thoenon, the commander of the garrison, who was admitted by all to have shown the greatest ardour and zeal in aiding him to cross over and take possession of the island; for he had gone to meet him at the head of a naval squadron and had turned over to him the Island of Syracuse, of which he himself had the command. [4] When, however, Pyrrhus attempted to arrest Sosistratus also, he was disappointed; for the man had become aware of his intention and had fled from the city. Furthermore, when matters had begun to be unsettled, the city of Carthage also, believing it had found an opportunity suitable for the recovery of places it had lost, sent an army against the island.

[9.1] (19.9) Observing that Pyrrhus was embarrassed and was seeking funds from every possible source, the worst and most depraved of his friends, Euegorus, the son of Theodorus, Balacrus, the son of Nicander, and Deinarchus, the son of Nicias, followers of godless and accursed doctrines, suggested an impious source for the raising of funds, namely, to open up the sacred treasures of Persephonê. [2] For there was a holy temple in this city that contained much wealth, guarded and untouched from the earliest times;

included in this there was an unfathomed quantity of gold, buried in the earth out of sight of the multitude. Pyrrhus, misled by these flatterers and because of his necessity that was stronger than any scruples, employed as his agents in the sacrilege the men who had made the proposal; and placing the gold plundered from the temple in ships, he sent it along with his other funds to Tarentum, having now become filled with great cheer.

[10] But a just Providence showed its power. For, though the ships, upon putting out from the harbour, found a land breeze and made progress, an adverse wind sprang up, and holding through the entire night, sank some of them, drove others into the Sicilian strait, and, in the case of those in which the offerings and the gold yielded by the offerings was being transported, drove them ashore on the beaches of Locri. The men on board the ships were submerged and perished in the backwash of the waves, and the sacred moneys, when the ships broke up, were cast ashore on the sand-banks nearest to Locri. [2] The king, terror-stricken, restored all the ornaments and treasures to the goddess, hoping thereby to appease her wrath;

The fool, nor wist that she would ne'er give ear:

For not so quickly do the deathless gods

Their purpose change.

as Homer has said. [3] Nay, since he had dared to lay hands on the sacred moneys and to pledge them as a war fund, the divinity brought his intention to naught, in order that he might serve as an example and lesson to all men who should come after him.

[10.1] (19.11) It was for this reason that Pyrrhus was defeated by the Romans also in a battle to the finish. For it was no mean or untrained army that he had, but the mightiest of those then in existence among the Greeks and one that had fought a great many wars; nor was it a small body of men that was then arrayed under him, but even three times as large as his adversary's, nor was its general any chance leader, but rather the man whom all admit to have been the greatest of all the generals who flourish at that same period; [2] nor was it any inequality in the position he occupied, nor the sudden arrival of reinforcements for the other side, nor any other mischance or unexpected excuse for failure that ruined the cause of Pyrrhus, but rather the wrath of the goddess whose sanctity had been violated, a wrath of which not even Pyrrhus himself was unaware, as Proxenus the historian relates and as Pyrrhus himself records in his own memoirs.

[11.1] (19.12) It was bound the happen, as might have been expected, that hoplites burdened with helmets, breastplates and shields and advancing against hilly positions by long trails that were not even used by people but were mere goat-paths through woods and crags, would keep no order and, even before the enemy came in sight, would be weakened in body by thirst and fatigue.

[2] Those who fight in close combat with cavalry spears grasped by the middle with both hands and who usually save the day in battles are called

principes by the Romans.

[12.1] (19.13) During the night in which Pyrrhus was intending to lead his army against the hill to attack the Roman camp secretly it seemed to him in his dreams that most of his teeth fell out and a quantity of blood poured from his mouth. [2] Disturbed by this vision and divining that some great misfortune would ensue, since he had already on an earlier occasion beheld a similar vision in a dream and some dire disaster had followed, he wished to hold back that day, but was not strong enough to defeat fate; for his friends opposed the delay and demanded that he should not let the favourable opportunity slip from his grasp.

[3] (14) When Pyrrhus and those with him had ascended along with the elephants, and the Romans became aware of it, they wounded an elephant cub, which caused great confusion and flight among the Greeks. The Romans killed two elephants, and hemming eight others in a place that had no outlet, took them alive when the Indian mahouts surrendered them; and they wrought great slaughter among the soldiers.

[13.1] (20.1) The consul Fabricius, having become censor, expelled from the senatorial body a man who had been honoured with two consulships and one dictatorship, Publius Cornelius Rufinus, because he was believed to have been the first to be extravagant in supplying himself with silver goblets, having acquired ten pounds' weight of them; this is a little more than eight Attic minae.

[2] (2) The Athenians gained repute because they punished as harmful to the state the indolent and idle who followed no useful pursuits, and the Lacedaemonians because they permitted their oldest men to beat with their canes such of the citizens as were disorderly in any public place whatever; but for what took place in the homes they took no thought or precaution, holding that each man's house-door marked the boundary within which he was free to live as he pleased. [3] (3) But the Romans, throwing open every house and extending the authority of the censors even to the bed-chamber, made that office the overseer and guardian of everything that took place in the homes; for they believed that neither a master should be cruel in the punishments meted out to his slaves, nor a father unduly harsh or lenient in the training of his children, nor a husband unjust in his partnership with his lawfully-wedded wife, nor children disobedient toward their aged parents, nor should own brothers strive for more than their equal share, and they thought there should be no banquets and revels lasting all night long, no wantonness and corrupting of youthful comrades, no neglect of the ancestral honours of sacrifices and funerals, no any other of the things that are done contrary to propriety and the advantage of the state.

They plundered the possessions of the citizens on the ground that they were affecting the ways of a king.

[14.1] (20.4) Numerius Fabius Pictor, Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Ogulnius, who had gone as ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second

to rule Egypt after the Macedonian Alexander, and had been honoured by him with individual gifts, [2] upon returning to Rome not only reported all that they had accomplished during their absence, but also turned over to the public treasury the gifts which they had received from the king. But the senate, admiring the men for all their achievements, did not permit them to turn the royal gifts over to the state, but allowed them to take them back to their homes as rewards of merit and decorations for their descendants.

[15.1] (20.5) The Bruttians, after submitting willingly to the Romans, delivered up to them one-half of their mountainous district, called Sila, which is full of timber suitable for the building of houses and ships and every other kind of construction. For much fir grows there, towering to the sky, much black poplar, much pitch pine, beech, stone pine, wide-spreading oak, ash trees enriched by the streams flowing through their midst, and every other kind of tree with densely-intertwined branches that keep the mountain in shadow throughout the whole day.

[16.] (6) Of this timber, that which grows nearest the sea and rivers is felled at the root and taken down in full lengths to the nearest harbours, sufficient in quantity to serve all Italy for shipbuilding and the construction of houses. That which grows inland from the sea and remote from rivers is cut up in sections for the making of oars, poles and all kinds of domestic implements and equipment, and is carried out on men's shoulders. But the largest and most resinous part of the timber is made into pitch, furnishing the most fragrant and sweetest pitch known to us, the kind called Bruttian, from the farming out of which the Roman people receive large revenues every year.

[16.1] (20.7) There was a second uprising in Rhegium, on the part of the garrison of the Romans and allies which had been left there, and it resulted in the slaying and exile of many persons. To punish these rebels one of the consuls, Gaius Genucius, led out the army. After becoming master of the city, he restored their possessions to the keeping of the Rhegian exiles, and arresting those who had made the attack upon the city, he took them back in chains to Rome. The senate and the people were so enraged and indignant at them that no moderate sentiment was expressed concerning them, but by the vote of all the tribes sentence was passed against all the accused that they should die in the manner prescribed by the laws for malefactors. [2] (8) When the decree concerning their punishment had been ratified, stakes were fixed in the Forum and the men, being brought forward three hundred at one time, were bound naked to the stakes, with their elbows bent behind them. Then, after they had been scourged with whips in the sight of all, the back tendons of their necks were cut with an axe. After them another three hundred were destroyed, and then other groups of like size, a total of forty-five hundred in all. And they did not even receive burial, but were dragged out of the Forum into an open space before the city, where they were torn asunder by birds and dogs.

[17.1] (20.9) The multitude of the needy, who had no thought for what was

honourable and just, flocked together, misled by a certain Samnite. And at first they led a life of hardship in the open upon the mountains; but when at length they seemed to have become more numerous and to be adequate for battle, they seized a strong city and with that as their base plundered all the country round about. [2] Against these men the consuls led forth an army, and having without much difficulty taken their city, they scourged with rods and put to death the authors of the revolt and sold the rest as booty. It chanced that the land had been sold the previous year along with the other conquests of the spear, and the money realized from its price had been divided among the citizens.

ON LITERARY COMPOSITION



Translated by W. Rhys Roberts

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*Tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.*

Horace *Ars Poetica* 242, 243.

*See Dionysius Homer's thoughts refine,
And call new beauties forth from every line.*

Pope *Essay on Criticism* 665, 666.

PREFACE

It is a happy instinct that leads Pope to find in Dionysius a gifted interpreter of Homer's poetry, who can 'call new beauties forth from every line.' In his entire attitude, not only towards Homer but towards Sappho and Simonides, Herodotus and Demosthenes, Dionysius has proved that he can rise above the debased standards of the ages immediately preceding his own, and can discern and proclaim a classic excellence. He has thus contributed not a little to confirm our belief in the essential continuity of critical principles — in the existence of a firm and permanent basis for the judgments of taste.

The breadth of interest and the discriminating enthusiasm with which in the present treatise Dionysius of Halicarnassus (or 'Denis of Halicarnasse', as we might prefer to call him) approaches his special subject of literary composition, or word-order, may be inferred from the table of contents, the detailed summary, and the brief statement on page 10 of the Introduction. It is an interest which impels him to touch, incidentally but most suggestively, on such topics as Greek Pronunciation, Accent, Music. It is an enthusiasm which prompts him to speak of 'words soft as a maiden's cheek' (ὀνόματα μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά), to describe Homer as 'of all poets the most many-voiced' (πολυφωνότατος πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν), and to attribute to Thucydides 'an old-world and masterful nobility of style' (ἀρχαϊκὸν τι καὶ αὐθαδὲς κάλλος). Expressions so apt and vivid as these, together with the easy flow and natural arrangement of the whole treatise, tend to prove that Dionysius is not laboriously compiling his matter as he goes along, but is writing out of a full mind, is dealing with a subject which has long occupied his thoughts, and is imparting one section only of a large and well-ordered body of critical doctrine in the command of which he feels secure.

*That to the Greeks literature was an art — that with them, the sound was echo to the sense — that they were keenly alive to all the magic and music of beautiful speech: where shall we find these truths more vividly brought out than in the present treatise? And if we are still to teach the great Greek authors in the original language and not in translations, surely it is of supreme importance to lay stress on points of artistic form, most especially in a literature where form and substance are so indissolubly allied as in that of Greece and when we are fortunate enough to have the aid of a writer who knows so well as does Dionysius (see page 41) that noble style is but the reflection of those noble thoughts and feelings which should inspire a nation's life. Nevertheless, the *de Compositione* lies almost dead and forgotten, seldom mentioned and still more seldom read; and one is sometimes tempted to think of the eager curiosity with which it would most certainly be welcomed had it lately been discovered in the sands of Egypt or in some buried house at Herculaneum. A new ode of Sappho, and a 'precious tender-hearted scroll of pure Simonides,' would rejoice the man of letters, while the philologist would revel in the stray hints upon Greek pronunciation. So striking an addition to*

the Greek criticism of Greek literature would be hailed with acclamation, and it would be gladly acknowledged that its skilful author had known how to enliven a difficult subject by means of eloquence, enthusiasm, humour, variety in vocabulary and in method of presentation generally, and had made his readers realize that the beauty of a verse or of a prose period largely depends upon the harmonious collocation of those sounds of which human speech primarily consists.

A word may be said upon some of the modern bearings of the treatise. Dionysius is undoubtedly right in holding that consummate poets are consummate craftsmen — that even so early a poet as Homer φιλοτεχνεῖ. Our British habit of thought leads us to dwell on the spontaneity of literary achievement rather than on its artistic finish. We are apt to sneer, as some degenerate Greeks did in Dionysius' time (pages 262-270), at the contention that even genius cannot dispense with literary pains, and to insist in a one-sided way on the axiom that where genius begins rules end. But a reference to the greatest names in our own literature will confirm the view that the highest excellence must be preceded by study and practice, however eminent the natural gifts of an author may be. Would any one hesitate to say whether Paradise Lost or Lycidas is the more mature example of Miltonic poetry? Shakespeare, with his creative genius and all-embracing humanity, may seem to soar far above these so-called artificial trammels. But, here again, could any one doubt, on grounds of style alone, whether Hamlet or The Two Gentlemen of Verona was the earlier play? To be able fully to appreciate such differences is no small result of a literary education; and though the rhetoric of each language is in a large degree special to that language, it is notwithstanding true that our western literatures are closely interrelated — that they should continually be compared and contrasted — and that modern literary theory can gain much in stimulus and suggestion from that ancient literary theory which had its origin in Greece, and which by way of Rome (where Dionysius taught Greek literature in the age of Horace) was transmitted to the modern world.

In the present edition an endeavour has been made to suggest some of the many points at which Dionysius' principles and precepts are applicable to the modern languages and literatures. Efforts, too, have been made to smooth away, by means of the Glossary and the English Translation, those technical difficulties which might easily deter even the advanced Greek student (not to mention the wider of cultivated readers generally) from seeking in the de Compositione that literary help which it is so well able to give. The edition has been many years in preparation; and special pains have been taken with the English Translation, as it is the first to be published and as its execution presents great and obvious difficulties. The Glossary will show how rich and varied is Dionysius' rhetorical terminology, and it may also serve as a contribution towards that new Lexicon of Greek and Roman Rhetoric which is a pressing need. It seems not unnatural to treat thus fully a work of which no

annotated edition in any language has appeared for a hundred years. For the constitution of the Greek text, on the other hand, the recent critical edition of Dionysius' literary essays by Usener and Radermacher is of the highest importance. The present editor desires here to acknowledge the debt he owes to their admirable apparatus criticus, the exhaustiveness of which he has not attempted to equal, though he has thought it desirable to report (with their aid) a good many seemingly insignificant errors or variants which may serve to throw some light on the comparative value of the chief documentary authorities. He may add that he has himself collated, for the purposes of the present recension, the best Paris manuscript (P 1741, which contains Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, *Demetrius de Elocutione*, *Dionysius de Compositione Verborum* and *Ep. ii. ad Amm.*, etc.), and that he has explained on pages 56-60 his views with regard to some of the textual problems presented by the treatise.

It is a pleasure further to acknowledge the ever ready aid he has received from his personal friends — from Dr. A. S. Way, who has not only contributed the verse-translations throughout the treatise but has given help of unusual range and worth in other directions also, and from Mr. L. H. G. Greenwood, Mr. G. B. Mathews, Mr. P. N. Ure, and Professor T. Hudson Williams, who have read the proofs and made most valuable suggestions. Nor should the great care shown in the printing of the book by Messrs. R. & R. Clark's able staff of compositors and readers be passed over without a word of grateful mention.

It may perhaps not be out of place to state in conclusion that the editor hopes next to publish, in continuation of this series of contributions to the study of the Greek literary critics, a number of essays and dissertations grouped round the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle. The *Rhetoric* is a remarkable product of its great author's maturity, in reading which constant reference should be made to Aristotle's other works, to the writings of his predecessors, and to those later Greek and Roman critics who illustrate it in so many ways. Studies of the kind indicated ought to contain much of modern and permanent interest. Not long ago a distinguished man of science wrote, 'one literary art, the art of rhetoric, may be weakened and lost when the scientific spirit becomes predominant — that sort of rhetoric, I mean, which may be fitly described as *insincere eloquence*. Rhetoric seeks above all to persuade, and in a completely scientific age men will only allow themselves to be persuaded by force of reason.' The writer seems to recognize that there may be a good as well as a bad rhetoric, but perhaps it hardly falls within his scope to make it clear that the Greeks, from whom the art and the term come, were themselves well aware of this fact, even though the age in which they lived might not be completely scientific. The vicious type of rhetoric which he justly censures is exemplified in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. In this book — for whose date the antiquity of a recently-discovered manuscript (published in the *Hibeh Papyri* i.114 ff.) suggests the age of Aristotle, though Aristotle himself is

certainly not the author — the aim of rhetoric is assumed to be persuasion at any price. But how different is the spirit of Plato in the *Phaedrus* and the *Gorgias*, and of Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*. To take Aristotle only. He looks at rhetoric with the sincerity of a lover of truth and with the breadth of a lover of wisdom. He recognizes that the art may be abused; but 'so may all good things except virtue itself, and particularly the most useful things, such as strength, health, wealth, generalship.' Its function is 'not to persuade, but to ascertain in any given case the available means of persuasion.' Mental self-defence is a duty no less than physical self-defence; but though it is necessary to know bad arguments in order to be ready to parry them, we must not use them ourselves (for 'one must not be the advocate of evil'), nor must we try to warp the feelings of the judge (for this would be like 'making crooked a carpenter's rule which you are about to use'). Reason must be our weapon, and we must have confidence that the truth will prevail (for 'truth and justice are by nature stronger than their opposites' and 'what is true and better is by nature the easier to prove and the more convincing'). The whole work is conceived in the same spirit — that of attention to truth rather than to mere persuasion, to matter rather than to manner, to the solid facts of human nature rather than to the shallow blandishments of style. The author of the most scientific treatise that has yet been written on rhetoric manifestly held a lofty view of his subject; and so far from commending an insincere eloquence, he says less than we could wish about literary beauties and the arts of style. Here Dionysius, in his various critical works, happily serves to supplement him. Though he has the art of speaking specially in view, Dionysius draws his literary illustrations from so wide a field that the art of literature may be regarded as his theme. The method he inculcates is that which every literary aspirant follows, consciously or unconsciously, in regard to his own language — the reading and imitation of the great writers by whom its capacities have been enlarged. To us, no less than to his Roman pupil Rufus, the practice and the precepts of those Greeks who attained an unsurpassed excellence in the art of literature have an enduring interest. For they help the fruitful study of our own literature; and that literature, we all rejoice to think, has not only a great past behind it but a great future in store for it.

*The University, Leeds,
December 6, 1909.*

INTRODUCTION

I

Summary of the *de Compositione*

A general account of the life and literary activities of Dionysius will be found in the volume entitled *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: the Three Literary Letters*, where the *de Compositione Verborum* is briefly described in connexion with the other critical essays of its author. Here a fuller summary of the treatise seems necessary before an attempt is made to estimate its value and to follow up some of the highly interesting questions which it raises.

The date of the *de Compositione* is not known, but may be conjectured to lie between the years 20 and 10 B.C. The book is a birthday offering from Dionysius, as a teacher of rhetoric in Rome, to his pupil Rufus Metilius.

c. 1. This book is a birthday present which deals with the art of speech, and so will be found particularly useful to youths who look forward to a public career. Oratorical excellence depends on skill exercised in two directions — in the sphere of subject matter and in the sphere of expression (πραγματικὸς τύπος and λεκτικὸς τύπος). In the former sphere, maturity of judgment and experience is required: in the latter the young are more at home, but they need careful guidance at the start. The λεκτικὸς τύπος has two subdivisions, ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων and σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων. The *composition* of words is to be treated now: the *choice* of words is to be treated next year, if Heaven keeps the author “safe and sound.” The chief headings in the present treatise are to be the following: —

- (1) The nature of composition, and its effect;
- (2) Its aims, and how it attains them;
- (3) Its varieties, with their characteristic features and the author’s preferences among them;
- (4) The poetical element in prose and the prose element in verse, and the means of cultivating both — of imparting the flavour of poetry to prose and the ease of prose to poetry.

c. 2. “*Composition* is, as the very name indicates, a certain mutual arrangement of the parts of speech, or elements of diction, as some prefer to call them.” The parts of speech recognized by Theodectes and Aristotle and their contemporaries were three in number, viz. nouns, verbs, and connectives. The number was raised, by the Stoics and others, to four through the separation of the article from the connectives. Later were added the adjective, the pronoun, the adverb, the preposition, the participle, and certain other subdivisions. These principal parts of speech form, when joined and set side by side, the *cola* (‘members,’ ‘clauses’). The union of *cola* completes the “periods,” and these make up the entire discourse. The functions of

composition are to arrange the words fittingly, to assign the proper structure to the *cola*, and to divide the discourse carefully into periods.

In its effects, though not in order of time, the composition of words comes before the choice of words.

c. 3. Our thoughts are uttered either in verse or in prose. In both alike, composition can invest the lowliest words with charm and distinction. By way of foretaste, two passages (one of poetry, the other of prose) may be quoted in illustration. The first is from the opening of the 16th *Odyssey*, where the lines allure not by elaborate language or lofty theme, but by the sheer beauty with which the words are grouped. The prose example is furnished by that passage of Herodotus (i. 8-10) which describes the unworthy behaviour of Candaules towards his wife. Here, too, the charm resides not in the incident nor in the words which describe it, but in the deft arrangement of the language.

c. 4. The powerful effect of composition will be still further realized if some choice passages of verse and prose be taken and the order of the words disturbed. Homer and Herodotus once more provide examples. Certain lines in the twelfth and thirteenth books of the *Iliad* are chosen, and transformed, with disastrous effects, from hexameters into two varieties of tetrameters. A short passage of Herodotus is turned about in a similar way, one of the two versions being in the style of Thucydides, the other in the odious manner of Hegesias. Composition may in fact be likened to the Homeric Athena, who with a touch of her magic wand could make the same Odysseus resemble either a beggar or a gallant prince. The neglect of composition has lamentable results in writers like Duris, Polybius, Chrysippus, and others. Failing to find the subject satisfactorily treated by previous authors, Dionysius has himself endeavoured to discover some natural principle to form a starting-point (φυσικὴ ἀφορμή). He has not succeeded, but he will describe his attempt.

c. 5. It had occurred to him that, in a natural order, verbs would follow nouns and precede adverbs, while things which happened first in time would come first in narration. But these (and other) rules were seen to be untrustworthy, when tested by the actual practice of the great authors.

c. 6. As far as words (or elements of discourse) are concerned, the art of composition operates in three ways — through (1) the choice of elements likely to combine effectively; (2) the discernment of the particular shapes or constructions (i.e. singular or plural number, nominative or oblique case, active or passive voice, etc.) to be given to each element in order that the structure may be improved; (3) the perception of the modification which these shapes need in view of the materials. Each of the processes can be illustrated from the arts of house-building and ship-building — of civil and marine architecture. This analogy is developed at some length.

c. 7. In the case of the *cola*, the processes are two. (1) The *cola* must be rightly arranged. For instance, in a passage of Thucydides (iii. 57) the order in which they come makes all the difference. So, too, in Demosthenes *de Corona* § 119.

c. 8. (2) The right “turn,” or “shaping,” must be given to the *cola*, so that they may faithfully reflect the various aims and moods of the speaker or writer. A good example will be found in Demosthenes *de Corona* § 179.

c. 9. Under (2) it is to be noted that the *cola* may be lengthened or shortened for the sake of literary effect. Examples are given from Demosthenes, Plato, Sophocles, and again Demosthenes. — The same remarks will apply to periods as to *cola*. Further, the art of composition must determine when it is fitting to employ periods and when not.

c. 10. Next come the aims and methods of good composition. The two chief aims are charm and beauty or nobility: the ear craves these in composition, just as the eye in a work of pictorial art. The two qualities are, however, not identical. Thucydides, for example, and Antiphon possess beauty but lack charm. Ctesias, on the other hand, and Xenophon are charming (pleasing, agreeable), but deficient in beauty. Herodotus combines the two excellences.

c. 11. The chief sources of charm and beauty (or nobility) are four: music, rhythm, variety, and propriety. Charm and beauty, themselves, have many subdivisions. The instinctive appreciation of music and rhythm on the part of a popular audience may be noticed during a performance in some house of entertainment. Variety, too, and propriety are indispensable. As to the music of speech, it is to be observed that there is a sort of oratorical cadence which differs from music proper in quantity only, not in quality. The speaking voice does not rise in pitch above three tones and a half: it confines itself to the interval of the Fifth. The singing voice, on the other hand, uses a greater number of intervals, not only the Fifth but (beginning with the Octave) the Fifth, the Fourth, the Tone, and the Semitone, and, as some think, still slighter intervals. Other points of difference are that, in singing, the words are subordinate to the air, and the length of the syllables is regulated by the musical time. So the speaking voice can show good melody without being “melodic,” and show good rhythms without being “rhythmic.” There is, in fact, music in speech, but not the whole of music.

c. 12. Various sounds affect the ear in various ways. The cause lies in the nature of the letters; and as their nature cannot be changed, there should be a judicious intermixture of pleasant with unpleasant sounds. Short words, too, must be mingled with long, and long with short. The same variety, too, must be practised in the use of figures, and in other ways. But even variety must not be carried to excess: uniformity is sometimes equally pleasant. Tact is needed, and to impart tact is no easy task. It is to be remembered that not even the commonest words need be shunned by good writers: they can all be dignified by means of composition, as is seen in Homer’s poems.

c. 13. Beauty of composition will be attained by the same means as charm of composition, — by melody, rhythm, variety, propriety. And the nature of the letters themselves will play an equal part in determining the character of the composition.

c. 14. The twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet are now examined from the phonetic point of view. The object is to trace to some of its ultimate elements the secret of the variety and music found in beautiful language. The nature and the qualities of the letters must be understood by the writer who would know how to vary his style in an ever-changing and musical way. The letters (γράμματα), or elements (στοιχεῖα), may be divided into vowels (φωνήεντα, φωναί) and consonants (ψόφοι), and the consonants into semivowels (ῥιμίφωνα) and mutes (ἄφωνα). The vowels can be pronounced by themselves; the semivowels sound best when combined with vowels; the mutes cannot be uttered at all except in combination. There are seven vowels: two short, ε and ο; two long, η and ω; and three common, — α, ι, and υ. The semivowels are eight in number: five single, viz. λ, μ, ν, ρ, ζ, and three double, viz. ζ, ξ, ψ. The nine mutes may be classified as: ψιλὰ (*tenues*) κ, π, τ; δασέα (*aspiratae*) χ, φ, θ; and μέσα (*mediae*) γ, β, δ. Or they may be arranged according to the part chiefly concerned in their production: whether it is the *lip*, — π, φ, β; the *teeth*, — τ, θ, δ; or the *throat*, — κ, χ, γ. That is to say, Dionysius recognizes (though he does not use the technical adjectives) a division into *labials*, *dentals*, and *gutturals*. Among these various letters a regular hierarchy is established by him. Long vowels are held to be more euphonious than short vowels. The order of euphony for the vowels is, from the top downwards, as follows: ᾱ, η, ω, υ, ι, ο, ε; and (for the semivowels) first the double consonants, then λ, μ, ν, ρ, and lastly ζ, which is condemned in strong terms. Among the mutes, the rough (the aspirates) are regarded as superior to the middle, and the middle to the smooth. The physiological processes by which the several letters are produced are described with some particularity in the light of the phonetics of the day.

c. 15. *Syllables*, as well as letters considered singly, contribute to variety of style. Of the syllables (or small groups of letters) there are many different kinds. The principal difference is that some are short and others long. But the difference does not end there, since some are shorter than the short and others longer than the long. The fact is that, from the metrical point of view, the vowels and final consonants alone count in determining the length of a syllable, whereas in actual delivery the initial consonants also have to be considered. For instance, a speaker will find that the initial syllable of στροφή takes more time to utter than that of τρόπος; and so with τρόπος by the side of Πρόδος, and with Πρόδος by the side of ὁδός. In the same way, σπήν is really longer than the vowel η standing by itself. And further: syllables differ not only in quantity but in sound, some being pleasant and others unpleasant, according to the nature of the letters which compose them. Great poets and prose-writers have an instinctive perception of these facts, and skilfully adapt their very syllables and letters to the emotions which they wish to portray; e.g. Homer in *Odyss.* ix. 415, 416, and in *Il.* xvii. 265, xxii. 220, 221, 476, xviii. 225.

c. 16. Poets and prose-writers frame, or borrow from their predecessors in

earlier generations, such imitative forms (words whose sound suggests their sense) as ῥοχθεῖ, κλάγξας, βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ, ῥοῖζος: all of which are found in Homer. Nature is here the great teacher; she prompts us to use, in their right connexion, words so expressive as μύκημα, χρεμετισμός, φριμαγμός, βρόμος, πάταγος, συριγμός, and the like. The first writer to broach the subject of etymology was Plato, particularly in his *Cratylus*.

With regard to the music of sounds, the general conclusion is that variety and beauty of style depend upon variety and beauty of words, syllables, and letters. To clinch the matter, Dionysius quotes (with appropriate comments) further illustrations from Homer — *Odyssey* xvii. 36, 37, vi. 162, 163, etc. Theophrastus, in his work on *Style*, has distinguished two classes of words — those which are beautiful (or noble) and those which are mean and paltry. Our aim should be to intermingle the latter kind, when we are forced to employ them (as sometimes we are), with the better sort, as has been done by Homer (*Il.* ii. 494-501) in his enumeration of the Boeotian towns.

c. 17. Rhythm, also, is an important element in good composition. For our present purpose, a *rhythm* and a *foot* may be regarded as synonymous. Of disyllabic and trisyllabic feet the following descriptive list is given: —

A. Disyllabic Feet.

Name.	Quantities.	Qualities.
1. ἡγεμών, πυρρήχιος.	υ υ	Wanting in seriousness and dignity.
2. σπονδεῖος.	— —	Full of dignity.
3. ἱαμβος.	υ —	Not lacking in nobility.
4. τροχαῖος.	— υ	Less manly and noble than the iambus.

B. Trisyllabic Feet

Name.	Quantities.	Qualities.
1. χορεῖος, τρίβραχυσ.	υ υ υ	Mean and unimpressive.
2. μολοττός.	— — —	Dignified and far-striding.
3. ἀμφίβραχυσ.	υ — υ	Effeminate and unattractive.
4. ἀνάπαιστος.	υ υ —	Stately.
5. δάκτυλος.	— υ υ	Contributes greatly to beauty of style.
6. κρητικός.	— υ —	Not lacking in nobility.
7. βακχεῖος.	— — υ	Virile and grave.
8. ὑποβακχεῖος.	υ — —	Virile and grave.

Various lines are quoted from the poets in order to illustrate the effect of

these several feet.

c. 18. As each word has a rhythmical value (great or small) which cannot be changed, all depends on the skill with which we arrange the words at our disposal so as to blend artistically the inferior with the better. To illustrate his meaning, Dionysius quotes, and gives a rhythmical analysis of, passages from Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes. The excerpt from Thucydides is a part of the Funeral Oration attributed to Pericles (ii. 35). The rhythms here used are shown to be dignified ones, such as spondees, anapaests, dactyls, etc. Thucydides, we are told, deservedly has a name for elevation and for choice language, since he habitually introduces noble rhythms. From Plato is taken a short passage of the *Menexenus* (236 D); and this too is shown to owe its dignity and beauty to the beautiful and striking rhythms that compose it. If Plato had only been as clever in the choice of words as he is unrivalled in the art of combining them, he “had even outstript” Demosthenes, as far as beauty of style is concerned, or “had left the issue in doubt.” Demosthenes is the foremost of orators, and may be regarded as a model alike in his choice of words and in the beauty with which he arranges them. The opening of the *Crown*, with its careful avoidance of all ignoble rhythms, will prove his pre-eminence. Deficiency in this respect can be illustrated just as conspicuously by the writings of Hegesias, who would seem to have shunned good rhythms out of sheer wilfulness. A passage is quoted from Hegesias’ *History* — a passage which, if well written, would have moved to sympathetic tears rather than to derisive laughter. With it are contrasted some famous lines of the *Iliad* (xxii. 395-411) which, we are told, owe their nobility largely to the beauty of their rhythms.

c. 19. The third element in good composition is variety (ἡ μεταβολή). In the use of rhythms to impart variety, prose enjoys much greater freedom than poetry. Epic poets must needs employ the hexameter line: the writers of lyric verse must make antistrophe correspond to strophe, however greatly they may strive for liberty in other respects. That prose style is best which exhibits the greatest variety in the way of periods, clauses, rhythms, figures, and the like; and its charm is all the greater if the art that fashions it lies hidden. In point of variety, Herodotus, Plato and Demosthenes hold the foremost place: Isocrates and his followers are distinguished rather by monotony of style.

c. 20. The fourth element is fitness or propriety (τὸ πρέπον). Propriety is described as the harmony which an author establishes between his style, and the actions and persons of which he treats. Common experience proves that ordinary people, in describing an event, will vary the order of their words (and the point here is the arrangement, not the choice of words) in accordance with the emotions which it excites in them. Similarly, artistic writers should follow their own aesthetic instincts in the matter. Homer has done so with surpassing effect. A fine instance is furnished by the lines (*Odyssey* xi. 593-598) which depict the torment of Sisyphus — the slow upheaval of his rock, and its rapid rolling down the hill once it has reached the top.

c. 21. After these theoretical and technical discussions there arises the question: what are the different kinds of composition or arrangement, — what are the different *harmonies*? The answer given is that there are three: (1) the austere (αὐστηρά), (2) the smooth (γλαφυρά), (3) the harmoniously blended (εὐκράτος) or intermediate (κοινή).

c. 22. The characteristic features of austere composition are set forth in considerable detail: both generally and in reference to words, clauses, periods. Among its principal representatives are mentioned: Antimachus of Colophon and Empedocles in epic poetry, Pindar in lyric, Aeschylus in tragic; in history, Thucydides; in oratory, Antiphon. The beginning of a Pindaric dithyramb and the opening sentences of the introduction to Thucydides' *History* are minutely examined from this point of view. [Any attempt to summarize fully this chapter and those which follow is hardly possible owing to the nature of the subject matter. The chapters are important, and will repay a careful study.]

c. 23. Smooth composition is next characterized in a similar way. Its chief representatives may be taken to be: Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon, Simonides, Euripides, Ephorus, Theopompus, Isocrates. In illustration are quoted (with sundry comments) Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite* and the introductory passage from Isocrates' *Areopagiticus*.

c. 24. "The third, the mean of the two kinds already mentioned, which I call *harmoniously blended* (or *intermediate*) for lack of a proper and better name, has no form peculiar to itself, but is a judicious blend of the other two and a selection from the most effective features of each." This third is the best variety of composition because it is a kind of golden mean; and its highest representative is Homer, in whom we find a union of the severe and the polished forms of arrangement. On a lower plane are other votaries of the golden mean: among lyric poets Stesichorus and Alcaeus, among tragedians Sophocles, among historians Herodotus, among orators Demosthenes, and among philosophers Democritus, Plato and Aristotle. Illustrative examples are, in this case, unnecessary.

c. 25. These discussions lead up to a final question, — that of the relations between prose and poetry. And first: in what way can prose be made to resemble a beautiful poem or lyric? It is in metre, even more than in the choice of words, that poetry differs from prose. Consequently prose cannot become like metrical and lyrical writing, unless it contains, though not obtrusively, metres and rhythms within it. It must not be manifestly *in* metre or *in* rhythm (for in that case it will be a poem or a lyric and will desert its own specific character), but it is enough that it should simply appear rhythmical and metrical. It will thus be poetical, although not a poem; lyrical, although not a lyric. Passages are then taken from the opening of the *Aristocrates* and the *Crown* of Demosthenes and are subjected to a minute metrical analysis. The result of the scrutiny is (it is claimed) to show that many metrical lines are latent in good prose, the author having taken care to disguise slightly their metrical character. In an eloquent passage Dionysius

then submits that the great end in view warranted all these anxious pains on the part of Demosthenes. Demosthenes was no mere peddler, but a consummate artist who had the judgment of posterity always before his mind. Isocrates, also, and Plato spent no less trouble on their writings, as witness the story about the opening passage of the *Republic*. It is, further, to be noticed that such careful processes, though deliberate at first, become in the end unconscious and almost instinctive, just as accomplished musicians do not think of every note they strike on their instrument, nor skilled readers of every single letter which meets their eyes in the book that lies open before them.

c. 26. Secondly (and lastly) comes a question which is the counterpart of that asked in c. 25: namely, in what way can a poem or lyric be made to resemble beautiful prose? The two principal means are: (1) so to arrange the clauses that they do not invariably begin and end together with the lines; (2) to vary the clauses and periods in length and form. These things are more difficult to do where the metre is uniform, as in heroic and iambic verse. In lyric poems the task is easier, since the variety of their metres brings them a point nearer to prose. At the same time, while avoiding monotony and while generally causing his verse to resemble beautiful prose, the poet must remember that the so-called "prosaic character" is a defect. We are, however, here thinking not of vulgar prose but of the highest civil oratory. In order to show that, in poetry, clauses can be of different sorts and sizes, and can also be so far independent of the metre as almost to give the effect of an unbroken prose-narrative, Dionysius draws some concluding illustrations from the 14th *Odyssey*, the *Telephus* of Euripides, and the *Danaë* of Simonides.

The following Tabular Analysis may help to make the general structure of the treatise still clearer: —

I. Chapters 1-5. Introductory. The nature of composition, and its effect. — Instances of the fatal neglect of composition. — The secret of composition not to be found in grammatical rules.

II. Chapters 6-20. General Theory and Technique of Composition: —

1. cc. 6-9:

- (α) Three processes in the art of composition, c. 6.
- (β) Grouping of clauses, c. 7.
- (γ) Shaping of clauses, c. 8.
- (δ) Lengthening and shortening of clauses and periods, c. 9.

2. cc. 10-20: Charm and beauty of composition, and the four means of attaining these qualities: —

- (α) Preliminary remarks, cc. 10-13.
- (β) Four means:
 - (1) μέλος, cc. 14-16.
 - (2) ῥυθμός, cc. 17, 18.
 - (3) μεταβολή, c. 19.

(4) τὸ πρῆπον, c. 20.

III. Chapters 21-24. Three Modes of Composition: —

- (1) σύνθεσις αὐστηρά, c. 22.
- (2) σύνθεσις γλαφυρά, c. 23.
- (3) σύνθεσις εὐκράτος (or κοινή), c. 24.

IV. Chapters 25, 26. Relation of Prose to Poetry, and of Poetry to Prose.

Note. — The existing division into chapters is not always a happy one. As a help to the reader, a few words of summary have been prefixed to each chapter of the English Translation.

The Greek Epitome is about one-third the length of the original. It is of early but uncertain date (cp. Usener *de Dionysii Halicarnassensis Libris Manuscriptis* p. viii, n. 7), and is preserved in the following codices: Darmstadiensis, Monacensis, Rehdigeranus, Vaticanus Urbinas. It has survived along with the original; and instead of superseding and extinguishing the unabridged work, as ancient epitomes seem often to have done, it contributes not a little to its elucidation. Had it been preserved at the expense of the original, we should have still possessed the Sappho, but should have lost the Simonides. Towards the end, the Epitome is executed with less care than at the beginning.

II

The Order of Words in Greek

The strong and the weak points of the *de Compositione Verborum* will appear from the foregoing summary, and still more from the treatise itself and the notes appended to it. Dionysius' book is unique: no other of its kind has come down to us from classical antiquity. Its immediate subject is the Order of Words in Greek. But its author is happily led to raise fundamental questions such as the relations between Prose and Poetry, together with incidental points of Greek Pronunciation and Accentuation; and generally to take so wide a range that no English title less comprehensive than *On Literary Composition* seems to fit the contents of the work. The discursive enthusiasm of the writer is obvious. Not less striking, however, is the sound literary taste which converts his quotations into a true anthology and preserves some priceless remains of Sappho and Simonides. It will be necessary to point out certain weaknesses of Dionysius from time to time. But his weaknesses are far more than counterbalanced by his great excellences. Some of his shortcomings are those of his age, — an age which was a stranger to the modern method of comparison as applied to literary investigation. Others, again, are more apparent than real. When, for example, certain omissions are observable in some directions along with ample expatiations in others, it is to

be remembered (1) that Dionysius is dealing with the department of expression and not with that of subject matter, (2) that, in the department of expression, he is concerned with the composition (or arrangement) of words and not with their selection, and (3) that, in regard to composition, he is here interested primarily not in lucidity nor in emphasis, but in euphony. Hence we must not expect him to dwell on that great governing principle of literary composition, — logical connexion. To its importance, however, he is fully alive, as is clear from a passage in his essay on Isocrates: “The thought” [in Isocrates, who pays excessive heed to smoothness of style and a pleasant cadence] “is often the slave of rhythmical expression, and truth is sacrificed to elegance.... But the natural course is for the expression to follow the ideas, not the ideas the expression.” And though, in the *de Compositione*, it is his business to discourse rather upon sound than upon sense, yet the orderly way in which the subject matter of the treatise is presented shows in itself that Dionysius was well aware that the chief essential for a book is a basis of clear thinking and broad logical arrangement, and that, as a consequence, its excellence is to be sought even more in its chapters and its paragraphs than in its flowing periods. It may be well to touch, with a similar regard to sequence and with occasional references to modern parallels or contrasts, upon one or two aspects of his main theme which his own treatment of it suggests as suitable for further discussion and elucidation.

A. Freedom and Elasticity

In his fifth chapter Dionysius shows, with no difficulty and with much vivacity, that it is impossible to lay down universal rules governing the order of words in Greek. He admits that he had been inclined to entertain *a priori* views on the question of the natural precedence of certain parts of speech and to hold that nouns should precede verbs, verbs adverbs, and so forth.

But he had proceeded, with that sound practical judgment which distinguishes him, to test his theories in the light of Homer’s usage. He had then found them wanting. “Trial invariably wrecked my views and revealed their utter worthlessness.” The examples of variety in word-order which he quotes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are most interesting and instructive. But a modern reader, familiar with languages whose paucity of inflexions often offers freedom only at the price of ambiguity, has more cause than any ancient writer to wonder at the liberty which Greek enjoys in this respect. No doubt the long gap between *πολὺν* and *χρόνον* in the *Frogs* has, and is intended to have, a comic effect. But there is no sort of ambiguity in the sentence, since the poet takes care to use no noun with which the adjective could agree until the right noun at length comes and relieves the listener of his suspense and growing curiosity, —

εἰ δ’ ἐγὼ ὀρθὸς ἰδεῖν βίον ἀνέρος ἢ τρόπον ὅστις ἔτ’ οἰμώζεται,
οὐ πολὺν οὐδ’ ὁ πίθηκος οὔτος ὁ νῦν ἐνοχλῶν,

Κλειγένης ὁ μικρός,
ὁ πονηρότατος βαλανεὺς ὅποσοι κρατοῦσι κυκησιτέφρου
ψευδολίτρου κονίας
καὶ Κιμωλίας γῆς,
χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψει.

Aristophanes *Ranae* 706-13.

Here as many as twenty-one words divide an adjective from its noun, though noun and adjective are usually placed close together. But, even in serious poetry, the same thing is to be noticed, though on a less surprising scale. For example:

ἦν δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ
οὔτ' ἀνθεμῶδους ἦρος οὔτε καρπίμου
θέρους βέβαιον.

Aeschylus *Prometheus Vincitus* 454-6.

Here the adjective follows the noun, but (as before) there is no ambiguity, though there is much added emphasis due to the apparent afterthought. Similarly:

ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις
ἐν καλῇ βήσση μέγαν οἰῶν ἀργεννάων.

Homer *Iliad* xviii. 587, 588.

And in prose the dependence of a genitive may be quite clear, though the distance between it and the words on which it depends be great: e.g.

τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν
παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ'
αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλοὺς.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 111 (cp. § 57).

In prose, again, the extremely antithetic and artificial arrangement of words possible (without complete loss of clearness) in a highly inflected language may be illustrated from Thucydides: —

καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἄρα οὔτε οὗτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔθ' οἱ
Ἕλληνες τῆς ἑαυτῶν τῷ Μήδῳ ἀντέστησαν, περὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σφίσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ
ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δεσπότης μεταβολῇ οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου,
κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ.

Thucydides vi. 76.

The following sentence of Demosthenes, with its carefully chosen position for the main subject Φίλιππος and the main verb ἐπηγγέλατο, shows how well *suspense* and the *period* can be worked in such a language: —

ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωροῦμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ'
ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ'
ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν

εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγέλατο.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 19.

In an analytical language such as English a separate introductory sentence would be almost necessary in order to bring out the point of a familiar passage in the *Cyropaedia*: —

παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτῶνα ἕτερον παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτῶνα, ἐκδύσας αὐτόν, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκεῖνον ἡμφίεσε, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδου.

Xenophon *Cyropaedia* i. 3. 17.

And the force and variety gained by juxtaposition, or by chiasmic arrangement, is obvious in such examples as: —

(1) τίπτε με, Πηλέος υἱέ, ποσὶν ταχέεσσιν διώκεις,
αὐτὸς θνητὸς ἐὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον;

Homer *Iliad* xxii. 8, 9.

(2) τί δῆτα, ὦ Μέλητε; τοσοῦτον σὺ ἑμοῦ σοφώτερος εἶ τηλικούτου ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὦν;

Plato *Apology* 25 D.

(3) οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κρίσει μὲν τις δικασθεὶς οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ καλῶν ἐλεύθερος καὶ ὑγιῆς ἂν κριτῆς γένοιτο· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τῷ δωροδόκῳ τὰ οἰκεῖα μὲν φαίνεσθαι καλὰ καὶ δίκαια.

Longinus *de Sublimitate* c. xlv.

(4) καὶ τῶν κώλων ... ἀνίσων τε ὄντων καὶ ἀνομοίων ἀλλήλοις ἀνομοίους τε καὶ ἀνίσους ποιοῦμενοι τὰς διαιρέσεις.

Dionys. Halic. *de Comp. Verb.* c. xxvi.

The two last examples of elegant variation might, no doubt, be closely reproduced in modern languages. To the more important matter of emphasis, which arises in some of the other instances, a separate section must be devoted later.

B. Normal Order

Though Dionysius does right to deny the existence of a natural or inevitable order in Greek and to emphasize the essential freedom of the language, he might well have recognized more explicitly that there is what may be termed a normal or usual order, and that it is precisely the departure from this normal usage which does much to give a definite character (good or bad, as the case may be) to the style of individual Greek authors. For instance, it is usual in Greek for an adjective to follow its noun, and for a negative to precede the word or words which it qualifies. There are, further, certain customary positions for the article (according as it is attributive or predicative); for the demonstrative pronouns in conjunction with the article; for αὐτός, according to the meaning which it bears; for the particles; for prepositions, conjunctions, and relative pronouns; and so forth. There is, in short, a grammatical order

sanctioned by prevailing usage, an order which might be shown to hold good, commonly though not universally, in some of the grammatical constructions indicated by Dionysius in his fifth chapter. Now between this normal order, and lucidity of expression, there exists a close connexion.

C. *Lucidity*

It might easily be concluded, by a reader who knew the *de Compositione* alone among Dionysius' critical essays, that he set little store by that clear writing which, as it presupposes clear thinking, is a rare and cardinal excellence of style. As the noun σαφήνεια occurs but once in the treatise and the adjective σαφής not much oftener, it might be supposed that he underrated a quality to which Aristotle and other writers of antiquity assign so high a place. Aristotle, indeed, regards it as a first essential of good style, which must be "clear without being mean" (λέξεως δὲ ἀρετὴ σαφὴ καὶ μὴ ταπεινὴν εἶναι, *Aristot. Poet.* xxii. 1: cp. *Rhet.* iii. 2. 1). Similarly Cicero puts clearness (*sermo dilucidus*) before ornament, asking how it is possible, "qui non dicat quod intellegamus, hunc posse quod admiremur dicere" (*Cic. de Orat.* iii. 9. 38). Horace's approving reference to *lucidus ordo* has become proverbial. And Quintilian allots the primacy to the same great quality: "nobis prima sit virtus perspicuitas, propria verba, rectus ordo, non in longum dilata conclusio; nihil neque desit neque superfluat" (*Inst. Or.* viii. 2. 22), and puts a high and not always attainable ideal before the orator in relation to his judicial auditor: "quare non, ut intellegere possit, sed, ne omnino possit non intellegere, curandum" (*ibid.* viii. 2. 24).

If Dionysius in the present treatise says little about lucidity, the sole reason is that he *assumes* it as a necessary and indispensable quality of style. In the *de Thucydide* c. 23 it is classed (together with purity and brevity) as one of the ἀρεταὶ ἀναγκαῖαι (in contradistinction to the ἀρεταὶ ἐπιθετοί, such as ἐνάργεια, ἡ τῶν ἡθῶν τε καὶ παθῶν μίμησις, etc.). The Greek critics recognized, however, that the plainer styles were more likely than the more elaborate ones to excel in lucidity, — that, in this respect, a Herodotus and a Lysias might be expected to surpass a Thucydides and a Demosthenes. Among these authors let us choose Lysias and Thucydides, and see what praise or blame Dionysius awards to them upon this score. In the fourth chapter of the *de Lysia*, the lucidity of Lysias is contrasted with the obscurity often found in Thucydides and Demosthenes; and it is pointed out that this excellence is, in him, all the more admirable in that it is combined with a studious brevity, an opulent vocabulary, and a mind of great native force. And no finer example of pellucid clearness of narration could well be imagined than that quoted from Lysias in the sixth chapter of the *de Isaeo*: ἀναγκαῖόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς Φερενίκου πρῶτον εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, κτλ. To the obscurities of Thucydides, on the other hand, as seen in his History and particularly in his Speeches, constant and mournful reference is made in the essay which has the historian

for its subject. "You can almost count on your fingers," says Dionysius, "the people who are capable of comprehending the whole of Thucydides; and not even they can do so without occasional recourse to a grammatical commentary." Dionysius, further, gives it as his opinion that the language of Thucydides was unique even in his own day; and he combats the view that a historian (as distinguished, say, from an advocate) may plead in excuse for an artificial style that he does not write for "people in the market-place, in workshops or in factories, nor for others who have not shared in a liberal education, but for men who have reached rhetoric and philosophy after passing through a full curriculum of approved studies, to whom therefore none of these expressions will appear unfamiliar." Obscurity and eccentricity, he says in effect, are not virtues except in the eyes of literary coteries; presumably a speaker speaks, and a writer writes, in order to be understood.

D. *Emphasis*

Dionysius' inadequate recognition of a normal order is naturally attended by some uncertainty in his attitude towards that kind of *emphasis* which a departure from the normal order produces. It may, indeed, be thought that the effect of emphasis, and the best means of attaining it, are considered at the opening of the sixth chapter of the treatise, and that it comes under the heading both of σχηματισμός and of ἁρμονία. In the fifth chapter, however, we should have welcomed a clearer recognition of the emphasis which, as it seems to modern readers, falls upon ἄνδρα, μῆνιν, and ἥέλιος, when they come at the beginning of the line and so are the first words to accost the ear. Certainly in his own writing Dionysius shows that he appreciates the emphasis gained by thrusting a word to the front of the sentence: e.g. καιροῦ δὲ οὔτε ῥήτωρ οὔδεις οὔτε φιλόσοφος εἰς τόδε χρόνου τέχνην ὥρισεν (132 21). Towards the end of chapter 7 he quotes from Demosthenes the words τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφη. He changes the order to ὁμολογῶν οὖν ἔννομον εἶναι τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα, παρανόμων γράφη τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι, and then asks whether the passage will be ὁμοίως δικανικὴ καὶ στρογγύλη. To us it would seem that the chief loss is the loss of emphasis which is entailed (in Greek) by removing from the beginning of the clauses the important and contrasted phrases τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα and τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι. Possibly this loss of emphasis is implied (among other things) in the words "δικανικὴ καὶ στρογγύλη."

Where it occurs in Dionysius, the word ἔμφασις bears the sense of 'hint,' 'suggestion,' 'sourçon' (*de Thucyd.* c. 16 ῥαθύμως ἐπιτετροχασμένα καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔμφασιν ἔχοντα τῆς δεινότητος ἐκείνης): a sense which is akin to its technical use of 'hidden meaning' ("significatio maior quam oratio," Cic. *Orat.* 40. 139; cp. Quintil. viii. 3. 83, ix. 2. 3, 64). In our sense of emphasis due to position, the word ἔμφασις is perhaps hardly used even in the scholiasts; and it is possible that Greek has no single term to express the idea,

though it may doubtless be one of the elements in view when a writer uses such expressions as ἁρμονία, σχηματισμός, and ὑπερβατόν.

A modern student of Greek, having to feel his way with practically no help from ancient authorities, will probably reach the conclusion that the rhetorical emphasis he has in mind is attained by placing a word in one of the less usual positions open to it. The word thus emphasized may come at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a sentence, the real point being that the position should be (for that particular word) a little out of the ordinary. In Greek, however, as contrasted with English, the emphasis tends to fall on the earlier rather than the later words. In delivery, it would seem that the Greeks found it more natural to stress the beginning than the conclusion of a sentence. But an emphatic word may be found at the end as well as at the beginning, and may sometimes be placed neither at the end nor at the beginning.

Allusion has already been made to the rhetorical emphasis which falls upon the opening words of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As with “arma virumque cano” in the *Aeneid*, the words μῆνιν and ἄνδρα seem to strike the keynote of the following Epics. And, in a less degree, a certain emphasis due to initial position (and contributing either to emotional effect or to logical clearness) is to be discerned throughout the poems: e.g. in the sixth book of the *Iliad*: —

δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιώσιν.

Homer *Iliad* vi. 127.

and

πέπλον δ', ὅς τις τοι χαριέστατος ἢ δὲ μέγιστος
ἔστιν ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ τοι πολὺ φίλτατος αὐτῇ,
τὸν θὲς Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἤϊκόμοιο, κτλ.

Homer *Iliad* vi. 271.

Similarly with the following ten miscellaneous examples of various emphasis, taken chiefly from Dionysius' favourite speech: —

(1) ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐπθυμητὰς καὶ ἀστοὺς καὶ ξένους λαβών, οὐδένα πώποτε μισθὸν τῆς συνουσίας ἐπράξατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως ἐπῆρκει τῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

Xenophon *Memorabilia* i. 2. 60.

(2) καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ἣ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, εἴ πη πιέζοιντο, φόβον μὲν παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Thucydides i. 49.

(3) Ἀναξαγόρου οἶει κατηγορεῖν, ὧ φίλε Μέλητε, κτλ.

Plato *Apology* 26 D.

(4) οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτά συμφέρειν.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 35.

(5) οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον,

εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἰ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν.

id. *ib.* § 43.

(6) οὕς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὦ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν.

id. *ib.* § 162.

(7) καὶ τότ' εὐθύς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ “πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν, κτλ.”

id. *ib.* § 143.

(8) ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι;

id. *ib.* § 294.

(9) ἀλλ' οἷμαι οὐ δυνάμεθα· ἐλεεῖσθαι οὖν ἡμᾶς πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστίν· που ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τῶν δεινῶν ἢ χαλεπαίνεσθαι.

Plato *Republic* i. 336 E.

(10) μηδ' εἴμασι στρώσας' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
τίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖοδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών.

Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 921.

It will be seen from some of the above examples that words may have emphasis if, though not actually placed at the very beginning of a sentence or a clause, they come as early as they well can. The three following passages will further illustrate this point: —

(1) καὶ ἐς Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἀπεσήμενεν, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν, ῥάδιον εἶναι παρασκευῇ, εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοί, πλεύσαντας λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ αὐτός γ' ἄν, εἰ ἦρχε, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο.

Thucydides iv. 27.

(2) ὃ τι μὲν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πεπόνθατε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, οὐκ οἶδα· ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἐμαντοῦ ἐπελαθόμην· οὕτω πιθανῶς ἔλεγον. καίτοι ἀληθές γε, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν.

Plato *Apology* init.

(3) ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατα ... οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις.

Demosthenes *de Corona* §§ 168, 169.

Sometimes, however, emphatic words will be thrust right to the front through such devices as the postponement of an interrogative particle: e.g.

ἐστάναι, εἶπον, καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρα δυνατόν;

Plato *Republic* iv. 436 C.

and

οἷον δίψα ἐστὶ δίψα ἄρ' αὖ γε θερμοῦ ποτοῦ ἢ ψυχροῦ, ἢ πολλοῦ ἢ ὀλίγου,
ἢ καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ποιοῦ τινος πώματος;

id. *ib.* iv. 437 D.

An uninflected language may well envy the grammatical resources which enable Greek or Latin poets to secure at once clearness and the utmost height of emotion in such lines as:

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ σὺ ῥῦσαι ὑπ' ἡέρος νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
ποίησον δ' αἶθρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι·
ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον, ἐπεὶ νύ τοι εὖαδεν οὔτως.

Homer *Iliad* xvii. 645.

*Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
O Rutuli.*

Virgil *Aeneid* ix. 427.

The end as well as the beginning of a clause or sentence may bring emphasis when it is an unusual position for the particular word or phrase which stands there. Illustrations may perhaps be drawn from expressions conveying the idea of “death,” which (according to Dionysus in the *Frogs*) is the “heaviest of ills,” and which (be that as it may) is as little likely as any to be entertained lightheartedly, or to be mentioned without some degree of feeling and emphasis. At the beginning of a sentence, τεθνᾶσι clearly has emphasis in

τεθνᾶσ' ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατήρ οὐμὸς γέρων.

Euripides *Hercules Furens* 539.

And in the following passage of Plato, it will be seen that the τὸν θάνατον which comes near the beginning of a clause is more emphatic than the τὸν θάνατον which comes at the end of a clause: —

οἷσθα δ', ἢ δ' ὅς, ὅτι τὸν θάνατον ἡγοῦνται πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν; — καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. — οὐκοῦν φόβῳ μειζόνων κακῶν ὑπομένουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες; τὸν θάνατον, ὅταν ὑπομένωσιν; — ἔστι ταῦτα.

Plato *Phaedo* 68 D.

The τὸν θάνατον before ἡγοῦνται is here emphatic on the same principle as the θάνατον before εἰσέθηκε in the passage (already alluded to) of the *Frogs*: —

θάνατον γὰρ εἰσέθηκε βαρύτατον κακόν.

Aristophanes *Ranae* 1394.

But a word like θάνατος may also come with emphasis at the end of a sentence, if that order is rendered unusual by the interposition of additional words or by any other means which create a feeling of suspense and even of afterthought. For example:

τί δέ; τὰν Αἰδοῦ ἡγούμενον εἶναι τε καὶ δεινὰ εἶναι οἶει τινὰ θάνατον ἄδεῃ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις αἰρήσεσθαι πρὸ ἥττης τε καὶ δουλείας θάνατον;

Plato *Republic* iii. 386 B.

Here the θάνατον seems intended to repeat with emphasis the preceding θανάτου to which, itself, a considerable degree of prominence is assigned. So, perhaps,

ἀλλὰ νόμον δημοσίᾳ τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα τέθεινται τουτονὶ καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη παραβάοντας τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἐζημιώκασιν θανάτῳ.

Demosthenes *Midias* § 49.

and

... καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 205.

Some miscellaneous examples of words coming emphatically at the end of a clause or sentence are: —

(1) αἰτοῦμαι δ' ὑμᾶς δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ οἶόν περ αἰῶνα δεδώκατε τοιαύτην καὶ τελευτήν δοῦναι.

Xenophon *Cyropaedia* viii. 7.

(2) ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κολυμβηταὶ δυόμενοι ἐξέπριον μισθοῦ.

Thucydides vii. 25.

(3) ὕψοῦ δὲ θάσσω ὑψόθεν χαμαιπετῆς
πίπτει πρὸς οὐδας μυρίοις οἰώγμασι
Πενθεύς.

Euripides *Bacchae* 1111.

(4) ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι πάντες οἱ ξεναγοῦντες οὔτοι πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντες Ἑλληνίδας ἄρχειν ζητοῦσιν, καὶ πάντων, ὅσοι περ νόμοις οἰκεῖν βούλονται τὴν αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι, κοινοὶ περιέρχονται κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐχθροί.

Demosthenes *Aristocrates* § 139.

(5) δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 97.

(6) εἴθ' οὔτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεὶ.

id. *ib.* § 235.

(7) εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτ' ἀκονιτεῖ, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ.

id. *ib.* § 200.

(8) ... ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

id. *ib.* § 324.

It may be added that, occasionally, *both* the earlier and the later positions are emphatic in the same clause or sentence: e.g.

(1) τέκνα γὰρ κατακτενῶ
τάμ’.

Euripides *Medea* 792.

(2) ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.

Herodotus i. 8.

(3) νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν παρὸν ἀεὶ προϊέμενοι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντ’ αὐτόματ’ οἰόμενοι σχήσειν καλῶς, ἠϋξήσαμεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς, καὶ κατεστήσαμεν τηλικούτον ἡλίκος οὐδεὶς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Μακεδονίας.

Demosthenes *Olynthiacs* i. § 9.

(4) πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ’ οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, κτλ.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 117.

(5) καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρώην ὡς φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς ταλαιπώροις Ὠρεῖταις τουτοῖσι ἐπισκεφομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ’ εὖνοιαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν, συμμάχων δ’ εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι.

Demosthenes *Philippics* iii. § 12.

(6) οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαντοῦ φρονῶ.

Demosthenes *de Corona* § 299.

(7) ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.

id. *ib.* § 265.

In connexion with the imperfect appreciation which the *de Compositione Verborum* shows of a normal order and of an emphasis produced by departure from it, attention may be drawn to the fact that the treatise contains no reference to the ‘figure’ *hyperbaton*; and this although the figure had been recognized long before Dionysius’ time, and continued to be recognized long afterwards. It is first mentioned by Plato, who probably took over the notion from the Sophists: ἄλλ’ ὑπερβατὸν δεῖ θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἄσματι τὸ “ἀλαθέως” (Plato *Protag.* 343 E, where the reference is to a poem of Simonides). The author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (c. 30) indicates it in the following terms: ἐὰν μὴ ὑπερβατῶς αὐτὰ [sc. τὰ ὀνόματα] τιθῶμεν, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ τὰ ἐχόμενα ἐξῆς τάττωμεν. Quintilian treats of it in the passage beginning “*Hyperbaton quoque, id est verbi transgressionem, quoniam frequenter ratio comparationis et decor poscit, non immerito inter virtutes habemus*” (*Inst. Or.* viii. 6. 62). The author of the *Treatise on the Sublime* describes and defines it thus: ἔστι δὲ λέξεων ἢ νοήσεων ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ἀκολουθίαν κεκινημένη τάξις

καὶ οἶονεῖ χαρακτηρ ἑναγωνίου πάθους ἀληθέστατος (Longinus *de Sublim.* c. 22). And, later still, Hermogenes and other writers on rhetoric are well acquainted with the figure. Dionysius, however, mentions it but seldom in any of his writings, and even then (e.g. τὰς ὑπερβατοὺς καὶ πολυπλόκους καὶ ἐξ ἀποκοπῆς πολλὰ σημαίνειν πράγματα βουλομένας καὶ διὰ μακροῦ τὰς ἀποδόσεις λαμβανούσας νοήσεις, *de Thucyd.* c. 52; cp. c. 31 *ibid.*) is clearly thinking not of desirable but of highly undesirable “inversions.” He may have thought that its proper place was in poetry rather than in prose.

E. Euphony

A modern writer on style would probably lay more stress on clearness and emphasis than on euphony. The ancient critics, on the other hand, seem to have taken the two former elements more or less for granted. Because they were easily attainable in languages so fully inflected as Greek and Latin, their attainment was regarded as an important matter indeed, but one which called for no special recognition of any kind. As Quintilian says, in reference to clearness, “nam emendate quidem ac lucide dicentium tenue praeium est, magisque ut vitiis carere quam ut aliquam magnam virtutem adeptus esse videaris” (*Inst. Or.* viii. 3. 1). Dionysius, too, in the *de Compositione Verborum*, passes more readily over the two qualities of clearness and emphasis because he is not concerned with the πραγματικὸς τόπος. He keeps rigorously to his real subject; and that is not the relation of words to the ideas of which they are the symbols. It is, rather, their relation to their own constituent elements (letters and syllables of diverse qualities and quantities) and to the pleasant impression which the apt collocation of many various words can make upon the ear. His task is to investigate the emotional power of the sound-elements of language when alone and when in combination — their euphonic and their symphonic effects. Hence the constant recurrence, throughout the treatise, of words like εὐφωνία, εὐρυθμία, εὐστομία, λειότης, ἁρμονία, σύνθεσις. The illustrative excerpts which he gives are so numerous and so happily chosen that no others need be added here. A careful study of his examples, in the context in which they occur, will suggest many reflexions upon the freedom and adaptability of Greek order. But no absolute test of euphony

can be based upon them. Dionysius himself formulates no invariable rules upon the subject. In the last resort, the court of appeal must, as he sees, be the instinctive judgment of the ear (τὸ ἄλογον τῆς ἀκοῆς πάθος). The part played by the ear has been well described by Quintilian: “ergo quem in poëmate locum habet versificatio, eum in oratione compositio. optime autem de illa iudicant aures, quae plena sentiunt et parum expleta desiderant et fragosis offenduntur et levibus mulcentur et contortis excitantur et stabilia probant, clauda deprehendunt, redundantia ac nimia fastidiunt” (*Inst. Or.* ix. 4. 116). Naturally the ear in question must be the individual ear (“aurem tuam

interroga, quo quid loco conveniat dicere,” Aulus Gellius *Noctes Att.* xiii. 21); the criterion is subjective, not absolute. But it is assumed that the ear in question has been trained and attuned by constant converse with the great masters, and that (like Flaubert in modern times) an author never writes without repeating the words aloud to himself. Thus trained, the ear will work in harmony with the mind: “aures enim vel animus aurium nuntio naturalem quandam in se continet vocum omnium mentionem” (Cic. *Orat.* 53. 177). Both Cicero and Dionysius are well aware that style is personal and individual, — that it is no uniform and mechanical thing. Dionysius’ own position has been misunderstood by those who have judged the *de Compositione* as if it were a complete treatise on the entire subject of style. In the eyes of Dionysius, words are not what dead stone and timber are in the eyes of the ordinary workman. They are, rather, the living elements which, in the secret places of his mind, the master-builder views as potential parts of some great temple. They are what an individual makes them. Hence, just as Cicero writes “qua re sine, quaeso, sibi quemque scribere,

Suam quoique sponsam, mihi meam; suum quoique amorem, mihi meum”: so Dionysius long ago anticipated the saying that the style is the man.

Among the minor debts we owe to him is the fact that his minute analysis of rhythms, or feet, in passages of Thucydides, Pindar and others, helps to disclose the inner workings of the beautiful Greek language and to impress us with the importance attached by the ancients to what we moderns find it so hard fully to appreciate, — the effect on a Greek ear of *syllabic quantity* in prose as well as verse. And he insists no less upon the charm of variety, — the paramount necessity of avoiding monotony. He saw, for example, that the Greek inflexions (notwithstanding the many advantages which they brought with them) had at least one drawback: they are apt to lead to a certain sameness in case-endings. Accordingly he would, for instance, have approved (though he does not mention this particular passage) of the separation of the words σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ from the other accusatives at the end of the *de Corona*: ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ. Further reference to these minutiae of style may fitly be made later, when the topics of “rhythm” and “music” are considered.

F. Greek and Latin compared with Modern Languages, in regard to Word-Order

Something has already been said, incidentally, about certain differences in word-order between the ancient and the modern European languages. In such a comparison Greek and Latin may be placed upon the same footing, as their points of contact are vastly more numerous than their points of divergence, considerable though these are.

The points of contact become manifest when an attempt is made to translate into Latin, and into English, the sentence from Herodotus which

Dionysius quotes, and twice recasts, in his fourth chapter: —

(1) Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δ' Ἀλυάττου, τύραννος δ' ἔθνῳ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μεταξὺ Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίησι πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον.

Herodotus i. 6.

Croesus genere quidem fuit Lydus, patre autem Alyatte; earum vero nationum tyrannus, quae intra Halym amnem sunt: qui, a meridie Syros ac Paphlagonες interfluens, contra ventum Aquilonem in mare, quid vocant Euxinum, evolvitur.

(2) Κροῖσος ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Ἀλυάττου, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τύραννος δὲ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ ἔθνῳ· ὃς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον.

Croesus erat filius quidem Alyattis, genere autem Lydus, tyrannusque earum, quae intra sunt Halym amnem nationes; qui, a meridie interfluens Syros ac Paphlagonες, in mare, quod vocant Euxinum, evolvitur contra ventum Aquilonem.

(3) Ἀλυάττου μὲν υἱὸς ἦν Κροῖσος, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τῶν δ' ἐντὸς Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ τύραννος ἔθνῳ· ὃς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων μεταξὺ πρὸς βορέαν ἐξίησιν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν καλούμενον πόντον Εὐξείνιον.

Alyattis quidem filius erat Croesus, genere autem Lydus, earum, quae intra sunt Halym amnem, tyrannus nationum; qui, a meridie fluens Syros inter ac Paphlagonες, contra Boream erumpit ventum in mare, quod vocant Euxinum.

In these sentences the Latin follows the Greek order closely, and might be made to follow it still more faithfully were it not that it seems better to diverge occasionally for special reasons: e.g. it is desirable, in rendering the original passage of Herodotus, to secure (as far as possible) a good rhythm. In English, on the other hand, the choice lies between a wide deviation and a rendering which is ambiguous and possibly grotesque. In fact (to recur once more to the main point) the freedom with which the order of words can be varied in a Greek or Latin sentence is without parallel in any modern analytical language, and the attendant gain in variety, rhythm, and nicety of emphasis is incalculable.

Still, the modern languages have great powers, in this as in other ways: powers which will be incidentally illustrated later. M. Jules Lemaître has written, with reference to Ernest Renan: “Je trahis peut-être sa pensée en la traduisant; tant pis! Pourquoi a-t-il des finesses qui ne tiennent qu'à l'arrangement des mots?” These *finesses* are perhaps, as is here implied, hardly communicable, even though an earlier French writer has commended Malherbe as an author who

D'un mot mis en sa place enseigne le pouvoir.

It may well be that these matters, if not altogether the “mysteries” which Dionysius terms them, are eternally elusive because they depend upon the infinite variety of the human mind. Yet some studies in English literary theory, such as might be suggested by Dionysius’ treatise, could not fail to be of interest, and might be instructive also. Something of the kind has been already done, without reference to Dionysius or other Greek critics, by Robert Louis Stevenson in his essay on *Some Technical Elements of Style in Literature*. Each language has, in truth, a rhetoric of its own. But the various languages, ancient and modern, can help one another in the way of comparison and contrast.

These methods of comparison and contrast have — as regards word-order — been excellently applied to the ancient and the modern languages by Henri Weil and T. D. Goodell. Weil’s chief service is to have pointed out so clearly the principle that the order of syntax must be separated in thought from the order of ideas, and was by both Greeks and Romans freely so separated in practice, whereas in the modern languages (owing to the lack of inflexions) this practical separation is less frequent. Goodell, starting from the postulate that the order of words in a language represents the order in which the speaker or writer chooses, for various reasons, to bring his ideas before the mind of another, discusses (with constant reference to modern languages) the order of words in Greek, from the standpoint of *syntax*, *rhetoric*, and *euphony*. In the course of a carefully reasoned exposition, he corrects and supplements many of Weil’s observations.

The full title of Weil’s book is *De l’ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes: question de grammaire générale* (3rd edition, Paris, 1879). There is an English translation by C. W. Super (Boston, 1887), with notes and additions. Goodell’s paper on “The Order of Words in Greek” is printed in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* vol. xxi. Other writings on the subject are: Charles Short’s “Essay on the Order of Words in Attic Greek Prose,” — prefixed to Drisler’s edition of C. D. Yonge’s *English-Greek Lexicon*, — which is an extensive collection of examples, but is weak in scientific classification and in clear enunciation of principles; H. L. Ebeling’s “Some Statistics on the Order of Words in Greek,” contributed to *Studies in Honour of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*, and including some valuable investigations into the order in which subject, object, and verb usually come in Greek; inquiries into the practice of individual authors, e.g. Spratt on the “Order of Words in Thucydides” (Spratt’s edition of Thucydides, Book VI.), and Riddell on the “Arrangement of Words and Clauses in Plato” (Riddell’s edition of Plato’s *Apology*), or various dissertations such as Th. Harmsen *de verborum collocatione apud Aeschylum, Sophoclem, Euripidem capita selecta*, Ph. Both *de Antiphontis et Thucydidis genere dicendi*, J. J. Braun *de collocatione verborum apud Thucydidem observationes*, F. Darpe *de verborum apud Thucydidem collocatione*; and in Latin such elaborate studies as Hilberg’s *Die Gesetze der Wortstellung im*

Pentameter des Ovid. An interesting book which compares Cicero's Latin translations (prose and verse) with their Greek originals is V. Clavel's *de M. T. Cicerone Graecorum Interprete*. In *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* vol. vii. p.233, J. W. H. Walden discusses Weil's statement that "an emphatic word, if followed by a word which, though syntactically necessary to the sentence, is in itself unemphatic, receives an access of emphasis from the lingering of the attention which results from the juxtaposition of the two." Reference may also be made to A. Bergaigne's "Essai sur la construction grammaticale considérée dans son développement historique, en Sanskrit, en Grec, en Latin, dans les langues romanes et dans les langues germaniques," in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* vol. vii. The subject is, further, glanced at in the Greek Grammars of Kühner and others. But in modern times, as in those of Dionysius, it has on the whole failed to receive the attention which its importance would seem to demand.

G. Prose and Poetry: Rhythm and Metre

Readers of the *de Compositione* cannot fail to notice that, catholic as he is in his literary tastes, Dionysius reserves his highest admiration for two authors, — Homer in poetry and Demosthenes in prose; and that he seems to regard them as equally valid authorities for the immediate purpose which he has in view. Homer is quoted throughout the treatise, on the first page and on the last; and Demosthenes inspires (in c. 25) its most eloquent passage. That outburst is a triumphant vindication of Demosthenes' methods as a sedulous artist. Dionysius sees that he is one of those men who spare no pains over the art they love — that Demosthenes, like Homer, φιλοτεχνεῖ (200 18; c 20).

In seeming thus to draw no very clear line between verse and prose, Dionysius is at one with most of the Greek and Roman critics; and this attitude is readily intelligible in the light of the historical development of Greek literature, in which Homer (who was a master of oratory as well as of poetry) heralds the intellectual life of all Greece, while Demosthenes is the last great voice of free Athens. But the approximations of prose to poetry, and of poetry to prose, which Dionysius describes in his twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth chapters should not create the impression that, in his opinion, the prose-writer was free to borrow any and every weapon from the armoury of the poet. Of one poetical artifice he says, in c. 6, "this principle can be applied freely in poetry, but sparingly in prose"; and elsewhere he calls attention to qualities which he regards as over-poetical in the styles of Thucydides and Plato. Yet he did clearly wish that good prose should borrow as much as possible from poetry, while still remaining good prose. And although he agrees, in general, with Aristotle's exposition of the formal differences between prose and poetry, he does not adhere quite firmly to the Aristotelian principles.

In the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle insists that the styles of poetry and prose are distinct. The difference is this: "prose should have rhythm but not metre, or it

will be poetry. The rhythm, however, should not be of too marked a character: it should not pass beyond a certain point." In the same way, Dionysius (C.V. c. 25) declares that prose must not be manifestly metrical or rhythmical, lest it should desert its own specific character. It should simply *appear* to be the one and the other, so that it may be poetical although not a poem, and lyrical although not a lyric. But, in practice, Dionysius is found to cast longing eyes upon the formal advantages which poetry possesses, and to wish to infuse into public speeches a definite metrical element, which seems alien to the genius of prose, and which would have failed to gain the sanction of Aristotle, though this appears to be claimed for it. It is not here a question of the ordinary methods of imparting force and variety to word-arrangement. In regard to these, Dionysius' precepts are, in general, sound and helpful enough; and if, now and then, the process is extolled in what may seem extravagant terms, we have only to think of the vast difference which slight variations of word-order will make even in our modern analytical languages. For example:

Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight.

Marlowe *Doctor Faustus*.

Killed with report that old man eloquent.

Milton *Sonnets*.

Schön war ich auch, und das war mein Verderben.

Goethe *Faust*.

The effect of these lines would be sadly marred if we were to read "the branch is cut," "that eloquent old man," and "ich war auch schön." In Greek prose, no less than in Greek poetry, inversions like those just quoted would be quite legitimate. This at least we can affirm, though it would be rash to attempt to lay down any general rules with regard to the differences between Greek order in verse and in prose. It is better to follow Dionysius' example and to cull illustrations from both alike impartially, with only two qualifications. First, the Greek word-arrangement is even freer in verse than in prose, though the clause-arrangement and the sentence-arrangement of Greek poetry show (as Dionysius implies in c. 26) a general tendency to coincide with the metrical arrangement. Second, an absolutely metrical arrangement is foreign to the best traditions of Greek prose. It is the second point that is of importance here; and notwithstanding the almost furtive character which he attributes to the metrical lines detected by him in the *Aristocrates*, it is obvious that Dionysius has in mind a very close and deliberate approximation to the canons of verse and is prepared to strain his material in order to attain it. Here, again, some modern illustrations may be of interest. The writers of the Tudor period seem to have had a special fondness for, and an ear attuned to, what may be roughly regarded as hexameter measures. This predilection appears both in their rendering of the Bible and in the Book of Common Prayer: —

How art thou | fallen from | Heaven, O | Lucifer, | son of the | morning.
 How art | thou cut | down to the | ground, which didst | weaken the | nations.
 Why do the | heathen | rage, and the | people im | agine a | vain thing?
 (He) poureth con | tempt upon | princes and | weakeneth the | strength of the |
 mighty.
 God is gone | up with a | shout, the | Lord with the | sound of a | trumpet.
 (The) kings of the | earth stood | up, and the | rulers took | counsel to | gether.
 Dearly be | loved | brethren, the | Scripture | moveth us |.

The rhythms into which modern prose-writers drop are usually iambic or trochaic. This is so with Ruskin and Carlyle, and it would be easy to quote examples from their writings. But, as in ancient so in modern times, the best criticism looks with favour on rhythmical, with disfavour on metrical prose. Prose, it is held, loses its true character — as the minister primarily of reason rather than of emotion — if it is made to conform to the rigid laws of metre.

If Dionysius fails to prove that metrical lines, thinly disguised, are a marked feature of the style of Demosthenes, no greater fortune has attended some attempts made in our own day to establish such exact rhythmical laws as that of the systematic avoidance, in Greek oratory, of a number of short syllables in close succession. It is clear that Demosthenes' ear, with that kind of instinct which comes from musical aptitude and long training (cp. *C.V.* 266 13 ff., 268 12), shunned undignified accumulations of short syllables, but not with so pedantic a persistency that he could not on occasion use forms like *πεφενάκιεν* or *διατετέλεκεν* or *προσαγαγόμενον*. If he formulated to himself a principle, instead of trusting to inspiration controlled by long experience, this principle would be that which Cicero attributes to a critic who was almost contemporary with Demosthenes: “namque ego illud adsentior Theophrasto, qui putat orationem, quae quidem sit polita atque facta quodam modo, *non astrictae, sed remissius numerosam* esse oportere” (Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 48. 184). The necessary limits to be observed in these curious inquiries are well indicated by Quintilian, who utters some sensible warnings against any attempts continually to scent metre in prose or to ban some feet while admitting others: “neque enim loqui possumus nisi syllabis brevibus ac longis, ex quibus pedes fiunt ... miror autem in hac opinione doctissimos homines fuisse, ut alios pedes ita eligerent aliosque damnarent, quasi ullus esset, quem non sit necesse in oratione prehendi” (Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 4. 61 and 87).

On the subject of prose and poetry, Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (ed. Shawcross, Clarendon Press, 1907) is likely long to hold its unique position. Theodore Watts-Dunton's article on “Poetry” in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* contains an appreciative estimate of the good service done to criticism by Dionysius in the *de Compositione*. The article by Louis Havet on *La Prose métrique* (in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, xxvii. 804-806) deals with what we should call “rhythmical prose,” the French terminology differing here from our own. Some account of *enjambement* (with ancient and modern

illustrations) will be found in the Notes, p ff. The recent writings on Greek rhythm and metre are almost endless. Some of them will be suggested by the names of: Rossbach, Westphal, Weil, Schmidt, Christ, Gleditsch, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Goodell, Masqueray, Blass.

With regard to the relation between metre and rhythm, there is not a little suggestiveness in the saying of the historical Longinus: μέτρον δὲ πατήρ ῥυθμὸς καὶ θεός (Proleg. in Heph. Ench.; Westphal *Script. Metr. Graeci* i. 82). There is also, in our day, an increasing recognition of the intimate alliance between Greek poetry and Greek music; it is more and more seen that lyric stanzas are formed out of figures and phrases, rather than from mere mechanical feet. Nor is it to be forgotten that poetic rhythm may probably be traced back to the regular movements of the limbs in dancing. The views of Blass on ancient prose rhythm are given in his *Die attische Beredsamkeit, Die Rhythmen der attischen Kunstprosa (Isokrates, Demosthenes, Platon)*, and *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa (Paulus, Hebräerbrief, Pausanias, Cicero, Seneca, Curtius, Apuleius)*; and some of them are summarized in an article which he contributed, shortly before his death, to *Hermathena* ("On Attic Prose Rhythm" *Hermathena* No. xxxii., 1906). Probably his tendency was to seek after too much uniformity in such matters as the avoidance of hiatus and of successive short syllables, or as the symmetrical correspondences between clauses within the period. The best Attic orators were here guided, more or less consciously, by two principles to which Dionysius constantly refers: (1) μεταβολή, or the love of variety; (2) τὸ πρέπον, or the sense of propriety. This sense of propriety rejected all such obvious and systematic art as should cause a speech to seem, in Aristotle's words, πεπλασμένος and ἀπίθανος (*Rhet.* iii. 2. 4; 8. 1). Still, Demosthenes' greatest speeches were no doubt carefully revised before they were given to the world; and so the blade may have been cold-polished, after leaving the forge of the imagination. It is to be noticed that, in the matter of hiatus, for example, some of the best manuscripts of Demosthenes do seem to observe a strict parsimony; and this careful avoidance of open vowels may be due ultimately rather to Demosthenes himself than to an early scholar-editor. Whatever the final judgment on Blass's work may be, he will have done good service by directing attention anew to a point so hard for the modern ear to appreciate as the great part played in artistic Greek prose by the subtle use of time, — of long and short syllables arranged in a kind of general equipoise rather than in any regular and definite succession. How singularly important that part was reckoned to be, such passages of Dionysius as the following help to indicate: οὐ γὰρ δὴ φαῦλόν τι πρᾶγμα ῥυθμὸς ἐν λόγοις οὐδὲ προσθήκης τινὸς μοῖραν ἔχον οὐκ ἀναγκαίᾳς, ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τάληθές, ὥς ἐμὴ δόξα, εἰπεῖν, ἀπάντων κυριώτατον τῶν γοητεύειν δυναμένων καὶ κληεῖν τὰς ἀκοάς (*de Demosth.* c. 39).

A. Greek Music: in Relation to the Greek Language

For the modern student there is perhaps no more valuable chapter of the *de Compositione* than that (c. 11) which treats of the musical element in Greek speech. It helps to bring home the fact that, among the ancient Greeks, “the science of public oratory was a musical science, differing from vocal and instrumental music in degree, not in kind” (μουσικὴ γὰρ τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη τῷ ποσῷ διαλλάττουσα τῆς ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὀργάνοις, οὐχὶ τῷ ποιῷ, 124 20). The extraordinary sensitiveness of Greek audiences to the music of sounds is described by Dionysius, who also indicates the musical intervals observed in singing and in speaking, and touches on the relation borne by the words to the music in a song. His statements, further, give countenance to the view that “the chief elements of utterance — pitch, time, and stress — were independent in ancient Greek speech, just as they are in music. And the fact that they were independent goes a long way to prove our main contention, viz. that ancient Greek speech had a peculiar quasi-musical character, and consequently that the difficulty which modern scholars feel in understanding the ancient statements on such matters as accent and quantity is simply the difficulty of conceiving a form of utterance of which no examples can now be observed.” Even Aristotle, Greek though he was, seems to have felt imperfectly those harmonies of balanced cadence which come from the poet, or artistic prose-writer, to whom words are as notes to the musician. And if Aristotle, a Greek though not an Athenian, shows himself not fully alive to the music of the most musical of languages, it is hardly matter for wonder that writers of our own rough island prose should be far from feeling that they are musicians playing on an instrument of many strings, and should be ready, as Dionysius might have said in his most serious vein, εἰς γέλωτα λαμβάνειν τὰ σπουδαιότατα δι’ ἀπειρίαν (252 16). It is true that, on the other side, we have R. L. Stevenson, who writes: “Each phrase of each sentence, like an air or recitative in music, should be so artfully compounded out of longs and shorts, out of accented and unaccented syllables, as to gratify the sensual ear. And of this the ear is the sole judge.” Dionysius and Stevenson are, admittedly, slight names to set against that of Aristotle. But this is no reason why they should not be allowed to supplement his statements when he is too deeply concerned with matter and substance to say much about manner and the niceties and enchantments of form. And Dionysius is — it must in justice be conceded — no mere word-taster but a man genuinely alive to the great issues that dignify and ennoble style. He can, for example, thus describe the effect, subsequent and immediate, of Demosthenes’ speeches: “When I take up one of his speeches, I am entranced and am carried hither and thither, stirred now by one emotion, now by another. I feel distrust, anxiety, fear, disdain, hatred, pity, good-will, anger, jealousy. I am agitated by every passion in turn that can sway the human

heart, and am like those who are being initiated into wild mystic rites.... When we who are centuries removed from that time, and are in no way affected by the matters at issue, are thus swept off our feet and mastered and borne wherever the discourse leads us, what must have been the feelings excited by the speaker in the minds of the Athenians and the Greeks generally, when living interests of their own were at stake, and when the great orator, whose reputation stood so high, spoke from the heart and revealed the promptings of his inmost soul?"

In addition to D. B. Monro's book on Greek music, reference may be made to such works as Rossbach and Westphal's *Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen*, H. S. Macran's edition of Aristoxenus' *Harmonics* (from the Introduction to which a quotation of some length will be found in the note on 194 7), and the edition of Plutarch's *de Musica* by H. Weil and Th. Reinach. The articles, by W. H. Frere and H. S. Macran, on Greek Music in the new edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* should also be consulted, as well as the essay, by H. R. Fairclough, on "The Connexion between Music and Poetry in Early Greek Literature" in *Studies in Honour of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*. The close connexion between music and verbal harmony is brought out in Longinus *de Sublim.* cc. 39-41. In Grenfell and Hunt's *Hibeh Papyri*, Part i. (1906), , there is a short "Discourse on Music" which the editors are inclined to attribute to Hippias of Elis, the contemporary of Socrates.

B. Accent in Ancient Greek

If there were any doubt that the Greek accent was an affair of pitch rather than of stress, the eleventh chapter of this treatise would go far to remove it. It is clear that Dionysius describes the difference between the acute and the grave accent as a variation of pitch, and that he considers this variation to be approximately the same as the musical interval of a fifth, or (as he himself explains) three tones and a semitone. Similarly Aristoxenus (*Harm.* i. 18) writes λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ λογῶδες τι μέλος, τὸ συγκείμενον ἐκ τῶν προσωδιῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· φυσικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐπιτείνειν καὶ ἀνιέναι ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι ('for there is a kind of melody in speech which depends upon the accent of words, as the voice in speaking rises and sinks by a natural law,' Macran). The expression προσωδία itself (cp. τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσωδία, 196 16) implies a melodic character, and the adjectives (ὀξύς and βαρύς) which denote 'acute' and 'grave' are used regularly in Greek music for what we call 'high' and 'low' pitch. It would be hard to believe that βαρύς could ever have indicated an *absence of stress*.

That such a musical pitch — such a rising or falling of tone — can be quite independent of quantity seems to be proved by the analogy of Vedic Sanskrit, inasmuch as, when reciting verses in that language, the native priests are said to succeed in keeping quantity and musical accent altogether distinct. "We cannot now say exactly how Homer's verse sounded in the ears of the Greeks

themselves; and yet we can tell even this more nearly than Matthew Arnold imagined. Sanskrit verse, like Greek, had both quantity and musical accent; and the recitation of the Vedic poems, as handed down by immemorial tradition, and as it may be heard to-day, keeps both these elements clear. It is a sort of intoned recitative, most impressive and agreeable to the sensitive ear."

A useful handbook on the general subject of Greek Accentuation (including its musical character) is Vendryes' *Traité d'accentuation grecque*, which is prefaced by a bibliographical list. The volume is noticed, in the *Classical Review* xix. 363-367, by J. P. Postgate, who supplements it in some important directions. There is also a discussion of the nature and theory of the Greek accent in Hadley's *Essays* p-127. As Monro (*Modes*) remarks, it is our habit of using Latin translations of the terms of Greek grammar that has tended to obscure the fact that those terms belong in almost every case to the ordinary vocabulary of music. The point of the illustration drawn from the *Orestes*, in the C.V. c. 11, is that the musical setting in question neglected entirely the natural tune, or accent, of the words. It is not to be assumed that Dionysius approved (except within narrow limits) of this practice or of the corresponding neglect of syllabic quantity (128 19). He probably regarded such excesses as innovations due to inferior schools of music and rhythm. In the hymns found at Delphi (and also in an inscription discovered by W. M. Ramsay) there is a remarkable correspondence between the musical notes and the accentuation of the words, as was pointed out by Monro (*Modes* p, 91, 116, 141; and *Classical Review* ix. 467-470). It is the hymns to Apollo (belonging probably to the early part of the third century B.C.), in which the acute accents usually coincide with a rise of pitch, that Dionysius would doubtless have regarded as embodying the classical practice. In early times, it must be remembered, words and music were written by the same man; cp. G. S. Farnell *Greek Lyric Poetry* p, 42. The chief surviving fragments of Greek music (including the recent discoveries at Delphi) will be found in C. Jan's *Musici Scriptores Graeci* (with Supplement), as published by Teubner.

C. Pronunciation of Ancient Greek

The *de Compositione* is not a treatise on Greek Pronunciation, or even on Greek Phonetics. The sections which touch upon these subjects are strictly subsidiary to the main theme; they are literary rather than philological in aim. There was, in fact, no independent study of phonetics in Greek antiquity; the subject was simply a handmaid in the service of music and rhetoric. Hence the reference early in c. 14 to the authority of Aristoxenus "the musician," and the constant endeavour to rank the letters according to standards of beautiful sound. Still, though Dionysius' object in describing the way in which the different letters are produced is not scientific but aesthetic and euphonic, much praise is due to the rigorous thoroughness which led him to undertake such an investigation at all. And it has had important incidental results.

One modern authority claims that, notwithstanding difficulties in the interpretation of the *de Compositione* due either to vague statements in the text or to defective knowledge on our own part, it is possible to reconstruct, with essential accuracy, the "Dionysian Pronunciation of Greek," or (in other words) the pronunciation current among cultivated Greeks during the fifty years preceding the birth of Christ; while another authority has given a transliteration of the Lord's Prayer, according to the original text, in the Hellenistic pronunciation of the first century A.D. It is, further, maintained that, thanks to the general progress of philological research, we can in the main reproduce with certainty the sounds (including even the aspirates) actually heard at Athens in the fourth century B.C. — with such certainty, at all events, as will suffice for the practical purposes of the modern teacher.

Two circumstances render it unsafe to lean unduly on Dionysius' evidence in determining the pronunciation of the earlier Greek period. Although he studied with enthusiasm the literature produced by Greece in her prime, and would certainly desire to read it to his pupils in the same tones as might have been used by its original authors, it is hardly likely that the pronunciation of the language had changed less in three or four hundred years than that (say) of English has changed since the days of Shakespeare. The other circumstance is the uncertainty which attends some of his statements, quite apart from any question of the period which they may be supposed to cover. This uncertainty is due to the fact that there was no science of phonetics in his day, and that consequently his explanations are sometimes obscure, either in themselves or at all events to their modern interpreters. But in many other cases he is, fortunately, explicit and easily understood. One example only shall be given, but that an important one: the pronunciation of ζ. In 144 9-12, it is clearly indicated that ζ is a double letter, and that it is composed of σ and δ (in that order): διπλᾶ δὲ τρία τό τε ζ̄ καὶ τὸ ξ̄ καὶ τὸ ψ̄. διπλᾶ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ ἦτοι διὰ τὸ σύνθετα εἶναι τὸ μὲν ζ̄ διὰ τοῦ σ̄ καὶ δ̄, τὸ δὲ ξ̄ διὰ τοῦ κ̄ καὶ σ̄, τὸ δὲ ψ̄ διὰ τοῦ π̄ καὶ σ̄, κτλ. The manuscript testimony is here in favour of σ̄ καὶ δ̄ (rather than the reverse order), and it may be noticed that the similar reading, ὑπασ-δ̄-εὐχαισα, is well supported in Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite* (238 9). The statement is not in any way contradicted by the further statements in 146 5 and 148 6; and taken together with other evidence (e.g. such forms as συρίσδειν = συρίζειν, κωμάσδειν = κωμάζειν, Ἀθήναζε = Ἀθήνασδε), it seems to establish this as at least one pronunciation of ζ. The actual pronunciation may well have varied at different times and in different places. Some authorities think that in fifth-century Greece the sound was like that of English zd in the word 'glazed,' while in the fourth century it roughly resembled dz in the word 'adze' (Arnold and Conway, *op. cit.* p. 7).

The book which deals most directly with the *de Compositione* in relation to Greek pronunciation is A. J. Ellis' *English, Dionysian, and Hellenic Pronunciation of Greek, considered in reference to School and College Use*. In applying great phonetic skill to the interpretation of Dionysius' statements,

the author of this pamphlet has done much service; but he abandons too lightly any attempt to recover a still earlier pronunciation, and shows an uncritical spirit in so readily believing () that Erasmus could be hoaxed in the matter of Greek pronunciation. A more trustworthy work is F. Blass' *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek* (translated by W. J. Purton), in which the scientific aids towards a reconstruction of the old pronunciation are marshalled with much force. Arnold and Conway's *Restored Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, and Giles' *Manual of Comparative Philology* (p-118: especially for ζ), contain a succinct statement of probable results. There is also a good article, by W. G. Clark, on Greek Pronunciation and Accentuation in the *Journal of Philology* i. p-108; with which should be compared the papers by Wratishaw and Geldart in vol. ii. of the same journal. The entire conflict on the subject of Greek pronunciation, as waged by the early combatants in England and Holland, is reflected in Havercamp's two volumes entitled *Sylloge Scriptorum qui de linguae Graecae vera et recta pronuntiatione commentarios reliquerunt, videlicet Adolphi Mekerchi, Theodori Bezae, Jacobi Ceratini et Henrici Stephani* (Leyden, 1736), and his *Sylloge Altera Scriptorum qui ... reliquerunt, videlicet Desiderii Erasmi, Stephani Vintoniensis Episcopi, Cantabrigiensis Academiae Cancellarii, Joannis Checi, Thomae Smith, Gregorii Martini, et Erasmi Schmidt* (Leyden, 1740). Erasmus' dialogue *de recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (Basle, 1528) was, in its way, a true work of science in that it laid stress on the fact that variety of symbols implied variety of sounds, and that diphthongal writing implied a diphthongal pronunciation. Attention has lately been directed to the fact that Erasmus claims no originality for his views on this subject, and that he had been anticipated, in varying degrees, by Jerome Aleander in France, by Aldus Manutius in Italy, and (earlier still) by the Spanish humanist, Antonio of Lebrixa (Bywater *The Erasmus Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors* Oxford, 1908). It may be noted, in passing, that when enumerating the errors of his Byzantine contemporaries, Antonio mentions that they pronounced Z "as a single letter, whereas it was really composite, and stood for SD" (Bywater,). Among the immediate successors of Erasmus in this field the most interesting, perhaps, is Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577), who, like Cheke, was one of the "etists" and so incurred the wrath of Stephen Gardiner and drew out that edict which threatened various penalties (including corporal punishment for boys) against the practice of unlawful innovations in the province of Greek pronunciation. It was Smith who, in his treatise *de recta et emendata linguae Graecae pronuntiatione* (Havercamp, ii. 542), detected a lacuna in the text of C.V. 140 16 as current in his time, and secured the right sense by the insertion of δῦο δὲ βραχέα τό τε ε̄ καὶ τὸ ο̄ after τὸ ω̄ (in l. 17). Echoes, more or less distinct, of the long dispute as to the pronunciation of the ancient classical languages may be heard in such various quarters as: (1) [Beaumont and] Fletcher's *Elder Brother* ii. 1, "Though I can speak no Greek, I love the sound on't; it goes so

thundering as it conjur'd devils"; (2) King James I. (in an address to the University of Edinburgh, delivered at Stirling), "I follow his [George Buchanan's] pronunciation, both of his Latin and Greek, and am sorry that my people of England do not the like; for certainly their pronunciation utterly fails the grace of these two learned languages"; and (3) Gibbon's reference to "our most corrupt and barbarous mode of uttering Latin." In modern times a constant effort is being made to get nearer to the true pronunciation of the two classical languages; and (to speak of Greek alone) some interesting side-lights have been shed on the subject by the discovery of Anglo-Saxon or Oriental transliterations (cp. Hadley *Essays* p-140, and Bendall in *Journal of Philology* xxix. 199-201). The application of well-ascertained results to the teaching of Greek pronunciation could be injurious only if it were allowed to impede the principal object of Greek study — contact with the great minds of the past. But an attempt to recapture some part of the music of the Greek language is hardly likely to have this disastrous effect.

D. *Greek Grammar*

Grammar, like phonetics, was by the ancients often regarded as a part of "music." It would not, therefore, seem unnatural to his readers that, in a treatise on euphony, Dionysius should continually be referring to the *parts of speech* (τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου). He also uses freely such technical terms of grammar as: πτῶσις, ἔγκλισις, ἀπαρέμφατος, πληθυντικῶς, ὕπτιος, ἄρρενικός, θηλυκός, οὐδέτερος, ἄρθρον, ὄνομα, πρόθεσις, σύνδεσμος, etc. Though himself concerned more immediately with the euphonic relations of words, he is fully alive to the phenomena of their syntactical relations. His remarks on grammatical points show, as might have been expected, many points of contact with the brief treatise of another Dionysius — Dionysius Thrax, who was born a full century earlier than himself. Dionysius Thrax was a pupil of Aristarchus, and produced the earliest formal Greek Grammar. Some interesting hints as to the successive steps in grammatical analysis which had made such a Grammar possible may be found in the second chapter of the *de Compositione*, where special mention is made of Theodectes, Aristotle, and "the leaders of the Stoic School." In c. 5, a useful protest is raised against the tyranny of grammar, which so often seeks to control by iron "rules" the infinite variety and living flexibility of language.

The standard edition of *Dionysii Thracis Ars Grammatica* is that by Uhlig (Leipzig, 1883). The whole question of ancient views on grammar can be studied in Steinthal's *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1890-91).

E. *Sources of the de Compositione*

It must strike every reader of the treatise, that Dionysius combines some

assertion of originality with many acknowledgments of indebtedness to predecessors. In this there is, of course, no necessary inconsistency. The work covers a wide field, and implies an acquaintance with many special studies. While referring with gratitude and respect to the admitted authorities in these various branches of learning or science, Dionysius claims for himself a certain originality of idea and of treatment. He is among the first to have written a separate treatise on this particular subject, and he is the first to have attempted an adequate treatment of it.

In making these acknowledgments, Dionysius does not specify any Latin writers, nor indeed any recent writers whatsoever. When Quintilian, in the fourth chapter of his Ninth Book, is himself writing a short *de Compositione*, he mentions "Halicarnasseus Dionysius" and (with special respect) "M. Tullius." But Dionysius says not a word about Cicero or Horace, although the former was partly and the latter fully contemporary with himself, and although they, like himself, were students of literary composition. As his work on early Roman history shows, Dionysius was not ignorant of Latin; and it is unfortunate that he did not think of comparing Greek writers with Latin. But the comparative method of literary criticism hardly existed in Greek antiquity, notwithstanding the reference to Cicero and Demosthenes in the *de Sublimitate*, whose author (it may be added here) not only treats of σύνθεσις in two of his chapters, but also tells us that he had already dealt with the subject in two separate treatises.

To his Greek predecessors Dionysius often refers in general terms. For example, they are called οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν in 140 7, οἱ πρότερον in 96 7, and οἱ ἀρχαῖοι in 68 9. The last term best suggests Dionysius' habitual attitude, which was that of looking to the past for the finest work in criticism as well as in literature. And so it will be found that, though the *de Compositione Verborum* contains incidental references to the Stoics and to other leaders of thought, its highest respect seems to be reserved for Aristotle and his disciples Theophrastus and Aristoxenus. But the question of Dionysius' obligations to his predecessors (and to the Peripatetics particularly) is so large and far-reaching that it must be treated separately elsewhere. Meanwhile, let it be noted how considerably his various writings illustrate, and are illustrated by, the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

As to its originality, the book may well be left to answer for itself. It does not read like a dull compilation. The learning is there, but it is lightly borne, and none can doubt that the writer has long thought over his subject and can give to others the fruits of his reflexions with verve and a contagious enthusiasm. The work has an easy flow of its own, as though it had been rapidly (but not carelessly) written, out of a well-stored mind, while its author was busy with his teaching and with the many literary enterprises to which he so often refers. It must be conceded that a literary critic who deals with so difficult, many-sided, and elusive a subject as that of composition can hardly avoid some errors of detail, since he cannot hope to be a master in all the

accessory sciences upon which he has to lean. But we may well be content if he preserves for later ages much invaluable literature and teaching which would otherwise have been lost, — if he himself maintains (amid corrupting influences) high standards in his literary preferences and in his own writing, — and if he sheds a ray of light upon many a hidden beauty of Greek style which would but for him be shrouded in darkness.

Reference may be made to G. Ammon *de Dionysii Halicarnassensis Librorum Rhetoricorum Fontibus* and to G. Mestwerdt *de Dionysii Halicarnassensis in libro de Compositione Verborum Studiis*. One section of the subject is also treated in G. L. Hendrickson's valuable papers on the 'Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters' and on the 'Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style' in the *American Journal of Philology* vols. xxv. and xxvi.; and in H. P. Breitenbach's dissertation on *The 'De Compositione' of Dionysius of Halicarnassus considered with reference to the 'Rhetoric' of Aristotle*.

F. *Quotations and Literary References in the de Compositione*

The greatest of all the lyrical passages quoted in the treatise is Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite*. But great as this is, it does not stand alone. It has companions, if not equals, in the *Danaë* of Simonides and in the opening of a Pindaric dithyramb. The very preservation of these splendid relics, as of some slighter ones, we owe to Dionysius alone. The total extent of the quotations made in the course of the treatise may be judged from the references given at the foot of the translation: these illustrative extracts form a substantial part of the work they illustrate. The width of Dionysius' literary outlook may also be inferred from the following roughly-drawn Chronological Table, which (for the sake of completeness) includes some authors who are mentioned but not actually quoted: —

Chronological Table of Authors quoted or mentioned in the *De Compositione*

Epilgy and

Didy.

Iambic.

Before 700

Hesiod

Archaic

Sappho

Stesichorus

400-500

Sicily and

Sophocles

Bucphiles

Andronicus

Timotheus

Telephus

Epiphanius

Chalcid

Sotades

200-100

Oratory.

Rhetoric and

Metrical

Science, etc.

Before 700

700-600

600-500

500-400

Alcibiades

Democritus

Plato and

Xenophanes
 Theophrastus
 Ephorides
 Apollonides
 and the
 Byzantines
 Chrysippus
 and the
 Stoics
 200-100

To this list might be added the minor historians, of the third and second centuries B.C., who are mentioned together with Polybius in c. 4, and of whom some account will be found in the notes on that chapter: Phylarchus, Duris, Psaon, Demetrius of Callatis, Hieronymus, Antigonus, Heracleides, and Hegesianax. And it will be noticed, further, that the treatise contains a large number of unassigned verse-fragments, which can only be referred, vaguely, to some lyric poet or to the lyric portions of some tragic poet. By such anonymous fragments, as well as by the poems quoted under the names of Sappho and Simonides, we are reminded of the many lost works of Greek literature and of the happy surprises which Egypt or Herculaneum or the Sultan's Library may still have in store for us. If the quotations as a whole — identified and unidentified, previously known and previously unknown — are passed in review, it will be found that Dionysius has given us a small Anthology of Greek prose and verse. While strictly relevant to the main theme, his illustrations are chosen with so much taste, and from so wide a field of study, that (to adapt his own words) οὐκ ἀδηΐς ὁ λόγος ἐγένετο πολλοῖς ὥσπερ ἄνθεσι διαποικιλλόμενος τοῖς ἔαρινοῖς.

Two prose-writers mentioned by Dionysius seem to invite special comment: Polybius and Hegesias. It is not without a kind of shock that we find the great historian Polybius classed, along with Phylarchus and the rest, among writers whose works no man can bring himself to read from cover to cover. But we have to remember that the judgment is passed solely from the standpoint of style; and from this restricted standpoint, it can hardly be said that subsequent critics have ventured to reverse it and to maintain that Polybius is (to use the modern expression) an eminently "readable" author. Let one modern estimate be quoted, and that from a writer who appreciates fully the greatness of Polybius' theory of history, and who, on the other hand, is not concerned to vindicate the soundness of Dionysius' judgment: "Unfortunately, his [Polybius'] style is a serious deterrent to the reader. We long for the ease, the finished grace, the flowing simplicity of Herodotus; or again, for the terse and rapid phrase of Thucydides, the energy, the precision of each single word, the sentence packed with thought. Polybius has lost the

Greek artistic feeling for writing, the delicate sense of proportion, the faculty of reserve. The freshness and distinction of the Attic idiom are gone. He writes with an insipid and colourless monotony. In arranging his materials he is equally inartistic. He is always anticipating objections and digressing; he wearies you with dilating on the excellence of his own method; he even assures you that the size and price of his book ought not to keep people from buying it. Admirable as is the substance of his writing, he pays the penalty attaching to neglect of form — he is read by the few.”

Hegesias is not only mentioned, but quoted, in the treatise. A few detached sentences are given from his writings, and one longer passage. In c. 4 Dionysius rewrites a brief extract from Herodotus in utter defiance of the customary rules (or practices) of Greek word-order, and then exclaims, “This form of composition resembles that of Hegesias: it is affected, degenerate, enervated.” He proceeds: “In such trumpery arts the man is a hierophant. He writes, for instance, ‘After a goodly festival another goodly one keep we.’ ‘Of Magnesia am I, the mighty land, a man of Sipylus I.’ ‘No little drop into the Theban waters spewed Dionysus: O yea, sweet is the stream, but madness it engendereth.’”

In c. 18 Dionysius illustrates the beauty of prose-rhythm from Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes. He then assigns to Hegesias a bad pre-eminence among writers who have neglected this essential of their art. Quoting a passage of some length from his *History*, he asks how it compares with Homer’s description of a similar scene; and he holds the vast superiority of the latter to be due ‘chiefly, if not entirely, to the difference in the rhythms.’ In the words just cited there is obviously much exaggeration. But we must allow for Dionysius’ preoccupation in this treatise (cp. τοῦτ’ ἦν σχεδὸν ὃ μάλιστα διαλλάττει ποιητῆς τε ποιητοῦ καὶ ῥήτωρ ῥήτορος, τὸ συντιθέναι δεξιῶς τὰ ὀνόματα, 92 18-20), and must, at any rate, try to discover wherein the main defect of Hegesias’ rhythms is supposed to lie. It is probable that no single thing in the passage offends the ear of Dionysius so much as the double trochees (or their metrical equivalent) which are found at the end of so many of the clauses. This double trochee, or dichoree, is found in its normal form (– ∪ – ∪) at the end of such *cola* as those which terminate in: τοῖς ἀρίστοις, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, εἰς τὸ τολμᾶν, τῇ μαχαίρᾳ, καὶ Φιλωτᾷς, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα, σκαιὸν ἐχθρόν. The metrical equivalent ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ occurs in such instances as: πρότερον οὕτως, ἔνεκα πρᾶξι, κατακοπῆναι, καθικετεύων. It is interesting to observe that this final dichoree is regarded both by Cicero and by Quintilian as characteristic of the Asiatic orators. Let it be added that, in the extract from Hegesias, the dichorees are not confined to the close of clauses but occur freely in other positions, while many of the sentences are short and the reverse of periodic; and it will be granted that Cicero has good ground for calling attention to the jerky, or staccato, character of the style in question. In the *Orator* (67. 226) the effect of Hegesias’ writing is thus described: “quam (sc. numerosam comprehensionem) perverse fugiens Hegesias, dum ille

quoque imitari Lysiam volt, alterum paene Demosthenem, saltat incidens particulas." And his manner is amusingly parodied in one of the letters to Atticus (*ad Att.* xii. 6): "de Caelio vide, quaeso, ne quae lacuna sit in auro: | ego ista non novi; | sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis. | huc aurum si accedit | — sed quid loquor? | tu videbis. | habes Hegesiae genus! quod Varro laudat." Two further specimens (not given by Dionysius) of Hegesias' style will add point to Cicero's parody. The first is preserved by Strabo (*Geogr.* 396): ὀρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν | καὶ τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης | ἐκεῖθι σημείον· | ὀρῶ τὴν Ἑλευσίνα, | καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης· | ἐκεῖνο Λεωκόριον· | τοῦτο Θησεῖον· | οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι | καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον. The other specimen is quoted by Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 250) from Agatharchides, the geographer of Cnidus: ὁμοιον πεποίηκας, Ἀλέξανδρε, Θήβας κατασκάψας, ὡς ἂν εἰ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκ τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν μερίδος ἐκβάλλοι τὴν σελήνην. ὑπολείπομαι γὰρ τὸν ἥλιον ταῖς Ἀθήναις. δύο γὰρ αὐταὶ πόλεις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν ὄψεις. διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἀγωνιῶ νῦν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἷς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸς ἡ Θηβαίων ἐκκέκοπται πόλις.

It is quite clear, from his express statements, that Dionysius, in his criticisms, has in view, mainly if not entirely, the bad rhythms of Hegesias. But the passages which he quotes seem open to criticism on other grounds as well. The long extract in c. 18 contains metaphors which might well seem violent to the Greeks, who allowed themselves less licence than the moderns do in this direction (e.g. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐλπίς αὕτη συνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ τολμᾶν, and τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὀργὴν πρόσφατος ἐπίμπρα); and it is high-flown expressions of this kind which the author of the *de Sublimitate* has in view when he writes: τὰ γε μὴν Ἀμφικράτους τοιαῦτα καὶ Ἥγησιου καὶ Ματρίδος· πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐνθουσιᾶν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες οὐ βακχεύουσιν ἀλλὰ παίζουσιν (iii. 2). False emphasis, too, and a general desire to purchase notoriety by the cheap method of eccentric word-order, would appear to be implied in Dionysius' own parody in c. 4 (90 15-19). For example, Ἀλυσάπτου and ἐθνῶν, though not in themselves important, are assigned prominent positions at the beginning and the end of the sentence. But the greatest of all the defects of Hegesias — especially when compared with Homer — is a certain vulgarity of tone.

The contrast drawn between Hegesias and Homer may seem overstrained, but it is eminently characteristic of Dionysius. Homer was to him the great pure fount of Greek, and his own constant desire was "antiquos accedere fontes." Hegesias, on the other hand, typifies to him the decline in Greek literature which followed the death of Alexander, whose exploits he records with so feeble a magniloquence. And yet the curious thing is that Hegesias, who lived probably in the earlier part of the third century, aspires (as Cicero tells us) to copy Lysias. But while endeavouring thus to imitate one of the most Attic of the Attic writers, he came, by the irony of fate, to be regarded as the founder of the degenerate Asiatic school: Ἥγησίας ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃς ἦρξε μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ λεγομένου ζήλου, παραφθείρας τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἔθος

τὸ Ἀττικόν (Strabo *Geogr.* xiv. 1. 41). In the terms “Attic” and “Asiatic” there often lurks some confusion of thought, as well as no little prejudice and rhetorical animosity. But of Dionysius, as compared with Hegesias, it is clearly within the mark to say that, though he lived two centuries later, he has vastly more of the true Attic feeling for purity of style; and that, though he may himself have cherished wild dreams of turning back the tide of language, yet in league with some leading Romans of his day he did good service by showing how the best Attic models may hold out to future ages shining examples of the skill and beauty which all men should strive after in handling the language of their birth.

For Dionysius in relation to contemporary Romans, and to the struggle between Asianism and Atticism, reference may be made to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: the Three Literary Letters* p-49.

G. Manuscripts and Text

The chief authorities for the text of the *de Compositione* are indicated in the following list of abbreviations employed in the apparatus criticus of the present edition: —

Siglorum in notulis criticis adhibitorum Index

F = cod. Florentinus Laurentianus lix. 15. saec. xii.

P = cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. 1741. saec. xi. (x.).

M = cod. Venetus Marcianus 508. saec. xv.

V = cod. Vergetii Parisiensis bibl. nat. 1798. saec. xvi.

E = Διονυσίου Ἀλικαρνασέως τοῦ περὶ Συνθέσεως Ὀνομάτων Ἐπιτομή. saec. inc.

R = Rhetor Graecus (Scholiasta Hermogenis περὶ ἰδεῶν, i. 6). saec. inc.

a = editio princeps Aldi Manutii (Aldi Manutii Rhetores Graeci, tom. i.), Venetiis. 1508.

s = editio Roberti Stephani, Lutetiae. 1547.

r = exemplum Reiskianum, Lipsiae. 1775.

Us = exemplum ab Usenero et Radermachero Lipsiae nuper editum.

The Florentine manuscript (F) contains, besides certain writings of other authors, the following works of Dionysius: (1) the essays on Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, and Dinarchus: and (2) the *de Compositione Verborum* (as far as the words πειρατέον δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν ἃ φρονῶ in c. 25). The Paris manuscript 1741 (P) is the famous codex which contains not only the *de Comp. Verb.*, but also Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, Demetrius *de Elocutione*, Dionysius Halic. *Ep. ad Amm. II.*, *De Vet. Scr.*, etc. Some notes upon the manuscript are given in *Demetrius on Style* p-11; and the editor has examined it once more at Paris for the purposes of the present recension. The

remaining manuscripts are considerably later than F and P. M belongs to the fifteenth century, and V was copied by the Cretan calligrapher Ange Vergèce (as he was called in France) in the sixteenth century. The edition of Robert Stephens is based upon V. In the *Journal of Philology* xxvii. p ff., there is a careful collation, by A. B. Poynton, of "Some Readings of MS. Canonici 45" (C: sixteenth century) in the Bodleian Library, with regard to which the collator says: "Despite the care with which the work is done, the manuscript is not of much value as a presentation of the Florentine tradition, since F exists and the writer of C is rather a διασκευαστής than a copyist. The interest of the manuscript is antiquarian and bibliographical.... It is a copy made at some time in the sixteenth century, probably after 1560. It is based on the Florentine MS. with *variae lectiones* and marginal notes. It has not the appearance of being a mechanical copy: rather it seems to be the work of a scholar who was conversant with the MSS. of the treatise and, while he was aware of the importance of the Florentine MS., saw that in many cases it needed to be corrected."

The dates of the Epitome and of the *Rhetor Graecus* are uncertain. But both are early and highly important authorities. The latter quotes c. 14 only of the treatise, but the quotation enabled Usener to show that the text of F agreed in the main with that of the *Rhetor* and of the Epitome. The result was to enhance greatly the authority of F, with which earlier editors had merely an indirect and imperfect acquaintance. But by a not unnatural reaction against the excessive attention paid to what may be called the P group (PMV: though M and V sometimes coincide with F against P), Usener is inclined too readily to follow F, or even E, when standing alone. Still, while the readings supported only by F, or E, or P should be carefully scrutinized and independently judged, the concurrent testimony of FE and any other MS. is very strong indeed.

Two passages taken almost at a venture (say, the first twenty lines of c. 12 and the last twenty of c. 19) would be enough to show that neither F nor P can be exclusively followed, and that Usener himself is often (more often than is indicated in this edition) driven to desert F, which in fact contains, in these or other places, a large number of impossible or even absurd readings. Where, however, there are genuine instances of various readings (as εὐκαιροτέραις: εὐπωτέραις in the last of the passages just specified), it seems best to follow F (especially when supported by other authorities), even though the hand of an ingenious early scholar may sometimes with reason be suspected.

One reason for accepting with reserve the unsupported testimony of F is that its evidence is sometimes far from sound in regard to quotations from authors whose text is well established from other sources. In the principal quotations from Pindar and Thucydides this defect is not so manifest; and it may even be claimed that its text of the Pindaric dithyramb, and of the Herodotus extract on , is distinguished by many excellent features, though not so many as Usener was at first inclined to claim in the case of the Pindar. But

in the extract from the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates which is given in c. 23, the text presented by F (as compared with that presented by P) seems to suggest that, in dealing with Dionysius' own words as well as with his quotations, the transcriber may have felt entitled to make rather free alterations on his own account. In order to provide readers with the means of judging for themselves, the critical apparatus has been made specially full at this point.

Usener's text of the *de Compositione* deserves the highest respect: it is the last undertaking of one of the greatest philologists of the nineteenth century, and every succeeding editor must find himself deep in its debt. Its record of readings is full to exhaustiveness. In the present edition less wealth of detail is attempted (especially in regard to F and R), though all really important and typical variations have, it is hoped, been duly registered, and particular attention has been paid to the minute collation of P. But apart from the correction of misprints (as on p 13, 132 23, 250 7), it is hoped that the following among other readings will commend themselves (on an examination of the sections of the Notes or Glossary in which they are defended) as superior to those adopted by Usener (and indicated here in brackets) from conjecture or on manuscript authority: 64 11 (σὸ omitted), 70 5 (εὖ τί), 78 17 (παλαιαί), 80 13 (παιδικόν), 94 13 (προβαῖεν), 94 16 (σπουδάζεσθαι), 98 20 (οἷά τινα), 106 13 (εὖ ἦ), 132 20 (θηρᾶν), 142 9 (σπανίξει), etc.

H. Recent Writings connected with the *de Compositione*

A full bibliography, covering not only the *de Compositione* of Dionysius but his rhetorical and critical works generally, is given in the present editor's *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: the Three Literary Letters* (published in January 1901), p-219. The following are (in chronological order) the early editors who have done most to further the study of the *de Compositione*: Aldus Manutius (*editio princeps*), Robertus Stephanus, F. Sylburg, J. Upton, J. J. Reiske, G. H. Schaefer, and F. Goeller. Much interest still attaches to C. Batteux' publication (1788): *Traité de l'arrangement des mots: traduit du grec de Denys d'Halicarnasse; avec des réflexions sur la langue française, comparée avec la langue grecque*. The translation is too free and based on too poor a text to meet the needs of exact scholarship. But the *Réflexions* (which accompany the translation, in vol. vi. of the author's *Principes de littérature*) are full of suggestive remarks. Another excellent literary study of Dionysius is that of Max. Egger: *Denys d'Halicarnasse: essai sur la critique littéraire et la rhétorique chez les Grecs au siècle d'Auguste* (Paris, 1902). As its title indicates, this volume takes a wide range; and it reveals that full competence in these matters which it is natural to expect from the son of Émile Egger. A short general account, by Radermacher, of Dionysius' critical essays will be found in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* vol. v.

The first volume of Usener and Radermacher's text was included in the bibliographical list mentioned above. In 1904 appeared the second volume,

containing the *de Compositione* and some other critical writings of Dionysius (*Dionysii Halicarnasei opuscula ediderunt Hermannus Usener et Ludovicus Radermacher. Voluminis sec. fasc. prior. Lipsiae, 1904*). The second volume is on a par with the first, which was welcomed, as a notable achievement, in the *Classical Review* xiv. p-455, where also attention was drawn (a) to a questionable emendation previously introduced by Usener into the text of the *de Imitatione*. This emendation is withdrawn in Usener's second volume — a fact which may be mentioned as one proof among many that his tendency was to grow more conservative and, in particular, more attentive to the testimony of P 1741. The titles of A. B. Poynton's articles on Dionysius are: "Oxford MSS. of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *De Compositione Verborum*" (*Journal of Philology* xxvii. p-99), and "Oxford MSS. of the *Opuscula* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus" (*Journal of Philology* xxviii. p-185). Among other useful *subsidia* lately published may be mentioned: W. Kroll's "Randbemerkungen" in *Rhein. Mus.* lxii. p-101, and Larue van Hook's *Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism* (Chicago, 1905). R. H. Tukey (*Classical Review*, September 1909,) makes the interesting suggestion that "the *De Compositione* belongs chronologically between the two parts of the *De Demosthene*." The use of the present tense δηλοῦται, in C.V. 182 8 may be held to countenance this view.

In some recent books of larger scope it is pleasant to notice an increased appreciation of the high value of the work done by Dionysius in the field of literary criticism. Certain of these estimates may be quoted in conclusion. R. C. Jebb, in the *Companion to Greek Studies* : "The maturity of the 'Attic revival' is represented at Rome, in the Augustan age, by the best literary critic of antiquity, Dionysius of Halicarnassus." A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* v. : "Les uns et les autres [les contemporains et les rhéteurs des âges suivants] appréciaient avec raison l'érudition de Denys, la justesse de son esprit, sa finesse dans le discernement des ressemblances et des différences, la solidité de sa doctrine, son goût dans le choix des exemples. De plus, ils se sentaient touchés, comme nous et plus que nous, par la vivacité de ses admirations, par cette sorte de foi communicative, qui faisait de lui le défenseur des traditions classiques." Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Die griechische Literatur des Altertums* p and 148: "Von unbestreitbar hohem und dauerndem Werte ist die andere Seite der rhetorischen Theorie und Praxis, die sich auf den Ausdruck erstreckt, die Stilistik.... Es ist ein hohes Lob, dass er (Dionysios von Halikarnass) im Grunde dieselbe stilistische Überzeugung vertritt wie Cicero, und wir sind ihm für die Erhaltung von ungemein viel Wichtigem zu Dank verpflichtet; seine Schriften über die attischen Redner und über die Wortfügung sind auch eine nicht nur belehrende, sondern gefällige Lektüre." J. E. Sandys *History of Classical Scholarship* i. : "In the minute and technical criticism of the art and craft of Greek literature, the works of Dionysius stand alone in all the centuries that elapsed between the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and the treatise *On the Sublime*." G. Saintsbury *History*

of *Criticism* i. p, 137, 132: “Dionysius is a very considerable critic, and one to whom justice has not usually, if at all, yet been done.... A critic who saw far, and for the most part truly, into the proper province of literary criticism.... This treatise [sc. the *de Compositione*], if studied carefully, must raise some astonishment that Dionysius should have been spoken of disrespectfully by anyone who himself possesses competence in criticism. From more points of view than one, the piece gives Dionysius no mean rank as a critic.” S. H. Butcher *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects* p, 239: “Of his fine perception of the harmonies of Greek speech we can entertain no reasonable doubt.... We cannot dismiss his general criticism as unsound or fanciful. The whole history of the evolution of Greek prose, and the practice of the great masters of the art, support his main contention.” With these extracts may be coupled one from the *Spectator* of March 23, 1901: “In this treatise Dionysius reviews and attempts to explain the art of literature. It is a brilliant effort to analyse the sensuous emotions produced by the harmonious arrangement of beautiful words. Its eternal truth might make it a textbook for to-day.”

In the Notes and Glossary, as in the Introduction, references are usually given to the lines, as well as the pages, of the Greek text here printed: e.g. 80 7 = page 80 line 7 of the *De Compositione*. — The following abbreviations are used in referring to volumes already issued by the editor: —

D.H. = ‘Dionysius of Halicarnassus: the Three Literary Letters.’

Long. = ‘Longinus on the Sublime.’

Demetr. = ‘Demetrius on Style.’

CHAPTER I. OCCASION AND PURPOSE OF THE TREATISE

To you, Rufus Metilius, whose worthy father is my most honoured friend, “I also offer this gift, dear child,” as Helen, in Homer, says while entertaining Telemachus. To-day you are keeping your first birthday after your arrival at man’s estate; and of all feasts this is to me the most welcome and most precious. I am not, however, sending you the work of my own *hands* (to quote Helen’s words when she offers the robe to her young guest), nor what is fitted only for the season of marriage and “meet to pleasure a bride withal.” No, it is the product and the child of my studies and my brain, and also something for you to keep and use in all the business of life which is effected through speech: an aid most necessary, if my estimate is of any account, to all alike who practise civil oratory, whatever their age and temperament, but especially to youths like you who are just beginning to take up the study.

We may say that in practically all speaking two things must have unremitting attention: the ideas and the words. In the former case, the sphere of subject matter is chiefly concerned; in the latter, that of expression; and all who aim at becoming good speakers give equally earnest attention to both these aspects of discourse. But the science which guides us to selection of matter, and to judgment in handling it, is hampered with difficulties for the young; indeed, for beardless striplings, its difficulties are insurmountable. The perfect grasp of things in all their bearings belongs rather to a matured understanding, and to an age that is disciplined by grey hairs, — an age whose powers are developed by prolonged investigation of discourse and action, and by many experiences of its own and much sharing in the fortunes of others. But the love of literary beauty flourishes naturally in the days of youth as much as in later life. For elegance of expression has a fascination for all young minds, making them feel impulses that are instinctive and akin to inspiration. Young people need, at the beginning, much prudent oversight and guidance, if they are not to utter

What word soe’er may have sprung
To the tip of an ill-timed tongue,

nor to form at random any chance combinations, but to select pure and noble words, and to place them in the beautiful setting of a composition that unites charm to dignity. So in this department, the first in which the young should exercise themselves, “for love’s service I lend you a strain,” in the shape of this treatise on literary composition. The subject has occurred to but few of all the ancients who have composed manuals of rhetoric or dialectic, and by none has it been, to the best of my belief, accurately or adequately treated up to the present time. If I find leisure, I will produce another book for you — one on the choice of words, in order that you may have the subject of

expression exhaustively treated. You may expect that treatise next year at the same festive season, the gods guarding us from accident and disease, if it so be that our destiny has reserved for us the secure attainment of this blessing. But now accept the treatise which my good genius has suggested to me.

The chief heads under which I propose to treat the subject are the following: what is the nature of composition, and where its strength lies; what are its aims and how it attains them; what are its principal varieties, what is the distinctive feature of each, and which of them I believe to be the most effective; and still further, what is that poetical element, so pleasant on the tongue and so sweet to the ear, which naturally accompanies composition in prose, and wherein lies the effectiveness of that poetical art which imitates plain prose and succeeds excellently in doing so, and by what method each of those two results may be attained. Such, in broad outline, are the topics with which I intend to deal, and on this programme my treatise is based.

CHAPTER II. COMPOSITION DEFINED

Composition is, as the very name indicates, a certain arrangement of the parts of speech, or elements of diction, as some call them. These were reckoned as three only by Theodectes and Aristotle and the philosophers of those times, who regarded nouns, verbs and connectives as the primary parts of speech. Their successors, particularly the leaders of the Stoic school, raised the number to four, separating the articles from the connectives. Then the later inquirers divided the appellatives from the substantives, and represented the primary parts of speech as five. Others detached the pronouns from the nouns, and so introduced a sixth element. Others, again, divided the adverbs from the verbs, the prepositions from the connectives and the participles from the appellatives; while others introduced still further subdivisions, and so multiplied the primary parts of speech. The subject would afford scope for quite a long discussion. Enough to say that the combination or juxtaposition of these primary parts, be they three, or four, or whatever may be their number, forms the so-called “members” (or clauses) of a sentence. Further, the fitting together of these clauses constitutes what are termed the “periods,” and these make up the complete discourse. The function of composition is to put words together in an appropriate order, to assign a suitable connexion to clauses, and to distribute the whole discourse properly into periods.

Although in logical order arrangement of words occupies the second place when the department of expression is under investigation, since the selection of them naturally takes precedence and is assumed to be already made; yet it is upon arrangement, far more than upon selection, that persuasion, charm, and literary power depend. And let no one deem it strange that, whereas many serious investigations have been made regarding the choice of words, — investigations which have given rise to much debate among philosophers and political orators, — composition, though it holds the second place in order, and has been the subject of far fewer discussions than the other, yet possesses so much solid strength, so much active energy, that it triumphantly outstrips all the other’s achievements. It must be remembered that, in the case of all the other arts which employ various materials and produce from them a composite result, — arts such as building, carpentry, embroidery, and the like, — the faculties of composition are second in order of time to those of selection, but are nevertheless of greater importance. Hence it must not be thought abnormal that the same principle obtains with respect to discourse. But we may as well submit proofs of this statement, that we may not be thought to assume off-hand the truth of a doubtful proposition.

CHAPTER III. THE MAGICAL EFFECT OF COMPOSITION, OR WORD-ORDER

Every utterance, then, by which we express our thoughts is either in metre or not in metre. Whichever it be, it can, when aided by beautiful arrangement, attain beauty whether of verse or prose. But speech, if flung out carelessly at random, at the same time spoils the value of the thought. Many poets, and prose-writers (philosophers and orators), have carefully chosen expressions that are distinctly beautiful and appropriate to the subject matter, but have reaped no benefit from their trouble because they have given them a rude and haphazard sort of arrangement: whereas others have invested their discourse with great beauty by taking humble, unpretending words, and arranging them with charm and distinction. It may well be thought that composition is to selection what words are to ideas. For just as a fine thought is of no avail unless it be clothed in beautiful language, so here too pure and elegant expression, is useless unless it be attired in the right vesture of arrangement.

But to guard myself against the appearance of making an unsupported assertion, I will try to show by an appeal to facts the reasons which have convinced me that composition is a more important and effective art than mere selection of words. I will first examine a few specimen passages in prose and verse. Among poets let Homer be taken, among prose-writers Herodotus: from these may be formed an adequate notion of the rest.

Well, in Homer we find Odysseus tarrying in the swineherd's hut and about to break his fast at dawn, as they used to do in ancient days. Telemachus then appears in sight, returning from his sojourn in the Peloponnese. Trifling incidents of everyday life as these are, they are inimitably portrayed. But wherein lies the excellence of expression? I shall quote the lines, and they will speak for themselves: —

As anigh came Telemachus' feet, the king and the swineherd wight
Made ready the morning meat, and by this was the fire alight; —
They had sent the herdmen away with the pasturing swine at the dawning; —
Lo, the dogs have forgotten to bay, and around the prince are they fawning!
And Odysseus the godlike marked the leap and the whine of the hounds
That ever at strangers barked; and his ear caught footfall-sounds.
Straightway he spake, for beside him was sitting the master of swine:
"Of a surety, Eumæus, hitherward cometh a comrade of thine,
Or some one the bandogs know, and not with barking greet,
But they fawn upon him; moreover I hear the treading of feet."
Not yet were the words well done, when the porchway darkened: a face
Was there in the door, — his son! and Eumæus sprang up in amaze.

Dropped from his hands to the floor the bowls, wherein erst he began

The flame-flushed wine to pour, and to meet his lord he ran;
And he kissed that dear-loved head, and both his beautiful eyes;
And he kissed his hands, and he shed warm tears in his glad surprise.

Everybody would, I am sure, testify that these lines cast a spell of enchantment on the ear, and rank second to no poetry whatsoever, however exquisite it may be. But what is the secret of their fascination, and what causes them to be what they are? Is it the selection of words, or the composition? No one will say "the selection": of that I am convinced. For the diction consists, warp and woof, of the most ordinary, the humblest words, such as might have been used off-hand by a farmer, a seaman, an artisan, or anybody else who takes no account of elegant speech. You have only to break up the metre, and these very same lines will seem commonplace and unworthy of admiration. For they contain neither noble metaphors nor *hypallages* nor *catachreses* nor any other figurative language; nor yet many unusual terms, nor foreign or new-coined words. What alternative, then, is left but to attribute the beauty of the style to the composition? There are countless passages of this kind in Homer, as everybody of course is well aware. It is enough to quote this single instance by way of reminder.

Let us now pass on to the language of prose and see if the same principle holds good of it too — that great graces invest trifling and commonplace acts and words, when they are cast into the mould of beautiful composition. For instance, there is in Herodotus a certain Lydian king whom he calls Candaules, adding that he was called Myrsilus by the Greeks. Candaules is represented as infatuated with admiration of his wife, and then as insisting on one of his friends seeing the poor woman naked. The friend struggled hard against the constraint put upon him; but failing to shake the king's resolve, he submitted, and viewed her. The incident, as an incident, is not only lacking in dignity and, for the purpose of embellishment, intractable, but is also vulgar and hazardous and more akin to the repulsive than to the beautiful. But it has been related with great dexterity: it has been made something far better to hear told than it was to see done. And, that no one may imagine that it is to the dialect that the charm of the story is due, I will change its distinctive forms into Attic, and without any further meddling with the language will give the conversation as it stands: —

"Of a truth, Gyges, I think that thou dost not believe what I say concerning the beauty of my wife; indeed, men trust their ears less fully than their eyes. Contrive, therefore, to see her naked.' But he cried out and said: 'My lord, what is this foolish word thou sayest, bidding me look upon my lady naked? for a woman, when she puts off her dress, puts off her shamefastness also. Men of old time have found out excellent precepts, which it behoves us to learn and observe; and among them is this— "Let a man keep his eyes on his own." As for me, I am fully persuaded that she is the fairest of all women, and I beseech thee not to require of me aught that is unlawful.'

Thus he spoke, and strove with him. But the other answered and said: 'Be of good cheer, Gyges, and fear not that I say this to prove thee, or that harm will come to thee from my wife. For, in the first place, I will contrive after such a fashion that she shall not even know that she has been seen by thee. I will bring thee into the room where we sleep, and set thee behind the door that stands ajar; and after I have entered, my wife will come to bed. Now, near the entrance there is a seat; and on this she will place each of her garments as she puts them off, so that thou wilt have time enough to behold. But when she passes from the seat to the couch, and thou art behind her back, then take heed that she see thee not as thou goest away through the door.' Forasmuch, then, as he could not escape, he consented to do after this manner." Here again no one can say that the grace of the style is due to the impressiveness and the dignity of the words. These have not been picked and chosen with studious care; they are simply the labels affixed to things by Nature. Indeed, it would perhaps have been out of place to use other and grander words. I take it, in fact, to be always necessary, whenever ideas are expressed in proper and appropriate language, that no word should be more dignified than the nature of the ideas. That there is no stately or grandiose word in the present passage, any one who likes may prove by simply changing the arrangement. There are many similar passages in this author, from which it can be seen that the fascination of his style does not after all lie in the beauty of the words but in their combination. We need not discuss this question further.

CHAPTER IV. TO CHANGE ORDER IS TO DESTROY BEAUTY

To show yet more conclusively the great force wielded by the faculty of composition both in poetry and prose, I will quote some passages which are universally regarded as fine, and show what a different air is imparted to both verse and prose by a mere change in their arrangement. First let these lines be taken from the Homeric poems: —

But with them was it as with a toil-bowed woman righteous-souled —
In her scales be the weights and the wool, and the balance on high doth she
hold
Poised level, that so may the hard-earned bread to her babes be doled.

This metre is the complete heroic metre of six feet, the basis of which is the dactyl. I will change the order of the words, and will turn the same lines into tetrameters instead of hexameters, into prosodiacs instead of heroics. Thus: —

But it was with them as with a righteous-souled woman toil-bowed,
In her scales weights and wool lie, on high doth she hold the balance
Level-poised, so that bread hardly-earned may be doled to her babes.

Such are the following Priapean, or (as some call them) ithyphallic, lines:
—

I am no profane one, O young Dionysus' votaries;
By his favour come I too initiate as one of his.

Taking again other lines of Homer, and neither adding nor withdrawing anything, but simply varying the order, I will produce another kind of verse, the so-called Ionic tetrameter: —

So there outstretched was he lying, his steeds and his chariot before,
Groaning, convulsively clutching the dust that was red with his gore.

So there outstretched was he lying, his steeds and his chariot before,
At the dust that was red with his gore clutching convulsively, groaning.

Such are the following Sotadean lines: —

There upon the summit of the burning pyres their corpses lay
In an alien land, the widowed walls forsaken far away,
Walls of sacred Hellas; and the hearths upon the homeland shore,

Winsome youth, the sun's fair face — forsaken all for evermore!

I could, if I wished, adduce many more different types of measures all belonging to the class of the heroic line, and show that the same thing is true of almost all the other metres and rhythms, namely that, when the choice of words remains unaltered and only the arrangement is changed, the verses invariably lose their rhythm, while their formation is ruined, together with the complexion, the character, the feeling, and the whole effectiveness of the lines. But in so doing I should be obliged to touch on a number of speculations, with some of which very few are familiar. To many speculations, perhaps, and particularly to those bearing on the matter in hand, the lines of Euripides may fitly be applied: —

With subtleties meddle not thou, O soul of mine:
Wherefore be overwise, except in thy fellows' eyes
Thou lookest to be revered as for wisdom divine?

So I think it wise to leave this ground unworked for the present. But anyone who cares may satisfy himself that the diction of prose can be affected in the same way as that of verse when the words are retained but the order is changed. I will take from the writings of Herodotus the opening of his History, since it is familiar to most people, simply changing the nature of the dialect: "Croesus was a Lydian by birth and the son of Alyattes. He was lord over all the nations on this side of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia, and falls, towards the north, into the sea which is called the Euxine." I change the order here, and the cast of the passage will become no longer that of a spacious narrative, but tense rather and forensic: "Croesus was the son of Alyattes, and by birth a Lydian. He was lord, on this side of the river Halys, over all nations; which river from the south flowing between Syria and Paphlagonia runs into the sea which is called the Euxine and debouches towards the north." This style would seem not to differ widely from that of Thucydides in the words: "Epidamnus is a city on the right as you enter the Ionian Gulf: its next neighbours are barbarians, the Taulantii, an Illyrian race." Once more I will recast the same passage and give a new form to it as follows: "Alyattes' son was Croesus, by birth a Lydian. Lord over all nations he was, on this side of the river Halys; which river, from the south flowing between Syria and Paphlagonia, falls, with northward run, into the Euxine-called sea." This affected, degenerate, emasculate way of arranging words resembles that of Hegesias, the high-priest of this kind of nonsense. Hewrites, for instance, "After a goodly festival another goodly one keep we." "Of Magnesia am I, the mighty land, a man of Sipylus I." "No little drop into the Theban waters spewed Dionysus: Oh yea, sweet it is, but madness it engendereth."

Enough of examples. I think I have sufficiently proved my point that composition is more effective than selection. In fact, it seems to me that one

might fairly compare the former to Athena in Homer. For she used to make the same Odysseus appear now in one form, now in another, — at one time puny and wrinkled and ugly,

In semblance like to a beggar wretched and eld-forlorn, at another time, by a fresh touch of the selfsame wand,

She moulded him taller to see, and broader: his wavy hair
She caused o'er his shoulders to fall as the hyacinth's purple rare.

So, too, composition takes the same words, and makes the ideas they convey appear at one time unlovely, beggarly and mean; at another, exalted, rich and beautiful. A main difference between poet and poet, orator and orator, really does lie in the aptness with which they arrange their words. Almost all the ancients made a special study of this; and consequently their poems, their lyrics, and their prose are things of beauty. But among their successors, with few exceptions, this was no longer so.

At last, in later times, it was utterly neglected; no one thought it absolutely indispensable, or that it contributed anything to the beauty of discourse. Consequently they left behind them lucubrations that no one has the patience to read from beginning to end. I mean men like Phylarchus, Duris, Polybius, Psaon, Demetrius of Callatis, Hieronymus, Antigonus, Heracleides, Hegesianax, and countless others: a whole day would not be enough if I tried to repeat the bare names of them all. But why wonder at these, when even those who call themselves professors of philosophy and publish manuals of dialectic fail so wretchedly in the arrangement of their words that I shrink from even mentioning their names? It is quite enough to point, in proof of my statement, to Chrysippus the Stoic: for farther I will not go. Among writers who have achieved any name or distinction, none have written their treatises on dialectic with greater accuracy, and none have published discourses which are worse specimens of composition. And yet some of them claimed to make a serious study of this department also, as being absolutely essential to good writing, and wrote some manuals on the grouping of the parts of speech. But they all went far astray from the truth and never even dreamt what it is that makes composition attractive and beautiful. At any rate, when I resolved to treat of this subject methodically, I tried to find out whether anything at all had been said about it by earlier writers, and particularly by the philosophers of the Porch, because I knew that these worthies were accustomed to pay no little attention to the department of discourse: one must give them their due. But in no single instance did I light upon any contribution, great or small, made by any author, of any reputation at all events, to the subject of my choice. As for the two treatises which Chrysippus has bequeathed to us, entitled "on the grouping of the parts of speech," they contain, as those who have read the books are aware, not a rhetorical but a dialectical investigation, dealing with the grouping of propositions, true and false, possible and impossible, admissible and variable, ambiguous, and so forth. These

contribute no assistance or benefit to civil oratory, so far at any rate as charm and beauty of style are concerned; and yet these qualities should be the chief aim of composition. So I desisted from this inquiry, and falling back upon my own resources proceeded to consider whether I could find some starting-point indicated by nature itself, since nature is generally accepted as the best first principle in every operation and every inquiry. So applying myself to certain lines of investigation, I was beginning to think that the plan was making fair progress, when I became aware that my path of progress was leading me in a quite different direction, and not towards the goal which I sought and which I felt I must attain; and so I gave up the attempt. I may as well, perhaps, touch on that inquiry also, and state the reasons which led me to abandon it, so that I may not be open to the suspicion of having passed it by in ignorance, and not of deliberate choice.

CHAPTER V. NO GRAMMATICAL ORDER PRESCRIBED BY NATURE

Well, my notion was that we ought to follow mother nature to the utmost, and to link together the parts of speech according to her promptings. For example, I thought I must place nouns before verbs: the former, you see, indicate the substance, the latter the accident, and in the nature of things the substance takes precedence of its accidents! Thus we find in Homer: —

The hero to me chant thou, Song-queen, the resourceful man;

and

The Wrath sing, Goddess, thou;

and

The sun leapt up, as he left;

and other lines of the same kind, where the nouns lead the way and the verbs follow. The principle is attractive, but I came to the conclusion that it was not sound. At any rate, a reader might confront me with other instances in the same poet where the arrangement is the opposite of this, and yet the lines are no less beautiful and attractive. What are the instances in point?

Hear me, thou Child of the Aegis-bearer, unwearied Power;

and

Tell to me, Muses, now in Olympian halls that abide;

and

Remember thy father, Achilles, thou godlike glorious man.

In these lines the verbs are in the front rank, and the nouns stationed behind them. Yet no one would impugn the arrangement of the words as unpleasant.

Moreover, I imagined it was better to place verbs in front of adverbs, since in the nature of things what acts or is acted upon takes precedence of those auxiliaries, modal, local, temporal, and the like, which we call adverbs. I relied on the following as examples: —

Smote them on this side and on that, and arose the ghastly groan;

Fell she backward-reeling, and gasped her spirit away;

Reeled he backward: the cup from his hand-grasp fell to the floor.

In all these cases the adverbs are placed after the verbs. This principle, like the other, is attractive; but it is equally unsound. For here are passages in the same poet expressed in the opposite way:

Clusterwise hover they ever above the flowers of spring;

To-day shall Eileithyia the Queen of Travail bring

A man to the light.

Well, are the lines at all inferior because the verbs are placed after the

adverbs? No one can say so.

Once more, I imagined that I ought always most scrupulously to observe the principle that things earlier in time should be inserted earlier in the sentence. The following are examples: —

They drew back the beasts' necks first, then severed the throats and flayed;
and

Clangeth the horn, loud singeth the sinew, and leapeth the shaft;
and

The ball by the princess was tossed thereafter to one of her girls;
But it missed the maid, and was lost in the river's eddying swirls.

"Certainly," a reader might reply, — "if it were not for the fact that there are plenty of other lines not arranged in this order of yours, and yet as fine as those you have quoted; as

And he smote it, upstrained to the stroke, with an oak-billet cloven apart.

Surely the arms must be raised *before* the blow is dealt! And further: —

He struck as he stood hard by, and the axe through the sinews shore
Of the neck.

Surely a man who is about to drive his axe into a bull's sinews should take his stand near it *first*!"

Still further: I imagined it the correct thing to put my substantives before my adjectives, appellatives before substantives, pronouns before appellatives; and with verbs, to be very careful that primary should precede secondary forms, and indicatives infinitives, — and so on. But trial invariably wrecked these views and revealed their utter worthlessness. At one time charm and beauty of composition did result from these and similar collocations, — at other times from collocations not of this sort but the opposite. And so for these reasons I abandoned all such speculations as the above. Nor is it for any serious value it possesses that I recall this mental process now. I have cited those manuals on dialectic not because I think it necessary to have them, but in order to prevent anyone from supposing that they contain anything of real service for the present inquiry, and from regarding it as important to study them. It is easy to be inveigled by their titles, which suggest some affinity with the subject; or by the reputation of their compilers.

I will now revert to the original proposition, from which I have strayed into these digressions. It was that the ancients (poets and historians, philosophers and rhetoricians) were greatly preoccupied with this branch of inquiry. They never thought that words, clauses, or periods should be combined at haphazard. They had rules and principles of their own; and it was by following these that they composed so well. What these principles were, I shall try to explain so far as I can; stating, not all, but just the most essential, of those that I have been able to investigate.

CHAPTER VI. THREE PROCESSES IN THE ART OF COMPOSITION

My view is that the science of composition has three functions. The first is that of observing the combinations which are naturally adapted to produce a beautiful and agreeable united effect; the second is that of perceiving how to improve the harmonious appearance of the whole by fashioning properly the several parts which we intend to fit together; the third is that of perceiving what is required in the way of modification of the material — I mean abridgment, expansion and transformation — and of carrying out such changes in a manner appropriate to the end in view. The effect of each of these processes I will explain more clearly by means of illustrations drawn from industrial arts familiar to all — house-building, ship-building, and the like. When a builder has provided himself with the material from which he intends to construct a house — stones, timbers, tiling, and all the rest — he then puts together the structure from these, studying the following three things: what stone, timber and brick can be united with what other stone, timber and brick; next, how each piece of the material that is being so united should be set, and on which of its faces; thirdly, if anything fits badly, how that particular thing can be chipped and trimmed and made to fit exactly. And the shipwright proceeds in just the same way. A like course should, I affirm, be followed by those who are to succeed in literary composition. They should first consider in what groupings with one another nouns, verbs, or other parts of speech, will be placed appropriately, and how not so well; for surely every possible combination cannot affect the ear in the same way — it is not in the nature of things that it should be so. Next they should decide the form in which the noun or verb, or whatever else it may be, will occupy its place most gracefully and most in harmony with the ground-scheme. I mean, in the case of nouns, whether they will offer a better combination if used in the singular or the plural; whether they should be put in the nominative or in one of the oblique cases; or which gender should be chosen if they admit of a feminine instead of a masculine form, or a masculine instead of a feminine, or a neuter instead of either: and so on. With reference to verbs, again: which form it will be best to adopt, the active or the passive, and in what moods (or *verbal cases*, as some call them) they should be presented so as to receive the best setting, as also what differences of tense should be indicated; and so with all the other natural accidents of verbs. These same methods must be followed in regard to the other parts of speech also; there is no need to go into details. Further, with respect to the words thus selected, if any noun or verb requires a modification of its form, it must be decided how it can be brought into better harmony and symmetry with its neighbours. This principle can be applied more freely in poetry than in prose. Still, in prose also, it is applied, where opportunity offers. The speaker who says “εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἄγῶνα” has added a letter to

the pronoun with an eye to the effect of the composition. The bare meaning would have been sufficiently conveyed by saying “εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα”. So in the words “κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτήν” the addition of the preposition has merely expanded the word into κατιδὼν, since ἰδὼν alone would have conveyed the meaning. So, too, in the expression “μήτ’ ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεχ’ ἥκειν” the writer has cut off some of the letters, and has condensed the discourse through the elisions. So again by using “ἐποίησε” (without the ν) in place of ἐποίησεν, and “ἔγραψε” in place of ἔγραψεν, and “ἀφαιρήσομαι” in place of ἀφαιρεθήσομαι, and all instances of the kind; and by saying “ἔχωροφίλησε” for ἐφιλοχώρησε and “λελύσεται” for λυθήσεται, and things of that sort: — by such devices an author puts his words into a new shape, in order that he may fit them together more beautifully and appropriately.

CHAPTER VII. GROUPING OF CLAUSES

The foregoing, then, is one branch of the art of composition which requires consideration: namely, that which relates to the primary parts and elements of speech. But there is another, as I said at the beginning, which is concerned with the so-called “members” (“clauses”), and this requires fuller and more elaborate treatment. My views on this topic I will try to express forthwith.

The clauses must be fitted to one another so as to present an aspect of harmony and concord; they must be given the best form which they admit of; they must further be remodelled if necessary by shortening, lengthening, and any other change of form which clauses admit. As to each of these details experience itself must be your teacher. It will often happen that the placing of one clause before or after another brings out a certain euphony and dignity, while a different grouping sounds unpleasing and undignified. My meaning will be clearer if illustrated by an example. There is a well-known passage of Thucydides in the speech of the Plataeans, a delightfully arranged sentence full of deep feeling, which is as follows: “And we fear, men of Sparta, lest you, our only hope, should fail in steadfastness.” Now let this order be disturbed and the clauses be re-arranged as follows: “And we fear, men of Sparta, lest you should fail in steadfastness, that are our only hope.” When the clauses are arranged in this way, does the same fine charm remain, or the same deep feeling? Plainly not. Again, take this passage of Demosthenes, “So you admit as constitutional the acceptance of the offerings; you indict as unconstitutional the rendering of thanks for them.” Let the order be disturbed, and the clauses interchanged and presented in the following form: “So the acceptance of the offerings you admit as constitutional; the rendering of thanks for them you indict as unconstitutional.” Will the sentence be equally neat and effective? I, for my part, do not think so.

CHAPTER VIII. SHAPING OF CLAUSES

The principles governing the arrangement of clauses have now been stated. What principles govern their shaping?

The complete utterance of our thoughts takes more than one form. We throw them at one time into the shape of an assertion, at another into that of an inquiry, or a prayer, or a command, or a doubt, or a supposition, or some other shape of the kind; and into conformity with these we try to mould the diction itself. There are, in fact, many figures of diction, just as there are of thought. It is not possible to classify them exhaustively; indeed, they are perhaps innumerable. Their treatment would require a long disquisition and profound investigation. But that the same clause is not equally telling in all its various modes of presentation,

I will show by an example. If Demosthenes had expressed himself thus in the following passage, "Having spoken thus, I moved a resolution; and having moved a resolution, I joined the embassy; and having joined the embassy, I convinced the Thebans," would the sentence have been composed with the charm of its actual arrangement,— "I did not speak thus, and then fail to move a resolution; I did not move a resolution, and then fail to join the embassy; I did not join the embassy, and then fail to convince the Thebans"? It would take me a long time to deal with all the modes of expression which clauses admit. It is enough to say thus much by way of introduction.

CHAPTER IX. LENGTHENING AND SHORTENING OF CLAUSES AND PERIODS

I think I can in a very few words show that some clauses admit changes which take the form now of additions not necessary to the sense, now of curtailments rendering the sense incomplete; and that these changes are introduced by poets and prose-writers simply in order to add charm and beauty to the rhythm. Thus the following expression used by Demosthenes indisputably contains a pleonastic addition made for the sake of the rhythm: "He who contrives and prepares means whereby I may be captured is at war with me, though not yet shooting javelins or arrows." Here the reference to "arrows" is added not out of necessity, but in order that the last clause "though not yet shooting javelins," being rougher than it ought to be and not pleasant to the ear, may be made more attractive by this addition. Again, the famous period of Plato which that author inserts in the Funeral Speech has beyond dispute been extended by a supplement not necessary to the sense: "When deeds have been nobly done, then through speech finely uttered there come honour and remembrance to the doers from the hearers." Here the words "from the hearers" are not at all necessary to the sense; they are added in order that the last clause, "to the doers," may correspond with and balance what has preceded it. Again, take these words found in Aeschines, "you summon him against yourself; you summon him against the laws; you summon him against the democracy," a sentence of great celebrity, formed of three clauses: does it not belong to the class we are considering? What could have been embraced in one clause as follows, "you summon him against yourself and the laws and the democracy," has been divided into three, the same expression being repeated not from any necessity but in order to make the rhythm more agreeable.

In such ways, then, may clauses be expanded: how can they be abridged? This comes about when something necessary to the sense is likely to offend and jar on the ear, and when, consequently, its removal adds to the charm of the rhythm. An example, in verse, is afforded by the following lines of Sophocles: —

I close mine eyes, I open them, I rise —
Myself the warder rather than the warded.

Here the second line is composed of two imperfect clauses. The expression would have been complete if it had run thus,

"myself warding others rather than being warder by others." But violence would have been done to the metre, and the line would not have acquired the charm which it actually has. In prose there are such instances as: "I will pass by the fact that it is a piece of injustice, simply because a man brings charges

against some individuals, to attempt to withhold exemption from every one.” Here, too, each of the two first clauses is abbreviated. They would have been each complete in itself if worded thus: “I will pass by the fact that it is a piece of injustice, simply because a man brings charges against some individuals and declares them unfit for exemption, to attempt to withhold that privilege from every one — even those who are justly entitled to it.” But Demosthenes did not approve of paying more heed to the exactitude of the clauses than to the beauty of the rhythm.

I wish what I have just said to be understood as applying also to what are called “periods.” For, when it is fitting to express one’s meaning in periods, these too must be arranged so as to precede or follow each other appropriately. It must, of course, be understood that the periodic style is not suitable everywhere: and the question when periods should be used and to what extent, and when not, is precisely one of those with which the science of composition deals.

CHAPTER X. AIMS AND METHODS OF GOOD COMPOSITION

Now that I have laid down these broad outlines, the next step will be to state what should be the aims kept in view by the man who wishes to compose well, and by what methods his object can be attained. It seems to me that the two essentials to be aimed at by those who compose in verse and prose are charm and beauty. The ear craves for both of these. It is affected in somewhat the same way as the sense of sight which, when it looks upon moulded figures, pictures, carvings, or any other works of human hands, and finds both charm and beauty residing in them, is satisfied and longs for nothing more. And let not anyone be surprised at my assuming that there are two distinct objects in style, and at my separating beauty from charm; nor let him think it strange if I hold that a piece of composition may possess charm but not beauty, or beauty without charm. Such is the verdict of actual experience; I am introducing no novel axiom. The styles of Thucydides and of Antiphon of Rhamnus are surely examples of beautiful composition, if ever there were any, and are beyond all possible cavil from this point of view, but they are not remarkable for their charm. On the other hand, the style of the historian Ctesias of Cnidus, and that of Xenophon the disciple of Socrates, are charming in the highest possible degree, but not as beautiful as they should have been. I am speaking generally, not absolutely; I admit that in the former authors there are instances of charming, in the latter of beautiful arrangement. But the composition of Herodotus has both these qualities; it is at once charming and beautiful.

CHAPTER XI. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCES OF CHARM AND BEAUTY IN COMPOSITION

Among the sources of charm and beauty in style there are, I conceive, four which are paramount and essential, — melody, rhythm, variety, and the appropriateness demanded by these three. Under “charm” I class freshness, grace, euphony, sweetness, persuasiveness, and all similar qualities; and under “beauty” grandeur, impressiveness, solemnity, dignity, mellowness, and the like. For these seem to me the most important — the main heads, so to speak, in either case. The aims set before themselves by all serious writers in epic, dramatic, or lyric poetry, or in the so-called “language of prose,” are those specified, and I think those specified, and I think these are all. There are many excellent authors who have been distinguished in one or both of these qualities. It is not possible at present to adduce examples from the writings of each one of them; I must not waste time over such details; and besides, if it seems incumbent on me to say something about some of them individually, and to quote from them anywhere in support of my views, I shall have a more suitable opportunity for doing so, when I sketch the various types of literary arrangement. For the present, what I have said of them is quite sufficient. So I will now return to the division I made of composition into charming and beautiful, in order that my discourse may “keep to the track,” as the saying is.

Well, I said that the ear delighted first of all in melody, then in rhythm, thirdly in variety, and finally in appropriateness as applied to these other qualities. As a witness to the truth of my words I will bring forward experience itself, for it cannot be challenged, confirmed as it is by the general sentiment of mankind. Who is there that is not enthralled by the spell of one melody while he remains unaffected in any such way by another, — that is not captivated by this rhythm while that does but jar upon him? Ere now I myself, even in the most popular theatres, thronged by a mixed and uncultured multitude, have seemed to observe that all of us have a sort of natural appreciation for correct melody and good rhythm. I have seen an accomplished harpist, of high repute, hissed by the public because he struck a single false note and so spoilt the melody. I have seen, too, a flute-player, who handled his instrument with the practised skill of a master, suffer the same fate because he blew thickly or, through not compressing his lips, produced a harsh sound or so-called “broken note” as he played. Nevertheless, if the amateur critic were summoned to take up the instrument and himself to render any of the pieces with whose performance by professionals he was just now finding fault, he would be unable to do it. Why so? Because this is an affair of technical skill, in which we are not all partakers; the other of feeling, which is nature’s universal gift to man. I have noticed the same thing occur in the case

of rhythms. Everybody is vexed and annoyed when a performer strikes an instrument, takes a step, or sings a note, out of time, and so destroys the rhythm.

Again, it must not be supposed that, while melody and rhythm excite pleasure, and we are all enchanted by them, variety and appropriateness have less freshness and grace, or less effect on any of their hearers. No, these too fairly enchant us all when they are really attained, just as their absence jars upon us intensely. This is surely beyond dispute. I may refer, in confirmation, to the case of instrumental music, whether it accompanies singing or dancing; if it attains grace perfectly and throughout, but fails to introduce variety in due season or deviates from what is appropriate, the effect is dull satiety and that disagreeable impression which is made by anything out of harmony with the subject. Nor is my illustration foreign to the matter in hand. The science of public oratory is, after all, a sort of musical science, differing from vocal and instrumental music in degree, not in kind. In oratory, too, the words involve melody, rhythm, variety, and appropriateness; so that, in this case also, the ear delights in the melodies, is fascinated by the rhythms, welcomes the variations, and craves always what is in keeping with the occasion. The distinction between oratory and music is simply one of degree.

Now, the melody of spoken language is measured by a single interval, which is approximately that termed a *fifth*. When the voice rises towards the acute, it does not rise more than three tones and a semitone; and, when it falls towards the grave, it does not fall more than this interval. Further, the entire utterance during one word is not delivered at the same pitch of the voice throughout but one part of it at the acute pitch, another at the grave, another at both. Of the words that have both pitches, some have the grave fused with the acute on one and the same syllable — those which we call circumflexed; others have both pitches falling on separate syllables, each retaining its own quality. Now in disyllables there is no space intermediate between low pitch and high pitch; while in polysyllabic words, whatever their number of syllables, there is but one syllable that has the acute accent (high pitch) among the many remaining grave ones. On the other hand, instrumental and vocal music uses a great number of intervals, not the fifth only; beginning with the octave, it uses also the fifth, the fourth, the third, the tone, the semitone, and, as some think, even the quarter-tone in a distinctly perceptible way. Music, further, insists that the words should be subordinate to the tune, and not the tune to the words. Among many examples in proof of this, let me especially instance those lyrical lines which Euripides has represented Electra as addressing to the Chorus in the *Orestes*: —

Hush ye, O hush ye! light be the tread
Of the sandal; no jar let there be!
Afar step ye thitherward, far from his bed.

In these lines the words *οἴγα οἴγα λευκόν* are sung to one note; and yet

each of the three words has both low pitch and high pitch. And the word ἄρβύλης has its third syllable sung at the same pitch as its middle syllable, although it is impossible for a single word to take two acute accents. The first syllable of τίθετε is sung to a lower note, while the two that follow it are sung to the same high note. The circumflex accent of κτυπεῖτε has disappeared, for the two syllables are uttered at one and the same pitch. And the word ἀποπρόβατε does not receive the acute accent on the middle syllable; but the pitch of the third syllable has been transferred to the fourth.

The same thing happens in rhythm. Ordinary prose speech does not violate or interchange the quantities in any noun or verb. It keeps the syllables long or short as it has received them by nature. But the arts of rhythm and music alter them by shortening or lengthening, so that often they pass into their opposites: the time of production is not regulated by the quantity of the syllables, but the quantity of the syllables is regulated by the time.

The difference between music and speech having thus been shown, some other points remain to be mentioned. If the melody of the voice — not the singing voice, I mean, but the ordinary voice — has a pleasant effect upon the ear, it will be called melodious rather than in melody. So also symmetry in the quantities of words, when it preserves a lyrical effect, is rhythmical rather than in rhythm. On the precise bearing of these distinctions I will speak at the proper time. For the present I will pass on to the next question, and try to show how a style of civil oratory can be attained which, simply by means of the composition, charms the ear with its melody of sound, its symmetry of rhythm, its elaborate variety, and its appropriateness to the subject. These are the headings which I have set before myself.

CHAPTER XII. HOW TO RENDER COMPOSITION CHARMING

It is not in the nature of all the words in a sentence to affect the ear in the same way, any more than all visible objects produce the same impression on the sense of sight, things tasted on that of taste, or any other set of stimuli upon the sense to which they correspond. No, different sounds affect the ear with many different sensations of sweetness, harshness, roughness, smoothness, and so on. The reason is to be found partly in the many different qualities of the letters which make up speech, and partly in the extremely various forms in which syllables are put together. Now since words have these properties, and since it is impossible to change the fundamental nature of any single one of them, we can only mask the uncouthness which is inseparable from some of them, by means of mingling and fusion and juxtaposition, — by mingling smooth with rough, soft with hard, cacophonous with melodious, easy to pronounce with hard to pronounce, long with short; and generally by happy combinations of the same kind. Many words of few syllables must not be used in succession (for this jars upon the ear), nor an excessive number of polysyllabic words; and we must avoid the monotony of setting side by side words similarly accented or agreeing in their quantities. We must quickly vary the cases of substantives (since, if continued unduly, they greatly offend the ear); and in order to guard against satiety, we must constantly break up the effect of sameness entailed by placing many nouns, or verbs, or other parts of speech, in close succession. We must not always adhere to the same figures, but change them frequently; we must not re-introduce the same metaphors, but vary them; we must not exceed due measure by beginning or ending with the same words too often.

Still, let no one think that I am proclaiming these as universal rules — that I suppose keeping them will always produce pleasure, or breaking them always produce annoyance. I am not so foolish. I know that pleasure often arises from both sources — from similarity at one time, from dissimilarity at another. In every case we must, I think, keep in view good taste, for this is the best criterion of charm and its opposite. But about good taste no rhetorician or philosopher has, so far, produced a definite treatise. The man who first undertook to write on the subject, Gorgias of Leontini, achieved nothing worth mentioning. The nature of the subject, indeed, is not such that it can fall under any comprehensive and systematic treatment, nor can good taste in general be apprehended by science, but only by personal judgment. Those who have continually trained this latter faculty in many connexions are more successful than others in attaining good taste, while those who leave it untrained are rarely successful, and only by a sort of lucky stroke.

To proceed. I think the following rules should be observed in composition by a writer who looks to please the ear. Either he should link to one another

melodious, rhythmical, euphonious words, by which the sense of hearing is touched with a feeling of sweetness and softness, — those which, to put it broadly, come home to it most; or he should intertwine and interweave those which have no such natural effect with those that can so bewitch the ear that the unattractiveness of the one set is overshadowed by the grace of the other. We may compare the practice of good tacticians when marshalling their armies: they mask the weak portions by means of the strong, and so no part of their force proves useless. In the same way I maintain we ought to relieve monotony by the tasteful introduction of variety, since variety is an element of pleasure in everything we do. And last, and certainly most important of all, the setting which is assigned to the subject matter must be appropriate and becoming to it. And, in my opinion, we ought not to feel shy of using any noun or verb, however hackneyed, unless it carries with it some shameful association; for I venture to assert that no part of speech which signifies a person or a thing will prove so mean, squalid, or otherwise offensive as to have no fitting place in discourse. My advice is that, trusting to the effect of the composition, we should bring out such expressions with a bold and manly confidence, following the example of Homer, in whom the most commonplace words are found, and of Demosthenes and Herodotus and others, whom I will mention a little later so far as is suitable in each case. I think I have now spoken at sufficient length on charm of style. My treatment has been but a brief survey of a wide field, but will furnish the main heads of the study.

CHAPTER XIII. HOW TO RENDER COMPOSITION BEAUTIFUL

So far, so good. But, if some one were to ask me in what way, and by attention to what principles, literary structure can be made beautiful, I should reply: In no other way, believe me, and by no other means, than those by which it is made charming, since the same elements contribute to both, namely noble melody, stately rhythm, imposing variety, and the appropriateness which all these need. For as there is a charming diction, so there is another that is noble; as there is a polished rhythm, so also is there another that is dignified; as variety in one passage adds grace, so in another it adds mellowness; and as for appropriateness, it will prove the chief source of beauty, or else the source of nothing at all. I repeat, the study of beauty in composition should follow the same lines throughout as the study of charm. The prime cause, here as before, is to be found in the nature of the letters and the phonetic effect of the syllables, which are the raw material out of which the fabric of words is woven. The time may perhaps now have come for redeeming my promise to discuss these.

CHAPTER XIV. THE LETTERS: THEIR CLASSIFICATION, QUALITIES, AND MODE OF PRODUCTION

There are in human and articulate speech a number of first-beginnings admitting no further division which we call elements and letters: “letters” (γράμματα) because they are denoted by certain lines (γραμμαί), and “elements” (στοιχεῖα) because every sound made by the voice originates in these, and is ultimately resolvable into them. The elements and letters are not all of the same nature. Of the differences between them, the first is, as Aristoxenus the musician makes clear, that some represent vocal sounds, while others represent noises: the former being represented by the so-called “vowels,” the latter by all the other letters. A second difference is that some of the non-vowels by their nature give rise to some noise or other, — a whizzing, a hissing, a murmur, or suggestions of some such sounds, whereas others are devoid of all voice or noise and cannot be sounded by themselves. Hence some writers have called the latter “voiceless” (“mutes”), the others “semi-voiced” (“semi-vowels”). Those writers who make a threefold division of the first or elemental powers of the voice give the name of *voiced (vowels)* to all letters which can be uttered, either by themselves or together with others, and are self-sufficing; *semi-vowels* to all which are pronounced better in combination with vowels, worse and imperfectly when taken singly; *mutes* to all which by themselves admit of neither perfect nor half-perfect utterance, but are pronounced only in combination with others.

It is not easy to say exactly what the number of these elements is, and our predecessors also have felt much doubt upon the question. Some have held that there are only thirteen elements of speech all told, and that the rest are but combinations of these; others that there are more than even the twenty-four which we now recognize. The discussion of this point belongs more properly to grammar and prosody, or even, perhaps, to philosophy. It is enough for us to assume the elements of speech to be neither more nor less than twenty-four, and to specify the properties of each, beginning with the vowels.

These are seven in number: two short, viz. ε and ο; two long, viz. η and ω; and three common, viz. α, ι and υ. These last can be either long or short, and some call them “common,” as I have just done, others “variable.” All these sounds are produced from the windpipe, which resounds to the breath, while the mouth assumes a simple shape; the tongue takes no part in the process but remains at rest. But the long vowels, and those common vowels that are pronounced long, have an extended and continuous passage of breath, while those that are short or pronounced as short are uttered abruptly, with one burst of breath, the movement of the windpipe being but brief. Of these the strongest, which also produce the most pleasing sound, are the long ones and

those common ones which are lengthened in utterance, the reason being that they are sounded for a long time, and do not cut short the tension of the breath. The short ones, or those pronounced short, are inferior, because they lack sonorousness and curtail the sound. Again, of the long vowels themselves the most euphonious is α , when prolonged; for it is pronounced with the mouth open to the fullest extent, and with the breath forced upwards to the palate. η holds the second place, inasmuch as it drives the sound down against the base of the tongue and not upwards, and the mouth is fairly open. Third comes ω : in pronouncing this the mouth is rounded, the lips are contracted, and the impact of the breath is on the edge of the mouth. Still inferior to this is υ ; for, through a marked contraction taking place right round the lips, the sound is strangled and comes out thin. Last of all stands ι : for the impact of the breath is on the teeth as the mouth is slightly open and the lips do not clarify the sound. Of the short vowels none has beauty, but o is less ugly than ϵ : for the former parts the lips better than the latter, and receives the impact more in the region of the windpipe.

So much for the nature of the vowels. The semi-vowels are as follows. They are eight in number, and five of them are simple, viz. λ , μ , ν , ρ , and σ , while three are double, viz. ζ , ξ , ψ . They are called double either because they are composite, receiving a distinctive sound through the coalescence respectively of σ and δ into ζ , of κ and σ into ξ , and of π and σ into ψ ; or because they each occupy the room of two letters in the syllables where they are found. Of these semi-vowels, the double are superior to the single, since they are ampler than the others and seem to approximate more to perfect letters. The simple ones are inferior because their sounds are confined within smaller spaces. They are severally pronounced somewhat as follows: λ by the tongue rising to the palate, and by the windpipe helping the sound; μ by the mouth being closed tight by means of the lips, while the breath is divided and passes through the nostrils; ν by the tongue intercepting the current of the breath, and diverting the sound towards the nostrils; ρ by the tip of the tongue sending forth the breath in puffs and rising to the palate near the teeth; and σ by the entire tongue being carried up to the palate and by the breath passing between tongue and palate, and emitting, round about the teeth, a light, thin hissing. The sound of the three remaining semi-voiced letters is of a mixed character, being formed of one of the semi-voiced letters (σ) and three of the voiceless letters (δ , κ and π).

Such are the formations of the semi-vowels. They cannot all affect the sense of hearing in the same way. λ falls pleasantly on it, and is the sweetest of the semi-vowels; while ρ has a rough quality, and is the noblest of its class. The ear is affected in a sort of intermediate way by μ and ν , which are pronounced with nasal resonance, and produce sounds similar to those of a horn. σ is an unattractive, disagreeable letter, positively offensive when used to excess. A hiss seems a sound more suited to a brute beast than to a rational being. At all events, some of the ancients used it sparingly and guardedly.

There are writers who used actually to compose entire odes without a sigma. Pindar shows the same feeling when he writes: —

Ere then crept in the long-drawn dithyrambic song,
And *san* that rang false on the speaker's tongue.

Of the three other letters which are called “double,” ζ falls more pleasurably on the ear than the others. For ξ and ψ give the hiss in combination with κ and π respectively, both of which letters are smooth, whereas ζ is softly rippled by the breath and is the noblest of its class. So much with regard to the semi-vowels.

Of the so-called “voiceless letters,” which are nine in number, three are smooth, three rough, and three between these. The smooth are κ, π, τ; the rough θ, φ, χ; the intermediate, β, γ, δ. They are severally pronounced as follows: three of them (π, θ, β) from the edge of the lips, when the mouth is compressed and the breath, being driven forward from the windpipe, breaks through the obstruction. Among these π is smooth, φ rough, and β comes between the two, being smoother than the latter and rougher than the former. This is one set of three mutes, all three spoken with a like configuration of our organs, but differing in smoothness and roughness. The next three are pronounced by the tongue being pressed hard against the extremity of the mouth near the upper teeth, then being blown back by the breath, and affording it an outlet downwards round the teeth. These differ in roughness and smoothness, τ being the smoothest of them, θ the roughest, and δ medial or common. This is the second set of three mutes. The three remaining mutes are spoken with the tongue rising to the palate near the throat, and the windpipe echoing to the breath. These, again, differ in no way from one another as regards formation; but κ is pronounced smoothly, χ roughly, γ moderately and between the two. Of these the best are those which are uttered with a full breath; next those with moderate breath; worst those with smooth breath, since they have their own force alone, while the rough letters have the breath also added, so that they are somewhere nearer perfection than the others.

CHAPTER XV. SYLLABLES AND THEIR QUALITIES

Such is the number of the letters, and such are their properties. From them are formed the so-called *syllables*. Of these syllables, those are long which contain long vowels or variable vowels when pronounced long, and those which end in a long letter or a letter pronounced long, or in one of the semi-vowels and one of the mutes. Those are short which contain a short vowel or one taken as short, and those which end in such vowels. There is more than one kind of length and shortness of syllables: some are longer than the long and some shorter than the short. And this will be made clear by consideration of the examples which I am about to adduce.

It will be admitted that a syllable is short which is formed by the short vowel ο, as, for example, in the word ὀδός. To this let the semi-vowel ρ be prefixed and ῥόδος be formed. The syllable still remains short; but not equally so, for it will show some slight difference when compared with the former. Further, let one of the mutes, τ, be prefixed and τρόπος be formed. This again will be longer than the former syllables; yet it still remains short. Let still a third letter, σ, be prefixed to the same syllable and στρόφος be formed. This will have become longer than the shortest syllable by three audible prefixes; and yet it still remains short. So, then, here are four grades of short syllables, with only our instinctive feeling for quantity as a measure of the difference. The same principle applies to the long syllable. The syllable formed from η, though long by nature, yet when augmented by the addition of four letters, three prefixed and one suffixed, as in the word σπλήν, would surely be said to be ampler than that syllable, in its original form, that consisted of a single letter. At all events, if it were in turn deprived, one by one, of the added letters, it would show perceptible changes in the way of diminution. As to the reason why long syllables do not transcend their natural quality when lengthened to five letters, nor short syllables drop from their shortness when reduced from many letters to one, the former being still regarded as double the shorts, and the latter as half the longs, — this does not at present demand examination. It is sufficient to say what is really germane to the present subject, namely, that one short syllable may differ from another short, and one long from another long, and that every short and every long syllable has not the same quality either in prose, or in poems, or in songs, whether these be metrically or rhythmically constructed.

The foregoing is the first aspect under which we view the different qualities of syllables. The next is as follows. As letters have many points of difference, not only in length and shortness, but also in sound — points of which I have spoken a little while ago — it must necessarily follow that the syllables, which are combinations or interweavings of letters, preserve at once both the individual properties of each component, and the joint properties of all, which

spring from their fusion and juxtaposition. The sounds thus formed are soft or hard, smooth or rough, sweet to the ear or harsh to it; they make us pull a wry face, or cause our mouths to water, or bring about any of the countless other physical conditions that are possible.

These facts the greatest poets and prose-writers have carefully noted, and not only do they deliberately arrange their words and weave them into appropriate patterns, but often, with curious and loving skill, they adapt the very syllables and letters to the emotions which they wish to represent. This is Homer's way when he is describing a wind-swept beach and wishes to express the ceaseless reverberation by the prolongation of syllables: —

Echo the cliffs, as bursteth the sea-surge down on the strand.

Or again when, after the Cyclops has been blinded, Homer desires to express the greatness of his anguish, and his hands' slow search for the door of the cavern: —

The Cyclops, with groan on groan and throes of anguish sore,
With hands slow-groping.

And when in another place he wishes to indicate a long impassioned prayer: —

Not though in an agony Phoebus the Smiter from Far should entreat
Low-grovvelling at Father Zeus the Aegis-bearer's feet.

Such lines are to be found without number in Homer, representing length of time, hugeness of body, stress of emotion, immobility of position, or similar effects, simply by the manipulation of the syllables. Conversely, others are framed to give the impression of abruptness, speed, hurry, and the like. For instance,

Wailing with broken sobs amidst of her handmaids she cried,
and

And scared were the charioteers, that tireless flame to behold.

In the first passage the stoppage of Andromache's breath is indicated, and the tremor of her voice; in the second, the startled dismay of the charioteers, and the unexpectedness of the terror. The effect in both cases is due to the docking of syllables and letters.

CHAPTER XVI. POETIC SKILL IN THE CHOICE AND IN THE COMBINATION OF WORDS

The poets and prose-writers themselves, then, with their eye on each object in turn, frame — as I said — words which seem made for, and are pictures of, the things they connote. But they also borrow many words from earlier writers, in the very form in which those writers fashioned them — when such words are imitative of things, as in the following instances: —

For the vast sea-swell on the beach crashed down with a thunder-shock.
And adown the blasts of the wind he darted with one wild scream.

Even as when the surge of the seething sea falls dashing
(On a league-long strand, with the roar of the rollers thunderous-crashing).

And his eyes for the hiss of the arrows, the hurtling of lances, were keen.

The great originator and teacher in these matters is Nature, who prompts us to imitate and to assign words by which things are pictured, in virtue of certain resemblances which are founded in reason and appeal to our intelligence. It is by her that we have been taught to speak of the bellowing of bulls, the whinnying of horses, the snorting of goats, the roar of fire, the rushing of winds, the creaking of hawsers, and numerous other similar imitations of sound, form, action, emotion, movement, stillness, and anything else whatsoever. On these points much has been said by our predecessors, the most important contributions being by the first of them to introduce the subject of etymology, Plato the disciple of Socrates, in his *Cratylus* especially, but in many other places as well.

What is the sum and substance of my argument? It is that it is due to the interweaving of letters that the quality of syllables is so multifarious; to the combination of syllables that the nature of words has such wide diversity; to the arrangement of words that discourse takes on so many forms. The conclusion is inevitable — that style is beautiful when it contains beautiful words, — that beauty of words is due to beautiful syllables and letters, — that language is rendered charming by the things that charm the ear in virtue of affinities in words, syllables, and letters; and that the differences in detail between these, through which are indicated the characters, emotions, dispositions, actions and so forth of the persons described, are made what they are through the original grouping of the letters.

To set the matter in a clearer light, I will illustrate my argument by a few examples. Other instances — and there are plenty of them — you will find for yourself in the course of your own investigations. When Homer, the poet above all others many-voiced, wishes to depict the young bloom of a lovely countenance and a beauty that brings delight, he will use the finest of the vowels and the softest of the semi-vowels; he will not pack his syllables with

mute letters, nor impede the utterance by putting next to one another words hard to pronounce. He will make the harmony of the letters strike softly and pleasingly upon the ear, as in the following lines: —

Now forth of her bower hath gone Penelope passing-wise
Lovely as Artemis, or as Aphrodite the Golden.

Only once by the Sun-god's altar in Delos I chanced to espy
So stately a shaft of a palm that gracefully grew thereby.

Rose Chloris, fair beyond word, whom Nereus wedded of old,
For her beauty his heart had stirred, and he wooed her with gifts untold.

But when he introduces a sight that is pitiable, or terrifying, or august, he will not employ the finest of the vowels. He will take the hardest to utter of the fricatives or of the mutes, and will pack his syllables with these. For instance: —

But dreadful he burst on their sight, with the sea-scum all fouled o'er.

And thereon was embossed the Gorgon-demon, with stony gaze
Grim-glaring, and Terror and Panic encompassed the Fearful Face.

When he wishes to reproduce in his language the rush of meeting torrents and the roar of confluent waters, he will not employ smooth syllables, but strong and resounding ones: —

And even as Wintertide torrents down-rushing from steep hill-sides
Hurl their wild waters in one where a cleft of the mountain divides.

When he depicts a hero, though heavy with his harness, putting forth all his energies against an opposing stream, and now holding his own, now being carried off his feet, he will contrive counter-buffetings of syllables, arresting pauses, and letters that block the way: —

Round Achilles the terrible surge towered seething on every side,
And a cataract dashed and crashed on his shield: all vainly he sought
Firm ground for his feet.

When men are being dashed against rocks, and he is portraying the noise and their pitiable fate, he will linger on the harshest and most ill-sounding letters, altogether avoiding smoothness or prettiness in the structure: —

And together laid hold on twain, and dashed them against the ground
Like whelps: down gushed the brain, and bespattered the rock-floor round.

It would be a long task to attempt to adduce specimens of all the artistic

touches of which examples might be demanded in this one field. So, contenting myself with what has been said, I will pass to the next point.

I hold that those who wish to fashion a style which is beautiful in the collocation of sounds must combine in it words which all carry the impression of elegance, grandeur, or dignity. Something has been said about these matters, in a general way, by the philosopher Theophrastus in his work on *Style*, where he distinguishes two classes of words — those which are naturally beautiful (whose collocation, for example, in composition will, he thinks, make the phrasing beautiful and grand), and those, again, which are paltry and ignoble, of which he says neither good poetry can be constructed nor good prose. And, really and truly, our author is not far from the mark in saying this. If, then, it were possible that all the parts of speech by which a given subject is to be expressed should be euphonious and elegant, it would be madness to seek out the inferior ones. But if this be out of the question, as in many cases it is, then we must endeavour to mask the natural defects of the inferior letters by interweaving and mingling and juxtaposition, and this is just what Homer is accustomed to do in many passages. For instance, if any poet or rhetorician whatsoever were to be asked what grandeur or elegance there is in the names which have been given to the Boeotian towns, — Hyria, Mycalessus, Graia, Eteonus, Scolus, Thisbe, Onchestus, Eutresis, and the rest of the series which the poet enumerates, — no one would be able to point to any trace of such qualities. But Homer has interwoven and interspersed them with pleasant-sounding supplementary words into so beautiful a texture that they appear the most magnificent of all names: —

Lords of Boeotia's host came Leitus, Peneleos,
Prothoenor and Arcesilaus and Clonius for battle uprose,
With the folk that in Hyrie dwelt, and by Aulis's crag-fringed steep,
And in Schoinus and Scolus, and midst Eteonus' hill-clefts deep,
In Thespeia and Graia, and green Mycalessus the land broad-meadowed,
And in Harma and Eilesius, and Erythrae the mountain-shadowed,
And they that in Eleon abode, and in Hyle and Peteon withal,
And in Ocalee and in Medeon, burg of the stately wall.

As I am addressing men who know their Homer, I do not think there is need to multiply examples. All his Catalogue of the towns is on the same high level, and so are many other passages in which, being compelled to take words not naturally beautiful, he places them in a setting of beautiful ones, and neutralizes their offensiveness by the shapeliness of the others. On this branch of my subject I have now said enough.

CHAPTER XVII. ON RHYTHMS, OR FEET

I have mentioned that rhythm contributes in no small degree to dignified and impressive composition; and I will treat of this point also. Let no one suppose that rhythm and metre belong to the science of song only; that ordinary speech is neither rhythmical nor metrical; and that I am going astray in introducing those subjects here.

In point of fact, every noun, verb, or other part of speech, which does not consist of a single syllable only, is uttered in some sort of rhythm. (I am here using “rhythm” and “foot” as convertible terms.) A disyllabic word may take three different forms. It may have both syllables short, or both long, or one short and the other long. Of this third rhythm there are two forms: one beginning in a short and ending in a long, the other beginning in a long and ending in a short. The one which consists of two shorts is called *hegemon* or *pyrrhich*, and is neither impressive nor solemn. Its character is as follows: —

Pick up the limbs at thy feet newly-scattered.

That which has both its syllables long is called a *spondee*, and possesses great dignity and much stateliness. Here is an example of it: —

Ah, which way must I haste? — had I best flee
By this path? or by that path shall it be?

That which is composed of a short and a long is called *iambus* if it has the first syllable short; it is not ignoble. If it begins with the long syllable, it is called a *trochee*, and is less manly than the other and more ignoble. The following is an example of the former: —

My leisure serves me now, Menoetius’ son.

Of the other: —

Heart of mine, O heart in turmoil with a throng of crushing cares!

These are all the varieties, rhythms, and forms of disyllabic words. Those of the trisyllabic are distinct; they are more numerous than those mentioned, and the study of them is more complicated. First comes that which consists entirely of short syllables, and is called by some *choree* (or *tribrach*), of which the following is an example: —

Bromius, wielder of spears,
Lord of war and the onset-cheers.

This foot is mean and wanting in dignity and nobility, and nothing noble can be made out of it. But that which consists entirely of long syllables — *molossus*, as the metrists call it — is elevated and dignified, and has a mighty stride. The following is an example of it: —

O glorious saviours, Zeus’ and Leda’s sons.

That which consists of a long and two shorts, with the long in the middle,

bears the name of *amphibrachys*, and has no strong claim to rank with the graceful rhythms, but is enervated and has about it much that is feminine and ignoble, e.g. —

Triumphant Iacchus that leadeſt this chorus.

That which commences with two ſhorts is called an *anapaest*, and poſſeſſes much dignity. Where it is neceſſary to inveſt a ſubject with grandeur or pathos, this foot may be appropriately uſed. Its form may be illuſtrated by —

Ah, the coif on mine head all too heavily weighs.

That which begins with the long and ends with the ſhorts is called a *dactyl*; it is decidedly impressive, and remarkable for its power to produce beauty of ſtyle. It is to this that the heroic line is mainly indebted for its grace. Here is an example: —

Sped me from Ilium the breeze, and anigh the Ciconians brought me.

The rhythmists, however, ſay that the long ſyllable in this foot is ſhorter than the perfect long. Not being able to ſay by how much, they call it “irrational.” There is another foot having a rhythm correſponding to this, which ſtarts with the ſhort ſyllables and ends with the “irrational” one. This they diſtinguiſh from the anapaest and call it “cyclic,” adducing the following line as an example of it: —

On the earth is the high-gated city laid low.

This queſtion cannot be diſcuſſed here; but both rhythms are of the diſtinctly beautiful ſort. One claſs of triſyllabic rhythms ſtill remains, which is composed of two longs and a ſhort. It takes three ſhapes. When the ſhort is in the middle and the longs at the ends, it is called a *cretic* and has no lack of nobility. A ſample of it is: —

On they ſped, borne on ſea-wains with prows brazen-beaked.

But if the two long ſyllables occupy the beginning, and the ſhort one the end, as in the line

Phoebus, to thee and the Muses worſhipped with thee, the ſtructure is exceſſionally virile, and is appropriate for ſolemn language. The effect will be the ſame if the ſhort be placed before the longs; for this foot alſo has dignity and grandeur. Here is an example of it: —

To what ſhore, to what grove ſhall I flee for refuge?

To the former of theſe two feet the name of *bacchius* is aſſigned by the metrists, to the other that of *hypobacchius*. Theſe are the twelve fundamental rhythms and feet which meaſure all language, metrical or unmetrical, and from them are formed lines and claſes. All other feet and rhythms are but combinations of theſe. A ſimple rhythm, or foot, will not be leſs than two ſyllables, nor will it exceed three. I do not know that more need be ſaid on this ſubject.

CHAPTER XVIII. EFFECT OF VARIOUS RHYTHMS

The reason why I have been led to make these preliminary remarks (for certainly it was no part of my design to touch without due cause on metrical and rhythmical questions, but only so far as it was really necessary) is this, that it is through rhythms which are noble and dignified, and contain an element of greatness, that composition becomes dignified, noble, and splendid, while it is made a paltry and unimpressive sort of thing by the use of those rhythms that are ignoble and mean, whether they are taken severally by themselves, or are woven together according to their mutual affinities. If, then, it is within human capacity to frame the style entirely from the finest rhythms, our aspirations will be realized; but if it should prove necessary to blend the worse with the better, as happens in many cases (for names have been attached to things in a haphazard way), we must manage our material artistically. We must disguise our compulsion by the gracefulness of the composition: the more so that we have full liberty of action, since no rhythm is banished from non-metrical language, as some are from metrical.

It remains for me to produce proofs of my statements, in order that my argument may carry conviction. Wide as the field is, a few proofs will suffice. Thus it is surely beyond dispute that the following passage in the *Funeral Speech* of Thucydides is composed with dignity and grandeur: "Former speakers on these occasions have usually commended the statesman who caused an oration to form part of this funeral ceremony: they have felt it a fitting tribute to men who were brought home for burial from the fields of battle where they fell." What has made the composition here so impressive? The fact that the clauses are composed of impressive rhythms. For the three feet which usher in the first clause are spondees, the fourth is an anapaest, the next a spondee once more, then a cretic, — all stately feet. Hence the dignity of the first clause. The next clause, "have usually commended the statesman who caused an oration to form part of this funeral ceremony," has two *hypobacchii* as its first feet, a cretic as its third, then again two *hypobacchii*, and a syllable by which the clause is completed; so that this clause too is naturally dignified, formed as it is of the noblest and most beautiful rhythms.

The third clause, "they have felt it a fitting tribute to men who were brought home for burial from the fields of battle where they fell," begins with the cretic foot, has an anapaest in the second place, a spondee in the third, in the fourth an anapaest again, then two dactyls in succession, closing with two spondees and the terminal syllable. So this passage also owes its noble ring to its rhythmical structure; and most of the passages in Thucydides are of this stamp; indeed, there are few that are not so framed. So he thoroughly deserves his reputation for loftiness and beauty of language, since he habitually introduces noble rhythms.

Again, take the following passage of Plato. What can be the device that

produces its perfect dignity and beauty, if it is not the beautiful and striking rhythms that compose it? The passage is one of the best known and most often quoted, and it is found near the beginning of our author's *Funeral Speech*: "In very truth these men are receiving at our hands their fitting tribute: and when they have gained this guerdon, they journey on, along the path of destiny." Here there are two clauses which constitute the period, and the feet into which the clauses fall are as follows: — The first is a *bacchius*, for certainly I should not think it correct to scan this clause as an iambic line, bearing in mind that not swift, tripping movements, but retarded and slow times are appropriate to those over whom we make mourning. The second is a spondee; the next is a dactyl, the vowels which might coalesce being kept distinct; after that, a spondee; next, what I should call a cretic rather than an anapaest; then, according to my view, a spondee; in the last place a *hypobacchius* or, if you prefer to take it so, an anapaest; then the terminal syllable. Of these rhythms none is mean nor ignoble. In the next clause, "when they have gained this guerdon, they journey on, along the path of destiny," the two first feet are cretics, and next after them two spondees; after which once more a cretic, then lastly a *hypobacchius*. Thus the discourse is composed entirely of beautiful rhythms, and it necessarily follows that it is itself beautiful. Countless instances of this kind are to be found in Plato as well as in Thucydides. For this author has a perfect genius for discovering true melody and fine rhythm, and if he had only been as able in the choice of words as he is unrivalled in the art of combining them, he "had even outstript" Demosthenes, so far as beauty of style is concerned, or "had left the issue in doubt." As it is, he is sometimes quite at fault in his choice of words; most of all when he is aiming at a lofty, unusual, elaborate style of expression. With respect to this I explain myself more explicitly elsewhere. But he does most assuredly put his words together with beauty as well as charm; and from this point of view no one could find any fault with him.

I will cite a passage of one other writer, — the one to whom I assign the palm for oratorical mastery. Demosthenes most certainly forms a sort of standard alike for choice of words and for beauty in their arrangement. In the *Speech on the Crown* there are three clauses which constitute the first period; and the rhythms by which they are measured are as follows: "first of all, men of Athens, I pray to all the gods and goddesses." A *bacchius* begins this first clause; then follows a spondee; next an anapaest, and after this another spondee; then three cretics in succession, and a spondee as the last foot. In the second clause, "that all the loyal affection I bear my whole life through to the city and all of you," first comes a *hypobacchius*; then a *bacchius* or, if you prefer to take it so, a dactyl; then a cretic; after which there are two composite feet called *paeons*. Next follows a *molossus* or a *bacchius*, for it can be scanned either way. Last comes the spondee. The third clause, "may as fully be accorded by you to support me in this trial," is opened by two *hypobacchii*. A cretic follows, to which a spondee is attached. Then again a *bacchius* or a

cretic; last a cretic once more; then the terminal syllable. Is not a beautiful cadence inevitable in a passage which contains neither a pyrrhic, nor an iamb, nor an amphibrachys, nor a single choree or trochee? Still, I do not affirm that none of those writers ever uses the more ignoble rhythms also. They do use them; but they have artistically masked them, and have only introduced them at intervals, interweaving the inferior with the superior.

Those authors who have not given heed to this branch of their art have published writings which are either mean, or flabby, or have some other blemish or deformity. Among them the first and midmost and the last is the Magnesians, the sophist Hegesias. Concerning him, I swear by Zeus and all the other gods, I do not know what to say. Was he so dense, and so devoid of artistic feeling, as not to see which the ignoble or noble rhythms are? or was he smitten with such soul-destroying lunacy, that though he knew the better, he nevertheless invariably chose the worse? It is to this latter view that I incline. Ignorance often blunders into the right path: only wilfulness never does. At all events, in the host of writings which the man has left behind him, you will not find one single page successfully put together. He seems, indeed, to have regarded his own methods as better than those of his predecessors, and to have followed them with enthusiasm; and yet anybody else, if he were to be driven into such errors in an impromptu speech, would blush for them, were he a man of any self-respect. Well, I will quote a passage from him also, taken from his *History*, in order to make clear to you, by means of a comparison, how splendid noble rhythms are, and how disgraceful are their opposites. The following is the subject treated by the sophist. Alexander when besieging Gaza, an unusually strong position in Syria, is wounded during the assault and takes the position after some delay. In a transport of anger he massacres all the prisoners, permitting the Macedonians to slay all who fall in their way. Having captured their commandant, a man of distinction for his high station and good looks, he gives orders that he should be bound alive to a war-chariot and that the horses should be driven at full speed before the eyes of all; and in this way he kills him. No one could have a story of more awful suffering to narrate, nor one suggesting a more horrible picture. It is worth while to observe in what style our sophist has represented this scene — whether with gravity and elevation or with vulgarity and absurdity: —

“The King advanced, at the head of his division. It seems that the leaders of the enemy had formed the design of meeting him as he approached. For they had come to the conclusion that, if they overcame him personally, they would be able to drive out all his host in a body. Now this hope ran with them on the path of daring, so that never before had Alexander been in such danger. One of the enemy fell on his knees, and seemed to Alexander to have done so in order to ask for mercy. Having allowed him to approach, he eluded (not without difficulty) the thrust of a sword which he had brought under the skirts of his corselet, so that the thrust was not mortal. Alexander himself slew his assailant with a blow of his sabre upon the head, while the king’s followers

were inflamed with a sudden fury. So utterly was pity, in the breasts of those who saw and those who heard of the attempt, banished by the desperate daring of the man, that six thousand of the barbarians were cut down at the trumpet-call which forthwith rang out. Baetis himself, however, was brought before the king alive by Leonatus and Philotas. And Alexander seeing that he was corpulent and huge and most grim (for he was black in colour too), was seized with loathing for his very looks as well as for his design upon his life, and ordered that a ring of bronze should be passed through his feet and that he should be dragged round a circular course, naked. Harrowed by pain, as his body passed over many a rough piece of ground, he began to scream. And it was just this detail which I now mention that brought people together. The torment racked him, and he kept uttering outlandish yells, asking mercy of Alexander as 'my lord'; and his jargon made them laugh. His fat and his bulging corpulence suggested to them another creature, a huge-bodied Babylonian animal. So the multitude scoffed at him, mocking with the coarse mockery of the camp an enemy who was so repulsive of feature and so uncouth in his ways."

Is this description, I ask, comparable with those lines of Homer in which Achilles is represented as maltreating Hector after his death? And yet the suffering in the latter case is less, for it is on a mere senseless body that the outrage is inflicted. But it is worth while, nevertheless, to note the vast difference between the poet and the sophist: —

He spake, and a shameful mishandling devised he for Hector slain;
For behind each foot did he sunder therefrom the sinews twain
From the ankle-joint to the heel: hide-bands through the gashes he thrust;
To his chariot he bound them, and left the head to trail in the dust.
He hath mounted his car, and the glorious armour thereon hath he cast,
And he lashed the horses, and they with eager speed flew fast.
And a dust from the haling of Hector arose, and tossed wide-spread
His dark locks: wholly in dust his head lay low — that head
Once comely: ah then was the hero delivered over of Zeus
In his very fatherland for his foes to despitefully use.
So dust-besprent was his head; but his mother was rending her hair
The while, and she flung therefrom her head-veil glistening-fair
Afar, and with wild loud shriek as she looked on her son she cried;
And in piteous wise did his father wail, and on every side

Through the city the folk brake forth into shriek and wail at the sight.
It was like unto this above all things, as though, from her topmost height
To the ground, all beetling Troy in flame and in smoke were rolled.

That is the way in which a noble corpse and terrible sufferings should be described by men of feeling and understanding. But after the fashion of this Magnesian they could be described by women only or effeminate men, and

even by them not in earnest, but in a spirit of derision and mockery. To what, then, is due the nobility of these lines, as compared with the miserable absurdities of the other passage? Chiefly, if not entirely, to the difference in the rhythms. In the quotation from Homer there is not one unimpressive or unworthy verse, while in that from Hegesias every single sentence will prove offensive.

Having now discussed the importance of rhythm, I will pass on to the topics that remain.

CHAPTER XIX. ON VARIETY

The third cause of beautiful arrangement that was to be examined is variety. I do not mean the change from the better to the worse (that would be too foolish), nor yet that from the worse to the better, but variety among things that are similar. For satiety can be caused by all beautiful things, just as by things sweet to the taste, when there is an unvarying sameness about them; but if diversified by changes, they always remain new. Now writers in metre and in lyric measures cannot introduce change everywhere; or rather, I should say, cannot all introduce change, and none as much as they wish. For instance, epic writers cannot vary their metre, for all the lines must necessarily be hexameters; nor yet the rhythm, for they must use those feet that begin with a long syllable, and not all even of these. The writers of lyric verse cannot vary the melodies of strophe and antistrophe, but whether they adopt enharmonic melodies, or chromatic, or diatonic, in all the strophes and antistrophes the same sequences must be observed. Nor, again, must the rhythms be changed in which the entire strophes and antistrophes are written, but these too must remain unaltered. But in the so-called *epodes* both the tune and the rhythm may be changed. Great freedom, too, is allowed to an author in varying and elaborating the clauses of which each period is composed by giving them different lengths and forms in different instances, until they complete a strophe; but after that, similar metres and clauses must be composed for the antistrophe. Now the ancient writers of lyric poetry — I refer to Alcaeus and Sappho — made their strophes short, so that they did not introduce many variations in the clauses, which were few in number, while the use they made of the epode was very slight. Stesichorus and Pindar and their schools framed their periods on a larger scale, and divided them into many measures and clauses, simply from the love of variety. The dithyrambic poets used to change the *modes* also, introducing Dorian and Phrygian and Lydian modes in the same song; and they varied the melodies, making them now enharmonic, now chromatic, now diatonic; and in the rhythms they continually showed the boldest independence, — I mean Philoxenus, Timotheus, Telestes, and men of their stamp, — since among the ancients even the dithyramb had been subject to strict metrical laws.

Prose-writing has full liberty and permission to diversify composition by whatever changes it pleases. A style is finest of all when it has the most frequent rests and changes of harmony; when one thing is said within a period, another without it; when one period is formed by the interweaving of a larger number of clauses, another by that of a smaller; when among the clauses themselves one is short, another longer, one roughly wrought, another more finished; when the rhythms take now one form, now another, and the figures are of all kinds, and the voice-pitches — the so-called “accents” — are various, and skilfully avoid satiety by their diversity. There is considerable

charm, among efforts of this kind, in what is so composed that it does not seem to be artificially composed at all. I do not think that many words are needed on this point. Everybody, I believe, is aware that, in prose, variety is full of charm and beauty. And as examples of it I reckon all the writings of Herodotus, all those of Plato, and all those of Demosthenes. It is impossible to find other writers who have introduced more episodes than these, or better-timed variations, or more multiform figures: the first in the narrative form, the second in graceful dialogue, the third in the practical work of forensic oratory. As for the methods of Isocrates and his followers, they are not to be compared with the styles of those writers. The Isocratic authors have composed much with charm and distinction; but in regard to change and diversity they are anything but happy. We find in them one continually recurring period, a monotonous order of figures, the invariable observance of vowel-blending, and many other similar things which fatigue the ear. I cannot approve that school on this side. In Isocrates himself, it may be conceded, many charms were displayed which helped to hide this blemish. But among his successors, by reason of their fewer redeeming excellences, the fault mentioned stands out more glaringly.

CHAPTER XX. ON APPROPRIATENESS

It still remains for me to speak about appropriateness. All the other ornaments of speech must be associated with what is appropriate; indeed, if any other quality whatever fails to attain this, it fails to attain the main essential, — perhaps fails altogether. Into the question as a whole this is not the right time to go; it is a profound study, and would need a long treatise. But let me say what bears on the special department which I am actually discussing; or if not all that bears on it, nor even the largest part, at all events as much as is possible.

It is admitted among all critics that appropriateness is that treatment which suits the actors and actions concerned. Just as the choice of words may be either appropriate or inappropriate to the subject matter, so also surely must the composition be. This statement I had best illustrate from actual life. I refer to the fact that we do not put our words together in the same way when angry as when glad, nor when mourning as when afraid, nor when under the influence of any other emotion or calamity as when conscious that there is nothing at all to agitate or annoy us.

These few words on a wide subject are merely examples of the countless other things which could be added if one wished to treat fully all the aspects of appropriateness. But I have one obvious remark to make of a general nature. When the same men in the same state of mind report occurrences which they have actually witnessed, they do not use a similar style in describing all of them, but in their very way of putting their words together imitate the things they report, not purposely, but carried away by a natural impulse. Keeping an eye on this principle, the good poet and orator should be ready to imitate the things of which he is giving a verbal description, and to imitate them not only in the choice of words but also in the composition. This is the practice of Homer, that surpassing genius, although he has but one metre and few rhythms. Within these limits, nevertheless, he is continually producing new effects and artistic refinements, so that actually to see the incidents taking place would give no advantage over our having them thus described. I will give a few instances, which the reader may take as representative of many. When Odysseus is telling the Phaeacians the story of his wanderings and of his descent into Hades, he brings the miseries of the place before our eyes. Among them, he describes the torments of Sisyphus, for whom they say that the gods of the nether world have made it a condition of release from his awful sufferings to have rolled a stone over a certain hill, and that this is impossible, as the stone invariably falls down again just as it reaches the top. Now it is worth while to observe how Homer will express this by a mimicry which the very arrangement of his words produces: —

There Sisyphus saw I receiving his guerdon of mighty pain:

A monster rock upheaving with both hands aye did he strain;
With feet firm-fixed, palms pressed, with gasps, with toil most sore,
That rock to a high hill's crest heaved he.

Here it is the composition that brings out each of the details — the weight of the stone, the laborious movement of it from the ground, the straining of the man's limbs, his slow ascent towards the ridge, the difficulty of thrusting the rock upwards. No one will deny the effect produced. And on what does the execution of each detail depend? Certainly the results do not come by chance or of themselves. To begin with: in the two lines in which Sisyphus rolls up the rock, with the exception of two verbs all the component words of the passage are either disyllables or monosyllables. Next, the long syllables are half as numerous again as the short ones in each of the two lines. Then, all the words are so arranged as to advance, as it were, with giant strides, and the gaps between them are distinctly perceptible, in consequence of the concurrence of vowels or the juxtaposition of semi-vowels and mutes; and the dactylic and spondaic rhythms of which the lines are composed are the longest possible and take the longest possible stride. Now, what is the effect of these several details? The monosyllabic and disyllabic words, leaving many intervals between each other, suggest the duration of the action; while the long syllables, which require a kind of pause and prolongation, reproduce the resistance, the heaviness, the difficulty. The inhalation between the words and the juxtaposition of rough letters indicate the pauses in his efforts, the delays, the vastness of the toil. The rhythms, when it is observed how long-drawn-out they are, betoken the straining of his limbs, the struggle of the man as he rolls his burden, and the upheaving of the stone. And that this is not the work of Nature improvising, but of art attempting to reproduce a scene, is proved by the words that follow these. For the poet has represented the return of the rock from the summit and its rolling downward in quite another fashion; he quickens and abbreviates his composition. Having first said, in the same form as the foregoing,

but a little more,
And atop of the ridge would it rest —

he adds to this,

some Power back turned it again:
Rushing the pitiless boulder went rolling adown to the plain.

Do not the words thus arranged roll downhill together with the impetus of the rock? Indeed, does not the speed of the narration outstrip the rush of the stone? I certainly think so. And what is the reason here again? It is worth noticing. The line which described the downrush of the stone has no monosyllabic words, and only two disyllabic. Now this, in the first place, does

not break up the phrases but hurries them on. In the second place, of the seventeen syllables in the line ten are short, seven long, and not even these seven are perfect. So the line has to go tumbling down-hill in a heap, dragged forward by the shortness of the syllables. Moreover, one word is not divided from another by any appreciable interval, for vowel does not meet vowel, nor semi-vowel or mute meet semi-vowel — conjunctions the natural effect of which is to make the connexions harsher and less close-fitting. There is, in fact, no perceptible division if the words are not forced asunder, but they slip into one another and are swept along, and a sort of great single word is formed out of all owing to the closeness of the junctures. And what is most surprising of all, not one of the long feet which naturally fit into the heroic metre — whether spondee or *bacchius* — has been introduced into the line, except at the end. All the rest are dactyls, and these with their irrational syllables hurried along, so that some of the feet do not differ much from trochees. Accordingly nothing hinders the line from being rapid, rounded and swift-flowing, welded together as it is from such rhythms as this. Many such passages could be pointed out in Homer. But I think the foregoing lines amply sufficient, and I must leave myself time to discuss the remaining points.

The aims, then, which should be steadily kept in view by those who mean to form a charming and noble style, alike in poetry and in prose, are in my opinion those already mentioned. These, at all events, are the most essential and effective. But those which I have been unable to mention, as being more minute and more obscure than these, and, owing to their number, hard to embrace in a single treatise, I will bring before you in our daily lessons, and I will draw illustrations in support of my views from many good poets, historians, and orators. But now I will go on to add to this work, before concluding it, the remainder of the points which I promised to treat of, and the discussion of which is as indispensable as any: viz. what are the different styles of composition and what the usual distinguishing mark of each is. I will include some mention of those who have been eminent in them, and will also add examples from each author. When the treatment of these points is completed, I must proceed to dispose of certain difficulties very generally felt: what it can be that makes prose appear like a poem though retaining the form of prose, and verse like prose though maintaining the loftiness of poetry; for almost all the best writers of prose or poetry have these excellences in their style. I must do my best, then, to set forth my views on these matters also. I will begin with the first.

CHAPTER XXI. THREE MODES, OR STYLES, OF COMPOSITION

I assert without any hesitation that there are many specific differences of composition, and that they cannot be brought into a comprehensive view or within a precise enumeration; I think too that, as in personal appearance, so also in literary composition, each of us has an individual character. I find not a bad illustration in painting. As in that art all painters from life take the same pigments but mix them in the most diverse ways, so in poetry and in prose, though we all use the same words, we do not put them together in the same manner. I hold, however, that the essentially different varieties of composition are the three following only, to which any one who likes may assign the appropriate names, when he has heard their characteristics and their differences. For my own part, since I cannot find recognized names for them, inasmuch as none exist, I call them by metaphorical terms — the first *austere*, the second *smooth* (or *florid*), the third *harmoniously blended*. How I am to say the third is formed I am at a loss to know— “my mind is too divided to utter truth”: I cannot see whether it is formed by eliminating the two extremes or by fusing them — it is not easy to hit on any clear answer. Perhaps, then, it is better to say that it is by relaxation and tension of the extremes that the means, which are very numerous, arise. The case is not as in music, where the middle note is equally removed from the lowest and the highest. The middle style in writing does not in the same way stand at an equal distance from each of the two extremes; “middle” is here a vague general term, like “herd,” “heap,” and many others. But the present is not the right time for the investigation of this particular point. I must say what I undertook to say with regard to the several styles — not all that I could (I should need a very long treatise to do that), but just the most salient points.

CHAPTER XXII. AUSTERE COMPOSITION

The characteristic feature of the austere arrangement is this: — It requires that the words should be like columns firmly planted and placed in strong positions, so that each word should be seen on every side, and that the parts should be at appreciable distances from one another, being separated by perceptible intervals. It does not in the least shrink from using frequently harsh sound-clashings which jar on the ear; like blocks of building stone that are laid together unworked, blocks that are not square and smooth, but preserve their natural roughness and irregularity.

It is prone for the most part to expansion by means of great spacious words. It objects to being confined to short syllables, except under occasional stress of necessity.

In respect of the words, then, these are the aims which it strives to attain, and to these it adheres. In its clauses it pursues not only these objects but also impressive and stately rhythms, and tries to make its clauses not parallel in structure or sound, nor slaves to a rigid sequence, but noble, brilliant, free. It wishes them to suggest nature rather than art, and to stir emotion rather than to reflect character. And as to periods, it does not, as a rule, even attempt to compose them in such a way that the sense of each is complete in itself: if it ever drifts into this accidentally, it seeks to emphasize its own unstudied and simple character, neither using any supplementary words which in no way aid the sense, merely in order that the period may be fully rounded off, nor being anxious that the periods should move smoothly or showily, nor nicely calculating them so as to be just sufficient (if you please) for the speaker's breath, nor taking pains about any other such trifles. Further, the arrangement in question is marked by flexibility in its use of the cases, variety in the employment of figures, few connectives; it lacks articles, it often disregards natural sequence; it is anything rather than florid, it is aristocratic, plain-spoken, unvarnished; an old-world mellowness constitutes its beauty.

This mode of composition was once zealously practised by many authors in poetry, history, and civil oratory; pre-eminently in epic poetry by Antimachus of Colophon and Empedocles the natural philosopher, in lyric poetry by Pindar, in tragedy by Aeschylus, in history by Thucydides, and in civil oratory by Antiphon. At this point the subject would naturally call for the presentation of numerous examples of each author cited, and possibly the discourse would have been rendered not unattractive if bedecked with many such flowers of spring. But then the treatise would probably be felt to be excessively long — more like a course of lectures than a manual. On the other hand, it would not be fitting to leave the statements unsubstantiated, as though they were obvious and not in need of proof. The right thing, no doubt, is after all to take a sort of middle course, neither to exceed all measure, nor yet to fall short of carrying conviction. I will endeavour to do so by selecting a few

samples from the most distinguished authors. Among poets it will be enough to cite Pindar, among prose-writers Thucydides; for these are the best writers in the austere style of composition. Let Pindar come first, and from him I take a dithyramb which begins —

Shed o'er our choir, Olympian Dominations,
The glory of your grace,
O ye who hallow with your visitations
The curious-carven place,

The heart of Athens, steaming with oblations,
Wide-thronged with many a face.
Come, take your due of garlands violet-woven,
Of songs that burst forth when the buds are cloven.

Look on me — linked with music's heaven-born glamour
Again have I drawn nigh
The Ivy-wreathed, on earth named Lord of Clamour,
Of the soul-thrilling cry.
We hymn the Babe that of the Maid Kadmeian
Sprang to the Sire throned in the empyrean.

By surest tokens is he manifested: —
What time the bridal bowers
Of Earth and Sun are by their crimson-vested
Warders flung wide, the Hours.
Then Spring, led on by flowers nectar-breathing,
O'er Earth the deathless flings
Violet and rose their love-locks interwreathing:
The voice of song outrings
An echo to the flutes; the dance his story
Echoes, and circlet-crowned Semele's glory.

That these lines are vigorous, weighty and dignified, and possess much austerity; that, though rugged, they are not unpleasantly so, and though harsh to the ear, are but so in due measure; that they are slow in their time-movement, and present broad effects of harmony; and that they exhibit not the showy and decorative prettiness of our day, but the austere beauty of a distant past: this will, I am sure, be attested by all readers whose literary sense has been tolerably developed. I will attempt to show by what method such results have been achieved, since it is not by spontaneous accident, but by some kind of artistic design, that this passage has acquired its characteristic form.

The first clause consists of four words — a verb, a connective, and two appellatives. Now the mingling and the amalgamation of the verb and the connective have produced a rhythm which is not without its charm; but the

combination of the connective with the appellative has resulted in a junction of considerable roughness. For the words ἐν χορόν are jarring and uneuphonious, since the connective ends with the semivowel ν, while the appellative begins with one of the mutes, χ. These letters by their very nature cannot be blended and compacted, since it is unnatural for the combination νχ to form part of a single syllable; and so, when ν and χ are the boundaries of adjacent syllables, the voice cannot be continuous, but there must necessarily be a pause separating the letters if each of them is uttered with its proper sound. So, then, the first clause is roughened thus by the arrangement of its words. (You must understand me to mean by “clauses” not those into which Aristophanes or any of the other metrists has arranged the odes, but those into which Nature insists on dividing the discourse and into which the disciples of the rhetoricians divide their periods.)

The next clause to this — ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί — is separated from the former by a considerable interval and includes within itself many dissonant collocations. It begins with one of the vowels, ε, in close proximity to which is another vowel, ι — the letter which came at the end of the preceding clause. These letters, again, do not coalesce with one another, nor can ι stand before ε in the same syllable. There is a certain silence between the two letters, which thrusts apart the two elements and gives each a firm position. In the detailed arrangement of the clause the postposition of the appellative part of speech κλυτὰν to the connectives ἐπί τε with which the phrase opens (though perhaps the first of these connectives should rather be called a *preposition*) has made the composition dissonant and harsh. For what reason? Because the first syllable of κλυτὰν is ostensibly short, but actually longer than the ordinary short, since it is composed of a mute, a semi-vowel, and a vowel. It is the want of unalloyed brevity in it, combined with the difficulty of pronunciation involved in the combination of the letters, that causes retardation and interruption in the harmony. At all events, if you were to remove the κ from the syllable and to make it ἐπί τε λυτὰν, there would be an end to both the slowness and the roughness of the arrangement. Further: the verbal form πέμπετε, subjoined to the appellative κλυτὰν, does not produce a harmonious or well-tempered sound. The ν must be firmly planted and the π be heard only when the lips have been quite pressed together, for the π cannot be tacked on to the ν. The reason of this is the configuration of the mouth, which does not produce the two letters either at the same spot or in the same way. ν is sounded on the arch of the palate, with the tongue rising towards the edge of the teeth and with the breath passing in separate currents through the nostrils; π with the lips closed, the tongue doing none of the work, and the breath forming a concentrated noise when the lips are opened, as I have said before. While the mouth is taking one after another shapes that are neither akin nor alike, some time is consumed, during which the smoothness and euphony of the arrangement is interrupted. Moreover, the first syllable of πέμπετε has not a soft sound either, but is rather rough to the ear, as it begins

with a mute and ends with a semi-vowel. θεοί coming next to χάριν pulls the sound up short and makes an appreciable interval between the words, the one ending with the semi-vowel ν, the other beginning with the mute θ. And it is unnatural for a semi-vowel to stand before any mute.

Next follows this third clause, πολύβατον οἳ τ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις οἰχνεῖτε. Here θυόεντα which begins with θ, being placed next to ὀμφαλὸν which ends in ν, produces a dissonance similar to that previously mentioned; and ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς which opens with the vowel ε, being linked to θυόεντα which ends with the vowel α, interrupts the voice by the considerable interval of time there is between them. Following these come the words πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἄγοράν. Here, too, the combination is rough and dissonant. For the mute τ is joined to the semi-vowel ν; and the interval between the appellative πανδαίδαλον and the elided syllable which follows it is quite an appreciable gap; for both syllables are long, but the syllable which unites the two letters ε and ν, consisting as it does of a mute and two vowels, is considerably longer than the average. At any rate, if the τ in the syllable be removed and πανδαίδαλον εὐκλέ' ἄγοράν be read, the syllable, falling into the normal measure, will make the composition more euphonious.

The words ἰοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων are open to the same criticism as those already mentioned. For here two semi-vowels, ν and λ, come together, although they do not naturally admit of amalgamation owing to the fact that they are not pronounced <at the same regions nor> with the same configurations of the mouth. The words that follow these have their syllables lengthened and are widely divided from one another in arrangement: στεφάνων τᾶν τ' ἐαριδρόπων. For here also there is a concurrence of long syllables which exceed the normal measure, — the final syllable of the word στεφάνων which embraces between two semi-vowels a vowel naturally long, and the syllable linked with it, which is lengthened by means of three letters, a mute, a vowel pronounced long, and a semi-vowel. Separation is produced by the lengths of the syllables, and dissonance by the juxtaposition of the letters, since the sound of τ does not accord with that of ν, as I have said before. Next to αἰοιδᾶν, which ends in ν, comes Διόθεν τε, which begins with the mute δ, and next to σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ, which ends in ι, comes ἴδετε πορευθέντ' αἰοιδᾶν, which begins with ι. Many such features may be found on a critical examination of the whole ode.

But in order to leave myself time for dealing with what remains, no more of Pindar. From Thucydides let us take this passage of the Introduction: —

“Thucydides, an Athenian, composed this history of the war which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians waged against one another. He began as soon as the war broke out, in the expectation that it would be great and memorable above all previous wars. This he inferred from the fact that both parties were entering upon it at the height of their military power, and from noticing that the rest of the Greek races were ranging themselves on this side or on that, or were intending to do so before long. No commotion ever

troubled the Greeks so greatly: it affected also a considerable section of the barbarians, and one may even say the greater part of mankind. Events previous to this, and events still more remote, could not be clearly ascertained owing to lapse of time. But from such evidence as I find I can trust however far back I go, I conclude that they were not of great importance either from a military or from any other point of view. It is clear that the country now called Hellas was not securely settled in ancient times, but that there were migrations in former days, various peoples without hesitation leaving their own land when hard pressed by superior numbers of successive invaders. Commerce did not exist, nor did men mix freely with one another on land or by sea. Each tribe aimed at getting a bare living out of the lands it occupied. They had no reserve of capital, nor did they plant the ground with fruit-trees, since it was uncertain, especially as they had no fortifications, when some invader would come and rob them of their property. They also thought that they could command the bare necessities of daily life anywhere; and so, for all these reasons, they made no difficulty about giving up their land."

There is no need for me to say, when all educated people know it as well as I, that this passage is not smooth or nicely finished in its verbal arrangement, and is not euphonious and soft, and does not glide imperceptibly through the ear, but shows many features that are discordant and rough and harsh; that it does not make the slightest approach to attaining the grace appropriate to an oration delivered at a public festival or to a speech on the stage, but is marked by a sort of antique and self-willed beauty. Indeed, the historian himself admits that his narrative is but little calculated to give pleasure when heard: "it has been composed as a possession for all time rather than as an essay to be recited at some particular competition." I will briefly point out to you the principles by following which the author has made the arrangement so rugged and austere. Small things will readily serve you as samples of great: you can easily go on noting resemblances and making comparisons for yourself.

At the very beginning the verb *ξυνέγραψε*, being appended to the appellative *Ἀθηναῖος*, makes an appreciable break in the verbal structure, since *σ* is never placed before *ξ* with a view to being pronounced in the same syllable with it. The sound of *σ* must be sharply arrested by an interval of silence before the *ξ* is heard; and this circumstance causes roughness and dissonance. Moreover, the interruptions of the voice in what follows, in consequence of the four successive juxtapositions *νπ*, *ντ*, *νπ*, *νκ*, grate violently upon the ear, and cause a remarkable succession of jolts when he says *τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων*. Of these words there is not one that must not first be checked by the mouth with a stress on the last letter, in order that the next letter to it may be uttered clearly and purely with its own proper quality. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of vowels which is found at the end of this clause in the words *καὶ Ἀθηναίων* has broken and made a gap in the continuity of the arrangement, by demanding quite an appreciable interval, since the sounds of *ι* and *α* are unmingled and there is an

interruption of the voice between them: whereas euphony is caused by sounds which are continuous and smoothly blended.

Again, in the second period the first clause ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου has been pretty successfully arranged by the author in the way in which it would produce the most smooth and euphonious effect. But he roughens and dislocates the very next clause by sundering its joints: καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων. For thrice in close succession vowels are juxtaposed which cause clashings and obstructed utterance, and make it impossible for the ear to take in the impression of one continuous clause; and the period which he ends with the words τῶν προγεγενημένων has no well-defined and rounded close, but seems to be without beginning or conclusion, as if it were part of the second period and not its termination.

The third period has the same characteristics. There is a lack of roundness and stability in its foundation, since it has for its concluding portion τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοοῦμενον. Further, it too contains many clashings of vowel against vowel and of semi-vowels against semi-vowels and mutes — discords produced by things in their very nature inharmonious. To sum up, here are some twelve periods adduced by me — if the breathing-space be taken as the criterion for the division of period from period; and they contain no fewer than thirty clauses. Yet of these not six or seven clauses in all will be found to be euphoniously composed and finished in their structure; while of hiatus between vowels in the twelve periods there are almost thirty instances, together with meetings of semi-vowels and mutes which are dissonant, harsh, and hard to pronounce. It is to this that the stoppages and the many retardations in the passage are due; and so numerous are these concurrences that there is one of the kind in almost every single section of it. There is a great lack of symmetry in the clauses, great unevenness in the periods, much innovation in the figures, disregard of sequence, and all the other marks which I have already noted as characteristic of the unadorned and austere style. I do not consider it necessary to waste our time by going over the whole ground once more with the illustrative passages.

CHAPTER XXIII. SMOOTH COMPOSITION

The smooth (or florid) mode of composition, which I regarded as second in order, has the following features. It does not intend that each word should be seen on every side, nor that all its parts should stand on broad, firm bases, nor that the time-intervals between them should be long; nor in general is this slow and deliberate movement congenial to it. It demands free movement in its diction; it requires words to come sweeping along one on top of another, each supported by that which follows, like the onflow of a never-resting stream. It tries to combine and interweave its component parts, and thus give, as far as possible, the effect of one continuous utterance. This result is produced by so nicely adjusting the junctures that they admit no appreciable time-interval between the words. From this point of view the style resembles finely woven stuffs, or pictures in which the lights melt insensibly into the shadows. It requires that all its words shall be melodious, smooth, soft as a maiden's face; and it shrinks from harsh, clashing syllables, and carefully avoids everything rash and hazardous.

It requires not only that its words should be properly dove-tailed and fitted together, but also that the clauses should be carefully inwoven with one another and all issue in a period. It limits the length of a clause so that it is neither shorter nor longer than the right mean, and the compass of the period so that a man's full breath will be able to cover it. It could not endure to construct a passage without periods, nor a period without clauses, nor a clause without symmetry. The rhythms it uses are not the longest, but the intermediate, or shorter than these. It requires its periods to march as with steps regulated by line and rule, and to close with a rhythmical fall. Thus, in fitting together its periods and its words respectively, it employs two different methods. The latter it runs together; the former it keeps apart, wishing that they may be seen as it were from every side. As for figures, it is wont to employ not the most time-honoured sort, nor those marked by stateliness, gravity, or mellowness, but rather for the most part those which are dainty and alluring, and contain much that is seductive and fanciful. To speak generally: its attitude is directly opposed to that of the former variety in the principal and most essential points. I need not go over these points again.

Our next step will be to enumerate those who have attained eminence in this style. Well, among epic poets Hesiod, I think, has best developed the type; among lyric poets, Sappho, and, after her, Anacreon and Simonides; of tragedians, Euripides alone; of historians, none exactly, but Ephorus and Theopompus more than most; of orators, Isocrates. I will quote examples of this style also, selecting among poets Sappho, and among orators Isocrates. And I will begin with the lyric poetess: —

Rainbow-throned immortal one, Aphrodite,

Child of Zeus, spell-weaver, I bow before thee —
Harrow not my spirit with anguish, mighty
Queen, I implore thee!

Nay, come hither, even as once thou, bending
Down from far to hearken my cry, didst hear me,
From thy Father's palace of gold descending
Drewest anear me

Chariot-wafted: far over midnight-sleeping
Earth, thy fair fleet sparrows, through cloudland riven
Wide by multitudinous wings, came sweeping
Down from thine heaven,

Swiftly came: thou, smiling with those undying
Lips and star-eyes, Blessed One, smiling me-ward,
Said'st, "What ails thee? — wherefore uprose thy crying
Calling me thee-ward?

Say for what boon most with a frenzied longing
Yearns thy soul — say whom shall my glamour chaining
Hale thy love's thrall, Sappho — and who is wronging
Thee with disdain?

Who avoids thee soon shall be thy pursuer:
Aye, the gift-rejecter the giver shall now be:
Aye, the loveless now shall become the wooer,
Scornful shalt thou be!" Once again come! Come, and my chains dis sever,
Chains of heart-ache! Passionate longings rend me —
Oh fulfil them! Thou in the strife be ever
Near, to defend me.

Here the euphonious effect and the grace of the language arise from the coherence and smoothness of the junctures. The words nestle close to one another and are woven together according to certain affinities and natural attractions of the letters. Almost throughout the entire ode vowels are joined to mutes and semi-vowels, all those in fact which are naturally prefixed or affixed to one another when pronounced together in one syllable. There are very few clashings of semi-vowels with semi-vowels or mutes, and of mutes and vowels with one another, such as cause the sound to oscillate. When I review the entire ode, I find, in all those nouns and verbs and other kinds of words, only five or perhaps six unions of semi-vowels and mutes which do not naturally blend with one another, and even they do not disturb the smoothness of the language to any great extent. As for juxtaposition of vowels, I find that those which occur in the clauses themselves are still fewer, while those which

join the clauses to one another are only a little more numerous. As a natural consequence the language has a certain easy flow and softness; the arrangement of the words in no way ruffles the smooth waves of sound.

I would go on to mention the remaining characteristics of this kind of composition, and would show as before by means of appropriate illustrations that they are such as I say, were it not that my treatise would become too long and would create an impression of needless repetition. It will be open to you, as to any one else, at your full leisure and convenience, to take each single point enumerated by me in describing the type, and to examine and review them with illustrations. But I really have no time to do this. It is quite enough simply to give an adequate indication of my views to all who will be able to follow in my steps.

I will quote a passage of one more writer who has fashioned himself into the same mould — Isocrates the orator. Of all prose-writers he is, I think, the most finished master of this style of composition. The passage is from the *Areopagiticus*, as follows: —

“Many of you, I imagine, are wondering what can be my view in coming before you to speak on the question of the public safety, as though the State were actually in danger, or its interests imperilled, and as though it did not as a matter of fact possess more than two hundred warships, and were not at peace throughout its borders and supreme at sea, and had not many allies ready to help us in case of need, and many more who regularly pay their contributions and perform their obligation. Under these circumstances it might be said that we have every reason for confidence on the ground that all danger is remote; and that it is our enemies who have reason to be afraid and to form plans for self-preservation. Now you, I know, are inclined on this account to make light of my appeal; you expect to maintain supremacy over the whole of Greece by means of your existing forces. But it is precisely on these grounds that I really am alarmed. I observe that it is those States which think they are at the height of prosperity that adopt the worst policy, and that it is the most confident that incur the greatest danger. The reason is that no good or evil fortune comes to men entirely by itself: folly and its mate intemperance have been appointed to wait on wealth and power, self-restraint and great moderation to attend on poverty and low estate. So that it is hard to decide which of these two lots a man would desire to bequeath to his children, since we can see that from what is popularly regarded as the inferior condition men’s fortunes commonly improve, while from that which is apparently the better they usually decline and fall.”

The instinctive perception of the ear testifies that these words are run and blended together; that they do not individually stand on a broad foundation which gives an all-round view of each; and that they are not separated by long time-intervals and planted far apart from one another, but are plainly in a state of motion, being borne onwards in an unbroken stream, while the links which bind the passage together are gentle and soft and flowing. And it is easy to see

that the sole cause lies in the character of this style as I have previously described it. For no dissonance of vowels will be found, at any rate in the harmonious clauses which I have quoted, nor any, I think, in the entire speech, unless some instance has escaped my notice. There are also few dissonances of semi-vowels and mutes, and those not very glaring or continuous. The euphonious flow of the passage is due to these circumstances, combined with the balance of the clauses and the cycle of the periods which has about it something rounded and well-defined and perfectly regulated in respect of symmetrical adjustment. Above all there are the rhetorical figures, full of youthful exuberance: *antithesis*, *parallelism in sound*, *parallelism in structure*, and others like these, by which the language of panegyric is brought to its highest perfection. I do not think it necessary to lengthen the book by dealing with the points that are still untouched. This kind of composition also has now received adequate treatment on all points where it was appropriate.

CHAPTER XXIV. HARMONIOUSLY-BLENDED, OR INTERMEDIATE, COMPOSITION

The third kind of composition is the mean between the two already mentioned. I call it *harmoniously blended* for lack of a proper and better name. It has no form peculiar to itself, but is a sort of judicious blend of the two others and a selection from the most effective features of each. This kind, it seems to me, deserves to win the first prize; for it is a sort of mean, and excellence in life and conduct [and the arts] is a mean, according to Aristotle and the other philosophers of his school. As I said before, it is to be viewed not narrowly but broadly. It has many specific varieties. Those who have adopted it have not all had the same aims nor the same methods; some have made more use of this method, others of that; while the same methods have been pursued with less or greater vigour by different writers, who have yet all achieved eminence in the various walks of literature. Now he who towers conspicuous above them all,

Out of whose fulness all rivers, and every sea, have birth,
And all upleaping fountains, is, we must admit, Homer. For whatever passage you like to take in him has had its manifold charms brought to perfection by a union of the severe and the polished forms of arrangement. Of the other writers who have cultivated the same golden mean, all will be found to be far inferior to Homer when measured by his standard, but still men of eminence when regarded in themselves: among lyric poets Stesichorus and Alcaeus, among tragedians Sophocles, among historians Herodotus, among orators Demosthenes, and among philosophers (in my opinion) Democritus, Plato, and Aristotle. It is impossible to find authors who have succeeded better in blending their writings into harmonious wholes. As regards types of composition the foregoing remarks will suffice. I do not think it necessary to quote specimen passages from the authors just mentioned, since they are known to all and need no illustration.

Now if any one thinks that these things are worth much toil and great effort, he is, according to Demosthenes, decidedly in the right. Nay, if he considers the credit which attends success in them and the sweetness of the fruit they yield, he will count the toil a pleasure. I beg pardon of the Epicurean choir who care nothing for these things. The doctrine that "writing," as Epicurus himself says, "is no trouble to those who do not aim at the ever-varying standard" was meant to forestall the charge of gross laziness and stupidity.

CHAPTER XXV. HOW PROSE CAN RESEMBLE VERSE

Now that I have finished this part of the subject, I think you must be eager for information on the next point — how unmetrical language is made to resemble a beautiful poem or lyric, and how a poem or lyric is brought into close likeness to beautiful prose. I will begin with the language of prose, choosing by preference an author who has, I think, in a pre-eminent degree taken the impress of poetical style. I could wish to mention a larger number, but have not time for all. Who, then, will not admit that the speeches of Demosthenes are like the finest poems and lyrics: particularly his harangues against Philip and his pleadings in public law-suits? It will be enough to take the following exordium from one of these: —

“Let none of you, O ye Athenians, think that I have come forward to accuse the defendant Aristocrates with intent to indulge personal hate of my own, or that it is because I have got my eye on some small and petty error that I am thrusting myself with a light heart in the path of his enmity. No, if my calculations and point of view be right, my one aim and object is that you should securely hold the Chersonese, and should not again be deprived of it by political chicanery.”

I must endeavour, here again, to state my views. But the subject we have now reached is like the Mysteries: it cannot be divulged to people in masses. I shall not, therefore, be discourteous in inviting those only “for whom it is lawful” to approach the rites of style, while bidding the “profane” to “close the gates of their ears.” There are some who, through ignorance, turn the most serious things into ridicule, and no doubt their attitude is natural enough. Well, my views are in effect as follows: —

No passage which is composed absolutely without metre can be invested with the melody of poetry or lyric grace, at any rate from the point of view of the word-arrangement considered in itself. No doubt, the choice of words goes a long way, and there is a poetical vocabulary consisting of rare, foreign, figurative and coined words in which poetry takes delight. These are sometimes mingled with prose-writing to excess: many writers do so, Plato particularly. But I am not speaking of the choice of words: let the consideration of that subject be set aside for the present. Let our inquiry deal exclusively with word-arrangement, which can reveal possibilities of poetic grace in common everyday words that are by no means reserved for the poets’ vocabulary. Well, as I said, simple prose cannot become like metrical and lyrical writing, unless it contains metres and rhythms unobtrusively introduced into it. It does not, however, do for it to be manifestly *in* metre or *in* rhythm (for in that case it will be a poem or a lyric piece, and will absolutely desert its own specific character); it is enough that it should simply appear rhythmical and metrical. In this way it may be poetical, although not a

poem; lyrical, although not a lyric.

The difference between the two things is easy enough to see. That which embraces within its compass similar metres and preserves definite rhythms, and is produced by a repetition of the same forms, line for line, period for period, or strophe for strophe, and then again employs the same rhythms and metres for the succeeding lines, periods or strophes, and does this at any considerable length, is *in* rhythm and *in* metre, and the names of “verse” and “song” are applied to such writing. On the other hand, that which contains casual metres and irregular rhythms, and in these shows neither sequence nor connexion nor correspondence of stanza with stanza, is rhythmical, since it is diversified by rhythms of a sort, but not in rhythm, since they are not the same nor in corresponding positions. This is the character I attribute to all language which, though destitute of metre, yet shows markedly the poetical or lyrical element; and this is what I mean that Demosthenes among others has adopted. That this is true, that I am advancing no new theory, any one can convince himself from the testimony of Aristotle; for in the third book of his *Rhetoric* the philosopher, speaking of the various requisites of style in civil oratory, has described the good rhythm which should contribute to it. He names the most suitable rhythms, shows where each of them is clearly serviceable, and adduces some passages by which he endeavours to establish his statement. But apart from the testimony of Aristotle, experience itself will show that some rhythms must be included in prose-writing if there is to be upon it the bloom of poetical beauty.

For example, the speech against Aristocrates which I mentioned a moment ago begins with a comic tetrameter line (set there with its anapaestic rhythms), but it is a foot short of completion and in consequence escapes detection: μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίσῃ με. If this line had an additional foot either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end, it would be a perfect anapaestic tetrameter, to which some give the name “Aristophanic.”

Let none of you, O ye Athenians, think that I am standing before you, corresponds to the line

Now then shall be told what in days of old was the fashion of boys’ education.

It will perhaps be said in reply that this has happened not from design, but accidentally, since a natural tendency in us often improvises metrical fragments. Let the truth of this be granted. Yet the next clause as well, if you resolve the second elision, which has obscured its true character by linking it on to the third clause, will be a complete elegiac pentameter as follows: —

Come with intent to indulge personal hate of my own, similar to these words: —

Maidens whose feet in the dance lightly were lifted on high.

Let us suppose that this, too, has happened once more in the same spontaneous way without design. Still, after one intermediate clause arranged in a prose order, viz. ἦκειν Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορήσοντα τουτουί, the

clause which is joined to this consists of two metrical lines, viz. μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἁμάρτημα ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ. For if we were to take this line from Sappho's Bridal Song —

For never another maiden there was, O son-in-law, like unto this one, and were also to take the last three feet and the termination of the following comic tetrameter, the so-called "Aristophanic"

When of righteousness I was the popular preacher, and temperance was in fashion, and then were to unite them thus —

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀτέρα πάις, ὧ γαμβρέ, τοιαύτα <ποτα> καὶ σωφροσύνη
'νενόμιστο,

it will precisely correspond to μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἁμάρτημα, ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ. What follows is like an iambic trimeter docked of its final foot, προάγειν ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειαν. It will be complete if a foot is added and it takes this shape: —

προάγειν ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειάν τινα.

Are we once more to neglect these facts as if they were brought about not on purpose but by accident? What, then, is the significance of the next clause to this? For this too is a correct iambic trimeter line —

ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι, if the connective ἄρα has its first syllable made long, and if further — by your leave! — the words καὶ σκοπῶ are regarded as an intermediate excrescence by means of which the metre is obscured and vanishes from sight. The clause placed next to this is composed of anapaestic feet, and extends to eight feet, still keeping the same form: —

πρὸ τοῦ Χερόνησον ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθέντας,
like to this in Euripides —

O King of the country with harvests teeming,
O Cisseus, the plain with a fire is gleaming.

And the part of the same clause which comes next to it — ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς — is an iambic trimeter short of a foot and a half. It would have been complete in this form —

ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς ἐν μέρει.

Are we to say that these effects too are spontaneous and unstudied, many and various as they are? I cannot think so; for it is easy to see that the clauses which follow are similarly full of many metres and rhythms of all kinds.

But lest it be thought that he has constructed this speech alone in this way, I will touch on another where the style is admitted to show astonishing genius, that on behalf of Ctesiphon, which I pronounce to be the finest of all speeches. In this, too, immediately after the address to the Athenians, I notice that the cretic foot, or the *paeon* if you like to call it so (for it will make no

difference), — the one which consists of five time-units, — is interwoven, not fortuitously (save the mark!) but with the utmost deliberation right through the clause —

τοῖς θεοῖς εὖχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις.

Is not the following rhythm of the same kind —

Cretan strains practising, Zeus's son sing we?

In my judgment, at all events, it is; for with the exception of the final foot there is complete correspondence. But suppose this too, if you will have it so, to be accidental. Well, the adjacent clause is a correct iambic line, falling one syllable short of completion, with the object (here again) of obscuring the metre. With the addition of a single syllable the line will be complete —

ὄσσην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ.

Further, that paeon or cretic rhythm of five beats will appear in the words which follow: τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοσαύτην ὑπάρξει μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἄγωνα. This, except that it has two broken feet at the beginnings, resembles in all respects the passage in Bacchylides: —

This is no time to sit still nor wait:

Unto yon carven shrine let us go,

Even gold-aegis'd Queen Pallas' shrine,

And the rich vesture there show.

I have a presentiment that an onslaught will be made on these statements by people who are destitute of general culture and practise the mechanical parts of rhetoric unmethodically and unscientifically. Against these I am bound to defend my position, lest I should seem to let the case go by default. Their argument will doubtless be: “Was Demosthenes, then, so poor a creature that, whenever he was writing his speeches, he would work in metres and rhythms after the fashion of clay-modellers, and would try to fit his clauses into these moulds, shifting the words to and fro, keeping an anxious eye on his longs and shorts, and fretting himself about cases of nouns, moods of verbs, and all the accidents of the parts of speech? So great a man would be a fool indeed were he to stoop to all this niggling and peddling.” If they scoff and jeer in these or similar terms, they may easily be countered by the following reply: First, it is not surprising after all that a man who is held to deserve a greater reputation than any of his predecessors who were distinguished for eloquence was anxious, when composing eternal works and submitting himself to the scrutiny of all-testing envy and time, not to admit either subject or word at random, and to attend carefully to both arrangement of ideas and beauty of words: particularly as the authors of that day were producing discourses which suggested not writing but carving and chasing — those, I mean, of the sophists Isocrates and Plato. For the former spent ten years over the composition of his *Panegyric*, according to the lowest recorded estimate of the time; while Plato did not cease, when eighty years old, to comb and curl his dialogues and reshape them in every way. Surely every

scholar is acquainted with the stories of Plato's passion for taking pains, especially that of the tablet which they say was found after his death, with the beginning of the *Republic* ("I went down yesterday to the Piraeus together with Glaucon the son of Ariston") arranged in elaborately varying orders. What wonder, then, if Demosthenes also was careful to secure euphony and melody and to employ no random or untested word or thought? For it appears to me far more reasonable for a man who is composing public speeches, eternal memorials of his own powers, to attend even to the slightest details, than it is for the disciples of painters and workers in relief, who display the dexterity and industry of their hands in a perishable medium, to expend the finished resources of their art on veins and down and bloom and similar minutiae.

These arguments seem to me to make no unreasonable claim; and we may further add that though when Demosthenes was a lad, and had but recently taken up the study of rhetoric, he naturally had to ask himself consciously what the effects attainable by human skill were, yet when long training had issued in perfect mastery, and had graven on his mind forms and impressions of all that he had practised, he henceforth produced his effects with the utmost ease from sheer force of habit. Something similar occurs in the other arts whose end is activity or production. For example, when accomplished players on the lyre, the harp, or the flute hear an unfamiliar tune, they no sooner grasp it than with little trouble they run over it on the instrument themselves. They have mastered the values of the notes after much toiling and moiling, and so can reproduce them. Their hands were not at the outset in condition to do what was bidden them; they attained command of this accomplishment only after much time, when ample training had converted custom into second nature.

Why pursue the subject? A fact familiar to all of us is enough to silence these quibblers. What may this be? When we are taught to read, first we learn off the names of the letters, then their forms and their values, then in due course syllables and their modifications, and finally words and their properties, viz. lengthenings and shortenings, accents, and the like. After acquiring the knowledge of these things, we begin to write and read, syllable by syllable and slowly at first. And when the lapse of a considerable time has implanted the forms of words firmly in our minds, then we deal with them without the least difficulty, and whenever any book is placed in our hands we go through it without stumbling, and with incredible facility and speed. We must suppose that something of this kind happens in the case of the trained exponent of the literary profession as regards the arrangement of words and the euphony of clauses. And it is not unnatural that those who are ignorant of this or unversed in any profession whatsoever should be surprised and incredulous when they hear that anything is executed with such mastery by another as a result of artistic training. This may suffice as a rejoinder to those who are accustomed to scoff at the rules of the rhetorical manuals.

CHAPTER XXVI. HOW VERSE CAN RESEMBLE PROSE

Concerning melodious metrical composition which bears a close affinity to prose, my views are of the following kind. The prime factor here too, just as in the case of poetical prose, is the collocation of the words themselves; next, the composition of the clauses; third, the arrangement of the periods. He who wishes to succeed in this department must change the words about and connect them with each other in manifold ways, and make the clauses begin and end at various places within the lines, not allowing their sense to be self-contained in separate verses, but breaking up the measure. He must make the clauses vary in length and form, and will often also reduce them to phrases which are shorter than clauses, and will make the periods — those at any rate which adjoin one another — neither equal in size nor alike in construction; for an elastic treatment of rhythms and metres seems to bring verse quite near to prose. Now those authors who compose in epic or iambic verse, or use the other regular metres, cannot diversify their poetical works with many metres or rhythms, but must always adhere to the same metrical form. But the lyric poets can include many metres and rhythms in a single period. So that when the writers of monometers break up the lines by distributing them into clauses now one way now another, they dissolve and efface the regularity of the metre; and when they diversify the periods in size and form, they make us forget the metre. On the other hand, the lyric poets compose their strophes in many metres; and again, from the fact that the clauses vary from time to time in length and form, they make the divisions unlike in form and size. From both these causes they hinder our apprehension of any uniform rhythm, and so they produce, as by design, in lyric poems a great likeness to prose. It is quite possible, moreover, for the poems to retain many figurative, unfamiliar, exceptional, and otherwise poetical words, and none the less to show a close resemblance to prose.

And let no one think me ignorant of the fact that the so-called “pedestrian character” is commonly regarded as a vice in poetry, or impute to me, of all persons, the folly of ranking any bad quality among the virtues of poetry or prose. Let my critic rather pay attention and learn how here once more I claim to distinguish what merits serious consideration from what is worthless. I observe that, among prose styles, there is on the one side the uncultivated style, by which I mean the prevailing frivolous gabble, and on the other side the language of public life which is, in the main, studied and artistic; and so, whenever I find any poetry which resembles the frivolous gabble I have referred to, I regard it as beneath criticism. I think that alone to be fit for serious imitation which resembles the studied and artistic kind. Now, if each sort of prose had a different appellation, it would have been only consistent to call the corresponding sorts of poetry also by different names. But since both

the good and the worthless are called “prose,” it may not be wrong to regard as noble and bad “poetry” that which resembles noble and contemptible prose respectively, and not to be in any way disturbed by mere identity of terms. The application of similar names to different things will not prevent us from discerning the true nature of the things in either case.

As I have gone so far as to deal with this subject, I will end by subjoining a few examples of the features in question. From epic poetry it will be enough to quote the following lines: —

But he from the haven went where the rugged pathway led.

Here we have one clause. Observe the next —

Up the wooded land.

It is shorter than the other, and cuts the line in two. The third is —
through the hills:

a segment still shorter than a clause. The fourth —

unto where Athene had said

That he should light on the goodly swineherd —

consists of two half-lines and is in no way like the former. Then the conclusion —

the man who best

Gave heed to the goods of his lord, of the thralls that Odysseus
possessed,

which leaves the third line unfinished, while by the addition of the fourth it loses all undue uniformity. Then again —

By the house-front sitting he found him,

where once more the words do not run out the full course of the line.

there where the courtyard wall

Was builded tall.

This, too, does not balance the former. Further, the order of ideas in the continuation of the passage is unperiodic, though the words are cast into the form of clauses and sections. For, after adding

In a place with a clear view round about,

we shall find him subjoining:

Massy and fair to behold,

which is a segment shorter than a clause. Next we find

Free on every side,

where the one Greek word (περίδρομος) by itself carries a certain meaning. And so on: we shall find him elaborating everything that follows in the same way. Why go into unnecessary detail?

From iambic poetry may be taken these lines of Euripides: —

Fatherland, ta'en by Pelops in possession,
Hail!

Thus far the first clause extends.

And thou, Pan, who haunt'st the stormy steeps
Of Arcady.

So far the second extends.

Whereof I boast my birth.

That is the third. The former are longer than a line; the last is shorter.

Me Auge, Aleus' daughter, not of wedlock
Bare to Tirynthian Heracles.

And afterwards —

This knows
Yon hill Parthenian.

Not one of these corresponds exactly to a line. Then once more we find another clause which is from one point of view less than a line and from the other longer —

where the Travail-queen
From birth-pangs set my mother free.

And similarly with the lines which follow these.

From lyric poetry the subjoined lines of Simonides may be taken. They are written according to divisions: not into those clauses for which Aristophanes or some other metrist laid down his canons, but into those which are required by prose. Please read the piece carefully by divisions: you may rest assured that the rhythmical arrangement of the ode will escape you, and you will be unable to guess which is the strophe or which the antistrophe or which the epode, but you will think it all one continuous piece of prose. The subject is Danaë, borne across the sea lamenting her fate: —

And when, in the carved ark lying,
She felt it through darkness drifting
Before the drear wind's sighing
And the great sea-ridges lifting,
She shuddered with terror, she brake into weeping,
And she folded her arms round Perseus sleeping;

And "Oh my baby," she moaned, "for my lot
Of anguish! — but thou, thou carest not:

Adown sleep's flood is thy child-soul sweeping,
Though beams brass-welded on every side
Make a darkness, even had the day not died
When they launched thee forth at gloaming-tide.
And the surf-crests fly o'er thy sunny hair
As the waves roll past — thou dost not care:
Neither carest thou for the wind's shrill cry,
As lapped in my crimson cloak thou dost lie
On my breast, little face so fair — so fair!
Ah, were these sights, these sounds of fear
Fearsome to thee, that dainty ear
Would hearken my words — nay, nay, my dear,
Hear them not thou! Sleep, little one, sleep;
And slumber thou, O unrestful deep!
Sleep, measureless wrongs; let the past suffice:
And oh, may a new day's dawn arise
On thy counsels, Zeus! O change them now!
But if aught be presumptuous in this my prayer,
If aught, O Father, of sin be there,
Forgive it thou."

Such are the verses and lyrics which resemble beautiful prose; and they owe this resemblance to the causes which I have already set forth to you.

Here, then, Rufus, is my gift to you, which you will find "outweigh a multitude of others," if only you will keep it in your hands constantly like any other really useful thing, and exercise yourself in its lessons daily. No rules contained in rhetorical manuals can suffice to make experts of those who are determined to dispense with study and practice. They who are ready to undergo toil and hardship can alone decide whether such rules are trivial and useless, or worthy of serious consideration.

GLOSSARY

(Including Terms of Rhetoric, Grammar, Prosody, Music, Phonetics, and Literary Criticism)

In the Glossary, as in the Notes, the following abbreviations are used: —

Long. = 'Longinus on the Sublime.'

D.H. = 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus: the Three Literary Letters.'

Demetr. = 'Demetrius on Style.'

ἀγεννής. 90 20, 170 9, etc. *Ignoble, mean*: in reference to style. Lat. *ignobilis, degener*.

ἀγοράος. 262 20. *Vulgar, colloquial, mechanical*. Lat. *circumforaneus, circulatorius*. Cp. Lucian *de conscrib. hist.* § 44 μήτε ἀπορρήτοις καὶ ἔξω πάτου ὀνόμασι μήτε τοῖς ἀγοραίοις τοῦτοις καὶ καπηλικοῖς.

ἀγγίστροφος. 212 20. *Quick-changing, flexible*. Lat. *mutabilis*. Instances of its rhetorical use are cited in Long. . The word has more warrant as a term of rhetoric than ἀντίρροπος, which is given by F.

ἀγωγή. 68 1, *training*. 194 9, *sequence, movement*. 244 24, *cast, or tendency*. Cp. some uses of Lat. *ductus*. Other examples in D.H. : to which may be added *de Isocr.* c. 12 and *de Thucyd.* c. 27; Macran's *Harmonics of Aristoxenus* p. 143; Strabo xiv. 1. 41 παραφθείρας τήν τῶν προτέρων μελοποιῶν ἀγωγήν, and (later) ἀπεμιμήσατο τήν ἀγωγήν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς κιναίδοις διαλέκτων καὶ τῆς ἡθοποιίας. — In 124 10 the adjective ἀγωγός is used (as in Eurip. *Hec.* 536, *Troad.* 1131) with the genitive in the sense *provocative of, conducive to*: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 55 ἃ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἔσται παθῶν ἀγωγή. [In *Troad.* 1131 Dindorf, ed. v., gives ἀρωγός without comment, against the MSS.]

ἀγών. 252 2, 262 23. *Contest, pleading, trial*. Lat. *certamen, actio*. Cp. Long. , D.H. , Demetr. .

ἀδολέσχης. 272 19, 22. *Garrulous*. Lat. *loquax*. Cp. Demetr. .

ἀηδής. 100 7, 124 19, etc. *Unpleasant, disagreeable*. Lat. *iniucundus, molestus*. Similarly ἀηδία, 132 21, 134 14.

ἄθροος. 222 2. *Compressed, concentrated*. Lat. *consertus, stipatus*. In the passage specified it would seem that Dionysius compares the issue of the breath to the exit of people through a narrow door, whereby they are *crowded together*. The sound of *p*, which is under discussion, approaches whistling; and that is the maximum of breath-compression.

αἵρεσις. 70 15, 198 3, 8, 246 17. *School, following*. Lat. *secta*.

αἴσθησις. 130 17, 134 11, 152 15, 218 1. *Sense, perception*. Lat. *sensus*. So αἰσθητός, *perceptible*, 152 22, 206 6, etc.; and αἰσθητῶς, *perceptibly*, 126 20, 202 18.

ἀκατάστροφος. 232 1. *Without rounding or conclusion*. Lat. *idonei exitus expers*. Used of a period which does not turn back upon itself — which is, in fact, *not* a περίοδος. Cp. the use of εὐκαταστροφῶς in Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 10.

ἄκατονόμαστος. 208 25. *Unnamed, nameless*. Lat. *appellationis expers*.

ἄκέραστος. 230 18. *Unmixed, or incapable of mixture*. Lat. *non permixtus, s. qui permisceri non potest*.

ἀκοή. 70 3, 118 23, 146 8, etc. *The sense of hearing: 'the ear.'* Lat. *auditus*. So ἀκρόασις, 116 19, 198 8, etc.

ἀκόλλητος. 218 13. *Uncompacted, or incapable of being compacted.* Lat. *non compactus, s. qui compingi non potest.*

ἀκολουθία. 212 22, 232 20, 254 17. *Sequence, the orderly progression of words.* Lat. *consecutio, ordo, series.* ἐν πολλοῖς ὑπεροπτική τῆς ἀκολουθίας, 212 22 = *prone to anacolouthon.* Cp. Long. , D.H. , Demetr. . Similarly ἀκόλουθος is used of *what follows naturally*, 130 9, 228 17, etc.

ἀκόμψευτος. 212 23, 232 21. *Unadorned.* Lat. *incomptus.* Used of a style which is *sans recherche, sans parure.* Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 24. 78 “nam ut mulieres esse dicuntur non nullae inornatae, quas id ipsum deceat, sic haec subtilis oratio etiam incompta delectat.”

ἀκόρυφος. 230 31. *Without a capital or beginning.* Lat. *sine fastigio, sine initio.* Used of a period without a proper beginning and therefore imperfectly rounded: whereas true periods are εὐκόρυφοι καὶ στρογγύλαι ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τόρνου (*de Demosth.* c. 43).

ἀκρίβεια. 118 10, 206 8, 266 11, etc. *Exactitude, precision, finish.* Lat. *perfectio, absolutio, subtilitas.* Used of an *ars exquisita, a style soigné.* So ἀκριβής 196 15, and ἀκριβοῦν 94 14 and 242 9. Cp. D.H. , and Demetr. (where the slightly depreciatory sense of ‘correctness,’ ‘nicety,’ is also illustrated: cp. *C.V.* 274 22).

ἀκροστόμιον. 142 17. *The edge of the mouth or lips.* Lat. *summum os, labrorum margo.* C 22 τῆς γλῶττης ἄκρῳ τῷ στόματι προσεριδομένης κατὰ τοὺς μετεώρους ὁδόντας.

ἀκώλιστος. 234 23. *Without members or clauses.* Lat. *sine membris.* Used of a period not divided, or jointed, into clauses.

ἀλήθεια. 198 26. *Human experience.* Lat. *veritas vitae, usus rerum, vita, usus.* The actual facts of life are meant, as opposed to the theories of the schools. Cp. *de Isaeo* c. 18 ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ Λυσίας μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν (‘the truth of nature,’ ‘a natural simplicity’) διώκειν μᾶλλον, Ἰσαῖος δὲ τὴν τέχνην.

ἄλογος. 66 18, 146 14, 152 15, 174 2, 3, 206 13, 244 22. *Irrational; unguided by reason; subconscious; incalculable; instinctive; spontaneous.* Lat. *rationis expers.* With the use in 146 14 (where the Epitome has ἀάλου) may be compared the process by which ἄλογον in Modern Greek has come to mean ‘horse.’ With ἄλογος αἴσθησις in 152 15 and 244 22 cp. the use of “tacitus sensus” in Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 195 “omnes enim tacito quodam sensu sine ulla arte aut ratione quae sint in artibus ac rationibus recta ac prava diiudicant” and *Orat.* 60. 203 “aures ipsae tacito eum (modum) sensu sine arte definiunt”: see also *de Lysia* c. 11, *de Demosth.* c. 24, *de Thucyd.* c. 27. For the doctrine of ἀλογία in relation to metre see *supra* and Goodell *Greek Metric* p ff. (with references to Aristoxenus, Westphal, etc., p ff.). The notion of *incommensurability* is, of course, present in the term: cp. Aristox. ὥρισται δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστος ἥτοι λόγῳ τινὶ ἢ ἀλογίᾳ τοιαύτῃ, ἣτις δύο λόγων γνωρίμων τῇ αἰσθήσει ἀνὰ μέσον ἔσται, which Goodell () translates, “each of the feet is determined and defined either by a precise ratio or by an incommensurable ratio such that it will be between two ratios recognizable by the sense.”

ἄμεγέθης. 176 11. *Wanting in size or dignity.* Lat. *exilis.* Cp. Long. *de Sublim.* xl. 2 οὐκ ὄντες ὑψηλοὶ φύσει, μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἄμεγέθεις.

ἄμετρος. 74 4, 176 1, 21, etc. *Unmetred, unmetrical.* Lat. (*oratio*) *soluta.* It is interesting to note the variety of Dionysius’ expressions for ‘prose’ or ‘in prose’ — λέξις ἄμετρος, λέξις πεζή, λέξις φιλή, λόγος ἀποίητος, λόγοι ἄμετροι, λόγοι or λόγος simply (272 9, 13), δῖχα μέτρου (252 20), λεκτικῶς (258 3), etc. Cp. Plato *Re E*, 390 A, etc.

ἀμορφία. 184 18, 198 10. *Unsignhtliness.* Lat. *deformitas.* So ἄμορφος 92 16.

ἄμουσος. 74 11, 122 19. *Rude, uncultured.* Lat. *insulsus, illiteratus, infacetus.*

ἀμυδρός. 206 22. *Faint, obscure.* Lat. *subobscurus.*

ἀμφίβολος. 96 17. *Ambiguous.* Lat. *dubius, ambiguus, qui in duos pluresve sensus verti potest.*

ἀμφίβραχυς. 172 6, 184 11. *Amphibrachys*. The metrical foot υ – υ.

ἀναβολή. 164 5, 220 13. *Retardation*. Lat. *mora*, *intervallum*. So ἀναβάλλειν 180 15, 216 18: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 54 (ταῦτ' ἔσπευσμένως εἰπέ, ταῦτ' ἀναβεβλημένως), and c. 43.

ἀναισθησία. 184 21. *Insensibility, stupidity*. Lat. *stupor*. Compare ἀναίσθητος 190 8, and see the editor's *Ancient Boeotians* p-8.

ἀνακοπή. 164 5, 230 28, 232 16. *Stoppage, clashing*. Lat. *impedimentum*, *offensio*. Fr. *refoulement*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 38, and also the verb ἀνακόπτειν 222 9.

ἀνάπαιστος. 172 10, etc. *Anapaest*. The metrical foot υ υ –.

ἀνάπαυλα. 196 11. *Rest, pause*. Lat. *mora*, *intermissio*. The 'reliefs' afforded by variety of structure, etc., are meant.

ἀναπλέκειν. 264 23. *To bind up the hair*. Lat. *caesariem reticulo colligere*.

ἀναρθρος. 212 21. *Without joints or articles*. Lat. *sine articulis*.

ἀνδρώδης. 174 17. *Manly, virile*. Lat. *virilis*. Cp. *de Demosth.* cc. 39, 43, and Quintil. v. 12. 18.

ἀνέδραστος. 232 4. *Unsteady*. Lat. *instabilis*. Used of a period which has no proper base or termination. The opposite of ἐδραῖος (Demetr.).

ἀνεπιτήδευτος. 84 3, 212 13, 260 14. *Unsought, unstudied*. Lat. *nullo studio delectus, non exquisitus*. So ἀνέκλεκτος 84 3: *not picked with care*.

ἄνεσις. 210 5. *Loosening*. Lat. *remissio*. Cp. Plato *Rep.* i. 349 E ἐν τῇ ἐπιτάσει καὶ ἀνέσει τῶν χορδῶν πλεονεκτεῖν, and ἀνίεται 126 5.

ἀνθηρός. 212 22 (c 26, 232 25). *Florid*. Lat. *floridus*. Fr. *fleuri*. Cp. Quintil. xii. 10. 58 "namque unum [dicendi genus] subtile, quod ἰσχνόν vocant, alterum grande atque robustum, quod ἄδρὸν dicunt, constituunt; tertium alii medium ex duobus, alii floridum (namque id ἀνθηρόν appellant) addiderunt." 'Florid' (like 'flowery') has acquired rather a bad sense, whereas the Greek word suggests 'flower-like,' 'full of colour,' 'with delicate touches and associations.'

ἀντίθετος. 246 6. *Antithetic* (σχηματισμοὶ ... ἀντίθετοι). Cp. Demetr. p, 267, s.v. ἀντίθεσις.

ἀντιστηριγμός. 164 6. *Resistance, stumbling-block*. Lat. *impedimentum, obstaculum*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 38 ἀνακοπὰς καὶ ἀντιστηριγμοὺς λαμβάνειν καὶ τραχύτητας ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπισυφοῦσας τὴν ἀκοὴν ἡσυχή [ἢ αὐστηρὰ ἀρμονία] βούλεται.

ἀντίστροφος. 174 2, 194 6, 9, 11, 278 9. *Corresponding, counterpart*. Lat. *respondens*. Frequently used by Dionysius of the second stanza (ἀντιστροφή, 254 18), sung by the Chorus in its counter-movement. Cp. schol. ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 253 μεταξὺ τῆς τε στροφῆς καὶ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς: and *de Demosth.* c. 50 κἄπειτα πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν στίχων ἢ περιόδων, ἃς ἀντιστρόφους ὀνομάζουσι, χρωμένη.

ἀντιτυπία. 202 25, 222 17, 224 15, 230 6, 232 6, 244 25. *Repulsion, clashing, dissonance*. Lat. *conflictio, asperitas*. So the adjective ἀντίτυπος in 162 23, 210 20, etc. Hesychius, ἀντιτύποις σκληροῖς.

ἀντονομασία. 70 19, 102 18. *Pronoun*. Lat. *pronomen*. In 108 14 ἀντωνυμία is found; and this (the more usual) form should perhaps be read throughout.

ἀνωμαλία. 232 19. *Unevenness*. Lat. *inaequalitas*. Fr. *inégalité*.

ἀξίωμα. 84 1, 120 23, 170 2, 174 19. *Dignity*. Lat. *dignitas*. Fr. *dignité*. In 96 16 the sense is a *proposition* (*pronuntiatum*, Cic. *Tusc.* i. 7. 14; *enuntiatio*, Cic. *de Fato* 10. 20). — The adjective ἀξιωματικός ('dignified') occurs in 136 11, 168 6, etc., and the adverb ἀξιωματικῶς in 176 24. — In 88 13, 186 7, ἀξίωσις = *reputation, excellence*.

ἀπαγγελία. 204 18. *Narration*. Lat. *narratio*. Sometimes the word is used, like ἑρμηνεία, of style (*elocutio*) in general: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 25, and Chrysostom (in a passage which, as revealing the pupil of Libanius and as illustrating many things in the *C.V.*, may be quoted at some length): ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν λειότητα Ἰσοκράτους ἀπῆτουν, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένους ὄγκον, καὶ τὴν Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητα, καὶ τὸ Πλάτωνος ὕψος, ἔδει φέρειν εἰς μέσον ταύτην τοῦ Παύλου τὴν μαρτυρίαν. νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνα μὲν πάντα ἀφίημι, καὶ τὸν περίεργον τῶν ἔξωθεν καλλωπισμόν, καὶ οὐδὲν μοι φράσεως, οὐδὲ ἀπαγγελίας μέλει· ἀλλ' ἐξέστω καὶ τῇ λέξει πτωχεύειν, καὶ τὴν συνθήκην τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀπλῆν τινα εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλῆ, μόνον μὴ τῇ γνώσει τις καὶ τῇ τῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβεῖα ἰδιώτης ἔστω (*de Sacerdotio* iv. 6). — The verb ἀπαγγέλλειν occurs in 200 9, 11.

ἀπαρέμφατος. 102 20. *Infinitive*. Lat. *infinitivus* (sc. *modus*). [The infinitive, unlike the indicative and other moods, *does not indicate* difference of meaning by means of inflexions denoting number and person. Whence the Greek name: cp. παρεμφατικός, *infra*.]

ἀπαριθμεῖν. 268 8. *To recount, to run over*. Lat. *percensere*.

ἀπαρτίζειν. 194 16. *To round off, to complete*. Lat. *adaequare, absolvere*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 50 καὶ μέτρα τὰ μὲν ἀπρητισμένα καὶ τέλεια, τὰ δ' ἀτελῆ: *Ev. Luc.* xiv. 28 τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θέλων πύργον οἰκοδομῆσαι, οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμόν (*completion*); So κατὰ ἀπαρτισμόν, in 246 18, means *completely, absolutely, narrowly*. In *Classical Review* xxiii. 82, the present writer has suggested that κατὰ ἀπαρτισμόν are the words missing in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vi. 116, where Grenfell and Hunt give ἐν πλάτει καὶ οὐ κ[.....]ν. θεωρητέα ἐστίν, or the like, may have preceded: c 26 *supra* (and note).

ἀπαρχαί. 76 2. *Firstfruits*. Lat. *primitiae*. Used here in connexion with the verb προχειρισάμενος, *cum delibavero*.

ἀπατηλός. 236 10. *Seductive*. Lat. *suavis et oblectans, illecebrosus*.

ἀπερίγραφος. 232 4. *Not circumscribed*. Lat. *nullis limitibus circumscriptus*.

ἀπερίοδος. 234 23, 276 1. *Without a period*. Lat. *periodo non absolutus*.

ἀπευθύνειν. 130 1. *To regulate*. Lat. *tamquam ad regulam dirigere*.

ἀπηγής. 228 15. *Crabbed, rugged*. Lat. *durus*.

ἀπλοῦς. 144 8, 17, 176 3. *Simple, uncompounded*. Lat. *simplex*.

ἀπλοῖητος. 70 4. *In plain prose*. Lat. *prosaicus*. Cp. s.v. ἄμετρος.

ἀποκλείειν. 144 23. *To shut off, to intercept*. Lat. *intercludere*.

ἀποκόπτειν. 142 8, 230 19. *To cut short*. Lat. *rescindere*. So ἐξ ἀποκοπῆς (142 3) = *with a snap, abruptly*. See the exx. given, s.v. ἀποκοπή, in *Demetr.* .

ἀποκυματίζειν. 240 22. *To ruffle*. Lat. *reddere inquietum, fluctibus agitare*.

ἀπορριπίζειν. 144 24, 150 1. *To blow away*. Lat. *flatu abigere*. In both these passages there is some manuscript support for ἀπορραπίζειν. In 144 24 the sense (with ἀπορραπιζούσης) would be 'to send out the breath in beats,' 'to cause the breath to vibrate.'

ἀποτραχύνειν. 218 9, 230 24. To roughen. Lat. *exasperare*.

ἀργός. 210 22. *Unwrought*. Lat. *rudis*. In 250 8 ἀργία is used for ‘idleness,’ with reference to the Epicurean attitude towards the refinements of style.

ἄρθρον. 70 17. *Article*. Lat. *articulus*. See D.H. p. 186; Demetr. . ἄρθρον (‘joint’) and σύνδεσμος (‘sinew’ or ‘ligament’) are terms borrowed from anatomy.

ἀριθμοί. 244 27. *Numbers, cadences*. Lat. *numeri, numeri oratorii*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 53 φέρε γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖτω τις προφέρεισθαι τοῦσδε τοὺς ἀριθμούς· Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην κτλ. As Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 8. 2) says, περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντα· ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμὸς ἐστίν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμητὰ.

ἀριστεῖα. 182 12. *Lead, supremacy*. Lat. *primas (dare)*.

Ἀριστοφάνειος. 256 13, 258 9. *Aristophanic*. Lat. *Aristophaneus*. The reference is to the anapaestic tetrameter called ‘Aristophanic.’ Hephæstion (*Ench.* c. 8) explains the term thus: κέκληται δὲ Ἀριστοφάνειον, οὐκ Ἀριστοφάνους αὐτὸ εὐρόντος πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ Κρατίνῳ ἐστὶ.

χαίρετε δαίμονες οἱ Λεβάρδειαν Βοιωτίον οὔθαρ ἀρούρης·
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην πολλῶ αὐτῷ κεχρησθαι.

ἀρμογή. 112 13, 218 9, 236 5, 270 9. *Junction, combination*. Lat. *coagmentatio*.

ἁρμονία. 72 6, 9, 74 4, 10, 19, 84 9, 15, 90 5, 94 15, 104 19, 114 14, 17, 116 15, 20, *passim*. *Adjustment, arrangement, balance, harmonious composition*. Lat. *apta structura, concinna orationis compositio, aptus ordo partium inter se cohaerentium*. Fr. *enchaînement*. But, as distinguished from ἁρμογή or from σύνθεσις, ἁρμονία seems usually to connote ‘harmony’ in the more restricted (musical) sense of notes in fitting sequence: cp. our ‘arrangement’ of a song or piece of music. In fact, Dionysius’ three ἁρμονίαι might well be described as three ‘modes of composition,’ and ‘tune’ (the meaning which ἁρμονία bears in Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 1. 4) might sometimes serve as a suitable rendering even in reference to literary composition or oratorical rhythm. The original use of the word in Greek carpentry (which employed dovetailing in preference to nails) finds an excellent illustration in the words of a contemporary of Dionysius, Strabo (*Geogr.* iv. 4): διόπερ οὐ συνάγουσι τὰς ἁρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ’ ἀραιώματα καταλείπουσιν. We have perhaps no single English word which can, like ἁρμονία, incline, according to the context, to the literal sense (‘a fitting,’ ‘a juncture’), or to the metaphorical meaning (‘harmony,’ as ‘harmony’ was understood by the Greeks); but see T. Wilson’s definition of ‘composition’ under σύνθεσις, *infra*, and compare one of the definitions of ‘harmony’ in the *New English Dictionary*: “pleasing combination or arrangement of sounds, as in poetry or in speaking: sweet or melodious sound.” — The verb ἁρμόττειν is found in 98 6, 104 17, etc.

ἀρρενικός. 106 21. *Of the masculine gender*. Lat. *masculus*.

ἀρτηρία. 140 21, 142 4, 144 5, 20, 148 17. *Windpipe*. Lat. *arteria*.

ἀρχαῖσμός. 212 23. *A touch of antiquity*. Lat. *sermonis prisci imitatio*. Cp. ἀρχαῖκός, 216 20, 228 8. So ἀρχαιοπρεπὴ σχήματα (236 8) = *figurae orationis quae vetustatem redolent*. As Quintilian (viii. 3. 27) says, “quaedam tamen adhuc vetera vetustate ipsa gratius nitent.” Cp. D.H. (s.v. ἀρχαιοπρεπή) and Demetr. (s.v. ἀρχαιοειδής); also *de Demosth.* c. 48.

ἀρχαί. 136 22, 140 13. *First beginnings*. Lat. *principia*.

ἄσεμνος. 110 20, 170 20, 176 12, 192 11. *Undignified*. Lat. *dignitatis expers, minime venerandus*. Cp. D.H. .

ἄσημος. 256 22, 262 6. *Unnoticed*. Lat. *obscurus*.

ῥισιγμος. 148 1. *Without a sigma*. Lat. *carens littera sigma*.

ῥισμα. 196 2. *Song, lay*. Lat. *carmen, canticum*.

ἀσύμμετρος. 124 8, 236 1. *Incommensurable, disproportionate, incorrect*. Lat. *incommensurabilis, sine iusta proportione, inconcinnus*. So ἀσυμμετρία 232 19. Some good illustrations (drawn from Cicero) of constructions *symétriques* will be found in Laurand's *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron* p-21.

ἀσύμμικτος. 218 12. *Unblended, or incapable of being blended*. Lat. *non permixtus, s. qui permisceri non potest*.

ἀσύμφωνος. 122 23. *Out of tune*. Lat. *dissonus*.

ἄτακτος. 156 20, 254 16. *Disordered, irregular*. Lat. *perturbatus, nullo ordine compositus, incompisitus*.

ἀτοπία. 130 26. *Awkwardness, clumsiness*. Lat. *rusticitas, ineptia*.

αὐθάδης. 228 9. *Wilful, headstrong, unbending*. Lat. *ferox, pertinax*. Cp. Long. *de Subl.* xxxii. 3 ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης οὐχ οὕτως μὲν αὐθάδης ὥσπερ οὕτος (sc. ὁ Θεουκυδίδης), κτλ.

αὐθέκαστος. 212 23. *Outspoken, downright*. Lat. *rigidus*. In Plutarch's *Cato* c. 6 Cato is described as ἀπαραίτητος ὦν ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προοτάγμασιν ὁρθὸς καὶ αὐθέκαστος (cp. the *rigida innocentia* attributed to him by Livy xxxix. 40. 10). In Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* iv. 7. 4) the αὐθέκαστος hits the mean between the ἀλαζῶν and the εἴρων.

αὐλός. 142 2. *Passage, channel*. Lat. *meatus*.

αὐστηρός. 208 26, 210 15, 216 17, 21, 228 15, 232 22, 248 9. *Austere, severe*. Lat. *severus* (cp. Quintil. ix. 4. 97, 120, 128). Compare the antithetic expressions quoted from Dionysius in D.H. , and add *de Demosth.* c. 38 init. Also see s.v. στρυφνός, *infra*.

αὐτάρκης. 212 17, 282 2. *Sufficient, self-sufficing*. Lat. *sufficiens, per se sufficiens*.

αὐτίκα. 98 7, 194 2, 256 7, 268 6. *To begin with, for example*. Lat. *exempli gratia*.

αὐτόματος. 256 19. *Self-acting, spontaneous*. Lat. *spontaneus, ultroneus*. Cp. αὐτομάτως 212 12; αὐτοματίζειν 204 5; αὐτοματισμός 218 3, 258 1, 24. In 256 19 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου = *sponte sua, fortuito*.

αὐτοσχέδιος. 212 1, 260 14, 262 3. *Improvised*. Lat. *fortuitus, extemporalis, inelaboratus, tumultuarius*. So αὐτοσχεδίως 260 25, and αὐτοσχεδιάζειν 256 19 (πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοσχεδιάζει μέτρα ἢ φύσις = *multos versus sponte solet natura effundere*). Cp. Demetr. s.v. αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, and see σχέδιος *infra*.

αὐτοτελής. 118 6, 140 1. *Complete in itself, absolute*. Lat. *perfectus, absolutus*. So αὐτοτελῶς 140 3. The meaning of the word is well illustrated by Diodorus Siculus xii. 1 init. οὐτε γὰρ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ὁλόκληρον εὐρίσκεται δεδομένον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐτε τῶν κακῶν αὐτοτελὲς ἄνευ εὐχρησίας.

αὐτουργός. 196 15. *Self-wrought, rudely wrought*. Lat. *rudis*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 39 (as quoted s.v. συναπαρτίζειν, *infra*). — The active sense of αὐτουργός finds a good illustration in Euripides' well-known line: αὐτουργός, οὔτε καὶ μόνον σῶζουσι γῆν (*Orest.* 920).

ἀφαίρεσις. 104 20, 114 12, 116 17. *Deduction, abridgment*. Lat. *detractio*. In 116 17 τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως δὲ τίς (τρόπος) almost = 'what is the nature of *ellipsis*?' As line 18 shows, something *necessary to the sense* is supposed to be omitted: e.g. the presence of αὐτός in 116 22 implies a contrast with ἕτερος (118 1).

ἀφανίζειν. 166 10, 260 1, 272 2. *To put out of sight.* Lat. *abscondere*.

ἀφελής. 212 14. *Simple, plain.* Lat. *simplex, subtilis*. Cp. D.H. .

ἀφορμή. 96 23. *Starting-point.* Lat. *initium, principium*. Cp. Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 4 τῆς αἰοδίου γενομένης καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως, ἀδόξους πάνιν καὶ ταπεινὰς τὰς πρώτας ἀφορμὰς λαβοῦσης.

ἀφροδίτη. 74 13. *Beauty.* Lat. *venustas, venus*. Cp. *de Lysia* c. 11 ἂν δὲ μηδεμίαν ἡδονὴν μηδὲ ἀφροδίτην ὁ τῆς λέξεως χαρακτηρῇ ἔχῃ, δυσωπῶ καὶ ὑποπτεύω μήποτ' οὐ Λυσίου ὁ λόγος, καὶ οὐκέτι βιάζομαι τὴν ἄλογον αἴσθησιν: also c. 18 *ibid*.

ἄφωνος. 138 13, 140 3, 146 5, 148 11, 20, 220 10. *Voiceless, mute.* Lat. *vocis expers, mutus*. From the standpoint of the modern science of phonetics, in which the term 'voiceless' is reserved for sounds that are not accompanied by a vibration of the vocal chords, it might be well in the translation of this word to substitute 'non-vocalic' for 'voiceless,' and 'vocalic' for 'voiced.'

ἄχαρις. 110 20, 146 12. *Graceless.* Lat. *invenustus*.

βαίνειν. 86 1. *To scan.* Lat. *scandere*. Cp. Aristot. *Metaph.* xiii. 6, 1093 a 30 βαίνεται δὲ [τὸ ἔπος] ἐν μὲν τῷ δεξιῷ ἑννέα συλλαβαῖς, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὀκτώ. — In 236 4 βεβηκώς is used of a firm, regular tread: Lat. *incedere*.

βακχεῖος. 174 23, 180 12, 182 19. *Bacchius.* The metrical foot — ∪.

βαρύς. 126 6, 8, 10, 16, 128 5, 8. *Grave* (accent), *low* (pitch). Lat. *gravis*. Cp. Monro *Modes of Ancient Greek Music* : "Our habit of using Latin translations of the terms of Greek grammar has tended to obscure the fact that they belong in almost every case to the ordinary vocabulary of music. The word for 'accent' (τόνος) is simply the musical term for 'pitch' or 'key.' The words 'acute' (ὀξύς) and 'grave' (βαρύς) mean nothing more than 'high' and 'low' in pitch. A syllable may have two accents, just as in music a syllable may be sung with more than one note." So βαρύτης 126 13 = 'low pitch.' — In 120 23 and 236 8 βάρος = 'gravity' (in the sense of 'dignity'), Fr. *gravité*.

βάσις. 142 13, 210 22, 212 16, 220 4, 230 31, 232 4, 234 7. *Base.* Lat. *basis, fundamentum*. — The word is specially used of a measured step or metrical movement, — of a *rhythmical clause* in a period and particularly of its *rhythmical close* (Lat. *clausula*). In 230 30 and 232 5 it is the iambic endings προγεγεννημένων and διανοοῦμενον that are considered objectionable (ἀνέδραστοι, ἀπερίγραφοι: endings such as πορείαν and ἀκουσάντων would be regarded as ἀσφαλεῖς, *de Demosth.* cc. 24, 26). Terminations of this kind will be avoided in a style (like the γλαφυρὰ σύνθεσις) which desires τῶν περιόδων τὰς τελευτὰς εὐρύθμους εἶναι, — desires that the *chutes* of the periods should be *nobreuses*. — Further light on the meaning of βάσις will be found in *de Demosth.* cc. 24, 39, 43, 45.

βοστρυχίζειν. 264 22. *To curl, to dress the hair.* Lat. *crines calamistro convertere*. Cp. the use of *concinni* in Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 25. 100.

βούλεσθαι. 220 9, 234 5, 14, 19, 236 4, 7, etc. *To aim, to aspire.* Lat. *studere*. Cp. D.H. , *Demetr.* . This meaning ('aims at being,' 'tends to be') is, of course, Platonic and Aristotelian.

βραχυσύλλαβος. 168 17. *Consisting of short syllables.* Lat. *brevibus syllabis constans*.

βραχύτης. 150 22, 154 6. *Shortness.* Lat. *brevitas*.

γένεσις. 138 3. *Origin.* τὴν γένεσιν λαμβάνει = Lat. *originem sumit*.

γενικός. 68 20, 118 21, 208 21. *General, generic.* Lat. *generalis*.

γενναῖος. 68 4, 136 13, 146 10, 148 9, 172 1, 176 9, 10. *Noble.* Lat. *generosus*. Such English renderings as 'virile,' 'robust,' 'gallant,' 'splendid,' 'high-spirited' may also be suggested. In Plato *Rep.* ii. 372 B

μάζας γενναίας = 'lordly cakes'; in Long. *de Subl.* xv. 7 οἱ γενναῖοι = 'fine, grand, gallant fellows.' Cp. C.V. 170 9 μαλακώτερος θατέρου καὶ ἀγεννέστερος.

γλαφυρός. 136 14, 208 26, 212 16, 216 20, 232 25, 248 9. *Smooth, polished, elegant.* Lat. *politus, ornatus, elegans.* Fr. *élégant, orné, poli.* Cp. Demetr. , and *de Isocr.* c. 2 ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τὴν εὐέπειαν ἐκ παντὸς διώκει καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς λέγειν στοχάζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς, and *de Demosth.* c. 40 ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἡ γλαφυρὰ καὶ θεατρικὴ καὶ τὸ κομψὸν αἰρουμένη πρὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ τοιαύτη.

γλυκαίνειν. 130 18, 134 10, 154 12. *To touch with sweetness.* Lat. *delenire, voluptate perfundere.* Cp. γλυκύτης 120 21, γλυκύς 146 9.

γλυπτός. 264 18. *Carven, chiselled.* Lat. *caelatus.* So γλυφή, *carving*, 120 1.

γλῶττα. 78 17. *An unfamiliar term.* Lat. *vocabulum inusitatum.* So γλωττηματικός, 252 23, 272 11, and D.H. , s.v. *Obsolete, or obsolescent, words (mots surannés)* are often meant. — In 80 17 γλῶττα = διάλεκτος (88 26).

γοητεύειν. 122 16, 134 13. *To entice.* Lat. *pellicere.*

γράμμα. 130 21, 138 5, etc. *Letter of the alphabet.* Lat. *littera.* ἡ γραμματικὴ (140 11) = *grammar*; γραμμαί (138 2) = the *lines, or strokes*, from which γράμματα are formed. In 264 18 γραπτός = *written*.

γραφὴ. 68 12, 184 18, 186 1, 206 23, 228 12. *Writing, composition* (in the wider sense). In 118 24 and 234 13 γραφαί = *pictures*.

γυμνασία. 206 24, 282 2, 4. *Exercise, lesson.* Lat. *exercitatio.* So γυμνάζειν (134 4), *to practise, to train*.

δάκτυλος. 84 21, 172 16, 202 19. *Dactyl.* The metrical foot – υ υ υ.

δασύς. 148 12, 13, 18, 19, 150 3, 12. *Rough, aspirated.* Lat. *asper.* So δασύτης 148 21, 150 2 and δασύνειν 148 8. Cp. Aristot. *Poet.* c. 20 for δασύτης and φιλότης, and see A. J. Ellis *English, Dionysian, and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek* p. 46, where δασύς and φιλός are translated by 'rough' and 'smooth,' which seems the safest course to follow when (as here) the terminology of Dionysius' phonetics is full of difficulties. Aristotle (*De audibilibus* 804 b 8) defines thus: δασεῖται δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φωνῶν ὅσαις ἔσωθεν τὸ πνεῦμα εὐθέως συνεκβάλλομεν μετὰ τῶν φθόγγων, φιλαὶ δ' εἰσὶ τοῦναντίον ὅσαι γίνονται χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκβολῆς.

δαφιλής. 108 11. *Plentiful.* Lat. *abundans.*

δείγμα. 200 4, 208 3, 214 13, 228 17. *Sample.* Lat. *exemplum.*

δεινότης. 182 13, 264 12. *Oratorical mastery.* Lat. *facultas dicendi, eloquentia.* So δεινός 282 3: see also 182 3. Cp. D.H. p. 188; Demetr. p. 274.

δεξιῶς. 80 14, 92 20. *Defly.* Lat. *sollerter, feliciter.* In 80 14 σφόδρα δεξιῶς = 'with great dexterity, or adroitness,' 'with great delicacy of touch.'

δεσμός. 148 17. *Fastening.* Lat. *vinculum.*

δηλωτικός. 158 2. *Indicative of.* Lat. *significans.*

δημηγορία. 110 22, 252 2. *A public discourse, or harangue.* Lat. *contio.* Cp. D.H. .

δημιούργημα. 64 8, 120 1. *A piece of workmanship.* Lat. *opus, opificium.* So δημιουργικός ('industrial') 104 23. Cp. D.H. . Quintil. (ii. 15. 4) translates πειθοὺς δημιουργός by *persuadendi opifex*.

διαβεβηκέναι. 172 3, 202 16, 212 1, 216 18, 218 23, 222 23, 244 19. *To have a mighty stride, to be planted wide apart.* Lat. *latis passibus incedere*. Fr. *marcher à grands pas*. In 202 17, 20, 218 23, and 222 23 the noun διάβασις is used with reference to the intervals which long syllables and clashing consonants make in pronunciation by retarding the utterance. The μεγάλα τε καὶ διαβεβηκότα εἰς πλάτος ὀνόματα of 212 1 are *les grands mots à larges allures*.

διάθεσις. 154 14, 160 18. *Condition, arrangement.* Lat. *affectus, dispositio*.

διαρεῖν. 180 17, 184 5, 194 15, 218 20, 21, 272 17. *To divide, to resolve.* Lat. *seüngere, resolvere*. So διαίρεσις 122 8, 138 1, 272 7.

διακεκλάσθαι. 172 7. *To be broken or enervated.* Lat. *frangi, corrumpi, in delicias effundi*. Cp. similar uses of διαθρύπτεσθαι. In *de Demosth.* c. 43 ῥυθμοὶ διακλώμενοι are opposed to ῥυθμοὶ ἀνδρώδεις.

διακλέπτειν. 176 19. *To disguise.* Lat. *obscurare, occultare*.

διακόπτειν. 268 15. *To cut short, to silence.* Lat. *praecidere*.

διακοσμεῖν. 218 20. *To arrange.* Lat. *ordinare*.

διακρούειν. 230 17. *To break into.* Lat. *interrumpere*.

διαλαμβάνειν. 72 10, 166 17, 180 12, 184 14, 270 20, 272 2. *To divide, to diversify.* Lat. *distinguere*.

διαλέγεσθαι. 208 9. *To write in prose.* Lat. *soluta oratione uti*.

διάλειμμα. 204 1. *A pause.* Lat. *intermissio*.

διάλεκτος. 78 16, 80 3, 16, 88 26, 126 3, 160 14, 168 8, 208 19, 246 7. *Language.* Lat. *sermo*. Sometimes used with special reference to a 'dialect,' as in 80 16, 88 26 (so τὴν Ἀθηναίων γλῶτταν 80 17 = τὴν Ἀθηναίων διάλεκτον *de Demosth.* c. 41); and in other passages, with much the same sense as λέξις (*elocutio*). — In 68 9, 94 10, 14, 96 15, 104 1, the adjective διαλεκτικός means 'pertaining to dialectic.'

διαλλαγὴ. 126 1. *Difference.* Lat. *differentia*. So διαλλάττειν, 92 19, 150 2, 152 29.

διάλογος. 198 1, 264 22. *Dialogue.* Lat. *dialogus*. Cp. *Demetr.* .

διαλύειν. 132 9, 272 1. *To break up, to resolve.* Lat. *dissolvere*. So διάλυσις 138 4.

διαναπαύειν. 134 17. *To relieve, to break up.* Lat. *diluere*.

διάνοια. 74 7, 16, 112 21. *Mind, thought.* Lat. *mens, cogitatio*.

διὰ πέντε. 126 4, 17. *The interval of a fifth.* Lat. *diapente, quinque tonorum intervallum*. So διὰ πασῶν 126 18, of the *octave*.

διαποικίλλειν. 214 8, 248 10, 254 18. *To variegate.* Lat. *depingere, distinguere*.

διαρτᾶν. 206 6. *To separate, to break up.* Lat. *seüngere*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 40 ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν διαρτᾶν τὰς ἀκολουθίας.

διασαλεύειν. 102 21, 230 9, 240 13. *To shake (as by storm), to disturb.* Lat. *perturbare, concutere*. In 230 9 and 240 13 the reference is to troubling the smooth waters of the cadences by sounds that jolt and jar.

διασπᾶν. 222 19, 230 24. *To dislocate.* Lat. *divellere*. Cp. *Demetr.* , s.v. διασπασμός, and *Quintil.* ix. 4. 33 "tum vocalium concursus; qui cum accidit, hiat et intersistit et quasi laborat oratio."

διάστασις. 206 3, 5, 210 18. *Distance*. Lat. *distantia*.

διάστημα. 126 3, 16, 270 12. *Interval*. Lat. *spatium, intervallum*.

διαστολή. 278 5, 7. *Division*. Lat. *divisio*. By διαστολαί (which he opposes to metrical cola) Dionysius means the natural divisions, or pauses, observed in prose in order to bring out the sense and to secure good delivery, in accordance with the requirements of grammar and rhetoric. Cp. the later use of διαστολή for division by means of a comma — for *punctuation*, as we should say.

διατέμνειν. 270 13. *To cut up*. Lat. *discindere, concidere*.

διατιθέναι. 130 5, 15, 134 8, 11. *To affect*. Lat. *adficere*.

διάτονος. 194 8, 196 4. *Diatonic*. Lat. *diatonicus*. For the diatonic scale see n. on 194 8.

διαφορά. 68 21, 152 14, etc. *Difference, variety*. Lat. *differentia*.

διαχάλασμα. 230 24. *Loosening*. Lat. *resolutio*. Cp. Epicrates (ap. Athen. xiii. 570 B) on Lais in her old age: ἐπεὶ δὲ δολιχὸν τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει | τὰς ἁρμονίας τε διαχαλᾷ τοῦ σώματος.

διελκυσμός. 204 3. *Struggle, tussle*. Lat. *luctatio*. Cp. argum. Aristoph. *Acharn.* εἴτα γενομένου διελκυσμοῦ κατενεχθεὶς ὁ χορὸς ἀπολύει τὸν Δικαιόπολιν, i.e. “a tussle (wrangle) arises, in which the Chorus is overborne and lets go Dicaeopolis.”

διέξοδος. 150 1. *Outlet, egress*. Lat. *exitus*.

διερείδειν. 220 3. *To thrust apart*. Lat. *disiungere*. The object of the thrusting apart (or separation) is to give each word a firm position (as with the combination of strut and tie in Caesar's bridge over the Rhine, for which see E. Kitson Clark in *Classical Review* xxii. 144-147). So διερείσμός 222 10, 224 14. In 202 9 διερείδεσθαι = *conniti*.

δίεσις. 126 20. *A quarter-tone, or any interval smaller than a semitone*. Lat. *diesis*. As to the reason for the disappearance of the quarter-tone from our modern musical system see n. on 194 7 (extract from Macran's *Harmonics of Aristoxenus*). See, further, L. and S., s.v. δίεσις and λείμμα. The word occurs also in *de Lys*. c. 11 ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἐν τοῖς διαστήμασι δίεσιν ἀγνοεῖν. Suidas defines δίεσις as τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέτρον τῶν ἐναρμονίων διαστημάτων. Cp. Vitruv. *de Arch.* v. 3.

διευκρινεῖν. 208 4. *To determine*. Lat. *diiudicare*.

διευστοχεῖν. 124 17. *To go straight to the mark*. Lat. *recta ad scopum tendere*. For the genitive cp. Polyb. ii. 45 (of Aratus) ἄνδρα δυνάμενον πάσης εὐστοχεῖν περιστάσεως.

διηνεκής. 142 2. *Unbroken, uninterrupted*. Lat. *continuus, perpetuus*.

διθυραμβοποιός. 194 23. *Writer of dithyrambs*. Lat. *dithyrambicus poeta*. Cp. D.H., s.v. διθύραμβος.

διιστάναι. 144 4, 202 17, 204 21, 206 4, 222 5, 224 8, 236 6. *To keep apart*. Lat. *diducere*. Cp. Diog. Laert. iv. 6 ἦν δὲ [ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος] ἐν τῇ λαλιᾷ διαστατικός τῶν ὀνομάτων, i.e. distinct in his enunciation. In 230 17 διέστακεν = διέσπακεν.

δίκαιος. 224 2, 10. *Legitimate, regular*. Lat. *iustus*. The normal measure of a long syllable is meant.

δικανικός. 112 11, 252 2. *Forensic*. Lat. *iudicialis, forensis*.

διορίζειν. 218 16. *To separate by a boundary*. Lat. *determinare*.

διοχλεῖν. 116 19, 122 18. *To distress*. Lat. *sollicitare*.

διπλοῦς. 144 9, 10, 15. *Double, compound*. Lat. *duplex*. Cp. Demetr. .

δισύλλαβος. 126 13, 168 12, 170 14, 202 14. *Disyllabic*. Lat. *disyllabus*. αἱ δισύλλαβοι (λέξεις) = *disyllables*.

δίχρονος. 140 17, 19, 142 1, 6, 150 18. *Double-timed, doubtful, common*. Lat. *communis, anceps*.

δόξα. 134 4. *Opinion, personal judgment*. Lat. *opinio*. Opposed to ἐπιστήμη.

δύναμις. 72 25, 26, 130 22, 23, 134 17, 136 20, etc. *Power, faculty, function*. Lat. *potentia, facultas*. Used, more than once in this treatise, of 'phonetic value' or 'effect.' Fr. *valeur*. In 266 7 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως denotes 'mental powers,' τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διανοίας being used in the parallel passage of *de Demosth.* c. 51.

δυσειδής. 144 4. *Ungraceful*. Lat. *deformis*.

δυσέκφορος. 132 2, 162 5, 16, 232 15. *Hard to pronounce*. Lat. *difficilis pronuntiatiu*. Cp. δυσεκφώρητος in 220 13.

δυσηχής. 162 15. *Ill-sounding*. Lat. *ingratus auditu*. [According to Sauppe's conjecture on n.: cp. δυσηχές 144 4, as given by PMV.]

δυσπερίληπτος. 206 23. *Not easily included*. Lat. *qui facile includi nequit*.

δυσχέρεια. 134 24, 168 3. *Offensiveness*. Lat. *molestia*.

δυσωπεῖσθαι. 134 21. *To be shy of*. Lat. *prae pudore reformidare*. The active voice is found in *de Lys.* c. 11.

Δώριος. 196 1. *Dorian*. Lat. *Dorius, Doricus*. Cp. Monro's *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, passim.

ἐγγίζειν. 144 16. *To approach*. Lat. *appropinquare*.

ἐγκάθισμα. 202 25, 232 16. *Dwelling on a syllable, prolongation*. Lat. *sessio, mora vocis tamquam considentis*. Fr. *temps d'arrêt*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 43 ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τὰ τε φωνήεντα πολλαχῇ συγκρουόμενα δὴλὰ ἔστι καὶ τὰ ἡμίφωνα καὶ ἄφωνα, ἐξ ὧν στηριγμούς τε καὶ ἐγκαθισμούς αἱ ἀρμονίαι λαμβάνουσι καὶ τραχύτητας αἱ φωναὶ συχνάς.

ἐγκαταπλέκειν. 134 12. *To interweave*. Lat. *innectere*. The uncompounded πλέκειν occurs in 154 9.

ἐγκατάσκευος. 182 7. *Highly-wrought*. Lat. *elaboratus*. Cp. Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 15 οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος ἔσται (ὁ λόγος) καὶ ἀπλοῦς ἅμα, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἡδύς, καὶ οὔτε μάλ᾽ ἰδιωτικὸς οὔτε μάλ᾽ αὖ σοφιστικὸς. See, further, D.H. p. 194, and Demetr. .

ἐγκλισις. 108 3, 264 5. *Mood* (of verb). Lat. *modus*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 52 γένη, πτώσεις, ἀριθμούς, ἐγκλίσεις. In 102 19 τῶν ἐγκλινομένων = 'derivative, or secondary, forms.'

ἐγκοπὴ. 220 13. *Hindrance, interruption*. Lat. *impedimentum*. Cp. *Ep. i. ad Cor.* ix. 12 ἵνα μὴ ἐγκοπὴν τινα δώμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. [In Long. *de Subl.* xli. 3 κατ' ἐγκοπὰς seems to refer to notches or incisions as made by carpenters in dovetailing.]

ἐγκύκλιος. 262 20. *Broad, general* (of education). Lat. *orbis doctrinae*. (Quintil. i. 10. 1.) Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Greek Historical Writing* : "At latest in the school of Posidonius — and I think a little earlier — the so-called ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, or 'universal instruction,' was formed into a system which has continued to our own Universities in the form of 'the seven liberal arts.' The study of history has no place in it; astronomy, architecture, and medicine have."

ἔδρα. 108 4, 234 2, 244 18. *Position, foundation*. Lat. *sedes*. Cp. Demetr. . So ἔδρᾶσαι 106 7, ἀνέδραστος 232 4, δύσεδρος 106 8, εὔεδρος 106 9.

εἰδικός. 208 12, 246 19. *Specific*. Lat. *specialis*.

εἰκάος. 74 10. *Random, casual*. Lat. *temerarius*.

εἰκόν. 124 20. *Illustration*. Lat. *similitudo*.

εἰλικρινῶς. 220 11. *Completely, with no alloy*. Lat. *sincere*.

εἰσαγωγή. 114 9. *Introduction*. Lat. *praefatio*.

ἐκλογή. 68 4, 12, 74 15, 78 8, 182 6, 200 15, 246 13, 252 27. *Choice*. Lat. *delectus*. The ἐκλογή of words is constantly contrasted with their σύνθεσις. Cp. ἐκλέγειν 74 9, 182 3.

ἐκλογίζεσθαι. 200 6. *To consider fully*. Lat. *expendere, percensere*.

ἐκμαλάττειν. 134 10. *To soften*. Lat. *emollire, mulcere*.

ἐκμάττεσθαι. 250 14. *To take the impress of*. Lat. *exprimere, imitari*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 4 τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ κατεσκευασμένην φράσιν τῶν περὶ Γοργίαν ἐκμέμακται, and c. 13 τὸν Λυσιακὸν χαρακτηρᾶ ἐκμέμακται εἰς ὄνυχᾶ (i.e. *ad unguem, ad amussim*).

ἐκμέλεια. 124 1. *False note*. Lat. *dissonantia*.

ἐκμιμεῖσθαι. 70 4. *To copy*. Lat. *imitari, imitando effingere*.

ἐκπληροῦν. 212 15. *To fill out, to round off*. Lat. *orbem orationis implere*.

ἔκστασις. 156 20. *Astonishment*. Lat. *stupor*. Cp. *Ev. Marc.* xvi. 8 εἶχε δὲ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις.

ἔκτασις. 204 3, 268 19. *Stretching, lengthening*. Lat. *productio*. Cp. Demetr. .

ἐκτείνειν. 140 18, 142 10. *To lengthen, to prolong*. Lat. *producere*.

ἐκφαίνειν. 154 22. *To reproduce*. Lat. *referre*.

ἐκφανής. 246 1. *Prominent*. Lat. *conspiciuus*.

ἐκφέρειν. 68 12, 84 6, 94 10, 15, 106 19, 108 3, 112 9, 114 1, 116 24, 118 6, 15, etc. *To utter, to produce*: with various cognate meanings. Lat. *edere, promere*.

ἐκφορά. 112 15, 142 7. *Utterance*. Lat. *pronuntiatio*.

ἐκφωνεῖν. 140 5. *To pronounce*. Lat. *pronuntiare*. Cp. Demetr. .

ἐλάττωσις. 156 22. *Curtailment*. Lat. *imminutio*.

ἐλεγειακός. 256 23. *Elegiac*. Lat. *elegiacus*. Coupled with πεντάμετρον.

ἐλεῦθερος. 212 9. *Unfettered*. Lat. *liber*. Epithet applied to κῶλα.

ἐμπερίοδος. 118 15. *In periods, periodic*. Lat. *periodo inclusus*.

ἐμφαίνειν. 110 19, 212 13, 228 7, 254 17, 21. *To indicate*. Lat. *indicare, ostendere*.

ἐναγώνιος. 90 6, 198 1. *Forensic*. Lat. *forensis*. With some notion of *combative, incisive, vehement*. Cp. δικανικός, *supra*.

ἐναρθρός. 136 22. *Articulate*. Lat. *articulatus*.

ἐναρμόνιος. 194 7, 196 3, 11. *Enharmonic*. Lat. *enarmonicus*. For the enharmonic scale see note on 194 7. — In 108 10 and 196 11 the word is used in a less restricted sense. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 24 νῦν μὲν γὰρ δυσὶ περιλαμβανομένη κώλοισι σύμμετρος ἔστι [ἡ περίοδος] καὶ ἐναρμόνιος καὶ στρογγύλη καὶ βάσιν εἴληφεν ἀσφαλῆ.

ἐνδεχομένων. 96 17. *Admissible*. Lat. *licitus*.

ἐνεξουσιάζειν. 196 5: see n. *ad loc*.

ἐνέργεια. 204 1, 268 5. *Activity*. Lat. *actio*.

ἐνικῶς. 106 18. *In the singular number*. Lat. *singulariter*.

ἐντεχνος. 134 2, 272 21, 23. *According to the rules of art, artistic, systematic*. Lat. *artificiosus*.

ἐξάμετρος. 194 3. *Of six measures, hexameter* (line: στίχος). Lat. *hexameter*.

ἐξάπους. 84 21. *Of six feet*. Lat. *sex constans pedibus*.

ἔξις. 66 1, 122 24, 268 4, 11, 26. *State or habit (of body or mind); skill based on practice*. Lat. *habitus, habitus, peritia*.

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. 94 9. *To profess to teach a subject*. Lat. *profiteri*.

ἐπαγωγός. 162 2. *Conducive to*. Lat. *aptus ad inducendum*. For the genitive cp. s.v. ἀγωγή, *supra*.

ἐπανθεῖν. 198 10. *To bloom*. Lat. *efflorescere*.

ἐπεισόδιον. 196 24. *Pleasure-giving addition, episode*. Lat. *episodium*.

ἐπιγραφή. 96 13, 104 4. *Title*. Lat. *inscriptio*.

ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. 162 2, 228 9, 254 1. *To make a display of*. Lat. *prae se ferre, ostentare*.

ἐπιθαλάμιον (sc. ποίημα). 258 7. *Bridal song*. Lat. *epithalamium*.

ἐπίθετον. 102 17. *An addition, epithet, adjective* ('the qualifier,' Puttenham's sixteenth-century *Arte of English Poesie*). Lat. *ad nomen adiunctum, appositum* (Quintil. viii. 3. 43; 6. 29). The ἐπίθετον seems to be regarded by Dionysius as a separate part of speech: cp. Steinthal *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern* ii. "Was das ἐπίθετον betrifft: so ist es im Alterthum vielleicht von Niemandem, höchstens aber nur von dem einen oder andren Grammatiker zum besonderen Redetheil gemacht."

ἐπικίνδυνος. 80 13. *Hazardous*. Lat. *periculosus*. *Aventuré* would perhaps be a better French equivalent, in this context, than *risqué*.

ἐπίκοινος. 150 4. *Common* (i.e. belonging equally to both). Lat. *communis*.

ἐπικός. 214 2, 274 7. *Epic*. Lat. *epicus*. ἐπικὴ ποίησις = *epic poetry*.

ἐπικρύπτειν. 134 16, 198 10. *To hide, to veil*. Lat. *occultare*.

ἐπιλαμπρύνειν. 144 2. *To make crisp and clear.* Lat. *clarum reddere*. Cp. Plut. Mor. 912 C καὶ οἱ βράτραχοι, προσδοκῶντες ὄμβρον, ἐπιλαμπρύνουσι τὴν φωνήν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς.

ἐπίρρημα. 70 21. *Adverb.* Lat. *adverbium*.

ἐπισκοτεῖν. 134 14, 260 1. *To overshadow.* Lat. *obscurare*.

ἐπίστασις. 68 1. *Attention.* Lat. *cura*. Cp. ἀνεπιστάτως, *heedlessly*, 74 6: so Long. *de Subl.* xxxiii. 4 ὑπὸ μεγαλοφυΐας ἀνεπιστάτως παρενηνεγμένα, ‘introduced with all the heedlessness of genius.’

ἐπιστήμη. 104 15, 110 8, 124 5, 21, 134 3. *Knowledge, science.* Lat. *scientia*.

ἐπίτασις. 210 5. *Tightening.* Lat. *intentio*.

ἐπιτάφιος. 116 2, 178 1, 180 8. *Funeral speech* (sub. λόγος). Lat. *oratio funebris*.

ἐπιταχύνειν. 204 8, 22. *To quicken.* Lat. *accelerare*.

ἐπιτείνειν. 126 4. *To raise the pitch.* Lat. *intendere*.

ἐπιτερπής. 228 12. *Delightful.* Lat. *iucundus*.

ἐπιτετηδευμένως. 260 25. *Deliberately.* Lat. *de industria*. Cp. ἐπιτηδεύειν 136 18, and ἀνεπιτήδευτος (*supra*).

ἐπιτήδευσις. 70 6, 212 19. *Pains, study.* Lat. *studium, industria*.

ἐπιτρόχαλος. 180 14. *Running, tripping.* Lat. *velox, volubilis*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 40 ἐπιτρόχαλος δὴ τις γίνεται καὶ καταφερής ἢ ῥύσις τῆς λῆξεως, ὥσπερ κατὰ πρανοῦς φερόμενα χωρίου νάματα μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντικρούοντος. — In Hom. *Il.* iii. 213 ἐπιτροχάδην = *trippingly, unfalteringly*.

ἐπιτυχής. 268 13. *Successful.* Lat. *voti compos*.

ἐπιφέρειν. 88 16. *To quote.* Lat. *citare, laudare, proferre*. Cp. Demetr. .

ἐποποιός. 194 2, 236 15. *Epic poet.* Lat. *poëta epicus*. So τὰ ἔπη (270 19) = *versus epici*.

ἐποχή. 204 2. *Delay, suspense.* Lat. *impedimentum, retentio*.

ἐπωδός. 194 12, 278 9. *After-song, coda, epode*. In this sense (that of the part of a lyric ode which is sung after the strophe and antistrophe) the word is feminine. In 194 20, if the masculine ὀλίγοις is rightly read, the special meaning of ἐπωδός will be *refrain, burden*: a meaning somewhat nearer that of the Latin *epodos*.

ἐρεΐδειν. 142 13. *To thrust.* Lat. *trudere*. So ἔρεισις 204 4. In 210 16 ἐρεΐδεσθαι = *to be firmly planted*.

ἐρμηνεία. 66 18, 76 9, 78 19, 84 11, 172 17, 182 5. *Expression, style.* Lat. *elocutio*. The word appears in the title of the treatise περὶ ἐρμηνείας which passes under the name of Demetrius. So ἐρμηνεύειν (*to express*) in 76 9, 186 18, 204 8, 260 20. Cp. Demetr. (s.v. ἐρμηνεία and ἐρμηνεύειν).

ἐτυμολογία. 160 6. *Etymology*: with reference to Plato’s *Cratylus*. For Latin equivalents cp. Quintil. i. 6. 28 “*etymologia, quae verborum originem inquit, a Cicerone dicta est notatio, quia nomen eius apud Aristotelem invenitur σύμβολον, quod est nota; nam verbum ex verbo ductum, id est veriloquium, ipse Cicero, qui finxit, reformidat. sunt qui vim potius intuiti originationem vocent.*”

εὐγενής. 136 11, 178 14, 21, 180 3. *Well-born, noble.* Lat. *generosus*. So εὐγενεία 192 8. The εὐγενής is not necessarily γενναῖος (Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 15. 3).

εὐγλωσσος. 70 2. *Pleasant on the tongue*. Lat. *suavis*.

εὐγρᾶμμος. 230 31, 246 3. *Well-drawn, well-defined*. Lat. *definitus*.

εὐγώνιος. 210 22. *Four-square*. Lat. *quī angulis rectis constat, quadratus*.

εὐέπεια. 240 5, 18, 246 1, 268 28. *Beauty of language*. Lat. *verborum elegantia*. In this treatise Dionysius clearly uses the word with special reference to his main subject — *beauty of sound, euphony*. So also εὐεπής 218 10, 222 6, 224 2, 228 5, 230 20; and εὐεπῶς 232 11. In the *Classical Review* xviii. 19 the present writer has tried to show that, even in an author so early as Sophocles (*Oed. Tyr.* 928), the word εὐέπεια is to be understood in a rhetorical sense ('elegant language,' 'neatly-turned phrase': with direct reference to the employment of a 'figure' of rhetoric). But, later, the word was used of 'eloquence' generally (as in the well-known epigram of Simmias on the tomb of Sophocles himself); and to this wider meaning Dionysius here gives a special turn of his own.

εὐήτριος. 234 12. *With fine thread, well-woven*. Lat. *bene textus*.

εὐκαιρος. 134 18, 196 25. *Timely*. Lat. *opportunist, tempestivus*. So εὐκαίρως 132 3, εὐκαιρίαν 242 3.

εὐκαταφρόνητος. 74 12. *Contemptible*. Lat. *abiectus, humilis*.

εὐκρατος. 210 1, 246 11. *Well-blended*. Lat. *temperatus*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 3 ἡ Θρασυμάχειος ἐρμηνεία, μέση τοῖν δυεῖν καὶ εὐκρατος: Cic. *Orat.* 6. 21 "est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus," etc. — Both in 210 1 and in 246 11 the well-supported variant κοινήν is to be noted: it may conceivably have originated in a gloss on εὐκρατον. — In 220 17 the similar adjective εὐκέραστος is used, though not in reference to the three ἁρμονίαι.

εὐλάβεια. 234 17. *Caution*. Lat. *cautio*. Used in the phrase δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχει.

εὐλογος. 158 12. *Reasonable*. Lat. *rationi consentaneus*. The reference is to resemblances which are not ἄλογοι, but have a natural basis and are grounded in reason.

εὐμελής. 130 6, 134 9. *Melodious*. Lat. *canorus*. — On the other hand, ἐμμελής = *in melody, set to music*: 124 10, 130 6, 254 2, 8, 270 5; and so ἐμμέλεια 122 21, 182 2, 266 4.

εὐμετρος. 254 6. *Metrical; possessing good metrical qualities*. Lat. *metricus*. — On the other hand, ἔμμετρος = *in metre*: 74 4, 76 1, 168 8, 176 1, 21, 254 2, 4, 14, 270 5. In 270 10 ἔμμετρία has good manuscript authority. Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 8. 1 τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μῆτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μῆτε ἄρρυθμον.

εὐμορφος. 84 2, 144 3, 162 1. *Of beautiful form*. Lat. *formosus*. So εὐμορφία 168 4, 264 16.

εὐπάθεια. 250 4. *Pleasure*. Lat. *voluptas*. Plur. εὐπάθειαι = Lat. *deliciae*.

εὐπαίδεντος. 228 10. *Scholarly, cultured*. Lat. *doctus*.

εὐπετής. 218 10, 222 6. *Flowing easily*. Lat. *volutilis*. [According to the reading of P in each passage. But εὐπέξ should probably be read.] Cp. εὐρους in 240 21 and (according to P) in 196 25.

εὐπρόφορος. 132 2. *Easy to pronounce*. Lat. *facilis pronuntiatus*.

εὐρους. 240 21. *Flowing, copious*. Lat. *copiosus*. See also s.v. εὐπετής, *supra*.

εὐρυθμος. 124 10, 130 8, 134 9, 236 3, 254 6, 18. *Rhythmical*. Lat. *numerosus, moderatus* (Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 48. 184; ii. 8. 34). So εὐρυθμία 118 11, 122 21, 182 2, 254 27: cp. Cic. *Orat.* 65. 220 "multum interest utrum numerosa sit, id est, similis numerorum, an plane e numeris constet oratio," and Quintil. ix. 4. 56 "idque Cicero optime videt, ac testatur frequenter, se, quod numerosum sit, quaerere: ut magis

non ἄρρηθμον, quod esset incситum atque agreste, quam ἔνρυθμον, quod poetіcum est, esse compositionem velit.” For ἔνρυθμος see 130 8.

εὖστομία. 110 18, 120 21. *Beauty of sound*. Lat. *soni suavis*. Cp. Plato *Crat.* 405 D, 412 E.

εὖσημος. 172 6. *Graceful*. Lat. *decorus, speciosus*.

εὐτέλης. 78 10, 136 3. *Commonplace, cheap, vulgar*. Lat. *vilis*. Cp. D.H. , and Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 7. 2.

εὐτροχος. 206 14. *Running easily*. Lat. *celer, volubilis*. Cp. γλῶσσα εὐτροχος = *a glib tongue* (Eur. Bacch. 268).

εὐτυχῶς. 186 3. *Happily, successfully*. Lat. *feliciter*. Cp. εὐτυχοῦσιν 198 5, and ἀτυχεῖ 198 16.

εὐφωνία. 266 4. *Euphony, musical sound*. Lat. *vocis dulcedo s. suavis*. So εὐφωvos 132 1, 134 9, 142 10, 166 7, 17, 230 23, 234 14. For a modern view of the effect of euphony cp. the words of Jowett (*Dialogues of Plato* i. 310): “In all the higher uses of language the sound is the echo of the sense, especially in poetry, in which beauty and expressiveness are given to human thoughts by the harmonious composition of the words, syllables, letters, accents, quantities, rhythms, rhymes, varieties and contrasts of all sorts.” Hence, though no lover of the vicious style sometimes termed “poetic prose,” Jowett says in his *Notes and Sayings*: “If I were a professor of English, I would teach my men that prose writing is a kind of poetry.”

ἐφάμιλλος. 116 8. *Rivalling, a match for*. Lat. *aemulus, haud impar*.

ἡγεμών. 168 17. *Hegemon*. The metrical foot υ υ. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 47 ὥσπερ οἶονταί τινες καὶ καλοῦσι τὸν οὕτως κατασκευασθέντα ρυθμὸν ἡγεμόνα.

Ἡγησιακός. 90 19. *Hegesian, recalling Hegesias*. Lat. *Hegesiacus*. For Hegesias see Introduction, p-55 *supra*.

ἡδονή. 80 16, 118 22, 120 20, 132 19, 21. *Charm*. Lat. *iucunditas, dulcedo*. Fr. *charme, agrément, attrait*. C 20-24 τάττω δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν τε ὥραν καὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν εὖστομίαν καὶ τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ καλὸν τὴν τε μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν σεμνολογίαν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν πίνον καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια. See also Demetr. . So ἡδύς (*suavis, iucundus; sweet, pleasing, agreeable, attractive, charming*), 68 6, 74 13, etc.

ἡδύνειν. 130 11, 146 8, 148 6, 160 15, 164 13. *To sweeten; to delight, to charm*. Lat. *dulce reddere; demulcere*.

ἥθος. 88 12, 160 17, 212 11. *Character*. Lat. *mos, indoles*. Cp. Demetr. , D.H. . See Jebb's *Attic Orators* i. 30, 31 for *pathos* and *ethos* in Antiphon (with reference to C.V. 212 10). According to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, a speech may be in, or out of, *character* in reference to (1) speaker, (2) audience, (3) subject.

ἡμιστίχιον. 274 17. *A half-line, half-verse*. Lat. *hemistichium*. Cp. Demetr. , s.v. ἡμίμετρον.

ἡμιτελής. 140 4. *Half-perfect*. Lat. *semiperfectus*.

ἡμίτόνιον. 126 5, 19. *A half-tone, semitone*. Lat. *hemitonium*.

ἡμίφωνος. 138 13, 140 1, 144 7, 146 5, 220 11. *Semi-voiced, semi-vocal*. Lat. *semivocalis*. ἡμίφωνα γράμματα = *litterae semivocales*. Cp. s.v. ἄφωνος, *supra*.

ἡρεμία. 156 11, 160 4. *Rest, immobility*. Lat. *quies, tranquillitas*. So ἡρεμεῖν 142 1.

ἡρωϊκός. 84 21, 86 3, 88 7, 172 17, 206 10. *Heroic* (sc. στίχος: the hexameter line). Lat. *heroicus*. In 172 17 and 206 10, with μέτρον.

ἡσυχῇ. 148 8. *Softly, gently*. Lat. *sensim*.

ἡχεῖσθαι. 138 12, 142 7. *To be sounded*. Lat. *pronuntiari, sonare*.

ἦχος. 130 19, 138 11, 142 14, 19, etc. *Sound*. Lat. *sonus*.

θεατρικός. 212 16, 216 19, 228 8, 236 11. *Theatrical, showy*. Lat. *theatralis*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 25 ἐπὶ τὰ θεατρικὰ τὰ Γοργεία ταυτὶ παραγίνεται, τὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ τὰς παρισώσεις λέγω.

θεοβλάβεια. 184 23. *Madness, blindness*. Lat. *mens divinitus laesa*.

θεώρημα. 72 12, 16, 88 14, 96 25, 104 11, etc. *Investigation, speculation; rule*. Lat. *quaestio; praeceptum artis*. Cp. θεωρία 66 8, 96 14, 98 2, 102 25, 104 3, etc., and θεωρεῖν 152 26, 204 3, 210 9.

θηλυκός. 106 21. *Of the feminine gender*. Lat. *femininus*.

θηῖλος. 172 7. *Effeminate*. Lat. *muliebris, effeminatus*. Cp. Larue van Hook *Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric*, s.v. ἀνδρώδης.

θηρίωδης. 146 13. *Beast-like*. Lat. *ferinus*. The term will, of course, apply to vipers as well as other animals: cp. τὸ θηρίον in *Acta Apost.* xxviii. 4, and ἡ θηριακή ('antidote against a poisonous bite'), whence the word *treacle*.

θορυβεῖν. 122 22. *To hiss off the stage*. Lat. *explodere*.

θρυλγμός. 124 1. *Harsh sound, false note*. Lat. *murmur inconcinnum, dissonantia*. Cp. *Hymn. Hom. in Merc.* 486 ὃς δὲ κεν αὐτὴν | νῆϊς ἐὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεῖνιη, | μὰψ αὖτως κεν ἔπειτα μετῆορά τε θρυλίζοι.

ἱαμβεῖον. 258 25, 262 4. *Iambic line*. Lat. *versus iambicus*.

ἱάμβος. 170 7, 270 19. *Iambus*. The metrical foot ∪ –. The adjective ἱαμβικός in 184 11, 258 19, 276 10.

ιδέα. 88 6, 104 8, 116 12, 198 17, 200 5, 248 4. *Kind, aspect*. Lat. *genus, aspectus*.

ιδίωμα. 240 23. *Peculiarity*. Lat. *proprietas*. Cp. Long., D.H. .

ιδιώτης. 124 2, 272 19. *Amateur, uncultivated*. Lat. *imperitus*. *Idiots* long bore this meaning of 'ordinary persons' in English: cp. Jeremy Taylor, "humility is a duty in great ones as well as in idiots."

ἰθυφάλλιον. 86 8. *Ithyphallic poem*. Lat. *carmen ithyphallicum*. A poem composed in the measure of the hymns to Priapus. Cp. Masqueray *Abriss der griechischen Metrik* p. 192.

ἰσομεγέθης. 270 16. *Equal in size*. Lat. *par magnitudine*.

ἱστορία. 214 1. *History*. Lat. *historia*. So ἱστορικός, *suited to narrative*, 90 6. In 66 14 ἱστορία = *inquiry, investigation*.

ἰσχυρός. 162 23, 210 17, 216 16. *Strong, vigorous*. Lat. *firmus, robustus*. In 216 16 there may be some sense of *nerveux*. — ἰσχύς occurs in 68 19, 72 19, etc.; ῥώμη in 84 13; κράτος in 72 14.

Ἴωνικός. 86 14. *Ionic*. Lat. *Ionicus*. The Ionic tetrameter is meant. Cp. Masqueray, *op. cit.* p ff.

καθαρός. 68 4, 74 18, 230 14. *Pure*. Lat. *purus*. For Greek and Latin authors as conscious purists, cp. Terence's "in hac est pura oratio," or Dionysius' τὸ καθαρῶς εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον (*de Lysia* c. 2). See C. N. Smiley's dissertation on *Latinitas and Ἑλληνισμός*, and L. Laurand's *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron* p ff. (the section headed "Pureté de la langue").

καθολικός. 134 2. *General*. Lat. *universalis*.

καινότης. 232 20. *Novelty*. Lat. *novitas*. Used in a condemnatory sense: ‘innovation,’ ‘singularity,’ ‘eccentricity.’

καινοτομεῖν. 254 23. *To break new ground*. Lat. *novare*. It is a mining metaphor — from the opening of a new vein. Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 2.

καινουργεῖν. 200 18. *To introduce new features*. Lat. *novitati studere*.

καιρός. 132 15, 20, 21. *Sense of measure, tact, taste*. See S. H. Butcher’s *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects*, p-120, for καιρός as a word without any single or precise equivalent in any other language. Cp. εὔκαιρος 134 18, 196 25; εὐκαίρως 132 3; εὐκαιρία 242 3.

κακόφωνος. 132 1, 164 11. *Ill-sounding*. Lat. *male sonans*. Cp. Demetr. .

καλλιπής. 180 3. *Choice in diction*. Lat. *suaviloquens*. It is the word used of Agathon in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 49 (*Classical Review* xviii. 20). Cp. D.H. , with the passages there quoted: to which may be added Plato *Apol.* 17 B κεκαλλιεπημένους λόγους, and (for ἔπος only) Thucyd. iii. 67 λόγοι ἔπεισι κοσμηθέντες and ii. 41 ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει.

καλλιλογία. 164 20, 166 12. *Elegant language*. Lat. *venusta elocutio*. So καλλιλογεῖν of ‘verbal embellishment,’ 80 12.

καλλιρήμων. 74 18, 166 7. *Couched in elegant phrase*. Lat. *elegantibus ornatus verbis*.

κάλλος. 78 19, 84 10, 94 2, 160 13, 172 16, 182 5, 256 5. *Beauty* (of language). Lat. *pulchritudo*. Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 2. 13.

καλός. 118 23, 120 22, 136 8, 160 13, 14, 178 15, *passim*. *Beautiful*. Lat. *pulcher*. The word is inadequately translated by ‘beautiful’; and ‘fine’ has unfortunate associations of its own, especially in relation to writing. ‘Noble’ would often be nearer the mark, but that rendering is needed for γενναῖος and εὐγενής (c 13, 178 15, etc.). In English we lack a single word to denote that *noble beauty* which is sometimes seen in a human face, and which suggests an ultimate harmony of things. The meaning of καλός, as distinguished from ἡδύς (in reference to composition), may be gathered from such passages as 68 5 (τῷ σεμνῷ τὸ ἡδύ) and 120 22-24 (see under ἡδονή, *supra*). The antithesis is not, as has sometimes been thought, that of pleasure to the *ear* and beauty to the *mind*. In this treatise Dionysius is dealing not with subject matter (ὁ πραγματικὸς τόπος) but with expression, and that chiefly from the euphonic point of view. καλός includes certain forms of pleasure — of the ear as well as of the mind: cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 1405 b and Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 177 ὠρίσαστο δ’ αὐτὰ (καλὰ ὀνόματα) Θεόφραστος οὕτως. κάλλος ὀνόματος ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἡδύ, ἢ τὸ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἔντιμον. Cp., further, *gravitas* (*suavitas*, Cic. *Or.* §§ 62, 182; *honestus*) (*iucundus*, Quintil. ix. 4. 146; ἡδεῖαν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12).

κατακεκλασμένος. 184 17. *Broken, nerveless*. Lat. *fractus, mollis*. Fr. *faible, maigre, rompu*. Cp. κατακλωμένους, 262 12, where Dionysius seems to indicate the broken (but by no means nerveless) foot

— — — (τοσαύτην ὑπάρξει).

So Long. *de Subl.* xli. 1 μικροποιῶν δ’ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς, ὥς ῥυθμὸς κεκλασμένος λόγων καὶ σεσοβημένος, οἷον δὴ πυρρίχιοι καὶ τροχαῖοι καὶ διχόρειοι, τέλεον εἰς ὀρηκτικὸν συνεκπίπτοντες. Cp. Demetr. .

καταλαμβάνειν. 230 4, 12. *To check*. Lat. *cohibere, premere*. Usener’s insertion of σιωπῇ in 230 12 is perhaps unnecessary. Herod. v. 21 ὁ τῶν Περσέων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσιγήθη (i.e. “Persarum caedes ita silentio compressa est”) does not decide the point.

κατάληξις. 178 20, 184 9, 258 13. *Final syllable*. Lat. *syllaba terminalis*. With 178 20 c 13 καὶ συλλαβὴν ὕφ' ἧς τελειοῦται τὸ κῶλον. See also Long. *de Subl.* xli. 2 τὰς ὀφειλομένας καταλήξεις, and Demetr. (s.v. καταληκτικός).

κατάλογος. 168 1. *Catalogue*. Lat. *enumeratio*. The Homeric 'Catalogue' (in *Il.* ii.) is meant.

καταμετρέϊν. 174 24, 182 16. *To measure*. Lat. *emetiri*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 39.

καταπυκνοῦν. 162 4, 16. *To pack*. Lat. *stipare*. Fr. *charger*.

κατασκευή. 70 4, 156 13, 160 19, 164 12. *Artistic treatment*. Lat. *ornatus*. The Latin *apparatus*, and French *apprêt*, will also give something of the meaning. Cp. κατασκευάζειν 106 3, 140 9, 154 3, 14, 17, 158 1, 4, etc. See also D.H., under κατασκευή (with the passages there quoted) and κατασκευάζειν.

κατασπᾶν. 204 24. *To pull down*. Lat. *detrahere*. Cp. the use of κατεσπυσμένα and κατεσπεῦσθαι in Long. *de Subl.* xix. 2, xl. 4. [It is possible that κατεσπεῦσθαι should be read in C.V. 204 24.]

κατάστασις. 200 8. *State*. Lat. *condicio*.

καταφορά. 204 19. *Downrush*. Lat. *decursus*.

καταχλευάζειν. 264 9. *To jeer*. Lat. *cavillari, irridere*.

κατάχρησις. 78 16. *Catachresis*. Lat. *abusio*. A definition is given by Quintil. viii. 6. 34 "eo magis necessaria κατάχρησις, quam recte dicimus *abusionem*, quae non habentibus nomen suum accommodat, quod in proximo est: sic *Equum divina Palladis arte Aedificant*." Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 27. 94, where the same Latin equivalent is given, though not the same description of the figure: "Aristoteles autem translationi et haec ipsa subiungit et *abusionem*, quam κατάχρησιν vocant, ut cum minutum dicimus animum pro parvo, et abutimur verbis propinquis, si opus est, vel quod delectat vel quod decet" (cp. *Auct. ad Her.* iv. c. 33). In Cic. *Acad.* ii. 47. 143, "Quid ergo Academici appellamur? an abutimur gloria nominis?" the meaning probably is: 'do we use the glorious name of 'Academic' in an unnatural way?'

κατεσπουδασμένος. 156 7. *Earnest*. Lat. *anxius, instans*. Cp. Herod. ii. 174.

κεραυνύναι. 218 7, 240 17, 246 12, 248 17, etc. *To mix, to temper*. Lat. *commiscere, temperare*. Cp. the adjectives εὐκρατος and εὐκέρastos, *supra*. The general sense in 248 17 is, 'qui aient su mieux qu'eux faire un heureux mélange des couleurs.'

κερατοειδής. 146 12. *Sounding like a horn*. Lat. *sonus veluti corneus*. κερατοειδείς ἦχους = 'sounds like (the sounds of) a horn': cp. *Hymn. Hom. in Merc.* 81 μυρσινοειδέας ὄζους, 'branches like (the branches of) myrtle.'

κεφάλαιον. 68 18, 120 25, 130 14, 136 7, 160 8. *Heading, topic, sum and substance*. Lat. *caput, summa*. So κεφαλαιωδῶς, 112 21, *under heads*.

κηλεῖν. 124 13. *To charm*. Lat. *permulcere*.

κινεῖν. 146 8, 194 12. *To excite, to disturb*. Lat. *movere*. So κίνησις, *movement*, 124 8, 160 3, 244 20; and κινήτικός, 158 12.

κλέπτειν. 196 17. *To cheat, to disguise*. Lat. *dissimulare, obtegere*. Cp. Demetr. .

κοινός. 120 13, 122 14, 148 14, 164 22, 200 7, 210 1 (according to one reading), 236 11, 252 28. *Common, mixed, general*. Lat. *communis*. For the meaning 'in general terms' cp. *de Dinarcho* c. 8 λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὕκ ἐν τῷ καθόλου τρόπῳ, ὥς μηδὲν τούτων κατορθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κοινοτέρῳ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.

κολακικός. 236 9. *Alluring*. Lat. *blandus*.

κόμμα. 270 15, 276 2. *Short clause, phrase*. Lat. *incisum* (Cic. *Orat.* 62. 211; Quintil. ix. 4. 22). Fr. *incise*. Cp. Demetr. ; Quintil. ix. 4. 122 “*incisum* (quantum mea fert opinio) erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus, plerisque pars membri”; C.V. 270 15 κόμματα ... βραχύτερα κώλων. So κομμάτιον 274 14, 276 6. [The terms *comma*, *colon*, and *period* are now specially applied to punctuation.] For illustrations of κῶλα and κόμματα drawn from Cicero see Laurand’s *Études*. In *de Demosth.* c. 39 the adjective κομματικῶς is found: ἀποιήτως δὲ πως καὶ ἀφελῶς καὶ τὰ πλείω κομματικῶς (i.e. per brevia commata et incisa) κατεσκευάσθαι βούλεται.

κόπτειν. 132 4, 198 7. *To smite upon, to weary*. Lat. *obtundere*. Used in reference to the ear, when it receives ‘hammer-strokes of sound.’

κόρος. 124 18, 132 11, 192 18, 196 18, 252 25. *Satiety*. Lat. *satietas* (Cic. *Orat.* 65. 219). In using this word Dionysius often has in mind Pindar *Nem.* vii. 52 (κόρον δ’ ἔχει καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν’ ἄνθε’ ἀπροδίσια): a passage which he quotes in *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 3.

κορυφή. 248 4. *Top, head*. Lat. *caput*. Cp. κορυφαῖος (*headman*) and ἀκόρυφος (230 31).

κορωνίς. 94 4. *Colophon, finis*. Lat. *coronis*. μέχρι κορωνίδος διελθεῖν = ‘usque ad calcem perlegere,’ ‘from title to colophon.’

κοῤῥσις. 130 25, 154 10, 220 12. *A mixing, blending*. Lat. *mistura*.

κράτιστος. 70 1, 120 18, 134 20, 142 5, 150 10, 160 5, 162 3, 15, 176 15, 196 10, 206 21, 214 16, 250 16, 260 21. *Strongest, finest, best*. Lat. *fortissimus, optimus*. It is not always easy to determine in these passages whether the meaning is general or special. But in 162 3 κρατίστοις is opposed to μαλακωτάτοις. When he wishes to be quite explicit, Dionysius can use ἰσχυρός (162 23), or βέλτιστος.

κράτος. 70 5, 72 14, etc. *Force, power*. Lat. *vis, robur*.

κρητικός. 174 11, 260 23, 262 9. *Cretic*. The metrical foot – ∪ –. For the cretic foot cp. Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 47. 183 and *Or.* 64. 218; Quintil. ix. 4. 81, 97, 104, 107. In the Epitome c. 17 the equivalent term ἀμφιακρός is used instead of κρητικός. For the excessive use in prose of the cretic (as, indeed, of any other distinctly metrical) rhythm cp. Walter C. Summers in *Classical Quarterly* ii. 173.

κριτήριον. 250 7. *Criterion*. Lat. *iudicium*.

κροῦσις. 124 8, 144 1, 268 7. *Stroke; note (of an instrument)*. Lat. *pulsus*.

κτενίζειν. 264 22. *To comb*. Lat. *pectere*. Parallel metaphors from Latin literature are quoted in Larue van Hook’s *Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric*.

κυκλικός. 174 4. *Cyclic*. Lat. *cyclicus*. Goodell (*Greek Metric* p ff.) points out that the much-debated question of ‘cyclic’ or ‘three-timed’ anapaests and dactyls hinges on this passage (174 4), together with part of c. 20 (204 16–206 16). As he says (*ibid.*), “It is clear that Dionysius does not regard even these irrational dactyls as three-timed merely; the nearest approach to that view is in the remark that some are not much longer than trochees. But that implies that even the briefest are somewhat longer than trochees.” Goodell also suggests () that κυκλικός in Dionysius corresponds to στρογγύλος in a passage of Aristides Quintilianus. Clearly the elaborate structure of the ‘cyclic dactyl’ cannot stand securely upon so slight a foundation as these statements of Dionysius. See further in Goodell (*op. cit.*), and also in L. Vernier *Traité de métrique grecque et latine* c. 14 p ff.

κύκλος. 198 6, 212 14, 246 3. *A circle, a round*. Lat. *orbis, ambitus*.

κύριος. 84 5, 208 24, 246 11. *Accredited, regular, proper*. Lat. *proprius*. Fr. *propre* (in *le mot propre*). Cp. D.H., Demetr.; and (in addition to the passages there quoted) Quintil. i. 5. 71 “*propria sunt verba*,

cum id significant, in quod primo denominata sunt: *translata*, cum alium natura intellectum, alium loco praebent.” The meaning ‘proper,’ ‘literal,’ is well illustrated by 208 24, where κυρίως (‘used in the ordinary sense’) is opposed to μεταφορικῶς.

κῶλον. 72 6, 9, 104 9, 110 10, 176 2, 178 6, 7, 194 13, 22, 218 18, 230 16, 234 20, 21, 276 2, 6, 14, 278 6, etc., *passim*. *Member, clause, group of words*. Lat. *membrum*. Fr. *membre de phrase*. Cp. Demetr. , and Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 9. 5 κῶλον δ’ ἐστὶν τὸ ἕτερον μῦθον ταύτης [sc. περιόδου], Quintil. ix. 4. 22 “*membra*, quae κῶλα (dicuntur),” Long, *de Subl.* xl. 1 ἡ τῶν μελῶν [this illustrates the metaphor in κῶλον] ἐπισύνθεσις. For the length of the κῶλον cp. Sandys’ *Orator of Cicero* and Laurand’s *Études* p-9; and see, generally, A. du Mesnil *Über die rhetorischen Kunstformen, Komma, Kolon, Periode*.

κωμῳδεῖν. 264 9. *To scoff*. Lat. *iocari, illudere*.

λαμβάνειν. 100 26, 104 17, 20, 106 18, 19, 108 2, 5, 8, *passim*. *To take, to employ*. Lat. *sumere, adhibere*.

λεαίνειν. 130 19, 164 12. *To smooth, to fall softly on*. Lat. *polire, mulcere*.

λεῖος. 132 1, 154 12, 162 23, 222 5, 228 4, 234 14. *Smooth*. Lat. *levis*. So λειότης (*douceur*) 240 6. Cp. Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 176 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μουσικοῖς λέγεται τι ὄνομα λεῖον, καὶ ἕτερον τὸ τραχύ, καὶ ἄλλο εὐπαγές, καὶ ἄλλ’ ὀγκρὸν. λεῖον μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὄνομα τὸ διὰ φωνηέντων ἢ πάντων ἢ διὰ πλειόνων, οἷον Αἴας, τραχὺ δὲ οἷον βέβρωκεν.

λεκτικός. 66 7, 96 9. *Relating to style or expression*. Lat. *qui ad elocutionem spectat*. ὁ λεκτικός τόπος = the province of expression, as distinguished from ὁ πραγματικός τόπος. — λεκτικῶς, 258 3, = *after the manner of prose*.

λέξις. 66 16, 70 3, 11, 14, 74 3, 8, 84 15 (‘passages’), 88 22, 25, 90 4, 110 9, 112 6, *passim*. *Speech or language; utterance; diction; style; word, expression, passage*. Lat. *dictio, elocutio, verbum s. locutio*. For the broad meaning ‘word’ or ‘phrase,’ common in Greek writers of the later periods, c 16, 124 23, 128 5, 168 10, 202 22, 206 6, 268 19.

λήρος. 90 20. *Trumpery*. Lat. *ineptiae*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 25 καὶ διὰ τῶν λήρων τούτων κοσμεῖ τὴν φράσιν.

λιτός. 76 8. *Trifling*. Lat. *exiguus, humilis*. For λιτός = *plain, simple*, cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 16 ποικίλος καὶ οὐ λιτός.

λογάδην. 210 21. *Casually*. Lat. *fortuito*. Dionysius has in mind not *selected* stones, but stones *collected* (picked up) as they lie. Cp. Joseph. *Antiqq. Iud.* iv. 8. 5 (Naber) καὶ βωμὸς εἷς ἐκ λίθων μὴ κατεργασμένων ἀλλὰ λογάδην συγκειμένων (i.e. *collecticiis*), and Thucyd. iv. 31 καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιὸν λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον, vi. 66 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Δάσκωνι ἔρυμα τι, ἧ εὐεφοδῶτατον ἦν τοῖς πολέμοις, λίθοις λογάδην καὶ ξύλοις διὰ ταχέων ὠρθωσαν.

λογικός. 146 14. *Rational*. Lat. *rationalis*. This passage (θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός) helps to illustrate the use of λογικός in 130 3 (δεδειγμένης τῆς διαφορᾶς ἧ διαφέρει μουσικῆ λογικῆς), where singing and ordinary speech (the sounds of music and those of spoken language) are contrasted.

λογογράφος. 158 1. *Prose-writer*. Lat. *solutae orationis scriptor*. So perhaps Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 11 καὶ ὧν ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια λέγονται ἢ ὑπὸ ποιητῶν ἢ λογογράφων, and Thucyd. i. 21 καὶ οὕτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὕμνηκασιν ... οὕτε ὡς λογογράφοι ἐξυνέθεσαν κτλ.: though in both these passages ‘chroniclers’ may be specially meant. For the meaning ‘professional speech-writer’ cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12. 2. In C.V. 154 17 συγγραφέων is found in the same sense (‘prose-writers’) as λογογράφοι in 158 1.

λογοεῖδεια. 272 15. *Prose-character*. Lat. *color prosaicus*. Fr. *la couleur prosaïque*. The word is well explained and illustrated by a scholiast on Hephaestion (Westphal *Scriptores Metrici Graeci* i. 167): πολιτικὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄνευ πάθους ἢ τρόπου πεποιημένον, οἷον

ἵππους τε ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα [II. xi. 680],

ὄπερ ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ λογοειδεῖ. — In Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 41 τὸ λογικόν is found in the same sense.

λόγος. 64 13, 66 5, 8, 70 10, 72 7, 10, 14, 74 6, 76 2, 84 14, 16, 92 23, 94 2, *passim*. *Discourse, language*. Lat. *oratio, sermo*. Often used of *prose*, as opposed to poetry: c 14, 16, 108 11 (λόγοις πεζοῖς), 118 22, 154 2 (λόγοις ψιλοῖς), 166 4, 208 6, 270 17, 272 9, 13, 17, 19, 28, 278 6, 9 (where the meaning probably is 'a piece of continuous prose'), 280 18; so καὶ ἐν ποιήσει καὶ ἐν λόγοις (Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 2. 7; further references in Bonitz' *Index Aristotelicus*). In many passages (e.g. 66 5, 210 8, 218 1, 248 4) 'writing' or 'literature' (cp. ἡ τῶν λόγων φιλοσοφία = 'the study of literature,' *Rhet. ad Alex.* c. 1) will be a possible modern equivalent, though we must always bear in mind the Greek point of view, that what we call 'literature' was something conveyed by the living voice, — something spoken or read aloud. — See also s.v. ἄμετρος *supra*.

Λύδιος. 196 2. *Lydian*. Lat. *Lydius*. Cp. Monro's *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, *passim*.

μαλακός. 132 1, 154 11, 162 3, etc. *Soft*. Lat. *mollis*. So μαλθακός 90 20. In some passages (90 20, 170 9) the word suggests the idea of 'lacking in backbone,' 'unmanly,' 'effeminate.' Fr. *délicat*, or (rather) *mou*.

μεγαλοπρεπής. 136 12, 166 2, 18, etc. *Grand, impressive, splendid*. Lat. *magnificus*. Fr. *magnifique*. So μεγαλοπρέπεια (*la grandeur*), 120 22, 164 20.

μέγεθος. 172 11, 174 19. *Grandeur, elevation*. Lat. *magnitudo, sublimitas*. Fr. *ampleur*. Cp. Demetr. .

μεθαρμόζειν. 112 2. *To arrange differently, to re-arrange*. Lat. *aliter componere*.

μειοῦν. 128 18, 152 20. *To lessen, to curtail*. Lat. *minuere*. Fr. *retrancher*. So μέωσις 110 15. The word does not, in the C.V., bear the special sense of *extenuare*.

μελικός. 130 7, 252 21, 254 21, 278 4. *Melodious, lyric*. Lat. *lyricus*. In English 'lyric' is a more generally intelligible rendering than 'melic,' though less exact. "To the writers of the Alexandrian age, who introduced and gave currency to the expression, 'lyric' meant primarily what the name imports — poetry sung to the accompaniment of the lyre.... More appropriate than 'lyric,' as an exact and comprehensive designation of all poetry that was sung to a musical accompaniment, is 'melic,' the term in vogue among the Greeks of the classic ages," Weir Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* pp. xvii, xviii. Apparently the *adjectives* μελικός and λυρικός are both late.

μελιχρός. 70 2. *Honey-sweet*. Lat. *mellitus*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 48 ἔν τε ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τοτὲ μὲν τὸ ἀρχαιοπρεπὲς καὶ αὐστηρὸν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸ μελιχρὸν καὶ φιλόκαινον ἐμφαινόμενον.

μέλος. 204 3, *limb*: 122 24, 126 21 (*bis*), 194 7, 13, *tune, melody*: 120 18, 122 11, 130 4, 11, *melodious effect, tunefulness*: 92 22, 120 26, 126 23, 154 2, 192 21, 194 5, 250 11, 16, 254 5, 8, 15, 272 10, 278 6, 280 18, *words set to music, song, aria, chant, lay, lyric*. Lat. *cantus, carmen*, etc. Similarly also μελοποιία 214 3: μελοποιοῖς 194 18, 236 16, 22, 248 13, 270 22, 272 5: μελωδεῖν 126 18, 128 5: μελωδία 122 16, 194 8, 196 2.

μερίζειν. 144 22, 220 25. *To divide*. Lat. *distribuere*.

μέρος. 68 6, 70 14, 96 1, etc. *Part*. Lat. *pars*. τὰ τῆς λέξεως μέρη = 'the parts of speech,' 70 14, 96 14, etc. See also μόριον, .

μέσος. 148 18, 150 11, 210 6, 7, 8, 236 2, 246 10. *Middle, intermediate, average*. Lat. *medius*. So μέσως 146 10, and μεσότης 246 15 (*bis*) (with reference to Aristotle's use of the word for *le juste milieu*), 248 11.

μεταβάλλειν. 194 1, 2. *To change, to vary*. Lat. *mutare*. As its passive, μετακειμένην 266 1.

μεταβολή. 120 19, 122 12, 124 11, 25, 134 18, 19. *Variety*. Lat. *varietas, diversitas*. The object of μεταβολή, as conceived by Dionysius, is to diversify style in order to avoid a monotonous uniformity. Variety is one of the chief essentials of good writing, not only in Greek but in all other languages.

μεταλαμβάνειν. 132 7. *To interchange*. Lat. *commutare*.

μεταπτωτικός. 140 20. *Variable*. Lat. *mutabilis*. So μεταπίπτειν 96 17, 250 7.

μετασκευή. 104 19, 108 9, 110 16 (e coni. Schaeff.), 114 10. *Modification*. Lat. *mutatio*. So μετασκευάζειν 110 6. Cp. text in 110 16 with 104 19, 108 9.

μεταφορά. 78 15. *Transference, metaphor*. “The figure of transport,” Puttenham. Lat. *translatio*.

μετέωρος. 148 23. *Upper*. Lat. *superior* (τοὺς μετεώρους ὀδόντας = *dentes superiores*).

μετοχή. 72 1. *Participle*. Lat. *participium*. Cp. D.H. .

μετρικός. 140 11, 172 2, 174 22, 176 7, 218 19. *Metrical*. Lat. *metricus*. 172 2 and 174 22 οἱ μετρικοί = ‘the metrists,’ ‘the theorists on metre’: cp. οἱ ῥυθμικοί 172 20.

μέτριος. 132 8, 150 9, 214 12, 222 26, 230 22, 234 22, 246 13. *Moderate, fair*. Lat. *aequus*.

μέτρον. 74 5, 84 16, 88 6, 8, 92 22, 118 22, 120 26, 172 17, *passim*. *Measure, metre, verse, line*. Lat. *metrum, versus*. In Aristot. *Poet.* iv. 7 metres are described as sections of rhythm (τὰ γὰρ μέτρα ὅτι μῦρια τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἔστι φανερόν): that is, they are ‘measures,’ or ‘verses’; ‘parts of rhythm,’ which is indefinite and never comes to an end — μέτρον being rhythm cut, as it were, into definite lengths (Cope *Introduction to Aristotle’s Rhetoric*). When contrasted with μέλη (cp. Plato *Gorg.* 502 C τό τε μέλος— ‘the music’ — καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ τὸ μέτρον), μέτρα seems to denote the non-lyrical metres generally (hexameters, iambic trimeters, etc.): see 92 22, 120 26, 192 21, and especially 270 18-23.

μήκος. 150 22, 154 6, 204 2, 224 15, 264 4. *Length*. Lat. *longitudo*. So μηκύνειν (*to lengthen*) 132 7, 152 24, 224 8, 13, 246 8. In 246 8 (and also in 276 9, where P gives μηκύνειν and MV give μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον) μηκύνειν is used absolutely (= μακρηγορεῖν: cp. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1131 πόσους εἴποιμ’ ἂν ἄλλους, εἰ με μηκύνειν δέοι;). In 132 7 the meaning is ‘to prolong, or continue, in the same case with similar terminations’: just as Dionysius himself, inadvertently no doubt, repeats -ων in 132 9, 10.

μίγμα. 208 18. *Mixture, blend*. Lat. *mistura*. Cp. μῖξις 130 25, 166 9; and also D.H. . It is possible that Dionysius may have written μεῖγμα, as in earlier Greek: in *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 2 it is to be noticed that the manuscripts give δεῖγμα, where the sense clearly calls for μεῖγμα.

μικρόκομπος. 90 20. *Affected, finical*. Lat. *bellulus*.

μικρολογία. 266 11. *Trifling, pettiness*. Lat. *rerum minutarum cura*. In Theophrastus’ *Characters* the word is used of attention to trifles on the part of the mean or parsimonious man. Cp. also Demetr. , s.v. μικρολογεῖν.

μικρόφωνος. 142 9. *Small-voiced, non-resonant*. Lat. *qui vocem habet exiguam, sonum exiliorem*.

μίμημα. 160 2. *Imitation*. Lat. *imitamentum*. [F.’s reading here is μηνύματα, ‘expressions which indicate’: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 51 init.]

μιμητικός. 158 4, 11, 200 11. *Imitative*. Lat. *ad imitandum aptus*. So μιμητικῶς 202 1.

μνημεῖον. 266 7. *Memorial*. Lat. *monumentum*.

μολοστός. 172 1, 184 4. *Molossus*. Lat. *molossus*. The metrical foot — — —.

μονογράμματος. 152 20. *Consisting of a single letter.* Lat. *qui unius est litterae.*

μονόμετρος. 270 23. *Consisting of one metre.* Lat. *monometer.* Applicable to poems, like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, which are written throughout in a single metre.

μονοσύλλαβος. 168 11, 202 14. *Monosyllabic.* Lat. *monosyllabus.*

μόριον. 70 10, 96 3, 98 6, 106 11, 12, *passim.* *Part, especially part of speech.* Lat. *pars, pars orationis.* The meaning 'part of speech' appears in such passages as ποῖον ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων (106 12), τὰ μόρια τοῦ λόγου (110 1), ἐν μόριον λόγου (126 7), πᾶν ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ ἄλλο μόριον λέξεως (168 10). 'Words' simply might serve as a rendering in many cases, except that it is usually well to preserve Dionysius' idea of 'words in their syntactical relations,' 'words in a sentence.' In 232 18 the meaning may be 'in every word': so 130 7, 134 25, 220 3, 222 10, 224 11.

μοῦσα. 126 16, 252 20. *Music, melody.* Lat. *musica concinnitas.* So μουσική 124 20, 128 18; ὁ μουσικός 138 6.

μυγμός. 138 10. *A moaning, muttering, murmur, humming.* Lat. *gemitus.* Cp. Demetr. , and Aesch. *Eum.* 117, 120.

μύκημα. 158 13. *Bellowing.* Lat. *mugitus.*

νεαρός. 66 16, 246 5. *Youthful.* Lat. *iuvenilis.* Cp. note on μειρακιώδης in D.H. .

νήτη. 210 7. *Lowest note.* Lat. *ima chorda.* See L. & S. s.v. νεάτη.

νόημα. 66 5, 74 16, 84 6, 92 17, 112 15, 264 16. *Idea.* Lat. *sententia.* Cp. νόησις (*thought, perception*) 74 3, 268 9; and D.H. .

νοῦς. 212 15, 276 1, 8. *Meaning.* Lat. *sententia.* Fr. *sens, pensée.*

ξένος. 78 17, 252 24, 272 11. *Foreign, strange, unfamiliar.* Lat. *peregrinus, inusitatus, arcessitus.* Cp. D.H. , Demetr. , and *Classical Review* xviii. 20 (as to ξενικός).

οἰκεῖος. 110 13, 126 1, 134 20, 140 12, 154 19, 158 2, 168 7. *Akin, appropriate, fitting.* Lat. *cognatus, domesticus, decorus.* So οἰκέως 72 8, 118 14, 134 10: οἰκειότης 122 21, 240 7: οἰκειοῦν 122 17. If the metaphors are to be fully pressed, we might render οἰκεῖα καὶ φίλα in 110 13 by 'to seem loving members of the same family,' and οἰκέως in 118 14 by 'in harmony with their inner significance.' In 122 21 οἰκειότης is 'a natural inclination or instinct.' On 122 17 there is the following scholium in M: οἰκειοῦται ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐσταθῶς ἥδεται. In 126 1 τὸ οἰκεῖον (*appropriateness*) seems almost to stand for τὸ πρέπον and to be an illustration of Dionysius' own love for variety. It is this unusually copious vocabulary of his that does much to relieve the dull monotony of a technical treatise. "In the works of Dionysius, the great representative of a later school of criticism [sc. than that of Aristotle], we meet for the first time a wealth of rhetorical terminology. In his numerous writings we find freely used a fully developed vocabulary, which is completely adequate for the purposes of the professional rhetorician and the broad literary critic" (Larue van Hook *Metaphorical Terminology, etc.*).

οἰκονομεῖν. 176 18. *To manage.* Lat. *administrare, tractare.* So οἰκονομία 264 16. Cp. Aristot. *Poet.* xiii. 6 καὶ ὁ Εὐρυπίδης, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἀλλὰ τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται: Long. *de Subl.* i. 4 καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν: Quintil. *Inst. Or.* iii. 3. 9 "*oeconomiae, quae Graece appellata ex cura rerum domesticarum et hic per abusionem posita nomine Latino caret.*"

ὀλιγοσύλλαβος. 132 3. *Consisting of few syllables.* Lat. *qui paucis constat syllabis.*

ὀλιγοσύνδεσμος. 212 21. *Sparing in connectives.* Lat. *qui paucis utitur convinctionibus.*

ὁμογενής. 146 10, 148 9. *Of the same race or family.* Lat. *congener*. Cp. ὁμοιογενής (*of like kind*) 72 24, 132 19, 156 15; also ἀνομοιογενής 132 19.

ὁμοειδής. 192 18, 198 6, 270 19. *Of the same species or kind.* Lat. *uniformis*. So ὁμοείδεια 274 1. Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 6 “etenim γεωγραφικά quae constitueram magnum opus est ... et hercule sunt res difficiles ad explicandum et ὁμοειδεῖς nec tam possunt ἀνθηγογραφεῖσθαι quam videbantur.”

ὁμοσυγία. 176 13, 254 17. *Connexion, affinity.* Lat. *coniugatio*.

ὁμοιοσχίμων. 270 16. *Like in shape.* Lat. *forma consimilis*.

ὁμοίοντος. 132 6. *Similarly accented.* Lat. *qui similis est toni*.

ὁμοιόχρονος. 132 6 (*bis*). *Of like quantity.* Lat. *qui similia habet tempora*.

ὁμότονος. 128 7. *Of the same pitch or accent.* Lat. *eiusdem toni s. accentus*.

ὁμόφωνος. 128 9. *With the same note.* Lat. *eiusdem chordae s. soni*.

ὄνομα. 66 5, 70 9, 13, 20, 74 12, 84 6 *passim*. *Word, noun.* Lat. *vocabulum, nomen*. In 168 10, 264 5, etc., the meaning is ‘noun’; in 264 3, etc., ‘word.’

ὀνομασία. 74 17, 234 5, 252 23, 274 2. *Wording, naming, language.* Lat. *elocutio, appellatio*. Cp. *Rhet. ad Alex.* c. 27 ἀντίθετον μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐναντίαν τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ἔχον, ἢ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦτων: *Aristot. Poet.* vi. 18 λέγω δέ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἴρηται, λέξιν εἶναι τὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομασίας ἐρμηνείαν: *Dionys. Hal. de Demosth.* cc. 18, 34, 40: *Demetr. de Eloc.* §§ 91, 304.

ὀνοματικά, τὰ. 70 18, 102 16, 17, 132 7. *Nouns substantive.* Lat. *nomina substantiva*.

ὀξύς. 126 5, 8, 10, 128 6, 8. *Acute (accent), high (pitch).* Lat. *acutus*. So ὀξύτης 126 14. Cp. s.v. βαρύς, *supra*. In *Aristot. Poet.* c. 20 ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τῷ μέσῳ = ‘according as they [the letters] are acute, grave, or of an intermediate tone.’

ὀξύτονος. 128 9. *With high pitch or acute accent.* Lat. *qui acutum tonum s. accentum habet*.

ὄρασις. 118 24. *Seeing, the act of sight.* Lat. *visus*.

ὄργανον. 122 25, 124 4, 22. *Musical instrument.* Lat. *instrumentum*. So the adjective ὀργανικός (*instrumental*) in 124 16, 126 16.

ὀρθός. 106 19. *Nominative.* Lat. *rectus (casus)*: viz. ‘uninflected.’ In 102 19 ‘primary,’ as opposed to ‘secondary’; in 108 3 ‘active,’ as opposed to ‘passive.’ In 258 25 and 262 5 the meaning is ‘correct’; in 90 6 perhaps ‘tense’ (see the exx. given in L. & S. under the heading ‘excited’), the opposite of ὕπριος (*supinus*).

ὀρίζειν. 132 22, 166 1, 234 21. *To define, to limit.* Lat. *definire*.

ὄρος. 182 13, 200 25, 210 5. *Standard, condition, boundary.* Lat. *regula, condicio, finis*. With the sense *norma et regula* in 182 13 cp. Long. *de Subl.* xxxii. 1 ὁ γὰρ Δημοσθένης ὄρος καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων, *Dionys. H. de Demosth.* c. 1 ἥς (λέξεως) ὄρος καὶ κανὼν ὁ Θεουκυδίδης.

οὐδέτερος. 106 21. *Neuter.* Lat. *qui neutri generis est*. Cp. D.H. .

οὐρανός. 142 12, 144 19, 150 6, 220 23. *Palate.* Lat. *palatum*. In the margin of R (with reference to 142 12) there is the note: τὴν ὑπερώαν φησίν. This sense of οὐρανός is found several times in Aristotle (see Bonitz’ *Index*), and not (as has sometimes been supposed) for the first time in Dionysius. Cp. the

converse *caeli palatum* in Ennius *apud* Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 18. 48 “sed dum, palato quid sit optimum, iudicat [Epicurus], caeli palatum (ut ait Ennius) non suscepit.”

οὐσία. 98 8. *Substance, essence.* Lat. *substantia*.

ᾄχλησις. 132 17. *Annoyance, disgust.* Lat. *molestia*.

ὄψις. 162 1, 14, 234 9. *Appearance, visage.* Lat. *vultus, aspectus*.

πάθος. 66 15, 88 12, 110 23, 112 5, 122 15, *passim*. *Feeling, experience, emotion, affection, passion.* Lat. *affectus* (Quintil. vi. 2. 8), *animi motus* (Cic. *de Or.* i. 5. 17), *perturbatio* (id. *Tusc.* iv. 5. 10). Cp. D.H. p, 199. — In 154 5, 268 18 πάθη = ‘properties,’ ‘modifications,’ ‘differences.’

παίαν. 184 3, 260 23, 262 9. *Paeon.* Lat. *paeon*. The metrical foot so called, consisting of three short syllables and one long in four possible orders — (1) -υυυ, (2) υ-υυ, (3) υυ-υ, (4) υυυ-. These four varieties are sometimes called the *first, second, third, and fourth* paeon respectively. Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 8. 4-6, Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 47. 183, Quintil. ix. 4. 47; and see Demetr. , s.v. παίων. Demetrius (§§ 38, 39) refers to two varieties only: cp. the note on 182 22 *supra*.

παιδεία. 64 11, 262 20. *Culture.* Lat. *doctrina, humanitas*.

πανηγυρικός. 228 7, 246 7. *Festal, panegyric.* Lat. *panegyricus*. With the notion of *ornate*: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 8 (διάλεκτον) μεγαλοπρεπῇ λιτήν, περιττὴν ἀπέριττον, ἐξηλλαγμένην συνήθη, πανηγυρικὴν ἀληθινήν, αὐστηράν ἱλαράν, σύντονον ἀνειμένην, ἥδεϊαν πικράν, ἠθικὴν παθητικὴν.

παρὰβολή. 232 15. *Meeting, juxtaposition.* Lat. *concursum*.

παράγγελμα. 270 3, 282 2, 7. *Rule, precept.* Lat. *artis praeceptum*. Cp. Long. *de Subl.* c. 2 τεχνικά παραγγέλματα, c. 6 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν παραγγέλματι (‘if I must speak in the way of precept’). So παραγγέλλειν 132 16, 268 11 (cp. *de Lysia* c. 24 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παραγγέλλουσι ποιεῖν οἱ τεχνογράφοι), and παραγγελματικός 214 9 (= *plenus praeceptis, doctrinis, regulis*).

παράδειγμα. 92 5, 136 2, 152 3, 214 6, 232 23, 240 24, etc. *Instance.* Lat. *exemplum*. τὰ παραδείγματα is often used of appropriate (perhaps customary, or stock) examples: cp. *de Isocr.* cc. 10, 15, *de Demosth.* cc. 13 (middle), 53, and contrast *de Lysia* c. 34 and *de Demosth.* cc. 13 (end), 20.

παρὰιδώκειν. 206 13. *To hurry along.* Lat. *abripere*. Cp. the use of συνδεδιωγμένον in Long. *de Subl.* c. 21, and of κατεσπυσμένα c. 19 *ibid.* — Usener adopts, in this passage, his own conjecture παραμεμιγμένας.

παράθεσις. 130 25, 154 11, 166 9, etc. *Placing.* Lat. *collocatio*.

παρακεκινδυνευμένος. 234 16. *Daring, bold, venturesome.* Lat. *audax* (as in Hor. *Carm.* iv. 2. 10). Fr. *aventuré*. Cp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 99 τοιουτονί τι παρακεκινδυνευμένον, | αἰθέρα Διδὸς δωματίον, ἢ χρόνου πόδα: and see s.v. ἐπικίνδυνος *supra*. The word is used also in *de Lys.* c. 13, *de Isocr.* c. 13, *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 2.

παρακολουθεῖν. 108 6, 130 26, 136 12. *To accompany.* Lat. *accidere, consequi*.

παραλαμβάνειν. 144 14, 172 12, 260 2, 264 14. *To introduce, to employ.* Lat. *assumere, adhibere*.

παράλλαγή. 152 8, 15, 22. *Divergence.* Lat. *discrimen, permutatio*.

παραπλήρωμα. 116 3, 166 17. *Supplement, expletive.* Lat. *explementum, complementum*. Cp. Cic. *Or.* 69. 230 “apud alios autem et Asiaticos maxime numero servientes inculcata reperias inania quaedam verba quasi complementa numerorum”; and also Demetr. , s.v. παραπληρωματικός. The word occurs elsewhere in Dionysius: *de Isocr.* c. 3, *de Demosth.* cc. 19, 39.

παρὰτιθέναι. 104 1. *To bring forward, to cite.* Lat. *apponere, in medium adducere.*

παρὰυξάνειν (παρὰύξειν). 128 19, 152 18. *To lengthen, to augment.* Lat. *augere.*

παρέκτασις. 154 21. *Prolongation.* Lat. *extensio.*

παρεμφαίνειν. 108 5. *To hint at, to indicate.* Lat. *obiter indicare.* Cp. Demetr. .

παρεμφατικός. 102 20. *Indicative.* Lat. *indicativus.* Cp. ἀπαρέμφατος *supra.*

παρέργως. 100 25. *By the way, cursorily.* Lat. *obiter.*

παρθενωπός. 234 15. *Of maiden aspect.* Lat. *qui virgineo vultu est.* The word seems to occur elsewhere only in Eurip. *El.* 948 ἀλλ' ἔμοιγ' εἴη πόσις | μὴ παρθενωπός, ἀλλὰ τάνδρείου τρόπου [Gilbert Murray: "Ah, that girl-like face! | God grant not that, not that, but some plain grace | Of manhood to the man who brings me love"]. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 19. 64 "nihil iratum habet [oratio philosophorum], nihil invidium, nihil atrox, nihil miserabile, nihil astutum; casta, verecunda, *virgo incorrupta* quodam modo."

παρίσος. 116 8, 212 7, 246 6. *Parallel in structure.* Lat. *qui constat similibus membris.* Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 9. 9 παρίσωσης δ' ἐὰν ἴσα τὰ κῶλα, παρομοίωσης δ' ἐὰν ὅμοια τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχη ἑκάτερον τὸ κῶλον (where ὅμοια τὰ ἔσχατα indicates final letters that rhyme).

παριστάναι. 154 19. *To represent, to describe.* Lat. *depingere.* Cp. Long. .

παρόμοιος. 212 8, 246 6. *Parallel in sound.* Lat. *qui constat similibus sonis.*

παχύτης. 184 21. *Stupidity, fat-headedness.* Lat. *stupor, ingenium crassum.* Cp. D.H. , s.v. παχύς.

πεζός. 70 3, 76 2, 80 3, 108 11, etc. *In prose, prosaic.* Lat. *pedester.* πεζὴ λέξις, πεζὴ διάλεκτος, πεζὸς λόγος, πεζοὶ λόγοι = *oratio soluta.* Cp. Quintil. x. 1. 81 "multum enim supra prosam orationem et quam pedestrem Graeci vocant surgit [Plato]." In 120 27 the metaphor seems still to be strongly felt—'marching on foot,' 'pedestrian.'

πειθός. 84 11. *Persuasiveness.* Lat. *persuadendi vis.*

πεῖρα. 66 14, 102 21, 256 5, etc. *Experience.* Lat. *experientia.*

πεντάμετρος. 256 23. *Consisting of five metrical feet.* Lat. *pentameter.*

πεντάχρονος. 262 9. *Consisting of five times.* Lat. *qui constat temporibus quinque.* See s.v. χρόνος *infra.*

πεποιημένος. 78 17, 252 24. *Invented, original, newly-coined.* Lat. *factus, novatus* (Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 38. 154; i. 34. 155). Fr. *foré tout exprès.* Cp. Aristot. *Poet.* xxi. 9; Demetr. ; Quintil. viii. 6. 32 "vix illa, quae πεποιημένα vocant, quae ex vocibus in usum receptis quocunque modo declinantur, nobis permittimus, qualia sunt *Sullaturit et proscripturit.*"

περιβόητος. 180 7. *Notorious, celebrated.* Lat. *decantatus, celebratus.*

περίοδος. 72 7, 10, 104 10, 116 2, etc. *Period.* Lat. *periodus, comprehensio, verborum ambitus,* etc. See Demetr. for various references and equivalents, and also (Index); Sandys' *Orator* ; Laurand's *Études* p. 128. — According to Dionysius, the period should not be used to excess [see n. on 118 15]. Another weakness of the periodic construction is elsewhere noted by him: τοῦτο δὲ [sc. τὸ παθητικὸν] ἥκιστα δέχεται περίοδος (*de Isocr.* c. 2).

περισπασμός. 128 10. *The circumflex accent.* Lat. *circumflexio, accentus circumflexus.* Cp. περισπωμένης 126 11: 'drawn around,' 'twisted,' 'circumflexed.' Aristotle denotes the circumflex

accent by the term ‘middle’: ἐστιν δὲ αὐτῇ μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος, οἷον πότε μεγάλη καὶ πότε μικρὰ καὶ μέση, καὶ πῶς τοῖς τόνοις, οἷον ὀξεῖα καὶ βαρεῖα καὶ μέση, καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τίσι πρὸς ἕκαστα (Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 1. 4).

περιστέλλειν. 142 16. *To contract, to pucker up.* Lat. *contrahere*.

περιττός. 74 13, 84 8, 182 4, 7. *Extraordinary, richly wrought; exceedingly good, unsurpassed.* Lat. *excellens, curiosus, elaboratus*. Cp. Long. *de Subl.* xl. 2 (where the word is opposed to κοινὸς καὶ δημώδης), iii. 4, xxxv. 3. See also *de Isocr.* c. 3, *de Demosth.* cc. 8, 56, *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 2 (περιττολογία); also Demetr. (περισσοτεχνία).

περιφανής. 244 18. *Seen on every side.* Lat. *conspiciuus*. So περιφάνεια 210 17, 234 2 (‘so that each word should admit an all-round view of it’). — PMV give περιφανές (not περιφερές) in 246 3.

περιφερής. 206 15, 230 31, 246 3. *Circular, rounded.* Lat. *rotundus*. Cp. [Dionys. Hal.] *Ars Rhet.* x. 13 τὰ στρογγύλα καὶ τὰ περιφερῆ λέγειν προοίμια. In Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 13 περιφερεῖς στέγαι = *vaulted roofs*.

πεφυκέναι (c. infin.). 66 16, 70 3, 104 16, etc. *To have a gift for, a liking for.* Lat. *solere, amare*.

πεφυλαγμένως. 148 1. *Guardedly.* Lat. *caute*. The word is used in the Attic period by Xenophon and Isocrates.

πέζειν. 144 21, 148 16, 220 18, 230 12. *To close tight, to compress.* Lat. *comprimere*.

πιθανός. 98 17, 20, 100 17, 120 21. *Attractive, plausible.* Lat. *probabilis, verisimilis*.

πικρός. 232 15. *Bitter, harsh.* Lat. *acerbus*. So πικραίνειν 130 19, 154 13, 216 17.

πίνος. 120 23, 136 16, 212 24, 236 8. *Mellowing deposit, tinge of antiquity, flavour of archaism.* Lat. *antiquitas, antiquitas impexa* (Tac. *Dial.* c. 20), *nitor obsoletus* (Auct. *ad Her.* iv. 4. 46). There is a suggestion of *négligé* or *abandon* about the word, but on the whole it is not uncomplimentary: cp. *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 2 ὃ τε πίνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιοφύτου ἡρέμα αὐτῇ καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέχει, and *de Demosth.* c. 38 ἀλλ’ [ἵνα] ἐπανθῇ τις αὐταῖς χνοῦς ἀρχαιοπινῆς καὶ χάρις ἀβίαστος. The compound εὐπίνεια is found in Long. *de Subl.* xxx. 1. There is a scholium (preserved in M) on 120 23, which is, unfortunately, vague and uncertain: πίνος κυρίως ὁ ῥύπος, ἀφ’ οὗ πιναρὰ ῥάκη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπανθοῦν τισὶ χνοῶδες ὡς ἐπὶ μῆλων καὶ ἀπίων. ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐπφαινόμενον αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ συνθήκῃ τῆς λέξεως ποῖον πίνον ὀνομάζει. ἔστι δὲ πίνος καὶ ὄνομα τόπου.

πλάγιος. 106 20. *Oblique.* Lat. *obliquus (casus)*.

πλανᾶσθαι. 254 16, 270 18. *To wander, to be irregular.* Lat. *vagari*. Used in reference to vague, elastic metre. So περιπεπλανημένα μέτρα in *de Demosth.* c. 50.

πλάσμα. 90 6, 118 24. *Cast, form.* Lat. *imago, forma dicendi*. Cp. *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 4 ὕψος δὲ καὶ κάλλος καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἰδίως πλάσμα ἱστορικὸν Ἡρόδοτος ἔχει (viz. ‘elevation, beauty, stateliness, and what is specifically called the ‘historical vein’); Long. *de Subl.* xv. 8 ποιητικὸν τοῦ λόγου καὶ μυθῶδες τὸ πλάσμα (the ‘form’). In *de Demosth.* c. 34 πλάσμα seems to have the same meaning as χαρακτήρ in c. 33 *ibid.* [The musical meaning of *moulded delivery, modulation* does not emerge in the C.V.]

πλάστης. 264 2. *Modeller, in clay or wax.* Lat. *fictor*.

πλάτος. 210 9, 212 1, 246 19. *Breadth.* Lat. *latitudo*. So πλατύς 244 18. In 210 9 the meaning is, ‘belongs to the class of ideas which are regarded with a wide indefiniteness.’ So in Latin *placite* = πλατικῶς = ‘broadly,’ ‘generally’: cp. Usener *Rhein. Mus.* xxiv. 311. See also under ἀπαρτίζειν, *supra*.

πλεονάζειν. 146 13, 214 12. *To exceed due bounds.* Lat. *redundare*. So πλεονασμός, *redundantia*, 110 15.

πληγή. 142 4, 16, 144 5. *Stroke, impact.* Lat. *ictus, percussio*.

πληθυντικός. 106 18. *In the plural number.* Lat. *pluraliter*.

πλοκή. 72 5, 130 22, 166 9. *Combination.* Lat. *copulatio*.

πλούσιος. 92 18. *Rich.* Lat. *opulentus*. The word is contrasted with πτωχός (92 17), *beggarly, mendicus*: for which cp. the expression τῇ λέξει πτωχεύειν in the passage quoted, from Chrysostom, under ἀπαγγελία *supra*.

πνίγειν. 142 18. *To stifle, to smother.* Lat. *suffocare*.

ποίημα. 76 10, 78 5, 100 23, 154 2, 166 4, 192 8, 250 10, 16, 254 4, 7, 272 14. *Poem; line of a poem* (in this sense, more commonly στίχος or ἔπος). Lat. *poëma, versus*. So ποιεῖν 208 9, ‘to write poetry,’ and ποιητής 74 8 (but in 214 16 ποιηταί means ‘writers’ generally: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 37 παρ’ οὐδενὶ οὐτε ἑμμέτρων οὐτε πεζῶν ποιητῇ λόγων). ποίημα sometimes refers specially to epic and dramatic poetry (in contrast to song-poetry). In 64 10 the meaning is ‘product’ simply. For ‘poetry’ ποίησις is found: 214 1, 2, 252 24, 270 21, 274 7, 276 10.

ποιητικός. 70 2, 4, 108 11, 206 20, 208 8, 19, 252 20, 23, 29, etc. *Poetical.* Lat. *poëticus*. In 136 11 the meaning is ‘productive of.’

ποικιλία. 130 13, 192 18, 196 17, 25, 198 5. *Variety, decoration.* Lat. *varietas*. So ποικίλλειν 132 13, 192 20, 196 9; and ποικίλος 110 11, 154 19, 160 10, etc. ποικίλος may be rendered by such adjectives as ‘elaborate,’ ‘curious,’ ‘laborious,’ ‘multifarious,’ ‘kaleidoscopic,’ ‘ever-varying.’

πολιτικός. 64 15, 72 17, 124 21, 130 10, 214 1, 5, 254 25, 266 7, 272 20. *Civil, parliamentary, political, public.* Lat. *civilis*. See D.H. for an explanatory note on πολιτικός. In 72 17, P has ῥητορικοῖς ἀνδράσι, which is an unlikely periphrasis for ῥήτοροι (104 8), but may well indicate the *general meaning* of πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσι: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 23 ταῦτα δὲ πολιτικοῖς καὶ ῥήτορσιν ἀνδράσι μελήσει. Compare generally, in Aristot. *Poet.* c. vi., the words τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν, and οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολιτικῶς ἐποιοῦν λέγοντας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ῥητορικῶς.

πολύμετρος. 272 5. *Of many measures or metres.* Lat. *qui multis constat metris*.

πολύμορφος. 160 12. *Of many forms.* Lat. *multiformis*. Cp. πολυειδής 196 25, πολυειδῶς 270 11.

πολυπραγμονεῖν. 264 6. *To bother about.* Lat. *summa cura elaborare*.

πολυσύλλαβος. 126 14, 132 5. *With many syllables.* Lat. *qui syllabis pluribus constat*.

πολύφωνος. 160 23. *Of many voices.* Lat. *qui multas voces emittit*. Used of the variety of tones in Homer’s ‘composition.’ In the *de Sublim.* c. xxxiv. the term is applied to Hypereides, who οὐ πάντα ἐξῆς καὶ μονοτόνως [i.e. at one sustained high pitch] ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει.

πούς. 86 1, 168 12, 172 20, 174 22, 24, 178 7, 184 1, 256 9, 12, 258 19, 260 3. *Metrical foot.* Lat. *pes*. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καλῶ πόδα καὶ ῥυθμόν 168 11. Aristoxenus, *Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα* ii. 16, writes: ᾧ σημαινόμεθα τὸν ῥυθμόν καὶ γνῶριμον ποιοῦμεν τῇ αἰσθήσει, πούς ἐστιν εἷς ἡ πλείους. Cope (*Introduction to Aristotle’s Rhetoric*) thinks that Dionysius neglects the important distinction between βάσις, the unit of rhythm, and πούς, the unit of metre. Goodell (*Greek Metric*) thus paraphrases a passage of Marius Victorinus (K.): “Between foot and ‘rhythmus’ there is this difference, that a foot cannot exist without rhythm, but a ‘rhythmus’ moves rhythmically without being divisible into feet.” [It is this kind of ‘rhythmus’ that counts in rhythmical prose.]

πραγματεία. 68 8, 14, 17, 70 8, etc. *Inquiry, treatise, work*. Lat. *studium, commentatio, opus*. So πραγματεύεσθαι 106 5, 10, 140 22, 268 7.

πραγματικός. 66 6. *Pertaining to subject matter or invention*. Lat. *negotialis*. Cp. Quintil. iii. 7. 1 “a parte negotiali, hoc est πραγματικῇ.” The πραγματικός τόπος (“tractatio rerum et sententiarum”) covers subject matter, things, thoughts; the λεκτικός τόπος includes expression, form, style.

πραῦς. 162 5, 244 21. *Gentle*. Lat. *lenis*. Cp. Demetr. .

πρέπον, τό. 120 19, 122 13, 124 11, 136 12, 198 13, 14. *Propriety, appropriateness, fitness*. Lat. *decorum*. Fr. *la convenance*. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 21. 70 “ut enim in vita, sic in oratione nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre. πρέπον appellant hoc Graeci; nos dicamus sane decorum; de quo praeclare et multa praecipiuntur et res est cognitione dignissima: huius ignoracione non modo in vita, sed saepissime et in poëmatis et in oratione peccatur.” The Greek rhetoricians drew the term from the language of ethics. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 7. 1 τὸ δὲ πρέπον ἔξει ἢ λέξις, ἐὰν ᾗ παθητικὴ τε καὶ ἠθικὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν ἀνάλογον. So περὶ ὧδε 106 17.

πρίαιπος. 86 8. *Priapean*: as a metrical term. Lat. *Priapeius*. Effeminate and ribald verse, written in honour of Priapus, and involving a mutilation of the heroic line.

προέκθεσις. 242 2. *A prefatory account*. Lat. *expositio antea data*.

πρόθεσις. 70 21, 108 16, 220 6. *Preposition*. Lat. *praepositio*.

πρόνοια. 184 16, 186 1. *Deliberation*. Lat. *consilium*.

προοίμιον. 224 24, 252 3. *Introduction*. Lat. *exordium*.

προπετής. 244 22. *Flowing*. Lat. *volubilis, profluens*.

προσαγόρευσις. 260 22. *Address*. Lat. *allocutio, compellatio*.

προσερανίζειν. 116 4. *To augment*. Lat. *cumulare*. The period in question has been aided (so to say) by the alms of expletives. For the metaphor cp. συνερανιζόμενα *de Isocr.* c. 3 and ἔρανον *de Imitat.* B. vi. 2.

προσερείδειν. 148 22. *To drive against*. Lat. *impingere, allidere*. In 220 24 προσανίστασθαι is similarly used of ‘rising against.’

προσεχής. 84 6. *Obvious, natural, allied, appropriate*. Lat. *proximus, cognatus (cum re coniunctus)*. In 258 24 the sense is ‘adjoining.’

προσηγορικός. 70 17, 102 17, 18, 218 6, 11, 220 7, 16, 222 24, 230 1. *Appellative*. Lat. *appellativus*. ὄνομα προσηγορικόν = *common noun*, Lat. *nomen appellativum*. It would appear from Dionysius Thrax (*Ars Grammatica* Uhlig) that ὄνομα might include προσηγορία (= ὄνομα προσηγορικόν), while προσηγορία could cover participles (μετοχαί) and adjectives (ἐπίθετα) as well as common nouns. But the strict division is that of proper names and general terms, as given by Dionysius Thrax (*ibid.* p. 34): κύριον μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὸ τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν, σημαῖνον, οἷον Ὀμηρος, Σωκράτης. προσηγορικὸν δὲ ἔστι τὸ τὴν κοινήν οὐσίαν σημαῖνον, οἷον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος. In such passages as 222 24 and 230 1 ‘adjective’ would be an appropriate modern rendering. Quintil. i. 4. 21 “vocabulary an appellatio dicenda sit προσηγορία et subicienda nomini necne, quia parvi refert, liberum opinaturis relinquo.” In 272 25 προσηγορία = *appellation*.

προσιόσασθαι. 132 8. *To offend*. Lat. *obstrepere*. Cp. *de Isocr.* c. 2 προσιστάμενος ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, c. 14 *ibid.* τῷ γὰρ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι, μηδ’ ἐν ὥρᾳ, προσιόσασθαι φημι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, *Antiqq. Rom.* i. 8 μονοειδεῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖναί τε καὶ ταχὺ προσιστάμενα (= cito offendunt) τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

προσκατασκευάζειν. 110 14 (v.l. προκατασκευάζειν). *To model further, remodel.* Lat. *insuper instruere*.

προσοδιακός. 86 3. *Processional*: see n. *ad loc*.

προσῳδία. 128 12, 196 17, 268 20. *Accent*. Lat. *accentus*. The word is defined in 196 17 τᾶσαις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσῳδαί. See further s.v. *τόνος* *infra*, and compare Bywater *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* “προσῳδία with Aristotle comprises accent, breathing, and quantity — all the elements in the spoken word which in the ancient mode of writing were left to be supplied by the reader.” The symbols used in accentuation are supposed to have been introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium, if not by some still earlier scholar, in order to recall to Greeks and teach foreign learners the true intonation of the language, which was in danger of being corrupted and forgotten when the Greek world grew vast and came to include so many foreign elements.

πρόσωπον. 160 18, 198 23. *Person, character*. Lat. *persona*. Cp. Demetr. .

πτῶσις. 106 20, 108 4, 132 7, 212 20, 264 4. *Grammatical case*. Lat. *casus*. ‘Verbal cases’ are mentioned in 108 4; in Aristotle the term πτῶσις includes inflexions in general.

πυρρήχιος. 168 17. *Pyrrhic*. Lat. *pyrrhichius*. The metrical foot ∪ ∪.

ῥῆμα. 70 13, 21, 168 10, 218 6, 7, 264 5. *Verb*. Lat. *verbum*. So ῥηματικός 108 4 (*verbal*), 220 17 (*verbal form*).

ρήτωρ. 74 8, 132 22, 166 12, 200 14, 206 25, 218 21, 236 20, 242 7, 248 15. *Orator, rhetorician*. Lat. *orator, rhetor*. As in English we have no similarly two-sided word, it is often hard to decide between the renderings, ‘speaker’ and ‘teacher of speaking.’ So ῥητορικός 68 9, 254 25, 262 20.

ροῖζος. 138 10. *A whizzing*. Lat. *stridor*.

ρυθμίζειν. 180 13. *To bring into rhythm, to scan*. Lat. *scandere*. Cp. the use of βάλλειν and διαπρεῖν.

ῥυθμός. 120 18, 122 12, 124 6, 9, *passim*. *Rhythm, harmonious movement of speech*. Lat. *numerus*. For *le nombre oratoire* in Cicero (whose prose, however, like Roman prose generally, must not be taken to follow exclusively Attic standards) see Laurand's *Études* p-11, and cp. Cic. *Orat.* 20. 67 "quicquid est enim, quod sub aurum mensuram aliquam cadat, etiamsi abest a versu — nam id quidem orationis est vitium — numerus vocatur, qui Graece ῥυθμός dicitur." Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 4. 45 "omnis structura ac dimensio et copulatio vocum constat aut numeris (numeros ῥυθμούς accipi volo) aut μέτροις, id est dimensione quadam." It was a suggestive saying of Scaliger's that metre gives the exact 'measure' of the line, rhythm its 'temperament.' As Dionysius identifies ῥυθμός and πούς (168 11; c 2, 3), we may translate ῥυθμός by 'foot' in 180 11, 182 19 (cp. σπονδεῖος πούς 178 7), 200 17, 206 9, etc. — Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 8. 2 τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπέραντον, δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μὲν, μὴ μέτρῳ δέ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον. περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντα· ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λῆξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμός ἐστιν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμητὰ· διὸ ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μὴ· ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ἔαν μέχρι τοῦ ἤ. So ῥυθμικός 128 18 (where the reference is to lyric metres), 168 8, 172 20 (cp. οἱ μετρικοί), 176 7. Quintilian (ix. 4. 68) provides a good example of the divisions recognized by the *rhythmicī*: "quis enim dubitet, unum sensum in hoc et unum spiritum esse: *animadverti, iudices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partes?* tamen et duo prima verba et tria proxima et deinceps duo rursus ac tria suos quasi numeros habent spiritum sustinentes, sicut apud rhythmicos aestimantur."

ῥυπαρός. 134 24. *Filthy, sordid*. Lat. *sordidus*.

ρύσις. 244 21. *Flow*. Lat. *fluxus*.

ῥυσός. 92 10. *Wrinkled*. Lat. *rugosus*.

ῥώθωνες. 144 22, 23, 146 11, 220 25. *Nostrils*. Lat. *nares*. In 146 11 διὰ τῶν ῥωθόνων συνηχοῦμενα = *nasal*.

Σαπφικός. 258 7. *Of Sappho*. Lat. *Sapphicus*.

σαφήνεια. 160 22. *Clearness, lucidity*. Lat. *perspicuitas*. Fr. *clarté, netteté*. The adjective σαφής occurs in 210 4.

σελίς. 186 2. *Page*. Lat. *pagina libri*.

σεμνότης. 84 2, 110 19, 164 20, 166 12, 170 2, 172 11, 236 8. *Gravity, majesty*. Lat. *granditas, dignitas, gravitas*. Fr. *majesté*. So σεμνολογία 120 23, 174 17; σεμνός 68 5, 80 12, 84 8, etc. It is not easy to find a good equivalent for σεμνός, as 'dignified' comes nearer to ἀξιοματικός; 'impressive' (or the like) to μεγαλοπρεπής; 'lofty', 'elevated', or 'sublime', to ὑψηλός. 'Solemn,' 'majestic,' 'august,' or 'stately' will sometimes serve.

σημαίνειν. 74 3, 134 25. *To betoken, to express*. Lat. *significare*.

σιγμός. 138 10. *A hissing*. Lat. *sibilus*. Fr. *sifflement*.

σιωπή. 218 16, 220 2, 230 4. *Silence, interval, pause*. Lat. *silentium, intermissio*. Modern metrists who confine their attention to syllables are apt to neglect the interrelations of silence and sound. Dionysius would, on the contrary, have recognized that the pauses denoted by punctuation are the key to the metre in such lines as "Thy rankest fault; all of them; and require" (*Tempest* v. 1).

σκαϊότης. 250 8. *Clumsiness, stupidity*. Lat. *rusticitas, imperitia*. Fr. *gaucherie*: cp. the editor's *Ancient Boeotians*.

σκεωρία. 264 7. *Elaboration*. Lat. *cura artificiosa*. Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 5 σκεωρίαν τεχνικήν, c. 29 μᾶλλον δὲ διθυραμβικῆς σκεωρίας οἰκειότερον: Hesych. σκεωρία· κατασκευή.

σκιερός. 234 13. *Shady, dark*. Lat. *obscurus*.

σκληρός. 132 1, 154 12. *Hard*. Lat. *durus*. Cp. D.H. .

σομόρος. 122 25. *Thick, husky*. Lat. *subraucus, fuscus*. Cp. Schol. in M, σομόρον ἤγουν θρυλιγμόν καὶ ἐκμέλειαν. Some of the MSS. give ἀσύμφωνον, thus repeating a word used a few lines earlier.

σοφιστής. 190 10, 264 19. *Sophist*. Lat. *sophista*. The comprehensiveness of the term is well illustrated by the fact that in the former passage it is applied to Hegesias, in the latter to Isocrates and Plato. In the parallel passage of the *de Demosth.* (c. 51) ὁρῶν γε δὴ τούτους τοὺς θαυμαζομένους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ κρατίστων λόγων ποιητὰς νομιζομένους Ἰσοκράτην καὶ Πλάτωνα γλυπτοῖς καὶ τορευτοῖς ἐοικότας ἐκφέροντας λόγους. Cp. Demetr. .

σπαδονίζειν. 142 9. *To emasculate, to cramp*. Lat. *spadonium sonum reddere*. This reading seems preferable on several grounds: (1) it is the more difficult of the two; (2) the sense of 'choke the voice' seems to agree well with οὐδὲ συγκόψει τοὺς ἤχους (162 4 'and will not impede the voice'); (3) σπανίζειν (intransitive: cp. *de Demosth.* c. 32, *de Thucyd.* c. 19) τοῦ ἤχου would be more common than σπανίζειν τὸν ἤχον; (4) σπαδονισμούς τῶν ἤχων ('impediments to sound,' 'arrested sounds') occurs, without variant, in *de Demosth.* c. 40, and is adopted by U.-R. as well as by other editors; (5) the authority of R seems to support σπαδονίζει rather than (as U.-R. think) σπανίζει.

σπονδεῖος. 170 2, 178 7 (with πόδες), 202 20. *Spondee*. The metrical foot – –. Vossius thus describes the effect of the spondee: "hic pes incessum habet tardum et magnificum; itaque rebus gravibus, et maxime sacris, vel ipso attestante vocabulo, imprimis adhibetur." Cp. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 255 "tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures, | spondeos stabiles in iura paterna recepit [sc. iambus]," and Cic. *Orat.* 64. 216.

σπουδάειν. 66 8, 94 16. *To be eager*. Lat. *studere, sedulo operam navare*. For the middle voice of this verb see note on *supra*. The noun σπουδή occurs in 156 14, 186 4, 192 7, 212 16.

σταθερός. 234 4. *Steadfast*. Lat. *stabilis*. τὸ σταθερόν = *la lenteur grave*.

στάθμη. 236 4. *A carpenter's line or rule*. Lat. *amussis*. ἀπὸ στάθμης = *velut ad amussim*, 'regulated by line and rule, by square and level.'

στενός. 142 19, 146 3. *Narrow*. Lat. *angustus*. In 146 3 it is coupled with λεπτός.

στηριγμός. 202 24. *A sustaining* (of the voice on certain syllables), *a pause*. Lat. *mora*. See under ἐγκάθισμα, *supra*; and under ἀντιστηριγμός, *supra*. So στηριχθῆναι 220 18, 'to be firmly planted,' 'to be sustained.'

στιβαρός. 216 16. *Hardy, robust*. Lat. *robustus*. The word occurs also in *de Thucyd.* c. 24. Cp. the French *nerveux*. Hesych. στιβαρόν· εὐρωστον, βαρὺ, εὐτονον, στεῖρόν, ἰσχυρόν. As is pointed out by Larue van Hook (*Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric*), both Latin and English abound in similar terms of style drawn from good physical condition: *nervi, vires, vigor, lacerti, ossa, robur: full-blooded, hearty, lively, lusty, muscular, nervous, robust, sinewy, supple, strenuous, vigorous*, etc.

στίχος. 86 2, 12, 88 7, etc. *A line of poetry*. Lat. *versus*. In *de Thucyd.* c. 19 the word is used with reference to prose: ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα παραλιπών, τὸ προοίμιον τῆς ἱστορίας μέχρι πεντακοσίων ἐκμηκύνει στίχων.

στοιχεῖον. 70 11, 20, 108 10, 110 9, 138 1, etc. *Element*. Lat. *elementum*. So στοιχειώδης 138 14. With the use of στοιχεῖον in c. 14 cp. Aristot. *Poet.* c. 20, where the word is defined as φωνῇ ἀδιάτρετος, οὐ πᾶσα δέ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἧς πέφυκε συνετὴ γίνεσθαι φωνή. In 108 10 the meaning practically is 'principle,' 'rule.'

στρέφειν. 264 3, 270 11. *To turn, to twist*. Lat. *torquere*. In 270 11 the meaning may be conveyed by 'to change the words about,' 'to permute or vary the order of the words,' 'to give a new turn to the sentence.'

στρογγύλος. 112 11. *Compact, rounded, terse*. Lat. *rotundus*. Fr. *arrondi*. See the examples quoted in D.H. , and add *de Lys*. c. 9 στρογγύλη καὶ πυκνή, *de Isaeo* c. 3 στρογγύλη τε καὶ δικανικὴ οὐχ ἥττον ἐστὶν ἢ Ἰσαίου λέξις τῆς Λυσίου. So στρογγυλίζειν 142 15. Latin equivalents, or parallels, may be found in Horace's *ore rotundo* (*Ars P.* 323), Cicero's *contortus* (*Orat.* 20. 66), Quintilian's *corrotundare* (xi. 3. 102). "στρογγύλος is used of the new stylistic artifices of the sophistical rhetoric by Aristophanes *Acharn.* 686 (στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασι), and by Plato *Phaedr.* 234 E. In later usage it is constantly used of periodic composition" (G. L. Hendrickson in *American Journal of Philology* xxv. 138).

στροφῆ. 194 6, 9, 10, 16, 19, 254 13, 272 5, 278 8. *Strophe, stanza*. Lat. *strophæ*.

στρυφνός. 228 7. *Harsh, astringent*. Lat. *acerbus*. See D.H. (s.v. στρυφνός; in C.V. 228 7 F has στρυφνόν), with the reference to Jebb's equivalent 'biting flavour' (*Att. Orr.* i. 35).

στύφειν. 154 13. *To draw up the mouth*. Lat. *astringere*. Used of sounds that make the hearer pull a wry face and screw up his lips. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 38 ἀνακοπὰς καὶ ἀντιστηριγμούς λαμβάνειν καὶ τραχύτητας ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιστυφούσας τὴν ἀκοήν ἡσυχῇ βούλεται.

συγγραφεύς. 74 8, 76 3, 154 17, 206 25, 214 15, 228 11, 236 18, 248 14. *Prose-writer, historian*. Lat. *scriptor (prosaicus)*; (*scriptor*) *historicus*. ἱστοριογράφος (*de Thucyd.* c. 2) is a less ambiguous expression than συγγραφεύς (c. 5 *ibid.*) or than λογογράφος (c. 20 *ibid.*). — In 68 9 συγγράφειν = *to compose* (a treatise).

συγκοπή. 156 19, 230 7. *Stoppage*. Lat. *impeditio*. So συγκόπτειν ('impede the voice,' 'check the utterance') 162 4. [This meaning seems to bring the three passages fairly into line: otherwise συγκοπαὶ τῶν ἤχων, in 230 7, might well mean 'duræ sonorum collisiones et concursiones.']

συγκροτεῖν. 206 16. *To weld together*. Lat. *compingere, coagmentare*.

σύγκρουσις. 230 27. *Collision, concurrence, consonance*. Lat. *concursus*. Fr. *rencontre*. So συγκρούειν 202 18, 224 10. Cp. *Demetr.* . The reference is to a succession of two vowels which do not form a diphthong, either in the same word (e.g. λαῖαν) or with hiatus between two words (e.g. ἄλλγε' ἔχοντα: or καὶ ἐλπίσας, τε ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον). Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 43. Cicero's opinion of the 'concourse of vowels' (quoted by Quintil. ix. 4. 37) is given in *Orat.* 23. 77 "verba etiam verbis quasi coagmentare neglegat; habet enim ille tamquam hiatus et concursus vocalium molle quiddam et quod indicet non ingratam neglegentiam de re hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis." On the other hand, Pope (*Essay on Criticism*) states and exemplifies the weak side of hiatus by means of the line, 'Tho' oft the ear the open vowels tire'; and Cicero himself (*Orat.* 44. 150) writes, "quod quidem Latina lingua sic observat, nemo ut tam rusticus sit qui vocales nolit coniungere." In English, the question of hiatus raises sundry points of an interesting kind. Should we, for example, say 'an historian' and 'an historical book,' on the ground that the initial aspirate is evanescent when the accent falls on the second syllable; and similarly 'an united family' but 'a union of hearts'?

συγκρύπτειν. 130 26. *To hide, to disguise*. Lat. *occulere*.

συνγεῖν. 210 22, 228 4, 232 12, 234 19. *To polish*. Lat. *expolire*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 40 πολλήν σφόδρα ποιουμένη φροντίδα τοῦ συνεξέσθαι καὶ συνηλεῖσθαι καὶ προπετεῖς ἀπάντων αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ἀρμονίας.

συχρῶζεσθαι. 244 17. *To be closely joined*. Lat. *cohaerere, mutuo se contingere*.

συζυγία. 84 11, 104 17, 106 19, etc. *Coupling, grouping, combination*. Lat. *coniunctio*. Fr. *liaison*. So *de Demosth.* c. 40 (the passage quoted s.v. συμβολή, *infra*).

συλλαβή. 150 16. *Syllable*. Lat. *syllaba*. Words like this serve to remind us how much of our modern rhetorical and grammatical terminology is taken direct from the Greek.

συλλεαίνειν. 230 20. *To rub smooth, to polish*. Lat. *levigare, polire*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 43 ἐν δὲ τῇ

δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ τραχύνεται μὲν ἢ σύνθεσις ἐν τῷ “μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή” διὰ τὸ μὴ συναλείφεσθαι τὰ δύο ρ ρ, καὶ ἐν τῷ “ἀνθρώπων πράγματα” διὰ τὸ μὴ συλλαεῖνεσθαι <τὸ ν> τῷ ἐξῆς.

συμβεηκότα, τά. 98 8, 9, 140 14, 264 6, 268 19. *The accidental, non-essential, qualities of a thing.* Lat. *accidentia*. In 268 19 the reference is to the changes which words undergo in the way of contraction, expansion, acute or grave accentuation, etc.

συβολή. 210 20, 232 13. *Clashing.* Lat. *concursum*. In 232 13 the reference is to *les chocs des voyelles*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 40 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φεύγει μὲν ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ τὰς τῶν φωνηέντων συμβολὰς ὡς τὴν λειότητα καὶ τὴν εὐέπειαν διασπώσας, φεύγει δέ, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῇ, τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων γραμμάτων τὰς συζυγίας, ὅσαι τραχύνουσι τοὺς ἤχους καὶ παράττειν δύνανται τὰς ἀκοάς.

σύμβολον. 84 4. *Token, label.* Lat. *signum*.

συμμετρία. 130 7, 12, 246 2, 4, 270 10. *Due proportion.* Lat. *iusta mensura*. In 270 10 *συμμετρία* would seem to mean *the arrangement of the periods within the lines or verses* (μέτρα: the variant ἔμμετρία is to be noticed); and with it should be compared *συμμέτρως* in 270 13, though there Upton suggests *ἀσυμμέτρως* and Schaefer *συμμέτροις*. *συμμέτρως* occurs also in 232 9; and *συμμετρεῖν* in 212 18, 276 26. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 43 ὥστε *συμμετρηθῆναι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς πνεῦμα*.

συμπληροῦν. 180 11, 182 16. *To complete, to constitute.* Lat. *absolvere*.

συμπλοκή. 160 9, 198 6, 240 16. *Intertwining, blending.* Lat. *implicatio*. So *συμπλέκειν* 154 17, 258 4. For the metaphor from weaving cp. ῥάπτειν and ὑφαίνειν: Pindar *Nem.* iv. 153 ῥήματα πλέκων: Swinburne *Erechtheus* 1487 “I have no will to weave too fine or far, | O queen, the weft of sweet with bitter speech.”

σύμπτωσις. 240 12. *Concurrence.* Lat. *concursum*.

συμφορητός. 72 22. *Collected promiscuously, miscellaneous.* Lat. *collatus, collecticius*.

συνάγειν. 144 18, 212 3. *To contract.* Lat. *contrahere, coarctare*.

συναλοιφή. 108 18, 180 17, 218 7, 222 24, 256 22. *Blending, fusion, amalgamation.* Lat. *coitus, vocalium elisio*. Fr. *synalèphe* (*contraction, ou jonction de plusieurs voyelles*). So *συναλείφειν* 220 1, 222 26, 234 8, 236 6, 244 17. Compare *Demetr.*, together with the passage there quoted from *Quintil.* ix. 4. 35-7 (including the words “*coëuntes litterae, quae συναλοιφαί dicuntur*”), and see (as to hiatus) *Sandys' Orator* p ff. and *Laurand's Études* p-6. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 43 καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δύο τόπους ἡ τρεῖς τὰ ἡμίφωνα <καὶ ἄφωνα> παραπίπτοντα ἀλλήλοις τὰ φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα συναλείφεσθαι ἐν τε τῷ “τὸν Φίλιππον” καὶ ἐν τῷ “ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι” παράττει τοὺς ἤχους μετρίως καὶ οὐκ ἔφαίνεσθαι μαλακοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ κτλ. (the remainder of the passage is given under *συλλαεῖναι*, *supra*).

συναρπάζειν. 212 11, 270 13. *To complete (the sense) simultaneously.* Cp. *Demetr. de Eloc.* §§ 2, 10 (together with *ἀπαρπάζειν* in *Glossary ibid.*), and also the note on p, 271 *supra*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 39 ἔτι τῆς ἁρμονίας ταύτης οἰκεῖόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὰς περιόδους αὐτουργοὺς τινὰς εἶναι καὶ ἀφελεῖς καὶ μῆτε συναρπατίζουσας ἐαυταῖς τὸν νοῦν μῆτε *συμμεμετρημένας* τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λέγοντος μὴδὲ γε *παραπληρώμασι* τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαίους ὡς πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην διάνοιαν *χρωμένας* μὴδ' εἰς *θεατρικούς* τινὰς καὶ *γλαφυροὺς* *καταληγούσας* *ῥυθμούς*.

συνάπτειν. 202 19, 240 20, 262 4. *To link together.* Lat. *adiungere, connectere*. *Dionysius'* love of variety may be seen by comparing together 262 4, 258 4, 256 20, 22, 258 24.

συναρμόττειν. 118 14, 134 11, 234 19. *To adapt one thing to another.* Lat. *accommodare*. Used with reference to adjusting, dovetailing, interlinking.

συνασκεῖν. 282 1. *To practise simultaneously.* Lat. *simul exercere*.

σύνδεσμος. 70 14, 17, 72 1, 218 7, 220 5, 258 27. *Conjunction, connective, connecting word*. Lat. *copula, conjunctio*. ‘Particle,’ or ‘connecting-particle,’ will sometimes be a suitable rendering, as the term includes particles like ἄρα (258 27) and μέν and δὴ (Demetr. *de Eloc.* §§ 55, 56, 196), and may even be applied to prepositions (220 5, 6). In a difficult passage of Aristot. *Poetics* (xx. 6), among the examples offered of σύνδεσμος are ἀμφί, περί, μέν, ἦτοι, as well as δέ. A good account of the word will be found in Cope’s *Introduction to Aristotle’s Rhetoric* p-4, 392-7. See further Quintil. i. 4. 18; Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 6. 6.

συνεδρεύειν. 100 10, 160 19. *To attend, to accompany*. Lat. *assidere, adiungi*. Used, in 100 10, of the accompanying relations (mode, place, time, etc.), which adverbs denote in reference to verbs.

συνεκτρέχειν. 274 24. *To run out together, to be of the same length*. Lat. *aequis passibus concurrere*.

συνεκφέρειν. 240 11. *To pronounce concurrently*. Lat. *simul pronuntiare*. Cp. συνεκφορά 230 3.

συνεφθαρμένος. 126 10, 144 12, 234 13. *Imperceptibly blended, melting into each other*. Lat. *commistus*. φθορά is the technical term for the mixing of colours in painting: e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 346 A καὶ γὰρ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ ζωγράφος, ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος ἐξευρών φθοράν καὶ ἀποχρῶσιν σκιᾶς, Ἀθηναῖος ἦν. Perhaps it is this sense of ‘fusion’ that led to φθορά being used, in Byzantine music, in some such sense as ‘modulation.’

συνεχής. 230 17, 20, 244 21, 246 1. *Continuous, unbroken*. Lat. *continuus*. So συνεχῶς 132 9, 230 29, 280 21. συνέχεια (240 5) = *coherence*, ‘continuous compositionis tenor.’

συνηεῖν. 140 21, 144 20, 146 11. *To sound at the same time*. Lat. *consonare*. In 140 21 the translation of the manuscript reading συνεχοῦσης may be “while all these are pronounced, the windpipe constricts the breath,” A. J. Ellis *op. cit.* (with the note, “probably this is what Dionysius considered the cause of voice”).

σύνθεσις. 68 5, 7, 19, 70 3, 9, 72 8, 74 15, 78 9, 86 2, 13, 90 19, 134 26 etc., 200 10, 16, 202 1, 7, 204 9, 232 25, 240 23, 270 9. *Composition*. Lat. *compositio*. ‘Composition’ (with the addition of ‘literary,’ to mark it off from other kinds of composition) seems the least inadequate English rendering of σύνθεσις, and comes nearest to the usual Latin title. To judge by the actual contents of the treatise (which go beyond Dionysius’ occasional and fragmentary definitions), the term ‘putting-together’ can be applied not only to ὀνόματα, but (on the one side) to γράμματα and συλλαβαί and (on the other) to κῶλα and περίοδοι, and to a poem of Sappho or the poem of Thucydides. Hence ‘arrangement (or *order, ordonnance*) of words’ proves, in practice, too narrow a title, though the euphonic and symphonic arrangement of words and the elements of words is the main theme, and though there is (as has been pointed out in the Introduction, *supra*) some danger of ‘literary composition’ seeming to promise a treatment of the πραγματικὸς τόπος. One of the definitions of composition in the *New English Dictionary* will apply very fairly to the *de Compositione Verborum*: “the due arrangement of words into sentences, and of sentences into periods; the art of constructing sentences and of writing prose or verse,” while ἁρμονία (which is σύνθεσις in special reference to skilful and melodious combination) might well be defined in the words there quoted from the *Arte of Rhetorique* of T. Wilson (1553 A.D.): “composition ... is an apt joyning together of wordes in such order, that neither the eare shall espie any jerre, nor yet any man shalbe dilled with overlong drawing out of a sentence.” The form συνθήκη is found, in practically the same sense as σύνθεσις, in the *Epitome* c. 3; in Lucian *de conscrib. hist.* c. 46 καὶ μὴν καὶ συνθήκη τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐκράτῳ καὶ μέσῃ χρηστῶν; and in Chrysostom *de Sacerdotio* iv. 6 (quoted under ἀπαγγελία *supra*). As Latin equivalents (in addition to ‘de Compositione Verborum’), ‘de Collocatione Verborum’ or ‘de Construtione Verborum’ might be supported out of Cicero’s *Orator* and *de Oratore*; and something might be said, too, in favour of ‘de Structura Orationis’ or (more fully) ‘de compositione, seu orationis partium apta inter se collocatione.’ — συνθετικός occurs in 104 15, and σύνθετος in 144 11, 176 3, 184 3.

σύνοψις. 208 13. *A general view*. Lat. *conspectus*. εἰς σύνοψιν ἔλθεῖν δυνάμενος would, in Aristotle’s conciser phrase, be: εὐσύνοπτος. — The verb συνορᾶν occurs in 184 22, συνιδεῖν 182 3.

συντάττεσθαι. 80 5, 94 15, 96 6, 98 19, 20, 104 5, 106 13, 264 21. *To put together, to compose, to treat*

of. Lat. *componere, tractare*. So σύνταγμα 214 9, and σύνταξις ('arrangement,' 'co-ordination,' 'treatise') 94 3, 96 2, 13, 16, etc.

συντιθέναι. 68 3, 74 12, 106 11, etc. *To arrange words or sounds, to compose*. Lat. *componere*.

συνυφαίνειν. 134 12, 166 17, 184 14, 234 9, 20, 240 7. *To weave together*. Lat. *contexere*. Lucian (*de conscrib. hist.* 48) uses the word: καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀθροίσῃ ἅπαντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα, πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαίνετω αὐτῶν κτλ. [The passage is given in full under χρῶμα, *infra*.]

συνωδός. 220 17, 224 16, 232 8. *In harmony with, accordant*. Lat. *concors*.

σურიγμός. 146 14, 148 7, 160 1. *A hissing*. Lat. *sibilus*. So σύριγμα 146 3. In 160 1 the reference is to the 'whistling of ropes,' the 'shrieking of tackle': cp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 87 "insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum."

σύρρυσις. 162 21. *A flowing together, conflux*. Lat. *concursum*. Two forms of the word are found: σύρρευσις and (as here) σύρρυσις.

συστέλλειν. 140 19, 152 25, 206 1. *To compress*. Lat. *contrahere, corripere*. So συστολή 142 18, 268 20.

συστρέφειν. 204 9. *To abbreviate*. Lat. *contrahere*. Cp. D.H. , and Demetr. (s.v. συστροφή). The condensation indicated in 204 9 consists in the fact that the rolling *down* of the stone is described in a single line, whereas the rolling *up* takes four lines.

σφραγίς. 268 3. *Seal, impression of a seal*. Lat. *signum*.

σχέδιος. 186 5. *Sudden, off-hand, impromptu*. Lat. *extemporalis*. Cp. αὐτοσχέδιος *supra*.

σχῆμα. 88 12, 90 19, 130 7, 132 11, 148 20 etc., 196 25, 26, 198 6, *passim*. *Figure, attitude*. Lat. *figura*. See D.H. , and Demetr. , for various quotations and references (to which may be added Causeret *La Langue de la rhétorique et de la critique littéraire dans Cicéron* p ff.). Sometimes 'construction' will be a good rendering (e.g. *de Isocr.* c. 3), or 'form' (*de Thucyd.* c. 37): cp. Cic. *Brut.* 17. 69 ('sententiarum orationisque formae'). 'Turns of expression' (*tours de phrase*) will also serve occasionally.

σχηματίζειν. 104 18, 106 15, 108 1, 110 14, 112 18, 19, etc. *To use a figure, to shape, to construct*. Lat. *figurare*. Cp. D.H. , Demetr. .

σχηματισμός. 112 14, 20, 146 7, 212 21, etc. *Configuration, construction; the employment of figures or turns of phrase*. Lat. *conformatio, figuratio*.

σχολικός. 214 9. *After the manner of lectures, tedious*. Lat. *longus*. Dionysius has in mind treatises which are 'academic' rather than practical. Cp. Long. *de Sublim.* iii. 5 πολλὰ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τινὲς εἰς τὰ μηκέτι τοῦ πράγματος, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν καὶ σχολικὰ παραφέρονται πάθη.

σῶμα. 134 25. *Person*. Lat. *persona*. Same sense as πρόσωπον: compare, in *Ep.* ii. *ad Amm.* c. 14, πρόσωπα δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα γίνεται with πράγματα δὲ ἀντὶ σωματῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεται.

Σωτάδειος. 88 1. *Sotadean*. Lat. *Sotadeus*. So called from Sotades, a native of Maroneia or of Crete, who lived under the early Ptolemies. The structure of the Sotadean verse is analyzed in P. Masqueray's *Abriss der griechischen Metrik* p-4. For some further references see Demetr. .

ταμιεύειν. 246 4. *To regulate, to manage*. Lat. *temperare, dispensare*.

τάξις. 72 12, 18, 198 6, etc. *Order*. Lat. *dispositio*. Not identical in sense with σύνθεσις, which (in 72 18) forms part of one and the same sentence as τάξις. τάξις often (e.g. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12. 6) refers to

the marshalling of the subject matter of a speech. — The verb *τάττειν* occurs (with various senses) in 126 7, 196 6, 254 10, etc.

ταπεινός. 74 12, 78 10, 80 13, 92 17, 134 23, 166 3, 176 11, 186 19. *Low, mean, vulgar*. Lat. *humilis, abiectus*. So *ταπεινότης* 192 9.

τάσις. 126 7, 9, 128 5, 11, 196 16. *Tension, pitch, accent*. Lat. *intentio (vocis), accentus*. Cp. *προσῳδία supra*, and *τόνος infra*. Definition in 196 16: *τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσῳδαί*. Quintil. i. 5. 22 “adhuc difficilior observatio est per *tenores*, (quos quidem ab antiquis dictos *tonores* comperi, videlicet declinato a Graecis verbo, qui *τόνους* dicunt) vel *accentus*, quas Graeci *προσῳδίας* vocant,” etc.

ταυτολογία. 240 26. *Verbal reiteration, tautology*. Lat. *eiusdem verbi iteratio*. This is, apparently, the earliest recorded use of the word, though Polybius employs the verb *ταυτολογεῖν*. Quintil. viii. 3. 50 “sicut *ταυτολογία*, id est *eiusdem verbi* aut sermonis *iteratio*. haec enim quamquam non magnopere a summis auctoribus vitata, interim vitium videri potest, in quod saepe incidit etiam Cicero, securus tam parvae observationis: sicut hoc loco, *Non solum igitur illud iudicium iudicii simile, iudices, non fuit*.” The English word *tautology* must have been unfamiliar when Philemon Holland translated the *Morals* of Plutarch, since it is one of the terms included in the “explanation of certain obscure words” appended to Holland’s volume.

ταυτότης. 134 18, 192 20. *Sameness, monotony*. Lat. *rerum earundem iteratio*. Contrasted with *μεταβολή*: as in 134 18 *διαναπαύειν δὲ τὴν ταυτότητά φημι δεῖν μεταβολὰς εὐκαίρους εἰσφέροντα*. — Aristotle uses the word several times, in the sense of ‘identity.’

τέλειος. 84 21, 116 24, 144 17, 150 13, etc. *Complete, perfect*. Lat. *absolutus, perfectus*. See, further, note on 204 24. — So *τελειοῦν* 178 13. — In 120 4, 268 5, *τέλος* = ‘end,’ ‘object.’

τελευταί. 252 15. *Rites, mysteries*. Lat. *sacra arcana, ritus et caerimoniae*. αἱ *τελευταὶ τοῦ λόγου* = *sacra eloquentiae*.

τετράμετρος. 86 3, 14, 256 8, 13. *Consisting of four metres or measures*. Lat. *tetrametrus* (sc. *versus*: *στιχός*).

τετριμμένος. 252 29. *Homely, ordinary*. Lat. *tritus*. Fr. *ordinaire*. The word sometimes inclines to the sense ‘vulgar,’ ‘hackneyed,’ ‘banal,’ ‘rebutted’: cp. *τέτριπται* 134 22.

τέχνη. 68 9, 94 10, 14, 96 2, 104 10, 132 22, etc. *Art, handbook*. Lat. *ars*. αἱ *τέχναι* in Dionysius (cp. αἱ *τέχναι τῶν λόγων*, Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 1. 3) refers specially to rhetorical handbooks: e.g. 270 4, 282 3. αἱ *ῥητορικαὶ τέχναι* is often used to designate the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle: e.g. 254 25, and *Ep. i. ad Amm.* cc. 1, 2, etc. — In 124 3 *τεχνίτης* = ‘craftsman,’ ‘professional.’

τὴν ἄλλως. 176 6. *To no purpose*. Lat. *temere*. Coupled here with a negative: cp. Suidas, *τηνᾶλλως μάτην*. καὶ οὐ *τηνᾶλλως μετὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως λέγεται*.

τομή. 72 2. *Division*. Lat. *partitio*. Fr. *partie, subdivision*.

τόνος. 126 5, 15, 19, 142 8. *Tone, tension, pitch, accent*. Lat. *tonus, intentio (vocis), accentus*. If *τόνον* be read in 136 16 and *τόνος* in 236 8, the meaning will be *energy*: cp. D.H. . See also under *τάσις supra*, and under *περισπασμός supra* (for a passage of Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 1. 4).

τόπος. 66 6, 96 9, 144 18, 164 17, 248 8. *Place, heading, department*. Lat. *locus*. The *πραγματικὸς τόπος* (66 6) is the *locus rerum*, as opposed to the *λεκτικὸς τόπος* (96 9). In this connexion not only *τόπος*, but *τρόπος*, *τύπος*, *χαρακτήρ* and *μέρος* are sometimes used by Dionysius.

τορευτός. 264 18. *Worked in relief, chased*. Lat. *caelatus*. So *τορευτής* = *caelator*, 266 8.

τραγωδοποιός. 236 17, 248 14. *Tragic poet, tragedian*. Lat. *tragicus poëta*. [For the Greek expressions

used to denote tragic and comic poets see H. Richards in the *Classical Review* xiv. 211.]

τρανός. 230 14. *Clear, distinct*. Lat. *perspicuus*. In earlier Greek the form τρανής is used: cp. Soph. *Ajax* 23 ἴσμεν γὰρ οὐδὲν τρανές, ἀλλ' ἀλώμεθα.

τραχύτης. 230 5, 232 8. *Roughness*. Lat. *asperitas*. Fr. *âpreté, dureté*. So τραχύς 130 26, 154 12, 228 7, 234 15, etc.; and τραχύνειν 130 19, 146 9, 202 26, 206 4, 216 17, 218 18, 240 17. By 'rough' letters, in 202 26, Dionysius may probably mean the following letters found in the four lines quoted in 202 3-6: Σ, σ, φ (?), σ, γ, χ, στ, ζ, σ, σκ, πτ, σχ, σκ, φ (?); and among these, σκ, σχ and πτ may be regarded as 'juxtapositions of rough letters.'

τρίκωλον. 116 11. *A sentence consisting of three members or clauses*. Lat. *oratio trimembris*. τὸ τρίκωλον is here a noun: on the same principle as, for example, ἡ τρίδος (= *trivium*).

τρίμετρος. 258 19, 25. *Consisting of three metres or measures*. Lat. *trimetrus* (sc. *versus*: στίχος).

τρισύλλαβος. 170 15, 174 8. *Consisting of three syllables*. Lat. *trisyllabus*.

τρόπος. 196 1. *Mode* (in music). Lat. *modus*. Cp. *Monro's Modes of Ancient Greek Music*. In 132 12 the word means *trope* (*metaphor* particularly: cp. Quintil. viii. 6. 4): so τροπικός (*figurative*; Fr. *figuré*) 78 16, 252 24, 272 10.

τροχαῖος. 170 8, 184 11. *Trochee*. The metrical foot – υ.

τρυφερός. 236 9. *Delicate, dainty*. Lat. *delicatus, nitidus*.

τύπος. 70 7, 268 2, 17, 24. *Outline, form*. Lat. *forma, figura*.

ὕλη. 266 9. *Material*. Lat. *materia*. Fr. *matière*.

ὕπαγωγικός. 90 5. *Drawn slowly out, prolonged*. Lat. *dilatatus*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 4 διώκει δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν περίοδον οὐδὲ ταύτην στρογγύλην καὶ πυκνήν ἀλλ' ὑπαγωγικὴν τινα καὶ πλατεῖαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ὥσπερ οἱ μὴ κατ' εὐθείας ῥέοντες ποταμοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἐγκολπιζομένην. It is possible, however, that in the *de Comp. Verb.* the word has an active meaning similar to that of ἐπαγωγικός, in which case the rendering will be 'the effect of the passage will no longer be that of a narrative which gently carries the reader on.'

ὕπαλλαγή. 78 16. *Hypallage*. Lat. *hypallage*. Quintil. ix. 6. 23 "nec procul ab hoc genere discedit μετωνυμία, quae est nominis pro nomine positio. cuius vis est, pro eo, quod dicitur, causam, propter quam dicitur, ponere; sed, ut ait Cicero, ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores dicunt. haec inventas ab inventore et subiectas res ab obtinentibus significat: ut *Cererem corruptam undis, et receptus Terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arceat*." Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 27. 93 "hanc ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores, quia quasi summutantur verba pro verbis, μετωνυμίαν grammatici vocant, quod nomina transferuntur."

ὕπατη. 210 7. *Top note*. Lat. *chorda suprema*. See L. & S. s.v.

ὑπεράρειν. 224 11. *To exceed*. Lat. *transgredi*.

ὕπερβολή. 156 11. *Excess, violence*. Lat. *impetus, ardor*. [Not here used in the technical sense of *superlatio, traiectio*.]

ὑπέμετρος. 214 8. *Exceeding due measure, excessively long*. Lat. *excedens mensuram*. [Not here used in the technical sense of passing beyond the bounds of metre: *Demetr. de Eloc.* § 118 ποίημα γὰρ ἄκαιρον ψυχρόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ὑπέμετρον, 'a bit of verse out of place is just as inartistic as the disregard of metrical rules in poetry.']

ὕπεροπτικός. 232 20. *Disdainful*. Lat. *ad contemnendum pronus*.

ὑπερτείνειν. 132 14. *To exceed*. Lat. *transcendere*.

ὑπηχεῖν. 150 7. *To sound in answer to, to re-echo*. Lat. *resonare*.

ὑποβάκχειος. 174 23, 178 11, 13. *Hypobacchius*. The metrical foot υ – –. The *Epitome* (c. 17) gives παλιμβάκχειος in the same sense as ὑποβάκχειος.

ὑπογράφειν. 122 7. *To sketch*. Lat. *adumbrare*. Fr. *esquisser*.

ὑπόδειγμα. 174 12. *Pattern, specimen*. Lat. *documentum, exemplum*.

ὑπόθεσις. 104 6. *Subject, theme*. Lat. *argumentum operis*. So τὰ ὑποκείμενα (*the subject matter*) 74 9, 106 17, 130 13, 134 21, 158 2.

ὑπόμνησις. 80 1. *Reminder*. Lat. *admonitio*. ὑπομνήσεως ἕνεκα = *memoriae causa*.

ὑποτακτικός. 220 19. *Subordinate*. Lat. *subditus*. Dionysius seems to mean that π is not apt to be amalgamated with, or absorbed in, a preceding ν. [The second vowel in a diphthong could be described as ὑποτακτικὸν φωνῆεν.] The verb ὑποτάττειν occurs in 100 23 and 126 21.

ὑποτίθεσθαι. 194 8. *To take as a subject*. Lat. *argumentum sibi sumere*. This (rather than ‘to postulate’) seems to be the meaning.

ὑποτραχύνειν. 222 7. *To grate slightly on the ear*. Lat. *leni horrore aures afficere*.

ὑπιτιος. 108 3. *Passive*. Lat. *supinus*.

ὕφος. 234 12. *Woven stuff, a web*. Lat. *tela*. The word is used metaphorically in Long. *de Subl.* i. 4 τοῦ ὄλου τῶν λόγων ὕφους.

ὑψηλός. 92 18, 172 2, 180 2, 182 7. *Lofty, elevated*. Lat. *sublimis*.

φантаσία. 230 29. *Representation, image*. Lat. *imago*.

φάρμακον. 208 17. *Colour (for painting)*. Lat. *pigmentum*. For φάρμακα (= βάμματα, χρώματα) cp. Horace’s “Iana Tarentino violas imitata veneno” (*Ep.* ii. 1. 207).

φάρυγξ. 150 7. *Throat*. Lat. *guttur*. Here used in the masculine gender, according to the best-supported reading. Galen (on Hippocr. *Progn.*), ὅτι φάρυγγα τὴν προκειμένην χώραν στομάχου τε καὶ λάρυγγος ὀνομάζει δῆλόν ἐστι.

φθαρτός. 266 9. *Perishable*. Lat. *mortalis, periturus*.

φθόγγος. 128 4, 130 12, 268 10. *Sound, note*. Lat. *sonus*.

φιλόκαλος. 66 16. *Loving beauty, artistic*. Lat. *pulchritudinis studiosus*.

φιλόλογος. 264 24. *Loving literature, literary; a scholar*. Lat. *litterarum studiosus; litteratus, philologus*.

φιλοπονία. 264 25. *Loving care; industry*. Lat. *diligentia*: which (etymologically) contains the same suggestion of ‘work done *con amore*.’

φιλόσοφος. 74 8, 132 22, 164 22, 248 15. *Philosopher*. Lat. *philosophus*. The comprehensive sense in which philosophy is understood may be illustrated from φιλοσοφία (140 12) and φιλοσοφεῖν (70 12). Cp. in modern times such academic vestiges of ancient usage as ‘Natural Philosophy’ or ‘Ph. D.’ In *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (ii. 4) rhetoric is taught by the *Maître de Philosophie*; and Dionysius is fond of

contrasting the philosophical, or scientific, rhetoric (ἡ φιλόσοφος ῥητορική) of the best Attic times with the later and purely empirical Asiatic rhetoric, to which he applies the epithet ἀμαθής. See further in D.H. .

φιλοτεχνεῖν. 154 20, 200 18. *To practise an art lovingly, to be devoted to it.* Lat. *artem amare, in artem incumbere*. So φιλοτέχνως 176 18. φιλοτεχνεῖν, φιλότεχνος and φιλοτεχνία are all used by Plato in reference to art pursued *con amore*; and Cicero (*ad Att.* xiii. 40. 1) uses φιλοτέχνημα of an elaborate work of art — a *chef-d'œuvre*: “Ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam et Brutum?”

φιλοχωρεῖν. 110 5. *To cling to a place, to haunt it.* Lat. *libenter in loco commorari*. φιλοχωρεῖν is used repeatedly by Dionysius in the *Antiqq. Rom.* (e.g. i. 13 Ἀρκαδικὸν γὰρ τὸ φιλοχωρεῖν ὄρεσιν and v. 63 παρεκελεύοντο ἀλλήλοις μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν ἐν πόλει μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ μεταδιδούσῃ) and φιλοχωρία in i. 27 (ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοχωρίας κρατουμένων). Plutarch uses the word in reference to his birthplace Chaeroneia, telling us that he ‘clung fondly to the spot,’ lest by leaving it he should make a small place, but one which had witnessed thrilling scenes, ‘smaller yet’ (ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, *Plut. Demosth.* c. 2). The form χωροφιλεῖν seems to occur twice only in good Greek authors: (1) Antiphon *de Caede Herodis* § 78 εἰ δ’ ἐν Αἴνῳ χωροφιλεῖ [probably it is to this passage that Dionysius here refers]; (2) *Ep. Thaletis ap. Diog. L.* i. 44 οὐ μέντοι χωροφιλέων ὀλίγα φοιτᾷ ἐς Ἰωνίην.

φλυαρία. 264 7, 268 15. *Nonsense, foolery.* Lat. *nugae, ineptiae*. So φλυάρημα (*futility*) 192 9. Notwithstanding the remarks in Stephanus, it would seem more natural to take φλύαρος as an adjective (than as a noun) in 272 20, 22, and this for two reasons: (1) the form φλυαρία has been used shortly before; (2) the adjectival use is sufficiently established by Hesychius’ note (φαῦλος, εὐήθης) and by that of Thom. M. Ritschl (πολύλογος), while ἡ φλύαρος φιλοσοφία occurs in the Septuagint (*Maccab.* iv. 5, 10) and καὶ ὅλως ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον φλύαρον in *Plut. Mor.* 169 E.

φορά. 144 22, 204 17, 244 20. *Current, rush.* Lat. *cursus, impetus*.

φορτικός. 252 14. *Coarse, rude.* Lat. *insolens, importunus, insulsus*.

φράσις. 84 2, 166 3, 182 8, 206 1, 15, 208 7, 250 14. *Style, expression.* Lat. *elocutio*. Cp. Quintil. viii. 1. 1 “igitur, quam Graeci φράσιν vocant, Latine dicimus *elocutionem*. ea spectatur verbis aut singulis aut coniunctis.”

φριμαγμός. 158 14. *Snorting.* Lat. *fremitus*. It is hardly likely that the word here means no more than βληχή, *bleating*.

Φρύγιος. 196 1. *Phrygian.* Lat. *Phrygius*. Cp. Monro’s *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, passim.

φυλακή. 198 6. *Preservation.* Lat. *conservatio*. — In the *de Imitat.* B. vi. 3 the reading φυλακή (if correct) will correspond to the middle φυλάττεσθαι (not to φυλάττειν).

φυσικός. 96 23, 214 3, 224 5, 240 8, etc. *Natural.* Lat. *naturalis*. So φυσικῶς 200 12. ὁ φυσικός, in 214 3, = ‘the natural philosopher,’ ‘the physicist’ (of Empedocles). In 134 2 οὐδ’ ἔχει φύσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα ... πεσεῖν the meaning is ‘nor is the subject of such a nature that it can fall.’

φωνή. 130 4, 21, 136 22, 138 7, etc. *Voice, sound.* Lat. *vox, sonus, sonus vocalis*. Cp. φωνεῖν (‘to pronounce,’ etc.) 140 1, 20, 144 18, 148 14.

φωνήεις. 138 8, 9, 15, 140 2, 144 7, 150 17, 152 4, 220 11. *Voiced.* Lat. *vocalis*. φωνήεντα γράμματα = *litterae vocales* = *vowels*. For the term ‘voiced’ see s.v. ἄφωνος *supra*. Cp. Dionys. Thrax *Ars Gramm.* (ed. Uhlig) φωνήεντα δὲ λέγεται, ὅτι φωνὴν ἄφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀποτελεῖ.

φωτεινός. 234 13. *Full of light.* Lat. *lucidus, luminosus*.

χαρακτήρ. 68 21, 80 17, 90 10, etc. *Characteristic stamp, type.* Lat. *forma, nota*. So the adjective

χαρκτηρικὸς in 232 21 (cp. *de Demosth.* c. 39 init.). See further in D.H. , *Demetr.* . — In 230 9 the verb *χαράττειν* = ‘to irritate.’

χάρις. 112 5, 120 20, 124 12, etc. *Charm, grace*. Lat. *venustas, lepor*. Fr. *grâce*. Cp. *Demetr.* . So *χαρίεις* (‘refined,’ ‘elegant,’ ‘accomplished,’ ‘consummate’) 106 16, 116 1, 154 16; *χαριέντως* 110 22.

χλευασμός. 192 7. *Scoffing, satire*. Lat. *derisio, illusio*. *χλευάζειν* 270 3.

χορδή. 122 23. *String, note*. Lat. *chorda*.

χορεῖος. 170 17, 184 11. *Choree*. Lat. *choreus*. The metrical foot ∪ ∪ ∪. In 170 18 the reading *τριβραχὺς ποὺς* (*τροχαῖος ποὺς* F) seems to be a gloss. The term *χορεῖος* is applied to the trochee more commonly than to the tribrach. The *Epitome* (c. 17) gives *χορεῖος* (without addition).

χρεία. 104 21, 198 2. *Use, practical work*. Lat. *usus*. Cp. *de Demosth.* c. 45, *de Thucyd.* c. 55. There may also be some notion of *practical need, stress*: cp. *ἐν χρείᾳ δορός* (*Soph. Aj.* 963) and *ὑπὸ τῆς χρείας αὐτῆς* (schol. on *Hom. Odys.* viii. 163).

χρεμετισμός. 158 14. *Neighing, whinnying*. Lat. *hinnitus*.

χρῆμα. 158 2. *Object*. Lat. *res ipsa*. Cp. note on *supra*.

χρόνοι. 130 1, 164 5, 204 22 (lit. ‘does not divide the times’), 210 19, 216 18, 234 4, 244 19, 264 4. *Times, time-intervals, time-spaces, rests, pauses*. Lat. *tempora, morae*. So in 128 15 *χρόνους* = ‘the length of syllables,’ and in 130 7 *ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν μορίων* = ‘in the duration of words,’ ‘in quantity.’ *χρόνων* = ‘tenses,’ 108 5; *χρόνιος* = *diuturnus*, 202 23; *χρονίζειν* = *immorari*, 164 12.

χρῶμα. 88 12, 198 14. *Colour*. Lat. *color*. In 198 14 *χρώμασιν* should be retained (in place of *Usener’s* *χρήμασιν*) in the sense of ‘ornaments’; the ornaments in question being μέλος εὐγενές, ῥυθμός ἀξιωματικός, μεταβολὴ μεγαλοπρεπῆς (136 11, where compare τὸ πᾶσι τούτοις παρακολουθοῦν πρέπον with τοῖς ἄλλοις χρώμασιν ἅπασι παρῆναι δεῖ τὸ πρέπον in 198 14). Compare too *de Demosth.* c. 22 κομοῦντος ἅπαντα καὶ χρωματίζοντος τῇ πρεπούσῃ ὑποκρίσει ἥς δεινότητος ἀσκητῆς ἐγένετο, and the use of *χρῶμα* (or *χρώματα*) in *de Isaeo* c. 4 and *de Thucyd.* c. 42. Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 214) has ἔστι δὲ ἡ φράσις τῷ ἀνδρὶ σαφῆς μὲν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ σπουδῇ φιλοσόφῳ πρέπουσα, οὐ μὴν γε τοῖς κεκαλωπισμένοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἐξωραϊζομένην χρώμασι καὶ ποικίλμασι τῆς ῥητορείας. Similarly *color* in Quintil. x. 1. 116, and Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 25. 100. The stage at which the *χρῶμα* would best be introduced in a historical work is suggested in a passage of Lucian (*de conscrib. hist.* 48): καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀθροίσῃ ἅπαντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα, πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαινέτω αὐτῶν καὶ σῶμα ποιεῖτω ἀκαλλῆς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον· εἴτα ἐπιθείς τὴν τάξιν ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος καὶ χρωonnύτω (i.e. ‘tinge’) τῇ λέξει καὶ σχηματίζετω καὶ ῥυθμιζέτω. But might it not be more truly said that a great historian like Gibbon has his *χρῶμα* from the beginning, — from the moment when he stands in the Forum and conceives his vast theme? It is in fact one aspect of his inspiration.

χρωματικός. 194 7, 196 3. *Chromatic*. Lat. *chromaticus*. For the chromatic scale see note on 194 7.

χώρα. 144 13. *Room, space*. Lat. *locus, spatium*. *χωρῖον* in 126 6 = ‘distance,’ ‘interval.’

φιλός. 130 5, 148 7, 12 (bis), 18, 19, 150 3, 9, 154 2, 250 12, 254 1. *Bare, smooth, unaspirated*. Lat. *lenis*. So *φιλότης* 148 21. See s.v. *δασύς supra*, with the reference there given to A. J. Ellis’ pamphlet. In 148 7 Ellis takes ‘smooth’ to mean ‘unaccompanied by voice, but in this case possibly not mute.’ In 130 5 the ‘ordinary’ voice, the voice ‘pure and simple’ (or ‘without addition’), is meant: c 2, 250 12, 254 1. So ἐν τοῖς φιλοῖς λόγοις *Aristot. Rhet.* iii. 2. 3, and “nuda oratio” Cic. *Orat.* 55. 183.

φοφοειδής. 162 15. *Sounding*. Lat. *sonans*. If the term is technical, it may perhaps be translated by *fricative*; it can hardly be so wide as *consonantal*.

ψόφος. 138 7, 8, 9, 12, 146 4, 222 2. *A sound, a noise*. Lat. *sonus, strepitus*. The consonants (*litterae consonantes*) are called ψόφοι, as contrasted with the φωνήεντα γράμματα.

ψῦγμα. 202 26. *Inhalation*. Lat. *respiratio*. Used particularly of the ‘catch of the breath’ (*interspiratio*) between one word and another. [ψῦγμα must, of course, be distinguished from ψῆγμα: cp. Long. .]

ὠδή. 124 16, 22, 148 1, 224 21, 278 8. *Song, lay, ode*. Lat. *cantus, carmen*. So ὠδικός = *vocal* (of the voice accompanied by music), 126 16, 130 5.

ῥα. 78 12. *Care, heed*. Lat. *cura*. Cp. Hesychius: ῥα ... ψιλῶς δὲ φροντίς, ἐπιμέλεια· ὅθεν ὀλίγωρον (i.e. ‘a *poco curante*,’ ‘a Hippocleides’) λέγομεν τὸν ὀλίγην ἔχοντα φροντίδα. In 78 12 M has γρ φροντίδα in the margin.

ῥα. 120 20, 124 12, 162 1. *Freshness, bloom, beauty*. Lat. *venustas, flos*. Fr. *fraîcheur*. Cp. *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 2 (quoted from *de Demosth.* c. 5: in reference to Plato’s style ὃ τε πίνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡρέμα αὐτῇ καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέχει ἱλαρόν τέ τι καὶ τεθληδὸς καὶ μεστόν ῥας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι, καὶ ὥπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεστάτων λειμώνων αὔρα τις ἡδεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς φέρεται). — In 68 14 and 76 6 ῥα = ‘time,’ ‘season.’

ῥαῖσμός. 66 18. *Adornment, elegance*. Lat. *elegantia*.

APPENDIX A/ OBSCURITY IN GREEK

The natural lucidity of the Greek language is sometimes assumed by its modern admirers to extend to all the writings of Greek authors. But the ancients themselves made no such extravagant claims. They might praise Lysias as a model of clearness; but they knew well the difficulties, of subject matter or expression, to be met with not only in Heracleitus or Lycophron, but in masters so great as Pindar, Aeschylus, Thucydides, and the author of that excellent definition which sees in lucidity a fundamental virtue of style — Aristotle himself. Thucydides (to take one writer only out of this group of four) is taxed with obscurity by critics other than Dionysius. Marcellinus, although not otherwise in entire agreement with Dionysius, attributes this particular defect to Thucydides and regards it as deliberate: ἀσαφῶς δὲ λέγων ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα μὴ πᾶσιν εἴη βατὸς μηδὲ εὐτελὴς φαίνεται παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ νοοῦμενος εὐχερῶς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς λίαν σοφοῖς δοκιμαζόμενος παρὰ τούτοις θαυμάζεται ... τὸ δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως τραχύτητος μεστὸν καὶ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ ὑπερβατικόν, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀσαφές ... ἀσαφὴς τὴν διάνοιαν διὰ τὸ ὑπερβατοῖς χαίρειν (Marcell. *Vita Thucyd.* §§ 35, 50, 56). An epigram in the Greek Anthology is pitched in the same key: —

ὦ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν
νῆϊς ἔφυς Μουσέων, ῥίπον ἃ μὴ νοεῖς.
εἰμὶ δέ γ' οὐ πάντεσσι βατός· παῦροι δ' ἀγάσαντο
Θουκυδίδην Ὀλόρου, Κεκροπίδην τὸ γένος.

Anth. Pal. ix. 583.

And Cicero, in a more uncompromising way, condemns the Speeches as scarcely intelligible: “ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intellegantur; quod est in oratione civili vitium vel maximum” (Cic. *Orat.* 9. 30).

Obscurity in matter and obscurity in expression are intimately allied. Euripides, in the *Frogs*, says of Aeschylus that he was obscure in setting forth his plots (ἀσαφὴς γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ φράσει τῶν πραγμάτων, Aristoph. *Ran.* 1122). Dionysius attributes to Lysias, as compared with Thucydides and Demosthenes, a lucidity which embraces matter as well as expression and treats words as the servants of thought: τρίτην ἀρετὴν ἀποφαίνομαι περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὴν σαφήνειαν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ πραγματικὴ σαφήνεια οὐ πολλοῖς γνώριμος. τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι τῆς μὲν Θουκυδίδου λέξεως καὶ Δημοσθένους, οἱ δεινότατοι πράγματα ἐξεῖπεν ἐγένοντο, πολλὰ δυσεῖκαστά ἐστιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσαφῆ καὶ δεόμενα ἐξηγητῶν ... τοῦτου δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι οὐ τοῖς ὀνόμασι δουλεύει τὰ πράγματα παρ' αὐτῷ [sc. Λυσίᾳ], τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα (*de Lysia*, c. 4). So far as the two can be separated, it is with wording rather than with subject matter that the present appendix is

concerned.

One principal cause of obscurity is the anxious search for brevity. Dionysius sees this, especially in regard to Thucydides; and “brevis esse laboro, | obscurus fio” has many an analogue in his critical pages (e.g. ἀσαφὲς γίνεται τὸ βραχὺ and διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἀσαφὴς ἡ λέξις γίνεται, *de Thucyd.* c. 24 and *Ep. ii. ad Amm.* c. 2). At the same time, he does not seem to concede enough to the claims of brevity in *C.V.* **118** 1, 2, where it is not simply a question of ‘offending the ear,’ or of ‘spoiling the metre,’ or even of ‘charm.’ The two lines there quoted from Sophocles have something of that πολύνους βραχυλογία which has been justly attributed to Thucydides.

But too many words may be just as fatal to clearness as too few. As Aristotle says (*Rhet.* iii. 12. 6), lucidity is imperilled when a style is prolix, no less than when it is condensed. A disjointed and rambling diffuseness is condemned by Demetrius (*de Eloc.* § 192); and Dionysius (*Ep. ii. ad Amm.* c. 15) remarks that numerous parentheses make the meaning hard to follow (... αἱ μεταξύ παρεμπτώσεις πολλάι γινόμεναι καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀφικνούμεναι, δι’ ἃς ἡ φράσις δυσπαρακολούθητος γίνεται).

It is, however, the arrangement of words (even more than their number, large or small) that contributes to lucidity or its opposite. Quintilian (ix. 4. 32) says “amphiboliam quoque fieri vitiosa locatione verborum, nemo est qui nesciat”; and certainly the importance of a right order, in its bearing on clearness, is very great even in the highly inflected languages. Elsewhere (viii. 2. 16) Quintilian gives some good examples of ambiguities to be avoided: “vitanda est in primis ambiguitas, non haec solum, de cuius genere supra dictum est, quae incertum intellectum facit, ut *Chremetem audiui percussisse Demean*, sed illa quoque, quae, etiamsi turbare non potest sensum, in idem tamen verborum vitium incidit, ut si quis dicat, *visum a se hominem librum scribentem*. nam etiamsi librum ab homine scribi patet, male tamen composuerit feceritque ambiguum, quantum in ipso fuit.” Quintilian’s ideal is a fine one, but it is not always possible to attain it in Latin or in Greek. The freedom of the classical word-order, so desirable on other grounds, stands in the way here.

Illustrations of a certain degree of ambiguity will be found in some instances of the dependent genitive in Greek, as used especially in Thucydides. Thucydides usually places the dependent genitive *before* the noun on which it depends. As, however, his rule is not invariable, it cannot be said that in all the following examples (which are designedly of a promiscuous character) the reader is absolved, as Quintilian evidently thinks he should be, from making his conception of the general sense help in determining the grammatical construction: —

(1) καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡσσοнос ἄμα ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἔνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι, *Thucyd.* i. 143.

(2) εἴ τις ὑπομένοι καὶ μὴ φόβῳ ροθίου καὶ νεῶν δεινότητος κατάπλου ὑποχωροίη, iv. 10.

(3) Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἔχρῦα ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς, i. 32.

(4) οἵπερ τῶν ὀλκάδων ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν κομιδῆς ἀνθῶρμουν πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς, vii. 34.

(5) ἄπιστα μὲν ἴσως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, δόξω ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλου τῆς ἀληθείας λέγειν, vi. 33.

(6) τά τε τῆς ἀντιμιμήσεως αὐτῶν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμῶν τῷ μὲν ἡμετέρῳ τρόπῳ ξυνήθη τέ ἐστι κτλ., vii. 67.

(7) τοὺς γὰρ ἂν ψιλοὺς τοὺς σφῶν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον τῶν Συρακοσίων τοὺς ἱππέας πολλοὺς ὄντας, σφίσι δ' οὐ παρόντων ἱππέων, βλάπτειν ἂν μεγάλα, vi. 64.

(8) καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα ἢ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη, iv. 39.

(9) καὶ τριήρης τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀλίσκεται τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμοῦσα τῷ λιμένι, vii. 3.

Similarly in other authors: e.g. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε τοῦ Θρασυμάχου τὴν ἀπόρρησιν οὐκ ἀπεδέξατο, Plato *Rep.* ii. 357 A (where, however, the meaning may be “would not accept from Thrasymachus his withdrawal”); and ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἱμερον ὤρσε γόοιο, Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 507; and

**τοὔτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς
φρόνημα δείσας, ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην
δώσειν.**

Soph. *Antig.* 458-60.

If in some of these instances the order is not absolutely unambiguous, still less is it so in other and more miscellaneous extracts about to be given. The writer of artistic prose, as of poetry, has to satisfy claims which are often hard to reconcile: those of clearness, of emphasis, and of euphony. The result may often be a more or less unconscious compromise in which one of the elements prospers at the expense of the others. Euphony, to take that element alone, is expected to please the ear in many different ways — by the avoidance of harsh letters (found singly or in combination), of short syllables in close succession, of monotony in word-terminations, of monotony in every shape and form. Obscurity may well ensue, especially in a literature which does not aid the eye by means of punctuation, capital letters (to denote proper names or the beginning of a sentence), italic type, or division into paragraphs and chapters. To set against these deficiencies, there was the help provided by the reciter or the skilled *anagnostes*; and it is often interesting to speculate how, by a slight pause or modulation of the voice, a practised reader would be able to remove a seeming ambiguity. In poetry, again, metre would often be an aid to clear delivery, though its exigencies might on the other hand have led to some ambiguities in the actual writing. No careful modern student of a highly-wrought speech, like the *Crown* of Demosthenes, can have failed to be arrested momentarily, here and there, by some slight ambiguity which, as far as he can judge, might have been removed by an equally slight change in the

word-order; and he gains much in the appreciation of Demosthenes if he is thus led to consider what are the subtle laws of rhythm and melody to which an absolutely unimpeachable lucidity has (in however small a degree) given way. He will certainly be led to the conclusion that, in Greek, good order is by no means the simple thing it may seem when achieved, but rather is the highly complex result of the play of many forces. The following examples, drawn from various authors in poetry and in prose, may be found suggestive. They are of set purpose presented without any attempt at sequence or classification, except that a considerable number of extracts from the *de Corona* are grouped together: —

(1) καί μοι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μεμάθηκε τὸν λόγον
ἐκεῖνον, εἴφ', ὃν ἀρτίως εἰσήγαγες.

Aristoph. *Nub.* 1148.

(2) ἀλλά μιν αὖτις ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα
πόντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα φέρεν βαρέα στενάχοντα.

Hom. *Odys.* xxiii. 316.

(3) ἥδ' ὥς εἰς Αἶδεω δόμον ἦλϑεν εὐρώεντα,
ψυχῇ χρησόμενος Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο,
νηϊ πολυκλήϊδι.

id. *ib.* xxiii. 322.

(4) ὅτι Ἰππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱέων.
Thucyd. i. 20.

Here τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱέων depends on πρεσβύτατος ὢν, not on ἦρχε.

(5) κράτιστα τοίνυν τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῶν
θεῶν ἰόντε προοπeseῖν του πρὸς βρέτας.

Aristoph. *Eq.* 30, 31.

Here the actor would pause slightly after νῶν, at the end of the metrical line.

(6) τοῦτ' οὖν ἔβλαψα τί δράσας;
id. *Ran.* 1064.

Careful delivery would make it quite plain that the meaning is: τί οὖν ἔβλαψα, δράσας τοῦτο;

(7) σαφῶς γὰρ ἄν, εἰ πείθοιμι ὑμᾶς καὶ τῷ δεῖσθαι βιαζοίμην
ὁμωμοκότας, θεοὺς ἂν διδάσκοιμι μὴ ἡγεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς εἶναι.

Plato *Apol.* c. 24.

(8) καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῷ δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστῆναι.
Thucyd. i. 69.

(9) οὐδ' ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἷους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὡς πᾶν διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται.

id. i. 70.

ὑμῖν is probably to be connected with ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. Its present position has the effect of marking the contrast between ὑμῖν and Ἀθηναίους, and further of breaking the monotony of the accusative-endings οἷους Ἀθηναίους ὄντας. It should, however, be remembered that in a highly inflected language like Greek a noun may stand in a vague general case relation (genitive, dative, or accusative) to the whole sentence in a way that is impossible in an uninflected language. This may be so here, and in some of the other passages quoted.

(10) ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἔνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οἶαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται.

id. i. 73.

Similarly ὑμῖν ('you will find,' etc.) is to be taken with ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται. It is contrasted with πόλιν and paves the way for βουλευομένοις.

(11) ἔνθ' ὃ γε τοὺς ἐλεεινὰ κατήσθεε τετριγῶτας·
μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποτᾶτο ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα.

Hom. *Il.* ii. 314-15.

Connect ἐλεεινὰ τετριγῶτας, and ἀμφεποτᾶτο φίλα τέκνα.

(12) ὡς οὖν δεινὰ πέλωρα θεῶν εἰσιῆλθ' ἐκατόμβας.

id. *ib.* ii. 321.

Connect θεῶν ἐκατόμβας.

(13) καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ 'τίμησα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν εὖ.

Soph. *Antig.* 904.

εὖ with ἐτίμησα. The line occurs in the suspected portion of the *Antigone*.

But, so far as this particular point is concerned, cp. the order of μόνος in —

τὰ κοινὰ χαίρων οὐ δίκαια δρᾷ μόνος.

Eurip. *Ion* 358.

(14) τίνος δ' Ἀτρεΐδαι τοῦδ' ἄγαν οὕτω χρόνῳ
τοσῶδ' ἐπεστέφοντο πράγματος χάριν,
ὅν γ' εἶχον ἤδη χρόνιον ἐκβεβληκότες;

Soph. *Philoct.* 598.

Here strict lucidity is sacrificed to emphasis. τίνος must be joined with πράγματος (not with τοῦδε).

(15) στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ.

Hom. *Il.* i. 14.

(16) περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένων **δικαίως**, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων κτλ.

Demosth. *de Cor.* § 6.

δικαίως qualifies ἀκοῦσαι: cp. the position of γενναίως in *de Cor.* § 97 (quoted in Introduction *supra*). The present order is not only emphatic, but also serves to connect δικαίως closely with ὥσπερ κτλ., and thus to a certain extent actually to avoid ambiguity.

(17) σκέψασθ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης **τούτου** διαλεχθήσομαι.

Demosth. *de Cor.* § 252.

(18) τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοινο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, **αὐτῶν** ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι.

id. *ib.* § 254.

(19) **τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι** πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δῆμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις **τὴν κρίσιν** εἶναι νομίζω.

id. *ib.* § 56.

(20) οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν | παρόντων ἡμῶν, κτλ.

id. *ib.* § 30.

The vertical stroke, here and elsewhere, may serve to indicate the possibility of a slight pause in utterance, and Aristotle's remarks on the obscurity of Heracleitus may be recalled: τὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείτου διαστίξαι ('to punctuate') ἔργον διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον εἶναι ποτέρῳ πρόσκειται, τῷ ὕστερον ἢ τῷ πρότερον, οἷον ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγράμματος· φησὶ γὰρ "τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι ἄνθρωποι γίνονται". ἄδηλον γὰρ τὸ ἀεὶ, πρὸς ὁποτέρῳ <δεῦ> διαστίξαι.

Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5.

(21) λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα | πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττ' ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως.

Demosth. *de Cor.* § 69.

(22) ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐμοῦ | πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο.

id. *ib.* § 124.

(23) συνέβαινε δ' αὐτῷ | τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι, κτλ.

id. *ib.* § 146.

(24) τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανεὺς ἐγὼ Βάπταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ | πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι.

id. *ib.* § 180.

(25) εἰ γὰρ ὥς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου | τουδὲ καταψηφιέσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ

συμβάντα παθεῖν.

id. *ib.* § 207.

(26) οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ, παραδείγματα πλατῶν | καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος κτλ.

id. *ib.* § 232.

(27) σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοῖσι πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾶ, καὶ ταῦτ' | εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί.

id. *ib.* § 272.

Here may be added, from R. Y. Tyrrell's edition of Eurip. *Bacchae*, an interesting note suggested by the distance which parts μόσχων from ἀγελαῖα βοσκήματα in *Bacch.* 678: "The Greek writers are not nearly so sensitive about the order of words as we are. Surely we have something at least as strange in the order of words in 684 where ἐλάτης certainly depends on φόβην not on νῶτα. See Comm. on 860 for more curious inversions of the natural order; and compare in Soph. *Oed. R.* 1251 χῶπως μὲν ἐκ τῶνδ' οὐκέτ' οἶδ' ἀπόλλυται; *O.C.* 1427 τίς δὲ τολμήσει κλύων | τὰ τοῦδ' ἔπεσθαι τάνδρος; Perhaps the best instance in Greek of a violent *hyperbaton* is Ar. *Thesm.* 811 οὐδ' ἂν κλέψασα γυνὴ ζεύγει κατὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα | ἐς πόλιν ἔλθοι τῶν δημοσίων 'nor would a lady ride in her chariot to the town after pilfering the public exchequer to the tune of 50 talents.'" Probably the Greek authors, in such instances, were not blind to the liberties they were taking with the natural and lucid order of words; but they trusted to delivery's artful aid. And about the order adopted in the passage quoted from the *Thesmophoriazusae* there seems to be a touch of intentional comedy.

It is worth notice, in connexion with Thucydides and word-order, that the Vatican manuscript B, which is at its best from vi. 92 to the end of viii., frequently exhibits an order of words which is peculiar to it and may point to a reviser's deliberate effort after greater lucidity. In reference to the text presented by the newly discovered Commentary on Thucydides ii., Grenfell and Hunt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vi.) say: "As usual, the text of the papyrus is of an eclectic character and does not consistently agree with either family [of the MSS. of Thucydides]; but it supports the ABEFM group seven times against only four agreements with the other [viz. CG]. Several new readings occur of which we append a list."

With regard to the 27 passages quoted above from various authors it may be remarked in general that, while in some of them there are real obscurities, in others the ambiguity is purely grammatical. And it might almost be laid down as a principle of Greek language that grammatical rules may be freely neglected where the neglect of them does not make the meaning seriously ambiguous, and is desirable in order to secure emphasis, euphony, or some similar object.

APPENDIX B. ILLUSTRATIONS OF WORD-ORDER IN GREEK AND MODERN LANGUAGES

A few modern translations of some short Greek passages may be appended, in order to exemplify some of the leading differences, in regard to word-order, between ancient and modern languages. From these it will be seen how much English, French, and German differ among themselves; and, indeed, how great is the variety presented by good English versions of one and the same Greek passage. Dionysius himself (*supra*) refers to the opening of Plato's *Republic*, and that opening passage may here be given at sufficient length to illustrate sentence-order and clause-order as well as word-order. Then will be added, from the *de Corona* (which Dionysius regards as the greatest of all speeches), the opening, the conclusion, and a famous piece of narrative.

MODERN TRANSLATIONS

I. Opening of Plato's *Republic*

(1) Κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος προσευξόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν ἅτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες. καλὴ μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πομπὴ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι ἦττον ἐφαίνετο πρέπειν ἢν οἱ Θοῤᾰκες ἔπεμπον. προσευξάμενοι δὲ καὶ θεωρήσαντες ἀπῆμεν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ. κατιδὼν οὖν πόρρωθεν ἡμᾶς οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους Πολέμαρχος ὁ Κεφάλου ἐκέλευσε δραμόντα τὸν παῖδα περιμεῖναι ἐ κελεῦσαι. καὶ μου ὀπισθεν ὁ παῖς λαβόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου, Κελεύει ὑμᾶς, ἔφη, Πολέμαρχος περιμεῖναι. Καὶ ἐγὼ μετεστράφην τε καὶ ἡρόμην ὅπου αὐτὸς εἴη. Οὔτος, ἔφη, ὀπισθεν προσέρχεται· ἀλλὰ περιμένετε. Ἀλλὰ περιμενοῦμεν, ἦ δ' ὅς ὁ Γλαῦκων.

(2) *J'étais descendu hier au Pirée avec Glaucon, fils d'Ariston, pour faire notre prière à la déesse et voir aussi comment se passerait la fête, car c'était la première fois qu'on la célébrait. La pompe, formée par nos compatriotes, me parut belle, et celle des Thraces ne l'était pas moins. Après avoir fait notre prière et vu la cérémonie, nous regagnâmes le chemin de la ville. Comme nous nous dirigions de ce côté, Polémarque, fils de Céphale, nous aperçut de loin, et dit à son esclave de courir après nous et de nous prier de l'attendre. Celui-ci m'arrêtant par derrière par mon manteau: Polémarque, dit-il, vous prie de l'attendre. Je me retourne et lui demande où est son maître: Le voilà qui me suit, attendez-le un moment. Eh bien, dit Glaucon, nous l'attendrons.*

Victor Cousin.

(3) *Ich ging gestern mit Glaukon, dem Sohne des Ariston, in den Peiraieus hinunter; theils um die Göttin anzubeten, dann aber wollte ich auch zugleich das Fest sehen, wie sie es feiern wollten, da sie es jetzt zum ersten Mal begehen. Schön nun dünkte mich auch unserer Einheimischen Aufzug zu sein; nicht minder vortrefflich jedoch nahm sich auch der aus, den die Thrakier geschickt hatten. Nachdem wir nun gebetet und die Feier mit angeschaut*

hatten, gingen wir fort nach der Stadt. Wie nun Polemarchos, der Sohn des Kephalos, uns von fern nach Hause zu steigen sah, hiess er seinen Knaben laufen und uns heissen, ihn erwarten. Der Knabe also fasste mich von hinten beim Mantel und sprach: Polemarchos heisst Euch, ihn erwarten. Ich wendete mich um und fragte, wo denn er selbst wäre. Hier, sprach er, kommt er hinter Euch, wartet nur. Nun ja, wir wollen warten, sagte Glaukon.

Friedrich Schleiermacher.

(4) *I went down yesterday to the Piraeus with Glaucon the son of Ariston, to offer up prayer to the goddess, and also from a wish to see how the festival, then to be held for the first time, would be celebrated. I was very much pleased with the native Athenian procession; though that of the Thracians appeared to be no less brilliant. We had finished our prayers and satisfied our curiosity, and were returning to the city, when Polemarchus the son of Cephalus caught sight of us at a distance, as we were on our way towards home, and told his servant to run and bid us wait for him. The servant came behind me, took hold of my cloak, and said, 'Polemarchus bids you wait.' I turned round and asked him where his master was. 'There he is,' he replied, 'coming on behind: pray wait for him.' 'We will wait,' answered Glaucon.*

Davies and Vaughan.

(5) *I went down yesterday to the Piraeus with Glaucon the son of Ariston, that I might offer up my prayers to the goddess; and also because I wanted to see in what manner they would celebrate the festival, which was a new thing. I was delighted with the procession of the inhabitants; but that of the Thracians was equally, if not more, beautiful. When we had finished our prayers and viewed the spectacle, we turned in the direction of the city; and at that instant Polemarchus the son of Cephalus chanced to catch sight of us from a distance as we were starting on our way home, and told his servant to run and bid us wait for him. The servant took hold of me by the cloak behind, and said: Polemarchus desires you to wait. I turned round, and asked him where his master was. There he is, said the youth, coming after you, if you will only wait. Certainly we will, said Glaucon.*

B. Jowett.

(6) *I went down to the Peiraeus yesterday with Glaucon, the son of Ariston. As this was the first celebration of the festival, I wished to make my prayers to the goddess and see the ceremony. I liked the procession of the residents, but I thought that the Thracian ordered theirs quite as successfully. We had offered our prayers and finished our sight-seeing, and were leaving for the city, when from some way off, Polemarchus, the son of Cephalus, saw that we were starting homewards, and sent his slave to run after us and bid us wait. The lad caught my cloak from behind and said: 'Polemarchus bids you wait.' I turned round and asked him where his master was. 'He is coming behind,' he said; 'but will you please wait?' 'Surely we will,' said Glaucon.*

A. D. Lindsay.

II. Opening of Demosthenes' Speech on the Crown

(1) Πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὖνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνώσκοναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὖνοιαν ἴσῃν ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἔἰσαι χρήσασθαι.

(2) *Athéniens, j'adresse d'abord une prière à tous les dieux, à toutes les déesses. Si j'ai toujours voulu le bien de la république et de vous tous, fassent ces dieux qu'aujourd'hui, dans cette lutte, je trouve en vous la même bienveillance! Puissent-ils vous persuader aussi, comme le veulent votre intérêt, votre religion, votre gloire, que, sur la manière de m'entendre, ce n'est pas mon adversaire qu'il est juste de consulter, — ma condition en deviendrait trop dure, — ce sont les lois et votre serment! Votre serment, où sont écrites ces paroles, pleines d'équité, comme tout le reste: écouter également les deux parties. Cela ne veut pas dire seulement: nous n'apporterons aucune prévention, et nous donnerons à tous deux une faveur égale. Cela veut dire aussi: nous ne contraindrons personne, ni dans la disposition de ses moyens ni dans l'ordre de sa défense; quel que soit le plan adopté par celui qui vient plaider sa cause, nous lui permettrons de le suivre en toute liberté.*

Rodolphe Dareste.

(3) *Für das Erste, Ihr Männer Athens, flehe ich alle Götter und Göttinnen an, dass so viel Wohlwollen, als ich jederzeit der Stadt und Euch allen bewiesen, mir in gleichem Maasse von Euch für den gegenwärtigen Handel zu Theil werde; dann, dass die Götter Euch das in den Sinn geben, was Euch und Euerm Gewissen und Ansehn am meisten ziemt: nicht von dem Gegner Rath zu nehmen, wie Ihr mich anhören sollt — denn arg wäre das — sondern von den Gesetzen und dem Eide, in welchem, ausser allen andern Rechten, auch diess verordnet ist: beiden Parteien auf gleiche Weise Gehör zu geben. Diess heisst aber nicht bloss, keine Meinung vorher zu fassen; auch nicht, beiden gleiches Wohlwollen zu schenken; sondern ebenfalls, Jedem der Streitenden diejenige Anordnung und Vertheidigungsart zu gestatten, die er gut gefunden und gewählt hat.*

Friedrich Jacobs.

(4) *I begin, men of Athens, by praying to every God and Goddess, that the same goodwill, which I have ever cherished towards the commonwealth and all of you, may be requited to me on the present trial. I pray likewise — and this specially concerns yourselves, your religion, and your honour — that the Gods may put it in your minds, not to take counsel of my opponent touching*

the manner in which I am to be heard — that would indeed be cruel! — but of the laws and of your oath; wherein (besides the other obligations) it is prescribed that you shall hear both sides alike. This means, not only that you must pass no pre-condemnation, not only that you must extend your goodwill equally to both, but also that you must allow the parties to adopt such order and course of defence as they severally choose and prefer.

C. R. Kennedy.

III. Conclusion of Demosthenes' Speech on the Crown

(1) Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τοῦτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρετμημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

(2) *Dieux puissants! n'écoutez pas ces vœux impies! inspirez plutôt à ces hommes un autre esprit et des pensées meilleures! Ou, si leur méchanceté est incurable, frappez-les, exterminatez-les sur terre et sur mer. Pour nous, délivrez-nous au plus tôt des dangers qui nous menacent, sauvez-nous, protégez-nous à jamais!*

R. Dareste.

(3) *Möchte doch, o all' Ihr Götter! keiner von Euch dieses billigen, sondern Ihr vor allen Dingen auch diesen hier einen bessern Sinn und besseres Gemüth verleihen; wenn sie aber unheilbar sind, sie allein für sich dem Verderben überliefern, uns, den Übrigen, aber die schnellste Befreiung von den obschwebenden Besorgnissen und unerschütterte Wohlfahrt gewähren.*

F. Jacobs.

(4) *Never, Powers of Heaven, may any brow of the Immortals be bent in approval of that prayer! Rather, if it may be, breathe even into these men a better mind and heart; but if so it is that to these can come no healing, then grant that these, and these alone, may perish utterly and early on land and on the deep: and to us, the remnant, send the swiftest deliverance from the terrors gathered above our heads, send us the salvation that stands fast perpetually.*

R. C. Jebb.

(5) *Never, ye gods, vouchsafe assent to such a prayer! Rather, if it may be, inspire even these men with a better mind and heart; but, if they are indeed past healing, bring them, and them alone, to swift and utter ruin by land and sea; and to us who yet remain grant the speediest release from the terrors that hang over us; grant us a sure salvation!*

S. H. Butcher.

IV. Narrative Passage from Demosthenes' Speech on the Crown

(§§ 169, 170)

(1) Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὥς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὥς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ

δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλευσάι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω κάθητο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἤλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελέμην' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον· κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” παρήει δ' οὐδεὶς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιον ἡγεῖσθαι.

(2) *C'était le soir. Arrive un homme qui annonce aux prytanes que l'Élatée est prise. Aussitôt les uns se lèvent de table, chassent les marchands de la place publique et brûlent leurs tentes; les autres mandent les stratèges, appellent le trompette; ce n'est que trouble dans toute la ville. Le lendemain, au point du jour, les prytanes convoquent le conseil. Vous, de votre côté, vous vous rendez à l'assemblée, et avant que le conseil eût rien agité, rien résolu, tout le peuple était rangé à ses places sur la colline. Bientôt après, les membres du conseil arrivent; les prytanes déclarent la nouvelle, et font paraître celui qui l'a apportée; cet homme parle lui-même. Le héraut demande: 'Qui veut monter à la tribune?' Personne ne se lève. Il recommence plusieurs fois. Personne encore. Et tous les stratèges, tous les orateurs étaient présents; et la patrie, de cette voix qui est la voix de tous, appelait un citoyen qui parlât pour la sauver; car la voix du héraut qui se fait entendre, quand les lois l'ordonnent, c'est la voix de la patrie.*

R. Dareste.

(3) *Es war Abend. Da kam Einer mit der Meldung zu den Prytanen, dass Elateia eingenommen sey. Hierauf standen diese sogleich von der Mahlzeit auf, trieben die Leute aus den Buden auf dem Markte fort, und steckten das Holzwerk davon in Brand; andere schickten nach den Strategen, und riefen den Trompeter herbei. Die Stadt war in grösster Bewegung. Am folgenden Morgen, bei Tages Anbruch, riefen die Prytanen den Senat auf das Stadthaus, Ihr aber begabt Euch in die Versammlung, und ehe der Senat noch sein Geschäft vollbracht und einen vorläufigen Beschluss gefasst hatte, sass das ganze Volk schon oben. Und als hierauf der Senat eintrat, und die Prytanen das, was ihnen gemeldet worden war, öffentlich bekannt machten, und den Überbringer der Nachricht vorführten, und auch dieser gesprochen hatte, fragte der Herold: Wer will sprechen? Niemand aber meldete sich. Wiewohl nun der Herold seine Frage oft wiederholte, trat darum, doch Keiner auf, obgleich alle Strategen gegenwärtig waren, und alle Redner und das Vaterland mit gemeinsamer Stimme einen Sprecher für seine Rettung aufrief; denn die Stimme, die der Herold dem Gesetze gemäss ertönen lässt, kann mit*

allem Rechte für die Stimme des gesammten Vaterlandes gehalten werden.

F. Jacobs.

(4) It was evening when a courier came to the presidents of the assembly with the news that Elateia had been seized. The presidents instantly rose from table — they were supping at the moment: some of them hastened to clear the market-place of the shopmen, and to burn the wickerwork of the booths: others, to send for the generals and order the sounding of the call to the Assembly. The city was in a tumult. At dawn next day the presidents convoked the Senate, you hurried to the Ekklesia, and before the Senate could go through its forms or could report, the whole people were in assembly on the hill. Then, when the Senate had come in, when the presidents had reported the news that they had received, and had introduced the messenger, who told his tale, the herald repeatedly asked, Who wishes to speak? But no one came forward. Again and again he put the question — in vain. No one would rise, though all the generals, though all the public speakers were present, though our Country was crying aloud, with the voice that comes home to all, for a champion of the commonwealth — if in the solemn invitation given by the herald we may truly deem that we hear our Country's summons.

R. C. Jebb.

APPENDIX C. GREEK PRONUNCIATION: SCHEME OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

In October 1908 the Classical Association adopted a number of recommendations made by its Greek Pronunciation Committee, and has since published them for the use of teachers and others. They are put forward “not as constituting a complete scientific scheme, but as approximations which, for teaching purposes, may be regarded as practicable, and at the same time as a great advance on the present usage, both for clearness in teaching and for actual likeness to the ancient sounds.” The period (the early fourth century B.C.) to which they are intended mainly to apply is one whose literature Dionysius studied rather than that in which he lived (cp. pages 43-46 above). But his scattered hints are of great moment in the whole inquiry; and if they are read with care and with reference to their bearing, not only on disputed points, but on points which (largely through the evidence they furnish) are undisputed, it will be seen how much we owe to them when making any attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of the classical period. The principal passages of Dionysius’ text which throw light upon the question of Greek pronunciation and accentuation will be found on pages 126-130, 136-150, 218-224, 230 above. The following are the suggestions made by the Classical Association: —

Vowels

ᾱ and α, ῑ and ι, ε and ο, η and ω may be pronounced as the corresponding vowels in Latin, i.e.

ᾱ, as **a** in *father*,

α, as **a** in *aha*.

ῑ, as **ee** in *feed*.

ι, as **i** in Fr. *piquet*, nearly as Eng. **i** in *fit*.

ε, as **e** in *fret*.

ο, as **o** in *not*.

η (long *e*), as **e** in Lat. *mēta*, Eng. **a** in *mate*.

ω (long *o*), as **o** in Lat. *Rōma*, Eng. *home*.

The pronunciation recommended for η and ω is dictated by practical

considerations. But in any school where the pupils have been accustomed to distinguish the sounds of French è and é, the Committee feels that the open sound (of è in *il mène*), which is historically correct for η, may well be adopted. In the same way there is no doubt that the pronunciation of ω in the fifth century B.C. was the open sound of *oa* in Eng. *broad*, not that of the ordinary English *ō*. But since the precise degree of openness varied at different epochs, the Committee, though preferring the open pronunciation, sees no sufficient reason for excluding the obviously convenient practice of sounding ω just as Latin *ō*. For both Greek and Latin the diphthongal character of the English vowels in *mate* and *home*, i.e. the slight *ĩ* sound in *mate* and the slight *ũ* sound in *home*, *own*, is incorrect. But the discrepancy is not one which any but fairly advanced students need be asked to notice, unless indeed they happen to be already familiar with the pure vowel sounds of modern Welsh or Italian.

υ as French *ũ* in *du pain*.

Ū as French *ũ* in *rue* or Germ. *ũ* in *grün*.

In recommending this sound for the Greek υ, the Committee is partly guided by the fact that its correct production is now widely and successfully taught in English schools in early stages of instruction in French and German. But in any school where the sound is strange to the pupils at the stage at which Greek is begun, if it is felt that the effort to acquire the sound would involve a serious hindrance to progress, the Committee can only suggest that, for the time, the υ should be pronounced as Latin *u* (short as *oo* in Eng. *took*, long as *oo* in Eng. *loose*), though this obscures the distinction between words like λύω and λοῦω.

Diphthongs

αι = α + ι nearly as **ai** in *Isaiah* (broadly pronounced), Fr. *émail*.

οι = ο + ι as Eng. **oi** in *oil*.

υι = υ + ι as Fr. **ui** in *lui*.

In α, η, ω the first vowel was long, and the second only faintly heard.

ει. The precise sound of ει is difficult to determine, but in Attic Greek it was never confused with η till a late period, and to maintain the distinction clearly it is perhaps best for English students to pronounce it as Eng. *eye*, though in fact it must have been nearer to Fr. *ée* in *passée*, Eng. *ey* in *grey*. The Greek Ἀλφειός is Latin *Alphēus*.

αυ = *au*, as Germ. **au** in *Haus*, nearly as Eng. **ow** in *gown*.

ευ = *eu*, nearly as Eng. **ew** in *few*, **u** in *tune*.

ου as Eng. **oo** in *moon*, Fr. **ou** in *roue*.

Consonants

π, β, τ, δ, κ, and γ as *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, and *g* respectively in Latin; except that γ (before γ, κ, and χ) is used to denote the nasal sound heard in Eng. *ankle*, *anger*.

ρ, λ, μ, ν as Lat. *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*.

σ, ζ always as Lat. *s* (Eng. *s* in *mouse*), except before β, γ and μ, where the sound was as in Eng. *has been*, *has gone*, *has made*: e.g. ἄσβεστος, φάσγανον, ἔσμός.

ξ as Eng. *x* in *wax*, and ψ as Eng. *ps* in *lapse*.

ζ as Eng. *dz* in *adze*, *ds* in *treads on*.

Aspirates

The Committee has carefully considered the pronunciation of the aspirated consonants in Greek. It is certain that the primitive pronunciation of χ, θ, φ was as **k.h**, **t.h**, **p.h**, that is as **k**, **t**, **p** followed by a strong breath, and the Committee is not prepared to deny that this pronunciation lasted down into the classical period. Further, there is no doubt that the adoption of this pronunciation makes much in Greek accidence that is otherwise obscure perfectly comprehensible. If φαίνω be pronounced *πθαίνω*, it is readily understood why the reduplicated perfect is *πεπληνᾶ*; but if it be pronounced *φαινω*, the perfect, pronounced *πεψηνα*, is anomalous. The relation of ἀφίστημι and the like to ἵστημι, of φροῦδος to ὁδός, of θρίξ to τρίχα becomes intelligible when it is seen that θ, φ, and χ contain a real **h**-sound. This advantage seems to be one of the reasons why it has been adopted in practice by a certain number of English teachers.

In the course of time the pronunciation of the aspirates changed by degrees to that of fricatives, which is now current in most districts of Greece, φ becoming **f**, θ pronounced as **th**, in English *thin*, and χ acquiring the sound of the German **ch**.

If the later sounds are accepted, no change in the common pronunciation of θ and φ in England will be required, but it will remain desirable to distinguish between the sounds of κ and χ, which are at present confused: ἄκος and ἄχος, καίνω and χαίνω being now pronounced alike. This may be done by giving χ the sound of **kh**, or of German **ch**, as in *auch*. The Committee would, on the whole, recommend the latter alternative as being more familiar in German, Scotch, and Irish place-names.

The Committee, though loath to do anything to discourage the primitive pronunciation of the aspirates, has not been able to satisfy itself that it would be easy to introduce this pronunciation into schools to which it is strange; and it is of opinion that it is not advisable to recommend anything at present that might increase the labour of the teacher or the student of Greek. It therefore abstains from recommending any change in the common pronunciation of the aspirates except in the case of χ.

Accentuation

There is no doubt that in the Classical period of Greek the accented syllables were marked by a *higher pitch* or *note* than the unaccented, and not by more *stress*, not, that is, with a stronger current of breath and more muscular effort. Therefore, unless the student is capable of giving a *musical* value to the Greek signs of accent, it is doubtful whether he should attempt to

represent them in pronunciation; for in many cases we should make our pronunciation more, not less remote from that of the Greeks themselves if we gave to their accented syllables the same *stress* as we do to the accented syllables in English; for example, in paroxytone dactyls (κεχρημένος) when the penult is stressed, the quantity of the long antepenult is apt to be shortened and its metrical value destroyed. But where there is no conflict between accent and quantity (ἀγαθός), something may be said for stressing moderately the accented syllable, and so distinguishing e.g. καλῶς and κάλως, Διός and δῖος, ταῦτά and ταῦτα.

THE THREE LITERARY LETTERS



Translated by W. Rhys Roberts

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EPISTULA AD AMMAEUM I

DIONYSIUS TO HIS FRIEND AMMAEUS

WITH CORDIAL GREETINGS.

I

Our age has produced many strange paradoxes; and among them I was inclined to class the following proposition when I first heard it from yourself. You said that a certain Peripatetic philosopher, in his desire to do all homage to Aristotle the founder of his school, undertook to demonstrate that it was from him that Demosthenes learnt the rules of rhetoric which he applied in his own speeches, and that it was through conformity to the Aristotelian precepts that he became the foremost of all orators. Now my first impression was that this bold disputant was a person of no consequence, and I advised you not to pay heed to every chance paradox. But when on hearing his name I found him to be a man whom I respect on account of his high personal qualities and his literary merits, I did not know what to think; and after careful reflection I felt that the matter needed a more attentive inquiry. It was possible that I had failed to discern the truth and that he had not spoken at random. I wished, therefore, either to relinquish my previous opinion if convinced that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle preceded the speeches of Demosthenes, or to induce the person who has adopted this view, and is prepared to put it in writing, to change it before giving his treatise to the world.

II

You have yourself furnished me with a powerful motive for a thorough investigation of the truth. For you have invited me to state the arguments by which I have convinced myself that it was not till Demosthenes had reached his prime, and had delivered his most celebrated speeches, that Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric*. And you seemed to me, further, to be right in counselling me not to rest my case on mere indications or probabilities or pieces of extraneous evidence, since no such proof is absolutely conclusive, but rather to bring forward Aristotle himself as witnessing by means of his own treatise to the truth of my view. This I have done, my dear Ammaeus, out of regard not only for the truth, which I think ought to be fully sifted in every issue, but for the satisfaction of all who are interested in civil oratory. I would not have them think that all the precepts of rhetoric are included in the Peripatetic philosophy, and that nothing important has been devised by men such as Theodorus and Thrasyarchus and Antiphon, nor by Isocrates and Anaximenes and Alcidamas, nor by their contemporaries who composed rhetorical handbooks and engaged in oratorical contests — such men as

Theodectes and Philiscus and Isaeus and Cephisodorus, together with Hyperides and Lycurgus and Aeschines. Nor would I have it thought that Demosthenes himself, who surpassed all his predecessors and contemporaries and defies the rivalry of the ages, would not have risen so high if he had only obeyed the precepts of Isocrates and Isaeus and had not mastered the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle

III

‘That story is not true,’ my dear Ammaeus, nor did the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, which was issued at a later date, govern the composition of the speeches of Demosthenes. These were indebted to other teachers, concerning whom I will state my views in a separate work, since the subject needs full discussion and could not well be treated by the way. Meanwhile I will endeavour to show that, at the time when Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric*, Demosthenes was already at the height of his public career and had delivered his most celebrated speeches, forensic and deliberative, and was famous throughout Greece for his eloquence. And perhaps I ought first of all to mention the facts I have taken from the current histories, which the compilers of biographies have bequeathed to us. I will begin with Demosthenes.

IV

Demosthenes was born in the year preceding the hundredth Olympiad. In the archonship of Timocrates he had entered upon his seventeenth year....He commenced to write public speeches in the archonship of Callistratus, when twenty-five years of age. The first of his forensic speeches is that *against Androtion*, written for Diodorus, who was arraigning the proposal of Androtion as unconstitutional. Another belonging to the same period — that of the archonship of Callistratus — is the speech on the *Exemptions*. This he delivered himself; it is the most graceful and the best written of all his speeches. Under Diotimus, who succeeded Callistratus, he pronounced before the Athenians his first parliamentary oration, that entitled *On the Navy Boards* in the bibliographical lists of the orators. In this speech he urged the Athenians not to break the peace concluded with the Persian King nor be the first to make war, unless they should have organised their navy, in which their chief strength lay. He himself suggests a method of organisation. Under Thudemus, who succeeded Diotimus as archon, he wrote the speech *Against Timocrates* for the use of Diodorus, who was prosecuting Timocrates as the proposer of an unconstitutional measure. The oration *On the Relief of the Megalopolitans* he delivered himself in the assembly. Thudemus was succeeded by Aristodemus, in whose archonship Demosthenes began his orations against Philip, and delivered a speech before the people on the dispatch of the mercenary force and of the flying squadron of ten galleys to Macedonia. At this time he also wrote his speech *Against Aristocrates* for

Euthycles, who was arraigning an unconstitutional proposal. Under Theellus, who came next after Aristodemus, he delivered his oration *On the Rhodians*, in which he sought to persuade the Athenians to abolish the Rhodian oligarchy and enfranchise the commons. Under Callimachus, the second archon in succession to Theellus, he delivered three orations, urging the Athenians to send re-inforcements to the Olynthians, against whom war was being waged by Philip. The first begins, 'In many instances, men of Athens, one may see'; the second, 'Not the same thoughts present themselves to my mind, men of Athens'; the third, 'You would, men of Athens, give a great price.' During this same archonship was written the speech *Against Meidias* which Demosthenes composed after the vote of censure passed on Meidias by the people.

I have so far mentioned twelve public speeches, seven of the deliberative, five of the forensic order. All of these are earlier than the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, as I will prove both from what others relate concerning that author and from his own writings. I begin with his biography.

V

Aristotle was the son of Nicomachus, who traced his pedigree and his profession to Machaon, the son of Aesculapius. His mother, Phaestis, was descended from one of those who led the colony to Stageira from Chalcis. He was born in the ninety-ninth Olympiad, when Diotrephes was archon at Athens, and was, therefore, three years older than Demosthenes. In the archonship of Polyzelus, after his father's death, he went to Athens, being then eighteen years of age. Having been introduced to the society of Plato, he spent a period of twenty years with him. Upon Plato's death, in the archonship of Theophilus, he repaired to Hermias, despot of Atarneus, and after spending three years with him retired to Mytilene in the archonship of Eubulus. Thence he proceeded, during the archonship of Pythodotus, to the court of Philip, and spent eight years there as Alexander's tutor. After the death of Philip, in the archonship of Evaenetus, he returned to Athens, and taught in the Lyceum for a space of twelve years. In the thirteenth year, after the death of Alexander in the archonship of Cephisodorus, he betook himself to Chalcis, where he fell ill and died at the age of sixty-three.

VI

Such, then, are the records transmitted to us by the biographers of Aristotle. What the philosopher says of himself in his own writings completely cuts away the ground beneath the feet of those who wish to assign him honours to which he is not entitled. In addition to many other proofs, none of which I need recall at present, there is the passage he has written in the First Book of the treatise in question. Here we have the strongest evidence that he was no stripling when he composed the *Rhetoric*, but in the prime of life, having

previously published his treatises the *Topics*, the *Analytics*, and the *Methodics*. At the commencement of the section in which he sets forth the advantages embraced in the art of rhetoric, he has the following words which are here quoted as they stand: 'Rhetoric is useful because truth and justice are, by nature, stronger than their opposites. If, therefore, judicial trials do not end as they should, a man's defeat must be due to himself; and this is deserving of censure. Moreover, in addressing some audiences, it is not easy, even when we possess the most exact and methodical knowledge, to carry conviction by means of it For methodical statement is a kind of instruction; and instruction is here out of the question. But in our proofs and arguments we must make use of processes understood by all, as we remarked in the *Topics* when treating of the manner of addressing the multitude.

VII

In the passage in which he sets himself to show that 'examples' and 'enthymemes' are equivalent to 'inductions' and 'syllogisms,' Aristotle has the following references to his *Analytics* and his *Methodics*. 'Of proofs obtained by real or apparent demonstration there are, in Dialectic, these varieties: induction, syllogism, and apparent syllogism. So also in Rhetoric, where example corresponds to induction, enthymeme to syllogism, and apparent enthymeme to apparent syllogism. By "enthymeme" I mean a rhetorical syllogism, and by "example" a rhetorical induction. Everyone relies for demonstrative proof in Rhetoric upon examples and enthymemes; upon these and these only. If, therefore, it is absolutely necessary that whatever is proved should be proved either by syllogism or by induction — and this is plain to us from the *Analytics* — it follows of necessity that enthymeme and example are respectively identical with syllogism and induction. The difference between example and enthymeme is clear from the *Topics*. In that work we have already said, when treating of syllogism and induction, that the proving of a rule in many similar instances is called an induction in Dialectic and an example in Rhetoric; while the conclusion that from certain premisses something different follows, because of these and owing to the fact that these are true either universally or as a general rule, is called a syllogism in Dialectic and an enthymeme in Rhetoric. It is evident that each form of rhetorical argument has its own strong points, the statement made in the *Methodics* holding good here also.' In writing thus Aristotle has given unequivocal evidence about himself to the effect that he composed the *Rhetoric* in his later years and after the publication of his most important treatises. These are the proofs by which I think I have sufficiently demonstrated what I proposed to make clear, that the orator had practised the art of speaking before the philosopher had formulated the theory. In fact, Demosthenes began at the age of twenty-five to engage in public affairs, to address the assembly, and to write speeches for the law-courts. About the same period Aristotle was still a disciple of Plato, and he lived to be seven-

and-thirty without any school to lead and without any body of personal adherents.

VIII

Possibly, however, some captious critic will raise an objection even in the face of these conclusions. He may admit that the *Rhetoric* was written later than the *Analytiks* and *Methodics* and *Topics*, but maintain that Aristotle may very well have composed all these treatises while still a disciple in the school of Plato. Such a contention is absurdly improbable; it is a violent attempt to commend the wretched paradox that it is likely that the unlikely may at times occur. Omitting, therefore, what I could have said in reply, I turn to the pieces of evidence which Aristotle himself furnishes in the Third Book of the *Rhetoric*, where he has these words (here quoted word for word) on the subject of metaphor: 'Of the four kinds of metaphor, the proportional are the most in repute. It is thus that Pericles compared the loss of the youth of a state in war to taking the spring out of the year....So also, when Chares was eager to have his conduct in the Olynthian War submitted to a scrutiny, Cephisodotus impatiently exclaimed that he wanted to secure such a scrutiny while he had the people by the throat.'

IX

Thus does the philosopher himself clearly prove that he wrote the *Rhetoric* after the Olynthian War. Now that war took place in the archonship of Callimachus, as Philochorus shows in the Sixth Book of his *Atthis*, where his words (exactly given) are: 'Callimachus of the deme Pergase. In his time the Olynthians, attacked by Philip, sent ambassadors to Athens. The Athenians made an alliance with them — and sent to their aid two thousand targeteers, and thirty galleys under the command of Chares, as well as eight others which they put into commission for the occasion.' Next, after describing the few intervening events, he proceeds: 'About the same time the Chalcidians of the Thracian seaboard were harassed by the war and sent an embassy to Athens. The Athenians dispatched to their assistance Charidemus, who held command in the Hellespont. Charidemus brought with him eighteen galleys and four thousand targeteers and a hundred and fifty horsemen. Supported by the Olynthians, he advanced into Pallene and Bottiaea, and ravaged the country.' Later on he writes thus on the subject of the third alliance: 'The Olynthians sent a fresh embassy to the Athenians, begging them not to see them irretrievably ruined, but to send out, in addition to the troops already there, a force consisting not of mercenaries but of Athenian citizens. Thereupon the Athenian people sent them other seventeen galleys, together with two thousand heavy-armed infantry and three hundred horsemen conveyed in transports, the whole force being composed of citizens. The entire expedition was under the command of Chares.'

Enough has been already said to expose the vain pretensions of those who affirm that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle inspired Demosthenes. Before the date of the *Rhetoric*, Demosthenes had already delivered four orations against Philip and three on the affairs of Greece. He had also written for the law-courts five public speeches, which no one could brand as inferior, poor, and showing no signs of technical mastery, because composed earlier than the *Rhetoric*. Having, however, advanced thus far, I shall not halt, but show that his most famous speeches generally, whether addressed to the people or to the law-courts, had been delivered before the publication of the *Rhetoric*. Once more Aristotle himself shall be my witness. After the archonship of Callimachus, in whose year of office the Athenians sent their reinforcements to Olynthus at the instance of Demosthenes, came the archonship of Theophilus, in whose time Olynthus fell into the hands of Philip. Next came Themistocles, under whom Demosthenes pronounced the fifth of his orations against Philip. This speech, which is concerned with the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont, begins as follows: ‘This, men of Athens, is what I have been able to contrive.’ Under Archias, the successor of Themistocles, Demosthenes urged the Athenians not to attempt to hinder Philip from becoming a member of the Amphietyonic Council, nor to give him an occasion for reopening the war, now that they had recently made peace with him. This oration begins thus: ‘I see, men of Athens, that the present crisis.’ Archias was succeeded by Eubulus, and he by Lyciscus. It was in Lyciscus’ year of office that Demosthenes pronounced the seventh of his orations against Philip. He there replies to the envoys from the Peloponnese, and begins thus: ‘When, men of Athens, speeches are made.’ The next archon to Lyciscus was Pythodotus, under whom Demosthenes replied to the envoys of Philip by the delivery of the eighth of the orations which bear the king’s name. The opening of this speech is: ‘It is not possible, men of Athens, that the accusations.’ At the same time he also composed the speech against Aeschines, who had to render an account of his conduct in the second embassy, the object of which was to bind Philip by oaths. The successor of Pythodotus was Sosigenes, under whom he delivered the ninth oration against Philip, that on the soldiers in the Chersonese, the aim of which was to prevent the disbandment of the mercenaries commanded by Diopieithes. This begins:

‘It would be best, men of Athens, that all public speakers.’ Under the same archon he delivered the tenth speech, in which he endeavoured to show that Philip was violating the peace and was the aggressor in the war. The speech begins:

‘Although many speeches, men of Athens, are made.’ After Sosigenes the next archon was Nicomachus, in whose time he delivered the eleventh oration, on the subject of the violation of the peace by Philip, and urged the Athenians to send reinforcements to the people of Byzantium. It begins:

‘Serious as I consider, men of Athens.’ In the archonship of Theophrastus, who followed Nicomachus, Demosthenes urged the Athenians to sustain the war bravely, Philip having already declared it This, the last of the orations against Philip, opens thus: ‘The fact that Philip did not, men of Athens, make peace with you, but only deferred the war.’

XI

To show that all the speeches I have enumerated were delivered by Demosthenes before the publication of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, I will bring forward Aristotle himself as witness. In the course of the passage in the Second Book of the *Rhetoric*, in which he defines the topics from which enthymemes are derived, he deals with that of time and illustrates it by examples. I will quote his actual words. ‘Another topic has reference to time. For example, Iphicrates in defending himself against Harmodius said, “If before rendering these services I had claimed the statue in the event of rendering them, you would have granted it. Will you refuse it, when they are already rendered? Nay, do not promise a reward in anticipation, and withhold it after realisation.” Again, with the object of inducing the Thebans to allow Philip a passage through their territory into Attica, it might be urged that if he had made the demand before he helped them against the Phocians they would have promised, and it would therefore be a scandal if they refused the request now because he then trusted to their honour and forbore to extort pledges.’

Now the date at which Philip called upon the Thebans to grant him a passage into Attica reminding them of his help in the Phocian War, is clear from known facts. The circumstances were as follows. In the archonship of Themistocles, after the capture of Olynthus, Philip made a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Athenians. This covenant lasted seven years, till the year of Nicomachus. It was brought to an end under the archon Theophrastus, who succeeded Nicomachus. The Athenians accused Philip of beginning the war, while Philip blamed the Athenians. The reasons for which the two parties, each of which claimed to be in the right, engaged in the war, and the date at which they violated the peace, are precisely indicated by Philochorus in the Sixth Book of his *Atthis*, from which I will quote simply the essential particulars: ‘Theophrastus of the deme Halae. Under his archonship Philip, first of all, attacked Perinthus by sea. Failing here, he next laid siege to Byzantium and brought engines of war against it.’ Afterwards he recounts the allegations which Philip made against the Athenians in his letter, and adds these words which I quote as they stand: ‘The people, after listening to the letter and to the exhortations of Demosthenes, who advocated war and framed the necessary resolutions, passed a resolution to demolish the column erected to record the treaty of peace and alliance with Philip, and further to man a fleet and in every other way to prosecute the war energetically.’

After assigning these events to the archonship of Theophrastus, he describes the occurrences of the succeeding year when Lysimachides was

archon after the violation of the peace. Here again I will quote only the most essential particulars. 'Lysimachides of the deme Achamae. Under this archon the Athenians, in consequence of the war against Philip, deferred the construction of the docks and the arsenal. They resolved, on the motion of Demosthenes, that all the funds should be devoted to the campaign. But Philip seized Elateia and Cytinium, and sent to Thebes representatives of the Thessalians, Aenianians, Aetolians, Dolopians, Phthiotians. An embassy, headed by Demosthenes, was at the same time despatched by the Athenians, with whom the Thebans resolved to enter into alliance.' Now it is clear that it was under the archonship of Lysimachides, when both sides had already made preparations for war, that the Athenian envoys headed by Demosthenes and those sent by Philip. entered Thebes Demosthenes himself, in his speech *On the Crown*, will show clearly what were the claims preferred by the two embassies. I will quote from the actual text the parts which bear upon the question. 'By these means Philip sowed discord among the Greek states; and encouraged by the decrees and answers already mentioned, he came with his army and seized Elateia. He assumed that, whatever happened, we and the Thebans could never again act in concert.' Moreover, after describing the events which then ensued and describing also the speeches delivered by himself before the public assembly and the circumstances under which he was sent by the Athenians as an ambassador to Thebes, he adds (to quote his actual words): 'When we arrived at Thebes, we found representatives of Philip, of the Thessalians and of the rest of the allies, already there and our friends in a state of alarm, his full of confidence.' Then, after requesting a certain letter to be read, he continues: 'So when the Thebans had convened the assembly, they introduced Philip's representatives first, because they had the status of allies. And these came forward and addressed the people, paying many compliments to Philip, and laying to your charge many faults, recalling every instance in which you at any time opposed the Thebans. In brief, they urged them to show their gratitude for the favours conferred upon them by Philip, and to seek satisfaction for the wrongs done them by you. They might avenge themselves in either of the two following ways as they pleased; they might allow Philip's troops to pass through their territory to attack you, or they might join him in invading Attica.' Now if it was in the archonship of Lysimachides, the successor of Theophrastus, and after the peace had been dissolved, that the ambassadors of Philip were sent to the Thebans urging them to join in invading Attica, or (failing that) to allow Philip the right of passage in recognition of his services in the Phocian War, and if further this is the embassy mentioned by Aristotle, as I showed a little earlier when I cited his own words, then surely it is demonstrated by irrefutable proofs that all the speeches of Demosthenes which were addressed to public assemblies and to law-courts before the archonship of Lysimachides are earlier than the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

I will add another piece of evidence furnished by the philosopher, from which it will appear still more plainly that his *Rhetoric* was composed after the war which broke out between Philip and the Athenians, when Demosthenes had reached his prime as a statesman and had delivered all the deliberative and the forensic speeches which I mentioned a little while ago. Among the topics of enthymemes enumerated by him, the philosopher includes that of cause. I will adduce his own words. 'Another topic consists in regarding what is no cause as a cause, because (it may be) one thing happens with or after another. *Post hoc* is assumed to be identical with *propter hoc*; and this is specially the case in the world of politics. Demades, for example, considered the administration of Demosthenes to have caused all the troubles of the state, for it was thereafter that the war occurred.' Now what can the speeches have been which Demosthenes composed under the guidance of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle if (as I have previously shown) all the public addresses on which his reputation and fame depend preceded the war? The sole exception is the speech *On the Crown*. This, and this alone, came before a tribunal after the war, in the archonship of Aristophon, eight years after the battle of Chaeroneia, six years after the death of Philip, at the time of Alexander's victory at Arbela.

If some captious critic suggests that possibly Demosthenes did not write this, the best of all his speeches, before he had perused the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, I have much to say in reply to him. But in order that my discussion may not run to undue length, I engage to show, on the evidence of Aristotle himself, that this oration also was completed before the publication of the *Rhetoric*. In dealing with the topic of enthymemes derived from relative terms, he writes the exact words which follow. 'Another topic is that derived from relative terms. If the terms "honorably" or "justly" can be applied to the man who acts, they can also be applied to the man who is affected by the action; if they can be applied to a command, they can also be applied to its execution. In this spirit the tax-gatherer Diomedon exclaimed: "If it is no discredit to you to sell the taxes, it is no discredit to us to buy them." And if the terms "honorably" or "justly" can be applied to a man affected by an action, they can also be applied to the action itself and to the man who has done or is doing it. This is a case of unsound argument. For if a man has been justly treated, it does not necessarily follow that he has been justly treated by a particular agent. Accordingly we must consider separately whether the treatment is right and whether the action is right, and then deal with the case in whichever of the two ways seems the more suitable. For sometimes there is a distinction to be made, as in the *Alcmaeon* of Theodectes — Another example is the trial in which Demosthenes and those who slew Nicanor were involved.' What, then, is the trial of Demosthenes [and of those who slew Nicanor] to which Aristotle here refers, in which the most important point in the controversy was derived from the topic of relative terms? It is that in

which he defended, against Aeschines, Ctesiphon, who had proposed to crown Demosthenes and was on his trial as the author of an unconstitutional measure. For in this case the point at issue was not the general question whether Demosthenes deserved honours and crowns as having provided for the construction of the fortifications out of his own means, but whether he deserved these things while he was an official liable to account, and notwithstanding the fact that it was illegal to crown men who were so liable. Here we have the topic of relative terms: the point is whether a man liable to account had the same right to receive, as the people to give, the crown. It is my opinion, therefore, that Aristotle refers to this trial. If, however, it is maintained that the reference is to the accusation of corruption against which Demosthenes pleaded in the archonship of Articles, about the time of the death of Alexander, this will prove that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle is later than the speeches of Demosthenes by a still greater interval.

But enough. The orator did not derive from the philosopher the rules of rhetoric which he embodied in his celebrated speeches. On the contrary, Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric* with the works of Demosthenes, and the other orators, within his reach. I have, I think, proved my point.

EPISTULA AD CN. POMPEIUM GEMINUM.

DIONYSIUS TO GNAEUS POMPEIUS

WITH GREETINGS.

I

I have received with great pleasure the scholarly letter you sent me. Zeno, our common friend, has supplied you (so you write) with a copy of my treatises. In going through them and making them your own, on the whole you admire them, but are dissatisfied, you say, with one portion of their contents, namely, the criticism of Plato. Now you are right in the reverence you feel for that writer, but not right in your view of my position. You may rest assured that I must be numbered among those who have fallen most completely under the spell of Plato's gifts of expression. But I will explain to you my attitude towards all thinkers who are public benefactors and desire to reform our lives and words. And what is more, I mean to convince you that I have discovered nothing new, or startling, or contrary to the universally accepted view.

Now I think it is an author's duty, when he elects to write a panegyric of some achievement or some person, to give prominence to merits rather than to any deficiencies.

But when he wishes to determine what is most excellent in some walk of life and what is the best among a number of deeds of the same class, he ought to apply the most rigorous investigation and to take account of every quality whether good or bad. For this is the surest way of discovering truth, than which there is no more precious boon. So much premised, I make a further declaration. If there is any writing of mine which, like the work of Zoilus the rhetorician, contains an attack upon Plato, I plead guilty of impiety. And if when my design is to write a eulogy of him I interweave some fault-finding with my praises, I admit that I am in the wrong and am transgressing the laws by which eulogies are governed among us. For in my opinion they should not contain even vindications, much less detractions. On the other hand, when after undertaking to examine varieties of style, together with their foremost representatives among philosophers and orators, I chose from the entire number three who are generally held to be the most brilliant — Isocrates and Plato and Demosthenes — and among these again I gave the preference to Demosthenes, I thought I did no wrong either to Plato or to Isocrates.

That may be, you say, but you should not have exposed the faults of Plato, in your desire to extol Demosthenes. How then would my argument have undergone the most searching test had I not compared the best discourses of Isocrates and Plato with the finest of Demosthenes, and thus shown with the utmost candour in what respect their discourses are inferior to his, not maintaining that those two writers were always at fault (for that would be

sheer lunacy), but not maintaining, either, that they were always and uniformly successful? If I had avoided this course, and had simply eulogised Demosthenes and detailed all his excellences, I should certainly have convinced my readers of the orator's worth; but unless I had compared him with the best of his rivals, I should not have proved that he holds the very first place among all who have distinguished themselves in oratory. For many things which in themselves are thought beautiful and worthy of admiration appear to fall short of their reputation when set side by side with other things that are better. Thus gold when contrasted with other gold is found to be superior or inferior, and this is true of all manufactured articles, and of all objects designed to produce a brilliant effect.

But if in the province of civil oratory the comparative method of inquiry be judged ungracious, and a demand made for the examination of each writer individually, the same restriction will inevitably be introduced everywhere. Poetry will no longer be compared with poetry, nor historical treatise with historical treatise, nor constitution with constitution, nor law with law, general with general, king with king, life with life, tenet with tenet. And yet no reasonable man would acquiesce in this. But if you need also the proofs which personal testimonies supply, to render it more plain to you that the best mode of examination is the comparative, I will pass over all others and appeal to Plato himself as my witness. Desiring to exhibit his own proficiency in civil oratory, he was not satisfied with the rest of his writings, but [in rivalry with] the foremost orator of the time, himself composed in the *Phaedrus* another speech with Love as its subject. Nor after advancing so far did he pause and leave to his readers to decide which speech was the better, but he actually assailed the faults of Lysias, allowing that he had excellences of style, but attacking his treatment of subject-matter. Since, therefore, Plato when engaging in the most vulgar and most invidious of tasks, that of praising himself in respect of his oratorical power, thought he was doing nothing blameworthy in claiming that his own speeches should be examined side by side with those of the best orator of the day, and in exhibiting the errors of Lysias and his own merits, what is there so astonishing in my comparison of the speeches of Plato with those of Demosthenes and my scrutiny of anything I found amiss in them? I forbear to quote from his writings generally, in which he attacks his predecessors, Parmenides, Hippias, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Theodorus, Thrasyarchus and many others, not writing of them in a spirit of perfect fairness, but (you must pardon me for saying so) with a touch of vainglory. There was, there really was in Plato's nature, with all its excellences, something of vainglory. He showed this particularly in his jealousy of Homer, whom he expels from his imaginary commonwealth, after crowning him with a garland and anointing him with myrrh. Strange indeed to suppose that Homer needed such compliments in the hour of his expulsion, when it is through him that every refinement, and in the end philosophy itself, passed into human life! But let us suppose that Plato said all this in a spirit of

perfect fairness and simply in the interest of truth. What, then, was there to excite surprise in our action when we obeyed his ordinances, and wished to compare the discourses of his successors with his own?

Furthermore, it will be seen that I am not the first and only critic that has ventured to speak his mind about Plato. Nor could anyone justly take me to task on the special ground that I essayed to examine the most distinguished of philosophers, and one more than a dozen generations earlier than myself, in the hope forsooth of obtaining some credit thereby. No, it will be found that many have done so before me, whether in his own time or at a much later date. For his tenets have met with disparagement and his discourses with criticism. First on the list is his most representative disciple Aristotle, and next Cephisodorus, Theopompus, Zoilus, Hippodamas, Demetrius, and many others. These did not attack him out of envy or malice, but in the search for truth. Encouraged accordingly by the example of so many eminent men, and above all of the great Plato himself, I considered that my action was in no way alien to the spirit of philosophic rhetoric when I matched good writers against good. As regards, therefore, the principle on which I acted in comparing style with style, I have defended myself sufficiently even in your eyes, my dear friend.

II

I have now to refer to my actual remarks on Plato in the treatise on the *Attic Orators*. I will quote the passage in the words there written. 'The language of Plato, as I have said before, aspires to unite two several styles, the elevated and the plain. But it does not succeed equally in both. When it uses the plain, simple, and unartificial mode of expression, it has an extraordinary charm and attraction. It is altogether pure and translucent, like the most transparent of streams, and it is correct and precise beyond that of any other writer who has adopted this mode of expression. It pursues familiar words and cultivates clearness, disdaining all extraneous ornament. The gentle and imperceptible lapse of time invests it with a mellow tinge of antiquity; it still blooms in all its radiant vigour and beauty; a balmy breeze is wafted from it as though from meadows full of the most fragrant odours; and its clear utterance seems to show as little trace of loquacity as its elegance of display. But when, as often happens, it rushes without restraint into unusual phraseology and embellished diction, it deteriorates greatly. For it loses in charm, in purity of idiom, in lightness of touch. It obscures what is clear and makes it like unto darkness; it conveys the meaning in a prolix and circuitous way. When concise expression is needed, it lapses into tasteless periphrases, displaying a wealth of words. Contemning the regular terms found in common use, it seeks after those which are newly-coined, strange, or archaic. It is in the sea of figurative diction that it labours most of all. For it abounds in epithets and ill-timed metonymies. It is harsh and loses sight of the point of contact in its metaphors. It affects long and frequent allegories devoid of measure and fitness. It revels,

with juvenile and unseasonable pride, in the most wearisome poetical figures, particularly in those of Gorgias; and "in matters of this kind there is a good deal of the hierophant about him," as Demetrius of Phalerum has somewhere said as well as many others: for "not mine the word."

I should be sorry to be so perverse as to conceive this opinion with respect to so great a man. On the contrary, I am well aware that often and on many subjects he has produced writings which are great and admirable and of the utmost power. What I desire to show is that he is apt to commit errors of this description in his more ornate passages, and that he sinks below his own level when he pursues what is grand and exceptional in expression, and is far superior when he employs the language which is plain and exact and seems to be natural but is really elaborated with unoffending and simple artifice. For then he commits either no errors at all or only such as are extremely slight and venial. My own view, however, is that so great a man should have been perpetually on his guard against any censure. Now all his contemporaries, whose names I need not recall, reproach him with the same fault; and the most striking thing is that he does so himself. He was aware of his own lapse from good taste and gave it the name of "dithyramb": a thing I had thought shame to say, true though it be. This trait in him appears to me to be due to the fact that, although he was bred among the Socratic dialogues, which were most spare and most exact, he did not continue under their influence, but became enamoured of the artificiality of Gorgias and Thucydides. It was, therefore, no unnatural result that he should imbibe some of the errors, together with the good points, exhibited by the styles of those authors.

'I will cite examples of the plain and the elevated style from one of the most celebrated books, in which Socrates has addressed the discourses on Love to one of his associates, Phaedrus, from whom the book takes its title....'

In this passage I blame in no way the subject-matter of the writer, but the tendency in the department of expression to figurative and dithyrambic diction, matters wherein Plato loses command of the due mean. And I criticise him not as an ordinary mortal but as a great man who has come near the standard of the divine nature. His fault is that, in imitation of the school of Gorgias, he has introduced the pomp of poetical artifice into philosophical discourses, so that some of his productions are of the dithyrambic order. And what is more, he does not even attempt to hide this failing but avows it. It is clear from your own letter, excellent Geminus, that you yourself entertain the same opinion as I with regard to him. For you write thus, to quote your own words: 'In other forms of expression there may well occur something which deserves mingled praise and blame. But in embellishment whatever is not success is utter failure. So that, in my opinion, these men should be judged not by their few most hazardous attempts but by their many successes.' And a little later you add the following words: 'Although I could defend all, or at any rate most, of these passages, I do not venture to gainsay you. But this one thing I strongly affirm, that it is not possible to succeed greatly in any way

without such daring and recklessness as must needs fail now and then.' There is no quarrel between us. *You* admit that the man who aspires to great things must sometimes fail, while I say that Plato, in his desire for elevated and stately and audacious diction, did not succeed in every detail, but that his mistakes are nevertheless only a small fraction of his successes. And in this one respect, I say, Plato is inferior to Demosthenes, that with him elevation of diction sometimes lapses into emptiness and dreariness, whereas with Demosthenes this is never so, or only very rarely. This is what I have to say with reference to Plato.

III

You wished also to learn my view with regard to Herodotus and Xenophon, and you wished me to write about them. This I have done in the essays I have addressed to Demetrius on the subject of imitation. The first of these contains an abstract inquiry into the nature of imitation. The second asks what particular poets and philosophers, historians and orators, should be imitated. The third, which treats of the proper manner of imitation, remains unfinished. In the second I write as follows concerning Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistus and Theopompus, these being the writers whom I select as most suitable for imitation:

These are my opinions concerning Herodotus and Thucydides, if I must extend my remarks to them. The first, and one may say the most necessary, task for writers of any kind of history is to choose a noble subject and one pleasing to their readers. In this Herodotus seems to me to have succeeded better than Thucydides. He has produced a national history of the conflict of Greeks and barbarians, 'in order that neither should the deeds of men fade into oblivion, nor should achievements,' to quote from his opening words. For this same proem forms both the beginning and the end of his History. Thucydides, on the other hand, writes of a single war, and that neither glorious nor fortunate; one which, best of all, should not have happened, or (failing that) should have been ignored by posterity and consigned to silence and oblivion. In his Introduction he makes it clear himself that he has chosen a bad subject, for he says that many cities of the Greeks were desolated because of the war, partly by the barbarians and partly by themselves, while proscriptions and massacres greater than any before known occurred, together with earthquakes and droughts and plagues and many other calamities. The natural consequence is that readers of the Introduction feel an aversion to the subject, for it is of the misfortunes of Greece that they are about to hear. As dearly as the story of the wonderful deeds of Greeks and barbarians is superior to the story of the sad and terrible disasters of the Greeks, so clearly does Herodotus show better judgment than Thucydides in his choice of subject. Nor can it truthfully be said that Thucydides was driven, with full knowledge that the earlier events were grander, into this piece of writing by a desire not to treat of the same theme as others. On the contrary, he makes extremely light in his Introduction

of the events of ancient days, and says that the achievements of his own time were the most remarkable. It is clear, therefore, that his choice was deliberate. Very different was the course taken by Herodotus. Although his predecessors, Hellanicus and Charon, had previously issued works on the same subject, he was not deterred, but trusted his own ability to produce something better. And this in fact he has done.

A second function of historical investigation is to determine where to begin and how far to proceed. In this respect, again, Herodotus displays far better judgment than Thucydides. He begins with the cause of the original injuries done to the Greeks by the barbarians, and goes on his way till he ends with the punishment and retribution which befell them. Thucydides, on the contrary, starts with the incipient decline of the Greek world. This should not have been done by a Greek and an Athenian, and (what is more) no unappreciated citizen but one to whom his countrymen assigned a foremost place, entrusting him with commands and offices generally. In his malice, he finds the overt causes of the war in the conduct of his own city, although he might have found many other grounds for the outbreak. He might have begun his narrative not with the affairs of Corcyra, but with the magnificent achievements of his country immediately after the Persian War, achievements which subsequently he mentions at the wrong point and in a perfunctory and cursory way. After he had described these events with all the enthusiasm of a patriot, he should then have added that it was through envy and dread thus occasioned that the Lacedaemonians were led to engage in the war, for which they suggested motives of a different nature. He should next have related the occurrences at Corcyra and the decree against the Megarians, together with anything else of the kind he wished to mention. The conclusion of his work is tainted by a more serious error. Although he states that he watched the entire course of the war and promises a complete account of it, yet he ends with the sea-fight which took place off Cynossema between the Athenians and Peloponnesians in the twenty-second year of the war. It would have been better, after he had described all the details of the war, to end his History with a most remarkable incident and one right pleasing to his hearers, the return of the exiles from Phyle, from which event dates the recovery of freedom by Athens.

A third task of the historian is to consider which occurrences he should embody in his work and which he should omit. In this respect, again, it seems to me that Thucydides is inferior. Herodotus, on his part, wished, in imitation of Homer, to give variety to his History. He was aware that every prolonged narrative affects the mind of the hearer pleasantly if it contains a number of pauses, but wearies and satiates (however successful it may otherwise be) if confined to one and the same series of events. If we take up his book, we are filled with admiration till the last syllable and always seek for more. Thucydides, on the other hand, in breathless haste and straining every nerve, describes a single war, heaping battle on battle, armament on armament, word on word. The hearer's mind is in consequence exhausted. 'Even honey,' as

Pindar says, 'and the pleasant flowers of love bring satiety.' Occasionally Thucydides has himself realised the truth of my contention that, in a historical writing, change is pleasant and gives variety, and he has taken this course in two or three passages — in inquiring into the cause of the growth of the Odrysian kingdom and in describing the cities of Sicily.

Next it is the function of a historian so to arrange his materials that everything shall be found in its proper place. How, then, do these authors respectively arrange and divide what they have to say? Thucydides keeps close to the chronological order, Herodotus to the natural grouping of events. Thucydides is found to be obscure and hard to follow. As naturally many events occur in different places in the course of the same summer or winter, he leaves half-finished his account of one set of affairs and takes other events in hand. Naturally we are puzzled, and follow the narrative impatiently, as our attention is distracted. Herodotus, on the other hand, begins with the dominion of the Lydians and comes down to that of Croesus, and then passes at once to Cyrus who destroyed the empire of Croesus. Then he begins the story of Egypt, Scythia, and Libya. He relates some of the events as a sequel, takes up others as a missing link, and introduces others as likely to add to the charm of the narrative. Although he recounts affairs of Greeks and barbarians which occurred in the course of some two hundred and twenty years on the three continents and finally reaches the story of the flight of Xerxes, he does not break the continuity of the narrative. The general result is that, whereas Thucydides takes a single subject and divides one whole into many members, Herodotus has chosen a number of subjects, which are in no way alike, and has produced one harmonious whole.

I will mention one other feature of the treatment of subject-matter, a feature which in all histories we look for no less than for any of those already mentioned. I mean the attitude which the historian himself adopts towards the events which he describes. The attitude of Herodotus is fair throughout, showing pleasure in the good and grief at the bad. That of Thucydides, on the contrary, is severe and harsh and proves that he bears a grudge against his country because of his exile. For he details her misdeeds with the utmost exactitude, but when things go right, either he does not mention them at all, or only like a man under compulsion.

In subject-matter Thucydides is for these reasons inferior to Herodotus; in expression he is partly inferior, partly superior, partly equal. I will state my views on these points also.

The first of excellences is that without which style is of no worth in any of its aspects, — language pure in vocabulary and true to Greek idiom. In this respect both are correct writers. Herodotus represents the highest standard of the Ionic dialect, Thucydides of the Attic.... Third in order comes the so-called 'concision.' In this Thucydides is commonly held to excel Herodotus. It might, indeed, be objected that it is only when united with clearness that brevity is found to be attractive; if it fails in this, it is harsh. However, let us

suppose that Thucydides is in no way inferior because of his obscurity. Vividness comes next in order as the first of the extraneous excellences. In this respect both authors are decidedly successful. After this excellence the imitation of traits of character, and of emotions, presents itself. Here the historians divide the credit, for Thucydides excels expressing the emotions, whilst — Herodotus has greater skill in representing aspects of character. Next come the excellences which exhibit loftiness and grandeur of composition. Here, again, the historians are on a par. Then come the excellences which comprise strength and energy and similar qualities of style. In these Thucydides is superior to Herodotus. But in grace, persuasiveness, charm and the like excellences, Herodotus is far superior to Thucydides. In his choice of language Herodotus aims naturalness, Thucydides at intensity. Of all literary virtues the most important is propriety. In this Herodotus is more careful than Thucydides who everywhere (and in his speeches still more than in his narrative) shows a want of variety. My friend Caecilius, however, thinks with me that his enthymemes have been imitated and emulated in a special degree by Demosthenes. It may be said in general that the poetical compositions (as I should not shrink from calling them) of both are beautiful. The chief point of difference is that the beauty of Herodotus is radiant, that of Thucydides awe-inspiring. Enough has been said about these historians, although much more could be said, for which there will be another opportunity.

IV

Xenophon and Philistus, who flourished at a later time than these writers, did not resemble one another either in nature or in principles. Xenophon was an emulator of Herodotus in both kinds, matter and language. In the first place, the historical subjects he chose are fine and impressive and such as befit a philosopher: the *Education of Cyrus*, the portrait of a good and prosperous king; the *Expedition of the Younger Cyrus*, in which Xenophon, who himself took part in the campaign, extols so highly the bravery of the Greek auxiliaries; and also the *Greek History*, the story which Thucydides left unfinished, in which are described the overthrow of 'the Thirty' and the restoration of the Athenian walls razed by the Lacedaemonians. It is not only for his subjects, chosen in emulation of Herodotus, that Xenophon deserves commendation, but also for his arrangement of his material. Everywhere he begins and ends in the most fitting and appropriate way. His divisions are good, and so is his order and the variety of his writing. He displays piety, rectitude, resolution, geniality, in a word all the virtues which adorn the character. Such is the manner in which he deals with his subject-matter.

In expression he is partly like Herodotus, partly inferior. He resembles him in marked purity and lucidity of vocabulary; he chooses terms that are familiar and consonant to the theme; and he puts them together with no less charm and grace than Herodotus. But Herodotus also possesses elevation and beauty and

stateliness and what is specifically called the historical vein.' Not only was Xenophon powerless to borrow this from him, but if occasionally he wishes to enliven his style, like a land-breeze he blows but for a short time and quickly drops. Indeed, in many passages he is unduly long. So far from equalling the success of Herodotus in adapting his language to his characters, he is found on strict examination to be often careless in this respect.

V

Philistus would seem to resemble Thucydides more nearly and to have the same general stamp. Like Thucydides, he has not taken a subject of great utility and public interest, but a single and local one. He has divided it into two parts, entitling the former 'Concerning Sicily,' the latter 'Concerning Dionysius.' But the subject is one, as may be seen from the conclusion of the Sicilian section. He has not presented his narrative in the best order, but has made it hard to follow; his arrangement is inferior to that of Thucydides. No more than Thucydides does he desire to admit extraneous matter, and he is therefore wanting in variety. He displays a character which is obsequious, subservient, mean, and petty. He shuns what is peculiar and curious in the style of Thucydides, and reproduces what is rounded and terse and enthymematic. He falls, however, very far behind the beauty of language and the wealth of enthymemes found in Thucydides. And not only in these respects is he inferior, but also in his composition. The style of Thucydides is full of variety, a fact which is so obvious that I consider it needs no further demonstration. But the language of Philistus is exceedingly uniform and lacking in variety. Many successive sentences will be found to be constructed by him in the same way. For example, at the beginning of the Second Book of his Sicilian History: 'The Syracusans having associated with themselves the Megarians and Ennàeans, and the Camarinaeans having mustered the Sicels and the rest of the allies except the Geloans (now the Geloans said that they would not wage war against the Syracusans); and the Syracusans learning that the Camarinaeans had crossed the Hyrminus—'; all this is to me obviously most displeasing. He is trivial and commonplace whatever his subject may be, whether he describes sieges or settlements, whether he deals in eulogium or in censure. Moreover, he does not write speeches worthy of the greatness of the speakers, but he makes even his parliamentary orators, one and all, abandon in a panic alike their faculties and their principles. He possesses, however, a sort of natural euphony of style and a well-balanced judgment. And he is a better model for actual pleadings than Thucydides.

VI

Theopompus of Chios was the most celebrated of all the disciples of Isocrates. He composed many panegyrics and many deliberative speeches, as well as the 'Chian' Letters and some noteworthy treatises. As a student of history he deserves praise on several grounds. His historical subjects are both good, one

of them embracing the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, the other the career of Philip. His arrangement, also, is good, being in both cases lucid and easy to follow. Especially admirable are the care and industry which mark his historical writing, for it is clear, even if he had said nothing to that effect, that he prepared himself most fully for his task and incurred heavy expense in the collection of his material. Moreover, he was an eye-witness of many events, and came in contact with many leading men and generals of his day, whether popular leaders or more cultivated persons. All this he did in order to improve his History. For he did not (as some do) consider the recording of his researches as a pastime, but as the one thing needful in life. The trouble he took may be inferred from the comprehensiveness of his work. He has related the foundation of nations, described the establishment of cities, portrayed royal lives and peculiar customs, and incorporated in his work everything wonderful or strange found on any land or sea. Nor must it be supposed that this is merely a form of entertainment. It is not so. Such particulars are, it may in general be said, of the greatest utility.

In fine, who will not admit that it is necessary for the votaries of philosophic rhetoric to study the various customs both of foreigners and of Greeks, to hear about various laws and forms of government, the lives of men and their actions, their deaths and fortunes? For such votaries he has provided material in all plenty, not divorced from the events narrated, but in close connexion with them. All these qualities of the historian are worthy of admiration. The same may be said of the philosophical reflections scattered throughout his History, for he has many fine observations on justice, piety, and the rest of the virtues. There remains his crowning and most characteristic quality, one which is found developed with equal care and effect in no other writer, whether of the older or the younger generation. And what is this quality? It is the gift of seeing and stating in each case not only what is obvious to the multitude, but of examining even the hidden motives of actions and actors and the feelings of the soul (things not easily discerned by the crowd), and of laying bare all the mysteries of seeming virtue and undiscovered vice. Indeed, I can well believe that the fabled examination, before the judges in the other world, of souls in Hades when separated from the body is of the same searching kind as that which is conducted by means of the writings of Theopompus. In consequence he was thought malicious on the ground that, where reproaches against distinguished persons were necessary, he added unnecessary details; while in truth he acted like surgeons who cut and cauterize the morbid parts of the system, carrying their operations far down, and yet in no way assailing the healthy and normal organs. Such is an account of the way in which Theopompus deals with his subject-matter.

In style he is most like to Isocrates. His diction is pure, familiar and clear; it is elevated, grand, and full of stateliness; it is formed according to the middle *harmony*, having a pleasant and easy flow. It differs from that of Isocrates in pungency and energy in some passages, when he gives free play

to his emotions, and particularly when he taxes cities or generals with evil counsels and unjust actions. In such criticisms he abounds, and he falls not one whit behind the intensity of Demosthenes, as may be seen from many other writings and from his *Chian Letters*, in composing which he has obeyed his native instincts. If in the passages on which he has bestowed the greatest pains, he had paid less attention to the blending of vowels, the measured cadence of periods, and the uniformity of constructions, he would have far surpassed himself in expression.

He is also guilty of errors in the sphere of subject-matter, and particularly in regard to his digressions, some of which are neither necessary nor opportune, but childish in the extreme. An instance is the story of the Silenus who appeared in Macedonia, and that of the fight between the serpent and the galley, and not a few other things of the kind.

The study of these historians will suffice to furnish to those who practise civil oratory a suitable flourish at a later time for every variety of style.

EPISTULA AD AMMAEUM II

LETTER OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS CONCERNING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THUCYDIDES.

DIONYSIUS TO HIS FRIEND AMMAEUS WITH GREETINGS.

I

I thought I had sufficiently indicated the characteristics of Thucydides when describing the most important and remarkable of those peculiarities which seemed to me to distinguish him from all previous orators and historians. I have, in fact, previously treated the subject in the essays, inscribed with your name, on the *Ancient Orators*, and a little time before in the treatise on Thucydides himself which I addressed to Aelius Tubero, in which I have, to the best of my ability, gone into all the points needing discussion, and have added suitable illustrations. But your view is that these writings lack precision, in that I do not give the proofs till I have specified the characteristics. You think that the exposition of characteristic peculiarities would gain in precision if, side by side with each single statement, I were to set down the expressions of the historian, as is the practice of the authors of rhetorical handbooks and introductions to the art of composition. Desiring, therefore, to meet every criticism, I have taken this course, and have followed the didactic method in place of the epideictic.

II

In order that the argument may be easy for you to follow, I will first quote word for word what I have previously said with regard to the historian, and will then cursorily review each several proposition, and will supply the illustrations as you desire. The passage about to be cited follows the remarks on Herodotus. 'Coming after Herodotus and the authors previously mentioned, and taking a comprehensive view of their several excellences, Thucydides aspired to form and to introduce into historical composition an individual manner of his own, one which was neither absolute prose nor downright metre, but something compounded of the two. In the choice of words he often adopts a figurative, obscure, archaic and strange diction, in place of that which was in common use and familiar to the men of his day. He takes the greatest trouble to vary his constructions, since it was in this respect chiefly that he wished to excel his predecessors. At one time he makes a phrase out of a word, at another time he condenses a phrase into a word. Now he gives a nominal in place of a verbal form, and again he converts a noun into a verb. He inverts the ordinary use of nouns and verbs themselves, interchanging common with proper nouns and active with passive verbs. He

varies the normal use of the plural and the singular number, and predicates the one in place of the other. He combines feminines with masculines, masculines with feminines, and neuters with the other genders; and the natural agreement of gender is violated thereby. He wrests the cases of nouns or participles at times from the expression to the sense, at other times from the sense to the expression. In the employment of conjunctions and prepositions, and especially of the particles which serve to bring out the meanings of individual words, he allows himself full poetic liberty. There will be found in him a large number of constructions which by changes of person and variations of tense, and by the strained use of expressions denoting place, differ from ordinary speech and have all the appearance of solecisms. Further, he frequently substitutes things for persons and persons for things. In his enthymemes and his sentences the numerous parentheses often delay the conclusion for a long time, while there is much in him that is tortuous, involved, perplexed, and similarly defective. Moreover, not a few of the showy figures will be found to be employed by him, — I mean those *parisoses*, *paromoeoses*, *paronomasia* and *antitheses*, which are so lavishly used by Gorgias of Leontini, by the school of Polus and Licymnius, and by many others who flourished in his time. The most obvious of his characteristics is the attempt to indicate as many things as possible in as few words as possible, to combine many ideas in one, and to leave the listener expecting to hear something more. The consequence is that brevity becomes obscurity. In fine, there are four “instruments,” so to say of the style of — Thucydides. — the artificial character of the vocabulary the variety of the constructions, the roughness of the harmony, the speed of the narrative. Its “colours” are solidity, pungency, condensation, austerity, gravity, terrible vehemence, and above all his power of stirring the emotions. Such is Thucydides in respect of those characteristics of his style which distinguish him from all other writers.’

III

Examples of expressions which are obscure, and archaic, puzzling to ordinary people are:

τὸ ἀκραιφνές, ὁ ἐπι-

λογισμός, ἡ περιωπή, ἡ ἀνακωχή, and so forth. Of artificial
words instances are: ἡ κωλύμη, ἡ πρέσβευσις, ἡ καταβολή,
ἡ ἀχθηδών, ἡ δικαίωσις, and so on.

His novelty and variety in his constructions, and his departure from established usage, which we consider to be the chief point of difference between him and all other writers, may be illustrated by the following instances.

παρεξαιρεσία, and his shield slipped of.' What he means is: 'he fell overboard on to the projecting parts of the oars.'

When he amplifies a single idea and uses a number of nouns or verbs in place of one nominal or verbal expression, he expresses himself thus: 'Themistocles exhibited his natural force in the most convincing way, and in this respect he was especially worthy of admiration beyond any rival.' Again, in the Funeral Speech he writes: 'nor yet on the score of poverty is a man who has it in his power to confer a service on the state debarred through the obscurity of his rank.' For in these cases the *sens.* He expresses himself as in his description of the Spartan Brasidas when in the engagement at Pylus he was wounded and fell overboard. 'He fell,' he says, 'on to the

V

When he gives the form of nouns to the verbal parts of speech, he expresses himself as follows. In his First Book the Corinthian envoy addresses the Athenians thus: 'such are the pleas for justice we can bring before you, together with the following exhortation and claim to gratitude.' Here the verbs 'we can exhort' and 'we can claim' have been changed into the nouns 'exhortation' and 'claim.' Parallel expressions are 'the non-circumvallation of the Plemmyrium' in the Seventh Book, and 'the lamentation' which in the First Book he has mentioned in the course of a speech. For to the verbs 'to circumvallate' and 'to lament' he has given the form of the nouns 'circumvallation' and 'lamentation.'

VI

But when conversely he turns his nouns into verbs, he produces such an expression as we find in the First Book when the cause of the war is under discussion. 'The most real cause, though that which was least acknowledged, I consider to have been the fact that the growth of the Athenian power compelled them to wage war.' His meaning is that the growth of the Athenian power caused a compulsion to the war. But for the nouns 'compulsion' and 'war' he has substituted the verbs 'to compel' and 'to wage war.'

VII

When he interchanges the passive and active forms of verbs, he writes in this fashion: 'for neither the one hinders by the truce nor the other.' The active verb 'hinders' is employed in place of the passive 'is hindered.' The real meaning of the expression is: 'for neither the one is hindered by the truce nor the other.'

And so also with the words found in his introduction:

‘for in the absence of commerce, they did not mingle freely with one another.’ Here the active verb ‘did not mingle’ occupies the place of the passive ‘were not mingled.’

VIII

When instead of the active he uses the passive, he constructs a sentence of this kind: ‘all of us who had by this time been brought into contact with the Athenians.’ His meaning is: ‘all of us who dealt with the Athenians.’ But he has used the passive form ‘been brought into contact with in place of the active ‘dealt with.’ And so with what next follows: ‘those who had been settled more in the interior.’ For instead of the active verb ‘who had settled’ he has used the passive ‘who had been settled.’

IX

As regards the distinction of singular and plural, he changes the two numbers about and uses singular for plural thus: ‘and if perchance it occurs to some one that not he, but the Syracusan, is the enemy of the Athenian.’ He means ‘Syracusans’ and ‘Athenians,’ but he has put each of the proper names in the singular. Another instance is the passage: ‘and we shall find the enemy more formidable, if his retreat is made difficult.’ Here he has put ‘enemies’ in the singular, not in the plural. Deviating in the same way from customary language, he uses the plural in place of the singular. This mode of expression will be found in the first part of the Funeral Speech: ‘for eulogies bestowed on others are endurable only so far as each person thinks that he is himself capable of any of the deeds of which he hears.’ Here the words ‘each person’ and ‘hears’ are singular, but the following words are put in the plural: ‘but when this point is passed, they begin to feel envy and incredulity.’ Such expressions would naturally be used not of one person but of many.

X

Examples of the interchange of the three genders, in contravention of the ordinary rules of language, are such as these.

He uses *τάραχος* in the masculine for *ταραχή* in the feminine, and similarly *δχλος* for *δχλησις*. In place of *τὴν βούλησιν* and *τὴν δύναμιν* he uses *τὸ βουλόμενον* and *τὸ δυνάμενον*. For instance, he says of the Athenians when they were considering the dispatch of their forces to Sicily: 'the Athenians were not robbed of their wishing (*τὸ βουλόμενον*) by the burden of the preparations'. There is a similar instance in the passage in which he refers to the Thessalians: 'ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ ἐχρῶντο τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί.' Here he has made the feminine neuter. The real signification of the expression is: 'ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ ἐχρῶντο τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί.'

XI

Sometimes he gives an unusual turn to the cases of proper nouns and appellatives and participles and the

articles attached to them. He will then frame such a sentence as this: 'for the states, having obtained a tempered liberty and security in their undertakings, advanced towards downright freedom, scorning the "specious pretence of law and order" offered by the Athenians.' Now writers whose syntax conforms to ordinary usage would have coupled the feminine form (sc of the participle) with the feminine gender of the noun, and would have used the accusative

instead of the genitive case as follows: 'σφαφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπουλον εὐνομίαν οὐ προτιμήσασαι.' Whereas authors who construct masculines with feminines, as Thucydides has done, and use genitives instead of accusatives, would be said by us to be guilty of solecism. This is true also of the following words: 'καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν καταπλεγύντες.' The sentence ought to have been constructed not in the dative case but in the accusative: 'καὶ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καταπλεγύντες.' Just as no one would be said 'τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀργῇ φοβεῖσθαι,' but rather 'τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὀργήν.'

XII

The style which neglects consistency in the tenses of verbs is of the following

kind: 'And yet, if we should choose to face danger unconcernedly rather than after careful training, and with a courage born of habit rather than in obedience to law, we have the advantage of not being afflicted by troubles which are in the future, while we show ourselves, in the midst of troubles, to be no less daring than

those who are always toiling'. Here *ἐθέλομεν* is a verbal form which indicates the future, while *περιγίνεται* indicates the present. The construction would have been regular if he had joined *περίστα* with *ἐθέλομεν*. * * 'I consider the inaccessibility of the spot to be in our favour; but this helps us only if we stand our ground; if we retire, the position, though difficult in itself, will easily be mastered by the enemy'. Now *γίνεται* refers to the present, but *ἵστα* to the future. The cases also are irregularly constructed. For he has put the participle *μενόντων* and the pronoun *ἡμῶν* in the genitive case, but *ὑποχωρήσασιν* in the dative. Whereas the latter should, more properly, have corresponded in case to the two former.

XIII

When he makes the transition from the sense to the expression or from the expression to the sense, he uses a construction of the following kind: 'the populace of the Syracusans were at great odds with one another.' Although he begins with the singular noun 'populace,' he assimilates the expression to the sense, which is plural, 'the Syracusans.' And again: 'for when the Athenians quitted Sicily after the convention, the men of Leontini enrolled many new citizens, and the populace entertained the idea of redistributing the land.' From the plural 'men of Leontini' he passes to the singular noun 'the populace.'

XIV

In his History things are treated as persons, as in the address of the Corinthians to the Lacedaemonians. The Corinthian speaker urges the leading men of the Peloponnese to maintain its prestige, in the eyes of external states, such as their fathers transmitted it to them. These are his words: 'You must, therefore, be well advised, and strive that the Peloponnese which you lead

forth may be no less powerful than when your fathers left it to your care.' He has used the expression 'to lead forth' in the sense 'to guide the Peloponnese outside as its leaders.' Now this could not apply to the territory, but it can apply to its glory and its power, and this is what he means to say.

Persons are transformed into things by him in the following way. When the same Corinthian envoy, addressing the Lacedaemonians, compares the characters of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he says: 'They are innovators and quick to conceive plans and to execute their resolves. But your alertness is directed to preserving what you have and to forming no fresh resolve, and to refraining even from the execution of what is absolutely essential.' Now up to this point the construction is normal, the two persons forming its basis. But afterwards in the second clause the expression is changed, and instead of persons a thing is used in reference to the Lacedaemonians, when he says: 'and once more they are daring even beyond their power, and venturesome beyond their better judgment, and full of hope in the hour of danger; but your way is to act below the measure of your power and to trust not even the safe conclusions of your judgment.' Here 'your way' is used instead of 'you,' a thing taking the place of a person.

XV

In his enthymemes and sentences the parentheses are numerous and reach their conclusion with difficulty. This makes the meaning hard to follow. There are many of them in every part of the History; but two only, taken from the Introduction, will suffice. One is the passage which shows the weakness of Primitive Greece and assigns the causes. 'For in the absence of commerce, they did not mingle freely with one another whether by land or over sea: each tribe possessing property enough of its own to support existence and having no superfluous goods; none cultivating the land, for it was uncertain when some invader would come and rob them, as there were no fortifications to protect them: and feeling that they could command the bare means of subsistence everywhere alike, they readily migrated.' If he had added the word 'readily migrated' to the first period and shaped it thus, 'In the absence of commerce they did not mingle freely with one another by land or by sea, but each tribe possessing enough property of its own to support existence, they migrated readily,' he would have made his meaning clearer, but by the insertion of many parenthetical clauses he has made it obscure and hard to follow. The second passage *is* that which refers to the invasion of Attica by Eurystheus. 'Eurystheus was slain in Attica by the Heracleidae. His maternal uncle was Atreus, to whom as being his kinsman Eurystheus entrusted the kingdom of Mycenae when he went to the wars. Atreus had been banished by his father because of the murder of Chrysippus. When Eurystheus failed to return, Atreus succeeded to the sovereignty over the Mycenaeans and over all others who had been under the rule of Eurystheus. He did so at the desire of the Mycenaeans, who feared the Heracleidae. He had also courted the

multitude, and was thought to be a man of power.’

XVI

The plan of his enthymemes is sometimes tortuous and involved and hard to unravel, as in the following passage of the Funeral Speech: ‘They found a dearer delight in the punishment of their foes; danger thus incurred they considered the noblest of all, and wished to subordinate all other aims to that of vengeance. They committed the uncertainty of success to hope, but in action deemed it right to trust themselves as concerning what was now before their eyes. Thinking it right to suffer in self-defence rather than save their lives by submission, they escaped a shameful reputation by exposing themselves to the brunt of the fray; and in a moment of time they were removed, at the height of their fortune, from the scene of their glory rather than their fear.’ Of this kind also is the characterisation of Themistocles given by the historian in his First Book: ‘For Themistocles exhibited his natural force in the most convincing way, and in this respect he was especially worthy of admiration beyond any rival. Through his native shrewdness, and unaided by knowledge acquired previously or at the time, he surpassed all others whether in judging present needs on the spur of the moment or in conjecturing the events of the most distant future. He had the power of explaining whatever he had in hand, and was well able to form a competent opinion of things of which he had no experience. He could foresee the better or worse course, while it was still in the dim future. In a word, through sheer natural capacity he could, however short the time for preparation might be, excel all men in improvising the right thing to be done.’

XVII

The affected figures of *antithesis* and *paromoeosis* and *pariosis*, in which Gorgias and his followers were particularly fertile, little become this style, which has an austere cast and is very far removed from preciosity. But instances of the following kind are found in the History of Thucydides: ‘For it is clear that what is denominated Hellas now-a-days was not securely populated in ancient days.’ And again: ‘They are daring beyond their power, and venturesome beyond their better judgment; but your way is to act below the measure of your power, and to trust not even the safe conclusions of your judgment, and to think you will never escape from the dangers that threaten you.’ Another instance will be found in the passage in which he describes, in the following terms, the calamities which had overtaken Greece in consequence of party-spirit: ‘For reckless audacity was considered loyal courage; cautious hesitation was specious cowardice; moderation was the cloak of unmanliness; universal wisdom was general ineffectiveness.’ Many passages of this kind will be found throughout his History; but those already given will serve as a sample of the rest Thus you have, my dear Ammaeus, the

observations examined, as you desired, one by one, according to the ordinary method.

The Greek Texts



The ancient forum at Rome — Dionysius tells us that he came to Italy at the time when Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war in the middle of the 187th Olympiad (late in 30 B.C. or in 29), and that he had spent the following twenty-two years in acquainting himself with the language and the literature of the Romans, gathering his materials and writing his History.

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek texts of Dionysius' works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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Source texts:

Roman Antiquities: Dionysii Halicarnasei Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt, Vol I-IV. Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Karl Jacoby. In Aedibus B.G. Teubneri. Leipzig. 1885. With thanks to the Pegasus Digital Library.

Essays: L. Rademacher and H. Usener, Leipzig, Teubner, 1899.

Roman Antiquities

τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν λόγους ἥκιστα βουλόμενος ἀναγκάζομαι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ προειπεῖν, οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μέλλων πλεονάζειν ἐπαίνοις, οὐς ἐπαχθεῖς οἶδα φαινομένους τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οὐτε διαβολὰς καθ' ἑτέρων ἐγνωκῶς ποιεῖσθαι συγγραφέων, ὥσπερ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς ἀποδεικνύμενος, οἷς ἐχρησάμην ὅτε ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμησα τὴν πραγματείαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν ἀποδίδους λόγον, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔλαβον τῶν γραφησομένων. [2] ἐπεισθην γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς προαιρουμένους μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καταλιπεῖν, ἃ μὴ συναφανισθῆσεται [p. 2] τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς καθιδρῦσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντες ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀρχὴν φρονήσεως τε καὶ σοφίας οὔσαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας, ἔπειτα παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀφορμὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας. [3] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀδόξων πραγμάτων ἢ πονηρῶν ἢ μηδεμιᾶς σπουδῆς ἀξίων ἱστορικὰς καταβαλλόμενοι πραγματείας, εἴτε τοῦ προελθεῖν εἰς γνῶσιν ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν ὅποιουδήποτε ὀνόματος, εἴτε περιουσίαν ἀποδείξασθαι τῆς περὶ λόγους δυνάμεως βουλόμενοι, οὐτε τῆς γνώσεως ζηλοῦνται παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις οὔτε τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπαινοῦνται, δόξαν ἐγκαταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἱστορίας, ὅτι τοιούτους ἐζήλωσαν αὐτοὶ βίους, οἷας ἐξέδωκαν τὰς γραφάς: ἐπεικῶς γὰρ ἅπαντες νομίζουσιν εἰκόνας εἶναι τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς τοὺς λόγους. [4] οἱ δὲ προαιρούμενοι μὲν τὰς κρατίστας ὑποθέσεις, εἰκὴ δὲ καὶ ῥαθύμως αὐτὰς συντιθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων, οὐδένα ὑπὲρ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἔπαινον κομίζονται: οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῦμεν αὐτοσχεδίου οὐδὲ ῥαθύμους εἶναι τὰς περὶ τε πόλεων ἐνδόξων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐν δυναστείᾳ γεγονότων ἀναγραφομένας ἱστορίας. [5] ταῦτα δὴ νομίσας ἀναγκαῖα [p. 3] καὶ πρῶτα θεωρήματα τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς εἶναι καὶ πολλὴν ποιησάμενος ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμέλειαν οὐτε παρελθεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον ἐβουλήθην, οὐτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ καταχωρίσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς πραγματείας.

τὴν μὲν οὖν ὑπόθεσιν ὅτι καλὴν εἶληφα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ πολλοῖς ὠφέλιμον οὐ μακρῶν οἶμαι δεήσειν λόγων τοῖς γε δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχουσι τῆς κοινῆς ἱστορίας. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιστήσας τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, ἔπειτα χωρὶς ἐκάστην σκοπῶν καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας ἐξετάζων διαγνῶναι βουληθεῖη, τίς αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν τε μεγίστην ἐκτήσατο καὶ πράξεις ἀπεδείξατο λαμπροτάτας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους, μακρῶς δὴ τινι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἀπάσας ὑπερβεβλημένην ὄψεται τὰς πρὸ αὐτῆς μνημονευόμενας, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος τῶν πράξεων, αἷς οὕτω κεκόσμηκε λόγος οὐδεὶς ἀξίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ

μήκος τοῦ περιειληφότος αὐτὴν χρόνου μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας. [2] ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴ παλαιὰ τις οὕσα καὶ εἰς τοὺς μυθικοὺς ἀναγομένη χρόνους ὀλίγου τινὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς Ἀσίας μέρους. ἡ δὲ Μηδικὴ καθελοῦσα τὴν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ μείζονα δυναστείαν περιβαλομένη χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης κατελύθη γενεᾷς. Πέρσαι δὲ οἱ [p. 4] Μήδους καταγωνισάμενοι τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης τελευτῶντες ἐκράτησαν, ἐπιχειρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις ἔθνεσιν οὐ πολλὰ ὑπηγάγοντο, χρόνον τε οὐ πολλῷ πλείονα διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἔμειναν ἐπὶ [3] τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἡ δὲ Μακεδονικὴ δυναστεία τὴν Περσῶν καθελοῦσα ἰσχὺν μεγέθει μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπάσας ὑπερεβάλετο τὰς πρὸ αὐτῆς, χρόνον δὲ οὐδὲ αὕτη πολὺν ἦνθησεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἥρξατο φέρεσθαι. διασπασθεῖσα γὰρ εἰς πολλοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἄχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης ἰσχύσασα προελθεῖν γενεᾷς, ἀσθενῆς αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐγένετο καὶ τελευτῶσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠφανίσθη. [4] καὶ οὐδὲ αὕτη μέντοι πᾶσαν ἐποίησατο γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ὑπῆκοον: οὔτε γὰρ Λιβύης ὅτι μὴ τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ οὐ πολλῆς οὐσης ἐκράτησεν, οὔτε τὴν Εὐρώπην ὅλην ὑπηγάγετο, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν βορείων αὐτῆς μερῶν μέχρι Θράκης προῆλθε, τῶν δ' ἐσπερίων μέχρι τῆς Ἀδριανῆς κατέβη θαλάσσης.

αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέσταται τῶν πρόσθεν ἡγεμονιῶν, ἃς παρειλήφαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας, τοσαύτην ἀκμὴν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν λαβοῦσαι κατελύθησαν: τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνικὰς δυνάμεις οὐκ ἄξιον αὐταῖς ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν, οὔτε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς οὔτε χρόνον ἐπιφανείας [p. 5] [2] τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐκεῖναι λαβοῦσας. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γε αὐτῆς μόνον ἥρξαν τῆς παραλίου дуεῖν δέοντα ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀπάσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐξείνου τε πόντου καὶ τοῦ Παμφυλίου πελάγους, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐθαλασσοκράτουν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κρατοῦντες Ἑλλάδος ἕως Μακεδονίας τὴν ἀρχὴν προὔριβασαν, ἐπαύσθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οὐδὲ ὅλα τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες. [3] ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀπάσης μὲν ἄρχει γῆς ὅση μὴ ἀνέμβατός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖται, πάσης δὲ κρατεῖ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανίτιδος ὅση πλεῖσθαι μὴ ἀδύνατός ἐστι, πρώτη καὶ μόνη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος μνημονευομένων ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ὅρους ποιησαμένη τῆς δυναστείας: χρόνος τε αὐτῇ τοῦ κράτους οὐ βραχύς, ἀλλ' ὅσος οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε πόλεων οὔτε βασιλειῶν. [4] εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τὰ πλησίον ἔθην πολλὰ καὶ μάχιμα ὄντα προσήγετο καὶ προὔβαινεν αἰεὶ πᾶν δουλουμένη τὸ ἀντίπαλον: ταῦτα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἦδη πρὸς τοῖς ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἐστιν εἰς ὑπάτους Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα τὸ δεῦτερον ὑπατεῦοντα καὶ Πείσωνα Καλπούρνιον, οἱ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀπεδείχθησαν. [p. 6] ἐξ οὗ δὲ ὅλης ἐκράτησεν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐθάρρησεν ἀρχὴν προελθεῖν, ἐκβαλοῦσα μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης Καρχηδονίους, οἱ πλείστην ἔσχον ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ὑποχείριον δὲ λαβοῦσα Μακεδονίαν, ἣ [5] τέως ἐδόκει μέγιστον ἰσχύειν κατὰ γῆν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντίπαλον ἔχουσα οὔτε

βάρβαρον φύλον οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν γενεὰν ἐβδόμην ἤδη τὴν ἐπ’ ἑμοῦ διαμένει παντὸς ἄρχουσα τόπου· ἔθνος δὲ οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐστίν, ὃ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡγεμονίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ ^[6] ἄρχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν διαφέρεται. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν οὔτε τὴν ἐλαχίστην τῶν ὑποθέσεων προήρημαι, καθάπερ ἔφην, οὔτε περὶ φαύλας καὶ ἀσήμευς πράξεις ἔγνωκα διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τε πόλεως γράφω τῆς περιφανεστάτης καὶ περὶ πράξεων ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις ἐτέρας ἐπιδείξασθαι λαμπροτέρας, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ,τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν.

ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἄνευ λογισμοῦ καὶ προνοίας ἔμφρονος ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐτραπόμην, ἀλλ’ ἔχων εὐλογίστους ἀποδοῦναι τῆς προαιρέσεως αἰτίας, ὀλίγα βούλομαι προειπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τινες ἐπιτιμήσωσί μοι τῶν πρὸς ἅπαντα φιλατίων, οὐδὲν πω τῶν μελλόντων δηλοῦσθαι προακηκοότες, ὅτι τῆς ἀοιδίμου γενομένης καθ’ ἡμᾶς πόλεως ἀδόξους καὶ πάνυ ταπεινὰς τὰς πρώτας ἀφορμὰς λαβοῦσης καὶ οὐκ ἀξίας ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς, οὐ πολλὰς δὲ γενεαῖς πρότερον εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν ἀφιγμένης, [p. 7] ἐξ οὗ τὰς τε Μακεδονικὰς καθεῖλε δυναστείας καὶ τοὺς Φοινικικοὺς κατῴρωσε πολέμους, ἐξόν μοι τῶν ἐνδόξων τινὰ λαβεῖν αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεων, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν ἐπιφανὲς ἀρχαιολογίαν ἀπέκλινα. ^[2] ἔτι γὰρ ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσιν ἢ παλαιὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἱστορία, καὶ δόξαι τινὲς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξηπατήκασιν, ὡς ἀνεστίους μὲν τινὰς καὶ πλάνητας καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτους ἐλευθέρους οἰκιστὰς εὐχομένης, οὐ δι’ εὐσέβειαν δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίαν σὺν χρόνῳ παρελθούσης, ἀλλὰ δι’ αὐτοματισμὸν τινὰ καὶ τύχην ἄδικον εἰκῇ δωρουμένην τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀνεπιτηδαιοτάτοις· καὶ οἳ γε κακοηθέστεροι κατηγορεῖν εἰώθασιν τῆς τύχης κατὰ τὸ φανερόν ὡς βαρβάρων τοῖς πονηροτάτοις τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποριζομένης ἀγαθὰ. ^[3] καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν, ὅπου γε καὶ τῶν συγγραφέων τινὲς ἐτόλμησαν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ταῦτα γράψαντες καταλιπεῖν, βασιλεῦσι βαρβάροις μισοῦσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷς δουλεῦντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ καθ’ ἡδονὰς ὁμιλοῦντες διετέλεσεν, οὔτε δικαίας οὔτε ἀληθεῖς ἱστορίας χαριζόμενοι; [p. 8]

ταύτας δὴ τὰς πεπλανημένας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπολήψεις ἐξελέσθαι τῆς διανοίας τῶν πολλῶν προαιρούμενος καὶ ἀντικατασκευάσαι τὰς ἀληθεῖς, περὶ μὲν τῶν οἰκισάντων τὴν πόλιν, οἵτινες ἦσαν καὶ κατὰ τινὰς ἑκαστοὶ καιροὺς συνῆλθον καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὰς πατρίους οἰκῆσεις ἐξέλιπον, ἐν ταύτῃ δηλώσω τῇ γραφῇ, δι’ ἧς Ἑλληνὰς τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐπιδείξω ὑποσχοῦμαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἢ ^[2] φαυλοτάτων ἐθνῶν συνεληλυθότας. περὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων, αἷς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν εὐθέως ἀπεδείξαντο, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθον οἱ μετ’ αὐτοὺς, ἀπὸ τῆς μετὰ ταύτην ἀρξάμενος ἀναγραφῆς ἀφηγήσομαι, παραλιπὼν οὐδὲν ὅση μοι δύναμις τῶν ἀξίων ἱστορίας, ἵνα τοῖς γε μαθοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἃ προσήκει περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε παραστῇ φρονεῖν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασι ἀγρίως καὶ δυσμενῶς διάκεινται πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ μήτε ἄχθεσθαι τῇ ὑποτάξει κατὰ τὸ εἶκός γενομένη (φύσεως γὰρ δὴ νόμος

ἅπανσι κοινός, ὃν οὐδεὶς καταλύσει χρόνος, ἄρχειν αἰεὶ τῶν ἡττώνων τοὺς κρείττονας· μήτε κατηγορεῖν τῆς τύχης, ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖω πόλει τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον προῖκα δωρησαμένης· [3] μαθοῦσι γε δὴ παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι μυρίας ἡνεγκεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν, [p. 9] ὧν οὐτ' εὐσεβεστέρους οὔτε δικαιότερους οὔτε σωφροσύνῃ πλείονι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρησαμένους οὐδὲ γε τὰ πολέμια κρείττους ἀγωνιστὰς οὐδεμία πόλις ἡνεγκεν οὔτε Ἑλλὰς οὔτε βάρβαρος, εἰ δὴ ἀπέσται τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐπιφθονον· ἔχει γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἢ τῶν παραδόξων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ὑπόσχεσις. [4] οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες οἱ τοσοῦτο περιθέντες αὐτῇ δυναστείας μέγεθος ἀγνοοῦνται πρὸς Ἑλλήνων, οὐ τυχόντες ἀξιολόγου συγγραφέως· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἀκριβῆς ἐξελέλυθε περὶ αὐτῶν Ἑλληνὶς ἱστορία μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, ὅτι μὴ κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιτομαὶ πάννυ βραχεῖαι,

πρώτου μὲν, ὅσα κάμει εἰδέναι, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐπιδραμόντος Ἱερωνόμου τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ συγγραφέως ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων πραγματείᾳ· ἔπειτα Τιμαίου τοῦ Σικελιώτου τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἱστορίαις ἀφηγησαμένου, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν Ἡπειρώτην πολέμους εἰς ἰδίαν καταχωρίσαντος πραγματεῖαν· ἅμα δὲ τοῦτοις Ἀντιγόνου τε καὶ Πολυβίου καὶ Σιληνοῦ καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπιβαλόντων, ὧν ἕκαστος ὀλίγα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς αὐτῷ διεσπουδασμένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων συνθεῖς ἀνέγραψεν. [2] ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτοις [p. 10] καὶ οὐδὲν διαφόρους ἐξέδωκαν ἱστορίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα τῆς πόλεως Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ συνέγραψαν, ὧν εἰσι πρεσβύτατοι Κόιντος τε Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Κίγκιος, ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ τοὺς Φοινικικοὺς ἀκμάσαντες πολέμους. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάτερος, οἷς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔργοις παρεγένετο, διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψε, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖα τὰ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως γενόμενα κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπέδραμεν. [3] διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας ἔδοξε μοι μὴ παρελθεῖν καλὴν ἱστορίαν ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀμνημόνευτον, ἐξ ἧς ἀκριβῶς γραφείσης συμβήσεται τὰ κράτιστα καὶ δικαιότατα τῶν ἔργων· τοῖς μὲν ἐκπεπληρωκόσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν μοῖραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς δόξης αἰωνίου τυχεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἃ ποιεῖ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι τῇ θεῇ καὶ μὴ συναποθνήσκειν αὐτῆς τὰ ἔργα τοῖς σώμασι· [4] τοῖς δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἰσοθέων ἀνδρῶν νῦν τε οἷσι καὶ ὕστερον ἐσομένοις μὴ τὸν ἡδιστὸν τε καὶ ῥᾶστον αἰρεῖσθαι τῶν βίων, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενέστατον καὶ φιλοτιμότατον, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τοὺς εὐλιπόμενους καλὰς τὰς πρώτας ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἀφορμὰς μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς προσήκει φρονεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ἐπιτηδεύειν τῶν προγόνων· [5] ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὅς οὐχὶ κολακείας χάριν ἐπὶ ταύτην [p. 11] ἀπέκλινα τὴν πραγματείαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ δικαίου προνοούμενος, ὧν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, ὅτι χρηστὴ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ φιλοθεώρους τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων· ἔπειτα χαριστηρίους ἀμοιβὰς, ἃς ἐμοὶ δύνამις ἦν, ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, παιδείας τε

μεμνημένῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὅσων ἀπέλαυσα διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ.

ἀποδεδωκώς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς προαιρέσεως λόγον ἔτι βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν εἰπεῖν, αἷς ἐχρησάμην ὅτ' ἔμελλον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ γραφῇ: ἴσως γὰρ οἱ προανεγνωκότες Ἰερώνυμον ἢ Τίμαιον ἢ Πολύβιον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ συγγραφέων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐποίησάμην λόγον ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὡς ἐπισευσρκότων τὴν γραφὴν, πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφομένων οὐχ εὐρηκότες παρ' ἐκείνοις κείμενα σχεδιάζειν υπολήφονται με καὶ πόθεν ἡ τούτων γνῶσις εἰς ἐμὲ παραγέγονεν ἀζιώσουσι μαθεῖν. ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοιαύτη δόξα παραστῇ τισι περὶ ἐμοῦ, βέλτιον ἀφ' ὧν ὠρμήθηον λόγων τε καὶ [2] ὑπομνηματισμῶν προειπεῖν. ἐγὼ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μεσοῦσης, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος γενόμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίψας, διᾶλεκτόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ γραμμάτων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων [p. 12] λαβὼν ἐπιστήμην, ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην διετέλουν πραγματευόμενος. [3] καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν λογιστῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἦλθον, διδασκῇ παραλαβὼν, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναλεξάμενος, ἃς οἱ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαινούμενοι Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν Πόρκιός τε Κάτων καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Οὐαλέριος ὁ Ἀντιεὺς καὶ Λικίνιος Μάκερ Αἴλιοι τε καὶ Γέλλιοι καὶ Καλπούρνιοι καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὀρμώμενος τῶν πραγματειῶν εἰσὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἔοικυαί, τότε ἐπεχείρησα τῇ γραφῇ. [4] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ διείλεγμαί. λοιπὸν ἔτι δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῆς προειπεῖν, τίσι τε αὐτὴν περιλαμβάνω χρόνοις καὶ περὶ τίνων ποιοῦμαι πραγμάτων τὴν διήγησιν καὶ ποταπὸν ἀποδίδωμι τὸ σχῆμα τῇ πραγματείᾳ.

ἄρχομαι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιωτάτων μύθων, οὓς παρέλιπον οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γενόμενοι συγγραφεῖς χαλεποὺς ὄντας ἄνευ πραγματείας μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι: [2] καταβιβάζω δὲ τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πρώτου Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου τὴν γενομένην ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ εἰκοστῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν. ἀφηγοῦμαι δὲ τοὺς τε ὀθνεῖους πολέμους τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντας, ὅσους ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ τὰς ἐμφυλίους στάσεις [p. 13] ὅποσας ἐστασίασεν, ἐξ οἷων αἰτίων ἐγένοντο καὶ δι' οἷων τρόπων τε καὶ λόγων κατελύθησαν: πολιτειῶν τε ἰδέας διέξειμι πάσας ὅσαις ἐχρήσατο βασιλευσμένη τε καὶ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν μονάρχων, καὶ τίς ἦν αὐτῶν ἐκάστης ὁ κόσμος: ἔθη τε τὰ κράτιστα καὶ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους διηγοῦμαι καὶ συλλήβδην ὅλον ἀποδείκνυμι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον τῆς πόλεως. [3] σχῆμα δὲ ἀποδίδωμι τῇ πραγματείᾳ οὗθ' ὅποιον οἱ τοὺς πολέμους μόνους ἀναγράψαντες ἀποδεδώκασιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις οὗθ' ὅποιον οἱ τὰς πολιτείας αὐτὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν διηγησάμενοι οὔτε ταῖς χρονικαῖς παραπλήσιον, ἃς ἐξέδωκαν οἱ τὰς Ἀθίδας πραγματευσάμενοι: μονοειδεῖς γὰρ ἐκείναι τε καὶ ταχὺ προσιστάμεναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν: ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπάσης ἰδέας μικτὸν ἐναγωνίου τε καὶ θεωρητικῆς καὶ ἡδείας, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς διατρίβουσι λόγους καὶ τοῖς περὶ

τὴν φιλόσοφον ἔσπουδακόσι θεωρίαν καὶ εἴ τισιν ἀοχλήτου δεήσει διαγωγῆς ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ἀναγνώσμασιν, ^[4] ἀποχρῶντως ἔχουσα φαίνεται. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἱστορία περὶ τοιούτων τε γενήσεται πραγμάτων καὶ τοιούτου τεύξεται σχήματος· ὁ δὲ συντάξας αὐτὴν Διονύσιος εἰμι Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασεύς· ἄρχομαι δ' ἐνθένδε.

τὴν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀπάσης [p. 14] πόλιν, ἣν νῦν κατοικοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, παλαιότατοι τῶν μνημονευομένων λέγονται κατασχεῖν βάρβαροι Σικελιοί, ἔθνος αὐθιγενές· τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων οὐθ' ὥς κατειχετο πρὸς ἑτέρων οὐθ' ὥς ἔρημος ἦν οὐδείς ἔχει βεβαίως εἰπεῖν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτὴν παραλαμβάνουσι πολέμῳ μακρῷ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφελόμενοι· ^[2] οἱ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὥκουν ἄνευ τειχῶν κωμηδὸν καὶ σποράδες, ἐπεὶ δὲ Πελασγοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀναμιχθέντες αὐτοῖς συνήραντο τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοτέρμονας πολέμου, τὸ Σικελικὸν γένος ἀπαναστήσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς πόλεις περιέβαλοντο συχνὰς καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὑπήκοον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι πᾶσαν ὄσσην ὀρίζουσι ποταμοὶ δύο Λίρις καὶ Τέβερις· οἱ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς λαμβάνουσι τῆς ρύσεως ἐκ τῆς ὑπωρείας τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων, ὅφ' ὧν διχα τέμνεται πᾶσα ἐπὶ μῆκος ἡ Ἰταλία, διαστάντες δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὀκτακόσια που στάδι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν ἐξερεῦγονται πέλαγος, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν βορείων μερῶν ὁ Τέβερις Ὡστίας πόλεως πλησίον ἐκδιδούς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κλίματος ὁ Λίρις Μίντουρναν παραμειβόμενος· ^[3] Ῥωμαίων δὲ εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις ἀμφοτέραι ἄποικοι. καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκήσεως οὐκέτι πρὸς ἑτέρων ἐξελαθέντες, ὀνομάτων ἀλλαγαῖς διτταῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι [p. 15] προσαγορευόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων ὀνομασίαν ἔτι σώζοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λατίνου βασιλέως, ὃς κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐδυνάστευε, Λατῖνοι ἀρξάμενοι καλεῖσθαι. ^[4] Ῥωμύλου δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν οἰκίσαντος ἐκκαίδεκα γενεαῖς τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον, ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν ὀνομασίαν μεταλαβόντες, ἔθνος τε μέγιστον ἐξ ἐλαχίστου γενέσθαι σὺν χρόνῳ παρεσκεύασαν καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξ ἀδηλοτάτου, τῶν τε δεομένων οἰκήσεως παρὰ σφίσι φιλανθρώπῳ ὑποδοχῇ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου ἐν πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσι, δούλων τε ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖεν ἀστοῖς εἶναι συγχωρήσει, τύχης τε ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιᾶς εἰ μέλλοι τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελεῖν ἀπαξιώσει· ὑπὲρ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κόσμῳ τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὃν ἐκ πολλῶν κατεστήσαντο παθημάτων, ἐκ παντὸς καιροῦ λαμβάνοντές τι χρῆσιμον.

τοὺς δὲ Ἀβοριγῖνας, ἀφ' ὧν ἄρχει Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος, οἱ μὲν αὐτόχθονας Ἰταλίας, γένος αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γενόμενον ἀποφαίνουσιν· Ἰταλίαν δὲ καλῶ τὴν ἀκτὴν σύμπασαν, ὃσσην Ἰονιὸς τε κόλπος καὶ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα καὶ τρίται περιέχουσιν ἐκ γῆς Ἄλπεις. καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν αὐτοῖς τὴν πρώτην φασὶ τεθῆναι [p. 16] διὰ τὸ γενέσεως τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἄρξαι, ὥσπερ ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν γενεάρχας ἢ πρωτογόνους. ^[2] ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν ἀνεστίους τινὰς καὶ πλάνητας ἐκ πολλῶν συνελθόντας χωρίων κατὰ δαίμονα περιτυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις αὐτόθι καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι καταστήσασθαι, ζῆν δὲ ἀπὸ ληστείας καὶ νομῆς. παραλλάττουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ

τὸ ταῖς τύχαις οἰκειότερον, Ἀβερριγίνας λέγοντες, ὥστε δηλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς πλάνητας. κινδυνεύει δὴ κατὰ τούτους μηδὲν διαφέρειν τὸ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων φῦλον ὧν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ Λελέγων· τοῖς γὰρ ἄνεστίοις καὶ μιγάσι καὶ μηδεμίαν γῆν βεβαίως ὡς πατρίδα κατοικοῦσι ταύτην ἐπετίθεντο τὴν ὀνομασίαν ὡς τὰ^[3] πολλὰ. ἄλλοι δὲ Λιγύων ἀποίκους μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι τῶν ὁμορούντων Ὀμβρικοῖς· οἱ γὰρ Λίγυες οἰκοῦσι μὲν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλαχῇ, νέμονται δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς. ὅποτέρᾳ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστί γῆ πατρίς, ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν προσωτέρω σαφὲς οὐδέν.

οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων, ἐν οἷς ἐστί Πόρκιος τε Κάτων ὁ τὰς γενεαλογίας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐπιμελέστατα συναγαγὼν καὶ Γάϊος Σεμπρόνιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, Ἑλληνας αὐτοὺς εἶναι λέγουσι τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ ποτὲ οἰκησάντων, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρότερον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ μεταναστάντας. οὐκέτι μέντοι διορίζουσιν [p. 17] οὔτε φῦλον Ἑλληνικὸν οὔ μετεῖχον, οὔτε πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἀπανέστησαν, οὔτε χρόνον οὔθ' ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας οὔθ' ὁποίαις τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀπέλιπον· Ἑλληνικῶς τε μύθῳ χρησάμενοι οὐδένα τῶν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γραφάντων βεβαιωτὴν παρέσχοντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀληθὲς ὅπως ποτ' ἔχει, ἄδηλον· εἰ δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τούτων λόγος ὑγιής, οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρου τινὸς εἴησαν ἀποικοὶ γένους ἢ τοῦ καλουμένου νῦν Ἀρκαδιοῦ.^[2] πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οὔτοι περαιωθέντες τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ὥκησαν Ἰταλίαν, ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς Οἰνώτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος· ἦν δὲ πέμπτος ἀπὸ τε Αἰζιοῦ καὶ Φορωνέως τῶν πρώτων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ δυναστευσάντων. Φορωνέως μὲν γὰρ Νιόβη γίνεται· ταύτης δὲ υἱὸς καὶ Διδός, ὡς λέγεται, Πελασγός· Αἰζιοῦ δὲ υἱὸς Λυκάων· τούτου δὲ Δηιάνειρα θυγάτηρ· ἐκ δὲ Δηιανείρας καὶ Πελασγοῦ Λυκάων ἕτερος· τούτου δὲ Οἰνωτρος, ἑπτακαίδεκα γενεαῖς πρότερον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσάντων. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν Ἑλληνες εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οὗτος ἦν.^[3] ἀπανέστη δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Οἰνωτρος οὐκ ἀρκούμενος τῇ μοίρᾳ· δύο γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων Λυκάονι γενομένων εἰς τοσοῦτους ἔδει κλήρους νεμηθῆναι τὴν Ἀρκάδων χώραν. ταύτης μὲν δὴ τῆς αἰτίας ἔνεκα Πελοπόννησον Οἰνωτρος ἐκλιπὼν καὶ κατασκευασάμενος ναυτικὸν διαίρει τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ [p. 18] Πευκέτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἷς. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ τε οἰκείου λαοῦ συχνοί, πολυάνθρωπον γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο λέγεται κατ' ἀρχὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι χώραν εἶχον ἐλάττω τῆς ἱκανῆς.^[4] Πευκέτιος μὲν οὖν, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑπὲρ ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας ἐκβιβάσας τὸν λεῶν αὐτοῦ καθιδρύεται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκοῦντες Πευκέτιοι ἐκλήθησαν. Οἰνωτρος δὲ τὴν πλείω τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ἀφικνεῖται κόλπον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων μερῶν παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀναχεόμενον, ὃς τότε μὲν Αὐσόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν προσοικούντων Αὐσόνων ἐλέγετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ θαλασσοκράτορες ἐγένοντο, μετέλαβεν ἦν ἔχει νῦν προσηγορίαν.

εὐρύων δὲ χώραν πολλὴν μὲν εἰς νομάς, πολλὴν δὲ εἰς ἀρότους εὖθετον, ἔρημον δὲ τὴν πλείστην καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην πολυάνθρωπον, ἀνακαθῆρας τὸ βάρβαρον ἐκ μέρους τινὸς αὐτῆς ὥκισε πόλεις μικρὰς καὶ

συνεχῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὅσπερ ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος οἰκίσεως συνήθης. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἢ τε χώρα πᾶσα πολλὴ οὖσα ὅσῃ κατέσχευεν Οἰνωτρία, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ὅσων ἤρξεν Οἰνωτροί, τρίτην μεταλαμβάνοντες ὀνομασίαν ταύτην. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Αἰζαιοῦ [p. 19] βασιλεύοντος Αἰζιοὶ ἐλέγοντο, Λυκάωνος δὲ παραλαβόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου αὖθις Λυκάωνες ὠνομάσθησαν, Οἰνώτρου δὲ κομίσαντος αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἰταλίαν Οἰνωτροί χρόνον τινὰ ἐκλήθησαν. [2] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ δράματι: πεποιήται γὰρ αὐτῷ Δημήτηρ διδάσκουσα τὸν Τριπτόλεμον, ὅσῃν χώραν ἀναγκασθήσεται στείρων τοῖς δοθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς καρποῖς διεξελεῖν: μνησθεῖσα δὲ τῆς ἐώου πρώτον Ἰταλίας, ἣ ἐστὶν ἀπ' ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ Σικελικοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀντικρὺ ἀφασμένη Σικελίας, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον Ἰταλίαν αὖθις ἀναστρέφει καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν παράλιον ταύτην ἐθνῶν διεξέρχεται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνώτρων οἰκίσεως ποιησαμένη. ἀπόχρη δὲ ταῦτα μόνον λεχθέντα τῶν ἱαμβείων, ἐν οἷς φησι:

τὰ δ' ἐξόπισθε, χειρὸς εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ,

Οἰνωτρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Τυρρηνικὸς

κόλπος Λιγυστική τε γῆ σε δέξεται. [3] Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος, συγγραφεὺς πάνυ ἀρχαῖος, ἐν Ἰταλίας οἰκισμῷ τοὺς παλαιστάτους οἰκῆτορας διεξιὼν, ὡς ἕκαστοι τι μέρος αὐτῆς κατεῖχον, Οἰνώτρους λέγει πρώτους τῶν μνημονευομένων ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῆσαι, εἰπὼν ὧδε: (Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων [p. 20] τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα: τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Ἰταλίη καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἰνωτροί) . ἔπειτα διεξελθὼν ὃν τρόπον ἐπολιτεύοντο, καὶ ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰταλὸς ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐγένετο, ἀφ' οὗ μετωνομάσθησαν Ἰταλοί, τοῦτου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Μόργης διεδέξατο, ἀφ' οὗ Μόργητες ἐκλήθησαν, καὶ ὡς Σικελὸς ἐπξενωθεὶς Μόργητι ἰδίαν πράττων ἀρχὴν διέστησε τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπιφέρει ταυτί: (οὕτω δὲ Σικελοὶ καὶ Μόργητες ἐγένοντο καὶ Ἰταλίητες ἐόντες Οἰνωτροί) .

φέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος ὅθεν ἦν τὸ τῶν Οἰνώτρων ἀποδειξωμεν, ἕτερον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων παρασχόμενοι μάρτυρα, Φερεκύδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγων οὐδενὸς δεῦτερον. πεποιήται γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ βασιλευσάντων ὅδε ὁ λόγος: Πελασγοῦ καὶ Δηϊανείρης γίνεται Λυκάων: οὗτος γαμεῖ Κυλλήνην, Νηίδα νύμφην, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὄρος ἢ Κυλλήνη καλεῖται. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεννηθέντας διεξιὼν καὶ τίννας ἕκαστοι τόπους ὥκησαν, Οἰνώτρου καὶ Πευκετίου μιμνήσκειται λέγων ὧδε: (καὶ Οἰνώτρος, ἀφ' οὗ Οἰνωτροί καλέονται οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκόντες, καὶ Πευκέτιος, ἀφ' οὗ Πευκέτιοι καλέονται οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τὰ [2] μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν εἰρημένα ποιητῶν τε καὶ [p. 21] μυθογράφων περὶ τε οἰκίσεως καὶ γένους τῶν Οἰνώτρων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν: οἷς ἐγὼ πειθόμενος, εἰ τῷ ὄντι Ἑλληνικὸν φύλον ἦν τὸ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων, ὡς Κάτωνι καὶ Σεμπρωνίῳ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις εἴρηται, τούτων ἔγγονον αὐτῶν τῶν Οἰνώτρων ὑποτίθεμαι. τὸ γὰρ δὴ Πελασγικὸν καὶ τὸ Κρητικὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὥκησεν, ὑστέροις εὕρισκω χρόνοις ἀφικόμενα. παλαιότερον

δὲ τούτου στόλον ἀπαναστάντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὰ προσεσπέρια τῆς Εὐρώπης οὐδένα δύναμαι καταμαθεῖν. ^[3] τοὺς δὲ Οἰνώτρους τῆς τ' ἄλλης Ἰταλίας πολλὰ χωρία οἶομαι κατασχεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἔρημα, τὰ δὲ φαύλως οἰκούμενα καταλαβόντας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ὀμβρικῶν γῆς ἐστὶν ἢν ἀποτεμέσθαι, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἀβοριγῖνας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν οἰκήσεως (Ἀρκαδικὸν γὰρ τὸ φιλοχωρεῖν ἐν ὄρεσιν, ὡς ὑπερακρίους τινὰς καὶ παραλίους Ἀθήνησιν. ^[4] εἰ δέ τινες πεφύκασι μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ πραγμάτων παλαιῶν ἀβασανίστως τὰ λεγόμενα δέχεσθαι, μὴ ταχεῖς ἔστωσαν μηδὲ Λίγυας ἢ Ὀμβρικοὺς ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς βαρβάρους αὐτοὺς νομίσαι, περιμείναντες δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν κρινέτωσαν ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸ πιθανώτατον.

τῶν δὲ πόλεων, ἐν αἷς τὸ πρῶτον ὤκησαν Ἀβοριγῖνες, ὀλίγα περιῆσαν ἐπ' ἑμοῦ: αἱ δὲ πλεῖσται ὑπὸ τε πολέμων καὶ ἄλλων κακῶν οἰκοφθορηθεῖσαι [p. 22] ἔρημοι ἀφεῖνται. ἦσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥεατίνῃ γῇ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν οὐ μακρὰν, ὡς Οὐάρρων Τερέντιος ἐν ἀρχαιολογίαις γράφει, ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως αἱ τὸ βραχύτατον ἀπέχουσαι ἡμερήσιον διάστημα ὁδοῦ: ὧν ἐγὼ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἱστορεῖ, διηγῆσομαι. ^[2] Παλάτιον μὲν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀφεστῶσα Ῥεάτου, πόλεως οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ, Κοῦντίας ὁδοῦ πλησίον. Τριβόλα δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐξήκοντα σταδίους τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀφεστῶσα, λόφον ἐπικαθημένη σύμμετρον. Συεσβόλα δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ διάστημα τῆς Τριβόλας ἀπέχουσα, τῶν Κεραυνίων ὁρῶν πλησίον. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τετταράκοντα σταδίοις διηρημένη πόλις ἐπιφανῆς Σούνα, ἔνθα νεῶς πάνυ ἀρχαῖος ἐστὶν Ἄρεος. ^[3] Μήφυλα δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα σταδίους ἄπωθεν τῆς Σούνης: δεικνύται δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρείπιά τε καὶ τεῖχους ἴχνη. τετταράκοντα δὲ σταδίους ἀπέχουσα Μηφύλης Ὀρουίνιον, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη τῶν αὐτόθι πόλεων ἐπιφανῆς καὶ μεγάλη: δῆλοι γάρ εἰσιν αὐτῆς οἱ τε θεμέλιοι τῶν τευχῶν καὶ τάφοι τινὲς ἀρχαιοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολυανδρίων ἐν ὑψηλοῖς χώμασι μηκνυομένων περίβολοι: ἔνθα καὶ νεῶς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος, ἰδρυμένος ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας. ^[4] ἀπὸ δὲ σταδίων ἀγδοήκοντα Ῥεάτου τοῖς ἰοῦσι [p. 23] διὰ τῆς Κουρίας ὁδοῦ παρὰ Κόρητον ὄρος Κόρσουλα νεωστὶ διεφθαρμένη. δεικνύται δὲ τις καὶ νῆσος, Ἰσσα αὐτῇ ὄνομα, λίμνη περιρρυτος, ἢν χωρὶς ἐρύματος ποιητοῦ κατοικῆσαι λέγονται τοῖς τέλμασι τῆς λίμνης ὅποσα τείχεσι χρώμενοι. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἰσσης Μαρούιον ἐπὶ τῷ μυχῷ τῆς αὐτῆς λίμνης κειμένη, τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα τῶν καλουμένων Ἐπτά ὕδατων. ^[5] ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥεάτου πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Λατίνην ὁδὸν ἰοῦσι Βατία μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων, Τιώρα δὲ ἀπὸ τριακοσίων, ἡ καλουμένη Ματιήνη. ἐν ταύτῃ λέγεται χρηστήριον Ἄρεος γενέσθαι πάνυ ἀρχαῖον. ὁ δὲ τρόπος αὐτοῦ παραπλήσιος ἦν ὡς φασὶ τῷ παρὰ Δωδωναίοις μυθολογουμένῳ ποτὲ γενέσθαι: πλὴν ὅσον ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ δρυὸς ἱερᾶς πέλεια καθεζομένη θεσπιωδεῖν ἐλέγετο, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι θεόπεμπτος ὄρνις, ὃν αὐτοὶ μὲν πῖκον, Ἕλληνες δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνου φαινόμενος τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδρα. ^[6] τέτταρας δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀπέχουσα τῆς εἰρημένης πόλεως Λίστα, μητρόπολις Ἀβοριγίνων, ἢν παλαιότερον ἔτι Σαβῖνοι

νύκτωρ ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἐκ πόλεως Ἀμιτέρνης ἀφύλακτον [p. 24] αἰροῦσιν: οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως περισωθέντες ὑποδεξαμένων αὐτοὺς Ῥεατίνων, ὡς πολλὰ πειραθέντες οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἱερὰν ἀνῆκαν ὡς σφετέραν ἔτι τὴν γῆν, ἐξαγίστους ποιήσαντες ἀραῖς τοὺς καρπωσομένους αὐτὴν ὕστερον.

ἀπὸ δὲ σταδίων ἐβδομήκοντα Ῥεάτου Κοτυλία πόλις ἐπιφανὴς πρὸς ὄρει κειμένη: ἥ ἐστιν οὐ πρόσω λίμνη τεττάρων πλῆθρων ἔχουσα τὴν διάστασιν, αὐθιγενοῦς πλήρης νάματος ἀπορρέοντος αἰεὶ, βάθος ὡς λέγεται ἄβυσσος. ταύτην ἔχουσάν τι θεοπρεπὲς ἱερὰν τῆς Νίκης οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νομίζουσι καὶ περιεῖρξαντες κύκλῳ στέμμασι τοῦ μηδένᾳ τῷ νάματι πελάζειν ἄβατον φυλάττουσιν, ὅτι μὴ καιροῖς πῖσι διετησίοις, ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ θύουσιν ἃ νόμος ἐπιβαίνοντες τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ νησίδος οἷς ὄσιον. [2] ἡ δὲ νῆσός ἐστι μὲν ὡσπερὰν πεντήκοντα ποδῶν τὴν διάμετρον, ὑπερανέστηκε δὲ τοῦ νάματος οὐ πλεῖον ἢ ποδιαῖον ὕψος: ἀνιδρυτός δ' ἐστὶ καὶ περινήχεται πολλαχῇ δινοῦντος αὐτὴν ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλους τόπους ἡρέμα τοῦ πνεύματος. χλόη δὲ τις ἐν αὐτῇ φύεται βουτόμῳ προσεμφερῆς καὶ θάμνοι τινὲς οὐ μεγάλοι, πρᾶγμα κρεῖττον λόγου τοῖς ἀθεάτοις ὧν ἡ φύσις δρᾷ καὶ θαυμάτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον.

τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην οἴκησιν οἱ Ἀβοριγῖνες ἐν τούτοις λέγονται ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τόποις, ἐξελάσαντες ἐξ αὐτῶν Ὀμβρικούς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι [p. 25] τοῖς τε ἄλλοις βαρβάροις καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Σικελοῖς ὁμοτέρμοσιν οὖσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἐπολέμουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἱερὰ τις ἐξελθοῦσα νεότης, ἄνδρες ὀλίγοι κατὰ βίου ζήτησιν ὑπὸ τῶν γειναμένων ἀποσταλέντες, ἔθος ἐκπληροῦντες ἀρχαῖον, ᾧ πολλοὺς βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐπίσταμαι χρησαμένους. [2] ὁπότε γὰρ εἰς ὄχλου πλήθος ἐπίδοσιν αἱ πόλεις πῖσι λάβοιεν ὥστε μηκέτι τὰς οἰκείας τροφὰς ἅπασιν εἶναι διαρκεῖς, ἢ κακωθεῖσα ταῖς οὐρανίοις μεταβολαῖς ἢ γῆ σπανίους τοὺς εἰωθότας καρποὺς ἐξενέγκειεν, ἢ τοιόνδε τι πάθος ἄλλο τὰς πόλεις κατασχὼν εἴτε ἄμεινον εἴτε χεῖρον ἀνάγκην ἐπιστήσειε μειώσεως τοῦ πλήθους, θεῶν ὅτῳ δὴ καθιεροῦντες ἀνθρώπων ἐτείους γονὰς ἐξέπεμπον ὅπλοις κοσμήσαντες ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας: εἰ μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐανδρίας ἢ νίκης ἐκ πολέμου χαριστήρια θεοῖς ἀποδιδόειν, προθύοντες ἱερὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα, εὐφήμοις οἴωνοις τὰς ἀποικίας προπέμποντες: εἰ δ' ἐπὶ μηνίμασι δαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγὰς αἰτοῦμενοι τῶν κατεχόντων σφᾶς κακῶν τὸ παραπλήσιον δρῶεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἀχθόμενοι καὶ συγγνώμονας ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀπελυνομένους. [3] οἱ δὲ ἀπαναστάντες ὡς οὐκέτι τῆς πατρώας γῆς μεταληψόμενοι, εἰ μὴ κτήσαιντο ἑτέραν, τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην αὐτοὺς εἴτε πρὸς φιλίαν εἴτε ἐν πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσαν πατρίδα [p. 26] ἐποιοῦντο: ὃ τε θεός, ᾧ κατονομασθεῖεν ἀπελυνόμενοι, συλλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν κατορθοῦν τὰς ἀποικίας. [4] τοῦτῳ δὴ τῷ νόμῳ χρώμενοι καὶ τότε τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων τινὲς ἀνθούντων ἀνδράσι τῶν χωρίων (κτείνειν γὰρ οὐδένα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἡξιοῦν, ἄγους οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τοῦτο τιθέμενοί, θεῶν ὅτῳ δὴ καθιερώσαντες ἐνιαυσίους γονὰς ἀνδρωθέντας ἀποικίζουσι τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας, οἱ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἄγοντές τε καὶ [5] φέροντες

διετέλουν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλειπον. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ οὗτοι χωρίων τινῶν τῆς πολεμίας ἐκράτησαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέρου ἤδη καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀβοριγῖνες οἱ δεόμενοι γῆς κατὰ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι ἐπεχείρουν τοῖς ὁμόροις καὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν ἄλλας τὲ τινας καὶ τὰς μέχρι τοῦδε οἰκουμένας, Ἀντεμνάτας καὶ Τελληνεῖς καὶ Φικολνέους τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις Κορνίκλοις ὄρεσι καὶ Τιβουρτίνους, παρ' οἷς ἔτι καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνου μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως ὀνομάζεται Σικελικόν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀπάντων μάλιστα τῶν προσοικούντων λυπηροὶ τοῖς Σικελοῖς. ἀνίσταται δὲ ἐκ τούτων τῶν διαφορῶν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὅλοις πόλεμος ὅσος οὐδεὶς τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ προῆλθεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου μηκυνόμενος.

ἔπειτα Πελασγῶν τινες τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Θετταλίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀναγκασθέντες [p. 27] ἐκλιπεῖν σύνοικοι γίνονται τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς. ἐδέξαντο δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀβοριγῖνες, ἴσως μὲν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὠφεληθήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα, ὥς δ' ἐγὼ ^[2] πείθομαι κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς μάλιστα. ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐχρήσατο δὲ τύχαις δυσπότμοις εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὴν πολὺπλανόν τε καὶ οὐδενὸς τόπου βέβαιον οἴκησιν, πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον νῦν Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος ὥκησαν αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγουσι. τὴν δὲ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην ἐπὶ τοῦ ^[3] Πελασγοῦ βασιλέως. ἦν δὲ ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐκ Διὸς, ὥς λέγεται, καὶ Νιόβης τῆς Φορωνέως, ἥ πρώτη γυναικὶ θνητῇ μίσηται ὁ Ζεὺς ὥς ὁ μῦθος ἔχει. ἔκτη δ' ὕστερον γενεᾷ Πελοπόννησον ἐκλιπόντες εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰμονίαν, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν ὀνομαζομένην μετανέστησαν· ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Φθίους καὶ Πελασγούς οἱ Λαρίσης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰμονίαν τοὺς τε κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ βαρβάρους ἐξελαύνουσι καὶ νέμονται τὴν χώραν τριχῇ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι ποιήσαντες ὁμωνύμους τὰς μοίρας, Φθιώτιν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Πελασγιώτιν. πάντε δὲ μείναντες αὐτόθι γενεάς, ἐν αἷς ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐτυχίας ἤλασαν τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ πεδίων καρποῦμενοι, περὶ τὴν ἔκτην γενεάν [p. 28] ἐξελαύνονται Θετταλίας ὑπὸ τε Κουρήτων καὶ Λελέγων, οἱ νῦν Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται, καὶ συχνῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκούντων, ἡγουμένου τῶν πολεμίων Δευκαλίωνος τοῦ Προμηθέως, μητρὸς δὲ Κλυμένης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ.

σκεδασθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων τινὰς κατέσχον, οἱ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν τε καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν, καλουμένην δὲ Ἑστιάωτιν ὥκισαν, ἄλλοι δὲ εἰς τε Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Εὐβοίαν διεκομίσθησαν· οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθέντες τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον παραλίου πολλὰ χωρία κατέσχον καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῇ νήσων ἄλλας τε συχνὰς καὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Λέσβον, ἀναμιχθέντες τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στέλλουσι τὴν πρώτην ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἄγοντος Μάκαρος τοῦ Κριάσου. ^[2] τὸ δὲ πλεῖον αὐτῶν μέρος διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τραπόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ κατοικοῦντας σφῶν συγγενεῖς, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἡξίου πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν ὥς ἱεροῖς, χρόνον μὲν τινα σύμμετρον αὐτόθι διέτριψαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ λυπηροὶ αὐτοῖς ὄντες ἡσθάνοντο οὐχ

ἱκανῆς οὔσης ἅπαντας τρέφειν τῆς γῆς, ἐκλείπουσι τὴν χώραν χρησμῷ πειθόμενοι κελεύοντι πλεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἣ τότε Σατορνία ἐλέγετο. [3] κατασκευασάμενοι δὲ ναῦς πολλὰς περαιοῦνται τὸν Ἴονιον, σπουδῇ μὲν ποιοῦμενοι τῶν [p. 29] ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄψασθαι χωρίων: ὑπὸ δὲ νοτίου πνεύματος καὶ ἀγνοίας τῶν τόπων μετεωρότεροι ἐνεχθέντες καὶ πρὸς ἐνὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάδου στομάτων ὀρμισάμενοι Σπινῆτι καλουμένῳ ναῦς μὲν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ καταλείπουσι καὶ τὸν ἥκιστα δυνάμενον ταλαιπωρεῖν ὄχλον, φυλακὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς καταστήσαντες, ὥς ἔχοιεν εἰ [4] μὴ προχωροίη σφίσι τὰ πράγματα καταφυγὴν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπομειναντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, τεῖχος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιβαλόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰσκομίσαντες τὰς εἰς τὸν βίον εὐπορίας, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐδόκει χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, πόλιν ἔκτισαν ὁμώνυμον τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ: εὐτύχησάν τε μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἴονιον οἰκούντων θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἄχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ δεκάτας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνήγον τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὠφελειῶν, [5] εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, λαμπροτάτας. ὕστερον μέντοι μεγάλῃ χειρὶ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐπιστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μετὰ χρόνον ἀνέστησαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Σπινῆτι καταλειφθὲν γένος τῶν Πελασγῶν οὕτως ἐφθάρη.

οἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τραπόμενοι, τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπερβαλόντες, εἰς τὴν Ὀμβρικῶν [p. 30] ἀφικνοῦνται χώραν τῶν ὁμορουντῶν Ἀβοριγῖσι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥκουν Ὀμβρικοί, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς πάνι μέγα τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐκράτουν οἱ Πελασγοὶ τῶν χωρίων ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἰδρῦσαντο καὶ πολισμάτια τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν κατελάβοντο τινα: συνελθόντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλου στρατοῦ δεῖσαντες τῶν πολέμιων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀπὸντες τρέπονται. [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀβοριγῖνες ἄτε πολέμοις ἐδικαίουν αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι καὶ συνήεσαν ἐκ τῶν ἔγγιστα χωρίων διὰ τάχους ὥς ἐξαναστήσαντες αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ (τυγχάνουσι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ δαίμονα περὶ Κοτυλίαν πόλιν Ἀβοριγίνων αὐλισάμενοι πλησίον τῆς ἱερᾶς λίμνης' ὥς δὲ τὴν τε νησίδα τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ περιδινουμένην κατέμαθον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὓς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔλαβον, ἤκουσαν τὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὄνομα τέλος ἔχειν σφίσι τὸ θεοπρόπιον ὑπέλαβον. [3] ὁ γὰρ ἐν Δωδώνῃ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς χρησμός, ὃν φησι Λεῦκιος Μάλλιος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσημος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τινος τῶν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διὸς κειμένων τριπόδων γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις ἐγκεχαραγμένον, ὡδὶ εἶχε:

στεῖχετε μαιόμενοι Σικελῶν Σατόρνιον αἶαν

ἢδ' Ἀβοριγινέων Κοτύλην, οὗ νᾶσος ὀχεῖται: [p. 31]

οἷς ἀναμιχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβω

καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα.

ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἱκετηρίας οἱ Πελασγοὶ προτείνοντες ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἄνοπλοι φράζοντές τε τὰς ἑαυτῶν τύχας καὶ δεόμενοι πρὸς φιλίαν δεξασθαι σφᾶς συνοίκους οὐ λυπηροὺς ἐσομένους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοὺς εἰς τήνδε μόνην ἄγει τὴν χώραν, ἐξηγούμενοι τὸ λόγιον. [2] τοῖς δὲ Ἀβοριγῖσι ταῦτα πυθομένοις ἐδόκει πείθεσθαι τῷ

θεοπροπίῳ καὶ λαβεῖν συμμαχίαν Ἑλληνικὴν κατὰ τῶν διαφόρων σφίσι βαρβάρων, πονουμένοις τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς πολέμῳ. σπένδονται τε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Πελασγοὺς καὶ διδῶσιν αὐτοῖς χωρία τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδοσάμενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν λίμνην, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδη, ἃ νῦν κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον Οὐέλια ὀνομάζεται. [3] σύνθηες γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλησιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ προτιθέναι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁπόσων αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπὸ φωνηέντων ἐγίνοντο, τὴν οὐ συλλαβὴν ἐνὶ στοιχείῳ γραφομένην. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὥσπερ γάμμα διτταῖς ἐπὶ μίαν ὀρθὴν ἐπιzeugνύμενον ταῖς πλαγίοις, ὡς φελένη καὶ [4] φάναξ καὶ φοῖκος καὶ φαῖρ καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔπειτα μοῖρᾱ τις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη, ὡς ἡ γῆ πᾶσιν οὐκ ἀπέχρη, πείσαντες τοὺς Ἀβοριγῖνας συνάρασθαι σφίσι [p. 32] τῆς ἐξόδου στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀμβρικοὺς καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην ἄφνω προσπεσόντες αἰροῦσι Κρότωνα: ταύτη φρουρίῳ καὶ ἐπιτείχισματι κατὰ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν χρώμενοι, κατεσκευασμένη τε ὡς ἔρυμα εἶναι πολέμου ἀποχρώντως καὶ χώραν ἐχοῦσιν τὴν περίεξ εὖβοτον, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐκράτησαν χωρίων τοῖς τε Ἀβοριγῖσι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς πόλεμον ἔτι συνεστῶτα πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ συνδιέφερον, ἕως ἐξήλασαν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας. [5] καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς, τὰς μὲν οἰκουμένας καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν, τὰς δ' αὐτοὶ κατασκευάσαντες, ὥκουν οἱ Πελασγοὶ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων, ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ τε Καιρητανῶν πόλις, Ἀγυλλα δὲ τότε καλουμένη, καὶ Πίσα καὶ Σατορνία καὶ Ἀλσιον καὶ ἄλλαι τινές, ἃς ἀνά χρόνον ὑπὸ Τυρρηγῶν ἀφῆρέθησαν.

Φαλέριον δὲ καὶ Φασκένιον ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἰκούμεναι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, μικρ' ἄττα διασώζουσαι ζώπυρα τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ γένους, Σικελῶν ὑπάρχουσαι πρότερον. ἐν ταύταις διέμεινε πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων διαιτημάτων, οἷς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ποτ' ἐχρήσατο, ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, οἷον ὃ τε τῶν ὄπλων τῶν πολεμιστηρίων κόσμος, ἀσπίδες Ἀργολικαὶ καὶ δόρατα, καὶ ὁπότε πολέμου ἄρχοντες ἢ τοὺς ἐπόντας ἀμυνόμενοι στρατὸν ὑπερόριον ἀποστέλλοιεν ἱεροὶ τινες ἄνδρες ἄνοπλοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἰόντες σπονδοφόροι, [p. 33] τῶν τε ἱερῶν αἱ κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν ἅγισμοί τε καὶ θυσίαι καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα: [2] πάντων δὲ περιφανέστατον μνημεῖον τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ ποτὲ οἰκήσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων οἱ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐξήλασαν, ὃ τῆς Ἥρας νεῶς ἐν Φαλερίῳ κατεσκευασμένος ὡς ἐν Ἀργεὶ, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν θυηπολιῶν ὁ τρόπος ὁμοίος ἦν καὶ γυναῖκες ἱερὰι θεραπεύουσαι τὸ τέμενος ἢ τε λεγομένη κανηφόρος ἀγνὴ γάμων παῖς καταρχομένη τῶν θυμάτων χοροὶ τε παρθένων ὕμνουσῶν τὴν θεὸν ὠδαῖς πατρίοις. [3] ἔσχον δὲ τινα καὶ οὗτοι τῶν καλουμένων Καμπανῶν εὐβότων πάνυ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡδίστων πεδίων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν, ἔθνος τι βαρβαρικὸν Αὐρωνίσσους ἐκ μέρους ἀναστήσαντες αὐτῶν: καὶ πόλεις αὐτόθι κατεσκεύασαν ἄλλας τε καὶ Λάρισαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως ὄνομα θέμενοι αὐτῇ. [4] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων πολισμάτων ἔστιν ἃ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ ὀρθὰ ἦν, διαμείψαντα πολλάκις τοὺς οἰκήτορας: ἡ δὲ Λάρισα ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρόνων ἐρημωθείσα οὐδ' εἰ πώποτε ὤκῃθη γνῶρισμα φανερόν οὐδὲν ἔχει τοῖς νῦν ὅτι μὴ τοῦνομα, καὶ

οὐδὲ τοῦτο πολλοὶ ἴσασιν· ἦν δὲ ἀγορᾶς Ποπλίας καλουμένης οὐ πρόσω. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῆς τε παραθαλαττίου καὶ ἐν τῇ μεσογειῷ χωρία κατέσχον ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Σικελούς. [p. 34]

οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ ὅυ γὰρ ἔτι ἀντέχουν οἷοι τε ἦσαν ὑπὸ τε Πελασγῶν καὶ Ἀβοριγίνων πολεμοῦμενοί τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἦν ἀνασκευασάμενοι μεθίενται αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς. τραπόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπὶ τὰ νότια καὶ διεξελθόντες ἅπασαν Ἰταλίαν τὴν κάτω, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνοντο, σὺν χρόνῳ κατασκευασάμενοι σχεδίας ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ καὶ φυλάξαντες κατιόντα τὸν ῥοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας διέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑγγιστα^[2] νῆσον. κατεῖχον δ' αὐτὴν Σικανοί, γένος Ἰβηρικόν, οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἐνοικισάμενοι Λίγυας φεύγοντες, καὶ παρεσκευάσαν ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν Σικανίαν κληθῆναι τὴν νῆσον, Τρινακρίαν πρότερον ὀνομαζομένην ἐπὶ τοῦ τριγώνου σχήματος. ἦσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτῇ οἰκῆτορες, ἀλλ' ἡ πλείων τῆς χώρας ἔτι ἦν ἔρημος. καταθέντες οὖν εἰς αὐτὴν Σικελοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσιν ὤκησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ τοῦνομα ἡ νῆσος ἐπὶ^[3] τούτων ἤρξατο Σικελία καλεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ Σικελικόν γένος οὕτως ἐξέλιπεν Ἰταλίαν, ὥς μὲν Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος φησι, τρίτῃ γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν Ἀλκυόνης ἱερωμένης ἐν Ἀργεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος. δύο δὲ ποιεῖ στόλους Ἰταλικούς διαβάντας εἰς Σικελίαν· τὸν μὲν πρότερον Ἑλύμων, οὗς [p. 35] φησιν ὑπ' Οἰνώτρων ἐξαναστῆναι, τὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτει πέμπτῳ γενόμενον Αὐσόνων Ἰάτυγας φευγόντων· βασιλέα δὲ τούτων ἀποφαίνει Σικελὸν, ἄφ' οὗ τοῦνομα τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ νήσῳ τεθῆναι.^[4] ὥς δὲ Φίλιστος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἔγραψε, χρόνος μὲν τῆς διαβάσεως ἦν ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν πρὸ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου, ἔθνος δὲ τὸ διακομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας οὔτε Σικελῶν οὔτε Αὐσόνων οὔτ' Ἑλύμων, ἀλλὰ Λιγύων, ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς Σικελοῦ· τοῦτον δ' εἶναι φησιν υἱὸν Ἰταλοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τούτου δυναστεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι Σικελούς·^[5] ἐξαναστῆναι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν τοὺς Λίγυας ὑπὸ τε Ὀμβρικῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος χρόνον μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ τῆς διαβάσεως, Σικελούς δὲ τοὺς μεταναστάντας ἀποφαίνει βιασθέντας ὑπὸ τε Οἰνώτρων καὶ Ὀπικῶν, Στράτωνα δ' ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας ποιησαμένους. Θουκυδίδης δὲ Σικελούς μὲν εἶναι γράφει τοὺς μεταναστάντας, Ὀπικοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας, τὸν δὲ χρόνον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Σικελῶν λεγόμενα τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μετενεγκαμένων τὴν οἰκῆσιν εἰς Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγου ἀξίων τοιάδε ἐστίν.

οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς χώρας [p. 36] κρατήσαντες, πόλεις τε πολλὰς μὲν παραλαβόντες, ἄλλας δ' αὐτοὶ κατασκευάσαντες, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβον εἰς εὐανδρίαν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐτυχίαν, ἥς οὐ πολὺν ὥναντο χρόνον· ἀλλ' ἡνίκα μάλιστα τοῖς σύμπασιν ἀνθεῖν ἐδόκουν, δαιμονίοις τισὶ χόλοις ἐλαστροθέντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θείων συμφορῶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐξεφθάρησαν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μέρος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον αὐθις ἐσκεδάσθη ἑπεὶ ὧν πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος, εἰ βουλοίμην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν γράφειν, ὀλίγον

δὲ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων προνοίᾳ. [2] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκοφθορίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐδόκει αὐχμῶ ἢ γῇ κακωθεῖσα ἄρξαι, ἡνίκα οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι καρπὸς οὐδεὶς ὥραϊος γενέσθαι διέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὦμοι κατέρρεον, οὐθ' ὅποσα σπερμάτων ἀνέντα βλαστοὺς ἀνθήσειεν ἔως στάχυος ἀκμῆς τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐξεπλήρου χρόνους, οὔτε πῶα κτήνεσιν ἐφύετο διαρκῆς, τῶν τε ναμάτων τὰ μὲν οὐκέτι πίνεσθαι σπουδαῖα ἦν, τὰ δ' ὑπελίμπανε θέρους, [3] τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος ἀπεσβέννυτο. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τοῦτοις ἐγένετο περὶ τε προβάτων καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς: ἡ γὰρ ἐξημβλοῦτο τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἡ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους διεφθείρετο ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τὰς φερούσας συνδιαλυμνόμενα. [p. 37] εἰ δέ τι διαφύγοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὠδίνων κίνδυνον ἔμπηρον ἢ ἀτελὲς ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ τύχην βλαφθὲν τρέφεσθαι χρηστὸν οὐκ ἦν: ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τὸ ἐν ἀκμῇ μάλιστα ἐκακοῦτο νόσοις καὶ θανάτοις παρὰ τὰ εἰκότα συχνοῖς. [4] μαντευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς τίνα θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε πάσχουσι καὶ τί ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς λωφῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ ἐλπίς, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν ὅτι τυχόντες ὧν ἐβούλοντο οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν ἃ εὔξαντο, ἀλλὰ προσοφείλουσι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια. [5] οἱ γὰρ Πελασγοὶ ἀφορίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης ἐν τῇ γῇ πάντων χρημάτων εὔξαντο τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Καβείροις καταθύσειν δεκάτας τῶν προσγεννησομένων ἀπάντων, τελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐξελόμενοι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀπάντων τὸ λάχος ἀπέθυσαν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὥς δὴ κατὰ τούτων μόνων εὔξάμενοι. ταῦτα δὴ Μυρσίλος ὁ Λέσβιος ἰστορήκεν ὀλίγου δεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γράφων οἷς ἐγὼ νῦν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐ Πελασγοὺς καλεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνοὺς: τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐρῶ.

ὥς δὲ ἀπενεχθέντα τὸν χρησμὸν ἔμαθον, οὐκ εἶχον τὰ λεγόμενα συμβαλεῖν. ἀμηχανοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν γεραιτέρων τις λέγει συμβαλὼν τὸ λόγιον, ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς ἡμαρτήκασιν, εἰ οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλεῖν. χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ ἀποδεδόσθαι τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἀπάσας ὀρθῶς τε καὶ σὺν δίκῃ, ἀνθρώπων δὲ γονῆς τὸ λάχος, χρήμα παντὸς [p. 38] μάλιστα θεοῖς τιμιώτατον, ὀφείλεσθαι: εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τούτων λάβοιεν τὴν δικαίαν μοῖραν, τέλος ἔξειν σφίσι τὸ λόγιον. [2] τοῖς μὲν δὴ ὀρθῶς ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι ταῦτα, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς συγκεῖσθαι ὁ λόγος: εἰσηγησαμένου δὲ τινος τὴν γνώμην, τὸν θεὸν ἐπερέσθαι, εἰ αὐτῷ φίλον ἀνθρώπων δεκάτας ἀπολαμβάνειν, πέμπουσι τὸ δεῦτερον θεοπρόπους, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλεν οὕτω ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου στάσις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνει περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς δεκατεύσεως. καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις οἱ προεστηκότες τῶν πόλεων τὸ πρῶτον ἐταράχθησαν: [3] ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος δι' ὑποψίας τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐλάμβανεν. ἐγένοντό τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ αἱ ἀπαναστάσεις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς οἴστρω καὶ θεοβλαβείᾳ ἀπελαννόμεναι, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφρόστια ὅλα ἐξηλείφθη μέρους αὐτῶν μεθισταμένου: οὐ γὰρ ἐδικαίουν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν ἀπολείπεσθαι τε τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐχθίοις ὑπομένειν. [4] πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι μεταναστάντες ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῆς βαρβάρου πολλὴν ἐπλανήθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους ἕτεροι ταῦτόν ἐπαθον, καὶ τοῦτο διετέλει γινόμενον ὁσέτη. οὐ γὰρ ἀνίεσαν οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ἀνδρουμένης αἰὲς νεότητος [p. 39]

ἐξαιρουμένοι τὰς ἀπαρχάς, τοῖς τε θεοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπουργεῖν ἀξιοῦντες καὶ στασιασμοὺς ἐκ τῶν διαλαθόντων δεδιότες. ἦν δὲ πολὺ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἔχθραν σὺν προφάσει εὐπρεπεῖ ἀπελαννόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων· ὥστε πολλαὶ αἱ ἀπαναστάσεις ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γῆς τὸ Πελασγικὸν γένος διεφρορήθη.

ἦσαν δὲ τὰ τε πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ κινδύνων πεποιοῖσθαι τὰς μελέτας ἐν ἔθνεσι φιλοπολέμοις ζῶντες πολλῶν ἀμείνους καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰ ναυτικὰ ἐπιστήμης διὰ τὴν μετὰ Τυρρηνῶν οἴκησιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλληλακότες· ἢ τε ἀνάγκη ἰκανὴ οὕσα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις βίου τόλμαν παρασχεῖν ἡγεμῶν τε καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ παντὸς κινδυνεύματος αὐτοῖς ἐγίνετο, ^[2] ὥστε οὐ χαλεπῶς ὅπη ἐπέλθοιεν ἐπεκράτουν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τῆς τε χώρας ἐπικλήσει ἀφ' ἧς ἐξανεστήσαν καὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένους μνήμη οἱ αὐτοὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελασγοί. ὦν ἐγὼ λόγον ἐποιήσαμην τοῦ μή τινα θαῦμα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὰν ποιητῶν ἢ συγγραφέων ἀκούῃ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ὀνομαζόντων, πῶς ἀμφοτέρως ἔσχον τὰς ἐπωνυμίας οἱ αὐτοί. ^[3] ἔχει γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἐναργῆ ἀκτῆς τῆς Θρακίας μνήμην καὶ [p. 40] τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένων πόλεων, ἃς οἰκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι διγλωττοί. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἔθνους ὅδε ὁ λόγος· ἔνι δὲ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικὸν τῶν καὶ Λημνὸν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας οἰκησάντων Τυρρηνῶν'. ^[4] Σοφοκλεῖ δ' ἐν Ἰνάχῳ δράματι ἀνάπαιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ λεγόμενον πεποιήται ὥδε:

Ἰναχε νῆατορ, παῖ τοῦ κρηνῶν
πατρὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, μέγα πρεσβεύων
Ἄργους τε γύαις Ἦρας τε πάγοις,
καὶ Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελασγοῖς.

^[5] Τυρρηνίας μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὄνομα τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ προσεσπέριος Ἰταλία τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαιρεθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἐπικλήσιν ἐκείνην ἐλάμβανεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄλλη τε πολλαχθὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην νῦν Πελοπόννησον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἐθνῶν, τοῦ Ἀχαικοῦ, καὶ ἡ σύμπασα χερρόνησος, ἐν ἧ καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἴωνικὸν καὶ ἄλλα συχνὰ ἔθην ἐνεσπιν, Ἀχαιᾶ ὠνομάσθη. [p. 41]

ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ Πελασγικὸν κακοῦσθαι ἤρξατο, δευτέρα γενεὰ σχεδὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐγένετο· διέτεινε δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, ἕως εἰς ἐλάχιστον συνεστάλη τὸ ἔθνος. ἔξω γὰρ Κρότωνος τῆς ἐν Ὀμβρικοῖς πόλεως ἀξιολόγου, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐν τῇ Ἀβοριγίνων οἰκισθὲν ἐτύγχανε, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Πελασγῶν διεφθάρη πολίσματα. ἡ δὲ Κρότων ἄχρι πολλοῦ διαφυλάξασα τὸ παλαιὸν σχῆμα χρόνος οὐ πολὺς ἐξ οὗ τὴν τε ὀνομασίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἥλλαξε· καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικία, καλεῖται δὲ ^[2] Κορθωνία. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τὴν χώραν Πελασγῶν κατασχόντες τὰς πόλεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς ἕκαστοί πρὸς ἑταίρους ὁμοτέρμονας τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πλείστας τε καὶ ἀρίστας Τυρρηνοί. τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνοὺς οἱ μὲν αὐτόχθονας Ἰταλίας ἀποφαινοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἡλυσδας· καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῖς ταύτην οἱ μὲν αὐθιγενεὺς τὸ ἔθνος

ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἃ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆδε οἰκούντων κατεσκεύασαντο, τεθῆναι λέγουσι: τύρσεις γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς αἱ ἐντεῖχιοι καὶ στεγαναὶ οἰκῆσεις ὀνομάζονται ὥσπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν. ἀπὸ δὴ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσι τεθῆναι τοῦνομα, ὥς περ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Μοσυνοῖκοις: οἰκοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ κάκεῖνοι ἐπὶ ξυλίνοις ὥσπερ ἀνὰ πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς σταυρώμασι, μόσυνας αὐτὰ καλοῦντες. [p. 42]

οἱ δὲ μετανάστας μυθολογοῦντες αὐτοὺς εἶναι Τυρρηνὸν ἀποφαινοῦσιν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας γενόμενον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ θέσθαι τῷ ἔθνει τοῦνομα: τοῦτον δὲ Λυδὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς πρότερον Μηονίας καλουμένης, παλαιὸν δὴ τινα μετανάστην ὄντα: εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν πέμπτον ἀπὸ Διὸς, λέγοντες ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Γῆς Μάνην γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλέα: τοῦτου δὲ καὶ Καλλιρόης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς γεννηθῆναι Κότυν: τῷ δὲ Κότυϊ γῆμαντι θυγατέρα Τύλλου τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἀλὶν δύο γενέσθαι παῖδας Ἀσίην καὶ Ἄτυν: [2] ἐκ δὲ Ἄτυος καὶ Καλλιθέας τῆς Χωραίου Λυδὸν φῦναι καὶ Τυρρηνόν: καὶ τὸν μὲν Λυδὸν αὐτοῦ καταμεῖναντα τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λυδίαν τὴν γῆν ὀνομασθῆναι: Τυρρηνὸν δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγησάμενον πολλὴν κτήσασθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῖς συναραμένοις τοῦ στόλου ταύτην θέσθαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. [3] Ἡροδότῳ δὲ εἴρηνται Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω παῖδες οἱ περὶ Τυρρηνὸν, καὶ ἡ μετανάστασις τῶν Μηόνων εἰς Ἰταλίαν οὐχ ἐκούσιος. φησὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄτυος ἀρχῆς ἀφορίαν καρπῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ Μηόνων γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τέως μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοχωρίας κρατούμενους πολλὰ διαμηχανήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν [p. 43] ἀλεξητήρια, τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν μέτρια σιτία προσφερομένους, τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ διακατεροῦντας: χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ δεινοῦ διανείμαντας ἅπαντα τὸν δῆμον διχῇ κλήρους ταῖς μοίραις ἐπιβαλεῖν: τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς χώρας, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ μονῇ, καὶ τῶν Ἄτυος παιδῶν τὸν μὲν τῇ προσνεῖμαι, τὸν δὲ τῇ. [4] λαχούσης δὲ τῆς ἅμα Λυδῷ μοίρας τὴν τοῦ μεῖναι τύχην, ἐκχωρήσαι τὴν ἑτέραν ἀπολαχοῦσαν τῶν χρημάτων τὰ μέρη, ὀρμισαμένην δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἔνθα ἦν Ὀμβρικοῖς ἢ οἰκησις, αὐτοῦ καταμεῖναςαν ἰδρύσασθαι πόλεις τὰς ἔτι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον οὔσας.

τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους συγγραφεῖς περὶ τοῦ Τυρρηνῶν γένους χρησαμένους ἐπίσταμαι, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ ταῦτά, τοὺς δὲ μεταθέντας τὸν οἰκισμὸν καὶ τὸν χρόνον. Ἐλεξαν γὰρ δὴ τινες Ἡρακλέους υἱὸν εἶναι τὸν Τυρρηνὸν ἐξ Ὀμφάλης τῆς Λυδῆς γενόμενον: τοῦτον δ' ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οὐχ ἀπασῶν, ἀλλ' ὅσαι πέραν ἦσαν τοῦ Τεβέριος ἐν τῷ βορείῳ μέρει. ἕτεροι δὲ Τηλέφου παῖδα τὸν Τυρρηνὸν ἀποφαινοῦσιν, ἐλθεῖν δὲ μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. [2] Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος [p. 44] ἔμπειρος ὢν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτῆς ἂν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθεῖς, οὔτε Τυρρηνὸν ὠνόμακεν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς δυνάστην Λυδῶν οὔτε ἀποικίαν Μηόνων εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατασχοῦσαν ἐπίσταται Τυρρηνίας τε μνήμην ὡς Λυδῶν ἀποκτίσεως ταπεινοτέρων ἄλλων μεμνημένος οὐδεμίαν πεποιῆται: Ἄτυος δὲ παῖδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρηβον, τοὺτους δὲ μερισμένους τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέρους: καὶ τοῖς

ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἦρξαν ἐπ' ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε: ἅπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ, ἀπὸ Τορήβου δὲ Τόρηβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι σιλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἰωνες καὶ ^[3] Δωριεῖς. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος τοῦς Τυρρηνοὺς φησι Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένους, ἐπειδὴ κατώκησαν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, παραλαβεῖν ἦν νῦν ἔχουσι προσηγορίαν. ἔχει δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Φορωνίδι ὁ λόγος ὧδε: τοῦ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτῶν καὶ Μενίπτης τῆς Πηνιεοῦ ἐγένετο Φράστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ, τοῦ δὲ Τευταμίδης, τοῦ δὲ Νάνας. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντες οἱ Πελασγοὶ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ Σπινῆτι ποταμῷ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ τὰς νῆας καταλιπόντες [p. 45] Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσογείῳ εἶλον καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν νῦν καλομένην Τυρρηνίην ἔκτισαν'. ^[4] Μυρσίλος δὲ τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἀποφαινόμενος Ἑλλανικῶς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς φησιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλιπον, ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ μετονομασθῆναι Πελαργοὺς, τῶν ὀρνέων τοῖς καλουμένοις πελαργοῖς εἰκασθέντας, ὡς κατ' ἀγέλας ἐφοίτων εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον: καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τὸ Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον, τούτους περιβαλεῖν.

ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες ἀμαρτάνειν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος εἶναι τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν καὶ τὸ Πελασγικόν. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὀνομασίας ἀπολαῦσαι ποτε αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀλλήλων οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλα δὴ τινα ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλήνων, τὰ δὲ βαρβάρων, ταῦτόν ἔπαθεν, ὥσπερ τὸ Τρωικὸν καὶ τὸ Φρυγικὸν ἀγχοῦ οἰκοῦντα ἀλλήλων: πολλοῖς γέ τοι γένος ἐν ἄμφω ταῦτ' ἐνομίσθη, κλήσει διαλλάττον οὐ φύσει καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἄλλοθι που συνωνυμίας ἐπικερασθέντων καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ^[2] ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπαθεν. ἦν γὰρ δὴ χρόνος ὅτε καὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ Αὔσονες καὶ συχνοὶ ἄλλοι Τυρρηνοὶ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλέγοντο, τῆς διὰ μακροῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν οἰκήσεως ἀσαφῆ ποιούσης τοῖς πρόσω τὴν ἀκρίβειαν: τὴν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων [p. 46] Τυρρηνίδα πόλιν εἶναι ὑπέλαβον. ὀνομάτων μὲν οὖν ἐναλλαγὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ βίων, πείθομαι τοῖς ἔθνεσι γενέσθαι: κοινοῦ δὲ ἄμφω μετεिल्φέναι γένους οὐ πείθομαι, πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς φωναῖς αὐτῶν διηλλαγμέναις καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὁμοιότητα σωζούσαις τεκμαιρόμενος. ^[3] καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε Κροτωνιῆταί ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος 'οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶν ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε Πλακιηνοὶ, σφίσι δ' ὁμόγλωσσοι. δηλοῦσι δὲ ὅτι, τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτηῖρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσιν ἐν φυλακῇ. καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, εἰ Πλακιανοῖς μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσιν ὁμοίαν διάλεκτον εἶχον οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται, ἐπειδὴ Πελασγοὶ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέρω ἀρχῇθεν, Τυρρηνοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἔγγιστα οἰκοῦσι μηδὲν ὁμοίαν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς ὁμοφωνίας αἴτιον ὑποληπτέον, θάτερον δὴ που τῆς διαφωνίας: ^[4] οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγχωρεῖ νομίζειν τὰμφοτέρα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον καὶ λόγον τιν' ἂν εἶχε γενόμενον, τὸ δὴ τοὺς πρόσω τὰς οἰκήσεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ποιησαμένους ὁμοεθνεῖς μηκέτι διασώζειν τὸν αὐτόν τῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτηῖρα διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πέλας ὁμιλίας: τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκοῦντας χωρίοις μηδ' ὅτιοῦν κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν

ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογεῖν ἐκ ταύτου τοῦ φύντας γένους οὐδένα λόγον ἔχει. [p. 47]

τοῦτῳ μὲν διὴ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενος ἑτέρους εἶναι πείθομαι τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τοὺς Πελασγούς. οὐ μὲν διὴ οὐδὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἀποίκους οἶμαι γενέσθαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁμόγλωσσοι εἰσιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς φωνῇ μὲν οὐκέτι χρῶνται παραπλησίᾳ, ἄλλα δὲ τινα διασώζουσι τῆς μητροπόλεως γῆς μηνύματα. οὔτε γὰρ θεοὺς Λυδοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν οὔτε νόμοις οὐτ' ἐπιτηδεύμασι κέχρηνται παραπλησίοις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γε ταῦτα πλέον Λυδῶν διαφέρουσιν ἢ Πελασγῶν. [2] κινδυνεύουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀληθέσι μᾶλλον εἰκότα λέγειν οἱ μηδαμόθεν ἀφιγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀρχαῖον τε πάνυ καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ γένει οὔτε ὁμόγλωσσον οὔτε ὁμοδιαιτον ὄν εὐρίσκεται. ὠνομάσθαι δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ οὐδὲν κωλύει, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς τύρσεσιν οἰκήσεις καὶ [3] ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου. Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι ἄλλαις αὐτὸ προσαγορεύουσιν ὀνομασίαις: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, ἐν ἣ ποτε ὤκησαν, Ἐτρουρίας προσαγορευομένης Ἐτρούσκους καλοῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβάσματα λειτουργιῶν, διαφέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν ἑτέρων, νῦν μὲν Τοῦσκους ἀσαφέστερον, [p. 48] πρότερον δ' ἀκριβοῦντες τοῦνομα ὥσπερ Ἑλληνες Θυοσκόους ἐκάλουν: αὐτοὶ μέντοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὸς Ῥασέννα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ [4] τρόπον ὀνομάζουσι. πόλεις δὲ ἄστινας ὤκισαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, καὶ πολιτευμάτων οὐς 2 πινὰς κατεστήσαντο κόσμους, δυνάμιν τε ὁπόσῃν οἱ σύμπαντες καὶ ἔργα εἴ τινα μνήμης ἄξια διεπράξαντο, τύχαις τε ὁποῖαις ἐχρήσαντο, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δηλωθήσεται λόγῳ. [5] τὸ δ' οὖν Πελασγικὸν φύλον, ὅσον μὴ διεφθάρη τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας διεσπάρσθη, διέμεινε δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ πολλοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων πολιτευόμενον ἐν τούτοις ὑπελείφθη τοῖς χωρίοις, ὅπου σὺν χρόνῳ τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ ἔκγονοι αὐτῶν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπολίσαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ γένους μυθολογούμενα τοιαῦδε ἐστί.

μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον στόλος ἄλλος Ἑλληνικὸς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας κατὰγεται, ἐξηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ Παλλαντίου πόλεως Ἀρκαδικῆς ἀναστάς. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Εὐάνδρος Ἐρμοῦ λεγόμενος καὶ νύμφης τινὸς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχωρίας, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες Θέμιν εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ θεοφόρητον ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συγγράψαντες [p. 49] ἀρχαιολογίας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ Καρμέντην ὀνομάζουσιν: εἴη δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ Θεσπιωδὸς τῇ νύμφῃ τοῦνομα: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὠδὰς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κάρμινα, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ταύτην ὁμολογοῦσι δαιμονίῳ πνεύματι κατάσχετον γενομένην τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν τῷ πλήθει δι' ὠδῆς προλέγειν. [2] ὁ δὲ στόλος οὗτος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἐπέμφθη, ἀλλὰ στασιάσαντος τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἐλαττωθὲν μέρος ἐκούσιον ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τότε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων παρειληφὼς Φαῦνος, Ἄρεος ὡς φασιν ἀπόγονος, ἀνὴρ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου καὶ συνετὸς, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δαιμόνων θυσίαις καὶ ὠδαῖς γεραίρουσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δεξιόμενος κατὰ πολλὴν φιλότητα τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὀλίγους ὄντας, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ὁπόσῃν ἐβούλοντο. [3] οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ὡς ἡ Θέμις αὐτοῖς

ἐπιθειάζουσα ἔφραζεν, αἰροῦνται λόφον ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντα τοῦ Τεβέριου, ὃς ἐστὶ νῦν ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, καὶ κατασκευάζονται πρὸς αὐτῷ κώμην βραχεῖαν, δυσὶ ναυτικοῖς πληρώμασιν ἐν οἷς ἀπανέστησαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποχρῶσαν, ἣν ἔμελλε τὸ πεπρωμένον σὺν χρόνῳ θήσειν ὅσπιν οὐθ' Ἑλλάδα πόλιν οὔτε βάρβαρον κατὰ τε οἰκήσεως μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ δυναστείας ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν εὐτυχίαν, [p. 50] χρόνον τε ὁπόσον ἂν ὁ θνητός αἰὼν ἀντέχῃ ^[4] πόλεων μάλιστα πασῶν μνημονευθησομένην. ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πολισμάτι τούτῳ τίθενται Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως· νῦν μέντοι Παλάτιον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λέγεται συγχέαντος τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ παρέχει πολλοῖς ἀτόπων ἐτυμολογιῶν ἀφορμὰς:

ὧς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἐπὶ τινος μεираκίου Πάλλαντος αὐτόθι τελευτήσαντος· τοῦτον δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι παῖδα καὶ Λαύνας τῆς Εὐάνδρου θυγατρὸς· χῶσαντα δ' αὐτῷ τὸν μητροπάτορα τάφον ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μεираκίου τὸν τόπον ὀνομάσαι. ^[2] ἐγὼ μέντοι οὔτε τάφον ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πάλλαντος οὔτε χοὰς ἔμαθον ἐπιτελουμένας οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων οὐδὲν ἡδυνήθην ἰδεῖν, καίτοι γε οὐκ ἀμνήστου τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἀφειμένης οὐδ' ἄμοιρου τιμῶν αἷς τὸ δαιμόνιον γένος ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων γεραίρεται. καὶ γὰρ Εὐάνδρῳ θυσίας ἔμαθον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτελουμένας ὁσέτη δημοσίᾳ καὶ Καρμέντῃ, καθάπερ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἥρωσι καὶ δαίμοσι, καὶ βωμοὺς ἐθεασάμην ἰδρυμένους, Καρμέντῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ ταῖς Καρμεντίσι πύλαις, Εὐάνδρῳ δὲ πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τῶν λόφων Αὐεντίνῳ λεγομένῳ τῆς Τριδύμου πύλης οὐ πρόσω· Πάλλαντι δὲ ^[3] οὐδὲν οἶδα τούτων γινόμενον. οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀρκάδες [p. 51] ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ συνοικισθέντες τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμουσαν τὸ κτίσμα τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἱερὰ ἰδρύνονται, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανὶ τῆς Θέμιδος ἐξηγουμένης Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατός τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Πάν' χωρίον ἐξευρόντες ἐπιτήδειον, ὃ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λουπερκάλιον, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εἴποιμεν Λύκαιον. ^[4] νῦν μὲν οὖν συμπεπολισμένων τῷ τεμένει τῶν πέριξ χωρίων δυσεῖκαστος γέγονεν ἡ παλαιὰ τοῦ τόπου φύσις, ἣν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὧς λέγεται σπήλαιον ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ μέγα, δρυμῶ λασίῳ κατηρεφές, καὶ κρηνίδες ὑπὸ ταῖς πέτραις ἐμβύθιοι, ἣ τε προσεχῆς τῷ κρημνῷ νάπη πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις δένδρεσιν ἐπίσκιος. ^[5] ἔνθα βωμὸν ἰδρυσάμενοι τῷ θεῷ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσαν, ἣν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου Ῥωμαῖοι θύουσιν ἐν μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ μετὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς, οὐδὲν τῶν τότε γενομένων μετακινούντες· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θυσίας ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα λεχθήσεται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες θυσίας καὶ ταύτῃ κατεστήσαντο διετησίους, αἷς καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθουν.

ταύτην δὲ Ἀρκάδες μυθολογοῦσι Πάλλαντος εἶναι θυγατέρα τοῦ Λυκάονος· τιμὰς δὲ παρ' ἀνθρώπων αἷς ἔχει νῦν Ἀθηναῖς βουλήσει λαβεῖν, γενομένην τῆς θεοῦ σὺντροφον. δοθῆναι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γονῆς τὴν Ἀθηναῖν Πάλλαντι ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τέως εἰς ὥραν ἀφίκετο τραφῆναι. ἰδρύναντο [p. 52] δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῇ διὰ γυναικῶν

τε καὶ νηφαλίους ἔθυσαν, ὡς Ἑλλησι νόμος, ^[2] ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἥλλαξε χρόνος. ἀπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τέμενος Ἰππίῳ καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ἱπποκράτεια μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων, Κωνσουλία δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λεγόμενα κατεστήσαντο, ἐν ἧ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἔθους ἐλινύουσιν ἔργων ἵπποι καὶ ὀρεῖς καὶ στέφονται τὰς κεφαλὰς ἄνθεσι. ^[3] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ βρέτη θεῶν καθωσίωσαν, ἀγισμοὺς τε καὶ θυσίας κατεστήσαντο πατρίους, αἱ μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων τὸν αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο τρόπον. οὐ θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν εἰ καὶ παρῇνται τινες διαφυγοῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἐπιγινόμενων μνήμην ὑπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου: ἀλλ' ἀποχρῶσι γε αἱ νῦν ἔτι γινόμεναι τεκμήρια εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν ποτε νομίμων: λεχθήσεται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλείον ἐν ἑτέροις. ^[4] λέγονται δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν χρῆσιν εἰς Ἱταλίαν πρῶτοι διακομίσαι νεωστὶ φανεῖσαν Ἀρκάδες καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν δι' ὀργάνων, ἃ δὴ λύραι τε καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ αὐλοὶ καλοῦνται, τῶν προτέρων ὅτι μὴ σύριγξι ποιμενικαῖς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μουσικῆς τεχνήματι χρωμένων, νόμους τε θέσθαι καὶ τὴν δίκαιαν ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους ἐπὶ πλείστον εἰς ἡμερότητα μεταγαγεῖν τέχνας τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τινα ὠφελήματα εἰς τὸ [p. 53] κοινὸν καταθεῖναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνειν πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων. τοῦτο δεῦτερον ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν μετὰ Πελασγοὺς ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ἱταλίαν κοινὴν ἔσχε μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων οἴκησιν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἰδρυσάμενον χωρίῳ. ^[5]

ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσι μετὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἄλλος εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἀφικνεῖται στόλος Ἑλληνικὸς ἄγοντος Ἡρακλέους, ὃς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου πάντα χειρωσάμενος ἦκεν. ἐξ ὧν τινες Ἡρακλέα παραιτησάμενοι τῆς πραγματείας ἀφεθῆναι, περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὑπέμειναν καὶ πολίζονται λόφον ἐπιτήδειον εὐρόντες, τρισταδίῳ δὲ μάλιστα μήκει τοῦ Παλλαντίου διειργόμενον, ὃς νῦν μὲν Καπιτωλίνος ὀνομάζεται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων Σατόρνιος ἐλέγετο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴποι τις Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ Κρόνιος. ^[2] τῶν δὲ ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν Πελοποννήσιοι, Φεναῖται τε καὶ Ἐπειοὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἡλίδος, οἷς οὐκέτι πόθος ἦν τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ διαπεπορθημένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἡρακλέα πολέμῳ, ἐμέμικτο δὲ τι καὶ Τρωικὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντος αἰχμαλώτων ἐξ Ἰλίου γενομένων ὅτε τῆς πόλεως Ἡρακλῆς ἐκράτησε. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ πᾶν, εἴ τι καματηρὸν ἢ τῇ πλάνῃ ἀχθόμενον ἦν, ἄφεςιν τῆς στρατείας αἰτησάμενον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ^[3] τῷδε ὑπομεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ λόφῳ τινὲς μὲν [p. 54] ὥσπερ ἔφην ἀρχαῖον οἶοντα εἶναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς οὐχ ἡκιστα φιλοχωρῆσαι τῷ λόφῳ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν Ἡλίδι Κρονίου λόφου, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Πισάπιδι γῇ ποταμοῦ πλησίον Ἀλφειοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νομίζοντες Ἠλεῖοι θυσίαις καὶ ἄλλαις τιμαῖς συνιόντες γεραίρουσιν ἐν ὠρισμένοις χρόνοις. ^[4] Εὐξενος δὲ ποιητῆς ἀρχαῖος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἱταλικῶν μυθογράφων ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἶονται Πισατῶν διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι Κρονίου τεθῆναι τῷ τόπῳ τοῦνομα, καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς ἰδρῦσασθαι μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῇ ῥίξει τοῦ λόφου κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, τὴν τε θυσίαν, ἣν καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθυσαν

φυλάττοντες τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον, ἐκείνους εἶναι τοὺς καταστησασμένους. [5] ὡς δ' ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὕρισκω, καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλέα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἱερὸς ἦν ὁ τόπος τοῦ Κρόνου καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Σατόρνιος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ ἀκτὴ σύμπασα ἡ νῦν Ἰταλία καλουμένη τῷ θεῷ τοῦτω ἀνέκειτο, Σατορνία πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων ὀνομαζομένη, ὡς ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν τε Σιβυλλεῖσις τισὶ λογιῶσι καὶ ἄλλοις χρηστηρίοις ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δεδομένοις εἰρημένον, ἱερὰ τε πολλαχῇ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν ἰδρυμένα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πόλεις τινὲς οὕτως ὥστε ἡ σύμπασα τότε ἀκτὴ ὀνομαζόμενα χῶροί τε [p. 55] πολλοὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπώνυμοι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ σκόπελοι καὶ τὰ μετέωρα:

Ἰταλία δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὠνομάσθη ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου ὀνομα Ἰταλοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἀγαθὸν καὶ σοφὸν γεγεννημένον καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τοὺς μὲν λόγοις ἀναπειθόντα, τοὺς δὲ βίᾳ προσαγόμενον, ἅπασαν ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν γῆν ὅση ἐντὸς ἦν τῶν κόλπων τοῦ τε Ναπητίνου καὶ τοῦ Σκυλλητίνου: ἦν δὴ πρώτην κληθῆναι Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης καρτερὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς εἶχεν ὑπηκόους αὐτῷ, αὐτίκα τῶν ἐχομένων ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ πόλεις συνάγεσθαι πολλάς: εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν Οἰνωτρον τὸ γένος. [2] Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος φησὶν Ἡρακλέα τὰς Γηρυόνης βοῦς ἀπελαύνοντα εἰς Ἄργος, ἐπειδὴ τις αὐτῷ δάμαλις ἀποσκιρτήσας τῆς ἀγέλης ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐόντι ἤδη φεύγων διῆρε τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ διανηξάμενος πόρον τῆς θαλάττης εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐρόμενον αἰεὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθ' οὓς ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο διώκων τὸν δάμαλιν, εἴ πη τις αὐτὸν ἐωρακῶς εἶη, τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων Ἑλλάδος μὲν γλώττης ὀλίγα συνιέντων, τῇ δὲ πατρίῳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὰς μηνύσεις τοῦ ζῶου καλούντων τὸν δάμαλιν οὐίτουλον, ὥστε καὶ νῦν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῶου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι [p. 56] [3] πᾶσαν ὅσιν ὁ δάμαλις διῆλθεν Οὐίτουλιαν. μεταπεσεῖν δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἰς τὸ νῦν σχῆμα οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πολλὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον πέπονθεν ὀνομάτων. πλὴν εἴτε ὡς Ἀντίοχος φησὶν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμόνος, ὅπερ ἴσως καὶ πιθανώτερόν ἐστιν, εἴθ' ὡς Ἑλλάνικος οἶεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύρου τὴν ὀνομασίαν ταύτην ἔσχεν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δῆλον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἡλικίαν ἢ μικρῷ πρόσθεν οὕτως ὠνομάσθη. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων Ἑλλήνες μὲν Ἑσπερίαν καὶ Αὐσονίαν αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δ' ἐπιχωριοὶ Σατορνίαν, ὡς εἰρηται μοι πρότερον.

ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἕτερος λόγος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μυθολογούμενος, ὡς πρὸ τῆς Διὸς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κρόνος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ δυναστεύσειε, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπ' ἐκείνου βίος ἅπασι δασιλῆς ὁπόσοις ὦραι φύουσιν οὐ παρ' ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ σφίσι γένοιτο. [2] καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλως ἀφελῶν τὸ μυθῶδες τοῦ λόγου χώρας ἀρετὴν ἐξετάζειν ἐθέλησειεν, ἐξ ἧς γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπων πλειστάς εὐφροσύνας ἐκαρπώσατο γενόμενον εὐθὺς εἴτ' ἐκ γῆς ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς ἔχει λόγος, εἴτ' ἄλλως πως, οὐκ ἂν εὖροι ταύτης τινὰ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν. ὡς γὰρ μία γῆ πρὸς ἑτέραν κρίνεσθαι τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος, οὐ μόνον τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης κρατίστη κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν ἐστὶν Ἰταλία. [3] καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι πολλοῖς οὐ πιστὰ δόξα λέγειν, ἐνθυμούμενοις Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἄλλοι χῶροί εἰσιν

εὐδαίμονες· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸν [p. 57] ἐκ γῆς πλοῦτον οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ τίθεμαι καρπῶν ἰδέα οὐδ' εἰσέρχεται με ζῆλος οἰκίσεως, ἐν ᾗ μόνον εἰσὶν ἄρουραι πίονες, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἢ βραχὺ τι χρησίμων, ἀλλ' ἥτις ἂν εἴη πολυαρκεστάτη τε καὶ τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐλάχιστον δεομένη, ταύτην κρατίστην εἶναι λογιζομαι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ παμφόρον καὶ πολυωφελὲς παρ' ἡντινοῦν ἄλλην γῆν Ἰταλίαν ἔχειν πείθομαι.

οὐ γὰρ ἀρούρας μὲν ἀγαθὰς ἔχει καὶ πολλάς, ἄδενδρος δ' ἐστὶν ὡς σιτοφόρος· οὐδ' αὖ φυτὰ μὲν ἱκανὴ παντοῖα θρέψασθαι, σπεῖρεσθαι δ' ὡς δενδρῖτις ὀλιγόκαρπος· οὐδ' ἄμφω μὲν ταῦτα παρέχειν δαφιλῆς, προβατεῦεσθαι δ' ἀνεπιτήδειος· οὐδ' ἂν τις αὐτὴν φαίη πολύκαρπον μὲν εἶναι καὶ πολύδενδρον καὶ πολύβοτον, ἐνδιαίτημα δ' ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχειν ἄχαρι· ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ [2] ὠφελείας ἔκπλεως. ποίας μὲν γὰρ λείπεται σιτοφόρου μὴ ποταμοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς οὐρανίοις ὕδασιν ἀρδομένης τὰ καλούμενα Καμπανῶν πεδία, ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ καὶ τρικάρπους ἐθεασάμην ἀρούρας θερινὸν ἐπὶ χειμερινῷ καὶ μετοπωρινὸν ἐπὶ θερινῷ σπόρον ἐκφερούσας· ποίας δ' ἐλαιοφόρου τὰ Μεσσαπίων καὶ Δαυνίων καὶ Σαβίνων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων γεώργια· ποίας δ' οἰνοφύτου Τυρρηνία καὶ Ἀλβανὴ καὶ τὰ Φαλερινῶν χωρία θαυμαστῶς [p. 58] ὡς φιλάμπελα καὶ δι' ἐλάχιστου πόνου πλείστους ἅμα καὶ κρατίστους καρποὺς ἐξευγκεῖν εὐπορα· [3] χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἐνεργοῦ πολλὴν μὲν ἂν τις εὖροι τὴν εἰς ποιμένας ἀναιμένην αὐτῆς, πολλὴν δὲ τὴν αἰγινόμον, ἔτι δὲ πλείω καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν τὴν ἵπποφορβὸν τε καὶ βουκολίδα· ἡ γὰρ ἔλειος καὶ λειμωνία βοτάνῃ δαφιλῆς οὔσα τῶν τε ὀργάδων ἢ δροσερὰ καὶ κατάρρυστος ἄπειρος ὅση θέρει νέμεται καὶ παρέχει διὰ παντὸς εὐθenoύσας τὰς ἀγέλας. [4] πάντων δ' εἰσὶν οἱ δρυμοὶ θαυμασιώτατοι περὶ τε τὰ κρημνώδη χωρία καὶ τὰς νάπας καὶ τοὺς ἀγεωργήτους λόφους, ἐξ ὧν πολλῆς μὲν εὐποροῦσι καὶ καλῆς ὕλης ναυπηγησίμου, πολλῆς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐργασίας εὐθέτου. καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν οὔτε δυσπόριστόν ἐστιν οὔτε πρόσω τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης χρείας κείμενον, ἀλλ' εὐκατέργαστα καὶ ῥάδια παρεῖναι πάντα διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ποταμῶν, οἱ διαρρέουσιν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ ποιοῦσι τὰς τε κομιδὰς καὶ τὰς ἀμείψεις τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων λυσιτελεῖς. [5] ἔχει δὲ ἡ γῆ καὶ νάματα θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐν πολλοῖς εὐρημένα χωρίοις, λουτρὰ παρασχεῖν ἥδιστα καὶ νόσους ἰάσασθαι χρονίους ἄριστα, καὶ μέταλλα παντοδαπὰ καὶ θηρίων ἄγρας ἀφθόνους καὶ θαλάττης φύσιν πολύγονον ἄλλα τε μυρία, τὰ μὲν [p. 59] εὐχρηστα, τὰ δὲ θαυμάσια, πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, ἀέρα κεκραμένον ταῖς ὥραις συμμέτρως, οἷον ἥκιστα πημαίνειν κρυμῶν ὑπερβολαῖς ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐξαισίοις καρπῶν τε γένεσιν καὶ ζώων φύσιν.

οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἱερὰν ὑπολαβεῖν τοῦ Κρόνου τὴν χώραν ταύτην, τὸν μὲν δαίμονα τοῦτον οἰομένους εἶναι πάσης εὐδαιμονίας δοτῆρα καὶ πληρωτὴν ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε Κρόνον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ὡς Ἑλληνες ἀξιοῦσιν, εἴτε Σάτουρνον, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν δὲ περιειληφότα τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν, ὅποτέρως ἂν τις ὀνομάσῃ· τὴν δὲ χώραν ταύτην ὀρῶντας ἔκπλεω πάσης εὐπορίας καὶ χάριτος, ἥς τὸ θνητὸν ἐφίεται γένος, ἀξιοῦντας δὲ καὶ θεῖω καὶ θνητῷ γένει τὸ πρόσφορον εἶναι πάντων χωρίων

ἄρμοδιώτατον, ὄρη μὲν καὶ νάπας Πανί, λειμῶνας δὲ καὶ τεθηλότα χωρία
 νύμφαις, ἄκτας δὲ καὶ νήσους πελαγίοις δαίμοσι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὡς ἐκάστῳ
 [2] τι θεῷ καὶ δαίμονι οἰκεῖον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ
 Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιοὺς, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέως ἢ πόλις διέμεινε καὶ παρὰ
 Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐθνῶν
 ἀνδροφόνους, Ἡρακλέα δὲ παῦσαι [p. 60] τὸν νόμον τῆς θυσίας βουλευθέντα
 τὸν τε βωμὸν ἰδρῦσασθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σατουρνίῳ καὶ κατάρξασθαι θυμάτων
 ἀγνῶν ἐπὶ καθαρῷ πυρὶ ἀγίζομένων, ἵνα δὲ μηδὲν εἴη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 ἐνθύμιον, ὡς πατρίων ἡλογηκόσι θυσιῶν, διδάξαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους
 ἀπομειλιττομένους τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς
 συμποδίζοντες καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἀκρατεῖς ποιοῦντες ἐρρίπτουν εἰς τὸ τοῦ
 Τεβέριος ρεῖθρον, εἰδῶλα ποιοῦντας ἀνδρείκελα κεκοσμημένα τὸν αὐτὸν
 ἐκείνοις τρόπον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἵνα δὴ τὸ τῆς ὀπτείας ὅ τι δὴ
 ποτε ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ψυχαῖς παραμένον ἐξαίρεθῇ τῶν εἰκόνων τοῦ
 παλαιοῦ πάθους ἔτι σωζομένων. [3] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ ἔτι διετέλουν
 Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶντες μικρὸν ὕστερον ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας ἐν μηνὶ Μαίῳ ταῖς
 καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, διχομνηνίδα βουλόμενοι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ
 προθύσαντες ἱερὰ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ καλούμενοι Ποντίφικες, ἱερέων οἱ
 διαφανέστατοι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς αἱ τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ διαφυλάττουσαι
 παρθένοι στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οὓς παρεῖναι ταῖς
 ἱερουργίαις θέμις εἰδῶλα μορφαῖς ἀνθρώπων εἰκασμένα, τριάκοντα τὸν
 ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεφύρας βάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Τεβέριος,
 Ἀργεῖους [p. 61] [4] αὐτὰ καλοῦντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἱερουργιῶν, ἃς ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις συντελεῖ κατὰ τε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν
 καὶ τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δηλώσομεν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ ὁ παρὼν
 καιρὸς ἔοικε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀφίξεως εἰς Ἰταλίαν μετ' ἐπιστάσεως
 πλείονος διελθεῖν καὶ εἶ τι λόγου ἄξιον ἔδρασεν αὐτόθι μὴ παραλιπεῖν.

ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦδε λεγομένων τὰ μὲν μυθικώτερα, τὰ
 δ' ἀληθέστερα. ὁ μὲν οὖν μυθικὸς περὶ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ λόγος ὧδ'
 ἔχει: ὡς δὴ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως Ἡρακλῆς σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄθλοισι καὶ
 τὰς Γηρυνόου βοῦς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας εἰς Ἄργος ἀπελάσαι, τελέσας τὸν ἄθλον καὶ
 τὴν οἶκαδε πορείαν ποιοῦμενος ἄλλη τε πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφίκετο καὶ
 τῆς Ἀβοριγίνων γῆς εἰς τὸ προσεχὲς τῷ Παλλαντίῳ χωρίον. [2] εὐρῶν δὲ
 πόαν ἐν αὐτῷ βουκολίδα πολλὴν καὶ καλὴν, τὰς μὲν βοῦς: ἀνῆκεν εἰς
 νομὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυνόμενος ὑπο κόπου κατακλιθεὶς ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑπνῷ.
 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ληστής τις ἐπιχώριος ὄνομα Κάκος περιτυγχάνει ταῖς βουσὶν
 ἀφυλάκτοις νεμομέναις καὶ αὐτῶν ἔρωτα ἴσχει. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 κοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν, ἀπάσας μὲν οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο δύνασθαι λαθεῖν
 ἀπελάσας, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ὄν τὸ πρᾶγμα κατεμάνθανεν: ὀλίγας δὲ
 τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ πλησίον ὄντι ἐτύγχανε τὴν διαίταν
 ποιοῦμενος, ἀποκρύπτεται ἔμπαλιν [p. 62] τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς ζώοις
 πορείας ἐπισπώμενος ἐκάστην κατ' οὐράν. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐλέγχων
 ἀφανισμὸν ἐδύνατο παρασχεῖν ἐναντίας φανησομένης τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῆς ὁδοῦ.
 [3] ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν

βοῶν, ὡς ἔμαθέ τινας ἐκλείπουσας, τῶς μὲν ἠπόρει ποῦ κεχωρήκασι καὶ ὡς πεπλανημένας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἐμάστευεν ἀνὰ τὸν χῶρον· ὡς δ' οὐχ εὔρισκεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀφικνεῖται τοῖς μὲν ἵχνεσι διαρτῶμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον οἰόμενος δεῖν διερευνήσασθαι τὸν χῶρον. τοῦ δὲ Κάκου πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐστῶτος καὶ οὐτ' ἰδεῖν τὰς βοῦς φάσκοντος ἐρομένῳ οὐτ' ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐπιτρέποντος αἰτουμένῳ τοὺς τε πλησίον ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου ἐπβοῶντος, ἀμηχανῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ πράγματι εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται προσελάσαι τῷ σπηλαίῳ τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς. ὡς δὲ ἄρα τῆς συννόμου φωνῆς τε καὶ ὁσμῆς αἱ ἔντοσθεν ἦσθοντο, ἀντεμυκῶντο ταῖς ἐκτοσθεν καὶ ἐγεγόνει ἡ φωνή ^[4] αὐτῶν κατήγορος τῆς κλοπῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάκος, ἐπειδὴ περιφανῆς ἐγένετο κακουργῶν, τρέπεται πρὸς ἀλκὴν καὶ τοὺς εἰωθότας αὐτῷ συναγραυλεῖν ἀνεκάλει· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἀλοιῶν αὐτὸν τῷ ῥοπάλῳ κτείνει, καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐξαγαγὼν, ἐπειδὴ κακούργων ὑποδοχαῖς εὔθετον ἑώρα τὸ χωρίον, ἐπικατασκάπτει τῇ καλαύροπι [p. 63] τὸ σπήλαιον. ἀγνίσας δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸν φόνον ἰδρῦεται πλησίον τοῦ τόπου Διὸς Εὐρεσίου βωμόν, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Ῥώμης παρὰ τῇ Τριδύμῳ πύλῃ, καὶ θύει τῷ θεῷ δάμαλιν ἓνα τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν βοῶν χαριστήριον. ταύτην ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις συνετέλει, νομίμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς ἅπασιν ἐν αὐτῇ χρωμένῃ, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος κατεστήσατο.

οἱ δὲ Ἀβοριγῖνες καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ τὸ Παλλάντιον κατοικοῦντες, ὡς τοῦ τε Κάκου τὸν θάνατον ἐγνώσαν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶδον, τῷ μὲν ἀπεχθόμενοι διὰ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπαγλόμενοι θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἐνόμισαν ὁρᾶν καὶ τοῦ ληστοῦ μέγα εὐτύχημα τὴν ἀποβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν κλάδους δρεψάμενοι δάφνης, ἡ πολλὴ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐφύετο, ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνέστεφον, ἦκον δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν Ἡρακλέα καλοῦντες. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις διεξιόντος ἔμαθον, ἐνεχειρίζον αὐτῷ τὴν τε χώραν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ. ^[2] Εὐάνδρος δὲ παλαιτερον ἔτι τῆς Θέμιδος ἀκηκοὺς διεξιούσης, ὅτι πεπρωμένον εἶη τὸν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης γενόμενον Ἡρακλέα διαμείψαντα τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ἀθάνατον γενέσθαι δι' ἀρετὴν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὅστις ἦν ἐπύθετο, φθάσαι βουλόμενος ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους Ἡρακλέα θεῶν τιμαῖς πρῶτος ἱλασάμενος, βωμόν αὐτοσχέδιον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἰδρῦεται καὶ δάμαλιν ἄζυγα θύει πρὸς αὐτῷ, τὸ θέσφατον ἀφηγησάμενος Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν ἱερῶν κατάρξασθαι. [p. 64] ^[3] ἀγασθεὶς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς φιλοξενίας Ἡρακλῆς, τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐστιάσει ὑποδέχεται θύσας τῶν βοῶν τινὰς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας τὰς δεκάτας ἐξελὼν· τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς χώρᾳ πολλῇ δωρεῖται Λιγύων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσοίκων, ἧς μέγα ἐποιοῦντο ἄρχειν, παρανόμους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκβαλὼν ἀνθρώπους. λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς καὶ δέησιν τινα ποιήσαιτο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτοι θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐνόμισαν, ὅπως ἀθανάτους αὐτῷ διαφυλάττωσι τὰς τιμὰς, θύοντες μὲν ἄζυγα δάμαλιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἀγιστεύοντες δὲ τὴν ἱεουργίαν ἔθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς· καὶ ὡς διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς τὰς θυσίας, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα θύοιεν, οἴκους δύο τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παραλαβών. ^[4] εἶναι δὲ τοὺς μαθόντας τότε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν

ἱερουργίαν Ποτιτίους τε καὶ Πιναρίους, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ γένη διαμεῖναι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενα τῶν θυσιῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατεστήσατο, Ποτιτίων μὲν ἡγουμένων τῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἀπαρχομένων, Πιναρίων δὲ σπλάγχνων τε μετουσίας εἰργομένων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐχρῆν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν γίνεσθαι τὴν δευτέραν τιμὴν ἐχόντων. ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς προστεθῆναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ὀψίμου τῆς παρουσίας ἔνεκα, ἐπειδὴ ἔωθεν αὐτοῖς κελευσθέν ἦκειν ἐσπλαγχνευμένων ἤδη τῶν ἱερῶν ἀφίκοντο. [5] νῦν μέντοι οὐκέτι τοῖς γένεσι τοῦτοις ἢ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐπιμέλεια ἀνάκειται, ἀλλὰ παῖδες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνητοὶ δρῶσιν [p. 65] αὐτάς. δι' ἃς δὲ αἰτίας τὸ ἔθος μετέπεσε, καὶ τίς ἢ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπιφάνεια περὶ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῶν ἱεροποιῶν ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ [6] λόγου τὸ μέρος, διηγῆσομαι. ὁ δὲ βωμός, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς δεκάτας ἀπέθυσεν Ἡρακλῆς, καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μέγιστος, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Βοαρίας λεγομένης ἀγορᾶς πλησίον, ἀγιστευόμενος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ὄρκοι τε γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ συνθῆκαι τοῖς βουλομένοις βεβαίως τι διαπράττεσθαι καὶ δεκατεῦσεις χρημάτων γίνονται συχναὶ κατ' εὐχάς: τῇ μέντοι κατασκευῇ πολὺ τῆς δόξης ἐστὶ καταδεέστερος: πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀνεῖται τεμένη τῷ θεῷ, καὶ βωμοὶ κατὰ πόλεις τε ἵδρυνται καὶ παρ' ὁδοῦς, καὶ σπανίως ἂν εὔροι τις Ἰταλίας χῶρον, ἔνθα μὴ τυγχάνει τιμώμενος ὁ θεός. ὁ μὲν οὖν μυθικὸς λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοιός2δε παραδέδοται.

ὁ δ' ἀληθέστερος, ὃ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένων ἐχρήσαντο, τοιός2δε: ὡς στρατηλάτης γενόμενος ἀπάντων κράτιστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ δυνάμειος πολλῆς ἡγούμενος ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθε τὴν ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, καταλύων μὲν εἴ τις εἴη τυραννὶς βαρεῖα καὶ λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἢ πόλιν ὑβρίζουσα καὶ λωβωμένη τὰς πέλας ἢ μοναὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνημέρῳ [p. 66] διαίτῃ καὶ ξενοκτονίαις ἀθεμιστοῖς χρωμένων, καθιστὰς δὲ νομίμους βασιλείας καὶ σωφρονικὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ βίων ἔθῃ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ κοινοπαθῆ: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις Ἑλλήσι τε βαρβάρους συγκεραννύμενος καὶ θαλαττίους ἡπειρώτας, οἱ τέως ἀπίστους καὶ ἀσυναλλάκτους εἶχον ὁμιλίας, ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ πόλεις ἐνιδρυνόμενος καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐκτρέπων ἐπικλύζοντας πεδία καὶ τρίβους ἐκτέμνων ἀβάτοις ὄρεσι καὶ τᾶλλα μηχανώμενος, ὡς ἅπασα γῆ καὶ θάλαττα κοινὴ ταῖς ἀπάντων χρεαῖς γενήσοιτο. [2] ἀφίκετο δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οὐ μονόστολος οὐδὲ ἀγέλην βοῶν ἐπαγόμενος: οὔτε γὰρ ὁ χῶρος ἐν τρίβῳ τοῖς εἰς Ἄργος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀνασκευαζομένοις, οὔτε τοῦ διελθεῖν ἔνεκα τὴν χώραν τοσαύτης ἂν ἡξιώθη τιμῆς: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δουλώσει καὶ ἀρχῇ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων στρατὸν ἄγων πολὺν Ἰβηρίαν ἤδη κεχειρωμένος: διατρίψαι τε αὐτόθι πλείω χρόνον ἠναγκάσθη τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ, ἢ ἐγένετο χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος, καὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κατέχοντα Ἰταλίαν προσχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐκούσια. [p. 67] [3] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τὸ Λιγύων γένος πολὺ καὶ μάχιμον, ἐπὶ ταῖς παρόδοις τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ὁρῶν ἱδρυμένον, ἀποκωλύειν ὅπλοις τὰς εἰς2βολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔνθα μέγιστος ἀγὼν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο πάντων αὐτοῦς ἐπιλειπόντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν βελῶν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε τῶν

ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεΐ λυομένῳ. πεποιῆται γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ Προμηθεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ τὰ τε ἄλλα προλέγων, ὡς ἕκαστον αὐτῷ τι συμβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γηρουνὴν στρατείαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λιγυστικοῦ πολέμου ὡς οὐ ῥάδιος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται διηγούμενος. τὰ δὲ ποιήματα ᾧδ' ἔχει:

ἦξεις δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατὸν,

ἐνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θεοῦρός περ ὦν μέμψει. πέπρωται γὰρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπεῖν.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτους καταστρεφάμενος τῶν παρόδων ἐκράτησεν, οἱ μὲν τινες ἐκούσιοι παρεδίδουσαν αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις, μάλιστα δὲ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ γένους ἦσαν ἢ δυνάμεις οὐκ εἶχον ἀξιοχρέους, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐκ πολέμου καὶ πολιορκίας παρίσταντο. ^[2] ἐν δὴ τούτοις τοῖς μάχῃ κρατηθεῖσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μυθολογούμενον Κάκον, δυνάστην τινὰ κομιδῇ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνημέρων ἄρχοντα, γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτῷ διάφορον, ἐρυμνοῖς χωρίοις ἐπικαθήμενον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ὄντα λυπηρόν. [p. 68] ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔμαθεν ἐν τῷ προσεχεῖ πεδίῳ, ληστροικῶς διασκευασάμενος ἐπιδρομῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐχρήσατο κατακοιμωμένου τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆς λείας ὄσῃ ἐπέτυχεν ἀφυλάκτῳ ^[3] περιβαλόμενος ἀπήλασεν. ὕστερον δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς πολιορκίαν, τὰ τε φρούρια κατὰ κράτος ἄλόντ' ἐπέϊδε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν ἀνηρέθη. τῶν δὲ φρουρίων αὐτοῦ κατασκαφέντων τὰ περὶ χωρία οἱ συνεξελθόντες Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ σφᾶς ἕτεροι παρέλαβον Ἀρκάδες τέ τινες οἱ σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ καὶ Φαῦνος ὁ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων βασιλεὺς. εἰκάσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἐπειοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φενεοῦ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Τρῶας ἐπὶ ^[4] φυλακῇ τῆς χώρας καταλειφθῆναι. στρατηγικὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἔργων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον θαυμάζεσθαι ἐπιτήδειον, τὸ δὴ τοὺς ἀνασπάστους ἐκ τῶν κεκρατημένων πόλεων τέως μὲν ἐπάγεσθαι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας, ἐπεὶ δὲ προθύμως τοὺς πολέμους συνδιενέγκαιεν εἰς τὰ δορίκτητα κατοικίζειν καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐτέρων ἐπιχορηγηθεῖσι δωρεῖσθαι πλούτοις. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα μέγιστον ὄνομα καὶ κλέος Ἡρακλέους [p. 69] ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ οὐ τῆς παρόδου χάριν, ἣ σεμνὸν οὐδὲν προσῆν.

λέγουσι δὲ τινες αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις τούτοις, ἃ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι κατοικοῦσιν, ἐκ δύο γυναικῶν γενομένους καταλιπεῖν: Πάλλαντα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Εὐάνδρου θυγατρὸς, ἣ Λαῦναν ὀνομά φασιν εἶναι, Λατῖνον δὲ ἐκ τινος ὑπερβορίδος κόρης, ἣν πατρὸς εἰς ὀμηρεῖαν δόντος ἐπήγετο καὶ αὐτὴν μέχρι μὲν τινος ἀγνὴν γάμων ἐφύλαττεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἔπλει ἐρασθεὶς ἐγκύμονα ποιεῖ, ἣν καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἄργος ἔμελλε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων Φαύνῳ γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι δίδωσι: δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν Λατῖνον τούτου υἱὸν νομίζειν, οὐχ Ἡρακλέους. ^[2] Πάλλαντα μὲν οὖν πρὶν ἡβῆσαι λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν, Λατῖνον δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα τὴν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. τούτου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀρρένων παιδῶν τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους Ροτόλους μάχῃ περιστῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς Αἰνείαν τὸν Ἀγχίσου κηδεστὴν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα

μὲν ἐν ἑτέροις χρόνοις ἐγένετο.

Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπαντα ὡς ἐβούλετο κατεστήσατο καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς αὐτῷ στρατὸς σῶος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀφίκετο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς δεκάτας τῶν λαφύρων καὶ πολίχνην ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κτίσας, ἔνθα ὁ στόλος αὐτῷ ἐναυλόχει, [p. 70] ἢ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένη Νέας Πόλεως καὶ Πομπηίας ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται λιμένας ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ βεβαίους ἔχουσα, δόξης τε καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν ἰσοθέων παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ^[2] τυχὼν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Σικελίαν. οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουροὶ καὶ οἰκήτορες Ἰταλίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Σατόρνιον ὄχθον ἰδρυμένοι τέως μὲν ἐπολιτεῦοντο καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ μακρῷ διαίταν τε καὶ νόμους καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ συνενεγκάμενοι τὰ σφέτερα τοῖς Ἀβοριγίνων ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πελασγοὶ πόλεώς τε τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι κοινωνήσαντες συνέβησαν ὁμοεθνεῖς νομιζεσθαι. Ἡρακλέους μὲν δὴ στρατείας περὶ καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὑπομονῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. ^[3] δευτέρᾳ δ' ὕστερον γενεᾷ μετὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἄпарσιν, ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσι, βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀβοριγίνων ἦν Λατῖνος ὁ Φαύνου, γόνος δὲ Ἡρακλέους, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν.

κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Τρῶες οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ διαφυγόντες ἐξ Ἰλίου τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης κατέσχον εἰς Λωρεντόν, αἰγιαλὸν Ἀβοριγίνων ἐπὶ τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει κείμενον, οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Τεβέρριος· λαβόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων [p. 71] χωρίον εἰς οἴκησιν καὶ ὅσα ἤξιουν, πολιζονται μικρὸν ἀποσχόντες ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ λόφῳ τινὶ Λαουίνιον ὄνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενοι. ^[2] ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀλλάξαντες ὀνομασίαν ἅμα τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς χώρας Λατῖνοι ὠνομάσθησαν· καὶ μεταναστάντες ἐκ τοῦ Λαουίνιου κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μεῖζονα περιβάλλονται πόλιν, ἣν Ἀλβαν ἐκάλεσαν, ἐξ ἧς ὁρμώμενοι πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἔκτισαν τῶν κληθέντων Πρίσκων Λατίνων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἰκούμεναι, ^[3] γενεαῖς δ' ὕστερον ἑκκαίδεκα μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐκπέμψαντες ἀποικίαν εἰς τὸ Παλλάντιον τε καὶ τὴν Σατορνίαν, ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες τὴν πρώτην οἴκησιν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζώπυρ' ἄττα περιλειπόμενα τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένους, οἰκίζουσι τοὺς τόπους περιλαβόντες τείχεσι τὸ Παλλάντιον, ὥστε λαβεῖν πόλεως σχῆμα τότε πρῶτον. τίθενται δὲ τῷ κτίσματι Ῥώμην ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ στειλαντος τὴν ἀποικίαν Ῥωμύλου, ὃς ἦν ἔβδομος καὶ ^[4] δέκατος ἀπ' Αἰνείου γεγονώς. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰνείου παρουσίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἐπεὶ τῶν συγγραφέων τοῖς μὲν ἠγνόηται, τοῖς δὲ διαπεφώνηται ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος, μὴ παρέργως διελθεῖν τὰς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων τῶν μάλιστα πιστευομένων ἱστορίας παραβαλὼν. ἔχει δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα ὥδε. [p. 72]

Ἰλίου κρατηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν, εἴτε τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου τῇ ἀπάτῃ, ὡς Ὀμήρῳ πεποιηται, εἴτε τῇ προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀντηνοριδῶν εἴτε ἄλλως πως, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τρωικὸν τε καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι καταλαμβανόμενον ἐφονεύετο· νυκτὸς γὰρ δὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀφυλάκτοις αὐτοῖς

ἐπιστῆναι ἔοικεν', Αἰνείας δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντες Ἰλιεῦσιν ἐπικούροι Τρῶες ἐκ Δαρδάνου τε πόλεως καὶ Ὀφρυνίου τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσοι τῆς κάτω πόλεως ἀλικομένης ἔφθασαν αἰσθησιν τοῦ δεινοῦ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰ καρτερὰ τοῦ Περγάμου συμφυγόντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰδίῳ τείχει φρουρουμένην καταλαμβάνονται, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῷα τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἦν καὶ χρημάτων ὁ πολὺς πλοῦτος, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν ἔχυρῳ, ^[2] καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τὸ κράτιστον: ἔνθα ὑπομένοντες ἀπεκροῦντο τοὺς πειρωμένους ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τὸ διαπίπτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως πλήθος ἐμπειρία στενωπῶν ὑποθέοντες ἀνελάμβανον: καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ καταληφθέντος πλεῖον τὸ διαφυγόν. τὴν μὲν δὴ αὐτίκα ὁρμὴν τῶν πολέμιων, ἣν εἶχον ὅλην διαχρήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταληφθῆναι τὸ ἄστρ τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐξευρῶν Αἰνείας ἐπέσχε. λογισμὸν δὲ τὸν εἰκότα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λαμβάνων, ὡς ἀμήχανον εἶη πρᾶγμα σῶσαι πόλιν, ἥς τὰ πλεῖω ἤδη ἐκρατεῖτο, εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἐρήμου παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, [p. 73] τὰ δὲ σώματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῷα καὶ χρήματα ὅποσα φέρειν δύναίτο διασώσασθαι. ^[3] δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ, παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ γηραιὰ σώματα καὶ ὁπόσοις ἄλλοις βραδείας ἔδει φυγῆς προεξελεῖν κελεύει τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδην φερούσας ὁδοὺς, ἕως Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἐλεῖν προθυμοῦμενοι διώξεως τοῦ διαπίπτοντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλήθους οὐδὲν προεμηχανῶντο, τοῦ δὲ στρατιωτικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ἐξιόντων ἔταξεν, ὡς ἀσφαλῆς τε καὶ ἀταλαίπωρος ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἢ φυγῇ αὐτοῖς γένοιτο, εἴρητο δὲ τοῦτοις τὰ καρτερώτατα καταλαβέσθαι τῆς Ἰδης: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, ὃ δὴ κράτιστον ἦν, αὐτὸς ἔχων ὑπέμενε ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ παρεῖχε τοῖς προεξελεθούσιν ἦττον ἐπιπόνους διηρημένων τειχομαχίᾳ τῶν πολέμιων τὰς φυγὰς. ^[4] Νεοπτολέμου δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβάντος μέρους τινὸς τῆς ἄκρας καὶ προσβοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἀπάντων τῆς μὲν ἄκρας μεθίεται, ἀνοίξας δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀπῆει συντεταγμένους ἔχων τοὺς λοιποὺς φυγάδας, ἀγόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς κρατίσταις συνωρίσι τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς πατρώους γυναῖκά τε καὶ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι πλείστου ἄξιον ἦν σῶμα ἢ χρήμα.

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ κράτος εἰλήφεσαν Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἐσπουδακότες [p. 74] πολλὴν ἄδειαν σῶζεσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσι παρήκαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν εὐρόντες τοὺς σφετέρους καὶ καθ' ἐν ἅπαντες γενόμενοι τὰ ὀχυρώτατα καταλαμβάνονται τῆς Ἰδης. ^[2] ἦλθον δ' ὡς αὐτοὺς οἱ τ' ἐν Δαρδάνῳ τότε οἰκοῦντες, ὡς εἶδον φλόγα πολλὴν παρὰ τὰ εἰωθότα φερομένην ἐξ Ἰλίου, νύκτωρ καταλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσοι σὺν Ἐλύμῳ καὶ Αἰγέστῳ ναυτικὸν τι συνεσκευασμένοι ἔτυχον προεξεληλυθότες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐξ Ὀφρυνίου πόλεως ὁ δῆμος ἅπας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Τρωικῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐλευθερίας οἱ περιεχόμενοι: δύναμις τε αὕτη δι' ἐλαχίστου χρόνου μεγίστη τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐγένετο. ^[3] οἱ μὲν οὖν σὺν Αἰνείᾳ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς καταλήψεως ἐν τοῦτοις ὑπομένοντες τοῖς χωρίοις οὐ διὰ μακροῦ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα κατελεύσεσθαι ἠλπίζον τῶν πολέμιων ἀποπλευσάντων, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς χωρία καὶ φρουρία δηλώσαντες

παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ ^[4] τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι χειρωσόμενοι. πεμφάντων δὲ κήρυκας αὐτῶν περὶ διαλύσεων καὶ δεομένων μὴ σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστῆσαι πολέμου, συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς²δε ποιοῦνται πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαλύσεις: Αἰνεῖαν μὲν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα φέροντας ὅσα διεσώσαντο κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐν ὠρισμένοις τισὶ χρόνοις ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἀπελθεῖν, παραδόντας ^[p. 75] Ἀχαιοὺς τὰ φρούρια: Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἀπάσης ὅσης ἐκράτουν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀποῦσι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας. ^[5] δεξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα Αἰνείας καὶ νομίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων κράτιστα εἶναι Ἀσκάνιον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παίδων ἔχοντα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ τινα μοῖραν, ἥς Φρύγιον ἦν τὸ πλεῖστον, εἰς τὴν Δασκυλίτιν καλουμένην γῆν, ἐνθα ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀσκανία λίμνη, μετὰ τεμπτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων γενόμενον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀποπέμπει: καὶ ὤκησεν Ἀσκάνιος αὐτόθι χρόνον τινὰ οὐ πολὺν. ἐλθόντων δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν Σκαμανδρίου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑκτοριδῶν ἀφειμένων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, κατὰ γων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχὴν εἰς Τροίαν ἀφικνεῖται. ^[6] καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἀσκανίου τοσαῦτα λέγεται: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παῖδας Αἰνείας παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθη τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ, διαπλεῖ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τῆς ἔγγιστα κειμένης χερρονήσου τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος, ἢ πρόκειται μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, καλεῖται δὲ Παλλήνη. ἔθνος δ' εἶχεν αὐτὴν Θράκιον σύμμαχον Κρουσαῖον καλούμενον ἀπάντων προθυμότατον τῶν συναραμένων αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου.

ὁ μὲν οὖν πιστότατος τῶν λόγων, ᾧ κέχρηται τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς ^[p. 76] Τρωικοῖς, περὶ τῆς Αἰνείου φυγῆς τοιός²δε ἐστίν. εἴρηνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά ἔχοντες λόγοι, οὐς ἤττον ἐγώ γε τούτου πιθανοὺς εἶναι νομίζω. κρινέτω δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων βούλεται. ^[2] Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐν Λαοκόωντι δράματι μελλούσης ἀλίσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως πεποίηκε τὸν Αἰνεῖαν ἀνασκευαζόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην, κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀγχίσου κατὰ τὴν μνήμην ὧν Ἀφροδίτη ἐπέσκηψε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεωστὶ γενομένων περὶ τοὺς Λαοκοωντίδας σημείων τὸν μέλλοντα ὀλεθρον τῆς πόλεως συντεκμηραμένον. ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα ἐν ἀγγέλου προσώπῳ λεγόμενα ὧδε:

νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνέας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ
πάρεστ' ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων κεραυνίου
νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος.
κύκλῳ δὲ πᾶσαν οἴκετῶν παμπληθίαν:
συμπλάζεται δὲ πλῆθος οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς,
οἳ τῆς²δ' ἐρῶσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν.

^[3] Μενεκράτης δὲ ὁ Ξάνθιος προδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει τὴν πόλιν τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην Ἀχαιοὺς αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι διασώσασθαι τὸν οἶκον. σύγκειται ^[p. 77] δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἀρξαμένῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως ταφῆς τὸν τρόπον τόνδε: Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἀνὴρ εἶχε καὶ ἐδόκεον τῆς στρατιῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπηράχθαι. ὁμως δὲ τάφον αὐτῷ δαίσαντες ἐπολέμεον βίῃ πάσῃ, ἄχρις Ἴλιος ἐάλω

Αἰνείω ἐνδόντος. Αἰνείης γὰρ ἄπιτος ἔὼν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπὸ γερέων ἱερῶν ἐξειργόμενος ἀνέτρεψε Πριάμον· ἐργασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ἀχαιῶν ἐγεγόνει. [4] ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτὸν τηνικαῦτα διατρίβοντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀπεσταλμένον ὑπὸ Πριάμου μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τινα χρεῖαν στρατιωτικὴν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μυθωδεστέραν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσι τὴν ἔξοδον. ἐχέτω δ' ὅπη τις αὐτὸν πείθει.

τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἔτι πλείω παρέχει τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν ἀπορίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕως Θράκης ἀγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ λέγουσι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, ὧν ἔστι Κεφάλων τε ὁ Γεργίθιος καὶ Ἠγήσιππος ὁ περὶ Παλλήνης γράψας, ἄνδρες ἀρχαῖοι καὶ λόγου ἄξιοι. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐκ Θράκης ἀναστῆσαντες αὐτὸν ἕως Ἀρκαδίας παρακομίζουσιν, οἰκῆσαι δὲ λέγουσιν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τε τῷ Ἀρκαδικῷ, καὶ Νήσῳ δὲ λεγομένῃ, καίπερ οὕση μεσόχθονι, ἀπὸ τελμάτων καὶ ποταμοῦ· τὰς τε καλουμένας Καπύας Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων ἀπόκτισιν εἶναι, Καπύας ὀνομασθείσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ [p. 78] Κάπυος. λέγεται δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ἀριαιθῷ [2] τῷ γράψαντι τὰ Ἀρκαδικά. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ δεῦρο μὲν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Αἰνείαν μυθολογοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν γε τελευτὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου συμπεσεῖν ἐν τοῖς 2δε τοῖς χωρίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ὡς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ δηλοῦσι καὶ Ἀγάθυλλος Ἀρκὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ἐλεγείῳ λέγων ὧδε:

ἴκετο δ' Ἀρκαδίην, Νήσῳ δ' ἐγκάτθετο παῖδας

δοιάς, Κωδώνης λέκτρα καὶ Ἀνθεμόνης.

αὐτὸς δ' Ἑσπερίην ἔσυτο χθόνα, γείνατο δ' υἷα Ῥωμύλον.

[3] τῆς δ' εἰς Ἰταλίαν Αἰνείου καὶ Τρώων ἀφίξεως Ῥωμαῖοι τε πάντες βεβαιωταὶ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔν τε θυσίαις καὶ ἐορταῖς μηνύματα, Σιβύλλης τε λόγια καὶ χρησμοὶ Πυθικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ, ὧν οὐκ ἂν τις ὡς εὐπρεπείας ἔνεκα συγκειμένων ὑπερίδοι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσι γνωρίσματα καὶ φανερά εἰς τόδε χρόνου περιλείπεται, ἔνθα ὠρμίσαντο καὶ παρ' οἷς διατριβὴν ἀπλοίας ἔνεκεν ἐποιήσαντο· ὧν ἐγὼ μνήμην ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὧ πολλῶν ὄντων βραχυτάτην ποιήσομαι. [4] πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θράκην ἀφικόμενοι κατὰ τὴν χερρόνησον, ἣ καλεῖται Παλλήνη, ὠρμίσαντο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἔφην βάρβαροι Κρουσαῖοι καλούμενοι καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοῖς τὰς καταγωγὰς ἀσφαλεῖς. [p. 79] μείναντες δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν αὐτόθι νεῶν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἐνὸς καὶ πόλιν Αἰνείαν ἔκτισαν, ἐν ἣ τούς τε ὑπὸ καμάτων ἀδυνάτους πλεῖν καὶ ὅσοις αὐτοῦ μένειν βουλομένοις ἦν, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσομένους, ὑπελίποντο. αὕτη διέμεινεν ἕως τῆς Μακεδόνων δυναστείας τῆς κατὰ τοὺς διαδόχους τοῦς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Κασάνδρου βασιλείας καθηρέθη, ὅτε Θεσσαλονικὴ πόλις ἐκτίζετο, καὶ οἱ Αἰνεᾶται σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς εἰς τὴν νεόκτιστον μετώκησαν.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς Παλλήνης ἄραντες οἱ Τρῶες εἰς Δῆλον ἀφικνοῦνται βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἀνίου· καὶ ἦν πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐν Δήλῳ τῆς Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων παρουσίας, ἕως ἥνθει τε καὶ ὦκισθ' ἡ νῆσος. ἔπειτα εἰς Κύθηρα νῆσον ἑτέραν, ἣ πρόκειται Πελοποννήσου, [2] παραχενόμενοι ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύονται. ἀπὸ δὲ Κυθήρων ποιοῦμενοι τὸν πλοῦν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Πελοποννήσου τελευτήσαντα τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰ τῶν Αἰνείου Κίναιθον ἐπὶ

τῶν ἄκρωτηρίων τινὸς θάπτουσιν, ὃ νῦν ἅπ' ἐκείνου Κιναιθιον καλεῖται: καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας συγγένειαν ἀνανεωσάμενοι, περὶ ἧς ἐν ὑστέρῳ λόγῳ διηγήσομαι, χρόνον τε ὀλίγον περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία διατρίψαντες καὶ ὑπολιπόμενοι τινὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν εἰς Ζάκυνθον ἀφικνοῦνται. [3] δεξαμένων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν Ζακυνθίων πρὸς φιλίαν διὰ τὸ [p. 80] συγγενές: Δαρδάνῳ γὰρ τῷ Διὸς καὶ Ἡλέκτρας τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος δύο γενέσθαι φασὶν ἐκ Βατείας παῖδας, Ζάκυνθόν τε καὶ Ἐριχθόνιον, ὧν ὁ μὲν Αἰνείου πρόγονος ἦν, Ζάκυνθος δὲ τῆς νήσου κτίστης: ταύτης τε δὴ τῆς συγγενείας ἀναμνήσει καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων διατρίβοντες αὐτόθι καὶ ἅμα ἀπλοῖα κατειργόμενοι θύουσιν Ἀφροδίτῃ πρὸς τῷ κατασκευασθέντι ἱερῷ θυσίαν, ἣν εἰς τὸδε χρόνου συντελοῦσι κοινῇ Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιοῦσιν ἐφήβοις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ δρόμου: τὸ δὲ νικητήριον ὁ πρῶτος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν νεῶν λαμβάνει: λέγεται δὲ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὁ δρόμος, καὶ [4] ξόανα τούτων ἔστηκεν ἀμφοτέρων. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πελάγιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Λευκάδα κατὰγονται, κατεχόντων ἔτι τὸ χωρίον Ἀκαρνάνων. κὰν ταύτῃ πάλιν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύνονται τοῦτο, ὃ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ νησίδι τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ Διορύκτου τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείαδος. ἄραντες δὲ αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τε Ἄκτιον ἐλθόντες ὁρμίζονται τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου πρὸς τὸ ἄκρωτήριον. κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν ἀφικνοῦνται πόλιν, ἧς ἐβασίλευεν Ἀμβραξ ὁ Δεξαμενοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ ὑπολείπονται ἐκατέρωθι μνημεῖα τῆς ἀφίξεως: ἐν Ἀκτίῳ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείαδος ἱερὸν καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ θεῶν μεγάλων, ἃ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν: ἐν δὲ Ἀμβρακίᾳ ἱερὸν τε τῆς αὐτῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἡρώων Αἰνείου πλησίον τοῦ μικροῦ θεάτρου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ξόانون μικρὸν ἀρχαῖκόν Αἰνείου [p. 81] λεγόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ θυσίαις ἐγέραιρον αἱ καλούμεναι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀμφίπολοι.

ἐκ δὲ Ἀμβρακίας Ἀγχίσης μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἔχων παρὰ γῆν κομιζόμενος εἰς Βουθρωτὸν λιμένα τῆς Ἡπείρου κατὰγεται, Αἰνείας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀκμαιότατοι σὺν αὐτῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ διανύσαντες ἡμερῶν δυεῖν ὁδὸν εἰς Δωδώνην ἀφικνοῦνται χρῆσόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτόθι Τρῶας τοὺς σὺν Ἑλένῳ. ἀνελόμενοι δὲ χρησμοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναθήμασι δωρησάμενοι Τρωικοῖς ἄλλοις τε καὶ κρατῆρσι χαλκοῖς, ὧν τινες ἔτι περίεσιν ἐπιγραφαῖς πάνυ ἀρχαίαις δηλοῦντες τοὺς ἀναθέντας, ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀφικνοῦνται τεττάρων μάλιστα ἡμερῶν διελθόντες ὁδόν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς Βουθρωτὸν τῶν Τρώων παρουσίαν λόφος τις, ᾧ τότε στρατοπέδῳ [2] ἐχρήσαντο, Τροία καλούμενος. ἐκ δὲ Βουθρωτοῦ παρὰ γῆν κοιμισθέντες ἄχρι λιμένος Ἀγχίσου μὲν τότε ὀνομασθέντος, νῦν δ' ἄσαφεστέραν ἔχοντος ὀνομασίαν, ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρυσάμενοι διαίρουσι τὸν Ἴονιον ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες τῆς ναυτιλίας, οἳ συνέπλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἐθελούσιοι συνεπισπόμενοι, τοὺς σὺν Πάτρωνι τῷ Θουρίῳ: καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους, ἐπειδὴ σῶος ὁ στρατὸς εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπ' οἴκου αὖθις ἀνεκομίσθησαν, Πάτρων δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Αἰνείου κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀποικίας [p. 82] καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τινες τῶν φίλων ὑπέμειναν ἐν τῷ στόλῳ: οὗς ἔνιοι φασιν ἐν Ἀλοντίῳ κατοικῆσαι τῆς Σικελίας. ταύτης

ὑπομνήσει τῆς εὐεργεσίας Ἀκαρνᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λευκάδα καὶ Ἀνακτόριον ἀφελόμενοι Κορινθίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐχαρίσαντο Οἰνιάδας τε ἀποκαταστήσας βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους καρποῦσθαι κοινῇ μετ' Αἰτωλῶν ἔδωκαν. ^[3] οἱ δὲ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόβασιν οὐ καθ' ἐν χωρίον τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις ναυσὶ πρὸς ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίας ὀρμισάμενοι, ἣ τότε Σαλεντίνος ἐλέγετο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς Αἰνείας ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιβάς Ἰταλίας τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θερινὸς ὄρμος, ὃς ἐξ ἐκείνου λιμὴν Ἀφροδίτης καλεῖται, παρέπλευσαν ἄχρι πορθμοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες Ἰταλίαν, ἵχνη τινὰ κἂν τοῦτοις ὑπολειπόμενοι τοῖς τόποις τῆς ἀφιξεως ἄλλα τε καὶ φιάλην χαλκῆν ἐν Ἡρας ἱερῷ γραφῇ δηλοῦσαν ἀρχαία τοῦ δωρησαμένου τῇ θεῷ Αἰνείου τοῦνομα.

γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ Σικελίαν, εἴτε γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι τῇδε ὀρμίσασθαι εἴτε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνέμων πονηρῶν βιασθέντες, ἃ δὴ φιλεῖ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τήνδε γίνεσθαι, κατάγονται τῆς νήσου περὶ τὰ καλούμενα Δρέπανα: ἔνθα περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς σὺν Ἑλύμῳ [p. 83] καὶ Αἰγέστῳ προεξελθοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς Τροίας, οἱ τύχης τε καὶ πνεύματος οὐρίου λαβόμενοι καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολλῇ ἀποσκευῇ βαρυνόμενοι δι' ὀλίγου κατήχθησαν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ὤκησαν περὶ ποταμὸν καλούμενον Κριμισθὸν ἐν γῇ Σικανῶν, πρὸς φιλίαν λαβόντες παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον διὰ τὴν Αἰγέστου συγγένειαν γενομένου τε καὶ τραφέντος ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατὰ ^[2] τοιόνδε τι πάθος. τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ γένους ὦν Λαομέδωντι διάφορος γίνεται, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αἰτία δὴ τινα λαβὼν κτείνει καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρρεν ἅπαν, ὑπὸ δέους μὴ τι πρὸς αὐτῶν πάθῃ: τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας παρθένους ἔπι οὔσας ἀποκτείνει μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἐνόμισε, Τρωσὶ δὲ συνοικούσας περιδεῖν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, δίδωσι δ' αὐτάς ἐμπόροις ὥς προσωτάτω κελεύσας ἀπάγειν. ^[3] ταύταις ἀπιούσαις συνεκπλεῖ μεираκίον τι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κρατούμενον ἔρωτι τῆς ἐτέρας καὶ γαμεῖ τὴν παιδίσκην ἀχθεῖσαν εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς παῖς ἐν Σικελοῖς διατρίβουσιν Αἴγεστος ὄνομα: ὃς ἦθη καὶ γλῶσσαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκμαθὼν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῷ τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, βασιλεὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ Πριάμου κάθοδον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι διαπράττεται, καὶ συνδιενέγκας τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πόλεμον ἀλίσκομένης τῆς πόλεως ἀπέπλει πάλιν εἰς Σικελίαν σὺν Ἑλύμῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν φυγὴν ἐν τρισὶ [p. 84] ναυσὶν, ἃς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔχων ὅτε τὰς Τρωάδας ἐλhiζετο πόλεις ἔρμασιν ὑφάλοις περιπεσούσας ἀπέβαλεν. ^[4] ἐντυχὼν δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις Αἰνείας ἀνδράσι φιλοφρονεῖται τε αὐτοὺς καὶ κατασκευάζεται αὐτοῖς πόλεις Αἴγεσταν καὶ Ἑλυμα καὶ τινα καὶ μοῖραν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατῆς ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν ὑπολείπεται, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω γνώμῃ ἐκουσίῳ χρησάμενος, ἵνα τοῖς ὑπὸ καμμάτων βαρυνομένοις ἢ καὶ ἄλλως θαλάττῃ ἀχθομένοις ἀναπαύσεις γίνοντο ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ καταγωγαί, ὥς δὲ τινες γράφουσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μειωθέντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἔμπρησιν, ἣν ἐποίησαντο τῶν γυναικῶν τινες ἀχθόμεναι τῇ πλάνῃ, τὸν οὐκέτι δυνάμενον συμπλεῖν ὄχλον ἐκ τῶν κατακεκαυμένων νεῶν ἀνάγκῃ καταλιπών.

τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς εἰς Σικελοὺς Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων ἀφιξέως πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, περιφανέστατα δὲ τῆς Αἰνείαδος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ βωμὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ἑλύμου ἰδρυμένος καὶ ἱερὸν Αἰνείου ἰδρυμένον ἐν Αἰγέστῃ, τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Αἰνείου τῇ μητρί, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ σώσαντος σφᾶς ἀνάθημα ποιησαμένων. τὸ μὲν δὴ σὺν Ἑλύμῳ καὶ Αἰγέστῳ Τρωικὸν ἐν τούτοις κατέμεινε τοῖς χωρίοις, [p. 85] καὶ διετέλεσαν Ἑλυμοὶ καλούμενοι. προεῖχε γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν Ἑλυμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ὦν, ^[2] ἀφ' οὗ τὴν κληῖσιν οἱ σύμπαντες ἔλαβον. οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Αἰνεΐᾳ πλέοντες ἀπὸ Σικελίας διὰ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους πρῶτον μὲν ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας κατὰ λιμένα τὸν Παλίνουρον, ὃς ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Αἰνείου κυβερνητῶν τελευτήσαντος αὐτόθι ταύτης τυχεῖν λέγεται τῆς ὀνομασίας. ἔπειτα νήσω προσέσχον, ἥ τοῦνομα ἔθεντο Λευκασίαν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀνεψιᾶς Αἰνείου περὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον ἀποθανούσης. ^[3] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατάραντες εἰς λιμένα βαθὺν καὶ καλὸν ἐν Ὀπκοῖς, τελευτήσαντος καὶ αὐτόθι Μισηνοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινος, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸν λιμένα ὠνόμασαν, νήσω τε Προχύτῃ καὶ ἄκρωτηρίῳ Καϊήτῃ τύχῃ προσορμισάμενοι κατὰ ταῦτά τιθενται τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς τόποις, γυναικῶν ἀποθανουσῶν βουλόμενοι μνημεῖα ποιῆσαι τὰ χωρία. τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν συγγενὴς Αἰνείου λέγεται γενέσθαι, ἡ δὲ τροφός. τελευτῶντες δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Λωρεντόν, ἔνθα τῆς πλάνης παυσάμενοι χάρακα ἔθεντο, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Τροία καλεῖται, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ἀμφὶ τοὺς τέτταρας σταδίους. ^[4] Ἔργαφα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐποίησάμην τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν συγγραφέων οἱ [p. 86] μὲν οὐδ' ἐλθεῖν Αἰνεΐαν φασὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἅμα Τρωσίν, οἱ δ' ἕτερον Αἰνεΐαν, οὐ τὸν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγχίσου γενόμενον, οἱ δ' Ἀσκανίον τὸν Αἰνείου, οἱ δ' ἄλλους τινάς. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὸν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνεΐαν λέγουσι καταστήσαντα τὸν λόχον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀνακομισθῆναι πάλιν οἴκαδε καὶ βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Τροίας, τελευτῶντα δὲ καταλιπεῖν Ἀσκανίῳ τῷ παιδί τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου γένος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν: ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τοῖς Ὀμήρου ἔπεσιν οὐκ ὀρθῶς λαμβανομένοις παρακρουσθέντες. ^[5] πεποιοῖται γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ποσειδῶν προλέγων τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι περὶ τὸν Αἰνεΐαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου γενησομένους ἐπιφάνειαν ὧδε πως:

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐαιο βίῃ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει

καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

ὑπολαβόντες οὖν τὸν Ὀμηρον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δυναστεύοντας εἰδέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνατόν ὄν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκοῦντας βασιλεῦειν Τρώων, τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ Αἰνείου ἀνέπλασαν. ἄρχειν δὲ δὴ τῶν Τρώων οὓς ἐπήγετο καὶ ἄλλοθι πολιτευομένων οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἦν: ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ ἑτέρας αἰτίας λαβεῖν.

εἰ δὲ τινὰς ταραττεῖ τὸ πολλαχῇ λέγεσθαι τε καὶ δεῖκνυσθαι τάφους Αἰνείου ἀμηχάνου ὄντος ἐν πλείοσι τὸν αὐτὸν τεθᾶφθαι χωρίοις, ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι κοινὸν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τοῦτο γε τὸ ἄπορον [p. 87] καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς τὰς τύχας, πλάνητας δὲ τοὺς βίους ἐσχληκόντων,

μαθέτωσαν ὅτι χωρίον μὲν ἔν τῷ δεξάμενον τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν, μνημεῖα δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς κατεσκευάστο δι' εὐνοίαν τῶν ἐν ὠφελείαις τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦς γενομένων, μάλιστα εἰ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν τι περιῆν ἢ πόλεως τινος ἀπόκτισις ἢ χρόνιοι τινες καὶ φιλάνθρωποι μοναί: οἷα δὲ καὶ περὶ [2] τόνδε τὸν ἥρωα μυθολογούμενα ἴσμεν. Ἰλίῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν παρασχών, τῇ δὲ καλουμένη Βεβρυκίᾳ τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν διασωθῆναι παρασκευάσας, ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀσκάνιον βασιλέα καταλιπών, ἐν Παλλήνῃ δὲ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον κτίσας, ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ θυγατέρας κηδεύσας, ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπολιπόμενος, ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χωρίοις φιλάνθρωπους τὰς διατριβὰς δωρήσασθαι δοκῶν ἐκούσιον εἶχε παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν εὐνοίαν, δι' ἣν τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐκλιπὼν ἡρώοις ἐκοσμεῖτο καὶ μνημάτων κατασκευαῖς πολλαχῇ. [3] ἐπεὶ φέρε τινὰς ἂν αἰτίας ἔχοι τις ὑποθέσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτοῦ μνημάτων, εἰ μήτε ἦρξε τούτων τῶν χωρίων μήτε καταγωγὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐποίησατο μήθ' ὅλως ἐγνώσθη πρὸς αὐτῶν; ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὖθις λεχθήσεται, καθότι ἂν ὁ λόγος ἐφ' ἐκάστου καιροῦ δηλωθῇ ἀπαιτῇ. [p. 88]

τοῦ δὲ μηκέτι προσωτέρω τῆς Εὐρώπης πλεῦσαι τὸν Τρωικὸν στόλον οἷ τε χρησμοὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο τέλος λαβόντες ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πολλαχῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ἐνδεικνύμενον: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὄρμῳ χρυσάμενοι τῷ Λωρεντῷ σκηνὰς ἐπήξαντο περὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, πρῶτον μὲν πιεζομένοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ δίψης οὐκ ἔχοντος ὕδωρ τοῦ τόπου λέγω δὲ ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων παρέλαβον' λιβάδες αὐτόματοι νάματος ἡδίστου ἐκ γῆς ἀνελθοῦσαι ὥφθησαν, ἐξ ὧν ἢ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα ὕδρευσατο καὶ ὁ τόπος περὶρρυτος γέγονε μέχρι θαλάττης καταβάντος ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ῥεύματος. [2] νῦν μέντοι οὐκέτι πλήθουσιν ὥστε καὶ ἀπορρεῖν αἱ λιβάδες, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ συνεστηκός, λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἱερὸν ἡλίου: καὶ βωμοὶ δύο παρ' αὐτῷ δεικνυνται, ὁ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς δύσεις, Τρωικὰ ἱδρύματα, ἐφ' ὧν τὸν Αἰνείαν μυθολογοῦσι πρῶτην θυσίαν ποιήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον τῶν ὑδάτων. [3] ἔπειτα ἄριστον αὐτοῖς αἰρουμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου σέλινα μὲν πολλοῖς ὑπέστρωτο καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ὥσπερ τράπεζα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων: ὡς δὲ φασὶ τινες, ἴτρια καρποῦ πεποιημένα πυρίνου, καθαρειότητος ταῖς τροφαῖς ἔνεκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι τροφαὶ κατανάλωντο, τῶν ὑπεστρωμένων αὐτοῖς σελίνων εἴτε ἰτριῶν ἔφαγέ τις [p. 89] καὶ αὖθις ἕτερος: ἐν τούτῳ τυγχάνει τις εἰπὼν εἴτε τῶν Αἰνείου παιδῶν, ὡς λόγος ἔχει, εἴτε τῶν ὁμοσκήνων, Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε ἤδη καὶ ἡ τράπεζα κατεδήδεσται: ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἤκουσαν, ἅπαντες ἀνεθορύβησαν, ὡς τὰ [4] πρῶτα τοῦ μαντεύματος ἤδη σφίσι τέλος ἔχοι. ἦν γὰρ τι θέσφατον αὐτοῖς, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ γενόμενον, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ χέρσῳ τῆς Ἰδης, ἐνθα ὥκει Σίβυλλα ἐπιχωρία νύμφη χρησμοῦδος, ἢ αὐτοῖς ἔφρασε πλεῖν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἡλίου, τέως ἂν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἔλθωσιν, ἐν ᾧ κατέδονται τὰς τραπέζας: ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο μάθωσι γενόμενον, ἡγεμόνα τετράποδα ποιησαμένους, ὅπου ἂν κάμῃ τὸ [5] ζῶον, ἐνταῦθα δεῖμασθαι πόλιν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον ἀναμνησθέντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν Αἰνείου

κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ ἀποδειχθὲν χωρίον ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ἐξέφερον, οἱ δὲ βάθρα καὶ βωμοὺς κατεσκεύαζον αὐτοῖς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ὀλολυγῇ καὶ χορείαις χρώμεναι παρεκόμεζον τὰ ἱερά, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν παρασκευασθείσης θυσίας ἔχοντες τοὺς στεφάνους περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησαν.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐποίησαντο, ἡ μέλλουσα καθιεροῦσθαι ὕς ἐγκύμων οὔσα καὶ οὐ πρόσω τόκου καταρχομένων αὐτῆς τῶν θυτῶν διασεισαμένη καὶ ἀποφυγοῦσα τοὺς κατέχοντας ἄνω θαλάττης [p. 90] ἔθει. Αἰνείας δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι ταύτην ἄρα τὴν τετράποδα ἡγεμόνα τὸ θέσφατον αὐτοῖς ἐδήλου παρηκολούθει σὺν ὀλίγοις μικρὸν ὑπολειπόμενος, δεδοικὼς μὴ ὑπὸ θορύβου τῶν διωκόντων ἀποτραπείη τῆς κατὰ [2] δαίμονα ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρας σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάττης διελθοῦσα λόφον τινὰ προσανατρέχει, ἔνθα ὑπὸ καμάτου μοχθήσασα καθέζεται. τῷ δὲ Αἰνείᾳ τέλος γὰρ τὰ μαντεύματα ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν ὁρῶντι τὸ χωρίον γῆς τε οὐκ ἐν καλῷ καὶ θαλάττης πρόσω καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἐνορμίσασθαι ἀγαθῆς, πολλὴ παρίσταται ἀμηχανία, πότερα χρή τῷ θεσφάτῳ πειθομένους αὐτοῦ κατοικεῖν, ἔνθα λυπηρὸν εἰσαεῖ βίον τρίψουσιν οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ ἀπολαύοντες, ἢ προσωτέρω χωρητέον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀμείνονος μάστευσιν. [3] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ διανοομένῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχοντι δι' αἰτίας ἄφνω λέγεται φωνή τις ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἀφανοῦς ὄντος τοῦ φθεγγομένου προσπεσεῖν κελεύουσα μένειν τε αὐτόθι καὶ πολίξεσθαι διὰ ταχέων καὶ μὴ τῷ ἀπόρῳ τῆς παρούσης δόξης ἐπιτρέψαντα, εἰ μὴ ἐν εὐβότῳ γῇ τὸν βίον ἰδρύσεται, τὴν μέλλουσάν τε καὶ [4] ὅσον οὕτω παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν ἀπώσασθαι. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ πεπρωμένον ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενον τῆς λυπρᾶς καὶ ὀλίγης τὸ πρῶτον οἰκήσεως πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐπικτήσασθαι γῆν σὺν χρόνῳ: παισὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνις ἔσεσθαι ἀρχὴν μεγίστην καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐκμηκυνθησομένην ὑπάρξει. ταύτην μὲν οὖν [p. 91] ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταγωγὴν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Τρωσὶ: μετὰ δὲ τοσοῦτους ἐνιαυτοὺς ὅσους ἂν ἡ ὕς τέκη χοίρους κτισθήσεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενησομένων πόλιν ἑτέραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. μαθόντα δὲ τὸν Αἰνείαν καὶ νομίσαντα δαιμόνιον τι τὸ χρῆμα τῆς φωνῆς εἶναι ποιεῖν ὥς ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευεν. [5] ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν ἀδημονοῦντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παρειακότῳ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καταβάντι οὔτε σῖτα προσενεγκαμένῳ, αὐτοῦ δὲ ὥς ἔτυχεν αὐλισθέντι τὴν νύκτ' ἐκείνην, ἐπιστῆναι μεγάλην τινὰ καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐνυπνίου τῶν θεῶν τι τῶν πατρίων εἰκασθεῖσαν ὄψιν τὰ λεχθέντα μικρῷ πρότερον ὑποτιθεμένην: ὁποτέρως δὲ τάληθές ἔχει θεοῖς ἂν εἴη γνώριμον. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ τριάκοντα λέγεται χοίρους ἡ ὕς ἐκτεκεῖν, καὶ τοσοῦτοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων ἑτέρα κτισθῆναι πόλις κατὰ τὸ θέσφατον, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τόπῳ διαλέξομαι.

Αἰνείας δὲ τῆς μὲν ὕδς τὸν τόκον ἅμα τῇ γειναμένη τοῖς πατρώοις ἀγίζει θεοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷδ', οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ καλιάς, καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Λαουινιάται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄβατον φυλάττοντες ἱερὰν νομίζουσι: τοῖς δὲ Τρωσὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἰδρύεται τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ αὐτίκα περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ πολισματος ἀπάσῃ [p. 92] προθυμίᾳ ὥρμητο ἐλάμβανέ τε καταθέων ἐκ τῶν πέριξ χωρίων ὁπόσα

εἰς τὸν πολιισμόν αὐτῷ ἦν χρήσιμα καὶ μάλιστα ἔμελλε λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι φανήσεσθαι, σίδηρον καὶ ξύλα καὶ τὰς γεωργικὰς παρασκευάς. [2] Λατίνῳ δὲ, ὃς ἦν τότε βασιλεὺς, πολεμοῦντι πρὸς ἔθνος ὁμορον τοὺς καλουμένους Ροτόλους καὶ δυσημεροῦντι κατὰ τὰς μάχας ἀγγέλλεται τὰ γινόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτατον, ὡς ἀνάστατος αὐτοῦ γίνεται πᾶσα ἡ παράλιος ὑπερορίῳ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰ μὴ σὺν τάχει κωλύσει τὰ δρώμενα χρυσὸς αὐτῷ φανήσεται ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγεῖτονας ἀγών. ἀκούσαντι δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δέος εἰσέρχεται καὶ αὐτίκα τοῦ παρόντος πολέμου μεθέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας ἐλαύνει πολλῇ στρατιᾷ. [3] ὁρῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὠπλισμένους τε ὡς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐν τάξει εὐκόσμῳ ἀκαταπλήκτως τὸ δεινὸν ὑπομένοντας, τῆς μὲν αὐτίκα παρακινδυνεύσεως, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοὺς ἔτι χειρωσάμενος, ἦν ἔσχε διάνοιαν οἴκοθεν ὁρμώμενος, ἀποτρέπεται: στρατοπεδευσάμενος δ' ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν ὥετο δεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόπου, ὃς πολλὺς ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ συντόνου διώξεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. [4] αὐλισάμενος δὲ διὰ νυκτὸς αὐτόθι γνώμην [p. 93] ἐποιεῖτο ἀρχομένης ἔω συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐγνωκότε δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγει τις ἐπιστὰς καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιχώριος δαίμων δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τῇ χώρᾳ συνοίκους: ἦκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μέγα ὠφέλημα Λατίνῳ καὶ κοινὸν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀγαθόν: Αἰνεία τε οἱ πατρῷοι θεοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς φανέντες παρακελεύονται πείθειν Λατῖνον ἐκόντα παρασχεῖν σφίσι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐν ᾧ βούλονται χωρίῳ, καὶ χρήσασθαι δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ συμμάχῳ μᾶλλον ἢ διαφόρῳ: ἀμφοτέρους δὲ τὸ ὄναρ ἐκώλυεν ἄρχειν μάχης. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ διεκοσμήθησαν εἰς μάχην αἱ δυνάμεις, κήρυκες ἦκον ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιοῦντες, συνελθεῖν ἀλλήλοις εἰς λόγους: καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦτο.

πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Λατῖνος ἐγκλημα ποιούμενος τὸν αἰφνιδιὸν τε καὶ ἀκατάγγελτον πόλεμον ἡξίου τὸν Αἰνείαν λέγειν, ὅστις ὦν καὶ τί βουλόμενος ἄγει καὶ φέρει τὰ χωρία πεπονθὼς τε οὐδὲν δεινὸν πρότερος καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸν ἄρχοντα πολέμου πᾶς ὁ προπαθὼν ἀμύνεται: παρασχόν τε ἂν αὐτῷ πᾶν, εἴ τινος ἐδεῖτο μετρίου, πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων εὐρίσκεσθαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, παρελθὼν τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δικαίωσιν αἴσχιον ἢ κάλλιον ἡξίωσε βίαν προσφέρων τὰ αὐτὰ λαμβάνειν. [2] τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεχθέντος ἀπεκρίνατο Αἰνείας: ἡμεῖς γένος μὲν Τρῳέες ἐσμεν, πόλεως δὲ οὐ τῆς ἀφανεστάτης ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγενόμεθα: ἦν ἀφαιρεθέντες ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν δεκαετὶ πολέμῳ χειρωθεῖσαν, ἀλῆται περιερχόμενοι [p. 94] πόλεώς τε καὶ χώρας ἐν ἧ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκήσομεν ἀπορία, θεοῖς δὲ κελεύουσι πειθόμενοι δεῦρ' ἀφίγμεθα: καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς τὰ θέσφατα λέγει λιμὴν τῆς πλάνης ἦδε ἡ γῆ μόνη λείπεται. ποριζόμεθα δὲ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὧν ἡμῖν δεῖ δυστυχέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ εὐπρεπέστερον, ὡς ἥδιστα νεωστὶ ἐβουλόμεθα. [3] ἀμειψόμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ πολλαῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς ἔργων ἀμοιβαῖς παρέχοντες ὑμῖν καὶ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς εὖ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ πεπαιδευμένας χρῆσθαι ὅποσα βούλεσθε, τὴν ὑμετέραν γῆν φυλάττοντες ἀδῆλῳ, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων προθύμως συγκατακτώμενοι. ἰκέται δὲ ὑμῶν γινόμεθα μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν τὰ πεπραγμένα λαμβάνειν, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὡς οὐ

σὺν ὕβρει, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ταῦτα βιασθέντες ἐποιοῦμεν: ἅπαν δὲ σύγγνωμον τὸ ἀκούσιον. [4] καὶ δεῖ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἐναντίον βουλευῆσαι περὶ ἡμῶν χεῖρας προεχομένων, εἰ δὲ μή, θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας οἳ κατέχουσι τήνδε τὴν γῆν παραιτούμενοι συγγνώμονας ἡμῖν γενέσθαι καὶ ὧν ἡναγκασμένοι δρῶμεν πειρασόμεθα πολέμου ἄρχοντας ὑμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρώτου οὐδὲ μεγίστου πολέμου τοῦδε ἀπολαύσαιμεν. [5] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Λατῖνος ἤκουσεν ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς αὐτόν: ἀλλ' ἔγωγε εὖ νοιᾶν τε πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος ἔχω καὶ συμφοραῖς ἀνθρώπων [p. 95] ἀναγκαίαις πάνυ ἄχθομαι, σῶζεσθαι τε ὑμᾶς περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, εἴ μοι δῆλοι γένοισθε οἰκήσεως δεόμενοι ἥκειν ἐν ἀποχρώσει τε γῆς μοῖρα καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν τῶν δοθησομένων μετέχοντες, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν ἐμὴν δυναστείαν ἀφαιρησόμενοι πρὸς βίαν. εἰ δ' ἐπαληθεύεται ὑμῖν ὅδ' ὁ λόγος πίστεις τούτων ἀξιῶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν, αἶ φυλάξουσιν ἡμῖν ἀδόλους τὰς ὁμολογίας.

Αἰνείου δὲ ἐπαινέσαντος τὰ λεγόμενα γίνονται συνθήκαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐφ' ὀρκίῳν τοιαίδε: Ἀβοριγῖνας μὲν Τρωσὶ δοῦναι χώραν ὅσῃν ἤξiou ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετταράκοντα σταδίους πανταχοῦ πορευομένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου: Τρῶας δὲ Ἀβοριγῖσι τοῦ τ' ἐν χερσὶ πολέμου συλλαβέσθαι καὶ ὅπου ἂν ἄλλη παρακαλῶνται συστρατεύειν: κοινῇ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους τὰ κράτιστα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων πράττειν καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ. [2] συνθέμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τέκνων ὁμηρεῖαις τὰς πίστεις βεβαιώσαντες κοινῇ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ῥοτόλων: δι' ὀλίγου δὲ τάκει πάντα χειρωσάμενοι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πόλισμα τὸ Τρωικὸν ἡμιτελὲς ἔτ' ὄν καὶ μιᾷ προθυμίᾳ πάντες χρώμενοι τειχίζουσιν αὐτό. [3] ὄνομα δὲ τῷ κτίσματι Αἰνείας τίθεται Λαουίνιον, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς, ἥ Λαῦναν εἶναι φασὶ τοῦνομα: ὥς δ' ἄλλοι [p. 96] τινὲς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μυθογράφων ἔλεξαν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνίου τοῦ Δηλίων βασιλέως θυγατρὸς, Λαύνας καὶ τῆς 2δὲ ὀνομαζομένης, ἥς ἀποθανούσης νόσῳ περὶ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς πόλεως πρώτης καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμε χωρίῳ ταφείσης μνήμα γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. συμπλεῦσαι δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς Τρωσὶ λέγεται δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Αἰνεία δεηθέντι μαντικὴν οὖσαν καὶ σοφὴν. [4] λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὸν πολισμὸν τοῦ Λαουίνιου σημεῖα τοῖς Τρωσὶ γενέσθαι τοιαύδε: πυρὸς αὐτομάτως ἀναφθέντος ἐκ τῆς νάπης λύκον μὲν κομίζοντα τῷ στόματι τῆς ξηρᾶς ὕλης ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ἀετὸν δὲ προσπετόμενον ἀναρριπίζειν τῇ κινήσει τῶν περυγῶν τὴν φλόγα: τούτοις δὲ τάναντία μηχανωμένην ἀλώπεκα τὴν οὐρὰν διάβροχον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φέρουσαν ἐπυρραπίζειν τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τοὺς ἀνάπτοντας ἐπικρατεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τὴν ἀποσβέσαι βουλομένην: τέλος δὲ νικῆσαι τοὺς δύο, καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν οἴχεσθαι μηδὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν δυναμένην. [5] ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Αἰνείαν εἰπεῖν ὥς ἐπιφανῆς μὲν ἔσται καὶ θαυμαστὴ καὶ γνώσεως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥξουσα ἡ ἀποικία, ἐπιφθονος δὲ τοῖς πέλας αὐξομένη καὶ λυπηρά, κρατήσῃ δ' ὅμως τῶν ἀντιπραπτόντων κρείττονα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τύχην λαβοῦσα τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἐναντιωσομένου φθόνου. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω περιφανῇ μηνύματα [p. 97] λέγεται γενέσθαι τῶν συμβησομένων τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν μνημεῖα ἐν τῇ Λαουῖνιαιτῶν

ἀγορᾷ χαλκᾷ εἰδωλα τῶν ζῶων ἐκ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου διατηρούμενα.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεσκευάσθη τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἡ πόλις, ἐπιθυμία πάντας ἴσχευ ἰσχυρὰ τοῦ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀπολαῦσαι χρησίμου, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν πρῶτοι ἄρχουσι μίξαντες τοῦ τε ἐπιχωρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπήλυδος γένους τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐπὶ συναλλαγαῖς γάμου, δόντος Λατίνου τὴν θυγατέρα Λαῦναν Αἰνεία γυναικα. [2] ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιθυμίαν λαβόντες καὶ δι' ὀλίγου πάνυ χρόνου συνενεγκάμενοι ἔθη καὶ νόμους καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κηδεῖας τε συνάψαντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ κοινωνίαις πολέμων ἀνακεράσθέντες, οἱ σύμπαντες κοινῇ ὀνομασίᾳ προσαγορεύοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων Λατίνους, οὕτω βεβαίως ἔμειναν ἐπὶ τοῖς συγκεκλιμένοις, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἔτι χρόνος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέστησε. [3] τὰ μὲν δὴ συνελθόντα ἔθη καὶ κοινωσάμενα τοὺς βίους, ἐξ ὧν τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος ὥρμηται, πρὶν ἢ νῦν ἔχουσιν οἰκισθῆναι πόλιν, ταῦτά ἐστιν: Ἀβοριγῖνες μὲν πρῶτον, οἱ Σικελοὺς ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τούτων τῶν χωρίων, Ἕλληνες ὄντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου [p. 98] τῶν σὺν Οἰνώτρῳ μετενεγκάμενων τὴν οἰκῆσιν ἐκ τῆς καλουμένης νῦν Ἀρκαδίας, ὡς ἐγὼ πεῖθομαι: ἔπειθ' οἱ μεταναστάντες ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν Αἰμονίας, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίας καλουμένης, Πελαγοί: τρίτοι δὲ οἱ σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ παραγεννηθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Παλλαντίου πόλεως: μετὰ δὲ τούτους τῶν σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ στρατευομένων Πελοποννησίων Ἐπειοὶ τε καὶ Φενεᾶται, οἷς καὶ Τρωικὸν τι ἐμμέμικται: τελευταῖοι δὲ οἱ διασωθέντες σὺν Αἰνείᾳ Τρῶες ἐξ Ἰλίου τε καὶ Δαρδάνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Τρωικῶν πόλεων.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Τρώων ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ποτὲ ὥρμημένον, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πάλαι, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ δι' ὀλίγων. ἔχει δὲ ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν ὧδε: Ἄτλας γίνεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, ὥκει δὲ περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Καυκῶνιον ὄρος. τούτῳ θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἐπτὰ αἱ νῦν ἐν οὐρανῷ κατῆστερίσθαι λεγόμεναι Πλειάδες ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὧν μίαν μὲν Ἥλεκτραν Ζεὺς γαμεῖ καὶ [2] γεννᾷ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἴασον καὶ Δάρδανον. Ἴασος μὲν οὖν ἡθεὸς μένει, Δάρδανος δὲ ἄγεται γυναικα Χρῦσιν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες Ἰδαῖος καὶ Δείμας. οὗτοι τέως μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ παραλαβόντες τὴν Ἄτλαντος δυναστείαν ἐβασίλευον, ἔπειτα κατακλυσμοῦ γενομένου μεγάλου περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τὰ μὲν πεδία ἐξελιμνῶθη καὶ πολλοῦ [p. 99] χρόνου γεωργεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ὥκουν γὰρ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη γλίσχρως ποριζόμενοι τὰς τροφὰς συμφρονήσαντες ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὴ βόσκειν ἔσται πάντας ἢ περισυῖν γῆ νέμονται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διχῆ: καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ὑπομένουσι βασιλέα καταστησάμενοι Δείμαντα τὸν Δαρδάνου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ [3] ἀπανίστανται Πελοποννήσου στόλῳ μεγάλῳ. ποιοῦμενοι δὲ τὸν πλοῦν παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην εἰς τὸν Μέλανα καλούμενον ἀφικνοῦνται κόλπον καὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἐν νήσῳ πινὶ τῆς Θράκης ὀρμισάμενοι, ἣν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν εἶτε ἦν οἰκουμένη καὶ πρότερον, εἴτ' ἔρημος: ἣ τίθενται τοῦνομα σύνθετον ἐκ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ τόπου, Σαμοθράκην: τὸ μὲν γὰρ χωρίον τῆς Θράκης, ὃ δὲ οἰκιστὴς Σάμων, υἱὸς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ νύμφης Κυλληνίδος Ῥήνης ὀνομαζομένης.

[4] ἔκει δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν διατρίψαντες, ὥς οὐκ εὐμαρὴς ἦν ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς γῇ τε λυπρᾷ καὶ θαλάττῃ ἀγρία μαχομένοις, ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ λειπόμενοι ἀπανίστανται πάλιν οἱ πλείους εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας Δάρδανον: Ἴασος γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κεραυνῷ πληγείς τελευτᾷ Δήμητρος εὐνῆς ὀριγνόμενος οἱ ἔχειν: ποιησάμενοί τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ νῦν Ἑλλησπόντῳ περὶ τὴν ὕστερον κληθεῖσαν οἰκίζονται Φρυγίαν, [p. 100] Ἰδαῖος μὲν ὁ Δαρδάνου μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἃ νῦν Ἰδαῖα ἀπ' ἐκείνου λέγεται, ἔνθα μητρὶ θεῶν ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς κατεστήσατο, αἱ καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνον διαμένουσιν ἐν ἀπάσῃ Φρυγίᾳ: Δάρδανος δ' ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Τρωάδι πόλιν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσας, δόντος αὐτῷ τὰ χωρία Τεύκρου βασιλέως, ἀφ' οὗ Τευκρὶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ γῇ ἐλέγετο: [5] τοῦτον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Φανόδημος ὁ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γράψας ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετοικῆσαί φασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν δήμου Ξυπetaiέως ἄρχοντα καὶ πολλὰ παρέχονται τοῦ λόγου τεκμήρια. κρατήσαντα δὲ χώρας συχνῆς τε καὶ ἀγαθῆς καὶ οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἐχούσης γένος ἀσμένως τὸν Δάρδανον ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον Ἑλληνικόν, τῶν τε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμων συμμαχίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἵνα ἢ γῇ μὴ ἦ ἔρημος.

ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἐξ ὧν ἔφυ διηγήσασθαι: βραχεῖα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσει σημανῶ. Δάρδανος ἐπειδὴ Χρῦσιν τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς οἱ πρότεροι παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ, τελευτῆσαι συνέπεσε, Βάτειαν γαμῆ τὴν Τεύκρου θυγατέρα: καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Ἐριχθόνιος, ὃς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι τῆς τε πατρῴας καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ μητροπάτορι γενομένης [p. 101] [2] κληρονομήσας ἀρχῆς. Ἐριχθονίου δὲ καὶ Καλλιρρόης τῆς Σκαμάνδρου γίνεται Τρῶς, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ ἔθνος ἔχει: Τρωὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀκαλλαρίδος τῆς Εὐμήδους Ἀσσάρακος ἦν: τούτου δὲ καὶ Κλυτοδώρας τῆς Λαομέδοντος Κάπυς: Κάπυος δὲ καὶ νύμφης Ναϊάδος Ἱερομνήμης Ἀγχίσης: Ἀγχίσου δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείας. ὥς μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ Τρωικὸν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν ἀρχῆθεν ἦν δεδῆλωται μοι.

περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς ἐκτίσθη τὸ Λαουῖνιον ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλως λέγουσιν: ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἔτει φέροντες αὐτὴν εἰκότα μᾶλλον λέγειν. Ἰλιος μὲν γὰρ ἐάλω τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους, ἑπτακαίδεκα πρότερον ἡμέραις τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς, ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χρόνους ἄγουσι, περιτταὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐκπληροῦσαι μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν εἴκοσιν ἡμέραι. ἐν δὴ ταῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως διαγενομέναις τὰ τε περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἶομαι διοικήσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐπιδέξασθαι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀφεστηκότων καὶ τὰ ὄρκια ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς: [2] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει, πρώτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν [p. 102] ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ἄραντες οἱ Τρῶες ἐκ τῆς γῆς περαιοῦνται τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς τὴν Θράκην αὐτοῦ διατρίβουσι τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν δεχόμενοι τε τοὺς ἐπισυνιόντας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ εἰς τὸν ἀπόπλουν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἀναστάντες

ἕαρος ἀρχομένου τελοῦσι τὸν μεταξὺ πλοῦν ἄχρι Σικελίας· ἐκεῖ δὲ ὀρμισσάμενοις αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο τελευτᾷ, καὶ διατρίβουσι τὸν δεῦτερον χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις συνοικίζοντες τοῖς Ἑλύμοις ἐν Σικελίᾳ. [3] πλοῖμων δὲ γενομένων ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου περῶσι τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος καὶ τελευτῶντες εἰς Λωρεντὸν ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν Ἀβοριγίνων αἰγιαλὸν μεσοῦσης θερείας. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ χωρίον οἰκίζουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λαουίνιον τὸν δεῦτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐκπληρώσαντες ἐνιαυτὸν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὥς ἔχω δόξης δεδήλωται μοι.

Αἰνείας δὲ κατασκευάσας ἱεροῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κόσμοις ἀποχρώντως τὴν πόλιν, ὣν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν, τῷ μὲν ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ, τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου, Τρώων ἐβασίλευσε μόνων· τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τελευτήσαντος Λατίνου καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει τῆς τε κηδεῖας οἰκειότητι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπικλήρου τῆς Λαύνας γενομένης μετὰ τὸν Λατίνου θάνατον καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πολέμου τῆς στρατηγίας ἔνεκα. [2] ἀπέστησαν γὰρ αὖθις ἀπὸ τοῦ Λατίνου Ῥότολοι λαβόντες ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτομόλων τινὰ τῆς Λατίνου γυναικὸς [p. 103] Ἀμίτας ἀνεψιὸν ὄνομα Τυρρηνόν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ τῆς Λαύνας τὸν κηδεστὴν μεμφόμενος, ὅτι παρελθὼν τὸ συγγενὲς ὀθνείοις ἐκέδευσε, τῆς τε Ἀμίτας παροξυνούσης καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συλλαμβανόντων ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν, ἥς αὐτὸς ἦρχε, προστίθεται τοῖς Ῥοτόλοις. [3] πολέμου δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τούτων γενομένου καὶ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς Λατίνος τε ἀποθνήσκει καὶ Τυρρηνὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνοί, κρατοῦσι δ' ὅμως οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ κηδεστῇ γενομένην ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας παραλαμβάνει. τρία δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη μετὰ τὴν Λατίνου τελευτὴν τῷ τετάρτῳ θνήσκει κατὰ πόλεμον. [4] Ῥότολοι τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύουσιν ἅπαντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Τυρρηνῶν Μεσέντιος δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας, ἥδη γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγα χωροῦσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ὀρῶν δύναμιν ἤχθετο. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερᾶς οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Λαουινίου καὶ πολλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολομένων τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης διελύθη, τὸ δὲ Αἰνείου σῶμα φανερόν οὐδαμῇ γενόμενον οἱ μὲν εἰς θεοὺς μεταστῆναι εἰκαζόν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, παρ' ὃν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, διαφθαρῆναι. [5] καὶ αὐτῷ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι ἡρώον ἐπιγραφῇ τοιαύδε κοσμούμενον· πατρὸς θεοῦ χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ρεῦμα διέπει. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγουσιν ἐπ' Ἀγχίσῃ [p. 104] κατασκευασθῆναι αὐτὸ ὑπ' Αἰνείου, ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου τελευτήσαντι. ἔστι δὲ χωμάτιον οὐ μέγα καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ δένδρα στοιχηδὸν πεφυκότεα θέας ἄξια.

Αἰνείου δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεταστάντος ἐβδόμῳ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν Εὐρυλέων παρέλαβε τὴν Λατίνων ἡγεμονίαν ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἀσκάνιος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ. ἦσαν δὲ τειχῆρεις οἱ Τρώες ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις αἰεὶ προσήει δύνამεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ Λαουινίῳ πολιορκουμένοις ἐπικουρεῖν. [2] τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν τε καὶ συνθήκας μετριάς προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσκάνιον· ὥς δ' οὐδὲν προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς, ἐπιτρέπειν ἐκείνοις ἠναγκάζοντο καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαιοῦσι. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν

Τυρρηνῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς δεδουλωμένοις ἀφόρητα ἐπιτάσσοντος καὶ τὸν οἶνον ὅσον ἂν ἡ Λατίνων γῆ φέρη Τυρρηνοῖς ἀπάγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς μὲν ἀμπέλου τὸν καρπὸν ἱερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γνώμην ἀγορεύσαντος Ἀσκανίου, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀλλήλοις παρακελευσάμενοι προθύμοις ἀγωνισταῖς γενέσθαι καὶ θεοὺς αἰτησάμενοι συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ κινδυνεύματος ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξαντες νύκτ' ἀσέληνον. ^[3] εὐθὺς δὲ προσβαλόντες τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων, ὃς ἐγγυάτω τῆς πόλεως ἔκειτο καὶ [p. 105] ἦν προτειχισμα τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἐν ἐρυμνῷ τε κατεσκευασμένος χωρίῳ καὶ τὴν κρατίστην νεότητα Τυρρηνῶν ἔχων, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Μεσεντίου παῖς Λαῦσος ὄνομα, οὐδενὸς προιδομένου τὴν ἔφοδον αἰροῦσιν εὐπετῶς τὸ ὀχύρωμα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἡλίσκετο, φῶς τε ἄκαιρον ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκότες καὶ βοὴν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀκούοντες ἔφευγον ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς πεδινοὺς τόπους ἐπὶ τὰ ^[4] ὄρη. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλὴ ἐγένετο ταραχὴ καὶ θόρυβος, οἷα ἐν νυκτὶ κινουμένης στρατιᾶς, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐπιθησομένων οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ οὐδὲ κατὰ τέλη τὴν ἔλασιν ποιούμενοι: οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε φρούριον ἐξ ἐφόδου κατειλήφesan καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἔμαθον τεταραγμένον, ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς κτείνοντες καὶ διώκοντες. τῶν δ' οὐχ ὅπως τις πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μαθεῖν ἐν οἷς ἦσαν κακοῖς ἡδύνατο: ὑπὸ δὲ θορύβου καὶ ἀμυχανίας οἱ μὲν κατὰ κρημνῶν φερόμενοι διεφθείροντο, οἱ δ' εἰς φάραγγας ἀνεξόδους ἐμπίπτοντες ἡλίσκοντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀγνοήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὸ σκότος ὅσα πολεμίους διέθεσαν, καὶ ὁ [p. 106] πλεῖστος αὐτῶν φθόρος ἀλληλοκτόνος ἐγένετο. Μεσέντιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις λόφον τινὰ καταλαβὼν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν μόρον ἐπύθετο καὶ ὅσος αὐτῷ στρατὸς διέφθαρτο ἐν οἷῳ τε χωρίῳ κατακεκλεικῶς ἑαυτὸν ἦν, ^[5] ὡς ὢν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χρήματος, ἔπεμψε κήρυκας εἰς τὸ Λαουῖνιον περὶ φιλίας διαλεξομένους, Ἀσκανίου δὲ τοῖς Λατίνοις ταμιεῦεσθαι τὴν τύχην συμβουλευόντος ἄδειαν εὐρόμενος ἀπῆλθεν ὑπόσπονδος μεθ' ὅσης εἶχε δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον ἅπαντα διαλυσάμενος τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους βέβαιος φίλος ἦν.

τριακοστῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ Λαουῖνίου πόλιν ἑτέραν οἰκίζει κατὰ τὸ γενόμενον Αἰνεῖα θέσφατον Ἀσκάnios ὁ Αἰνείου καὶ μετὰγει τοὺς τ' ἐκ Λαουῖνίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Λατίνων ὅσοις ἦν βουλομένοις ἄμεινον οἰκεῖν εἰς τὴν νεόκτιστον, ὄνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενος Ἄλβαν. ἔστι δ' ἡ Ἄλβα καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν Λευκὴ, σαφηνισμοῦ δ' ἕνεκα διορίζεται παρ' ἑτέραν πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἐπικλήσει τὸ σχῆμα ἐπικατηγορούση, καὶ ἐστὶν ὥσπερ σύνθετον ἥδη τοῦνομα ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Ἄλβα λόγγα, τοῦτο δ' ἔστι Λευκὴ μακρά. ^[2] νῦν μὲν οὖν ἔρημός ἐστιν: ἐπὶ γὰρ Ὀστίλιου Τύλλου Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως στασιάζειν δόξασα πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνηρέθη: τὸ [p. 107] δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πολιτευόμενον πλῆθος ἡ καθελοῦσα τὴν μητρόπολιν ὑπεδέξατο Ῥώμη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἰκνουμένοις χρόνοις ἐγένετο, ἡνίκα δὲ ὤκιζετο πρὸς ὄρει καὶ λίμνῃ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ μέσον ἐπέχουσα ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα δυσάλωτον αὐτὴν ποιοῦντα. τὸ τε γὰρ

ὄρος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ὄχυρόν τε καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τε λίμνη βαθεῖα καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ κλισιάδων ἀνοιγομένων ὑποδέχεται τὸ πεδῖον ταμειυμένων ὅποσον βούλονται τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ὕδωρ. ^[3] ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστὰ μὲν ἰδεῖν, πλούσια δὲ καὶ οἶνους καὶ καρποὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν παντοδαποὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνδεεστέρους τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Ἀλβανὸν οἶνον ἡδὺν καὶ καλόν, ἔξω τοῦ Φαλερίνου λεγομένου τῶν γοῦν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαφορώτατον.

ἐν δὲ τῇ κτίσει τῆς πόλεως θαῦμα μέγιστον λέγεται γενέσθαι. κατασκευασθέντος τοῖς ἔδεσι τῶν θεῶν, οὓς Αἰνείας ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἠνέγκατο καὶ καθίδρυσεν ἐν τῷ Λαουινίῳ, ναοῦ χωρίον ἔχοντος ἄβατον καὶ τῶν ἰδρυμάτων ἐκ τοῦ Λαουινίου μετακομισθέντων ἐκ τοῦ νεῷ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν μυχόν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα κεκλεισμένων τε ὡς μάλιστα τῶν θυρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν παθόντων οὔτε περιβόλων οὔτε ὀροφῶν διαμειψαντα τὰ βρέτη τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ τῶν [p. 108] ^[2] ἀρχαίων εὐρεθῆναι κείμενα βάθρων: μετακομισθέντα δὲ αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ Λαουινίου σὺν ἱκετείαις καὶ θυσίαις ἀρεστηρίοις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως ἀνελθεῖν. τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τέως μὲν ἀπορεῖν ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασιν οὔτε δίχα τῶν πατρῶων θεῶν οἰκεῖν ἀξιοῦντας οὔτε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν οἴκησιν αὖθις ἀναστρέφειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ γνώμην εὐρέσθαι, ἣ ἔμελλεν ἀποχρώντως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω ἔξειν: τὰ μὲν ἔδη κατὰ χώραν ἔῃσαι μένειν, ἄνδρας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἄλβας εἰς τὸ Λαουίνιον αὖθις ἐποίκουσ μεταγαγεῖν. καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐξακόσιοι μελεδωνοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῖς μεταναστάντες ἐφεστῖοις: ἡγεμῶν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐτάχθη Αἴγεστος. ^[3] τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλοῦσιν: οἱ δ' ἐξερμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τοῦνομα οἱ μὲν Πατρώους ἀποφαινουσιν, οἱ δὲ Γενεθλίους, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μυχίους, οἱ δὲ Ἐρκείους. ἔοικε δὲ τούτων ἕκαστος κατὰ τινος τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν κινδυνεύουσι τε πάντες ἀμωσ2γέπως τὸ αὐτὸ ^[4] λέγειν. σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν περὶ Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται: κηρύκῃα σιδηρᾷ καὶ χαλκᾷ καὶ κέραμον Τρωικὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουινίῳ κείμενα ἱερά, πυθέσθαι δὲ [p. 109] αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ὀρᾶν ἅπασιν οὐ θέμις οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ὀρώντων ἀκούειν οὔτε ἀναγράφειν οἶμαι δεῖν, νεμεσῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσοι πλείω τῶν συγχωρουμένων ὑπὸ νόμου ζητεῖν ἢ γινώσκειν ἀξιοῦσιν.

ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι καὶ δέος οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει με περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν τοιάδε ἐστί: νεῶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δεικνυταὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ἐπίτομον ὁδὸν ὑπεροχῇ σκοτεινὸς ἰδρυμένος οὐ μέγας. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν ὑπ' Ἑλαίας τὸ χωρίον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κεῖνται τῶν Τρωικῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, ἃς ἅπασιν ὀρᾶν θέμις, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαι δηλοῦσαν τοὺς Πενάτας. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι τοῦ θ μήπω γράμματος εὐρημένου τῷ δ δηλοῦν τὴν ἐκεῖνου δύναμιν οἱ παλαιοί. ^[2] εἰσὶ δὲ νεανία δύο καθήμενοι δόρατα διειληφότες, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἔργα τέχνης. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀρχαίοις εἶδωλα τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἐθεασάμεθα,

καὶ ἐν ἅπασι νεανίσκοι δύο στρατιωτικὰ σχήματα ἔχοντες φαίνονται. ὁρᾷ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔξεστιν, ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἃ Καλλιστρατός [p. 110] τε ὁ περὶ Σαμοθράκης συνταξάμενος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ· τοὺς ἀρχαίους μύθους συναγαγὼν καὶ ἄλλοι συγχοί, παλαιότατος δὲ ὢν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ποιητῆς Ἀρκτίνος. [3] λέγουσι γοῦν ᾧδε: Χρῦσιν τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα γημαμένην Δαρδάνῳ φερνᾶς ἐπενέγκασθαι δωρεὰς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ τε Παλλάδια καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν διδασχθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τὰς τελετάς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν φεύγοντες Ἀρκάδες Πελοπόννησον μὲν ἐξέλιπον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Θρακίᾳ νήσω τοὺς βίους ἰδρύσαντο, κατασκευάσαι τὸν Δάρδανον ἐνταῦθα τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἱερὸν ἀρρήτους τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιοῦντα τὰς ἰδίους αὐτῶν ὀνομασίας καὶ τὰς τελετάς αὐτοῖς τὰς καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνου γινομένας ὑπὸ Σαμοθράκων ἐπτελεῖν. [4] ὥς δὲ μετήγε τοῦ λεῶ τὴν πλείω μοῖραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς τελετάς τοῖς ὑπομείνανσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καταλιπεῖν· τὰ δὲ Παλλάδια καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας κατασκευασάμενον ἀγαγέσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. διαμαντευόμενον δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκίσεως τὰ τε ἄλλα μαθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς φυλακῆς τόνδε τὸν χρησμόν λαβεῖν:

εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίζησθα θεοῖς σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ

θεῖναι, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσίαις τε χοροῖς τε.

ἔστ' ἂν γὰρ τάδε σεμνὰ καθ' ὑμετέρεην χθόνα μίμνη [p. 111]

δῶρα Διὸς κούρης ἀλόχῳ σέθεν, ἣ δὲ πόλις σοι

ἔσται ἀπόρρητος τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἥματα πάντα.

Δάρδανον μὲν ἐν τῇ κτισθείσῃ τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὀνομασίας ὁμοίας τυχοῦσῃ πόλει τὰ ἔδη καταλιπεῖν, Ἰλίου δ' ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ συνοικισθέντος ἐκεῖσε μετενεχθῆναι πρὸς τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ. ποιήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς νεῶν τε καὶ ἄδυτον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ φυλάττειν δι' ἐπιμελείας ὅσης ἐδύναντο πλείστης θεόπεμπτα τε ἡγουμένους εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίας κύρια τῇ πόλει. [2] ἀλικομένης δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὸν Αἰνείαν καρτερὸν τῆς ἄκρας γενόμενον, ἄραντα ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων τὰ τε ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἔτι περιῆν Παλλάδιον ἑτάτερον γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὰ καὶ Διομήδην νυκτός φασιν εἰς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένους κλοπῇ λαβεῖν οἴχεσθαι τε κομίσαντα τὸν Αἰνείαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἄγοντα εἰς Ἰταλίαν. [3] Ἀρκτίνος δὲ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλάδιον ἐν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἢ πόλις ἠλίσκετο κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ· εἰκόνα δ' ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην ὥς μηδὲν τῆς ἀρχετύπου διαφέρειν ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἔνεκεν ἐν φανερώ τεθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν. [4] τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπ' Αἰνείου κομισθέντα ἱερὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος γράφω τῶν τε μεγάλων θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι, οὓς Σαμοθῤῥακες Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα [p. 112] ὀργιάζουσι, καὶ τὸ μυθευόμενον Παλλάδιον, ὃ φασὶ τὰς ἱερὰς φυλάττειν παρθένους ἐν ναῷ κείμενον Ἑστίας, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον διασώζεται πῦρ· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ὑστέρῳ λεχθήσεται λόγῳ. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βεβήλοις ἡμῖν ἄδηλα ἔτερα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Τρωικῶν ἱερῶν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

Ἀσκανίου δὲ ὀγδὼ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τελευτήσαντος

παρέλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Σιλοῦιος ἀδελφὸς ὧν Ἀσκανίου, μετὰ τὸν Αἰνείου θάνατον γενόμενος ἐκ Λαύνας τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς, ὃν φασιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν νομέων ἐκτραφῆναι. [2] τοῦ γὰρ Ἀσκανίου παραλαβόντος τὴν βασιλείαν περιδεῖς ἡ Λαῦνα γενομένη μὴ τι δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθῃ κατὰ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομα, ἐγκύμων οὖσα δίδωσιν ἑαυτὴν Τυρρηνῶ τινι συοφορβίῳ ἐπιμελητῇ βασιλικῶν, ὃν ἤδει Λατίνῳ γενόμενον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα προσήγορον. ὁ δ' εἰς ὕλας ἐρήμους ἀγαγὼν αὐτὴν ὡς τῶν ἐπιτυχουσῶν τινα, φυλαττόμενος ὀφθῆναι τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἔτρεφεν ἐν τῇ νάπῃ κατασκευάσας οἴκησιν οὐ πολλοῖς γνώριμον καὶ τὸ παιδίον γενόμενον ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ τρέφει Σιλοῦιον ὀνομάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις Ἑλλάδι γλώσσει [3] λέξειεν Ὑλαῖον. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὡς πολλὴν ζητησιν ἔγνω τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων γινομένην καὶ δι' αἰτίας ὄντα παρὰ τῷ πλήθει τὸν Ἀσκανίον, [p. 113] ὡς ἀνηρηκότα τὴν παιδίσκην, φράζει τῷ δῆμῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ἄγει μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκ τῆς νάπης. τύχῃ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος ὁ Σιλοῦιος τὴν εἰρημένην ἔσχεν ὀνομασίαν καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου γένος ἅπαν, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆσαι συνέπεσεν, ἀμφιλογον γενομένην πρὸς ἓνα τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τῶν Ἀσκανίου παιδῶν Ἰούλον ἀξιοῦντα τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχὴν διαδέξασθαι. [4] τὴν δὲ δίκην ἐπεψήφισεν ὁ δῆμος ἄλλοις τε ὑπαχθεῖς λόγοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι μητρὸς ἦν ὁ Σιλοῦιος ἐπικλήρου τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ἰούλῳ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἱερά τις ἐξουσία προστετέθη καὶ τιμὴ τῷ τε ἀκινδύνῳ προὔχουσα τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τῇ ῥαστώνῃ τοῦ βίου, ἣν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένος ἐκαρποῦτο, Ἰούλιοι κληθέντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου. ἐγένετο δὲ μέγιστος ἅμα καὶ λαμπρότατος οἴκων οὗτος, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἄνδρας τε διαφορωτάτους ἡγεμόνων ἤνεγκεν, οἷς τὸ εὐγενὲς αἰ ἀρεταὶ μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι παρέσχον: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἄλλῳ δηλωθήσεται λόγῳ τὰ προσήκοντα.

Σιλοῦίου δ' ἐνὸς δέοντα τριάκοντα ἔτη κατασχόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν ἐνὶ πλείῳ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐν καὶ πεντήκοντα Λατίνος ἥρξεν ἔτη. Ἄλβας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐνὸς δέοντα τετταράκοντα [p. 114] ἔτη. μετὰ δὲ Ἄλβαν Κάπετος ἔξ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν. ἔπειτα Κάπυς δυεῖν δέοντα τριάκοντα. μετὰ δὲ Κάπυν Κάλπετος ἄχρι τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν. ἐξῆς δὲ Τιβερίνος ὀκταετῇ χρόνον ἐβασίλευσεν. [2] τελευτῆσαι δ' οὗτος ἐν μάχῃ παρὰ ποταμῷ γενομένη λέγεται: παρενεχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτῷ κατέλιπε τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀλβουλαν καλούμενον πρότερον. Τιβερίνου δὲ διάδοχος Ἀγρίππας ἐν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη. [3] μετὰ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν Ἀλλώδιος τυραννικὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ θεοῖς ἀπεχθόμενον ἐνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσιν: ᾧ περιφρονοῦντι τὰ δαιμόνια κατεσκεύαστο κεραυνῶν τε μιμήματα καὶ κτύποι βρονταῖς ἐμφερεῖς, οἷς δεδίττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς θεὸς ἤξιον. ὄμβρων δὲ καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κατασκῆψάντων τῆς τε λίμνης, παρ' ἣν οἰκῶν ἐτύγγανε, πλημμύραν οὐκ εἰσθῦσαν λαβούσης κατακλυσθεὶς πανοικίος ἀπόλλυται. καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαλαμπούσης τῆς λίμνης ἐν μέρει τινί, ὅταν ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ

σταθερὸς ὁ βυθὸς γένηται, παστάδων ἐρείπια καὶ ἄλλα οἰκήσεως ἔχνη φαίνεται. [4] Ἀουεντῖνος δὲ παρὰ τοῦτου τὴν δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος, ἀφ' οὗ τῶν ἑπτὰ λόφων τις ἐπώνυμος ἐγένετο τῶν συμπεπολισμένων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχευεν. πρόκας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτη εἴκοσι [p. 115] καὶ τρία. ἔπειτα Ἀμόλιος οὐ σὺν δίκῃ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχὼν Νεμέτορι προσήκουσαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτερος ἀδελφός, δύο καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη δυναστεύει. [5] Ἀμολίου δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς κόρης γενομένων, ὡς αὐτίκα λεχθήσεται, μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν κατὰ νόμον δυναστείαν Νεμέτωρ ὁ τῶν νεανίσκων μητροπάτωρ. τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει τῆς Νεμέτορος ἀρχῆς, δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν, ἀποικίαν στείλαντες Ἀλβανοὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῆς ἐχόντων κτίζουσι Ῥώμην ἔτους ἐνεστῶτος πρώτου τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δαϊκλῆς Μεσσήνιος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Χάροπος ἔτος τῆς δεκαετίας πρώτων.

ἀμφισβητήσεως δὲ πολλῆς οὕσης καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς κτίσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὥμην δεῖν ὥσπερ ὁμολογούμενα πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπελθεῖν. Κεφάλων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Γεργίθιος συγγραφεὺς παλαιὸς πάνυ δευτέρα γενεᾷ μετὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐκτίσθαι λέγει τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου διασωθέντων σὺν Αἰνείᾳ, οἰκιστὴν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἡγησάμενον τῆς ἀποικίας Ῥώμον, τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τῶν Αἰνείου παίδων ἕνα: τέτταρας δὲ φησὶν Αἰνείᾳ γενέσθαι παῖδας, Ἀσκάνιον, Εὐρυλέοντα, Ῥωμύλον, Ῥώμον. εἴρηται [p. 116] δὲ καὶ Δημαγόρα καὶ Ἀγαθύλλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς ὃ τε χρόνος καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμὼν ὁ [2] αὐτός. ὁ δὲ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην πραχθέντα συναγαγὼν Αἰνείαν φησὶν ἐκ Μολοττῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα μετ' Ὀδυσσεά οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ὀνομάσαι δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν Ἰλιάδων Ῥώμης. ταύτην δὲ λέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις Τρωάσι παρακελευσαμένην κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐμπρῆσαι τὰ σκάφη βαρυνομένην τῇ πλάνῃ. ὁμολογεῖ [3] δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Δαμαστῆς ὁ Σιγεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος Ἀχαιῶν τινὰς ἱστορεῖ τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀνακομισαμένων περιπλέοντας Μαλέαν, ἔπειτα χειμῶνι βιαίῳ καταληφθέντας τέως μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων φερομένους πολλαχῇ τοῦ πελάγους πλανᾶσθαι, τελευτῶντας δ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ὀπικῆς, ὃς καλεῖται Λατίνιον ἐπὶ τῷ [4] Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει κείμενος. ἀσμένους δὲ τὴν γῆν ἰδόντας ἀνελκῦσαι τε τὰς ναῦς αὐτόθι καὶ διατρεῖν τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν παρασκευαζομένους ἕαρος ἀρχομένου πλεῖν. ἐμπρησθεισῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὅπως ποιήσονται τὴν ἄπαρσιν, ἀβουλήτῳ ἀνάγκῃ τοὺς βίους ἐν ᾧ κατήχθησαν χωρίῳ ἰδρύσασθαι. συμβῆναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο διὰ γυναικας αἰχμαλώτους, ἃς ἔτυχον ἄγοντες ἐξ Ἰλίου. ταύτας δὲ κατακαῦσαι τὰ πλοῖα φοβούμενας τὴν οἴκαδε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄπαρσιν, ὡς εἰς δουλείαν ἀφιζομένας. [5] Καλλίας δὲ ὁ τὰς Ἀγαθοκλέους πράξεις ἀναγράφας Ῥώμην [p. 117] τινὰ Τρωάδα τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Τρωσὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν γήμασθαι Λατίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων καὶ γεννηῖσαι τρεῖς παῖδας, Ῥώμον καὶ

Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τηλέγονον ... οἰκίσαντας δὲ πόλιν, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῇ θέσθαι τοῦνομα. Ξεναγόρας δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Κίρκης υἱὸς γενέσθαι τρεῖς, Ῥῶμον, Ἀντείαν, Ἀρδεϊαν· οἰκίσαντας δὲ τρεῖς πόλεις ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν θέσθαι τοῖς κτίσμασι τὰς ὀνομασίας. [6] Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οἰκιστὴν μὲν ἀποφαίνει τῆς πόλεως Ῥῶμον· τοῦτον δὲ λέγει κατὰ μὲν τινὰς Ἀσκανίου, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Ἡμαθίωνος εἶναι παῖδα. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτίσθαι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ῥώμου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Λευκαρίας τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς.

ἔχων δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν παρέχεσθαι συγγραφέων, οἱ διαφόρους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς πόλεως, ἵνα μὴ δόξω μακρηγορεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐλεύσομαι συγγραφεῖς. παλαιὸς μὲν οὖν οὔτε συγγραφεὺς οὔτε λογογράφος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ εἷς· ἐκ παλαιῶν μέντοι λόγων ἐν ἱεραῖς δέλτοις σωζομένων ἕκαστός τι παραλαβὼν ἀνέγραψεν. [2] τούτων δὲ τινες μὲν Αἰνείου γενέσθαι υἱοὺς λέγουσι Ῥωμύλον τε καὶ Ῥῶμον τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, ἕτεροι δὲ θυγατρὸς Αἰνείου παῖδας, ὅτου δὲ πατρὸς οὐκέτι διορίζοντες· δοθῆναι δ' [p. 118] αὐτοὺς ὑπ' Αἰνείου Λατίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων ὁμηρεύσοντας, ὅτε καὶ αἱ πίστεις τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐπήλυδας ἐγένοντο. ἀσπαζόμενον δὲ αὐτοὺς Λατῖνον τῇ τε ἄλλῃ θεραπεία περιέπειν εὖ καὶ ἐκγόνου ἄρρενος ἄπαιδα τελευτῶντα διαδόχους μέρους τινὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καταλιπεῖν. [3] ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν Αἰνείου τελευτήσαντος Ἀσκανίον ἄπασαν τὴν Λατίνων ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντα νείμασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ῥωμύλον τε καὶ Ῥῶμον τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Λατίνων τριχῇ· αὐτὸν μὲν δὴ τὴν τε Ἄλβαν κτίσαι καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα πολισμάτα· Ῥῶμον δὲ Καπύην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάππου Κάπυος, Ἀγχίσην δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀγχίσου, Αἰνείαν δὲ τὴν ὕστερον κληθεῖσαν Ἰάνικλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, Ῥώμην δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ταύτην δὲ χρόνους πινὰς ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἑτέρας αὖθις ἐλθούσης ἀποικίας, ἣν Ἀλβανοὶ ἔστειλαν ἡγουμένου Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου, τὴν ἀρχαίαν κτίσιν ἀπολαβεῖν· ὥστε διττὰς εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κτίσεις· τὴν μὲν ὀλίγον ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν γενομένην, τὴν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα γενεαῖς ὕστεροῦσαν τῆς προτέρας. [4] εἰ δὲ τις ἀπιδεῖν βουλήσεται τὰ προσωτέρω καὶ τρίτῃ τις ἀρχαιοτέρα τούτων εὖρεθήσεται Ῥώμη γενομένη πρὶν Αἰνείαν καὶ Τρῶας ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τις οὐδὲ νέων συγγραφεὺς ἰστόρηκεν, ἀλλ' Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος, [p. 119] οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην. φησὶ δὲ Μόργητος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ βασιλεύοντος ἧν δὲ τότε Ἰταλία ἢ ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι Ποσειδωνίας παράλιος· ἐλθεῖν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα φυγάδα ἐκ Ῥώμης. λέγει δὲ ὧδε· ἑπεὶ δὲ Ἰταλὸς κατεγήρα, Μόργης ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάς· Σικελὸς ὄνομα αὐτῷ. [5] κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν Συρακούσιον συγγραφέα παλαιὰ τις εὕρισκεται καὶ προτεροῦσα τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων ἢ Ῥώμη. πότερον δὲ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἦν τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἢ νῦν οἰκουμένη πόλις ἐστίν, ἢ χωρίον ἕτερον ἐτύγχανεν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀσφὲς ἐκείνου καταλιπόντος οὐδ' ἐγὼ δύναμαι συμβαλεῖν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν παλαιῶν κτίσεων ἱκανὰ ἡγοῦμαι τὰ προειρημένα.

τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον γενόμενον τῆς Ῥώμης οἰκισμὸν ἢ κτίσιν ἢ ὅτι δῆποτε χρή καλεῖν Τιμαῖος μὲν ὁ Σικελιώτης οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ κανόνι χρησάμενος ἅμα Καρχηδόνι κτιζομένην γενέσθαι φησὶν ὀγδῶ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Λεύκιος δὲ Κίγκιος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς δωδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Κοῖντος δὲ Φάβιος κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. [2] Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὐχ ὀρίζει χρόνον, ἐπιμελὴς δὲ γενόμενος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἀρχαιολογουμένης ἱστορίας ἔτεσιν ἀποφαίνει δυσὶ καὶ [p. 120] τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίοις ὑστεροῦσαν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν. ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος ἀναμετρηθεὶς ταῖς Ἑρατοσθένους χρονογραφίαις κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος πίπτει τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος. ὅτι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ κανόνες ὑγιεῖς, οἷς Ἑρατοσθένης κέχρηται, καὶ πῶς ἂν τις ἀπευθύνῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων χρόνους πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς, ἐν ἐτέρῳ δεδήλωται μοι λόγῳ. [3] οὐ γὰρ ἤξιον ὡς Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δεῦτερον ἔτος τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτίσθαι πειθόμαι, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι κειμένου πίνακος ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου τὴν πίστιν ἀβασάνιστον καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιλογισμοὺς, οἷς αὐτὸς προσεθέμην, εἰς μέσον ὑπευθύνους τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν ἐσομένους ἐξενεγκεῖν. [4] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβεία ἐν ἐκείνῳ δηλοῦται τῷ λόγῳ, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆσδε τῆς πραγματείας αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως: ἡ Κελτῶν ἔφοδος, καθ' ἣν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἔαλω, συμφωνεῖται σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Πυργίωνος γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς καταλήψεως χρόνος ἀναγόμενος εἰς Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον Κολλατῖνον τοὺς πρώτους ὑπατεύσαντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν βασιλέων ἔτη περιεῖληφεν εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν. [5] δηλοῦται δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν καλουμένων τιμητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἃ διαδέχεται παῖς [p. 121] παρὰ πατρὸς καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐσομένοις ὥσπερ ἱερὰ πατρῶα παραδιδόναι: πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν τιμητικῶν οἴκων ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς οἱ διαφυλάττοντες αὐτά: ἐν οἷς εὕρισκω δευτέρῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς ἀλώσεως τίμησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου γενομένην, ἣ παραγέγραπται καθάπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρόνος οὗτος: 'ὑπατεύοντος Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου Ποτίτου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου Καπιτωνίου μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἐνὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει.' [6] ὥστε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔφοδον, ἣν τῷ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν τίμησιν ἔτει γενομένην εὕρισκόμεν, ἐκπεπληρωμένων τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν γενέσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου τριάκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδων εὕρισκεται γενόμενον, ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρώτους ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπάτους ὁμολογεῖν ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἰσαγόρου παρεληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.

καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ γε τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμύλον ἀναβιβασθεὶς ὁ χρόνος ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἀποτελεῖ. γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῖς ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν. Ῥωμύλος

μὲν γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὴν πόλιν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη λέγεται κατασχεῖν τὴν δυναστείαν· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλου θάνατον ἀβασίλευτος ἡ πόλις γενέσθαι χρόνον ἑνιαύσιον. [2] ἔπειτα Νόμας Πομπίλιος [p. 122] αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τρία καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη βασιλεύσαι. Τύλλος δὲ Ὅστιλιος μετὰ Νόμαν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ βασιλεύσας Ἄγκος Μάρκιος τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. μετὰ δὲ Μάρκιον Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ κληθεὶς Πρίσκος ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα. τοῦτον δὲ διαδεξάμενος Σερούϊος Τύλλιος τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα. ὁ Σερούϊον δὲ ἀνελὼν Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ τυραννικὸς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ὑπεροφίαν κληθεὶς Σούπερβος ἕως εἰκοστοῦ καὶ πέμπτου προαγαγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. [3] τεττάρων δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀναπληρουμένων ἐτῶν, ἃ κατέσχον οἱ βασιλεῖς, Ὀλυμπιάδων δὲ μιᾶς καὶ ἐξήκοντα πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸν πρῶτον ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμύλον ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι τῆς δεκαετίας Χάροπας ἔτος πρῶτον. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λογισμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν ἀπαιτεῖ. ὅτι δὲ τοσαῦτα ἕκαστος τῶν βασιλέων ἥρξεν ἔτη δι' ἐκείνου δηλοῦται μοι τοῦ λόγου. [4] τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἡ νῦν δυναστεύουσα πόλις ὤκισθη τοῖς τε πρὸ ἑμοῦ γενομένοις εἰρημένα κάμοι δοκοῦντα τοιάδ' ἐστίν. οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς οἵτινες ἦσαν καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν ὅσα τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ἰστόρηται πολλοῖς μὲν εἴρηται καὶ διαφόρως τὰ πλεῖστα ἑνίοις, λεχθήσεται δὲ κάμοι τὰ πιθανώτατα τῶν μνημονευομένων. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε: [p. 123]

Ἀμόλιος ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλείαν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφὸν Νεμέτορα τῷ κατισχυῖσαι τῆς πατρίου τιμῆς ἀπείρξας, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροφίαν τῶν δικαίων ἔδρα καὶ τελευτῶν ἔρημον γένους τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Νεμέτορος ἐπεβούλευσε ποιῆσαι, τοῦ τε δίκην ὑποσχεῖν φόβῳ καὶ ἔρωτι μὴ παυσθῆναι ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. [2] βουλευσάμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Νεμέτορος Αἰγέστον ἄρτι γενειάζοντα φυλάξας ἔνθα ἐκυνηγέται, προλοχίσας τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ἀφανέστατον, ἐξελθόντα ἐπὶ θήραν ἀποκτείνει καὶ παρεσκεύασε λέγεσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀναιρεθεῖη τὸ μεираκιον. οὐ μέντοι κρείττων ἢ κατασκευαστὴ δόξα τῆς σιωπωμένης ἀληθείας ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸ [3] ἀσφαλὲς ἐτολμᾶτο λέγεσθαι τὸ πραχθέν. Νεμέτωρ δὲ ᾗδει μὲν τὸ ἔργον, λογισμῷ δὲ κρείττονι τοῦ πάθους χρώμενος ἄγνοιαν ἐσκῆπτετο εἰς ἀκινδυνότερον ἀναβαλέσθαι χρόνον τὴν ὀργὴν βουλευσάμενος. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τὰ τοῦ μεираκιου ὑπολαβὼν λεληθέναι δεῦτερα τὰδε ἐποίει: τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Νεμέτορος Ἰλιαν, ὡς δὲ τινες γράφουσι Ῥέαν ὄνομα, Σιλουίαν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐν ἀκμῇ γάμου γενομένην ἰέρειαν ἀποδεικνυσιν Ἑστίας, ὡς μὴ τάχιον εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα τέκη τιμωροὺς τῷ γένει. πενταετοῦς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω χρόνου ἔδει τὰς ἱερὰς κόρας ἀγνάς διαμεῖναι γάμων, αἷς ἀνατίθεται [p. 124] τοῦ τε ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἢ φυλακῇ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο θρησκευέσθαι τῷ κοινῷ διὰ παρθένων νόμιμον ἦν. [4] ἐπραττε δὲ Ἀμόλιος τοῦτο μετ' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ὡς τιμὴν τῷ γένει καὶ κόσμον περιτιθεὶς οὔτε αὐτὸς εἰσηγησάμενος τὸν νόμον τόνδε οὔτε κοινῷ ὄντι πρῶτον ἀναγκάσας τῶν ἐν

ἀξιώματι χρῆσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐν ἔθει δὲ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ ἐν καλῷ ὄν-
τας εὐγενεστάτας ἀποδείκνυσθαι κόρας τῆς Ἑστίας προπόλους. ὁ δὲ
Νεμέτωρ αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτιστοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν
ὀργὴν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο, ἵνα μὴ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέχθοιτο, ἀπόρρητον δὲ καὶ
τοῦτο ἐφύλαττε τὸ ἔγκλημα.

τετάρτῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τὴν Ἰλιαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἄρεος
ὔδατος ἀγνοῦ κοιμίδῃς ἔνεκα, ὧς πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἔμελλε χρήσασθαι,
βιάζεται τις ἐν τῷ τεμένει. τοῦτον δὲ τινες μὲν ἀποφαίνουσι τῶν μνηστήρων
ἕνα γενέσθαι τῆς κόρης ἐρῶντα τῆς παιδίσκης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀμόλιον οὐκ
ἐπιθυμίας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιβουλῆς ἔνεκα φραξάμενόν τε ὅπλοις ὡς
ἐκπληκτικώτατος ὀφθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀψεως γνώριμον εἰς
ἀσφρὲς ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο καθιστάντα· [2] οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι μυθολογοῦσι τοῦ
δαίμονος εἰδῶλον, οὗ τὸ χωρίον ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῷ πάθει δαιμόνια ἔργα
προσάπτοντες ἡλίου τε ἀφανισμόν αἰφνίδιον καὶ [p. 125] ζῶφον ἐν οὐρανῷ
κατασχόντα· ὅψιν δέ, ἣν καὶ τὸ εἰδῶλον εἶχε, θαυμασιωτέραν μακρῷ δὴ τι
κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ἀνθρώπων· φασὶ τε εἰπεῖν τῇ κόρῃ παρηγοροῦντα
τὴν λύπην τὸν βιασάμενον, ἐξ οὗ γενέσθαι δηλὸν ὅτι θεὸς ἦν, μηδὲν
ἄχθεσθαι τῷ πάθει. τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν τῶν γάμων αὐτῇ γεγονέναι πρὸς τὸν
ἐμβατεῦντα τῷ χωρίῳ δαίμονα, τέξεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ βιασμοῦ δύο
παῖδας ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ κρατίστους ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια. ταῦτα δὲ
εἰπόντα νέφει περικαλυφθῆναι καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀρθέντα φέρεσθαι δι' ἀέρος
ἄνω. [3] ὅπως μὲν οὖν χρή περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε δόξης ἔχειν, πότερον
καταφρονεῖν ὡς ἀνθρωπίνων ῥαδιουργημάτων εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφερομένων
μηδὲν ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργημα τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως
ἀνάξιον ὑπομένοντος, ἢ καὶ ταύτας παραδέχεσθαι τὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς
ἀνακεκραμένης τῆς ἀπάσης οὐσίας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ θείου καὶ
θνητοῦ γένους τρίτης τινὸς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως, ἣν τὸ δαιμόνων φύλον
ἐπέχει, τοτὲ μὲν ἀνθρώποις, τοτὲ δὲ θεοῖς ἐπιμιγνύμενον, ἐξ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἔχει
τὸ μυθεύμενον ἡρώων φύναι γένος, οὔτε καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι διασκοπεῖν
ἄρκεῖ τε ὅσα φιλοσόφοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέχθη. [4] ἢ δ' οὖν κόρη μετὰ τὸν
βιασμόν ἀρρωστεῖν σκηψαμένη· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῇ παρήνευσεν ἡ μήτηρ [p.
126] ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίων ἔνεκά οὐκέτι προσήει
τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίνετο παρθένων, αἷς τὸ αὐτὸ προσέκειτο
ἔργον, ὅσα λειτουργεῖν ἐκείνην ἔδει.

Ἀμόλιος δὲ εἶτε κατὰ τὴν συνειδησιν τῶν πραχθέντων εἶτε ὑπονοίᾳ τῶν
εἰκότων προαχθεὶς ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς χρονίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστάσεως,
κατὰ τίνα γίνεται μάλιστ' αἰτίαν ἱατροῦς τε οἷς μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν εἰσπέμπων
καὶ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν νόσον αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπόρρητον ἀνθρώποις ἡτιῶντο εἶναι, τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα φύλακα τῆς κόρης καταλιπών. [2] ὡς δὲ κατήγορος αὕτη τοῦ
πάθους ἐγένετο γυναικείᾳ τεκμάρσει τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνευροῦσα, τῆς
μὲν παιδός, ὡς μὴ λάθῃ τεκοῦσα ἣν δὲ οὐ πρόσω τοῦ τόκου φυλακὴν
ἐποιεῖτο δι' ὅπλων· αὐτὸς δὲ καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τῆς τε
λανθανούσης τοὺς ἄλλους φθορᾷς μηνυτῆς γίνεται καὶ ἡτιᾶτο
συγκακουργεῖν τῇ κόρῃ τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκέλευε τε μὴ [3] κρύπτειν τὸν

εἰργασμένον, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον ἄγειν. Νεμέτωρ δὲ παραδόξων τε λόγων ἀκούειν ἔφη καὶ παντὸς ἀναίτιος εἶναι τοῦ λεγομένου χρόνον τε ἡξίου βασάνου τῆς ἀληθείας ἔνεκα λαβεῖν: τυχὼν δὲ ἀναβολῆς μόλις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν ὡς ἡ παῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀφηγήσατο, τὸν τε βιασμὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοὺς λεχθέντας [p. 127] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν διδύμων παιδῶν λόγους διεξῆλθεν ἡξίου τε πίστιν ποιήσασθαι ταύτην τῶν λεγομένων, εἰ τοιοῦτος ὁ τῆς ὠδίνος ἔσται γόνος, οἷον ὁ θεὸς ὑφηγήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ὁμοῦ τι τῷ τίκτειν εἶναι τὴν κόρην, ὥστε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ῥαδιουργεῖν φανήσεται. παρεδίδου δὲ καὶ τὰς φυλαττούσας τὴν κόρην καὶ ^[4] ἐλέγχων οὐδενὸς ἀφίστατο. ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῶν συνέδρων πλῆθος ἐπέθετο, Ἀμόλιος δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀπέφαινε τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς ὠρμητο τρόπου τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολέσαι. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο παρήσαν οἱ τὴν ὠδῖνα φρουρεῖν ταχθέντες ἀποφαίνοντες ἄρρενα βρέφη διδυμα τεκεῖν τὴν κόρην, καὶ αὐτίκα Νεμέτωρ μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺς ἦν λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τε ἀποδεικνὺς τὸ ἔργον καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὴν κόρην ἀναίτιον οὖσαν τοῦ πάθους παρανομεῖν ἀξιῶν: Ἀμολίῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων τι μηχανημάτων καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν τόκον ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρασκευασθέντος ἑτέρου ταῖς γυναιξὶ βρέφους ἢ κρύφα τῶν φυλάκων ἢ συγκακουργούντων, καὶ ^[5] πολλὰ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλέχθη. ὡς δὲ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως ἔμαθον οἱ σύεδροι ἀπαραιτήτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρωμένην ἐδικαίωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἡξίου χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ κελεύοντι τὴν μὲν αἰσχύναν τὸ σῶμα ῥάβδοις αἰκισθεῖσαν ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάλλεσθαι ῥεῖθρον: νῦν μέντοι [p. 128] ζώσας κατορύττεσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγορεύει νόμος.

μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὰ αὐτὰ ἢ μικρὸν παραλλάττοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθωδέστερον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἑοικὸς μᾶλλον ἀποφαίνουσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς διαφέρονται. ^[2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι λέγουσι τὴν κόρην, οἱ δ' ἐν εἰρκτῇ φυλαττομένην ἀδήλῳ διατελέσαι δόξαν τῷ δήμῳ παρασχοῦσαν ἀφανοῦς θανάτου. ἐπικλασθῆναι δὲ τὸν Ἀμόλιον εἰς τοῦτο ἰκετευούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἀνεψιᾶν αὐτῇ: ἦσαν δὲ σύντροφοί τε καὶ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσπαζόμεναι τε ἀλλήλας ὡς ἀδελφάς. χαριζόμενον οὖν ταύτῃ Ἀμόλιον, μόνη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ θυγάτηρ, θανάτου μὲν ἀπολῦσαι τὴν Ἰλίαν, φυλάττειν δὲ καθεῖρξαντα ἐν ἀφανεί: λυθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον Ἀμολίου τελευτήσαντος. ^[3] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰλίας οὕτω διαλλάττουσιν αἱ τῶν παλαιῶν γραφαί, λόγον δ' ἔχουσιν ὡς ἀληθεῖς ἐκάτεραι. διὰ τοῦτο κάγῳ μνήμην ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιησάμην, ὅποτέρᾳ δὲ χρή πιστεῦειν αὐτὸς τις εἴσεται τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων. ^[4] περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίας γενομένων Κόιντος μὲν Φάβιος ὁ Πικτωρ λεγόμενος, ὧς Λεύκιός τε Κίγκιος καὶ Κάτων Πόρκιος καὶ Πείσων Καλπούρνιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων οἱ πλείους ἠκολούθησαν, γέγραφε: ὡς κελεύσαντος [p. 129] Ἀμολίου τὰ βρέφη λαβόντες ἐν σκάφῃ κείμενα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινες ἔφερον ἐμβαλοῦντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους. ^[5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον ἔξω τοῦ γνησίου ῥεῖθρου τὸν Τέβεριν ὑπὸ

χειμῶνων συνεχῶν ἐκτετραμμένον εἰς τὰ πεδία, καταβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλλαντίου τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὸ προσεχέστατον ὕδωρ, ὃν γὰρ ἔτι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οἴοιτε ἦσαν ἔνθα πρῶτον ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλήμη τῆς ὑπωρείας ἦπτετο, τίθενται τὴν σκάφην ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. ἢ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐνήχετο, ἔπειτα τοῦ ῥείθρου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποχωροῦντος ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἔσχατα λίθου προσπταίσει περιτραπεῖσα ἐκβάλλει τὰ βρέφη. [6] τὰ μὲν δὴ κνυζοῦμενα κατὰ τοῦ τέλματος ἐκυλινδεῖτο, λύκαινα δὲ τις ἐπιφανεῖσα νεοτόκος σπαργῶσα τοὺς μαστοὺς ὑπὸ γάλακτος ἀνεδίδου τὰς θηλὰς τοῖς στόμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τὸν πηλόν, ὧ κατὰπλεοι ἦσαν, ἀπελίχμα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ νομεῖς ἐξελαύνοντες τὰς ἀγέλας ἐπὶ νομὴν ἥδη γὰρ ἐμβατόν ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἰδὼν τὴν λύκαιναν ὡς ἡσπάζετο τὰ βρέφη τέως μὲν ἀχανῆς ἦν ὑπὸ τε θάμβους καὶ ἀπιστίας τῶν θεωρουμένων: ἔπειτ' ἀπελθὼν καὶ συλλέξας ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους τῶν ἀγχοῦ νεμόντων ὃν γὰρ ἐπιστεύετο λέγων ἄγει τοῦργον αὐτὸ θαυματομένους. [7] ὡς δὲ κἀκεῖνοι πλησίον ἐλθόντες ἔμαθον τὴν [p. 130] μὲν ὥσπερ τέκνα περιέπουσαν, τὰ δ' ὡς μητρὸς ἐξεχόμενα, δαιμόνιον τι χρῆμα ὁρᾷν ὑπολαβόντες ἐγγυτέρω προσήεσαν ἀθρόοι δεδιττόμενοι βοῇ τὸ θηρίον. ἢ δὲ λύκαινα οὐ μάλα ἀγριαίνουσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ προσόδῳ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν χειροήθης ἀποστᾷσα τῶν βρεφῶν ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν τοῦ ποιμενικοῦ [8] ὁμίλου ἀπῆει. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τις οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων ἐκεῖθεν ἱερὸς χῶρος ὕλῃ βαθεῖα συνηρεφῆς καὶ πέτρα κοίλῃ πηγὰς ἀνιέισα, ἐλέγετο δὲ Πανὸς εἶναι τὸ νάπος, καὶ βωμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι τοῦ θεοῦ: εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐλθοῦσα ἀποκρύπτεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλσος οὐκέτι διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἄντρον, ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβὰς ἐκδίδεται, τῷ Παλλαντίῳ προσωκοδομημένον δαίκεται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλησίον, ἔνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται τοῦ πάθους λύκαινα παιδίοις δυσὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐπίσχουσα, χαλκᾷ ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ ποτὲ οἰκισάντων αὐτὸ Ἀρκάδων ἱερὸν ὡς λέγεται. [9] ὡς δὲ ἀπέστη τὸ θηρίον αἴρουσιν οἱ νομεῖς τὰ βρέφη σπουδῇν ποιοῦμενοι τρέφειν ὡς θεῶν αὐτὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένων. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς συοφορβίων βασιλικῶν ἐπιμελοῦμενος ἐπεικῆς ἀνὴρ Φαιστύλος ὄνομα, ὃς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ δὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἐγεγόνει καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἢ φθορὰ τῆς Ἰλίας καὶ ὁ τόκος ἡλέγχετο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομιζομένων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν βρεφῶν τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὰ κατὰ [p. 131] θείαν τύχην ἅμα διεληλύθει τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν εἰς τὸ Παλλάντιον ἰών: ὃς ἥκιστα τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφανῆς γενόμενος ὡς ἐπίσταται τι τοῦ πράγματος ἀξιώσας αὐτῷ συγχωρηθῆναι τὰ βρέφη λαμβάνει τε αὐτὰ παρὰ [10] τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ φέρων ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα ἔρχεται. τετοκυῖαν δὲ καταλαβὼν καὶ ἀθρομένην ὅτι νεκρὸν αὐτῇ τὸ βρέφος ἦν παραμυθεῖται τε καὶ δίδωσιν ὑποβαλέσθαι τὰ παιδία πᾶσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγησάμενος τὴν κατασχοῦσαν αὐτὰ τύχην. αὐξομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὄνομα τίθεται τῷ μὲν Ῥωμύλον, τῷ δὲ Ῥῶμον. οἱ δὲ ἀνδρωθέντες γίνονται κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν μορφῆς καὶ φρονήματος ὄγκον οὐ συοφορβοῖς καὶ βουκόλοις ἑοικότες, ἀλλ' οἴους ἂν τις ἀξιώσειε τοὺς ἐκ βασιλείου τε φύντας γένους καὶ ἀπὸ δαιμόνων σπορᾶς γενέσθαι νομιζομένους, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ὕμνοις

ὑπὸ ^[11] Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄδεται. βίος δ' αὐτοῖς ἦν βουκολικὸς καὶ διαίτα αὐτουργὸς ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ πολλὰ πηξαμένοις διὰ ξύλων καὶ καλάμων σκηνὰς αὐτορόφους· ὧν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν τις τοῦ Παλλαντίου ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἱππόδρομον στρεφούσης λαγόνος Ῥωμύλου λεγομένη, ἣν φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον ἐξαγοντες, εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ χρόνου τὸ λεῖπον ἐξακούμενοι καὶ ^[12] τῷ πρόσθεν ἐξομοιοῦντες εἰς δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες ἦσαν ἀμφίλογόν τι περὶ τῆς νομῆς αὐτοῖς γίνεται πρὸς τοὺς Νεμέτορος [p. 132] βουκόλους, οἱ περὶ τὸ Αὐεντῖνον ὄρος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Παλλαντίου κείμενον εἶχον τὰς βουστάσεις. ἡτιῶντο δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι θαμινὰ ἢ τὴν μὴ προσήκουσαν ὀργάδα κατανέμειν ἢ τὴν κοινὴν μόνους διακρατεῖν ἢ ὃ τι δῆποτε τύχοι. ἕκ δὲ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας ταύτης ἐγένοντο πληγαὶ ποτε διὰ χειρῶν, εἴτα δι' ὄπλων. ^[13] τραύματα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν μεираκιῶν λαβόντες οἱ τοῦ Νεμέτορος καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπολέσαντες τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἥδη κατὰ κράτος ἐξειργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο δόλον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτούς. προλοχίσαντες δὲ τῆς φάραγγος τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς λοχῶσι τὰ μεираκία τὸν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως καιρὸν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὰ μανδρεύματα αὐτῶν νύκτωρ ἐπέβαλον. Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐτύγχανεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν κωμητῶν πεπορευμένος εἷς τι χωρίον Καίνιναν ὀνομαζόμενον ἱερὰ ^[14] ποιήσων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάτρια· Ῥῶμος δὲ τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐξεβοήθει λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα διαταχέων ὀλίγους τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης φθάσαντας καθ' ἓν γενέσθαι παραλαβὼν. ἀκακεῖνοι οὐ δέχονται αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν ὑπαγόμενοι ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἐν καλῷ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Ῥῶμος κατ' ἄγνοίαν τοῦ μηχανήματος ἄχρι πολλοῦ διώκων αὐτούς παραλλάττει τὸ λελοχισμένον χωρίον, κὰν τούτῳ [p. 133] ὃ τε λόχος ἀνίσταται καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες ὑποστρέφουσι. κυκλωσάμενοι δὲ αὐτούς καὶ πολλοῖς ἀράττοντες λίθοις λαμβάνουσιν ὑποχειρίους. ταύτην γὰρ εἶχον ἐκ τῶν δεσποτῶν τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ζῶντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεανίσκους κομίσαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ χειρωθεὶς ὁ Ῥῶμος ἀπήγετο.

ὥς δὲ Τουβέρων Αἴλιος δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιμελὲς γράφει, προειδότες οἱ τοῦ Νεμέτορος θύσοντας τὰ Λυκαία τοὺς νεανίσκους τῷ Πανὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν ὥς Εὐάνδρος κατεστήσατο θυσίαν ἐνήδρευσαν τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς ἱεουργίας, ἥνικα χρῆν τοὺς περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον οἰκοῦντας τῶν νέων ἐκ τοῦ Λυκαίου τεθυκότας περιελθεῖν δρόμῳ τὴν κώμην γυμνοὺς ὑπεζωσμένους τὴν αἰδῶ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν νεοθύτων. τοῦτο δὲ καθαρμὸν τινα τῶν κωμητῶν πάτριον ἐδύνατο, ^[2] ὥς καὶ νῦν ἔτι δρᾶται. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς νεανίσκους οἱ βουκόλοι λοχήσαντες κατὰ τὸ στενόπορον τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον τάγμα τὸ σὺν τῷ Ῥῶμῳ κατ' αὐτούς ἐγένετο, τῶν ἀμφὶ Ῥωμύλον τε καὶ ἄλλων ὑστεριζόντων ἄτριχ' ἄρ' ἐνενέμνητο καὶ ἐκ διαστήματος ἔθειον' οὐ περιμείναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι καὶ περιστάντες ἔβαλλον οἱ μὲν ἀκοντίοις, οἱ δὲ λίθοις, οἱ δ' ὥς ἕκαστοι τι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον. [p. 134] οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους καὶ

ἀμχανοῦντες ὁ τι δράσειαν πρὸς ὠπλισμένους ἄνοπλοι μαχόμενοι κατὰ πολλήν εὐπέτειαν ἐχειρώθησαν. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥῶμος ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενος οὕτως, εἶθ' ὥς ὁ Φάβιος παραδέδωκε δέσμιος εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν ἀπήγετο. Ῥωμύλος δ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω πάθος, διώκειν εὐθύς ὤετο δεῖν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἔχων τῶν νομέων, ὥς ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὄντα καταληψόμενος τὸν Ῥῶμον: ἀποτρέπεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαιστύλου. ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν μακικωτέραν οὖσαν οὗτος νομισθεὶς ὁ πατήρ, ἃ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος τοῖς μεираκίοις διετέλεσεν, ὥς μὴ θάττον ὁρμήσῃσι παρακινδυνεῦσαι τι πρὶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀκμῆς γενέσθαι, τότε δὴ πρὸς τῆς ἀνάγκης βιασθεὶς μονωθέντι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ λέγει. [4] μαθόντι δὲ τῷ νεανίσκῳ πᾶσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατασχοῦσαν αὐτοῦς τύχην τῆς τε μητρὸς οἶκτος εἰσέρχεται καὶ Νεμέτορος φροντίς, καὶ πολλὰ βουλευσαμένῳ μετὰ τοῦ Φαιστύλου τῆς μὲν αὐτίκα ὁρμῆς ἐπισχεῖν ἐδόκει, πλείονι δὲ παρασκευῇ δυνάμειος χρησάμενον ὅλον ἀπαλλάξαι τὸν οἶκον τῆς Ἀμολίου παρανομίας κινδυνόν τε τὸν ἔσχατον ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄθλων ἀναρρῖψαι, πράττειν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ μητροπάτορος ὁ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ. [p. 135]

ὥς δὲ ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι ἔδοξε συγκαλέσας τοὺς κωμῆτας ἅπαντας ὁ Ῥωμύλος καὶ δεηθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν ἐπείγεσθαι διαταχέων μὴ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας ἅπαντας μὴδ' ἄθρόους εἰσιόντας, μὴ τις ὑπόνοια πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει γένηται, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπομένοντας ἐτοίμους εἶναι δρᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον, [2] ἀπῆει πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Ῥῶμον ἄγοντες ἐπειδὴ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς τε ὕβρεις ἀπάσας, ὅσας ἦσαν ὕβρισμένοι πρὸς τῶν μεираκίων, κατηγόρουν καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας σφῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τιμωρίας εἰ μὴ τεύξονται καταλείπειν προλέγοντες τὰ βουφόρβια. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τοῖς χωρίταις κατὰ πλῆθος ἐληλυθόσι χαρίζεσθαι βουλούμενος καὶ τῷ Νεμέτορι ἑαρών γὰρ ἐτύγχανε συναγανακτῶν τοῖς πελάταις εἰρήνην τε ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν σπεύδων εἶναι καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸ αὐθαδὲς τοῦ μεираκίου, ὥς ἀκατάπληκτον ἦν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, δι' ὑποψίας λαμβάνων καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην: τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τὸν Νεμέτορα ποιεῖ κύριον εἰπών, ὥς τῷ δράσαντι δεινὰ τὸ ἀντιπαθεῖν οὐ πρὸς ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πεπονθότος ὀφείλεται. [3] ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ὁ Ῥῶμος ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Νεμέτορος βουκόλων ἦγετο δεδεμένος τε ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀγόντων ἐπικερτομούμενος, ἀκολουθῶν ὁ Νεμέτωρ τοῦ τε σώματος τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀπεθαύμαζεν, ὥς πολὺ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶχε, καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐνεθυμεῖτο, [p. 136] ἦν καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ διέσωσεν οὐ πρὸς οἶκτον οὐδὲ λιπαρήσεις, ὥς ἅπαντες ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ποιοῦσι τύχαις, τραπόμενος, ἀλλὰ σὺν εὐκόσμῳ σιωπῇ πρὸς τὸν μόρον ἀπιών. [4] ὥς δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφίκοντο μεταστῆναι τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας μονωθέντα τὸν Ῥῶμον ἦρετο τίς εἶη καὶ τίνων, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων γε ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον γενόμενον. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμου τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον κατὰ πύστιν τοῦ τρέφοντος, ὅτι σὺν ἀδελφῷ διδύμῳ ἐκτεθειὴ βρέφος εἰς νάπην εὐθύς ἀπὸ γονῆς καὶ πρὸς τῶν νομέων ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐκτραφεῖη, βραχὺν ἐπισχῶν χρόνον εἴτε ὑποτοπηθεὶς τι τῶν ἀληθῶν εἴτε τοῦ δαίμονος ἄγοντος

εἰς τοῦμφανές τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: ^[5] ὅτι μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ὡς Ῥῶμε, παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δικαιώσω, καὶ ὡς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσαιντ' ἂν οἱ κομίσαντές σε δεῦρο πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν. εἰ δέ σε θανάτου τε καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐκλυσσάμην κακοῦ, ἄρ' ἂν εἰδείης μοι χάριν καὶ δεομένῳ ὑπουργήσεις ὃ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἔσται ἀγαθόν; ^[6] ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μεираκίου ὅποσα τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσει βίου κειμένους ἢ τοῦ σωθήσεσθαι ἐλπίς τοῖς κυρίοις τούτου λέγειν καὶ ὑπισχεῖσθαι ἐπαίρει, λῦσαι κελεύσας αὐτὸν ὁ Νεμέτωρ καὶ πάντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐκποδῶν φράζει τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας, ὡς Ἀμόλιος αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἀπεστέρησε τῆς βασιλείας ὀρφανόν τε τέκνων ἔθηκε, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ θήρᾳ [p. 137] κρύφα διαχειρισάμενος, τὴν δ' ἐν εἰρκτῇ δεδεμένην φυλάττων, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅποσα δεσπότης χρώμενος δούλῳ λωβᾶται.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πολλὴν θρῆνον ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις καταχεάμενος ἡξίου τιμωρὸν τοῖς κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ κακοῖς τὸν Ῥῶμον γενέσθαι. ἀσμένως δὲ ὑποδεξαμένου τὸν λόγον τοῦ μεираκίου καὶ παραυτίκα τάττειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοῦντος ἐπαινέσας ὁ Νεμέτωρ τὴν προθυμίαν, τῆς μὲν πράξεως ἔφη τὸν καιρὸν ἐγὼ ταμιεύσομαι, σὺ δὲ τέως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπορρήτον ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγγελίαν πέμψον, ὅτι σῶζῃ τε δηλῶν καὶ διαταχέων αὐτὸν ἥκειν ἀξιῶν. ^[2] ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπεται τις ἐξευρεθεῖς, ὃς ἐδόκει ὑπηρετήσιν καὶ περιτυχῶν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ὄντι Ῥωμύλῳ διασφαεῖ τὰς ἀγγελίας: ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔρχεται σπουδῇ πρὸς Νεμέτορα καὶ περιπλακεῖς ἀμφοῖν ἀσπάζεται μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα φράζει τὴν ἔκθεσιν σφῶν καὶ τροφήν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Φαιστύλου ἐπύθετο. τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις τε καὶ οὐ πολλῶν ἵνα πιστεύσειαν τεκμηρίων δεομένοις καθ' ἡδονὰς τὸ λεγόμενον ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέγνωσαν ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα συνετάττοντο καὶ διεσκόπουν ὅστις ἔσται [p. 138] ^[3] τρόπος ἢ καιρὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπιθεσιν ἐπιτήδειος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν ὁ Φαιστύλος ἀπάγεται πρὸς Ἀμόλιον. δεδοικῶς γὰρ μὴ οὐ πιστὰ δόξῃ τῷ Νεμέτορι λέγειν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἄνευ σημείων ἐμφανῶν μεγάλου πράγματος μηνυτῆς γενόμενος, τὸ γνῶρισμα τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν βρεφῶν τὴν σκάφην ἀναλαβὼν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐδίωκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ^[4] διερχόμενον δ' αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ταραχῶδῶς πάνυ καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον μηδενὶ ποιῆσαι καταφανές τὸ φερόμενον τῶν φυλάκων τις καταμαθὼν ἦν δὲ πολέμιων ἐφόδου δέος, καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ μάλιστα πιστευόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρούρουν' συλλαμβάνει τε καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν ὃ τι δήποτ' ἦν καταμαθεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἀποκαλύπτει βίᾳ τὴν περιβολήν. ὡς δὲ τὴν σκάφην ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔμαθεν ἀπορούμενον, ἡξίου λέγειν τίς ἢ ταραχὴ καὶ τί τὸ βούλημα τοῦ μὴ φανερώς ἐκφέρειν σκεῦος οὐδὲν δεόμενον ἀπορρήτου φορᾶς. ^[5] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πλείους τῶν φυλάκων συνέρρεον καὶ τις αὐτῶν γνωρίζει τὴν σκάφην αὐτὸς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ παιδιά κομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ φράζει πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ δὲ συλλαβόντες τὸν Φαιστύλον ἄγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διηγοῦνται τὰ γενόμενα. ^[6] Ἀμόλιος δὲ ἀπειλῇ βασάνων καταπληξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ λέξοι τὰς ἀληθείας [p. 139] ἐκὼν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ζῶσιν οἱ παῖδες ἦρετο: ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔμαθε τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ὅστις ὁ τρόπος

ἐγένετο: διηγησάμενον δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ὡς ἐπράχθη, Ἄγε δὴ, φησὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἀληθεύσας ἔχεις, φράσον ὅπου νῦν ἂν εὕρεθεῖεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δίκαιοι εἰσιν ἐν βουκόλοις καὶ ἄδοξον βίον ζῆν ἔμοιγε ὄντες συγγενεῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ θεῶν προνοίᾳ σωζόμενοι.

Φαιστύλος δὲ τῆς ἀλόγου πραότητος ὑποψία κινήθεις μὴ φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις ἀποκρίνεται ὥδε: οἱ μὲν παῖδες εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βουκολοῦντες, ὅσπερ ἐκείνων βίος, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπέμφθην παρ' αὐτῶν τῇ μητρὶ δηλώσων ἐν αἷς εἰσι τύχαις: ταύτην δὲ παρά σοι φυλάττεσθαι ἀκούων δεήσεσθαι τῆς σῆς θυγατρὸς ἔμελλον, ἵνα με πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀγάγοι. τὴν δὲ σκάφην ἔφερον, ἵν' ἔχω δεικνῦναι τεκμήριον ἐμφανὲς ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις. νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ δέδοκται σοι τοὺς νεανίσκους δεῦρο κομίσει χαίρω τε, καὶ πέμψον οὐς² πινας βούλει σὺν ἐμοί. δείξω μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τοὺς παῖδας, φράσουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοι τὰ παρά σου. ^[2] ὁ μὲν δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἀναβολὴν εὐρέσθαι βουλόμενος τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς ἀποδράσεσθαι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι γένηται, ἐλπίσας. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ὅπλοφόρων ἐπιστείλας κρύφα, οὐς ἂν ὁ συοφορβὸς αὐτοῖς ^[p. 140] δεῖξη συλλαβόντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἄγειν, ἀποστέλλει διαταχέων. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος αὐτίκα γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν εὖ θῇται τὰ παρόντα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπ' ^[3] ἄλλο δὴ τι ἐκάλει. ὁ δὲ ἀποσταλεὶς ἄγγελος εὐνοίᾳ τε τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος καὶ ἐλέῳ τῆς τύχης ἐπιτρέψας κατήγορος γίνεται Νεμέτορι τῆς Ἀμολίου γνώμης. ὁ δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τὸν κατελιηφότα κινδυνὸν αὐτοὺς καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι παρῆν ἄγων ὠπλισμένους ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια τῶν τε ἄλλων πελατῶν καὶ ἐταίρων καὶ θεραπείας πιστῆς χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ξίφη κεκρυμμένα, στίφος καρτερόν. βιασάμενοι δὲ τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἀθρόα ὁρμῇ πάντες οὐ πολλοῖς ὀπλίταις φρουρουμένην ἀποσφάττουσιν εὐπετῶς Ἀμόλιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἄκραν καταλαμβάνονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς περὶ Φάβιον εἴρηται.

ἕτεροι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν μυθωδεστέρων ἀξιοῦντες ἱστορικῇ γραφῇ προσήκειν τὴν τε ἀπόθεσιν τὴν τῶν βρεφῶν οὐχ ὡς ἐκελεύσθη τοῖς ὑπηρέταις γενομένην ἀπίθανον εἶναι φασί, καὶ τῆς λυκαίνης τὸ τιθασόν, ἣ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐπέιχε τοῖς παιδίοις, ὡς δραματικῆς μεστὸν ἀτοπίας διασύρουσιν: ^[2] ἀντιδιαλλαττόμενοι ^[p. 141] δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Νεμέτωρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰλίαν ἔγνω κύουσιν, ἕτερα παρασκευασάμενος παιδία νεογνὰ διηλλάξατο τεκούσης αὐτῆς τὰ βρέφη καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀθνεῖα δέδωκε τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὰς ὠδῖνας ἀποφέρειν εἴτε χρημάτων τὸ πιστὸν τῆς χρείας αὐτῶν πριάμενος εἴτε διὰ γυναικῶν τὴν ὑπαλλαγὴν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ αὐτὰ λαβὼν Ἀμόλιος ὅτῳ δὴ τινι τρόπῳ ἀναιρεῖ: τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίας γενόμενα περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενος ὁ μητροπάτωρ διασώζεσθαι δίδωσι τῷ Φαιστύλῳ. ^[3] τὸν δὲ Φαιστύλον τοῦτον Ἀρκάδα μὲν εἶναι φασί τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ, κατοικεῖν δὲ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχοντα τῶν Ἀμολίου κτημάτων. χαρίσασθαι δὲ Νεμέτορι τὴν ἐκτροφὴν τῶν παίδων τάδε¹ φῶ πειθόμενον ὄνομα Φαυστίνῳ τὰς περὶ τὸν Αὐεντῖνον τρεφομένας

τοῦ [4] Νεμέτορος ἀγέλας ἐπιτροπεύοντι· τὴν τε πιθηνησαμένην τὰ παῖδια καὶ μαστοὺς ἐπισχοῦσαν οὐ λυκαίναν εἶναι φασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς γυναῖκα τῷ Φαιστύλῳ συνοικοῦσαν Λαυρεντίαν ὄνομα, ἣ δημοσιευοῦση ποτὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥραν οἱ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον διατρίβοντες ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔθεντο τὴν Λούπαν· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ ταῖς μισθαρνοῦσαις τάφροδισια τιθέμενον, αἱ νῦν εὐπρεπεστέρᾳ κλήσει ἐταῖραι προσαγορεύονται. ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ τινας αὐτὸ πλάσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς λυκαίνης μῦθον, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ [p. 142] τὴν γλῶτταν, ἣν τὸ Λατίνων ἔθνος φθέγγεται, λούπα καλεῖται τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον. ἥνικα δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ γάλακτι τροφῆς ἀπηλλάγη τὰ παῖδια, δοθῆναι πρὸς τῶν τρεφόντων εἰς Γαβίους πόλιν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ [5] Παλλαντίου κειμένην, ὡς Ἑλλάδα παιδεῖαν ἐκμάθοιεν, κάκει παρ' ἀνδράσιν ἰδιοξένοις τοῦ Φαιστύλου τραφῆναι γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ χρῆσιν ὅπλων Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκδιδασκομένους μέχρις ἡβῆς. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς νομιζομένους γονεῖς συμβῆναι τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Νεμέτορος βουκόλους περὶ τῶν συννόμων χωρίων· ἐκ δὲ τούτου πληγὰς αὐτοῖς δόντας ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπελάσαι τὰς ἀγέλας, ποιῆσαι δὲ ταῦτα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Νεμέτορος, ἵν' ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἅμα παρουσίας εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῷ νομευτικῷ [7] πλήθει πρόφασις. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο Νεμέτορα μὲν Ἀμολίου καταβοᾶν, ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι διαρπαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου βουκόλων, καὶ ἀξιοῦν εἰ μηδενὸς αἵτιος τῶν ἐκείνου ἐστὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν βουφορβὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐπὶ δίκῃ· Ἀμόλιον δὲ ἀπολύσασθαι βουλόμενον τὴν αἰτίαν τοὺς τε αἰτηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅσοι παρεῖναι τοῖς γενομένοις εἶχον αἰτίαν, ἥκειν κελεῦειν δίκας ὑφ' ἑξόντας τῷ Νεμέτορι. [8] πολλῶν δὲ συνελθόντων ἅμα τοῖς ἐπαίτιοις ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῆς δίκης φράσαντα τοῖς νεανίσκοις τὸν μητροπάτορα πᾶσαν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν [p. 143] αὐτοὺς τύχην καὶ φήσαντα τιμωρίαν νῦν εἴ ποτε καιρὸν εἶναι λαβεῖν, αὐτίκα ποιήσασθαι σὺν τῷ νομευτικῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐπιθεσιν. περὶ μὲν οὖν γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς τῶν οἰκιστῶν τῆς Ῥώμης ταῦτα λέγεται.

τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν αὐτὴν γενόμενα τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι μοι τὸ μέρος τῆς γραφῆς λείπεται νῦν ἔρχομαι διηγησόμενος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ἀμολίου τελευτήσαντος ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Νεμέτωρ ὀλίγον ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς πρότερον ἐπεχούσης ἀκοσμίας εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκόσμηε τρόπον, εὐθὺς ἐπενόει τοῖς μεираκίοις ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν κατασκευάσαι ἐτέραν πόλιν οἰκίσας. [2] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐπίδοσιν εἰς εὐανδρίαν ἐσχηκότες ἀπαναλῶσαι τι καλῶς ἔχειν ᾤετο, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ διάφορον αὐτῷ ποτε γενόμενον, ὡς μὴ δι' ὑποψίας αὐτοὺς ἔχοι. κοινωνῶντες δὲ τοῖς μεираκίοις, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοις ἐδόκει, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς χωρία μὲν ὧν ἄρξουσιν, ἔνθα παῖδες ὄντες ἐτράφησαν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λεῶ τὸν τε δι' ὑποψίας αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὃς ἔμελλε νεωτερισμοῦ εἰσαυθις ἄρξειν, καὶ εἴ τι ἐκούσιον ἀπαναστῆναι ἐβούλετο. [3] ἦν δὲ ἐν τούτοις πολὺ μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν πόλει κινουμένη τὸ δημοτικὸν γένος, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γνῶριμον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τὸ εὐγενέστατον δὴ νομιζόμενον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ γενεαὶ τινες ἔτι περιῆσαν εἰς ἐμέ, πεντήκοντα μάλιστα οἴκοι.

ἐχορηγεῖτο δὲ [p. 144] τοῖς νεανίσκοις καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὄπλα καὶ οἶτος καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλεως ἦν κατασκευῇ πρόσφορον. [4] ὥς δὲ ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἄλβας οἱ νεανίσκοι τὸν λεῶν μίξαντες αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτόθεν, ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ Παλλαντίῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν Σατορνίαν ὑπολιπής, μερίζονται τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν διχῇ. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς δόξαν παρέσχε φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα θᾶπτον ἀνύηται τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμίλλη τὰ ἔργα, [5] αἵτιον δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου κακοῦ, στάσεως, ἐγένετο. οἱ τε γὰρ προσνεμηθέντες αὐτοῖς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμόνα ἕκαστοι κυδαινόντες ὥς ἐπιτήδειον ἀπάντων ἄρχειν ἐπῆρον, αὐτοὶ τε οὐκέτι μίαν γνώμην ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἀδελφὰ διανοεῖσθαι ἀξιοῦντες, ὥς αὐτὸς ἄρξων ἑκάτερος θατέρου, παρῶσαντες τὸ ἴσον τοῦ πλείονος ὠρέγοντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ἀφανῇ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα αὐτῶν ἦν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξερράγη σὺν τοιᾷδε προφάσει. [6] τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἰδρύσειν τὴν πόλιν οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡρεῖτο ἑκάτερος. Ῥωμύλου μὲν γὰρ ἦν γνώμη τὸ Παλλάντιον οἰκίζειν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τύχης τοῦ τόπου, ἢ τὸ σωθῆναι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τραφῆναι παρέσχε: Ῥώμῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τὴν καλουμένην νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Ῥεμορίαν οἰκίζειν. ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον ὑποδέξασθαι πόλιν λόφος οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τεβέριος κείμενος, ἀπέχων τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα σταδίους. ἐκ δὲ τῆς φιλονεικίας ταύτης ἀκοινώνητος εὐθὺς ὑπεδηλοῦτο φιλαρχία. τῷ γὰρ εἰζαντι τὸ κρατῆσαν εἰς πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. [p. 145]

χρόνου δὲ τινος ἐν τούτῳ διαγενομένου, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἐμειοῦτο τὸ τῆς στάσεως, δόξαν ἀμφοῖν τῷ μητροπάτορι ἐπιτέπει παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ὑποτίθεται: θεοὺς ποιήσασθαι δικαστάς, ὁποτέρου χρή τὴν ἀποικίαν λέγεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι. ταξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθέζεσθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἐν αἷς ἑκάτεροι ἀξιοῦσιν ἔδραις: προθύσαντας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα φυλάττειν οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους: ὁποτέρῳ δ' ἂν οἱ ὄρνιθες προτέρῳ κρείττους γένωνται, [2] τοῦτον ἄρχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. ἀπήεσαν οἱ νεανίσκοι ταῦτ' ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα παρῆσαν ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ τῆς πράξεως ἡμέρᾳ. ἦν δὲ Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν οἰωνιστήριον, ἔνθα ἡξίου τὴν ἀποικίαν ἰδρύσαι, τὸ Παλλάντιον, Ῥώμῳ δ' ὁ προσεχῆς ἐκείνῳ λόφος Αὐεντίνος καλούμενος, ὥς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἢ Ῥεμορία: φυλακή τε ἀμφοῖν παρῆν οὐκ ἐπιτρέφουσα ὅ τι μὴ φανεῖν λέξειν. [3] ὥς δὲ τὰς προσηκούσας ἔδρας ἔλαβον ὀλίγον ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν φθόνου, ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἐνήγε, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ὅτιοῦν σημεῖον θεάσασθαι πέμψας ὥς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγγέλους ἤκειν ἡξίου διαταχέων, ὥς πρότερος ἰδὼν οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπάτην οὐ σπουδῇ ἐχώρουν, τῷ Ῥώμῳ γῦπες [p. 146] ἐπισημαίνουσιν ἐξ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν πετόμενοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν τοὺς ὄρνιθας περιχαρὴς ἐγένετο, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πεμφθέντες ἀναστήσαντες αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἦρετο μὲν τὸν Ῥωμύλον ὁ Ῥῶμος, οὕς2πινας οἰωνοὺς ἴδοι πρότερος, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἀπόρῳ γίνεται ὅ τι ἀποκρίναιτο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δώδεκα γῦπες αἵσιοι πετόμενοι ὤφθησαν, οὓς ἰδὼν θαρρεῖ τε καὶ τῷ Ῥώμῳ δεῖξας λέγει, Τί γὰρ ἀξιοῖς τὰ πάλαι γενόμενα

μαθεῖν· τοὺς 2δε γὰρ δὴ πού τοὺς οἰωνοὺς αὐτὸς ὄρᾳς. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖ τε καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖται, ὡς διηρημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε ἀποικίας οὐ μεθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ φησιν.

ἀνίσταται δὴ ἐκ τοῦτου μείζων τῆς προτέρας ἔρις ἑκατέρου τὸ πλεον ἔχειν ἀφανῶς δικαιουμένου, τὸ δὲ μὴ μείον ἀναφανδὸν ἀπὸ δικαιώσεως τοιαύτης ἐπισυνάπτοντος. εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος, ὅτῳ ἂν προτέρῳ κρείττους ὄρνιθες ἐπισημήνωσι, τοῦτον ἄρχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. γένους δὲ ὀρνίθων ἐνὸς ἀμφοῖν ὀφθέντος ὁ μὲν τῷ πρότερος, ὁ δὲ τῷ πλείους ἰδεῖν ἐκρατύνετο. συνελάμβανε δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλονεικίας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἥρξεν τε πολέμου δίχα τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὀπλισθέν, καὶ γίνεται μάχη καρτερὰ καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πολὺς. [2] ἐν ταύτῃ [p. 147] φασὶ τινες τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Φαιστύλον, ὃς ἐξεθρέψατο τοὺς νεανίσκους, διαλύσαι τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἀδελφῶν βουλόμενον, ὡς οὐδὲν οἶός τ' ἦν ἀνύσαι, εἰς μέσους ὥσασθαι τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνοπλον θανάτου τοῦ ταχίστου τυχεῖν προθυμούμενον, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν λίθινον, ὃς ἔκειτο τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ Φαιστύλου τεθῆναι φασιν, ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐρόντων ταφέντος. [3] ἀποθανόντος δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥώμου νίκην οἰκτίστην ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀλληλοκτονίας ἀνελόμενος τὸν μὲν Ῥῶμον ἐν τῇ Ῥεμορία θάπτει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ζῶν τοῦ χωρίου τῆς κτίσεως περιείχετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ μετανοίας τῶν πεπραγμένων παρεῖς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ βίου τρέπεται. τῆς δὲ Λαυρεντίας, ἣ νεογνοὺς παραλαβοῦσα ἐξεθρέψατο καὶ μητρὸς οὐχ ἦττον ἡσπάζετο, δεομένης καὶ παρηγοροῦσης, ταύτῃ πειθόμενος ἀνίσταται· συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς Λατίνους, ὅσοι μὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγῳ πλείους ὄντας τρισχιλίων ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς γενομένου πλήθους, ὅτε τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστολλε, [4] πολίζει τὸ Παλλάντιον. ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτατος τῶν λόγων περὶ τῆς Ῥώμου τελευτῆς οὗτος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. λεγέσθω δ' ὅμως καὶ εἰ τις ἐτέρως ἔχων παραδέδοται. φασὶ δὴ τινες συγχωρήσαντ' αὐτὸν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀχθόμενον δὲ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντα [p. 148] τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐπειδὴ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ τεῖχος φλαῦρον ἀποδεῖξαι τὸ ἔρμα βουλόμενον, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γ', εἰπεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ὑμῖν ὑπερβαῖη πολέμιος, ὥσπερ ἐγώ· καὶ αὐτίκα ὑπεραλέσθαι· Κελέριον δὲ τίνα τῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων τοῦ τείχους, ὃς ἦν ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν πολέμιον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ἡμῶν ἀμύναιτο, εἰπόντα, πλῆξαι τῷ σκαφεῖω κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐτίκα ἀποκτεῖναι· τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς στάσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοιοῦτο λέγεται γενέσθαι.

ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν ἐμποδῶν τῷ κτίσματι προειπῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρεσάμενος ἔμελλε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἔργων ποιήσασθαι, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὅσα εἰς θυσίας καὶ ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ λεῶ χρησίμως ἔξειν ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἦκεν ὁ συγκεκριμένος χρόνος αὐτὸς τε προθύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας κατὰ δύναμιν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶν ὀρνithας μὲν πρῶτον αἰσίους λαμβάνει· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πυρκαϊᾶς πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν γενέσθαι κελεύσας ἐξάγει τὸν λεῶν τὰς φλόγας ὑπερθρώσκοντα τῆς ὀσιώσεως τῶν

μισομάτων ἔνεκα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν, ὅσον ἦν ἐκ λογισμοῦ [2] θεοῖς φίλον, ὥτετο πεπρᾶχθαι καλέσας ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον περιγράφει τετράγωνον σχῆμα τῷ λόφῳ, βοδὸς ἄρρενος ἅμα θηλείᾳ ζευχθέντος ὑπ' ἄροτρον ἐλκύσας αὐλάκα διηνεκῇ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑποδέξεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος: ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο [p. 149] τῆς περιάρωσεως τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἰκισμοῖς πόλεων παραμένει. ἐργασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν βοῶν ἐκατέρους ἱερεύσας ἄλλων τε πολλῶν θυμάτων καταρξάμενος ἐφίστησι τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν λεών. ταύτην ἔτι καὶ [3] εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ἡμέραν Ῥωμαίων ἡ πόλις ἐορτῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττονα τιθεμένη καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἄγει, καλοῦσι δὲ Παρίλια. θύουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ περὶ γονῆς τετραπόδων οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ νομεῖς θυσίαν χαριστήριον ἕαρος ἀρχομένου. πότερον δὲ παλαιότερον ἔτι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐν εὐπαθείαις διάγοντες ἐπιτηδειοτάτην οἰκισμῷ πόλεως ἐνόμισαν, ἢ τοῦ κτισματος ἄρξασαν ἱερὰν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ θεοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς ποιμέσι φίλους γεραίρειν ὥντο δεῖν οὐκ ἔχω βεβαίως εἰπεῖν.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ δύναμις ἐγένετο σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνευρεῖν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων συχνὰς ἀναλεξαμένῳ γραφὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. γένους, τοιάδ' ἐστίν. ὥστε θαρρῶν ἤδη τις ἀποφαινέσθω πολλὰ χαιρεῖν φράσας τοῖς βαρβάρων καὶ δραπετῶν καὶ ἀνεστίων ἀνθρώπων καταφυγὴν τὴν Ῥώμην ποιοῦσιν Ἑλλάδα πόλιν αὐτὴν, ἀποδεικνύμενος μὲν κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην, ἐνθυμούμενος. ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων φύλον Οἰνωτρικὸν ἦν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρκαδικόν: [2] μεμνημένος δὲ τῶν συνοικησάντων αὐτοῖς Πελασγῶν, οἱ Θετταλίαν καταλιπόντες [p. 150] Ἀργεῖοι τὸ γένος ὄντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκοντο: Εὐάνδρου τε αὖ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀφίξεως, οἱ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον ὥκησαν, Ἀβοριγίνων αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων τὸ χωρίον: ἔτι δὲ Πελοποννησίων τῶν σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ παραγενομένων, οἱ κατώκησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σατορνίου: τελευταῖον δὲ τῶν ἀπαναστάντων ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ συγκερασθέντων τοῖς προτέροις. τούτων γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲν εὖροι τῶν ἐθνῶν οὔτε ἀρχαιότερον οὔτε Ἑλληνικώτερον. [3] αἱ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιμιξίαι, δι' ἃς ἡ πόλις πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπέμαθε, σὺν χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ θαῦμα μὲν τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἂν εἶναι δόξειε τὰ εἰκότα λογισαμένοις, πῶς οὐχ ἅπαντα ἐξεβαρβαρώθη Ὀπικούς τε ὑποδεξαμένη καὶ Μαρσοὺς καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Βρεττίους Ὀμβρικῶν τε καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν συχνὰς μυριάδας ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐτέρων ἀφιγμένα τόπων μυρία ὅσα οὔτε ὁμόγλωττα οὔτε ὁμοδίαιτα, ὧν οὔτε φωνὰς οὔτε δίαιταν καὶ βίους σύγκλυδας ἀναταραχθέντας ἐκ τοσαύτης διαφωνίας πολλὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ [4] κόσμου τῆς πόλεως νεοχμῶσαι εἰκὸς ἦν: ἐπεὶ ἄλλοι γε συχνοὶ ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκοῦντες ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπέμαθον, ὥς μῆτε φωνὴν Ἑλλάδα φθέγγεσθαι μῆτε %5ἐπιτηδεύμασιν Ἑλλήνων [p. 151] χρῆσθαι, μῆτε θεοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζειν, μῆτε νόμους τοὺς ἐπικεῖς, ὧ μάλιστα διαλλάσσει φύσις Ἑλλὰς βαρβάρου, μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων συμβολαίων μηδ' ὅτιοῦν. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ὥς ἀληθῆ εἶναι Ἀχαιῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πόντον ὠκημένοι τεκμηριῶσαι, Ἡλείων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικωτάτου γενόμενοι, βαρβάρων δὲ συμπάντων τῶν νῦν ὄντες

ἀγριώτατοι.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ φωνὴν μὲν οὕτ' ἄκρως βάρβαρον οὕτ' ἀπηρτισμένως Ἑλλάδα φθέγγονται, μικτὴν δὲ τινα ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἡ πλείων Αἰολίς, τοῦτο μόνον ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιμιξιῶν, τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις ὀρθοεπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅποσα γένους Ἑλληνικοῦ μηνύματ' ἐστὶν ὡς οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν ἀποικισάντων διασώζοντες, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι πρὸς φιλίαν ζῆν, ἡνίκα τὴν τύχην πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ῥέουσαν διδάσκαλον ἔχουσι τῶν καλῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον ὠρέχθησαν τῆς διαποντίου τὴν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς οὗ συνωκίσθησαν χρόνου βίον Ἑλληνα ζῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ἐπιτηδεύοντες πρὸς ἀρετὴν νῦν ἢ πρότερον. [2] μυρία δ' εἰς τοῦτο λέγειν [p. 152] ἔχων καὶ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος ἀνδρῶν τε μαρτυρίας φέρειν οὐκ ἀξίων ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ἀναβάλλομαι ταῦτα εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν συγγραφησόμενον λόγον. νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξῆς διήγησιν τρέφομαι τὴν ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δεδηλωμένων τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἐχομένης γραφῆς ποιησάμενος ἀρχήν.

BOOK II

ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἴδρυται μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ ποταμὸν Τέβεριν, ὃς κατὰ μέσσην μάλιστα τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀπέχουσα τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάττης ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους, οἱ δὲ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν πρῶτοι τῶν μνημονευομένων βάρβαροί τινες ἦσαν αὐτόχθονες Σικελοὶ λεγόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρία κατασχόντες, ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγα διέμεινεν οὐδ' ἀφανῆ μνημεῖα μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τόπων τινῶν ὀνόματα Σικελικὰ λεγόμενα, μνηνύοντα τὴν πάλαι ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐνοίκησιν. [2] τούτους ἐκβαλόντες Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτοὶ κατέσχον τὸν τόπον Οἰνώτρων ὄντες ἀπόγονοι τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι Ποσειδωνίας παράλιον. ἱερά τις αὕτη νεότης καθοσιωθεῖσα θεοῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἀποσταλῆναι λέγεται χώραν οἰκήσουσα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσι [p. 154] δοθησομένην. τὸ δὲ τῶν Οἰνώτρων γένος Ἀρκαδικὸν ἦν ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν καλουμένης Λυκαονίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀρκαδίας, ἐκουσίως ἐξελθὼν ἐπὶ γῆς κτῆσιν ἀμείνωνος ἡγουμένου τῆς ἀποικίας Οἰνώτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος, [3] ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τὸ ἔθνος ἔλαβεν. Ἀβοριγίνων δὲ κατεχόντων τὰ χωρία πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτοῖς γίνονται σύνοικοι Πελασγοὶ πλάνητες ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν καλουμένης Αἰμονίας, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίας, ἐν ἣ χρόνον τινὰ ὤκησαν· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς Ἀρκάδες ἐκ Παλλαντίου πόλεως ἐξελθόντες Εὐανδρον ἡγεμόνα ποιησάμενοι τῆς ἀποικίας Ἑρμοῦ καὶ νύμφης Θέμιδος υἱόν, οἱ πρὸς ἐνὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ λόφων πολιζονται ὃς ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα κεῖται τῆς Ῥώμης, Παλλάντιον ὀνομάσαντες τὸ χωρίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πατρίδος. [4] χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἡρακλέους καταχθέντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὅτε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξ Ἑρυθείας οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε, μοῖρὰ τις ὑπολειφθεῖσα τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως Ἑλληνικὴ πλησίον ἰδρύεται τοῦ Παλλαντίου, πρὸς ἐτέρῳ τῶν ἐμπεπολισμένων τῇ πόλει λόφων, ὃς τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Σατόρνιος ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ Καπιτωλῖνος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· Ἐπειοὶ οἱ πλείους τούτων ἦσαν ἐκ πόλεως Ἥλιδος ἐξαναστάντες διαπεπορθημένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους. [p. 155]

γενεᾷ δ' ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ μετὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον Ἀλβανοὶ συνοικίζουσιν ἄμφω τὰ χωρία ταῦτα τείχει περιλαβόντες καὶ τάφρῳ. τέως δὲ ἦν αὐλία βουφορβίων τε καὶ ποιμνίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταγωγῶν βοτῆρων ἄφθονον ἀναδιδούσης πᾶν τῆς αὐτόθι γῆς οὐ μόνον τὴν χειμερινήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θερινόμον διὰ τοὺς ἀναψύχοντάς τε καὶ κατάρδοντας αὐτὴν ποταμούς. [2] γένος δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν μικτὸν ἦν ἐκ τε Πελασγῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἐπειῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἐλθόντων, τελευταίων δὲ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἀφικομένων εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρώων, οὓς ἦγεν Αἰνείας ὁ Ἀγχίσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. εἰκὸς δὲ τι καὶ βαρβαρικὸν ἐκ τῶν προσοίκων ἢ παλαιῶν οἰκητόρων ὑπολιπεῖς τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ συγκαταμιγῆναι. ὄνομα δὲ κοινὸν οἱ σύμπαντες οὗτοι Λατῖνοι ἐκλήθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς δυναστεύσαντος τῶν τόπων Λατίνου τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαιρεθέντες. [3] ἐτειχίσθη μὲν ζοῦν

ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος. οἱ δὲ ἀγαγόντες τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀδελφοὶ διδυμοὶ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ἦσαν: Ῥωμύλος αὐτῶν ὄνομα θατέρῳ, [p. 156] τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ Ῥῶμος: τὰ μητρόθεν μὲν ἀπ' Αἰνείου τε καὶ Δαρδανίδαι, πατὴρ δὲ ἀκριβείαν μὲν οὐ ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου φόντες, πεπίστευνται δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Ἄρεος υἱοὶ γενέσθαι. [4] οὐ μέντοι διέμεινάν γε ἀμφοτέροι τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς στασιάσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περιλειφθεὶς αὐτῶν Ῥωμύλος ἀπολομένου θατέρου κατὰ τὴν μάχην οἰκιστὴς γίνεται τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτῇ τῆς ἰδίας κλήσεως ἐπώνυμον τίθεται. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν μετασχόντων αὐτῷ τῆς ἀποικίας ἀπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐξαποσταλέντος ὀλίγος ἦν ὁ καταλειφθεὶς, τρισχίλιοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς τριακόσιοι.

ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ τε τάφρος αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τέλος εἶχεν αἱ τε οἰκῆσεις τὰς ἀναγκαίους κατασκευὰς ἀπειλήφεσαν, ἀπῆται δ' ὁ καιρὸς καὶ περὶ κόσμου πολιτείας ὧς χρῆσονται σκοπεῖν, ἀγορὰν ποιησάμενος αὐτῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ὑποθεμένου τοῦ μητροπάτορος καὶ διδάξαντος ἃ χρὴ λέγειν, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔφη ταῖς τε δημοσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις κατασκευαῖς ὡς νεόκτιστον ἀποχρώντως κεκοσμηθῆσαι: ἡξίου δ' ἐνθυμεῖσθαι πάντας ὡς οὐ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. [2] οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις τὰς βαθείας τάφρους καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐρύματα ἱκανὰ εἶναι τοῖς ἔνδον ἀπράγμονα σωτηρίας ὑπόληψιν παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τι μόνον ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸ μηθὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κακὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν παθεῖν προκαταληφθέντας, οὐθ' ὅταν ἐμφύλιοι ταραχαὶ τὸ κοινὸν κατάσχωσι, [p. 157] τῶν ἰδίων οἰκῶν καὶ ἐνδιατημάτων τὰς καταφυγὰς ὑπάρχειν τινὲς ἀκινδύνους. [3] σχολῆς γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ταῦτα καὶ ῥαστώνης βίῳ ἐυρῆσθαι παραμύθια, μεθ' ὧν οὔτε τὸ ἐπιβουλευόν τῶν πέλας κωλύεσθαι μὴ οὐ πονηρὸν εἶναι οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ἀκινδύνῳ βεβηκέναι θαρρεῖν τὸ ἐπιβουλευόμενον, πόλιν τε οὐδεμίαν πῶ τοῦτοις ἐκλαμπρυνθεῖσαν ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐδαίμονα γενέσθαι καὶ μεγάλην, οὐδ' αὖ παρὰ τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν τινὰ κατασκευῆς ἰδίας τε καὶ δημοσίας πολυτελοῦς κεκωλύσθαι μεγάλην γενέσθαι καὶ εὐδαίμονα: ἀλλ' ἕτερα εἶναι τὰ σώζοντα καὶ ποιοῦντα μεγάλας ἐκ μικρῶν τὰς πόλεις: [4] ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις τὸ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν κράτος, τοῦτο δὲ τόλμη παραγίνεσθαι καὶ μελέτη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐμφυλίαις ταραχαῖς τὴν τῶν πολιτευομένων ὁμοφροσύνην, ταύτην δὲ τὸν σῶφρονα καὶ δίκαιον ἐκάστου βίον ἀπέφηνεν ἱκανώτατον ὄντα τῷ κοινῷ παρασχεῖν. [5] τοὺς δὲ τὰ πολέμια τε ἀσκοῦντας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατοῦντας ἄριστα κοσμεῖν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας τείχη τε ἀνάλωτα τῷ κοινῷ καὶ καταγωγὰς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν βίοις ἀσφαλεῖς τοῦτους εἶναι τοὺς παρασκευαζομένους: μαχητὰς δὲ γε καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύοντας τὸ τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα ποιεῖν τοῖς φρονίμως αὐτὸ καταστησάμενοις, μαλθακοὺς τε αὖ καὶ πλεονέκτας καὶ δούλους αἰσχροῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τὰ πονηρὰ [p. 158] [6] ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπιτελεῖν. ἔφη τε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διὰ πολλῆς ἱστορίας ἐληλυθότων ἀκοῦειν, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀποικίαι μεγάλαι καὶ εἰς εὐδαίμονας ἀφικόμεναι τόπους, αἱ μὲν αὐτίκα διεφθάρησαν εἰς στάσεις ἐμπεσοῦσαι, αἱ δ' ὀλίγον ἀντισχοῦσαι χρόνον

ὑπῆκοοι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἠναγκάσθησαν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ κρείττονος χώρας, ἣν κατέσχον, τὴν χείρονα τύχην διαλλάξασθαι δοῦλαι ἐξ ἑλευθέρων γενόμεναι: ἕτεροι δ' ὀλιγάνθρωποι καὶ εἰς χωρία οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖα παραγενόμεναι ἑλευθεραὶ μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ἐτέρων ἄρχουσαι διετέλεσαν: καὶ οὔτε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις τῶν ὀλίγων οὔτε ταῖς δυστυχίαις τῶν πολλῶν ἕτερόν τι ἢ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα ὑπάρχειν αἴτιον. [7] εἰ μὲν οὖν μία τις ἦν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις βίου τάξις ἢ ποιουσα εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις, οὐ χαλεπὴν ἂν γενέσθαι σφίσι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῆς: νῦν δ' ἔφη πολλὰς πυθάνεσθαι τὰς κατασκευὰς παρ' Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάρους ὑπαρχούσας, τρεῖς δ' ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἐπαίνουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμένων ἀκούειν, καὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰλικρινῆ, προσεῖναι δέ τινας ἐκάστη κῆρας συμφύτους, ὥστε χαλεπὴν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν. ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς βουλευσαμένους ἐπὶ σχολῆς εἰπεῖν εἴτε ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἄρχεσθαι θέλουσιν ἀνδρὸς εἴτε ὑπ' ὀλίγων εἴτε νόμους καταστησάμενοι πᾶσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τῶν κοινῶν προστασίαν. [8] ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν, ἔφη, πρὸς ἣν ἂν καταστήσῃσθε πολιτείαν εὐτρεπῆς καὶ οὔτε ἄρχειν ἀπαξιῶ [p. 159] οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἀναίνομαι. τιμῶν δέ, ἃς μοι προσεθήκατε ἡγεμόνα με πρῶτον ἀποδείξαντες τῆς ἀποικίας, ἔπειτα καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ θέντες, ἅλις ἔχω. ταύτας γὰρ οὔτε πόλεμος ὑπερόριος οὔτε στάσις ἐμφύλιος οὔτε ὁ πάντα μαραίνων τὰ καλὰ χρόνος ἀφαιρήσεται με οὔτε ἄλλη τύχη παλίγκοτος οὐδεμία: ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντι καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκλιπόντι τούτων ὑπάρξει μοι τῶν τιμῶν παρὰ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν αἰῶνα τυγχάνειν.

τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ μητροπάτορος, ὥσπερ ἔφη, ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἔλεξεν. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνονται τοιάδε: ἡμεῖς πολιτείας μὲν καινῆς οὐδὲν δεόμεθα, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων δοκιμασθεῖσαν εἶναι κρατίστην παραλαβόντες οὐ μετατιθέμεθα γνώμη τε ἐπόμενοι τῶν παλαιότερων, οὐς ἀπὸ μείζονος οἴομεθα φρονήσεως αὐτὴν καταστήσασθαι, καὶ τύχη ἄρεσκόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ τήνδε μεμψαίμεθ' ἂν εἰκότως, ἢ παρέσχεν ἡμῖν βασιλευσόμενοις τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ἑλευθερίαν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχήν. [2] περὶ μὲν δὴ πολιτείας ταῦτα ἐγνώκαμεν: τὴν δὲ τιμὴν ταύτην οὐχ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ σοὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τοῦ τε βασιλείου γένους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνι κεκρήμεθά σοι καὶ πολλὴν συνίσμεν δεινότητα, πολλὴν δὲ σοφίαν, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργῳ μαθόντες. ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀκούσας ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ἔφη [p. 160] βασιλείας ἄξιος ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κριθεῖς: οὐ μέντοι γε λήψεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν πρότερον, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθεσπίσῃ δι' οἰωνῶν αἰσίων.

ὡς δὲ κάκεινοις ἦν βουλομένοις προειπὼν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ διαμαντεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔμελλεν, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος ἀναστὰς περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς προῆλθεν: στάς δὲ ὑπαίθριος ἐν καθαρῷ χωρίῳ καὶ προθύσας ἃ νόμος ἦν εὐχετο Διὶ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οὐς ἐποίησατο τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνας, εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐστί βασιλεύεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, σημεῖα οὐράνια φανῆναι καλά. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἀστραπὴ διῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ. τίθενται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς

ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἀστραπαῖς αἰσίους, εἴτε παρὰ Τυρρηγῶν διδοχθέντες, εἴτε πατέρων καθηγησαμένων κατὰ τοιόνδε: τινὰ, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, λογισμόν, ὅτι καθέδρα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ στάσις ἀρίστη τῶν οἰωνοῖς μαντευομένων ἢ βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν ἡλίου τε ἀναφοραὶ γίνονται καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν, ἢ τε τοῦ κόσμου περιφορά, δι' ἣν τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεται, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἀποδίδωσι κινήσιν. [3] τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς βλέπουσιν ἀριστερὰ μὲν γίνεται τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέφοντα μέρη, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν φέροντα: τιμιώτερα δὲ τὰ πρότερα πέφυκεν [p. 161] εἶναι τῶν ὑστέρων. μετεωρίζεται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν βορείων μερῶν ὁ τοῦ ἄξονος πόλος, περὶ ὃν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου στροφή γίνεται, καὶ τῶν πέντε κύκλων τῶν διεζωκῶτων τὴν σφαῖραν ὁ καλούμενος ἀρκτικός αἰὲ τῇδε φανερός: ταπεινοῦται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νοτίων ὁ καλούμενος ἀνταρκτικός κύκλος ἀφανὴς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. [4] εἰκὸς δὲ κράτιστα τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ μεταρσίων σημείων ὑπάρχειν, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ κρατίστου γίνεται μέρους, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐστραμμένα πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἡγεμονικωτέραν μοῖραν ἔχει τῶν προσεσπερίων, αὐτῶν δὲ γε τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ὑψηλότερα τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων, ταῦτα ἂν εἴη κράτιστα. [5] ὡς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ πρὶν ἢ παρὰ Τυρρηγῶν μαθεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων προγόνοις αἴσιοι ἐνομίζοντο αἰ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστραπαί. Ἀσκανίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐξ Αἰνείου γεγονότι, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπὸ Τυρρηγῶν, οὓς ἦγε βασιλεὺς Μεσέντιος, ἐπολεμεῖτο καὶ τειχέρης ἦν, περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἔξοδον, ἦν ἀπεγνωκῶς ἥδη τῶν πραγμάτων ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι, μετ' ὀλοφυρμοῦ τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αἰτουμένῳ θεοῦς αἴσια σημεῖα δοῦναι τῆς ἐξόδου φασὶν αἰθρίας οὕσης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράψαι τὸν οὐρανόν. τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος ἐκείνου λαβόντος τὸ κράτιστον τέλος διαμεῖναι παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενον αἴσιον τότε τὸ σημεῖον.

τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου βέβαια προσέλαβε, συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον [p. 162] εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ μαντεῖα δηλώσας βασιλεὺς ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ κατεστήσατο ἐν ἔθει τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπασιν μήτε βασιλείας μήτε ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεσπίση, διέμεινέ τε μέχρι πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ περὶ τοὺς οἰωνισμοὺς νόμιμον, οὐ μόνον βασιλευομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κατὰλυσιν τῶν μονάρχων ἐν ὑπάτων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν [2] ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ νόμους ἀρχόντων αἰρέσει. πέπαυται δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πλὴν οἷον εἰκὼν τις αὐτοῦ λείπεται τῆς ὁσίας αὐτῆς ἔνεκα γινομένη. ἐπαυλίζονται μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς μέλλοντες λαμβάνειν καὶ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀνιστάμενοι ποιοῦνται τινὰς εὐχὰς ὑπαίθριοι, τῶν δὲ παρόντων τινὲς ὀρνιθοσκόπων μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φερόμενοι ἀστραπὴν αὐτοῖς μηνύειν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν φασὶν τὴν οὐ [3] γενομένην. οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς οἶωνόν λαβόντες ἀπέρχονται τὰς ἀρχὰς παραληφόμενοι οἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι τὸ μηδένα γενέσθαι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τε καὶ κωλύοντων οἶωνῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ θεοῦ κωλύοντος, ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε βιαζόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀρπάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνοντες.

[4] δι' οὓς πολλαὶ μὲν ἐν γῇ στρατιαὶ [p. 163] Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο πανώλεθροι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν θαλάττῃ στόλοι διεφθάρησαν αὐτάνδρῳι, ἄλλαι τε μεγάλαι καὶ δειναὶ περιπέτεται τῇ πόλει συνέπεσον αἱ μὲν ἐν ὀθνεῖσι πολέμοις, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐμφυλίου διχοστασίας, ἐμφανεστάτη δὲ καὶ μεγίστη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτε Λικίνιος Κρᾶστος ἀνὴρ οὐδενὸς δευτέρου τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Πάρθων ἔθνος, ἐναντιούμενου τοῦ δαιμονίου πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς ἀποτρέπουσι τὴν ἔξοδον οἰωνοῖς μυρίοις ὅσοις γενομένοις. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ δαιμόνιον ὀλιγωρίας, ἣ χρῶνται τινες ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πολὺ ἔργον ἂν εἴη λέγειν.

Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἀποδειχθεὶς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεὺς τὰ τε πολέμια δεινὸς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος ὡμολόγηται γενέσθαι καὶ πολιτείαν ἐξηγήσασθαι τὴν κρατίστην φρονιμώτατος. διέξειμι δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς κατὰ πολέμους, ὧν καὶ λόγον ἂν τις ἐν ἱστορίας ἀφηγήσῃ ποιήσαιο. [2] ἐρῶ δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων ἡγοῦμαι πολιτικῶν κόσμων αὐταρκέστατον ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους. ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε: τριχῇ νεῖμας τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν ἐκάστη τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα. ἔπειτα τῶν τριῶν πάλιν μοιρῶν ἐκάστην εἰς δέκα μοίρας διελών, ἴσους ἡγεμόνας καὶ τούτων ἀπέδειξε [p. 164] τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους: ἐκάλει δὲ τὰς μὲν μείζους μοίρας τρίβους, τὰς δ' ἐλάττους κουρίας, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἔτι προσαγορεύονται. [3] εἶη δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα μεθερμηνευόμενα φυλὴ μὲν καὶ τριττὺς ἢ τρίβους, φράτρα δὲ καὶ λόχος ἢ κουρία, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς τῶν τρίβων ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες φύλαρχοι τε καὶ τριττῶν, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τριβούρους: οἱ δὲ ταῖς κουρίαις ἐφεστηκότες καὶ φρατρίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κουρίωνας ὀνομάζουσι. [4] διήρηντο δὲ καὶ εἰς δεκάδας αἱ φράτραι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐκάστην ἐκόσμη δεκάδα, δεκουρίων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν προσαγορευόμενος. ὡς δὲ διεκρίθησαν ἅπαντες καὶ συνετάχθησαν εἰς φυλάς καὶ φράτρας, διελών τὴν γῆν εἰς τριάκοντα κλήρους ἴσους ἐκάστη φράτρα κλῆρον ἀπέδωκεν ἓνα, ἐξελών τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ τινα καὶ τῷ κοινῷ γῆν καταλιπών. μία μὲν αὕτη διαίρεσις ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἡ περιέχουσα τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μεγίστην ἰσότητα, τοιάδε τις ἦν.

ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τὰ φιλόφθονα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς διανεμούσα κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μέλλω διηγέσθαι. τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς κατὰ γένος καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινούμενους καὶ χρήμασι ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὐπόρους, οἷς ἤδη παῖδες ἦσαν, [p. 165] διώριζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσήμεων καὶ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων. ἐκάλει δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ καταδεεστέρᾳ τύχῃ πληβεῖους, ὡς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν δημοτικούς: τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ κρείττονι πατέρας εἴτε διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴθ' ὅτι παῖδες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ γένους, εἴτε διὰ πάντα ταῦτα: ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ὡς ἂν τις εἰκάσειε, τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἔτι διαμενούσης τὸ παράδειγμα λαβών. [2] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ εἰς δύο μέρη

νειμαντες τὸ πλῆθος εὐπατρίδας μὲν ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων καὶ χρήμασι δυνατοὺς, οἷς ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέκειτο προστασία, ἀγροίκους δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, οἱ τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἦσαν κύριοι: σὺν χρόνῳ ^[3] δὲ καὶ οὗτοι προσελήφθησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ πιθανώτατα περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἱστοροῦντες διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας κληθῆναι φασὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους πατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν πατρικίους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον φθόνον ἀναφέροντες τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διαβάλλοντες εἰς δυσγένειαν τὴν πόλιν οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πατρικίους ἐκείνους κληθῆναι φασιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι πατέρας εἶχον ἀποδειῖξαι μόνοι, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων δραπετῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὀνομάσαι πατέρας ἐλευθέρους. ^[4] τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου παρέχουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πατρικίους, ὅποτε δόξειε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συγκαλεῖν, οἱ κήρυκες ἐξ ὀνόματός τε καὶ πατρώθεν ἀνηγόρευον, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς ὑπηρεταί τινές ἀθρόους κέρασι βοείοις ἐμβυκανῶντες ἐπὶ τὰς [p. 166] ἐκκλησίας συνῆγον. ἔστι δὲ οὔτε ἡ τῶν κηρύκων ἀνάκλησις τῆς εὐγενείας τῶν πατρικίων τεκμήριον, οὔτε ἡ τῆς βυκάνης φωνῇ τῆς ἀγνωσίας τῶν δημοτικῶν σύμβολον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν τιμῆς, αὕτη δὲ τάχους. οὐ γὰρ οἶόντε ἦν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὴν πληθὺν καλεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος.

ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπειδὴ διέκρινε τοὺς κρείττους ἀπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων, ἐνομοθέτει μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ διέταπτεν, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἐκατέρους: τοὺς μὲν εὐπατρίδας ἱερᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ δικάζειν καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔργων μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς τούτων μὲν ἀπολελυσθαι τῶν πραγματειῶν ἀπείρους τε αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων ἀσχόλους, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ κτηνοτροφεῖν καὶ τὰς χρηματοποιοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάσωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἡ τῶν ἐν τέλει προπηλακίζοντων τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἢ τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀπόρων τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς φθονοῦντων. ^[2] παρακαταθήκας δὲ ἔδωκε τοῖς πατρικίοις τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐπιτρέψας ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, νέμειν προστατὴν ἔθος Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον, ὃ Θετταλοὶ τε μέχρι πολλοῦ χρώμενοι διετέλεσαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω λαβῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπεροπτικῶς ἐχρῶντο τοῖς πελάταις ἔργα τε ἐπιτάττοντες οὐ προσήκοντα ἐλευθέροις, καὶ ὅποτε μὴ πράξειάν τι τῶν κελευομένων, πληγὰς ἐντείνοντες καὶ [p. 167] τᾶλλα ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις παραχρῶμενοι. ἐκάλουν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θήτας τοὺς πελάτας ἐπὶ τῆς λατρείας, Θετταλοὶ δὲ πενέστας ὀνειδίζοντες αὐτοῖς εὐθύς ἐν τῇ κλήσει τὴν τύχην. ^[3] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπικλήσει τε εὐπρεπεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκόσμησε πατρωνεῖαν ὀνομάσας τὴν τῶν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν προστασίαν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα χρηστὰ προσέθηκεν ἐκατέροις, καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ πολιτικὰς κατασκευαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὰς συζυγίας.

ἦν δὲ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ὀρισθέντα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ παραμείναντα χρόνου Ῥωμαίοις ἔθη περὶ τὰς πατρωνείας τοιάδε: τοὺς μὲν πατρικίους ἔδει τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ὧν οὐκ εἶχον ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, παρόντων τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ παρόντων τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τρόπον ἅπαντα πράττοντας, ὅσα περὶ παιδῶν πράττουσι πατέρες, εἰς χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν περὶ χρήματα συμβολαίων λόγον: δίκας τε ὑπὲρ τῶν

πελατῶν ἀδικουμένων λαγχάνειν, εἴ τις βλάπτοιοτο περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια, καὶ τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὑπέχειν: ὡς δὲ ὀλίγα περὶ πολλῶν ἂν τις εἴποι πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων, ἥς μάλιστα ἐδέοντο, παρέχειν. [2] τοὺς δὲ πελάτας ἔδει τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προστάταις θυγατέρας τε συνεκδίδοσθαι γαμουμένας, εἰ σπανίζοιεν οἱ πατέρες χρημάτων, καὶ λύτρα καταβάλλειν πολεμίοις, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἢ παιδῶν αἰχμάλωτος γένοιτο: δίκας τε [p. 168] ἀλόντων ἰδίας ἢ ζημίας ὀφλόντων δημοσίας ἀργυρικὸν ἐχούσας τιμήμα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λύεσθαι χρημάτων, οὐ δανείσματα ποιοῦντας, ἀλλὰ χάριτας: ἔν τε ἀρχαῖς καὶ γερηφορίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ δαπάναις τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ὡς τοὺς γένει προσήκοντας μετέχειν. [3] κοινῇ δ' ἀμφοτέροις οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτε θέμις ἦν κατηγορεῖν ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ δίκαις ἢ καταμαρτυρεῖν ἢ ψῆφον ἐναντίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ τις ἐξελεγχθεῖη τούτων τι διαπραπτόμενος ἔνοχος ἦν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς προδοσίας, ὃν ἐκύρωσεν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, τὸν δὲ ἀλόντα τῷ βουλομένῳ κτείνειν ὅσιον ἦν ὡς θυμὰ τοῦ καταχθονίου Διός. ἐν ἔθει γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅσους ἐβούλοντο νηποινὶ τεθνάναι, τὰ τούτων σώματα θεῶν ὀτωδῆτινι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς καταχθονίοις κατονομάζειν: ὃ καὶ τότε ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐποίησε. [4] τοιγάρτοι διέμειναν ἐν πολλαῖς γενεαῖς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαι συγγενικῶν ἀναγκαιοτήτων αἱ τῶν πελατῶν τε καὶ προστατῶν συζυγίαι παισὶ παιδῶν συνιστάμεναι, καὶ μέγας ἔπαινος ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων ὡς πλείστους πελάτας ἔχειν τὰς τε προγονικὰς φυλάττουσι διαδοχὰς τῶν πατρωνειῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς ἄλλας ἐπικτωμένοις, ὃ τε ἀγῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λειφθῆναι τῆς ἀλλήλων χάριτος ἔκτοπος ἡλικίος ἀμφοτέροις ἦν τῶν μὲν πελατῶν ἅπαντα τοῖς προστάταις ἀξιοῦντων ὡς δυνάμεως [p. 169] εἶχον ὑπηρετεῖν, τῶν δὲ πατρικίων ἥκιστα βουλομένων τοῖς πελάταις ἐνοχλεῖν χρηματικὴν τε οὐδεμίαν δωρεάν προσιεμένων: οὕτως ἐγκρατὴς ὁ βίος ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης ἡδονῆς καὶ τὸ μακαρίον ἀρετῇ μετρῶν, οὐ τυχῇ.

οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὸ δημοτικὸν ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πατρικίων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀποίκων αὐτῆς πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ προσελθουσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ πολέμου κεκρατημένων ἐκάστη φύλακας εἶχε καὶ προστάτας οὓς ἐβούλετο Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολλάκις ἡ βουλὴ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφισβητήματα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τοῦς προῖσταμένους αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλουσα, τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων δικασθέντα κύρια ἡγεῖτο. [2] οὕτω δὲ ἄρα βέβαιος ἦν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ὁμόνοια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασκευασθέντων λαβοῦσα ἐθῶν, ὥστε οὐδέποτε δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνου τοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχώρησαν ἐντὸς ἐξακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀμφισβητημάτων γενομένων τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς ἐν ἀπάσαις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι μικραῖς τε καὶ μεγάλαις πόλεσιν: [3] ἀλλὰ πειθοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰκοντες, τὰ δὲ παρ' εἰκόντων λαμβάνοντες, πολιτικὰς ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλύσεις. ἐξ οὗ δὲ Γάιος Γράκχος ἐπὶ τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας γενόμενος διέφθειρε τὴν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀρμονίαν, οὐκέτι πέπαινανται σφάττοντες [p. 170] ἀλλήλους καὶ φυγάδας ἐλαύνοντες ἐκ τῆς

πόλεως καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀνηκέστων ἀπεχόμενοι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται τοῖς λόγοις καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος.

ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε βουλευτὰς εὐθύς ἔγνω καταστήσασθαι, μεθ' ὧν πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ ἔμελλεν, ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε τὴν διαίρεσιν: αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἓνα τὸν ἄριστον ἀπέδειξεν, ὃ τὰς κατὰ πόλιν ὤετο δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν οἰκονομίας, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐξάγοι στρατιὰν ὑπερόριον: [2] τῶν δὲ φυλῶν ἑκάστη προσέταξε τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐλεσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ τότε ὄντας ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δι' εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανεῖς. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐννέα τούτους ἑκάστην φράτρην πάλιν ἐκέλευσε τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀποδείξαι τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους: ἔπειτα τοῖς πρώτοις ἐννέα τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν ἀποδειχθεῖσι τοὺς ἐνενήκοντα προσθεῖς, οὓς αἱ φράτραι προεχειρίσαντο, καὶ τούτων, ὃν αὐτὸς προέκρινεν, ἡγεμόνα ποιήσας τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξεπλήρωσε βουλευτῶν ἀριθμόν. [3] τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐρμηνευόμενον γερουσίαν δύναται δηλοῦν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως καλεῖται. πότερον δὲ διὰ γῆρας τῶν [p. 171] καταλεγέντων εἰς αὐτὸ ἀνδρῶν ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπικλήσεως οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους γέροντας εἴωθεσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλεῖν. οἱ δὲ μετέχοντες τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πατέρες ἔγγραφοι προσηγορεύθησαν καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ ταύτης ἐτύγχανον τῆς προσηγορίας. [4] Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἦν. τοῖς γοῦν βασιλεῦσιν, ὅσοι τε πατρίους ἀρχὰς παραλάβοιεν καὶ ὅσους ἢ πληθὺς αὐτῇ καταστήσαιτο ἡγεμόνας, βουλευτήριον ἦν ἐκ τῶν κρατίστων, ὡς Ὅμηρός τε καὶ οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν ποιητῶν μαρτυροῦσι: καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις αὐθάδεις καὶ μονογνώμονες ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων δυναστεῖαι.

ὥς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο καὶ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τῶν γερόντων συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, ὁρῶν ὅπερ εἰκὸς ὅτι καὶ νεότητος αὐτῷ δεήσει τινὸς συντεταγμένης, ἣ χρήσεται φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων ὑπηρεσίᾳ, τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἴκων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς ἀπέδειξαν αἱ φράτραι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὃνπερ τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἑκάστη φράτρα δέκα νέους, τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν: [2] ὄνομα δὲ κοινὸν ἅπαντες οὗτοι ἔσχον κελέριοι, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείους γράφουσιν [p. 172] ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξύτητος τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, 'τοὺς γὰρ ἐτοίμους καὶ ταχεῖς περὶ τὰ ἔργα κέλερας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν' ὡς δὲ Οὐαλέριος ὁ Ἀντιεὺς φησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ [3] ἡγεμόνος αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἔχοντος τοῦνομα. ἦν γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ διαφανέστατος, ὃ τρεῖς ὑπετάγησαν ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ αὐθις ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἕτεροι τὰς ὑποδεεστέρας ἔχοντες ἀρχάς, οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μὲν αἰχμοφόροι τε αὐτῷ παρηκολούθουν καὶ τῶν κελευομένων ὑπηρεταί, κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας πρόμαχοι τε ἦσαν καὶ παρασπισταί: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὗτοι κατῴρθουν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πρῶτοι τε ἄρχοντες μάχης καὶ τελευταῖοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀφιστάμενοι, ἵππεῖς μὲν ἔνθα ἐπιτῆδιον εἶη πεδίον ἐνιππομαχῆσαι, πεζοὶ δὲ ὅπου τραχὺς εἶη καὶ ἀνιππος τόπος. [4] τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων μετενέγκασθαι τὸ ἔθος μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις οἱ

γενναϊότατοι τῶν νέων τριακόσιοι φύλακες ἦσαν τῶν βασιλέων, οἷς ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους παρασπισταῖς, ἵππεῦσιν τε οὖσιν καὶ πεζοῖς.

καταστησάμενος δὴ ταῦτα διέκρινε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, ἃς ἐκάστους ἐβούλετο ἔχειν. βασιλεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐξήρητο τάδε τὰ γέρα: πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν καὶ πάντα δι' ἐκείνου πράττεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια, ἔπειτα νόμων τε καὶ πατρίων ἐθισμῶν φυλακὴν ποιῆσθαι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ συνθήκας δικαίου προνοεῖν τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων τὰ μέγιστα μὲν αὐτὸν [p. 173] δικάζειν, τὰ δ' ἐλάττονα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν προνοοῦμενον ἵνα μηδὲν γίγνηται περὶ τὰς δίκας πλημμελές, βουλὴν τε συνάγειν καὶ δῆμον συγκαλεῖν καὶ γνώμης ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐπιτελεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἀπέδωκε βασιλεῖ τὰ γέρα καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν πολέμῳ. [2] τῷ δὲ συνεδρίῳ τῆς βουλῆς τιμὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀνέθηκε τοιάνδε: περὶ παντὸς ὅτου ἂν εἰσηγῇται βασιλεὺς διαγινώσκειν τε καὶ ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσι τοῦτο νικᾶν: ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦτο μετενεγκάμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ἦσαν ὃ τι βούλιντο πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἡ γερουσία πᾶν εἶχε τῶν κοινῶν τὸ κράτος. [3] τῷ δὲ δημοτικῷ πλήθει τρία ταῦτα ἐπέτρεψεν: ἀρχαιρεσιάζειν τε καὶ νόμους ἐπικυροῦν καὶ περὶ πολέμου διαγινώσκειν, ὅταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφῇ, οὐδὲ τούτων ἔχοντι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνεπίληπτον, ἂν μὴ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτά δοκῇ. ἔφερε δὲ τὴν ψῆφον οὐχ ἅμα πᾶς ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς φράτρας συγκαλούμενος: ὃ τι δὲ ταῖς πλείοσι δόξειε φράτραις τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀνεφέρετο. ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μετάκειται τὸ ἔθος: οὐ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ διαγινώσκει τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γνωσθέντων ὁ δῆμος ἐστὶ κύριος: πότερον δὲ τῶν ἐθῶν κρεῖττον, ἐν κοινῷ τίθημι τοῖς βουλομένοις σκοπεῖν. [4] ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα σὺφφρονας ἐλάμβανε καὶ τεταγμένας τὰς διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ταχείας καὶ [p. 174] εὐπειθεῖς. ὁπότε γὰρ αὐτῷ φανεῖη στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν, οὔτε χιλιάρχους τότε ἔδει ἀποδεικνύσθαι κατὰ φυλὰς οὔτε ἑκατοντάρχους κατὰ λόχους οὔτε ἱππέων ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τε καὶ λοχιζεσθαι καὶ τάξιν ἐκάστους τὴν προσήκουσαν λαμβάνειν: ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς μὲν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις παρήγγελλεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς: παρὰ δὲ τούτων οἱ δεκάδαρχοι μαθόντες ἐξῆγον τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι, ἀφ' ἐνός τε κελεύσματος εἴτε πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις εἴτε μοῖρά τις ἐξ αὐτῆς κληθεῖν τὰ ὄπλα ἔχουσα παρῆν εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον εὐτρεπῆς.

τεταγμένην μὲν οὖν καὶ κεκοσμημένην πρὸς εἰρήνην τε ἀποχρῶντως καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐπιτηδεύς ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀπειργάσατο, μεγάλην δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἐκ τῶνδε: [2] πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἀνάγκην κατέστησε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἅπασαν ἄρρενα γενεὰν ἐκτρέφειν καὶ θυγατέρων τὰς πρωτογόνους, ἀποκτινύναι δὲ μηδὲν τῶν γεννωμένων νεώτερον τριετοῦς, πλὴν εἴ τι γένοιτο παιδίον ἀνάπηρον ἢ τέρας εὐθύς ἀπὸ γονῆς. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν ἐκτιθέναι τοὺς γειναμένους ἐπιδειξάντας πρότερον πέντε ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἔγγιστα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐὰν κάκεινοισιν συνδοκῇ. κατὰ δὲ [p. 175] τῶν μὴ πετιομένων τῷ νόμῳ ζημίας ὥρισεν

ἄλλας τε καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἶναι δημοσίαν. [3] ἔπειτα καταμαθὼν πολλὰς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεων πονηρῶς ἐπιτροπευομένας ὑπὸ τυραννίδων τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν πόλεων συχνοὺς ὄντας, εἰ μόνον εἶεν ἐλεύθεροι, διακρίνων οὔτε συμφορὰς οὔτε τύχας αὐτῶν ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ μετὰγειν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεχείρει, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν αὐξῆσαι βουλευθεὶς καὶ τὰς τῶν περιοίκων ἐλαττώσαι: ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα πρόφασιν ἐξευρών εὐπρεπῇ καὶ εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν τὸ ἔργον ἀναφέρων. [4] τὸ γὰρ μεταξὺ χωρίον τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας, ὃ καλεῖται νῦν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον μεθόριον δυεῖν δρυμῶν καὶ ἦν τότε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐπώνυμον, ὕλαις ἀμφιλαφέσι κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συναπτούσας τοῖς λόφοις λαγόνας ἐπίσκιον, ἱερὸν ἀνεῖς ἄσυλον ἰκέταις καὶ ναὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ κατασκευασάμενος ὅτῳ δὲ ἄρα θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἰκέταις τοῦ τε μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν παθεῖν ἐγγυητῆς ἐγίνετο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας προφάσει καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν πολιτείας μετεδίδου καὶ γῆς μοῖραν, ἣν κτήσαιο πολεμίους ἀφελόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέρρεον ἐκ παντὸς τόπου τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες κακὰ καὶ οὐκέτι ἐτέρωσε ἀπανίσταντο ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ὁμιλίαις καὶ χάρισιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενοι. [p. 176]

τρίτον ἦν ἔτι Ῥωμύλου πολιτεύμα, ὃ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀσκεῖν ἔδει, κράτιστον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων ὑπάρχον, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα φέρει, ὃ καὶ τῆς βεβαίου Ῥωμαίους ἐλευθερίας ἤρχε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀγόντων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν παρέσχε, τὸ μῆτε κατασφάττειν ἡβηδὸν τὰς ἀλούσας πολέμῳ πόλεις μῆτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι μηδὲ γῆν αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι μηλόβοτον, ἀλλὰ κληροῦχους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀποστελλεῖν ἐπὶ μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ ποιεῖν ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κρατηθείσας, ἐνίαις δὲ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδιδόναι. [2] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα τούτοις ὅμοια καταστησάμενος πολιτεύματα μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποίησε τὴν ἀποικίαν, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνοικίσαντες μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἀνδρῶν τρισχιλίων πεζοὶ καὶ τριακοσίων ἐλάττους ἵππεῖς: οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου, ὅτ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, πεζοὶ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι πρὸς τέτταρσι μυριάσιν, ἵππεῖς δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες χιλίων. [3] ἐκείνου δὲ ἄρξαντος τῶν πολιτευμάτων τούτων οἱ τε βασιλεῖς οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡγησάμενοι τῆς πόλεως τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφυλάξαντο προαίρεσιν καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους τὰς ἐνιαυσίους λαμβάνοντες ἀρχὰς ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προστιθέντες, οὕτως ὥστε μηδενὸς ἔθνους τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι πολυανθρωποτάτου τὸν Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι δῆμον ἐλάττονα. [p. 177]

τὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἔθνη παρὰ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπαινέσω τὰ τε Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τῶν μέγιστον ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ φρονούντων Ἀθηναίων, οἱ φυλάττοντες τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ μηδενὶ μεταδιδόντες εἰ μὴ σπανίοις τῆς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πολιτείας ἑῷ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ξηνηλατοῦντες ἔνιοι πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἀπολαῦσαι ταύτης τῆς μεγαληγορίας ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δι' αὐτὴν ἐβλάβησαν. [2] Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν γε πταίσαντες μάχῃ τῇ περὶ Λεῦκτρα, ἐν ἧ' χιλίους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀνδρας

ἀπέβαλον, οὐκέτι τὴν πόλιν ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας σὺν αἰσχύνη. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξ ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἀτυχήματος ἅμα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν πάτριον ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφῆρέθησαν. [3] ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ πολέμους ἔχουσα μεγάλους Σικελίαν τε ἀφεστῶσαν ἀνακτωμένη καὶ Σαρδόνια καὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραγμάτων ἐκπεπολεμμένων πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ Καρχηδόνοιο ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πάλιν ἀνισταμένης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας οὐ μόνον ἀφεστῶσης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεπαγοῦσης τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον, τοσοῦτοις περιπετῆς γενομένη κινδύνους κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οὐχ ὅπως ἐκακώθη διὰ τὰς τότε τύχας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἰσχύν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι μείζονα τῆς προτέρας τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ [p. 178] πρὸς ἅπαντα διαρκῆς γενομένη τὰ δεινὰ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστερ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τινες εὐνοίᾳ τύχης χρησαμένη: [4] ἐπεὶ ταύτης γε χάριν ὥχετ' ἂν ὑποβρύχιος ἐξ ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ Κάννας πτώματος, ὅτε αὐτῇ ἀπὸ μὲν ἐξακισχιλίων ἱππέων ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι περιλείφθησαν, ἀπὸ δὲ μυριάδων ὀκτὼ τῶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν στράτευμα καταγραφεισῶν ὀλίγῳ πλείους τρισχιλίων ἐσώθησαν.

ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄγαμαι καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, ὅτι τοῦ καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις αἰτίας ὑπολαβὼν, ἃς θρυλοῦσι μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ πολιτικοί, κατασκευάζουσι δ' ὀλίγοι, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν, ἧς παρούσης ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω συμφέρεται, ἔπειτα σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, δι' ἃς ἦττον ἀλλήλους βλάπτοντες μᾶλλον ὁμονοοῦσι καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ ταῖς αἰσχίσταις μετροῦσιν ἡδοναῖς ἀλλὰ τῷ καλῷ, τελευταίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γενναιότητα τὴν παρασκευάζουσιν εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠφελίμους, οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου παραγίνεσθαι τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐνόμισεν, [2] ἀλλ' ἔγνω διότι νόμοι σπουδαῖοι καὶ καλῶν ζῆλος ἐπιτηδεύματων εὐσεβῆ καὶ σώφρονα καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦσαν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθὴν ἐξεργάζονται πόλιν: ὧν πολλὴν ἔσχε πρόνοιαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ δαιμόνια σεβασμῶν. ἱερὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ξοάνων [p. 179] ἰδρύσεις μορφάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ δωρεάς, αἷς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν εὐηργέτησαν, ἐορτάς τε ὁποίας τινὰς ἐκάστῳ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων ἄγεσθαι προσζήκει καὶ θυσίας, αἷς χαίρουσι γεραιρόμενοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐκχειρίας τε αὖ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ πόνων ἀναπαύλας καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως κατεστήσατο τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι νομίμων: [3] τοὺς δὲ παραδεδομένους περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους, ἐν οἷς βλασφημίαι τινὲς ἔνεισι κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ κακηγορίαι, πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀσχήμονας ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ὅτι θεῶν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους, ἅπαντας ἐξέβαλε καὶ παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ κράτιστα περὶ θεῶν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσάπτοντας ἀνάξιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως.

οὔτε γὰρ Οὐρανὸς ἐκτεμνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παιδῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις λέγεται οὔτε Κρόνος ἀφανίζων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ γονὰς φόβῳ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν

ἐπιθέσεως οὔτε Ζεὺς καταλύνων τὴν Κρόνου δυναστείαν καὶ κατακλείων ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τοῦ Ταρτάρου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδέ γε πόλεμοι καὶ τραύματα καὶ ^[2] δεσμοὶ καὶ θητεῖαι θεῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις· ἑορτὴ τε οὐδεμία παρ' αὐτοῖς μελανείμων ἢ πένθιμος ἄγεται τυπετούς ἔχουσα καὶ θρήνους γυναικῶν ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἀφανιζομένοις, ὥς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιτελεῖται περὶ τε Φερσεφόνης ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὰ Διονύσου πάθη καὶ ὅσα [p. 180] ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοι τις παρ' αὐτοῖς, καίτοι διεφθαρμένων ἤδη τῶν ἐθῶν, οὐ θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κορυβαντισμούς, οὐκ ἀγυρμούς, οὐ βακχείας καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ διαπαννυχισμούς ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις τερατευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐλαβῶς ἅπαντα πραττόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὥς οὔτε παρ' Ἑλλήσιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάρους· ^[3] καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε θεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὄσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐληλυθότων ἐθνῶν, οἷς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον ἐλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἢ πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὃ πολλαῖς ἤδη συνέβη παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τίνα κατὰ χρησμούς ἐπεισηγάγετο ἱερά, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς αὐτὰ τιμᾷ νομίμοις ἅπασαν ἐκβαλοῦσα τερθρεῖαν μυθικὴν, ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς Ἰδαίας θεᾶς ἱερά. ^[4] θυσίας μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους, ἱεράται δὲ αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ Φρυγὸς καὶ γυνὴ Φρυγία καὶ περιάγουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτοι μητραγυρτοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπομένων τὰ μητρῴα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες· ^[5] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὔτε μητραγυρτῶν τις οὔτε καταυλούμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως ποικίλῃν ἐνδεδυκῶς στολὴν οὔτε ὀργιάζει τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργισμοῖς κατὰ νόμον [p. 181] καὶ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. οὕτως εὐλαβῶς ἢ πόλις ἔχει πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ἐπιχώρια ἔθνη περὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα ὀπτεύεται τύφον, ὧ μὴ πρὸς 2εστι τὸ εὐπρεπές.

καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων εἰσὶ τινες ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, οἱ δὲ παραμυθίας ἔνεκα συγκείμενοι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων συμφορῶν, οἱ δὲ ταραχὰς ἐξαιρούμενοι ψυχῆς καὶ δέσματα καὶ δόξας καθαιροῦντες οὐχ ὑγιεῖς, οἱ δ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἔνεκα συμπλασθέντες ὠφελείας. ^[2] ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα οὐδενὸς χεῖρον ὅμως εὐλαβῶς διάκειμαι πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον ἀποδέχομαι θεολογίαν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων ἀγαθὰ μικρά τε ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς δυνάμενα ὠφελεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς ἐξητακότας ὦν ἔνεκα γίνεται, σπάνιοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετεilhφότες ταύτης τῆς φιλοσοφίας. ὁ δὲ πολὺς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους καὶ δεῖν πάσχει θάτερον, ἢ καταφρονεῖ τῶν θεῶν ὥς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαιμονίᾳ κυλινδουμένων, ἢ τῶν αἰσχίστων τε καὶ παρανομωτάτων οὐδενὸς ἀπέχεται θεοῖς αὐτὰ προσκείμενα ὀρῶν.

ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων τοῖς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ θεωρητικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος ἀποτετμημένοις ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν, τῆς δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασταθείσης πολιτείας καὶ τάδε ἡγήσάμην ἱστορίας ἄξια. πρῶτον [p. 182]

μὲν, ὅτι πολλοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέδωκε θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐν γοῦν ἄλλῃ πόλει νεοκτίστῳ τοσούτους ἱερεῖς τε καὶ θεραπευτὰς θεῶν εὐθύς ἀποδειχθέντας οὐδεὶς ἂν εἶπεν ἔχει. [2] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς συγγενικὰς ἱερωσύνας οἱ τὰ κοινὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ συντελοῦντες κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ φράτρας ἐξήκοντα κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς: λέγω δὲ ἅ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἐν ἀρχαιολογίαις γέγραφεν, ἀνὴρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων πολυπειρότατος. [3] ἔπειτα, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων φαύλως πως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ποιουμένων τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν ἐπιστησομένων τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀργυρίου τὸ τίμιον ἀξιούντων ἀποκηρύττειν, τῶν δὲ κλήρῳ διαιρούντων, ἐκεῖνος οὐτε ὠνητὰς χρημάτων ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερωσύνας οὐτε κλήρῳ μεριστὰς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐκάστης φράτρας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀποδείκνυσθαι δύο τοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας τοὺς γένει τε προὔχοντας τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφόρους καὶ χρημάτων περιουσίαν ἔχοντας ἀρκοῦσαν καὶ μηδὲν ἡλαττωμένους τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα: τούτους δὲ οὐκ εἰς ὠρισμένον τινὰ χρόνον τὰς τιμὰς ἔταξεν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου στρατειῶν μὲν ἀπολελυμένους διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὀχληρῶν διὰ τὸν νόμον. [p. 183]

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ γυναικῶν ἔδει τινὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ παιδῶν ἀμφιθαλῶν ἕτερα, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα γένηται κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον, τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἔταξε τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀνδράσι συνιερᾶσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ θέμις ἦν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀργιάζεσθαι κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιχώριον, ταύτας ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν τὰ καθήκοντα λειτουργεῖν: τοῖς δὲ ἅπαισιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων οἴκων τοὺς χαριεστάτους καταλεγέντας ἐξ ἐκάστης φράτρας, κόρον καὶ κόρην, τὸν μὲν ἕως ἡβῆς ὑπηρετεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τὴν δὲ κόρην ὅσον ἂν ἦ χρόνον ἀγνῇ γάμων: ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων καὶ ταῦτα μετενεγκάμενος, ὥς ἐγὼ πειθομαι. [2] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ αἱ κανηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφόροι λεγόμεναι λειτουργοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν, ταῦτα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις αἱ προσαγορευόμεναι τουτολᾶται συντελοῦσι στεφάναις κοσμοῦμεναι τὰς κεφαλὰς, οἷαις κοσμεῖται τὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφιδρύματα παρ' Ἑλλήσιν. ὅσα δὲ παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ ἔτι πρότερον παρὰ Πελασγοῖς ἐτέλουν ἐπὶ τε Κουρήτων καὶ μεγάλων θεῶν ὀργιασμοῖς οἱ καλούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν κάδμιλοι, ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπηρετοῦν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἱ [3] λεγόμενοι νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κάμιλοι. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἔταξε μάντιν ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὃν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἱεροσκόπον καλοῦμεν, Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 184] δὲ ὀλίγον τι τῆς ἀρχαίας φυλάττοντες ὀνομασίας ἀρούσπικα προσαγορεύουσιν. ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ λειτουργοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀποδείκνυσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φρατρῶν, ἐπικυροῦσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ θεῖα διὰ μαντικῆς.

ταῦτα περὶ τῶν θρησκευόντων τοὺς θεοὺς καταστησάμενος διήρει πάλιν, ὥς ἔφην, κατ' ἐπιτηδειότητα ταῖς φράτραις τὰ ἱερὰ, θεοὺς ἀποδεικνύς ἐκάστοις καὶ δαίμονας, οὓς ἔμελλον αἰεὶ σέβειν, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ δαπάνας ἔταξεν, ἃς ἐχρῆν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαι. [2] συνέθύνον τε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἱ φρατρίεις τὰς ἀπομερισθείσας αὐτοῖς θυσίας καὶ συνειστιῶντο κατὰ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἐπὶ τῆς φρατριακῆς ἐστίας: ἐσπιατόριον γὰρ ἦν

κατεσκευασμένον ἐκάστη φράτρᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ καθωσιώτο τις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πρυτανείοις, ἐστία κοινὴ τῶν φρατριῶν. ὄνομα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐστιατορίοις ἦν, ὅπερ ταῖς φράτραις, κουρία καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν οὕτω καλοῦνται. [3] τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα δοκεῖ μοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγωγῆς τῆς περὶ τὰ φιδιτῖα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιχωριαζούσης, ἣν Λυκοῦργος εἰσηγήσασθαι δοκεῖ παρὰ Κρητῶν μαθών, καὶ μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν εἰς εὐτέλειαν ἄγων τοὺς βίους καὶ σωφροσύνην τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης, ἐν πολέμῳ δ' εἰς αἰδῶ καὶ πρόνοιαν καταστήσας ἕκαστον τοῦ [p. 185] μὴ καταλιπεῖν τὸν παραστάτην, ὃ καὶ συνέσπεισε καὶ [4] συνέθυσσε καὶ κοινῶν ἱερῶν μετέσχεν. καὶ οὐ μόνον τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σοφίας χάριν ἄξιός ἐπαινεῖσθαι ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εὐτελείας τῶν θυσιῶν, αἷς γεραίρεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνομοθέτησεν, ὧν αἱ πλεῖστοι διέμενον ἕως τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας, εἰ μὴ καὶ πᾶσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπιτελούμεναι τρόπον. [5] ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐθεασάμην ἐν ἱεραῖς οἰκίαις δεῖπνα προκείμενα θεοῖς ἐπὶ τραπέζαις ξυλίναις ἀρχαῖκαῖς ἐν κήνῃσι καὶ πινακίσκοις κεραμεοῖς, ἀλφίτων μάζας καὶ πόπανα καὶ ζέας καὶ καρπῶν τινων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λιτὰ καὶ εὐδάπανα καὶ πάσης ἀπειροκαλίας ἀπηλλαγμένα: καὶ σπονδὰς εἶδον ἐγκεκραμένας οὐκ ἐν ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς ἄγγεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὀστρακίναις κυλίσκαις καὶ πρόχοις, καὶ πάνυ ἡγάσθην τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅτι διαμένουσιν ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθουσιν οὐδὲν ἐξαλλάττοντες τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν εἰς τὴν ἀλαζόνα πολυτέλειαν. [6] ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν ἃ καὶ Νόμας Πομπήλιος ὁ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον ἄρξας τῆς πόλεως κατεστήσατο μνήμης ἄξια καὶ λόγου, περιττὸς τὴν γνώμην ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγήσασθαι σοφὸς ἐν ὀλίγοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὕστερον ἔρῳ, καὶ Τύλλος Ὀστίλιος ὁ τρίτος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύσας καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς: ἀλλ' ὁ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς παρασχών καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα καταστησάμενος τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομίμων Ῥωμύλος ἦν. [p. 186]

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας, ἣ χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διεφύλαξαν εὐδαιμονοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεάς, ἐκεῖνος ἄρξας νόμους καλοὺς καὶ συμφέροντας ἀγράφους μὲν τοὺς πλείστους, ἔστι δ' οὗς καὶ ἐν γράμμασι κειμένους καταστησάμενος, ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν, οὗς δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τεθαύμακα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὑπείληφα καταφανῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενήσεσθαι νομοθεσίαν, ὡς αὐστηρὰ καὶ μισοπόνηρος ἦν καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα πρὸς τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς βίους ὁμοιότητα, [2] δι' ὀλίγης ὑπομνήσεως σημανῶ, τοσοῦτο προειπών, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ διατάξαντες τὰς τε βαρβαρικὰς καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πολιτείας τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὀρθῶς ἰδεῖν, ὅτι πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐκ πολλῶν οἰκῶν συνεστῶσαν ὀρθὴν τε πλεῖν εἰκὸς ὅταν οἱ τῶν ιδιωτῶν εὐσταθῶσι βιοί, καὶ χεიმῶνα πολὺν ἄγειν ὅταν κακῶς ἐκάστοις ἔχη τὰ ἴδια, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα πολιτικὸν ἐάν τε νομοθέτης ἐάν τε βασιλεὺς ᾖ, ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν, ἃ ποιήσει δικαίους καὶ σώφρονας τοὺς τῶν ιδιωτῶν βίους. [3] ἐξ ὧν δ' ἂν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ δι' οἷων γένοιτο τοιοῦτοι νόμων, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἅπαντες δοκοῦσί μοι συνιδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐνιοὶ γε πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις καὶ πρώτοις μέρεσι τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀμαρτεῖν. [4] αὐτίκα περὶ γάμων καὶ τῆς πρὸς

γυναῖκας ὁμιλίας, ἀφ' ἧς ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ [p. 187] φύσις ἀρμόττειν τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ἥρξατο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες ἀφέτους καὶ κοινὰς τὰς μιξεις ἐποίησαν τῷ ἄρρενι πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, ὡς ἐρωτικῶν τε οἴστρων ἐλευθερώσοντες τοὺς βίους καὶ ζήλων ἀλληλοκτόνων ἐξελοῦμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀπαλλάξοντες κακῶν, ἃ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς τε ἰδίους οἴκους καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅλας διὰ γυναῖκας: [5] οἱ δὲ ταύτας μὲν ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀγερῶχους καὶ θηριώδεις συνουσίας ἄνδρα συναρμόσαντες εἰς γυναῖκα μίαν, περὶ δε φυλακῆς γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης γυναικῶν νομοθετεῖν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδυνάτου πράγματος ἀπέστησαν: [6] οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἀνεγγύους ἐποίησαν ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς ἀφροδισίους μιξεις οὔτε ἀφῆκαν ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν φυλακάς, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔθεσαν ἐπ' αὐταῖς νόμους σωφρονιστάς. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἀρχὴν τινα κατέστησαν ἐπιμελησομένην εὐκοσμίας γυναικῶν: οὐ μὴν ἀποχρῶσά γε ἡ πρόνοια αὐτῶν τῆς τηρήσεως, ἀλλὰ μαλακωτέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ἱκανὴ τὴν μὴ σπουδαία φύσει κεκραμένην εἰς ἀνάγκην βίου σῶφρονος ἀγαγεῖν.

ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος οὔτε ἀνδρὶ κατὰ γυναικὸς ἐγκλήματα δοὺς φθαρείσης ἢ τὸν οἶκον ἀδίκως ἀπολιπούσης οὔτε γαμετῇ κατ' ἀνδρὸς αἰτιωμένη κακῶσιν [p. 188] ἢ ἄδικον ἀπόλειπιν οὔτε περὶ προικὸς ἀποδόσεως ἢ κομιδῆς νόμους θεῖς οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις διορίσας οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἕνα δὲ νόμον ὑπὲρ πάντων εὖ ἔχοντα, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσε, καταστησάμενος εἰς σωφροσύνην καὶ πολλὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἦγαγε τὰς γυναῖκας. [2] ἦν δὲ τοιόςδε ὁ νόμος: γυναῖκα γαμετὴν τὴν κατα γάμους ἱεροὺς συνελθοῦσαν ἀνδρὶ κοινωνὸν πάντων εἶναι χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν. ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ νομίμους οἱ παλαιοὶ γάμους Ῥωμαϊκῇ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνοντες φαρραχείους ἐπὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ φαρρός, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ζέαν. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἀρχαία καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συνήθης ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἡ τροφή: φέρει δὲ πολλὴν καὶ καλὴν ἡ Ῥωμαίων γῆ τὴν ζέαν. καὶ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸν κριθινὸν καρπὸν ἀρχαιότατον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν κριθαῖς καταρχόμεθα οὐλὰς αὐτάς καλοῦντες, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι τιμιώτατόν τε καρπὸν καὶ ἀρχαιότατον εἶναι νομίζοντες τὰς ζέας διὰ τούτων ἀπάσης ἐμπύρου θυσίας κατάρχονται. μένει γὰρ ἔτι καὶ οὐ μεταπέπτωκεν εἰς πολυτελεστέρας ἀπαρχὰς τὸ [3] ἔθος. τὸ δὲ κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἱερωτάτης τε καὶ πρώτης τροφῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὅλῃ συνελθεῖν τύχῃ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ [p. 189] φαρρός εἶχεν, εἰς σύνδεσμον δ' ἀναγκαῖον οἰκειότητος ἔφερεν ἀδιαλύτου, καὶ τὸ διαιρῆσον τοὺς γάμους τούτους οὐδὲν ἦν. [4] οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε τὰς γαμετάς, οἷα δὲ μηδεμίαν ἐχούσας ἐτέραν ἀποστροφὴν, πρὸς ἕνα τὸν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ [5] ἀναφαιρέτου κτήματος τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. σωφρονοῦσα μὲν οὖν καὶ πάντα τῷ γεγαμηκότῳ πειθομένη γυνὴ κυρία τοῦ οἴκου τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἦν, ὅνπερ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἀνδρὸς κληρονόμος ἐγένετο τῶν χρήματων, ὡς θυγάτηρ πατρός, εἰ μὲν ἅπαις τε καὶ

μηδὲν διαθέμενος ἀποθάνοι πάντων οὕσα κυρία τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων, εἰ δὲ γενεὰν ἔχοι τοῖς παισὶν ἰσόμοιρος γινομένη. [6] ἁμαρτάνουσα δὲ τι δικαστὴν τὸν ἀδικούμενον ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐδίκασον: ἐν οἷς ἦν φθορὰ σώματος καί, ὁ πάντων ἐλάχιστον ἁμαρτημάτων Ἑλλήσι δόξειεν ἂν ὑπάρχειν, εἰ τις οἶνον εὐρεθείη πιοῦσα γυνή. ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ταῦτα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν συνεχώρησεν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς ἁμαρτημάτων γυναικείων αἰσχιστά, φθορὰν μὲν ἀπονοίας ἀρχὴν νομίσας, μέθην δὲ φθορᾶς. [7] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινε χρόνον ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαραιτήτου τυγχάνοντα ὀργῆς. μάρτυς δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἔχειν τὸν περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμον ὁ πολὺς χρόνος. ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ ἐντὸς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίων [p. 190] μηδεὶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ λυθῆναι γάμος: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἐπὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Πομπωνίου καὶ Γαίου Παππρίου πρῶτος ἀπολυῖσαι λέγεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα Σπόριος Καρουῖλιος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀφανής, ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν ὁμόσαι τέκνων ἕνεκα γυναικὶ συνοικεῖν 'ἦν δ' αὐτῷ στεῖρα ἢ γυνή', ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ καίτοι δι' ἀνάγκην γενομένῳ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διετέλεσεν.

ἃ μὲν οὖν εἰς γυναικας εὖ ἔχοντα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐξ ὧν κοσμιωτέρας περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτὰς ἀπειργάσατο, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ δ' εἰς αἰδῶ καὶ δικαιοσύνην παιδων, ἵνα σέβωσι τοὺς πατέρας ἅπαντα πράττοντές τε καὶ λέγοντες ὅσα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύωσιν, ἔτι τούτων ἦν σεμνότερα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους διαφορὰν. [2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς καταστησάμενοι πολιτείας βραχὺν τινα κομιδῇ χρόνον ἔταξαν ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων, οἱ μὲν ἕως τρίτον ἐκπληρώσωσιν ἀφ' ἥβης ἔτος, οἱ δὲ ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡίθεοι μένωσιν, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τὰ δημόσια ἐγγραφῆς, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Σόλωνος καὶ Πιπτακοῦ καὶ Χαρώνδου νομοθεσίας ἔμαθον, [3] οἷς πολλὴ μαρτυρεῖται σοφία: τιμωρίας τε κατὰ τῶν παιδων ἔταξαν, ἐὰν ἀπειθῶσι τοῖς πατράσιν, οὐ βαρείας [p. 191] ἐξελάσαι τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα μὴ καταλιπεῖν, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐδέν. εἰσὶ δ' οὐχ ἱκαναὶ κατασχεῖν ἄνοιαν νεότητος καὶ αὐθάδειαν τρόπων οὐδ' εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἀγαγεῖν τοὺς ἡμεληκότας τῶν καλῶν αἰ μαλακαὶ τιμωρίαι: τοιγάρτοι πολλὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ὑπὸ τέκνων εἰς πατέρας ἀσχημονεῖται. [4] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης ἅπασαν ὡς εἶπεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν πατρὶ καθ' υἱοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἐὰν τε εἴργειν, ἐὰν τε μαστιγοῦν, ἐὰν τε δέσμιον ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων κατέχειν, ἐὰν τε ἀποκτινύναι προαιρήται, κἂν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττων ὁ παῖς ἤδη τυγχάνῃ κἂν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐξεταζόμενος κἂν διὰ τὴν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ [5] φιλοτιμίαν ἐπαινούμενος. κατὰ τοῦτόν γε τοι τὸν νόμον ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς δημηγορίας διεξιόντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐναντίας μὲν τῇ βουλῇ, κεχαρισμένους δὲ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντες ἐπὶ ταύταις κατασπασθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων, ἦν ἂν ἐκείνοις φανῇ τιμωρίαν ὑφέξοντες: οὗς ἀπαγομένους διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἐξέλεσθαι δυνατὸς ἦν οὔτε ὕπατος οὔτε δήμαρχος οὔτε ὁ κολακευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν ἐλάττω τῆς ἰδίας

εἶναι νομίζων ὄχλος. [6] ἔῴ γὰρ λέγειν ὅσους ἀπέκτειναν οἱ πατέρες ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἔτερόν τι διαπραξάσθαι [p. 192] ἔργον γενναῖον προαχθέντας, ὃ μὴ προσέταξαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πατέρες, καθάπερ ἐπὶ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτου καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων παρειλήφαμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ.

καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔσθῃ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πωλεῖν ἐφῆκε τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ, οὐδὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς εἰ τις ὠμὸν ὑπολήψεται τὸ συγχώρημα καὶ βαρύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν. καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἦθεσι τοῖς ἐκκελυμένοις τραφεὶς ὡς πικρὸν καὶ τυραννικόν, καὶ τοῦτο συνεχώρησε τῷ πατρὶ, μέχρι τρίτης πράσεως ἀφ' υἱοῦ χρηματίσασθαι, μείζονα δοὺς ἐξουσίαν πατρὶ κατὰ [2] παιδὸς ἢ δεσπότῃ κατὰ δούλων. θεραπόντων μὲν γὰρ ὁ πραθεὶς ἅπαξ, ἔπειτα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εὐρόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη κύριός ἐστιν, υἱὸς δὲ πραθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰ γένοιτο ἐλεύθερος ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ πάλιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον ἀπεμποληθεὶς τε καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς δοῦλος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἦν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην πρᾶσιν ἀπήλλακτο τοῦ πατρὸς. [3] τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐφύλαττον εἴτε γεγραμμένον εἴτε ἄγραφον 'οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν' ἀπάντων κράτιστον ἡγούμενοι νόμον. καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς μοναρχίας, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐφάνη Ῥωμαίοις ἅπαντας τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς τε καὶ [p. 193] νόμους ἅμα τοῖς ἐπεισάκτοις ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεῖναι φανεροὺς ἅπασιν τοῖς πολίταις, ἵνα μὴ συμμεταπίπτῃ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐξουσίαις, οἱ λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς συναγωγῆς τε καὶ ἀναγραφῆς αὐτῶν δέκα ἄνδρες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνέγραψαν νόμοις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν λεγομένων δώδεκα δέλτων, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ. [4] ὅτι δ' οὐχ οἱ ἄνδρες δέκα οἱ τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀποδειχθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν νόμων πρῶτοι τοῦτον εἰσηγήσαντο τὸν νόμον Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ κείμενον παραλαβόντες οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων καταλαμβάνομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν Νόμα Πομπιλίου τοῦ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον ἄρξαντος νόμων, ἐν οἷς καὶ οὗτος γέγραπται: ἐὰν πατὴρ υἱῷ συγχώρησιν γυναῖκα ἀγαγέσθαι κοινωνὸν ἐσομένην ἱερῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, μηκέτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ πωλεῖν τὸν υἱόν: ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἔργαφεν εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντας ἐξῆν τῷ πατρὶ πωλεῖν τοὺς υἱούς. [5] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἄλλας, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ διελθεῖν κόσμον, ᾧ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκόσμησε βίους.

ὁρῶν γὰρ ὅτι τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ δίκαια πρὸ τῶν κερδαλέων αἰρεῖσθαι καρτερίαν τε τὴν παρὰ τοὺς πόνους ἀσκεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν χρῆμα τιμιώτερον ἀρετῆς οὐ λόγων [p. 194] διδαχῇ παραγίνεσθαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πλήθεσι πέφυκεν, ἐν οἷς τὸ πλεῖόν ἐστι δυσάγωγον, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἐθισμοῖς τῶν πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν ἀγόντων, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς παραγινόμενους, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν εἴη τὸ κωλύσον ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀλισθαίνοντας εἰδῶς, ἐπιδιφρίους μὲν καὶ βαναύσους καὶ προσαγωγούς ἐπιθυμιῶν αἰσχυρῶν τέχνας, ὡς

ἀφανίζουσας καὶ λυμαιομένας τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μεταχειριζομένων, δούλοις καὶ ξένοις ἀπέδωκε μεθοδεύειν: καὶ διέμεινεν ἔως πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου δι' αἰσχύνῃς ὄντα Ῥωμαίοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν αὐθιγενῶν ἐπιτηδεύονα. [2] δύο δὲ μόνα τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐπιτηδεύματα κατέλιπε τὰ τε κατὰ γεωργίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πολέμους, ὁρῶν ὅτι γαστρός τε ἄνθρωποι γίνονται διὰ τούτους τοὺς βίους ἐγκρατεῖς ἀφροδισίοις τε ἦττον ἀλίσκονται παρανόμοις πλεονεξίαν τε οὐ τὴν βλάπτουσαν ἀλλήλους διώκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιποιουμένην τὰς ὠφελείας. ἀτελῇ δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερον ἡγούμενος εἶναι τῶν βίων χωριζόμενον θατέρου καὶ φιλαίτιον οὐχ ἑτέροις μὲν τισιν ἀπέδωκεν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἑτέροις δὲ τὰ πολεμίων φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν ὥς ὁ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶχε νόμος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τὸν τε πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸν γεωργικὸν ἔταξε βίον ζῆν: [3] εἰ μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγοιεν ἐπὶ [p. 195] τοῖς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργοις ἐθίζων ἅπαντας μένειν, πλὴν εἴ ποτε δεηθεῖεν ἀγορᾶς, τότε δ' εἰς ἄστὺ συνιόντας ἀγοράζειν, ἐνάτην ὀρίζων ἡμέραν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς: ὅτε δὲ πόλεμος καταλάβοι στρατεῦεσθαι διδάσκων καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν ἑτέροις μήτε τῶν πόνων μήτε τῶν ὠφελειῶν. διήρει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου γῆν τε ὅσην ἂν ἀφέλοιτο πολεμίους καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἀγαπητῶς δέχεσθαι τὰς στρατείας.

τῶν δ' εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτων οὐ χρονίους ἀλλὰ ταχείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς κρίσεις τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς διαιτῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέπων, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐποιεῖτο. ἀποτρέπειν τε ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ τὸν φόβον μάλιστα δυνάμενον ὁρῶν πολλὰ εἰς τοῦτο παρεσκευάσατο χωρίον τε, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ φανερωτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ στρατιωτῶν, οἳ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ τριακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, καταπληκτικώτατοι τὴν πρόσοψιν, ῥάβδους τε καὶ πελέκεις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δώδεκα φερομένους, οἷς τοὺς μὲν ἄξια μαστιγῶν δεδρακότας ἔξαινον ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ἡδίκηκότων τοὺς τραχήλους ἀπέκοπτον ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ. [2] τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ὁ κόσμος ἦν τῆς κατασκευασθείσης ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου πολιτείας: ἀπόχρη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκάσαι. [p. 196]

αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πράξεις αἱ τε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενόμεναι καὶ αἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὧν ἂν τις καὶ λόγον ποιήσαιτ' ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ, τοιαῦταί τινες παραδίδονται. [2] πολλῶν περιοικούντων τὴν Ῥώμην ἐθνῶν μεγάλων τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀλκίμων, ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φίλιον, οἰκειώσασθαι ταῦτα βουλευθεῖς ἐπιγαμίαις, ὅσπερ ἐδόκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος εἶναι βεβαιότατος τῶν συναπτόντων φιλίας, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ ὅτι βουλόμενα μὲν αἱ πόλεις οὐκ ἂν συνέλθοιεν αὐτοῖς ἄρτι τε συνοικιζομένοις καὶ οὔτε χρήμασι δυνατοῖς οὔτε λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐπιδεδειγμένοις οὐδὲν, βιασθεῖσαι δὲ εἰζουσιν εἰ μηδεμία γένοιτο περὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὕβρις, γνώμην ἔσχεν, ἥ καὶ Νεμέτωρ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ προσέθετο, δι' ἀρπαγῆς παρθένων ἀθρόας γενομένης ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἐπιγαμίας. [3] γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα θεῷ μὲν εὐχὰς τίθεται πρῶτον ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἡγεμόνι, ἐὰν ἡ πείρα αὐτῷ χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν θυσίας καὶ ἐορτὰς ἄξειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν: ἔπειτα

τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς γερουσίας ἀνενέγκας τὸν λόγον, ἔπειδῃ κάκεινοις τὸ βούλευμα ἤρεσκεν, ἑορτὴν προεῖπε καὶ πανήγυριν ἄξιν Ποσειδῶνι καὶ περιήγγελεν εἰς τὰς ἔγγιστα πόλεις καλῶν τοὺς βουλομένους ἀγορᾶς τε μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀγῶνων· καὶ γὰρ ἀγῶνας ἄξιν ἔμελλεν ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν παντοδαπούς. [4] συνελθόντων δὲ [p. 197] πολλῶν ξένων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις, ἔπειδῃ τὰς τε θυσίας ἐπετέλεσε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἣ διαλύσειν ἔμελλε τὴν πανήγυριν, παράγγελμα δίδωσι τοῖς νέοις, ἥνικ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἄρῃ τὸ σημεῖον ἀρπάζειν τὰς παρούσας ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν παρθένους, αἷς ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν ἕκαστοι, καὶ φυλάττειν ἀγνὰς ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα, τῇ δ' [5] ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄγειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέοι διαστάντες κατὰ συστροφάς, ἔπειδῃ τὸ σύνθημα ἀρθέν εἶδον τρέπονται πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρθένων ἀρπαγὴν, παραχῇ δὲ τῶν ξένων εὐθύς ἐγένετο καὶ φυγὴ μεῖζόν τι κακὸν ὑφορωμένων. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προαχθειςὼν τῶν παρθένων, παραμυθησάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀθυμίαν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ὕβρει τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμῳ γενομένης, Ἑλληνικὸν τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἀποφαίνων τὸ ἔθος καὶ τρόπων συμπάντων καθ' οὓς συνάπτονται γάμοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπιφανέστατον, ἡξίου στέργειν τοὺς δοθέντας αὐταῖς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης· [6] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διαριθμήσας τὰς κόρας ἐξακοσίας τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς εὐρεθείσας κατέλεξεν αὐθις ἐκ τῶν ἀγάμων ἄνδρας ἰσαριθμούς, οἷς αὐτὰς συνήρμοττε κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐκάστης ἔθισμούς, ἐπὶ κοινωσίᾳ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ἐγγυῶν τοὺς γάμους, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελοῦνται χρόνων.

ταῦτα δὲ γενέσθαι τινὲς μὲν γράφουσι κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἀρχῆς, Γναῖος [p. 198] δὲ Γέλλιος κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον· ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκός. νέον γὰρ οἰκίζομένης πόλεως ἡγεμόνα πρὶν ἢ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν ἔργῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ ἔχει λόγον. τῆς δὲ ἀρπαγῆς τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν εἰς σπάνιν γυναικῶν ἀναφέρουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀφορμὴν πολέμου, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες, οἷς κἀγὼ συγκατεθέμην, εἰς τὸ συνάψαι φιλότητα πρὸς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἀναγκαίαν. [2] τὴν δὲ τότε ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου καθιερωθεῖσαν ἑορτὴν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν Κωνσταντία καλοῦντες, ἐν ἣ βωμὸς τε ὑπόγειος ἰδρυμένος παρὰ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν ἵπποδρόμων περισκαφείσης τῆς γῆς θυσίαις τε καὶ ὑπερπύροις ἀπαρχαῖς γεραίρεται, καὶ δρόμος ἵππων ζευκτῶν τε καὶ ἄζευκτων ἐπιτελεῖται. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεός, ᾧ ταῦτ' ἐπιτελοῦσι, Κῶνσος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ὃν ἐξερμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναι τινες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπογείῳ τετιμῆσθαι βωμῷ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει. [3] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον οἶδα λόγον ἀκούων, ὡς τῆς μὲν ἑορτῆς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀγομένης καὶ τοῦ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ γινομένου, τοῦ δὲ καταγείου βωμοῦ δαίμονι ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ βουλευμάτων κρυφίων ἡγεμόνι καὶ φύλακι κατασκευασθέντος ὕστερον· Ποσειδῶνι γὰρ ἀφανῇ βωμὸν οὐδαμόθι γῆς οὐθ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων οὐθ' ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καθιδρῦσθαι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅπως ἔχει χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν.

ὡς δὲ διεβοήθη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν [p. 199] τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους εἰς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις, αἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ πραχθὲν πρὸς

ὀργὴν ἐλάμβανον, αἱ δ' ἄφ' ἧς ἐπράχθη διαθέσεως καὶ εἰς ὃ τέλος ἐχώρησεν ἀναλογιζόμεναι μετρίως αὐτὸ ἔφερον, κατέσκηψε δ' οὖν ἀνὰ χρόνον εἰς πολέμους τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὐπετεῖς, ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρὸς Σαβίνους μέγαν καὶ χαλεπὸν: οἷς ἅπασι τέλος ἐπηκολούθησεν εὐτυχές, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα προεθέσπισε πρὶν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῷ ἔργῳ πόνους μὲν καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους προσημαίνοντα, τὰς δὲ τελευτὰς αὐτῶν ἔσσεσθαι καλὰς. ^[2] ἦσαν δὲ αἱ πρῶται πόλεις ἄρξασαι τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου Καρινὴ καὶ Ἄντεμνα καὶ Κρουστομέρεια, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμεναι τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκας, ὥς δὲ τάληθές εἶχεν ἀχθόμεναι τῇ κτίσει τε καὶ αὐξήσει τῆς Ῥώμης δι' ὀλίγου πολλῇ γενομένη καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦσαι περιδεῖν κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἅπασι κακὸν φυόμενον. ^[3] τέως μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ἀποστελλούσαι πρέσβεις ἐκείνους ἠξίουσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου παραλαβεῖν ἰσχὺν τε μεγίστην ἔχοντας καὶ χρήμασι πλείοσι δυναμένους ἄρχειν τε ἀξιοῦντας τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστα τῶν ἄλλων περιυβρισμένους: τῶν γὰρ ἡρπασμένων αἱ πλείους ἦσαν ἐκείνων. [p. 200]

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον ἀντικαθισταμένων αὐταῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πρεσβειῶν καὶ θεραπευουσῶν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸ ἔθνος, ἀχθόμεναι τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου μελλόντων αἰεὶ τῶν Σαβίνων καὶ ἀναβαλλομένων εἰς χρόνους μακροὺς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου βουλήν αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἔγνωσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμεναι τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν, εἰ καθ' ἓν αἱ τρεῖς γένοιτο, μίαν ἄρασθαι πόλιν οὐ μεγάλην. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν ταῦτα, συνελθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἔφθησαν εἰς ἓν ἅπασαι στρατόπεδον προεξαναστάντων προχειρότερον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καρινῆς, ^[2] οἷπερ καὶ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν τὸν πόλεμον ἐνάγειν. ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ δηρύντων τὴν ὁμορον ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἀφυλάκτοις οὖσιν ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπιτίθεται καὶ τοῦ τε χάρακος αὐτῶν ἀρτίως ἰδρυμένου γίνεται κύριος τοῖς τε φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπόμενος οὐδέπω τῶν ἔνδον πεπυσμένων τὴν περὶ τοὺς σφετέρους συμφορὰν τεῖχος τε ἀφύλακτον εὐρὼν καὶ πύλας ἀκλείστους αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καρινιτῶν ὑπαντήσαντα σὺν καρτερᾷ χειρὶ μαχόμενος αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνει καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀφαιρεῖται.

τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι τοὺς ἀλόντας κελεύσας καὶ [p. 201] παῖδας εἰς ὀμηρείαν, οὓς ἐβούλετο, λαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντεμνάτας ἐχώρει. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως ἐσκεδασμένης ἔτι κατὰ τὰς προνομὰς τῇ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐφόδῳ καθάπερ καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοὺς ἀλόντας διαθείς ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν, ἄγων σκυῖλα τε ἀπὸ τῶν πεπτωκότων κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀκροθίνια λαφύρων θεοῖς, καὶ ^[2] πολλὰς ἅμα τούτοις θυσίας ἐποιήσατο. τελευταῖος δὲ τῆς πομπῆς αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐσθῆτα μὲν ἡμφιεσμένος ἀλουργῇ, δάφνῃ δὲ κατεστεμμένος τὰς κόμας καὶ ἵνα τὸ βασιλείον ἀξίωμα σώζῃ τεθρίππῳ παρεμβεβηκώς. ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις αὐτῷ παρηκολούθει πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππεων κεκοσμημένη κατὰ τέλη θεοῦς τε ὑμνοῦσα πατρίοις ᾠδαῖς καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα κυδαίνουσα ποιήμασιν αὐτοσχεδίοις. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς

πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἅμα γυναιξὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις παρ' ἄμφω τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ τῇ τε νίκῃ συνηδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοφροσύνῃ. ὥς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἡ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατηροῖ τε ἐπετύγχανεν οἶνῳ κεκραμένοις καὶ τραπέζαις τροφῆς παντοίας γεμούσαις, αἱ παρὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔκειντο, ἵνα ἐμπορεῖσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἦ. [3] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπινίκιος τε καὶ τροπαιοφόρος πομπὴ καὶ θυσία, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι θρίαμβον, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου πρώτου [p. 202] κατασταθεῖσα τοιαύτη τις ἦν: ἐν δὲ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ πολυτελεῆς γέγονε καὶ ἀλαζῶν εἰς πλούτου μᾶλλον ἐπιδείξιν ἢ δόκησιν ἀρετῆς ἐπιτραγωδουμένη καὶ καθ' [4] ἅπασαν ἰδέαν ἐκβέβηκε τὴν ἀρχαίαν εὐτέλειαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν νεῶν κατασκευάσας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου λόφου Διός, ὃν ἐπικαλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι φερέτριον, οὐ μέγαν: ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ σώζεται τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἶχνος ἐλάττονας ἢ πέντε ποδῶν καὶ δέκα τὰς μείζους πλευρὰς ἔχον: ἐν τούτῳ καθιέρωσε τὰ σκῦλα τοῦ Καινινιτῶν βασιλέως, ὃν αὐτοχειρίᾳ κατειργάσατο. τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν φερέτριον, ᾧ τὰ ὄπλα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀνέθηκεν, εἴτε βούλεται τις τροπαιοῦχον εἴτε σκυλοφόρον καλεῖν ὥς ἀξιοῦσι τινες εἶθ', ὅτι πάντων ὑπερέχει καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιεἴληφε τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, ὑπερφερέτην οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς ἀληθείας.

ὥς δ' ἀπέδωκε τοῖς θεοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χαριστηρίους θυσίας τε καὶ ἀπαρχάς, πρὶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι διαπράξασθαι βουλὴν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν κρατηθεισῶν πόλεων, ὄντινα χρηστέον αὐταῖς τρόπον, αὐτὸς ἦν ὑπελάμβανε κρατίστην εἶναι γνώμην, πρῶτος ἀποδειξάμενος. [2] ὥς δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παροῦσιν ἢ τε ἀσφάλεια τῶν βουλευμάτων τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἤρεσκε καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐξ αὐτῶν γενήσεται τῇ πόλει χρήσιμα οὐκ ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον [p. 203] ἐπηνεῖτο, συνελθεῖν κελεύσας τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι τοῦ τε Ἀντεμνατῶν καὶ τοῦ Καινινιτῶν ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι γένους, ἡρπασμένα δὲ ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ προκυλιόμεναι καὶ τὰς τῶν πατρίδων ἀνακλαίουσαι τύχας, ἐπισχεῖν τῶν ὀδυρμῶν καὶ σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας ἔλεξε: [3] τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις πατράσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῶν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ ὀφείλεται παθεῖν, ὅτι πόλεμον ἀντὶ φιλίας οὔτε ἀναγκαῖον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνείλοντο: ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλῶν ἔνεκεν ἐγνώκαμεν μετρίᾳ χρήσασθαι γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς θεῶν τε νέμεσιν ὑφορώμενοι τὴν ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑπερόγκοις ἐνισταμένην καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον δεδιότες ἔλεόν τε κοινῶν κακῶν οὐ μικρὸν ἔρανον εἶναι νομίζοντες, ὥς κἂν αὐτοὶ ποτε τοῦ παρ' ἐτέρων δεηθέντες, ὑμῖν τε οὐ μεμπταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις μέχρι τοῦδε περὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας οὐ μικρὰν οἰόμενοι ταύτην ἔσσεσθαι τιμὴν καὶ χάριν. [4] παρίεμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτάδα ταύτην ἀζήμιον καὶ οὔτε ἐλευθερίαν οὔτε κτῆσιν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν τοὺς πολίτας ὑμῶν ἀφαιρούμεθα. ἐφίεμεν δὲ τοῖς τε μένειν γλιχομένοις ἐκεῖ καὶ τοῖς μετενέγκασθαι βουλομένοις τὰς οἰκήσεις ἀκίνδυνόν τε καὶ ἀμεταμέλητον τὴν αἵρεσιν. τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἐπεξαμαρτεῖν μηδ' εὐρεθῆναι τι χρῆμα, ὃ ποιήσῃ τὰς πόλεις διαλύσασθαι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν, φάρμακον ἡγούμεθα κράτιστον

εἶναι πρὸς εὐδοξίαν τε καὶ πρὸς [p. 204] ἀσφάλειαν τὸ αὐτὸ χρησίμον ἀμφοτέροις, εἰ ποιήσαιμεν ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς πόλεις καὶ συνοίκους αὐταῖς πέμπαιμεν αὐτόθεν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς. ἅπιτε οὖν ἀγαθὴν ἔχουσαι διάνοιαν καὶ διπλασίως ἢ πρότερον ἀσπάζεσθε καὶ τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὑφ' ὧν γονεῖς τε ὑμῶν ἐσώθησαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατρίδες ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται. [5] αἱ μὲν δὴ γυναικες ὡς ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ πολλὰ δάκρυα ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀφείσαι μετέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος τριακοσίους μὲν ἄνδρας εἰς ἑκατέραν ἀποίκους ἀπέστειλεν, οἷς ἔδωσαν αἱ πόλεις τρίτην κατακληρουχῆσαι μοῖραν τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς. [6] Καινινιτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀντεμνατῶν τοὺς βουλομένους μεταθέσθαι τὴν οἰκισιν εἰς Ῥώμην γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις μετήγαγον κλήρους τε τοὺς ἐοῦς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας καὶ χρήματα φερομένους ὅσα ἐκέκτηντο, οὓς εὐθύς εἰς φυλὰς καὶ φράτρας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέγραψε, τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας, [7] ὥστε τοὺς σύμπαντας ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρῶτον ἐκ καταλόγου γενέσθαι. Καινίνη μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀντεμνα πόλεις οὐκ ἄσημοι γένος ἔχουσαι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, Ἀβοριγῖνες γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Σικελοὺς κατέσχον, Οἰνώτρων μοῖρα τῶν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἀφικομένων, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀποικία Ῥωμαίων γεγέννητο. [p. 205]

ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Κρουστομερίνους ἐξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν παρεσκευασμένους ἄμεινον τῶν προτέρων: οὓς ἐκ παρατάξεώς τε καὶ τειχομαχίας παραστησάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα γενομένους οὐδὲν ἔτι διαθεῖναι κακὸν ἤξιωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀποικον Ῥωμαίων τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ τὰς προτέρας. [2] ἦν δὲ τὸ Κρουστομέριον Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις πολλοῖς πρότερον τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσταλεῖσα χρόνους. διαγγελλούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης πολλαῖς πόλεσι τὴν τε κατὰ πολέμους γενναιότητα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κρατηθέντας ἐπείκειαν ἄνδρες τε αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιοχρέους πανοικίᾳ μετανισταμένας ἐπαγόμενοι, ὧν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἡγεμόνος ἐκ Τυρρηνίας ἐλθόντος, ὃν Καίλιος ὄνομα ἦν, τῶν λόφων τις, ἐν ᾧ καθιδρύθη, Καίλιος εἰς τὸδε χρόνου καλεῖται: καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι παρεδίδωσαν ἑαυτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Μεδυλλίνων ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίων ἀποικία. [3] Σαβῖνοι δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ἤχθοντο καὶ δι' αἰτίας ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἐκώλυσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέγα προηκούσῃ συμφέρεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν προτέραν ἄγνοιαν ἀξιολόγου δυνάμεως ἀποστολῇ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀγορὰν ποιησάμενοι σύμπαντες ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τε πόλει καὶ πλεῖστον ἀξίωμα ἐχούσῃ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἣ Κυρὶς ὄνομα ἦν, ψῆφον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου διήνεγκαν [p. 206] ἀποδείξαντες ἡγεμόνα τῆς στρατιᾶς Τίτον, ὃς [4] ἐπεκαλεῖτο Τάτιος, βασιλεὶα Κυριτῶν. Σαβῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι καὶ διαλυθέντες κατὰ τὰς πόλεις τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡὔτρεπιζοντο, ὡς εἰς νέωτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐλάσσοντες.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀντιπαρασκευάζετο τὰ κράτιστα, ὡς ἀμυνόμενος ἄνδρας τὰ πολέμια ἀλκίμους, τοῦ μὲν Παλατίου τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι τοῖς ἔνδον ὑψηλοτέροις ἐρύμασιν ἐγείρων, τοὺς δὲ

παρακειμένους αὐτῷ λόφους τὸν τε Αὐεντῖνον καὶ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον νῦν λεγόμενον ἀποταφρεύων καὶ χαρακώμασι καρτεροῖς περιλαμβάνων, ἐν οἷς τὰ ποιμνία καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς αὐλιζεσθαι τὰς νύκτας ἐπέταξεν ἐχεγγύῳ φρουρᾷ καταλαβὼν ἐκάτερον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χωρίον ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἔμελλεν ἀποταφρεύων καὶ περισταυρῶν καὶ [2] διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων. ἦκε δὲ αὐτῷ Τυρρηνῶν ἐπικουρίαν ἱκανὴν ἄγων ἐκ Σολωνίου πόλεως ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔργα διαφανής, Λοκόμων ὄνομα, φίλος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονώς, καὶ παρ' Ἀλβανῶν ἄνδρες, οὓς ὁ πάππος ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ, συχνοὶ στρατιῶται τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ τεχνῖται πολεμικῶν ἔργων, σῖτός τε καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ὅσα τούτοις πρόσφορα ἦν ἱκανῶς ἅπαντα ἐπεχορηγεῖτο. [3] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ἐτοιμῳ τὰ [p. 207] πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἦν ἐκατέροις, ἕαρος ἀρχομένου μέλλοντες ἐξάγειν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔγνωσαν ἀποστελεῖν πρεσβείαν πρῶτον ὡς τοὺς πολεμίους τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἀξιώσουσαν ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ δίκας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰτήσουσαν τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἵνα δὴ δι' ἀνάγκην δοκῶσιν ἀνειληφέναι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ τυγχάνοντες τῶν δικαίων, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ ταῦτα. [4] Ῥωμύλου δὲ ἀξιοῦντος τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας, ἐπειδὴ οὐδ' αὐταῖς ἀκούσαις ὁ μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν βίος ἦν, ἔαν παρὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι μένουν, εἰ δὲ τινος ἄλλου δέονται λαμβάνειν ὡς παρὰ φίλων, πολέμου δὲ μὴ ἄρχειν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀξιουμένων ὑπακούσαντες ἐξῆγον τὴν στρατιὰν πεζοὺς μὲν ἄγοντες πεντακισχιλίους ἐπὶ δύο μυριάσιν, ἵππεῖς δὲ ὀλίγους δέοντας χιλίων. [5] ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαβίνων δέουσα δύο μὲν αἱ τῶν πεζῶν μυριάδες, ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἵππεῖς, καὶ προεκάθητο τῆς πόλεως διχῇ διηρημένη, μία μὲν μοῖρα τὸν Ἑσκυλῖνον κατέχουσα λόφον, ἐφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἦν, ἑτέρα δὲ τὸν Κυρινῖον οὐπὼ ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἧς ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἦν Λοκόμων ἡγεμῶν.

μαθὼν δὲ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν Τάτιος ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων βασιλεὺς νυκτὸς ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγε διὰ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν σινόμενος τῶν [p. 208] κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ πρὶν ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν ἥλιον μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κυρινίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τίθησιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὸν χάρακα. ὁρῶν δὲ ἀσφαλεῖ πάντα φυλακῇ κατεχόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων, σφίσι δὲ οὐδὲν χωρίον ἀπολειπόμενον ὀχυρὸν εἰς πολλὴν ἐνέπιπτεν ἀπορίαν οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι χρήσεται τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου. [2] ἀμηχανοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ παράδοξος εὐτυχία γίνεται παραδοθέντος τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ συντυχίαν. παρεξιώντας γὰρ τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τοὺς Σαβίνους εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, εἴ τι μέρος εὖρεθει τοῦ λόφου κλοπῇ ληφθῆναι δυνατόν ἢ βίᾳ, παρθένος τις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου κατεσκόπει θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ᾧ προσέκειτο ἡ [3] τοῦ χωρίου φυλακῇ, Τάρπεια ὄνομα: καὶ αὐτὴν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος τε καὶ Κίγκιος γράφουσιν, ἔρως εἰσέρχεται τῶν ψελλίων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίουσιν ἐφόρουν, καὶ τῶν δακτυλίων: χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τότε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἀβροδιαίτοι: ὡς δὲ Πείσων Λεύκιος ὁ τιμητικὸς ἱστορεῖ, καλοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμία γυμνοῦς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὅπλων παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁπότερον δὲ τούτων ἀληθέστερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων ἔξεστιν εἰκάζειν. [4] πέμψασα

δ' οὖν τῶν θεραπεινίδων τινὰ διὰ πυλίδος, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἔμαθεν ἀνοιγομένην, ἤξιον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σαβίνων ἐλθεῖν αὐτῇ διχα τῶν ἄλλων εἰς λόγους, ὡς ἐκείνῳ διαλεξομένη περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου. δεξαμένου δὲ [p. 209] τοῦ Τατίου τὸν λόγον κατ' ἐλπίδα προδοσίας καὶ συνελθόντος εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον, προελθοῦσα εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἡ παρθένος ἐξεληλυθῆναι μὲν νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς ἔφη χρείας τινὸς ἔνεκα, τὰς δὲ κλεῖς αὐτῇ φυλάττειν τῶν πυλῶν καὶ παραδῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔρυμα νυκτὸς ἀφικομένοις μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας λαβοῦσα τὰ φορήματα τῶν Σαβίνων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς εὐωνύμοις εἶχον ἅπαντες βραχίουσιν. [5] εὐδοκοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τατίου λαβοῦσα τὰς πίστεις δι' ὄρκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῇ δοῦσα τοῦ μὴ ψεύδεσθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τόπον τε ὀρίσασα, ἐφ' ὃν ἔδει τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐλθεῖν, τὸν ἐχυρώτατον καὶ νυκτὸς ὥραν τὴν ἀφυλακτοτάτην ἀπῆει καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἔλαθε.

μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων συμφέρονται πάντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον λεγομένοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι. Πείσων γὰρ ὁ τιμητικός, οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄγγελόν φησιν ὑπὸ τῆς Τάρπειας ἀποσταλῆναι νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου δηλώσοντα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὰς γενομένας τῇ κόρῃ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους ὁμολογίας, ὅτι μέλλοι τὰ σκεπαστήρια παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν ὄπλα διὰ τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ὁμολογιῶν παρακρουσαμένη, δύναμιν τε ἀξιώσονται πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐτέραν νυκτὸς, ὡς αὐτῷ στρατηλάτῃ παραληφόμενον τοὺς πολεμίους γυμνοὺς τῶν ὄπλων: [p. 210] τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον αὐτομολήσαντα πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Σαβίνων κατήγορον γενέσθαι τῶν τῆς Τάρπειας βουλευμάτων. [2] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον τε καὶ Κίγκιον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ φυλάξαι τὴν κόρην διαβεβαιοῦνται τὰς περὶ τῆς προδοσίας συνθήκας. τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἅπαντες πάλιν ὁμοίως γράφουσι. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι παραγενομένου σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρει τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σαβίνων φυλάττουσα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡ Τάρπεια τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀνέωξε τὴν συγκειμένην πυλίδα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ φύλακας ἀναστήσασα διαταχέων σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἤξιον καθ' ἐτέρας ἐξόδους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀφανεῖς, ὡς κατεχόντων ἤδη τῶν Σαβίνων τὸ φρούριον: [3] διαφυγόντων δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν Σαβίνους ἀνεωγμένας εὐρόντας τὰς πύλας κατασχεῖν τὸ φρούριον ἔρημον τῶν φυλάκων, τὴν δὲ Τάρπειαν ὡς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς ὅσα συνέθετο παρεσχημένην ἀξιοῦν τοὺς μισθοὺς τῆς προδοσίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν.

ἔπειτα πάλιν ὁ μὲν Πείσων φησὶ τῶν Σαβίνων τὸν χρυσὸν ἐτοίμων ὄντων δίδοναι τῇ κόρῃ τὸν περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίوسي τὴν Τάρπειαν οὐ τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ τοὺς θυρεοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν. Τατίῳ δὲ θυμὸν τε εἰσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξαπατῇ καὶ λογισμὸν τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς ὁμολογίας. δόξα δ' οὖν αὐτῷ δοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα, ὥσπερ ἡ παῖς ἤξιωσε, ποιῆσαι δ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς μηδὲν λαβοῦσα χρήσεται, καὶ αὐτίκα διατεινόμενον ὡς μάλιστα ἰσχύος εἶχε ῥῖψαι [p. 211] τὸν θυρεὸν κατὰ τῆς κόρης καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύσασθαι ταῦτο ποιεῖν. οὕτω δὴ βαλλομένην πάντοθεν τὴν Τάρπειαν ὑπὸ πλήθους τε καὶ ἰσχύος τῶν πληγῶν πεσεῖν καὶ περιωρευθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποθανεῖν. [2] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ποιοῦσι τὴν τῶν

ὁμολογιῶν ἀπάτην: δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν χρυσόν, ὥσπερ ἡ Τάρπεια ἤξιον, κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀποδιδόναι, χαλεπαίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ μισθοῦ τὰ σκεπαστήρια κατ' αὐτῆς βαλεῖν, ὡς ταῦτα ὅτε ὤμνυσαν αὐτῇ δώσειν ὑπεσχημένους. ἔοικε δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γενόμενα τὴν Πείσωνος ἀλθροστέραν ποιεῖν ἀπόκρισιν. ^[3] τάφου τε γὰρ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἡξίωται τὸν ἱερώτατον τῆς πόλεως κατέχουσα λόφον, καὶ χοᾶς αὐτῇ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦσι, ἄλγω δὲ ἃ Πείσων γράφει ὧν οὐδενὸς εἰκὸς αὐτὴν, εἰ προδιδούσα τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε παρὰ τῶν προδοθέντων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι λείψανον αὐτῆς ἦν τοῦ σώματος ἀνασκαφὲν ἔξω ῥιφῆναι σὺν χρόνῳ φόβου τε καὶ ἀποτροπῆς ἔνεκα τῶν μελλόντων τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων κρινέτω τις ὡς βούλεται.

ὁ δὲ Τάτιος καὶ οἱ Σαβῖνοι φρουρίου γενόμενοι καρτεροῦ κύριοι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων [p. 212] ἀποσκευῆς ἀμοχθεὶ παρειληφότες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ διὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις παρεστρατοπεδευκόντων ἀλλήλοισι δι' ὀλίγου πείραι τε καὶ συμπλοκαὶ οὔτε κατορθώματα μεγάλα ἐκατέρω φέρουσαι τῶν στρατευμάτων οὔτε τὰ σφάλματα, μέγιστα δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως ὅλαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας μάχαι διτταὶ καὶ φόνος ἐκατέρων πολὺς. ^[2] ἐλκομένου δὴ τοῦ χρόνου γνώμην ἀμφοτέροι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχον ὀλοσχερεῖ κρῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα μάχῃ, καὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων χωρίον ἡγεμόνες τε ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια καὶ στρατιῶται πολλῶν ἐθάδες ἀγώνων ἄξια λόγου ἔργ' ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐπιόντες τ' ἀλλήλοισι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας δεχόμενοι καὶ ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς εἰς ἴσον αὖθις καθιστάμενοι. ^[3] οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐστῶτες ἰσορρόπου θεαταὶ ἀγῶνος καὶ θαμινὰ ἐκατέρωσε μεταπίπτοντος τῷ μὲν κατορθοῦντι τῶν σφετέρων ἐπικελεύσει τε καὶ παιανισμῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν τὴν εἰς τὸ εὐψυχον ἐπίδοσιν, τῷ δὲ κάμνοντι καὶ διωκομένῳ δεήσεις τε καὶ οἰμωγὰς προϊέμενοι κωλυταὶ τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀνάνδρου ἐγίνοντο: ὑφ' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπομένειν τὰ δεινὰ. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτω διενέγκαντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν μάχην, σκότους ὄντος ἤδη ἄσμενοι εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάτεροι χάρακας ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [p. 213]

ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀνακτησάμενοι δυνάμεις τε παρασκευάσαντες ἄλλας, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐτέραν συνάψαι μάχην, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ προτέρῳ χωρίον συνελθόντες ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο. ^[2] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφοτέροις ἐπικρατούντων τοῖς κέρασιν, ἔειχε δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμύλος, τοῦ δὲ ἀριστεροῦ Λοκόμων ὁ Τυρρηνός· τοῦ δὲ μέσου μηδέπω κρίσιν ἔχοντος, ὁ κωλύσας τὴν εἰς τέλος τῶν Σαβίνων ἦτταν καὶ εἰς ἀντίπαλα καταστήσας αὖθις τὰ λειπόμενα τοῖς νικῶσιν εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο Μέττιος Κούρτιος ὄνομα, ῥώμην τε σώματος πολὺς ἀνὴρ, καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα ὀκνεῖν φόβον ἢ ^[3] κίνδυνον εὐδοκιμῶν. οὗτος δ' ἐτάχθη μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ μέσσην ἀγωνιζομένων τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἐνίκᾳ, βουληθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ κέρατα

τῶν Σαβίνων μοχθοῦντα ἤδη καὶ ἐξωθούμενα εἰς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσαι, παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐδίωκε τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν πολεμίων ἐσκεδασμένους καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν αὐτοὺς ἤλασεν, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη καταλιπὼν ἡμιτελῆ τὴν νίκην ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπιστρέψαι τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ νικῶντα τῶν πολεμίων ὥσασθαι μέρη. [4] τὸ μὲν δὴ κάμνον τῶν Σαβίνων μέρος ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ πάλιν ἦν ἀπελθούσης τῆς μετὰ Ῥωμύλου δυνάμεως, ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος ἅπας περὶ τὸν Κούρτιον [p. 214] καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικῶντας ἐγεγόνει. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οἱ Σαβίνοι δεξάμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους λαμπρῶς ἠγωνίσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνιόντων ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ διέσωζον ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, πολλὴν τοῦ Κουρτίου παρέχοντας αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ μὴ διώκεσθαι τεταραγμένως, ἀλλὰ βάδην ἀποχωρεῖν ἀσφάλειαν. [5] αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰστήκει μαχόμενος καὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐπιόντα ἐδέχετο, γίνεται τε τῶν ἠγεμόνων αὐτῶν συμπεσόντων ἀλλήλοις μέγας καὶ καλὸς ἀγών. ἔξαιμος δὲ ὢν ἤδη καὶ καταβελῆς ὁ Κούρτιος ὑπῆει κατ' ὀλίγον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν ὑπεδέχετο λίμνη βαθεῖα, ἣν περιελθεῖν μὲν χαλεπὸν ἦν περικεχυμένων πανταχόθεν τῶν πολεμίων, διελθεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἰλῦος πλήθους, ἦν τὰ πέριξ τέλματα εἶχε, καὶ βάθους ὕδατος τοῦ κατὰ μέσσην αὐτὴν συνεστῶτος ἄπορον. [6] ταύτῃ πλησιάσας ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ νῆμα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ διαφθαρησομένου 'καὶ ἅμα ἀδύνατον ἦν κατὰ τέλματος τε αὐτὸν καὶ δι' ὕδατος πολλοῦ διώκειν' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σαβίνους τρέπεται: ὁ δὲ Κούρτιος πολλὰ μοχθήσας σὺν χρόνῳ σῴζεται τε ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τὰ ὅπλα ἔχων καὶ εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἀπάγεται. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἀνακέχωσται μὲν ἤδη, καλεῖται δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ πάθους Κούρτιος λάκκος ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα ὢν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς.

Ῥωμύλος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους διώκων ἐγγὺς [p. 215] γενόμενος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων αἰρήσειν τὸ φρούριον ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς τραύμασι καταπονηθεὶς καὶ δὴ καὶ λίθου πληγῇ ἐξαισίῳ κατὰ κροτάφου ἐνεχθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν κακωθεὶς, αἵρεταί τε πρὸς τῶν παρόντων ἡμιθανὲς καὶ εἰς τὸ [2] τεῖχος ἀποφέρεται. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δέος ἐμπίπτει τὸν ἠγεμόνα οὐκέτι ὀρώσι, καὶ τρέπεται τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας εἰς φυγὴν: οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ταχθέντες ἅμα τῷ Λοκόμῳ τέως μὲν ἀντεῖχον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἠγεμόνος ἀναθαρρυνόμενοι, λαμπροτάτου τὰ πολέμια ἀνδρὸς καὶ πλεῖστα ἔργα κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδείξαμένου: ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεῖνος ἐλασθεὶς διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν σαυνίῳ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπολιπούσης ἔπεσεν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διέμειναν, φυγὴ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντων αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ Σαβίνοι τεθαρρηκότες ἐδίωκον ἄχρι τῆς πόλεως. [3] ἤδη δὲ πλησιάζοντες ταῖς πύλαις ἀπηλαύνοντο τῆς νεότητος ἐπεξελθούσης αὐτοῖς ἀκραιφνοῦς, ἥ τὰ τειχὴ φυλάττειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου, ῥᾶον γὰρ ἤδη εἶχεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἐκβοηθήσαντος ὡς εἶχε τάχους, ἐγένετό τε ἀγχιστροφος ἢ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τύχη καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταβολὴν. [4] οἱ μὲν γε φεύγοντες ὡς τὸν ἠγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου φανέντα εἶδον ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου δέους εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐχ ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς [p. 216] χωρεῖν: οἱ δὲ τέως

κατειργοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδεμίαν οἰόμενοι μηχανὴν εἶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ αἰφνιδίον τε καὶ παράδοξον ἔθεάσαντο τῆς μεταβολῆς, περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐσκόπουν. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐπετὴς ἡ πρὸς τὸν χάρακα ἀναχώρησις καθ' ὕψηλοῦ τε χωρίου καὶ διὰ κοίλης ὁδοῦ διωκομένοις, καὶ ὁ πολὺς αὐτῶν φόνος ἐν ταύτῃ γίνεται τῇ τροπῇ. ^[5] ἔκεινην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀγχωμάλως ἀγωνισάμενοι καὶ εἰς τύχας παραλόγους ἀμφοτέροι καταστάντες ἡλίου περὶ καταφορὰν ὄντος ἤδη διεκρίθησαν.

ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις οἱ τε Σαβῖνοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐγίνοντο πότερον ἀποίσουσιν ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις, ὅσα δύνανται τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων κακώσαντες, ἢ προσμεταπέμπωνται στρατιὰν ἑτέραν οἴκοθεν καὶ προσμένωσι λιπαροῦντες ἕως τὸ κάλλιστον ^[2] ἐπιθήσουσι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος. πονηρὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀπιέναι μετ' αἰσχύνῃς τῆς ἀπράκτου ἀναχωρήσεως ἐφαίνετο εἶναι καὶ τὸ μένειν οὐδενὸς σφισι χωροῦντος κατ' ἐλπίδα. συμβάσεως δὲ περὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἥπερ ἐδόκουν εἶναι μόνην εὐπρεπῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἀπαλλαγὴν, οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ^[p. 217] ^[3] μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρμόττειν ὑπελάμβανον: Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν Σαβίνων εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν ἐνέπιπτον ὃ τι χρῆσαιντο τοῖς πράγμασιν. οὐτε γὰρ ἀποδιδόναί τὰς γυναῖκας ἤξιουν οὐτε κατέχειν: τῷ μὲν ἤτταν ὁμολογουμένην ἀκολουθεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν σφισιν ἐσόμενον πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο ἐπιταχθῶσιν ὑπομένειν, τῷ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπιδεῖν χώρας τε πορθουμένης καὶ νεότητος τῆς κρατίστης ἀπολλυμένης: περὶ φιλίας τε εἰ διαλέγοιντο πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους, οὐδενὸς ὑπελάμβανον τεύξεσθαι τῶν μετρίων διὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι ταῖς αὐθαδεῖαις οὐ μετριότης γίνεται πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ θεραπείας τραπόμενον ἀλλὰ βαρύτης.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ταῦτα διαλογιζόμενοι καὶ οὐτε μάχης ἄρχειν τολμῶντες οὐτε περὶ φιλίας διαλεγόμενοι παρεῖλκον τὸν χρόνον, αἱ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες ὅσαι τοῦ Σαβίνων ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι γένους, δι' ἃς ὁ πόλεμος συνειστήκει, συνελθοῦσαι δίχα τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἓν χωρίον καὶ λόγον ἑαυταῖς δοῦσαι γνώμην ἐποίησαντο συμβατηρίων ἄρξαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐταῖ λόγων. ^[2] ἡ δὲ τοῦτο εἰσηγησαμένη τὸ βούλευμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν Ἑρσιλία μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο, γένους δ' οὐκ ἀφανοῦς ἦν ἐν Σαβίνοις. ταύτην δ' οἱ μὲν φασι γεγαμημένην ἤδη σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρπασθῆναι ^[p. 218] κόραις ὡς παρθένον, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες ἐκοῦσαν ὑπομεῖναι λέγουσι μετὰ θυγατρὸς: ἀρπασθῆναι γὰρ δὴ κάκεινης θυγατέρα μονογενῇ. ^[3] ὡς δὲ ταύτην ἔσχον τὴν γνώμην αἱ γυναῖκες ἤκον ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τυχοῦσαι λόγου μακρὰς ἐξέτειναν δεήσεις, ἐπιτροπὴν ἀξιοῦσαι λαβεῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐξόδου, πολλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν λέγουσαι περὶ τοῦ συνάξειν εἰς ἓν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ποιήσειν φιλίαν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν οἱ συνεδρεῦοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα τε ἠγάσθησαν καὶ πόρον ὡς ἐν ἀμηχάνοις πράγμασι τοῦτον ὑπέλαβον εἶναι μόνον. ^[4] γίνεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δόγμα τοιόνδε βουλῆς: ὅσαι τοῦ Σαβίνων γένους ἦσαν ἔχουσαι τέκνα, ταῦταις ἐξουσίαν εἶναι καταλιπούσαις τὰ τέκνα

παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι πρεσβεύειν ὡς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, ὅσαι δὲ πλειόνων παίδων μητέρες ἦσαν ἐπάγεσθαι μοῖραν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀσηνδήτινα καὶ πράττειν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν συνάξουσιν τὰ ἔθνη. [5] μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξήεσαν ἐσθῆτας ἔχουσαι πενθίμους, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα νήπια ἐπαγόμεναι. ὡς δ' εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Σαβίνων προῆλθον ὀδυρόμεναι τε καὶ προσπίπτουσαι τοῖς τῶν ἀπαντῶντων γόνασι πολλὸν οἶκτον ἐκ τῶν ὀρώντων ἐκίνησαν, [6] καὶ τὰ δάκρυα κατέχειν οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἦν. συναχθέντος δὲ αὐταῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν προβούλων καὶ κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν ἢ τοῦ [p. 219] βουλευμάτος ἄρξασα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχουσα τῆς πρεσβείας Ἑρσιλία μακρὰν καὶ συμπαθεῖ διεξῆλθε δέησιν, ἀξιοῦσα χαρίσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ταῖς δεομέναις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δι' ἃς ἐξενηνέχθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπέφαιεν: ἐφ' οἷς δὲ γενήσονται δικαίους αἱ διαλύσεις, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθόντας ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διομολογήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ὀρῶντας.

τοιαῦτα εἰποῦσαι προὔπεσον ἅπασαι τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γονάτων ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ διέμενον ἔρριμμένοι, τέως ἀνέστησαν αὐτάς ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἱ παρόντες ἅπαντα ποιήσιν τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ ὑποσχομένοι. μεταστηράμενοι δὲ αὐτάς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ βουλευσάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔκριναν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλλαγάς. καὶ γίνονται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκεχειρίαι μὲν πρῶτον: ἔπειτα συνελθόντων τῶν βασιλέων συνθηκαὶ περὶ φιλίας. [2] ἦν δὲ τὰ συνομολογηθέντα τοῖς ἀνδράσι, περὶ ὧν τοὺς ὄρκους ἐποίησαντο, τοιάδε: βασιλέας μὲν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τάτιον ἰσοψήφους ὄντας καὶ τιμὰς καρπούμενους τὰς ἴσας, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸ αὐτὸ φυλάττουσαν ὄνομα Ῥώμην, καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πολιτῶν Ῥωμαῖον, ὡς πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τῆς Τατίου πατρίδος κοινῇ περιλαμβανομένους κλήσει Κυρίτας: πολιτεῦειν δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους Σαβίνων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἱερά τε συνενεγκαμένους καὶ εἰς φυλὰς καὶ εἰς φράτρας ἐπιδοθέντας. [p. 220] [3] ταῦτα ὁμόσαντες καὶ βωμοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἰδρυσάμενοι κατὰ μέσσην μάλιστα τὴν καλουμένην ἱερὰν ὁδὸν συνεκεράσθησαν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβόντες ἡγεμόνες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου, Τάτιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οἴκων τῶν διαφανεστάτων ὑπέμειναν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τιμὰς ἔσχον, ἃς τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦτο γένος, Οὐδόλοστος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Τάλλος Τυράννως ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ τελευταῖος Μέττιος Κούρτιος, ὁ τὴν λίμνην σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις διανηξάμενος, οἷς παρέμειναν ἐταῖροί τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ πελάται, τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐλάττους.

καταστάντων δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔδοξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ὄχλου πλήθος ἢ πόλιν εἰλήφει, διπλάσιον τοῦ προτέρου ποιῆσαι τὸν τῶν πατρικίων ἀριθμὸν προσκαταλέξαντας σὺν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις οἴκοις ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον ἐποικησάντων ἴσους τοῖς προτέροις, νεωτέρους οὖς ἐκάλεσαν πατρικίους: ἐξ ὧν ἕκατὸν ἄνδρας, οὓς αἱ φράτραι προεχειρίσαντο, τοῖς ἄρχαίοις βουλευταῖς προσέγραψαν. [2] περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες οἱ συγγράφαντες τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἱστορίας συμπεφωνήκασιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες περὶ τοῦ πλήθους [p. 221] τῶν προσκαταγραφέντων βουλευτῶν

διαφέρονται. οὐ γὰρ ἑκατὸν ἀλλὰ πενήκοντα τοὺς ἐπείσελθόντας εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀποφαίνουσι γενέσθαι. [3] περὶ δὲ τῶν τιμῶν, ἃς ταῖς γυναιξὶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπέδωσαν, ὅτι συνήγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν, οὐχ ἅπαντες Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς συμφέρονται. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν γράφουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δωρήσασθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς φράτρας τριάκοντα οὔσας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐπωνύμους τῶν γυναικῶν ποιῆσαι: τοσαύτας γὰρ εἶναι γυναικας τὰς ἐπιπρεσβευσαμένας. [4] Οὐάρρων δὲ Τερέντιος τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ παλαιότερον ἔτι λέγων ἐν ταῖς κουρίαις τεθῆναι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ πλήθους διαιρέσιν τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ληφθέντα ἡγεμόνων, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ πάγων: τὰς τ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξελθούσας γυναικας οὐ τριάκοντα εἶναι φησιν, ἀλλὰ πεντακοσίας τε καὶ τριάκοντα τριῶν δεοῦσας οἰεταί τε οὐδ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τοσούτων γυναικῶν τιμὴν ἀφελομένους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὀλίγαις ἐξ αὐτῶν δοῦναι μόναις. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔτε μηδένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον οὔτε πλείω γράφειν τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐφαίνεται μοι.

περὶ δὲ τῆς Κυριτῶν πόλεως, ἐξ ἧς οἱ περὶ τὸν Τάτιον ἦσαν ἄπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὀπόθεν ἦσαν, εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν. ἐν τῇ Ῥεατίνων χώρᾳ καθ' [p. 222] ὃν χρόνον Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτὴν κατεῖχον παρθένος τις ἐπιχωρία τοῦ πρώτου γένους εἰς ἱερὸν ἦλθεν Ἐνυαλίου χορεύουσα: [2] τὸν δ' Ἐνυάλιον οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες Κυρῖνον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἶτε Ἄρης ἐστὶν εἶτε ἕτερός τις ὁμοίας Ἄρει τιμὰς ἔχων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑνὸς οἴονται θεοῦ πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἡγεμόνος ἑκάτερον τῶν ὀνομάτων κατηγορησθαι, οἱ δὲ κατὰ [3] δύο τάττεσθαι δαιμόνων πολεμιστῶν τὰ ὀνόματα. ἐν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ τεμένει χορεύουσα ἡ παῖς ἔνθεος ἄφνω γίνεται καὶ καταλιποῦσα τὸν χορὸν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰστρέχει τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα ἐγκύμων ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὡς ἅπασιν ἐδόκει, γενομένη τίκτει παῖδα Μόδιον ὄνομα, Φαβίδιον ἐπικλησιν, ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς μορφὴν τε οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἴσχει, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων γίνεται λαμπρότατος: καὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέρχεται πόθος οἰκίσαι πόλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. [4] συναγαγὼν δὲ χεῖρα πολλὴν τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἰκούντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ κτίζει τὰς καλουμένας Κύρεις, ὡς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ἐξ οὗ γενέσθαι λόγος αὐτὸν εἶχε, τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμῆς: κύρεις γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς αἰχμὰς καλοῦσιν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων γράφει.

Ζηνόδοτος δ' ὁ Τροιζήνιος συγγραφεὺς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἔθνος αὐθιγενὲς ἱστορεῖ τὸ μὲν [p. 223] πρῶτον οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥεατίνην: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐξελασθέντας εἰς ταύτην ἀφικέσθαι τὴν γῆν ἔνθα νῦν οἰκοῦσι καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἅμα τῷ τόπῳ τοῦνομα Σαβίνους ἐξ Ὀμβρικῶν προσαγορευθῆναι. [2] Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει τεθῆναι φησιν ἐπὶ Σάβου τοῦ Σάγκου δαίμονος ἐπιχωρίου, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σάγκον ὑπὸ τινων πίσιον καλεῖσθαι Δία. πρώτην δ' αὐτῶν οἴκησιν ἀποφαίνει γενέσθαι κώμην τινὰ καλουμένην Τεστροῦναν ἀγχοῦ πόλεως Ἀμιτέρνης κειμένην, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμηθέντας τότε Σαβίνους εἰς τὴν

Ῥεατίνην ἐμβαλεῖν Ἀβοριγίνων ἅμα Πελαγοῖς κατοικοῦντων καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην Κοτυλίας πολέμῳ χειρωσαμένους κατασχεῖν. [3] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ῥεατίνης ἀποικίας ἀποστείλαντας ἄλλας τε πόλεις κτίσαι πολλὰς, ἐν αἷς οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς προσαγορευομένας Κύρεις· χώραν δὲ κατασχεῖν τῆς μὲν Ἀδριανῆς θαλάττης ἀπέχουσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους, τῆς δὲ Τυρρηνικῆς τετταράκοντα πρὸς διακοσίους· μῆκος δὲ αὐτῆς εἶναι φησιν ὀλίγῳ [4] μείον σταδίων χιλίων. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαβίνων ἐν ἱστορίαις ἐπιχωρίοις λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποικησάντων αὐτοῖς καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτροπεύων Εὐνομον τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Λυκοῦργος [p. 224] ἔθετο τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοὺς νόμους. ἀχθομένους γάρ τινες τῇ σκληρότητι τῆς νομοθεσίας καὶ διαστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων οἴχεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἔπειτα διὰ πελάγους πολλοῦ φερομένους εὕξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς· πόθον γάρ τινα ὑπελθεῖν αὐτοῦς ὅποιασδήποτε γῆς· εἰς ἣν ἂν ἔλθωσι πρώτην, ἐν ταύτῃ [5] κατοικήσειν. καταθέντας δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ τὰ καλούμενα Πωμεντῖνα πεδία τὸ τε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ὠρμίσαντο, Φορωνίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πελαγίου φορήσεως ὀνομάσαι καὶ θεᾶς ἱερὸν ἰδρῦσασθαι Φορωνίας, ἣ τὰς εὐχὰς ἔθεντο· ἦν νῦν ἐνὸς ἀλλαγῇ γράμματος Φερωνίαν καλοῦσιν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ὀρμηθέντας αὐτῶν τινες συνοίκους τοῖς Σαβίνοις γενέσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων εἶναι Σαβίνων Λακωνικά, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ φιλοπόλεμόν τε καὶ τὸ λιτοδίατον καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ βίου σκληρόν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Σαβίνων γένους ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τάτιον τὴν τε πόλιν εὐθύς ἐποιοῦν μείζονα προσθέντες ἑτέρους αὐτῇ δύο λόφους, τὸν τε Κυρίνιον κληθέντα καὶ τὸν Καίλιον, καὶ διελόμενοι τὰς οἰκῆσεις χωρὶς ἀλλήλων διαίταν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑκάτεροι χωρίοις ἐποιοῦντο, Ῥωμύλος μὲν τὸ Παλάτιον κατέχων καὶ τὸ Καίλιον ὄρος· ἔστι δὲ τῷ Παλατίῳ προσεχές· Τάτιος δὲ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον, ὃνπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Κυρίνιον [p. 225] [2] ὄχθον. τὸ δ' ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πεδίον ἐκκόψαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκυῖαν ὕλην καὶ τῆς λίμνης, ἣ δὴ διὰ τὸ κοῖλον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον ἐπλήθυε τοῖς καπιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν νάμασι, τὰ πολλὰ χῶσαντες ἀγορὰν αὐτόθι κατεστήσαντο, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἐτι χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διατελοῦσι, καὶ τὰς συνόδους ἐνταῦθα ἐποιοῦντο ἐν Ἥφαιστου χρηματίζοντες ἱερῷ [3] μικρὸν ἐπανεστηκότι τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἱερά τε ἰδρῦσαντο καὶ βωμοὺς καθιέρωσαν οἷς ἠϋξάντο κατὰ τὰς μάχας θεοῖς, Ῥωμύλος μὲν ὀρθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μουγωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσαν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ὑπακούσας ταῖς εὐχαῖς στήναι τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι· Τάτιος δὲ Ἥλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Ῥέα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑστία καὶ Ἥφαιστῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ὧν χαλεπὸν ἐξειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν ἀπάσαις τε ταῖς κουρίαις Ἥρᾳ τραπέζας ἔθετο κυριτίδι λεγομένην, αἱ καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνου κεῖνται. [4] ἔτη μὲν οὖν πέντε συνεβασίλευσαν ἀλλήλοισι ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς διαφερόμενοι χρήματος, ἐν οἷς κοινήν πρᾶξιν ἀπεδείξαντο τὴν ἐπὶ Καμερίνους στρατείαν. ληστήρια γὰρ ἐκπέμποντες οἱ Καμερίνοι καὶ

πολλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακοῦντες οὐ συνέβαινον ἐπὶ δίκην πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλοῦμενοι: οὓς ἐκ παρατάξεώς τε νικήσαντες ἔχωρσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁμός τε καὶ [p. 226] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τειχομαχίας κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες ὅπλα μὲν ἀφείλοντο καὶ χώρας ἐζημίωσαν τῇ τρίτῃ μερίδι: ἦν τοῖς σφετέροις διεῖλον. τῶν δὲ Καμεριναίων τοὺς ἐποίκους λυμαιομένων τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπεξελθόντες ^[5] καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτούς, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἅπαντα τοῖς σφετέροις πολίταις διεῖλον, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅποσοι ἐβούλοντο ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατοικεῖν εἶασαν. ἐγένοντο δ' ὥς τετρακισχίλιοι, οὓς ταῖς φράτραις ἐπεμέρισαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησαν. ἦν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις ἢ Καμερία πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἀποσταλεῖσα πρότερον τῆς Ῥώμης: τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον Ἀβοριγίνων οἴκησις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ἐπιφανές.

ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ἕκτῳ περιίσταται πάλιν εἰς ἓνα Ῥωμύλον ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴ Τατίου τελευτήσαντος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἣν συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Λαουινιατῶν οἱ κορυφαϊότατοι συμφρονήσαντες ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: τῶν ἐταίρων τινὲς τοῦ Τατίου ληστήριον ἐξαγαγόντες εἰς τὴν Λαουινιατῶν χώραν χρήματά τε αὐτῶν ἥρπασαν πολλὰ καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀπῆλασαν ἀγέλας, τῶν δ' ἐπιβοηθούντων οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, οὓς δ' ἐτραυμάτισαν. ^[2] ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας παρὰ τῶν ἡδικημένων καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀπαιτούσης ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος ἐδικαίωσε παραδοῦναι τοὺς δράσαντας τοῖς [p. 227] ἀδικηθεῖσιν ἀπάγειν, ὁ δὲ Τάτιος τῶν ἐταίρων περιεχόμενος οὐκ ἤξιον πρὸ δίκης τινὰς ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἄγεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα πολίτας ὄντας ὑπὸ ξένων: δικάζεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἡδικῆσθαι λέγοντας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένους. ^[3] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις οὐδὲν εὐρόμενοι τῶν δικαίων ἀγανακτοῦντες ἀπῆσαν, ἀκολουθήσαντες δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαβίνων τινὲς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἐσκηνωμένοις παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἑσπέρα γὰρ αὐτοὺς κατέλαβεν' ἐπιτίθενται καθεδούσι καὶ τὰ τε χρήματ' αὐτοῦς ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ὁπόσους ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ἔτι κατέλαβον ἀποσφάττουσιν, ὅσοις δὲ ταχεῖα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῶν αἰσθησις ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν δύναμις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται. μετὰ τοῦτο ἔκ τε Λαουινίου πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων συχνῶν κατηγόρουν τῆς παρανομίας καὶ πόλεμον παρήγγελλον εἰ μὴ τεύξονται τῆς δίκης.

Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν οὖν δεινόν, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐφαίνετο πάθος καὶ ταχείας ἀφοσιώσεως δεόμενον, ὡς ἱεροῦ καταλυομένου νόμου. καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας, ὡς εἶδεν ὀλιγωροῦντα τὸν Τάτιον αὐτὸς συνέλαβε τοὺς ἐνόχους τῷ ἄγῃ καὶ ^[2] δῆσας παρέδωκε τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπάγειν. Τατίῳ δὲ θυμὸς τε εἰσέρχεται τῆς ὕβρεως, ἣν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἡτιᾶτο ὑβρίσθαι κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ οἶκτος τῶν ἀπαγομένων ἦν γὰρ καὶ συγγενὴς τις αὐτοῦ τῷ ἄγῃ ἔνοχος' καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐβοήθει διὰ τάχους ἐν ὁδῷ [p. 228] τε ὄντας τοὺς πρέσβεις καταλαβὼν ἀφείλετο τοὺς ^[3] ἀπαγομένους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ὡς μὲν τινες φασιν, ἅμα Ῥωμύλῳ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ Λαουίνιον ἔνεκα θυσίας, ἣν ἔδει τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θῦσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ γένει προσηκόντων τοῖς ἀνηρημένοις πρέσβεσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ταῖς μαγειρικαῖς σφαγίσιν καὶ τοῖς βουπόροις ὀβελοῖς παιόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. ^[4] ὡς δ' οἱ περὶ

Λικίννιον γράφουσιν οὐ μετὰ Ῥωμύλου παραγενόμενος οὐδὲ χάριν ἱερῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὡς πείσων τοὺς ἀδικηθέντας ἀφεῖναι τοῖς δεδρακόσι τὴν ὀργήν, ἀγανακτήσαντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραδίδοσθαι σφισι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς ὃ τε Ῥωμύλος ἐδικαίωσε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔκρινε βουλή, καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς τεθνεῶσι κατὰ πλῆθος ὀρμησάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀδύνατος ὢν ἔτι διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην καταλευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει.
[5] Τάτιος μὲν οὖν τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχε τρία μὲν ἔτη πολεμῆσας Ῥωμύλῳ, πέντε δὲ συνάρξας, θάπτεται δ' εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθεὶς ἐντίμῳ ταφῇ καὶ χοῆς αὐτῷ καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ πόλις ἐπιτελεῖ δημοσίᾳ.

Ῥωμύλος δὲ μόνος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ δεῦτερον καταστὰς τὸ τε ἄγος ἀφοσιοῦται τὸ περὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις γεγόμενον προειπῶν τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις τὸ μῦθος ὕδατος εἵργεσθαι καὶ πυρὸς ἔπεφεύγεσαν γὰρ [p. 229] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες ἅμα τῷ τὸν Τάτιον ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τῶν Λαουινιατῶν τοὺς συστάντας ἐπὶ τὸν Τάτιον δικαστηρίῳ παραδοὺς ἐκδοθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπειδὴ δικαιότερα ἐδόκουν λέγειν τὰ βίαια τιμωρησάμενοι τοῖς βιαίοις, ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας. [2] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Φιδηναίων ἐστράτευσε πόλιν ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης κειμένην, μεγάλην τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον οὔσαν τότε. ἀγομένης γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγορᾶς ἐν σκάφαις ποταμηγοῖς, ἣν Κρουστομερῖνοι πιεζομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστειλαν, ὥσάμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὰς σκάφας οἱ Φιδηναῖοι τὴν τε ἀγορὰν διήρπασαν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινὰς τῶν ἐπιβοηθούντων ἀπέκτειναν αἰτούμενοι [3] τε δίκας οὐχ ὑπεῖχον. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ γενόμενος ἀφθόνου λείας ἐγκρατῆς ἀπάγειν μὲν παρεσκευάζετο τὴν δύναμιν, ἐπεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Φιδηναίων συνάπτει πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχην. καρτεροῦ δὲ ἀγῶνος γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἡσσηθέντες οἱ Φιδηναῖοι τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν, ὃ δ' ἐκ ποδὸς συνακολουθῶν αὐτοῖς συνεισπίπτει τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος.
[4] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἐφόδου τιμωρησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταλιπὼν τῆς τε χώρας μοῖραν ἀποτεμόμενος, ἦν τοῖς σφετέροις διεῖλεν, ἀποικίαν ἐποίησε Ῥωμαίων καὶ [p. 230] ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἣν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκισθεῖσα Νωμεντῷ τε καὶ Κρουστομερείᾳ χρόνον τριῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγησαμένων, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὴν Φιδήνην ἔκτισεν.

μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Καμερίνους ἐστράτευσεν ἐπιθεμένους τοῖς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐποίκοις, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔκαμνεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμικῆς: ἥ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Καμερῖνοι καὶ νομίσαντες ἄρδην τὸ Ῥωμαίων διαφθαρῆσθαι γένος ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν ἐποίκων, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλον. [2] ἀνθ' ὧν τιμωρούμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῦτερον ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν ἐφῆκε, τῆς τε χώρας τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀποτεμόμενος ἐξω τῆς πρότερον τοῖς κληρούχοις δοθείσης καὶ φρουρὰν ἀξιόχρεων καταλιπὼν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι παρακινήσαι τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ δεῦτερον θρίαμβον κατήγαγε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τέθριππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε τῷ

Ἦφαιστῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέστησεν εἰκόνα ἐπιγράψας Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις. [3] τρίτος αὐτῷ συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς ἔθνους Τυρρηνικοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαν τότε πόλιν, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Οὐιοί, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν σταδίους, [p. 231] κεῖται δ' ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ σκοπέλου καὶ περιρρῶγος μέγεθος ἔχουσα ὅσον Ἀθῆναι. ἐποίησαντο δ' οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν τὴν τῆς Φιδήνης ἄλωσιν καὶ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες ἐκέλευον Ῥωμαίοις ἐξάγειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν κατεῖχον ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Φιδηναίους, ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κυρίοις. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον ἐλάσαντες πολλῇ στρατιᾷ πλησίον τῆς Φιδήνης ἐν ἀπόπτῳ τίθενται τὸν χάρακα. [4] προεγνωκῶς δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐξεληλύθει τὴν κρατίστην δύναμιν ἔχων καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Φιδηναίων εὐτρεπής. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτοιμα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἦν, ἀμφότεροι προελθόντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐμάχοντο καὶ διέμειναν ἄχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τέως ἢ νύξ ἐπιλαβοῦσα διέκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἴσους κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα γενομένους. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν μάχην οὕτως ἠγωνίσαντο:

ἑτέρας δὲ μάχης μετ' οὐ πολὺ γενομένης, ἐνίκων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σοφίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ὄρος τι καταλαβομένου νύκτωρ οὐ πολὺν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων τόπον ἀπέχον καὶ λοχίσαντος ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην τῶν ὕστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν δύναμιν. [2] συνελθόντων δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγωνιζομένων τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἦρε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ λοχῶντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς [p. 232] Οὐιεντανοὺς ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀνθρώποις μεμοχθηκόσιν αὐτοὶ ἀκμῆτες ὄντες οὐ σὺν πολλῷ τρέπουσι χρόνῳ. τῶν δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἀποθνήσκουσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, οἱ δὲ πλείους εἰς τὸν Τέβεριν ποταμὸν ῥεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Φιδήνην ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς διανηξόμενοι τὸ ρεῦμα, διεφθάρησαν. τραυματῖαι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ κόπου ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο διανήξασθαι: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπειρία τοῦ νεῖν, οὐ προῖδόντες, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἐπιταραχθέντες ἐν ταῖς δίναις ἀπώλλυντο. [3] εἰ μὲν οὖν συνέγνωσαν ἑαυτοῖς Οὐιεντανοὶ κακῶς τὰ πρῶτα βεβουλευμένοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦγον ἡσυχίαν οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔτι μείζονος ἀπέλαυσαν κακοῦ, νῦν δὲ ἀναμαχεῖσθαι τε τὰ πρότερα σφάλματα ἐλπίσαντες καὶ εἰ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπιβάλοιεν, ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσειν οἰόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, πολλῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως καταγραφείῃ καὶ τῇ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν κατὰ φιλίαν παραγενομένη τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλαύνουσι: [4] καὶ γίνεται πάλιν αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερὰ τῆς Φιδήνης πλησίον, ἣν ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ὁ χάραξ αὐτῶν μεσστὸς ὦν χρημάτων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων, καὶ σκάφαι ποταμηγοὶ γέμουσαι πολλῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐλήφθησαν, [p. 233] ἐν αἷς ὁ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατήγετο διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [5] οὗτος κατήχθη τρίτος ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου θρίαμβρος μακρῷ τῶν προτέρων ἐκπρεπέστερος. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Οὐιεντανῶν πρεσβείας ἀφικομένης περὶ διαλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου καὶ συγγνώμην τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀξιούσης λαβεῖν δίκας ὁ Ῥωμύλος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθησι τάςδε: χώραν τε παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν προσεχῇ τῷ Τεβέρει, τοὺς καλουμένους Ἑπτὰ πάγους, καὶ τῶν ἁλῶν ἀποστῆναι τῶν παρὰ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσαι τὸ πιστὸν παρασχεῖν ὁμηρα πεντήκοντα ἀγογόντας. [6] ὑπομεινάντων δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν ἅπαντα ταῦτα σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἔτη στήλαις ἐνεχάραξε τὰς ὁμολογίας. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέναι βουλομένους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, τοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ μένειν προαιρουμένους πολλῷ πλείους ὄντας τῶν ἐτέρων πολίτας ποιησάμενος ταῖς φράτραις ἐπιδιεῖλε καὶ κλήρους αὐτοῖς προσένειμε τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Τεβέριος.

οὗτοι συνέστησαν οἱ πόλεμοι Ῥωμύλῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιοι. τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν πλησίον ἐθνῶν ὑπαγαγέσθαι ταχεῖα ἢ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου συμβᾶσα ἔτι ἀκμάζοντι αὐτῷ τὰ πολέμια πράττειν ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενέσθαι ἔδοξε: περὶ ἧς πολλοὶ παραδεδόνται λόγοι καὶ διάφοροι. [2] οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθωδέστερα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντες ἐκκλησιάζοντά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου [p. 234] ζόφου κατασκήψαντος ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ χειμῶνος μεγάλου καταρραγέντος

ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ πεπιστεύκασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἄρεος τὸν ἄνδρα ἀνηρπάσθαι: [3] οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτερα γράφοντες πρὸς τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν. αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ φέρουσι τὴν τε ἄφασιν τῶν ὁμήρων, οὓς παρὰ Οὐιεντανῶν ἔλαβεν, ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης γενομένην παρὰ τὸ εἰώθος, καὶ τὸ μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προσφέρεσθαι τρόπον τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις πολιταῖς καὶ τοῖς προσγράφοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τιμῇ πλείονι ἄγειν, τῶν δ' ἐπεισασθέντων ὑπερορᾶν, τὸ τε ὥμὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων καὶ αὐθαδές, "Ρωμαίων γὰρ τινὰς ἐπὶ ληστεία τῶν πλησιοχώρων κατηγορηθέντας οὔτε ἀφανεῖς ἄνδρας οὔτε ὀλίγους ἐκέλευσεν ὥσαι κατὰ τοῦ κρηνοῦ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸς μόνος δικάσας· μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι βαρὺς ἦδη καὶ αὐθάδης εἶναι ἐδόκει καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικώτερον ἐξάγειν. [4] διὰ ταύτας δὴ λέγουσι τὰς αἰτίας συστάντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς πατρικίους βουλευῶσαι τὸν φόνον, πρᾶξαι δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ διελόντας τὸ σῶμα κατὰ μέρη χάριν τοῦ μὴ φανῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐξελεῖν κρύπτοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ὅσον ἕκαστος εἶχεν αὐτοῦ [5] μέρος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γῇ κρῦψαι κατὰ τὸ ἀφανές. οἱ δ' ἐκκλησιάζοντα μὲν αὐτὸν φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἐπιχειρῆσαι δ' αὐτοὺς [p. 235] τῷ φόνῳ καθ' ὃν χρόνον δηλαδὴ καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐγένετο διασκεδασθέντος ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ δήμου καὶ μονωθέντος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν φασὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τῆς τροπῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπώνυμον εἶναι καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ὄχλου φυγὴν καλεῖσθαι. [6] ἔοικε δ' οὐ μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν παρέχειν τοῖς θεοποιοῦσι τὰ θνητὰ καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβιβάζουσι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τὰ συμβάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν. ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ βιασμῷ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶθ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων τινὸς εἶθ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενομένῳ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν φασιν ὅλον καὶ σκότος παντελῶς ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν γῆν κατασχεῖν ἔν τε τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' συμβῆναι λέγουσι πάθος. [7] ὁ μὲν δὴ κτίσας τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμύλος τοιαύτης λέγεται τελευτῆς τυχεῖν, οὐδεμίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενεὰν καταλιπών, ἐπτα μὲν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα βασιλεύσας, πεντηκοστὸν δὲ καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων ἀπὸ γενεᾶς. νέος γὰρ διὰ παντᾶσιν ἔτυχε τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὀκτωκαίδεκαέτης ὢν, ὡς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες ἱστορίας.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ βασιλεὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπεδείχθη Ῥωμαίων, ἀρχὴ δὲ τις, ἣν καλοῦσι μεσοβασιλείον, ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κοινῶν τοιόνδε τινα τρόπον ἀποδεικνυμένη: τῶν πατρικίων οἱ καταγραφέντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν [p. 236] ὄντες, ὥσπερ ἔφην, διενεμήθησαν εἰς δεκάδας: ἔπειτα διακληρωσάμενοι τοῖς λαλοῦσι δέκα πρῶτοις ἀπέδωκαν ἄρχειν τῆς πόλεως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. [2] ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὐχ ἅμα πάντες ἐβασίλευον, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἡμέρας πέντε ἕκαστος, ἐν αἷς τὰς τε ῥάβδους εἶχε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σύμβολα. παρεδίδου δ' ὁ πρῶτος ἄρξας τῷ δευτέρῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κἀκεῖνος τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου. διεξελεύσεως δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις δέκα βασιλεῦσι τῆς πεντηκονθημέρου προθεσμίας ἕτεροι δέκα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελάμβανον καὶ

παρ' ἑκείνων αὐθις ἄλλοι. [3] ἐπέι δ' ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ παῦσαι τὰς δεκαδαρχίας ἀχθομένῳ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τῶν ἐξουσιῶν διὰ τὸ μήτε προαιρέσεις ἅπαντας ὁμοίας ἔχειν μήτε φύσεις, τότε δὴ συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος οἱ βουλευταὶ κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ φράτρας ἀπέδωκαν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας σκοπεῖν, εἴτε βασιλεῖ βούλεται τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιτρέπειν εἴτε ἀρχαῖς ἐνιαυσίοις. [4] οὐ μὴν ὁ γε δῆμος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκε τοῖς βουλευταῖς τὴν διάγνωσιν ὡς ἀγαπήσων ὅποτέραν ἂν ἐκείνοι δοκιμάσωσι τῶν πολιτειῶν: τοῖς δὲ βασιλικὴν μὲν ἐδόκει καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν ἅπασι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄρξειν στάσις ἐνέπιπτεν ἐξ ὁποτέρας ἔσται τάξεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων βουλευτῶν ὦντο δεῖν ἀποδειχθῆναι τὸν ἐπιτροπέυσοντα τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπεισαχθέντων, οὕς νεωτέρους ἐκάλουν. [p. 237]

ἐλκομένης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς φιλονεικίας τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνέβησαν τῷ δικαίῳ, ὥστε дуεῖν θάτερον, ἢ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βουλευτὰς ἀποδείξει βασιλέα σφῶν μὲν αὐτῶν μηδένα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὃν ἂν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι νομίσωσιν, ἢ τοὺς νεωτέρους τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο. δέχονται τὴν αἵρεσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ πόλλ' ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν βουλευσάμενοι τάδ' ἔγνωσαν: ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀπηλαύνοντο μηδὲ τῶν ἐπεισελθόντων βουλευτῶν μηδενὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐπακτόν τινα ἔξωθεν ἄνδρα καὶ μηδ' ὁποτέροις προσθησόμενον, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα ἐξαίρεθει τὸ στασιάζον, [2] ἐξευρόντες ἀποδείξει βασιλέα. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι προὔχειρίσαντο ἄνδρα γένους μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνων, υἱὸν δὲ Πομπιλίου Πόμπωνος ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς κατ' ὄνομα Νόμαν, χρή δὲ τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκτείνοντας βαρυτονεῖν ἡλικίας τε τῆς φρονιμωτάτης ὄντα, τετταρακονταετίας γὰρ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέιχε, καὶ ἀξιώσει μορφῆς βασιλικόν. [3] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ κλέος μέγιστον οὐ παρὰ Κυρίταις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς περιοίκις ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς συγκαλοῦσι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τότε μεσοβασιλεὺς εἶπεν, ὅτι κοινῇ δόξαν ἅπασι τοῖς βουλευταῖς βασιλικὴν καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν, κύριος [p. 238] γεγονώς αὐτὸς τῆς διαγνώσεως τοῦ παραληφόμενου τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως αἰρεῖται Νόμαν Πομπίλιον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρεσβευτὰς ἀποδείξας ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀπέστειλε τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πυθαγόρας Λάκων.

μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω πρὸς τοὺς ἐκδεδωκότας τὴν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἱστορίαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀπορῶ τι ποτε χρή λέγειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ γράψαντες ὅτι Πυθαγόρου μαθητῆς ὁ Νόμας ἐγένετο καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς φιλοσοφῶν ἐν Κρότῳ διέτριβεν, ὁ δὲ χρόνος τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας μάχεται πρὸς τὸν λόγον. [2] οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρσι γενεαῖς ὅλαις ὕστερος ἐγένετο Πυθαγόρας Νόμα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παρειλήφαμεν ἱστορίων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος μεσοῦσης τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, Πυθαγόρας δὲ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα διέτριψεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. [3] τούτου δ' ἔτι μεῖζον ἔχω τεκμήριον εἰπεῖν

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συμφωνεῖν τοὺς χρόνους ταῖς παραδεδομέναις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὁ Νόμας ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτω πόλις ἦν ἡ Κρότων· τέτταρσι γὰρ ὅλοις ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νόμαν ἄρξαι Ῥωμαίων Μύσκελος αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης [p. 239] Ὀλυμπιάδος. οὔτε δὴ Πυθαγόρα τῷ Σαμίῳ συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τῷ μετὰ τέτταρας ἀκμάσαντι γενεᾷς δυνατὸς ἦν τὸν Νόμαν οὕτ' ἐν Κρότωνι διατρίβειν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ ^[4] μήπω τότε οὔσῃ πόλει. ἀλλ' εἰκόσιν οἱ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράψαντες, εἰ χρή δόξαν ἰδίαν ἀποφῆνασθαι, δύο ταῦτα λαβόντες ὁμολογούμενα, τὴν τε Πυθαγόρου διατριβὴν τὴν γενομένην ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὴν Νόμα σοφίαν ὡμολόγηται γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων ὁ ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι σοφός· ἐπισυνάψαι ταῦτα καὶ ποιῆσαι Πυθαγόρου μαθητὴν τὸν Νόμαν οὐκέτι τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαντες, εἰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἤκμασαν ἀμφοτέροι χρόνους, ^[5] ὅπερ ἐγὼ πεποίηκα νῦν· εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα Πυθαγόραν ἕτερον ὑποθήσεται πρὸ τοῦ Σαμίου γεγομέναι παιδευτὴν σοφίας, ᾧ συνδιέτριψεν ὁ Νόμας. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν ἀποδείξαι δύναίτο μηδενὸς τῶν ἀξιολόγων μήτε Ῥωμαίου μήθ' Ἑλλήνος, ὅσα κάμει εἰδέναι, παραδεδωκότος ἐν ἱστορίᾳ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλως.

ὁ δὲ Νόμας ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν τούτων τῶν καλούντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τέως μὲν ἀντέλεγε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινεν ἀπομαχόμενος μὴ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τε ἀδελφοὶ προσέκειντο λιπαροῦντες καὶ τελευτῶν ὁ πατήρ οὐκ ἤξιον τηλικαύτην τιμὴν διδομένην ἀπωθεῖσθαι, συνέγνω γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς· ^[2] τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις πυθομένοις ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν [p. 240] πρεσβευτῶν, πρὶν ὅφει τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν πολὺς αὐτοῦ παρέστη πόθος, ἱκανὸν ἡγουμένοις τεκμήριον εἶναι τῆς σοφίας, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτριον ἐκτετιμηκότων βασιλείαν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον ἐν ταύτῃ πιθεμένων μόνος ἐκεῖνος ὡς φαύλου τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀξίου σπουδῆς πράγματος καταφρονεῖ, παραγενομένῳ τε ὑπὴντων ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντι σὺν ἐπαίνῳ πολλῷ καὶ ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς παραπέμποντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ^[3] ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο συναχθείσας, ἐν ᾗ διήνεγκαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους αἱ φυλαὶ κατὰ φράτρας καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπικυρωσάντων τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πλήθει καὶ τελευταῖον ἔτι τῶν ὀρνιθοσκοπῶν αἴσια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημεῖα ἀποφηνάντων παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν. ^[4] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖοί φασι στρατείαν μηδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, θεοσεβῇ δὲ καὶ δίκαιον γενόμενον ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διατελέσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄριστα πολιτευομένην παρασχεῖν, λόγους τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς καὶ θαυμαστοὺς λέγουσιν ἀναφέροντες τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν εἰς θεῶν ὑποθήκας. ^[5] νύμφην γὰρ τινα μυθολογοῦσιν Ἥγερίαν φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκάστοτε διδάσκουσιν τὴν βασιλικὴν σοφίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ οὐ νύμφην, ἀλλὰ τῶν Μουσῶν μίαν. καὶ τοῦτο φασι γενέσθαι πᾶσι φανερόν. ἀπιστούντων γὰρ, ὡς εἴκοι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ πεπλάσθαι νομιζόντων τὸν περὶ τῆς θεᾶς λόγον, βουλόμενον [p. 241] αὐτὸν ἐπιδειξάσθαι τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν ἐναργές τι μήνυμα τῆς πρὸς τὴν δαίμονα ὁμιλίας καὶ διδαχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι τάδε· ^[6] καλέσαντα Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἰς

τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ἣ διαιτῶμενος ἐτύγχανεν, ἔπειτα δεῖξαντα τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τὰ ἔνδον τῇ τε ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ φαύλως κεχορηγημένα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν εἰς ἐστίασιν ὀχλικὴν ἐπιτηδεῖων ἄπορα, τότε μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κελεύειν, εἰς ἐσπέραν δὲ [7] καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον: παραγενομένοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ὥραν ἐπιδεῖξαι στρωμνάς τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας ἐκπωμάτων γεμούσας πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐστίασιν τε αὐτοῖς παραθεῖναι κατακλιθεῖσιν ἀπάσης ἐδωδῆς, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου παρασκευάσασθαι τινι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ῥάδιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατάπληξιν τε πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ὀρωμένων ὑπελθεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου παραστῆναι βέβαιον, ὅτι θεὰ τις αὐτῷ συνῆν.

οἱ δὲ τὰ μυθώδη πάντα περιαιροῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας πεπλάσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νόμα τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἥγερίας λόγον, ἵνα ῥῆον αὐτῷ προσέχωσιν οἱ τὰ θεῖα δεδιότες καὶ προθύμως δέχωνται τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πιθεμένους νόμους, ὡς παρὰ θεῶν κομιζομένους. [2] λαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν τούτων μίμησιν ἀποφαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν παραδειγμάτων ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον τῆς τε Μίνω τοῦ Κρητὸς καὶ τῆς Λυκούργου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου σοφίας: ὧν ὁ μὲν ὁμιλητὴς [p. 242] ἔφη γενέσθαι τοῦ Διὸς καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς τὸ Δικταῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τραφεῖναι τὸν Δία μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ Κρήτες ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων νεογνὸν ὄντα, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐκεῖ συντιθεῖς ἐκόμιζεν, οὓς ἀπέφαινε παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνειν: ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικνούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ [3] Ἀπόλλωνος ἔφη διδάσκεσθαι τὴν νομοθεσίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν ἱστορημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφερομένων μακρῶν λόγων δεόμενον ὁρῶν ἐάσω, ἃ δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀγαθὰ Ῥωμαῖοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔμαθον ἱστορίων ἀφηγήσομαι, προειπὼν ἐν οἷαις ἐτύγχανε ταραχαῖς τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως ὄντα, πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν.

μετὰ τὴν Ῥωμύλου τελευτὴν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν γενομένη κυρία καὶ χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατασχοῦσα τὴν δυναστείαν διαφέρεσθαι καὶ στασιάζειν αὐτὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἤρξατο περὶ τοῦ πλείονος τε καὶ ἴσου. ὅσον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς μέρος Ἀλβανῶν ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἅμα Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν ἀποικίαν στειλάντων, γνώμης τε ἄρχειν ἡξίου καὶ τιμῶν τὰς μεγίστας λαμβάνειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς τῶν [2] ἐπὶ πλῶν: οἱ δ' ὕστερον εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους καταγραφέντες ἐκ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐδεμιᾶς ὥντο δεῖν ἀπελάνεσθαι τιμῆς οὐδὲ μειονεκτεῖν τῶν ἐτέρων, μάλιστα δ' ὅσοι τοῦ Σαβίνων ἐτύγχανον ὄντες γένους καὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς γενομένας Ῥωμύλῳ πρὸς [p. 243] Τάτιον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις γενομένοι μετεληφέναι τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἐκείνοις αὐτοὶ δεδωκέναι ἐδόκουν. [3] ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὴν βουλὴν διαστῆναι καὶ τὸ τῶν πελατῶν πλῆθος διχῇ μερισθὲν ἐκατέρᾳ συνέβαινε τῶν στάσεων. ἦν δὲ τι τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν νεωστὶ προσεληλυθότων τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ὃ διὰ τὸ μηδενὸς συνάρασθαι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ πολέμου παρημελημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος οὔτε γῆς εἰλήφει μοῖραν οὔτε ὠφελείας. τοῦτο ἀνέστιον καὶ πτωχὸν ἀλώμενον ἐχθρόν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἦν καὶ

νεωτερίζειν ἐτοιμότατον. [4] Ἐν τοιοῦτῳ δὴ κλύδωνι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως σαλεύοντα ὁ Νόμας καταλαβὼν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν δημοτῶν ἀνέλαβε διανείμας αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ἧς Ῥωμύλος ἐκέκτητο χώρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δημοσίας μοῖραν τινα ὀλίγην: ἔπειτα τοὺς πατρικίους οὐδὲν μὲν ἀφελόμενος ὧν οἱ κτίσαντες τὴν πόλιν εὕροντο, τοῖς δ' ἐποίκοις ἑτέρας τινὰς ἀποδοὺς τιμὰς, ἔπαυσε διαφερομένους. [5] Ἄρμοςάμενος δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸς ἓνα τὸν τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸν περίβολον αὐξήσας τῷ Κυρινεῖω λόφῳ 'τέως γὰρ ἔτι ἀτειχιστος ἦν' τότε τῶν ἄλλων πολιτευμάτων ἥπτετο [p. 244] δύο ταῦτα πραγματευόμενος, οἷς κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπελάμβανεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα γενησεσθαι καὶ μεγάλην: εὐσέβειαν μὲν πρῶτον, διδάσκων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ θεοὶ δοτῆρές εἰσι τῇ θνητῇ φύσει καὶ φύλακες, ἔπειτα δικαιοσύνην, δι' ἣν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπέφαινε ἀγαθὰ καλὰς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις φέροντα τοῖς κτησαμένοις.

ἔξ ὧν δὲ διεπράξατο νόμων τε καὶ πολιτευμάτων ἑκάτερον τούτων εἰς μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν προελθεῖν ἅπαντα μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῷ γράφειν, τὸ μῆκος ὑφορώμενος τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἀναγκαίαν ὀρῶν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ φανεράν δυνάμενα ποιῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ἐρῶ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα διακοσμήσεως ποιησάμενος. [2] Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου ταχθέντα ἐν ἐθισμοῖς τε καὶ νόμοις παρέλαβεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τετάχθαι πάντα ἡγησάμενος εἶα κατὰ χώραν μένειν, ὅσα δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου παραλελείφθαι ἐδόκει, ταῦτα προσετίθει πολλὰ μὲν ἀποδεικνύς τεμένη τοῖς μήπω τιμῶν τυγχάνουσι θεοῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς ἰδρυόμενος ἑορτάς τε ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀπονέμων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς καθιστὰς ἀγνείας τε καὶ θρησκείας καὶ καθαρμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θεραπείας καὶ τιμὰς πάνυ πολλὰς νομοθετῶν, ὅσας οὐθ' Ἑλληνὶς οὔτε βάρβαρος ἔχει πόλις οὐδ' αἱ [3] μέγιστον ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ φρονοῦσαι ποτε: αὐτόν τε τὸν Ῥωμύλον ὡς κρεῖττον α γενόμενον ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν [p. 245] φύσιν ἱεροῦ κατασκευῆ καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις ἔταξε Κυρῖνον ἐπονομαζόμενον γεραιεσθαι. ἔτι γὰρ ἀγνοούντων τὸν ἀφανισμόν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἴτε κατὰ δαίμονος πρόνοιαν εἴτ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐγένετο, παρελθὼν τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν Ἰούλιος ὄνομα τῶν ἀπ' Ἀσκανίου γεωργικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀνεπιλήπτος, οἷος μηδὲν ἂν ψεύσασθαι κέρδους ἕνεκα οἰκείου, ἔφη παραγινόμενος ἐξ ἀγροῦ Ῥωμύλον ἰδεῖν ἀπὸντα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος: [4] Ἀγγέλλε Ῥωμαίοις Ἰούλιε τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι με ὁ λαχὼν ὅτ' ἐγενόμην δαίμων εἰς θεοὺς ἄγεται τὸν θνητὸν ἐκκληρώσαντα αἰῶνα: εἰμὶ δὲ Κυρῖνος, περιλαβὼν δὲ ἅπασαν τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίαν γραφαῖς διεῖλεν εἰς ὀκτὼ μοῖρας, ὅσαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἦσαν αἱ συμμορίαι.

ἀπέδωκε δὲ μίαν μὲν ἱερουργιῶν διάταξιν τοῖς τριάκοντα κουρίωσιν, οὓς ἔφην τὰ κοινὰ [2] θύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν φρατριῶν ἱερά. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων στεφανηφόροις, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φλάμοσιν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς φορήσεως τῶν πῖλων τε καὶ στεμμάτων, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φοροῦσι

φλάμα καλοῦντες, οὕτω προσαγορεύουσι. [3] τὴν δὲ τρίτην τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν κελερίων, οὓς ἔφην ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς στρατευομένους φύλακας ἀποδείκνυσθαι τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τεταγμένους τινὰς [p. 246] [4] ἱεουργίας ἐπετέλουν. τὴν δὲ τετάρτην τοῖς ἐξηγουμένοις τὰ θεόπεμπτα σημεῖα καὶ διαιροῦσι τίνων ἐστὶ μηνύματα πραγμάτων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ, οὓς ἀφ' ἑνὸς εἰδους τῶν θεωρημάτων τῆς τέχνης Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν αὐγορας, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εἴπομεν οἰωνοπόλους, ἀπάσης τῆς μαντικῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας ἐπιστήμονας τῆς τε περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ μετάρσια καὶ [5] τὰ ἐπίγεια. τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ταῖς φυλαττοῦσαις τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ παρθένους, αἱ καλοῦνται πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἥν θεραπεύουσιν ἐστιάδες, αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος Ῥωμαίοις Ἑστίας καὶ παρθένους ἀποδειξας αὐτῇ θυηπόλους: ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπαιτοῦσης ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. ἔστι γὰρ ἃ καὶ ζητήσεως ἥξιωται καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐξητακότες ἐπιμελῶς εἰκαιότερας ἐξήνεγκαν τὰς γραφάς.

τὴν γοῦν ἰδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ῥωμύλῳ τινὲς ἀναπιθέασι τῶν ἀμηχάνων νομίζοντες εἶναι πόλεως οἰκισομένης ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐμπείρου μαντικῆς μὴ κατασκευασθῆναι πρῶτον ἐστίαν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Ἀλβα τοῦ κτίστου τραφέντος, ἐν ᾗ παλαιὸν ἐξ οὗ τὸ τῆς θεᾶς ταύτης ἱερὸν ἰδρυμένον ἦν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ θυηπόλου γενομένης τῇ [p. 247] θεῷ: διαιρούμενοί τε διχῇ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κοινὰ ποιοῦντες καὶ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια καὶ συγγενικά, δι' ἅμφω ταῦτά φασι πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἶναι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ταύτην σέβειν τὴν θεόν. [2] οὕτε γὰρ ἀναγκαιότερον ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν εἶναι τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας οὕτε τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον προγόνων μὲν ὑπάρχοντι τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου τὰ τῆς θεᾶς ἱερὰ μετενεγκαμένων, μητρὸς δὲ ἱερείας. εἰοικασί δ' οἱ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἰδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ῥωμύλῳ μᾶλλον ἀναπιθέντες ἢ Νόμῳ, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὀρθῶς λέγειν, ὅτι πόλεως οἰκισομένης ἐστίαν πρῶτον ἔδει ἰδρυθῆναι καὶ ταῦτα ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀπείρου τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφίας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τε τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ νῦν ὄντος ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν θεραπευουσῶν τὴν θεὸν παρθένων ἡγνοηκέναι. [3] οὕτε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν φυλάττεται πῦρ Ῥωμύλος ἦν ὁ καθιερώσας τῇ θεῷ μέγα δὲ τοῦτου τεκμήριον ὅτι τῆς τετραγώνου καλουμένης Ῥώμης ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐτείχισεν ἐκτὸς ἐστίν, ἐστίας δὲ κοινῆς ἱερὸν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ μάλιστα καθιδρύνονται τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, ἔξω δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεῖς· οὕτε διὰ παρθένων τὰς θεραπείας κατεστήσατο τῇ θεῷ μεμνημένος ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῦ περὶ τὴν μητέρα πάθους, ἧ συνέβη θεραπευοῦσιν τὴν θεὸν τὴν παρθενίαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἐσόμενος, ἐάν τινα τῶν θυηπόλων εὖρη διεφθαρμένην, κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους τιμωρήσασθαι νόμους διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκειαῖς συμφοραῖς ἀνάμνησιν. [4] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὸν [p. 248] ἱερὸν οὐ κατεσκευάσατο τῆς Ἑστίας οὐδὲ ἱερείας ἔταξεν αὐτῇ παρθένους, ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα φρατριῶν ἰδρυσάμενος ἐστίαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἔθνον οἱ φρατριεῖς, θυηπόλους αὐτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς τῶν κουριῶν ἡγεμόνας τὰ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἔθνη μιμησάμενος, ἃ παρὰ ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις τῶν πόλεων ἔτι γίνεσθαι. τὰ γὰρ τοι καλούμενα

πρυτανεΐα παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἑστίας ἐστὶν ἱερὰ, καὶ θεραπεύεται πρὸς τῶν ἔχόντων τὸ μέγιστον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κράτος.

νόμας δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας οὐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν φρατριῶν ἑστίας, κοινὴν δὲ κατεστήσατο πάντων μίαν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τοῦ Παλατίου χωρίῳ, συμπεπολισμένων ἤδη τῶν λόφων ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ καὶ μέσης ἀμφοῖν οὔσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐν ἣ κατεσκευάσται τὸ ἱερόν, τὴν τε φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατὰ τὸν πατριὸν τῶν Λατίνων νόμον διὰ παρθένων ἐνομοθέτησε γίνεσθαι: [2] ἔχει δὲ τινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ τὸ φυλαττόμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τί δήποτε ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τί πρόσκειται παρθένοις. τινὲς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ φανεροῦ πυρὸς εἶναι φασὶ τὸ τηρούμενον, τὴν δὲ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ παρθένοις ἀνακεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδράσι ποιοῦνται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, ὅτι πῦρ μὲν ἀμίαντον, παρθένος δ' ἄφθαρτον, τῷ δ' ἀγνωστάτῳ τῶν θείων τὸν καθαρῶτατον τῶν θνητῶν φίλον. [3] Ἑστία δ' ἀνακεῖσθαι τὸ πῦρ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι γῆ τε οὔσα ἢ θεὸς καὶ τὸν μέσον κατέχουσα [p. 249] τοῦ κόσμου τόπον τὰς ἀνάψεις τοῦ μεταρσίου ποιεῖται πυρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ φασιν ἔξω τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱερὰ κεῖσθαι τινὰ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς θεᾶς, ὧν οἱ τε ἱεροφάνται τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι, τεκμήριον οὐ μικρὸν παρεχόμενοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ συμβὰν περὶ τὴν ἔμπρησιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὸν Φοινικικὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρῶτον συστάντα Ῥωμαῖοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ Σικελίας. [4] ἐμπρησθέντος γὰρ τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τῶν παρθένων φευγουσῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν τις Λεύκιος Καικίλιος ὁ καλούμενος Μέτελλος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ὁ τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἐκ Σικελίας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων καταγαγὼν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλεφάντων θρίαμβον, ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα παρεκινδύνευσεν εἰς τὰ καιόμενα βιάσασθαι καὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀρπάσας ἱερὰ διέσωσεν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός: ἐφ' ᾧ τιμὰς παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξηνέγκατο μεγάλας, ὥς ἢ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ κειμένης ἐπιγραφὴ μαρτυρεῖ. [5] τοῦτο δὴ λαβόντες ὁμολογούμενον ἐπισυνάπτουσιν αὐτοὶ στοχασμούς τινὰς ἰδίους, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ λέγοντες ἱερῶν μοῖραν εἶναι τινὰ φυλαττομένην τὴν ἐνθάδε, Δαρδάνου μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κτισθεῖσαν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὰ ἱερὰ μετενεγκαμένου, [p. 250] Αἰνείου δὲ, ὅτ' ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ταῦτα κομίσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὸ διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον ἀποφαίνοντες εἶναι τὸ παρ' Ἰλίουσιν γινόμενον, ὥς Αἰνείου κομίσαντος αὐτὸ δι' ἐμπειρίαν, Ἀχαιῶν δὲ τὸ μῆγμα αὐτοῦ λαβόντων κλοπῇ: περὶ οὗ πολλοὶ σφόδρα εἴρηνται ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι λόγοι. [6] ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶναι τινὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄδηλα ἱερὰ φυλαττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καὶ οὐ τὸ πῦρ μόνον ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ καταλαμβάνομαι, τίνα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἀξιῶ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὔτ' ἐμαυτὸν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια τηρεῖν.

αἱ δὲ θεραπεύουσαι τὴν θεὸν παρθένοι τέτταρες μὲν ἦσαν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν βασιλέων αὐτὰς αἰρουμένων ἐφ' οἷς κατεστήσατο δικαίους ὁ Νόμας, ὕστερον δὲ διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἅς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἔξ γενόμεναι μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαμένονσι χρόνου δίαταιν ἔχουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, ἐνθα δι' ἡμέρας μὲν

οὐδεῖς. ἀπειργεῖται τῶν βουλομένων εἰσιέναι, νύκτωρ δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄρρενων ἐναυλίσασθαι θέμις. [2] χρόνον δὲ τριακονταετῇ μένειν αὐτὰς ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνὰς γάμων θυηπολοῦσας τε καὶ τᾶλλα θρησκευούσας κατὰ νόμον, ἐν ᾧ δέκα μὲν ἔτη μανθάνειν αὐτὰς ἔδει, δέκα δ' ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ἱερά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δέκα διδάσκειν ἑτέρας. ἐκπληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς τριακονταετίας οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον τὰς βουλομένας ἀποθείσας τὰ στέμματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς [p. 251] ἱεροσύνης γαμεῖσθαι. καὶ ἐποίησάν τινες τοῦτο πάνυ ὀλίγαι, αἷς ἄζηλοι συνέβησαν αἱ τελευταῖαι τῶν βίων καὶ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖς, ὥστε δι' οἴωνοῦ λαμβάνουσαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι μένουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ μέχρι θανάτου, τότε δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκκλιπούσης ἀριθμὸν ἑτέρα πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ἀποδεικνύται. [3] τιμαὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἀποδέδονται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πολλαὶ καὶ καλαί, δι' ἃς οὔτε παιδῶν αὐταῖς ἔστι πόθος οὔτε γάμων, τιμωρίαι τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις κείνται μεγάλαι, ὧν ἔξετασται τε καὶ κολασταὶ κατὰ νόμον εἰσὶν οἱ ἱεροφάνται, τὰς μὲν ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἀμαρτανόουσας ῥάβδοις μαστιγοῦντες, τὰς δὲ φθαρείας αἰσχιστῶ τε καὶ [4] ἐλεεινοτάτῳ παραδιδόντες θανάτῳ. ζῶσαι γὰρ ἔτι πομπεύουσιν ἐπὶ κλίνης φερόμεναι τὴν ἀποδεδειγμένην τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐκφορὰν, ἀνακλαιομένων αὐτὰς καὶ προπεμπόντων φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν, κομισθεῖσαι δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης, ἐντὸς τείχους εἰς σηκὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κατεσκευασμένον ἅμα τοῖς ἐνταφίοις κόσμοις τίθενται καὶ οὕτ' ἐπιστήματος οὕτ' ἐναγισμῶν οὕτ' [5] ἄλλου τῶν νομίμων οὐδενὸς τυγχάνουσι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα δοκεῖ μηνύματα εἶναι τῆς οὐχ ὁσίως ὑπηρετοῦσης τοῖς ἱεροῖς, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ σβέσις τοῦ πυρὸς, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δεδοίκασιν ἀφανισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως σημεῖον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἀφ' ἧς ποτ' ἂν αἰτίας γένηται, καὶ πολλαῖς αὐτὸ θεραπείαις [p. 252] ἐξίλασκόμενοι κατάγουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν: ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ.

πάνυ δ' ἄξιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἱστορῆσαι τῆς θεᾶς, ἣν ἐπεδειξάτο ταῖς ἀδίκως ἐγκληθείσαις παρθένοις, πεπίστευται γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, εἰ καὶ παράδοξά ἐστι, καὶ πολὺν πεποίηνται λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ συγγραφεῖς. [2] ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀθέους ἀσκοῦσι φιλοσοφίας, εἰ δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφίας αὐτὰς δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀπάσας διασύροντες τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν τὰς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάρους γενομένας καὶ ταύτας εἰς γέλωτα πολὺν ἄξουσιν τὰς ἱστορίας ἀλαζονεῖαι: ἀνθρωπίναις αὐτὰς ἀνατιθέντες, ὥς οὐδενὶ θεῶν μέλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδενός. ὅσοι δ' οὐκ ἀπολύουσι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐμενεῖς εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς δυσμενεῖς διὰ πολλῆς ἐληλυθότες ἱστορίας, οὐδὲ ταύτας ὑπολήφονται τὰς ἐπιφανείας εἶναι ἀπίστους. [3] λέγεται δὴ ποτε τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκλιπόντος δι' ὀλιγωρίαν τινὰ τῆς τότε αὐτὸ φυλαττοῦσης Αἰμιλίας ἑτέρα παρθένω τῶν νεωστὶ κατειλεγμένων καὶ ἄρτι μανθανουσῶν παραδόσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ ζήτησις ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν, μὴ τι μίasma περὶ τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἱερείας ἐτύγχανε γεγονός: ἔνθα δὴ φασὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ἀναίπιον μὲν οὔσαν, ἀπορομένην δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι παρόντων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρθένων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκτεῖναισαν εἰπεῖν: [p. 253] [4] ἔστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως φύλαξ,

εἰ μὲν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἐπιτετέλεκά σοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρόνον ὀλίγου δέοντα τριακονταετοῦς καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχουσα καθάραν καὶ σῶμα ἀγνόν, ἐπιφάνηθι μοι καὶ βοήθησον καὶ μὴ περιίδῃς τὴν σεαυτῆς ἰέρειαν τὸν οἴκτιστον μόρον ἀποθανοῦσαν· εἰ δὲ ἀνόσιόν τι πέπρακται μοι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τιμωρίαις τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄγος ἀφάγνισον. ^[5] ταῦτ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ περιρρήξασαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρπασίνης ἐσθῆτος, ἣν ἔτυχεν ἐνδεδυκυῖα, βαλεῖν τὸν τελαμῶνα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς κατεψυγμένης πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ οὐδένα φυλαττούσης σπινθῆρα τέφρας ἀναλάμψαι φλόγα πολλὴν διὰ τῆς καρπάσου, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεῖσαι τῇ πόλει μήτε ἀγνισμῶν μήτε νέου πυρός.

ἔτι δὲ τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστι καὶ μῦθω μᾶλλον εἰκόδες ὁ μέλλω λέγειν. κατηγορῆσαι τινὰ φασιν ἀδίκως μιᾶς τῶν παρθένων τῶν ἱερῶν Τυκκίας ὄνομα, ἀφανισμόν μὲν πυρὸς οὐκ ἔχοντα προφέρειν, ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς ἐξ εἰκότων τεκμηρίων καὶ μαρτυριῶν ἀποδείξεις φέροντα οὐκ ἀληθεῖς· κελυσεθεῖσαν δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὴν παρθένον τοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις ἀπολύσεται τὰς διαβολάς· ^[2] ταῦτα δ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐπικαλεσαμένην ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ γενέσθαι προάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Τέβεριν ἐπιτρεφάντων μὲν αὐτῇ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν, [p. 254] τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου συμπροπέμποντος· γενομένην δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον τὸ παροιμιαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀδυνάτων τόλμημα ὑπομεῖναι, ἀρυσασμένην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καινῷ κοσκίνῳ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐνέγκασαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ἐξερᾶσαι τὸ ὕδωρ. ^[3] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά φασι τὸν κατήγορον αὐτῆς πολλῆς ζητήσεως γενομένης μήτε ζῶντα εὑρεθῆναι μήτε νεκρόν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανειῶν τῆς θεᾶς ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανὰ εἰρησθαι νομίζω.

ἔκτη δὲ μοῖρα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίας ἣν ἡ προσνεμηθεῖσα τοῖς καλουμένοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων σαλίοις, οὗς αὐτὸς ὁ Νόμας ἀπέδειξεν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων δώδεκα τοὺς εὐπρεπεστάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος νέους, ὧν ἐν Παλατίῳ κεῖται τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ καλοῦνται Παλατῖνοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγωναλεῖς, ὑπὸ δὲ τινων Κολλῖνοι καλούμενοι σάλιοι, ὧν τὸ ἱεροφυλάκιόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κολλίνου λόφου, μετὰ Νόμαν ἀπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ βασιλέως 'Οσιλίου κατ' ^[2] εὐχὴν, ἣν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σαβίνους εὗξατο πολέμῳ. οὗτοι πάντες οἱ σάλιοι χορευταὶ τινὲς εἰσι καὶ ὕμνηταὶ τῶν ἐνόπλων θεῶν. ἑορτὴ δ' αὐτῶν ἐστι περὶ τὰ Παναθήναια ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Μαρτίῳ μηνὶ δημοτελὲς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀγομένη, ἐν αἷς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγουσι τοὺς χοροὺς εἰς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίους τόπους, χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκαῖς μίτραις [p. 255] κατεζωσμένοι καὶ τηβέννας ἐμπεπορημένοι περιπορφύρους φοινικοπαρύφους, ἃς καλοῦσι τραβέας 'ἔστι δ' ἐπιχώριος αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐσθῆς ἐν τοῖς πάντι μιμῖα καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀπίκας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, πῖλους ὑψηλοὺς εἰς σχῆμα συναγομένους κωνοειδές, ἃς Ἑλληνες προσαγορεύουσι κυρβασίας. ^[3] παρέζωσται δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ξίφος καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ἢ ῥάβδον ἢ τι τοιοῦθ' ἕτερον κρατεῖ, τῇ δ' εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει πέλτην Θρακίαν· ἡ δ' ἐστὶ ῥομβοειδὲς θυρεῷ στενωτέρας ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνας ἐμφορῆς, οἷας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κουρήτων παρ' Ἑλληνισιν

ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱερά. [4] καὶ εἰσιν οἱ σάλιοι κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην Ἑλληνικῶ μεθερμηνευθέντες ὀνόματι Κουρῆτες, ὑφ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτως ὠνομασμένοι παρὰ τοὺς κούρους, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς συντόνου κινήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάλλεσθαι τε καὶ πηδᾶν σαλῖρε ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγεται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὀρχηστάς, ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῦτοις πολὺ τὸ ἄλμα καὶ σκίρτημα ἔνεστι, παράγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σαλίων τοῦτομα σαλτάτωρας καλοῦσιν. [5] εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπείληφα ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποδιδούς ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος συμβαλεῖ. κινοῦνται γὰρ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὰς ἐνοπλίους κινήσεις τοτὲ μὲν ὁμοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ [p. 256] παραλλάξ καὶ πατρίους τινὰς ὕμνους ᾄδουσιν ἅμα ταῖς χορείαις. χορείαν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν ἐνόπλιον καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων ψόφον, εἴ τι δεῖ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι λόγοις, Κουρῆτες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι. τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν μῦθον οὐδὲν δέομαι πρὸς εἰδότας ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντας γράφειν.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέλταις, ἃς οἱ τε σάλιοι φοροῦσι καὶ ἃς ὑπηρεταὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἡρτημένας ἀπὸ κανόνων κομίζουσι, πολλαῖς πάνυ οὕσαις μίαν εἶναι λέγουσι διοπετῇ, εὐρεθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς Νόμα, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενέγκαντος μηδ' ἐγνωσμένου πρότερον ἐν Ἰταλοῖς τοιοῦτου σχήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπολαβεῖν Ῥωμαίους θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸ ὄπλον. [2] βουληθέντα δὲ τὸν Νόμαν τιμᾶσθαι τε αὐτὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων νέων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπετείων τυγχάνειν, δεδοικότα δὲ ἐπιβουλὰς τε τὰς ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀφανισμόν αὐτοῦ κλοπαῖον, ὅπλα λέγουσι πολλὰ κατασκευάσασθαι τῷ διοπετεῖ παραπλήσια, Μαμορίου τινὸς δημιουργοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἀναδεξαμένου, ὥστε ἄσημον γενέσθαι καὶ δυσδιάγνωστον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν τὴν τοῦ θεοπέμπτου φύσιν διὰ τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἔργων ὁμοιότητα. [3] ἐπιχώριον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πάνυ τίμιον ὁ κουρητισμός, ὥς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπὰς τὰς τε ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς [p. 257] [4] θεάτροις γινομένας: ἐν ἀπάσαις γὰρ ταύταις πρόσηβοι κόροι χιτωνίσκους ἐνδεδυκότες ἐκπρεπεῖς κράνη καὶ ξίφη καὶ πάρμας ἔχοντες στοιχηδὸν πορεύονται, καὶ εἰσιν οὗτοι τῆς πομπῆς ἡγεμόνες καλούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς παιδιᾶς τῆς ὑπὸ Λυδῶν ἐξευρηθῆσαι δοκούσης λυδιῶνες, εἰκόνες ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν σαλίων, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε Κουρητικῶν οὐδὲν ὥσπερ οἱ σάλιοι δρῶσιν οὗτ' ἐν ὕμνοις οὗτ' ἐν ὀρχήσει. χρῆν δὲ τούτους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς, οἱ δ' εἰσὶν ἐξ ὁποιασδήποτε τύχης. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὰ πλείω περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν;

ἡ δὲ ἑβδόμη μοῖρα τῆς ἱερᾶς νομοθεσίας τῷ συστήματι προσετέθη τῶν καλουμένων φετιαλίων. οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἴησαν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καλούμενοι διάλεκτον εἰρηνοδίκαι. εἰσὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων οἴκων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι διὰ παντὸς ἱερώμενοι τοῦ βίου, Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου καὶ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἱερὸν ἀρχεῖον καταστησάμενου: [2] εἰ μέντοι παρὰ τῶν καλουμένων Αἰκικλῶν τὸ παράδειγμα ἔλαβεν ὥσπερ οἶονταί τινες, ἢ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρδεατῶν πόλεως ὥς γράφει Γέλλιος οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ἀπόχρη δὲ μοι τοσοῦτο μόνον

εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Νόμα ἀρχῆς οὕτω τὸ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν σύστημα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν. [3] κατεστήσατο δ' αὐτὸ Νόμας ὅτε Φιδηγάταις ἔμελλε πολεμεῖν ληστείας καὶ καταδρομὰς τῆς [p. 258] χώρας αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένοις, εἰ βούλοιντο συμβῆναι διχα πολέμου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπερ εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστάντες ἐποίησαν. οἶομαι δ' ἐπειδὴ περ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιχώριον Ἑλλησι τὸ περὶ τοὺς εἰρηνοδικὰς ἀρχεῖον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι πόσων καὶ πηλίκων ἐστὶ πραγμάτων κύριον διελθεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐσέβειαν, ἣν οἱ τότε ἄνδρες ἐπετίδευον, μὴ παράδοξον εἶναι φανῇ τὸ πάντας αὐτοῖς τὸ κάλλιστον λαβεῖν τοὺς πολέμους τέλος. [4] ἀπάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εὐσεβεστάτας φανήσονται ποιησάμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐσχηκότες ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εὐμενεῖς. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν ὅσα ἀνάκειται τούτοις τοῖς εἰρηνοδικαῖς ἐπελθεῖν διὰ πλῆθος οὐ ῥάδιον, κεφαλαιώδει δ' ὑπογραφῇ δηλῶσαι τοιάδ' ἐστὶ: φυλάττειν ἵνα μηδένα Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον ἐξενέγκωσι κατὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἐνσπόνδου πόλεως ἄδικον, ἀρξάντων δὲ παρασπονδεῖν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτέρων πρεσβεύεσθαι τε καὶ τὰ δίκαια πρῶτον αἰτεῖν λόγῳ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πειθῶνται τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις, [5] τότε ἐπικυροῦν τὸν πόλεμον. ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν ἀδικεῖσθαι τινες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπονδοὶ λέγοντες τὰ δίκαια αἰτῶσι, τούτους διαγινώσκειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἴ τι πεπόνθασιν ἔκσπονδον καὶ ἐὰν δόξωσι τὰ: προσήκοντα ἐγκαλεῖν τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις συλλαβόντας ἐκδότους τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσι παραδιδόναι τὰ τε περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἀδικήματα δικάζειν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὅσια φυλάττειν εἰρήνην τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ [p. 259] γεγεννημένην, ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς δόξῃ πεπράχθαι νόμους, ἀκυροῦν καὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν παρανομίας, ὅσαι περὶ τε ὄρκους καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπιτελοῦνται, διαγινώσκοντας ἀφοσιοῦσθαι, περὶ ὧν κατὰ [6] τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς ποιήσομαι τὸν λόγον. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενα, ὅτε τὴν δόξασαν ἀδικεῖν πόλιν αἰτοῖεν δίκας ἄξιον γὰρ μηδὲ ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν κατὰ πολλὴν φροντίδα τῶν ὁσίων καὶ δικαίων γινόμενὰ τοιαῦτα παρέλαβον: εἷς μὲν ἐκ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν, ὃν οἱ λοιποὶ προχειρίζαιτο, κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι καὶ φορήμασιν ἱεροῖς, ἵνα διάδηλος ᾗ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀδικούντων παρεγίνετο πόλιν: ἐπιστάς δὲ τοῖς ὀρίοις τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλεῖτο θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ὅτι δίκας αἰτῶν ἥκει περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως: [7] ἔπειτα ὁμόσας ὅτι πρὸς ἀδικοῦσαν ἔρχεται πόλιν καὶ ἄρὰς τὰς μεγίστας εἰ ψεύδοιτο ἐπαρασάμενος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε ἐντὸς ἦει τῶν ὄρων: ἔπειτα ὅτῳ πρῶτῳ περιτύχοι τοῦτον ἐπιμαρτυράμενος, εἴτε τῶν ἀγορῶν εἴτε τῶν πολιτικῶν εἴη, καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς προσθεὶς ἄρὰς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὥχετο, κἄτα πρὶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελθεῖν τὸν πυλωρὸν ἢ τὸν πρῶτον ἀπαντήσαντα ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπιμαρτυράμενος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προῆει: ἐκεῖ δὲ καταστάς τοῖς ἐν τέλει περὶ ὧν ἦκοι διελέγετο πανταχῇ τοὺς τε ὄρκους καὶ [8] τὰς ἄρὰς προστιθείς. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπέχοιεν τὰς δίκας [p. 260] παραδιδόντες τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἀπῆει τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπάγων φίλος τε ἤδη γεγονώς καὶ παρὰ φίλων: εἰ δὲ χρόνον εἰς βουλὴν αἰτήσαιτο δέκα διδούς ἡμέρας παρεγίνετο πάλιν καὶ μέχρι τρίτης αἰτήσεως ἀνεδέχετο. διελθουσῶν δὲ τῶν. τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν, εἰ μὴ παρέιχεν

αὐτῷ τὰ δίκαια ἢ πόλις, ἐπικαλεσάμενος τοὺς τε οὐρανίους καὶ καταθονίους θεοὺς ἀπῆει, τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπὼν ὅτι βουλευέσεται περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐφ' ἡσυχίας. [9] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέφαιναν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰρηνοδικαῖς παραγενόμενος ὅτι πέπρακται πᾶν αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἦν ὅσιον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο ψηφίζεσθαι πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλύσον ἀπὸ θεῶν. εἰ δέ τι μὴ γένοιτο τούτων οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ κυρία ἦν ἐπιψηφισασθαι πόλεμον οὔτε ὁ δῆμος. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν.

τελευταῖος δ' ἦν τῆς Νόμα διατάξεως μερισμὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὧν ἔλαχον οἱ τὴν μεγίστην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἱερατείαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες. οὗτοι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον ἐφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἔργων ὃ πράττουσιν ἐπισκευάζοντες τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ποντίφικες προσαγορεύονται, εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων [2] πραγμάτων κύριοι. καὶ γὰρ δικάζουσιν οὗτοι τὰς ἱεράς δικὰς ἀπάσας ἰδιώταις τε καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεῶν καὶ νομοθετοῦσιν ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν ἄγραφα ὄντα καὶ ἀνέθιστα κρίνοντες ἃ ἂν ἐπιτήδεια [p. 261] τυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς φανεῖν νόμων τε καὶ ἐθισμῶν: τὰς τε ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας, ὅσαις θυσία τις ἢ θεραπεία θεῶν ἀνάκειται, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας ἐξετάζουσιν, ὑπηρέτας τε αὐτῶν καὶ λειτουργούς, οἷς χρῶνται πρὸς τὰ ἱερά, οὗτοι φυλάττουσι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν περὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους: τοῖς τε ἰδιώταις ὅποσοι μὴ ἴσασι τοὺς περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἢ δαιμόνια σεβασμούς, ἐξηγηταὶ γίνονται καὶ προφηταί: καὶ εἴ τινας αἰσθόιντο μὴ πειθομένους ταῖς ἐπιταγαῖς αὐτῶν, ζημιοῦσι πρὸς ἕκαστον χρῆμα ὀρῶντες, εἰσὶ τε ἀνυπεύθυνοι πάσης δίκης τε καὶ ζημίας οὔτε βουλῇ λόγον ἀποδιδόντες οὔτε δήμῳ, περὶ γοῦν τῶν ἱερῶν: [3] ὥστε εἰ βούλεται τις αὐτοὺς ἱεροδιδασκάλους καλεῖν εἴτε ἱερονόμους εἴτε ἱεροφύλακας εἴτε, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν, ἱεροφάντας, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται τοῦ ἀληθοῦς. ἐκλιπόντος δὲ τινος αὐτῶν τὸν βίον ἕτερος εἰς τὸν ἐκείνου καθίσταται τόπον οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἵρεθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὅς ἂν ἐπιτηδειότατος εἶναι δοκῇ τῶν πολιτῶν: παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν ἱερατείαν ὁ δοκιμασθεὶς, ἐὰν εὐόρνηθες αὐτῷ τύχῳσιν οἰωνοὶ [4] γενόμενοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸ θεῖον νομοθετηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νόμα καὶ διαιεθέντα κατὰ τὰς συμμορίας τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐξ ὧν εὐσεβεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν [p. 262] πόλιν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐλάττωσι τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα ταῦτ' ἦν.

τὰ δ' εἰς εὐτέλειαν τε καὶ σωφροσύνην ἄγοντα τὸν ἐκάστου βίον καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καταστήσαντα τῆς φυλαττούσης ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τὴν πόλιν δικαιοσύνης πλεῖστα ὅσα, τὰ μὲν ἐγγράφοις περιληφθέντα νόμοις, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἑκαστοῦ εἰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἀχθέντα καὶ συνασκήσεις χρονίους: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπάντων μὲν πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶναι λέγειν, ἀρκέσει δὲ δύο τὰ μεγίστης μνήμης τυχόντα τεκμήρια καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [2] γενέσθαι: τῆς μὲν αὐταρκείας καὶ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ περὶ τοὺς ὀρισμούς τῶν κτήσεων νομοθεσία. κελεύσας γὰρ ἐκάστῳ περιγράψαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κτῆσιν καὶ στῆσαι λίθους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἱεροὺς ἀπέδειξεν ὀρίου Διὸς τοὺς λίθους, καὶ θυσίας ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτελεῖν ἅπαντας ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον συνερχομένους, ἑορτὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀρίων

θεῶν κατασθησάμενος. [3] ταύτην Ῥωμαῖοι Τερμινάλια καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
τερμόνων καὶ τοὺς ὅρους αὐτοὺς ἐνὸς ἀλλαγῇ γράμματος παρὰ τὴν
ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον ἐκφέροντες τέρμινας προσαγορεύουσιν. εἰ δέ τις
ἀφανίσειεν ἢ μεταθεῖη τοὺς ὅρους, ἱερὸν ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν
τούτων τι διαπραξάμενον, ἵνα τῷ βουλομένῳ κτείνειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἱερόσυλον ἢ
τε ἀσφάλεια καὶ τὸ καθαρῷ μιάσματος εἶναι προσῇ. [4] τοῦτο [p. 263] δ οὐκ
ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν κατεστήσατο μόνον κτήσεων τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν δημοσίων, ὅροις κάκεινας περιλαβὼν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀπὸ
τῆς ἀστυγείτονος ὅριοι διαιρῶσι θεοὶ καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας. τοῦτο
μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων φυλάττουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ χρόνου μνημεῖα τῆς
οσίας αὐτῆς ἔνεκα. θεοὺς τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τέρμονας καὶ θύουσιν
αὐτοῖς ὁσέτη τῶν μὲν ἐμψύχων οὐδὲν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον αἱμάττειν τοὺς λίθους·
πελάνους δὲ [5] δημητρίους καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς καρπῶν ἀπαρχάς. ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ
τὸ ἔργον ἔτι φυλάττειν πιστὸν αὐτοὺς, οὗ χάριν θεοὺς ἐνόμισε τοὺς
τέρμονας ὁ Νόμας, ἱκανουμένους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κτήμασι, τῶν δ' ἄλλοτρίων
μῆτε βίᾳ σφετεριζομένους μὴδὲν μῆτε δόλῳ. νῦν δ' οὐχ ὡς ἄμεινον οὐδ' ὡς
οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν ὀρίζουσι τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων τὰ οἰκέϊα, ἀλλ'
ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ὅρος τῶν κτήσεων οὐχ ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἡ πάντων ἐπιθυμία,
πρᾶγμα οὐ καλόν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις παρίεμεν σκοπεῖν.

Ὁ δὲ Νόμας εἰς μὲν εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην διὰ τοιούτων συνέστειλε
νόμων τὴν πόλιν, [p. 264] εἰς δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια δικαιοσύνην
ὑκηγάγετο πρᾶγμα ἐξευρὼν ἡγνοημένον ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κατασθησάμενων
τὰς ἐλλογίμους πολιτείας. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὅτι τῶν συμβολαίων τὰ μὲν ἐν φανερώ
καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων πραττόμενα ἢ τῶν συνόντων αἰδῶς φυλάττει, καὶ
σπάνιοι τινές εἰσιν οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδικοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἀμάρτυρα πολλῶ
πλείω τῶν ἑτέρων ὄντα μίαν ἔχει φυλακὴν τὴν τῶν συμβαλόντων πίστιν,
περὶ ταύτην ᾧετο δεῖν σπουδάσαι παντὸς ἄλλου μάλιστα καὶ ποιῆσαι θείων
σεβασμῶν ἀξίαν. [2] δίκην μὲν γὰρ καὶ Θέμιν καὶ Νέμεσιν καὶ τὰς
καλουμένας παρ' Ἑλλήσιν Ἐρινύας καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπὸ τῶν
πρότερον ἀποχρώντως ἐκτεθειῶσθαι τε καὶ καθωσιῶσθαι ἐνόμισε, Πίστιν
δὲ, ἥς οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἱερώτερον πάθος ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν, οὕτω
σεβασμῶν τυγχάνειν οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν πόλεων πράγμασιν οὐτ' ἐν
τοῖς ἰδίοις. [3] ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθεὶς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο
Πίστεως δημοσίας καὶ θυσίας αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
θεοῖς, δημοτελεῖς. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα σὺν χρόνῳ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ἦθος
πιστὸν καὶ βέβαιον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους γενόμενον τοιούτους ἀπεργάσασθαι καὶ
τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τρόπους. οὕτω γοῦν σεβαστόν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀμίαντον
ἐνομίσθη τὸ πιστόν, ὥστε ὅρκον τε μέγιστον γενέσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκάστῳ
πίστιν καὶ μαρτυρίας συμπάσης ἰσχυροτάτην, καὶ ὁπότε ὑπὲρ [p. 265]
ἀμαρτύρου συναλλάγματος ἀμφιλογόν τι γένοιτο ἐνὶ πρὸς ἕνα, ἢ διαιροῦσα
τὸ νεῖκος καὶ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οὐκ ἔωσα τὰς φιλονεικίας ἢ θατέρου τῶν
διαδικαζομένων αὐτῶν πίστις ἦν, αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ πλεῖστα
τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πίστεως ὅρκοις διήττων. [4] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ
σωφροσύνης τε παρακλητικὰ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀναγκαστήρια ὑπὸ τοῦ Νόμα

τότε ἔξευρεθέντα κοσμιωτέραν οἰκίαν τῆς κράτιστα οἰκουμένης τῇν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀπειργάσατο.

Ἄ δὲ μέλλω νῦν λέγειν ἐπιμελῇ τε αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐργάτιν. ἐνθυμούμενος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὅτι πόλιν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀγαπήσειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μενεῖν ἐν τῷ σώφρονι βίῳ τῆς ἀναγκαιῶν δεῖ χορηγίας εὐπορεῖν, διεῖλε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους πάγους καὶ κατέστησεν ἑφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πάγων ἄρχοντα ἐπίσκοπόν τε καὶ περίπολον τῆς ἰδίας μοίρας. [2] οὗτοι γὰρ περιόντες θαμινὰ τοὺς εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς εἰργασμένους τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπεγράφοντο καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέφαινον, ὃ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιμελεῖς γεωργοὺς ἐπαίνοισ τε καὶ φιλανθρωπίαις ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς γεωργοὺς ὀνειδίζων τε καὶ ζημιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεραπεύειν ἄμεινον τὴν γῆν προὔτρεπετο. τοιγάρτοι πολέμων τε ἀπηλλαγμένοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν πραγμάτων σχολὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντες ἀργίας τε καὶ βλακειας σὺν αἰσχύνῃ [p. 266] τίνοντες δικας αὐτουργοὶ πάντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὸν ἐκ γῆς πλοῦτον ἀπάντων ὄντα πλούτων δικαιοτάτον τῆς στρατιωτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐχούσης τὸ βέβαιον εὐπορίας γλυκύτερον ἐτίθεντο. [3] τῷ δὲ Νόμῳ περιῆν ἐκ τούτων φιλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ζηλοῦσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, μνημονεύεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων: δι' ὧν οὐτε στάσις ἐμφύλιος τὴν πολιτικὴν ἔλυσεν ὁμόνοιαν, οὐτε πόλεμος ἄλλοεθνῆς ἐκ τῶν κρατίστων καὶ θαυμασιωτάτων τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκίνησε. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέσχον οἱ περιοικοὶ τὴν ἀπόλεμον ἡσυχίαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφορμὴν τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσεως ὑπολαβεῖν, ὥστε καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέστη πόλεμος διαλλακτῆρας ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἐπὶ διαιτητῇ Νόμῳ [4] τὰς ἐχθρας διαλύειν ἠξίου. τοῦτον οὖν οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνθεῖην ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπ' εὐδαιμονίᾳ διαβοηθέντων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καταριθμεῖν. γένους τε γὰρ ἔφυ βασιλείου καὶ μορφῆς ἀπέλαυσε βασιλικῆς παιδείαν τε οὐ τὴν περὶ λόγους ἄχρηστον ἥσκησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἧς εὐσεβεῖν ἔμαθε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀρετάς. [5] ἡγεμονίαν δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων παραλαβεῖν ἠξιώθη νέος ὢν κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικλητός ἀχθεὶς καὶ διετέλεσε πειθόμενοις ἅπαντα τὸν βίον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις χρώμενος: ἡλικίας δ' ἐπὶ μήκιστον [p. 267] ἤλασεν ὀλόκληρος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κακῶθεις καὶ θανάτων τὸν ῥᾶστον ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ γῆρας μαρανθείς, ὁμοίου παραμείναντος αὐτῷ τοῦ συγκληρωθέντος ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαίμονος ἕως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, βιώσας μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ τρία καὶ τετταράκοντα, γενεὰν δὲ καταλιπών, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλείους γράφουσιν, υἱοὺς τέτταρας καὶ θυγατέρα μίαν, ὧν ἔτι σώζεται τὰ γένη, ὥς δὲ Γέλλιος Γναῖος ἱστορεῖ θυγατέρα μόνην, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένετο Ἄγκος Μάρκιος ὁ τρίτος ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς. [6] τελευτήσαντι δ' αὐτῷ πένθος μέγα προὔθετο ἡ πόλις καὶ ταφὰς ἐποιήσατο λαμπροτάτας. κεῖται δ' ἐν Ἰανίκλῳ πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριους ποταμοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Πομπιλίου Νόμα τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν.

BOOK III

τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πομπιλίου γενομένη πάλιν: ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν κυρία μένειν ἔγνω ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου γνώμην λαβόντος ἑτέραν, καὶ καθίστησιν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς ἄρξοντας τὴν μεσοβασιλειον ἀρχὴν εἰς ὠρισμένον τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀποδείκνυται βασιλεὺς, ὃν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἤξιου, Τύλλος Ὀστίλιος γένους ὧν τοιοῦδε: [2] ἐκ πόλεως Μεδυλλίας, ἦν Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν ἔκτισαν, Ῥωμῦλος δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας παραλαβὼν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησεν ἀποικίαν, ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ χρήμασι δυνατὸς Ὀστίλιος ὄνομα μετενεγκάμενος εἰς Ῥώμην τὸν βίον ἄγεται γυναῖκα ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων γένους Ἐρσιλίου θυγατέρα τὴν ὑφηγησαμένην ταῖς ὁμοθεσίαις πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτε Σαβῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τοῦ συνελθεῖν εἰς φιλίαν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι δοκοῦσαν. [p. 269] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ πολλοὺς συνδιενέγκας Ῥωμῦλῳ πολέμους καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Σαβίνους μάχαις, ἀποθνήσκει καταλιπὼν παιδίον μονογενὲς καὶ θάπτεται πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ στήλης ἐπιγραφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν μαρτυρούσης ἀξιωθείς. [3] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς εἰς ἄνδρας ἀφικομένου καὶ γάμον ἐπιφανῇ λαβόντος υἱὸς γίνεται Τύλλος Ὀστίλιος ἀνὴρ δραστήριος, ὃς ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ψήφῳ τε πολιτικῇ διενεχθείῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νόμους καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου δι' οἰωνῶν αἰσίων ἐπικυρώσαντος τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δήμῳ. ἔτος δὲ ἦν ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν ὁ δεῦτερος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Εὐρυβάτης Ἀθηναῖος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Λεωστράτου. [4] οὗτος ἔργον ἀπάντων μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἀποδειξάμενος αὐτὸς εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπαν τὸ θητικὸν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄπορον οἰκεῖον ἔσχεν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε: χώραν εἶχον ἐξαίρετον οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, ἐξ ἧς ἀναιρούμενοι τὰς προσόδους ἱερὰ τε θεοῖς ἐπετέλουν καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἀφθόνους εἶχον εὐπορίας, ἦν ἐκτίσαστο μὲν Ῥωμῦλος πολέμῳ τοὺς τότε κατασχόντας ἀφελόμενος, ἐκείνου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Πομπίλιος Νόμας ὁ μετ' ἐκείνον βασιλεύσας ἐκαρπούτο: ἦν δὲ οὐκέτι δημοσία κτῆσις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀεὶ βασιλέων κληρὸς. [5] ταύτην ὁ Τύλλος ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς [p. 270] μηδένα κληρὸν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαίων κατ' ἄνδρα διανείμασθαι, τὴν πατρῶαν αὐτῷ κτῆσιν ἀρκοῦσαν ἀποφαινὼν εἰς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς τοῦ βίου δαπάνας. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ φιланθρωπίᾳ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνέλαβε παύσας λατρεύοντας ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις: ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ οἰκίας ἄμοιρος εἴη τις προσετείχισε τῇ πόλει τὸν καλούμενον Καίλιον λόφον, ἔνθα ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἀνέστοι λαχόντες τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ἀρκοῦν κατεσκευάσαντ' οἰκίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν οἴκησιν εἶχεν. πολιτικὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα παραδίδοται λόγου ἄξια:

πολεμικὰ δὲ πράξεις πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι μνημονεύονται, <μέγιστα δὲ> περὶ ὧν ἔρχομαι λέξων τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀλβανούς πολέμου. αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ διαστήναι τὰς πόλεις καὶ λῦσαι τὸ συγγενὲς ἀνὴρ

Ἀλβανὸς ἐγένετο Κλοίλιος ὄνομα τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιωθείς, ὃς ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κατέχειν τὸν φθόνον οὐ δυνάμενος φύσει τε αὐθάδης καὶ ὑπομαργότερος ὢν ἐκ- [2] πολεμῶσαι τὰς πόλεις ἔγνω πρὸς ἁλλήλας. οὐχ ὁρῶν δὲ ὅπως ἂν πείσειε τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς στρατὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄγειν ἐπιτρέψαι μήτε δικαίας ἔχοντι προ- φάσεις μήτε ἀναγκαιάς, μηχανᾶται δὴ τι τοιόνδε: τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις Ἀλβανῶν καὶ θρασυτάτοις ἐφῆκε λη- [p. 271] στεῦναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀγροὺς ἄδειαν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ παρεσκεύασε πολλοὺς ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη διώκοντας, ὧν οὐδὲ κωλυόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἀποστήσασθαι ἔμελλον, ἐμπλήσαι πολέμου ληστρικοῦ τὴν ὁμορον. [3] τοῦτο δ' ἔπραττε κατὰ λογισμὸν οὐκ ἀπεικότα, ὥς τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησε. Ῥωμαίους μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ὑπελάμβανεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρή- σειν, αὐτῷ δ' ἐξουσίαν ἔσεσθαι κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥς ἀρχόντων πολέμου, Ἀλβανῶν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους φθονοῦντας τοῖς ἀποίκις τῆς εὐτυ- χίας δέξεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς ἀσμένους καὶ τὸν κατ' [4] αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν, ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ἀγόντων γὰρ καὶ φερόντων ἀλλήλους τῶν κακουργοτάτων ἐξ ἐκατέρας πόλεως καὶ στρατιᾶς ποτε Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐμβα- λούσης εἰς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν, ὑφ' ἧς πολλοὶ τῶν ληστῶν οἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ συνελήφθησαν, συγκαλέ- σας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Κλοίλιος, ἐν ἧ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατηγορίαν, τραυματίας τε συχνοὺς ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῖς ἥρπασμένοις ἢ τεθνηκόσι παράγων καὶ πλείω τῶν γεγονότων ἐπικαταψευδόμενος, πρεσβείαν πέμπειν πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο δίκας αἰτήσουσαν τῶν γεγονότων: ἐὰν δὲ ἀγνωμονῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν.

ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ὑποπτεύσας ὁ Τύλλος, ὅτι δίκας αἰτήσοντες ἦκοιεν, [p. 272] αὐτὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πρότερος ἔγνω περιστῆσαι βουλόμενος εἰς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ λυεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν συγκείμενα. συνθῆκαι γὰρ ἦσαν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου γενόμεναι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔχουσαι δίκαια καὶ ἵνα μηδετέρα πολέμου ἄρχῃ: ἡ δ' ἐγκαλοῦσα ὅ τι δὴ ποτε ἀδίκημα δίκας αἰτοῖ παρὰ τῆς ἀδικούσης, εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοι τότε τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπιφέρει πόλεμον, ὥς λελυμένων ἤδη τῶν σπονδῶν. [2] φυλαττόμενος δὲ τὸ μὴ προτέρους αἰτηθέντας δίκας Ῥωμαίους ἀντειπεῖν, ἔπειτα ὑπαιτίους Ἀλβανοῖς γενέσθαι, προσέταξε τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων τοὺς Ἀλβανῶν πρέσβεις ξενίζειν ἀπάσῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ καὶ κατέχειν ἔνδον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς: αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ἀσχολίαις εἶναι πῶς ἀναγκαίοις σκηψάμενος διεκρούσατο [3] τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτῶν. τῇ δ' ἔγγιστα νυκτὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἀλβαν ἅμα τοῖς εἰρηνοδικαῖς αἰτήσοντας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡδίκηντο Ῥωμαῖοι δίκας παρ' Ἀλβανῶν λαβεῖν, οἳ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν διανύσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν πληθουούσης τῆς ἐωθινῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ Κλοίλιῳ κατ' ἀγορὰν ὄντι καὶ διεξιόντες ὅσα ἡδίκηντο Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Ἀλβανῶν ἡξίουσαν πράττειν τὰ συγκείμενα ταῖς πόλεσιν. [4] ὁ δὲ Κλοίλιος, ὥς Ἀλβανῶν προτέρων ἀπεσταλκότων εἰς Ῥώμην τοὺς αἰτήσοντας δίκας καὶ μηδὲ ἀποκρίσεως [p. 273] ἡξιωμένων, ἀπέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευσεν ως

παραβεβηκότας τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. ἀπαλλασπτόμενος δὲ ὁ τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγεμὼν τοῦτ' ἤξιωσεν ἀκοῦσαι παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνον, εἰ παραβαίνειν τὰς σπονδὰς ὁμολογεῖ τοὺς προτέρους αἰτηθέντας δίκας καὶ μηδὲν ὑπομείναντας ποιεῖν τῶν ὁσίων. [5] ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλοιλίου, μαρτύρομαι τοίνυν, ἔφη, τοὺς θεοὺς, οὓς ἐποίησάμεθα τῶν σπονδῶν μάρτυρας, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι οὐ τυχοῦσι τῶν δικαίων προτέροις ὅσιος ὁ κατὰ τῶν παραβάντων τὰς σπονδὰς πόλεμος ἔσται, οἱ δὲ πεφευγότες τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ὑμεῖς ἔστε, ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα δηλοῖ. πρότεροί τε γὰρ αἰτηθέντες τὸ δίκαιον οὐχ ὑπέσχετε καὶ πρότερον τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν προειρήκατε. τοιγάρτοι τοὺς ἀμυννυμένους ὑμᾶς προσδέχεσθε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οὐκ εἰς μακράν. [6] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς Ῥώμην ἀκούσας ὁ Τύλλος, τότε τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν. ἀπαγγειλάντων δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα προσέταξεν ὁ Κλοίλιος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντων εἰ μὴ τεύξονται τῆς δίκης, Ἐγὼ πρότερος ὑμῶν, ἔφη, τοῦτο πεποίηκα καὶ μηδὲν εὐρόμενος ὧν ἐκέλευον αἰ συνθῆκαι... φαίνονται παρ' ὑμῶν προτέρων αὐταὶ λελυμένοι τε καὶ μηδενὸς λόγου ἤξιωμένοι: ὅθεν δὴ τὸν ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ δίκαιον Ἀλβανοῖς παραγγέλλω πόλεμον.

μετὰ δὲ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας παρεσκευάζοντο [p. 274] ἀμφοτέροι τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μόνον τὰς οἰκείας καθοπλίζοντες δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπικαλοῦμενοι: ὥς δὲ πάντα ἦν αὐτοῖς εὐτρεπῆ συνήεσαν ὁμόσε καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται τετταράκοντα τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίου ἀποσχόντες: οἱ μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους φυλάττουσι γὰρ ἔτι τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος αὐτὰς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὀλίγον ἐνδοτέρω τὸν ἐπιτηδεϊότατον εἰς στρατοπεδεῖαν τόπον ἐκλεξάμενοι. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεῖδον ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέροι τὰς δυνάμεις οὔτε πλήθει λειπομένας οὔτε ὀπλισμοῖς εὐτελεῖς οὔτε ταῖς ἄλλαις παρασκευαῖς οὔσας εὐκαταφρονήτους, τῆς μὲν ταχείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρμῆς, ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶχον ὥς αὐτῇ ἐφόδῳ τρεψόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπέστησαν: φυλακῆς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ προεπιχειρήσεως πρόνοιαν ἐλάμβανον ὑψηλοτέρους ἐγείροντες τοὺς χάρακας, εἰσῆι τε αὐτῶν τοῖς χαριεστάτοις λογισμὸς ὥς οὐ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένοις, καὶ κατάμεμφις τῶν ἐν τέλει. [3] ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου διὰ κενῆς οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον εἴτε καταδρομαῖς ψιλῶν ἢ συμπλοκαῖς ἱππέων ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους· ὁ τοῦ πολέμου δόξας αἷτιος γενονέναι Κλοίλιος ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπράκτῳ καθέδρᾳ γνώμην ἔσχεν ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς μάχην, ἐὰν [p. 275] δὲ μὴ ὑπακούσωσι προσβάλλειν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐρύματα. [4] παρασκευασάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ, εἰ δεήσει τειχομαχίας, ὅσα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πρόσφορα ἔργῳ μηχανησάμενος, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐγένετο καθεύδων ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ σκηνῇ παρούσης αὐτῷ τῆς εἰωθυίας φυλακῆς περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον εὐρίσκεται νεκρὸς, οὔτε σφαγῆς οὔτε ἀγχόνης οὔτε φαρμάκων οὔτε ἄλλης βίαιου συμφορᾶς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν ἔχων.

παραδόξου δὲ τοῦ πάθους ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἅπασι φαινομένου καὶ ζητουμένης τῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσον προηγησαμένην εἶχε τις αἰτιάσασθαι οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ

τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν ἀπάσας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἀναφέροντες τύχας κατὰ χόλον δαιμόνιον ἔλεγον αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξέκαυσε τῇ μητροπόλει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκτισιν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτε ἀναγκαῖον: οἱ δὲ χρηματισμὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μεγάλων ἀπεστερηῆσθαι νομίζοντες ὠφελειῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπινον τὸ ἔργον μετέφερον αἰτιώμενοι τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων τινὰς ἀφανῆ καὶ δυσεξέλεγκτα ἐξευρόντας φάρμακα διὰ τούτων τὸν ἄνδρα ἀνηρηκένα: [2] οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ ἀμυχανίας κρατούμενον ἐκουσίῳ χρήσασθαι τελευτῇ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἐπειδὴ πάντα χαλεπὰ καὶ ἄπορα συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχῶρει κατὰ νοῦν τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ὅτε εἰς τὰ πράγματα εἰσῆι, προσδοκηθέντων: τοῖς δ' ἐκτὸς οὔσι φιλίας τε καὶ ἐχθρας τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν [p. 276] καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου κρίνουσι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οὔτε ἡ θεία νέμεσις οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων φθόνος οὐθ' ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόγνωσις ἀνηρηκεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ χρεῶν ὡς ἐκπεπληρωκότα τὴν ὀφειλομένην μοῖραν, ἥς ἅπασι τοῖς γινομένοις πέπρωται τυχεῖν. [3] Κλοῖλιος μὲν δὴ πρὶν ἢ γενναῖον ἀποδειξασθαι τι τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον ἀποδείκνυται στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Μέττιος Φουφέττιος, ἀνὴρ οὔτε πολέμου ἡγεμὼν ἱκανὸς οὔτε εἰρήνης βέβαιος φύλαξ, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἦττον Ἀλβανῶν πρόθυμος ὢν κατ' ἀρχὰς διαστήσαι τὰς πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν Κλοῖλιου θάνατον ἀξιωθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτυχε καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δυσχερῆ καὶ ἄπορα συνεῖδεν, οὐκέτι διέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς βουλευμασιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἄγειν ἡξίου τὰ πράγματα ὀρῶν οὔτε τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς ἅπαντας ὁμοίαν ἔχοντας ἔτι προθυμίαν πρὸς πόλεμον οὔτε τὰ σφάγια ὅποτε θύοιτο περὶ μάχης καλὰ γινόμενα: [4] τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ εἰς καταλλαγὰς ἔγνω προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους πρότερος ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος, μαθὼν τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον ἔξωθεν Ἀλβανοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κίνδυνον, εἰ μὴ σπείσονται τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον, ἀφύλακτον ὄντα, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἀμφοτέρας ἀναρπάσασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις. ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε: [p. 277]

Οὐιεντανοὶ καὶ Φιδιηναῖοι μεγάλας καὶ πολυανθρώπους ἔχοντες πόλεις ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμύλου βασιλείας εἰς πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας Ῥωμαίοις κατέστησαν, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰς ἀπολέσαντες δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέροι καὶ χώρας ἀποδασμῷ ζημιωθέντες ὑπήκοοι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἡναγκάσθησαν γενέσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδήλωκα γραφῇ τὸ ἀκριβές: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Νόμα Πομπιλίου δυναστείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύσαντες βεβαίου πολλὴν ἔσχον ἐπίδοσιν εἰς εὐανδρίαν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐδαιμονίαν. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπαρθέντες ἐλευθερίας τε αὐθις ὠρέγοντο καὶ φρόνημα ἐλάμβανον ὑψηλότερον παρασκευάζοντό τε ὡς οὐκέτι Ῥωμαίων ἀκροώμενοι. [2] τέως μὲν οὖν ἄδελος αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς ἐφανερώθη πολέμῳ. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο πανστρατιᾷ Ῥωμαίους ἐξεληλυθότας ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς ἀγῶνα, κράτιστον ὑπολαβόντες εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐπιθέσεως ἀπορρήτους ἐποίησαντο διὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας ἅπαντας τοὺς ὀπλοφορεῖν δυναμένους εἰς

Φιδήνην συνελθεῖν κρύφα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ἰόντας, ὡς ἂν ἤκιστα γένοιτο τοῖς ἐπibουλεuομένοις καταφανεῖς· [3] ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπομένοντας ἐκδέχεσθαι τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε αἱ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δυνάμεις ἐκλιποῦσαι τοὺς χάρακας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα προελεύσονται, τοῦτον δὲ φανερὸν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον διὰ συμβόλων σκοποῖ [p. 278] τινες ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι λοχῶντες· ὅταν δὲ ἀρθῇ τὰ σημεῖα λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔδει πάντας κατὰ τάχος, ἣν δὲ οὐ πολλή ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀπὸ Φιδήνης φέρουσα ὁδός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἢ δυσὶν ὥραις ἢ τρισὶν ἀνυσθῆναι τὸ μακρότατον· ἐπιφανέντας δὲ τῷ ἀγῶνι τέλος ἤδη ἔχοντι ὥσπερ εἰκὸς μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι φίλιον, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τε Ἀλβανοὶ νικῶσιν ἐὰν τε Ῥωμαῖοι κτείνειν τοὺς κεκρατηκότας αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ἦν ἃ διέγνωστο πράττειν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν πόλεων. [4] εἰ μὲν οὖν θρασύτερον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὤρμησαν Ἀλβανοὶ Ῥωμαίων καταφρονήσαντες καὶ μιᾷ κρῖναι μάχῃ τὰ ὅλα διέγνωσαν, οὐθὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύον ἦν τὸν τε κατασκευασθέντα δόλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεληθῆναι καὶ διεφθάρθαι τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρω: νῦν δὲ ἡ διατριβὴ τοῦ πολέμου παράδοξος ἅπασι γενομένη καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ παρεσκευάζοντο πολλὺς ἐφελκυσθεὶς διέχεεν αὐτῶν τὰ βουλευματα. τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας τινές, εἴτε οἰκεῖα κέρδη περιβαλέσθαι ζητοῦντες εἴτε τοῖς κορυφαιοτάτοις τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὸ ἔργον εἰσηγησαμένοις φθονοῦντες εἴτε μήνυσιν ἐτέρων δεδιότες, ὅ τι πολλοῖς συνέβη παθεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρώποις καὶ χρονιζομέναις συνωμοσίαις, εἴτε ὑπὸ θείας ἀναγκαζόμενοι γνώμης οὐκ ἀξιούσης ἔργον ἀνόσιον εἰς εὐτυχὲς κατασκήψαι τέλος μηνυταὶ γίνονται τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ δόλου. [p. 279]

ταῦτα δὴ μαθὼν ὁ Φουφέττιος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔσπευσε ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις, ὡς οὐδὲ αἰρέσεως ἔτι τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα πράττειν σφίσι καταλειπομένης. ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς συνωμοσίας ταύτης ἢ μήνυσις παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Φιδήνης φίλων, ὥστ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι διαμελλήσας δέχεται τὰς τοῦ Φουφεττίου προκλήσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων χωρίον ἐπαγόμενοι συμβούλους ἑκάτεροι τοὺς φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανοὺς, ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτον ἀλλήλους ὡς πρότερον εἰώθεσαν καὶ φιλοφρονηθέντες τὰς ἔταιρικός τε καὶ συγγενικάς φιλοφροσύνας διελέγοντο περὶ τῶν διαλύσεων. [2] ἤρχετο δ' ὁ Ἀλβανὸς πρότερος τοιαύδε λέγων: ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τὰς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἐπιδειῖσαι, δι' ἃς ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἡξίωσα περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου διαλέγεσθαι, οὔτε μάχῃ κρατηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὔτ' ἐπισιτισμοὺς εἰσάγεσθαι κωλυόμενος οὔτε εἰς ἄλλην κατακεκλεισμένος ἀνάγκην οὐδεμίαν, ἵνα μὴ με ὑπολάβῃτε τῆς μὲν οἰκειάς δυνάμεως ἀσθενεῖαν κατεγνωκότα, τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν ἰσχὺν δυσκαταγώνιστον εἶναι νομίζοντα εὐπρεπῇ ζητεῖν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου. ἀφόρητοι γὰρ ἂν γένοισθε ὑπὸ βαρύτητος, εἴ τι πεισθῇτε περὶ ἡμῶν τοιοῦτον, καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν τῶν μετρίων ὑπομείναιτε ποιεῖν, ὡς κρατοῦντες [p. 280] [3] ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ. ἵνα δὴ μὴ τὰς ψευδεῖς αἰτίας εἰκάζετε περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως, δι' ἃς ἀξιῶ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀκούσατε τὰς ἀληθεῖς: ἐγὼ στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοκράτωρ ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσκόπουν τινες ἦσαν

αἱ συνταράξασαι τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν προφάσεις. ὄρων δὲ μικρὰς καὶ φαύλας καὶ οὐχ ἱκανὰς διελεῖν τοσαύτην φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν οὐ τὰ κράτιστα ἡγούμην οὔτε Ἀλβανούς οὔτε ὑμᾶς βουλευέσασθαι. [4] ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἔγνω τοῦτο καὶ πολλὴν κατέγγων ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν μανίαν, ἐπειδὴ παρήλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ πείραν ἐλάβανον τῆς ἐκάστου προαιρέσεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις ὁμονοοῦντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου πάντας Ἀλβανούς ἐώρων, μακρῷ δὲ τινι τῶν ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ καταλαμβανομένων χαλεπῶν τὰ δαιμόνια σημεῖα, ὅποτε χρησαίμην σφαγίοις περὶ μάχης, χαλεπώτερα γινόμενα πολλὴν δυσθυμίαν παρεῖχε μοι καὶ ἀμυχανίαν. [5] ἐνθυμούμενος δὴ ταῦτα τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχον, ἀναβολὰς δὲ καὶ διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦμην τοῦ πολέμου προτέρους ὑμᾶς οἰόμενος ἄρξιν τῶν περὶ φιλίας λόγων: καὶ ἔδει γε, ὦ Τύλλε, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀποίκους ὄντας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἢ μητρόπολις ἄρξῃ. ὅσης γὰρ ἀξιοῦσι τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ πατέρες παρὰ τῶν ἐκγόνων, τοσαύτης οἱ κτίσαντες τὰς πόλεις παρὰ τῶν ἀποίκων. [6] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλομεν καὶ παρετηροῦμεν ἀλλήλους, [p. 281] πότεροι τῶν εὐγνωμόνων ἄρξουσι λόγων, ἑτέρα τις ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη κρείττων ἅπαντος ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ περιλαβοῦσα συνάγει: ἦν ἐγὼ πυθόμενος ἔτι λανθάνουσαν ὑμᾶς οὐκέτ' ὥρμην δεῖν τῆς εὐπρεπείας τῶν διαλλαγῶν στοχάζεσθαι. δειναὶ γὰρ, ὦ Τύλλε, μηχαναὶ πλέκονται καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ δόλος ἄφукτος ἔρραπτται κατ' ἀμφοτέρων, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἀκονιτὶ καὶ δίχα πόνου πάντα συντρίψειν καὶ διαφθερεῖν ἡμῶν τὰ [7] πράγματα πυρὸς ἢ ποταμοῦ δίκην ἐμπεσῶν. δημιουργοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνοσίων βουλευμάτων εἰσὶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι Φιθιναίων τε καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν συνελθόντες. ὅστις δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῶν τρόπος ἦν καὶ πόθεν εἰς ἐμὲ ἢ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων γνῶσις ἐλήλυθεν ἀκούσατε.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν δίδωσι τῶν παρόντων τινὶ ἀναγνῶναι τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς αὐτῷ κεκομικῶς τις ἐτύγγανε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Φιθιγῇ ξένων καὶ τὸν κομίσαντα αὐτὰς παρήγαγεν. ἀναγνωσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐξηγησαμένου πάντα ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων αὐτὰς ἀπὸ στόματος ἤκουσεν ἐκπλήξεώς τε μεγάλης κατασχούσης τοὺς ἀκούοντας, οἳα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ κακῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀκουσθέντι, μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Φουφέττιος πάλιν ἔλεξεν: [2] ἀκηκόατε τὰς αἰτίας, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, δι' ἃς ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ἀνεβαλλόμεν τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγῶνας, νῦν [p. 282] δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ φιλίας ἡξίωσα πρότερος ἄρχειν λόγων. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη σκοπεῖσθε, πότερον οἴεσθε δεῖν περὶ βοιδίων καὶ προβατίων ἀρπαγῆς ἄσπειστον πόλεμον φυλάττειν πρὸς τοὺς κτίσαντας καὶ πατέρας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κρατηθέντες ἀπολεῖσθε καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἢ διαλυσάμενοι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἔχθραν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς χωρεῖν, οἳ γε οὐ μόνον ἀπόστασιν ἐβούλευσαν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανάστασιν, οὔτε πεπονθότες οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὔτε μὴ πάθωσι δεδιότες, καὶ οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν, ὥς ὁ κοινὸς ἀξιοῖ τοῦ πολέμου νόμος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σκότους, ὥς ἂν ἦκιστα ὑπιδιοῖτο τις αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ φυλάξειτο. [3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοσίους ἀνθρώπους ἰτέον ἡμῖν ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ

καταλυσάμενοις τὰ ἔχθη ῥ' ἡμῶν γὰρ θάτερα ἀξιοῦν' ὥς ἐγνωκόσιν ὑμῖν καὶ ποιήσουσιν οὐδὲν δέομαι πλεῖω λέγειν καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι. ὃν δὲ τρόπον αἱ διαλύσεις καλαὶ καὶ συμφέρουσαι γένοιντ' ἂν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσως ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι πάλαι νῦν ἤδη πειράσομαι λέγειν. [4] ἐγὼ νομίζω κρατίστας μὲν εἶναι διαλλαγὰς καὶ πρεπωδεστάτας συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν αἷσι οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔγκοτον οὐδὲ μνησικακὸν ἀφέσεως ἅπασι πρὸς ἅπαντας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδρασαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀδόλου γινομένης, ἥττον δὲ τούτων εὐπρεπεῖς, ἐν αἷσι τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἀπολύεται τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οἱ δὲ ἀδικήσαντες ἀλλήλους [p. 283] ἀναγκάζονται δίκας ὑπέχειν λόγῳ κρινόμενοι καὶ νόμῳ. [5] τούτων δὲ τῶν διαλλαγῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ χρῆναι τὰς εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερας ἡμῶς ἐλέσθαι καὶ γνώμην θέσθαι περὶ μηδενὸς ἡμῶς ἀλλήλοις μνησικακεῖν, σὺ δ' εἰ μὴ βούλει διαλλάττεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὦ Τύλλε, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδόναι δίκας καὶ λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῖς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις παρ' ἀλλήλων, ἔτοιμοι καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν εἰσιν Ἀλβανοὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθη προκαταλυσάμενοι. εἰ δὲ τινας ἔχεις παρὰ ταύτας λέγειν ἑτέρας εἴτε καλλίους διαλλαγὰς εἴτε δικαιοτέρας, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις φέρων εἰς μέσον καὶ πολλὴν σοὶ χάριν εἶσομαι.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Φουφεττίου παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔλεξε: καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὦ Φουφέττιε, βαρεῖαν ὑπελαμβάνομεν ἡμῶς καταλήψεσθαι συμφορὰν, εἰ δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἀναγκασθῆμεν κρίναι τὸν συγγενῆ πόλεμον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅποτε τὰ προπολέμια θυοίμεν ἐκωλυόμεθα ἄρχειν μάχης: τὰς τε ἀπορρήτους Φιδιναίων καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν συνωμοσίας, αἷς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν συνώμοσαν, ὀλίγῳ πρότερον σοῦ πεπύσμεθα παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ξένων καὶ οὐκ ἀφύλακτοι πρὸς αὐτάς ἐσμεν, ἀλλ' ὥς παθεῖν τε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς κακὸν κἀκείνους τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀξίως παρεσκευάσμεθα, οὐχ ἥττον τε σοῦ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀμαχητὶ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐβουλόμεθα. [2] πρότεροι δὲ πρεσβεύεσθαι περὶ διαλλαγῶν [p. 284] οὐκ ἠξιοῦμεν, ἐπεὶπερ οὐδ' ἡρξάμεν αὐτοὶ πρότεροι τοῦ πολέμου, ἄρξαντας δὲ ἡμυνάμεθα. ἀποτιθεμένων δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ ὅπλα δεχόμεθα τὰς προκλήσεις ἄσμενοι καὶ περὶ διαλλαγῶν οὐδὲν ἀκριβολογούμεθα, ἀλλὰ τὰς κρατίστας τε καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατας δεχόμεθα πᾶν ἀδίκημα καὶ πᾶν ἀμάρτημα τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως ἀφιέντες, εἰ δὴ καὶ κοινὰ χρὴ καλεῖν πόλεως ἀμαρτήματα, ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς ὑμῶν Κλοῖλιος αἴτιος ἦν, ὃς ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν οὐ μεμπτὰς τέτικε δίκας τοῖς θεοῖς. [3] ἀφείσθω δὴ πᾶσα ἐγκλήματος ἰδίου τε καὶ κοινοῦ πρόφασις καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι μνήμη τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἔστω κακῶν, ὥς καὶ σοί, ὦ Φουφέττιε, δοκεῖ: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόχρη τοῦτο μόνον ἡμῶς σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τὴν παροῦσαν ἔχθραν διαλυσάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδ' αὐθις ποτε πολεμήσομεν ἔτι δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι: οὐ γὰρ ἀναβολὰς ποιησόμενοι τῶν κακῶν συνελθούμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαγὰς. τίς οὖν ἡ βεβαία τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσις ἔσται καὶ τί παρασχόντες εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἑκάτεροι νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἐσόμεθα φίλοι, σὺ μὲν παρέλιπες, ὦ Φουφέττιε, ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι πειράσομαι. [4] εἰ παύσαιντο μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ φθονοῦντες Ῥωμαίους ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ πόνων πολλῶν

αὐτὰ κτησάμενοι, ὁὐθὲν γοῦν πεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὔτε μείζον οὔτε ἔλαττον κακὸν διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖτε ἡμᾶς, ὅτι [p. 285] δοκοῦμεν ἄμεινον ὑμῶν πράττειν· παύσαιντο δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ὑποψίας ἔχοντες Ἀλβανούς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αἰεὶ σφισι καὶ φυλαττόμενοι καθάπερ ἐχθρούς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο βεβαίως φίλος τῷ μισοῦντι οὐδεὶς. [5] πῶς οὖν γενήσεται τούτων ἑκάτερον; οὐκ ἔάν γράψωμεν αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις οὐδ' ἔάν ὁμώσωμεν ἀμφοτέροι κατ' ἱερῶν, ἡ μικραὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ γε αἱ φυλακαὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς· ἀλλ' ἔάν κοινὰς ἡγησώμεθα τὰς ἀλλήλων τύχας. ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶ μόνον, ὧ Φουφέττιε, λύπης ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς γινομένης ἄκος, τὸ μηκέτι τοὺς φθονοῦντας ἀλλότρια τὰ τῶν φθονουμένων ἀγαθὰ ἡγεῖσθαι. [6] ἵνα δὴ τοῦτο γένηται, Ῥωμαίους μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν Ἀλβανοῖς θεῖναι πάντα ὅσα τε νῦν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐθις ἔξουσιν ἀγαθὰ, Ἀλβανούς δὲ ἀγαπητῶς τὰ διδόμενα δέχεσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ὑμῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οἰκήτορας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ Σαβίνοις μὲν καὶ Τυρρηνοῖς καλῶς εἶχεν ἐκλιποῦσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν πόλεις μεταθέσθαι τοὺς βίους ὡς ἡμᾶς, ὑμῖν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενόμενον οὐχ ἔξει καλῶς; [7] εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀξιώσετε μίαν οἰκεῖν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν μεγάλην τε οὕσαν ἤδη καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐσομένην, ἀλλὰ φιλοχωρήσετε τοῖς πατρώοις ἐφεστίοις, ἐκεῖνὸ γέ τοι ποιήσατε· βουλευτήριον ἐν ἀποδείξατε, ὃ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρας βουλευσεί πόλεως, [p. 286] καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπόδοτε μιᾷ τῇ κρείττονι πόλει καὶ πλείονα δυναμένη ποιεῖν ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἥττονα. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀξιώ καὶ τούτων γενομένων τὸθ' ἡγοῦμαι βεβαίως ἡμᾶς ἔσεσθαι φίλους, δύο δὲ πόλεις οἰκοῦντας ἰσοκορύφους ὥσπερ νῦν οὐδέποτε ὁμονόησιν.

ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Φουφέττιος χρόνον εἰς βουλὴν ἡτήσατο, καὶ μεταστάς ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου μετὰ τῶν παρόντων Ἀλβανῶν εἰ χρὴ δέχεσθαι τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐσκόπει. ὡς δὲ τὰς ἀπάντων γνώμας ἔλαβεν, ἐπιστρέψας αὐθις εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ἔλεξεν· ἡμῖν μὲν, ὧ Τύλλε, τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καταλιπεῖν οὐ δοκεῖ οὐδ' ἐξερημοῦν ἱερὰ πατρῷα καὶ προγονικὰς ἐστίας καὶ τόπον, ὃν ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν κατέσχον, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ πολέμου κατειληφότος ἡμᾶς μηδ' ἄλλης θεοπέμπτου συμφορᾶς μηδεμιᾶς· ἐν δὲ καταστήσασθαι βουλευτήριον καὶ μίαν εἶναι [2] τὴν ἄρξουσαν τῆς ἐτέρας πόλιν οὐκ ἀπαρέσκει. γραφέσθω δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ πᾶσα ἀναιρεῖσθω πολέμου πρόφασις. ὡς δὲ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλήψεσθαι πόλεως διεφέροντο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐλέχθησαν εἰς τοῦτο λόγοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων δικαιοῦντος ἑκατέρου τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἄρχειν τῆς ἐτέρας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλβανὸς τοιαῦτα προΐσχετο δίκαια· [3] ἡμεῖς, ὧ Τύλλε, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἄρχειν ἄξιοι ἐσμεν Ἰταλίας, ὅτι ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μέγιστον [p. 287] τῶν κατοικούντων τήνδε τὴν γῆν ἐθνῶν παρεχόμεθα, τοῦ δὲ Λατίνων ἔθνους, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, ἡγεῖσθαι δικαιοῦμεν οὐκ ἄτερ αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων νόμον, ὃν ἡ φύσις ἔδωκεν ἅπασι, τῶν ἐγγόνων ἄρχειν τοὺς προγόνους. ὑπὲρ ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποικίας, αἷς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲν ἐγκαλοῦμεν, τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰόμεθα δεῖν πόλεως ἄρχειν οὐ

πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπεσταλκότες, ὥστε ἐξίτηλον εἶναι ἥδη τὸ ἀφ' ἡμῶν γένος ὑπὸ χρόνου παλαιωθέν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τρίτῃ πρὸ ταύτης γενεᾷ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψασα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας δικαιοῦσεις ἢ φύσις τὰ νέα τάξῃ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τῶν προγόνων, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνεξόμεθα τὴν μητρόπολιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀποικίας ἀρχομένην, πρότερον δὲ οὐ. [4] ἔν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ δικαίωμα παρεχόμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίημεν ὑμῖν ἐκόντες ἕτερον δὲ τοιόνδε: δέξασθε δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ καὶ ὀνειδισμῷ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἕνεκα: ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλβανῶν γένος οἷον ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν κτισάντων τὴν πόλιν, τοιοῦτον ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων διαμένει, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις ἐπιδειῖναι φύλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Λατίνων, ὃ τῆς πολιτείας μεταδεδώκαμεν: ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν [p. 288] ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πολιτεύματος διεφθάρκατε Τυρρηνοὺς τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ Σαβίνους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνεστίους καὶ πλάνητας καὶ βαρβάρους πάνυ πολλούς, ὥστε ὀλίγον τὸ γνήσιον ὑμῶν ἔστιν ὅσον ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὠρμήθη, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοστὸν τοῦ [5] ἐπεισάκτου τε καὶ ἁλλοφύλου. εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς παραχωρήσαιμεν ὑμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ νόθον ἄρξει τοῦ γνησίου καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπείσακτον τοῦ αὐθιγενοῦς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ἔχοιτε εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἔπηλυν ὄχλον οὐδενὸς εἰλάκατε εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν κύριον, ἄρχετε δ' αὐτοὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ βουλευέτε οἱ αὐθιγενεῖς: ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀποδείκνυτε ξένους, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ πλεῖστον ὑμῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλύδων, ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν φήσαιτε ἐκόντες ὑπομένειν. τίς γὰρ ἐκουσίως ἄρχεται τῶν κρειττόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος; πολλὴ δὴ μωρία καὶ κακότης, ἃ δι' ἀνάγκην φαίητ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ὑπομένειν, [6] ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐκόντας δέχεσθαι. τελευταῖός μοι λόγος ἔστιν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως οὐθὲν ἔτι παρακινεῖ μέρος τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἥδη γενεᾶν οἰκουμένης καὶ πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ συνήθη καὶ πάτρια ἐπιτελούσης, ἢ δ' ὑμετέρα πόλις ἀδιακόσμητος ἔστιν ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάτακτος, ἅτε νεόκτιστος οὔσα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συμφορητὸς ἐθνῶν, ἧ μακρῶν δεῖ χρόνων καὶ παθημάτων παντοδαπῶν, ἵνα καταρτισθῇ καὶ παύσῃται ταραττομένη καὶ στασιάζουσα [p. 289] ὥσπερ νῦν. ἅπαντες δ' ἂν εἴποιεν ὅτι δεῖ τὰ καθεστηκότα τῶν ταραττομένων καὶ τὰ πεπειραμένα τῶν ἀδοκιμάστων καὶ τὰ ὑγιαίνοντα τῶν νοσοῦντων ἄρχειν: οἷς ὑμεῖς τάναντία ἀξιοῦντες οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖτε.

τοιαῦτα τοῦ Φουφεττίου λέξαντος παραλαβὼν ὁ Τύλλος τὸν λόγον εἶπε: τὸ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ προγόνων ἀρετῆς δίκαιον, ὃ Φουφέττιε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνδρες Ἀλβανοί, κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν: τοὺς αὐτοὺς γὰρ εὐχόμεθα προγόνους ἐκάτεροι, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ τούτου χάριν οὔτε πλέον ἡμῶν ἔχειν τοὺς ἐτέρους οὔτ' ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ ἄρχειν ἐκ παντὸς τῶν ἀποικιῶν τὰς μητροπόλεις ὡς ἀναγκαῖόν τι φύσεως νόμιμον οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὔτε δίκαιον ἡξιοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν: [2] πολλὰ γέ τοι φῦλά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων, παρ' οἷς αἱ μητροπόλεις οὐκ ἄρχουσιν ἀλλ' ὑποτάττονται ταῖς ἀποικίαις. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ φανερώτατον τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε παράδειγμα ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν πόλις οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσα Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους ὅθεν ἀπωκίσθη. καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὴν

ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀποικίσαντες Λαουίνιατῶν ἔστε ἄποικοι. [3] εἰ δὴ φύσεώς ἐστι νόμος ἄρχειν τῆς ἀποικίας τὴν μητρόπολιν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν Λαουίνιαται τὰ δίκαια τάττοντες; πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὸ πρῶτον ὑμῶν δικαίωμα καὶ πλείστην ἔχον εὐπροσωπίαν [p. 290] ταῦθ' ἱκανά: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν πόλεων ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν ἀλλήλοις ἐπεχειρεῖς, ὦ Φουφέττιε, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλβανῶν εὐγενὲς ὁμοιον αἰεὶ διαμένει, τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον ἐξέφθαρται ταῖς ἐπιμιξίαις τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου, καὶ οὐκ ἤξιους ἄρχειν τῶν γνησίων τοὺς νόθους οὐδὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ γλῆδας, μάθε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀμαρτάνων μάλιστα τὸ δικαίωμα. [4] ἡμεῖς γὰρ τοσοῦτου δέομεν αἰσχύνεσθαι κοινήν ἀναδειξαντες τὴν πόλιν τοῖς βουλομένοις, ὥστε καὶ σεμνυνόμεθα ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ ἔργῳ, οὐκ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ζήλου τοῦδε ἄρξαντες, παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες, ἥς μέγιστον κλέος ἐν Ἑλλησίν ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰ μὴ καὶ [5] μάλιστα τὸ πολίτευμα. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡμῖν πολλῶν γενόμενον ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον οὗτ' ἐπίμεμψιν οὔτε μεταμέλειαν ὥς ἡμαρτηκόσι φέρει, ἄρχει τε καὶ βουλεύει καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς καρποῦται παρ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ χρήματα κεκτημένος οὐδὲ ὁ πολλοὺς πατέρας ἐπιχωρίους ἐπιδεῖξαι δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν ἦ τούτων τῶν τιμῶν ἄξιος. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐγένειαν ὑπάρχειν νομίζομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρετῇ. ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὄχλος σῶμα τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἰσχύον καὶ δύναμιν τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων παρεχόμενος. μεγάλη τε ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ φοβερὰ τοῖς περιοίκους ἐξ εὐκαταφρονήτου διὰ ταύτην τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν γέγονε, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας, [p. 291] ὑπὲρ ἥς τῶν ἄλλων Λατίνων οὐδεὶς ἀντιποιεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις τὸ πολίτευμα ἥρξεν οὗ [6] σὺ κατηγόρεις, ὦ Φουφέττιε. ἐν ἰσχύι γὰρ ὅπλων κεῖται τὸ τῶν πόλεων κράτος, αὕτη δ' ἐκ πολλῶν σωμάτων γίνεται: ταῖς δὲ μικραῖς καὶ ὀλιγανθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρχειν ἐτέρων, [7] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἑαυτῶν ἄρχειν. καθόλου δ' ἔγωγε τὸθ' ὑπολαμβάνω δεῖν τὰς ἐτέρων διασύρειν πολιτείας καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαινεῖν, ὅταν τις ἔχῃ δεῖξαι τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἃ φησιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην οὔσαν, τὰς δὲ διαβαλλομένας διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῦτα προαιρεῖσθαι κακοδαίμονους. τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα πράγματα οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὑμετέρα πόλις ἀπὸ μείζονος αὐχλήματος ἀρχομένη καὶ πλειόνων ἀφορμῶν τυχοῦσα εἰς ἐλάττονα ὄγκον συνῆκται, ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰς τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς λαβόντες ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ μεγίστην τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων τὴν Ῥώμην πεποιήκαμεν τούτοις τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ὧν σὺ κατηγόρεις χρώμενοι. [8] τὸ δὲ στασιάζον ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο δι' αἰτίας εἶχες, ὦ Φουφέττιε, οὐκ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ καὶ ἐλαττώσει τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ αὐξήσει γίνεται. φιλοτιμούμεθα γὰρ οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ οἱ ἔποικοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους, πότεροι πλείονα ποιήσομεν τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. [9] ἵνα δὲ συντεμῶν εἴπω τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐτέρων ἄρξειν δύο προσεῖναι δεῖ ταῦτα, [p. 292] τὴν ἐν τῷ πολεμῇ ἰσχύον καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευσθαι φρόνησιν, ἃ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρα: καὶ ὅτι οὐ κενὸς ὁ κόμπος ἢ παντὸς λόγου κρείττων πείρα ἡμῖν μαρτυρεῖ. τοσαύτην γοῦν μεγέθει καὶ δυνάμει πόλιν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν γενέσθαι τρίτῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ τὸν

οἰκισμόν, εἰ μὴ τὸ τε ἀνδρεῖον ἐπερίττευν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον. ἱκαναὶ δὲ τεκμηριῶσαι τὸ κράτος αὐτῆς πολλαὶ πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων οὔσαι γένους καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἔχουσαι, αἱ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑπεριδοῦσαι πόλιν ἡμῖν προσκεχωρήκασιν καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦσιν ἢ ὑπ' Ἀλβανῶν, ὥς ἡμῶν μὲν ἀμφοτέρα ἱκανῶν ὄντων τοὺς τε φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, ὑμῶν δ' οὐδέτερα. [10] πολλὰ εἶχον ἔτι καὶ ἰσχυρά, ὧ Φουφέττιε, πρὸς τὰς δικαίωσεις, αἷς σὺ παρέσχου, λέγειν: μάταιον δὲ ὀρῶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λεχθισόμενα πρὸς ἀντιπάλους ὄντας ὑμᾶς τοῦ δικαίου κριτὰς παύομαι λέγων. ἕνα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων κράτιστον εἶναι καὶ μόνον ἡμῶν τὰ νείκη δύνασθαι διακρίναι τρόπον, ὧ πολλοὶ βάρβαροί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς ἔχθρην καταστάντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμφισβητησίμου γῆς ἐχρήσαντο, τοῦτον εἰπὼν ἔτι παύσομαι: [11] εἰ ποιησαίμεθα μέρος τινὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν στρατιᾶς ἑκάτεροι τὸν ἀγῶνα εἰς ὀλιγοστόν τι πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν συναγαγόντες τὴν τοῦ πολέμου [p. 293] τύχην: ἐξ ὁποτέρας δ' ἂν πόλεως οἱ κρατήσαντες τῶν ἀντιπάλων γένωνται, ταύτῃ συγχωρήσαιμεν ἄρχειν τῆς ἑτέρας. ὅποσα γὰρ μὴ διαιρεῖται ὑπὸ λόγου, ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπλων κρίνεται.

τὰ μὲν δὴ λεχθέντα περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν πόλεων δικαίωματα ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν τοιάδε ἦν: τέλος δὲ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησεν οἷον ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπετίθετο. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ παρόντες Ἀλβανῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ταχέϊαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσασθαι ζητοῦντες ὅπλοις τὸ νεῖκος ἔγνωσαν διελεῖν. συγχωρηθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου περὶ τοῦ πλείους τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων ζήτησις ἐγένετο οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκατέρου τῶν στρατηγῶν διάνοιαν ἀποδεικνυμένου. [2] Τύλλος μὲν γὰρ ἐβούλετο ἐν ἐλαχίστοις σώμασι γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν ἐνὸς Ἀλβανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πρὸς ἕνα Ῥωμαῖον τὸν ἄριστον μονομαχῆσοντος καὶ πρόθυμος ἦν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἀγωνίασθαι προκαλοῦμενος εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν φιλοτιμίαν τὸν Ἀλβανόν, καλοὺς ἀποφαίνων τοῖς ἀνειληφόσι τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ἐὰν νικήσωσιν ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κρατηθῶσιν ὑπ' ἀγαθῶν, καὶ διεξιῶν ὅσοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν κοινῶν παρέσχον δεινὸν ἠγούμενοι τῶν μὲν τιμῶν πλεον αὐτοὶ φέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ πόνων ἔλαττον. [3] ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανὸς τὸ μὲν ὀλίγοις σώμασι [p. 294] κινδυνεύειν τὰς πόλεις ὀρθῶς ἐνόμιζεν εἰρησθαι, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνὶ πρὸς ἕνα μάχης διεφέρετο λέγων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἠγούμενοις τῶν στρατοπέδων ὅταν ἰδίαν κατασκευάζωνται δυναστείαν καλὸς καὶ ἀναγκαῖός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγών, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν αὐταῖς ἐπειδὰν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων διαφέρωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλας οὐ μόνον σφαλερὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰσχροὺς ὁ διὰ μονομαχίας κίνδυνος, ἐὰν τε τῆς κρείττονος λάβωνται τύχης ἐὰν τε τῆς χειρόνος. [4] τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐπιλέκτους ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πόλεως συνεβούλευεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπάντων ὄψιν Ἀλβανῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων διαγωνίσασθαι. ἐπιτηδεϊότατον γὰρ εἶναι τόνδε τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἅπασαν ἀμφισβητουμένου πράγματος διαίρεσιν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὴν ἔχοντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ

Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν ὃ τε σύλλογος διελύθη καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπῆεσαν ἑκάτεροι χάρακας.

Ἐπειτα καλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρας οἱ στρατηγοὶ διεξῆλθον ἃ τε διελέχθησαν αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπικυρωσάντων δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ πολλὴν εὐδόκησιν τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁμολογίας, θαυμαστὴ μετὰ τοῦτο κατεῖχε φιλοτιμία καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας πολλῶν πάνυ προθυμουμένων ἐξενέγκασθαι τὰ τῆς μάχης ἀριστεῖα καὶ οὐ λόγῳ σπουδαζόντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ φιλοτιμίας ἀποδεικνυμένων, ὥστε χαλεπὴν [p. 295] γενέσθαι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδειοτάτων διάγνωσιν. [2] εἰ γάρ τις ἦν ἢ πατέρων ἐπιφανείᾳ λαμπρὸς ἢ σώματος ῥώμῃ διαπρεπὴς ἢ πράξει τῇ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τύχην ἢ τόλμαν ἐπίσημος ἑαυτὸν ἡξίου τάττειν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ. [3] ταύτην ἐπὶ πολὺ χωροῦσαν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατεύμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὁ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἔπαυσε στρατηγὸς ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ὅτι θεία τις πρόνοια ἐκ πολλοῦ προορωμένη τὸν μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀγῶνα τοὺς προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κατεσκεύασε γενέσθαι οἰκῶν τε οὐκ ἀφανῶν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοὺς ὀφθῆναι τε καλλίστους καὶ οὐ γενέσεως ὁμοίας τοῖς πολλοῖς μετεिल्φότας, ἀλλὰ σπανίου καὶ θαυμαστῆς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον. [4] Ὅρατίῳ γάρ τινι Ῥωμαίῳ καὶ Κορατίῳ τὸ γένος Ἀλβανῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐνεγγύησε θυγατέρας διδύμους Σικίνιος Ἀλβανός. τοῦτοις ἀμφοτέροις αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγκύμονες ἅμα γενόμεναι, τὰς πρωτοτόκους ἐκφέρουσι γονὰς ἄρρενα βρέφη τρίδυμα, καὶ αὐτὰ ἃ οἱ γεινόμενοι πρὸς οἰωνοῦ λαβόντες ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πόλει καὶ οἰκῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τρέφουσιν ἅπαντα καὶ τελειοῦσιν: θεὸς δ' αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφην, δίδωσι κάλλος τε καὶ ῥώμην καὶ δὴ καὶ ψυχῆς γενναιότητα μηδενὸς τῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότων χεῖροσι γενέσθαι. τοῦτοις ἔγνω τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ Φουφέττιος ἐπιτρέπειν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγῶνα [p. 296] καὶ προκαλεσάμενος εἰς λόγους τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ῥωμαίων λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν:

θεὸς τις ἔοικεν, ὦ Τύλλε, προνοούμενος τῶν πόλεων ἑκατέρας ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα φανεράν τὴν εὖνοιαν πεποιῆσθαι. τὸ γὰρ εὐρεθῆναι τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους ὑπὲρ πάντων γένει τε μηδενὸς χεῖρονας καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοὺς ὀφθῆναι τε καλλίστους, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἔξ ἐνὸς πεφυκότας πατρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ μιᾶς γεγεννημένους μητρὸς καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον ἐν μιᾷ προελθόντας εἰς φῶς γενέσει, παρ' ὑμῖν μὲν Ὅρατίους, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ Κορατίους, θαυμαστῇ τινι καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ. [2] τί οὖν οὐ δεχόμεθα τὴν τοσαύτην τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοιαν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγῶνα τοὺς τριδύμους ἀδελφοὺς ἑκάτεροι; τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλ', ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἄριστα μαχησομένοις βουλοίμεθ' ἂν εἶναι, κὰν τοῦτοις ἔνεστι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὸ μὴ προλιπεῖν τοὺς παρασπιστάς κάμνοντας τοῦτοις μᾶλλον ὑπάρξει ἀδελφοῖς οὗσι παρ' οὕσπινας ἄλλους Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, ἢ τε φιλοτιμία τῶν ἄλλων νέων χαλεπὴ λυθῆναι δι' ἑτέρου πινὸς οὕσα τρόπου ταχεῖαν ἔξει τὴν κρίσιν. [3] τεκμαίρομαι γάρ τινα καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν χάριν ἐν

πολλοῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀντιποιοιμένων ἀρετῆς, [p. 297] ὥσπερ καὶ παρ' Ἀλβανοῖς: οὕς εἰ διδάσκοιμεν ὅτι θεία τις ἔφθακε τύχη τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας σπουδὰς αὐτῆς παρασχούσης τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀγῶνα ποιησομένους, οὐ χαλεπῶς πείσομεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀρετῇ λείπεσθαι δόξουσι τῶν τριδύμων ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλὰ φύσεως εὐκληρίᾳ καὶ τύχης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐπιτηδεϊότητι.

τοσαῦτα τοῦ Φουφεττίου λέξαντος καὶ πάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινεσάντων ἔτυχον δὲ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν οἱ κράτιστοι παρόντες ἀμφοτέροισ' μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ὁ Τύλλος λέγει: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἐπιλελογίσθαι μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Φουφέττιε: θαυμαστὴ γὰρ τις ἡ τὴν οὐδέποτε συμβᾶσαν ὁμοιογένειαν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς ἐξενέγκασα τύχη: ἐν δ' ἀγνοεῖν ἔοικας, ὃ πολὺν παρέξει τοῖς νεανίσκοις ὄκνον, ἐὰν ἀξιῶμεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις χωρεῖν διὰ μάχης. [2] ἡ γὰρ Ὀρατίων μήτηρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδελφῇ τῆς Κορατίων μητρός ἐστι τῶν Ἀλβανῶν, καὶ τέθραπται τὰ μεῖράκια ἐν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν γυναικῶν κόλποις ἀσπάζονται τ' ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοῦσιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ πολλοὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφούς. ὅρα δὴ μὴ ποτε οὐδ' ὅσιον ἦ τοῦτοις ἀναδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἀνεψιοὺς καὶ συντρόφους ὄντας. τὸ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄγος, ἐὰν ἀναγκασθῶσιν ἀλλήλους μισοφρονεῖν, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλεύσεται τοὺς ἀναγκάζοντας. [3] [p. 298] λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Φουφέττιος: οὐδ' ἐμὲ ἐλήθηεν, ὦ Τύλλε, τὸ συγγενὲς τῶν μεираκιῶν, οὐδ' ὥς ἀναγκάσων αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνεψιοῖς διὰ μάχης χωρεῖν εἰ μὴ βουλευθεῖεν αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπομεῖναι παρεσκευασάμην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθέ μοι τότε τὸ βούλευμα τοὺς Ἀλβανούς Κορατίους μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐμαντοῦ διάπειραν ἔλαβον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών: δεξαμένων δ' αὐτῶν τὸν λόγον ἀπίστῳ τινὶ καὶ θαυμαστῇ προθυμίᾳ, τότε ἀνακαλύπτειν ἔγνω τὸ βούλευμα καὶ φέρειν εἰς μέσον: σοὶ τε τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑποτίθεμαι ποιεῖν καλέσαντι τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν τριδύμους πείραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης ποιήσασθαι. [4] ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐκόντες συνεπιδιδῶσι κάκεῖνοι τὰ σώματα προκινδυνεύσαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος δέχου τὴν χάριν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀναδύωνται μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς πρόσφερε ἀνάγκην. μαντεύομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οἷα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἴπερ οὖν εἰσὶν οἷους ἀκούομεν, ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἄριστα πεφυκόσιν ὅμοιοι καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοί: κλέος γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε τῆς ἀρετῆς.

δέχεται δὴ τὴν παραίνεσιν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ δεχημέρους ποιησάμενος ἀνοχάς, ἐν αἷς βουλευσεται τε καὶ μαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Ὀρατίων ἀποκρινεῖται παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις βουλευσάμενος [p. 299] ἅμα τοῖς ἄριστοις, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς πλειστοῖς ἔδοξε δεχέσθαι τὰς τοῦ Φουφεττίου προκλήσεις, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς τριδύμους ἀδελφούς καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς: [2] ἄνδρες Ὀράτιοι, Φουφέττιος ὁ Ἀλβανὸς εἰς λόγους συνελθὼν ἐμοὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου σύνοδον ἔφη τοὺς προκινδυνεύσοντας ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρας πόλεως τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς κατὰ θεῖαν γεγενῆσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εὐροιμεν ἐτέρους οὔτε γενναιοτέρους οὔτε ἐπιτηδαιοτέρους, Ἀλβανῶν μὲν Κορατίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὑμᾶς: τοῦτο τε καταμαθὼν :αὐτὸς

ἐξήτακέναι πρῶτον εἰ βουλομένοις εἶη τοῖς ἀνεψιοῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ σώματα τῇ πατρίδι, μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναδεχομένους τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγῶνα κατὰ πολλὴν προθυμίαν θαρρῶν εἰς μέσον ἐκφέρειν ἤδη τὸν λόγον, ἤξιον τε καὶ ἐμὲ πείραν ὑμῶν λαβεῖν, πότερον βουλήσεσθε προκινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες Κορατίοις ἢ [3] παραχωρεῖτε τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης ἑτέροις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀρετῆς μὲν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα γενναιότητος, ἦν οὐ λανθάνουσιν ἔχετε, πάντων μάλιστα δεξομένους ὑμᾶς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριστείων κίνδυνον ἄρασθαι, δεδοικῶς μὴ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς τριδύμους συγγενὲς ἐμπόδιον ὑμῖν γένηται τῆς προθυμίας, [p. 300] χρόνον ἡτησάμεν εἰς βουλὴν ἀνακωχὰς δεχημέρους ποιησάμενος: ὡς δὲ ἀφικόμην δεῦρο τὴν βουλὴν συνεκάλεσα καὶ προὔθηκα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν: δόξαν δὲ ταῖς πλείοσι γνώμαις, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες ἀναδέχοισθε τὸν ἀγῶνα καλὸν ὄντα καὶ προσήκοντα ὑμῖν, ὃν ἐγὼ πρόθυμος ἦμην μόνος ὑπὲρ πάντων διαγωνίσασθαι, ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν, εἰ δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς ἐντρεπόμενοι μίασμα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ κακοὶ ψυχὴν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ γένους ἀξιῶσαιτε καλεῖν, μηδεμίαν ὑμῖν ἀνάγκην προσφέρειν. ταῦτα τῆς :βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ὀργὴν δεξομένης εἰ δι' ὅκνου τὸ ἔργον λάβοιτε οὔτε μικρὰν χάριν εἰσομένης ὑμῖν εἰ τιμιωτέραν ἡγήσαισθε τῆς συγγενείας τὴν πατρίδα, τυγχάνετε εὖ βουλευσάμενοι.

ὡς δὴ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν οἱ νεανίαί, μεταστάντες ἐτέρωσε καὶ διαλεχθέντες ὀλίγα πρὸς ἀλλήλους προσέρχονται πάλιν ἀποκρινόμενοι καὶ λέγει ὑπὲρ πάντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος τοιάδε: εἰ μὲν ἔλευθέρους ἡμῖν οὔσι καὶ κυρίοις τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης ἐξουσίαν παρεῖχες, ὦ Τύλλε, βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἀγῶνος, οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες ἀπεκρινάμεθα ἄν σοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν διαλογισμούς: ἐπειδὴ δὲ περίεστιν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲ τάλάχιστα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἀξιοῦμεν, αἰτούμεθά σε [p. 301] ὀλίγον ἀναδέξασθαι χρόνον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἡμῶν, ἕως τῷ πατρὶ διαλεχθῶμεν. [2] ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν καὶ κελεύσαντος οὕτω ποιεῖν ἀπήεσαν ὡς τὸν πατέρα. δηλώσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς προκλήσεις τοῦ Φουφρεττίου καὶ οὕς ὁ Τύλλος διελέχθη λόγους καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπόκρισιν ἡξιοῦν εἰπεῖν ἦντινα γνώμην αὐτὸς ἔχει. [3] ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, Ἀλλ' εὐσεβὲς μὲν, ἔφη, πρᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, ὦ παῖδες, τῷ πατρὶ ζῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης διαπραττόμενοι, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἤδη περὶ ὑμῶν τὰ γε τηλικαῦτα φαίνεσθαι φρονοῦντας. ὑπολαβόντες οὖν τὸν ἐμὸν βίον ἤδη τέλος ἔχειν φανερόν ποιήσατέ μοι, τί δὴ ποτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ προεἰλεσθε πράττειν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βουλευσάμενοι. [4] ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος τοιάδε: ἐδεξάμεθ' ἄν, ὦ πάτερ, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγῶνα καὶ πάσχειν ὑπεμείναμεν ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τῷ δαιμονίῳ: τεθνάναι γὰρ ἂν βουλοίμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἀνάξιοι γενόμενοι σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς συγγενὲς οὐχ ἡμεῖς πρότεροι λύσομεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διαλέλυνται στέρξομεν. [5] εἰ γὰρ Κορατίοις ἔλαττον κρίνεται τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ συγγενές, οὐδὲ Ὀρατίοις τιμιώτερον φανήσεται τὸ γένος τῆς ἀρετῆς. ὁ δὲ πατήρ ὡς ἔμαθε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν

περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχωὺν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλὰς ἔφη χάριτας εἶδέναι τοῖς [p. 302] θεοῖς, ὅτι παῖδας ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς: ἔπειτα περιλαβὼν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἡδίστας ἀποδοὺς ἀσπασμῶν τε καὶ φιλημάτων φιλοφροσύνας, Ἐχετ', ἔφη, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ὧ παῖδες ἀγαθοί, καὶ πορευθέντες ἀποκρίνασθε Τύλλω [6] τὴν τ' εὐσεβῆ καὶ καλὴν ἀπόκρισιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες ἐπὶ τῇ παρακελεύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπήεσαν καὶ προσελθόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναδέχονται τὸν ἀγῶνα, κάκεῖνος συγκαλέσας τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους τῶν νεανίσκων διαθέμενος ἀποστέλλει πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀλβανὸν τοὺς δηλώσοντας, ὅτι δέχονται Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παρέξονται τοὺς Ὀρατίους διαγωνιζομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

ἀπαιτούσης δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸν τρόπον διεξελεῖν τῆς μάχης ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταύτην γενόμενα πάθη θεατρικαῖς ἐοικότα περιπετεῖαις μὴ ῥαθὺμως διελθεῖν πειράσομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπ' ἀκριβείας ἕκαστον, ὡς ἐμὴ δύναμις, εἰπεῖν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἦκεν ἐν ᾧ τέλος ἔδει λαβεῖν τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξήεσαν μὲν αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις πανστρατιᾷ, ἐξήεσαν δὲ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ νεανίσκοι τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς εὐξάμενοι καὶ προῆγον ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατευφημούμενοι τε ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου καὶ παττόμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἄνθεσιν: ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἐξεληλύθει στρατιά. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο πλησίον ἀλλήλων μεταίχμιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν διείργοντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων [p. 303] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν ὄρον, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον εἶχον ἑκάτεροι τοὺς χάρακας, πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὰ θύσαντες ὤμοσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων στέρξειν τὴν τύχην, ἣν ἂν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῶν ἀνεψιῶν ἑκατέρα πόλις ἐξενέγκηται, καὶ φυλάξειν τὰς ὁμολογίας βεβαίους μηδένα προσάγοντες αὐταῖς δόλον αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια διεπράξαντο, θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα προῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀμφοτέροι θεαταὶ τῆς μάχης ἐσόμενοι τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων σταδίων τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις καταλιπόντες: καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν τοὺς τε Κορατίους ὁ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν στρατηγὸς ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ὀρατίους ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ὠπλισμένους τε κάλλιστα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἔχοντας κόσμον οἷον ἄνθρωποι λαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. [3] γενόμενοι δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων τὰ μὲν ξίφη τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς παρέδωκαν, προσδραμόντες δὲ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις κλαίοντες καὶ τοῖς ἡδίστοις ὀνόμασιν ἀνακαλοῦντες, ὥστε εἰς δάκρυα προπεσεῖν ἅπαντας καὶ πολλὴν ἀστοργίαν κατηγορεῖν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ὅτι παρὸν ἄλλοις πιστὶ σώμασι κρῖναι τὴν μάχην εἰς ἐμφύλιον αἷμα καὶ συγγενικὸν ἄγος τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀγῶνα κατέκλεισαν. παυσάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἀσπασμῶν οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη παρὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν λαβόντες ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πέλας ἐτάξαντό τε καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ συνήεσαν ὁμόσε.

τέως μὲν οὖν ἡσυχία τε καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχεν [p. 304] ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις: ἔπειτα ἀναβοήσεις τε ἄθροαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παρακελεύσεις τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐναλλάξ εὐχαὶ τε καὶ οἰμωγαὶ καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πάθους ἐναγωνίου φωναὶ συνεχεῖς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ δρώμενά τε καὶ ὀρώμενα ὑφ' ἑκατέρων, [2] αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντά τε καὶ ὑποπτευόμενα: καὶ

ἦν πλείω τὰ εἰκαζόμενα τῶν γινομένων. ἥ τε γὰρ ὄψις ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος γινομένη πολὺ τὸ ἀσφές εἶχε, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκίους ἀγωνιστὰς ἐκάστοις συμπαθὲς ἐπὶ το βεβουλημένον ἐλάμβανε τὰ πρασσόμενα, αἶ τε συνεχεῖς τῶν μαχομένων ἐπεμβάσεις καὶ ὑπαναχωρήσεις καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίπαλον αὐθις ἀντιμεταστάσεις πολλαὶ καὶ ἀγχίστροφοι γινόμεναι τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῆς γνώμης ἀφηροῦντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐγένετο χρόνον. [3] ῥώμην τε γὰρ σώματος ἔτυχον ὁμοίαν ἔχοντες ἐκάτεροι καὶ τὸ γενναῖον τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσόρροπον ὅπλοις τε καλλίστοις ἐσκεπασμένοι τὰ σώματα ὅλα καὶ γυμνὸν οὐδὲν ἀπολιπόντες μέρος ὃ τι καὶ τρωθὲν ὀξεῖαν ἔμελλεν οἴσιν τὴν τελευτήν, ὥστε πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φιλονεικεῖν τε καὶ συμπαθεῖν τοῖς σφετέροις ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς τὸ τῶν κινδυνευόντων μεταλαβόντες πάθος ἀγωνισταὶ τε μᾶλλον ἐβούλοντο ἢ θεαταὶ τῶν, δρωμένων γεγονέναι. [4] ὅψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτεταγμένῳ συμπλέκεται παῖων τε καὶ παιόμενος [p. 305] ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις πληγὰς καὶ πως τυγχάνει τοῦ Ῥωμαίου διὰ βουβῶνος ἐνέγκας τὸ ξίφος. ὁ δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τραύμασι κεκαρωμένος ἤδη καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν πληγὴν θανατηφόρον ἔχων ὑπολυθέντων τῶν μελῶν καταρρυεῖς ἀποθνήσκει. [5] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον οἱ θεαταὶ τῆς μάχης ἅμα πάντες ἀνεβόησαν, Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν ὡς νικῶντες ἤδη, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὡς κρατοῦμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ σφετέρους δύο τοῖς τρισὶν Ἀλβανοῖς εὐκατεργάστους ὑπελάμβανον γενήσεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐγένετο ταῦτα, ὁ παρασπίζων τῷ πεσόντι Ῥωμαῖος ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι περιχαρῇ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ὠθεῖται ταχὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τραύματα δούς, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τυγχάνει πως κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ [6] βάψας τὸ ξίφος καὶ διαχρησάμενος. μεταβαλοῦσης δὲ τῆς τύχης ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὰ τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν θεωμένων πάθη, καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀναθαρρησάντων ἐκ τῆς πρότερον κατηφείας, Ἀλβανῶν δὲ ἀφηρημένων τὸ χαῖρον, ἑτέρα πάλιν ἀντιπνεύσασα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατορθώμασι τύχη τούτων μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τὰς ἐλπίδας, τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρεν. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀλβανοῦ πεσόντος ὁ τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἔχων στάσιν ἀδελφὸς συμπλέκεται τῷ καταβαλόντι, καὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πληγὰς ἐξαισίους ἐξενέγκαντες κατ' ἀλλήλων, ὁ μὲν Ἀλβανὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίου κατὰ τοῦ μεταφρένου καὶ μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχχνων βάψας τὸ ξίφος, ὁ [p. 306] δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπελθὼν τὴν προβολὴν τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τῶν ἰγνῶν τὴν ἑτέραν ὑποτεμῶν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸ καίριον τραῦμα λαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐτεθνήκει, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰγνύαν τετρωμένος οὐκέτι βέβαιος ἦν ἐστάναι, σκάζων δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ θυρεῷ διεριδόμενος ἀντεῖχεν ὅμως ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ περιλειπομένου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπομένοντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐχώρει, περιέστησάν τε αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιών, [2] ὁ δὲ κατὰ νότου. τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ δείσαντι μὴ κυκλωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν εὐκατέργαστος γένηται δυσὶ τε μαχόμενος καὶ διχόθεν ἐπιούσιν, ἦν δὲ ἀκραιφνὴς ἔτι, λογισμὸς εἰσέρχεται διελεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ χωρὶς ἐκατέρῳ μάχεσθαι. ῥᾶστα δὲ διαστήσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ δόξαν παράσχοι φυγῆς· οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων

διώξεσθαι τῶν Ἀλβανῶν, ἀλλ' ὕφ' ἑνός, ὁρῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκέτι καρτερὸν τῶν ποδῶν. ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθεὶς ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἔφευγε καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτῷ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς ἐλπίδος. [3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν Ἀλβανῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔχων πληγὴν καίριον ἐδίωκεν αὐτὸν ἐκποδός, ὁ δ' ἐπιβαίνειν ἀδύνατος ὢν πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος ὑστέρει. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τοῖς σφετέροις ἐγκελευομένων, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὸν αὐτῶν ἀγωνιστὴν κακιζόντων καὶ τῶν μὲν δὴ παιανίζοντων τε καὶ στεφανουμένων ὡς [p. 307] ἐπὶ κατορθουμένῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι, τῶν δ' ὀδυρομένων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τῆς τύχης σφᾶς διαναστησομένης, ταμιευσάμενος τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ὑποστρέφει τε ὀξέως καὶ πρὶν ἢ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Ἀλβανὸν φθάνει τῷ ξίφει κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος πληγὴν ἐνέγκας καὶ διελὼν τὸν ἀγκῶνα. [4] πεσοῦσης δὲ χαμαὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἅμα τῷ ξίφει μίαν ἔπι πληγὴν καίριον ἐξενέγκας ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀλβανόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταῖον ὠσάμενος ἡμιμῆντα καὶ παρειμένον ἐπικατασφάττει. σκυλεύσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἀνεψιῶν νεκροὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡπείγετο πρῶτος ἀπαγγεῖλαι θέλων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην τῷ πατρί.

ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτον ἄνθρωπον ὄντα μὴ πάντα διευτυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαῦσαι τι τοῦ φθονεροῦ δαίμονος, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκ μικροῦ μέγαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ θεὶς χρόνῳ καὶ εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν θαυμαστὴν καὶ παράδοξον ἐξάρας κατέβαλε φέρων αὐθημερὸν εἰς ἄχαριν συμφορὰν ἀδελφοκτόνον. [2] ὡς γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τῶν πυλῶν, ἄλλον τε ὄχλον ὁρᾷ παντοδαπὸν ἐκχεόμενον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν προστρέχουσιν: διαταραχθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ὄψιν, ὅτι καταλιποῦσα τὴν μετὰ μητρὸς οἰκουρίαν παρθένος ἐπιγάμος εἰς ὄχλον αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν ἀγνώτα, καὶ πολλοὺς λαμβάνων λογισμοὺς ἀτόπους τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπικεῖς καὶ φιланθρώπους ἀπέκλινεν, ὡς ἀσπᾶσασθαι τε [p. 308] πρώτη τὸν σωθέντα ἀδελφὸν ποθοῦσα καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν βουλομένη τῶν εὐσχημόνων ὑπερίδοι γυναικεῖόν τι πάσχουσα. [3] ἡ δὲ ἄρα οὐ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ποθοῦσα τὰς ἀσυνήθεις ἐτόλμησεν ἐξελθεῖν ὁδοὺς, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι κρατουμένη τῶν ἀνεψιῶν ἑνός, ᾧ καθωμολόγητο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ γάμῳ, καὶ κρύπτουσα τὸ πάθος ἀπόρρητον ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τινὸς ἤκουσεν ἀπαγγέλλοντος τὰ περὶ τὴν μάχην, οὐκέτι κατέσχευε, ἀλλ' ἐκλιποῦσα τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ αἱ μαινάδες ἐφέρετο πρὸς τὰς πύλας οὐδὲν ἐπιστρεφόμενη τῆς ἀνακαλούσης τε καὶ μεταδιωκούσης τροφοῦ. [4] ἔξω δὲ γενομένη τῆς πόλεως ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶδε περιχαρῆ: τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἐπικείμενον στεφάνους, οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέδθησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ φέροντας τὰ τῶν πεφονευμένων σκυῖλα, ἐν οἷς ἦν πέπλος ποικίλος, ὃν αὐτὴ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐξυφύνασα τῷ μνηστῆρι δῶρον εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα γάμον ἀπεστάλκει 'ποικίλους γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἀμφιέννυσθαι. πέπλους Λατίνων τοῖς μετιοῦσι τὰς νύμφας', τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πέπλον θεασαμένη πεφυρμένον αἷματι τὸν τε χιτῶνα κατερρήξατο καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις παίουσα τὸ στῆθος ἐθρήνει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἀνεψιόν, ὥστε πολλὴν κατάπληξιν εἰσελθεῖν ἅπαντας ὅσοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἦσαν τόπον. [5] ἀνακλαυσαμένη δὲ τὸν μόρον τοῦ μνηστῆρος ἀτενέσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁρᾷ καὶ λέγει: *μιαρῶτατε ἄνθρωπε, χαίρεις ἀποκτείνας τοὺς*

ἀνεψιοὺς κάμει [p. 309] τὴν παναθλίαν ἀδελφὴν ἀποστερήσας γάμου, ὥς
δύστηνες³ ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔλκος εἰσέρχεται σε τῶν ἀπολωλότων συγγενῶν, οὐς
ἀδελφοὺς ἐκάλεις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν τι διαπεπραγμένος ἐξέστηκας τῶν
φρενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐπικεῖσαι κακοῖς
τίνος ἔχων ψυχὴν θηρίου; ^[6] κἀκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν, φιλοῦντος, ἔφη, τὴν
πατρίδα πολίτου καὶ τοὺς κακῶς αὐτῇ βουλομένους κολάζοντος, ἐάν τε
ἀλλότριοι τύχωσιν αὐτῆς ὄντες, ἐάν τε οἰκεῖοι: ἐν οἷς τίθεμαι καὶ σέ, ἦτις
ἐνὶ καιρῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν ἐπιγνοῦσα
τὴν τε νίκην τῆς πατρίδος, ἣν ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐγὼ πάρειμι κατάγων, καὶ τὸν
θάνατον τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὥς μιν σὺ, τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς
πατρίδος χαίρεις οὐτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις τῆς οἰκίας ἀλγεῖς, ἀλλ'
ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν σεαυτῆς ἀδελφῶν τὸν τοῦ μνηστήρος ἀνακλαίεις μόρον,
οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους ἀποφθαρεῖσά που κατὰ μόνας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων
ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ μοι τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ὀνειδίζεις, ὥς
ψευδοπάρθενε καὶ μισάδελφε καὶ ἀναξία τῶν προγόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖνυν οὐ
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πενθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐν τοῖς
ζῶσιν ἔχεις, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παρὰ τῷ νεκρῷ, ἅπθι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὃν ἀνακαλῇ
καὶ μήτε τὸν πατέρα μήτε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [p. 310] ^[7] καταίσχυνε. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν
οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν ἐν τῷ μισοπονήρῳ τὸ μέτριον, ἀλλ' ὥς εἶχεν ὀργῆς ὠθεῖ διὰ
τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῆς τὸ ξίφος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν παρῆν ὥς τὸν
πατέρα. οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μισοπόννηρα καὶ αὐθάδη τὰ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἦθη καὶ
φρονήματα ἦν καί, εἴ τις αὐτὰ βούλοιτο παρὰ τὰ νῦν ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἐφ'
ἡμῶν ἐξετάζειν βίους, ὠμὰ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ τῆς θηριώδους οὐ πολὺ
ἀπέχοντα φύσεως, ὥστε πάθος οὕτω δεινὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀκούσας οὐχ ὅπως
ἡγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ὑπέλαβε τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχειν: ^[8]
ὅς γε οὕτε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἶασεν εἰσενεχθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐτ'
ἐν τοῖς πατρώοις τεθῆναι μνήμασιν ἐπέτρεψεν οὐτε κηδεῖας καὶ περιστολῆς
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων μεταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ παριόντες αὐτὴν ἐρριμμένην ἐν
ᾧ διεκρήσθη χωρίῳ λίθους ἐπιφοροῦντες καὶ γῆν ἐκίδευσαν ὥς πτῶμα
ἐρημον κηδομένων. ^[9] ταῦτά τε δὴ στερεὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις,
ἃ μέλλω λέγειν: ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ καλοῖς τε καὶ εὐτυχέσιν ἔργοις αὐθημερὸν ἔθνε
τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς ἅς εὐξάτο θυσίας καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐστιάσει λαμπρᾷ
τε καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐορταῖς ὑπεδέχετο ἐλάττους ἡγούμενος τὰς
ἰδίας συμφοράς τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἀγαθῶν. ^[10] τοῦτο δ' οὐ μόνον ὁ
Ὅρατιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄλλοι συχνοὶ Ῥωμαίων μνημονεύονται
ποιήσαντες ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς: λέγω δὲ τὸ θῦναι καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν καὶ [p.
311] θριάμβους κατάγειν τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλότων ἔναγχος, ὅταν
εὐτυχῇσιν δι' αὐτοὺς τὸ κοινόν: ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐρῶ καιροῦς.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τῶν τριδύμων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἱ τότε ὄντες ἐπὶ
στρατοπέδου ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι λαμπρὰς τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν οἷς ἔπεσον
χωρίοις καὶ θύσαντες τάπινικια τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν, Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ
ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δι' αἰτίας ἔχοντες, ὥς
κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότα, ἄσιτοί τε οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀθεράπευτοί τὴν ἐσπέραν
ἐκείνην διετέλεσαν. ^[2] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων

βασιλεὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὰ παραμυθησάμενος, ὡς οὐτε ἄσχημον ἐπιτάξων αὐτοῖς οὐθὲν οὔτε χαλεπὸν οὐθ' ὃ μὴ συγγενέσι πρέπει, τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων τὰ κράτιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα συμβουλευσών, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτῶν Φουφέττιον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς κατασχών ἄλλο τε οὐδὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν μεθαρμοσάμενος οὐδὲ κινήσας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. [3] καταγαγόντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς θρίαμβον καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν ἀρξαμένῳ προσέρχονται τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς τὸν Ὀράτιον ἄγοντες ὑπὸ δίκην, ὡς οὐ καθαρὸν αἵματος ἐμφυλίου διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς φόνον: καὶ καταστάντες μακρὰν διεξῆλθον [p. 312] δημηγορίαν τοὺς νόμους παρεχόμενοι τοὺς οὐκ ἔwντας ἄκριτον ἀποκτείνειν οὐθένα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπάντων μηνίματα ταῖς μὴ κολαζούσαις πόλεσι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς διεξιόντες. [4] ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τοῦ μεираκίου κατηγορῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τιμωρίαν οὐ φόνον εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν λέγων δικαστὴν τε αὐτὸν ἀξιώων εἶναι τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν ἀμφοτέρων γενόμενον πατέρα. συχνῶν δὲ λόγων ῥηθέντων ὕφ' ἐκατέρων πολλὴ τὸν βασιλέα κατεῖχεν ἀμηχανία, τί τέλος ἐξενέγκῃ [5] περὶ τῆς δίκης. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπολῦσαι τοῦ φόνου τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνῆρηκέναι πρὸ δίκης καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς οὐ συνεχώρουν ἀποκτείνειν οἱ νόμοι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ τὸ ἄγος ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδρακότος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εἰσενέγκηται, οὔτε ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλόμενον προκινδυνεύσαι καὶ τοσαύτης αὐτῇ δυναστείας γενόμενον αἶπιον ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολύοντος αὐτὸν τῆς αἰτίας, ὥς τὴν περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ὀργὴν ἢ τε φύσις ἀπεδίδου πρῶτῳ καὶ ὁ νόμος. [6] ἀπορούμενος δὲ τί χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασι τελευτῶν κράτιστον εἶναι διέγνω τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐπιτρέπειν. γενόμενος δὲ θανατηφόρου κρίσεως τότε πρῶτον ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος κύριος τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πατρὸς προσέθετο καὶ ἀπολύει τοῦ φόνου τὸν ἄνδρα: οὐ μὴν ὁ γε βασιλεὺς ἀποχρῆν ἔλεγε τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς [p. 313] ὅσια φυλάττειν τὴν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων συντελεσθεῖσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς ἱεροφάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐξιλάσασθαι θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας καὶ καθῆραι τὸν ἄνδρα οἷς νόμος τοὺς ἀκουσίους φόνους ἀγνίζεσθαι καθαρμοῖς. [7] κάκεινοι βωμοὺς ἰδρυσάμενοι δύο τὸν μὲν Ἥρας, ἢ λέλογχεν ἐπίσκοπεῖν ἀδελφάς, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπιχώριου θεοῦ τινος ἢ δαίμονος Ἰανοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν, ἐπωνύμου δὲ Κορατίων τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀνεψιῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσαντες τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπήγαγον τὸν Ὀράτιον ὑπὸ ζυγόν. ἔστι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις νόμιμον, ὅταν πολεμίων παραδιδόντων τὰ ὄπλα γένωνται κύριοι, δύο κατατήττειν ξύλα ὀρθὰ καὶ τρίτον ἐφαρμόττειν αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν πλάγιον, ἔπειθ' ὑπάγειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ ταῦτα καὶ διελθόντας ἀπολύειν ἐλευθέρους ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα. τοῦτο καλεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς ζυγόν, ὥς καὶ οἱ τότε καθαιρόντες τὸν ἄνδρα τελευταίῳ τῶν περὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς νομίμων ἐχρήσαντο. [8] ἐν ᾧ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χωρίῳ τὸν ἀγνισμόν ἐποίησαντο πάντες Ῥωμαῖοι νομιζουσιν ἱερόν: ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῷ φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν

Κύπριον ἐρχομένοις στενωπόν, ἔνθα οἱ τε βωμοὶ μένουσιν οἱ τότε ἰδρυθέντες καὶ ξύλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τέταται δυοὶ τοῖς ἄντικρυς ἀλλήλων τοίχοις ἐνηρμοσμένον, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς [p. 314] ἐξιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καλούμενον τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ ^[9] ξύλον ἀδελφῆς. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ χωρίον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνημεῖον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλάττεται θυσίαις γεραιρόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ἕτερον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἣν ἐπεδειξάτο κατὰ τὴν μάχην μαρτύριον ἡ γωνιαία στυλὶς ἡ τῆς ἐτέρας παστάδος ἄρχουσα ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐφ' ἧς ἔκειτο τὰ σκῦλα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τριδύμων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄπλα ἠφάνισται διὰ μήκος χρόνου, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν ἡ στυλὶς ἔτι φυλάττει τὴν αὐτὴν Ὅρατιā καλουμένη πῖλα. ^[10] ἔστι δὲ καὶ νόμος παρ' αὐτοῖς δι' ἐκεῖνο κυρωθεὶς τὸ πάθος, ᾧ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ χρῶνται, τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀθάνατον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις περιτιθεὶς ὁ κελεύων, οἷς ἂν γένωνται τριδύμοι παῖδες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰς τροφὰς τῶν παιδῶν χορηγεῖσθαι μέχρις ἡβης. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Ὅρατιων οἰκίαν γενόμενα θαυμαστάς καὶ παραδόξους περιπετείας λαβόντα τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐνιαύσιον διαλιπὼν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκεύασατο, στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιδηναίων πόλιν ἔγνω προφάσεις τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενος, ὅτι κληθέντες εἰς ἀπολογίαν περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἣν συνεστήσαντο κατὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα [p. 315] καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες Οὐιεντανῶν τε συμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀφειστήκεσαν καὶ τοῖς παραγενομένοις ἐκ Ῥώμης πρεσβευταῖς πυνθανομένοις τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπεκρίναντο μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν εἶναι κοινόν, ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμύλος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐτελεύτησε, ^[2] πρὸς ὃν ἐποίησαντο τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ὅρκια. ταῦτας δὴ τὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν τὴν τε οἰκίαν καθῶπλιξε δύναμιν καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μετεπέμπετο. πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ κράτιστον ἐπικουρικὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως Μέττιος Φουφέττιος ἦκεν ἄγων ὄπλοις κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπέσιν, ὥστε πάσας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὰς συμμαχικὰς δυνάμεις. ^[3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος ὡς ἐκ προθυμίας τε καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου κοινωνεῖν ἐγνωκότα τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Μέττιον ἐπὶ νει καὶ πάντων ἐποιεῖτο τῶν βουλευμάτων συνίστορα: ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐν αἰτίαις παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὑπάρχων ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκῶς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς προδοσίαν διαβαλλόμενος, ἐπειδὴ τρίτον ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διέμενε Τύλλου κελεύσαντος, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τε ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ὑπὴκοον οὐδὲ ὑποτάττεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠγεῖσθαι πρᾶγμα τι ἐπεβούλευσεν ἀνόσιον. ^[4] διαπρεσβευσάμενος γὰρ κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πολεμίους ἐνδοιαστῶς ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντας ἐπὶ νει αὐτοὺς μὴ κατοκνεῖν, ὡς αὐτὸς συνεπιθυσόμενος Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, [p. 316] καὶ ταῦτα πράττων τε καὶ διανοοῦμενος ἅπαντας ἐλάνθανε. Τύλλος δ' ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύασατο τὴν τ' οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχικὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαβάς τὸν Ἀνιήτα ποταμὸν οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ^[5] Φιδήνης κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. εὐρὼν δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως στρατιὰν ἐκτεταγμένην πολλὴν αὐτῶν τε Φιδηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχοῦντων αὐτοῖς ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν

ἡμέραν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχε, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς Φουφέττιόν τε μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν Ἀλβανὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους ἐσκόπει μετ' ἐκείνων τίνα χρηστέον εἴη τῷ πολέμῳ τρόπον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἔδοξε μάχην τίθεσθαι διαταχέων καὶ μὴ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, χώραν καὶ τάξιν, ἣν ἕκαστος ἔμελλεν ἔξειν, προειπὼν ἡμέραν τε ὀρίσας τῆς μάχης τὴν κατόπιν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. [6] ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανὸς Φουφέττιος ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἔτι ἄδηλος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων πολλοῖς προδοσίαν μηχανώμενος· συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἀλβανῶν λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξιάρχους λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε: ἄνδρες ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί, πράγματα μέλλω ἐς ὑμᾶς μεγάλα καὶ ἀπροσδόκητα ἐκφέρειν, ἃ τέως ἔκρυπτον, ἵκετεύω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπόρρητα ποιήσασθαι, εἰ μὴ με διεργάσεσθε, καὶ ἐὰν δόξη συνοίσειν ἐπιτελῇ γενόμενα συλλαβέσθαι μοι αὐτῶν. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν λέγειν ὁ καιρὸς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει βραχύς ὢν, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀναγκαιοτάτα ἐρῶ. [7] ἐγὼ πάντα τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις [p. 317] ὑπετάχθημεν ἕως τῆς 28ης τῆς ἡμέρας αἰσχύνης μεστὸν καὶ ὀδύνης ἔχων τὸν βίον διατετέλεκα καίτοι τιμηθεὶς γε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ, ἣν τρίτον ἔτος ἤδη τοῦτο ἔχω καὶ εἰ βουλοίμην μέχρι παντὸς ἔξω. ἀλλὰ πάντων ἡγούμενος εἶναι κακῶν ἔσχατον ἐν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦσι τοῖς κοινοῖς μόνος εὐτυχεῖν, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ ὅτι παρὰ πάντα τὰ νενομισμένα παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὅσια τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρέθημεν, ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἂν αὐτὴν ἀνακομισαίμεθα μηδεμιᾶς πειραθέντες μεγάλης συμφορᾶς: πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παντοδαποὺς λογισμοὺς λαμβάνων μίαν εὕρισκον ὁδὸν ἄγουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ῥάστην τε καὶ ἀκινδυνωτάτην, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἀνασταίῃ πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων. [8] εἰς γὰρ τοῦτον ὑπελάμβανον αὐτοὺς καθισταμένους συμμάχων δεήσεσθαι καὶ πρώτων γε ἡμῶν. τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῆς ὑπελάμβανον ὑμῖν διδαχῆς δεήσειν, ὅτι κάλλιον τε καὶ δικαιότερον περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα. [9] ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ὑπενόμενος Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ Φιδηναίους πείσας ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν, ὡς συλληψόμενος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ μέχρι τούτου λελθὼ Ῥωμαίους ταῦτα πράττων καὶ ταμιευόμενος ἑμαυτῷ τὸν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως καιρὸν: ἐν ᾧ σκέψασθε ὅσα ὠφεληθησόμεθα. [10] πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐν φανερώῳ βουλευσάντες [p. 318] ἀπόστασιν, ἐν ᾧ κίνδυνος ἦν καθ' ἑκάτερον ἢ ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπείχεντας καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει μόνῃ πιστεύσαντας τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀναρρῖψαι κύβον, ἢ παρασκευαζομένους καὶ βοηθείας ἐγείραντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν παρασκευῇ ὄντων προκαταληφθῆναι, οὐδετέρου τῶν χαλεπῶν τούτων πειραθέντες τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων χρήσιμον ἔξομεν. ἔπειτα πολλὴν καὶ δυσπολέμητον οὔσαν τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἰσχὺν καὶ τύχην οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ βιαίου τρόπου πειρασόμεθα καθαιρεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀλίσκεται πάντα τὰ ὑπέρανχα καὶ μὴ ῥάδια τῷ βιαίῳ καθαιρεθῆναι, δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ, οὔτε πρῶτοι ἄρξαντες αὐτῶν οὔτε μόνοι. [11] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἀξιόμαχῳ οὔσῃ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἰσχὺν ἀντιπαρῆσθαι Φιδηναίων τε καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν τοσαύτην οὔσαν ὄσῃτε προσειλήφαμέν τε, καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα θάρσος τινὲ συμμαχίας βεβαίου τὸ

ἐπικουρικὸν παράσχοι προσγενόμενον οὕτω παρεσκεύασταί μοι. [12] οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ Φιδηναῖοι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι, τῆς δὲ αὐτῶν προκινδυνεύοντες ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡμέτεραν φυλάξουσιν. ὁ δὲ πάντων μὲν ἐστὶν ἡδιστὸν ἀνθρώποις, σπανίως δὲ τισιν ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος αἰῶνος ἐξεγένετο, καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει: εἴ πασχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων εἴδραν ἐκείνους αὐτοὶ δόξομεν. [p. 319] [13] καὶ ἐὰν ἡμῖν κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσῃ τὸ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔχει, Φιδηναῖοι τε καὶ Οὐιεντανοὶ βαρεῖας ἀπαλλάξαντες ἡμᾶς ὑποταγῆς ὡς ὑφ' ἡμῶν τοῦτο πεπονθότες αὐτοὶ χάριν ἡμῖν εἴσονται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ διὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος παρασκευασθέντα ἱκανὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι θάρσος τε καὶ προθυμίαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν. [14] ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ ἔργῳ βεβούλευμαι, τοῦτ' ἀκούσατέ μου: τάξιν μὲν ἀποδέδωκέ μοι Τύλλος τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ κελεύει με θατέρου τῶν κεράτων ἄρχειν, ὅταν δὲ μέλλωμεν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρεῖν, ἄρξω μὲν ἐγὼ λύσας τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἄγειν, ἀκολουθήσετε δὲ μοι ὑμεῖς συντεταγμένους ἄγοντες τοὺς λόχους. ἀψάμενος δὲ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γινόμενος τίνα χρήσομαι τρόπον τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα πράγμασιν ἀκούσατέ μου: [15] ἐὰν μὲν ὁρῶ κατὰ γνώμην ἃ διαλογίζομαι χωροῦντά μοι καὶ θρασεῖς μὲν γεγονότας τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς συλλαμβανόντων, ταπεινοὺς δὲ καὶ περιφόβους Ῥωμαίους, ὡς προδοδομένους ὑφ' ἡμῶν, φυγῆς τε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλκῆς προνοούμενους, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἐπιθήσομαι αὐτοῖς καὶ μεστὸν ποιήσω νεκρῶν τὸ πεδῖον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε καπιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πρानὲς θαρροῦσι τε καὶ συντεταγμένη δυνάμει πρὸς ἐπτοημένους ἀνθρώπους προσφερόμενος καὶ σποράδας. [16] δεινὴ δ' ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἡ διὰ κενῆς ἐμπίπτουσα προδοσίας συμμάχων ἢ πολεμίων ἄλλων ἐφόδου δόκησις, [p. 320] καὶ πολλὰ ἤδη στρατεύματα μεγάλα ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὕτως ἐτέρου φοβεροῦ παθήματος ὡς ὑπὸ δόξης κενῆς ἴσμεν πανώλεθρα διαφθάρεντα. τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον οὐ λόγος ἔσται κενὸς οὐδ' ἀφανὲς δεῖμα, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἀπάσης ὄψεως καὶ πείρας φοβερώτερον. [17] ἐὰν δ' ἄρα τάναντία τῶν λελογισμένων γινόμενα ὁρῶ 'λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας δόξας εἰωθότα ἀπαντᾶν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ εἰκότα οἱ βίοι φέρουσί τάναντία καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν προὑθέμην ἐπιχειρήσω ποιεῖν. ἄξω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συλλήψομαι αὐτοῖς τῆς νίκης τὴν τε κατάληψιν τῶν ὑψηλῶν πεποιῆσθαι σκῆψομαι τῆς κυκλώσεως τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἔνεκα. γενήσεται δὲ μοι πιστὸς ὁ λόγος ἔργα ὁμολογούμενα τῇ σκῆψει παρεσχημένου, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν μὲν δεινῶν μηδετέροις κοινωνῆσαι, τῆς δ' ἀμείνωνος τύχης παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μεταλαβεῖν. [18] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔγνωκά τε καὶ δράσω σὺν θεοῖς κράτιστα ὄντα οὐ μόνον Ἀλβανοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Λατίνοις, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή σιγὴν μὲν πρῶτον φυλάττοντας, ἔπειτα κόσμον τε σώζοντας καὶ τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις ὀξέως ὑπηρετοῦντας προθύμους ἀγωνιστὰς γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτοῖς προθύμους παρέχειν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὁ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας [p. 321] ἀγὼν, οἷς 2 τισιν ἐν ἔθει καθέστηκεν ἄρχεσθαι ὑφ' ἐτέρων καὶ ὅσοις τοιαύτην πολιτείαν οἱ πατέρες παρέδωκαν. [19] ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἔφυμεν καὶ ἄρχειν τῶν

προσοίκων παρέδωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες ὁμοῦ τι πεντακόσια ἔτη τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ βίου διαφυλάξαντες, οὗ μὴ ἀποστερήσωμεν ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἐκγόνους. παραστῆ δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν δέος ἂν ταῦτα ἐθέλῃ πράττειν μὴ συνθήκας τε λύσῃ καὶ ὅρκους τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐταῖς γενομένους παραβῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐννοεῖσθω διότι τὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λελυμένας εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκαταστήσει καὶ οὐ τὰς γε ἐλαχίστου ἀξίας, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἢ τε φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπεῖα κατεστήσατο καὶ ὁ πάντων κοινὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων βεβαιοῖ νόμος, ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν τοὺς πατέρας τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς μητροπόλεις ταῖς ἀποικίαις. [20] ταύτας δὴ τὰς συνθήκας οὐδέποτε ἀναιρεθησομένας ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως οὐχ ἡμεῖς οἱ κυρίας ἀξιοῦντες αἰεὶ διαμένειν παρασπονδοῦμεν, οὐδ’ ἂν τις ἡμῖν θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων νεμεσήσειεν ὥς ἀνόσια πράττουσιν εἰ δουλεύειν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκγόνοις δυσανασχετοῦμεν, ἀλλ’ οἱ καταλύσαντες αὐτὰς ἀρχῆθεν καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀθεμίτῳ κρείττω ποιῆσαι τοῦ θείου νόμου τὸν ἀνθρώπινον: καὶ ὃ τε δαιμόνιος χόλος οὐχ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτοις ἐναντιώσεται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, καὶ ἢ παρ’ ἀνθρώπων νέμεσις εἰς τοὺτους ἀνθ’ ἡμῶν κατασκήψει. [21] εἰ μὲν οὖν [p. 322] ταῦτα κράτιστα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔσσεσθαι δοκεῖ, πράττωμεν αὐτὰ θεοῦς καὶ δαίμονας ἀρωγοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι, εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῶν τάναντία ἔγνωκε καὶ дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ μηδέποτε ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως οἶεται δεῖν, ἢ καιρὸν ἕτερόν τινα τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιτηδειότερον περιμένων ἀναβάλλεται τὸν παρόντα, μὴ κατοκνεῖτω φέρειν εἰς μέσον ἃ φρονεῖ: ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν κράτιστον φανῇ βούλευμα τοῦτω χρησόμεθα.

ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην τῶν παρόντων καὶ πάντα ὑποσχομένων ποιήσειν ὅρκους ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καταλαβὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προήεσαν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ Φιδηναίων τε καὶ συμμαχῶν δυνάμεις ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν καὶ παρετάσσοντο ὥς εἰς μάχην, ἀντεπεξήεσαν δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ καθίσταντο εἰς τάξιν. [2] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀριστερόν κέρας αὐτὸς ὁ Τύλλος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεῖχον ἐναντίοι Οὐιεντανοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κατεῖχον κέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρατος ὁ Μέττιος καὶ οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ κατὰ Φιδηναίους παρὰ τὴν λαγόνα τοῦ ὄρους ἐτάξαντο. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο, πρὶν ἐντὸς βέλους γενέσθαι οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ σχισθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ συντεταγμένους ἦγον τοὺς λόχους ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. οἱ μὲν οὖν Φιδηναῖοι μαθόντες τοῦτο καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθεῖν σφίσι τὰς περὶ τῆς προδοσίας [p. 323] ὑποσχέσεις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν θρασύτερον ἤδη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιλωμένον τῆς συμμαχίας παρερρήγνυτό τε καὶ σφόδρα ἐπόνει, τὸ δ’ εὐώνυμον ἀνὰ κράτος ἠγωνίζετο, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Τύλλος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων μαχόμενος. [4] ἐν δὲ τοῦτω προσελάσας τις ἱππεὺς τοῖς ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ μαχομένοις, κάμνει τὸ δεξιὸν ἡμῖν κέρας, ἔφησεν, ὦ Τύλλε. Ἀλβανοὶ τε γὰρ ἐκλιπόντες τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα ἐπείγονται, Φιδηναῖοι τε καθ’ οὗς ἐκεῖνοι ἐτάχθησαν ὑπὲρ κέρατος ὄντες τοῦ ἐπιλωμένου κυκλοῦσθαι μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἰδόντας τὴν ὁρμὴν

τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος δεῖμα ὡς κυκλωσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καταλαμβάνει, ὥστε οὔτε μάχεσθαι οὔτε μένειν αὐτοῖς ἐπήγει. ^[5] ἔνθα δὴ σοφία λέγεται χρῆσασθαι ὁ Τύλλος οὐδὲν ἐπιταραχθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε καὶ οὕτως ἀπροσδοκῆτου φανέντος κακοῦ, δι' ἣν οὐ μόνον ἔσωσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς προὔπτον κατακεκλειμένην ὀλεθρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πράγματα σύμπαντα συνέτριψέ τε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ὡς γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου μεγάλῃ φωνῇ χρώμενος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν, ^[6] κρατοῦμεν, εἶπεν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ πλησίον ^[p. 324] ὄρος τοῦτο κατειλήφασιν, ὥσπερ ὀρᾶτε, κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐντολάς, ἵνα κατὰ νώτου γενόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπίωσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐνθυμηθέντες οὖν ὅτι ἐν καλῷ τοὺς ἐχθίστους ἡμῖν ἔχομεν, οἱ μὲν ἀντικρυς ἐπὶόντες, οἱ δὲ κατόπιν, ἔνθα οὔτε πρόσω χωρεῖν οὔτ' ὀπίσω ἐπιστρέφειν δυνάμενοι ποταμῷ τε καὶ ὄρει ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἀποκλειόμενοι καλὴν δώσουσιν ἡμῖν δίκην, ἵτε σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει ἐπ' αὐτούς.

ταῦτα παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἀπάσας παρεξιὼν ἔλεγε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς μὲν Φιδηναίους δέος εἰσέρχεται παλινπροδοσίας ὡς κατεστρατηγημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἀντιμεταταξάμενον αὐτὸν εἶδον οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐθύς αὐτὸν ἐλαύνοντα, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐπῆρεν εἰς εὐτολμίαν καὶ θάρρους ἐνέπλησεν ὁ λόγος: καὶ μέγα ἐμβοήσαντες ὀρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄθροοι. τροπὴ δὲ γίνεται μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Φιδηναίων καὶ φυγὴ ^[2] πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἄκοσμος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐπιρράξας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον περιφόβοις οὔσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις καὶ μέχρι τινὸς διώξας, ὡς ἔμαθεν ἐσκεδασμένους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ οὔτε λογισμὸν ἔτι τοῦ συστήναι ληφόμενους οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἀφείδους τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὸ συνεσθηκὸς ἔτι καὶ διαμένον τῶν πολεμίων ἐχώρει μέρος. καὶ γίνεται καλὸς μὲν καὶ ὁ τῶν πεζῶν ἀγὼν, ἔτι δὲ καλλιῶν ὁ τῶν ἱππέων. ^[3] οὐ γὰρ ἐνέκλινον οἱ τῇδε τεταγμένοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τὴν ^[p. 325] ἔφοδον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου καταπλαγέντες, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἔπειτα μαθόντες ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν ἡττηται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Φιδηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων στρατιὰ φεύγει προτροπάδην, δεισαντες μὴ κυκλωθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναστραφέντων ἐκ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τρέπονται καὶ αὐτοὶ λύσαντες τὰς τάξεις καὶ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σώξειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο. ^[4] ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμενέστατοί τε αὐτῶν ἦσαν καὶ ἥκιστα ὑπὸ τραυμάτων βαρυνόμενοι νεῖν τε οὐκ ἀδύνατοι δίχα τῶν ὄπλων τὸ ρεῖθρον διεπεραιοῦντο, ὅσοι δὲ τούτων τινὸς ἐνέλιπον ἐν ταῖς δίναις ἀπέθνησκον: ὁξὺ γὰρ τοῦ Τεβέριος περὶ τὴν Φιδήνην καὶ σκολιὸν τὸ ρεῦμα. ^[5] ὁ δὲ Τύλλος μοῖρα τινὶ τῶν ἱππέων κελεύσας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὠθουμένους κτείνειν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἄγων ἐξ ἐφόδου γίνεται κύριος αὐτοῦ: καὶ τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα παραδόξου τυχόντα σωτηρίας ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανὸς ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς ἤδη νικῶντας ἐθεάσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Τύλλον, καταβιβάσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τὴν οἰκίαν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Φιδηναίων ἐχώρει, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γένοιτο πᾶσι

φανερὸς ἔργον τι ποιῶν συμμάχου καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν διεσκεδασμένων ἐν τῇ φυγῇ [2] διέφθειρε. συνεῖς δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μισήσας τὴν παλινπροδοσίαν ὁ Τύλλος οὐδὲν ἐξελέγχειν ᾤετο [p. 326] δεῖν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἕως ἂν ὑπ’ ἐαυτῷ ποιήσῃται τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινεῖν τε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα πρὸς πολλοὺς τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου γενομένην ἐσκήπτετο καὶ τῶν ἱππέων μοῖραν τινα πέμψας ὡς αὐτὸν ἡξίου τελείαν ἀποδειξασθαι τὴν προθυμίαν, τοὺς μὴ δυνηθέντας εἰς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Φιδηναίων καταφεύγειν ἀλλ’ ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν συχνοὺς ὄντας κελεύων διερευνώμενον ἀποκτείνειν. [3] κἀκεῖνος ὡς θάτερον ὦν ἤλπισε διαπεπραγμένος καὶ λεληθὼς τὸν Τύλλον ἔχαιρέ τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ καθιππεύων τὰ πεδία τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους διέφθειρεν, ἥδη δὲ δεδουκότος ἡλίου τοὺς ἱππέας ἤκεν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐκ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἦν. [4] ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἐν τῷ Οὐιεντανῶν χάρακι μείνας ἄχρι πρώτης φυλακῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνακρίνας, τινες ἦσαν οἱ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἡγεμόνες, ὡς ἔμαθε καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν Μέττιον Φουφέττιον ἐν τοῖς συνομοσαμένοις ὑπάρχοντα, δόξας συνάδειν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηνυομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ἐταίρων παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀφιππεύει. [5] καὶ πρὸ μέσων νυκτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῳν τοὺς βουλευτὰς συγκαλέσας τὴν τε προδοσίαν αὐτοῖς λέγει τὴν τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ μάρτυρας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους παρασχόμενος καὶ ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸς κατεστρατήγησε τοὺς τε πολεμίους [p. 327] καὶ τοὺς Φιδηναίους διηγεῖται. τέλος δὴ τὸ κράτιστον εἰληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἥδη σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν τοὺς προδότας, σωφρονεστέραν δὲ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν ἀποδοῦναι πόλιν εἰς τὸ λοιπόν. [6] τὸ μὲν οὖν τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας ἔργοις ἀνοσίοις πᾶσιν ἐδόκει δίκαιόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, ὃν δὲ τρόπον τοῦτο γένοιτ’ ἂν ῥᾶστα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα πολλὴν αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν ἀπορίαν. ἀδήλῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ λεληθότι μὲν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Ἀλβανῶν ἄνδρας διαχειρίσασθαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι· εἰ δὲ φανερώς συλλαμβάνειν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐπιχειρήσειαν, οὐ περιόψεσθαι τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς ὑπελάμβανον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρήσειν. ἅμα δὲ πολεμεῖν Φιδηναίοις τε καὶ Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν σφῶν συνεληλυθόσιν Ἀλβανοῖς οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ἀπορουμένων δ’ αὐτῶν τελευταῖος ἀποδεικνυται γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, ἦν ἅπαντες ἐπῆνεσαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρῶ.

τετταράκοντα δ’ ὄντων σταδίων τῶν μεταξὺ Φιδήνης τε καὶ Ῥώμης ἐλάσας τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι καλέσας Μάρκον Ὀράτιον τὸν περιλειφθέντα ἐκ τῶν τριδύμων καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν πόλιν ἄγειν, παρελθόντα δ’ ἐντὸς τείχους [p. 328] ὡς φίλον ὄντα, ὅταν ὑποχειρίους λάβῃ τοὺς ἔνδον, καθελεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἄχρι θεμελίων μηθενὸς μήτε ἰδίου μήτε κοινοῦ κατασκευάσματος φειδόμενον ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μηθέντα μήτε κτείνειν μήτε

ἀδικεῖν, [2] ἀλλὰ πάντας ἔαν ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν. ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοῦτον ἐκάλει τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ διασαφήςας φυλακὴν ἐκ τούτων καθίσταται περὶ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ὁ Ἀλβανὸς ὡς ἐπὶ νικῆματι κοινῶ γεγηθὼς καὶ τῷ Τύλλῳ συνηδόμενος. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀπόρρητον τὴν γνώμην ἔτι φυλάσσων ἐπῆνει τε αὐτὸν καὶ μεγάλων ἄξιον ἀπέφαινε δωρεῶν παρεκάλει τε γράψαντα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλβανῶν ὀνόματα τῶν ἐπιφανές τι κατὰ τὴν μάχην διαπραξαμένων φέρειν ὡς αὐτόν, ἵνα κάκεῖνοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων ἀπενέγκωνται μοῖραν. [3] ὁ μὲν δὴ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων, οἷς ἐχρήσατο τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων συνεργοῖς, εἰσγράψας εἰς δέλτον ἐπιδίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἅπαντας ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα ἐκάλει· συνιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις τε καὶ λοχαγοῖς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ βῆμα ἐκέλευσεν ἑστάναι, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλβανοὺς ταχθέντας ἐκκλησιάζειν, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν συμμάχων πλῆθος· ἔξωθεν δὲ πάντων περιέστησε Ῥωμαίους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ γενναιότατοι, ξίφη κρύπτοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς. ὡς δ' ἐν καλῷ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν ἀναστὰς ἔλεξε τοιάδε· [p. 329]

ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ ἄλλοι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τολμήσαντας εἰς πόλεμον ἡμῖν καταστήναι Φιδηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἐτιμωρησάμεθα σὺν θεοῖς, καὶ дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ παύσονται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνοχλοῦντες ἡμῖν ἢ [2] δίκας τίσουσιν ἔτι τούτων χειρόνας. ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν κεχώρηκε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμωρήσασθαι πολεμίους, ὅσοι φίλων μὲν ἔχουσιν ὀνόματα καὶ παρελήφθησαν εἰς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς κακῶς τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν ποιήσοντες, ἐγκατέλιπον δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πιστὸν καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας διαφθεῖραι πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπεβάλοντο. [3] πολὺ γὰρ οὗτοι κακίους τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολεμίων εἰσὶ καὶ μείζονος τιμωρίας ἄξιοι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ φυλάξασθαι ῥάδιον τοῖς ἐπιβουλευομένοις καὶ συμπλακέντας ὡς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι δυνατόν, φίλους δ' ἐχθρῶν ἔργα ποιοῦντας οὔτε φυλάξασθαι ῥάδιον οὔτε ἀμύνασθαι τοῖς προκαταληφθεῖσι δυνατόν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως ἐπὶ δόλῳ σύμμαχοι κακὸν μὲν οὐθὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν παθόντες, [4] ἀγαθὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα. ἅποικοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντες οὐθὲν τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς παρασπᾶσαντες ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πολέμων ἐκτησάμεθα, ἔθνεσι δὲ μεγίστοις καὶ πολεμικωτάτοις [p. 330] ἐπιτειχίσαντες τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πόλιν πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν τούτοις τοῦ τε ἀπὸ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ Σαβίνων πολέμου παρειχόμεθα· ἥς δὴ πόλεως εὖ τε πραττούσης ἀπάντων μάλιστα χαίρειν αὐτοὺς ἔδει καὶ σφαλλομένης μηδὲν ἐνδεέστερον ἢ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἄχθεσθαι. [5] οἱ δὲ ἄρα φθονοῦντες οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τῆς δι' ἡμᾶς εὐτυχίας διετέλουν καὶ τελευτῶντες ὡς οὐκέτι κατέχειν τὴν ὕπουλον ἐχθραν ἐδύναντο πόλεμον ἡμῖν προεῖπον. μαθόντες δ' ἡμᾶς εὖ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρεσκευασμένους, ὡς οὐθὲν οἴοιτ' ἦσαν ἐργάσασθαι κακόν, εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐκάλουν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ

τὸ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νεῖκος ἐν τρισὶν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πόλεως σώμασιν ἤξιουν κριθῆναι. ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτας τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ νικήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἔσχομεν ὑποχείριον. [6] φέρε δὴ τί μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησαμεν; ἐξὸν ἡμῖν ὀμηρὰ τε αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπεῖν καὶ τοὺς κορυφαιστάτους τῶν διαστησάντων τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐκβαλεῖν πολιτείας τε αὐτῶν κόσμον μεταστῆσαι πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν συμφέρον καὶ χώρας καὶ χρημάτων ἀποδοσμῶ ζημιῶσαι καί, ὃ πάντων ῥᾶστον ἦν, ἀφελέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοὺς, ἐξ ὧν ἐγκρατεστέραν ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστησάμεθα, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἠξιώσαμεν ποιῆσαι, τῷ δ' εὐσεβεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπετρέψαμεν καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ κρεῖττον ἡγησάμενοι συνεχωρήσαμεν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ σφέτερα καρποῦσθαι, [p. 331] Μέττιον δὲ Φουφέττιον, ὃν αὐτοὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἀρχῇ ἐκόσμησαν, ὡς δὴ κράτιστον Ἀλβανῶν διοικεῖν τὰ κοινὰ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος εἰάσαμεν. [7] ἀνθ' ὧν τίνας ἡμῖν χάριτας ἀπέδωκαν, ἥνικα μᾶλλον φίλων τε καὶ συμμάχων εὐνοίας ἔδει, ἀκούσατε: ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας πρὸς τοὺς κοινοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι συνεπιθισόμενοι ἡμῖν μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐγινόμεθα καταλιπόντες τὴν τάξιν ἐφ' ἣν ἐτάχθησαν ὥχοντο πρὸς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη δρόμῳ προκαταλαβέσθαι σπεύδοντες τὰ ὄχυρά. [8] εἰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ νοῦν ἡ πεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐχώρει, οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύον ἦν ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ἀπολωλέναι κυκλωθέντας ὑπὸ τε πολέμιων καὶ φίλων, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡγωνισάμεθα, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ διαφθαρῆναι μῆ. [9] ἐπειδὴ δὲ διέπεσεν αὐτῶν τὸ βούλευμα θεῶν μὲν εὐνοίας προηγησαμένης ἁπάσας γὰρ ἔγωγε τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς πράξεις ἐκείνοις ἀνατίθημι, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἷς τε τὸ δέος τῶν πολέμιων καὶ εἰς τὸ θάρσος τὸ ὑμέτερον παρασχομένης ἅ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι ἔφην, ὡς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κελευσθέντες Ἀλβανοὶ προκαταλαμβάνονται τὰ ὄρη κυκλώσεως τῶν πολέμιων ἔνεκα, πλάσματα καὶ [10] στρατηγήματα ἦν ἐμὰ, κεχωρηκότων δ' ἡμῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἡμῖν συνέφερον οὐκ ἂν εἴημεν ἄνδρες οἷους ἡμᾶς προσῆκεν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τιμωρησαίμεθα [p. 332] τοὺς προδότας, οἳ γε χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἀναγκαιότητος, ἦν διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν, σπονδὰς καὶ ὄρκια ποιησάμενοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔναγχος οὔτε θεοὺς δεῖσαντες, οὓς τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἐποίησαντο μάρτυρας, οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην νέμεσιν ἐντραπέντες, οὔτε τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος εἰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς ἡ προδοσία χωρήσειεν ὑπολογιζόμενοι, τὸν οἴκτιστον τρόπον ἡμᾶς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἀποίκους τε καὶ εὐεργέτας, οἳ κτίσται μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων τε καὶ πολεμιωτάτων στάντες.

ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἰμωγαὶ τε τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παντοδαπαὶ δεήσεις τοῦ μὲν δήμου μηδὲν ἐγνωκέναι λέγοντος ὧν ὁ Μέττιος ἐμχανᾶτο, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐχόντων οὐ πρότερον πεπύσθαι τὰς ἀπορρήτους βουλὰς σκηπτομένων ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῷ ἀγῶνι, ἥνικα οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε μὴ πράττειν τὰ κελευόμενα ἐν δυνατῷ σφίσιν ἦν, ἥδη δὲ τινων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκούσιον ἀνάγκην ἀναφερόντων τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ κηδεῖαν ἢ

διὰ συγγένειαν: [2] οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας ἔλεξεν: οὐδ' ἐμὲ
λέληθεν, ἄνδρες Ἀλβανοί, τούτων ὧν ἀπολογεῖσθε οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
πληθὺς ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὴν προδοσίαν οἶμαι τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι πολλῶν
συνειδότεων οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πέφυκε τἀπόρρητα σιωπᾶσθαι χρόνον, τῶν
δὲ ταξιαρχῶν τε καὶ λοχαγῶν βραχὺ τι μέρος ἡγοῦμαι τὸ συνεπιβουλευσαν
ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, [p. 333] τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐξηπατῆσθαι καὶ εἰς ἀκουσίους
ἀνάγκας ἀφίχθαι. [3] εἰ δέ γε τούτων μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἦν, ἀλλὰ πάντα
εἰσηλθεν Ἀλβανούς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε ὄντας ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
καταλειπομένους ἢ τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμία, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ νῦν
πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου δεδογμένον ὑμῖν ἦν, τῆς συγγενείας
ἔνεκα πολλῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνάγκη καὶ [4] ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τἀδικήματα φέρειν. ἵνα δὲ
μηθὲν βουλευσῆτε ἔτι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄδικον μήτε δὴ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν
ἡγουμένων τῆς πόλεως μήτε παρακρουσθέντες μία φυλακὴ καὶ πρόνοια:
ἐστίν, εἰ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πολῖται γενοίμεθα πάντες καὶ μίαν ἡγοίμεθα
πατρίδα, ἥς εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον φερομένης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος ἕκαστος οἴσεται
τῆς τύχης: ἕως δ' ἂν ἐκ διαφόρου γνώμης, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔχει, τὸ τε πλεῖον καὶ
τοῦλλαττον ἐπικρίνωμεν ἑκάτεροι, οὐκ ἔσται βέβαιος ἡμῖν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
φιλία, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ μέλλοιεν οἱ μὲν πρότεροι ἐπιβουλευσάντες τοῖς
ἐτέροις ἢ κατορθώσαντες πλεῖον ἔξω ἐν σφαλέντες ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἔσεσθαι
διὰ τὸ συγγενές, καθ' ὧν δ' ἂν αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γένωνται ὑποχείριοι
καταστάντες τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν καὶ διαφυγόντες μηδὲν ὥσπερ ἐχθροὶ [5]
μνησικακεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι γέγονεν. ἴστε δὴ ταῦτα δεδογμένα
Ῥωμαίοις τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ [p. 334] συναγαγόντος ἐμοῦ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδροις γραφάμενου, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὑμῶν καθαιρεθῆναι
καὶ μήτε τῶν δημοσίων μήτε τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν κατασκευασμάτων ὀρθόν τι
ἔῃσαι διαμένειν μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν: [6] τοὺς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἔχοντας
οὕς καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι κλήρους ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 χρημάτων μηδὲν ἀφαιρεθέντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον οἰκεῖν: ὅσῃν
τε τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν ἐκέκτητο γῆν τοῖς μηθένα κληρὸν ἔχουσιν Ἀλβανῶν
διαμερισθῆναι χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν κτημάτων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐγίνοντο. οἰκῶν δὲ κατασκευῆς, ἐν οἷς τοὺς βίους ἰδρύσεσθε οἱ
μετανιστάμενοι, καθ' οὓς ἔσονται τῆς πόλεως τόπους, ἐμὲ ποιήσασθαι
πρόνοιαν συλλαμβάνοντα τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις ὑμῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔργα δαπάνης.
[7] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πληθὺς ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν δημοτικῶν συντελεῖν
εἰς φυλάς καὶ φράτρας καταμερισθέν, βουλῆς δὲ μετέχειν καὶ ἀρχὰς
λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις προσνεμηθῆναι τοῦσδε τοὺς οἴκους: Ἰουλίους,
Σερουίλιους, Κορατίους, Κοῖντιλίους, Κλοιίους, Γεγανίους, Μετιλίους:
Μέττιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν τούτῳ βουλευσάντας τὴν προδοσίαν δίκας
ὑποσχεῖν, ἃς ἂν ἡμεῖς τάξωμεν δικασταὶ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπαιτίων
καθεζόμενοι: οὐθένα γὰρ ἀποστερήσομεν κρίσεως οὐδὲ λόγου. [p. 335]

ὧς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Ἀλβανῶν πένητες ἡγάπων εἰ Ῥώμην τε
οἰκήσουσι καὶ τῆς γῆς κληρὸν ἔξουσι καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα βοῇ τὰ διδόμενα,
οἱ δὲ λαμπρότεροι τοῖς ἀξιώμασι καὶ ταῖς τύχαις κρείττους ἦχοντο, εἰ
δεήσει πόλιν τε τὴν γειναμένην αὐτοὺς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ προγονικὰς ἐστίας

ἐρμῶσαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ ξένῃ· οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπῆει λέγειν εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην κατακεκλειμένοις ἀνάγκην. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἐπειδὴ τὴν διάνοιαν εἶδε τῶν πολλῶν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸν Μέττιον ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν βούλεται. [2] οὐκ ἔχων δ' ὁ Μέττιος ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας τε καὶ καταμαρτυροῦντας τὴν Ἀλβανῶν βουλὴν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ὑποθέσθαι ποιεῖν δι' ἀπορρήτων, ὅτε ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἡξίου τε τοὺς Ἀλβανούς, οἷς ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπεχείρει, βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ μῆτε τὴν πατρίδα κατασκαπτομένην περιορᾶν μῆτε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίαις συναρπαζομένους. ταραχῆς δὲ γινομένης κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τινων φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ὠρμηκότες οἱ περιστεφανωκότες τὸν ὄχλον ἀρθέντος σημείου τινὸς ἀνέσχον τὰ ξίφη. [3] περιφόβων δὲ γενομένων ἀπάντων ἀναστὰς πάλιν ὁ Τύλλος εἶπεν· οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν νεωτερίζειν οὐδ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἄνδρες Ἀλβανοί. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἂν παρακινεῖν τι τολμήσητε, πάντες [p. 336] ἀπολεισθε ὑπὸ τούτων· δεῖξας τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ ξίφη. δέχεσθε οὖν τὰ διδόμενα καὶ γίνεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦδε Ῥωμαῖοι. δεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη θάτερον ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἢ Ῥώμην κατοικεῖν ἢ μηδεμίαν ἑτέραν γῆν ἔχειν πατρίδα. [4] οἴχεται γὰρ ἔωθεν ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' ἑμοῦ Μάρκος Ὁράτιος ἀναιρήσων τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας εἰς Ῥώμην μετάξων. ταῦτα οὖν εἰδότες ὅσον οὐπω γενησόμενα παύσασθε θανατῶντες καὶ ποιεῖτε τὰ κελεύόμενα. Μέττιον δὲ Φουφρέτιον ἀφανῶς τε ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ὀκνήσαντα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς ταραχώδεις καὶ στασιαστὰς καλεῖν τιμωρήσομαι τῆς κακῆς καὶ δολίου ψυχῆς ἀξίως. [5] ταῦτα λέξαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐρεθιζόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας μέρος ἔπηξεν, οἷα δὴ κρατούμενον ἀνάγκῃ ἀφύκτω, τὸν δὲ Φουφρέτιον ἀγανακτοῦντα ἔτι καὶ κεκραγότα μόνον τὰς τε συνθήκας ἀνακαλοῦμενον, ἃς αὐτὸς ἐξηλέγχθη παρασπονδῶν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν κακοῖς τοῦ θράσους ὑφιέμενον οἱ ῥαβδοῦχοι κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Τύλλου συλλαβόντες καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περικαταρρήξαντες ἔξαινον τὸ σῶμα μάστιγι πάνυ πολλᾷς. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης ἄλις εἶχε τῆς τιμωρίας, προσελάσαντες δύο συνωρίδας τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ προσήρτων τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτοῦ, τῇ δ' ἑτέρα τοὺς πόδας ῥυτῆρσι κατεχομένους μακροῖς· ἐλαυνόντων δὲ τῶν ἡνιόχων τὰς συνωρίδας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ξαινόμενός τε περὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνθελκόμενος [p. 337] ὑφ' ἑκατέρας ἐπὶ τάναντία ὁ δειλαιοὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ διασπᾶται χρόνῳ. [7] Μέττιος μὲν δὴ Φουφρέτιος οὕτως οἰκτρᾶς καὶ ἀσχήμονος τελευτῆς ἔτυχε, τοῖς δ' ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ συνειδόσι τὴν προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ δικαστήρια ὁ βασιλεὺς καθίσας τοὺς ἁλόντας ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν τῶν λειποτακτῶν τε καὶ προδοτῶν νόμον ἀπέκτεινεν.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, Μάρκος Ὁράτιος ὁ προαπεσταλμένος μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τὴν καθαιρεσιν τῆς Ἄλβας ταχέως διανύσας τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν πύλας τε ἀκλείστους καὶ τεῖχος ἀφύλακτον εὐπετῶς γίνεται τῆς πόλεως κύριος. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ τεπραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἅπαντα ἐδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ [2] το ψήφισμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς διεξῆλθεν. ἀντιβολούντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρόνον εἰς πρεσβείαν αἵτουμένων οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ

τὰ τεῖχη καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατασκευάσμα ἰδιωτικὸν ἢ δημόσιον ἦν κατέσκαπτε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους μετὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος παρέπεμπεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄγοντάς τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν χρήματα καὶ φέροντας· [3] οὕς ὁ Τύλλος ἀφικόμενος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου ταῖς Ῥωμαίων φυλαῖς καὶ φράτραις ἐπιδιεῖλεν οἰκῆσεις τε συγκατεσκεύασεν ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ προηροῦντο τῆς πόλεως τόποις καὶ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς τὴν ἄρκοῦσαν τοῖς θητεύουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεμέριζε ταῖς τε ἄλλαις [p. 338] [4] φιλανθρωπιαῖς ἀνελάμβανε τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν πόλις, ἣν ἔκτισεν Ἀσκάνιος ὁ ἐξ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου καὶ Κρεοῦσης τῆς Πριάμου θυγατρὸς, ἔτη διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν πεντακόσια τριῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα δέοντα, ἐν οἷς πολλὴν ἔσχεν ἐπίδοσιν εἰς εὐανδρίαν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ τὰς τριάκοντα Λατίνων ἀποικίσασα πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡγήσαμένη τοῦ ἔθνους, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀποικίσεως καθαιρεθεῖσα ἔρημος εἰς τόδε χρόνου διαμένει. [5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Τύλλος τὸν ἐπὶ τὸντα χειμῶνα διαλιπὼν ἔαρος ἀρχομένου στρατὸν ἐπὶ Φιδιθναίους πάλιν ἐξάγει. τοῖς δὲ Φιδιθναίοις κοινῇ μὲν οὐδ' ἦπισοῦν βοήθεια ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν συμμαχιδῶν ἀφίκετο πόλεων, μισθοφόροι δὲ τινες ἐκ πολλῶν συνερρῆσαν τόπων, οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐθάρρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προελθεῖν· παραταξάμενοι δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποβαλόντες [6] κατεκλείσθησαν πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. ὥς δὲ περιχαρὰς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ περιταφρεύσας εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην κατέκλεισε τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπορίαν, ἡγαγκάσθησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο. γενόμενος δὲ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς πόλεως κύριος τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀποκτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἀπολύσας καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα καρποῦσθαι [p. 339] τὸν αὐτὸν ἑάσας τρόπον τὴν τε πολιτείαν, ἣν πρότερον εἶχον, ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην τὴν τροπαιοφόρον ἀπεδίδου τοῖς θεοῖς πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν δευτέρον ἐκείνον κατάγων θρίαμβον.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἕτερος ἀνέστη Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους, ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόφασις ἐγένετο τοιαύδε· ἱερὸν ἐστὶ κοινῇ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Λατίνων ἅγιον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ θεᾶς Φερωνείας ὀνομαζομένης, ἣν οἱ μεταφράζοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν οἱ μὲν Ἀνθοφόρον, οἱ δὲ Φιλοστέφανον, οἱ δὲ Φερσεφόρην καλοῦσιν· εἰς δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο συνήεσαν ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων κατὰ τὰς ἀποδεδειγμένας ἑορτὰς πολλοὶ μὲν εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόντες καὶ θυσίας τῇ θεῷ, πολλοὶ δὲ χρηματιούμενοι διὰ τὴν πανηγυριν ἔμποροι τε καὶ χειροτέχναι καὶ γεωργοί, ἀγοραὶ τε αὐτόθι λαμπρόταται τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τόποις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγομένων ἐγίνοντο. [2] εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὴν πανηγυριν ἐλθόντας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀφανεῖς Σαβῖνοι τινες ἄνδρες συναρπάσαντες ἔδησαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλοντο, πρεσβείας τε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης οὐδὲν ἐβούλοντο τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν συλληφθέντων κατεῖχον ἐγκαλοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Σαβίνων φυγάδας ὑπεδέχοντο κατασκευάσαντες ἄστυλον ἱερὸν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν [p. 340] [3] τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ δεδηλωταὶ μοι. ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς πόλεμον

καταστάντες ἐξήρσαν εἰς ὕπαιθρον ἀμφοτέροι δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς, γίνεται τε αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγών· διέμενον γὰρ ἀγχωμάλως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ διελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμφιλόγον καταλιπόντες τὸ νίκημα. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις μαθόντες ἀμφοτέροι τῶν τε ἀπολωλότων καὶ τῶν τραυματιῶν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκέτι πείραν ἐβούλοντο ἐτέρου λαβεῖν ἀγῶνος, ἀλλ' ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς χάρακας ἀπήρσαν· ^[4] καὶ διαλιπόντες τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον πάλιν ἐξήρσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους μείζονας παρασκευασάμενοι δυνάμεις, γίνεται τε αὐτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡρητὸν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγών, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων συνέβη πεσεῖν· ἰσορρόπου δὲ κἀκείνης τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διαμενούσης ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ὁ Τύλλος εὗξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐὰν νικήσῃ τῇ τῶθ' ἡμέρᾳ Σαβίνους, Κρόνου τε καὶ Ῥέας καταστήσεσθαι δημοτελεῖς ἑορτάς, ἃς ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὅταν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ γῆς συγκομίσωσι καρπούς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Σαλίων καλουμένων διπλασιάσειν ἀριθμόν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ πατέρων εὐγενῶν ἐνοπλίους ὀρχήσεις κινούμενοι πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις καὶ ὕμνους τινὰς ᾄδοντες πατρίους, ὡς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ ^[5] δεδήλωκα λόγῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην θάρσος ^[p. 341] τι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ὥσπερ ἀκμηῆτες εἰς κάμνοντας ὡσάμενοι διασπῶσι τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν ἤδη καὶ ἀναγκάζουσι τοὺς πρωτοστάτας ἄρξαι φυγῆς, ἀκολουθήσαντές τε αὐτοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ περὶ τὰς τάφρους πολλῷ πλείονας καταβαλόντες, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀπετράποντο, ἀλλὰ παραμεινάντες τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος μαχομένους ἀνείρξαντες ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρεμβολῆς. ^[6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅσῃν ἐβούλοντο τῆς τῶν Σαβίνων λεηλατήσαντες, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξῆι μαχησόμενος, ἀπήρσαν ἐπ' οἶκου. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μάχης τὸν τρίτον κατήγαγε θρίαμβον ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πρεσβευσαμένοις τοῖς Σαβίνοις καταλύεται τὸν πόλεμον αἰχμαλώτους τε παρ' αὐτῶν κομισάμενος, οὓς ἐτύγχανον εἰληφότες ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, καὶ αὐτομόλους βοσκημάτων τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ὅσα τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀφείλοντο, ἦν ἔταξεν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ζημίαν τιμησαμένη τὰς βλάβας πρὸς ἀργύριον, ἀναπράξας.

ἐπὶ τούτοις καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν στήλας ἀντιγράφους θέντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐπειδὴ συνέστη Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις κοινῇ συνηραγμένους πόλεμος οὐ ῥάδιος ἐν ὀλίγῳ καθαιρεθῆναι χρόνῳ· ^[7] οἱ δὲ αἰτίας ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐρῶ, δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀγαπητῶς ὄρκων μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ συνηκῶν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γεγεννημένων ἐπελάθοντο, καιρὸν δὲ νομίσαντες ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν ὧν ἐξέτισαν Ῥωμαίοις χρημάτων πολλαπλάσια παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὀλίγοι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐξιόντες ἐληίζοντο τὴν ὁμορον· ^[2] ἔπειτα δὲ πολλοὶ συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφικομένης βοθηθείας, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὴν διενοοῦντο τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν καὶ συνῆγον ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως στρατόν, διελέγοντο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσι περὶ ^[3] συμμαχίας. οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετο γε αὐτοῖς φιλίαν τε καὶ

ὁμαιχμίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος· μαθὼν γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἀνοχᾶς πρὸς Λατίνους ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τούτους ἔγνω στρατὸν ἐξάγειν τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαν δύναμιν καθοπλίσας διπλασίαν οὔσαν ἤδη τῆς πρότερον, ἐξ οὗ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν πόλιν προσέλαβε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπικουρικὸν ὅσον πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο μεταπεμφάμενος. [4] συνῆκτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἤδη τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ὑλην κακοῦργον ὀλίγον τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον ἀφέντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἦσαν ἰσόρροποι μέχρι πολλοῦ· ἤδη δὲ περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιν ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ Σαβῖνοι [p. 343] βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἱππικοῦ καὶ πολὺς αὐτῶν γίνεται φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νεκροὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσαντες καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῷ χάρακι διαρπάσαντες τῆς τε χώρας τὴν κρατίστην λεηλατήσαντες ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔλαβεν ὁ συμβὰς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῆς Τύλλου ἀρχῆς.

αἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο διάφοροι τότε πρῶτον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦσαι κατεσκαμμένης τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως τοῖς ἀνηρηκόσιν αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόναι. ἐτῶν γὰρ διαγενομένων πεντεκαίδεκα μετὰ τὸν ἀφανισμόν τῆς Ἄλβας πρεσβείας ἀποστείλας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποίκους τε καὶ ὑπηκόους αὐτῆς τριάκοντα πόλεις ἤξιον πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιταττομένοις, ὡς παρειληφόντων αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ εἶχον Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους, δύο μὲν ἀποφαίνων τρόπους κτήσεων, καθ' οὓς ἄνθρωποι γίνονται τῶν ἄλλοτριων κύριοι, τὸν τε ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἐκούσιον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ λέγων καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸν τρόπον παρειληφέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὧν εἶχον Ἀλβανοὶ πόλεων. [2] πολεμίων τε γὰρ αὐτῶν σφισι γενομένων τοῖς ὅπλοις κεκρατηκέναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολωλεκόσι τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῖς μεταδεδωκέναι· ὥστε καὶ ἄκουσιν Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ ἐκούσι προσήκειν ἐξεστάναι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀρχῆς. [3] αἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις ἰδίᾳ μὲν [p. 344] οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, κοινῇ δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀγορὰν ἐν Φερεντίνῳ ποιησάμενοι ψηφίζονται μὴ παραχωρεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτίκα αἰρουῦνται δύο στρατηγούς αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης τε καὶ πολέμου, Ἄγκον Πουπλίκιον ἐκ πόλεως Κόρας καὶ Σπούσιον Οὐεκίλιον ἐκ Λαουνίνιου. [4] διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας συνέστη Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πόλεμος, προὔβη δὲ ἄχρι πενταετοῦς χρόνου πολιτικός τις γενόμενος καὶ ἀρχαϊκός. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως ὅλοις τοῖς στρατεύμασι πρὸς ὅλα συμβάλλουσι μεγάλη συμφορὰ καὶ φθόρος ὀλοσχερῆς συνέβη οὔτε πόλις αὐτῶν οὐδεμία πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα κατασκαφῆς ἢ ἀνδραποδισμού ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς ἐπειράθη· ἀλλ' ἐμβalόντες εἰς τὴν ἀλλήλων γῆν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ σίτου καὶ προνομεύσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις διαμειβόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. [5] μίαν δὲ πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους Μεδυλλίαν παλαιότερον ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δεδηλωκα λόγῳ, μεταθεμένην αὖθις ὡς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πολιορκίᾳ παραστησάμενος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔπεισε μὴθὲν ἔτι

νεωτερίζειν: ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι φέρουσι δεινῶν οὐδετέροις ἐν τῷ
τότε συνέβη χρόνῳ. τοιγάρτοι ῥάδιαι τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔγκοτον ἔχουσαι
προθυμηθέντων Ῥωμαίων αἱ διαλύσεις ἐπετελέσθησαν. [p. 345]

ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς βασιλεὺς Τύλλος Ὀστιλιος, ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄξιος εὐλογεῖσθαι τῆς τε εὐτολμίας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὰ πολέμια καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως τῆς περὶ τὰ δεινὰ, ὑπὲρ ἅμφω δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐ ταχὺς ὦν εἰς πόλεμον ἵεναι βέβαιος ἦν καταστὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν ἅπασι τῶν ἀντιπάλων προέχειν, ἔτη δὲ κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἐμπρησθείσης τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γυνή τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τέκνα καὶ ὁ ἄλλος οἰκετικὸς ἅπας ὄχλος καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. [2] καταπρησθῆναι δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ λέγουσι μηνίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν ἱερῶν τινων ἔκλιπτεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου πατρίους τινὰς θυσίας, ἑτέρας δ' οὐχ ὑπαρχούσας ἐπιχωρίους Ῥωμαίοις παραγαγεῖν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης φασὶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πάθος γενέσθαι ἀναπιθέντες τὸ ἔργον Μαρκίῳ τῷ μετ' ἐκείνον ἄρξαντι τῆς πόλεως. [3] τοῦτον γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Νόμα Πομπιλίου θυγατρὸς γενόμενον ἄχθεσθαι τε, ὅτι ἐκ βασιλείου γένους πεφυκὼς αὐτὸς ἰδιώτης ἦν, καὶ γένος ἐπιτρεφόμενον ὀρώντα τῷ Τύλλῳ παντὸς μάλιστα ὑποπτεῦειν, εἴ τι πάθοι Τύλλος εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνου παῖδας ἤξειν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτα δὴ διανοοῦμενον ἐκ πολλοῦ στησασθαι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιβουλὴν πολλοὺς ἔχοντα Ῥωμαίων τοὺς συγκατασκευάζοντας αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν, φίλον [p. 346] δὲ ὄντα τοῦ Τύλλου καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευόμενον φυλάττειν ὅτε καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος φανείη τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. [4] μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου θυσίαν τινὰ κατ' οἶκον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἦν αὐτοὺς μόνον ἐβούλετο τοὺς ἀναγκαίους εἰδέναι, καὶ κατὰ δαίμονα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης χειμερίου σφόδρα γενομένης κατὰ τε ὄμβρον καὶ ζάλην καὶ σκότος, ὥστ' ἔρημον ἀπολειφθῆναι τὸν πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας τόπον τῶν φυλαττόντων, ἐπιτήδειον ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὸν καιρὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς τὰ ξίφη παρελθεῖν εἰσὼ τῶν θυρῶν, ἀποκτείναντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἐνέτυχεν ἐνεῖναι πῦρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεραυνώσεως διασπεῖραι λόγον. [5] ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν οὐ δέχομαι τὸν λόγον οὗτ' ἀληθῆ νομίζων οὔτε πιθανόν, τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ μᾶλλον προστιθέμενος κατὰ δαίμονα νομίζω τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπόρητον φυλαχθῆναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν συσκευαζομένην. εἰκὸς ἦν, οὔτε τῷ συστήσαντι αὐτὴν βέβαιον ἦν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ὀστιλίου τελευτὴν ἐκείνον ἀποδείξουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως, οὗτ' εἰ τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ πιστὰ καὶ βέβαια ἦν, τὰ γέ τοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅμοια ἔμελλε ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἀγνοίαις ἔσεσθαι. [6] μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν γενησομένην [p. 347] ψηφηφορίαν τοὺς θεοὺς ἔδει τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ δι' οἰωνῶν αἰσιῶν ἐπιθεσπίσαι: ἄνδρα δὲ μιαρὸν καὶ τοσοῦτοις ἡμαγμένον φόνοις ἀδίκους τίς ἔμελλε θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων παρήσειν βωμοῖς τε προσιόντα καὶ θυμάτων καταρχόμενον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτελοῦντα θεραπείας; ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιβουλὴν ἀλλ' εἰς θεοῦ βούλησιν τὸ ἔργον ἀναφέρω, κρινέτω δ' ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀστιλίου Τύλλου τελευτὴν ἡ μεσοβασιλείος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἀρχὴ κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς αἰρεῖται βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως Μάρκιον ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἄγκον: ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα

τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶν γενομένων συντελέσας τὰ κατὰ νόμον ἅπαντα παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς τριακοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Σφαῖρος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν εἶχε Δαμασίας. [2] οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλὰς τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἀμελουμένας καταμαθὼν, ἃς ὁ μητροπάτωρ αὐτοῦ Πομπήλιος Νόμας κατεστήσατο, πολεμιστὰς τε καὶ πλεονέκτας τοὺς πλείστους Ῥωμαίων γεγονότας ὁρῶν καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν γῆν ὡς πρότερον ἐργαζομένους, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τὰ τε θεῖα σέβειν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Νόμα διετέλουν σέβοντες, διεξιὼν ὅτι παρὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὀλιγωρίαν νόσοι τε λοιμικαὶ πολλαὶ κατέσκηψαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὅφ' ὧν ἐφθάρη μοῖρα τοῦ [p. 348] πλήθους οὐκ ὀλίγη, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ὅστιλιος ὁ μὴ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν ἦν ἔδει φυλακὴν κάμνων ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους τὸ σῶμα πάθεσι παντοδαποῖς καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς γνώμης ἔτι τῆς αὐτοῦ καρτερὸς διαμένων, ἀλλὰ συνδιαφθαρεὶς τῷ σώματι τὰς φρένας, οἰκτρᾷ καταστροφῇς ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς τε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ: [3] πολιτείας τε ἀγωγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Νόμα κατασταθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαινῶν ὡς καλὴν καὶ σώφρονα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δικαιοτάτων ἔργων τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστω παρέχουσαν εὐπορίας, ἀνανεώσασθαι πάλιν αὐτὴν παρεκάλει γεωργίαις τε καὶ κτηνοτροφίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐργασίαις, ὅσαις μὴθὲν ἀδίκημα προσῆν, ἀρπαγῆς δὲ καὶ βίας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γινομένων ὠφελειῶν ὑπεριδεῖν. [4] ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια διαλεγόμενος καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστὰς ἅπαντας ἡσυχίας ἀπολέμου καὶ φιλεργίας σώφρονος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἱεροφάντας καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συγγραφάς, ἃς Πομπήλιος συνεστήσατο, παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἀνέγραψεν εἰς δέλτους καὶ προὔθηκεν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις σκοπεῖν, ἃς ἀφανισθῆναι συνέβη τῷ χρόνῳ: χαλκαῖ γὰρ οὐπω στήλαι τότε ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν δρυίναις ἐχαράττοντο σανίσιν οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ αἱ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν διαγραφαί: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων εἰς ἀναγραφὴν δημοσίαν αὐθις ἤχθησαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἱεροφάντου Γαίου Παπυρίου, τὴν ἁπάντων [p. 349] τῶν ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος. ἀνακτησάμενος δὲ τὰ κατερραθυμημένα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸν ἀργὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐργασίας ἀποστείλας ἐπῆγει μὲν τοὺς ἐπιμελεῖς γεωργοὺς, ἐμέμφετο δὲ τοὺς κακῶς προισταμένους τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, ὡς οὐ βεβαίους πολίτας. [5]

ταῦτα καθιστάμενος τὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ διὰ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐλπίσας ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον διατελέσειν, ὥσπερ ὁ μητροπάτωρ, οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁμοίαν τῇ προαιρέσει τὴν τύχην, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην πολεμιστῆς ἠναγκάσθη γενέσθαι καὶ μηδένα χρόνον ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ ταραχῆς βιώσαι. [2] εὐθὺς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπράγμονα καθίστασθαι πολιτείαν καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ Λατῖνοι καὶ νομίσαντες δι' ἀνανδρίαν οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἶναι πολέμους στρατηγεῖν, ληστήρια διέπεμπον εἰς τὴν ὁμοροῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι χώραν, ὅφ' ὧν πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλάπτοντο. [3] ἀφικομένων δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τὰ δίκαια Ῥωμαίοις ἀξιούντων ὑπέχειν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, οὔτε γινώσκειν ἐσκήπτοντο τῶν περὶ τὰ ληστήρια κατηγορουμένων οὐδὲν

ὥς οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης γεγονότων οὔτε ὑπόδιοι γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις περὶ οὐθενὸς πράγματος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς ἐκείνους ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τύλλον, τελευτήσαντος [p. 350] δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου λελύσθαι σφίσι τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας. ^[4] ἀναγκασθεὶς δὴ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἀποκρίσεις τῶν Λατίνων ὁ Μάρκιος ἐξάγει στρατιὰν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενος τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν Πολιτωρίῳ, πρὶν ἐπικουρίαν τινὰ τοῖς πολιορκούμενοις ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικέσθαι Λατίνων, παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν καθ’ ὁμολογίας· οὐ μέντοι διέθηκε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δεινὸν οὐθέν, ἀλλ’ ἔχοντας τὰ σφέτερα πανδημεὶ μετήγαγεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ κατένειμεν εἰς φυλάς.

τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Λατίνων εἰς ἔρημον τὸ Πολιτώριον ἐποίκουσ ἀποστειλάντων καὶ τὴν τῶν Πολιτωρίνων χώραν ἐπεργαζομένων ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάρκιος ἦγεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς. προσελθόντων δὲ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Λατίνων καὶ παραταξαμένων νικήσας αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν τὸ δεύτερον. ἐμπρήσας δὲ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος κατασκάψας, ἵνα μὴθὲν αὐθις ὀρμητήριον ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι μὴδ’ ἐργάζοντο τὴν γῆν, ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. ^[2] τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς ἔτει Λατῖνοι μὲν ἐπὶ Μεδυλλίαν πόλιν στρατεύσαντες, ἐν ἣ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἄποικοι, προσκαθεζόμενοι τῷ τείχει καὶ πανταχόθεν ποιησάμενοι τὰς προσβολὰς αἰροῦσιν αὐτὴν κατὰ κράτος. Μάρκιος δὲ Τελλήνας πόλιν τῶν Λατίνων ἐπιφανῆ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν [p. 351] αἰρεῖ χρόνον ἐκ παρατάξεως τε νικήσας καὶ διὰ τειχομαχίας παραστησάμενος, τοὺς τε ἀλόντας οὐδὲν ὦν εἶχον ἀφελόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην μετήγαγε καὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰς κατασκευὴν οἰκιῶν τόπον ἀπεμέρισε· ^[3] Μεδυλλίαν τε τριετὴ χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῖς Λατίνοις γενομένην τῷ τετάρτῳ κομίζεται πάλιν ἐνιαυτῷ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας παραστησάμενος μάχαις. καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τὴν Φικαναίων αἰρεῖ πόλιν, ἣν τρίτῳ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ λαβὼν καθ’ ὁμολογίας καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅπαντας εἰς Ῥώμην μεταγαγὼν, ἄλλο δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν κακῶσας, ἐπεικέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερον ἔδοξε βουλεύεσθαι. ^[4] ἀποίκους γὰρ ἀποστειλαντες εἰς αὐτὴν οἱ Λατῖνοι καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διακατέχοντες αὐτοὶ τὴν τῶν Φικαναίων ἐκαρποῦντο, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη πάλιν ὁ Μάρκιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατεῦσαι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πραγματείας κύριος αὐτῆς καταστὰς ἐμπρῆσαι τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατασκάψαι.

μετὰ τοῦτο γίνονται Λατίνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι παραταξαμένων μάχαι διτταί. τῇ μὲν οὖν προτέρᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαγωνισάμενοι καὶ δόξαντες ἰσόρροποι γεγονέναι διεκριθήσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκάτεροι χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν, τῇ δ’ ὑστέρα Ῥωμαῖοι νικῶσι τοὺς Λατίνους καὶ μέχρι [p. 352] ^[2] στρατοπέδου διώκουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας ταύτας ἀγὼν μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέστη, καταδρομαὶ δὲ τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς καὶ συμπλοκαὶ τῶν περιπόλων τῆς γῆς ἱππέων τε καὶ φιλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐπεκράτουν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δύναμιν ὑπαιθρον ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις φρουρίοις ὑποκαθημένην, ^[3] ἣς ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ταρκύνιος ἡγεῖτο. ἀπέστησαν δὲ καὶ Φιδιναῖοι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ

τὸν πόλεμον ἀναδείξαντες, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγους καὶ κρύφα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καταδρομαῖς κακουργοῦντες: ἐφ' οὗς ὁ Μάρκιος εὐζῶνῳ στρατιᾷ ἐλάσας, πρὶν ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι τοὺς Φιδηναίους τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως τίθεται τὸν χάρακα. ^[4] οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐσκήπτοντο ἀντὶ ποίων ἀδικημάτων στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀφίκται, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως εἰπόντος ὅτι δίκας παρ' αὐτῶν ἦκει ληψόμενος ὦν διήρπασάν τε καὶ κατέβλαψαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν, ἀπελογοῦντο πρὸς ταῦτα ὡς οὐ τὸ κοινὸν αἴτιον εἶη τῶν ἀδικημάτων, καὶ χρόνον ἡτοῦντο εἰς διάγνωσιν τε καὶ ζητήσιν τῶν ἐνόχων ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ πολλὰς κατέτριψαν ἡμέρας πράττοντες μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων, ἐπικαλοῦμενοι δὲ κρύφα τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ περὶ κατασκευὴν ὅπλων γινόμενοι.

μαθὼν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπονόμους ὤρυττεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας παρεμβολῆς ἀρξάμενος ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τέλος εἶχεν ἤδη τὸ ἔργον, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεν ἐπὶ [p. 353] τὴν πόλιν, μηχανὰς τε πολλὰς καὶ κλίμακας καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς τειχομαχίαν κατεσκευασμένα ἐπαγόμενος, οὐ καθ' ὃν αἱ διώρυγες ἐγίνοντο τοῦ τείχους τόπον, ἀλλὰ ^[2] καθ' ἕτερον. τῶν δὲ Φιδηναίων ἐπὶ τὰ πολιορκούμενα μέρη τῆς πόλεως συνδραμόντων ἀθρόων καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς γενναίως ἀποτριβομένων ἀναστομώσαντες τὰ πέρατα τῶν ὑπονόμων οἱ ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐντὸς ἐγεγόνεσαν τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας διαφθείραντες ἀνοίγουσι τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὰς πύλας. ^[3] πολλῶν δ' ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπολλυμένων τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν Φιδηναίων ὅπλα τε παραδοῦναι κελεύσας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ εἰς ἓνα τόπον τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντας προκηρύξας συνελθεῖν, ὀλίγους ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν, οἰκίας δ' ἀπάντων διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέψας καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν ἀξιόχρεων ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους. ^[4] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διέμειναν ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις, αἷς ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς βασιλέα Τύλλον, ἀλλ' ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐδήρουν αὐθις τὴν ὁμορον, μαθὼν τε ὁ Μάρκιος παρὰ τε κατασκόπων καὶ αὐτομόλων τον καιρὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐσκεδασμένων τῶν Σαβίνων καὶ λεηλατούντων τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἅμα τοῖς πεζοῖς [p. 354] ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἀφικόμενος ὀλίγην ἔχοντα φυλακὴν καταλαμβάνει τὸ ἔρυμα ἐξ ἐφόδου, Ταρκύνιον δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἄγοντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπείγεσθαι ἐκέλευε. ^[5] μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὴν ἵππον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνουσιν ἀφέντες τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὠφελείας, ὅσας ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: ὡς δὲ κάκεινον ἔγνωσαν κατεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, ἀποροῦντες ὅποι τράπτοιτο συνέτειναν εἰς ὕλας τε καὶ ὄρη. διωκόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους διεφθάρησαν. καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην πρεσβευσάμενοι πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην εἰρήνης τυγχάνουσιν οἷας ἐβούλοντο. ἔτι γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις συνεστηκὼς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος ἀναγκαίως ἐποιοεῖ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ἀνοχὰς τε καὶ διαλύσεις.

τετάρτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐνιαυτῷ Μάρκιος ὁ τῶν

Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὴν τε πολιτικὴν δύναμιν ἄγων καὶ τὴν συμμαχικὴν μεταπεμφάμενος ὅσῃν ἐδύνατο πλείστην ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσεν. ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἥρξαντο ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐμβαλόντες καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἀρπαγὰς χρημάτων, πολὺν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὄλεθρον ποιήσαντες: [p. 355] [2] στρατιᾶς δὲ πολλῆς παρὰ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐξελθούσης καὶ πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ πρὸς τῇ Φιδιθναίων πόλει χάρακα θεμένης ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦγεν ὡς εἶχε τάχους καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδων αὐτοὺς ἀπέκλεισεν ἱπποκρατῶν, ἔπειτ' εἰς παράταξιν προελθεῖν ἀναγκάσας ἐνίκησε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἐκράτησε. χωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπινίκιον πομπὴν καὶ τὸν εἰωθότα θρίαμβον τοῖς θεοῖς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικόμενος. [3] δευτέρῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει πάλιν τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν λυσάντων ἃς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλας ἀξιούντων ἀπολαβεῖν, ὧν ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου βασιλέως καθ' ὁμολογίας ἀπέστησαν, ἑτέραν τίθεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχην περὶ ταῖς ἀλαῖς μείζονα τῆς προτέρας, ἣν εὐπετῶς ἐνίκησε, [4] καὶ τὰς ἄλας ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεῖχεν ἀναμφιλόγως. τὰ δὲ ἀριστεῖα καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἔλαβε τῆς μάχης ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμὼν Ταρκύνιος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Μάρκιος ἄνδρα πάντων κράτιστον ἡγησάμενος τὰ τε ἄλλα σεμνύνων διετέλει καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν πατρικίων τε καὶ βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν κατέγραψεν. [5] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἔθνος τῷ Μαρκίῳ πόλεμος λησθηρίων κάκεῖθεν ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγρούς: καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλῃ χειρὶ πολλὴν περιεβάλετο λείαν πόλει τε αὐτῶν Οὐελίτραις προσκαθεζόμενος [p. 356] ἀπετάφρευε καὶ περιεχαράκου καὶ τειχομαχίαν συνίστατο τῆς ὑπαίθρου κρατῶν. ἐξελθόντων δὲ σὺν ἱκετηρίαις τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τὰς τε βλάβας διαλύσειν ὑποσχομένων, ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς δικαιώσῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐπὶ δίκην παρέξῃν ὁμολογούντων, ἀνοχὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιησάμενος καὶ τὰ δίκαια παρ' ἐκόντων λαβὼν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν συντίθεται.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους αὐθις ἕτεροὶ τινες τῆς Ῥωμαίων οὕπω πεπειραμένοι δυνάμεως, πόλιν οἰκοῦντες εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, ἐγκαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔχοντες, φθονεῖν δὲ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ἀναγκαζόμενοι μείζουσιν ἢ κατὰ λόγον γινομέναις, ἄνθρωποι δεινοὶ τὰ πολέμια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ λησθηρίων καὶ καταδρομῆς ἀγρῶν ὀλίγοι συνελθόντες ἥρξαντο, ἔπειτα δελαζόμενοι ταῖς ὠφελείαις φανεράν ποιοῦνται στρατεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου πολλὴν λεηλατοῦντες ἐκάκωσαν ἰσχυρῶς. [2] οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό γε αὐτοῖς οὔτε τὰς ὠφελείας ἀπᾶγειν οὔτ' αὐτοῖς ἄθώοις ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκβοηθήσας κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς καὶ πλησίον τῆς ἐκείνων παρεμβολῆς θέμενος τὸν χάρακα προελθεῖν [3] αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν εἰς μάχην. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν μέγας ἀγὼν καὶ πολλοὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔπεσον, ἐκράτησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὸ ἔμπειρόν τε καὶ φιλόπονόν, ὧν [p. 357] ἐθάδες ἦσαν ἐκ πλείστου, καὶ περιεγένοντο παρὰ πολὺ τῶν Σαβίνων τοῖς τε φεύγουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα σποράσι καὶ ἀσυντάκτοις ἐκποδὸς ἐπόμενοι πολὺν ἐποιοῦν φόνον. [4] κρατήσαντες δὲ καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσης καὶ τοὺς

αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς ἔλαβον οἱ Σαβῖνοι κατὰ τὰς προνομάς, ἀπολαβόντες ἀπῆεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. αἱ μὲν δὴ πολεμικαὶ πράξεις τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλέως αἱ μνήμης καὶ λόγου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τυγχάνουσαι τοιαῖδε τινὲς λέγονται γενέσθαι: πολιτικά δὲ ἅς ἔρχομαι λέξων.

πρῶτον μὲν τῇ πόλει μοῖραν οὐ μικρὰν προσέθηκεν τειχίσας τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀουεντῖνον: ἔστι δὲ λόφος ὕψηλός ἐπεικῶς ὀκτωκαίδεκά που σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ὃς τότε μὲν ὕλης παντοδαπῆς μεστός ἦν, πλειστής δὲ καὶ καλλίστης δάφνης, ἐφ' ἧς Λαυρήτον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται τόπος τις ἐπ' αὐτοῦ: νῦν δὲ οἰκιῶν ἐστὶ πλήρης ἅπας, ἔνθα σὺν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἵδρυται, εἴργεται δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρου τῶν συμπεριεχομένων τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόφων τοῦ καλουμένου Παλλαντίου, περὶ ὃν ἡ πρώτη κατασκευασθεῖσα πόλις ἰδρύθη, βαθεῖα καὶ στενῇ φάραγγι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐχώσθη πᾶς ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν λόφων αὐλῶν. [2] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόφον ἐπιτείχισμα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ὀρῶν ἐσόμενον, εἰ [p. 358] τις αὐτῇ ἐπιοῖ στρατὸς τεῖχει καὶ τάφρῳ περιέλαβε καὶ τοὺς μεταχθέντας ἐκ Τελλήνης τε καὶ Πολιτωρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσων ἐκράτησεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ καθίδρυσεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ βασιλέως παραδίδοται καλὸν ἅμα καὶ πραγματικόν, ἐξ οὗ μείζονά τε συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἑτέρας προσθέσει πόλεως καὶ πολλῇ χειρὶ πολεμίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἦττον εὐληπτον:

ἕτερον δὲ τι τοῦ προειρημένου πολιτεύματος κρεῖττον, ὃ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἅπασιν εὐδαιμονεστέραν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπῆρεν ἄψασθαι γενναιοτέρων. τοῦ γὰρ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ καταβαίνοντος μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν, παρ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ῥέοντος, ἐμβάλλοντος δ' εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς ἀλιμένους καὶ προσεχεῖς, οὓς τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν ποιεῖ πέλαγος, μικρὰ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου τὴν Ῥώμην ὠφελοῦντος διὰ τὸ μὴθὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς ἔχειν φρούριον, ὃ τὰς εἰσκομιζόμενας διὰ θαλάττης καὶ καταγομένας ἄνωθεν ἀγοράς ὑποδέχεται τε καὶ ἀμειψεται τοῖς ἐμπορευομένοις, ἱκανοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἄχρι μὲν τῶν πηγῶν ποταμηγοῖς σκάφεσιν εὐμεγέθεσιν ἀναπλεῖσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ θαλαττίαις ὀλκάσι μεγάλαις, ἐπίνειον ἔγνω κατασκευάζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς αὐτοῦ λιμένι χρυσάμενος αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [2] εὐρύνεται τε γὰρ ἐπιπολὺ τῇ θαλάττῃ συνάπτων καὶ κόλπους λαμβάνει [p. 359] μεγάλους, οἶους οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν θαλαττίων λιμένων: ὃ δὲ μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, οὐκ ἀποκλείεται τοῦ στόματος ὑπὸ τῆς θαλαττίας θινὸς ἐμφραττόμενος, ὃ πάσχουσι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν, οὐδ' εἰς ἔλη καὶ τέλματα πλανώμενος ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ προκαταναλίσκεται πρὶν ἢ τῇ θαλάττῃ συνάψαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον, ἀλλὰ ναυσιπέρατός ἐστιν αἰεὶ καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἐκδίδωσι τοῦ γνησίου στόματος ἀνακόπτων τὰς πελαγίους ῥαχίας τῆς θαλάττης, καίτοι πολὺς αὐτόθι γίνεται καὶ χαλεπὸς ὁ πνέων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἄνεμος. [3] αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπικώποι νῆες ὀπηλικάι ποτ' ἂν οὔσαι τύχωσι καὶ τῶν ὀλκάδων αἱ μέχρι τρισχιλιοφόρων εἰσάγουσι τε διὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ ῥύμασι παρελκόμεναι κομίζονται, αἱ δὲ μείζους πρὸ τοῦ στόματος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν σαλεύουσai ταῖς ποταμηγοῖς ἀπογεμίζονται τε καὶ

ἀντιφορτίζονται σκάφαις. [4] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγκῶνι πόλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντειχίσας, ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Ὡστίαν ὠνόμασεν, ὥς δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν θύραν, οὐ μόνον ἡπειρώτιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαλαττίαν παρεσκεύασε τὴν Ῥώμην γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν διαποντίων ἀγαθῶν ἔγευσεν.

ἐτείχισε δὲ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανικόλον ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ κείμενον καὶ φρουρὰν ἱκανὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κατέστησεν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῶν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλεόντων: [p. 360] ἐλήστευον γὰρ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἅπασαν κατέχοντες τὴν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν: [2] καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν, ἣν ἄνευ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου δεδέσθαι θέμις ὑπ' αὐτῶν διακρατουμένην τῶν ξυλίνων, ἐκεῖνος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ Τεβέρει λέγεται, ἣν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος διαφυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν εἶναι νομίζοντες. εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν αὐτῆς μέρος οἱ ἱεροφάνται θεραπεύουσι θυσίας τινὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κατασκευῇ [3] πατρίους. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἱστορίας ἄξια καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ὀλίγῳ κρείττονα παραδοὺς τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἥς αὐτὸς παρέλαβεν, ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχὼν ἀποθνήσκει δύο καταλιπὼν υἱούς, τὸν μὲν ἔτι παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἀρτίως γενειῶντα.

μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου θάνατον ἡ βουλὴ πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῇ τοῦ δήμου πολιτείαν ἣν ἐβούλετο καταστήσασθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔγνω καὶ ἀποδείκνυσι μεσοβασιλεῖς. οἱ δὲ συναγαγόντες εἰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τὸ πλῆθος αἰροῦνται βασιλέα Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον. βεβαιωσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημείων τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παραλαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνιαντῷ δευτέρῳ μάλιστα τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κλεώνδας Θηβαῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἦνιοχίδου. [2] γονέων δ' ὁποῖων τινῶν οὗτος ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἦν καὶ πατρίδος ἐξ ἥς ἔφυ καὶ δι' [p. 361] ἅςτινας αἰτίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο καὶ δι' οἷων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρῆλθεν, ὥς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις συγγραφαῖς εὖρον ἐρῶ. [3] Κορίνθιος τις ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Δημάρατος ἐκ τῆς Βακχιαδῶν συγγενείας ἐμπορεύεσθαι προελόμενος ἐπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀλκάδα τε οἰκίαν ἀνάγων καὶ φόρτον ἴδιον. ἐξεμπολήσας δὲ τὸν φόρτον ἐν ταῖς Τυρρηνῶν πόλεσιν εὐδαιμονούσας μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τότε καὶ μεγάλα κέρδη περιβαλόμενος ἐκεῖθεν οὐκέτι εἰς ἄλλους ἐβούλετο κατάγεσθαι λιμένας, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰργάζετο συνεχῶς θάλατταν Ἑλληνικὸν τε φόρτον εἰς Τυρρηνοὺς κομιζὼν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρων καὶ γίνεται πάνυ πολλῶν χρημάτων κύριος. [4] ἐπικαταλαβούσης δὲ στάσεως τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος ἐπανισταμένης τοῖς Βακχιάδαις οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι δοκῶν ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς οἰκίας ὑπάρχων, συνεσκευασμένος τὴν οὐσίαν ὅσῃν οἷός τ' [5] ἦν ὥχετο πλέων ἐκ τῆς Κόρινθου. ἔχων δὲ φίλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Τυρρηνῶν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπιμιξίας, μάλιστα δ' ἐν Ταρκυνίοις πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ τότε οὔσῃ, οἷκόν τε αὐτόθι κατασκευάζεται καὶ γυναικὰ ἐπιφανῆ κατὰ γένος ἄγεται. γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ δυεῖν παιδῶν Τυρρηνικὰ θέμενος [p. 362] αὐτοῖς

ὀνόματα, τῷ μὲν Ἄρροντα, τῷ δὲ Λοκόμωνα καὶ παιδεύσας ἀμφοτέρους Ἑλληνικὴν τε καὶ Τυρρηνικὴν παιδείαν, εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς γυναικάς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἴκων λαμβάνει.

καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν γένος οὐδὲν καταλιπὼν ἐμφανὲς ἀποθνήσκει. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας αὐτὸς ὁ Δημάρατος ὑπὸ λύπης τελευτᾷ κληρονόμον ἀπάσης τῆς οὐσίας τὸν περιλειπόμενον τῶν παιδῶν Λοκόμωνα καταλιπὼν: ὃς παραλαβὼν τὸν πατρικὸν πλοῦτον μέγαν ὄντα πολιτεύεσθαι τε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀστῶν εἶναι προήρητο. [2] ἀπελυνόμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀριθμούμενος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς μέσοις, ἀνιαρῶς ἔφερε τὴν ἀτιμίαν. ἀκούων δὲ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ὅτι πάντας ἀσμένως ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς ξένους ἀστοὺς ποιεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν ἔγνω τὰ τε χρήματα πάντα συσκευασάμενος καὶ τὴν γυναικὰ ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ οἰκείων τοὺς βουλομένους: ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ συναπαίρειν αὐτῷ προθυμηθέντες συχνοί. [3] ὥς δὲ κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανικόλον ἦσαν, ὅθεν ἡ Ῥώμη τοῖς ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας ἐρχομένοις πρῶτον ἀφορᾶται, καταπτὰς ἀετὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὸν πῖλον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κείμενον ἀρπάσας, ἀνέπτῃ πάλιν ἄνω κατὰ [p. 363] τὴν ἐγκύκλιον αἰώραν φερόμενος καὶ εἰς τὸ βάθος τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος ἀπέκρυσεν: ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτίθησι τῷ Λοκόμῳ τὸν πῖλον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀρμόσας ὥς πρότερον ἤρμοστο. [4] θαυμαστοῦ δὲ καὶ παραδόξου πᾶσι τοῦ σημείου φανέντος ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λοκόμῳ ὄνομα Τανακύλλα ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν ἐκ πατέρων ἔχουσα τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς οἰνοσκοπίας, λαβοῦσα μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν συνόντων ἡσπασατό τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐνέπλησεν ὥς ἐξ ἰδιωτικῆς τύχης εἰς ἐξουσίαν βασιλικὴν ἐλευσόμενον. σκοπεῖν μέντοι συνεβούλευεν ὅπως παρ' ἐκόντων λήψεται Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀξίον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἑαυτὸν παρασχών.

ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς τῷ σημείῳ γενόμενος ἐπειδὴ ταῖς πύλαις ἤδη συνηγγίζεν, εὐξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελῇ γενέσθαι τὰ μαντεύματα καὶ σὺν ἀγαθαῖς εἰσελθεῖν τύχαις παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συνελθὼν εἰς λόγους Μαρκίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐδήλωσεν ὅστις ἦν, ἔπειθ' ὅτι κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει βουλούμενος παρεῖη πᾶσαν τὴν πατρικὴν οὐσίαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἦν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἔφη τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τιθέναι μείζονα οὖσαν ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἄνδρα κεκτῆσθαι. [2] ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ὑποδεξαμένου καὶ καταχωρίσαντος ἅμα τοῖς συμπαροῦσιν αὐτῷ Τυρρηνῶν εἰς φυλὴν τε καὶ φρατρίαν, οἰκίαν τε κατασκευάζεται [p. 364] τόπον διαλαχὼν τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἀρκοῦντα καὶ γῆς λαμβάνει κλῆρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διωκῆσατο καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν εἰς ἐγεγόνει, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἐκάστῳ κοινόν τ' ὄνομα κεῖται καὶ μετὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἕτερον, ὃ δὴ συγγενικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ πατρωνυμικόν, ἐξομοιοῦσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς βουλούμενος Λεύκιον μὲν ἀντὶ Λοκόμῳ ἑαυτῷ τίθεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, Ταρκύνιον δὲ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾗ γενέσεώς τε καὶ τροφῆς ἔτυχε: [3] βασιλέως τε φίλος ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάντῳ χρόνῳ γίνεται δῶρα δίδους, ὧν

αὐτὸν ἐν χρεῖα μάλιστα γινόμενον ἠσθάνετο καὶ χρήματα παρέχων εἰς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρεῖας ὅσων ἐδεῖτο, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατείαις ἀπάντων κράτιστα πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἀγωνιζόμενος γνώμης τε ὅπου δεήσειεν ἀγαθῆς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ φρονίμοις τῶν συμβούλων ἀριθμοῦμενος. [4] γενόμενος δὲ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίμιος οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας διήμαρτεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πατρικίων πολλοὺς ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ὑπηγάγετο καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος οἰκείως ἔχειν ἑαυτῷ παρεσκεύασεν εὐπροσηγόροις τε ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ κεχαρισμέναις ὁμιλίαις καὶ χρημάτων μεταδόσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φιλοφροσύναις.

τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἦν καὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ζῶντός τε Μαρκίου πάντων ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ τελευτήσαντος [p. 365] ἐκείνου τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ πάντων ἄξιος ἐκρίθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπολέμησε τοῖς καλουμένοις Ἀπολιανοῖς πόλει τοῦ [2] Λατίνων ἔθνους οὐκ ἀφανεῖ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀπολιανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμπαντες Λατῖνοι μετὰ τὸν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου θάνατον λελεύσθαι τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας οἰόμενοι ληστειαῖς τε καὶ προνομαῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐπόρθουν· ἀνθ' ὧν τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐξεστράτευσε πολλῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν τὴν κρατίστην ἐδήλωσεν· [3] ἀφικομένης δ' ἐκ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Λατίνων ἐπικουρίας μεγάλῃς τοῖς Ἀπολιανοῖς διττὰς τίθεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχας, κρατήσας δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέραις περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐγίνετο καὶ προσῆγε τοῖς τείχεσι τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ διαδοχῆς· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὀλίγοι τε πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι καὶ κατ' οὐδένα καιρὸν ἀναπαύσεως τυγχάνοντες ἐξηρέθησαν σὺν χρόνῳ. ἀλούσης δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ἀπολιανῶν μαχόμενοι κατεσφάγησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τὰ ὄπλα παραδόντες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἐπράθησαν, παῖδες τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπῆχθησαν, καὶ ἡ πόλις διαρπασθεῖσα ἐνεπρήσθη. [4] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκάψας ἀπῆγε τὴν δυνάμιν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἐτέραν στρατιὰν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κρουστομερίνων πόλιν. αὕτη δὲ [p. 366] ἀποικία μὲν ἦν Λατίνων, προσεχώρησε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμύλου δυναστείας· Ταρκυνίου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος τὰ Λατίνων αὐθις ἠρξάτο φρονεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέξασέ γε καὶ ταύτην πολιορκίαν τε παραστήσασθαι [5] καὶ πόνῳ· μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Κρουστομερίνοι τὸ τε πλῆθος τῆς ἡκούσης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Λατίνων ἀφικομένης ἀνέωξαν τὰς πύλας καὶ προελθόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τιμιώτατοι παρέδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦντες ἐπεικῶς σφισι χρήσασθαι καὶ μετρίως. [6] τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα Κρουστομερίνων, ὀλίγους δὲ πάνυ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως φυγαῖς αἰδίοις ἐζημίωσε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τὰ σφέτερα συνεχώρησεν ἔχειν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας μετέχειν ὥς πρότερον, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι παρακινήσαι χάριν ἐποίκους αὐτοῖς κατέλιπε Ῥωμαίους.

τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Νωμεντανοῖς διανοηθεῖσι τῶν αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἐξεγένετο. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ληστήρια πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀγροὺς πολέμιοι

κατέστησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ταῖς Λατίνων πεποιθότες συμμαχίαις: στρατεύσαντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ταρκυνίου καὶ τῆς Λατίνων ἐπικουρίας ὑστεριζούσης οὐχ οἷοι τε ὄντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τοσαύτην δύναμιν ἀντέχειν, [p. 367] ἵκετηρίας ἀναλαβόντες ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς. [2] οἱ δὲ τὴν καλουμένην Κολλατίαν κατοικοῦντες ἐπειράθησαν μὲν ἐλθεῖν διὰ μάχης πρὸς τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις καὶ προῆλθον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀπάσαις δὲ ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ἐλαττοῦμενοι καὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς λαμβάνοντες ἠναγκάσθησαν πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καταφυγεῖν καὶ διεπέμποντο πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις αἰτοῦμενοι συμμαχίαν. ὥς δὲ βραδύτερα τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦν, καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἠναγκάσθησαν σὺν χρόνῳ. [3] οὐ μέντοι τῆς αὐτῆς μετριότητος ἔτυχον, ἥς Νωμεντανοὶ τε καὶ Κρουστομερίνοι, ἀλλ' ὅπλα τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο καὶ εἰς χρήματα ἐζημίωσε καὶ φρουρὰν κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἱκανὴν ἄρχειν τε αὐτῶν ἔταξε τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν διὰ βίου Ταρκύνιον Ἄρροντα τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφιδοῦν, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ τε πατρὸς Ἄρροντος καὶ τοῦ πάππου Δημαράτου γενόμενος οὔτε τῶν πατρῶων οὔτε τῶν τοῦ πάππου χρημάτων τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκκληρονόμησε μοῖραν καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν Ἠγέριος ἐπωνομάσθη. τοὺς γὰρ ἀπόρους καὶ πτωχοὺς οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐξ οὗ δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτὸς τε Κολλατῖνος ἐπεκλήθη καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενοι. [4] μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κολλατίαν παράδοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Κορνικόλον [p. 368] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν: ἦν δὲ κάκεινη τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθρους ἢ πόλις. λεηλατήσας δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένου πρὸς αὐτὴν στρατεύεται τὴν πόλιν προκαλοῦμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν: οὐ βουλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τῇ ἐχυρότητι πεποιθότων καὶ συμμαχίας πολλαχόθεν ἥξειν οἰομένων, περὶ πάντα τὸν κύκλον τῆς πόλεως τὴν δύναμιν περιστήσας ἐτειχομάχει. [5] οἱ δὲ Κορνικολανοὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἀντεῖχον ἀνδρείως ἀπομαχόμενοι καὶ πολλὰς τοῖς προσβαλοῦσι πληγὰς ἔδωκαν, κάμνοντες δὲ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πόνων καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔτι γνώμην ἅπαντες φυλάττοντες 'τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς δὲ μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχειν' δι' αὐτὸ τὸ στασιάζειν μάλιστα καταπονούμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἐάλωσαν. [6] τὸ μὲν οὖν κράτιστον αὐτῶν μέρος ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως μαχόμενον διεφθάρη, τὸ δὲ ἀγεννὲς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σωθὲν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ἐπράθη λόγῳ γυναιξίν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις, ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν διαρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐνεπρήσθη. [7] ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λατῖνοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῇ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι πολλὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν κρατίστην χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνέβαλον, ἐξ ἧς αἰχμαλώτους τε πολλοὺς ἀπήγαγον καὶ λείας ἐγένοντο μεγάλης κύριοι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ἐξῆλθε [p. 369] μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐζωνὸν τε καὶ ἐν ἐτοιμῇ δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐκέτι δὲ καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς φθάσας εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰ ὅμοια διέθηκε. [8] τοιαῦτα συνέβαινε πολλὰ παραλλάξ ἐκατέροις ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμόρους χώρας ἐκστρατευομένοις ἐλαττώματά τε καὶ πλεονεκτήματα, μία δὲ αὐτῶν

ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐγένετο μάχη Φιδήνης πόλεως πλησίον ἀπάσαις συμβαλόντων ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἐν ἧ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον ἀμφοτέρων, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἠγάγκασαν λιπόντας τὸν χάρακα νύκτωρ εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις ἀπελθεῖν.

μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἔχων συντεταγμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐχώρει λόγους προφέρων περὶ φιλίας. οἱ δ' οὐτ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συνεστῶσαν ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὔτε ταῖς ἰδίαις παρασκευαῖς πεποιθότες ἐδέχοντο τὰς προκλήσεις, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτῶν τινες τὰς πόλεις ὀρώντες, ὅτι ταῖς μὲν ἀλούσαις κατὰ κράτος ἀνδραποδισμοὶ τε ἠκολούθουν καὶ κατασκαφαί, ταῖς δὲ προσχωρούσαις καθ' ὁμολογίας τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ ἀνήκεστον οὐδέν. [2] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Φικόλνεοι προσέθεντο αὐτῷ πόλις ἀξιόλογος ἐπὶ συγκειμένοις τισὶ δικαίαις, ἔπειτα Καμαρίνοι, αἷς ἠκολούθησαν ἄλλαι τινὲς πολίχνη μικραὶ καὶ [3] φρούρια ἐχυρά. ἐφ' οἷς ταραχθέντες οἱ λοιποὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ δεισάντες μὴ πᾶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεται τὸ [p. 370] ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐν Φερεντίνῳ συνελθόντες ἀγορὰν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν τε οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως ἐξάγειν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐθνῶν τὰ κράτιστα παρακαλεῖν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς τε καὶ [4] Σαβίνους αἰτοῦμενοι συμμαχίαν. Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὑπέσχοντο αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκείνους ἐμβεβληκότας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀκούσωσιν, ἀναλαβόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα τὴν πλησίον αὐτῶν χώραν λεηλατήσιν: Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ συμμαχίαν ἀποστελεῖν ὠμολόγησαν, ἧς ἂν αὐτοὶ δεηθῶσιν, οὐχ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γενόμενοι γνώμης, ἀλλὰ πέντε πόλεις μόναι Κλουσῖνοι τε καὶ Ἀρρητῖνοι καὶ Οὐολατερρανοὶ Ρουσιλανοὶ τε καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Οὐετυλωνιάται.

ταύταις ἐπαρθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι παρασκευασάμενοι δύναμιν οἰκείαν συχνὴν καὶ τὴν παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν προσλαβόντες εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐνέβαλον, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους αἱ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνήσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμεναι πόλεις τὴν προσόμουρον κυροῦσαν αὐταῖς χώραν ἐδήουν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς παρασκευασάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ [2] ταχέων. Σαβίνοις μὲν οὖν ἅμα καὶ Λατῖνοις πολεμεῖν καὶ διαιρεῖν εἰς δύο μέρη τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς [p. 371] ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Λατίνους ἄγειν ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ τίθεται πλησίον αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ὀκνηρῶς εἶχον ἑκάτεροι πάσαις ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι ταῖς δυνάμεσι δεδιότες τὰς ἀλλήλων παρασκευάς, ἀκροβολισμοὺς δὲ κατιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ φιλοὶ παρ' ἑκατέρων συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἰσομάχοι: [3] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐμπεσοῦσης ἀμφοτέροις ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀψιμαχιῶν φιλονεικίας ἐπιβοηθοῦντες ἑκάτεροι τοῖς σφετέροις, ὀλίγοι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα σύμπαντες ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων προελθεῖν. καὶ καταστάντες εἰς μάχην ἄνδρες οὔτε πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἀτριβεῖς οὔτε πλήθει πολὺ ἀποδέοντες ἀλλήλων πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς προθυμία τε ὠρμημένοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁμοῖα καὶ κινδύνων τὸν ἔσχατον ἀναρριπτεῖν νομίσαντες ἠγωνίσαντο μὲν ἀμφοτέροις λόγου ἀξίως, διεκρίθησαν δὲ ἅπ'

ἀλλήλων ισόμαχοι νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης. [4] ἡ μέντοι μετὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα διάνοια ἐκατέρων οὐχ ὁμοία γενομένη φανεροὺς ἐποίησε τοὺς κρεῖττον ἀγωνισαμένους τῶν ἑτέρων: τῇ γὰρ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα Λατῖνοι μὲν οὐκέτι προήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ὃ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐξαγαγὼν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἔτοιμος ἦν ἑτέραν ποιῆσθαι μάχην καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κατέσχευεν ἐν τάξει τὴν φάλαγγα. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἀντεπεξῆεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, σκυλεύσας αὐτῶν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνελόμενος σὺν πολλῷ αὐχήμετι ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χάρακα. [p. 372]

ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀφικομένης τοῖς Λατίνους ἑτέρας παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν συμμαχίας δευτέρως ἀγὼν γίνεται πολὺ μείζων τοῦ προτέρου, ἐξ οὗ νίκην ἀναιρεῖται βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἣς αὐτὸς αἴτιος ὡμολογεῖτο ὑπὸ πάντων γεγενῆσθαι. [2] καμνουσῆς γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας παραρρηγνυμένης μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐλάττωμα περὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔτυχε δὲ τότε μαχόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τὰς κρατίστας τῶν ἱππέων Ἰλας ἐπιστρέψας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἀναλαβὼν ἦγε κατὰ νώτου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς καὶ παραλλάξας τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας ἤλαυνεν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῆς φάλαγγος. ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ καὶ τὰ κέντρα προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἵπποις εἰς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλει τοὺς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν λόχους ὅτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων μαχόμενοι κέρατος ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοῦς, ἐπιφανεῖς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητος πολλὴν ἑκπληξιν καὶ ταραχὴν παρέσχευεν. [3] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ πεζὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἀναλαβοῦσα ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου δείματος εἰς ἀντίπαλα ἐχώρει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φόνος τε πολλὸς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος παντελής. Ταρκύνιος δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύσας ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ βάδην αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρει τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνων τοὺς ἵππους ἀνὰ κράτος, φθάσας δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἀνασωζομένους ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τοῦ χάρακος [p. 373] εὐθύς ἐξ ἐφόδου. οἱ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ καταλειφθέντες οὔτε τὴν κατασχοῦσαν τοὺς σφετέρους συμφορὰν προεγνωκότες οὔτε τοὺς προσιόντας ἱππεῖς γνωρίσαι διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς ἐφόδου δυνηθέντες εἶασαν αὐτοὺς παρελθεῖν. [4] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς τῶν Λατίνων οἱ μὲν ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὥς εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καταφυγὴν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλαβομένων αὐτὴν ἱππέων ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φεύγειν ὀρμήσαντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος ὁμόσε χωρούσης ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πλείους αὐτῶν ὠθοῦμενοι τε ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ καταπατούμενοι περὶ τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἢ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους τὸν οἰκτιστὸν τε καὶ ἀγεννέστατον τρόπον διεφθάρησαν: ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῆς σωτηρίας οὐδένα πόρον εὖρεῖν δυνάμενοι παραδοῦναι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἑαυτοὺς. [5] γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος πολλῶν σωμάτων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατὴς τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδοτο, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι καταληφθέντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίσατο.

ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λατίνων ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς μάχῃ τὰς μὴ προσχωρούσας αὐτῷ παραστησόμενος: οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ γε αὐτῷ τειχομαχίας. ἅπαντες γὰρ εἰς ἰκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἐτράποντο καὶ πρέσβεις

ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμπαντες καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἤξιουν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ἠβούλετο καὶ τὰς πόλεις παρέδωκαν. [2] γενόμενος δὲ τῶν [p. 374] πόλεων κατὰ τὰςδε τὰς ὁμολογίας ὁ βασιλεὺς κύριος ἐπεικέστατα πάσαις προσηνέχθη καὶ μετριώτατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινεν οὔτε φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν οὔτε χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε Λατίνων οὐδένα γῆν τε αὐτοῖς καρποῦσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπέτρεψε καὶ πολιτεύμασι χρήσασθαι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐφήκεν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων θεράποντάς τε ἀποκαταστήσαι τοῖς δεσπótαις ὅσων ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς προνομὰς κύριοι καὶ χρήματα ὅσα τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀφείλοντο διαλύσαι καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατέβλαψαν ἢ διέφθειραν ἐν ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ἐπανορθῶσαι. [3] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντας εἶναι φίλους Ῥωμαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἅπαντα πράττοντας ὅσα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύωσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς Λατίνους συστὰς Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος εἰς τοῦτο τὸ τέλος κατέσκηψε, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου κατήγαγε θρίαμβον.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει παραλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους ἦγεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς προεγνώκotas. οὐχ ὑπομειναντες δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν παρεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρασκευασάμενοι δύναμιν ἱκανὴν ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε. γενομένης δὲ αὐτοῖς μάχης περὶ τὰ μεθόρια τῆς χώρας ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐνίκων μὲν οὐδέτεροι, πάνυ δ' ἰσχυρῶς ἐπόνησαν ἀμφοτέροι. [2] ταῖς γοῦν ἐξῆς ἡμέραις οὔτε ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων ἡγεμὼν προῆγεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὰς δυνάμεις οὔτε ὁ τῶν [p. 375] Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἀναστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τῆς ἀλλήλων γῆς οὐδὲν κακώσαντες ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. γνώμη δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ὁμοία μείζονα δύναμιν ἐτέραν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων χώραν ἐξάγειν ἕαρος ἀρχομένου. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, πρότεροι μὲν ἐξῆλθον οἱ Σαβῖνοι Τυρρηνῶν ἔχοντες δύναμιν ἱκανὴν πρὸς συμμαχίαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται Φιδίηνης πλησίον περὶ τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀνίητος καὶ τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ διττοὺς βαλόμενοι τοὺς χάρακας ἐναντίους τε καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ κοινὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ποταμῶν ρεῖθρον, ἐφ' οὗ κατεσκεύαστο γέφυρα ξυλόφρακτος σκάφαις ἀνεχομένη καὶ σχεδιαίς ἢ ποιοῦσα ταχείας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφίξεις καὶ τὸν χάρακα ἓνα. [4] πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν εἰσβολὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐξῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα καθιδρύεται τε μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω τῆς ἐκείνων στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀνίητα ποταμὸν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς καρτεροῦ. ἀπάσῃ δὲ προθυμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὠρμημένων ἀμφοτέρων οὐδεὶς ἀγὼν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὔτε μείζων οὔτ' ἐλάσσων αὐτοῖς συνέστη. ἔφθασε γὰρ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἀγχινοῖα στρατηγικῇ πάντα συντρίψας τὰ τῶν Σαβίνων πράγματα καὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρας ἀράμενος. τὸ δὲ στρατήγημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοιόνδε ἦν: [p. 376]

σκάφας ποταμηγοὺς καὶ σχεδιαίς ξύλων αὔων καὶ φρυγάνων γεμούσας, ἔτι δὲ πίσεως τε καὶ θείου παρασκευασάμενος ἐπὶ θατέρου τῶν ποταμῶν, παρ' ὃν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύκει, ἔπειτα φυλάξας ἄνεμον οὖριον περὶ τὴν ἑωθινήν φυλακὴν πῦρ ἐνεῖναι ταῖς ὕλαις ἐκέλευσε καὶ μεθεῖναι τὰς σκάφας καὶ τὰς

οχεδίας φέρεσθαι κατὰ ῥοῦν. αἱ δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ διελθοῦσαι τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον ἐμπίπτουσι τῇ [2] γεφύρᾳ καὶ ἀνάπτουσιν αὐτὴν πολλαχόθεν. τῶν δὲ Σαβίνων ὡς εἶδον ἄφνω πολλὴν φλόγα φερομένην συνδραμόντων ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ πάντα μηχανωμένων ὅσα σβεστήρια τοῦ πυρὸς ἦν, ἤκεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἄγων συντεταγμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν καὶ προσβαλὼν θατέρῳ χάρακι τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐκλελοιπότεν τὰς φυλακὰς διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ καιόμενα ὁρμήν, ὀλίγων δὲ τινων πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπομένων, [3] ἐγκρατὴς αὐτοῦ γίνεται δίχα πόνου. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Σαβίνων χάρακα τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κείμενον ἑτέρα δύναμις Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθοῦσα αἶρεϊ, ἣ προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον, διεληλύθει δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν ποταμῶν ἓνα γενόμενον ἐν σκάφαις καὶ σχεδίαις καθ' ὃ μέρος περαιουμένη λήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τοὺς Σαβίνους, πλησίον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας ἐγεγόνει παρεμβολῆς ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὴν γέφυραν καιομένην: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ σὺνθημα [p. 377] [4] τῆς ἐφόδου. τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς χάραξι καταληφθέντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν συμβολὴν τῶν ποταμῶν ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ δυνηθέντες ὑπερενεχθῆναι τὰς δίνας κατεπόθησαν: ἐφθάρη δὲ τις αὐτῶν μοῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ κατὰ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς γεφύρας ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἀμφοτέρα τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς καταληφθέντα χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψε διανείμασθαι, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς πάνυ ὄντας Σαβίνων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Τυρρηνῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγαγὼν διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε φυλακῆς.

Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐγνῶσιμάχησαν ὑπὸ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς βιασθέντες καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου σπονδὰς ἐξαετεῖς, Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ ὀργῇ φέροντες ὅτι ἤττηντό τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολλακίς καὶ ὅτι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοῖς ὁ Ταρκύνιος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου πρεσβευσαμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμήρων κατεῖχε λόγῳ, ψήφισμα ποιοῦνται πάσας τὰς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν πόλεις κοινῇ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, τὴν δὲ μὴ μετέχουσιν τῆς στρατείας ἔκσπονδον εἶναι. [2] ταῦτ' ἐπικυρώσαντες ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Τέβεριν ἀγχοῦ Φιδήνης τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα. γενόμενοι δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐγκρατεῖς διὰ προδοσίας στασιασάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν σώματα λαβόντες, πολλὴν [p. 378] δὲ λείαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων χώρας ἐλαύνοντες ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου, φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ Φιδήνῃ καταλιπόντες ἀποχρῶσαν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὁρμητήριον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι κράτιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου. [3] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος εἰς τοῦπιόν ἔτος Ῥωμαίους τε σύμπαντας καθοπλίσας καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους παραλαβὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἕαρος ἀρχομένου, πρὶν ἐκείνους συναχθέντας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς πρότερον ἐλθεῖν: καὶ διελὼν εἰς δύο μοίρας ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐστράτευσε, τῆς δὲ συμμαχικῆς, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ἦν τῶν Λατίνων, Ἠγέριον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συγγενῇ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ πολεμίους ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν. [4] ἡ μὲν οὖν συμμαχικὴ πλησίον τῆς Φιδήνης τὸν χάρακα οὐκ ἐν

ἀσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ θεμένη διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγου τινὸς ἐδέησεν πᾶσα διαφθαρήναι: οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουροὶ βοήθειαν ἐτέραν παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν κρύφα μεταπεμφάμενοι καὶ φυλάξαντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἔλαβον ἐξ ἐφόδου φαύλως φυλαττόμενον καὶ τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων ἐπὶ ^[5] τὰς προνομὰς πολὺν εἰργάσαντο φόνον. ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἥς Ταρκύνιος ἠγεῖτο τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν κείρουσα καὶ λεηλατοῦσα χώραν καὶ πολλὰς ὠφελείας [p. 379] ἐξενεγκαμένη συνελθούσης ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν Τυρρηνίδων πόλεων μεγάλης τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς ἐπικουρίας εἰς μάχην καταστᾶσα νίκην ἀναμφίλογον ἀναιρεῖται: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διεξιούσα τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει γενομένη τε πολλῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἐγκρατὴς, πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων οἷα ἐξ εὐδαίμονος χώρας, τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους οἴκαδε ἀπήει.

Οὐιεντανοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς μάχης μεγάλως κακωθέντες οὐκέτι προήεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἠνείχοντο κειρομένην τὴν χώραν ὀρῶντες. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος τρισὶν εἰσβολαῖς χρησάμενος καὶ τριετὴ χρόνον ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἐπικαρπιῶν, ὡς ἔρημον ἐποίησε τὴν πλείστην καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτειν αὐτὴν εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Καιρητανῶν πόλιν ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἣ πρότερον μὲν Ἀγυλλὰ ἐκαλεῖτο Πελασγῶν αὐτὴν κατοικοῦντων, ὑπὸ δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς γενομένη Καίρητα μετωνομάσθη, εὐδαίμων δ' ἦν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων καὶ πολυάνθρωπος: ^[2] ἐξ ἧς στρατιὰ μεγάλη μαχησομένη περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξῆλθε καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν διαφθείραςα τῶν πολεμίων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποβαλοῦσα τῶν σφετέρων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατέφυγε. τῆς δὲ χώρας αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατοῦντες ἄφθονα πάντα παρεχομένης συχνὰς διέτριψαν ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἀπάρσεως ἦν, ἄγοντες ὅσας οἷοι τε ἦσαν ὠφελείας ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. ^[3] Ταρκύνιος δ' ἐπειδὴ [p. 380] τὰ πρὸς Οὐιεντανοὺς ἐχώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ πολεμίους ἐξάγει τὴν στρατιάν ἐκβαλεῖν τε βουλόμενος τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουράν καὶ τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὰ τεῖχη τιμωρήσασθαι προθυμούμενος. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθόντας καὶ ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχίαις ἄγῶν καρτερός. ^[4] ἄλλω δ' οὖν ἡ πόλις κατὰ κράτος, καὶ οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ δεθέντες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αἰχμαλώτοις ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇ, Φιδηναίων δὲ οἱ δοκοῦντες αἵτιοι γεγονέναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μαστίγων αἰκισθέντες ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ φυγαῖς ἐζημιώθησαν αἰδίοις: τὰς δὲ οὐσίας αὐτῶν διέλαχον οἱ καταλειφθέντες Ῥωμαίων ἔποικοι τε καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς πόλεως.

τελευταία δὲ μάχη Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἐγένετο πόλεως Ἡρήτου πλησίον ἐν τῇ Σαβίνων γῇ. δι' ἐκείνης γὰρ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλασιν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ δυνατῶν, ὡς συστρατευσομένων σφίσι τῶν Σαβίνων. αἱ γὰρ ἐξαετείς αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς Ταρκύνιον ἀνοχαὶ διεληλύθεσαν ἤδη, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν Σαβίνων πόθος ἦν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὰς προτέρας ἥττας ἐπιτεθραμμένης ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νεότητος ἱκανῆς. ^[2] οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γε αὐτοῖς ἡ πῆϊρα κατὰ [p.

381] νοῦν θάπτον ἐπιφανείσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς, οὐδ' ἐξεγένετο παρ' οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πόλεων κοινήν ἀποσταλῆναι τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐθέλονται τινες ἐπεκούρησαν αὐτοῖς ὀλίγοι μισθοῖς μεγάλους ὑπαχθέντες. [3] ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης μεγίστης τῶν προτέρων γενομένης, ὅσας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμησαν, τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα θαυμαστὴν ὄσιν ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβε νίκην ἐξενεγκαμένων καλλίστην, καὶ βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ τὴν τροπαιοφόρον πομπὴν κατὰγειν ἣ τε βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσαντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἔπεσε φρονήματα πάσας μὲν ἐξαποστειλάντων εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως δυνάμεις, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς ἐκ πολλῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ὑποδεξαμένων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρατάξει μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ τροπῇ δυσχωρίαις ἐγκυρήσαντες ἀνεξόδοις παρέδοσαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἑαυτοὺς. [4] τοιαύτης μέντοι συμφορᾶς πειραθέντες οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔργον ἐποίησαν ἀνθρώπων φρονίμων. ἑτέραν γὰρ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγόντος βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου συναχθέντες εἰς μίαν ἀγορὰν περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πέμπουσι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἄνδρας καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδείξαντες τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογιῶν.

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτῶν πολλὰ διαλεχθέντων ἐπαγωγὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μετριότητα [p. 382] καὶ τῆς συγγενείας, ἥς εἶχε πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, ὑπομιμνησκόντων ἔν τοῦτο μόνον ἔφη παρ' αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, πότερον ἔτι διαφέρονται περὶ τῶν ἴσων καὶ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πῶς τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας πάρεισι ποιησόμενοι, ἢ συγγινώσκουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κεκρατημένοις καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ. ἀποκριναμένων δ' αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην στέρξουσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ποτε δικαίοις αὐτῆς τύχωσι, περιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτοις γενόμενος, [2] ἀκούσατε νῦν, ἔφησεν, ἐφ' οἷς καταλύσομαι τὸν πόλεμον δικαίοις καὶ τινὰς ὑμῖν δίδωμι χάριτας· ἐγὼ Τυρρηνῶν οὔτε ἀποκτεῖναι τινὰ πρόθυμός εἰμι οὔτε φυγάδα ποιῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε ἀφαιρέσει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ζημιῶσαι τὰς τε πόλεις ὑμῖν ἀφίημι πάσας ἀφρουρήτους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους καὶ αὐτονόμους πολιτείας τε κόσμον ἐκάστη φυλάττειν συγχωρῶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον. [3] διδοὺς δὲ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐν οἷομαι δεῖν ἀνθ' ὧν δίδωμι πάντων ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν πόλεων, ἥς κύριος μὲν ἔσομαι καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν ἕως ἂν κρατῶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, παρ' ἐκόντων δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ἀκόντων τυχεῖν αὐτῆς βούλομαι. ταῦτ' ἀπαγγέλλετε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐκεχειρίαν ἕως ἂν ἀφίκησθε παρέξειν ὑπισχοῦμαι.

ταύτας λαβόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὥχοντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας παρήσαν οὐ λόγους αὐτῷ μόνον φέροντες ψιλοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ [p. 383] σύμβολα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἷς ἐκόσμου αὐτοὶ τοὺς σφετέρους βασιλεῖς, κομίζοντες στεφανὸν τε χρύσειον καὶ θρόνον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ σκῆπτρον αἰτὸν ἔχον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χιτῶνά τε πορφυροῦν χρυσοσημον καὶ περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν ποικίλον, οἷα Λυδῶν τε καὶ Περσῶν ἐφόρουσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, πλὴν οὐ τετραγώνον γε τῷ σχήματι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἡμικύκλιον. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀμφισμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες

δὲ τήβεννον καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἷδ' ὁπόθεν μαθόντες: Ἑλληνικὸν γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται μοι τοῦνομα εἶναι. [2] ὥς δέ τινες ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἐκόμισαν αὐτῷ λαβόντες ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἓνα. Τυρρηνικὸν γὰρ εἶναι ἔθος δοκεῖ ἐκάστου τῶν κατὰ πόλιν βασιλέων ἓνα προηγεῖσθαι ῥαβδοφόρον ἅμα τῇ δέσμῃ τῶν ῥάβδων πέλεκυν φέροντα: εἰ δέ κοινή γίνοιτο τῶν δώδεκα πόλεων στρατεία, τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἐνὶ παραδίδοσθαι τῷ λαβόντι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. [3] οὐ μὴν ἅπαντές γε συμφέρονται τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας πελέκεις δώδεκα πρὸ τῶν βασιλέων φέρεσθαι φασί, καταστήσασθαι δὲ τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο Ῥωμύλον εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει τὸ μὲν εὖρημα Τυρρηνῶν εἶναι, χρήσασθαι δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ῥωμύλον παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντα, κομισθῆναι δὲ Ταρκυνίῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κόσμοις βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις, ὥσπερ γε καὶ νῦν [p. 384] Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ τὰ διαδήματα δωροῦνται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βεβαιοῦντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐξουσίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ μὴ λαβόντες γε παρ' ἐκείνων ἔχουσιν αὐτά.

ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς ὁ Ταρκύνιος οὐκ εὐθύς ἐχρήσατο λαβὼν, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι γράφουσι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλ' ἀποδοὺς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διάνγνωσιν εἰ ληπτέον αὐτά, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσι βουλομένοις ἦν, τότε προσεδέξατο καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ἕως εἰς τὸ χρεῶν μετέστη στέφανόν τε χρύσειον ἐφόρει καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα ποικίλην ἡμπίσχετο καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐλεφάντινον ἔχων ἐπὶ θρόνου ἐκαθέζετο ἐλεφαντίνου, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ῥαβδοῦχοι τοὺς πελέκεις φέροντες ἅμα ταῖς ῥάβδοις δικάζοντι τε αὐτῷ παρίstanto καὶ πορευομένου προηγούνται. [2] οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἅπας καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι παρέμεινε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπάτοις ἔξω τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ποικίλης ἐσθῆτος: ταῦτα δ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρέθη μόνα φορτικὰ δόξαντα εἶναι καὶ ἐπιφθονα. πλὴν ὅταν ἐκ πολέμου νίκην κατάγοντες θριάμβου παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξιωθῶσι, τότε καὶ χρυσοφοροῦσι καὶ ποικίλαις ἀλουργίῳ ἀμφιέννυνται. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς συστὰς Ταρκυνίῳ πόλεμος ἔτη κατασχὼν ἑννέα τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν.

ἐνὸς δὲ καταλειπομένου τοῦ Σαβίνων [p. 385] ἔθνους ἀντιπάλου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄνδρας τε μαχητὰς ἔχοντος καὶ χώραν νεμομένου πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐ πρόσω κειμένην, πολλὴν ἔσχεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος προθυμίαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπαγαγέσθαι καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐγκαλῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑποσχομένους Τυρρηνοῖς ἐὰν ἀφίκωνται στρατὸν ἄγοντες εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν φίλας, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἐχθρὰς ποιήσιν τὰς σφετέρας πατρίδας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἐκδοῦναι. [2] οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ὑποδέχονται τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν ἀστῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Ῥωμαίων δύνανιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὶ στρατὸν ἐξάγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὥς ἤκουσε διαβεβηκότας τοὺς Σαβίνους Ἀνίητα ποταμὸν καὶ λεηλατούμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἅπαντα, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν

εὐζωνοτάτην Ῥωμαίων νεότητα ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοῦς διεσπαρμένους ἐπὶ τὰς προνομᾶς. [3] ἀποκτείνας δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λείαν ὄσσην ἦγον ἀφελόμενος ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐκείνων παρεμβολῆς τίθεται τὸν χάρακα καὶ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας, ἕως ἢ τε λοιπὴ δύναμις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ αἱ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίαι συνήχθησαν, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὡς μαχησόμενοι.

ιδόντες δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἱ Σαβῖνοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦντας ἐξῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις οὔτε πληθεὶ λειπόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων [p. 386] οὔτε ἀρετῇ καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο πᾶσαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι τόλμαν, ἕως ἦν αὐτοῖς εἷς μόνος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἀγών. ἔπειτα μαθόντες ἐπὶ τῶν σφίσι κατὰ νώτου στρατὸν πολεμίων ἕτερον ἐν τάξει τε καὶ κόσμῳ χωροῦντα καταλιπόντες τὰ σημεῖα τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς οἱ κατόπιν ἐπιφανέντες τοῖς Σαβίνοις, οὓς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις χωρίοις διὰ νυκτὸς ἐλόχισε. [2] τοὺτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ Σαβῖνοι δεισαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἄδοκῆτου σφίσιν ἐπιφαινομένους οὐθὲν ἔτι γενναῖον ἔργον ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀλλ' ὡς κατεστρατηγημένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ συμφορᾷ πεπληγότες ἀμάχῳ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπειρῶντο, κἂν τοῦτῳ μάλιστα πολὺς αὐτῶν φόνος ἐγένετο διωκομένων ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀποκλειομένων: ὥστε ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν κομιδῇ γενέσθαι τοὺς διασωθέντας εἰς τὰς ἔγγιστα πόλεις, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον μέρος ὅσον μὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεσεν ὑποχείριον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῷ χάρακι τὴν ἔφοδον ἀποκρούσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν σφίσιν ἐθάρρησαν οὐδ' εἰς πεῖραν ἦλθον μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐκταραχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα κακοῦ παρέδοσαν ἀμαχητὶ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα. [3] αἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Σαβίνων πόλεις ὡς κατεστρατηγημέναι καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ τὴν νίκην ἀφηρημέναι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, [p. 387] ἀλλὰ δόλῳ μείζονας αὐθις ἀποστέλλειν δυνάμεις παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐμπειρότερον. ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος μαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν συνῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ τάχους καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους ἅπαντας δὴ [4] συνελθεῖν φθάνει διαβάς τὸν Ἀνίητα ποταμόν. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων στρατηγὸς ἐξῆει μὲν ὡς εἶχε τάχους τὴν νεωστὶ συνηγμένην δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται πλησίον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου, μάχης δὲ ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζεν ἕως αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Σαβίνων δυνάμεις συνέλθωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦς προνομεύοντας τὴν χώραν ἐκπέμπων αἰετὰς τινὰς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ λόχους ἐγκαθίζων ὕλαις ἢ νάπαις εἴργε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδων.

τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ χρωμένου τῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰ μὲν συμπλοκαὶ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ψιλῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἐγίνοντο, μάχη δὲ ὀλοσχερὴς ἀπάντων οὐδεμία. ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου δι' ὀργῆς φέρων τὴν διατριβὴν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων τὰς δυνάμεις ἔκρινεν ἄγειν καὶ πολλὰς ἐποίησατο προσβολάς. [2] ἔπειτα καταμαθὼν τῷ βιαίῳ τῶν τρόπων οὐ ῥάδιαν οὔσαν αὐτὴν ἀλῶναι διὰ τὴν ἐχυρότητα τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ διέγνω, καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς φερούσας: ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς φρούρια κατασκευαζόμενος, ξυλιζεσθαι τε

αὐτοὺς καὶ χιλὸν ἵπποις συναγαγεῖν [p. 388] καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπιτήδεια λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἔων εἰς πολλὴν κατέστησεν ἀπάντων ἀπορίαν: ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθησαν φυλάξαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδασι καὶ ἀνέμῳ φυγεῖν αἰσχροῦς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπόντες ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τε ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν. [3] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἄπαρσιν αὐτῶν καὶ γενόμενοι τοῦ χάρακος ἀμαχητὶ κύριοι σκηνὰς μὲν καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα διήρπασαν, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπάγοντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεψαν. οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος ἔτη πέντε διέμεινε συνεχῶς πολεμοῦμενος, ἐν ᾧ γῆν ἀμφοτέροι τὴν ἀλλήλων πορθοῦντες καὶ μάχας πολλὰς ἐλάττους τε καὶ μείζους μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, ὀλίγα μὲν τινα καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων εὐτυχούντων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα Ῥωμαίων: ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευταίᾳ μάχῃ τέλος ἔλαβεν ὀλοσχερές. [4] Σαβῖνοι γὰρ οὐχ ὥς πρότερον ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες οἱ στρατεύσιμον ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ῥωμαῖοι τε σύμπαντες τὰς Λατίνων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων δυνάμεις παραλαβόντες ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις. [5] ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Σαβίνων στρατηγὸς διχῇ μερίσας τὰς δυνάμεις δύο ποιεῖται στρατόπεδα, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τρία ποιήσας τάγματα καὶ τρεῖς παρεμβολὰς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων θέμενος [p. 389] αὐτὸς μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡγεῖτο δυνάμεως, Ἀρρόντα δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς συμμαχίας ἀπέδειξε στρατηγόν: [6] Λατίνων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἔταξεν ἄρχειν ἄνδρα γενναῖον μὲν τὰ πολέμια καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώτατον, ξένον δὲ καὶ ἄπολιν: Σεροῦϊος αὐτῷ προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα ἦν, Τύλλιος δὲ τὸ συγγενικόν: ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Λευκίου Ταρκυνίου τελευτὴν βασιλεύειν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψαν οὐκ οὔσης Ταρκυνίῳ γενεᾶς ἄρρενος, ἀγάμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς τε περὶ τὰ πολιτικά καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς. γένος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρός τοῦδε καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τύχας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου γενομένην περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὅταν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου, διηγῆσομαι.

τότε δ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάστο ἀμφοτέροις τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδεια, συνήεσαν εἰς μάχην, εἶχον δὲ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν οἱ Τυρρηνοί, κατὰ μέσην δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Λατῖνοι ἐτάχθησαν. γενομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος καρτεροῦ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐνίκων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, τῶν δὲ παρεμβολῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων μέγαν περιβαλλόμενοι πλοῦτον ἀδεῶς ἤδη τῆς ὑπαίθρου πάσης ἐκράτουν, ἦν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσι λωβησάμενοι κακοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα, [p. 390] λύσαντες τὰς παρεμβολὰς ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τρίτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς τὸν ἐκ τῆς 2δὲ τῆς μάχης κατήγαγε θρίαμβον. [2] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ παρασκευαζομένου πάλιν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Σαβίνων ἐξάγειν καὶ πολιορκίαις αὐτὰς προσάγεσθαι διεγνωκότος, γενναῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι βούλευμα καὶ νεανικὸν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐγένετο, πᾶσαι δὲ κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρησάμεναι πρὶν εἰς κίνδυνον ἐλθεῖν ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ κατασκαφῆς καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον

ἔγνωσαν. [3] καὶ παρήσαν ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν Σαβίνων πρὸς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ἐξεληλυθότα μετὰ πάσης ἤδη δυνάμεως παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὰ τείχη καὶ δεόμενοι μετρίας ποιήσασθαι τὰς συμβάσεις. ὁ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς δεξάμενος τὴν ἄνευ κινδύνων ὑποταγὴν τοῦ ἔθνους σπονδὰς τε ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ φιλίας ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁμολογίαις, αἷς Τυρρηνοὺς πρότερον ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἄνευ λύτρων.

αὗται πολεμικαὶ πράξεις βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου μνημονεύονται, εἰρηνικαὶ δὲ καὶ πολιτικαὶ τοιαίδε τινές, οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτας βούλομαι παρελθεῖν ἀμνημονεύτους. εὐθύς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον οἰκεῖον ἑαυτῷ ποιῆσαι προθυμηθεῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ πρότεροι βασιλεῖς ἐποιοῦν, διὰ τοιαύτας εὐεργεσίας ὑπηγάγετο: ἐπιλέξας [p. 391] ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἷς ἀρετὴν τινα πολεμικὴν ἢ πολιτικὴν φρόνησιν ἅπαντες ἐμαρτύρουν, πατρικίους ἐποίησε καὶ κατέταξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαῖοι τριακόσιοι βουλευταὶ τέως ὄντες διακόσιοι. [2] ἔπειτα ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ ἄσβεστον φυλάττεται πῦρ, τέτταρσιν οὖσαις δύο προσκατέλεξεν ἑτέρας: πλείονων γὰρ ἤδη συντελουμένων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἱεουργιῶν, αἷς ἔδει τὰς τῆς Ἑστίας παρεῖναι θυηπόλους, οὐκ ἐδόκουν αἱ τέτταρες ἀρκεῖν. Ταρκυνίου δὲ ἄρξαντος ἠκολούθουν οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ἔξ ἀποδείκνυνται τῆς Ἑστίας ἀμφίπολοι. [3] δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας, αἷς κολάζονται πρὸς τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν αἱ μὴ φυλάττουσαι τὴν παρθενίαν, ἐκεῖνος ἐξευρεῖν πρῶτος εἶτε κατὰ λογισμὸν εἶτε ὡς οἶονταί τινες ὀνειρῶ πειθόμενος, ἃς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐν τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσις εὗρεθῆναι χρησμοῖς οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ λέγουσιν: ἐφωράθη γὰρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας ἱέραει Πιναρία Ποπλίου θυγάτηρ οὐχ ἄγνη προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς. τρόπος δὲ τιμωρίας ὅστις ἐστίν, ᾧ κολάζουσι τὰς διαφθαρείας, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδῆλωται [4] μοι γραφῇ. τὴν τε ἀγοράν, ἐν ᾗ δικάζουσι καὶ ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτικὰς ἐπιτελοῦσι παράξεις ἐκεῖνος ἐκόσμησεν ἐργαστηρίοις τε καὶ παστάσι περιλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως αὐτοσχέδια [p. 392] καὶ φαῦλα ταῖς ἐργασίαις ὄντα πρῶτος ὠκοδομήσατο λίθοις ἀμαξιαίοις εἰργασμένοις πρὸς κανόνα. [5] ἥρξατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπονόμους ὀρύττειν τάφρους, δι' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸν Τέβεριν ὀχετεύεται πᾶν τὸ συρρέον ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν ὕδωρ, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ κρείττω λόγου κατασκευασάμενος. ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτοις κατασκευάσμασι τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐμφαίνεται μέγεθος, τὰς τε τῶν ὑδάτων ἀγωγὰς τίθεμαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ὁδῶν στρώσεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐργασίας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν διάνοιαν ἀναφέρων, ὑπὲρ οὗ κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀναλωμάτων πολυτέλειαν, ἣν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἔργου τεκμήραιτ' ἂν τις Γάιον Ἀκίλλιον ποιησάμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι βεβαιωτὴν, ὅς φησιν ἀμεληθεῖσιν ποτε τῶν τάφρων καὶ μηκέτι διαρροεμένων τοὺς τιμητὰς τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χιλίων μισθῶσαι ταλάντων.

κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἵπποδρόμων Ταρκύνιος τὸν μεταξὺ

τοῦ τε Αὐεντίνου καὶ τοῦ Παλλαντίου κείμενον πρῶτος ὑποστέγους ποιήσας περὶ αὐτὸν καθέδρας τέως γὰρ ἐστῶτες ἐθεώρουν ἐπ' ἱκρίοις, δοκῶν ξυλίναις σκηναῖς ὑποκειμένων: [p. 393] καὶ διελὼν τοὺς τόπους εἰς τριάκοντα φράτρας ἐκάστη φράτρα μοῖραν ἀπέδωκε μίαν, ὥστε ἐν τῇ προσηκούσῃ χώρᾳ καθεζόμενον ἕκαστον θεωρεῖν. [2] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ καλοῖς καὶ θαυμαστοῖς κατασκευάσμασι τῆς πόλεως γενήσεσθαι. μῆκος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου τριῶν καὶ ἡμίσεους ἐστὶ σταδίων, εὖρος δὲ τεττάρων πλέθρων: πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τε τὰς μείζους πλευρὰς καὶ κατὰ μίαν τῶν ἐλαττόνων εὐριπος εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ὕδατος ὀρώρυκται βάθος τε καὶ πλάτος δεκάπους. μετὰ δὲ τὸν εὐριπον ὠκοδόμηνται στοαὶ τρίστεγοι. τούτων δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐπίπεδοι λιθίνας ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ὀλίγον ὑπερανεστηκυίας ἀλλήλων καθέδρας, [3] αἱ δ' ὑπερῶοι ξυλίναις. συνάγονται δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνάπτουσιν ἀλλήλαις αἱ μείζους ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλάττονος μηνοειδὲς ἐχούσης τὸ σχῆμα συγκλειόμεναι, ὥστε μίαν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν γίνεσθαι στοὰν ἀμφιθέατρον ὅκτῳ σταδίων ἱκανὴν ὑποδέξασθαι πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ τῶν ἐλαττόνων πλευρῶν αἴθριος ἀνειμένη ψαλιδωτὰς ἵππαφέςεις ἔχει διὰ [4] μιᾶς ὕσπληγος ἅμα πάσας ἀνοιγομένας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἔξωθεν ἐτέρα στοὰ μονόστεγος ἐργαστήρια ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ οἰκῆσεις ὑπὲρ αὐτά, δι' ἧς εἰσιν εἰσοδοὶ τε καὶ ἀναβάσεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἀφικομένοις παρ' ἕκαστον ἐργαστήριον, ὥστε [p. 394] μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τὰς τοσάς2δε μυριάδας εἰσιούσας τε καὶ ἀπολυομένας.

ἐνεχείρησε δὲ καὶ τὸν νεῶν κατασκευάζειν τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐχὴν ἀποδιδούς, ἣν ἐποιήσατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ πρὸς Σαβίνους μάχῃ. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόφον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔμελλεν ἰδρῦεσθαι, πολλῆς δεόμενον πραγματείας οὕτε γὰρ εὐπρόσδοος ἦν οὔτε ὁμαλός, ἀλλ' ἀπότομος καὶ εἰς κορυφὴν συναγόμενος ὀξείαν ἀναλήμμασιν ὑψηλοῖς πολλαχόθεν περιλαβὼν καὶ πολὺν χοῦν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀναλημμάτων καὶ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐμφορήσας, ὁμαλὸν γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασε καὶ πρὸς ἱερῶν ὑποδοχὴν ἐπιτηδεϊότατον. [2] τοὺς δὲ θεμελίους οὐκ ἔφθασε θεῖναι τοῦ νεῶ χρόνον ἐπιβιώσας μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου τετραετῇ. πολλοῖς δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὁ τρίτος βασιλεὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνου Ταρκύνιος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν, τοὺς τε θεμελίους κατεβάλετο καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τὰ πολλὰ εἰργάσατο. οὐ μὴν ἐτελείωσε τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων ἀρχόντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατευσάντων τὴν συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ὁ νεῶς. [3] ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς αὐτοῦ γενόμενα διελθεῖν, ἃ παραδεδώκασιν ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ἐπιχωρίους συναγαγόντες ἱστορίας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλε κατασκευάζειν ὁ Ταρκύνιος τὸν γαόν, συγκαλέσας τοὺς οἰωνομάντις ἐκέλευσε [p. 395] τοῖς ἀνδράσι περὶ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διαμαντεύσασθαι τοῦ τόπου, τίς ἐπιτηδεϊοτάτος ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως χώρος ἱερὸς ἀνεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα κεχαρισμένος. [4] ἀποδειξάντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον, ὃς τότε μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ταρπήιος, νῦν δὲ Καπιτωλῖνος, αὐθις ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς διαμαντευσάμενους εἰπεῖν ἐν ὁποίῳ τοῦ λόφου χωρίῳ

θέσθαι δεήσει τοὺς θεμελίους. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάνυ ῥάδιον ἦν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ βωμοὶ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων, οὓς ἔδει μετὰγειν ἐτέρωσέ ποι, καὶ πᾶν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ μέλλοντι τοῖς θεοῖς τεμένει γενήσεσθαι τὸ δάπεδον. ^[5] ἔδοξε δὴ τοῖς οἰωνοπόλοις ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου βωμοῦ τῶν καθιδρυμένων διαμαντευσάμενοις, ἐὰν παραχωρῶσιν οἱ θεοὶ τότε κινεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι θεοὶ τε καὶ δαίμονες ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἕτερα χωρία τοὺς βωμοὺς σφῶν μεταφέρειν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Τέρμονος καὶ τῆς Νεότητος πολλὰ παραιτούμενοις τοῖς μάντεσι καὶ λιπαροῦσιν οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν οὐδ' ἠγέσχοντο παραχωρῆσαι τῶν τόπων. τοιγάρτοι συμπεριελήφθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ βωμοὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ νῦν ὁ μὲν ἕτερός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σηκῷ πλησίον τοῦ ἔδους. ^[6] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέβαλον οἱ μάντεις, ὅτι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὔτε τοὺς ὄρους μετακινήσει καιρὸς οὐθεὶς οὔτε τὴν ἀκμὴν μεταβαλεῖ· καὶ μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων ἀληθὲς [p. 396] αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἐκάτερον εἰκοστὴν ἤδη καὶ τετάρτην γενεάν.

Ὁ δὲ τῶν οἰωνοσκόπων ἐπιφανέστατος ὁ τοὺς βωμοὺς μεθιδρυσάμενος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τεμενίσας καὶ τᾶλλα προλέγων τὰ θεῖα τῷ δήμῳ διὰ μαντικῆς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα καὶ προσηγορικὸν Νέβιος, τὸ δὲ συγγενικὸν Ἄττιος, ὃς ἀπάντων θεοφιλέστατος ὁμολογεῖται γενέσθαι τῶν ἀκριβοῦντων τὴν τέχνην καὶ μεγίστου τυχεῖν δι' αὐτὴν ὀνόματος ἀπίστους τινὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῆς οἰωνομαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐπιδειξάμενος· ὧν ἐγὼ μίαν, ἣν μάλιστα θεθαύμακα, προχειρισάμενος ἐρῶ προειπῶν ἐξ οἷας ὀρμηθεὶς συντυχίας καὶ τινὰς ἀφορμὰς παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαβὼν τοσαύτην ἔσχεν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὥστε πάντας ἀζήλους ἀποδεῖξαι τοὺς κατὰ ^[2] τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκμάσαντας ἡλικίαν. πένης αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἐγένετο χωρίον εὐτελὲς γεωργῶν, ὃ τὰ τε ἄλλα συνειργάζετο παῖς ὧν ὁ Νέβιος, ὅσα τοῖς τηλικούτοις δυνάμεις ἦν, καὶ τὰς ὕς ἐξελαύνων ἔβοσκεν. ἀποκοιμηθεὶς δὲ ποτε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέγερσιν οὐχ εὐρίσκων τινὰς τῶν ὑῶν τέως μὲν ἔκλαιε τὰς πληγὰς ὀρρωδῶν τὰς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἔπειτ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τὴν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καθιδρυμένην ἡρώων ἡξίου τοὺς ἥρωας συνεξευρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰς ὕς, γενομένου δὲ τούτου θύσειν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ^[3] χωρίου βοτρυῶν. εὐρῶν δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰς ὕς ἐβούλετο [p. 397] μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἥρωσι τὴν εὐχὴν, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δὲ ἦν πολλῇ τὸν μέγιστον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξευρεῖν βότρυν. ἀδημονῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι τοὺς θεοὺς ἡξίου δι' οἰωνῶν φανερὸν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὸ ζητούμενον. ἔπειτ' ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ κατὰ δαίμονα διχῇ νέμει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, θάτερα μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ἐκ δεξιᾶς, θάτερα δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρου τῶν μερῶν τοὺς παρακειμένους οἰωνοὺς ἐσκόπει. φανέντων δ' ἐπὶ θατέρου μέρους ὀρνίθων, οἷων αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, πάλιν ἐκεῖνο διχῇ διήρει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς ὀρνίθους διέκρινε τοὺς παραγινομένους κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. ταύτῃ χρώμενος τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἄμπελον ὑπελθὼν εὐρίσκει βότρυος ἁπιστόν τι χρῆμα καὶ αὐτὸν φέρων ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τῶν ἡρώων ὁρᾶται πρὸς τοῦ πατρός. ^[4] θαυμάσαντι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς σταφυλῆς καὶ πόθεν εἰλήφει πυνθανομένῳ διηγεῖται πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ὁ

δ' ὑπολαβὼν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐμφύτους εἶναι τινὰς ἀρχὰς μαντικῆς ἐν τῷ παιδί, κομίσας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν γραμμάτων διδασκάλους συνίστησιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας ἀποχρῶντως μετέλαβε, Τυρρηνῶν αὐτὸν παραδίδωσι τῷ λογιωτάτῳ ^[5] τὴν οἰωνοσκοπικὴν τέχνην διδασκασόμενον. ἔχων δὲ τὴν ἐμφυτον ὁ Νέβιος μαντικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπικτήτην ^[p. 398] παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν προσλαβὼν μακρῷ δὴ πού τοὺς ἄλλους οἰωνοσκόπους ἅπαντας, ὡς ἔφη, ὑπερεβάλετο, εἰς ἀπάσας τε τὰς δημοσίας ἐπισκέψεις οἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰωνομάντεις οὐκ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ συστήματος παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν μαντευμάτων καὶ οὐθὲν ὃ τι μὴ δόξειεν ἐκείνῳ προὔλεγον.

οὗτος ὁ Νέβιος βουλομένῳ ποτὲ τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ τρεῖς φυλάς ἐτέρας ἀποδείξει νέας ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον κατειλεγμένων ἱππέων καὶ ποιῆσαι τὰς ἐπιθέτους φυλάς ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐταίρων ἐπωνύμους μόνος ἀντεῖπε κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, οὐκ ἔων κινεῖν τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασταθέντων οὐθὲν. ^[2] ἀχθόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κωλύσει καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Νέβιον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὡς ἀλαζονευομένου καὶ μηθὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντος. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκάλει τὸν Νέβιον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλοῦ παρόντος ὄχλου κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. προδιαλεχθεὶς δὲ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν δι' οὗ τρόπου ψευδόμαντιν ἀποδείξειν τὸν οἰωνοσκόπον ὑπελάμβανεν, ἐπειδὴ παρεγένετο φιλανθρωποῖς αὐτὸν ἀσπασμοῖς ἀναλαβὼν, Νῦν, ἔφη, καιρὸς ἐπιδειξασθαι σε τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς μαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ὦ Νέβιε. πράξει γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν μεγάλη διανοούμενος, εἰ τὸ δυνατόν αὐτῇ πρόσσεσι μαθεῖν βούλομαι. ἀλλ' ἄπιθι καὶ διαμαντευσάμενος ἦκε ταχέως, ἐγὼ δ' ἐνθάδε καθήμενος ἀναμενῶ. ^[3] ἐποίει τὰ κελεύόμενα ὁ μάντις καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν αἰσίους ^[p. 399] εἰληφέναι λέγων οἰωνοὺς καὶ δυνατὴν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποφαίνων. γελάσας δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ προενέγκας ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ξυρὸν καὶ ἀκόνην λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐάλωκας, ὦ Νέβιε, φενακίζων ἡμᾶς καὶ καταψευδόμενος τοῦ δαιμονίου καταφανῶς, ὅποτε καὶ τὰς ἀδυνάτους πράξεις τετόλμηκας λέγειν δυνατάς. ἔγωγ' οὖν διεμαντευόμην, εἰ τῷ ξυρῷ τῷδε τὴν ἀκόνην πλήξας μέσσην δυνήσομαι διελεῖν. ^[4] γέλωτος δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων γενομένου τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα οὐθὲν ἐπιταραχθεὶς ὁ Νέβιος ὑπὸ τοῦ τωθασμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ θορύβου, πᾶτε θαρρῶν, ἔφη, Ταρκύνιε, τὴν ἀκόνην, ὡς προαιρῆ· διαιεθήσεται γὰρ ἡ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐγώ. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ θράσος τοῦ μάντεως φέρει τὸ ξυρὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀκόνης, ἡ δὲ ἀκμή τοῦ σιδήρου δι' ὅλου κατελθοῦσα τοῦ λίθου τὴν τε ἀκόνην διαιρεῖ καὶ τῆς κατεχοῦσης αὐτὴν χειρὸς ἐπιτέμνει τι μέρος. ^[5] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς τὸ θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἄπιστον ἔργον ἐθεάσαντο, καταπλαγέντες ἀνεβόησαν, ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος αἰδεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ διατείρῃ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τὸ ἀπρεπὲς τῶν ὄνειδισμῶν ἐπανορθώσασθαι βουλόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς φυλάς ἐγχειρημάτων ἀπέστη, ἔπειτα δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Νέβιον ἀποθεραπεῦσαι διαγνοὺς, ὡς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλέστατον, ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς φιλανθρωπῖαις ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ἵνα μνήμης αἰωνίου τυγχάνῃ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἰκόνα κατασκευάσας αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν ἀνέστησεν ^[p. 400] ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἣ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κειμένη πλησίον τῆς

ἱερᾶς συκῆς ἐλάττων ἀνδρὸς μετρίου τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχουσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ὀλίγον δὲ ἄπωθεν αὐτῆς ἢ τε ἀκόνη κεκρύφθαι λέγεται κατὰ γῆς καὶ τὸ ξυρόν ὑπὸ βωμῷ τινι: καλεῖται δὲ Φρέαρ ὁ τόπος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ μάντεως τούτου μνημονευόμενα ταῦτά ἐστι.

βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ἀναπεπαυμένος ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων διὰ γῆρας, ἣν γὰρ ὀγδοηκονταέτης, δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγκου Μαρκίου παίδων ἀποθνήσκει ἐπιχειρησάντων μὲν ἔτι πρότερον ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολλάκις τοῦτο πραγματευσαμένων κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιπεσεῖν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσόντος ἐκείνου τὴν δυναστείαν, ὡς δὴ πατρῶαν σφίσιν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν δοθησομένην. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ διήμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐπιβουλὴν ἄφυκτον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐμηχανήσαντο, ἣν οὐκ εἶασεν ἀτιμώρητον γενέσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον. διηγῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως αὐτῶν ἀρξάμενος. [3] ὁ Νέβιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ δεινὸς οἰωνομάντις, ὃν ἔφην ἐναντιωθῆναι ποτε τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείονας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων ποιῆσαι τὰς φυλάς βουλομένῳ, ὅτε μάλιστα ἦνθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην καὶ πλεῖστον ἡδύνατο Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, εἴτε φθονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιτέχνων τινὸς εἴτ' [p. 401] ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ ποτε ἄλλο παθὼν ἀφανὲς ἄφνω γίνεται, καὶ οὔτε τὸν μόρον αὐτοῦ τις ἡδύνατο τῶν προσηκόντων συμβαλεῖν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ἐξευρεῖν: [4] ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ δεινῶς φέροντος τὸ πάθος ὑπονοίας τε πολλὰς καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν λαμβάνοντος, κατανοήσαντες τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες, ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον τὴν διαβολὴν τοῦ ἄγους ἀνέφερον ἄλλο μὲν οὐθὲν ἔχοντες φέρειν τῆς διαβολῆς οὔτε τεκμήριον οὔτε σημεῖον, δυσὶ δὲ τοῖς εἰκόσι τούτοις κρατυνόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καινὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διεγνωκῶς παρανομεῖν τὸν ἐναντιωσόμενον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐκ ποδῶν ἐβούλετο ποιήσασθαι, ἔπειτα ὅτι δεινοῦ πάθους γεγονότος οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησαντο τῶν δεδρακότων ζήτησιν, ἀλλ' ἄμελεια παρέδωκε τὸ πραχθέν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι [5] τίνα τῶν ἔξω τῆς αἰτίας ὑπαρχόντων. παρασκευασάμενοι δὲ μεγάλας ἐταιρείας περὶ αὐτοὺς πατρικίων τε καὶ δημοτικῶν, οἷς τὰς ἐαυτῶν οὐσίας κατηγορήγουν, πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ Ταρκυνίου κατηγορίαν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρήνουν μὴ περιορᾶν ἄνδρα μιᾶρὸν ἱεροῖς τε προσφέροντα τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν μαινόντα καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἀλλ' ἐπήλυτον ὄντα καὶ ἄπολιν. [6] τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἰταμοὶ καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἠρέθισαν τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἱ παραγενόμενον [p. 402] αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπολογίας χάριν ἐξελαύνειν ἐπεχείρησαν ὡς οὐ καθαρὸν: οὐ μὴν καταγωνίσασθαι γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἴσχυσαν οὐδὲ πείσαι τὸν δῆμον ἐδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπολογηθεὶς κράτιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διαβολὴν ἀπελύσατο καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Τύλλιος, ὃ τὴν ἐτέραν δεδωκῶς ἦν θυγατέρα, μέγιστον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δυνάμενος εἰς ἔλεον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπηγάγετο, συκοφάνται καὶ πονηροὶ δόξαντες εἶναι καὶ πολλὴν ὀφλόντες αἰσχύνην ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

ταύτης δὲ τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχόντες καὶ διαλλαγὰς τῆς ἔχθρας διὰ φίλων

εὐρόμενοι μετρίως τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶν ἐνέγκαντος τοῦ Ταρκυνίου διὰ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἱκανὴν ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι τῆς προπετείας διόρθωσιν ἔτη μὲν τρία διέμειναν ἐν τῇ προσποιήσει τῆς φιλίας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸν ὑπέλαβον ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν δόλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ῥάπτουσι τοιόνδε· [2] νεανίσκους δύο τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας τοὺς τολμηροτάτους ποιμενικαῖς ἐνδύσαντες στολαῖς καὶ δρεπάνοις καθοπλίσαντες ὕλουργοῖς πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμέρας μεσοῦσης διδάξαντες ἃ χρὴ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιθέσεως αὐτοῖς ὑφηγησάμενοι. οὗτοι πλησίον τῶν βασιλείων γενόμενοι κακῶς τε ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ὡς ἀδικούμενοι καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ χεῖρι τῶν σωμάτων ἀπείχοντο βοῇ τε μεγάλῃ [p. 403] χρώμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως βοήθειαν ἐκάλουν ἀμφοτέροι, παρόντων αὐτοῖς συχνῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἀγροίκων δὴ τῷ λόγῳ, συναγανακτούντων τε ἀμφοτέροις καὶ συμμαρτυρούντων. [3] ὡς δὲ εἰσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ ὧν διεφέροντο, αἰγῶν μὲν ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐσκήπτοντο, κεκραγότες δὲ ἅμα καὶ παθαινόμενοι τὸν ἄγριον τρόπον καὶ μὴ ἐν εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγοντες πολὺν ἐκίνησαν ἐξ ἀπάντων γέλῳτα. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καιρὸν ἔδοξαν εἰληφέναι τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τὸν ἐπιτήδειον, φέρουσι κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ βασιλέως πληγὰς τοῖς δρεπάνοις καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντες ἔφευγον ἔξω θυρῶν. [4] κραυγῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ βοηθείας πολλαχόθεν συνδραμούσης οὐ δυνηθέντες διαφυγεῖν συλλαμβάνονται πρὸς τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βασάνοις κατακισθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναγκασθέντες εἰπεῖν τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας ἔτυχον σὺν χρόνῳ. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ταρκύνιος οὐ μικρῶν οὐδὲ ὀλίγων Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος, ὅκτῳ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν οὕτω τελευτᾷ.

BOOK IV

[p. 1] βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ταρκύνιος οὐ μικρῶν οὐδ' ὀλίγων Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος, ὁκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν οὕτω τελευτᾷ υἱωνούς τε δύο καταλιπὼν νηπίους καὶ δύο θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἤδη συνοικούσας. διάδοχος δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ γίνεται Τύλλιος ἐνιαυτῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδης Λάκων ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεστρατίδου: [p. 2] περὶ οὗ καιρὸς ἤδη λέγειν, ἃ κατ' ἀρχὰς παρελίπομεν, ἐξ ὧν τε γονέων ἔφυ καὶ τινὰς ἀπεδείξατο πράξεις ἰδιώτης ὧν ἔτι καὶ πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν παρελθεῖν. [2] τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα, οἷς μάλιστα ἔγωγε συγκατατίθεμαι, τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐν Κορνικόλῳ πόλει τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους Τύλλιος ὄνομα γυναικὶ συνῆν Ὀκρισία καλλίστη τε καὶ σωφρονεστάτῃ τῶν ἐν Κορνικόλῳ γυναικῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος, ὅθ' ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατελαμβάνετο, μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει, τὴν δ' Ὀκρισίαν ἐγκύμονα οὔσαν ἐξαίρετον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων λαμβάνει Ταρκύνιος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δίδωσι δωρεὰν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί. μαθοῦσα δ' ἐκείνη πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐ πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὕστερον ἐλευθέραν αὐτὴν ἀφίησι καὶ πασῶν μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀσπαζομένη τε καὶ τιμῶσα διετέλεσεν. [3] ἐκ ταύτης γίνεται τῆς Ὀκρισίας ἔτι δουλευούσης παιδίον, ᾧ τίθεται τραφέντι ἡ μήτηρ τὸ μὲν ἰδίον τε καὶ συγγενικὸν ὄνομα Τύλλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν καὶ προσηγορικὸν Σερούιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας τύχης, ὅτι δουλεύουσα ἔτεκεν αὐτόν. εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ Σερούιος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταβιβαζόμενος Δούλιος.

φέρεται δὲ τις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἕτερος ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐξαίρων τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ὃν ἐν πολλαῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς [p. 3] ἱστορίαις εὔρομεν, εἰ θεοῖς τε καὶ δαίμοσι λέγεσθαι φίλος τοιοῦτος: αἵτινες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῶν βασιλείων, ἐφ' ἧς ἄλλας τε Ῥωμαῖοι συντελοῦσιν ἱερουργίας καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δειπνῶν ἀπαρχὰς ἀγίζουσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνασχεῖν λέγουσιν αἰδοῖον ἀνδρός. τοῦτο δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν Ὀκρισίαν πρώτην φέρουσαν τοὺς εἰωθότας πελάνους ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλθοῦσαν εἰπεῖν. [2] τὸν μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιον ἀκούσαντά τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἰδόντα τὸ τέρας ἐν θαύματι γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Τανακυλίδα τὰ τ' ἄλλα σοφὴν οὔσαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ μαντικὰ οὐδενὸς χεῖρον Τυρρηνῶν ἐπισταμένην εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς βασιλείου πέπρωται γενέσθαι κρεῖττον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἐκ τῆς μιχθείσης τῷ φάσματι γυναικός. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τερατοσκοπῶν ἀποφηνάμενων δόξα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν Ὀκρισίαν, ἥ πρώτη ἐφάνη τὸ τέρας, εἰς ὁμιλίαν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν γυναικὰ κοσμησαμένην, οἷς ἔθος ἐστὶ κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς γαμουμένας, κατακλίσθησθαι μόνην εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέρας ὤφθη. [3] μιχθέντος δὴ τινος αὐτῇ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων καὶ μετὰ τὴν μίξιν ἀφανισθέντος εἶθ' Ἥφαιστου καθάπερ οἶονταί τινες εἶτε τοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν ἥρωος, ἐγκύμονα

γενέσθαι καὶ τεκεῖν τὸν Τύλλιον ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις. τοῦτο τὸ μῦθευμα οὐ πάνυ τι πιστὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν ἑτέρα [p. 4] τις ἐπιφάνεια θεία γενομένη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστή^[4] καὶ παράδοξος ἦττον ἀπιστεῖσθαι ποιεῖ. καθημένου γάρ ποτ' αὐτοῦ μεσοῦσης μάλισθ' ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ παστάδι τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κατενεχθέντος ἐφ' ὕπνον, πῦρ ἀπέλαμψεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, ἥ τε μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνὴ πορευόμεναι διὰ τῆς παστάδος ἐθεάσαντο καὶ πάντες ὅσοι σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐτύγγανον τότε παρόντες, καὶ μέχρι τούτου διέμενεν ἡ φλόξ ὅλην αὐτοῦ καταλάμπουσα τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἕως ἡ μήτηρ προσδραμοῦσα διανέστησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ φλόξ ἅμα τῷ ὕπνῳ διασκεδασθεῖσα ἠφανίσθη. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν.

Ἄ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι διεπράξατο λόγου ἄξια, ἐξ ὧν Ταρκύνιος τ' αὐτὸν ἠγάσθη καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος τῆς μετὰ βασιλεία τιμῆς ἡξίου, τοιάδε. ἀντίπαις μὲν ὧν ἔτι τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ, ἣν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς Ταρκύνιος ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τεταγμένος οὕτως ἔδοξεν ἀγωνίσασθαι καλῶς, ὥστε περιβόητος εὐθὺ γενέσθαι καὶ τάριστεῖα πρῶτος ἀπάντων λαβεῖν: ἔπειθ' ἑτέρας γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος στρατείας καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς περὶ πόλιν Ἥρητον ἀνδρειότατος ἀπάντων φανεῖς στεφάνοις αὐθις ἀριστείοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκοσμεῖτο. ^[2] ἔτι δὲ γεγονώς εἴκοσι μάλιστα τῆς συμμαχικῆς στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη [p. 5] δυνάμει, ἣν Λατῖνοι ἐπεμψαν, καὶ συγκατεκτήσατο βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ τὴν τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἀρχήν: ἔν τε τῷ πρὸς Σαβίνους πολέμῳ τῷ πρώτῳ συστάντι τῶν ἱππέων ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡγεμὼν ἐτρέψατο τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀντέμνης ἐλάσας τάριστεῖα καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἔλαβεν: ἑτέρας τε πολλὰς πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος ἀγωνισάμενος μάχας τοτὲ μὲν ἱππέων ἡγούμενος, τοτὲ δὲ πεζῶν ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐφάνη ψυχὴν ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἐστεφανοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων. ^[3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρέστη Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ὑπόταξιν τε καὶ παράδοσιν τῶν πόλεων τὸ ἔθνος, αἰτιώτατος εἶναι δόξας Ταρκυνίῳ καὶ ταύτης τῆς δυναστείας τοῖς ἐπινικίοις στεφάνοις ἀνεδεῖτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ πολιτικὰ συνετώτατος καὶ λόγῳ τὰ βουλευθέντα ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐδενὸς χείρων ἀπάσαις θ' ἀρμόσαι ταῖς τύχαις καὶ παντὶ συνεξομοιωθῆναι προσώπῳ δυνατώτατος. ^[4] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μεταγαγεῖν ἠξίωσαν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντες, ὥσπερ Ταρκύνιον τε πρότερον καὶ ἔτι πρὸ τούτου Νόμαν Πομπίλιον: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κηδεστήν ἐποίησατο τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων ἐγγυήσας, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ νόσους ἢ διὰ γῆρας ἀδύνατος ἦν ἐπιτελεῖν, δι' ἑαυτοῦ τούτῳ πράττειν ἐπέσκηπτεν, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον ἐπιτρέπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικεῖν ἀξιώων. ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ἐξητάσθη πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ οὐδὲν ὥοντο διαφέρειν οἱ δημόται [p. 6] Ταρκύνιον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἢ Τύλλιον: οὕτως ἐξεθεραπεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις.

φύσεώς τε δὴ μετεिल्φώς ἀποχρῶντως κατεσκευασμένης πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐσχηκώς ἀφορμάς, ἐπειδὴ τελευτῆσαι συνέβη Ταρκύνιον ἐπιβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου παιδῶν ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν βουλομένων,

ὥς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα λόγῳ, δόξας ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καλεῖσθαι, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν καιρόν. [2] ἡ δὲ συγκατασκευάσασα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντων αἰτία γενομένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλέως ἦν γυνὴ γαμβρῷ τε συλλαμβάνουσα ἰδίῳ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεγνωκυῖα θεσφάτων, ὅτι βασιλεῦσαι Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα εἴμαρτο. ἔτυχε δ' αὐτῇ νεανίας μὲν υἱὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τετελευτηκῶς χρόνου, παῖδια δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δύο νήπια καταλειπόμενα. [3] ἐνθυμουμένη δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐρημίαν καὶ περιδεῆς οὔσα, μὴ κατασχόντες οἱ Μάρκιοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄρωνται τὰ παῖδια καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλικὴν συγγένειαν ἀφανίσωσι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέταξε τὰς τῶν βασιλείων θυράς κλεῖσαι καὶ φύλακας ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐπέστησε διακελευσαμένη μηδένα παριέναι μήτ' ἔσω μήτ' ἔξω· ἔπειτ' ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου πάντας ἐξελεῖν κελεύσασα τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐν ᾧ τὸν [p. 7] Ταρκύνιον ἡμιθνήτα ἔθεσαν, τὴν δ' Ὀκρισίαν καὶ τὸν Τύλλιον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν συνοικοῦσαν τῷ Τυλλίῳ κατασκοῦσα καὶ τὰ παῖδια ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν ἐνεχθῆναι κελεύσασα λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς: [4] Ταρκύνιος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὧ Τύλλιε, παρ' ᾧ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας ἔτυχες, ἀπάντων μάλιστα σὲ τιμήσας φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἀνόσια παθῶν ἐκπεπλήρωκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μοῖραν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἰδίων πραγμάτων διαθέμενος οὐδὲν οὔτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπισκήψας, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀσπάσασθαι τινα ἡμῶν καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς δυνηθεῖς. ἔρημα δὲ καὶ ὀρφανὰ τὰ δύσθηνα ταυτὶ παῖδια καταλείπεται κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τρέχοντα: εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μαρκίοις τοῖς ἀνελοῦσι τὸν πάππον αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται πράγματα, τὸν οἴκτιστον ἀπολοῦνται τρόπον ὑπ' αὐτῶν: ἔσται γ' οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἀσφαλὴς ὁ βίος, οἷς ἐνεγγύησε Ταρκύνιος τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας ἐκείνους ὑπεριδῶν, ἐὰν οἱ φονεῦσαντες αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰσχωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ φίλοις καὶ συγγενέσιν οὐδ' ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις γυναιξίν: ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερώς τε καὶ κρύφα πειράσσονται διολέσαι. [5] ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμουμένους ἡμᾶς δεῖ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτείναντας ἄνδρας ἀνοσίους καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐχθροὺς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν κτησαμένους, ἀλλ' ἐναντιοῦσθαι καὶ κωλύειν νῦν μὲν ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ χρησαμένους: τούτων [p. 8] γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ: ὅταν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ἡμῖν χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν, τότε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τούτων δέῃ. ἀλλ' οὐ δεήσει βουλευθέντων 1 ἡμῶν πράττειν νῦν ἃ δεῖ. [6] τίνα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστί; πρῶτον μὲν κρυπτώμεθα τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐξενεχθῆναι παρασκευάσωμεν, ὅτι πληγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει καιρίον, οἳ τ' ἰατροὶ λεγέτωσαν ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις αὐτὸν ἀποδείξιν ὑγιῇ: ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ προελθοῦσα εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἐρῶν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, ὥς δὴ Ταρκυνίου μοι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἐπισκήψαντος, ὅτι πάντων ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ φύλακα τῶν τ' ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ὑγιῆς γένηται, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γαμβρῶν, τὸ σὸν εἰποῦσα, ὧ Τύλλιε, ὄνομα ἔσται δ' οὐκ ἄκουσι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, ὑφ' οὗ [7] πολλὰκις ἤδη καὶ πρότερον ἐπετροπεύθη. ὅταν δὲ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον διασκεδάσωμεν,

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρόν ἐστι ζῆν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελλομένου, παραλαβὼν σὺ τὰς τε ῥάβδους καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἐξουσίαν κάλει τοὺς βουλευσάντας ἀποκτεῖναι Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκίου παίδων ἀρξάμενος καὶ πρόθεος αὐτοῖς δίκας: τιμωρησάμενος δὲ τοῦτους ἅπαντας, ἐὰν μὲν ὑπομείνωσι τὰς κρίσεις, θανάτοις, ἐὰν δ' ἐρήμους ἀφώσιν, ὃ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς οἶμαι ποιήσῃν, ἀειφυγία καὶ δημεῦσει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, [p. 9] καθίστασ' ἤδη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁμιλίας τε φιλανθρώποις τὸ πλῆθος ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδίκημα γενέσθαι πολλὴν ἔχων φροντίδα καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν εὐεργεσίας τισὶ καὶ δωρεαῖς ὑπαγόμενος: ἔπειθ' ὅταν ἡμῖν καιρὸς εἶναι δοκῇ, τότε λέγωμεν ἀποτεθνηκέναι [8] Ταρκύνιον καὶ ταφὰς αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ φανεροῦ. δίκαιος δ' εἶ, Τύλλιε, τραφεῖς θ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ παιδευθεῖς καὶ πάντων μετεσχηκῶς ἀγαθῶν, ὅσων παρὰ μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς υἱοὶ μεταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν ἡμετέρᾳ, ἐὰν δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένῃ Ῥωμαίων ἐμοῦ καὶ εἰς τοῦτό σοι συναγωνισαμένης, πατρὸς εὖνοιαν τοῖς παιδίοις τοῖς2δε παρασχέσθαι: ὅταν δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἔλθωσι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἱκανοὶ γένωνται, τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνα.

ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα καὶ τῶν παιδίων ἐκάτερον εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἐμβαλοῦσα τοῦ τε γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κινήσασα οἶκτον, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἔνδον εὐτρεπῇ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς συγκαλεῖν. διαλιποῦσα δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ νύκτα τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ πολλοῦ πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια συνδραμόντος ὄχλου προῆλθεν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ταῖς θυρίσιν ἐπιστᾶσα ταῖς φερούσαις εἰς τὸν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν στενωπὸν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδήλωσε [p. 10] τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς βουλευσάντας ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν φόνον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦργον ἀποσταλέντας ὑπ' [2] αὐτῶν δεδεμένους παρήγαγεν: ἔπειθ' ὥς εἶδε πολλοὺς: ὀλοφυρομένους τε τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῖς δεδρακόσιν ἀπεχθομένους, τελευτῶσα εἶπεν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀνοσίων ἐπιβουλευμάτων γεγονέναι οὐ δυνηθεῖσιν ἀποκτεῖναι Ταρκύνιον. ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τὸν λόγον ἀπάντων δεξαμένων τότε τὸν Τύλλιον αὐτοῖς συνίστησιν ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίτροπον ἀπάντων τῶν τ' ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἕως αὐτὸς ῥαίσῃ. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἀπῆει περιχαρὴς γενόμενος, εἰ μηδὲν πέπονθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς δεινόν, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἔχων ταύτην διετέλει. ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος ἰσχυρὰν χεῖρα περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων καὶ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς βασιλικοὺς προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς Μαρκίους ἐκήρυττεν ἦκειν ὑφ' ἑξόντας δίκην: ὥς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἐπικηρύξας αὐτοῖς ἁΐδιους φυγὰς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη τὴν Ταρκυνίου κατεῖχεν ἀρχήν.

βούλομαι δ' ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον ἀποδοῦναι τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς οὕτε Φαβίῳ συγκατεθέμην οὕτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱστορικοῖς, ὅσοι γράφουσιν υἱοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παῖδας ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου, ἵνα μὴ τινες τῶν ἐκείναις ἐντυχόντων ταῖς ἱστορίαις σχεδιάζῃν με ὑπολάβωσιν οὐχ υἱοὺς, ἀλλ' υἱωνοὺς αὐτοῦ [p. 11] γράφοντα τοὺς παῖδας. παντάπασι γὰρ ἀπερισκέπτως

καὶ ῥαθυμῶς οἱ συγγραφεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ταύτην ἐξηγηνόχασι τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐδὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν ἀναιρουντων αὐτὴν ἀδυνάτων τε καὶ ἀτόπων: ὦν ἕκαστον ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι φανερόν δι' ὀλίγων. [2] Ταρκύνιος ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μετανίσταται τὸν οἶκον ὅλον ἀνασκευασάμενος ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ τοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπάρχων ἡλικίᾳ. πολιτεύεσθαι γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀξιῶν παραδίδοται, καὶ τὴν ἅπαρσιν ἐκεῖθεν πεπονημένος διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν. [3] ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ὑπέθετο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντα τοῦλάχιστον, ὅτ' ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας: ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἡλικίας καλοῦσιν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς ἄρχειν τε καὶ πράττειν βουλομένους τὰ κοινὰ: ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νεώτερον αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεμαι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ποιῶ κατὰ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἀπανιστάμενον. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γυναῖκα Τυρρηνίδα ἐπηγάγετο, ἣν ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς ἔγημεν, ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συγγράφαντες ἱστορίας. [4] παραγίνεται δ' εἰς Ῥώμην Ἄγκου Μαρκίου βασιλεύοντος, ὥς μὲν Γέλλιος ἱστορεῖ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας, ὥς δὲ Λικίνιος γράφει κατὰ τὸν ὄγδοον. ἔστω δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον ἐληλυθὼς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, καθ' ὃν γράφει Λικίνιος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον: ἐν ὑστέρῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη χρόνῳ παραγεγινώς, εἶγε δὴ κατὰ τὸν ἑνατον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς [p. 12] Ἄγκου δυναστείας ἱππέων ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Λατίνους πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πέμπεται, ὥς ἀμφοτέρωτεροι λέγουσιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς: εἰ δὴ παρεγένετο μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην οὐ πλείω τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονώς ἐτῶν, Ἄγκῳ δὲ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸν ὄγδοον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνιαυτὸν φίλος γενόμενος ἐπτακαίδεκα διέτριψεν ἔτη παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ λοιπὰ: τέτταρα γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι βεβασίλευκεν Ἄγκος: ἔτη δ' ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχευεν αὐτὸς ὥς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὀγδοηκονταέτης ἂν ἦν, ὅτ' ἐτελεύτα. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ [5] τῶν ἐτῶν τοῦτο συνάγεται τὸ πλήθος. ἡ γυνὴ δ' εἰ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἦν αὐτοῦ νεωτέρα καθάπερ εἰκός, ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἂν δῆπου καὶ πέμπτον εἶχεν ἔτος, ὅτ' ἀπέθνησκε Ταρκύνιος. εἰ δὴ τὸν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν ἔοχατον ἐκύησεν ἔτος ἔχουσα πεντηκοστὸν: προσωτέρῳ γὰρ οὐκέτι κυῖσκεται τούτου τοῦ χρόνου γυνή, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗτος αὐτὸς τῶν ὠδίνων ὁ ὄρος, ὥς οἱ ταῦτ' ἐξητακότες γράφουσιν: οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττω γεγονώς ἦν ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μείων ἐπτακαίκοσαέτους: οὐκ ἄρα νηπίους κατέλιπεν υἱοὺς [6] ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐκ ταύτης γεγονότας τῆς γυναικός. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰγ' ἀνδρῶν ἡλικίαν εἶχον οἱ παῖδες, ὅθ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀπέθνησκεν, οὗτ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἦν [p. 13] ἀθλία καὶ θεοβλαβής, ὥστ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι μὲν τῶν ἑαυτῆς τέκνων ἦν κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πατὴρ ἀρχὴν, τῷ δ' ἄλλοτριῳ καὶ ἐκ δούλης γεγονότι χαρίζεσθαι: οὗτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἀποστερούμενοι φαύλως καὶ ῥαθυμῶς τὸ ἀδίκημα ἤνεγκαν καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ τοῦ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν ὄντες ἀκμῇ: οὔτε γὰρ εὐγενεῖα προεἶχεν αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐκ δούλης μητρὸς ὦν οὐθ' ἡλικίας ἀξιώματι παρὰ πολὺ διήλλαπτεν, ἀλλὰ τρισὶ μόνον ἔτεσι θατέρου πρεσβύτερος ἦν: ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν γε παρεχώρησαν αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκόντες.

ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀτοπίας, αἷς ἅπαντες ἡγνόησαν οἱ τὰ

Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξάμενοι πλὴν ἑνός, οὗ μετὰ μικρὸν ἑρῶ τοῦνομα. ὠμολόγηται γάρ, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ταρκυνίου τελευτὴν παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν Τύλλιος ἐπ’ ἔτη τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα κατέσχευεν, ὥστ’ εἰ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἑκτακαίκοσαέτης ἦν, ὅτ’ ἀπεστερεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Ταρκυνίων, ὑπὲρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς ἂν ἦν, ὅτε τὸν Τύλλιον ἀπέκτεινεν. [2] ἐν κρατίστῃ δὲ γ’ αὐτὸν ἡλικίᾳ τότε ὄντα παραδεδώκασιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς καὶ φασιν, ὅτι Τύλλιον αὐτὸς ἀράμενος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ φέρων ἔξω κατὰ τῶν κρηπιδων ἐξέχεεν. ἢ τ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔκπτωσις αὐτοῦ γίνεται πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἔτει, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει στρατευόμενος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀρδεάτας εἰσάγεται πολέμῳ καὶ πάντα [p. 14] τὰ ἔργα δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τελῶν: οὐκ εἶχε δὲ λόγον ἐν πολέμοις ἐξετάζεσθαι ἐξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βεβιωκώς ἔτη. [3] ἐκπεσὼν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἐλάττω τεττάρων καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξεταζόμενος, ὥς φασι, παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἐστὶ δόξας, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βίου χρόνος αὐτῷ πλείων ἀναφαίνεται τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα γεγονώς ἐτῶν: τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῶν βίων οὐ φέρουσιν οἱ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τόποι. [4] ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄτοπα συνειδότες τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων τινὲς ἐτέραις αὐτὰ λύειν ἐπειράθησαν ἀτοπίαις, οὐ Τανακυλίδα ποιοῦντες μητέρα τῶν παιδίων, ἀλλὰ Γεγανίαν τινά, περὶ ἧς οὐδεμίαν παρειλήφαμεν ἱστορίαν: ἄωρος δὴ γίνεται πάλιν ὁ γάμος τοῦ Ταρκυνίου μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἡ τῶν τέκνων γένεσις τοῖς ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἄπιστος: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄπαις ἦν, ὥστ’ ἐκ παντὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι τέκνων, ἀλλὰ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αὐτῷ δύο καὶ [5] αὗται γ’ ἤδη γεγαμημέναι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀδυνάτων τε καὶ ἀτόπων ἕκαστα ἐπιλογιζόμενος οὐχ υἱοὺς εἶναι Ταρκυνίου γράφω τοὺς παῖδας, ἀλλ’ υἱωνοὺς, Λευκίῳ Πείσωνι τῷ Φρυγί συγκαταθέμενος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις πραγματείαις ταῦθ’ ἱστορήκε μόνος: εἰ [p. 15] μὴ γ’ ἄρα γόνυ μὲν ἦσαν υἱωνοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ παῖδες, ποιήσει δ’ υἱοί, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἦν αἵτιον τῆς ἀπάτης τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τοῖς συγγράψασιν τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἱστορίας. προειρημένων δὴ τούτων καιρὸς ἐπανάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολείπομένην διήγησιν.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς βασιλείας ὁ Τύλλιος καὶ τὴν ἑταιρίαν τῶν Μαρκίων ἐξελάσας βεβαίως ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνόμιζε κρατεῖν, τὸν τε βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον, ὥς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τετελευτηκότα ἔναγχος, ἐκκομιδῇ τε πολυτελεῖ καὶ μνήματος ἐπισήμου κατασκευῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἐκόσμη, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ὥς ἐπίτροπος ὢν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους παίδων τὸν τ’ ἴδιον αὐτῶν βίον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως διὰ φυλακῆς τε καὶ φροντίδος ἐποιεῖτο. [2] τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις οὐκ ἦν τὰ γινόμενα καθ’ ἡδονάς, ἀλλ’ ἡγανάκτουν καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ τινα μηχανήσασθαι βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν, μήτε βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης μήτε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ νόμον ἐπιτελεσθέντων. συνιόντες τε πολλάκις οἱ πλεῖστον ἐξ αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς παρανόμου ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴν πρῶτον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυλλίου ἀναχθῶσιν, ἀναγκάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς ῥάβδους ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς σύμβολα: ὅταν

δὲ τοῦτο γένηται, τοὺς καλουμένους μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀποδείξει καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐλῆσθαι τὸν ἄρξοντα τῆς [p. 16] [3] πόλεως κατὰ νόμους. ταῦτα διανοουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐτρέπετο, δι' ἐκείνων ἐλπίσας τὴν ἀρχὴν καθέξειν, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ τε παιδία προήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ λόγον διεξῆλθε τοιόνδε.

πολλή με ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν, ἄνδρες πολῖται, κήδεσθαι τῶν παιδίων τούτων καὶ νηπίων. Ταρκύνιος γὰρ ὁ πάππος αὐτῶν ἀπάτορα καὶ ἄπολιν ὄντα με παραλαβὼν ἐξέθρεψεν οὐδὲν ἐνδεέστερον ἄγων τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων ἔδωκέ μοι γυναῖκα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότα τιμῶν καὶ φιλῶν, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, διετέλεσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν, εἴ τι πάθοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, [2] ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παιδίων ἐπίστευσε. τίς οὖν ἢ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσιον ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιον ὑπολήψεται με, ἐὰν ἐγκαταλίπω καὶ προδῶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, οἷς τοσαύτας ὀφείλω χάριτας; ἀλλ' οὔτε τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προδώσω πίστιν οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν παιδίων ἐρημίαν ἐγκαταλείψω κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμήν. δίκαιοι δ' ἐστὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς διαμεμνηῖσθαι τὰς εὐεργεσίας, αἷς ὁ πάππος αὐτῶν τὸ κοινὸν εὐηργέτησεν ὑποτάξας μὲν ὑμῖν τὰς Λατίνων τοσαύτας πόλεις ἀντιποιοιμένας τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπηκόους δὲ ποιήσας Τυρρηνοὺς ἅπαντας μέγιστον τῶν περιοίκων [p. 17] δυναμένους, ἀναγκάσας δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, μετὰ πολλῶν ἄκαντα ταῦτα καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων κατεργασάμενος. [3] ὅσον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἔζη χρόνον, ἐκείνῳ κροσῆκεν ὑμᾶς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν χάριτας εἰδέναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τετελεύτηκε τὸν βίον τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποτίνειν, καὶ μὴ συγκατορύττειν ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι τῶν εὐεργετῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἔργων. δόξατε οὖν κοινῇ πάντες ἐπίτροποι καταλελειφθαι τῶν παιδίων καὶ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτοῖς ἦν ὁ πάππος κατέλιπεν ἀρχήν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀπολαύσειαν ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐνὸς ὄντος προστασίας, ὅσον ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν βοηθείας. [4] ταῦτα δ' εἰπεῖν ἠνάγκασμαι συνισταμένους τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτέροις παραδοῦναι βουλομένους. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν μεμνημένους ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡγωνισάμην, οὔτε μικρῶν ὄντων οὔτ' ὀλίγων, οὓς οὐδὲν δέομαι πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς λέγειν, τὰς ἀντὶ τούτων ὀφειλομένας ἐμοὶ χάριτας τοῖς παιδίοις ἀκοδοῦναι τούτοις. οὐ γὰρ ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενος, ἥς οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἄξιος ἦν βουλευθεὶς τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ταρκυνίου γένει βοηθῶν τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν προήρημαι. [5] ἰκέτης δ' ὑμῶν γίνομαι μὴ τοὺς ὀρφανούς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν [p. 18] νῦν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς κινδυνεύοντας, εἰ δ' ἡ πρώτη πείρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν χωρήσει κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελαθισομένους. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ὡς ἐγνωκόσιν ὑμῖν τὰ δέοντα καὶ ποιήσουσιν, ὅσα προσήκει, οὐδὲν δέομαι πλείω λέγειν: ἃ δὲ παρσκευάσμαι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὦν χάριν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλεσα, ἀκούσατέ μου. [6] ὅσοι μὲν ὑμῶν ὀφείλοντες ἤδη χρέα διὰ πενίαν ἀδύνατοί εἰσιν ἀποδοῦναι, τούτοις βοηθεῖν προθυμούμενος, ἐπειδὴ πολῖταί τ' εἰσὶ καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος

ἀνηντλήκασιν πόνους, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφαιρεθῶσιν ἐλευθερίαν οἱ τὴν κοινὴν βεβαιώσαντες, ἐκ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ ^[7] χρημάτων δίδωμι διαλύσασθαι τὰ χρέα. ὅσοι δ' ἂν μετὰ ταῦτα δανείσωνται, τούτους οὐκ ἐάσω πρὸς τὰ χρέα ἀπάγεσθαι καὶ νόμον θήσομαι μηδὲνα δανεῖζειν ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἐλευθέροις ἱκανὸν ἡγούμενος τοῖς δανεισταῖς τῆς οὐσίας τῶν συμβαλόντων κρατεῖν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γινομένας εἰσφοράς, δι' αἷς οἱ πένητες ἐπιβαροῦνται τε καὶ ἀναγκάζονται δανείσματα ποιεῖν, κουφοτέρας εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν φέρητε, τιμήσασθαι τὰς οὐσίας ἅπαντας κελεύσω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος ἕκαστον εἰσφέρειν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, ὡς ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ εὐνομωτάταις πόλεσι πυνθάνομαι γινόμενον, δίκαιόν [p. 19] τε καὶ συμφέρον τῷ κοινῷ τοῦθ' ἡγούμενος τοὺς μὲν πολλὰ κεκτημένους πολλὰ εἰσφέρειν, τοὺς δ' ὀλίγα ἔχοντας ὀλίγα. ^[8] δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς, ἣν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κτησάμενοι κατέχετε, μὴ τοὺς ἀναιδεστάτους ὥσπερ νῦν κρατεῖν οὔτε χάριτι λαβόντας οὔτ' ὠνῇ κτησαμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μηδὲνα κλῆρον ἔχοντας ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ θητεύητε ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι μηδὲ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἰδίας γεωργῇτε: οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο φρόνημα εὐγενὲς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπορουμένοις τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων. ^[9] ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνων καὶ ἴσῃν καὶ κοινὴν ποιεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ δίκαια πᾶσι πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅμοια. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἤκουσιν τινες αὐθαδείας, ὥσθ' ὑβρίζειν εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀξιοῦσι καὶ μὴδ' ἐλευθέρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς πένητας ὑμῶν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ λαμβάνωσι τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὑπέχωσιν οἱ μείζους τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἐξ ἴσου, νόμους θήσομαι κωλυτὰς μὲν τῆς βίας, φύλακας δὲ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδένα χρόνον ἀνήσω τῆς ἀπάντων προνοοῦμενος ἰσηγορίας.

τοιαῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν καὶ δίκαιος περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἐπαινούντων, τῶν δ', ὅτι φιλάνθρωπος καὶ μεγαλόψυχος εἰς τοὺς ἀπόρους, τῶν δ', ὡς μέτριος καὶ δημοτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινότερους, ἀπάντων δ', ὅτι νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος ἄρχων, ἀγαπώντων [p. 20] ^[2] τε καὶ τεθαυμακότων. διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀπογράφεσθαι κελεύσας τοὺς ὑποχρέους, ὅσοι τὴν πίστιν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν φυλάττειν, τίσιν ὀφείλουσι καὶ πόσον ἕκαστος, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔλαβε, τραπέζας θεῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ πάντων ὁρώντων ἀπληροῦν τοῖς δανεισταῖς τὰ χρέα. ^[3] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐξέθηκεν ἐν φανερῷ διάταγμα βασιλικόν, ἐκχωρεῖν τῆς δημοσίας γῆς τοὺς καρπουμένους τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἐν ὠρισμένῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ, καὶ τοὺς οὐδένα κλῆρον ἔχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπογράφεσθαι: νόμους τε συνέγραψεν οὓς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παρημελημένων ἀνανεοῦμενος, οὓς Πρωμύλος τ' εἰσηγήσατο καὶ Νόμας Πομπήλιος, οὓς δ' ^[4] αὐτὸς καθιστάμενος. ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένου χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ πατρίκιοι καταλυομένην τὴν δυναστείαν τῆς βουλῆς ὁρῶντες καὶ λογισμοὺς οὐκέτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐναντίους τοῖς προτέροις ἐλάμβανον. ^[5] ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν γὰρ ὥρμησαν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν παράνομον αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν ἀποδειξάντες μεσοβασιλεῖς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐλέσθαι τὸν κατὰ νόμους ἔξοντα τὴν ἀρχήν: τότε δὲ στέργειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ὥοντο δεῖν καὶ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν. εἰσῆι γὰρ αὐτοῖς λογισμός, ὅτι τῆς μὲν βουλῆς, ὃν αὐτὴ προηρεῖτο,

παραγούσης ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ὁ δῆμος ἐναντιώσεται τὴν ψῆφον ἀναλαβών: ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσωσι τὴν [p. 21] τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἅπασαι τὸν Τύλλιον ψηφοφορήσουσιν αἱ φρᾶτραι, καὶ περιέσται τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸ δοκεῖν κατὰ νόμους ἄρχειν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι κλέπτοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παρακρουόμενον τοὺς πολίτας μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαντα καὶ φανερώς λαβόντα κατέχειν. [6] ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο προὔργου τῶν λελογισμένων: οὕτω κατεστρατήγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τύλλιος καὶ κατέσχε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων. κατασκευάσας γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ φήμας λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πατρικίων προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσθῆτα πιναρὰν περιβεβλημένος καὶ κατηφῆς συνούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Ὀκρισίας καὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου γυναικὸς Τανακυλίδος καὶ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς βασιλικῆς ὅλης. ὄχλου δὲ συνδραμόντος πολλοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλέσας προῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ διεξῆλθε τοιοῦτόν τινα λόγον.

οὐκέτι μοι περὶ τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν μόνον ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεινὸν πάθωσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δέος εἰσέρχεται, μὴ πικρὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀπολάβω. ἐπιβουλευόμεαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ μεμῆνυνται μοι τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι με συνομνύμενοι ἀδίκημα μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἔχοντες ἐγκαλεῖν, ὧν δὲ τὸν δῆμον εὖ πεποίηκα καὶ [p. 22] παρεσκεύασμαι ποιεῖν ἀχθόμενοι τε καὶ ἀναξιοπαθοῦντες: [2] οἱ δανεισταὶ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς πένητας ὑμῶν οὐκ εἴασα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι πρὸς τὰ χρέα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντας: οἱ δὲ κατανοσφιζόμενοι τὰ δημόσια καὶ κατέχοντες, ἦν ὑμεῖς δι' αἷματος ἐκτήσασθε γῆν ἐκλιπεῖν ἀναγκάζόμενοι, ὥσπερ τὰ πατρῴα ἀποστεροῦμενοι καὶ οὐ τάλλότρια ἀποδιδόντες: οἱ δ' ἀνείμενοι τῶν εἰσφορῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ τιμῆσασθαι τοὺς βίους ἀναγκασθήσονται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων τὰς εἰσφορὰς συνεισφέρειν: κοινῇ δὲ σύμπαντες, ὅτι κατὰ νόμους γεγραμμένους ἐθισθήσονται ζῆν τὰ δίκαια ἐξ ἴσου διδόντες ὑμῖν καὶ λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις παραχρήσονται τοῖς πένησιν, ὃ ποιοῦσι νῦν. [3] καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματα συνενέγκαντες εἰς τὸ κοινὸν βεβούλευνται τε καὶ συνομωμόκασιν κατάγειν τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ τοῖς Μαρκίου παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδιδόναι, οὓς ὑμεῖς Ταρκύνιον ἀποκτείναντας τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ τηλικούτο διαπραξαμένους ἄγος τὰς τε δίκας ἐρήμους ἐκλιπόντας καὶ φυγῆς ἑαυτοῖς τιμησασμένους πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἵργειν ἐψηφίσασθε: ἔμελλον τ', εἰ μὴ θᾶπτον ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων ἐγένετο μήνυσις, ξενικὴν δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενοι νυκτὸς ἔτι πολλὴν κατάγειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν [p. 23] [4] τοὺς φυγάδας. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντες ἴστε δήπου, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω, ὅτι Μάρκιοι συλλαμβανόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πατρικίων κατασχόντες τὰ πράγματα δίχα πόνου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐμὲ τὸν φύλακα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεσάμενον δίκας ἔμελλον ἀναρπάσσεσθαι, ἔπειτα ταυτὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους Ταρκυνίου πάντας ἀρεῖσθαι: γυναικας δ' ἡμῶν καὶ μητέρας καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ γένος ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιήσασθαι λόγῳ, πολὺ [5] τὸ θηριώδες ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ

τυραννικόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἔστιν, ὧς δημόται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους καταγείναι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν εὐεργετῶν παῖδας ἐξελαύνειν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου καταλειφθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, στέρεξομεν τὴν τύχην. ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπάντων θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, ὅσοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐποπτεύουσι βίον, ἰκέται πάντες ὑμῶν γινόμενοι σὺν γυναιξὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις ἀντὶ πολλῶν μὲν, ὧν Ταρκύνιος ὁ τῶν παιδίων πάππος εὖ ποιῶν ὑμᾶς διετέλεσεν, ἀντὶ πολλῶν δέ, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐγενόμην ὑμῖν χρήσιμος, ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς μίαν ἡμῖν δοῦναι ταύτην δωρεάν, φανεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γνώμην. [6] εἰ γὰρ ἑτέρους τινὰς ἀξιονικότερους ἡμῶν ὑπειλήφατε εἶναι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνειν, [p. 24] τὰ μὲν παιδία οἰχήσεται τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καταλιπόντα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ταρκυνίου συγγένεια: ἐγὼ δ' ἕτερόν τι βουλευέσομαι γενναιότερον ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ: βεβίωται γὰρ ἤδη μοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἀποχρώντως καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσασμι τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας ψευθεῖς, ἣν ἀντὶ παντὸς εἰλόμην ἀγαθοῦ, ζῆν αἰσχροῦς ἐν ἄλλοις τισί. παραλάβετε δὴ τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ δότε, εἰ βούλεσθε, τοῖς πατρικίοις: ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐνοχλήσω παρῶν.

ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παραχωρεῖν οἴου τε ὄντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κραυγὴ τε παρὰ πάντων ἐξαίσιος ἐγένετο καὶ δεήσεις μεμιγμέναι δάκρυσιν, ἵνα μένῃ τε καὶ διακατέχῃ τὰ πράγματα μηδὲνα δεδοικώς. ἔπειτ' ἐγκέλευστοί τινες διειληφότες τὴν ἀγορὰν βασιλέα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐβόων καὶ συγκαλεῖν τὰς φράτρας ἡξίουσαν καὶ ψῆφον ἦτουν. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως ἐγεγόνει. [2] τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Τύλλιος οὐκέτι παρήκε τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι φήσας χάριτας, ὅτι μέμνηνται τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ ἔτι πλείονα ὑποσχόμενος ἀγαθὰ ποιήσων, ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξωσι βασιλέα, προεῖπεν ἡμέραν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, εἰς ἣν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἅπαντας παρεῖναι. [3] συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καλῶν τὰς φράτρας κατὰ μίαν ἀνεδίδου τὰς ψήφους. ἀπάσαις δὲ ταῖς φράτραις κριθεὶς τῆς βασιλείας [p. 25] ἄξιος παραλαμβάνει τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους πολλὰ χαίρειν τῇ βουλῇ φράσας, ἣν οὐκ ἡξίωσεν ἐπικυρώσαι τὰ τοῦ δήμου κρίματα, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ἔθος ἦν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθὼν πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων πολιτευμάτων εἰσηγητῆς ἐγένετο, μέγαν δὲ καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἐπολέμησε πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον. ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τοὺς λόγους.

εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διένειμε τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν τοῖς θηπεύουσι Ῥωμαίων: ἔπειτα τοὺς νόμους τοὺς τε συναλλακτικοὺς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐπεκύρωσε ταῖς φράτραις: ἦσαν δὲ πεντήκοντά που μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι μεμνησθαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν. [2] τῇ τε πόλει προσέθηκε δύο λόφους, τὸν τε Οὐμινάλιον καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἴσκυλῖνον, ὧν ἑκάτερος ἀξιολόγου πόλεως ἔχει μέγεθος, καὶ διένειμεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνεστίοις Ῥωμαίων οἰκίας κατασκευάσασθαι: ἐνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησατο τὴν οἰκῆσιν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς Ἴσκυλίας τόπῳ. [3] οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευτᾷος ἠὔξησε τὸν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δύο τοῖς πέντε

προσθεῖς λόφοις, ὀρνιθευσάμενός τε ὡς νόμος ἦν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς θεοῦς ὅσια διαπραξάμενος. προσωτέρω δ' οὐκέτι προῆλθεν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἔωντος, ὥς φασι, τοῦ δαιμονίου, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκούμενα χωρία, πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα, γυμνὰ καὶ ἀτειχιστα [p. 26] ^[4] καὶ ῥᾶστα πολεμίοις ἐλθοῦσιν ὑποχίρια γενέσθαι: καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς ταῦτά τις ὀρῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν βουλήσεται τῆς Ῥώμης, πλανᾶσθαι τ' ἀναγκασθήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἔξει βέβαιοι σημεῖον οὐδέν, ὧ διαγνώσεται, μέχρι ποῦ προβαίνουσα ἔτι πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται μηκέτ' εἶναι πόλις, οὕτω συνύφανται τὸ ἄστρῳ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκμηκνυομένης πόλεως ὑπόληψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχεται. ^[5] εἰ δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ δυσσευρέτῳ μὲν ὄντι διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανούσας αὐτὸ πολλαχόθεν οἰκήσεις, ἴχνη δέ τινα φυλάττοντι κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς, βουλευθεῖη μετρεῖν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὸν περιέχοντα Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἄστρῳ, οὐ πολλῷ τι μείζων ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἂν αὐτῷ φανείη κύκλος. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ μεγέθους τε καὶ κάλλους τῆς πόλεως, ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν εἶχεν ἡλικίαν, ἕτερος ἔσται τῇ διηγῇσει καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος.

Ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐπτὰ λόφους ἐνὶ τείχει περιέλαβεν, εἰς τέτταρας μοῖρας διελὼν τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων ταῖς μοῖραις τὰς ἐπικλήσεις, τῇ μὲν Παλατινῇ, τῇ δὲ Σουβουράνῃ, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ Κολλίνῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν μοιρῶν Ἰσκυλίνῃ, τετράφυλον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, τρίφυλον οὖσαν τέως: ^[2] καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔταξε τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν τεττάρων οἰκοῦντας, ὥσπερ κωμήτας, μήτε μεταλαμβάνειν [p. 27] ἑτέραν οἴκησιν μήτ' ἄλλοθι που συντελεῖν, τὰς τε καταγραφὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων τὰς γινομένας εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας χρεῖας, ἃς ἕκαστος ἔδει τῷ κοινῷ παρέχειν, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς φυλάς τὰς γενικὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς τέτταρας τὰς τοπικὰς τὰς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διαταχθείσας ἐποιεῖτο, ἡγεμόνας ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἀποδείξας συμμορίας, ὥσπερ φυλάρχους ἢ κωμάρχας, οἷς προσέταξεν εἰδέναι, ποίαν οἰκίαν ἕκαστος οἰκεῖ. ^[3] ἔπειτα κατὰ πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στενωποὺς ἱερὰ ἐγκατασκευασθῆναι καλιάδας ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων ἡρώσι προνωπίοις καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν πελάνους εἰσφερούσης ἑκάστης οἰκίας: τοῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν γεινόνων ἱερὰ συντελοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς προνωπίοις οὐ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δούλους ἔταξε παρῆναι τε καὶ συνιουργεῖν, ὡς κεχαρισμένης τοῖς ἡρώσι τῆς τῶν θεραπόντων ὑπηρεσίας: ^[4] ἦν ἔτι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐορτὴν ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῶν Κρονίων, σεμνὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ καὶ πολυτελεῇ, Κομπιτάλια προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῶν στενωπῶν: κομπίτους γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς καλοῦσι: καὶ φυλάττουσι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐθισμόν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἡρώας ἰλασκόμενοι καὶ ἅπαν τὸ δοῦλον ἀφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἵνα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ταύτῃ [p. 28] τιθασσεύομενοι μέγα τι καὶ σεμνὸν ἐχούσῃ χαριέστεροι γίνωνται περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς τύχης ἦττον βαρύνωνται.

διεῖλε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος φησιν, εἰς μοῖρας ἕξ τε

καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς καλεῖ φυλάς καὶ τὰς ἀστικάς προστιθεὶς αὐταῖς τέτταρας· ὥς δὲ Οὐεννώνιος ἰστόρηκεν, εἰς μίαν τε καὶ τριάκοντα, ὥστε σὺν ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν οὖσαις ἐκπεπληρωῖσθαι τὰς ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε φυλάς· Κάτων μέντοι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀξιοπιστότερος ὢν τριάκοντα φυλάς ἐπὶ Τυλλίου τὰς πάσας γενέσθαι λέγει καὶ οὐ χωρίζει τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἀριθμόν. ^[2] διελὼν δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος εἰς ὀπόσας δῆποτε μοίρας τὴν γῆν κατὰ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς γεωργοῖς παρέχειν δυνησομένοὺς ὄχθους κρησφύγετα κατεσκεύασεν, Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ καλῶν Πάγους, ἔνθα συνέφευγον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἅπαντες, ὅποτε γένοιτο πολεμίων ἔφοδος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ^[3] διενυκτέρευον ἐνταῦθα. ἄρχοντες δὲ καὶ τούτων ἦσαν, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ τ' ὀνόματα τῶν γεωργῶν εἶδέναι τῶν συντελούντων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πάγον, καὶ [p. 29] τὰς κτήσεις, ἐν αἷς ὁ βίος αὐτῶν ἦν· καὶ ὅποτε χρεῖα γένοιτο ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς χωρίτας καλεῖν ἢ χρημάτων εἰσφοράς κατ' ἄνδρα ἐκλέγειν, οὗτοι τὰ τε σώματα συνῆγον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰσέπραττον. ἴνα δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ πληθὺς μὴ δυσεύρετος, ἀλλ' εὐλόγιστος ἦ καὶ φανερά, βωμοὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἰδρῦσασθαι θεῶν ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ φυλάκων τοῦ πάγου, οὓς ἔταξε θυσίαις κοιναῖς γεραιρεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἅμα συνερχομένους, ἑορτὴν τινα καὶ ταύτην ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμίαν καταστησάμενος, τὰ καλούμενα Παγανάλια· καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων, οὓς ἔτι διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, συνέγραψεν. ^[4] εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἅπαντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁμοπάγους κατὰ κεφαλὴν ὠρισμένον νόμισμά τι συνεισφέρειν, ἕτερον μὲν τι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἕτερον δὲ τι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἄλλο δὲ τι τοὺς ἀνήβους. ἐξ οὗ συναριθμηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων τοῖς ἱεροῖς φανερὸς ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ γένη τε καὶ καθ' ἡλικίας. ^[5] ὥς δὲ Πείσων Λεύκιος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων ἀναγραφῶν ἱστορεῖ, βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄστει διατριβόντων τὸ πλῆθος εἶδέναι, τῶν τε γεννωμένων καὶ τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφομένων, ἔταξεν ὅσον ἔδει νόμισμα καταφέρειν ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τοὺς προσήκοντας, εἰς μὲν τὸν τῆς Εἰλειθυίας θησαυρόν, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἥραν φωσφόρον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεννωμένων· εἰς δὲ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν ἄλσει καθιδρυμένης, ἣν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβιτίνην, [p. 30] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογινομένων· εἰς δὲ τὸν τῆς Νεότητος, ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἀρχομένων συντελεῖν· ἐξ ὧν ἡμελλε διαγνώσεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅσοι τε οἱ σύμπαντες ἦσαν καὶ τίνες ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον 2 ἡλικίαν εἶχον. ^[6] ταῦτα καταστησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους ἀπογράφεσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς οὐσίας πρὸς ἀργύριον ὁμόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον, ἥ μὲν τάληθῇ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου τετιμῆσθαι, πατέρων τε ὧν εἰσι γράφοντας καὶ ἡλικίαν ἣν ἔχουσι δηλοῦντας γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ὀνομάζοντας καὶ ἐν τίνι κατοικοῦσιν ἕκαστοι τῆς πόλεως φυλῇ ἢ πάγῳ τῆς χώρας προστιθέντας· τῷ δὲ μὴ τιμησαμένῳ τιμωρίαν ὥρισε τῆς τ' οὐσίας στέρεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν μαστιγωθέντα πραθῆναι· καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὗτος ὁ νόμος.

τιμησαμένων δὲ πάντων ἀναλαβὼν τὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ διαγνοὺς τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν βίων σοφώτατον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων

εἰσηγήσατο καὶ μεγίστων Ῥωμαῖος ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον, ὥς 3 τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσε. [2] τὸ δὲ πολίτευμα τοιόνδε ἦν: μίαν ἀφεῖλεν ἐξ ἀπάντων μοῖραν, ἥς τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑκατὸν μνῶν. τούτους δὲ συντάξας εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα λόχους ὅπλα φέρειν ἐπέταξεν Ἀργολικὰς καὶ δόρατα καὶ κράνη χάλκεα καὶ θώρακας καὶ κνημίδας καὶ ξίφη. διελὼν δ' αὐτοὺς [p. 31] διχῇ, τετταράκοντα μὲν ἐποίησε νεωτέρων λόχους, οἷς τὰς ὑπαιθρίους ἀπέδωκε στρατείας, τετταράκοντα δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, οὓς ἔδει τῆς νεότητος εἰς πόλεμον ἐξιούσης ὑπομένοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ἐντὸς τείχους φυλάττειν. [3] αὕτη πρώτη σύνταξις ἦν: χώραν δὲ κατεῖχεν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὴν προαγωνιζομένην τῆς φάλαγγος ὅλης. ἔπειτ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἑτέραν ἀφῆρει μοῖραν, οἷς ἦν ἐντὸς μὲν μυρίων δραχμῶν, οὐ μείον δὲ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μνῶν τὸ τίμημα. συντάξας δὲ τούτους εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φορεῖν ὅπλα προσέταξεν, ὅσα τοὺς προτέρους, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας αὐτῶν ἀφεῖλε, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀνέδωκε θυρεοὺς. διελὼν δὲ καὶ τούτων τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη γεγονότας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν, δέκα μὲν ἐποίησε λόχους νεωτέρων, οὓς ἔδει προπολεμεῖν τῆς πόλεως, δέκα δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, οἷς ἀπέδωκε τειχοφυλακεῖν. αὕτη δευτέρα σύνταξις ἦν, ἐκοσμεῖτο δ' [4] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι μετὰ τοὺς προμάχους. τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἐποiei σύνταξιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων, ὅσοι τίμησιν εἶχον ἐλάττονα μὲν τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν, οὐ μείονα δὲ μνῶν πεντήκοντα. τούτων δ' ἐμίεισε τὸν ὀπλισμὸν οὐ μόνον τοῖς θώραξιν, [5] ὥσπερ τῶν δευτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περικνημῖσι. συνέταξε δὲ καὶ τούτους εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους καὶ διεῖλε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς προτέροις καθ' ἡλικίας, δέκα λόχους ἀποδοὺς τοῖς νεωτέροις καὶ δέκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. [p. 32] χώρα δὲ καὶ στάσις ἦν τούτων τῶν λόχων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἢ μετὰ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τοῖς προμάχοις.

ἀφελὼν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων τοὺς ἐλάττω πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν ἔχοντας οὐσίαν ἄχρι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνῶν, τετάρτην ἐποίησε μοῖραν. διέταξε δὲ καὶ τούτους εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους, καὶ δέκα μὲν ἐποίησε τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ, δέκα δὲ τῶν ὑπερηλικίων κατὰ ταῦτά τοῖς προτέροις. ὅπλα δὲ φέρειν ἔταξεν αὐτοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ ξίφη καὶ δόρατα καὶ στάσιν ἔχειν 4 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τὴν ὑστάτην. [2] τὴν δὲ πέμπτην μοῖραν, οἷς ἐντὸς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε μνῶν ἄχρι δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσεως μνῶν ὁ βίος ἦν, εἰς τριάκοντα συνέταξε λόχους. διήρηντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καθ' ἡλικίαν: πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν λόχοι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εἶχον, πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους. τούτους ἔταξε σαυνία καὶ [3] σφενδόνας ἔχοντας ἔξω τάξεως συστρατεύεσθαι. τέτταρας δὲ λόχους οὐδὲν ἔχοντας ὅπλον ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνόπλοις: ἦσαν δὲ τῶν τεττάρων τούτων δύο μὲν ὀπλοποιῶν τε καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατασκευαζόντων τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρηστα: δύο δὲ σαλπιστῶν τε καὶ βυκανιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλοις πισὴν ὀργάνοις ἐπισημαινόντων τὰ παρακλητικὰ τοῦ πολέμου. προσέκειντο δ' οἱ μὲν χειροτέχνηται τοῖς τὸ δεύτερον ἔχουσι τίμημα διηρημένοι καθ' ἡλικίαν, ὁ μὲν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὁ δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκολουθῶν [4] λόχος. οἱ δὲ σαλπισταὶ τε καὶ οἱ βυκανισταὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ [p. 33] συνετάττοντο μοίρᾳ. ἦν

δὲ καὶ τούτων εἷς μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λόχος, εἷς δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων: λοχαγοὶ δ' ἕξ ἀπάντων ἐπιλεχθέντες οἱ γενναιότατοι τὰ πολέμια τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστοι λόχους εὐπειθεῖς τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις παρείχοντο.

αὕτη μὲν ἡ διακόσμησις ἦν ἡ τὸ πεζικὸν ἐκπληροῦσα τῶν τε φαλαγγιτῶν καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν στρατεύματα: τὸ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος ἐπέλεξε ἐκ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα καὶ κατὰ γένος ἐπιφανῶν: συνέταξε δ' εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχους καὶ προσένειμεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν φαλαγγιτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα λόχοις: εἶχον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους λοχαγοὺς. [2] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πολίτας, οἱ τίμησιν εἶχον ἐλάττονα δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσιους μνῶν, πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας τῶν προτέρων, ἅπαντας εἰς ἓνα συντάξας λόχον στρατείας τ' ἀπέλυσε καὶ πάσης εἰσφορᾶς ἐποίησεν ἀτελεῖς. ἐγένοντο δὴ συμμορίαὶ μὲν ἕξ, ἃς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι κλάσσεις, κατὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς κλήσεις παρονομάσαντες: ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ῥῆμα προστακτικῶς σχηματίσαντες ἐκφέρομεν, κάλει, τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι κάλα καὶ τὰς κλάσσεις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν καλέσεις: [3] λόχοι δ', οὓς αἱ συμμορίαὶ περιελάμβανον, ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑνενηκοντατρεῖς. ἐπέιχον δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην συμμορίαν ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα λόχοι σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι: τὴν δὲ [p. 34] δευτέραν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο σὺν τοῖς χειροτέχναις: τὴν δὲ τρίτην εἴκοσι: τὴν δὲ τετάρτην πάλιν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο σὺν τοῖς σαλπισταῖς καὶ βυκανισταῖς: τὴν δὲ πέμπτην τριάκοντα: τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πάσαις τεταγμένην εἷς λόχος ὁ τῶν ἀπόρων.

ταύτη τῇ διακοσμήσει χρησάμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταγραφὰς κατὰ τὴν διαιρέσιν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν τῶν λόχων, τὰς δὲ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ἐπιταγὰς κατὰ τὰ τιμήματα τῶν βίων. ὅποτε γὰρ αὐτῷ δεήσειε μυρίων ἢ δισμυρίων, εἰ τύχοι, στρατιωτῶν, καταδιαιρῶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑνενηκοντατρεῖς λόχους τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε παρέχειν ἕκαστον λόχον: τὴν δὲ δαπάνην τὴν εἰς τὸν ἐπισιτισμὸν τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας χορηγίας τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐπιτελεσθησομένην συμμετρησάμενος, ὅποση τις ἀρκοῦσα ἔσται, διαιρῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑνενηκοντατρεῖς λόχους, τὸ ἐκ τῆς τιμήσεως ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ διάφορον ἅπαντας ἐκέλευεν εἰσφέρειν. [2] συνέβαινεν οὖν τοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἔχουσιν οὐσίας ἐλάττοσι μὲν οὖσιν, εἰς πλείονας δὲ λόχους μεμερισμένοις, στρατεῦσθαι τε πλείους στρατείας οὐδέποτε ἀναπαυομένους καὶ χρήματα πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εἰσφέρειν: τοῖς δὲ τὰ μέτρια καὶ μικρὰ κεκτημένοις πλείοσιν οὖσιν ἓν ἐλάττοσι λόχοις, στρατεῦσθαι τ' ὀλιγάκις καὶ ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ βραχείας συντελεῖν εἰσφοράς: [p. 35] τοῖς δ' ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν κεκτημένοις ἀφεῖσθαι πάντων ὀχληρῶν. [3] ἐποίει δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον οὐκ ἄτερ αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος, ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἄθλα τῶν πολέμων ἐστὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων φυλακῆς ἅπαντες κακοπαθοῦσιν: ὀρθῶς οὖν ἔχειν ὥετο τοὺς μὲν περὶ μειζόνων κινδυνεύοντας ἄθλων μείζονας ὑπομένειν κακοπαθείας τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ ἐλαττόνων ἥττον ἐνοχλεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, τοὺς δὲ περὶ μηδενὸς δεδοικότας μηδὲν κακοπαθεῖν, τῶν μὲν εἰσφορῶν ἀπολυομένους διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῶν δὲ στρατειῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνείσφοριαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τότε Ῥωμαῖοι

στρατιωτικούς μισθούς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐστρατεύοντο. ^[4] οὔτε δὴ χρήματα συνεισφέρειν τοὺς οὐκ ἔχοντας, ὁπόθεν συνεισοίσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαιῶν ἀπορουμένους ὤετο δεῖν, οὔτε μηδὲν συμβαλλομένους στρατεύεσθαι τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὠφωναζομένους χρημάτων, ὥσπερ τοὺς μισθοφόρους.

τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἅπαν ἐπιθείς τὸ βάρος τοῖς πλουσίοις τῶν τε κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ὥς εἶδεν ἀγανακτοῦντας αὐτούς, δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου τὴν τ' ἀθυμίαν αὐτῶν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπράννε πλεονέκτημα δωρησάμενος, ἐξ οὗ πάσης ἔμελλον τῆς πολιτείας ἔσεσθαι κύριοι, τοὺς πένητας ἀπελάσας ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν: καὶ τοῦτο διαπραξάμενος ἔλαθε [p. 36] τοὺς δημοτικούς. ἦν δὲ τὸ πλεονέκτημα περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς τὰ μέγιστα ἐπεκυροῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. ^[2] εἰρήται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τριῶν πραγμάτων ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων κύριος ἦν τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ἀρχὰς ἀποδεῖξαι τὰς τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν ἐπικυρῶσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀνελεῖν, καὶ περὶ πολέμου συνισταμένου τε καὶ καταλυομένου διαγνῶναι. τὴν δὲ περὶ τούτων διάσκεψιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐποιεῖτο κατὰ τὰς φράτρας ψηφοφόρων: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τάλανιστα κεκτημένοι τοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἔχουσιν οὐσίας ἰσοψηφοί: ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων, ὥσπερ εἰκός, τῶν πλουσίων, οἱ πένητες ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις ἐπεκράτουν μακρῷ πλείους ὄντες ἐκείνων. ^[3] τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπὶ τοὺς πλουσίους μετέθηκε τὸ τῶν ψήφων κράτος. ὁπότε γὰρ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύειν ἢ περὶ νόμου διαγινώσκειν ἢ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν δόξειεν αὐτῷ, τὴν λοχίτιν ἀντὶ τῆς φρατρικῆς συνῆγεν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκάλει δ' εἰς ἀπόφασιν γνώμης πρῶτους μὲν λόχους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος καταγραφέντας, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ τε τῶν ἱππέων ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ^[4] οὗτοι τρισὶ πλείους ὄντες τῶν ὑπολειπομένων εἰ ταῦτο φρονήσειαν, ἐκράτουν τῶν ἑτέρων καὶ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ γνώμη: εἰ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως ἅπαντες οὗτοι, τότε τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου τιμήματος εἴκοσι καὶ δύο λόχους ἐκάλει. μερισθειῶν δὲ καὶ [p. 37] τότε τῶν ψήφων τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ἐκάλει: καὶ τετάρτους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου τιμήματος. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίει μέχρι τοῦ γενέσθαι λόχους ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἰσοψήφους. εἰ δὲ μέχρι τῆς πέμπτης κλήσεως ^[5] μὴ τύχοι τοῦτο γένόμενον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἴσα μέρη σχισθεῖεν αἱ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἑνενήκοντα δύο λόχων γνώμαι, τότε τὸν ἔσχατον ἐκάλει λόχον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφειμένων ἀπάσης στρατείας τε καὶ εἰσφορᾶς πολιτῶν πλῆθος ἦν: ὁποτέρᾳ δὲ προσθοῖτο τῶν μερίδων οὗτος ὁ λόχος, αὕτη τὸ κράτος ἐλάμβανε. τοῦτο δ' ἦν σπάνιον καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον τὰδυνάτου. τὰ πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης κλήσεως τέλος ἐλάμβανεν, ὀλίγα δὲ μέχρι τῆς τετάρτης προὔβαινεν: ἢ δὲ πέμπτη κλήσις καὶ ἡ τελευταία παρεῖλκοντο.

τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα καταστησάμενος καὶ πλεονέκτημα τοῖς πλουσίοις τηλικούτο δοὺς ἔλαθε τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, καταστρατηγήσας καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἀπελάσας τῶν κοινῶν. ὑπελάμβανον μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴσον ἔχειν τῆς πολιτείας μέρος κατ' ἄνδρα διερωτώμενοι τὰς γνώμας ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις

ἕκαστοι λόχοις, ἐξηπατῶντο δὲ τῷ μίαν εἶναι ψῆφον ὅλου τοῦ λόχου τοῦ τ' ὀλίγους ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ πολίτας καὶ τοῦ πάνυ πολλούς: καὶ τῷ πρώτους ἐπιφέρειν ψῆφον τοὺς τὸ μέγιστον ἔχοντας τίμημα λόχους, πλείους μὲν ὄντας τῶν ὑπολειπομένων, ἐλάττωνα δ' ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντας: μάλιστα δὲ τῷ τοὺς ἀπόρους μίαν ψῆφον ἔχειν πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ τελευταίους καλεῖσθαι. [2] γενομένου [p. 38] δὲ τούτου τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις τοῖς πολλὰ δαπανωμένοις καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀνάπαισιν τῶν πολεμικῶν κινδύνων λαμβάνουσιν ἦττον ἐσθίει βαρύνεσθαι κυρίους τε γεγονόσι τῶν μεγίστων καὶ πᾶν τὸ κράτος ἀφηρημένοις τῶν μὴ ταῦτ' αἰοῦντων: τοῖς δὲ πένησι τοῖς πολλοστέην ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτικῶν μοῖραν εὐλογίστως καὶ πρῶτος φέρειν τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐλάττωσιν, ἀφειμένοις τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν: τῇ δὲ πόλει τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς βουλευσομένους θ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἃ δεῖ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν κινδύνων πλείστον τῶν ἄλλων μεταλαχόντας καὶ πράξοντας ὅσα δεῖ. [3] οὗτος ὁ κόσμος τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐπὶ πολλὰς διέμενε γενεὰς φυλαττόμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων: ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς κεκίνηται χρόνοις καὶ μεταβέβληκεν εἰς τὸ δημοτικώτερον, ἀνάγκαις πσι βιασθεῖς ἰσχυραῖς, οὐ τῶν λόχων καταλυθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῆς κλήσεως αὐτῶν οὐκέτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀκριβείαν φυλαττοῦσης, ὡς ἔγνω ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις αὐτῶν πολλάκις παρῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐχ ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς ἀρμόττων τοῖς λόγοις.

τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπειδὴ διέταξε τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμῆσεις, κελεύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίων ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τάξας τοὺς θ' ἱππεῖς κατὰ τέλη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν φάλαγγι καὶ τοὺς ἐσταλμένους τὸν [p. 39] ψιλικὸν ὀπλισμὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκάστους λόχοις καθαρμὸν αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο ταύρῳ καὶ κριῷ καὶ τράγῳ. τὰ δ' ἱερεῖα ταῦτα τρεῖς περιαχθῆναι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελεύσας ἔθυσσε τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδίον Ἄρει. [2] τοῦτον τὸν καθαρμὸν ἕως τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων Ῥωμαῖοι καθαίρονται μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν τιμήσεων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἱερωτάτην ἀρχὴν Λοῦστρον ὀνομάζοντες. ἐγένετο δ' ὁ σύμπας τῶν τιμησαμένων τοὺς βίους Ῥωμαίων ἀριθμὸς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τιμητικοῖς φέρεται γράμμασιν, ἐπὶ μυριάσιν ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες πέντε τριακοσίων ἀποδέουσαι. [3] ἐποίησατο δὲ καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τοῦ πολιτικοῦ συντάγματος οὐ μικρὰν πρόνοιαν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρᾶγμα συνιδὼν, ὃ παρέλιπον ἅπαντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ξένους ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ μεταδιδόντες τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας φύσιν τ' ἢ τύχην αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀπαξιοῦντες, εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν προήγαγον τὴν πόλιν. [4] ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερουμένοις τῶν θεραπόντων, ἐὰν μὴ θέλωσιν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις ἀπιέναι, μετέχειν τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἐπέτρεψε. κελεύσας γὰρ ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐλευθέροις καὶ τούτους τιμήσασθαι τὰς οὐσίας, εἰς φυλὰς κατέταξεν αὐτοὺς τὰς κατὰ πόλιν τέτταρας ὑπαρχούσας, ἐν αἷς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ταπτόμενον διατελεῖ τὸ ἐξελευθερικὸν φύλον, ὅσον ἂν ᾖ: καὶ πάντων [p. 40] ἀπέδωκε τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῖς μετέχειν, ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοτικοῖς.

ἀχθομένων δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντων συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Πρῶτον μὲν θαυμάζειν, ἔφη, τῶν

ἀγανακτοῦντων, εἰ τῇ φύσει τὸ ἐλεύθερον οἶονται τοῦ δούλου διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ τύχῃ: ἔπειτ' εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἐξετάζουσι τοὺς ἀξίους τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς συντυχίαις, ὁρῶντες ὡς ἀστάθμητόν ἐστι πρᾶγμα εὐτυχία καὶ ἀγχιστροφον, καὶ οὐδενὶ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ μακαρίων μέχρι τίνος αὐτῷ [2] παρέσται χρόνου. ἤξιον τ' αὐτοὺς σκοπεῖν, ὅσαι μὲν ἦδη πόλεις ἐκ δουλείας μετέβαλον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν βάρβαροί τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδες, ὅσαι δ' εἰς δουλείαν ἐξ ἐλευθερίας: εὐήθειάν τε πολλὴν αὐτῶν κατεγίνωσκεν, εἰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῖς ἀξίοις τῶν θεραπόντων μεταδιδόντες, τῆς πολιτείας φθονοῦσι: συνεβούλευέ τ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὲν πονηροὺς νομίζουσι, μὴ ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, εἰ [3] δὲ χρηστοὺς, μὴ περιορᾶν ὄντας ἄλλοτρίους: ἄτοπόν τε πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ ἀμαθὲς ἅπασι τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιτρέποντας τῆς πόλεως μετέχειν καὶ μὴ διακρίνοντας αὐτῶν τὰς τύχας μηδ' εἴ τινες ἐκ δούλων ἐγένοντο ἐλεύθεροι πολυπραγμονοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ σφίσι δεδουλευκότας ἀναξίους ἡγεῖσθαι ταύτης τῆς χάριτος: φρονήσει τε διαφέρειν οἰομένους τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ καὶ κοινότατα ὁρᾶν ἔφασκεν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις εἶναι πρόδηλα, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν δεσπόταις [p. 41] πολλὴ φροντίς ἔσται τοῦ μὴ προχειρῶς τινὰς ἐλευθεροῦν, ὡς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν οἷς ἔτυχε δωρησόμενοις: τοῖς δὲ δούλοις ἔτι μείζων ὑπάρξει προθυμία χρηστοῖς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας, ἐὰν μάθωσιν, ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἄξιοι κριθέντες εὐδαίμονος εὐθέως καὶ μεγάλης ἔσονται πολῖται πόλεως, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔξουσιν ἀμφοτέρω παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τάγαθά. [4] τελευτῶν δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰσηγήσατο λόγον τοὺς μὲν ἐπισταμένους ὑπομιμνήσκων, τοὺς δ' ἄγνοοῦντας διδάσκων, ὅτι πόλει δυναστείας ἐφιεμένη καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἐαυτὴν ἀξιούσῃ οὐδενὸς οὕτω δεῖ πράγματος ὡς πολυανθρωπίας, ἵνα διαρκέσῃ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πολέμους οἰκείοις ὅπλοις χρωμένη, καὶ μὴ ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι καταμισθοφοροῦσα συνεξαναλωθῇ τοῖς χρήμασι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔφη τοὺς προτέρους βασιλεῖς ἅπασι μεταδεδωκέναι τῆς πολιτείας τοῖς ξένοις. [5] εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον καταστήσονται τὸν νόμον, πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθερουμένων ἐπιτραφήσεσθαι νεότητα καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπορήσειν τὴν πόλιν οἰκείων ὅπλων, ἀλλ' ἔξειν δυνάμεις αἰεὶ διαρκεῖς, κἂν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκασθῇ πολεμεῖν. [6] χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ κοινῇ χρησίμου καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλὰ ὠφελήσεσθαι τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους Ῥωμαίων, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους ἑῷσι τῆς πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τε καὶ ψηφοφορίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτικαῖς χρεῖαις τὰς χάριτας, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα δέονται πράγμασι, κομιζομένους [p. 42] καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων γινομένους πελάτας τοῖς ἐγγόνις τοῖς ἐαυτῶν καταλείποντας. [7] τοιαῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ συνεχώρησαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελθεῖν, καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ὡς ἐν τι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀκινήτων νομίμων διατελεῖ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλαττόμενον.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο γέγονα τὸ μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ διελθεῖν, ὡς εἶχε τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ περὶ τοὺς δούλους ἔθῃ, ἵνα μήτε τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιχειρήσαντα τοὺς δεδουλευκότας ἀστοὺς ποιεῖν μήτε τοὺς παραδεξαμένους τὸν νόμον ἐν αἰτίαις σχῆ τις, ὡς

ῥιπτοῦντας εἰκῇ τὰ καλὰ. [2] ἐτύγχανον δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἱ τῶν θεραπόντων κτήσεις κατὰ τοὺς δικαιοτάτους γινόμεναι τρόπους. ἢ γὰρ ὠνησάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου τοὺς ὑπὸ δόρυ πωλουμένους ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συγχωρήσαντος ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ὠφελείαις καὶ τοὺς δορυαλώτους τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔχειν ἢ πριαμένοις παρ' ἐτέρων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρόπους κυρίων γενομένων 5 ἐκέκτηντο τοὺς δούλους. [3] οὐδὲν δὲ πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν αἰσχύνῃς ἢ βλάβης κοινῆς αἴτιον οὐθ' ὁ Τύλλιος ὁ καταστησάμενος τὸ ἔθος οὐθ' οἱ παραδεξάμενοι καὶ διαφυλάξαντες ὦντο, εἰ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρηστοῖς γενομένοις περὶ τοὺς καταδουλωσαμένους ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τούτων [p. 43] πριαμένους ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὑπάρξει. [4] ἐτύγχανον δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι προῖκα διὰ καλοκάγαθίαν· καὶ κράτιστος ἀπαλλαγῆς δεσποτῶν τρόπος οὗτος ἦν· ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες λύτρα κατατιθέντες ἐξ ὁσίων καὶ δικαίων ἐργασιῶν συναχθέντα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, ἀλλ' εἰς τοσαύτην σύγχυσιν ἤκει τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ καλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὕτως ἄτιμα καὶ ῥυπαρὰ γέγονεν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ληστείας καὶ τοιχωρυχίας καὶ πορνείας καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πονηροῦ πόρου χρηματισάμενοι τούτων ὠνοῦνται τῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ εὐθύς εἰσι Ῥωμαῖοι· [5] οἱ δὲ συνίστορες καὶ συνεργοὶ τοῖς δεσπótαις γενόμενοι φαρμακειῶν καὶ ἀνδροφονιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἢ τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικημάτων ταύτας φέρονται παρ' αὐτῶν τὰς χάριτας· οἱ δ' ἵνα τὸν δημοσίᾳ διδόμενον σῖτον λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μῆνα καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων γίγνοιτο τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν φιланθρωπία φέρωσι τοῖς δεδωκόσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· οἱ δὲ διὰ [6] κουφότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ κενὴν δοξοκοπίαν. ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐπίσταμαι τινὰς ἅπασι τοῖς δούλοις συγκεχωρηκότας εἶναι ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν τελευτάς, ἵνα χρηστοὶ καλῶνται νεκροὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ταῖς κλίναις αὐτῶν ἐκκομιζομέναις παρακολουθῶσι τοὺς πῖλους ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς· ἐν οἷς ἐπόμεπυόν τινες, ὡς ἦν [p. 44] παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ἀκούειν, ἐκ τῶν δεσμωτηρίων ἐξεληλυθότες ἀρτίως κακοῦργοι μυρίων ἄξια διαπεπραγμένοι θανάτων. εἰς τούτους μέντοι τοὺς δυσεκκαθάρτους σπῖλους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποβλέποντες οἱ πολλοὶ δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ προβέβληνται τὸ ἔθος, ὡς οὐ πρόπον ἡγεμονικῇ πόλει καὶ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσθαι [7] τόπου τοιούτους ποιεῖσθαι πολίτας. ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα διαβαλεῖν ἔθῃ καλῶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπινοηθέντα, κακῶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐπιτρίβόμενα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον οὐκ οἶομαι δεῖν ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ τι μεῖζον ἐκραγῇ τῷ κοινῷ δι' αὐτοῦ κακόν· ἐπανορθοῦσθαι μέντοι φημὶ δεῖν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ὄνειδη μεγάλα καὶ ῥύπους δυσεκκαθάρτους εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσαγομένους. [8] καὶ μάλιστα μὲν τοὺς τιμητὰς ἀξιώσαιμ' ἂν τούτου τοῦ μέρους προνοεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, τοὺς ὑπάτους· δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχῆς τινος μεγάλης· οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλευθέρους γινόμενους ἐξετάσουσι, τίνες ὄντες καὶ διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἡλευθερώθησαν, ὥσπερ γε τοὺς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν βίου ἐξετάζουσιν· ἔπειθ' οὐς μὲν ἂν εὖρωσιν ἀξίους τῆς πόλεως ὄντας, εἰς φυλάς καταγράψουσι καὶ μένειν ἐφήσουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει· τὸ δὲ μισρὸν καὶ

ἀκάθαρτον φύλον ἐκβαλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα τῷ πράγματι
πιθέντες, ἀποικίαν. [p. 45] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπαιτοῦσης
ἀναγκαῖον τε καὶ δίκαιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς
Ῥωμαίων ἔθεσιν εἰπεῖν.

Ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοῖς πολιτευμασι δημοτικὸς ὢν
ἐδήλωσεν, ἐν οἷς ἐδόκει τὴν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πατρικίων
δυναστείαν ἐλαττοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμείωσεν αὐτὸς
ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελόμενος. [2] τῶν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
βασилέων ἀπάσας ἀξιούντων ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἄγειν τὰς δίκας καὶ πάντα τὰ
ἐγκλήματα τὰ τ' ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῶν τρόπον δικαζόντων
ἐκεῖνος διελὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν τὰ δημόσια, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
φερόντων ἀδικημάτων αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διαγνώσεις, τῶν δ' ἰδιωτικῶν
ιδιώτας ἔταξεν εἶναι δικαστάς, ὄρους καὶ [3] κανόνας αὐτοῖς τάξας, οὗς
αὐτὸς ἔγραψε νόμους. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα τὸν κράτιστον
εἰλήφει κόσμον, εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἦλθεν ἐπιφανὲς τι διαπραξάμενος αἰώνιον
ἑαυτοῦ μνήμην τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις καταλιπεῖν. ἐφιστάς δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ
τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων τε καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν μνημεῖα, ἐξ ὧν εἰς
ὀνόματα καὶ δόξας προῆλθον, οὔτε τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου τείχους ἐμακάρισε τὴν
Ἀσσυρίαν ἐκείνην γυναιῖκα οὔτε τῶν ἐν Μέμφει πυραμίδων τοὺς Αἰγύπτου
βασιλεῖς οὔτ' εἰ τις ἄλλη πλοῦτου καὶ πολυχειρίας ἐπίδειξις ἦν ἀνδρὸς
ἡγεμόνος, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα μικρὰ καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια καὶ οὐκ ἄξια σπουδῆς
ἡγησάμενος ὤψεως τ' [p. 46] ἀπάτας, οὐκ ἀληθεῖς βίου καὶ πραγμάτων
ὠφελείας, ἐξ ὧν μακαρισμοὶ τοῖς κατασκευασαμένοις ἠκολούθουν μόνον,
ἐπαίνου δὲ καὶ ζήλου ἄξια τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἔργα ὑπολαβὼν, ἧς πλεῖστοι τ'
ἀπολαύουσι καὶ ἐπὶ μῆκιστον χρόνον καρποῦνται τὰς ὠφελείας, πάντων
μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων τὴν Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Ἑλληνος ἐπίνοιαν
ἡγάσθη, ὃς ἀσθενὲς ὄρων καὶ ῥάδιον ὑπὸ τῶν περιοικούντων βαρβάρων
ἐξαναλωθῆναι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος, εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν
Ἀμφικτυονικὴν σύνοδον καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτὸ συνήγαγε, νόμους
καταστησάμενος ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων, ὧν ἐκάστη πόλις εἶχε, τοὺς κοινοὺς ἅπασιν,
οὗς καλοῦσιν Ἀμφικτυονικοὺς, ἐξ ὧν φίλοι μὲν ὄντες ἀλλήλοις διετέλουν
καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς φυλάττοντες μᾶλλον ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις, λυπηροὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁ
βαρβάρους καὶ φοβεροὶ. [4] παρ' οὗ τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες Ἴωνες θ' οἱ
μεταθέμενοι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὰ παραθαλάττια τῆς Καρίας
καὶ Δωριεῖς οἱ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυσάμενοι ἱερὰ
κατεσκεύασαν ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων: Ἴωνες μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος, Δωριεῖς δ' ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: ἔνθα συνιόντες
γυναιξὶν [p. 47] ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας χρόνους
συνέθουον τε καὶ συνεπανηγύριζον καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπετέλουν ἵππικοὺς καὶ
γυμνικοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ μουσικὴν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι
κοινοῖς ἐδωροῦντο. [5] θεωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ πανηγυρίσαντες καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
φιλοφροσύνας παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλαβόντες, εἰ τι πρόσκρουσμα πόλει πρὸς
πόλιν ἐγεγόνει, δικασταὶ καθεζόμενοι διήττων καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς
βαρβάρους πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμοφροσύνης κοινὰς

ἐποιοῦντο βουλὰς. [6] ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις παραδείγματα λαβὼν προθυμίαν ἔσχε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάσας τὰς μετεχούσας πόλεις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους συστήσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζουσαι καὶ πολεμοῦσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπὸ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῶσι.

γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς κρατίστους ἄνδρας ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως συνεκάλει περὶ μεγάλων καὶ κοινῶν φήσας πραγμάτων συμβούλους αὐτοὺς συγκαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, συναγαγὼν τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἦκοντας λόγον διεξῆλθε παρακλητικὸν ὁμονοίας, διδάσκων ὡς καλὸν μὲν χρῆμα πολλὰ πόλεις μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρώμεναι, αἰσχροῖ δ' ὄψις συγγενῶν ἀλλήλαις διαφερομένων: αἷτιόν τ' ἰσχύος μὲν ταῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀποφαίνων ὁμοφροσύνην, ταπεινότητος δὲ καὶ ἀσθενείας καὶ ταῖς πάνυ ἰσχυραῖς ἀλληλοφθορίαν. [2] ταῦτα διεξελθὼν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, ὡς [p. 48] χρὴ Λατίνους μὲν τῶν προσοικῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν Ἑλλήνας ὄντας βαρβάρους: Ῥωμαίους δὲ τὴν ἀπάντων Λατίνων ἔχειν προστασίαν μεγέθει τε πόλεως προὔχοντας καὶ πραγμάτων ὄγκῳ καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ δαιμονίου κρείττονι κεκρημένους ἐκείνων, δι' ἣν εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιφάνειαν προῆλθον. [3] τοιαῦτα διεξελθὼν συνεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἄσυλον ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ θύσουσι θ' αἱ πόλεις συνερχόμεναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰδίας τε καὶ κοινὰς θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἄξουσιν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὀρίσωσι χρόνοις, καί, εἴ τι γένοιτο πρόσκρουσμα αὐταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦτο διαλύσονται, ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπιτρέψασαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαγνῶναι. [4] διεξιὼν ταῦτα τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔξουσιν ἀγαθὰ βουλευτήριον ἐγκαταστήσάμενοι πάντα ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντας: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατεσκεύασεν ἐξ ὧν ἅπασαι συνήνεγκαν αἱ πόλεις χρημάτων τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεών, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόφων ἰδρυμένον Αὐεντίνου: καὶ τοὺς νόμους συνέγραψε ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ πανηγυρίν, ὃν ἐπιτελεσθήσεται τρόπον, ἔταξεν. [5] ἵνα δὲ μηδεὶς χρόνος αὐτοὺς ἀφανίσῃ, στήλην κατασκευάσας χαλκῇν ἔγραψεν ἐν ταύτῃ τὰ τε δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τὰς μετεχούσας τῆς [p. 49] συνόδου πόλεις. αὕτη διέμεινεν ἡ στήλη μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ κειμένη γραμμάτων ἔχουσα χαρακτηῖρας Ἑλληνικῶν, οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐχρῆτο. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τις οὐ μικρὸν τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ βαρβάρους εἶναι τοὺς οἰκίσαντας τὴν Ῥώμην. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐχρῶντο γράμμασιν ὄντες βάρβαροι. [6] πολιτικά μὲν δὴ πράξεις τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου σὺν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐλάττοσί τε καὶ ἀμαυροτέραις αἱ μέγισται καὶ λαμπρόταται αὗται μνημονεύονται, πολεμικαὶ δ' αἱ πρὸς ἐν τὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνος γενόμεναι, περὶ ὧν μέλλω νῦν διεξιέναι.

μετὰ τὴν ταρκυνίου τελευτὴν αἱ παραδοῦσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ πόλεις οὐκέτι φυλάττειν ἐβούλοντο τὰς ὁμολογίας Τυλλίῳ τ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦσαι ταπεινῶ κατὰ γένος ὄντι ὑπακοῦειν, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πατρικίων τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα γενομένην μεγάλην σφίσιν ὠφέλειαν παρέξειν νομίζουσαι. [2] ἥρξαντο δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι παρὰ τοῦ Τυλλίου πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίναντο μηδεμίαν εἶναι σφισι πρὸς

ἐκεῖνον μὴθ' ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας παραχωρήσεως μήτε περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας συνθήκην. ἀρξάντων δὲ τούτων Καιρητανοὶ τ' ἠκολούθησαν καὶ Ταρκυνιῆται, καὶ τελευτῶσα ἐν ὅπλοις ἦν ἅπανα ἡ Τυρρηνία. [3] οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἴκοσι διέμεινεν ἔτη συνεχῶς πολεμούμενος εἰσβολὰς τε πολλὰς ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλους στρατεύμασι ποιουμένων εἰς τὴν [p. 50] ἀλλήλων καὶ παρατάξεις ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις συνισταμένων. ἐν ἀπάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις κατορθῶν ὁ Τύλλιος, ὅσαι κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ πρὸς ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῷ συνέστησαν, καὶ τρισὶν ἐπιφανεστάτοις κοσμηθεῖς θριάμβοις τελευτῶν ἠνάγκασε τοὺς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας ἄρχεσθαι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐκόντας λαβεῖν. [4] εἰκοστῷ δ' οὖν ἔτει συνελθοῦσαι πάλιν αἱ δώδεκα πόλεις ἐξανηλωμένοι τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα γνῶμην ἔσχον παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πάσης πόλεως οἱ προχειρισθέντες σὺν ἱκετηρίαῖς ἐπιτρέποντες Τυλλίῳ τὰς πόλεις καὶ μὴδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλευῖσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦντες. [5] Τύλλιος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀφροσύνης ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβημάτων, οὓς ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν ὁμολογιῶν παρέβησαν τὰ συγκείμενα, πολλῶν αὐτοὺς ἔφη τιμωριῶν ἀξιους εἶναι καὶ μεγάλων: τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεικείας καὶ μετριότητος, ἐπειδὴ συγγόντες ἀδικεῖν στέμμασι καὶ λιτανείαις παρητοῦντο [6] τὴν ὀργήν, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀτυχήσειν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καταλύεται τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ διχα ὀργῆς μνησικάκου πολιτεῦεσθαι τ' ἀποδοῦς ὡς πρότερον καὶ τὰ ἴδια καρποῦσθαι, μενούσαις ἐν ταῖς γραφείσαις πρὸς αὐτὰς συνθήκαις ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου: τρεῖς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεις, αἱ προεξανέστησάν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπηγάγοντο [p. 51] κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, Καιρητανούς καὶ Ταρκυνιῆτας καὶ Οὐιεντανούς, ἀφαιρέσει χώρας τιμωρησάμενος, ἦν κατεκληροῦχησε Ῥωμαίων τοῖς νεωστὶ προσεληλυθόσι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. [7] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ ναοὺς δύο κατασκευασάμενος Τύχης, ἥ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔδοξεν ἀγαθῇ κεκρῆσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Βοαρία, τὸν δ' ἔτερον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡίοσι τοῦ Τεβέριος, ἦν ἀνδρείαν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται: ἡλικίας τε προβεβηκώς ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τελευτῆς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχων, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου τε τοῦ γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀποθνήσκει. διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γενομένων ἀναλαβών.

ἦσαν τῷ Τυλλίῳ δύο θυγατέρες ἐκ γυναικὸς γενόμεναι Ταρκυνίας, ἦν ἐνεγγύησεν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος. ταύτας τὰς κόρας ἐπιγάμους γενομένας ἐκδίδοται τοῖς ἀδελφιδόις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν, υἱωνοῖς δὲ Ταρκυνίου, τῷ τε πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἀρμόσας καὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν νεωτέραν: οὕτως οἰόμενος αὐτὰς μάλιστα συνοίσεσθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν. [2] ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν γαμβρῶν ἐκάτερος ἐναντία συναφθεῖς τύχη κατὰ τὴν οὐχ ὁμοτροπίαν: Λευκίῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ [p. 52] πρεσβυτέρῳ τολμηρῷ καὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τυραννικῷ τὴν φύσιν ὄντι χρηστὴ καὶ σώφρων καὶ φιλοπάτωρ συνῆλθε γυνή, Ἀρροῦντι δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ πολὺ τὸ πρᾶον ἔχοντι καὶ εὐλόγιστον ἀνοσία καὶ μισοπάτωρ καὶ πάντολμος 7 ἦν ἡ γαμετή. [3] συνέβαινε δὴ τῶν

ἀνδρῶν ἑκατέρῳ φέρεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, μεταγέσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τάναντία: ὁ μὲν γε πονηρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τὸν κηδεστὴν προθυμούμενος καὶ πάντα μηχανώμενος εἰς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς μετεπιθέτο ἀντιβολούσης τε καὶ ὀδυρομένης: ὁ δ' ἐπεικὴς οὐδὲν οἴομενος δεῖν ἑξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸν πενθερόν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν, ἕως ἢ φύσις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξαγάγῃ, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔῳν πράττειν τὰ μὴ δίκαια, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνοσίας γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τάναντία μετήγετο νουθετοῦσης τε καὶ λοιδορουμένης καὶ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν κακιζούσης: [4] ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον οὔτε αἱ τῆς σῶφρονος λιτανεῖαι τὰ κράτιστα τὸν οὐ δίκαιον ἄνδρα πειθοῦσης, οὔτε αἱ τῆς μιαιῤας παραινέσεις ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις τὸν οὐ πονηρὸν εἶναι πεφυκότα παρακαλούσης, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἐφέρετο καὶ λυπηρὰν ἡγεῖτο τὴν μὴ τὰ ὅμοια βουλομένην, τῇ μὲν ὀδύρεσθαι τε καὶ φέρειν τὸν ἑαυτῆς δαίμονα περιῆν: τῇ δὲ παντόλμῳ χαλεπαίνειν καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ζητεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος. [5] ἔπειτα δ' ἡ κακὴ τὴν φύσιν ἀπονοηθεῖσα καὶ νομίσασα τοῖς ἑαυτῆς τρόποις ἀρμόττειν μάλιστα τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα [p. 53] μεταπέμπεται τ' αὐτὸν ὥς ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαιῶν πράγματος διαλεξομένη,

καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρεγένετο, μεταστῆναι κελεύσασα τοὺς ἔνδον, ἵνα μόνῃ διαλεχθεῖν πρὸς μόνον, Ἄρ', ἔφησεν, ὦ Ταρκύνιε, μετὰ παρρησίας ἔξεστί μοι καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἅπαντα εἰπεῖν, ὅσα φρονῶ περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων, καὶ καθέξεις οὐς ἂν ἀκούσης λόγους; ἢ σιωπᾶν ἄμεινόν ἐστί μοι καὶ μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον βουλὰς ἀπορρήτους; [2] κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου λέγειν, ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ περὶ τοῦ καθέξειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς λόγους πιστεῖς ἐπιθέντος δι' ὄρκων, οὐς ἐκείνη προηρῆτο, οὐδὲν ἔτι αἰσχυρθεῖσα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: μέχρι τίνος, ὦ Ταρκύνιε, τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστεροῦμενος ἀνέχεσθαι διανοῇ; πότερον ἐκ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀσήμενων ἔφυς προγόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀξιοῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτῷ μέγα φρονεῖν; ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασιν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαίοις ὑμῶν προγόνοις Ἑλλήσιν οὔσι καὶ ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους γεγονόσι τῆς εὐδαίμονος ἄρξαι Κορίνθου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ὑπῆρξεν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολλάς, ὥς ἀκούω, γενάας: τῷ δὲ πάππῳ σου Ταρκυνίῳ μεταθεμένῳ τὴν οἴκησιν ἐκ Τυρρηνῶν ταύτης βασιλεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξεγένετο δι' ἀρετὴν: οὐ σὺ κληρονομεῖν οὐ μόνον τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλεις πρεσβύτερος υἱωνὸς ὦν. [3] ἢ σώματος οὐκ ἔτυχες ἱκανοῦ πράττειν, ὅσα βασιλεὺς προσῆκε, δι' ἀσθενείαν τε καὶ ἀμορφίαν; ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε καὶ ῥώμῃ πάρεστιν, οἷα τοῖς [p. 54] κράτιστα πεφυκόσι, καὶ μορφῇ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ἀξία. ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον, ἢ δ' ἀσθενὴς ἔτι καὶ πολὺ ἀπέχουσα τοῦ φρονεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα νεότης μεθέλκει σε, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἀξιοῖς τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν, ὅς οὐ πολλοῖς ἀποδεῖς ἔτεσι πεντηκονταέτης εἶναι; κράτιστα δ' ἄνθρωποι πεφύκασι φρονεῖν οἱ περὶ ταύτην μάλιστα γενόμενοι τὴν ἡλικίαν. [4] φέρε, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ κατέχοντος τὰ πράγματα εὐγένεια καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτηδειότης, δι' ἣν οὐκ εὐεπιχειρητὸς ἐστίν, ἀνέχεσθαι σε ἀναγκάζει; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω κακῶς ἔχοντα αὐτῷ τυγχάνει καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὰ γε ἀγνοεῖς. καὶ μὴν ἢ γε τόλμα καὶ τὸ φιλοκίνδυνον ἔνεστί σου τοῖς τρόποις, ὦν μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῦειν μέλλοντι δεῖ. ὑπάρχει δὲ σοὶ καὶ πλοῦτος ἱκανὸς καὶ φίλοι

πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πρὸς τὰ πράγματ' [5] ἀφορμαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. τί οὖν ἔτι μέλλεις καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον ἐκδέχῃ καιρὸν, ὃς ἤξει σοι φέρων τὴν βασιλείαν μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο πραγματευσαμένῳ, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Τυλλίου δῆπου τελευτήν; ὥσπερ ἀναμενούσης τῆς τύχης τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας μελλήσεις, ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τὰς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστῳ τελευτὰς φεροῦσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀδήλῳ καὶ δυστεκμάρτῳ τέλει πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων κειμένων. [6] ἔρῳ δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας, [p. 55] καὶ εἰ με φήσεις θρασεῖαν, τὸ δοκοῦν αἴτιον εἶναι μοι τοῦ μηδεμιᾶς ὀρέγεσθαι σε μήτε φιλοτιμίας μήτε δόξης. γυνή σοι σύνεστι μηδὲν ἔοικυῖα τοῖς σοῖς τρόποις, ἢ σε κηλοῦσα καὶ κατὰδουσα μαλθακὸν ἀποδέδωκε, καὶ λήσεις ὑπ' αὐτῆς γενόμενος ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τὸ μηδέν: ὥσπερ γε κάμοι φοφοδεῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀνδρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς με ταπεινὴν ποιεῖ μεγάλων οὔσαν ἀξίαν καὶ καλὴν τὸ σῶμα, μαρανθεῖσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. [7] εἰ δ' ἐξεγένετο σοι τε λαβεῖν ἐμὲ γυναῖκα κάμῃ σοῦ τυχεῖν ἀνδρὸς, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἰδιώτῃ βίῳ τοσοῦτον διεζήσαμεν χρόνον. τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπανορθοῦμεθα τὸ τῆς τύχης ἐλάττωμα ἡμεῖς μεταθέμενοι τοὺς γάμους, καὶ σὺ μὲν ἀπαλλάττεις τοῦ βίου τὴν σαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτό διαθήσομαι τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα; ὅταν δὲ τούτων διαχειρισθέντων συνέλθωμεν εἰς ταῦτό, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ βουλευόμεν, ἐκποδῶν πεπονημένοι τὰ λυποῦντα ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν τᾶλλα τις ἀδικεῖν ὀκνῇ, βασιλείας γε χάριν οὐ νέμεσις ἅπαντα τολμᾷν.

τοιαῦτα τῆς Τυλλίας λεγοῦσης ἄσμενος δέχεται τὰς αἰρέσεις ὁ Ταρκύνιος, καὶ αὐτίκα δοὺς αὐτῇ πίστει καὶ λαβὼν τὰ προτέλεια τῶν ἀνοσιῶν γάμων διαπραξάμενος ἀπέρχεται. διελθόντος δ' οὐ πολλοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνου τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάθεσιν ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἢ τε πρεσβυτέρα τῶν Τυλλίου θυγατέρων καὶ ὁ νεώτερος τῶν Ταρκυνίων. [2] ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἀναγκάζομαι μεμνησθαι Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν [p. 56] ἐξέτασιν τῶν χρόνων ἐλέγχειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς Ἀρροῦντος τελευτῆς γενόμενος οὐ καθ' ἐν ἀμαρτάνει μόνον, ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὅτι γέγραφεν υἱὸν εἶναι Ταρκυνίου τὸν Ἀρροῦντα: ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον, ὅτι φησὶν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Τανακυλλίδος τεθάρθαι, ἣν ἀμήχανον ἦν ἔτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους περιεῖναι τοὺς χρόνους. [3] ἐδείχθη γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔχουσα καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἡ Τανακυλλίς, ὅτε βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐτελεύτα: προστεθέντων δὲ τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἑτέρων τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν: ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐνιαυσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς κατὰ τὸν τετταρακοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Τυλλίου ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἀρροῦντα τετελευτηκότα παρειλήφαμεν: ἐτῶν ἡ Τανακυλλίς ἔσται πεντεκαίδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. οὕτως ὀλίγον ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀληθείας ταλαίπωρον. [4] μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπάγεται γυναῖκα τὴν Τυλλίαν οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς βεβαιούντος τὸν γάμον οὔτε τῆς μητρὸς συνευδοκούσης, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν παρ' ἑαυτῆς λαβὼν. [5] ὥς δὲ συνεκεράσθησαν αἱ ἀνόσιοι καὶ ἀνδροφόνοι φύσεις, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τὸν Τύλλιον, εἰ μὴ βούλοιο ἐκὼν παραδοῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐμχανῶντο ἐταιρίας τε συνάγοντες καὶ τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς ἄλλοτριως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ πολιτεύματα παρακαλοῦντες [p. 57] ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοτικοῦ

πλήθους τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους, οἷς οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων φροντίς ἦν, χρήμασιν ἐξωνούμενοι καὶ οὐδὲ ἀφανῶς ἕκαστα τούτων πράττοντες. [6] ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Τύλλιος ἤχθετο μὲν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δεδιώς, εἴ τι πείσεται προκαταληφθεῖς· ἠγανάκτει δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα, εἰ θυγατρὶ καὶ γαμβρῷ πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῆσεται καὶ τιμωρίας ὡς παρ' ἐχθρῶν λαμβάνειν, πολλάκις μετὰ τῶν φίλων προκαλοῦμενος εἰς λόγους τὸν Ταρκύνιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐγκαλῶν, τὰ δὲ νουθετῶν, τὰ δὲ πείθων μηδὲν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν· ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἔφη τὰ δίκαια πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρεῖν, συγκαλέσας τὸ συνέδριον· [7] ἄνδρες, ἔφη, βουλευταί, Ταρκύνιος ἑταιρίας ἐπ' ἐμέ συνάγων καὶ προθυμούμενος ἐκβαλεῖν με τῆς ἀρχῆς καταφανῆς γέγονέ μοι. βούλομαι δὲ πάντων ὑμῶν παρόντων μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ, τί πεπονθώς ἰδίᾳ κακὸν ἢ τί τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶν ἀδικουμένην ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ μηχανᾶται. ἀποκρίναι δὴ, Ταρκύνιε, μηδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος, τί μου κατηγορεῖν ἔχεις, ἐπειδὴ τούτους ἡξίους ἀκοῦσαι.

λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ταρκύνιος· βραχὺς ἐστὶν ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος, ὦ Τύλλιε, καὶ δίκαιος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προειλόμην αὐτὸν εἰς τούτους ἐκφέρειν. Ταρκύνιος ἐμὸς ὢν πάππος ἐκτήσατο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀράμενος· ἐκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἐγὼ διάδοχός εἰμι κατὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων νόμους· [p. 58] καὶ προσήκει μοι καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς διαδεχομένοις τὰ παππῶα, μὴ μόνον τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ [2] καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ κληρονομεῖν. σὺ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδédωκάς μοι, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἀποστερεῖς με καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη κατέχεις χρόνον, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου λαβών· οὔτε γὰρ μεσοβασιλεῖς σε ἀπέδειξαν, οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ ψῆφον ὑπὲρ σοῦ διήνεγκεν, οὔτε ἀρχαιρεσίαις νομίμοις τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἔτυχες, ὡς ὁ πάππος τε οὐμὸς καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνέστιον καὶ ἄπορον καὶ πρὸς καταδικὰς ἢ χρέα τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀπολωλεκὸς φύλον, ὦ τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἔμελε, καταμισθοδοτήσας καὶ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρας, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε μέντοι σαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν δυναστείαν λέγων, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν φυλάξειν σκηπτόμενος ὀρφανοῖς οὔσι καὶ νηπίοις, ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα παρῆλθες καὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων ὠμολόγεις, ὅταν ἀνδρωθῶμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐμοὶ [3] παραδώσειν ὄντι πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐχρῆν μὲν οὔν σε, εἰ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἤθελες, ὅτε μοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πάππου παρεδίδους, ἅμα τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδεδωκέναι παραδείγμασι χρώμενον τοῖς τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἔργοις, ὅσοι βασιλικοὺς παῖδας ὀρφανοὺς πατέρων παραλαβόντες εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσιν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τὰς πατρώας καὶ [4] 8 προγονικὰς ἀπέδωκαν ἀρχάς· εἰ δὲ μήπω σοι φρονεῖν τὰ καθήκοντα ἐφαινόμην, ἀλλ' ἔτι διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐχ ἱκανὸς εἶναι πόλιν τηλικαύτην διοικεῖν, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν κρατίστην παρεγενόμην τοῦ σώματος καὶ [p. 59] τῆς φρονήσεως ἀκμὴν τριάκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη, μετὰ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐγχειρίσαι πράγματα· ταύτην γέ τοι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχων καὶ σὺ τὸν τ' οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐπιτροπεύειν ἤρξω καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

περιῆν γὰρ ἂν σοι ταῦτα πράξαντι πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβεῖ καὶ δικαίῳ λέγεσθαι, ἔπειτα συμβασιλεύειν ἐμοὶ καὶ πάσης μετέχειν τιμῆς, εὐεργέτην τε καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ πάντα, ὅσα τιμιώτατα ὀνόματα ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ καλοῖς κεῖται πράγμασιν, ἀκούειν καὶ μὴ τέταρτον ἤδη τοῦτο καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος ἀποστερεῖν με τῶν ἐμῶν, οὔτε σώματος ἀναπήρου τυχόντα οὔτε διανοίας ἡλιθίου. ἔπειτ’ ἐρωτᾷ με τολμᾶς, τί παθὼν δεινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι σε καὶ διὰ τί ^[2] σου κατηγορῶ; σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπόκριναί μοι, Τύλλιε, τίνος αἰτίας χάριν οὐκ ἀξιοῖς με τῶν τοῦ πάππου τιμῶν κληρονομεῖν καὶ τίνα πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ τῆς ἀποστερήσεως σκηπτόμενος; πότερον οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου γένους εἶναι με γνήσιον, ἀλλ’ ὑποβολιμαῖον τίνα καὶ νόθον; τί οὖν ἐπετρόπευες τὸν ἀλλότριον τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἀνδρωθέντι ἀπεδίδους; ἀλλ’ ἔτι νομίζων με ὀρφανὸν εἶναι παῖδα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀδύνατον, ὃς οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχω πεντηκονταετίας; κατάβαλε δὲ τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν τῶν ἀναισχύντων [p. 60] ^[3] ἐρωτημάτων καὶ παῦσαι ποτε ἤδη πονηρὸς ὢν: εἰ δὲ τι δίκαιον ἔχεις πρὸς ταῦτ’ εἰπεῖν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι τοῦτοις ἐπιτρέπειν δικασταῖς, ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἐτέρους εἰπεῖν ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ πόλει κρείττους; ἐὰν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδιδράσκων, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αἰεὶ σοι ποιεῖν σύνηθες, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκδημαγωγούμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ καταφεύγῃς ὄχλον, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω σοι: παρεσκεύασμαι γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἐρῶν καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιο τὰ βίαια πράξων.

πανσαμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Τύλλιος ἔλεξεν ὥδε: ἅπαντα μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, ὧ βουλή, τὰ παράδοξα καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἄπιστον, ὅπου γε καμὲ Ταρκύνιος οὕτοσί τῆς ἀρχῆς παῦσαι πρόθυμός ἐστιν: ὃν ἐγὼ νήπιον παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔσωσα καὶ ἐξέθρεψα καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντα κηδεστήν ἡξίωσα λαβεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι πάθοιμι διάδοχον ἔμελλον καταλείψειν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἅπαντ’ ἀπὴντηκέ μοι καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδικῶν αὐτὸς ἐγκαλοῦμαι, τὴν μὲν τύχην ὕστερον ἀνακλαύσομαι, ^[2] 9 τὰ δὲ δίκαια νῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρῶ. ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν ἐπιτροπείαν ὑμῶν ἔλαβον, ὧ Ταρκύνιε, νηπίων καταλειφθέντων οὐχ ἐκῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεῖς: ἐπειδὴ τὸν μὲν πάππον ὑμῶν οἱ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιοῦμενοι φανερώς ἀπέκτειναν, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ συγγενέσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐλέγοντο [p. 61] ἀφανῶς: καὶ πάντες τοῦθ’ οἱ προσήκοντες ὑμῖν ὡμολογοῦν, ὅτι κρατήσαντες ἐκείνοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ σπέρμα τοῦ Ταρκυνίου καταλείψουσι γένους. κηδεμῶν δὲ καὶ φύλαξ οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἕτερος ἦν, ὅτι μὴ γυνή, πατρὸς μήτηρ, καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ γῆρας ἐτέρων δεομένη κηδεμόνων: ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐμοὶ κατελείπεσθε μόνῳ φύλακι τῆς ἐρημίας, ὃν νῦν ἀλλότριον καὶ οὐδὲν προσήκοντα ἀποκαλεῖς. ^[3] τοιούτοις μέντοι πράγμασιν ἐπιστὰς ἐγὼ τοὺς τ’ ἀποκτείναντας τὸν πάππον ὑμῶν ἐτιμωρησάμην καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἄνδρας ἡγαγον καὶ γενεᾶς ἄρρενος οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κυρίους προειλόμην ποιῆσαι. ἔχεις τὸν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς λόγον, ὧ Ταρκύνιε, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειας εἰπεῖν, ὡς ψεύδομαί τι τούτων.

περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, ὃ κατηγορεῖς μου, ἄκουσον,

ὥπως τ' αὐτῆς ἔτυχον, καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἄλλω τινὶ μεθίεμαι. ὅτε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως παρέλαβον, αἰσθόμενος ἐπιβουλὰς τινὰς κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ γινομένας, παραδοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα¹ ἐβουλήθην: καὶ συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεδίδουν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπιφθόρου ταύτης καὶ πλείω τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν ἡδέων ἐχούσης ἡγεμονίας τὴν ἀκίνδυνον ἀντικαταλασσόμενος ἡσυχίαν. [2] οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτά μου πράττειν βουλομένου οὐδ' ἡξίωσαν ἕτερόν τινα τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεῖξαι κύριον, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ κατέσχον [p. 62] καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκάν μοι ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντες, τὴν ἐαυτῶν, Ταρκύνιε, κτῆσιν, οὐ τὴν ὑμετέραν: [3] ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὸν πάππον ὑμῶν παρήγαγον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ξένον ὄντα καὶ οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῷ πρότερον βασιλεῖ: καίτοι παῖδάς γ' Ἀγκὸς Μάρκιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέλιπεν ἀκμάζοντας, οὐχ υἱωνοὺς καὶ νηπίους, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς Ταρκύνιος. εἰ δὲ κοινὸς ἀπάντων νόμος ἦν τοὺς διαδεχομένους τὴν τε φανεράν οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἐκλείπόντων βασιλέων σὺν τούτοις καὶ τὰς βασιλείας αὐτῶν παραλαμβάνειν, οὐκ ἂν Ταρκύνιος ὁ πάππος ὑμῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν Ἀγκοῦ τελευτήσαντος, ἀλλ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ἐκείνου παιδῶν. [4] ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων οὐ τὸν διάδοχον τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα² ἐκάλει: ἡγεῖτο γὰρ τὰ μὲν χρήματα τῶν κτησαμένων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῶν δεδωκότων: καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅταν τι πάθωσιν οἱ κύριοι τοὺς κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ διαθήκας διαδόχους προσήκειν παραλαμβάνειν, τὴν δ' ὅταν ἐκλίπωσιν οἱ λαβόντες τοὺς δεδωκότας ἔχειν: εἰ μὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις δικαίωμα φέρειν, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ πάππος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισὶ παρέλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἀναφαίρετον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνις καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐ κύριος [5] ἦν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὴν ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ δοῦναι. εἰ γὰρ τι τοιοῦτον εἴπεῖν ἔχεις, τί οὐ φέρεις τὰς συνθήκας εἰς μέσον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις. εἰ δ' οὐ κατὰ τὸν βέλτιστον [p. 63] αὐτῆς ἔτυχον ἐγὼ τρόπον, ὡς λέγεις, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν μεσοβασιλέων αἰρεθεὶς μῆτε τῆς βουλῆς μοι παραδόσης τὰ πράγματα μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων γενομένων τῶν κατὰ νόμον, τούτους ἀδικῶ δήπου καὶ οὐχὶ σέ, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων παυσθῆναι δικαίως εἰμι τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ὑπὸ [6] σοῦ. ἀλλ' οὐτε τούτους οὐτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα ἀδικῶ. μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου μοι καὶ τότε δοθείσης καὶ νῦν ὑπαρχούσης ἐξουσίας ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τετταρακονταετὶ γεγονότι Ῥωμαίων οὐδεὶς ἡγήσατό με πώποτ' ἀδικεῖν, οὐδ' ἐκβαλεῖν με τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεχείρησεν οὐθ' ὁ δῆμος οὐθ' ἡ βουλή.

ἀλλ' ἵνα ταῦτα πάντ' ἀφῶ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρήσω τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις, εἴ σε παρακαταθήκην παππῶν ἀπεστέρουσιν καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις δίκαια τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν κατεῖχον, ἐχρῆν σε παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐμοῦ τε, ὅτι τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα κατέχω, καὶ τῶν δεδωκότων, ὅτι τὰλλότρια ἐχαρίσαντό μοι: ῥαδίως γὰρ ἂν ἔπεισας αὐτούς, εἴ τι δίκαιον εἶχες λέγειν. [2] εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευες τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ δικαίως δ' ἄρχεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμιζες ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπιτηδεϊότερον εἶναι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κοινῶν παραλαβεῖν, ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν σοι προσῆκεν: ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἐμῶν ποιησάμενον ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τὰς σαυτοῦ πράξεις ἐξαριθμησάμενον καλεῖν με εἰς

διαδικασίαν: ὣν οὐδέτερον ἐποίησας, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτοις χρόνοις [p. 64] ὕστερον ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀνάνηψας μέθης νῦν ἤκεις μου κατηγορῶν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν, ὅπου δεῖ. [3] οὐ γὰρ ἐνθάδε σοι ταῦτα προσήκει λέγειν: καὶ μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆτέ μοι ταῦτα λέγοντι, ὧ βουλή: οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἀφαιρούμενος τὴν διαγνώσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τούτου συκοφαντίαν ἐπιδειξασθαι βουλόμενος ταῦτα λέγω: προειπόντα δὲ σ' ἔδει μοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγεῖν κάκεῖ μου κατηγορεῖν. πλήν ἐπεὶ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ποιήσω καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον παρέξομαι σοι δικαστὴν ὣν ἂν μου κατηγορήσης, καὶ ἀποδώσω πάλιν αὐτῷ διαγνῶναι, πότερος ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστιν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν: καὶ ὃ τι ἂν ἅπαντες οὔτοι γνῶσι πράττειν με δεῖν, ποιήσω. [4] καὶ πρὸς μὲν σὲ ταῦθ' ἱκανά: ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ ἐστι τὸ τε πολλὰ δίκαια πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνώμονας ἀντιδίκους λέγειν καὶ τὸ ὀλίγα: τὸ γὰρ πείσων αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρηστοὺς οὐ πεφύκασι φέρειν οἱ λόγοι.

ὑμῶν δὲ τεθαύμακα, εἰ τινὲς εἰσιν, ὧ βουλή, τῆς ἀρχῆς με ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τούτου συνεστηκότες ἐπ' ἐμοί: ἡδέως δ' ἂν πυθοίμην παρ' αὐτῶν, τίνος ἀδικήματος ἔνεκα πολεμοῦσί μοι καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων ἀχθόμενοι: πότερον ὅτι πολλοὺς ἴσασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς ἀκρίτους ἀπολωλότας ἢ τῆς [p. 65] πατρίδος στερομένους ἢ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολωλεκότας ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ συμφορᾷ κεκρημένους ἀδίκως; ἢ τούτων μὲν τῶν τυραννικῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγονός, ὕβρεις δὲ μοι τινας συνοίδασιν εἰς γυναικας γαμετάς ἢ προπηλακισμοὺς εἰς θυγατέρας παρθένους ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ περὶ σῶμα ἐλεύθερον ἀκολασίαν; δικαίως μέντ' ἂν, εἰ τί μοι τοιοῦτον ἡμάρτηται, τῆς ἀρχῆς θ' ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερηθείην. [2] φέρε ἄλλ' ὑπερήφανός εἰμι καὶ διὰ βαρύτητα ἐπαχθῆς καὶ τὴν αὐθάδειαν, ἥ κέχρημαι περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐδεὶς φέρειν δύναται μοι; τίς μέντοι τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλέων οὕτω μέτριος ὢν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ διετέλεσε καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις ὡς πατήρ πρῶτος υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ χρώμενος; ὅς γε καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐδώκατέ μοι πατέρων φυλάττοντες παραδοχάς, οὐχ ἅπασαν ἐβουλήθην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ νόμους θ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων καταστησάμενος, οὕς ἅπαντες ἐπεκυρώσατε, κατὰ τούτους ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκα διδόναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ λαμβάνειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηταζόμεν πρῶτος οἷς ὥρισα κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων δικαίοις ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης πειθόμενος: τῶν τ' ἀδικημάτων οὐχ ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ἐγινόμεν δικαστής, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς δικας ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκα διαγινώσκειν, ὃ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν οὐδεὶς ἐποίησε βασιλέων. [3] ἄλλ' ἔοικεν ἀδίκημα μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι, δι' ὃ [p. 66] δυσχεραίνουσί μοι τινες, αἱ δ' εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος εὐεργεσίαι λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς δοκοῦσι, περὶ ὧν πολλάκις ἀπολελόγημαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δεῖ τούτων νυνὶ τῶν λόγων: εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ κρεῖττον ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν Ταρκύνιος οὗτοσί τὰ πράγματα παραλαβών, οὐ φθονῶ τῇ πόλει βελτίονος ἡγεμόνος: ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ δεδωκότι μοι δῆμῳ καὶ γενόμενος ἰδιώτης πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι πᾶσι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐπίσταμαι καλῶς καὶ ἄρχεσθαι δύναμαι σωφρόνως.

τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ εἰς πολλὴν αἰδῶ καταστήσας τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς κήρυκας

ἀνακαλεσάμενος ἐκέλευσε διὰ πάντων τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιόντας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλεῖν. [2] συνδραμόντος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μακρὰν καὶ συμπαθῇ διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν τὰς τε πολεμικὰς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις ἐξαριθμοῦμενος, ὥς Ταρκύνιου τε ζῶντος διεπράξατο καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν καὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων καθ' ἕν ἕκαστον ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἐξ ὧν πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἔδοξεν ἐσχηκέναι τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελείας. [3] πολλοῦ δ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν λεγομένων ἀπαντῶντος ἐπαίνου καὶ πάντων σπουδῇν ἐχόντων μαθεῖν, τίνων ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγει, τελευτῶν ἔφησεν, ὅτι Ταρκύνιος αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὴν βασιλείαν οὐ δικαίως κατέχειν ἑαυτῷ προσήκουσαν· καταλιπεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν πάππον ἀποθνήσκοντα σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὴν [p. 67] ἀρχήν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον οὐκ εἶναι κύριον τάλλοτρία ἐτέρῳ [4] δίδοναι. κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένης σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας αὐτοὺς ἡξίου μηδὲν ἄχθεσθαι μηδὲ ἀγανακτεῖν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' εἴ τι δίκαιον εἴπειν ἔχει Ταρκύνιος, καλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διδαχθέντας, ἐάν τ' ἀδικούμενον εὐρωσιν ἐάν τ' ἐπιτηδειότερον ἄρχειν, ἐκείνῳ παραδοῦναι τὴν τῆς πόλεως προστασίαν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔφησεν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς κυρίοις, παρ' ὧν αὐτὴν ἔλαβεν. [5] ταῦτα λέξαντος αὐτοῦ καταβαίνειν τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος βουλομένου κραυγὴ τ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγένετο καὶ δεήσεις πολλαὶ σὺν οἰμωγαῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς· τινὲς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐβόων. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν δείσας τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην ὁρμῆς ἥδη γινομένης τῶν ὄχλων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὦχετο φεύγων ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις· τὸν δὲ Τύλλιον ἢ πληθὺς ἅπανσα μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κρότου καὶ πολλῆς εὐφημίας παραπέμπουσα μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας κατέστησεν.

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης διήμαρτε τῆς πείρας ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ἀδημονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπεποιθεῖ, γενέσθαι, χρόνον μὲν τινα διέτριβε κατ' οἰκίαν τοῖς ἐταίροις μόνοις διαλεγόμενος· ἔπειτα γνώμην ἀποδειξαμένης τῆς γυναικὸς μηδὲν ἔτι μαλακίζεσθαι μηδὲ κατοκνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καταβαλόντα τοὺς λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖν διαλλαγὰς πρῶτον εὐρόμενον διὰ φίλων πρὸς τὸν Τύλλιον, [p. 68] ἵνα πιστεύσας ὥς φίλῳ γεγονότι ἦττον αὐτὸν φυλάττοιτο, δόξας δ' αὐτὴν τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθέσθαι μετανοεῖν τε περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἐσκήπτετο καὶ πολλὰ διὰ φίλων λιπαρῶν τὸν Τύλλιον ἡξίου συγγνώμονα 10 γενέσθαι. [2] ῥᾶστα δὲ πείσας τὸν ἄνδρα φύσει τ' εὐδιάλλακτον ὄντα καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντα πόλεμον ἄσπειστον θυγατρὶ καὶ γαμβρῷ πολεμεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἔλαβε διεσκεδασμένου τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὴν, ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐχόντων ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ξίφη, τοὺς τε πελέκεις ὑπηρέταις τισὶν ἀναδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαγόμενος· ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου στὰς ἐκέλευσε τῷ κήρυκι τοὺς βουλευτὰς καλεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. ἦσαν δ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔτοιμοι περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ συνειδότες αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶξιν [3] καὶ παρορμῶντες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων συχνοί. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνήεσαν· τῷ δὲ Τυλλίῳ λέγει τις ἐλθὼν ὄντι κατ' οἰκίαν, ὅτι Ταρκύνιος ἐν ἐσθῇτι βασιλικῇ προελήλυθε καὶ καλεῖ τοὺς

βουλευτὰς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τάχιον ἢ φρονιμώτερον προῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας οὐ πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων. ἔλθων δ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς καθήμενον ἔδρας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον 11 βασιλείον ἔχοντα κόσμον· [4] τις, εἶπεν, ὦ μιαρῶτατε ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο σοι τὸ σχῆμα συνεχώρησε λαβεῖν; [p. 69] καὶ ὃς ὑπολαβὼν· ἡ σὴ τόλμα καὶ ἀναίδεια, εἶπεν, ὦ Τύλλιε, ὃς οὐδ' ἐλευθερος ὢν, ἀλλὰ δοῦλος ἐκ δούλης, ἣν οὐμὸς ἐκτήσατο πάππος ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἐτόλμησας βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων σεαυτὸν ἀναδεῖλαι. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Τύλλιος, ἐκπικρανθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξαναστήσων τῆς ἔδρας. [5] καὶ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἄσμενος τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ἀναπηδᾷ τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου, καὶ συναρπάσας τὸν γέροντα κεκραγότα καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐπικαλοῦμενον ἔφερε. γενόμενος δ' ἔξω τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μετέωρον ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸν ἀκμάζων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ῥωμαλέος ἀνὴρ ῥίπτει κατὰ τῶν κρηπιδων τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον φερουσῶν. [6] μόγις δ' ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος ἀναστὰς ὁ πρεσβύτης ὡς εἶδε μεστὰ τὰ πέριξ ἅπαντα τῆς περὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἑταιρείας, τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ φίλων πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, ἀπῆι στένων κρατούντων καὶ παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ὀλίγων, αἵματι πολλῷ ρέομενος καὶ κακῶς ὄλον ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος ἔχων.

τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖνὰ μὲν ἀκουσθῆναι, θαυμαστὰ δὲ καὶ ἄπιστα πραχθῆναι, τῆς ἀνοσίας αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς ἔργα παραδίδοται. πεπυσμένη γὰρ τὴν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῦ πατρὸς εἴσοδον καὶ σπουδὴν [p. 70] ἔχουσα μαθεῖν οἷόν τι λήψεται τὰ πράγματα τέλος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπῆνης καθεζομένη παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τῆς κρηπίδος ἐστῶτα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θεασαμένη βασιλέα τ' αὐτὸν ἡσπάσατο πρώτη μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάτο ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν. [2] ἀσπασαμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλέα τῶν συγκατασκευασάντων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα μόνον αὐτόν· τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, ἔφη, πέπρακται σοι, Ταρκύνιε, κατὰ τὸ δέον· βεβαίως δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν Τυλλίου περιόντος οὐκ ἔνεστί σοι. ἐκδημαγωγῇσει γὰρ αὐθις ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ἐὰν καὶ ὅποσονοῦν ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας περιγένηται χρόνον· ἐπίστασαι δ', ὡς εὖνους ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀποστείλας τοὺς διαχρησομένους ἐκποδῶν ποιήσον. [3] ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα καὶ καθεζομένη πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπῆνης ὤχετο· Ταρκύνιος δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς δόξας τὴν ἀνοσιωτάτην γυναικα ὑποτίθεσθαι πέμπει τινὰς τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ξίφη· οἱ τάχει πολλῷ τὴν μεταξὺ διανύσαντες ὁδὸν ἐγγὺς ὄντα τῆς οἰκίας ἤδη τὸν Τύλλιον καταλαβόντες κατέσφαξαν. ἔτι δὲ νεοσφαγοὺς ἐρριμμένου τοῦ σώματος καὶ σπαίροντος [4] ἢ θυγάτηρ παρῆν. στενοῦ δ' ὄντος πάνυ τοῦ στενωποῦ, δι' οὗ τὴν ἀπῆνην ἔδει διελθεῖν, αἱ ἡμίονοι τὸ πῶμα ἰδοῦσαι διεταράχθησαν, καὶ ὁ προηγούμενος αὐτῶν ὀρεοκόμος παθὼν τι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἐλεεινὸν [p. 71] ἐπέστη καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν ἀπέβλεψε. πυνθανομένης δ' ἐκείνης, τί παθὼν οὐκ ἄγει τὸ ζεῦγος· οὐχ ὀρᾷς, εἶπεν, ὦ Τυλλία, τὸν πατέρα σου νεκρὸν κείμενον καὶ πάροδον οὐκ οὔσαν

ἄλλην, εἰ μὴ διὰ ^[5] τοῦ πτώματος· ἡ δ' ἐκπικρανθεῖσα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν τὸ βάθρον ἀρπάσασα βάλλει τὸν ὀρεοκόμον καὶ φησιν· οὐκ ἄξεις, ἀλιτήριε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ· κἀκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πληγῇ στενάζας ἄγει βίᾳ τὰς ἡμιόνους κατὰ τοῦ πτώματος. οὗτος ὁ στενωπὸς ὄρβιος καλούμενος πρότερον ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ μυσαροῦ πάθους ἀσεβῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὴν πατρίον γλῶτταν καλεῖται.

τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχε Τύλλιος ἔτη τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχών. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρῶτον τὰ πατρία ἔθνη καὶ νόμιμα κινῆσαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντα οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, καθάπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μόνου τοῦ δήμου, δεκάσμοις δὲ καὶ δωροδοκίαις καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς κολακείαις ἐκθεραπεύσαντα τοὺς ἀπόρους· καὶ ἔχει τάληθές οὕτως. ^[2] Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, ὅποτε βασιλεὺς ἀποθάνοι, τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίδου τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς βουλῆς, οἷαν προέλοιτο καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν· ἡ δὲ βουλή μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὸν ἄριστον ἄνδρα, εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν ξένων, βασιλέα καθίστασαν. εἰ ^[p. 72] μὲν οὖν ἡ τε βουλή τὸν αἰρεθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεψήφισε καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα ἐπεκύρωσε, παρελάμβανε οὗτος τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐλλείποντος δὲ τινος τούτων ἕτερον ὠνόμαζον, καὶ τρίτον, εἰ μὴ συμβαίῃ μηδὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ τε παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ^[3] τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀνεπιλήπτα. ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος ἐπιτρόπου βασιλικοῦ σχῆμα κατ' ἀρχὰς λαβών, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, ἔπειτα φιланθρωπίας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οἰκειωσάμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείχθη μόνου. ἐπικλῆς δὲ καὶ μέτριος ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἔλυσεν τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πρᾶξαι. διαβολὰς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔργοις, παρέσχε τε πολλοῖς ὑπόληψιν ὡς, εἰ μὴ θάπτον ἀνηρέθη, μεταστήσων τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν. ^[4] καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ λέγεται τῶν πατρικίων αὐτῷ τινες συνεπιβουλεύσαι· ἀδυνάτους δ' ὄντας δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα παραλαβεῖν καὶ συγκατασκευάσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῳ, κακῶσαι τε βουλομένους τὸ δημοτικὸν ἰσχύος οὐ μικρὰς ἐπειλημμένον ἐκ τῆς Τυλλίου πολιτείας, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀξίωσιν, ἣν πρότερον εἶχον, ἀναλαβεῖν. ^[5] Θορύβου δὲ γενομένου πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Τυλλίου θανάτῳ δέσας ὁ Ταρκύνιος, εἰ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὁ νεκρὸς φέροιτο, ὡς ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος, τὸν τε βασιλείον κόσμον ἔχων καὶ τᾶλλ', ὅσα νόμος ἐπὶ ταφαῖς βασιλικαῖς μὴ τις εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὀρμὴ γένηται τοῦ δημοτικοῦ, πρὶν ἢ βεβαίως κρατύνασθαι ^[p. 73] τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ εἶασεν τῶν νομίμων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Τυλλίου σὺν ὀλίγοις πρὸς τῶν φίλων, Ταρκυνίου θυγάτηρ οὖσα τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως, νυκτὸς ἐκκομίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως, ὡς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τινός· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐκείνου δαίμονα κατοδυναμένη, μυρίας δὲ κατάρας τῷ τε γαμβρῷ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καταρασάμενη κρύπτει γῇ τὸ σῶμα. ^[6] ἀπελθοῦσα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος οἴκαδε καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιβιώσασα μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν τῇ κατόπιν νυκτὶ ἀποθνήσκει. τοῦ θανάτου δ' ὁ τρόπος, ὅστις ἦν, ἠγνοεῖτο τοῖς πολλοῖς· ἔλεγον δ' οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὸ ζῆν

προεμένην αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν: οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀναιρεθῆναι τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα συμπαθείας τε καὶ εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. ταφῆς μὲν οὖν βασιλικῆς καὶ μνήματος ἐπιφανοῦς διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τυχεῖν τῷ Τυλλίου σώματι, μνήμης δ' αἰωνίου τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὑπάρχει τυγχάνειν. [7] ἐδήλωσε δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο δαιμόνιον ἔργον, ὅτι θεοφιλῆς ἦν ἄνθρωπος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ μυθικὴ καὶ ἄπιστος ὑπόληψις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, ἀληθὴς εἶναι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιστεύθη. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ναῶ τῆς Τύχης, ὃν αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασεν, εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ κειμένη ξυλίνῃ κατάχρυσος ἐμπλήσεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαφθαρέντων μόνῃ διέμεινεν οὐδὲν λωβηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὁ μὲν νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα, [p. 74] ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἐμπρησιν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον κόσμον ἐπετελέσθη φανερά, ὅτι τῆς καινῆς ἐστὶ τέχνης, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν, οἷα πρότερον ἦν, ἀρχαϊκὴ τὴν κατασκευὴν: διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνουσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ περὶ μὲν Τυλλίου τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον παραλαμβάνει Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν οὐ κατὰ νόμους, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων κατασχών, κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀγάθαρχος Κερκυραῖος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Θηρικλέους. [2] οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν μὲν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους, ὑπεριδὼν δὲ τῶν πατρικίων, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν παρήχθη, ἔθη τε καὶ νόμους καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπιχώριον κόσμον, ὃ τὴν πόλιν ἐκόσμησαν οἱ πρότεροι βασιλεῖς, συγγέας καὶ διαφθείρας εἰς ὁμολογουμένην τυραννίδα μετέστησε τὴν ἀρχήν. [3] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν φυλακὴν κατεστήσατο περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων θρασυτάτων ξίφη καὶ λόγχας φερόντων ἐπιχωρίων τε καὶ ἀλλοδαπῶν, οἱ νυκτὸς τε περὶ τὴν βασιλείον ἀυλίζόμενοι αὐλὴν καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξίοντι παρακολουθοῦντες, ὅπῃ πορεύοιτο, πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσόντων ἀσφάλειαν παρείχοντο. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐξόδους οὔτε συνεχεῖς οὔτε τεταγμένας, ἀλλὰ σπανίους καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐποιεῖτο ἐχρηματίζετο τε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν κατ' οἶκον μὲν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων [p. 75] [4] συμπαρόντων, ὀλίγα δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ. προσελθεῖν δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν βουλομένων ἐπέτρεπεν, εἰ μὴ τινα καλέσειεν αὐτός: οὔτε τοῖς προσιούσιν εὐμενὴς οὐδὲ πρᾶος ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ τύραννος, βαρὺς τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ὀργὴν καὶ φοβερὸς μᾶλλον ἢ παιδρὸς ὀφθῆναι: καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητήτων συμβολαίων κρίσεις οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τρόπους ἀναφέρων ἐποιεῖτο. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπωνυμίαν τίθενται αὐτῷ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Σούπερβον, τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῦν βούλεται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν τὸν ὑπερήφανον. τὸν δὲ πάμπαν αὐτοῦ Πρίσκον ἐκάλουν: ὥς δ' ἡμεῖς ἂν εἴποιμεν, προγενέστερον: ὁμώνυμος γὰρ ἦν τῷ νεωτέρῳ κατ' ἄμφω τὰ ὀνόματα.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγκρατῶς ἤδη κατέχειν ὑπελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχήν, παρασκευάσας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς πονηροτάτους δι' ἐκείνων ἦγεν εἰς ἐγκλήματα καὶ θανάτου δίκας πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν: πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρῶς διακειμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, οἷς οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις Τύλλιον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν: ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὓς ὑπελάμβανε βαρεῖαν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ οἷς πολλὺς πλοῦτος ἦν. [2] οἱ δ' ὑπάγοντες αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς

δίκας ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλαις ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις, μάλιστα δ' ἐπιβουλεύειν αἰτιώμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ, κατηγοροῦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαστῇ. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν θάνατον κατεδίκασε, τῶν δὲ φυγὴν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοὺς τ' [p. 76] ἀναιρουμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελαυνομένους ἀφαιρούμενος τοῖς μὲν κατηγοροῖς μικρὰν τινα μοῖραν ἀπέθυσεν, ^[3] αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλεῖω κατέϊχεν. ἔμελλον δ' ἄρα πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν, πρὶν ἀλῶναι τὰς ἐπαγομένας σφίσι δίκας, εἰδότες ὧν ἔνεκεν ἐπεβουλεύοντο, καταλείπειν τῷ τυράννῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐκόντες καὶ πολλῷ πλείονες ἐγένοντο τῶν ἑτέρων. ἦσαν δὲ τινες, οἳ καὶ κρύφα διεφθάρησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατ' οἰκίας τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀγρῶν ἀναρπαζόμενοι, λόγου ἄξιοι ἄνδρες, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα 12 ἐφάνη. ^[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ διέφθειρε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς μέρος θανάτοις τε καὶ ἀειφυγίαις, ἑτέραν βουλήν αὐτὸς κατεστήσατο παραγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τιμὰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἑταίρους. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτοις μέντοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὔτε πράττειν ἐπέτρεπεν οὐδὲν 13 οὔτε λέγειν ὅ τι μὴ κελεύσειεν αὐτὸς. ^[5] ὥσθ' ὅποσοι κατελείφθησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ βουλευταὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τυλλίου καταλεγέντων, διάφοροι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς τέως ὄντες καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ νομιζόντες ἀγαθῷ γενήσεσθαι: τοιαύτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεινεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὑποσχέσεις ἐξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων: τότε μαθόντες, ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἔτι μετεῖχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ἅμα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἀφηρέθησαν, ὠδύροντο μὲν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα [p. 77] τῶν παρόντων δεινότερα ὑπώπτευνον, στέργειν δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἠναγκάζοντο δύνανιν οὐκ ἔχοντες κωλύειν τὰ πραττόμενα.

ταῦτα δ' ὀρῶντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ δίκαια πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ ἐπέχαιρον ὑπ' εὐηθείας, ὥς ἐκείνοις μόνοις τῆς τυραννίδος βαρεῖας ἐσομένης, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀκινδύνου. ἦκε δὲ κάκεινοις οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἔτι πλεῖω τὰ χαλεπὰ. τοὺς τε γὰρ νόμους τοὺς ὑπὸ Τυλλίου γραφέντας, καθ' οὓς ἐξ ἴσου τὰ δίκαια παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐλάμβανον καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων ὥς πρότερον ἐβλάπτοντο περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια, πάντας ἀνεῖλε: καὶ οὐδὲ τὰς σανίδας, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν γεγραμμένοι, κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας καθαιρεθῆναι κελεύσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διέφθειρεν. ^[2] ἔπειτα κατέλυσεν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων εἰσφορὰς καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπον ἀποκατέστησε: καὶ ὅποτε δεήσειεν αὐτῷ χρημάτων, τὸ ἴσον διάφορον ὁ πενέστατος τῷ πλουσιωτάτῳ κατέφερε. τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα πολὺ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους ἀπανήλωσεν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης εὐθύς εἰσφορᾶς ἀναγκαζομένου κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἐκάστου δραχμὰς δέκα εἰσφέρειν. συνόδους τε συμπάσας, ὅσαι πρότερον ἐγίνοντο κωμητῶν ἢ φρατριαστῶν ἢ γειτόνων ἔν τε τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐφ' ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίας ἅπασι κοινὰς προεῖπε μηκέτι συντελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ πολλοὶ βουλὰς ἀπορρήτους μετ' ἀλλήλων ποιῶνται περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς. ^[3] ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ πολλαχῇ διεσπαρμένοι κατόπται [p. 78] τινὲς καὶ διερευνηταὶ τῶν λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων λεληθότες τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἳ συγκαθιέντες εἰς ὁμίλιαν τοῖς πέλας καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου λέγοντες αὐτοὶ, πείραν τῆς ἐκάστου γνώμης ἐλάμβανον: ἔπειθ' οὓς αἰσθοῖντο τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασιν ἄχθομένους κατεμήνυνον πρὸς τὸν τύραννον: αἱ δὲ τιμωρίαι κατὰ

τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων ἐγίνοντο πικραὶ καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι.

καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα μόνον εἰς τοὺς δημοτικούς αὐτῷ παρανομεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅσον ἦν πιστὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἰς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας ἐπιτήδειον, τὸ λοιπὸν ἠνάγκασεν ἐργάζεσθαι τὰς κατὰ πόλιν ἐργασίας, μέγιστον οἰόμενος εἶναι κίνδυνον τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὅταν οἱ πονηρότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀπορώτατοι σχολὴν ἄγωσι, καὶ ἅμα προθυμίαν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς τὰ καταλειφθέντα ἡμίεργα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάσπου τελειῶσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐξαγωγίμους τῶν ὑδάτων τάφρους, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ὀρύττειν ἤρξατο, μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταγαγεῖν, τὸν δ' ἀμφιθέατρον ἱππόδρομον οὐδὲν ἔξω κρηπίδων ἔχοντα παστάσιν ὑποστέγοις περιλαβεῖν: [2] εἰς ταῦτα δὴ πάντες οἱ πένητες εἰργάζοντο σῖτα παρ' αὐτοῦ μέτρια λαμβάνοντες: οἱ μὲν λατομοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὑλοτομοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τὰς κομιζούσας ταῦθ' ἀμάξας ἄγοντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοὶ τὰ ἄχθη φέροντες: μεταλλεῦοντές τε τὰς ὑπονόμους [p. 79] σήραγγας ἕτεροι καὶ πλάττοντες τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς καμάρας καὶ τὰς παστάδας ἐγείροντες, καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα πράττουσι χειροτέχναις ὑπηρετοῦντες χαλκοτύποι τε καὶ τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἔργων ἀφροσύνας ἐπὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις κατεῖχοντο χρεῖαις. [3] περὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἔργα τριβόμενος ὁ λεὼς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐλάμβανεν: ὥσθ' οἱ πατρίκιοι τὰ τούτων κακὰ καὶ τὰς λατρείας ὀρῶντες ἔχαιρόν τ' ἐν μέρει καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπελανθάνοντο ἀλγεινῶν: κωλύειν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτεροι τὰ γινόμενα ἐπεχείρουν.

λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ὅτι τοῖς μὴ κατὰ νόμους λαβοῦσι τὰς δυναστείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων κτησάμενοις, οὐ μόνον ἐπιχωρίου δεῖ φυλακῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξενικῆς, τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους καὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάντων δυνάμενον ἐσπούδαζε φίλον ποιήσασθαι τῷ γάμῳ συζεύξας τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ὁκταούιος Μαμίλιος, ἀνέφερε δὲ τὸ γένος εἰς Τηλέγονον τὸν ἐξ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Κίρκης, κατῴκει δ' ἐν πόλει Τύσκλῳ, ἐδόκει δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ συνετὸς ἐν ὀλίγοις εἶναι καὶ πολέμους στρατηγεῖν ἱκανός. [2] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ἔχων καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τῶν τὰ κοινὰ πραττόντων προσλαβὼν τότε ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὑπαιθρίων ἐπεχείρει πειρᾶσθαι πολέμων καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους ἐξάγειν οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν ὁμολογιῶν οἰομένους, [p. 80] ἐξ οὗ Τύλλιος ἐτελεύτησε, πρὸς ὃν ἐποίησαντο τὰς ὁμολογίας. [3] γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπε δι' ἀγγέλων ἡκεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐν Φερεντίνῳ γινομένην ἀγορὰν τοὺς εἰωθότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων συνεδρεῦειν, ἡμέραν τινὰ ὀρίσας, ὡς περὶ κοινῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτοῖς βουλευσόμενος. [4] οἱ μὲν δὴ παρήσαν, ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος αὐτὸς ὁ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ὑστέρει. ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἐγένετο καθημένοις ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν ὕβρις εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀνὴρ τις ἐν πόλει μὲν οἰκῶν Κορίλλῃ, δυνατὸς δὲ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος πολιτικόν τε λόγον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, Τύρνος Ἐρδώνιος ὄνομα, Μαμιλίῳ τε διάφορος ὢν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ Ταρκυνίῳ διὰ τὸν Μαμίλιον ἀπεχθόμενος, ὅτι κηδεστήν ἐκεῖνον ἤξιωσε λαβεῖν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὴν ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ Ταρκυνίου κατηγορίαν τ' ἄλλα διεξιὼν ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἷς αὐθάδειά τις ἐδόκει προσεῖναι καὶ βαρύτης, καὶ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτὸν τὸν κεκληκότα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων παρόντων. [5] ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ Μαμιλίου καὶ εἰς ἀναγκαίας τινὰς ἀναφέροντος αἰτίας τὸν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου χρονισμόν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τ' ἀξιοῦντος τὸν σύλλογον εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, πεισθέντες οἱ πρόεδροι τῶν Λατίνων ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν βουλὴν.

τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ Ταρκύνιος καὶ συναχθέντος τοῦ συλλόγου μικρά θ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρονισμοῦ προειπὼν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας εὐθύς ἐποιεῖτο [p. 81] λόγους ὡς κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης, ἐπειδὴ Ταρκύνιος αὐτὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ πολέμῳ κτησάμενος, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας παρείχετο τὰς γενομένας ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. [2] πολὺν δὲ λόγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν διεξελθὼν καὶ μεγάλα τὰς πόλεις εὐεργετήσιν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ διαμείνωσι, τελευτῶν ἐπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος συστρατεῦειν. [3] ὡς δ' ἐπαύσατο λέγων, παρελθὼν ὁ Τύρνος ὁ καὶ τὸν ὀψισμόν αὐτοῦ διαβαλὼν οὐκ εἶα τοὺς συνέδρους παραχωρεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὔτε κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῶν Λατίνων δοθησομένης· καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων διεξῆλθε λόγους τὰς μὲν συνθήκας, ἃς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντες τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, λελῦσθαι λέγων μετὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνου θάνατον διὰ τὸ μὴ προσγεγράφθαι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι δωρεὰν καὶ τοῖς Ταρκυνίου ἐγγόνοις, τὸν δ' ἀξιοῦντα τῶν

τοῦ πάππου δωρεῶν κληρονομεῖν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων παρανομώτατον ἀποφαίνων καὶ πονηρότατον καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διεξιὼν, ἃς ἐπὶ τῷ [4] κατασχεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπετελέσατο. διεξελθὼν δὲ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινὰς κατηγορίας τελευτῶν ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶχε τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ νόμους παρ' ἐκόντων λαβὼν ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, ὅπλοις δὲ καὶ βίᾳ κατισχύσας τυραννικὴν τε μοναρχίαν καταστησάμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνει τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐξελαύνει τῆς πατρίδος, τῶν δὲ περικόπτοι [p. 82] τὰς οὐσίας, ἀπάντων δ' ἅμα τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιροῖτο: πολλῆς τε μωρίας ἔφη καὶ θεοβλαβείας εἶναι παρὰ πονηροῦ καὶ ἀνοσίου τρόπου χρηστὸν τι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐλπίζειν καὶ νομίζειν, ὡς ὁ τῶν συγγενεστάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων μὴ φεισάμενος τῶν ἄλλοτριων φείσεται: παρῆναι τε τέως οὕτω τὸν χαλινὸν εἰλήφασι τῆς δουλείας περὶ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν διαμάχεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ἕτεροι πεπόνθασι δεινῶν τεκμαίρομενους, ἃ συμβῆσεται παθεῖν αὐτοῖς.

τοιαυτῇ καταδρομῇ τοῦ Τύρνου χρησαμένου καὶ τῶν πολλῶν σφόδρα κινηθέντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αἰτησάμενος εἰς ἀπολογία καὶ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἐποῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ λαβὼν, ὡς ὁ σύλλογος διελύθη, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους ἐσκόπει μετ' ἐκείνων, τίνα χρηστέον τοῖς πράγμασι τρόπον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἦν αὐτῷ λεκτέον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὑπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς τρόπους, οἷς ἔδει τὸ πλῆθος ἀποθεραπεύειν, ἀπελογίζοντο. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος τοῦτων μὲν οὐδενὸς ἔφη δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἰδίαν δὲ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο μὴ τὰ κατηγορηθέντα λυεῖν, ἀλλ' [2] αὐτὸν τὸν κατηγορήσαντα ἀναιρεῖν. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων συνταξάμενος μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν πράγματι ἐπεχείρησεν ἥκιστα δυναμένῳ πεσεῖν εἰς πρόνοιαν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ φυλακὴν. [p. 83] τῶν γὰρ παρακομιζόντων τὰ θ' ὑποζύγια καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν τοῦ Τύρνου θεραπόντων τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐξευρών καὶ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν ἔπειθεν ὑπὸ νύκτα ξιφὴ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντας εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ ἀποθέσθαι κρύψαντας ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις. [3] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναχθείσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρελθὼν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν κατηγορηθέντων βραχεῖαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν ἀπολογία καὶ δικαστὴν ἀπάντων ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτὸν τὸν κατήγορον. οὗτοσὶ γάρ, ἔφη, Τύρνος, ὧ συνέδροι, τοῦτων ὧν νυνὶ μου κατηγορεῖ πάντων δικαστῆς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπέλυσέ με, ὅτε τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν γυναῖκα. [4] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηξιώθη τῶν γάμων κατὰ τὸ εἶκος: τίς γὰρ ἂν τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων Μαιμίλιον τὸν εὐγενέστατον τε καὶ κράτιστον Λατίνων ἀπεώσατο, τοῦτον δὲ κηδεστὴν ἠξίωσε λαβεῖν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰς τρίτον πάππον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔχει τὸ γένος; ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ νῦν ἡκει μου κατηγορῶν. ἔδει δ' αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν ἦδει με τοιοῦτον ὄντα, οἷον νῦν αἰτιᾶται, μὴ προθυμεῖσθαι λαβεῖν τότε πενθερόν: εἰ δὲ χρηστὸν ἐνόμιζεν, ὅτε τὴν θυγατέρα με ἤτεῖτο, μηδὲ νῦν ὡς πονηροῦ κατηγορεῖν. [5] καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ τοσαῦτα λέγω: ὑμῖν δ', ὧ συνέδροι, κινδύνων τὸν μέγιστον τρέχουσιν οὐ περὶ ἐμοῦ σκεπτέον ἐστὶ νυνὶ, πότερα χρηστὸς ἢ πονηρὸς εἰμι: τουτὶ γὰρ ἐξεῖται καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σκοπεῖν: ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ περὶ

τῆς τῶν πατριδῶν ἐλευθερίας. ἐπιβουλευέσθε [p. 84] γὰρ οἱ κορυφαϊότατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου δημαγωγοῦ, ὃς παρεσκεύασται τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνας ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ Λατίνων ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ' [6] 14 ἤκει. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος λέγω μηνύσεώς μοι γενομένης ἐν τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν μετεσχηκότων τῆς συνωμοσίας. τεκμήριον δ' ὑμῖν παρέξομαι τῶν λόγων ἔργον ἀναμφίλεκτον, ἐὰν ἐθελήσητε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν αὐτοῦ, τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν αὐτῇ δείξας ὄπλα.

ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνεβόησάν τε πάντες καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι δεδιότες ἐλέγχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἡξιοῦν. καὶ ὁ Τύρνος, οἷα δὴ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐ προεγνωκώς, ἄσμενος τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἔφη δέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προέδρους ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς καταλύσεως ἐκάλει καὶ дуεῖν γενέσθαι θάπερον ἔφη δεῖν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐὰν εὕρεθῃ παρεσκευασμένος ὄπλα ἔξω τῶν ἐνοδίων, ἢ τὸν καταψευσάμενον αὐτοῦ [2] δίκην ὑποσχεῖν. ἐδόκει ταῦτα: καὶ οἱ πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις τὰ κατακρυφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ξίφη. μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Τύρνον οὐκέτι λόγου τυχεῖν ἔασαντες εἰς βάραθρόν τι καταβάλλουσι καὶ ἐπικατασκάψαντες ἔτι ζῶντος τὴν γῆν διαφθεῖρουσι παραχρῆμα. [3] 15 τὸν δὲ Ταρκύνιον ἐπαινέσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς κοινὸν εὐεργέτην τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῷ σεσωκέναι τοὺς [p. 85] ἀρίστους ἀνδρας, ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς δικαίοις, ἐφ' οἷς Ταρκύνιον τε τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐποίησαντο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Τύλλιον: συνθήκας τε γράψαντες ἐν στήλαις καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς τῶν συγκειμένων ὄρκια τεμόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον.

τυχὼν δὲ τῆς Λατίνων ἡγεμονίας ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπρεσβεύσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἑρνίκων πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς Οὐολούσκων προκαλούμενος κἀκείνους εἰς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν. Ἑρνικες μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐψηφίσαντο ποιεῖν τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους δύο πόλεις ἐδέξαντο μόναι τὰς προκλήσεις, Ἐχετρανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀντιᾶται. τοῦ δὲ μένειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰ συγκείμενα ταῖς πόλεσι πρόνοιαν ὁ Ταρκύνιος λαμβάνων ἱερὸν ἔγνω κοινὸν ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λατίνων καὶ Ἑρνίκων καὶ Οὐολούσκων τῶν ἐγγραφασμένων εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἵνα συνερχόμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον πανηγυρίζωσι καὶ συνεσιῶνται καὶ κοινῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαμβάνωσιν. [2] ἀγαπητῶς δὲ πάντων τὸ πρᾶγμα δεξαμένων τόπον μὲν ἀπέδειξεν, ἔνθα ποιήσονται τὴν σύνοδον ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν κείμενον ὄρος ὑψηλόν, ὃ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν ὑπέρεκειται πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ πανηγύρεις τ' ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄγεσθαι καὶ ἐκεχειρίας εἶναι πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας ἐνομοθέτησε θυσίας τε συντελεῖσθαι κοινὰς τῷ καλουμένῳ Λατιαρίῳ Διὶ καὶ συνεσιάσεις, τάξας ἃ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰς τὰ [p. 86] ἱερά, καὶ μοῖραν, ἣν ἐκάστην δεήσει λαμβάνειν. αἱ δὲ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς ἑορτῆς τε καὶ τῆς θυσίας πόλεις τριῶν δέουσαι πεντήκοντα ἐγένοντο. [3] ταύτας τὰς ἑορτάς τε καὶ τὰς θυσίας μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ἐπιτελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λατίνας καλοῦντες, καὶ φέρουσιν εἰς αὐτάς αἱ μετέχουσαι τῶν ἱερῶν πόλεις αἱ μὲν ἄρνας, αἱ δὲ τυρούς, αἱ δὲ γάλακτός τι μέτρον, αἱ δὲ

ὁμοίον τι τοῦτοις πελάνου γένος· ἐνὸς δὲ ταύρου κοινῶς ὑπὸ πασῶν
θυομένου μέρος ἑκάστη τὸ τεταγμένον λαμβάνει. θύουσι δ' ὑπὲρ πάντων
καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦταις ἐκρατύνατο τὴν ἀρχὴν ταῖς συμμαχίαις, στρατὸν
ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους ἔγνω Ῥωμαίων τ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξας οὐς ἥκιστα
ὑπώπτευν, εἰ κύριοι τῶν ὄπλων γένοιτο, ἐλευθερίας μεταποιήσεσθαι, καὶ
τὴν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφιγμένην δύναμιν προσλαβὼν πολλῶ πλείονα τῆς
πολιτικῆς ὑπάρχουσιν. ^[2] δηώσας δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε
χωρήσαντας μάχῃ νικήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Πωμεντίνους ἦγε τὴν
δύναμιν, οἳ πόλιν μὲν Σύεσσαν ὥρουν, εὐδαιμονέστατοι δ' ἐδόκουν πάντων
εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν εὐτυχίαν ἅπασι λυπηροὶ καὶ
βαρεῖς, ἐγκάλων αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγὰς τινὰς καὶ ληστείας, ὑπὲρ [p. 87] ὧν
αἰτούμενοι δίκας αὐθάδεις ἔδωκαν ἀποκρίσεις. οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι
προσδεχόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ^[3] συνάψας δ' αὐτοῖς μάχην
περὶ τὰ μεθόρια καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος
καὶ κατακλείσας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ὥς οὐκέτι προήεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,
παραστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπετάφρευε τε καὶ περιεχαράκου καὶ
προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο τοῖς τείχεσι συνεχεῖς. οἱ δ' ἔνδον τέως μὲν ἀπεμάχοντο
καὶ πολὺν ἀντέσχον τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ χρόνον· ὥς δ' ὑπέλειπεν αὐτοὺς
τάπιτῆδεια, ἐξασθενοῦντες τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐτ' ἐπικουρίαν οὐδεμίαν
προσλαβόντες οὐδ' ἀναπαύσεως τυγχάνοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ
νύκτωρ αὐτοὶ ταλαιπωροῦντες ἀλίσκονται κατὰ κράτος. ^[4] γενόμενος δὲ τῆς
πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διέφθειρε, γυναῖκας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ
τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ὑπομεινάντας αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων
πλῆθος οὐδ' ἀριθμηθῆναι ῥάδιον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεπεν ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν
τ' ἄλλην κτῆσιν τῆς πόλεως ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, εἴ τις ἐπιτύχοι, τὴν τ' ἐντὸς
τείχους καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐφῆκεν· ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσόν, ὅσος
εὐρέθη, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἓν χωρίον καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος εἰς
κατασκευὴν ἱεροῦ τὰ ^[5] λοιπὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις διεῖλεν. οὕτω δ'
ἄρα πολὺς ὁ καταληφθεὶς ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἦν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν
στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον πέντε μνᾶς ἄργυρίου [p. 88] λαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς
δεκατευθὲν ἄργυριον τετρακοσίων οὐ μείον γενέσθαι ταλάντων.

ἔτι δ' ἐν τῇ Συνέσσει διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ παρῆν τις ἀγγέλλων, ὅτι Σαβίνων
ἡ κρατίστη νεότης ἐξεληλύθε καὶ δυσὶ μεγάλοις στρατεύμασιν εἰς τὴν
Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλοῦσα λεηλατεῖ τοὺς ἀγροὺς, ἡ μὲν Ἡρήτου πλησίον θεμένη
τὸν χάρακα, ἡ δὲ περὶ Φιδήνην· καὶ εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς δύναιμι
ἐναντιωθήσεται, πάντα οἰχήσεται τάκεϊ. ^[2] ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν, ἐν μὲν τῇ
Συνέσσει βραχὺ τι καταλείπει μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ τε λάφυρα καὶ τὴν
ἀποσκευὴν φυλάττειν παρακελευσάμενος, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν εὐζωνον
ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Ἡρήτῳ κατεστρατοπεδευκότας καὶ τίθεται
τὸν χάρακα μετέωρον ὀλίγον τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον καταλιπὼν. δόξαν δὲ τοῖς
ἡγεμόσι τῶν Σαβίνων μάχην ἔωθεν τίθεσθαι μεταπεμφαμένοις τὸ ἐν Φιδήνῃ
στράτευμα, μαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὁ Ταρκύνιος· ἐάλω γὰρ ὁ τὰ
γράμματα κομίζων παρὰ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ· σοφία πρὸς

τὸ συμβᾶν ἀπὸ τύχης ἐχρήσατο τοιαῦδε. ^[3] 16 νείμας τὴν δύναμιν διχῇ τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὑπὸ νύκτα πέμπει λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὴν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ Φιδήνης ὁδόν, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἅμα τῷ λαμπρᾷ ἡμέραν γενέσθαι συντάξας προῆγεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ὡς εἰς μάχην· καὶ οἱ Σαβίνοι τεθαρρηκότες ἀντεπεξῆσαν τοὺς τε πολεμίους οὐ πολλοὺς ὀρῶντες καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν [p. 89] δύναμιν τὴν ἀπὸ Φιδήνης ὅσον οὐπω παρέσεσθαι νομίζοντες. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἦν ισόρροπος αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ ἀγών· οἱ δὲ προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου νύκτωρ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ νώτου τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπήεσαν. ^[4] τοῦτους ἰδόντες οἱ Σαβίνοι καὶ γνωρίσαντες ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων ἐξέστησαν τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἐπειρῶντο σῶζειν ἑαυτοὺς. ἦν δ' ἄπορος ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς πολλοῖς περιεχομένοις κύκλῳ ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ ἵππος ἐπικειμένη πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκλειεν· ὥστ' ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔφθησαν τὰ δεινὰ ὑπεκδύντες, οἱ δὲ πλείους κατεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς. ἀντέσχον δ' οὐδ' οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα ἐάλω τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ· ἔνθα σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις τῶν Σαβίνων χρήμασι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα σὺν πολλοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἔτι ἀκέραια ὄντα τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσιν ἀνεσώθη.

ὡς δ' ἡ πρώτη πεῖρα τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ ἐστρατοπεδευκότας τῶν Σαβίνων, οἷς οὐπω δῆλος ἦν ὁ τῶν σφετέρων ὄλεθρος. ἔτυχον δὲ κάκεινοι προεξεληλυθότες ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ ἤδη ὄντες ἐν ὁδῷ· ὡς δὴ πλησίον ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ δορατίων ἀναπεπηγυῖας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν σφετέρων ἡγεμόνων· [p. 90] προὔτεινον γὰρ αὐτὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταπλήξεως τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκα· μαθόντες, ὅτι διέφθαρται τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν στράτευμα, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀπεδειξαντο γενναῖον ἔργον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἰκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις τραπόμενοι παρέδοσαν 17 ἑαυτοὺς. ^[2] οὕτω δ' αἰσχροῦς καὶ κακῶς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναρπασθέντων εἰς στενὰς ἐλπίδας οἱ Σαβίνοι κατακεκλεισμένοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου καταληφθῶσι, δεδιότες ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διεπρεσβεύοντο παραδιδόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ταρκυνίου καὶ φόρου τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖς. σπεισάμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαις παραλαβὼν τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ Σύεεσσαν ὥχετο. ἐκείθεν δὲ τὴν τε καταλειφθεῖσαν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς 18 Ῥώμην ἀπήει πλουτοῦσαν τὴν στρατιάν ἀπάγων. ^[3] ἐποίησατο δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων χώραν τοτὲ μὲν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει, τότε δὲ μέρει τινί, καὶ λείας πολλῆς ἐγένετο κύριος. ἦδη δὲ τῶν πλείστων αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν χωροῦντων πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν ὁμόρων ἀνέστη χρόνῳ τε μακρὸς· ἔτη γὰρ ἑπτὰ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη· καὶ παθήμασι χαλεποῖς καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοις μέγας. ἀφ' ὧν δ' αἰτιῶν ἦρξατο καὶ [p. 91] τελευτῆς ὁποίας ἔτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ δολίῳ τ' ἀπάτῃ καὶ στρατηγήματι παραδόξῳ κατειργάσθη, δι' ὀλίγων ἐρῶ.

πόλις ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων γένους Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίου ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς Πραίνεστον φερούσης ὁδοῦ κειμένη:

Γαβίους αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν: νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα, πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν διόδον, τότε δὲ πολυάνθρωπος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη καὶ μεγάλη. τεκμήριαιτο δ' ἂν τις αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐρείπια θεασάμενος οἰκῶν πολλαχῇ καὶ τείχους κύκλον, [2] ἔτι γὰρ ἔστηκεν αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα. εἰς ταύτην συνερρῆσαν Πωμεντίνων τε τῶν ἐκ Συέσσης διαφυγόντων τινές, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Ταρκύνιος κατελάβετο, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάδων συχνοί: οὗτοι δεόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες τιμωρῆσαι σφισι τοὺς Γαβίους καὶ πολλὰς ὑποσχνούμενοι δωρεάς, εἰ κατέλθοιεν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα, τὴν τε κατάλυσιν τοῦ τυράννου δυνατὴν ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ ῥάδιαν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συλληφωμένων, ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς συμπροθυμηθέντων καὶ Οὐολούσκων: ἐπρεσβεύσαντο γὰρ κάκεῖνοι δεόμενοι συμμαχίας: τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν. [3] ἐγίνοντο δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοις στρατεύμασιν εἰς τὴν ἀλλήλων γῆν εἰσβολαὶ καὶ καταδρομαὶ μάχαι τε, ὅπερ εἰκός, τοτὲ μὲν ὀλίγοις πρὸς ὀλίγους, τοτὲ δὲ πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας, ἐν αἷς πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Γάβιοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τρεφάμενοι μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν [p. 92] καὶ πολλοὺς καταβαλόντες ἀδεῶς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, πολλάκις δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Γαβίους ὠσάμενοι καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνδράποδα καὶ λειαν αὐτῶν πολλὴν ἀπῆγον.

συνεχῶς δὲ τούτων γινομένων ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμφοτέροι τῆς χώρας ὅσα ἦν ἐρυμνὰ τειχίζοντες φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς καθιστάναι καταφυγῆς τῶν γεωργῶν ἔνεκα: ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὰ τε ληστήρια, καὶ εἴ τι ἀποσπασθὲν ἴδιοιεν μέρος ὀλίγον ἀπὸ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἷα εἰκός ἐν προνομαῖς ἀσύντακτον διὰ καταφρόνησιν, κατιόντες ἀθρόοι διέφθειρον: καὶ τῶν πόλεων ὅσα ἦν ἐπίμαχα καὶ ῥάδια ληφθῆναι διὰ κλιμάκων ἐξοικοδομεῖν τε καὶ ἀποταφρεῦειν δεδοικότες τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἀλλήλων ἐφόδους. [2] μᾶλλον δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος περὶ ταῦτ' ἐνεργὸς ἦν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαβίους φέροντα τοῦ περιβόλου διὰ πολυχειρίας ἐξωχυροῦτο τάφρον ὀρυζάμενος εὐρυτέραν καὶ τεῖχος ἐγείρας ὑψηλότερον καὶ πύργοις διαλαβὼν τὸ χωρίον πυκνοτέρους: κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐδόκει μάλιστα τὸ μέρος ἢ πόλις ἀνώχυρος εἶναι, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον περίβολον ἀσφαλῆς ἐπεικῶς οὕσα καὶ δυσπρόσιτος. [3] ἔμελλε δ', ὃ πάσαις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς μακροῖς πολέμοις δηουμένης διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσβολὰς τῆς γῆς καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκφερούσης, [p. 93] σπάνις ἀπάσης τροφῆς ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἔσσεσθαι καὶ δεινὴ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀθυμία: κάκιον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίεζεν ἢ τοὺς Γαβίους ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ἔνδεια, καὶ οἱ πενέστατοι αὐτῶν μάλιστα κάμνοντες ὁμολογίας ὥοντο δεῖν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Γαβίους καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι θέλωσι διαλύσασθαι.

ἀδημονοῦντος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τοῦ Ταρκυνίου καὶ οὕτε διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αἰσχυρῶς ὑπομένοντος οὗτ' ἀντέχειν ἔτι δυναμένου, πάσας δὲ πείρας ἐπιτεχνωμένου καὶ δόλους παντοδαποὺς συντιθέντος, ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν Σέξτος ὄνομα κοινωσάμενος τὴν γνώμην τῷ πατρὶ μόνῳ καὶ δόξας τολμηρῶ μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι καὶ μέγαν ἔχοντι κίνδυνον, οὐ μὴν ἀδυνάτῳ γε, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς ποιεῖν ὅσα βούλεται, σκῆπτεται διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς

καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου: [2] μαστιγωθείς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥάβδοις ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ τᾷλλα περιυβρισθείς, ὥστε περιβόητον γενέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἔπεμπεν ὡς αὐτομόλους φράσσοντας τοῖς Γαβίοις δι' ἀπορρήτων, ὅτι πολεμεῖν τῷ πατρὶ διέγνωκεν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀφικόμενος, εἰ λάβοι πίστεις, ὅτι φυλάξουσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάδας καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσουσι τῷ πατρὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐχθρας ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ [3] σφετέρῳ συμφέροντι διαλύσεσθαι. ἀσμένως δὲ τῶν Γαβίων τὸν λόγον ἀκουσάντων καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομήσειν διομολογησαμένων παρῆν ἐταίρους τε [p. 94] πολλοὺς καὶ πελάτας ἐπαγόμενος ὡς αὐτόματος καὶ ἵνα δὴ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πιστεῦσαι ἀληθεῦειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπόστασιν, ἀργυρίον τε καὶ χρυσίον πολὺ κομίζων: ἐπισυνέρρεόν τ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως φεύγειν τὴν τυραννίδα σκηπτόμενοι, [4] καὶ χεῖρ ἤδη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν καρτερὰ. δόξαντες δ' οἱ Γάβιοι μέγα προσγεγονέναι σφίσι πλεονέκτημα πολλῶν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀφικόμενων καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑποχείριον ἔξειν ἐλπίσαντες καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξαπατηθέντες ὑφ' ὧν ἔπραττεν ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποστάτης συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξιὼν καὶ πολλὰς περιβαλλόμενος ὠφελείας: παρεσκεύασε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ προειδῶς εἰς οὓς παρέσται τόπους, τὴν τε λειάν ἄφθονον καὶ τὰ χωρία ἀφύλακτα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἔπεμπεν, ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὓς ἐν ὑποψίαις εἶχεν: ἐξ ἀπάντων τε τούτων δόξαντες φίλον τε πιστὸν εἶναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ στρατηλάτην ἀγαθόν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεκασθέντες, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παράγουσιν ἀρχὴν.

τοσαύτης δὴ γενόμενος ἐξουσίας ὁ Σέξτος κύριος δι' ἀπάτης καὶ φενακισμοῦ τῶν θεραπόντων τινὰ λαθῶν τοὺς Γαβίους πέμπει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὴν τ' ἐξουσίαν, ἣν εἰληφώς ἦν, δηλώσοντα καὶ πεισόμενον, [2] τί χρή ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος οὐδὲ τὸν θεράποντα γινώσκειν βουλόμενος, ἃ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευσε [p. 95] ποιεῖν, ἄγων τὸν ἄγγελον προῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις κῆπον: ἔτυχον δὲ μήκωνες ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκυῖαι πλήρεις ἤδη τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ συγκομιδῆς ὥραν ἔχουσαι: διεξιὼν δὴ διὰ τούτων τῆς ὑπερεχούσης αἰὲ μήκωνος τῷ σκήπῳ παίων τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπήραττε. [3] ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος τῷ πολλακίς ἐπερωτῶντι, τὴν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Μιλησίου διάνοιαν ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ μιμησάμενος: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος Περιάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῷ Κορινθίων τυράννῳ πυνθανομένῳ διὰ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἀγγέλου, πῶς ἂν ἐγκρατέστατα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰσχοι, λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέστειλεν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ τὸν ἦκοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ κελεύσας, ἦγε δι' ἀρούρας σιτοσπόρου καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων ἀποθραύων ἐρρίπτει χαμαὶ διδάσκων, ὅτι δεῖ τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους κολοῦειν τε καὶ διαφθεῖρειν. [4] τὸ παραπλήσιον δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τότε ποιήσαντος συνεῖς τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ Σέξτος, ὅτι κελεῖται τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν Γαβίων ἀναιρεῖν, συνεκάλεσεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον διαθέμενος, ὅτι καταπεφευγὼς εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων πίστιν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις κινδυνεῖ συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τινων τῷ πατρὶ παραδοθῆναι, τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν ἔτοιμος ἦν

ἀποθέσθαι, καὶ πρὶν ἢ παθεῖν τι δεινὸν ἀπαίρειν ἐκ τῆς [p. 96] πόλεως ἐβούλετο δακρύων ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην κατολοφυρόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶντες.

ἡρεθισμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας πυνθανομένου, τινες εἰσὶν οἱ μέλλοντες αὐτὸν προδιδόναι, τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν Γαβίων Ἀντίστιον Πέτρωνα ὠνόμασεν, ὃς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε πολλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα πολιτευσάμενος καὶ στρατηγίας πολλὰς τετελεκώς ἐπιφανέστατος ἀπάντων ἐγεγόνει: ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδέναι πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν ὑπομένοντος ἔφη βούλεσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διερευνῆσαι πέμψας ἑτέρους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν ἐκείνῳ, τέως ἂν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἔλθωσι, μένειν. [2] ἔτυχε δὲ διεφθαρκῶς αὐτοῦ τῶν θεραπόντων τινὰς ἀργυρίῳ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ Πέτρωνος κατασκευασθείσας ἐπιστολὰς σεσημειωμένας τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς σφραγίδι λαβόντας ἔνδον ἀποθέσθαι. ὥς δ' οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρευναν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Πέτρων, ἀλλ' ἔφηκε τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρευνᾶν: εὐρόντες, ἔνθα ἦν ἀποκεκρυμμένα τὰ γράμματα, παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλας τε πολλὰς φέροντες ἐπιστολὰς ἐπισεσημασμένας καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίστιον γραφεῖσαν, ἐπιγινώσκειν φήσας τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ Σέξτος ἔλυσε, καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ δοὺς ἐκέλευσεν 19 ἀναγινώσκειν. [3] ἐγγράπτο δ' ἐν αὐτῇ, μάλιστα μὲν [p. 97] ζῶντα παραδοῦναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ καὶ κομίζεσθαι τοὺς διωμολογημένους μισθοὺς, ἐὰν δ' ἀδύνατος ἦ τοῦτο τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα πέμψαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς συλλαβομένοις τοῦ ἔργου χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων μισθῶν, οὓς πρότερον ὑπέσχητο, πολιτείαν τε τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δώσειν ἔφη καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν πατρικίων ἀριθμὸν ἅπαντας ἐγγράφειν οἰκίας τε καὶ κλήρους καὶ [4] ἄλλας δωρεὰς πολλὰς ἐπιθήσειν καὶ μεγάλας. ἐφ' οἷς ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ Γάβιοι τὸν μὲν Ἀντίστιον ἐκπεπληγότα ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ συμφορᾷ καὶ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ῥῆξαι δυνάμενον ἀποκτείνουσι βάλλοντες λίθοις: τὴν δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ζήτησιν τε καὶ τιμωρίαν τῶν ταῦτά τῷ Πέτρωνι βουλευσαμένων ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ Σέξτῳ ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑταίροις τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν πυλῶν, ἵνα μὴ διαφύγοιεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις, πέμπτῳ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπέκτεινε πολλοὺς τῶν Γαβίων καὶ ἀγαθοῦς.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, θορύβου κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄντος ὥς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω κακῷ μαθὼν τὰ γινόμενα διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Ταρκύνιος παρῆν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ περὶ μέσον νυκτὸς ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενος ἀνοιχθεῖσῶν τῶν πυλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο [p. 98] παρεσκευασμένων εἰσελθὼν διχα πόνου κύριος ἐγεγόνει τῆς πόλεως. [2] ὥς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πάθος ἀπάντων κατοδυρομένων ἑαυτοὺς οἷα πείσονται, σφαγὰς τε καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς καὶ πάντα ὅσα καταλαμβάνει δεινὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ τυράννων ἀλόντας προσδοκῶντων, εἰ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα πράξειαν, δουλείας τε καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κατεψηφικότων, οὐδὲν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὦν προσεδόκων τε καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν καίτοι πικρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπαραίτητος 20 ὦν ἔδρασεν. [3] οὕτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινεν οὐδένα Γαβίων οὗτ' ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως οὗτ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν ἢ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσιν ἐξημίωσε,

συγκαλέσας δ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βασιλικὸν ἐκ τυραννικοῦ τρόπου μεταλαβὼν τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἔφη τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἔχουσι, συγχωρεῖν καὶ σὺν τούτοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσοπολιτείαν ἅπασι χαριζεσθαι, οὐ δὲ εὖνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γαβίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγκρατέστερον κατέχῃ ταῦτα πράττων: κρατίστην ἡγούμενος ἔσεσθαι φυλακὴν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τὴν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐλπίδας σεσωσμένων καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα κεκομισμένων πίστιν. ^[4] καὶ ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι δεῖμα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπάρχῃ χρόνου μηδ' ἐνδοιάζωσιν, εἰ βέβαια ταῦτα σφίσι διαμενεῖ, γράψας ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις φίλοι, τὰ περὶ τούτων ὅρκια συνετέλεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ^[p. 99] παραχρῆμα καὶ διωμόσατο κατὰ τῶν σφαγίων. τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν ὁρκίων μνημεῖον ἐν Ῥώμῃ κείμενον ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Πιστίου, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι Σάγκον καλοῦσιν, ὅστις ξυλινὴ βύρση βοεῖα περίτονος τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρκίων τότε βοός, γράμμασιν ἀρχαϊκοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένα τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς ὁμολογίας. ταῦτα πράξας καὶ βασιλέα τῶν Γαβίων τὸν υἱὸν Σέξτον ἀποδείξας ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς Γαβίους πόλεμος τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

Ταρκύνιος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀναπαύσας τὸν λεῶν τῶν στρατιῶν καὶ πολέμων περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγένετο τὰς τοῦ πάππου προθυμούμενος εὐχὰς ἐπιτελέσαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ πολέμῳ μαχόμενος πρὸς Σαβίνους εὗξατο τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐὰν κρατήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ναοὺς αὐτοῖς κατασκευάσειν: καὶ τὸν μὲν σκόπελον, ἔνθα ἰδρῦσεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔμελλεν, ἀναλήμμασί τε καὶ χῶμασι μεγάλους ἐξειργάσατο, καθάπερ ἔφην ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ, τὴν δὲ τῶν ναῶν κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἔφθην τελέσαι. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔργον ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν ἐκ Συέσσης λαφύρων ἐπιτελέσαι προαιρούμενος ἅπαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐργασίαις. ^[2] ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τέρας τι θαυμαστὸν ὑπόγειον ὀρυττομένων τε τῶν θεμελίων καὶ τῆς ὀρυγῆς εἰς πολὺ βάθος ἤδη προϊούσης, εὐρῆσθαι κεφαλὴ νεοσφαγοῦς ἀνθρώπου τὸ τε πρόσωπον ἔχουσα ^[p. 100] τοῖς ἐμψύχοις ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ καταφερόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀποτομῆς αἷμα θερμὸν ἔτι καὶ νεαρόν. ^[3] τοῦτο τὸ τέρας ἰδὼν ὁ Ταρκύνιος τοῦ μὲν ὀρύγματος ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους: συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μάντεις ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν, τί βούλεται σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. οὐδὲν δ' αὐτῶν ἀποφαινομένων, ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀποδιδόντων τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιστήμην ἐξετάσας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ μαθὼν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς τερατοσκόπων, ὅστις ἦν, πέμπει τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτόν.

τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀφικομένοις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τερατοσκόπου περιτυγχάνει τι μειράκιον ἐξιόν, ᾧ φράσαντες, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων εἰσὶ πρέσβεις τῷ μάντει βουλόμενοι συντυχεῖν, παρεκάλουν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ νεανίας, Πατὴρ ἐμός ἐστιν, ἔφησεν, ᾧ χρήζετε συντυχεῖν: ἀσχολεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρόν: ἔσται δ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγου χρόνου παρελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. ^[2] ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐκεῖνον ἐκδέχεσθε, πρὸς ἐμὲ δηλώσατε, περὶ τίνος ἦκετε. περιέσται γὰρ ὑμῖν, εἴ τι μέλλετε διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν σφάλλεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὑπ'

έμοῦ διδασθεῖσι μηδέν ἐξαμαρτεῖν· μοῖρα δ' οὐκ ἐλαχίστη τῶν ἐν μαντικῇ θεωρημάτων ἐρώτησις ὀρθή. ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὕτω ποιεῖν, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ τέρας. ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσε μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἀκούσας, ἔφησεν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι· τὸ μὲν τέρας ὑμῖν ὁ πατήρ [p. 101] διελεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν ψεύσεται· μάντει γάρ οὐ θέμις· ἃ δὲ λέγοντες ὑμεῖς καὶ ἀποκρινόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀναμάρτητοί τε καὶ ἀψευδεῖς ἔσεσθε· διαφέρει γὰρ ὑμῖν προεγνωκέναι ταῦτα· παρ' ἐμοῦ μάθετε. [3] ὅταν ἀφηγήσησθε αὐτῷ τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἀκριβῶς μανθάνειν φήσας ὅ τι λέγετε περιγράψει τῷ σκῆπτῳ τῆς γῆς μέρος ὅσον δὴ τι· ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν ἐρεῖ, Τουτὶ μὲν ἔστιν ὁ Ταρπήιος λόφος, μέρος δ' αὐτοῦ τουτὶ μὲν τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς βλέπον, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὰς δύσεις, [4] βόρειον δ' αὐτοῦ τόδε καὶ τοῦναντίον νότιον. ταῦτα τῷ σκῆπτῳ δεικνὺς πεύσεται παρ' ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ ποίῳ τῶν μερῶν τούτων εὐρέθη ἡ κεφαλὴ. τί οὖν ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνασθαι παραινῶ· μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν τόπων τούτων, οὓς ἂν ἐκείνος τῷ σκῆπτῳ δεικνὺς πυθάνηται, τὸ τέρας εὐρεθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ φάναι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Ταρπήϊῳ λόφῳ. ταύτας ἔαν φυλάττητε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ μηδὲν παράγησθε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συγγνούς, ὅτι τὸ χρεῶν οὐκ ἔνεστι μετατεθῆναι, διελεῖται τὸ τέρας ὑμῖν ὅ τι βούλεται σημαίνειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύφεται.

ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐπειδὴ σχολὴν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔσχε καὶ προῆλθέ τις αὐτοὺς μετιῶν, εἰσελθόντες φράζουσι τῷ μάντει τὸ τέρας. σοφιστομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαγράφοντος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περιφερεῖς [p. 102] τε γραμμὰς καὶ ἑτέρας αὐθις εὐθείας καὶ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον χωρίον ποιουμένου τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐρωτήσεις οὐδὲν ἐπιταραττόμενοι τὴν γνώμην οἱ πρέσβεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφύλαττον ἀποκρίσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπέθετο υἱός, τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὸν Ταρπήιον ὀνομάζοντες αἰεὶ λόφον καὶ τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἀξιοῦντες μὴ σφετεριζέσθαι τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ [2] κρατίστου καὶ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου λέγειν. οὐ δυναθεῖς δὲ παρακρούσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ μάντις οὐδὲ σφετερισάσθαι τὸν οἰωνὸν λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, λέγετε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πολίτας, ὅτι κεφαλὴν εἵμαρται γενέσθαι συμπάσης Ἰταλίας τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὗρετε. ἐξ ἐκείνου καλεῖται τοῦ χρόνου Καπιτωλῖνος ὁ λόφος ἐπὶ τῆς εὐρεθείσης ἐν αὐτῷ κεφαλῇς· κάπιτα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὰς κεφαλὰς. [3] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων ἀκούσας ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς τεχνίτας· καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐξεργάσατο τοῦ ναοῦ, τελειῶσας δ' οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἅπαν τὸ ἔργον ἐκπεσὼν τάχιον ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις αὐτὸν εἰς συντέλειαν ἐξεργάσατο. ἐποιήθη δ' ἐπὶ κρηπιδος ὑψηλῆς βεβηκὼς ὀκτάπλευρος τὴν περίοδον, διακοσίων ποδῶν ἔγγιστα τὴν πλευρὰν ἔχων ἐκάστην· ὀλίγον δὲ τι τὸ διαλλάττον εὗροι τις ἂν τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ μήκους παρὰ τὸ πλάτος οὐδ' ὅλων πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. [4] ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις ὁ μετὰ τὴν [p. 103] ἔμπρησιν οἰκοδομηθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν εὐρέθη τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης μόνον διαλλάττων τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον μέρους τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέποντος τριπλῶ περιλαμβανόμενος στοιχῶ κίωνων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων ἀπλῶ· ἐν δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἔνεισι σηκοὶ παράλληλοι κοινὰς ἔχοντες πλευράς,

μέσος μὲν ὁ τοῦ Διός, παρ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τὸ μέρος ὃ τε τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑφ' ἑνὸς αἵτου καὶ μιᾶς στέγης καλυπτόμενοι.

λέγεται δὲ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας πάννυθα θαυμαστὸν εὐτύχημα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάρξει πόλει εἴτε θεῶν τινος εἴτε δαιμόνων εὐνοία δωρηθέν: ὅπερ οὐ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἔσωσεν ἐκ μεγάλων κακῶν. [2] γυνὴ τις ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν τύραννον οὐκ ἐπιχωρία βύβλους ἐννέα μεστὰς Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἀπεμπολῆσαι θέλουσα. οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τῆς αἰτηθείσης τιμῆς πρίασθαι τὰς βύβλους ἀπελθοῦσα τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν κατέκαυσε: καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξ ἐνέγκασα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπώλει τιμῆς. δόξασα δ' ἄφρων τις εἶναι καὶ γελασθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῷ τῇ αὐτῇ τιμῇ αἰτεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, ἣν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν πλείονων ἐδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἀπελθοῦσα πάλιν τὰς ἡμισείας τῶν ἀπολειπομένων κατέκαυσε καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς [p. 104] [3] τρεῖς ἐνέγκασα τὸ ἴσον ἥτει χρυσίον. θαυμάσας δὲ τὸ βούλημα τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Ταρκύνιος τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους μετεπέμψατο καὶ διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τί χρὴ πράττειν, ἤρετο. κάκεῖνοι διὰ σημείων τινῶν μαθόντες, ὅτι θεόπεμπτον ἀγαθὸν ἀπεστράφη, καὶ μεγάλῃν συμφορὰν ἀποφαίνοντες τὸ μὴ πάσας αὐτὸν τὰς βύβλους πρίασθαι, ἐκέλευσαν ἀπαριθμῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὅσον ἥτει καὶ τοὺς περιόντας τῶν χρησμῶν λαβεῖν. [4] ἡ μὲν οὖν γυνὴ τὰς βύβλους δοῦσα καὶ φράσασα τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, Ταρκύνιος δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς δύο προχειρισάμενος καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοῖς θεράποντας δύο παραξεύξας ἐκείνοις ἀπέδωκε τὴν τῶν βιβλίων φυλακὴν, ὧν τὸν ἕτερον Μάρκον Ἀτίλιον ἀδικεῖν τι δόξαντα περὶ τὴν πύστιν καταμηνυθέντα ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν δημοσίων, ὡς πατροκτόνον εἰς ἀσκὸν ἐνράφας βόειον ἔρριπεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. [5] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα τὴν τῶν χρησμῶν προστασίαν ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῶν φύλακας, οἱ διὰ βίου ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν στρατειῶν ἀφειμένοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν πραγματειῶν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοῖς παρακαθίστησιν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τὰς ἐπισκέψεις τῶν χρησμῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι ποιεῖσθαι. συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι φυλάττουσιν οὐθ' ὅσιον κτῆμα οὐθ' ἱερὸν ὡς τὰ Σιβύλλεια θέσφατα. χρῶνται δ' αὐτοῖς, [p. 105] ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται, στάσεως καταλαβούσης τὴν πόλιν ἢ δυστυχίας τινὸς μεγάλης συμπεσοῦσης κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ τεράτων τινῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων μεγάλων καὶ δυσευρέτων αὐτοῖς φανέντων, οἷα πολλάκις συνέβη. οὗτοι διέμειναν οἱ χρησμοὶ μέχρι τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ κληθέντος πολέμου κείμενοι κατὰ γῆς ἐν τῷ ναῶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου Διὸς ἐν λιθίνῃ λάρνακι, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δέκα φυλαττόμενοι. [6] μετὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐμπρησθέντος τοῦ ναοῦ, εἴτ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ὡς οἴονται τινες, εἴτ' ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου, σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οὗτοι διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐκ πολλῶν εἰσι συμφορητοὶ τόπων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων κομισθέντες, οἱ δ' ἐξ Ἑρυθρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς τριῶν ἀποσταλέντων πρεσβευτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν: οἱ δ' ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν μεταγραφέντες: ἐν οἷς

εὐρίσκονται τινες ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσις, ἐλέγχονται δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀκροστιχίσι: λέγω δ' ἃ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἱστορήκεν ἐν τῇ θεολογικῇ πραγματείᾳ.

ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἀποικίας τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Σιγνίαν οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ταῦτομάτου, χειμασάντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ κατασκευασμένων τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς μηδὲν [p. 106] διαφέρειν πόλεως: Κιρκαίαν δὲ κατὰ λογισμόν, ὅτι τοῦ Πωμεντίνου πεδίου μεγίστου τῶν περὶ τῇ Λατίνῃ καὶ τῆς συναπτούσης αὐτῷ θαλάττης ἔκειτο ἐν καλῷ: ἔστι δὲ χερσονησοειδὴς σκόπελος ὑψηλὸς ἐπικεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους κείμενος, ἔνθα λόγος ἔχει Κίρκην τὴν Ἥλιου θυγατέρα κατοικῆσαι: καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ἀμφοτέρας δυσὶ τῶν παιδῶν οἰκισταῖς ἀναθεῖς, Κιρκαίαν μὲν Ἄρροντι, Σιγνίαν δὲ Τίτῳ, δέος ἅτε οὐδὲν ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων, διὰ γυναικὸς ὕβριν αὐτῆς, ἣν ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν Σέξτος διέφθειρεν, ἐξελαύνεται τῆς τ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως, προθεσπίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν μέλλουσαν γενήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν οἶκον συμφορὰν πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ [2] ἄλλοις οἰωνοῖς, τελευταίῳ δὲ τῷδε. αἰετοὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις κῆπον ἔαρος ὥρα νεοττιὰν ἔπλαττον ἐπὶ κορυφῇ φοίνικος ὑψηλοῦ. τούτων δὲ τῶν αἰετῶν ἀπτήνας ἔτι τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἐχόντων γῦπες ἄθροοι προσπετασθέντες τὴν τε νεοττιὰν διεφόρησαν καὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοὺς αἰετοὺς προσιόντας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἀμύττοντές τε καὶ παίοντες τοῖς ταρσοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος ἀπήλασαν. [3] τούτους τοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἰδὼν ὁ Ταρκύνιος καὶ φυλαττόμενος, εἴ πως δύναιτο διακρούσασθαι τὴν μοῖραν, οὐκ ἴσχυσε νικῆσαι τὸ χρεὼν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου συμφρονήσαντος ἐξέπεσε τῆς [p. 107] δυναστείας. οἵτινες δ' ἦσαν οἱ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ἄρξαντες καὶ δι' οἶων τρόπον ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, δι' ὀλίγων πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.

τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπολιόρκει πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος, ὅτι τοὺς ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάδας ὑπεδέχετο καὶ συνέπραττεν αὐτοῖς περὶ καθόδου: ὡς δὲ τάληθές εἶχεν ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῇ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον εὐδαιμονοῦσιν μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων. γενναίως δὲ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν ἀπομαχομένων καὶ πολυχρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης οἱ τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κάμνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἀπειρηκότες ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἦσαν, εἴ τις ἀρχὴ γένοιτο. [2] ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ Σέξτος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς πόλιν, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Κολλάτεια, χρεῖας τινὰς ὑπηρετήσων στρατιωτικὰς παρ' ἄνδρῃ κατήχθη συγγενεῖ Λευκίῳ Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ Κολλατίνῳ [3] προσαγορευομένῳ. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Φάβιος μὲν υἱὸν εἶναι φησιν Ἑγερίου, περὶ οὗ δεδηλώκα πρότερον, ὅτι Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεύσαντι Ῥωμαίων ἀδελφώπαις ἦν καὶ Κολλατείας ἡγεμὼν ἀποδειχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει διατριβῆς αὐτὸς τε Κολλατίνος ἐκλήθη καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν κατέλιπεν ἐπικλήσιν: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον [p. 108] υἱὼν εἶναι τοῦ Ἑγερίου πειθόμαι, εἴ γε τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε τοῖς Ταρκυνίου παισὶν ἡλικίαν, ὡς Φάβιός τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγγραφεῖς

παραδεδώκασιν: ὁ γὰρ χρόνος ταύτην μοι τὴν ὑπόληψιν βεβαίωσι. [4] ὁ μὲν οὖν Κολλατῖνος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ τότε ὦν ἐτύγχανεν, ἡ δὲ συνοικοῦσα αὐτῷ γυνὴ Ῥωμαία, Λουκρητίου θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐξενίζεν αὐτὸν ὡς συγγενὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα καλλίστην οὔσαν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν καὶ σωφρονεστάτην ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Σέξτος διαφθεῖραι, παλαιότερον μὲν ἔτι εἰργόμενος, ὁπότε κατάγοιτο παρὰ τῷ συγγενεῖ, τότε δὲ καιρὸν ἀρμόττοντα οἰόμενος ἔχειν. [5] ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖλνον ἀπῆλθε κοιμησόμενος ἐπισχὼν τῆς νυκτὸς πολὺ μέρος, ἐπειδὴ καθεύδειν ἅπαντας ἐνόμιζεν, ἀναστὰς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν Λουκρητίαν ἦδει καθεύδουσαν, καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ δωματίου κοιμωμένους εἰσέρχεται ξίφος ἔχων.

ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ διεγερθείσης ἅμα τῷ συνεῖναι τὸν ψόφον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ πυνθανομένης, ὅστις εἶη, φράσας τοῦνομα σιωπᾶν ἐκέλευε καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ σφάξειν αὐτὴν ἀπειλήσας, ἐὰν ἐπιχειρήσῃ φεῦγειν ἢ βοᾶν. τούτῳ καταπληξάμενος τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ἄνθρωπον αἰρέσεις αὐτῇ δύο προὔτεινεν, ὧν ποτέραν αὐτὴ προηρεῖτο λαβεῖν ἡξίου, θάνατον μετ' [p. 109] [2] αἰσχρῆς ἢ βίον μετ' εὐδαιμονίας. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπομενεῖς, ἔφη, χαρίσασθαι μοι, γυναῖκά σε ποιήσομαι καὶ βασιλεύσεις σὺν ἐμοὶ νῦν μὲν ἦς ὁ πατήρ μοι ἔδωκε πόλεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευταίην Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λατίνων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων ἐκείνος ἄρχει. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδ', ὅτι παραλήψομαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλείαν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ πρεσβύτατος ὢν. ὅσα δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀγαθὰ, ὧν ἀπάντων ἕσθ' ἡ σὺν ἐμοὶ κυρία, τί δεῖ σε καλῶς ἐπισταμένην διδάσκειν; [3] εἰ δ' ἀντιπράττειν ἐπιχειρήσεις σώζειν βουλομένη τὸ σῶφρον, ἀποκτενῶ σε καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπικατασφάξας ἕνα θήσω τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ἅμα καὶ φήσω κατειληφώς ἀσχημονοῦσάν σε μετὰ τοῦ δούλου τετιμωρῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ συγγενοῦς ὕβριν μετερχόμενος, ὥστ' αἰσχρὰν καὶ ἐπονειδιστὸν σου γενέσθαι τὴν τελευταίην καὶ μηδὲ ταφῆς τὸ σῶμά σου τυχεῖν μηδ' ἄλλου τῶν νομίμων μηδενός. [4] ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἀπειλῶν θ' ἅμα καὶ ἀντιβολῶν καὶ διομνύμενος ἀλθθεῦειν τῶν λεγομένων ἑκάτερον, εἰς ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν ἡ Λουκρητία φοβηθεῖσα τὴν περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀσχημοσύνην εἰξάει τε καὶ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἃ προηρεῖτο διαπραξάμενον.

ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆει πονηρὰν καὶ ὀλέθριον ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκπεπληρωκώς, ἡ δὲ Λουκρητία δεινῶς φέρουσα τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐπιβᾶσα τῆς ἀπῆνης εἰς Ῥώμην ὥχето, μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα περιβαλομένη καὶ ξιφιδιὸν τι [p. 110] κρύπτουσα ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ, οὔτε προσαγορεύουσα κατὰ τὰς συναντήσεις οὐδένα τῶν ἀσπαζομένων οὔτ' ἀποκρινομένη τοῖς μαθεῖν βουλομένοις, ὃ τι πέπονθεν, ἀλλὰ σύννους καὶ κατηφῆς καὶ μεστοὺς ἔχουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς 21 δακρύων. [2] ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσῆλθε τοῦ πατρὸς: ἔτυχον δὲ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τινὲς παρ' αὐτῷ: τῶν γονάτων αὐτοῦ λαβομένη καὶ περιπεσοῦσα τέως μὲν ἔκλαιε φωνὴν οὐδεμίαν προϊέμενη, ἔπειτ' ἀνιστάντος αὐτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τί πέπονθεν ἀξιοῦντος λέγειν: ἰκέτις ἔφη γίνομαι σου πάτερ δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὑπομείνασα ὕβριν, τιμωρῆσαί μοι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν σεαυτοῦ [3] θυγατέρα

θανάτου χείρονα παθοῦσαν. θανμάσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ τις ὕβρικεν αὐτὴν καὶ ποδαπὴν ὕβριν ἀξιοῦντος λέγειν: ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμάς, ἔφη, συμφοράς, ὦ πάτερ, οὐκ εἰς μακράν: χάρισαι δέ μοι ταύτην πρῶτον αἰτουμένη τὴν χάριν: κάλεσον ὅσους δύνασαι πλείστους φίλους τε καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἵνα παρ' ἐμοῦ τῆς τὰ δεινὰ παθούσης ἀκούσωσι καὶ μὴ παρ' ἐτέρων. ὅταν δὲ μάθῃς τὰς κατασχούσας αἰσχροῦς καὶ δεινὰς ἀνάγκας, βούλευσαι μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅντινα τιμωρήσῃς ἐμοί τε καὶ σεαυτῷ τρόπον καὶ μὴ πολὺν ποιεῖ χρόνον τὸν διὰ μέσου.

ταχεῖα δὲ καὶ κατεσπουδασμένη παρακλήσει τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν συνελθόντων ὥσπερ ἡξίου, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα [p. 111] ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀσπασαμένη τὸν πατέρα καὶ πολλὰς λιτανείας ἐκείνου τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντων ποιησαμένη θεοῖς τε καὶ δαίμοσιν εὐξαμένη ταχεῖαν αὐτῇ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου σπᾶται τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ κατέκρυπτεν ὑπὸ τοῖς πέπλοις, καὶ μίαν ἐνέγκασα διὰ τῶν στέρνων πληγὴν ἕως τῆς καρδίας ὡθεῖ τὸ ξίφος. [2] κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ θρήνου καὶ τυπετοῦ γυναικείου τὴν οἰκίαν ὅλην κατασχόντος ὁ μὲν πατὴρ περιχυθεὶς τῷ σώματι περιέβαλλε καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ ὡς ἀνοίσουσαν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐτμημελεῖτο, ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτοῦ σπαίρουσα καὶ ψυχορραγοῦσα ἀποθνήσκει. τοῖς δὲ παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων οὕτω δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἐλεεινὸν τὸ πάθος, ὥστε μίαν ἀπάντων γενέσθαι φωνήν, ὡς μυριάκις αὐτοῖς κρεῖττον εἶη τεθνάναι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ τοιαύτας ὕβρεις ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων γενομένας περιορᾶν. [3] ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος ἐνὸς τῶν ἅμα Τατίῳ παραγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην Σαβίνων ἀπόγονος, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ φρόνιμος. οὗτος ἐπὶ στρατόπεδον ὑπ' αὐτῶν πέμπεται τῷ τ' ἀνδρὶ τῆς Λουκρητίας τὰ συμβεβηκότα φράσων καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ πράξων ἀπόστασιν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων. [4] ἄρτι δ' αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ἐξεληλυθότι συναντᾷ κατὰ δαίμονα παραγινόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, [p. 112] τῶν κατεσχηκότων τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κακῶν οὐδὲν εἰδώς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος, ὃς Βροῦτος ἐπωνύμιον ἦν: εἶη δ' ἂν ἐξερμηνευόμενος ὁ Βροῦτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἡλίθιος: ὑπὲρ οὗ μικρὰ προειπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπεὶ τὸν τοῦτον ἀποφαίνουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς καταλύσεως τῶν τυράννων αἰτιώτατον γενέσθαι, τίς τ' ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων καὶ διὰ τί τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἔτυχεν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης.

τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοῦτω πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Μάρκος Ἰούνιος ἐνὸς τῶν σὺν Αἰνείᾳ τὴν ἀποικίαν στείλαντων ἀπόγονος, ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ῥωμαίων ἀριθμούμενος δι' ἀρετὴν, μήτηρ δὲ Ταρκυνία τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου θυγάτηρ: αὐτὸς δὲ τροφῆς τε καὶ παιδείας τῆς ἐπιχωρίου πάσης μετέλαβε καὶ φύσιν 22 εἶχε πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν ἀντιπράττουσαν. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ Τύλλιον ἀποκτείνας Ταρκύνιος σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνδράσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα διεχρήσατο ἀφανεῖ θανάτῳ δι' οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδίκημα, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου προαχθεὶς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν, ὃν ἐκ παλαιᾶς τε καὶ προγονικῆς παραλαβὼν εὐτυχίας ἐκέκτητο, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον υἱὸν εὐγενές τι φρόνημα διαφαίνοντα καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ

πατρός οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναντα, νέος ὢν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔτι καὶ κομιδῇ βοηθείας συγγενικῆς ἔρμος ἔργον ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι πάντων φρονιμώτατον, ἐπιθετον ἑαυτοῦ καταφύεσθαι μωρίαν· καὶ διέμεινεν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου [p. 113] χρόνον, ἕως οὗ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔδοξε καιρὸν ἔχειν, φυλάττων τὸ προσποίημα τῆς ἀνοίας, ἐξ οὗ ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπωνυμίας· τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο μηδὲν δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου παθεῖν πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολλυμένων.

καταφρονήσας γὰρ ὁ Ταρκύνιος τῆς δοκούσης εἶναι περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὑπαρχούσης μωρίας, ἀφελόμενος ἅπαντα τὰ πατρῷα, μικρὰ δ' εἰς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ἐπιχορηγῶν, ὡς παῖδα ὀρφανὸν ἐπιτρόπων ἔτι δεόμενον ἐφύλαττεν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι τε μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παιδῶν ἐπέτρεπεν, οὐ διὰ τιμὴν, ὡς ἐσκήπτετο πρὸς τοὺς πέλας οἷα δὴ συγγενῆς, ἀλλ' ἵνα γέλωτα παρέχῃ τοῖς μεираκίοις λέγων τ' ἀνόητα πολλὰ καὶ πράττων ὅμοια τοῖς κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἡλίθοις. [2] καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτε τῷ Δελφικῷ μαντεῖω χρησομένους ἀπέστειλε τοὺς δύο τῶν παιδῶν Ἄρροντα καὶ Τίτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ· κατέσκηψε γὰρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας οὐκ εἰωθυῖα νόσος εἰς παρθένους τε καὶ παῖδας, ὑφ' ἧς πολλὰ διεφθάρη σώματα, χαλεπωτάτη δὲ καὶ δυσίατος εἰς τὰς κυούσας γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς βρέφειν ἀποκτείνουσα τὰς μητέρας ἐν ταῖς γοναῖς· τὴν τ' αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου γινῶναι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν λύσιν βουλόμενος συνέπεμψε κάκεῖνον ἅμα τοῖς μεираκίοις δεηθεῖσιν, ἵνα κατασκώπτειν τε καὶ περιυβρίζειν ἔχοιεν. [3] ὡς δὲ παρεγενήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἔλαβον ὑπὲρ ὧν [p. 114] ἐπέμφθησαν, ἀναθήμασι δωρησάμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ Βρούτου πολλὰ καταγέλασαντες, ὅτι βακτηρίαν ξυλίνην ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι· ὁ δὲ διατρήσας αὐτὴν ὅλην ὥσπερ αὐλὸν χρυσοῖν ῥάβδον ἐνέθηκεν οὐδενὸς ἐπισταμένου· μετὰ τοῦτ' ἡρώτων τὸν θεόν, τίνι πέπρωται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλε, τῷ πρώτῳ τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντι. [4] οἱ μὲν οὖν νεανίσκοι τοῦ χρησμοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγνοήσαντες συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα φιλεῖν τὴν μητέρα βουλόμενοι κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχεῖν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος συνεῖς ὁ βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ θεός, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη, προσκύψας κατεφίλησε τὴν γῆν, ταύτην οἰόμενος ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι μητέρα. τὰ μὲν οὖν προγενόμενα τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ τοιαῦτ' ἦν.

τότε δ' ὡς ἤκουσε τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τὰ συμβάντα τῇ Λουκρητίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῆς διηγούμενου τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, ὅσοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐπισκοπεῖτε βίον, ἄρα γ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦκει νῦν, ὃν ἐγὼ περιμένων ταύτην τοῦ βίου τὴν προσποίησιν ἐφύλαττον; ἄρα πέπρωται Ῥωμαίοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δι' ἐμέ τῆς ἀφορήτου τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγῆναι; [2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐχώρει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἅμα τῷ Κολλατίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθεν ὁ μὲν Κολλατίνος ἰδὼν τὴν Λουκρητίαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κειμένην καὶ τὸν πατέρα περικείμενον αὐτῇ μέγα ἀνοιμώξας καὶ περιλαβὼν τὴν [p. 115] νεκρὰν κατεφίλει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ζῶσαν ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γεγινώς ὑπὸ [3] τοῦ κακοῦ. πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κατολοφυρομένου καὶ

τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν μέρει καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὅλης κλαυθμῷ καὶ θρήνοις κατεχομένης βλέψας εἰς αὐτοὺς ὁ Βροῦτος λέγει: μυρίους ἔξετε καιροὺς, ὦ Λουκρήτιε καὶ Κολλατῖνε καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ τῇ γυναικὶ προσήκοντες, ἐν οἷς αὐτὴν κλαύσετε, νυνὶ δ' ὡς τιμωρήσομεν αὐτῇ, ^[4] σκοπῶμεν: τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐδόκει ταῦτ' εἰκότα λέγειν, καὶ καθεζόμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸν τ' οἰκετικὸν καὶ θητικὸν ὄχλον ἐκποδῶν μεταστῆσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο, τί χρὴ πράττειν. πρῶτος δ' ὁ Βροῦτος ἀρξάμενος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν δοκοῦσαν τοῖς πολλοῖς μωρίαν οὐκ εἶχεν ἀληθινήν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθετον, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας εἰπὼν, δι' ἃς τὸ προσποίημα τοῦθ' ὑπέμεινε, καὶ δόξας ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι φρονιμώτατος, μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἅπαντας λαβόντας ἐξελάσαι Ταρκύνιον τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ εἰς τοῦτο διαλεχθεῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας εἶδεν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ὄντας οὐ λόγων ἔφη δεῖν οὐδ' ὑποσχέσεων, ἀλλ' ἔργων, εἴ τι τῶν δεόντων μέλλει γενήσεσθαι: ἄρξιν δὲ τούτων αὐτὸς ἔφη. ^[5] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτὴν ἢ γυνή, καὶ τῷ πτώματι προσελθὼν αὐτῆς: ἔτι γὰρ ἔκειτο ἐν φανερωῷ θέαμα οἰκτιστον: ὤμοσε τὸν τ' Ἄρη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πᾶν ὅσον ^[p. 116] δύναται πράξειν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς Ταρκυνίων δυναστείας, καὶ οὐτ' αὐτὸς διαλλαγήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους οὔτε τοῖς διαλλαττομένοις ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσεσθαι τὸν μὴ ταῦτὰ βουλόμενον καὶ μέχρι θανάτου τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ τοῖς συναγωνιζομένοις αὐτῇ διεχθρεῦσειν. εἰ δὲ παραβαίῃ τὸν ὄρκον τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ἡράσατο τοῦ βίου γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν, οἷας ἔτυχεν ἡ γυνή.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον: οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσαντες ἀνίσταντο καὶ τὸ ξίφος δεχόμενοι παρ' ἀλλήλων ὤμνου. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκωμοσιῶν μετὰ τοῦτ' εὐθύς ἐζήτουν, τίς ὁ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔσται τρόπος. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ὑποτίθεται τοιαῦδε: πρῶτον μὲν διὰ φυλακῆς τὰς πύλας ἔχωμεν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων κατὰ τῆς τυραννίδος αἰσθηται Ταρκύνιος, πρὶν ἢ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐτρεπῇ ^[2] γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα κομίσαντες τὸ σῶμα τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς ἔστιν αἷματι πεφυρμένον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προθέντες ἐν φανερωῷ συγκαλῶμεν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. ὅταν δὲ συνέλθῃ καὶ πλήθουσιν ἴδωμεν τὴν ἀγορὰν, προσελθὼν Λουκρήτιός τε καὶ Κολλατῖνος ἀποδურάσθωσαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν τύχας ἅπαντα τὰ γενόμενα φράσαντες. ^[3] ἔπειτα τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος παριῶν κατηγορεῖτω τῆς τυραννίδος καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ^[p. 117] παρακαλεῖτω. ἔσται δὲ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις κατ' εὐχὴν, ἐὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πατρικίους ἄρχοντας τῆς ἐλευθερίας: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ μικρᾶς ἀφορμῆς δέονται. ὅταν δὲ λάβωμεν τὸ πλῆθος ὠρμημένον καταλῦσαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ψήφον τ' αὐτοῖς ἀναδῶμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι Ῥωμαίων Ταρκύνιον ἄρξιν καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων δόγμα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου διαπεμφώμεθα ἐν τάχει. ^[4] καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες, εἰ μάθοιεν, ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐστὶν ἀλλότρια, πρόθυμοι περὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν γενήσονται οὔτε δωρεαῖς ἔτι κατεχόμενοι ὡς πρότερον οὔτε τὰς ὕβρεις τῶν

Ταρκυνίου παίδων τε καὶ κολάκων φέρειν δυνάμενοι. [5] ταῦτα λέξαντος αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον Οὐαλέριος, Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ἔφησεν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιλογίζεσθαι μοι δοκεῖς, Ἰούνιε· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔτι βούλομαι μαθεῖν, τίς ὁ καλέσων ἔσται αὐτὴν κατὰ νόμους καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἀναδώσων ταῖς φράτραις. ἄρχοντι γὰρ ἀποδέδοται τοῦτο πράττειν· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχει. ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν· ἐγὼ, φησίν, ὦ Οὐαλέριε. [6] τῶν γὰρ Κελερίων ἄρχων εἰμί, καὶ ἀποδέδοται μοι κατὰ νόμους ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτε βουλοίμην, συγκαλεῖν. ἔδωκε δέ μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὁ τύραννος μεγίστην οὔσαν ὡς ἡλιθίῳ καὶ οὗτ' εἰσομένῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς οὗτ', εἰ γνοίην, χρησομένῳ· καὶ τὸν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου λόγον πρῶτος ἐγὼ διαθήσομαι. [p. 118]

ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσαν ἅπαντες, ἐπήνεσάν τε καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ καλῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀρξάμενον καὶ νομίμου τὰ λοιπὰ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἤξιουν. κάκεῖνος εἶπεν, Ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα οὕτω πράττειν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, σκοπώμεθα πάλιν, τίς ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύσουσα ἀρχὴ γενήσεται μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἀνδρός, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, ὅστις ἔσται πολιτείας κόσμος, ὃν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τοῦ τυράννου καταστησόμεθα. βεβουλεῦσθαι γὰρ ἅπαντα βέλτιον, πρὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔργῳ τηλικῷδε, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνεξέταστον ἀφεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀπροβούλευτον. ἀποφαινέσθω δὴ περὶ [2] τούτων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἃ φρονεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐλέχθησαν πολλοὶ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγοι. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν βασιλικὴν αὐτῆς καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν ἐξαριθμουμένους, ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησαν ἀγαθὰ πάντες οἱ πρότεροι βασιλεῖς· τοῖς δὲ μηκέτι ποιεῖν ἐφ' ἐνὶ δυνάστη τὰ κοινὰ τὰς τυραννικὰς διεξιούσι παρανομίας, αἷς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν ἐχρήσαντο καὶ Ταρκύνιος τελευτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάντων ἀποδείξαι κύριον ὡς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· [3] οἱ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδετέραν προηροῦντο τῶν πολιτειῶν, δημοκρατίαν δὲ συνεβούλευον ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησι καταστήσαι, τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας τῶν ὀλίγων προφερόμενοι καὶ τὰς στάσεις τὰς γινομένας τοῖς ταπεινοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας [p. 119] ἐλευθέρῳ τε πόλει τὴν ἰσονομίαν ἀποφαίνοντες ἀσφαλεστάτην οὔσαν καὶ πρεπωδεστάτην τῶν πολιτειῶν.

χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσκρίτου τῆς αἰρέσεως ἅπασι φαινομένης διὰ τὰς παρακολουθούσας ἐκάστη τῶν πολιτειῶν κακίας τελευταῖος παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Βροῦτος εἶπεν· ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Λουκρήτιε καὶ Κολλατῖνε καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ παρόντες ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, καινὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν οἶομαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς καθίστασθαι πολιτείαν κατὰ τὸ παρόν· ὁ τε γὰρ καιρὸς, εἰς ὃν συνήγμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, βραχύς, ἐν ᾧ μεθαρμόσασθαι πόλεως κόσμον οὐ ράδιον, ἢ τε πεῖρα τῆς μεταβολῆς, κἂν τὰ κράτιστα τύχωμεν περὶ αὐτῆς βουλευσάμενοι, σφαλερὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος, ἐξέσται θ' ἡμῖν ὕστερον, ὅταν ἀπαλλαγῶμεν τῆς τυραννίδος μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν βουλευομένοις τὴν κρείττονα πολιτείαν ἀντὶ τῆς χειρόνος ἐλέσθαι, εἰ δὴ τις ἄρα ἔστι κρείττων, ἥς Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Πομπίλιος καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους βασιλεῖς καταστήσάμενοι παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν, ἐξ ἧς μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων καὶ πολλῶν ἄρχουσα ἀνθρώπων ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν

διετέλεσεν. [2] ἃ δὲ παρακολουθεῖν εἴωθε ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπά, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τυραννικὴν ὠμότητα περιστάνται καὶ δι' ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἅπαντες αὐτάς, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἵνα μηδ' ἐξ ὑστέρου γένηται [3] ποτε φυλάξασθαι παραινῶ. τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πραγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ [p. 120] σκοποῦσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ προσιένται τίνα τῶν βλαβερῶν ἢ φεύγουσι τῶν ὠφελίμων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, μεταθέσθαι τοῦνομα τῆς πολιτείας ὑμῖν παραινῶ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔξω τὴν ἀπάντων ἐξουσίαν μὴτε βασιλεῖς ἔτι μὴτε μονάρχους καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετριωτέραν τινὰ καὶ φιланθρωποτέραν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θέσθαι προσηγορίαν. [4] ἔπειτα μὴ ποιεῖν μίαν γνώμην ἀπάντων κυρίαν, ἀλλὰ δυσὶν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀνδράσι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς Λακεδαιμονίους πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡδὴ γενεάς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀπάντων μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνομεῖσθαι τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν: ἦττον γὰρ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ βαρεῖς ἔσονται διαιρεθείσης τῆς ἐξουσίας διχῇ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντος ἰσχυρὸν ἑκατέρου: αἰδῶς τ' ἀλλήλων καὶ κώλυσις τοῦ καθ' ἡδονὴν ζῆν φιλοτιμία τε πρὸς ἀρετῆς δόκησιν ἐκ ταύτης γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκάστω τῆς ἰσοτίμου δυναστείας μάλιστα.

τῶν τε παρασῆμων, ἃ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀποδεδόται, πολλῶν ὄντων εἴ τινα λυπηρὰς ὄψεις καὶ ἐπιφθόνους τοῖς πολλοῖς παρέχεται, τὰ μὲν μειῶσαι, τὰ δ' ἀφελεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴομαι δεῖν: τὰ σκῆπτρα ταυτὶ λέγω καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦς στεφάνους καὶ τὰς ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσοσήμους ἀμπεχόνας, πλὴν εἰ μὴ κατὰ καιροὺς τινας ἑορταίους καὶ ἐν πομπαῖς θριάμβων, ὅτε αὐτὰ τιμῆς θεῶν ἔνεκα λήφονται: λυπήσει γὰρ οὐδέν', ἐὰν γένηται σπάνια: θρόνον δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλεφάντινον, [p. 121] ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενοι δικάσουσι, καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα περιπόρφυρον καὶ τοὺς προηγουμένους ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις δώδεκα πελέκεις καταλιπεῖν. [2] ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, ὃ πάντων οἴομαι τῶν εἰρημένων χρησιμώτατον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτιώτατον, μὴ διὰ βίου τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἄρχειν: χαλεπὴ γὰρ ἄπασιν ἀόριστος ἀρχὴ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξέτασιν διδοῦσα τῶν πραττομένων, ἐξ ἧς φύεται τυραννίς: ἀλλ' εἰς ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον, ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γίνεται, τὸ κράτος τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάγειν. [3] τὸ γὰρ ἐν μέρει τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διαφθαρῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν ἀρίστασθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας συστέλλει τὰς αὐθάδεις φύσεις καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ μεθύσκεσθαι ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὰ ἥθη. ταῦθ' ἡμῖν καταστησάμενοις ὑπάρξει τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ καρποῦσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς πολιτείας, τῶν δὲ παρακολουθούντων αὐτῇ κακῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι. [4] ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας πάτριον ὑπάρχον ἡμῖν καὶ σὺν οἰωνοῖς αἰσίοις θεῶν ἐπικυρωσάντων παρεληλυθὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς ἔνεκα τῆς ὀσίας φυλάττηται, ἱερῶν ἀποδεικνύσθω τις ἀεὶ βασιλεὺς, ὃ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἔξω διὰ βίου, πάσης ἀπολελυμένος πολεμικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀσχολίας, ἐν τοῦτο μόνον ἔχων ἔργον ὥσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν θυηπολιῶν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. [p. 122]

ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἔσται τούτων ἕκαστον, ἀκούσατέ μου: συνάξω μὲν ἐγὼ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ συγκεχώρηταί μοι κατὰ νόμον καὶ γνώμην

εἰσηγήσομαι: φεύγειν Ταρκύνιον ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πόλεως τε καὶ χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαίων εἰργομένους τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν: ὅταν δ' ἐπιψηφίσωσι τὴν γνώμην οἱ πολῖται, δηλώσας αὐτοῖς ἦν διανοοῦμεθα καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν μεσοβασιλέα ἐλοῦμαι τὸν ἀποδείξοντα τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὰ κοινά, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθήσεται τὴν τῶν Κελερίων ἀρχήν. [2] ὁ δὲ κατασταθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεσοβασιλεὺς συναγαγὼν τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ὀνομασάτω τε τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔξειν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ψῆφον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῖς πολίταις δότω: ἐὰν δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι δόξη λόχοις κυρίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα γένηται περὶ αὐτῶν καλὰ, τοὺς πελέκεις οὗτοι παραλαβόντες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σύμβολα πραττέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐλευθέραν οἰκήσομεν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μηκέτι κάθοδον ἔξουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν Ταρκύνιοι: πειράσσονται γάρ, εὔ ἴστε, καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ βίᾳ καὶ δόλῳ καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ παρελθεῖν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν, ἐὰν μὴ φυλαττώμεθα αὐτοῦς. [3] ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὧν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν ἔχω καὶ παραινεῖν: τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ οὐ ῥάδια νῦν δι' ἀκριβείας ἐξετασθῆναι: συνήγμεθα γὰρ εἰς καιρὸν ὀξύν: [p. 123] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι τοῖς παραληφόμενοις τὴν ἀρχήν. [4] σκοπεῖσθαι μέντοι φημὶ χρῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἅπαντα μετὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐποιοῦν, καὶ μηδὲν πράττειν διχα ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ φέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἔθος ἦν, μηδενὸς ἀφαιρουμένους αὐτὸν ὧν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον καιροῖς κύριος ἦν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα ἔξει τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἰουνίου Βρούτου πάντες ἐπήνεσαν καὶ αὐτίκα περὶ τῶν παραληφόμενων τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀνδρῶν βουλευόμενοι μεσοβασιλέα μὲν ἔκριναν ἀποδειχθῆναι Σπόριον Λουκρήτιον τὸν πατέρα τῆς διαχρησαμένης ἑαυτῇ: ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ἔξοντας τὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἐξουσίαν ὀνομασθῆναι Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον Κολλατῖνον. [2] τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας τοὺτους ἔταξαν καλεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον κωνσοῦλας: τοῦτο μεθερμηνευόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν τοῦτομα συμβούλους ἢ προβούλους δύναται δηλοῦν, κωνσίλια γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς συμβουλὰς καλοῦσιν: ὕπατοι δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ χρόνον ὠνομάσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅτι πάντων τ' ἄρχουσι καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω χώραν ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ ὑπερέχον καὶ [3] ἄκρον ὕπατον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι τε καὶ καταστησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαῖς [p. 124] λιτανεύσαντες συλλαβέσθαι σφίσιν ὁσίων καὶ δικαίων ἔργων ἐφιεμένοις ἐξήεσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ θεράποντες ἐπὶ κλίνης μέλασιν ἀμφίοις ἐστρωμένης κομιζόντες ἀθεράπευτον τε καὶ πεφυρμένην αἵματι τὴν νεκράν: ἦν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τεθῆναι κελεύσαντες ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιφανῆ συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. [4] ὄχλου δὲ συναχθέντος οὐ μόνον τοῦ κατ' ἀγοράν τότ' ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην: διεξήεσαν γὰρ οἱ κήρυκες διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν καλοῦντες: ἀναβὰς ὁ Βρούτος, ἔνθα τοῖς συνάγουσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας δημηγορεῖν ἔθος ἦν, καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους παρασσησάμενος

ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαιῶν καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους μέλλων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, ἄνδρες πολῖται, περὶ ἔμαντοῦ πρώτον ὀλίγα βούλομαι προειπεῖν: ἴσως γάρ τισιν ὑμῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοῖς τεταράχθαι δόξω τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀνὴρ οὐ φρενήρης περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν, ὃ κηδεμόνων οὐχ 23 ὑγιαίνειν δεῖ. [2] ἵστε δὴ τὴν κοινὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἣν περὶ ἐμοῦ πάντες εἶχετε ὡς ἡλιθίου, ψευδῇ γενομένην καὶ οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς κατασκευασθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἀναγκάσας με μὴθ' ὡς ἡ φύσις ἡξίου μὴθ' ὡς ἥρμοττέ μοι ζῆν, ἀλλ' ὡς Ταρκυνίω τ' ἦν βουλομένω κάμοι συνοίσειν ἔδοξεν, ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φόβος ἦν. [3] πατέρα γάρ μου Ταρκύνιος ἀποκτείνας ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ κατάσχοι [p. 125] πολλὴν σφόδρα οὖσαν, καὶ ἀδελφὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὃς ἔμελλε τιμωρήσειν τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρός, εἰ μὴ γένοιτο ἐκποδῶν, ἀφανεῖ θανάτῳ διαχρησάμενος, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ δῆλος ἦν φεισόμενος ἐρήμου τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων γεγονότος, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐπίθετον ἐσκηψάμην μωρίαν. [4] τοῦτο με τὸ πλάσμα πιστευθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου μὴ ταῦτά παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἐρρύσατο καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος διασέσωκε χρόνον: νῦν δ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἥκει γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν εὐχόμεν τε καὶ προσεδεχόμεν, πέμπτον ἤδη τοῦτο καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος φυλάξας ἀποτίθεμαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα.

τὰ δὲ κοινά, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμᾶς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλεσα, ταῦτ' ἐστί. Ταρκύνιον οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἡμῶν ἔθισμούς καὶ νόμους τὴν δυναστείαν κατασχόντα οὐτ', ἐπειδὴ κατέσχευεν ὅπως δὴ ποτε λαβὼν, καλῶς αὐτῇ καὶ βασιλικῶς χρώμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπερβεβληκότα πάντας ὕβρει τε καὶ παρανομίᾳ τοὺς ὅπου δὴ ποτε γενομένους τυράννους, ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν βεβουλεύμεθα συνελθόντες οἱ πατρίκιοι, πάλαι μὲν δέον, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ νῦν αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες ἐπιτηδεῖω, ὑμᾶς τ', ὧς δημόται, συνεκαλέσαμεν, ἵνα τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀποδειξάμενοι τὴν ἐαυτῶν συναγωνιστὰς ἀξιώσωμεν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, πράττοντας ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι, ἥς οὔτε πρότερον ἡμῖν ἐξεγένετο μεταλαβεῖν, ἐξ οὗ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχευεν, οὐθ' ὕστερον, ἐάν νῦν μαλακισθῶμεν, ἐξέσται. [2] εἰ μὲν οὖν χρόνον εἶχον, ὅσον [p. 126] ἐβουλόμην, ἢ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας ἔμελλον λέγειν, ἀπάσας διεξῆλθον ἂν τὰς τοῦ τυράννου παρανομίας, ἐφ' αἷς οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἅπασιν εἴη δίκαιος ἀπολωλέναι: ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ τε καιρὸς, ὃν τὰ πράγματά μοι δίδωσι, βραχύς, ἐν ᾧ λέγειν μὲν ὀλίγα δεῖ, πράττειν δὲ πολλά, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας οἱ λόγοι, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐδ' ἀπολογία οὐδεμιᾶς δυνάμενα τυχεῖν, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω.

οὗτός ἐστιν, ἄνδρες πολῖται, ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὁ πρὸ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἄρροντα τὸν γνήσιον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι πονηρὸς οὐκ ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι, φαρμάκοις διαχρησάμενος, συνεργὸν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μῦθος λαβὼν τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκα, τῆς δ' αὐτῷ συνοικουμένης ἀδελφῆς, ἣν ἐμοίχευεν ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς ἔτι καὶ πάλαι: [2] 24 οὗτος ὁ τὴν γαμετὴν γυναῖκα, σῶφρονα καὶ τέκνων κοινωνὸν γεγонуῖαν, ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν φαρμάκων ἀποκτείνας οὐδ' ἀφοσιώσασθαι τῶν φαρμακείων ἀμφοτέρων τὰς διαβολάς, ὡς οὐχ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενομένων, ἡξίωσεν ἐλεεινῶ χρησάμενος σχήματι καὶ

μικρὰ προσποιήσῃ πενθους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ αὐτὰ διαπράξασθαι τὰ θαυμαστά ἔργα, πρὶν ἢ μαρανθῆναι τὰς ὑποδεξαμένας τὰ δύστηνα σώματα πυράς, φίλους εἰστία καὶ γάμους ἐπετέλει καὶ τὴν ἀνδροφόνον νύμφην ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς θάλαμον ἦγετο τὰς ἀπορρήτους ἐμπεδῶν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁμολογίας: ἀνόσια καὶ ἐξάγιστα [p. 127] καὶ οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος οὔτε βαρβάρου γῆς οὐδαμῶθι γενόμενα πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν εἰσαγαγὼν καὶ [3] μόνος. οἷα δ' ἐξειργάσατο, ὧς δημόται, τὰ περιβόητα καὶ δεινὰ περὶ τοὺς κηδεστὰς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιχειρήματα ἐπὶ ταῖς δυσμαῖς ὄντας ἤδη τοῦ βίου; Σερούιον μὲν Τύλλιον τὸν ἐπικέστατον τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πλεῖστα ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσαντα φανερώς ἀποσφάξας καὶ οὐτ' ἐκκομιδῆς οὔτε ταφῆς ἔασας νομίμου τὸ σῶμα τυχεῖν: [4] Ταρκυνίαν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου γυναικα, ἣν προσῆκεν αὐτῷ τιμᾶν ὥσπερ μητέρα, πατρός ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν καὶ σπουδαίαν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένην, πρὶν ἢ πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα τῷ κατὰ γῆς ἀνδρὶ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀθλίαν ἀγχόνη διαχρησάμενος, ὑφ' ὧν ἐσώθη καὶ παρ' οἷς ἐτράφη καὶ οὖς διαδέξεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔμελλεν ὀλίγον ἀναμείνας, ἕως ὃ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς παραγένηται θάνατος.

ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτοις ἐπιτιμῷ τοσαύτας ἔχων αὐτοῦ παρανομίας κατηγορεῖν ἔξω τῶν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ κηδεστὰς γενομένων, τὰς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελεσθείσας, εἰ δὴ καὶ παρανομίας δεῖ καλεῖν αὐτάς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνατροπὰς καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς ἀπάντων τῶν τε νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἐθῶν; αὐτίκα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἵν' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄρξωμαι, πῶς παρέλαβεν; ἄρα γ' ὥς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένοι βασιλεῖς; πόθεν; [p. 128] [2] πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι πάντες ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας παρήγοντο κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους: πρῶτον μὲν ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γραφέντος, ἧ περὶ πάντων ἀποδεδόται τῶν κοινῶν προβουλευεῖν: ἔπειτα μεσοβασιλέων αἰρεθέντων, οἷς ἐπιτρέπει τὸ συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν ἀξίων τῆς ἀρχῆς διαγινῶναι τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον: μετὰ ταῦτα ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντος ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις τοῦ δήμου, μέθ' ἧς ἅπαντα ἐπικυροῦσθαι βούλεται τὰ μέγιστα ὁ νόμος: ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τοῦτοις οἰωνῶν καὶ σφαγιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων καλῶν γενομένων, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης σπουδῆς καὶ προνοίας ὄφελος. [3] φέρε δὴ τί τούτων οἶδε τις ὑμῶν γενομένον, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ταρκύνιος ἐλάβανε; ποῖον προβούλευμα συνεδρίου; τίνα μεσοβασιλέων διάγνωσιν; ποίαν δήμου ψηφοφορίαν; ποίους οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους; οὐ λέγων ταῦτα πάντα, καίτοι δέον, εἰ γοῦν ἔμελλεν ἔξιν καλῶς, μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ἔθει κατὰ τοὺς νόμους παραλελειφθαι, ἀλλ' ἂν τις ἐν μόνον ἔχῃ τούτων ἐπιδειξάι γεγονός, οὐκ ἀξιῷ τὰ παραλειφθέντα συκοφαντεῖν. πῶς οὖν παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν; ὅπλοις καὶ βίᾳ καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνωμοσίαις, ὥς τυράννοις ἔθος, ἀκόντων ὑμῶν καὶ δυσχεραινόντων. [4] φέρε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κατέσχε τὴν δυναστείαν ὅπως οὐδὲν λαβὼν, ἄρα βασιλικῶς αὐτῇ κέχρηται ζηλῶν τοὺς προτέρους ἡγεμόνας, [p. 129] οἱ λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τοιαῦτα διετέλουν, ἐξ ὧν εὐδαιμονεστέραν τε καὶ μείζω τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις παρέδοσαν, ἧς αὐτοὶ παρέλαβον; καὶ τίς ἂν ὑγιαίνων ταῦτα φήσειεν, ὁρῶν ὥς οἰκτρῶς καὶ κακῶς ἅπαντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διατεθείμεθα;

τὰς μὲν οὖν ἡμετέρας τῶν πατρικίων συμφορὰς, ἃς καὶ τῶν πολέμιων ἄν τις μαθὼν δακρύσειε, σιωπῶ, εἰ γ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν λελείμμεθα, ταπεινοὶ δ' ἐκ μεγάλων γεγόναμεν, εἰς πενίαν δὲ καὶ δεινὴν ἀπορίαν ἤκομεν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μακαρίων ἐκπεσόντες ἀγαθῶν. οἱ λαμπροὶ δ' ἐκείνοι καὶ δεινοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, δι' οὓς ἐπιφανῆς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ποτε ἦν, οἱ μὲν ἀπολώλασιν, ^[2] οἱ δὲ φεύγουσι τὴν πατρίδα. ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑμέτερα πράγματα, ὧς δημόται, πῶς ἔχει; οὐκ ἀφήρηται μὲν ὑμῶν τοὺς νόμους, ἀφήρηται δὲ τὰς ἐφ' ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίας συνόδους, πέπαυκε δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας καὶ ψηφοφοροῦντας καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκκλησιάζοντας, ἀναγκάζει δ' ὅσα δούλους ἀργυρωνήτους αἰσχύνῃς ἄξια ταλαιπωρεῖν λατομοῦντας ὑλοτομοῦντας ἀχθοφοροῦντας, ἐν ταρτάροις καὶ βαράθροις δαπανωμένους, ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην λαμβάνοντας; ^[3] τίς οὖν ὅρος ἔσται τῶν συμφορῶν, καὶ μέχρι τίνος χρόνου ταῦτα πάσχοντες ὑπομενοῦμεν, καὶ πότε τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτησόμεθα; ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ Ταρκύνιος; νῆ Δία. καὶ τί πλέον ἡμῖν ἔσται τότε, τί δ' οὐ χεῖρον; τρεῖς γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς Ταρκυνίου ἐξομεν [p. 130] ^[4] πολλῶ μιαιωτέρους τοῦ πατρὸς. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ γενόμενος ἐξ ἰδιώτου τύραννος καὶ ὁπὲ ἀρξάμενος πονηρὸς εἶναι, πᾶσαν ἀκριβοῖ τὴν τυραννικὴν κακίαν, ποδαποὺς χρή νομίζειν ἔσεσθαι τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου φύντας, οἷς πονηρὸν μὲν γένος, πονηραὶ δὲ τροφαί, πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ μέτριον οὐδὲν οὕτ' ἰδεῖν ἐξεγένετο πώποτε πραπτόμενον οὔτε μαθεῖν; ἵνα δὲ μὴ μαντεύσθε τὰς καταράτους αὐτῶν φύσεις, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς μάθητε, οἷους σκύλακας ὑμῖν ἡ Ταρκυνίου τυραννὶς ὑποτρέφει, θεάσασθε ἔργον ἑνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ πρесоβυτάτου.

αὕτη Σπορίου μὲν ἐστὶ Λουκρητίου θυγάτηρ, ὃν ἀπέδειξε τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχον ὁ τύραννος ἐξῴων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ταρκυνίου δὲ Κολλατίνου γυνὴ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τῶν τυράννων καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κακοπαθήσαντος. αὕτη μέντοι σωφρονεῖν βουλομένη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς φιλοῦσα, ὥσπερ ἀγαθῇ προσήκει γυναικί, ξενιζομένου παρ' αὐτῇ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτί, Κολλατίνου δὲ τὸτ' ἀποδημοῦντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν ἀκόλαστον ὕβριν τῆς τυραννίδος οὐκ ἐδυνήθη διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτος ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κρατηθεῖσα ὑπέμεινε ὅσα μὴ θέμις ἐλευθέρῃ γυναικί παθεῖν. ^[2] ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτοῦσα καὶ ἀφόρητον ἠγουμένη τὴν ὕβριν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς τὰς κατασχούσας αὐτὴν ἀνάγκας διεξῆλθε πολλὰς ποιησαμένη διήσεις καὶ ἀράς, ἵνα τιμωροὶ τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῆς γένοιτο καὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὑπὸ τοῖς κόλποις ξίφος [p. 131] σπασαμένη τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρώντος, ὧς δημόται, διὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς σπλάγχων ἔβαψε τὸν σίδηρον. ^[3] ὧς θαυμαστὴ σὺ καὶ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἄξια τῆς εὐγενοῦς προαιρέσεως, οἷχῃ καὶ ἀπόλῳας οὐχ ὑπομείνασα τυραννικὴν ὕβριν, ἀπάσας ὑπεριδοῦσα τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδονάς, ἵνα σοι μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον συμβῇ παθεῖν. ἔπειτα σὺ μὲν, ὧς Λουκρητία, γυναικείας τυχοῦσα φύσεως ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς φρόνημα ἔσχεις, ἡμεῖς δ' ἄνδρες γενόμενοι γυναικῶν χεῖρους ἀρετῇ γενησόμεθα; καὶ σοὶ μὲν, ὅτι μίαν ἐτυραννήθης νύκτα τὴν ἀμίαντον ἀφαιρεθεῖς· αἰδῶ μετὰ βίας, ἡδίων καὶ μακαριώτερος ἔδοξεν ὁ θάνατος εἶναι τοῦ βίου, ἡμῖν δ' ἄρ' οὐ παραστήσεται

τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπολαβεῖν, ὥν Ταρκύνιος οὐ μίαν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη τυραννῶν, πάσας ἀφήρηται τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδονὰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελόμενος; [4] οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν, ὧ δημόται, βιωτὸν ἐν τοιούτοις καλινδουμένοις κακοῖς, ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔσιν ἀπογόνοις, οἱ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν ἡξιοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δόξης ἥραντο κινδύνους: ἀλλὰ δεῖν θάτερον ἅπασιν αἰρετέον, ἢ βίον ἐλεύθερον, ἢ θάνατον ἔνδοξον. [5] ἥκει δὲ καιρὸς, οἷον εὐχόμεθα, μεθεστηκότος μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ταρκυνίου, ἡγουμένων δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τῶν πατρικίων, οὐδενὸς δ' ἡμῖν ἐλλείποντος, ἐὰν ἐκ προθυμίας χωρήσωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, οὐ σωματῶν, οὐ χρημάτων, οὐχ ὅπλων, [p. 132] οὐ στρατηγῶν, οὐ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς εἰς τὰ πολέμια παρασκευῆς: μεστὴ γὰρ ἀπάντων ἡ πόλις, αἰσχρὸν τε Οὐλοῦσκων καὶ Σαβίνων καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦν, αὐτοὺς δὲ δουλεύοντας ἑτέροις ὑπομένειν, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ταρκυνίου πλεονεξίας πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι πολέμους, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίας μηδένα.

τίσιν οὖν ἀφορμαῖς εἰς τὰ πράγματα χρῆσόμεθα καὶ ποίαις συμμαχίαις; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν. πρώταις μὲν ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσιν, ὥν ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς μαιίνει Ταρκύνιος ταῖς αἰμοφύρτοις χερσὶ καὶ παντὸς ἐμφυλίου γεμούσαις ἄγους θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν καταρχόμενος: ἔπειτα ταῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὕτ' ὀλίγων ὄντων οὕτ' ἀπείρων πολέμου: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ταῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίαις, οἱ μὴ καλοῦντων μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιώσουσι πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἐὰν δ' ἀρετῆς ὁρῶσι μεταποιουμένους ἄσμενοι συναροῦνται τοῦ πολέμου: τυραννὶς γὰρ ἅπασιν ἐχθρὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐλευθέροις εἶναι. [2] εἰ δὲ τινες ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συνόντας ἅμα Ταρκυνίῳ πολίτας δεδοίκασιν, ὥς ἐκείνῳ μὲν συναγωνιουμένους, ἡμῖν δὲ πολεμήσοντας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δεδοίκασι. βαρεῖα γὰρ κἀκείνοις ἢ τυραννὶς καὶ ἔμφυτος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πόθος, καὶ πᾶσα μεταβολῆς πρόφασις τοῖς δι' ἀνάγκην ταλαιπωροῦσιν ἱκανή: οὕς, εἰ ψηφιεῖσθε τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, οὐ φόβος ὁ καθέξων ἔσται παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις, οὐ χάρις, οὐχ [p. 133] ἕτερόν τι τῶν βιαζομένων ἢ πειθόντων ἀνθρώπους τὰ [3] μὴ δίκαια πράττειν. εἰ δὲ τίσιν αὐτῶν ἄρα διὰ κακὴν φύσιν ἢ πονηρὰς τροφὰς τὸ φιλοτύραννον ἐμπέφυκεν οὐ πολλοῖς οὔσι μὰ Δία, μεγάλας καὶ τούτους ἀνάγκαις ἐνζεύξομεν, ὥστ' ἐκ πονηρῶν γενέσθαι χρηστούς: ὁμηρα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ γονεῖς, ἃ τιμιώτερα τῆς ἰδίας ἐστὶν ἐκάστῳ ψυχῆς. ταῦτά τ' οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, ἐὰν ἀποστῶσι τῶν τυράννων, ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ ἄδειαν ὥν ἡμαρτον ψηφιζόμενοι ῥαδίως πείσομεν. [4] ὥστε θαρροῦντες, ὧ δημόται, καὶ ἀγαθὰς ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδας χωρεῖτε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, κάλλιστον ὥν πώποτε ἦρασθε πολέμων τόνδε ὑποστησόμενοι. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὧ θεοὶ πατρῷοι, φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, καὶ δαίμονες, οἱ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν λελόγατε, καὶ πόλις θεοφιλεστάτη πόλεων, ἐν ἧ' γενέσεώς τε καὶ τροφῆς ἐτύχομεν, ἀμννοῦμεν ὑμῖν καὶ γνώμαις καὶ λόγοις καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ψυχαῖς, καὶ πάσχειν ἔτοιμοι πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸ χρεῶν φέρῃ. [5] μαντεύομαι δὲ καλοῖς ἐγχειρήμασιν εὐτυχὲς ἀκολουθήσειν τέλος. εἴη δὲ τούτοις ἅπασι ταῦτὸ λαβοῦσι θάρσος καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρῆσασμένοις, σώξειν θ' ἡμᾶς καὶ σώζεσθαι

ὕφ' ἡμῶν.

τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βροῦτου δημηγοροῦντος ἀναβοήσεις τε συνεχεῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν λεγομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἐγίνοντο διασημαίνουσαι τὸ βουλούμενόν [p. 134] τε καὶ ἐπικελευόμενον, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δάκρυα ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἔρρει θαυμαστῶν καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἀκούουσι λόγων: πάθη τε ποικίλα τὴν ἐκάστου ψυχὴν κατελάμβανεν οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐοικότα: λύπαι τε γὰρ ἡδοναῖς ἐκέκραντο, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προγεγονόσι δεινοῖς, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προσδοκωμένοις ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ θυμοὶ συνεξέπιπτον φόβοις, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς δράσαι τὰ μισούμεενα τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὑπερορᾶν ἐπαίροντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ λογισμὸν τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίαν εἶναι τὴν καθαιρεσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ὄκνον ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐπιφέροντες. [2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαύσατο λέγων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος ἅπαντες τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἀνέκραγον ἄγειν σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἦσθεις, Ἐάν γε πρότερον, ἔφη, τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαθόντες ἐπικυρώσητε τὸ δοχθέν. δέδοκται γὰρ ἡμῖν φεύγειν Ταρκυνίους πόλιν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ χώραν, ὅσης ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἅπαν: καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι περὶ καθόδου Ταρκυνίων μήτε πράττειν μηδὲν μήτε λέγειν, ἐάν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὕρισκῃται τεθνάναι. [3] 25 ταύτην εἰ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τὴν γνώμην εἶναι κυρίαν, διαστάντες κατὰ τὰς φράτρας ψῆφον ἐπενέγκατε, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν πρῶτον ἀρξάτω τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐγίνετο ταῦτα: καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαι τὴν φυγὴν τῶν τυράννων αἱ φράτραι κατεψηφίσαντο, παρελθὼν πάλιν ὁ Βροῦτος λέγει: ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρῶτα [p. 135] ἡμῖν κεκύρωται κατὰ τὸ δέον, ἀκούσατε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ [4] ὅσα βεβουλευμένα περὶ τῆς πολιτείας. ἡμῖν σκοπούμενοις, τίς ἀρχὴ γενήσεται τῶν κοινῶν κυρία, βασιλείαν μὲν οὐκέτι καταστήσασθαι δοκεῖ, ἄρχοντας δὲ δύο καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι βασιλικὴν ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν, οὓς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἀποδείξητε ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντες κατὰ λόχους. εἰ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἐπιψηφίσατε. ἐπήγει καὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ψῆφος οὐδεμία ἐγένετο ἐναντία. [5] μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἀποδείκνυσι μεσοβασιλέα τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους Σπόριον Λουκρήτιον: κάκεῖνος ἀπολύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας ἦκειν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἔνθα σὺνηθες αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀρχαιρεσιάζειν, ἔχοντας τὰ ὄπλα ἐν τάχει. ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρας αἰρεῖται δύο τοὺς πράξοντας ὅσα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐξῆν, Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κολλατῖνον: καὶ ὁ δῆμος καλούμενος κατὰ λόχους ἐπεκύρωσε τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πόλιν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πραχθέντα τοιαῦτ' ἦν.

βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὡς ἤκουσε παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγγέλων, οἷς ἐξεγένετο πρώτοις πρὶν ἢ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας διαδρᾶναι, τοσοῦτο μόνον ἀπαγγελλόντων, ὅτι κατέχει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Βροῦτος δημαγωγῶν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρακαλῶν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων φράσας ἠπειγέτο τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, [p. 136] ἐλαύνων τοὺς ἵππους ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος, ὡς φθάσων τὴν ἀπόστασιν. εὐρῶν δὲ κεκλεισμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ μεστὰς ὄπλων τὰς ἐπάλξεις ὥχετο πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εἶχε τάχους οἰμώζων καὶ δεινοπαθῶν. [2] ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τάκεῖ

πράγματα ἤδη διεφθαρμένα. οἱ γὰρ ὕπατοι ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν προορώμενοι πέμπουσι γράμματα καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἀποσιῆσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν ἅστει 26 ποιοῦντες φανερά. [3] ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕπαρχοι Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος καὶ Μάρκος Ὀράπιος ἀνέγνωσαν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ γνώμας διερωτήσαντες κατὰ λόχους, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἐφάνη κύρια ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκέτι προσδέχονται παραγενθέντα τὸν Ταρκύνιον. [4] ἀπωσθεὶς δὴ καὶ ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐλπίδος φεύγει σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς Γαβίων πόλιν, ἧς βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀπέδειξε τῶν υἱῶν Σέξτον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην· ἡλικίαν μὲν ἤδη πολιὸς ὢν, ἔτη δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχών. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἑρμινίον τε καὶ τὸν Ὀράπιον ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου καταστησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας πεντεκαιδεκαετεῖς ἀπήγαγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. ἡ μὲν δὴ βασιλικὴ πολιτεία διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν [p. 137] τῆς Ῥώμης ἐτῶν τεττάρων καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀριθμόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως τυραννὶς γενομένη, διὰ ταύτας τὰς προφάσεις καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων κατελύθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

BOOK V

ἡ μὲν δὴ βασιλικὴ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐτῶν τεττάρων καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀριθμὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως τυραννὶς γενομένη διὰ ταύτας τὰς προφάσεις καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων κατελύθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν, Ὀλυμπιάδος μὲν ὀγδόης καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς ἐνεστώσης, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἰσχύμαχος Κροτωνιάτης, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ^[2] τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας Ἰσαγόρου. ἀριστοκρατίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες Ὑπατοι τεττάρων μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐπιλειπομένων Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος καὶ Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος Κολλατῖνος, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον ὥσπερ ἔφην προβούλους, [p. 139] ἑτέρους παραλαβόντες πολλοὺς ἐλθόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς πρὸς Ἀρδεάτας, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ τυράννου συγκαλέσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ὁμονομίας λόγους ποιησάμενοι ψήφισμά τε πάλιν ἐπεκύρωσαν ἕτερον, περὶ ὧν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ὄντες πρότερον ἐπεψηφίσαντο φυγὴν Ταρκυνίοις ἐπιβαλόντες αἰδίδιον· ^[3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καθαρμοὺς τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὄρκια τεμόντες αὐτοὶ τε πρῶτοι στάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τομίῳ ὤμοσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἔπεισαν ὁμόσαι, μὴ καταξείν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον μήτε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ μήτε τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γενησομένους, βασιλέα τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μηκέτι καταστήσειν μηθένα μηδὲ τοῖς καθιστάναι βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέψειν. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς γένους ὤμοσαν. ^[4] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι γεγονέναι τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν ἔδοξαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, φυλάττειν τοῦνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅσον ἂν ἡ πόλις διαμένῃ χρόνον, βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἱεροφάντας τε καὶ οἰωνομάντεις ἐκέλευσαν ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἤμελλεν ἔξειν ἑτέρου πλην τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβασμῶν τὴν προστασίαν, ἀπάσης λειτουργίας πολεμικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀφειμένους, [p. 140] ἱερῶν καλοῦμενος βασιλεὺς. καὶ καθίσταται πρῶτος ἱερῶν βασιλεὺς Μάνιος Παπίριος ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀνὴρ ἡσυχίας φίλος.

ὥς δὲ κατεστήσαντο ταῦτα, δείσαντες, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μὴ δόξα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγγένηται περὶ τῆς καινῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἀληθῆς, ὅτι δύο βασιλεῖς κύριοι γέγονασιν τῆς πόλεως ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἐκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἔχοντας, ὥσπερ εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἔκριναν τὸ τε δέος ἀφελεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας μειῶσαι τὸν φθόνον, τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τοὺς δώδεκα κατατάξαντες προηγεῖσθαι πελέκεις, τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου δώδεκα ὑπηρέτας ῥάβδους ἔχοντας μόνον, ὥς δὲ τινες ἰστοροῦσι, καὶ κορύνας, γίνεσθαι δὲ τῶν πελέκεων τὴν παράληψιν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἓνα 1 μῆνα κατέχοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρου παραλλάξ. ^[2] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πολίτευμα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις παραπλήσια οὐκ ὀλίγα πρόθυμον ἐποίησαν εἰς τὴν διαμονὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν δημότην καὶ ταπεινὸν ὄχλον καὶ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων τοὺς ὑπὸ Τυλλίου

γραφέντας φιланθρώπους καὶ δημοτικούς εἶναι δοκοῦντας, οὓς ἅπαντας κατέλυσε Ταρκύνιος, ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κοινῶς συνιόντες οἱ δημόται τε καὶ οἱ φυλῆται, πάλιν προσέταξαν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, [p. 141] ὥς ἐπὶ Τυλλίου συνετελοῦντο: ἐκκλησιάζειν τ' αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοσαν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν καὶ ἄλλα πράττειν, ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους ἐθισμοὺς ἔπραττον. [3] τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν τὰ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἦν ἐκ πολυχρονίου δουλείας εἰς ἀνέλπιστον ἀφιγμένοις ἐλευθερίαν, εὐρέθησαν δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅμως, οἷς πόθος ἦν τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι κακῶν δι' εὐήθειαν ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν, ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, οἱ συνώμοσαν ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως Ταρκύνιον τε καταδεξάσθαι συνθέμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡγεμόνες δ' αὐτῶν οἵτινες ἐγένοντο καὶ δι' οἷας ἐξηλέγχθησαν ἀνελπίστου συντυχίας καίτοι πάντα ἀνθρώπους λεληθέναι δοκοῦντες, μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γενομένων ἀναλαβὼν λέξω.

Ταρκύνιος ἐπειδὴ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσε, χρόνον μὲν τινα οὐ πολὺν ἐν πόλει Γαβίοις διέτριβε τοὺς τε συνιόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεχόμενος, οἷς ἦν τυραννὶς ἀσπαστότερον χρῆμα ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων ἐλπίσιν ἐπέχων ὥς δι' ἐκείνων καταχθησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν αἱ πόλεις οὐδ' ἐβούλοντο πόλεμον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐκφέρειν, ἀπογνοὺς τὰς παρὰ τούτων ἐπικουρίας, εἰς Τυρρηνικὴν καταφεύγει πόλιν Ταρκυνίου, ἐξ ἧς τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς αὐτῷ γένος ἦν. [2] πείσας δὲ τὰ τέλη τῶν Ταρκυνιητῶν [p. 142] δωρεαῖς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραχθεὶς τὴν τε συγγένειαν ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας διεξῆλθεν, ἃς ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ πάσαις ἐχαρίσατο ταῖς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεσι, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑπεμύνησκεν, ἃς ἦσαν πεποιημένοι πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἅπασι τῆς κατειληφθείας αὐτὸν ὠδύρετο τύχας, ὥς ἐκ μεγάλης ἐκπεσῶν εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πλάνης καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ἐνδεῆς σὺν υἱοῖς τρισὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ποτε 2 γενομένους ἡναγκάσθη καταφυγεῖν. [3] διεξελθὼν δ' ὧδε ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν οἴκτων τε καὶ δακρύων ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον πρέσβεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην συμβατηρίους φέροντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγους, ὥς δὴ συμπραττόντων αὐτῷ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκείθεν καὶ συλληψομένων τῆς καθόδου. ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν, οὓς αὐτὸς προεῖλετο, διδάξας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἃ χρὴ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ φυγάδων γράμματα δοὺς δεήσεις ἔχοντα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους, ἀπέστειλε φέροντάς τι καὶ χρυσίον.

οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος ἀξιοῖ λαβὼν ἄδειαν ἐλθεῖν σὺν ὀλίγοις πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον: ἔπειτ' ἂν λάβῃ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ συγχώρημα τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθεῖν λόγον ὑφ' ἑξῶν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἔπραξεν, ἅφ' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβε, καὶ δικασταῖς χρησόμενος ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ [p. 143] [2] κατηγορήσῃ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀπολογηθεὶς δὲ καὶ πείσας ἅπαντας, ὥς οὐδὲν ἄξιον εἰργασταὶ φυγῆς, ἐάν μὲν ἀποδῶσιν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν αὖθις, ἄρξιν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ὀρίσωσιν οἱ πολῖται δικαίους, ἐάν δὲ

μηκέτι βασιλεύεσθαι προαιρῶνται καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν τινὰ καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν, μένων ἐν τῇ πόλει πατρίδι οὔσῃ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον ἔχων πολιτεύεσθαι μετὰ πάντων ἐξ ἴσου, φυγῆς δ' ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ πλάνης. [3] ταῦτα διεξελθόντες ἐδέοντο τῆς βουλῆς, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ὃ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθέστηκε, μηθένα λόγου καὶ κρίσεως ἀποστερεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἧς αὐτοὶ γενήσονται δίκασται· εἰ δ' ἐκείνῳ ταύτην οὐ βούλονται δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, τῆς δεομένης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἔνεκα μετριάσαι, δωρεὰν αὐτῇ διδόντας, ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ βλαπτόμενοι μεγάλην δόξουσι τιμὴν κατατίθεσθαι τῇ λαμβανούσῃ, ἀνθρώπους δ' ὄντας μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φρονεῖν μηδ' ἀθανάτους ἔχειν τὰς ὀργὰς ἐν θνητοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τί πράττειν ἐπεικέες ὑπομεῖναι τῶν δεομένων χάριν, ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι φρονίμων μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον ἐστὶ ταῖς φιλίας χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ἔχθρας, ἀνοήτων δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συναναιρεῖν τοὺς φίλους.

τοιαῦτα λεξάντων αὐτῶν ἀναστὰς ὁ Βροῦτος ἔφη Περὶ μὲν εἰσόδου Ταρκυνίων εἰς τὴνδε πόλιν παύσασθε, ἄνδρες Τυρρηνοί, τὰ πλείω λέγοντες. ἐπῆκται γὰρ ἤδη ψῆφος αἰδίων κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρίζουσα φυγὴν, [p. 144] καὶ θεοὺς ὁμωμόκαμεν ἅπαντες μὴτ' αὐτοὶ κατάξειν τοὺς τυράννους μηδὲ τοῖς κατάγουσιν ἐπιτρέψειν· εἰ δὲ τινος ἄλλου δεῖσθε τῶν μετρίων, ἃ μὴ νόμοις μηδ' ὅρκοις κεκωλύμεθα δρᾶν, λέγετε. μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθόντες 3 οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσι· [2] παρὰ δόξαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀπήντηται τὰ πρῶτα· πρεσβευσάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου λόγον ὑμῖν ὑποσχέιν ἄξιοῦντος καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων δίκαιον εἰς ἰδίαν αἰτούμενοι χάριν οὐ δεδυνήμεθα τούτου τυχεῖν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτως ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, περὶ μὲν εἰσόδου Ταρκυνίων οὐδὲν ἔτι λιπαροῦμεν, προκαλοῦμεθα δ' ὑμᾶς εἰς ἕτερόν τι δίκαιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ἡ πατρίς, καὶ οὔτε νόμος ὁ κωλύσων αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν οὐθ' ὅρκος, ἀποδοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐκέκτητο οὐθὲν τῶν ὑμετέρων οὔτε βίᾳ κατασχὼν οὔτε λάθρα, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενος καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετενέγκας. ἀπόχρη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομισαμένῳ ζῆν ἐτέρωθι που μακαρίως μηθὲν ἐνοχλοῦντι ὑμῖν. [3] τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις διαλεχθέντες ἐξῆλθον· τῶν δ' ὑπάτων Βροῦτος μὲν κατέχειν τὰ χρήματα συνεβούλευσε τιμωρίας τε χάριν ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ τύραννοι τὸ κοινὸν ἠδίκησαν πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων, καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτ' αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, διδάσκων ὥς οὐκ ἀγαπήσουσι Ταρκύνιοι τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολαβόντες οὐδ' ὑπομενοῦσιν ἰδιώτην βίον ζῆν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἐπάξουσιν Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλοεθνῇ καὶ πειράσσονται βίᾳ κατελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. [4] Κολλατῖνος δὲ τάναντια παρήνει λέγων, ὥς οὐδὲν τὰ [p. 145] χρήματα τῶν τυράννων ἠδίκηι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σώματα, φυλάττεσθαι τ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν ἀμφοτέρα, μὴ δόξης τε πονηρᾶς παρὰ πάντων τύχωσιν ὥς διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεληλακότες ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ταρκυνίους, καὶ πρόφασιν πολέμου δικαίαν παράσχωσιν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἀποστερουμένοις τῶν ἰδίων· ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι φάσκων, εἰ κομισάμενοι τὰ χρήματα πολεμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς καθόδου, πρόδηλον δὲ θάτερον ὥς οὐκ ἀξιώσουσιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τὰς οὐσίας

ἀφαιρεθέντες.

ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων λεγόντων καὶ πολλῶν συναγορευόντων ἀμφοτέροις ἀποροῦσα, ὃ τι χρή πράττειν, ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέρας συχνὰς σκοποῦσα, ἐπεὶ συμφορώτερα μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐδόκει λέγειν, δικαιότερα δ' ὁ Κολλατῖνος παρήνει, τελευτῶσα διέγνω τὸν δῆμον ποιῆσαι τοῦ τε συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου κριτὴν. [2] πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ὑφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναλαβοῦσαι ψῆφον αἱ φρᾶτρες τριάκοντα οὔσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὕτω μικρὰν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ῥοπήν, ὥστε μιᾷ ψήφῳ πλείους γενέσθαι τῶν κατέχειν τὰ χρήματα βουλομένων τὰς ἀποδιδόναι κελευούσας. λαβόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπαινέσαντες, ὅτι τὰ δίκαια πρὸ τῶν συμφερόντων εἴλοντο, Ταρκυνίῳ μὲν ἐπέστειλαν τοὺς ἀποληψομένους τὰ χρήματα πέμπειν, αὐτοῖς δ' ἐπέμειναν ἐν τῇ πόλει συναγωγὴν τε τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ διάθεσιν τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἄγεσθαι τε καὶ φέρεσθαι σκηπτόμενοι: ὡς δὲ τάληθές εἶχε ταράττοντες καὶ [p. 146] σκευωροῦμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὁ τύραννος αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλε. [3] τὰς τε γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρὰ τῶν φυγάδων τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδουσαν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐτέρας πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ἐλάμβανον: συνιόντες δὲ πολλοὶς εἰς ὁμιλίαν καὶ διάπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς προαιρέσεως λαμβάνοντες, οὓς εὐρίσκοιεν εὐαλότους δι' ἀσθένειαν γνῶμης ἢ βίου σπάνιν ἢ πόθον τῶν ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι πλεονεξιῶν, ἐλπίδας τε χρηστὰς ὑποτείνοντες αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα διδόντες ἐπεχειροῦν [4] 4 διαφθείρειν. ἔμελλον δ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν πόλει μεγάλῃ καὶ πολυοχλοῦσῃ φανήσεσθαι τινες οἱ τὴν χεῖρω πολιτείαν αἰρησόμενοι πρὸ τῆς κρείττονος οὐ τῶν ἀσῆμων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν Ἰούνιοι τε δύο Τίτος καὶ Τιβέριος Βρούτου παῖδες τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος ἄρτίως ἀρχόμενοι γενεῖαν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Οὐιτέλλιοι τε δύο Μάρκος καὶ Μάνιος, ἀδελφοὶ τῆς Βρούτου γυναικὸς, ἱκανοὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν, καὶ Κολλατίνου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀδελφῆς υἱοὶ δύο Λεύκιος καὶ Μάρκος Ἀκυλλιοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες τοῖς Βρούτου παισὶν ἡλικίαν, παρ' οἷς αἱ σύνοδοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο πατρὸς οὐκέτι περιόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν τυράννων βουλευμάτων συνετιθέτο.

ἔκ πολλῶν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προνοεῖα θεῶν εἰς τοσαύτην προελθεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τότε [p. 147] γενομένων. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἄνοια καὶ θεοβλάβεια τοὺς δυστήνους ἐκείνους κατέσχευεν, ὥσθ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιστολὰς γράφαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον αὐτογράφους δηλοῦντες αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος τε τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς συνωμοσίας καὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπιθεσιν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου γραμμάτων, ὅτι βούλεται προειδέναι, τίνας αὐτῷ προσήκει Ῥωμαίων εὔ [2] ποιεῖν κατασχόντι τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτων δ' ἐγένοντο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ὕπατοι κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ συντυχίαν. παρ' Ἀκυλλίοις τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κολλατίνου γεγονόσιν ἀδελφῆς οἱ κορυφαίοτατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ κατήγοντο παρακληθέντες ὡς ἐφ' ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου κελεύσαντες τοὺς διακόνους καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν

τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος ἀπελθεῖν διεφέροντό τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰ δόξαντα εἰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεχώριζον αὐτογράφους, ἃς ἔδει τοὺς Ἀκυλλίους λαβόντας ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἐκ Τυρρηνίας πρέσβεσιν, [3] ἐκείνους δὲ Ταρκυνίῳ. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν θεραπόντων τις οἶνοχόος ἐκ πόλεως Καινίνης αἰχμάλωτος ὄνομα Οὐνδίκιος ὑποπτεύσας τοὺς ἄνδρας βουλευεῖν πονηρὰ τῇ μεταστάσει τῶν διακόνων ἔμεινε μόνος ἔξω παρὰ ταῖς θύραις καὶ τοὺς τε λόγους παρ' αὐτῶν ἠκροάσατο καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς εἶδεν ὑπὸ πάντων [p. 148] γραφομένας, ἀρμῷ τινι τῆς θύρας διαφανεῖ τὴν ὄψιν προσβαλὼν. [4] ἐξελθὼν δὲ πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης ὡς ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ χρεῖαν τινά, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ὤκνησεν ἐλθεῖν δεδιδώς, μὴ συγκρῦψαι τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλόμενοι διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν συγγενῶν τὸν μηνύσαντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἀφανίσωσιν, ἀφικόμενος δ' ὡς Πόπλιον Οὐαλέριον, ὃς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τέτταρσιν ἦν τῶν τὴν τυραννίδα καταλυσάντων, δεξιώσει καὶ δι' ὄρκων τὸ πιστὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ὦν τ' ἤκουσε καὶ [5] ὦν εἶδε γίνεται. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔμαθεν οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀκυλλίων σὺν χειρὶ πολλῇ πελατῶν τε καὶ φίλων παραγίνεται περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον καὶ παρελθὼν εἴσω τῶν θυρῶν ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλην τινὰ χρεῖαν παρὼν ἀκωλύτως κατ' οἶκον ἔτι τῶν μειρακίων ὄντων ἐγκρατῆς γίνεται τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους συλλαβὼν καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους.

τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργα θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Βρούτου μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ λέγειν ἔχων, ἐφ' οἷς μέγιστα φρονοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, δέδοικα μὴ σκληρὰ καὶ ἄπιστα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δόξω λέγειν, ἐπεὶ διὰ πεφυκάσιν ἅπαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν τὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα κρίνειν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἄπιστον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖν: ἐρῶ δ' οὕν ὅμως. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ ἡμέρα τάχιστα [p. 149] ἐγένετο, καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ διασκεπτόμενος, ὡς εὔρε τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν γραφείας ταῖς σφραγίσιν ἑκατέραν γνωρίσας καὶ μετὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς χειρογράφοις, ἀναγνωσθῆναι πρῶτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ γραμματέως εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν παρόντων ἀκοήν: ἔπειτα λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παισίν, εἴ τι βούλονται. [3] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῶν οὐδέτερος πρὸς ἄρνησιν ἀναιδῇ τραπέσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατεψηφικότες ἑαυτῶν ἑκκλειον ἀμφοτέροι, ὀλίγον δ' ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἀνίσταται καὶ σιωπὴν προκηρύξας ἐκδεχομένων ἀπάντων, τί τέλος ἐξοίσει, θάνατον ἔφη καταδικάζειν τῶν τέκνων: ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἀνέκραγον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ζημιωθῆναι τέκνων θανάτῳ καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μειρακίων ἐβούλοντο τῷ πατρί. [4] ὁ δ' οὔτε τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν οὔτε τὰς οἰμωγὰς ἀνασχόμενος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἀπάγειν τοὺς νεανίσκους ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντας καὶ ταῖς φιλάταις αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένους προσηγορίας. θαυμαστὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἐφάνη τὸ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦναι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν μήτε πρὸς τοὺς οἴκτους τῶν τέκτων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώτερον τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἀμειλικτον. [5] οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλοθι που συνεχώρησεν ἀπαχθέντας τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔξω τῆς ἀπάντων ὄψεως ἀποθανεῖν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπανεχώρησεν, [p. 150] ἔως

ἐκεῖνοι κολασθῶσι, τὴν δεινὴν θέαν ἐκτρεπόμενος, οὐτ' ἄνευ προπηλακισμοῦ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην ἐκπληρῶσαι μοῖραν: ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα φυλάττων, ὅσα τοῖς κακοῦργοις ἀπόκειται παθεῖν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ πάντων ὁρώντων αἰκισθέντας τὰ σώματα πληγαῖς, αὐτὸς ἅπασι τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρών, τότε συνεχώρησε τοὺς αὐχένας τοῖς πελέκεσιν ἀποκοπῆναι. ^[6] Ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἀτενὲς τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἄτεγκτον ἦν: ὅς γε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσοι τῷ πάθει παρεγένοντο κλαιόντων μόνος οὐτ' ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὥφθη τὸν μόρον τῶν τέκνων οὐτ' ἀποιμῶξας ἑαυτὸν τῆς καθεξούσης τὸν οἶκον ἐρημίας οὐτ' ἄλλο μαλακὸν οὐθὲν ἐνδούς, ἀλλ' ἄδακρὺς τε καὶ ἀστένακτος καὶ ἀτενῆς διαμένων εὐκαρδίως ἦνεγκε τὴν συμφορὰν. οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς ἦν τὴν γνώμην καὶ βέβαιος τὰ κριθέντα διατηρεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπιταραττόντων τοὺς λογισμοὺς παθῶν καρτερός.

ἀποκτείνας δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς εὐθύς ἐκάλει τοὺς ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ συνάρχοντος Ἀκυλλίου, παρ' οἷς αἱ σύνοδοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συνομοσαμένων ἐγένοντο: καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῶν ἀναγνῶναι τῷ γραμματεῖ κελεύσας, ὥστε πάντας ἀκοῦειν τοὺς παρόντας, ἀπολογίαν ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς διδόναι. ὡς δὲ προήχθησαν οἱ νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, εἶθ' ὑποθεμένου τινὸς τῶν φίλων εἴτ' αὐτοὶ συμφρονήσαντες τοῖς γόνασι ^[p. 151] τοῦ θεοῦ προσπίπτουσιν ὡς δι' ἐκείνου σωθησόμενοι. ^[2] κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἀποσπᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον, εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο ἀπολογήσασθαι, μικρὸν ἐπισχεῖν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ὁ Καλλατῖνος εἰπὼν, ἔως τῷ συνάρχοντι διαλεχθῇ, λαβὼν τὸν ἄνδρα καταμόνας πολλὰς ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεираκιῶν δεήσεις: τὰ μὲν ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ νεότητος ἄνοιαν καὶ πονηρὰς φίλων ὁμιλίας εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσόντων τὴν φρενοβλάβειαν, τὰ δὲ παρακαλῶν ἑαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν συγγενῶν ^[3] μίαν αἰτουμένῳ ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ περὶ οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἑτέρου ἐνοχλήσοντι, τὰ δὲ διδάσκων, ὅτι συνταραχθῆναι κίνδυνος ὄλην τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν ἅπαντας ἐπιχειρῶσι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν τοὺς δόξαντάς τι συμπράττειν τοῖς φυγάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς καθόδου: πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμεν οἰκίῳ ἐνίους. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, τελευτῶν ἡξίου μὴ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ μετρίαν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρίσαι κόλασιν, ἄτοπον εἶναι λέγων τοὺς μὲν τυράννους φυγαῖς ἐζημιῶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων φίλους θανάτῳ. ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τῆς κολάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐδ' εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι χρόνους τὰς κρίσεις τῶν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις βουλομένου: τελευταία γὰρ αὕτη τοῦ συνάρχοντος δέησις ἦν: ἀλλ' αὐθιμερὸν ἀποκτενεῖν ἅπαντας ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ διομνυμένου, ἀδημονῶν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ὦν ἡξίου τυγχάνειν, Τοιγαροῦν, ἔφησεν, ἐπεὶ σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ πικρὸς ἐγὼ τὰ μεираκία ἀφαιροῦμαι τῆς ^[p. 152] αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας ἧς σὺ κύριος ὢν. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκπικρανθεὶς, οὐκ ἐμοῦ γ', ἔφη, ζῶντος, ὦ Κολλατῖνε, τοὺς προδότας τῆς πατρίδος ἰσχύσεις ἐξελέσθαι: ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ δώσεις δίκας ἅς προσῆκεν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῖς μεираκίοις ἐπιστήσας ἐκάλει τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. πληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄχλου: περιβόητον γὰρ ἀνὰ τὴν

πόλιν ὅλην τὸ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πάθος ἐγεγόνει: προσελθὼν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ^[2] 5 παραστησάμενος ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἄν, ὥ ἄνδρες πολῖται, Κολλατῖνον τουτονὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα περὶ πάντων μοι ταῦτὰ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μισεῖν τοὺς τυράννους καὶ πολεμεῖν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τάναντία φρονῶν γέγονέ μοι καταφανῆς καὶ ἔστιν οὐ μόνον τῇ φύσει Ταρκυνίων συγγενῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει, διαλλαγὰς τε πράττων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκοπῶν λυσιτελές, αὐτὸς τε κωλύειν αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασμαι πράττειν ἃ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχει πονηρὰ ὄντα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρεκάλεσα: φράσω δ' ὑμῖν πρῶτον μὲν, ἐν οἷς ἐγένετο κινδύνοις τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, ἔπειτα πῶς αὐτοῖς ἑκάτερος ἡμῶν κέχρηται. ^[3] τῶν πολιτῶν τινες συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀκυλλίων οἰκίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Κολλατίνου γεγονότων ἀδελφῆς, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ τ' ἐμοὶ παῖδες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ οἱ τῆς γυναικὸς ^[p. 153] ἀδελφοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἅμα τούτοις οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, συνθήκας ἐποίησαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ συνώμοσαν ἀποκτείναντες ἐμὲ καταγαγεῖν Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐπιστολάς τε περὶ τούτων γράψαντες αὐτογράφους καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν σφραγῖσι κατασημηνάμενοι πέμπειν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ἔμελλον. ^[4] ταῦθ' ἡμῖν θεῶν τινος εὐνοία καταφανῆ γέγονεν ὑπὸ τοῦδε μηνυθέντα τοῦ ἀνδρός: ἔστι δ' Ἀκυλλίων δοῦλος, παρ' οἷς καταγόμενοι τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἔγραψαν: καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων γεγόναμεν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατεῖς. Τίτον μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ Τιβέριον τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τεπιμώρημαι: καὶ οὐδὲν καταλέλυται διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπεικειαν οὔτε νόμος οὐθ' ὄρκος: Ἀκυλλίους δὲ Κολλατῖνος ἀφαιρεῖταιί μου καὶ φησιν οὐκ ἔασειν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐμοῖς παισὶ βουλευσάντας τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκείνοις τυχεῖν. ^[5] εἰ δ' οὗτοι μηδεμίαν ὑφέξουσιν δίκην, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους προδότας τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέσται μοι κολάσαι. τί γὰρ δὴ δίκαιον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξω λέγειν, ἂν τούτους ἀφῶ; τίνος οὖν ταῦτα μηνύματα τίθεσθε; πότερα τῆς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίας ἢ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους διαλλαγῶν, καὶ πότερα τῆς ἐμπεδώσεως τῶν ὄρκων, οὕς ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀρξάμενοι πάντες ὠμόσατε, ἢ τῆς συγχύσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιπορκίας; ^[6] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔλαθεν ἡμᾶς, ταῖς ἀραῖς ἔνοχος ἦν ἂν καὶ θεοῖς ὑπέσχεεν, οὕς ἐπιώρκει, δίκας: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφανῆς γέγονεν, ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτὸν προσήκει κολασθῆναι, ^[p. 154] ὅς γ' ὀλίγαις μὲν ἡμέραις πρότερον τὰ χρήματα τοῖς τυράννοις ὑμᾶς ἔπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἔχη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οἱ ἐχθροί: νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῶν τυράννων συνομοσαμένους ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας οἶεται δεῖν, ἐκείνοις αὐτοὺς δηλονότι χαριζόμενος, ἵν', ἔὰν ἄρα κατέλθωσιν εἴτ' ἐκ προδοσίας εἴτε πολέμῳ, ταύτας προφερόμενος τὰς χάριτας ἀπάντων ὡς φίλος ὅσων ἂν αἰρήται παρ' αὐτῶν τυγχάνῃ. ^[7] 6 ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐμῶν οὐ φεισάμενος τέκνων σοῦ φείσομαι, Κολλατῖνε, ὅς τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχεις, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προδότας τῆς πατρίδος σώξεις, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀποκτενεῖς; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ: ἀλλ' ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐξεργάσῃ, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιροῦμαι σε καὶ πόλιν ἐτέραν κελεύω

μεταλαβείν: ὅμιν δ', ὧ πολῖται, ψῆφον ἀναδῶσω καλέσας αὐτίκα μάλα τοὺς λόχους, ἵνα διαγνῶσιν, εἰ χρή ταῦτ' εἶναι κύρια: εὖ δ' ἴστε ὅτι дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ Κολλατῖνον ἔξοντες ὕπατον ἢ Βροῦτον.

τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ βοῶν καὶ δεινοπαθῶν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπιβουλὸν τε καὶ προδότην τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρ' ἕκαστα ἀποκαλῶν καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διαβολῶν ἀπολογούμενος, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν δεόμενος ψῆφόν τε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ [p. 155] τοῖς πολίταις οὐκ ἔων ἀναδοῦναι χαλεπώτερον ἐποiei τὸν δῆμον καὶ δεινοὺς ἡγειρεν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λεγομένοις θορύβους. [2] ἡγριωμένων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὗτ' ἀπολογίαν ὑπομενόντων οὕτε δέησιν προσιεμένων, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδοθῆναι σφίσι κελευσάντων, δι' εὐλαβείας τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁ κηδεστής αὐτοῦ λαβὼν Σπόριος Λουκρήτιος, ἀνὴρ τῷ δήμῳ τίμιος, μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπέσει, λόγον αἰτησάμενος παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τυχὼν τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης πρῶτος, ὥς φασιν οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς, οὕτω τότε Ῥωμαῖοις ὄντος ἐν ἔθει δημηγορεῖν ἰδιώτην ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, κοινὴν ἐποίησαντο δέησιν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων, Κολλατῖνῳ μὲν παραινῶν μὴ θυμομαχεῖν μηδ' ἀκόντων κατέχειν τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἣν παρ' ἐκόντων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ τοῖς δοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκόντα καταθέσθαι καὶ μὴ τοῖς λόγοις ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διαβολάς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασι, μεταθέσθαι τε τὴν οἴκησιν ἐτέρωσέ ποί ποτε πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λαβόντα, ἕως ἂν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γένηται τὰ κοινά, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρειν, ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι γενομένοις ὀργίζεσθαι πεφύκασιν ἅπαντες, προδοσίᾳ δὲ καὶ ὑποπτειομένῃ, σωφρονέστερον ἡγούμενοι καὶ διὰ κενῆς φοβηθέντες αὐτὴν φυλάξασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ [p. 156] [3] καταφρονήσει ἐπιτρέψαντες ἀνατραπήναι: Βροῦτον δὲ πειθὼν μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνης καὶ προπηλακισμοῦ τὸν συνάρχοντα τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβαλεῖν, μεθ' οὗ τὰ κράτιστα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλευσεν: ἀλλ' ἐὰν αὐτὸς ὑπομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παραχωρῇ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκὼν, τὴν τ' οὐσίαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἀνασκευάσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προσθεῖναι τινα δωρεάν, ἵνα παραμύθιον ἔχη τῆς συμφορᾶς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριν.

ταῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀμφοτέροις παραινοῦντος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπαινεσάντων τὸν λόγον, ὁ μὲν Κολλατῖνος πολλὰ κατολοφυρόμενος ἑαυτὸν, εἰ διὰ συγγενῶν ἔλεον ἐκλιπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσεται τὴν πατρίδα μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ἀποτίθεται τὴν ἀρχήν. [2] ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν ὥς τὰ κράτιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πόλει βεβουλευμένον παρεκάλει μὴτ' αὐτῷ μῆτε τῇ πατρίδι μνησικακεῖν: ἐτέραν δὲ μεταλαβόντα οἴκησιν τὴν καταλειπομένην πατρίδα ἡγεῖσθαι, μηδενοῦς μὴτ' ἔργου μῆτε λόγου κοινωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατ' αὐτῆς: τὸ δ' ὅλον ἀποδημίαν ὑπολαβόντα τὴν μετανάστασιν, οὐκ ἐξορισμὸν οὐδὲ φυγὴν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παρὰ τοῖς προπέμπουσι. ταῦτα δ' ὑποθέμενος τῷ ἀνδρὶ πείθει τὸν δῆμον εἴκοσι τάλαντων δοῦναι αὐτῷ δωρεάν [p. 157] καὶ αὐτὸς πέντε τάλαντα προστίθῃσιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. [3] Ταρκύνιος μὲν δὴ Κολλατῖνος τοιαύτη τύχη περιπεσὼν εἰς Λαουίνιον ὤχετο

τὴν μητρόπολιν τοῦ Λατίνων γένους, ἐν ἣ γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτα: ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος οὐκ ἄξιὼν μόνος ἄρχειν οὐδ' εἰς ὑπόνοιαν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολίταις, ὅτι μοναρχίας ὑπαχθεὶς πόθῳ τὸν συνύπατον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, καλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, ἔνθα σὺνηθες αὐτοῖς ἦν τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καθιστάναι, συνάρχοντα αἰρεῖται Πόπλιον Οὐαλέριον, ἀπόγονον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, τοῦ Σαβίνου Οὐαλερίου, ἄνδρα πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων χάριν ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιον, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς αὐταρκειας τοῦ βίου. φιλοσοφία γάρ τις αὐτοδίδακτος ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτόν, ἣν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπεδείξατο πράγμασιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐρῶ.

μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη μιᾷ γνώμῃ περὶ πάντων χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ τῶν φυγάδων συνομοσαμένους ἅπαντας ἀπέκτειναν παραχρῆμα, καὶ τὸν μηνύσαντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν δοῦλον ἐλευθερίᾳ τε καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐτίμησαν. ἔπειτα τρία πολιτεύματα κάλλιστα καὶ συμφωρότατα τῷ κοινῷ καταστησάμενοι τοὺς τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντας ὁμονοεῖν παρεσκεύασαν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐταιρίας ἐμείωσαν. [2] ἦν δὲ τὰ πολιτεύματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαῦδε: πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλέξαντες [p. 158] πατρικίους ἐποίησαν καὶ συνεπλήρωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τριακοσίους: ἔπειτα τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τυράννων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις φέροντες ἔθεσαν, συγχωρήσαντες ὅσον λάβοι τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχειν: καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ὅσῃν ἐκέκτηντο τοῖς μηδὲνα κλῆρον ἔχουσι διένειμαν, ἐν μόνον ἐξελόμενοι πεδῖον, ὃ κεῖται μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τοῦτο δ' Ἄρεος ὑπάρχειν ἱερὸν οἱ πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο ἵπποις τε λειμῶνα καὶ νέοις ἄσκοῦσι τὰς ἐνοπλίου μελέτας γυμνάσιον ἐπιτηδειότατον: ὅτι δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἱερὸν ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, Ταρκύνιος δὲ σφετερισάμενος ἔσπειρεν αὐτὸ μέγιστον ἠγοῦμαι τεκμήριον εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τότε περὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καρπούς. [3] ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐπιτρέψαντες τῷ δήμῳ τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν, τὸν ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενον τῷ πεδίῳ σῆτον τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς καλάμαις, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἔτι ἄλωσιν κείμενον καὶ τὸν ἤδη κατειργασμένον οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν οὐδενὶ φέρειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξάγιστόν τε καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιτήδειον εἰς οἰκίας εἰσενεχθῆναι, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καταβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. [4] καὶ ἔστι νῦν μνημεῖον ἐμφανὲς τοῦ ποτε ἔργου νῆσος εὐμεγέθης Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερά, περίκλυστος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, [p. 159] ἣν φασιν ἐκ τοῦ σωροῦ τῆς καλάμης σαπείσης καὶ ἔτι καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσλιπαίνοντος αὐτῇ ἰλὺν γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου πεφευγόσι Ῥωμαίων κάθοδον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ τε καὶ ἀμνηστίᾳ παντὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἔδωκαν χρόνον ὀρίσαντες ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν: εἰ δὲ μὴ κατέλθοιεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τιμωρίας αὐτοῖς ὥρισαν ἀδίους φυγὰς καὶ [5] κτημάτων ὧν ἐκέκτηντο δημεύσεις. ταῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ πολιτεύματα τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαύσαντας ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν τυράννων ὅτου δὴ πινος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι πάλιν ἅς ἔσχον ὠφελείας ἅπαντα κίνδυνον ἐποίησεν ὑπομένειν: τοὺς δὲ κατὰ δέος ὧν παρηνόμησαν ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος μὴ δίκην ἀναγκασθεῖεν ὑπέχειν φυγῆς ἑαυτοῖς τιμησαμένους, ἀπαλλαγέντας τοῦ φόβου μηκέτι τὰ τῶν τυράννων,

ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως φρονεῖν.

διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπισάμενοι τέως μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει τὰς δυνάμεις συνείχον ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ὑπὸ σημείοις τε καὶ ἡγεμόσι τεταγμένας καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκούσας πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἀγείρειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς στρατὸν, καὶ δύο μὲν πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συλλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς τῆς καθόδου, Ταρκυνιήτας τε καὶ Οὐιεντανούς, ἀξιοχρεοῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀμφοτέρας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθελοντάς τινας, οὓς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων παρασκευασθέντας, οὓς δὲ μισθοφόρους: [p. 160] ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον ἐξεληλυθότας ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς ἔγνωσαν, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις διαβιβάσαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν πλησίον Τυρρηνῶν ἐν λειμῶνι καλουμένῳ Ναιβίῳ παρὰ δρυμὸν ^[2] ἱερὸν ἥρωος Ὀρατίου. ἐτύγγανον δὲ πλήθει τε ἀγχώμαλοι μάλισθ' αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν οὔσαι καὶ προθυμία ὁμοία χωροῦσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀμφοτέρα. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῶν ἱππέων μάχη βραχεῖα τις εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ συνιδεῖν ἀλλήλους πρὶν ἢ τοὺς πεζοὺς καταστρατοπεδεῦεσθαι, ἐν ᾗ διάπειραν ἀλλήλων λαβόντες καὶ οὔτε νικήσαντες οὔτε λειφθέντες πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάτεροι χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν: ἔπειτα οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρων συνήεσαν ταξάμενοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις τρόπον, μέσην μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν ποιήσαντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἵππον στήσαντες. ^[3] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Ῥωμαίων κέρατος Οὐαλέριος ὁ προσαιρεθεὶς Ὑπατος ἐναντίαν στάσιν ἔχων Οὐιεντανοῖς, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου Βροῦτος, καθ' ὃ μέρος ἡ Ταρκυνιητῶν δύναμις ἦν: ἡγεμόνες δ' αὐτὴν ἐκόσμουσαν οἱ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες.

μελλόντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν Τυρρηνῶν εἰς τῶν Ταρκυνίου παίδων, Ἄρρους ὄνομα, ῥωμὴν τε κράτιστος καὶ [p. 161] ψυχὴν λαμπρότατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐγγὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλάσας τὸν ἵππον, ὅθεν μορφήν τε καὶ φωνὴν ἅπαντες ἔμελλον αὐτοῦ συνήσειν, λόγους ὕβριστάς εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων Βροῦτον ἀπερρίπτει, θηρίον ἄγριον ἀποκαλῶν καὶ τέκνων αἵματι μιαρὸν, ἀνανδριαν τ' ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ δειλίαν ὀνειδίζων, καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀγῶνα προὔκαλεῖτο μόνον αὐτῷ ^[2] συνοισόμενον. ἀκακέινος οὐκ ἀξίῳ τοὺς ὀνειδισμοὺς ὑπομένειν ἤλαυνε τὸν ἵππον ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τῶν ἀποτρεπόντων φίλων ἐπὶ τὸν κατεψηφισμένον ὑπὸ τῆς μοίρας θάνατον ἐπειγόμενος. ὁμοίῳ δ' ἀμφοτέροι θυμῷ φερόμενοι καὶ λογισμὸν οὐχ ὧν πείσονται λαβόντες, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐβούλοντο δρᾶσαι, συρράπτουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ φέρουσι ταῖς σαρίσαις ἀφύκτους κατ' ἀλλήλων πληγὰς ἀμφοτέροι δι' ἀσπίδων τε καὶ θωράκων, ὃ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλευρὰ βάψας τὴν αἰχμήν, ὃ δ' εἰς τὰς λαγόνας: καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν ἐμπλέξαντες τὰ στήθη τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπισθίοις ἀνίστανται ποσὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀναχαιτίσαντες ἀποσειοῦνται. ^[3] οὕτω μὲν δὴ πεσόντες ἔκειντο πολὺ διὰ τῶν τραυμάτων ἐκβάλλοντες αἶμα καὶ ψυχορραγοῦντες, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἶδον συμπεσόντας, ὥθοῦνται σὺν ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ πατάγῳ, καὶ γίνεται μέγιστος ἀπάντων ἀγὼν πεζῶν τε [p. 162] ^[4] καὶ ἱππέων καὶ τύχη

περὶ ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοία. Ῥωμαίων τε γὰρ οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες, ἐφ' οὗ τεταγμένος ἦν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλέριος, ἐνίκων τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου διώξαντες ἐπλήρωσαν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδῖον, Τυρρηνῶν τε οἱ τὴν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες στάσιν, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Τίτος καὶ Σέξτος οἱ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες, ἐτρέφαντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ ὄντας Ῥωμαίων κέρατος, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν γενόμενοι πείρας μὲν οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, εἰ δύναιτο ἐλεῖν τὸ ἔρυμα ἐξ ἐφόδου, πολλὰς δὲ πληγὰς λαβόντες ὑποστάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔνδον ἀπετράποντο. ἦσαν δ' αὐτοῦ φύλακες οἱ τριάριοι λεγόμενοι, παλαιοὶ τε καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειροι πολέμων, οἷς ἐσχάτοις, ὅταν ἀπογνωσθῇ πᾶσα ἐλπίς, εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνας καταχρῶνται.

ἤδη δὲ περὶ καταφορὰν ὄντος ἡλίου πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀνέστρεψαν ἑκάτεροι χάρακας, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαίροντες, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀχθόμενοι καί, εἰ δεήσειεν αὐτοῖς ἑτέρας μάχης, οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι τοὺς περιλειπομένους σφῶν τραυματίας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄντας. [2] πλείων δ' ἦν περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀθυμία καὶ ἀπόγνωσις τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος θάνατον· καὶ λογισμὸς εἰσῆι πολλοῖς, ὥς ἄμεινον εἴη σφίσιν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι. τοιαῦτα δ' αὐτῶν διανοουμένων καὶ διαλεγομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τὴν πρώτην που μάλιστα φυλακὴν [p. 163] ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, παρ' ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, φωνή τις ἠκούσθη ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀμφοτέραις γεγυνῖα, ὥσθ' ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἀκούειν εἴτε τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸ τέμενος ἥρωος εἴτε τοῦ καλουμένου Φαύνου. [3] τούτῳ γὰρ ἀνατιθέασι τῷ δαίμονι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πανικὰ καὶ ὅσα φάσματα μορφὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλοιᾶς ἴσχοντα εἰς ὅψιν ἀνθρώπων ἔρχεται δείματα φέροντα, ἢ φωναὶ δαιμόνιοι ταράττουσι τὰς ἀκοὰς τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἔργον. ἡ δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου φωνὴ θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὡς νενικηκόσιν, ἐνὶ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀποφαίνουσα νεκροῦς. ταύτῃ λέγουσι τῇ φωνῇ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἐπαρθέντα νυκτὸς ἔτι πολλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ὤσασθαι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντα ἐξ αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκβαλόντα κρατῆσαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου.

τοιοῦτο μὲν ἡ μάχη τέλος ἔλαβεν· τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ σκυλευσάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν θάψαντες ἀπῆσαν. τὸ δὲ Βρούτου σῶμα ἀράμενοι μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων τε καὶ δακρῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπεκόμιζον οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἱππέων στεφάνοις κεκοσμημένον ἀριστείοις. [2] ὑπήντα δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ τε βουλὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῇ ψηφισαμένη κοσμηῆσαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας κρατῆρσι καὶ τραπέζαις ὑποδεχόμενος τὴν στρατιάν. ὥς δ' εἰς [p. 164] τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, πομπεύσας ὁ ὕπατος, ὥς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔθος ἦν, ὅτε τὰς τροπαιφόρους πομπὰς τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελοῖεν, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀναθείς, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερὰν ἀνῆκε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστιάσει προθεὶς ὑπεδέχετο· τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ φαιᾶν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν καὶ τὸ Βρούτου σῶμα προθεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ κεκοσμημένον ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἐκπρεποῦς συνεκάλει τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸν

ἐπιτάφιον ἔλεξεν ἐπ' ^[3] 7 αὐτῷ λόγον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Οὐαλέριος πρῶτος κατεστήσατο τὸν νόμον τόνδε Ῥωμαίοις ἢ κείμενον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων παρέλαβεν, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν: ὅτι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον εὕρεμα τὸ παρὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπαίνους τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι καὶ οὐχ Ἑλλήνες αὐτὸ κατεστήσαντο πρῶτοι, παρὰ τῆς κοινῆς ἱστορίας οἶδα μαθῶν, ἣν ποιητῶν τε οἱ παλαιότατοι καὶ συγγραφέων οἱ λογιώτατοι παραδεδώκασιν. ^[4] ἀγῶνας μὲν γὰρ ἐπιταφίους τιθεμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις ἀνδράσι γυμνικούς τε καὶ ἵππικούς ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἱστορήκασιν, ὡς ὑπὸ τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ὕφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Πέλοπι: ἐπαίνους δὲ λεγομένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐ γράφουσιν ἔξω τῶν Ἀθήνησι τραγωδοποιῶν, οἱ κολακεύοντες τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θησέως θάπτομένοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμύθευσαν. ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι προσέθεσαν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον τῷ νόμῳ, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ^[p. 165] ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανόντων ἀρξάμενοι, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Μαραθῶνα ἔργων. ὕστερεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ Μαραθῶνια τῆς Βρούτου ταφῆς, εἰ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτων πρώτων ἤρξαντο οἱ ἔπαινοι λέγεσθαι τοῖς ἀπογενομένοις, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν. ^[5] εἰ δέ τις ἐάσας σκοπεῖν, οἳ τινες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἐπαίνους καταστησάμενοι, τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ βουλευθεῖη καταμαθεῖν, παρ' ὁποτέροις ἄμεινον ἔχει, τοσοῦτῳ φρονιμώτερον εὐρήσει παρὰ τοῖσδε κείμενον αὐτὸν ἢ παρ' ἐκείνοις, ὅσῳ γ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θάπτομένοις καταστήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἀγορεύεσθαι λόγους δοκοῦσιν ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀρετῆς, κἄν τᾶλλα φαῦλος γένηται τις, ἐξετάξιν οἰόμενοι δεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς: ^[6] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνδόξοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐάν τε πολέμων ἡγεμονίας λαβόντες ἐάν τε πολιτικῶν ἔργων προστασίας συνετὰ βουλευμάτων καὶ πράξεις ἀποδειξύνται καλὰς, ταύτην ἔταξαν εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀποθανοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁποιαδήποτε χρησαμένοις τοῦ βίου τελευτῇ, ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀρετῆς οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἐπαινεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον εὐκλείας.

Ἰούνιος μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκβαλὼν καὶ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος, ὁψὲ μὲν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν προσελθὼν, ἀκαρῇ δὲ χρόνον ἀνθήσας ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων κράτιστος φανεὶς τοιαύτης ^[p. 166] τελευτῆς ἔτυχε, γενεὰν οὔτε ἄρρενα καταλιπὼν οὔτε θήλειαν, ὡς οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σαφέστατα ἐξητακότες γράφουσι, τεκμήρια πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τούτου φέροντες, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ὃ δυσαντίλεκτόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοῦ πατρικίων γένους ἐκείνος ἦν, οἱ δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης αὐτοὺς λέγοντες εἶναι τῆς οἰκίας Ἰούνιοι τε καὶ Βροῦτοι πάντες ἦσαν πλήβειοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς μετήεσαν, ἃς τοῖς δημοτικοῖς μετιέναι νόμος, ἀγορανομίας τε καὶ δημαρχίας, ὕπατειαν δ' οὐδεὶς, ἥς τοῖς πατρικίοις 8 μετῆν. ^[2] ὁψὲ δὲ ποτε καὶ ταύτης ἔτυχον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτε συνεχωρήθη καὶ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς αὐτὴν λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οἷς μέλει τε καὶ διαφέρει τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι παρήμι σκοπεῖν.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βρούτου τελευτὴν ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Οὐαλέριος Ὑποππος γίνεται τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ὡς βασιλείαν κατασκευαζόμενος: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι μόνος κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν δέον εὐθύς ἐλέσθαι τὸν συνύπατον, ὥσπερ ὁ

Βροῦτος ἐποίησε Κολλατῖνον ἐκβαλὼν: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἐπιφθόνῳ τόπῳ κατεσκευάσατο λόφον ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑψηλὸν ἐπικεικῶς καὶ περίτομον, ὃν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐελίαν, ^[2] ἐκλεξάμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὅτι ταῦτα λυπεῖ τὸν δῆμον, ἀρχαιρεσιῶν προθεῖς ἡμέραν [p. 167] ὕπατον αἰρεῖται Σπόριον Λουκρήτιον, ὃς οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν ἀποθνήσκει. εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον καθίστησι Μάρκον Ὀράτιον, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου μετατίθεται κάτω, ἵν' ἐξεῖη Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησιάζων ἔφη, βάλλειν αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου τοῖς λίθοις, ἐὰν τι λάβωσιν ἀδικοῦντα. ^[3] βεβαίαν τε πίστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοὺς δημοτικοὺς λαβεῖν βουλόμενος ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων τοὺς πελέκεις, καὶ κατεστήσατο τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτὸν ὑπάτοις ἔθος, ὃ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς διέμεινεν ἡλικίας, ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως γένωνται χρῆσθαι τοῖς πελέκεσιν, ἔνδον δὲ ταῖς ῥάβδοις κοσμεῖσθαι μόναις: ^[4] νόμους τε φιλανθρωποτάτους ἔθετο βοηθείας ἔχοντας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς: ἓνα μὲν, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην ἀπέλπεν ἄρχοντα μηδένα εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λάβῃ τὴν ἀρχήν, θάνατον ἐπιθεῖς ζημίαν, ἐὰν τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῇ, καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τούτων τινὰ ποιῶν ἀθῶν: ἕτερον δ', ἐν ᾧ γεγραπται, Ἐὰν τις ἄρχων Ῥωμαίων τινὰ ἀποκτείνειν ἢ μαστιγοῦν ἢ ζημιοῦν εἰς χρήματα θέλῃ, ἐξεῖναι τῷ ιδιώτῃ προκαλεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν, πάσχειν δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσῃται. ^[5] ἐκ τούτων γίνεται τῶν πολιτευμάτων τιμιος τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ τίθενται αὐτῷ ἐπωνύμιον Ποπλικόλαν: τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον βούλεται δηλοῦν δημοκρδη. καὶ τὰ μὲν [p. 168] ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ συντελεσθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπᾶτων τοιαυδε ἦν:

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς αὐτὸς τε πάλιν ἀποδείκνυται Οὐαλέριος τὸ δεῦτερον ὕπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λουκρήτιος, ἐφ' ὧν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου ἐπράχθη, τιμήσεις δ' ἐγένοντο τῶν βίων καὶ τάξεις τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εἰσφορῶν, ὡς Τύλλιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνομοθέτησε, πάντα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας χρόνον ἀφειμέναι, τότε δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνανεωθεῖσαι: ἐξ ὧν εὐρέθη τῶν ἐν ἡβῇ Ῥωμαίων περὶ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας. καὶ εἰς χωρίον τι Σιγνούριον καλούμενον Ῥωμαίων ἀπεστάλῃ στρατιά, διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξουσα τὸ φρούριον ἐπὶ ταῖς Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων πόλεσι κείμενον, ὅθεν τὸν πόλεμον προσεδέχοντο.

Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Ποπλικόλα τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδειχθέντος ἀρχὴν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάρκου Ὀρατίου Πολβίλλου τὸ δεῦτερον βασιλεὺς Κλουσινῶν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ Λάρος ὄνομα, Πορσίνας ἐπὶ κλησιν, καταφυγόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ταρκυνίων, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ διαλλάξειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ καθόδῳ καὶ ἀναλήψει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ τὰς οὐσίας ἀνακομισάμενος, ἃς ἀφηρέθησαν, ἀποδώσειν, ἐπειδὴ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ μεμιγμένας ἀπειλαῖς ἐπικλήσεις κομίζοντας οὔτε διαλλαγὰς εὔρετο [p. 169] τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ καθοδὸν, αἰτιωμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἀράς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς γενομένους κατ' αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰς οὐσίας ἀνεπράξατο αὐτοῖς, τῶν διανειμαμένων καὶ κατακληρουχησάντων αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντων ἀποδιδόναι:

[2] ὑβρίζεσθαι φήσας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ὅτι τῶν ἀξιουμένων οὐδετέρου παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχεν, ἀνὴρ αὐθάδης καὶ διεφθαρμένος τὴν γνώμην ὑπὸ τε πλοῦτου καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀρχῆς μεγέθους, ἀφορμὰς ὑπέλαβεν ἔχειν καλὰς καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παλαιότερον ἔτι τοῦτο βουλόμενος καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. [3] συνήρετο δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν προθυμίαν ἀποδείξαι βουλόμενος ὁ Ταρκυνίου γαμβρὸς Ὁκταοῦιος Μامίλιος, ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενος Τύσκλου, Καμερίνους μὲν καὶ Ἀντεμνάτας, οἱ τοῦ Λατίνων μετεῖχον γένους, ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος ἀφεστηκότας ἤδη Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ: παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοεθνῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις πολεμεῖν ἀναφανδὸν ἐνσπόνδω τε καὶ μεγάλῃ ἰσχύϊ ἐχούσῃ πόλει διὰ προφάσεις οὐκ ἀναγκαίας, ἐθέλοντάς συχνοὺς ἰδίᾳ πεπεικῶς χάριτι.

ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπατοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν χρήματά τε καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα μετὰγειν τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκέλευσαν εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη φρούρια κατασκευάσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἱκανὰ σώζειν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καταφυγόντας: ἔπειτα τὸν καλούμενον Ἰανίκολον ὄχθον: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτ' [p. 170] ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριους ποταμοῦ κείμενον: ὄχυρωτέραις ἐκρατύναντο κατασκευαῖς τε καὶ φυλακαῖς, περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι μὴ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ἐπικαίρον χωρίον ἐπιτείχισμα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὰς ἐνταῦθ' ἀπέθεντο: τὰ τ' ἐντὸς τείχους ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον καθίσταντο πολλὰ πολιτεύμενοι φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τοὺς πένητας, ἵνα μὴ μεταβάλλοιντο πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις κέρδεσι πεισθέντες 9 προδοῦναι τὸ κοινόν: [2] καὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν τελῶν, ὅσα βασιλευομένης τῆς πόλεως ἐτέλουν, καὶ ἀνεισφόρους τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀναλίσκομένων ἐποίησαν, μέγα κέρδος ἡγούμενοι τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ τὰ σώματα μόνον αὐτῶν ἔξουσι προκινδυνεύοντα τῆς πατρίδος: τὴν τε δύναμιν ἡσκημένην ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ παρεσκευασμένην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πεδίῳ. [3] βασιλεὺς δὲ Πορσίνας ἄγων τὴν στρατιάν τὸ μὲν Ἰανίκολον ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνεται καταπληξάμενος τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὸ καὶ φρουρὰν Τυρρηνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καθίστησιν: ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνων ὥς καὶ ταύτην δίχα πόνου παραστησόμενος, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον τῆς γεφύρας ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐθεάσατο προκαθημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, παρεσκευάζετο [p. 171] τε πρὸς μάχην ὥς ἀναρπασόμενος αὐτοὺς πλήθει καὶ ἐπῆγε σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει τὴν δύναμιν. [4] εἶχον δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ μὲν ἀριστεροῦ κέρως οἱ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες, Σέξτος καὶ Τίτος, Ῥωμαίων τ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φυγάδας ἄγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαβίων πόλεως τὸ ἀκμαϊότατον ξένων τε καὶ μισθοφόρων χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην: τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ Μامίλιος ὁ Ταρκυνίου κηδεστής, ἐφ' οὗ Λατίνων οἱ ἀποστάντες Ῥωμαίων ἐτάξαντο: βασιλεὺς δὲ Πορσίνας κατὰ μέσσην τὴν φάλαγγα ἐτέτακτο. [5] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος κατεῖχον ἐναντίοι Ταρκυνίοις: τὸ δ' ἀριστερόν Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ἀδελφὸς θατέρου τῶν ὑπᾶτων Ποπλικόλα καὶ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν

ὑπατεύσας ἔτει Μαμιλίῳ καὶ Λατίνοις συνοισόμενοι: τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν κεράτων οἱ ὕπατοι κατεῖχον ἀμφοτέροι.

ὥς δὲ συνῆλθον εἰς χεῖρας, ἐμάχοντο γενναίως καὶ πολὺν ἀντεῖχον ἀμφοτέροι χρόνον: ἐμπειρία μὲν καὶ καρτερία κρείττους ὄντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ἐναντίων, πλήθει δὲ κρατοῦντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τε καὶ Λατῖνοι μακρῶ. πολλῶν δὲ πεσόντων ἀφ' ἑκατέρων δέος εἰσέρχεται Ῥωμαίους, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐθεάσαντο Οὐαλερίον τε καὶ Λουκρήτιον τραυματίας ἀποκομισθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης: ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τεταγμένους νικῶντας ἤδη τὴν σὺν Ταρκυνίοις δύναμιν τὸ αὐτὸ καταλαμβάνει πάθος, [2] ὀρῶντας τὴν τροπὴν τῶν ἐτέρων. φευγόντων δ' εἰς [p. 172] τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων καὶ διὰ μιᾶς γεφύρας βιαζομένων ἀνθρώπων ὁρμὴ γίνεται τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλη: ὀλίγου τε πάνυ ἡ πόλις ἐδέησεν ἁλῶναι κατὰ κράτος ἀτειχιστος οὖσα ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν μερῶν, εἰ συνεισέπεσον εἰς αὐτὴν ἅμα τοῖς φεύγουσιν οἱ διώκοντες. οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπισχόντες καὶ διασώσαντες ὅλην τὴν στρατιὰν τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο, Σπόριος μὲν Λάρκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες κέρας ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Πόπλιος δ' Ὀράτιος ὁ καλούμενος Κόκλης ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐλαττώματος ἐκκοπεῖς ἐν μάχῃ τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων, μορφὴν τε κάλλιστος ἀνθρώπων καὶ [3] ψυχὴν ἄριστος. οὗτος ἀδελφιδοῦς μὲν ἦν Ὀρατίου Μάρκου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων, τὸ δὲ γένος κατῆγεν ἀφ' ἐνὸς τῶν τριδύμων Ὀρατίου Μάρκου τοῦ νικήσαντος τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς τριδύμους, ὅτε περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αἱ πόλεις εἰς πόλεμον καταστᾶσαι συνέβησαν μὴ πάσαις ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀλλὰ τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας, ὥς ἐν τοῖς προτέροις δεδήλωκα 10 λόγοις. [4] οὗτοι δὴ μόνοι κατὰ νότου λαβόντες τὴν γέφυραν εἴργον τῆς διαβάσεως τοὺς πολεμίους μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ διέμενον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς στάσεως βαλλόμενοι θ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν παντοδαποῖς βέλεσι καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς παιόμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἕως ἅπανα ἡ στρατιὰ διῆλθε τὸν ποταμόν.

ὥς δ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔδοξαν [p. 173] γεγονέναι, δύο μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἑρμινίος τε καὶ Λάρκιος διεφθαρμένων αὐτοῖς ἤδη τῶν σκεπαστηρίων διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πληγὰς ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. Ὀράτιος δὲ μόνος ἀνακαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν θ' ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένων σωθῆναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς γειναμένοις οὐκ ἐπέισθη, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἔστη, κελεύσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑρμίνιον λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους, ὥς αὐτοῦ φράσαντος, ἀποκόπτειν τὴν γέφυραν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τάχει: ἦν δὲ μία κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ξυλόφρακτος ἄνευ σιδήρου δεδεμένη ταῖς σανίσιν αὐταῖς, ἦν καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ τοιαύτην φυλάττουσι Ῥωμαῖοι: ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅταν τὰ πλείω τῆς γεφύρας λυθῇ καὶ βραχὺ τὸ λειπόμενον ἧ μέρος, φράσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν σημείοις τισὶν ἢ φωνῇ γεγωνοτέρᾳ: τὰ λοιπὰ λέγων ἑαυτῷ μελήσειν. [2] ταῦτ' ἐπικελευσάμενος τοῖς δυσὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἴσταται τῆς γεφύρας καὶ τῶν ὁμόσε χωρούντων οὓς μὲν τῷ ξίφει παίων, οὓς δὲ τῷ θυρεῶ περιτρέπων πάντας ἀνέστειλε τοὺς ὁρμήσαντας ἐπὶ

τὴν γέφυραν: οὐκέτι γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ χωρεῖν ἐτόλμων οἱ διώκοντες ὡς μεμνηότες καὶ θανατῶντι: καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥάδιον αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ὑπάρχον ἐξ εὐωνύμων μὲν καὶ δεξιῶν ἔχοντι πρόβλημα τὸν ποταμόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὄπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν σωρόν: ἀλλ' ἄπωθεν ἐστῶτες ἄθροοι λόγχαις τε καὶ σαυνίοις καὶ λίθοις χειροπληθέσιν [p. 174] ἔβαλλον, οἷς δὲ μὴ παρῆν ταῦτα τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ ^[3] ταῖς ἀσπίσι τῶν νεκρῶν. ὁ δ' ἡμύνετο τοῖς ἐκείνων χρώμενος ὅπλοις κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς εἰς ἀθρόους βάλλων αἰετίνος τευξέσθαι σκοποῦ. ἤδη δὲ καταβελῆς ὢν καὶ τραυμάτων πλήθος ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, μίαν δὲ πληγὴν λόγχης, ἣ διὰ θατέρου τῶν γλουτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ μηροῦ ἀντία ἐνεχθεῖσα ἐκάκωσεν αὐτὸν ὀδύναις καὶ τὴν βάσιν ἔβλαπτεν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατόπιν ἤκουσεν ἐμβοησάντων λελύσθαι τῆς γεφύρας τὸ πλέον μέρος, καθάλλεται σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὸν ποταμόν καὶ διανηξάμενος τὸ ῥεῦμα χαλεπῶς πάνυ: περὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑπηρείσμασι τῶν σανίδων σχιζόμενος ὁ ῥοῦς ὀξὺς ἦν καὶ δίνας ἐποiei μεγάλας: ἐξεκολύμβησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν τῶν ὄπλων ἐν τῷ νεῖν ἀποβαλὼν.

τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀθάνατον αὐτῷ δόξαν εἰργάσατο. παραχρῆμά τε γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στεφανώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπέφερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑμνοῦντες ὡς τῶν ἡρώων ἓνα, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατοικίδιος ὄχλος ἐξερχεῖτο ποθῶν αὐτόν, ἕως ἔτι περιῆν, θεάσασθαι τὴν τελευταίαν πρόσοψιν: ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν διαφθαρῆσεσθαι: ^[2] καὶ ἐπειδὴ διέφυγε τὸν θάνατον, εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἔνοπλον ὁ δῆμος ἔστησεν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ χώραν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας ἔδωκεν, ὅσῃν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ζεύγει βοῶν περιάρσσει: χωρὶς δὲ τῶν δημοσίᾳ δοθέντων κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἕκαστος [p. 175] ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅτε μάλιστα δεινὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιτηδείων ἅπαντας κατεῖχε, μιᾷς ἡμέρας τροφὴν ἐχαρίσαντο μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων αἱ ^[3] σύμπασαι πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα. Ὁράτιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτην ἀποδεδιξάμενος ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ζηλωτὸς μὲν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ἀχρηστος δ' εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν πῆρυσιν τῆς βάσεως: καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην οὕθ' ὑπατείας οὕτ' ἄλλης ἡγεμονίας στρατιωτικῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτυχεν. ^[4] οὕτως τε δὴ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον ἀποδεδιξάμενος ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι Ῥωμαίοις ἄξιος εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος τῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία διονομασθέντων ἐπαινέσθαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτω Γάιος Μούκιος, ὃς Κόρδος ἐπωνύμιον ἦν, ἀνὴρ ἐξ ἐπιφανῶν πατέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγχειρήματι ἐπιβαλόμενος μεγάλῳ, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρῶ διηγησάμενος πρῶτον, ἐν οἷσιν ἡ πόλις ἦν τότε συμφοραῖς.

μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ὁ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ πλησίον ὄρει καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ὅθεν τὴν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν ἐξεβάλε, τῆς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τεβέριους ποταμοῦ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐκράτει. οἱ δὲ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Μαιμίλιος σχεδίαίς τε καὶ σκάφαις διαβιβάσαντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην φέροντα ἐν ἐχυρῷ τίθενται χωρίῳ τὸν χάρακα: ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐδήρουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς κατέσκαπτον καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ νομᾶς [p. 176] ἐξιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων βοσκήμασιν ἐπετίθεντο. ^[2]

κρατουμένης δὲ τῆς ὑπαίθρου πάσης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ οὐτ' ἐκ γῆς εἰσκομιζομένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀγορῶν οὐτε μὴν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταγομένων ὅτι μὴ σπανίων, ταχέϊα τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις ἐγένετο μυριάσι πολλαῖς τὰ παρασκευασθέντα οὐ πολλὰ ὄντα δαπανώσας. [3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ θεράποντες πολλοὶ καταλιπόντες τοὺς δεσπότας ἡτομόλουν ὁσημέραι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους οἱ πονηρότατοι πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἀφίσταντο: ταῦθ' ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξε Λατίνων μὲν δεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπι αἰδουμένων τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ μένειν δοκούντων ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμαχίας σφίσι πέμψαι διὰ ταχέων, εἰς δὲ τὴν Καμπανίδα Κύμην καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Πωμεντίνῳ πεδίῳ πόλεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρέσβεις ἀξιώσοντας αὐτὰς σίτου σφίσιν ἐξαγωγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι. [4] Λατῖνοι μὲν οὖν διεκρούσαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον αὐτοῖς ὄν οὐτε Ταρκυνίοις πολεμεῖν οὐτε Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπεὶδὴ κοινῇ συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ὅρκια: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πωμεντίνου πεδίου Λάρκιος τε καὶ Ἑρμίνιος οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρακομιδὴν τοῦ σίτου πρέσβεις πολλὰς γεμίσαντες σκάφας παντοίας τροφῆς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν νυκτὶ ἀσελήνῳ λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους διεκόμισαν. [5] ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐξαναλωθείσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπορίας μαθὼν παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ὁ Τυρρηνός, ὅτι κάμνουσιν [p. 177] ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ οἱ ἔνδον, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτάττων δέχεσθαι Ταρκύνιον, εἰ βούλονται πολέμου τε καὶ λιμοῦ ἀπηλλάχθαι.

οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς ἐπιταγὰς, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομένειν βουλομένων, καταμαθὼν ὁ Μούκιος, ὅτι дуεῖν αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται θάτερον ἢ μὴ διαμεῖναι πολὺν ἐν τοῖς λελογισμένοις χρόνον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκβιασθεῖσιν, ἢ φυλάττουσι βεβαίας τὰς κρίσεις τὸν οἴκτιστον ἀπολέσθαι μόρον, δεηθεὶς τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν, ὡς μέγα τι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐξοίσων πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπεὶδὴ συνήχθη, λέγει τοιάδε: ἄνδρες πατέρες, ἐγχείρημα τολμᾷν διανοοῦμενος, ὑφ' οὗ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλαγῇσεται κακῶν ἢ πόλις, τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάνυ θαρρῶ καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃν οἶομαι: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, εἰ περιέσται μοι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον, οὐ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ χρή τάληθές λέγειν οὐδεμίαν. [2] εἰς τοσοῦτον δὴ κίνδυνον ἐμαυτὸν καθιέναι μέλλων οὐκ ἀξιώ λαθεῖν ἅπαντας αἰωρηθεὶς ὑπὲρ μεγάλων, ἐὰν ἄρα συμβῇ μοι διαμαρτεῖν τῆς πείρας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις μεγάλων ἐπαίνων τυγχάνειν, ἐξ ὧν ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον ὑπάρξει μοι κλέος. [3] δῆμῳ μὲν φράζειν ἃ διανοοῦμαι πράττειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, μὴ τις ἴδια κέρδη περιβαλλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὰ ἐξενέγκῃ, δέον αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ μυστηρίου ἀπορρήτου φυλακῆς: ὑμῖν δ' οὐς καθέξειν [p. 178] αὐτὰ πεπίστευκα ἐγκρατῶς πρώτοις τε καὶ μόνοις ἐκφέρω: παρ' ὑμῶν δ' οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ μαθήσονται. [4] τὸ δ' ἐγχείρημά μου τοιόνδε ἐστίν. αὐτομόλου σχῆμα μέλλω λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν πορεύεσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀπιστηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀποθάνω, ἐνὶ πολίτῃ μόνον ἐλάττους οἱ λοιποὶ γενήσεσθε: ἐὰν δὲ παρελθεῖν εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος ἐκγένηται μοι, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτενεῖν ὑμῖν ὑποδέχομαι: ἀποθανόντος δὲ Πορσίνου

καταλυθήσεται μὲν ὁ πόλεμος, ἐγὼ δ' εἰ ὅ τι ἂν τῷ δαιμονίῳ δόξῃ πείσομαι, τούτων συνίστορας ὑμᾶς ἔξων καὶ μάρτυρας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἄπειμι τὴν κρείττονα τύχην τῆς πατρίδος ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενος.

ἐπαινεθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ λαβῶν οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους τῆς πράξεως διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμὸν. καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν εἰσέρχεται, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὰς πύλας ὡς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν τις, ὅπλον τ' οὐθὲν φανερόν ἔχων καὶ γλώττῃ Τυρρηνικῇ διαλεγόμενος, ἦν ἐξέμαθεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὑπὸ τροφοῦ Τυρρηνίδος τὸ ^[2] γένος ἐκδιδασθεὶς. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀφίκετο, ἄνδρα ὀρᾷ μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος διαφέροντα, ἐσθῆτα πορφυρᾶν ἐνδεδυκότα, καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βήματος, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστῶτας ἐνόπλους συχνούς. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς δόξης, ^[p. 179] οἷα δὴ μηδέποτε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν θεασάμενος, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπέλαβε Πορσιναν εἶναι: ὁ δ' ἦν ἄρα γραμματεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκάθητο δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος διαριθμῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ διαγράφων αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὀψωνιασμούς. ^[3] ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν γραμματέα χωρήσας διὰ τοῦ περιεστηκότος ὄχλου καὶ ἀναβὰς ὡς ἄνοπλος ὑπ' οὐθενὸς κωλυόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, σπᾶται τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ τῆς περιβολῆς ἐντὸς ἔκρυπτε, καὶ παίει τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ γραμματέως πληγῇ μιᾷ, συλληφθεὶς εὐθύς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πεπυσμένον ἤδη τὴν τοῦ γραμματέως ἀναίρεσιν ἀπάγεται. ^[4] ὁ δ' ὡς εἶδεν αὐτόν, Ὡ μισῶντα πάντων, εἶπεν, ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δίκας ὑφ' ἑξῶν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὢν ἅγιος εἶ, λέγε, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν ἀφιγμένος καὶ τίνι βοηθείᾳ πεπορθῶς ἐπεχείρησας ἔργῳ τηλικῶδε: καὶ πότερον τὸν γραμματέα τὸν ἐμὸν ἀποκτείνει σοι προὔκειτο μόνον ἢ κάμει: καὶ τίνας ἔχεις κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ συνίστορας; ἀποκρύψῃ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἀληθῶν, ἵνα μὴ βασανιζόμενος ἀναγκασθῇς λέγειν.

καὶ ὁ Μούκιος οὔτε μεταβολῇ χρώματος οὔτε συννοίᾳ προσώπου τὸν ὀρρωδοῦντα διασημήνας οὔτ' ἄλλο παθὼν οὐδέν, ὢν φιλοῦσι πάσχειν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐγὼ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν εἰμι, καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἔνεκα γένους, ἐλευθερώσαι ^[p. 180] δὲ τὴν πατρίδα τοῦ πολέμου βουληθεὶς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑμῶν ὡς τῶν αὐτομόλων τις, ἀποκτείνει σε βουλόμενος: οὐκ ἄγνωῶν μὲν, ὅτι καὶ κατορθώσαντι καὶ διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχει μοι, χαρίσασθαι δὲ τῇ γειναμένῃ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχὴν προαιρούμενος καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν καταλιπεῖν: ψευθεὶς δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀντὶ σοῦ τὸν γραμματέα, ὃν οὐθὲν ἐδεόμην, ἀνήρηκα τῇ τε πορφύρᾳ καὶ τῷ δίφρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς 11 ἐξουσίας συμβόλοις πλανηθεὶς. ^[2] τὸν μὲν οὖν θάνατον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ κατεψηφισάμην, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔμελλον ὀρμᾶν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι: βασάνους δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕβρεις εἰ μοι παρείης, πίστεις δοὺς ἐπὶ θεῶν ὑποσχοῦμαι σοι μέγα πρᾶγμα δηλώσειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν 12 σωτηρίαν ἀνῆκόν σοι. ^[3] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καταστρατηγῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα διανοούμενος: ὁ δ' ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γεγονώς καὶ ἅμα κινδύνους ἐκ πολλῶν μαντευόμενος ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ δι' ὄρκων τὸ πιστόν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ Μούκιος καινότερον ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἀπάτης τρόπον, ὃς ἐν

ἀφανεῖ τὸν ἔλεγχον εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: ὦ βασιλεῦ, Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρες τριακόσιοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν πατρικίων ἅπαντες ἐβουλευσάμεθα συνελθόντες ἀποκτείνειν σε καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ὄρκους παρ' ^[4] 13 ἀλλήλων ἐλάβομεν. ἔδοξε δ' ἡμῖν βουλευομένοις ὅστις ὁ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἦν τρόπος, μὴθ' ἅπαντας ἅμα χωρεῖν [p. 181] ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, μῆτε φράζειν ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ ποῦ καὶ τίσιν ἀφορμαῖς χρησάμενος ἐπιθήσεται σοι, ἵνα ῥᾶον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχη τὸ λαθεῖν. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἐκκληρωσάμεθα, καὶ πρῶτος ἄρξαι τῆς πείρας ἔλαχον ἐγώ. προειδὼς οὖν, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μοι διάνοιαν ἔξουσιν ἐπιθυμία δόξης, ὣν ὡς εἰκάσαι τις ἀμείνωνι τύχῃ χρήσεται τῆς ἐμῆς, σκόπει, τίς ἔσται σοι πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀρκοῦσα φυλακή.

ὦ δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐκείνον μὲν ἀπαγαγόντας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευσε διῆσαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς: αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἄρροντα παρακαθισάμενος, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐσκόπει, τί ποιῶν τὰς ἐπιβουλάς αὐτῶν διακρούσεται. ^[2] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἕκαστος εὐήθεις ἀσφαλείας λέγων ἐδόκει τῶν δεόντων φρονεῖν οὐδέν: ὁ δ' υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τελευταίαν ἀπεφῆνατο γνώμην πρεσβυτέραν τῆς ἡλικίας, ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν μὴ σκοπεῖν, τίσι φυλακαῖς χρώμενος οὐδὲν πείσεται δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τί ποιῶν οὐ δεήσεται φυλακῆς: θαυμασάντων δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πάντων καὶ πῶς ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο [p. 182] μαθεῖν βουλομένων, Εἰ φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων, ἔφη, ποιήσαιο τοὺς ἄνδρας, τιμιωτέραν ἡγησάμενος τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τῆς καθόδου τῶν σὺν Ταρκυνίῳ φυγάδων. ^[3] καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ κράτιστα μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτὸν λέγειν, βουλῆς δ' εἶναι ἄξιον τὸ πρᾶγμα, πῶς εὐπρεπεῖς γενήσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ διαλλαγαί: μεγάλην αἰσχύνην φάσκων εἶναι, εἰ κρατήσας αὐτῶν μάχῃ καὶ τειχήρεις ἔχων ἀπελεύσεται, μηθὲν ὧν Ταρκυνίοις ὑπέσχετο διαπραξάμενος, ὥσπερ ἡττημένος ὑπὸ τῶν νενικημένων καὶ πεφευγῶς τοὺς μηδ' ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν ὑπομένοντας ἔτι προελθεῖν: μίαν δὲ μόνην ἔσεσθαι ἀποφαίνων καλὴν τῆς ἔχθρας λύσιν, εἰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων παραγένοιτό τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας διαλεγόμενοι.

ταῦτα μὲν τότε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν: ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις αὐτὸς ἠναγκάσθη πρότερος ἄρχειν λόγων διαλλακτηρίων διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: ἐσκεδασμένων ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀγομένας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγορὰς ἀφαιρουμένων καὶ τοῦτο ποιούντων συνεχῶς, οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι λοχῆσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ διαφθεירוσὶ τε συχνοὺς καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων αἰχμαλῶτους λαμβάνουσιν. ἐφ' ᾧ χαλεπαίνοντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ συστροφάς, δι' αἰτίας τὸν τε βασιλεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ποθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ^[2] δόξας μὲν οὖν [p. 183] ἅπασι κεχαρισμένας φανήσεσθαι τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἀποστέλλει πρεσβευτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους. τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασὶ καὶ τὸν Μοῦκιον ἅμα τούτοις ἀποσταλῆναι δόντα τὴν πίστιν τῷ βασιλεῖ δι' ὄρκων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάλιν ἐλεύσεσθαι: ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν ὅμηρον, ἕως αἱ διαλλαγαὶ γένωνται, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ

φυλάττεσθαι· καὶ τάχ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτ' ^[3] ἀληθέστερον. ἐντολαὶ δ' ἦσαν, ἃς ἔδωκε τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοιαίδε· περὶ μὲν καθόδου Ταρκυνίων μηδένα ποιεῖσθαι λόγον, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦν ἀποδοθῆναι, μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντα ὅσα Ταρκυνιὸς θ' ὁ πρεσβύτατος κατέλιπε καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτησάμενοι κατέσχον· εἰ δὲ μὴ γ' ὅσα δυνατὰ ἀγρῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ὧν ἐκ γῆς ἀνήρηνται καρπῶν τὰς ἀξίας, ὅποτέρως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξη συμφέρειν, ἐάν τε τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὰ καὶ καρπουμένους εἰσφέρειν, ἐάν τ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διαλύειν. ^[4] ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, ἐαυτῷ δ' αἰτεῖσθαι διαλυομένῳ τὴν ἔχθραν τοὺς καλουμένους Ἑπτὰ πάγουσ· αὕτη Τυρρηνῶν ἡ χώρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὴν κατέσχον πολέμῳ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφελόμενοι· καὶ ἵνα μένωσι Ῥωμαῖοι Τυρρηνοῖς βέβαιοι φίλοι, παῖδας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἰκιῶν τοὺς ὀμηρεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν.

ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας εἰς Ῥώμην ἡ βουλὴ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο Ποπλικόλα θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων [p. 184] πεισθεῖσα πάντα συγχωρεῖν, ὅσα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἤξιον, κάμνειν τὸν δημότην καὶ ἄπορον ὄχλον οἰομένη τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ ἀγαπητῶς δέξεσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου λύσιν, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν γένηται δικαίαις. ^[2] ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ προβουλευματος ἐψηφίσατο κύρια εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἀπόδοσιν τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ τάναντία ἔγνω, μὴτ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μὴτ' ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς τυράννοις μηδὲν ἀποδιδόναι, πρεσβευτὰς δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς βασιλέα Πορσίναν ἀποστεῖλαι, οἷτινες ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ὀμhra καὶ τὴν χώραν παραλαβεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν δικαστὴν γενόμενον Ταρκυνίους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους, ὅταν ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσῃ κρῖναι τὰ δίκαια μῆτε χάριτι μῆτ' ^[3] ἔχθρᾳ παραχθέντα. ἀπῆεσαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ταύτας πρὸς βασιλέα κομίζοντες καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρέσβεις ἄγοντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων οἰκιῶν εἴκοσι παῖδας, οὓς ἔδει περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὀμηρεῦσαι, τῶν ὑπάτων πρώτων τὰ τέκνα ἐπιδόντων, Μάρκου μὲν Ὀρατίου τὸν υἱόν, Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ἔχουσαν ὥραν. ^[4] ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦσθη τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπαινέσας ἀνοχὰς σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ὠρισμένον τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸς ἀναδέχεται δικάζειν. Ταρκύνιοι δ' ἤχθοντο μὲν ἀπὸ μειζόνων ἐκπεσόντες ἐλπίδων, ἃς εἶχον ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καταχθῆναι δόξαντες [p. 185] ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, στέργειν δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ τὰ δεδομένα δέχεσθαι. ἀφικομένων δ' εἰς τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀπολογοησομένων τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τὸν υἱὸν συνδικάζειν κελεύσας ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λόγον.

ἔτι δὲ τῆς δικαιολογίας γινομένης ἦκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων τὴν φυγὴν τῶν ὀμηρεουσῶν παρθένων. δεηθεῖσαι γὰρ τῶν φυλαττόντων, ἵνα συγχωρήσωσιν αὐταῖς λούσασθαι παραγενομέναις εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ συγχώρημα ἔλαβον ἀποστῆναι μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰποῦσαι, τέως ἂν ἀπολούσωνται τε καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπολάβωσιν, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὰς ὀρώσιν αὐτάς· ποιησάντων καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν,

παρακελευσαμένης αὐταῖς τῆς Κλοιλίας καὶ πρώτης καταρχούσης, διανηξάμεναι τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆλθον. [2] ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἦν ἐπιorkίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα παροξύνων ὡς ἐξαπατῶμενον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δολίων μηθὲν προσέχειν αὐτοῖς. ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγοντος εἶναι τῶν παρθένων διχα τῆς ἐπιταγῆς τῶν πατέρων, καὶ τὸ πιστὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν παρέξεσθαι λέγοντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν πεπραῖχθαι, πεισθεὶς [p. 186] ὁ βασιλεὺς συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πορευθέντι τὰς παρθένους ἀγαγεῖν, ὡς ὑποσχνεῖτο. [3] Οὐαλέριος μὲν δὴ τὰς παρθένους ἄξων ὥχετο: Ταρκύνιος δὲ καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ τῶν δικαίων ὑπεριδόντες πράγματι ἐπεβούλευσαν ἀνοσιῶ, λόχον ὑποπέμψαντες εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἱππέων, τὰς τε παρθένους ἀρπάσαι τὰς ἀγομένας καὶ τὸν ὕπατον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐρχομένους συλλαβεῖν, ὡς ῥύσια καθέξοντες ἀνθ' ὧν Ταρκύνιον ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι χρημάτων τὰ σώματα ταῦτα, καὶ τῆς δίκης τὸ τέλος οὐκέτι περιμενοῦντες. [4] οὐκ εἶασε δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν χωρῆσαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων χάρακος ἐξήεσαν οἱ μέλλοντες τοῖς παραγενομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι, φθάσας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἦγε τὰς κόρας: καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς ἤδη ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ χάρακος ὧν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας στρατοπεδείας καταλαμβάνεται. ἔνθα τῆς συμπλοκῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης ταχεῖα τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς αἰσθησις ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς Ἴλην ἱππέων ἐπαγόμενος ἐβοήθει, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ προκαθήμενοι τοῦ χάρακος συνέδραμον.

ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτῶν ὁ Πορσίνας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς συνεκάλει καὶ διεξελθὼν, ὡς ἐπιτρεψάντων αὐτῷ δίκας Ῥωμαίων δικάσαι περὶ ὧν ἐνεκαλοῦντο ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου, πρὶν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν [p. 187] δίκην εἰς ἱερὰ σώματα πρέσβων τε καὶ ὁμήρων παρανομεῖν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ δικαίως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελασθέντες: ὅθεν Τυρρηνοὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀπολύουσι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, Ταρκυνίῳ δὲ καὶ Μαιμιλίῳ διαλύονται τὴν ξενίαν: καὶ προεῖπεν αὐθημερὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπέναι. [2] Ταρκύνιοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς γενόμενοι κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς ἡ τυραννήσοντες αὐθις τῆς πόλεως Τυρρηνῶν σφίσι βοηθοῦντων ἢ τὰ χρήματα κομιοῦμενοι, διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ τὰ ὄμηρα παρανομίαν ἀμφοτέρων διαμαρτὸντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ [3] στρατοπέδου σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ μίσει. ὁ δὲ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄμηρα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προαχθῆναι κελεύσας ἀποδίδωσι τῷ ὑπάτῳ εἰπὼν, ὅτι πάσης ὁμηρείας κρεῖττονα ἡγεῖται τὴν πίστιν τῆς πόλεως. μίαν δὲ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν ὁμήρων, ὑφ' ἧς ἐπέισθησαν αἱ λοιπαὶ διανήξασθαι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐπαινέσας ὡς κρεῖττον ἔχουσαν φρόνημα τῆς τε φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν μακαρίσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐκτρέφειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένους ἀνδράσιν ὁμοίας, δωρεῖται τὴν κόρην ἱππῷ πολεμιστῇ [4] φαλάροις κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπέσι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας ὄρκια πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιησάμενος καὶ ξενίσας αὐτοὺς δῶρα τῇ πόλει φέρεσθαι δίδωσι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἄνευ λύτρων συχνοὺς πάνυ ὄντας, καὶ τὸ

χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατοπεδευκῶς ἦν, κατεσκευασμένον οὐχ ὡς στρατόπεδον ἐν ξένη γῇ πρὸς ὀλίγον [p. 188] καιρὸν, ἀλλ' ὡς πόλιν ἰδίαις τε καὶ δημοσίαις οἰκοδομαῖς ἀποχρῶντως, οὐκ ὄντος τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἔθους, ὅποτε ἀναστρατοπεδεύοιεν ἐκ πολемίας, ὀρθὰς καταλείπειν τὰς κατασκευάς, ἀλλὰ καίειν, οὐ μικρὰν τῇ πόλει χαρισάμενος εἰς χρημάτων λόγον δωρεάν. ἐδήλωσε δ' ἡ πράσις, ἣν ἐποίησαντο μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ^[5] τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ταμίαι. ὁ μὲν δὲ πόλεμος ὁ συστάς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ταρκυνίους τε καὶ βασιλέα Κλουσίνων Λάρων Πορσιναν, εἰς κινδύνους μεγάλους ἀγαγὼν τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν Τυρρηνῶν συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Πορσινὰ μὲν πέμψαι θρόνον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ θριαμβικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἥ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐκοσμοῦντο: Μουκίῳ δὲ τῷ προελομένῳ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν αἰτιωτάτῳ δόξαντι γεγενῆσθαι τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου χώραν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας δοθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ Ὀρατίῳ τῷ πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἀγωνισαμένῳ πρότερον, ὅσῃ ἂν ἀρότρῳ περιλαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ δύνηται. [p. 189] οὗτος ὁ χῶρος ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, ^[2] Μούκιοι λειμῶνες καλοῦνται. ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι: Κλοιλίᾳ δὲ τῇ παρθένῳ στάσιν εἰκόνης χαλκῆς ἔδοσαν, ἣν ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φερούσης οἱ τῶν παρθένων πατέρες. ταύτην ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐκέτι κειμένην εὕρομεν, ἐλέγετο δ' ἐμπρήσεως περὶ ^[3] τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας γενομένης ἠφανισθαι. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ νεὺς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς εἰς συντέλειαν ἐξειργάσθη, περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα λόγῳ. τὴν δ' ἀνιέρωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔλαβε Μάρκος Ὀράτιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων φθάσας τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ συνάρχοντος. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Οὐαλέριος προεξεληλυθὼς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς χώρας. ἄρτι γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταλιπόντων τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ συνιόντων εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς λησθήρια πέμπων Μαμίλιος μεγάλα τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐβλαπτεν. ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη.

οἱ δὲ τὸν τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρξαντες ὕπατοι Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος ἄνευ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσαν. ἐπὶ τούτων Ἄρρος ὁ Πορσίνου τοῦ Τυρρηνῶν βασιλέως υἱὸς τὴν Ἀρικηνῶν πόλιν δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη πολιορκῶν ἐτελεύτησεν. ^[2] εὐθύς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι τὰς Ῥωμαίων σπονδὰς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβὼν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρικηνοὺς ἰδίαν κατασκευαζόμενος [p. 190] ἀρχὴν καὶ μικροῦ δεήσας τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, ἐλθοῦσης τοῖς Ἀρικηνοῖς ἐπικουρίας ἐκ τ' Ἀντίου καὶ Τύσκλου καὶ τῆς Καμπανίδος Κύμης, παραταξάμενος ἐλάττονι δυνάμει πρὸς μείζονα τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐτρέψατο καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἤλασεν, ὑπὸ δὲ Κυμαίων, οὓς ἦγεν Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Μαλακὸς ἐπικαλούμενος, νικηθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν μετὰ ^[3] τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν οὐκέτι ὑπομείνασα τρέπεται πρὸς φυγὴν. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν διωκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυμαίων διεφθάρησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους σκεδασθέντες ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ πολὺ

ἀπέχοντες κατέφυγον ὄπλα τ' ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τὰ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν. οὐς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατακομιζόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀμάξαις τε καὶ ἀπῆναις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποζυγίοις ἡμιθνήτας ἐνίους, καὶ φέροντες εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν οἰκίας τροφαῖς τε καὶ θεραπαίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φιланθρωπίαις πολὺ τὸ συμπαθεῖς ἐχούσαις ἀνελάμβανον: ὥστε πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ταῖς χάρισι ταύταις ὑπαχθέντας μηκέτι τῆς οἰκαδὲ ἀφίξεως πόθον ἔχειν, ^[4] ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς εὐεργέταις σφῶν βούλεσθαι καταμένειν: οἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ χῶρον τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθα οἰκήσεις ἔμελλον κατασκευάσασθαι, τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τέτταρσι μάλιστα μηκυνόμενον σταδίοις αὐλῶνα, ὃς καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ Τυρρηγῶν οἴκησις [p. 191] ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον διάλεκτον ἢ φέρουσα διόδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵππόδρομον. ἂνθ' ὧν εὗροντο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν δωρεὰν οὐ τὴν ἐλαχίστου ἀξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἣ μάλιστα ἥσθησαν, τὴν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν, ἥς ἀπέστησαν ὅτε διελύοντο τὸν πόλεμον: καὶ θυσίας ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν, ἃς εὗξαντο γενόμενοι πάλιν τῶν Ἑπτὰ πάγων κύριοι συντελέσειν.

ἐνιαντῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ἐνάτη καὶ ἐξηκοστή, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἰσχομάχος Κροτωνιάτης τὸ δεύτερον, ἄρχων δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀκεστορίδης, ὕπατοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ἀδελφὸς Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ ^[2] Πόπλιος Ποστόμιος Τούβεργτος ἐπικαλούμενος. ἐπὶ τούτων ἕτερος ἐξεδέξατο Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν ἔγγιστα οἰκούντων, ὃς ἥρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ ληστηρίων, προὔβη δ' εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας, ἐχώρησε μέντοι τελευτῶν εἰς διαλλαγὰς εὐπρεπεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης μετὰ τούτου τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπατείας πάντα τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον πολεμηθεῖς. Σαβίνων γάρ τινες καταγνόντες ἀσθένειαν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πταίσματος, ὥς οὐκέτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀξίωσιν ἀναληφομένης, ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς εἰς τὴν χώραν κατιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ληστήρια καταστησάμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς [p. 192] ^[3] ἔβλαπτον. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀποστείλαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρεσβείαν πρὶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρῆσαι δίκας ἦτουν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤξιουν μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν γῆν παρανομεῖν. αὐθάδεις δὲ λαβόντες ἀποκρίσεις προεῖπον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γίνεται ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἔξοδος ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλερίου σὺν ἱππεῦσι καὶ φιλῶν τοῖς ἀκμασιότατοις αἰφνίδιος ἐπὶ τοὺς ληιζομένους τὴν χώραν καὶ φόνος τῶν καταληφθέντων ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς συχνῶν ὄντων πολὺς, οἷα εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀσυντάκτων 14 τε καὶ οὐ προησθημένων τὴν ἔφοδον. ^[4] ἔπειτα τῶν Σαβίνων πολλὴν ἀποστειλάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιὰν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι τεταγμένην ἐμπειρῷ πολέμου Ῥωμαίων ἑτέρα γίνεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔξοδος ἀπάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων. Ποστόμιος μὲν οὖν πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν ὀρεινοῖς τόποις κατεστρατοπέδευσε δεδιώς, μὴ τις ἔφοδος ἐκ τῶν φυγᾶδων ἐπ' αὐτὴν γένηται αἰφνίδιος: Οὐαλέριος δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνίητα, ὃς ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Τιβύρων καθ' ὑψηλοῦ πολὺς ἐκχεῖται σκοπέλου, φέρεται δὲ διὰ τῆς Σαβίνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πεδιάδος ὀρίζων τὴν ἐκατέρων χώραν:

συνάπτει δὲ τὸ ρεῦμα τῷ Τεβέρει ποταμῷ καλὸς μὲν ὀφθῆναι, γλυκὺς δὲ πίνεσθαι.

ἔκ δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων τοῦ ποταμοῦ μερῶν ἢ τῶν Σαβίνων ἔκειτο παρεμβολὴ τοῦ ρεύματος οὐδ' αὐτὴ πολὺν ἀπέχουσα τόπον ἐπὶ γεωλόφου τινὸς ἡρέμα [p. 193] κατακλινοῦς οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυροῦ. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν δι' εὐλαβείας εἶχον ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι καὶ μάχης ἄρχειν διαβάντες τὸν ποταμὸν ὠκνοῦν, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ κατὰ λογισμὸν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς τε καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐξαφθέντες συνάπτουσι μάχην. [2] ὕδρευόμενοι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν πότον ἐνέβαινον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ: βραχὺς δ' ἔρρει τηνικαῦτα οὕπω τοῖς χειμερινοῖς ὕδασι πληθύνων, ὥστ' ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ γόνατος ἔχοντες αὐτὸν ἐπεραιοῦντο. συμπλοκῆς δὴ τινος πρῶτον ὀλίγοις πρὸς οὐ πολλοὺς γινομένης ἐξέδραμόν τινες ἐπικουροῦντες τοῖς σφετέροις ἐξ ἑκατέρου χάρακος: ἔπειθ' ἔτεροι πάλιν ἀμυνοῦντες τοῖς κατισχυομένοις ἐκ θατέρου: καὶ τοτὲ μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Σαβίνους ἀνέστελλον ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος, τοτὲ δ' οἱ Σαβῖνοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεῖργον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [3] πολλῶν δὲ φόνων καὶ τραυμάτων γενομένων καὶ φιλονεικίας ἅπασιν ἐμπεσοῦσης, οἷα περὶ τὰς ἀψιμαχίας τὰς ἐκ καιροῦ συμπεσοῦσας γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, προθυμία τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁμοία παρέστη διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν. [4] ἔφθασε δὲ πρῶτος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος καὶ διαβιβάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔτι τῶν Σαβίνων ὀπλιζομένων τε καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένων ἐν χερσὶν ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἐμέλλησάν γ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι θέσθαι μάχην, καταφρονήσει πολλῇ ἐπαρθέντες, ὅτι οὔτε πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὑπάτους οὔτε πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἐμελλον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, καὶ συρράξαντες [p. 194] ἐμάχοντο πᾶσαν εὐτολμίαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

ἀγῶνος δὲ καρτεροῦ γενομένου καὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρατος, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ ὕπατος, ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προσωτέρω χωροῦντος, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου κάμνοντος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξωθουμένου, μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ὁ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβολὴν κατέχων ὕπατος ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. [2] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν ἐπαγόμενος βάδην ἠκολούθει: τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων Σπόριον Λάρκιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἄγοντα πέμπει κατὰ σπουδὴν: ὃς ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος τοὺς ἵππους ἐλαύνων τὸν τε ποταμὸν διαπεραιοῦται κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς εὐπετῶς καὶ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κέρας παριππεύσας, ἐνσεῖει πλαγίῳις τοῖς ἵππεῦσι τῶν Σαβίνων: καὶ γίνεται μέγας αὐτόθι τῶν ἵππεων ἀμφοτέρων συστάδην μαχομένων ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἀγών. [3] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος τοὺς πεζοὺς ἄγων πλησίον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο: καὶ συρράξας τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀποκτείνει τε πολλοὺς μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξωθεῖ τῆς τάξεως. εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦξ ἐπέλαβεν, ἅπαντες ἂν οἱ Σαβῖνοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱπποκρατοῦντων ἤδη πανσυδὶ διεφθάρησαν. νῦν δὲ τὸ σκότος τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὄντας ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς [p. 195] ἐρρύσατο καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία. τῆς δὲ παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν οἱ ὕπατοι χωρὶς ἀγῶνος ἐκράτησαν ἐκλειφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὴν τροπὴν τῶν σφετέρων:

ἐξ ἧς πολλὰς ὠφελείας λαβόντες, αἱ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ^[4] ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. τότε πρῶτον ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πταισματος εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκατέστη φρόνημα, καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν περιοίκων ὡς πρότερον ἐθάρρησεν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ψηφίζεται κοινῇ μὲν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις θριάμβου καταγωγὴν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν Οὐαλερίῳ δωρεὰν τόπον εἰς οἴκησιν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τοῦ Παλλαντίου τόπῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν δαπάνας ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου χορηγεῖσθαι. ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας, παρ' ἣν ὁ χαλκοῦς ἔστηκε ταῦρος, αἱ κλισιάδες θύραι μόναι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δημοσίων τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν οἴκων εἰς τὸ ἔξω μέρος ἀνοίγονται.

παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκδέχονται τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος ὁ κληθεὶς Ποπλικόλας τὸ τέταρτον ἄρχειν αἰρεθεὶς καὶ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος τὸ δεύτερον τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συνάρχων. ἐφ' ὧν ἅπαντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι κοινὴν ποιησάμενοι τῶν πόλεων ἀγορὰν ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν, ὡς λελυμένων σφίσι τῶν σπονδῶν, ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, πρὸς ὃν ἐποίησαντο τοὺς ὅρκους: ^[2] πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Σέξτου θατέρου τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν, [p. 196] ὃς αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ θεραπεύων καὶ λιπαρῶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐξεπολέμωσε κοινῇ πρὸς πάντας καὶ προσηγάγετο δύο πόλεις, Φιδήνην καὶ Καμερίαν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀποστήσας, ἐκείνοις δὲ συμμαχεῖν πείσας: ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως καταγράφειν, ὡς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ δι' ἀσθένειαν δυνάμεως καὶ στρατηγοῦ μωρίαν σφαλέντες. ^[3] οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ ταύτ' ἦσαν: τύχη δὲ τις ἐξισῶσαι βουλομένη ταῖς βλάβαις τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς ὠφελείας ἀντὶ τῶν καταλιπόντων αὐτοὺς συμμάχων ἑτέραν οὐκ ἡλπισμένην ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων βοήθειαν προσέθηκε τοιάνδε. ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους πόλιν οἰκῶν Ῥηγίλλον εὐγενὴς καὶ χρήμασι δυνατὸς Τίτος Κλαύδιος, αὐτομολεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συγγένειάν τε μεγάλην ἐπαγόμενος καὶ φίλους καὶ πελάτας συχνοὺς αὐτοῖς μετὰναστάντας ἐφεστίοις, οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακισχιλίων τοὺς ὄπλα φέρειν δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ καταλαβοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν εἰς Ῥώμην τοιαύτη 15 λέγεται γενέσθαι. ^[4] οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσιν ἄλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας, εἰς δίκην αὐτὸν ὑπῆγον αἰτιασάμενοι προδοσίαν, ὅτι τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἦν πρόθυμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνος ἀντέλεγε τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, [p. 197] καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας οὐκ εἶα κύρια εἶναι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖσθαι. ταύτην ὀρωδῶν τὴν δίκην: ^[5] ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων δικασθῆναι πόλεων: ἀναλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προστίθεται ῥοπὴν τ' οὐ μικρὰν εἰς τὰ πράγματα παρέσχε καὶ τοῦ κατορθωθῆναι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπάντων ἔδοξεν αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι: ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἷς τε τοὺς πατρικίους αὐτὸν ἐνέγραψε καὶ τῆς πόλεως μοῖραν εἵασεν ὅσῃν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν εἰς κατασκευὴν οἰκιῶν χώραν τ' αὐτῷ προσέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας τὴν μεταξὺ Φιδήνης καὶ Πικετίας, ὡς ἔχοι διανεῖμαι κλήρους ἅπασιν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἀφ': ὧν καὶ φυλὴ τις ἐγένετο σὺν χρόνῳ Κλαυδία

καλουμένη καὶ μέχρις ἑμοῦ διέμεινε τὸ αὐτὸ φυλάττουσα ὄνομα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευάστο ἅπαντα ἀμφοτέροις, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξῆγον οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ποιοῦνται δύο παρεμβολὰς μίαν μὲν ὕπαιθρον οὐ πρόσω Φιδήνης, ἑτέραν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Φιδήνῃ φυλακῆς τε τῶν ἔνδον ἔνεκα καὶ καταφυγῆς τῶν ἔξω στρατοπεδευόντων, ἃν τι γένηται πταῖσμα περὶ αὐτοῦς. ἔπειτα οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι μαθόντες τὴν τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἔλασιν καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντας ἄγοντες τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατοπεδεύοντα χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, Οὐαλέριος μὲν ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὑπαιθρου τῶν Σαβίνων παρεμβολῆς, Λουκρήτιος ^[2] δ' ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν ἐπ' ὄχθου τινός, ὅθεν ἦν ὁ ἕτερος χάραξ καταφανής. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπόληψις ^[p. 198] ἦν συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτίκα, ὥς ἐν ἀγῶνι φανερωῖ τοῦ πολέμου ταχείαν ἔξοντος τὴν κρίσιν, ὃ δὲ τῶν Σαβίνων στρατηγὸς ὀρρωδῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς εὐτολμίαν τε καὶ καρτερίαν ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομένειν ἐτοιμῶν νύκτωρ ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔγνω: ^[3] καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τάφρου τε χώσει καὶ χάρακος ἐπιβάσει ἃ πρόσφορα εἶναι ἔμελλεν, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπῆ, μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ὕπνον ἀναστήσας τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔμελλεν ἔρυμα, τοῖς τ' ἐν Φιδήνῃ κατεστρατοπεδευκόσι παρηγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐξεληλυθότας αἰσθωνται τοὺς σφετέρους ἐξιέναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κούφῃ ἐσταλμένους ὀπλίσει: ἔπειτα λοχήσαντας ἐν χωρίοις ἐπιτηδείοις ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τινες ἐπικούροι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐπίοιεν, ἀναστάντας καὶ κατὰ νώτου γενομένους σὺν βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ πολλῷ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. ^[4] ὁ μὲν δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς φράσας, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινους ἦν βουλομένοις, περιέμεινε τὸν καιρὸν: αὐτόμολος δὲ τις ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων μηνύει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἦκον ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Σαβίνων, οὓς ἐπὶ ξυλισμὸν ἐξεληλυθότας συνέλαβον. οὗτοι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἀνακρινόμενοι, τί παρασκευάζεται: πράττειν ^[p. 199] σφῶν αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγός, λέγουσιν, ὅτι κλίμακας τεκταίνεται καὶ διαβάθρας: ὅπου δ' αὐταῖς καὶ ὅποτε μέλλοι χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔφασαν εἰδέναι. ^[5] ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐαλέριος ἀποστέλλει τὸν πρεσβευτὴν Λάρκιον εἰς τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα τὴν τε διάνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαγγελοῦντα τῷ κατέχοντι τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐκείνῃν Λουκρητίῳ, καὶ τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποθησόμενον: αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς καλέσας καὶ φράσας ὅσα τοῦ τ' αὐτομόλου καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἤκουσε καὶ παρακαλέσας ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καιρὸν εἰληφέναι νομίσαντας εὐχῆς ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ δίκας λήφονται παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καλὰς, ἃ τε δέοι πράττειν ἐκάστοις ὑποθέμενος καὶ τὸ σύνθημα δοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις.

οὕπῳ μέσαι νύκτες ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων ἡγεμὼν ἀναστήσας τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ κράτιστον μέρος ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα σιωπᾶν ἅπασι παραγγείλας καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν φόφον τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα μὴ γνοῖεν ἦκοντας αὐτοῦς οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι γένωνται. ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τοῦ χάρακος οἱ πρῶτοι πορευόμενοι καὶ οὔτε φέγγῃ λαμπτήρων ἐώρων οὔτε φωνᾶς φυλάκων κατήκουον, πολλὴν μωρίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταγνόντες ὥς

ἀφεικότων ἐρήμους τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ χάρακος καθευδόντων, ἐνεπίπλασαν ὕλης [p. 200] τὰς τάφρους κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη καὶ διέβαινον οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν γινομένου. [2] παρεκάθηντο δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν περισταυρωμάτων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ σπεύρας ἀφανεῖς διὰ τὸ σκότος, καὶ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας αὐτῶν, ὅτε γένοιτο ἐν χερσίν, ἐφόνευον. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ἐλάνθανε τοὺς ὑστέρους προσιόντας ὁ τῶν προηγουμένων ὄλεθρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο σελήνης ἀνισχούσης οἱ πλησιάζοντες τῇ τάφρῳ σωρούς θ' ὀρῶντες οἰκείων νεκρῶν παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ στίφη πολεμίων καρτερὰ ὁμόσε χωροῦντα, ῥίψαντες τὰ [3] ὄπλα τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μέγα ἀναβοήσαντες· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο σύνθημα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας παρεμβολῆς· ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ἄθροοι. καὶ ὁ Λουκρήτιος ὡς ἤκουσε τῆς κραυγῆς τοὺς ἱππεῖς προαποστείλας διερευνησομένους, μὴ τις ἐγκάθηται πολεμίων λόχος, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἠκολούθει τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν πεζῶν ἐπαγόμενος. [4] καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οἱ θ' ἱππεῖς τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Φιδήνης λοχῶσι περιτυχόντες τρέπουσιν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν σφῶν ἀφικομένους κτείνοντες ἐδίωκον οὔτε ὄπλα οὔτε κόσμον σώζοντας. ἐν ταύταις ταῖς μάχαις Σαβίνων τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπέθανον μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι· καὶ ὁ μὲν χάραξ αὐθημερὸν ἐάλω. [p. 201]

ἡ δὲ Φιδήνη πολιορκηθεῖσα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα δυσάλωτος εἶναι μέρος ἐδόκει καὶ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἐφυλάσσετο, κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐλήφθη. οὐ μὴν ἀνδραποδισμοῦ γ' ἢ κατασκαφῆς ἐπειράθη φόνος τ' ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν· ἀποχρῶσα γὰρ ἐφάνη ζημία τοῖς ὑπάτοις πόλεως ὁμοεθνοῦς ἀμαρτούσης ἀρπαγὴ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ὁ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπολομένων ὄλεθρος· τοῦ δὲ μὴ προχείρως ἔτι τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρῆσαι φυλακὴ γενήσεσθαι μετρία καὶ συνήθης Ῥωμαίοις, [2] ἡ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως κόλασις. συγκαλέσαντες δὲ Φιδηναίων τοὺς ἄλόντας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀνοίας αὐτῶν κατηγορήσαντες ἀξίους τ' εἶναι φήσαντες ἅπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἀπολωλέναι μῆτε ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις χάριν εἰδότας μῆτε τοῖς κακοῖς σωφρονιζομένους, ῥάβδοις αἰκισάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀπάντων ὁρώντων ἀπέκτειναν· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἶασαν οἰκεῖν ὡς πρότερον ὦκουν φρουροὺς συγκατοικίσαντες αὐτοῖς, ὅσους ἔκρινεν ἡ βουλή, καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀφελόμενοι τινα μοῖραν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἔδωκαν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ἀπῆγον ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα θρίαμβον κατήγαγον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη.

Ποπλίου δὲ Ποστομίου τοῦ καλουμένου Τουβέρτου τὸ δεῦτερον ἄρχειν αἰρεθέντος καὶ [p. 202] Ἀγρίππα Μενηγίου τοῦ λεγομένου Λανάτου τρίτη γίνεται Σαβίνων εἰσβολὴ μείζονι στρατιᾷ, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίους αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους τῆς Ῥώμης ἔλασις· ἐν ἣ πολλὺς ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίων φόνος οὐ μόνον τῶν γεωργῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν προσδεχομένοις αἰφνιδίως ἐπέστη τὸ δεινόν, πρὶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια τὰ πλησίον ἐκάστους καταφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [2] τῶν κατὰ πόλιν τηνικαῦτα διατριβόντων. ὁ γὰρ

ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Ποστόμιος οὐκ ἀνεκτὴν εἶναι τὴν ὕβριν τῶν πολεμίων ἡγησάμενος ἐξεβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν τοὺς ἐπιτυγχάνοντας ἄγων προχειρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερον. οὕς ἰδόντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει χωροῦντας ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀσυντάκτους τε καὶ διεσπασμένους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐξῆσαι τὸ καταφρονοῦν αὐτῶν βουλόμενοι θᾶπτον ἢ βάδην ἀνεχώρουν ὡς δὴ φεύγοντες ὀπίσω, τέως εἰς δρυμοὺς ἀφίκοντο βαθεῖς, ἔνθα ὁ λοιπὸς αὐτῶν στρατὸς ὑπεκάθητο: ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἐχώρουν τοῖς διώκουσιν ὁμόσε, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ μέγα ἀλαλάζαντες ἴενται 16 ἐπ' αὐτούς. [3] ἀσυντάκτοις δ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ τεταραγμένοις καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου συγκεκομμένοις τὰ πνεύματα πολλοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπελθόντες, καταβάλλουσι τε τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς φυγὴν ὁμήσαντας ὑποτεμόμενοι τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερούσας ὁδοὺς εἰς ὀρεινὴν τινα κατακλείουσι ῥάχιν ἔρημον. θέμενοι δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα: νύξ γὰρ ἤδη [p. 203] κατελάμβανε: φυλακὰς ἐποιοῦντο δι' ὅλης νυκτός, ἵνα μὴ λάθοιεν σφᾶς ἀποδράντες. [4] ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὸ πάθος ἀπηγγέληται παραχρῆ τ' ἦν πολλὴ καὶ δρόμος ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ δέος ἀπάντων, μὴ διὰ νυκτός εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔλθοιεν οἱ πολέμοι τῷ κατορθώματι ἐπαρθέντες, τῶν τ' ἀπολωλότων οἶκτος καὶ τῶν περιλειπομένων ἔλεος, ὡς ἀναρπασθησομένων αὐτίκα μάλα δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρία ἔλθοι ταχεῖα. [5] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα πονηρὰς ἔχοντας τὰς ψυχὰς ἄγρυπνοι διῆγον: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ καθοπλίσας ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Μενήνιος ἤγεν ἐπικούρους τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει κόσμον καὶ τάξιν φυλάττοντας. ἰδόντες δ' αὐτούς οἱ Σαβῖνοι προσιόντας οὐκέτι παρέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸν αὐτῶν στρατὸν ἤγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενοι σφίσι τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν: καὶ οὐ πολὺν ἔτι διατρίψαντες χρόνον ἀπήεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σὺν αὐχήμετι μεγάλῳ βοσκημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ χρημάτων ἀφθόνους ἄγοντες ὠφελείας.

Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπᾶτων Ποστόμιον ἐν αἰτίαις ἔχοντας ἔγνωσαν ἀπάσαις δυνάμεσι στρατεῦειν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, τὴν τε ἦτταν αἰσχροὺς καὶ ἀνέλπιστον γενομένην ἐπανορθῶσαι προθυμοῦμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ νεωστὶ ἀφικομένῃ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων πρεσβείᾳ πολλὴν ὕβρις ἐχούσῃ καὶ αὐθάδειαν ἀχθόμενοι. [p. 204] [2] ὡς γὰρ δὴ κρατοῦντες ἤδη καὶ δίχα πόνου τὴν Ῥώμην αἰρήσοντες αὐτῶν μὴ βουλομένων τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, Ταρκυνίοις τε διδόναι τὴν κάθοδον ἐκέλευον καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας σφίσι παραχωρεῖν πολιτείαν τε καταστήσασθαι καὶ νόμους, οὕς ἂν οἱ κεκρατηκότες τάξωσιν. ἀποκρινάμενοι δὲ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπαγγέλλειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κελεύουσι Σαβίνους ὄπλα τ' ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰς πόλεις ὑπηκόους τ' εἶναι πάλιν, ὥσπερ πρότερον ἦσαν, ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἡκεῖν τότε περὶ ὧν ἡδίκησαν ἢ κατέβλαψαν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς πρότερον εἰσβολαῖς δεησομένους, εἰ βούλονται τυχεῖν εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶσι τὰ κελευόμενα προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἤξοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν 17 οὐκ εἰς μακράν. [3] τοιαῦτα ἐπιταχθέντες τε καὶ ἐπιτάξαντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν

ἐξηρτύσαντο τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ἐξήγον τὰς δυνάμεις, Σαβῖνοι τε τὴν κρατίστην ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως νεότητα ὅπλοις ἐκπρεπέσι κεκοσμημένην ἐπαγόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀναλαβόντες, ἱκανοὺς οἰόμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν γεγονότας καὶ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἐρύματα φυλάττειν. [4] καὶ συνελθόντες ὁμόσε τίθενται τοὺς χάρακας [p. 205] ἀμφοτέροι μικρὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀλλήλων Ἡρήτου πόλεως, ἥ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἐστὶν ἔθνος, οὐ πρόσω.

ὡς δὲ συνεῖδον ἀμφοτέροι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πράγματα, τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν στρατοπέδων εἰκάσαντες καὶ παρ' αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες, τοῖς μὲν Σαβίνοις θάρσος παρέστη καὶ καταφρόνησις τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ὀλιγότητος, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δέος πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων πλῆθος: ἐθάρρησαν δὲ καὶ οὐ μικρὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἔλαβον ἄλλων τε σημείων γενομένων σφίσι θεοπέμπτων καὶ δὴ καὶ τελευταίου φάσματος, ὅτε παρατάττεσθαι ἔμελλον, τοιοῦδε. [2] ἐκ τῶν καταπεπηγμένων παρὰ ταῖς σκηναῖς ὑσσῶν: ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα βέλη Ῥωμαίων, ἃ συνιόντες εἰς χεῖρας ἐξακοντίζουσι, ξύλα προμήκη τε καὶ χειροπλήθη τριῶν οὐχ ἥττον ποδῶν σιδηροῦς ὀβελίσκους ἔχοντα προὔχοντας κατ' εὐθείαν ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων, μετρίοις ἀκοντίοις ἴσα σὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ: ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὑσσῶν περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν ὀβελίσκων φλόγες ἀνῆπτοντο, καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸ σέλας ἦν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ [3] λαμπάδων, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἐκ τούτου κατέλαβον τοῦ φάσματος, ὥσπερ οἱ τερατοσκόποι ἀπέφαινον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις συμβαλεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν, ὅτι νικῆν αὐτοῖς ταχεῖαν καὶ λαμπράν σημαίνει τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαν εἴκει τῷ πυρὶ καὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διαφθείρεται. τοῦτο δ' ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀμυντηρίων αὐτοῖς ὅπλων ἀνήθη, μετὰ [p. 206] πολλοῦ θάρρους προήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ συρράξαντες τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἐμάχοντο πολλαπλασίοις ἐλάττους ἐν τῷ θαρρεῖν τὸ πιστὸν ἔχοντες: καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία δὲ σὺν τῷ φιλοπόνῳ πολλὴ αὐτοῖς παροῦσα παντὸς ἐπήγετο 18 δεινοῦ καταφρονεῖν. [4] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ποστόμιος τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων κέρας ἀναλύσασθαι τὴν προτέραν ἤτταν προθυμούμενος τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξωθεῖ κέρας πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς, ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μεμνότες καὶ θανατῶντες εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους ρίπτων ἑαυτόν: ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ σὺν τῷ Μενηνίῳ θάτερον ἔχοντες κέρας κάμνοντες ἤδη καὶ ἐξωθούμενοι τῆς στάσεως, ὡς ἔμαθον, ὅτι νικῶσι τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ τοῦ Ποστομίου, θάρρησαντες εἰς ἀντίπαλα χωροῦσι: καὶ γίνεται τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἐκκλινάντων τροπὴ παντελής. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι ταχθέντες ἐπιλωμένων τῶν ἄκρων ἔτι παρέμειναν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξελαυνούσης κατὰ τέλη βιασθέντες ἀνεστάλησαν. φυγῆς δὲ πάντων γενομένης ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀκολουθήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ συνεισπεσόντες ἀμφοτέρα λαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἐρύματα. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πανσυδὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων διαφθαρῆναι στρατὸν ἢ τε νύξ αἰτία ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῖς συμβῆναι: ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ [p. 207] φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐσώζοντο δι' ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τόπων.

τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ καύσαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ τὰ σκυῖλα συλλέξαντες· ἕλῳ δέ τινα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώντων ῥίπτουντων ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τὰ ὄπλα· ἄνδρας τ' αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντες, οὓς ἔλαβον οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ χρήματα, χωρὶς ὧν οἱ στρατιῶται διήρπασαν· τούτων δὲ διαπραθέντων δημοσίᾳ τὰς κατ' ἄνδρα γενομένας εἰσφοράς, αἷς ἔστειλαν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἅπαντες ἐκομίσαντο· καὶ ἀπῆεσαν ἐπ' ^[2] οἴκου λαμπροτάτην ἀνηρημένοι νικῆν. καὶ θριάμβους ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκοσμοῦντο ἀμφοτέρω, Μενήνιος μὲν τῷ μείζονι καὶ τιμιωτέρῳ, παρεμβεβηκῶς ἐφ' ἄρματιοῦ δίφρου βασιλικοῦ, Ποστόμιος δὲ τῷ ἐλάσσονι καὶ ὑποδεεστέρῳ, ὃν καλοῦσιν οὐαστὴν, παρεγκλίναντες τοῦνομα Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπάρχον εἰς τὰσαφές. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον εὐαστῆς οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐλέγετο, ὥς αὐτὸς τ' εἰκάζω καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς εὕρισκω γραφαῖς ἐπιχωρίοις φερόμενον. ^[3] τότε δὲ πρῶτον, ὡς Λικίννιος ἱστορεῖ, τοῦτον ἐξευρούσης τὸν θριάμβον τῆς βουλῆς. διαφέρει δὲ θατέρου πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι πεζὸς εἰσέρχεται μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς προηγούμενος ὁ τὸν οὐαστὴν κατὰγων [p. 208] θριάμβον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἄρματος ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος· ἔπειθ' ὅτι οὐ τὴν ποικίλιν καὶ χρυσόσημον ἀμφιέννυται στολήν, ἣ κοσμεῖται ὁ ἕτερος, οὐδὲ τὸν χρυσοῦν ἔχει στέφανον, ἀλλὰ περιπόρφυρον λευκὴν περιβέβληται τήβενναν, τὸ ἐπιχώριον τῶν ὑπάτων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν φόρημα, στέφανον δ' ἐπίκειται δάφνης, μεμείωται δὲ καὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου τῇ φορήσει παρὰ τὸν ἕτερον, ^[4] τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα ταῦτά ἔχει. αἷτιον δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ποστομίῳ τῆς ἐλάττονος τιμῆς ἐγένετο, καίτοι λαμπροτάτῳ πάντων γενομένῳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ πρότερον παῖσιμα ἐν τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ μέγα καὶ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ γενόμενον, ἐξ οὗ τῆς τε δυνάμεως πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου ἐδέησε σὺν τοῖς περιλειφθεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αἰχμάλωτος γενέσθαι.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ἐπικαλούμενος νοσήσας ἐτελεύτα, κράτιστος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν νομισθεὶς. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα, δι' ἃ θαυμάζεσθαι τε καὶ μνήμης τυγχάνειν ἄξιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν δεόμεναι λέγειν· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε τὰ πολλὰ εἴρηται· ὁ δ' ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγκωμίων θαυμασιώτατον καὶ οὕτω τέτευχε λόγου, τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν μὴ παρελθεῖν, παντὸς μάλιστα νομίζων τοῦτο προσήκειν τοῖς γράφουσιν ἱστορίας, μὴ μόνον τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐπισήμων ἡγεμόνων [p. 209] διεξιέναι, μηδ' εἴ τι πολίτευμα καλὸν καὶ σωτήριον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπεδείξαντο ἐξευρόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν, εἰ μέτριοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ μένοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι διετέλεσαν, ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. ^[2] ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὁ ἀνὴρ συγκαταλύσας μὲν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τέτταρσι πατρικίοις καὶ δημεύσας αὐτῶν τὰς ὑπάρξεις, τετράκις δὲ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας γενόμενος κύριος, μεγίστους δὲ δύο νικήσας πολέμους καὶ θριάμβους καταγαγὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνους, τὸν δὲ δεῦτερον ἀπὸ Σαβίνων, τοιαύτας ἀφορμὰς χρηματισμοῦ λαβὼν, ἃς οὐδεὶς ἂν ὡς αἰσχυρὰς καὶ ἀδίκους διέβαλεν, οὐχ ἕλῳ τῇ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταδουλουμένη καὶ ἀσχημονεῖν ἀναγκαζούσῃ φιλοχρηματίᾳ· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ μικρᾷ καὶ πατροπαραδότῳ διέμενεν οὐσία σώφρονα καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας κρεῖττονα βίον ζῶν, καὶ παῖδας

ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρήμασιν ἐθρέψατο τοῦ γένους ἄξιους, καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησεν ἅπασιν, ὅτι πλούσιός ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ κεκτημένος, ἀλλ' ὁ μικρῶν δεόμενος. [3] πίστις δ' ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτος τῆς αὐταρκειᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν ἀπεδείξατο παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἢ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ φανεῖσα ἀπορία. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ εἰς τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταφὴν, ὧν ἀνδρὶ προσήκει τηλικούτῳ τυχεῖν, ἀρκοῦντα ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι κατέλιπεν: ἀλλ' ἐμέλλησαν αὐτὸν οἱ συγγενεῖς φαύλως πως καὶ ὡς ἓνα [p. 210] τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἐκκομίσαντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καίειν τε καὶ θάπτειν: ἢ μέντοι βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ὡς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἀπόρως, ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐψηφίσατο χρημάτων ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τὰς εἰς τὴν ταφὴν δαπάνας, καὶ χωρίον, ἔνθα ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη, μόνῳ τῶν μέχρις ἐμοῦ γενομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει σύνεγγυς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέδειξεν ὑπ' Οὐελίας: καὶ ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ἐνθάπτεσθαι ἀνειμένον, παντὸς πλούτου καὶ πάσης βασιλείας κρεῖττον ἀγαθόν, εἴ τις μὴ ταῖς ἐπονειδίστοις ἡδοναῖς μετρεῖ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ καλῷ. [4] Οὐαλέριος μὲν δὴ Ποπλικόλας οὐθὲν ἔξω τῆς εἰς τὰναγκαῖα δαπάνης κτήσασθαι προελόμενος, ὡς τῶν πολυχρημάτων τις βασιλέων λαμπραῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκοσμήθη ταφαῖς: καὶ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι συνειπάμεναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον ἀποθέσει χρυσοῦ τε καὶ πορφύρας τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον, ὡς ἔθος αὐταῖς ἐστι πενθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιῶς τῶν συγγενῶν κήδεσι.

μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὕπατοι καθίστανται Σπόριος Κάσσιος Οὐκελλῖνος ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ Ὀπίτωρ Οὐεργίνιος Τρικᾶτος. ἐφ' ὧν ὁ πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμος ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Σπορίου κατελύθη μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Κυριτῶν πόλεως: ἐξ ἧς ἀπέθανον μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς [p. 211] μυρίους καὶ τριακοσίους Σαβίνων, αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τετρακισχιλίων. [2] ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ τελευταῖα πληγέντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὕπατον διαλεξομένους περὶ φιλίας. ἀναβαλλομένου δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Κασσίου, παραγενηθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην σὺν πολλῇ δεήσει μόλις εὐρίσκονται διαλλαγὰς καὶ κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου, σῆτόν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ δόντες, ὅσον ἐπέταξε Κάσσιος καὶ ἀργυρίον τι τακτὸν κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ γῆς πεφυτευμένης πλῆθρα μύρια. [3] Σπόριος μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε κατήγαγεν: ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐεργίνιος ἐπὶ τὴν Καμαριναίων πόλιν ἐστράτευσεν μὲν ἀφεστῶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων συμμαχίας κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, ἄγων τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς, φράσας δ' οὐδενί, ποῖ μέλλει πορεύεσθαι καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας τὴν ὁδόν, ἵνα ἀπαρασκεύους καὶ μὴ [4] προειδόσι τὴν ἔφοδον τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπιθῇται: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. γενόμενος γὰρ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ἅπαντας ἔλαθεν ἄρτι τῆς ἡμέρας διαυγούσης, καὶ πρὶν ἢ καταστρατοπεδεῦεσθαι κριοὺς προσέφερε καὶ κλίμακας καὶ πάσῃ πολιορκίας ἐχρήτο ἰδέα. τῶν δὲ Καμαριναίων καταπλαγέντων τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας καὶ δέχεσθαι τὸν ὕπατον ἀξιούντων, τῶν δ' ἀμύνεσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μὴ παριέναι τοὺς πολεμίους εἴσω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ταραττόμενόν [p. 212] τε καὶ στασιάζον αὐτῶν

ἐπεκράτει, τὰς πύλας ἐκκόψας καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα τῶν ἐρυμάτων κλίμαξι καταλαβόμενος κατὰ κράτος εἰλήφει τὴν πόλιν. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα φέρειν τε καὶ ^[5] ἄγειν τὰ χρήματα τοῖς σφετέροις ἐφῆκε: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς συναχθῆναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς ἓν χωρίον κελεύσας τοὺς μὲν βουλευσάντας τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ὄχλον ἀπέδοτο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατέσκαψεν.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνικά στάδιον Νικέας Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Σμύρου, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν Πόστομος Κομίνιος καὶ Τίτος Λάρκιος: ἐφ' ὧν ἀπέστησαν αἱ Λατίνων πόλεις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας, Ὀκταουίου Μαιμιλίου τοῦ κηδεύσαντος Ταρκυνίῳ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως, τοὺς μὲν ὑποσχέσεσι δώρων, τοὺς δὲ δεήσεσι πείσαντος συμπρᾶξαι τοῖς ^[2] φυγάσι τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ γίνεται κοινὴ τῶν συναγομένων εἰς Φερεντῖνον ἀγορὰ πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως: ταύτῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπήγγειλαν μόνῃ παρεῖναι, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν: ἐν ἣ ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν ἔδει τὰς πόλεις περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ ^[3] περὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευσασθαι παρασκευῶν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτῆς Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς εἰς τὰς ὁμόρους πόλεις δεησόμενος αὐτῶν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν: [p. 213] ἐλήστευον γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τινες τοὺς ὁμοτέρμονας ἀγροὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀποστελλόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔβλπτον: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν κοινὴν σύνοδον ἔγνω τῶν πόλεων γιγνομένην ἐπὶ τῷ διενεγκεῖν ἀπάσας τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ψῆφον, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον καὶ λόγον αἰτησάμενος παρὰ τῶν προέδρων ἔλεξεν, ὅτι πεμφθεὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς τὰς ἀποστελλούσας τὰ ληστήρια πόλεις δεησόμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνόχους τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἐξευρούσας ἐκδοῦναι σφίσι τιμωρίας ὑφέξοντας κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥρισαν, ὅτε συνετίθεντο τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀξιώσων φυλάττειν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀμάρτημα γένηται κοινόν, ὃ διαστήσει τὴν τε φιλίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν. ^[4] ὁρῶν δ' ἀπάσας συνεληλυθυίας τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμῳ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων καταλαμβανόμενος, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις μόνοις οὐ παρήγγειλαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεῖναι, γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀπάσας παρεῖναι τὰς πόλεις ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀγοραῖς, ὅσαι τοῦ Λατίνων εἰσὶ γένους, παραγγειλάντων αὐταῖς τῶν προέδρων, θαυμάζειν, τί δήποτε παθόντες ἢ τί κατηγορεῖν ἔχοντες τῆς πόλεως οἱ σύεδροι μόνην οὐ παρέλαβον ἐκείνην ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον, ἣν πρώτην τε πασῶν ἔδει παρεῖναι καὶ πρώτην ἐρωτᾶσθαι γνώμην ἡγεμονίαν ἔχουσιν τοῦ ἔθνους, ἧς ἔτυχε παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκόντων ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν. [p. 214]

μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀρικηνοὶ τε λόγον αἰτησάμενοι κατηγοροῦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγον σφίσις ὄντες συγγενεῖς καὶ παρέσχον ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀπάσας τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι: καὶ Ταρκύνιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνανεούμενος τὰς γενομένας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ κοινόν τῶν πόλεων συνθήκας περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας, ἡξίου τὰς πόλεις ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς ὄρκους, κατάγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ

τὴν ἀρχήν: Καμαριναίων τε καὶ Φιδηναίων φυγάδες, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς πατρίδος, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀνδραποδισμόν καὶ τὴν κατασκαφὴν ὀδυρόμενοι, παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. [2] τελευταῖος δὲ πάντων ὁ Ταρκυνίου κηδεστῆς Μαμίλιος μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις δυνάμενος ἀναστὰς μακρὰν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν. ἀπολογούμενου δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα τοῦ Οὐαλερίου καὶ δοκοῦντος περιεῖναι τοῖς δικαίοις, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς τὰ κατηγορήματα καὶ τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀναλώσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπέθηκαν τῇ βουλῇ τέλος: τῇ δὲ κατόπιν οὐκέτι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρόεδροι προαγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον, ἀλλὰ Ταρκυνίῳ τε καὶ Μαμιλίῳ καὶ Ἀρικηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν ἀποδόντες λόγον, ἐπειδὴ πάντων διήκουσαν ψηφίζονται λελῦσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Οὐαλέριον πρέσβεσιν ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν, ὅτι τὸ συγγενὲς ἐκείνων τοῖς ἀδικήμασι λευκότων βουλευσονται [p. 215] κατὰ σχολὴν ὄντινα τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι χρή. [3] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο χρόνῳ, συνωμοσία κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο δούλων συχνῶν συνειπαμένων τὰς τ' ἄκρας καταλαβέσθαι καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐμπρῆσαι τόπους τὴν πόλιν. μηνύσεως δὲ γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδόντων αἱ πύλαι τ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων εὐθὺς ἐκλείοντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐρύματα τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων κατεῖληπτο: καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συλληφθέντες, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀναχθέντες, ὅσους ἀπέφαινον οἱ μηνυταὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς συνωμοσίας, μᾶστιξι καὶ βασάνοις αἰκισθέντες ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν ἅπαντες. ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπράχθη τῶν ὑπάτων.

Σερουιλίου δὲ Σολπικίου Καμερινοῦ καὶ Μανίου Τυλλίου Λόγγου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντων Φιδηναίων τινὲς παρὰ Ταρκυνίων στρατιώτας μεταπεμφάμενοι τὴν ἄκραν καταλαμβάνονται, καὶ τῶν μὴ ταῦτά προαιρουμένων οὓς μὲν διαφθείραντες, οὓς δ' ἐξέλασαντες, ἀφιστᾶσιν αὖθις ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὴν πόλιν: πρεσβείας τε Ῥωμαικῆς ἀφικομένης ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, κωλυθέντες δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, [2] οὔτε δοῦναι λόγον ἀξιώσαντες οὔτε λαβεῖν. ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαθοῦσα πρὸς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν πρόθυμος ἦν, πυνθανομένη μὴ πᾶσιν εἶναι τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν [p. 216] προβούλων κατὰ νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τοὺς δημοτικούς ἀναδύεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἀξιούντας μένειν τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν διαλελύσθαι λεγόντων: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ τὸν ἕτερον ἐψηφίσαντο τῶν ὑπάτων Μάνιον Τύλλιον ἀποστεῖλαι στρατιὰν ἄγοντα πολλήν: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσε κατὰ πολλήν: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσε κατὰ πολλήν ἄδειαν οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένου, πλησίον τοῦ τείχους καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐφύλαττε μὴτ' ἀγορὰς εἰσάγεσθαι τοῖς ἔνδον μῆτε ὅπλα 19 μῆτε ἄλλην βοήθειαν μηδεμίαν. [3] Φιδηναῖοι μὲν δὴ τειχήρεις ἐγένοντο καὶ πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πόλεις δεόμενοι ταχείας συμμαχίας: οἱ δὲ προεστηκότες τῶν Λατίνων, ἀγορὰν ποιησάμενοι τῶν πόλεων, Ταρκυνίοις τε αὖθις ἀποδόντες λόγον καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἥκουσιν, ἐκάλουν τοὺς συνέδρους εἰς ἀπόφασιν γνώμης, τίνα χρή πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τρόπον, ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀρξάμενοι. [4] πολλῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων λόγων καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου πρῶτον, εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν ἐπικυρῶσαι, οἱ μὲν ταραχωδέστεροι τῶν συνέδρων τὸν βασιλέα κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤξιουν καὶ Φιδηναίοις βοηθεῖν παρήνουν: ἐν ἡγεμονίαις μὲν βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι στρατιωτικαῖς καὶ πραγμάτων ἐράψασθαι μεγάλων, μάλιστα δ' οἱ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐρῶντες, ἦν συγκατασκευάσειν αὐτοῖς Ταρκυνίους ἐπιέθοντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησαμένους. οἱ δ' εὐπορώτατοί τε καὶ ἐπεικέστατοι μένειν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἤξιουν τὰς πόλεις καὶ μὴ προχείρως ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα [p. 217] χωρεῖν: καὶ ἦσαν οὗτοι τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατοι. [5] ἐξωθούμενοι δὴ πρὸς τῶν παραινούντων τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπισπεύδοντες, τοῦτο γε πείθουσι ποιῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τελευτῶντες, πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς παρακαλέσοντας ἅμα καὶ συμβουλευέσοντας τῇ πόλει δέχεσθαι Ταρκυνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἐπ' ἀδεία καὶ ἀμνηστία, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅρκια τεμόντας τῇ πατρίῳ κοσμεῖσθαι πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῆς Φιδηναίων πόλεως ἀπανιστάναι τὸν στρατόν, ὡς σφῶν γε οὐχ ὑπεροφωμένων συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀφαιρεθέντας τὴν πατρίδα: ἐὰν δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ὑπομείνωσι πράττειν, τότε βουλεύσεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου: [6] οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες μὲν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδέτερον ὑπομενοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, προφάσεις δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας βουλόμενοι λαβεῖν εὐπρεπεῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντιούμενους σφίσι θεραπειάς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ καὶ χάρισιν ἐπάξεσθαι νομίζοντες. ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι καὶ χρόνον ὀρίσαντες ἐνιαύσιον Ῥωμαίοις

μὲν βουλῆς, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ παρασκευῆς, καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀποδείξαντες, οὓς Ταρκύνιος ἐβούλετο, διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον.

διασκεδασθέντων δὲ τῶν Λατίνων κατὰ πόλεις, ὀρῶντες οἱ περὶ Μамίλιόν τε καὶ Ταρκύνιον, ὅτι ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναπετώκασιν οἱ πολλοί, τὰς μὲν ὑπερορίους ἐλπίδας ὡς οὐ πάνυ βεβαίαις ἀφίεσαν: μεταθήμενοι δὲ τὰς γνώμας τὸν πολιτικὸν καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἐμχανῶντο πόλεμον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναστῆσαι τῆς [p. 218] Ῥώμης, στάσιν εἰσάγοντες τοῖς πένησι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους. [2] ἤδη δ' ὑπεκίνει τὸ πολὺ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος καὶ ἐνόσει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ ἄπορον καὶ ὑπὸ δανείων ἠναγκασμένον μηκέτι τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἐμετρίαζον ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις οἱ δανεῖζοντες, ἀλλ' εἰς δεσμοὺς τὰ τῶν ὑποχρέων ἀπῆγον σώματα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοισι αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο. [3] ταῦτα δὴ μαθὼν ἔπεμψεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Λατίνων ἀνυπόπτους τινὰς ἄνδρας φέροντας χρυσίον, οἱ συνιόντες εἰς λόγους τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ θραυστάτοις, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδόντες αὐτοῖς, τὰ δ' εἰ κατέλθοιεν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, πολλοὺς πάνυ τῶν πολιτῶν διέφθειραν: καὶ γίνεται συνωμοσία κατὰ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρων ἀπόρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων πονηρῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίσιν ὑπαχθέντων, οἱ διὰ τοὺς κολασθέντας ὁμοδούλους ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ δυσμενῶς καὶ ἐπιβούλως διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας, ἀπιστοῦμενοί τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντες ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ σφίσι ἐπιτησόμενοι ποτε εἰ καιρὸν λάβοιεν, ἄσμενοι τοῖς παρακαλοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθεσιν ὑπήκουσαν. [4] ὁ δὲ τῆς συνωμοσίας αὐτῶν τοιόσδε ἦν λογισμός. τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔδει φυλάξαντας νύκτ' ἀσέληνον τὰς ἄκρας καὶ τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τῆς πόλεως τόπους καταλαβέσθαι: τοὺς δὲ θεράποντας, ὅταν αἰσθωνται κρατοῦντας ἐκείνους τῶν ἐπικαίρων χωρίων: ἀλαλαγμῷ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐμελλεν [p. 219] αὐτοῖς γενήσεσθαι φανερόν: ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς δεσπότας καθεύδοντας, ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένους τὰς τε οἰκίας διαρπάσαι τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς τυράννοις ἀνοῖξαι.

ἡ δ' ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ σώζουσα τὴν πόλιν καὶ μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων παραμένουσα θεῖα πρόνοια διεκάλυψεν αὐτῶν τὰ βουλευματα μηνύσεως θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων γενομένης Σολπικίῳ, ἣν ἐποίησαν ἀδελφοὶ δύο Ταρκύνιοι, Πόπλιος καὶ Μάρκος, ἐκ Λαυρέντου πόλεως, κορυφαϊότατοι τῶν μετασχόντων τῆς συνωμοσίας, ὑπὸ θείας ἀνάγκης βιαζόμενοι. [2] ἐφίσταντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὅτε κοιμηθεῖεν, ὅφεις ὀνείρων φοβεραὶ τιμωρίας ἐπαπειλοῦσαι μεγάλας, εἰ μὴ παύσαιντο καὶ ἀποσταῖεν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, διώκεσθαι τε ὑπὸ δαιμόνων τινῶν καὶ παῖεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορῦττεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ σχέτλια πάσχειν τελευτῶντες ἐδόκουν: ὅφ' ὧν περίφοβοι καὶ τρόμῳ παλλόμενοι διηγείροντο καὶ οὐδὲ καθεύδειν διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτ' ἐδύναντο. [3] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀποτροπαίοις τισὶ καὶ ἐξακεστηρίοις θυσίαις ἐπειρῶντο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνισταμένους σφίσι δαίμονας: ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἐπὶ μαντείας ἐτράποντο τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀπόρρητον φυλάττοντες, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἀξιοῦντες μαθεῖν, εἰ καιρὸς ἤδη πράττειν, ἃ βούλονται. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι πονηρὰν καὶ ὀλέθριον [p. 220] βαδίζουσιν ὁδὸν καί, εἰ μὴ μεταθήσονται τὰ

βουλευματα, τὸν αἰσχιστον ἀπολοῦνται τρόπον, δεισαντες μὴ φθάσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι τὰ κρυπτὰ εἰς φῶς ἐξενέγκαντες, αὐτοὶ μηνυταὶ γίνονται πρὸς τὸν ἐνδημοῦντα 20 τῶν ὑπάτων. [4] ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος εὖ ποιήσῃν, ἐὰν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις ἐπιδείξωνται, τοὺτους μὲν ἔνδον παρ' ἐαυτῷ κατεῖχεν οὐδενὶ φράσας· τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πρέσβεις ἀναβαλλόμενος τέως καὶ παρέλκων τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τότε εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ [5] δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτούς· ἄνδρες φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀπαγγέλλετε ἀπὼντες πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ὁ δῆμος οὔτε πρότερον Ταρκυνιήταις ἀξιοῦσιν ἐχαρίσατο τὴν τῶν τυράννων κάθοδον, οὔθ' ὕστερον ἅπασι Τυρρηνοῖς, οὓς ἦγε βασιλεὺς Πορσίνας, ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένοις καὶ πόλεμον ἐπάγουσιν ἀπάντων πολέμων βαρύτερον ἐνέκλινεν, ἀλλ' ἠγέσχετο γῆν τε κειρομένην ὁρῶν καὶ αὐλὰς ἐμπιπραμένας, τειχέρας γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ μηθὲν ὦν μὴ βούλεται πράττειν κελευσθεῖς· ὑμῶν τ', ὧ Λατῖνοι, θεθαύμακεν, εἰ ταῦτ' εἰδότες οὐδὲν ἤττον δέχεσθαι τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τὴν Φιδήνης πολιορκίαν λῦειν ἐπιτάττοντες ἤκετε [p. 221] καὶ μὴ πειθομένοις πόλεμον ἀπειλεῖτε. παύσασθε δὴ ψυχρὰς καὶ ἀπιθάνους τῆς ἔχθρας παραβαλλόμενοι προφάσεις καὶ εἰ διὰ ταῦτα μέλλετε διαλύειν τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυροῦν, μηθὲν ἔτι ἀναβάλλεσθε.

ταῦτα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τοῦτο φράζει τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς ἀπορρήτου συνωμοσίας, ἃ παρὰ τῶν μηνυτῶν ἔμαθε· καὶ λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ διερευνήσασθαι τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων καὶ τοῦ κολάσαι τοὺς ἐξευρεθέντας, οὐ τὴν αὐθάδη καὶ τυραννικὴν ἦλθεν ὁδόν, ὡς ἕτερος ἂν τις ἐποίησεν εἰς τοσαύτην κατακλεισθεῖς ἀνάγκην· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν εὐλόγιστον τε καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τῷ σήματι τῆς καθεστῶσης τότε πολιτείας ἀκόλουθον ἐτράπετο. [2] οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συλλαμβανομένους ἄγεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποσπωμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ πατέρων ἐβουλήθη, τὸν τ' οἶκτον ἐνθυμούμενος, οἷος ἔσται τῶν προσηκόντων ἐκάστοις παρὰ τὸν ἀποσπασμὸν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ δεδοικῶς, μὴ τινες ἀπονοηθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τὴν ὁρμὴν λάβωσι, καὶ δι' αἵματος ἐμφυλίου χωρήσῃ τὸ ἀναγκασθὲν παρανομεῖν· οὔτε δικαστήρια καθίζειν αὐτοῖς ὥετο δεῖν, λογιζόμενος, ὅτι πάντες ἀρνήσονται καὶ οὐθὲν ἔσται βέβαιον τοῖς δικασταῖς τεκμήριον οὐδ' ἀναμφίλεκτον ἔξω τῆς μηνύσεως, ὧ πιστεύσαντες θάνατον τῶν πολιτῶν καταψηφιοῦνται· [3] καινὸν δὲ τινα [p. 222] τρόπον ἀπάτης ἐξεῦρε τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, δι' οὗ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντες εἰς ἓν χωρίον ἤξουσιν οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἡγεμόνες, ἔπειτ' ἀναμφιλέκτοις ἀλώσονται τεκμηρίοις, ὥστε μηδ' ἀπολογίαν αὐτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι μηδεμίαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ εἰς ἔρημον συναχθέντες τόπον οὐδ' ἐν ὀλίγοις μάρτυσιν ἐξελεγχθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ πάντων ὁρώντων γενόμενοι καταφανεῖς ἃ προσήκει πείσονται, ταραχὴ τ' οὐδεμία γενήσεται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπαναστάσεις ἐτέρων, οἷα συμβαίνειν φιλεῖ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν

ἐπισφαλῆσι καιροῖς.

ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συλλαβῶν τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ὀλίγης τοῖς πράγμασι δηλώσεως δέον: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς συλλήψεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱστορίας ἄξιον εἶναι νομίσας ἔκρινα μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὰς ἱστορίας οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἐστὶν εἰς ὠφέλειαν τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τῶν πραχθέντων ἀκοῦσαι, ἀπαιτεῖ δ' ἕκαστος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἱστορῆσαι τῶν γινομένων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πράξεων καὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν πραξάντων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου συγκυρήσαντα, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀνήκοος γενέσθαι τῶν πεφυκότων τοῖς πράγμασι παρακολουθεῖν: τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς καὶ [p. 223] πάνυ ἀναγκαίαν ὑπάρχουσαν ὁρῶν τὴν τοῦτων μάθησιν, ἵνα παραδείγμασιν ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα χρῆσθαι. [2] ἦν δ' ὁ τρόπος τῆς συλλήψεως τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ὃν ἐξεῦρεν ὁ ὕπατος, τοιοῦτος. τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν λάβωσι τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ τῶν πιστοτάτων φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τῆς πόλεως καταλαβέσθαι τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες: τοῖς θ' ἵππεῦσι προεῖπεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάταις τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκιῶν περιμένειν ἔχουσι ξίφη καὶ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς κελεύῃ. [3] ἵνα δὲ μὴθὲν ἐν τῇ συλλήψει τῶν πολιτῶν νεωτερίσωσιν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς πολιτῶν μὴδ' ἐμφύλιοι διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν ταύτην γένωνται φόνοι, γράμματα πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς Φιδηναίων τεταγμένον ὕπατον ἐκέλευσεν ἀρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς ἄγοντα τὸ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ἐν ὀρεινῷ τόπῳ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα.

παρασκευασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς μηνύσασιν τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶπε ..., πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἦκειν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἄγοντας οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύουσι τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς ἐκεῖ τάξιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ σύνθημα ληψομένους, καὶ ἃ δεῖ [p. 224] πράττειν ἕκαστους ἀκούοντας. ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα: καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνήχθησαν οἱ προεστηκότες τῶν ἐταίρων ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, διὰ συνθημάτων ἀδήλων ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς αἶ τε ἄκραι πλήρεις ἐγίγνοντο τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀνελιγφόντων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφρουρεῖτο κύκλῳ, μία τε οὐ κατελείπετο τοῖς ἀπιέναι βουλομένοις ἐξοδος. [2] καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μάνιος ἀπὸ τῆς Φιδήνης ἀναστὰς παρῆν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δ' ἡμέρα τάχιστα διέλαμψεν, ὀπλίτας περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντες οἱ ὕπατοι προῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα: καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν στενωπῶν τοῖς κήρυξι περιαγεῖλαι κελεύσαντες ἦκειν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου συνδραμόντος, δηλοῦσί τε αὐτοῖς τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ τοῦ τυράννου συνωμοσίαν καὶ τοὺς μηνυτὰς ἀναβιβάζονται. [3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι συγχωρήσαντες, ἐὰν τινες ἀμφισβητῶσι πρὸς τὴν μήνυσιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἄρνησιν οὐδεὶς ἐπεχείρησε τραπέσθαι, μεταστάντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον γνώμας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηρώτησαν τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ γραψάμενοι τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς ἦκον αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν

ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα ἀνέγνωσαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε: Ταρκυνίοις μὲν τοῖς μηνύσασι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν πολιτείαν δεδόσθαι καὶ ἀργυρίου μυρίας ἑκατέρω δραχμὰς καὶ πλέθρα γῆς δημοσίας εἴκοσι: [p. 225] τοὺς δὲ μετασχόντας τῆς συνωμοσίας συλληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτὰ δοκῇ. [4] τοῦ δὲ συνεληλυθότος ὄχλου κύρια ποιήσαντος τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ, μεταστῆναι κελεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνεληλυθότας, ἔπειτ' ἐκάλεσαν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔχοντας ξίφη, οἱ πάντας τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐν ᾧ συνεκλείσθησαν χωρίῳ περιστάντες κατεφόνευσαν. διαχρησάμενοι δὲ τοὺτους οὐκέτι παρεδέξαντο μήνυσιν οὐδεμίαν κατ' οὐθενὸς τῶν ταῦτὰ βουλευσαμένων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀφῆκαν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοὺς διαφυγόντας τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς κόλασιν, ἵνα πᾶν ἐξαιρεθῇ τὸ παραχῶδες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [5] οἱ μὲν δὴ συστήσαντες τὴν συνωμοσίαν τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καθαρθῆναι ψηφισαμένη τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας, ὅτι περὶ πολιτικοῦ φόνου γνώμας ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀποδείξασθαι, ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἱερὰ παρεῖναι καὶ θυσιῶν κατάρχεσθαι, πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὸ μίasma καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν λῦσαι τοῖς εἰωθόσι καθαρμοῖς: ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὅσιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ θεῖα κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον ἐπράχθη, θυσίας μετὰ τοῦτο χαριστηρίου καὶ ἀγῶνας ἔκρινεν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔθηκεν εἰς ταῦτα ἱεράς. Μανίου δὲ Τυλλίου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶσι [p. 226] κατὰ τὴν πομπὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεσόντος ἄρματος κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἱππόδρομον, καὶ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσαντος, τὸν λειπόμενον χρόνον βραχὺν ὄντα τὴν ἀρχὴν μόνος ὁ Σολπίκιος κατέσχεν.

ὑπατοὶ δ' εἰς τὸν ἐπίνοντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθησαν Πόπλιος Οὐετούριος Γεμῖνος καὶ Πόπλιος Αἰβούτιος Ἑλβας. τούτων ὁ μὲν Αἰβούτιος ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐτάχθη πραγμάτων φυλακῆς οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖσθαι δοκούντων, μὴ τις ἑτέρα νεωτερισθῇ πρᾶξις ἐκ τῶν πενήτων: Οὐετούριος δὲ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Φιδηναίων γῆν ἐδῆρου κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενος τῇ πόλει προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο συνεχεῖς. οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ πολιορκίᾳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλεῖν ἀπεχάρακου τὰ πέριξ καὶ ἀπετάφρευεν ὡς λιμῷ [2] 21 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παραστησόμενος. ἤδη δὲ κάμνουσι τοῖς Φιδηναίοις ἦκεν ἐπικουρία Λατίνων, ἣν ἀπέστειλε Σέξτος Ταρκύνιος, καὶ σῖτος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια. οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐθάρρησαν προελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, δύνاميς οὐ μικρά, καὶ ποιοῦνται στρατόπεδον ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὲ περιτειχισμὸς οὐκέτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρήσιμος ἦν, ἐδόκει δ' ἀγῶνος δεῖν: καὶ γίνεται πλησίον τῆς πόλεως μάχη μέχρι τινὸς ἀγχώματος: ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταιαπῶρου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἄσκησιν αὐτοῖς περιῆν, ἐκβιασθέντες οἱ Φιδηναῖοι πλείους ὄντες ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων εἰς φυγὴν κατέστησαν. [3] φόνος δ' οὐ πολὺς [p. 227] αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς διώξαντας ἀποκρουσασμένων. μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἐπικουροὶ διασκεδασθέντες ἀπῆσαν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἔνδον ὠφελήσαντες: ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς πάλιν ἐγεγόνει συμφοραῖς καὶ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων

ἐπονείτο, ^[4] κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Σέξτος Ταρκύνιος ἄγων στρατιάν Λατίνων ἐπὶ Σιγνίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐστράτευσεν, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὸ φρουρίον παραληψόμενος. γενναίως δὲ τῶν ἔνδον ἀπομαχεσάμενων, παρεσκεύαστο μὲν ὡς λιμῶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ χωρίον ἐκλιπεῖν ἀναγκάσων καὶ πολὺν αὐτόθι χρόνον οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράττων διετέλει: ἀποτυχὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀφικομένης τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ βοηθείας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Ῥωμαῖοι καθιστᾶσιν ὑπάτους Τίτον Λάρκιον Φλάβον καὶ Κόιντον Κλοίλιον Σικελόν. τοῦτων ὁ μὲν Κλοίλιος τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν νεωτερίζοντων, ἐπεικῆς τὴν φύσιν εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ δημοτικός. ὁ δὲ Λάρκιος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Φιδηναίων πόλεμον ἐξηρτυμένην στρατιάν ἄγων καὶ τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευασάμενος ὥχετο. ^[2] πονουμένοις τε τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντων σπανίζουσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων χαλεπὸς ἦν [p. 228] ὑπορῦπτων τε τοὺς θεμελίους τῶν τειχῶν καὶ χώματα ἐγείρων καὶ μηχανὰς προσφέρων καὶ οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς τῆς πολιορκίας ἀφιστάμενος ὀλίγου τε χρόνου κατὰ κράτος αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπολαμβάνων. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ Λατίνων πόλεις, αἷς οἱ Φιδηναῖοι μόναις πιστεύοντες ἀνείλοντο τὸν πόλεμον, ἱκαναὶ σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι τότε ἦσαν. ^[3] μία μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμία πόλις ἀξιόχρεως ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς πολιορκίας αὐτοῦς, κοινῇ δ' ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους οὕτω συνειστήκει δύναμις, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ἐδίδωσαν οἱ προεσσηκότες τῶν πόλεων ἀποκρίσεις, ὡς ἀφιζομένης σφίσιν ἐπικουρίας ἐν τάχει: ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἐγένετο ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὅμοιον, ἀλλὰ μέχρι λόγων αἱ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐλπίδες ἐχώρουν. ^[4] οὐ μὴν παντάπασι γε τὰ παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἀπεγνώκεσαν οἱ Φιδηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐλπίσι πάντα τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομένοντες. ἦν δ' ὑπὲρ πάντα ὁ λιμὸς ἄμαχον πρᾶγμα καὶ πολὺν οὗτος ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπων φθόρον. ὡς δ' ἀπειρήκεσαν ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς, πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὑπατον ἀνοχὰς αἰτοῦντες εἰς τεταγμένον τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἐν τούτῳ βουλευσόμενοι τῷ χρόνῳ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὴν ποιήσονται δικαίους. ^[5] ἦν δ' οὐ βουλῆς χάριν αἰτοῦμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῆς τῶν συμμαχῶν, ὡς ἐδήλωσαν τῶν αὐτομόλων τινὲς ἔναγχος ἀφιγμένοι. τῇ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν νυκτὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους [p. 229] τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πλεῖστον ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσι δυναμένους ἀπεστάλκεσαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἰκετηρίας φέροντας.

ταῦτα δὴ προεγνωκὼς ὁ Λάρκιος τοῖς μὲν αἰτοῦσι τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθεμένοις καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοιξάσι, τότε διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν: ἄλλως δ' οὔτε διαλλαγὰς οὔτε ἀνοχὰς οὔτε ἄλλο φιλάνθρωπον ἢ μέτριον οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν ἔφη παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως: τοὺς δ' ἀποσταλέντας ἐπὶ τὸ Λατίνων ἔθνος πρεσβευτὰς ἐφύλαττε μηκέτι παρελθεῖν ἐντὸς τείχους, ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγούσας ὁδοὺς φρουραῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις διαλαβὼν, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀπογνόντες ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δεήσεις καταφυγεῖν.

καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔκριναν ὑπομένειν τὰς διαλλαγὰς, ^[2] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ κρατῶν ἡξίου. οὕτως δ' ἄρα πολιτικὰ ἦν τὰ τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων ἡθῆ καὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντα τυραννικῆς αὐθαδειας, ἣν σπάνιοι τινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνων ἰσχυσαν ἐξουσίας ἐπαρθέντες μεγέθει διαφυγεῖν, ὥστε παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ὁ ὕπατος οὐθὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κελεύσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆει, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ συνέδριον ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς σκοπεῖν, ^[3] τίνα χρηστέον τοῖς παραδοῦσιν ἐαυτοὺς τρόπον. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγασθέντες τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς τιμῆς οἱ σύεδροι τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεστάτους Φιδηναίων καὶ τῆς [p. 230] ἀποστάσεως ἄρξαντας ἐδικαίωσαν, οὓς ἂν ὁ ὕπατος ἀποφῆνῃ ῥάβδοις μαστιγωθέντας ἀποκοπῆναι τὰς κεφαλὰς· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐποίησαν ἅπαντα πράττειν, ὅσα προηρεῖτο. ^[4] γενόμενος δ' ὁ Λάρκιος ἀπάντων κύριος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς τῶν Φιδηναίων κατηγορηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν τάναντία φρονούντων ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἐδήμευσε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπέδωκε τὴν τε πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, τῆς δὲ γῆς αὐτῶν ἀπετέμετο τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ἣν ἐκληροῦχῃσαν οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ τῆς ἄκρας. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν.

ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τοῖς Λατίνοις ἡ τῆς Φιδήνης ἄλωσις, ὀρθῇ καὶ περίφοβος πᾶσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν ἅπαντες ἐχαλέπαινον ὥς προδεδωκόσι τοὺς συμμάχους. συναχθείσης δ' ἀγορᾶς ἐν Φερεντίνῳ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὸν πόλεμον κατηγορίαν οἱ τὰ ὄπλα πειθόντες αὐτοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Ταρκύνιός τε καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Μαμίλιος καὶ οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς Ἀρικηνῶν πόλεως. ^[2] ὑφ' ὧν ἐκδημαγωγηθέντες, ὅσοι τοῦ Λατίνων μετεῖχον γένους, κοινῇ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦνται πόλεμον· καὶ ἵνα πόλις μηδεμία μῆτε προδῶ τὸ κοινὸν μῆτε προκαταλύσῃται τὴν ἔχθραν [p. 231] ἄνευ τῆς ἀπάντων γνώμης ὄρκους ἔδωσαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοὺς μὴ φυλάζοντας τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐκσπόνδους εἶναι καὶ καταράτους ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πολεμίους ἀπάντων. ^[3] οἱ δ' ἐγγραφάμενοι ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῦτα πρόβουλοι καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ὁμόσαντες ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν ἄνδρες, Ἀρδεατῶν, Ἀρικηνῶν, Βοϊλλανῶν, Βουβεντανῶν, Κόρνων, Καρνευτανῶν, Κιρκαιητῶν, Κοριολανῶν, Κορβιντῶν, Καβανῶν, Φορτινείων, Γαβίων, Λαυρεντίνων, Λανουινίων, Λαβινιατῶν, Λαβικανῶν, Νωμεντανῶν, Νωρβανῶν, Πραινεστίνων, Πεδανῶν, Κορκοτουλανῶν, Σατρικανῶν, Σκαπτηνίων, Σητίνων, Τιβουρτίνων, Τυσκλανῶν, Τοληρίων, Τελληνίων, Οὐελιτρανῶν· ἐκ τούτων ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ συστρατεῦειν ὄσων ἂν δέη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ὀκταουῖῳ Μαμιλίῳ καὶ Σέξτῳ Ταρκυνίῳ· τούτους γὰρ ἀπέδειξαν στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας. ^[4] ἵνα δ' εὐπρεπεῖς δόξωσι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τοῦ πολέμου προφάσεις, πρεσβευτὰς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους [p. 232] εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγον κατηγορεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐπιφερόντων Τυρρηνῶν Ἀρικηνοῖς οὐ μόνον

ἀσφαλεῖς παρέσχον αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας τὰς διόδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέπραξαν ὅσων αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔδει, καὶ τοὺς φυγόντας ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὑποδεξάμενοι τραυματίας καὶ ἀνόπλους ἅπαντας ὄντας ἔσωσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι κοινὸν ἐπῆγον ἅπασιν τοῖς ὁμοεθνεσὶ πόλεμον, καὶ εἰ τὴν Ἀρικηνῶν πόλιν ὑποχείριον ἔλαβον, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καταδουλώσασθαι πόλεις ἀπάσας. [5] εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλήσονται δίκας Ἀρικηνοῖς ὑπέχειν ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων ἀφικόμενοι δικαστήριον καὶ στέρξουσι τοῖς ὑπὸ πάντων δικασθησομένοις, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν δεήσειν πολέμου: εἰ δὲ τὴν συνήθη φυλάξαντες αὐθάδειαν, οὐδὲν ἀξιώσουσι συγχωρεῖν τοῖς συγγενέσι τῶν δικαίων καὶ μετρίων, ἡπεῖλουν πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς Λατίνους ἅπαντας ἀνὰ κράτος.

ταῦτα προκαλουμένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα δίκην ὑποσχεῖν Ἀρικηνοῖς ἡ βουλή, περὶ ᾧ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἔμελλον γίνεσθαι κριταί, καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων κριτὰς ἔσεσθαι ὑπολαμβάνουσα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ προσθήσειν ἔτι βαρύτερα τούτων ἐπιτάγματα, δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τῶν ἀγώνων οὐδεμίαν [p. 233] ὑπελάμβανον καταλήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν συμφοράν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὠρρώδει τῶν πολεμίων: καὶ πολλαχῇ διατέμπουσα πρέσβεις παρεκάλει τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἀντιπρεσβευομένων εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς καὶ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ῥώμης κατηγορούντων. [2] Ἑρnikες μὲν οὖν κοινῇ συνελθόντες ὑποπτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις ἀπεκρίναντο, συμμαχήσειν μὲν οὐδετέροις λέγοντες κατὰ τὸ παρόν, βουλευέσεσθαι δ' ὁπότεροι δικαιότερα ἀξιοῦσι κατὰ σχολήν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον ἀποδώσειν. [3] Ῥότολοι δὲ Λατίνοις μὲν ἐπικουρίαν πέμψειν ἀντικρυς ὑπέσχοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἐὰν βουλευθῶσι καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἐχθραν, διὰ σφῶν μετριοτέρους παρέξειν Λατίνους ἔφασαν καὶ τὰς συμβάσεις αὐτοῖς διαιτήσειν. Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀναισχυντίας, ὅτι συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς, ὅτι τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἡδικηκότες ἦσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ὡς τῆς χώρας τὴν κρατίστην αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας σφᾶς παρακαλεῖν, συνεβούλευόν τ' αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦσι τὴν χώραν τότε παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς φίλων ἀπαιτεῖν τὰ δίκαια. Τυρρηνοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐμποδῶν ἐγίνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν σπονδὰς γεγενῆναι λέγοντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, πρὸς δὲ Ταρκυνίους συγγένειαν εἶναι σφίσι καὶ φιλίαν. [p. 234] [4] τοιαῦτα τούτων ἀποκριναμένων οὐθὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταπεινωθέντες, ὃ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς μέγαν τε πόλεμον αἰρομένους καὶ πάσας ἀπεγνωκότας τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσι πιστεύοντες μόναις πολλῶν προθυμότεροι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐγίνοντο, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐσόμενοι, καὶ ἐὰν κατὰ νοῦν πράξωσι ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρεταῖς κατορθώσαντες τὸν πόλεμον οὐδενὶ κοινωσόμενοι τῆς δόξης. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς φρονήματος καὶ τόλμης ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγώνων περιῆν.

παρασκευαζόμενοι δὲ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀρξάμενοι καταγράφειν, εἰς πολλὴν ἐνέπιπτον ἀμηχανίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπάντων προθυμίαν εἰς τὰ ἔργα παρεχομένων. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδεεῖς βίου καὶ

μάλιστα οἱ τὰ χρέα τοῖς συμβαλοῦσι διαλύσαι οὐ δυνάμενοι πολλοὶ σφόδρα ὄντες οὐχ ὑπῆκουον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καλοῦμενοι οὐδ' ἐβούλοντο κοινωνεῖν οὐδενὸς ἔργου τοῖς πατρικίοις, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσαιντο αὐτοῖς χρεῶν ἄφεσιν: ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλείπειν τινὲς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔλεγον καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἀλλήλοις μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν πόλει μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ μεταδιδούσῃ. [2] τέως μὲν οὖν παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ μεταπειθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐθὲν ἐγίνοντο μετριώτεροι πρὸς τὰς παρακλήσεις, οὕτω δὴ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσκόπουν, τίς εὐπρεπεστέρα λύσις ἔσται τῆς κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν ταραχῆς. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν [p. 235] ἐπικεῖς τὴν φύσιν καὶ μέτριοι τοῖς τιμήμασι τῶν βίων ἦσαν, παρήνουν ἀφεῖναι τὰ χρέα τοῖς πένησι καὶ πρίασθαι πολιτικὴν εὐνοίαν ὀλίγου διαφόρου, μεγάλα μέλλοντας ἐξ αὐτῆς κερδανεῖν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ.

ἢ δ' ὁ ταύτης ἡγούμενος τῆς γνώμης Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος, υἱὸς Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου, ἐνὸς τῶν καταλυσάντων τὴν τυραννίδα, τοῦ κληθέντος διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν εὐνοίαν Ποπλικόλα, διδάσκων αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνιζομένοις ἴσαι φιλοῦσιν ἐμφύεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα φιλοτιμίας, τοῖς δὲ μηδὲν ἀπολαβεῖν μέλλουσιν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν γενναῖον: ἡρεθίσθαι τε λέγων ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπόρους καὶ περιόντας κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγειν: [2] τί δ' ἡμῖν ἔσται πλεόν, ἐὰν νικήσωμεν τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους, εἰ τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀγώγιμοι πρὸς τὰ χρέα γενησόμεθα καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατασκευάσαντες αὐτοὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς σώμασι φυλάξαι δυνησόμεθα; κίνδυνόν τ' οὐ τοῦτον μόνον ἐπαχθῆναι σφίσιν ἀποφαίνων, ἐὰν ἐκπολεμωθῇ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δῆμος, μὴ καταλίπῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, ὃ πάντας ὀρρωδεῖν χρή τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνον τὸν ἔτι τοῦτου χαλεπώτερον, μὴ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν τυράννων φιланθρωπιαῖς ἐξαπατηθεῖς κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἄρῃται τὰ ὄπλα [p. 236] [3] καὶ συγκαταγάγῃ Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι λόγους καὶ ἀπειλὰς εἶναι, πονηρὸν δ' ἔργον μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, φθάσαι τῇ βοηθείᾳ ταύτῃ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὰ πράγματα προοικειωσαμένους παρήνει, οὕτε πρῶτους τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦτο καθισταμένους οὕτε αἰσχύνην τινὰ δι' αὐτὸ μεγάλην ὀφλήσοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔχοντας ἐπιδείξαι καὶ τοῦτο ὑπομείναντας καὶ ἄλλα πολλῶ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, ὅταν μηδὲν ἐξῇ πράττειν ἕτερον: τὰς γὰρ ἀνάγκας κρείττους εἶναι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τότε ἀξιοῦν ἅπαντας σκοπεῖν, ὅταν ἔχωσιν ἤδη τὸ ἀσφαλές.

ἔξαριθμησάμενος δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν παραδείγματα πόλεων τελευταίαν παρέσχετο τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν μεγίστου τότε τυγχάνουσας ὀνόματος ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἄφεσιν χρεῶν ψηφισαμένην τοῖς ἀπόροις Σόλωνος καθηγησαμένου, καὶ οὐθέναι τῇ πόλει τοῦ πολιτεύματος τούτου ἐπιτιμᾶν οὐδὲ τὸν εἰσηγησάμενον αὐτὸ δημοκόπον καὶ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πεισθεῖσι πολλὴν φρόνησιν ἅπαντας μαρτυρεῖν, καὶ [2] τῷ πείσαντι μεγάλην σοφίαν. Ῥωμαίοις δ', οἷς οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι διαφορῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραδοθῆναι πάλιν ὠμῶ καὶ παντὸς χειρόνι θηρίου τυράννῳ,

τις τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν, ἐὰν τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ταύτῃ συμμάχους ἀντὶ πολεμίων [p. 237] τοὺς πένητας κατασκευάσωνται τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι; [3] διεξελθὼν δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ παραδείγματα τελευταῖον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔργων προσελάμβανε: λόγον ὑπομιμνήσκων τὰς ἔναγχος κατασχούσας αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκας, ὅτε κρατουμένης σφῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν τειχῆρεις γινόμενοι καὶ εἰς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστάντες ἀπορίαν οὐκ ἔσχον ἀνθρώπων μεμνόντων καὶ θανατῶντων ἀνοήτους λογισμοὺς, ἀλλ' εἰξαντες τοῖς κατέχουσι καιροῖς καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην διδάσκαλον τῶν συμφερόντων λαβόντες, ὅμηρα τε δοῦναι βασιλεῖ Πορσίνα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους παῖδας ὑπέμειναν, οὕτω πρότερον τοῦτο ὑπομείναντες, καὶ μέρει τῆς χώρας ζημιωθῆναι, τῶν Ἑπτὰ πάγων Τυρρηνοῖς ἀποστάντες, καὶ δικαστῇ χρήσασθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ, περὶ ὧν αὐτοῖς ὁ τύραννος ἐνεκάλει, διδόντες καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐδέοντο Τυρρηνοὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ [4] καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς παραδείγμασι χρυσάμενος οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς φρονήσεως ἔργον ἀπέφαινε εἶναι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις περὶ μηθενὸς ὧν ἡξίωσαν ἀντεπεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἑαυτῶν πολίταις περὶ μικροῦ πολεμεῖν διαφόρου, οἳ πολέμους μὲν ἡγωνίσαντο καλοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὅτε κατεῖχον οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰ κοινὰ, μεγάλην δὲ προθυμίαν εἰς τὸ συνελευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων παρέσχοντο, ἔτι δὲ πλείονα παρέξεσθαι σπουδὴν ἔμελλον εἰς τὰ [p. 238] λοιπὰ ἔργα παρακληθέντες, βίων μὲν σπανίζοντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, ἃ μόνον περιῆν αὐτοῖς, ἀφειδῶς εἰς τοὺς περὶ αὐτῆς κινδύνους ἐπιδιδόντες. ἔφη δὲ τελευτῶν ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπεχειροῦν ἐκείνοι τοιοῦτον ὑπ' αἰσχύνης κρατούμενοι λέγειν, μηδὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν, τοὺς πατρικίους ἐχρῆν λογισμὸν τὸν προσήκοντα περὶ αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ὧν ἥδεσαν δεομένους καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, ταῦτ' ἐξ ἐτοίμου χαρίζεσθαι, ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι πρᾶγμα ὑπερήφανον ποιοῦσιν αἰτοῦντες μὲν παρ' ἐκείνων τὰ σώματα, μὴ χαριζόμενοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα, καὶ λέγοντες μὲν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὅτι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔνεκα πολεμοῦσι, τῶν δὲ συγκατακτησάμενων αὐτὴν ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐ πονηρίαν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπορίαν, ἣν οἰκτεῖρεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μισεῖσθαι προσῆκε.

τοιαῦτα τοῦ Οὐαλερίου λέγοντος καὶ πολλῶν τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινούντων Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβῖνος ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι κληθεὶς τόπῳ τάναντία παρήνει διδάσκων, ὅτι τὸ στασιάζον οὐκ ἐξαιρεθῆσεται τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν ψηφίσωνται χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, ἀλλ' ἔτι πονηρότερον ἔσται μεταχθὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πενήτων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους. [2] δῆλον γὰρ δὴ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν, ὅτι χαλεπῶς οἴσουσιν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποστερεῖσθαι τῶν χρημάτων πολῖται τ' ὄντες καὶ ἐπίτιμοι καὶ πάσας ἐστρατευμένοι τὰς ἐπιβαλούσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως στρατείας, [p. 239] οὐδ' ἀξιοῦντες ἃ κατέλιπον αὐτοῖς οἱ πατέρες καὶ αὐτοὶ φιλεργοῦντες καὶ σωφρόνως ζῶντες ἐκτήσαντο δημεύεσθαι τοῖς πονηροτάτοις καὶ ἀργοτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν. πολλῆς δ' εἶναι μωρίας ἔργον τῷ χεῖρονι μέρει τοῦ πολιτεύματος χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένους τοῦ κρείττονος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικωτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς ἀλλοτρίας δημεύοντας οὐσίας τῶν δικαίως αὐτὰς κτησάμενων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. [3] ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τ' αὐτοὺς ἡξίου, ὅτι οὐχ

ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντων αἱ πόλεις ἀπόλλυνται τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν δυναμένων, ὅταν ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ὑβρίζωνται καὶ τῶν δικαίων μὴ τυγχάνωσιν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀγανακτήσῃν μέλλοιεν οἱ τῶν συμβολαίων ἀποστεροῦμενοι, πρῶτος δὲ πῶς καὶ ῥαθυμῶς οἴσιν τὰς βλάβας, οὐδ' οὕτως ἔφη καλῶς ἔξῃν σφίσιν οὐδ' ἀσφαλῶς δωρεὰν τοῖς πένησι χαρίζεσθαι τοιαύτην, δι' ἣν ἀσυνάλλακτος ὁ κοινὸς ἔσται βίος καὶ μισάλληλος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν χρειῶν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐκ ἔνεστιν οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ἐνδεής, οὔτε τὴν χώραν σπειρόντων ἔτι καὶ φυτευόντων τῶν γεωργῶν, οὔτε τὴν θάλατταν πλεόντων καὶ διαμειβομένων τὰς διαποντίους ἀγορὰς τῶν ἐμπόρων, οὔτε ἄλλην ἐργασίαν οὐδεμίαν δικαίαν ποιουμένων τῶν πενήτων. [4] εἰς ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῖς δεομένοις ἀφορμῆς οὐδένα τῶν εὐπόρων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα προήσσεσθαι: ἐκ δὲ τούτων φθονήσεσθαι μὲν εὐπορίαν, καταλυθήσεσθαι δὲ φιλεργίαν, κρεῖττω δὲ μοῖραν ἔξῃν [p. 240] τοὺς ἀκολάστους τῶν σωφρόνων, τοὺς δ' ἀδίκους τῶν δικαίων καὶ τοὺς σφετεριζομένους τὰλλότρια τῶν φυλαττόντων τὰ ἴδια. ταῦτα δ' εἶναι τὰ ποιοῦντα διχοστασίας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀλληλοφθορίας ἀπαύστους καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κακῶν ἰδέαν, ὅφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν εὐτυχέστατα πράξασαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφηρέθησαν, αἱ δὲ τῆς χείρονος μοίρας τυχοῦσαι πανώλεθροι διεφθάρησαν.

παντὸς δὲ μάλιστα σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου καινὴν καθισταμένους πολιτείαν, ὅπως μὴθὲν εἰς αὐτὴν παρελεύσεται πονηρὸν ἔθος, πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἶναι λέγων ὅποι' ἄττ' ἂν ἦ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιτηδεύματα, τοιοῦτους γίνεσθαι τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίους. ἔθος δ' εἶναι οὐδὲν κάκιον οὔτε πόλεσιν οὔτε οἴκοις τοῦ καθ' ἡδονὰς αἰεὶ ζῆν ἕκαστον καὶ τοῦ πάντα συγχωρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἡττοσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κρείττονων, εἴτε πρὸς χάριν εἴτε πρὸς ἀνάγκην: οὐ γὰρ ἀποπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀφρόνων τυγχανούσας ὧν ἂν δεηθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων εὐθὺς ὀρέγεσθαι μειζόνων καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον προβαίνειν: μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχειν τοὺς ὄχλους: ἃ γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος αἰσχύνεται πράττειν ἢ δέδιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος κατειργόμενος, ταῦτ' ἐν κοινῷ γενομένους ἐτοιμότερον παρανομεῖν προσειληφότας ἰσχὺν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γνώμας ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅμοια βουλομένων. [2] ἀπληρώτους δὲ καὶ ἀορίστους ὑπαρχούσας τὰς τῶν ἀνοήτων ὄχλων ἐπιθυμίας ἀρχομένας ἔφη δεῖν κωλύειν, ἕως εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς, οὐχ, ὅταν ἰσχυραὶ [p. 241] καὶ μεγάλαι δύνωνται, καθαιρεῖν. χαλεπωτέραν γὰρ ὀργὴν ἅπαντας ἔχειν τῶν συγχωρηθέντων στερομένων ἢ τῶν ἐλπίζομένων μὴ τυγχάνοντας. [3] παραδειγμασί τε πολλοῖς εἰς τοῦτ' ἐχρήσατο πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἔργα διεξιὼν, ὅσαι μαλακισθεῖσαι δι' ἀκαιροὺς τινὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρχὰς ἐφεῖσαι παρελθεῖν οὐκέτι παῦσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὰ δύναμιν ἔσχον: ἐξ ὧν εἰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀνηκέστους ἠναγκάσθησαν προελθεῖν συμφορὰς. εἰοικέναι τε τῷ καθ' ἓνα τὸ κοινὸν ἔφη, ψυχῇ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλογον ἐχούσης τι τῆς βουλῆς, [4] σώματι δὲ τοῦ δῆμου. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἄφρονα δῆμον ἄρχειν ἐώσιν, ὅμοια πείσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοῖς ὑποτάττουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ σώματι καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν λογισμόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ

τὰ πάθη ζῶσιν. ἐὰν δ' ἄρχεσθαι τε καὶ ἄγεσθαι τὸν δῆμον συνεθίζωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ταυτὸ ποιήσουσι τοῖς ὑποτάττουσι τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ^[5] πρὸς τὸ ἡδιστον τοὺς βίους ἄγουσι. βλάβην δὲ μεγάλην οὐδεμίαν ἀπέφαινε συμβήσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἐὰν οἱ πένητες ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συγχωρηθῆναι σφίσι τὴν χρεοκοπίαν μὴ θελήσωσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὰ ὄπλα ἀναλαβεῖν, ὀλίγους τινὰς εἶναι λέγων παντάπασι τοὺς μηδὲν ὑπολειπομένους ἑαυτοῖς ἔξω τοῦ σώματος, οὓς οὐτ' ὠφέλειαν τινα παρέξεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ θαυμαστήν [p. 242] ὅσην παρόντας ταῖς στρατείαις, οὔτε βλάβην ἀπόντας: ὑπομιμνήσκων αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπελάμβανον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χώραν οἱ τοῦλάχιστον ἔχοντες τοῦ βίου τίμημα, καὶ ὅτι προσθήκης μοῖραν ἔπειχον οὗτοι τοῖς ἐν φάλαγγι τεταγμένοις, καταπλήξεως ἔνεκα τῶν πολεμίων συνόντες, οἷα δὴ μηδὲν φέροντες ὅπλον ὅτι μὴ σφενδόνας, ὧν ἐλάχιστον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἶναι ὄφελος.

τοὺς τ' οἰκτεῖρουν τὴν πενίαν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀξιοῦντας καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις διαλύσαι τὰ χρέα παραινούντας ἔφη δεῖν ἐξετάζειν, τί ποτε τὸ πεπονηκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους κλήρους τε παραλαβόντας, οὓς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν κατέλιπον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν πολλὰ ὠφεληθέντας, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ τῆς δημευθείσης τῶν τυράννων οὐσίας τὴν ἐπιβαλοῦσαν μοῖραν λαβόντας: ἔπειθ' οὓς μὲν ἂν ὁρῶσι τῇ γαστρὶ καὶ ταῖς αἰσχίσταις ἐζηκότας ἡδοναῖς καὶ διὰ ταυτ' ἐκπεπτωκότας ἐκ τῶν βίων, αἰσχύνας τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν καὶ βλάβας, καὶ μέγα τῷ κοινῷ κέρδος ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἐὰν ἐκόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποφθαρῶσιν: οὓς δ' ἂν αἰσθάνωνται διὰ πονηρὰν τύχην ἀπολωλεκότας τοὺς βίους, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοῦτους [p. 243] ^[2] εὖ ποιεῖν. ἄριστα δὲ τοῦτο καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ ποιήσιν ἔφησε τοὺς συμβεβληκότας αὐτοῖς καὶ βοηθήσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς τύχαις αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους οὐκ ἀναγκασθέντας ὑφ' ἐτέρων, ἀλλ' ἐκόντας, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἡ χάρις ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων καλὸν ὀφείλημα περιῇ. κοινὴν δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν βοήθειαν ἅπασιν, ἥς ἐξ ἴσου μεθέξουσιν οἱ πονηροὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τινὰς εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ ὧν τὰ χρήματα ἀφαιροῦνται, τοῦτοις μηδὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καταλιπεῖν χάριτας, ἥκιστα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῇ προσήκειν. ^[3] ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα, δεινὸν τι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιουμένοις, ἦν διὰ πολλῶν πόνων οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν κτησάμενοι τοῖς ἐκγόνοις κατέλιπον, μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν μηδὲ πεισθέντας μηδ' ἐν ᾧ προσῆκε καιρῷ τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροντα πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως ἢ προσδοκῶσης τοῦτο πείσεσθαι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτοῖς πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν ὠφέλειαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἢ μικράν τινα κομιδῇ λήφονται, κακῶν δὲ κινδυνεύουσιν τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ^[4] μακρῷ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι κρεῖττον ἢ κελεύουσι Λατῖνοι πράττειν ὥς μετριώτερα ὄντα καὶ μὴδ' εἰς πείραν ἐλθεῖν πολέμου, ἢ τοῖς μηδαμῇ μηδὲν χρησίμοις συγχωρήσαντας ἃ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀνελεῖν τὴν πίστιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἦν ἱεροῦ κατασκευῇ [p. 244] καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἔταξαν γεραίρεσθαι, μέλλοντας σφενδονητῶν συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον προσλαμβάνειν. ^[5] κεφάλαιον δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἦν

αὐτῷ τὸδε: τοὺς μὲν θέλοντας τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τύχης ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαίοις, οἷς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος, παραλαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα: τοὺς δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας ὁποίας δῆποτε ἀξιοῦντας ἀναλαμβάνειν τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς οὐδὲν εἰ λάβοιεν ὠφελήσοντας, χαίρειν ἔαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο μάθοιεν, εἴξειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη, καὶ παρέξειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ βουλευουσιν εὐπειθεῖς. εἰωθῆναι γὰρ αἰεὶ πως τὸ ἀνόητον ἅπαν, ὅταν μὲν τις αὐτὸ κολακεύῃ μεγάλη φρονεῖν, ὅταν δὲ δεδιττηται σωφρονεῖν.

αὐται μὲν αἱ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαι γνῶμαι ἐλέχθησαν, ἕτεραι δὲ τινες αἱ τὴν μεταξὺ τούτων ἔχουσαι χώραν συχναί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μόνον ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν χρεῶν τοὺς μηδὲν κεκτημένους ἡξιοῦν, τὰ χρήματα ποιοῦντες ἀγώγιμα τοῖς δανεισταῖς, οὐ τὰ σώματα: οἱ δὲ τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδυνάτων διαλῦσαι τὰ συμβόλαια συνεβούλευον, ἵνα ἢ τε πίστις τῶν πενήτων ὑπὸ τῆς δημοσίας φυλαχθῇ χάριτος καὶ οἱ συμβεβληκότες αὐτοῖς μηθὲν ἀδικηθῶσιν. ἐδόκει δὲ τισι καὶ τῶν ἤδη κατεχομένων [p. 245] πρὸς τὰ χρέα καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀφαιρεθῆσεσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ῥύσασθαι τὰ σώματα, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἕτερα τοῖς δανεισταῖς διαμειψαμένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σώματα. [2] τοιούτων δὲ τινων λεχθέντων ἡ νικῶσα ἦν γνώμη, μηθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν προβούλεμα: ὅταν δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τέλος οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι, τότε προθεῖναι τοὺς ὑπάτους λόγον καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδοῦναι τοῖς συνέδροις: τέως δὲ μηδεμίαν εἰσπραξίν εἶναι μήτε συμβολαίου μηθενὸς μήτε καταδίκης μηδεμιᾶς, ἀφεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀμφισβητήσεις πάσας, καὶ μήτε τὰ δικαστήρια καθίζειν μήτε τὰς ἀρχὰς διαγινώσκειν περὶ μηθενὸς ἔξω τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνηκόντων. [3] τοῦτο τὸ προβούλεμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεχθὲν ἐμείωσε μὲν τι τῆς πολιτικῆς ταραχῆς, οὐ μὴν ἅπαν γε τὸ στασιάζον ἐξεῖλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἐκ τοῦ θητικοῦ πλήθους, οἷς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἀποχρῶσα εἶναι βοήθεια ἢ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλπίς φανερόν οὐδὲ βέβαιον ἔχουσα οὐδέν: ἀλλὰ дуεῖν θάτερον αὐτὴν ἡξιοῦν ποιεῖν, ἢ διδόναι σφίσιν ἤδη τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν χρεῶν, εἰ βούλεται κοινωνοὺς τῶν κινδύνων ἔχειν, ἢ μὴ φενακίζειν εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλλομένην χρόνους: οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως εἶναι τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεομένων τε καὶ ἀποπληρωθέντων, ὅτου ἂν δεηθῶσιν.

ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὴ καταστάσει τῶν κοινῶν ὑπαρχόντων σκοποῦσα ἡ βουλή, δι' οὗ μάλιστα διαπράζεται τρόπου μηθὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσαι τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἔκρινε [p. 246] τὴν μὲν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνελεῖν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἑτέραν δὲ τινα ἀρχὴν ἀποδεῖξαι πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος κυρίαν, αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον, ὣν ἂν βουλευῶνται καὶ πράξῃ. [2] χρόνου δ' εἶναι μέτρον τῇ νέᾳ ἀρχῇ μῆνας ἑξ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξάμηνον αὐθις ἄρχειν τοὺς ὑπάτους. τὰ δ' ἀναγκάσαντα αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ καταλῦσαι τὸ τυραννικὸν πόλεμον αὐθαίρετον ὑπομεῖναι τυραννίδα πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἦν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ὁ κυρωθεὶς ὑφ' ἐνός τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τοῦ κληθέντος Ποπλικόλα νόμος, ὑπὲρ οὗ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφην, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων γνώμας ἀκύρους ἐποίησε, μὴ τιμωρεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίων τινα πρὸ δίκης, ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς ἀγομένοις ἐπὶ τὰς κολάσεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν

προκαλείσθαι τὴν διαγνώσιν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τέως ἂν ἡ πληθὺς ἐνέγκῃ ψῆφον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σώμασι τε καὶ βίοις τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχειν: τὸν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τι ποιεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα νηποινὶ τεθνάναι κελεύων. [3] ἐλογίζετο δὴ μένοντος μὲν κυρίου τοῦ νόμου τοῦδε μὴθὲν ὑπηρετήσῃν ἀναγκαζομένουσιν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τοὺς πένητας καταφρονοῦντας ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν τιμωριῶν, ἃς οὐ παραχρῆμα ὑφέξειν ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν καταψηφίσῃται, ἀναιρεθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην τὰ κελευόμενα ποιήσῃν ἅπαντας. ἵνα δὲ μὴθὲν ἐναντιωθεῖεν οἱ πένητες, εἴ τις αὐτὸν καταλῦοι τὸν νόμον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, τὴν ἰσοτύραννον ἀρχὴν ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα παραγαγεῖν, [p. 247] ἢ πάντας ἔμελλεν ἔξειν ὑφ' ἑαυτῇ τοὺς νόμους. [4] καὶ γράφει προβούλευμα, δι' οὗ παρακρουσαμένη τοὺς πένητας καὶ τὸν βεβαιοῦντα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἀνελοῦσα ἔλαθεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα τοιόνδε: Λάρκιον μὲν καὶ Κλοῖλιον τοὺς τότε ὑπατεῦντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀρχὴν τινα εἶχεν ἢ πραγμάτων τινῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν: ἕνα δ' ἄνδρα, ὃν ἂν ἡ τε βουλὴ προέλῃται καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, τὴν ἀπάντων ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντα ἄρχειν μὴ πλείονα χρόνον ἑξαμήνου, κρείττονα ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα τῶν ὑπάτων. [5] τοῦτ' ἀγνοήσαντες, ἦν ἔχει δύναμιν, οἱ δημοτικοὶ ψηφίζονται κύρια εἶναι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ: ἦν δ' ἄρα ἡ κρείττων ἀρχὴ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τυραννίς: τὴν τε αἵρεσιν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄρχειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βουλευομένοις ποιήσασθαι.

μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὴ ζήτησις ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς προεσθηκόσι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρόνοια περὶ τοῦ παραληφόμενου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς δραστηρίου τ' ἄνδρὸς εἰς τὰ πράγματα δεῖν καὶ πολλὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φρονίμου τε καὶ σώφρονος καὶ μὴδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνόητον παραχθῆσομένου: ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ προσεῖναι στρατηλάταις ἀγαθοῖς ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς εἰδότος καὶ μὴθὲν μαλακὸν ἐνδώσοντος τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν, οὗ [2] μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐδέοντο. ἅπαντα δ' ὀρῶντες [p. 248] ὅσα ἤξιουν περὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπάρχοντα τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτον Λάρκιον: ὁ γὰρ Κλοῖλιος ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς χρεαῖς διάφορος ὢν τὸ δραστήριον καὶ φιλοπόλεμον οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ γε τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ φοβερὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικὴς τιμωρὸς ἦν τῶν ἀπειθούντων: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δι' αἰσχύνῃς ἐλάβανον τοῦ μὲν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἦν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἶχε, τῷ δὲ χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἐξουσίαν, μεῖζονα βασιλικοῦ σχήματος γινομένην: καὶ τι καὶ δέος αὐτῇ ὑπῆει, μὴ βαρεῖαν ὁ Κλοῖλιος ἡγησάμενος τὴν ἀπαξίωσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ἡτιμασμένος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἔπειτα μεταθῆται τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου τοῦ δήμου γενόμενος προστάτης [3] καὶ πάντα ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ κοινά. αἰδουμένων δ' ἀπάντων, ἃ φρονοῦντες ἐτύγχανον, εἰς μέσον ἐκφέρειν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τοῦτο ποιοῦντων ὁ πρεσβυτάτος τε καὶ τιμιώτατος τῶν ὑπατικῶν γνώμην ἀπεδείξατο, δι' ἧς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἴσῃ τιμῇ τοὺς ὑπάτους φυλάξας παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον ἄρχειν εὔρετο: ἔφη γὰρ αὐτῷ δοκεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἢ τε βουλὴ διέγνωνκε καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεψήφικεν ἐνὶ δοθῆναι, δύο δὲ καταλείπεται βουλῆς καὶ φροντίδος

οὐ μικρὰς δεόμενα, τίς ὁ παραληψόμενος τὴν ἰσοτύραννον ἀρχὴν ἔσται καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐξουσίας νομίμου, ἐκ τῶν τότε ὄντων ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον, εἴτε παραχωρήσαντος [p. 249] τοῦ συνάρχοντος, εἴτε κλήρῳ λαχόντα, ἐλέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὃν ὑπολαμβάνει κράτιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτροπεύσειν. μεσοβασιλέων δ' αὐτοῖς μὴθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖν, οὕς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀποδεικνυσθαι μονογνώμονας τῶν μελλόντων ἄρξειν ἔθος ἦν, ἐχοῦσης τῆς πόλεως τὴν ὅσιον ἀρχήν.

ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων μετὰ τοῦτον ἀναστὰς ἕτερος εἶπεν: ἔμοι δ', ὦ βουλὴ, δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτι προστεθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ, δεῖν ἀνδρῶν κρατίστων εἰς τόδε χρόνου τὰ κοινὰ διοικούντων, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εὖροιτε ἀμείνους, τὸν μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶν κύριον ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς ἀναρρήσεως, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αἰρεθῆναι διαγνόντων αὐτῶν ἐν ἀλλήλοις τὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον: ἵνα αὐτοῖς περιγένηται σὺν τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ τὸ χαῖρον ἴσον, τῷ μὲν ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα κράτιστον ἀπέφηνε, τῷ δ' ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἄριστος ἐκρίθη: ἡδὺ γὰρ καὶ καλὸν ἐκάτερον. οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ μὴ προστεθέντος τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦδε τοῦ μέρους, αὐτοῖς ἂν ἐφάνη τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὕτως ποιεῖν: κρεῖττον δὲ τὸ μὴδ' ὑμῶν ἕτερόν τι βουλομένων. [2] ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ νοῦν ἅπασιν εἰρησθαι: καὶ οὐθενὸς ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ προστεθέντος ἐπικυροῦται τὸ δόγμα. ὥς δὲ παρέλαβον τὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ τοῦ διαγνῶναι, πότερος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄρχειν ἐστὶν ἐπιτηδειότερος, θαυμαστόν τι καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ὑπολήψεις πρᾶγμα ἐποιοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐκάτερος ἄξιον ἀπέφαινε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, [p. 250] ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕτερον: καὶ κατέτριψαν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὰς ἀλλήλων ἀρετὰς ἐξαριθμοῦμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες μὴ λαβεῖν αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥστε ἐν πολλῇ γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντας ἀμηχανία. [3] 22 διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ προσήκοντες κατὰ γένος ἐκατέρῳ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι πρὸς τὸν Λάρκιον ἀφικόμενοι πολλὰς ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄχρι πολλῆς νυκτὸς δεήσεις διδάσκοντες, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἢ βουλὴ τέθειται πάσας, καὶ τὸ ἀσποῦδαστον αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πονηρὸν εἶναι τῷ κοινῷ λέγοντες. ὁ δ' ἦν ἀτενὴς καὶ πολλὰ ἐν μέρει δεόμενός τε καὶ ἀντιβολῶν ἕκαστον διετέλει. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν τοῦ συνεδρίου συναχθέντος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε διεμάχετο καὶ πειθόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς γνώμης, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κλοῖλιος ἀναγορεύει τ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν οἱ μεσοβασιλεῖς, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὸς ἐξόμνυται.

οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ μόναρχος ἀπεδείχθη πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος αὐτοκράτωρ. ὄνομα δ' αὐτῷ τίθενται δικτάτορα, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ κελεῦειν, ὅτι θέλοι, καὶ τάττειν τὰ δικάια τε καὶ τὰ καλὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ: τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτάγματα καὶ τὰς διαγραφὰς τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἡδίκτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν: εἴτε ὡς τινες γράφουσι διὰ τὴν τότε γενομένην ἀνάρρησιν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐρόμενος κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς ἐξείν ἔμελλεν, [p. 251] [2] ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐνόος. οὐ γὰρ ὥοντο δεῖν ἐπίφθορον ὄνομα καὶ βαρὺ θέσθαι τινὲ ἀρχῇ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν ἐπιτροπευοῦσῃ, τῶν τε

ἀρχομένων ἔνεκα, ἵνα μὴθὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς μισουμέναις προσηγορίαις ἐκταράττωνται, καὶ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς προνοίᾳ, μὴ τι λάθωσιν ἢ παθόντες ὑπ’ ἐτέρων πλημμελεῖς ἢ δράσαντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς πέλας, ὧν φέρουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται δυναστεῖαι: ἐπεὶ τὸ γε τῆς ἐξουσίας μέγεθος, ἧς ὁ δικτάτωρ ἔχει, ἥκιστα δηλοῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος: ^[3] ἔστι γὰρ αἰρετὴ τυραννὶς ἢ δικτατορία. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παρ’ Ἑλλήνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πολίτευμα λαβεῖν. οἱ γὰρ Αἰσυμνήται καλούμενοι παρ’ Ἑλλήσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος, αἰρετοὶ τινες ἦσαν τύραννοι: ἤρουντο δ’ αὐτοὺς αἱ πόλεις οὔτ’ εἰς ὀριστὸν χρόνον οὔτε συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς, ὅποτε δόξειε συμφέρειν, καὶ εἰς ὅποσονοῦν χρόνον: ὥσπερ καὶ Μιτυληναῖοι ποθ’ εἵλοντο Πιπτακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκαῖον τὸν ποιητὴν.

ἦλθον δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρῶτοι διδασθέντες τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ χρήσιμον. κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ἅπανα πόλεις Ἑλλάς ἐβασιλεύετο, πλὴν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμους τινὰς καὶ ἐθισμοὺς πατρίους: καὶ κράτιστος ἦν βασιλεὺς ὁ δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ νομιμώτατος καὶ μὴθὲν ἐκδικαιώμενος τῶν πατρίων. ^[2] δηλοῖ δέ καὶ Ὅμηρος δικασπόλους τε καλῶν ^[p. 252] τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ θεμιστοπόλους, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πῖσιν αἱ βασιλεῖαι διοικούμεναι, καθάπερ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων: ἀρξαμένων δέ τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις πλημμελεῖν καὶ νόμοις μὲν ὀλίγα χρωμένων, ταῖς δ’ ἐαυτῶν γνώμαις τὰ πολλὰ διοικούντων, δυσχεράναντες ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ πολλοὶ κατέλυσαν μὲν τὰ βασιλικά πολιτεύματα, νόμους δὲ καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξαντες, ταύταις ἐχρῶντο τῶν πόλεων φυλακαῖς. ^[3] ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ αὐτάρκεις ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ τεθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν νόμοι βεβαιοῦν τὸ δίκαιον οὔτε οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν λαμβάνοντες βοηθεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, οἳ τε καιροὶ πολλὰ νεοχμοῦντες οὐ τὰ κράτιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ πρεπωδέστατα ταῖς καταλαμβανούσαις αὐτοὺς συντυχίαις ἠνάγκαζον αἰρεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις συμφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις τὸ μέτριον εὐτυχίαις, διαφθειρομένων δι’ αὐτὰς τῶν πολιτικῶν κόσμων, οἷς ἐπανορθώσεως ταχείας καὶ αὐτογνώμονος ἔδει, ἠναγκάζοντο παράγειν πάλιν τὰς βασιλικὰς καὶ τυραννικὰς ἐξουσίας εἰς μέσον, ὀνόμασι περικαλύπτοντες αὐτὰς εὐπρεπεστέροις, Θετταλοὶ μὲν ἀρχοὺς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ’ ἀρμοστὰς καλοῦντες, φοβούμενοι τυράννους ἢ βασιλεῖς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, ὡς οὐδ’ ὅσιον σφίσιν ὑπάρχον, ἃς κατέλυσαν ἐξουσίας ὄρκοις καὶ ἀραῖς ἐπιθεσπισάντων ^[p. 253] ^[4] θεῶν, ταύτας πάλιν ἐμπεδοῦν. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ παράδειγμα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, Λικίννιος δὲ παρ’ Ἀλβανῶν οἴεται τὸν δικτάτορα Ῥωμαίους εἰληφέναι, τοὺτους λέγων πρώτους μετὰ τὸν Ἀμολίου καὶ Νεμέτορος θάνατον ἐκλιπούσης τῆς βασιλικῆς συγγενείας ἐνιαυσίους ἄρχοντας ἀποδείξει τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, καλεῖν δ’ αὐτοὺς δικτάτορας: ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ τοῦνομα ζητεῖν ἤξιον, πόθεν ἢ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς περιλαμβανομένης τῷ ὀνόματι παράδειγμα. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐθὲν ἂν εἴη τάχα προὔργου τὰ πλείω γράφειν.

ὁν δὲ τρόπον ὁ Λάρκιος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασι δικτάτωρ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς καὶ κόσμον, οἷον περιέθηκε τῇ ἀρχῇ, συντόμως πειράσομαι διεξελθεῖν, ταῦτα ἡγούμενος εἶναι χρησιμώτατα τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις, ἃ πολλὴν εὐπορίαν παρέξει καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων παραδειγμάτων νομοθέταις τε καὶ δημαγωγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς πολιτεύεσθαι τε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν βουλομένοις. οὐ γὰρ ἀζήλου καὶ ταπεινῆς πόλεως πολιτεύματα καὶ βίους οὐδὲ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀπερριμμένων ἀνθρώπων βουλευματα καὶ πράξεις μέλλω διηγέσθαι, ὥστε ὄχλον ἂν τινι καὶ φλυαρίαν φανῆναι τὴν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα ἡμῶν σπουδὴν: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἅπασι τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ὀριζούσης πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο καταστησάμενων αὐτὴν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἡγεμόνων, ἃ τις ἂν σπουδάσειε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν [p. 254] [2] φιλόσοφος καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ, συγγράφω. εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἱππάρχην ἀποδείκνυσι Σπόριον Κάσσιον, τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἔως τῆς κατ' ἐμὲ γενεᾶς ἐφυλάττετο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ οὐθεὶς εἰς τόδε χρόνου δικτάτωρ αἵρεθεὶς χωρὶς ἱππάρχου τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν. ἔπειτα τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κράτος ἐπιτεῖλαι βουλευθεὶς ὅσον ἐστί, καταπλήξεως μᾶλλον ἢ χρήσεως ἔνεκα τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα ταῖς δεσμαῖς τῶν ῥάβδων τοὺς πελέκεις διὰ τῆς πόλεως φέρειν: ἔθος ἐπιχώριον μὲν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐκλειφθὲν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐξ οὗ Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ὁ πρῶτος ὑπατεύσας ἐμείωσε τὸν φθόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς ἀνανεωσάμενος. [3] καταπληξάμενος δὲ τοῦτῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβόλοις τῆς βασιλικῆς ἡγεμονίας τοὺς ταρακτικοὺς καὶ νεωτεριστάς, τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ Σερουτίου Τυλλίου τοῦ δημοτικωτάτου βασιλέως κατασταθέντων νομίμων, πρῶτον ἐπέταξε ποιῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασι, τιμήσεις κατὰ φυλὰς τῶν βίων ἐνεγκεῖν, προσγράφοντας γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδῶν ὀνόματα καὶ ἡλικίας ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τέκνων. [4] ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντων τιμησάμενων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τιμωρίας: τὴν τε γὰρ οὐσίαν ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ἔδει καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν: ἑπτακοσίοις πλείους εὐρέθησαν οἱ ἐν ἡβῃ Ῥωμαῖοι πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων. μετὰ τοῦτο διακρίνας τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων [p. 255] καὶ καταχωρίσας εἰς λόχους, διένειμε πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεῖς εἰς τέτταρας μοίρας: ὧν μίαν μὲν τὴν κρατίστην περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων Κλοίλιον ἐκέλευσε τὸν συνύπατον ἦν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην Σπόριον Κάσσιον τὸν ἱππάρχην, τὴν δὲ καταλειπομένην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σπόριον Λάρκιον: αὕτη φρουρεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐτάχθη σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐντὸς τείχους μένουσα.

ὡς δ' ἦν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια εὐτρεπῇ, προήγαγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ὕπαιθρον, καὶ τίθεται στρατόπεδα τρία καθ' οὓς μάλιστα ὑπελάμβανε τόπους ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους τὴν ἑφοδον. ἐνθυμούμενος δ', ὅτι φρονίμων στρατηγῶν ἐστίν, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτῶν πράγματα ποιεῖν ἰσχυρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀσθενῇ, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἄνευ μάχης καὶ πόνου καταλύεσθαι τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε σὺν ἐλαχίστῃ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους δαπάνῃ, πολέμων θ' ἀπάντων κακίστους ἡγούμενος καὶ πλεῖστα τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχοντας, οὓς πρὸς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους

ἀναγκαζόμενοι τινες ἀναιροῦνται, ἐπεικεστέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοτέρων ὤετο δεῖν αὐτοῖς διαλύσεων. [2] κρύφα τε δὴ πέμπων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Λατίνων ἀνυπόπτους τινὰς ἔπειθε φιλίαν πράττειν ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πρεσβευόμενος κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξειργάσατο μηκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπαντας ὁρμὴν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεθεράπευσε καὶ διαστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐποίησε διὰ τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας. [p. 256] [3] οἱ γὰρ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότες τῶν Λατίνων στρατηγίαν, Μαμίλιος τε καὶ Σέξτος ἐν Τύσκλῳ πόλει τὰς δυνάμεις συνέχοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὥς ἐλάσσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐδαπάνων δὲ πολὺν εἰς τὸ μέλλειν χρόνον, εἶτε τὰς ὑπεριζούσας ἀναμένοντες πόλεις, εἶτε τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῖς οὐ γινομένων καλῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ τινὲς ἀποσκιδνάμενοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν χώραν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπόρθουν. [4] τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Λάρκιος ἀποστέλλει τὸν Κλοίλιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄγοντα τῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ ψιλῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους. ὃς ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἀποκτείνει μαχόμενος, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαμβάνει. τούτους ὁ Λάρκιος ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐκθεραπεύσας φιланθρωπίαις ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Τύσκλον ἀθρόους ἄνευ λύτρων, πρεσβευτὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς πέμπας Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους. οὗτοι διεπράξαντο διαλυθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Λατίνων καὶ γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιαυσίους ἀνοχάς.

ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς ὑπαίθρου καὶ πρὶν ἢ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκπληρῶσαι χρόνον ὑπάτους ἀποδείξας ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗτ' ἀποκτείνας οὐθένα Ῥωμαίων οὗτ' ἐξελάσας τῆς πατρίδος οὗτ' ἄλλη συμφορᾷ βαρεῖα περιβαλὼν 23 οὐδεμιᾷ. [2] οὗτος ὁ ζῆλος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρξάμενος ἅπασι παρέμεινε τοῖς λαμβάνουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἄχρι τῆς τρίτης πρὸ ἡμῶν γενεᾶς. οὐθένα [p. 257] γοῦν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παρειλήφαμεν, ὃς οὐ μετρίως αὐτῇ καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐχρήσατο, πολλάκις ἀναγκασθείσης τῆς πόλεως καταλῦσαι τὰς νομίμους ἀρχὰς καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα ὑφ' ἐνὶ. [3] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις μόνον ἦσαν οἱ λαμβάνοντες τὴν δικτατορίαν ἀγαθοὶ προστάται τῆς πατρίδος μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφθειρόμενοι ἦττον ἢ θαυμαστὸν ἦν· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις διχοστασίαις πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας γενομένας καὶ ἐπὶ καταλύσει βασιλειῶν καὶ τυραννίδων ὑποπτευομένων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συμφορῶν κωλύσει μυρίων ὄσων οἱ τηλικαύτης τυχόντες ἐξουσίας ἅπαντες ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ λαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁμοίους ἑαυτοὺς παρέσχον· ὥσθ' ἅπασι παραστῆναι τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν, ὅτι μία βοήθεια παντός ἐστὶν ἀνιάτου κακοῦ καὶ τελευταίας σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, ὅταν ἀπορραγῶσιν ἅπασαι διὰ καιροὺς τινες, ἢ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀρχή. ἐπὶ δὲ [4] τῆς κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἡλικίας ὁμοῦ τι τετρακοσίων διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Τίτου Λαρκίου δικτατορίας διεβλήθη καὶ μισητὸν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐφάνη τὸ πρᾶγμα Λευκίου Κορνηλίου Σύλλα πρώτου καὶ μόνου πικρῶς αὐτῇ καὶ ὡμῶς χρησαμένου· ὥστε τότε πρῶτον αἰσθῆσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὃ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡγνόουν, ὅτι τυραννὶς ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ [5] δικτάτορος ἀρχή. βουλὴν τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνέστησε καὶ τὸ τῆς

δημαρχίας κράτος εἰς [p. 258] τοῦλάχιστον συνέσπειλε καὶ πόλεις ὅλας ἐξώκισε καὶ βασιλείας τὰς μὲν ἀνεῖλε, τὰς δ' αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ αὐθάδη διεπράξατο, περὶ ὧν πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶη λέγειν: πολίτας τε χωρὶς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολομένων τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισμυρίων ἀπέκτεινεν, ὧν τινὰς καὶ ^[6] βασιάνοις πρῶτον αἰκισάμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίως ἢ συμφερόντως τῷ κοινῷ πάντα ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, οὐχ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς ἐξετάζειν: ὅτι δὲ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμισήθη καὶ δεινὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος ὄνομα, τοῦτό μοι προὔκειτο ἐπιδειῖναι. πέφυκε δ' οὐ ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῦτο μόναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνειν τοῖς περιμαχήτοις καὶ θαυμάζομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου πράγμασι. καλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντα φαίνεται καὶ συμφέροντα τοῖς χρωμένοις, ὅταν τις αὐτοῖς χρήται καλῶς, αἰσχροὶ δὲ καὶ ἀσύμφορα, ὅταν πονροὺς λάβῃ προστάτας. τούτου δ' ἡ φύσις αἰτία προσθεῖσα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασι καὶ κῆρὰς τινὰς συμφύτους. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἂν εἶη τοῖς λόγοις καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες Αὖλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος καὶ Μάρκος Μηνύκιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνὶ κάστρῳ Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἰππάρχου.

BOOK VI

οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, Αὔλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος καὶ Μάρκος Μηνύκιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἰππάρχου, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἱστορίας ἄξιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀρχῆς ἔπραξαν· αἱ τε γὰρ πρὸς Λατίνους ἀνοχαὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολέμων παρέσχον εἰρήνην ἢ τε τῆς ἀναπράξεως τῶν δανείων κώλυσις, ἦν ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλή, τέως ἂν ὁ προσδοκώμενος πόλεμος εἰς ἀσφαλὲς ἔλθῃ τέλος, ἔπαυσε τοὺς ἐντὸς τείχους νεωτερισμοὺς, οὓς ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πένητες ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν χρεῶν ἀξιοῦντες δημοσίᾳ· [2] δόγμα δὲ βουλῆς ἐκύρωσαν ἐπεικέστατον, Λατίνοις ἀνδράσιν εἴ τινες ἔτυχον [p. 260] ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνους συνοικοῦσαι γυναῖκες ἢ Ῥωμαίοις Λατῖναι, ἐαυτῶν εἶναι κυρίας, ἐάν τε μένειν θέλωσι παρὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν ἐάν τε μὴ, εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀναστρέφειν· τῶν δ' ἐκγόνων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα παρὰ τοῖς πατράσι μένειν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας καὶ ἔτι ἀγάμους ταῖς μητράσιν ἔπεσθαι· ἐτύγχανον δὲ πολλὰ πάνυ γυναῖκες εἰς τὰς ἀλλήλων πόλεις ἐκδεδομέναι καὶ διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ διὰ φιλίαν, οἱ τυχοῦσαι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀδείας ἐδήλωσαν ὅσῃν εἶχον ἐπιθυμίαν ἡ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης. [3] αἱ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσι Ῥωμαῖαι μικροῦ δεῖν πᾶσαι καταλιποῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς τοὺς πατέρας ἀνέστρεψαν, αἱ τε Ῥωμαίοις ἐκδεδομέναι Λατίνων πλὴν δυεῖν, αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν πατρίδων ὑπεριδοῦσαι παρὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν ἔμειναν· οἰωνὸς εὐτυχῆς τῆς μελλούσης πόλεως ἐπικρατήσῃ τῷ πολέμῳ. [4] ἐπὶ τούτων φασὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν νεὼν καθιερωθῆναι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καὶ δημοτελεῖς ἀναδειχθῆναι τῷ θεῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἑορτάς τε καὶ θυσίας. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων βωμὸν αὐτόθι καθιδρῦσθαι λέγουσι τὸν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους κατεσκευασμένον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς ἐμπύρους ἀπαρχὰς ἔθνον Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσιν οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ παρ' ἐκείνου παραλαβόντες· τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰδρύσεως τοῦ ναοῦ τινὲς μὲν ἱστοροῦσι λαβεῖν [p. 261] Τίτον Λάρκιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ, οἱ δὲ καὶ βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον τὸν ἐκπεσόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς· τὴν δὲ καθιέρωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ λαβεῖν Πόστομον Κομίνιον κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰρήνης ὥσπερ ἔφην βαθείας ἐξεγένετο ἀπολαῦσαι.

μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν Αὔλος Ποστόμιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐνιαυσιοὶ ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς Λατίνους διελέλυτο, παρασκευαὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὑφ' ἑκατέρων ἐγίνοντο μεγάλαι. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐκούσιον καὶ σὺν πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ χωροῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· τοῦ δὲ Λατίνων τὸ πλεόν ἀπρόθυμον καὶ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κατειργόμενον, τῶν μὲν δυναστευόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων δωρεαῖς τε καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου τε καὶ Μαιμιλίου διεφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν, ὅσοις οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις ὁ πόλεμος, ἀπελανομένων ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδος· [2] οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος ἔστι τοῖς βουλομένοις

ἀπεδίδοδο. ἤναγκάζοντο δὴ χαλεπαίνοντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ συχνοὶ καταλιπεῖν τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολεῖν: κωλύειν γὰρ οὐκ ἤξιον οἱ δι' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένοι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ πολλήν τοῖς διαφόροις, τῆς ἔκουσίου φυγῆς χάριν ἦδεσαν. ὑποδεχόμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς μὲν ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀφικνουμένους εἰς τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους κατέταττον στρατιάς τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐγκαταμινγύντες λόχοις, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποστέλλοντες φρουρία καὶ ταῖς ἀποικίαις [p. 262] ἀπομερίζοντες, ἵνα μὴ τι νεωτερίσειαν, εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ. ^[3] ἀπάντων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην λαβόντων, ὅτι μιᾷς δεῖ πάλιν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφειμένης ἅπαντα διοικεῖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτῆς λογισμὸν ἀνυπευθύνου ἀρχῆς, δικτάτωρ ἀποδείκνυται τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ νεώτερος Αὐλὸς Ποστόμιος ὑπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος Οὐεργίνιου: ἱππάρχην δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ προσεῖλετο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ προτέρῳ δικτάτορι Τίτον Αἰβούτιον Ἐλβαν: καὶ καταγράψας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας καὶ διελὼν εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τὴν δύναμιν, μιᾷς μὲν αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο μοίρας, ἑτέρας δὲ τὸν συνύπατον Οὐεργίνιον ἔταξεν ἄρχειν, τῆς δὲ τρίτης Αἰβούτιον τὸν ἱππάρχην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης κατέλιπεν ἑπαρχὸν Αὐλὸν Σεμπρώνιον, ὃ τὴν πόλιν φυλάττειν ἐπέτρεψεν.

παρεσκευασμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα τάπιτήδεια πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦκον ἀγγέλλοντες οἱ σκοποὶ πανστρατιᾷ Λατίνους ἐξεληλυθότας: καὶ αὖθις ἕτεροι δηλοῦντες ἐξ ἐφόδου τι καταληφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν Κορβιῶνα καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ φρουρά τις ἦν Ῥωμαίων ἐνοικουροῦσα ὀλίγη: ἦν ἅπασαν διαφθείραντες καὶ τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸ κατασχόντες ὀρμητήριον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου: ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα οὐ κατελάμβανον ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῷ Κορβιῶνι ἐγκαταληφθέντων, προανεσκευασμένων πρὸ πολλοῦ [p. 263] τῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τὰ προσεχέστατα τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ὅσα δύναμις ἦν ἐκάστοις φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν: οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν ἐνεπιμπρασαν ἐρήμους ἀφειμένας καὶ γῆν ἐδήουν. ^[2] ἀφίκετο δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξεστρατευμένοις ἤδη ἐξ Ἀντίου πόλεως ἐπιφανεστάτης τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους στρατιά τε ἱκανὴ καὶ ὄπλα καὶ σῖτος καὶ ὄσων ἄλλων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδέοντο. ἐφ' οἷς πάνυ θαρρήσαντες ἐν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Οὐολούσκων συναρουμένων σφίσι τοῦ πολέμου τῆς Ἀντιατῶν πόλεως ἀρξαμένης. ^[3] ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐξεβοήθει διὰ ταχέων πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπαντας: ἀγαγὼν δ' ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πορεῖα συντόνῳ πλησίον γίνεται τῶν Λατίνων ἐστρατοπεδευκότων παρὰ λίμνην Ῥηγίλλην καλουμένην ἐν ἐχυρῷ χωρίῳ καὶ τίθεται τὸν χάρακα κατὰ κεφαλῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ καὶ δυσβάτῳ, ἔνθ' ὑπομένων πολλὰ πλεονεκτήσειν ἔμελλεν.

οἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἡγεμόνες, Ὁκταούιος τε ὁ Τυσκλανὸς ὁ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός, ὥς δὲ τινες γράφουσιν, υἱὸς τοῦ γαμβροῦ, καὶ Σέξτος Ταρκύνιος: ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δὴ τηνικαῦτα χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευκότες: εἰς ἓν συνάγουσι τὰς δυνάμεις χωρίον καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς χιλιάρχους τε καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐσκόπουν, ὅστις ἔσται τρόπος τοῦ πολέμου: ^[2] καὶ [p. 264] πολλὰ γινώμει ἐλέχθησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἐφόδου χωρεῖν

ἡξιοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἅμα τῷ δικτάτορι καταλαβομένους τὸ ὄρος, ἕως ἔτι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς φοβεροί, οὐκ ἀσφαλείας σημεῖον εἶναι νομίζοντες τὴν τῶν ἐχυρῶν κατάληψιν, ἀλλὰ δειλίας: οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποταφρεύσαντας ὀλίγη τινὶ κατείργειν φυλακῇ, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγειν ὡς ῥαδίαν ἀλῶναι τῆς κρατίστης νεότητος ἐξεληλυθυίας: οἱ δὲ τὰς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων βοηθείας ἀναμένειν συνεβούλευον τὰ ἀσφαλέστερα πρὸ τῶν θραυστέρων αἰρουμένους: Ῥωμαίους μὲν γὰρ οὐθὲν ἀπολαύσειν ἐκ τῆς τριβῆς τοῦ χρόνου, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ βραδυνόμενα κρεῖττω γενήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα. [3] ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν βουλευομένων ἦκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος ἔχων τὴν σὺν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν αἰφνίδιος ἐν τῇ κατόπιν νυκτὶ τὴν ὁδὸν διανύσας καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται δίχα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἐφ' ἑτέρας ῥάχεως ὀρεινῆς πάνυ καὶ ἐχυρᾶς: ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀποκεκλεισθαι τοὺς Λατίνους τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐξόδων, τοῦ μὲν ὑπάτου τῶν ἀριστερῶν προκαθημένου μερῶν, τοῦ δὲ δικτάτορος τῶν δεξιῶν. [4] ἔτι δὲ πλείονος ταραχῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς οὐδὲν πλεῖον τῶν ἀσφαλῶν προελομένους ἡγεμόνας καὶ δέους, μὴ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὐ πολλὰ ὄντα δαπανᾶν ἀναγκάζωνται βραδύνοντες, μαθὼν ὁ Ποστόμιος, ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἄπειρον στρατηγίας, πέμπει τὸν ἱππάρχην [p. 265] Τίτον Αἰβούτιον ἄγοντα τοὺς ἀκμασιτάτους ἵππεῖς τε καὶ ψιλοὺς, καταλαβέσθαι κελεύσας ὄρος τι καλῶς ἐν παρόδῳ κείμενον ταῖς παρακομιζομέναις Λατίνοις ἀγοραῖς οἰκοθεν: καὶ φθάνει πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ σὺν τῷ ἱππάρχῃ πεμφθεῖσα δύναμις νύκτωρ παρενεχθεῖσα καὶ δι' ὕλης ἀτριβοῦς διελθοῦσα καὶ γενομένη ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ λόφου.

μαθόντες δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν πολεμιῶν καταλαμβάνόμενα καὶ τὰ κατὰ νῶτου σφῶν ἐρυμνά καὶ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκοθεν ἀγορᾶς χρηστὰς ἔτι ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες ὡς ἀσφαλῶς σφίσι παρακομισθησομένης, ἀπαράξαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔγνωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου, πρὶν ἢ χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ κρατύνασθαι. [2] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἄτερος αὐτῶν Σέξτος ἡλαυνεν ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτὴν, ὡς οὐ δεξομένης αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου. γενναίως δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὑπομεινάντων μέχρι μὲν τινος ἀντεῖχεν ὑποστρέφων τε καὶ αὖθις ἐπάγων: ἐπεὶ δ' ἦ τε φύσις τοῦ χωρίου τοῖς μὲν ἤδη κρατοῦσι τῶν ἄκρων μεγάλα πλεονεκτήματα παρῆχε, τοῖς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐπιούσιν οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ πολλὰς πάνυ πληγὰς καὶ πόνους ἀνηνύτους ἔφερε, καὶ αὖθις ἑτέρα παρῆν δύναμις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπiléκτων ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος ἐπικούρος, ἦν ὁ Ποστόμιος κατὰ πόδας ἀπέστειλεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πράττειν δυνάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βεβαίως κρατοῦντες τὸ χωρίον προφανῶς κρατύνονται τὴν φυλακὴν. [3] μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ [p. 266] ἔργον τοῖς περὶ Μαιμίλιον καὶ Σέξτον ἐδόκει μὴ πολὺν διὰ μέσου ποιεῖν τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὀξεῖα κρῖναι τὰ πράγματα μάχῃ. τῷ δὲ δικτάτορι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταρχὰς οὕτως ἔχοντι προαιρέσεως, ὡς ἀμαχητὶ καταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἀντιστρατήγων τοῦτο ποιήσῃν ἐλπίσαντι, τότε ἑφάνη χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐάλωσαν γάρ τινες ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς ὁδοὺς ἱππέων ἄγγελοι γράμματα φέροντες παρ' Οὐολούσκων πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Λατίνων

δηλοῦντα, ὅτι πολλαὶ δυνάμεις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἤξουσιν εἰς ἡμέραν τρίτην μάλιστα καὶ αὐθις ἕτεραι παρ' Ἑρνίκων. ^[4] τὰ μὲν δὴ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ταχεῖαν παρατάξεως ἀνάγκην τέως οὐ προαιρουμένοις ταῦτ' ἦν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη παρ' ἑκατέρων τῆς μάχης, προήεσαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον ἀμφοτέροι καὶ ἐξέτασσον τὰς δυνάμεις κατὰ τὰδε: Σέξτος μὲν Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ τῶν Λατίνων ἐτάχθη κέρατος, Ὁκταοῦιος δὲ Μαιμίλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τὴν δὲ κατὰ μέσον στάσιν εἶχεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδων Τίτος, ἔνθα καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ τε αὐτόμολοι καὶ οἱ φυγάδες ἐτάχθησαν. ἡ δ' ἵππος ἅπασα τριχῇ διαιρεθεῖσα τοῖς κέρασιν ἀμφοτέροις προσενεμήθη καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέσην τεταγμένοις ^[5] τὴν φάλαγγα. τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατῆς τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν κέρας εἶχεν ὁ ὑπάρχης Τίτος Αἰβούπιος ἐναντίος ^[p. 267] Ὁκταοῦίῳ Μαιμίλῳ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος ὁ ὕπατος Σέξτῳ Ταρκυνίῳ στάσιν ἐναντίαν ἐπέχων: τὰ δὲ μέσα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτὸς ὁ δικτάτωρ Ποστόμιος ἐξεπλήρου Τίτῳ Ταρκυνίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν φυγάσι χωρήσων ὁμόσε: πλήθος δὲ τῆς συνελθούσης δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν παράταξιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου στρατεύματος ἦν Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις τε καὶ τετρακισχιλίοις πεζοὶ τριακοσίων δέοντες, χίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς: Λατίνων δὲ σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις τετρακισμῦριοι μάλιστα πεζοὶ καὶ τρισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς.

ὥς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν ἔμελλον, οἱ τε τῶν Λατίνων στρατηγοὶ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς σφετέρους πολλὰ εἰς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ δεήσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν μακρὰς διεξῆλθον, ὃ τε Ῥωμαῖος ὀρρωδοῦντας ὀρῶν τοὺς σφετέρους, ὅτι πλήθει συνοίσονται μακρῷ προὔχοντι τοῦ σφετέρου, ἐξελέσθαι τὸ δέος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας βουλόμενος συνεκάλεσεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ παρασησάμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: ^[2] θεοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ὑπισχοῦνται δι' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ σφαγίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει παρέξειν καὶ νίκην εὐτυχῇ, ἀμοιβὰς τε ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόντες ἀγαθὰς, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοὺς σέβοντες καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦντες ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν διετελέσαμεν, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν νεμεσῶντες κατὰ τὸ εἶκός, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ συγγενεῖς τε ^[p. 268] ὄντες καὶ φίλοι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁωμοκότες ἔξειν ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους, ἀπάντων ὑπεριδόντες τούτων πόλεμον ἐπιφέρουσιν ἡμῖν ἄδικον, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας, ὁποτέρους ἡμῶν μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἔχειν προσῆκεν: ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν δεινόν: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ταρκυνίων τυραννίδος, ἵνα δούλην ἀντ' ἐλευθέρας τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι. ^[3] χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ στρατιῶται, μαθόντας, ὅτι συμμάχους ἔχετε τοὺς θεοὺς, οὔπερ αἰεὶ τὴν πόλιν σώζουσιν, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι περὶ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα: ἐπισταμένους, ὅτι τῆς παρὰ θεῶν βοηθείας ὑπάρχει τυγχάνειν τοῖς γενναίως ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν πρόθυμα παρεχομένοις, οὐ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ταλαιπωρεῖν. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡμῖν πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πλεονεκτήματα πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρεσκευασμένα, τρία δὲ πάντων κάλλιστα καὶ φανερώτατα.

πρῶτον μὲν τὸ παρ' ἀλλήλων πιστόν, οὗ μάλιστα δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρατήσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀρξαμένους ὑμᾶς τήμερον ἀλλήλοις εἶναι βεβαίους φίλους δεῖ καὶ πιστοὺς συμμάχους, ἀλλ' ἡ πατρίς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦθ' ἅπασι παρεσκεύακε τάγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ [p. 269] ἐτράφητε ὁμοῦ καὶ παιδείας ἐτύχετε κοινῆς καὶ θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βωμῶν ἐθύετε καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολελεύκατε, πολλῶν δὲ κακῶν πεπειρασθε κοινῇ, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχυραὶ καὶ ἀδιάλυτοι πεφύκασι συγκεράννυσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φιλαί: ἔπειτα δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κοινὸς ἅπασιν ὑπάρχων ἄγων. [2] εἰ γὰρ ὑποχείριοι γενήσεσθε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑμῶν ὑπάρξει μηδενὸς πειραθῆναι δεινοῦ, τοῖς δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἅπασιν ὁμοίως ἀπολωλεκέναι, καὶ μήτε γυναικῶν μήτε παίδων μήτ' οὐσίας μήτ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὧν ἔχετε ἀπολαύσειν ἀγαθῶν, τοῖς δ' ἡγουμένοις τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦσι τὸν οἰκτιστὸν μόρον ἀποθανεῖν σὺν αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις. [3] ὅπου γὰρ οὐδὲν πεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν κακὸν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐξύβρισαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ποιήσιν αὐτοῦς, ἂν νῦν κρατήσωσι τοῖς ὅπλοις, μνησικακοῦντας, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεστήσατε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλεσθε καὶ οὐδ' [4] ἐπιβῆναι τῆς πατρῴας γῆς ἔατε; τελευταῖον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου φήσασι' ἂν εἶναι πλεονεκτημάτων ἔλασσον, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς σκοπῆτε, τὸ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἡμῖν ἀπηντηῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, οἷα ὑπελάβομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ τῆς δόξης ἐνδεέστερα. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν [p. 270] ἐπικουρίας οὐδένας ἄλλους ὁρᾷτε κοινωνοὺς παρόντας αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου: ἡμεῖς δ' ἅπαντας Οὐολούσκους ἤξειν αὐτοῖς ὑπελαμβάνομεν συμμάχους καὶ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων συχνοὺς καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους 2 διὰ κενῆς ἀνεπλάττομεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φόβους. πάντα δ' ἦν ἄρα ταῦτα Λατίνων ὄνειρατα, ὑποσχέσεις ἔχοντα κενὰς καὶ ἐλπίδας ἀτελεῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκαταλειοίπασιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν καταφρονήσαντες τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας, οἱ δὲ μελλήσουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθήσουσι τρίβοντες ἐν ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὸν χρόνον, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὑστερήσαντες τῆς μάχης οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτοῖς χρήσιμοι γενήσονται.

εἰ δέ τινες ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἰρήσθαι νομίζουσιν, ὀρρωδοῦσι δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων πλῆθος, βραχεῖα διδαχὴ μαθέτωσαν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δεδιότες, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναμνήσει: πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅτι πλεῖον ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἡναγκασμένον τὰ ὅπλα καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὥς ἐκ πολλῶν ἡμῖν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων ἐδήλωσε, τὸ δ' ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ ἐκ προθυμίας ὑπὲρ τῶν τυράννων ἀγωνιζόμενον πάνυ ὀλίγον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τι τοῦ ἡμετέρου: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοὺς πολέμους ἅπαντας οὐχ οἱ πλείους τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς κατορθοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ κρείττους ἀρετῇ. [2] πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη παραδείγματα φέρειν, ὅσα βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων στρατεῦματα ὑπερβαλόντα πλήθει μικραῖ [p. 271] πάνυ κατηγωνίσαντο δυνάμεις, οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους. ἐγὼ τᾶλλα: ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ πόσους κατωρθώκατε πολέμους μετ' ἐλάττονος ἢ ὅσης νῦν ἔχετε δυνάμεως μεῖζουσιν ἢ τοσαύταις παρασκευαῖς πολεμίων ἀντιταχθέντες; φέρε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις φοβεροὶ διατελεῖτε ὄντες ὧν ἐκρατεῖτε μαχόμενοι, Λατίνοις δ'

ἄρα τοῦτοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν Οὐλοῦσκοις εὐκαταφρόνητοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πειραθῆναι ποτε αὐτοὺς τῆς ὑμετέρας μάχης; ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴστε, ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη πολλαῖς ἐνίκων μάχαις οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. [3] ἄρ' οὖν λόγον ἔχει τὰ μὲν τῶν κρατηθέντων πράγματα ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς κρείττονα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐπὶ ταῖς τηλικαύταις εὐπραγίαις χειρόνα; καὶ τίς ἂν τοῦτο φήσειε νοῦν ἔχων; θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν τὸ μὲν τῶν πολέμιων πλῆθος, ἐν ᾧ βραχὺ τὸ γενναῖον ἐστίν, ὀρρωδεῖ, τῆς δ' οἰκείας δυνάμεως οὕτω πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὕσης καταφρονεῖ, ἥς οὐτ' ἀρετῇ κρείττων οὐτ' ἀριθμῷ πλείων συνηνέχθη ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦτου πολέμων δύναμις.

καὶ τότε, ὦ πολῖται, τοῦ μήτ' ὀρρωδεῖν μήτ' ἐκτρέπεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ μέγιστον παρακέλευσμα, ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρωτεύοντες τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου πάρεισιν, ὥσπερ ὀρᾶτε, κοινὰς ὑμῖν ποιησόμενοι τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τύχας, οἷς ἀφείσθαι στρατείας ὃ τε χρόνος [p. 272] [2] ὁ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποδédωκε καὶ ὁ νόμος. οὐκοῦν αἰσχροὺς μὲν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ φεῦγειν τὰ δεινὰ, τοὺτους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡλικίαν διώκειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν γερόντων πρόθυμον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι τινα δύναται τῶν πολέμιων, ἀποθνήσκειν γε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλιν, τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον ἀκμάζον, οἷς ἔξεστιν εὐτυχῆσαι μὲν ἀμφοτέρα σῶσαι καὶ νικᾶν ἀσφαλῶς, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δρᾶσαι τι γενναῖον καὶ παθεῖν, μήτε τῆς τύχης πείραν λαβεῖν, μήτε τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν 3 καταλιπεῖν; [3] οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὑπάρχειν καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα παρ' ἑτέροις, οὓς οὐδεὶς ὑμνήσει λόγος ἀξίως; πολλὰς δὲ καὶ περιβοήτους πράξεις οἰκείας τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν καρπώσεται γένος, ἦν τοῦτον ἔτι κατορθώσητε τὸν πόλεμον. ἴνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ κράτιστα ὑμῶν ἐγνωκόσι τὸ γενναῖον μὴ ἀκερδὲς γένηται καὶ τοῖς πέρα τοῦ δέοντος τὰ δεινὰ πεφοβημένοις μὴ ἀζήμιον ἦ, πρὶν εἰς ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν, οἷων ἑκατέροις συμβήσεται τυχεῖν, ἀκούσατέ μου. [4] ὦ μὲν [p. 273] ἂν τι καλὸν ἢ γενναῖον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπραξαμένῳ μαρτυρήσωσιν οἱ τὰ ἔργα συνειδότες τὰς τ' ἄλλας ἀποδώσω παραχρῆμα τιμὰς, ἃς ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐκάστοις ἐθισμῶν ὑπάρχει φέρεσθαι, καὶ γῆς ἔτι προσθήσω κλῆρον, ἐξ ἧς κέκτηται τὸ δημόσιον, ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι ὥς μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεηθῆναι: ὦ δ' ἂν ἡ κακὴ καὶ θεοβλαβὴς διάνοια φυγῆς ἀσχήμονος ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τοῦτῳ τὸν φευγόμενον ἀγχοῦ παραστήσω θάνατον: κρείττων γὰρ ἂν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις γένοιτο ὁ τοιοῦτος πολίτης ἀποθανών: καὶ περιέσται τοῖς οὕτως ἀποθανοῦσι μήτε ταφῆς μήτε τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων μεταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀζήλοισ ἀκλαύστοις ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ θηρίων διαφορηθῆναι. [5] ταῦτα δὴ προεγνωκότες ἴτε προθύμως ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, λαβόντες καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔργων καλῶν ἡγεμόνας, ὥς ἐν ἐνὶ τῷδε κινδύνῳ τὸ κράτιστον καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν ἅπασι τέλος λαβόντι τὰ μέγιστα ἔξοντες ἀγαθὰ, φόβου τυράννων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθερώσοντες, πόλει τῇ γειναμένη τροφείων δικαίας ἀπαιτοῦση χάριτας ἀποδώσοντες, παῖδας, ὅσοις εἰσὶν ὑμῶν ἔτι νήπιοι, καὶ γαμετὰς γυναικας οὐ περιοφόμενοι παθεῖν πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἀνήκεστα, γηραιούς τε πατέρας τὸν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον ἡδιστον βιώναι παρασκευάσοντες. [6] ὦ μακάριοι μὲν, οἷς ἂν ἐκγένηται τὸν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου θρίαμβον

καταγαγεῖν, ὑποδεχομένων ὑμᾶς τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πατέρων: εὐκλεεῖς δὲ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς οἱ τὰ σώματα [p. 274] χαριούμενοι τῇ πατρίδι. ἀποθανεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὀφείλεται, κακοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς: καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐνδόξως μόνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ θάρσος τι δαιμόνιον ἐμπίπτει τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἅπαντες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα: θάρσει τε καὶ ἄγε. καὶ ὁ Ποστομίος ἐπαινέσας τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενος, ἐὰν εὐτυχὲς καὶ καλὸν τέλος ἀκολουθήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, θυσίας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσειν χρημάτων καὶ ἀγῶνας καταστήσεσθαι πολυτελεῖς, οὕς ἄξει ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἀνὰ ^[2] πᾶν ἔτος, ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. ὥς δὲ τὸ σύνθημα τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρέλαβον καὶ τὰ παρακλητικὰ τῆς μάχης αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐνεκελεύσαντο, ἐχώρουν ἀλαλάζαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ψιλοὶ τε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἀφ' ἐκατέρων, ἔπειθ' αἱ πεζαὶ φάλαγγες ὀπλισμοὺς τε καὶ τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσαι: καὶ γίνεται πάντων ἀναμιξ μαχομένων καρτερὸς ἀγὼν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα ἡ μάχη. ^[3] ὥς δὲ πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἀμφοτέροις τῆς δόξης ἦν: οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἐλπίσαντες μάχης δεῖσιν σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες φοβήσιν, Λατῖνοι μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῆς σφετέρας ἵππου πιστεύσαντες, ἧς οὐδὲ τὸ ῥόθιον ὦντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἱππεῖς ἀνέξεσθαι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τολμηρῶς: καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦντες καταπλήξεσθαι [p. 275] τοὺς πολεμίους: ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων καταδοξάσαντες ἐν ἀρχαῖς τάναντία ἐώρων γινόμενα. οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων δέος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον θάρσος ἐκάτεροι τοῦ τε σωθήσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ νικήσιν αἴτιον σφίσι νομίσαντες ἀγαθοὶ μαχηταὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐφάνησαν. ἐγίνοντο δὲ ποικίλαι καὶ ἀγχίστροφοι περὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τύχαι.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν φάλαγγα τεταγμένοι Ῥωμαίων, ἔνθα ὁ δικτάτωρ Ποστομίος ἦν λογάδας ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πρώτοις μαχόμενος, τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐξωθοῦσι μέρος, τρωθέντος ὑσῶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον θατέρου τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν Τίτου καὶ μηκέτι δυναμένου τῇ χειρὶ ^[2] χρῆσθαι. Λικίνιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ περὶ Γέλλιον οὐδὲν ἐξητακότες οὔτε τῶν εἰκότων οὔτε τῶν δυνατῶν αὐτὸν εἰσάγουσι τὸν βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀφ' ἵππου καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον, ἄνδρα ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσι προσάγοντα. πεσόντος δὲ Τίτου μικρὸν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔμψυχον ἀράμενοι γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ πόδα: ἔπειτ' αὖθις ἔστησάν τε καὶ εἰς ἀντίπαλα ἐχώρουν, θατέρου τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν Σέξτου μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγᾶδων τε καὶ τῶν [p. 276] ^[3] ἄλλων ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ἐπιβοηθήσαντος αὐτοῖς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάλιν ἀναλαβόντες: αὐτοὺς ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεμόνες ἐκατέρας Τίτος Αἰβούτιος καὶ Μامίλιος Ὀκταούιος λαμπρότατα πάντων ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ τρέποντες μὲν τοὺς ὑφισταμένους καθ' ὃ χωρήσειαν μέρος, ἀντικαθιστάντες δὲ τῶν σφετέρων τοὺς θορυβηθέντας, χωροῦσιν ἐκ προκλήσεως ὁμόσε, καὶ συρράξαντες πληγὰς κατ' ἀλλήλων φέρουσιν ἰσχυράς, οὐ μὴν καιρίους, ὁ μὲν ἱππάρχης εἰς τὰ στέρνα τοῦ Μαιμίου διὰ θώρακος ἐλάσας τὴν αἰχμήν,

ὁ δὲ Μαμίλιος μέσον περονήσας τὸν δεξιὸν ἐκείνου βραχίονα: καὶ πίπτουσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

ἀποκομισθέντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὁ τεταγμένος αὐθις πρεσβευτῆς Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος τὴν τοῦ ἱππάρχου παρειληφώς ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστὰς σὺν τοῖς ἀμ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ μικρὸν ἀντισχῶν χρόνον ἐξωθεῖται ταχέως τῆς τάξεως ἐπὶ πολὺ: ἦκον δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις ἐκ τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἱππέων τε καὶ ψιλῶν βοήθειαι, καὶ ὁ Μαμίλιος ἀνειληφώς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἑαυτὸν ἤδη παρῆν αὐθις ἄγων πληθός ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν καρτερόν: ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὃ τε πρεσβευτῆς Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος, ὁ τὸν κατὰ Σαβίνων πρῶτος καταγαγὼν θρίαμβον καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως τεταπεινωμένον ἐκ [p. 277] τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πταίσματος ἀναστήσας, δόρατι πληγεῖς πίπτει, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ καὶ ^[2] ἀγαθοί. περὶ δὲ τῷ πτώματι αὐτοῦ γίνεται καρτερός ἀγὼν Ποπλίου καὶ Μάρκου τῶν Ποπλικόλα παιδων τὸν θεῖον ὑπερασπισάντων. ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν ἀσχύλευτόν τε: καὶ μικρὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἀναθέντες ἀπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ προθυμίας ὠσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβόντες, ἀθρόων περιχυθέντων σφίσι τῶν φυγάδων, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἅμα. ^[3] ἐξωθεῖται δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἡ Ῥωμαίων φάλαγξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ μέχρι τῶν μέσων παρερρήγνυτο. ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὁ δικτάτωρ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν σφετέρων, ἐβοήθει κατὰ τάχος ἄγων τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς. κελεύσας δὲ τὸν ἕτερον πρεσβευτὴν, Τίτον Ἑρμῆνιον, ἵλην ἱππέων ἄγοντα κατὰ νώτου χωρεῖν τῆς σφετέρας φάλαγγος καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιστρέφειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοιντο ἀποκτεῖναι, αὐτὸς ἅμα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπὶ τὸ στίφος ὠθεῖται, κάπειδ' ἡ πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐγένετο πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει τὸν ἵππον ἀφειμένων τῶν χαλινῶν. ^[4] ἀθρόας δὲ γενομένης καὶ καταπληκτικῆς τῆς ἐλάσεως οὐ δεξάμενοι τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τεθριωμένον οἱ πολέμιοι τρέπονται καὶ πίπτουσι συγχοί. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς [p. 278] Ἑρμῆνιος ἀνειληφώς τοὺς φοβηθέντας ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν σφετέρων ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μαμίλιον συνεστῶτας: καὶ συμπεσὼν αὐτῷ μεγίστῳ τε ὄντι καὶ ῥώμην ἀρίστῳ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνόν τ' ἀποκτείνει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ σκυλεύειν τὸν νεκρὸν πληγεῖς ὑπὸ τινος ξίφει διὰ τῆς λαγόνος ἀποθνήσκει. ^[5] Σέξτος δὲ Ταρκύνιος τοῦ λαιοῦ τῶν Λατίνων κέρατος ἡγούμενος ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρατος ἐξεώθει τῆς στάσεως: ὥς δὲ τὸν Ποστόμιον ἐθεάσατο σὺν τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιφερόμενον ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάσης: ἐλπίδος εἰς μέσους αὐτοὺς ἵεται: ἔνθα δὴ κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν καὶ βαλλόμενος πανταχόθεν ὥσπερ θηρίον, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ πολλοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν ὁμόσε χωρησάντων ἀποθνήσκει. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἀθρόα γίνεται πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν Λατίνων φυγὴ καὶ τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἐρήμου καταλειφθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἄλωσις, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἔλαβον ὠφελείας. ^[6] συμφορὰ τε αὕτη μεγίστη Λατίνους ἐγένετο, δι' ἣν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκακώθησαν, καὶ φθόρος σωμάτων, ὅσος οὕτω πρότερον: ἀπὸ γὰρ τετρακισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ

τρισιχίλιων ἵππέων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, οἱ λειφθέντες ἐλάττους μυρίων ἐσώθησαν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα.

ἐν ταύτῃ λέγονται τῇ μάχῃ Ποστομίῳ τε [p. 279] τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένοις ἵππεῖς δύο φανῆναι, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει μακρῶ κρείττους, ὧν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσις ἐκφέρει, ἐναρχόμενοι γενειᾶν, ἡγούμενοί τε τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἵππου καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τῶν Λατίνων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι καὶ προτροπάδην ἐλαύνοντες. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν περὶ δείλην ὄψιαν τὸ τέλος λαβούσης τῆς μάχης, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὀφθῆναι δύο νεανίσκοι λέγονται, πολεμικὰς ἐνδεδυκότες στολὰς μήκιστοί τε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντες, αὐτοὶ τε φυλάττοντες ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὥς ἐκ μάχης ἠκόντων τὸ ἐναγώνιον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἰδρῶτι διαβρόχους ἐπαγόμενοι. [2] ἄρσαντες δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἑκάτερον καὶ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπὸ τῆς λιβάδος, ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀναδίδωσι λίμνην ποιοῦσα ἐμβύθιον ὀλίγην, πολλῶν αὐτοὺς περιστάντων καὶ εἴ τι φέρουσιν ἐπὶ κοινὸν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μαθεῖν ἀξιούντων, τὴν τε μάχην αὐτοῖς φράζουσιν, ὥς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι νικῶσιν: οὕς μεταχωρήσαντας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι λέγουσιν ὀφθῆναι, πολλὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ποιουμένου [p. 280] [3] τοῦ καταλειφθέντος τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμόνος. ὥς δὲ τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἐπιστολὰς ἔλαβον οἱ τῶν κοινῶν προεστῶτες, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν δαιμόνων ἔμαθον, νομίσαντες τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν εἶναι ἄμφω τὰ φάσματα ὥσπερ εἰκὸς Διοσκούρων ἐπέισθησαν εἶναι τὰ εἶδωλα. [4] ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς παραδόξου καὶ θαυμαστῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπιφανείας ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ σημεῖα, ὅ τε νεῶς ὁ τῶν Διοσκούρων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκεύασεν ἡ πόλις, ἐνθα ὤφθη τὰ εἶδωλα, καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτῷ κρήνη καλουμένη τε τῶν θεῶν τούτων καὶ ἱερὰ εἰς τὸδε χρόνου νομιζομένη, θυσίαι τε πολυτελεῖς, ἃς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιτελεῖ διὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἱερέων ἐν μηνὶ Κυντιλίῳ λεγομένῳ ταῖς καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, ἐν ᾗ κατῶρθωσαν ἡμέρᾳ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον: ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελουμένη πομπὴ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸν δημόσιον ἵππον, οἱ κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ λόχους κεκοσμημένοι στοιχηδὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὁχοῦμενοι πορεύονται πάντες, ὥς ἐκ μάχης ἦκοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι θαλλοῖς ἐλαίας, καὶ πορφυρᾶς φοινικοπαρύφους ἀμπεχόμενοι τηβέννας τὰς καλουμένας τραβέας, ἀρξάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἱεροῦ τινος Ἄρεος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυμένου, διεξιόντες δὲ τὴν τ' ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρερχόμενοι, ἄνδρες ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι [p. 281] φέροντες, ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀριστεῖα ἔλαβον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καλὴ καὶ ἀξία τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὄψις. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιφανείας τῶν Διοσκούρων λεγόμενά τε καὶ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔμαθον: [5] ἐξ ὧν τεκμήραιτ' ἂν τις, ὥς θεοφιλεῖς ἦσαν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις.

ὁ δὲ Ποστόμιος ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν νύκτα κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς

αἰχμαλώτους φυλάττεσθαι διαδοὺς ἔθυε τὰ νικητήρια τοῖς θεοῖς. ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον ἐπικειμένῳ καὶ τὰς ὑπερπύρους ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπιτιθέντι σκοποὶ τινες ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων καταδραμόντες ἀγγέλλουσι πολέμιον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνειν στρατόν. ἦν δ' ἐκ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους ἐπιλεκτος ἀκμὴ σύμμαχος ἀπεσταλμένη Λατίνοις, πρὶν ἢ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. [2] ὥς δὲ δὴ ταῦτ' ἔγνω, χωρεῖν ἅπαντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ χάρακι παρὰ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἑκαστον σημαίαις σιγὴν καὶ κόσμον φυλάττοντας, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν παραγγείλῃ. οἱ δὲ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἡγεμόνες ἐξ ἀπόπτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβαλόντες ὥς εἶδον μεστὸν μὲν τὸ πεδῖον νεκρῶν, ὀρθοὺς δὲ τοὺς χάρακας ἀμφοτέρους, προίοντα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οὔτε πολέμιον οὔτε φίλον οὐδένα, τέως μὲν ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ κατειληφυῖα τύχη τὰ [p. 282] πράγματα ἀπόρως εἶχον συμβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀνασωζομένων ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔμαθον, ἐσκόπουν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων, [3] τί χρὴ πράττειν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θραυστάτοις αὐτῶν ἐδόκει κράτιστον εἶναι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξ ἐφόδου, τέως πολλοὶ μὲν ἔκαμον ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ἀπειρήκεσάν θ' ἅπαντες ὑπὸ κόπου ὄπλα τε ἄχρηστα τοῖς πλείστοις ἦν, τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμάς, τὰ δὲ κατεαγόντα καὶ βοήθεια παρὰ τῶν οἰκοθεν ἀκραιφνῆς οὕτω παρῆν οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς, ἡ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν δύναμις πολλὴ τε οὕσα καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ὠπλισμένη καλῶς ἐμπειροπόλεμος τε καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένοις ἐξαπναιῶς παροῦσα, φοβερά καὶ τοῖς εὐτολμοτάτοις φανήσεσθαι ἔμελλε.

τοῖς δὲ σωφρονεστάτοις οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ κινδύνευμα εἶναι ἐφαίνετο, ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ πολέμια τε καὶ νεωστὶ τὴν Λατίνων τοσαύτην δύναμιν ἄραμένοις ἄνευ συμμάχων ὁμόσε χωρεῖν μέλλοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνον ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι γῆ, ἔνθα εἴ τι συμβαίῃ παῖμα οὐδεμίαν ἔξουσι καταφυγὴν ἀσφαλῆ: τῆς δ' οἴκαδε σωτηρίας προνοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἡξίου οὗτοι διὰ ταχέων καὶ μέγα κέρδος ὑπολαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἀπολαύσουσιν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας κακόν. [2] ἑτέροις δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον ἐδόκει χρῆναι ποιεῖν, νεανικὸν μὲν ἀποφαινουσι τὸ πρόχειρον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρμῆς, αἰσχρὸν δὲ τὸ παράλογον τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φυγῆς, ὥς κατ' εὐχὴν ληφομένων τῶν πολεμίων, ὁπότερον ἂν αὐτῶν ποιήσωσι. γνώμη δὲ [p. 283] τούτων ἦν ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι κρατύνασθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, πέμποντας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Οὐολούσκους δυεῖν θάτερον ἀξιοῦν ἢ δύναμιν ἑτέραν πέμπειν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, [3] ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσταλμένην μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ πιθανωτάτῃ τοῖς πλείστοις φανεῖσα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τέλει κυρωθεῖσα γνώμη ταῦτα παρήνει, πέμψαι τινας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων: κατασκόπους ὀνόματι πρεσβευτῶν ἔξοντας τὸ ἀσφαλὲς, οἱ δεξιῶσονται τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ φράσουσιν, ὅτι σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων ἦκοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἄχθονται μὲν ὑστερήσαντες τῆς μάχης, ὥς οὐδεμίαν ἢ μικράν τινα τῆς προθυμίας χάριν οἰσόμενοι, τῇ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνων τύχῃ μέγαν ἀγῶνα δίχα συμμάχων κατωρθωκότων συνήδονται: ἐξαπατήσαντες δ' αὐτοὺς τῇ φιланθρωπῳίᾳ τῶν λόγων καὶ πιστεύειν ὥς φίλοις σφίσι κατασκευάσαντες, ἅπαντα

κατασκέπονται καὶ δηλώσουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πλῆθος τ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὀπλισμοῦς καὶ παρασκευᾶς καὶ εἴ τι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχουσι πράττειν. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκριβῶς σφίσι γένηται φανερά, τότε προθεῖναι βουλὴν, εἴτ' ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀμεινον εἶη προσμεταπηραμένους δύνανιν ἑτέραν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπάγειν.

ὥς δὲ ταῦτη προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ οἱ προχειρισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα καὶ παραχθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διεξῆλθον [p. 284] τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας λόγους, ὀλίγον ἐπισχῶν ὁ Ποστόμιος χρόνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπε: πονηρὰ βουλευματα, ὦ Οὐολούσκοι, χρηστοῖς λόγοις ἀμφιέσαντες ἦκατε: καὶ πολεμίων ἔργα πράττοντες φίλων ἐξενέγκασθαι 4 βούλεσθε δόξαν. [2] ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀπέσταλθε ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Λατίνοις συμμαχήσαντες καθ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὕστεροι τῆς μάχης ἦκατε καὶ κρατούμενους αὐτοὺς ὀρᾶτε, παρακρούσασθαι βούλεσθε ἡμᾶς τάναντία, ὧν ἐμέλλετε πράττειν, λέγοντες, καὶ οὐδ' ἡ φιланθρωπία τῶν λόγων, ἦν πλάττεσθε πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν οὐδὲ τὸ προσποιήμα ὑμῶν τῆς δεῦρο ἀρίξεως ὑγιές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μεστὸν δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. οὐ γὰρ συνησθησόμενοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐξαπέσταλθε, ἀλλὰ κατασκεψόμενοι, πῶς ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας ἢ δυνάμεως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει: καὶ ἔστε πρεσβευταὶ μὲν λόγῳ, κατάσκοποι δ' ἔργῳ. [3] ἀρνούμενων δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πίστιν ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς παρέξεσθαι: καὶ αὐτίκα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῶν, ἃς ἔλαβε πρὸ τῆς μάχης τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν Λατίνων φερομένας, ἐν αἷς ὑπισχνοῦντο αὐτοῖς πέμψειν ἐπικουρίαν, προήνεγκε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας αὐτὰς προήγαγεν. ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἃς ἔλαβον ἐντολὰς διηγησαμένων, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος λίθοις ὥρμησε βαλεῖν τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ὡς ἐάλωκότας ἐπ' [p. 285] αὐτοφῶρῳ κατασκόπους, ὁ δὲ Ποστόμιος οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν ὁμοίους γενέσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κρεῖττον εἶναι λέγων καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερον εἰς τοὺς ἀποστειλαντας φυλάττειν τὴν ὀργὴν ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας, καὶ διὰ τὸ φανερόν ὄνομα τῆς πρεσβείας ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῆς κατασκοπῆς ἔργον ἀπολέσαι: ἵνα μήτε Οὐολούσκοις ἀφορμὴν παράσχωσιν εὐπρεπῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρεσβευτῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι σώματα σκηπτομένοις παρὰ τὸν ἀπάντων νόμον, μήτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχθρας πρόφασιν αἰτίας εἶναι εἰ καὶ ψευδοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλόγου γε οὐδὲ ἀπίστου.

ἐπισχῶν δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἀπιέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκέλευσεν ἀμεταστρεπτῇ φυλακῇ παραδοὺς ἱππέων, οἱ προὔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐολούσκων χάρακα. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς κατασκόπους εὐτρεπίεσθαι τὰ εἰς μάχην παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς ἐν τῇ κατοπίν ἡμέρᾳ παραταξόμενος. ἐδέησε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μάχης: οἱ γὰρ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Οὐολούσκων πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀναστήσαντες τὴν στρατιὰν ὥχοντο ἐπὶ [2] τὰ σφέτερα. ἀπάντων δὲ χωρησάντων αὐτῷ κατ' εὐχὴν θάψας τοὺς οἰκείους νεκροὺς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καθήρας [p. 286] ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκπρεπεῖ θριάμβῳ κοσμούμενος ὀπλῶν τε σωρὸν ἐφ' ἀμάξαις πολλαῖς κομίζων καὶ χρημάτων στρατιωτικῶν παρασκευᾶς ἀφθόνους εἰσφέρων, καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεντακοσίων ἀποδέοντας ἐξακισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λαφύρων ἐξελόμενος τὰς δεκάτας ἀγῶνάς τε καὶ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπὸ

τετταράκοντα ταλάντων ἔποιει καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς ἐξεμίσθωσε Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Κόρῃ ^[3] κατ' εὐχὴν. ἐσπάνισαν γὰρ αἱ τροφαὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ πολὺν αὐτοῖς παρέσχον φόβον ὥς ἐπιλείψουσαι, τῆς τε γῆς ἀκάρπου γενομένης καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀγορᾶς οὐκέτι παρακομιζομένης διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ἀνασκέψασθαι τὰ Σιβύλλεια τοὺς φύλακας αὐτῶν κελεύσας ὥς ἔμαθεν, ὅτι τοὺτους ἐξιλάσασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ χρησμοὶ κελεύουσιν, εὐχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐποίησατο μέλλων ἐξαγεῖν τὸν στρατόν, ἐὰν εὐετηρία γένηται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς, οἷα πρότερον ἦν, ναοὺς τ' αὐτοῖς καθιδρῦσέσθαι καὶ ^[4] θυσίας καταστήσεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες τὴν τε γῆν παρεσκεύασαν ἀνεῖναι πλουσίους καρπούς, οὐ μόνον τὴν σπόριμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δενδροφόρον, καὶ τὰς ἐπεισάκτους ἀγορὰς ἀπάσας ἐπικλύσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον: ἅπερ ὁρῶν αὐτὸς ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐψηφίσατο τὰς τῶν ναῶν τούτων κατασκευὰς. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τὸν τυραννικὸν ἀπωσάμενοι πόλεμον εὐνοίᾳ θεῶν ἐν ἑορταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις ἦσαν. [p. 287]

ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων ἦκον ὥς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐπιλεχθέντες οἱ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχοντες περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ἱκετηρίας καὶ στέμματα προεχόμενοι. οὗτοι παραχθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπέφαινον αἰτίους: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐν μόνον τοῦτο ἀμαρτεῖν ἔλεγον, ὅτι πονηροῖς ἐπείσθη δημαγωγοῖς ἴδια κέρδη παρεσκευασμένοις. ^[2] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀπάτης, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖον ἀνάγκης μέρος ἦν, οὐ μεμπτὰς τεπικέναι δίκας ἐκάστην πόλιν ἔλεγον τῆς κρατίστης νεότητος ἀναιρεθείσης, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι πένθους καθαρὰν εὐρεῖν οἰκίαν, ἥξιον τ' αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν σφᾶς ἦκοντας οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι διαφορομένους οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἴσων φιλονεικοῦντας συμμάχους τε καὶ ὑπηκόους ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐσομένους, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ὁ δαίμων ἀφείλετο τοῦ Λατίνων ἀξιώματος, ^[3] τοῦτο τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσθήσοντας εὐποτμίᾳ. τελευτῶντες δὲ τοῦ λόγου συγγένειαν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ συμμαχιῶν ἀπροφασίστων ποτὲ γενομένων ἀνεμίμνησκον καὶ συμφορὰς ἀνέκλαιον τὰς καταληψομένας τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, οἱ μακρῶ πλείους ἦσαν τῶν ἡμαρτηκόντων, ὁδυρόμενοι παρ' ἕκαστα καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀπτόμενοι πάσης τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τὰς ἱκετηρίας παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ Ποστομίου τιθέντες: ὥστε παθεῖν τι πρὸς τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τὰς δεήσεις αὐτῶν τὸ συνέδριον ἅπαν. [p. 288]

ὡς δὲ μετέστησαν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ λόγος ἀπεδόθη τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἀποφαινεσθαι γνώμας, Τίτος μὲν Λάρκιος ὁ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς δικτᾶτωρ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευε μέγιστον εἶναι λέγων ἐγκώμιον ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω καὶ πόλεως ὅλης, εἰ μὴ διαφθαρήσεται ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς καὶ μετρίως φέροι τάγαθά. ^[2] πάσας μὲν γὰρ τὰς εὐτυχίας φθονεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δ' ὅσαις πρόσεστιν εἰς τοὺς ταπεινωθέντας καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα γενομένους ὕβρις καὶ βαρύτης: τῇ τύχῃ δ' οὐκ ἐὼν τι πιστεῦειν πολλακίς αὐτῆς πεῖραν εἰληφότας ἐπ' οἰκείοις κακοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὥς ἀβέβαιός ἐστι καὶ ἀγχίστροφος: οὐδ'

ἀνάγκην προσάγειν τοῖς διαφόροις τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων, δι' ἣν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τολμηταὶ γίνονται ^[3] τινες καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μαχηταί· δέος δὲ σφίσι ἐῖναι λέγων, μὴ κοινὸν μῖσος ἐπισπάσωνται παρὰ πάντων ὅσων ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, ἐὰν πικρὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων ἀναπράττωνται δίκας, ὥς ἐκβεβηκότες ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἅφ' ὧν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν προῆλθον ἐπιλαθόμενοι, καὶ πεποηκότες τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡγεμονίαν ὥς πρότερον ἦν καὶ προστασίαν· τὰ τε ἁμαρτήματα μέτρια καὶ οὐ ^[p. 289] νεμεσητὰ εἶναι λέγων, εἴ τινες ἐλευθερίας περιεχόμεναι πόλεις καὶ ἄρχειν ποτὲ μαθοῦσαι τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀξιώσεως οὐ μεθιενται. εἰ δ' ἀνιάτως οἱ τῶν κρατίστων ὀρεχθέντες, ἐὰν διαμάρτωσι τῆς ἐλπίδος, ζημιώσονται, οὐδὲν ἔσσεσθαι τὸ κωλύον ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπ' ἄλλήλων ἀπολωλέναι· πᾶσι γὰρ εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας πόθον ἔμφυτον. ^[4] πολλῶν τε κρείττονα καὶ βεβαιότεραν ἀποφαίνων ἀρχήν, ἥτις εὐεργεσίαις, ἀλλὰ μὴ τιμωρίαις κρατεῖν βούλεται τῶν ὑπηκόων· τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐνοίαν ἀκολουθεῖν, τῇ δὲ φόβον, ἀνάγκην δ' εἶναι φύσεως πάντα μάλιστα μισεῖσθαι τὰ φοβερά· τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδείγμασιν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαίνων ἐτύγχανον ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσας ἀλούσας κατὰ κράτος πόλεις οὐ κατασκάπτοντες οὐδὲ ἡβηδὸν ἀναιροῦντες οὐδ' ἐξανδραποδιζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης ποιοῦντες, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν κρατηθέντων παρὰ σφίσι κατοικεῖν πολιτείας μεταδιδόντες, μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πόλιν. κεφάλαιον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἦν ἀνανεώσεσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων, αἷς ἦσαν πεποημένοι πρότερον, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μηδεμιᾶ πόλει μνησικακεῖν.

Σερουίλιος δὲ Σουλπίκιος περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀνανεώσεως τῶν σπονδῶν οὐδὲν ἀντέλεγεν· ^[p. 290] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρότεροι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Λατῖνοι, καὶ οὐχὶ τότε πρῶτον, ὥστε συγγνώμης τινὸς αὐτοῖς δεῖν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀπάτην προβαλλομένοις, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ πρότερον, ὥστε καὶ διορθώσεως σφίσι δεῖν, τὴν μὲν ἄδειαν ἅπασι συγκεχωρῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διὰ τὸ συγγενές, τῆς δὲ γῆς τὴν ἡμίσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ κληροῦχος ἀποσταλῆναι Ῥωμαίων εἰς αὐτήν, οἳ τινες ἐκείνην καρπώσονται καὶ ^[2] τοὺς ἄνδρας μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσαι σπουδάσουσι. Σπόριοις δὲ Κάσσιος ἀνελεῖν τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεβούλευε θαυμάζειν λέγων ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐθηθείαις τῶν παραινούντων ἀφεῖναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῖς ἀζημίους, εἰ μὴδὲ δύνανται καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι διὰ τὸν φθόνον τὸν ἔμφυτον τε καὶ ἀναφαιρετον, ὃν ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν αὐξομένην, ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτεχνῶνται πολέμους καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσονται τῆς ἐπιβούλου προαιρέσεως ἐκόντες, ἕως αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ δύστηνον ἐνοικεῖ πάθος· οἳ γε τελευτῶντες ὑπὸ τυράννῳ ποιήσασθαι, θηρίων ἀπάντων ἀγριωτάτῳ, συγγενῇ σφῶν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπάσας ἀνατρέψαντες τὰς ἐπὶ θεῶν ὁμολογίας, οὐκ ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἂν μὴ αὐτοῖς κατὰ γνώμην χωρήσῃ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δίκην οὐδεμίαν ὑφέξουσιν ἢ ^[3] τινὰ μικρὰν κομιδῇ. παραδείγμασί τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις, οἳ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτοὶ τ' ἀπωκίσθησαν καὶ

Λατίνων ἅπασαι πόλεις, ἔπειδ᾽ ἡ φθονοῦσαν ἔγνωσαν τοῖς αὐτῶν [p. 291] ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἁμαρτήμασιν εὔρετο, μείζονος ἐπιβουλῆς ἀφορμὴν ποιησαμένην, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καθελεῖν ἔγνωσαν μιᾷ: ἐν ἴσῳ δόξαντες εἶναι τῷ μηδένα οἰκτεῖρειν τῶν τὰ μέτρια ἁμαρτανόντων τὸ μηδένα τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ^[4] ἀδιόρθωτα ἀδικούντων. μωρίας δὲ πολλῆς εἶναι καὶ ἀναληγσίας ἔργον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ φιланθρωπίας οὐδὲ μετριότητος: τὸν τῶν ἀποικισάντων σφᾶς φθόνον, ἐπεὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἔδοξεν εἶναι βαρὺς καὶ ἀφόρητος, οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν τῶν ὁμογενῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς τ' ἐν ἐλάττωσι πείραις ἐλεγχθέντας πολεμίους ἀφαιρέσει πόλεως ζημιώσαντας, παρὰ τῶν πολλάκις τὸ μῖσος ἀδιάλλακτον ἀποδειξαμένων μηδεμίαν εἰσπράξασθαι δίκην. ^[5] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Λατίνων ἅπασας ἐξαριθμησάμενος τῶν τ' ἀπολομένων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμοις Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἦν ἀναμνήσας, ἡξίου τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρῆσασθαι καὶ τούτοις, ὃν ἐχρήσαντο Ἀλβανοῖς πρότερον: τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τῇ Ῥωμῶν προσθεῖναι, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τοὺς μὲν εὐνοϊὰν τινα: πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποδειξαμένους ἔχοντας τὰ σφέτερα πολίτας ποιήσεσθαι, τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ὑφ' ὧν αἱ σπονδαὶ διελύθησαν, ὡς προδότας [p. 292] ἀποκτείνειν: ὅσον δὲ τοῦ δήμου πτωχὸν καὶ ἄργον καὶ ἄχρηστον ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιήσεσθαι λόγῳ.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ δὲ δικτάτορος τὴν Λαρκίου γνώμην προελομένου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔτι λέξαντος τάναντία παρῆσαν εἰσκληθέντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ληψόμενοι: καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος ὄνειδίσας αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐδέποτε σωφρονισθῆναι δυναμένην κακίαν: δίκαιον μὲν ἦν, ἔφη, τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ πράττειν ἐμέλλετε, εἰ κατωρθώσατε ἅς πολλάκις ἤλθετε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁδοῦς: οὐ μέντοι Ῥωμαίους τὰ δίκαια πρὸ τῶν ἐπεικῶν προελέσθαι λογιζομένους, ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἰσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεον τῶν ἀδικουμένων καταπεφεύγασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῖς ἀζημίους ἀφιέναι θεῶν τε ὁμογνίων ἔνεκα καὶ τύχης ἀτεκμάρτου, παρ' ἧς τὸ κράτος ἔσχον. ^[2] νῦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, παντὸς ἡλευθερωμένοι δέους πορευέσθε, ἐὰν δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπολύσητε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παραδῶτε ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξελάσητε, τότε τοὺς περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους πρέσβεις πέμπετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσοντες τῶν μετρίων. ἀπήεσαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταύτας [p. 293] τὰς ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἦκον τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους ἀφεικότες καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας τῶν αὐτομόλων δεσμίους ἄγοντες καὶ τοὺς ἅμα Ταρκυνίῳ φυγάδας ἐξεληλακότες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ἀνθ' ὧν εὗροντο παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἀρχαίαν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ποτὲ γενομένους διὰ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν ἀνενεώσαντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους συστάς πόλεμος τετρακαιδεκαέτης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως αὐτῶν γενόμενος τοιαύτης ἔτυχε τελευτῆς. ^[3] Ταρκύνιος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὗτος γὰρ ἔτι λοιπὸς ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν, ὁμοῦ τι γεγονῶς ἐνενηκονταέτης κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ἀπολωλεκῶς τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸν τῶν κηδεστῶν οἶκον καὶ

γῆρας ἔλεεινὸν καὶ παρ' ἐχθροῖς διαντλῶν, οὔτε Λατίνων ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ἔτι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὔτε Τυρρηνῶν οὔτε Σαβίνων οὔτ' ἄλλης πλησιοχώρου πόλεως ἐλευθέρας οὐδεμιᾶς, εἰς τὴν Καμπανίδα Κύμην ὥχето πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μαλακὸν τυραννοῦντα τότε Κυμαίων· παρ' ᾧ βραχὺν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιβιοῦς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ θάπτεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φυγάδων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ κατέμειναν, οἱ δ' εἰς ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις σκεδασθέντες ἐπὶ ξένης τὸν βίον κατέστρεψαν.

Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καταλυσάμενοις τοὺς ὑπαίθρους πολέμους ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις αὐθις ἐπανίστατο τῆς μὲν βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης καθίζειν τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς [p. 294] ἀμφισβητήσεις, ἃς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλλοντο, κρίνεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰς συναλλαγὰς ἀμφισβητημάτων εἰς μεγάλους κλύδωνας καὶ δεινὰς προβεβηκότων ἀτοπίας τε καί· ἀναισχυντίας, τῶν μὲν δημοτικῶν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν σκηπτομένων διαλύειν τὰ χρέα, χώρας τ' αὐτοῖς κεκομμένης ἐν τῷ πολυετῇ πολέμῳ καὶ βοσκημάτων διεφθαρμένων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων αὐτομολίας καὶ καταδρομαῖς σπανισθέντων τῆς τε κατὰ πόλιν κτήσεως ἐξανηλωμένης ταῖς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν δαπάναις· τῶν δὲ δανειστῶν ταύτας μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς ὁμοίας ἅπασι γεγονέναι λεγόντων καὶ οὐ μόνοις τοῖς χρεωφειλέταις, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν δ' ἡγουμένων σφίσι μὴ μόνον, ἃ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ δεομένοις τισὶ τῶν 5 πολιτῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συνήλλαξαν, ἀπολωλέναι. [2] ἀξιούντων δ' οὔτε τῶν δανειστῶν οὐδὲν μέτριον ὑπομένειν οὔτε τῶν χρεωφειλετῶν ποιεῖν οὐδὲν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς τόκους ἀφιέναι, τῶν δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὰ τὰ συναλλάγματα διαλύειν· ἐξ ὧν σύνοδοι μὲν ἤδη κατὰ συστροφὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁμοίαις ὄντων τύχαις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξεις κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ χειρῶν ἀψιμαχίαι, καὶ συνετετάρακτο πᾶς ὁ πολιτικὸς [3] κόσμος· ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ὁ Ποστόμιος, ἕως ἔτι τὸ τιμώμενον εἶχε παρὰ πάντων ὅμοιον πολέμῳ βαρεῖ καλὸν [p. 295] ὑπεκδῦναι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς χειμῶνας ἔγνω· καὶ πρὶν ἐκπληρῶσαι τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς χρόνον, τὴν τε δικτατορίαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ προθεὶς ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἡμέραν μετὰ τοῦ συνυπάτου τὰς πατρίους κατέστησεν ἀρχάς.

παραλαμβάνουσι δὴ ὑπατοὶ πάλιν τὴν ἐνιαυσίον τε καὶ νόμιμον ἀρχὴν Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβῖνος καὶ Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Πρίσκοι· οἱ τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτω συμφέρον εἶδον ὀρθῶς, ὅτι δεῖ περισπᾶν τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους θόρυβον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους· καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους τὸν ἕτερον σφῶν ἐξάγειν στρατιάν, τιμωρῆσασθαι τ' αὐτοὺς προαιρούμενοι τῆς ἀποσταλείσης κατὰ Ῥωμαίων Λατίνους συμμαχίας καὶ προκαταλαβεῖν τὰς παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν ἔτι συνεσταλμένας. ἡγγέλλοντο γὰρ κάκεῖνοι δυνάμεις ἤδη καταγράφειν ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ εἰς τὰ πλησίον ἔθνη πρεσβεύεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀφεστηκέναι τῶν πατρικίων καὶ νομίσαντες οὐ χαλεπὸν εἶναι πόλιν οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ νοσοῦσαν ἄρασθαι. [2] ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν βουλευσάμενοι καὶ δόξαντες ἅπασι τοῖς συνέδροις ὀρθῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι προεῖπον ἥκειν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐν ἀκμῇ χρόνον ὀρίσαντες, ἐν ᾧ τὴν καταγραφὴν [p. 296] τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔμελλον ποιεῖσθαι. ὥς δ' οὐχ

ὑπῆκουον αὐτοῖς οἱ δημοτικοὶ καλούμενοι πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάτερος εἶχε γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἔνθεν ἀρξάμενοι διεσθήκεσάν τε καὶ τάναντία πράττοντες ἀλλήλοις παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διετέλεσαν. [3] Σερουιλίῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπεικεστέραν τῶν ὁδῶν πορεύεσθαι τῇ Μανίου Οὐαλερίου γνώμῃ τοῦ δημοτικωτάτου προσθεμένῳ, ὃς ἡξίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰάσεσθαι τῆς στάσεως μάλιστα μὲν ἄφεσιν ἢ μείωσιν τῶν χρεῶν ψηφισαμένους, εἰ δὲ μήγε κώλυσιν τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς τῶν ὑπερήμερων κατὰ τὸ παρόν, παρακλήσει τε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνάγκῃ τοὺς πένητας ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον ἄγειν καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων μὴ χαλεπὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους, ὥς ἐν ὁμονοούσῃ πόλει, μετρίας δέ τινας καὶ ἐπεικεῖς: κίνδυνον γὰρ ἂν εἶναι, μὴ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν τράπωνται συνελθόντες εἰς ταῦτόν ἄνθρωποι τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεεῖς ἀναγκαζόμενοι στρατεῦεσθαι τέλεσιν οἰκείοις.

Ἀππίου δ' ἦν γνώμῃ τοῦ κορυφαιοτάτου τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας αὐστηρὰ καὶ αὐθάδης μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τῷ δήμῳ μαλακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων τὰς ἀναπράξεις ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν, ἐφ' οἷς συνέβαλον δικαίοις ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καθίζειν, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει μένοντα τῶν ὑπάτων κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς καὶ [p. 297] τὰς τιμωρίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν ἐκλιπόντων οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν νόμοι δεδώκασιν, ἀναπράττεσθαι, εἶκειν δὲ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς μηδὲν ὅ τι μὴ δίκαιον μηδὲ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συγκατασκευάζειν πονηράν. [2] καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τρυφῶσι τελῶν ἀφειμένοι, ὧν ἐτέλουν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρότερον, καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ σῶμα τιμωριῶν, αἷς ἐκολάζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅποτε μὴ ταχέως ὑπηρετήσείαν τι τῶν ἐπιταπτομένων, ἐλεύθεροι γεγονότες. ἐὰν δὲ τι παρακινεῖν ἢ νεωτερίζειν προενεχθέντες ἐπιβάλωνται, κατείργωμεν αὐτοὺς τῷ σωφρονοῦντι μέρει τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑγιαίνουντι πλείονι τοῦ νοσοῦντος φανησομένῳ. [3] ὑπάρχει μὲν γ' ἡμῖν οὐ μικρὰ ἰσχὺς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν πατρικίων νεότης ἔτοιμος τὰ κελεύόμενα ποιεῖν: μέγιστον δὲ πάντων ὄπλον καὶ δυσκαταγώνιστον, ὧ χρώμενοι ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσομεν τῶν δημοτικῶν, τὸ τῆς βουλῆς κράτος, ὧ δeditτόμεθα αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν νόμων ἰστάμενοι. ἐὰν δ' ὑποκατακλινώμεθα αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως, πρῶτον αἰσχύνην ὀφλήσομεν, εἰ παρὸν ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι δήμῳ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιτρέψομεν: ἔπειτα δ' εἰς κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἤξομεν, εἴ τις ἐκθεραπεύσας: αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν κρείττονα τῶν νόμων κατασκευάσαιτο τυραννικὸς ἀνὴρ, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐθις ἀφαιρεθῆναι. τοιαῦτα [p. 298] διαφερομένων τῶν ὑπάτων κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅποτε συναχθεῖν συνέδριον καὶ συλλαμβανόντων πολλῶν ἐκατέρῳ, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ φιλονεικίας καὶ θορύβους καὶ λόγους ἀκόσμους, οἷς ἀλλήλους προὔπηλάκιζον, ἀκούσασα, σωτήριον δὲ βούλευμα οὐδὲν καθισταμένη, διελύετο.

διατριβομένου δ' εἰς ταῦτα πολλοῦ χρόνου ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Σερουίλιος: ἦν γὰρ ἡ στρατεία κατὰ κληρὸν ἐκείνῳ προσήκουσα: πολλῇ δεήσει καὶ θεραπείᾳ παρασκευασάμενος τὸ δημοτικὸν συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, δύναμιν ἔχων οὐκ ἐκ καταλόγου προσηναγκασμένην, ἀλλ' ἐκούσιον, ὥς οἱ καιροὶ παρεκάλουν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἔτι τῶν

Οὐολούσκων παρασκευαζομένων καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν οὔτε προσδεχομένων μετὰ δυνάμεως ἤξειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, οὕτω στασιαστικῶς πολιτευομένους καὶ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὗτ' εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν οἰομένων: σφίσι δὲ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπάρχειν ὅποτε βούλιντο τοῦ [2] πολέμου ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦσθοντο πολεμεῖν δέον αὐτοὶ πολεμοῦμενοι, τότε δὴ καταπεπληγότες τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τάχος, ἱκετηρίας ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ γεραίτατοι προήεσαν ἐπιτρέποντες τῷ Σερουίλιῳ [p. 299] χρῆσθαι σφίσιν ὡς ἡμαρτηκόσιν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ τροφὰς τῷ στρατεύματι παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τριακοσίους υἱοὺς εἰς ὀμηρεῖαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἴκων ἐπιλεξάμενος ὥχετο, λελύσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑπολαβών. [3] ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦτ' οὐ λύσις, ἀναβολὴ δὲ τις καὶ παρασκευῆς ἀφορμὴ τοῖς φθασθεῖσι τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐφόδου, ἀπελθόντος τε τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματος ἐξήπτοντο πάλιν οἱ Οὐολούσκοι τοῦ πολέμου τὰς τε πόλεις φραζάμενοι, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον ἦν ἀσφάλειαν σφίσι παρασχέιν διὰ φυλακῆς κρείττονος ἔχοντες: συνήπτοντο δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ κινδύνου φανερώς μὲν Ἑρνικες καὶ Σαβῖνοι, κρύφα δὲ καὶ ἄλλων συχνοί. Λατῖνοι δὲ πρεσβείας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αἵτησιν ἀφικομένης δήσαντες τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς Ῥώμην ἤγαγον. [4] οἷς ἡ βουλὴ τῆς βεβαίου πίστεως χάριν ἀποδιδούσα καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα προθυμίας: ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐκούσιοι συμπολεμεῖν: ὁ μάλιστα μὲν βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὦετο, δι' αἰσχύνης δ' ἔχειν αἰτήσασθαι, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀλόντας αὐτῶν ἐξακισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας προῖκα δωρησαμένη καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα κόσμον ἢ δωρεὰ προσήκοντα τῇ συγγενείᾳ λάβοι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσθῆσιν ἀμφιέσασα ἐλευθέρους σώμασι πρεπούσας. τῆς δὲ συμμαχίας οὐδὲν αὐτῇ ἔφη δεῖν τῆς Λατίνων ἱκανὰς λέγουσα εἶναι τὰς οἰκείας τῇ Ῥώμῃ δυνάμεις ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀφισταμένους. ταῦτ' ἐκείνοις [p. 300] ἀποκριναμένη ψηφίζεται τὸν κατ' Οὐολούσκων πόλεμον.

ἔτι δ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καθεζομένης καὶ τινες εἶεν δυνάμεις τὰς ἐξελεussoμένας σκοπούσης, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἐφάνη ῥάκος ἡμφιεσμένος, πῶγωνα βαθὺν καθεικῶς καὶ κόμην βοῶν καὶ ἐπικαλούμενος τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουρίαν. συνδραμόντος δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ὄχλου στάς, ὅθεν ἔμελλε πολλοῖς καταφανῆς ἔσεσθαι, ἔφη, γεννηθεὶς ἐλεύθερος, ἐστρατευμένος τὰς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατείας, καὶ δυεῖν δεούσας τριάκοντα μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος, καὶ ἀριστεῖα πολλάκις εἰληφὼς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, ἐπειδὴ κατέσχον οἱ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἄγοντες στενοχωρίας καιροί, χρέος ἡναγκάσθην λαβεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ διαλύσαι τὰς εἰσπραττομένας εἰσφοράς, ὡς τὸ μὲν χωρίον οἱ πολέμιοι κατέδραμον, τὰ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν αἱ σιτοδεῖαι κατανάλωσαν, ὅθεν διαλύσαιμι μου τὸ χρέος οὐκ ἔχων, ἀπήχθην δοῦλος ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς δυσὶν: ἐπιτάττοντος δὲ τοῦ δεσπότη τῶν οὐ ῥαδίῳ ἔργον τι ἀντειπὼν αὐτῷ πληγὰς ἔλαβον μάστιγι πάνυ πολλάς. [2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐρρίπτει τὸ ῥάκιον καὶ ἐδείκνυε τὸ στῆθος μεστὸν τραυμάτων, τὰ δὲ νῶτα αἵματος ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἀνάπλεω. κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γινομένης ἢ τε βουλὴ διελύθη καὶ κατὰ [p. 301] τὴν πόλιν ὄλην δρόμος ἦν τῶν ἀπόρων τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην ἀνακλαιομένων καὶ βοηθεῖν

τοὺς πέλας ἀξιοῦντων· ἔκ τε τῶν οἰκιῶν οἱ πρὸς τὰ χρέα δουλωθέντες ἐξώρων κομῶντες, ἀλύσεις ἔχοντες οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πέδας οὐδενὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τολμῶντος αὐτῶν, εἰ δ' ἄψαιτο μόνον, ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διασπαρραττομένου. [3] τοσαύτη λύττα τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ κατεῖχε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεστή τῶν ἐκφυγόντων τὰς ἀνάγκας ἦν ἡ ἀγορά. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄππιος δείσας τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κακῶν ἦν αἴτιος, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐδόκει ταῦτα γεγονέναι, φεύγων ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὤχετο. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ῥίψας τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα καὶ προκυλιόμενος τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐκάστου μετὰ δακρύων, μόλις αὐτοὺς ἔπεισεν ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπισχεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐποῦσαν ἦκειν, ὥς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμέλειαν τινα περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησομένης. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν κελεύσας μηδὲν τῶν δανειστῶν ἐξεῖναι σῶμα πολιτικὸν πρὸς ἴδιον χρέος ἄγειν, ἕως ἂν ἡ βουλὴ περὶ αὐτῶν διαγνοῖη, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ὅποι βούλονται ἀδεῶς ἀπέναι, διέλυσε τὸν θόρυβον.

τότε μὲν οὖν ὦχοντο ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τῇ [p. 302] δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν οὐ μόνον ὁ κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συνεγγυς ἀγρῶν τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ πλήρης ἡ ἀγορά. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς συναχθείσης, ἵνα περὶ τούτων βουλευέσιν, ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, ὁ μὲν Ἄππιος δημοκόπον ἐκάλει τὸν συνάρχοντα καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν ἀπόρων ἡγεμόνα, ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ἐκεῖνον αὐστηρὸν καὶ αὐθάδη καὶ τῶν παρόντων τῇ πόλει κακῶν αἴτιον· τέλος δ' οὐδὲν ἐγένετο τῶν λόγων. [2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Λατίνων ἱππεῖς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαύνοντες τοὺς ἵππους παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεληλυθότας ἀγγέλλοντες τοὺς πολεμίους μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ καὶ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀρίοις ἤδη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος τῶν τ' ἄλλων, ὅσοι πλοῦτους ἢ δόξας προγονικὰς εἶχον, οἷα δὴ περὶ μεγάλων κινδυνεύοντες ὠπλίζοντο διὰ τάχους· [3] ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἄποροι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τοῖς δανείοις πιεζόμενοι, οὗθ' ὅπλων ἤπτοντο οὗτ' ἄλλως παρείχοντο τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπικουρίαν οὐδεμίαν, ἠδόμενοι δὲ καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν δεχόμενοι τὸν ἔξωθεν πόλεμον, ὥς τῶν παρόντων σφᾶς κακῶν ἐλευθερώσοντα, τοῖς δὲ δεομένοις ἀμύνειν ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰς ἀλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας, ἐπικερτομοῦντες ἡρώτων, εἰ τούτων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον εἶη σφίσι πολεμεῖν· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἐτόλμων, ὥς ἄμεινον εἶη Οὐλοῦσκόις δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὕβρεις τῶν πατρικίων ὑπομένειν· ἢ τε πόλις οἰμωγῆς καὶ [p. 303] θορύβου καὶ παντοίων γυναικείων ὀδυρμῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο.

ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ βουλευταὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σερουίλιον, ὃς ἐν τῷ παρόντι πιθανώτερος εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει, βοηθεῖν ἐδέοντο τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπεδείκνυν οὐκέτι προσδεχομένην πολιτικὰς φιλονεικίας καὶ ἡξίου νῦν μὲν ὁμοσε τοῖς πολεμίους χωρεῖν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρησαμένους καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀνάστατον τὴν πατρίδα γινομένην, ἐν ἣ θεοὶ πατρῷοι καὶ θῆκαι προγόνων ἐκάστοις ἦσαν, ἃ τιμιώτατά ἐστι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· γονέων τε αἰδῶ λαβεῖν οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐσομένων ἑαυτοῖς διὰ γῆρας ἀμύνειν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἔλεον ἃς αὐτίκα μάλα δεινὰς καὶ ἀφορήτους ὕβρεις

ἀναγκασθησομένας ὑπομενεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ παίδων ἔτι νηπίων οὐκ ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ἀνατραφέντων οἰκτεῖραι λώβας καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς ἀνηλεεῖς· [2] ὅταν δὲ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον ἅπαντες ὁμοίαις προθυμίαις χρῆσάμενοι παραλύσωνται, τότε δὴ σκοπεῖν, τίνα τρόπον ἴσην καὶ κοινὴν καὶ σωτήριον ἅπασι τὴν πολιτείαν καταστήσονται, μήτε τῶν πενήτων ἐπιβουλευόντων ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων οὐσίαις μήτ' [p. 304] ἐκείνων προπηλακίζόντων τοὺς ταῖς τύχαις ταπεινότερους· ἥκιστα γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα πολιτικά· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπικουρία τις ἔσται πολιτική, καὶ τοῖς συμβάλλουσι τὰ χρέα βοήθεια μετρία τοῖς γοῦν ἀδικουμένοις, καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν καὶ πάσας φυλάττον ἐν ὁμοιοῖα τὰς πόλεις, πίστις ἐπὶ συναλλαγαῖς, οὐχ ἅπασα καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐκ μόνης ἀναιρεθῆσεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως. [3] ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ λεχθῆναι προσῆκε διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας εὐνοίας, ἣν ἔχων διετέλει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀπελογεῖτο, καὶ ἥξιον συνάρασθαι τῆς στρατείας αὐτῷ ταύτης, ἀνθ' ὧν πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦν, τῆς μὲν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιμελείας τῷ συνάρχοντι προσηκούσης, ἐαυτῷ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν πολέμων ἀποδοδομένης· ταύτας γὰρ τὰς τύχας αὐτοῖς βραβεῦσαι τὸν κληῖρον. ὑπεσχῆσθαι δ' αὐτῷ ἔφη τὴν βουλὴν ἐμπεδώσειν, ὃ τι ἂν διομολογήσεται τῷ πλήθει, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκείνοις, πείσειν τοὺς δημότας μὴ προδώσειν τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πατρίδα.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν, ὅσοι ἂν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον [p. 305] ἐκστρατεύσωσι, τὰς τοῦτων οἰκίας μηδένα ἐξεῖναι μήτε πωλεῖν μήτ' ἐνεχυράζειν μήτε γένος αὐτῶν ἀπάγειν πρὸς μηδὲν συμβόλαιον μήτε κωλύειν τὸν βουλόμενον τῆς στρατείας κοινωνεῖν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἀπολειφθῶσι τῆς στρατείας, τὰς κατὰ τούτων πράξεις ὑπάρχειν τοῖς δανεισταῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκάστοις συνέβαλον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν οἱ πένητες, αὐτίκα συνέγνωσαν τε καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ πάντες εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμητο, οἱ μὲν ἐλπίσιν ὠφελειῶν ὑπαχθέντες, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηλάτου χάριτι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὸν Ἄππιον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τῶν ὑπομεινάντων προπηλακισμοὺς φεύγοντες. [2] παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ Σερουίλιος τὸ στράτευμα σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐλαύνει διαλιπὼν οὐδένα χρόνον, ἵνα συμμιξῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πρὶν εἰς Ῥωμαίων χώραν αὐτοὺς εἰσβαλεῖν· καὶ καταλαβὼν περὶ τὸ Πωμεντίνον χωρίον ἐστρατοπεδευκότας καὶ τὴν Λατίνων χώραν προνομεύοντας, ὅτι παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὐ συνήραντο τοῦ πολέμου, περὶ δεῖλην ὀψίαν παρὰ λόφον τινὰ ὥς εἴκοσι στάδια τῆς στρατοπεδείας αὐτῶν ἀφεστῶτα τίθεται τὸν χάρακα· καὶ αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐπιτίθενται Οὐλοοῦσκοι ὀλίγους τε δόξαντες εἶναι καὶ ὥς ἐξ ὁδοῦ μακρᾶς κατακόπους προθυμίας τ' ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πενήτων περὶ τὰ χρέα νεωτερισμοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ μάλιστα δοκοῦντας εἶναι. [3] ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἀγωνισάμενος, ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς [p. 306] τε ἤδη ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμαθεν ἀτάκτως προνομεύοντας, ἀνοῖξαι κελεύσας πυλίδας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀδήλως συχνάς, ἀφ' ἐνὸς παραγγέλματος ἐφῆκεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ στράτευμα. ἑξαπιναίου δὲ τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς Οὐλοοῦσκοις προσπεσόντος ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ὑποστάντες πρὸς τῷ χάρακι

μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες προτροπάδην καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων ἀπολέσαντες τραυματῖαι τε οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπολωλεκότες εἰς τὸν χάρακα 6 διεσώζοντο. [4] ἔπομένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκ ποδὸς καὶ περισχόντων τὸ στρατόπεδον, βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἀμυνάμενοι παρέδωκαν τὸν χάρακα πολλῶν ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς γέμοντα. ἔάλω δὲ σώματα ἐλεύθερα συχνά, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν Οὐολούσκων, τὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῖς συναγωνισαμένων ἐθνῶν, χρήματά τε καὶ ὅσα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ἐσθῆς ὥσπερ ἂν πόλεως τῆς κρατίστης ἀλούσης πάνυ πολλὰ: τοῖς στρατιώταις ταῦτ' ἐφίεις ὁ Σερουίλιος ὥς ἕκαστος ὠφεληθεῖη καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρουσι διανείμασθαι κελεύσας καὶ τὸν χάρακα πυρὶ δούς, ἀναλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγχοτάτω Σουέσσαν Πωμεντιανήν. [p. 307] μεγέθει τε γὰρ περιβόλου καὶ πληθεσιν οἰκητόρων, ἔτι δὲ δόξη καὶ πλούτῳ πολὺ τῶν ταύτῃ ὑπερέχειν ἐδόκει, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ ἡγεμῶν τοῦ ἔθνους. [5] περιστρατοπεδεύσας δ' αὐτὴν καὶ οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μηδένα χρόνον οἱ πολέμιοι διαναπαύσαιντο μὴθ' ὕπνον αἰρούμενοι μήτε πολέμου παῦλαν δεχόμενοι, λιμῶ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ καὶ σπάνει συμμάχων παρατείνας εἶλεν αὐτοὺς ἐν οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ πάντας κατέσφαξεν. ἐπιτρέψας δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἐνταῦθα χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν οὐθενδὸς οὐκέτι τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀμύνειν τι δυναμένον.

ὥς δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τεταπεινωμένα ἦν τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων πράγματα, προαγαγὼν τοὺς ὁμήρους αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ἄνδρας τριακοσίους, ἵνα δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχοιεν οἱ προσθέμενοι σφίσι πίστεις ὁμηρεῖων μὴ παρασπονδεῖν, μάστιγι τε ἠκίστατο πάντων ὀρώντων καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψαι. [2] ἀφικομένου τε ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις τοῦ συνυπάτου καὶ τὸν εἰωθότα διδοσθαι θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς ἀγῶνα λαμπρὸν ἀγωνισαμένοις στρατηγοῖς ἀξιοῦντος λαβεῖν, ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο στασιαστὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ πολιτείας πονηρᾶς ἐραστὴν, μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων [p. 308] οὐδεμίαν μοῖραν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο κατεχαρίσατο: καὶ ἔπεισε τὴν βουλήν μὴ δοῦναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸν θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ὕβρισθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου εἰς αὐθάδειαν οὐκ εἰωθυῖαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐτράπετο: καλέσας γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ καὶ διεξελθὼν τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος τὸν φθόνον καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν προπηλακισμόν διηγησάμενος, ἔφη παρὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πράξεων καὶ τοῦ συναγωνισαμένου στρατεύματος ἔχειν τὴν τοῦ πομπεῦειν ἐπὶ καλοῖς τε καὶ εὐτυχέσιν ἔργοις ἐξουσίαν. [3] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν στεφανῶσαι τὰς ῥάβδους ἐκέλευσε καὶ αὐτὸς στεφανωσάμενος ἔχων τὴν θριαμβικὴν ἐσθῆτα προῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς προπεμπόμενος, ἕως εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὰ σκύλα ἀνέθηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φθόνον μὲν ἔτι μείζονα παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπεσπάσατο, οἰκεῖον δ' ἑαυτῷ παρεσκευάσατο τὸ δημοτικόν.

ἐν τοιαύταις δ' ἀκαταστασίαις τῆς πόλεως οὕσης ἔκχειρία τις ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου γενομένη θυσιῶν πατρίων ἔνεκα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιλαβοῦσαι λαμπραὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπέσχον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοῦ πλήθους διχοστασίαν. ἑορτάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται πολλῇ δυνάμει Σαβῖνοι τοῦτον ἐκ πολλοῦ φυλάξαντες τὸν χρόνον, ἀρχομένης ἔτι νυκτὸς ποιησάμενοι τὴν [p. 309] ἐπιθεσιν, ἵνα πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει γένωνται: καὶ ῥᾶστα ἂν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τῶν ψιλῶν τινες ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς φάλαγγος, αὐλαῖς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀρπαγῆς ἔνεκα θόρυβον εἰργάσαντο. [2] βοή τε γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο καὶ δρόμος τῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, πρὶν ἢ ταῖς πύλαις τοὺς πολεμίους προσελθεῖν. ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ κατὰ πόλιν θεωροῦντες μεταξύ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπικείμενοι καταλιπόντες τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ὥρμησαν: καὶ φθάνει τῷ Σερουιλίῳ συναχθεῖσα δύναμις αὐτοκέλευστος ἱκανή, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἔχων συντεταγμένην, προσπίπτει τοῖς πολεμίῳις ὑπὸ τε ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου τεταλαιπωρηκόσι καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένοις τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον. [3] ὥς δὲ συνέμιξαν εἰς χεῖρας, ἐγένετο μάχη τὸ μὲν ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐκατέρων ἀφηρημένη, οἱ δ' ὥς ἀπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἢ φάλαγξ φάλαγγι ἢ λόχος λόχῳ ἢ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ συνέπεσον, ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὶ ἅμα πεφυρμένοι ἐμάχοντο. ἄρωγοὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπήεσαν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πόλεων οὐσῶν, οἱ τὸ κάμνον ἀναθαρρύνοντες ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχειν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις ἐποιοῦν. ἔπειτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσγενομένης σφίσι τῆς ἵππου πάλιν νικῶσι τοὺς Σαβίνους, [p. 310] καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους πάνυ συχνούς. τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄντας Σαβίνων, οἱ κατὰ θέας πρόφασιν ἀφιγμένοι προκαταλήψεσθαι τοῖς ἐποῦσι τὰ ἐρύματα τῆς πόλεως ἔμελλον, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς συνετέτακτο, ἀναζητοῦντες εἰς τὰ δεσμοτήρια κατετίθεντο. τὰς δὲ θυσίας, αἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο, διπλασίας τῶν προτέρων ψηφισάμενοι αὐθις ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν.

ἔτι δὲ πανηγυρίζουσιν αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταὶ παρῆσαν ἐξ ἔθνους Ἀρούγκων, οἱ τῆς Καμπανῶν χώρας τὰ κάλλιστα πεδία κατεῖχον. οὗτοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἤξιουν τὴν Οὐολούσκων τῶν καλουμένων Ἑχετρανῶν χώραν, ἣν ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Ἑχετρανοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι κληροῦχοις εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκπεμφθεῖσι δένειμαν, ἀποδιδόναι σφίσι καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωσιν, Ἀρούγκους ἤξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγου χρόνου καὶ δίκας ληφόμενους ὅσων διέθεντο τοὺς ὁμόρους κακῶν ἐκδέχεσθαι. [2] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὰδε ἀπεκρίναντο: ἀπαγγέλλετε, ὦ πρέσβεις, Ἀρούγκοις, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δικαιοῦμεν ὅσα κτᾶται τις ἀρετῇ πολεμίους ἀφελόμενος, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐγγόνις ὥς οἰκεῖα παραδιδόναι. πόλεμον δ' οὐ δέδιμεν τὸν Ἀρούγκων οὔτε πρῶτον οὔτε δεινότατον ἐσόμενον: ἀλλ' ἐν ἔθει ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει πᾶσι μάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ ἀρετῆς συναγώνισμά [p. 311] τι ἐσόμενον ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἀκαταπλήκτως δεξόμεθα. [3] μετὰ ταῦτ' Ἀρούγκοι τε πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς οἰκείας δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἡγουμένου Σερουιλίου, συντυγχάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀγχοῦ πόλεως Ἀρικείας, ἣ διέχει σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τῆς Ῥώμης: καὶ στρατοπεδεύονται ἑκάτεροι ἐν ὄρεσιν ὀχυροῖς ὀλίγον

ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς χάρακας ἐκρατύναντο, προῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀγωνιούμενοι, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐξ ἑωθινῆς μέχρις ἡμέρας μεσοῦσης ἀντεῖχον, ὥστε πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γενέσθαι φόνον. φιλοπόλεμον γὰρ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἀρουγκῶν ἔθνος ἦν, καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ ὄψεως δεινότητι πολὺ τὸ θηριῶδες ἐχούση φοβερώτατον.

ἐν τούτῳ λέγεται τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἵππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κρατίστους γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν Αὐλὸν Ποστόμιον Ἄλβον, ὃς ἔσχε τὴν δικτάτορα ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, ἦκισθ' ἱππασίμον ἦν καὶ κολωνοὺς τε πετρῶδεις καὶ φάραγγας βαθείας εἶχεν, ὥστε μὴδὲν ἐκατέροις τὴν ἵππον οἶαν τ' εἶναι προσωφελεῖν. [2] ὁ δὲ Ποστόμιος παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβῆναι καὶ ποιήσας στίφος ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἔκαμνε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ πρανοῦς ὠθουμένοις χωρίου ἢ φάλαγξ, [p. 312] ἐν τούτοις συνάπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ αὐτίκα συνίστησιν αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἀνεκόπησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, θάρσος ἐνέπεσε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ φιλονεικία τοῖς πεζοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἵππεῖς: καὶ καθ' ἐν ἀμφοτέροις πυργηδὸν ἐξωθοῦσι τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν πολεμίων ἕως τοῦ λόφου: καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὸν χάρακα φεύγουσιν ἐπόμενοι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἔτι μαχομένοις κατὰ νώτου ἐπῆγον. [3] τρεψάμενοι δὲ κάκεινους εἰς φυγὴν ἐπίπονόν τε καὶ βραδεῖαν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιουμένους πρὸς ὀχθῶδη χωρία ἐδίωκον, τένοντάς τε ὑποκόπτοντες ποδῶν καὶ τὰς ἰγνῦς πλαγίοις τοῖς ξίφεσι διαιροῦντες, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βιασάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτου τοὺς φύλακας οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐκράτησαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ διήρπασαν: ὠφελείας μέντοι οὐ πολλὰς εὗρον, ὅτι μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἵππους, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πολεμιστήριον χρῆμα ἦν. ταῦτα οἱ περὶ Σερουίλιον καὶ Ἀππιὸν ὑπατοὶ ἔπραξαν.

μετὰ ταῦτα παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος Καίλιμοντανδὸς καὶ Τίτος Οὐετούριος Γέμιος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Θεμιστοκλέους, ἐξηκοστῷ καὶ διακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἔτει, μελλούσης εἰς τοῦπιδὸν τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνῖκα δεῦτερον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης. [p. 313] ἐπὶ τούτων Σαβῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν μείζονα παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ Μεδουλῖνοι Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντες πρὸς τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ὄρκους ἐποίησαντο περὶ συμμαχίας. [2] πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν οἱ πατρίκιοι παρεσκευάζοντο διὰ ταχέων ἐξιέναι πανστρατιᾷ: τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐμνησικάκου τῆς ψευσθείσης αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ὑποσχέσεως περὶ τῶν ἐπικουρίας δεομένων ἀπόρων, τάναντία ἐπαγόντων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ψηφίζομένων. κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ συλλεγόμενοι ὄρκοις ἀλλήλους κατελάμβανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι συνάρασθαι τοῖς πατρίκίοις πολέμου μηδενὸς καθ' ἓνα τῶν ἀπόρων κατισχυόμενοι κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας βοηθήσαντες. καὶ ἐγίνετο πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ τὸ συνώμοτον ἐν ἀψιμαχίαις λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων ἐμφανές, μάλιστα δ' ἐδήλωσε τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προσήεσαν οἱ καλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν στρατολογίαν. [3] συναρπάσαι γὰρ τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου κελευσάντων οἱ πένητες ἄθροοι [p. 314] συστραφέντες τὸν τε

φερόμενον ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ μεθιεμένους αὐτοὶ παίοντες ἀπῆλυνον, καὶ οὔτε ἱππέων οὔτε πατρικίων, ὅσοι παρόντες τὰ γινόμενα κωλύειν ἤξιουν, ἀπείχοντο μὴ οὐ παίειν: καὶ δι' ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἦν ἀκοσμίας πλήρης καὶ θορύβου. ἅμα δὲ τῇ στάσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐξομένη καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμιων πρὸς καταδρομὴν παρασκευαζόμενα μείζω τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν. Οὐολούσκων δὲ πάλιν ἀπόστασιν βουλευσαμένων καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Αἰκανῶν πρεσβεία τε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκόων παρῆν ἀξιούντων σφίσι συμμαχεῖν ἐν τρίβῳ τοῦ πολέμου κειμένοις. [4] Λατῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκον Αἰκανοὺς ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν λεηλατεῖν τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἤδη διηρπακέναι: οἱ δ' ἐν Κρουστομερείᾳ φρουροὶ πλησίον εἶναι Σαβίνους ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ πολλῇ χρωμένους προθυμίᾳ τὸ φρούριον πολεμεῖν: ἄλλοι δὲ τι ἄλλο κακὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντες γεγονὸς ἢ γενησόμενον καὶ βοήθειαν διὰ ταχέων αἰτησόμενοι. παρεγένοντο δ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ παρ' Οὐολούσκων πρέσβεις, ἀξιοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν ἦν ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν χώραν, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι πολέμου.

συναχθείσης δὲ περὶ τούτου βουλῆς, κληθεὶς [p. 315] πρῶτος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Λάρκιος, ἀξιώσει τε προὔχειν δοκῶν καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἰκανώτατος, προελθὼν ἔλεξεν: ἐμοί, ὦ βουλή, ἃ μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι φοβερά καὶ ταχείας δεόμενα βοηθείας, οὔτε φοβερά εἶναι δοκεῖ οὔτε πάνυ κατεπείγοντα, πῶς χρή τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι ἢ καθ' ὃν τινα τρόπον τοὺς πολέμιους ἀμύνασθαι: ἃ δ' οὔτε μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν νομίζουσιν οὔτε ἀναγκαῖα ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀμελεία τε αὐτὰ ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς βλάφοντα παραδόντες ἔχουσι, ταῦτα φοβερώτατά μοι φαίνεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχέως αὐτὰ ἐπιστήσομεν, ἐσχάτης ἀνατροπῆς καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν κοινῶν αἵτια, ἣ τε τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπειθεια τῶν οὐκ ἀξιούντων τὰ ἐπιταττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων πράττειν, καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀνήκοον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐλευθεριάζον χαλεπότης. [2] οἴμαι δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σκοπεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὅπως ἐξαيرهθήσεται ταῦτ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μῖα πάντες γνῶμη τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων αἰρούμενοι πολιτευσόμεθα. ὁμονοοῦσα μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις ἰκανὴ ἔσται καὶ φίλοις ἀσφάλειαν παρασχεῖν καὶ ἐχθροῖς δέος, στασιάζουσα δ' ὥσπερ νῦν τούτων οὐδέτερον ἂν δύναιτο διαπράξασθαι. θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτὴν διεργάσαιτο [p. 316] καὶ παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δίχα πόνου τὸ κράτος: ὃ, μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οἶομαι τοιαῦτα πολιτευομένων ὑμῶν γενήσεσθαι.

διωκόμεθα γὰρ ὡς ὁρᾶτε καὶ δύο πόλεις ἔχομεν, τὴν μὲν μίαν ὑπὸ πενίας τε καὶ ἀνάγκης ἀρχομένην, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ κόρου καὶ ὕβρεως, αἰδῶς δὲ καὶ κόσμος καὶ δίκη, ὑφ' ὧν ἅπανα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία σώζεται, παρ' οὐδετέρᾳ μένει τῶν πόλεων. τοιγάρτοι χειρὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἤδη παρ' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνομεν κἂν τῷ βιαιοτέρῳ τίθεμεν τὸ δικαιοτάτον, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία, τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐξολέσαι μετὰ τοῦ σφετέρου κακοῦ βουλευθέντες, ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς φυλάττοντες μετὰ τοῦ [2] διαφόρου κοινῇ σεσῶσθαι. ὧν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀξιώ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι βουλὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων καθίσαντες, ἐπειδὴν ἀπολύσῃτε τὰς πρεσβείας. ἃ δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐν τῷ

παρόντι παραινείν ἔχω, ταῦτ' ἔστιν: ἐπεὶδὴ Οὐλοοῦσκοι μὲν ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἃ ὄπλοις κρατήσαντες ἔχομεν καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦσι μὴ πειθόμενοις, τάδε λέγωμεν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι καλλίστας ὑπολαμβάνομεν κτήσεις εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας, ἃς ἂν κατὰσχωμεν πολέμου λαβόντες κατὰ νόμον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιμεν μωρία τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφανίσαι: παραδόντες [p. 317] δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσιν ὧν κοινωνητέον τε παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γενομένοις καταλιπεῖν αἰεὶ ἀγωνιούμεθα, τῶν νῦν γε ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη στερησόμεθα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὅσα πολεμίους βλάψομεν. [3] Λατίνων δὲ τὸ εὖνουν ἐπαινέσαντες ἀναθαρσύνωμεν τὸ δεδιὸς ὡς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψομεν αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν τὸ πιστὸν φυλάσσωσιν, ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ γενομένους δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν ἱκανὴν ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς πέμψομεν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ. ταύτας ἡγοῦμαι κρατίστας τε καὶ δικαιοτάτας ἔσεσθαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἀπαλλαγισῶν δὲ τῶν πρεσβειῶν πρώτην φημὶ χρῆναι βουλὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν θορυβοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ταύτην οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

ταύτην ἀποφηνάμενου τὴν γνώμην Λαρκίου καὶ πάντων ἐπαινεσάντων, τότε μὲν αἱ πρεσβεῖαι λαβοῦσαι τὰς εἰρημένας ἀποκρίσεις ἀπηλλάγησαν: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλὴν οἱ ὕπατοι περὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν πολιτικῶν θορυβῶν προὔθεσαν σκοπεῖν. πρῶτος οὖν ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Πόπλιος Οὐεργίνιος, ἀνὴρ δημοτικός, τὴν διὰ μέσου πορευόμενος [p. 318] ὁδὸν ἔλεξεν: ἐπεὶδὴ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ προθυμίαν πλείστην εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶνας ἐπεδείξατο, Οὐλοοῦσκοις καὶ Ἀρούγκοις πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπιούσιν ἀνταξάμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν, οἴομαι δεῖν τοὺς συναραμένους ἡμῖν τότε καὶ τῶνδε τῶν πολέμων μετασχόντας ἀφεῖσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ σῶμα μήτε τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν κρατεῖσθαι: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ γονεῦσι τοῖς τούτων ἄχρι καὶ πάππων, καὶ παισὶν ἕως ἐγγόνων: τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀγωγίμους εἶναι τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν, ὡς ἐκάστοις συνέβαλον. [2] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τίτος Λάρκιος εἶπεν: ἐμοὶ δ', ὦ βουλὴ, δοκεῖ κράτιστον μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα δῆμον ἐλεύθερον τῶν συμβολαίων ἀφεῖσθαι. μόνως γάρ ἂν οὕτως ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὁμονοοῦσαν ἐργασαίμεθα. τρίτος δὲ παρελθὼν Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει σχῶν ἔλεξεν:

αἰεὶ μὲν, ὦ βουλὴ, ὁσάκις ὑπὲρ τούτων προὔτεθι λόγος, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εἰμὶ γνώμης, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ δήμῳ μηδὲν τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ὃ τι μὴ νόμιμον μηδὲ καλόν, μήτε τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἐλαττοῦν, καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν μεταγινώσκω τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μοι φανέντων οὐδέν: ἢ πάντων ἂν εἶην ἀνθρώπων ἀφρονέστατος, εἰ πέρυσι μὲν ὕπατος ὧν ἀντιπράττοντός μοι τοῦ συνυπάτου καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπείσειοντος ἀντέσχον [p. 319] καὶ διέμεινα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὔτε φόβῳ ἀποτραπείς οὔτε δεήσει οὔτε χάρισιν εἷξας, νῦν δ' ἰδιώτης ὧν ῥίψαιμι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν καταπροδοίην: [2] εἴτε μου τὸ ἐλεύθερον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν ἕκαστος βούλεται ἀποκαλεῖν εὐγενὲς εἴτε αὐθαδὲς, ὅσον ἂν ζῶ χρόνον οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι τοῦ ἤδη καλῶς δεδογμένου, καὶ οὐδέποτε εἰσάξω χαριζόμενος τοῖς κακοῖς χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσάγοντας αὐτὰς ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενος ὁμόσε

χωρήσω, λογιζόμενος, ὅτι πᾶσα κακία καὶ διαφθορὰ καὶ συλλήβδην ἀνατροπὴ πόλεως ἀπὸ χρεοκοπίας ἄρχεται. [3] καὶ εἴτε τις ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονίμου εἴτε διὰ μανίας τινός, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὸ ἴδιον ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιώ σκοπεῖν, εἴτε ὅπωςδήποτε οἰήσεται τὰδε λέγεσθαι, συγχωρῶ αὐτῷ νομίζειν, ὅπως βούλεται, μέχρι δὲ παντὸς ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ τὰ πατρια πολιτεύματα εἰσηγησομένοις. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τὰ χρέα ἀπαιτοῦσιν οἱ καιροί, μεγάλην δὲ βοήθειαν, ὃ μόνον ἔσται τῆς διχοστασίας φάρμακον ἐν τῷ παρόντι φράσω: δικτάτορα ἔλεσθε κατὰ τάχος, ὃς ἀνευθύνῳ χρώμενος ἐξουσία καὶ βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον ἀναγκάσει τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν: ἄλλη γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται τηλικούτου κακοῦ λύσις.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν νέων ἐπιθορυβησάντων ὡς τὰ δέοντα εἰσηγουμένου, Σερουιλίος [p. 320] τ' ἀντιλέξων ἀνέστη καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων: ἡτῶντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐκ παρασκευῆς τ' ἀφικνουμένων καὶ βίᾳ πολλῇ χρωμένων, [2] καὶ πέρας ἐνίκησεν ἡ Ἀππίου γνῶμη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ὕπατοι κοινῇ γνῶμῃ χρησάμενοι τῶν πλείστων οἰομένων τὸν Ἀππίον ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι δικτάτορα, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῆς προστασίας δυνησόμενον, ἐκείνον μὲν ἀπήλασαν, Μάνιον δ' Οὐαλέριον ἀδελφὸν Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τοῦ πρώτου ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ δημοτικώτατον δοκοῦντα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα γηραιὸν ἀπέδειξαν, αὐτὸ τὸ φοβερὸν οἰόμενοι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀποχρῆναι, ἄνδρός δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐπιεικοῦς τοῖς πράγμασι δεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξεργάσῃται νεώτερον.

παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Οὐαλέριος καὶ προσελόμενος ὑπάρχην Κοίντον Σερουίλιον, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ συνυπατεύσαντος Ἀππίῳ Σερουιλίου, παρήγγειλε τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παρεῖναι. συνελθόντος δ' ὄχλου συχνοῦ τότε πρῶτον, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἀπέθετο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας εἰς φανεράν ἀπόνοιαν ἐτράπετο, προσελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν: ὦ πολῖται, εὖ ἴσμεν, ὅτι βουλομένοις ὑμῶν, ἐστὶν αἰεὶ πινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Οὐαλερίων γένους ἄρχειν ὑμῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐλεύθεροι τυραννίδος χαλεπῆς γεγόνατε καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν μετρίων ἀτυχῆσιν τάχ' ἂν ἐπιμείναιτε [p. 321] ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἀπάντων δημοτικωτάτοις δοκοῦσι καὶ οὕσιν. [2] ὥστ' οὐ διδαχῆς ὑμῖν δεομένοις ὅτι βεβαιώσομεν τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον, οἷπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸ ἐδώκαμεν, οἱ λόγοι ἔσονται, ἀλλὰ παρακλήσεως μετρίας, ἵνα πιστεύητε ἡμῖν, ὃ τι ἂν ὑποσχώμεθα, ἐμπεδώσειν. ἡλικίας γάρ, ἢ τὸ φενακίζειν ἥκιστα ἐπιδέχεται, ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἦκομεν, καὶ ἀξιώσεως, ἢ τοῦ ῥαδιουργεῖν ἐλάχιστον φέρεται μέρος, ἀρκούντως ἔχομεν, χρόνον τε οὐχ ἐτέρωθι πού τὸν λειπόμενον βιοτεύειν μέλλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑμῖν δίκας, ὧν ἂν ἐξαπατῆσαι δοκῶμεν, ὑφέξοντες. [3] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὡς οὐ μακρῶν δεόμενος λόγων πρὸς εἰδότας, ἔασω. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖτε παθόντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων εἰκότως ἐπὶ πάντων ὑποπτεῦειν, ὁρῶντες αἰεὶ τινα τῶν παρακαλούντων ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπάτων ὑποσχοόμενον, ὧν ἂν δέησθε, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς διαπράξεσθαι, μηδὲν δ' ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγοντα τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων: τοῦτο ὡς οὐ δικαίως ἂν ὑποπτεύοιτε καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, δυσὶν ἂν τοῖσδε μάλιστα πιστωσαίμην, τῷ τε μὴ ἂν ἐμοὶ τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ λειτούργημα, ἐτέρων ὄντων τῶν ἐπιτηδειοτέρων, τῷ φιλοδημοτάτῳ

δοκοῦντι εἶναι καταχρήσασθαι: καὶ τῷ μὴ ἂν αὐτοκράτορι κοσμήσαι ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν τὰ δόξαντά μοι κράτιστα εἶναι καὶ διχ' ἐκείνης ἐπικυροῦν δυνήσομαι. [p. 322]

οὐ γὰρ δήπου συνεξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς ἐπιστάμενον τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ βουλευσάμενόν με μετὰ ταύτης συγκακουργεῖν ὑπολαμβάνετε. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα ὑμῖν εἰσέρχεται περὶ ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κακουργοτέρου, ... ὃ τι βούλεσθε χρώμενοι μοι ταύτης μὲν τῆς ὑποφίας ἐμοὶ πειθόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐλευθερώσατε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ὀργὴν μετὰθετε ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, οἱ πόλιν τε ὑμᾶς ἀφελοῦμενοι ἤκουσι καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων δούλους ποιήσοντες καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα δεινὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις νενόμισται, διαθεῖναι σπεύδοντες οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἶναι ἀγγέλλονται. [2] προθύμως οὖν ἀπολύσασθε τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ δείξατε αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ στασιάζουσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις κρείττων ἑτέρας ἐστὶν ὁμονοοῦσης: ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπιόντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἢ δικας ὑφέξουσιν τῆς τόλμης ἀξίας: ἐνθυμήθητε γάρ, ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ Σαβῖνοι εἰσιν, ὧν πολλάκις ἐκρατήσατε μαχομένων, οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπάγοντες ὑμῖν, οὔτε σώματα νῦν μεῖζονα λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς τῶν προτέρων ἀλκιμωτέρας κτησάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐχθρῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων [p. 323] καταφρονήσαντες ὑμῶν. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους τιμωρήσθε, ἐγγυῶμαι ὑμῖν τὴν βουλὴν ἐγὼ τὰς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν χρεῶν φιλονεικίας καὶ ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο παρ' αὐτῆς αἰτήσθε μέτριον, ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἣν ἂν παράσχησθε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, βραβεύσειν. [3] τέως δ' ἀφείσθω πᾶσα μὲν οὐσία, πᾶν δὲ σῶμα, πᾶσα δ' ἐπιτιμία πολίτου Ῥωμαίου ἀρρυσίαστος ἀπὸ τε δανείου καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς συμβολαίου. τοῖς δὲ προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένοις κάλλιστος μὲν στέφανος πόλις ἦδε ἡ γειναμένη στᾶσα ὀρθή, καλὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῶν συνόντων ἔπαινος ὑπάρξει: καὶ ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν κόσμος ἱκανὸς οἶκόν τ' ἐπανορθῶσαι χρήμασι καὶ γένος ἐπιλαμπρῦναι τιμαῖς. παράδειγμά τε ὑμῖν ἀξιῶ γενέσθαι τοῦμὸν εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους πρόθυμον: ὑπεραγωνιοῦμαι γὰρ ὡς ὁ κράτιστα ἐρρωμένος ὑμῶν.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι φενაკισθόσιμος ὑπέσχετο συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ γίνεται δέκα στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα, ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἕκαστον. τούτων τρία μὲν ἑκάτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἔλαβε καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὅσον ἑκάστῳ προσεμερίσθη: τὰ δὲ τέτταρα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἱππεῖς ὁ δικτάτωρ. καὶ αὐτίκα παρασκευασάμενοι ὥχοντο διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ μὲν Αἰκανοὺς Τίτος Οὐετούριος, ἐπὶ δ' Οὐολοῦσκους Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος, [p. 324] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δικτάτωρ Οὐαλέριος ἐπὶ Σαβίνους, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς γεραιτέροις καὶ ὀλίγῳ τινὶ στρατεύματι ἀκμαίῳ Τίτος Λάρκιος ἐφύλαττεν. [2] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐολοῦσκων πόλεμος ταχέϊαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔλαβε: πλήθει γὰρ ὑπεραίρειν πολὺ νομίσαντες τῶν προτέρων κακῶν ἀναμνησθέντες, ἀγωνιστὰι ταχίους ἢ φρονιμώτεροι ἀναγκασθέντες γενέσθαι θᾶπτον πρῶτοι ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἥνικα ὥφθησαν ἐν συνόφει στρατοπεδεύσαντες. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς πολλὰ μὲν δράσαντες γενναῖα, πλείω δὲ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομείναντες εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται, καὶ ὃ τε χάραξ αὐτῶν ἐάλω καὶ πόλις ἐπιφανῆς ἐκ πολιορκίας παρέστη: Οὐέλιτρα δ' [3] ὄνομα αὐτῇ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ Σαβίνων φρόνημα ἐν

ὀλίγῳ πάνυ ἑταπεινώθη χρόνῳ μιᾷ παρατάξει ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων βουλευθέντων ἐπικρατεῖν. ἔπειτα ἥ τε χώρα προύνομεύθη, καὶ πολίχιναι τινὲς ἐάλωσαν, ἐξ ὧν πολλὰ καὶ σώματα καὶ χρήματα οἱ στρατιῶται ἔλαβον. Αἰκανοὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἑαυτῶν ὑφορῶντες ἐπεὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τέλος ἔχοντα ἐπύθοντο, χωρίοις τ' ἐχυροῖς ἐπεκάθηντο καὶ εἰς μάχας οὐ προήεσαν, τὰς τ' ἀποχωρήσεις, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο, δι' ὁρῶν ἢ δρυμῶν κρυφαίας [p. 325] ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἄχρι τινὸς διαφέροντες τὸν πόλεμον: οὐ μέντοιγε διασώσασθαι ἀθῶον τὴν στρατιάν ἐδυνήθησαν ἐπιθεμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίοις κρημνῶδεσι τολμηρῶς καὶ λαβόντων τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ κράτος. ἔπειτα φυγὴ τ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων γῆς ἐγένετο καὶ παραδόσεις τῶν πόλεων, ἃς ἔτυχον αὐτῶν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ καταλαβόμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' ὧν καὶ ἐκ φιλονεικίας οὐκ ἐκλιπόντων τὰς ἄκρας ἀλώσεις.

Οὐαλέριος δὲ κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν εἰωθότα θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης καταγαγὼν ἀπέλυσε τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, οὐπὼ τῆς βουλῆς καιρὸν εἶναι νομιζούσης, ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἀπαιτοῖεν οἱ ἄποροι: εἰς δὲ τὴν δορικτητον, ἣν Οὐλολούςκους ἀφείλοντο, κληροῦχους ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιλέξας ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων, οἱ τὴν τε πολεμίαν φρουρήσειν ἔμελλον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιάζον ἔλαττον ἀπολείψειν. [2] ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἡξίου τὴν βουλὴν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις αὐτῷ βεβαιῶσαι κεκομισμένην τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους πρόθυμον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ', ὅπερ πρότερον ἦν αντιοῦτο, τῇ γνώμῃ συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς νέοι καὶ βίαιοι καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες καὶ τότε ἀντέπραπτον καὶ πολλῇ καταβοῇ ἐχρῶντο, τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ δημοκόλακα ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ νόμων [p. 326] πονηρῶν ἀρχηγόν, ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα ἠγάλλοντο οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν δικαστηρίων πολιτεύματι, τούτῳ πᾶσαν ἠφανικένας τὴν τῶν πατρικίων δυναστείαν αἰτιώμενοι: σχετλιάσας ὁ Οὐαλέριος πολλὰ καὶ ὥς οὐ δίκαια πάσχοι διαβεβλημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὀνειδίσας, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν καταλήψεσθαι σφᾶς τύχην τοιαῦτα βουλευσαμένους ἀνακλαυσάμενος, καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν τοιούτῳ κακῷ, τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάθους, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείον τι τῶν πολλῶν νοεῖν, ἀποθεσπίσας, ὥχετο ἀπίων ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου: καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ἔλεξε: [3] πολλὴν χάριν ὑμῖν εἰδῶς, ᾧ πολῖται, τῆς τε προθυμίας, ἣν παρέσχασθέ μοι ἐκούσιοι συναράμενοι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπεδειξασθε, μεγάλῃ μὲν ἐποιοῦμην σπουδῇ ἀμείψασθαι ὑμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποιοῦμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἤδη ποτὲ καταστῆσαι τὴν στάσιν ὑμῶν σύμβουλος καὶ διαιτητὴς ἀμφοῖν γενόμενος: κωλύομαι δὲ πράττειν αὐτὰ διὰ τοὺς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεχαρισμένα προαιρουμένους, οἳ πλήθει τ' ἐπικρατοῦντες τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ δυνάμει, ἣν τὸ νέον αὐτοῖς παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πράγματα, ἔρρωνται. [4] ἐγὼ δὲ γέρων τε δῆ, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, καὶ ἐτέρους τοιοῦτους ἔχω συμμάχους, ὧν ἡ ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ οὔσα ἰσχὺς ἀδυνάτος [p. 327] ἐστὶν ἔργῳ ἐπεξελεθεῖν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ

δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοια ἰδία πρὸς ἑκάτερον μέρος ἀπέχθεια φαινομένη. τῇ τε γὰρ βουλῇ δι' αἰτίας εἰμὶ ὡς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος θεραπέων καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαβέβλημαι, ὡς ἐκείνη μᾶλλον τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀποδεικνύμενος.

εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος εὖ προπαθὼν ἐξέλιπε τὰς δι' ἐμοῦ τῇ βουλῇ γενομένας ὑποσχέσεις, ἐκεῖνά μοι ἀπολογητέα ἦν, ὅτι ἐφεύσασθε ὑμεῖς, ἐν ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν κακούργημα ἦν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὁμολογηθέντα οὐ γέγονεν ὑμῖν ἐπιτελεῖ, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁ λόγος ἤδη ἀναγκαῖος γίνεσθαι μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ συνδοκοῦντα πεπόνθατε, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως πεφενაკισμεθα καὶ παραλελογίσμεθα ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ὅς γε οὐχ ἂ κοινῇ ἠπάτημαι μετὰ πάντων μόνον ἀδικοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἰδία κακῶς ἀκήκοα, ὡς δὴ τὰ τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλόντα οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς ἀτόροις ὑμῶν βουλόμενος ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν περιποιήσασθαι παρασχὼν καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐσίας δημεύειν ἀξιῶν ἐκείνης γε κωλυούσης καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν, στρατίας τ' ἐναντιουμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀφεικῶς, δεόν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀγραυλίαις καὶ πλάναις [p. 328] ^[2] ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ κατέχειν ὑμᾶς. ὠνείδισται δέ μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν κληρουχῶν εἰς Οὐολούσκους ἐκπομπή, ὅτι γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὐ τοῖς πατρικίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐχαρισάμην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀτόροις ὑμῶν διένειμα: καὶ ὁ μάλιστα μοι τὴν πλείστην ἀγανάκτησιν παρέσχεν, ὅτι πλείους ἢ τετρακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἱππεῦσι προσκατελέγησαν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας βίωον εὐπορήσαντες. ^[3] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζοντί μοι τὸ σῶμα ταῦτα προσέπεσε, δῆλον ἂν ἔργῳ ἐποίησα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οἷον ὄντα με ἄνδρα προὔπηλάκισαν: ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γέγονα καὶ οὐ δυνατὸς ἔτι ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῷ εἰμὶ ὁρῶ τε, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παύσαιτο ἡ στάσις ὑμῶν, ἀποτίθεμαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸ σῶμα ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ, εἴ τι οἴονται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξηπατῆσθαι, χρήσασθαι μοι ὅτι ἂν δικαιῶσι.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τὸ μὲν δημοτικὸν ἅπαν εἰς συμπάθειαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ προὔπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπίνοντα: τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἔτι χαλεπωτέραν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν. εὐθύς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τάδε ἐγίνετο: οἱ μὲν πένητες οὐκέτι κρύφα οὐδὲ νύκτωρ ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη συνιόντες ἐβούλευον ἀπόστασιν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κωλύειν διανοουμένη τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέταξε μήπω λυεῖν τὰ στρατεύματα. τῶν γὰρ τριῶν ταγμάτων ἑκάτερος ἔτι κύριος ἦν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὄρκοις κατειργομένων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν σημείων ἤξιον: τοσοῦτον [p. 329] ἴσχυσεν ὁ τῶν ὄρκων ἐν ἐκάστῳ φόβος, πρόφασις δὲ κατεσκευάσθη τῆς στρατείας, ὡς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Σαβίνων συνεληλυθότων εἰς ἓν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμῳ. ^[2] ὡς δὲ προῆλθον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὕπατοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς οὐ πρόσω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔθεντο, συνελθόντες οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς ἓν ἅπαντες, ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων ὄντες κύριοι, Σικιννίου πινὸς Βελλούτου παροξύναντος αὐτοὺς ἀφίστανται τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ σημεῖα: τιμῶτατα γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτ' ἐπὶ στρατείας καὶ ὥσπερ ἰδρύματα θεῶν ἱερὰ νομίζονται: λοχαγούς τε ἑτέρους καὶ περὶ πάντων ἄρχοντα τὸν Σικιννιον ἀποδείξαντες, ὅρος τι καταλαμβάνονται

πλησίον Ἀνίητος ποταμοῦ κείμενον, οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης, ὃ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἰερὸν ὄρος καλεῖται. ^[3] τῶν δ' ὑπάτων καὶ λοχαγῶν μετακαλοῦντων αὐτοῦς ἅμα δεήσει καὶ οἰμωγῇ καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένων ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Σικίνιος: τίνα γνώμην ἔχοντες, ὧ πατρίκιοι, οὕς ἀπηλάσατε ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων δούλους ἐποιήσατε, νῦν μετακαλεῖτε; ποῖα δὲ πίστει τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῖν ἐμπεδώσετε, ἃς πολλάκις ἤδη ψευδάμενοι ἐλέγχεσθε; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μόνοι τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦτε κατέχειν, ἅπιτε μὴδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐνοχλοῦμενοι: ἡμῖν δ' ἀρκέσει πᾶσα γῆ, ἐν ἣ ἂν τὸ ἐλεῦθερον ἔχωμεν, ὅποια ποτ' ἂν ἦ, νομίζεσθαι πατρίς. [p. 330]

ὥς δ' ἠγγέλθη ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, πολλὺς θόρυβος καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν δρόμος, τοῦ μὲν δήμου καταλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν παρασκευαζομένου, τῶν δὲ πατρικίων ἀποτρέπειν ἀξιούντων καὶ βίαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις προσφέρειν: βοή τε περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πολλὺς ἀνακλαυθμὸς ἦν λόγοι τε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἔργα πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οὐκέτι διακρίνοντας οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἡλικίαν οὔτε ἑταιρίαν οὔτε ἀξίωσιν ἀρετῆς. ^[2] ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φρουρεῖν τὰς ἐξόδους: ἦσαν γὰρ δὴ ὀλίγοι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐπὶ ἀντέχειν: ἐκβιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατέλιπον τὴν φυλακὴν, τότε ἤδη τὸ δημοτικὸν πολὺ ἐξεχείτο, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἦν ἀλώσει πόλεως ἐμφορές, οἰμωγῇ τε τῶν ὑπομενόντων καὶ κατὰμεμψις ἀλλήλων ἐγίνετο ἐρημιουμένην τὴν πόλιν ὀρώντων. μετὰ τοῦτο βουλαὶ τε συχναὶ καὶ κατηγορίαι τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγίνοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔθνη ἐπετίθεντο αὐτοῖς προνομεύοντα τὴν γῆν ἄχρι τῆς πόλεως. οἱ μέντοι ἀποστάται τὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπισιτισμὸν ἐκ τῶν πλησίων ἀγρῶν λαμβάνοντες, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν τὴν χώραν κακουργοῦντες, ἔμενον ὑπαίθριοι καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν περὶ φρουρίων ὑπελάμβανον συχνοὺς ἤδη γινομένους. ^[3] οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰ χρέα καὶ τὰς καταδικὰς καὶ τὰς προσδοκωμένας ἀνάγκας διαφυγεῖν προαιρούμενοι συνέρρεον [p. 331] ὥς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοις ὁ βίος ἦν ἀργὸς ἢ ράθυμος ἢ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγεῖν οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἢ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζηλωτὴς ἢ φθονερὸς ταῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχίαις ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ συμφορὰν ἢ αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος τῇ καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ.

τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ταραχὴ ἐνέπεσε πολλή καὶ ἐκπληξίς, καὶ ὥς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοεθnéσι πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠξόντων δέος. ἔπειθ' ὥς ἐξ ἐνὸς παρακελεύσματος ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστοι πελάταις, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἤξειν ἐνόμιζον τοὺς πολεμίους παρεβοήθουν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐξήεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις τῆς πόλεως πεδίοις ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο: ὅσοι δὲ διὰ γῆρας ἀδύνατοι τούτων τι δρᾶν ἦσαν ἐπὶ ^[2] τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐτάξαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποστάτας κατέμαθον οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις προστιθεμένους οὔτε τὴν χώραν δηοῦντας οὔτε ἄλλο βλάπτοντας οὐδὲν ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τοῦ δέους ἐπαύσαντο: καὶ μεταθέμενοι τὰς γνώμας, ἐφ' οἷστε διαλλαγῇσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐσκόπουν: καὶ ἐλέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ συνεδρίου λόγοι παντοδαποὶ καὶ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διάφοροι, μετριώτατοι δὲ καὶ πρεπωδέστατοι ταῖς

παρούσαις τύχαις, οὐς οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν ἔλεξαν διδάσκοντες, ὡς οὐδεμῶς κακίᾳ πεποιῆται τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν συμφορῶν βιασθεῖς, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμβουλῶν ἐξηπατημένοις, [p. 332] ὀργῇ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων, οἷα ἐν ἀμαθείᾳ πλήθει γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ: ἔπειθ' ὅτι συνοίδασιν αὐτοῖς κακῶς βεβουλευμένοις οἱ πλείους καὶ ζητοῦσιν ἀναλύσασθαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας εὐσχήμονας ἀφορμὰς λαμβάνοντες: τὰ γοῦν ἔργα δρῶσιν ἤδη μετεγνωκότων, καὶ εἰ λάβοιεν ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου, ψηφισαμένης αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ διαλλαγὰς ποιησαμένης εὐπρεπεῖς, ἀγαπητῶς τὰ σφέτερα δέξονται. [3] ἡξιοῦν τε ταῦτα παραινούντες μὴ χεῖρους ὀργὴν εἶναι τῶν κακιόνων τοὺς κρείττονας, μηδ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν χρόνον τὰς διαλλαγὰς, ὅτε ἡ νοῦν ἔχειν ἀναγκασθῆσεται τὸ ἀνόητον, ἢ τῷ μείζονι κακῷ τοῦλαττον ἰᾶσθαι ὅπλων παραδόσει καὶ σωμάτων ἐπιτροπῇ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθὲν αὐτὸ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ ἀδυνάτου: μετρίως δὲ χρησαμένους ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν συμφερόντων βουλευμάτων γενέσθαι καὶ προτέρους ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς χωρεῖν ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν καὶ ἐπιτροπεύειν τοῖς πατρικίοις ὑπάρχει, [4] 7 φιλότῃτος δὲ καὶ εἰρήνης ... τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα τῆς βουλῆς οὐκ ἐν τῷδε μάλιστα ἐλαττώσεσθαι ἀπέφαινον, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὰς ἀναγκαίας συμφορὰς γενναίως φέροντες ἀσφαλῶς πολιτεύσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ δυσοργήτως ταῖς τύχαις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀνατρέψουσι τὸ κοινόν. ἀνοίας δ' ἔργον εἶναι τῆς εὐπρεπείας ὀρεγομένους [p. 333] τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὑπερορᾶν: ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τυγχάνειν, εἰ δ' ἐξείργοιτό τις θατέρου, τὰ σωτήρια τῶν εὐπρεπεστέρων νομιστέα ἀναγκαιότερα. τέλος δ' ἦν τῶν ταῦτα παραινούντων, πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι περὶ φιλίας, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμάρτηται ἀνήκεστον.

ἐδόκει ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προχειρισαμένη τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους διεπέμψατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ἐντειλαμένη πυνθάνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, τίνος δέονται καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι δικαίοις ἀξιοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφειν: εἰ γὰρ εἴη τι μέτριον καὶ δυνατόν τῶν αἰτημάτων, οὐκ ἐναντιώσεσθαι σφίσι τὴν βουλήν. νῦν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀποθεμένοις τὰ ὅπλα καὶ καπιοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἄδειαν ὑπάρξειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον ἀμνηστίαν: ἐὰν δὲ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευέωσι τῷ κοινῷ καὶ προθύμως κινδυνεύωσι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀμοιβὰς καλὰς καὶ [2] λυσιτελεῖς. ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἐντολὰς κομισάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα διελέχθησαν. οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλ' ὑπεροψίαν καὶ βαρύντητα καὶ πολλὴν εἰρωνεῖαν τοῖς πατρικίοις ὀνειδισάντων, εἰ προσποιοῦνται μὲν ἀγνοεῖν, ὣν ὁ δῆμος δεῖται καὶ δι' ἃς ἀνάγκας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπέστη, χαρίζονται δ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἄδειαν τοῦ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως δίκην, ὥσπερ ἔτι κύριοι, τῆς βοηθείας γε αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι τῆς πολιτικῆς οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀθνείους πολέμους οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν [p. 334] ἐλευσομένους πανστρατιᾷ, πρὸς οὐς οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνήσονται, οἳ οὐ σφέτερον ἡγοῦνται τὸ σωθῆναι ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συναγωνιουμένων εὐτύχημα: τέλος δὲ τοῦτον προσθέντων τὸν λόγον, ὡς

ἄμεινον ἤδη αὐτοὶ μαθόντες τὰς κατεχούσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπορίας, γνῶσONTAI πρὸς οἷους ἀντιπάλους αὐτοῖς ἔσται ὁ ἀγὼν, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατειναμένων: [3] οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις οὐδὲν ἔτι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντειπόντες ἀπηλλάττοντο καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῖς πατρικίοις ἐδήλωσαν, ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἐν ταραχαῖς καὶ δέμμασι πολλῷ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ πρόσθεν ἐγένετο, καὶ οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ πόρον εὐρεῖν οἷα τε ἦν οὔτ' ἀναβολὰς, δυσφημιῶν δὲ καὶ κατηγοριῶν, αἷς οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῆς ἐποιοῦντο κατ'. ἀλλήλων, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἀκούουσα ἡμέρας διελύετο: οὔτε τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος, ὅσον ἔτι παρέμενε ἐννοία τῶν πατρικίων ἢ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἠναγκασμένον, ὅμοιον ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτου φανερώς τε καὶ κρύφα πολὺ μέρος διέρρει, βέβαιον δ' οὐδὲν τῶν καταλειπομένων ἐδόκει εἶναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ: καὶ γὰρ ἦν βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενος αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος: ἡμέραν ἔστησαν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν.

Ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπικυροῦν ἔδει συνελθόντας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, οὐδενὸς οὔτε μετιόντος τὴν ὑπατείαν οὔτε διδομένην ὑπομένοντος λαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους [p. 335] ἐκ τῶν εἰληφότων ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην δῆμῳ τε κεχαρισμένους ἄνδρας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ, Πόστομον Κομίνιον καὶ Σπόριον Κάσιον, ὑφ' οὗ Σαβῖνοι καταπολεμηθέντες τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέστησαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνῖκα στάδιον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Διογνήτου. [2] οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν καλάνδαις Σεπτεμβρίαις θᾶπτον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν, πρὶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι διαπραῖξασθαι βουλὴν συγκαλέσαντες περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν δημοτικῶν λέγειν ἡξιουν, ἦν τινα διάνοιαν ἔχει, πρῶτον ἀποφύνασθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἄνδρα ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ τότε ὄντα καὶ συνέσει δοκοῦντα τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἐπαινούμενον, ὅτι τῆς μέσης τάξεως ἦν, οὔτε τὴν αὐθάδειαν τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν αὐξων οὔτε τῷ δῆμῳ ὅσα βουλευθεῖη πράττειν ἐπιτρέπων, Ἀγρίππαν Μενήνιον: ὃς ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὴν βουλὴν παρεκάλει τάδε λέγων: [3] εἰ μὲν ἅπασιν, ᾧ βουλῇ, τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην συνέβαινε ἔχειν, καὶ μηδεὶς ἔμελλε ταῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλλαγαῖς ἐμποδῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ διαλυσόμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἴτε δικαίοις οὔσιν εἴτε μὴ, ὅμως ταῦτα προὔκειτο μόνον σκοπεῖν, δι' ὀλίγων ἂν ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσα λόγων, ἃ φρονῶ. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο [p. 336] τινες οἶονται βουλῆς ἔτι δεῖν, πότερον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι συμβῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἢ πολεμεῖν, οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι ῥᾷδιον εἶναι μοι δι' ὀλίγης δηλώσεως, ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν παραινεῖσαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διὰ πλείονων διδάξαι λόγων τοὺς πρὸς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας ὑμῶν, ὅτι τάναντία συμπείθουσιν ἢ καὶ δεδίττεσθαι μέλλοντες ὑμᾶς τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπανορθώσεις ὀρρωδοῦντας τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀνιάτων ἱκανῶς ἀπερισκέπτως ἔχουσι. καὶ τοῦτο πεπόνθασι παρ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ὥστε λογισμῷ μὴ κρίνειν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ μανίᾳ. [5] πῶς γὰρ ἂν οὗτοι λέγοιντο προορᾶσθαι τι τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν χρησίμων ἢ δυνατῶν, οἳ τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι τηλικαύτην πόλιν καὶ

τοσούτων πραγμάτων κυρίαν ἤδη ἐπίφθονόν τε καὶ λυπηρὰν τοῖς περιοίκοις γιγνομένην, ἣ δίχα τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δυνήσεσθαι κατέχειν τε καὶ σώζειν τὰ ἔθνη ῥαδίως, ἣ ἕτερον ἐπάξεσθαι δῆμον ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηροτέρου κρείττονα, ὃς αὐτοῖς προπολεμήσει τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν συμπολιτεύεται, παρέχων καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πολέμους ἑαυτὸν μέτριον; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἕτερον ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν, ὧς πιστεύοντες ἀξιώσουσιν ὑμᾶς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλλαγάς. [p. 337]

ὣν ἑκάτερον ὅσης ἐστὶ μεστὸν εὐηθείας, ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσοιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι διαστασιασάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῶν ταπεινότερων διὰ τοὺς οὕτε πολιτικῶς οὕτε μετρίως ταῖς ἀτυχίαις χρησαμένους, καὶ ὑπαναχωρησάντων μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς δεινὸν μῆτε ἐργαζομένων μῆτε διανοουμένων, ἀλλ' ὡς διαλλαγῆσονται χωρὶς αἰσχύνῃς σκοπούντων, ἀγαπητῶς δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης πολλοὶ τῶν οὐκ εὖ διανοουμένων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνεπτέρωνται ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ τοῦτον οἶονται σφίσι παρεῖναι τὸν εὐκταῖον καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ [2] καταλύσουσιν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν γε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι, Σαβῖνοι τε καὶ τὸ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνος, πρὸς τῷ μηδένα χρόνον ἐξαίρετον πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου, καὶ τοῖς ἔναγχος κακοῖς δυσανασχετοῦντες ληστεύουσιν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγροὺς. Καμπανίας δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνίας ὅσα ἐνδοιαστῶς ἡμῶν ἀφείμενα διατελεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀφίσταται, τὰ δ' ἀφανῶς παρασκευάζεται. δοκεῖ τ' οὐδὲ τὸ Λατίνων συγγενὲς ἔτι βέβαιον ἡμῖν διαμένειν φίλιον εἰς πύστιν ἐλθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου πολὺ μέρος διαγγέλλεται νοσεῖν ἔρωτι κρατούμενον, ἧς ἅπαντες γλίσχονται, μεταβολῆς: [3] οἱ δὲ τέως ἐπιστρατοπεδεύοντες ἑτέροις, νῦν αὐτοὶ τειχίρεις [p. 338] μένοντες καθήμεθα, γῆν τ' ἄσπορον ἀφεικότες καὶ αὐλὰς διαρπαζομένας ὀρώντες λείαν τ' ἀπελαυνομένην καὶ θεράποντας αὐτομολοῦντας καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὃ τι χρῆσόμεθα τοῖς κακοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἔτι διαλλαγῆσεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζομεν τὸ δημοτικόν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον εἰδότες ἐνὶ καταλύσασθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν στάσιν;

οὕτω δὲ κακῶς ἐχόντων ἡμῖν τῶν ὑπαιθρίων οὐδὲ τὰ ἐντὸς τείχους δεινὰ ἦττον ἐστὶ φοβερὰ. οὕτε γὰρ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάσμεθα ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὕτε πλήθει αὐτοὶ ἀποχρῶντές ἐσμεν ὡς πρὸς τοσαῦτα πολεμίων ἔθνη, τοῦ δ' ὀλίγου καὶ οὐκ ἀξιωμαχοῦ πληρώματος τὸ πλεῖον ἐστὶ δημοτικόν, θῆτες καὶ πελάται καὶ χειρώνακτες, οὐ πάνυ βέβαιοι τεταραγμένης ἀριστοκρατίας φύλακες. αἱ τε νῦν αὐτομολίαι συνεχεῖς αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεσθηκότας γινόμεναι, [2] τὸ σύμπαν ὑποπτον εἶναι παρεσκευάκασιν. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συγκομιδὴ κρατουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τῆς γῆς ἀδύνατος οὔσα φοβεῖ τε ἡδὴ λιμόν, ἐπειδάν τ' ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ γενώμεθα ἔτι μᾶλλον φοβήσῃ, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ μηδένα χρόνον ἡμᾶς εὐσταθεῖν ταῖς διανοίαις ἑὼν πόλεμος. ἅπαντα δ' ὑπερβάλλει τὰ δεινὰ γύναια τῶν ἀποστατῶν καὶ παιδία νήπια καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς, ἐν ἐσθῇσιν [p. 339] ἐλεειναῖς καὶ σχήμασι πενθίμοις περιφθειρόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς κλαίοντες, ἵκετεῦντες, ἀπτόμενοι δεξιᾶς ἐκάστου καὶ γονάτων, ἀπολοφυρόμενοι τὴν κατέχουσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ

ἔτι μᾶλλον καθέξουσιν ἐρημίαν, δεινὴ καὶ ἀνυπομόνητος ὄψις. ^[3] οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἐστὶν οὕτως ὠμὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὃς οὐκ ἀνατρέπεται τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρών ταῦτα καὶ πάσχει τι πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων τύχας. ὥστ' εἰ μέλλοιμεν ἀσπείστως πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἔχειν, ἀπαλλακτέον ἡμῖν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σώματα ἐκποδῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἄχρηστα εἰς πολιорκίαν ἐσόμενα, τὰ δ' ὡς οὐ διαμενοῦντα βεβαίως φίλα. ἀπελαυνομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων τίς ἢ φυλάξουσα τὴν πόλιν ἔτι λειφθήσεται δύνამις; ἢ τίνι πιστεύσαντες ἐπικουρίᾳ τὰ δεινὰ τολμήσομεν ὑπομένειν; ἢ μέντοι οἰκεία ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ μόνη βέβαιος ἐλπίς, ἡ τῶν πατρικίων ἀκμή, βραχεῖά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ὀρᾶτε, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μέγα φρονεῖν. τι οὖν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπομένειν εἰσηγούμενοι ληροῦσι καὶ φενακίζουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ φανερώς παραινοῦσιν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ δίχα πόνου παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν;

ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔγωγε τετύφωμαι ταῦτα λέγων καὶ τὰ μὴ δευνὰ ἀξιώ δεδιέναι: τῇ πόλει δ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἤδη που κινδυνεύεται ἢ μεταβολή, πρᾶγμα οὐ χαλεπὸν, κατὰ πολλὴν τ' ἂν ἡμῖν εὐπέτεται ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ τόπου θῆτά τε καὶ πελάτην ὄχλον εἰσδεξάσθαι [p. 340] γένοιτο. τουτὶ γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ πολλοὶ θρυλοῦσι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῷ δημοτικῷ, καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι. [2] εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς ἤκουσιν εὐηθείας, ὥστε μὴ γνώμας εἰσηγεῖσθαι σωτηρίους, ἀλλ' εὐχὰς λέγειν ἀδυνάτους, οὓς ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, ποία μὲν ἡμῖν χρόνου δοθήσεται περιουσία περὶ ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα γινομένοις οὕτως ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῇ πόλει τῶν ἐχθρῶν; ποία δὲ συγγνώμη τῷ χρονισμῷ καὶ τῇ μελλήσει τῶν ἐλευσομένων συμμάχων, ἐν οὐ χρονίζουσιν οὐδὲ μέλλουσι δεινοίς; τίς δ' ὁ παρέξων τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀνὴρ ἢ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν συνάξων ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ παραπέμφων δεῦρο τὴν ἐπικουρίαν; ἔτι δὲ δῆ, οἱ τὰς ἐαυτῶν πατρίδας ἐκλείποντες καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεταναστησόμενοι τίνες ἔσονται; πότερον οἱ οἰκίσεις τε καὶ ἐφέστια καὶ βίους καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις διὰ πατέρων ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ δόξαν οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἔχοντες; καὶ τίς ἂν ὑπομείνῃ τὰ οἰκεῖα παραλιπὼν ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων γλίσχρως μεταλαβεῖν κακῶν; οὐ γὰρ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς μεταληφόμενοι δεῦρο ἤξουσιν, ἀλλὰ κινδύνων καὶ πολέμου, ἐξ ὧν ἄδηλον, [3] εἰ κατορθωθήσεται τὸ τέλος. ἢ τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ ἀνέστιον ἐπαξόμεθα πληθός, οἷον καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἀπελαθὲν ἦν, δηλονότι καὶ διὰ χρέα καὶ καταδικας καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους ταύταις συμφορὰς ἀγαπητῶς ὅποι [p. 341] ἂν τύχῃ μεθιδρυσόμενον; ὃ κἂν τᾶλλα χρηστὸν ἦ καὶ μέτριον, ἴνα καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ χαρισώμεθα, διὰ τοῦτο γέ τοι τὸ μῆτε οἰκεῖον εἶναι μῆτε ὁμοδιαιτον, μῆτε ἐθισμῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ἔσεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἔμπειρον, μακρῷ δὴ που καὶ τῷ παντὶ κάκιον ἂν εἴη τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν.

τῷ μὲν τ' ἐπιχωρίῳ καὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων οἰκείων ὁμηρὰ ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ νῆ Δία τοῦ θρέψαντος αὐτοῦς ἐδάφους ὁ πόθος, ἀναγκαῖος ὧν ἅπασι καὶ οὐκ ἐξαιρετός· ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κλητός γε οὗτοσί καὶ ἐπίσκοκνος ὄχλος, εἰ γένοιτο ἡμῖν σύννοικος, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ τούτων ἐνθάδε ὄντος, ὑπὲρ τίνος ἂν ἀξιώσειε κινδυνεύειν ἀγαθοῦ, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῷ γῆς τε ὑπόσχοιτο μέρη δώσειν καὶ πόλεως μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ τινα τοὺς νῦν κυρίους αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος, ὧν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν τοῖς πολλάκις ἀγωνισαμένοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολίταις μεταδιδόναι; καὶ ἴσως ἂν οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀρκεσθεῖη δοθεῖσι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀξιώσειε μεταλαμβάνειν. [2] οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέφομεν ἕκαστα τῶν αἰτουμένων, ἐχθροῖς τοῖς μὴ τυγχάνουσι χρῆσόμεθα; εἰ δὲ συγχωρήσαιμεν, [p. 342] ἢ πατρὶς ἡμῖν οἰχήσεται καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καταλυομένη. καὶ οὐ προστιθημι ἐνταῦθα, ὅτι πολεμεῖν ἐπιτηδείων σωμάτων ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ, οὐ γεωργῶν οὐδὲ θητῶν οὐδὲ ἐμπόρων οὐδὲ τῶν περὶ τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας ἀσχολουμένων, οὓς ἅμα δεήσειε μανθάνειν τὰ πολεμικά καὶ πείραν αὐτῶν διδόναι: χαλεπὴ δὲ πείρα τῶν μὴ ἐν ἔθει: ἀνάγκη δὲ τοιοῦτους εἶναι τοὺς σύγκλυδας καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους μετανισταμένους. [3] στρατιωτικὴν γὰρ οὔτε ὁρῶ συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν συνεστῶσαν οὔτ', εἰ

φανείη τις ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου, παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν παραδέξασθαι αὐτὴν τοῖς τείχεσι προχείρως, πολλὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστάμενος πόλεις ταῖς εἰσαχθείσαις ἐπὶ φυλακῇ στρατιαῖς δεδουλωμένας.

ἐνθυμούμενοι τε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἕτερα ἡμῖν εἴρηται πρότερον, ἔτι δὲ τῶν παρακαλούντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, ὅτι οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν μόνοις ἢ πρῶτοις πενία πρὸς πλοῦτον ἐστασίασε καὶ ταπεινότης πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπάσαις ὡς εἶπεῖν καὶ μικραῖς καὶ μεγάλαις πόλεσι πολέμιον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ πλείονος τοῦλαττον καθίσταται: ἐν αἷς οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ κοινοῦ μετριάσαντες μὲν ἔσωσαν τὰς πατρίδας, αὐθαδεῖα δὲ χρησάμενοι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διώλεσαν: [2] καὶ ὅτι πᾶν χρῆμα, ὃ ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν σύνθετον ἦ, νοσεῖν πέφυκε κατὰ τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μορίων, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ὡς οὔτε [p. 343] ἀνθρωπείου σώματος αἰεὶ τὸ κάμνον ἀποτεμεῖν χρή μέρος: αἰσχροῖα τε γὰρ ἢ ὄψις ἂν γίνοιτο τοῦ λειπομένου καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διαρκής: οὔτε πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τὴν νοσοῦσαν ἐξελαύνειν μοῖραν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν φθάνοι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων μερῶν τὸ σύμπαν ἀπολόμενον σὺν χρόνῳ: τῆς τ' ἀνάγκης ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅσον τὸ κράτος, ἧ καὶ θεοὶ εἴκουσι μόνῃ, μὴ χαλεπαίνετε πρὸς τὰς τύχας, μηδ' ὡς ἀπάντων ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν ἐσομένων αὐθαδεῖας ἐμπιμπλάσθε καὶ ἀμαθίας, ἀλλ' ἐπικλᾶσθε καὶ εἴξατε παραδείγμασι χρησάμενοι τῆς εὐβουλίας μὴ τοῖς ὀθνεῖοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοις.

καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἓνα καὶ πόλιν ὅλην ἐπὶ ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων φιλοτιμεῖσθαι χρή, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ὅπως ὁμολογοῦμεναι ταύταις ἔσονται σκοπεῖν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν ἤδη πολλοὺς πολεμίους, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἡδικήθητε, ὑποχειρίους λαβόντες, οὐτ' ἀνελεῖν οὐτ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβουλήθητε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκους καὶ κλήρους αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοτε, καὶ πατρίδας οἴκεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἔφυσαν, εἰάσατε, ἰσοψήφοις τ' εἶναι καὶ πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἤδη τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσασθε. [2] τοῦτου δ' ἔτι θαυμασιώτερον ἔργον ὑμῶν ἔχω λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς μεγάλα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμαρτόντας ἀφήκατε τῶν τιμωριῶν, εἰς αὐτοὺς. μόνους ἀποσκήψαντες τοὺς αἰτίους τὴν ὀργήν, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ τε [p. 344] Ἀντέμνας κληρουχήσαντες καὶ Κρουστομέρειαν καὶ Μεδύλλειαν καὶ Φιδόνην καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. τί γὰρ δεῖ πάντας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι νυνί, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἐκ πολιορκίας κρατηθέντας μετρίως ἐνουθετήσατε καὶ πολιτικῶς; καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἢ κινδυνὸς τις διὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν ἢ φόγος, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέϊται τε ὑμῶν τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ οὐδὲν ἡλάττωται τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς. [3] ἔπειτα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων φειδόμενοι τοῖς φίλοις πολεμήσετε, καὶ οἱ τὰ ὑποχείρια γενόμενα μεθιέντες ἀζήμια τοὺς συγκατακτησαμένους ὑμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ζημιώσετε, πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτῶν ὑμῶν παρέχοντες ἅπασι τοῖς δεομένοις ἀσφαλῆ καταφυγὴν, ταύτης ἀπελαύνειν ὑπομενεῖτε τοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς, οἷς καὶ συνετράφητε καὶ συνεπαιδεύθητε καὶ πολλῶν ἐκοινωνήσατε κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους; οὐκ, ἐὰν τὰ γε δίκαια καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἔθεσι βούλησθε πράττειν καὶ χωρὶς ὀργῆς κρίνητε τὸ συμφέρον.

ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δεῖ καταλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν, εἴποι τις ἄν, οὐχ ἥττον ἡμεῖς ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ πολλὴν παρεσχήμεθα προθυμίαν: πῶς δ' ἂν καταλυσάμεθ'

αὐτήν, τοῦτο πειρῶ λέγειν. ὁρᾷς γάρ, ὅση περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἔστιν αὐθάδεια, ὅς οὔτε πέμπει πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ διαλύσεων αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν οὔτε τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἀποκρίνεται πολιτικὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀποκρίσεις, ἀλλ' ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ εἰκάσαι ῥάδιον [p. 345] οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι βούλεται. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα τί παραινῶ ^[2] νῦν πράττειν, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐγὼ τὸν δῆμον οὐτ' ἀδιαλλάκτως οἶμαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν οὔτε δράσειν τι, ὣν ἀπειλεῖ, τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδακέναι περὶ τὰς διαλύσεις οἶμαι. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν τιμιωτάτην κατοικοῦμεν καὶ βίους καὶ οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς καὶ πάντα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐξουσίαις ἔχομεν· ὁ δ' ἄπολις καὶ ἀνέστιός ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ στέρεται σωμάτων βίου τε τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ εὐπορεῖ. ^[3] τίνος οὖν χάριν, εἴ τις ἔροιστό με, τὰς προκλήσεις οὐ δέχεται τὰς ἡμετέρας ὅμως κακοπαθῶν αὐτός τε οὐδὲν ἐπιπρεσβεύεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτι νῆ Δία, φαῖν ἄν, ἄχρι τοῦδε λόγων ἀκούει παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὁρᾷ γινόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὔτε φιλάνθρωπον οὔτε μέτριον, ἐξηπατῆσθαι τε οἴεται πολλάκις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὑπισχνουμένων ἀεὶ τινα πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσεσθαι, μηδὲν δὲ προνοουμένων. πρεσβείας δὲ πέμπειν οὐχ ὑπομένει διὰ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κατηγορεῖν εἰωθότας αὐτοῦ δεδοικώς τε μὴ τινος, ὣν ἄξιοι, διαμάρτη. ^[4] τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοήτου περὶ αὐτὸν εἴη πάθος· καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ τινες, οἷς τὸ δύσερι τοῦτο καὶ φιλόνεικον ἔνεστιν ἴδια τε καὶ κοινῇ οὐκ ἄξιοῦσιν ἡττᾶσθαι [p. 346] τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς ἀεὶ ζητοῦσι περιεῖναι τρόπου καὶ μὴ πρότερον χαρίζεσθαι τι, ἢ λαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον εὖ πάσχειν ὑποχείριον. ἐννοοῦμενος δὴ ταῦτα οἶμαι δεῖν πρεσβεῖαν ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα πιστευομένων· ^[5] τοὺς δ' ἀποσταλησομένους ἄνδρας αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι παραινῶ, διαλυσομένους αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαιῶσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τῇ βουλῇ προσαναφέροντας· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἴσονται τοῦτο. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑπεροπτικοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ βαρεῖς μαθόντες, ὅτι ἀληθῶς σπουδάζετε περὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ εἰς ἐπαικεστέρας συγκαθήσουσιν αἱρέσεις, οὐδὲν ἄξιοῦντες οὔτε τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων. τὸ γὰρ ἡρεθισμένον ἅπαν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ταπεινὸν ᾗ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπερηφανοῦντας ἀγριαίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἡμεροῦσθαι.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Μενηγίου θροῦς πολὺς ἐνέπεσε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ διελάλουν ἕκαστοι κατὰ συμμορίας, οἱ μὲν οἰκείως διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους πᾶσαν εἰσφέρεισθαι προθυμίαν, ὅπως κατάξουσιν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐπειδὴ προσειλήφεσαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς τότε γνώμης ἀνδρῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον· οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοὶ [p. 347] καὶ περὶ παντὸς θέλοντες μὴ κινεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρίου κόσμου τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποροῦντες, ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσι, μεταθέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἄξιοῦντες τὰς προαιρέσεις, μένειν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὐ δυνάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἀκέραιοι τε καὶ τῶν στάσεων οὐδετέρᾳ συμφιλονεικοῦντες εἰρήνην ἄγειν βουλόμενοι καὶ ὅπως μὴ τειχίρεις ἔσονται

σκοπεῖν ἀξιούντες. [2] σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπαινέσας τὸν Μενήιον τῆς γενναιότητος, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀξιώσας ὁμοίους ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι κηδεμόνας λέγοντάς τε ὅσα φρονοῦσι μετὰ παρρησίας καὶ πράττοντας διχα ὄκνου τὰ δόξαντα, δεῦτερον ἐκάλει τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξ ὀνόματος, ἀξιῶν γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι, Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον ἀδελφὸν τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν, ἄνδρα παρ' ὄντιναοῦν τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν τῷ δῆμῳ κεχαρισμένον.

ὁς ἀναστὰς πρῶτον ὑπεμίμησε τὴν βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων πολιτευμάτων, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ προλέγοντος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι δεινὰ δι' ὀλιγωρίας ἐποίησαντο τοὺς λόγους: ἔπειτα ἡξίου τοὺς ἐναντιούμενους ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς μὴ περὶ τῶν μετρίων νῦν ζητεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὴν στάσιν οὐκ εἶασαν ἐξαίρεθῆναι, ἥνικα μικρὰ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ διαφέροντα, νῦν γέ τοι σκοπεῖν, ὅπως διὰ ταχέων παύσεται καὶ μὴ [p. 348] προελθοῦσα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσει τάχα μὲν ἀνίατος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δυσίατος καὶ πολλῶν αἰτία σφίσι γενομένη κακῶν: τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπέφαινε ἐσομένην τῇ προτέρᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἵκαζε συμβῆσεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀπαλλαγὴν μόνον τῶν χρεῶν αἰτούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθείας δεῖσεσθαι τινος ἴσως, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀσφαλῆς διατελέσει: [2] καταλελυθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' οὗ παρῆλθεν ἡ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀρχὴ τὸν φύλακα τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ νόμον, ὃς οὔτε ἀποκτείνειν πολίτην ἄκριτον οὐδένα συνεχώρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, οὐδέ γε τοὺς παρὰ τῇ κρίσει ἐλαττούμενους ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων δημοτικῶν παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς καταδικασαμένοις, ἔφεσιν δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐδίδου μεταφέρειν τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὃ τι ἂν ὁ δῆμος γνῶ, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον: ἀφῆρησθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημοτικῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσαν, ἧς ἐν τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις ἦσαν κύριοι, ὅπου γε καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θρίαμβον οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτοῖς εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρὶ παρ' ὄντιναοῦν ἄλλον ἐπιτηδεῖν ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς, Ποπλίῳ Σερουιλίῳ [3] Πρίσκῳ. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς τι πάσχοντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀθυμεῖν καὶ πονηρὰς ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐλπίδας, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε ὑπάτῳ οὔτε δικτάτορι κήδεσθαι αὐτῶν βουλομένοις ἐξεγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσσπῆλαυσέ τις αὐτῶν ὕβρεως καὶ ἀτιμίας διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν [p. 349] σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν. ταῦτα δ' ἀπειργάσθαι συγκύψαντας οὐ τοὺς χαριεστάτους τῶν πατρικίων, ὕβριστὰς δὲ τινὰς καὶ πλεονέκτας περὶ χρηματισμὸν ἄδικον δεινῶς ἐσπουδακότας, οἱ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις δανεισθὲν τόκοις πολλὰ καταδουλωσάμενοι πολιτῶν σώματα, τούτοις τ' ὡμὰς καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ἀνάγκας προσφέροντες, ἀλλότριον ἐποίησαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικόν, ἑταιρίαν τε συστησάμενοι καὶ ταύτης ἀναδείξαντες Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον ἡγεμόνα, μισόδημον ἄνδρα καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν, δι' ἐκείνου πάντα φύρουσι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως. οἷς εἰ μὴ τὸ σωφρονοῦν μέρος τῆς βουλῆς ἐμποδῶν στήσεται, κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τινος καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν πόλιν. τελευτῶν δ' ἀπεφάνετο συνδοκεῖν τῇ Μενηνίῳ χρῆσθαι γνώμῃ, καὶ τὴν πρεσβειάν ἡξίου πέμπειν διὰ ταχέων: τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἀφικομένους πειρᾶσθαι μὲν ὥς βούλονται καταλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν,

εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοίη τις αὐτοῖς, ἃ βούλονται, δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα.

μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη κληθεὶς Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς ἐναντιουμένης τῷ δῆμῳ στάσεως ἡγεμὼν ἀνὴρ μέγα φρονῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄνευ δικαίας πάσχων αἰτίας: ὁ τε γὰρ ἴδιος αὐτοῦ βίος ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν σῶφρων καὶ σεμνὸς ἦν, ἣ τε προαίρεσις τῶν πολιτευμάτων εὐγενὴς καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα σώζουσα τῆς [p. 350] ἀριστοκρατίας: ὁς ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν τὴν Οὐαλερίου δημηγορίαν τοιοῦτοῖς ἐχρήσατο λόγοις: [2] ἐν ἐλάττονι μὲν αἰτίᾳ ἂν Οὐαλέριος ἦν, εἰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο μόνην, τῶν δὲ τάναντία ἐγνωκότων μὴ κατηγορεῖ: περιῆν γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ κακῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα συμβουλευεῖν, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν δουλεύσομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων αὐτῷ καθήφατο κάμοῦ ἀψιμάχως ἐμνήσθη, πολλὴν ἀνάγκην ὁρῶ κάμοι περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν καὶ πρῶτον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ διαβολάς. ὠνείδισται γὰρ μοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτήδευμα οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτ' εὐπρεπές, ὥς ἀπὸ παντός χρηματίζεσθαι προῆρμαι τρόπου καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων ἀφήρμαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ὥς ἡ ἀπόστασις τοῦ δήμου καὶ δι' ἐμὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα γέγονεν: ὧν οὐδὲν ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν οὐδ' ὑγιὲς ῥάδιον ὑμῖν μαθεῖν. [3] ἴθι γάρ, εἰπέ ὦ Οὐαλέριε, τίνες εἰσὶν οὓς κατεδουλώσαμεν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χρέα; τίνες ἐν δεσμοῖς πολίτας ἔσχον ἢ νῦν ἔχω; τίς τῶν ἀφεσθηκότων διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὠμότητα ἢ φιλοχρηματίαν στέρεται τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος; ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τινὰ πολιτῶν καταδεδουλώσθαι διὰ χρέος, ὥστε πολλοῖς πάνυ τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ προέμενος οὐδένα τῶν ἀποστερησάντων με πρόσθετον ἐποιησάμην οὐδὲ ἄτιμον, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πάντες οἶδασί μοι χάριν φίλων τε καὶ [p. 351] πελατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐξετάζονται. καὶ οὐ λέγω ταῦτα κατηγορῶν ἐγὼ τῶν μὴ τὰ παραπλήσια ἐμοὶ πεποηκότων οὐδ' εἴ τινες νόμῳ συγχωρούμενόν τι ἔδρασαν ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς οἶομαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ διαβολάς ἀπολύομαι.

Ἄ δ' εἰς χαλεπότητα καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων προστασίαν ὠνείδισέ μοι, μισόδημόν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀποκαλῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας περιέχομαι, κοινὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστὶ κατηγορήματα, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε κρείττονες ὄντες ὑπὸ χειρόνων ἄρχεσθαι, οὐδ' ἦν παρελάβετε ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίστης τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτειῶν δημοκρατίας ἀφαιρεθῆναι. [2] οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ὀλιγαρχίαν ὄνομα θῆται τῇ τῶν κρατίστων ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ δὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος διαβληθὲν ἀφανισθῆσεται: ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλῷ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐπενέγκαιμεν ὄνειδος καὶ ἀληθέστερον, δημοκοπίαν καὶ τυραννικῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμίαν. οὐδενὶ γὰρ δὴ ἄδηλον, ὅτι πᾶς τύραννος ἐκ δημοκόλακος φύεται, καὶ ταχεῖα ὁδὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλομένοις ἢ διὰ τῶν κακίστων ἄγουσα πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας, οὓς θεραπεύων οὗτος διατετέλεκε καὶ [3] οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος παύεται. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησαν οἱ φαῦλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ τηλικαῦτα ἐξαμαρτεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ φιλοπόλιδος [p. 352] τούτου ἐξηγέρθησαν, ὥς δὴ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐσόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ

μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν δίκην κρείττονα μοῖραν τῆς προτέρας ἔξοντες. μάθοιτε δ' ἄν, ὡς ἀληθῆ ἔγώ ταῦτα λέγω, μνησθέντες, ὅτι δεδιπτόμενος ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ πολέμου καὶ διαλλαγᾶς ἀναγκαιᾶς ἀποφαίνων ἅμα ἔφη καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀγαπήσουσιν οἱ πένητες ἀφεθέντες τῶν χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθείας δεήσονται τινος καὶ οὐκ ἀνέξονται ἔτι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἀρχόμενοι: τελευτῶν δ' ὑμᾶς ἡξίου στέργειν τὰ παρόντα καὶ συγχωρεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ δικαίῳσιν λαβεῖν, μὴ διακρίναντας μῆτ' ἀπὸ καλῶν αἰσχροῖς μῆτ' ἀπὸ δικαίων ἄδικα. ^[4] τοσαύτης ἄρα αὐθαδεῖας τὸ ἀνόητον οὗτος ἐμπέπληκε τῆς πόλεως ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος καὶ πάσας κεκαρπωμένος τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμὰς. ἄρ' ἦν σοι ἄξιον, Οὐαλέριε, καθ' ἐτέρων τὰ μὴ προσόντα ὀνειδῆ λέγειν τοιαύταις ὄντι κατηγορίαις ἐνόχῳ;

καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου ῥηθείσας διαβολὰς ἀρκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα, ὑπὲρ δ' ὧν βουλευσόμενοι συνεληλύθατε δοκεῖ μοι δικάαι τ' εἶναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν, οὐ μόνον ἃ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀπεφηνάμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐπιμένων ἀποφαίνομαι, μὴ συγχεῖν τὸν κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας, μηδὲ κινεῖν ἔθνη πατέρων ἀκίνητα, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πίστιν ἱερὸν χρῆμα, μεθ' ἧς ἅπανσα πόλεις [p. 353] οἰκεῖται ἀσφαλῶς, δῆμῳ τε μὴ εἴκειν ἀγνώμονι ἁδίκων ἔργων καὶ ἀθεμίτων χρήζοντι: ^[2] καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ὑποκατακλίνομαι τι τῆς γνώμης φόβῳ τῶν διαφόρων, οἳ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει δημοτικὸν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ συνιστάντες δεδίπτονται με, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἔρρωμαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ἀγανακτῶ τοῖς αἰτήμασι τοῦ δήμου διπλασίως: ὑμῶν τ' ὦ βουλῇ, τὸ παράλογον τῆς γνώμης τεθαύμακα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτῷ, ὅτε οὕτω φανερός ἦν πολέμιος, χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ κατακριμάτων ἀφέσεις αἰτούμενῳ, νῦν ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ πολεμίων δρᾶ, ταῦτ' εἰ συγχωρήσετε βουλευέσθε καὶ ὅ τι κἂν ἄλλο τι αὐτῷ δοκῇ: δόξει δὲ δήπου, καὶ πρῶτον ποιήσεται τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ἰσότημον εἶναι καὶ ^[3] τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μετέχειν. οὐκοῦν εἰς δημοκρατίαν περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα τὴν ἀμαθεστάτην, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτειῶν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀσύμφορον τοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν ἐτέρων; οὐκ, ἐάν γε σωφρονῇτε ὑμεῖς. ἢ πάντων ἂν εἴητε ἀφρονέστατοι, εἰ πρὸς ἐνὸς ἄρχεσθαι τυραννικοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι δῆμῳ τυραννίδι πολυκεφάλῳ νῦν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδώσετε, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ μετὰ χαρίτων αὐτῷ πειθοντι συγχωρήσετε ὑπὸ τ' ἀνάγκης κρατηθέντες καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἄλλο τι δρᾶν νῦν ἡμῖν παρὰ γνώμην [p. 354] ^[4] εἰξαντες. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον ἀντὶ τοῦ κολάζεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς ἂν πλημμελήσῃ καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι δι' αὐτὰ προσλάβῃ, πῶς δοκεῖτε αὐθαδὲς ἔσται καὶ ὑπερήφανον; μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὡς μετριάσει περὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις ὁ δῆμος, ἐάν φανερόν αὐτῷ γένηται, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐψηφίσασθε οὕτως.

ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν τούτῳ Μενήνιος ἐψεύσθη τῆς δόξης, ἀνὴρ σώφρων, ὅς ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπων τεκμαίρεται χρηστὰ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων. ἐγκρίσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος βαρὺς ὑπὸ τ' αὐθαδεῖας, ἢ φιλεῖ περὶ τὸ κρατοῦν αἰετὶ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀφροσύνης, ἧς πλεῖστον ὄχλος μετέχει μέρος: κἂν εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, χρόνῳ γοῦν ὕστερον καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ χρήματι, ὧν ἂν δεηθεῖς μὴ τύχῃ, τὰ ὅπλα λαβὼν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν σοβαρῶς ἐπιθήσεται. ὥστ' εἰ

τὰ πρῶτα συγχωρήσετε συμφέροντα εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἕτερόν τι χεῖρον
εὐθύς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε καὶ αὐθις ἄλλο τούτου χαλεπώτερον, ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τὰ
πρῶτα ὑπακούσαντες, ἕως ἐκβάλωσιν ὑμᾶς τελευτῶντες τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἐν
πολλαῖς ἄλλαις καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν Συρακούσαις οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν
πελατῶν ἐξηλάθησαν. [2] εἰ δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐναντιώσεσθε
τοῖς αἰτήμασι, τί δὴ ποτ' οὐκ αὐτόθεν ἄρχεσθε ἐλεύθερα φρονήματα ἔχειν;
κρεῖττον γὰρ ἂν [p. 355] ἐλάττονος αἰτίας ὀρμηθέντας πρὶν ἢ βλαβῆναι τι
ἀποδείξασθαι τὸ γενναῖον, ἢ πολλὰ ὑπομείναντας τότε ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ τῶν
γεγονότων καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ὁψὲ ἄρξασθαι νοῦν ἔχειν.
φοβείτω δ' ὑμῶν μηδὲνα μήτε ὁ τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἀνασεισμὸς μήτε ὁ τῶν
ἁλλοφύλων πόλεμος: μήτε καταγινώσκετε τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ὡς οὐχ
ἱκανῆς οὕσης διασῶσαι τὴν πόλιν. [3] ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῶν φυγάδων βραχεῖά ἐστιν
ἰσχύς καὶ οὐτε πολὺν ἀνθέξει χρόνον διαμένουσα, ὥσπερ νῦν, ὑπαίθριος
μένει ὑπὸ καλύβαις ὥρᾳ ἔτους χειμερίῳ, πορίζεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐχ
ὅπως δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἔτι δυνησομένη ἐπειδὰν τὰ ὄντα ἀναλώσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν
ἄλλοθεν ὦντὰ ἐπείσασθαι διὰ πενίαν, οἷς οὐτε ἰδίᾳ οὐτ' ἐν κοινῷ
χρήματὰ ἐστιν: οἱ δὲ πόλεμοι ταῖς περιουσίαις τῶν χρημάτων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
ἀντέχουσιν: ἀναρχία τ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ στάσις ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας
ἐμπεσοῦσα ταχὺ διαχεῖ καὶ διαλύσει τὰ βουλευματα. [4] οὐ γὰρ δὴ
ἀξιώσουσιν οὐτε Σαβίνοις οὐτε Τυρρηνοῖς οὐτ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἁλλοφύλων
παραδόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἐκείνοις δουλεῦειν, ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτ' ἀφείλοντο
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σὺν ὑμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οὐδὲ πιστευθήσονται πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ
κακῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ αἰσχροῶς ἀπολέσαι προθυμηθέντες, μὴ οὐχὶ
ὅμοια δράσειν τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην. ἀριστοκρατεῖται δὲ [p. 356] καὶ τα ἔθνη
τὰ περὶ ξ ὑμῶν ἅπαντα, καὶ το δημοτικὸν ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει μεταποιεῖται τῶν
ἰσῶν, ὥστε οὐ δῆπου οἱ προὔχοντες ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐκ
ἔωντες παρακινεῖν ὄχλον, τοῦτον εἰσδέχονται τὸν ἐπὶ πλυν καὶ στασιαστὴν
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, μὴ μεταδόντες αὐτοὶ τῶν ὁμοίων σὺν χρόνῳ
στερήσονται τῶν ἰσῶν. [5] εἰ δ' ἄρα γε γνώμης ἀμάρτοιμι καὶ παραδέξαιτό τις
αὐτοὺς πόλις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ διαγινώσκουσιν ὡς ἂν πολέμιοι τε ὄντες καὶ τὰ
πολεμίων πεισόμενοι. ἔχομεν δ' αὐτῶν ὁμηρα πατέρας καὶ γαμετάς καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην συγγένειαν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εὐχόμενοι κρεῖττονα παρὰ θεῶν αἰτησάμεθα:
οὐς ἐν ὅψει τῶν συγγενῶν στήσαντες ἀπολοῦμεν, εἰ τολμήσαιεν ὁμόσε
χωρεῖν, ὡς ταῖς ἐσχάταις λώβαις διαχρησόμενοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς, εἰ τοῦτο
μάθοιεν, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι λήψεσθε ἀντιβολοῦντας, ὀλοφυρομένους, παραδιδόντας
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν δίχα τῶν ὅπλων, ἅπαντα ὑπομένοντας. δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ
τοιαίδε ἀνάγκαι καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐθάδεις λογισμοὺς κλάσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν
εἰς τὸ μηδέν.

ὧν μὲν ὀὕτως χάριν τὸν ἐκ τῶν φυγάδων πόλεμον οὐκ ἀξιώ δεδιέναι ταῦτ'
ἐστι: τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἁλλοεθνῶν φοβερά οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐξετασθήσεται μέχρι
λόγου τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, ὅσας ἡμῖν πείραν ἑαυτῶν
ἔδωκαν, ἐλάττω τῆς δόξης διεφάνη. [p. 357] ὅσοι δ' οὐχ ἱκανὴν οἶονται τὴν
οἰκείαν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῇδε μάλιστα ὀρρωδοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον,
μαθέτωσαν οὐχ ἱκανῶς αὐτῆς ἡσθημένοι. [2] πρὸς μὲν γε τοὺς ἀφροσύνας

τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντίπαλον χεῖρα ἔξομεν, εἰ βουλοίμεθα τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς ἀκμασιτάτους ἐλευθερῶσαι. κρεῖττον γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χαρίσασθαι τούτοις ἢ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ἔχουσι δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν πολλάκις ἡμῖν παραγενόμενοι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας. [3] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους αὐτοὶ τε χωρῶμεν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τοὺς πελάτας ἅπαντας ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ περιόν. ἵνα δὲ πρόθυμον ᾖ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἄφεισιν αὐτῷ χαρισώμεθα τῶν χρεῶν, μὴ κοινήν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄνδρα. εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ τοῖς καιροῖς εἰζαντας μετριάσαι, μὴ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτ' ἔστω τὸ μέτριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, οἷς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰς χάριτας διδόναι δόξομεν, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἄλλης ἐπιδέῃ βοηθείας, ὡς ταύτης οὐκ οὔσης ἱκανῆς, τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων μεταπεμπώμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἀνακαλῶμεν. [4] τοῦτο δ' ὅσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἔγγιστα γενομένης τιμήσεως μαθεῖν ῥάδιον ἂν εἴη. τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐν ἡβῇ τετιμημένων, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εἴη μέρος ἕβδομον τὸ φυγαδικόν. οὐ λέγω δὲ τὰς Λατίνων τριάκοντα πόλεις, αἱ μετὰ πολλῆς εὐχῆς δέξαιντ' ἂν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας διὰ [p. 358] τὸ συγγενές, ἐὰν ψηφίσθησθε αὐταῖς ἰσοπολιτεῖαν μόνον, ἧς αἰεὶ διατελοῦσι δεόμεναι.

ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐστὶ κράτιστον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ οὔτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐνεθυμήθητέ πω, οὔτε τῶν συμβούλων οὐδεὶς λέγει, τοῦτο προσθεῖς παύσομαι. οὐδενὸς οὕτω δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐτυχές ἔξειν τὸ τῶν ἀγῶνων τέλος, ὡς στρατηγῶν ἀγαθῶν. τούτων ἢ μὲν ἡμετέρα πλουτεῖ πόλις, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων σπανίζουσιν. [2] αἱ μὲν οὖν πολυοχλοῦσαι δυνάμεις, ὅταν λάβωσιν ἡγεμόνας οὐκ εἰδότας ἄρχειν, ἀσχημονοῦσι καὶ περὶ αὐταῖς σφάλλονται τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον κακοπαθοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἂν μεῖζονα ἔχωσι πόνον. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ στρατηλάται, κἂν μικρὰς λάβωσι δυνάμεις, ταχέως ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰς μεγάλας. ὥστ' ἄχρισ ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι δυναμένους ἄνδρας ἔχωμεν, οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν τῶν ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων. [3] ἐνθυμούμενοι δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως μεμνημένοι μηδὲν ταπεινὸν μηδ' ἀγεννές μηδ' ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ψηφίσθησθε. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιστό με, τι πράττειν ὑμῖν παραινῶ; τουτὶ γὰρ ἴσως πάλοι γνῶναι σπεύδετε. μηδένα μήτε πρεσβείαν πέμπειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας, μήτε ἄφεισιν ψηφίσασθαι τῶν χρεῶν, μήτ' ἄλλο ποιεῖν μηδέν, ὃ τι δόξειεν ἂν φόβου τεκμήριον εἶναι καὶ ἀμχανίας: ἐὰν δὲ καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα κατέλθωσιν [p. 359] εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παράσχωσιν ὑμῖν βουλευσασθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐξετάσαντας τότε χρῆσθαι μετριότητι πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰδότας, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἀνόητον, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὄχλος ᾖ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς αὐθάδεις γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐθάδεις ταπεινοῦσθαι.

πανσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου μεγάλη φωνὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἐξαίσιος ἄχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κατεῖχε τὸ συνέδριον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ τὰ δικαιότερα πρὸ τῶν ἀδίκων οἰόμενοι δεῖν σκοπεῖν τῇ Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἡξίουσαν μάλιστα μὲν τῇ κρείττονι προσχωρῆσαι μερίδι διαλογιζομένους, ὅτι βασιλικὸν ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, οὐ δημοτικόν: εἰ δὲ μή γε, φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς ἴσους καὶ μὴ

κατισχύειν μηδετέραν τῶν στάσεων, διαριθμησαμένους δὲ τὰς γνώμας τῶν συνέδρων ταῖς πλείοσι γνώμαις στοιχεῖν. [2] εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὑπεριδόντες αὐτοκράτορας αὐτοὺς ποιήσουσι τῶν διαλύσεων, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ἐναντιώσεσθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ λόγοις τ' ἄχρις ἂν ἐξῇ, χρώμενοι καὶ ὄπλοις, ὅταν ἀναγκαῖον γένηται: ἦν δὲ τοῦτο στίφος καρτερόν καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπανα τῶν πατρικίων ἢ νεότης ταύτης εἶχετο τῆς προαιρέσεως. [3] οἱ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῇ Μενηνίου τε καὶ Οὐαλερίου γνώμῃ προσέκειντο καὶ μάλιστα οἱ προβεβηκότες ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς συμφοράς, ὅσαι καταλαμβάνουσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων. [p. 360] ἐξηττώμενοι δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν νέων καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τὸ τε φιλότιμον αὐτῶν ὑφωρῶμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐπιπολασμόν, ὃν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, δεδιότες, ὡς οὐ πρόσω χειροκρασίας ἐλευσόμενον, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς εἴξειεν, εἰς δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τελευτῶντες ἐτράποντο.

λαφῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης σὺν χρόνῳ διαλεχθέντες τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ὑπατοὶ τέλος ἐξήνεγκαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης τοιόνδε: ἡμεῖς, ὦ βουλῇ, μάλιστα μὲν ἡξιοῦμεν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ὁμογνωμονεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῦτα περὶ κοινῆς σωτηρίας βουλευομένους: εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εἴκειν τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι κάκεινοις εἰς ταύτην ἐλθοῦσι τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς Ἰσης ὑπάρξει τυγχάνειν τιμῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀρώμεν εἰς ἔριν ὑμᾶς ἐκπεπτωκότας ὀλεθριωτάτην τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νόσων καὶ πολλὴν τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὁμιλοῦσαν ὑμῶν τοῖς νέοις, νῦν μὲν ἐπεὶ βραχὺ τὸ λειπόμενον ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τέλος ἐν τούτῳ λαβεῖν τὰ δόξαντα ὑμῖν, ἀπὶ τ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου: εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα σύλλογον ἤξετε μετριώτεροι γενόμενοι καὶ γνώμας ἔχοντες ἀμείνους. [2] εἰ δὲ παραμενεῖ τὸ φιλονεικόν ὑμῖν, νέοις μὲν οὔτε δικασταῖς οὔτε συμβούλοις ἔτι τῶν συμφερόντων χρησόμεθα, [p. 361] ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνείρξομεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκοσμίαν νόμῳ τάξαντες ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν, ὃν δεήσει τοὺς βουλευσοντας ἔχειν: τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ἀποδόντες λόγον αὐθις, ἐὰν μηδὲν συμφέρωνται ταῖς γνώμαις, ταχεῖα τὴν φιλονεικίαν αὐτῶν λύσομεν ὁδῷ, ἣν ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς προακοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν. [3] ἴστε δήπου νόμον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχοντα, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, πάντων εἶναι κυρίαν τὴν βουλήν, πλὴν ἀρχὰς ἀποδειῖξαι καὶ νόμους ψηφίσαι καὶ πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ τὸν συνεσιῶτα καταλύσασθαι: τούτων δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸν δῆμον ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἢ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευόμεθα, ὥστε πολλὴ ἀνάγκη τὸν δῆμον ἐπικυρῶσαι τὰς ἡμετέρας γνώμας ψήφου γενόμενον κύριον. [4] παραγγείλαντες δὴ τῷ πλήθει παρεῖναι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐπειδὰν ὑμεῖς ἀποδείξησθε τὰς γνώμας, ἀποδώσομεν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα νομίσαντες ἀρθῆναι τὴν ἔριν ὑμῶν: ὅ τι δ' ἂν οἱ πλείους ψηφίσωνται, τοῦθ' ἡγησόμεθα κύριον. ἄξιοι δὲ δήπου ταύτης εἰσὶ τῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ διαμένοντες εὖνοι τῇ πόλει καὶ μέλλοντες ἰσομοιρεῖν ἡμῖν κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον: ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις παραγγεῖλαι

κελεύσαντες ἅπασι τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰ φρούρια παρεῖναι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προαγορεύσαντες ἥκειν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθον ὄχλου μεστὴν οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν [p. 362] καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν πατρικίων ἐξηττωμένας τῶν δεήσεων, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀδυρμῷ πατέρες τε καὶ παιδία νήπια τῶν ἀποστατῶν, τῇ κυρίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν στενοχωρουμένην ἐκ ^[2] 8 πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἅπασαν ὄχλῳ παντοδαπῷ. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστου, ἔνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτελεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήνεσαν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς κατὰ πλῆθος ἀφίξεως: ἔπειτα παρεκάλεσαν ἐκδέχεσθαι μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἕως ἂν γένηται τὸ προβούλευμα τῆς βουλῆς: τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἀγαθὰς παρήνουν ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὥς οὐ διὰ μακροῦ κομιούμενοις τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοὶ τε διελέχθησαν ἐπεικεῖς καὶ μετρίους λόγους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡξιοῦν χρηστὰς καὶ φιланθρώπους ἀποδείκνυσθαι γνώμας. πρῶτον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάλουν τὸν Μενήνιον: ὃς ἀναστὰς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο λόγοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὴν βουλὴν παρακαλῶν καὶ γνώμην ἀπεφώνησε τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιῶν πρεσβειᾶν ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας διὰ ταχέων αὐτοκράτορα τῶν διαλλαγῶν.

μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνίσταντο καλούμενοι καθ' ἡλικίαν οἱ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐσχηκότες ἀρχήν, οἷς ἅπασιν ἐδόκει τῇ Μενηνίου χρῆσθαι γνώμῃ, τέως καθῆκεν ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν Ἀππιον. ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς, ὁρῶ μὲν, ἔφησεν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένον, ὧ βουλή, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι κατάγειν τὸν δῆμον, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ: καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων [p. 363] ἐγὼ λείπομαι τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐκείνοις τ' ἀπεχθὲς διαμένων καὶ ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρήσιμος ὢν. ^[2] οὐ μὴν διὰ ταῦτά γ' ἀποστήσομαι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων οὐδὲ καταλείψω τὴν τάξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκὼν. ὅσω δ' ἂν ἐρημότερος γένωμαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ μοι προελομένων, τοσοῦτ' ἂν τιμιώτερος ὑμῖν ἔσομαι ποτ' ἐν χρόνῳ, καὶ περιέσται μοι ζῶντι μὲν ἔπαινος, τελευτήσαντι δ' ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων μνήμη. εἴη μὲν οὖν, ὦ Καπετώλιε Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡρώεας τε καὶ δαίμονες, ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐφορᾶτε, καλὴ καὶ συμφέρουσα πᾶσιν ἢ τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδος, καὶ ψευσθείην ἐγὼ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ^[3] ἃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔχω χρόνου. ἐὰν δὲ τι δεινὸν ἐκ τούτων καταλάβῃ τῶν βουλευμάτων τὴν πόλιν: ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν οὐκ εἰς μακράν: τούτοις μὲν ταχεῖαν ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοὶ δοίητε καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῆ, ἐμοὶ δ', ὃς οὕτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ πῶποτε τὰ ἥδιστα εἰλόμην λέγειν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων οὐτε νῦν προδίδωμι τὸ κοινὸν ἰδίαν καταπραπτόμενος ἀσφάλειαν, ^[4] εὐμενεῖς εἴητε καὶ μειλίχοι. θεοῖς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐχομαι, λόγων γάρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖ: γνώμην δ', ἣν καὶ πρότερον ἀποφαίνομαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμένοντας τῶν δημοτικῶν ἀφίεσθαι χρεῶν, τοῖς δ' ἀποστάταις πολεμεῖν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, τέως ἂν ἔτι διαμένωσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις. [p. 364]

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γνώμαι τῇ Μενηνίου προσέθεντο, καὶ καθῆκεν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους, ὁρθῆς οὖσης ἀπάσης

τῆς βουλῆς ἀνίσταται Σπόριος Ναύτιος, οἰκίας ἐν τοῖς πάνυ λαμπροτάτῃς διάδοχοι· ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν τοῦ γένους Ναύτιος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Αἰνείᾳ στειλάντων τὴν ἀποικίαν, ὃς ἦν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερεὺς Πολιάδος καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀπηνέγκατο τῆς θεᾶς μετανιστάμενος, ὃ διεφύλαττον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων μεταλαμβάνοντες οἱ τοῦ γένους ὄντες τοῦ Ναυτίων· ὃς ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετὴν λαμπρότατος εἶναι τῶν νέων, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας τεύξεσθαι. [2] ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι κοινὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν νέων, ὡς οὔτε φιλονεικίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας οὔτε αὐθαδεῖα χρησαμένων, ὅτε τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βουλῇ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' εἵπερ ἄρα ἡμάρτανον διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γνῶμη σφαλέντων, τελευτῶν ἔφη τὸ πιστὸν τούτου παρέξεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν. συγχωρεῖν γοῦν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄμεινον φρονοῦσιν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν ἡγῶνται τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν, ὡς οὐδὲν σφῶν γε πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐναντιωσομένων, ἀλλὰ [3] πεισομένων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ὅμοια δὲ τοῦτω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νέων ἀποφνημαμένων ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τινῶν πάνυ τῶν Ἀππίου συγγενῶν ἐπαινέσαντες τὴν εὐκοσμίαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες εἰς πάντα [p. 365] τὰ κοινὰ τοιοῦτους ἑαυτοὺς παρέχειν πρεσβευτὰς εἵλοντο δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἐκτὸς ἐνὸς ἅπαντας ὑπατικούς. οἱ δ' ἀποδειχθέντες ἦσαν οἶδε· Ἀγρίππας Μενήνιος Γαῖου υἱὸς Λαϊνάτης, Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος Οὐολούσσου υἱὸς ... Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς ... Πόπλιος Ποστούμιος Κοίντου υἱὸς Τούβερτος, Τίτος Αἰβούτιος Τίτου υἱὸς Φλαούιος, Σέρβιος Σολπίκιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Καμερῖνος, Αὔλος Ποστούμιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Βάλλος, Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος Αὔλου υἱὸς Καίλιμοντανός. [4] μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς διαλυθείσης οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνέγνωσαν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρήγαγον· ἀπάντων δ' ἀξιούντων τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς, μαθεῖν, εἶπον ἐν τῷ φανερώ, πράττειν, ὅτῳ ἂν τρόπῳ δύνωνται, φιλίαν τῷ δήμῳ συνθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πατρικούς ἄτερ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ καταγαγεῖν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐν τάχει.

ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες τὰς ἐντολάς αὐθημερὸν ἐξήρσαν. φθάσασα δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ἡ φήμη διήγγειλε τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου [p. 366] πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γινόμενα, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐκλιπόντες τὸ ἔρυμα ὑπήντων ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν οὔσι τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάνυ ταραχώδης καὶ στασιαστῆς ἀνὴρ, ὅξυς τῇ γνῶμῃ προιδεῖν τι τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὃ τι νοήσειεν ὡς λάλος καὶ κωτίλος οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Λεύκιος Ιούνιος, ὁμώνυμος τῷ καταλύσαντι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐκπληρῶσαι δὲ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν βουλόμενος ἡξίου καὶ Βροῦτος ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πολλοῖς γέλως ἐπὶ τῇ κenoσπουδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσῆρχετο, καὶ ὅτε βουλευθεῖεν ἐπισκῶπτειν αὐτὸν Βροῦτον ἐπεκάλουν. [2] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στρατοπέδου Σικίννιον διδάξας, ὡς οὐκ ἄμεινον εἴη τῷ δήμῳ ῥαδίως ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προτεινομένοις, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἀξιώσεως ἀτιμωτέραν εὕρηται τὴν κάθοδον, ἀλλ' ἐναντιοῦσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τραγωδίαν τινὰ ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πράγμασι προσποιητόν, ὑποσχόμενός τ' αὐτὸς ἀναλήψεσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ

τοῦ δήμου λόγον τὰ τ' ἄλλα ὑποθέμενος, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἢ λέγειν, ἔπεισε τὸν Σικίννιον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Σικίννιος συγκαλέσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν.

παρελθὼν δὲ Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος, ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτῶν πρεσβυτάτος τε καὶ δημοτικώτατος, ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν προθυμίαν τοῦ πλήθους εὐμενεστάταις φωναῖς καὶ προσηγορίαις, ἐπειδὴ σιωπῆς ἔτυχε [p. 367] τοιοῦτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις: οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἔτι τὸ κωλύόν ἐστιν, ὧς δημόται, κατιέναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ διηλλάσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας. [2] ἐψήφισται γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ καλὴν καὶ συμφέρουσαν ὑμῖν κάθοδον, καὶ γνώμην πεποιήται μηδενὸς τῶν γεγονότων μνησικακεῖν: ἡμᾶς τε οὗς ἐγίγνωσκε φιλοδημοτάτους ὄντας καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαια τιμωμένους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδειξάσα τῶν διαλύσεων, ἵνα μὴ δόξαις μηδ' εἰκασμοῖς χρώμενοι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἀκούσαντες, ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιοῦτε καταλύσασθαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, ἂν ἢ μέτριόν τι τῶν αἰτημάτων καὶ μήτε τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μήτε ὑπ' ἄλλης αἰσχύνης ἀνηκέστου κωλύηται, συγχωρῶμεν ὑμῖν μηκέτι τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμην ἐκδεχόμενοι, μηδ' εἰς χρόνους μακροὺς καὶ φθόνους ἀντιπάλων ἀναβάλλοντες τὰ πράγματα. [3] ταῦτα δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐψηφισμένης δέχεσθε ἄσμενοι τὰς χάριτας αὐτῶν, ὧς δημόται, μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς, ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν καὶ πολλὴν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδότες αὐτῆς, εἰ πόλις ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τοσοῦτων ἄρχουσα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνέδριον, ὃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει πάντων τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ καλῶν, οὐκ ὄν αὐτοῖς πάτριον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἴκειν, ὑμῖν μόνοις ὑποκατακλίνονται τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐκόντες, καὶ οὔτε ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων ἐκατέροις ἡξίωσαν ὡς ὑποδεεστέροις κρείττονες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πρότεροι περὶ [p. 368] διαλύσεως ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, οὔτε τὰς αὐθάδεις ὑμῶν ἀποκρίσεις, ἅς ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς προτέρους πρέσβεις, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ὑπέμειναν ὑμῶν τὸ σοβαρὸν τοῦτο καὶ μειρακιῶδες τῆς αὐθαδείας βάρος, ὥσπερ ἂν παιδῶν ἀφρόνων χρηστοὶ πατέρες: καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν ὥοντο δεῖν καὶ τῶν δικαίων μειονεκτεῖν καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν, ὧς πολῖται, τὰ [4] μέτρια. ἐπὶ δὴ τοσαύτης βεβηκότης εὐτυχίας μὴ μέλλετε λέγειν, ὧς δημόται, τίνων χρῆζετε μηδ' ἐντρυφάτε ἡμῖν, καταλυσάμενοι δὲ τὴν στάσιν ἅπιτε χαίροντες εἰς τὴν γειναμένην τε καὶ θρεψαμένην ὑμᾶς πόλιν, ἢ τροφεῖά τε καὶ χάριτας οὐ χρηστὰς ἀπεδίδοτε, καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι ἔρημον καὶ μηλόβοτον. εἰ δὲ παρήσετε τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, εὐξέσθε πολλάκις ὅμοιον εὐρεῖν ἕτερον.

παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου παρελθὼν ὁ Σικίννιος οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔφη δεῖν λόγου τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν τοὺς εὖ βουλευομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς λόγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων σκοποῦντας: ἡξίου τε λέγειν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς βουλομένους ἅπασαν αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν ἀποθεμένους: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνάγκας κατακεκλεισμένοις οὔτ' ὅκνῳ οὔτ' [2] αἰσχύνῃ εἴκειν. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐπειδὴ πάντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀπέβλεπον ἐπιζητοῦντες τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ [p. 369] λέγοντα, ἐφαίνετο δ' οὐδεὶς: ὁ γὰρ Σικίννιος

τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ἐχρῆτο λόγοις· παρέρχεται κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις
Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ βουλούμενος ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Βροῦτος καὶ τυχὼν
ἐπισημασίας παρὰ τοῦ ^[3] πλήθους ἀθρόας τοιαύτην διέθετο δημηγορίαν· τὸ
δέος ὑμᾶς, ὦ δημόται, τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἐντετηκὸς ἔτι ταῖς ψυχαῖς
ἐκπλήσσειν ἔοικε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τεταπεινωμένοι φέρειν τοὺς λόγους εἰς
μέσον, οἷς εἰώθατε χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀκνεῖτε. οἶεται δ' ἴσως ἕκαστος
ὑμῶν τὸν πλησίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ λέξειν, καὶ πάντας μᾶλλον, εἰ τι
κινδυνευσμὰ ἐστίν, ὑπομενεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκώς, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκ
τοῦ τολμηροῦ χρηστὸν περιγένηται, τούτου τὸ μέρος ἔξειν ἀδεῶς· κακῶς
εἰδώς. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες τοῦτο ὑπολάβοιμεν, ἢ καθ' ἓνα ὑμῶν ἕκαστον
ἀτολμία κοινὴ πᾶσιν ἔσται βλάβη, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἴδιόν τις ἀσφαλὲς ἀποσκοπεῖ
^[4] τὸ μετὰ πάντων κοινὸν ἀπολεῖ. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε, ὅτι
λέλυται τὸ δέος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις βεβαίως ἔχετε, νῦν
γ' ἤδη μάθετε διδασκάλους χρῆσάμενοι τούτοις. οἱ γὰρ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ
βαρεῖς οὐκ ἐπιτάττοντες ὑμῖν ὡς πρότερον ἤκουσιν οὐδ' ἀπειλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ
δεόμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς κατιέναι, καὶ ὡς
ἐλευθέρους [p. 370] ἐξ Ἰσού ἤδη ἄρχονται ὁμιλεῖν. τί οὖν ἔτι κατατέπληχθε
αὐτοὺς καὶ σιωπᾶτε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεύθερα φρονεῖτε καὶ διαρρηξάντες ἤδη
ποτὲ τοὺς χαλινοὺς λέγετε εἰς τὸ κοινόν, ἃ πεπόνθατε πρὸς αὐτῶν; ὦ
σχέτλιοι, ^[5] τί δεδοίκατε; μὴ τι πάθητε ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθεροστομίας ἑμοὶ
χρῶμενοι; κινδυνεύσω γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰπεῖν τὰ δίκαια μετὰ παρρησίας ἐγὼ
πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ Οὐαλέριος οὐδὲν ἔφησεν
εἶναι τὸ κωλύον ἀναστρέφειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῆς βουλῆς διδούσης τὴν
κάθοδον καὶ προσεψηφισμένης τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ταῦτ' ἀποκρινοῦμαι
πρὸς αὐτόν, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα εἰρῆσθαι.

ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τὰ κωλύοντά ἐστιν ἀποθεμένους
τὰ ὅπλα ἐφ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τρία δὲ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τὰ φανερώτατα. πρῶτον
μὲν, ὅτι ἐγκαλοῦντες ἡμῖν ὡς ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἤκετε καὶ ἐν εὐεργεσίας οἶεσθε
μέρει διδόναι τὴν κάθοδον· ἔπειθ', ὅτι οὐδὲν ὑποδηλοῦτε παρακαλοῦντες
ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὰς δικαίοις καὶ φιланθρώποις ποιησόμεθα· τὸ
δὲ τελευταῖον, ὅτι βέβαιον ἡμῖν, ὦν ἂν ὑπόσχησθε, οὐδὲν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
πολλάκις ἐξαπατῶντες τε καὶ φενακίζοντες ἡμᾶς διατετελέκατε. ^[2] ἐρῶ δ'
ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου χωρὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ἀρξάμενος· καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν
κοινῷ λέγοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰ μὲν τι
ἀδικοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὐτ' ἀδείας οὐτ' ἀμνηστίας· καίτοι γε [p.
371] οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενοῦμεν, ὅποι
ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἄγῃ τὸ χρεῶν, τῇ τύχῃ καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡγεμόσιν. εἰ
δ' ἀδικοῦμενοι πρὸς ὑμῶν ταύτης ἡναγκάσμεθα τῆς τύχης πειραθῆναι, ἐν ᾗ
ἔσμεν, τί οὐχ ὁμολογεῖτε κακοὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι συγγνώμης
δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμνηστίας; νῦν δ', ἣν αἰτεῖσθε, ταύτην διδόναι λέγετε, καὶ ἥς
ἀφεῖσθαι ζητεῖτε ὀργῆς, ταύτης ὡς ἀφιέντες μεγαλῆγορεῖτε, συγχέοντες τὴν
τῆς ἀληθείας φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων ἀξίωσιν ἀναστρέφοντες. ^[3] ὅτι δ'
οὐκ ἀδικοῖσθε, ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖτε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργετηθέντες ὑπὸ
τοῦ δήμου, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐ καλὰς

ἀποδεδώκατε αὐτῷ τὰς ἀμοιβάς, μάθετε: ποιήσομαι δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἴστε καὶ αὐτοὶ πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους, καὶ πρὸς θεῶν, ἐάν τι ψεῦδος εἴπω, μὴ ἀνάσχησθε, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐλέγχετε.

ἡμῖν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολίτευμα ἦν μοναρχία, καὶ μέχρι γενεᾶς ἐβδόμης ταύτη χρώμενοι διετελέσαμεν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡγεμονίας ταῦτας οὐδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἡλαττώθη πώποτε ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα ὑπὸ τῶν τελευταίων: ἐῷ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἐκαρπώσατο. [2] χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτῶν θεραπείας, ἣ κολακεύοντας αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον μὲν σφίσιν, ἐχθρὸν δ' ὑμῖν ἐβούλοντο εἶναι, ὁ ποιοῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τυραννικῶς ἐξάγοντες τὰς δυναστείας, κρατήσαντες πολέμῳ μακρῷ [p. 372] Συέσσης, πόλεως πάνυ εὐδαίμονος, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μηδενὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κατασχεῖν καὶ πάντα ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ βασιλεῖς, οὐκ ἤξισαν, ἀλλὰ φέροντες εἰς μέσον ἔθηκαν ἅπασαν τὴν ὠφέλειαν: ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς χωρὶς ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κτήσεως πολλῆς οὕσης καὶ καλῆς ἀργυρίου πέντε μνᾶς κατ' ἄνδρα διανείμασθαι. [3] ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀμελήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τυραννικώτερον ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐξουσίαις οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον πλημμελοῦντες, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς, δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις τῆς μὲν τῶν βασιλέων εὐνοίας ἀπέστημεν, ὑμῖν δὲ προσεθέμεθα: καὶ συνεπαναστάντες αὐτοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν οἱ τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τοὺς μὲν ἐξηλάσαμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ φέροντες ἀνεθήκαμεν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρχήν. πολλάκις τε γενόμενον ἐφ' ἡμῖν μεταθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐξελασθέντας τὰς μεγάλας δωρεάς, αἷς ὑπέτεινον ἡμῖν, ἵνα δὴ τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πιστὸν ἐγκαταλίπωμεν, οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους καὶ συνεχεῖς πολέμους καὶ κινδύνους δι' ὑμᾶς ἀνηντλήσαμεν: καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἔτος ἑπτακαίδέκατον ἤδη τριβόμεθα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μαχόμενοι περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας. [4] ἀκαταστάτου μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας [p. 373] οὕσης: οἷα γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τὰς αἰφνιδίως γιγνομένας: δυσὶ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσι Τυρρηνῶν, Ταρκυνιήταις τε καὶ Οὐιεντανοῖς κατάγειν βουλομένοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ, παρακινδυνεύσαντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διηγωνίσμεθα, καὶ μεγίστην ἀποδειξάμενοι προθυμίαν τοὺς τ' ἀντιπαχθέντας μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἀπεωσάμεθα, καὶ τῷ περιόντι τῶν ὑπάτων διεσώσαμεν τὴν ἀρχήν. [5] οὐ πολλοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον Πορσίναν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλέα κατάγειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντα τοὺς φυγάδας τῇ τ' ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπήγετο, δυνάμει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ πολλοῦ συναχθείσαις, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόμαχον χεῖρα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατακλεισθέντες εἰς πολιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀμηχανίαν καὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀπορίαν, τῷ πάντα ὑπομεῖναι τὰ δεινὰ φίλον γενόμενον ἠναγκάσαμεν ἀπελθεῖν. [6] τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα τρίτον κάθοδον τῶν βασιλέων παρασκευασαμένων διὰ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπαγομένων, ἀντιβολοῦντας ὑμᾶς ὀρῶντες καὶ ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον ἐπιβώμενον ἑταιρίας τε καὶ συντροφίας καὶ ὁμαιχμίας ἀναμιμνήσκοντας οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν: ἡγησάμενοι δὲ κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότατον ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁμόσε τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐχωρήσαμεν, μέγιστον δὲ κινδύνων ἀναρρίψαντες ἐκείνον, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν

τραύματα λαβόντες, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα συγγενῶν τε [p. 374] καὶ ἑταίρων καὶ ὁμοσκήνων ἀποβαλόντες, ἐνίκησαμεν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ἀπεκτείναμεν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν συγγένειαν ἅπασαν διεφθείραμεν.

Ἄ μὲν δὴ εἰς τὸ συνελυθερῶσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων παρεσχόμεθα ὑπὲρ δύναμιν διὰ τὸ ἑαυτῶν πρόθυμον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀναγκαιῦ μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸ καταστάντες ἢ ὑπ' ἄρετῆς, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἄ δ' εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων δυναστείαν τε περιβαλέσθαι μείζω ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόκησιν ἀκούσατε, καὶ ὅπως, ἐάν τι παρατρέψω τὸν λόγον ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, ἐναντιώσεσθέ [2] μοι. Ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔδοξεν εἶναι βέβαιον, οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἐπὶ τούτου μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν ὀρμήσαντες, ἐχθρόν δ' ἴσως ἅπαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους πόλεμον ἀναδείξαντες, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ κινδυνεύματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πλεονεξίας ταύτης ἀγῶνας τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὤεσθε δεῖν καταχρῆσθαι σώμασιν. [3] Ὅσας μὲν οὖν πόλεις κατὰ μίαν καὶ δύο πολεμοῦσας ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τὰς μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως χειρωσάμενοι, τὰς δὲ τειχομαχίαις ἐλόντες ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσαμεν, ἐῷ. τί γὰρ δεῖ κατὰ μικρὸν λέγειν τὰς πράξεις τοσαύτην ἔχοντας λόγων ἀφθονίαν; ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνίαν ἅπασαν εἰς δώδεκα νενεμημένην ἡγεμονίας καὶ πολλῇ μὲν τῇ κατὰ γῆν, πολλῇ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν δυναστείᾳ περιουσιάζουσας, [p. 375] τίνες ἦσαν οἱ συγκατακτησάμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες αὐτὴν ὑμῖν ὑπήκοον; Σαβίνους δὲ τουτοῦοι ἔθνος τηλικούτον, οἷς διὰ παντὸς ὁ περὶ τῶν πρωτείων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦν ἀγών, ποία παρέσχεν ὑμῖν βοήθεια μηκέτι διαμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν ἴσων; τί δέ; τὰς τῶν Λατίνων τριάκοντα πόλεις, οὐ μόνον δυνάμει μεγέθει ἐπαιρομένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικαιότερα ἀξιοῦν μεγάλα φρονούσας, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ καταδουλωσάμενοι καὶ παρασχόντες ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῶν πόλεων δεομένας καταφυγεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;

ἐῷ τᾶλλα, ὅσα οὕτω διαστασιάζοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν γε μεταποιούμενοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλπίδων συνεκινδυνεύσαμεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τυραννίδα περιβεβλημένοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡμῖν ὥσπερ δούλοις παραχρῶμενοι ἐξηλέγχθητε, ἡμεῖς τ' οὐκέτι ὅμοιοι ταῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διανοίαις διαμένοντες, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ὑπήκοα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα ἐπανίστατο, ἀρξάντων μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως Οὐολούσκων, ἀκολουθησάντων δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν Ἑρνίκων Σαβίνων ἄλλων συχνῶν, ἐδόκει τε οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος εἶναι καιρὸς, εἰ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἦν, δεῖν ἐξεργάσασθαι θάτερον, ἢ καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποδεῖξαι μετριωτέραν, ἄρα μέμνησθε, εἰς οἷαν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦλθετε καὶ ὥς ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας [p. 376] ἐγένεσθε, εἴτε μὴ συναρούμεθα τῶν ἀγώνων ὑμῖν, εἴτε ὀργῇ ἐφέντες ὥς τοὺς πολεμίους τρεψόμεθα, καὶ ὅσας δεήσεις καὶ ὑποσχέσεις ἐποιήσασθε; [2] τί οὖν οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν ὑβρισμένοι τότε ἐποιήσαμεν; ἡττηθέντες τῶν δεήσεων καὶ πεισθέντες ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, αἷς ὁ βέλτιστος οὗτοσι Σερουίλιος ὑπατεύων τότε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐποίησατο, οὐθὲν μὲν ἐμνησικακήσαμεν ὑμῖν τῶν πάλαι, χρηστὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίσαντες χρόνου, παρέσχομεν ὑμῖν ἑαυτούς, καὶ πάντα τὰ

πολέμια ἐν ὀλίγῳ κατεργασάμενοι χρόνῳ παρήμεν ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς καὶ λείας καλὰς. ^[3] ἀνθ' ὧν τινὰς ἡμῖν χάριτας ἀπεδώκατε; ἄρ' αὖ γε δικαίας καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἄξιας; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἐπεύσασθε μὲν γε καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐκελεύσατε τὸν ὑπατον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τουτονὶ τὸν βέλτιστον, ᾧ κατεχρήσασθε πρὸς τὸν φενακισμόν, ἅμοιρον ἐποίησατε τοῦ θριάμβου πάντων μάλιστα' ἀνθρώπων ἄξιον ὄντα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης τυχεῖν, οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς προσθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ὡς ὑπέσχεσθε ἡξίου καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ δηλὸς ἦν.

Ἐναγχος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου: τουτὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσθεῖς τῷ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγῳ παύσομαι: ὅθ' ὑμῖν Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Σαβῖνοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι μιᾷ [p. 377] γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι αὐτοὶ τ' ἐπανίσταντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλουν, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἠναγκάσθητε καταφυγεῖν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ φαύλους οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ βαρεῖς, πάντα ὑποσχομένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς τότε σωτηρίας; καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν ἡμᾶς αὐθις δοκῇτε, ὃ πολλάκις ἐποίησατε, προκάλυμμα τῆς ἀπάτης Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον τουτονὶ τὸν φιλοδημότατον ἄνδρα εὔρεσθε: ᾧ πιστεῦσαντες ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ δικτάτορός τε καὶ ταῦτα χρηστοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνδρὸς φενακισθησόμενοι συνηράμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνικῶμεν οὐ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς ἀγῶνας ὑπομείναντες. ^[2] θᾶπτον δ' ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐλπίδα τέλος εἰληφότος τὸ κάλλιστον τοῦ πολέμου τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετε τοῦ χαίρειν καὶ πολλὴν εἰδέναι τῷ δήμῳ χάριν, ὥστε κατέχειν ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἡξιοῦτε ἄκοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς σημαίαις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἵνα παρέλθῃτε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωτε. οὐχ ὑπομένοντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν φενακισμόν οὐδὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου, ἀλλ' εἰσενέγκαντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ διαφέντος ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὰς δυνάμεις, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενοι ταύτην τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν τοῦτον ὕβρισατε, τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμολογιῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐφυλάξατε, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρία τὰ μέγιστα παρηνομήσατε, τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βουλῆς καταλύσαντες καὶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [p. 378] διαφθείραντες καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἀνόνητον ποιήσαντες τὴν χάριν τῶν πόνων. ^[3] ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτοις ὅμοια πολλὰ ἔχοντες λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, ὧ πατρίκιοι, πρὸς ἰκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ὑμῶν τραπέσθαι, οὐδ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ δεινὰ δεδρακότες ἐπ' ἀδεία καὶ ἀμνηστία κάθοδον λαμβάνειν. οὐ μὴν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι γε περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ παρόντι οἰόμεθα χρῆναι, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁμονοίας διαλεξόμενοι συνεληλύθαμεν, ἀλλ' ἀμελεία καὶ λήθη παραδόντες αὐτὰ φέρομεν.

ἐφ' οἷς δὲ πρεσβεῦετε καὶ τίνων δεόμενοι ἦκετε, τί οὐ λέγετε φανερώς; ἐπὶ ποίαις ἐλπίσι κατελθεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦτε; ποίαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ λαβόντας τύχην; τίνος ὑποδεχομένης ἡμᾶς εὐθυμίας ἢ χαρᾶς; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχρι τοῦδε φιλάνθρωπον ὑμῶν ἢ χρηστὸν προτεινομένων ἀκούομεν, οὐ τιμᾶς, οὐκ ἀρχάς, οὐκ ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀπορίας, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν. καίτοι οὐ λέγειν ὑμᾶς ἐχρῆν, ἃ μέλλετε ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσαντες λέγειν, ἵνα προειληφότες ἤδη τι ἔργον ἀπ' εὐνοίας γενόμενον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ^[2] 9 τοιαῦτα ἔσεσθαι εἰκάσωμεν. οἶμαι τοίνυν πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι περὶ πάντων

ἥκουσιν. αὐτοκράτορες, ὥσθ', ὃ τι ἂν πείσωμεν ἀλλήλους, τοῦτ' ἔσται κύριον. ἔστω ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ: γιγνέσθω τάκόλουθα τοῦτοις: οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω. βούλομαι δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐσόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν μαθεῖν, ἐπειδὴν εἶπωμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιοῦμεν ποιῆσθαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ συγχωρηθῆ ταῦτα [p. 379] ὑπὸ τούτων, τίς ἐγγυητῆς ἔσται τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἡμῖν; [3] τίνι πιστεῦσαντες ἀσφαλεῖα τὰ ὄπλα θήσομεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ καταστήσομεν αὐθις εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν τὰ σώματα; πότερον τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων γραφησομένοις, οὐ γὰρ δὴ γεγραμμένοις; καὶ τί πάλιν κωλύσει ἐτέροις ἀκρωθῆναι ταῦτα ψηφίσμασιν, ὅταν Ἀππίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὅμοια φρονοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ φανῇ; ἢ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρέχονται πίστει; ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων καὶ πρότερον ἡμῶς ἐξηπάτησαν. ἢ ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ὁμολογίαις δι' ὄρκων τὰ πιστὰ πορισάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν; ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν πίστιν ἀνθρωπίνην ταύτην δέδοικα, ἣν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις ὄντων καταφρονουμένην ὁρῶ, καὶ τὰς ἀκουσίους συμβάσεις τοῖς ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθερίας μεταποιουμένους, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη καταμαθὼν, ἐπίσταμαι τοσοῦτον ἰσχυοῦσας χρόνον, ὅσον ἂν αὐτῶν αἱ ἀνάγκαι κρατῶσι. [4] τίς οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη φιλία καὶ πίστις, ἐν ἣ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθισόμεθα φυλάττοντες τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκότεροι καιροῦς; ὑποψία δὲ δὴ τὸ γε μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ διαβολαὶ συνεχεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων φθόνοι τε καὶ μίση καὶ πᾶσ' ἄλλῃ κακῶν ἰδέα καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τοῦ φθᾶσαι διολέσαντας τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἄγων, ὥς ἐν τῷ μέλλειν κειμένου τοῦ παθεῖν. [p. 380]

πολέμου δὲ πολιτικοῦ ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσασι κάκιον χρῆμα οὐδὲν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν κρατηθέντα ἀτυχεῖ, τὰ δὲ κρατήσαντα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ περίεστι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλάτων ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ φίλτατα διολέσαι. ἐπὶ τοιαύταις δὴ τύχαις καὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐκταίας μῆτε ὑμεῖς, ὧ πατρίκιοι, καλεῖτε ἡμᾶς, μῆτε ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπακούωμεν, ὧ δημόται, ἀλλ', ὡς διήρηκεν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ τύχη, στέργωμεν. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν οὖν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ καρπούσθωσαν ἡμῶν διχα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων ἀπολαυέτωσαν μόνοι, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀδόξους δημότας ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος: ἀπαλλαττώμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ δαίμων ἄγῃ τόπον ἀλλότριον ἐκλιπεῖν νομίσαντες, οὐ πόλιν ἰδίαν. [2] οὕτε γὰρ ἡμῶν τινι ἐνθάδε ὑπολείπεται κλῆρος γῆς οὕτε πατρῶον ἐφέστιον οὕτε ἱερὰ κοινὰ οὕτε ἀξίωμα ὡς ἐν πατρίδι, ὧν περιεχόμενοι φιλοχωροῖμεν ἂν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην μένειν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων ἐλευθερία: ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ πόλεμοι διέφθειραν, τὰ δ' ἡ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις ἐξανήλωσε, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων δανειστῶν τούτων ἀφηρέθημεν: οἷς τελευτῶντες ἠναγκαζόμεθα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κλήρους οἱ δεῖλαιοι γεωργεῖν, σκάπτοντες φυτεύοντες ἀροῦντες ποιμνία νέμοντες ὁμόδουλοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δορικτήτοις ἀνδραπόδοις ὄντες, οἱ μὲν ἀλύσει [p. 381] δεθέντες, οἱ δὲ πέδαις, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν θηρίων κλοιοῖς καὶ μύδροις. [3] αἰκίας δὲ δὴ καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς καὶ μάστιγας καὶ πόνους ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰς νύκτα καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὠμότητα καὶ

ὑβριν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν, ἣν ὑπεμειναμεν, ἐῷ. τοσοῦτων οὖν καὶ τηλικούτων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὅση σπουδὴ καὶ δύναμις ἐκάστω πάρεστι φεύγωμεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄσμενοι τύχην καὶ θεὸν οἵπερ ἡμᾶς σώζουσιν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενοι, πατρίδα νομίζοντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν ἀρετὴν. πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑποδέξεται γῆ κοινωνούς, τὰ μὲν ἀλύτους ἐσομένους τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, τὰ δ’ ὠφελίμους.

παραδείγματα δὲ τούτων γενέσθωσαν ἡμῖν πολλοὶ τε Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ τε βάρβαροι, μάλιστα δ’ οἱ τούτων τε καὶ ἡμῶν πρόγονοι: ὧν οἱ μὲν μετ’ Αἰνείου συναναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν τῇ Λατίνων γῇ πόλιν ὤκισαν, οἱ δ’ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀναστάντες Ῥωμύλου τὴν ἀποικίαν ἄγοντος ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς τόποις ἰδρύσαντο τὴν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐκλειπομένην. [2] ὑπάρχει τε ἡμῖν δύναμις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πλείων μόνον τῆς ἐκείνοις γενομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριπλασία, καὶ πρόφασις δικαιότερα τῆς μεταναστάσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ Ἰλίου μεταναστάντες ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἐξηλαύνοντο, ἡμεῖς δ’ αὐτόθεν ὑπὸ φίλων: ἐλεεινότερον δὲ δῆπου τὸ πρὸς [p. 382] τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐλαύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμύλῳ [3] συναράμενοι τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ τῷ κτήσασθαι κρεῖττον αὖ γῆν ὑπερεῖδον τῆς πατρίδας: ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἄπολιν καὶ τὸν ἀνέστιον ἐκλείποντες βίον, οὔτε θεοῖς ἐπιφθονον οὔτε ἀνθρώποις λυπηρὰν οὔτε γῇ τινι βαρεῖαν στέλλομεν ἀποικίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ δι’ αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελαύνοντας ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ πυρὶ καὶ σιδηρῷ κακώσαντες τὴν ἐκλειπομένην γῆν, οὐδ’ ἄλλο μνημόσυνον οὐδὲν αἰωνίου καταλιπόντες ἔχθρας, ὡς ταῖς παρεσπονδημέναις φυγαῖς καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἀνάγκας κατακλεισθείσας ἔθος ἐστὶ [4] δρᾶν. θεοὺς τε ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι καὶ δαίμονας, οἱ τὰ θνητὰ πάντα κατὰ δίκην ἄγουσι, καὶ καταλιπόντες ἐκείνοις ἀναπράξασθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκας, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀξιοῦμεν, οἷς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τέκνα νήπια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ εἰ τινας ἄρα γυναῖκες ἡμῖν ἐθελήσουσι κοινωνεῖν τῆς τύχης, τὰ σώματ’ ἀπολαβεῖν. ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν ἀπόχρη λαβεῖν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δεόμεθα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος. ἀλλ’ εὐτυχεῖτε καὶ ζητεῖτε βίον, ὃν ἂν προαιρήσθε, οὕτως ἀπολίτευτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινότερους φρονοῦντες.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος τοιούτους εἰπὼν λόγους ἐπαύσατο: τοῖς δὲ παροῦσιν, ὅσα τε περὶ τῶν δικαίων εἶπεν, ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἐδόκει καὶ ὅσα τῆς ὑπεροψίας τοῦ συνεδρίου κατηγόρησε, μάλιστα δ’ ἐν οἷς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς [p. 383] τῶν ὁμολογιῶν δόλου μεστὸν ἀπεδείκνυε καὶ ἀπάτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ὑβρεις τελευτῶν διῆλθεν, ἃς ἦσαν ὑβρισμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἕκαστον ἀνέμνησε κακῶν, οὐδεὶς ἦν στερρὸς οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅς οὐκ ἐξεχεῖτο τοῖς δάκρυσιν καὶ ἀνεκλαίετο τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς: καὶ τοῦτ’ οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις συνέβαινε παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἦκουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις τὰ δάκρυα κατέχειν ἴσχυον ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίας, καὶ πολὺς ἦν χρόνος ἐν ᾧ κατηφεῖς καὶ δεδακρυσμένοι καὶ [2] τί χρὴ λέγειν ἀποροῦντες εἰστήκεσαν. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ὁ τε πολὺς θρήνος ἐπαύσατο καὶ σιωπὴ κατέσχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, παρῆλθεν ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅπερ ἐδόκει τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἡλικία τε προὔχειν καὶ ἀξιώσει, Τίτος Λάρκιος, ὃς δις ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος δυναστεία

τῇ καλουμένῃ δικτατορίᾳ κράτιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων χρησάμενος ἱερὰν καὶ σεβασμοῦ μεστήν ἐποίησε νομισθῆναι τὴν ἐπίφθονον ἀρχήν. [3] ἐπιβαλλόμενος δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῖς δανειστικοῖς ἐγκαλῶν ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα διαπεπραγμένοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν πενήτων καταπτόμενος ὡς οὐ δικαίως ἀξιούντων βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν ὀφειλημάτων ἢ χάριτι, καὶ ὡς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ὀρθῶς [p. 384] δι' ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τῷ μηθενὸς τῶν μετρίων παρ' [4] αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ τοὺς αἰτίους; πειρώμενός τ' ἀποφαίνειν βραχὺ μὲν ὑπάρχον τοῦ δήμου τὸ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικοῦν, ὑπὸ δὲ μήκους ἀπορίας ἠναγκασμένον αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἀκολασίᾳ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὰς ζῆν ἐφεικὸς καὶ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ὑπηρετεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις παρεσκευασμένον, διακρίνεσθαι τε οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλλεινῶν τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιланθρωπίας δεομένων τὰ μίσους ἄξια, καὶ τοιοῦτους τινὰς ἄλλους καθιστάμενος λόγους ἀληθεῖς μὲν, οὐχ ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς ἀκούουσι κεχαρισμένους, οὐκ ἐπειθεν, ἀλλὰ θροῦς ἦν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ πολὺς καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγανακτήσεις ὡς ἐξαιμάττοντος τὰς λύπας, τῶν δ' ἐξομολογήσεις ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀποκρυπτομένου: ἔλαττον δὲ πολλῶ τοῦτ' ἦν θατέρου τὸ μέρος, ὥστ' ἠφανίζοντο τῷ πολλῶ καὶ περιῇν ἡ τοῦ ἀγανακτοῦντος βοή.

ὀλίγα δὲ τούτοις ἔτι προσθέντος τοῦ Λαρκίου καὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς προπετείας τῶν βουλευμάτων καθαφαμένου παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκώς τότε Σικίννιος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐτράχυνε τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν λέγων, ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἂν δύναιτο μάλιστα τῶν λόγων καταμαθεῖν, οἷαι τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέξονται κατελθόντας 10 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. [2] οἷς γὰρ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν δεινῶν οὔσι καὶ δεομένοις τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοηθείας καὶ [p. 385] ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκουσιν οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπέρχεται μετρίου καὶ φιλανθρώπους ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, τίνα χρὴ δοκεῖν παραστήσεσθαι διάνοιαν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐλπίδα χωρήσῃ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ γένηται τὰ νῦν ὑβριζόμενα τοῖς λόγοις ὑποχείρια τοῖς ἔργοις; ποίας ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοὺς ἀφέξεσθαι, ποίας αἰκίας, ποίας ὠμότητος τυραννικῆς; [3] ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπόχρη δουλεῦειν ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον δεδεμένοις καὶ μαστιγουμένοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ λιμῶ καὶ πάσῃ λῶβῃ ἀπολλυμένοις, μὴ τριβετε τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄπλα ρίψαντές τε καὶ τῷ χεῖρε περιαγαγόντες ἀκολουθεῖτε αὐτοῖς; εἰ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν τις πόθος, μὴ ἀνέχεσθε αὐτῶν. ὑμεῖς τ', ὦ πρέσβεις, ἢ λέγετε, ἐφ' οἷς καλεῖτε ἡμᾶς δικαίους, ἢ μὴ λέγοντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄπτε: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι μεταδοίμεν ὑμῖν λόγου.

ὡς δ' ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἐπεθορύβησαν ὡς τὰ δέοντα λελογισμένῳ συγκατατιθέμενοι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡσυχίας γενομένης Μενήσιος Ἀγρίππας, ὅσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου διέθετο καὶ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα πρεσβείαν τὴν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος αἰτιώτατος ἦν, διεσήμηνεν ὅτι βούλεται καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν. τοῖς δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη καὶ νυνὶ γέ τοι λόγων ὑπέλαβον ἀκούσεσθαι συμβάσεις ἀληθινὰς καὶ γνώμας σωτηρίους ἀμφοῖν ἐχόντων. [2] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπερρόθησαν ἅπαντες βοῇ μεγάλῃ λέγειν κελεύοντες: ἔπειτα [p. 386]

ἐπέσχον, καὶ σιγῇ τοσαύτῃ κατέλαβε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥστε μὴθὲν διαλλάξαι τὸν τόπον ἐρημίας. ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν, πιθανωτάτοις ἔδοξε χρῆσασθαι λόγοις καὶ τοῦ βουλήματος τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐστοχασμένοις, τελευτῶν δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας λέγεται μῦθόν τινα εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸν Αἰσωπείον τρόπον συμπλάσας πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντα, καὶ τοῦτω μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν: ὅθεν καὶ μνήμης ἀξιοῦται ὁ λόγος καὶ φέρεται ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἱστορίαις. ἦν δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα 11 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοιάδε. [3] ἡμεῖς ἀπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὧ δημόται, πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὔτε ἀπολογησόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης οὔτε ὑμῶν κατηγορήσοντες: οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ταῦτα καιρὸν ἔχειν οὐδ' εἶναι ταῖς κατεχούσαις τὸ κοινὸν τύχαις πρόσφορα: ἀλλὰ διαλύσοντες ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ μηχανῇ τὴν στάσιν καὶ καταστήσοντες εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον τὴν πολιτείαν, ἔχοντες δὲ τοῦτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοκράτορα. ὥστε περὶ μὲν τῶν δικαίων οὐδὲν ἂν οἰόμεθα δεῖν, ὅπερ Ἰούνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτοσι, εἰς μακρὸν ἐκμηκύνειν χρόνον: ἐφ' οἷς δὲ φιланθρώποις διαλύσαι τὴν στάσιν οἰόμεθα δεῖν, καὶ τίς ἢ βεβαιώσουσα τὰς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν ἔσται πίστις, περὶ τούτων, [4] ἃ διεγνώκαμεν, ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἡμῖν ἐνθυμουμένοις, ὅτι πᾶσα θεραπεύεται στάσις ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, ὅταν ἐξαίρεθῶσιν αἱ παρασχοῦσαι τὴν διαφορὰν αἰτίαι, [p. 387] ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰς ἀρχηγούς τῆς διχοστασίας προφάσεις γνῶναι τε καὶ παῦσαι. εὐρόντες δὲ τὰς ἀποτόμους τῶν δανείων ἀναπράξεις τῶν παρόντων κακῶν αἰτίας γεγонуίας, οὕτως αὐτὰς διορθοῦμεθα. τοὺς ὀφείλοντας χρεῖα καὶ μὴ δυναμένους διαλύσασθαι πάντας ἀφείσθαι τῶν ὀφλημάτων δικαιοῦμεν: καὶ εἴ τινων ἤδη τὰ σώματα ὑπερήμερων ὄντων ταῖς νομίμοις προθεσίαις κατέχεται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλευθέρα εἶναι κρίνομεν: ὅσοι τε δίκαις ἀλόντες ἰδίαις παρεδόθησαν τοῖς καταδικασαμένοις, καὶ τούτους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι βουλόμεθα, καὶ τὰς καταγνώσεις αὐτῶν ἀκύρους ποιοῦμεν. [5] περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου συμβολαίων, ἃ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, τοῦτον ἐπανορθοῦμεθα τὸν τρόπον: περὶ δὲ τῶν ὕστερον ἐσομένων, ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου κοινῇ βουλευσομένοις φανῇ, νόμου κυρωθέντος, οὕτως ἐχέτω. οὐχὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τὰ διαστήσαντα ὑμᾶς ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὧ δημόται, καὶ τούτων εἰ τύχοιτε ἀποχρῆν ὑμῖν ὦεσθε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ὠρέγεσθε; δίδοται νῦν ὑμῖν: ἅπιτε ἤδη χαίροντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

αἱ δὲ βεβαιώσουσαι τὰς ὁμολογίας ταύτας καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν παρέξουσαι πίστει ἐσονταὶ πᾶσαι νόμιμοι τε καὶ ἐν ἔθει τοῖς διαλυομένοις τὰς ἔχθρας. ἐπιψηφιεῖται μὲν ἡ βουλὴ ταῦτα καὶ νόμου [p. 388] τάξιν ἀποδώσει τοῖς γραφησομένοις: μᾶλλον δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐνθάδε γραφέσθω τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τούτοις πείσεται. [2] τοῦ δὲ μενεῖν βέβαια τὰ συγχωρούμενα νῦν, καὶ μὴδὲν ὕστερον ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξενεχθήσεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἀνάδοχοι, δίδόντες ὑμῖν σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ γενεὰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐνέχυρα: ἔπειτα οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταί, ὅσοι τῷ ψηφίσματι συνεγγραφῆσονται: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποτε ἀκόντων ἡμῶν γραφήσεται τι κατὰ τοῦ δήμου. οἱ γὰρ ἡγούμενοι τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ πρῶτοι τὰς αὐτῶν γνῶμας ἀποφαινόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν. [3]

τελευταία δὲ πίστις ἅπασιν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἣν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀναιρήσει χρόνος, ἢ δι' ὄρκων καὶ σπονδῶν ἐγγυητὰς θεοῦς ποιουμένη τῶν συμβάσεων: ὅφ' ἧς πολλοὶ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἔχθραι πικραί, πολλοὶ δὲ πόλεμοι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις συστάντες διηλλάγησαν. καὶ ταύτην εἴ τινα λαμβάνετε τὴν πίστιν, εἴτ' ὀλίγοις ἐπιτρέπετε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ ὅλης ὑμῖν δοῦναι τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς ὄρκους, εἴτε πάντας ἀξιοῦτε τοὺς ἐπιγραφομένους τοῖς δόγμασιν ὁμνῦειν καθ' ἱερῶν ἢ μὴν βέβαια τὰ συγκείμενα φυλάξειν. [4] δεξιὰς δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ πιστεῖς ἐπὶ θεῶν γιγνομένας μῆτε σὺ διάβαλλε, Βροῦτε, μὴτ' ἀναιρεῖ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιτήδευμα [p. 389] τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, μὴδ' ὑμεῖς ἀνάσχησθε αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνοσίων καὶ τυραννικῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρεῦματα, ἃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς πολὺ ἀπέχει.

μίαν εἰπὼν ἔτι τὴν οὔτε ἀγνοουμένην ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀμφισβητουμένην παύσομαι. τίς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη; ἡ τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον εἰσάγουσα καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέρα ποιοῦσα σώζεσθαι τὰ μέρη. αὕτη μέντοι πρώτη καὶ μόνη συνάγει τε ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἑάσει ποτὲ διχ' ἀλλήλων γενέσθαι. δεῖσεται γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται δεόμενον τὸ μὲν ἀμαθὲς πλῆθος ἔμφρονος ἡγεμονίας, τὸ δ' ἡγεῖσθαι δυνάμενον βουλευτήριον τῶν ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων ὄχλων: καὶ οὐ δόξη μόνον τοῦτ' εἰκάσαντες, [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ πειραθέντες ἴσμεν. τί οὖν δεδιτόμεθα καὶ πράγματα παρέχομεν ἀλλήλοις; τί δὲ λόγους πονηροὺς λέγομεν χρηστὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες ἐν χερσίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναπτύξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ χεῖρε περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις ἄπιμεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παλαιὰν τέρψιν τῶν ἡδίστων καὶ πόθον ἀπάντων γλυκύτατον ἀποληψόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦμεν ἀσφαλείας ἀγενήτους καὶ πιστεῖς ἀπίστους, ὥσπερ οἱ πολεμιώτατοι καὶ πάντα ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον. ἡμῖν μὲν, ὧς δημόται, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου μία πίστις ἀπόχρη περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἂν ποτε ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς, εἰ κατέλθοιτε, κακοὺς τροφὰς τε ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰς εἰδόσι καὶ [p. 390] ἐπιτηδεύματα νόμιμα τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ἣν πολλάκις ἀπεδείξασθε καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πολέμους. [3] καὶ εἴ τι δι' ἀνάγκην τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐλπίδος τὰ συμβόλαια κοινῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τύχοι, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα πιστεύομεν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὔτε ὄρκων οὔτε ὁμήρων οὔτε ἄλλης πίστεως παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους οὐδεμιᾶς: ὑμῖν μέντοι γε πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀξιουμένων ἐναντιωσόμεθα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πίστεως, ἐφ' ἣ διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς Βροῦτος ἐπεχείρει, ταῦτα ἱκανά. εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῖν φθόνος οὐ δίκαιος ἐγκάθηται πονηρὰ περὶ τῆς βουλῆς διανοεῖσθαι πείθων, βούλομαι τινα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον εἰπεῖν λόγον, ὧς δημόται: καὶ μου πρὸς θεῶν μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ προσοχῆς ἀκούσατε.

ἔοικε πως ἀνθρωπεῖω σώματι πόλις. σύνθετον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν ἔστιν ἑκάτερον: καὶ οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχει ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν οὔτε χρεῖας παρέχεται τὰς ἴσας. [2] εἰ δὴ λάβοι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου σώματος ἰδίαν αἰσθησιν καθ' αὐτὰ καὶ φωνήν, ἔπειτα στάσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι καθ' ἓν γενομένοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα μόνην, καὶ λέγοιεν οἱ μὲν πόδες, ὅτι πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικείται τὸ σῶμα: αἱ δὲ

χειρες, ὅτι τὰς τέχνας ἐργάζονται καὶ τὰπιτήδεια ἐκπορίζουσι καὶ μάχονται πολεμίοις καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὠφελήματα παρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν: οἱ δὲ ὦμοι, ὅτι τὰ ἄχθη πάντα ἐπ' [p. 391] αὐτοῖς κομίζεται: τὸ δὲ στόμα ὅτι φθέγγεται: ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ, ὅτι ὁρᾷ καὶ ἀκούει καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις περιλαβοῦσα πάσας ἔχει, δι' ὧν σώζεται τὸ πρᾶγμα: εἴτα φαῖεν πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα: σὺ δ', ὦ χρηστή, τί τούτων ποιεῖς ἢ τίς ἐστίν ἢ σὴ χάρις ἡμῖν καὶ ὠφέλεια; ἀλλὰ σὺ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέχεις τοῦ πράττειν καὶ συγκατορθοῦν ἡμῖν τι τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπράττεις καὶ ἐνοχλεῖς καί, πρᾶγμα ἀφόρητον, ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ φέρειν ἀπανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν. [3] φέρε, τί οὐ μεταποιούμεθα τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιέμεθα πραγματειῶν, αἷς ἔνεκα ταύτης ὑπομένομεν; εἰ δὴ ταῦτα δόξειεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι δρῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ διαρκέσαι δυνηθεῖν τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν μόρων ἀναλωθεῖν, λιμῷ; οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἄλλως τις εἰπεῖν. [4] τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ὑπολάβετε καὶ περὶ πόλεως. πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ συμπληροῦντα καὶ ταύτην ἔθνη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐοικότα, ὧν ἕκαστον ἰδίαν τινὰ τῷ κοινῷ χρεῖαν ὥσπερ τὰ μέλη τῷ σώματι παρέχεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγροὺς γεωργοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ μάχονται περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, οἱ δ' ἐμπορεῦνται πολλὰς διὰ θαλάσσης ὠφελείας, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐργάζονται τέχνας. εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα πρὸς [p. 392] τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων συνηγμένην διαστασιάσεις καὶ λέγοι: σὺ δ' ἡμῖν, ὦ βουλή, τί ποιεῖς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῖς; οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοις: ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἀπαλλαγησόμεθ' αὐτοῦ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ἥδη ποτὲ καὶ διχ' [5] ἡγεμόνος οἰκήσομεν; εἰ δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθέντες τῶν συνηθῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀποσταῖν, τί κωλύσει ταύτην κακὴν κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ πολέμου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου κακοῦ; μαθόντες οὖν, ὦ δημόται, ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἡ λοιδορουμένη κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν γαστῆρ τρέφει τὸ σῶμα τρεφομένη καὶ σώζει σωζομένη, καὶ ἔστιν ὥσει τις ἐστίασις κοινὴ τὸ πρόσφορον ἀπάντων καὶ τῆς διαλλαγῆς αἴτιον ἀποδιδούσα, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ διοικοῦσα τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἑκάστῳ προνοούμενη βουλή πάντα σώζει καὶ φυλάττει καὶ ἐπανορθοῖ, παύσασθε τὰς ἐπιφθόνους κατ' αὐτῆς φωνὰς λέγοντες, ὡς ἐξεβλήθητε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὡς ἀλῆται καὶ πτωχοὶ περιέρχεσθε δι' αὐτήν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἴργασται δεινὸν οὐδ' ἂν ἐργάσαιτο, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ καλεῖ καὶ ἀντιβολεῖ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῖν ἅμα ταῖς πύλαις ἀναπετάσασα ὑποδέχεται.

τοιαῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Μενηνίου πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα παρ' ὅλην ἐγίγνοντο τὴν δημηγορίαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων φωναί. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτῶν τοῦ λόγου [p. 393] πρὸς ὀλοφυρμοὺς ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰς μελλούσας καθεῖξιν συμφορὰς τοὺς τε ὑπομένοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς ἀπελαννομένους καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν ἀνεκλαύσατο τύχας, δάκρυά θ' ἀπάντων ἐξεχεῖτο καὶ μιᾷ βοῇ συμφρονήσαντες ἀνεβόησαν ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μὴ τριβεῖν τὸν χρόνον: ὀλίγου τε πάνυ ἐδέησαν ἀπιέναι διὰ τάχους ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντες καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν πραγματευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ παρελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπέσχε τὰς

ὀρμάς αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχειν τῷ δήμῳ λέγων, ὅσα ἡ βουλὴ ὑποσχεῖτο, καὶ πολλήν αὐτῇ τῶν συγχωρηθέντων χάριν ἔχειν ἀξιῶν: δεδοικέναι μέντοι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φάσκων καὶ τοὺς αὖθις ποτε τυραννικοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιχειρήσοντας εἰ τῆς, [2] περὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῷ δήμῳ μνησικακεῖν. μίαν δ' εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς δεδοικόσι τοὺς κρείττονας μόνην ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην, εἰ γένοιτο αὐτοῖς φανερόν, ὅτι τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν οὐχ ὑπάρχει δύναμις: ἕως δ' ἂν παρῇ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ πονηρὰ δρᾶν, οὐκ ἐλλείψειν τοῖς πονηροῖς τὸ βούλεσθαι. ταύτης οὖν εἰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι δεήσειν. [3] ὑποτυχόντος δὲ τοῦ Μενηίου καὶ κελεύσαντος λέγειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἥς ἔτι τὸν δῆμον οἶεται δεῖσθαι, συγχωρήσατε, φησὶν, ἡμῖν ἄρχοντας ἀποδεικνύναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν ὅσουσδήτινας, οἵτινες ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενός [p. 394] ἔσονται κύριοι, τοῖς δ' ἀδικουμένοις ἢ κατισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτῶν βοηθήσουσι καὶ οὐ περιόψονται τῶν δικαίων ἀποστεροῦμενον οὐθέντα: τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ἀντιβολοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς δεδώκατε, εἰ μὴ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔργον εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, δοῦναι καὶ χαρίσασθαι.

ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ὡς τούτων ἤκουσε, μεγάλῃ βοῇ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κατεχούσῃ τὸν τε ἄνδρα ἐπήγει, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει συγχωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ τοῦτο. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις μεταστάντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διαλεχθέντες ὀλίγα πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρήσαν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης παρελθὼν ὁ Μενήσιος εἶπε: τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα, ὧς δημόται, μέγα καὶ πολλῶν μεστὸν ὑποψιῶν ἀτόπων: δέος τε καὶ φροντίς ἡμᾶς εἰσέρχεται, μὴ ποτε δύο πόλεις ποιήσωμεν ἐν μιᾷ: πλὴν τὸ γ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι μέρος οὐδὲ πρὸς ταύτην ἐναντιοῦμεθα τὴν δέξιν ὑμῶν. [2] τοῦτο μέντοι χαρίσασθε ἡμῖν, ὃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν: ἐπιτρέψατε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένοις δηλῶσαι τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρ' αὐτῆς ἔχομεν, ὅπως ἂν βουλώμεθα, ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλλαγὰς αὐτοκράτορες ὄντες τῶν ὑποσχέσεων, αὐτοὶ γέ τοι λαβεῖν τοῦτ' οὐ δικαιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἡμῖν ἀπήντηται πρᾶγμα καινόν, ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ συνεδρίῳ φέροντες ἀναθήσομεν: πεπεισμεθα μέντοι κἄκεῖνῳ ταῦτ' ἀδοξεῖν ἅπερ ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐνθάδε μενῶ καὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ τι μέρος τῆς πρεσβείας, Οὐαλέριος δὲ πορεύσεται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν [p. 395] [3] αὐτῷ. ἐδόκει ταῦτα: καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἤλαυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μέλλοντες δηλώσειν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ γενόμενα. προθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπᾶτων λόγον τοῖς συνέδροις, Οὐαλέριου μὲν ἦν γνώμη διδόναι καὶ ταύτην τῷ δήμῳ τὴν χάριν: Ἄππιος δέ, ὅσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠγαντιοῦτο ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντέλεγε βοῶν καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος καὶ, ὅσων μέλλοι σπέρμα κακῶν βαλεῖν, τῇ πολιτείᾳ προλέγων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὠρμηκότας, ὥσπερ εἶπον, διαλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν. γίνεται δὴ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὅσα οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ, πάντα εἶναι κύρια, καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, [4] ἣν ἠτεῖτο, ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦθ' οἱ πρέσβεις διοικησάμενοι τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ διεσάφησαν. μετὰ τοῦτο Μενηίου παραινέσαντος τοῖς δημόταις ἀποστεῖλαι τινὰς εἰς τὴν

πόλιν, οἷς ἡ βουλὴ τὰ πιστὰ δώσει, πέμπεται Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος, ὕπὲρ οὗ πρότερον εἴρηκα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάρκος Δέκιος καὶ Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀφιγμένων οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψαν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν κατέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διαγράψαι παρακληθεὶς τὸν νόμον τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καθ' ὃν ἀποδείξουσι τὰς ἀρχάς.

τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον πεπονημένοι τὰς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 396] Φητιάλεις. νεμηθεὶς δ' ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὰς τότε οὔσας φράτρας, ἥ ὅπως βούλεται τις αὐτὰς προσαγορεύειν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι καλοῦσι κουρίας, ἄρχοντας ἐνιαυσίους ἀποδεικνύουσι τούσδε: Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γάιον Σικίννιον Βελλοῦτον, οὓς καὶ τέως εἶχον ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις Γάιον καὶ Πόπλιον Λικιννίους καὶ Γάιον Οὐίσκέλλιον Ῥοῦγαν. [2] οὗτοι τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτοι παρέλαβον οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ πρότερον εἰδὼν Δεκεμβρίων, ὥσπερ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται. τελεσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τοῖς μὲν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἤκουσι καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει πάντα, περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλησαν: ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν συνεβούλευε τοῖς δημόταις ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀποδείξαι τὴν ἀρχὴν νόμῳ τε καὶ [3] 12 ὄρκῳ βεβαιώσαντας αὐτῇ τὸ ἀσφαλές. ἐδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσι, καὶ γράφεται πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων ὅδε ὁ νόμος: δῆμαρχον ἄκοντα, ὥσπερ ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν, μηδεὶς μηδὲν ἀναγκαζέτω δρᾶν μηδὲ μαστιγούτω μηδ' ἐπιταττέτω μαστιγοῦν ἑτέρῳ μηδ' ἀποκτιννύτω μηδ' ἀποκτείνειν κελευέτω. ἐὰν δὲ τις τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων τι ποιήσῃ, ἐξάγιστος ἔστω, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἱερά, καὶ ὁ κτείνας τινὰ τῶν ταῦτ' [4] εἰργασμένων φόνου καθαρὸς ἔστω. καὶ ἵνα μηδὲ τὸ [p. 397] λοιπὸν τῷ δήμῳ ἐξουσία γένηται καταπαῦσαι τόνδε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἀκίνητος διαμεινῇ, πάντας ἐτάχθη Ῥωμαίους ὁμόσαι καθ' ἱερῶν ἢ μὴν χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, ἀρά τε τῷ ὄρκῳ προσετέθη, τοῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦσι τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς οὐρανίους ἕως εἶναι καὶ δαίμονας τοὺς καταχθονίους, τοῖς δὲ παραβαίνουσιν ἐναντία καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ δαιμόνων ὡς ἄγει τῷ μεγίστῳ ἐνόχοις. ἐκ τούτων κατέστη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος τὰ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα ἱερά εἶναι καὶ παναγῇ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διαμένει.

ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, βωμὸν κατεσκεύασαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας, ἐν ἣ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος αὐτοὺς τότε δειματος ὠνόμασαν, ὡς ἡ πάτριος αὐτῶν σημαίνει γλῶσσα, Διὸς Δειματίου: ᾧ θυσίας ἐπιτελέσαντες καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον αὐτοὺς τόπον ἱερὸν ἀνέντες, κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. [2] ἀποδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς χαριστήρια, καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους πείσαντες ἐπικυρῶσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχον, ἐδεήθησαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσιν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν δύο καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι τοὺς ὑπηρετήσοντας τοῖς δημάρχοις ὅσων ἂν δέωνται καὶ δίκας, ἃς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωνται ἐκεῖνοι, κρινοῦντας ἱερῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων τόπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίας [p. 398] [3]

ἐπιμελησομένους. λαβόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ συγχώρημα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἄνδρας, οὓς ὑπηρετάς τῶν δημάρχων καὶ συνάρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἐκάλουν. νῦν μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν ἀφ' ἑνὸς ὧν πράττουσιν ἔργων ἱερῶν τόπων ἐπιμεληταὶ καλοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκέθ' ὑπηρετικὴν ἐτέρων ἔχουσιν, ὡς πρότερον, ἐπιτέτραπται δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἑοικασί πως κατὰ τὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀγορανόμοις.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστη τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἐκομίσαστο ἡ πόλις, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων στρατιὰ κατελέγετο πολλὴν εἰσενεγκαμένου προθυμίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου πάντα τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια εὐτρεπῇ ποιήσαντος. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων διακληρωσαμένων περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, Σπόριος μὲν Κάσσιος, ὃς ἔλαχε τὴν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὑπέμεινε μέρος τῆς κατειλεγμένης δυνάμεως τὸ ἄρκοῦν λαβών· Πόστουμος δὲ Κομίνιος ἐξῆγε τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιάν Ῥωμαίων τ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἄγων μοῖραν καὶ Λατίνων τι συμμαχικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον. ^[2] κρίνας δὲ Οὐολούσκοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πρῶτοις πόλιν αὐτῶν Λογγόλαν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνεται, ἐπιβαλομένων μὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μεταποιεῖσθαι τινος ἀρετῆς καὶ τινα στρατιάν ὑπαίθριον ἀποστειλάντων, ἧ τοὺς ἐπὶόντας ἀνείρξειν ^[p. 399] ἐπίστευον, αἰσχυρῶς δ' ἀναγκασθέντων φυγεῖν πρὶν ἢ λαμπρόν τι ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ γενναῖον οὐδὲν διαπραξαμένων. μιᾷ γοῦν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τε γῆς αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν ἄκοντι καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον. ^[3] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς τὰ τ' ἐγκαταληφθέντα χρήματα διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφείς καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' ἐτέραν πόλιν τῶν Οὐολούσκων, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Πόλουσκα, διάστημα δ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς Λογγόλας ἀπέχει. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ τολμήσαντος ὑπαντῆσαι διανύσας τὴν χώραν κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσι· τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς πύλας διακόψαντες, οἱ δὲ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες, αὐθημερόν γίνονται καὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως κύριοι. ^[4] ὡς δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐπιλέξας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσει ζημιώσας καὶ ὅπλα ἀφελόμενος, Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἠνάγκασεν ὑπηκούου.

καταλιπὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ βραχεῖαν τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν ἕνεκα φυλακῆς, τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κοριόλαν, πόλιν ἐπιφανῆ σφόδρα καὶ ὥσπερ ἂν μητρόπολιν τῶν Οὐολούσκων· ἔνθα καὶ δύναμις ἦν συνειλεγμένη καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐ ῥάδιον ἀλῶναι τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ἔνδον ἐκ πολλοῦ. ^[p. 400] ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ μέχρι δείλης ὀφίας ἀποκρούεται πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολέσας. ^[2] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κριοὺς τε καὶ γέρρα καὶ κλίμακας εὐτρεπισάμενος παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πειρασόμενος τῆς πόλεως, ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι πολλῇ χειρὶ μέλλουσιν Ἀντιάται βοηθεῖν τοῖς Κοριολανοῖς κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐν ὁδῷ ἤδη, μερίσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν τῷ μὲν ἡμίσει

τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω Τίτον Λάρκιον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, [3] 13 τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ κωλύειν τοὺς ἐπόντας διενоеῖτο. καὶ γίνονται δύο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀγῶνες: Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ἐνίκων ἀπάντων μὲν προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένων, ἐνὸς δ’ ἀνδρὸς ἄπιστον ἀρετὴν καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονας ἀποδειξαμένου πράξεις, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν πατρικίων καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμεων πατέρων, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Γάιος Μάρκιος, σῶφρων δὲ τὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν βίον ἀνὴρ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθέρου μεστός. ἐγένετο δ’ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐκατέρας μάχης τοιόσδε: ὁ μὲν Λάρκιος ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἅμ’ ἡμέρα προσῆγε τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς Κοριόλας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς: οἱ δὲ Κοριοῖοι μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀντιατῶν βοήθειᾳ, ἦν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ σφίσι παρέσεσθαι ἐπίστευον, ἀνοιξαντες ἀπάσας τὰς πύλας ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρόοι. [4] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐδέξαντο καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς τοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἔδοσαν, ἔπειτα πλειόνων ἐπόντων ὠθούμενοι κατὰ πρानοῦς χωρίου ἐνέκλιναν. [p. 401] τοῦτο κατιδὼν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρότερον ἔφην, ἴσταται σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ δέχεται τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τῶν πολεμίων στίφος: καταβαλὼν δὲ συχνοὺς αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐνέκλιναν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον, ἠκολούθει κτείνων αἰετὸς ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐπικελευόμενος τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν σφετέρων ἀναστρέφειν τε καὶ θαρρεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι. [5] οἱ δ’ αἰδεδέντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνέστρεφον αὖθις καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέκειντο παίοντες καὶ διώκοντες, καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου χρόνου τοὺς συμπλακέντας ἕκαστοι τρεψάμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς τείχεσι: καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος θρασύτερον ἤδη κινδυνεύων προσωτέρω μᾶλλον ἐχώρει καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς γενόμενος ταῖς πύλαις συνεισέπιπτε τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. συνεισπεσόντων δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως φόνος ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πολὺς: τῶν μὲν ἀνὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς, τῶν δὲ περὶ ταῖς ἀλίσκομέναις οἰκίαις μαχομένων. [6] συνελάμβανον δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τοῖς ἔνδον καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν βάλλουσαι τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς καλυπτῆρσι, καὶ καθ’ ὅσον ἐκάστω τις ἰσχὺς καὶ δύναμις ἦν προθύμως ἐβοήθουν τῇ πατρίδι. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺν γε χρόνον τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ’ ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐτράποντο καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλουν [p. 402] προσκείμενοι ταῖς ὠφελείαις χρημάτων τε πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἀνδραπόδων,

ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ὑποστὰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ λαμπρότατος ἀπάντων γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς τείχους ἀγῶσι, λαμπρότερος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιάτας συστάντι ἐφάνη. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτης ἐδικαίωσεν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς μάχης, ἀλλ’ ἅμα τῷ κρατηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἀκολουθησάαι δυνηθέντας ἐπαγόμενος ἐχώρει δρόμῳ, καὶ καταλαβὼν παρατεταγμένας ἤδη τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ μελλούσας εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι, τὴν τε ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος ἀναγγέλλει τοῖς σφετέροις, τεκμήριον αὐτῆς ἀποδεικνὺς τὸν καπνόν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπρησθεισῶν οἰκίῶν πολὺς ἐφέρετο, καὶ δεθηεῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον τῶν πολεμίων εἰλεῖτο. [2] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ

σημεῖα ἦρθη τῆς μάχης, πρῶτος ὁμοσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐχώρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἀποκτείνας εἰς μέσσην αὐτῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ὠθεῖται. οἱ δ' Ἀντιάται συστάδην μὲν οὐκέτι μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἐξέλειπον τὰς τάξεις καθ' οὗς γένοιτο ἐπιών, κύκλῳ δὲ περιστάντο ἄθροοι καὶ ἔβαλλον ὑποχωροῦντες ἐπιόντα τε καὶ ἐπόμενον. ὁ δὲ Πόστουμος ὡς ἔγνω [p. 403] τοῦτο, δείσας μὴ τι μονωθεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ πάθῃ, τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν νέων ἀρωγοὺς αὐτῷ πέμπει: κάκεῖνοι ποιήσαντες πυκνοὺς τοὺς λόχους ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν κατὰ μέτωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν τραπέντων, προσωτέρω προχωροῦντες εὐρίσκουσι τὸν Μάρκιον τραυμάτων μεστὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὀρώσι νεκροὺς τε κειμένους πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμιθανεῖς. ^[3] μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη κοινῶς ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνα τὸν Μάρκιον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔπι διαμένοντας ἐν τάξει, κτείνοντες τοὺς ὑφισταμένους καὶ ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις παραχρῶμενοι. ἄξιοι μὲν δὴ λόγου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένοντο, κράτιστοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ προασπίσαντες τὸν Μάρκιον: ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρκιος, ὃς καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀναμφιλόγως αἰτιώτατος ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεσκοτάζεν ἤδη, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ φρονοῦντες καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνηρηκότες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν, πολλοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντες.

τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας ὁ Πόστουμος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ Μαρκίου διεξῆλθε πολὺν καὶ στεφάνοις αὐτὸν ἀριστείοις ἀνέδθησεν ἀμφοτέρων χαριστήρια τῶν ἀγώνων ἀποδιδούς. ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ πολεμιστῇ στρατηγικοῖς ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένῳ καὶ δέκα σώμασιν αἰχμαλώτοις, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ποιήσας, οὓς βούλοιτο λαβεῖν, ἀργυρίῳ τε, [p. 404] ὅσον ἂν ἐξενέγκασθαι δύναιτο αὐτός, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης λείας πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς ἀπαρχαῖς. ^[2] βοῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐξ ἁπάντων μεγάλης, ὡς ἂν ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ συνηδομένων, προσελθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος τῷ τε ὑπάτῳ χάριν εἰδέναι μεγάλην ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς, ὧν αὐτὸν ἤξιουν: οὐ μέντοι καταχρήσεσθαι γ' αὐταῖς, ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι δὲ τῷ θ' ἵππῳ τῆς λαμπρότητος τῶν σημείων ἔνεκεν καὶ ἐνὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ, ὃς ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πρότερον ἀγάμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γενναιότητος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασαν τῆς ὑπεροφίας τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι μετρίως ἦνεγκε τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν. ἐκ τούτου Κοριολανὸς ἐπεκλήθη τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ πάντων ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιφανέστατος. ^[3] τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιάτας μάχης τοῦτο λαβούσης τὸ τέλος αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Οὐολούσκων πόλεις διελύοντο τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔχθραν, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ὅμοια ἐκείνοις ἐφρόνουν, οἱ τ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤδη ὄντες, καὶ οἱ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέπαυντο. οἷς ἅπασιν ὁ Πόστουμος ἐπεικῶς χρησάμενος, ἀνέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ διαφῆκε τὴν στρατιάν. Κάσσιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν νεῶν τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Κόρης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ καθιέρωσεν, ὃς ἐστίν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρμασι τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἵπποδρόμων ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἰδρυμένος τὰς ἀφέςεις, εὐξαμένου μὲν αὐτὸν Αὐλοῦ Ποστουμίου τοῦ [p. 405] δικτάτορος ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀναθήσειν τοῖς θεοῖς, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Λατίνων στρατιάν, τῆς τε βουλῆς μετὰ τὸ

νίκημα τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένης ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ποιήσασθαι πᾶσαν, τότε δὲ τοῦ ἔργου λαβόντος τὴν συντέλειαν.

ἐγένοντο δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις ἀπάσας συνθήκαι καιναὶ μεθ' ὄρκων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας, ἐπειδὴ παρακινήσαι τ' οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐν τῇ στάσει, καὶ συνηδόμενοι τῇ καθόδῳ τοῦ δήμου φανεροὶ ἦσαν, τοῦ τε πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἐτοιμῶς ἐδόκουν συνάρασθαι. [2] ἦν δὲ τὰ γραφέντα ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις τοιαύδε: Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις εἰρήνη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔστω, μέχρις ἂν οὐρανὸς τε καὶ γῆ τὴν αὐτὴν στάσιν ἔχωσι: καὶ μήτ' αὐτοὶ πολεμεῖτωσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μήτ' ἄλλοθεν πολέμους ἐπαγέτωσαν, μήτε τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι πόλεμον ὁδοὺς παρεχέτωσαν ἀσφαλεῖς βοηθεῖτωσάν τε τοῖς πολемуμένοις ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει, λαφύρων τε καὶ λείας τῆς ἐκ πολέμων κοινῶν τὸ ἴσον λαγχανέτωσαν μέρος ἑκάτεροι: τῶν τ' ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων αἱ κρίσεις ἐν ἡμέραις γιγνέσθωσαν δέκα, παρ' οἷς ἂν γένηται τὸ συμβόλαιον. ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ταύταις μηδὲν ἐξέστω προσθεῖναι μηδ' ἀφελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὃ τι ἂν μὴ Ῥωμαῖοις τε καὶ Λατίνοις ἅπασι δοκῇ. [3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Λατῖνοι [p. 406] συνέθηκαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόσαντες καθ' ἱερῶν. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ θυσίας ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἡ βουλὴ χαριστηρίους ἐπὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλλαγαῖς, προσθεῖσα μίαν ἡμέραν ταῖς καλουμέναις Λατίναις ἑορταῖς δυσὶν οὔσαις, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἀνιερῶσαντος βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνίκησε Τυρρηνοῦς: τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τοῦ δήμου προσθέντος, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν ἐλευθέραν ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν: αἷς ἡ τρίτῃ τότε προσενεμήθη τῆς καθόδου τῶν ἀποστάντων 14 ἔνεκα. [4] τὴν δὲ προστασίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένων θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἀγώνων οἱ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπηρεταὶ παρέλαβον, οἱ τὴν νῦν ἀγορανομικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κοσμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πορφύρα καὶ θρόνῳ ἐλεφαντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις, οἷς εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς.

οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν ὑπατικῶν εἰς Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, ὁ νικήσας Σαβίνους καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν θρίαμβον ἐπιφανέστατον καταγαγὼν, ὃ πεισθεῖσα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κάθοδον ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς φυγάσι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος πιστεύσας ἀπέστη τῶν ὄπλων: καὶ αὐτὸν ἔθαψεν ἡ πόλις δημοσίᾳ καὶ καλλίστῃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ ταφῇ. οὐσία γὰρ οὐκ ἦν τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰς μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐκκομιδῆς καὶ ταφῆς ἀποχρῶσα: ὥστε [p. 407] καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ὡς ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν εὐτελῶς ἐκκομίσαι τε καὶ [2] θάψαι. οὐ μέντοι γε ὁ δῆμος εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὰ διελθόντες ἐγκώμια τῶν τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, τὴν τε σωφροσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν εἰς χρηματισμὸν ἐγκράτειαν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἄραντες τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, αἰσχιστον ἔφησαν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων ἄνδρα τηλικούτου ἀσῆμου καὶ ταπεινῆς κηδείας τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν: παρήνευσάν τε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δαπάνην ἀναδέξασθαι, καὶ συνεισενεγκεῖν κατ' ἄνδρα, ὅσον ἂν αὐτοῖς [3] τάξωσι. τοῖς δ' ἀκούσασιν ἄσμενον ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτίκα φέροντος ἑκάστου τὸ ταχθὲν πολὺ τι χρῆμα συνήχθη διαφόρου. μαθοῦσα δὲ

τοῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ δι' αἰσχύνῃς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβε καὶ ἔκρινε μὴ κατ' ἄνδρα ἐρανισμῷ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον Ῥωμαίων περιιδεῖν θαπτόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐδικαίωσε τὸ ἀνάλωμα γενέσθαι τοῖς ταμίαις ἐπιτρέψασα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. οἱ δὲ πολλῶν πάνυ μισθώσαντες χρημάτων τὰς παροχὰς κόσμῳ τε πολυτελεστάτῳ κοσμήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιχορηγήσαντες εἰς μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς. [4] ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ δῆμος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠξίωσε τὸ συνεισενεχθὲν διάφορον ἀποδιδόντων τῶν ταμιῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἰκτεῖρων τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ἐπιτηδεύσωσι [p. 408] τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετῆς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τίμησις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ὑπᾶτων: ἐξ ἧς εὐρέθησαν ὑπὲρ ἔνδεκα πάντων μυριάδες αἱ τιμησάμεναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας πραχθέντα Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτ' ἦν

BOOK VII

Τίτου δὲ Γεγανίου Μακερίνου καὶ Ποπλίου Μηνυκίου τὴν ὕπατον ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων σίτου σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχευεν ἐκ τῆς ἀποστάσεως λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῶν πατρικίων μετὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ σπόρου: ἐξέλιπον δὲ τὴν χώραν οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κινήσει καὶ διέστησαν οἱ μὲν εὐχερέστεροι πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ θητικὸν μέρος ὡς τοὺς δημοτικούς: καὶ διέμειναν ἐξ ἐκείνου χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ὄντες, ἕως οὗ κατέστη καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ πόλις εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον διαλλαγείσα τῆς [p. 2]

[2] χειμερινῆς τροπῆς. τὸν δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πᾶς ἐπιτελεῖται σπὸρος ὠραίος, ἔρημος ἡ χώρα τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διετέλεσεν, ὥστε μηδὲ κατελθοῦσι τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἔτι ῥάδιον εἶναι δούλων τ' ἀποστάσει καὶ κτηνῶν ὀλέθρῳ, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον ἐργάζεσθαι κεκακωμένην, ἀφορμῆς τ' οὐ πολλοῖς εἰς τὸν ἐπὶόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπαρχούσης οὔτε σπερμάτων οὔτε τροφῆς. [3] ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα πρέσβεις διεπέμπετο πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Καμπανοὺς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πωμεντίνον πεδῖον σῖτον ὅσον ἂν δύναιτο πλεῖστον ὠνησομένους: Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος καὶ Λεύκιος Γεγάνιος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, Οὐαλέριος μὲν υἱὸς ὧν Ποπλικόλα, Γεγάνιος δὲ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀδελφός. [4] τύραννοι δὲ τότε κατὰ πόλεις μὲν ἦσαν, ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους νεωστὶ τὴν Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τυραννίδα παρειληφώς, οὐχὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακοῦσιος, ὡς Λικίνιος γέγραφε καὶ Γέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφέων οὐθὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἀκριβῶς, ὡς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦργον, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ τὸ προστυχὸν ἀποφαινόμενοι. [5] ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποδειχθεῖσα πρεσβεία κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξέπλευσεν ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ὑβριλίδου, ἐπτακαίδεκα διελθόντων ἐτῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων, ὡς οὗτοι τε καὶ [p. 3] οἱ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες συγγραφεῖς ὁμολογοῦσι: Διονύσιος δ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὀγδοηκοστῶ καὶ πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτει Συρακουσίοις ἐπαναστὰς κατέσχε τὴν τυραννίδα κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ μετ' [6] Ἀντιγένῃ. ὀλίγοις μὲν οὖν ἔτεσι διαμαρτεῖν τῶν χρόνων δοίη τις ἂν ἱστορικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαίας καὶ πολυετεῖς συνταττομένοις πραγματείας, γενεαῖς δὲ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ὄλαις ἀποπλανηθῆναι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ὠρογραφίαις τοῦτο καταχωρίσας, ᾧ πάντες ἠκολούθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ, τοσοῦτο μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις εὐρῶν ἀναγραφαῖς, ὅτι πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς Σικελίαν σῖτον ὠνησόμενοι καὶ παρῆσαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄγοντες ἦν ὁ τύραννος ἔδωκε δωρεάν, οὐκέτι μὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξετάσαι συγγραφέων, ὅστις ἦν τύραννος τότε Σικελίας, ἀβασανίστως δὲ πως καὶ κατὰ τὸ προστυχὸν θεῖναι τὸν Διονύσιον.

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σικελίας πλείοντες πρέσβεις χειμῶνι χρῆσάμενοι κατὰ

θάλατταν καὶ κύκλῳ τὴν νῆσον περιπλεῖν ἀναγκασθέντες χρόνιοι τε κατήχθησαν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐκεῖ διατρίψαντες ὥραν μετὰ θέρος ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Ἰταλίαν πολλὰς κομίζοντες ἀγοράς. [2] οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ Πωμεντῖνον ἀποστολέντες πεδίον ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησαν ὡς κατάσκοποι πρὸς τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀναιρεθῆναι διαβληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ [p. 4] Ῥώμης φυγάδων, χαλεπῶς δὲ πάνυ διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἰδιοξένων αὐτὰ διασῶσαι δυνηθέντες τὰ σώματα, δίχα τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄπρακτοι. [3] ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις συνέβη παθεῖν καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλιῶτιν ἀφικομένοις Κύμην. καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων διατρίβοντες, οἱ σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης φυγάδες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαιτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπεχείρησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἀποτυχόντες δὲ τούτου ῥύσια κατασχέειν ταῦτα τὰ σώματα παρὰ τῆς ἀπεστολκυίας πόλεως ἤξιουν, ἕως ἀπολάβωσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν οὐσίας, ἃς ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀδίκως δεδημεῦσθαι, καὶ ταύτης ὥντο δεῖν τῆς δίκης τὸν τύραννον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι κριτὴν. [4] ὁ δὲ τυραννῶν τότε τῆς Κύμης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ Ἀριστοκράτους, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἔνεκα γένους, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Μαλακὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ γνωριμώτεραν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔσχε τὴν κλῆσιν, εἶθ' ὅτι θηλυδρίας ἐγένετο παῖς ὦν καὶ τὰ γυναιξὶν ἀρμόττοντα ἔπασχεν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι τινες, εἶθ' ὅτι πρῶτος ἦν φύσει καὶ μαλακὸς εἰς ὀργήν, ὡς ἕτεροι γράφουσιν. [5] ἀφορμαῖς δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁποῖαις ἐχρήσατο καὶ τίνας ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς καὶ πῶς διώκησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστροφῆς θ' ὁποῖας ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἄκαιρον εἶναι δοκῶ μικρὸν ἐπιστήσας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διήγησιν: κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξελεθεῖν. [p. 5]

ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Μιλτιάδου Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἣν Ἐρετριεῖς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἔκτισαν, Τυρρηνῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον κατοικοῦντες ἐκεῖθεν θ' ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐξελασθέντες σὺν χρόνῳ, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ὀμβρικοὶ τε καὶ Δαῦνιοι καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνελεῖν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν πρόφασιν τοῦ μίσους δικαίαν ὅτι μὴ [2] τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς πόλεως. ἦν γὰρ Κύμη κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους περιβόητος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πλοῦτου τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν γῆν τε κατέχουσα τῆς Καμπανῶν πεδιάδος τὴν πολυκαρποτάτην καὶ λιμένων κρατοῦσα τῶν περὶ Μισσηνὸν ἐπικαιροτάτων. τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντήκοντα μυριάδων, ἵππεῖς δὲ δυεῖν χιλιάδων ἀποδέοντες εἶναι δισμύριοι. ἐστρατοπεδευκόσι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τέρας γίνεται θαυμαστόν, οἷον ἐν οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ μνημονεύεται γενόμενον οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος οὐτε βαρβάρου γῆς οὐδαμῶθι. [3] οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα ῥέοντες αὐτῶν ποταμοί, Οὐολτοῦρνος ὄνομα θατέρῳ, τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ Γλάνις, ἀφέντες τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ὁδοὺς ἀνέστρεψαν τὰ νάματα καὶ μέχρι [p. 6] πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἀναχωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς. [4] τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ Κυμαῖοι τότε ἑθάρρησαν ὁμόσε τοῖς βαρβάροις χωρεῖν ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου ταπεινὰ μὲν τὰ κείνων μετέωρα

θήσοντος, ὕψηλὰ δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι σφῶν ταπεινά. νείμαντες δὲ τὴν ἐν ἄκμῃ δύναμιν ἅπασαν τριχῇ, μιᾷ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρούρουν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ τὰς ναῦς εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐδέχοντο. τούτων ἵππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐξακόσιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντάκόσιοι· καὶ οὕτως ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀλίγοι τὰς τοσαύτας ὑπέστησαν μυριάδας.

ὥς δὲ κατέμαθον αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους, ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρουν ὁμοσε τὸν βάρβαρον τρόπον ἄνευ κόσμου πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς ἀναμῖξ ὥς ἅπαντας ἀναρπασόμενοι. ἦν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοις, αὐλῶν στενὸς ὄρεσι καὶ λίμναις περικλειόμενος, τῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ τῶν Κυμαίων σύμμαχος, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων πολέμιος. [2] ἀνατρεπόμενοι γὰρ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συμπατοῦμενοι πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ τέλματα τῆς λίμνης, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους διεφθάρησαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν πεζὸς αὐτῶν στρατὸς ὁ πολὺς περὶ ἐαυτῷ σφαιεῖς, ἔργον δὲ γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενος, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διασκεδασθεὶς ἔφυγεν· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς συνῆλθον μὲν ὁμοσε καὶ πολὺν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὗτοι παρέσχον [p. 7] πόνον. ἀδύνατοι δ' ὄντες κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ στενοχωρίαν, καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου κεραυνοῖς καὶ ὕδασι καὶ βρονταῖς συναγωνισαμένου τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. [3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πάντες μὲν οἱ τῶν Κυμαίων ἵππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὗτοι μάλιστα ὠμολογοῦντο αἵτιοι γενέσθαι, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Μαλακὸς ἐπικαλούμενος· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολεμίων οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μόνος ὑποστὰς καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. λυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἀποδόντες οἱ Κυμαῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταφάς τῶν ἀποθανόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρὰς ποιησάμενοι περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων, ὅτῳ χρὴ τὸν πρῶτον ἀποδοῦναι στέφανον, εἰς πολλὴν κατέστησαν ἔριν. [4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκέραιοι κριταὶ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἐβούλοντο τιμῆσαι, καὶ ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἅπας μετ' ἐκείνου· οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ τὸν ἱππάρχην Ἱππομέδοντα, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα τούτῳ συνελάμβανεν· ἦν δ' ἀριστοκρατικὴ τότε παρὰ τοῖς Κυμαίοις ἡ πολιτεία, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐ πολλῶν πινων κύριος. στάσεως δὲ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἔριν ἀνισταμένης δεισαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, μὴ πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ φόνους χωρήσῃ τὸ φιλότιμον, ἔπεισαν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τάξεις συγχωρῆσαι τὰς ἴσας λαβεῖν τιμὰς ἐκάτερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν. [5] ἀπὸ ταύτης γίνεται τῆς ἀρχῆς δήμου προστάτης ὁ Μαλακὸς Ἀριστόδημος καὶ λόγου πολιτικοῦ δύναμιν ἀσκήσας ἐξεδημαγῶγει τὸ πλῆθος, πολιτεύμασι [p. 8] τε κεχαρισμένοις ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ τοὺς σφετεριζομένους τὰ κοινὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐξελέγχων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ χρημάτων πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων εὖ ποιῶν· καὶ ἦν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπαχθὴς καὶ φοβερός.

εἰκοστῷ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης ἦλθον ὥς τοὺς Κυμαίους Ἀρικηνῶν πρέσβεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαῖς ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς βοηθῆσαι σφίσιν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν πολεμουμένοις. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἃς ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν Πορσίνας,

τὸν υἱὸν Ἄρροντα δοὺς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔπεμψεν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν κτήσασθαι βουλόμενον, ὥς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα λόγοις: ὃς ἐπολιόρκει τότε τοὺς Ἀρικηνοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν ὤετο. [2] ταύτης τῆς πρεσβείας ἀφικομένης οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας μισοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστόδημον καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ τι κακὸν ἐξεργάσῃται περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, κάλλιστον ὑπέλαβον εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐκποδῶν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι σὺν εὐσχήμονι προφάσει. πείσαντες δὴ τὸν δῆμον ἀποστεῖλαι Ἀρικηνοῖς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξαντες τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ὥς δὴ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρόν, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, ἐξ ὧν ἡ κατακοπήσεσθαι μαχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανον ἢ κατὰ πέλαγος διαφθαρῆσεσθαι. [3] γενόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς κύριοι καταλέξαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐξελευσόμενους τῶν μὲν [p. 9] ἐπσῆμων καὶ λόγου ἀξίων οὐδένα κατέγραψαν, ἐπιλέξαντες δὲ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους τε καὶ πονηροτάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ τινὰς ὑπώπτευον νεωτερισμοὺς, ἐκ τούτων συνεπλήρωσαν τὸν ἀπόστολον: καὶ ναῦς δέκα παλαιὰς κάκιστα πλεούσας καθελκύσαντες, ὧν ἑτρηράρχουν οἱ πενέστατοι Κυμαίων, εἰς ταύτας αὐτοὺς ἐνεβίβασαν θάνατον ἀπειλήσαντες, ἐάν τις ἀπολειφθῇ τῆς στρατείας.

ὁ δ' Ἀριστόδημος τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν μόνον, ὥς οὐ λέληθεν αὐτὸν ἡ διάνοια τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτὸν ἀποστελλουσιν, ἔργῳ δ' εἰς προὔπτον ὄλεθρον, δέχεται μὲν τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀναχθεὶς δ' ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν διὰ ταχέων καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ πέλαγος ἐπιπόνως καὶ κινδυνωδῶς διανύσας ὁρμίζεται κατὰ τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀρικείας αἰγιαλοὺς: καὶ καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φυλακὴν ἀποκρῶσαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ὁδὸν οὐ πολλὴν οὔσαν διανύσας ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Ἀρικηνοῖς περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀπροσδόκητος. [2] θέμενος δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα καὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὰ τεῖχη πείσας προελθεῖν εἰς ὑπαιθρον προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς εὐθύς εἰς μάχην. γενομένου δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγῶνος καρτεροῦ οἱ μὲν Ἀρικηνοὶ βραχὺν πάνυ διαμείναντες χρόνον ἐνέκλιναν ἄθροοι, καὶ γίνεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν φυγὴ: ὁ δ' Ἀριστόδημος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάσι Κυμαίων ὀλίγοις οὔσι πᾶν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου [p. 10] βάρος ὑποστάς καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνας τρέπει τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ [3] νίκην ἀναιρεῖται πασῶν λαμπροτάτην. διαπραξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν πολλαῖς δωρεαῖς ἀπέπλει διὰ ταχέων αὐτὸς ἄγγελος τοῖς Κυμαίοις τῆς αὐτοῦ νίκης βουλόμενος γενέσθαι: εἶποντο δ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ πάνυ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν ὀλκάδες τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἄγουσαι. [4] ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς Κύμης, ὁρμίσας τὰς ναῦς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιεῖται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν προεστηκόντων τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσας, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀνδραγαθησάντων κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπαίνους διελθὼν ἀργυρίον τε διαδοὺς αὐτοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν δωρεὰς εἰς κοινὸν ἅπασι καταθεῖς ἡξίου μεμνησθαι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃν καταπλευρώσωσιν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ἂν τις αὐτῷ ποτε συμβαίνει κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὥς δύναμις ἐκάστω βοηθεῖν. [5]

ἀπάντων δὲ πολλὰς ὁμολογούντων αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναι τῆς τ' ἀνελπίστου σωτηρίας, ἣν δι' ἐκείνον ἔσχον, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὐ σὺν κεναῖς χερσὶν ἀρίζεως, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς θᾶπτον ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου προήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγεिलाμένων, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναιοτάτους δωρεῶν τε δόσει καὶ λόγων φιланθρωπίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἅπαντας ἐξαπατώσας ἐλπίσι διαφθείρας, [p. 11] ἐτοιμοὺς ἔσχε συγκαταλῦσαι τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν.

οὗς συνεργοὺς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς λαβὼν καὶ ἃ δεήσει πράττειν ἐκάστοις ὑποθέμενος τοῖς τ' αἰχμαλώτοις, οὗς ἐπήγετο, προῖκα δοὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὖνοιαν προσλάβῃ, κατέπλει κεκοσμημέναις ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τοὺς τῶν Κυμαίων λιμένας. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατευομένων πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη συγγένεια, παιδιά τε καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες, ὑπήντων ἐξιούσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρύων περιπλεκόμενοι καὶ καταφιλοῦντες καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις ἑκαστον ἀνακαλοῦμενοι προσηγορίαις. [2] καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ πλῆθὺς ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπανα χαρᾷ καὶ κρότῳ δεξιουμένη τὸν ἡγεμόνα προὔπεμπεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπίοντα. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως ἀνιώμενοι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ παραδόντες καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον μηχανησάμενοι, πονηροὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος εἶχον διαλογισμοὺς. [3] ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδου τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς ὑστεριζούσας ὀλκάδας ἀνεδέχετο, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, ἔφη βούλεσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λάφυρα ἀποδεῖξαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὁ μὲν ἐδημηγόρει παρελθὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τὴν μάχην διεξήει, οἱ δὲ παρασκευασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεργοὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἔχοντες ὑπὸ [p. 12] τοῖς ἱματίοις ξίφη κατὰ πλῆθος εἰσδραμόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀποσφάττουσιν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικούς. [4] φυγὴ δ' ἐγένετο μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δρόμος, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, τῶν δ' ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, πλὴν τῶν συνειδότεων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν: οὗτοι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελάμβανον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ λῦσας ἐκ τῶν δεσμοτηρίων τοὺς ἐπιθανάτιους πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ καθοπλίσας ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν καὶ οἱ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αἰχμαλῶτοι, φυλακὴν ἐκ τούτων καθίσταται περὶ τὸ σῶμα. [5] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν κατηγορίαν διαθέμενος τῶν φονευθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἔφη τετιμωρῆσθαι σὺν δίκῃ πολλακίς ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν φέρων παρεῖναι καὶ ἰσηγορίαν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἅπαντας ἐμπλήσας ἐλπίδων τοὺς δημοτικούς δύο τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καθίσταται πολιτευμάτων, οἷς ἅπανα χρῆται προοιμίους τυραννίς, γῆς ἀναδασμὸν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσιν: τούτων δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑποσχεῖται ποιήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἕως ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ κοινὰ γένηται καὶ δημοκρατικὴν [p. 13] [2] καταστήσονται πολιτείαν. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ

δημοτικοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ πλήθους τὴν ἄρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν δεξαμένον λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕτερον ἐπιφέρει βούλευμα, δι' οὗ παρακρουσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. σκηψάμενος γὰρ ὑποπτεῦν ταραχὰς καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων εἰς τοὺς δημοτικούς διὰ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς τῶν δανείων ἀφέσεις, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος μηδὲ φόνοι πολιτικοί, μίαν εὐρίσκειν ἔφη πρὶν εἰς τὰ δεινὰ ἐλθεῖν φυλακὴν, εἰ τὰ ὅπλα προενέγκαντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἅπαντες τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερώσειαν, ἵνα κατὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπόντων πολεμίων ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἀνάγκη τις καταλάβῃ, χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν, κεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὰ τέως παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν καλῷ.
[3] ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπέισθησαν, αὐθημερὸν ἀπάντων παρελόμενος Κυμαίων τὰ ὅπλα ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἐν αἷς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποκτείνας τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδειξάντας τὰ ὅπλα, μετὰ ταῦτα φυλακαῖς τρισὶ κρατύνεται τὴν τυραννίδα: ὧν ἦν μία μὲν ἐκ τῶν ῥυπαρωτάτων τε καὶ πονηροτάτων πολιτῶν, μεθ' ὧν κατέλυσε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν πολιτείαν, ἑτέρα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων δούλων, οὗς αὐτὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν ἀποκτείναντας τοὺς αὐτῶν δεσπότας, τρίτη δὲ μισθοφόρος ἐκ τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων: οὗτοι δισχιλίῳ οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολέμια μακρῷ τῶν [p. 14] [4] ἄλλων ἀμείνους. ὧν δ' ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνδρῶν τὰς εἰκόνας ἀνελὼν ἐκ παντὸς ἱεροῦ καὶ βεβήλου τόπου, φέρων εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους τὰς ἰδίας ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἀνέστησεν: οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλήρους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ὑπαρξιν ἀναλαβὼν, ἐξελόμενος χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τυραννίδος ἦν ἄξιον κτῆμα, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς συγκατασκευάσασι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχαρίσατο, πλείστας δὲ καὶ μεγίστας δωρεὰς τοῖς ἀποκτείνασι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν δεσπότας ἐδίδου: οἱ δ' ἠξιοῦν ἔτι καὶ γυναιξὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θυγατράσι συνοικεῖν.

γενεὰν δὲ τῶν πεφονευμένων τὴν ἄρρενα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν οὐθενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος, ὕστερον εἶτ' ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινὸς εἶτε καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λογισμὸν οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ δέος ὑποτρέφεσθαι νομίσας ἐπεχείρησε [2] μὲν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πᾶσαν ἀπολέσαι: δεήσει δὲ πολλῇ χρησαμένων ἀπάντων, παρ' οἷς ἔτυχον αἱ τε μητέρες αὐτῶν οὖσαι καὶ οἱ παῖδες τρεφόμενοι, χαρίσασθαι βουλούμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν θανάτου μὲν ἀπολύει παρὰ γνώμην, φυλακὴν δὲ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν, μὴ τι συστάντες μετ' ἀλλήλων βουλεύσωσι κατὰ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἀπιέναι πάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλον ἄλλῃ καὶ δαιταν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς μηθενὸς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρους παισὶ μῆτ' ἐπιτηδεύματος μῆτε μαθήματος μεταλαμβάνοντας, ἀλλὰ ποιμαίνοντάς τε καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἔργα πράττοντας, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρεθεῖ [p. 15] [3] παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ καταλιπόντες τὰς πατρίδας ἐστίας ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὥσπερ δοῦλοι διετρέφοντο τοῖς ἀποκτείνασι τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν λατρεύοντες. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἐν μηθενὶ γένηται μῆτε γενναῖον μῆτ' ἀνδρῶδες φρόνημα, πᾶσαν ἐκθηλῦναι ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὴν ἐπιτρεφομένην νεότητα τῆς πόλεως ἐπεβάλετο ἀνελὼν μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς ἐνοπλίους μελέτας, ἀλλάξας δὲ τὴν δαιταν, ἥ πρότερον οἱ παῖδες ἐχρῶντο. [4] κομᾶν τε γὰρ

τοὺς ἄρρενας ὥσπερ τὰς παρθένους ἐκέλευσεν ἐξανθίζομένους καὶ βοστρυχιζομένους καὶ κεκρυφάλοις τὰς πλοκαμίδας ἀναδοῦντας ἐνδύεσθαι τε ποικίλους καὶ ποδήρεις χιτωνίσκους, καὶ χλανιδίοις ἀμπέχεσθαι λεπτοῖς καὶ μαλακοῖς, καὶ διαίταν ἔχειν ὑπὸ σκιαῖς: ἡκολούθουν τ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων τοῦτοις μουσικολάκων παραπορευόμεναι παιδαγωγοὶ γυναικες σκιάδεια καὶ ῥιπίδας κομίζουσαι, καὶ ἔλουον αὐτοὺς αὐταὶ κτένας εἰς τὰ βαλανεῖα φέρουσαι καὶ μύρων ἀλαβάστρους καὶ κάτοπτρα. [5] τοιαύτῃ διαφθείρων ἀγωγῇ τοὺς παῖδας, ἕως ἐκπληρώσωσιν εἴκοστὸν ἔτος, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον εἰς ἄνδρας εἶα τελεῖν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Κυμαίοις ἐνυβρίσας καὶ λωβησάμενος καὶ οὐτ' ἀσελγείας οὐτ' ὠμότητος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποσχόμενος, ὅτ' ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν ὑπελάμβανε τὴν τυραννίδα, γηραιὸς ὢν ἤδη δίκας ἔτισεν οὐ μεμπτὰς θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις πρόρριζος ἀπολόμενος. [p. 16]

οἱ δ' ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οἱ παῖδες τῶν πεφονευμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἦσαν, οὓς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἅπαντας ἀποκτείνειν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ προελόμενος ἐπέσχεν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οἷς ἔδωκε τὰς μητέρας αὐτῶν, ἐκλιπαρηθεῖς, καὶ κατ' ἀγροὺς κελεύσας διατρίβειν. [2] ὀλίγοις δ' ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κώμας διεξιὼν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶδεν αὐτῶν νεότητα, δέισας, μὴ συμφρονήσαντες ἐπαναστῶσιν αὐτῷ, φθάσαι διαχειρισάμενος ἅπαντας ἐβούλετο, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τινά: καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς φίλους ἐσκόπει μετ' αὐτῶν, δι' οἷου τρόπου ῥῆστά τε καὶ τάχιστα λαθόντες ἀναιρεθῆσονται. [3] τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ παῖδες, εἴτε μηνυθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότην τινός, εἴτ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων λογισμὸν ὑποτοπήσαντες, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὸν γεωργικὸν ἀρπάσαντες σίδηρον. ἦκον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικούροι κατὰ τάχος ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐν Καπύῃ Κυμαίων φυγάδες, ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι τε καὶ πλείστους Καμπανῶν ἔχοντες ξένους οἱ Ἱππομέδοντος παῖδες τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν ἱππαρχήσαντος πόλεμον, αὐτοὶ θ' ὠπλισμένοι κάκεινοις κομίζοντες ὄπλα Καμπανῶν τε μισθοφόρων καὶ φίλων χεῖρα συγκροτήσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγην. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καθ' ἓν ἅπαντες ἐγένοντο, τοὺς ἀγροὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταθέοντες ἐφόδοις ληστροκαῖς ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἀφίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν [p. 17] δεσποτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δεσμοτηρίων λύοντες καθῶπλιζον, καὶ ὅσα μὴ δύναιτο φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν χρήματα ματα καὶ βοσκήματα τὰ μὲν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, τὰ δὲ κατέσφαττον. ἀπορουμένῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ, τίνα χρῆ [5] τρόπον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι μήτ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρονίζειν τόποις, ἀλλὰ νυκτὶ μὲν εἰς ὄρθρον, ἡμέρᾳ δ' εἰς νύκτα συμμετρεῖσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποστείλαντι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς χώρας διὰ κενῆς, παραγίνεται τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἠκισμένος τὸ σῶμα μᾶστιξιν ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς αὐτόμολος, ὃς ἄδειαν αἰτησάμενος ὑπέσχετο τῷ τυράννῳ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀποσταλῆσομένην σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔμελλον ἀυλίζεσθαι νύκτα οἱ φυγάδες. [6] ᾧ πιστεῦσαι προαχθεῖς ὁ τύραννος αἰτοῦντι οὐθὲν καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ὄμηρον

παρεχομένῳ πέμπει τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄγοντας ἱππεῖς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν μισθοφόρον δύναμιν, οἷς ἐνετείλατο μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς φυγάδας, εἰ δὲ μὴ γ' ὥς πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν δῆσαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατασκευαστὸς αὐτόμολος κατὰ τ' ἀτρίβεις ὁδοὺς καὶ διὰ δρυμῶν ἐρήμων ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ταλαιπωροῦσαν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ πλείστον ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως μέρη.

οἱ δ' ἀποστάται τε καὶ φυγάδες ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸν Ἄορνον ὄρει πλησίον ὄντι τῆς πόλεως λοχῶντες, [p. 18] ὥς ἔμαθον ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν τοῦ τυράννου στρατιὰν συνθήμασι μηνυθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν, πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν περὶ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους διφθέρας ἔχοντας καὶ φακέλλους φρυγάνων κομίζοντας. [2] οὗτοι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ὥς χερνῆται παρεισπεσόντες ἔλαθον: ὥς δ' ἔνδον ἐγένοντο τοῦ τείχους ἐξεκλύσαντες ἐκ τῶν φακέλλων ἃ κατέκρυπτον ξίφη, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες τόπον ἔπειτ' ἐκείθεν ὀρμήσαντες ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄορνον φερούσας πύλας τοὺς τε φύλακας αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι κοιμωμένους καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἅπαντας ἤδη τοῦ τείχους πλησίον ὄντας ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς πύλαις ὑποδέχονται, καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντες ἔλαθον. [3] ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐορτὴ τις οὕσα δημοτελής, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἅπας ὁ κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλος ἐν πότοις ὦν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐπαθείαις. τοῦτο παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάσας διελθεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν φερούσας ὁδοὺς: καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ ταῖς θύραις πολλὴν τινα καὶ ἐρηγορυῖαν εὖρον φυλακὴν, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἤδη καθεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ μεθύοντας ἀποσφάζαντες δίχα πόνου καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὠσάμενοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὔτε τῶν σωματῶν ἔτι κρατοῦντας οὔτε τῶν φρενῶν διὰ τὸν οἶνον προβάτων δίκην κατέσφαξαν: τὸν δ' [p. 19] Ἀριστόδημον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην συγγένειαν συλλαβόντες ἄχρι πολλῆς νυκτὸς αἰκιζόμενοι τε καὶ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ πᾶσιν ὥς εἰπεῖν λυμαινόμενοι κακοῖς ἀπέκτειναν. [4] ἀνελόντες δὲ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν πρόρριζον, ὥς μήτε παιδία μήτε γυναῖκας μήτε συγγένειαν μηθενὸς αὐτῶν καταλιπεῖν καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἅπαντας ἐξερευνησάμενοι τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρας γενομένης προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα συγκαλέσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀποτίθενται τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν πάτριον καθίστανται πολιτείαν.

ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἔτος ὁμοῦ τι τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἤδη τυραννοῦντα Κύμης οἱ σὺν Ταρκυνίῳ φυγάδες καθιστάμενοι τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐβούλοντο συντελέσασθαι δίκην. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων τέως μὲν ἀντέλεγον, ὥς οὗτ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἦκοντες τὸν ἀγῶνα οὗτ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, ἦν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλὴ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολογήσασθαι δίκην. [2] ὥς δ' οὐθεν ἐπέβαινον, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότα τὸν τύραννον ἐώρων ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη διὰ τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῶν φυγάδων, αἰτησάμενοι χρόνον εἰς ἀπολογίαν, καὶ διεγγυήσαντες τὰ σώματα χρημάτων ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῆς δίκης οὐθενὸς ἔτι φυλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ἀποδράντες ὥχοντο. θεράποντας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ σιτῶνι ἀκομισθέντα χρήματα ὁ τύραννος κατέσχε. [3] ταῦταις μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρεσβείαις

τοιαῦτα παθούσας ἀπράκτοις ἀναστρέψαι συνέβη, [p. 20] ἓκ δὲ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων οἱ πεμφθέντες κέγχρους τε καὶ ζέας συνωνησάμενοι ταῖς ποταμηγοῖς σκάφαις κατεκόμισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. αὕτη βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἢ ἀγορὰ Ῥωμαίους διέθρεψεν: ἔπειτ' ἐξαναλωθεῖσα εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπορίας κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς. ἦν δ' οὐθὲν εἶδος ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς, ὃ οὐκ ἐπείραζον ἔτι, συνέβαινέ τ' οὐκ ὀλίγοις αὐτῶν, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν σπάνιν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς οὐκ εἰωθυίας ἐδωδῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἀρρώστων διακεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα, τοῖς δὲ παρημελημένοις διὰ πενίαν καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως: [4] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ νεωστὶ κεκρατημένοι τῷ πολέμῳ Οὐολοῦσκοι, πρεσβειῶν ἀπορρήτοις διαποστολαῖς ἐνήγον ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον, ὥς ἀδυνάτων ἐσομένων, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπίθοιτο κεκακωμένοις πολέμῳ τε καὶ λιμῷ ἀντέχειν. θεῶν δὲ τις εὖνοια, οἷς φροντὶς ἦν μὴ περιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς Ῥωμαίους γενομένους, ἐκφανέστατα καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἀπεδείξατο. τοσοῦτος γὰρ τις ἄφνω εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῶν Οὐολοῦσκων φθόρος λοιμικὸς ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅσος ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τόπῳ μνημονεύεται γενόμενος οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος οὔτε βαρβάρου γῆς, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν καὶ τύχην καὶ φύσιν ἐρρωμένων τε καὶ ἀσθενῶν σωμάτων ὁμοίως διεργαζόμενος. [p. 21] ἐδήλωσε δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς πόλις ἐπιφανῆς τῶν Οὐολοῦσκων, Οὐέλitrai ὄνομα αὐτῇ, μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος οὔσα τέως, ἥς ὁ λοιμὸς μίαν ὑπελείπετο μοῖραν ἓκ τῶν δέκα, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπῆνεγκε. [5] τελευτῶντες δ' οὖν ὅσοι περιῆσαν ἓκ τῆς συμφορᾶς πρεσβευσάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔφρασαν τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἐποίκους ἓκ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰληφότες, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον τοὺς κληρούχους παρ' αὐτῶν ἦτουν.

ταῦτα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαθοῦσι τῆς μὲν συμφορᾶς οἶκτος εἰσῆι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦντο δεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπὶ τοιαύταις τύχαις μνησικακεῖν, ὥς ἱκανὰς δεδωκόσι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ σφῶν δίκας ἀνθ' ὧν ἔμελλον δράσειν: Οὐέλitraς δὲ παραλαμβάνειν ἐδόκει κληρούχων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀποστολῇ πολλὰ τὰ συμφέροντα ἓκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιλογιζομένοις. [2] τὸ τε γὰρ χωρίον ἱκανὸν εἶναι ἐφαίνετο φυλακῇ ἀξιόχρεω καταληφθὲν οἷς ἂν νεωτερίζειν ἢ παρακινεῖν τι βουλομένοις ἢ μέγα κώλυμα καὶ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι: ἢ τ' ἀπορία τῆς τροφῆς ἢ κατέχουσα τὴν πόλιν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μετριωτέρα γενήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύετο, εἰ μετασταίῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μοῖρα ἀξιόλογος. μάλιστα δ' ἡ στάσις ἀναρριπιζομένη, πρὶν ἢ πεπαῦσθαι καλῶς ἔτι τὴν προτέραν, [3] ἐνήγεν αὐτοὺς ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον. πάλιν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὁ δῆμος ἡρεθίζετο καὶ δι' ὀργῆς [p. 22] εἶχε τοὺς πατρικίους, πολλοὶ τε καὶ χαλεποὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο λόγοι τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἓκ πολλοῦ προείδοντο τὴν ἐσομένην τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν καὶ προὔμηχανήσαντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλεξήματα, τῶν δ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεγονέναι τὴν σιτοδείαν ἀποφαινόντων δι' ὀργὴν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ κακῶσαι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀναμνήσει τῆς ἀποστάσεως. [4] διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας ἢ τῶν κληρούχων ἀποστολῇ ταχεῖα ἐγίνετο τριῶν ἀποδειχθέντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἡγεμόνων. τῷ

δήμῳ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἀσμένῳ τοὺς κληροῦχος διαλαγχάνειν ὡς λιμοῦ τ' ἀπαλλαχθισομένῳ καὶ χώραν οἰκήσουσι εὐδαίμονα: ἔπειτ' ἐνθυμουμένων τὸν λοιπόν, ὅς. ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ αὐτὸν ὑποδέχασθαι πόλει πολὺς γενόμενος τοὺς τ' οἰκήτορας διεφθάρκει καὶ δέος παρεῖχε, μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους ταῦτ' ἐργάσεται, μεθίστατο κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τάναντία ἢ γνώμη, ὥστ' οὐ πολλοὶ τινες ἐφάνησαν οἱ μετέχειν βουλόμενοι τῆς ἀποικίας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἐλάττους ὧν ἡ βουλὴ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἦδη σφῶν αὐτῶν κατεγνώκεσαν ὡς κακῶς βεβουλευμένων καὶ ὑпанεδύνοντο τὴν ἔξοδον. [5] κατελήφθη μέντοι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ μὴ ἐκουσίως συναιρόμενον τῆς ἐξόδου ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐξ ἀπάντων [p. 23] γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων κλήρῳ τὴν ἔξοδον, κατὰ δὲ τῶν λαχόντων, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν, χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους θεμένης ζημίας. οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ στόλος εἰς Οὐελίτρας εὐπρεπεῖ ἀνάγκῃ καταληφθεὶς ἀπεστάλη, καὶ ἕτερος αὖθις οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Νῶρβαν πόλιν, ἣ ἐστὶ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους οὐκ ἀφανής.

ἐγένετο δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκ λογισμοῦ τοῖς πατρικίοις κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐλπίδα λωφῆσειν τὴν στάσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἔτι χεῖρους ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἦσαν καὶ πολλῇ τῇ καταβοῇ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τε συστροφὰς καὶ ἑταιρίας, ὀλίγοι μὲν συνιόντες τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτ' ἄθροοι συντονωτέρας ἦδη γινομένης τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐβόων. [2] συναχθείσης δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας παρελθὼν Σπόριος Σικίνιος, ὅς ἦν τοῦ ἀρχείου τότε ἡγεμῶν, αὐτὸς τε πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς αὖξων ὡς μάλιστ' ἐνῆν τὸν κατ' αὐτῆς φθόνον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡξίου λέγειν ἃ φρονοῦσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Σικίνιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀγορανόμους τότε ὄντας ἀνακαλῶν ἑκάτερον ἐξ ὀνόματος, οἱ καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀποστάσεως τῷ δήμῳ ἦρξαν, καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰσηγησάμενοι πρῶτοι αὐτῆς ἔτυχον. [3] παρελθόντες δ' οὗτοι τοὺς κακοθηεστάτους τῶν λόγων ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευασμένοι διεξήεσαν, ἃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀκούειν ἦν βουλομένοις, ὡς ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων γένοιθ' ἢ περὶ τὸν [p. 24] σῆτον ἀπορία, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀποστάσεως εὔρετο. [4] ἰσομοιρεῖν τ' οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς πένησι τοὺς εὐπόρους: ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τροφὰς ἐν ἀφανεῖ ἀποκειμένας καὶ χρήματα, οἷς ὠνούμενοι τὰς ἐπεισάκτους ἀγορὰς ἐν πολλῇ ὑπεροφίᾳ ἦσαν τοῦ κακοῦ, τοῖς δὲ δημόταις ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτ' ἀπόρως ἔχειν: τὴν τ' ἀποστολὴν τῶν κληροῦχων, ἣν ἐποίησαντο εἰς νοσερὰ χωρία, ἐκβολὴν ἀποφαινοντες εἰς προφανῇ καὶ μακρῷ χεῖρονα ὄλεθρον, αὖξοντες ὡς μάλιστα δυνατοὶ ἦσαν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ δεινὰ, καὶ τί πέρας ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ἀξιοῦντες μαθεῖν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τε τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοὺς αἰκισμῶν, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἔτυχον αἰκισθέντες, καὶ [5] τᾶλλα τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν διεξιόντες. τελευτῶν δ' ὁ Βροῦτος εἰς ἀπειλὴν τινα τοιάνδε κατέκλεισε τὸν λόγον, ὡς εἰ βουλθεῖεν αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι διὰ ταχέων προσαναγκάσων τοὺς ἐκκαύσαντας τὸ δεινὸν καὶ κατασβέσαι. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐκκλησία διελύετο.

οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν περίφοβοι ὄντες

ἐπὶ τοῖς καινοτομουμένοις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου δημοκοπίαν εἰς μέγα τι κακὸν ἀποσκήψειν οἰόμενοι. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ παντοδαποὶ ὑπὸ τ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐρρήθησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λόγοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβυτέρων, τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν θεραπεύειν τὸν δῆμον ἀπάσῃ εὐπροσηγορίᾳ λόγων [p. 25] καὶ ὑποσχέσει ἔργων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ μετριωτέρους παρασκευάζειν, τιθέντας εἰς μέσον τὰ πράγματα καὶ μετὰ σφῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος παρακαλοῦντας σκοπεῖν. [2] τῶν δὲ μηθὲν ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν συμβουλευόντων πρὸς ὄχλον αὐθάδη καὶ ἀμαθῇ ἢ θρασεῖάν τε καὶ ἀνύποιστον δημοκόπων ἀνθρώπων μανίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν, ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν γεγονότων παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων αἵτιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ἔξιν τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν δυνατὴν, τοῖς δὲ ταραττούσι τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ προαγορεύειν, ὡς εἰ μὴ παύσονται τὴν στάσιν ἀναρριπίζοντες ἀξίας τίσουσι δίκας. [3] ταύτης ἡγεῖτο τῆς γνώμης Ἀππιος, καὶ ἦν ἡ νικῶσα αὕτη πολλῆς ἐμπεσοῦσης πάνυ τοῖς συνέδροις φιλονεικίας: ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς αὐτῶν ἐξακουμένης ἐπὶ πολὺ ταραχθέντα συνδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀρθὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ [4] γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προελθόντες συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: ἦν δ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔτι τὸ λειπόμενον: καὶ παρελθόντες ἐπειρῶντο τὰ δόξαντα σφίσι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λέγειν. ἐνίσταντο δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ δῆμαρχοι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐν μέρει οὐδ' ἐν κόσμῳ γινόμενος παρ' ἀμφοῖν [p. 26] ὁ λόγος. ἐβόων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐξέκλειον ἀλλήλους, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν ὅ τι βούλονται συνιδεῖν.

ἐδικαίουν δ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν κρείττονα ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν ἀπάντων ἄρχειν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτῶν εἶναι χωρίον ὥσπερ ἐκείνων τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἦν κρίνειν τε καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι, τούτων αὐτοὶ πᾶν ἔχειν τὸ κρίτος. συνηγωνίζετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἢ πληθὺς ἐπιβοῶσα καὶ ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς κωλύουσι παρεσκευασμένη, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις οἱ πατρικιοὶ συστρέψαντες αὐτούς. [2] ἐγίνετο δὲ πολὺς ἀγὼν περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι ἑκατέρους, ὡς ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τότε ἡττη παραχωρουμένης τῆς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατέρων δικαιοῦσεως. ἡλιός τε περὶ καταφορὰν ἦν ἡδη, καὶ συνέτρεχεν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἔμελλον, εἰ νῦν ἐπιλαμβάνοι τὴν ἔριν, εἰς πληγὰς τε καὶ λίθων χωρήσειν βολάς. [3] ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, προελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς ὑπάτους ἡξίου δοῦναι λόγον αὐτῷ, παύσειν ὑπισχνόμενος τὴν στάσιν. κάκεῖνοι δόξαντες σφίσι παρακεχωρησθαι, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων παρόντων οὐ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἡτήσατο τὴν χάριν, ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ λέγειν. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ Βροῦτος εἶπεν, ἠρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους τοιάνδε τινὰ [4] ἐρώτησιν: Ἄρα γ', ἔφη, μέμνησθ', ὅτι διαλυομένοις [p. 27] ἡμῖν τὴν στάσιν τοῦτο συνεχωρήθη τὸ δίκαιον ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὅταν οἱ δῆμαρχοι συναγάγωσι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὀτουδήτινος, μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ συνόδῳ τοὺς πατρικίους μηδ' ἐνοχλεῖν; μεμνήμεθ', ἔφησεν ὁ Γεγάνιος. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ὑποφέρει: τί οὖν παθόντες ἐμποδὼν ἴστασθ' ἡμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔατε τοὺς δημάρχους ἃ βούλονται λέγειν; ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Γεγάνιος: ὅτι

οὐκ αὐτοὶ συνεκάλεσαν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ ὕπατοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡ σύνοδος ἐγένετο, οὐθὲν ἂν ἤξιοῦμεν οὕτε κωλύειν οὕτε πολυπραγμονεῖν: ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡμεῖς συνηγάγομεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐχὶ τούτους ἀγορεύειν κωλύομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτοὶ ^[5] κωλύεσθαι οὐ δικαιοῦμεν. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ὑποτυχών: νικῶμεν, ἔφησεν, ὧς δημόται, καὶ παρακεχώρηται ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων ὅσα ἤξιοῦμεν. νῦν μὲν οὖν ἄπιτε καὶ παύσασθε φιλονεικοῦντες: αὐριον δ' ὑμῖν ὑπισχνοῦμαι φανεράν ποιήσιν ὅσην ἔχετε ἰσχύν. καὶ ὑμεῖς γ', ὧς δῆμαρχοι, παραχωρήσατε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι: οὐ γὰρ εἰς τέλος παραχωρήσετε: μαθόντες δ' ὅσον ἔχει κράτος ὑμῶν ἡ ἀρχή: γνῶσεσθε γὰρ οὐκ εἰς μακράν: ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ὑποδέχομαι ποιήσιν φανερόν: μετριωτέραν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσετε τὴν ὑπερφηανίαν. ἐὰν δὲ φενακίζων ὑμᾶς εὐρεθῶ, χρήσασθ' ὅ τι βούλεσθέ μοι.

οὐθενὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀντιλέξαντος ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑπολήψεις ἔχοντες [p. 28] ἑκάτεροι: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄποροι δοκοῦντές τι περιττὸν ἐξευρηκέναι τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ὑποσχέσθαι πρᾶγμα τηλικούτον, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι περιφρονοῦντες τὴν κουφότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων τὴν τόλμαν ἔως λόγου χωρήσειν οἰόμενοι: μὴδὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς συγκεχωρηῆσθαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔξω τοῦ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν. οὐ μὴν ἅπασί γ' εἰσῆι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὀλιγωρία τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ προσέχειν, μὴ τι ἀνῆκεστον ἢ τοῦ ^[2] ἀνδρὸς ἐξεργάσθαι μανία. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς νυκτὶ κοινωσάμενος τοῖς δημάρχοις ὁ Βροῦτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ παρασκευασάμενος χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην δημοτῶν κατέβαινε μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν: καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι καταλαβόμενοι τὸ Ἑφαιστεῖον, ἔνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἐκάλουν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον. πληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς: ὄχλος γὰρ ὅσος οὕτω πρότερον συνῆλθε: παρελθὼν Σικίνιος ὁ δῆμαρχος πολὺν μὲν ἐποίησατο κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λόγον, ἅπανθ' ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅσα κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη: ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς παρελθούσης ἡμέρας ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς κεκωλυμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἶη λόγου τυχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένος. ^[3] τίνος [p. 29] γὰρ ἂν ἔτι γενοίμεθ', ἔφη, κύριοι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴδὲ τοῦ λέγειν ἐσομέθα; πῶς δ' ἂν τι νι ὑμῶν ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν δυναίμεθα, εἰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ συνάγειν ὑμᾶς ἀφαιρεθείημεν; ἄρχουσι γὰρ δήπου παντὸς ἔργου λόγοι, καὶ οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι οἷς εἰπεῖν ἂ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἔξεστιν, οὐδὲ πρᾶξιαι ἂν ἐξεῖη, ἂ βούλονται. ἢ κομίζεσθ' οὖν, ἔφη, τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἢ δεδώκατε ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ μέλλετε βεβαιοῦν αὐτῇ τᾶσφαλές, ἢ νόμῳ γραφέντι κωλύσατε τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἡμῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσομένους. ^[4] τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπικελεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου μεγάλῃ βοῇ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρειν, ἔχων αὐτὸν ἤδη γεγραμμένον ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ ψῆφον δίδωσι τῷ πλήθει περὶ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπενεγκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖσθαι ἀναβολῆς οὐδὲ μελλησμοῦ, μὴ τι ἄλλο κώλυμα γένηται πρὸς τῶν ὑπᾶτων. ^[5] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦδε ὁ νόμος: δημάρχου γνώμην ἀγορεύοντος ἐν δήμῳ μηδεὶς λεγέτω μηδὲν ἐναντίον μηδὲ μεσολαβεῖτω τὸν λόγον. ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, διδότης τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐγγυητὰς αἰτηθεὶς εἰς ἔκτισιν ἧς ἂν ἐπιθῶσιν αὐτῷ

ζημίας. ὁ δὲ μὴ διδοὺς ἐγγυητὴν θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω, καὶ τὰ χρήματ' αὐτοῦ ἱερὰ ἔστω. τῶν δ' ἀμφισβητούντων πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ζημίας αἱ κρίσεις ἔστωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου. [6] τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἐπιψηφίσαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆει πολλῆς γεγωνῶς μεστὸς εὐθυμίας, τῷ δὲ Βρούτῳ [p. 30] μεγάλην χάριν εἰδῶς, ἐκείνου δοκῶν εἶναι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ νόμου.

μετὰ τοῦτο πολλαὶ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντιλογίαι, καὶ οὐθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁπόσα ἢ βουλὴ ψηφισαίτο κύρια ἠγεῖτο, οὐθ' ὧν ὁ δῆμος γνοιῇ τῇ βουλῇ φίλον τι ἦν: ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι δὲ καὶ δι' ὑποψίας ἔχοντες ἀλλήλους διετέλουν. οὐ μὴν τό γε μῖσος αὐτῶν εἰς ἔργον τι ἀνήκεστον ἐχώρησεν, οἷα ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις φιλεῖ [2] γίνεσθαι ταραχαῖς. οὐτε γὰρ οἱ πένητες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ὥρμησαν τῶν πλουσιῶν, ἔνθα ὑπελάμβανόν τινες εὐρήσειν ἀποκειμένας τροφάς, ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ ἀγορὰν ἀρπάζειν ἐπεβάλλοντο, ἀλλ' ὑπομένοντες ὠνεῖσθαι πολλοῦ διαφόρου μικρά, καὶ ὅπότε ἔξαπορηθεῖεν ἀργυρίου τὰς ἐκ γῆς ῥίζας τε καὶ βοτάνας σιτούμενοι ἠνείχοντο: οὐθ' οἱ πλούσιοι βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τῇ τ' οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν πελατῶν πολλῇ οὔσῃ κατασχεῖν αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠξίωσαν τοὺς μὲν ἐξελάσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ἀλλὰ διέμενον ὥσπερ οἱ σωφρονέστατα πολιτευόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς πατέρες εὐνοοῦσιν καὶ κηδομένη τῇ ὀργῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀμαρτάδας αὐτῶν χρώμενοι. [3] τοιαύτης δὲ καταστάσεως οὔσης περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αἱ πλησιόχωροι πόλεις ἐκάλουν τοὺς βουλομένους οἰκεῖν παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας τε μεταδόσει καὶ ἄλλων φιλανθρώπων ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγόμεναι, αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε [p. 31] καὶ ἔλεον τῆς συμφορᾶς, αἱ δὲ πλείους διὰ φθόνον τῆς πάλαι ποτὲ εὐτυχίας. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπαναστάντες πανοικεσίᾳ καὶ μεταθέμενοι τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐτέρωσε πολλοὶ πάνυ: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀνέστησαν αὖθις, ἐπειδὴ κατέστη τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ διέμειναν.

ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης στρατοπέδου ποιεῖσθαι καταγραφὴν καὶ ἐξάγειν ἔξω τὴν δύναμιν: εἰλήφεσαν δ' ἀφορμὴν τῷ ἐγχειρήματι πρέπουσαν ἐπιδρομὰς τε καὶ λεηλασίας κακουμένης τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θαμινὰ, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος χρηστὰ ἦν, ἐπιλογιζόμενοις, ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς ἐκπεμψείσης ὥς εὐπορωτέρᾳ μὲν ἔξουσι τῇ ἀγορᾷ χρῆσθαι οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐλάττους γενόμενοι, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις δὲ διάζουσι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπισιτιζόμενοι, λωφῆσει δ' ἡ στάσις, ὅσον ἂν ἡ στρατεία κατέχη χρόνον: μάλιστα δ' ἐφαίνετο ἔργῳ βεβαιώσειν αὐτῶν τὰς διαλλαγὰς συστρατευόντων ἀλλήλοις πατρικίων καὶ δημοτῶν ἢ γεννησομένη παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἰσομοιρία. [2] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπήκοον αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐκούσιον ὑπήντα πρὸς τὴν καταγραφὴν: ἀνάγκην δὲ προσφέρειν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις οὐκ ἐδικαίουν τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων οἱ ὑπατοὶ: ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἐθέλονται τινες κατεγράφησαν [p. 32] ἅμα τοῖς πελάταις, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐξιούσιν ὀλίγον τι ἀπὸ [3] τοῦ δήμου μέρος συνεστράτευεν. ἡγεμῶν δὲ τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἦν Γάιος Μάρκιος ὁ τὴν Κοριολάνων πόλιν ἐλὼν κἄν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας ἀριστεύσας

μάχη, καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀραμένων τὰ ὅπλα δημοτῶν τοῦτον ἐξίοντα ὀρώντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, οἱ μὲν δι' εὖνοιαν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ κατορθώσιν ἐλπίδι· περιβόητος γὰρ ἦν ἡδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ δέος αὐτοῦ μέγα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγεγόνοι. [4] αὕτη προελθοῦσα ἡ στρατιὰ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀντίου διχὰ πόνου σίτου πολλοῦ καταληφθέντος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων συχνῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν εὐπορωτέρα γεγονυῖα τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὥστε τοῖς ὑπομείνασι πολλὴν κατῆφειαν καὶ κατὰμεψιν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐμπεισεῖν, δι' [5] οὓς ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἐδόκουν τῆς ὁμοίας εὐτυχίας. ὁ μὲν δὲ Γεγάνιος καὶ Μηνύκιος οἱ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεύοντες ἐν μεγάλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς χειμῶσι γενόμενοι καὶ πολλάκις ἀνατρέψαι κινδυνεύσαντες τὴν πόλιν οὐθὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διέσωσαν τὰ κοινὰ φρονιμώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ εὐτυχέστερον τοῖς συμβαίνουσι χρῆσάμενοι.

οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι Μάρκος Μηνύκιος Αὐγουρίνος καὶ Αὐλὸς Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος δεῦτερον καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄνδρες [p. 33] οὐθ' ὅπλων οὐτε λόγων ἄπειροι, προνοίᾳ μὲν ἐχρήσαντο πολλῇ σίτου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγορᾶς ἐμπληῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν εὐετηρία τῆς ὁμονομίας τοῦ πλήθους κειμένης· οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετο γ' αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα τούτων τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεισηλθεν ἅμα τῷ κόρῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ τῶν χρῆσάμενων αὐτοῖς ὕβρις. [2] καὶ τότε δὲ μέγιστος κατέλαβε τὴν Ῥώμην κίνδυνος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε ἥκιστ' ἐδόκει. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις πολὺν ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων τε καὶ μεσογείων ἐμπορίων σῖτον ὠνησάμενοι κατῆγαγον δημοσίᾳ, οἱ τε διαμείβεσθαι τὰς ἀγορὰς εἰωθότες ἐκ παντὸς τόπου συνῆλθον, παρ' ὧν ἡ πόλις ὠνησαμένη τὸν φόρτον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. [3] ἦλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ πρότερον ἀποσταλέντες πρέσβεις εἰς Σικελίαν Γεγάνιος καὶ Οὐαλέριος πολλὰς ἄγοντες ὀλκάδας, ἐν αἷς ἐκομίζοντο πυρῶν πέντε μυριάδες μεδίμνων Σικελικῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος ὠνητὸν ἦν βραχείας πάνυ τιμῆς, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ τύραννος ἀπεστάλκει προῖκα δοὺς καὶ τέλεσι παρακομίσας τοῖς ἰδίοις. [4] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ κατάπλους τῶν σιτηγῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Σικελίας, πολλὴ ζήτησις ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πατρικίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεικέστατοι αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοδημότατοι πρὸς τὰς κατεχούσας τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκας ἀποβλέποντες τὴν τε παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου δωρεὰν παρήνουν ἅπασαν διανεῖμαι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ τὸν ὠνηθέντα ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων [p. 34] χρημάτων σῖτον ὀλίγης αὐτοῖς ἀπεμπολῆσαι τιμῆς, διδάσκοντες ὥς ἐκ τούτων ἂν γένοιτο μάλιστα τῶν χαρίτων ἐπεικέστεραι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους αἱ τῶν πενήτων ὀργαί· οἱ δ' αὐθαδέστεροι καὶ ὀλιγαρχικώτεροι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ μηχανῇ κακοῦν ὦνοντο δεῖν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καὶ συνεβούλευον τιμίας ὥς ἔνι μάλιστα ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀγορὰς, ἵνα σωφρονέστεροι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην γένοιτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πολιτείας δίκαια νομιμώτεροι.

τούτων ἦν τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολάνος ἐπικληθεὶς, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ κρύφα καὶ δι' εὐλαβείας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνῶμην ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς καὶ θρασέως, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀκούσας

καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν. εἶχε γάρ τινας ἔξω τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἰδίας προφάσεις νεωστὶ γενομένας, ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως ἐδόκει μισεῖν τοὺς δημοτικούς. [2] ὑπατεῖαν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετιόντι ταῖς ἔγγιστα γενομέναις ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἔχοντι συναγωνιζομένους ὁ δῆμος ἐναντιωθείς οὐκ εἶασε δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν τόλμαν δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχων, μὴ τι διὰ ταῦτα νεωτερίσῃ περὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα δεδιώς, ὅτι συνελάμβανεν αὐτῷ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὸ τῶν πατρικίων πλῆθος ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν πρότερον. [3] ταύτης τ' οὖν τῆς ὕβρεως ὀργῇ ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἀποκαταστήσαι προθυμούμενος αὐτός τ' ἀναφανδόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ἔπραττε τὴν τοῦ δήμου κατάλυσιν, καὶ [p. 35] τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνήγεν. ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταιρία μεγάλη νέων εὐγενῶν, οἷς ἦν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα βίων καὶ πελάται συχνοὶ συνεστηκότες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ὠφελείαις· οἷς ἐπαιρόμενος ἐφρυάττετο καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐπιφανείας. [4] οὐ μὴν εὐτυχοῦς γε διὰ ταῦτα καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε· συναχθείσης γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, πρώτων ἀποφνημαμένων τὰς ἐαυτῶν διανοίας, ἐν οἷς οὐ πολλοὶ τινες ἦσαν οἱ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας ἀντικρυς ἀγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν εἰς τοὺς νεωτέρους ὁ λόγος, αἰτησάμενος ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν ὅσα βούλεται, καὶ τυχὼν ἐπισημασίας τε μεγάλης καὶ προσοχῆς λόγον διεξῆλθε κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τοιόνδε.

ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἀπορίας βιασθεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἐποίησατο τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ὧ πατέρες, ἀλλὰ πονηρᾷ ἐλπίδι ἐπαρθεῖς ὡς καταλύσων τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ὑμῶν καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἐσόμενος τῶν κοινῶν κύριος, σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἡσθῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήματα ὀρῶντας· ὧ γ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησε διαφθεῖραντι τὴν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια πίστιν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κειμένους ἀνελόντι νόμους μηθὲν ἄλλο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶνὴν δὲ καταστησάμενος ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ καθελεῖν τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἱεράν καὶ ἄσυλον ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν τυραννικὴν ἐξουσίαν περιβαλλόμενος, ὧ βουλή, τῷ νεωστὶ κυρωθέντι νόμῳ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς. [2] ὅταν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας πολλῆς οἱ [p. 36] προεστηκότες αὐτοῦ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ προβαλλόμενοι τὸ δὴ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτῶν βοηθεῖν διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἄγωσι καὶ φέρωσιν, ὅς' ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, καὶ μηθεὶς ὁ κωλύσων τὰς παρανομίας αὐτῶν ἦ, μήτ' ἰδιώτης μήτ' ἀρχων δεδοικώς τὸν νόμον, ὃς ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις θάνατον ἐπιτιθεῖς ζημίαν τοῖς ἐλευθέραν φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσι, τί προσῆκεν ὄνομα θέσθαι τῇ δυναστείᾳ ταύτῃ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἕτερον, ἢ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς καὶ πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσετε, τυραννίδα; εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὅλου τυραννόμεθα δήμου, τί τοῦτο διαφέρει; τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ταυτό. [3] κράτιστον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης εἶσαι καταβαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπομείναι πρότερον, ὡς Ἀππίος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ δεινὰ προορώμενος ἡξίου, εἰ δὲ μὴ, νῦν γ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντας ἐξορῶξαντας αὐτὴν πρόρριζον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως

ἐκβαλεῖν, ἔως ^[4] ἀσθενῆς ἔστι καὶ προσπολεμηθῆναι ῥάδια. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ πρῶτοις ἡμῖν, ὧ βουλῇ, οὐδὲ μόνοις ἐξεγένετο παθεῖν, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλακίς ἤδη τοῖς εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἀνάγκας καταστᾶσι γνώμης ἁμαρτοῦσι τῆς ἀρίστης περὶ τὰ μέγιστα, ἐπεὶδὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν τοῦ κακοῦ, τὰς αὐξήσεις πειρᾶσθαι καθαιρεῖν: καὶ ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ὀψὲ ἀρχομένων σωφρονεῖν ἡττων οὔσα τῆς προνοίας, καθ' ἕτερον αὖ τρόπον οὐ χεῖρων οὔσα ἀναφαίνεται τῇ κωλύσει τοῦ τέλους ἀφανίζουσα τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀγνοηθέν. [p. 37]

εἰ δέ τιςιν ὑμῶν δεινὰ μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔργα εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτὸν οἶονται δεῖν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, δέος δ' εἰσέρχεται, μὴ δόξωσι λύειν τὰς ὁμολογίας πρότεροι καὶ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, γνώτωσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχοντες, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι, οὐδ' ἀναιροῦντες τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνηρηκότας τιμωροῦμενοι αὐτὸ δρῶσιν, ἀναίτιοί τε πρὸς θεοὺς ἔσονται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συμφέροντι τὰ δίκαια πράξουσι. ^[2] μέγα δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι τοῦ λύειν τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ παρασπονδεῖν οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἄρχει μέρος οὐκ ἀξιοῦν ἐμμένειν, ἐφ' οἷς εὗρετο τὴν κάθοδον: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς δρᾶσαι τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνης κακοῦσθαι τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν ἡτήσατο. χρῆται δ' αὐτῇ οὐκέτι εἰς ἃ δεῖ οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς εὗρετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ ^[3] καὶ συγχύσει τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας. μέμνησθε γὰρ δήπου τὴν νεωστὶ γενομένην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ῥηθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ λόγους, ὅσων ἐπεδείξαντο αὐθάδειαν τε καὶ ἀκοσμίαν, καὶ νῦν, ἐφ' οἷον εἰσὶν αὐχρήματος οἱ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονοῦντες, ἐπεὶδὴ ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ ἐστὶν ἅπαν τὸ τῆς πόλεως κράτος, ἧς αὐτοὶ κρατήσουσι πλείους ἡμῶν ὄντες. ^[4] τί οὖν καταλείπεται ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀρξάντων ἐκείνων παρασπονδεῖν καὶ παρανομεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἄρξαντας, καὶ ἃ τέως ἀδίκως ἔχουσιν ἀφελεῖσθαι σὺν δίκῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν παῦσαι πλειόνων ἐφιεμένους: [p. 38] χάριν εἰδόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ εἴασαν αὐτοὺς τὰ πρῶτα πλεονεκτήσαντας εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην ἐνέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν τε καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ὑφ' ἧς ὑμεῖς ἀναγκασθέντες τὰ τ' ἀπολωλότα πειρᾶσθε ἀναλαβεῖν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' ἧς προσῆκε φυλακῆς λαβεῖν.

καιρὸς δ' ὁ παρῶν οἶος οὐχ ἕτερος, εἴπερ γ' ἄρχεσθαι μέλλετε σωφρονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κεκάκωται αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δύναιτο πολὺν ἀντισχεῖν χρόνον ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας, εἰ σπανίους τε καὶ τιμίας ἔχοι τὰς ἀγοράς: ἀναγκασθῆσονται δ' οἱ μὲν κάκιστοι καὶ οὐδέποτε τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ χαίροντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιεικέστεροι πολιτεύεσθαι κοσμίως μηθὲν ἔτι ἐνοχλοῦντες ὑμῖν. ^[2] τὰς τ' οὖν ἀγορὰς διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχετε, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ὠνίων μηθὲν ἀνίετε, ἀλλ' ὅσου πλείστου ποτὲ ἦν τὰ ὠνια, τοσούτου καὶ νῦν αὐτὰ πωλεῖν ψηφίσασθε δικαίας ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντες καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους τὴν τ' ἀχάριστον τοῦ δήμου καταβολήν, ὡς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατασκευασθείσης τῆς σιτοδείας, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν καταφθοράν, ἣν ἐποίησαντο, τῆς γῆς, ἄγοντες αὐτὴν καὶ φέροντες ὥσπερ πολεμίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐξαίρεθείσας ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δαπάνας εἰς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἄνδρας, καὶ

ἄλλα πολλά τιν', ἃ ἡδίκησθε ὑπ' αὐτῶν: ἵνα καὶ [p. 39] γνῶμεν ἤδη, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δεινόν, ὃ διαθήσουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἂν μὴ ποιῶμεν ἅπαντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καθ' ἡδονάς, ὡς οἱ δημαγωγοὶ αὐτῶν δεδιττόμενοι ἔλεγον. [3] εἰ δ' ἀφήσετε καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν καιρόν, πολλάκις εὖξεσθε τοιοῦτου τυχεῖν ἐτέρου: καὶ εἰ γνοίῃ τοῦθ' ὁ δῆμος, ὅτι βουλευθέντες καταλῦειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπετράπεσθε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν βαρὺς ἐγκείσεται, πολέμιον μὲν τὸ βουλόμενον ὑμῶν ἡγοούμενος, δειλὸν δὲ τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον.

τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Μαρκίου διέστησαν αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν συνέδρων, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο πολὺς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐναντίοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς παρὰ γνώμην ὑπομεινάντες, ἐν οἷς ἢ τε νεότης ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσα ἦν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ πλουσιώτατοί τε καὶ φιλοτιμότατοι, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια βλάβαις, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐλαττώσει ἐπήνουν τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς γενναῖον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ [2] λέγοντα: οἱ δὲ δημοτικὰς ἔχοντες τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν τρόπων καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον οὐ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐκτετιμηκότες τῆς τ' εἰρήνης οὐδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἤχθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην οὐ προσίεντο: ἡξίου τε μὴ τοῖς βίαισι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι περιεῖναι τῶν ταπεινότερων, μηδ' ἀπρεπές, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάϊον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ἐπεικές, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γινόμενον: [p. 40] μανίαν τ' ἀπέφαινον αὐτοῦ τὴν συμβουλὴν, οὐ παρρησίαν οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίαν. βραχὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ ἀσθενὲς ὃν περιεωθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ βιαιοτέρου. [3] ταῦτα δ' ὀρῶντες οἱ δήμαρχοι: παρήσαν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων: ἐβόων τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον λυμεῶνα καὶ ὄλεθρον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκάλουν πονηροὺς διεξιόντα κατὰ τοῦ δήμου λόγους, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύσειαν αὐτὸν οἱ πατρικιοὶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα θανάτῳ ζημιώσαντες ἢ φυγῇ, αὐτοὶ ποιήσιν τοῦτ' ἔλεγον. [4] θορύβου δ' ἔτι πλείονος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῶν δημάρχων γενομένου, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων τὰς ἀπειλὰς δυσανασχετοῦντων ἐπαρθεῖς τοῦτοις ὁ Μάρκιος αὐθαδέστερον ἤδη καθήπτετο τῶν δημάρχων καὶ θρασύτερον: εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε μέντοι, λέγων, ταραττοντες τὴν πόλιν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐκδημαγωγοῦντες τοὺς ἀπόρους, οὐκέτι λόγῳ διοίσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ.

ἡγριωμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ἔμαθον οἱ δήμαρχοι πλείους ὄντας τοὺς βουλομένους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν ἐμμένειν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἀξιούντων, ἐξέδραμον ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κεκραγότες καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ὀρκίους ἐπικαλοῦμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ῥηθέντας λόγους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἐκάλουν. [2] ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπρέτας, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκαλεῖτο, προπηλακίζων τοῖς λόγοις ἀνείρξεν, [p. 41] ἀγανακτήσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ δήμαρχοι παραλαβόντες τοὺς τ' ἀγορανόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συχνοὺς ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν: ὁ δ' ἔτυχεν ἔτι διατρίβων πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν τε πατρικίων πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἑταιρίαν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων. [3] ὡς δὲ συνεῖδον αὐτόν οἱ δήμαρχοι, προσέταξαν τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις

ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ σώματος καί, εἰ μὴ ἐκὼν βούλεται ἀκολουθεῖν, βίᾳ ἄγειν· εἶχον δὲ τότε τὴν ἀγορανομικὴν ἐξουσίαν Τίτος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος καὶ Γάιος Οὐισέλλιος Ροῦγας. οἱ μὲν δὴ προσήεσαν ὡς ἐπιληψόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι δεινὸν ἠγησάμενοι τοῦργον ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πρὸ δίκης ἄγεσθαι τινα σφῶν βίᾳ προὔστησαν τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τύπτοντες τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἀπῆλασαν. ^[4] διαβοηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην ἐξεπῆδων ἅπαντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν· οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὄντες καὶ χρημάτων ἔχοντες εὖ τὸν Μάρκιον ὑπερασπιοῦντες ἅμα τοῖς πατρίκιοις καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀνακτησόμενοι πολιτείαν, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ ταῖς τύχαις καὶ βίου σπανίζοντες ἀμύνειν παρεσκευασμένοι τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύσωσιν· ἥ τ' αἰδώς, ὅφ' ἥς κρατούμενοι τῶς οὐδὲν ἐτόλμων εἰς ἀλλήλους παρανομεῖν, τότε ἀνήρητο ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔδρασαν γ' οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐποῦσαν ἀνεβάλοντο, γνώμη τε καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν ὑπᾶτων εἴξαντες. [p. 42]

τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρῶτοι καταβάντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ δῆμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ παριόντες ἐκ διαδοχῆς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πατρίκιων κατηγόρουν ὡς ἐψευσμένων τὰς συνθήκας καὶ παραβεβηκότων τοὺς ὅρκους, οὓς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας τῶν πάλαι, πίστεις παραφέροντες τοῦ μὴ βεβαίως αὐτοὺς διηλλάχθαι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν τὴν τε τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ κατέσκευσαν, καὶ τὰς ἀποστολὰς τῶν κληρουχιῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐμηχανήσαντο μειώσεως τοῦ πλήθους ἔνεκα. ^[2] πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκίου καθήπτοντο τοὺς ῥηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διεξιόντες, καὶ ὅτι καλούμενος εἰς ἀπολογίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγορανόμους τύπτων ἀπῆλασεν. ἐκάλουν δὲ μάρτυρας τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους τῶν ἐκεῖ, τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους ὕβρεως ἅπαντας τοὺς τότε παρόντας κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δημοτικούς. ^[3] ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντες ἐδίδοσαν, εἰ βουλομένοις εἶη, τοῖς πατρίκιοις ἀπολογίαν, κατέχοντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν δῆμον, ἕως ἢ βουλὴ διαλυθῇ. ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων συνεδρεῦοντες οἱ πατρίκιοι διαποροῦντες, εἴτ' ἀπολογητέον αὐτοῖς εἶη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβλήθησαν, ^[4] εἴτε μενετέον ἐφ' ἡσυχίας. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πλείους γνώμαι τὰ φιланθρωπότερα τῶν αὐθαδεστέρων προεῖλοντο, διαλύσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὸν σύλλογον προῆλθον [p. 43] εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰς τε κοινὰς ἀπολυσόμενοι διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου τὸν δῆμον ἀξιώσοντες μὴθὲν βουλευσάι ἀνήκεστον. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν Μηνύκιος ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς σιτοδείας ἀπολογία πάνυ βραχεῖα ἐστίν, ὧς δημόται, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς παρεξόμεθα ὧν ἂν λέγωμεν ἢ ὑμᾶς μάρτυρας. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀφορίαν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ἐπίστασθε δήπου καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα σπόρον γενομένην· τὴν τ' ἄλλην καταφθορὰν τῆς χώρας οὐ παρ' ἐτέρων ὑμᾶς δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀφ' ἥς αἰτίας συνέβη, καὶ ὡς τελευτώσα ἡ πλείστη τε καὶ ἀρίστη γῆ πάντων ἐσπάνικε καρπῶν τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διαρπαζομένη, τὰ δ' ὑμῖν μὴ ἐπιχορηγοῦσα τοσοῦτοις οὔσι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἀποστροφὴν ἔχουσιν. ^[2]

ὥστ' οὐκ ἐξ ὧν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ διαβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ ἴστε, τὸν λιμὸν ἡγούμενοι γεγονέναι παύσασθε προσάπτοντες ἐπιβουλὴν ἡμετέραν τῷ πάθει καὶ ^[3] δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν ἀδικοῦντας. αἱ δ' ἀποστολαὶ τῶν κληρούχων ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἐγένοντο, κοινῇ δόξαν ὑμῖν ἅπασι διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν χωρία εἰς πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ μεγάλα ὠνησαν ἐν καιρῷ σφόδρα ἀναγκαίῳ γενόμεναι τοὺς τ' ἐξιόντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους ὑμῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφθονωτέρων εὐποροῦσιν [p. 44] ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομείναντες ἤττον σπανίζουσι τῆς ἀγορᾶς: ἢ τ' ἰσομοιρία τῆς τύχης ἥς μετέσχομεν ὑμῖν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι κλήρῳ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον, οὐ ψέγεται.

τί οὖν παθόντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὧν κοινὰς ἔσχομεν τὰς γνώμας καὶ τὰς τύχας, εἴτε δεινῶν ὄντων, ὡς οὗτοι φασιν, ^[2] εἴτ' ὠφελίμων, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἴομεθ'; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ νεωστὶ βουλῇ γενομένη διαβεβλήμεθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες μετριάσαι περὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, ὡς μνησικακοῦντες ὑμῖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ προθυμούμενοι κακῶσαι τὸ δημοτικόν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐγκλήματα ἔργοις ἀπολυσόμεθ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οὔτε κακὸν οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς ἐργασάμενοι τὴν τ' ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐφ' οἷς τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἔχειν, καὶ νῦν βεβαιοῦντες, τοῦ δὲ σίτου τὴν διάπρασιν ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν ἅπασι δόξῃ ποιησάμενοι. περιμείναντες οὖν, ἐὰν τι μὴ γένηται τούτων, τότε κατηγορεῖτε ἡμῶν. ^[3] εἰ δὲ βουλευθεῖτε ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι τὰ διάφορα, δικαιότερον ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι τοῦ δήμου κατηγοροίμεν, %5ῇ τὴν βουλὴν ὑμεῖς ἔχοιτε δι' αἰτίας. ἀδικεῖτε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὧς δημόται, καὶ μὴτὲν ἀχθεσθῆτε ἀκούοντες, εἴ γ' οὐκ ἀναμείναντες τῆς γνώμης ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὸ τέλος κατηγορεῖν ἤδη αὐτῆς ἀξιοῦτε. [p. 45] ^[4] καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ῥᾶστον ἔργον ἂν γένοιτο συγχέαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκ πόλεως τοιαῦτ' ἐγκαλοῦντι, ὧν ἡ πίστις μέλλουσα καὶ ἐν ἀδελῷ ἔτι οὔσα οὐ φυλακὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τι κακόν, ἀλλὰ πρόφασις τοῦ ἀδικεῖν; ^[5] καὶ οὐ τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν μόνον ὧν διαβάλλουσι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ συκοφαντοῦσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν οὐχ ἥττον ὧν πιστεύετε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆναι ἀγανακτεῖτε. χρῆν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἰ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐφοβεῖσθε ἀδικήματα, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀργὰς μελλούσας ἔχειν. νῦν δὲ φαίνεσθε ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα ἐγνωκέναι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον ἐν τῷ κακουργωτέρῳ τιθέναι.

περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ δήμαρχοι διέβαλον, ἀποχρῆν οἶομαι τοσαῦτ' εἰρηῇσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, περὶ ὧν ἂν εἴπωμεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, συκοφαντοῦσι, καὶ διιστάναι τὴν πόλιν αἰτιῶνται, καὶ νῦν Γάιον Μάρκιον, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν, ἐλευθέρα φωνῇ χρησάμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦσιν ἢ φυγάδα ποιῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος, βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰ δίκαια εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς: καὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ μετρίους καὶ ἀληθεῖς ἐρῶ: ^[2] τοὺς λόγους. ὑμεῖς, ὧς δημόται, διαλλαττόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀποχρῆν ὑμῖν ὥεσθε τῶν δανείων ἀφεῖσθαι, καὶ βοηθείας ἕνεκα τῶν κατισχυομένων πενήτων ἄρχοντας ἐξ

αὐτῶν ἡτήσασθε ἀποδεικνύναι, καὶ ταῦτ' [p. 46] ἀμφότερα πολλὴν εἰδότες ἡμῖν χάριν ἐλάβετε: καταλῦσαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τὴν βουλὴν ἄκυρον ποιῆσαι τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν προστασίας καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀνατρέψαι τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας οὐτ' ἡτήσασθε οὔτε μέλλετε. [3] τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπιχειρεῖτε πάντα συγχεῖν ταῦτα νυνὶ; καὶ τίνι δικαίῳ πιστεύοντες τὰς τιμὰς ἡμῶν ζητεῖτε ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; εἰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσιν τῆς βουλῆς φοβερὸν ποιήσετε τὸ μὴ μετὰ παρρησίας ἃ φρονοῦσι λέγειν, τί ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ προεστηκότες ὑμῶν ἐπικεῖς; ἢ ποίῳ χρησάμενοι νόμῳ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν ἢ φυγῇ τῶν πατρικίων τινὰς ἀξιώσουσιν; οὔτε γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ νόμοι ταύτην διδόασιν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὔθ' αἱ νεωστὶ γενόμεναι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁμολογίαι. [4] τὸ δ' ἐκβαίνειν τοὺς νομίμους ὄρους καὶ τὴν βίαν κρείττονα ποιεῖν τῆς δίκης οὐκέτι δημοτικὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εἰ τάληθ' ἐβούλεσθε ἀκούειν τυραννικόν. ἐγὼ δὴ παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὧν μὲν εὗρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς φιланθρώπων μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, ὧν δ' οὐκ ἤξιώσατε διαλυόμενοι τὴν ἔχθραν τότε τυχεῖν μηδὲ νῦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι.

ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν γένηται φανερόν, ὅτι οὔθ' οὔτε μέτριον οὔτε δίκαιον ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ δημαγωγοί, ἀλλὰ παρανόμων τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἐφίενται μετενέγκαντες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, οὕτω σκοπεῖτε καὶ ὑπολάβετε τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν [p. 47] πολιτευόμενοις ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι πονηροὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς διατίθενται λόγους ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ καταλύουσι τὴν πατριὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν, καὶ διαστασιάζουσι τὴν πόλιν, ἅπαντα ταῦτα λέγοντας ἀληθῆ: ποιοῦσι γὰρ ταῦτα: καὶ τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ὅτι δυναστείαν περιβάλλονται μείζονα τῆς συγκεχωρημένης αὐτοῖς ἄκριτον ἀποκτείνειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ὃν ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ [2] τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας τεθνάναι νηποινί. πῶς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐνέγκαιτε τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ συνεδρίου; καὶ τί ἂν εἴποιτε; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσατε καὶ δεινὰ φαίητε πάσχειν, εἰ τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφαιρήσεται τις ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἐπιθεῖς τοῖς ἐλευθέραν φωνὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου φθεγξαμένοις; [3] οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἔπειθ' ἃ παθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιτε αὐτοί, ταῦθ' ἐτέρους πάσχοντας ἀνέχεσθαι δικαιοῦτε; πολιτικά γ', ὧ δημόται, καὶ μέτρια ὑμῶν τὰ βουλευόμενα. τοιαῦτ' ἀξιοῦντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ βεβαιοῦτε τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῶν διαβολὰς ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμβουλευόντας τὴν παράνομον ὑμῶν δυναστείαν μὴ περιορᾶν αὐξομένην, τὰ δίκαια τῷ κοινῷ [4] φρονοῦντας ἀποδείκνυτε; ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ. ἀλλ' εἴ γε τᾶναντία βούλεσθε ὧν διαβέβλησθε ποιεῖν, ἔμοι συμβούλῳ χρησάμενοι μετριάσατε καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐφ' οἷς ἄχθεσθε, πολιτικῶς καὶ μὴ δυσοργήτως ἐνέγκατε. [p. 48] περιέσται γὰρ ὑμῖν μὲν, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσετε, ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀπεχθῶς διακειμένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετανοεῖν.

δίκαια μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προεχόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μεγάλα, ὥς γ' οὖν οἰόμεθα, πείθομεν ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν: χρηστὰ δὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα ἔργα, οἷς χρῆσόμεθα οὐκ ὀνειδίσαι βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπεικεστέρους ποιῆσαι, — χωρὶς τῶν παλαιῶν τὰ νεωστὶ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ὑμῶν, — ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπιλελήσθαι βουλόμεθα, ὑμεῖς δὲ δίκαιοι ἐστε μεμνησθαι. [2] ἀναγκαζόμεθα δ' αὐτὰ παραφέρειν νυνὶ χρήζοντες ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ

μεγάλων, ὧν ὑμῖν δεομένοις ἐχαρισάμεθα, ταύτην παρ' ὑμῶν ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναι μήτ' ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων κράτιστον. ζημιωσόμεθα γὰρ οὐ μικρά, εὖ ἴστε, ὧ δημόται, τοιαύτης ἀποστερήσαντες ἀρετῆς τὴν πόλιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὑφεῖναι τῆς ὀργῆς δίκαιοι ἐστε μνησθέντες, ὅσους ὑμῶν ἔσωσεν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ μὴ λόγων μνησικακεῖν φαύλων, ἀλλ' ἔργων μεμνησθαι καλῶν. [3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲν ἔβλαπεν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις αὐτοῦ μεγάλα ὠφέλησαν. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχετε, ἡμῖν γέ τοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ χαρίσασθε αὐτὸν δεομένοις, καὶ διαλλάγητε ἤδη ποτὲ βεβαίως τὴν τε πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶχε, μίαν [p. 49] εἶναι ποιήσατε. εἰ δὲ πείθουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ συγχωρήσετε, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἡμεῖς βιαζόμενοις ὑμῖν εἴξομεν, ἀλλ' ἤτοι φιλόπητος ἀδόλου καὶ χαρίτων ἔτι μειζόνων ἦδε ἡ πείρα τοῦ δήμου πᾶσιν αἰτία ἔσται, ἣ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου αὐθις ἄρξει καὶ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων.

τοιαῦτα τοῦ Μηνυκίου διεξελθόντος ὀρῶντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τῇ τε μετριότητι τῶν λόγων καὶ τῇ φιланθρωπίᾳ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐπαγόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἤχοντο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, μάλιστα δὲ Γάιος Σικίννιος Βελλοῦτος, ὁ πείσας τοὺς πένητας ἀποστῆναι τῶν πατρικίων καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἕως ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἔχθιστος ἀνὴρ ἀριστοκρατία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προηγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν τε δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν δεῦτερον ἤδη παρειληφώς, ἀπάντων ἥκιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἑαυτῷ συμφέρειν ὁμονοῆσαι οἰόμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν κόσμον. [2] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔξειν ἔτι τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπελάμβανεν ἀριστοκρατίας πολιτευομένης, γεγωνώς τε κακῶς καὶ τεθραμμένος ἀδόξως καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐθὲν ἀποδειξάμενος οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους οὔτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδυνεύειν, ὡς διεστασιακῶς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῇ κακῶν γεγονῶς αἴτιος. [3] ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὴ ὅσα [p. 50] χρῆν λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν καὶ μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων βουλευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινους ἔσχεν ὁμογνώμονας, ἀνέστη καὶ μικρὰ περὶ τῆς κατεχούσης τὸν δῆμον ἀτυχίας ἀποδυράμενος τοὺς θ' ὑπάτους ἐπήνεσεν, ὅτι λόγον ἡξίωσαν ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς δημόταις οὐχ ὑπεριδόντες αὐτῶν τῆς ταπεινότητος, καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις εἰδέναι χάριν ἔφησεν, εἰ τις αὐτοῖς ἤδη ποτὲ φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν πενήτων: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔφη μετὰ πάντων ἐκμαρτυρήσειν, ἐὰν ὅμοια παράσχωνται τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα.

εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ δόξας μέτριος ὀργὴν εἶναι καὶ διαλλακτικὸς ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον παρεστηκότα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ λέγει: σὺ δέ, τί οὐκ ἀπολογῇ πρὸς τοὺς σαντοῦ πολίτας, ὧ γενναῖε, περὶ ὧν εἶπας ἐν τῇ βουλῇ; μᾶλλον δὲ τί οὐκ ἀντιβολεῖς καὶ παραιτῇ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα μετριωτέραν ἐπιθῶσί σοι ζημίαν; ἀρνείσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀξιῶσαιμί σε τοσοῦτων ἀνδρῶν εἰδότην οὐδ' εἰς ἀναισχύντους καταφεύγειν ἀπολογίας, Μάρκιον ὄντα καὶ φρόνημα μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἔχοντα: εἰ μὴ ἄρα τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις καλῶς ἔχει πείθειν ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὸν δῆμον, σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἄρα καλῶς ἔξει ταῦτό [2] τοῦτο περὶ σεαυτοῦ ποιήσαντι; ταῦτα δ'

ἔλεγεν οὐκ [p. 51] ἄγνοῶν, ὅτι μεγάλῳφρων ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἡμαρτηκῶς ἄφεσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας, οὐδ' εἰς ὀλοφυρμούς καὶ δεήσεις καταφεύξεται παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἦτοι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀπαξιῶσει τὴν ἀπολογία, ἢ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐθάδειαν φυλάττων οὐθὲν ὑποθωπεύσει τὸν δῆμον μετριάσας περὶ τοὺς λόγους: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. [3] γενομένης γὰρ ἡσυχίας καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπεσοῦσης ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς προθυμίας ἀπολύειν αὐτόν, εἰ τὸν παρόντα θεραπεύσειε καιρὸν, τοιαύτην αὐθάδειαν ἐπεδειξατο λόγων, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν κατεφρόνησεν, ὥστε παρελθὼν ἔξαρνος μὲν ὑπὲρ οὐθενὸς ἦν τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν εἰρημένων κατὰ τοῦ πλήθους, οὐδ' ὡς μεταγινώσκων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς οἴκτους καὶ παραιτήσεις ἐτρέπετο: ἀρχὴν δ' οὐδὲ δικασταῖς αὐτοῖς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι περὶ οὐδενὸς πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν νόμιμον: εἰ δὲ βουλήσεται τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴτ' ἔργων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτῶν εἴτε λόγων, [4] ἔνθα νόμος ἐστὶν ἔτοιμος εἶναι δίκην ὑπέχειν. παρελθούσης δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ καλοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσεων ταῖς παρανομίαις αὐτῶν καὶ πλεονεξίαις, αἷς ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τε τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον: τὰ δὲ συμβουλευσὼν ἐποσχέιν ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ συστέλλαι τὰς ἀδίκους ἐπιθυμίας. [5] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιστρέφῶς πάνυ καὶ θρασέως ἀπάντων αὐτῶν καθήπτετο καὶ μάλιστα τῶν δημάρχων. προσῆν δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ὡς πολίτου δῆμον ἀναδιδάσκοντος εὐλόγιστος αἰδῶς, οὐδ' ὡς ἰδιώτου [p. 52] πολλοῖς ἀπεχθομένου σῶφρων εὐλάβεια πρὸς τὰς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὀργάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐχθροῦ προπηλακίζοντος ἀδεῶς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἄκρατός τις χολή καὶ βαρεῖα τοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντος ὑπεροψία.

τοιγάρτοι λέγοντός τ' αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ πολλὺς θόρυβος ἐγίνετο τῇδε καὶ τῇδε θαμινὰ μεθελκομένοις, ὡς ἐν διαφόροις, πλήθεσι καὶ οὐ ταῦτ' αὖ βουλομένοις, τῶν μὲν ἡδόμενων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πάλιν ἀχθομένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο λέγων, ἔτι πλείων ἀνέστη βοή καὶ θόρυβος. [2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατρίκιοι κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν λέγοντες ἐπήνουν αὐτόν ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ μόνον ἀπέφαινον ἐξ ἀπάντων σφῶν ἐλεύθερον, ὃς οὔτε πολεμίῳν ἔδεισεν ἐπὶόντων ὄχλον οὔτε πολιτῶν αὐθάδεις καὶ παρανόμους ἐκολάκευσεν ὀρμάς: οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς βαρὺν καὶ πικρὸν καὶ πολεμίῳν ἀπάντων ἔχθιστον αὐτόν ἀπεκάλουν. [3] προθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν εἶχόν τινες ἤδη, οἷς πολὺ προσῆν τὸ εὐχερές, ἐν χειρῶν αὐτόν διαφθεῖραι νόμῳ. συνήργουν δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ συνελάμβανον οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ μάλιστα Σικίνιος ἐνεδίδου τοῖς βουλήμασι τὰς ἡνίας. τελευτῶν γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν αὐτοῦ καταδρομὴν ἐποίησατο καὶ τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐξέκαυσε τῶν δημοτῶν, πολλὺς ἐμπνεύσας τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τέλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ὅτι θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφίζεται τὸ [p. 53] ἀρχεῖον τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀγορανόμους ὕβρεως ἔνεκεν, οὓς τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἄγειν αὐτόν κελευσθέντας ὑφ' αὐτῶν τύπτων ἀπήλασεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρων τινῶν εἶναι τὸν προπηλακισμόν τὸν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας σφῶν γενόμενον ἢ τῶν κελευσάντων. [4] καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέταξεν ἄγειν αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον: ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον κρημνὸς ἐξαΐσιος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν βάλλειν

τοὺς ἐπιθανατίους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀγορανόμοι προσήεσαν ὡς ἐπιληψόμενοι τοῦ σώματος, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι μέγα ἐμβοήσαντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθρόοι: ἔπειθ' ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρίκίους: καὶ ἦν πολλή μὲν ἔργων ἀκοσμία, πολλή δὲ λόγων ὕβρις παρ' ἄμοφιν, [5] ὠτισμοὶ τε καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. κατελήφθη δὲ καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἡναγκάσθη τὰ παρακινεῦντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων βιασαμένων εἰς μέσους καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδοῦχοις ἀναστέλλειν κελυσάντων τοὺς ὄχλους: τοσαύτη ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰδῶς ἦν τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτω τίμιον τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας μίμημα. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Σικίννιος ἀδημονῶν καὶ διαταραπτόμενος εὐλαβείας τε μεστὸς ὢν, μὴ προσαναγκάσῃ τοὺς διαφόρους τοῖς βίαιοις τὰ βίαια λῦσαι, ἀποστῆναι τ' οὐκ ἀξίων τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος, ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐπεβάλετο, καὶ μένειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔκρινεν οὐ δυνατὸς ὢν, πολὺς ἐν τῷ σκοπεῖν, ὃ τι πρακτέον ἦν.

κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ἀμυχανοῦντα Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος, ἐκείνος ὁ δημαγωγὸς ὁ τεχνησάμενος, [p. 54] ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις αἱ διαλλαγαί, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ πόρους εὐρεῖν ἐν ἀπόροις, προσέρχεται μόνος μόνῳ καὶ ὑποτίθεται μὴ φιλονικεῖν ἐγχειρήματι θερμῷ καὶ παρανόμῳ συναγωνιζόμενον, ὀρῶντα τοὺς τε πατρίκίους ἅπαντας ἡρεθισμένους καὶ ἐτοίμους ὄντας, εἰ κληθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ καρτερώτατον μέρος ἐνδοιάζον καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπητῶς δεχόμενον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανεστάτου τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παράδοσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκρίτου. [2] συνεβούλευε δ' αὐτῷ τότε μὲν εἶξαι καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς ὑπάτοις, μὴ τι μείζον κακὸν ἐργάσῃται, προθεῖναι δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δίκην ὀρίσαντα χρόνον ὅσον δὴ τινα, καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φυλάς: ὃ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν: τυραννικὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ βίαιον, ὃ νῦν ἐπειρᾶτο διαπράττεσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον: πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ κατὰ νόμους ἀπολογίας τυχόντα τὸν ὑπαίτιον, ὃ τι ἂν τοῖς πλείοσι δικασταῖς δόξῃ, τοῦτο παθεῖν. [3] πείθεται τούτοις ὁ Σικίννιος μηδὲν ὀρῶν βούλευμα κρεῖττον καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη: τὴν μὲν σπουδὴν ὀρᾶτε τῶν πατρίκιων τὴν εἰς τὰ φονικὰ καὶ βίαια ἔργα, ᾧ δημόται, ὡς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐθάδους ὅλην ἀδικοῦντος τὴν πόλιν ἤττον τίθενται τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον. οὐ μὴν ὁμοίους γ' αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι χρή [p. 55] καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖσθαι οὗτ' ἄρχοντας πολέμου οὗτ' ἀμυνομένους: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ προβάλλονταί τινες τὸν νόμον, ᾧ βοηθοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀφαιροῦνται τῆς κολάσεως, ὅς οὐκ ἔῃ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐθέν' ἀποκτεῖναι ἀκρίτον, συγχωρήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο, καίπερ οὐδὲ νόμιμα πάσχοντες οὐδὲ δίκαια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ δεῖξωμεν, ὅτι τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς βίαιοις περιεῖναι τῶν ἀδικούντων ἡμᾶς πολιτῶν βουλόμεθα. [4] ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἅπτε καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα καιρὸν ἐκδέχεσθε οὐ πολὺν ἐσόμενον: ἡμεῖς δὲ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ κατεπείγοντα προθήσομεν χρόνον τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐφ' ὑμῶν συντελέσομεν. ὅταν δὲ γέννησθε τῆς ψήφου κατὰ τὸν νόμον κύριοι, τιμήσατε αὐτῷ ἥς ἂν ἄξιον εὐρητε ζημίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοσαῦτα. τῆς δὲ τοῦ σίτου διαπράσεως τε καὶ διαθέσεως, ἴν' ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου γένηται, εἰ μὴ τις ἔσται τούτοις καὶ τῇ

βουλῇ φροντίς, αὐτοὶ ἐπιμελησόμεθα. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλὴν ἐσκόπουν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, τίς ἂν γένοιτο τῆς παρούσης ταραχῆς λύσις. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοὺς δημότας, εὐώνους πάνυ καὶ λυσιτελεῖς ποιήσαντας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀγοράς· ἔπειτα πείθειν [p. 56] τοὺς προεστηκότας αὐτῶν χάριτι τῆς βουλῆς παύσασθαι καὶ μὴ παράγειν τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοιεν εἰς μακροτάτους ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνους, ἕως ἂν μαρανθῶσιν αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὀργαί. [2] ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ πάντων ἐπαινεσάντων ἐκύρωσαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· τὰς τιμὰς εἶναι τῶν ὀνίων τῶν πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον, αἵτινες ἐγένοντ' ἐλάχισται πρὸ τῆς ἐμφυλίου στάσεως. παρὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντες τὴν μὲν ὀλοσχερῇ πάρεσιν οὐχ εὗροντο, τὴν δ' εἰς χρόνον ὅσον ἡξίου ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβον· αὐτοὶ τε προσεμηχανήσαντο διατριβὴν ἑτέραν ἀφορμῇ τοιᾷδε χρησάμενοι. [3] τοὺς ἐκ Σικελίας ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου πρέσβεις καὶ παρακομίσαντας τῷ δήμῳ τὴν τοῦ σίτου δωρεὰν ἀποπλέοντας οἴκαδε Ἀντιάται πειρατήριον στείλαντες κατήγαγον ἀποσαλεύοντας οὐ πρόσω τῶν λιμένων καὶ τὰ τε χρήματ' αὐτῶν ὡς πολεμίων δι' ὠφελείας ἔθεντο, καὶ τὰ σώματα κατακλείσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ. [4] ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ ὕπατοι ἔξοδον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιάτας, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἡξίου τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν· καὶ ποιησάμενοι τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ κατάλογον ἐξήεσαν ἀμφοτέροι, ψηφισμα κυρώσαντες ὑπὲρ ἀναβολῆς τῶν τ' ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ὦσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [5] ἐγένετο δ' οὗτος οὐχ ὅσον ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ [p. 57] πολλῷ ἐλάττων. οἱ γὰρ Ἀντιάται μαθόντες ἐξεστρατευμένους πανδημεὶ Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀντέσχον χρόνον, δεόμενοι δὲ καὶ λιπαροῦντες τὰ τε σώματα τῶν ἀλόντων Σικελιωτῶν ἀπέδωκαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέψαι.

διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁ μὲν Σικίνιος ὁ δῆμαρχος συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν προεῖπεν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ συντελεῖν ἔμελλε τὴν περὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου κρίσιν· καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς τε κατὰ πόλιν ὑπάρχοντας ἀθρόους ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν τῆς δίκης καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν διατρίβοντας ἀφεμένους τῶν ἔργων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαντᾶν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας ὅλης τῆς πόλεως τὴν ψῆφον ἀναληφσόμενοι· παρήγγελλε δὲ καὶ τῷ Μαρκίῳ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσουντι τῶν περὶ [2] τὰς κρίσεις νομίμων. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει βουλευσαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου μὴ περιορᾶν τὸν δῆμον ἐξουσίας τηλικαύτης κύριον γενόμενον. εὖρητο δ' αὐτοῖς τῆς κωλύσεως ἀφορμὴ δικαία καὶ νόμιμος, ἥ χρώμενοι πάντα διαλύσειν ὦντο τὰ τῶν ἀντιδίκων βουλευόμενα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρεκάλεσαν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ δήμου συνόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. [3] καὶ ἔλεξε Μηνύκιος τοιάδε· ἡμῖν, ὦ δῆμαρχοι, δοκεῖ χρῆναι τὴν στάσιν ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν ἐναντία τῷ [p. 58] δήμῳ περὶ μηδενὸς χρήματος· μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ὁρῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν βιαίων ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἥκοντας. ταύτης μέντοιγε τῆς γνώμης ἐπαινοῦντες ὑμᾶς τὴν βουλὴν οἴομεθα δεῖν

ἄρξαι προβούλευμα ποιησαμένην, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάτριον. δύνασθε δ' ἄν καὶ ^[4] αὐτοὶ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι, τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχουσα ἡ βουλὴ διατετέλεκε, καὶ οὐθὲν πώποτε ὁ δῆμος, ὃ τι μὴ προβουλευέσκειν ἢ βουλή, οὐτ' ἐπέκρινεν οὐτ' ἐπεψήφισεν, οὐχ ὅτι νῦν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δ', ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξειε, ταῦθ' οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκφέροντες ἐπεκύρουν. μὴ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀφαιρεῖσθε τὸ δίκαιον ἡμῶν, μηδὲ ἀρχαῖον καλὸν ἔθος ἀφανίζετε: διδάξαντες δὲ τὸ συνέδριον, ὅτι δικαίου δεῖσθε καὶ μετρίου πράγματος, ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ, τούτου τὸν δῆμον ἀποδείξατε κύριον.

ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων λεγόντων ὁ μὲν Σικίννιος οὐκ ἠνείχετο τῶν λόγων οὐδὲ ἡξίου τὴν βουλήν οὐδενὸς ποιεῖν κυρίαν: οἱ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν ἐκείνῳ Δέκιου γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι συνεχώρουν γενέσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα, δικαίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιησάμενοι πρόκλησιν, ἣν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν μὴ ^[2] δεῖσασθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ἡξίου γὰρ τοὺς βουλευτὰς λόγον ἀποδόντας αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πράττουσι [p. 59] καὶ τοῖς συναγορεύειν ἢ τάναντία λέγειν βουλομένοις, ἐπειδὴν ἀκούσωσιν ἀπάντων τῶν βουλομένων, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς φανῇ δικαῖόν τε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρον ἀποφύνασθαι, φέρειν δὴ τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντας ὥσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον ὁμόσαντας: ὃ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους γινώμῃ καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον. ^[3] συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὥσπερ ἡξίου οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν: τῇ δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν μὲν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἡ βουλὴ: οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ δηλώσαντες αὐτῇ τὰ συγκείμενα τοὺς δημάρχους ἐκάλουν, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤκουσιν ἐκέλευον λέγειν. παρελθὼν δ' ὁ Δέκιος ὁ συγχωρήσας τὸ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι τοιούτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις.

οὐ λανθάνει μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὧ βουλὴ, τὸ συμβησόμενον, ὅτι δι' αἰτίας ἐσόμεθα παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίξεως ἕνεκα, καὶ κατήγορον ἔξομεν τοῦ προβουλευματος ἄνδρα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἡμῖν, ὃς οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν, ἃ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ νόμος, ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῶν αἰτεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει τὸ δίκαιον λαμβάνειν. κίνδυνον δ' οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναρρίψομεν εἰς δίκην ὑπαχθέντες, ἀλλ' ὥς αὐτόμολοι καὶ προδότες καταγνωσθέντες τὰ αἰσχιστα πεισόμεθα. ^[2] ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι ταῦτα, ὅμως ὑπεμείναμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν [p. 60] τῷ τε δικαίῳ πεποιθότες καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐπιτρέψαντες, οἷς ὁμόσαντες οἴσετε τὰς γνώμας. φαῦλοι μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς γ' ὥς περὶ τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων λέγειν καὶ πολὺ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐνδεέστεροι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα οὐ φαῦλα, ὑπὲρ ὧν λέξομεν. τούτοις οὖν προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἐὰν ὑμῖν δόξη δίκαιά τε καὶ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, συγχωρήσατε ἡμῖν αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἐκόντες.

ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πρῶτον. ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὧ βουλὴ, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀπηλλάξατε συμμάχους ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ἣ νῦν ἔσμεν, κατεστήσατε, ἣν οὐ ψέγομεν, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐν ταῖς δίκαις τοὺς δημοτικούς ὁρῶντες, ὅποτε συμβαίῃ τι διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους: πολλὰ δ' ἦν ταῦτα: νόμον ἐκυρώσατε Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι, ἐξεῖναι τοῖς κατισχυομένοις ὑπὸ

τῶν πατρικίων δημόταις προκαλεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον· καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὥς τὸν νόμον τόνδε τὴν τε πόλιν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ διεφυλάξατε καὶ [2] τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπιόντας ἀπέωσασθε. τοῦτον δὴ προφερόμενοι τὸν νόμον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἅπαντες ἀδικεῖσθαι τε καὶ κατισχυέσθαι λέγομεν ὑπὸ Γαίου Μαρκίου τουδὶ, καλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὰ δίκαια παραγγέλλομεν ἐκεῖ λέγειν. καὶ προβουλευματος ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἔδει. περὶ ὧν γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶ νόμοι, περὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς τοῦ [p. 61] προβουλεύεσθαι κύριοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσαι· νόμου δ' ὄντος ἀκινήτου, κἂν μηδὲν ὑμεῖς προβουλεύσητε, [3] τούτῳ δῆπου χρηστέον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτ' ὅ γ' ἂν εἴποι τις, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν ὄντων οἷς τὸ μειονεκτεῖν συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς κρίσεις κυρίαν εἶναι δεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον πρόκλησιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄκυρον. νόμου μὲν δὴ συγχωρήματι τῷδε ἰσχυριζόμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακινδυνεύσαντες ὑφ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι δικασταῖς ἤκομεν. [4] ἐπ' ἀγράφῳ δὲ καὶ ἀνομοθετήτῳ φύσεως δικαίῳ τόδε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὧ βουλὴ, μήτε πλέον ἔχειν ὑμῶν τὸν δῆμον μήτε μείον, ἐν γοῦν τῷ δικαίῳ, οἱ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους συνδιενέγκαντες ὑμῖν πολέμους καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ἐπιδειξάμενοι προθυμίαν, καὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἑτέροις ἐπιτάττειν τὰ δίκαια, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν παρασχόμενοι. [5] οὕτῳ δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τὸ μὴ μείον ἔχειν τῶν δικαίων ἀποδοίητε, ὧ πατέρες, εἰ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας εἰς τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρανομεῖν κωλύοιτε τὸν ἐκ [p. 62] τῆς δίκης ἐφιστάντες αὐτοῖς φόβον. ἀρχὰς μὲν δὴ καὶ προεδρίας καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ προὔχουσιν ἡμῶν οἰόμεθα δεῖν ἀπονέμειν· τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ δίκας ὧν ἂν τις πάθῃ προσηκούσας λαμβάνειν ἴσα καὶ κοινὰ τοῖς ἅμα πολιτευομένοις εἶναι δικαιοῦμεν. [6] ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀφιστάμεθ' ὑμῖν, οὕτως τῶν ἴσων καὶ κοινῶν οὐ μεθιέμεθα. ἱκανὰ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πολλῶν ἐνόντων καὶ ἄλλων λέγεσθαι.

ὥς δὲ καὶ συνοίσει τῷ κοινῷ ταῦθ' ὥς ὁ δῆμος ἀξιοῖ γινόμενα, μικρὰ διεξιόντος ἀνέχεσθέ μου. φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, τί μέγιστον οἶεσθε εἶναι τῶν καταλαμβανόντων κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τοῦ ταχίστου τῶν ὀλέθρων αἵτιον, ἢρ' οὐχὶ τὴν διχοστασίαν εἵποιτ' ἂν; ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ. [2] τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὕτως ἡλίθιος ἐστὶν ἢ σκαιὸς ἢ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου μισῶν τὴν ἰσηγορίαν, ὅς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι δοθείσης ἐξουσίας τῷ δήμῳ κρίνειν ἅς ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ δίκας κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πολιτευσόμεθα, εἰ δὲ τάναντία γνοίητε καὶ ἀφέλοισθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ ἀφαιρήσεσθε δίκην καὶ νόμον ἀφαιρούμενοι· στασιάζειν ἡμᾶς αὐθις ἀναγκάσετε καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν; ἐξ ἧς γὰρ ἂν ἐξελασθῇ πόλεως δίκη καὶ νόμος, εἰς ταύτην στάσις εἰσπορεύεσθαι φιλεῖ καὶ πόλεμος. [3] καὶ ὅσοι μὲν οὐκ [p. 63] ἦλθον εἰς πεῖραν ἐμφυλίων διαφορῶν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν κακῶν μήτ' ἄχθονται τοῖς γεγονόσι δεινοῖς μήτε κωλύουσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα. ὅσοι δ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους καταστάντες ἀγαπητῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἦν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆται ποιησάμενοι τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, τίς εὐπρεπῆς ἢ μετρία πρόφασις ἀπολείπεται τούτοις, ἐὰν ἔτι ταῖς αὐταῖς συμφέρωνται τύχαις; [4] τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑμῶν καταγνοίῃ πολλὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ

μανίαν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι μικρὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ στασιάζειν τοὺς δημότας πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπεμείνατε, ὧν ἓνια οὔτε κάλλιστα ἦν ἴσως οὔτε λυσιτελέστατα: νῦν δ' οὐτ' εἰς χρήματα βλάπτεσθαι μέλλοντες οὐτ' εἰς εὐδοξίαν οὐτ' εἰς ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἵνα χαρίζησθε τοῖς μισοδημοτάτοις, τὸ δημοτικὸν αὐθις ἐκπολεμώσετε; οὐκ, ^[5] ἔάν γε σωφρονῇτε. ἡδέως δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐροίμην, τίνα γνώμην λαβόντες τότε τὴν κάθοδον ἡμῖν συνεχωρήσατε ἐφ' οἷς ἡξιοῦμεν, πότερα λογισμῷ προϊδόμενοι τὸ κράτιστον ἢ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ εἷξαντες; εἴπερ γὰρ ταῦθ' ὑπελαμβάνετε ὠφελιμώτατα εἶναι τῇ πόλει, τί οὐ μένετε καὶ νῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς; εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενα ἄλλως γενέσθαι, τί χαλεπαίνετε γενομένοις; τὴν ἀρχὴν [p. 64] γὰρ ἴσως ἔδει μὴ συγχωρήσαι, εἰ δύναιμις ἦν ὑμῖν, συγχωρήσαντας δὲ μηκέτι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐγκαλεῖν.

ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖτε, ὦ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τὰς διαλύσεις γνώμῃ τῇ βελτίστῃ κεχρηῆσθαι ... οἷς ἀνάγκη εἴκειν ... τοῦ βέβαια τηρεῖν τὰ συγκείμενα. θεοὺς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐδώκατε τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπαρασάμενοι τοῖς παραβᾶσι τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ τε δίκαια ἡξιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, ἃ καὶ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς μεμνημένους τῶν ὄρκων, ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας ἅπαντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν. ^[2] ὡς δ' οὐ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα ἡμῖν ἐστί τόνδε μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα μήτε βίᾳ εἷξαντας μήτ' ἀπάτῃ παραχθέντας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίγμεθα, δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθότες ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρός, μάθετε, ὦ πατέρες, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναμνήσθητε: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ τι οὐ πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ἔρω: καὶ ἅμα γνώμῃ χρήσασθε οἰκεία πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ἐνθυμηθέντες, εἰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἡμῶν ἐπεχείρησέ τις ἐν τῷ πλήθει τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν [p. 65] καθ' ὑμῶν, οἷα Μάρκιος ἐτόλμησεν ἐνθάδε εἰπεῖν, ποῖόν ποτ' ἂν ὑμῖν παρέστη πρὸς αὐτὸν πάθος.

τὰς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας τῇ βουλήϊ ἀκινήτους ὁμολογίας καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀδαμαντίνους δεσμοῖς ἡσφαλισμένας, ἃς οὔτε ὑμῖν τοῖς ὁμωμοκόσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐσομένοις καταλύειν θέμις, ἕως ἂν ἡ πόλις ἦδε οἰκῇται, πρῶτος ἐπεχείρησε λύειν ἐξ ὑμῶν οὕτοσι Μάρκιος οὕτω τέταρτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ γεγενημένας, οὐ σιγῇ πράττων τὴν κατάλυσιν, οὐδ' εἰς ἀφανές που καταδύς χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ πάντων παρόντων ὑμῶν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος, ὡς χρή τὴν δημοαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν μηκέτι συγχωρεῖν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν, ἥ πρώτη καὶ μόνη τῆς ἐλευθερίας φυλακῇ ^[2] πιστεῦσαντες ἐποιησάμεθα τὰς διαλύσεις. καὶ οὐκ ἐνταῦθ' ἔστη τῆς ἀλαζονείας, ἀλλ' ὕβριν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν πενήτων καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἰσηγορίαν ὀνομάζων ἀφελέσθαι παρήνει ταύτην ὑμῖν. ὃ δὲ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἦν τῶν τότε ὑπὸ τούτου ἀξιωθέντων, ἀναμνήσθητε, ὦ πατέρες, ὅτ' ἀπέφαινε καλὸν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ὀργάς, καὶ παρήνει νῦν, ἐν ᾧ τετρῶχται θ' ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας καὶ πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον τῆς ἀναγκαίου σπανίζεται τροφῆς, ἅπαν αὐτὸ ἐπιτρίψαι, διακατασχόντας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπορίας τῶν [p. 66] ^[3] ἐπιτηδείων τὴν ἀγοράν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθέξειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ

πολὺν χρόνον ὀλίγα σιτία πολλοῦ ὠνουμένους ἀργυρίου πένητας ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἰχήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείποντας, ὅσοι δ' ἂν ὑπομείνωσι τῷ κακοδαίμονεστάτῳ διαφθαρήσεσθαι τῶν μὶνων. οὕτω δ' ἄρα παρεφρόνει καὶ θεοβλαβῆς ἦν ταῦτα πείθων ὑμᾶς, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ἡδυνήθη καταμαθεῖν, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων ὧν προσετρίβετο τὰς τῆς βουλῆς σπονδὰς λύειν ἀξιῶν, ὅτι πένητες ἀνθρωποι τῆς ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐθὲν ἔτι φίλιον ἡγούμενοι. [4] ὥστ' εἰ μανέντες ὑμεῖς ἐπεκυρώσατε τὰς γνώμας αὐτοῦ, μὴδὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπολωλέναι πλῆθος ἅπαν, ἢ μὴδὲ τὸ τῶν πατρικίων περιλελειφθαι γένος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀνδραποδωδῶς παρέσχομεν ἑαυτοὺς, οἱ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς μάρτυρας ὧν ἐπάσχομεν καὶ δαίμονας ἐπικαλεσάμενοι, πολλῶν ἂν ἐξεπληρώσαμεν, εὖ ἴστε, τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς νεκρῶν, καὶ μέγαν αἵματος κρατῆρα πολιτικοῦ στήσαντες οὕτως ἂν ἐδεξάμεθα τὴν ὀφειλομένην μοῖραν. τοιούτων ὑμῖν δυσσεβημάτων εἰσηγητής, ὦ πατέρες, ἐγένετο, καὶ τοιαῦτα δημηγορεῖν ὦρετο δεῖν.

καὶ οὐχὶ λέγειν μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος, ἐξ ὧν διαστήσει τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεχείρησε, πράττειν δ' οὐχ οἷα [p. 67] ἔλεγεν ἐπεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ στίφος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἅπασαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτοίμων παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχων, καλοῦμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἡμετέροις, ὅποτε κελευσθέντες ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοιντο, πληγὰς ἐντρίβεται, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων τῷ χεῖρε τελευτῶν ἀπέχεται. [2] ὥστε περίεστιν ἡμῖν, τὸ γ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον εἶναι μέρος, ὄνομα μὲν εὐπρεπὲς ἀσύλου ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ κείμενον ἔχειν, ἔργον δὲ τῶν ἀποδοδεομένων τῇ ἀρχῇ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν πράττειν. πῶς δ' ἂν ἑτέροις ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγουσι βοηθήσασιν, οἷς γε μὴδ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τάσφαλές; ταύτας μέντοι τὰς ὕβρεις οἱ πένητες ὑβριζόμενοι πρὸς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω τυραννοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἔτι μέλλοντος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπονθότες, ὦ βουλή, δεινὰ, τὰ δ' εἰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖον ὑμῶν μέρος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο παρασχεδὸν ἐλθόντες παθεῖν, ἄρα εἰκότως ἀγανακτοῦμεν καὶ βοηθείας πινὸς οἰόμεθα δεῖν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας συναγανακτήσεως τυχεῖν, ἐπὶ δίκην αὐτὸν ἴσῃν καὶ νόμιμον, ὦ βουλή, προσκαλούμενοι, περὶ ἣν ἅπανα ἡ πληθὺς μερισθεῖσα κατὰ φυλὰς λόγου δοθέντος τοῖς δεομένοις ἔνορκον ἐποιεῖ τὴν ψῆφον. [3] ἴθι ἐκεῖ, Μάρκιε, καὶ ταῦθ', ἃ μέλλεις λέγειν ἐνθάδε, πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ἀθρόους ἀπολογοῦ, εἴτε ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου [p. 68] τὰ κράτιστα συνεβούλευες τοῦτοις καὶ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα γενόμενα, εἴτε ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον λόγων εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν τοὺς ἀποφαινομένους ἐνθάδε τὰς γνώμας, εἴτε ὡς οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας οὐδὲ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἀλλ' ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ μιὰ ταῦτα παραινεῖν προήχθης, [4] εἴθ' ὅτιδῆποτε ἄλλο ἀπολόγημα ἔχεις. καταβίβασον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ τυραννικῶν αὐχημάτων ἐκείνων σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον, ὦ πονηρέ, καὶ ποιήσον ἥδη ποτὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὅμοιον. ἡμαρτηκότος λαβὲ καὶ παραιτουμένου σχῆμα ταπεινὸν καὶ ἐλεεινόν, οἷον ἀπαιτοῦσιν αἱ συμφοραί. μὴ βιαζόμενος τοὺς κακῶς πεπονθότας, ἀλλ' ὑπερχόμενος ἀξίου σῶζεσθαι.

[5] γενέσθω σοι παράδειγμα τῆς ἐπεικειας, ἢ χρώμενος ἂν εἴης πρὸς τοὺς ἅμα πολιτευομένους ἀνεπίληπτος, τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τούτων ἔργα, οἱ τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσους νῦν αὐτὸς ὄρᾳς, τοσαύτας δ' ἀρετὰς ἀποδεδειγμένοι καὶ πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς, ἃς οὐδ' ἐν πολλῷ πάνυ χρόνῳ διελθεῖν ῥᾶδιον, οὐδὲν ὥμον οὐδ' ὑπερήφανον ἐξηνεγκαν τέλος καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων ἤρξαν συμβατηρίων αὐτοὶ πρότεροι προτείνοντες διαλλαγὰς, ὅτε διεῖλεν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ τύχη, καὶ τὰς συμβάσεις οὐχ ὡς ἑαυτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον ἄριστα ἔξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡξιοῦμεν [p. 69] συνεχώρησαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖς ταυτὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σιτοδοσίαν ἔναγχος τοῦ χρόνου προσκρούματα, ἐφ' οἷς δι' αἰτίας εἶχομεν αὐτούς, περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποίησαντο ἀπολύσασθαι.

ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς θεοβλαβείας τίνας οὐκ ἐποίησαντο δεήσεις ἀπάντων κοινῇ τε καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν δημοτικῶν παραιτούμενοι σε τῆς τιμωρίας; ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοσαύτην πόλιν ἐπιτροπευούσῃ καλῶς εἶχεν, ὧ Μάρκιε, δικαστὴν τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνεκαλοῦντο ὑπομένειν, σοὶ δ' ἄρ' οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει; [2] καὶ δεῖσθαι γε τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῆς σῆς οὔτοι μὲν ἅπαντες οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι, σὺ δὲ δι' αἰσχύνῃς λαμβάνεις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη σοι ταῦτ', ὧ γενναῖε, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τι καλὸν ἐξειργασμένος ὑψαυχενῶν καὶ μεγαληγορῶν περιέρχῃ καὶ μηδὲν ὑφεῖναι τοῦ φρονήματος ἀπομαχώμενος: ἐὼ γάρ, ὅτι καὶ λοιδορούμενος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προσεγκαλῶν καὶ ἀπειλῶν. [3] ἔπειτ' οὐ νεμεσᾷτε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ὧ πατέρες, εἰ τηλικούτων αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ μόνος, ἡλικῶν οὐδ' ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς; ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἀνεδέχεσθε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον ψηφίσασθαι, τὸ μὲν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον ὑμῶν ἀγαπᾶν, μὴ δέχεσθαι δὲ χάριν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ κοινῇ βλάβῃ, ἀλλ' ὑπομένειν ἀπολογούμενον καὶ δίκην ὑπέχοντα εἰ δέοι καὶ πάντα [p. 70] [4] πάσχοντα. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἔργα ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔργοις ἀσκοῦντος, οὐ λόγοις. ἃ δὲ νῦν οὗτος βιάζεται, τίνος ἐστὶ σημεῖα βίου; ποίων μηνύματα προαιρέσεων, ὄρκους παραβαίνειν, δεξιὰς παρασπονδεῖν, ὁμολογίας ἀναιρεῖν, δήμῳ πολεμεῖν, εἰς ἀρχόντων σώματα ὑβρίζειν, καὶ μὴδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ τούτων τὸ σῶμα ὑπεύθυνον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄκριτον ἀναπολόγητον μηδενὸς δεηθέντα μηθένα φοβηθέντα μηθενὶ τῶν τοσοῦτων πολιτῶν ἴσον γενόμενον ἀδεῶς περινοσθεῖν; ἄρ' οὐ τυραννικοῦ [5] τρόπου σημεῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. καὶ τοῦτον ὅμως εἰσὶ τινες οἱ παραψύχοντες καὶ παρακροτοῦντες ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐντέτηκε τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς μῖσος ἀδιάλλακτον, καὶ οὐ δύνανται συνιδεῖν, ὅτι οὐθὲν μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦ ταπεινοτέρου μέρους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φύεται τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν ὡς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ σεμνοτέρου: ἀλλ' οἴονται τοῦ διαφόρου φύσει καταδουλωθέντος καὶ δὴ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς ἔξειν ἀσφαλῶς. [6] οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει τάληθές, ὧ γνώμης ἀμαρτάνοντες τῆς ἀρίστης: διδάσκαλον δὲ τὴν πείραν ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος παρέχεται καὶ τὸν χρόνον λαβόντες, ὀθνεῖοις θ' ἅμα καὶ οἰκείοις σωφρονισθέντες παραδείγμασι γνοίητ' ἂν, ὅτι μοσχευομένη κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τυραννὶς καθ' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως μοσχεύεται, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἄρχεται, κρατήσασα δ' οὐδ' ὑμῶν φείσεται.

τοιαῦτα διεξιόντος τοῦ Δεκίου καὶ τῶν [p. 71] ἄλλων δημάρχων ἃ παραλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐδόκει συναγορευσάντων, ἐπειδὴ γνώμας ἔδει τοὺς συνέδρους ἀποφαινεσθαι, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ὑπατικῶν καλούμενοι κατὰ τὸν εἰωθότα κόσμον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνίσταντο, ἔπειθ' οἱ τούτων ὑποδεέστεροι κατ' ἄμφω ταῦτα, τελευταῖοι δ' οἱ νεώτατοι λόγον μὲν οὐθένα λέγοντες: ἔτι γὰρ ἦν δι' αἰσχύνης τότε Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο, καὶ νέος οὐδεὶς ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν σοφώτερον εἶναι πρεσβύτου: ἐπεκύρουν δὲ τὰς κειμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπατικῶν γνώμας. [2] ἅπανσι δὲ προσετάρτετο παριοῦσι καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μεθ' ὅρκου τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν. Ἄππιος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὅτι μισοδημότατος ἦν τῶν πατρικίων καὶ οὐδέποτε ταῖς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἡρέσκετο διαλλαγαῖς, οὐκ εἴα γενέσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα τοιοῦτοις λόγοις χρώμενος.

ἐβουλόμεν μὲν ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ηὔξαμην πολλάκις ἑμαυτὸν μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν τῆς γνώμης, ἦν εἶχον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλύσεων, ὡς οὔτε καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν οὔτε συμφέρουσαν ἡμῖν ὑπελάμβανον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδον καὶ διὰ παντός, ὅσακις περὶ τούτου προὔτεθη σκοπεῖν, πρῶτός τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τελευταῶν μόνος, ἐπειδὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπέστησαν, ἡγαντιούμην: ὑμᾶς δ', ὧ βουλή, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνοντας καὶ πάντα [p. 72] τῷ δήμῳ δίκαιά τε καὶ ἄδικα προθύμως χαριζομένους ἄμεινον ἐμοῦ δόξαι φρονεῖν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐχ, ὡς ἐβουλόμεν τε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ηὔχόμεν, τὰ πράγματα ὑμῖν κεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὦμην, καὶ περιεστήκασιν αἱ χάριτες ὑμῖν εἰς φθόνους καὶ μίση, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ὑμῖν καὶ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ κενῆς, ὃ ῥᾶστόν ἐστι καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιεῖν σὺνθηες, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ νυνὶ γεννησόμενον ὀρῶν ἐάσω. ἐξ ὧν δὲ τὰ τε παρελθόντα ἐπανορθωσόμεθα, ὅσα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνιάτως ἔχει, καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἄμεινον φρονήσομεν, [3] ταῦτα πειράσομαι λέγειν. καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν, ὅτι μαίνεσθαι καὶ θανατᾶν δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἐλευθέραν ἀποφαινόμενος ἐνθυμουμένοις, ἡλικίους ἔχει κινδύνους ὁ μετὰ παρρησίας λόγος, καὶ τὰς Μαρκίου συμφοράς, ὅς οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τι νυνὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα τρέχει, λογιζομένοις. [4] ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶομαι δεῖν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας πλείω ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ἢ τῆς κοινῆς ὠφελείας. δέδοται γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδύνους τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὧ βουλή, καὶ καθωσιώται τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶσιν, ὥστε ὃ τι ἂν τῷ δαίμονι δοκῇ, μετὰ πάντων τε καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη καὶ μόνος εὐγενῶς πείσομαι: ἕως δ' ἂν ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐδεὶς με ἀφέξει φόβος μὴ οὐχ ἃ φρονῶ λέγειν. [p. 73]

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἤδη ποτὲ ἀξιῶ βεβαίως μαθεῖν, ὅτι δυσμενῆ καὶ πολέμιον ἔχετε τῇ καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μαλακισθέντες αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσατε μάτην θ' ὑμῖν ἀνήλωται καὶ καταφρονήσεως αἵτια γέγονεν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην συγχωρηθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' [2] οὐκ ἀπ' εὐνοίας οὐδὲ κατὰ κρίσιν. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ οὕτως. ὅτ' ἀπέστη λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ὁ δῆμος ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ πολέμιος ὑμῖν ἐτόλμησεν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ γενέσθαι, ἀδικηθεὶς μὲν οὐδέν, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ χρέα τοῖς συμβεβληκόσι διαλύσαι σκηπτόμενος, καὶ εἰ ψηφισαίσθε ὑμεῖς χρεῶν τ'

ἀποκοπὰς καὶ ἄδειαν ὧν ἡμαρτε κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐθενὸς ἔτι δεήσεσθαι ἔφησεν, ἔγνωσαν οἱ πλείους ὑμῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντες γε, παρακρουσθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμβούλων, ὥς μὴ ποτε ὠφελον, ἀκυρῶσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τεθέντας νόμους καὶ μηθενὸς τῶν τότε γεγεννημένων μνησικακεῖν ἀδικημάτων. ^[3] οὐκ ἠγάπησε ταύτης τυχὼν τῆς χάριτος, ἥς μόνης μεμνημένος ἔφη πεποιθῆσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἑτέραν ἔτι ταύτης ἦτει μείζω καὶ παρανομωτέραν δωρεάν, ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι δημάρχους ἐξ αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀποδεικνύναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰσχύν, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ κατισχυομένοις ^[p. 74] τῶν πενήτων ἐπικουρία τις ὑπάρχη καὶ καταφυγή: ὡς δὲ τάληθές εἶχεν, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν περιστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα ^[4] βουλόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπεισαν ἡμᾶς οἱ σύμβουλοι τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐᾶσαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ παραγινόμενον κακῷ, καὶ μάλιστα' ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς φθόνῳ, πολλὰ, εἴπερ ἄρα μέμνησθε, κεκραγὸτος ἑμοῦ καὶ μαρτυρομένου θεοὺς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὅτι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἄπαυστον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάξετε, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ὑμῖν προβέβηκε λέγοντος.

τί οὖν ἐποίησεν ὁ χρηστὸς ἡμῖν δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσατε τὴν ἀρχήν; οὐκ ἐταμιεύσατο τὴν τοσαύτην χάριν οὐδ' ἔλαβεν αἰσχυνομένως αὐτὴν καὶ σωφρόνως, ἀλλ' ὡς δεδοικόσι τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἡμῖν ... ἔπειτα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυχον ἔφη δεῖν ἀποδειχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅρκοις ἐμπεδωθεῖσαν, κρείττω τιμὴν αἰτούμενος ἥς δεδώκατε ὑμεῖς τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ὑπεμείνατε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ στάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τομιῶν κατ' ἐξωλείας ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ὠμόσατε. ^[2] τί οὖν ἐποίησε καὶ τούτου τυχών; ἀντὶ τοῦ χάριτας ὑμῖν εἰδέναι καὶ σώζειν τὸν πάτριον κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πλεονεξιῶν καὶ ταύταις ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀφορμαῖς τῶν ^[p. 75] ὕστερον χρησάμενος νόμους τ' ἀπροβουλεύτους εἰσφέρει, καὶ τούτους ἐπιψηφίζει δίχα τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, καὶ οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐκφέρητε δόγμασιν οὐ προσέχει τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπευόντων κατηγορεῖ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκβαίνουσι παρὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας συνθήκας: πολλὰ δ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐ δύναται στοχάσασθαι λογισμὸς ἀνθρώπινος: οὐ τὴν τύχην, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιγράφει διάνοιαν, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι θ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν σκηπτόμενος καὶ δεδιέναι, μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέλησθε ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβάλητε, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὑμῖν ταῦτα μηχανώμενος διατελεῖ, καὶ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ὃ δεδοικέναι φησίν, οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ φυλαττόμενος δῆλός ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ δρᾶσαι φθάσας. ^[3] ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὧν ἐξείργομα μεμῆσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, μάλιστα δὲ Μάρκιον τουτονὶ τὸν φιλόπολιν ἄνδρα, οὗτε προγόνων ἀφανῶν ὄντα οὗτ' αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ λειπόμενον οὐθενὸς ἡμῶν, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ πονηρὰς ἐνθάδε γνώμας λέγειν, ἄκριτον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποκτεῖναι. ^[4] καὶ εἰ μὴ δεινὸν ἠγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ θ' ὕπατοι καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ τὰ κρείττω φρονοῦντες συνεστράφητε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν ἐπέσχετε αὐτῶν, ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ πάντ' ἂν ἀφηρέθητε, ὅσα οἱ πατέρες θ' ὑμῖν σὺν πολλοῖς κτησάμενοι πόνοις κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ

ὕμεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀγῶνας ἐκείνων ὑποστάντες ἔχετε, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· οἱ δὲ γενναιότεροι [p. 76] καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπήσαντες αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέλλετε τῶν ἀγαθῶν βιώσεσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς ἂν πρότερον ἢ ταῦτ' ἀφῆρέθητε, οἱ μὲν εὐθύς, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν. [5] τί γὰρ ἂν τὸ κωλύσον ἦν οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς Μαρκίου τοῦδε ἀναρπασθέντος ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ κάμει μετὰ τοῦτον ἀπολωλέναι διασπασθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἠναντιώθησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον ἐναντιώσεσθαι ταῖς παρανόμοις ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ δήμου; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠρκέσθη τοὺς δύο μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲ μέχρι δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἀπέστη τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀρξάμενος ἅπαν τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ μὴ εἶκον ὥσπερ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐμπεσὼν παρέσυρεν ἂν καὶ κατήνεγκεν, οὕτ' εὐγενείας φειδόμενος οὕτ' ἀρετῆς οὕθ' ἡλικίας.

ταύτας ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος, ὧ βουλῇ, τὰς καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων τὰς μὲν ἀπέδωκεν ἤδη, τὰς δ' ἀποδώσειν ἔμελλεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κωλύσον παρ' ὑμᾶς ἐγένετο. ἄγε δὴ νῦν κάκεῖνα ἐνθυμήθητε πάλιν, ἃ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ γενναῖον καὶ σῶφρον ὑμῶν ἔργον ἔδρασεν, ἵνα γνῶτε, [2] ὅντινα χρή τὸν τρόπον αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὡς ἔμαθεν ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι φέροντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕβριν, [p. 77] ἀλλ' ὁμόσε χωρεῖν παρεσκευασμένους, ἔπηξε καὶ μικρὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης καὶ μανίας ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι κατέβη, ἐπὶ τὸ δικάζεσθαι δ' ἐτράπετο· καὶ προειπὼν ἡμέραν ῥητὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς δίκην ὑφέξοντα, ἧς αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι κατήγορός τε καὶ μάρτυς καὶ δικαστὴς καὶ τοῦ [3] μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας κύριος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐνέστητε νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐπὶ δίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὁρῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν ὑμεῖς προβουλεύσητε, ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφίσαι κύριος, τῆς τ' αὐθαδείας, ἧς πολὺς ἔπνει τότε, ὑφείλται νυνὶ καὶ δεησόμενος ὑμῶν ἥκει συγχωρῆσαι καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. [4] ἐνθυμούμενοι δὴ ταῦτ' αἴσθεσθε ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ μάθετε, ὅτι πάνθ', ὅσα μὲν εὐηθέστερα βουλευσάμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα ἐχαρίσασθε, αὐτῷ συμφορὰς ὑμῖν ἐνήνοχε καὶ βλάβας, ὅσα δὲ μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου στάντες τοῖς παρανόμοις αὐτοῦ καὶ βιαίοις ἠναντιώθητε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν εἰς δέον ἐκβέβηκε. [5] τί οὖν ὑμῖν ἐπισταμένοις ταῦτα παραινῶ πράττειν καὶ τίνα γνώμην ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἀποφαίνομαι; ὅσα μὲν ἐχαρίσασθε καὶ συνεχωρήσατε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐχθρὰν διαλλαττόμενοι ὅπωςδῆποτε φυλάττειν κύρια, καὶ μὴ λύειν τῶν τότε συγχωρηθέντων μηθέν, οὐχ ὡς καλῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίῳ ὄντων· πόθεν γάρ; ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαιῶν καὶ μηκέτι δεχομένων διόρθωσιν: ὅσα δ' ἂν ἔξω τούτου βιαζόμενος καὶ παρανομῶν ἀκόντων ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῇ λαμβάνειν μήτε συγχωρεῖν [p. 78] αὐτῷ μήτ' ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ἀντιπράττειν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντας καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ. [6] οὐ γάρ, ἂν ἅπαξ ἀμάρτη τις εἴτ' ἀπατηθεῖς εἴτ' ἀναγκασθεῖς, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅμοια δεῖ πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μεμνημένους τᾶλλα ὅπως μὴ τοιαῦτα γενήσεται σκοπεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ἃ κοινῇ πάντας ὑμᾶς οἶμαι δεῖν ἐγνωκότας εἶναι, καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀδίκους τοῦ δήμου

πλεονεξίας παραινῶ.

ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ νυνὶ πρόκειται σκοπεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγχειρήμασιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδίκοις καὶ παρανόμοις, καὶ οὐχ, οἷον ὁ δήμαρχος ἐξαπατῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπειρᾷτο ἀποφαινεῖν, δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον, μάθετε οἱ μήπω σαφῶς εἰδότες. ὁ μὲν οὖν νόμος ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν δημοτικῶν, ὃ Δέκιος ἐκρατύνετο μάλιστα, οὐ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγράφη τῶν πατρικίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῶν κατισχυομένων δημοτικῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς τε δηλοῖ γραφᾶς ἔχων οὐκ ἀμφιβόλους, καὶ [2] ὑμεῖς τοῦτο πάντες ἀεὶ λέγετε καλῶς ἐπιστάμενοι. μέγα δὲ τούτου σημεῖον ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ παντὸς ἀμφισβητουμένου δικαίου κριτήριον εἶναι δοκεῖ κράτιστον, ὁ χρόνος ἐννεακαιδεκέτης ἤδη γεγυνώς, ἐξ οὗ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ἐτέθη: ἐν ᾧ παντὶ Δέκιος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι δίκην οὐδεμίαν οὔτε δημοσίαν κατ' οὐδενὸς τῶν πατρικίων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δεδικασμένην, οὗτ' ἰδίαν: εἰ δὲ φήσει, [p. 79] [3] δεῖξάτω καὶ μηθὲν ἔτι δεόμεθα λόγου. αἱ δ' ὁμολογίαί, καθ' ἃς διελύσασθε πρὸς τοὺς δημότας αἰνεωστὶ γενόμεναι: χρὴ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς μαθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πονηρὸς ἐξηγητῆς ὁ δήμαρχος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο: δύο ταῦτα συγχωρήματα περιέχουσιν: ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς δημοτικούς τῶν χρεῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἀποδείκνυσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπικουρίας ἔνεκα τῶν κατισχυομένων καὶ κωλύσεως, ἄλλο δὲ παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐδέν. [4] μέγιστον δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι οὐθ' ὁ νόμος οὐθ' αἱ συνθήκαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου δικάζειν τῷ δήμῳ δεδώκασιν ἐξουσίαν, ὃ ποιεῖ νῦν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος. αἰτεῖται γὰρ αὐτὸ παρ' ὑμῶν τήμερον, ὡς πρότερόν γ' οὐκ ἔχων: οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν ἀξιώσειέ τι παρ' ἄλλων λαμβάνειν, [5] ὧν ἐστὶ νόμῳ κύριος. δίκαιον δὲ φύσεως ἀνομοθέτητον, ὧ βουλή, πῶς ἂν εἴη τοῦτο: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Δέκιος ὑμᾶς ὥετο δεῖν σκοπεῖν: τοῖς μὲν δημόταις, ἃς τ' ἂν φύγῃσι δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ἃς ἂν ἐκείνους διώκῃσι, τὸν δῆμον δικάζειν, τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις μὴθ' ὅταν ἐπάγῃσι τινα τῶν δημοτικῶν δίκην μὴθ' ὅταν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσῃσι τοὺς πατρικίους τὰ νείκη διαιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἀμφοτέρω ἐξεῖναι πλεονεκτεῖν, [6] ἡμῖν δ' οὐδετέρου τῶν δικαίων μετέχειν; εἰ [p. 80] δὲ τι Μάρκιος ἀδικεῖ τὸν δῆμον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τῶν πατρικίων ὅστισοῦν καὶ δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσεῖν, μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε κριθεὶς διδόντω δίκας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ νόμιμον. εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ὦ Δέκιε, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἴσος ἐστὶ δικαστῆς καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν χαρίσαιο αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρων: οὗτοι δ' εἰ γένοιτο τῆς ψήφου κύριοι τὸν ἀδικοῦντα περὶ πλείονος ποιήσονται τῆς ἀδικουμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλεως, μέλλοντες ἄρὰν καὶ ἐπιπορκίαν καὶ μῖσος μὲν παρ' ἀνθρώπων, χόλον δὲ παρὰ θεῶν ἐκ τῆς δίκης ἀποῖσσεσθαι καὶ μετὰ πονηρῶν ἐλπίδων ζῆν. [7] οὐκ ἀξιῷ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὑμᾶς, ὦ δημόται, σκοπεῖν, ἢ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παραχωρεῖν ὁμολογεῖτε δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ πολλὰς χάριτας εἰδέναι φατὲ τῆς προθυμίας, ἣν ἀπεδείξατο περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ὑμῶν. μάχεται ταῦτ' ἀλλήλοις: καὶ οὐκ ἔχει λόγον, οὓς ἐπαινέετε, τούτους φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ μὲν τῶν μειζόνων ἐπιτρέπειν, περὶ δὲ [8] τῶν ἄλλων ἀπιστεῖν. τί δ' οὐχὶ μιᾷ χρώμενοι γνώμῃ ἢ πάντα πιστεύετε αὐτοῖς ἢ περὶ πάντων ἀπιστεῖτε; ἀλλὰ προβουλευσά μεν αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια ἱκανοὺς εἶναι νομίζετε, δικάσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν προβουλεύουσιν οὐχ ἱκανοὺς. πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα περὶ τῶν

δικαίων εἶχον, ὡ βουλή, λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπειρᾶτο λέγειν Δέκιος, ὡς ἀγαθὸν μὲν ὁμόνοια, δεινὸν [p. 81] δὲ στάσις, καὶ θεραπεύοντες μὲν τὸν δῆμον ἐν ὁμοιοῖα πολιτευσόμεθα, κωλύσαντες δ' οὐς βούλονται τῶν πατρικίων ἀνδρηλατεῖν ἢ μισσηφονεῖν εἰς πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον καταστησόμεθα, πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων ὀλίγοις πάνυ χρήσομαι. [2] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι ἔχω Δέκιον τῆς εἰρωνείας: οὐ γὰρ ἡλιθιότητός γε: εἰ κρεῖττον οἴεται τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν ἑαυτὸν, ὃς ἄρτι παρελήλυθεν εἰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, ἡμῶν τῶν καταγεγραφότων ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς πεποιηκότων τὴν πόλιν. ἔπειτ' εἰ πείσειν ὑπέλαβεν ὑμᾶς, ὡς χρή παραδοῦναι τινα ἔκδοτον ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ταῦτα πολίτην ὑμέτερον καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν τινα πολιτῶν ἢ φαύλων, ἀλλ' ὃν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρότατον ἡγεῖσθε εἶναι καὶ τὸν βίον σωφρονέστατον τὰ τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐθενὸς χεῖρονα. [3] καὶ ταῦτ' ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς πλείστην αἰδῶ ποιοιμένους ἱκετῶν, καὶ μηδὲ πολεμίων τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐνθάδε ταύτης ἀποκλείοντας τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. εἰ δὲ τάναντία ἡμᾶς ἐγίνωσκες ἐπιτηδεύοντας, ὧ Δέκιε, ἀνόσια μὲν φρονοῦντας περὶ θεοῦς, ἄδικα δὲ πράττοντας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, τί ἂν ἡμῖν τούτου συνεβούλευες ἔργον ὑπομεῖναι δεινότερον, ἀφ' οὗ πρόρριζοι καὶ πανώλεις, μισηθέντες θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις, διαφθαρσόμεθα; [4] οὐ δεόμεθά σου συμβούλου, Δέκιε, οὔτε περὶ πολιτῶν ἐκδόσεως οὔτε περὶ ἄλλου χρήματος ὧν ἡμῖν πρακτέον οὐδενός: οὐδὲ ὅθενι φρονήσει νέων ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκεῖα συμφέροντα κρίνειν οἴομεθα δεῖν οἱ [p. 82] μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡλικίας διὰ πολλῆς πείρας κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐληλυθότες. πολέμου δ' ἀπειλᾶς, αἷς χρώμενοι φοβεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπαγομένας ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπανασεισθείσας τῇ συνήθει πρᾶότητι παραδόντες ἀκαταπλήκτως οἴσομεν. [5] καὶ εἰ δήπερ δράσετε τὰ ὅμοια οἷς λέγετε, ἀμνυνόμεθα θεοῦς τε συναγωνιστὰς ἔχοντες, οἱ νεμεσῶσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι πολέμου ἀδίκου, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔξοντες χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην σύμμαχον. Λατῖνοι τε γὰρ ἅπαντες, οἷς νεωστὶ τὴν ἰσοπολιτείαν δεδώκαμεν, σὺν ἡμῖν στήσονται, ὡς περὶ πατρίδος ἤδη τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε ἀγωνιζόμενοι, αἱ τ' ἐνθένδε ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ ἀγαθαὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμεναι σώζεσθαι τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀμννοῦσιν αὐτῇ. [6] εἰ δ' εἰς ἀνάγκην ἡμᾶς κατακλείσετε τῆς πανταχόθεν ἐπικουρίας περιέχεσθαι, ὑπομενοῦμεν, ὧ Δέκιε, καὶ θεράποντας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν προκαλούμενοι καὶ πολεμίους εἰς φιλίαν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδων ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ὑμῖν. μηθενὸς δὲ τούτων δεήσειεν, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ πόλιν τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέχοντες, ἀλλ' εἴη μέχρι λόγων τὰ φοβερά ταῦτ' ἐλθεῖν, ἔργον δὲ μηθὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν γένοιτ' ἄχαρι.

ταῦτα μὲν Ἄππιος εἶπεν. Μάνιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος ὁ δημοτικώτατος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ [p. 83] τὰς διαλλαγὰς πλείστην ἀποδειξάμενος προθυμίαν φανερώς καὶ τότε τῷ δήμῳ συνελάμβανε καὶ λόγον διεξῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς συγκείμενον φροντίδος, ἐπιτιμῶν μὲν τοῖς οὐκ ἔωσι μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ διαιροῦσι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ διὰ μικρὰς

προφάσεις πολέμους ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἐμφυλίους· ἐπαίνων δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ συμφέρον καὶ κοινὸν ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντ' ἐλάττω τῆς ὁμονοίας τιθεμένους, διδάσκων, ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο τῆς δίκης ὁ δῆμος, ὥσπερ ἄξιοι, κύριος, καὶ ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου τὴν χάριν ἐκόντος λάβοι, τάχα μὲν οὐδ' ἐπέξεισιν ἄχρι τέλους, ἀλλ' ἄρκεσθéis αὐτῷ τῷ κεκρατηκέναι τοῦ σώματος ἐπεικέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπώτερον αὐτῷ χρήσεται. [2] εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐκ παντὸς οἰομένων τρόπον τῶν δημάρχων τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι δεῖν νόμιμον τῇ δίκῃ τῆς ψήφου γενήσεται κύριος, ἀπολύσει τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς αἰτίας αἰδούμενος μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ κινδυνεῦον σῶμα, οὗ πολλά καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἔχει μεμνήσθαι, ἀνταποδιδούς δὲ ταύτην τὴν χάριν τῇ παρασχούσῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ βουλῇ καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσῃ [3] τῶν μετρίων. παρεῖναι μέντοι τῇ δίκῃ συνεβούλευε καὶ συναπολογεῖσθαι τῷ ἄνδρὶ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀξιοῦν μηθὲν διαγνῶναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χαλεπὸν τοὺς θ' ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πατρικίους κατὰ πλῆθος ἀφικομένους· συνοίσειν [p. 84] γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τούτους εἰς σωτηρίας ῥοπήν· καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔχειν ταῖς γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελάτας ἕκαστον τοὺς αὐτοῦ παρακαλεῖν καὶ φίλους συνάγειν, καὶ εἴ τινας οἰκείως ἔχειν σφίσι τῶν δημοτικῶν δι' εὐεργεσίας ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους νυνὶ τὴν πρότερον ὀφειλομένην χάριν ἐπὶ [4] τῆς ψηφοφορίας ἀπαιτεῖν. τὸ τε φιλόχρηστον καὶ μισοπόνηρον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπέφηγεν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἔτι πλεῖον τούτου, ὃ πρὸς τὰς τύχας πάσχειν τι τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ ἐλεεῖν οἶδε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν, ὅταν εἰς ταπεινὰ πέσωσιν αὐτῶν αἱ [5] τύχαι. ὁ δὲ πλεῖον λόγος ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον παράκλησιν ἔχων νουθετήσῃ μεμιγμένην καὶ δέησιν ἀνάγκῃ. ἡξίου γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ διιστάναι τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτίαν ἔχει καὶ τυραννικὸς εἶναι διαβάλλεται διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ τρόπου, δέος τε παρέστηκεν ἅπασι, μὴ δι' αὐτόν ἀρχὴ γένηται στάσεως καὶ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἃ φέρουσιν ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ἀληθεῖς καὶ κυρίας τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς μένοντα ἐν τῷ φθονουμένῳ τοῦ βίου, ἀλλὰ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν μεταλαβεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγουσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος παρασχεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν ἄδικον ἔγκλημα λόγῳ μετὰ δίκης ἀπολυόμενον. [6] ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τε σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν, ἧς ὀρέγεται, λαμπρότατα καὶ τοῖς προυπηργμένοις [p. 85] ἔργοις ἀκόλουθα. εἰ δ' αὐθαδέστερος ἔσται μᾶλλον ἢ μετριώτερος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀξιώσει πάντα κίνδυνον δι' ἑαυτὸν ὑπομένειν, κακὴν μὲν ἦτταν, αἰσχροὺς δὲ νίκην τοῖς πεισθεῖσι προσάψειν αὐτόν ἀπέφαιναν· ἦν τ' ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ τῶν καταλαμβανόντων κακῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐν ταῖς διχοστασίαις τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα ἐπιλεγόμενος.

διεξιὼν δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων οὐ προσποιητῶν καὶ πεπλασμένων, ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶν, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀξιώσει προὔχων, ὡς ἔμαθε κινούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις τὸ συνέδριον, ἐκ τοῦ τεθαρρηκότος ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξύφαινε τῶν λόγων· εἰ δέ τινες ὑμῶν, ὧ βουλευταί, λέγων, ταραττονται δοκοῦντες ἔθος εἰσάγειν πονηρὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν τῷ δήμῳ συγχωρήσῃτε ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων,

καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ νομίζουσι τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν ἰσχύν λαβοῦσαν γενήσεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ἀμαρτάνοντες τῆς δόξης καὶ τάναντία ἢ [2] προσῆκεν ὑπειληφότες. εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἄλλο σωτηρίας αἴτιον ἔσται τῇ πόλει τῇδε καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μηδὲ τὴν ἰσχύν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, ὁμονοοῦσαν δ' αἰεὶ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ περὶ πάντων χρωμένην διατελεῖν, ὁ δῆμος αἰτιώτατος ἔσται συμπαραληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα: καὶ τὸ μὴ μίαν εἶναι τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ κοινὰ πολιτείαν ἄκρατον μήτε μοναρχίαν μὴτ' ὀλιγαρχίαν [p. 86] μήτε δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μικτὴν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τούτων κατάστασιν, τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσει. [3] ῥᾶστα γὰρ εἰς ὕβρεις ἀποσκήπτει καὶ παρανομίας τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γινόμενον, ὅταν δ' ἀνακερασθῇ πάντα μετρίως, τὸ παρακινεῖν μέρος αἰεὶ καὶ ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ συνήθους κόσμου ὑπὸ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος καὶ μένοντος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡθεσι κατείργεται. μοναρχία μὲν ὠμὴ καὶ αὐθάδης γενηθεῖσα καὶ τυραννικὰ διώκειν ἀρξάμενη ζηλώματα ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγων καὶ ἀγαθῶν καταλύεται. [4] ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεστηκυῖα, ἣ χρησθε καὶ ὑμεῖς νυνί, ὅταν πλούτῳ καὶ ἑταιρίαις ἐπαρθεῖσα δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μηθένα ποιῇται λόγον, ὑπὸ δήμου φρονίμου καταλύεται. δῆμος δὲ σωφρονῶν καὶ κατὰ νόμους πολιτευόμενος ὅταν ἀκοσμεῖν ἄρξῃται καὶ παρανομεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνδρὸς βίᾳ καταληφθεὶς δικαιοῦται. [5] ὅμῃν δ', ὧ βουλῇ, μονάρχου μὲν ἐξουσίας, ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς γένηται, τὰ δυνατὰ εὖρηται βοηθήματα. δύο τε γὰρ ἄνθ' ἑνὸς ἀποδείξαντες τῆς πόλεως κυρίους καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἀόριστον χρόνον ἐπιτρέψαντες ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐνιαύσιον οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀποδείκνυτε φύλακας αὐτῶν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς κρατίστους τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτους, ἐξ ὧν ἦδε ἡ βουλὴ συνέστηκεν: ὁμῶν δ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μένῃτε [p. 87] ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι κόσμῳ, φυλακὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχρι τοῦδε φαίνεσθε πεποιημένοι. [6] καὶ περὶ μὲν ὁμῶν οὕτω ἔδεισα, μὴ διαφθαρήτε τὰς διανοίας ὑπὸ τε μεγέθους καὶ πλήθους ἀγαθῶν, οἳ τυραννίδος τε πολυχρονίου ἡλευθερώκατε τὴν πόλιν ἔναγχος καὶ οὕτω σχολὴν ἐσχήκατε ὑβρίζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ μακροὺς πολέμους: περὶ δὲ τῶν μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἐσομένων ἐνθυμούμενος ὅσας ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν φέρει μεταβολὰς δέδοικα, μὴ τι παρακινήσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου λάθωσιν εἰς μοναρχίαν τὸ πολίτευμα περιστήσαντες τυραννικὴν.

ἐὰν οὖν κοινωνήσητε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν πολιτευμάτων, οὐθὲν ὁμῇ ἐνθάδε φύσεται κακόν, ἀλλ' ὁ πλεον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιών καὶ τῆς βουλῆς προσεταιρισάμενος τὸν βουλούμενον συννοσεῖν καὶ συναδικεῖν: πάντα γὰρ τὰ εἰκότα χρή περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένους προνοεῖν: κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος καὶ σεμνὸς ἀποδώσει τῷ δήμῳ τῷ φαύλῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ λόγον ὧν πράττει τε καὶ διανοεῖται, κἂν ἀδικῶν φαίνεται δίκης, ἥς ἂν ἄξιος ᾖ, τεύξεται. [2] αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μὴ τρυφᾷ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας γενόμενος κύριος, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων ἐκδημαγωγούμενος τοῖς κρατίστοις πολεμῇ: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὄχλῳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι τυραννίς: φυλάξει τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἑάσει παρανομεῖν ὁ διαφέρων φρονήσει ἀνὴρ δικτάτωρ ὑφ' ὁμῶν αἰρεθείς, ὃς αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἀνυπευθύνῳ

χρώμενος [p. 88] ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ τε νοσοῦν ἐξελεῖ τῆς πόλεως μέρος, καὶ τὸ μήπω διεφθαρμένον οὐκ ἔασει κακωθῆναι, ἔθη τε καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ζηλώματα βίων τὰ κράτιστα μεθαρμοσάμενος ἀρχὰς τ' ἀποδείξας ἃς ἂν ἡγῆται σωφρονέστατα τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐντὸς ἐξ μηνῶν διοικησάμενος ἰδιώτης αὐθις ἔσται τὸ τιμᾶσθαι μόνον ἐκ τούτων λαβῶν, ἄλλο δ' οὐθέν. [3] ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας τοῦθ' ἡγησάμενοι κράτιστον εἶναι μηθενὸς ἀπελάνετε τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγησόμενας τῆς πόλεως, καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν ἐπικυροῦν, τοὺς δ' ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης διαγιγνώσκειν, ἃ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατά ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει διαπραττομένων, μεταδεδώκατε αὐτῷ καὶ οὐθενὸς τούτων αὐτοκράτορα πεποιήκατε τὴν βουλήν: οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων μεταδίδοτε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχη τὴν πόλιν ἀδικεῖν στάσιν εἰσάγων ἢ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος ἢ περὶ προδοσίας τοῖς πολεμίοις διαλεγόμενος ἢ τοιοῦτό τι ἄλλο κακὸν ἐπιχειρῶν πράττειν. [4] ὅσω γὰρ ἂν φοβερώτερον κατασκευάσητε τὸ παραβαίνειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθη κινεῖν τοῖς ὑβρισταῖς καὶ πλεονέκταις, πολλοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες, τοσοῦτω κρεῖττον ὑμῖν ἔξει τὰ κοινὰ.

ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνιστάμενοι πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ λοιποὶ ταύτῃ προσέθεντο τῇ [p. 89] γνώμῃ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔδει γράφεσθαι, λόγον αἰτησάμενος ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν: οἶος μὲν, ὦ βουλὴ, πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἐγὼ γέγονα, καὶ ὥς διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὖνοϊαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἐλήλυθα, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην ἀπῆντηται μοι τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν, ἅπαντες ἴστε καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴσεσθε, ὅταν τὰ κατ' ἐμέ [2] σχῇ τέλος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ Οὐαλερίου γνώμη νικᾷ, συνενέγκειε μὲν ταῦτα ὑμῖν, καὶ γενοίμην ἐγὼ κακὸς εἰκαστῆς τῶν ἐσομένων. ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὸ προβούλευμα γράφοντες εἰδῆτε ἐφ' οἷς παραδιδόναι με τῷ δήμῳ μέλλετε, κάγω μὴ ἀγνοῶ, περὶ τίνος ἀγωνιοῦμαι, κελεύσατε δὴ τοὺς δημάρχους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, τί τὸ ἀδίκημά ἐστιν, ἐφ' οὗ μέλλουσί μου κατηγορεῖν, καὶ ποταπὸν ὄνομα ἐπιγράψουσι τῇ δίκῃ.

ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε δοκῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, οἷς εἶπεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν δίκην ὑφέξειν, καὶ βουλόμενος ὁμολογῆσαι τοὺς δημάρχους, ὅτι ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς αἰτίας μέλλουσιν αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς τυραννίδι ἐπibουλεύειν αὐτὸν ἡτιάσαντο καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἐκέλευον ἥκειν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολογησόμενον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τὸ ἐγκλημα εἰς μίαν αἰτίαν κατακλεῖσαι καὶ ταύτην οὐτ' ἰσχυρὰν οὐτε τῇ βουλῇ κεχαρισμένην, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς τε πράττοντες ἐξουσίαν ὅσα βούλονται ἐγκαλεῖν, καὶ βοήθειαν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοῦ Μαρκίου τὴν ἐκ τῶν συνέδρων οἰόμενοι. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν: ἄλλ' ἦτοι, εἰ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γε κριθήσομαι τῇ διαβολῇ, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν ὑπόδικον τοῖς [p. 90] δημόταις, καὶ μηδὲν ἔστω τὸ κωλύον γράφεσθαι τὸ [2] προβούλευμα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν συνέδρων ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ ἐγκλήματι τὴν δίκην κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ λέγειν ἃ φρονεῖ τις ἐν τοῖς συνέδροις ὑπαίτιον, καὶ ὅτι ῥαδίως ἀπολύσεται τὴν διαβολὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ βίον ἐξηκῶς

σώφρονα καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτον. ^[3] γράφεται τὸ προβούλευμα μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης, καὶ χρόνος εἰς παρασκευὴν τῆς ἀπολογίας ὀρίζεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ μέχρι τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς· αἱ δ' ἀγοραὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων δι' ἡμέρας ἐνάτης. ἐν δὲ ταύταις συνιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὰς τ' ἀμειψεῖς ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ὠνίων καὶ τὰς δίκας παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐλάμβανον, τὰ τε κοινὰ, ὅσων ἦσαν κύριοι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ὅσα ἡ βουλὴ ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, ψῆφον ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐπεκύρουν· τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀγορῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας αὐτουργοὶ τ' ὄντες οἱ ^[4] πολλοὶ καὶ πένητες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διέτριβον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔλαβον οἱ δήμαρχοι, προελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλεσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον καὶ πολλὰ ἐγκώμια τῆς βουλῆς διελθόντες καὶ τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς ἀναγνόντες προεῖπον ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν δίκην ἔμελλον ἐπιτελεῖν, εἰς ἣν ἅπαντες ἤξιουν ἡκεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων διαγνωσομένους.

ὡς δὲ διεβοήθη ταῦτα, πολλὴ σπουδὴ καὶ παράταξις ἐγίνετο τῶν τε δημοτικῶν καὶ τῶν πατρικίων· τῶν μὲν ὡς τιμωρησομένων τὸν αὐθαδέστατον, [p. 91] τῶν δ' ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ὑποχείριος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ πᾶσα κινδυνεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δικαίωσις ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι ἀμφοτέροις. ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὄχλος, ὅσος οὕτω πρότερον, συνεληλυθὼς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔωθεν εὐθύς κατεῖχε τὴν ἀγορὰν· οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἐκκλησίαν, χωρία τῆς ἀγορᾶς περισχοίνισαντες, ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον αἱ φυλαὶ στήσεσθαι καθ' αὐτάς. ^[2] καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησία κατ' ἀνδρὸς ψηφοφόρος ἢ φυλετικὴ πολλὰ δὲ ἐναντιουμένων τῶν πατρικίων, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, καὶ τὴν λοχίτιν ἀξιούντων συνάγειν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς πάτριον ἦν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, ὅτε μέλλοι ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ ὁτουδήτινος ὦν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἢ βουλὴ, ἐκάλουν μὲν οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν, ἱερὰ πρότερον ἐπιτελέσαντες, ἃ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι γίνεται. ^[3] συνήγει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀρειον πεδῖον ὑπὸ τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ σημείοις τεταγμένον ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἐπέφερον δὲ τὴν ψῆφον οὐχ ἅπαντες ἀναλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστοι λόχους, ὁπότε κληθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. ὄντων δὲ τῶν συμπτάντων τριῶν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν [p. 92] λόχων καὶ τούτων εἰς ἕξ διηρημένων συμμορίας πρώτη μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο συμμορία καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπέφερεν ἢ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὴν πρώτην λαμβανόντων τάξιν ἐν πολέμοις· ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἱππέων μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχοι, πεζῶν δ' ὀγδοήκοντα. ^[4] δευτέρα δ' ἐψηφοφόρει συμμορία τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὴν ὑποβεβηκυῖαν τάξιν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις μαχομένων καὶ ὀπλισμὸν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχόντων τοῖς πρωτοστάταις, ἀλλ' ἐλάττονα· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους συντεταγμένον ἦν, προσέκειντο δ' αὐτοῖς δύο ἱλαὶ τεκτόνων καὶ χαλκοτύπων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἦσαν χειροτέχνη. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ συμμορίᾳ καλούμενοι λόχους μὲν ἐξεπλήρουν εἴκοσι, τίμημα δ' εἶχον ἑλάττον τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τάξιν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐλάττονα, καὶ ὅπλα οὐκ ἴσα τοῖς πρὸ ^[5] αὐτῶν

ἔφερον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους καλοῦμενοι τίμημά τ' οὐσίας ἔλαττον εἶχον καὶ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλάμβανον καὶ ὀπλισμὸν εὐσταθέστερον εἶχον· διήρηντο δ' εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ οὗτοι λόχους· συνετάττοντο δὲ καὶ τούτοις δύο λόχοι βυκανιστῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν. πέμπτη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο συμμαρία τῶν ὀλίγου πάνυ τετιμημένων ἀργυρίου, ὅπλα δ' ἦν αὐτῶν σαυνία καὶ σφενδόναι· οὗτοι τάξιν οὐκ εἶχον ἐν φάλαγγι, ἀλλὰ ψилоὶ καὶ κοῦφοι συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς ὀπλίταις εἰς τριάκοντα λόχους διηρημένοι. [6] οἱ δ' ἀπορώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐκ [p. 93] ἐλάττους τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὄντες ἔσχατοι τὴν ψῆφον ἀνελάμβανον, ἕνα μόνον ἔχοντες λόχον· οὗτοι στρατειῶν τ' ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ εἰσφορῶν τῶν κατὰ τιμήματα γινομένων ἀτελεῖς καὶ δι' [7] ἄμφω ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις ἀτιμώτατοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων λόχων, οὓς οἱ θ' ἵππεῖς ἐξεπλήρουν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λαμβάνοντες, ταὐτὸ φρονήσαιεν ἐπτά καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοι, τέλος εἶχεν ἡ ψηφοφορία, καὶ οὐκέτι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἕξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοις ἀνεδίδοτο ἡ ψῆφος· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἡ δευτέρα συμμαρία τῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι λόχων ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ ἡ τρίτη· καὶ τοῦτο συνέβαινε, ἕως οὗ ταὐτὸ φρονήσωσιν ἐπτά καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοι. [8] καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων κλήσεων τέλος ἐλάμβανεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεῖν τῶν ἐσχάτων. σπανίως δὲ που πρῶγμα οὕτως ἐνδοιαζόμενον ἐνέπιπτεν, ὥστε μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου τῆς τῶν ἀπορωτάτων προελθεῖν· καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τέρας τοῦτο σχισθέντων διχα τῶν προτέρων δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν λόχων τὴν τελευταίαν ψῆφον ἐπενεχεθεῖσαν ἐκείναις αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερα ροπῆς. [9] οἱ μὲν οὖν συναγωνιζόμενοι Μαρκίῳ ταύτην ἡξίουσαν καλεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων ἐκκλησίαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τάχα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης κλήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ὀκτώ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχων ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τὸν [p. 94] ἄνδρα, εἰ δὲ μὴ γ' ὑπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι ταῦθ' ὑφορώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν φυλετικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὦντο δεῖν συνάγειν καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐκείνην ποιῆσαι κυρίαν, ἵνα μὴθ' οἱ πένητες τῶν πλουσίων μειονεκτῶσι μὴθ' οἱ ψилоὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀτιμοτέραν χώραν ἔχωσι, μὴτ' ἀπερριμμένον εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας κλήσεις τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἀποκλειῇται τῶν ἴσων, ἰσόψηφοι δὲ καὶ ὁμότιμοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις γενόμενοι μιᾷ κλήσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐπενέγκωσι κατὰ φυλάς. [10] καὶ ἐδόκουν δικαιοτέρα οὗτοι τῶν ἐτέρων ἀξιοῦν δημοτικὸν οἰόμενοι δεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀλιγαρχικὸν εἶναι τὸ τοῦ δήμου δικαστήριον, καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων τὸ κοινὸν διάγνωσιν ἀπάντων εἶναι κοινήν.

συγχωρηθέντος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτου μόγις ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν δίκην ἐχρῆν λέγεσθαι, πρῶτος ἀνέβη Μηνύκιος, ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἔλεξεν οὓς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ λόγους ἡ βουλή· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάσας τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκων, ὅσας ἦν εἰληφὼς ὁ δῆμος παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων, ἔπειτ' ἀξιώων ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων μίαν ἀποδοθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δεομένοις σφίσιν ἀναγκαίαν χάριν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ [2] τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῷ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπαινῶν μὲν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ ὅσης εὐδαιμονίας ἑκάτερον τούτων αἰτιὸν ἐστὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιλεγόμενος, κατηγορῶν [p. 95] δὲ διχοστασίας καὶ πολέμων ἐμφυλίων, ἕξ ὧν πόλεις αὐτάνδρους ἀπέφαινε

ἀνῆρῆσθαι καὶ ἔθνη ὅλα διολωλέναι: παρακαλῶν δὲ μὴ τὰ χεῖρω αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψαντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ σώφρονος τὰ μέλλοντα ὀρᾶν, μηδὲ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν χρῆσθαι συμβούλοις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις σφίσι εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἦδεσαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους πολλὰ ὠφελημένην τὴν πατρίδα, οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαιοῦσιν ὡς μεταβεβλημένοις τὴν φύσιν ἀπιστεῖν. [3] Ἐν δὲ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἀπάντων τῶν λόγων, μηδεμίαν αὐτοὺς ἐπενεγκεῖν κατὰ τοῦ Μάρκιου ψῆφον, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν δι' αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι τῆς δίκης τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναμνησκομένους, οἷος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσους κατώρθωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας πολέμους, καὶ ὡς οὔτε ὅσια οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε προσήκοντα σφίσι ποιήσουσι, λόγων μὲν αὐτῷ μνησικακοῦντες φαύλων, ἔργων δ' [4] ἀχαριστοῦντες καλῶν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀφέσεως καλόν, ὅτε γ' αὐτὸς ἦκει παρέχων τὸ σῶμα τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ στέρξων, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνῶσιν. εἰ δ' οὐχ οἷοι τέ εἰσι διαλύσασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχουσιν, ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ δεησομένη περὶ αὐτοῦ πάρεισιν, ἄνδρες οἱ κράτιστοι τῆς πόλεως τριακόσιοι, παθεῖν τι καὶ ἐπικλασθῆναι τὰς γνώμας, καὶ μὴ δι' ἐνὸς ἐχθροῦ τιμωρίαν τοσούτων δέησιν ἀπώσασθαι φίλων, ἀλλὰ [p. 96] πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν χάριτι δίκην ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ὑπεριδεῖν. ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν τελευταῖον ἐκεῖνον ἐπέθηκε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι ψήφου μὲν ἐπαχθείσης, ἐὰν ἀπολύσωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόξουσιν ἀφεικέναι: [5] ἐὰν δὲ κωλύσωσιν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν δίκην τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φανήσονται κεχαρισμένοι.

πανσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Μηνυκίου παρελθὼν ὁ δήμαρχος Σικίννιος οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἔφη προδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημοτῶν οὔτε τοῖς προδιδούσιν ἐπιτρέψειν ἐκὼν, ἀλλ' εἰ τῷ ὄντι παρέχουσιν οἱ πατρίκιοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ δίκην τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ἀναδώσειν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἄλλο δὲ ποιήσειν παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐδέν. [2] μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Μηνύκιος εἶπεν: ἐπειδὴ πάντως, ὦ δήμαρχοι, ψῆφον ἐπενεχθῆναι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προθυμείσθε, μηθὲν ἔξω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος κατηγορεῖτε: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τυραννίδι αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν εἰσηγγεῖλατε, τοῦτο διδάσκετε καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰς πίστεις φέρετε. λόγων δ', ὧν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσθε κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλήν εἶπεῖν, μήτε μέμνησθε μήτε κατηγορεῖτε. ἀφείσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἦκειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐδικαίωσε. [3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀνέγνω τὸ προβούλευμα. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τε καὶ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος κατέβη. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων πρῶτος μὲν διέθετο τὴν κατηγορίαν Σικίννιος [p. 97] ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς, πάνθ' ὅσα πράττων ἢ λέγων ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου διετέλεσεν εἰς κατασκευὴν τυραννίδος ἀναφέρων: ἔπειτα μετ' ἐκεῖνον οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν δημάρχων εἶπεῖν.

ὡς δὲ παρέλαβεν ὁ Μάρκιος τὸν λόγον, ἀρξάμενος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας διήλθεν, ὅσας ἐστρατευμένους ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως στρατείας, καὶ ὅσους εἰληφῶς ἐπινικίους παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν στεφάνους

πολεμίων τε τοὺς ληφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι· καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον τῶν λεγομένων τὰ τ' ἀριστεῖα ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μάρτυρας παρείχετο καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει. [2] οἱ δὲ παρήεσαν ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, μὴ τὸν αἵτιον σφίσι τῆς σωτηρίας ὡς πολέμιον ἀπολέσαι, μίαν τ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ψυχὴν αἰτοῦμενοι καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου χρῆσθαι, ὅ τι βούλονται. ἦσαν δ' οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ γένους καὶ πολλὰ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμοι· ὧν τὰς τ' ὄψεις καὶ τὰς δεήσεις δι' αἰσχύνης ὁ δῆμος λαμβάνων εἰς οἴκτους καὶ δάκρυα ἐτράπετο. [3] ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὁ Μάρκιος περιρρηξάμενος ἐπεδείξατο τὰ στέρνα τραυμάτων μεστὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπλεων τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐπύθετο, εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα εἶναι νομίζουσι σῶζειν μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων τοὺς πολίτας, ἀπολλύναι δὲ τοὺς σωθέντας ἐν εἰρήνῃ· καὶ εἰ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενός τις τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλαύνει μέρος ἐκ πόλεως, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστ' [p. 98] αὖξεται τε καὶ τρέφεται τυραννίς· ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅσον μὲν ἦν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρους ἐπεικὲς καὶ φιλόχρηστον ἀπολύειν ἐβόα τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' αἰσχύνης ἐλάμβανεν, εἰ καὶ δίκην ὑπέιχε τὴν ἀρχὴν περὶ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἀνὴρ τοσαυτάκις ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἔνεκα τῆς ἀπάντων φυλακῆς. [4] ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν φύσει βάσκανοι καὶ μισόχρηστοι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐκίνητοι στάσιν, ἤχθοντο μὲν ἀπολύειν τὸν ἄνδρα μέλλοντες, οὐκ εἶχον δ', ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλο ποιῶσι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐρίσκειν ἀφορμὴν τυραννίδος ἐπιθέσεως φαινομένην, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰς ψήφους ἀνελήφεσαν.

τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Δέκιος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ποιησάμενος λόγους καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα περὶ τῆς δίκης γραφῆναι παρασκευάσας, ἀνέστη καὶ σιωπὴν γενέσθαι κελεύσας ἔλεξεν· ἐπειδὴ, ὧς δημόται, τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λεχθέντων ὑπὸ Μαρκίου λόγων, καὶ τῶν διὰ τοὺτους ἀκολουθησάντων ἔργων βιαίων τε καὶ ὑπερφηάνων ἀπολύουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι κατηγορεῖν, ἀκούσατε, οἷον ὑμῖν ἔργον ἕτερον ἔξω τῶν λόγων ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ τυγχάνει διαπεπραγμένος, ὡς αὐθαδὲς καὶ τυραννικόν, καὶ οἷον ὑμῶν κατέλυσε νόμον αὐτὸς ἰδιώτης ὧν μάθετε. [2] ἴστε δήπου πάντες, ὅτι τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων λάφυρα, ὅσων ἂν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχη τυχεῖν δι' ἀρετὴν, δημόσια εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ τούτων οὐχ ὅπως τις ἰδιώτης γίνεται κύριος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς [p. 99] δυνάμεως ἡγεμών· ὁ δὲ ταμίαις αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἀπεμπολᾷ καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρει τὰ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ὅπως κατέλυσέ τις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἠπάσατο μὴ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ Μάρκιος πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπεριδὼν αὐτοῦ κειμένου καὶ κυρίου ὄντος ἡξίωσε σφετερίσασθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἡμῶν, ὧς δημόται, λάφυρα, πέρυσιν καὶ οὐ πάλοι. [3] ποιησαμένων γὰρ ὑμῶν καταδρομὴν τῆς Ἀντιατῶν γῆς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ βοσκήματα, πολὺν δὲ σῖτον, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα χρήματα περιβαλομένων οὔτε τῷ ταμίᾳ ταῦτ' ἀπέδειξεν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀποδόμενος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ διένειμε καὶ κατεχαρίσατο τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις ἅπασαν τὴν λείαν· τοῦτο δὲ τυραννίδος τεκμήριον εἶναι φημι τὸ ἔργον· πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ὁς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κόλακάς τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας καὶ τῆς μελλούσης τυραννίδος συνεργοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων εὐηργέτει χρημάτων: [4] καὶ νόμου κατάλυσιν εἶναι φανεράν ταύτην λέγω. δυσεῖν δὴ θάτερον ἀποφηνάτω παρελθὼν Μάρκιος, ἢ ὡς οὐ διένειμε τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις, ἃ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, ἢ ὡς ταῦτα ποιῶν οὐ καταλύει τοὺς νόμους: ὧν οὐδέτερον ἔξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω ἴστε, καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ οὐκ ἔνεσθ' ὑμῖν ἀποψηφισαμένοις αὐτοῦ τὰ δίκαια καὶ [p. 100] τὰ εὖορκα δοκεῖν ἐγνωκέναι. ἔασας δὴ τοὺς στεφάνους καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα καὶ τὰ τραύματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τερατείαν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγε, ὦ Μάρκιε: παραδίδωμι γὰρ ἤδη σοὶ τὸν λόγον.

τοῦτο τὸ κατηγόρημα πολλὴν ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταβολήν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιεικέστεροί τε καὶ σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μαλακώτεροι τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἐγένοντο, τὸ δὲ κακότηδες ἅπαν, ὃ τοῦ δήμου πλεῖστον μέρος ἦν, ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσαι τὸν ἄνδρα δήπου προθυμοῦμενον, ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς ταῦτ' ἐπερρώσθη μεγάλης ἀφορμῆς καὶ φανεραῖς [2] λαβόμενον. ἦν γὰρ ἀληθὴς ἡ τῶν λαφύρων διάδοσις, οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεώς γε πονηραῖς καὶ ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ τυραννίδος, ὡς ὁ Δέκιος ἡτιᾶτο, γενομένη, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἔνεκα τῶν κατεχόντων τὰ κοινὰ κακῶν. στασιάζοντος γὰρ ἔτι καὶ διεστηκότος ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων τοῦ πλήθους τότε καταφρονήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι καταδρομὰς τῆς χώρας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ λεηλασίας συνεχεῖς: καὶ ὅποτε δόξειε τῇ βουλῇ τὴν κωλύσουσαν ταῦτα δύναμιν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐξήει τῶν δημοτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπέχαιρόν τε καὶ περιεώρων τὰ γινόμενα: ἡ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων χεὶρ οὐκ ἦν καθ' [3] ἑαυτὴν ἀξιόμαχος. τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέσχετο τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, στρατιὰν ἄξιν ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δίκην λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν συνεκάλει τοὺς τε πελάτας καὶ τοὺς φίλους [p. 101] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἷς ἦν βουλομένοις ἀπολαῦσαι τι τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τύχης κατὰ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἀρετῆς. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ χεὶρ ἀξιόμαχος ἐδόκει συνεληλυθέναι, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐθέν πω προειδότας. [4] ἐμβαλὼν δ' εἰς χώραν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστὴν γενόμενος ἀφθόνου λείας κύριος ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπαντα τὰ ληφθέντα διανείμασθαι, ἵν' οἱ μὲν συναράμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τὸν τῶν πόνων καρπὸν κομισάμενοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας στρατείας ἀπαντῶσιν: οἱ δ' ἀποκνήσαντες ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅσων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἐξὸν μεταλαβεῖν, διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἀπεκωλύθησαν εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους γένωνται φρονιμώτεροι. [5] διάνοια μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦδε ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ ἔργον: χόλῳ δ' ὑποῦλῳ καὶ φθόνῳ δυσμενῶν αὐτῇ καθ' αὐτὴν ἡ πρᾶξις ἐξεταζομένη δημαγωγία τις ἐφαίνετο εἶναι καὶ δεκασμός τυραννικός. ὥστε βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πᾶσα ἦν ἀνάπλεως ἡ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐθ' ὁ Μάρκιος πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶχεν, ὃ τι ἀπολογήσαιο, οὐθ' ὁ ὑπάτος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, οἷα δὴ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτου φανείσης ἐπὶ σφίσι τῆς αἰτίας. [6] ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἀπελογεῖτο, ἀνέδωκαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν ψῆφον ταῖς φυλαῖς τίμημα ἐπιγράψαντες τῇ δίκῃ φυγὴν αἰδιδίον, κατὰ δέος, οἶμαι, τοῦ μὴ ἂν ὀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα θανάτου αὐτῷ τιμησάντων. ὡς δ' ἐπεψήφισαν ἅπαντες,

[p. 102] διαριθμουμένων τῶν ψήφων οὐ μέγα τὸ διάλλαγμα ἐφάνη. μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι τότε φυλῶν οὐσῶν, οἷς ἡ ψῆφος ἀνεδόθη, τὰς ἀπολουούσας φυλὰς ἔσχεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐννέα: ὥστ' εἰ δύο προσῆλθον αὐτῷ φυλαί, διὰ τὴν ἰσοψηφίαν ἀπελέλυτ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἤξιον.

αὕτη πρώτη κατ' ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου πρόσκλησις εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ δίκη. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ὕστερον λαμβάνουσι τὴν τοῦ δήμου προστασίαν ἔθος κατέστη καλεῖν οὓς δόξειε τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην ὑφέζοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου: καὶ ἐνθὲνδε ἀρξάμενος ὁ δῆμος ἦρθη μέγας, ἡ δ' ἀριστοκρατία πολλὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώματος ἀπέβαλε βουλῆς τε μετέχειν ἐπιτρέπουσα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ ἀρχὰς μετιέναι συγχωροῦσα ἱερῶν τε προστασίας λαμβάνειν οὐ κωλύουσα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τιμώτατα ἦν καὶ ἴδια τῶν πατρικίων μόνων ἅπασι κοινωσαμένη, τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἄκουσα, τὰ δ' ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ σοφίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ. [2] τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ ἔθος, λέγω δὲ τὸ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστεύοντας ἐπὶ δίκην, ἧς ὁ δῆμος ἐγίνετο κύριος, πολλὰς ἂν παράσχοι λόγων ἀφορμὰς τοῖς ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸ βουλομένοις ἢ ψέγειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄξια τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔπαθον, αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀφαιρεθέντες: πολλοὶ δ' αὐθάδεις καὶ τυραννικοὶ τοὺς τρόπους λόγον [p. 103] ἀναγκασθέντες ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων δίκας τὰς προσηκούσας ἔδοσαν. [3] ὅποτε μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γένοιτο αἱ διαγνώσεις, καὶ καθαιρεθεῖ τὰ τῶν μεγάλων αὐχήματα σὺν δίκη, μέγα τι καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι χρῆμα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπηνεῖτο, ὅποτε δ' ἀρετὴ φθονηθεῖσα ἀνδρὸς τὰ κοινὰ εὖ διοικοῦντος ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθεῖ, δεινὸν τι τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἔθους ἄρξαντες κατηγοροῦντο. πολλάκις τε βουλευσάμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πότερα χρή καταλύσαι αὐτὸ ἢ φυλάττειν, οἷον παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρέλαβον, οὐθὲν ἐπέθηκαν τῇ βουλῇ πέρας. [4] εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφύνασθαι περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων γνώμην, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἔθος αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐξεταζόμενον χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ πόλει τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγκαιότατον, κρεῖττον δὲ καὶ χεῖρον γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τῶν δημάρχων τρόπους. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τύχῃσι τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἄνδρες δίκαιοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀναγκαιότερα τῶν ἰδίων πιθέμενοι, ὁ μὲν ἀδίκων τὰ κοινὰ τιμωρίαν δούς, ἦν προσῆκε, πολὺ δέος τοῖς ὅμοια παρσκευασμένοις δρᾶν ἐνείργασατο, ὁ δ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ παριῶν οὔτε δίκην ἀσχήμονα ὑπέσχεν οὔτ' εἰς αἰτίας ἄλλοτριους τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κατέστη. [5] ὅταν δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστοι καὶ φιλοκερδεῖς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας τύχῃσι, τάναντία τούτων γίνεται. ὥστ' οὐ τὸ ἔθος ἐπανορθοῦσθαι προσῆκεν ὥς ἡμαρτημένον, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ δήμου [p. 104] γενήσονται προστάται καὶ μὴ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τὰ μέγιστα εἰκῇ ἐπιτραπήσεται.

ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπεσοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων στάσις ἔσχε τοιαύτας αἰτίας καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατέσκηψε τὸ τέλος: ἐμήκυνα δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον τοῦ μὴ τινα θαυμάσαι, πῶς ὑπέμειναν οἱ πατρικιοὶ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας ποιῆσαι τὸν δῆμον κύριον, οὔτε σφαγῆς τῶν ἀρίστων

ἀνδρῶν γενομένης οὕτε φυγῆς, οἷον ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐγένετο πόλεσι. ποθεῖ γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοῖς παραδόξοις ἀκούσμασι τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τίθεται μόνῃ. [2] ἐλογιζόμην οὖν, ὅτι μοι πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς δεήσει πιστὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔφην μόνον, ὅτι παρῆκαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς τὴν ἐαυτῶν δυναστείαν, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐποίησαν τῶν μεγίστων κύριον, δι' ἧς δὲ συνεχωρήθη ταῦτ' αἰτίας παρέλιπον: διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπεξῆλθον ἀπάσας. [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὅπλοις ἀλλήλους βιασάμενοι καὶ προσαναγκάσαντες, ἀλλὰ λόγοις πείσαντες μεθῆρμους, παντὸς μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἶναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν διεξελεῖν, οἷς τότε οἱ δυναστεύσαντες ἐν ἐκατέροις ἐχρήσαντο. θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἴ τινες τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις ἀκριβῶς οἶονται δεῖν ἀναγράφειν, καὶ περὶ μίαν ἔστιν ὅτε μάχην πολλοὺς ἀναλίσκουσι λόγους, τῶν τε φύσεις καὶ ὀπλισμῶν ιδιότητος καὶ τάξεων τρόπους καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακλήσεις καὶ ἄλλα διεξιόντες ὅσα τῆς νίκης αἷτια [p. 105] τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐγένετο: πολιτικὰς δὲ κινήσεις καὶ στάσεις ἀναγράφοντες οὐκ οἶονται δεῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν τοὺς λόγους, δι' ὧν αἱ παράδοξοι καὶ θαυμασταὶ πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν. [4] εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μέγα ἐγκώμιον ἔστι καὶ ζηλοῦσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄξιον κάκεῖνο ἐγένετο κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν τὸ ἔργον, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὄντα λαμπρότατον, τὸ μήτε τοὺς δημοτικούς καταφρονήσαντας τῶν πατρικίων ἐπιχειρῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὸν ἐργασαμένους τῶν κρατίστων φόνον ἅπαντα τάκεινων παραλαβεῖν, μήτε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἢ διὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ξενικαῖς ἐπικουρίαις χρησαμένους διαφθεῖραι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν ἀδεῶς τὴν πόλιν: [5] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς ἢ παῖδας γονεῦσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ σώφρονι περὶ τῶν ἴσων καὶ δικαίων διαλεγομένους πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ διαλύεσθαι τὰ νείκη, ἀνῆκεστον δ' ἢ ἀνόσιον ἔργον μηθὲν ὑπομεῖναι δρᾶσαι κατ' ἀλλήλων: οἷα Κερκυραῖοι τε κατὰ τὴν στάσιν εἰργάσαντο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σικελία πᾶσα καὶ συχνὰ ἄλλα πόλεις. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα προειλόμην ἀκριβεστέραν μᾶλλον ἢ βραχυτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν διήγησιν: κρινέτω δ' ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται.

τότε δ' οὖν τῆς δίκης τοῦτο λαβούσης τὸ τέλος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀπελύετο προσειληφῶς ἀνόητον αὔχημα καὶ καθηρηκέναι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν οἰόμενος, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι κατηφεῖς τε καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ δι' αἰτίας [p. 106] ἔχοντες τὸν Οὐαλέριον, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δίκην: ἦν τ' οἰμωγὴ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν οἰκτειρόντων τε καὶ προπεμπόντων τὸν Μάρκιον. [2] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος οὗτ' ἀνακλυσάμενος ὤφθη τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας οὗτ' ἀποιμῶξας οὗτ' ἄλλο εἰπὼν ἢ δράσας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἐαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν: ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐδήλωσε τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ οἶκαδε ἀφικόμενος γυναικὰ τ' εἶδε καὶ μητέρα καταρρηγνυμένας τοὺς πέπλους καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτούσας καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς λέγειν τὰς ἀποζεγγνυμένας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σφίσι θανάτοις ἢ φυγαῖς ἀναβοώσας. [3] οὐθὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς θρήνους τῶν γυναικῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀσπασάμενος δ' αὐτάς

μόνον, καὶ παρακαλέσας γενναίως φέρειν τὰς συμφοράς, τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐταῖς παρακαταθέμενος: ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παιδῶν ἦν δέκα γεγονώς ἔτη, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ἔτι ὑπαγκάλιος: ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν οὔτε φιλοφρονησάμενος οὔτε διοικησάμενος οἷς εἰς τὴν φυγὴν χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐξῆι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας οὐθενὶ δηλώσας, ὅποι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ποιήσοιτο.

ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις καθῆκε μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, ὑπατοὶ δ' ἀπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Κόιντος Σουλπίκιος Καμερίνος καὶ Σέργιος [p. 107] Λάρκιος Φλαύιος τὸ δεύτερον. ταραχαὶ δὲ τινες ἐνέπιπτον ἐκ δειμάτων δαιμονίων τῇ πόλει συχναί: ὄψεις τε γὰρ οὐκ εἰωθυῖαι ἐφαίνοντο πολλοῖς, καὶ φωναὶ ἠκούοντο οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ φθεγγομένου, γοναὶ τ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ βοσκημάτων πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκβεβηκυῖαι εἰς τὸ ἄπιστόν τε καὶ τερατῶδες ἐφέροντο, χρησμοὶ τ' ἦδοντο ἐν πολλοῖς χωρίοις, καὶ θειασμοῖς κάτοχοι γυναικὲς οἰκτρὰς ἐμαντεύοντο καὶ δεινὰς τῇ [2] πόλει τύχας. ἦψατο δὲ τις καὶ νόσος τοῦ πλήθους λοιμικὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἐποίησε βοσκημάτων φθοράν: ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θάνατος οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄχρι νόσων τὸ δεινὸν ἐχώρησεν: τοῖς μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει κατὰ θεοῦ γενέσθαι γνώμην νεμεσῶντος, ὅτι τὸν ἄριστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξήλασαν τῆς πατρίδος, τοῖς δ' οὐθὲν τῶν γινομένων θεοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τυχηρὰ καὶ [3] ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀνθρώπεια εἶναι πάθη. ἔπειθ' ἦκέ τις ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἄρρωστος ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κομιζόμενος, Τίτος Λατίνιος ὄνομα, πρεσβύτερός τ' ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐσίας ἱκανῆς κύριος, αὐτουργὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦ βίου ζῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ. οὗτος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἐνεχθεὶς ἔφη δόξα καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάνα τὸν Καπιτώλιον Δία λέγειν αὐτῷ: ἴθι, Λατίνιε, καὶ λέγε τοῖς πολίταις, ὅτι μοι τῆς νεωστὶ πομπῆς τὸν ἡγούμενον ὀρχηστὴν οὐ καλὸν ἔδωκαν, ἵν' ἀναθῶνται τὰς ἐορτὰς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας ἐπιτελέσωσιν: οὐ γὰρ [p. 108] [4] δέδεγμαί ταύτας. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἔφησεν ἀνστὰς παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγήσασθαι τὸ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ἔν τι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀπατηλῶν ὑπολαβεῖν. ἔπειτ' αὐτῷ πάλιν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐπιφανὲν ταῦτό εἶδωλον τοῦ θεοῦ χαλεπαίνειν τε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ κελευσθέντα, καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο δράσει διὰ ταχέων, ὅτι σὺν μεγάλῳ μαθήσεται κακῷ μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖν τῶν δαιμονίων. ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὄναρ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔφη ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, καὶ ἅμα δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα λαβεῖν, ἀνὴρ αὐτουργὸς καὶ γέρων ὀνειράτα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐκφέρειν ὅπτεϊας καὶ δειμάτων μεστά, μὴ καὶ γέλωτα ὄφλη. [5] ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ νέον ὄντα καὶ καλὸν οὔτε ὑπὸ νόσων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλης τινὸς αἰτίας φανερᾶς ἀναρπασθέντα αἰφνιδίως ἀποθανεῖν: καὶ αὐθις τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄψιν φανεῖσαν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις δηλοῦν, ὅτι τῆς ὑπεροφίας καὶ τῆς καταφρονήσεως τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τὴν μὲν ἤδη δέδωκε δίκην τὸν υἱὸν ἀφαιρεθεὶς, [6] τὰς δ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον δώσει. ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ἔφη καθ' ἡδονὴν δέξασθαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ μέλλοι θάνατος αὐτῷ ἐλεύσεσθαι παρημεληκότι τοῦ βίου: τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐ ταύτην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀφορήτους καὶ δεινὰς ἐμβαλεῖν ἀλγηδόνας, ὥστε μηδὲν ἄρθρον ἄνευ κατατάσεως τῆς ἐσχάτης δύνασθαι κινεῖν. τότε δὴ τοῖς φίλοις [p. 109] κοινωνσάμενος τὰ συμβεβηκότα

καὶ κελευσθεῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. διεξιὼν δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐδόκει τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντα διεξῆλθεν ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ κλινιδίου καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναβοήσας ἀπῆρει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως οἴκαδε ὑγίης.

ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δέους ἀνάπλεως ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀχανὴς ἦν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔχων συμβαλεῖν, ὅ τι τὸ δηλούμενον ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίς ποτε ὁ τῆς πομπῆς ὀρχηστὴς προηγούμενος οὐ καλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφάνη. ἔπειτα λέγει τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναμνησθεῖς τὸ γενόμενον, καὶ πάντες ἐμαρτύρησαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος οὐκ ἀφανὴς θεράπωντα ἴδιον ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ θανάτου παραδοὺς τοῖς ὁμοδόλοις ἄγειν, ἵνα δὴ περιφανὴς ἡ τιμωρία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γένηται, δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μαστιγούμενον ἔλκειν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἦν τῆς πόλεως τόπος ἐπιφανὴς ἡγούμενον τῆς πομπῆς, ἦν ἔστελλε τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἡ πόλις. ^[2] οἱ δ' ἄγοντες τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τὰς χεῖρας ἀποτείναντες ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ξύλῳ προσδήσαντες παρὰ τὰ στέρνα τε καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καὶ μέχρι τῶν καρπῶν διήκοντι παρηκολούθουν ξαίνοντες μάστιγι γυμνὸν ὄντα. ὁ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ κρατούμενος ἐβόα τε φωνᾶς δυσφήμους, ἃς ἡ ἀλγηδὼν ἐβούλετο, καὶ κινήσεις διὰ τὴν αἰκίαν ἀσχήμονας ἐκινεῖτο. τοῦτον δὲ πάντες ἐνόμισαν ^[p. 110] εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μηνυόμενον ὀρχηστὴν οὐ καλόν.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο γέγονα τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ μέρος, οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελούμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρελθεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα μοι χαριεστέρα γένηται προσθήκας λαβοῦσα θεατρικὰς καὶ λόγους ἀνθηροτέρους ἢ διήγησις, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀναγκαίων τι πιστώσῃται πραγμάτων, ὅτι τὰ συνοικίσαντα ἔθνη τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν Ἑλληνικὰ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀποικισθέντα τόπων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι βάρβαρα καὶ ἀνέστια· ^[2] ὑπεσχόμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς, ἦν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν συνταξάμενος ἐξέδωκα, μυρίοις βεβαιώσιν τεκμηρίοις τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἔθνη καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα παλαιὰ παρεχόμενος αὐτῶν, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ κατ' ἐμὲ φυλάττουσι χρόνου, οἷα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐδέξαντο· οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀποχρῆν τοῖς ἀναγράφουσι τὰς ἀρχαίας καὶ τοπικὰς ἱστορίας, ὥς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων αὐτὰς παρέλαβον, ἀξιοπίστως διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαρτυριῶν οἰόμενος αὐταῖς δεῖν πολλῶν καὶ δυσαντιλέκτων, εἰ μέλλουσι πιστὰ ^[3] φανήσεσθαι. ἐν αἷς πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα πάντων εἶναι πείθομαι τὰ γινόμενα καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων πατρίους σεβασμούς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχει Ἑλλάς τε καὶ βάρβαρος χώρα, καὶ οὐθὲν ἀξιοῖ καινοτομεῖν εἰς αὐτὰ ὑπὸ ^[4] δειμάτος κρατουμένη μηνιμάτων δαιμονίων. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας, ^[p. 111] ἃς οὐ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν, καὶ χρόνος οὐθεὶς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἀπομαθεῖν ἢ παρανομήσαι τι περὶ τοὺς ὀργισμοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἔπεισεν οὗτ' Αἰγυπτίους οὗτε Λίβυας οὗτε Κελτοὺς οὗτε Σκύθας οὗτ' Ἰνδοὺς οὗτ' ἄλλο βάρβαρον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς· εἰ μὴ τινες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐξουσίᾳ ποτὲ γενόμενοι τὰ τῶν κρατησάντων ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐπιτηδεύματα μεταλαβεῖν. τῇ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τοιαύτης οὐδέποτε πειραθῆναι συνέβη τύχης, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ τὰ δίκαια τάττει διὰ παντὸς ἐτέροις. ^[5] εἰ δὲ βάρβαρον

αὐτῶν τὸ γένος ἦν, τοσοῦτου ἂν ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὶ τὰ πατρῷα ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐθισμοὺς ἀπομαθεῖν, δι' οὓς εἰς τοσαύτην προῆλθον εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὧν ἦρχον, ἐν καλῷ κατέστησαν τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς σφετέροις τιμᾶν νομίμοις: καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσεν ἅπαν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐβδόμην ἤδη κρατοῦμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενεάν, εἴπερ ἦσαν βάρβαροι.

ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἀποχρῆν ἂν ὑπέλαβε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ νῦν πραττόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει μηνύματα οὐ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑπολαβεῖν: ἐγὼ δ', ἵνα μὴ τις ἀσθενῇ τὴν πίστιν εἶναι ταύτην ὑπολάβῃ εἴτε κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπίθανον ὑπόληψιν, ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κρατήσαντες ἀσμένως ἂν τὰ κρεῖττω μετέμαθον ἔθῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὑπεριδόντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου [p. 112] ποιήσομαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν τέκμαρσιν, ὅτ' οὐπω τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶχον ἡγεμονίαν οὐδὲ ἄλλην διαπόντιον οὐδεμίαν ἀρχήν, Κοιντῷ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῇ χρώμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾷς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἑτέρας: παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων, καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος. [2] ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐψηφίσατο μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄγειν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, κατὰ τὰς γενομένας εὐχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος Αὐλοῦ Ποστομίου, ὅτ' ἔμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀποστάσας Λατίνων πόλεις κατάγειν ἐπιχειρούσας Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: ἀναλοῦσθαι δ' ἔταξε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀργυρίου πεντακοσίας μνᾶς: καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου ταῦτ' ἐδαπάνων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν. [3] ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο νόμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς κατὰ τε πανηγυρισμοὺς καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχὰς καὶ ἐκχειρίας, ἃ πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη λέγειν, τὰ δὲ περὶ πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας: ἀπόχρη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα ἐξετάζειν: τοιαῦδε.

πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἀγώνων, πομπὴν ἔστελλον τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ τὴν μεγίστην ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τε καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵπποδρομον. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς πομπῆς πρῶτον [p. 113] μὲν οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσηβοι τε καὶ τοῦ πομπεῦειν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν, ἱππεῖς μὲν, ὧν οἱ πατέρες τιμήματα ἱππέων εἶχον, πεζοὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατεῦεσθαι: οἱ μὲν κατ' ἵλας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ συμμορίας τε καὶ τάξεις ὥς εἰς διδασκαλεῖον πορευόμενοι: ἵνα φανερὰ γίνοιτο τοῖς ξένοις ἢ μέλλουσα ἀνδροῦσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀκμὴ πλήθός τε καὶ [2] κάλλος οἷα τις ἦν. τούτοις ἡκολούθουν ἡνίοχοι τὰ τέθριππά τε καὶ τὰς συνωρίδας καὶ τοὺς ἀζεῦκτους ἵππους ἐλαύνοντες: μεθ' οὓς οἱ τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἀγωνιστὰι τῶν τε κούφων καὶ τῶν βαρέων τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνοί, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν αἰδῶ καλυπτόμενοι. τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἔθος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέμενεν, ὥς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο παρ' Ἑλλήσιν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλέλυνται Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸ καταλυσάντων. [3] ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας ἀποδυσθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνὸς Ὀλυμπίασι δραμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος Ἀκανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων δι' αἰσχύνῃς εἶχον ἅπαντες Ἕλληνες ὅλα γυμνὰ φαίνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγωνίαις τὰ σώματα, ὥς Ὀμηρος τεκμηριοῖ, μαρτύρων ἀξιοπιστότατός τε καὶ ἀρχαιότατος ὧν ζωννυμένους τοὺς ἥρωας

ποιῶν. τὴν γοῦν Αἴαντος καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάλην ἐπὶ τῇ Πατρόκλου ταφῇ
γενομένην ἀφηγοῦμενός φησι:

τῷ δὲ ζῶσαμένῳ βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα:

[p. 114] ^[4] καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερόν ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἰρου καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς πυγμῆς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπαισι:

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

ζῶσατο μὲν ῥάκεσιν περὶ μῆδεα, φαῖνε δὲ μηροὺς

καλοὺς τε μεγάλους τε. φάνεν δὲ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι

στήθεά τε στιβαροὶ τε βραχίονες.

τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐκέτι βουλόμενον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιῶντα εἰσάγων
τάδε εἶρηκεν:

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφαν· Ἴρω δὲ κακῶς ὠρίνετο θυμός:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μνηστῆρες ἄγον ζῶσαντες ἀνάγκη.

τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὃν οἱ φυλάττοντες μέχρι
τοῦδε Ῥωμαῖοι δῆλοι εἰσιν οὐ προσμαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν ὕστερον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
μεταθέμενοι σὺν χρόνῳ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς. ^[5] ἡκολούθουν δὲ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς
ὄρχηστῶν χοροὶ πολλοὶ τριχῇ νενεμημένοι, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν, δεῦτεροι δ'
ἀγενειῶν, τελευταῖοι δὲ παίδων, οἷς παρηκολούθουν αὐληταὶ τ' ἀρχαίκοις
ἐμφυσῶντες αὐλίσκοις βραχέσιν, ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ
κιθαρισταὶ λύρας ἐπταχόρδους ἑλεφαντίνας καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βάρβιτα
κρέκοντες. ὦν παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλήσιν ἐκλέλοιπεν ἡ χρῆσις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πάτριος
οὔσα· παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἀπάσαις φυλάττεται ταῖς ἀρχαίαις θηπολίας. ^[6]
σκευαὶ δὲ τῶν ὄρχηστῶν ἦσαν χιτῶνες φοινίκεσι ζωστῆρσι χαλκείοις
ἐσφιγμένοι, καὶ ξίφη παρηρτημένα, [p. 115] καὶ λόγχοι βραχύτεροι τῶν
μετρίων· τοῖς δ' ἀνδράσι καὶ κράνη χάλκεα λόφοις ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένα
καὶ πτεροῖς. ἠγεῖτο δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον χορὸν εἷς ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐνεδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις
τὰ τῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα, πρῶτος εἰδοφορῶν τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ συντόνους
κινήσεις ἐν τοῖς προκελευσματικοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ῥυθμοῖς. ^[7] Ἑλληνικὸν δ'
ἄρα καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιὸν ἐπιτηδεύμα, ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις ἡ
καλουμένη πυρρίχη, εἴτ' Ἀθηναῖς πρώτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῷ χορεῦειν
καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τάπινικια ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξαμένης, εἴτε
παλαιότερον ἔτι Κουρήτων αὐτὴν καταστήσαμένων, ὅτε τὸν Δία τιθηνούμενοι
θέλγειν ἐβούλοντο κτύπῳ τε ὅπλων καὶ κινήσει μελῶν ἐν ῥυθμῷ καθάπερ ὁ
μῦθος ἔχει. ^[8] δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτου τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ὡς ἐπιχωρίου τοῖς
Ἑλλήσιν Ὅμηρος πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ἀσπίδος κατασκευῇ,
ἣν Ἀχιλλεῖ δωρήσασθαι φησιν Ἥφαιστον. ὑποθέμενος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο
πόλεις τὴν μὲν εἰρήνῃ κοσμουμένην, τὴν δὲ πολέμῳ κακοπαθοῦσαν, ἐν ἣ
τὴν ἀμείνω καθίστησι τύχην ἐορτὰς ποιῶν καὶ γάμους καὶ θαλίας ὥσπερ
εἰκὸς καὶ ταῦτα λέγει:

κοῦροι δ' ὄρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον· ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν

αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοήν ἔχον· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες

ἰσάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἐκάστη.

[p. 116] ^[9] καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον ἐν αὐτῇ λέγων διακεκοσμηθῆναι Κρητικὸν
ἠθέων τε καὶ παρθένων χορὸν ὧδε εἶρηκεν:

έν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις,
τῷ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
ἐνθα μὲν ἤιθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιοι
ὠρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.

κόσμον τ' αὐτοῦ ἀφηγοῦμενος, ἵνα δῆλον ἡμῖν ποιήσειεν, ὅτι ἡ τῶν
ἀρρένων κινήσις ἐνόπλιος ἦν, τὰδε λέγει:

καὶ ῥ' αἱ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ μαχαίρας
εἶχον χρυσεῖας ἐξ ἀργυρέων τελαμώνων.

ἡγεμόνας τε τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
προκαταρχομένους εἰσάγων τοιάδε γράφει:

πολλὸς δ' ἡμερόεντα χορὸν περιῖσταθ' ὁμιλος
τερπόμενοι: διοὺ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις.

[10] οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐναγωνίου τε καὶ κατεσπουδασμένης ὀρχήσεως
τῶν χορῶν, ἣ παρὰ τὰς θυηπολίας τε καὶ πομπὰς ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ
συγγενὲς ἄν τις αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἴδοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς
κερτόμου καὶ τωθαστικῆς. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνοπλίους χοροὺς οἱ τῶν
σατυριστῶν ἐπόμεπυον χοροὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἰδοφοροῦντες σίκιννιν.
σκευαὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν τοῖς μὲν εἰς Σιληνοὺς εἰκασθεῖσι μαλλωτοὶ χιτῶνες,
οὓς ἐνίοι χορταίους καλοῦσι, καὶ περιβόλαια ἐκ παντὸς [p. 117] ἄνθους: τοῖς
δ' εἰς Σατύρους περιζώματα καὶ δοραὶ τράγων καὶ ὀρθότριχες ἐπὶ ταῖς
κεφαλαῖς φόβαι καὶ ὅσα τοῦτοις ὅμοια. οὗτοι κατέσκωπτόν τε καὶ
κατεμιμοῦντο τὰς σπουδαίας κινήσεις ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα μεταφέροντες. [11]
δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν θριάμβων εἴσοδοι παλαιὰν καὶ ἐπιχώριον οὔσαν
Ῥωμαίοις τὴν κέρτομον καὶ σατυρικὴν παιδιάν. ἐφεῖται γὰρ τοῖς κατάγουσι
τὰς νίκας ἱαμβίζειν τε καὶ κατασκώπτειν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας
αὐτοῖς στρατηλάταις, ὡς Ἀθήνησι τοῖς πομπευταῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν
πρότερον ἅμα τοῖς σκώμμασι παροχομένοις, νῦν δὲ ποιήματ' ἄδουσιν
αὐτοσχέδια. [12] εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων ταφαῖς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις
πομπαῖς προηγούμενους τῆς κλίνης τοὺς σατυριστῶν χοροὺς κινουμένους
τὴν σίκιννιν ὀρχησιν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων κήδεσιν. ὅτι δ'
οὔτε Λιγύων οὔτ' Ὀμβρικῶν οὔτ' ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
κατοικοῦντων εὐρημα ἢ σατυρικὴ παιδιὰ καὶ ὀρχησις ἦν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήνων,
δέδοικα, μὴ καὶ ὀχληρὸς εἶναι τισι δόξω, λόγοις πλείοσι πιστοῦσθαι
ὁμολογούμενον πρᾶγμα βουλόμενος. [13] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τοῦτους
κιθαρισταὶ τ' ἀθροοὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ πολλοὶ παρεξήεσαν: καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τε
τὰ θυμιατήρια κομίζοντες, ἐφ' ὧν ἀρώματα καὶ λιβανωτὸς παρ' ὅλην ὁδὸν
ἐθυμιάτο, καὶ οἱ τὰ πομπεῖα παραφέροντες ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ
πεποιημένα τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια. τελευταῖα δὲ πάντων αἱ τῶν [p. 118]
θεῶν εἰκόνες ἐπόμεπυον ὥμοις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φερόμεναι, μορφάς θ' ὁμοίας
παρέχουσαι ταῖς παρ' Ἑλλήσι πλαττομέναις καὶ σκευὰς καὶ σύμβολα καὶ
δωρεάς, ὧν εὐρεταὶ καὶ δοτῆρες ἀνθρώποις ἕκαστοι παραδίδονται, οὐ μόνον
Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὓς Ἑλληνες

ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ μυθολογοῦνται γενέσθαι, Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη παρ' Ἑλλήσι: καὶ τῶν ὕστερον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ζεὺς παρέλαβε, μυθολογουμένων γενέσθαι, Περσεφόνης Εἰλειθυίας Νυμφῶν Μουσῶν Ὠρῶν Χαρίτων Διονύσου, καὶ ὅσων ἡμιθέων γενομένων αἱ ψυχαὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀπολιποῦσαι σώματα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν λέγονται, καὶ τιμὰς λαχεῖν ὁμοίας θεοῖς, Ἡρακλέους Ἀσκληπιοῦ Διοσκούρων Σελήνης Πανὸς ἄλλων μυρίων. [14] καίτοι εἰ βάρβαροι ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκίσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ταύτην καταστησάμενοι, τί προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνικοὺς ἅπαντας σέβειν θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ὑπερορᾶν; ἢ δεῖξάτω τις ἡμῖν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φύλον ἕτερον, ὃ πάτριά ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τότε διαβαλλέτω ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὡς οὐχ ὕγιῃ. [15] συντελεσθεΐσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἐβουθύτουν εὐθύς οἱ θ' ὕπατοι καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἷς ὅσιον, καὶ ὁ τῶν θυηπολιῶν τρόπος ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ [p. 119] παρ' ἡμῖν. χερνιψάμενοι τε γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καθαρῶ περιαγνίσαντες ὕδατι καὶ Δημητρίους καρποὺς ἐπιρράναντες αὐτῶν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, ἔπειτα κατευξάμενοι, θύειν τότε τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς αὐτὰ ἐκέλευον. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτος ἔτι τοῦ θύματος σκυτάλῃ τοὺς κροτάφους ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πίπτοντος ὑπετίθεσαν τὰς σφαγίδας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεῖραντές τε καὶ μελίσαντες ἀπαρχὰς ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ἐκάστου σπλάγχνου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου μέλους, ἃς ἀλφίτοις ζέας ἀναδεύσαντες προσέφερον τοῖς θύουσιν ἐπὶ κανῶν: οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ὑψήπτον καὶ προσέσπευδον οἶνον κατὰ [16] τῶν ἀγνιζομένων. ἕκαστον δ' ὅτι κατὰ νόμους ἐγίνετο τοὺς ἀμφὶ θυσίαν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων κατασταθέντας, ἐκ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως γινῶναι ῥάδιον. καὶ γὰρ χερνιπτομένους εἰσάγει τοὺς ἥρωας καὶ οὐλαῖς χρωμένους ἐν οἷς φησι:

χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα καὶ οὐλοχῦτας ἀνέλοντο.

τριχοτομοῦντάς τ' ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας καὶ τιθέντας ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ὧδε γράφων:

ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε.

σκυτάλαις τε παίοντας τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τὰ πεσόντα θύοντας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐμαίου ποιεῖ θυσίας:

κόψε δ' ἀπαρχόμενος σχίξῃ δρυὸς, ἣν λίπε κείων.

τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχὴ: τοὶ δ' ἔσφαζάν τε καὶ εὔσαν.

[17] ἀπαρχὰς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν σπλάγχνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων [p. 120] λαμβάνοντας μελῶν, καὶ ταύτας ἀλφίτοις δεύοντας καὶ καθαγίζοντας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ποιεῖ θυσίας:

ὁ δ' ὠμοθετεῖτο συβώτης,

πάντοθεν ἀρχόμενος μελέων ἐς πίονα δημόν:

καὶ τὰ μὲν πυρὶ βάλλε παλύνας ἀλφίτου ἀκτῆ.

[18] ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πράττοντας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι: καὶ μιᾷ πίστει τῇδε ἀρκούμενος οὐ βαρβάρους ἐπείσθην εἶναι τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων συνεληλυθότας Ἑλλήνας. ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύματα περὶ θυσίας τε καὶ ἐορτὰς ὁμοίως Ἑλλήσι καὶ

βαρβάρους τινὰς ἐπιτελεῖν ἐνδέχεται, πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἄπ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἀπίθανον.

λοιπὸν δ' ἔτι μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν ἐπετέλουν, ὀλίγα διελθεῖν. πρῶτος ὁ τῶν τεθρίπτων τε καὶ συνωρίδων καὶ τῶν ἄζευκτων ἵππων ἐγίνετο δρόμος, ὡς παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὸ ^[2] ἀρχαῖον Ὀλυμπίασι τε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς ἀμιλλαῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα δύο τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνομοθετήθη φυλαττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ διάκειται χρόνων, τὸ τε περὶ τὰ τριπῶλα τῶν ἀρμάτων, ὃ παρ' Ἑλλήσι μὲν ἐκτέλειτο, ἀρχαῖον ὃν ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ἡρωικόν, ὃ ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ὅμηρος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις χρωμένους: [p. 121] δυσὶ γὰρ ἵπποις ἐζευγμένοις, ὃν τρόπον ζεύγνυται συνωρίς, τρίτος παρείπετο σειραῖος ἵππος ῥυτῆρι συνεχόμενος, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρηρωῆσθαι τε καὶ μὴ συνεζεῦχθαι παρήγορον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί: ἕτερον δὲ παρ' ὀλίγαις ἔτι φυλαττόμενον πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσιν ἐν ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἀρχαῖαί, ὃ τῶν παρεμβεβηκότων τοῖς ἄρμασι δρόμος. ^[3] ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἵππεων ἀμιλλαι λάβωνται, ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχοῦμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιεῖται μὲν παραβάτας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν ἀποβάτας, τὸν σταδιαῖον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἱππικῶν δρόμων οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι τότε εἰσῆσαν δρομεῖς τε καὶ πύκται καὶ παλαισταί. τρία γὰρ ἀθλήματα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήσι ταῦτ' ἦν, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τῇ Πατρόκλου δηλοῖ ταφῇ. ^[4] ἐν δὲ τοῖς διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀθλημάτων χρόνοις Ἑλληνικώτατον καὶ κράτιστον ἀπάντων ἐθῶν ἀπεδείκνυντο, στεφανώσεις καὶ ἀναρρήσεις ποιοῦμενοι τιμῶν, αἷς ἐτίμων τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτας, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς ἐγίνετο θυσίαις, καὶ σκύλων, ὅσων ἐκ πολέμων λάβοιεν, ἐπιδείξεις τοῖς εἰς θέαν συνελθυσσίν. ^[5] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔτε μηθένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον ἀπαιτούσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔτε μηκύνειν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἡρμοττε. καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολείπομένην διήγησιν ἐπανάγειν. ὡς γὰρ διὰ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀπαχθέντα ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη [p. 122] καὶ προηγησάμενον τῆς πομπῆς ἔμαθεν ἡ βουλὴ παρὰ τοῦ τὸ πραχθὲν ἀνανεωσαμένου, τοῦτον ὑπολαβοῦσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεσθαι τὸν οὐ καλὸν ἔπαρχον τῶν ὀρχηστῶν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀναζητήσασα τὸν τῷ θεράποντι λωβησάμενον καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσα, ἧς ἄξιος ἦν, ἐτέραν ἐψηφίσασα τῷ θεῷ πομπὴν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρους ἀπὸ διπλασίων χρημάτων ἢ πρότερον ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων συντελεσθέντα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοιάδε ἦν.

BOOK VIII

οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀστύλος Κροτωνιάτης ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγχισου, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰοῦλος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος Ροῦφος, ἄνδρες ἥκιστα πολεμικοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τυχόντες, εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἠναγκάσθησαν κινδύνους καταστῆναι πολέμου καταρραγέντος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, δι' ὧν ἡ πόλις ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐκ βάθρων ἀναιρεθῆναι. [2] ὁ γὰρ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολάνος, ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι αἰτίαν σχὼν καὶ φυγῇ αἰδίῳ ἐλασθεῖς, ἀγανακτῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τιμωρίαν [p. 124] παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, δι' οὗ δ' ἂν αὕτη γένοιτο τρόπου καὶ δι' οἷας δυνάμεως ἀνασκοπῶν μίαν εὗρισκε Ῥωμαίους τότε ἀντίπαλον ἰσχὺν τὴν Οὐολούσκων, εἰ κοινῇ χρησάμενοι γνώμῃ καὶ τυχόντες ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος ἐνστήσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον. [3] ἐλογίζετο μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰ πείσειε τοὺς Οὐολούσκους δέξασθαι τ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πολέμου, ῥαδίως αὐτῷ διαπεπράξεται τὸ ἔργον: ἐτάραττε δ' αὐτὸν ἡ συνειδησις, ὅτι πλειστάκις κατὰ τὰς μάχας δεινὰ δεδρακώς ἦν αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας ἀφηρημένος. οὐ μὴν ἀπέστη γε τῆς πείρας διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ χωρεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅτιοῦν. [4] φυλάξας δὲ νύκτα καὶ ταύτην σκοταίαν ἦκεν εἰς Ἄντιον, τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις πόλεων, ἥνικα περὶ δεῖπνον ἦσαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ, δι' εὐγένειάν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλον ἄγοντος ὡς τὰ πολλά, ὃν Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὄνομα ἦν, ἰκέτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γίνεται καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας. [5] διηγησάμενος δ' αὐτῷ τὰς κατασχούσας αὐτὸν ἀνάγκας, δι' ἃς ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταφυγεῖν, μέτρια ἡξίου φρονῆσαι καὶ ἀνθρώπινα περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου καὶ μηκέτι πολέμιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν ὑποχείριον μηδ' εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐνθυμούμενον, [p. 125] ὡς οὐ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τύχαι. [6] δύναιο δ' ἂν, ἔφη, τοῦτ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μαθεῖν ἐμοῦ, ὅς ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει κράτιστός ποτ' εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων δοκῶν νῦν ἔρημος καὶ ἄπολις καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐρριμμένος τοῦτο πείσομαι, ὃ τι ἂν ἐχθρῶ ὦντι σοι δοκῇ. ὑποσχοῦμαι δέ σοι τοσαῦτ' ἀγαθὰ ποιήσιν Οὐολούσκους φίλος τῷ ἔθνει γενόμενος, ὅσα κακὰ εἰργασάμην ἐχθρὸς ὢν. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο γινώσκεις περὶ ἐμοῦ, χρῆσαι τῇ ὀργῇ παραχρήμα καὶ θάνατον χάρισαι μοι τὸν τάχιστον αὐτοχειρίᾳ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς σεαυτοῦ καθιερεύσας τὸν ἰκέτην.

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἀναστήσας θαρρεῖν τ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πεισόμενον καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀφίξεως ἔφη, τιμὴν τινα οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι καὶ ταύτην ἀποφαινόμενος: Οὐολούσκους τ' αὐτῷ πάντας ὑποσχεῖτο ποιήσιν φίλους ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ

τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος· καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔψευσατο τῶν ὑποσχέσεων. [2] χρόνου δὲ
τινος οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος βουλευομένοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ σφᾶς,
Μαρκίῳ τε καὶ Τύλλῳ, κινεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος αὐτίκα
μάλᾳ ἐβούλετο πᾶσαν τὴν Οὐολούσκων δύναμιν παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
χωρεῖν, ἕως ἑστασίαξέ τε [p. 126] καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἀπολέμους εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ
Μάρκιος αἰτίαν πρῶτον ᾤετο δεῖν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν ἐνστήσασθαι τοῦ
πολέμου διδάσκων, ὡς ἀπάσαις μὲν πράξεισι θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα
δὲ ταῖς κατὰ πολέμους, ὅσῳ μείζους τέ εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς ἀδήλους
φιλοῦσι κατασκήπτειν τύχας. ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐολούσκοις
ἐκεχειρίαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὔσαι σπονδαὶ τε διετεῖς
ὀλίγῳ πρότερον χρόνῳ γενόμεναι. [3] ἂν μὲν οὖν ἀπερισκέπτως, ἔφη, καὶ
διὰ τάχους τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιφέρῃς, τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος ἔσῃ καὶ
τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ἔξεις εὐμενές· ἂν δὲ περιμείνῃς, ἕως ἐκείνοι τοὔτο
ποιήσωσιν, ἀμύνεσθαι δόξεις καὶ λελυμέναις σπονδαῖς βοηθεῖν. ὅπως δ' ἂν
τοὔτο γένοιτο, καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκείνοι μὲν ἄρξειαν παρασπονδεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ
δόξαιμεν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐπιφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι
ἀνεύρηκα. δεῖ δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατηθέντας ἄρξαι τῆς παρανομίας. [4]
ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐξαπάτης, ὃν ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ἀπόρρητον ἐφύλαττον
ἀναμένων τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν, νῦν δὲ σοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἔργου
ἔχεσθαι θᾶττον ἐκφέρειν εἰς μέσον ἀναγκάζομαι, τοιόσδε ἐστίν· θυσίας
ἐπιτελεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι μέλλουσι καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγειν ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων
σφόδρα λαμπροὺς, ἀφίχονται τε κατὰ θεὸν ἐπὶ τούτους πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων. [5]
τοὔτον ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον ἴθι καὶ σὺ καὶ Οὐολούσκων ὅσους δύνασαι
πλείστους παρασκεύασον [p. 127] ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν· ὅταν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει
γένῃ, τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τινά σοι φίλων κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ὑπάτους
καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ πόλει Οὐολοῦσκοι
νύκτωρ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκουσι τὸ ἔργον ἄθροοι. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ὡς εἰ τοῦτ'
ἀκούσειαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκβαλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
παρέξουσιν ἀφορμὴν δικαίας ὀργῆς.

ὡς δ' ἤκουσε ταῦθ' ὁ Τύλλος, ὑπερηγάσθη τε καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν
τῆς στρατείας ἀναβαλόμενος περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐγίνετο τοῦ πολέμου.
ἐπεὶ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς καιρὸς, Ἰουλίου τε καὶ Πιναρίου τὴν ὑπατείαν
ἤδη παρεληφόντων, ἡ κρατίστη τῶν Οὐολούσκων νεότης ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως,
ὡς ὁ Τύλλος ἤξιου, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγώνων θέαν· καὶ κατεσκήνουν οἱ
πλείους ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις οὐκ ἔχοντες καταγωγὰς ἐν οἰκίαις
τε καὶ παρὰ ξένοις, καὶ ὅποτε διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν πορεύοντο κατὰ
συστροφὰς καὶ ἑταιρίας ἄθροοι διεξήεσαν, ὥστε καὶ λόγον ἤδη γίνεσθαι
περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑποψίας ἀτόπους. [2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσέρχεται
τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου μηνυτής, ὡς ὁ Μάρκιος
ὑπέθετο, καὶ ὡς δὴ ἀπόρρητον πρᾶξιν κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ἐχθροῖς
μέλλων ἐκφέρειν ὅρκοις καταλαμβάνεται τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε
τῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηδένα Οὐολούσκων μαθεῖν, ὅστις ἦν ὁ τὴν
μήνυσιν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιημένος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρει [p. 128] τὴν περὶ
τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς κατεψευσμένης μήνυσιν. [3] ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀληθῆς

εἶναι ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κληθεῖσα συνήκτο, καὶ παραχθéis ὁ μηνυτὴς τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν λόγους. τοῖς δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει μεστὸν ὑποφίας τοσαύτην νεότητά ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔθνους διαφόρου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν παρελθεῖν, προσελθούσης δὲ μηνύσεως, ἥς τὴν ἀπάτην ἠγνόουν, ἰσχὺν βεβαίαν ἢ δόξα ἔλαβεν, ἐδόκει θ' ἅπασιν ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἡλίον δῦναι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πεισθεῖσιν ἐπικηρύξαι θάνατον, ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἵνα χωρὶς ὕβρεως καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, τοὺς ὑπάτους.

ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυττον διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιόντες ἀπέναι Οὐολούσκους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα μάλα κατὰ μίαν ἅπαντας ἐξιόντας πύλην τὴν καλουμένην Καπιῖνην, ἕτεροι δὲ παρέπεμπον τοὺς ἀπαλαττομένους ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις: ἔνθα μάλιστα ὦφθη, ὅσον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ ὡς ἀκμαῖον ἅπαν ὕφ' ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἐξιόντων πύλην. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἐξῆει διὰ ταχέων καὶ καταλαβὼν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς ὑστεροῦντας ἀνελάμβανεν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντες συνήχθησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενος πολλῇ καταβοῇ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐχρήσατο, δεινὴν καὶ ἀφόρητον [p. 129] ἀποφαίνων τὴν ὕβριν, ἣν ὕβρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦσαν Οὐολοῦσκοι μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: καὶ λέγειν ἡξίου ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἕκαστον καὶ πράττειν, ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὕβρεως Ῥωμαῖοι δίκας παρασχόντες τῆς παρανομίας. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ παραθήξας ἀνθρώπους ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [3] ὡς δ' ἀπαλλαγέντες εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐξαίροντες τὰ γενόμενα, ἠγανάκτει τε πᾶσα πόλις καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἠδύνατο: διαπρεσβευομένη δ' ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλην εἰς μίαν ἀγορὰν ἅπαντας ἡξίου Οὐολούσκους συνιέναι, ἵνα κοινῇ χρήσαιντο γνώμῃ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. [4] ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τύλλου μάλιστα ἑνάγοντος, καὶ συνήεσαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οἱ τ' ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ πολὺς ἄλλος ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ἐχέτραν πόλιν: αὕτη γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐν καλλίστῃ κεῖσθαι συνόδῳ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἢ πόλιν. ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων, οὓς εἶπον οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει, ψῆφος ἀνεδόθη τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ ἦν ἡ νικῶσα γνώμη κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀρξάντων τῆς περὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρανομίας.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς τρόπον [p. 130] προθέντων σκοπεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι παρελθόντων ὁ Τύλλος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς καλεῖν τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου πυνθάνεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἡ Ῥωμαίων καταλυθεῖ δύναμις: κράτιστα γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰδέναι, πῇ τε κάμνει τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ πῇ μάλιστα ἔρρωται. ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐβόων καλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἥς ἐβούλετο ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος ἀνέστη κατηφῆς καὶ δεδακρυμένος καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον τοιοῦτους διέθετο λόγους: [2] εἰ μὲν ἡγούμην ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὅμοια γινώσκειν περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑπελάμβανον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπολογεῖσθαι: ἐνθυμούμενος δ', ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἡθεσιν εἰκός,

εἶναι τινας, οἷς παραστήσεται δόξα οὐτ' ἀληθῆς οὔτε προσήκουσα περί
ἐμοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄτερ αἰτίας ἀληθοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἐξήλασέ με ὁ δῆμος ἐκ
τῆς πατρίδος, παντὸς μάλιστα οἶομαι δεῖν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς φυγῆς ἐν
κοινῷ [3] πρὸς ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθέ μου, πρὸς
θεῶν, καὶ οἱ κράτιστα ἐγνωκότες, ἃ πέπονθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὡς οὐ
προσηκόν μοι ταύτης πεπειράμαι τῆς τύχης διεξιόντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον
ποθεῖτε, ὅ τι χρή πράττειν ἀκοῦσαι, πρῖν, ὅποῖός τις εἰμὶ ὁ τὴν γνώμην
ἀποδειξόμενος, ἐξετάσαι. ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς ὁ περί αὐτῶν, κἂν πρόσωθεν
ἄρξωμαι, λόγος. [4] Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολιτευμα ἦν μικτὸν ἐκ τε
βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας: ἔπειτα ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος
τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡξίου ποιεῖν. συστάντες [p. 131] οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς
ἀριστοκρατίας ἡγεμόνες ἐκέκινον μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ
κοινὰ κατέσχον ἀρίστην καὶ σωφρονεστάτην, ὡς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι,
καταστησάμενοι πολιτείαν. χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ
τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον τοῦτ' ἔτος οἱ πενέστατοί τε καὶ ἀργότατοί τῶν πολιτῶν
πονηροῖς χρησάμενοι προστάταις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐξυβρίσαν, καὶ τελευτῶντες
καταλύειν τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐπεχείρουν. ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ τῆς βουλῆς
προεστηκότες ἦχοντο καὶ, ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὕβρεως οἱ [5] κινοῦντες τὴν
πολιτείαν, σκοπεῖν ἡξίου. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικούς ἐκ μὲν
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἄππιος ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀξίος ἔνεκεν ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
νεωτέρων ἐγώ: καὶ λόγους ἐποιοῦμεθα διὰ παντὸς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς
ἐλευθέρους οὐ δῆμῳ πολεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πονηροκρατίαν ὑφορῶμενοι, οὐδὲ
καταδουλώσασθαι τινὰ βουλόμενοι Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον
ἅπασιν ἀξιοῦντες ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεδοῦσθαι
τοῖς κρείττοις.

ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ πονηρότατοί τοῦ πλήθους ἐκείνοι προστάται πρώτους
ἐγνώσαν ἡμᾶς τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐναντιούμενους σφίσιν ἐκποδῶν
ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ἅμ' ἅμ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἐπίφθονόν τε
καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα γένηται, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ νεωτέρου τε καὶ
εὐμεταχειριστοτέρου ἀρξάμενοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἄκριτόν με
ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπολέσαι, [p. 132] ἔπειτ' ἔκδοτον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἡξίου ἐπὶ
θανάτῳ λαβεῖν: ἀποτυχόντες δ' ἀμφοτέρων προὔκαλέσαντο ἐπὶ δίκην, ἣν
αὐτοὶ δικάσειν ἔμελλον, τυραννίδος ἐπιβαλόντες αἰτίαν. [2] καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ'
ἔμαθον, ὅτι δῆμῳ τύραννος οὐδεὶς πολεμεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων συστάς, ἀλλὰ
τάναντία μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸ κράτιστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ μέρος:
δικαστήριόν τ' οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν πάτριον ἀπέδωκάν μοι τὴν λοχίτιν καλέσαντες
ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι πονηρότατον εἶναι δικαστήριον καὶ
ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον ἔχειν ἔμελλον οἱ θῆτες
καὶ ἀνέστοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοτριῶς ἐπιβουλευόντες βίαις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ
δικαίων καὶ τὰ [3] κοινὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένων. τοσοῦτο δ' ἄρα μοι περιῆν
τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ὥστ' ἐν ὄχλῳ κρινόμενος, οὐ τὸ πλέον μισόχρηστον ἦν
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐχθρόν ἐμοί, δυσὶ μόνον ἐάλων ψήφοις ἀποτιθεμένων τὴν
ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, εἰ μὴ καταδικασθεῖην ἐγώ, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα
πεισεσθαι πρὸς ἐμοῦ λεγόντων καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ παρὰ τὸν

ἀγῶνα κατ' ἑμοῦ χρησαμένων. [4] τοιαῦτα δὴ πεπονθὼς ἐγὼ πρὸς τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμην τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μοι βίον, εἰ μὴ λάβοιμι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξὸν μοι ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως, εἴτ' ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσιν ἡβουλόμην κατὰ τὸ συγγενές, εἴτ' ἐν ταῖς νεοκτιστοῖς, ἃς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπώκισαν, οὐκ ἡβουλήθην, ἐφ' ὧμας δὲ κατέφυγον, οὕς ἠπιστάμην πλεῖστα θ' ὑπὸ [p. 133] Ῥωμαίων ἡδικημένους καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθομένους, ἵνα κοινῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν τιμωρησαίμην αὐτούς, ὅση μοι δύναμις, λόγοις τ', ἔνθα δεῖ λόγων, καὶ ἔργοις, ὅταν ἔργων δέη. χάριν τε τὴν μεγάλην ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς θ' ὑποδοχῆς μου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς τιμῆς, ἥ με τιμᾷτε οὐθὲν οὔτε μνησικακήσαντες οὐθ' ὑπολογισάμενοι ὧν ὑπ' ἑμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἐπάθετε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους.

φέρει δὴ, τίς ἂν εἶην ἀνὴρ, εἰ δόξης καὶ τιμῶν, ὧν προσῆκέ μοι παρὰ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πολίταις τυγχάνειν, παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων ἀποστερηθεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις πατρίδος τε καὶ οἴκου καὶ φίλων καὶ θεῶν πατρῶων καὶ τάφων προγονικῶν καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου ἀπελασθεῖς ἀγαθοῦ, παρ' ὑμῖν δ' ἅπαντα ταῦθ' εὐρών, οἷς ἐκείνων χάριν ἐπολέμουν, εἰ μὴ γενοίμην χαλεπὸς μὲν οἷς ἀντὶ πολιτῶν ἐχθροῖς κέχρημαι, χρηστὸς δ' οἷς ἀντὶ πολεμίων φίλοις; ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' οὐδ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα θεῖην ἂν, ὅστις μήτε τὸ πολεμοῦν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχει μήτε τὸ σῶζον ἑαυτὸν δι' εὐνοίας. πατρίδα θ' ἡγοῦμαι οὐ τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην με πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἥς ἀλλότριος [2] ὧν πολίτης γέγονα, γῆν τ' οὐκ ἐν ἧ ἡδίκημαι φίλην, ἀλλ' ἐν ἧ τὸ ἀσφαλές ἔχω. καὶ ἂν θεὸς τε συλλαμβάνῃ καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὡς εἰκὸς πρόθυμα ἦ, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν [p. 134] ἐλπίζω γενήσεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι πολλῶν ἤδη πολεμίων πειραθέντες Ῥωμαῖοι οὐθένεας μᾶλλον ἔδειςαν ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ μᾶλλον σπουδάζοντες διατελοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἀσθενὲς ἀποδείξουσιν. [3] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν πολέμῳ λαβόντες ὑμῶν ἔχουσι πόλεις, τὰς δὲ φιλίας ἐλπίδι παρακρουσάμενοι, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἐν ἅπαντες γενόμενοι κοινὸν ἐξενέγκητε κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον. ἐὰν οὖν τάναντία ὑμεῖς ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι διατελῆτε καὶ μίαν ἅπαντες ἔχητε περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ὃ ποιεῖτε νυνί, ῥαδίως αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος παύσετε.

ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἀγωνιεῖσθε καὶ πῶς χρήσεσθε τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὴ γνώμην ἀξιοῦτέ με ἀποφύνασθαι, εἴτ' ἐμπειρίαν μοι μαρτυροῦντες εἴτ' εὐνοίαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα, φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν παραινῶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως εὐσεβῇ καὶ δικαίαν πορίσησθε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν. εὐσεβῆς δὲ καὶ δικαία τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἣτις ἂν γένοιτο καὶ [2] ἅμα συμφέρουσα ὑμῖν, ἀκούσατέ μου. Ῥωμαίοις ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξασα γῆ βραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ λυπρά, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ κτήτος, ἦν τοὺς περιοίκους ἀφελόμενοι ἔχουσι, πολλὴ καὶ ἀγαθή· καὶ εἰ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξιοῖεν ἀπολαβεῖν, οὐδὲν οὕτως μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενὲς οὐδ' ἄπορον, ὡς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄστυ γενήσεται. [p. 135] [3] τοῦτου δ' οἶομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἄρξαι. πέμπετε οὖν πρέσβεις ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντες ἃς κατέχουσιν ὑμῶν πόλεις καὶ ὅσα τείχη ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ ἐντετειχίσαντο ἀξιοῦντες ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βίᾳ σφετερισάμενοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχουσι πείθοντες ἀποδιδόναι. πολέμου δὲ μήπω ἄρχετε, πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν

ἀποκρίσεις. ἔάν γάρ ταῦτα ποιήσητε, δεῖν ὦν βούλεσθε ὑπάρξει θάτερον ὑμῖν: ἢ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολήψεσθε ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης, ἢ καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν πρόφασιν εἰληφότες ἔσεσθε τοῦ πολέμου. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας τούτου πολεμεῖν, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσουσιν εἶναι καλόν. [4] φέρε δὴ, τί ποιήσῃ οἷσεθε Ῥωμαίους ταῦθ' ὑμῶν προελομένων; πότερον ἀποδώσειν τὰ χωρία ὑμῖν; καὶ τί κωλύσει πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; ἤξουσιν γὰρ Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι γῆν ἀποληψόμενοι. ἢ καθέξειν τὰ χωρία καὶ μὴδὲν τῶν δικαίων ποιήσῃ; ὅπερ ἐγὼ νομίζω. οὐκοῦν ἀδικεῖσθαι πρότεροι λέγοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρήσετε καὶ συμμάχους ἔξετε, ὅσοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀπεγνώκασιν ἄλλως ἂν ἔπι αὐτὰ [5] ἢ πολεμοῦντες οὐκ ἀπολήψεσθαι. κράτιστος δ' ὁ καιρὸς καὶ οἶος οὐκ ἕτερος ἐπιθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὃν ἢ [p. 136] τύχη τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπισθέντα παρεσκεύασεν, ἐν ᾧ στασιάζουσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσιν ἀπείρους πολέμου. ἃ μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι ἔδει λόγοις καὶ παραινεῖν φίλοις, μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως εἰρημένα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστοτε προορᾶσθαι τε καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι δεήσει, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρέψατε διανοεῖσθαι. [6] πρόθυμον γὰρ καὶ τοῦμὸν ἔσται, ἐν ᾧ ἂν με τάττητε τόπῳ, καὶ πειράσομαι μηδενὸς εἶναι χεῖρων μῆτε στρατιώτου μῆτε λοχαγοῦ μῆτε ἡγεμόνος: ἀλλὰ καταχρῆσθέ μοι λαβόντες, ὅπου ἂν μέλλω τι ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσῃν, καὶ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι, εἰ πολέμων ὑμῖν μεγάλη βλάβειν δυνατὸς ἦν, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ἀγωνιζόμενος μεγάλη δυνήσομαι ὠφελεῖν.

τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι λέγοντός τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔτι δῆλοι ἦσαν ἀγάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο μεγάλη βοῇ πάντες ἐπεσήμηναν ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθεμένῳ λόγον τ' οὐθενὶ προθέντες ἐπικυροῦσι τὴν γνώμην. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόγματος εὐθύς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν: τῷ δὲ Μαρκίῳ ψηφίζονται βουλῆς τε μετουσίαν ἐν ἀπάσῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔξεῖναι πανταχόσε μετιέναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅποσα τιμώτατα ἦν παρ' [2] αὐτοῖς, μετέχειν. καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὰς Ῥωμαίων ἀποκρίσεις [p. 137] ἀναμεῖναι, πάντες ἔργου εἶχοντο παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια: ὅσοι τ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἄθυμοι τέως κακωθέντες ἐν ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις, τότε πάντες ἐπερρώσθησαν ὡς τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθαιρήσοντες ἰσχύν. [3] οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγον: ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοις περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον εἶναι φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὸ πιστὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἀπέφαινον, εἰ κομίσαιντο γῆν τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ πόλεις, ἃς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφηρέθησαν: ἄλλως δ' οὐτ' εἰρήνην οὔτε φιλότητα βεβαίαν ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς: τὸ γὰρ ἀδικούμενον ἀεὶ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι φύσει. ἤξιουν τε μὴ καταστῆσαι σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου τῶν δικαίων ἀποτυγχάνοντας.

ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπον οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ σύνεδροι μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔκριναν ἅς χρή ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι, καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον ταύτην ἔδοσαν τὴν ἀπόφασιν. οὐ λανθάνετε ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐολούσκοι, φιλίας μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, πρόφασιν δ' εὐπρεπῇ λαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου. ἃ γὰρ ἤκετε παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτοῦντες, καλῶς ἐπίστασθε οὐδέποτε ληψόμενοι: χρήζετε γὰρ ἀδίκων τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων. [2] εἰ μὲν οὖν δόντες ἡμῖν τὰ χωρία ἔπειτα μεταδόξαν ὑμῖν νῦν ἀπαιτεῖτε, ἀδικεῖσθε [p. 138] μὴ κομιζόμενοι, εἰ δὲ πολέμῳ ἀφαιρεθέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ὄντες κύριοι, ἀδικεῖτε τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ἐφιέμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ κρατίστας ἡγοῦμεθα κτήσεις, ἅς ἂν πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες λάβωμεν, οὔτε πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι νόμον τόνδε οὔτε αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἡγοῦμενοι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ θεῶν: ἅπαντάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήνας καὶ βαρβάρους εἰδότες αὐτῷ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίημεν ὑμῖν μαλακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἀποσταίημεν ἔτι τῶν δορικτήτων. [3] πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν εἴη κακότης, εἴ τις ἃ μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐκτήσατο, ταῦθ' ὑπὸ μωρίας τε καὶ δειλίας ἀφαιρεθεῖη. πολεμεῖν τ' οὔτε μὴ βουλομένους ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζομεν, οὔτε προθυμουμένους παραιτούμεθα, ἂν δ' ἄρξησθε ἀμυνοῦμεθα. ταῦτα Οὐολούσκοις ἀπαγγέλλετε καὶ λέγετε, ὅτι λήφονται μὲν πρότεροι τὰ ὅπλ' ἐκεῖνοι, θήσομεν δ' ἡμεῖς ὕστεροι.

ταῦτας οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Οὐολούσκων. συναχθείσης οὖν αὐθις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τοῦτο κυροῦται δόγμα κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθνους προειπεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπειθ' αἰροῦνται στρατηγούς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου Τύλλον τε καὶ Μάρκιον δυνάμεις τε ψηφίζονται καταγράφειν καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευάσασθαι, [2] ὅσων ὑπελάμβανον δεήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ. μελλούσης δὲ διαλύεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ὁ Μάρκιος ἔφησεν: [p. 139] α μὲν ἐψήφισται τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν, ἔχει καλῶς καὶ γινέσθω κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἕκαστα καιρόν: ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα μέλλετε καταγράφειν καὶ τᾶλλα εὐτρεπίζειν ἔξοντά τινας ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἀσχολίας καὶ διατριβάς, ἐγὼ καὶ Τύλλος ἔργου ἐχώμεθα. ὅσοις οὖν ὑμῶν βουλομένοις ἐστὶ προνομεῦσαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι λείαν, ἴτε σὺν ἡμῖν. ὑποδέχομαι δ' ὑμῖν, ἐὰν θεὸς συλλάβῃ, πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς δώσειν ὠφελείας. [3] ἔτι γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι εἰσι Ῥωμαῖοι δύνάμιν οὕπῳ συνεστηκυῖαν ὀρῶντες ὑμετέραν, ὥστ' ἀδεῶς ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει πᾶσαν ὅσῃν ἂν βουλόμεθα τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας καταδραμεῖν.

ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐξήεσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ ταχέων, πρὶν ἔκπυστα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ βουλευόμενα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενοι στρατιὰν ἐκούσιον: ἥς μέρος μὲν ὁ Τύλλος ἔχων εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ἵνα περισπάσειε τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ Μάρκιος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἥλασεν. [2] οἷα δ' ἀπροσδοκίτου τοῦ κακοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν διατρίβουσιν ἐπιπεσόντος πολλὰ μὲν ἐάλω σώματα Ῥωμαίων ἐλεύθερα, πολλὰ δ' ἀνδράποδα, βοῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων χρήμα οὐκ ὀλίγον: σίτος θ' ὅσος ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις χώρα γεωργεῖται, τὰ μὲν ἥρπασθη, τὰ δὲ διεφθάρη. τελευτῶντες γὰρ καὶ πῦρ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς φέροντες

ἐνέβαλλον Οὐλοῦσκοι, ὥστε πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴδ' [p. 140] ^[3] ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὰς δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀποβαλόντας. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπασχον αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν κτήσεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἔμειναν ἀσινεῖς· εἰ δὲ τινες ἐβλάβησαν, εἰς ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα ἔδοξαν βλαβῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκιου παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς Οὐλοῦσκοις, ἵνα δι' ὑποψίας ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατρικιοὶ γένοιτο τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐξαιρεθῇ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ^[4] ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὥς γὰρ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ καταδρομὴ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γεγνηῖαν ἅπασιν τὴν συμφορὰν, κατεβόων μὲν τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ὥς ἐπαγόντων σφίσι τὸν Μάρκιον, ἀπελογοῦντο δ' οἱ πατρικιοὶ καὶ κακουργίαν τινὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτην ἀπέφαινον. βοηθεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἢ σῶζειν τὰ περιόντα δι' ὑποψίαν τ' ἀλλήλων καὶ δέος προδοσίας οὐθεὶς ἤξιον· ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέστησεν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα παθόντας μὲν οὐδὲν δεινόν, δράσαντας δ' ὅσα ἤξιουν, καὶ πολλῶν εὐπορήσαντας χρημάτων. ^[5] ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τύλλος ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων χώρας πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος ὠφελείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖ δύναμιν ἔσχον ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχησόμενοι ἀπαράσκευοὶ τ' ὄντες καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ δεινοῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσα πόλις ἐπῆρτο ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς ἂν τις ὑπέλαβεν ἢ τε καταγραφὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρετεῖτο, ὅσων τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδει. [p. 141]

ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆκτο ἤδη πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις, ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ὁ Μάρκιος, ὅπως χρηστέον τοῖς λοιποῖς πράγμασιν. ἔφη δ' οὖν λέγων· ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Τύλλε, κράτιστον εἶναι νείμασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἡμᾶς διχῇ· ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἕτερον ἡμῶν ἄγοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχησόμενον, καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπομενοῦσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῖν ἵεναι μιᾷ κρῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ἀποκνήσουσιν, ὥς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, στρατιᾷ νεοσυλλέκτῳ καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀπείροις πολέμου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἐπιτρέπειν, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιόντα πορθεῖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους περισπᾶν καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο κακὸν ὃ τι δύναιτο ποιεῖν. ^[2] τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ λάθωσιν ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπιπεσόντες αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ πρᾶγμα αἰσχιστον πάθωμεν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐφίεμεθα τὰ παρόντα ἀφαιρεθέντες. ἀλλὰ χρή τὸν ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα ἤδη τείχη τ' ἀνορθοῦν, ὅσα πέπτωκε, καὶ τάφρους ἀνακαθαίρειν καὶ φρούρια ὀχυροῦν, ἵνα τοῖς γεωργοῦσι τὴν χώραν ὑπάρχωσι καταφυγαί, στρατιὰν τ' ἄλλην προσκαταγράφειν καὶ τροφὰς τοῖς ἔξω οὖσιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν καὶ ὅπλα χαλκεῦειν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πρᾶγμα ὁξέως ὑπηρετεῖν. ^[3] δίδωμι δέ σοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, εἴτε τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς εἴτε τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπομενούσης ἐθέλεις στρατηγεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ σφόδρα [p. 142] ἠγάσθη τὴν γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, καὶ τὸ δραστήριον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰδὼς καὶ ἐπιτυχὲς ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνῳ τῆς ἔξω στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν.

καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας ἦκεν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Κιρκαίαν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ κληροῦχοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου. ὥς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν οἱ

Κίρκαῖοι κρατουμένην σφῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ προσάγουσαν τῷ τείχει τὴν στρατιάν, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐξήρσαν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄνοπλοι παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦντες: ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον ἐγένετο. [2] οὕτε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδένα, οὐτ' ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: ἐσθῆτα δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τροφὰς εἰς μῆνα ἱκανὰς καὶ ἀργυρίον τι μέτριον λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀλίγην μοῖραν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν τῆς τ' ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἔνεκα, μὴ τι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πάθωσι κακόν, [3] καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὕστερον νεωτερίσαι. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἡγγέλθη τὰ γενόμενα πολὺ πλείων ταραχὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν μὲν πατρικίων τὸν δῆμον ἐχόντων δι' αἰτίας, ὅτι πολεμιστὴν ἄνδρα καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς μεστὸν ψευδεῖ περιβαλόντες αἰτία τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθον καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ἡγεμόνα Οὐολούσκοις γενέσθαι: [4] τῶν δὲ προεστηκότων τοῦ δήμου κατηγορίας τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιουμένων καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον ἐξ ἐπιδουλοῦσιν ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατεσκευάσθαι λεγόντων [p. 143] τὸν τε πόλεμον οὐ κοινὸν ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μόνοις ἐπάγεσθαι σκηπτομένων: καὶ ἦν τὸ κακοηθέστατον τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἅμα τούτοις. στρατιάς δὲ καταγράφειν ἢ καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ κατεπείγοντα διὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθη καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατηγορίας οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν ἐλάμβανον.

τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συστραφέντες ἔπειθον ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς στασιωδεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν παύσασθαι τῶν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ὑποψιῶν τε καὶ κατηγοριῶν: διδάσκοντες ὡς εἰ δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς φυγὴν τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, ἐὰν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πατρικίων προπηλακισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταῦτό φρονῆσαι: καὶ κατέσχον οὗτοι τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πλήθους. [2] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολλοῦ θορύβου συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων παροῦσι ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αἵτησιν ἀπεκρίνατο, μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι σφίσι βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν κατὰ τὸ παρόν: αὐτοῖς δ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἐαυτῶν στρατιάν καταγράφειν καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως ἰδίους ἐκπέμπειν τε, ὅταν αὐτοὶ ἐκπέμψωσι δύναμιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συνθήκαις, αἷς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ φιλίας, ἀπόρρητον ἦν τούτων ἑκάτερον. [3] τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐφῆκαν στρατὸν τε [p. 144] συναγαγεῖν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρακαλεῖν, εἰς ὑπαίθρον δὲ μήπω τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντα εὐτρεπῇ γένηται. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ταῦτ' ἐπεκύρωσεν. ἦν δὲ βραχύς ὁ λειπόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἔφθασαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν ἡμιτελῆ πάντα τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτοὺς ὑπάτοις.

οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, Σπόριος Ναύτιος καὶ Σέξτος Φούριος, στρατιάν θ' ὅσην ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἐκ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κατεστήσαντο καταλόγου, καὶ φρυκτωρίας καὶ σκοποὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις φρουρίοις ἔταξαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας πραττομένων: χρήματά τε καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὅπλα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ ἡτοιμάσαντο. [2] τὰ μὲν οὖν οἰκεῖα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐνῆν ἄριστα,

καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔτι δεῖν ἐδόκει: τὰ δὲ συμμαχικὰ οὐχ ἅπαντα ὑπήκουε προθύμως ἐκούσια τ' οὐκ ἦν, οἷα συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ὥστ' οὐδὲ προσαναγκάζειν αὐτὰ ἡξιοῦν φοβούμενοι προδοσίαν. ἤδη δὲ τινα καὶ ἀφίστατο αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις συνελάμβανε. [3] πρῶτοι δ' ἦρξαν Αἰκανοὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἅμα τῷ συστήναι τὸν πόλεμον εὐθύς ἐλθόντες ὡς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους καὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ' ὄρκων συνθέμενοι, στρατιὰν τ' ἀπέστειλαν οὗτοι τῷ Μάρκιῳ πλείστην τε καὶ προθυμοτάτην. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων [p. 145] πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων κρύφα συνελάμβανον τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις οὐκ ἀπὸ ψηφισμάτων οὐδ' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δόγματος ἀποστέλλοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς συμμαχίας, εἰ δὲ τισιν ἦν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας τῶν σφετέρων, οὐχ ὅπως ἀποτρέποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρορμῶντες. [4] ἐγεγόνει τ' ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοσαύτη δύναμις περὶ τοὺς Οὐολούσκους, ὅσην οὐ πώποτ' ἔσχον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἤκμαζον ταῖς πόλεσιν: ἦν ἐπαγόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐνέβαλεν αὐθις εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἡμέρας συχνὰς ἐδήϊον τῆς γῆς, ὅσην ἐν τῇ πρότερον εἰσβολῇ παρέλιπε. [5] σωματῶν μὲν οὖν ἐλευθέρων οὐκέτι πολλῶν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν: οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια συσκευασάμενοι παλαιότερον ἔτι κατεπεφεύγεσαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον φρουρία, εἴ τινα ἦν ἐχυρώτατα: τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα αὐτῶν, ὅσα οὐχ οἷοι τ' ἦσαν ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τοὺς νέμοντας θεράποντας λαμβάνει τὸν τε σῆτον τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλωσιν ἔτι κείμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρπούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντας, [6] τοὺς δὲ καὶ συγκεκομισμένους ἀναιρεῖται. προνομεύσας δὲ καὶ διαπορθήσας ἅπαντα οὐθενὸς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τολμήσαντος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιὰν βαρεῖαν οὔσαν ἤδη τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὠφελειῶν καὶ σχολῇ πορευομένην.

οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κομιζομένης [p. 146] λείας ὀρῶντες καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀτολμίας ἀκούοντες, οἱ δὴ τέως τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λεηλατοῦντες ἀδεῶς τότε τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ἠνεῖχοντο διηουμένην ὀρῶντες, αὐχήμετός τε μεγάλου ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν ἡγεμονίας, ὡς δὴ ῥάδιον καὶ ἐν ἐτοιμῷ σφίσιν ὄν καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἰσχύν, θυσίας τε χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σκύλων ἀναθέσει τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐκόσμουσαν καὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντες ἐν ἐορταῖς καὶ εὐπαθείαις τὸν τε Μάρκιον ἀγάμενοι καὶ ὑμνοῦντες διετέλουν, ὡς εἴη τὰ τε πολέμια δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ στρατηγός, οἷος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε ἄλλος στρατηγὸς Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς. [2] μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τύχης αὐτὸν ἐμακάριζον ἅπαντα, ὅσοις ἐπιχειρήσειε, κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ προχωροῦντα ὀρῶντες διχα πόνου: ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεῦσιμον ἡλικίαν, ὃς ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὥρμητο μετέχειν τῶν πράξεων καὶ συνήεσαν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως. [3] ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐπέρρωσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρεῖον εἰς ταπεινὴν καὶ ἄνανδρον κατέκλεισεν ἀμηχανίαν, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν πόλεις, ὅσαι τὸ πιστὸν διεφύλαττον, ἤγε τὴν δύναμιν: καὶ αὐτίκα ἐτοιμασάμενος, ὅσα εἰς πολιορκίαν χρήσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ Τολερίνους ἐλαύνει τοῦ Λατίνων ὄντας ἔθνους. [4] οἱ δὲ Τολερίνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ

παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν συγκεκομικότες ἐδέχοντο αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα καὶ χρόνον μὲν [p. 147] τιν' ἀντεῖχον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν μαχόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατέτρωσαν: ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι δαίλης ὀψίας ταιλαιπωροῦντες πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐξέλιπον. τοῦτο [5] καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε κλίμακας προσφέρειν κατὰ τὰ γυμνούμενα μέρη τοῦ περιβόλου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἵεται βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, καὶ διαρρήξας τοὺς μοχλοὺς παρέρχεται πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δ' ὑφ' ἑσπέρου ταῖς πύλαις πολὺ καὶ καρτερὸν στίφος τῶν πολεμίων, οἳ δέχονται τ' αὐτὸν ἔρρωμένως καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διεκαρτέρουν ἀγωνιζόμενοι: πολλῶν δ' ἀναιρεθέντων τρέπονται οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ σκεδασθέντες ἔφευγον ἀνὰ τοὺς στενωπούς. [6] ὁ δ' ἠκολούθει κτείνων τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους, ὅσοι μὴ τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντες εἰς ἰκεσίας ἐτράποντο: ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ τείχους. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐξελλόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ὅσα θεοῖς τ' ἀναθήματα καὶ κόσμος ταῖς Οὐολούσκων πόλεσιν ἔμελλε γενέσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε διαρπάσαι. [7] ἦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθι σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα, πολὺς δὲ σῖτος, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι μᾶ πάντα ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἡμέρα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες τὰ μὲν [p. 148] αὐτοί, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πολὺν ἠναγκάστησαν διατρίψαι χρόνον.

ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐξεκεκόμιστο, τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βῶλαν Λατίνων ἐτέραν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ προεγνωκότες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκιος ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσων κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς: οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ περιμείναντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας, καὶ φερόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐν τάξει τε καὶ κόσμῳ συρράπτουσι τοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἔτι δὲ πλείους κατατραυματίσαντες τοὺς τε λοιποὺς αἰσχυρῶς ἀναγκάσαντες φυγεῖν ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [2] ὡς δ' ἔγνω τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Οὐολούσκων ὁ Μάρκιος: οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχε παρὼν ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο: παρῆν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς σκεδασθέντας ἀναλαβὼν συνίστατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέστησεν εἰς τάξεις, ὑποδείξας, ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε προσβάλλειν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας. [3] χρησαμένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Βωλανῶν τῇ αὐτῇ πείρᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐκδραμόντων οὐ δέχονται αὐτοὺς οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐγκλιναντες ἔφευγον κατὰ [p. 149] τοῦ πρानοῦς, ὡς ὁ στρατηγός αὐτοῖς ὑπέθετο: καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ τὴν ἀπάτην οὐκ εἰδότες ἐδίωκον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ἐγένοντο, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τῶν νέων ὁ Μάρκιος ὁμόσε τοῖς Βωλανοῖς ἐχώρει: καὶ γίνεται πολὺς αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα φόνος τῶν μὲν ἀμυνομένων, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων. [4] ὁ δ' ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠθουμένοις φθάνει, πρὶν ἐπιρραχθῆναι τὰς πύλας εἰσβιασάμενος εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δ' ὁ

στρατηγὸς ἅπαξ ἐγκρατὴς τῶν πυλῶν ἐγένετο, ἡκολούθει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Οὐλοούσκων πλῆθος, οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τε σώματα ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσαι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἅπασαν ἐκκομίσας τὴν λείαν σὺν χρόνῳ τε καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν.

ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Λαβικανούς. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη τότε Λατίνων ἡ πόλις Ἀλβανῶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλαι ἄποικοι. καταπλήξασθαι δὲ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἔνδον ἔκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθύς ἐπιών, ὅθεν μάλιστα ἔμελλον ὄψεσθαι τὴν φλόγα. οἱ δὲ Λαβικανοὶ τεῖχος εὖ κατεσκευασμένον ἔχοντες οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε μαλακὸν ἐνέδοσαν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον [p. 150] ἀπομαχώμενοι γενναίως καὶ πολλακίς ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῦ [21] τείχους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήραξαν. οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος γ' ἀντέσχον ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναπαυόμενοι. πολλαὶ γὰρ προσβολαὶ καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐγίνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐλοούσκων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑποχωρούντων μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν κεκμηκότων, ἐτέρων δὲ προσιόντων νεαρῶν: πρὸς οὓς ἀγωνιζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενοι χρόνον ἐκλιπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ κόπου. παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὁ Μάρκιος τὴν πόλιν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε μερίσασθαι τὰς ὠφελείας. [3] ἀναστήσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πεδανῶν πόλιν: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Λατίνων γένους: συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν στρατιὰν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα τῷ πλησίον τοῖς τείχεσιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. καὶ ταῦτά διαθείς ὅσα τὰς πρότερον ἀλούσας ἔωθεν εὐθύς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἦγεν ἐπὶ Κορβιῶνα. [4] ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἀπαντῶσιν ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων προτείνοντες ἱκετηρίας καὶ παραδιδόντες ἀμαχητὶ τὸ τεῖχος. οὓς ἐπαινέσας ὡς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ σφῶν βεβουλευμένους, ἐκέλευσεν ὧν ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ φέροντας ἡκεῖν ἀργύριον τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ λαβὼν ὅσα προσέταξεν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Κοπιολανῶν [p. 151] πόλιν. παραδόντων δὲ κάκειν τῶν ἔνδον ἀμαχητὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀγοράς τε παρασχόντων τῇ δυνάμει καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπετέτακτο αὐτοῖς ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς. πάνυ γὰρ δὴ [5] καὶ τοῦτ' ἐσπούδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοῖς τὰς πόλεις πάθοιεν, ὧν φιλεῖ δρᾶν ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν ἀδήλωτον ἀπολαμβάνοιεν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα, ὅσα κατέλιπον ἐπὶ τῶν κτήσεων, κομίζοιντο, αὐλιζεσθαι τ' οὐκ εἶα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἵνα μὴ τι γένηται δι' ἀρπαγῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡ κλοπῆς κακόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσι κατεστρατοπέδευεν.

ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀναστήσας τῆς πόλεως ἦλानε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Βοίλλας, ἐπιφανῇ τότε οὔσαν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγαις πάνυ ταῖς ἡγουμέναις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους πόλεσιν ἐξεταζομένην. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ τῷ τ' ἐρύματι πιστευόντων ἐχυρῷ γε σφόδρα ὄντι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μαχησομένων παρακαλέσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι προθύμως καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπιβᾶσι τοῦ τείχους μεγάλας δωρεὰς ὑποσχόμενος ἔργου

εἶχετο: καὶ γίνεται μάχη περὶ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καρτερὰ. [2] οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἡμύνοντο τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ Βοιλλανοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον ἄθροοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐώθουν βία τοὺς ὑφισταμένους: φόνος τε [p. 152] πλεῖστος αὐτόθι τῶν Οὐολοῦσκων ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνος τῆς τειχομαχίας πολλὺς τοῦ τε κρατήσῃν τῆς πόλεως ἄπορος ἅπασιν ἢ ἐλπίς. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἄδηλον ἐποίει τὴν ἀπουσίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀντικαθιστὰς ἑτέρους, τῶν δὲ καμνόντων παρεθάρρυνε τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πονουῖν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς ὠθούμενος. ἦν δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαγωγὸς εἰς τὸ εὐψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. πάντα γὰρ ὑφίστατο κίνδυνον καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς πείρας ἀπελείφθη, τέως ἑάλω τὸ [3] τεῖχος. κρατήσας δὲ καὶ ταύτης σὺν χρόνῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διαφθείρας, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην ἐξενεγκάμενος καὶ λάφυρα κάλλιστα καὶ πλεῖστα ἄγων, χρήμασί τε παμπόλλοις, ὧν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο: ἦν δ' αὐτόθι ὅσα ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων: πλουτίσας τὴν στρατιάν.

μετὰ τοῦτο χώρα θ', ὅσῃν διαπορευόιτο, ὑποχείριος ἦν καὶ πόλις οὐδεμία ἦν ἀντιοῦτο ἔξω Λαουινίου, ἦν πρώτην τε πόλιν οἱ σὺν Αἰνεῖα κατάραντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρῶες ἔκτισαν, καὶ ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἦν γένος, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες πάντα πρότερον ὥοντο δεῖν ὑπομένειν, ἢ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπογόνους σφῶν Ῥωμαίους [2] πιστὸν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ τειχομαχίαι [p. 153] τινὲς αὐτόθι καρτεραὶ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὀξεῖαι μάχαι: οὐ μὴν ἑάλω γε τὸ τεῖχος ἀπὸ κράτους τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει χρόνου δεῖν ἢ πολιορκία καὶ τριβῆς. ἀποσταὲς οὖν τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ Μάρκιος περιετάρφρευε κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπεσταυροῦ, τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλάττων, ἵνα μὴτ' ἀγορὰ μὴτ' ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν προσγένοιτο. [3] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τε κεκρατημένων ἤδη πόλεων τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀκούοντες καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ἐνοχλούμενοι ταῖς ἀφικνουμέναις ὥς αὐτοὺς ὀσημέραι παρὰ τῶν μενουσῶν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ δεομένων βοηθείας, τοῦ τε Λαουινίου τὸν περιτειχισμὸν ὀρρωδοῦντες ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα, καὶ εἰ τότε τὸ φρούριον ἁλώσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν εὐθὺς οἰόμενοι, μίαν ὑπέλαβον ἔσσεσθαι πάντων τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, εἰ [4] ψηφίσαιντο τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ ὃ τε δῆμος ἅπας ἐβόα τοῦτο, καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι νόμον εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ ἀκυρώσεως τῆς καταδικῆς ἐβούλοντο: ἀλλ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἠναντιώθησαν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν δεδικασμένων λύειν οὐθέν. μὴ γενομένου δὲ προβουλεύματος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔτι προθεῖναι γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐδόκει. [5] ὁ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀφ' ἧς δῆποτε αἰτίας ἢ βουλῇ σπουδάζουσα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μαρκίου τότε βουλομένων [p. 154] τῷ δῆμῳ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἠναντιώθη: πότερα πείραν αὐτοῦ ποιομένη τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῷ μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἐτοίμως ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν παρορμῶσα, ἢ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπολύσασθαι βουλομένη διαβολὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθενὸς ὧν ἔπραττεν ὁ ἀνὴρ μῆτε αἰτία μῆτε συνεργὸς εἶναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπόρρητον γενόμενον αὐτῆς τὸ βούλευμα συμβαλεῖν.

ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτομόλων τινῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς, εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, φυλακὴν τοῦ Λαουινίου τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν καταλιπών· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου τετταράκοντα ἀποσχὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους. [2] μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοσοῦτος ἐνέπεσε θόρυβος ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς τεῖχεσι τοῦ πολέμου προσάξοντος, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ὄπλα λαβόντες ἔθεον ἄνευ παραγγέλματος, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατὰ πλῆθος ἐφέροντο χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς δούλους καθοπλίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι τῶν οἰκιῶν ἴστασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τ' ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Κασιπῶλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρυμνοὺς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο, γυναικῆς τε λελυμέναι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς ἔθεον ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ δεόμεναι τῶν θεῶν ἀποστρέφαι τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα φόβον. [3] ὡς δ' ἦ τε [p. 155] νύξ παρήλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦν ἐδεδοικεσαν ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἔμμενεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, συνέδραμον ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προβουλευσούσι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν καθοδὸν, αὐτοὶ βουλευέσθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔφασαν ὡς προδιδόμενοι. [4] τότε δὴ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατρικιοὶ ψηφίζονται πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἀποστεῖλαι πέντε ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, οὓς μάλιστ' ἐκεῖνος ἡσπάζετο, περὶ διαλύσεώς τε καὶ φιλίας διαλεξομένους. ἦσαν δ' οἱ προχειρισθέντες ἅπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἶδε, Μάρκος Μηνύκιος καὶ Πόστουμος Κομίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος καὶ [5] Κόιντος Σολπικίος, ἅπαντες ὑπατικοί. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἔγνω τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, καθεζόμενος ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Οὐλοῦσκων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ἔνθα πλεῖστοι ἔμελλον ἀκούσεσθαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐκέλευσε καλεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰσελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἡρξάτο τοῦ λόγου Μηνύκιος, ὁ πλεῖστα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνον σπουδάσας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἐναντιωθείς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

Ὅτι μὲν οὐ δίκαια πέπονθας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετ' αἰτίας αἰσχυρᾶς ἐξελασθεῖς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἅπαντες ἴσμεν· καὶ οὐδὲν οἰόμεθά σε ποιεῖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις. κοινὸς γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀπάντων φύσεως οὗτος [p. 156] ὁ νόμος, ἐχθρόν εἶναι τῷ δράσαντι τὸ πεπονθὸς κακῶς. [2] ὅτι δ' οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ σώφρονος ἐξετάξεις, οὓς ἀμύνεσθαι τε καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι σοὶ προσῆκεν, οὐδὲ μετριάξεις περὶ τὴν ἀνάπραξιν τῆς δικῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ταυτῷ τίθεσαι τὰ τ' ἀναίτια τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ τὰ φίλια τοῖς πολεμίοις, νόμους τε κινεῖς φύσεως ἀκινήτους καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνταράττεας ὅσια, καὶ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ ὅστις ἔφυς ἔτι μέμνησαι, τοῦτο τεθναμάκαμεν. [3] ἤκομέν τ' ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πρέσβεις οἱ προὔχοντες ἡλικίᾳ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ περὶ σὲ προθυμότατοι μεμιγμένην φέροντες δικαιολογίαν παραιτήσαι, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιοῦμέν σε διαλύσεσθαι τὴν ἔχθραν, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπαγγελοῦντες· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἃ νομίζομεν εἶναι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφορώτατά σοι, ταῦτα παραινέσοντες.

ἀρχέτω δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγος. συνέστη τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ

παροξυνθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ ἦκον ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντές σε ἄκριτον, οἷς φοβερὸς ἦσθα. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐκωλύσαμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ παρέσχομέν σοι μηθέν, ὃ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν τότε παθεῖν. μετὰ τοῦτο προὔκαλοῦντό σε οἱ κωλυθέντες ἀνελεῖν ἐπὶ δίκην, αἰτιασάμενοι πονηροὺς κατ' αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγους. [2] ἐνέστημεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὡς οἴσθα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε λόγων ὑποσχεῖν σε δίκας. ἀποτυχόντες [p. 157] καὶ τούτου τελευτῶντες ἦκον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αἰτιώμενοι σε τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν. ταύτην αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινας ἀπολογησάσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ πάμπλου ἀπέλχες αὐτῆς, καὶ παρέσχες τοῖς δημοτικοῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἀναλαβεῖν. [3] ἡ βουλὴ δὲ καὶ τότε παρῆν καὶ πολλὰς ἐποιεῖτο δεήσεις περὶ σοῦ. τίνος οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι τῶν συμβεβηκότων σοι κακῶν γεγόναμεν αἵτιοι, καὶ διὰ τί πολεμεῖς ἡμῖν τοσαύτην εὐνοίαν ἀποδειξαμένοις περὶ σέ κατὰ τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν ἐξελασθῆναι σε βουλόμενον εὐρέθη: δυσὶ γοῦν ψήφοις ἐάλως μόναίς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ἂν εἴης σὺν δίκῃ πολέμιος, οἷς σε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἀπέλυσαν. [4] τίθημι δ', εἰ βούλει, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς δημόταις δόξαν, ὅλη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ φανὲν ταύτῃ χρῆσασθαι σε τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι σου τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς μῖσος: ἀλλ' αἰ γυναικὲς σε, ὦ Μάρκιε, τί δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο, ἀνθ' ὅτου πολεμεῖς αὐταῖς; ποῖαν ἐπενέγκασαι περὶ φυγῆς ψῆφον ἢ τίνας εἰποῦσαι κατὰ σοῦ πονηροὺς λόγους; [5] τί δ' οἱ παῖδες ἡμῶν δράσαντες ἢ διανοηθέντες ἀδικεῖν περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκός, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἀλῶ; οὐ τὰ δίκαια διατῆς, ὦ Μάρκιε, καὶ εἰ τοῦτον οἶε δεῖν τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἀναιτίων φειδεσθαι καὶ φιλιῶν, οὐκ ἄρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ [p. 158] [6] φρονεῖς. ἵνα δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀφῶ, τί ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, ὦ πρὸς Διός, εἰ τις ἔροίτο σε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τάφους τῶν προγόνων τί παθῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνασκάπτεις καὶ τιμάς, ἃς κομίζονται παρ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀφαιρῇ; θεῶν δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεῶς τίνος ἀδικήματος ὀργῇ συλᾷς καὶ κατακαίεις καὶ ἀνατρέπεις καὶ σεβασμῶν οὐκ ἔξις τυγχάνειν τῶν νομίμων; τί πρὸς ταῦτα φαίης ἂν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐδὲν ὀρώ. [7] ταῦτά σοι περὶ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὦ Μάρκιε, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οὓς ἀπολέσαι προθυμῇ κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθώς, τάφων τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πόλεως τῆς γειναμένης τε καὶ θρεψαμένης τὰ δίκαια εἰρήσθω.

φέρε, εἰ δὲ δὴ πάντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντάς σε γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις δίκας σοι δοῦναι προσῆκε, πάντας δὲ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἥρωας καὶ δαίμονας πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀνοίας, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαιρετον μηδ' ἀτιμώρητον ἀφεῖσθαι μέρος ὑπὸ σοῦ, οὐχ ἱκανὰς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων εἰσπέπραξαι δίκας τοσοῦτον μὲν φόνον ἐργασάμενος ἀνθρώπων, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ λωβησάμενος, τοσαύτας δὲ πόλεις ἐκ βάθρων ἀναστήσας, ἑορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας καὶ σεβασμοὺς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἀνεόρτους ἀναγκάσας [p. 159] γενέσθαι καὶ ἀθύτους καὶ τιμῶν νομίμων ἀμοίρους; [2] ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἤξιον ἄνδρα, ὅτω φροντὶς ὅποιοσιν ἀρετῆς ἐστίν, οὔτε συναναιρεῖν τοῖς

ἐχθροῖς τὰ φίλια οὔτε χαλεπὸν ὀργὴν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαραίτητον εἰς τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δίκας παρ' ^[3] αὐτῶν εἰληφότα πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, ἃ μὲν οὖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἶχομεν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι σε περὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ δ' ὑποτίθεσθαι σοι δι' εὐνοίαν οἱ τιμιώτατοι φίλων ἥκοντες καὶ ὑποσχνεῖσθαι διαλλαττομένῳ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, ταυτί: ἐν ᾧ τὸ δύνασθαι σοι μάλιστα ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔτι συλλαμβάνει μετριάσαι καὶ ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην ἐνθυμηθέντα, ὅτι μεταβολὰς ἔχει πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φιλεῖ διαμένειν, νεμεσᾶται τε πάντα ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ ὑπερέχοντα, ὅταν εἰς ἄκρον ἐπιφανείας ἀφίκηται, καὶ τρέπεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ μηδέν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχει τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ μέγалаυχα φρονήματα καὶ τοὺς ὄρους ἐκβαίνοντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. ^[4] ὑπάρχει δὲ σοι νῦν ἀπάντων κράτιστα καταλῦσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον: ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ πᾶσα ὥρμηται τὴν κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι σοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔτοιμός ἐστι νόμῳ κυρωθέντι λῦσαι τὴν ἀειφυγίαν. τί οὖν ἔτι κωλῦει σε τὰς ἡδίστας καὶ τιμιωτάτας ὅψεις τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σωμάτων ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ κεκομίσθαι τὴν περιμάχητον πατρίδα ἄρχειν τε ὥσπερ σοι προσῆκεν [p. 160] ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεμόνων παισὶ τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις μέγιστον αὔχημα καταλιπεῖν; τούτων μέντοι τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἡμεῖς ἐγγυητὰ πασῶν ἐσμεν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα γενησομένων. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς εἶχε ψηφίσασθαι ^[5] σοι τὴν βουλήν ἢ τὸν δῆμον οὐθὲν ἐπικεῖς ἢ μέτριον, ἕως ἀντιπαρεστρατοπέδευκας ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πολεμίων ἔργα δρᾶς: εἰ δ' ἀποσταίης τῶν ὅπλων, ἥξει σοι τὸ περὶ τῆς καθόδου ψήφισμα φερόμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

ἀγαθὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑπάρξει σοι διαλλαττομένῳ, μένοντι δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ διαλυομένῳ τὸ μῖσος πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά, ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ δύο τὰ μέγιστα νυνὶ καὶ φανερώτατα ἐρῶ. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι δυσκόλου γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδυνάτου πράγματος πονηρὸν ἔρωτα ἔχεις, πόλεως τῆς Ῥωμαίων καθελεῖν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Οὐολοῦσκων ὅπλοις: ἔπειθ' ὅτι σοι κατορθώσαντι τε καὶ δὴ τυχόντι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρξει δυστυχεστάτῳ νομίζεσθαι. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν, ἄκουσον, ᾧ Μάρκιε, μηθὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μου τῶν λόγων τραχυνόμενος, σκόπει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου. ^[2] Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς οἴσθα καὶ σύ, πολλὴ μὲν ἐστὶ νεότης ἐπιχώριος, ἥς εἰ τὸ στασιάζον ἐξαιρεθείη: γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην νυνὶ διὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους κοινοῦ συνίστασθαι φιλεῖ τὰ διάφορα: οὐχ ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι κρατήσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθνῶν οὐθὲν: πολλὴ [p. 161] δ' ἡ Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τε καὶ ἀποίκων τῆς πόλεως ἰσχὺς, ἣν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν ἐπικούρου ἥξειν προσδέχου: στρατηγοὶ τε οἷος σὺ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νέοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσοι παρὰ πάσαις οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. ^[3] μεγίστη δὲ πασῶν βοήθεια καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐλπίδας οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν ψευσαμένη συμπάσης τ' ἀμείνων ἀνθρωπίνης ἰσχὺς, ἣ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοία, δι' οὓς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέραν εἰς τόδε χρόνον τὴν πόλιν τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν ὀγδόην ἤδη τὴν νῦν γενεάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν. ^[4] μὴ δὲ Πεδανοῖς ἡμᾶς

εἰκάσης μηδὲ Τολερίνοις μηδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μικροπολίταις, ὧν κατέσχευε τὰ πολίχνια· καὶ γὰρ ἦττων ἂν τις σου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἢ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν καὶ φαυλότητα ἐρυμάτων ἐβιάσατο· ἀλλ' ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεων καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου παροῦσαν αὐτῇ τύχην, [5] δι' ἣν ἐκ μικρᾶς τοσαύτη γέγονε. καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἣν ἄγων ἔργῳ τοσῶδε ἐπιχειρεῖς, μὴ νόμιζε ἡλλάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μέμνησο ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι Οὐλοῦσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν στρατιὰν ἐπάγη, οὓς ἡμεῖς οἶδε οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν πολλαῖς ἐνικῶμεν μάχαις, ὅσakis ἡμῖν ἐτόλμησαν εἰς πόλεμον καταστῆναι· ὥστε σὺν τοῖς χείροσιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλων ἴσθι πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἡττωμένοις διὰ παντὸς πρὸς τοὺς νικῶντας ἀεὶ. [6] εἰ δὲ δὴ τάναντία τούτων ἦν, ἐκεῖνό γέ τοι θαυμάζειν [p. 162] ἄξιον, πῶς λέληθέ σε πολεμικῶν ὄντα πραγμάτων ἔμπειρον, ὅτι τὸ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμον οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου παραγίνεσθαι φιλεῖ τοῖς θ' ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τάλλοτρια πορευομένοις· οἱ μὲν γ' οὐδέν, ἐὰν μὴ κατορθώσωσι, βλάπτονται, τοῖς δ' οὐδέν, ἐὰν πταίσωσι, καταλείπεται· καὶ τοῦ σφάλλεσθαι τὰς μεγάλας δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ τὰς κρείττους ὑπὸ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αἴτιον ἦν. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνος ἱκανὸς θάρσος ἐνθεῖναι τινι καὶ μὴ προϋπάρχον φύσει. εἶχον ἔτι πλείω λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

εἰς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, ὃν εἰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ κρινεῖς, ὀρθῶς τ' εἰρηῇσθαι δόξει καὶ παραστήσεται σοι μεταμέλεια τῶν πραττομένων. τίς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος; οὐδενὶ θνητῷ φύντι θεοὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι βεβαίαν ἐπιστήμην ἔδωκαν ἔχειν, οὐδ' ἂν εὖροις ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, ὅτῳ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε τὰ πράγματα μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσης τῆς τύχης. [2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονήσας προὔχοντες ἐτέρων, ἦν ὁ μακρὸς βίος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μαθήματα φέρει, πρὶν ἐγχειρεῖν ὅτῳδῆποτε ἔργῳ, τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον οἶονται δεῖν σκοπεῖν, οὐ θάτερον μόνον, ὃ βούλονται γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρὰ [p. 163] γνώμην ἐκβησόμενον· μάλιστα δ' οἱ τῶν πολέμων ἡγεμόνες, ὅσῳ μεζόνων τε γίνονται πραγμάτων κύριοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἢ σφαλμάτων ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τοῦτους ἀναφέρουσιν. ἔπειτ' ἂν μὲν εὖρωσι μηδεμίαν ἐνοῦσαν ἢ μικρὰς καὶ ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ μὴ κατορθῶσαι βλάβας, ἅπτονται τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν δὲ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, [3] ἀφίστανται. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ σὺ ποιήσον καὶ σκόπει πρὸ τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν σφαλῇς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρξῃ, τί συμβήσεται σοι παθεῖν. δι' αἰτίας μὲν ἔση παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, μέμψῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν, ὥς μεῖζοσιν ἐπιχειρήσας πράγμασιν ἢ δυνατοῖς· στρατιᾶς δ' ἡμετέρας πάλιν ἐκέῖσε ἀφικομένης καὶ φθειρούσης τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνεξόμεθα μὴ ἀντιπυρρούμενοι τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν· дуεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις θατέρου, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, οἷς αἷτιος ἔση συμφορῶν μεγάλων, αἰσχυρῶς ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἢ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οὓς ἀποκτενῶν τε καὶ [4] δουλωσόμενος ἦλθες. τάχα δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι, πρὶν ἐν τῷ παθεῖν τι κακὸν γενέσθαι, διαλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἔκδοτον ἀξιώσειαν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ σε παραδιδόναι· ὁ πολλοὶ βάρβαροι τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς τοιαύτας

καταστάντες τύχας ἤναγκάσθησαν ὑπομεῖναι. Ἄρα γε μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ταῦτ' εἶναι σοι δοκεῖ καὶ δέον αὐτῶν ὑπεριδεῖν ἢ κακῶν συμπάντων τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; [p. 164]

φέρε, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ κατορθώσης, τί τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσται σοι καὶ περιμάχητον ἀγαθόν, ἢ τίνας ἐξοίση δόξας; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξέτασον. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν φιλτάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων ὑπάρξει σοι στερέσθαι σωμάτων, μητρὸς ἀθλίας, ἢ γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ σοὶ πόνων οὐ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδίδως; ἔπειτα γαμετῆς σῶφρονος, ἢ διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ χρεῖα κάθηται πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα τὰς σὰς φυγὰς ὀδυρομένη; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τέκνων δυεῖν, οὓς ἐχρῆν ἀγαθῶν προγόνων ὄντας ἀπογόνους καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων τιμὰς εὐδοξοῦντας ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι. [2] ὧν ἀπάντων οἰκτρὰς καὶ ἀτυχεῖς ἀναγκασθήσῃ θεωρεῖν καταστροφάς, εἰ τολμήσεις προσάγειν τοῖς τείχεσι τὸν πόλεμον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φείσονται τῶν σῶν οὐθενὸς οἱ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων κινδυνεύοντες καὶ εἰς τὰ ὅμοια κακῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ πάσχοντες, ἀλλ' εἰς αἰκισμοὺς αὐτῶν δεινοὺς καὶ ὕβρεις ἀνηλεεῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἰδέαν προπηλακισμοῦ χωρήσουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν βιαζόμενοι; καὶ τούτων οὐχ οἱ δρῶντες, ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεῖς αἴτιος ἔση; [3] ἡδονὰς μὲν δὴ τοιαύτας καρπώσῃ κατὰ γνώμην χωρήσαντός σοι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ζῆλον καὶ τιμὰς, ὧν ὀρέγεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, σκόπει ποίας τινάς; μητροκτόνος κεκλήσῃ καὶ παιδοφόνος καὶ γυναικὸς ἀλιτῆριος καὶ πατρίδος ἀλάστωρ, καὶ οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε σπονδῶν οὔθ' ἐστίας, ὅποι ποτ' [p. 165] ἂν ἀφίκη, κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλῃσει σοι τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων οὐθεις, αὐτοῖς τ' οὐκ ἔση τίμιος, οἷς εὖνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ταῦτα δρᾷς, ἀλλὰ καρπωσάμενοί τινα ἕκαστος τούτων ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἀσεβημάτων ὠφέλειαν μισήσουσι τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ τρόπου. [4] ἔω γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ μίσους, ὃ παρὰ τῶν ἐπαικεστάτων ἔξεις, καὶ φθόνος ἀπαντήσεται πολὺς ἐκ τῶν ἴσων καὶ φόβος ἐκ τῶν ἡσόνων καὶ δι' ἄμφω ταῦτ' ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά, ὅσα εἰκὸς συμπεσεῖν ἀνδρὶ ἐρήμῳ φίλων καὶ ἐν ξένῃ ὄντι γῆ. τὰς γὰρ δὴ παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπιπεμπομένας τοῖς ἀνόσια καὶ δεινὰ διαπραξαμένοις ἐρινύας ἔω, ὑφ' ὧν αἰκιζόμενοι ψυχὰς τε καὶ σώματα κακοὺς μὲν διαντλοῦσι βίους, [5] οἰκτρὰς δ' ὑπομένουσι τελευτάς. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετάνγωθι καὶ παῦσαι μνησικακῶν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι: τύχην τε πάντων αἰτίαν ἡγησάμενος ὧν πέπονθας πρὸς ἡμῶν ἢ δέδρακας ἡμᾶς κακῶν, ἅπθι χαίρων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ κόμισαι μητρός τε περιβολὰς προσηνεστάτας καὶ γυναικὸς τε φιλοφροσύνας ἡδίστας καὶ τέκνων ἀσπασμοὺς γλυκυτάτους, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος ὀφείλημα κάλλιστον τῇ γειναμένη σε καὶ τηλικούτον ἄνδρα παιδευσαμένη πατρίδι.

τοιαῦτα διεξελθόντος τοῦ Μηνυκίου μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπε: σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἅμα τούτῳ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φίλος εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος, εἴ τι δύναμαι, ποιεῖν [p. 166] ἀγαθόν, ὅτι μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε πολίτης ὑμέτερος ἦν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττον, ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀναγκαιοῖς ἐγένεσθε καιροῖς χρήσιμοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐκ ἀπεστράφητέ με καταφρονήσει τῆς τότε τύχης, ὥς οὔτε φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν

δυνάμενον ἔτι οὐτ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, ἀλλὰ χρηστοὶ καὶ βέβαιοι διεμεινате φίλοι μητρός τε τῆς ἐμῆς κηδόμενοι καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων, καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς κουφοτέρας ποιοῦντες ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιμελείαις. [2] τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέχθομαι τ' ὥς δύναμαι μάλιστα καὶ πολεμῶ καὶ οὐδέποτε μισῶν αὐτοὺς παύσομαι: οἱ με ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' οἷς τιμᾶσθαι προσῆκεν, ὥς τὰ μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότα περὶ τὸ κοινὸν αἰσχροῶς ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐτε μητέρα αἰδεσθέντες τὴν ἐμὴν οὐτε παιδία ἐλεήσαντες οὐτ' ἄλλο πάθος ἡμερον οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς λαβόντες τύχαις. [3] μαθόντες δὲ τοῦτο, εἰ μὲν αὐτοὶ δεῖσθῃ του παρ' ἡμῶν, λέγετε μηθὲν ὀκνοῦντες, ὥς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσοντες τῶν δυνατῶν, περὶ δὲ φιλίας καὶ διαλλαγῶν, ἅς ἀξιοῦτέ με ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς καθόδου, παύσασθε διαλεγόμενοι. πάνυ γὰρ ἀγαπητῶς δεξαίμην ἂν εἰς τοιαύτην κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα ἢ κακία φέρεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν κακούργων τιμωρίας οἱ μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότες ὑπομένουσιν. [4] ἐπεὶ, φέρε, πρὸς θεῶν εἴπατέ μοι, τίνος ἀδικήματος αἰτία ταύτης ἐγὼ πεπειράμαι τῆς τύχης, ἢ ποῖον ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔργον ἀνάξιον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ προγόνων; πρῶτην ἐστρατευσάμην [p. 167] ἔξοδον κοιμίδῃ νέος ὢν, ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς βία κατιόντας ἡγωνιζόμεθα. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἀριστείοις ἀνεδοῦμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ στεφάνοις πολίτην ὑπερασπίσας καὶ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας. [5] ἔπειθ' ὅσας ἄλλας ἵππικὰς καὶ πεζικὰς ἡγωνισάμην μάχας, ἐπιφανῆς ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐγενόμην καὶ τἀριστεία ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἔλαβον: καὶ οὐτε πόλις ἐκ τειχομαχίας ἐάλω τις, ἥς οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἐπέβην ἢ μόνος ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὐτε φυγὴ πολεμίων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐγένετο, ἥς οὐκ ἐμὲ αἰτιώτατον γενέσθαι πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὡμολογοῦν, οὐτ' ἄλλο τῶν λαμπρῶν ἢ γενναίων ἐν πολέμοις ἔργων οὐθὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτ' εὐτολμίας εἴτ' εὐτυχίας ἐπράχθη.

καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι τις καὶ ἕτερος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοσαῦτα, λέγειν: ἀλλὰ πόλιν ὅλην τίς δύναται ἂν καυχήσασθαι στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς ἐλὼν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Κοριολανῶν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ στρατιὰν πολέμιων τρεψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἐπίκουρον τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἀφικομένην; [2] ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς ἀποδειξάμενος, ἐξὸν μοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δ' ἄργυρον ἀνδράποδα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὐκ ἠξίωσα, ἀλλ' ἀνεπίφθονον ὥς μάλιστα βουληθεὶς ἐμαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἕνα μόνον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβον καὶ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ξένον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸν δ' ἄλλον πλοῦτον [p. 168] [3] εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἔθηκα φέρων. πότερον οὖν τιμωρίας ἀξίος ἦν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέχειν, ἢ τιμὰς λαμβάνειν, καὶ πότερον ὑπὸ τοῖς κακίοις γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἥττοσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτά με ἀπῆλασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἀκόλαστος καὶ πολυτελής καὶ παράνομος ἦν; καὶ τίς ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι τινα διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς παρανόμους ἡδονὰς ἢ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντα ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα ἢ χρημάτων στερόμενον ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ συμφορᾷ χρησάμενον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν με οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἠτιάσατο οὐδὲ διέβαλεν ἐπ'

οὐδενὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἑμαρτυρεῖτό μοι καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνεπιληπτος εἶναι βίος. ^[4] ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις, νῆ Δία, φαίη τις ἂν, ἡ τῶν πολιτευμάτων σου μισηθεῖσα ταύτην ἐξειργάσατό σοι τὴν συμφορὰν. ἐξὸν γὰρ ἐλῆσθαι τὴν κρείττω μερίδα τὴν χειρόνα εἴλου καὶ διετέλεις ἅπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων, ἐξ ὧν καταλυθήσεται μὲν ἡ πάτριος ἀριστοκρατία, κύριος δ' ἔσται τῶν κοινῶν ὄχλος ἀμαθὴς καὶ πονηρός. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τάναντία ἔπραττον, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν διὰ παντός ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ ὁ πάτριος διαμενεῖ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας προϋνοοῦμην. ^[5] ἀντὶ τούτων μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἃ τοῖς προγόνους ἡμῶν ζηλωτὰ εἶναι ἐδόκει, τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ταύτας καὶ μακαρίας κεκόμισμαι παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμοιβάς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου μόνον ἐξελασθεῖς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον ^[p. 169] ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἡ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπαίρουσά με κεναῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἥνικα τοῖς δημάρχους τυραννίδα περιβαλλομένοις ἠναντιοῦμην, ὡς αὐτὴ παρέξουσα τὸ ἀσφαλές, ἐπειδὴ κίνδυνόν τιν' ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ὑπείδετο, ^[6] ἀπέστη καὶ παρέδωκέ με τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. σὺ μέντοι τότε αὐτὸς ὕπατος ἦσθα, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ὅτι τὸ προβούλευμα τὸ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἐγένετο, καὶ ἥνικα Οὐαλέριος ὁ παραδιδόναι με τῷ δήμῳ παραινῶν σφόδρα ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις εὐδοκίμει, κάγῳ δεδιώς, μὴ ψήφου δοθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων ἁλῶ, συνέγγνων καὶ παρέξειν ἑμαυτὸν ὑπεσχόμην ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.

Ἰθὶ δὴ μοι, Μηνύκιε, ἀπόκριναι, πότερα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῆς τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἐφάνην εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα ἐπολιτευόμην τε καὶ ἔπραττον, ἢ τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἅπανσι ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε καὶ πάντες με ἀπηλάσσετε, φανερόν ὅτι πάντες οἱ ταῦτα βουλευθέντες ἀρετὴν μισεῖτε, καὶ τόπος οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεχόμενος καλοκαγαθίαν: εἰ δὲ βιασθεῖσα ἡ βουλὴ συνεχώρησε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, οὐ γνώμης, ὁμολογεῖτε δήπου πονηροκρατεῖσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς εἶναι τὴν βουλήν ὣν ἂν προέληται κυρία. ^[2] ἔπειτ' εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξιοῦτέ με κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ τὸ κρεῖττον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος ἄρχεται; πολλὴν ἄρα κατεγνώκατέ μου μανίαν. φέρε, καὶ δὴ πέπεισμαι καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ ἀξιοῦτε, κατελήλυθα, τίς ἢ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται μου διάνοια καὶ τίνα βίον ζήσομαι; πότερα τάσφαλές καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ^[p. 170] αἰρούμενος ἀρχάς τε καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ, ὧν ἄξιον ἑμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι, μετῶν θεραπεύειν ὑπομενῶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν ὄχλον; πονηρὸς ἄρα ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γενήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι τῆς προτέρας ἀρετῆς ὄφελος. ^[3] ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦθεσι μένων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας φυλάττων ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ ταῦτ' αἰρουμένοις; εἴτα οὐ πρόδηλον, ὅτι πολεμήσει μοι πάλιν ὁ δῆμος καὶ δίκας ἐτέρας πάλιν ἀξιώσει λαμβάνειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἐγκλημα ποιούμενος, ὅτι τῆς καθόδου δι' ἐκείνου τυχὼν οὐ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ πολιτεύομαι; οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ^[4] ἔπειτ' ἀναφανήσεται τις ἕτερος Ἰκίλιῳ παραπλήσιος ἢ Δεκίῳ θρασὺς δημαγωγός, ὃς αἰτιάσεται με διιστάναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πράττειν ἐπιβουλήν ἢ προδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἢ τυραννίδι, ὥσπερ καὶ Δέκιος ἠτιάσατο, ἐπιχειρεῖν ἢ ἄλλο ἀδικεῖν, ὅτιδήποτ' ἂν αὐτῷ ^[5] φανῇ: οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσει τὸ μισοῦν αἰτίας. ἤξει τε πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις

ἐγκλήμασι καὶ ταυτὶ φερόμενα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πέπρακται μοι τούτῳ, ὅτι χώραν ὑμῶν τέτμηκα καὶ λείαν ἀπελήλακα καὶ πόλεις ἀφήρημαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους τοὺς μὲν πεφόνευκα, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδédωκα. ταῦτ' ἐὰν οἱ κατήγοροι λέγωσι, τί φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπολογούμενος ἢ τίτι βοηθεῖα χρήσομαι;

Ἄρ' οὐ φανερόν, ὅτι καλλιλογεῖτε καὶ εἰρωνεύεσθε, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργῳ περιθέντες ἀνοσίῳ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάθοδόν μοι δίδοτε, ἀλλὰ σφάγιόν [p. 171] με τῷ δήμῳ κατάγετε, τάχα μὲν καὶ βεβουλευμένοι τοῦτο πράττειν: οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔτι μοι χρηστὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν: εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε — τίθημι γάρ — [2] οὐδὲν ὧν πείσομαι προορώμενοι, τί οὖν ἔσται μοι τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγνοίας ἢ μωρίας ὄφελος, κωλύειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν οἴοι ἦτε δυνησομένων, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαζομένων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν οὐ συνοίσει μοι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἥδε, ἦν ὑμεῖς μὲν κάθοδον καλεῖτε, ἐγὼ δὲ ταχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀλεθρον, οὐ πολλῶν οἴομαι δεῖν ἔτι λόγων: ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἢ τιμὴν ἢ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων, ὦ Μηνύκιε, πρόνοιαν ἔχειν με ἡξίους, εὖ ποιῶν, ἀλλ' αἰσχιστά μοι καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα πραχθήσεται πεισθέντι ὑμῖν, ἄκουσον ἐν τῷ μέρει. [3] ἐγὼ πολέμιος ἐγενόμην τούτοις Οὐλοῦσκόις καὶ πολλὰ ἡδίκησα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῇ πατρίδι πράττων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κλέος. οὐκοῦν προσῆκὲ μοι τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, μισεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικημένων; εἰ γοῦν τι τῶν εἰκότων ἐγένετο. ἀνέτρεψε δ' ἀμφοτέρω ταῦθ' ἡ τύχη, καὶ εἰς τάναντία μετέθηκε τὰς ἀξιώσεις. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν τούτοις ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἀφείλεσθέ με πάντα τὰμὰ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ποιήσαντες ἐρρίψατε: οὗτοι δ' οἱ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ [p. 172] παθόντες, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ [4] ἄπολιν ὑπεδέξαντό με ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιήσασι μόνον οὕτω λαμπρὸν καὶ μεγάλωψυχον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν μοι ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ τιμάς, αἱ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν. ἐῷ τᾶλλα: ἀλλὰ νυνὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδεδείχασί με αὐτοκράτορα τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς καὶ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πεποιήκασι μόνῳ. [5] φέρε δὴ, τίνα λαβὼν καρδίαν προδοίην ἂν ἔτι τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν τηλικαύταις κεκόσμημαι τιμαῖς, οὐθὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὐτ' ἔλαττον ἀδικηθεῖς; εἰ μὴ ἄρα αἱ χάριτες αὐτῶν ἀδικοῦσί με, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐμαί: καλήν γε δόξαν οἴσει μοι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γνωσθεῖσα ἡ παλιμπροδοσία. τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ με ἀκούσας, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν φίλους, ὑφ' ὧν εὖ πάσχειν μοι προσῆκε, πολεμίους εὐρῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, ὑφ' ὧν ἐχρῆν με ἀπολωλέναι, φίλους, ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν μὲν τὰ μισοῦντα, φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ φιλοῦντα, τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἔσχον;

Ἴθι δὴ σκόπει καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, Μηνύκιε, οἷά μοι νῦν τ' ἀπήντηται καί, ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθεῖς ὑμῖν προδῶ τὴν τούτων πίστιν, οἷα τὸν λοιπὸν ὑπάρξει μοι βίον. νῦν μὲν γε πάσης πράξεως, ἥς ἂν ἄψωμαι καθ' ὑμῶν, συλλαμβάνουσί μοι, καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς πείρας ἀποτυγχάνω. [2] καὶ τοῦτο πηλίκον οἶεσθε εἶναι τεκμήριον εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος [p. 173] οὐχ ὅσιον ἐγὼ πόλεμον ἐνεστησάμην, ἅπαντα χρῆν ἐναντία μοι γίνεσθαι τὰ

παρὰ θεῶν: ὅποτε δ' οὐρίῳ πνεούσῃ κέχρημαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους τύχῃ, καὶ ὅπόσοις ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι πράγμασι κατ' ὀρθὸν ἅπαντά μοι χωρεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι εὐσεβῆς εἰμι ἀνὴρ καὶ [3] πράξεις προήρημαι καλὰς. τί οὖν, ἐὰν μεταβάλωμαι καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα αὖξιν, τὰ δὲ τούτων ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν ζητῶ, γενήσεται μοι; ἄρ' οὐχὶ τάναντία, καὶ πονηρὰν νέμεσιν ἔξω παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου τοῖς ἡδίκημένοις τιμωρόν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ ταπεινοῦ μέγας διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγενόμην, οὕτως αὖθις ἐκ μεγάλου ταπεινὸς γενήσομαι, καὶ τὰμὰ παθήματα παιδεύματα γενήσεται τοῖς ἄλλοις; [4] ἔμοι μὲν ταῦτα παρίσταται περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου φρονεῖν, καὶ πείθομαί γε τὰς ἐρινύας ἐκείνας τὰς φοβερὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τοῖς ἀνόσιόν τι διαπραξαμένοις, ὧν καὶ σὺ ἐμνήσθης, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τότε μοι παρακολουθήσειν ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αἰκίζομένας, ὅταν ἐγκαταλίπω καὶ προδῶ τοὺς σώσαντάς με ἀπολωλὸτα ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σῶσαι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς προσθέντας εὐεργεσίας, οἷς ἐγγυητὰς ἔδωκα θεοὺς, ὡς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κακῷ τὴν ἄφιξιν ποιησάμενος καὶ φυλάξων τὴν εἰς τόδε χρόνου καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον συνοῦσάν μοι πίστιν.

Ὅταν δὲ φίλους ἔτι καλῆς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς ἐξελάσαντάς με καὶ πατρίδα τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην, φύσεώς τε νόμους ἀνακαλῆ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁσίων διαλέγῃ, [p. 174] φαίνει μοι τὰ κοινότατα καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγνοούμενα μόνος ἀγνοεῖν: ὅτι τὸ φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον οὐτ' ὄψεως ὀρίζει χαρακτήρ οὐτ' ὀνόματος θέσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χρεῖαις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δηλοῦται τούτων ἑκάτερον, φιλοῦμέν τε πάντες τὰ ὠφελοῦντα καὶ μισοῦμεν τὰ βλάπτοντα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων τινῶν ἡμῖν τόνδε θεμένων τὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ ἀνελοῦντων ποτὲ αὐτόν, ἐὰν τάναντία αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ χρόνου πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως μετεिल्φόσι κείμενον καὶ εἰς αἰὲ διαμενοῦντα παραλαβόντες: [2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλους τ' ἀπαρνούμεθα, ὅταν ἀδικήσωσι, καὶ ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιοῦμεθα, ὅταν τις ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρξῃ χάρις, πόλιν τε τὴν γειναμένην ἡμᾶς, ὅταν μὲν ὠφελῇ, στέργομεν, ὅταν δὲ βλάπτῃ, καταλείπομεν, οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγαπῶντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. [3] καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οὕτως ἐπέρχεται καθ' ἓνα φρονεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεσιν ὅλαις καὶ ἔθνεσιν, ὥστε ὁ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρώμενος οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν θείων ἀξιοῖ νομίμων, οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ δικαίωσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττοντα ἐμαυτὸν τὰ τε δίκαια ἡγοῦμαι πράττειν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσιώτατα: καὶ οὐ δέομαι δικαστὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τοὺς εἰκασμῶ καὶ δόξῃ τεκμαιρομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους, ἐπειδὴ θεοῖς ἀρέσκοντα πράττω. οὐ γὰρ [p. 175] ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω πράγμασι θεοὺς ἔχων αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας, εἶγε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἤδη τὰ μέλλοντα.

περὶ δὲ τῆς μετριότητος, ἐφ' ἣν παρακαλεῖτέ με, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος μηδ' ἐκ βάθρων ὅλην ἀναστῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἶχον μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, λέγειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτου κύριος οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ στρατηγὸς εἰμι τῆς δυνάμεως, πολέμου δὲ καὶ εἰρήνης οὗτοι κύριοι: ὥστε παρὰ τούτων αἰτεῖσθε γ' [2] ἀνοχὰς ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ. οὐ μὴν ταύτην γε δίδωμι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν

ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς σέβων τοὺς πατρώους καὶ τάφους αἰδοῦμενος προγόνων καὶ γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἔφυν, γυναικᾶς τε καὶ παῖδας ὑμῶν ἐλεῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖοις οὖσι τὰ πατέρων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἦξει σφάλματα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς προχειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, τάδε ἀποκρίνομαι: ἐὰν ἀποδῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐλοῦσκοις χώραν τε ὅσην αὐτοὺς ἀφῆρηνται καὶ πόλεις ὅσας κατέχουσιν ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἐποίκους, φιλίαν τε ποιήσωνται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον καὶ ἰσοπολιτείας μεταδῶσιν ὥσπερ Λατίνοις ὄρκους καὶ ἀράς κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τὰ συγκείμενα ποιησάμενοι, [p. 176] διαλύσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον, πρότερον δὲ οὐ. [3] ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πάννυ ἐπιστρεφῶς ταῦτα διαλέγεσθε: καλὸν τοι τὰς ἰδίας ἔκαστον ἔχοντα κτήσεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ ζῆν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ μηθένα δεδοικέναι μήτ' ἐχθρὸν μήτε καιρὸν, αἰσχροὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων περιεχομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ὑπομένειν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπάντων κινδυνεύουσιν ἀγαθῶν: τὰ τ' ἄθλα ἐπιδείκνυτε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἴσα κατορθοῦσι τε καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσι γινόμενα γῆς ἄλλοτρίας γλιχομένοις, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, προστίθετε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἡδικημένων προσλαβεῖν βουλομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ κρατῶσι, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ γυναικᾶς ἐπιδεῖν τὰ αἰσχίστα πασχούσας καὶ παῖδας εἰς ὕβριν ἀγομένους καὶ γονεῖς δούλους ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ἐπὶ γῆρως ὁδῶ γινομένους. [4] καὶ ἅμα διδάσκετε τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τούτων τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αἰτιάσασθαι Μάρκιον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ δεινῷ περιπεσεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἀναιρήσονται μέχρι παντὸς φιλοχωροῦντες ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις. [5] ἔχετε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις: τούτων οὐθὲν ἂν εὐροίσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ πλέον, ἀλλ' ἅπιτε καὶ σκοπεῖτε, ὃ [p. 177] τι πρακτέον ὑμῖν: ἔως δὲ βουλευσῆσθε, δίδωμι χρόνον ὑμῖν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ σὴν τε χάριν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἕνεκα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάξω: μεγάλα γὰρ ἂν βλάπτοισθε μενοῦσης αὐτῆς ἐνθάδε. τῇ δὲ τριακοστῇ προσδέχεσθέ με ἡμέρᾳ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ληψόμενον.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη καὶ διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις εἴτε κατ' ἀλήθειαν πεπυσμένος, ὅτι μέλλοι τις ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀφικέσθαι, ὥς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφησεν, εἴτ' αὐτὸς πλασάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἵνα μὴ δόξειε χαριζόμενος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καταλελοιπέναι τὸν πόλεμον. [2] ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ Λογγόλᾳ καὶ διχα πόνου γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ τὰς ἑτέρας ἐξανδραποδισάμενός τε καὶ διαρπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν Σατρικανῶν ἡλαυνε πόλιν. ἐλὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων ὠφελείας μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἑχέτραν, τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναλαβὼν δύνάμιν ἦγεν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἄλλην τὴν καλουμένην Κετίαν. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς καὶ διαρπάσας εἰς τὴν Πολυσκανῶν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν. οὐ δυνηθέντων δ' ἀντισχεῖν τῶν Πολυσκανῶν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ [p. 178] τὰς ἐξῆς ἐχώρει.

Ἀλβιήτας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μογιλλανοὺς ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἵρεῖ, % χωριελανοὺς δὲ καθ' ὁμολογίας παραλαμβάνει. [3] γενόμενος δ' ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα πόλεων ἑπτὰ κύριος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγων πολὺ πλείω στρατιὰν τῆς προτέρας καὶ σταδίου ἀποσχῶν τῆς πόλεως ὀλίγῳ πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Τυσκανοὺς φέρουσαν ὁδὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰς Λατίνων ἐξήρει τε καὶ προσήγετο πόλεις, Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὰς ἐπιταγὰς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀπέλθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων γῆς, καὶ καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον πρέσβεις ἀποστείλωσι τοὺς διαλεξομένους περὶ φιλίας, προβουλεύσαι τὸ συνέδριον, ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις φίλοι, καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν: ἔως δ' ἂν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μένοντες αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔργα πράττωσι πολεμίων, [4] μηθὲν αὐτοῖς ψηφίζεσθαι φιλάνθρωπον. πολὺς γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις αἰεὶ λόγος τοῦ μηθὲν δρᾶσαι ποτ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος μηδὲ φόβῳ πολεμίων εἰξάντας, σπεισασμένοις δὲ τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ παρασχοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους χαρίζεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν ὅτου δέοιντο τῶν μετρίων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις φυλάττουσα ἢ πόλις κατὰ τε τοὺς ὀθνείους καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διατετέλεκε. [p. 179]

ταῦτα ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἑτέρους ἐλομένης δέκα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας τὸν ἄνδρα μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν ἐπιτάγμα βαρὺ μηδ' ἀνάξιον τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ ἀναστήσαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πειθοῖ καὶ διὰ λόγων συμβατηρίων ταῦτα πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν, εἰ βούλεται βεβαίους τε καὶ εἰς αἰεὶ διαμενούσας ποιήσασθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τῶν πόλεων, ὥς τῶν γε ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἢ καιροῦ συγχωρουμένων καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἅμα τῷ μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς ἢ τὰς ἀνάγκας εὐθὺς διαλυομένων: οἱ μὲν ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς πρέσβεις ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Μαρκίου πορευθέντες ὥς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ διελέγοντο φυλάττοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως. [2] ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, συνεβούλευε δὲ κρεῖττον τι βουλευσαμένους ἦκεν τριῶν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν: ταύτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι μόνας ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου. βουλομένων δὲ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀπειλήσας ὥς, εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν, ὥς κατασκόποις χρήσεται: κάκεῖνοι σιωπῇ ἀπὸντες εὐθὺς ὥχοντο. [3] μαθόντες δ' οἱ βουλευταὶ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβων τὰς αὐθάδεις ἀποκρίσεις %5τε καὶ ἀπειλὰς τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιὰν μὲν ὑπερόριον ἐξάγειν οὐδὲ τότε [p. 180] ἐψηφίσαντο, εἴτε τὸ ἀπειροπόλεμον τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν: νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν αὐτῶν: εὐλαβηθέντες, εἴτε τὴν ἀτολμίαν τῶν ὑπάτων: ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ δραστήριον ἦν: σφαλερὰν ἡγησάμενοι τηλικούτον ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἀγῶνα, εἴτ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσις ἐναντιούμενου πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδὸν δι' οἰωνῶν ἢ χρησμῶν Σιβυλλείων ἢ τινος ὀττειας πατρίου, ὧν οὐκ ἠξίουσαν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ὑπερορᾶν: φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελεστέραν φυλακῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

ἐρυσμάτων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι διέγνωσαν.

ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τῆς τ' ἐλπίδος οὕτω ἀφιστάμενοι ὥς δυνατόν ὑπάρχον ἔτι μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ μείζονι καὶ τιμωτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ δεηθεῖεν αὐτοῦ, ψηφίζονται τοὺς θ' ἱεροφάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τιμὴν τινα ἱερὰν ἢ λειτουργίαν περὶ τὰ θεῖα δημοτελῇ λαβόντες εἶχον· εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερεῖς καὶ θεραπευταὶ θεῶν πάννυ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι διαφανέστατοι τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τ' οἴκους πατέρων καὶ ἀρετῆς οἰκείας ἀξίωσιν· ἔχοντας ἅμ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀργιαζομένων τε καὶ θεραπευομένων θεῶν τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἀμπεχομένους ἐσθῆτας ἀθρόους ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων πορεύεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς φέροντας τοῖς προτέροις λόγους. [2] ὥς δ' ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἔλεξαν, ὅσα ἢ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν, [p. 181] οὐδὲ τούτοις ἔδωκεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπόκρισιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν συνεβούλευεν ἀπόντας, εἰ θέλουσιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἢ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἥξοντα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέλπε μὴ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. [3] ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀπέτυχον τῆς πείρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαλλαγῆς ἀπογνόντες ὥς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς μὲν ἀκμαιοτάτους ὑπὸ τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις %στάξαντες, τοὺς δ' ἀφειμένους ἤδη στρατείας, οἷς ἔτι τὰ σώματα ἱκανὰ ἦν κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τεῖχεσιν.

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὥς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ, καταλιποῦσαι τῆς οἴκοι μονῆς τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ προκυλιόμεναι τῶν ξοάνων· καὶ ἦν ἅπας μὲν ἱερὸς τόπος οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ ἱκετείας γυναικῶν ἀνάπλεως, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τοῦ Καπετωλίου Διὸς ἱερὸν. [2] ἔνθα δὴ τις αὐτῶν γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχουσα καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τότ' οὕσα καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανωτάτη, Οὐαλερία μὲν ὄνομα, Ποπλικόλα δὲ τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν ἀδελφῇ, θείῳ τινὶ παραστήματι κινηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω κρητῖδος ἔστη τοῦ νεῶ καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας πρῶτον μὲν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἀξιοῦσα μὴ καταπεπλῆχθαι τὸ δεινόν· ἔπειτα ὑπέσχετο μίαν εἶναι σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τῇ πόλει, ταύτην δ' ἐν αὐταῖς εἶναι μόναις καταλειπομένην, ἐὰν [p. 182] [3] ἐθελήσωσι πράττειν, ἃ δεῖ. καὶ τις εἶπεν ἐξ αὐτῶν· καὶ τί πράττουσαι ἂν ἡμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες διασῶσαι δυνηθῆμεν τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρηκότων; τίς ἢ τοσαύτη περὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταλαιπώρους ἐστὶν ἰσχὺς; οὐχὶ ὄπλων, ἔφησεν ἡ Οὐαλερία, καὶ χειρῶν δεομένη; τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἀπολέλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις· ἀλλ' εὐνοίας καὶ λόγου. βοῆς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένης καὶ δεομένων ἀπασῶν φανερόν ποιεῖν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπικουρία, λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς· [4] ταύτην ἔχουσαι τὴν πιναράν τε καὶ ἄκοσμον ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παραλαβοῦσαι γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπαγόμεναι βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐετουρίας τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς οἰκίαν· καὶ πρὸ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς τὰ τέκνα θεῖσαι, δεώμεθα μετὰ δακρύων ἡμᾶς τ' οἰκτεῖρας τὰς μηθενὸς κακοῦ αἰτίας καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις οὔσαν πατρίδα προσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων, ἄγουσαν τοὺς θ' υἱωνοὺς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς

ἀπάσας: ἀκολουθῶμεν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ παιδιά ἐπαγόμεναι: ἔπειτα ἰκέτιν γενομένην τοῦ τέκνου, ἀξιοῦν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηδὲν ^[5] ἀνήκεστον κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεργάσασθαι. Ὀλοφυρομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντιβολούσης οἴκτος τις εἰσελεύσεται τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λογισμὸς ἡμερος. οὐχ οὕτω στερρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον ἔχει καρδίαν, ὥστ' ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γόνασι κυλιομένην.

ὡς δ' ἐπήγεσαν αἱ παροῦσαι τὸν λόγον, [p. 183] εὐξαμένη τοῖς θεοῖς πειθῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν περιθεῖναι τῇ δεήσει προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένου, αἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παραλαβοῦσαι τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς ἄθροαι. ἰδοῦσα δ' αὐτὰς προσιοῦσας ἡ τοῦ Μαρκίου γυνὴ Οὐλολουνμία πλησίον καθημένη τῆς ἐκυρᾶς ἐθαύμασέ τε καὶ εἶπε: τίνος δεόμεναι, γυναῖκες, ἐηλύθαστε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς οἰκίαν δύστηνον καὶ ταπεινὴν; ^[2] καὶ ἡ Οὐαλέρια ἔλεξεν: ἐν ἐσχάτοις οὔσαι κινδύνους καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ νήπια ταῦτα καταπεφεύγαμεν ἰκέτιδες ἐπὶ σέ, ὦ Οὐετουρία, τὴν μόνην καὶ μίαν βοήθειαν, ἀξιοῦσαι δε πρῶτον μὲν οἰκτεῖραι τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα, ἣν οὐθενὶ πώποτε γενομένην ὑποχείριον μὴ περιιδοῦς ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ὑπ' Οὐολούσκων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἰ δὴ καὶ φείσονται αὐτῆς κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ' οὐ πρόρριζον ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἀνελεῖν: ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιβολοῦσαι καὶ τῶν δυστήνων παιδιῶν τούτων, ἵνα μὴ πέσωμεν εἰς ἐχθρῶν ὕβριν οὐθενὸς οὔσαι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὑμῖν κακῶν αἷτια. ^[3] εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ ψυχῆς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλανθρώπου καταλειπομένη μερίς, ἐλέησον, ὦ Οὐετουρία, γυνὴ γυναῖκας κοινωνησάσας ἱερῶν ποτε καὶ ὁσίων, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ σεαυτῆς Οὐολουνμίαν τε τὴν ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς ἰκέτιδας ἡμᾶς φερούσας τὰ νήπια ταυτὶ καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας ἴθι πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πείθε καὶ [p. 184] λιπάρει καὶ μὴ ἀνῆς δεομένη, μίαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν χάριν αἰτοῦσα παρ' αὐτοῦ σπείσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας καὶ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δεομένην ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν πατρίδα: πείσεις γάρ, εὔ ἴσθι, καὶ οὐ περιόψεται σε ἐρριμμένην παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶν ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής. ^[4] καταγαγοῦσα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴ τ' ἀθάνατον ἔξεις κλέος ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τηλικούτου κινδύνου καὶ φόβου ῥυσσάμενη τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ἡμῖν τιμῆς τίνος αἰτία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔση, ὅτι τὸν οὐ δυνηθέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνων διασκεδασθῆναι πόλεμον αὐταὶ διελύσαμεν: ἐκείνων τ' ἀληθῶς ἔγγονοι τῶν γυναικῶν φανησόμεθα, αἱ τὸν συστάντα Ῥωμύλῳ πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμον αὐταὶ πρεσβευσάμεναι διελύσαντο καὶ συναγαγοῦσαι τοὺς θ' ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὰ ἔθνη μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποίησαν τὴν πόλιν. ^[5] καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, ὦ Οὐετουρία, τὸν υἱὸν κομίσασθαι, ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα, σῶσαι τὰς ἑαυτῆς πολιτίδας, κλέος ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τοῖς ἐσομένοις καταλιπεῖν. δὸς ἡμῖν ἐκοῦσα καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν χάριν καὶ σπεῦσον, ὦ Οὐετουρία: βουλὴν γὰρ ἢ χρόνον ὁ κίνδυνος ὀξὺς ὢν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται.

ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα καὶ πολλὰ προεμένη δάκρυα ἐσίγησεν: ὀδυρομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν καὶ πολλὰς δεήσεις ποιουμένων μικρὸν ἐποχοῦσα ἡ Οὐετουρία καὶ δακρύσασα εἶπεν: εἰς ἀσθενῆ ^[p. 185] καὶ λεπτὴν ἐλπίδα καταπεφεύγατε, ὦ Οὐαλέρια, τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀθλίων

γυναικῶν βοήθειαν, αἷς ἡ μὲν εὐνοια ἡ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα πάρεστι καὶ τὸ θέλειν σῶζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, οἳοί ποτέ εἰσιν, ἡ δ' ἰσχύς καὶ ^[2] τὸ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν ἃ θέλομεν ἄπεστιν. ἀπέστραπται γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐαλερία, Μάρκιος, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ κατέγνω δίκην, καὶ μεμίσηκε τὴν οἰκίαν ὅλην ἅμα τῇ πατρίδι: τοῦτο δ' ὑμῖν οὐ παρ' ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ Μαρκίου μαθοῦσαι λέγειν ἔχομεν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀλοὺς τὴν δίκην ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων, καταλαβὼν ἡμᾶς καθημένας ἐν πενθίμοις τρύχεσι, ταπεινάς, κρατούσας ἐν τοῖς γόνασι τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ στενοῦσας τε οἷα εἰκὸς καὶ ἀνακλαιομένας τὴν καθέξουσαν ἡμᾶς τύχην στερομένας ἐκείνου, στὰς μικρὸν ἄπωθεν ἡμῶν ἄδακρυς ὥσπερ λίθος καὶ ἀτενής: ^[3] οἴχεται, φησίν, ὑμῖν Μάρκιος, ὦ μήτερ ἅμα καὶ σὺ, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, κρατίστη γυναικῶν, ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι γενναῖος ἦν καὶ φιλόπολις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπέμεινε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνας. ἀλλ' ὥς πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἀγαθαῖς, οὕτω φέρετε τὰς συμφορὰς μηδὲν ἄσχημον ποιοῦσαι μηδὲ ἀγεννές, καὶ τὰ παιδιά ταῦτα παραμύθια τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρῆμίας ἔχουσαι τρέφετε ἀξίως ὑμῶν τε καὶ τοῦ γένους: οἷς θεοὶ δοῖεν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσι τὴν μὲν κρείττονα τοῦ πατρός, ἀρετὴν δὲ μὴ χείρονα: καὶ χαίρετε. ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ ἤδη καταλιπὼν τὴν οὐκέτι ^[p. 186] χωροῦσαν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πόλιν. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοὶ κτήσιοι καὶ ἐστία πατρῶα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε. ^[4] ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἡμεῖς μὲν αἱ δυστυχεῖς ἅς τὸ πάθος ἀπῆτει φωνὰς ἀναβοῶσαι καὶ παιούσαι τὰ στήθη περιεχύθημεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς κομιοῦμεναι: τῶν δὲ παιδιῶν τούτων ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἦγον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τὸ νεώτερον εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκάλης: ὁ δ' ἀποστραφεὶς καὶ παρυσάμενος ἡμᾶς εἶπεν: οὔτε σὸς υἱὸς ἔτι, μήτερ, ἔσται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον Μάρκιος, ἀλλ' ἀφήρηται σε τὸν γηροβοσκὸν ἡ πατρίς, οὔτε σὸς ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' εὐτυχοίης ἔτερον ἄνδρα λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστερον ἐμοῦ, οὔθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ τέκνα φίλτατα, πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὀρφανοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι παρὰ ^[5] ταύταις, ἕως εἰς ἄνδρας ἔλθητε, τραφήσεσθε. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἄλλ' οὐθὲν οὔτε διοικησάμενος οὔτ' ἐπιστεῖλας οὔθ' ὅποι πορεύεται φράσας ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἄδουλος, ἄπορος, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐφήμερον ὁ δύστηνος ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τροφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἤδη τοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ φεύγει τὴν πατρίδα, πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίους ἑαυτοῦ νενόμικεν, οὐ γράφων οὐθέν, οὐκ ἐπιστέλλων, οὐ ^[6] τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι βουλόμενος. πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν οὕτω σκληρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον, ὦ Οὐαλερία, τίνα ἰσχύν ἔξουσιν αἱ παρ' ἡμῶν δεήσεις, αἷς οὗτ' ἀσπασμῶν μετέδωκεν οὔτε φιλημάτων οὗτ' ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης ^[p. 187] οὐδεμιᾶς τὴν τελευταίαν πορευόμενος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁδόν;

ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τούτου δεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, ὦ γυναῖκες, καὶ πάντως θέλετε ἀσχημονοῦσας ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν, ὑπολάβετε παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κάμει καὶ Οὐολουμνίαν ἀγούσας τὰ παιδιά: τίνας ἐρῶ πρῶτον ἡ μήτηρ ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγους, καὶ τίνα δέησιν ποιήσομαι τοῦ υἱοῦ; λέγετε καὶ διδάσκετέ με. φείσασθαι παρακαλῶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλάται καὶ μὴτὲν ἀδικῶν; οἰκτίρμονα δὲ καὶ συμπαθεῖ πρὸς τοὺς

δημοτικούς γενέσθαι, παρ' ὧν οὐτ' ἑλέου μετέσχεν οὔτε συμπαθείας; ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δ' ἄρα καὶ προδοῦναι τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους αὐτοῦ τὴν φυγὴν, οἳ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον, οὐ πολέμιων μῖσος, ἀλλὰ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν εὐνοίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπεδείξαντο; [2] τίνα ψυχὴν λαβοῦσα ἀξιώσω τὸν υἱὸν τὰ μὲν ἀπολέσαντα φιλεῖν, τὰ δὲ σώσαντα ἀδικεῖν; οὐκ εἰσὶν οὗτοι μητρὸς ὑγιαίνουσης λόγοι πρὸς υἱὸν οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἃ δεῖ λογιζομένης πρὸς ἄνδρα: μηδ' ὑμεῖς βιάζεσθε, γυναῖκες, ἃ μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιά ἐστι μήτε πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια, ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄφετε τὰς ἐλεεινάς, ὡς πεπτώκαμεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, κεῖσθαι ταπεινάς μηθὲν ἔτι πλέον ἀσχημονούσας.

πανσαμένης δ' αὐτῆς τοσοῦτος ὁδυρμὸς ἐκ τῶν παρουσῶν γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τηλικαύτη [p. 188] κατέσχε τὸν οἶκον οἰμωγή, ὥστ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐξακουσθῆναι τῆς πόλεως τὴν βοήν καὶ μεστοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐγγυς τῆς οἰκίας στενωποὺς ὄχλου. [2] ἔπειθ' ἦ τε Οὐαλερία πάλιν ἐτέρας ἐξέτεινε μακρὰς καὶ συμπαθεῖς δεήσεις, αἱ τ' ἄλλαι γυναῖκες αἱ κατὰ φιλίαν ἢ συγγένειαν ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν προσήκουσαι, καὶ παρέμενον λιπαροῦσαι τε καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμεναι, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὃ τι πάθῃ πρὸς τοὺς ὁδυρμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς δεήσεις, εἴξεν ἡ Οὐτεουρία καὶ τελέσειν τὴν πρεσβειάν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέσχετο τὴν τε γυναῖκα τοῦ Μαρκίου παραλαβοῦσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτίδων τὰς βουλομένας. [3] αἱ μὲν δὴ περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμεναι συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ προσήγγειλαν τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς ὑπάτοις: οἱ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινέσαντες συνεκάλουν τὴν βουλήν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ συγχωρητέον αὐταῖς, γνωμηδὸν ἐπυνθάνοντο. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθησαν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγοι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας διετέλεσαν ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν βουλευόμενοι. [4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει κινδύνεμα γυναῖκας ἅμα τέκνοις εἰς πολέμιων στρατόπεδον πορευομένας ἔδσαι: εἰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσι τῶν νενομισμένων ὁσίων περὶ τε πρεσβείας καὶ ἱκεσίας δόξειε [p. 189] μηκέτι προιεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἀμαχητὶ σφῶν ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν: ἤξιουν τ' αὐτὰς μόνον ἔδσαι τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Μαρκίῳ γυναῖκας ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πορευομένας. ἕτεροι δ' οὐδὲ ταύταις ὦντο δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ ταύτας παρήγουν φυλάττειν, ὅμηρα νομίσαντας ἔχειν παρὰ τῶν πολέμιων ἐχέγγυα τοῦ μηδὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀνήκεστον ὑπ' [5] αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πάσαις συνεβούλευον συγχωρῆσαι ταῖς βουλομέναις γυναῖξιν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἵνα σὺν μεῖζονι ἀξιώματι αἱ τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσήκουσαι ποιήσωνται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος δέησιν. τοῦ δὲ μηθὲν αὐταῖς συμβῆσθαι δεινὸν ἐγγυητὰς ἀπέφαινον ἐσομένους θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον, οἷς καθοσιωθεῖσαι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσονται: ἔπειτα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτόν, πρὸς ὃν ἔμελλον πορεύεσθαι, [6] πάσης ἀδίκου τε καὶ ἀνοσίου πράξεως καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἐσχηκότα τὸν βίον. ἐνίκα δ' ὅμως ἡ συγχωροῦσα γνώμη ταῖς γυναῖξιν τὴν ἔξοδον μέγιστον ἀμφοῖν ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσα, τῆς μὲν βουλῆς τοῦ φρονίμου, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα καὶ γενησόμενα προεῖδετο οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τηλικούδε ὄντος ἐπιταραχθεῖσα: τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου τῆς εὐσεβείας,

ὅτι πολέμιος ὢν ἐπιστεύετο μηδὲν ἀσεβήσῃν εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον τῆς πόλεως μέρος κύριος αὐτοῦ καταστάς. [7] ὡς δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, προελθόντες οἱ ὕπατοι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν σκότους ὄντος ἤδη τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεσάφησαν καὶ προεῖπον ἦκειν ἅπαντας [p. 190] ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προπέμψοντας ἐξιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας: αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν κατεπειγόντων ἔλεγον ἐπιμελήσεσθαι.

ὅτε δ' ἦδη περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἦν, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἄγουσαι τὰ παιδιά μετὰ λαμπάδων ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ παραλαβοῦσαι τὴν Οὐετουρίαν προῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας: οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ζεύγη τε ὀρικὰ καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τᾶλλα φορεῖα ὡς πλεῖστα παρασκευασάμενοι καθεζομένας αὐτὰς προὔπεμπον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. παρηκολούθουν δ' αὐταῖς οἱ τ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συχνοὶ σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ δεήσεσι τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπιφανεστέραν αὐταῖς ποιοῦντες. [2] ὡς δ' εὐσύνοπτοι πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσιοῦσαι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγένοντο, πέμπει τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὁ Μάρκιος κελεύσας μαθεῖν, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ προσίων ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τί παραγένοιτο. μαθὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἤκουσιν ἐπαγόμεναι παιδιά, προηγείται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐθαύμασε τῆς τόλμης τὰς γυναῖκας, εἰ γνώμην ἔσχον εἰς χάρακα πολεμίων ἄτερ ἀνδρῶν φυλακῆς ἐλθεῖν ἄγουσαι τὰ τέκνα, οὗτ' αἰδοῦς ἔτι τῆς ἀρμοττοῦσης γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις καὶ σώφροσι προνοούμεναι τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀσυνήθῃσιν ὀρᾶσθαι, οὔτε κινδύνων λαβοῦσαι δέος, οὐς ἀναρριπτεῖν ἔμελλον, εἰ τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν δικαίων ἐλομένοις σφίσι, δόξειε κέρδος [p. 191] [3] αὐτὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὠφέλειαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν, ὑπαντᾶν τῇ μητρὶ προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔγνω σὺν ὀλίγοις, τοὺς τε πελέκεις, οὓς προηγείσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔθος ἦν, ἀποθέσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους, ὅταν ἐγγὺς τῆς μητρὸς γένηται, καταστεῖλαι. [4] ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἔθος, ὅταν ὑπαντῶσι ταῖς μείζουσιν ἀρχαῖς οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται: ἦν δὴ τότε συνήθειαν φυλάττων ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς ἐξουσία μείζονι μέλλων. εἰς ταὐτὸν ἤξειν, πάντ' ἀπέθετο τὰ τῆς ἰδίας παράσημα ἀρχῆς. τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν αἰδῶς καὶ πρόνοια τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας.

ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, πρώτη μὲν αὐτῷ δεξιωσομένη προσῆλθεν ἡ μήτηρ πένθιμά τ' ἡμφιεσμένη τρύχη καὶ τὰς ὀράσεις ἐκτετηκυῖα ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ἐλεεινὴ σφόδρα. ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἰδὼν ἄτεγκτος τέως καὶ στερρός, οἷος ἅπασι τοῖς ἀνιανοῖς ἀντέχειν, οὐθὲν ἔτι τῶν λελογισμένων φυλάττειν ἱκανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥχετο φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἡσπάζετο καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις φωναῖς ἀνεκάλει καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κλαίων τε καὶ περιέπων κατεῖχεν ἐκλελυμένην καὶ ῥέουσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ τῶν ἀσπασμῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἅλις εἶχε, τὴν γυναῖκα προσελθοῦσαν δεξιωσάμενος ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἶπεν: [2] ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον ἐποίησας, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, μείναςα παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ μου καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλιποῦσα τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτῆς ἔμοιγε πασῶν ἡδίστην [p. 192] κεχάρισαι δωρεάν. μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν παιδίων ἐκάτερον προσαγόμενος

καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀσπασμοὺς ἀποδοῦς, ἐπέστρεψεν αὐθις πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε, τίνος δεομένη πάρεστιν. ἡ δὲ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἔφησεν ἐρεῖν, οὐθενὸς γὰρ ἀνοσίου δεήσεσθαι, παρεκάλει τ' αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος εἰώθει χωρίῳ ^[3] δικάζειν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἐν τούτῳ καθίσει. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐδέξατο ὡς δὴ περιουσίᾳ τε πολλῇ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν αὐτῆς χρησόμενος καὶ ἐν καλῷ ποιούμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν βῆμα πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς καθελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν δίφρον καὶ θεῖναι χαμαί, μητρὸς ὑψηλότερον οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν τόπον ἔχειν, οὐδ' ἐξουσίᾳ χρῆσθαι κατ' ἐκείνης οὐδεμιᾶ: ἔπειτα παρακαθισάμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν θ' ἡγεμόνων καὶ λοχαγῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐάσας παρεῖναι τὸν βουλούμενον, ἐκέλευσε τὴν μητέρα λέγειν.

καὶ ἡ Οὐετουρία παραστησαμένη τὴν τε: γυναικὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἔκλαιεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁρώσα μέχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἐκίνησεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔλεον. ἔπειτ' ἀναλαβοῦσα αὐτὴν ἔλεξεν: ^[2] αἱ γυναῖκες, ὦ Μάρκιε τέκνον, τὰς ὕβρεις ἐνθυμούμεναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συμφορὰς τὰς συμβησομένας [p. 193] αὐταῖς, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένηται, πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀπογνοῦσαι βοήθειαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσι διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐθάδεις καὶ σκληρὰς ἔδωκας ἀποκρίσεις, ἄγουσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοῖς πενθίμοις τούτοις ἡμφιεσμένοι τρύχεσι κατέφυγον ἐπ' ἐμέ, τὴν σὴν μητέρα, καὶ Οὐολουμνίαν, τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα, δεόμεναι, μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτάς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθούσας: οὐθὲν μὲν οὐτε μεῖζον οὐτ' ἔλαττον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτοῦσαι, πολλὴν δὲ καί, ὅτ' εὐτυχούμεν, εὐνοίαν ἔτι παρασχόμεναι, καί, ὅτ' ἐπταίσαμεν, συμπάθειαν. ^[3] ἔχομεν γὰρ αὐταῖς μαρτυρεῖν, ἐξ οὗ σὺ ἀπῆρας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἡμεῖς δ' ἔρημοι καὶ τὸ μηθὲν ἔτι οὔσαι κατελειπόμεθα, συνεχῶς τε παραγινόμεναις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ παραμυθουμέναις τὰς συμφορὰς ἡμῶν καὶ συναλγούσαις. τούτων δὲ λαμβάνουσαι μνήμην ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ σὴ γυνὴ ἡ συνοικουροῦσα μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰς ἱκεσίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπεστράφημεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείναμεν, ὡς ἡξίου ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ποιήσασθαι δεήσεις.

ἔτι δ' αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν: ἀδυνάτων δεομένη, μῆτερ, ἐλήλυθας ἀξιοῦσα προδοῦναί με τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσι τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, καὶ τοῖς ἅπαντά με ἀφελομένοις τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς χαρισισμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν: οἷς ἐγὼ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε παραλαμβάνων θεοὺς [p. 194] τε καὶ δαίμονας ἐγγυητὰς ἔδωκα, μήτε προδώσειν τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν μήτε προκαταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν μὴ Οὐολούσκοις ἅπασι δοκῇ. ^[2] θεοὺς τε δὲ σεβόμενος, οὓς ὤμοσα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενος, οἷς τὰς πίστεις ἔδωκα, πολεμήσω Ῥωμαίοις ἄχρι τέλους. ἐὰν δ' ἀποδιδῶσι τὴν χώραν Οὐολούσκοις, ἣν κατέχουσιν αὐτῶν βίᾳ, καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιήσωνται πάντων αὐτοῖς μεταδιδόντες τῶν ἴσων ὥσπερ Λατίνοις, διαλύσομαι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον: ἄλλως δ' οὔ. ^[3] ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἅπιτε καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα καὶ πείθετε αὐτοὺς μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν, ἐὰν τὰ ἐαυτῶν

ἔχειν τις αὐτοὺς ἔῃ, μηδ' ὅτι πολέμῳ λαβόντες ἔχουσι τὰ Οὐλοῦσκων, περιμένειν, ἕως πολέμῳ πάλιν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρήσει τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὰ ἐαυτῶν μόνον ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων ἴδια ἀξιώσουσιν ἔχειν. ἐὰν δὲ περιεχόμενοι τῶν μηθὲν ὑτοῖς προσηκόντων πᾶν ὅτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπομένωσι φυλάττοντες τὸ αὐθαδές, ἐκείνους αἰτιάσεσθε τῶν καταληφόμενων κακῶν, οὐ Μάρκιον οὐδὲ Οὐλοῦσκους οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα. [4] σοῦ δέ, ὦ μῆτερ, ἐν μέρει πάλιν υἱὸς ὢν ἐγὼ δέομαι μὴ με παρακαλεῖν εἰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις καὶ ἀδίκους, μηδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σεαυτῇ τεταγμένην πολεμίους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους· ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ γενομένην ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον πατρίδα τε νέμειν, [p. 195] ἣν ἐγὼ νέμω, καὶ οἶκον, ὃν ἐγὼ κέκτημαι, τιμᾶς τε καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐμάς, καὶ δόξης ἀπολαβεῖν τῆς ἐμῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγουμένην φίλους τε καὶ πολεμίους οὐσπερ ἐγώ· ἀποθέσθαι τ' ἤδη τὸ πένθος, ὃ διὰ τὰς ἐμάς ὑπέμεινας, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, φυγὰς, καὶ παῦσασθαι τιμωρουμένην με τῷ σήματι τούτῳ. [5] ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ μῆτερ, ἀγαθὰ κρείττονα ἐλπιδῶν καὶ μεῖζονα εὐχῆς παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπῆνθηται, ἡ δὲ περὶ σοῦ φροντίς, ἣ τὰς γηροβοσκούς οὐκ ἀπέδωκα χάριτας, ἐντετηκυῖα τοῖς σπλάγχχοις πικρὸν ἐποίει καὶ ἀνόνητον ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον. εἰ σὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ τάξεις σεαυτὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κοινωνεῖν ἐθελήσεις ἀπάντων, οὐθενὸς ἔτι μοι δεήσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν.

παυσαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ Οὐετουρία ἐπισχοῦσα χρόνον, ἕως ὃ τῶν περιστηκόντων ἔπαινος ἐπαύσατο πολὺς τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ γενόμενος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ἔγωγέ σε, ὦ Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὔτε προδότην Οὐλοῦσκων γενέσθαι ἀξιῶ, οἷ σε φεύγοντα ὑποδεξάμενοι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις ἐτίμησαν καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσαν, οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, οὓς ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς, ὅτε τὰς δυνάμεις παρελάβανες, ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης ἴδια καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν βούλομαι· μηδ' ὑπολάβης τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα τοσαύτης ἀναπεπληθῆσθαι θεοβλαβείας, ὥστε τὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον υἱὸν εἰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ [2] ἀνοσίους πράξεις παρακαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης [p. 196] ἀποστῆναι σε ἀξιῶ τοῦ πολέμου, πείσαντα τοὺς Οὐλοῦσκους μετριάσαι περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἔθνεσι καλὴν καὶ πρέπουσαν. τοῦτο δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ νῦν μὲν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγάγοις ἐνιαυσίους ποιησάμενος ἀνοχὰς, ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλων τε καὶ δεχόμενος ἀληθῆ φιλίαν πράττοις καὶ [3] διαλλαγὰς βεβαίαις. καὶ εὖ ἴσθι· Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ὅσα μῆτε τὸ ἀδύνατον μῆτ' ἄλλη τις ἀδοξία προσπεσοῦσα κωλύσει, πάντα ὑπομενοῦσι πράττειν λόγῳ καὶ παρακλήσει πειθόμενοι, ἀναγκάζόμενοι δ' , ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν ἀξιόις, οὐθὲν ἂν πώποτε χαρίσαιντο ὑμῖν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον, ὥς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν πάρεστί σοι καταμαθεῖν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐξ ὧν Λατίνοις συνεχώρησαν ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων· Οὐλοῦσκοι δὲ πολὺ τὸ αὐθαδές ἔχουσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει τοῖς μεγάλα εὐτυχήσασιν. [4] ἐὰν δὲ διδάσκης αὐτούς, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν εἰρήνη παντός ἐστι πολέμου κρείττων, σύμβαισις δὲ φίλων κατὰ τὸν ἐκούσιον γινομένη τρόπον τῶν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης συγχωρηθέντων βεβαιότερα,

καὶ ὅτι σωφρόνων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν μὲν εὖ πράττειν δοκῶσι, ταμיעῦεσθαι τὰς τύχας, ὅταν δ' εἰς ταπεινὰς καὶ φαύλας ἔλθωσι, μηθὲν ὑπομένειν ἀγεννές· καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ ἐπιεικειαν ἐπαγωγὰ παιδεύματα εὖρηται [p. 197] λόγων, οὓς ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ πολιτικά πράττοντες μάλιστα ἐπίστασθε, ἵστε ὅτι τοῦ τε αὐχήματος, ἐφ' οὗ νῦν εἰσιν, ἐκόντες ὑποβήσονται καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐξουσίαν σοι τοῦ πράττειν, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνης συνοίσειν. [5] ἔάν δ' ἀντιπράττωσί σοι καὶ τοὺς λόγους μὴ προσδέχωνται ταῖς διὰ σέ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν σὴν γενομέναις περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχαις ὡς ἀεὶ διαμενοῦσαις ἐπαιρόμενοι, τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῖς ἀφίστασο φανερώς, καὶ μήτε προδότης γίνου τῶν πεπιστευκότων μήτε πολέμιος τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων· ἀσεβὲς γὰρ ἐκάτερον. ταῦτα ἤκω δεομένη σου γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ σοῦ, Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὐτ' ἀδύναθ', ὡς σὺ φῆς, πάσης τ' ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνοοίου συνειδήσεως καθαρὰ.

φέρε, ἀλλὰ δόξαν αἰσχροὺς οἴσεσθαι δέδοικας, ἐὰν ἃ παρακαλῶ σε πράττης, ὡς ἀχάριστος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐξελεγχθησόμενος, οἷ σε πολέμιον ὄντα ὑποδεξάμενοι πάντων μετέδωκαν ὧν τοῖς φύσει πολίταις μέτεστιν ἀγαθῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστίν, ἃ μεγάλα ποιεῖς τοῖς λόγοις ἀεὶ. [2] οὐκ ἀποδέδωκας οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ νενίκηκας ἀπειρῶ δὴ τινι μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει χαρίτων τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων εὐεργεσίας; οὓς ἀγαπητὸν ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντων μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν, ἐὰν ἐλευθέρας οἰκῶσι τὰς πατρίδας, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῶν κυρίους εἶναι βεβαίως παρεσκεύακας, [p. 198] ἀλλὰ καὶ πεποίηκας ἤδη σκοπεῖν, πότερα καταλύσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον, ἢ μετέχειν αὐτῆς [3] ἐξ ἴσου κοινὴν καταστησάμενους πολιτείαν. ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅσοις κεκόσμηκας ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύροις τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, καὶ πηλίκους κεχάρισαι τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις πλοῦτους. τοὺς δὴ τοσοῦτους διὰ σέ γενομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τηλικαύτης βεβηκότας εὐτυχίας οὐ δοκεῖς ἀγαπήσειν οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὀργιεῖσθαι σοι καὶ ἀγανακτήσειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος αἷμα ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπισπείσης; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι. [4] εἷς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος ἰσχυρὸς μὲν, ἐὰν λογισμῷ κρίνης αὐτόν, ἀσθενὲς δ', ἐὰν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὁ περὶ τῆς οὐ δικαίως μισουμένης ὑπὸ σοῦ πατρίδος. οὐτε γὰρ ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ κόσμῳ πολιτευομένη τὴν οὐ δικαίαν κατὰ σοῦ κρίσιν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ νοσοῦσα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι σαλευομένη, οὐτε πᾶσα τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην τότε ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος πονηροῖς προστάταις χρῆσάμενον. [5] εἰ δὲ δὴ μὴ τοῖς κακίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς οὐ τὰ κράτιστα πολιτευόμενος ἀπηλάθης ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδ' οὕτω σοι προσήκε μνησικακεῖν πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πολιτευομένων τὰ παραπλήσια συνέβη παθεῖν· καὶ σπάνιοι δὴ τινὲς εἰσιν, οἷς οὐκ ἀντέπνευσε πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀρετὴν [p. 199] [6] φθόνος ἐκ τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ἄδικος. ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνως, ὦ Μάρκιε, φέρουσι καὶ μετρίως ἅπαντες οἱ γενναῖοι τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ πόλεις μεταλαμβάνουσιν, ἐν αἷς οἰκήσαντες οὐθὲν λυπήσουσι τὰς πατρίδας· ὥσπερ καὶ Ταρκύνιος ἐποίησεν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπικαλούμενος· ἱκανὸν ἐν παράδειγμα καὶ οἰκεῖον· ὃς συνελευθερώσας ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων

τοὺς πολίτας, ἔπειτα διαβληθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς συμπράττων πάλιν τοῖς τυράννοις τὴν κάθοδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελασθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκει πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας αὐτόν, οὐδ' ἐπεστράτευε τῇ πόλει τοὺς τυράννους ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ἐποίει τεκμήρια τῶν διαβολῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡμῶν Λαουίνιον ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἐβίω χρόνον εὖνους ὦν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ φίλος.

ἔστω δ' οὖν ὁμως, καὶ δεδόσθω τοῖς τὰ δεινὰ παθοῦσι μὴ διακρίνειν εἴτε φίλιον εἴη τὸ κακῶς δεδρακὸς εἴτ' ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ' ἴσῃν πρὸς ἅπαντας ὀργὴν ἔχειν: ἔπειτ' οὐχ ἱκανὰς εἰσπέπραξαι παρὰ τῶν ὑβρισάντων σε δίκας γῆν τ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρίστην πεποικῶς μηλόβοτον καὶ πόλεις διαπεπορθηκῶς συμμαχίδας, ἃς πολλοῖς πόνοις κτησαμένη κατέσχε, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη ταῦτ' ἔτος εἰς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν κατακεκλεικῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπορίαν; ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν ἀγριαίνουσιν καὶ [p. 200] ^[2] μαινομένην ὀργὴν προάγεις: καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις φέροντάς σοι τῶν τε ἐγκλημάτων ἄφεςιν καὶ κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας ἐνετράπης, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οὐς τὸ τελευταῖον ἔπεμψεν ἡ πόλις, ἱερὰ στέμματα θεῶν ἔχοντας καὶ προτείνοντας γηραιοὺς ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺτους ἀπήλασας, αὐθάδεις καὶ δεσποτικὰς ὡς κεκρατημένοις ἀποκρίσεις δούς. ^[3] ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, πῶς ἐπαιένσω ταῦτα τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ ὑπέραυχα καὶ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ἐκβεβηκότα δικαιώματα ὀρῶσα καταφυγὰς εὐρημένας ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ παραιτήσεις, ὧν ἂν ἐξαμαρτάνωσι περὶ ἀλλήλους, ἱκετηρίας καὶ λιτὰς καὶ τὸ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡδικομένους τὸ ἀδικοῦν ταπεινόν, θεῶν ἡμῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη καταστησαμένον: ὅφ' ὧν μαραίνεται πᾶσα ὀργὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεεῖ: τοὺς δ' αὐθαδεῖα χρησαμένους καὶ λιτὰς ἱκετῶν ὑβρίσαντας, ἅπαντας νεμεσωμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ εἰς συμφορὰς καταστρέφοντας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς. ^[4] αὐτοὶ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον οἱ ταῦτα καταστησάμενοι καὶ παραδόντες ἡμῖν θεοὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους εἰσὶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ εὐδιάλλακτοι, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤδη μεγάλα [p. 201] εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντες εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τὸν χόλον ἐξιλάσαντο: εἰ μὴ σύ, ὦ Μάρκιε, ἀξιοῖς τὰς μὲν τῶν θεῶν ὀργὰς θνητὰς εἶναι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους. δίκαια μὲν οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ σεαυτῷ πρόποντα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι αὐτῇ, ἀφείς τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετανοοῦση γε καὶ διαλλαττομένη καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἀφείλετο σοὶ νῦν ἀποδιδούση.

εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀδιλλάκτως ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ ταύτην δός, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν, παρ' ἧς οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἔχεις οὐδ' ὧν ἀντιποιήσασθαι ἂν τις καὶ ἕτερος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα καὶ οἷς ἅπαντα τὰ λοιπὰ κέκτησαι, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. δανείσματα γὰρ ἔχεις ταῦτ' ἐμά, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεται με ταῦτ' οὐθεὶς οὔτε τόπος οὔτε καιρὸς, οὐδὲ γ' αἰ Οὐλοοῦσκων οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαι συμπάντων καὶ χάριτες τοσοῦτον ἰσχύουσιν οὐδ' ἂν οὐρανομήκεις γένωνται, ὥστε τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐξαλείψαι καὶ παρελθεῖν δίκαια: ἀλλ' ἐμὸς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔσῃ καὶ πρώτη πάντων τὰς τοῦ βίου χάριτας ὀφειλήσεις ἐμοί, καὶ ὧν ἂν δέωμαι δίχα προφάσεως ὑπουργήσεις. ^[2] τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος ὥρισεν ἅπασι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως καὶ λόγου μετεिल्φόσι τὸ δίκαιον, ὧ πιστεῦσασα, Μάρκιε τέκνον, κἀγὼ δέομαί σου μὴ ἐπάγειν πόλεμον τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἴσταμαί σοι βιαζομένῳ. ἢ προτέραν οὖν ἐμὲ τὴν ἐναντιουμένην σοι μητέρα ταῖς ἐρινύσι προθυσάμενος αὐτοχειρίᾳ [p. 202] τότε τοῦ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἅπτου πολέμου, ἢ τὸ μητροκτόνον ἄγος αἰδούμενος εἴξον τῇ σεαυτοῦ ^[3] μητρὶ καὶ δός, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν χάριν ἐκὼν.

νόμον μὲν οὖν τόνδε, ὃν οὐθεὶς πώποτε ἀνελεῖ χρόνος, τιμωρὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα οὐκ ἀξιῶ, Μάρκιε, μόνη τιμῶν, ἃς οὗτός μοι δίδωσιν, ἅμοιρος ἐκ σοῦ γενέσθαι: ἔργων δὲ χρηστῶν ὑπομνήσεις, ἴν' ἀφῶ τὸν νόμον, σκόπει πάλιν ὡς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας: ἦτις ὄρφανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα σε παραλαβοῦσα νήπιον διέμεινα ἐπὶ σοὶ χήρα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς παιδοτροφίας ἀνήντλησα πόνους, οὐ μήτηρ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ φίλτατά σοι γενομένη. [4] ἔπειδ' ὁ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἦλθες, ἐξόν μοι τότε ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν φροντιδῶν ἑτέρω γημαμένην καὶ ἕτερα τέκνα ἐπιθρέψαι καὶ πολλὰς γηροβοσκούς ἐλπίδας ἐμαυτῇ καταλιπεῖν, οὐκ ἠβουλήθην, ἀλλ' ἔμεινα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔσπερα βίον, ἐν σοὶ μόνῳ πάσας τιθεῖσα τὰς ἐμαυτῆς ἡδονάς τε καὶ ὠφελείας: ὣν ἔψευσάς με τὰ μὲν ἄκων, τὰ δ' ἐκῶν, καὶ πασῶν ἀτυχεστάτην ἐποίησας μητέρων. ποῖον γὰρ χρόνον, ἀφ' οὗ σε εἰς ἄνδρας ἤγαγον, ἄνευ λύπης ἢ φόβου διετέλεσα, ἢ πότε ἱλαρὰν ἔσχον ἐπὶ σοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πολέμους ἐπὶ πολέμοις στέλλοντα ὀρώσά σε καὶ μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις ἀναιρούμενον καὶ τραύματ' ἐπὶ τραύμασι λαμβάνοντα;

ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ ἐπολιτεύου καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττες, [p. 203] ἡδονὴν τινα ἐκαρπυσάμην ἢ μήτηρ ἐγὼ διὰ σέ; τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ μάλιστα ἡτύχουν στάσεως πολιτικῆς μέσον ὀρώσά σε κείμενον. ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἀνθεῖν ἐδόκεις πολιτεύμασι καὶ πολὺς ἔπνεις ἐναντιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φόβου μεστὰ ἦν ἐνθυμουμένη τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὡς ἐπὶ μικρᾷ αἰωρεῖται ῥοπῇ, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκουσμάτων τε καὶ παθημάτων μαθοῦσῃ, ὅτι τοῖς ἐπισήμοις ἀνδράσι θεία τις ἐναντιοῦται νέμεσις ἢ φθόνος τις ἀνθρώπινος πολεμεῖ: καὶ ἦν ἄρα μάντις ἀληθὴς ὡς μήποτε ὠφελον τῶν ἐκβησομένων. κατηγωνίσασθ' οὖν σε πολὺς ἐπιρράξας ὁ πολιτικὸς φθόνος καὶ ἀνήρπασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος: ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτά μου βίος, εἰ δὴ καὶ βίον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀφ' οὗ με καταλιπὼν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδιοῖς τούτοις ἀπῆλθες, ἐν τούτῳ δεδασπάνηται τῷ ῥύπῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πενθίμοις τρῦχεσι τούτοις. [2] ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπάντων ταύτην ἀπαιτῶ σε χάριν, μηδέποτε σοι βαρεῖα γενομένη μηδ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσομένη χρόνον, ἕως ἂν ζῶ, διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ παύσασθαι τὸν ἀμειλικτον χόλον φυλάσσοντα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος: κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἀξιούσα λαβεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐμαυτῆς ἴδιον μόνης. [3] σοὶ τε γάρ, ἐὰν πεισθῇς καὶ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐξεργάσῃ, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἔχειν συμβήσεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς χόλου καὶ ταράγματος δαιμονίου: ἐμοὶ τε ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τε καὶ πολιτιδῶν τιμὴ ζῶσῃ τε παρακολουθοῦσα τὸν βίον εὐδαίμονα ποιήσει, καὶ [p. 204] μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀποδιδόμενη καθάπερ εἰκὸς εὐκλειαν ἀθάνατον οἴσει. [4] καὶ εἴ τις ἄρα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους ψυχὰς ἀπολυθείσας τοῦ σώματος ὑποδέξεται τόπος, οὐχ ὁ καταχθόνιος καὶ ἀφεγγὴς ὑποδέξεται τὴν ἐμήν, ἐν ᾧ φασὶ τοὺς κακοδαίμονας οἰκεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Λήθης πεδίον, ἀλλ' ὁ μετέωρος καὶ καθαρὸς αἰθήρ, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐκ θεῶν φύντας οἰκεῖν λόγος εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἔχοντας βίον: οἷς διαγγέλλουσα τὸ σὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὰς σὰς χάριτας, αἷς αὐτὴν ἐκόσμησας, αἰεὶ τινας αἰτήσεται σοι παρὰ θεῶν ἁμοιβὰς καλάς.

ἐὰν δὲ προπηλακίσης τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ ἄτιμον ἀπολύσης, ὃ τι μὲν αὐτῷ σοι συμβήσεται διὰ ταῦτα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, μαντεύομαι δ' οὐδὲν εὐτυχές. ὅτι δ' ἐὰν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα εὐδαιμονῆς, ἔστω γάρ, ἢ δι' ἐμὲ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς συμφορὰς παρακολουθήσουσά σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀνήσουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ὁδύνη πάντων ἀγαθῶν σοι ἀνόνητον ποιήσει τὸν βίον, εὖ οἶδα. [2] οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεται Οὐετουρία τὴν δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὕβριν ἐν τοσοῦτοις μάρτυσιν ὕβρισθεῖσα τὸν ἐλάχιστον βιώσαι χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄμμασιν ἐμαυτὴν διαχρήσομαι, βαρεῖαν ἄρὰν καὶ δεινὰς ἐρινύας ἀντ' ἐμαυτῆς καταλιποῦσά σοι τιμωρούς. [3] ὧν μὴ δεήσειεν, ὧ θεοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φύλακες ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ' εὐσεβεῖς καὶ καλοὺς δοίητε Μαρκίῳ λογισμούς· καὶ ὥσπερ ἄρτι προσιοῦσῃ μοι τοὺς τε πελέκεις ἀπέθετο καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους [p. 205] ἔκλινε καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἔθηκε χαμαὶ καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα, οἷς κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτοκράτορας ἀρχὰς νόμος, τὰ μὲν ἐμείωσε, τὰ δ' ἐκποδῶν εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε δῆλον ἅπασι βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄρχειν αὐτῷ προσήκεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἄρχεσθαι· οὕτω καὶ νῦν τιμίαν καὶ περιβλεπτόν με ποιήσετε, καὶ χαρισάμενος τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα ἀντὶ κακοδαιμονεστάτης εὐδαιμονεστάτην ἀποδειξείε με πασῶν γυναικῶν. [4] εἰ δὲ ὅσιόν ἐστι καὶ θεμιτὸν υἱοῦ γόνασι μητέρα προσκυλίσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ λειτούργημα ὑπομενῶ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τῆς πατρίδος.

ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν χαμαὶ καὶ περιπλέξασα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Μαρκίου κατεφίλησε. πεσοῦσης δ' αὐτῆς αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα πᾶσαι κωκυτὸν ὀξὺν καὶ μακρόν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντες Οὐολούσκων οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο τὴν ἀήθειαν τῆς ὄψεως, ἀλλ' ἀπεστράφησαν. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος ἀναλόμενος ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ περιπεσὼν τῇ μητρὶ ἀνίστησιν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὀλίγον ἐμπνέουσας, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ πολλὰ ἐκχέας δάκρυα εἶπε· νικᾷς, ὦ μητερ, οὐκ εὐτυχῇ νίκην οὔτε σεαυτῇ οὔτ' ἐμοί· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πατρίδα σέσωκας, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόστοργον υἱὸν ἀπολώλεκας. [p. 206] [2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπῆει κελεύσας ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἔνθα τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον σκοπούμενος σὺν αὐταῖς, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, διετέλεσεν. ἦν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς τοιάδε· περὶ μὲν τῆς καθόδου μήτε τὴν βουλὴν τέλος μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον μήτ' ἐκείνον ἐπιψηφίζειν, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις εὐτρεπῇ γένηται τὰ περὶ φιλίας καὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου· αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναστήσαντα ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς ἀπάγειν· ὑποσχόντα δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀποδειξάμενον ἀξιοῦν τοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιάν, μάλιστα μὲν φιλία δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι δικαίας, αὐτῷ τὴν ἰσότητά καὶ τὸ μὴ σφαλεῖναι περὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐπιτρέψαντας. [3] εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις σφίσιν αὐθαδεῖας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι μὴ δέχονται τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν αὐτοῦς ἄλλον τινὰ αἰρεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἢ παρακινδυνεύσαντας ὁτῶδήτινι παραδοῦναι τὰς δυνάμεις σὺν μεγάλῃ διδαχθήσεσθαι βλάβῃ τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος αἴρεσιν. τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα

αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα δικάα τε καὶ ὅσια εἶναι, φήμης τ' ἀγαθῆς ἐφ' ἣ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐσπούδαζε παρὰ πᾶσι τευξόμενα, τοιάδε ἦν. ^[4] ἐτάραπτε δέ τις αὐτὸ ὑποψία δέος ἔχουσα, μὴ ποτε ἀλόγιστος ὄχλος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καταπεπολεμηκέναι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἤδη ὦν δι' ὀργῆς ἀκράτου λάβῃ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν κᾶπειτα ὡς προδότην αὐτὸν οὐδὲ λόγου μεταδοὺς αὐτοχειρίᾳ φθάσῃ [p. 207] διολέσας. ἐδόκει οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δεινότερον εἴη κινδύνευμα σὺν ἀρετῇ σώζουσι τὴν πίστιν ὑπομένειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου ἦν ἡδη, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐξήρσαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς: ἔπειθ' ^[5] αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήρσαν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοὺς τοῖς παροῦσι, δι' ἃς ἔμελλε λύειν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεηθεὶς συγγνώμῃ τ' αὐτῷ καὶ, ἐπειδὴν οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται, μεμνημένους ὦν ἔπαθον εὖ τοῦ μηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν συναγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ διαλεχθεὶς παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύοντας.

Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὡς ἔμαθον, ὅτι λέλυται σφῶν ὁ κίνδυνος: ἔφθασε γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν παρουσίαν προλαβοῦσα ἡ φήμη: σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν ἔθεον ἔξω καὶ ὑπὴντων ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων εἰς ἀδόκητον εὐτυχίαν ἄνθρωποι καταστάντες πράττουσιν τε καὶ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, τὰ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ^[2] τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀποδεικνύμενοι. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἐν θαλείαις τε καὶ εὐπαθείαις διετέλεσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ βουλὴ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Μαρκίου γνώμην ἀπεδείξαντο εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβάλλεσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδειότερους τὰς δοθησομένας αὐτῷ τιμὰς: ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἔπαινόν τ' ἀποδεδοσθαι τῆς προθυμίας παλαιᾷ δημοσίᾳ γραφῇ [p. 208] μνήμην οἴσοντα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων αἰώνιον, καὶ γέρας, ὃ τι ἂν αὐταῖς λαβοῦσαις ἡδιστόν τε καὶ τιμώτατον ἔσεσθαι μέλλῃ: καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα. ^[3] ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ βουλευσαμέναις εἰσῆλθεν ἐπιφθόνου μὲν δωρεᾶς μηδεμιᾶς δεῖσθαι, ἀξιοῦν δ' ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι τὴν βουλήν ἐπὶ τύχης γυναικῶν ἰδρῦσασθαι ἱερὸν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο λιτὰς χωρίῳ, θυσίας τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος αὐτῇ συνιούσας ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν ἣ τὸν πόλεμον ἔλυσαν ἡμέρᾳ. ἡ μὲντοι βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐψηφίσαντο χρημάτων τέμενός τ' ὠνηθὲν καθιερωθῆναι τῇ θεῷ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶν καὶ βωμόν, ὡς ἂν οἱ ἱερομνήμονες ἐξηγῶνται, συντελεσθῆναι, θυσίας τε προσάγεσθαι δημοτελεῖς καταρχομένης τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικός, ἣν ἂν ἀποδείξωσιν αὐταὶ λειτουργὸν τῶν ἱερῶν. ^[4] ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἰέρεια μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπεδείχθη τότε πρῶτον ἡ τὴν γνώμην αὐταῖς εἰσηγησαμένη περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας Οὐαλερία καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου πείσασα συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐξόδου. θυσίαν δὲ πρώτην αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καταρχομένης τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Οὐαλερίας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει βωμοῦ, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνασταθῆναι, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ τοῦ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῇ νέᾳ σελήνῃ, ἣν Ἕλληνες μὲν νομηνίαν, Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 209] δὲ καλάνδας καλοῦσιν: αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ λύσασα

τὸν πόλεμον ἡμέρα. ἐνιαυτῷ δ' ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην θυσίαν ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων νεῶς συνετελέσθη τε καὶ καθιερώθη Κοιντιλίου μηνὸς ἑβδόμη μάλιστα κατὰ σελήνην: [5] αὕτη δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶν ὁ προηγούμενη τῶν Κοιντιλίων νωνῶν ἡμέρα. ὁ δὲ καθιερώσας αὐτὸν ἦν Πρόκλος Οὐεργίνιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

εἶη δ' ἂν ἀρμόττον ἱστορίας σχήματι καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν οἰομένων μὴτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς παρ' ἀνθρώπων χαίρειν τοὺς θεοὺς μὴτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ ἀδίκοις πράξεσιν ἀγανακτεῖν, τὸ δηλῶσαι τὴν γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις, ὡς αἱ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν περιέχουσι γραφαί, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν εὐλαβεστέροις περὶ τὸ συνέχειν, ἅς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων δόξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρέλαβον, ἀμεταμέλητος ἢ τοιαύτη προαίρεσις καὶ βεβαία διαμένῃ, τοῖς δ' ὑπερορῶσι τῶν πατρίων ἔθισμῶν καὶ μηθενὸς ποιοῦσι τὸ δαιμόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν κύριον μάλιστα μὲν ἀναθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν, εἰ δ' ἀνιάτως ἔχουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ κακοδαιμονεστέροις εἶναι. [2] ἱστορεῖται τοίνυν, ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πάσας ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τὰς εἰς τὸν νεῶν τε καὶ τὸ ξόανον δαπάνας, ἕτερον δ' ἄγαλμα κατασκευασαμένων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀφ' ὧν αὐταὶ συνήνεγκαν [p. 210] χρημάτων, ἀνατεθέντων τ' αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀνιερώσεως ἡμέρᾳ, θάτερον τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων, ὃ κατεσκευάσανθ' αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐφθέγξατο πολλῶν παρουσῶν γλῶττι Λατίνῃ φωνὴν εὐσύνετον τε καὶ γεγωνόν: ἥς ἐστι φωνῆς ἐξερμηνευόμενος ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον τοιόσδε: ὅσιω [3] πόλεως νόμῳ γυναῖκες γαμεταὶ δεδῶκατέ με. οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς παραδόξους φωνάς τε καὶ ὄψεις, πολλὴ ταῖς παρούσαις ἐνέπιπτεν ἀπιστία, μὴ ποτ' οὐ τὸ ξόανον εἶη τὸ φθεγξάμενον, ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ τις φωνή: μάλιστα δ' ὅσαι πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσαι τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον, οὐκ ἰδοῦσαι τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν, ταύτην εἶχον τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἰδούσας ἀπιστίαν. ἔπειτ' αὖθις πληθύνοντος τοῦ νεῶ καὶ σιωπῆς πλειστής κατὰ δαίμονα γενομένης ἐν μείζονι φωνῇ ταὐτὸ ξόανον ἐφθέγξατο τὴν αὐτὴν λέξιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι εἶναι τὸ ἀμφίλογον. ἢ μὲν οὖν βουλή ὥς. [4] ταῦτ' ἔμαθεν ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας ἄλλας καὶ σεβασμούς, οὓς ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ παραδῶσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν ἔθει κατεστήσαντο τῇ τῆς ἱερείας χρησάμεναι γνώμῃ, τῷ ξοάνῳ τοῦτῳ μὴτε στεφάνους ἐπιτιθέναι μὴτε χεῖρας προσφέρειν γυναῖκας, ὅσαι δευτέρων ἐπειράθησαν γάμων, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν καὶ θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποδεδόσθαι ταῖς νεογάμοις. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὔτε παρελθεῖν τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔτε πλείονα περὶ αὐτῆς [p. 211] ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. ἐπάνειμι δ', ὅθεν εἰς τοῦτον ἐξέβην τὸν λόγον.

μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ὁ Μάρκιος περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Οὐολούσκων ἐγένετο, πάντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβε, δωρησάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐαυτῷ δ' οὐδ' ὅποιον ὑπολιπόμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ἢ μὲν οὖν κοινωνήσασα τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτῷ στρατιὰ πλοῦτῳ βαρεῖ ἀφικομένη τὴν τ' ἀνάπαυλαν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐδέξατο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δι'

εὐνοίας εἶχε τὸν ἄνδρα, συγγνώμης τ' ἄξιον ἠγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ τέλος ἐπέθηκε τῷ πολέμῳ [2] μητρὸς οἴκτους καὶ λιτὰς ἐντραπίεις. ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπομείνασα νεότης φθονοῦσα μὲν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γενομένοις τῶν πολλῶν ὠφελειῶν, διημαρτηκυῖα δ' ὦν ἥλπισεν, εἰ καθαιρεθεῖ τὸ Ῥωμαίων φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης, ἐτραχύνετο πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πικρὰ σφόδρα ἦν: καὶ τελευτῶσα, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μίσους ἡγεμόνας ἔλαβε τοὺς πλεῖστον ἐν τῷ ἔθνει δυναμένους, ἐξηγριώθη τε καὶ ἔργον ἔδρασεν ἀνόσιον. [3] ἦν δὲ Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὁ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν παραθήξας ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρίαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οὐκ ὀλίγην. τούτῳ δ' ἄρα ἐδόδοκτο παλαιότερον ἔτι τὸν φθόνον οὐ δυναμένῳ κατέχειν, εἰ μὲν εὖ πράξας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν διαφθεῖρας εἰς Οὐολούσκους ἔλθοι, [p. 212] κρύφα καὶ σὺν δόλῳ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτῶν τῆς πείρας ἀτελῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἀναστρέψειεν, ὡς προδότην παραδόντα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρίᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι: [4] ὅπερ ἐποίει τότε, καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ψευδῇ τεκμαιρόμενος ἀληθεῖσι καὶ οὐ γενησόμενα εἰκάζων γεγεννημένοις: ἐκέλευε τ' ἀποθέμενον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς στρατηγίας. ἦν δὲ τῆς ὑπομενούσης στρατιᾶς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡγεμὼν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κύριος τοῦ τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοῦ καλεῖν, ὃν βούλοιο, ἐπὶ δίκην.

ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐδικαίου, περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν διεφέρετο λόγον ἀξιῶν ἀποδοῦναι πρότερον τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειτ' ἐὰν ἅπασι δόξη Οὐολούσκοις, ἀποθήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτων δ' οὐ μίαν ὥετο πόλιν δεῖν, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου διέφθαρτο μέρος, γενέσθαι κυρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἅπαν εἰς τὴν ἔννομον ἀγορὰν συναχθέν, εἰς ἣν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευέσθαι μέλλοιεν, ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως προβούλους ἀποστέλλειν. [2] ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδὼς, ὅτι δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἀνὴρ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων λόγον ἀποδιδούς ἐν ἡγεμονικῷ ἀξιώματι μένων πείσει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοσοῦτου δεήσει τιμωρίαν προδοτῶν ὑποσχεῖν, ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερος ἔτι καὶ τιμιώτερος ὑπ' [p. 213] αὐτῶν ἔσται, τὸν τε πόλεμον, ὅπως ἂν βούληται, καταλύσασθαι συγχωρησάντων ἀπάντων γενήσεται κύριος. [3] καὶ ἦν μέχρι πολλοῦ λόγων τε καὶ ἀντιμαχήσεων τῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις γινομένων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πολὺς ἀγών: ἔργῳ γὰρ οὐχ οἷον τ' ἦν οὐδετέρῳ βιάσασθαι τὸν ἕτερον τῆς ἰσοτίμου ἀρχῆς ἀξιώσει κρατυνόμενον. [4] ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐγίνετο πέρας, ἡμέραν προειπῶν ὁ Τύλλος, ἐν ἣ τὸν Μάρκιον ἐκέλευσεν ἡκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθησόμενον καὶ δίκην ὑφ' ἑξόντα τῆς προδοσίας, θραυστάτους τ' ἄνδρας εὐεργεσιῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἀρχηγοὺς ἀνοσίου ἔργου γενέσθαι, παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλῇ κατηγορίᾳ ἐχρήσατο τοῦ Μαρκίου, καὶ εἰ μὴ βούλοιο ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν, τῷ δήμῳ παρεκελεύετο παῦειν αὐτὸν ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει.

ἀναβάντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν βοή τε πολλὴ κωλύουσα τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρίας τῆς περὶ τὸν Τύλλον ἐγίνετο: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα

‘παῖε’ καὶ ‘βάλλε’ φωνοῦντες περιίστανται αὐτὸν οἱ θρασύτατοι καὶ συναράττοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἀποκτιννύουσιν. ἔρριμμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ χαμαὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ τε παραγενόμενοι τῷ πάθει καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἤδη νεκροῦ ὄντος ἀφικόμενοι τὸν τ’ ἄνδρα τῆς τύχης ὠδύροντο ὡς οὐ καλὰς εἰληφότα παρὰ σφῶν ἄμοιβας, ἐπιλεγόμενοι πάντα ὅσα τὸ κοινὸν ὠφέλησε, καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας τὸν [p. 214] φόνον ἐπόθουν λαβεῖν ὡς ἀνόμου ἔργου καὶ ἀσυμφόρου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξαντας, ἄνευ δίκης ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ [2] τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ταῦθ’ ἡγεμόνα. μάλιστα δ’ ἡγανάκτουν οἱ ταῖς στρατείαις αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ζῶντι αὐτῷ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐγένοντο κωλυταὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, τὰς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ὀφειλομένας ἔγνωσαν ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας, συμφέροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὅσων ἔδει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τιμὴν. [3] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντ’ εὐτρέπιστο, θέντες ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἐκπρεπεστάτῳ ἡσκημένης κόσμῳ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἔχοντα ἐσθῆτα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι κελεύσαντες λάφυρά τε καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους καὶ μνήμας ὧν εἴλε πόλεων, ἦραντο τὴν κλίνην οἱ λαμπρότατοι τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πολέμους ἔργοις: καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ὃ μάλιστα ἦν ἐπιφανές, ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεσκευασμένην πυράν, συμπροπεμπούσης τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως ὅλης μετ’ οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ [4] δακρύων. ἔπειτα κατασφάζαντές τ’ αὐτῷ πολλὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαρξάμενοι πάντων, ὅσων ἄνθρωποι βασιλεῦσιν ἢ στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ πυραῖς ἀπάρχονται, παρέμειναν οἱ μάλιστα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀσπαζόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ μαρανθῆναι τὴν φλόγα, κἄπειτα συναγαγόντες τὰ λείψανα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ χῶματι ὑψηλῷ διὰ πολυχειρίας ἐργασθέντι μνηῖμα ἐπίσημον ἐργασάμενοι.

Μάρκιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχεν, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄριστος τῶν καθ’ ἡλικίαν καὶ [p. 215] πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἡδονάς, ὅσαι ἄρχουσι νέων, ἐγκρατής, τὰ τε δίκαια οὐκ ἀπὸ νόμου μᾶλλον ἀνάγκης διὰ τιμωριῶν δέος ἀκούσιος ἀποδιδούς, ἀλλ’ ἐκὼν τε καὶ πεφυκῶς πρὸς αὐτὰ εὖ, καὶ οὐδ’ ἐν ἀρετῆς μοίρᾳ τὸ μνηθὲν ἀδικεῖν τιθέμενος, οὐ μόνον τ’ αὐτὸς ἀγνεύειν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας προθυμοῦμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζειν δικαίῳ: [2] μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ δωρηματικὸς καὶ εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ὧν ἐκάστῳ δέοι τῶν φίλων, ὅποτε γνοίῃ, προχειρότατος, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς χείρων τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν: καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ στασιάζον τῆς πόλεως ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐγένετο, μεγίστην ἂν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου πολιτευμάτων ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἐν δυνατῷ ἦν ἅμα πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι φύσει, οὐδὲ φύσεται τις ἀπὸ θνητῶν καὶ ἐπικήρων σπερμάτων περὶ πάντ’ ἀγαθός.

ἐκείνῳ γ’ οὖν ταύτας ὁ δαίμων τὰς ἀρετὰς χαρισάμενος ἐτέρας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς κῆράς τε καὶ ἄτας προσῆψε. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶν καὶ φαιδρὸν οὐκ ἐπῆν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρόποις, οὐδὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν πέλας ἔν τ’ ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ προσαγορεύεσιν, οὐδὲ δὴ τὸ εὐδιάλλακτον καὶ μετριοπαθές, ὅποτε δι’ ὀργῆς τῷ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἡ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπικοσμοῦσα χάρις: ἀλλ’ [2] αἰὲν πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ἔβλαψε, καὶ

πάντων μάλιστα ἢ περὶ τὰ δίκαια [p. 216] καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων ἄκρατός τε καὶ ἀπαράπειστος καὶ οὐθὲν τῷ ἐπικεκί διδοῦσα ἀποτομία: ἔοικε τ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσόφων, ὅτι μεσότητές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκρότητες αἱ τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δ' ἡ δικαιοσύνη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐλλείπουσα τοῦ μετρίου πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ υπερβάλλουσα αὐτοῖς τ' οὐ λυσιτελής, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτ' αἰτία μεγάλων συμφορῶν, καὶ εἰς θανάτους οἰκτροὺς καὶ ^[3] λύμας ἀνηκέστους καταστρέφουσα. Μάρκιον γ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἄρα, ὃ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξήλασε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησεν, ἢ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἄκρον δίκαιον. τοῖς τε γὰρ δημόταις εἴκειν τὰ μέτρια δέον καὶ ἐφίεναι τι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ μὴ δίκαια ἀντιλέγων μῖσος ἤγειρε καὶ ἐξηλάσθη πρὸς αὐτῶν: τῆς τε Οὐολούσκων στρατηγίας εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ διαλυῖσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαλλαγῆναι παρὸν καὶ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐτέρωσέ ποι, τέως ἂν ἡ κάθοδος αὐτῷ δοθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς καὶ ὄχλων ἀμαθίαις σκοπὸν, οὐκ ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεύθυνον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ σῶμα παρασχεῖν τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦς ὧν ἔπραξε κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰ τι φαίνοιτο ἀδικῶν τὴν κατὰ νόμους ὑποσχεῖν δίκην, τῆς ἄκρας δικαιοσύνης οὐ καλοῦς ἀπέλαβε μισθοῦς. [p. 217]

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι διαλυομένοις καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅτιδήποτ' ἔστιν ἐκεῖνο, συνδιαλύεται, καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐθὲν ἔτι ἔστιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μακαρίους ὑπολάβω τοὺς μὴθὲν μὲν ἀπολαύσαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθόν, δι' αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην ἀπολομένους. εἰ δ' ἄφθαρτοι μέχρι τοῦ παντός αἱ ψυχαὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἡμῶν οὔσαι καθάπερ οἴονται τινες, ἢ χρόνον τινὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι διαμένουσι, μήκιστον μὲν αἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐλάχιστον δ' αἱ τῶν κακῶν, ἀποχρῶσα τιμὴ φαίνοιτ' ἂν, οἷς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦσιν ἡναντιώθη τὰ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἢ παρὰ τῶν ζώντων εὐλογία καὶ μνήμη μέχρι πλείστου παραμείνασα χρόνου: ^[2] ὃ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ συνέβη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Οὐολούσκοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπένθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς τῶν ἀρίστων γεγόμενον ἐν τιμῇ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πάθος ἐγνώσθη, μεγάλην συμφορὰν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, πένθος ἐποίησαντο ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ: καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ἃ νόμος ἔστιν αὐταῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαίοις ποιεῖν κήδεσιν, ἀποθέμεναι χρυσὸν τε καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον μέλασιν ἀμφιασμοῖς χρώμεναι τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον. ^[3] ἑτῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ὁμοῦ τι πεντακοσίων ἤδη διαγεγονότων εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον οὐ γέγονεν ἐξίτηλος ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμη, ἀλλ' ἄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος [p. 218] ἀνὴρ. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατασχὼν Ῥωμαίους κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείας Μάρκιον λαβούσης ἡγεμόνα, μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχὼν τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀνελεῖν ἐκ βάθρων, τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον Ῥωμαῖοι πολλῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ προελθόντες ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων

τῆς σφετέρας κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσὶν, ἴδιον ἑκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοτάτοις καταστησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἔδρασαν γε οὐδὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον, ἀλλ' ἀνέστρεψαν ἄπρακτοι, καίτοι καλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πολέμιων δρᾶσαι τι γενναῖον. [2] πρότεροι γάρ ἔτι τούτων Οὐολοῦσκοι τε καὶ Αἰκανοὶ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἤγαγον γνώμην ποιησάμενοι μὴ ἀνελῖναι τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλ', ἕως ἔτι καταπεπλήχθαι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐδόκουν, χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸ, ὥς καὶ ἐκούσιον διὰ δέος παραστησόμενον. στασιάσαντες δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ὄπλα ἤρπασαν καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, οὔτε κατὰ τάξιν οὔτ' ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ ἀναμίξ, ὥστε πολὺν ἕξ ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι φόνον· καὶ εἰ μὴ δὺς ὁ ἥλιος ἔφθασεν, ἅπασαι ἂν αὐτῶν αἰ δυνάμεις διεφθάρησαν. τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ λυούσῃ τὸ νεῖκος ἀκούσιοι εἷξαντες διεκριθῆσαν τ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν· ἔωθεν [p. 219] δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆεσαν ἑκάτεροι ἐπὶ [3] τὰ σφέτερα. οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ παρὰ τ' αὐτομόλων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων, οἱ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδρασαν, ἀκούσαντες, οἷα κατέσχε λύσσα καὶ θεοβλάβεια τὰ πολέμια, οὔτε συνεπέθεντο τῷ κατ' εὐχὴν δοθέντι καιρῷ τριάκοντα σταδίων οὐ πλεῖον ἀπέχοντες, οὔτ' ἀπόντας ἐδίωξαν, ἐν ᾧ κεκμηκότας καὶ τραυματίας καὶ ὀλίγους ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀτάκτους χωροῦντας ἀκραιφνεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι ῥαδίως ἂν διέφθειραν πασσυδί. [4] λύσαντες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀπῆεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· εἴτ' ἀρκοῦμενοι τῷ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθέντι ἀγαθῷ, εἴτ' οὐ πιστεύοντες ἀνασκήτω στρατιᾷ τῇ σφετέρᾳ, εἴτε περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι τὸ μηδ' ὀλίγους τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλεῖν. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ πολλῇ ἦσαν δειλίας δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φερόμενοι· καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔξοδον ἔτι ποιησάμενοι παρέδοσαν τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπάτοις τὴν ἀρχήν.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος μὲν Ἀκύλλιος καὶ Τίτος Σικκίος, ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων, τὴν ὑπατείαν παρεilhέφσαν. ἡ δὲ βουλή προθέντων λόγον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ὑπᾶτων πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο πρεσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς Ἑρνίκας αἰτήσουσαν ὥς παρὰ φίλων τε καὶ ἐνσπόνδων δικᾶς νομίμους· ἡδίκητο γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐολοῦσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείαν ληστέiais τε καὶ καταδρομαῖς τῆς ὁμοροῦσης αὐτοῖς γῆς· ἕως δ' ἂν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσιν ἀποκρίσεις, στρατιὰν ὅσῃν δύνανται πλείστην καταγράφειν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πρεσβεῖων [p. 220] ἀποστολαῖς παρακαλεῖν σῖτόν τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ πολυχειρίας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἐν τάχει. [2] ὥς δ' ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέψαντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἃς παρὰ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, ὅτι συνθήκας μὲν οὐ φασιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κοινῇ γενομένας οὐδέποτε, τὰς δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ὁμολογίας αἰτιῶνται λελύσθαι τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης· εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς χώρας ἐγένοντο διὰ λησθηρίων, οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδιωτῶν ἀδικήματα μετιόντων τὰ ἴδια, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ταῦτα δράσαντας παρέχειν οἱοί τ' εἶσιν ἐπὶ δίκην, ἔτερα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι λέγοντες καὶ

ἀντεγκαλοῦντες, [3] ἄσμενοί τ' εἰσι δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφηφίσαστο νείμασθαι τὴν καταγραφεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων στρατιὰν τριχῇ: τοῦτων δὲ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἄγοντα Γάϊον Ἀκύλλιον τὸν ὕπατον ὁμόσε τῇ Ἑρνίκων στρατιᾷ χωρεῖν: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἤδη ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις: τὴν δ' ἑτέραν Τίτον Σίκκιον ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους ἄγειν, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τρίτην μερίδα παραλαβόντα Σπόριον Λάρκιον, ὃς ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν %5ὑπάτων ἑπαρχος τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως χώραν φυλάττειν: τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, ὅσοι δύνανται εἶχον ἐπιβαστάζειν ὅπλα, ταχθέντας ὑπὸ σημαίαις τὰς τ' ἄκρας φρουρεῖν [p. 221] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, μὴ τις αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων γένηται ἔφοδος ἐξεστρατευμένης τῆς νεότητος ἀθρόας: ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Αὐλὸν Σεμπρόνιον Ἀτρατῖνον, ἄνδρα τῶν ὑπατικῶν. ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ.

Ἀκύλλιος μὲν οὖν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῇ Πραίνεστηνῶν χώρᾳ τὸν Ἑρνίκων στρατὸν ὑπομένοντα καταλαβὼν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστ' ἀγχοτάτω σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσχῶν ὀλίγῳ πλείους διακοσίων: τρίτῃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἡμέρᾳ, προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐν τάξει καὶ τὰ σημεῖ ἁράντων τῆς μάχης, ἀντεξῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ κατὰ τέλη. [2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἀλλήλων ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ψилоὶ σαυνίων τε βολαῖς καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀπὸ σφενδόνης μαχόμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις: ἔπειτα ἵππεῖς ἵππεῦσι συρράπτουσι κατ' ἕλας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τῷ πεζῷ κατὰ σπείρας μαχόμενον. ἐνθα δὴ καλὸς ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκθύμως ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον οὐδέτεροι τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῦ χωρίου, ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθησαν, εἰκόντες. ἔπειτα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡρξάτο κάμνειν φάλαγξ, οἷα διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνου τότε πρῶτον ἠναγκασμένη ὁμιλεῖν πολέμῳ. [3] τοῦτο συνιδὼν Ἀκύλλιος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀκμῆτας ἔτι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλαττομένους [p. 222] ὑπὸ τὰ κάμνοντα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπελθεῖν μέρη, τοὺς δὲ τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας ὀπίσω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπέναι. οἱ δ' Ἑρνικες ὡς ἔμαθον κινουμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς λόχους φυγῆς τ' ἄρχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπέλαβον, καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐμβάλλουσι πυκνοῖς τοῖς λόχοις εἰς τὰ κινούμενα τῶν πολεμίων μέρη, καὶ οἱ ἀκραφνεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς δέχονται: καὶ ἦν αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων μάχη καρτερὰ: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἐξεπληροῦντο λόχοι τοῖς ἀκμῆσιν ὑποπεμπομένοις εἰς τὰ κάμνοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. [4] ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ δειλὴν ὥπιαν ἦν ἡδη, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἵππεῖς ὁ ὕπατος νυνὶ δὴ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι, ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἰλῆς. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τινὰ δεξάμενοι χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐγκλίνουσι, καὶ γίνεται φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τῶν Ἑρνίκων κέρας ἐπόνει τ' ἡδη καὶ ἐξέλειπε τὴν τάξιν, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἔτι ἀντεῖχε καὶ περιῆν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δεξιοῦ: μετ' ὀλίγον μέντοι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνέδωκεν. [5] ὁ γὰρ Ἀκύλλιος τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν νέων ἐπαγόμενος παρεβοήθει κάκεῖ παραθαρρύνων τε καὶ ἐξ

ὀνόματος ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς εἰωθότας ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἀριστεύειν μάχαις, τὰ τε σημεῖα τῶν λόχων, ὅσοι μὴ ἐρρωμένως ἐδόκουν ἀμύνεσθαι, παρὰ τῶν σημειοφόρων ἀρπάζων εἰς μέσους ἐρρίπτει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τὸ δέος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννόμου τιμωρίας, εἰ μὴ ἀνασώσαιντο τὰς σημαίας, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι [p. 223] ἀναγκάσῃ: τῷ τε κάμνοντι αὐτὸς παρεβοῇται μέρει αἰεὶ, τέως ἐξέωσε τῆς στάσεως καὶ θάτερον κέρας. ψιλωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄκρων οὐδὲ τὰ μέσα παρέμεινε. ^[6] φυγὴ δὴ τῶν Ἑρνίκων τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τεταραγμένη τε καὶ ἄκοσμος, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς κτείνοντες ἠκολούθουν. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα προθυμία παρὰ τὸν τότε ἄγωνά τῃ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ ἐνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων πειρᾶσθαι τινὰς ἐπιβραίνειν ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσομένους: ὧν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι γιγνομένην ὁρῶν ὁ ὕπατος, σημαίνειν κελεύσας τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν κατεβίβασε τοὺς ὁμοσε χωροῦντας ἄκοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, δεισας, μὴ ἐξ ὑπερδεξιῶν βαλλόμενοι σὺν αἰσχύνη τε καὶ μετὰ μεγάλῃς βλάβῃς ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποχωρεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης εὐκλειαν ἀφανίσωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ γὰρ ἦν περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου: χαίροντές τε καὶ παιανίζοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ φόφος τ' ἠκούετο πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων καὶ βοή, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφαίνετο σέλα λαμπάδων. ἀπογνόντες γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθέξιν ἐτέρα μάχη καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἔγνωσαν αὐτοκέλευστοι: καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ βοήν τοῦτ' ἦν. ὡς γὰρ ἕκαστοι δυνάμειος εἶχον καὶ τάχους, ἔφευγον ἐπιβοῶντές τ' ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπιβοῶμενοι, τῶν δ' ὑπολειπομένων διὰ τραύματα ἢ νόσους [p. 224] ^[2] οἰμωγὰς καὶ λιτανείας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέμενοι. τοῦτ' ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πεπυσμένοι δὲ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλῶτων πρότερον, ὅτι δύναμις Ἑρνίκων ἐτέρα μέλλοι βοηθὸς ἦξειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καὶ τὴν βοήν τε καὶ παραχῇν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀφίξει γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, τὰ τ' ὅπλα ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὸν χάρακα περιστεφανώσαντες, μὴ τις ἔφοδος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο νύκτωρ, τοτὲ μὲν ὅπλων κτύπον ἐποιοῦν ἄθροοι, τοτὲ δ' ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ὁρμώμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπηλάλαζον. τοῖς δ' Ἑρνίξι καὶ ταῦτα δέος μέγα παρείχε, καὶ ὡς διωκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων σποράδες ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἔθεον. ^[3] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἱππεῖς, ὡς οὔτε δύναμις ἐτέρα παρήει σύμμαχος τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἳ τε τῇ προτέρᾳ παραταξάμενοι μάχῃ πεφεύγασιν, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀκύλλιος τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων αἰρεῖ μεστὸν ὄντα ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας τῶν πεφευγόντων λαμβάνει, τὴν τε ἵππον ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ τὰς ὕλας πολλῶν γίνεται σωμάτων ἐγκρατής: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὴν Ἑρνίκων γῆν ἐπήει λεηλατῶν ἀδεῶς, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ὑπομένοντος εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀκύλλιος ἔδρασεν.

ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Σικκίος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους, ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον τῆς δυνάμειος μέρος ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν Οὐελιτρανῶν χώραν [p. 225] εἰσέβαλεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦν Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὁ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην συσκευασάμενος στρατιάν, γνώμην

ἔχων τὰ συμμαχικὰ Ῥωμαίων κακῶσαι πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ὁ Μάρκιος ἔδρασεν, ὅτ' ἦρχετο τοῦ πολέμου, δόξας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φόβῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι διαμένειν καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύουσι πέμψειν ἐπικουρίαν. ὥς δ' ὠφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἀλλήλας αἱ δυνάμεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀναβαλόμεναι συνήεσαν εἰς ταῦτόν.^[2] ἦν δ' ὁ χώρος ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐν ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἔδει γενέσθαι, λόφος πετρώδης πολλαχῇ περικατεαγῶς, ἔνθα οὐδετέροις ἢ ἵππος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμη. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνη θέμενοι, εἰ παρόντες τῷ ἀγῶνι μηδὲν προσωφελήσουσιν, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ὑπάτου προσελθόντες ἄθροοι, ἔῃσαι σφᾶς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μάχεσθαι πεζοῦς, εἰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι.^[3] κἀκεῖνος πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καταβιβάζει τ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ σὺν ἑαυτῷ τεταγμένους εἶχεν ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτὰς τοῦ κάμνοντος ἔσομένους· καὶ ἐγένοντο τῆς τότε νίκης λαμπρᾶς σφόδρα γενομένης οὗτοι Ῥωμαίοις αἵτιοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν ἀμφοτέρων πλήθει τ' ἀνθρώπων ὥς μάλιστα ἦν καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς ὁμοιότροπον, τάξεώς τε κόσμῳ καὶ μάχης ἐμπειρία κατὰ τ' ἐπαγωγὰς καὶ ὑποχωρήσεις πληγὰς τ' αὐτὰ καὶ φυλακὰς παραπλήσιον.^[4] μετέμαθον γὰρ οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι πάντα τὰ πολέμια, ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἔσχον [p. 226] ἡγεμόνα, καὶ εἰς τὰ Ῥωμαίων προσεχώρησαν ἔθῃ. διέμενον οὖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγχωμάλως αἱ φάλαγγες ἀγωνιζόμεναι, καὶ ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἀνώμαλος οὔσα ἐκατέροις πολλὰ εἰς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων παρείχετο. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διχῇ νεύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ πλάγια τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες διὰ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς κατόπιν ἐπιρράπτουσιν.^[5] ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν εἰσακοντίζοντες τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ξίφεσι μακροτέροις οὔσι κατὰ βραχιόνων παιοντες καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύλας καταφέροντες, πολλῶν μὲν τὰς ἀμυνομένας, ἢ σκεπούσας τὰ σώματα χεῖρας αὐτοῖς σκεπάσμασι τε καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις ἀπέκοπτον, πολλοὺς δὲ γονάτων τε καὶ ἀστραγάλων πληγαῖς βαθείαις ἀπὸ κρατίστης βάσεως ἐρρίπτουν ἡμιθανεῖς.^[6] περιειστῆκει τε πάντοθεν τοῖς Οὐολοῦσκοις τὸ δεινόν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέκειντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλάγιων τε καὶ τῶν κατόπιν οἱ ἱππεῖς, ὥστε ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα τόλμης τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀποδειξάμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τε τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου κέρως ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεξιὸν τε παρερρηγμένον εἶδον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπιόντας σφίσι τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς, ἐξελιξαντες τοὺς λόχους βάδην ἀπεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων [p. 227]^[7] ἱππεῖς ἐν τάξει ἡκολούθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἐρύματι ἦσαν, ἑτέρα γίνεται μάχη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς περισταυρώμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ χάρακος ὀξεῖα καὶ παλιντροπος. πονουμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ ὕπατος κελεύσας τοῖς πεζοῖς ὕλην προσενέγκαντας ἀποχωῶσαι τὰς τάφρους, πρῶτος ἐχώρει κατὰ τὸ ἐπίβατον ἔχων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐχυρωτάτας τοῦ χάρακος πύλας· ἀναστειλάς δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας τῶν πυλῶν διακόψας ἐντὸς ἐγεγόνει τῶν ἐρυμάτων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας τῶν

σφετέρων πεζῶν ἐδέχετο. [8] Τύλλος δ' Ἄττιος ἔχων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ εὐτολμοτάτους Οὐολούσκων ὁμόσε αὐτῷ χωρεῖ καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα γενναῖα ἀποδειξάμενος: ἦν γὰρ ἀγωνιστῆς μὲν πολέμων σφόδρ' ἄλκιμος, στρατηγῆσαι δ' οὐχ ἱκανός: ὑπὸ κόπου τε καὶ πλήθους τραυμάτων καταπονηθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει. τῶν δ' ἄλλων Οὐολούσκων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χάραξ ἠλίσκετο, οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντες πρὸς ἰκεσίας τῶν κεκρατηκόντων ἐτράποντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἀπεσώθησαν. [9] ἀφικομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγέλων, οὓς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὕπατοι, μεγίστη χαρὰ τὸν δῆμον κατέσχε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς χαριστηρίους ἐψηφίσαντο θυσίας, τοῖς δ' ὕπατοις τὴν τῶν θριάμβων τιμὴν προσέθεσαν. οὐ μέντοι τὴν αὐτὴν γ' ἀμφοτέροις: ἀλλὰ Σικκίῳ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φόβου μείζονος ἠλευθερωκέναι ἐδόκει τὴν πόλιν [p. 228] τὸν Οὐολούσκων ὕβριστήν καθελὼν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὴν μείζονα πομπὴν ἐψηφίσαντο: καὶ εἰσῆλασεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄγων τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν συναγωνισαμένην δύναμιν ἄρματι παρεμβεβηκῶς χρυσοχαλίνων ἵππων τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμφιεσμένος ἐσθῆτα, ὡς περὶ τοὺς μείζονας θριάμβους νόμος. Ἀκυλλίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐλάττονα θριαμβὸν ἀπέδωσαν, ὃν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν οὐαστὴν: δεδήλωται δὲ μοι διὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἦν ἔχει διαφορὰν οὗτος πρὸς τὸν μείζονα: [10] καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ πεζὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πομπῆς ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ὑπατείαν παραλαβόντες Πόπλιος Οὐεργίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Κάσσιος τρίτον τότε ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος, τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀναλαβόντες δυνάμεις ἐξῆγον εἰς τὴν ὕπαιθρον, Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Κάσσιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Οὐολούσκων, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἐξόδους. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ὀχυρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὴν τε γῆν περιέωρων δηουμένην καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς ἐμπιπραμένας, ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος ὅσπην ἐδύνατο πλείστην αὐτῶν γῆν κείρας τε καὶ λωβησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐξῆι μαχοῦμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατίαν. [2] Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ καὶ Ἑρνικες, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κάσσιος ἐστράτευσε, γνώμην μὲν ἐποίησαντο δηουμένης τῆς χώρας [p. 229] περιορᾶν καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις: οὐ μὴν ἔμεινάν γ' ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις χώρας τ' ἀγαθῆς κειρομένης, ἦν οὐ ῥαδίως ἀνακτήσεσθαι ἔτι ἤλπισαν, οἴκτῳ ὑπαχθέντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασιν οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυροῖς οὔσιν, εἰς ἃ κατεπεφεύγεσαν, ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου δεησομένους: Οὐολοῦσκοι μὲν πρότεροι, καὶ θᾶπτον οὗτοι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον ἀργύριον τε δόντες, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ ὕπατος ἔταξε, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ὑπηρετήσαντες: καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔσεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν οὐθενὸς ἔτι μεταποιοῦμενοι τῶν ἴσων. [3] Ἑρνικες δ' ὕστεροι, ἐπειδὴ μεμονωμένους ἑαυτοὺς εἶδον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος πολλὴν κατηγορίαν πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτῶν διαθέμενος πρῶτον ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν κεκρατημένων τε καὶ ὑπηκῶν ποιήσαντας, τότε διαλέγεσθαι περὶ φιλίας: τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν εἰπόντων ποιήσιν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μέτρια ἐκέλευσεν

αὐτοῖς ἀργυρίον τε, ὃ κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἔθος ἦν ἐξ μηνῶν δίδοσθαι καὶ διὰ μηνὸς τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν. [4] ἕως δ' [p. 230] ἂν ταῦτ' εὐπορήσωσι, τάξας τινὰ χρόνον ἡμερῶν ἀνοχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τοῦ πολέμου. ὑπηρετησάντων δ' αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τῶν Ἑρνίκων διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς φιλίας διαλεξομένους ἀποστειλάντων αὐθις, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κάσσιος ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ γενήσονται δικαίοις αἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθηκαί, Κάσσιον τὸν ὑπατον γινῶναι τε καὶ στήσαι, ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, τοῦτ' εἶναι σφίσι κύριον.

ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀναστρέψας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον κατὰγειν ἡξίου δεύτερον ὡς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν κεχειρωμένος, χάριτι μᾶλλον ἀρπάζων τὸ τίμιον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ λαμβάνων, ὃς οὔτε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐκ τειχομαχίας, οὔτ' ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μάχῃ στρατιὰν πολέμιων τρεψάμενος αἰχμάλωτα καὶ σκυῖλα, οἷς κοσμεῖται θρίαμβος, ἔμελλε κατὰγειν. τοιγάρτοι δόξαν αὐθαδείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις φρονεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ πρῶτον φθόνον ἤνεγκε. [2] διαπραξάμενος δὲ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι τὰς πρὸς Ἑρνίκας ἐξήνεγκεν ὁμολογίας: αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀντίγραφοι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους γενομένων, ἐφ' αἷς πάνυ ἦχοντο οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ τιμιώτατοί καὶ δι' ὑποψίας αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς [p. 231] τοῖς συγγενέσι Λατίνοις τοὺς ἄλλοεθνεῖς Ἑρνίκας τυγχάνειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς πολλὰ εὐνοίας ἔργα ἐπιδειξαμένοις τοὺς μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν δεδρακότας τῶν αὐτῶν φιλανθρώπων μετέχειν, τῇ τε ὑπεροψίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀχθόμενοι, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τιμηθεὶς οὐκ ἀντετίμησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἴσοις, οὐδὲ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν συνέδρων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτῷ ἔδοκε γράψας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς ὁμολογίας. [3] ἦν τ' ἄρα τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς εὐτυχεῖν σφαλερὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρῆμα καὶ ἀσύμφορον: αὐχρήματός τε γὰρ ἀνοήτου πολλοῖς αἴτιον γενόμενον λανθάνει καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἐκβαίνουσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν: ὃ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ συνέβη. τρισὶ γὰρ ὑπατεῖαις καὶ δυσὶ θριάμβοις μόνος τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τετιμημένος σεμνότερον ἑαυτὸν ἦγε καὶ μοναρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐλάμβανε πόθον: ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ὅτι τοῖς βασιλείας ἢ τυραννίδος ἐφιεμένοις ῥάστη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη πασῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἢ τὸ πλῆθος εὐεργεσίαις τισὶν ὑπαγομένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ διδόντος τὰ κοινὰ σιτεῖσθαι ἐθίζουσα, ταύτην ἐτράπετο: καὶ αὐτίκα οὐθενὶ προειπὼν: ἦν γάρ τις χώρα δημοσία πολλὴ παρημελημένη τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπορωτάτων κατεχομένη, ταύτην ἔγνω τῷ δήμῳ διανέμειν. [4] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδ' ἐλθὼν ἠρκέσθη, τάχ' ἂν αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τὸ ἔργον ἐχώρησε: νῦν δὲ πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενος στάσιν οὐ μικρὰν ἤγειρεν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ εὐτυχὲς τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ συνέβη. Λατίνους τε γὰρ ἡξίου τῇ καταγραφῇ τῆς χώρας συμπεριλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς νεωστὶ [p. 232] προσληφθέντας εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Ἑρνίκας οἰκεῖα ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάσας τὰ ἔθνη.

ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς τῇ μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλεσε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς

τεθριαμβευκόσι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ κεφάλαια ἦν ταῦτα: [2] ὅτι τῆς μὲν πρώτης ὑπατείας τυχὼν τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ἀντιποιοῦμενον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μάχῃ νικήσας ὑπήκοον ἠνάγκασε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι: ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατος τὴν ἐμφύλιον ἔπαυσε τῆς πόλεως στάσιν καὶ κατήγαγε τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, Λατίνους δὲ συγγενεῖς μὲν ὄντας τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, αἰεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτῇ φθονοῦντας, εἰς φιλότητα συνήγαγε τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας μεταδούς, ὥστε μηκέτι ἀντίπαλον, ἀλλὰ πατρίδα τὴν Ῥώμην νομίζειν. [3] τρίτον δὲ καταστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν Οὐλολούςκους τ' ἠνάγκασε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνος μέγα τε καὶ ἄλκιμον καὶ πλησίον σφῶν κείμενον βλάπτειν τε καὶ ὠφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα ἱκανώτατον ἐκούσιον ὑπηγάγετο. [4] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις διεξελθὼν ἤξιον τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὥς παρὰ πάντα τοὺς ἄλλους πρόνοιαν ἔχοντι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἔξοντι χρόνον. [p. 233] τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοσαῦτ' ἔφη καὶ τηλικαῦτ' ἀγαθὰ ποιήσῃν τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ φιλεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὸ δημοτικόν: καὶ ταῦτ' ἔφη ποιήσῃν οὐκ εἰς μακράν. [5] διαλύσας δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ ἀκαριαῖον διαλιπὼν τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὀρθὴν καὶ περίφοβον οὔσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοις: καὶ πρὶν ἑτέρου τινὸς ἄρξασθαι λόγου τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ φυλαχθεῖσαν γνῶμην εἰς μέσον ἔφερεν, ἀξίων τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ ὁ δῆμος τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος γέγονε τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὸ ἑτέρων ἄρχειν συλλαβόμενος, πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῷ νείμαντας, ὅση πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δημοσία, ἔργῳ δὲ τῶν ἀναιδεστάτων τε καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ κατεσχηκότων πατρικίων, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου πεμφθείσης σφίσι δωρεᾶς σιτικῆς, ἣν προῖκα δέον ἅπαντας διανειμασθαι τοὺς πολίτας ὠνητὴν ἐλάμβανον οἱ πένητες, ἀποδοθῆναι τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ὠνησαμένοις ἐξ ὧν εἴχε το κοινὸν χρημάτων.

εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς, ἀχθομένων ἀπάντων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο ὁ τε συνῦπατος αὐτοῦ Οὐεργίνιος πολλὴν ἐποίησατο κατηγορίαν ὥς στάσιν εἰσάγοντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ πρεσβυτάτοι τε καὶ τιμώτατοι, μάλιστα δ' Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος: καὶ μέχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἡγριωμένοι τε καὶ τὰ [p. 234] αἰσχίστα κατ' ἀλλήλων ὀνειδὴ λέγοντες οὗτοι διετέλεσαν. [2] ταῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐκκλησίας συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος ἐξεδημαγῶγει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας λόγους εἰσέφερε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων. ὁ δ' Οὐεργίνιος τὴν βουλὴν ὁσημέραι συνάγων μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο φυλακὰς τε καὶ κωλύσεις νομίμους. [3] καὶ ἦν στίφος ἐκατέρῳ τῶν παρακολουθούντων τε καὶ φυλακὴν τῷ σώματι παρεχόντων πολὺ: τὸ μὲν ἄπορον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ πάντα τολμᾷν πρόχειρον ὑπὸ τῷ Κασσίῳ τεταγμένον, τὸ δ' εὐγενέστατόν τε καὶ καθαρώτατον ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐεργίνιῳ. [4] τῶς μὲν οὖν τὸ χεῖρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεκράτει μακρῷ

θατέρου προὔχον, ἔπειτα ἰσόρροπον ἐγένετο προσνειμάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῶν δημάρχων τῇ κρείττονι μοίρᾳ: τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει δεκασμοῖς τ' ἀργυρίου καὶ διανομαῖς τῶν δημοσίων διαφθειρόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀργὸν καὶ πονηρὸν εἶναι, τάχα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον, ὅτι τῆς φιланθρωπίας ταύτης οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεσθηκότες, ἀλλ' ἕτερος: οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος, ὃ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλάμβανον μείζονα γενομένην ἢ τῇ πόλει συνέφερεν. [5] ἀντέλεγον οὖν ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὗτοι [p. 235] πρὸς τοὺς εἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου νόμους διδάσκοντες τὸν δῆμον, ὥς οὐκ εἴη δίκαιον, ἃ διὰ πολλῶν ἐκτίσαστο πολέμων, ταῦτα μὴ Ῥωμαίους νείμασθαι μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατίνους αὐτοῖς ἰσομοιρεῖν τοὺς μὴ παραγενομένους τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοὺς νεωστὶ προσελθόντας πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν Ἑρνικας, οἷς ἀγαπητὸν ἦν πολέμῳ προσαχθεῖσι τὸ μὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι χώραν. [6] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούων τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς τῶν δημάρχων προσετιθετο λόγοις ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι μικρὸν τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἔσται λόγου τὸ ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἐσόμενον ἐκάστῳ λάχος, εἰ μεθ' Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων αὐτὴν νεμήσονται, τοτὲ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου μετεπειθετο δημαγωγοῦντος, ὥς προδιδόντων αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρικίοις τῶν δημάρχων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τῆς κωλύσεως εὐπρεπῇ τὴν Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων ἰσομοιρίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἔφη νόμῳ περιλαβεῖν ἰσχύος τῶν πενήτων ἕνεκα καὶ εἴ τις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσαι τὰ δοθέντα κωλύσαι, κρείττον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς πολλοῖς μικρὰ λαβοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἢ πολλὰ ἐλπίσασιν ἀπάντων ἀποτυχεῖν.

τούτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Κασσίου θαμινὰ μεταπειθόντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὸν ὄχλον παρελθὼν εἷς τῶν δημάρχων, Γάϊος Ῥαβολήιος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄφρων, τὴν τε διχοστασίαν τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπέσχετο παύσειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσειν φανερόν, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπισημασίας δὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ μεγάλης καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπῆς: οὐχὶ ταῦτ', εἶπεν, ὦ [p. 236] Κάσσιε, καὶ σὺ Οὐεργίνιε, τὰ κεφάλαιά ἐστι τοῦ νόμου; ἐν μὲν, εἰ χρὴ τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν κατ' ἀνδρα διανεμηθῆναι, ἕτερον δ', εἰ χρὴ καὶ Λατίνους καὶ Ἑρνικας μέρος αὐτῆς λαβόντας ἔχειν; ὁμολογησάντων δ' αὐτῶν: [2] εἶπεν δὴ: σὺ μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ Κάσσιε, ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτ' ἐπισηφίζεις ἀξιοῖς τὸν δῆμον, σὺ δὲ δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, λέξον ἡμῖν, πότερα θάτερον ἀκυροῖς τῆς Κασσίου γνώμης μέρος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ οἶόμενος δεῖν ἰσομοίρους ἡμῖν Ἑρνικάς τε καὶ Λατίνους ποιεῖν, ἢ καὶ θάτερον μόνον ἀκυροῖς ἀξιῶν οὐδὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν τὰ κοινά; ταυτὶ γὰρ ἀπόκριναι μοι μηδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος. [3] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργίνιου τῇ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ἀντιλέγειν ἰσομοιρίᾳ, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ πᾶσι δόξειε, διανέμεσθαι συγχωρεῖν, ἐπιστρέψας ὁ δήμαρχος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον εἶπεν: ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῆς γνώμης μέρος ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνδοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀντιλέγεται πρὸς θατέρου, ἰσότημοι δ' ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε βιάσασθαι θατέρῳ τὸν ἕτερον, ὃ μὲν διδοται δοταὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἥδη λάβωμεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ δ' ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, [4] ἀναβαλόμεθα. ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους ὥς τὰ πράτιστα ὑποθεμένῳ καὶ καταλύειν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ

ποιοῦν διχοστασίαν μέρος ἀξιοῦντος, ἀπορῶν, ὃ τι χρῆ πρᾶττειν, ὃ Κάσσιος καὶ οὗτ' ἀναθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην προαιρούμενος οὐτε μένειν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀντιπραττόντων τῶν δημάρχων δυνάμενος, τότε [p. 237] μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀρρωστίαν σκηπτόμενος οὐκέτι κατέβαιναν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένων ἔνδον ἐπραγματεύετο βίᾳ καὶ χειροκρασίᾳ κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον· καὶ μετεπέμπετο Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν. [5] οἱ δὲ συνήεσαν ἄθροοι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου μεστὴ ξένων ἦν ἡ πόλις. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσε κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἀπιέναι τοὺς μὴ κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, χρόνον ὀρίσας οὐ πολὺν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τάναντία ἐκέλευσε κηρύττειν παραμένειν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας, ἕως ἂν ἐπικυρωθῇ ὁ νόμος.

ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πέρας, δείσαντες οἱ πατρίκιοι, μὴ ψήφων θ' ἄρπαγαὶ καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαὶ γένωνται καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα φιλεῖ βίαια συμβαίνειν ἐν ταῖς στασιαζούσαις ἐκκλησίαις εἰσφερομένου τοῦ νόμου, συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὥς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἅπαξ βουλευσόμενοι. [2] Ἄππιος μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην οὐκ εἶα συγχωρεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διανομὴν διδάσκων, ὥς χαλεπὸς ἔσται καὶ ἀλυσιτελῆς σύνοικος ὄχλος ἀργὸς ἐθισθεὶς τὰ δημόσια λιχνεύειν, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔασει ποτὲ τῶν κοινῶν οὐτε κτημάτων οὐτε χρημάτων ἔτι κοινὸν μένειν· αἰσχύνῃς τ' ἄξιον πρᾶγμα εἶναι λέγων, εἰ Κασσίου κατηγοροῦντες ὥς πονηρὰ καὶ ἀσύμφορα πολιτευομένου καὶ τὸν δῆμον διαφθείροντος, ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐπικυρώσουσιν ὥς δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα· ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν, ὥς οὐδ' ἡ χάρις ἡ παρὰ τῶν πενήτων, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ διανεμῶνται [p. 238] τοῖς συγχωρήσασιν καὶ ἐπιψηφισαμένοις, ὑπάρξει, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τῷ προθέντι τὴν γνώμην Κασσίῳ καὶ δόξαντι ἠναγκαλέναι τὴν βουλὴν ἄκουσαν ἐπικυρῶσαι. [3] προειπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἕτερα τελευτῶν τάδε συνεβούλευσεν· ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων βουλευτῶν ἐλέσθαι δέκα, οἵτινες ἐπελθόντες τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν ἀφοριοῦσι, καὶ εἴ τινα ἐξ αὐτῆς κλέπτοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι τινες ἰδιῶται κατανέμουσιν ἢ ἐπεργάζονται διαγνόντες ἀποδώσουσι τῷ δημοσίῳ. τὴν δ' ὀρισθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γῆν διαιρεθεῖσαν εἰς κλήρους ὅσους δὴ τινας καὶ στήλαις εὐκόσμοις διαγραφεῖσαν τὴν μὲν ἀπεμποληθῆναι παρήνει καὶ μάλιστα περὶ ἧς ἀμφιλογόν τι πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἦν, ὥστε τοῖς ὠνησασμένοις μὴ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιποιησομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κρίσεις, τὴν δὲ πενταετὴ μισθοῦν χρόνον· τὸ δὲ προσιδὼν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων ἀργύριον εἰς τοὺς ὀφωνιασμοὺς τῶν στρατευομένων ἀναλοῦσθαι καὶ εἰς τὰς μισθώσεις ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι χορηγιῶν δέονται· [4] νῦν μὲν γάρ, ἔφησεν, ὁ φθόνος τῶν πενήτων ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὅσοι σφετερισάμενοι τὰ κοινὰ διακατέχουσι, δίκαιός ἐστι· καὶ οὐθὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ πάντας διανεμῶσθαι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦσιν, ἢ τοὺς ἀναιδεστάτους τε καὶ ὀλίγους κατέχειν· ἐὰν δ' ἀφισταμένους αὐτῆς [p. 239] ὀρώσι τοὺς νῦν καρπουμένους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὄντως κοινὰ γινόμενα, παύσονται φθονοῦντες ἡμῖν, τὴν τ' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα διανομῆς τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπανήσουσι μαθόντες, ὅτι λυσιτελεστέρα τῆς μικρᾶς ἐκάστω [5] μερίδος ἡ κοινὴ μετὰ πάντων ἔσται κτῆσις. διδάσκωμεν γὰρ αὐτούς, ἔλεγεν, ὅσον τὸ διάφορον, καὶ ὥς εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος

τῶν πενήτων γῆδιον οὐ μέγα λαβῶν καὶ εἰ τύχοι γείτονας ὀχληροὺς ἔχων οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἔσται τοῦτο γεωργεῖν δι' ἀπορίαν, οὐτε τὸν μισθωσόμενον ὅτι μὴ τὸν γείτονα εὐρήσει· εἰ δὲ μεγάλοι κληῖροι ποικίλας τε καὶ ἀξιολόγους ἔχοντες γεωργοῖς ἐργασίας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ μισθοῖντο, πολλὰς οἴσουσι προσόδους· καὶ ὅτι κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ὅταν ἐξίωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου τὸν ἐπισιτισμὸν τε καὶ ὀψωνιασμὸν λαμβάνειν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ἕκαστον εἰσφέρειν τεθλιμμένων ἐστίν ὅτε τῶν βίων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ συμπορίζειν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπιβαρησομένων.

ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου καὶ σφόδρα δόξαντος εὐδοκιμεῖν δεῦτερος ἐρωτηθεὶς Αὐλὸς Σεμπρόνιος Ἀτρατίνος ἔλεξεν· Ἀππίον μὲν οὐ νῦν ἔχω πρῶτον ἐπαινεῖν, ὥς φρονῆσαι τε ἱκανώτατον πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ γνώμας τὰς καλλίστας τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτας ἀποδεικνύμενον βέβαιον [p. 240] τε καὶ ἀμετακίνητον ἐν τοῖς κριθεῖσι καὶ οὐτε φόβῳ εἰκοντα οὐτε χάρισιν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάζων διατελῶ τοῦ τε φρονίμου καὶ τῆς γενναιότητος, ἣν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἔχει. γνώμην τ' οὐχ ἑτέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ταύτην ἀποδείκνυμαι, μικρὰ ἔτι προσθεὶς αὐτῇ, ἃ μοι παραλιπεῖν Ἀππίος ἐδόκει. [2] Ἑρνίκας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λατίνους, οἷς νεωστὶ δεδώκαμεν τὴν ἰσοπολίτειαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς οἶμαι δεῖν κληρουχεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα. οὐ γάρ, ἐξ οὗ προσῆλθον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἡμῖν, ταύτην τὴν γῆν κτησάμενοι ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδύνοις οὐθενὸς ἄλλου προσωφελήσαντος ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. ἀποκρινόμεθα τ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὰς μὲν πρότερον ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν κτήσεις, ὅσας ἕκαστοι εἴχομεν, ὅτε τὴν φιλίαν συνετιθέμεθα, ἰδίας τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτους ἑκάστοις δεῖ μένειν, ὅσων δ' ἄν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰς συνθήκας ἐποησάμεθα, κοινῇ στρατεύσαντες ἐκ πολέμου κύριοι γενώμεθα, τούτων ὑπάρξει τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστοις λάχος. [3] ταῦτα γὰρ οὐτε τοῖς συμμάχοις ὡς ἀδικουμένοις ὀργῆς παρέξει δικαίας προφάσεις, οὐτε τῷ δήμῳ δέος, μὴ δόξη τὰ κερδαλεώτερα πρὸ τῶν εὐπρεπεστερῶν αἰρεῖσθαι. τῇ τε αἰρέσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς Ἀππίος ἡξίου ὀριστὰς γενέσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς, πάνυ εὐδοκῶ. πολλὴν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' οἶσει παρρησίαν πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' ἄχθονται κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐθὲν ἀπολαύουσι κτημάτων, [p. 241] καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν τινες οὐ δικαίως αὐτὰ καρποῦνται. ἐὰν δὲ δημοσιωθέντα ἴδωσι καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσόδους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανωμένας, οὐδὲν ὑπολήφονται σφίσι διαφέρειν τῆς γῆς ἢ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καρπῶν μετέχειν. ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι 1 τῶν ἀπόρων ἐνίους μᾶλλον εὐφραίνουσιν αἱ ἀλλότριαι βλάβαι τῶν ἰδίων ὠφελειῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀποχρῆν γ' οἴομαι τούτων ἑκάτερον ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γράφειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἄλλης τινὸς οἴομαι δεῖν θεραπείας μετρίας τὸν δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν· ἦν μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρῶ, τὴν αἰτίαν πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἀποδείξάμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν καὶ τοῦτο πρακτέον ἡμῖν.

ἴστε δήπου τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ῥηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου λόγους, ὅτ' ἦρετο τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον τοῦτον Οὐεργίνιον, ἦντινα γνώμην ἔχει περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας, πότερα τοῖς μὲν πολίταις συγχωρεῖ διανέμειν τὰ δημόσια,

τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις οὐκ ἔξῃ, ἣ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ' ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖ μέρος λαγχάνειν. καὶ οὗτος ὠμολόγησε τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέρος οὐ κωλύειν τῆς κληρουχίας, ἐὰν ἅπανσι ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι δοκῇ: καὶ ἡ συγχώρησις ἦδε τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν συναγωνιστὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικέκιστον. [2] τί οὖν μαθόντες, ἃ τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν, νῦν ἀναθισσόμεθα; ἢ τί πλέον ἡμῖν ἔσται τὰ γενναῖα καὶ τὰ καλὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ ἄξια τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολιτευομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ πείθωμεν τοὺς χρησομένους; οὐ [p. 242] πείσομεν δέ, καὶ τοῦτ' οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ. χαλεπώτερα γὰρ ἂν τῶν μὴ τυγχανόντων ἀποτίσειαν οἱ ψευσθέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα μὴ κομιζόμενοι. οἰχίησεται δὴ πάλιν φέρων αὐτοὺς ὁ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν πολιτευόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔτι μεθ' ἡμῶν στήσεται. [3] τί οὖν ὑμῖν πράττειν παραινῶ καὶ τί προστίθῃμι τῇ Ἀππίου γνώμῃ, μάθετε, ἀλλὰ μὴ προεξαναστῆτε μηδὲ θορυβήσητε, πρὶν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, ἃ λέγω. τοῖς αἵρεθησομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς χώρας καὶ περιορισμὸν εἴτε δέκα ἀνδράσιν εἴθ' ὅσοισδῆποτ' ἐπιτρέψατε διαγνῶναι, τίνα τ' αὐτῆς δεῖ καὶ ὁπόσῃν κοινὴν εἶναι πάντων καὶ κατὰ πενταετίαν μισθουμένην αὖξιν τὰς τοῦ ταμείου προσόδους: ὁπόσῃν τ' αὖ καὶ ἦντινα τοῖς δημόταις ἡμῶν διαιρεθῇναι: ἦν δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κληροῦχον ἀποδείξωσι γῆν, ὑμᾶς διαγνόντας εἴθ' ἅπανσι εἴθ' οἷς δὴ οὐκέτ' ἔστι κλῆρος εἴτε τοῖς ἐλάχιστον ἔχουσι τίμημα εἴθ' ὅπως ἂν βούλησθε κατανεῖμαι: τοὺς δ' ὀριστὰς αὐτῆς ἀνδρας καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ψήφισμα, ὃ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ἐξοίσετε, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενός ἐστι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, τοὺς εἰσιόντας ὑπάτους, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς κράτιστα δοκῇ ἔξειν, ἐπιτελέσαι. [4] οὔτε γὰρ ὀλίγων τηλικαῦτα πράγματα δεῖται χρόνων, οὔτε ἡ νῦν στασιάζουσα ἀρχὴ φρονιμώτερον ἂν καταμάθοι τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς μετ' αὐτὴν ἀποδειχθησομένης, [p. 243] ἐὰν ἐκείνη γ', ὥσπερ ἐλπίζομεν, ὁμονοῇ. χρήσιμον δὲ πρᾶγμα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἥκιστα σφαλερὸν ἀναβολή, καὶ πολλὰ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μετατίθῃσι: καὶ τὸ μὴ στασιάζον ἐν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αἴτιον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἀποφαίνομαι γνώμην: εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο κρεῖττον εἰσηγεῖται, λεγέτω.

παυσαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐθεὶς τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐρωτηθέντων ἑτέραν γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται: γράφεται δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τοιόνδε: ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν αἵρεθῆναι δέκα τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, οἵτινες ὀρίσαντες τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν ἀποδείξουσιν, ὅσῃν τε δεῖ μισθοῦσθαι καὶ ὅσῃν τῷ δήμῳ διαιρεθῇναι: [2] τοῖς δ' ἰσοπολίταις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, ἐὰν τίνα ὕστερον ἐπικτήσωνται κοινῇ στρατευσάμενοι, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ὑπάρχειν μέρος: τὴν δ' αἵρεσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῶν κλήρων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι τοὺς εἰσιόντας ἐπιτελέσαι ὑπάτους. τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεχθὲν τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἔπαυσε τῆς δημαγωγίας, καὶ τὴν ἀναρριπιζομένην ἐκ τῶν πενήτων στάσιν οὐκ εἶασε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐνεστῶσης, ἦν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Ἀστυλος Συρακούσιος, Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχων ἦν Λεώστρατος, Κοῖντου Φαβίου καὶ Σερουίου Κορνηλίου τὴν [p. 244]

ὑπατεῖαν παρειληφόντων, ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων νέοι μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιφανέστατοι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ γ' ἀξιώσεις προγόνων, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἑταιρίας τε καὶ πλοῦτους μέγα δυνάμενοι, καὶ ὡς νέοι τὰ πολιτικά πράττειν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ χείρους, Καίσιων Φάβιος, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ καταλύσαντος τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τὴν ταμιευτικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκκλησίαν συναγεῖν ὄντες κύριοι, τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ Σπόριον Κάσιον καὶ τολμήσαντα τοὺς περὶ τῆς διανομῆς εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμους εἰσήγγειλαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τυραννίδος αἰτία: καὶ προειπόντες ἡμέραν ῥητὴν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν δίκην ἀπολογησόμενον. [2] ὄχλου δὲ πλείστου συναχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τὰ τ' ἐμφανῆ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα ὡς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρηστῷ γενόμενα διεξήεσαν: ὅτι Λατίνοις μὲν πρῶτον, οἷς ἀπέχρη πολιτείας κοινῆς ἀξιοθῆναι μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγουμένοις, εἰ καὶ ταύτης τύχοιεν, οὐ μόνον ἦν ἦτουν πολιτείαν ὑπατος ὦν ἐχαρίσατο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων, ἐὰν κοινῇ γένηται στρατεία, τὴν τρίτην ἐψηφίσατο δίδοσθαι: ἔπειθ' Ἑρνिकास, οὓς πολέμῳ χειρωθέντας ἀγαπᾶν ἐχρῆν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἀφαιρέσει τινὶ ζημιωθεῖεν, φίλους μὲν ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ἐποίησε, πολίτας δ' ἀνθ' ὑποτελῶν, γῆς τε καὶ λείας, [p. 245] ἦν ἂν ἐκ παντὸς κτήσωνται, τὴν ἑτέραν ἔταξε λαμβάνειν τρίτην μερίδα. [3] ὥστε μεριζομένων εἰς τρεῖς κλήρους τῶν λαφύρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπηκόους τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλῆλυστος διμοιρίας λαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας τρίτην μερίδα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυεῖν τῶν ἀποπτωμάτων θάτερον ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς συμβησόμενον, ἐὰν τινες ἑτέρους διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας προέλωνται ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμῆσαι δωρεαῖς, αἷς Λατίνους τ' ἐτίμησαν καὶ τοὺς μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἀποδειξαμένους Ἑρνिकास. μῖα δὲ γὰρ καταλειπομένης αὐτοῖς τρίτης μερίδος, ἥ οὐχ ἔξειν, ὃ τι δώσουσιν ἐκείνοις μέρος ἢ τὰ ὅμοια ψηφισαμένους μὴδὲν ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπειν.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διεξήεσαν, ὅτι δημεῦσαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαλόμενος οὔτε τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οὔτε τῷ συνυπάτῳ δοκοῦν, βία κυροῦν ἐμέλλησε τὸν νόμον, ὅς οὐ καθ' ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἦν ἀσύμφορος τε καὶ ἄδικος, ὅτι προβουλευσάμενος δέον τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰ δόξειεν ἐκείνῳ κοινὴν ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἐν τέλει τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐποιοῖ τὴν χάριν: [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἐκείνο τὸ πάντων σχετικώτατον, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν δόσις ἦν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, ἔργῳ δ' ἀφαιρέσεις, Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν κτησαμένων αὐτὴν μίαν μοῖραν ληφόμενων, Ἑρνίκων δὲ καὶ Λατίνων, ἧς οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς μετῆν, τὰς δύο: καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐναντιωθεῖσι καὶ παραλύειν [p. 246] ἐκ τοῦ νόμου θάτερον ἀξιοῦσι μέρος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν τῶν ἐπὶ πλῆλυστος, ἐπείσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημάρχους καὶ συνυπάτῳ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένοις τάναντία πράπτων διετέλεσε. [3] διεξεληθόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μάρτυρας αὐτῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ποιησάμενοι, μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους τῆς τυραννίδος παρεῖχοντο πίστει, ὡς χρήματά τε συνενέγκαιεν αὐτῷ Λατίνῳ

καὶ Ἑρνικες καὶ ὄπλα παρασκευάσαιντο καὶ συμπορεύοντο ὡς αὐτὸν οἱ
θρασυτάτοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέων ἀπόρρητά τε ποιούμενοι βουλευτήρια
καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἕτερα ὑπηρετοῦντες, καὶ παρείχοντο τοὺς τοῦτων
μάρτυρας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀστούς, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχίδων
πόλεων, οὔτε φαῦλους οὔτ' ^[4] ἀφανεῖς. οἷς ἐπίστευσεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ οὔτε
λόγοις ἔτι ὑπαχθείς, οὐς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς συγκειμένους
διέθετο, οὔτ' οἴκτω ἐνδοὺς τριῶν μὲν αὐτῷ παίδων μεγάλην παρεχόντων εἰς
ἔλεον ἐπικουρίαν, πολλῶν δ' ἄλλων συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἐταίρων
συνολοφυρομένων, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργων, δι' οὓς ἐπὶ μῆκιστον
ἦλθε τιμῆς φειδῶ λαβὼν τινα, καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην. ^[5] οὕτως τ' ἄρα ἦν
πικρὸς πρὸς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τιμῆματι τῆς δίκης
μετρία ὀργῇ ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου ἐτίμησεν. εἰσῆγει γὰρ
αὐτὸν δέος, μὴ φυγὰς ἐλασθεῖς [p. 247] ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνὴρ στρατηγῆσαι
πολέμους τῶν τότε δεινότατος ὅμοια δράσῃ Μαρκίῳ τὰ τε φίλια διαβάλλων
καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ συνιστὰς καὶ πόλεμον ἀσπείστον ἐπαγάγῃ τῇ πατρίδι. τοῦτο
τὸ τέλος τῆς δίκης λαβούσης ἀγαγόντες οἱ ταμίαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὸν
ὑπερκειμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρημνόν, ἀπάντων ὀρώντων ἔρριψαν κατὰ τῆς
πέτρας. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀλόντων
ἡ κόλασις.

ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτερος τῶν παραδεδομένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγων
τοιόσδε ἐστίν· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν, ἐπειδὴ κάκεῖνος πεπίστευται
ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀξιοχρέοις φέρεται, μὴ παρελθεῖν. λέγεται δὴ
πισιν, ὡς ἀδήλου πᾶσιν οὔσης ἔτι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσκευαζομένης
τυραννίδος, πρῶτος ὑποπτεύσας ὁ πατήρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ διὰ τῆς
ἀκριβεστάτης βασάνου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάσας ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν· ἔπειτα
κελεύσας ἐλθεῖν τὸν υἱὸν μηνυτῆς τε καὶ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο·
καταγνούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκτεινε. ^[2]
τὸ μὲν οὖν πικρὸν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὀργῆς εἰς υἱοὺς
ἀδικοῦντας καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀπωθεῖται τὴν
πρόφασιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρότερον Βροῦτος ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν
ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐδικαίωσε κατὰ τὸν τῶν κακούργων νόμον
ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ πελέκεσι τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, [p. 248] ὅτι
συμπράττειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μάλλιος
τὸν Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ πόλεμον τῆς
μὲν ἀνδρείας ἔνεκα τοῖς ἀριστείοις στεφάνοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἀπειθείαν δ'
ἐπικαλῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθη φρουρίῳ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐξῆλθεν ἀγωνιούμενος, ὡς λιποτάκτην ἀπέκτεινε. ^[3] καὶ ἄλλοι
πολλοὶ πατέρες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ μείζοσιν αἰτίαις, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐλάττοσιν, οὔτε φειδῶ
τῶν παίδων οὔτ' ἔλεον ἔσχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, ὥσπερ ἔφην,
προβεβληθῆαι τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀπιθανόν· ἐκεῖνα δὲ με ἀνθέλκει τεκμηρίων
ὄντα οὔτ' ἐλάχιστα οὔτ' ἀπιθانا καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἄγει συγκατάθεσιν,
ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κασσίου ἢ τ' οἰκία κατεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε
ἀνεῖται ὁ τόπος αὐτῆς αἵθριος ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Γῆς, ὃν ὑστέροις ἢ πόλις
κατεσκεύασε χρόνοις ἐν μέρει τινὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν

ὀδόν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνέλαβεν: ἐξ ὧν ἀπαρχὰς ἐν ἄλλοις τε ἱεροῖς ἀνέθηκε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι τοὺς χαλκέους ἀνδριάντας ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντας, ^[4] ἀφ' ὧν εἰσι χρημάτων ἀπαρχαί. εἰ δέ γ' ὁ πατήρ μηνυτῆς τε καὶ κατήγορος καὶ κολαστῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, οὕτ' ἂν ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη οὔτε ἡ οὐσία ἐδημεύθη. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ οὐθὲν ἰδιὸν ἐστὶ κτῆμα [p. 249] ζώντων ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν παιδων, ὅ τι βούλονται διαπιθεῖναι, τοῖς πατράσιν ἀποδέδοται. ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν δῆπου τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν τοῦ μηνύσαντος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδικήμασιν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ δημεῦειν ἡ πόλις ἤξiou. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῷ προτέρῳ συγκατατίθεμαι τῶν λόγων μᾶλλον: ἔθηκε δ' ἀμφοτέρους, ἵνα ἐξῇ τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις, ὁποτέρῳ βούλονται τῶν λόγων, προσέχειν.

ἐπιβαλλομένων δέ τινων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτεῖναι τοῦ Κασσίου δεινὸν τὸ ἔθος ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀσύμφορον: καὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσαστο ἀφεῖσθαι τὰ μειράκια τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ ζῆν, μήτε φυγῇ μήτ' ἀτιμία μήτ' ἄλλῃ συμφορᾷ ζημιωθέντα. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριον γέγονεν ἕως τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς διατηρούμενον ἡλικίας, ἀφεῖσθαι τιμωρίας ἀπάσης τοὺς παῖδας, ὧν ἂν οἱ πατέρες ἀδικήσωσιν, ἐάν τε τυράννων ὄντες υἱοὶ τύχωσιν, ἐάν τε πατροκτόνων, ἐάν τε προδοτῶν, ὃ ^[2] μέγιστόν ἐστι παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀδικημα. οἱ τε καταλῦσαι τὸ ἔθος τοῦτ' ἐπιβαλόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ τε καὶ ἔμφυλιου πολέμου, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἐπὶ Σύλλα πατέρων ἀφελόμενοι τὸ μετιέναι τὰς πατρίους ἀρχὰς καὶ βουλῆς μετέχειν καθ' ὃν ἐδυνάστευον αὐτοὶ χρόνον, ἐπίφθονόν τ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ νεμεσητὸν θεοῖς ἔργον ἔδοξαν ἀποδείξασθαι. τοιγάρτοι δίκη μὲν [p. 250] ἐκείνοις σὺν χρόνῳ τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτὴ παρηκολούθησε, δι' ἣν ἐκ μεγίστου τέως αὐχήματος εἰς ταπεινότατον πτῶμα κατήχθησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γυναικάς ἔτι λείπεται. ^[3] τὸ δ' ἔθος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ὁ τούτους καθελὼν ἀνὴρ ἀποκατέστησε. παρ' Ἑλλήσι δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐνίοις ὁ νόμος ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ τυράννων γενομένους οἱ μὲν συναποκτίνυσθαι τοῖς πατράσι δικαιοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἀειφυγία κολάζουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῆς φύσεως χρηστοὺς παῖδας ἐκ πονηρῶν πατέρων ἢ κακοὺς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων εἶτε ὁ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀμείνων νόμος εἶτε τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθος κρεῖττον, ἀφίημι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν: ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

μετὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Κασσίου θάνατον οἱ μὲν αὐξάνοντες τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν θρασύτεροι τε καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν: οἱ δ' ἐν ἀφανεί τῆς δόξης φερόμενοι καὶ βίου εἰς ταπεινὰ συνεστάλησαν, καὶ ὡς ἄριστον ἀπολωλεκότες φύλακα τῆς δημοτικῆς μερίδος πολλὴν ἄνοιαν ἐαυτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ κατηγόρουν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ἦν, ὅτι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας οὐκ ἔπραττον οἱ ὑπατοί, δέον αὐτοὺς ἀνδρας τ' ἀποδεῖξαι δέκα τοὺς ὀριοῦντας τὴν γῆν καὶ γνῶμην εἰσηγήσασθαι πόσῃν τ' αὐτῆς καὶ ^[2] τίσι δεῖσει νεμηθῆναι. συνήεσαν τε πολλοὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐκάστοτε

διαλεγόμενοι, καὶ [p. 251] ἐν αἰτίᾳ τοὺς προτέρους εἶχον δημάρχους ὡς προδεδωκότας τὸ κοινόν: ἐκκλησίαι τε συνεχεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε δημάρχων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς ὑποσχέσεως. ταῦτα συνιδόντες οἱ ὕπατοι γνῶμην ἐποίησαντο πολέμων προφάσει τὸ παρακινεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος καὶ ταραττόμενον καταστεῖλαι: ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ λησθηρίοις τε ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων καὶ καταδρομαῖς τισιν ἢ γῇ βλαπτομένη. [3] τιμωρίας μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἔνεκα προὔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου σημεῖα, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς πόλεως κατέγραφον: οὐ προσιόντων δὲ τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν ἀπόρων ἀδύνατοι ὄντες τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκην τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι προσφέρειν: προειστήκεσαν γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ δημαρχοὶ καὶ κωλύειν ἔμελλον, εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἢ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐκλείπόντων τὴν στρατείαν ἄγειν ἢ τὰ χρήματα φέρειν: ἀπειλαῖς χρησάμενοι πολλαῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέφοντες τοῖς ἀνασειοῦσι τὸ πλῆθος, λεληθῆσαν ὑποψίαν κατέλιπον ὡς δικτάτορα ἀποδειξόντες, ὃς ἔμελλε καταλύσας τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὴν τυραννικὴν καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον μόνος ἔξειν ἐξουσίαν. [4] ὡς δὲ ταύτην ἔλαβον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν οἱ δημοτικοί, δεισαντες, μὴ τὸν Ἀππιον ἀποδείξωσι πικρὸν ὄντα καὶ χαλεπόν, πάντα πρὸ τούτου πάσχειν ὑπέμενον.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεγράφη τὰ στρατεύματα, παραλαβόντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Κορνήλιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν χώραν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαν λείαν ἐν [p. 252] αὐτῇ ἀπῆλασε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβευσασμένων τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων, καὶ ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου συνέθετο ἐνιαυσίους. Φάβιος δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν δύναμιν ἔχων εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν γῆν ἐνέβαλεν: ἔπειτ' ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων. [2] χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οὐ πολλὸν ἠνέσχοντο οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι διαρπαζομένων αὐτοῖς καὶ κειρομένων τῶν ἀγρῶν: ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς οὐ πολλῇ δυνάμει παρόντων ἐξεβοήθουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας τὰ ὄπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἄθροοι, ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔφθασαν ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφανέντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, μεγάλην ἂν αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο τροπὴν: νῦν δὲ προαισθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ὁ ὕπατος διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐπὶ τὰς κατασκοπὰς, ἀνακλήσει ταχεῖα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀναλαβὼν, τάξιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε τὴν εἰς πόλεμον ἀρμόττουσαν. [3] τοῖς δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοις σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ θάρσει χωροῦσιν, ὡς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη συνεστῶσα ἐν κόσμῳ πᾶσα ἢ τῶν πολέμιων δυνάμεις, δέος ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον ὄψιν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας οὐδεμία φροντίς, τῆς δ' ἰδίας ἐκάστῳ σωτηρίας πρόνοια. ὑποστρέψαντες δὴ ὡς εἶχον ἕκαστοι τάχους ἔφευγον ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς: καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγον δὲ τι στίφος, ὃ μάλιστα ἦν συντεταγμένον, εἰς ὄρους τινὰ κορυφὴν ἀναδραμόν καὶ θέμενον ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὄπλα τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα [p. 253] διέμενε: ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις φρουρὰν περιστήσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τῷ λόφῳ καὶ πάσας διακλείσαντος ὅπλοις τὰς ἐξόδους, λιμῷ βιασθὲν ὑποχείριον γίνεται καὶ [4] παραδίδωσι τὰ ὄπλα. ὁ δ' ὕπατος τὴν τε λείαν, ὅση ἐπέτυχε, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ταμίαις, εἰς τὴν πόλιν

ἀπὴννεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ ἔτους. ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔδοξε τοῖς πατρικίοις ἡρεθισμένον ὀρώσι τὸν δῆμον καὶ μεταμελόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Κασσίῳ καταδικῇ, διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν ἔχειν, μὴ τι παρακινήσειε πάλιν εἰς δεκάσμων ἐλπίδα καὶ κλήρων διανομῆς ὑπαρχεῖς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς δημαγωγῆσαι δυνατοῦ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας λαβόντος ἀξίωμα. ἐφαίνετο δ' αὐτοῖς ῥᾶστα κωλυθήσεσθαι τούτων τινὸς ὀρεγόμενος, εἰ γένοιτο ὕπατος ἀνὴρ ἥκιστα δημοτικός. [5] βουλευσάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο κελεύουσι μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν κατηγορησάντων τοῦ Κασσίου, Καίσωνα Φάβιον ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος Κοίντου, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄνδρα ἀριστοκρατικόν. τούτων δὲ μετιόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν κωλύειν μὲν οὐχ οἷοι τ' ἦσαν οἱ δημοτικοί, καταλιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὥχοντο ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. [6] τὸ γὰρ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας κύρος ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἦν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τιμήματα ἔχοντας, καὶ σπάνιον τὴν ἦν, ὃ ἐπεκύρουν οἱ διὰ μέσου: ὃ δὲ τελευταῖος λόχος, [p. 254] ἐν ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστον τε καὶ ἀπορώτατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος ἐψηφοφόρει, μιᾶς, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου κύριος ἦν.

παραλαμβάνουσι δὴ τὴν ὑπατείαν κατὰ τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν τε καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς Πώμης Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκου υἱὸς καὶ Καίσων Φάβιος Καίσωνος υἱός, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Νικοδήμου. οἷς κατ' εὐχὴν συνέβη μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐπιταραχῆναι διχοστασίας πολέμων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων ἄλλοεθνῶν. [2] ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν οὖν ἔθνεσι καὶ τόποις Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων φιλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαι ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ ἐνδήμιους ἐγείρειν πολέμους, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχουσιν, ὅσοι πολεμιστὴν καὶ κακόπαθον αἰροῦνται βίον ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας πόθῳ. χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ μαθοῦσαι τοῦ πλείονος ἐφίεσθαι φύσεις ἐξειργόμεναι τῶν συνήθων ἔργων καρτερεῖν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἔχθρας, κρείττονας ἡγούμενοι τῶν ἐντοπίων πολέμων τοὺς ἁλλοδαπούς. [3] τότε δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ δαίμονα τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεσον αἱ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπαναστάσεις. Οὐλοῦσχοι γὰρ, εἴτε τῇ πολιτικῇ Ρωμαίων κινήσει πιστεύσαντες ὥς ἐκπεπολεμώμενου τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει, εἴτε τῆς προτέρας ἡττης ἀμαχητὶ γενομένης αἰσχύνῃ παροξυνθέντες, εἴτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς οὖσαις μέγα φρονήσαντες, [4] εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα πάντα πολεμεῖν [p. 255] Ρωμαίοις διέγνωσαν, καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως τὴν νεότητα, μέρει μὲν τινι τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων πόλεις ἐστράτευσαν, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ, ἢ πλείστη τ' ἦν καὶ κρατίστη, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἤξοντας δέχεσθαι ἡμελλον. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι Ρωμαίοις ἔδοξε διχῇ νέμειν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ τὴν Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ τὴν Οὐλοῦσκων λεηλατεῖν.

διακληρωσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπᾶτων τὰς δυνάμεις, ὥς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τὸ μὲν ἐπικουρεῖν μέλλον τοῖς συμμάχοις στράτευμα Καίσων Φάβιος παρέλαβε, θάτερον δὲ Λεύκιος ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἦγε πόλιν. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον

τῶν ὀρίων καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, τότε μὲν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ λόφου, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξιόντων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τῶν πολεμίων θαμινὰ καὶ προκαλουμένων εἰς μάχην, ἡνίκα τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχειν καιρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις: καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπικελεύσει χρῆσάμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν: καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ σύνθηες ἀλαλάξαντες ἀθρόοι κατὰ σπείρας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους συνέβαλλον. [2] ὥς δὲ τὰς λόγχας καὶ τὰ σαινία καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ἐκηβόλα ἐξανάλωσαν, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη συρράττουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἴση τόλμη τε καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἑκάτεροι χρώμενοι: ἦν τε, ὥς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, παραπλήσιος αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τρόπος, καὶ οὔτε ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὰς μάχας, ἢ χρώμενοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεκράτουν, [p. 256] οὔτε τὸ καρτερικὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἐν τοῖς πόνοις διὰ πολλῶν ἡσκημένον ἀγώνων ἐπεκράτει: τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἡγεμόνα Ῥωμαίων οὐ τὸν ἀφανέστατον στρατηλάτην ἔσχον: ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον ἑκάτεροι τῆς χώρας, ἐν ἣ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστησαν οὐχ ὑφίεμενοι. [3] ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι ὑπεχώρουν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει δεχόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. στρατήγημα δὲ τοῦτ' ἦν, ἵνα διασπάσωσι τ' αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξιοῦ γένωνται χωρίου.

οἱ δ' ὑπολαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν φυγῆς ἠκολούθουν βάδην μὲν ἀπιοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δρόμῳ χωροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἐθεάσαντο, ταχεῖα καὶ αὐτοὶ διώξει καὶ ἀσυντάκτῳ χρώμενοι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τελευταῖοι τε καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες λόχοι νεκροὺς τ' ἐσκύλευον, ὥς κεκρατηκότες ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τῆς χώρας ἐτράποντο. [2] μαθόντες δ' οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι ταῦτ' οἷ τε δόξαν παρασχόντες φυγῆς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῦ χάρακος ἐπλησίασαν, ὑποστραφέντες ἔστησαν, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες ἐξέδραμον ἀθρόοι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη: γίνεται τ' αὐτῶν παλίντροπος ἡ μάχη: οἱ μὲν γὰρ διώκοντες ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐδίωκον. ἔνθα πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ Ῥωμαίων θνήσκουσιν οἷα εἰκὸς ὠθούμενοι κατὰ πρानοῦς χωρίου καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι κυκλωθέντες. [3] ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἔπασχον, ὅσοι πρὸς σκυῖλά τε καὶ [p. 257] ἀρπαγὰς τραπόμενοι τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει ὑποχωρεῖν ἀφηρέθησαν: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δ' αἰχμάλωτοι ἐλήφθησαν. ὅσοι δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαραχθέντων διεσώθησαν, ὅψε τῆς ὥρας τῶν ἱππέων αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ἐδόκει τ' αὐτοῖς συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρῆναι χειμῶν πολὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρραγεῖς καὶ σκότος, οἷον ἐν ταῖς βαθείαις ὁμίχλαις γίνεται, ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄκνον τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως παρέσχεεν οὐ δυναμένοις τὰ πόρρω καθορᾶν. [4] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ ὕπατος ἀπῆγε σιγῇ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ, λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους προνοοῦμενος: καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ πόλει λεγομένη Λογγόλα περὶ δεῖλην ὀφίαν, γήλοφον ἱκανὸν ἐρύκειν τοὺς ἐπionτας ἐκλεξάμενος. ἔνθα ὑπομένων τοὺς τε ὑπὸ τραυμάτων κάμνοντας ἀνεκτᾶτο θεραπείαις, καὶ τοὺς ἀδημονοῦντας

ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους αἰσχύνῃ παραμυθούμενος ἀνελάμβανε.

Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν: Οὐολοῦσκοι δ', ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα τ' ἐγένετο καὶ ἔγνωσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκλελοιπότες τὸν χάρακα, προσελθόντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. σκυλεύσαντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡμihnῆτας, οἷς σωθῆσθαι ἐλπὶς ἦν, ἀνελόμενοι ταφάς τε ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν, [p. 258] εἰς τὴν ἐγγυτάτῳ πόλιν Ἄντιον ἀνέζευξαν: ἔνθα παιανίζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ θύοντες ἐν ἅπασιν ἱεροῖς εἰς εὐπαθείας καὶ ἡδονὰς ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐτράποντο. [2] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε νίκης διέμειναν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπεξειργάσαντο, καλὸν ἂν αὐτοῖς εἰλήφει τέλος ὁ ἀγών. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἂν ἦν, εἰ ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, κρείττονα τοῦ προδήλου θανάτου τὴν ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενοι φυγὴν. νῦν δὲ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης δόξαν ἀπέβαλον. [3] ἀκούοντες γὰρ παρά τε κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀποδεδρακότων, ὅτι κομιδῇ τ' εἰσὶν οἱ σωθέντες Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τραυματῖαι, πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο καταφρόνησιν, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ ὄπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἵπετο κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ ἅμα ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ προσβαλόντες τῷ λόφῳ τὸν τε χάρακα περιέστησαν καὶ τὰ περισταυρώματα διασπᾶν ἐπεχείρουν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς πεζοὶ μαχόμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐξέδραμον ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἔπειτα τούτων κατόπιν οἱ καλούμενοι τριάριοι πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους: οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατευομένων, οἷς τὰ στρατόπεδα [p. 259] ἐπιτρέπουσι φυλάττειν, ὅταν ἐξίωσιν εἰς τὴν μάχην, καὶ ἐφ' οὓς τελευταίους, ὅταν ἀθρόα γένηται τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ φθορά, σπανίζοντες ἑτέρας ἐπικουρίας καταφεύγουσι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. οἱ δ' Οὐολοῦσκοι [5] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν μειονεκτοῦντες ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τέλος ὀλίγα μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ἐργασάμενοι, πλείω δ' αὐτοὶ παθόντες κακὰ ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἔνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξέταπτον τὴν δύναμιν καὶ προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀντεξήσαν. [6] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι συνεκάλουν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δυνάμεις καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ἐξελοῦντες πολυχειρίᾳ τὸ φρούριον: ῥαδίως τ' ἂν ἐξειργάσαντο μέγα ἔργον ὑπάτου τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως ἢ βίᾳ κρατήσαντες ἢ καὶ ὁμολογίαις: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔτι εὐπόρει τὸ χωρίον: ἔφθη δὲ πρότερον ἐπικουρία Ῥωμαίοις ἐλθοῦσα, ὅφ' ἦς ἐκωλύθησαν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος. [7] ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Καίσιων Φάβιος μαθὼν, ἐν αἷς ἦν τύχαις ἢ παραταξαμένη Οὐολοῦσκοις δύναμις, ἐβούλετο μὲν ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἄπασαν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν εὐθύς ἐπέναι τοῖς πολιορκουσί τὸ φρούριον. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ θυομένῳ τε καὶ οἰωνοῖς χρωμένῳ τὰ ἱερὰ καλά, ἀλλ' [p. 260] ἡγαντιοῦτο πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, τὰς δὲ κρατίστας ἐπιλεξάμενος σπείρας ἀπέστειλε τῷ συνάρχοντι. [8] αἱ δὲ διὰ τ'

ὀρῶν ἀφανῶς καὶ νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ ποιησάμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς πολεμίους λαθοῦσαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Αἰμίλιος θρασύτερος ἐγεγόνει τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι τῷ τε πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ εἰκῇ πίσυνοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην ἐπαρθέντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέντες αὐτοὺς ἀναβῆναι καθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ πολλὰ πονεῖν περὶ τῷ σταυρώματι ἐάσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη τῆς μάχης διασπάσαντες κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸν χάρακα ἐμπύπτουσιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς χεῖρας καταστάντες τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων λίθοις τε καὶ σαυνίοις καὶ λόγχαις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἔβαλλον, βέλος δ' οὐδὲν ἄσκοπον ἦν πεπιλημένων γ' ἐν βραχεῖ χωρίῳ πολλῶν. [9] ἀπαράττονται δὴ τοῦ λόφου πολλοὺς σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαντες μόγις εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποσώζονται χάρακα. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὥς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τέως ὄντες ἤδη κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν· ἐξ ὧν ἐπισιτισμοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσων σπάνις ἦν ἐν τῷ χάρακι, ἐλάμβανον.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν [p. 261] καιρὸς, ὁ μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχων ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐσχήμοσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν τὸ κράτιστον ἀπολωλεκῶς τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὁ δὲ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥχετο· καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οἷς μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλετο δοθῆναι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀνδράσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὐ προὔθηκε τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ μετήεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκόντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μετιόντων τοὺς τε λόχους ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀνέδωκεν. [2] οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν, οὓς ἡ βουλὴ προεῖλετο καὶ οἷς παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ σφόδρα τῷ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένοι. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ὕπατοι ὃ τε νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προθέντος τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὑπάτου, Μάρκος Φάβιος Καίσιωνος υἱός, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Μάρκου υἱός, ὁ τὸν τρις ὑπατεύσαντα Κάσσιον κρίνας ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ [3] ἀποκτείνας. οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἤξιον ἐτέρους καταγράφειν, ἵνα τὸ ἐλλιπὲς ἀναπληρωθῇ τῶν λόχων. καὶ δόγμα ποιησάμενοι βουλῆς προὔγραψαν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ παρεῖναι τοὺς ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν στρατεύσιμον ἔδει. μετὰ τοῦτο θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ λόγοι τῶν πενεστάτων στασιώδεις οὐκ ἀξιούντων οὔτε βουλῆς δόγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν οὔτε ὑπάτων ἐξουσίᾳ πειθαρχεῖν, ὅτι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας [p. 262] ὑποσχέσεις ἐφεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτούς· συνιόντες τε κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ὠνειδίζον αὐτοῖς προδοσίαν καὶ κατεβῶν ἐπικαλοῦμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν. [4] τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐδόκει καιρὸς ἀρμόττων εἶναι πολέμου συνεστῶτος ὑπερορίου τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας ἀναζωπυρεῖν, εἷς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάϊος Μαίνιος οὐκ ἔφη προδώσειν τοὺς δημοτικούς, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις στρατιὰν καταγράφειν, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας γῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα γράψαντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενέγκωσιν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τοῦ μηθὲν αὐτῷ

συγχωρεῖν, ὧν ἡξίου, τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα πόλεμον, οὐκ ἔφη προσέξειν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ ^[5] κωλύσειν ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει τὴν καταγραφὴν. καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα: οὐ μὴν ἰσχυρὸς γε μέχρι τέλους. οἱ γὰρ ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ παρακειμένῳ πεδίῳ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς δίφρους ἔθηκαν: ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατάλογον, καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὺς ἄγειν οὐχ οἴοι τ' ἦσαν, εἰς χρήματα ἐζημίουν: ὅσοις μὲν χωρία ὑπῆρχεν, ἐκκόπτοντες ταῦτα καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καθαιροῦντες: ὅσων δὲ γεωργικὸς ὁ βίος ἦν ἐν ἀλλοτριῶσι κτήμασι, τούτων ἄγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες τὰ παρεσκευασμένα πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ζεύγη τε βοῖκὰ καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ σκεύη παντοῖα, οἷς γῆ τ' ἐξεργάζεται καὶ καρποὶ συγκομίζονται. ^[6] ὁ δὲ κωλύων τὴν καταγραφὴν δῆμαρχος οὐθὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν ἦν δυνατός. ^[p. 263] οὐδενὸς γὰρ εἰσι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κύριοι: περιγέγραπται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τεῖχεσι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπαυλισθῆναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς θέμις, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἓνα καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαι θύουσιν αἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαὶ κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους τῷ Διὶ θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσαι. ^[7] τοῦτο διαμένει μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων τὸ ἔθος, τὸ μηθενὸς εἶναι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημάρχους κυρίου: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας, ὃς μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ἐγένετο, ἡ κινήσασα πρόφασις ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἄλλαις δόξασα μείζων εἶναι καὶ μόνῃ ἀποκρῶσα διαστῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἦδε ἦν, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἐξεληλάσθαι τῆς πόλεως αἰτιώμενοι βίᾳ πρὸς τοῦ τότε κατέχοντος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μηθενὸς εἶεν ἔτι κύριοι, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέχοντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅποι τράπωνται, κατέφυγον. ^[8] ὁ δὲ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ χρησάμενος, ὡς ἀρχῇ δήμου παναγεῖ τὸ κράτος ἀφαιρεθείσῃ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τῶν προγόνων αὐτὸς ὁσίως καὶ σὺν δίκῃ βοηθῶν αὐτὸς τε σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήγαγε.

τότε δ' οὖν οἱ δημόται τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲν ἀπολαύοντες ὑφεῖντο τοῦ θράσους καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας τεταγμένοις ^[p. 264] τὸν ἱερὸν ὄρκον ὠμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς σημαίας κατεγράφοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐλλίπεδς τῶν λόχων ἐξεπληρώθη, διεκκληρώσαντο τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν στρατοπέδων οἱ ὑπατοί: καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποσταλεῖσαν δύναμιν παρελάμβανεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος τὴν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις στρατοπεδεύουσαν ἄγων τοὺς νεωστὶ καταγραφέντας. ^[2] μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐδόκει στρατιάν θ' ἑτέραν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιήσασθαι χωρίῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν ἔτι προπετὲς κινδύνευμα ὡς πρότερον ὑπομένειν. ἐγεγόνει ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων, ἀμφοτέροις τε παρέστη τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοία περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη, τὰ ἑαυτῶν φυλάττειν ἐρύματα, ἂν τις ἐπῆρ, τοῖς δὲ τῶν πολεμίῳ ὡς βίᾳ κρατηθησομένοις μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν. ^[3] καὶ ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων τριβόμενος: οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς τέλος γε διαμένειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἐδυνήθησαν. ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπισιτισμοῦ χάριν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων

ἐπιτηδεῖων τινός, ὧν ἄμφοτέροις ἔδει, μοῖρᾱ τις ἀποσταλεῖη τῆς στρατιᾶς, συμβολαί τ' αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ πληγαί, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ αἰεὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔμενε: πολλάκις δὲ συμπλεκόμενων ἁλλήλοισι ἀπέθνησκόν τ' οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τραυματῖαι πλείους ἐγίνοντο. [4] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἀπαναλοῦμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδεμία ποθὲν ἐπικουρία [p. 265] ἐξεπλήρου, τὸ δὲ τῶν Οὐολούσκων στρατοπέδον ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἡκόντων πολλὴν αὐξήσιν ἐλάμβανε: καὶ τοῦτω ἐπαρθέντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν δύναμιν ὡς εἰς μάχην.

ἐξεληθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ παραταξαμένων ἰσχυρὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ ἵππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἴση πάντων χρωμένων προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἐκάστου παρ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον τιθεμένου: [2] ὡς δὲ νεκροὶ τ' αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθησαν χωρίῳ, πεσόντες ἔκειντο, καὶ ἡμιθνήτες ἔτι πλείους τῶν νεκρῶν, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἔτι διαμένοντες ὀλίγοι ἦσαν, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτοι δρᾶν τὰ πολέμου ἔργα δυνάμενοι βαρυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων τὰς εὐωνύμους χεῖρας διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμπεπηγόντων βελῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐώντων ὑπομένειν τὰς προσβολάς, τετραμμένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων τὰς ἀκμάς, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ κατεαγόντων ὄλων, οἷς οὐθὲν ἔτι ἦν χρῆσθαι, τοῦ τε κόπου, ὃς δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἀγωνιζομένοις αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, παραλύντος τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἀσθενεῖς ποιοῦντος, ἰδρώτος δὲ καὶ διψης καὶ ἄσθματος, οἷα ἐν πνιγερᾷ ὥρᾳ ἔτους τοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνιζομένοις συμπίπτειν φιλεῖ, παρ' ἄμφοτέροις γινομένων, τέλος οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἀξιόλογον ἢ μάχη, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς [p. 266] ἄμφοτεροὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνακαλουμένων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας: καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξῆσαν εἰς μάχην οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἀντικαθήμενοι παρεφύλαττον ἀλλήλων τὰς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων γινομένας ἐξόδους. [3] ἔδοξε μέντοι καὶ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολὺς, ὡς δυναμένη τότε νικᾶν ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐκουσία μηδὲν ἦν ἐργάσασθαι λαμπρὸν διὰ μίσός τε τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ ὀργήν, ἣν εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ τῆς κληρουχίας. αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν ὑπάτον ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν στρατηγεῖν ἡτιῶντο, γράμματα πέμποντες ὡς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γινόμενα τοιαῦτ' ἦν: ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ δαιμόνια σημεῖα ἐφαίνετο δηλωτικὰ θείου χόλου κατὰ τε φωνὰς καὶ ὄψεις ἀήθεις. [4] πάντα δ' εἰς τοῦτο συνέτεινεν, ὡς οἱ τε μάντις καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ συνενέγκαντες τὰς ἐμπειρίας ἀπεφάνοντο, ὅτι θεῶν χολοῦσθαι τινες οὐ κομίζονται τὰς νομίμους τιμὰς οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ ὁσίως ἐπιτελουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν. ζήτησις δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὴ ἐκ πάντων ἐγένετο, καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ μήνυσις ἀποδίδοται τοῖς ἱεροφάνταις, ὅτι τῶν παρθένων μία τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, Ὀπιμία ὄνομα αὐτῇ, τὴν παρθενίαν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα μιαινεῖ τὰ ἱερά. [5] οἱ δ' ἔκ τε βασάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξεων [p. 267] μαθόντες, ὅτι τὸ μηνυόμενον ἦν ἀδίκημα ἀληθές, αὐτὴν μὲν τῆς κορυφῆς ἀφελόμενοι τὰ στέμματα καὶ πομπεύσαντες δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐντὸς τειχους ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν: δύο δὲ τοὺς ἐξελεγχθέντας διαπραΰνασθαι τὴν φθορὰν μαστιγώσαντες ἐν φανερωῷ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλὰ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα ὡς ἀφεικότων αὐτοῖς τῶν

θεῶν τῶν χόλον, ἐγένετο.

ὥς δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν χρόνος, ἐλθόντων τῶν ὑπάτων πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ παρατάξεις ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους περὶ τῶν παραληφόμενων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐβούλοντο τοὺς δραστηρίους τε καὶ ἥκιστα δημοτικούς ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προαγαγεῖν: καὶ μετῆι τὴν ἀρχὴν κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου τοῦ πολεμιοτάτου τῷ δήμῳ δοκοῦντος εἶναι, μεστὸς αὐθαδείας ἀνὴρ καὶ θράσους, ἐταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις ἀπάντων πλεῖστον τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν δυνάμενος: ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ τῶν πεῖραν ἤδη δεδωκότων τῆς ἐπεικειας τοὺς προνοησομένους τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ὀνομάζων ἤξιον ποιεῖν ὑπάτους. αἱ τ' ἀρχαὶ διειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἀνέλυσον ἐξουσίας. [2] ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καλοῖεν τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀποδείξοντες τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπάτους, οἱ δῆμαρχοι τοῦ κωλύειν ὄντες κύριοι διέλυσον τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια, ὁπότε δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι [p. 268] καλοῖεν ὡς ἀρχαιρεσιάσοντα τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τοὺς λόχους καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδιδόναι. κατηγορίαι τ' ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀψιμαχίαι καθ' ἐταιρίας συνισταμένων, ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τινὰς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχεῖν τὴν στάσιν τῶν ὄπλων. [3] ταῦτα μαθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ πολὺν ἐσκόπει χρόνον, ὃ τι χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυναμένη τὸν δῆμον οὔτ' εἶξαι βουλομένη. ἦν δ' ἡ μὲν αὐθαδεστέρα γνώμη δικτάτορα ἐλέσθαι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἕνεκα, ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται κράτιστον εἶναι: τὸν δὲ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς τε νοσοποιοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεῖν, καὶ εἰ τι ἡμάρτηται ταῖς πρότερον ἀρχαῖς ἐπανορθώσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὃν βούλεται, καταστησάμενον ἀνδράσι τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ἀρχάς. [4] ἡ δ' ἐπεικεστέρα μεσοβασιλεῖς ἐλέσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἄνδρας, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅπως κράτισται γενήσονται, προνοηθῆναι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὃνπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐκλιπόντων ἐγίνοντο. ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πλειόνων ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν μεσοβασιλεὺς Αὐλὸς Σεμπρῳνιος Ἀτρατῖνος: [5] αἱ δ' ἄλλαι κατελύθησαν ἀρχαί. οὗτος ἐπιτροπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ἀστασίαστον ὅσας ἐξῆν ἡμέρας ἔτερον ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν, Σπόριον Λάρκιον. κάκεῖνος συγκαλέσας τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν [p. 269] καὶ τὰς ψήφους κατὰ τὰ τιμήματα ἀναδούς, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων εὐδοκήσεως ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους, Γάϊον Ἰούλιον, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Ἰουλον, ἐκ τῶν φιλοδήμων, καὶ Κόιντον Φάβιον Καίσωνος υἱὸν τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν. [6] καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ πεπονθὼς εἶασε τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δεύτερον, μισῶν τὸν Ἀππίον καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἀτιμασθῆναι ἐδόκει σφόδρα ἡδόμενος: τοῖς δ' ἐν τέλει διαπεπραγμένοις δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνδύσοντα τῷ δήμῳ μαλακὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν παρελθεῖν, κατὰ γνώμην ἐδόκει κεχωρηκέναι τὰ τῆς διχοστασίας.

ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς Αἰκανοὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἀπῆλασαν ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα πολλὰ ληστρικῇ ἐφόδῳ χρησάμενοι:

Τυρρηνῶν δ' οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων γῆς πολλὴν ἡδίκησαν
προνομαῖς. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸν μὲν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον εἰς ἕτερον
ἀναβαλομένης χρόνον, παρὰ δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν δικας αἰτεῖν ψηφισαμένης,
Αἰκανοὶ μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε, καὶ οὐθεὶς ὁ
κωλύσων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐφαίνετο, θράσει ἐπαρθέντες ἀλογίστῳ ληστρικὴν μὲν
οὐκέτι στρατείαν ἐγνώσαν ποιεῖσθαι, δυνάμει δὲ βαρεῖα ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν
Ὀρτῶνα κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσι: καὶ διαρπάσαντες τὰ τ' ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ
τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆεσαν εὐπορίαν πολλὴν ἀγόμενοι. [2] Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ [p. 270]
πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἤκοντας ἀποκρινάμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν
εἶησαν οἱ προνομεύοντες τὴν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν,
ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐθὲν τῶν δικαίων ποιήσαντες: καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις
ἐπιτυχάνουσι τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς λείαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἄγουσι. ταῦτα
παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα πολεμεῖν τ' ἐψηφίσατο Οὐιεντανοῖς καὶ τοὺς
ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατίαν. [3] ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ
δόγματος ἀμφιλογία, καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐῶντες ἐκφέρειν
τῆς τε κληρουχίας ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἧς γε πέμπτον ἔτος
ἐψηφισμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου κενῇ πιστεύσαντες ἐλπίδι ἐξηπάτηντο, καὶ
κοινὸν ἀποφαίνοντες πόλεμον, εἰ κοινῇ χρήσεται γνώμη πᾶσα Τυρρηνία τοῖς
ὁμοεθnéσι [4] βοηθοῦσα. οὐ μὴν ἴσχυσάν γ' οἱ τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοι, ἀλλ'
ἐκύρωσε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τῇ Σπορίου Λαρκίου γνώμῃ τε
καὶ παρακλήσει χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὕπατοι:
στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
μείναντες ἡμέρας συχνάς, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀντεξῆγον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς δυνάμεις,
προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ὅσῃν ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου
τὴν στρατίαν. ἄλλο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη.

BOOK IX

τῷ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει διαφορᾷς γενομένης τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθησομένων ὑπάτων: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠξιοῦν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγεῖν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτῷ κεχαρισμένων: γνωσιμαχήσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τέλος συνέπεισαν ἀλλήλους ἀφ' ἐκάστης μερίδος ὑπατον αἰρεθῆναι: καὶ ἀποδεῖκνυται Καίσιων μὲν Φάβιος τὸ δεῦτερον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ τὸν Κάσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας, Σπόριος δὲ Φούριος ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι [p. 272] Καλλιάρχου, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐστράτευσε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ ^[2] τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἄρτι δὲ παρειληφότων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν Λατίνων τε πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν δεόμενοι πέμψαι σφίσι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μετὰ δυνάμεως, ὃς οὐκ ἔασει προσωτέρῳ χωρεῖν τὴν Αἰκανῶν καταφρόνησιν, καὶ Τυρρηνία πᾶσα ἡγγέλλετο κεκινημένη καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ χωρήσουσα εἰς πόλεμον. συνήχθη γὰρ εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ Οὐιεντανῶν δεηθέντων συνάρασθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων μαίων πολέμου, τέλος ἐξήνεγκεν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Τυρρηνῶν μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας: καὶ ἐγένετο χεῖρ ἀξιόμαχος ἡ τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς ἐκουσίως τοῦ πολέμου συναραμένη. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων ἔδοξε στρατιάς τε καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξεῖναι, τὸν μὲν Αἰκανοῖς τε πολεμήσοντα καὶ Λατίνοις τιμωρὸν ἐσόμενον, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ ^[3] Τυρρηνίας ἄξοντα τὰς δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραττε δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος τῶν δημάρχων εἷς: καὶ συναγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ὁσημέραι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις ἀπῆτει παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔφη συγχωρήσειν οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλεμον οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ψηφιζομένων ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας ἀποδείξωσι πρότερον ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, καὶ διέλωσι τὴν γῆν, ὥς [p. 273] ^[4] ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ. ἀπορουμένη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀμμηχανούσῃ, τί χρή ποιεῖν, Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὑποτίθεται σκοπεῖν, ὅπως διαστήσεται τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων πρὸς αὐτόν, διδάσκων, ὅτι τὸν κωλύοντα καὶ ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς βουλῆς ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστι παῦσαι τῆς δυναστείας, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἕτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων τάναντία πράττη καί, οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐμποδῶν γένηται, ^[5] ταῦτα κωλύῃ. συνεβούλευε τε τοῖς αὐθις παραληψομένοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπάτοις τοῦτο πράττειν καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἔξουσί τινος αἰεὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἵκειους σφίσι καὶ φίλους: μίαν εἶναι λέγων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀρχείου κατάλυσιν, ἐὰν στασιάζωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες.

ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου δόξαντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς παραινεῖν οἳ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατώτατοι, πολλῇ θεραπείᾳ διεπράξαντο τοὺς τέτταρας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων οἵκειους τῇ βουλῇ ^[2] γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν λόγῳ μεταπίθειν τὸν Ἰκίλιον ἐπεχειροῦν ἀποστήναι τῶν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολιτευμάτων, ἕως οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι τέλος: ὥς δ'

ἦναντιοῦτο καὶ διώμνυτο λόγον τε τὸν αὐθαδέστερον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ δήμου παρόντος, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν βούλοιοτο Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους κρατήσαντας [p. 274] τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδεῖν, ἢ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν χώραν τὴν δημοσίαν ἀφεῖναι, δόξαντες ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι καλὴν πρὸς αὐθάδειαν τοσαύτην τοῦ τάναντία λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν λόγον ἡδέως δεξαμένου, κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἔφησαν, καὶ φανερώς ἔπραττον, ὅσα τῇ βουλῇ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοκοῖη: [3] μονωθεὶς δ' Ἰκίλιος οὐδενὸς ἔτι κύριος ἦν. μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡ στρατιὰ κατεγράφετο καὶ, ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ: καὶ διὰ τάχους οἱ ὕπατοι διακληρωσάμενοι τὰ στρατεύματα ἐξήρσαν, Σπόριος μὲν Φούριος ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Καίσιων δὲ Φάβιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς. [4] Σπορίῳ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησεν οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς στρατείας ἐξεγένετο χρήματά τε καὶ σώματα λαβεῖν. ἐπῆλθε γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσαν ὄσσην οἱ πολέμιοι χώραν κατεῖχον, ἄγων καὶ φέρων, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπαντα ἐχαρίσατο. [5] δοκῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον εἶναι φιλόδημος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας ἐθεράπευσε τὸ πλῆθος. καί, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς στρατείας, ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν ὀλόκληρόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῇ χρήμασιν εὐπορον κατέστησε τὴν πατρίδα.

Καίσιων δὲ Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, οὐδενὸς [p. 275] χεῖρον στρατηγήσας, ἀφηρέθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔπαινον παρ' οὐδὲν ἀμάρτημα ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ δημοτικὸν οὐκ εἶχε κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ, ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὕπατον Κάσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι προσαγγεῖλας ἀπέκτεινεν. [2] οὔτε γὰρ ὅσα δέοι σὺν τάχει στρατηγῷ κελεύσαντι τοὺς ὑπηκόους πειθαρχεῖν, οὔθ' ὅσα τῷ προθύμῳ καὶ πρέποντι χρησαμένους βίᾳ κατασχεῖν, οὔθ' ὅσα λάθρα τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων χωρία εἰς πλεονεξίαν εὐθετα σφετερίσασθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλο πράττειν οὐδὲν ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, ἐξ οὗ τιμὴν τινα ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν ἐξοίσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν αὐτῶν, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα διετέλουν, ἐκείνῳ θ' ἦττον λυπηρὰ ἦν καὶ τῇ πόλει βλάβης οὐ μεγάλης ἄξια, ὃ δὲ τελευτῶντες ἐξειργάσαντο κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ἦνεγκε καὶ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην ἀμφοῖν. [3] γενομένης γὰρ παρατάξεως ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν λόφων, ἐφ' οἷς ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἀμφοτέροι, πάσῃ τῇ παρ' ἐκατέρων δυνάμει, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσαντες ἄρξαι φυγῆς, οὔτ' ἠκολούθησαν ἀποῦσι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ ἐπικελεύοντος οὔτε παραμείναντες ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τὸν χάρακα ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντες ἀτελεῖς ἔργον καλὸν ἀπῆσαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν στρατοπεδείαν. [4] ἐπιχειρησάντων δ' αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ὕπατον ἀναγορεῦσαι τινων μέγα [p. 276] ἐμβοήσαντες ἄθροοι κακιζούσῃ τῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς πολλοὺς σφῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπολωλεκότα δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ στρατηγεῖν: καὶ ἄλλη πολλῇ βλασφημίᾳ καὶ ἀγανακτῆσει χρῆσάμενοι λυεῖν τὸν χάρακα καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠξίου, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἐσομένους, ἐὰν ἐπίωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, δευτέραν ὑπομεῖναι μάχην. [5] καὶ οὔτε μεταδιδάσκοντος ἐπέιθοντο τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, οὔτ' ὀλοφυρομένου καὶ ἰκετεύοντος ἔπασχόν τι πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις, οὔτ' ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἀνατάσεις, ὅποτε

καὶ ταύταις χρήσαιτο, δι' εὐλαβείας ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντα τραχυνόμενοι ταῦτα διέμενον. τοσαύτη δ' ἀναρχία καὶ καταφρόνησις τοῦ ἡγεμόνος πᾶσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν παρέστη, ὥστε περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξαναστάντες τὰς τε σκηναὶς ἔλυσον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐβάσταζον οὐδενὸς κελεύσαντος.

ταῦθ' ὁ στρατηγὸς μαθὼν ἠναγκάσθη πᾶσι δοῦναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῆς ἐξόδου δείσας τὴν ἀναρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ θράσος. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ φυγῆς ἀνασωζόμενοι τάχει πολλῶ συνάπτουσι τῇ πόλει περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγνοήσαντες, ὅτι φίλιον ἦν στράτευμα, ὄπλα τ' ἐνεδύοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνεκάλουν, ἢ τ' ἄλλη πόλιν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, ταραχῆς ἐγεγονέι μεστή καὶ θορύβου· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνέωξαν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας οἱ φύλακες, ἢ λαμπρὰν τε ἡμέραν γενέσθαι καὶ γνωσθῆναι τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα. [p. 277] ^[2] ὥστε πρὸς τῇ αἰσχύνῃ, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἠνέγκαντο, καὶ κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον αὐτοὺς ἀναρρῖψαι, σκότους ἀπιόντας διὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἀτάκτως. εἰ γ' οὖν τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ παντὸς ἀποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἡκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσεν ἅπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τὴν στρατιάν. τῆς δ' ἀλόγου ταύτης ἀπάρσεως ἡ φυγῆς τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μῖσος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, αἴτιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ φθόνος τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς, ἵνα μὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῇ ^[3] κοσμηθεῖς ἐπιφανέστατος γένηται. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἄπαρσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς τ' αὐτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν καὶ τραυματίας ἀράμενοι ἀπήνεγκαν τὰς τε καταλειφθείσας ἐν τῷ χάρακι παρασκευὰς — πολλὰ δ' ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χρόνιον παρεσκευασμέναι πόλεμον — διεφόρησαν, καὶ ὡς δὴ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐγγυτάτῃ λεηλατήσαντες ἀπῆγον τὴν στρατιάν.

οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι, Γνάϊος Μάλλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος τὸ δεῦτερον ἄρχειν αἵρεθείς, ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς ποιησαμένης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν, ὅσον ἂν πλεῖστον δυνηθῶσι, προὔθηκαν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τὸν κατάλογον ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς. γινομένου δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ κωλύσει τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων, Τεβερίου Ποντοφικίου καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα ἀνακαλουμένου, θεραπεύσαντες τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ [p. 278] τινας, ὥσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὕπατοι, διέστησαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ. ^[2] γενομένης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξήρσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, δύο μὲν ἐκάτερος ἄγων Ῥωμαίων τάγματα τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καταγραφέντων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ ταύτης χεῖρα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποίκων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων ἀποσταλεῖσαν. ἀφίκετο δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνους διπλάσιον τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπικουρικόν. οὐ μὴν ἐχρήσαντό γε παντί· πολλὴν δὲ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι φήσαντες τῆς προθυμίας ἀπέλυσαν τῆς ἀποσταλείσης δυνάμεως τὴν ἡμίσειαν. ^[3] ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τρίτον ἐκ δυεῖν ταγμάτων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατὸν, φύλακα τῆς χώρας ἐσόμενον, εἴ τις ἑτέρα δύναμις πολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου φανείη· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, οἷς ἔτι δύνανται ἦν ὀπλων χρήσεως, ἐν τῇ

πόλεις κατέλιπον ἄκρας τε καὶ τείχη φυλάζοντας. ^[4] ἀγαγόντες δὲ πλησίον τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως τὰς δυνάμεις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσὶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀφ'εστηκόσιν ἀπ' ἄλλήλων. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις ἐξεστρατευμένη πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πολλή τε καὶ ἀγαθή. συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας οἱ δυνατώτατοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πενέστας ἐπαγόμενοι, καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ στρατοῦ ^[5] μεῖζον τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγω. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις τὸ τε πλῆθος ὀρώσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὅπλων πολὺ δέος ἐνέπεσε, μὴ ποτ' οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ^[p. 279] γένωνται στασιαζούσῃ δυνάμει τῇ σφετέρᾳ πρὸς ὁμονοοῦσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιταξάμενοι ὑπερβαλέσθαι: ἐδόκει τ' αὐτοῖς ὀχυρωσαμένοις τὰ στρατόπεδα τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐκδεχομένοις, εἴ τινα δώσει πλεονεξίας ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων θράσος ἀλογίστῳ καταφρονήσει ἐπαρθέν. ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαὶ βραχεῖαι, μέγα δ' ἡ λαμπρὸν ἔργον οὐδέν.

οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου δειλίαν τ' ὠνειδιζον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξήρσαν εἰς μάχην, καὶ ὥς παρακεχωρηκότων αὐτῶν σφίσι τῆς ὑπαίθρου μέγα ἐφρόνουν. καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὴρθησαν εἰς ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου στρατοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν τῶν ὑπάτων δόξαντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. ^[2] τοῦ γὰρ ἑτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Γναίου Μαλλίου κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐμπεσὼν τὴν τε σκηνὴν διέσπασε καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὅπλων τὰ μὲν ἐσπῆλωσε, τὰ δὲ περιέκαυσε, τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος ἠφάνισεν: ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν λαμπρότατον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἵππων, ᾧ παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐχρήτο, καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τινάς. ^[3] λεγόντων δὲ τῶν μάντεων τοῦ τε χάρακος ἄλωσιν προσημαίνειν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπώλειαν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάλλιος ἀπῆγε περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος κατεστρατοπέδευσε. ^[4] μαθόντες οὖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπανάστασιν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ, δι' ἧς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, ^[p. 280] παρὰ τινων αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες ἐπὴρθησάν τε ταῖς γνώμαις ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὥς πολεμοῦντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον ἐλπίδα κρατήσειν αὐτῶν: οἱ τε μάντιες ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλοθι που δοκοῦντες ἐξητακέναι τὰ μετάρσια, πόθεν τε αἱ τῶν κεραυνῶν γίνονται βολαὶ καὶ τίνες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἀπὸντας τόποι, θεῶν τε οἷς ἕκαστοι ἀποδίδονται καὶ τίνων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν μηνυταί, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρήνουν διαιρούμενοι τὸ γενόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σημεῖον κατὰ τὰδε. ^[5] ἐπειδὴ τὸ βέλος εἰς ὑπάτου σκηνὴν κατέσκηψεν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ στρατήγιον ἐνῆν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἄχρι τῆς ἐστίας ἠφάνισεν, ὅλη προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ χάρακος ἔκλειψιν βίᾳ κρατηθέντος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὄλεθρον. ^[6] εἰ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν, ἔμειναν ἐν ᾧ κατέσκηψε χωρὶς τὸ βέλος οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτό, καὶ μὴ μετηνέγκαντο τὰ σημεῖα ὥς τοὺς ἑτέρους, μῖας τε παρεμβολῆς ἁλώσει καὶ ἐνὸς ὀλέθρῳ στρατοῦ τὸ νεμεσῶν αὐτοῖς δαιμόνιον ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἂν τὸν χόλον: ἐπειδὴ δὲ σοφώτεροι τῶν θεῶν εἶναι ζητοῦντες εἰς τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καταλιπόντες ἔρημον τὸν τόπον, ὥς οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θεοῦ

προδηλοῦντος τὰς συμφοράς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τόποις, κοινὸς ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἦξει χόλος, τοῖς τ' ἀπαναστᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις.
[7] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀλῶναι σφῶν τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα βία θείας ἐπιθεσπιζούσης ἀνάγκης οὐ περιέμειναν τὸ χρεῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ [p. 281] παρέδωσαν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐκεῖνος ὁ χάραξ ὁ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑποδεξάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀλώσεται βία κρατηθεῖς.

ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν μάντεων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀκούσαντες μέρει τινὲ τῆς ἐαυτῶν στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐρημωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταλαμβάνονται στρατοπεδεῖαν ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα ποιησόμενοι τῆς ἐτέρας· ἦν δὲ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰοῦσι κωλύσεως ἐν καλῷ κείμενον. πραγματευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα, ἐξ ὧν πλεονεκτῆσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλον, ἐξῆγον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τὰς δυνάμεις. [2] μενόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ἡσυχίας προσιπτεῦντες ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ τολμηρότατοι καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος ἰστάμενοι, γυναικᾶς τ' ἀπεκάλουν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν τοῖς δειλοτάτοις τῶν ζώων ἑοικέναι λέγοντες ἐκάκιζον, καὶ δυεῖν θάτερον ἤξιουν· εἰ μὲν ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς, καταβάντας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον μιᾷ τὸν ἀγῶνα κρῖναι μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι κακοί, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ δίκας ὑποσχόντας, ὧν ἔδρασαν, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν μεγάλων ἐαυτοὺς ἀξιοῦν. [3] τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ὁσημέραι καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν ὡς λιμῷ προσαναγκάσοντες παραστῆναι. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι περιεώρων τὰ γινόμενα μέχρι πολλοῦ, δι' ἀνανδρίαν μὲν ἢ μαλακίαν οὐδεμίαν — ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμοι ἦσαν — τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐθελόκακόν [p. 282] τε καὶ ἀπρόθυμον, διαμένον ἐν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ἐξ οὗ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας διεσπασίασαν, ὑφορώμενοι· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔναυλα καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἦν, ἃ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔγκοτον τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον τιμῆς αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσαντο, παραχωρήσαντες τῆς νίκης τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσι καὶ φυγῆς ὄνειδος οὐκ ἀληθὲς ὑπομείναντες, ἵνα μὴ καταγάγῃ τὸν ἐπινίκιον θρίαμβον ὁ ἀνὴρ.

βουλόμενοι δὴ τὸ στασιαζόν ἐκ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξελεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ καταστῆσαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμόνοϊαν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ εἰς ἐν τοῦτο πᾶσαν εἰσφερόμενοι βουλὴν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κολάσει μέρους τινὸς σωφρονέστερον ἀποδοῦναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν, πολὺ καὶ αὐθαδὲς ὑπάρχον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχον, οὔτε πειθοῖ προσαγαγέσθαι λόγων τοὺς οὐδὲ πεισθῆναι βουλομένους, δύο ταύτας ὑπέλαβον ἔσεσθαι τῶν στασιαζόντων αἰτίας τῆς διαλλαγῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιεικεστέρας μετεilhφόσι φύσεως — ἐνῆν γὰρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ — τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς τῶν πολεμίων αἰσχύνῃν, τοῖς δὲ δυσαγῶγος ἐπὶ τὸ καλόν, [2] ἦν ἅπαντα δέδοικεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀνάγκην. ἵνα δὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο ἀμφοτέρα, ἐφῆκαν τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγῳ τ' αἰσχύνειν κακίζοντας σφῶν ὡς ἀνάνδρον τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἔργοις ὑπεροφίας τε καὶ καταφρονήσεως πολλῆς γινομένοις ἀναγκάζειν ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐκουσίως [p. 283] εἶναι μὴ βουλομένους. γινομένων γὰρ τούτων πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἤξειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατηγίον ἅπαντας ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ καταβούωντας καὶ κελεύοντας ἡγεῖσθαι σφῶν

ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. [3] ὥς γὰρ ἦρξαντο τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ χάρακος ἀποταφρεύειν τε καὶ ἀποσταυροῦν οἱ πολέμιοι, δυσανασχετήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, τέως μὲν κατ' ὀλίγους, ἔπειτ' ἄθροοι συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκεκράγεσάν τε καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλουν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἠγήσεται σφίσι τῆς ἐξόδου, διχα ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλεγον ἐξελεύσεσθαι. [4] ὥς δ' ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐγένετο τοῦτο, παρῆναι τὸν χρόνον, ὃν περιέμενον, οἱ στρατηγοὶ νομίσαντες ἐκέλευον τοῖς ὑπηρέταις συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ προελθὼν Φάβιος τοιαύδε εἶπε:

βραδεῖα μὲν ἡ ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν γίνεται περὶ ὧν ὑβρίζεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων, ἄνδρες στρατιῶται τε καὶ ἡγεμόνες: καὶ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐκάστου χωρεῖν ὁμοσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος ὕστερον φαινόμενον ἄωρόν ἐστι. παλαιότερον γὰρ ἔτι τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔδει πράττειν, ὅτε πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἶδετε καταβαίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων καὶ μάχης ἄρχειν βουλομένους. τότε γὰρ δῆπου καλὸς ὁ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἦν ἀγὼν καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων φρονήματος ἄξιος. νῦν δ' ἀναγκαῖος ἤδη γίνεται, καὶ οὐδ', ἂν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ [2] τέλος, ὁμοίως καλός. εὖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖτε ὅμως ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν βραδυτῆτα βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰ [p. 284] παραλειφθέντα ἀναλαβεῖν, καὶ πολλὴ χάρις ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὁρμῆς, εἰ γ' ὑπ' ἀρετῆς γίνεται: κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν ὁψὲ ἄρξασθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν ἢ μηδέποτε: εἴτ' οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμοίους ἔχετε περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμούς, καὶ ἡ προθυμία τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρμῆς ἅπαντας ἡ αὐτὴ κατεῖληφε. [3] νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα, μὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας προσκρούσματα τῶν δημοτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει μεγάλης αἵτια τῷ κοινῷ γένηται βλάβης: ὑποψία τε ἡμᾶς κατεῖληφεν, ὥς ἡ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καταβολὴ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως παρὰ πάντων γίνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους προθυμεῖσθε [4] τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελεῖν, οἱ δ' ὥς ἀποδρασόμενοι. ἐξ ὧν δὲ παρέστηκεν ἡμῖν ταῦθ' ὑποπτεῦειν, οὐ μαντεῖαι εἰσιν οὐδὲ στοχασμοί, ἀλλ' ἔργα ἐμφανῆ καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα παλαιά, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ γενόμενα, ὥς ἅπαντες ἴστε, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους τούτους πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐξεληθούσης στρατιᾶς, καὶ τῆς πρώτης μάχης τὸ κράτιστον ἡμῖν λαβούσης τέλος, δυνηθέντος ἂν τοῦ τότε ἄγοντος ὑμᾶς ὑπάτου Καίσιωνος, ἀδελφοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ τουδὶ καὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολέμιων ἐξελεῖν καὶ νίκην τῇ πατρίδι καταγαγεῖν λαμπροτάτην, φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ δόξης τινές, ὅτι δημοτικὸς οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ τὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς πέννησι διετέλει πολιτευόμενος, τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνασπᾶσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἀπέδρασαν [p. 285] ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, οὔτε τὸν κίνδυνον ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν καταληψόμενον αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως καὶ χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπόντας ἐκ πολέμιας γῆς καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν νυκτὶ, οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνῃ, ὅση καθέξειν αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν, ὑπολογισάμενοι, ὅτι παρεχώρουν τοῖς πολέμοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μέρος, καὶ ταῦθ' οἱ [5] νικήσαντες τοῖς κεκρατημένοις. τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀρρωδοῦντες, ὧς ταξίARCHOI τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ στρατιῶται, τοὺς οὗτ' ἄρχειν δυναμένους οὗτ' ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένους πολλοὺς καὶ αὐθάδεις ὄντας καὶ τὰ

ὄπλα ἔχοντας ἐν χερσίν, οὔτε πρότερον ἐβουλόμεθα μάχην συνάπτειν οὔτε νῦν ἔτι θαρσοῦμεν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις συμμάχοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, μὴ κωλύματα καὶ βλάβαι γένωνται τοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ καθ' [6] ἑαυτοὺς πρόθυμα παρεχομένοις. εἰ μέντοι κάκεινων ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὸν νοῦν ἄγει νυνὶ καὶ καταβαλόντες τὸ στασιάζον, ὅφ' οὗ νῦν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα βλάπτεται τὸ κοινόν, ἣ γε δὴ εἰς τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναβαλόμενοι καιροῦς, ἐπανορθώσασθαι βούλονται τὰ παρελθόντα ὀνειδῇ τῇ νῦν ἀρετῇ, μηδὲν ἔτι τὸ κωλύσον ἔστω χωρεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδας. [7] ἔχομεν δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ κυριωτάτας, αἷς τὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἀνόητον ἡμῖν παρέχει, οἷ γε πλήθει στρατιᾶς μακρῷ προὔχοντες ἡμῶν καὶ τούτῳ [p. 286] μόνῳ δυνηθέντες ἂν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας τόλμας τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀντέχειν ἀπεστερήκασι τῆς μόνης ὠφελείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαναλώσαντες τὸ πλεῖον τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος εἰς τὰς τῶν φρουρίων φυλακάς. [8] ἔπειτα δέον αὐτοὺς σὺν εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ σῶφρονι πράττειν ἕκαστα, ἐνθυμουμένους, πρὸς οἷους ἄνδρας καὶ πολὺ ἀλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν ὁ κίνδυνος ἔσται, θρασέως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦσιν, ὡς ἄμαχοι τινες καὶ ὡς ἡμῶν καταπεπληγόντων αὐτοῦς. αἱ γοῦν ἀποταφρεύσεις καὶ αἱ μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἡμῶν καθιππεύσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίσματα τοῦτο δύνανται. [9] ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀγῶνων μεμνημένοι πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν οἷς αὐτοὺς ἐνίκητε, χωρεῖτε μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα: καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος χωρίῳ ταχθῇ, τοῦθ' ὑπολαβέτω καὶ οἶκον εἶναι καὶ κλῆρον καὶ πατρίδα: καὶ ὁ τε σῶζων τὸν παραστάτην ἑαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβέτω, καὶ ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν πέλας ἑαυτὸν ἡγείσθω τοῖς πολεμίοις προδιδόναι. μάλιστα δ' ἐκεῖνο μεμνησθαι προσῆκεν, ὅτι μενόντων μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχομένων ὀλίγον τὸ ἀπολλύμενόν ἐστιν, ἐγκλινάντων δὲ καὶ φευγόντων κομιδῇ βραχὺ σωζόμενον.

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ [p. 287] καὶ πολλὰ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐκχέοντος δάκρυα, λοχαγῶν τε καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ᾧ συνήδει τι λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐν μάχαις ἀποδειξαμένῳ, κατ' ὄνομα ἀνακαλοῦντος, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς ἀριστεύουσαι κατὰ τὴν μάχην φιλάνθρωπα δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου πρὸς τὸ τῶν πράξεων μέγεθος, τιμὰς τε καὶ πλοῦτους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας βοηθείας, ἀναβοήσεις ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνοντο θαρρεῖν τε παρακελευομένων καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀξιοῦντων. [2] ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο, προέρχεται τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, Μάρκος Φλαβολήιος ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς μὲν καὶ αὐτουργός, οὐ μὴν τῶν ἀπερριμμένων τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος, καὶ δι' ἄμφω ταῦτα ἐνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἀρχῇ κεκοσμημένος, ἣ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἑκατονταρχίας ἔπεσθαι τε καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ὑπηρετεῖν κελεύει ὁ νόμος. τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ πριμοπίλους καλοῦσιν. [3] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ — ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ἰδεῖν — στάς, ὅθεν ἅπασιν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι φανερός, Ἐπεὶ τοῦτ', ἔφησεν, ὧ ὕπατοι, δεδοίκατε, μὴ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν οὐχ

ὁμοία γέννηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης πίστεως παρέξομαι: καὶ ὑμεῖς δ', ὧ πολῖται τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ τύχης, ὅσοι [p. 288] διεγνώκατε εἰς ἴσον καταστῆσαι τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λόγοις, [4] οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοιτε ταῦτ' ὀνομάζοντες ἑμοί. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀνατείνας ὤμοσε τὸν ἐπιχώριόν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κράτιστον ὄρκον, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ. τοῦτον ὁμόσαντος τοῦ Φλαβοληίου τὸν ὄρκον πολλὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο: καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ τε ὑπάτοι ἀμφοτέρωι ταῦτ' ἔδρων καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἔχοντες στρατηγίας χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοί, τελευτῶσα [5] δ' ἡ πληθὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, πολλὴ μὲν εὐθυμία πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε, πολλὴ δὲ φιλότης ἀλλήλων, θάρσος τ' αὖ καὶ μένος: καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ μὲν ἵπποις χαλινοὺς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἔθηγον, οἱ δὲ τὰ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐξέματτον: καὶ ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἦν ἕτοιμος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἢ στρατιά. [6] οἱ δ' ὑπάτοι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῆς ἐξόδου σφίσι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνας, ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ τὸν στρατόν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ καπνόντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἰδόντες ἐθαύμασαν τε καὶ ἀντεπεξῆσαν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει.

ὥς δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀμφοτέρωι κατέστησαν, καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε: καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἵππεῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ [p. 289] πεζοὶ πεζοῖς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πολλὺς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο φόνος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρας, οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Μάλλιος, ἐξέωσαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς μέρος, καὶ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐμάχοντο πεζοί. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκυκλοῦντο. [2] ἦν γὰρ ἡ Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὑπερπετῆς τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγῳ μείζων τῆς ἐτέρας. παρερρήγνυτο δὴ ταύτῃ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐλάμβανεν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τούτου κέρως Κόιντος Φάβιος, πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος ὢν, ὁ δις ὑπατεύσας: καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἀντείχε τραύματα λαμβάνων παντοδαπά, ἔπειτα λόγχῃ βληθεὶς εἰς τὰ στέρνα μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ἐλθούσης τῆς αἰχμῆς ἔξαιμος γενόμενος πίπτει. [3] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων, Μάρκος Φάβιος — ἦν δὲ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν φάλαγγα τεταγμένος — τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν λόχων ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν Καίσιωνα Φάβιον ἀνακαλεσάμενος, παρήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ προελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ παρήλλαξεν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κέρας, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κυκλουμένους. ἐμπεσὼν δ' αὐτοῖς φόνον τε τοῖς ἐν χειρὶ ποιεῖ πολὺν καὶ φυγὴν τῶν πρόσω, τὸν τ' ἀδελφὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα καταλαβὼν αἵρεται. [4] ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιβιούς ἀποθνήσκει: τοῖς δὲ τιμωροῦσιν αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἔτι πλείων παρέσθη καὶ μείζων [p. 290] πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον: καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς προνοοῦμενοι σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς μέσους ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς μάλιστα συνεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων, σωροὺς ἐξεπλήρουν νεκρῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔκαμεν ἡ [5] Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ, καὶ οἱ πρότερον ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατημένων

ἀνεκόπησαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες κέρας κάμνοντες ἤδη καὶ φυγῆς ἄρχοντες, ἔνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς. παλτῷ γὰρ τις βαλὼν τὸν Μάλλιον διὰ τοῦ γόνατος ἄχρι τῆς ἰγνύας διήρεισε τὴν λόγχην· καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ πέριξ ἄραντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τεθνηκέναι δόξαντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ παραβοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνα. ^[6] ἠναγκάσθησαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ Φάβιοι καταλιπόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῷ δεξιῷ βοηθεῖν· καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσιόντας αὐτοὺς στίφει καρτερῷ μαθόντες τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀποτρέπονται, πυκνώσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόχους ἐμάχοντο ἐν τάξει, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτειναν.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, οἱ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου καταλαβόμενοι Τυρρηνοὶ συνθήματος ἀρθέντος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου σὺν τάχει πολλῷ καὶ προθυμίᾳ μεγάλῃ χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἠπείγοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων χάρακα, ὡς οὐκ ἀξιοχρέω δυνάμει [p. 291] φυλαττόμενον. καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἀληθής. ἔξω γὰρ τῶν τριαρίων καὶ ὀλίγων ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐμπόρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ· γίνεται τε πολλῶν εἰς ὀλίγον συνελασθέντων χωρίον· περὶ γὰρ. ταῖς πύλαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν· ὀξεῖα καὶ χαλεπὴ μάχη, καὶ νεκροὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλοί. ^[2] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ὃ τε Μάλλιος ὕπατος ἐκβοηθῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἵππος ἔπεσε συγκατενεχθεὶς καὶ ἀδύνατος ὦν ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων, ἀποθνήσκει καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι νέοι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦτ' εὐθύς ὁ χάραξ ἠλίσκετο, καὶ τέλος εἶχε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὰ ^[3] μαντεύματα εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐταμιεύσαντο τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔσχον τὸν χάρακα, τὰς τ' ἀποσκευὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέσχον καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰσχυρῶς ἀπελθεῖν ἠνάγκασαν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναψύχοντες τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ πλείους καλὴν ἄγραν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφηρέθησαν. ὡς γὰρ ἀπηγγέλθη θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ τοῦ χάρακος ἄλωσις, ἠπείγετο σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἵππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν. ^[4] καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα περιεστεφάνωσαν τὸν χάρακα, μάχη τ' αὐτῶν γίνεται καρτερὰ τῶν μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλομένων τὰ σφέτερα, τῶν δέ, μὴ πασσοῦσι διαφθαρώσιν ἀλόντος τοῦ χάρακος, δεδοικότες. χρόνου δὲ γινομένου πλείονος καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν πολλὰ πλεονεκτούντων — ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔξ [p. 292] ὑπερδεξιῶν τε χωρίων καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης κεκτημένους ἡ μάχη — Τίτος Σίκκιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος, κοινωσάμενος τῷ ὑπάτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκέλευε σημαίνειν, καὶ ^[5] καθ' ἑν ἅπαντας γενομένους μιᾷ προσβάλλειν πλευρᾷ τοῦ χάρακος, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας εἶασε μέρη κατὰ τινα εἰκότα λογισμόν, ὃς οὐκ ἐψεύσατο αὐτόν, ὅτι σωθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐλπίσαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μεθήσονται τοῦ χάρακος, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὲ τούτου γενόμενοι κυκλώσεώς τε πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης ἐξόδου ἀναγκαῖον ἔξουσιν τὸ εὐτολμον. ^[6] γενομένης δὲ καθ' ἑν χωρίον τῆς προσβολῆς οὐκέτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐτρέποντο, ἀλλ'

ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεσώζοντο χάρακα.

ὁ δ' ὑπάτος ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπέωσατο, παρεβοήθει πάλιν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. αὕτη μεγίστη λέγεται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις μάχη, πλήθει τ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ τῷ ἀγχιστροφῷ τῆς τύχης. αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων ἡ κρατίστη τε καὶ ἐπιλεκτος ἀκμὴ δισμυρίων μάλιστα πεζῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τῶν συντεταγμένων τοῖς τέτταρσι τάγμασιν ἱππέων ὁμοῦ τι χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, ἀποίκων δὲ καὶ συμμάχων ἑτέρα τοσαύτη. [2] χρόνος δ' ἐμηκύνθη τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς μεσημβρίας [p. 293] ἀρξάμενος μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου. τὰ δὲ τῆς τύχης μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆδε καὶ τῆδε νίκαις τε καὶ ἥτταις ταλαντευόμενα διέμεινεν: ὑπάτου δὲ θάνατος ἐγένετο καὶ πρεσβευτοῦ δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, ὅσων οὐδέπω πρότερον. τὸ μέντοι κράτος τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐδόκει περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους γεγονέναι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν χάρακα οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀνέζευξαν. [3] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τῆς ἐκλειφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν παρεμβολῆς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τραπόμενοι καὶ ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν χάρακα. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενοι τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις λαμπρῶς τὰς ἀριστείους ἀπέδωκαν τιμὰς, πρῶτῳ μὲν Καίσωνι Φαβίῳ τῷ τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀδελφῷ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξαμένῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Σικκίῳ, τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ τὸν χάρακα ἀνασώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ Φλαβοληίῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ τάγματος, τοῦ θ' ὄρκου χάριν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὰ [4] δεινὰ ῥώμης, διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μείναντες ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀντεπεξῆει τῶν πολεμίων μαχησόμενος, ἀπῆεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. πάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ ἀγῶνι κάλλιστον τέλος εἰληφότι, τὴν ἐπινίκιον τιμὴν τοῦ θριάμβου τῷ περιόντι ὑπάτῳ προσθεῖναι βουλομένων, ἡρνήσατο τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπάτος, οὔτε ὅσιον εἶναι [p. 294] λέγων οὔτε θεμιτὸν ἐπ' ἀδελφοῦ θανάτῳ καὶ συνάρχοντος ἀποβολῇ πομπεῦειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν: ἀποθεὶς δὲ τὰς σημαίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀπωμόσατο, δεῦν ἔτι μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον λειπομένων, ἀδύνατος, ὦν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι πράττειν. ἑταλαιπώρει γὰρ ὑπὸ τραύματος ἐξαισίου καὶ ἦν κλινοπετῆς.

ἐλομένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μεσοβασιλεῖς τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἔνεκα, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μεσοβασιλέως συγκατέσαντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοὺς λόχους, ἀποδείκνυται Καίσων Φάβιος ὁ τὰ ἀριστεῖα λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένου, τὸ τρίτον ὑπάτος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος. οὗτοι διαλαχόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήεσαν εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον: [2] Φάβιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων προνομεύουσι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροῦς, Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ στρατὸν ἐλευσόμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λεηλατουμένης τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἡνείχοντο, ὥστε πολλῶν κρατῆσαι χρημάτων τὸν ὑπάτον καὶ σωματῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας ἐξ ἐφόδου. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐντὸς τειχους μένοντες, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἔδοξαν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπέθεντο τοῖς πολεμίοις

ἔσκεδασμένοις ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία καὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τετραμμένοις τῆς λείας. [3] ἔχοντες δὲ πολλὴν καὶ συντεταγμένην δύναμιν ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς αὐτούς, [p. 295] καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας, οὓς μὲν ἀποκτείνουσιν, οὓς δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπουσι: καὶ εἰ μὴ Τίτος Σικκιος πρεσβευτῆς τότε ὦν στίφει συντεταγμένῳ πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων παραβοηθήσας ἐπέσχεν αὐτούς, οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύσον ἦν ἅπασαν ἀπολέσθαι τὴν στρατιάν. ἐκείνου δ' ἐμποδῶν γενομένου συνελθεῖν ἔφθασαν οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ καθ' ἕνα διεσκεδασμένοι: πάντες δ' ἐν ταύτῳ γενόμενοι λόφον τινὰ καταλαμβάνονται περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν, καὶ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα ἐν τούτῳ ἔμειναν. [4] ἐπαρθέντες δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῷ κατορθώματι πλησίον τοῦ λόφου τίθενται τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλουν ὥς κατακεκλεικότες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς χωρίον, ἔνθα οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδίων ἔμελλον ἔξειν, καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰ ὄπλα. γίνεται τ' αὐτῶν συχνοῦ ἐλθόντος ὄχλου δύο στρατεύματα περὶ τὰς ἐπιμάχους λαγόνas τοῦ λόφου, πολλὰ τ' ἄλλα φρουρία βραχύτερα κατὰ τοὺς ἥττον ἐπικαίρους τόπους: καὶ πάντα ἦν μεστὰ [5] ὀπλων. ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Φάβιος γραμμάτων παρὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀφικομένων ἐπιγνούς, ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτοις εἰσὶν οἱ κατακλεισθέντες ἐν τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς βοηθήσει, λιμῷ ἀλῶναι, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς σὺν τάχει: καὶ εἰ μὲν βραδύτερον ἡμέρα διήνυσεν τὴν ὁδόν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὦνυσεν, ἀλλὰ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ἐκεῖ [p. 296] στρατιάν κατέλαβε. πιεζόμενοι γὰρ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ κατέχοντες τὸν λόφον ἐξῆλθον ὥς τὸν εὐπρεπέστατον αἰρησόμενοι τῶν θανάτων, καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμάχοντο κεκμηκότες οἱ πλείους τὰ σώματα λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ τῇ [6] ἄλλῃ κακώσει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ὥς τὸ τοῦ Φαβίου στρατεύμα προσιὸν ὦφθη πολὺ τε καὶ συντεταγμένον, θάρσος μὲν ἔφερε τοῖς σφετέροις, δέος δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις: καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ οὐκέτι ἀξιόμαχοι εἶναι νομίσαντες πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ ἀκμῆτα δύναμιν εἰς ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν, ὥχοντο ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς χάρακας. ὥς δ' εἰς ταὐτὸ συνῆλθον αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέραι, στρατόπεδόν τε ποιοῦνται μέγα πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐχυρῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόθι διατρίψαντες καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν χώραν λεηλατήσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. [7] ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφειμένας ἀπὸ τῶν σημαιῶν, τὴν εὐζωνον ἀναλαβόντες νεότητα, ἦν τ' αὐτοὶ συντεταγμένην εἶχον καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων παροῦσαν, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὰ προσκείμενα τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ πεδία, καὶ διαρπάζουσι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὄντα μεστὰ. κατέβησαν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ γεωργοὶ χιλοῦ τε τῶν βοσκημάτων ἔνεκα καὶ ἐργασίας τῶν ἀγρῶν πιστεύοντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ προκαθημένη καὶ οὐ φθάσαντες ἀπελθούσης ἀνασκευάσασθαι πάλιν, οὐκ ἐλπίσαντες τοσαῦτα [p. 297] κεκακωμένους τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς ταχεῖαν οὕτως ἀντεπιχειρήσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ποιήσεσθαι. [8] αὕτη χρόνου μὲν μήκει βραχεῖα ἐγένετο ἢ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐμβολή, πλήθει δὲ χώρας, ἦν ἐπῆλθον, ἐν τοῖς πάνυ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἀχθηδόνᾳ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἀήθη παρέσχεν ἄχρη

Τιβέριός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ ὄρους Ἰανίκλου στάδια τῆς Ῥώμης οὐδ' εἴκοσιν ἀφρεστώτος ἀφικομένη. ἡ κωλύσουσα γὰρ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλεῖον χωρεῖν τὰ πολέμια οὐκ ἦν ὑπὸ σημαίαις. ἔφθασε γοῦν τὸ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν στράτευμα πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν τε καὶ λοχισθῆναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπελθόν.

συναχθείσης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ σκέψεως γενομένης, τίνα χρὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τρόπον, ἡ νικῶσα ἦν γνώμη, στράτευμα συνεστηκὸς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις, ὃ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξει τὴν χώραν θυραυλοῦν καὶ αἰεὶ μένον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐλύπει δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ τ' εἰς τοὺς φρουροὺς δαπάνη πολλὴ σφόδρα ἐσομένη, τοῦ τε κοινοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας ἐξαναλωμένου καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων ἀπειρηκόντων ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν ἀποσταλῆσομένων φρουρῶν καταγραφὴ τίνα τρόπον ἂν γένοιτο, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐκουσίῳ γέ πινῳ προκειμένων [p. 298] ἀπάντων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωρεῖν ὑποστησομένων.

[2] ἀδημονούσης δ' αὐτῆς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῦτοις συγκαλέσαντες οἱ δύο Φάβιοι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ σφετέρου γένους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο τῇ βουλῇ τοῦτο τὸ κινδύνημα αὐτοὶ περὶ πάντων ἐκόντες ὑπομενεῖν, πελάτας τε τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ φίλους καὶ τέλεσι τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ὁ πόλεμος διαμένῃ, στρατευόμενοι. [3] ἀγασθέντων δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων τοῦ γενναίου τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρ' ἐν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τιθεμένων, κλεινοὶ καὶ περιβόητοι καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὄντες ἐξήρσαν ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις. ἠγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Μάρκος Φάβιος ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει καὶ νικήσας τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς τῇ μάχῃ, τετρακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἐπαγόμενος, ὧν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πελατῶν τε καὶ ἐταίρων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἔξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες. εἶπετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις, ἥς ἠγεῖτο Καίσιων Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων. [4] γινόμενοι δὲ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρας πλησίον, ὃς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχει τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ὄχθου τινὸς ἀποτόμου καὶ περιρρῶγος ἐπετειχίζον αὐτοῖς φρούριον ἱκανὸν φυλάττεσθαι τοσαύτη στρατιᾷ τάφρους τ' ὀρυζάμενοι περὶ αὐτὸ διπλᾶς καὶ πύργους ἐγειράντες πυκνοὺς: καὶ ὠνομάσθη τὸ φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρα. οἷα δὲ πολυχειρίας τ' ἐργαζομένης καὶ ὑπάτου συλλαμβάνοντος, [5] θᾶπτον ἢ κατὰ δόξαν ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἔργον. καὶ μετὰ [p. 299] τοῦτ' ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν παρήλασεν ἐπὶ θάτερα τὰ μέρη τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἐστραμμένα Τυρρηνίαν, ἔνθα ἦν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, οὐδέποτε στρατὸν ἤξειν Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖ προσδεχομένοις. περιβαλόμενος δὲ πολλὴν λειάν ἀπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ νεόκτιστον φρούριον, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, τῆς τ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πολεμίων τιμωρίας ἔνεκα, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν ἔμελλε παρέξειν εὐπορίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκεν, οὔτε τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἰδιώταις ἀπένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ζεύγη βοεικὰ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα εἰς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν, τοῖς περιπόλοις τῆς χώρας ἐχαρίσατο. [6] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς μετὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ χωρίου κακῶς πάνυ τὰ πράγματ' εἶχεν, οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἔτι δυναμένοις ἀσφαλῶς γεωργεῖν οὔτε τὰς ἐξωθεν εἰσαγομένας ἀγοράς

δέχεσθαι. [7] νειμαντες γάρ εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τὴν στρατιάν οἱ Φάβιοι, τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ διεφύλαττον τὸ χωρίον, τοῖς δὲ τρισὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων ἄγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες αἰεὶ διετέλουν· καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένων χειρὶ οὐκ ὀλίγῃ καὶ εἰς χωρία ἐνέδραις κατεχόμενα ὑπαγομένων, περιῆσαν ἀμφοτέρως καὶ πολλοὺς νεκροὺς ποιήσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπήεσαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον. ὥστ' οὐδ' ὁμόσε χωρεῖν [p. 300] αὐτοῖς ἔτι οἱ πολέμιοι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τειχῆρεις μένοντες τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κλέπτοντες τὰς ἐξόδους διετέλουν, καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐτελεῦτα.

τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου τ' Αἰμιλίου καὶ Γαίου Σερουιλίου τὴν ὑπατείαν παρειληφόντων ἀπηγγέλη Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ Αἰκανοὶ συνθήκας πεποιήνται στρατιάς κατ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐξάγειν, καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλοῦσι· καὶ ἦν ἀληθὴ τὰ λεγόμενα. θάπτον γοῦν ἢ προσεδόκα τις ἀμφοτέροι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἐδήουν τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι χώραν, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐσομένων Ῥωμαίων τῷ τε Τυρρηνικῷ πολέμῳ ἀντέχειν καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντας δέχεσθαι. [2] καὶ ἕτεροι αὐθις ἤκοντες ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Τυρρηνίαν ἀπηγγέλλον ὅλην καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι Οὐιεντανοῖς κοινὴν ἀποστέλλειν συμμαχίαν. κατέφυγον γὰρ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐξελεῖν δι' ἑαυτῶν τὸ φρούριον Οὐιεντανοί, συγγενείας τε ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ φιλίας καὶ ὅσους μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσαντο πολέμους διεξιόντες· ἀντὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων ἀξιοῦντες συνάρασθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου, ὡς σφῶν τε προκαθημένων Τυρρηνίας ὅλης καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνακωχεύοντων τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ῥέοντα κατὰ πάντων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπέσχοντο πέμψειν αὐτοῖς [p. 301] [3] ὄσῃν ἠξίουں συμμαχίαν. ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο τρισσὰς ἐκπέμψειν στρατίας, καὶ γενομένων ἐν τάχει τῶν καταλόγων Λεύκιος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐπέμφθη· συνήρατο δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξόδου Καίσιων Φάβιος, ὁ νεωστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος, δεηθεὶς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐν Κρεμέρᾳ συγγενέσιν, οὓς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρουρήσοντας τὸ χωρίον ἐξήγαγε, συνεῖναι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγώνων μετέχειν· καὶ ἐξῆλθε σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξουσίᾳ κοσμηθεὶς ἀνθυπάτῳ. [4] Γάιος δὲ Σερουίλιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ Οὐολοῦσκους ἐστράτευσε· Σερούιος δὲ Φούριος ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνος. ἐκάστῳ δ' αὐτῶν δύο μὲν τάγματα Ῥωμαίων εἵπετο, Λατίνων δὲ καὶ Ἑρνίκων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς δυνάμεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουίῳ κατὰ νοῦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐχώρησε καὶ σὺν τάχει. μιᾷ γὰρ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς μάχῃ καὶ ταύτῃ δίχα πόνου, τῇ πρώτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκπλήξας ἐφόδῳ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καταπεφυγόντων εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα. [5] Σερουιλίῳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ αὐθαδείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωρήσαντι πολὺ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντησε, καρτερῶς πάνυ τῶν Οὐολοῦσκων ἀντιταξαμένων, ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθη πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολέσας μηκέτι χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑπομένων ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ ψιλῶν [p. 302] [6] συμπλοκαῖς διαφέρειν ἔγνω τὸν πόλεμον. Λεύκιος δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς, εὐρῶν

ἔξεστρατευμένους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολὺ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐπικουρικόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μελλήσας ἔργου εἶχετο: ἡμέραν δ', ἀφ' ἧς τὸν χάρακα ἔθετο, διαλιπὼν ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς μάχην, θρασέως πάνυ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ὁμόσε χωροῦντων. ἰσορρόπου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γινομένου τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐνσείει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, καί, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διεσάλευσεν, ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐχώρει, ὅπου μὲν ἱππάσιμον εἶη χωρίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μαχόμενος, ὅπου δ' ἄνιππον ἀποκαταβαίνων τε καὶ πεζὸς ἀγωνιζόμενος. πονούντων δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων οὐδ' οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' ἐξεώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντες ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. [7] ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ἠκολούθει τοῖς φεύγουσι συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρε. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐκείνην τε παρέμεινε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κόπῳ τε καὶ τραύμασι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ἀπειρηκότων ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τοῦ χάρακος. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοί, ὡς εἶδον ἐπιβαίνοντας ἤδη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοῖς περισταυρώμασιν, ἐκλιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη. [8] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἔμεινεν ὁ ὕπατος, [p. 303] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις δωρεαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑποζυγία τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ σκηνὰς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν πολλῇ εὐπορίᾳ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα ὡς ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας πώποτε μάχης. ἀβροδιατον γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολυτελὲς τὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνος ἦν οἴκοι τε καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, περιηγόμενον ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλούτου τε καὶ τέχνης ἔργα παντοῖα πρὸς ἡδονὰς μεμηχανημένα καὶ τρυφάς.

ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἱκετηρίας φέροντας ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλεξομένους. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὀλοφυρόμενοί τε καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ τᾶλλ', ὅσα ἐπαγωγὰ ἦν εἰς ἔλεον, μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων διεξιόντες πείθουσι τὸν ὕπατον ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν βουλήν διαλεξομένους, ἕως δ' ἂν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφίκωνται φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, μηδὲν αὐτῶν κακουργεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἴνα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται ταῦτα πράττειν, σίτον τε ὠμολόγησαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ διμήνου παρέξειν, καὶ χρήματα εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν [p. 304] [2] ἔξ μηνῶν, ὡς ὁ κρατῶν ἔταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὕπατος λαβὼν τὰ κομισθέντα καὶ διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ποιεῖται τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνοχάς. ἡ δὲ βουλή τῆς πρεσβείας ἀκούσασα καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου γράμματ' ἀναλεξαμένη πολλὴν ποιουμένου παράκλησιν καὶ παραινούντος ὡς τάχιστα καταθέσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον, δόγμα ἐξήνεγκε διδόναι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς ἦτοῦντο οἱ πολέμιοι: ἐφ' οἷς δὲ δικαίοις αὕτη γενήσεται, τὸν ὕπατον καταστήσασθαι Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ [3] φανῇ κράτιστα ἔξειν. ταύτας λαβὼν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὁ ὕπατος σπένδεται πρὸς τοὺς Οὐιεντανούς, ἐπεικεστέραν μᾶλλον ἢ συμφορωτέραν τοῖς

κεκρατηκόσι ποιησάμενος εἰρήνην, οὔτε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος οὔτε χρημάτων ἄλλων ἐπιθείς ζημίαν, οὔτε ὁμήρων δώσει τὸ πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς συγκειμένοις βεβαιωσάμενος. [4] τοῦτ' αὐτῷ μέγαν ἤνεγκε φθόνον, καὶ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις χάριτας αἷτιον ἐγένετο. ἐνέστησαν γάρ αὐτῷ τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτουμένῳ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αἰτιώμενοι τῶν συνθηκῶν, ὅτι οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης αὐτὰς ἔπραξεν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν λάβῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάγειν ἐπικουρίας τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἔνεκα, εἰ δύναιτο κατορθώσας τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον — ἦν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον — ἀφανίσει τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀμαρτήμασιν ὀργάς. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο τῆς βουλῆς [p. 305] ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορίαν, ὡς ἀχθομένης ἐπὶ τῷ λελυσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον. ἔφην δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ὑπεροφίας τῶν πενήτων ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ὑπεροριῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων ἀπαιτῶσι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις, [5] πολλοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη φενακιζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια εἰπὼν καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἀκράτου τῶν πατρικίων ὄνειδη κατασκεδάσας, τὴν τε συστρατευσαμένην αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀπέλυσε τῶν σημείων καὶ τὴν μετὰ Φουρίου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου διατρίβουσαν ἐν Αἰκανοῖς μεταπεμφάμενος ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα: ἐξ ὧν πολλὴν πάλιν ἐποίησεν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς δημάρχοις κατηγορεῖν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ διστάσαι τοὺς πένητας ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων.

μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Γάιος Ὀράτιος καὶ Τίτος Μενήνιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκτῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Σκάμανδρος Μιτυληναῖος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φαίδωνος. τούτοις κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὁ πολιτικὸς θόρυβος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ ἡρεθισμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ οὐδὲν ἑῶντος ἕτερον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ἕως ἂν μερίσθῃ τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἴξε τὰ παρακινουῦντα καὶ ταραττόμενα τῇ ἀνάγκῃ συγχωρήσαντα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας ἐκούσια ἦλθε.

[2] Τυρρηνῶν γὰρ αἱ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνδεκα πόλεις [p. 306] ἀγορὰν ποιησάμεναι κοινὴν κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Οὐιεντανῶν ἔθνους, ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης κατελύσαντο, καὶ δεῖν θάπερον αὐτοὺς ἡξιοῦν πράττειν, ἢ λύειν τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογηθέντα

[3] ἢ πολεμεῖν σφίσι μετ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης τὴν ἀνάγκην ἡτιῶντο, ὅπως δ' ἂν αὐτὴν καταλύσαιτο εὐπρεπῶς εἰς κοινὸν ἐτίθεσαν σκοπεῖν. ἔπειτα ὑποτίθεται τις αὐτοῖς ἔγκλημα ποιησαμένοις τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τῆς Κρεμέρας καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπ' αὐτῆς, λόγῳ μὲν πρῶτον ἀξιοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωσι, πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου. [4] ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἀπηλλάττοντο ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου: καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Οὐιεντανοὶ μὲν ἀποστειλαντες πρεσβείαν ὡς τοὺς Φαβίους ἀπῆτουν παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ φρούριον, Τυρρηνία δὲ πᾶσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Φαβίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιστειλάντων ἔγνωσαν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκπορεύεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν τ' ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας ἐπαγόμενον σφίσι καὶ τὸν ἔτι πρὸς Οὐολούσκους συνεστώτα. [5] Ὀράτιος

μὲν οὖν ἄγων δύο τάγματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Οὐλολούςκους. Μενήγιος δὲ τοσαύτην στρατὴν ἑτέραν ἄγων ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἔμελλε ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. παρασκευαζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τρίβοντος τὸν [p. 307] χρόνον ἔφθη τὸ ἐν Κρεμέρᾳ φρούριον ἐξαιρεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ Φαβίων γένος ἅπαν ἀπολόμενον. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς ἄνδρας συμφορᾶς διττὸς φέρεται λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἦττον πιθανός, ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπτόμενος. θήσω δ' αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους, ὥς παρέλαβον.

τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασιν, ὅτι θυσίας ἐπιστάσης πατρίου, ἣν ἔδει τὸ Φαβίων ἐπιτελέσαι γένος, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον ὀλίγους ἐπαγόμενοι πελάτας ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ προῆσαν οὔτε διερευνώμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐθ' ὑπὸ σημαίαις τεταγμένοι κατὰ λόχους, ῥαθύμως δὲ καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ὥς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ διὰ φιλίας γῆς πορευόμενοι. [2] οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ προεγνωκότες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ἐλόχησαν τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν συντεταγμένην ἔχοντες οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἠκολούθουν. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασαν οἱ Φάβιοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις, ἐξαναστάντες τοῦ λόχου οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν δύναμις προσέβαλεν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν: καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόναις, οἱ δὲ τόξοις, οἱ δὲ σαννίοις τε καὶ λόγχαις στοχαζόμενοι, τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἅπαντας κατειργάσαντο. [3] οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἦττον ἔμοιγε πιθανὸς φαίνεται εἶναι λόγος. οὔτε γὰρ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου θυσίας ἔνεκα [p. 308] τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς σημαίαις τοσούτους ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφειν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος βουλῆς, δυναμένων τῶν ἱερουργῶν καὶ δι' ἑτέρων ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τῶν μετεχόντων μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, προβεβηκότων δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις: οὐτ' εἰ πάντες ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μηδεμία μοῖρα τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐν τοῖς ἐφεστίοις ὑπελείπετο, πάντας εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ φρούριον ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν: ἤρκουν γὰρ ἂν καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἀφικόμενοι συντελέσαι περὶ τοῦ γένους ὅλου τὰ ἱερά. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι πιστὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος.

ὁ δ' ἕτερος, ὃν ἀληθέστερον εἶναι νομίζω περὶ τε τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῦ φρουρίου, τοιόσδε τις ἐστίν. ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τὸ κατορθοῦν ἐν ταῖς πείραις συνεχῶς προσωτέρω προχωροῦντων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι στρατὴν συχνὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔγγιστα χωρίοις λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἔπειτ' ἀποστέλλοντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ποιμένας τε καὶ βουκόλια καὶ φορβάδων ἀγέλας ἵππων ἐπὶ νομῇν τῷ λόγῳ προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα: οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες τοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους συνήρπαζον καὶ τὰ [2] βοσκήματα περιήλαυνον. τοῦτο συνεχῶς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ποιοῦντες καὶ προαγόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπειδὴ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν τὸ προνοητικὸν τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ταῖς συνεχέσιν ὠφελείαις δελεάσαντες, ἐγκαθίζουσι λόχους ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τῶν [p. 309] χωρίων νύκτωρ, καὶ ἕτεροι τὰς ὑπερδεξιούς τῶν πεδίων καταλαμβάνονται σκοπιάς: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προπέμψαντες ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνόπλους, ὥς δὴ φυλακῆς

ἔνεκα τῶν νομέων, ἀφῆκαν ἐκ τῶν χωρίων πολλὰς ἀγέλας. [3] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς Φαβίοις, ὅτι τοὺς πλησίον ὑπερβαλόντες λόφους ἐν ὀλίγῳ δή τινι χρόνῳ μεστὸν εὐρήσουσι τὸ πεδῖον παντοίων βοτῶν, καὶ τὴν φυλάττουσαν αὐτὰ χεῖρα οὐχ ἱκανήν, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακὴν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντες· καὶ διανύσαντες σπουδῇ καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιφαίνονται τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν βοσκημάτων συντεταγμένοι· κἀκεῖνοι οὐ δεξάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Φάβιοι, ὥς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ δή ὄντες, τοὺς τε νομεῖς συνελάμβανον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα περιήλανον. [4] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες κατὰ πολλὰ χωρία προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσκεδασμένοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν οὐχ οἷοί τ' ὄντες, ἐνταῦθ' ἀπόλλυνται. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότες ἦσαν προθυμοῦμενοί τι καταλαβέσθαι χωρίον ἀσφαλὲς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄρη σπεύδοντες εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπίπτουσι λόχον ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ὑποκαθήμενον. καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερὰ καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἐκατέρων πολλός. ἀπέωσαντο δ' οὐκ καὶ τοὺτους ὁμως, καὶ πληρώσαντες τὴν φάραγγα νεκρῶν ἀνέδραμον ἐπὶ λόφον οὐ ῥάδιον ἀλῶναι· ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα ἄποροι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ηὔλisanτο. [p. 310]

τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες τὴν κατασχοῦσαν τοὺς σφετέρους τύχην οἱ κατέχοντες τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἀπόλωλε τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἐν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον ἐν ὄρει πολιορκεῖται κατακεκλεισμένον ἐρήμῳ, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα τις αὐτοῖς ἤξει βοήθεια, σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων φθάσουσιν ἐξαιρεθέντες, ἐξήεσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὀλίγους πάνυ καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ φύλακας. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐπικαταδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων κυκλοῦνται τε, καὶ πολλὰ γενναῖα ἔργα ἀποδειξαμένους διαφθεῖρουσιν ἅπαντας σὺν χρόνῳ. [2] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν λόφον καταλαβόμενοι λιμῷ τε καὶ διψῇ πιεζόμενοι ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔγνωσαν· καὶ συμπεσόντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν τῶν πολεμίων φόνον, ὥστε τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς μάχης πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ πλεῖον ἢ τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ δείσαντες, μικρὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰ ὄπλα διὰ τῶν ἀνακλητικῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ δίδον, ἐὰν τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθῶνται καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐκλίπωσιν. [3] οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενῆ θάνατον αἰρουμένων ἐπῆεσαν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐκ διαδοχῆς, συστάδην μὲν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκέτι μαχόμενοι, πρόσωθεν δὲ βάλλοντες ἀθροοὶ λόγχαις καὶ χερμάσι, καὶ ἦν νιφετῷ παραπλήσιος [p. 311] ἢ πληθὺς τῶν βελῶν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συστρεφόμενοι κατὰ λόχους προσέτρεχον αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑφισταμένοις καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πέριξ ὑπέμενον. [4] ὥς δὲ τὰ τε ξίφη πολλοῖς ἄχρηστα ἦν τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμάς, τὰ δὲ κατεαγότα, καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ πέριξ ἵτιος ἐχόμενα διετέθρυπτο, ἔξαιμοί τε οἱ πλείους καὶ καταβελεῖς καὶ παράλυτοι τὰ μέλη διὰ πλῆθος τραυμάτων ἦσαν, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ χωροῦσιν ὁμόσε· καὶ οἱ

Ῥωμαῖοι προσπίπτοντες ὥσπερ θηρία δόρατά τ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνόμενοι κατέκλων, καὶ ξίφη δραπτόμενοι κατὰ τὰς ἀκμὰς ἀπέσπων, καὶ περικυλίωντες εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα συνεφύροντο θυμῷ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ δυνάμει διαγωνιζόμενοι. [5] ὥστ' οὐκέτι συνήεσαν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ τε καρτερικὸν ἐκπληττόμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, ἣν προσειλήφεσαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ ζῆν δεδιότες: ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες αὐθις ἔβαλλον ἀθρόοι καὶ ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐγκατέχωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν. διαφθείραντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον, ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κεφαλὰς, [6] ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοὺς ἐκεῖ παραληψόμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γ' αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐλπίδα τὸ ἔργον: οἱ γὰρ καταλειφθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ ζηλώσαντες τὸ εὐγενὲς τοῦ θανάτου τῶν θ' ἐταίρων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξηλθον ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, καὶ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἑτέροις ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν: [p. 312] τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔρημον οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρέλαβον. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πιστότερος ἐφαίνετο πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου: φέρονται δ' ἐν γραφαῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀξιοχρεοῖς ἀμφότεροι.

τὸ δὲ συναπτόμενον τούτοις ὑπὸ τινων οὗτ' ἀληθὲς ὃν οὔτε πιθανόν, ἐκ παρακούσματος δὲ τινος πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἄξιον μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἀνεξέταστον. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τινες, τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων Φαβίων ἀπολομένων ὅτι ἐν μόνον ἐλείφθη τοῦ γένους παιδίον, πρᾶγμα οὐ μόνον ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ [2] ἀδύνατον εἰσάγοντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἀτέκνους τε καὶ ἀγάμους ἅπαντας εἶναι δυνατόν ἦν τοὺς ἐξεληθόντας εἰς τὸ φρούριον Φαβίους. ὁ γὰρ ἀρχαῖος αὐτῶν νόμος γαμεῖν τ' ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐπάναγκες τρέφειν: ὃν οὐκ ἂν δῆπου κατέλυσαν οἱ Φάβιοι μόνοι πεφυλαγμένον ἄχρι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων. [3] εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο θεῖη τις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνὸ γ' οὐκ ἂν ἔτι συγχωρήσειε, τὸ μηδ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι τισιν ἡλικίαν ἔτι παιδῶν ἔχοντας. μῦθοις γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα γε καὶ πλάσμασιν ἔοικε θεατρικοῖς. οἱ δὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι παῖδας ἔτι ποιεῖν εἶχον ἡλικίαν, τοσαύτης κατασχοῦσης τὸ γένος ἐρημίας οὐκ ἂν ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἑτέρους παῖδας ἐποίησαντο, ἵνα μήτε ἱερὰ ἐκλειφθῇ πατρῴα μήτε δόξα τηλικαύτη διαφθαρεῖ γένους; [4] εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὐδὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν τισιν ἐλείποντο, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰς ταῦτό συνῆλθεν [p. 313] ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τὰ ἀδύνατα: μὴ παῖδας αὐτοῖς καταλειφθῆναι νηπίους, μὴ γυναικας ἐγκύους, μὴ ἀδελφοὺς ἀνήβους, μὴ πατέρας ἐν ἀκμῇ. ταῦτη μὲν δὴ τὸν λόγον ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἀληθῆς νενόμικα, [5] ἐκείνον δ' ἀληθῆ: τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, Καίσιωνός τε καὶ Κοίντου καὶ Μάρκου τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπτά ὑπατείας, ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι πείθομαι Μάρκῳ παιδίον, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων οἴκου λοιπόν. [6] οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει τῷ μηκέτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῇ τινα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἐνὸς τοῦδε ἀνδρωθέντος γενέσθαι ταύτην παραστῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐστὶ λοιπός: οὐχ ὡς μηδενὸς ἄλλον ὄντος, ἀλλ' ὡς μηδενὸς ἐκείνοις ὁμοίου, ἀρετῇ τεκμαιρομένοις τὸ συγγενὲς, οὐ φύσει: καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

οἱ γοῦν Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς τ' ἄνδρας διαφθείραντες καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Κρεμέρᾳ

φρούριον παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτυχε δ' οὐ μακρὰν κατεστρατοπεδευκῶς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μενήνιος οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ· καὶ ὅτε ἡ Φαβίων συγγένεια καὶ τὸ πελατικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τριάκοντά που σταδίους ἀπέιχεν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τόπου, δόξαν τ' οὐκ ὀλίγοις παρέσχε, γνοὺς ἐν οἷσι κακοῖς ἦσαν οἱ Φάβιοι, μηδεμίαν [p. 314] αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι φροντίδα τῆς τ' ἀρετῆς καὶ ^[2] δόξης τοῖς ἀνδράσι φθονῶν. τοιγαροῦν μετὰ ταύθ' ὑπαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς δίκην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἐάλω. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπένθησεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀρετὰς ἀποκειραμένη, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ δόξαν αὐτοῖς αἴτιον γεγονέναι τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως εἶχεν· τὴν δ' ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ἣ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο, μέλαινάν τε καὶ ἀποφράδα τίθεται, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔργου ἐν ταύτῃ χρηστοῦ ἄρξαίτο, τὴν τότε συμβῆσαν αὐτῇ τύχην ὀπτευομένην. ^[3] ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ Τυρρηνοί, συνιδόντες αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον — ἦν δ' ὑπὸ λαγόνι κείμενον ὄρους — τῆς τ' ἀπειρίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πλεονέκτημα ἀγαπητῶς ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν πλευρὰν τοῦ λόφου οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφήν. καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόρυμβον ἔθεντο ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀσφαλῶς ἀναβιβάσαντες ὑψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ βαθεῖα τάφρῳ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὠχυρώσαντο. ^[4] εἰ μὲν οὖν συνιδῶν ὁ Μενήνιος, οἷον ἔδωκε πλεονέκτημα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετέγνω τε τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ εἰς ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπήγαγε χωρίον τὴν στρατιάν, σοφὸς ἂν ἦν, νῦν δὲ δι' αἰσχύνης λαμβάνων τὸ δοκεῖν ἡμαρτηκέναι [p. 315] καὶ τὸ αὐθαδὲς πρὸς τοὺς μεταδιδάσκοντας φυλάττων, μετὰ αἰσχύνης ἄξιον πτῶμα ἔπεσεν. ^[5] οἷα γὰρ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων αὐτοῦ τόπων οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκάστοτε ποιοῦμενοι πολλὰ ἐπλεονέκτουν, ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν ἀγομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀρπάζοντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ ὕδωρ ἐκπορευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενοι· καὶ περιεισθίκει τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ μήτε καιροῦ εἶναι κυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε τόπου, ᾧ δοκεῖ μεγάλα εἶναι κατηγορήματα ἡγεμόνων στρατηγίας ἀπειρῶν· τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀμφοτέρα, ὡς ἐβούλοντο, ^[6] εἶχε ταῦτα. καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀπαναστῆσαι τὴν στρατιάν ὁ Μενήνιος ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐξαγαγὼν παρέταξεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, καταφρονήσας τῶν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑποτιθεμένων. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοί τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενοι κατέβαινον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ διπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες. ^[7] ὡς δὲ συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, φόνος ἐγίγνετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολλὺς οὐ δυναμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν. ἐξεώθουν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοί τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχον καὶ τῶν ἐφεσθηκότων κατόπιν — ἐτάξαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ βάθος — ἐμπτῶσει πολλῇ συνεργοῦμενοι. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων λοχαγῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐγκλίνας ἐφευγεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, καὶ τὰς τε σημαίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας συλλαμβάνουσι [p. 316] καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν γίνονται κύριοι. καὶ ^[8] κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς λοιπῆς ἡμέρας

προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν νύκτα ἀφέντες αἰροῦσι τὸν χάρακα ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδον, καὶ γίνονται πολλῶν σωματῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποσκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἔσχον οἱ φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα διέσωσαν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες.

οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὴν τ' ἀπώλειαν τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ χάρακος μαθόντες — ἦκον γὰρ οἱ πρῶτοι διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης — εἰς μέγαν θόρυβον ὥσπερ εἰκὸς κατέστησαν· καὶ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλευσομένων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν τὰ τεῖχη περιεστεφάνουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐτάξαντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο. [2] ἦν δὲ δρόμος ἄτακτος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ βοή συμμιγής, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι τῶν οἰκῶν εἰς ἀλκὴν καὶ ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπής ὁ κατοικίδιος ὄχλος, πυρσοὶ τε συνεχεῖς, οἷα δὴ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκοταίᾳ ταύτῃ, ὑπὸ λαμπάδων καὶ ἀπὸ τεγῶν τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦροντο, ὥστε συναφὲς εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῖς πρόσωθεν ὁρῶσι τὸ [3] σέλας καὶ δόξαν ἐμπιπραμένης πόλεως παρασχεῖν. καὶ [p. 317] εἰ τότε οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ὠφελειῶν ὑπεριδόντες ἐκ ποδὸς τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἠκολούθησαν, ἅπασ' ἂν διέφθαρτο ἡ στρατεύσασα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δύναμις, νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τε τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων ἐν τῷ χάρακι τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὰ σώματα δόντες μεγάλου αὐχλήματος ἑαυτοὺς ἐστέρησαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ σταδίους ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκκαίδεκα ἀποσχόντες ὄρος, ἐξ οὗ σύνοπτός ἐστιν ἡ Ῥώμη, τὸ καλούμενον Ἰάνικλον, καταλαμβάνονται, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἀκώλυτοι κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὑπεροψίαν, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ὀράτιον ἄγοντα τὴν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις δύναμιν. [4] τότε δὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητα καθοπλίσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον. ὡς δὲ τὴν τε πρῶτην μάχην ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτὼ τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἐλπίδος ἱερὸν ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ ἀπεώσαντο τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην αὖθις ἑτέρᾳ πλείονι δυνάμει τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐπελθόντων παρὰ ταῖς Κολλῖναις καλουμέναις πύλαις ποιησάμενοι λαμπρῶς ἡγωνίσαντο, καὶ ἀνέπνευσαν ἐκ τοῦ δέους, καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτ' ἐτελεύτα.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει περὶ τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα [p. 318] τροπὰς Σεξιτίου μηνὸς παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων Σερουῖος τε Σερουίλιος καὶ Αὖλος Οὐεργίνιος, οἷς ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμος καίτοι μέγας καὶ χαλεπὸς ὦν χρυσὸς ἐφαίνετο παρὰ τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους ἐξεταζόμενος. ἀσπόρου γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χειμῶνι διὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τοῦ πλησίον ὄρους καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καταδρομὰς γενομένης, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἔτι τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπείσαγόντων ἀγορὰς σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ σίτου τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχε μεστήν οὔσαν ὄχλου τοῦ τε κατοικίδιου καὶ [2] τοῦ συνερρηγκότος ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡβῇ πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑνδεκα μυριάδας ἦσαν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐγγιστα τιμῆσεως εὐρέθη, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παιδῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκετικῆς θεραπείας ἐμπόρων τε καὶ παιδῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκετικῆς θεραπείας ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ἐργαζομένων τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας

μετοίκων — οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐξῆν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε κάπηλον οὔτε χειροτέχνην βίον ἔχειν — οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ τριπλάσιον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους: οὐς οὐκ ἦν παραμυθῆσασθαι ῥάδιον ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ συντρέχοντας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ καταβοῶντας τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἐπὶ τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσίων κατὰ πλῆθος ὠθουμένους, καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἄτερ ὦνῆς τὰς ἀποκειμένας αὐτοῖς τροφάς. [3] οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι συνάγοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατηγοροῦντες τῶν πατρικίων ὡς αἰεὶ τι κακὸν [p. 319] ἐπὶ τοῖς πένησι μηχανωμένων, καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πώποτε δεινὰ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν ἀτέκμαρτόν τε καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἀνθρώποις τύχην, ἐκείνων ἔργα λέγοντες, [4] ὕβριστὰς εἶναι πικροὺς ἐξειργάσαντο. τοιοῦτοις συνεχόμενοι κακοῖς οἱ ὕπατοι πέμπουσι τοὺς συνωνησομένους σῖτον ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἔταξαν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον πλείονα τοῦ μετρίου παραθεμένους, τιμὴν ὀρίσαντες ἀποχρῶσαν. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μηχανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ἐπέσχον τῶν πενήτων τὰς παρανομίας καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ἔλαβον τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς.

ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐβράδυνον ἀγοραί, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τείχους τροφῆς ἐχόμενα πάντα κατανάλωτο, ἀποστροφὴ δὲ τῶν κακῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἑτέρα, ἀλλὰ дуεῖν θάτερον ἐχρῆν, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει παρακινδυνεύσαντας, ἢ τειχῆρεις μένοντας ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ στάσεως διαφθαρήναι, τὸ κουφότερον αἰρούμενοι τῶν κακῶν ἔγνωσαν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων δεινοῖς. [2] προαγαγόντες δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως περὶ μέσας νύκτας διέβησαν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ σχεδιαῖς καί, πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι, πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προελθόντες ἔταξαν ὡς εἰς μάχην τὸν στρατόν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν τῶν κεράτων Οὐεργίνιος, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Σερουίλιος. [3] ἰδόντες [p. 320] δ' αὐτοὺς εὐτρεπεῖς ὄντας οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα σφόδρα ἐχάρησαν, ὡς ἐνὶ τῷ τότε κινδύνῳ κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντι τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθελοῦντες ἀρχήν, εἰδότες, ὅτι πᾶν, ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκείνον ὥρμητο, καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχοντες, ἐν ᾗ πολὺ τὸ κοῦφον ἦν, ῥαδίως αὐτῶν κρατήσειν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μετὰ Μενηγίου δύναμιν ἐν δυσχωρίαις παραταξαμένην σφίσιν ἐνίκησαν. γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολυχρονίου μάχης πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες Ῥωμαίων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείονας τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλόντες ἀνεχώρουν βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. [4] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐεργίνιος τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων οὐκ εἶα διώκειν τοὺς σφετέρους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι μένειν, ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρως ἐδίωκε τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπόμενος ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις ἐγένετο, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἐνσείουσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τινὰ δεξάμενοι χρόνον ἐγκλίνουσι τὰ νῶτα, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ λόφου διωκόμενοι σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο. [5] μαθὼν δὲ Οὐεργίνιος, ἐν οἷαις ἦν τύχαις ἢ τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας κατέχουσα στρατιά, πᾶσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τάξει πλαγίαν ἦγε διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ὁδόν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ νώτου τῶν διωκόντων τοὺς σφετέρους, μέρος μὲν τι ταύτῃ καταλείπει τῆς στρατιᾶς

κωλύσεως ἔνεκεν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησόντων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς ἄγων ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σερουιλίου θαρσήσαντες τῇ [p. 321] παρουσίᾳ τῶν σφετέρων ὑποστρέφουσι τε καὶ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο. κυκλωθέντες δ' ὑπ' ἄμοφιν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ οὔτε πρόσω διεκπορευθῆναι δυνάμενοι διὰ τοὺς ὁμοσε χωροῦντας, οὔτ' ὀπίσω φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα διὰ τοὺς κατόπιν ἐπιόντας, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως, [6] ἀτυχῶς δ' οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν. γενομένης δ' οἰκτρᾶς νίκης περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν εὐτυχὲς τέλος εἰληφότος τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ πρὸ τῶν νεκρῶν καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα ἠύλισαντο, οἱ δὲ κατέχοντες τὸ Ἰανικλον Τυρρηνοὶ, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεμία παρὰ τῶν οἴκοθεν ἦρχετο ἐπικουρία, καταλιπεῖν ἔκριναν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπῆραν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν ἐγγυτάτω σφίσι τῶν Τυρρηνίδων πόλεων κειμένην. [7] τοῦ δὲ χάρακος αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατήσαντες τὰ τε χρήματα διαρπάξουσιν, ὅσα ὑπελείποντο ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγῇ φέρεσθαι, καὶ τραυματίας λαμβάνουσι πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀπολειφθέντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνά τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν ἐστρωμένους. [8] ἀντείχοντο γάρ τινες γλιχόμενοι τῆς οἰκαδὲ ὁδοῦ καὶ διεκαρτέρουν παρὰ δυνάμιν ἀκολουθοῦντες, εἴτα βαρυνομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν μελῶν ἡμιθνήτες κατέρρεον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν: οὗς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες ἀνείλοντο: καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ἦν καθελόντες τὸ φρούριον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἄγοντες ἦκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτησάντων κομίσαντες οἰκτρὰν ὄψιν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις διὰ πλῆθος [p. 322] [9] τε καὶ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀπολομένων. ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕθ' ἐορτάζειν ὡς καλὸν ἀγῶνα κατορθώσας ἤξει, οὔτε πενθεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς τὰς ἀναγκαίους ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας, τὴν δ' ἐπινίκιον τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις. μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀγορᾶς ἐπλήσθη παντοδατῆς ἡ πόλις τῶν τε δημοσίων πεμφθέντων καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων ἐμπορεύεσθαι πολὺν εἰσαγαγόντων σῖτον, ὥστ' ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πάντα εὐετηρία γενέσθαι.

καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πολέμων ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις αὖθις ἀνεκαίετο τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν ταραττόντων τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πολитеύματα διεσκέδασαν αὐτῶν ἀντιπαττόμενοι πρὸς ἕκαστον οἱ πατρίκιοι, τὴν δὲ κατὰ Μενηνίου δίκην τοῦ νεωστὶ ὑπατεύσαντος καίτοι πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο διαλύσαι: [2] ἀλλ' ὑπαρχεῖς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς δίκην ὑπὸ δουρὶν δημάρχων Κοίντου Κωνσιδίου καὶ Τίτου Γενυκίου, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτούμενος τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ πολέμου τέλος οὔτ' εὐτυχὲς οὔτ' εὐπρεπὲς λαβούσης, μάλιστα δὲ διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ ὀλέθρῳ καὶ τῇ Κρεμέρας ἀλώσει, δικάζοντος τοῦ δημοτικοῦ ὄχλου κατὰ φυλὰς, οὐ παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους ὤφλεν, υἱὸς ὢν Ἀγρίππα Μενηνίου τοῦ καταγαγόντος ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν δῆμον καὶ διαλλάξαντος πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ἡ βουλὴ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων λαμπροτάταις [p. 323] ἐκόσμησε ταφαῖς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν ἀποθέμεναι. [3] οὐ μέντοι θανάτου γ' αὐτὸν οἱ καταδικασάμενοι

ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτίσματος, ὃ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς νῦν ἐξεταζόμενον βίους γέλωτος ἂν ἄξιον φανείη, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἀνθρώποις αὐτουργοῖς οὕσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ζῶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πενίαν κληρονομήσαντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφειδὲς ἦν καὶ βαρὺ, δισχιλίων ἀριθμὸς ἄσσοριων. ἦν δ' ἄσσοριον τότε χάλκεον νόμισμα βάρος λιτριάϊον, ὥστε τὸ σύμπαν ὄφλημα ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα εἰς ὀλκὴν χαλκοῦ γενέσθαι. [4] καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιφθονον ἐφάνη τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἐπανορθώσασθαι βουλόμενοι αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν χρηματικὰς ἔπαυσαν ζημίας, μετήνεγκαν δ' εἰς προβάτων ἐκτίσματα καὶ βοῶν, τάξαντες καὶ τούτων ἀριθμὸν ταῖς ὕστερον ἐσομέναις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ιδιώταις ἐπιβολαῖς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μενηνίου καταδικῆς ἀφορμὴν αὐθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ὀργῆς καὶ οὕτε τὴν κληρουχίαν ἐπέτρεπον ἔτι αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι, [5] οὕτ' ἄλλο ἐβούλοντο ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μετέμελε τῶν δεδικασμένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπύθετο: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἔτι συνῆλθεν ὁμιλίας, οὐδ' ἐν δημοσίῳ τινὶ πρὸς οὐδενὸς ὦφθη τόπῳ, ἐξὸν τ' αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἐκτίσαντι μηδενὸς ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν καινῶν — ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῦ [p. 324] τὴν καταδικὴν ἀπαριθμεῖν — οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου τὴν συμφορὰν τιμησάμενος οἴκοι μένων καὶ οὐδένα προσιέμενος ὑπὸ τ' ἀθυμίας καὶ σίτων ἀποχῆς μαρανθεὶς ἀπέστη τοῦ βίου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ πραχθέντα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τοιαῦδε ἦν.

Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ Γαίου Ναυτίου παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕτερος ἀνὴρ πάλιν τῶν πατρικίων Σερούιος Σερουίλιος, ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει, μετ' οὐ πολὺν ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι χρόνον εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα ἤχθη. οἱ δὲ προθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δίκην δύο τῶν δημάρχων ἦσαν, Λεῦκιος Καιδικίος καὶ Τίτος Στάτιος, οὐκ ἀδικήματος, ἀλλὰ τύχης ἀπαιτοῦντες λόγον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς μάχην ὡσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ὁ ἀνὴρ θρασύτερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερον, ἐδιώχθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἀθρόων ἐπεξελθόντων καὶ τὴν κρατίστην νεότητά ἀπέβαλεν. [2] οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπάντων ἐφάνη τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀγώνων βαρύτερος, ἡγανάκτουν τε συνιόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ δεινὸν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ τὰς εὐτολμίας τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὸ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνεῖν, ἐὰν ἐναντιωθῇ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἰς κατηγορίαν ἄξουσιν οἱ μὴ στάντες παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ: δειλίας τε καὶ ὄκνου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὑφ' ὧν [p. 325] ἐλευθερία τ' ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἡγεμονία καταλύεται, τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ εἶκός ἐλογίζοντο. [3] παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ ἐχρῶντο τῶν δημοτικῶν μὴ καταγνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν δίκην, διδάσκοντες, ὡς μεγάλη βλάβησιν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ζημιοῦντες. [4] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνέστη χρόνος, παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων κατηγορήσας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, Λεῦκιος Καιδικίος, ὅτι δι' ἀφροσύνην τε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀπειρίαν εἰς πρόδηλον ἄγων ὄλεθρον τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπώλεσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμήν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα τοῦ κακοῦ γνῶσις ἐγένετο τῷ συνυπάτῳ, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἄγων τὰς δυνάμεις τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἀνέστειλε καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔσωσε,

μηδὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ κωλύσον ἅπασαν ἀπολλώλენαι τὴν ἑτέραν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμίσειαν ἀντὶ διπλασίας εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. [5] τοιαῦτ' εἰπὼν μάρτυρας ἐπηγάγετο λοχαγοὺς τε, ὅσοι περιῆσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν τινας, οἳ τὸ ἐαυτῶν αἰσχρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἡττῇ τε καὶ φυγῇ ζητοῦντες ἀπολύσασθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ῥητῶντο τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα δυσποτηρίας. ἔπειτ' οἶκτον ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τότε τεθνηκότων καταχεάμενος πολὺν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐξήσας, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, ὅσα εἰς φθόνον κοινῇ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λεγόμενα τοὺς μέλλοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δεήσεσθαι ἀνείρξειν ἔμελλεν ἐκ πολλῆς ὑπεροψίας διελθὼν, παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον.

παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὁ Σερουίλιος εἶπεν: εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ δίκην με κεκλήκατε, ὦ πολῖται, [p. 326] καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἔτοιμός εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι: εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν κατεγνωσμένην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι πλέον ἀποδειξάντι, ὥς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶ, λαβόντες τὸ σῶμα ὃ τι πάλοι βούλεσθε χρῆσθε. [2] ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ κρεῖττον ἀκριτῶ ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον, ἢ λόγου τυχόντι καὶ μὴ πείσαντι ὑμᾶς: δόξαίμι γὰρ ἂν σὺν δίκῃ πάσχειν, ὃ τι ἂν μου καταγνώτε, ὑμεῖς τ' ἐν ἐλάττονι αἰτίᾳ ἔσεσθε ἀφελόμενοι μου τὸν λόγον καὶ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εἰ τι ἀδικῶ ὑμᾶς ἁδηλὸν ἔστιν, ἔτι ταῖς ὀργαῖς χαρισάμενοι. ἔσται δέ μοι ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καταφανής, θορύβῳ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ εἰκάζοντι, πότερον ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἢ ἐπὶ δίκην κεκλήκατέ [3] με. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέσχε: σιγῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐμβοησάντων θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ὅσα βούλεται λέγειν, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον πάλιν ἔλεξεν: ἀλλ' εἰ τοι δικασταῖς ὑμῖν, ὦ πολῖται, καὶ μὴ ἐχθροῖς χρήσομαι, ῥαδίως πείσειν ὑμᾶς οἶμαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λόγων, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες ἴστε. ἐγὼ κατέστην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ Οὐεργινίῳ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτειχίσαντες ὑμῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λόφον πάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς ὑπαίθρου ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν τοῦ καταλύσειν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τάχει. λιμὸς δὲ πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ στάσις καὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ πράττειν ἀμηχανία. [4] τοιοῦτοις δὴ καιροῖς ἐπιστάς οὕτω παραχῶδεσι καὶ [p. 327] φοβεροῖς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἅμα τῷ συνάρχοντι ἐνίκησα διτταῖς μάχαις καὶ ἠνάγκασα καταλιπόντας τὸ φρούριον ἀπελθεῖν: τὸν δὲ λιμὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔπαυσα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου πληρώσας τὰς ἀγοράς, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτοις τὴν τε χώραν παρέδωκα ὅπλων πολέμιων ἐλευθέραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑγιῇ πάσης νόσου πολιτικῆς, εἰς ἣς κατέβαλον αὐτὴν οἱ δημαγωγοῦντες. [5] τίνος οὖν ἀδικήματος ὑπεύθυνός εἰμι ὑμῖν; εἰ μὴ τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔστιν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν. εἰ δ' ἀποθανεῖν πῶς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὐτυχῶς ἀγωνιζομένοις συνέπεσε, τί Σερουίλιος τὸν δῆμον ἀδικεῖ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ θεῶν τις ἐγγυητὴς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῆς ἀπάντων ψυχῆς τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων γίνεται, οὐδ' ἐπὶ διακειμένοις καὶ ῥητοῖς τὰς ἡγεμονίας παραλαμβάνομεν, ὥσθ' ἀπάντων κρατῆσαι τῶν πολέμιων καὶ μηδὲνα τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλεῖν. τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν ἄνθρωπος ὦν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ τὰ μεγάλα ἔργα μεγάλων ἀεὶ κινδύνων ὠνούμεθα.

καὶ οὐκ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα πρώτῳ πολεμίους ὁμοσε χωρήσαντι συνέβη παθεῖν,

ἅπανσι δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι μάχας παρακεκινδυνευμένας σὺν ἐλάττοσι ταῖς σφετέραις δυνάμεσι πρὸς μείζονας τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐποίησαντο. ἐδίωξαν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοὺς καὶ [p. 328] ^[2] ἀπώλεσαν ἔτι πλείους τῶν σφετέρων. ἔω γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἡττηθέντες σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ βλάβῃ μεγάλῃ ἀνέστρεψαν, ὣν οὐδεὶς τῆς τύχης δέδωκε δίκας: ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ συμφορὰ, καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὡς δ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μεγάλη τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ χαλεπὴ ζημία. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τοσοῦτου δέω λέγειν, ὃ πάντες οἱ μέτριοι δίκαιον εἶναι φήσουσιν, ὡς οὐ δεῖ με τύχης εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τοιόνδε ἀγῶνα ὑπέμεινεν εἰσελθεῖν, ἐγὼ μόνος οὐ παραιτοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ συγχωρῶ τὴν τύχην ἐξετάζεσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν οὐχ ἡττον τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεῖνο προεipών: ^[3] ἐγὼ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις τὰς τε δυστυχεῖς καὶ τὰς εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἔργων πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ ποικίλων ὁρῶ κρινομένας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ τέλους: καὶ ὅταν μὲν τοῦτο χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν, κἂν τὰ μεταξὺ πολλὰ ὄντα μὴ καθ' ἡδονὰς γένηται, οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐπαινουμένας ὑπὸ πάντων ἀκούω καὶ ζηλουμένας καὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς νομιζομένας τύχης: ὅταν δὲ πονηρὰς λάβωσι τελευτάς, καὶ ἐὰν ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου γένηται, οὐ τῇ σπουδαίᾳ τύχῃ ^[4] τῶν πραξάντων ἀποδιδομένας, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακῇ. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν σκοπὸν προιδόντες αὐτοὶ ἐξετάζετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην, ἥ παρὰ τοὺς πολέμους κέχηται. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν εὕρητε ἡττημένον με ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πονηρὰν [p. 329] καλεῖτέ μου τὴν τύχην, ἐὰν δὲ κεκρατηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀγαθὴν: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τύχης, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι φορτικοὶ πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ αὐτῆς λέγοντες, ἔχων ἔτι πλείω λέγειν παύσομαι.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς γνώμης κατηγοροῦσί μου προδοσίαν μὲν οὐ τολμῶντες ἐπικαλεῖν οὐδ' ἀνανδρίαν, ἐφ' οἷς αἱ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν γίνονται κρίσεις, ἀπειρίαν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν καὶ ἀφροσύνην, ὅτι κίνδυνον ὑπέμεινα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ὠσάμενος, βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ὑμῖν, προχειρότατον μὲν τοῦτ' ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γενομένοις πάνυ ῥάδιον καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ παραβάλλεσθαι πράγμασι καλοῖς χαλεπὸν καὶ ὀλίγων: καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ γεγονότα φαίνεται, ὅποῖα ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅποῖα ἔσται: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰσθήσει καὶ πάθει καταλαμβάνομεθα, ταῦτα δὲ μαντείαις καὶ δόξαις εἰκάζομεν, ἐν αἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλόν: καὶ ὅτι ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων ἐστὶ λόγῳ στρατηγεῖν πολέμους ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ ^[2] βεβηκότας, ὃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐμοῦ. ἀλλ' ἵνα ταῦτ' ἀφῶ, φέρε πρὸς θεῶν εἴπατέ μοι, μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι βιάσασθαι φρούριον ἐπιβαλόμενος καὶ πρὸς ὑψηλὰ χωρία τὰς δυνάμεις ἀγαγών; ἢ πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μὲν κατῴρθωσαν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἐχώρησεν ἡ πεῖρα κατὰ νοῦν; τί δή ποτ' οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφέντες ἐμὲ ^[3] κρίνετε, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀστρατηγησίας καὶ ἀφροσύνης ἔργα νομίζετε; πόσα δ' ἄλλα τούτου τολμηρότερα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεισι πράττειν, ὅταν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ λελογισμένον ἡκιστα οἱ καιροὶ δέχωνται; ^[3] οἱ μὲν γε τὰς σημαίας ἀρπάσαντες τῶν σφετέρων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τοῖς βλακεύουσι

καὶ ἀποδειλιῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου παραστῆ τὸ εὐψυχον ἐπισταμένοις, ὅτι τοὺς μὴ ἀνασώσαντας τὰ σημεῖα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν δεῖ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἀποθανεῖν: οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν πολέμιων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἔλυσαν τὰ ζεύγματα τῶν ποταμῶν, οὓς διέβησαν, ἵνα τοῖς φεύγειν διανοοῦμένοις ἄπορος ἢ τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐλπίς φανεῖσα θάρσος παραστήσῃ καὶ μένος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις: οἱ δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα κατακαύσαντες ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκαν τοῖς σφετέροις ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας, ὅσων δέονται, λαμβάνειν. [4] ἔω τᾶλλα μυρία ὄντα λέγειν, καὶ ὅσα τολμηρὰ ἔργα καὶ ἐνθυμήματα ἕτερα στρατηγῶν ἱστορία τε καὶ πείρα παραλαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ψευσθέντων τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπέσχε δίκας. εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἔχει τις ὑμῶν αἰτιάσασθαι με, ὅτι προβαλὼν τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς προὔπτον ὄλεθρον, αὐτὸς ἔξω τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ σῶμα εἶχον. εἰ δὲ μετὰ πάντων τ' ἐξηταζόμεν καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλαττόμεν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετεῖχον τύχης, τί ἀδικῶ; καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ ταῦθ' ἱκανὰ εἰρήσθω.

περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πατρικίων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν μῖσος, ὃ διὰ τὴν κωλυθεῖσαν [p. 331] κληρουχίαν ἔχετε, καὶ ἐμὲ λυπεῖ, καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ κατήγορος αὐτὸ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐποίησατο τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορίας, βούλομαι βραχέα εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. [2] ἔσται δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας ὁ λόγος: ἄλλως γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ δυναίμην λέγειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν ἀκοῦειν συμφέρει. οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ὅσια, ὧς δημόται, τῶν μὲν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς εὖρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλῶν οὐσῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὐκ εἰδότες αὐτῇ χάριν: εἰ δὲ τι δεομένοις ὑμῖν, ἐξ οὗ συγχωρηθέντος μεγάλα βλάπτοιτ' ἂν τὸ κοινόν, οὐ φθοноυσα ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως ὀρώσα, ἦναντιώθη, τοῦτο δι' ὀργῆς λαμβάνοντες. [3] ἔδει δ' ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ βουλευματα αὐτῆς γενόμενα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ δεχομένους ἀποστῆναι τῆς σπουδῆς: εἰ δ' ἀδύνατοι ἦτε κατασχεῖν ἀσύμφορον ἐπιθυμίαν λογισμῷ σώφρονι, μετὰ τοῦ πείθειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦν τυγχάνειν, [4] ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι. αἱ γὰρ ἐκούσιοι δωρεαὶ τοῖς τε προεμένοις ἡδίους τῶν ἠναγκασμένων εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσι βεβαιότεραι τῶν μὴ τοιούτων. ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ λογιέσθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὥσπερ θάλαττα ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπανισταμένων, ἀνακινούμενοί τε καὶ ἀγριαίνόμενοι οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ διακεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἔατε. τοιγάρτοι παρέστη ἡμῖν κρεῖττονα ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὸν πόλεμον: ὅταν [p. 332] μὲν γε πολεμῶμεν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιοῦμεν, ὅταν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγωμεν, τοὺς φίλους. καίτοι, ὧς δημόται, εἰ μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ βουλευματα τοῦ συνεδρίου καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ἡγεῖσθ' εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ, τί οὐχὶ καὶ [5] τοῦθ' ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι; εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς τὴν βουλὴν τῶν δεόντων οἴεσθε φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰσχροῶς καὶ κακῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύειν, τί δὴ ποτ' οὐχὶ μετασθησάμενοι αὐτὴν ἀθρόαν, αὐτοὶ ἄρχετε καὶ βουλευέτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολέμους ἐκφέρετε, ἀλλὰ περικνίζετε αὐτὴν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ διαλύετε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀναρπάζοντες ἐν ταῖς δίκαις; ἄμεινον γὰρ ἦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν κοινῇ πολεμεῖσθαι, ἢ [6] καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ συκοφαντεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι τούτων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀλλ' οἱ

συνταράττοντες ὑμᾶς δημαγωγοὶ οὗτ' ἄρχεσθαι ὑπομένοντες οὗτ' ἄρχειν εἰδότες. καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ἀφροσύνῃ τε καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ πολλάκις ἂν ὑμῖν τόδε τὸ σκάφος ἀνετράπη, νῦν δ' ἡ τὰ τούτων σφάλματα ἐπανορθοῦσα καὶ ἐν ὁρθῇ παρέχουσα ὑμῖν τῇ πόλει πλεῖν, ἢ πλεῖστα δεινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσα ἔστι βουλή. ^[7] ταῦτ' εἶθ' ἡδέα ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἀκοῦειν εἴτ' ἀνιარά, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρηταί μοι καὶ τετόλμηται· καὶ μᾶλλον αἰροίμην ἂν παρρησίᾳ συμφερούσῃ τῷ κοινῷ χρώμενος ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑμῖν λέγων σεσῶσθαι. [p. 333]

τοιούτους εἰπὼν λόγους καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ὀλοφυρμοὺς καὶ ἀνακλαύσεις τῆς συμφορᾶς τραπόμενος, οὗτ' ἐν δεήσεσι καὶ προκυλισμοῖς ἀσχήμοσι ταπεινὸς φανείς, οὗτ' ἄλλην ἀγεννῇ διάθεσιν ἀποδειξάμενος οὐδεμίαν παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον τοῖς συναγορεύειν ἢ μαρτυρεῖν βουλομένοις. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι παριόντες ἀπέλυνον αὐτὸν τῆς αἰτίας, μάλιστα δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὁ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύσας χρόνον καὶ τῆς νίκης αἴτιος εἶναι δοκῶν· ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀναίτιον αὐτὸν ἀπέφαινε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν τὰ πολέμια καὶ στρατηγῶν φρονιμώτατον ἐπαινέσθαι ^[2] τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων ἡξίου. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὸν οἴονται τέλος εἰληφέναι τὸν πόλεμον ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι· εἰ δὲ πονηρὸν ἀμφοτέρους ζημιοῦν· κοινὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου τύχας γεγονέναι. ἦν δ' οὐ μόνον ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ βίος πείθων, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν ἐξητασμένος ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς. ^[3] προσῆν δὲ τούτοις, ὃ πλεῖστον ἐκίνησεν οἶκτον, ὅψεως σχῆμα συμπαθές, οἷον περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεπονθότας ἢ μέλλοντας πάσχειν τὰ δεινὰ γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ δοκοῦντας ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν αἴτιον σφίσι τῆς συμφορᾶς, μαλακωτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὡς ἐδήλωσαν. ἀναδοθειςὼν γὰρ τῶν ψήφων οὐδεμία φυλὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός κατεψηφίσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν [p. 334] τὸν Σερουίλιον καταλαβὼν κίνδυνος τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατιὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς ἄγοντος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου. συνέστη γὰρ αὖθις ἡ Οὐιεντανῶν δύναμις προσθεμένων αὐτοῖς Σαβίνων, οἱ τέως ὄκνοῦντες αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἀδυνάτων ἐφιεμένοις, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε Μενηνίου φυγὴν ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ πλησίου τῆς Ῥώμης ὄρους, τεταπεινώσθαι νομίσαντες τὰς τε δυνάμεις τὰς Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἡττηθῆναι, συνελάμβανον τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς πολλὴν ἀποστείλαντες δύναμιν. ^[2] οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῇ τε σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει πεποιθότες καὶ τῇ Σαβίνων νεωστί ἡκούσῃ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν ἐπικουρίας περιμένοντες προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν τῇ πλείονι τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε χωρήσοντος, ἀλλὰ δεεῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἰρήσοντες τὴν πόλιν ἢ λιμῷ κατεργασόμενοι. ^[3] ἔφθασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ὁ Οὐαλέριος, ἐν ᾧ ἔτι ἔμελλον ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοὺς ὑστερίζοντας συμμάχους ἀνέμενον, αὐτὸς ἀγαγὼν Ῥωμαίων τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμήν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρικόν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἔξοδον, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα

λήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλε. προελθὼν γὰρ ἐκ [p. 335] τῆς Ῥώμης περὶ δείλῃν ὀψίαν καὶ διαβάς τὸν Τέβεριν οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσε: ἔπειτ' ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἦγεν ἐν τάχει, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι θατέρῳ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπέβαλε. ^[4] δύο γὰρ ἦν στρατόπεδα χωρὶς μὲν τὸ Τυρρηνῶν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα. πρώτη δὲ προσαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τῇ Σαβίνων στρατοπεδείᾳ, καθυπνωμένων ἔτι τῶν πλείστων καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἀξιολόγου φυλακῆς, οἷα ἐν φιλίᾳ τε γῇ καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἀγγελλομένων, ἐξ ἐφόδου γίνεται ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοιταῖς ἔτι ὄντες κατεσφάγησαν, οἱ δ' ἀνιστάμενοι ἀρτίως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐνδυνόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὥπλισμένοι μὲν, σποράδες δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβάνομενοι διεφθάρησαν.

τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλόντος τοῦ τῶν Σαβίνων χάρακος ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Οὐαλέριος ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ χωρίον οὐ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν κατειληφότες. λαθεῖν μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι ἐνεδέχετο τοὺς προσιόντας τῷ χάρακι: ἡμέρα τε γὰρ ἦν ἤδη λαμπρά, καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων οἱ φυγόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὴν θ' αὐτῶν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἔλασιν: ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦ καρτεροῦ τοῖς [p. 336] ^[2] πολεμίοις συμφέρεσθαι. γίνεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἀγωνιζομένων πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὀξεῖα μάχη καὶ φόνος ἀμοτέρων πολὺς, ἰσόρροπός τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ταλαντευομένη τῇδε καὶ τῇδε ἡ κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου. ἔπειτ' ἐνέδωσαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἐξωσθέντες ἵππου καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸν χάρακα, ὃ δ' ὕπατος ἠκολούθει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῶν ἐρυμάτων — ἦν δὲ φαύλως κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλές — προσέβαλε κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸ τε λοιπὸν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος ἐπιταλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἀναπαυσάμενος. ^[3] οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ταῖς συνεχέσι κακοπαθείαις ἀπειρηκότες ἐκλείπουσι τὸν χάρακα περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰς πλησίον ὕλας ἐσκεδάσθησαν. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ χάρακος ἐγκρατῆς ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ τε λάφυρα, ὅσα ἐξ ἀμοτέρων εἰλήφει τῶν στρατοπέδων, δίδειναι τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις πολλὰ ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐκόσμηι στεφάνοις. ^[4] ἦν δ' ὁ κράτιστα πάντων ἀγωνίσασθαι δόξας καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν δύναμιν Σερονίλιος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ὑπατεύσας ἔτει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου δίκην ἀποφυγῶν, πρεσβευτῆς τότε τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συμπεμφθεὶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριστείᾳ τῇδε τὰς νομιζόμενας εἶναι μεγίστας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δωρεὰς οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἐξενεγκάμενος. μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας [p. 337] νεκροὺς ὁ ὕπατος καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ταφὰς ποιησάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν καὶ πλησίον τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως καταστήσας προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἔνδον. ^[5] ὥς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐξῆι μαχησόμενος ἄπορον ὁρῶν χρῆμα ἐκ τειχομαχίας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν ἐχυρὰν σφόδρα ἔχοντας πόλιν, τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμῶν εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων ἐνέβαλε. λεηλατήσας δὲ κάκεινην ἔτι

ἀκέραιον οὖσαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ βαρεῖαν ἤδη τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὠφελείαις ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν δῆμος πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὄντι ἐστεφανωμένους ὑπὲντα λιβανωτοῖς τε θυμῶν τὴν πάροδον καὶ κρατῆρσι μελικράτου κεκραμένους ὑποδεχόμενος τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν ἐψηφίσατο. ^[6] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ναύτιος, ὃς προσέκειτο κατὰ κλῆρον ἡ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων φυλακὴ, βραδυτέραν ἐποίησατο τὴν ἔξοδον· οὐτ' ἀπορία οὐτ' ὄκνω τοῦ κινδύνου κρατηθεὶς, τὴν δ' ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πρὸς Οὐιεντανοὺς πολέμου караδοκῶν, ἴν' ἐάν τι συμβῇ πταῖσμα περὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν ἐν ἐτοιμῷ τις ὑπάρχη τῇ πόλει συνεστῶσα δύναμις, ἥ κωλύσει τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐάν ὥσπερ οἱ πρότερον ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιτειχίζειν τινὰ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως χωρία ἐπιβάλλωνται. ^[7] ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεμος, ὃν ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι τέλος εὐτυχὲς ἔσχε· καὶ παρῆσαν τινες ἀγγέλλοντες [p. 338] μάχῃ νικηθέντας ἀπεληλυθέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς τοῖς συμμάχοις ἔτι δεῖν βοήθειας κατὰ τὸ παρόν· ὁ μέντοι Ναύτιος οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ πράγματα καλῶς σφίσι ἐχώρησεν, ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. ^[8] ἐμβαλὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Οὐολοῦσκων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς διεξελθὼν ἔρημον ἀφειμένην, ἀνδραπόδων μὲν καὶ βοσκημάτων ὀλίγων πάνυ ἐκράτησεν, ἀρούρας δ' αὐτῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ σίτου ὄντος ἐμπρήσας καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς λωβησάμενος οὐδενὸς ὁμόσε χωροῦντος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν· ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπράχθη.

οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι τούτους ὑπατοὶ Αὐλὸς Μάλλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Φούριος, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν στρατιάν ἐπὶ Οὐιεντανοὺς ἄγειν, ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν. καὶ λαχὼν Μάλλιος ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ ταχέων, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τειχίρεις γενόμενοι τέως μὲν ἀντεῖχον καὶ διεπρεσβεῦοντο πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ συμμαχήσαντας αὐτοῖς Σαβίνους, βοήθειαν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι σφίσι διὰ ^[2] ταχέων. ὥς δ' ἀπάντων ἀπετύγχανον καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀπαναλώκεσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ λιμοῦ βιασθέντες ἐξῆλθον ὥς τὸν ὑπατον, ἱκετηρίας φέροντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τ' αὐτῶν καὶ τιμώτατοι, περὶ καταλύσεως δεόμενοι [p. 339] τοῦ πολέμου. τοῦ δὲ Μαλλίου κελεύσαντος αὐτοῖς ἀργῦριόν τ' εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἐνιαυτοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ διμήνου τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν, ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῶν διαλύσεων, ἐπαινέσαντες ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ταχέων τὸ τ' ὀψώνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου συγχωρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου κατενέγκαντες ἀργῦριον ἦκον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγγνώμης ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι τυχεῖν ἡξίου, καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου. ^[3] πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μέρη λόγων ἐνίκησεν ἡ σπένδεσθαι παραινοῦσα τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον γνώμη, γίνονται τ' ἀνοχαὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς αὐτοὺς τεσσαρακονταετῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆσαν πολλὰς τῇ πόλει τῆς εἰρήνης

χάριτας εἰδότες, ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὸν πεζὸν θρίαμβον αἰτησάμενος, ἔλαβεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τιμησις ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τιμησάμενοι πολλῖται σφᾶς τ' αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ παῖδας ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριοχιλίων τε καὶ δέκα μυριάδων.

οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους παραλαβόντες τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος τὸ τρίτον, καὶ Οὐοπίσκος Ἰούλιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος, [p. 340] Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχοντας Χαρητος, ἐπίπονον σφόδρα καὶ ταραχώδη τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσαν, εἰρήνην μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολέμων — ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γὰρ ἦν πάντα τὰ διάφορα — ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων αὐτοὶ τ' εἰς κινδύνους ἀθρόοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δεήσαντες ἀπολέσαι. ὥς γὰρ ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν στρατειῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν εὐθύς ὥρμησε τῶν δημοσίων ἀγρῶν. [2] ἦν γὰρ τις ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις θρασὺς καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἀνὴρ, Γναῖος Γενύκιος, ὁ παραθήγων τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πενήτων. οὗτος ἐκκλησίας συνάγων ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἐκδημαγωγῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους προσηνάκαζε τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας συντελεῖν. οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπῆκουον οὐ τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἀρχῇ λέγοντες ἐπιτετάχθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετὰ Κάσσιον καὶ Οὐεργίνιον ὑπάτοις, πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγράφη: καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' εἶναι νόμους εἰς αἰεὶ κυρίους ἃ ψηφίζεται τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλὰ πολιτεύματα καιρῶν ἐνιαύσιον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν. [3] ταύτας προβαλλομένων τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀδύνατος ὢν ὁ Γενύκιος αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάσαι μείζονα ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἰταμὴν ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο. τοῖς γὰρ ὑπατεύουσαι τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἔτος Μαλλίῳ τε καὶ Λευκίῳ δίκην ἐπήνεγκε δημοσίαν, καὶ προεῖπεν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολογησομένους, ὁρίσας ἀντικρυς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς δίκης, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀποδείξαντες τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας, οὓς ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλή, [p. 341] [4] τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν τῶν κλήρων διανομὴν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ὑπάτων ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, δώδεκα γενομένων τῶν μεταξὺ ἀρχείων, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, τούτους δὲ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας μόνους τῆς ψευθείσης ὑποσχέσεως, ἐπεικεῖς ἔφερεν αἰτίας: καὶ τελευτῶν ἔφη μόνως ἂν οὕτως ἀναγκασθῆναι τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τότε ὄντας ὑπάτους κληρουχῆσαι τὴν γῆν, ἐὰν ἐτέρους τινὰς ἴδωσι δίκην τῷ δήμῳ διδόντας, ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι καὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται ταῦτό παθεῖν.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ παρακαλέσας ἅπαντας ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, καθ' ἱερῶν τ' ὁμόσας ἥ μὴν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορεῖν, ἡμέραν προεῖπεν, ἐν ἣ τὴν δίκην ἔμελλεν ἐπιτελέσειν. τοὺς δὲ πατρικίους, ὥς ἔμαθον ταῦτα, πολὺ δέος εἰσέρχεται καὶ φροντίς, ὅτῳ χρή τρόπῳ τοὺς τ' ἄνδρας ἐκλύσασθαι τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὸ θράσος ἐπισχεῖν. καὶ δὴ ἐδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ψηφισαίτο κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἐνισταμένους καὶ εἰ δέοι καὶ εἰς ὅπλα χωροῦντας. [2] οὐ μὴν ἐδέχετο γε τῶν βιαίων οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ταχεῖαν λαβόντος τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ παράδοξον τὴν λύσιν: μᾶς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὐσης ἔτι λοιπῆς τῇ δίκῃ νεκρὸς Γενύκιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ κοίτης

εὐρέθη, σημείον οὐδὲν ἔχων οὔτε σφαγῆς [p. 342] οὔτ' ἀγχόνης οὔτε φαρμάκου οὔτ' ἄλλου τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θανάτων οὐδενός. ὥς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πάθος, καὶ προηνέχθη τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, δαιμόνιον τι κωλύσεως συγκύρημα ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη ^[3] διελέλυτο. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα δημάρχων ἀνακαλεῖν τὴν στάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Γενυκίου κατεγίνωσκον πολλὴν μανίαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι διετέλεσαν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκαν ὥς ὁ δαίμων ἐκοίμησε τὴν στάσιν, οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔτι κατέλαβε κίνδυνος, νῦν δ' εἰς αὐθάδειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τραπόμενοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, ὅσον ἐστίν, ἐπιδειξάι βουλόμενοι, κακὰ ἐξειργάσαντο μεγάλα. προθέντες γὰρ στρατολογίαν καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας ταῖς τ' ἄλλαις ζημίαις καὶ πληγαῖς ῥάβδων προσαναγκάζοντες εἰς ἀπόνειαν ἐποίησαν τραπέσθαι τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ πλεόν, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης μάλιστάιτίας.

ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν τὰ πολέμια λαμπρός, Βολέρων Πόπλιος, ἡγεμονίαν ἐσχηκὼς λόχων ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρατείαις, τότε ἄντι λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτης πρὸς αὐτῶν κατεγράφετο. ὥς δ' ἦναντιοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἤξιον χώραν ἀτιμωτέραν λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἡμαρτηκὼς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρατείαις, δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἐκέλευσαν τὴν ἐσθιῆτά τε περικαταρρῆξαι καὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὸ σῶμα ξαινείν. ^[2] ὁ δὲ νεανίας τοὺς τε δημάρχους [p. 343] ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί, εἰ τι ἀδικεῖ, κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπέχειν ἤξιον. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν οἱ ὕπατοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἄγειν καὶ τύπτειν ἐπεκελεύοντο, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ταμίας τῆς δίκης γίνεται. ^[3] τὸν τε γὰρ πρῶτον προσελθόντα τῶν ῥαβδούχων παίων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐναντίαις πυγμαῖς νεανίας καὶ ἐρρωμένος ἀνὴρ ἀνατρέπει καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις προσελθεῖν κελευσάντων δεινὸν τι τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐφάνη: καὶ αὐτίκα συστραφέντες ἄθροοι καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες τὸ παρακλητικὸν τῆς ἀλλήλων ὀργῆς τὸν τε νεανίσκον ἐξήρπασαν καὶ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἀπέστησαν παίοντες καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὥρμησαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ καταλιπόντες ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφυγον, ^[4] ἀνῆκεστον ἂν τι κακὸν ἐξειργάσαντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διειστήκει πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, καὶ οἱ τέως ἡσυχάζοντες δῆμαρχοι τότε ἡγριοῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγοροῦν. περιειστήκει τε ἡ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας στάσις εἰς ἕτερον μείζονα διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἀγῶνα. οἱ μὲν γε πατρίκιοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὡς καταλυομένης αὐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας συναγανακτοῦντες τὸν ἐπιβαλεῖν χεῖρας τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τολμήσαντα κατὰ ^[5] κρημοῦ βαλεῖν ἤξιουν. οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ συστρέψαντες αὐτοὺς κατεβόων τε καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μὴ προδιδόναι [p. 344] σφῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄγειν καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγορεῖν καὶ δίκης τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν ἤξιουν τυχεῖν, ὅτι τὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενον τὴν ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων βοήθειαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κρίσιν ὑπέχειν, εἰ τι πλημμελεῖ, βουλόμενον, οὐδετέρου τυχεῖν εἴασαν τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοίρᾳ τὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ πολίτην ἔθεντο παίειν ἐπικελευόμενοι. ^[6] ἀντιτεταγμένων δὴ τούτων καὶ οὐδετέρων εἴξαι

βουλομένων τοῖς ἑτέροις, ἅπας ὁ λοιπὸς τῆς ὑπατείας ἐκείνης ἐδαπανήθη χρόνος, οὔτε πολεμικαῖς πράξεσι κοσμηθεὶς καλαῖς οὔτε πολιτικαῖς λόγου ἀξίαις.

ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ὕπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχθησαν Λεῦκιος Πινάριος καὶ Πόπλιος Φούριος. ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ τοῦ ἔτους εὐθύς ὅττειας τινὸς ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη καὶ φόβου δαιμονίου τεράτων τε καὶ σημείων πολλῶν γινομένων. καὶ οἱ τε μάντεις ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ χόλου δαιμόνων μηνύματα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἀπέφαινον, ἱερῶν τινων οὐχ ὁσίως οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἐπιτελουμένων. [2] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ νόσος ἐνέσκηπεν εἰς τὰς γυναικας ἢ καλουμένη λοιμική, καὶ θάνατος, ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὰς ἐγκύμονας. ὠμοτοκοῦσαι τε γὰρ καὶ νεκρὰ τίκτουσαι συναπέθνησκον τοῖς βρέφεσι, καὶ οὔτε λιτανεῖαι πρὸς ἔδеси καὶ βωμοῖς γινόμεναι θεῶν, οὔτε καθαρτήριοι θυσίαι περὶ τε πόλεως καὶ οἰκων ἰδίων ἐπιτελούμεναι παῦλαν αὐταῖς ἔφερον τῶν κακῶν. [3] ἐν [p. 345] τοιαύτῃ δὲ συμφορᾷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γίνεται μήνυσις ὑπὸ δούλου τινός, ὅτι μία τῶν ἱεροποιῶν παρθένων τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ Ὀρβινία τὴν παρθενίαν ἀπολώλεκε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ θύει τὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ οὔσα καθαρὰ. κάκεῖνοι μεταστῆσαντες αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ προθέντες δίκην, ἐπειδὴ καταφανὴς ἐγένετο ἐλεγχθεῖσα, ῥάβδοις τ' ἐμαστίγωσαν καὶ πομπεύσαντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ζῶσαν κατῶρυξαν. [4] τῶν δὲ διαπραξαμένων τὴν ἀνοσίαν φθορὰν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, τὸν δ' ἕτερον οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκοποι συλλαβόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενοι καθάπερ ἀνδράποδον ἀπέκτειναν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἢ κατασκήψασα εἰς τὰς γυναικας καὶ ὁ πολὺς αὐτῶν φθόρος μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον εὐθύς ἐπαύσατο.

ἡ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου διαμένουσα ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσις, ἣν οἱ δημόται πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐστασίαζον, ἀνίστατο πάλιν. ὁ δ' ἐξεγείρων αὐτὴν δήμαρχος ἦν Πόπλιος Βολέρων, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ τοῖς περὶ Αἰμίλιόν τε καὶ Ἰούλιον ὑπάτοις ἀπειθήσας, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀντὶ λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτην κατέγραφον, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων τοῦ δήμου προστάτης — γένος τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἦν καὶ τεθραμμένος ἐν πολλῇ ταπεινότητι καὶ ἀπορίᾳ — ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων βασιλικὸν ἔχουσαν ἀξίωμα τέως πρῶτος ἔδοξεν ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπειθείᾳ ταπεινῶσαι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον διὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, [p. 346] ἃς ἐποιεῖτο μετιὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων, [2] ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἰσχύν. ὃς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ λωφήσαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου χόλου τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν, συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν νόμον εἰσφέρει περὶ τῶν δημαρχικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, μετάγων αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς φρατριακῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν κουριᾶτιν, ἐπὶ τὴν φυλετικὴν. τίς δὲ τούτων διαφορὰ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, ἐγὼ σημανῶ. [3] τὰς μὲν φρατριακὰς ψηφοφορίας ἔδει προβουλευσαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους κατὰ φράτρας τὰς ψήφους ἐπενέγκαντος, καὶ μετ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημείων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν μηδὲν ἐναντιωθέντων, τότε κυρίας εἶναι: τὰς δὲ φυλετικὰς μήτε προβουλεύματος γενομένου μήτε τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ οἰωνοσκόπων ἐπιθεσπισάντων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τελεσθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν

τέλος ἔχειν. καὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν τεττάρων δημάρχων οἱ συνεισφέροντες αὐτῷ δύο δήμαρχοι τὸν νόμον· οὓς προσεταιριζάμενος ἐλαττόνων ὄντων τῶν μὴ ταῦτὰ βουλομένων περιῆν. ^[4] οἱ δ' ὕπατοι καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ πάντες οἱ πατρίκιοι κωλύειν ἐπεχείρουν τὸν νόμον· ἀφικόμενοι τε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐν ἧ προεῖπον οἱ δήμαρχοι κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον ἡμέρα, παντοδαποὺς διῆλθον λόγους, τῶν θ' ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἄλλου παντός, ὅτῳ βουλομένῳ ἦν, τὰς ἐνούσας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διεξιόντος ἀτοπίας. ἀντιλεξάντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων [p. 347] καὶ αὐθις τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας τῶν λόγων ἐκμηκυνθείσης, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διέλυσεν εἰς νύκτα συγκλεισθεὶς ὁ χρόνος. προθέντων δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν, καὶ συνελθόντος ἔτι πλείονος εἰς αὐτὴν ὄχλου τὸ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ ^[5] συνέβη γενέσθαι πάθος. τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Πόπλιος ἔγνω μήτε τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἔτι τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν μήτε πατρικίους ἔαν τῇ ψηφοφορίᾳ παρεῖναι· καθ' ἐταιρείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς ἅμα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὕσι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεῖχον, ἐπικελεύοντές τε τοῖς κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ νόμου καὶ θορυβοῦντες τοὺς ἀπολογουμένους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πράττοντες, ἀκοσμίας τε καὶ βίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις ἐχομένης μηνύματα.

ἐπέσχε δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλευμάτων ὄντα τυραννικὰ ἑτέρα συμπεσοῦσα θεήλατος συμφορά. νόσος γάρ ἦψατο λοιμικὴ τῆς πόλεως, γενομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πλεονάσασα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ οὗτ' ἀνθρωπίνῃ βοήθειᾳ ἤρκει τοῖς κάμνουσιν οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οἱ τε σὺν πολλῇ θεραπευόμενοι φροντίδι, καὶ οἷς μὴδὲν ἐγένετο τῶν δεόντων, ἀπέθνησκον· οὐτε λιτανεῖται θεῶν καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἐφ' οὓς ἄνθρωποι τελευταίους ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ἀναγκάζονται καταφεύγειν συμφοραῖς, οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα τε [p. 348] γινόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ καθαρμοὶ τότε προσωφέλουν, διέκρινέ τε τὸ πάθος οὐχ ἡλικίαν, οὐ φύσιν, οὐ Ῥώμην ἢ ἀσθένειαν σωμάτων, οὐ τέχνην οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν δοκούντων κουφίζειν τὴν νόσον, ἀλλὰ γυναιξὶ τ' ἐνέπιπτε καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γηραιοῖς καὶ νέοις. [2] οὐ μὴν πολὺν κατέσχε χρόνον, ὅπερ αἶπιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ σύμπασαν διαφθαρῆναι τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦ δίκην ἢ πυρὸς ἀθρόα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπεσοῦσα τὴν τε προσβολὴν ὀξεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταχεῖαν ἔλαβεν. ὥς δὲ τὸ δεινὸν ἐλώφησεν, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὣν ὁ Πόπλιος, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ περιόντι χρόνῳ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπιστάντων, μετῆει πάλιν τὴν δημαρχίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς δημόταις ὑποσχόμενος· καὶ ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν δῆμαρχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δύο τῶν συναρχόντων. [3] οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀντεμηχανήσαντο πικρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μισόδημον καὶ μὴδὲν ἐλαττώσοντα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προαγαγεῖν, Ἄππιον Κλαῦδιον, υἱὸν Ἀππίου, τοῦ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ἐναντιωθέντος. καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἀντειπόντα καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐλθεῖν βουλευθέντα ἔνεκα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, οὐδὲν ἦττον προὔβουλεύσαν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντ' ἀπόντα ὕπατον.

τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων κατὰ [p. 349] πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν — οἱ γὰρ πένητες ἐξέλιπον τὸ πεδῖον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε ὀνομασθέντα ἤκουσαν — παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Ἄππιος Κλαῦδιος Σαβῖνος, οὐτε τὰς φύσεις οὐτε τὰς προαιρέσεις ἔχοντες ὁμοίας. [2] Ἀππίου μὲν γὰρ ἦν γνώμη περισπᾶν περὶ τὰς ἔξω στρατείας τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πένητα δῆμον, ἵνα τῶν τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εὐπορῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πόνοις, ὧν ἐν χρειᾷ μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει διαπραττόμενος, ἥκιστα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου διοικοῦσι τὰ κοινὰ δυσμενῆς τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ᾗ· πολέμου δὲ πᾶσαν ἔσσεσθαι πρόφασιν εὐλόγον ἀπέφαινεν ἡγεμονίας ἀντιπιοιουμένη πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπιφθονουμένη, κατὰ τε τὸ εἶδος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἤδη τὰ μέλλοντα εἰκάζειν ἡξίου, ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὅσαι ἤδη κινήσεις ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι πᾶσαι κατὰ τὰς ἀναπαύλας ἐγένοντο τῶν πολέμων. [3] Κοϊντίῳ δ' οὐκ ἐδόκει πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐδένα, ἀγαπητὸν ἀποφαίνοντι, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τε καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐπαγομένους κινδύνους καλούμενος ὁ δῆμος εὐπειθὴς γένοιτο, καὶ διδάσκοντι, ὥς εἰ βίαν προσάξουσιν τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις εἰς ἀπόνειαν ἀναγκάσουσιν ἐλθεῖν τὸ δημοτικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν ὕπατοι· ἐξ ὧν κινδυνεύουσιν αὐτοὺς δεεῖν θάτερον, ἢ δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνων καταπαῦσαι τὴν στάσιν, ἢ θεραπεύειν αἰσχροῶς ὑπομεῖναι [p.

350] ^[4] τὸ δημοτικόν. ἦν δ' ἡ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκείνου ἡγεμονία τῷ Κοιντίῳ προσήκουσα, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μηδὲν ἄκοντος ἐκείνου ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον δῆμαρχοι οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες τὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ οὐ δυνηθέντα νόμον ἐπικυρωθῆναι πάλιν εἰσέφερον, προσγράψαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἀρχεῖον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ψηφοφορεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπικυροῦσθαι δεήσει, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ ταύτόν: ὅπερ ἦν ἄρα τῆς μὲν βουλῆς κατὰλυσις φανερά, τοῦ δὲ δήμου δυναστεία.

τοῦτο μαθοῦσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις φροντὶς εἰσῆει καὶ λογισμός, ὅπως ἂν ἐν τάχει καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ παρακινεῖν καὶ στασιάζον ἐξαιρεθῇ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄλπιος ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καλεῖν γνώμην ἐδίδου τοὺς βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν: εἰ δὲ τινες ἐνάτια θήσονται σφίσι τὰ ὄπλα, τούτους ἐν πολέμιων ποιεῖσθαι μοῖρα. ^[2] ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος λόγῳ πείθειν ὤετο δεῖν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὡς δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς ὀλέθρια βουλευμάτων φερομένους: ἐσχάτης μανίας ἔργον εἶναι λέγων, ἃ παρ' ἐκόντων ἔξεστι φέρεσθαι τῶν συμπολιτευομένων, ταῦτα παρ' ἀκόντων βούλεσθαι λαμβάνειν. ^[3] ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον [p. 351] τὴν Κοιντίου γνώμην παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ ὕπατοι λόγον ἡτοῦντο παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ χρόνον. μόλις δ' ἀμφοῖν τυχόντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ἦν ἡτήσαντο παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμέραν, ὄχλου παντοδαποῦ συνελθλυθότος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὃν ἀμφοτέραι παρεσκευάσαντο σύμμαχον ἑαυταῖς ἐκ παρακλήσεως αἱ ^[4] ἀρχαί, παρήσαν ὡς κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ νόμου. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοίντιος, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπικῆς ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαι λόγῳ πιθανώτατος, πρῶτος αἰτησάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἐπιδέξιόν τινα καὶ κεχαρισμένην ἅπασι διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου λέγοντας εἰς πολλὴν ἐλθεῖν ἀμχανίαν, οὔτε δικαιότερα λέγειν ἔχοντας οὐτ' ἐπικέστερα. ^[5] καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ προεῖλετο, συγγνοὺς ἂν ὁ δῆμος, ὡς οὔτε δίκαια οὐθ' ὅσια ἀξιών ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον: νῦν δ' ἐκείνου λόγον διελθόντος ὑπερήφανον καὶ βαρὺν ἀκουσθῆναι πένησι χαλεπὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμειλικτος καὶ εἰς ἔριν ἦλθεν ὅσην οὐπω πρότερον. ^[6] οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ πολίταις ὁ ἀνὴρ διαλεγόμενος, οἱ τοῦ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον ἢ λῦσαι κύριοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀτίμοις ἢ ξένοις ἢ μὴ βεβαίως ἔχουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσιάζων, πικρὰς καὶ ἀνυπομονήτους ἐποίησατο κατηγορίας, τῶν τε χρεῶν τὰς ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ὀνειδιζων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν ἀπόστασιν προφέρων, ὅτε τὰ ἱερὰ σημεῖα ἀρπάσαντες ὦχοντο ἐκ [p. 352] τοῦ στρατοπέδου φυγὴν ἐπιβάλλοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἐκούσιον: τοὺς θ' ὄρκους ἀνακαλοῦμενος, οὓς ὥμοσαν τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τῆς γειναμένης αὐτοὺς γῆς ἀναλαμβάνοντες, οἷς κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρήσαντο. ^[7] τοιγάρτοι θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἔφησεν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, εἰ θεοὺς μὲν ἐπιορκήσαντες, ἡγεμόνας δὲ καταλιπόντες, πόλιν δ' ἔρημον τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι μέρος ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ δὲ πίστεως συγχύσει καὶ νόμων ἀνατροπῇ καὶ πολιτεύματος πατρίου φθορᾷ ποιησάμενοι τὴν κάθοδον, οὐ μετριάξουσιν οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς δύνανται πολίτας

ἐαυτοὺς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινος ὀρέγονται πλεονεξίας καὶ παρανομίας, τοτὲ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐξεῖναι σφίσιν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύναι, καὶ ταύτας ἀνυπευθύνους ποιοῦντες καὶ παναγεῖς· τοτὲ δ' εἰς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων καθιστάντες οὕς αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα δικαστήρια, οἷς περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς ἢ πόλις πρότερον ἔδωκε κρίνειν, μεταφέροντες ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης φυλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ῥυπαρώτατον ὄχλον· τοτὲ δὲ νόμους εἰσφέροντες οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστοι κατὰ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τυραννικοὺς καὶ ἀνίσους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ προβουλευσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν τῇ βουλῇ καταλείποντες, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτῆς τὴν [p. 353] τιμὴν, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς εἶχεν ἀναμφίλεκτον χρόνου, [8] βασιλευομένης τε καὶ τυραννουμένης τῆς πόλεως. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῦτοις ὅμοια προσθεῖς καὶ οὐδενὸς οὔτε πικροῦ πράγματος οὔτε βλασφήμου ὀνόματος φεισάμενος, τελευτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι προσέθηκεν τὸν λόγον, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἡ πληθὺς ἡγανάκτησεν, ὅτι χρόνον οὐδένα παύσεται στασιάζουσα περὶ παντὸς χρήματος ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπὶ παλαιᾷ νοσήσει νόσον, ἕως ἂν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσία διαμένη· διδάσκων, ὅτι πράγματος παντὸς πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ὅπως εὐσεβεῖς ἔσονται καὶ δίκαιοι. φιλεῖν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπερμάτων χρηστοὺς γίνεσθαι καὶ εὐτυχεῖς τοὺς καρπούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κακοὺς καὶ ὀλεθρίους.

εἰ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μεθ' ὁμονοίας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ παροῦσα σὺν οἴωνοις τε καὶ ὀπτεῖαις, πολλῶν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτία, χαρίτων, ὁμοφροσύνης, εὐνομίας, ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου, μυρίων ἄλλων· νῦν δέ, βία γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγε καὶ παρανομία καὶ στάσις καὶ πολέμου δέος ἐμφυλίου καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐχθίστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις τί οὖν ἔτι καὶ μέλλει χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι ποτ' ἢ σωτήριον τοιαύτας λαβούσης τὰς ἀρχάς; ὥστε περίεστιν ἡμῖν ἴασιν καὶ ἀλεξήματα τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων ἐξ αὐτῆς κακῶν ζητεῖν, ὅποσα εἰς ἀνθρώπινον πίπτει λογισμὸν, μενούσης ἔτι τῆς [p. 354] [2] πονηρᾶς ῥίξης. οὐ γὰρ ἔσται πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν δαιμονίων χόλων, ἕως ἂν ἦδε ἡ βάσκανος ἐρινὺς καὶ φαγέδαινα ἐγκαθημένη πάντα σήπη καὶ διαφθείρη τὰ καλά. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται λόγος καὶ καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι χρή, πᾶσαν εἰρωνεῖαν ἀφείλς τάδε ὑμῖν λέγω· οὐθ' ὅδε ὁ νόμος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεῖς, ὃν οὐχ ἡ βουλὴ προβουλεύσει, κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ἀγωνιοῦμαι περὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, κἂν εἰς τὰ ἔργα δέη χωρεῖν οὐδ' ἐν τοῦτοις τῶν ἐναντιουμένων λελείψομαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε, ὅσην ἰσχὺν ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κράτος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς μαθήσεσθε.

Ἄππιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ πλείστου ἀξιώματος τυγχάνων, Γάιος Λαιτώριος, ἀνὴρ ἔν τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἐγνωσμένος εἶναι ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ἀνίσταται πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπολογησόμενος· καὶ διῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον πολλὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος· ὥς πολλὰς μὲν καὶ χαλεπὰς στρατείας οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πένητες ἐστρατεύσαντο, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν

βασιλέων, ὅτε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἂν τις ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκβολὴν ἐλευθερίαν κτῶμενοι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἡγεμονίαν: [p. 355] ^[2] ἄμοιβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐκομίσαντο παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων, οὐδ' ἀπήλυσαν οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς πολέμῳ ἁλόντες ἀφηρεθήσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἣν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλόμενοι καταλιπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν τὴν πατρίδα πόθῳ γῆς ἐτέρας, ἐν ἣ τὸ μὴ ὑβρίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους οὕσιν ὑπάρξει: καὶ οὔτε βιασάμενοι τὴν βουλὴν οὔτε πολέμῳ προσαναγκάσαντες εὖροντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα κάθοδον, ἀξιούσῃ δὲ καὶ δεομένη τὰ ἐκλειφθέντα ἀπολαβεῖν εἴξαντες ἔδωκαν. ^[3] τοὺς θ' ὄρκους διεξήκει καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ γενομένας ἀνεκαλεῖτο: ἐν αἷς ἦν ἀμνηστία μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων, ἔπειτ' ἐξουσία τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχᾶς ἀποδεικνύναι, τιμωροὺς μὲν ἐσομένας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ^[4] τοῖς δὲ κατισχύειν βουλομένοις ἀντιπάλους. διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς νόμους ἐπεδείκνυτο, οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς μεταγωγῆς, ὡς ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν κρίνειν οὓς ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψηφοφορίας, ὅς οὐκ ἔτι τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κουριᾶτιν ἐποίει τῶν ψήφων κυρίαν.

διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον, ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀππιον: ἔπειτα σὺ τολμᾷς, εἶπε, λοιδορεῖσθαι τούτοις, δι' οὓς μεγάλη μὲν [p. 356] ἐκ μικρᾶς, ἐπιφανῆς δ' ἐξ ἀδόξου γέγονεν ἡ πόλις; καὶ στασιαστάς ἐτέρους ἀποκαλεῖς καὶ φυγαδικὴν τινα τύχην ὀνειδίζεις, ὥσπερ οὐχ ἀπάντων ἔτι τούτων μεμνημένων τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι στασιάσαντες οἱ σοὶ πρόγονοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἐνθάδ' ἰδρύθησαν ἰκέται; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα πόθῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καλὸν ἔργον ἐπράττετε, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ^[2] ὅμοια ὑμῖν δεδρακότες οὐ καλόν. τολμᾷς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν, καὶ πείθεις τουτουοὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν πενήτων ἐπικουρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ μεγάλαις ἡσφαλισμένην ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκαις, ᾧ μισοδημότατε καὶ τυραννικώτατε; καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄρα ἐδυνήθης μαθεῖν, ὅτι τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ σεαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ταῦτα λέγων λοιδορεῖ; καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ διαναστᾶσα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὧν οὐκέτι τὰς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ τὰς ὑβρεῖς ὑποφέρειν ἤξιον, τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχεῖον κατεστήσατο, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως ἐτέρους ἐποίησε τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας κυρίου. ^[3] ὥσθ' ἂ περὶ τῆς δημαρχίας λέγεις, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυίας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ διχοστασίας ἔλαβε, ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὑπατείας λέγεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἄλλῃ τις εἰσήγαγε πρόφασιν, ἀλλ' ἡ ^[4] πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν πατρικίων στάσις. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτά σοι διαλέγομαι, ὡς χρηστῷ καὶ μετρίῳ πολίτῃ, ὃν ἅπαντες ἴσασιν οὗτοι σκαιὸν ὄντα διὰ γένος καὶ [p. 357] πικρὸν καὶ μισόδημον καὶ τὸ θηριῶδες ὑπὸ φύσεως οὐδέποτ' ἐξημερῶσαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμόσε χωρῷ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος τῶν λόγων, καὶ δεικνυμι, ὅσῃν ἰσχὺν ὁ δῆμος ἔχων λέληθέ σε, ὃν οὐκ ἡσχύνθης ἀνέστιον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καλῶν, καὶ ὅσον ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ δυναμένη, ἣν δε ὁ νόμος ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ εἴκειν ἀναγκάζει; παρεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπασαν εἰρωνεῖαν

ἔργου ἔξομαι.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὄρκον, ὅσπερ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἦν, διομοσάμενος ἢ τὸν νόμον ἐπικυρώσειν ἢ τοῦ ζῆν μεθήσεσθαι, σιωπῆς γενομένης ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐναγωνίου προσδοκίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλει δρᾶν, ἐκέλευσε μεταχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν Ἀππιον. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους παραστησάμενος καὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ὃν ἦγε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκοθεν, ἀπεμάχετο μὴ παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, σιωπὴν ὑποκηρευξάμενος ὁ Λαιτώριος ἀνεῖπεν, ὅτι τὸν ὕπατον εἰς φυλακὴν κελεύουσιν ἀπάγειν οἱ δήμαρχοι. ^[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπηρετὴς κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσῆγεν ὥς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιληψόμενος· τῶν δὲ ῥαβδούχων ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιτυχὼν παίων αὐτὸν ἀπῆλασε. κραυγῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γενομένης μεγάλης καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἵεται αὐτὸς ὁ Λαιτώριος παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀμύνειν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀππιον στίφος ἔχοντες νέων πολλὸν καὶ καρτερὸν ὑφίστανται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λόγοι [p. 358] τ' ἀσχήμονες ἐγένοντο εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ καταβοαὶ καὶ σωμάτων ὠθισμοί· καὶ τελευτῶσα εἰς χεῖρας ἀπέσκηπεν ἡ ἔρις, καὶ εἰς λίθων ἥρξατο προβαίνειν βολάς. ^[3] ἐπέσχε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ μὴ προσωτέρω χωρῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ Κοίντιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, δεόμενός τε πάντων καὶ λιπαρῶν σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἀψιμαχοῦντας ὠθούμενος. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λειπόμενον βραχὺ ^[4] μέρος, ὥστ' ἀκούσιοι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διελύθησαν. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις αἱ τ' ἀρχαὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐνεκάλουν, ὁ μὲν ὕπατος τοῖς δημάρχois, ὅτι καταλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤξιουν ἐς τὸ δεσποτήριον τὸν ὕπατον ἀπάγειν κελεύσαντες, τῷ δ' ὑπάτῳ οἱ δήμαρχοι, ὥς ἐμβεβληκότι πληγὰς σώμασιν ἱεροῖς καὶ καθωσιωμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου — καὶ ὁ Λαιτώριος τὰ ἴχνη τῶν πληγῶν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι φανερά — ἢ τε πόλις ὅλη διοιδοῦσα καὶ ἀγριαινομένη διειστήκει. ^[5] ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐφρουρεῖ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα τοῖς δημάρχois, οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὐτε νυκτὸς ἐκλείπων τὴν φυλακὴν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ συνιοῦσα πολλὴν καὶ ἐπίπονον ἐποιεῖτο ζήτησιν, ὅπως χρὴ παῦσαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, τοῦ τε κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος ἐνθυμουμένη, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ αὐτὰ παρειστήκει φρονεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κοίντιος εἴκειν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μέτρια ἡξιού, ὁ δ' Ἀππιος μέχρι θανάτου ἀντέχειν. [p. 359]

ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πέρας, χωρὶς ἐκάστους ἀπολαμβάνων ὁ Κοίντιος, τοὺς τε δημάρχους καὶ τὸν Ἀππιον, ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναγκαιότερα ἡγεῖσθαι ἡξιού. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἤδη πεπειροτέρους γεγονότας, τὸν δὲ συνάρχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐθαδείας μένοντα πείθει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λαιτώριον, ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν τ' ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ^[2] τῶν δημοσίων τὴν βουλὴν ποιῆσαι κυρίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο διεπράξατο, συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος δεηθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπράττειν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλει τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀποφαίνεσθαι γνώμας. ^[3] πρῶτος δὲ κληθεὶς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας γνώμην ἀπεφώνετο τήνδε· ὅσα μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ ὁ ὕπατος, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπαθον ἢ ἔδρασαν ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλήs οὐδ' οἰκείας πλεονεξίας ἐνεκεν εἰς αὐτὰ κατέστησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ

τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι δίκην: περὶ δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ὕπατος Ἄππιος οὐκ ἔῤα νόμον ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκφέρειν, προβουλεύσαι μὲν περὶ τοῦτου τὸ συνέδριον: τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς θ' ὁμονοίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅταν ἡ ψῆφος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφέρηται, καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας. [4] ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων εὐθύς ἀνέδωκε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ψῆφον ὁ Κοίντιος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν Ἀππίου κατηγορήσαντος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν [p. 360] δημάρχων ἀντιλεζάντων, ἐνίκα παρὰ πολλὰς ψήφους ἢ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρειν ἀξιοῦσα γνώμη. ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ προβουλεύματος αἱ τε ἴδιαι τῶν ἀρχόντων διαφοραὶ διελύθησαν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγαπητῶς δεξιόμενος τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεψήφισε τὸν νόμον. ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων ἀρχαιρέσια μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου δίχα οἰωνῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀνείας ἀπάσης αἱ φυλετικαὶ ψηφοφοροῦσιν ἐκκλησίαι. αὕτη λύσις ἐγένετο τῆς τότε κατασχούσης ταραχῆς τὴν πόλιν.

καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ στρατιὰς ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίοις καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκπέμπειν ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους. δυνάμεις γὰρ ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξεληλυθέναι ἡγγέλλοντο μεγάλαι καὶ προνομεύειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους. παρασκευασθεῖσιν δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων σὺν τάχει Κοίντιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων ὥχετο, Ἄππιος δὲ Οὐολούσκοις, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἀρχάς. συνέβη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκατέρῳ τὰ εἰκότα πάσχειν: [2] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Κοιντίῳ προσενεμηθεῖσα στρατιὰ τὴν ἐπιεικειάν τε καὶ μετριότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀσπαζομένη πρόθυμος ἦν εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐπιταπτόμενα, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοκέλευστος ὑφίστατο κινδυνεύματα δόξαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ τιμὴν πράττουσα: καὶ διεξῆλθε πολλὴν τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας λεηλατοῦσα οὐ τολμώντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ ἧς λάφυρα πολλὰ καὶ ὠφελείας μεγάλας ἐκτήσατο. [p. 361] χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψασα παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄγουσα. [3] ἡ δὲ τῷ Ἀππίῳ συνεξελητοῦσα δύναμις μίσει τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὑπερεῖδε τῶν πατρίων. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐθελοκακοῦσα ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ ὀλιγωροῦσα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος διετέλεσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μάχεσθαι ἔδει τῇ Οὐολούσκων στρατιᾷ, κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς τάξιν οὐκ ἤξιώσε τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι: ἀλλ' οἱ τε λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ σημεῖα ῥίψαντες, οἱ δὲ τὴν τάξιν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἔφευγον. [4] καὶ εἰ μὴ θαυμάσαντες τὸ παράλογον τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ δέισαντες, μὴ ἐνέδρα τις ἦ, τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον διώξεως ἀπετράποντο, τὸ πλεῖον ἂν μέρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων διέφθαρτο. ἐποιοῦν δὲ ταῦτα φθόνῳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μὴ καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ὁ ἀνὴρ διαπραξάμενος θριάμβῳ τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιλαμπρυνθῇ τιμαῖς. [5] τῇ δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου τῆς ἀδόξου φυγῆς, τὰ δὲ παρακαλοῦντος αἰσχιστον ἔργον ἀναλύσασθαι καλῶ ἀγῶνι, τὰ δ' ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ στήσονται παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, χρῆσεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἀπειθείᾳ τε διεχρῶντο καὶ καταβοῇ καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς ἐκέλευον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὥς ἀδύνατοι ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ

τραυμάτων ἀντέχειν: κατεδῆσαντο γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς ὑγιεῖς χρῶτας ὡς τραυματῖαι: ὥστε ὁ Ἄππιος [p. 362] ἠναγκάσθη ἀπάγειν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ οἱ Οὐλολοῦσκοι ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπόμενοι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. ^[6] ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ἐγένοντο, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦς ὁ Ὑπατος καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας ἔφη χρῆσεσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν λιποτακτῶν κολάσει. καὶ πολλὰ δεομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει μετριάσαι, καὶ μὴ συμφορὰν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προσθεῖναι τῇ πόλει, λόγον οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκύρωσε τὴν κόλασιν. ^[7] καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε, ὧν οἱ λόχοι ἔφυγον, καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι τῶν σημείων, ὅσοι τὰ σημεῖα ἀπολωλέκεσαν, οἱ μὲν πελέκει τοὺς αὐχένους ἀπεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ ξύλοις παιόμενοι διεφθάρησαν: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους ἀπὸ δεκάδος ἐκάστης εἷς ἀνὴρ ὁ λαχὼν κλήρῳ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέθνησκεν. αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις πάτριός ἐστι κατὰ τῶν λιπόντων τὰς τάξεις ἢ προεμένων τὰς σημαίας ἢ κόλασις. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' αὐτὸς τε μισούμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσον ἔτι περιῆν κατηφὲς καὶ ἄτιμον ἐπαγόμενος, τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ καθηκόντων ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ὑπάτων Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ Τιβερίου Αἰμιλίου βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὸν ὑπὲρ κληρουχίας πάλιν εἰσήγον λόγον: καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡξιοῦν βεβαιῶσαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐποιήσατο ἡ βουλὴ Σπορίου Κασσίου καὶ Πρόκλου [p. 363] Οὐεργινίου ὑπατευόντων, δεόμενοι τε καὶ λιπαροῦντες. ^[2] καὶ οἱ Ὑπατοι αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον ἀμφοτέροι, Τιβέριος μὲν Αἰμιλίου κότον τινὰ παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἄλογον ἀναφέρων, ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον αἰτουμένῳ κατάγειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοῦ δήμου τὴν ὀργὴν βουλόμενος, ἣν εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σπορίου Κασσίου θανάτῳ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντα βασιλεῖα ταμίας τότε ὧν Οὐαλέριος, ἄνδρα τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γενομένων ἐπιφανέστατον ἐν ἡγεμονίαις τε πολέμων καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσιν, ὃς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα πρῶτος εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὡς δῆμον ἀναιρούμενος πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἐμισήθη. ^[3] τότε δ' οὖν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς προθήσειν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν δημοσίων κλήρων λόγον, καὶ τῆς ἐπικυρώσεως τοῦ νόμου συναρεῖσθαι, πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς οἱ δῆμαρχοι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ λόγους διεξῆλθον ἐπεικεῖς. οἷς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέξαντες οἱ Ὑπατοι, ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίας δόξαν ἀπενέγκαιντο, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἡξιοῦν. ^[4] ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος ὑπ' αὐτῶν κληθεὶς Λεύκιος Αἰμιλίου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων πατήρ: ὃς ἔφη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, πάντων εἶναι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ μὴ ὀλίγων, τῷ τε δήμῳ πείθοντι ὑπουργεῖν συνεβούλευεν, [p. 364] ἵνα χάρις ἢ παραχώρησις αὐτῶν γένηται. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης συγκεχωρηκέαι: τοὺς τε κατέχοντας τὰς κτήσεις ὧν ἐκαρπώσαντο χρόνων λαθόντες ἡξίου χάριν εἰδέναι, κωλυομένους δὲ μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν. ^[5] ἔφη τε σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, ὃ πάντες ὁμολογήσειαν ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι, τὰ μὲν δημόσια καινὰ πάντων εἶναι, τὰ δ' ἴδια ἐκάστου τῶν νόμῳ κτησαμένων: καὶ

ἀναγκαῖον ἤδη τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γεγονέναι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα τὴν γῆν διανέμειν ψηφισαμένης. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τὸτ' αὐτὴν βεβουλεῦσθαι, ἵνα μὴτε γῆ χέρσος ᾖ, καὶ ὁ τὴν πόλιν οἰκουρῶν πένης ὄχλος μὴ ἄργος, ὥσπερ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοτριῖσι ἀγαθοῖς φθονῶν, ἐπιτρέφεται δὲ τῇ πόλει νεότης ἐν ἐφεστῖσι καὶ κλήροις πατρώοις, ἔχουσα τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς τεθράφθαι μέγα φρονεῖν: [6] ἐπεὶ τοῖς γ' ἀκλήροις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοτριων κτημάτων, ἃ μισθοῦ ἐργάζονται, γλίσχρως διατρεφομένοις, ἢ ἀρχῇθεν μὴ ἐμφύεσθαι ἔρωτα γενεᾶς τέκνων, ἢ ἐμφύντα πονηρὸν ἐκφέρειν καρπὸν καὶ οὐδ' εὐτυχῇ, ἐκ ταπεινῶν τε συμπορισθέντα οἷα εἰκὸς γάμων, [7] καὶ ἐν κατεπτωχευμέναις τραφέντα τύχαις. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυμαι, τὰ τε προβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ διὰ τὰς μεταξὺ παραχᾶς [p. 365] παρεϊλκυσμένα ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς ὑπάτους, καὶ τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν διανομὴν ἄνδρας ἀποδεικνύναι.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Αἰμιλίου δεύτερος κληθεὶς Ἄππιος Κλαῦδιος, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ὑπατεύσας ἔτει, τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο διδάσκων, ὡς οὐθ' ἡ βουλὴ διανεῖμαι τὰ δημόσια προαίρεσιν ἔσχε: πάλαι γὰρ ἂν εἰληφέναι τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτῇ τέλος: ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον καὶ διάγνωσιν ἑτέραν ἀνεβάλετο, παῦσαι προθυμουμένη τὴν τότε κατασοῦσαν στάσιν, ἣν εἰσῆγεν ὁ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν ὕπατος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δίκας δοὺς καλᾶς: [2] οὐθ' οἱ μετὰ τὸ προβούλευμα λαχόντες ὕπατοι τέλος τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις ἐπέθεσαν ὀρώντες, ὅσων εἰσελεύσεται κακῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀρχὴ συνεθισθέντων τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πενήτων διαλαγχάνειν: αἱ τε μετ' ἐκείνους πεντεκαίδεκα ὑπατεῖαι πολλῶν αὐταῖς ἐπαχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κινδύνων οὐδὲν ὑπέμειναν, ὃ μὴ συνέφερε τῷ κοινῷ πράττειν, διὰ τὸ μὴδ' ἐξεῖναι σφίσι κατὰ τὸ προβούλευμα τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀποδεικνύειν, [3] ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκείνοις ὑπάτοις. ὥστ' οὐδ' ὑμῖν, ἔφησεν, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, καὶ σὺ Αἰμίλιε, γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς εἰσφέρειν, οὓς οὐκ ἐπέταξεν ὑμῖν τὸ συνέδριον, οὔτε καλῶς ἔχει, προγόνων οὗσιν ἀγαθῶν, οὔτ' ἀσφαλῶς. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ προβουλεύματος, ὡς οὐ κρατέισθε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον ὑπατεύσαντες χρόνοις, [p. 366] [4] ταῦθ' ἱκανά. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιασαμένους τινὰς ἢ λαθόντας σφετερίσασθαι τὰ δημόσια βραχὺς ἀπαρκεῖ μοι λόγος. εἰ γὰρ τις οἶδε καρπούμενόν τινα, ὧν οὐκ ἔχει κτῆσιν ἀποδείξαι νόμῳ, μήνυσιν ἀπενεγκάτω πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ κρινάτω κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς οὐ νεωστὶ δεήσει γράφειν: πάλαι γὰρ ἐγράφησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἠφάνικε χρόνος. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐποιεῖτο λόγους Αἰμίλιος, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ τῆς κληρουχίας ἐσομένης, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνέλεγκτον ἔῃσαι βούλομαι. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τὸ αὐτόθι μόνον οὗτός γ' ὄρᾶν, τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐ προσκοπεῖν, ὅτι μικρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων τοῖς ἀργοῖς καὶ [6] ἀπόροις πολλῶν ἔσται καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιον. τὸ γὰρ ἔθος τὸ συνεισπορευόμενον ἅμα τούτῳ καὶ διαμένον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ὀλέθριον ἔσται καὶ δεινόν: οὐ γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ τὰς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τυγχάνειν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αὖξει καὶ πονηροτέρας ποιεῖ. τεκμήρια δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τούτων τὰ ἔργα: τί γὰρ δεῖ τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἢ τοῖς Αἰμιλίου προσέχειν;

Ἰστε δὴπου πάντες, ὅσους ἐχειρωσάμεθα πολεμίους, καὶ ὅσιν γῆν προϋνομεύσαμεν, καὶ ὅσα λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων ἐλάβομεν, ὧν οἱ πολέμιοι στερόμενοι τέως εὐδαίμονες ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ νῦν [p. 367] καθεστήκασιν ἀπορία: καὶ ὅτι τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀπηλάσθησαν οὐδὲ μείον ἐκτήσαντο ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς οἱ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὀδυρόμενοι. [2] ἄρ' οὖν διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐπικτήσεις ἐπανορθωσάμενοι φαίνονται τι τῆς παλαιᾶς τύχης καὶ προεληλυθότες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῖς βίοις; ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν καὶ θεοῖς εὐξάμην, ἵνα ἦττον ἦσαν ἐπίσκηνοι λυπηροὶ τῇ πόλει, νῦν δ' ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ ἀκούετε αὐτῶν ὀδυρομένων, ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτῃ εἰσὶν ἀπορία. ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰ ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν αἰτοῦνται, καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτων λάβοιεν, ἐπανορθώσονται τοὺς βίους. [3] οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τύχαις αὐτῶν ἐνοικεῖ τὸ ἄπορον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς τρόποις: οὐς οὐχ οἷον ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος ἐκπληρώσει κλῆρος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰ σύμπασαι βασιλέων τε καὶ τυράννων δωρεαί. δράσομέν τ', εἰ καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸς ἡδονὴν θεραπεύουσι τοὺς κάμνοντας ἰατροῖς. οὐ γὰρ τὸ νοσοῦν ὑγιασθήσεται τῆς πολιτείας μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀπολαύσει τῆς νόσου. καθόλου τ', ὧ βουλή, πολλῆς ὑμῖν δεῖ ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φροντίδος, ὅπως ἂν σώσητε πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ διαφθειρόμενα τὰ ἦθη τῆς πόλεως. [4] ὁρᾶτε γάρ, εἰς ἃ προελήλυθεν ἡ τοῦ δήμου ἀκοσμία, καὶ ὥς οὐκέτι ἄρχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξιοῖ: ὧ γ' οὐ μετεμέλησε τῶν ἐνθάδε πραττομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπεδείξατο ἀκοσμίαν, ὅπλα τε ῥίψας καὶ τάξεις ἐκλιπὼν καὶ [p. 368] σημεία πολέμοις προέμενος καὶ φυγῇ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπονειδίστω χρησάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀφαιρησόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς νίκης δόξαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάθος. [5] καὶ νῦν Οὐλοῦσχοις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἴσεται τρόπαια, καὶ κοσμεῖται τοῖς ἡμετέροις λαφύροις τὰ κεινὼν ἱερὰ καὶ ἐν αὐχήμασιν, ἡλίκους οὐπώποτε αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰσιν τέως ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τε καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων δεόμενα ἡγεμόνων. [6] Ἄρά γε δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις κατορθώμασι χάριν αὐτοῖς ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, καὶ δημοσίαις ἐπικοσμεῖν δωρεαῖς κληρουχήσαντας τὴν γῆν, ἥς πολέμιοι κρατοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι μέρος; ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ τοῦτοις ἐγκαλεῖν, οἷς δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν τε καὶ δυσγένειαν ὀλίγος ἐστὶ τῶν καλῶν λόγος, ὁρῶντας, ὥς οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσι πᾶσιν ἔτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκεῖ φρόνημα, ἀλλ' αὐθάδεια μὲν ἢ σεμνότης καλεῖται πρὸς ἐνίων, μωρία δ' ἢ δικαιοσύνη, μανικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ ἡλίθιον τὸ σῶφρον; ἃ δὲ μισητὰ παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις ἦν, ταῦτα πυργοῦται τε νῦν καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλίκᾳ φαίνεται τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις ἀγαθὰ, ἀνανδρία καὶ βωμολοχία καὶ κακοήθεια καὶ τὸ πανούργως σοφὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἰταμόν καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων εὐπειθές: ἃ πολλὰς ἤδη πόλεις [p. 369] [7] ἰσχυρὰς λαβόντα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέτρεψε. ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὧ βουλή, εἴθ' ἡδέα ἐστὶν ἀκούειν εἴτ' ἀνιάρᾳ, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας καὶ παρρησίας εἴρηται, τοῖς μὲν πεισθησομένοις ὑμῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθῇτε, ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλῆ: ἐμοὶ δ', ὅς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας ἀναιροῦμαι, πολλῶν ἐσόμενα κινδύνων αἰτία. προορᾷν γὰρ ἱκανὸς εἰμι τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐκ λογισμοῦ, καὶ παραδείγματα ποιοῦμαι

τάλλοτρία πάθη τῶν ἔμαντοῦ.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀποφνημαμένων ἢ μὲν βουλὴ διελύετο. οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες τὴν ἀποτυχίαν ἀπήεσαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως τιμωρήσονται τὸν ἄνδρα: ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις δίκῃ τὸν Ἀππίον ὑπαγαγεῖν θάνατον ἐχούσῃ τὸ τίμημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατηγορήσαντες παρεκάλουν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθησομένην ἡμέραν ὡς διοίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [2] ψῆφον. ἃ δὲ κατηγορεῖν ἔμελλον, ταῦτ' ἦν: ὅτι πονηρὰς ἐτίθει κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας, καὶ στάσιν εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημάρχῳ χειῖρας ἐπήνεγκε παρὰ τοῦς ἱεροὺς νόμους, καὶ στρατιᾷς ἡγησάμενος σὺν βλάβῃ τε καὶ αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλην ἀνέστρεψε. ταῦτα προειπόντες ἐν τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ῥητὴν τινα ἀποδείξαντες ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τέλος ἔφησαν ἐπιθήσειν τῇ δίκῃ, παρήγγειλαν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι τότε ἀπολογησομένῳ. [3] ἀγανακτοῦντων δ' ἀπάντων τῶν πατρικίων καὶ παρεσκευασμένων [p. 370] ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ σώζειν τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τὸν Ἀππίον παρακαλοῦντων εἶξαι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ σχῆμα ταῖς παρούσαις τύχαις ἀρμόττον μεταλαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔφη ποιήσῃν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὔτ' ἀγεννὲς οὔτε τῶν προγεγονότων ἔργων ἀνάξιον, μυρίου δ' ἂν ὑπομεῖναι θανάτους πρότερον ἢ γονάτων ἄψασθαί τινος: τοὺς θ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεῖσθαι παρεσκευασμένους διεκώλυεν εἰπὼν, ὡς διπλασίως ἂν αἰδεσθεῖται ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντας ἑτέρους ὁρῶν, ἃ μὴδ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν πρέποντα ἡγεῖται. [4] ταῦτα τε δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις λέγων, καὶ οὔτ' ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξας οὔτε τὸ τῆς ὄψεως γαῦρον ἀλλοιώσας οὔτε φρονήματός τι ὑφέμενος, ὡς εἶδεν ὀρθὴν καὶ μετέωρον ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγων ἔτι λειπομένων ἡμερῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. [5] οἱ μὲν δὲ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ νόσον ἐσκήπτοντο γενέσθαι τοῦ θανάτου αἰτίαν: προενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ μὲν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ προσιὼν τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡξίου τὴν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἔθει Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ἐπὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς ἀγορεύεσθαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγον ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς διελθεῖν. [6] οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι καλουμένης ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνίσταντο, καὶ παρήγγελλον τῷ μεираκίῳ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀποφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ὁ δῆμὸς γ' ἠνέσχετο οὐδὲ περιεῖδε τὴν ὕβριν, ἄτιμον ἐκβληθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐπέτρεψε τῷ μεираκίῳ [p. 371] τὰς νομιζομένας ἀποδοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ τιμὰς. Ἀππίος μὲν οὖν τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν.

οἱ δ' ὕπατοι καταγράψαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: Λεύκιος μὲν Οὐαλέριος Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων, Τιβέριος δ' Αἰμίλιος Σαβίνοις. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς στάσεως καιρὸν ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς κακώσαντες ἀπῆλθον λείαν ἄφθονον περιβαλόμενοι. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν πολλάκις εἰς χειῖρας ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἐν ἐχυρῷ χωρίῳ κείμενον κατέφυγον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι προήεσαν εἰς μάχην. [2] ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐκπολιορκεῖν αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκωλύθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου. προιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἤδη ἔργου ἐχομένῳ ζῶφος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γίνεται καὶ ὄμβρος πολὺς, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ

καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραί. διασκεδασθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὃ τε χειμῶν εὐθύς ἐπαύσατο καὶ πολλὴ κατέσχε τὸν τόπον αἶθρια. τοῦτο τε δὴ τὸ ἔργον ὅττευσάμενος ὁ ὕπατος, καὶ τῶν μάντεων κωλύόντων ἔτι πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποτραπεῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐκάκου, καὶ ὅση ἐπέτυχε λεία τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπασαν ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐφείς, ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' ^[3] οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. Τιβερίῳ δ' Αἰμιλίῳ διεξιόντι τὴν πολεμίαν σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι προσδοκῶντι ἀντίπαλον ἐπῆλθεν ἡ Σαβίνων δύναμις καὶ γίνεται μάχη αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως μεσοῦσης μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένη μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου. [p. 372] σκότους δ' ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ἀνεχώρουν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας οὔτε νικῶσαι οὔτε λειπόμεναι. ^[4] ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις νεκροὺς τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκήδευσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ χάρακας ἐξωρύξαντο, καὶ γνώμας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶχον ἐκάτεροι, διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεία ἔχειν καὶ μηκέτι ἄρχειν μάχης. ἔπειτα σὺν χρόνῳ τὰς σκηνὰς λύσαντες ἀπῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις.

ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτει, κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ὀγδόην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Ποσειδωνιάτης Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος Θεαγενίδου, κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Ῥωμαίων Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος Καίλιμοντανὸς καὶ Τίτος Νομίκιος Πρίσκοις. ἄρτι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφόντων ἀγγέλλεται στρατιὰ Οὐολούσκων πολλὴ παροῦσα. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν περιπολίων τι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταληφθὲν ἐκαίετο: ἦν δ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ὁ καπνὸς ἠγγελλε τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πάθος. ^[2] τότε μὲν οὖν — καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔτι νύξ — ἱππεῖς τινὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ταξάμενοι τρὸ τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τοῖς εὐζωνοτάτοις, ἐξεδέχοντο τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἀγγελίας: ὥς δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἐγένετο, καὶ συνήθροιστο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύναμις, [p. 373] ἦγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ διαρπάσαντες καὶ κατακαύσαντες τὸ φρούριον ἀπῆσαν διὰ τάχους. ^[3] τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ ὕπατοι σβέσαντες τὰ ἔτι καίόμενα καὶ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἀπῆσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὰς τ' οἰκείας ἔχοντες δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξήρσαν ἀμφοτέρω, Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν, Νομίκιος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων: καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις κατὰ ^[4] γνώμην τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐχώρησεν. Οὐεργινίῳ τε γὰρ Αἰκανοὶ δηοῦντι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχον τινὰ ὑποκαθίσαντες ἐν ὕλαις ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἔμελλον ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίῳις, διήμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος ταχείας γενομένης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰσθήσεως καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς, ἐξ ἧς πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων οἱ Αἰκανοὶ ἀπέβαλον: ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰς πείραν ἑτέρας μάχης ἔτ' ἦρχοντο. ^[5] Νομικίῳ τ' ἄγοντι τὴν στρατιάν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν, ἣ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τότε τῶν Οὐολούσκων πόλεσιν ἦν, οὐδεμία ἠναντιώθη δύναμις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀναγκάζοντο ἕκαστοι ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἢ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἢ πολλὴ ἐτμήθη, καὶ πολίχνη τις ἐπιθαλάττιος ἐάλω, ἣ ἐπινείῳ τε καὶ ἀγορᾷ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἐχρῶντο, ἐκ θαλάττης τε καὶ διὰ λησστηρίων τὰς πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενοι ὠφελείας. ἀνδράποδα μὲν οὖν καὶ χρήματα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς

ἐμπορικοὺς φόρτους ἢ στρατιὰ συγχωρήσει τοῦ ὑπάτου [p. 374] διήρπασε, τὰ δ' ἐλεύθερα σώματα, ὅποσα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ἐφθῇ διειργασμένος, ἐπὶ τὸ λαφυροπώλιον ἀπήχθη. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ νῆες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μακραὶ καὶ ἄλλα νεῶν ὅπλα τε καὶ παρασκευαί. [6] μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τὰς τ' οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους κατέσκαπτον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἥρειπον ἐκ θεμελίων: ὥστε μὴδ' ἀπελθόντων σφῶν χρηστὸν ἔτι τοῖς Ἀντιάταις εἶναι τὸ φρουρίον. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπράχθη χωρὶς ἐκατέρω τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἔτι καινὴ στρατεία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, ἣν δηώσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὗτος ἐτελεύτα.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Τίτου Κοιντίου Καπετωλίνου καὶ Κοίντου Σερουιλίου Πρίσκου τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων ἢ τ' οἰκεία δύνამεις Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦν, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἐκούσια παρῆν, πρὶν ἐπαγγελθῆναι αὐτοῖς στρατείαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' εὐχὰς τε ποιησάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ καθήραντες τὸν στρατὸν ἐξήεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [2] Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Σερουίλιος ἤλασεν, οὗτ' εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν οὗτ' ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον: μένοντες δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἠνείχοντο γῆς τ' αὐτοῖς τεμνομένης καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων θεραπείας τ' αὐτομολούσης: ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὠφελείαις τε βαρεῖς [p. 375] καὶ αὐχήμασι λαμπροῦς, καὶ ἡ μὲν Σερουιλίου στρατεία τοῦτ' ἔσχε τὸ τέλος: [3] οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Κοιντίῳ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους — συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ προαγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν πόλεως ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο — θᾶπτον ἢ βάδην χωροῦντες ἐπιφαίνονται αὐτοῖς: καὶ οὐ πολὺν τόπον τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἀποσχόντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ὠφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἐκείνους χωρίῳ ταπεινῷ ὄντι τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἔθεντο, τοῦ μὴ δεδοικέναι τὰ πολέμια πλήθει μακρῷ προὔχοντα δόξαν ποιῆσαι βουλόμενοι. [4] ὥς δ' εὐτρεπῇ τὰ εἰς μάχην ἐκατέροις ἅπαντα ἦν, ἐξήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἠγωνίζοντο μέχρι μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας οὗτ' εἰκόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις οὗτ' ἐπιβαίνοντες, αἶε τε τὸ κάμνον μέρος ἀνισοῦντες τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρεῖαις τεταγμένοις ἐκάτεροι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μάλιστα οἱ Αἰκανοὶ καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι πλήθει τῶν Ῥωμαίων προὔχοντες ἀνέφερον καὶ περιῆσαν, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐχόντων ἴσον τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος. [5] ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος ὀρῶν νεκροὺς τε πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν περιόντων τοὺς πλείους τραυματίας ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν, δεισας δέ, μὴ δόξαν παράσχη τοῖς πολεμίοις φυγῆς, παρακινδυνευτέον σφίσιν εἶναι ἔγνω. ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ὃ μάλιστα ἔκαμνεν, τοῖς σφετέροις παρεβοήθει. [6] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς ἠγεμόσιν [p. 376] αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀνανδρίας, τὰ δ' ὑπομιμνήσκων τῶν προτέρων ἀγώνων, τὰ δὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃς καταλήψεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, τελευτῶν εἶπεν οὐκ ἀληθές, ὃ μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις θάρσος παρέστησε, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις δέος. ἔφη γάρ, ὅτι θάτερον αὐτῶν ἤδη κέρας ἐξέωσε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐγγὺς ἤδη ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων χάρακος. [7] ταῦτ'

εἰπὼν ἐνσειεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων συστάδην ἐμάχετο. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτου τόλμα τις ἐμπίπτει τοῖς κάμνουσι τέως, καὶ ὠθοῦνται ἅπαντες ὥσπερ ἕτεροὶ τινες γεγονότες· καὶ οἱ Οὐλοοῦσκοι — τῇδε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐτάξαντο — μέχρι πολλοῦ διακαρτερήσαντες ἐνέκλιναν. ὥς δὲ τοὺτους ὁ Κοίντιος ἀπεώσατο, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον παρήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τάξιν, καὶ ἐδείκνυε τοῖς ἐκεῖ πεζοῖς τὸ ἡττώμενον τῶν πολεμίων μέρος, καὶ παρεκελεύετο μὴ λείπεσθαι ἀρετῇ τῶν ἑτέρων.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' οὐδὲν ἔτι διέμενε τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ξυνέφευγον. οὐ μέντοι διώξεις γ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπετράποντο, ὑπὸ κόπου τὰ σώματα παρειμένοι καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἔτι ὅμοια ἔχοντες. ὀλίγων δὲ [p. 377] διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ἃς ἐσπεΐσαντο ταφῆς τε τῶν οἰκείων νεκρῶν καὶ θεραπειᾶς τῶν κεκμηκότων ἔνεκα, παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλλείποντα, ἑτέραν ἡγωνίσαντο μάχην περὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι. [2] προσελθούσης γὰρ ἄλλης δυνάμεως τοῖς Οὐλοοῦσκοις τε καὶ Αἰκανοῖς ἐκ τῶν περίξ χωρίων οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ὄντων, ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ πενταπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν οἱ σφέτεροι, τὴν τε παρεμβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐν ἐχυρῷ οὔσαν ὀρῶν κράτιστον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κύκλῳ περιστήσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ λάθοιεν ἀπίοντες. [3] ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος, ὥς ἔμαθε τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐδέξατο καὶ περιμείνας, ἕως ἡμέρα τ' ἐγένετο καὶ ὥρα πληθουούσης μάλιστ' ἀγορᾶς, κάμνοντας ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθόμενος ὑπὸ τ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀκροβολισμῶν, καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόχους οὐδὲ ἐν τάξει προσάγοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους καὶ σποράδας, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος ἐξέδραμεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἠκολούθουν. [4] οἱ δὲ Οὐλοοῦσκοι καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὸ μανικὸν τῆς ἐφόδου βραχὺν ἀνασχόμενοι χρόνον ἀνακροῦνται τε καὶ ἅμα ὑποχωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ — ἦν γὰρ τις οὐ πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπικεικῶς — εἰς τοῦτον οὖν ἀνατρέχουσιν [p. 378] ὥς ἀναπαυσόμενοι τε καὶ αὖθις εἰς τάξιν καταστησόμενοι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο καταστήναι τε καὶ ἐαυτοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἠκολούθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι πλήσαντες, ὥς μάλιστ' ἦν δυνατὸν τοὺς λόχους, ἵνα μὴ καταραχθῶσι πρὸς ἄναντες χωρίον βιαζόμενοι. [5] καὶ γίνεται μέγας ἀγὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, νεκροὶ τε πίπτουσι πολλοὶ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων. καὶ Οὐλοοῦσκοι πλήθει τε ὑπερέχοντες καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου προσειληφότες ἀσφαλές, οὐδετέρου τούτων οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀπῆλυσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐκβιασθέντες τὸν τε λόφον ἐξέλιπον καὶ [6] ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα φεύγοντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον. οὐ γὰρ εἶασαν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἠκολούθησαν καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπετράποντο, ἢ τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτῶν ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος. γενόμενοι δὲ σωμάτων τ' ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐγκατελήφθη τῷ χάρακι καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χρημάτων παμπόλλων κύριοι, τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτόθι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ

ἡμέρῃ τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένος ὁ Ὑπατος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν οὐ πλείω ἀπέχουσαν τριάκοντα σταδίων ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν. [7] ἔτυχον δὲ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τοῖς Ἀντιάταις Αἰκανῶν τινες ἐπίκουροι παρόντες καὶ φυλάττοντες τὰ τείχη· οἱ τότε δεῖσαντες τὸ Ῥωμαίων τολμηρὸν δρασμὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως [p. 379] ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς Ἀντιάταις γνώσεως κωλυόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπέναι γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐποῦσι τὴν πόλιν. [8] τοῦτο μαθόντες ἐκ μηνύσεως οἱ Ἀντιάται τῷ τε καιρῷ εἴκουσι, καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευσάμενοι παραδιδόασιν τῷ Κοιντίῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Αἰκανοὺς μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελθεῖν, Ἀντιάτας δὲ φρουρὰν δέξασθαι καὶ τὰ κελευόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ποιεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις κύριος γενόμενος τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ὑπατος, καὶ λαβὼν ὀψωνία τε καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας, ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν· ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ ὑπαντήσῃ τε φιλανθρώπῳ ἐδέξατο, καὶ θριάμβου πομπῇ ἐτίμησεν.

ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει Ὑπατοὶ μὲν ἦσαν Τιβέριος Αἰμίλιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος, ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν υἱὸς τῶν ἡγησαμένων τε τῆς ἀποσταλείσης φρουρᾶς εἰς Κρεμέραν, καὶ διαφθαρέντων ἐκεῖ σὺν τοῖς πελάταις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν δημάρχων ἀνακινούντων πάλιν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ, καὶ συναγωνιζομένου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς Αἰμιλίου δόγμα ἐπεκύρωσε, θεραπεῦσαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τοὺς πένητας βουλομένη, διανεῖμαι τινα μοῖραν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας, ἣν τῷ προτέρῳ [2] ἔτει δόρατι ἐλόντες κατέσχον. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἡγεμόνες τῆς κληρουχίας Τίτος Κοῖντιος Καπιτωλῖνος, ᾧ παρέδωκαν Ἀντιάται σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος [p. 380] Φούριος καὶ Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος. ἦν δ' οὐκ ἀγώνισμα πᾶσι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι Ῥωμαίων ἡ διανομὴ τῆς χώρας ὥς ἀπελαυνομένοις τῆς πατρίδος, ὀλίγων τ' ἀπογραφεμένων ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐπιτρέψαι Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς ἀποικίας μετέχειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰς Ἄντιον ἀποσταλέντες κατένεμον τὴν γῆν τοῖς σφετέροις, μοῖραν τινα ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀντιάταις ὑπολειπόμενοι. [3] ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ στρατεία τῶν ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο, Αἰμιλίου μὲν εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων χώραν, Φαβίου δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν. καὶ τῷ μὲν Αἰμιλίῳ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μείναντι χρόνον οὐδεμία δύναμις ὑπήντησε μαχομένη περὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς αὐτὴν κείρας, ἐπεὶ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις. Φαβίῳ δ' Αἰκανοί, πρὶν εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐλθεῖν στρατιᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἢ τειχῶν ἀλικομένων, ἐπεκηρυκῆσαντο περὶ διαλλαγῶν καὶ φιλίας. [4] ὁ δ' Ὑπατος δύο τε μηνῶν τροφὰς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δύο χιτῶνας κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἀργύριον εἰς ὀψωνιασμὸν ἑξαμήνου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατήπειγεν εἰσπραξάμενος, ἀνοχὰς ἐποίησάτο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὕρωνται τὰς διαλύσεις. ἡ μέντοι βουλὴ ταῦτα μαθοῦσα τῷ Φαβίῳ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοκράτορι διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς, [p. 381] ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρήται. [5] μετὰ τοῦτο συνθῆκαι γίνονται ταῖς πόλεσι μεσιτεύσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ ὑπάτου τοιαίδε· Αἰκανοὺς εἶναι Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας, ἀποστέλλειν δὲ

Ῥωμαίοις μηδὲν ὅτι μὴ στρατιάν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς παραγγελῇ, τέλεσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκπέμποντας αὐτάς. ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν Φάβιος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχὰς ἅμα τῷ συνυπάτῳ κατέστησεν.

ἦσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι Σπόριος Ποστόμιος Ἀλβῖνος καὶ Κόιντος Σερουίλιος Πρίσκοις τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπὶ τούτων ἔδοξαν Αἰκανοὶ παραβαίνειν τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους νεωστὶ γενομένας ὁμολογίας ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: [2] Ἀντιατῶν ὅσοι μὲν εἶχον ἐφέστια καὶ κλήρους ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὰ τ' ἀπομερισθέντα σφίσι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν κληρουχῶν ἀφορισθέντα κτήματα γεωργοῦντες ἐπὶ ῥήτῃσι τισι καὶ τεταγμέναις μοίραις, ἃς ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτέλουν: οἷς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἦν, ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς προθύμως τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροὺς ἐλήστευον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ὅσοι τολμηροὶ τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν συνελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ληστηρίων. [3] ταῦτα Λατίνων ἀποδυρομένων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀξιοῦντων ἢ στρατιὰν πέμπειν ἢ συγχωρῆσαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄρξαντας πολέμου ἀμύνασθαι, μαθόντες οἱ σύνεδροι στρατιὰν [p. 382] μὲν οὐτ' αὐτοὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν οὔτε Λατίνοις ἐπέτρεψαν ἐξάγειν, πρεσβευτὰς δ' ἐλόμενοι τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ τὰς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος συνθήκας ποιησάμενος, ἀπέστειλαν ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς δόντες πυνθάνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους, πότερα κοινῇ γνώμῃ τὰ ληστήρια ἐξαποστελλοῦσιν εἰς τε τὴν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῇν — ἐγένοντο γὰρ τινες καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν καταδρομαὶ τῶν φυγᾶδων — ἢ τῶν πραπτομένων οὐδενός ἐστι τὸ κοινὸν αἵτιον: καὶ ἐὰν φῶσιν ἰδιωτῶν ἔργα εἶναι μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ δήμου, τὰ θ' ἥρπασμένα ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐργασαμένους τὰδικήματα ἐκδότους αἰτεῖν. [4] ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀκούσαντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ Αἰκανοὶ πλαγίας αὐτοῖς ἔδωσαν ἀποκρίσεις, τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς λέγοντες γνώμης γεγονέναι, τοὺς δὲ δράσαντας οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐκδιδόναι, πόλιν τ' ἀπολωλεκότας καὶ ἀλήτας γεγονότας σφῶν τ' ἐν τῇ πενίᾳ [5] ἰκέτας. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φάβιος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ τὰς ψευθείας πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁμολογίας ἀνακαλοῦμενος, ὥς εἶδεν εἰρωνευομένους τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ εἰς βουλὴν χρόνον αἰτουμένους ξενισμοῦ τε χάριν ἐπικατέχοντας αὐτόν, ὑπέμεινέ τε κατοπτεῦσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα βουλόμενος: καὶ διεξιὼν ἅπαντα τόπον κατὰ πρόφασιν [p. 383] θεωρίας δημόσιόν τε καὶ ἱερὸν, τὰ τ' ἐργαστήρια πλήρη ὀρῶν ἅπαντα πολεμικῶν ὄπλων, τῶν μὲν ἤδη συντετελεσμένων, τῶν δ' ἔτι ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, ἔγνω τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν. [6] καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν, ἃ τ' ἤκουσε καὶ ἃ εἶδε. κάκεινῃ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσασα τοὺς εἰρηνοδικὰς ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν καταγγελοῦντας Αἰκανοῖς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς τ' Ἀντιατῶν φυγᾶδας ἀπελάσωσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δίκας τοῖς ἡδίκημένοις ὑπόσχωνται. οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ θραυστέρας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀκούσιοι δέχεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν. [7] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Ῥωμαίοις στρατιὰν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι, εἴτε τοῦ δαιμονίου κωλύοντος, εἴτε διὰ τὰς νόσους, αἱ κατέσχον τὴν πληθὺν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ἔτους: ἀλλὰ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγη τις ἐξελθοῦσα

δύναμις, ἥς ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Σερουίλιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐν τοῖς Λατινῶν ὄροις διέτριπεν. [8] ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Πιστίου Διὸς Σπόριος Ποστόμιος ὁ συννύπατος αὐτοῦ καθιέρωσε μηνὸς Ἰουνίου ταῖς καλουμέναις Νώναις ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου λόφου, κατασκευασθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου, τῆς δὲ νομιζομένης παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνιέρωσης οὐ τυχόντα ὑπ' ἐκείνου. τότε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαν ὁ Ποστόμιος ἔλαβεν [p. 384] αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τούτων λόγου ἄξιον ἐπράχθη.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεδμηίδου, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐίβουλανός· Κοϊντίος μὲν τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, Φάβιος δὲ τὸ δεύτερον. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ ἀμφοτέροις στρατιὰς μεγάλας καὶ εὖ παρεσκευασμένας παραδοῦσα ἐξέτεμψε. [2] Κοϊντίος μὲν οὖν ἐτάχθη φυλάττειν τὴν σφετέραν γῆν, ὅση τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμορος ἦν, Φάβιος δὲ τὴν Αἰκανῶν δηοῦν· καὶ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις ὑπομένοντας αὐτὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰς παρεμβολὰς ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐκάτεροι χωρίοις κατεστήσαντο, προήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον Αἰκανῶν προκαλεσαμένων καὶ ἀρξάντων τῆς μάχης, καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκθύμως καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ παρ' ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος τιθέμενος. [3] ὥς δὲ τὰ ξίφη τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πληγὰς ἄχρηστα ἐγεγόνει, σημανάντων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀγών μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐκέτ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὲ τινες συμπλοκαὶ ψιλῶν περὶ τε ὕδασι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρατομπαῖς συνεχεῖς· κἂν τούτοις μέντοι τὰ πολλὰ [4] ἦσαν ἰσόρροποι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο χρόνῳ, μοῖρᾳ [p. 385] τις ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰκανῶν στρατιᾶς παρελθοῦσα καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς ἀφυλάκτους ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, ἣ πλεῖστον ἀφειστήκει τῆς ὁμόρου καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφύλακτος ἦν· ἐξ ἧς ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς συνήρπασε καὶ χρήματα, λαθοῦσά τε τοὺς σὺν τῷ Κοϊντίῳ περιπόλους τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία. τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὴν παρεῖχεν αἰσχύνην τοῖς ὑπάτοις. [5] ἔπειτα μαθὼν διὰ κατασκόπων τε καὶ αἰχμαλῶτων ὁ Φάβιος ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Αἰκανῶν τὴν κρατίστην δύναμιν, ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καταλιπὼν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθε νύκτωρ ἵππεων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαϊότατον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰκανοὶ διηρηπακότες τὰ χωρία, οἷς ἐνέβαλον, ἀπῆεσαν ἐπαγόμενοι πολλὰς ὠφελείας, ὁ δὲ Φάβιος οὐ πολὺ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ μάχῃ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας νικᾷ γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδες ἐμπειρία ὁδῶν λαθόντες τοὺς διώκοντας κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν χάρακα. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἀνεκρούσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ παρὰ δόξαν σφίσι γενομένην, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὑπὸ νύκτα ὥχοντο καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξῆεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἀλλ' ἠνείχοντο σῆτόν τε, ὃς ἐν ἀκμῇ τότε ἦν, συγκομιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀγέλας βοσκημάτων ἀπελαυνόμενας

ὀρώντες, χρήματά τε διαπραζόμενα καὶ αὐλὰς πυρὶ διδομένας καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς ἀγομένους. τοῦτο διαπραζάμενος [p. 386] ὁ Φάβιος, ἐπειδὴ παραδοῦναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἑτέροις ἔδει, τὴν δύναμιν ἀναστήσας ἀπήγγε: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Κοίντιος ἐποίει.

ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέδειξαν ὑπάτους Αὐλὸν Ποστόμιον Ἄλβον καὶ Σερούιον Φούριον. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεωστὶ παρειλήφεσαν τὴν ἀρχήν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων ἄγγελοι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ σπουδὴν διαπεμφθέντες ἦκον. οὗτοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν διεσάφουν Ἀντιατῶν τὰ πράγματα οὐ βέβαια εἶναι, κρύφα τε διαπρεσβευομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἀναφανδὸν εἰσιόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγορᾶς προφάσει πολλῶν Οὐλοούσκων, οὓς ἐπήγοντο οἱ πρότερον ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν Ἀντιατῶν, ὅτ' ἐκληρουχεῖτο διὰ πενίαν καὶ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς ἀπαντομολήσαντες, [2] ὥσπερ ἔφην. συνδιεφθάρθαι τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἅμα ἡγγελλον καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων συχνούς: καὶ εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθῇσονται φυλακῇ ἀξιόχρεω, ἀναστήσεσθαι τινα ἔλεγον κάκεῖθεν ἀπροσδόκητον Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον. τούτων οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἕτεροι πεμφθέντες ὑφ' Ἑρνίκων ἡγγελλον ἐξεληλυθῆναι μεγάλην δύναμιν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἐγκαθεζομένην ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ γῇ φέρειν τε πάντα καὶ ἄγειν, στρατεύειν δ' ἅμα τοῖς Αἰκανοῖς καὶ Οὐλοούσκους τὴν πλείω τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν παρεχομένους. [3] πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν Ἀντιατῶν ταραττοῦσι τὰ πράγματα — ἦκον γὰρ ἀπολογησόμενοι τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο [p. 387] οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονοῦντες — φυλακὴν ἑτέραν πέμψαι, ἣ ἔμελλε δι' ἀσφαλείας ἔξειν τὴν πόλιν: ἐπὶ δ' Αἰκανοὺς ἄγειν τὴν στρατιάν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιον Φούριον: καὶ ἐγένετο ταχεῖα ἀμφοῖν ἡ ἐξοδος. [4] οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ μαθόντες ἐξεληλυθυῖαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑρνίκων ἐχώρουν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ πολὺ διαστάντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πολέμιοι ἦκον διὰπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης ληψόμενοι. [5] ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην, ἀκροβολισμοῖς χρησάμενοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον δράσαντες σὺν μεγάλῳ αὐχήμετι ἀπῆλθον. ὁ μὲντοι Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἐκλιπὼν τὸν χάρακα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ: τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐ λίαν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν: μετεστρατοπέδευσατο ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἔνθα τάφρον τ' ὠρύξατο βαθυτέραν καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο ὑψηλότερον. τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ταῦθ' ὀρώσι πολὺ θράσος προσεγένετο: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο στρατιὰ παρὰ τοῦ Οὐλοούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνους, οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες ἐπήγον τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι.

ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος ἔσται ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμις ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη, πέμπει τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων γράμματα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κομίζοντας, δι' ὧν ἡξίου ταχεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν, ὥς κινδυνευούσης ὅλης διαφθαρήναι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς. [2] ταῦτ' ἐπὶλεξάμενος [p. 388] ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Ποστόμιος — ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι νύκτες μάλιστα, ὅτε οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀφίκοντο — διὰ κηρύκων πολλῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συνεκάλει: καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς, πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι, Τίτον μὲν Κοίντιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τὸ τρίτον, ἔχοντα

τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν νέων πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεῖς, ἀρχῇ κοσμηθέντα ἀνθυπάτῳ χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου: Αὐλὸν δὲ Ποστόμιον τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις συναγαγόντα, ἃς ἔδει χρονιώτερον συνελθεῖν, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ τάχους ἐγγένηται βοθηεῖν. ἡμέρα δ' ἦδη. [3] διέφωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κοῖντιος συνήγαγε τοὺς ἐθελοντάς πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστ' ἄνδρας: καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τοῦθ' ὑποπτεύσαντες ἔμενον οἱ Αἰκανοὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσβάλλειν τῷ χάρακι αὐτῶν καὶ διανοηθέντες ὥς βία καὶ πληθεὶ ἀλωσόμενον ἐξῆλθον ἄθροοι διχῇ νείμαντες αὐτούς. [4] γίνεται τε μέγας ἀγὼν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἰταμῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιβαίνόντων τοῖς προτειχίσμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη, καὶ οὔτε παλτῶν οὔτε βελῶν ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν οὔτε χερμάδων ἀπὸ σφενδόνης ἀφιεμένων ἀδιαλείπτως βολαῖς ἀνειργομένων. ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ὁ τε Ὑπατος καὶ ὁ πρεσβευτὴς ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἀναπετάσαντες [p. 389] τὰς πύλας, ἅμα τοῖς ἀκμαιοτάτοις ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, κατ' ἄμφω τε τὰ μέρη τῆς προσβολῆς συρράξαντες αὐτοῖς ἀποτρέπουσι τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντας τῷ χάρακι. τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Ὑπατος ἐπ' ὀλίγον διώξας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους ἀνέστρεψεν: [5] ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευτὴς Πόπλιος Φούριος ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ προθυμίας φερόμενος ἄχρι τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἤλασε διώκων τε καὶ κτείνων. ἦσαν δὲ δύο σπεῖραι περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλείους ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσαι χιλίων. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι περὶ πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα γενόμενοι, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος: καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσήεσαν, ἵππεῖς δ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ περιελάσαντες κατὰ [6] νώτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐφίστανται. τοῦτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ κυκλωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ σὺν τῷ Ποπλίῳ καὶ διχα τῶν σφετέρων ἀποληφθέντες, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς σῶζεσθαι παραδοῦσι τὰ ὅπλα: προὔκαλοῦντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο χιλίους Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰχμαλώτους λαβεῖν, ὥς διὰ τούτων διαλύσεις εὐρησόμενοι καλὰς τοῦ πολέμου: καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις μηδὲν ἀνάξιον πρᾶξαι τῆς πόλεως, μαχόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων ἅπαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

διαφθαρέντων δὲ τούτων ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῷ προτερήματι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν τε τοῦ Ποπλίου κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ δορατίου [p. 390] πεπηγυῖαν ἀνατείνοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὥς δὴ τούτῳ καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς ἔνδον καὶ ἀναγκάσοντες παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰ ὅπλα. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πρὸς μὲν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀπολωλότην ἑλεός τις παρέστη καὶ ἀνεκλάοντο αὐτῶν τὴν τύχην, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα θράσος διπλάσιον ἐνέφυ, καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον ἀποθανεῖν, πρὶν εἰς πολεμίων χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, καλὸς ἔρω. [2] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα παρεστρατοπεδευκότων τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἄγρυπνοὶ τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπισκευάζοντες τὰ πεπονηκότα τοῦ χάρακος διετέλεσαν, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, οἷς ἀπερύκειν ἔμελλον αὐτούς, εἰ πειραθεῖεν πάλιν τειχομαχεῖν πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς αἶ τε προσβολαὶ πάλιν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ὁ χάραξ διεσπᾶτο κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη: καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξιόντων κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξεκρούσθησαν οἱ

Αἰκανοί, πολλάκις δ' ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων οἱ θρασύτερον ἐπεξιόντες. [3] καὶ τοῦτο δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο: ἔνθα ὁ θ' ὑπατος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στανιῶ διὰ τοῦ θυρεοῦ διαπερονηθεὶς τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρόν, καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμάχοντο: ἦδη δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειρηκόσιν ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιφαίνεται περὶ δείλην ὄψιαν προσιῶν Κοίντιος, ἄγων τὴν ἐθελούσιον ἐπικουρίαν τῶν ἀκμασιότατων, οὓς ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσιόντας ἀνέστρεφον ἀφέντες [p. 391] τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀτελῆ: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τοὺς ὑστεριζοντας ἐφόνευον. [4] οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺν γε χρόνον ἐδίωξαν ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τάχους ἀνέστρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον ἑκάτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μένοντες ἐν ταῖς παρεμβολαῖς ἄχρι πολλοῦ.

ἔπειτ' Αἰκανῶν τε καὶ Οὐλοῦσκων ἑτέρα δύναμις καλὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσα καιρὸν ἔχειν προνομεῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, ἐξεστρατευμένης αὐτῶν τῆς κρατίστης δυνάμεως, ἐξῆλθε νυκτός: καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα εἰς τὴν προσωτάτω χώραν, ἔνθα τοῖς γεωργοῖς δέος οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐδόκει, πολλῶν γίνονται χρημάτων καὶ [2] σωμάτων ἐγκρατεῖς. οὐ μὴν καλὰς γ' οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἔσχον ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὰς. ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Ποστόμιος ἄγων τὴν συναχθεῖσαν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ χάρακι πολεμουμένοις, ὡς ἔμαθε τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιφαίνεται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου. [3] οἱ δ' οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν οὔτ' ἔδεισαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' ἀποθέμενοι σχολῇ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ λάφυρα εἰς ἓν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν καὶ φυλακὴν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ συντεταγμένοι χωροῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμόσε: καὶ συμπεσόντες ἄξια λόγου ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντ' ὀλίγοι μὲν πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι — συνέρρεον γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συχνοὶ ἦδη διεσκεδασμένοι — ψιλῇ [p. 392] ὀπλίσει πρὸς ἄνδρας ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησάν τε πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς καὶ μικροῦ ἐδέησαν ἐν ἄλλοτριᾷ γῇ καταληφθέντες τρόπαια τῶν ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆσαι. [4] ἀλλ' ὁ γ' ὑπατος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, ἀχαλινώτοις ἐπελάσαντες τοῖς ἵπποις κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε καὶ ἄριστα μαχόμενον αὐτῶν μέρος, διασπῶσι τὴν τάξιν καὶ καταβάλλουσι συχνοὺς. διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν προμάχων καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ἀποτραπεῖσα ἐνέκλινεν εἰς φυγὴν, οἳ τε φυλάττοντες τὰς ἀποσκευὰς μεθέμενοι αὐτῶν ἀπίντες ὥχοντο ἀνὰ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη. κατ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ πάνυ πολλοί, χώρας τ' ἄπειροι ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου διωκόμενοι.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, πεπυσμένος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν συνύπατον δείσας, μὴ ὑπαντήσωσιν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διακλείσωσι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁδοῦ, περισπᾶν αὐτοὺς διενοεῖτο προσβολὰς ποιούμενος τῷ [2] χάρακι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθάσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν σφετέρων, ἦν ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ περισωθέντες ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήραν, οὐχ ἅπαντα πεπραχότες, ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. [p. 393] [3] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τε ταῖς μάχαις καὶ

κατὰ τὰς προνομὰς τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας ἐν τῇ τότε φυγῇ πολλῶ πλείους τῶν προτέρων ἀπέβαλον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπὸ καμάτου τε καὶ τραυμάτων βαρυνόμενοι σχολῇ προβαίνοντες ἐγκαταλιπόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν μελῶν ἔπιπτον, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ὑπὸ διψῆς φλεγόμενοι: οὓς οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς καταλαμβάνοντες ἐφόνεον. ^[4] οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντα ἐκ τοῦ τότε ἀγῶνος εὐτυχηότες ἀνέστρεψαν, ἄνδρας μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκεσαν, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἀπάντων λαμπρότατον γενόμενον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι: νίκην δ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἦττονα τῇ πόλει φέροντες ἀνέστρεψαν. ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπράχθη.

τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου καὶ Ποπλίου Σερουιλίου Πρίσκου παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους ἔργον ἀπεδείξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πολιτικόν, ὑπὸ νόσου κακωθέντες ὥς οὕτω πρότερον λοιμικῆς: ἡ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἵππων τε φορβάδων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλαις προσῆλθεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων εἰς τ' αἰπόλια καὶ ποιμένας κατέσκηψε, καὶ διέφθειρεν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα: ἔπειτα τῶν νομέων τε καὶ γεωργῶν ἦφατο, καὶ διελθοῦσα διὰ πάσης τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπεσε. ^[2] θεραπόντων μὲν οὖν καὶ θητῶν καὶ τοῦ πένητος ὄχλου πλῆθος ὅσον διέφθειρεν, οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν εὐρεῖν. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξαις σωρηδὸν οἱ θνήσκοντες ^[p. 394] ἀπεκομίζοντο, τελευτῶντες δ', ὧν ἐλάχιστος ἦν ὁ λόγος, εἰς τὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρον ὠθοῦντο. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸ τέταρτον μέρος συνελογίσθη διεφθαρμένον, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ θ' ὕπατοι ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους. ^[3] ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ἡ νόσος περὶ τὰς καλάνδας τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, διέμεινε δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ὅλον, ἅπασαν ὁμοίως καταλαμβάνουσα καὶ διεργαζομένη φύσιν τε καὶ ἡλικίαν. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις γνώσεως τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν Ῥώμην κακῶν, καλὸν ἡγησάμενοι καιρὸν εἶναι Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς, συνθήκας τε καὶ ὄρκους ἐποίησαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμμαχίας: καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια, ὥς εἶχον ἀμφοτέροι τάχους, ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ^[4] ἵνα δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφέλοιτο τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπικουρίαν εἰς τὴν Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων γῆν πρῶτον ἐνέβαλον. ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀφ' ἐκατέρου τῶν πολεμουμένων ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίας παράκλησιν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Λευκίος Αἰβούτιος ἐκείνην ἔτυχε τὴν ἡμέραν τεθνηκώς, Πόπλιος δὲ Σερουίλιος ἐγγὺς ὦν τοῦ θανάτου: ὃς ἔτι ὀλίγον ἐμπνέων συνεκάλει ^[5] τὴν βουλὴν. τῶν δ' οἱ πλείους ἡμιθνήτες ἐπὶ κλινιδίων κοιμισθέντες καὶ συνεδρεύσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγγέλλειν τοῖς σφετέροις, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει, μέχρις ἂν ὁ ὕπατος ῥαίσι, καὶ ἡ ^[p. 395] ^[6] συναγωνιουμένη δύναμις αὐτοῖς συναχθῇ. ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἀποκριναμένων Λατῖνοι μὲν ὅσα ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀνασκευασάμενοι φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιεῶρων ἀπολλύμενα. Ἑρνικες δὲ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ λύμῃ καὶ διαρπαγῇ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆλθον. ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλόντες τῶν σφετέρων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους

ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκβιασθέντες εἰς τὰ τεῖχη κατέφυγον, καὶ οὐκέτι μάχης ἐπειρῶντο.

Αἰκανοὶ δὲ καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Τυσκλάνων ἀγροὺς ἀφίκοντο. διαρπάσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺτους οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου παρήσαν εἰς τοὺς Γαβίνων ὄρους. ἐλάσαντες δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἀδεῶς τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνοῦντο. ^[2] ἐθορύβησαν μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μὴν κρατῆσαι γ' αὐτῆς ἠδυνήθησαν· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐξασθενοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σώματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀπολωλεκότες ἀμφοτέρους — καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουίλιος ἐτεθνήκει νεωστὶ — καθοπλισάμενοι παρὰ δύναμιν τοῖς τεῖχεσιν ἐπέστησαν, τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ὄντος ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ὅσος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ κύκλος· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ λόφοις κείμενα καὶ πέτραις ἀποτόμοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὠχυρωμένα τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὀλίγης δεόμενα φυλακῆς· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ [p. 396] Τεβέριος τετειχισμένα ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ μὲν εὐρὸς ἐστὶ τεττάρων πλέθρων μάλιστα, βάθος δ' οἷόν τε ναυσὶ πλεῖσθαι μεγάλας, τὸ δὲ ῥεῦμα ὥσπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ὄξυ καὶ δίνας ἐργαζόμενον μεγάλας· ὃν οὐκ ἔνεστι πεζοῖς διελθεῖν εἰ μὴ κατὰ γέφυραν, ἣ ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ μία ξυλόφρακτος, ἣν ἔλυνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις. ^[3] ἐν δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμαχώτατόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰσκυλίων καλουμένων πυλῶν μέχρι τῶν Κολλίων, χειροποιήτως ἐστὶν ὀχυρόν. τάφρος τε γὰρ ὁρώρκεται πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλάτος ἢ βραχυτάτη μείζων ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, καὶ βάθος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τριακοντάπου· τεῖχος δ' ὑπερανέστηκε τῆς τάφρου χώματι προσεχόμενον ἔνδοθεν ὑψηλῷ καὶ πλατεῖ, οἷον μῆτε κριοῖς κατασεισθῆναι μῆτε ὑπορυττομένων τῶν θεμελίων ἀνατραπῆναι. ^[4] τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐπτὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων, πεντήκοντα δὲ ποδῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος· ἐν ᾧ τότε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τεταγμένοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἀνεῖρξαν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε χελώνας χωστρίδας εἰδότες κατασκευάζειν τῶν τὸτ' ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε τὰς καλουμένας ἐλεπόλεις μηχανάς. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολέμιοι ἀπογνόντες τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπήεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους, καὶ δηώσαντες τὴν χώραν, ὄσπην διεξῆλθον, ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους ἀντιβασιλεῖς ἐλόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ἔνεκα, ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν, [p. 397] ὅταν ἀναρχία κατάσχη τὴν πόλιν, ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν Λεύκιον Λοκρήπιον καὶ Τίτον Οὐετούριον Γέμινον. ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς ἣ τε νόσος ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀναβολῆς ἔτυχε, τὰ τ' ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ, πειραθέντος μὲν αὖθις τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα κινεῖν ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων Σέξτου Τιτίου, κωλύσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ εἰς ἐπιτηδειότερους ὑπερθεμένου καιροῦς. ^[2] προθυμία τε πολλὴ πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε τιμωρῆσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὸν τῆς νόσου καιρὸν· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσαντος κατεγράφοντο τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐχόντων στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν οὐδ', εἰ τινα ὁ νόμος ἀπέλυνεν, ἀξιοῦντος ἐκείνης ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς στρατείας· νεμηθείσης δὲ τριχῇ τῆς δυνάμεως μία μὲν ὑπελείφθη φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν, ἥς ἡγείτο Κόιντος Φούριος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός· αἱ δὲ δύο σὺν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τ' ^[3] Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολοῦσκους. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔτυχεν ἤδη γεγονός. ἡ μὲν γὰρ

κρατίστη δύναμις ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ἔθνῶν συνελθοῦσα ὑπαίθριος ἦν ὑπὸ δυσὶν ἡγεμόσι, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρνίκων γῆς, ἐν ἣ τὸτ' ἦν, ἀρξαμένη πᾶσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοον· ἡ δ' ἦττον ἐκείνης χρησίμη τὰ οἰκεῖα πολισμοῦ ὑπελείφθη φυλάττειν, μὴ ^[4] τις ἔφοδος αἰφνιδίως πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὰ γένηται. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευομένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει [p. 398] κράτιστον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐπιχειρεῖν, κατὰ τοιόνδε τινὰ λογισμόν, ὅτι διαλυθήσεται τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν στράτευμα, εἰ πύθοιντο ἕκαστοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κινδύνους, καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγήσεται τὰ σφέτερα σώζειν, ἢ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων φθεῖρην. Λοκρῆτιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν ἐνέβαλεν, Οὔετούριος δ' εἰς τὴν Οὔολούσκων. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἔξω πάντα ἀπολλύμενα περιορῶντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ φρούρια εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ.

Οὔολοῦσκοι δ' ὑπὸ τε θράσους καὶ αὐθαδείας προαχθέντες τοῦ τε Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς οὐκ ἀξιόμαχου ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν πληθος συμφέρεσθαι καταφρονήσαντες ἐξῆλθον ἀγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Οὔετουρίου κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάσχειν στρατιὰ νεοσύλλεκτος ἔκ τε πολιτικοῦ καὶ γεωργικοῦ πρὸς καιρὸν συνελθόντος ὄχλου συναχθεῖσα, ἐν ἣ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον ἦν καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρον, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρσησεν· ^[2] ἀλλ' ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδῳ διαταραχθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐτ' ἀλαλαγμὸν οὔθ' ὅπλων κτύπον ἀνασχόμενοι, προτροπάδην ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ τείχη· ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις τῶν ὁδῶν καταληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, πολλῶν δὲ πλείους παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὠθουμένους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιδιωκόντων. ^[3] Οὔολοῦσκοι μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ χρησάμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ [p. 399] σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡτιῶντο τῆς ἀφροσύνης, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι παρακινδυνεύειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατιάς Οὔολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνες, πυνθανόμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα πολεμοῦμενα γενναῖόν τι καὶ οὗτοι δρᾶν ἐβουλεύσαντο, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγειν ὡς εἶχον ὀργῆς τε καὶ τάχους, τὸν στρατὸν, κατὰ τοιόνδε τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαν, ὅτι δεῖν ἔργων καλῶν θάτερον αὐτοῖς κατορθῶσαι ὑπάρξει, ἢ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφύλακτον οὔσαν ἐλεῖν, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγκασθησομένων πολεμουμένη ^[4] τῇ πατριδί βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἦγον τὴν στρατιάν ἐπιταχύνοντες, ἴν' ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου τῇ πόλει συμμιζαντες εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχωνται.

ἀφικόμενοι τε μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως, μαθόντες τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ῥώμης ὅλον πληθύνοντα ὅπλων, καὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τέτταρας ἐξεστρατευμένας σπεῖρας, ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων ἑκάστην, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ ἀπετράποντο, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει χώραν, ἣν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρέλιπον εἰσβολῇ, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν. ^[2] ἐπιφανέντος δ' αὐτοῖς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Λευκίου Λοκρητίου καὶ θεμένου τὴν παρεμβολὴν οὐ πρόσω καλὸν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι καιρὸν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λοκρητίῳ τὴν ἑτέραν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν σύμμαχον, ἥς Οὔετούριος ἡγεῖτο, συνάψαι μάχην, θέμενοι τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς καὶ δύο σπεῖρας ἐπ' αὐταῖς καταλιπόντες, οἱ

λοιποὶ προῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον: [p. 400] καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ κατὰ ^[3] τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐγίνοντο μέχρι πολλοῦ. μαθόντες δ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ νώτου φρουρῶν τινες καταβαίνουσιν ὑπὲρ ὄχθου στρατιὰν ὑπέλαβον ἥκειν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, καὶ δείσαντες, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν, οὐκέτι διέμειναν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι οἱ θ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέροι γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι πίπτουσι, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὶ: οἱ δὲ φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοὶ πατρίδας σκεδασθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν. ^[4] ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν ἄδειαν λαβὼν ὁ Λοκρῆτιος ἔφθειρε τὴν Αἰκανῶν γῆν, καὶ Οὐετοῦριος τὴν Οὐολοῦσκων, ἕως ὃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπέστη καιρὸς. τότε δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ κατήγαγον ἀμφοτέροι τοὺς ἐπινικίους θριάμβους: Λοκρῆτιος μὲν, ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου παρεμβεβηκώς, Οὐετοῦριος δὲ πεζὸς εἰσελαύνων. δύο γὰρ οὗτοι θριάμβοι δίδονται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔχοντες ἴσα, τῷ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἵππικὸν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πεζικόν, διαφέροντες.

BOOK X

μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τορύμβας Θεσσαλὸς ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλέους· ὕπατοι δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πόπλιος Οὐολούμνιος καὶ Σερούιος Σολπίκιος Καμερίνος. οὗτοι στρατιὰν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐξήγαγον οὔτε ἐπὶ τιμωρίας ἀναπράξει τῶν ἀδικούντων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους οὔθ' ὥς διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔξοντες· τῶν δ' ἐντὸς τείχους κακῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο, μὴ τι δεινὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάς ἐξεργάσεται. [2] ἐταράττετο γὰρ αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀναδιδασκόμενος, ὅτι πολιτειῶν κρατίστη τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐστὶν [p. 2] ἡ ἰσγορία, καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἡξίου διοικεῖσθαι τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια. οὕτω γὰρ τότε ἦν οὗτ' ἰσονομία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὗτ' ἰσγορία, οὐδ' ἐν γραφαῖς ἅπαντα τὰ δίκαια τεταγμένα· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔταπτον τοῖς δεομένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ [3] τὸ δικαιωθὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοῦτο νόμος ἦν. ὥς δ' ἐπαύσαντο μοναρχοῦμενοι, τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεῦουσιν ἀνέκειτο τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου διάγνωσις, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ὁτουδήτινος ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δίκαια οἱ διαιροῦντες ἦσαν. [4] τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀκόλουθα ἦν· κομιδῇ δ' ὀλίγα τινὰ ἐν ἱεραῖς ἦν βύβλοις ἀποκείμενα, ἃ νόμων εἶχε δύναμιν, ὧν οἱ πατρίκιοι τὴν γνῶσιν εἶχον μόνοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβάς, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι τε καὶ γεωργοῦντες διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς ἄστὺ καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγοράς ἄπειροι ἔτι ἦσαν. [5] τὸ δὲ πολίτευμα τοῦτο πρῶτος μὲν ἐπέειρασεν εἰσαγαγεῖν Γάιος Τερέντιος δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει, ἀτελὲς δὲ ἡναγκάσθη καταλιπεῖν τοῦ τε πλήθους ὄντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπίτηδες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῇ τὰς δυνάμεις κατασχόντων, ἕως ὅ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς παρέλθῃ χρόνος. [p. 3]

τότε δ' αὐτὸ παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Αὐλὸν Οὐεργίνιον δήμαρχοι τελειῶσαι ἐβούλοντο· ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγκασθεῖεν πολιτεῦεσθαι, πάντα ἐπιμηχανώμενοι διετέλουν οἱ τε ὕπατοι καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἱ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι· βουλαὶ τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο πεῖραι τε παντοῖαι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἄδηλον ἅπασιν ἦν, ὅτι μεγάλη τις καὶ ἀνήκεστος ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς φιλονεικίας ἀναστήσεται τῇ πόλει συμφορά. [2] συνήπτετο δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοῖς καὶ τὰ θεῖα δείματα προσγενόμενα, ὧν ἕνια οὗτ' ἐν δημοσίαις εὐρίσκετο γραφαῖς οὔτε κατ' ἄλλην φυλαττόμενα μνήμην οὐδεμίαν. [3] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ σέλα φερόμενα καὶ πυρὸς ἀνάψεις ἐφ' ἐνὸς μένουσαι τόπου γῆς τε μυκήματα καὶ τρόμοι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, μορφαὶ τ' εἰδῶλων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοιαι δι' ἀέρος φερόμεναι καὶ φωναὶ ταραττούσαι διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια συνέπιπτεν, εὐρίσκετο καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ γεγονότα ἦττον τε καὶ μᾶλλον· οὗ δὲ ἄπειροί τε καὶ ἀνήκοοι ἔτι ἦσαν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα

ἐταράχθησαν, τοιόνδ' ἦν: νιφετὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέσκηπεν εἰς γῆν πολὺς οὐ
χιόνα καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ σαρκῶν θραύσματα ἐλάττω τε καὶ μείζω. [4] τοῦτων
τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μετάρσια προσπετόμεναι πτηνῶν [p. 4] ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι τοῖς
στόμασιν ἥρπαζον, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐνεχθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ τε τῇ πόλει καὶ
κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς μέχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κείμενα ἦν οὔτε χροᾶν
μεταβάλλοντα, οἶαν ἴσχυσι παλαιούμεναι σάρκες, οὔτε σηπεδόνι
διαλυόμενα, ὥς τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν πονηρόν. [5] τοῦτο τὸ τέρας οἱ μὲν
ἐπιχώριοι μάντις οὐχ οἶοι τ' ἦσαν συμβαλεῖν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσις εὐρέθη
χρησιμοῖς, ὅτι πολεμίων ἀλλοεθνῶν παρελθόντων εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀγῶν ὑπὲρ
ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καταλήψεται τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς
πολέμου στάσις ἐμφύλιος, ἣν χρῆν ἀρχομένην ἐξελαύνοντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
καὶ θεοὺς παραιτουμένους θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἀποτρέψαι τὰ δεινά: καὶ [6]
κρείττους ἔσσεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ὥς δ' ἐξηνέχθη ταῦτ' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, ἱερὰ
μὲν πρῶτον ἔθυσαν, οἷς ἡ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια ἀνέκειτο, θεοῖς ἑξακεστηρίοις
τε καὶ ἀποτροπαίοις, ἔπειτα συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ σύνεδροι
παρόντων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως
ἐσκόπουν.

τὸ μὲν οὖν καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα καὶ μιᾷ
χρήσασθαι γνώμῃ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ὥς ὑπετίθεντο οἱ χρησιμοί, πάντες
ὠμολόγουν: ὅπως δ' ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων ἀρξαμένων εἴκειν τοῖς
ἐτέροις τὸ διάφορον παύσαιτο στασιάζον, οὐ [p. 5] [2] μικρὰν αὐτοῖς
παρεῖχεν ἀπορίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὕπατοι καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς προεστῶτες τοὺς
εἰσφέροντας καινὰ πολιτεύματα δημάρχους καὶ καταλύειν ἀξιούντας τὸν
πάτριον τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον αἰτίους ἀπέφαινον τῆς ταραχῆς. οἱ δὲ
δήμαρχοι σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔλεγον ἀνάξιον δρᾶν οὔτε ἄδικον οὔτε
ἀσύμφορον εὐνομίαν εἰσάγειν βουλομένους καὶ ἰσηγορίαν: τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους
καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους αἰτίους ἔσσεσθαι τῆς στάσεως ἔλεγον ἀνομίαν αὐξοντας
καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ [3] ζηλοῦντας τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἔθνη. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ
τούτοις ὅμοια παρ' ἑκατέρων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐλέγετο, καὶ προὔβαινε διὰ
κενῆς ὁ χρόνος: ἐν ᾧ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε δημοσίων οὔτε ἰδίων οὐδὲν
ἐτελεῖτο. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν προὔργου, λόγων μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ
κατηγοριῶν, αἷς ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ δήμαρχοι ἀπέστησαν:
συναγαγόντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ νόμον
εἰσοίσειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠξιοῦν. [4] ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν
ἔτι ἀναβαλόμενοι τὸν παρασκευασθέντα νόμον ἀνέγνωσαν: κεφάλαια δὲ
αὐτοῦ τάδε ἦν: ἄνδρας αἰρεθῆναι δέκα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἀγορᾶς
ἐννόμου τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτους, οἷς ἔστι πλείστη πρόνοια
τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς: τούτους δὲ συγγράψαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων
νόμους τῶν τε κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων [p. 6] εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν: τοὺς
δὲ συγγραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν νόμους κεῖσθαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ταῖς καθ'
ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδειχθησομέναις ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ὅρους τῶν
πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων. [5] τοῦτον προθέντες τὸν νόμον ἐξουσίαν ἔδοσαν
τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τρίτην ἀγοράν. ἦσαν
δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ

νέοι, κατήγοροι τοῦ νόμου, λόγους διεξιόντες ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς· καὶ [6] τοῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο συχνάς. ἔπειτα οἱ δήμαρχοι δυσχεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ νόμου προέθεσαν, ἡμέραν δὲ ἀποδειξάντες, ἐν ᾗ κυρώσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον, παρῆναι τοὺς δημότας εἰς αὐτὴν παρεκάλουν ἀθρόους, ὡς οὐκέτι ταῖς μακραῖς δημηγορίαις ἐνοχληθησομένους, ἀλλ' ἐποίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον κατὰ φυλάς. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποσχόμενοι διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ τε ὑπάτοι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων οἱ πλεῖστον δυνάμενοι τραχύτερον ἤδη αὐτῶν προσιόντες καθήπτοντο λέγοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν αὐτοῖς νόμους εἰσγεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺτους ἀπροβουλεύτους. συνθήκας γὰρ εἶναι κοινὰς πόλεων τοὺς νόμους, οὐχὶ μέρους τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκούντων. τοῦ τε πονηροτάτου ὀλέθρου καὶ ἀνηκέστου καὶ οὐδ' εὐσχήμονος ἀρχὴν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι πόλεσι τε καὶ οἴκοις, ὅταν τὸ [2] κάκιστον τῷ κρατίστῳ νομοθετῇ. ποῖαν δὲ ὑμεῖς, [p. 7] ἔφασαν, ὧ δήμαρχοι, νόμων εἰσφορᾶς ἢ ἀναίρέσεως ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε; οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς μὲν δικαίους ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλάβετε, τοῖς δ' ἀδικουμένοις ἢ κατισχυομένοις τῶν πενήτων βοηθεῖν ἠτήσασθε τοὺς δημάρχους, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν; εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἦν τις ὑμῖν δύναμις, ἦν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου βιασάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐλάβετε, ὑποκατακλινομένης ἐκάστῳ πλεονεκτήματι τῆς βουλῆς, οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτην νῦν ἀπολωλέκατε τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν; [3] οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς δόγμα ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι ἀποδεικνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, οὔτε αἱ φράτραι τὴν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν, οὔτε ἱερὰ προθύεται τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἃ κατὰ νόμους ἐχρῆν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁσίων οὐθὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας γίνεται. τίνας οὖν ὑμῖν ἔτι μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ σεβασμοῦ δεομένων, ὧν ἔν τι καὶ ὁ νόμος ἦν, ἐξαρνησάμενοις ἅπαντα τὰ νόμιμα; [4] ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῖς δημάρχους ἔλεγον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ νέοι αὐτῶν καθ' ἑταιρίας διεξιόντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπεικεστέρους τῶν δημοτῶν ὁμιλίαις ἀνελάμβανον κεχαρισμέναις, τοὺς δ' ἀπειθεῖς καὶ ταραχώδεις ἀπειλαῖς κατεπλήττοντο κινδύνων, εἰ μὴ συμφρονήσειαν· ἦδη δὲ τινὰς τῶν πάνυ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀπερριμμένων, οἷς οὐθενὸς τῶν κοινῶν παρὰ τὰ ἴδια κέρδη φροντίς ἦν, παίοντες ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδα ἀνείργον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. [p. 8]

ὁ δὲ πλεῖστους τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων ἑταίρους καὶ μέγιστον τῶν τότε νέων δυνάμενος Καίσιων Κοίντιος ἦν, υἱὸς Λευκίου Κοιντίου τοῦ καλουμένου Κικιννάτου, ὃ γένος τ' ἦν ἐπιφανὲς καὶ βίος οὐθενὸς δεῦτερος, ἀνὴρ ὀφθῆναι τε κάλλιστος νέων καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων λαμπρότατος φύσει τε περὶ λόγους κεχρημένος ἀγαθῇ· ὃς ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὔτε λόγων φειδόμενος, ὧν βαρὺ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀκοῦειν, οὔτ' ἔργων ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπεχόμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν πατρικιοὶ τίμιον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις εἶχον καὶ μένειν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἡξιοῦν αὐτοὶ παρασχεῖν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑποσχνούμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντων δὴ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐμίσουν. [2] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνωσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι πρῶτον

ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, ὥς καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν νέων καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες σωφρονεῖν. γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι λόγους τε καὶ μάρτυρας πολλοὺς εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀδικήματος δημοσίου, θανάτου τιμηςάμενοι τὴν δίκην. παραγγείλαντες δ' αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος, ὃν ἔταξαν τῇ δίκῃ, συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν μακροὺς ἐποίησαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους, διεξιόντες ὅσα βία διαπεπραγμένος ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τοὺς δημότας, ὧν τοὺς πεπονθότας αὐτοὺς παρήγον μάρτυρας. [3] ὥς δὲ παρέδωκεν τὸν λόγον, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ μεिरάκιον οὐχ ὑπήκουε καλοῦμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλ' ἤξιον τοῖς ιδιώταις αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡτιῶντο παθεῖν [p. 9] κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπέχειν δίκας, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τῆς κρίσεως γινομένης: ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς φέροντας τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ μεираκίου τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ὁρῶν ἀπελογεῖτο τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ψευδῆ τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς συγκείμενα κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδεικνύς: [4] ὅσα δ' οὐκ ἐνῆν ἀρνήσασθαι μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα καὶ οὐκ ἄξια δημοσίας ὀργῆς εἶναι λέγων καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ δι' ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας μεираκιῶδους γεγονότα ἐπιδεικνύμενος, δι' ἣν πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ συμβῆναι δρᾶσαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἐν ἀψιμαχίαις, πολλὰ δ' ἴσως καὶ παθεῖν, οὔτε ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ [5] ὄντι οὔτε φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ. ἡξίου τε τοὺς δημοτικοὺς μὴ μόνον ὀργὴν μὴ ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτεν εἰς ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν εἶδέναι περὶ ὧν ἅπαντας εὖ ποιῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διετέλεσε, τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις ἐλευθερίαν κτῶμενος, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι ἡγεμονίαν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ εἴ ποτε ἀμάρτοι τι φιланθρωπιαν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ διεξήει τὰς τε στρατείας πάσας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἅπαντας, ἐξ ὧν ἀριστεῖα καὶ στεφάνους παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔλαβε, πολιτῶν τε ὀπόσων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπερήσπισε καὶ [6] τείχεσι πολεμίων ὁσάκις πρῶτος ἐπέβη. τελευτῶν δ' εἰς οἴκτους κατέβαινε καὶ δεήσεις, ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐπεικειας βίου τε, ὃς ἐμαρτυρεῖτο αὐτῷ πάσης καθαρὸς διαβολῆς, μίαν ἀπαιτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριν, φυλάξαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ. [p. 10]

ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἦδετο πάντῃ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τὸ μεिरάκιον τῷ πατρὶ πρόθυμος ἦν. ὁ δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὁρῶν, ὅτι μὴ δόντος ἐκείνου δίκην ἀφόρητον ἔσται τὸ θράσος τῶν αὐθαδῶν μεираκίων, ἀνίσταται καὶ φησιν: [2] σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Κοίντιε, ἢ τε ἄλλη μαρτυρεῖται πᾶσα ἀρετὴ καὶ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς εὖνοια, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ τιμᾶσθαι σοι πάρεστιν. ἢ δὲ τοῦ μεираκίου βαρύτης καὶ ἢ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ὑπερηφανία παραίτησιν ἢ συγγνώμην οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδέχεται: ὅστις ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἦθεσι τραφεὶς οὕτως οὔσι δημοτικοῖς καὶ μετρίοις, ὥς ἅπαντες ἴσμεν, τῶν μὲν σῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τυραννικὴν δὲ αὐθάδειαν καὶ βαρβάρων ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν ἡγάτησε, καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων ζῆλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰσαγήοχεν. [3] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐλάνθανέ σε τοιοῦτος ὧν, νῦν ὅτ' ἔγνωκας ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκαιος ἂν εἴης: εἰ δὲ συνήδεις τε καὶ συνέπραπτες οἷς προεπηλάκιζε τὴν τῶν πενήτων πολιτῶν τύχην, πονηρὸς ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦσθα, καὶ ἢ τῆς καλοκάγαθιας δόξα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου σοι περιγέγονεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι ἡγνόεις αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντα τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἐγὼ σοι τοῦτ' ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν. ἀπολύων δὲ σε τοῦ τότε συναδικεῖν ἡμᾶς μέφομαι τοῦ [4] νῦν

ἡμῖν μὴ συναγανακτεῖν. ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον μάθῃς, ἡλικὸν ἄρα τῇ πόλει κακὸν ἐπιτρέφων ἐλάνθανες, ὡς ὦμόν καὶ τυραννικὸν καὶ οὐδὲ φόνου πολιτικοῦ καθαρὸν, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ φιλότιμον ἔργον καὶ ἀντιπαρεξέτασον [p. 11] αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀριστείας· καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι συνεπαθεῖτε ἀρτίως οἰκτιζομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρα καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοιοῦτου φείσασθαι πολίτου.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συναρχόντων Μάρκον Οὐλολούσκιον καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἃ σύννοιδε τῷ μεираκιῳ. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ πολλῆς ἐξ ἀπάντων προσδοκίας μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Οὐλολούσκιος εἶπεν: [2] ἐγὼ μάλιστα ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ὥ πολλῖται, δίκην ἰδίαν, ἣν ὁ νόμος δίδωσί μοι, παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθώς· κωλυθεὶς δὲ τούτου τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἷς εἶναι, νῦν γ' ἡνίκα ἔξεστί μοι τὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος σχῆμα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, λήψομαι. ἃ δὲ [3] πέπονθα, ὡς ὦμὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἀδελφὸς ἦν μοι Λεύκιος, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἠγάπησα. οὗτός μοι συνεδεῖπνει παρὰ φίλῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀναστάντες τῆς ἐχομένης νυκτὸς ὥχόμεθα. διεληλυθόσι δ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀγορὰν περιτυγχάνει Καίσων οὕτοσὶ κωμάζων σὺν ἑτέροις ἀγερῶχοις μεираκίοις. καὶ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔσκωπτὸν τε καὶ ὕβριζον εἰς ἡμᾶς, οἷα μεθύοντες ἂν νέοι καὶ αὐθάδεις ὡς ἂν εἰς ταπεινοὺς καὶ πένητας ὕβρισαιεν, ὡς δ' ἠγανακτοῦμεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐλεύθερον ῥῆμα εἰς τοῦτον εἶπε. δεινὸν [p. 12] δ' ἠγησάμενος οὕτοσὶ Καίσων ἀκοῦσαι τι, ὣν οὐκ ἐβούλετο, προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ παίων καὶ λακτιζων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὠμότητα καὶ ὕβριν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἀποκτείνει. [4] ἔμοῦ δὲ κεκραγόντος καὶ ἀμυνομένου τοσαῦτα ὅσα ἐδυνάμην, ἐκείνων ἤδη νεκρὸν κείμενον ἀφείς ἐμὲ πάλιν ἔπαιε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἀκίνητόν τε καὶ ἄφωνον εἶδεν ἐρριμμένον, δόξας εἶναι νεκρὸν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὗτος μὲν ἀπὼν ὥχeto χαίρων ὥσπερ ἐπὶ καλῷ ἔργῳ· ἡμᾶς δὲ οἱ παραγενόμενοι μετὰ ταῦτα αἷματι πεφυρμένους αἵρουσι καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπεκόμισαν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφόν μου Λεύκιον νεκρὸν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐμὲ δὲ ἡμιθανῆ καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγας. [5] ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο Ποπλίου Σερουιλίου καὶ Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐχόντων, ὅτε ἡ μεγάλη νόσος κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, ἣς ἀπελαύσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀμφοτέρω. τότε μὲν οὖν δίκην οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν μοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τεθνηκότων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων· Λευκίου δὲ Λοκρητίου καὶ Τίτου Οὐετουρίου παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν ὑπὸ δίκην ἐκωλύθη διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκλελοιπόντων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν πόλιν. [6] ὡς δὲ ἀνέστρεψαν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶν, ὅσakis προσέλθοιμι — καὶ ταῦτα δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἴσασι — πληγὰς ἐλάμβανον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ πέπονθα, ὧς δημόται, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρημένα πρὸς ὑμᾶς. [p. 13]

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ κραυγὴ τε ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο καὶ ὀρμὴ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην. ἀλλ' οἳ τε ὑπατοὶ ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους πονηρὸν ἔθος οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ καθαρῶτατον οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποστρεφεῖν λόγου τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένους. [2] τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπέσχε τὴν

τῶν θρασυτέρων ὁρμήν ἢ τοῦ δικαίου πρόνοια, καὶ ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ δίκη, οὐ μικρᾷς ἐμπεισούσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζητήσεως ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος, εἴτ' ἐν δεσμοῖς αὐτὸ δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τέως, εἴτ' ἐγγυητὰς δοῦναι τῆς ἀφίξεως, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἤϊου: καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο χρήμασι διεγγυηθὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα μέχρι δίκης. [3] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ μεираκίου τὴν δίκην, ἐκύρωσαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς δέκα ὄντας ἐπράξαντο τὰ περὶ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ὁμολογηθέντα χρήματα. [4] Καίσων μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη περιπεσὼν ἐπιβουλῇ, κατασκευασμένων ἅπαντα τῶν δημάρχων καὶ Οὐόλουσκίου ψευδῇ μαρτυρήσαντος, ὡς ἐγένετο φανερόν σὺν χρόνῳ, φεύγων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν ὤχετο: ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οὐσίας ἀπεμπολήσας καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν χρήματα ἀποδοὺς ἑαυτῷ χωρίον ἐν μικρὸν ὑπολειπόμενος πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ, [p. 14] ἐν ᾧ ταπεινὴ τις ἦν καλύβη, γεωργῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ δούλων ὀλίγων ἐπίπονον καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἔζη βίον ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ πενίας, οὔτε πόλιν ὁρῶν οὔτε φίλους ἀσπαζόμενος οὔθ' ἐορτάζων οὔτ' ἄλλης εὐφροσύνης οὐδεμιᾶς ἑαυτῷ μεταδιδούς. τοῖς μέντοι δημάρχοις πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἐγένετο τῆς ἐλπίδος. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπαύσατο ἡ τῶν νέων φιλοτιμία σωφρονισθεῖσα τῇ Καίσωνος συμφορᾷ, πολὺ δὲ χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλείων ἐγένετο ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις καταγωνιζομένη τὸν νόμον: ὥστ' οὐθὲν ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο διαπραξάσθαι δαπανηθέντος εἰς ταῦτα τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα πάλιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξεν αὐτούς.

Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ Γαίου Κλαυδίου Σαβίνου τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων κίνδυνος ὅσος οὕπῳ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχευεν ἐξ ἄλλοεθνοῦς πολέμου, ὃν παρήγαγεν ἐντὸς τείχους ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις, ὡς οἱ τε Σιβύλλειοι χρησμοὶ προὔλεγον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου φανέντα προεθέσπισε τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ. διηγῆσομαι δὲ τὴν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ πόλεμος εἰσῆλθε, καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα τοῖς ὑπάτοις κατὰ τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα. [2] οἱ παρειληφότες τὸ δεῦτερον τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον, ὁρῶντες τῶν τε ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον, Γαίον Κλαύδιον, ἔμφυτον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἔχοντα μῖσος διὰ προγόνων καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἀπάσῃ μηχανῇ κωλύειν τὰ γινόμενα, τῶν τε νέων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους εἰς ἀπόνοιαν φανερὰν προεληλυθότας, οὓς οὐκ ἐνῆν τῷ βίαιῳ καταγωνίσασθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ [p. 15] δήμου τὸ πλεῖον ὑποκατακλινόμενον ταῖς θεραπαίαις τῶν πατρικίων καὶ προθυμίαν οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ νόμου τὴν αὐτὴν παρεχόμενον, ἰταμωτέραν ὁδὸν ἐγνώσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα πορεύεσθαι, δι' ἧς καταπλήζονται μὲν τὸν δῆμον, ἀναβαλοῦσι δὲ τὸν ὑπατον. [3] πρῶτον μὲν κατεσκεύασαν φήμας λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παντοδαπάς: ἔπειτ' ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας συνήδρευον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, μεταδιδόντες οὐθενὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οὔτε βουλευματος οὔτε λόγου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πράττειν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, πλασάμενοι γράμματα καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάσαντες ἀναδοθῆναι σφίσιν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνώτου καθημένους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ὡς διήλθον αὐτά, παίοντες τὰ

μέτωπα καὶ ^[4] κατηφεῖς τὰς ὄψεις ποιήσαντες ἀνίστανται. πολλοῦ δὲ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνεῖναι γεγραμμένον μαντευομένου σιωπὴν προκηρύξαντες εἶπον: ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κινδύνους, ὧ πολῖται, τὸ δημοτικόν: καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις εὖνοια προεῖδετο τῶν ἄδικα πάσχειν μελλόντων, εἰς δεινὰς ἂν ἅπαντες ἤλθομεν συμφοράς. αἰτούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον, ἕως τῇ βουλῇ δηλώσωμεν τὰ προσαγγελθέντα καὶ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης πράξωμεν τὰ ^[5] δέοντα. ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ὥχοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους. ἐν ὧσιν δὲ ἡ βουλὴ συνήγετο χρόνῳ, πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ λόγοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίνοντο, τῶν μὲν ἐκ [p. 16] παρασκευῆς ἃ παρηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων κατὰ συστροφὰς λαλούντων, τῶν δέ, ἃ μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ γένηται, ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγελλόμενα τοῖς δημάρχois λεγόντων. ^[6] ἔφη δ' ὁ μὲν τις Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους ὑποδεξαμένους Καίσιωνα Κοῖντιον τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καταδικασθέντα ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἀγείραντα μέλλειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν: ὁ δὲ τις ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων τὸν ἄνδρα καταγεσθαι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἵνα ἡ φυλακὴ καταλυθεῖ νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῶν δημοτικῶν: ὁ δὲ τις οὐχ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοὺς πατρικίους ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα βεβουλευμένους, ^[7] ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς νέους. ἐτόλμων δὲ τινες λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη κρυπτόμενος καὶ μέλλοι καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν τόπων τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους. ὅλης δὲ κραδαινομένης ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν δεινῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πάντων ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων δι' ὑποψίας καὶ φυλακῆς, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι παρελθόντες ἐδείκνυσαν τὰ προσαγγελλόμενα. ἦν δὲ ὁ τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιοῦμενος Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος καὶ ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα:

ὅσον μὲν χρόνον οὐθὲν ἀκριβὲς ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο τῶν προσαγγελλομένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ φῆμαι μετέωροι, καὶ τὸ βεβαιῶσον αὐτὰς οὐθὲν ἦν, ὠκνοῦμεν, ὧ βουλῇ, φέρειν τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους εἰς μέσον, ταραχὰς τε ὑποπτεύοντες ἔσεσθαι μεγάλας, [p. 17] οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ δεινοῖς ἀκούσμασι, καὶ δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχοντες, μὴ ταχύτερα δόξωμεν ὑμῖν βεβουλεύσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα. ^[2] οὐ μὴν ὀλιγωρίᾳ γ' αὐτὰ παραδόντες ἀφήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅση δύναμις ἡμῖν ἦν ἐπιμελῆ ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια, ὑφ' ἧς αἰεὶ σωζόμεθα κοινῇ, καλῶς ποιοῦσα τὰ κεκρυμμένα βουλευμάτων καὶ τὰς ἀνοσίους ἐπιχειρήσεις τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν εἰς φῶς ἄγει, καὶ γράμματα πάρεστιν ἡμῖν, ἃ δεδэгμεθα νεωστὶ παρὰ ξένων εὖνοιαν ἡμῖν ἐνδείκνυμένων, οὓς ὕστερον ἀκούσεσθε, καὶ συντρέχει τε καὶ συνάδει τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιστελλομένοις τὰ ἐνθὲνδε μηνυόμενα, καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκέτι μέλλησιν οὐδ' ἀναβολὴν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα ἐπιδέχεσθαι, πρὶν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, ὑμῖν πρώτοις ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ἀπαγγεῖλαι διέγνωμεν αὐτά. ^[3] ἵστε δὴ συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγεννημένην ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐνεῖναι μὲν τι λέγεται μέρος οὐ πολὺ καὶ τῶν εἰς τόδε συλλεγομένων τὸ συνέδριον πρεσβυτέρων, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν ἔξω τῆς βουλῆς ἱππέων, οὓς οὐπω καιρὸς οἰτίνες εἰσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν. ^[4] μέλλουσι δ' οὖν, ὡς πυνθανόμεθα, σκοταίαν φυλάξαντες νύκτα κοιμωμένοις

ἡμῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἥνικα οὔτε προιδεῖν τι τῶν γινομένων οὔτε φυλάξασθαι καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι δυνάμεθα: ἐπιπεσόντες δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἡμᾶς κατασφάττειν καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἄλλους τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας ποτὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ [p. 18] ἐλευθερίας ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐναντιωσομένους. ὅταν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκποδῶν ποιήσωνται, τότε ἤδη κατὰ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἡγοῦνται διαπράξασθαι παρ' ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναιρεθῆναι διὰ κοινοῦ ψηφίσματος τὰς γενομένας ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁμολογίας. [5] ὁρῶντες δέ, ὅτι ξενικῆς αὐτοῖς χειρὸς εἰς τὰ πράγματα δεῖ κρύφα παρασκευασθείσης καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης μετρίας, ἄνδρα προσειλήφασιν εἰς ταῦτα τῶν ὑμετέρων φυγάδων Καίσιωνα Κοίντιον ἡγεμόνα, ὃν ἐπὶ φόνοις πολιτῶν καὶ διαστάσει τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεγχθέντα διεπράξαντο τινες τῶν ἐνθάδε μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἀλλ' ἄθῳον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καθοδὸν τε πράξειν ὑπέσχηνται καὶ ἀρχὰς προτείνονται καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλους μισθοὺς τῆς ὑπουργίας. [6] κἀκεῖνος ὑπέσχηται στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐολούσκων ἄξειν ἐπίκουρον, ὅσης ἂν δεηθῶσιν: ἥξει τε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους κρύφα κατ' ὀλίγους εἰσάγων καὶ σποράδας, ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις, ὅταν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότες ἡμεῖς διαφθαρώμεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν πενήτων χωρήσει, ἐάν τινες ἄρα περιέχωνται τῆς ἐλευθερίας. [7] ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ βεβούλευνται ὑπὸ σκότους καὶ μέλλουσι δρᾶν, ὧ βουλή, δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ἔργα, οὔτε θεῖον φοβηθέντες χόλον οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνην ἐντραπέντες νέμεσιν. [p. 19]

ἐν τοσούτῳ δὴ κινδύνῳ σαλεύοντες ἰκέται γινόμεθα ὑμῶν, ὧ πατέρες, ἐπισκῆπτοντες θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, οἷς κοινῇ θύομεν, καὶ πολέμων ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, οὓς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους σὺν ὑμῖν ἡράμεθα, μὴ περιδεῖν ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παθόντας ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι τε καὶ συναγανακτῆσαι τιμωρίας ἡμῖν συνεισπράξαντας παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλευσαμένων τὰς προσηκούσας, μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ πάντων, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, παρὰ τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀθεμίτου συνωμοσίας. [2] πρῶτον δὲ πάντων ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, ὧ βουλή, ψηφισασθαι πρᾶγμα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτον, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μηνυομένων ζήτησιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν δημάρχων γίνεσθαι. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀκριβεστάτας ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ζητήσεις, ἅς ἂν οἱ κινδυνεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιήσωνται. [3] εἰ δὲ τινες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἷοι μηδὲ καθ' ἓν εὐγνώμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λέγοντας ἀντιτάττεσθαι, ἥδεώς ἂν πυθοίμην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνουσι τῶν ἀξιουμένων καὶ τί μέλλουσιν ὑμᾶς πείθειν: πότερα μηδεμίαν ποιείσθαι ζήτησιν, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδεῖν ἔργον οὕτω μέγα καὶ μιαρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνιστάμενον; καὶ τίς ἂν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας ὑγιαίνειν φήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ συνδιεφθάρθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεδιότας, ἵνα μὴ γένωνται καταφανεῖς, ἀποσπεύδειν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν; οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως προσέχοιτε δήπου τὸν νοῦν. [4] ἢ τῆς διαγνώσεως τῶν μηνυομένων οὐχ ἡμᾶς εἶναι κυρίους ἀξιώσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τοὺς [p. 20] ὑπάτους; τί οὖν τὸ κωλύον ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ δήμου λέγειν, ἐάν τινες ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάντες πράττωσι τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου κατάλυσιν, ὅτι

τὴν περὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐξετάσιν αὐτοὺς δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου φυλακὴν; τί οὖν ἐκ τούτου συμβήσεται; μηδεμίαν πώποτε γενέσθαι ζητήσιν περὶ μηθενὸς πράγματος ἀπορρήτου. [5] ἀλλ' οὐθ' ἡμεῖς ἂν ταῦτ' ἀξιώσασμεν: ὕποπτος γὰρ ἡ φιλοτιμία: ὑμεῖς τ' οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ποιοῖτε τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια ἀξιοῦσι καθ' ἡμῶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κοινοὺς ἡγοῦμενοι τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροὺς. οὐδενὸς μέντοιγε, ὦ βουλή, τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς τάχους δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κίνδυνος ὀξύς, καὶ ἡ μέλλησις τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἄωρος ἐν οὐ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς. ὥστ' ἀφέντες τὸ φιλονεικεῖν καὶ λόγους διεξιέναι μακροὺς ψηφίσασθε ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ κοινῇ συμφέρειν ἤδη.

ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πολλή τις ἔκπληξις κατέσχε τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀμυχανία: διελογίζοντό τε καὶ συνελάλουν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς χαλεπὸν ἑκάτερον ἦν, καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ζητήσεις ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ κοινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος, καὶ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν. ὑποπτεύσας δ' αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην ἀνέστη τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἄτερος, Γάιος Κλαύδιος καὶ [2] ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα: οὐ δέδοικα, Οὐεργίνιε, μὴ με ὑπολάβωσιν [p. 21] οὗτοι κοινωνὸν εἶναι τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἣν ἐφ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι λέγετε, ἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ δεδιότα ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τινος ἐνόχου ταῖς αἰτίαις ὄντος ἀνεστάναι τάναντία ὑμῖν ἐροῦντα: ὁ γὰρ βίος ἀπολύει με πάσης ὑποψίας τοιαύτης. ἃ δὲ νομίζω τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ δίχα πάσης εὐλαβείας ἐρῶ. [3] πολλοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνειν δοκεῖ μοι Οὐεργίνιος, εἴ τινα ὑπείληφεν ἡμῶν ἐρεῖν, ἢ ὡς ἀνεξέταστον ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ πρᾶγμα οὕτως ὃν μέγα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἢ ὡς οὐ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι τῇ ζητήσῃ τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχήν. οὐθεὶς οὕτε ἡλίθιος ἐστὶν οὕτως οὕτε τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους, ὥστε ταῦτα λέγειν. [4] τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιστό με, παθῶν, ἃ συγχωρῶ καὶ φημι δίκαια εἶναι, τοῦτοις ἀντιλέξων ἀνέστην, καὶ τί βούλεται μου ὁ λόγος, ἐγὼ νῆ Δία φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. παντὸς οἶομαι δεῖν πράγματος, ὦ βουλή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἀκριβῶς σκοπεῖν: οἶαι γὰρ ἂν αὗται τύχῳσιν οὔσαι, τοιοῦτους ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους. [5] φέρε δὴ, τίς ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος ὑπόθεσις ἐστὶ καὶ τί τὸ βούλευμα τῶν δημάρχων, ἀκούσατέ μου. οὐκ ἐνῆν τούτοις οὐδέν, ὦν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πράττειν ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διεκωλύθησαν, ἐπιτελέσασθαι νῦν ὑμῶν τε ἐναντιουμένων αὐτοῖς ὡς πρότερον καὶ [p. 22] τοῦ δήμου μηκέθ' ὁμοίως συναγωνιζομένου. συνιδόντες δὲ τοῦτο ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς τ' ἀναγκασθεῖητε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς εἶξαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπαντα ὅσ' [6] ἂν ἀξιῶσι συμπράττειν. ἀληθῆ μὲν οὖν καὶ δικαίαν ὑπόθεσιν οὐδεμίαν εὕρισκον, δι' ἧς ἑκάτερον τούτοις ἔσται, πολλὰ δὲ βουλευμάτων πειράζοντες καὶ στρέφοντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸ πρᾶγμα τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα λογισμὸν ἦλθον: αἰτιασώμεθα συνίστασθαι τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου, καὶ σφάττειν διεγνωκέναι τοὺς παρέχοντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀσφαλές. [7] καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ παρασκευάσαντες λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν ἤδη πιστὰ εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξη — δόξει δὲ διὰ τὸ δέος — ἐπιστολὰς μηχανησώμεθα πολλῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνώτος ἀναδοθῆναι: ἔπειτ' ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἀγανακτῶμέν τε καὶ

σχετλιάζωμεν καὶ τοῦ ζητεῖν τὰ προσηγγελέμενα αἰτῶμεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν. [8] ἔάν τε γὰρ ἀντιλέγωσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι, ταύτην ληψόμεθα τοῦ διαβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀφορμήν, καὶ οὕτως ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικὸν ἡγριωμένον αὐτοῖς ἔτοιμον ἡμῖν εἰς ἃ βουλόμεθα ὑπάρξει: ἔάν τε συγχωρῶσι, τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πλεῖστα ἡμῖν ἐναντιωθέντας πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ νέους ἐλαύνωμεν, ὡς εὐρηκότες ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους. [9] ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἄρα τὰς καταγνώσεις δεδιότες ἢ συμβήσονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ μηθὲν ἔτι ἀντιπράττειν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν ποιήσομεν ἐρημίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου. [p. 23]

ταῦτα τὰ βουλευόμενα ἦν αὐτῶν, ὧ βουλή, καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ὃν ἑωρᾶτε συνεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς, οὗτος ὁ δόλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑφαίνετο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκτυον κατὰ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων ἱππέων ἐπλέκετο. καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' [2] ἐστὶ, βραχέος μοι πάνυ δεῖ λόγου. φέρε γὰρ εἶπατέ μοι, Οὐεργίνιε, οἱ τὰ δεινὰ πεισόμενοι, παρὰ τίνων ἐδέξασθε τὰ γράμματα ξένων; τῶν ποῦ κατοικούντων, ἢ πόθεν ὑμᾶς εἰδόντων, ἢ πῶς τάνθαδε συνεδρευόμενα ἐπισταμένων; τί ἀναβάλλεσθε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐρεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑποσχενεῖσθε, ἀλλ' οὐ πάλαί λέγετε; τίς δ' ὁ τὰ γράμματα κομίσας ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ; τί οὐ κατάγετε αὐτὸν εἰς μέσον, ἵν' ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἀρξώμεθα ζητεῖν, εἴτε ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, εἴτε ὡς ἐγὼ φημι πλάσματα ὑμέτερα; [3] αἱ δὲ δὴ συνάδουσαι τοῖς ξενικοῖς γράμμασι μηνύσεις παρὰ τῶν ἐνθάδε τίνες τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων γενόμεναι; τί κρύπτετε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγετε; ἀλλ' οἴμαι τῶν μήτε γενομένων μήτε ἐσομένων ἀδύνατον εὐρεθῆναι πίστιν. [4] ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧ βουλή, μηνύματα οὐ κατὰ τούτων συνωμοσίας, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑμῶν δόλου καὶ πονηρᾶς γνώμης, ἣ κέχρηται κρύψαντες οὗτοι: τὰ γὰρ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοᾷ. αἵτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον τῆς ἀρχῆς μεγάλῃ καθοπλίσαντες ἐξουσίᾳ, ὅτε Κοιντίον Καίσιωνα τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ [p. 24] κρίνειν ἐπ' αἰτίαις ψευδέσιν εἰάσατε, καὶ τοσοῦτον φύλακα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀναρπαζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν περιείδετε. τοιγαροῦν οὐκέτι μετριάζουσιν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓνα τῶν εὐγενῶν περικόπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἤδη περιβαλόντες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐλαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: [5] καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς οὐδ' ἀντιπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν οὐθένα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἄγοντες ὡς κοινωνοῦντα τῶν ἀπορρήτων δεδίπτονται καὶ μισόδημον εὐθύς εἶναι φασί, καὶ προλέγουσιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑφ' ἑξόντα τῶν ἐνθάδε ῥηθέντων δίκας. [6] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἐστὶ καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος τοῖς λόγοις, νυνὶ δὲ συντεμῶ τὸν λόγον καὶ παύσομαι τὰ πλείω διατεινόμενος: φυλάττεσθαι ὑμῖν παραινῶ τοῦσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς συνταράττοντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλων ἐκφέροντας ἀρχὰς κακῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐνθάδε μὲν ταῦτα λέγω, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀποκρύβομαι, ἀλλὰ κάκει παρρησίᾳ δικαίᾳ χρῆσθαι, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπικρέμαται δεινόν, ὅτι μὴ κακοὶ καὶ δόλιοι προστάται πολεμίων ἔργα ἐν προσποιήματι φίλων διαπραττόμενοι. [7] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ ὑπάτου κραυγὴ τε καὶ πολλὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ λόγου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔτι μεταδόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σὺλλογον. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν Οὐεργίνιος ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν

κατηγορεῖ τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἀπελογεῖτο [p. 25] τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους διεξιὼν, οὕς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν κενὸν ὑπώπτευνον εἶναι τὸν φόβον, οἱ δ' εὐθέςτεροι πιστεύοντες ταῖς φήμαις ἀληθῆ: ὅσοι δὲ κακοήθεις ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεταβολῆς αἰεὶ δεόμενοι, τοῦ μὲν ἐξετάζειν τάληθές ἢ ψεῦδος οὐκ εἶχον πρόνοιαν, ἀφορμὴν δὲ διχοστασίας ἐζήτουν καὶ θορύβου.

ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ ταραχῇ τῆς πόλεως οὕσης ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους πατέρων τε οὐκ ἀφανῶν καὶ χρήμασι δυνατός, Ἄππιος Ἐρδώνιος ὄνομα, καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐπεβάλετο εἶθ' ἑαυτῷ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος εἴτε τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει πράττων ἀρχὴν καὶ κράτος εἴτ' ὀνόματος ἀξιοῦσθαι βουλόμενος μεγάλου. κοινωσάμενος δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀπηγησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοις ἐδόκει συνήθροϊζε τοὺς πελάτας καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων οὕς εἶχεν εὐτολμοτάτους: καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων μάλιστα, ὅπλα τε καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων δεῖ πολέμῳ πάντα εὐτρεπισάμενος, [2] εἰς σκάφας ποταμηγοὺς ἐνεβάλετο. πλεύσας δὲ διὰ τοῦ Τεβέριους ποταμοῦ προσέσχε τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τὸ Καπιτώλιόν ἐστιν οὐδ' ὅλον στάδιον ἀπέχον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι τηνικαῦτα νύκτες, καὶ πολλὴ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἡσυχία, ἦν συνεργὸν λαβὼν ἐξεβίβασε τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀκλείστων πυλῶν: [p. 26] εἰσὶ γάρ τινες ἱεραὶ πύλαι τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατὰ τι θέσφατον ἀνειμέναι, Καρμεντίδας αὐτὰς καλοῦσιν: ἀναβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν εἶχε τὸ φρούριον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ὠσάμενος, — ἔστι δὲ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ [3] προσεχής, — κάκεινης ἐγεγόνει κύριος. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ γνώμη μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων τόπων τοὺς τε φυγάδας εἰσδέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν καλεῖν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσιν ὑποσχνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας, οἱ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες διὰ φθόνου καὶ μίσους εἶχον τὰς ὑπεροχὰς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἄσμενοι ἂν ἐλάβοντο, κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὠφελειῶν. ἡ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένη καὶ πλανῶσα ἐλπίς, ὥς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσοντα τῶν προσδοκωμένων, ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις ἦν, δι' ἣν οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ὑπελάμβανε τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἔτι γενήσεσθαι. [4] ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα μηθὲν αὐτῷ τούτων κατὰ νοῦν χωρῇ, τηνικαῦτα Σαβίνους τε πανστρατιᾷ καλεῖν ἐδέδοκτο καὶ Οὐλοῦσκους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλησιοχώρων ὅσοις ἂν ἦ βουλομένοις ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφθόνου ἀρχῆς.

συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ πάντων διαμαρτεῖν ὣν ἡλπισεν οὔτε δούλων αὐτομολησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτε φυγάδων κατελθόντων οὔτε ἀτίμων καὶ καταχρέων τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος ἀντὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένων, τῆς τε ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας οὐ λαβούσης χρόνον ἱκανὸν εἰς παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου: τρισὶ γὰρ ἢ τέτταρσι ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις τέλος εἰλήφει τὰ πράγματα [p. 27] μέγα δέος καὶ πολλὴν ταραχὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρασχόντα. [2] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐάλω τὰ φρούρια, κραυγῆς ἄφνω γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους οἰκούντων τοὺς τόπους, ὅσοι μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐσφάγησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ δεινὸν ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα

συνέτρεχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα χωρία τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς ἀναπεπταμένους αὐτῆς τόπους πολλοὺς σφόδρα ὄντας, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα πεδία: ὅσοι δ' ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ παρηκμακότη ἦσαν καὶ ῥώμης σώματος ἐν τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ, τὰ τέγη τῶν οἰκιῶν κατεῖχον ἅμα γυναιξὶν ὡς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀγωνιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας: ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει μεστὰ εἶναι πολέμου. ^[3] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὡς ἐγνώσθη τὰ κεκρατημένα τῆς πόλεως φρούρια καὶ ὅστις ἦν ὁ κατέχων ἀνὴρ τοὺς τόπους, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι προσκαλεσάμενοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔλεγον, ὅτι τῷ μὲν συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦσι πράττειν ἐναντίον, δίκαιον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι τηλικούτον ἀγῶνα μέλλοντα τὸν δῆμον ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι καὶ διωρισμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ ^[4] κινδύνευμα χωρεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν λέγοντες, ὑπισχνοῦνται τε ὑμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ πιστεῖς βούλονται δοῦναι τὰς ἐπὶ θεῶν, ὅτι καταλυθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν ἀποδεῖξαι νομοθέτας καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι, συνελευθερώμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα: εἰ δὲ οὐθὲν ἀξιοῦσι [p. 28] ποιεῖν τῶν μετρίων, τί κινδυνεύομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προιέμεθα μηθενὸς ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντες ἀπολαύσεσθαι; ^[5] ταῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου πειθομένου καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένοντος ἀκούειν τῶν ἄλλο τι παραινούντων ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος οὐθὲν ἡξίου δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης συμμαχίας, ἥτις οὐχ ἑκούσιος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μετρίῳ βοηθεῖν βούλεται τῇ πατρίδι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοὺς πατρικίους ἑαυτῶν σώμασι καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς πελατῶν ὀπλισαμένους, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐθελούσιον αὐτοῖς συναρῆται τοῦ πολέμου, μετὰ τούτων πολιορκεῖν τὰ φρούρια: ἐὰν δὲ μὴδ' οὕτως ἀξιοχρεως ἢ δύναμις αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκῇ, Λατίνους τε καὶ Ἑρνίκας παρακαλεῖν, ἐὰν δ' ἀνάγκη, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνέσθαι καὶ πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν μνησικακοῦντας σφίσι παρακαλεῖν. ^[6] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλέριος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἡρεθισμένον τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τελέως τοῖς πατρικίοις, εἰξάι τε συνεβούλευε τῷ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους τὰ γε δίκαια ἀντιτάπτειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς διατριβὰς τὰ μέτρια καὶ εὐγνώμονα. ^[7] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰ κράτιστα ἐδόκει λέγειν, προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῇ διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν τῆς δημηγορίας [p. 29] ὤμοσεν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος συνάρηται μετὰ προθυμίας τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, συγχωρήσειν τοῖς δημάρχοις προθεῖναι τῷ πλήθει τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν, ὃν εἰσέφερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσονομίας, καὶ σπουδάσειν, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῇ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δήμῳ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα οὐθὲν αὐτῷ πεπρωμένον ἐπιτελέσαι τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πλησίον οὔσης τῆς τοῦ θανάτου μοίρας.

λυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν συνέρρεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας ἕκαστοι τόπους, ἀπογραφόμενοι τε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὁμνύντες ὄρκον. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα ὅλην ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ

λοχαγοὶ τε προσενέμοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐτάττοντο σημείας συνεπιρρέοντος καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀγροὺς διατρίβοντος ὄχλου. [2] γενομένων δὲ διὰ τάχους πάντων εὐτρεπῶν μερισάμενοι τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπατοὶ κληρῶ διείλοντο τὰς ἀρχάς. Κλαυδίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ κληρὸς ἀπέδωκε τὰ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπέλθῃ στρατιὰ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπικούροις: ὑποψία γὰρ ἅπαντας κατεῖχε μεγάλης σφόδρα κινήσεως, καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἅπαν ὡς ὁμοῦ συνεπιθησόμενον σφίσιν ἐφοβοῦντο: Οὐαλερίῳ δὲ τὰ φρούρια πολιορκεῖν ὁ δαίμων ἐφήκεν. [3] ἐτάχθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἡγεμόνες ὅσα τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς [p. 30] ἦν κατέξοντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀγούσας ὁδοὺς ἕτεροι κωλύσεως ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀποστησομένων πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους δούλων τε καὶ ἀπόρων, οὓς παντὸς μάλιστα ἐφοβοῦντο. ἐπικουρικὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔφθασε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικόμενον, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ Τυσκλάνων μόνον ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀκουσάντων τε καὶ παρασκευασαμένων, οὓς ἦγε Λευκίος Μάμιλιος, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος, ἔχων τὴν μεγίστην ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ἀρχήν: καὶ συνεκινδύνεον οὗτοι τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ μόνοι καὶ συνεξέιλον τὰ φρούρια πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἀποδειξάμενοι. [4] ἐγένετο δ' ἡ προσβολὴ τοῖς φρουρίοις πανταχόθεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίων οἰκίῳν ἀσφάλτου καὶ πίσεως πεπυρωμένης ἀγγεῖα σφενδόνας ἐναρμόττοντες ἐπέβαλλον ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον: οἱ δὲ συμφοροῦντες αὐτῶν φακέλλους φρυγάνων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀποτόμοις τῆς πέτρας βωμοὺς ἐγείροντες ὑψηλοὺς ὑψηπτον ἀνέμῳ παραδιδόντες τὰς φλόγας ἐπιφόρῳ. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν ἀνδρειότατοι, πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἐχώρουν ἄνω κατὰ [5] τὰς χειροποιήτους ὁδοὺς. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε τοῦ πλήθους, ὥ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἀντιπάλων προεῖχον, ὄφελος οὐθὲν διὰ στενῆς ἀνιοῦσιν ὁδοῦ καὶ πληθούσης προβόλων ἄνωθεν ἐπικαταραττομένων, ἔνθα συνεξισωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τῷ πολλῷ τὸ ὀλίγον: οὔτε τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομονῆς, ἣν πολλοῖς % καταστήσαντες πολέμοις [p. 31] εἶχον, οὐδεμία ὄνησις πρὸς ὀρθίους βιαζομένοις σκοπάς. οὐ γὰρ συστάδην μαχομένους ἔδει τὸ εὐτολμον καὶ καρτερικὸν ἀποδειξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκηβόλοις χρῆσθαι μάχαις. [6] ἦσαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κάτωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα βαλλομένων βραδείαι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, εἰ καὶ τύχοιεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, αἱ πληγαί: τῶν δ' ἀφ' ὕψους κάτω ῥιπτουμένων ὀξεῖαι καὶ καρτεραὶ συνεργοῦντων τοῖς βλήμασι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔκαμνόν γε οἱ προσβάλλοντες τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρουν ἀναγκοφαγοῦντες τὰ δεινὰ οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαυόμενοι τῶν πόνων. τέλος δ' οὖν ὑπολιπόντων τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν σωματῶν ἐξαδυνατούντων τρίτῃ τὰ φρούρια ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἡμέρᾳ. [7] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέβαλον, κράτιστον δέ, ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀπάντων ὠμολόγητο, τὸν ὑπατον: ὃς οὐκ ὀλίγα τραύματα λαβὼν οὐδ' ὥς ἀφίστατο τῶν δεινῶν, ἕως ἐπικαταραγεῖς αὐτῷ πέτρος ὑπερμεγέθους ἐπιβαίνοντι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἅμα τὴν τε νίκην αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. ἀλίσκομένων δὲ τῶν φρουρίων ὁ μὲν Ἐρδώνιος — ἦν γὰρ καὶ ῥώμη σώματος διάφορος καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος — ἄπιστόν τι χρῆμα περὶ αὐτὸν ποιήσας νεκρῶν ὑπὸ πλήθους βελῶν ἀποθνήσκει, τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ

φρούρια καταλαβομένων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ζῶντες ἐάλωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους σφάττοντες [p. 32] ἑαυτοὺς ἢ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὠθοῦντες διεφθάρησαν.

τοῦτο τὸ τέλος λαβόντος τοῦ ληστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν πολιτικὴν πάλιν ἀνερρίπιζον οἱ δήμαρχοι στάσιν ἀξιοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος ὑπάτου τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τεθνηκὼς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Οὐαλέριος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς τοῦ νόμου. ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος μέχρι μὲν τινος παρεῖλκε τὸν χρόνον τοτὲ μὲν καθαρμοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτελῶν, τοτὲ δὲ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστηρίους ἀποδιδούς, τοτὲ δ' ἀγῶσι καὶ θείαις ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εὐπαθείας. [2] ὥς δ' αἱ σκῆψεις αὐτῷ πᾶσαι κατανάλωντο, τελευτῶν ἔφη δεῖν εἰς τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπάτου τόπον ἕτερον ἀποδειχθῆναι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου πραχθέντα οὔτε νόμιμα οὔτε βέβαια ἔσεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔννομά τε καὶ κύρια. ταύτῃ διακρουσάμενος αὐτοὺς τῇ προφάσει προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τὸν συνάρχοντα ἔμελλεν ἀποδειξεῖν. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ δι' ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ συνεδρίου συνέθεντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὅτῳ παραδώσουσι τὴν ἀρχήν. [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐνέστη χρόνος, καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐκάλεσεν, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον οἱ τ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχοι τῶν ἱππέων καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τῶν τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα ἐχόντων Λεῦκιον Κοίντιον Κικιννᾶτον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ὕπατον, οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Καίσωνα Κοίντιον εἰς ἀγῶνα θανάτου καταστήσαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν πόλιν ἠνάγκασαν [p. 33] ἐκλιπεῖν: καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι κληθείσης ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν τάξεως — τρισὶ γὰρ ἦσαν λόχοις πλείους οἱ διενέγκαντες τὴν ψῆφον λόχοι τῶν ὑπολειπομένων — ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀπῆει συμφορὰν βαρεῖαν ἡγούμενος, ὅτι μισῶν αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς ἔσται κύριος, ἡ βουλὴ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὸν ὕπατον καὶ ἄξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. [4] ἔτυχε δὲ τῆνικαῦτα ὁ Κοίντιος ἄρουράν τινα ὑπεργαζόμενος εἰς σποράν, αὐτὸς ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς σχίζουσι τὴν νειὸν βοιδίοις ἀχίτων, περιζωμάτιον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον. ἰδὼν δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ χωρίον εἰσιόντων τὸ τε ἄροτρον ἐπέσχε καὶ πολὺν ἠπόρει χρόνον, οἵτινές τε εἶεν καὶ τίνος δεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκοιν: ἔπειτα προσδραμόντος τινὸς καὶ κελεύσαντος κοσμιώτερον ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν καλὺβη καὶ [5] ἀμφιεσάμενος προῆλθεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν παράληψιν αὐτοῦ παρόντες ἡσπᾶσαντὸ τε ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἀλλ' ὕπατον καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα περιέθεσαν τοὺς τε πελέκεις καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραστήσαντες ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠξίου. κάκεῖνος μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν καὶ δακρύσας τοσοῦτον εἶπεν: ἄσπορον ἄρα μοι τὸ χωρίον ἔσται τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, καὶ κινδυνεύομεν οὐχ ἔξειν, πόθεν διατραφῶμεν. ἔπειτ' ἀσπασάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παραγγείλας ὥχeto εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [6] ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρου τινὸς χάριν εἶπεῖν προήχθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερὸν γένηται πᾶσιν, οἳ τότε ἦσαν οἱ τῆς [p. 34] Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προεστηκότες, ὥς αὐτουργοὶ καὶ σώφρονες καὶ πενίαν δικαίαν οὐ βαρυνόμενοι καὶ βασιλικάς οὐ διώκοντες ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδομένας ἀναινόμενοι: φανήσονται γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐοικότες ἐκείνοις οἱ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τάναντία πάντα ἐπιτηδεύοντες, πλὴν πάνυ

ὀλίγων, δι' οὓς ἔστηκεν ἔτι τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ σῶζειν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιότητα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις.

ὁ δὲ Κοιντιος παραλαβὼν τὴν ὑπατείαν πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαυσε τοὺς δημάρχους τῶν καινῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ σπουδῆς προειπὼν, ὡς εἰ μὴ παύσονται ταράττοντες τὴν πόλιν ἀπάξει Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στρατείαν κατὰ ^[2] Οὐολούσκων παραγγελίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ κωλύσειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον οἱ δήμαρχοι στρατοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καταγραφὴν, συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι πάντες ὁμωμόκασι τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, ἀκολουθήσειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐφ' οὓς ἂν καλῶνται πολέμους, καὶ μῆτε ἀπολείψειν τὰ σημεῖα μῆτε ἄλλο πράξειν μηθὲν ἐναντίον τῷ νόμῳ: παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἔφη κρατούμενους ἅπαντας τοῖς ὄρκοις. ^[3] εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διομοσάμενος χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ σημεῖα καταφέρειν: καὶ ἴνα, ἔφη, πᾶσαν ἀπογνῶτε δημαγωγίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας, οὐ πρότερον ἀναστήσω [p. 35] τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, πρὶν ἢ πᾶς ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς μοι διέλθῃ χρόνος. ὡς οὖν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ χειμάσσοντες παρασκευάσασθε τὰ εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδεια. ^[4] τοῦτοις καταπληξάμενος αὐτοὺς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπειδὴ κοσμιωτέρους εἶδε γεγονότας καὶ δεομένους ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας, ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι τὰς ἀναπαύλας τῶν πολέμων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηθὲν ἔτι παρακινεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἔαν αὐτὸν ὡς βούλεται τὴν ἀρχὴν τελείσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια διδόναι τε καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων.

καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου δικαστήριά τε ἀπεδίδου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐκ πολλῶν παρειλκυσμένα χρόνων, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτὸς ἴσως καὶ δικαίως διέκρινε δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεζόμενος, εὐπρόσοδόν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἀφικνουμένοις ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχε καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀριστοκρατικὴν οὕτως φανῆναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε μῆτε δημάρχων δεηθῆναι τοὺς διὰ πενίαν ἢ δυσγένειαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ταπεινότητα ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων κατισχυομένους, μῆτε καινῆς νομοθεσίας πόθον ἔχειν ἔτι τοὺς ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ πολιτεῦσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ χαίρειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῇ τότε κατασχούσῃ τὴν πόλιν εὐνομίᾳ. ^[2] ταῦτά τε διὰ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπηγεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον ἐτέλεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν διδομένην τὸ δεῦτερον μηδὲ [p. 36] ^[3] ἀγαπήσαι τηλικαύτην λαμβάνοντα τιμὴν. κατέειχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ βουλή πολλὰς προσφέρουσα δεήσεις, ἐπεὶ τὸ τρίτον οἱ δήμαρχοι διεπράξαντο μὴ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ παύσοντα τῶν καινῶν πολιτευμάτων, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὀρώσα οὐκ ἀναινόμενον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. ὁ δ' οὕτε τῶν δημάρχων ἐπαινεῖν ἔφη τὸ ἀπαραχώρητον τῆς ἐξουσίας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἰς ὁμοίαν ἐκείνοις ἤξειν διαβολήν. ^[4] συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν κατηγορίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀποτιθεμένων τὰς ἀρχὰς διαθέμενος ὄρκους τε διομοσάμενος ἰσχυροὺς περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήψεσθαι πάλιν τὴν ὑπατείαν, πρὶν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν προτέραν ἀρχήν, προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ἡμέραν: ἐν ᾗ

καταστήσας ὑπάτους ἀπῆει πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο καλύβιον καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν ἔζη βίον ὡς πρότερον.

Κοίντου δὲ Φαβίου Οὐίβολανοῦ παρειληφότος τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸ τρίτον καὶ Λευκίου Κορνηλίου καὶ τελούντων πατρίους ἀγῶνας Αἰκανῶν ἄνδρες ἐπιλεκτοὶ πλῆθος ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλισμῷ τ' εὐζώνῳ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον σκότους ἔτι ὄντος ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται Τυσκλάνων, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους, ἀφέστηκε δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἔλαττον σταδίων ἑκατόν. [2] εὐρόντες δὲ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πύλας τε ἀκλείστους καὶ τεῖχος ἀφύλακτον αἰροῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς Τυσκλάνοις, ὅτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τὰ τε ἄλλα μετὰ προθυμίας συμπράττοντες διετέλουν, καὶ [p. 37] ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μόνοι συνήραντο τοῦ [3] πολέμου. ἄνδρας μὲν οὐ πολλοὺς τινὰς ἐν τῇ καταλήψει διέφθειραν, ἀλλ' ἔφθασαν ἤδη αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ὡσάμενοι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἔνδον, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσοι ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρως φυγεῖν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, γύναια δὲ καὶ παῖδια καὶ θεράποντας αὐτῶν ἠνδραποδίσαντο καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. [4] ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τὸ δεινὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῶν διαφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι βοηθεῖν ὥοντο δεῖν τοῖς φυγάσι κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόναι, ἀντέπραττον δὲ οἱ δῆμαρχοι στρατιὰν οὐκ ἔωντες καταγράφειν, ἕως ἂν ἡ περὶ τοὺς νόμους διενεχθῇ ψῆφος. ἀγανακτοῦσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ διατριβὴν λαμβανούσης τῆς στρατείας ἕτεροι παρήσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἀποσταλέντες, οἱ τὴν Ἀνπιατῶν πόλιν ἠγγελλον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀφεστηκέναι, μιᾷ χρησαμένων γνώμῃ Οὐολούσκων τε τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐποίκων καὶ μερισαμένων τὴν γῆν. Ἑρνίκων τε ἄγγελοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς παρήσαν χρόνους δηλοῦντες, ὅτι Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις πολλὴ ἐξεληλύθε καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἡδὴ γῇ. [5] τοῦτων ἅμα προσαγγελλομένων οὐδεμίαν ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι ποιῆσθαι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ πανστρατιᾷ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξιέναι: [p. 38] ἐὰν δὲ τινες ἀπολειφθῶσι τῆς στρατείας Ῥωμαίων ἢ [6] τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι. εἰξάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν δημάρχων καταγράψαντες τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις μεταπεμφάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξήρσαν ὑπολιπόμενοι φυλακὴν τῇ πόλει τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς ἐπιχωρίου στρατιᾶς. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Τυσκλάνων ὄντας Αἰκανοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε διὰ [7] τάχους. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἢ διηρπακότες τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ὑπέμενον φυλάττοντες τὴν ἄκραν: ἔστι δὲ σφόδρα ἐχυρὰ καὶ οὐ πολλῆς δεομένη φυλακῆς. τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τῆς ἄκρας ἰδόντας ἐξιοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης τὴν στρατιὰν — εὐσύννοπτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐκ μετεώρου τὰ μεταξὺ χωρία πάντα — ἐκόντας ἐξελθεῖν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐκπολιορκηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου καθ' ὁμολογίαν παραδοῦναι τὸ φρούριον, τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν αἰτησαμένους καὶ ζυγὸν ὑποστάντας.

ἀποδοὺς δὲ τοῖς Τυσκλάνοις τὴν πόλιν Φάβιος περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν ἀνίστησι τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,

ἀκούων περὶ πόλιν Ἀλγιδὸν ἀθρόας εἶναι τὰς τε Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις. ποιησάμενος δὲ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς σύντονον ὁδὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκόσιν ἐν πεδίῳ [p. 39] καὶ οὔτε τάφρον περιβεβλημένοις οὔτε χάρακα, ὥς ἐν οἰκείᾳ τε γῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει τοῦ ἀντιπάλου. [2] παρακελευσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γίνεσθαι πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολήν, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ συναλαλάξαντες εἶποντο: τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔτι κοιμώμενοι ἐφονεύοντο, οἱ δ' ἄρτίως ἀνεστηκότες καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιχειροῦντες τραπέσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάννυντο. [3] ἄλόντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σώματα πλὴν ὅσα Τυσκλάνων ἦν, οὐ πολλὺν ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας χρόνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑχετράνων πόλιν ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἣ τότε ἦν τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους ἐπιφανεστάτη τε κὰν τῷ κρατίστῳ μάλιστα τότε κειμένη. [4] στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ προελεύσεσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς μάχην, ὥς οὐδεμία ἐξῆι στρατιά, τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐδήϊον ἀνθρώπων μεστήν οὔσαν καὶ βοσκημάτων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν αἰφνιδίου γεννηθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐφόδου. ἐφείς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν ὁ Φάβιος καὶ πολλὰς ἐν τῇ προνομῇ διατρίψας ἡμέρας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. [5] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀντίῳ Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐλαύνων ἐπιτυχάνει στρατιᾷ πρὸ τῶν ὀρίων [p. 40] αὐτὸν ὑποδεχομένη. παραταξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν φονεύσας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οὐ τολμώντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκέτι χωρεῖν εἰς μάχην πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἔκειρεν, ἔπειτα τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ περιεχαράκου. τότε δὴ πάλιν ἀναγκασθέντες ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ, πολλὺς καὶ ἀσύντακτος ὄχλος, καὶ συμβαλόντες εἰς μάχην ἔτι κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενοι κατακλείονται τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως φεύγοντες. [6] ὁ δ' ὑπατος οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι δοὺς κλίμακας προσέφερε τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ κριοῖς ἐξέκοπτε τὰς πύλας. ἐπιπόνως δὲ καὶ ταλαιπώρως τῶν ἔνδον ἀπομαχομένων οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθεὶς κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν. χρήματα μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἐνῆν, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφέρειν, ἀνδράποδα δὲ τοὺς ταμίαις παραλαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα πωλεῖν: τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐσθῆτα καὶ τροφὰς καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐδύναντο ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν. [7] ἔπειτα διακρίνας τῶν τε κληρούχων καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀντιατῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτίους — ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ — ῥάβδοις τε ἠκίσατο μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. [8] τοῦτοίς ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσιούσι τε ἀπήντησε καὶ θριάμβους ἀμφοτέροις καταγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσατο: καὶ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πρεσβευσασμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐποίησατο συνθήκας περὶ καταλύσεως [p. 41] τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν αἷς ἐγράφη, πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας ἔχοντας Αἰκανοὺς, ὧν ἐκράτουν, ὅτε αἰ σπονδαὶ ἐγίνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι ὑπηκόους, ἄλλο μὲν ὑποτελοῦντας μηθὲν,

ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις συμμαχίαν ἀποστέλλοντας ὀσηνδήποτε, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος Ναύτιος τὸ δεύτερον αἰρεθεὶς καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος παραλαβόντες τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν τέως μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτικῶν δικαίων πόλεμον ἐντὸς τείχους ἐπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς ἅμα Οὐεργινίῳ δημάρχους τοὺς τέταρτον ἔτος ἤδη τὴν αὐτὴν κατασχόντας ἀρχήν. [2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἔθνων πόλεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ πόλει, καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθῶσιν, ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατ'ἀλογον καὶ μερισάμενοι τριχῇ τὰς τε οἰκείας καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις μίαν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοῖραν κατέλιπον, ἥς ἠγεῖτο Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐίβολανός, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς αὐτοὶ παραλαβόντες ἐξήεσαν διὰ ταχέων, ἐπὶ μὲν Σαβίνους Ναύτιος, ἐπὶ δ' [3] Αἰκανοὺς Μηνύκιος. ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀφειστήκει τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, Σαβῖνοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ μέχρι Φιδήνης πόλεως ἦλθον, ἥς ἐκράτουν Ῥωμαῖοι — τετταράκοντα δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διὰ μέσου τῶν πόλεων στάδιοι — Αἰκανοὶ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φυλάττοντες τὰ τῆς νεωστὶ γενομένης συμμαχίας δίκαια, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πράττοντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. [4] ἐπὶ γὰρ τοὺς συμμάχους [p. 42] αὐτῶν Λατίνους ἐστράτευσαν, ὥς οὐ γενομένων αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμολογιῶν περὶ φιλίας. ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Γράγχος Κοίλιος, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς αὐτοκράτορι, ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλικώτερον ἐξήγαγεν. ἐλάσας δὲ μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως, ἦν Αἰκανοὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ καταλαβόμενοι καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξεκρούσθησαν, ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνήρπασε καὶ βοσκήματα, ὅσα κατέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντας ἔφθειρεν. [5] ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας, ἦν ἀπέστειλεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μαθεῖν ἀξιοῦσα, τί παθόντες Αἰκανοὶ πολεμοῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις, φιλίας τ' αὐτοῖς ὁμωμοσμένης νεωστὶ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ γενομένου προσκρούσματος τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ παραινούσης τῷ Κοιλίῳ τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν οὓς εἶχεν ἀφιέναι καὶ τὴν στρατιάν ἀπάγειν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡδίκησεν ἢ κατέβλαψε Τυσκλάνους δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διέτριψεν ὁ Γράγχος οὐδ' εἰς λόγους τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐρχόμενος, ὥς ἐν ἀσχολίαις δὴ [6] πισι γεγονώς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις, κάκεινοι τοὺς ἐπισταλέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς λόγους διεξῆλθον: θαυμάζω. φησὶν, ὑμῶν, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, τί δὴ ποτ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἠγεῖσθε πολεμίους, καὶ ὑφ' ὧν οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθατε, ἀρχῆς καὶ τυραννίδος ἕνεκα, Αἰκανοῖς δ' οὐ συγχωρεῖτε παρὰ τουτωνὶ Τυσκλάνων ἐχθρῶν ὄντων ἀναπράττεσθαι δίκας, οὐθενὸς ἡμῖν διωμολογημένου περὶ αὐτῶν, [7] ὅτε τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐποιοῦμεθα συνθήκας. εἰ μὲν [p. 43] οὖν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἰδίων ἀδικεῖσθαι τι ἢ βλάπτεσθαι λέγετε ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τὰ δίκαια ὑφέξομεν ὑμῖν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας: εἰ δὲ περὶ Τυσκλάνων ἀναπραξόμενοι δίκας ἤκετε, οὐθείς ἐστίν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ τούτων λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταύτην λαλεῖτε τὴν φηγόν: δεῖξας αὐτοῖς τινα πλησίον πεφυκυῖαν.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοιαῦτα ὑβρισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ εὐθύς ὀργῇ

ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξήγαγον τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν καὶ τοὺς Φητιάεις καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἱερεῖς ἔπεμψαν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθέντες τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν ὅσιον ἀναγκασθῇσονται πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ὕπατον ἀπέστειλαν. [2] ὁ δὲ Γράγχος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσιόντας ἔμαθεν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀπῆγε προσωτέρω, τῶν πολέμιων ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπομένων, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τοιαῦτα προαγαγέσθαι χωρία, ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτῆσιν ἔμελλεν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. φυλάξας γὰρ αὐλῶνα περικλειόμενον ὄρεσιν, ὡς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τοῦτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκοντες αὐτόν, ὑποστρέφει τε καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἔξω φέρουσαν ὁδόν. [3] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνεβεβήκει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐχ ὄν ἐβούλοντο ἐκλέξασθαι τόπον εἰς στρατοπεδείαν, ἀλλ' ὄν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρός, ἔνθα οὐθ' ἵπποις χιλὸν εὐπορον ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὅρεσι περικλειομένου [p. 44] τοῦ τόπου ψιλοῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις, οὐθ' ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας συγκομίζειν, ἐπειδὴ κατανάλωντο ἅς οἴκοθεν ἔφερον, οὐτε μεταστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῶν πολέμιων ἀντικαθημένων καὶ κωλύόντων τὰς ἐξόδους. βιάσασθαι τε προελόμενοι καὶ προελθόντες εἰς μάχην ἀνεκρούσθησαν καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κατεκλείσθησαν χάρακα. ὁ δὲ Κοίλιος ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ προτερήματι τούτῳ περιετάρφρευέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ περιεχαράκου καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχε λιμῷ πιεσθέντας παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. [4] ἀφικομένης δ' εἰς Ῥώμην περὶ τούτων ἀγγελίας Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχος ἀπὸ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾷς ὅσον ἦν ἀκμαϊότατόν τε καὶ κράτιστον ἐπιλέξας μέρος ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψε τῷ ὑπάτῳ. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Τίτος Κοίντιος ὁ ταμίας ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός. [5] πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ναύτιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Σαβίνοις στρατιᾷς ὄντα γράμματα διαπέμψας τὰ τε συμβάντα τῷ Μηνυκίῳ διεσάφησε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡκεῖν ἡξίου διὰ ταχέων. κάκεῖνος ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τὸν χάρακα φυλάττειν αὐτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἵππεῦσιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνει συντόνῳ χρησάμενος ἵππασίαι· εἰσελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης ἐβουλευέτο σὺν τῷ Φαβίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει δικτάτορος δεῖσθαι ὁ καιρός, ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην [p. 45] Λεύκιον Κοίντιον Κικιννᾶτον. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταῦτα διαπραζάμενος ὥχετο πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον,

ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχος Φάβιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὸν Κοίντιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τότε ὁ ἀνὴρ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων τι διαπραττόμενος· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν προσιόντα ὄχλον καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ' αὐτόν ἡκεῖν ἐσθῆτά τ' ἐλάβμβανεν εὐπρεπεστέραν καὶ ὑπαντήσων αὐτοῖς ἐπορεύετο. [2] ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν, ἵππους τ' αὐτῷ φαλάροις κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρέπεσι προσῆγον καὶ πελέκεις ἅμα ταῖς ῥάβδοις εἰκοσιτέτταρας παρέστησαν ἐσθῆτά τε ἀλουργῇ καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα, οἷς πρότερον ἢ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκεκόσμητο ἀρχή, προσήνεγκαν. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν, ὅτι δικτάτωρ ἀποδέδεικται τῆς πόλεως, οὐχ ὅπως ἡγάπησε τηλικαύτης τιμῆς τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαγανακτῆσας εἶπεν· ἀπολεῖται ἄρα καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ καρπὸς

διὰ τὰς ἑμὰς ἀσχολίας, καὶ πεινήσομεν ἅπαντες κακῶς. [3] μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς πολίτας λόγον ἐν τῷ πλήθει διεξελθὼν ἐξεγεῖραι τὰς ψυχὰς δυνάμενον ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς ἔπειτα συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίας μεταπεμφάμενος ἱππάρχην τ' ἀποδείξας Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἡμελημένων μὲν διὰ πενίαν, τὰ δὲ πολέμια γενναῖον, ἐξῆγε συγκεκροτημένην ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν ταμίαν Τίτον [p. 46] Κοίντιον ἀναδεχόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, λαβὼν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐκείνῳ δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [4] ὥς δὲ κατώπτευσε τὴν τῶν χωρίων φύσιν, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς μετεώροις ἔταξεν, ὥς μήτε βοήθεια παραγένοιτο τοῖς Αἰκανοῖς ἑτέρα μήτε τροφαί, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἔχων προῆγεν ἐκτεταγμένην ὥς εἰς μάχην. καὶ ὁ Κοῖλιος οὐθὲν ὑποδείσας — ἥ τε γὰρ δύναμις ἡ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδόκει ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πολέμια — δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα, καὶ [5] γίνεται μάχη καρτερὰ. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς πολέμους ἀναφερόντων τὸν πόνον τῶν τε ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ κάμνον μέρος αἰεὶ ἐπιβοηθούντων τοῖς πεζοῖς ἡσσηθείς ὁ Γράγχος κατακλείεται πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χάρακα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Κοίντιος περιταφρεύσας αὐτὸν ὑψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ πύργοις πυκνοῖς περιλαβὼν, ἐπεὶ κάμνοντα ἔμαθε τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ σπάνει, αὐτὸς τε προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο συνεχεῖς πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ τῷ Μηνυκίῳ [6] προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξιέναι μερῶν. ὥστε ἡναγκάσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τροφῆς τε ἀπορούμενοι καὶ συμμάχων βοήθειαν ἀπεγνωκότες πολιορκούμενοί τε πολλαχόθεν ἱκετηρίας ἀναλαβόντες ἐπιπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Κοίντιον περὶ φιλίας διαλεγόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Αἰκανοῖς ἔφη σπένδεσθαι καὶ διδόναι [p. 47] τοῖς σώμασι τὴν ἄδειαν τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀποθεμένοις καὶ καθ' ἓνα διεξιούσιν ὑπὸ ζυγόν, Γράγχῳ δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς σὺν ἐκείνῳ βουλευσάσι τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὥς πολεμίους χρήσασθαι, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτοῖς ἄγειν τοὺς ἄνδρας δεδεμένους. [7] ὑπομενόντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Αἰκανῶν τελευταῖον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνο προσέταξεν: ἐπειδὴ Τύσκλον πόλιν Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ Τυσκλάνων παθόντες κακόν, ἀντιπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτῷ πόλιν τῶν σφετέρων, Κορβιῶνα, τὰ ὅμοια διαθεῖναι. [8] ταύτας λαβόντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Αἰκανῶν προήεσαν καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρήσαν ἄγοντες τὸν Γράγχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ δεδεμένους: αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα θέντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν παρεμβολὴν διαπορευόμενοι, καθάπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσε, διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος καθ' ἓνα ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ τὴν Κορβιῶνα κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας παρέδοσαν, τὰ ἐλεύθερα σώματα μόνον ἐξελθεῖν αἰτησάμενοι, περὶ ὧν διήλλαξαν τοὺς Τυσκλάνων αἰχμαλώτους.

παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Κοίντιος τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκέλευσε φέρειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα διελῆσθαι κατὰ λόχους ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς τε σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενομένοις στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἅμα Κοιντίῳ τῷ ταμίᾳ προαποσταλεῖσι. τοῖς δὲ μετὰ Μηνυκίου τοῦ ὑπάτου

κατακλεισθεῖσιν [p. 48] ἐν τῷ χάρακι μεγάλην ἔφη δεωκέναι δωρεὰν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐκ θανάτου ῥυσάμενος. [2] ταῦτα πράξας καὶ τὸν Μηνύκιον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγκάσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ κατήγαγε λαμπρότατον ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνων θρίαμβον, ἐν ἡμέραις ἑκαταίδεκα ταῖς πάσαις, ἀφ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, στρατόπεδον τε σώσας φίλιον καὶ πολεμίων δύναμιν ἀκμάζουσαν καθελὼν πόλιν τε αὐτῶν πορθήσας καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτῆς ὑπολιπὼν τὸν τε ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ἀλύσει δεδεδεμένους ἀγαγών. [3] καὶ ὁ μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοῦ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν εἰς ἐξάμηνον εἰληφὼς οὐκ ἐχρήσατο παντὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλὰ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδοὺς ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε βουλῆς δεομένης γῆν τε ὅσπιν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς δορικτήτου καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐπανορθῶσαι τὴν πενίαν πλοῦτῳ δικαίῳ, ὃν ἀπὸ πολεμίων κάλλιστον ἐκτήσατο τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις, οὐκ ἠξίωσε, φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν δωρεὰς προσφερόντων μεγάλας καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ τιθεμένων ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς τῆς προθυμίας οὐθὲν τῶν διδομένων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο χωρίον, καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μετεilhήφει βίον, μεῖζον φρονῶν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ [4] ἢ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ πλούτῳ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ναύτιος, ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, νικήσας Σαβίνους ἐκ [p. 49] παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμὼν ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή καὶ πρώτη, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολύμναστος Κυρηναῖος, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἄρχων Καλλίας, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρέλαβε Γάιος Ὀράτιος καὶ Κόιντος Μηνύκιος. ἐπὶ τούτων Σαβίνοι πάλιν στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πολλὴν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσαν, καὶ ἦκον οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀθρόοι κρατεῖσθαι πάντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ μεταξὺ Κρουστομερείας τε καὶ Φιδήνης λέγοντες. [2] Αἰκάνοι τε οἱ νεωστὶ καταπολεμηθέντες ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις αὖθις ἦσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκμαιότατοι αὐτῶν νυκτὸς ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ Κορβιῶνα πόλιν, ἦν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωσαν, τὴν τε φρουρὰν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κοιμωμένην εὐρόντες κατέσφαξαν πλὴν ὀλίγων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἀφυστεροῦντες, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεγάλῃ χειρὶ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρτῶνα τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθρους ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνονται, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους οὐχ οἴοι τε ἦσαν ἐργάσασθαι, ταῦτα δι' ὀργὴν τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν διέθεσαν. [3] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡβῇ πάντας, πλὴν εἴ τινες διέφυγον εὐθὺς ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἀπέκτειναν, γυναικας δὲ καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γηραιὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἡνδραποδίσαντο, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα δυνάμεις ἦν αὐτοῖς φέρειν συσκευασάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν, [p. 50] πρὶν ἅπαντας ἐπιβοηθῆσαι Λατίνους, ἀνέστρεψαν. [4] τούτων δὲ ἅμα προσαγγελλομένων ὑπὸ τε Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς διασωθέντων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ στρατιὰν ἐκπέμπειν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους πορεύεσθαι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δήμαρχοι πέμπτον ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες ἐξουσίας ἐκώλυον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ἐποιοῦν ἔτεσιν, ἐνιστάμενοι ταῖς στρατολογίαις τῶν ὑπάτων, τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους πρῶτον ἀξιοῦντες καταλυθῆναι πόλεμον

ἀποδοθείσης τῷ δήμῳ τῆς περὶ τοῦ νόμου διαγνώσεως, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσηγορίας εἰσέφερον, ὃ τε ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανε πολλοὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπιφθόνους διεξιούσι λόγους. [5] ἔλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ οὔτε τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπομενόντων προβουλεῦσαι τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν νόμον, οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων συγχωρῆσαι βουλομένων τὴν καταγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τῆς στρατιᾶς γενέσθαι, λόγων τε πολλῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς μάτην ἀναλίσκομένων, ἑτέρα τις εἰσαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ πολιτεία καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὸ συνέδριον, τὴν μὲν τότε κατέχουσιν στάσιν ἐπράυνεν, ἑτέρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐγένετο πλεονεκτημάτων αἰτία τῷ δήμῳ. διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν ὃν τρόπον ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε.

φθειρομένης καὶ διαρπαζομένης τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γῆς, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς δι' ἐρμίας ἐλαυνόντων κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδεμίαν [p. 51] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξελεύσεσθαι δύνανται διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσιν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγον, ὡς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἔσχατον τοῦτο βουλευσόμενοι. [2] ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Λεύκιος Κοίντιος, ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι γενόμενος ἔτει δικτάτωρ, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τὰ πολέμια δεινότατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ δοκῶν εἶναι φρονιμώτατος, γνώμην ἀπεφίηνατο τήνδε: μάλιστα μὲν πείθειν τοὺς τε δημάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν οὐθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατεπείγουσαν εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδειότερους, τὸν δ' ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα καὶ ὅσον οὕτω τῇ πόλει πλησιάζοντα πόλεμον ἄρασθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν μετὰ πολλῶν κτηθεῖσαν ἡγεμονίαν πόνων αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως ἀπολομένην. [3] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθεται ὁ δῆμος, τοὺς πατρικίους ἅμα τοῖς πελάταις καθοπλισμένους τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν παραλαβόντας, οἷς ἦν ἐκοῦσι συνάρασθαι τοῦ καλλίστου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνος, χωρεῖν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεοὺς, ὅσοι φυλάττουσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν, ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐξόδου ποιησαμένους. [4] συμβῆσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς δυεῖν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δικαίων θάτερον, ἢ νίκην ἐξενέγκασθαι πασῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ ποτε ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἐξηνέγκαντο λαμπροτάτην, [p. 52] ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν εὐψύχως ἀγωνιζομένοις ἀποθανεῖν. ταύτης μέντοι τῆς καλῆς πείρας οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀπολείψεσθαι ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς κράτιστα ἐρρωμένοις παρῶν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων, οἷς ἐστὶν ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς λόγος.

ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ταῦτ' ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐθεὶς ἦν ὁ τάναντία ἐρῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν. συνελθόντος δ' ὡς ἐπὶ καινοῖς ἀκούσματος παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου παρελθὼν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ὀράτιος ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐκόντας ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντος αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν παρελθὼν πάλιν ὁ ὕπατος εἶπε: [2] καλὸν γ', ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον ἐξειργάσασθε διασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν δῆμον: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι μέρος

πάντ' ἀπολωλέκαμεν, ὅσα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
πόνοις κτησάμενοι κατέσχομεν ἀγαθὰ. [3] οὐ μὴν ἡμεῖς γ' ἀκονιτὶ
μεθυσόμεθα αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων
σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα χωρήσομεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰς ἀγαθὰς
προβαλλόμενοι τῶν ἔργων ἐλπίδας· καὶ εἴ τις ἄρα θεὸς ἐπισκοπεῖ τοὺς
καλοὺς καὶ δικαίους ἀγῶνας, καὶ ἡ τὴν πόλιν τήνδε [p. 53] αὖξουσα ἐκ
πολλοῦ τύχη μήπω προλέλοιπεν αὐτήν, κρείττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐσόμεθα· εἰ
δὲ τις ἄρα ἐνέστηκε δαίμων καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, οὗτοι
τό γ' ἐν ἡμῖν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον ἀπολεῖται, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπάντων κράτιστον
θάνατον αἰρησόμεθα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. [4] ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντες
οἰκουρεῖτε ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὧ καλοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι προστάται τῆς πόλεως,
ἐγκαταλιπόντες, μᾶλλον δὲ προδόντες ἡμᾶς, οἷς οὐτ' ἂν νικήσωμεν ἡμεῖς ὁ
βίος ἔσται καλός, οὐτ' [5] ἂν ἄλλως χωρήσῃ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλής· εἰ μὴ
ἄρα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ψυχρᾷ ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὥς διαφθαρέντων τῶν πατρικίων
ὑμᾶς ἐάσουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ταύτην ὑπολογιζόμενοι τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, καὶ
συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ
πάντα τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα νῦν ἔχετε, καρποῦσθαι, ὧν ὑμεῖς ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα
ἐφρονεῖτε πολλὴν μὲν γῆν ἀπετέμεσθε, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις
ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψατε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀφανισθησόμενα τρόπαια καὶ [6] μνημεῖα τῆς ἐχθρας
ἀνεστήσατε. ἀλλὰ τί τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, ὅς οὐδέποτε πονηρὸς ἐκὼν
ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὑμῖν, ὧ Οὐεργίνιε, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ταῦτα
πολιτευομένοις; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἀνάγκη μηδὲν ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν, δέδοκται
τε καὶ οὐθὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλύσον ἄρασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, ὑμῖν
δὲ τοῖς ἐγκαταλιποῦσι καὶ προδοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ἥξει δίκη [p. 54] τιμωρὸς οὐ
μεμπτή παρὰ θεῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα διαφύγητε τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων κόλασιν. [7] ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ ταύτην διαφεύξεσθε· καὶ μὴ με δεδίπτεσθαι ὑπολάβητε, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε,
ὅτι οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε φύλακες τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν κρείττω τὰ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν γένηται, φρονήσουσιν ἃ προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς φρονεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἤδη
βαρβάρους μὲν τισιν ἀλίσκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς νοῦν ἦλθε μήτε
γυναικῶν αὐτοῖς παραχωρήσαι μήτε παιδῶν μήτε πόλεων, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν
ἐμπρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ [8] κατασφάζει, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἄρα, οἷς ἐτέρων ἄρχειν
πάτριόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραστήσεται ταῦτα περὶ ἑαυτῶν φρονεῖν; οὐχ οὕτως
ἀγενεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀρξάμενοι τότε χωρήσουσι
πρὸς τὰ φίλια. πρὸς ταῦτα ὀρῶντες ἐκκλησιάζετε καὶ νόμους εἰσφέρετε
καινοὺς.

ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρεστήσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους
τῶν πατρικίων κλαίοντας, οὓς ἰδόντες πολλοὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ
κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα ἐδύναντο. γενομένης δὲ πολλῆς συμπαθείας πρὸς τε τὰς
ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς [2] τὰς ἀξίας μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ ὕπατος· οὐκ
αἰσχύνεσθε, ἔφησεν, ὧ πολῖται, οὐδὲ κατὰ γῆς δύεσθε, εἰ οἶδε οἱ γέροντες
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν νέων τὰ ὄπλα ἀναλήφονται, ἀλλ' ὑπομενεῖτε ἀπολειφθῆναι
τούτων ἡγουμένων, οὓς ἀεὶ πατέρας ἐκαλεῖτε; ὧ σχέτλιοι ὑμεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ
πολῖται [p. 55] ταύτης ἄξιοι λέγεσθαι τῆς γῆς, ἣν ἔκτισαν οἱ τοὺς πατέρας

ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐνέγκαντες, οἷς καὶ δι' ὀπλων καὶ διὰ πυρὸς ὁδοὺς ἀσφαλεῖς θεοὶ παρέσχον. [3] ὥς δὲ κατέμαθεν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος ἀγόμενον τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, δεδοικώς, μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην κοινωνεῖν ὑπομεινῇ τοῦ πολέμου, παρελθὼν εἶπεν: ἡμεῖς οὐτ' ἐγκαταλείπομεν οὔτε προδίδομεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολειφθῆμεν ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἡξιώσαμεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπολειφθῆναι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆν αἰρούμεθα σὺν ὑμῖν καὶ πάσχειν, ὅ τι ἂν τῷ [4] δαίμονι δοκῇ, μεθ' ὑμῶν. πρόθυμοι δ' ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγονότες ἀξιοῦμεν μετριάς παρ' ὑμῶν τυχεῖν χάριτος, ὥσπερ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων ἰσομοιροῦμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν, νόμους καταστησάμενοι φύλακας τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οἷς ἅπαντες ἀεὶ χρῆσόμεθα. [5] εἰ δὲ προσίσταται τοῦθ' ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολίταις ταύτην συγχωρῆσαι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου τιμᾶσθε τὸ μεταδοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἰσηγορίας, οὐκέτι φιλονεικοῦμεν ὑμῖν: αἰτησόμεθα δ' ἑτέραν παρ' ὑμῶν χάριν, ἥς τυχόντες ἴσως ἂν οὐδὲ καινῶν ἔτι δεηθῆμεν νόμων. εἰσέρχεται δ' ἡμᾶς εὐλάβεια, μὴ ποτε οὐδὲ ταύτης τύχωμεν, ἐξ ἧς τῇ βουλῇ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσται βλάβος, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τιμὴ τις ὑπάρξει καὶ φιланθρωπία.

εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα τῇ βουλῇ συγχωροῦντες οὐθενὸς ἄλλου ἀμαρτήσονται τῶν μετρίων, καὶ κελεύοντος λέγειν [p. 56] ὅτου δέονται, ὀλίγα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς συνάρχουσιν ὁ [2] Οὐεργίνιος, ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἔφησεν ἐρεῖν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναγαγόντων τὸ συνέδριον τῶν ὑπάτων παρελθὼν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἅπαντα εἰσενεγκάμενος ἡτήσατο διπλασιασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν προισταμένην τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν πέντε δημάρχων δέκα εἰς ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσθαι. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βλάβην οὐδεμίαν ὦντο τῷ κοινῷ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ διδόναι καὶ μὴ ἀντιπράττειν παρήνουν, ἄρχοντος τῆς γνώμης Λευκίου Κοιντίου, [3] τοῦ τότε μέγιστον ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κράτος. εἷς δὲ μόνος ἀντέλεγε Γάιος Κλαύδιος, υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου, τοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῖς εἰσηγήμασι τῶν δημοτικῶν, εἴ τινα μὴ νόμιμα ἦν, ἐναντιωθέντος διαδεδεγμένους τὰ πολιτεύματα τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ὅτ' αὐτὸς εἶχε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν κωλύσας δοθῆναι τοῖς δημάρχοις τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ διαβαλλομένων ἐξέτασιν, καὶ μακρὸν διεξελθὼν λόγον ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι μετριώτερος μὲν ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρηστότερος ἔσται διπλασιασθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀνοητότερος δὲ καὶ βαρύτερος. [4] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι παραλήψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ὕστερον ἀποδειχθησομένους, ὥστε μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας αὐθις θις προθήσειν λόγον καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσοτιμίας, καὶ [p. 57] πάντας ἐξῆς ζητήσιν, ὅ τι λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες τὸ μὲν τοῦ δήμου κράτος αὐξήσουσι, τὰς δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τιμὰς καταλύσουσι. καὶ σφόδρα ἐκίνησε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος. ἔπειτα μετήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κοίντιος διδάσκων, [5] ὅτι πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. ἦττον γὰρ ὁμονοήσιν τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἐλαττόνων, μίαν δὲ βοήθειαν εἶναι τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἣν Ἀππίον Κλαύδιον τὸν Γαίου πατέρα πρῶτον ἰδεῖν, ἐὰν στασιάζῃ τὸ ἀρχεῖον καὶ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῇ. [6] ἐδόκει τε δὴ

ταῦτα καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς: ἐξεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ δέκα δημάρχους καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι, τῶν δὲ τότε ὄντων ἐν ἀρχῇ μηθένα. τοῦτο τὸ προβούλευμα οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον λαβόντες ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ κυρώσαντες τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γραφέντα νόμον δέκα δημάρχους εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπέδειξαν. [7] παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς στάσεως καταγράφαντες τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὑπάτοι διεκκληρώσαντο τὰς ἐξόδους: Μηνυκίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ κατὰ Σαβίνων πόλεμος ἐδόθη, Ὀρατίῳ δὲ ὁ κατ' Αἰκανῶν, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξήεσαν ἀμφοτέρω. Σαβίνοι μὲν οὖν τὰς πόλεις διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες ὑπερεῖδον ἀγομένων τε καὶ φερομένων ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, Αἰκανοὶ δὲ τὴν ἐναντιωσομένην Ῥωμαίοις δύναμιν ἀπέστειλαν. [8] ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς οὐχ οἷοι τε ἐγένοντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερβαλέσθαι δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ πολίχνιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιοῦντο. Ὀράτιος δὲ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους [p. 58] καὶ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν κακώσας τοῦ τε Κορβιῶνος τὰ τεῖχη κατασπάσας καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνελὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' οἴκου.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου καὶ Σπορίου Οὐεργίνιου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐχόντων στρατιὰ μὲν ὑπερόριος οὐδεμία ἐξῆλθε Ῥωμαίων, πολιτικά δὲ τινα προσκρούσματα τοῖς δημάρχois πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους συνέστη πάλιν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχον οἱ δημάρχοι παρασπασάντες τι τῆς ὑπατικῆς δυναστείας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκκλησίας μόνον ἦσαν οἱ δημάρχοι κύριοι, βουλὴν δὲ συναγεῖν ἢ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. [2] οἱ δὲ τότε δημάρχοι πρῶτοι συγκαλεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο τὴν βουλὴν Ἰκιλλίου τὴν πείραν εἰσηγησαμένου, ὃς ἠγεῖτο μὲν τοῦ ἀρχείου, δραστήριος δὲ τις ἦν ἀνὴρ καὶ ὥς Ῥωμαῖος εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατος. εἰσέφερε γὰρ τι καὶ οὗτος πολίτευμα καινὸν ἀξιῶν ἀπομερισθῆναι τοῖς δημόταις τόπον εἰς οἰκιῶν κατασκευὰς τὸν καλούμενον Αὐεντῖνον. ἔστι δὲ λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπικρῶς, οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἐμπεριεχόμενος τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐχ ἅπας τότε ὥκεῖτο, ἀλλ' [3] ἦν δημόσιός τε καὶ ὕλης ἀνάπλεως. τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰσάγων ὁ δημάρχος τοῖς τότε ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προσῆει δεόμενος τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γραφέντα νόμον προβουλεύσαι τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀναβαλλομένων [p. 59] δὲ καὶ παρελκόντων τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν χρόνον πέμψας τὸν ὑπρέτην ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ῥαβδούχων τις ἀπήλασε τὸν ὑπρέτην κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ἰκιλλίος καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ, συνέλαβον τὸν ῥαβδοῦχον καὶ ἀπῆγον ὡς ῥίψοντες κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. [4] οἱ δὲ ὑπάτοι βιάσασθαι μὲν ἢ τὸν ἀγόμενον ἀφελέσθαι, καίτοι δεινὰ δοκοῦντες ὑβρίσθαι, ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων βοήθειαν. οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν πραπτομένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισχεῖν ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν ἄλλων τινὲ ἐξεστίν, ἀλλ' [5] ἐτέρου δημάρχου τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κράτος. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἦν ταῦτα κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδογμένα μήτ' εἰσηγήσασθαι τινα καινὸν πολίτευμα μηθὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ βαλλόμενον, ἐὰν μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῇ, μήτε ἐναντιωθῆναι τινα τοῖς πραπτομένοις, ὅς' ἂν αἱ πλείους γνῶμαι δοκιμάσῃσι:

καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἱερὰ θύσαντες ὄρκους ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις· οὕτως οἰόμενοι μάλιστα τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀκατάλυτον ἔσεσθαι κράτος, ἐὰν τὸ στασιάζον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναιρεθῇ. [6] τοῦτο δὴ φυλάττοντες τὸ συνωμόσιον εἶπον ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν φύλακα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων, κοινὴν ἀπάντων εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν γνώμην, οὐ μὴν διέμεινάν γ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ [p. 60] συνεδρίου παραιτουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆκαν, τὸν τε φθόνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ πράγματος, ὅτι πρῶτοι ἔμελλον θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ποιήσαντα, καὶ δεδοικότες, μὴ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πατρίκιοι τραπέσθαι.

μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ κατηγορίαν πολλὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐποίησαντο· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁ Ἰκίλλιος περὶ τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὀργῆς ἀπελογεῖτο τοὺς ἱεροὺς προφερόμενος νόμους, καθ' οὓς οὐτε ἄρχοντι οὐτ' ἰδιώτῃ συνεχωρεῖτο πράττειν οὐδὲν ἐναντίον δημάρχῳ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τὴν βουλὴν ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς οὐθὲν εἴη πεποηκῶς ἄτοπον, πολλοὺς καὶ [2] παντοδαποὺς εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευασάμενος λόγους. ὡς δ' ἀπελύσατο ταύτας τὰς κατηγορίας, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου νόμον εἰσέφερεν. ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε· ὅσα μὲν ἰδιῶται τινες εἶχον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου κτησάμενοι, ταῦτα τοὺς κυρίους κατέχειν· ὅσα δὲ βιασάμενοί τινες ἢ κλοπῇ λαβόντες ὠκοδομήσαντο, κομισαμένους τὰς δαπάνας, αἷς ἂν οἱ διαιτηταὶ γνῶσι, τῷ δήμῳ παραδιδόναι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἦν δημόσια, χωρὶς ὥνῃς τὸν δῆμον παραλαβόντα διελέσθαι. [3] ἐδίδασκε τε, ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ στασιάζειν ἔτι περὶ τῆς δημοσίας χώρας τοὺς πένητας, ἦν οἱ πατρίκιοι κατεῖχον. ἀγαπήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως λαχόντας [p. 61] μέρος, ἐπεὶδὴ τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἔξεστι διὰ τοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους αὐτὴν πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ δυνατοὺς. [4] τοιούτων ῥηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ὁ μὲν ἀντιλέγων Γάιος Κλαύδιος ἦν μόνος, οἱ δὲ συγκατανοῦντες πολλοί, καὶ ἔδοξε δίδοναι τῷ δήμῳ τὸν τόπον. μετὰ τοῦτο ἱεροφαντῶν τε παρόντων καὶ οἰωνοσκόπων καὶ ἱεροποιῶν δυεῖν καὶ ποιησαμένων τὰς νομίμους εὐχὰς τε καὶ ἁρὰς ἐν τῇ λοχίτιδι ἐκκλησίᾳ συναχθείσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ νόμος ἐκυρώθη, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ γεγραμμένος, ἦν ἀνέθεσαν ἐν τῷ Αὐεντίνῳ [5] κομίσαντες εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου συνελθόντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὰ τε οἰκόπεδα διελάγχανον καὶ κατωκοδόμουν ὅσον ἕκαστοι τόπον δυνηθεῖεν ἀπολαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεῖς καὶ ἔτι πλείους συνιόντες οἰκίαν κατεσκευάζοντο μίαν ἐτέρων μὲν τὰ κατάγεια λαγχανόντων, ἐτέρων δὲ τὰ ὑπερῶα. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν οἰκήσεων ἐδαπανήθη.

ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παρεilhφεσαν Τίτος Ρωμίλιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐετούριος, δῆμαρχοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Λεῦκιον Ἰκίλλιον τὸ δευτέρον ἄρχειν ἐξῆς αἰρεθέντες, οὐχ ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ ποικίλος τις ἐγένετο καὶ μεγάλων μεστὸς πραγμάτων. ἦ τε γὰρ πολιτικὴ στάσις ἤδη μεμαράνθαι δοκοῦσα ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν ἀνεκινεῖτο, καὶ πόλεμοι τινες ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν ἀνέστησαν, οἱ κακὸν μὲν [p. 62] οὐθὲν διαθεῖναι τὴν πόλιν

ἡδυνήθησαν, οὐ μικρὰν δὲ ὠφέλειαν τὸ στασιάζον ἀνελόντες ἐξ αὐτῆς. [2] ἐγκύκλιον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ἔθει ἦν ἥδη τῇ πόλει πολεμουμένη μὲν ὁμονοεῖν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀγοῦσῃ στασιάζειν. τοῦτο συνιδόντες ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ὑπάτους ἀρχὰς παραλαβόντες κατ' εὐχὰς μὲν εἴ τις ἐξῴθεν ἐπανασταίῃ πόλεμος ἐλάβανον: ἡσυχάζοντων δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων αὐτοὶ κατεσκεύαζον ἐγκλήματα καὶ προφάσεις πολέμων, ἅτε ὀρώντες διὰ μὲν τοὺς πολέμους μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαιμόνα γινομένην τὴν πόλιν, διὰ δὲ [3] τὰς στάσεις ταπεινὴν καὶ ἀσθενῆ. οἷς ὅμοια γνόντες οἱ τότε ὑπατοὶ στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν ἔκριναν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδοικότες, μὴ τι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄρξωνται ταραττεῖν ἀργοὶ καὶ πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ἰδόντες, ὅτι δεῖ περισπᾶσαι τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀρθῶς. δεόν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν νοσοῦσῃ πόλει μετρίαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς στρατολογίαις ἐπὶ τὸ βίᾳ προσαναγκάζειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐτράποντο, οὔτε παραίτησιν οὔτε συγγνώμην οὔδενί διδόντες οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις εἰς τε τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν πικρῶς χρώμενοι. [4] ταῦτα ποιοῦντων αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν αὐθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τοῦ δημαγωγεῖν τὰ πλήθη: καὶ συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ τ' ἄλλα τῶν ὑπάτων κατεβόων, καὶ ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκέλευσαν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν τὴν [p. 63] δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπικαλεσαμένους, τῆς τε στρατολογίας ἀπολύειν ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ δὴ μόνοι ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔχοντες. ὡς δ' οὐθὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρεφεστέρας ἔτι τὰς καταγραφὰς ἐώρων γινομένας, [5] ἔργοις κωλύειν ἐπεβάλλοντο. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῷ κράτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρεθισμοὶ τέ τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. συνηγωνίζετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὑπατοῖς ἢ τῶν πατρικίων νεότης, τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὁ πένης καὶ ἀργὸς ὄχλος. [6] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν παρὰ πολὺ κρείττους ἐγένοντο τῶν δημάρχων οἱ ὑπατοὶ, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις πλείονος ὄχλου συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, δόξαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι προσειληφέναι χεῖρα ἀξιόμαχον ἐκκλησίας τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας κακῶς διακειμένους ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλεγον ἀποθήσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοήθεια.

συναγανακτοῦντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλήθους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὡς τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑφέξοντας λόγον. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὸν νοῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρήσαν — ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων συνεδρεῦοντες — καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδέοντο μὴτ' αὐτοὺς τὰ αἰσχιστα πεπονθότας ὑπεριδεῖν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν, διεξιόντες ὅσα ἦσαν πεπονθότες [p. 64] ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς συνωμοσίας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ [2] σώματα προπηλακισθέντες. ἡξίουں τε дуεῖν θάτερον ποιεῖν τοὺς ὑπάτους: εἰ μὲν ἀρνοῦνται μὴδὲν ὧν οἱ νόμοι κεκωλύκασιν εἰς τὰ τῶν δημάρχων πλημμελῆσαι σώματα, παραγενομένους εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπομόσαι, εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν ὄρκον, ἦκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δημότας λόγον ὑφέξοντας: ἀναδώσειν γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς φυλαῖς τὴν ψῆφον. [3] οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπελογοῦντο διδάσκοντες, ὅτι τῆς ὕβρεως οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄρξειαν αὐθαδεῖα χρῆσάμενοι καὶ τολμήσαντες εἰς ὑπάτων σώματα παρανομεῖν, τὸ

μὲν πρῶτον ὑπηρέταις τε καὶ ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιτάττοντες ἄγειν εἰς τὸ δεσποτήριον ἄρχοντας, οἷς τὸ πάντων ἀποδέδοται κράτος, ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ τολμήσαντες ὁμόσε χωρεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἰταμωτάτοις τῶν δημοτικῶν· [4] τὰς τε ἀρχὰς διδάσκοντες ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ἡ μὲν ὑπατική τὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἔχουσα κράτος, ἡ δὲ δημαρχικὴ τῆς βοηθείας ἔνεκα παρελθλυθῆα τῶν κατισχυομένων, ἥ τοσούτου δεῖν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὸς ψῆφον ἀναδιδόναι τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων τοῦ φαυλοτάτου ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἂν μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται. ἡπεῖλουν τε, ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι ψῆφον ἀναδῶσι τοῖς δημόταις, αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα περιθήσιν τοῖς πατρικίοις. [5] τοιούτων δὴ ῥηθέντων λόγων [p. 65] δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἐξήνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ τέλος, ἵνα μήτε τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν μειώσῃε μήτε τὴν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐκότερον ὁρῶσα μεγάλων κινδύνων αἵτιον ἐσόμενον.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖθεν ἀπηλάθσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι βοήθειαν οὐδεμίαν εὐρόμενοι, ἐσκόπουν αὖθις ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀφικόμενοι. ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ταραχωδεστάτοις ἀπέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημοτικούς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλαμβάνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμωμένους ποιεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ἐπειδὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἔλυσαν ἐκεῖνοι τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καταλύοντες τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ. [2] τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐδόκει μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς πόλεως μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντων ἐγκλήματα ποιεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἰδίᾳ τινὲς εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους παρενόμησαν, ἐὰν τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τοῖς νόμοις λαμβάνωσιν, οἱ κελεύουσιν ἢ ποινὴν τίνειν ἢ τεθάναι τοὺς ὑβρίσαντας τὰ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα. τοῖς δὲ χαριεστέροις οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐφαίνετο καλῶς ἔχειν, οὔτε τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὔτε φόνον ἄκριτον ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπάτων, οἷς ἡ μεγίστη ὑπέκειτο ἀρχή, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους [p. 66] αὐτοῖς μεταφέρειν τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνειν. [3] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν θυμῷ φερόμενοι δρᾶσαι τι οἱ δήμαρχοι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τῆς βουλῆς προήχθησαν, οὐθὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέναι τὴν πόλιν· οὕτως ἔτοιμοι πάντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον. νῦν δ' ἀναβαλόμενοι τὰ πράγματα καὶ δόντες ἑαυτοῖς χρόνον εἰς ἀμείνω λογισμὸν αὐτοὶ τε μετριώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὀργὰς ἐπράναναν. [4] ἔπειτα ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις τὴν τρίτην ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐσομένην ἀγορὰν προειπόντες, ἐν ἣ τὸν δῆμον συνάξουσιν καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀργυρικὴν, διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ἀπέστησαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τῇ δεήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ ἐντιμοτάτων τὴν χάριν ἀνατιθέναι λέγοντες. [5] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναγαγόντες τὸν δῆμον ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰς μὲν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ὕβρεις ἀφείκασιν χαρισάμενοι πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δεομένοις, οἷς οὐκ ἦν ὅσιον ἀντιλέγειν, ὧν δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἡδικοῖτο κωλυταί τε καὶ τιμωροὶ ἔσσεσθαι. προθήσιν γὰρ αὖθις τὸν τε περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας νόμον ἔτη τριάκοντα παρειλκυμένον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἰσονομίας, ὃν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν δήμαρχοι προθέντες οὐκ ἐπεψήφισαν.

ταῦθ' ὑποσχόμενοι καὶ ὁμόσαντες ἀπέδειξαν ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς ἀγορὰν ποιήσονται τοῦ δήμου [p. 67] καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδῶσουσι περὶ τῶν νόμων: ἐπιστάντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρῶτον εἰσέφερον τὸν χωρονομικὸν νόμον καὶ πολλοὺς διελθόντες λόγους ἐκάλουν, εἴ τις τῷ νόμῳ συναγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν δημοτικῶν. [2] πολλῶν δὲ παριόντων καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πράξεις, αἷς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπέδειξαντο, προφερομένων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ὅτι πολλὴν ἀφελόμενοι γῆν τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰλήφασιν μοῖραν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις δυνατοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους ὀρώσι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ καρπουμένους ἐκ τοῦ βιαιοτάτου, ἀξιούντων τε μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡδονὰς τε καὶ ὠφελείας, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀσμένως ἀκούοντος τοὺς λόγους, ὁ μάλιστα ἐππρῶσας τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένειν τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων διαπραξάμενος ἦν Λεύκιος Σίκκιος, Δεντάτος ἐπικαλούμενος, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλας ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις διεξεληθὼν. [3] ἦν δ' ὀφθῆναι τε θαυμαστός ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ δουεῖν δέοντα ἐξήκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανὸς εἰπεῖν τε ὡς στρατιώτης οὐκ ἀδύνατος. ἔφη δ' οὐὐν παρελθόν: ἐγὼ, ὦ δημόται, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων εἰ βουλοίμην λέγειν, ἐπιλίποι ἂν με ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος. αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κεφάλαια δι' ἐλαχίστων ὡς ἐμὴ [4] δύναμις ἐρῶ. τετταρακοστὸν μὲν ἔτος ἐστὶ μοι τοῦτο, ἐξ οὗ στρατεύομαι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, τριακοστὸν δ' [p. 68] ἐξ οὗ στρατιωτικῆς αἰεὶ τινος ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνων, τοτὲ μὲν σπεῖρας ἡγούμενος, τοτὲ δ' ὅλου τάγματος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων Γαίου Ἀκυλλίου καὶ Τίτου Σικκίου, οἷς ἐψηφίσαστο ἡ βουλή τὸν κατὰ Οὐολούσκων πόλεμον. ἤμην γὰρ τότε ἑπτακαικικοσέτης, ἐταττόμην δ' ἔτι ὑπὸ λοχαγῷ. [5] γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς καὶ τροπῆς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τῆς σπεῖρας πεπτωκότος, τῶν δὲ σημείων κρατουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, μόνος ἐγὼ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων κίνδυνον ἀράμενος τὰ τε σημεῖα διέσωσα τῇ σπεῖρᾳ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέστειλα καὶ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν αἰσχύνῃ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αἰωνίῳ, δι' ἣν θανάτου κακίων ὁ λοιπὸς ἂν αὐτοῖς βίος ἦν, αἷτιος ἐγενόμην φανερώς, ὡς αὐτοὶ τε ὠμολόγουν χρυσῷ με ἀναδήσαντες στεφάνῳ, καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος Σίκκιος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἡγεμόνα τῆς σπεῖρας ἀποδείξας. [6] ἑτέρου τε πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος ἐνστάντος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τε στρατοπεδάρχην τοῦ τάγματος ἡμῶν συνέβη πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν αἰετὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολέμοις γενέσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ τάγματος ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν τ' αἰετὸν ἀνεκομισάμην καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην ἔσωσα: ὃς ἐμοὶ τῆς τότε βοηθείας χάριν ἀποδιδούς τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ τάγματος ἀφίστατό μοι καὶ τὸν αἰετὸν ἐδίδου, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἀξίων ᾧ τὸν βίον ἐχαρισάμην τούτου παρελῆσθαι [p. 69] τὰς τιμὰς αἷς εἶχε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις εὐφροσύνας. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγασθῆις με ὁ ὑπάτος τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἀπέδωκε τὴν στρατοπεδαρχίαν ἀπολωλεκότος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἡγεμόνα.

ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ δημόται, τὰ φανερώσαντά με καὶ εἰς ἡγεμονίας προαγαγόντα γενναῖα ἔργα. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀνόματος ἤδη λαμπροῦ τυγχάνων φανερὸς ἤμην, ἅπαντας ὑπέμενον τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας αἰδούμενος τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀφανίσαι. καὶ διετέλεσα πάντα τὸν

μεταξύ χρόνον στρατευόμενος καὶ ταλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδένα κίνδυνον δεδιῶς οὐδὲ ὑπολογιζόμενος: ἔξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἀριστεῖα καὶ σκυῖλα καὶ στεφάνους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς παρὰ [2] τῶν ὑπάτων ἔλαβον: ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἶπω, μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μεμάχημαι, τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα εἴληφα καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ νώτου δ' οὐθέν. καὶ τούτων δώδεκά ἐστιν, ἃ συνέβη μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβίνος Ἐρδώνιος τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατελάβετο. [3] ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐξενήνεγμαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδησάν με οἱ σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολιορκητικούς πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς πολεμίων τείχεσι καὶ κατασχών, ὅκτῳ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθην: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοὺς στρεπτοὺς περιαιχηνίους, ἐξήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν περιβραχιόνια χρύσεια, δόρατα δ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα, [p. 70] φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν, % ὧν ἐννέα ἦσαν, οὓς μονομαχῆσαι τινα ἡμῶν προκαλεσαμένους ἐκούσιος ὑποστάς ἐνίκησα. [4] οὗτος μέντοι Σικκίος, ὧ πολῖται, ὁ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔτη στρατευσάμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοσαύτας δὲ μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος, τοσοῦτοις δὲ τιμημένος ἀριστείοις, ὁ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας πώποτε μηδ' ἀπειπάμενος ἄλλῃ ἐν παρατάξει καὶ ἐν τειχομαχίαις καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς καὶ ἐν ἵππεῦσι καὶ μετὰ πάντων καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ μόνος, καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ὁ συγκατακτησάμενος τῇ πατρίδι πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν γῆν, τοῦτο μὲν ἦν Τυρρηνοὺς τε παῖ Σαβίνους ἀφείλεσθε, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐολούσκων καὶ Πωμεντίνων κρατήσαντες ἔχετε, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχω μοῖραν ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβών, οὐδ' ὑμῶν, ὧ δημόται, τῶν τὰ ὅμοια ταλαιπωρησάντων οὐδεῖς: οἱ δὲ βιαιότατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀναιδέστατοι τὴν καλλίστην κατέχουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη κεκάρπωνται οὔτε δωρεὰν παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες οὔτε χρημάτων πριάμενοι οὔτε ἄλλην δικαίαν κτῆσιν οὐδεμίαν αὐτῆς ἀποδεῖξαι δυνάμενοι. [5] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡμῖν ταλαιπωρήσαντες, ὅτ' αὐτὴν ἐκτῶμεθα, πλεῖον ἡξιοῦν ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ἦν μὲν οὐδ' οὔτω δίκαιον οὐδὲ πολιτικὸν ὀλίγους σφετερίσασθαι [p. 71] τὰ κοινά, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἶχε γέ τινα λόγον ἢ πλεονεξία τῶν ἀνθρώπων: ὁπότε δ' οὐθὲν ἔχοντες ἐπιδειξάσθαι μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον, ἀνθ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα βίᾳ κατέσχον, ἀναισχυντοῦσι καὶ οὐδ' ἐξελεγχόμενοι μεθίενται αὐτῶν, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο;

ἐπεὶ φέρε πρὸς Διός, εἴ τι τούτων ἐγὼ ψεύδομαι, δεῖξάτω τις ὑμῖν τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων παρελθόν, τίνας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ καλὰς πράξεις προεχόμενος ἐμοῦ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῖ: πότερον ἔτη πλείω στρατευσάμενος ἢ μάχας πλείους ἀγωνισάμενος ἢ τραύματα πλείω λαβών ἢ στεφάνοις καὶ φαλάραις καὶ σκύλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπινικίοις κόσμοις ὑπερβαλόμενος, δι' ὃν ἀσθενέστεροι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεστέρα δὲ καὶ μεῖζων ἡ πατρίς; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ δέκατον ἐπιδειξάτω μέρος, ὧν ὑμῖν ὑπέδειξα ἐγώ. [2] ἀλλὰ τούτων γ' οἱ πλείους οὐδ' ἂν πολλοστήν ἔχοιεν προενέγκασθαι μοῖραν τῶν ἐμῶν: ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τῷ φαυλοτάτῳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου φανεῖεν τὰ ἴσα κακοπαθήσαντες. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἢ λαμπρότης, ἀλλ'

ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν φίλων: οὐδ' ἡγοῦνται κοινήν οἰκεῖν πόλιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἰδίαν, ὥσπερ οὐ συνελευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κληρονομίαν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς: οἳ γε — τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες ἡμᾶς μικρὰ καὶ μεῖζω διατελοῦσιν, ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε, [p. 72] ^[3] σιωπῶ, — ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο προεληλύθασιν ὑπερηφανίας, ὥστ' οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀξιοῦσι τινα ἡμῶν ἀφιέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθέραν οὐδὲ διᾶραι τὸ στόμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας Σπόριον Κάσσιον, τρισὶ μὲν ὑπατεῖαις κεκοσμημένον, δυσὶ δὲ θριάμβοις λαμπροτάτοις, τοσαύτην δὲ δεινότητα περὶ τε τὰς στρατηγικὰς πράξεις καὶ περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ βουλευμάτων ἀποδειξάμενον, ὅσῃν οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε γενομένων, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα αἰτιασάμενοι τυραννίδι ἐπχειρεῖν καὶ ψευδέσι καταγωνισάμενοι μαρτυρίας δι' οὐδὲν ἔτερον, ἀλλ' ὅτι φιλόπολις ἦν καὶ φιλόδημος, ^[4] ὥσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημοῦ διέφθειραν. Γναῖον δὲ Γενῦκιον δήμαρχον ὄντα ἡμέτερον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πολίτευμα μετὰ τὸ ἔτος ἐνδέκατον ἀνενεοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς ὑπατεῦσαντας ἐν τῷ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ κατέστησεν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ψηφισμάτων τῆς βουλῆς, ἃ περὶ τῶν γεωμόρων ἐψηφίσατο, ἐπεὶ φανερώς οὐχ οἷοι τ' ἦσαν ἀνελεῖν, μιᾷ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δίκης ἀφανῶς ἀνῆρπασαν. ^[5] τοιγάρτοι πολὺς ἐνέπεσε τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα φόβος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸ κινδύνευμα τοῦτο ὑπέδυ, ἀλλὰ τριακοστὸν ἔτος τοῦτο ἀνεχόμεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπολωλεκότες.

ἐγὼ τᾶλλα: ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, ὅτι τοῖς κατισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν ἡξιοῦν βοηθεῖν, οὕς ὑμεῖς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους ἐποιήσατε τῷ νόμῳ, τί [p. 73] οὐ πεπόνθασι τῶν δεινῶν; οὐχὶ τυπτόμενοι καὶ λακτιζόμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομείναντες ἀπηλάσθησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς; καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἀνέχεσθε καὶ οὐ ζητεῖτε, ὅπως παρ' αὐτῶν λήψεσθε δίκας ταῖς γοῦν ψήφοις, ἐν αἷς μόναις ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἀποδειξασθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ^[2] ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ δημόται, φρόνημα λαβόντες ἐλευθέρον καὶ τὸν γεωμορικὸν νόμον εἰσφερόντων τῶν δημάρχων ἐπικυρώσατε μηδὲ ^[3] φωνὴν ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν τάναντία ἀξιούντων. ὑμεῖς δ', ὧ δήμαρχοι, παρακλήσεως μὲν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐ δεῖσθε: καὶ γὰρ ἥρξατε αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑποκατακλίνασθε, καλῶς ποιοῦντες: ἐὰν δ' ἐκ τῶν νέων αὐθάδεια καὶ ἀναιδεια ὑμῖν ἐμποδῶν γένηται τοὺς καδίσκους ἀνατρεπόντων ἢ τὰς ψήφους ἀρπαζόντων ἢ ἄλλο τι περὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἀκοσμοῦντων, δεῖξατε αὐτοῖς ἦν ἔχει τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἰσχύν. ^[4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔξεστι παῦσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας, τοὺς ἰδιώτας οἷς πρὸς τὰ βίαια ὑπηρεταῖς ἐκείνοι χρῶνται καταστήσαντες ὑπὸ δίκην, ἀνάδοτε τῷ δήμῳ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ψήφους, αἰτιασάμενοι παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους βιάζεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν.

τοιαυτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος οὕτως οἰκείως διετέθη πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοσαύτην [p. 74] ἀπεδείξατο ἀγανάκτησιν πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἔφην καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς, μηδὲ λόγον ἔτι βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀντιλεξόντων ὑπομένειν. ^[2] ὁ μέντοι δήμαρχος Ἰκίλλιος ἀναστὰς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔφη πάντα ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν Σικκίον καὶ μακρὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ ἀνδρός

διεξήλθε: τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόναι λόγου τοῖς ἀντιλέξαι βουλομένοις οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπέφαιναν οὔτε πολιτικόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμου τῆς ζητήσεως γινομένης, ὃς ἔμελλε κρεῖττονα ποιήσιν τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας. ταύτη γὰρ ἀφορμῇ χρῆσθαι τοὺς μηδὲν ἴσως καὶ δικαίως τοῖς πολλοῖς φρονοῦντας τοῦ ταράττειν πάλιν καὶ διιστάναι τὰ ^[3] συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀποδείξας ἡμέραν τοῖς κατηγοροῖς τοῦ νόμου διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι συναγαγόντες ἰδιωτικὸν συνέδριον πατρικίων τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸτ' ἀνθούντων ἐδίδασκον αὐτοὺς, ὥς κωλυτέος εἶη σφίσιν ὁ νόμος, λόγοις μὲν πρῶτον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωσι τὸν δῆμον, ἔργοις. ἐκέλευόν τε ἅπασιν ἥκειν ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις, ὅσοις ἂν ἕκαστοι πλείστοις δύνωνται. ^[4] ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον ἐστῶτας ὑπομένειν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέρη συστρέφοντας ἑαυτοὺς διαστῆναι, ὥστε διειλιφθῆαι τὸ δημοτικὸν διεσπασμένον καὶ κωλύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐν συνελθεῖν. ἐδόκει ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων. [p. 75]

μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι παρήσαν, καὶ λέγειν ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν παριόντων οὐθενὸς ἐξάκουστος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τε καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῶν ἐκκλησιαζόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκέλευόν τε καὶ ἐπεθάρρυνον τοὺς λέγοντας, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλον τε καὶ κατεβόων. ἐκράτει δὲ οὔτε ὁ τῶν συλλαμβανόντων ἔπαινος, οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων θόρυβος. ^[2] ἀγανακτοῦντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μαρτυρομένων, ὅτι τῆς βίας ὁ δῆμος ἄρχει λόγον οὐκ ἀξιώων ὑπομένειν, ἀπελογοῦντο οἱ δήμαρχοι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἤδη πέμπτον ἔτος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες λόγων οὐθὲν ποιοῦσι θαυμαστόν, εἰ μὴ ἀξιοῦσιν ὑπομένειν ἐώλους καὶ κατημαξευμένας ἀντιλογίας. ^[3] ὥς δὲ τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ταῦτα ἐδαπανήθη, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆτει τὰς ψήφους, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν πατρικίων διίστασθαι τε βουλομένοις κατὰ φυλὰς τοῖς δημόταις ἐμποδῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψήφων τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετοῦντων τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ταῦτα ἀφιέναι τύπτοντές τε καὶ ^[4] ὠθοῦντες ἐξέβαλλον. κεκραγόντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ εἰς μέσους αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένων ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπεχώρουν καὶ παρεῖχον ὅποι βούλονται χωρεῖν ἄδεῶς, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου δήμου τὸ ἐπόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ κατ' [p. 76] ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ θορύβου καὶ ἀταξίας κινούμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ παρίεσαν, ὥστ' ἀνωφελὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων βοήθεια. τέλος δ' οὖν ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πατρικιοὶ καὶ οὐκ εἶσαν ἐπικυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον. ^[5] οἱ δὲ προθυμότατα συλλαβέσθαι δόξαντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐκ τριῶν οἰκίῶν ἦσαν, Ποστόμιοι καὶ Σεμπρώνιοι καὶ τρίτοι Κλοῖλιοι, γένους τε ἀξιώσει λαμπρότατοι καὶ ἐταιρίαις μεγάλα δυνάμενοι πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις ἐπιφανεῖς· καὶ τοῦ μὴ κυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον οὗτοι ὠμολογοῦντο αἰτιώτατοι γενέσθαι.

τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παραλαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐσκόπουν, ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασι, κοινὸν μὲν τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογούμενον εἰληφότες, τὸ μὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἄγειν ὑπὸ τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἰδιώτας, ὧν κολαζομένων ἔμελλε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλάττων ἔσεσθαι λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁ Σίκκιος ὑπετίθετο: περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς αἰτίας ἀχθησομένων ὅσον εἶναι χρή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὃ θήσονται τῇ δίκῃ, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος πηλίκον ἔσται τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπιμελῇ ^[2] ποιοῦμενοι ζήτησιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν χαλεπώτεροι τὰς φύσεις ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον τε καὶ φοβερώτερον ἅπαντα ταῦτα προάγειν παρήνουν, οἱ δ' ἐπεικέστεροι τούναντίον ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον, ὃ [p. 77] δὲ ταύτης ἡγούμενος τῆς γνώμης καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς ἦν Σίκκιος, ὁ τοὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας διελθὼν λόγους. ^[3] ἔδοξε δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν πατρικίων ἑᾶσαι, Κλοιλίους δὲ καὶ Ποστομίους καὶ Σεμπρωνίους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄγειν, ὧν ἔπραξαν ὑφέζοντας δίκας: ἐγκαλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων, οὓς περὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκύρωσεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, οὐθενὶ δεδωκότων ἐξουσίαν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς δημάρχους ὑπομένειν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐκείνοι κατασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυσαν ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν. ^[4] τίμημα δ' ἐφάνη ταῖς δίκαις ὀρίσαι μῆτε θάνατον μῆτε φυγὴν μῆτ' ἄλλο ἐπίφθονον μηδέν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς γένηται σωτηρίας αἵτιον, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἱεράς εἶναι Δήμητρος, τὸ μετριώτατον ἐκλεξαμένοις τοῦ νόμου μέρος. ^[5] ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔδει συντελεῖσθαι δίκας. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων τοῖς παραληφθεῖσιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον — ἔτυχον δ' οἱ κράτιστοι παρακληθέντες — ἔδοκε συγχαρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπιτελέσαι τὰς δίκας, ἵνα μὴ τι μεῖζον κωλυθέντες ἐξεργάσωνται κακόν, καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐπιτρέπειν ἀγριαινομένοις εἰς τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκχεῖαι τὴν χολήν, ἵνα πιθασώτεροι γένωνται τὸ λοιπόν, λαβόντες ὅποσηνοῦν παρὰ τῶν [p. 78] ἐχθρῶν δίκην, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς εἰς χρήματα ζημίας εὐδιόρθωτον ἐχούσης τοῖς πεπονθόσι τὴν συμφοράν: ^[6] ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ἀλόντων γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους τὰς δίκας, ὃ τε δῆμος ἀγριαίνόμενος ἐπαύσατο, καὶ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔδοκε τις ἀποδεδόσθαι μετρία καὶ πολιτικὴ βοήθεια, τοῖς τε ἀνδράσι τὰς οὐσίας οἱ πατρικιοὶ παρὰ τῶν ὠνησαμένων ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τῆς Ἰσῆς λυσάμενοι τιμῆς ἀπέδωσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατεπείγοντα δεῖνὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρησαμένων τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτῶν διετέλεστο.

μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου εἰσφερόντων λόγον αἰφνιδίως τις ἀπαγγελεῖσα πολεμίων ἔφοδος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Τυσκλάνων πόλιν, αἰτία κωλύσεως ἀποχρῶσα ἐγένετο. τῶν γὰρ Τυσκλάνων κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικομένων καὶ λεγόντων, ὅτι δυνάμει πολλῇ πάρεισιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν αὐτῶν ἤδη διηρπάκασιν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἐὰν μὴ τις γένηται ταχεῖα ἐπικουρία, φθάσουσιν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀράμενοι, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαστο βοηθεῖν ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ στρατολογίαν προθέντες ἐκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας

ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. [2] ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τις καὶ τότε στάσις ἐναντιουμένων τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας οὐ συγχωροῦντων ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων: ἔπραξαν δ' οὐθέν. [p. 79] συνελθοῦσα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ γνώμην ἀπεδείξατο, τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος γινομένης ὅσια εἶναι τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς, τοῖς δ' ἐγκαταλείπουσι τοὺς ὑπάτους τάναντία. [3] ὥς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πολλοὶ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκόντες ὑπέμειναν: οἱ μὲν ἐπεικέστατοι δι' αἰσχύνην, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπικουρήσουσι πόλει συμμαχῶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὖνοιαν ἀεὶ τι πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν βλαπτομένη: ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ κατηγορήσας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν σφετερισσαμένων τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, σπεῖραν ἐπαγόμενος ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ στρατεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὥραν εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδ' ἔπιπτον ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν νόμων, τιμῶντες δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας, ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι. [4] καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐξελλούσης τότε δυνάμεως ἐμπειρίᾳ τε ἀγώνων καὶ τῇ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμίᾳ μακρῶ τοῦ ἄλλου ἄμεινον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ χάριτι καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ὑπαχθέντες εἴποντο. ἦν δὲ τι μέρος, ὃ τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις γινομένων πάντα κίνδυνον ἔτοιμον ἦν ὑπομένειν. καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου δύνამις ἐξῆλθε πλήθει τε ἀποχρῶσα καὶ παρασκευαῖς κεχρημένη λαμπροτάταις. [5] οἱ μὲν οὖν [p. 80] πολέμιοι προακούσαντες, ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιάν, ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαύνοντες καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐστρατοπεδευκότας αὐτοὺς πόλεως Ἀντίου πλησίον ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ χωρίῳ καὶ τίθενται τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῆς ἐκείνων οὐ πρόσω. [6] τέως μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπέμενον ἀμφοτέροι παρεμβολαῖς, ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αἰκανοὶ τῆς οὐ προεπιχειρήσεως καὶ πλήθος οὐχ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν περιέκοπτον ἐξιόντες καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ προνομίᾳ ἀποστελλομένους ἢ χόρτον ἵπποις ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ τοῖς πρὸς ὕδρεϊαν καταβαίνουσιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπετίθεντο, προὔκαλοῦντό τ' αὐτοὺς πολλάκις εἰς μάχην.

ταῦθ' ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει μηκέτι διατρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν δ' ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐξουσία Ῥωμιλίῳ προσήκουσα, καὶ ὁ τὸ σύνθημα διδοὺς καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθιστὰς ἄρχειν τε καὶ παύεσθαι μάχης τὸν καιρὸν ταμιεύων ἐκεῖνος ἦν: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκέλευσεν ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ προῆγεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὸν στρατὸν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτασεν ἵππεῖς τε καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς κατὰ σπεύρας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐκάστους τόποις, τὸν δὲ Σικκιον καλέσας λέγει: [2] ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Σικκίε, μαχοῦμεθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνθάδε, σὺ δ' ἐν ὧν μέλλομεν ἔτι καὶ [p. 81] παρασκευαζόμεθα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀμφοτέροι, χώρει τὴν πλαγίαν ἐκείνην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐνθα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ παρεμβολή, καὶ μάχην τίθεσο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χάρακι, ἴν' ἡ περὶ τῷ φρουρίῳ δεισαντες οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχόμενοι καὶ βοηθεῖν προθυμούμενοι νῶτά τε δεῖξωσι καὶ

εὐκατέργαστοι γένωνται, καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἐν ἀναχωρήσει ταχείᾳ, καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁδὸν ἅπαντες βιαζόμενοι, ἢ μένοντες αὐτόθι τὸν χάρακα ἀποβάλωσιν. [3] οὐτε γὰρ ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις ἀξιόμαχος ἐστίν, ὡς εἰκάσειεν ἄν τις, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρυμνῷ τοῦ τόπου δοκοῦσα εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἀσφαλές· ἢ τε ἅμα σοι δύναμις ἀποχρῶσα γένοιτ' ἄν, ἄνδρες ὀκτακόσιοι πολλῶν ἀθληταὶ πολέμων, τεταραγμένους σκηνοφύλακας ἀπροσδόκητοι προσπεσόντες τῷ τολμηρῷ ἔλειν. [4] καὶ ὁ Σικκιος ἔφησεν· ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἅπαντα μὲν ἔτοιμος ὑπηρετεῖν· τὸ μέντοι ἔργον οὐ ῥάδιον ὥσπερ σοι δοκεῖ. ὕψηλὴ τε γὰρ ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἀπότομος, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ χάραξ, ὁδὸν τε οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶ φέρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς μιᾶς, ἢ καταβήσονται οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, φυλακὴν τ' εἰκὸς ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι ἐν αὐτῇ· κἂν ὀλίγη δὲ πάνυ καὶ φαῦλη τις οὖσα τύχη, πρὸς πολλῷ πλείονα ἢ τὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ δύναμιν ἀντέχειν οἷα τε ἔσται, τὸ τε χωρίον αὐτὸ παρέξει τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ μὴ ἀλῶσεσθαι τὸ ἀσφαλές. [5] ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν ἀνάθου τὴν γνώμην — ἡ πεῖρα γὰρ ἐπισφαλῆς — εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔγνωσται σοι δύο τίθεσθαι μάχας ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ, δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τάξον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. [p. 82] οὐ γὰρ κλέφοντες τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καὶ φανερώς ἐξελοῦντες ἄνιμεν.

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν τάκολουθα ὑπολαβὼν ὁ ὕπατος εἶπεν· οὐ πολλῶν δεῖ λόγων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὑπομένεις πράττειν τὰ προσταττόμενα, χώρει διὰ ταχέων καὶ μὴ παραστρατήγῃ, εἰ δὲ ἀφίστασαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκεις τὸν κίνδυνον, ἑτέροις εἰς τὸ ἔργον χρήσομαι. [2] σὺ δὲ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη στρατευσάμενος καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκὼν ἦλθες, ἅπθῃ μήτε ὁμιλήσας πολεμίοις μήτ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀκόνα πάλιν τοὺς λόγους, οἷς χρήσῃ κατὰ [3] τοῦ φθόνου τῶν πατρικίων. ποῦ νῦν ἐκεῖνᾴ σου τὰ πολλὰ ἀριστεῖα, οἱ στρεπτοὶ καὶ τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ οἱ τῶν ὑπάτων στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν μονομαχιῶν λάφυρα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη βαρύτης, ἣν τότε ἠνεσχόμεθά σου λέγοντος· ἐν ἐνὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ βασανιζόμενος, ἔνθα κίνδυνος ἦν ἀληθινός, ἐξητάσθης οἷος ἦσθα, ὡς ἀλαζῶν καὶ δόξῃ [4] τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπιτηδεύων, οὐκ ἀληθεῖα. καὶ ὁ Σικκιος δυσανασχετῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδεσίν· οἶδα, φησίν, ὦ Ῥωμίλιε, ὅτι дуεῖν πρόκειται σοι θάπερον ἢ ζῶντα [p. 83] διεργάσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀποδοῦναι δόξαν αἰσχιστὴν ἐνεγκάμενον δειλίας, ἢ κακῶς καὶ ἀδήλως κατακοπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κάγώ τις ἔδοξα εἶναι τῶν ἀξιούντων ἐλεύθερα φρονεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἀδῆλον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐγνωσμένον ἀποστέλλεις με θάνατον· [5] πλὴν ὑπομενῶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ πειράσομαι φανεῖς ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς ἢ κρατῆσαι τοῦ χάρακος, ἢ μὴ τυχὼν τῆς ἐλπίδος εὐγενῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὑμᾶς δ', ὧ συστρατιῶται, μάρτυρας ἀξιῶ γενέσθαι μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐὰν πύθῃσθε τὸν ἐμὸν μόρον, ὅτι με ἀπώλεσεν ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῶν λόγων ἐλευθερία. [6] ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ δακρύσας τοὺς τε συνήθεις ἅπαντας ἀσπασάμενος ὥχето τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἄγων κατηφεῖς καὶ δεδακρυσμένους ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ πορευομένους· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ πᾶσα στρατιὰ δι' οἴκου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβεν ὡς οὐκέτι ὀφομένη τοὺς ἄνδρας.

ὁ δὲ Σικκιος ἑτέραν ἀποστραφεῖς, οὐχ ἦν ὁ Ῥωμίλιος ὑπελάμβανε, παρὰ τὴν λαγόναν τοῦ ὄρους ἦγεν. ἔπειτα — ἦν γάρ τις δρυμὸς ὕλην βαθεῖαν ἔχων — εἰς τοῦτον ἄγων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἴσταται τε καὶ φησιν: ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀπεστάλμεθα, ὥσπερ ὀρᾶτε, ἀπολούμενοι. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τὴν πλαγίαν χωρήσειν ὁδόν, ἦν ἀναβαίνοντας ἀμήχανον ἦν μὴ οὐ φανεροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἄξω κατ' ἄδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁδόν καὶ πολλὰς [p. 84] ἐλπίδας ἔχω τριῶν ἐπιλήψεσθαι τινων, αἱ κατὰ κορυφῆς ἄξουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: καὶ ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ἔχετε. [2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἦγε διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἤδη διεληλυθὼς τόπον εὕρισκει κατὰ δαίμονα ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀγροῦ ποθεν ἀπιόντα, ὃν τοῖς νεωτάτοις συλλαβεῖν κελεύσας ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖται τῆς ὁδοῦ. κάκεινος αὐτοὺς ἄγων περὶ τὸ ὄρος σὺν πολλῷ χρόνῳ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τὸν παρακείμενον τῷ χάρακι λόφον, [3] ὅθεν ἦν ταχεῖα καὶ εὐεπιφόρος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁδός. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, συνήεσαν αἱ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ αἱ τῶν Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις ὁμόσε καὶ καταστᾶσαι ἐμάχοντο, πλήθει τ' ἀγχώμαλοι οὔσαι καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ προθυμίαν παρεχόμεναι τὴν αὐτήν: καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσόρροποι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις, τοτὲ δ' ὑποχωροῦντες, ἵππεῖς τε ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ ἑκατέρων [4] ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς. ἔπειτα κρίσιν λαμβάνει ὁ πόλεμος ἐπιτελεῖ. ὁ γὰρ Σικκιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Αἰκανῶν, ἀφύλακτον εὐρόντες ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος τοῦ χάρακος — ἐπὶ γὰρ θάτερα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ἐστραμμένα μέρη πᾶσα ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις ἐτράπετο κατὰ θεάν τοῦ ἀγῶνος — ἐπεισπεσόντες κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν κατὰ κορυφῆς γίνονται τῶν φυλάκων. [5] ἔπειτ' ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς: οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα [p. 85] δεινοῦ ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτους εἶναι δόξαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕτερον ἡκεῖν ὕπατον ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἐρρίπτουν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος ἑαυτούς, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα οἱ πολλοὶ φυλάξαντες. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σικκιον τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους αὐτῶν φονεῦντες καὶ τοῦ χάρακος κρατήσαντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. [6] οἱ δὲ Αἰκανοὶ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν σφετέρων αἰσθόμενοι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας ὀρῶντες, οὐκέτι γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀλλὰ διασπᾶσαντες τὰς τάξεις ἔσωζον ἑαυτούς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς: ἔνθα ὁ πλεῖστος αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο φόνος. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νυκτὸς διώκοντές τε καὶ κτείνοντες τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους. [7] ὁ δὲ πλεῖστους τ' αὐτῶν διαφθείρας καὶ λαμπρότατα ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος Σικκιος ἦν, ὅς, ἐπειδὴ τέλος ἐώρα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα σκότους ὄντος ἤδη, τὴν σπεῖραν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν κρατηθέντα ὑπὸ σφῶν χάρακα ἀνέστρεφε μεγάλης χαρᾶς καὶ πολλοῦ μεστὸς ὦν αὐχήματος. [8] οἱ τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἀθῶοι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς πάντες οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν παθόντες ὦν προσεδόκησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἐξενεγκάμενοι, πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα ὀνομάζοντες ἀπλήστως εἶχον ἀσπασμῶν τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοφρονήσεων ἡδονάς. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν [p. 86] Ῥωμαίων φάλαγξ ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐαυτῆς χάρακα.

μέσαι τ' ἤδη νύκτες ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ Σίκκιος μνησικακῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποστολῆς εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται τὴν δόξαν ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ κατορθώματος. κοινωνῶντες δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ὀρθῶς ἐφαίνετο, καὶ οὐθείς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐθαύμαζε τῆς τε φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς τόλμης τὸν ἄνδρα, λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας ἀναλαβεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνθρώπους ὅσους ἐν τῷ χάρακι κατέλαβε τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἵππους καὶ τᾶλλα ὑποζύγια κατέκοψεν: ἔπειτα ὑψήψε τὰς σκηνὰς ὄπλων τε καὶ οἴτου καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδείων γεμούσας τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων, ὧν ἐκ τῆς Τυσκλάνων λείας ἐπήγοντο πολλῶν πάνυ ὄντων. [2] ὡς δ' ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἠφάνιστο, περὶ τὸν ὀρθρον ἀπῆει φέρων οὐθὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ διανύσας σπουδῇ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Ῥώμην παρῆν. ὡς δ' ὠφθησαν ἄνθρωποι καθωπλισμένοι παιανίζοντές τε καὶ σπουδῇ χωροῦντες αἵματι πολλῷ πεφυρμένοι, δρόμος ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία τῶν βουλομένων ἰδεῖν τ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ἀκοῦσαι. [3] οἱ δὲ μέχρις ἀγορᾶς ἐλθόντες ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς δημάρχοις τὰ γενόμενα, κἀκεῖνοι συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἅπαντας λέγειν. ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συναχθέντος [p. 87] παρελθὼν ὁ Σίκκιος τὴν τε νίκην αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεφάνισε, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακοσίων, οὓς ἀποθανουμένους ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὑπάτοι, ὃ τε χάραξ ὁ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἡ παραταξαμένη τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἠναγκάσθη φυγεῖν: [4] ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς μηδενὶ τῆς νίκης ἐτέρῳ τὴν χάριν εἶδέναι καὶ τελευτῶν ἔτι προσέθηκεν ἐκεῖνον τὸν λόγον, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα σώζοντες ἤκομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν κεκρατημένων οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἐξενεγκάμενοι. [5] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον εἰς οἶκτόν τε καὶ δάκρυα προὔπεσεν ὁρῶν μὲν τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀρετάς, ἀγανακτῶν δὲ καὶ νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἐπιβαλομένοις τοιοῦτων ἀνδρῶν ἐρημῶσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐγεγόνει δέ, ὃ προὔλαβεν ὁ Σίκκιος, μῖσος εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν. [6] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα μετρίως ἤνεγκεν, ἢ οὔτ' ἐψηφίσατο αὐτοῖς πομπὴν θριάμβων οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἀγῶσι γινομένων. τὸν μέντοι Σίκκιον ὁ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρὸς, δήμαρχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἧς κύριος ἦν τιμῆς ἀποδιδούς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν τότε πραχθέντων τοιαῶδ' ἦν.

ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτει Σπόριος Ταρπήιος καὶ Αὔλος Τερμήνιος παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀρχήν: οἱ τὰ τ' ἄλλα θεραπεύοντες [p. 88] τὸν δῆμον διετέλεσαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν δημάρχων δόγμα προεβούλευσαν, ἐπειδὴ πλέον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐώρων τοῖς πατρικίοις γινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ κωλύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῖσος, καὶ βλάβας δὲ ἰδίας καὶ συμφορὰς τοῖς προθυμώτατα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις. [2] μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς δέος ἤγαγεν ἡ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν συμφορὰ νεωστὶ γενομένη δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παθόντων, οὐδεμίαν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὐρομένων βοήθειαν. Σίκκιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸν Αἰκανῶν στρατὸν αὐτῷ χάρακι ἀράμενος δήμαρχος τότε ἀποδειχθεὶς, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ θύσας εἰσιτήρια κατὰ νόμον, πρὶν ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο διαπραξασθαι τῶν

κοινῶν, προεῖπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Τίτον Ῥωμίλιον ἦκειν ἀπολογησόμενον ἀδικήματος δημοσίου δίκην ἐπὶ δικαστῇ τῷ δήμῳ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδείξας τοῦ ἀγῶνος. [3] Λεύκιος δὲ τότε ἄγορανομῶν, δήμαρχος δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει γεγονώς, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν περυσινῶν ὑπάτων Γάιον Οὐετούριον εἰς ὁμοίαν δίκην προσεκαλέσατο. πολλῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρόνῳ σπουδῆς τε καὶ παρακλήσεως ἀμφοτέρων οἱ μὲν ὑπόδικοι πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιοῦντο, ὑποσχνουμένων αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ νέων οὐκ ἔασειν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. [4] οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι πάντα ἐκ πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενοι καὶ οὔτε δεήσεις οὔτε [p. 89] ἀπειλὰς οὔτε κίνδυνον οὐδένα ὑπολογιζόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καιρὸς, ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον: ἦν δὲ παλαιότερον ἔτι συνερρηκῶς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὁ χερνήτης καὶ αὐτουργὸς ὄχλος, καὶ προσνεμηθεὶς τῷ κατὰ πόλιν τήν τε ἀγορὰν ἐνέπλησε καὶ τοὺς φέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν στενωπούς.

πρώτη μὲν οὖν εἰσῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ Ῥωμίλιου δίκη. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Σικκίος τὰ τε ἄλλα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅσα ὑπατεύων βίᾳ εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους ἔδοξε διαπράξασθαι, καὶ τελευτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν διεξῆλει τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ σπεύρα γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: καὶ παρείχετο αὐτῶν μάρτυρας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν συστρατευσαμένων οὐ δημοτικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρικίους: ἐν οἷς ἦν νεανίας οὐκ ἀφανὴς οὔτε κατὰ γένους ἀξίωσιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάννυ ἀγαθός: Σπόριος Οὐεργίνιος ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. [2] οὗτος ἔφη Μάρκον Ἰκίλλιον, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σικκίου σπεύρας υἱόν, ἡλικιώτην αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλον ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς ἐξόδου βουλευθεὶς, ὡς ἐπὶ θάνατον ἐξιώντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, Αὐλὸν Οὐεργίνιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον, πρεσβευτὴν τότε συστρατευόμενον, παρακαλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, [3] ἀξιῶν σφίσι ταύτην δοθῆναι τὴν χάριν: ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐπελθεῖν δάκρυα τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τοῦ ἐταίρου προανακλαιόμενῳ, τὸν δὲ νεανίαν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰς δεήσεις ἐποιεῖτο, πεπτυσμένον ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν καὶ λόγον αἰτησάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς [p. 90] μὲν δεομένοις πολλὴν οἶδε χάριν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσειεν τυχὼν χάριτος, ἥτις αὐτὸν ἀφελεῖται τὸ πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβές, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολειφθεῖη τοῦ πατρός, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον, ὅσω γ' ἀποθανούμενος ἔρχεται, καὶ πάντες τοῦτο ἴσασιν: ἀλλὰ συνεξιὼν ἐπαμυνεῖτε, ὅσα δύναται, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ κοινωνὸς ἔσται τύχης. [4] ταῦτα τοῦ μεираκίου μαρτυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι πρὸς τὴν τύχην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρῆλθον ὃ τε πατὴρ Ἰκίλλιος καὶ τὸ μεираκίον καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔλεξαν, οὐκέτι κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα οἱ πλείους ἐδύναντο τῶν δημοτικῶν. [5] ἀπολογηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμίλιου καὶ διελθόντος λόγον οὔτε θεραπευτικὸν οὔτε ἀρμόττοντα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγα φρονοῦντα διπλασίως ἔτι ἐπερρώσθησαν εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὀργὴν οἱ πολῖται. καὶ γενόμενοι τῶν ψήφων κύριοι κατέγνωσαν ἀδικεῖν οὕτως, ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις τῶν φυλῶν ἀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἦν δὲ τὸ τίμημα τῆς δίκης ἀργυρικόν, [6] ἀσάβρια μυρία. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄνευ προνοίας τινὸς ὁ Σικκίος ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς τε

πατρικίους ἐλάττων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σπουδῇ γένηται, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαμάρτωσι περὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅτι εἰς ἀργύριον ζημιώσεται ὁ ἀλοὺς καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον, καὶ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ πρὸς τὴν [p. 91] τιμωρίαν ὁρμῇ προθυμότερα μῆτε ψυχῆς ἄνδρα ὑπατικὸν μῆτε πατρίδος ἀποστεροῦσιν. Ῥωμιλίου δὲ καταδικασθέντος οὐ πολλὰς ὕστερον ἡμέραις καὶ Οὐετούριος ἐάλω: τίμημα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεγέγραπτο ἀργυρικόν, ἡμιόλιον θατέρου.

ταῦτα δὴ λογιζομένοις τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπάτοις πολὺ παρέστη δέος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτ' ἀπαθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρόνοια, ὥστ' οὐκέτι ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τὰς γνώμας, ἀλλὰ φανερώς τὰ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευόμενοι διετέλουν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας νόμον ἐκύρωσαν, ἵνα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐξῇ πάσαις τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἢ παρανομοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν ζημιοῦν. τέως γὰρ οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις μόνοις. [2] τὸ μὲντοι τίμημα οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ζημιοῦσιν, ὅποσον εἶναι δεῖ, κατέλιπον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ὥρισαν, μέγιστον ἀποδείξαντες ὅρον ζημίας δύο βοῦς καὶ τριάκοντα πρόβατα. καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἄχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλαττόμενος. [3] ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐσποῦδαζον οἱ δήμαρχοι κοινοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις γράφειν καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον φυλαχθησομένους, διάγνωσιν ἀπέδωκαν τῇ βουλῇ. ἐλέχθησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἀμφοτέρα καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν φέροντες λόγοι, ἐνίκα δ' ἡ τὰ δημοτικώτερα πρὸ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν εἰσάγουσα Τίτου Ῥωμιλίου γνώμη, παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν τῶν τε [p. 92] [4] πατρικίων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν γενομένη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανον πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς δημοτικοῖς φρονήσειν τε καὶ λέξειν τὸν ἄνδρα νεωστὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δίκην ἐάλωκότα: ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν αὐτῷ γνώμην ἐρωτηθέντι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἀποκρίνασθαι — ἦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ ἡλικίαν — ἔλεξεν:

ἂ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πέπονθα, ὦ βουλή, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἔνεκα, φορτικὸς ἂν εἶην ἔγωγε ἐν εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς λέγων: μνήμην δὲ αὐτῶν ποιοῦμαι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἔνεκεν, ἵν' εἰδῇτε, ὅτι οὐ κολακεία τοῦ δημοτικοῦ ἐπιτρέψας ἐχθροῦ μοι ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τὰ συμφέροντα ἐρῶ. θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηθείς, εἰ πρότερόν τε πολλάκις καὶ ἡνίκα ὑπάτος ἦν τῆς ἐτέρας προαιρέσεως γενόμενος νῦν ἐξαίφνης μεταβέβλημαι: μηδὲ ὑπολάβητε дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ τότε βεβουλεῦσθαι με κακῶς ἢ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰ δόξαντα οὐκ ὀρθῶς. [2] ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον τὰ ὑμέτερα ἰσχυρὰ ἡγοῦμην, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν ἀριστοκρατίαν αὖξων περιεφρόνουν τὸ δημοτικόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ σωφροнисθεῖς κακοῖς μετὰ μεγάλων μισθῶν ἔμαθον, ὅτι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ βουλομένου τὸ δυνάμενον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα αἰρομένους περιεῖδετε ἀναρπασθέντας [p. 93] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις εἰζαντες, οὐκέθ' [3] ὅμοια ἔγνωκα. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν μάλιστα μὴτ' ἑμαυτῷ συμβῆναι μῆτε τῷ συνάρχοντί μου ταῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες ἡμῖν συμπαθεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς τέλος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐξεστὶν ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ταῦτ' ἐτέρους προιδέσθαι, καὶ κοινῇ

καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι παρακαλῶ. κράτιστα γὰρ οἰκεῖται πόλιν ἢ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα μεθαρμοττομένη, καὶ συμβούλων ἄριστος ὁ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀποδεικνύμενος γνώμην: βουλευόνται τ' ἄριστα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οἱ παραδείγματα ποιούμενοι τὰ γεγονότα τῶν ἔσομένων. [4] ὕμιν δ', ὧ βουλῇ, ὅσῳ ἐνέστη τις ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, αἰεὶ τι μειονεκτεῖν ἐξεγένετο τὸ μὲν ἀκοῦειν κακῶς, τὸ δ' εἰς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν θανάτους τε καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἐκβολὰς ζημιωθῆναι. καίτοι τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτύχημα πόλει μεῖζον ἢ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν περικόπτεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὐ σὺν δίκῃ; ὧν ὕμιν φεῖδεσθαι παραινῶ καὶ μήτε τοὺς νῦν ἄρχοντας προβαλόντας εἰς κίνδυνον πρόδηλον, ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλιπόντας ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς μετανοεῖν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων τινά, [5] οὗ τι καὶ μικρὸν ὄφελος τῷ κοινῷ. κεφάλαιον δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ὕμιν παραινῶ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι τοὺς μὲν [p. 94] εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοὺς δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας: οἵτινες αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς κρατίστους νόμους καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀρμόττοντας βίοις οἴσουσι δεῦρο. ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς τότε ὑπάτους προθεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ σκοπεῖν, τίνας ἐλέσθαι δεήσει νομοθέτας καὶ ἡντινα ἔξοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ χρόνον ὅσον καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ φαίνεται συνοίσειν, στασιάζειν δὲ μηκέτι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν μηδ' ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἀναιρεῖσθαι συμφορὰς ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμων φιλονεικοῦντας, οἳ κἂν εἰ μηθὲν ἄλλο τὴν γέ τοι δόξαν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔχουσιν εὐπρεπῇ.

τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ συνελαμβάνοντο τῆς γνώμης ἀμφοτέροι πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγκείμενα διεξιόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν συχνοί, καὶ ἐγένοντο πλείους οἱ ταύτῃ [2] προστιθέμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ. μέλλοντος δὲ γράφεσθαι τοῦ προβουλευματος ἀναστὰς ὁ δήμαρχος Σικκίος ὁ τῷ Ῥωμιλίῳ προσθεὶς τὴν δίκην πολὺν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διῆλθε λόγον ἐπαινῶν τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἴδια ἔχθρην κρεῖττονα γίνεσθαι τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα ἀποδείξασθαι: [3] ἀνθ' ὧν, ἔφη, ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀποδίδωμι τιμὴν καὶ χάριν: ἀφίημι τῶν ἐκτισμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν διαλλάττομαι: νικᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς χρηστὸς ὢν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δήμαρχοι παριόντες ὡμολόγουν. οὐ μὴν ὁ γε Ῥωμίλιος ὑπέμεινε ταύτην [p. 95] λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς δημάρχους τῆς προθυμίας ἀποδώσειν ἔφη τὴν καταδίκην. ἱερὰν γὰρ ἤδη τῶν θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε ὅσια ποιεῖν ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἃ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ νόμος: [4] καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ προβουλευματος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπικυρώσαντος τοῦ δήμου πρέσβεις ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμους ληψόμενοι, Σπόριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος Σολπικίος καὶ Αὔλος Μάλλιος: οἷς τριῆρεις τε παρεσκευάσθησαν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἄλλος κόσμος εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποχρῶν. καὶ τὸ ἔτος ἐτελεύτα.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Λύκος Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Χαιρεφάνους, ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης συνοικισμοῦ, Ποπλίου Ὀρατίου καὶ Σέξτου Κοιντιλίου διαδεδεγμένων τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, λοιμικῇ

νόσος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσκηψε μεγίστη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου χρόνου μνημονευομένων: ὅφ' ἧς οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν πάντες ἀπολέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μάλιστα διεφθάρησαν, οὔτε τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀρκούντων ἔτι βοηθεῖν τοῖς καμάτοις, [2] οὔτε οἰκείων ἢ φίλων τάναναγκαῖα ὑπηρετοῦντων. οἱ [p. 96] γὰρ ἐπικουρεῖν ταῖς ἐτέρων βουλόμενοι συμφοραῖς ἀπτόμενοί τε καματηρῶν σωμάτων καὶ συνδιατιώμενοι τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνοις νόσους μετελάμβανον, ὥστε πολλὰς οἰκίας ἐξερημωθῆναι δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων. ἦν τε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταχέως λωφῆσαι τὴν νόσον αἷτιον τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν νεκρῶν γινόμενον. [3] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τε αἰσχύνῃς καὶ εὐπορίας τῶν πρὸς τὰς ταφὰς ἐπιτηδεῖων ἔκαιόν τε καὶ γῇ παρεδίδουσαν τοὺς νεκροὺς, τελευτῶντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ καλοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὰπιτῆδεα οὐκ ἔχοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις τῶν στενωπῶν φέροντες ἐρρίπτουν τῶν ἀπογενομένων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον: ἀφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκακοῦντο πρὸς τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰς ἡϊόνας. [4] ἐκκυμαινομένων γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων βαρεῖα καὶ δυσώδης προσπίπτουσα καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ἐρρωμένοις ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποφορὰ ταχείας ἔφερε τοῖς σώμασι τὰς τροπὰς, πίνεσθαι τε οὐκέτι χρηστὸν ἦν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοιμισθὲν ὕδωρ, τὰ μὲν ἀτοπία τῆς ὁσμῆς, τὰ δὲ τῷ πονηρὰς τὰς ἀναδόσεις ποιεῖν τῆς τροφῆς. [5] καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ δεινὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ [p. 97] τῶν ἀγρῶν: καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπόνησεν ὄχλος ἀνασιμπλάμενος, καὶ προβάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τετραπόδων ἅμα διαιτωμένων, τῆς νόσου. ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐλπίδος τι ὑπῆν ὥς τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσις ἐπικουρήσοντος, ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τε θυσίας καὶ καθαρμοὺς ἐτράποντο: καὶ πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ὄντα ἐν ἔθει περὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐκ εὐπρεπῇ. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέγνωσαν οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γινομένην οὐδ' ἔλεον, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα λειτουργίας ἀπέστησαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τε ὑπάτων ἄτερος ἀποθνήσκει, Σέξτος Κοιντίλιος, καὶ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος Σπόριος Φούριος, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τέτταρες, [7] τῶν τε βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί. ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τᾶλλα ἔθνη, ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμια ἦν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασάν γε προαγαγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἢ αὐτῇ νόσος κατέσκηψεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις. [8] διῆλθε δ' οὐ μόνον τὴν Αἰκανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, καὶ σφόδρα ἐκάκωσε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέβη καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἀφθεῖλσαν λιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λοιμῷ συνάψαι. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὰς νόσους οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν εἰς ἱστορίας ἀφήγησιν ἐλθεῖν ἄξιον. [p. 98]

εἰς δὲ τοῦτιον ἔτος ὕπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχθησαν Λεύκιος Μενήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Σήστιος: ἡ δὲ νόσος εἰς τέλος ἐλώφησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο θυσίαι τε χαριστήριοι θεοῖς ἐπετελοῦντο δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπιφανεῖς λαμπραῖς πάνυ χορηγούμενοι δαπάναις, ἐν εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ θαλίαις ἢ πόλιν ἦν ὥσπερ

εἰκός· καὶ πᾶς ὁ χειμέριος χρόνος ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἐδαπανήθη. [2] ἀρχομένου δ' ἔαρος σῖτος τε πολὺς καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἤχθη χωρίων, ὁ μὲν πλείων δημοσίᾳ συνωνηθεῖς, ὁ δὲ τις καὶ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν ἐμπόρων κομιζόμενος. ἔκαμνε γὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ σπάνει τῆς τροφῆς ὁ λαὸς χέρσου τῆς γῆς ἀφειμένης διὰ τὰς νόσους καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν γεωργῶν. [3] ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τ' Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις φέροντες τοὺς νόμους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσήεσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀξιοῦντες ἀποδείξαι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς νομοθέτας. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅτῳ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξειαν τρόπῳ προσκαθημένους καὶ λιπαροῦντας, ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πράγματι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ προϋβάλλοντο λέγοντες ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρόν, καὶ δεόν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπάτους πρῶτον ἀποδείξαι, [4] ποιῆσαι δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ [p. 99] τῶν ὑπάτων μετ' ἐκείνων ἔλεγον ἀνοίσειν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν διάγνωσιν. συγχωροῦντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων προθέντες ἀρχαιρέσια πολλῷ τάχιον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν Ἀππίον Κλαῦδιον καὶ Τίτον Γενύκιον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαν ἀποθέμενοι τὴν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδα, ὡς ἑτέρους ἤδη δεόν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῖς δημάρχois προσεῖχον, ἀλλὰ διακλέψαι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῆς ὑπατείας διεννοοῦντο. [5] ἔτυχε δὲ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν Μενήνιον ἀρρωστία τις καταλαβοῦσα χρόνιος. ἤδη δὲ τινες ἔφασαν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐμπεσοῦσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ τηκεδόνα δυσπαλάλακτον ἐργάσασθαι νόσον. ταύτην δὲ προσλαβὼν τὴν πρόφασιν ὁ Σήστιος ὡς οὐδὲν οἶός τ' ἦν πράττειν μόνος ἀπεωθεῖτο τὰς τῶν δημάρχων δεήσεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἄρχοντας ἡξίου τρέπεσθαι. [6] οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅ τι πράττωσιν, ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον οὔπω τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρειληφότες ἠναγκάζοντο καταφεύγειν, τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καταμόνας συντυγχάνοντες· καὶ τέλος ἐξειργάσαντο τοὺς ἄνδρας μεγάλας ὑποτείνοντες ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς, εἰ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πράγματα ἔλοιντο, τιμῆς καὶ δυναστείας. [7] εἰσῆλθε γάρ τις τὸν Ἀππίον ἐπιθυμία ξένην ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι καὶ νόμους καταστήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι ὁμονοίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ μίαν ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν [p. 100] πόλιν ἄρξαι τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. οὐ μέντοι καὶ διέμεινε γε χρηστὸς ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς μεγάλη, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεσε τελευτῶν εἰς φιλαρχίαν ἀπαραχώρητον ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διαφθαρεὶς καὶ ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐλάσαι. περὶ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαλέξομαι καιρόν.

τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα πείσας, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι, παρελθὼν πολλοὺς καὶ φιланθρώπους διεξῆλθε λόγους· κεφάλαια δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δημηγορίας τοιαῦδε ἦν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀποδειχθῆναι τοὺς νόμους καὶ παῦσασθαι στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι παντὸς μάλιστα δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην φανεράν· τοῦ δ' ἀποδείξαι τοὺς νομοθέτας αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οὔπω παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Μενήνιον ὑπάτοις οὐχ ὅπως ἐναντιώσονται πράσσουσι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργήσουσι καὶ

πολλήν εἶσονται χάριν. [2] ἔαν δ' ἀναδύωνται σκῆψιν προβαλλόμενοι τῇν νέαν ἀρχήν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρους ἄρχοντας ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν παραληφόμενους ἀποδεικνύειν ἡμῶν ἤδη κεκυρωμένων ὑπάτων, οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἐκόντες γὰρ ἀποστήσεσθαι τῆς ὑπατείας τοῖς ἀνθ' αὐτῶν αἰρεθησομένοις, ἔαν καὶ τῇ [3] βουλῇ ταῦτα δοκῇ. ἐπαινοῦντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ [p. 101] τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάντων κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὡσαμένων, ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Σήστιος τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγεῖν μόνος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μενήνιος ἀδύνατος ἦν παρεῖναι διὰ τὴν νόσον, προὔθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων λέγειν. ἐλέχθησαν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πολλοὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων λόγοι τῶν τε παραινούντων κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἀξιούντων τοὺς πατρίους φυλάττειν ἐθισμούς. [4] ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ τῶν εἰς νέωτα μελλόντων ὑπατεύειν γνώμη, ἣν Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ἀπεφῆνατο, ἄνδρας αἰρεθῆναι δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς. τούτους δ' ἄρχειν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀποδειχθῶσιν ἡμέρας, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἣν εἶχον οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὰς τ' ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πάσας καταλεῦσθαι, τέως ἂν οἱ [5] δέκα τύχωσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔκ τε τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐκόμισαν οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐκλεξαμένους τὰ κράτιστα καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει πρόσφορα νομοθετήσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν, ἔαν ἡ τε βουλή δοκιμάσῃ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, κύρια εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα εἶναι χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὅσαι ἂν ὕστερον ἀποδειχθῶσι, κατὰ τοὺτους τοὺς νόμους τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ συμβόλαια διαιρεῖν καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἐπιτροπεύειν.

τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα λαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐν τῷ [p. 102] δῆμῳ πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ προθέντος τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου διεξῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τοὺς τ' ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπάτους ἤκειν ἡξίου ἐμπεδῶσαντας τῷ δῆμῳ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, κἀκεῖνοι παρελθόντες ἐξωμόσαντο τὰς ὑπατείας. [2] τοὺτους ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ θαυμάζων διετέλει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νομοθέτας ψηφοφορεῖν ἔδει πρῶτους εἶλετο τῶν ἄλλων: καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ὑπὸ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας Ἀππίος μὲν Κλαύδιος καὶ Τίτος Γενύκιος, οὓς ἔδει εἰς τοῦπιόν ἄρχειν ἔτος, Πόπλιος δὲ Σήστιος ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπατεύων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ κομίσαντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς νόμους, Σπόριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος Σολπίκιος καὶ Αὖλος Μάλλις, εἷς δὲ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν Τίτος Ῥωμίλιος, ὁ τὴν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ δίκην Σικκίου κατηγορήσαντος ἀλούς, ἐπειδὴ γνώμης ἐδόκει ἄρξαι δημοτικῆς: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν Γάιος Ἰούλιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐετούριος καὶ Πόπλιος Ὀράτιος, ἅπαντες ὑπατικοί: αἱ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τε καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ταμιῶν καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ἄλλαι πάτριοι Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχαὶ κατελύθησαν.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει παραλαβόντες οἱ νομοθέται τὰ πράγματα πολιτείας κόσμον τοιόνδε τινὰ καθίστανται: εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν τὰς τε ῥάβδους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς ὑπατικῆς εἶχεν ἐξουσία, ὃς βουλὴν τε [p. 103]

συνεκάλει καὶ δόγματα ἐπεκύρου καὶ τᾶλλα ἔπραττεν, ὅσα ἡγεμόνι προσῆκεν: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συστέλλοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπιφθονον ὀλίγω τινὶ διήλλαττον ὁφθῆναι τῶν πολλῶν: εἴτ' αὖθις ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καθίστατο, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐγένετο παραλλὰξ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνοντος εἰς συγκείμενόν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν. [2] ἅπαντες δ' ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι διήττων τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὅποσα πρὸς τε ὑπηκόους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκρωμένους τῆς πόλεως ἐγκλήματα τυγχάνοι γινόμενα, μετὰ πάσης ἀνασκοποῦντες ἕκαστα ἐπεικείας τε καὶ [3] δικαιοσύνης. ἐδόκει δὲ ἄριστα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἢ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἐπιτροπευθῆναι. μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ἐπρηνεῖτο ἢ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρόνοια καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ βίαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἀντίταξις: ἐλέχθη τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῆσοι δήμου προστατῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχείων τῇ πόλει μιᾶς διοικουσης ἅπαντα ἡγεμονίας σῶφρονος, ἧς ἀρχηγὸς Ἀππίος εἶναι ἐδόκει. [4] καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἔπαινον ἐκεῖνος ἐφέρετο παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἂ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου χρηστότητος ἔφερεν αὐτῷ δόκησιν, ἀλλὰ [p. 104] πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπιτηδεύων διετέλει, κατὰ τ' ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιланθρώπους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν πενήτων φιλοφρονήσεις. [5] οὗτοι οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες συγγράψαντες νόμους ἔκ τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγράφων ἐθισμῶν προὔθηκαν ἐν δέκα δέλτοις τῷ βουλευμένῳ σκοπεῖν, δεχόμενοι πᾶσαν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν εὐαρέστησιν ἀπευθύνοντες τὰ γραφέντα. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἐν κοινῷ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεδρεῦοντες καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ποιοῦμενοι τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐξέτασιν. [6] ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀποχρώντως ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς τὰ γραφέντα ἔχειν, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγόντες οὐθενὸς ἔτι μεμφομένου τοῖς νόμοις προβούλευμα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκύρωσαν. ἔπειτα τὸν δῆμον καλέσαντες εἰς τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ἱερομνημόνων τε καὶ οἰωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων παρόντων καὶ τὰ θεῖα ὡς νόμος ἐξηγησαμένων ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς λόχοις τὰς ψήφους. [7] ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς νόμους, στήλαις χαλκαῖς ἐγχαράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐκλεξάμενοι τόπον. καὶ ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς χρόνος ὁ λειπόμενος ἦν, συναγαγόντες τοὺς βουλευτὰς προὔθεσαν ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσίων οἷα χρὴ γενέσθαι σκοπεῖν.

πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκησεν ἡ γνώμη τῶν παραινούντων δεκαδαρχίαν αὖθις ἀποδεῖξαι τῶν κοινῶν κυρίαν. ἀτελής τε γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία ἐφαίνετο, [p. 105] ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὀλίγου συντεθεῖσα χρόνου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη κεκυρωμένοις, ἵνα ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐν αὐτοῖς μένοιεν, ἐδόκει δὲ τινος ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορος δεῖν. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα πείσαν αὐτοὺς προελέσθαι τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἦν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσις, ὃ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο. [2] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν κοινῷ σκοπουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, ἰδία δὲ οἱ πρωτεύοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο μεταπορεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδιότες, μὴ παραχῶδεις τινὲς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι κακὸν τι μέγα

ἐργάσωνται. ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ δεξαμένου καὶ μετὰ πλείστης προθυμίας ἐπιψηφισαντος αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες προεῖπον τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρόν, μετήεσαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐντιμότεστοι τε καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πατρικίων. [3] ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινούμενος ἦν ὁ τῆς τότε δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμὼν Ἀππίος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δημοτικὸς ὄχλος ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡξίου κατέχειν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἄμεινον ἡγησομένου. ὁ δ' ἀναινεσθαι μὲν προσεποιεῖτο κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν ἡξίου λειτουργίας καὶ ὀχληρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφθόνου. τελευτῶν δ' ὡς ἐλιπάρουν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες αὐτὸς τε ὑπέμενε μετέπειτα τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τῶν συμπαραγγελλόντων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰτιασάμενος οὐχ ἡδέως πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν διὰ τὸν φθόνον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις συνηγωνίζετο φανερώς. [4] ἀποδεικνυταὶ τε πάλιν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις λοχίτισι νομοθέτης τὸ δεύτερον: σὺν δ' αὐτῷ Κόιντος [p. 106] μὲν Φάβιος ὁ καλούμενος Οὐίβολανδὸς ὁ τρὶς ὑπατεύσας, ἀνὴρ ἀνεπίληπτος εἰς τόδε χρόνου γενόμενος περὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων, οὓς ἐκείνους ἡσπάζετο, Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Σέργιος καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Μάνιος Ραβολήσιος, ἄνδρες οὐ πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς: ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν Κόιντος Ποιτέλλιος καὶ Καίσιων Δουέλλιος καὶ Σπόριος Ὅππιος: προσελήφθησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀππίου κολακείας ἕνεκα τῶν δημοτικῶν, διδάσκοντος ὅτι δικαίον ἐστὶ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς κατὰ πάντων ἀποδεικνυμένης εἶναι τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐν αὐτῇ. [5] εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ἐφ' ἅπασιν τοῦτοις καὶ δοκῶν κράτιστος εἶναι βασιλέων τε καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγησασμένων τῆς πόλεως παραλαμβάνει πάλιν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν ἐπὶόντα ἐνιαυτόν. ταῦτα κατ' ἐκείνην ἐπράχθη τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον.

ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἔτει παραλαβόντες τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σὺν Ἀππίῳ Κλαυδίῳ δέκα ἄνδρες εἰδοῖς μαίαις, ἦγον δὲ τοὺς μῆνας κατὰ σελήνην, καὶ συνέπιπτεν εἰς τὰς εἰδοὺς ἡ πανσέληνος: [2] πρῶτα μὲν ὄρκια τεμόντες ἀπόρρητα τῷ πλήθει συνθήκας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο περὶ μηδενὸς ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὅ τι δ' ἂν εἴς ἐξ αὐτῶν δικαιώσῃ, τοῦθ' ἅπαντες ἡγεῖσθαι κύριον τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν καθεξείν διὰ βίου καὶ μηδὲνα παρήσειν ἕτερον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα [p. 107] ἰσότημοι τε πάντες ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξιν δυναστείαν, βουλῆς μὲν ἡ δήμου ψηφίσμασι σπανίως καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ τἀναγκαῖα χρώμενοι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας ποιοῦντες. [3] ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐν ἣ παραλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν, τοῖς θεοῖς προθύσαντες ἃ νόμος — ἱερὰν δὲ ταύτην ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα ὀπτεῦνται μὴτ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἀηδὲς ἐν αὐτῇ μὴτ' ἰδεῖν — ἔωθεν εὐθύς ἐξήεσαν οἱ δέκα τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἅπαντες ἐπαγόμενοι. [4] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὡς ἔμαθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι φυλάττοντας τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μέτριον σχῆμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ διαμειβομένους τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς πρότερον, εἰς πολλὴν ἦλθε δυσθυμίαν καὶ κατῆφειαν. [5] ἐφόβουν θ' οἱ προσηρητημένοι ταῖς δέσμασι τῶν ῥάβδων πελέκει, οὓς ἔφερον οἱ προηγούμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάστου δώδεκα ὄντες ἀναστέλλοντες ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν πληγῖς τὸν ὄχλον, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐγένετο πρότερον. κατελύθη γὰρ εὐθύς τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν

τῶν μονάρχων ὑπ' ἄνδρὸς δημοτικοῦ Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν μεταλαμβάνοντας, ὧ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων ὕπατοι καλοῦ πράγματος δόξαντι ἄρξαι τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντες οὐκέτι ταῖς δέσμασι τῶν ῥάβδων προσήρτων τοὺς πελέκεις, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐξόδους τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [6] πόλεμον δ' ἐξάγοντες ὑπερόριον ἢ τῶν ὑπηκόων πράγματα ἐπισκεψόμενοι, τότε καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις ταῖς ῥάβδοις προσελάμβανον, [p. 108] ἵνα τὸ τῆς ὄψεως φοβερόν, ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἢ δούλων γινόμενον, ἥκιστα φαίνεται τοῖς πολίταις ἐπαχθές.

τοῦτο δὴ θεασαμένοις ἅπασιν, ὃ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σημεῖον ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, πολὺ παρειστήκει δέος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀπολωλέκεναι νομίζουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἐλομένοις ἀνθ' ἐνός. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς ὄχλους οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες καὶ γνόντες, ὅτι δεῖ φόβῳ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, ἑταιρίαν ἕκαστοι συνῆγον ἐπιλεγόμενοι τοὺς θρασυτάτους τῶν νέων καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους. [2] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ τῶν ταπεινῶν ταῖς τύχαις τοὺς πλείους φανῆναι τυραννικῆς κόλακας ἐξουσίας, τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένους τὰς αὐτῶν ὠφελείας, οὔτε παράδοξον οὔτ' ἀνέλπιστον ἦν: τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων εὐρεθῆναι συχνοὺς ἔχοντάς τι καὶ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ μέγα φρονεῖν τοὺς ὑπομένοντας συγκαταλῦειν τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν ἅπασιν εἶναι ἐδόκει: οἱ δὲ πάσαις κολακεύοντες ἡδοναῖς, ὅποσαι πεφύκασιν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν, κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἦρχον τῆς πόλεως, βουλὴν μὲν ἢ δῆμον ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ μερίδι τιθέμενοι, πάντων δὲ αὐτοῖς νομοθέται τε καὶ δικασταὶ γινόμενοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτινύντες [p. 109] τῶν πολιτῶν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφαιροῦμενοι τὰς οὐσίας ἀδίκως. [3] ἵνα δ' αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς τὰ γινόμενα ἔχη παράνομα καὶ δεινὰ ὄντα ὡς δὴ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ πραττόμενα, δικαστήρια ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ χρήματι ἀπεδίδουσαν: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τε κατήγοροι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκ τῶν συγκατασκευαζόντων τὴν τυραννίδα ὑποπεμπόμενοι, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀποδεικνύμενα, οἱ διημεῖβοντο ἀλλήλοις καταχαριζόμενοι τὰς δίκας. [4] πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ δέκα ἔκρινον, ὥστ' ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ μειονεκτοῦντες τῷ δικαίῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἑταιρίαις, ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ ἀσφαλές οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ ἐγένετο σὺν χρόνῳ πλεῖον τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ διεφθαρμένον καὶ νοσοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤξιουν ἔτι μένειν ἐντὸς τείχους, οἷς τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν δεκαδάρχων ἀνιὰρὰ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν σκοποῦντες χρόνον ὡς ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὰς δυναστείας, ὅταν τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκτελέσωσι χρόνον, καὶ ἀποδειξόντων ἑτέρας ἀρχάς. [5] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀππιον τοὺς λοιποὺς συγγράψαντες νόμους ἐν δέλτοις δυοῖ καὶ ταύτας ταῖς πρότερον ἐξενεχθείσαις προσέθηκαν: ἐν αἷς καὶ ὁδε ὁ νόμος ἦν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς πατρικίοις πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐπιγαμίας συνάφαι: δι' οὐδὲν ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ μὴ συνελθεῖν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν τὰ ἔθνη γάμων ἐπαλλαγαῖς καὶ οἰκισιότητων κοινωνίας συγκερασθέντα. [6] ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἐπέστη [p. 110] χρόνος, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες τοῖς τε πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς καὶ τοῖς νωστοῖ γραφεῖσι

νόμοις, οὔτε βουλῆς ψήφισμα ποιήσαντες οὔτε δήμου διέμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς. λχι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή καὶ τρίτη, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου, τὴν δὲ ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεῖχεν Ἄππιος μὲν Κλαύδιος τρίτον ἔτος ἡγούμενος τῆς δεκαδαρχίας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρξαντες δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας μένοντες.

BOOK XI

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου καταλύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐπεχείρησαν ἐρριζωμένην ἤδη τὴν δυναστείαν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ τίνων ἀνδρῶν ἡγησαμένων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ διὰ ποίας αἰτίας καὶ προφάσεις, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν πειράσσομαι διελθεῖν ἀναγκαίας ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι καὶ καλὰς τὰς τοιαύτας μαθήσεις ἅπασιν μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δ' ὅσοι περὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον θεωρίαν καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς διατρίβουσι πράξεις. [2] τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον — ἵν' ἐπὶ τούτου ποιήσωμαι τὸν λόγον — ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυσὶ ναυμαχίαις καὶ πεζομαχίᾳ [p. 112] μιᾷ καταγωνισάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον τριακοσίας ἄγοντα μυριάδας αὐτοὶ σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις οὐ πλείους ὄντες ἔνδεκα μυριάδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς αἱ πράξεις ἐγένοντο, βούλονται παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας μαθεῖν, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι, δι' ἃς τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα ἔργα ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόνες τῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορῆσαι, καὶ μηδενὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνήκοοι γενέσθαι τῶν συντελεσθέντων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. [3] ἡδεταί γάρ ἡ διάνοια παντὸς ἀνθρώπου χειραγωγουμένη διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκούουσα τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὁρῶσα. οὐδὲ γ' ὅταν πολιτικὰς ἀκούσωσι πράξεις, ἀρκοῦνται τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πέρας τῶν πραγμάτων μαθόντες, ὅτι συνεχώρησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τεῖχη τε καθελεῖν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ ναῦς διατεμεῖν καὶ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου δημοκρατίας ὀλιγαρχίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδείξαι κυρίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τίνες ἦσαν αἱ κατασχοῦσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγκαι, δι' ἃς ταῦτα τὰ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τίνες οἱ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς λόγοι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων ῥηθέντες ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάντα, ὅσα παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς πράγμασι, διδαχθῆναι. [4] τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐν οἷς ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὅσοι μὴ λόγων, ἀλλ' ἔργων καλῶν ἄσκησιν ἡγοῦνται τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, [p. 113] τὸ μὲν ἡδεσθαι τῇ παντελεῖ θεωρίᾳ τῶν παρακολουθούντων τοῖς πράγμασι κοινὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει: χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς περιγίγνεται τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιούς καιροὺς μεγάλα τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας ὠφελεῖν, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὰς ἐκούσας ἐπὶ τὰ συμφέροντα διὰ τοῦ λόγου. [5] ῥᾶστα γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ τε ὠφελοῦντα καὶ βλάπτοντα καταμανθάνουσιν, ὅταν ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων ταῦτα πολλῶν ὁρῶσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς φρόνησιν μαρτυροῦσι καὶ πολλὴν σοφίαν. διὰ ταύτας δὴ μοι τὰς αἰτίας ἔδοξεν ἅπαντα ἀκριβῶς διελθεῖν τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, [6] ὅσα δὴ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν ἄξια ἡγοῦμαι. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων ἀρξάμενος, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἴτια γενέσθαι μόνα

τῆς ἐλευθερίας, λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν παρθένον ἀμαρτηθέντων Ἀππίῳ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα: προσθήκη γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τελευταία τῆς ὀργῆς τῶν δημοτῶν αἰτία μυρίων ἄλλων προηγησαμένων, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ὑβρίζεσθαι. ταῦτα πρῶτον ἐρῶ καὶ διέξειμι πάσας ἐφεξῆς τὰς ἐν τῇ τότε καταστάσει γενηθείσας παρανομίας.

πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἦν ἡ δόξασα γενέσθαι τοῦ κατὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μίσους πρόφασις, ὅτι συνύφηναν [p. 114] τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχὴν τῇ προτέρᾳ δήμου τε ὑπεριδόντες καὶ βουλῆς καταφρονήσαντες: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοὺς χαριεστάτους Ῥωμαίων, οἷς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἦν, οὓς μὲν ἐξήλαννον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἰτίας ἐπιφέροντες ψευδεῖς καὶ δεινάς, οὓς δὲ ἀπεκτίννυσαν, κατηγοροῦντες τε αὐτοῖς ὑποπέμποντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐταίρων καὶ τὰς δίκας ταύτας αὐτοὶ δικάζοντες: μάλιστα δ' ὅτι τοῖς θρασυτάτοις τῶν νέων, οὓς εἶχον ἕκαστοι περὶ αὐτούς, ἐφῆκαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῇ πολιτείᾳ. [2] οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἀλούσης πολέμῳ κατὰ κράτος τῆς πατρίδος οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον ἀφηροῦντο τοὺς νόμῳ κτησαμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς γαμετὰς αὐτῶν τὰς εὐμόρφους παρενόμουν καὶ εἰς θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους καθύβριζον καὶ πληγὰς τοῖς ἀγανακτοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις ἐδίδοσαν: καὶ παρεσκεύασαν, ὅσοις ἀφόρητα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἐδόκει, καταλιπόντας τὴν πατρίδα γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐξοικίζεσθαι πόλεις, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς Λατίνων μὲν διὰ τὸ % ἀσθενές, Ἑρνίκων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἔναγχος γενομένην αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἰσοπολιτείαν. ὥσθ', ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, τελευτῶντες αὐτοὶ κατελείφθησαν οἱ φιλοτύραννοι, καὶ οἷς μηδεμία τῶν κοινῶν φροντίς ἦν. [3] οὐτε γὰρ οἱ γε πατρίκιοι διέμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει θωπεύειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, [p. 115] ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀδυνατοῦντες, οὐθ' οἱ καταγραφέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτικὸν συνέδριον, οὓς ἐπάναγκες ἔδει παρεῖναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους ἀνασκευασάμενοι πανοικεσίᾳ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους ἀφέντες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διέτριβον. [4] τοῖς δὲ ὀλιγαρχικοῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν αἱ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἐγίνοντο φυγαῖ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἔνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀκολάστοις τῶν νέων πολὺ τὸ αὐθαδὲς προσεγίνετο μηδ' ὄφει δυναμένοις ἰδεῖν, οὓς ἔμελλον ἀσελγές τι πράττοντες αἰσχύνεσθαι.

ἐρημουμένης δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος ἔθνους τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἅπαν ἀπολωλεκείας ἀφορμὴν κρατίστην ὑπολαβόντες ἐκείνοι οἱ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὰς τε ὕβρεις ἃς ὑβρίσθησαν ἀποτίσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἀπολωλὸτα ἀναλαβεῖν, ὡς νοσοῦσης διὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐτε συστῆναι οὐθ' ὁμονοῆσαι οὐτ' ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἔτι δυνησομένης, παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλαύνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν στρατεύμασι μεγάλοις. [2] καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σαβῖνοι ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ὁμοτέρμονα καὶ πολλῆς γενόμενοι λείας ἐγκρατεῖς φόνον τε πολὺν ἐργασάμενοι τοῦ γεωργικοῦ πλήθους ἐν Ἡρήτῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν: διέσθηκε δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡ πόλις αὕτη τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους πλησίον οὔσα [p. 116] [3] Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ. Αἰκανοὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Τυσκλάνων γῆν ἐμβαλόντες ὁμορον οὔσαν σφίσι καὶ πολλὰ δηώσαντες αὐτῆς ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ πόλει τίθενται τὸν χάρακα. ὡς

δ' ἤκουσαν οἱ δέκα τὴν τῶν πολέμιων ἔφοδον, τεταραγμένοι συνεκάλουν τὰς ἑταιρείας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἐσκόπουν. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπερόριον ἀποστέλλειν στρατιὰν καὶ μὴ περιμένειν, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔλθωσι τὴν πόλιν αἱ τῶν πολέμιων δυνάμεις, ἅπασιν ἐδόκει: παρῆχε δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα κλητέον καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθομένους τῇ πολιτείᾳ: ἔπειθ' ὅποιαν τινὰ δεήσει τὴν καταγραφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ποιήσασθαι, πότερον αὐθάδη καὶ μισοπόνηρον οἷας ἔθος ἦν ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἢ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ μέτριον. [5] ἐδόκει τ' αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο μικρᾶς εἶναι ζητήσεως ἄξιον, τί τὸ κυρώσον ἔσται τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην καὶ τὴν στρατολογίαν ψηφιοῦμενον, πότερα τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον, ἐπεὶ δι' ὑποψίας ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑκάτερον, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ δέκα. τέλος δ' οὖν πολλὰ βουλευσάμενοι τὴν βουλὴν ἔγνωσαν συγκαλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὅπως τὸν τε πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνη ψηφιεῖται καὶ τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ [6] καταγραφὴν ἐπιτρέψει ποιήσασθαι. εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ [p. 117] συνεδρίου κυρωθεῖ τούτων ἑκάτερον, πρῶτον μὲν εὐπειθεῖς ἔσεσθαι πάντας ὑπελάμβανον ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας κατακελυμένης, ἢ μόνῃ κατὰ νόμους ἐξῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐπιταττομένοις: ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ εἴ τι δόξειν ὑπηρετοῦντες τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὰ κυρωθέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνης πράττοντες κατὰ νόμους ἀνειληφέναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πολέμου.

ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἑταίρων καὶ συγγενῶν τοὺς ἀγορεύσοντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰς συμφερούσας αὐτοῖς γνώμας καὶ τοῖς μὴ ταῦτ' ἀποφαινομένοις ἐναντιωσομένους προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ παρασησάμενοι τὸν κήρυκα τοὺς βουλευόντας ἐξ ὀνόματος καλεῖν ἐκέλευον. [2] ὑπήκουε δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν μετρίων οὐδεὶς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος βοῶντος καὶ παριόντος οὐδενὸς εἰ μὴ τῶν κολακευόντων τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ κάκιστον τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μέρος, οἱ μὲν τότε ὄντες κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ περὶ μηδενὸς πῶποτε συγκαλέσαντες τὴν βουλὴν, τότε πρῶτον ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι καὶ συνέδριον ἦν τι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἔδει περὶ τῶν κοινῶν σκοπεῖν. [3] οἱ δέκα δὲ ταῦθ' ὀρώντες ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄγειν: πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰς πλείους ἐρήμους ἀφειμένας εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνεβάλοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ [p. 118] χρόνῳ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν. πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου προελθὼν Ἀππίος, ὁ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμῶν, ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι διχόθεν ἀπὸ τε Αἰκανῶν καὶ Σαβίνων ἐπάγεται τῇ Ῥώμῃ πόλεμος: καὶ διεξῆλθε λόγον ἐκ πολλῆς συγκείμενον ἐπιμελείας, οὗ τέλος ἦν ψηφίσασθαι στρατοῦ καταγραφὴν καὶ διὰ τάχους ποιῆσαι τὴν ἔξοδον, ὥς οὐ διδόντος ἀναστροφὴν τοῦ καιροῦ. [4] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνίσταται Λεῦκιος Οὐαλέριος ἐπωνυμίαν Ποτῖτος, ἀνὴρ μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς προγόνοις: πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Οὐαλέριος ἦν ὁ τὸν Σαβῖνον Ἐρδώνιον ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέχοντα τὸ Καπετώλιον, καὶ τὸ μὲν φρούριον ἀνακτησάμενος, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποθανών: πάππος δὲ πρός πατρός Ποπλικόλας ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν

καταστησάμενος. [5] παριόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι καταμαθὼν Ἄππιος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τι λέξειν ἐλπίσας· οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τόπος, εἶπεν, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, σός, οὐδὲ προσήκει σοι νῦν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅταν οἶδε οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τιμώτεροι σου γνώμην ἀγορεύσωσι, τότε καὶ σὺ κληθεὶς ἐρεῖς ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ· νῦν δὲ σιώπα καὶ κάθησο. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἔφησεν ὁ Οὐαλέριος, ἀνέστηκα ἐρῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μειζόνων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρων, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἶομαι δεῖν πρῶτον ἀκοῦσαι τὴν βουλὴν. [6] εἴσονται δ' [p. 119] ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσωσιν οὗτοι, πότερα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀναγκαιότερα τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς συγκεκλήκατε, ἢ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεχθησόμενα. ἀλλὰ μὴ μ' ἀποστέρει λόγου βουλευτὴν ὄντα καὶ Οὐαλέριον καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως λέγειν βουλούμενον. ἐὰν δὲ φυλάττης τὴν συνήθη πρὸς ἅπαντας αὐθάδειαν, δημάρχους μὲν ποίους ἐπικαλέσομαι; καταλέλυται γὰρ ἡ τῶν κατισχυομένων πολιτῶν βοήθεια ὑφ' ὑμῶν. [7] καίτοι τίνος ἔλαττον τοῦτο κακόν, ὅτε Οὐαλέριος ὧν Ποτῖτος ὡς εἷς τῶν ἐλαχίστων οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλὰ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας δέομαι; οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπεστερήμεθα, ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ παρειληφότας καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστεύοντας τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντας καλῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν, ὅτι διὰ κενῆς τοῦτο ποιῶ, φανεράν δὲ βουλούμενος πᾶσι γενέσθαι τὴν συνωμοσίαν ὑμῶν, ὅτι συγκεχύκατε τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ μίαν ἅπαντες γνώμην ἔχετε· μᾶλλον δὲ σὲ μόνον ἐπικαλοῦμαι, Κόιντε Φάβιε Οὐίβολανέ, τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ὑπατείαις κοσμούμενον, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ἔτι ἔχεις. ἀλλ' ἀνίστασο καὶ βοήθει τοῖς κατισχυομένοις· εἰς σὲ γὰρ ἀποβλέπει τὸ συνέδριον. [p. 120]

ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ὁ Φάβιος ἐκάθητο ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος, Ἄππιος δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δέκα πάντες ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκώλυνον αὐτὸν λέγειν. θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ κατασχόντος τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἀγανακτούντων, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὀρθῶς ἡγουμένων, ἀνίσταται Μάρκος Ὁράτιος ὁ Βαρβαῖτος ἐπικληθεὶς ἀπόγονος Ὁρατίου τοῦ συνυπατεύσαντος Ποπλῖω Οὐαλερίῳ Ποπλικόλῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ δεινὸς καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, Οὐαλερίῳ δ' ἐκ παλαιοῦ φίλος· ὃς οὐκέτι κατασχὼν τὴν χολὴν ἔφησε· [2] θᾶπτόν μ' ἀναγκάσετε, Ἄππιε, τοὺς χαλινοὺς διαρρηῖξαι οὐκέτι μετριάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐκεῖνον ἐνδύομενοι, οἳ γ' οὐδὲ λόγου τυχεῖν ἔατε τοὺς περὶ σωτηρίας τῶν κοινῶν βουλομένους λέγειν. πότερον ὑμῶν ἐξελέλυσθεν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας, ὅτι σώζονται μὲν οἱ Οὐαλερίων ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐξελασάντων τὴν τυραννίδα, λείπεται δὲ διαδοχὴ τῆς Ὁρατίων οἰκίας, οἷς πατριὸν ἐστίν. ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς καταδουλούμενοις τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μόνοις; [3] ἢ τοσαύτην κατεγνώκατε καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἀνανδρίαν, ὥστ' ἀγαπήσειν ἐὰν τις ἐᾷ ζῆν ἡμᾶς ὅπωςδῆποτε, [p. 121] ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας δὲ καὶ παρρησίας μὴτ' ἐρεῖν μῆτε πράξειν μηθέν; ἢ μεθύετε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας; ὑμεῖς Οὐαλερίου λόρον ἀφελείσθε ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς βουλευτῶν τινες ὄντες ἢ ποῖαν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες νόμιμον; οὐκ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθητε τῶν κοινῶν προστάται; οὐ παρώχηκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν χρόνος; οὐκ ἰδιῶται τῷ νόμῳ γεγόνατε; ταῦτ' εἰς τὸν δῆμον βουλεύεσθε

ἔξενεγκεῖν. [4] τί γάρ δὴ καὶ τὸ κωλύον ἔσται τὸν βουλόμενον ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔχετε, κατηγορεῖν; ἀνάδοτε τοῖς πολίταις ψῆφον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου, πότερα δεῖ μένειν τὴν δεκαδραχμίαν ὑμῶν, ἢ τὰς πατρίους πάλιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀρχάς: κἂν τοῦτο μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ὑπομείνῃ, πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν κατάστασιν ἔχετε καὶ κωλύετε λέγειν, ὅποσα βούλεται τις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἄξιοι γὰρ ἂν εἴημεν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι χειρόνα τούτων πάσχειν ἐφ' ὑμῖν γενόμενοι καὶ ῥυπαίνοντες αἰσχροῦ βίῳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς. [p. 122]

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ δέκα περιίστανται κεκραγότες καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐπανασείοντες ἐξουσίαν καὶ ῥίψειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντες κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσῃ. ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἀνέκραγον ὡς καταλυομένης σφῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μεστὸν ἦν ἀγανακτήσεως τε καὶ θορυβοῦ τὸ συνέδριον. [2] τοῖς μέντοι δέκα μετέμελεν εὐθέως τῆς τε κωλύσεως τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ὡς ἡρεθισμένην εἶδον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι τὴν βουλήν: ἔπειτα προσελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀππίος καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν θορυβούντων βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον, ἐπειδὴ κατέστειλε τὸ ταραπτόμενον αὐτῶν: [3] οὐδένα ὑμῶν, εἶπεν, ἀποστεροῦμεν, ᾧ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, λόγου, ὅς ἂν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ λέγῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐπιπολάζοντας καὶ πρὶν ἢ κληθῆναι προεξανισταμένους εἵργομεν. μηδὲν οὖν ἀγανακτεῖτε, καὶ γὰρ Ὀρατίῳ καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τόπῳ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἔθισμόν καὶ κόσμον ἀποδώσομεν, ἐάν γε περὶ ᾧ βουλευσόμενοι συνεληλύθατε, περὶ [4] τούτων λέγωσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω: ἐάν δὲ δημαγωγῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διαστασιάζωσι τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα δημηγοροῦντες, οὐδὲν τότε: τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν τοῦ κωλύειν τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ᾧ Μάρκε Ὀράτιε, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ὅτε ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὐτῆς οὕτω παρελήλυθεν, ὥσπερ σοι δοκεῖ. [5] οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδειχθημεν, οὐδ' εἰς [p. 123] ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ὠρισμένον, ἀλλ' ἔως ἂν καταστησώμεθα παῖσαν τὴν νομοθεσίαν. συντελέσαντες οὖν, ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν ἔχομεν, καὶ κυρώσαντες τοὺς λοιποὺς νόμους, τότε' ἀποθησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς βουλομένοις ὑμῶν ὑφέξομεν. τέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττώσομεν οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲ [6] τῆς δημαρχικῆς. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ὡς τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι, γνώμας ἀξιῶ παριόντας ὑμᾶς λέγειν, πρῶτους μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ σὺν ηθες καὶ πρέπον ὑμῖν, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἔπειτα τοὺς μέσους, τελευταίους δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους.

ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκάλει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον Γάιον Κλαύδιον. ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς τοιαύτην διέθετο δημηγορίαν: ἐπειδὴ με πρῶτον γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἀξιοῖ Ἀππίος, ᾧ βουλή, τιμῶν διὰ τὸ συγγενές, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προσήκει, καὶ δεῖ με ἂ φρονῶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους εἰπεῖν, πρὶν ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, ἐκεῖνο βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξετάσαι, τίσιν ἐπαρθέντες ἐλπίσιν Αἰκανοὶ καὶ Σαβίνοι πόλεμον ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶόντες λεηλατεῖν, οἱ τέως ἀγαπῶντες καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὴν χάριν εἰδότες, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἶα τὴν

ἐαυτῶν ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο μάθητε, καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἣτις ἔσται κρατίστη μαθήσεσθε. [2] ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἀκούσαντες, [p. 124] ὅτι σεσάλευται καὶ νοσεῖ τὸ πάτριον ἡμῶν πολίτευμα ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν οὔτε ὁ δῆμος εὖνους ἐστὶν οὔτε οἱ πατρίκιοι, καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀκούσαντες — τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, τὰς δ' αἰτίας ἐπισταμένοις ὑμῖν οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν — ὑπέλαβον, εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἡμᾶς κατὰσχοι πόλεμος ἅμα τοῖς ἐντὸς τείχους κακοῖς, καὶ δόξειε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δύναμιν ἐξάγειν τὴν προπολεμήσουσαν τῆς γῆς, οὔτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον ἅπαντας ἤξειν ἐκ προθυμίας ὡς πρότερον, ἀπεχθῶς διακειμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς· οὔτε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις χρῆσασθαι κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραγενομένων δεδοικότας, μὴ τι μεῖζον ἐργάσωνται κακόν, τοὺς τε ὑπακούσαντας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας ἢ καταλείψειν τὰ σημεῖα ἢ παραμένοντας ἐθελοκακήσειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. [3] ὣν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἧλπισαν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὁμονοοῦσα πόλις ἅπτηται πολέμου, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφέρον ἅπασι φαίνεται τοῖς τ' ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, μετὰ προθυμίας ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦσι καὶ οὔτε πόνον οὔτε κίνδυνον οὐδένα ὀκνοῦσιν. [4] ὅταν δὲ νοσοῦσα ἐν αὐτῇ, πρὶν ἢ τὰ ἔνδον καταστήσασθαι, τοῖς ὑπαιθρίοις ὁμοσε χωρῇ πολεμίοις, καὶ παραστῇ τῷ μὲν πλήθει λογισμός, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν κακοπαθοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα βεβαιότερον αὐτῶν ἕτεροι ἄρχωσι, τοῖς δ' ἡγεμόσιν, ὅτι πολέμιον ἔχουσιν οὐχ [p. 125] ἥττον τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τὸ οἰκεῖον, νοσεῖ τὰ ὅλα καὶ πᾶσα ἱκανὴ δύναμις τὰ τοιαῦτα στρατεύματα καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ φθεῖραι.

ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧ βουλὴ, τὰ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐνθυμήματα, οἷς πεπιστευκότες ἐμβεβλήκασιν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀγανακτήσαντες τῷ καταφρονεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαρθέντων ὡς ἔχομεν ὀργῆς δύναμιν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ψηφισώμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἃ προὔλαβον ἐκεῖνοι συμβῆ, [2] μᾶλλον δ' εὖ οἶδα συμβησόμενα. ἐὰν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰναγκαιότατα καταστησώμεθα — ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἢ τ' εὐκοσμία τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὸ πᾶσι ταῦτ' ἀσφαλόμενον φαίνεσθαι — ἐξελάσαντες μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν νῦν ἐπιχωριάζουσαν ὕβριν καὶ πλεονεξίαν, ἀποδόντες δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον σχῆμα τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πτήξαντες οἱ νῦν θρασεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡξουσιν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἰς μακράν, τὰς τε βλάβας % ... θούμενοι καὶ περὶ διαλλαγῶν διαλεξόμενοι, ὑπάρξει τε ἡμῖν ὁ πάντες ἂν εὐξαιντο οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες, χωρὶς ὅπλων διαπεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. [3] ταῦτα δὴ λογισαμένους ἡμᾶς οἶομαι δεῖν τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου βουλὴν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ταραχῶδῶς ἡμῖν [p. 126] ἔχει τὰ ἐντὸς τείχους, εἶσαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας δὲ καὶ κόσμου πολιτικοῦ προθεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ λέγειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξεγένετο ἡμῖν, πρὶ εἰς τοῦτο καταστήσαι τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς κληθεῖσι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραγμάτων εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς εἶχε τῶν γιγνομένων διαγνῶναι. [4] πολλῆς γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτιμήσεως ἄξιός ἦν, εἴ τις ἐκεῖνον ἀφείλ τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τούτῳ λέγειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἡξίου· οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν βεβαίως, ὅτι τοῦτον ὑπερβαλόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον ἑτέρου δυνησόμεθα τυχεῖν ἐπιτηδαιοτέρου. εἰ γὰρ

ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσσεσθαι βούλεται τις εἰκάζειν, πολὺς ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔσται χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ περὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν συνελυσσόμεθα βουλευσόμενοι.

ἀξίῳ δ' ὑμᾶς, Ἄππιε, τοὺς προεσθηκότας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀπὸ τῶν συμφερόντων οὐχὶ τὸ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ λυσιτελοῦν ὀφείλοντας σκοπεῖν, ἐάν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθ' ἡδονὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας λέγω, μὴ μοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ λοιδορίᾳ καὶ προπηλακισμῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, [p. 127] ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξας, ἐν οἷῳ κλυδωνι τὰ πράγματα σαλεύει τῆς πόλεως, τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν ἥτις ἔσται φράσω. [2] ἅπασι μὲν γὰρ ἴσως, ὅσοις τῇ πατρίδι ... ὤσω, ἀναγκαῖός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων λόγος, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὅτι γνώμης ἄρχειν ἡξίωμα διὰ τιμῆν: αἰσχύνῃ δὲ καὶ μωρία πολλὴ πρῶτον ἀναστάντα μὴ οὐχ ἃ δεῖ πρῶτον ἐπανορθώσασθαι λέγειν. ἔπειθ' ὅτι συμβέβηκεν ὄντι θείῳ πρὸς πατρός Ἀππίου τοῦ προεσθηκότος τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡδεσθαι τε πάντων μάλιστα, ὅταν εὖ τὰ κοινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπεύηται, καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι παντός ὁτουδήτινος μᾶλλον, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς. [3] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι ταύτην πολιτείας διαδεδεγμαι προαίρεσιν ἐκ προγόνων τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων λυσιτελῶν αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον ἴδιον ὑπολογίζεσθαι, ἦν οὐκ ἂν προδοίην ἐκὼν εἶναι δέ μοι ταύτην τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν καὶ οὐκ ἂν καταισχύναίμι τὰς ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετάς. [4] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καθεστῶσης πολιτείας, ὅτι πονηρῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει, καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες αὐτῇ, μέγιστον ὑμῖν [p. 128] γενέσθω τεκμήριον πάντες οἱ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες ὁ μόνον οὐδ' ἄγνοεῖν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁσημέραι καταλιπόντες τὰς πατρώας ἐστίας οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις μετατιθέμενοι τὰς οἰκήσεις, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς πλείστον ἀπέχοντας τῆς πόλεως ἀγρούς: καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν πατρικίων πολλοὶ τὰς κατ' ἄστν ποιοῦνται διατριβὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τὸν βίον ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς. [5] καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν, ὅτε καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες οἱ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἢ φιλίαν προσήκοντες ὑμῖν ὑπομένουσιν ἐντὸς τείχους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἐρμηίαν ποθεινοτέραν ἡγοῦνται τῆς πατρίδος; ὅτε γοῦν ἐδέησεν ὑμῖν καλέσαι τὴν βουλήν, ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν καθ' ἓνα καλοῦμενοι συνῆλθον, οἷς πάτριον ἦν ἅμα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ [6] μηδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν. ἄρ' οὖν τάγαθὰ φεύγοντας ὑπολαμβάνετε ἀνθρώπους καταλιπεῖν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας ἢ τὰ κακά; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τὰ κακά. καίτοι τίνος ἔλαττον οἶσεθ' εἶναι κακὸν πόλει καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἢ πολλῶν οἰκείων δεῖ σωμάτων, εἰ μέλλει βεβαίως καθέξειν τὴν τῶν προσοίκων ἀρχήν, τὸ καταλείπεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐρημοῦσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, οὔτε πολέμου κατασχόντος αὐτὴν οὔτε νόσου λοιμικῆς οὔτ' ἄλλης θεηλάτου συμφορᾶς οὐδεμιᾶς; [p. 129]

βούλεσθε οὖν ἀκοῦσαι, τινες εἰσὶν αἱ βιαζόμεναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλιπεῖν αἰτίαι ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους προγόνων καὶ ἐξηρημοῦν ἐφέστια καὶ

κτήσεις πατέρων καὶ πᾶσαν ἡγεῖσθαι γῆν ἀναγκαιοτέραν τῆς πατρίδος; οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ αἰτίας ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει. ἐγὼ δὴ φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. [2] κατηγορίαι γίνονται τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν, Ἄππιε, πολλαὶ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν: εἰ μὲν ἀληθεῖς ἢ ψευδεῖς οὐδὲν δέομαι ζητεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, γίνονται δ' οὖν ὁμως. οὐδεῖς δ', ὡς εἶπεῖν, ἔξω τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐταίρων οἰκείως τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔχει πράγμασιν. οἱ μὲν γ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, οἷς προσῆκεν ἱεράσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καρποῦσθαι τιμὰς, ἃς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦντο, ἄχθονται τούτων ἀπελαυνόμενοι δι' ὑμᾶς τὰς προγονικὰς ἀξιώσεις ἀπολωλεκότες. [3] οἱ δὲ τὴν διὰ μέσου τάξιν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ἀπράγμονα διώκοντες ἡσυχίαν, χρημάτων τ' ἀδίκους ἀρπαγὰς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὑμῖν καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς εἰς γαμετὰς ὁδύρονται γυναικάς καὶ παροινίας εἰς θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους καὶ [4] ἄλλας ὕβρεις πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς. τὸ δὲ πενέστατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος οὐτ' ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔτι κύριον γινόμενον οὐτε ψηφοφοριῶν οὐτ' εἰς ἐκκλησίας καλοῦκενον οὐτ' ἄλλης πολιτικῆς φιланθρωπίας μεταλαμβάνον οὐδεμιᾶς, διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ὑμᾶς μισεῖ καὶ τυραννίδα καλεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν. [p. 130]

πῶς οὖν ἐπανορθώσετε ταῦτα καὶ παύσεσθε δι' αἰτίας παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὄντες; τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσθ' ὑπόλοιπον εἶπεῖν. εἰ προβούλευμα τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιήσαντες ἀποδοίητε τῷ δήμῳ διαγινῶναι, πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ πάλιν ὑπάτους τ' ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ δημάρχους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὰς πατρίους, ἢ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας. [2] ἐάν τε γὰρ ἀγαπῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ὀλιγαρχοῦμενοι καὶ μένειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας ψηφίσωνται, κατὰ νόμον ἔξετε καὶ οὐ βία τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐάν τε ὑπάτους πάλιν αἰρεῖσθαι βουληθῶσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀποθήσεσθε νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ οὐ δόξετε ἀκόντων ἄρχειν τῶν ἴσων: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τυραννικόν, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἐκόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν ἀριστοκρατικόν. [3] τοῦ δὲ πολιτεύματος τούτου πρῶτον οἶομαι δεῖν ἄρξαι σὲ καὶ παῦσαι τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ κατασταθεῖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν, Ἄππιε, λυσιτελῇ γέ ποθ' ἡμῖν γενομένην, νῦν δ' ἐπαχθῇ. ἃ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πεισθῆναι μοι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιφθονον ἐξουσίαν ταύτην κερδανεῖς, ἄκουσον. [4] ἐάν μὲν ὅλον ὑμῶν τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γένηται προαιρέσεως, διὰ σὲ πάντες ὑπολήφονται τὸν ἄρξαντα καὶ τούτους γεγενῆσθαι χρηστούς: ἐάν δ' οὗτοι φιλοχωρῶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ παρανόμῳ δυναστείᾳ, σοὶ μὲν ἅπαντες εἴσονται τὴν χάριν, ὅτι μόνος ἐβουλήθης δίκαια ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ θέλοντας σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ μεγάλῃ βλάβῃ παύσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. [5] ὁμολογίας δὲ καὶ πίστεις ἀπορρήτους εἶ [p. 131] τινὰς ἀλλήλοις δεδώκατε θεοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι — τάχα γὰρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ὑμῖν πέπρακται — φυλαττομένας ἀνοσίους εἶναι νόμιζε ὡς κατὰ πολιτῶν καὶ πατρίδος, καταλυομένας δ' εὐσεβεῖς. θεοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ καλαῖς καὶ δικαίαις παραλαμβάνεσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὁμολογίαις, οὐκ ἐπ' αἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀδίκοις.

εἰ δὲ διὰ φόβον ἐχθρῶν ὀκνεῖς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, μὴ σοι κινδουνοῖ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπαχθῶσι, καὶ δίκας ἀναγκασθῆς ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δέδοικας. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μικρόθυμος οὐδ' ἀχάριστος ἔσται ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων σου μεμνησθαι, τῶν δ'

εὐεργεσιῶν ἐπιλελῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρεξετάζων τὰ νῦν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἡγήσεται συγγνώμης ἄξια, ταῦτα δ' ἐπαίνων. [2] ὑπάρξει δέ σοι καὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἔργων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ὄντων ὑπομιμνήσκειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χάριν εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπολογίαις τε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ κατηγορήματα πολλὰίς: τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡμαρτες, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων τις ἀγνοοῦντός σου: τοῦτο δ', ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦσθα τὸν πράττοντα κωλύειν ἰσότημον ὄντα: τοῦτο δ', ὡς ἐτέρου τινὸς ἔργου χρησίμου χάριν ἠναγκάσθης ἀβούλητόν τι ὑπομεῖναι. [3] πολλὺς γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος, εἰ πάσας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι βουλοίμην τὰς ἀπολογίας. καὶ οἷς μηδὲν ἀπολόγημα ὑπάρχει μήτε δίκαιον μήτ' ἐπικέες, ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ παραιτούμενοι [p. 132] πραῖνονσι τὰς τῶν ἡδικομένων ὀργάς, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἄνοιαν ἡλικίας καταφεύγοντες, οἱ δ' εἰς πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας, οἱ δ' εἰς μέγεθος ἀρχῆς, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν ἅπαντας πλανῶσαν τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοὺς τύχην. [4] ἐγὼ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστάντι ὑπισχνοῦμαι πάντων ἀμνηστίαν ὑπάρξειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐν κακοῖς εὐπρεπεῖς.

ἀλλὰ δέδοικα, μὴ πρόφασις μὲν οὐκ ἀληθὴς ὁ κίνδυνος ἧ τοῦ μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς — μυρίοις γοῦν ὑπῆρξε τυραννίδας ἀποθεμένοις μηδὲν δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν παθεῖν — , αἱ δ' ἀληθεῖς ὥσιν αἰτίαι φιλοτιμία κενὴ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς δόξης διώκουσα καὶ πόθος ἡδονῶν ὀλεθρίων, ἃς οἱ τυραννικοὶ φέρουσι βίοι. [2] εἰ δὲ βούλει μὴ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰς σκιὰς τῶν τιμῶν καὶ τῶν εὐημεριῶν διώκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἀληθεῖς τιμὰς, ἀπόδος τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τιμὰς λάμβανε παρὰ τῶν ἴσων καὶ ζήλου τύχανε παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων καὶ κλέος ἀθάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος κατάλιπε τοῖς ἐγγόνους. αὗται γάρ εἰσι βέβαιοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς τιμαὶ καὶ ἀναφαίρετοι χαριέστατοι [3] τε καὶ ἀμεταμέλητοι. τρέφε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἡδόμενος, ὣν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα δόξεις γεγονέναι δυναστείαν βαρεῖαν αὐτῆς ἀφελόμενος. [p. 133] ποιῆσαι δὲ τούτων παραδείγματα τοὺς προγόνους ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων οὐδεὶς ἐπεθύμησεν ἔξουσίας δεσποτικῆς οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐπονειδίστοις τοῦ σώματος ἐδούλευσεν ἡδοναῖς. τοιγάρτοι καὶ ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἐπαινέσθαι. [4] μαρτυρεῖται γάρ τοι παρὰ πάντων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, ἣν ἐκβαλοῦσα τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις κατεστήσατο, βεβαιότατοι φύλακες ἐγένοντο. καὶ μηδὲν τῶν σεαυτοῦ λαμπροτάτων λόγων τε καὶ πράξεων ἐπιλανθάνου. καλαὶ γὰρ αἱ πρῶται σου τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔργων ὑποθέσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ μεγάλας ἐπέθρεψαν ἡμῖν ἀρετῆς ἐλπίδας, αἷς ἀκολούθως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν σ' ἅπαντες ἀξιοῦμεν. [5] ἀναχῶρει δὴ πάλιν εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ φύσιν, Ἄππιε τέκνον, καὶ γίνου τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν πολιτευμάτων μὴ τυραννικός, ἀλλ' ἀριστοκρατικὸς καὶ φεῦγε τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλοῦντας, δι' οὓς ἐξέβης τῶν χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ παρεπλάγχθης τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει λόγον, ὅφ' ὧν ἂν γένηται τις ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ κακός, ὑπὸ τούτων πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐκ πονηροῦ γενέσθαι χρηστόν.

ταῦτά σοι πολλάκις ἐβουλήθην ὑποθέσθαι μόνῳ μόνος εἰς λόγους παραγενόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντα διδάξαι, τὰ δ' ὡς ἀμαρτάνοντα νοθετῆσαι: [p. 134] καὶ παρεγενόμην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀπῆλασαν δέ με οἱ σοὶ παῖδες ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οὐ σχολὴν ἄγειν σε λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἕτερά τινα πράττειν ἀναγκαιότερα, εἰ δὴ τί σοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας ἀναγκαιότερον ἦν. [2] τάχα δ' οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ κελευσθέντες οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γνόντες διέκλεισάν με τῆς εἰσόδου, καὶ βουλοίμην οὕτως τάληθές ἔχειν. τὸ πρᾶγμα δὴ με ἠνάγκασε τοῦτο διαλεχθῆναι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς σὲ περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ πρὸς μόνον οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. καιρὸν δ' ἔχει πάντῃ λέγεσθαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα παρ' ἀνθρώποις μᾶλλον, Ἄππιε, ἢ [3] μηδαμῇ. ἀποδεδωκώς δὴ σοι τὰ τοῦ γένους ὀφειλήματα μαρτύρομαι θεοὺς, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς κοιναῖς θυσίαις γεραίρομεν οἱ τῆς Ἀππίου γενεᾶς διάδοχοι, καὶ προγόνων δαίμονας, οἷς μετὰ θεοὺς δευτέρας τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀποδιδόμεν κοινὰς, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τούτους γῆν, ἣ κατέχει τὸν σὸν μὲν πατέρα, ἐμὸν δ' ἀδελφόν, ὅτι σοι παρέσχημαι ψυχὴν τε καὶ φωνὴν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένην, καὶ ἐπανορθῶν τὰς ἀγνοίας σου κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀξιῶ σε μὴ τοῖς κακοῖς ἰᾶσθαι τὰ κακὰ, μηδὲ τῶν πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀπολέσαι, μηδ' ἵνα τῶν [p. 135] ἴσων τε καὶ κρείττωνων ἄρχῃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων τε καὶ κακιόνων ἄρχεσθαι. [4] πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔτι σοι λέγειν βουλόμενος ὄκνῳ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω βουλευμάτων ὁ θεὸς ἄγει σε, καὶ ταῦτα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἴρηκα, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω, διακενῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρῶ. ἔχετε, ὦ βουλή, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως, τὴν ἐμὴν γνῶμην καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς καταλύσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει θορύβων τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως. εἰ δέ τις ἕτερα τούτων κρείττω ἐρεῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα νικάτω.

τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος Κλαυδίου καὶ πολλὴν ἐλπίδα τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρασχόντος, ὡς ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἄππιος μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἡξίωσεν εἰπεῖν: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγαρχῶν προελθὼν Κορνήλιος Μάρκος: ἡμεῖς μὲν, ἔφησεν, ὦ Κλαύδιε, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμφερόντων αὐτοὶ διαγινωσόμεθα τῆς σῆς οὐδὲν δεόμενοι βουλῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ ἐσμέν, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν διαφερόντων ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ φίλων οὐ σπανίζομεν, οἷς, ἐάν τι δέῃ, [2] συμβούλοις χρῆσόμεθα. παῦσαι δὴ πρᾶγμα ποιῶν ἄωρον, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος οὐ δεομένοις συμβουλῆς γνῶμας ἀποδεικνύμενος. τῷ Ἀππίῳ δ' εἴ τι βούλει παραινεῖν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι — τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθέστερον — ὅταν ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, λοιδορήσῃ. νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμου, περὶ οὗ κέκλησαι γνῶμην ἀποδειξόμενος, ὃ τι σοι φαίνεται [p. 136] λέγε καὶ παῦσαι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος φλυαρῶν. [3] μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνίσταται πάλιν ὁ Κλαύδιος κατηφῆς καὶ μεστοὺς ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρῶν καὶ φησιν: Ἄππιος μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως ἄξιον ἡγεῖται με, ὦ βουλή, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον ἐναντίον ὑμῶν: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέκλεισέ μοι, καὶ τουτὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἄβατον ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ. εἰ δὲ χρή [4] τάληθές λέγειν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελαύνομαι. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι δυναιμὴν ὀρᾶν ἀνάξιον γεγονότα τῶν προγόνων καὶ τυραννικὴν ἐζηλωκότα

παρανομίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνασκευασάμενος ἅπαντα τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς Σαβίνους ἄπειμι, πόλιν οἰκήσων Ῥήγιλλον, ἐξ ἧς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ μενῶ τὸν λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ χρόνον, ἕως ἂν οὗτοι κατέχωσι τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἀρχήν. ἐπειδὰν δ' οἷα μαντεύομαι περὶ τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν γένηται — γενήσεται δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν — [5] τότε παρέσομαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα: περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ταύτην ὑμῖν, ὦ βουλὴ, γνώμην ἀποδεικνύμαι, μηδὲν ψηφίζεσθαι περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος, ἕως ἀποδειχθῶσι νέαι ἀρχαί. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πολὺν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου κινήσας ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ φιλελευθέρῳ τῆς γνώμης ἐκάθισε. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναστὰς Λεύκιος Κοϊντίος ὁ καλούμενος Κικιννῆτος [p. 137] καὶ Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπετωλῖνος καὶ Λεύκιος Λουκρήτιος καὶ πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ πρωτεύοντες δέκα τοῦ συνεδρίου τῇ Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσετίθεντο.

ἐφ' ᾧ διαταραχθέντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον ἐβουλεύσαντο μηκέτι καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ βουλῆς ἀξίωσιν συμβούλους καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐταιρίαν. καὶ παρελθὼν Μάρκος Κορνήλιος ἀνίστησι Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃς Κοϊντῷ Φαβίῳ Οὐιβουλανῷ συνυπάτευσσε τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύοντι, δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ πολιτικούς διεξελεῖν λόγους οὐκ ἀδύνατον. [2] οὗτος ἀναστὰς ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἦν καὶ τοῦτ', ὦ βουλὴ, εἰ ταύτην ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχουσιν, οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενοι καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιοῦντες τῶν συνέδρων, τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν προσκρουσμάτων ἀπέχθειαν ἀδιάλλακτον πρὸς τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς πόλεως, οὓς ἐχρῆν% οἷόν τε δεῖ φυλάττειν, καὶ τοῖς νέοις παραινεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἀγῶνας, καὶ μὴ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ φίλους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀντιπάλους. [3] πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστιν, εἰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας [p. 138] ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα μεταφέρουσι καὶ συναπολέσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐχθροῖς βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ σωθῆναι μετὰ πάντων τῶν φίλων. ὑπερβολὴν γὰρ ἀνοίας τούτοις καὶ οὐ πόρρω θεοβλαβείας πεποιήκασιν οἱ πρόεδροι τῆς βουλῆς ἡμῶν. [4] οὗτοι γὰρ ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι μετιόντας αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχήν, ἧς αὐτοὶ νῦν κατηγοροῦσιν, ἐνίκησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐπιτηδαιότεροι φανέντες, αἰὲ πολемоῦσιν αὐτοῖς πόλεμον ἀδιάλλακτον, καὶ εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκουσιν εὐθειας, μᾶλλον δὲ μανίας, ὥσθ', ἵνα τούτους διαβάλλωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅλην ὑπομένουσιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν πατρίδα: [5] οἱ γ' ὁρῶντες μὲν ἀνάστατον τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων γενομένην, ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅσον οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐλεύσεσθαι — τὸ γὰρ διὰ μέσου χωρίον οὐ πολὺ — ἀντὶ τοῦ παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρορμᾶν τοὺς νέους ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ βοηθεῖν, ὅση γοῦν ἐν τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐστὶν ἰσχὺς, περὶ πολιτείας κόσμου νῦν ἀξιοῦσιν ὑμᾶς σκοπεῖν καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν: καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δύνανται συνιδεῖν, ὅτι γνώμας ἀσυμφόρους εἰσφέρουσι, μᾶλλον δ' εὐχὰς ἀδυνάτους ἔχουσιν. [p. 139]

σκοπεῖτε γὰρ οὕτως: προβούλευμα γενήσεται τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἔπειτ' ἐξοίσουσιν οἱ δέκα τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον

ὀρίσαντες ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τρίτην. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἀληθῶς γένοιτό τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ψηφιζομένων κύριον, ἔάν μὴ κατὰ νόμους γένηται; ἔπειθ' ὅταν αἱ φυλαὶ διενέγκωσι τὴν ψῆφον, τότε αἱ νέαι % παραιτοῦνται τὴν πόλιν ἀρχαί [2] καὶ προθήσουσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν χρόνοις τοσοῦτοις οὔσιν, ἔάν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἔλθωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ προσαγάγωσι τοῖς τείχεσι, τί ποιήσομεν, Κλαύδιε; ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς νῆ Δία: μείναθ', ἕως ἂν ἀποδείξωμεν ἑτέρας ἀρχάς. Κλαύδιος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔπεισε περὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου πράγματος μῆτε προβουλεύειν μὴτ' εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκφέρειν μῆτε δυνάμεις καταγράφειν, ἔάν μὴ τὰ περὶ [3] τὰς ἀρχὰς καταστήσωμεν ὡς βουλόμεθα. ἅπιτ' οὖν, καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσητε ὑπάτους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθείσας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα γεγονότα ἡμῖν εὐτρεπῇ, τόθ' ἦκετε περὶ διαλλαγῶν ποιησόμενοι τοὺς λόγους, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἤρξασθε ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν οὐδὲν προπεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν: καὶ ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐβλάβαστε κατὰ τὰς ἐμβολὰς εἰς χρημάτων λόγον, [4] ἅπαντα ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου διαλύσατε. τὸν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν ὄλεθρον οὐχ ὑπολογιούμεθα ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἴ τινα γύναια ἐλεύθερα ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας ἐπειράθη στρατιωτικῆς [p. 140] οὐδ' ἄλλο τῶν ἀνηκέστων οὐδέν. κἀκεῖνοι ταῦτα προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν μετριάσουσι καὶ συγχωρήσαντες τῇ πόλει νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξει καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπῇ ποιήσασθαι, τότε ἥξουσιν ἱκετηρίας φέροντες ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ παραδιδόντες ἡμῖν ἑαυτούς.

ὦ πολλῆς μὲν εὐθειας τούτων, οἷς ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔρχεται τοιαῦτα ληρεῖν, πολλῆς δ' ἀναλγησίας ἡμῶν, εἰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν ἀκοῦειν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος βουλευόμενοι. [2] οὐκ ἀνελοῦμεν ἐκ μέσου τοὺς φλυάρους; οὐ ταχέϊαν ψηφιούμεθα τῇ ὑπονοθευομένῃ χώρᾳ τὴν βοήθειαν; οὐ καθοπλιοῦμεν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πόλεις αὐτοὶ στρατευσόμεθα; ἀλλ' οἴκοι μένοντες καὶ τοῖς δέκα λοιδορούμενοι καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς καθιστάντες καὶ περὶ κόσμου πολιτικοῦ σκοποῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντ' ἐάσομεν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύσομεν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἐάσαντες τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθεῖν; [3] οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιαινόντων ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλευόμενα, ὦ πατέρες, οὐδὲ προνοίας πολιτικῆς τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεχθειῶν ἡγουμένης ἀναγκαιότερα, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικίας ἀκαίρου καὶ δυσμενείας ἀβούλου καὶ φθόνου κακοδαίμονος, ὃς οὐκ ἔῃ τοὺς [p. 141] ἔχοντας αὐτὸν σωφρονεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τούτων φιλονεικίας ἐάσατε χαίρειν, ἃ δὲ ψηφισάμενοι τῇ πόλει σωτήρια καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα ἔσεσθε βεβουλευμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φοβερά, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι λέγειν. [4] νῦν μὲν τὸν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσατε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις μετὰ πλείστης προθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς καταγράφετε τὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους ἐξελευσόμενας. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος ἡμῖν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ, καὶ ἀναστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αἱ δυνάμεις εἰρήνης γενομένης, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας σκοπεῖτε, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τοὺς δέκα περὶ

πάντων, ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπραξαν, καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς ψηφοφορεῖτε καὶ δικαστήρια καθίζετε καὶ τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἐκατέρου τούτων ἀξίους, ὅταν ἐφ' ὑμῖν γένηται ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω, μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ καιροὶ δουλεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καιροῖς τὰ πράγματα. [5] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου Κορνηλίου τὴν γνώμην οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνιστάμενοι χωρὶς ὀλίγων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο προαιρέσεως: οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ταῦτα προσήκοντα ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι, οἱ δ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τοὺς δέκα τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦν γάρ τι καὶ κατεπτηχὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἐκ τῶν συνέδρων.

ὡς δ' αἱ πλείους γνώμαι διηγορεύθησαν, καὶ παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖν ἐδόκουν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυροῦντες [p. 142] τῶν ἐτέρων, τότε Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐκάλουν, ὃν ἔφην εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχαῖς βουλόμενόν τι λέγειν κεκωλῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀναστὰς τοιοῦτους διεξῆλθε λόγους: [2] τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν δέκα ὁρᾷτε, ὧ πατέρες, οἱ κατ' ἀρχὰς τ' οὐκ ἐπέτρεψάν μοι λέγειν ὅσα προηρούμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀποδεδώκασιν λόγον ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὅτι τῇ τε Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσθέμενος οὐδὲν ὠφελήσω τὸ κοινὸν ὀλίγων αὐτῇ συνειρηκότων: ἐτέραν τε γνώμην παρὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αὐτοῖς ἀποφηνάμενος, κἂν τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθῶμαι, διακενῆς ἐρραφωδικῶς ἔσομαι. [3] εὐαρίθμητοι γὰρ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ μετ' ἐμὲ ἀναστησόμενοι, οὓς ἐὰν ἅπαντας ὁμογνώμονας λάβω, τί γενήσεται μοι πλέον οὐδὲ πολλοστήν ἔξοντι μοῖραν τῶν Κορνηλίῳ συναγορευόντων; οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ ταῦθ' ὑφορώμενος ὀκνήσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην εἰπεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσῃτε πάντων, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι. [4] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς δεκαδαρχίας, ὃν τρόπον ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσα Κλαύδιος ὁ βέλτιστος εἶπε, καὶ ἐμοὶ νομίσατε εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ψήφισμα: καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα εἴρηται τῷ [5] ἀνδρὶ κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορνήλιος εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀπάγειν ἐπειράτο τὴν γνώμην πολλοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ χρόνους ἀποφαίνων ταῖς πολιτικαῖς οἰκονομίαις γενησομένους ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ χλευάζειν [p. 143] ἐπεχείρει πράγματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια χλευασμῶν, οἷς παρακρουσάμενος ὑμᾶς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥχετο φέρων, ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν Κλαυδίου γνώμην διαλέξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς: ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἀσύμφορος, οὐδὲ τῶν διασυράντων αὐτὴν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν: καὶ διδάξω, πῶς ἂν ἢ τε χώρα δι' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, καὶ δίκην δοῖεν οἱ τολμήσαντες αὐτὴν κακῶς ποιεῖν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀπολάβοιμεν ἀριστοκρατίαν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα γένοιτο συναγωνιζομένων ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μηδενὸς τάναντία πράττειν ἀξιοῦντος, σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν ἀποδεικνύμενος ὑμῖν, τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παραδείγματα φέρων. ἔνθα γὰρ ἡ πεῖρα διδάσκει τὸ συμφέρον, τί δεῖ στοχασμῶν ἐκεῖ;

μέμνησθε, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐθνῶν ὥσπερ νῦν δυνάμεις ἐνέβαλον, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, αἱ δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρω χρόνον Γαίῳ Ναυτίου καὶ Λευκίου Μινυκίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐχόντων, ἕνατον ἢ δέκατον ἔτος οἶμαι τουτί. [2] τότε τοίνυν ἀποστειλάντων ὑμῶν νεότητά πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ἔθνη τῷ

μὲν ἑτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς δυσχωρίας ἀναγκασθέντι κατακλεῖσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον προᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξεγένετο, πολιορκεῖσθαι δ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι καὶ κινδυνεύειν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀλῶναι: Ναυτίῳ δ' ἀντικαθημένῳ Σαβίνων μάχας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τίθεσθαι πρὸς [p. 144] τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ μὴδ' οἷω τ' εἶναι τοῖς κάμνουσι τῶν σφετέρων βοηθεῖν. ἦν τ οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι τῆς ἐν Αἰκανοῖς στρατῆς ἀναρπασθείσης οὐδ' ἡ Σαβίνους πολεμοῦσα ἀνθέξει συνελθόντων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ^[3] τῶν πολεμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοιοῦτων δὴ κινδύνων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐντὸς τείχους ὁμονοούντων τίνα βοήθειαν εὖρασθε ὑμεῖς περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελθόντες; ἥπερ ὤνησεν ὁμολογουμένως πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ φερομένην τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἀτυχές πτῶμα ὥρθωσεν, ἀρχὴν ἀπεδείξατε μίαν αὐτοκράτορα πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας καταλύσαντες ἀρχάς, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι δικτάτωρ ἀπεδέδεικτο Λεύκιος Κοϊντίος ὁ βέλτιστος, ^[4] οὐδ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸτ' ὦν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγρῷ. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴστε δήπου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιοχρέους παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τὸ κινδυνεῦον στρατόπεδον ἐρρύσατο καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιμωρήσατο καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβε: καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μόνασι ἅπαντα διαπραξάμενος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο σαθρὸν ἦν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπανορθωσάμενος ἀπέθετο τὰς ῥάβδους: καὶ τὸ κωλύον οὐδὲν ἐγένετο νέαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυρωθῆναι μιᾷ βουλομένων [p. 145] ὑμῶν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παράδειγμα μιμησαμένους ἡμᾶς οἴομαι δεῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, δικτάτορα ἐλέσθαι, πρὶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελθεῖν: ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπερβαλώμεθα τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκέτι συνάξουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ δέκα βουλευσομένους ὑπὲρ οὐδενός: ^[5] ἵνα δὲ καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἡ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀνάρρησις γένηται, τὴν μεσοβασίλειον ἀρχὴν ἐλέσθαι, τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκλέξαντας τῶν πολιτῶν: ὁ ποιεῖν σὺνηθές ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ὅταν μῆτε βασιλεῖς ἔχητε μῆτε ὑπάτους μὴτ' ἄλλην νόμιμον ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὥσπερ νῦν οὐκ ἔχετε. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδράσι τοῦτοις παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος, ^[6] καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφήρηται. ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἃ παραινῶ πράττειν, ὧ πατέρες, ὑμῖν, καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ δυνατά. ἦν δὲ Κορνήλιος εἰσηγεῖται γνώμην, κατάλυσις ὁμολογουμένη τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὑμῶν ἐστιν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἅπαξ ὀπλων οἱ δέκα γένωνται κύριοι τῇδε τῇ προφάσει τοῦ πολέμου, δέδοικα μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς χρήσωνται. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀποθέσθαι τὰς ῥάβδους, ἧς ποῦ γε τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθήσονται; λογιζόμενοι δὴ ταῦτα φυλάττεσθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν προβλέπετε. κρείττων γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια τῆς μεταμελείας καὶ τὸ μὴ πιστεῦειν τοῖς πονηροῖς σωφρονέστερον τοῦ προπιστεῦσαντας κατηγορεῖν.

ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Οὐαλερίου κεχαρισμένην τοῖς πλείοσιν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν εἰκάσαι ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνισταμένων [p. 146] — ἦν δ' αὐτῶν τὸ νέον τῆς βουλῆς μέρος τὸ λειπόμενον — ταῦτα ἡγουμένων κράτιστα εἶναι πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπεδείξαντο τὰς ἑαυτῶν γνώμας, καὶ τέλος ἔδει τὰ βουλευόμενα λαβεῖν, Οὐαλερίου μὲν ἡξίου διαδικασίαν τοὺς δέκα προθεῖναι ταῖς γνώμας, αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς καλοῦντας, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συνέδρων

ἀναθέσθαι βουλομένοις τὰς προτέρας ἀποφάσεις ταῦτα λέγων πιθανὸς ἦν: [2] Κορνήλιος δ' ὁ συμβουλευὼν τοῖς δέκα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπitrέψαι τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀπεμάχετο κεκρίσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη λέγων καὶ τέλος ἔχειν νόμιμον ἀπάντων ἐψηφικόντων, ἡξίου τε διαριθμεῖν τὰς γνώμας καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν. [3] τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ὑφ' ἑκατέρου μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας τε καὶ κραυγῆς, καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου διαστάντος πρὸς ἑκάτερον, τῶν μὲν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πολιτεύματος βουλομένων τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συλλαμβανόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰ χεῖρω προαιρουμένων καὶ ὅσοις κίνδυνός τις ὑπωπτεῦετο ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔσεσθαι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ συναγορευόντων: λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν οἱ δέκα τοῦ πράττειν ὃ τι δόξειεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου ταραχήν, τῇ Κορνηλίου προστίθενται γνώμῃ. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν, Ἀππίος, ἔφη: [4] περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμου συνεκαλέσαμεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλὴ, διαγνωσομένους, καὶ λόγον ἀπεδώκαμεν ἅπανσι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἄχρι τῶν νεωτάτων ἐν [p. 147] τῷ προσήκοντι καλοῦντες ἕκαστον τόπῳ. τριῶν δ' ἀποδειξαμένων γνώμας διαφόρους, Κλαυδίου τε καὶ Κορνηλίου καὶ Οὐαλερίου τελευταίου, διέγνωτε περὶ αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς οἱ λοιποὶ, καὶ παριῶν ἕκαστος ἀπεφίηνατο πάντων ἀκουόντων, ἢ προσετίθετο γνώμῃ. [5] ἀπάντων δὴ γεγονόντων κατὰ νόμον, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς πλείοσιν ὑμῶν Κορνήλιος ἐδόκει τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθέσθαι, τοῦτον ἀπεφηνάμεθα νικᾶν καὶ τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τούτου γνώμην γράψαντες ἐκφέρομεν. Οὐαλέριος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτες ὅταν αὐτοὶ τύχωσιν ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς, δίκας τ' ἤδη τέλος ἔχουσας ἀναδίκους ποιεῖτωσαν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς φίλον ᾖ, καὶ βουλευμάτων διεγνωσμένα ὑπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν ἄκυρα καθιστάτωσαν. [6] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα κελεύσας ἀναγνῶναι τὸ προβούλευμα, ἐν ᾧ τὴν καταγραφὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς δέκα παραλαβεῖν ἐτέτακτο, διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον.

μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς ἐταιρίας σοβαροὶ καὶ θρασεῖς περιήεσαν ὡς δὴ κρείττους τῶν ἐτέρων γεγονότες καὶ διατεπραγμένοι μηκέτι καταλυθῆναι σφῶν τὴν δυναστείαν, ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ ὅπλων καὶ [2] στρατιᾶς γένωνται κύριοι: οἱ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονοῦντες ἀνιαρῶς διακείμενοι καὶ περιφόβως ὡς οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἔπι γενησόμενοι κύριοι καὶ διέστησαν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, τῶν μὲν ἀγεννεστέρων τὰς [p. 148] φύσεις ἅπαντα συγχωρεῖν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἀναγκαζομένων καὶ κατανέμειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς ἐταιρίας, τῶν δ' ἦττον φοφοδῶν ἀφισταμένων τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδος καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα βίον μεθαρμοττομένων: ὅσοις δὲ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς τρόποις ἦν, ἰδίας ἐταιρίας κατασκευαζομένων καὶ συμφρονούντων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. [3] τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐταιριῶν ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τολμήσαντες ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς δεκαδαρχίας εἰπεῖν, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Μάρκος Ὀράπιος, φραζάμενοι τε τὰς οἰκίας ὅπλοις καὶ φυλακὴν θεραπόντων καὶ πελατῶν καρτερὰν περὶ ἑαυτοῦς ἔχοντες, ὡς μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ βιαίου παθεῖν μηδὲν μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ δολίου. [4] ὅσοις δ' οὔτε θεραπεύειν τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίαν βουλομένοις ἦν οὔτε

μηδενὸς ἐπιστρέφειν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἐν ἀπράκτῳ ζῆν ἡσυχίᾳ καλὸν ἐδόκει, πολεμεῖν τ' ἀνὰ κράτος οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ καθαιρεθῆναι δυναστείαν τηλικαύτην ἀνόητον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, κατέλιπον τὴν πόλιν. ἡγεμῶν δὲ τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν ἐπιφανὴς Γάιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ τοῦ κορυφασιότατου [p. 149] τῆς δεκαδαρχίας Ἀππίου θεῖος, ἐμπεδῶν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀξιῶν οὐκ ἔπεισεν. ἡκολούθει δ' αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ἐταίρων ὄχλος, [5] πολὺς δὲ πελατῶν. τοῦτου δ' ἀρξαμένου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πολιτικὸν πλῆθος οὐκέτι λάθρα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἀθρόον ἐξέλιπε τὴν πατρίδα, τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον ἀγανακτοῦντες τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν κωλύειν πύλας τ' ἀποκλείσαντες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τινὰς συναρπάσαντες, ἔπειτα — δέος γὰρ εἰσηλθεν αὐτοῖς, μὴ πρὸς ἀλκὴν οἱ κωλυόμενοι τράπωνται, καὶ λογισμὸς ὀρθὸς ὡς κρεῖττον εἶη σφίσι ἐκποδῶν εἶναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ μένοντας ἐνοχλεῖν — ἀνοιξαντες τὰς πύλας ἀφῆκαν τοὺς θέλοντας ἀπιέναι, οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλήρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπελείπετο ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγαῖς φέρεσθαι λειποστρατίαν ἐπενεγκόντες ἐδήμευσαν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐταίροις ὥσανει παρὰ [6] τοῦ δήμου πριαμένοις ἐχαρίσαντο. ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματα προστεθέντα τοῖς προτέροις πολλῶν δυσμενεστέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ τοὺς δημοτικούς. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἐπεξήμαρτον ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας διαμεῖναι χρόνον· ἡ γὰρ φυλάττουσα τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν στάσις ἔτι διέμενεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, [p. 150] διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀυξηθεῖσα χρόνων, [7] δι' ἣν ἔχαιρον ἑκάτεροι τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς· οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πατρικίων τεταπεινωμένον ὀρῶντες καὶ τὴν βουλήν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν κοινῶν οὔσαν κυρίαν, οἱ δὲ πατρικιοὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντα ἰσχύν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα ἀφείλαντο· αὐθαδεῖα δὲ πολλῇ πρὸς ἄμφω τὰ μέρη χρώμενοι καὶ οὗτ' ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μετριάζοντες οὗτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει σωφρονοῦντες ὁμονοῆσαι πάντας ἠνάγκασαν καὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, ὅπλων γεννηθέντας κυρίους διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. [8] τὰ δ' ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ δι' ἃ κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου — τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα προπηλακίζοντες ἐξηγρίωσαν — τοιαύδε ἦν.

ὅτε τὸ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ψήφισμα ἐκύρωσαν, καταγράψαντες ἐν τάχει τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τριχῇ νεύσαντες δύο μὲν τάγματα κατέλιπον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλακῆς τῶν ἐντὸς τείχους ἕνεκεν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν δύο τούτων ταγμάτων Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὁ προεστηκὼς τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Σπόριος Ὀππίος. τρία δὲ ἔχοντες ἐξήγον ἐπὶ Σαβίνους Κόιντος Φάβιος καὶ [2] Κόιντος Ποιτέλιος καὶ Μάνιος Ῥαβολήιος. πέντε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα παραλαβόντες Μάρκος τε Κορνήλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Μάρκος Σέργιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ τελευταῖος Καίσιων Δουέλλιος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον ἀφίκοντο· συνεστρατεύετο δ' [p. 151] αὐτοῖς Λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπικουρικὸν οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλῆθος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐχώρει κατὰ νοῦν τοσαύτην μὲν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐπαγομένοις,

τοσαύτην δὲ συμμαχίαν. [3] οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν, ὅτι νεοσύλλεκτοι ἦσαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι, πλησίον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ τὰς τ' ἀγορὰς ἀγομένας ἀφηροῦντο λοχῶντες τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ προνομὰς ἐξιοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἵππεῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθοιεν ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς πρὸς φάλαγγα μαχόμενοι πανταχῇ πλεον ἔχοντες ἀπῆεσαν, ἐθελοκακούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς καὶ οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πειθομένων οὔτε ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις βουλομένων. [4] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους στρατεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι κακοῖς σωφρονισθέντες ἐκόντες ἔγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα: καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἀναστήσαντες τὸν στρατὸν ἀπῆγον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀνάξευξιν, ἕως ἐπὶ πόλιν Κρουστομέρειαν, ἣ ἐστὶν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας θέμενοι τὴν παρεμβολὴν πολλὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων πληγὰς καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ μένειν ἀξιοῦντες ὥς ἐπανορθωσόμενοι τὰς ἐλαττώσεις οἴκτιστα πράγματα ἔπαθον. [5] ὡσάμενοι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοὺς ὑποστάντας τοῦ χάρακος καταβαλόντες ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων: καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἀμυνομένους [p. 152] ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τραυματῖαι τε οἱ πλείους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες ἀπολωλεκότες εἰς πόλιν Τύσκλον ἀφικνοῦντο: σκηνὰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα καὶ θεράποντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν οἱ πολέμιοι διήρπασαν. [6] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν ἐχθροὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ οἱ τέως ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τὸ μῖσος, φανεροὺς ἐποιοῦν αὐτοὺς τότε χαίροντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις τῶν στρατηγῶν: καὶ ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ χεῖρ περὶ τὸν Ὀράτιόν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον, οὓς ἔφην ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἐταιρειῶν.

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συνάρχουσιν ὅπλα τε καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον καὶ τᾶλλα ὧν ἐδέοντο ἐπεχορήγουν τὰ τε δημόσια καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ ἐκ πολλῆς ὑπεροφίας λαμβάνοντες, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνδρῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἐξ ἀπάσης φυλῆς τοὺς ὅπλα φέρειν δυναμένους ἀπέστειλαν, ὥστ' ἐκπληρωθῆναι τοὺς λόχους: τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελῇ φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο φρουραῖς τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους καταλαμβανόμενοι τόπους, μὴ τι λάθωσι παρακινήσαντες οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου συνεστῶτες. [2] ἐπέσκηπτὸν τε δι' ἀπορρήτων τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων συνάρχουσι τοὺς ἐναντιούμενους σφίσι διαφθεῖρειν, [p. 153] τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἀδήλως, ὧν δ' ἐλάττων ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φανεροῦ, προφάσεις αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐπιφέροντας, ἵνα δικαίως δόξωσιν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ἐγίνετο ταῦτα: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ προνομὰς ἀποστελλόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' ἀγορὰν παρατέμψαι κομιζομένην, οἱ δ' ἄλλας τινὰς ἐπιτελέεσθαι πολεμικὰς χρείας, ἔξω γενόμενοι τοῦ χάρακος οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι ὤφθησαν. [3] οἱ δὲ ταπεινότατοι φυγῆς ἄρχειν κατηγορηθέντες ἢ τὰ ἀπόρρητα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους ἐκφέρειν ἢ τάξιν μὴ φυλάττειν, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ καταπλήξεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπώλλυντο. ἐγίνετο δὲ διχόθεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλεθρος, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους συμπλοκαῖς

διαφθειρομένων, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ποθούντων κατάστασιν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπολλυμένων.

πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄλπιον ἐγίνετο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων καίτοι συχνῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἐλάττων τοῖς πλήθεσι λόγος ἦν, ἐνὸς δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανεστάτου τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πλείστας ἀρετὰς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις ἀποδειξαμένου θάνατος ὥμους καὶ ἀνόσιος ἐπιτελεσθεὶς ἐν θατέρῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἔνθα οἱ τρεῖς ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἅπαντας ἐτοίμους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν τοὺς ἐκεῖ. [2] ἦν δ' ὁ φονευθεὶς Σικκιος, ὁ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ ἐξ ἁπασῶν ἀριστεῖα λαβὼν, ὃν ἔφην ἀπολελυμένον ἤδη στρατείας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκούσιον τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς συνάρασθαι πολέμου, [p. 154] σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωκότων ἤδη τὰς κατὰ νόμον στρατείας εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπαγόμενον: μεθ' ὧν ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολέμιων εἰς πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐδόκει, τοῦ τε χάρακος ἐκράτησε καὶ τῆς ὀλοσχεροῦς νίκης αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπάτοις. [3] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει διεξιόντα λόγους κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἀνάνδρων τε καὶ ἀπείρων πολέμου, ἐκποδῶν ποιῆσαι σπεύδοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄλπιον εἰς ὁμιλίας προὔκαλοῦντο φιλανθρώπους καὶ συνδιαπορεῖν σφίσιν ἡξίου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ἐπανορθωθείη τὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀμαρτήματα λέγειν παρεκάλουν, καὶ τελευτώντες ἔπεισαν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Κρουστομερείᾳ χάρακα αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα πρεσβευτικὴν. ἔστι δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατον τε καὶ τιμιώτατον ὁ πρεσβευτὴς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξουσίαν μὲν ἄρχοντος ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν, ἀσυλίαν δὲ καὶ σεβασμὸν ἱερέως. [4] ὡς δ' ἀφίκετο, φιλοφρονουμένων αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δεομένων συστρατηγεῖν μένοντα, καὶ τινὰς καὶ δωρεὰς τὰς μὲν διδόντων ἤδη, τὰς δ' ὑπισχνουμένων, ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν καὶ τῇ γοητείᾳ τῶν λόγων οὐ συνειδὼς ὡς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐγίνετο, στρατιωτικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον [p. 155] ἀπλοῦς τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπείθετο αὐτοῖς, ὅσα συμφέρειν ὑπελάμβανε, καὶ πρῶτον πάντων παρήνει μετὰγειν τὴν παρεμβολὴν εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ἐκ τῆς σφετέρης: τὰς τε βλάβας διεξιὼν τὰς τότε γινομένας καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐπιλογιζόμενος, ὅσας ἔμελλον ἔξειν μεταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι.

οἱ δ' ἀσμένως δέχεσθαι τὰς παραινέσεις σκηψάμενοι: τί οὖν, ἔφασαν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνῃ τῆς ἀναζεῦξεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον προκατασκεψάμενος; ἐμπειρίαν δ' ἱκανὴν ἔχεις τῶν τόπων διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας, λόχον δὲ σοι δώσομεν ἐπιλέκτων νέων εὐζώνῳ ἐσταλμένων ὀπλίσει: σοὶ δὲ ἵππος τε διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν παρέστω, καὶ ὀπλισμὸς ὁ τοῖς τηλικούτοις πρέπων. [2] ὑποδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σικκίου καὶ φιλοῦς αἰτήσαντος ἑκατὸν ἐπιλέκτους οὐδένα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἐκπέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐταίρων τοὺς ἰταμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενοι, οἷς ἐπέσκηψαν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους μισθοὺς τῆς ἀνδροφονίας ὑποσχόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺ προελθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εἰς χωρίον ἤλθον ὀχθηρὸν καὶ στενόπορον καὶ χαλεπὸν ἵππῳ διεξελθεῖν, ὅτι μὴ βάδην ἀνιόντι, διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα τῶν ὄχθων, σύνθημα δόντες ἀλλήλοις

στίφος ἐποιοῦν ὡς ἅμα χωρήσοντες ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἄθροοι. θεράπων δέ τις ὑπασπιστὴς τοῦ Σικκίου τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθὸς εἰκάσας [p. 156] τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μηνυτὴς γίνεται τῷ δεσπότῃ. [3] κἀκεῖνος ὡς ἔγνω κατακλειόμενον αὐτὸν εἰς δυσχωρίας, ἔνθα οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλάσαι τὸν ἵππον, καθάλλεται τε καὶ στάς ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχθον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖη πρὸς αὐτῶν, τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν μόνον ἔχων τοὺς ἐπὶόντας ὑπέμεινεν. ὀρμησάντων δὲ ἅμα πάντων πολλῶν ὄντων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει μὲν περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα, τραυματίζει δὲ καὶ διπλασίους. ἐδόκει δ’ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας διαφθεῖραι μαχόμενος, εἰ συνήεσαν ὁμόσε. [4] οἱ δ’ ἄρα συμφρονήσαντες, ὡς ἄμαχον εἶη χρῆμα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιεν αὐτὸν συστάδην, τῆς μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀπείχοντο μάχης, προσωτέρω δ’ ἀποστάντες ἔβαλλον οἱ μὲν σαννίοις, οἱ δὲ χερμάσιν, οἱ δὲ ξύλοις· τινὲς δ’ αὐτῶν προσελθόντες ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων τῷ ὄχθῳ καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ κεφαλῆς κατεκύλιον ὑπερμεγέθεις ἄνωθεν πέτρας, ἕως ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας βαλλομένων καὶ βάρους τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐπικαταραττομένων διέφθειραν αὐτόν. Σικκίος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχεν.

οἱ δὲ διαπραξάμενοι τὸν φόνον ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄγοντες τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ διέσπειραν λόγον, ὡς ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμίων λόχος τὸν τε Σικκίον ἀποκτείνει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄνδρας, οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχεν, αὐτοὶ τε πολλὰ τραύματα λαβόντες [p. 157] μόλις αὐτοὺς ἀποφύγοιεν. καὶ ἐδόκουν ἅπασιν πιστὰ λέγειν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθέ γ’ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τοῦ φόνου γεγονότος καὶ μηδένα μηνυτὴν ἔχοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἅπαντα ἐπισκοποῦσης τὰ θνητὰ πράγματα δίκης ἐξηλέγχθησαν τεκμηρίοις ἀναμφισβητήτοις. [2] οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταφῆς τε δημοσίας ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τιμαῖς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαφόρου, διὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ’ ὅτι πρεσβύτης ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἀπολυόμενος εἰς κίνδυνον ἐκούσιον ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος, ψηφίζονται συνελθόντες εἰς ἓν ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων ἐξελεθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν παρακομισθεῖη. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων δι’ εὐλάβειαν, μὴ τινα παράσχοιεν αὐτοῖς ὑποψίαν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλῆς καλῶ καὶ προσήκοντι ἔργῳ ἐνιστάμενοι, [3] λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐξήεσαν. ἐλθόντες δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὡς εἶδόν οὔτε δρυμοὺς οὔτε φάραγγας οὔτ’ ἄλλο χωρίον, ἔνθα ὑποκαθίζειν ἐστὶ λόχους ἔθος, ἀλλὰ ψιλὸν καὶ περιφανῆ καὶ στενόπορον ὄχθον, δι’ ὑποψίας ἔλαβον εὐθέως τὸ πραχθέν· ἔπειτα τοῖς νεκροῖς προσελθόντες ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὸν τε Σικκίον αὐτὸν ἀσκύλευτον ἐρριμμένον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἐν [p. 158] θαύματι ἦσαν, εἰ πολέμιοι κρατήσαντες ἐχθρῶν μήτε [4] ὄπλα περιεῖλαντο μήτ’ ἐσθῆτα περιέδυσαν. διερευνώμενοί τε τὰ πέριξ ἅπαντα ὡς οὔτε στίβον ἵππων οὔτ’ ἵχνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν εὕρισκον ἔξω τῶν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, πρᾶγμα ἀμήχανον ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι πολεμίους ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς σφετέροις ἀφανεῖς, ὥσπερ πτηνοὺς τινας ἢ διοπετεῖς. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ φίλων τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπολωλέναι, [5] τὸ μηδένα τῶν

πολεμίων εὐρεθῆναι νεκρόν. οὐ γὰρ ἄκοντι γ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἀποθανεῖν Σικκίον, ἄνδρα καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνυπόστατον, οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπασπιστήν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πεσόντας ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς γενομένης τῆς μάχης. ἔτεκμήραντο δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Σικκίος πολλὰς εἶχε πληγὰς τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ χερμάδων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ σαυνίων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ μαχαιρῶν, καὶ ὁ ὑπασπιστής· οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀνηρημένοι πάντες μαχαιρῶν ἢ χερμάδων ἢ σαυνίων, βέλους δὲ οὐδεμίαν. [6] ἀγανάκτησις δὴ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο πάντων καὶ βοή καὶ πολλὺς ὄδυρμός· ὡς δὲ κατωλοφύραντο τὴν συμφορὰν ἀράμενοι καὶ κομίσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, πολλὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβῶν, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἤξιουν κατὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἀποκτεῖναι νόμον τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους· εἰ δὲ μή, δικαστήριον αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι [p. 159] παραχρῆμα. καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ κατηγορεῖν μέλλοντες αὐτῶν. [7] ὡς δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν εἰσήκουον ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τ' ἄνδρας ἀπεκρῦψαντο καὶ τὰς δίκας ἀνεβάλοντο φήσαντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ λόγον ἀποδώσειν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖν, μαθόντες ὅτι τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα ἦν, τὸν μὲν Σικκίον ἔθαιπτον, ἐκκομιδὴν τε ποιησάμενοι λαμπροτάτην καὶ πυρὰν νήσαντες ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαρχόμενοι κατὰ δύναμιν, ὧν νόμος ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν τιμὴν φέρεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἡλλοτριοῦντο πάντες καὶ γνώμην εἶχον ὡς ἀποστησόμενοι. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ Κρουστομέρειαν καὶ Φιδίηννην στράτευμα διὰ τὸν Σικκίου τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ θάνατον ἐχθρὸν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν.

τὸ δ' ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας καθιδρυμένον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει πλῆθος ἅπαν διὰ ταύτας ἐξεπολεμώθη τὰς αἰτίας πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν, Λεύκιος Οὐεργίνιος, οὐδενὸς χείρων τὰ πολεμικά, λόχου τινὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πέντε τάγμασιν ἐτάχθη τοῖς ἐπ' Αἰκανοὺς στρατευσαμένοις. [2] τοῦτῳ θυγάτηρ ἔτυχεν οὔσα καλλίστη τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρθένων τὸ πατρῷον ὄνομα φέρουσα, ἣν ἐνεγγυήσατο Λεύκιος εἷς ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων υἱὸς Ἰκιλίου τοῦ πρώτου τε καταστησαμένου τὴν δημαρχίᾳ [p. 160] [3] κῆν ἐξουσίαν καὶ πρώτου λαβόντος. ταύτην τὴν κόρην ἐπίγαμον οὔσαν ἤδη θεασάμενος Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμὼν ἀναγινώσκουσαν ἐν γραμματιστοῦ — ἣν δὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τότε τῶν παιδῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν — εὐθύς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους τῆς παιδὸς ἐάλω καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν ἐγένετο πολλὰ· κίς ἀναγκαζόμενος παριέναι τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἤδη κρα- [4] τούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἠδύνατο πρὸς γάμον αὐτὴν λαβεῖν ἐκείνην τε ὁρῶν ἐγγεγυημένην ἐτέρῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων γυναῖκα γαμετὴν, καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἀξιώων ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους ἀρμόσασθαι γάμον, δι' ὑπεροψίαν τῆς τύχης καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀνέγραψε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειράθη διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τὴν κόρην, καὶ προσ- ἐπεμπέ τινας αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰς τροφούς αὐτῆς γυναῖκας — ἣν γὰρ ὀρφανὴ μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς — διδούς τε πολλὰ καὶ ἔτι πλείονα τῶν διδομένων ὑπισχνούμενος. παρ- ηγγέλλετο δὲ τοῖς πειρωμένοις τὰς τροφούς μὴ λέγειν, τίς ὁ τῆς κόρης ἐστὶν ἐρῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν δυναμένων τις εὖ ποιεῖν οὐς βουληθεῖη καὶ κακῶς. [5] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ

καὶ φυλακῆς ἑώρα τὴν κόρην κρείττονος ἢ πρότερον ἀξιομένην, φλεγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἱταμωτέραν ἔγνω βαδίζειν ὁδόν. μεταπεμφάμενος δὴ τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πελατῶν, Μάρκον Κλαύδιον, ἄνδρα τολμηρὸν καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔτοιμον, τὸ τε πάθος αὐτῷ διηγεῖται καὶ διδάξας, ὅσα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο καὶ λέγειν, ἀποστέλλει συχνοὺς [p. 161] ^[6] τῶν ἀναιδεστάτων ἐπαγόμενον. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς παρθένου καὶ φανερώς ἄγειν ἐβούλετο δι' ἀγορᾶς. κραυγῆς δὲ γε- νομένης καὶ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου κωλυόμενος ὅποι προηρεῖτο τὴν κόρην ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρα- γίνεται. ἐκάθητο δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τηνικαῦτα μόνος Ἀππίος χρηματίζων τε καὶ δικάζων τοῖς δεομένοις. βουλομένου δ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν κραυγὴ τε καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν ἐκ τοῦ περιστῶτος ὄχλου, πάντων ἀξιούντων περι- μένειν, ἕως ἔλθωσιν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης· καὶ ὁ ^[7] Ἀππίος οὕτως ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν. ὥς δ' ὀλίγος ὁ μεταξὺ χρόνος ἐγεγόνει, καὶ παρῆν ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος τῆς παρθένου Πόπλιος Νομιτώριος φίλους τε πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐμφανής, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Λεῦκιος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πα- τρὸς ἐνεγγυημένος τὴν κόρην, χεῖρα περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων νέων δημοτικῶν καρτερὰν. ὥς δὲ τῷ βήματι προσ- ῆλθεν, ἀσθμαίνων ἔτι καὶ μετέωρος τὸ πνεῦμα λέγειν ἡξίου, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τολμήσας ἄψασθαι παιδὸς ἀστῆς καὶ τί βουλόμενος.

σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης Μάρκος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς παιδὸς ἐπιλαβόμενος τοιοῦτον διεξῆλθε λόγον· οὐδὲν οὔτε προπετὲς οὔτε βίαιον πέπρακται μοι περὶ τὴν κόρην, Ἀππιε Κλαύδιε· κύριος δ' αὐτῆς ὢν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄγω. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐστὶν ἐμή, μάθε. [p. 162] ^[2] μοι θεράπαινα πατρικὴ πολλοὺς πάνυ δουλεύουσα χρόνους. ταύτην κύουσαν ἡ Οὐεργινίου γυνὴ συνήθη καὶ εἰσοδῖαν οὔσαν ἔπεισεν ἂν τέκη, δοῦναι τὸ παιδίον αὐτῇ. κάκεινη φυλάττουσα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτης τῆς θυγατρὸς πρὸς μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐσκήφατο νεκρὸν τεκεῖν, τῇ δὲ Νομιτωρίᾳ δίδωσι τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ὑποβάλλεται καὶ τρέφει παίδων οὗτ' ἀρρένων οὔτε θηλειῶν οὔσα μήτηρ. ^[3] πρότερον οὖν ἐλάνθανέ με ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ διὰ μηνύσεως ἐπιγνοὺς καὶ μάρτυρας ἔχων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἐξητακῶς ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων καταφεύγω νόμον, ὃς οὐ τῶν ὑποβαλλομένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μητέρων εἶναι τὰ ἔκγονα δικαιοῖ, ἐλευθέρων μὲν οὐσῶν ἐλεύθερα, δούλων δὲ δοῦλα, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα κυρίου, ^[4] οὓς ἂν καὶ αἱ μητέρες αὐτῶν ἔχωσι. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἀξιῶ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπαίνης ἄγειν καὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν βουλόμενος, ἂν ἀντιποιῇται τις ἐγγυητὰς καθιστὰς ἀξιοχρέους ἄξειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην· εἰ δὲ ταχεῖαν βούλεται τις γενέσθαι τὴν διάγνωσιν, ἔτοιμος ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν τὴν δίκην αὐτίκα μάλᾳ, καὶ μὴ διεγγυᾶν τὸ σῶμα μηδ' ἀναβολὰς τῷ πράγματι προσάγειν· ὅποτέραν δ' ἂν οὔτοι βουλευθῶσι τῶν αἰρέσεων, ἐλέσθωσαν. [p. 163]

τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος Κλαυδίου καὶ πολλὴν προσθέντος δέησιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐλαττωθῆναι τῶν ἀντιδίκων, ὅτι πελάτης ἦν καὶ ταπεινός, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τῆς κόρης θεῖος ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα εἰρήσθαι

προσήκοντα εἶπε: πατέρα μὲν οὖν εἶναι τῆς κόρης λέγων Οὐεργίνιον ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ὃν ἀποδημεῖν στρατευόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως: μητέρα δὲ γενέσθαι Νομιτωρίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, σὺφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα, ἣν οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀποθανεῖν: τραφεῖσαν δὲ τὴν παρθένον, ὡς ἐλευθέρᾳ καὶ ἀστῇ προσήκειν, ἀρμοσθῆναι κατὰ νόμον Ἰκίλιῳ, καὶ τέλος ἂν ἐσχηκέναι τὸν γάμον, [2] εἰ μὴ θᾶπτον ὁ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς ἀνέστη πόλεμος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα διεληλυθότων ἐτῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρήσαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν Κλαύδιον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ γάμων ἢ παῖς ἔσχεν ὥραν καὶ διαφέρειν δοκεῖ τὴν ὄψιν, ἐρώντα ἥκειν ἀναισχυντον συκοφάντημα πλάσαντα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀπάσαις οἰομένου δεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου χαρίζεσθαι. [3] τὴν μὲν οὖν δίκην αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀπολογήσεσθαι παραγενόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς: τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀντιποίησιν, ἣν ἔδει γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, αὐτὸς ποιεῖσθαι θεῖος ὢν τῆς κόρης καὶ τὰ δίκαια ὑπέχειν, οὐδὲν ἀξιῶν οὔτε ξένον οὔτε ὃ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [p. 164] ἀποδίδοται Ῥωμαίοις δίκαιον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, σώματος εἰς δουλείαν ἐξ ἐλευθερίας ἀγομένου μὴ τὸν ἀφαιρούμενον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν φυλάττοντα κύριον εἶναι μέχρι δίκης. [4] ἔφη τε διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας προσήκειν τῷ Ἀππίῳ φυλάττειν τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀνέγραψεν: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμῶν: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι μετὰ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν δημαρχίαν προσειλήφει, ἥς εἶναι κράτιστον ἔργον τοῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ ἐρήμοις τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν. [5] ἡξίου τε τὴν καταπεφευγῖαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλεῆσαι παρθένον, μητρὸς μὲν ὄρφανὴν οὖσαν ἔτι πάλαι, πατρὸς δ' ἔρημον ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, κινδυνεύουσαν οὐ χρημάτων ἀποστερηθῆναι προγονικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ὃ πάντων μέγιστον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν, τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐλευθερίας. ἀνακλαυσάμενος δὲ τὴν ὕβριν, εἰς ἣν ἔμελλεν ἢ παῖς παραδοθῆσεσθαι, καὶ πολὺν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κινήσας ἔλεον περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς δίκης ἔφη τελευτῶν: [6] ἐπειδὴ ταχεῖαν αὐτῆς βούλεται γενέσθαι τὴν κρίσιν Κλαύδιος, ὁ μηδὲν ἡδικῆσθαι φάμενος ἐν τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, ἕτερος μὲν ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἀγωνιζόμενος δεινὰ πάσχειν ἔλεξε καὶ ἡγανάκτει κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, ὅταν εἰρήνη γένηται καὶ πάντες ἔλθωσιν οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τότε [p. 165] τὴν δίκην ἀξιῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὅτε καὶ μαρτύρων εὐπορία καὶ φίλων καὶ δικαστῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἔσται τοῖς δικαζομένοις, πολιτικὰ καὶ μέτρια πράγματα προφέρων καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων συνήθη πολιτείᾳ: [7] ἡμεῖς δ', ἔφη, λόγων οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὔτ' εἰρήνης οὔτ' ὄχλου φίλων καὶ δικαστῶν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς δικασίμους χρόνους τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀναβαλλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν σπάνει φίλων καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἴσοις δικασταῖς καὶ παρασχηρῆμα ὑπομένομεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τοσοῦτον αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ σοῦ χρόνον, Ἄππιε, ὅσος ἱκανὸς ἔσται τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κόρης ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου παραγεννηθέντι τὰς ἰδίας ἀποδύρασθαι τύχας, καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν δίκην ἀπολογήσασθαι.

τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νομιτωρίου λέξαντος καὶ τοῦ περιεστηκότος ὄχλου μεγάλῃ

βοῇ διασημήναντος, ὡς δίκαια ἀξιοῖ, μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον Ἄππιος· ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν νόμον, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἄγνοω τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς διεγγυήσεως τῶν εἰς δουλείαν ἀγομένων κείμενον, ὃς οὐκ ἔῃ παρὰ τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις εἶναι τὸ σῶμα μέχρι δίκης, οὐδὲ καταλύσαιμι ἂν ὃν αὐτὸς ἔγραψα ἐκὼν· ἐκεῖνο μέντοι δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι, δεῖν ὄντων τῶν ἀντιπιοιουμένων, κυρίου καὶ πατρός, εἰ μὲν ἀμφοτέροι παρῆσαν, τὸν πατέρα κρατεῖν τοῦ σώματος μέχρι δίκης. [2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἄπεστι, τὸν κύριον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιοχρέους δόντα καταστήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅταν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς παραγένηται. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν [p. 166] καὶ τοῦ τιμήματος καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἐλαττωθῆναι περὶ τὴν δίκην, πολλὴν ποιήσομαι πρόνοιαν, ὥ Νομίτωριε. [3] νῦν δὲ παράδος τὴν κόρην. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐξενέγκαντος Ἀππίου πολὺς μὲν ὀδυρμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν γυναικῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κοπετός, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἐκ τοῦ περιστηκότος ὄχλου τὸ βῆμα. ὁ δὲ μέλλων ἀγεσθαι τὴν κόρην Ἰκίλιος ἐμφύεται τε αὐτῆς καὶ φησιν· οὐκ ἐμοῦ γε ζῶντος, Ἄππιε, ταύτην ἀπάξεται τις. [4] ἀλλ' εἰ σοι δέδοκται τοὺς νόμους καταλύειν, τὰ δὲ δίκαια συγγεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, μηκέτι τὴν ὀνειδιζομένην ὑμῖν ἀρνοῦ τυραννίδα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ἀποκόψας τράχηλον ταύτην τε ἀπαγαγεῖν, ὅπου σοι δοκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους καὶ γυναῖκας, ἵνα δὴ μάθωσιν ἤδη ποτὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δοῦλοι γεγονότες ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι μεῖζον φρονῶσι τῆς τύχης. [5] τί οὖν ἔτι μέλλεις, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦμόν ἐκχεῖς αἷμα πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς; ἴσθι μέντοι σαφῶς, ὅτι ἦτοι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει Ῥωμαίοις ὁ θάνατος οὐμὸς ἢ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν.

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν οἱ μὲν ῥαβδοῦχοι κελευσθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνεῖργον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς κεκριμένοις [p. 167] ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς παιδὸς ἀπάγειν ἐβούλετο τοῦ θείου καὶ τοῦ μνηστήρος ἀντεχομένην. ἰδόντες δὲ πένθος ἐλεεινὸν οἱ περὶ τὸ βῆμα πάντες ἀνέκραγον ἅμα καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενοι τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίαν ὠθοῦνται τοῖς βιαζομένοις ὁμόσε, ὥστε δεῖσαντα τὴν ἐπιφορὰν αὐτῶν τὸν Κλαύδιον τὴν τε κόρην ἀφεῖναι καὶ ὑπὸ [2] τοὺς πόδας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καταφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἄππιος καταρχὰς μὲν εἰς πολλὴν ταραχὴν κατέστη ἡγριωμένους ἅπαντας ὁρῶν καὶ πολὺν ἠπόρει χρόνον, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα τὸν Κλαύδιον καλέσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ μικρὰ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς ἐδόκει, τοῖς τε περιστῶσι διασημήνας ἡσυχίαν παρασχεῖν λέγει τοιάδε· [3] ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβές, ὥ δημόται, περὶ τῆς διεγγυήσεως τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ τραχυνομένους ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὁρῶ, παρήμι· χαρίζεσθαι δ' ὑμῖν βουλόμενος πέπεικα τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ πελάτην ἔῃσαι μὲν τοῖς συγγενέσι τῆς παρθένου δοῦναι τὴν διεγγύησιν, ἕως ὃ [4] πατήρ αὐτῆς παραγένηται. ἀπάγεσθε οὖν, ὦ Νομίτωριε, τὴν κόρην, καὶ τὴν ἐγγύην ὁμολογεῖτε περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἡμέραν. ἀπόχρη γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ὑμῖν οὗτος ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε Οὐεργινίῳ τήμερον καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ὥρων αὔριον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος δεῦρο ἀγαγεῖν. πλείονα δ' αὐτῶν χρόνον αἰτουμένων οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀποκρινάμενος ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἐκέλευσεν ἄραι.

ὡς δ' ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀδημονῶν καὶ μαινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους,

ἔγνω μηκέτι μεθεῖσθαι [p. 168] τῆς παρθένου τοῖς συγγενέσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγύην προαχθῇ, μετὰ βίας αὐτὴν ἀπάγειν, ἑαυτῷ τε πλείονα φυλακὴν περιστησάμενος, ὥς μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων βιασθεῖν, καὶ τὰ περίεξ τοῦ βήματος ἐταίρων τε καὶ πελατῶν ὄχλῳ προκαταλαβών. [2] ἵνα δὲ σὺν εὐσχήμονι δίκῃς τοῦτο πράττει προφάσει, μὴ παραγεννηθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγύην τοῦ πατρός, ἐπιστολὰς δοὺς τοῖς πιστοτάτοις ἵππεῦσιν ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ τάγματος, ὅφ' οὗ ἦν Οὐεργίνιος, ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν κατέχειν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἐπιμελεῖ φυλακῇ, μὴ λάθῃ πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ διαδράς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος. [3] ἔφθησαν δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ κόρῃ προσήκοντες, Νομιτωρίου τε υἱὸς καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ἰκιλίου, προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχομένης ἔτι τῆς καταστάσεως, νεανίαι λήματος πλήρεις ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος καὶ μετὰ μάστιγος ἐλαθεῖσι τοῖς ἵπποις πρότερον διανύσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ [4] τὰ πεπραγμένα διασαφηνίσαντες. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αἰτίαν ἀποκρυψάμενος, ἀναγκαίου δὲ τινος συγγενοῦς σκηψάμενος πεπύσθαι θάνατον, οὗ τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τε καὶ ταφὴν αὐτὸν ἔδει ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀφίεται καὶ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἤλαυνε μετὰ τῶν μειρακίων κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς διωγμὸν ἔκ τε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως δεδοικώς: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. [5] ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς δεξάμενος περὶ πρώτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν, [p. 169] ἵλην ἀπέστειλεν ἵππέων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ἕτεροι πεμφθέντες ἵππεῖς δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐφρούρουν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου φέρουσαν ὁδόν. ὥς δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀππίῳ τις τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἐληλυθότα παρὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν γενόμενος παρῆν μετὰ πολλοῦ στίφους ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τῆς κόρης συγγενεῖς. [6] προσελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν διεξελθὼν λόγους ἤξιον τὸν Ἀππίον γενέσθαι δικαστὴν τοῦ πράγματος μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενον, τὸν τε μηνυτὴν παρεῖναι λέγων καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτὴν παραδούς: ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασι πολὺς ὁ προσποιητὸς σχετλιασμὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ τεύξεται τῶν ἴσων τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥς πρότερον, ὅτι πελάτης ἦν αὐτοῦ: καὶ παράκλησις, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐλεεινότερα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δικαιοτέρα ἀξιοῦσι βοηθεῖν.

ὁ δὲ τῆς κόρης πατήρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγγενεῖς ἀπελογοῦντο περὶ τῆς ὑποβολῆς πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγοντες, ὥς οὐτ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν εἶχεν ὑποβολῆς εὐλογον ἢ Νομιτωρίου μὲν ἀδελφῇ, Οὐεργινίου δὲ γυνή, παρθένος γαμηθεῖσα νέῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλοὺς τοῦ γάμου τεκοῦσα χρόνους: οὐτ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἐβούλετο γένος ἀλλότριον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εἰσαγαγεῖν, δούλης ἀλλοτρίας ἂν ἐλάμβανε παιδίον μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας κατὰ γένος ἢ φιλίαν αὐτῇ προσηκούσης, παρ' ἧς πιστῶς τε ἅμα [p. 170] [2] καὶ βεβαίως ἔξει τὸ ληφθέν. ἐξουσίαν τε ἔχουσιν ὅποῖον ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν, ἄρρεν ἂν ἐλέσθαι παιδίον μᾶλλον ἢ θήλυ. τεκοῦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῶν τέκνων δεομένην στέργειν καὶ τρέφειν, ὃ τι ἂν ἡ φύσις ἐξενέγκῃ, ὑποβαλλομένην δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀντὶ [3] τοῦ χειρόνος εἰκὸς εἶναι λαβεῖν. πρὸς τε τὸν μηνυτὴν καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας, οὓς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἔφη πολλοὺς καὶ ἀξιοχρεοὺς παρέξεσθαι, τὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων παρείχοντο λόγον,

ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἡ Νομιτωρία πρᾶγμα σιγῆς δεόμενον καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ὑπηρετηθῆναι προσώπου δυνάμενον, φανερώς ἔπραττε καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων ἐλευθέρων, ἵν' ἐκτραφεῖσαν τὴν κόρην ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων τῆς μητρὸς ἀφαιρεθείη. [4] τὸν τε χρόνον οὐ μικρὸν ἔλεγον εἶναι τεκμήριον τοῦ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγειν τὸν κατήγορον: οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τὸν μηνυτὴν οὔτε τοὺς μάρτυρας κατασχεῖν ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἀπόρρητον τὴν ὑποβολήν, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρότερον εἴπειν. [5] διαβάλλοντες δὲ τὰς τῶν κατηγορῶν πίστεις οὗτ' ἀληθεῖς οὔτε πιθανὰς ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν ταύταις ἡξιοῦν τὰς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὰς καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμους γυναῖκας ὀνομάζοντες, αἷς ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Νομιτωρίαν ἐγκύμονα γενομένην ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν γαστέρα ὄγκου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ τόκου καὶ τῆς λοχείας παραγενομένας διὰ [p. 171] τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τικτόμενον τὸ παιδίον ἰδούσας ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ ἀνακρίνειν ἡξιοῦν. [6] ὁ δὲ πάντων τεκμήριον ἦν περιφανέστατον ἐκ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν καὶ γυναικῶν μαρτυρούμενον οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων, τοῦτ' ἔλεγον τελευτῶντες, ὅτι τῷ γάλακτι τῆς μητρὸς ἐτράφη τὸ παιδίον: ἀμήχανον δ' εἶναι γάλακτος πληρωθῆναι μαστοὺς γυναικὶ μὴ τεκούσῃ.

ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια παρεχομένων αὐτῶν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἐναντίον δέξασθαι δυνάμενα καὶ πολὺν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς κόρης ἔλεον καταχεομένων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες, ὅσοι συνήκουον τῶν λόγων, τῆς τε μορφῆς οἶκτον ἐλάμβανον, [2] ὁπότε εἰς τὴν παρθένον ἰδοιεν: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐσθῇτι οὕσα πιναρᾷ καὶ κατηφὲς ὀρώσα καὶ τὸ καλὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκτῆκουσα τὰς ἀπάντων ἡρπαζεν ὄψεις, οὕτως ὑπεράνθρωπός τις ὥρα περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ χάρις ἦν: καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀνεκλαίοντο παράλογον, εἰς οἷας ὕβρεις καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς ἐλεύσοιτο ἐξ οἷων ἀγαθῶν. [3] εἰσῆει τ' αὐτοὺς λογισμός, ὅτι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας νόμου καταλυθέντος οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλύον καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας καὶ θυγατέρας τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῃ παθεῖν. ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ἐπιλογιζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλαλοῦντες ἔκλαιον. [4] ὁ δὲ Ἄσπιος, οἷα δὴ [p. 172] φύσιν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀνὴρ καὶ ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διεφθαρμένος, οἰδῶν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ζέων τὰ σπλάγχνα διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς παιδός, οὔτε τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ἀπολογουμένων προσεῖχεν οὔτε τοῖς δάκρυσιν αὐτῆς ἐπεκλάτο, τὴν τε συμπάθειαν τῶν παρόντων δι' ὀργῆς ἐλάμβανεν, ὥς αὐτὸς δὴ πλείονος ὢν ἄξιος ἐλέου καὶ δεινότερα ὑπὸ τῆς δεδουλωμένης αὐτὸν εὐμορφίας πεπονθώς. [5] διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα οἰστρῶν λόγον τε ὑπέμεινεν εἴπειν ἀναίσχυντον, ἐξ οὗ καταφανῆς ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὅτι τὸ συκοφάντημα κατὰ τῆς κόρης αὐτὸς ἔγραψε καὶ ἔργον ἐτόλμηση τυραννικὸν πρᾶξαι καὶ ὠμόν.

ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν λεγόντων ἡσυχίαν γενέσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπειδὴ σιωπὴ τ' ἐγένετο, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὄχλος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἐπιθυμία γνώσεως τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθησομένων προαχθεῖς, πολλάκις ἐπιστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον τῇδε καὶ τῇδε καὶ τὰ στίφη τῶν ἑταίρων, οἷς διειλήφει τὴν ἀγορὰν, τοῖς [2] ὅμμασι διαριθμησάμενος τοιάδ' εἶπεν: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος, ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ σὺν τούτῳ παρόντες, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀκήκοα, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι πρὶν ἢ τήνδε τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. ὃν

τρόπον δ' ἔγνω, ἀκούσατε. ὁ πατήρ ὁ Μάρκου Κλαυδίου [p. 173] τοῦ δι-
τελευτῶν τὸν βίον ἡξίωσε με τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καταλειπόμενον
ἐπιτροπεῦσαι: πελάται δ' εἰσὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἡμῶν ἐκ προγόνων. [3] ἐν δὲ τῷ
χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιτροπείας μήνυσις ἐγένετό μοι περὶ τῆς παιδός, ὡς ὑποβάλοιτο
αὐτὴν Νομιτωρία λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς Κλαυδίου δούλης, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα
ἐξετάσας ἔμαθον οὕτως ἔχον. ἐφάπτεσθαι μὲν οὖν ἑμαυτοῦ προσῆκέν μοι,
βέλτιον δὲ ἡγησάμην τούτῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καταλιπεῖν, ὅποτε γένοιτο ἀνὴρ,
εἴτε βουλευθῇ τὴν παιδίσκην ἀπάγειν, εἴτε διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς
τρέφοντας αὐτὴν χρηματισθεὶς ἢ χαρισάμενος. [4] ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις
ἐγὼ μὲν εἰς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ἐγκυλισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν Κλαυδίου
πραγμάτων εἶχον ἐν φροντίδι. τούτῳ δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν ἴδιον ἐξετάζοντι βίον
καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδίσκης ἢ μήνυσις ἀπεδόθη καθάπερ ἑμοὶ πρότερον, καὶ
οὐδὲν ἄδικον ἀξιοῖ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεραπαίνης γεγονυῖαν ἀπάγειν
βουλούμενος. [5] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλήλους ἔπεισαν αὐτοί, καλῶς ἂν εἴχεν: ἐπεὶ δ'
εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἦλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα, μαρτυρῶ τ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα καὶ κρίνω εἶναι
τοῦτον τῆς παιδίσκης κύριον.

ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν ἀκέραιοι τε καὶ τῶν τὰ δίκαια
λεγόντων παράκλητοι τὰς χεῖρας ἄραντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέκραγον
ὀδυρμῷ [p. 174] καὶ ἀγανακτήσει μεμιγμένην κραυγὴν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας
κόλακες τὴν ἐπικελεύουσάν τε καὶ θάρσος ἐμποιῆσαι δυναμένην τοῖς
κρατοῦσι φωνήν. ἡρεθισμένης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ παντοδαπῶν γεμούσης
λόγων τε καὶ παθῶν σιωπὴν γενέσθαι κελεύσας Ἀππίος ἔλεξεν: [2] εἰ μὴ
παύσεσθε διαστασιάζοντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀντιστρατηγοῦντες ἡμῖν οἱ
ταραχῶδεις, μηδαμῇ χρήσιμοι μὴτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ μῆτε κατὰ πολέμους, ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀνάγκης σωφρονισθέντες εἴξετε. μὴ τούτους οἴεσθε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ
Καπετωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας φρουροὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους ἡμῖν
παρεσκευάσθαι μόνον, ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον ὑποκαθημένους καὶ πάντα
σὴποντας τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἑάσειν. [3] γνώμην δὲ λαβόντες κρείττονα
ἢς ἔχετε νῦν ἅπιτε, οἷς μὴ τι πρᾶγμα, καὶ πράσσετε τὰ ἑαυτῶν, εἰ
σωφρονεῖτε: σὺ δ' ἄγου τὴν παιδίσκην ἔχων, Κλαύδιε, μηδένα δεδοικῶς δι'
ἀγορᾶς: [4] οἱ γὰρ Ἀππίου σε προπέμψουσι δώδεκα πελέκεις. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ'
εἶπεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στένοντες καὶ τὰ μέτωπα παίοντες καὶ τὰ δάκρυα
κατέχειν οὐ δυνάμενοι παρεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἀπῆγε
τὴν παῖδα τῷ πατρὶ περιπεπλεγμένην καὶ καταφιλοῦσαν καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις
φωναῖς ἀνακαλοῦσαν. ἐν τοιοῦτοις δὲ κακοῖς Οὐεργίνιος ὦν ἔργον εἰς νοῦν
βάλλεται πατρὶ μὲν ταλαίπωρον καὶ πικρὸν, ἐλευθέρῳ δ' ἀνδρὶ [5] καὶ
μεγαλόφρονι πρέπον. αἰτησάμενος γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν θυγατέρα
τοὺς τελευταίους ἀσπασμοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσίας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι μόνῃ μόνος,
ὅποσα βούλεται, [p. 175] πρὶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτὴν ἀπαχθῆναι,
συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μικρὸν ἀναχωρησάντων
ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκλυομένην τε καὶ καταρρέουσιν καὶ κατέχουσιν τέως
μὲν ἀνεκαλεῖτό τε καὶ κατεφίλει καὶ τὰς λιβάδας ἐξέματτε τῶν δακρῶν,
ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων, ὡς ἦν ἐγγὺς ἐργαστηρίου μαγειρικοῦ,
μάχαιραν ἐξαρπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης παίει τὴν θυγατέρα διὰ τῶν

σπλάγχνων τοσοῦτον εἰπών: [6] ἔλευθέραν σε καὶ εὐσχήμονα, τέκνον, ἀποστέλλω τοῖς κατὰ γῆς προγόνοις: ζῶσα γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξῆν ἔχειν ἀμφοτέρω διὰ τὸν τύραννον. κραυγῆς δὲ γενομένης ἡμαγμένην ἔχων τὴν σφαγίδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνάμεστος αἵματος γενόμενος, ὧς προσέφυρεν αὐτὸν ἡ σφαγὴ τῆς κόρης, ἔθει διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐμμανὴς ἐπὶ [7] τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦς πολίτας καλῶν. διεκπαισάμενος δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνέβη τὸν ἵππον, ὃς ἦν παρεσκευασμένος αὐτῷ, καὶ συνέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, Ἰκιλίου τε καὶ Νομιτωρίου τῶν ἀγαγόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος νεανίσκων καὶ τότε συμπροπεμπόντων. ἡκολούθει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλος ὄχλος δημοτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ὥστε τοὺς σύμπαντας ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους γενέσθαι. [p. 176]

Ὁ δὲ Ἄππιος, ὡς τὸ περὶ τὴν κόρην ἐπέγνω πάθος, ἀναπηδᾷ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ διώκειν τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἐβούλετο πολλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἄκοσμα. περιστάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἀξιούντων ἀπῆει πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀγανακτῶν. [2] ἥδη δ' αὐτῷ κατ' οἰκίαν ὄντι προσαγγέλλουσι τῶν ἐταίρων τινές, ὅτι περὶ τὸ πτῶμα τῆς κόρης Ἰκιλίου τε ὁ κηδεστὴς καὶ Νομιτώριος ὁ θεῖος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις τε καὶ συγγενέσιν ἐστῶτες ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ καλοῦσι τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. [3] ὁ δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς εἶχε πέμπει τῶν ῥαβδούχων τινὰς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοὺς κεκραγότες καὶ τὸ πτῶμα μεταφέρειν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς: ἀφρονέστατον πρᾶγμα ποιῶν καὶ τοῖς τότε καιροῖς ἥκιστα ἀρμόττον. δέον γὰρ ἀποθεραπεύειν τὸν ὄχλον ὀργῆς εἰληφότα δικαίαν πρόφασιν, εἰζάντα μὲν ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα χρόνῳ, ὕστερον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπολογούμενον, τὰ δὲ παραιτούμενον, τὰ δ' ἑτέραις πρὶν εὐεργεσίαις ἀναλαβόντα, ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον ἐνεχθεὶς εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦς ἠνάγκασε τραπέσθαι. [4] οὐ γὰρ ἀνέσχοντο τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἔλκειν τὴν νεκρὰν ἢ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν, ἀλλ' ἐμβοήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς σὺν ὠθισμῷ τε καὶ πληγαῖς τῶν βιαζομένων ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθη ἀκούσας [p. 177] ταῦθ' ὁ Ἄππιος ἅμα συχνοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ πελάταις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πορεύεσθαι παίειν κελεύων καὶ ἀνείργειν ἐκποδῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐξόδου Οὐαλέριός τε καὶ [5] Ὀράτιος, οὓς ἔφην ἡγεμονικωτάτους εἶναι τῶν ἀντιποιοιμένων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν νεότητα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἄγοντες ἴστανται πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον ἐγίνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς λόγους ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ προπηλακιστὰς κατὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις παρείχοντο παιοντές τε καὶ ἀνατρέποντες τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας.

Ὁ δ' Ἄππιος ἀδημονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς κολάσεως καὶ οὐκ ἔχων, ὃ τι χρήσεται τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὴν ὀλεθριωτάτην ἔγνω βαδίζειν ὁδόν. ὡς γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῷ διαμένοντος οἰκείου ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκάλει τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρανομίαν τε καὶ ὕβριν, ἐξουσίᾳ δημορχικῇ καὶ ἐλπίδι κούφῃ ἐπαιρόμενος, ὅτι συναγανακτήσας ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ [2] παρήσει ῥίψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἕτερον τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλαβόμενοι καὶ τὸ πτῶμα τῆς παρθένου θέντες, ὅθεν ὑπὸ πάντων ὀφθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλεν,

ἐτέραν συνῆγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ τ' Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγαρχῶν κατηγορίαν. [3] ἔμελλέ τε, ὅπερ εἰκὸς [p. 178] ἦν, οὐς μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐς δ' ὁ τῆς κόρης ἔλεος δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν διὰ τὸ ἀτυχὲς κάλλος παθοῦσης, οὐς δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας καταστάσεως πόθος εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρακαλῶν πλείους τῶν ἐτέρων συνάξειν, ὥστ' ὀλίγους τινὰς ὑπολειφθῆναι περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον, αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν τινες οὐκέτι τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς αὐτῶν ἀκροώμενοι, διὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις, ἀλλ', εἰ γένοιτο ἰσχυρὰ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἄσμενοι χωρήσειν ἐπ' [4] ἐκείνους. ἐρημούμενον δὴ θεωρῶν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἀππίος ἠναγκάσθη μεταγνῶναι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὃ καὶ μάλιστ' ὤνησεν αὐτόν. ἐπιβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους καλὰς ἔτισεν ἂν αὐτῷ τὰς δίκας. [5] μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξουσίας ὅσης ἐβούλοντο τυχόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἐνεφοροῦντο τῶν κατ' ὀλιγαρχίας λόγων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐξεδημαγώγουν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξηλλοτριώσαν τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄχλον οἱ τῆς κόρης συγγενεῖς κλίνην τε κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἶον ἐδύναντο πολυτελέστατον παρασκευάσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τοῦ σώματος διὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι στενωπῶν, ὅθεν ὑπὸ πλείστων ὀφθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλον. [6] ἐξεπήδων γὰρ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν γυναικὲς τε καὶ παρθέναι τὸ πάθος ἀποδυρόμεναι, αἱ μὲν ἄνθη καὶ στεφάνους βάλλουσαι κατὰ τῆς κλίνης, αἱ δὲ τελαμῶνας ἢ μίτρας, αἱ δὲ ἀθύρματα κόμης [p. 179] παρθενικά, καὶ πούτινές καὶ πλοκάμων ἀποκειράμεναι βοστρύχους. [7] ἄνδρες τε συχνοὶ λαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν πλησίον ἐργαστηρίων τὰ μὲν ὦνῃ, τὰ δὲ χάριτι συνεπεκόσμουσαν τοῖς προσφόροις δωρήμασι τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν, ὥστε περιβόητον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι τὸ κῆδος, καὶ προθυμίαν ἅπαντας καταλαβεῖν τῆς τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καταλύσεως. ἀλλ' οἱ φρονοῦντες τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὅπλα ἔχοντες μέγα παρεῖχον αὐτοῖς δέος, οἳ τε περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον οὐκ ἤξιουν αἷματι πολιτικῷ τὸ νεῖκος διαιρεῖν.

τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ πόλιν ἐν τοιαύταις ἦν ταραχαῖς. Οὐεργίνιος δ', ὃν ἔφην αὐτόχειρα γενέσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς, ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἐλαύνων τὸν ἵππον ἀφικνεῖται περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀλγιδῷ χάρακα, τοιοῦτος οἷος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδραμεν, αἷματι πεφυρμένος ἅπας καὶ τὴν μαγειρικὴν σφαγίδα διὰ [2] χειρὸς ἔχων. ἰδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰς φυλακὰς φυλάττοντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ τ' ἦσαν ὃ τι πέπονθεν εἰκάσαι, καὶ παρηκολούθουν ὡς ἀκουσόμενοι μέγα πρᾶγμα καὶ δεινόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπορεύετο κλαίων καὶ διασημαίων τοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἀκολουθεῖν: ἐξέτρεχον δ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν ἅς διεπορεύετο μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες ἅπαντες ἄθροοι φανοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ λαμπάδας, ἀγωνίας πλήρεις καὶ θορύβου περιεχόμενοι [p. 180] [3] περὶ αὐτὸν ἠκολούθουν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸν ἀναπεπταμένον τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπον ἦλθεν, ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινὸς στάς, ὥστ' ὑπὸ πάντων ὀρᾶσθαι, διηγεῖτο τὰς καταλαβούσας αὐτὸν συμφοράς, μάρτυρας τῶν λόγων παρεχόμενος τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ κατέμαθεν ὀλοφυρομένους τε πολλοὺς καὶ δακρύοντας, εἰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, μὴ περιδεῖν μῆτ' αὐτὸν ἀτιμώρητον

γενόμενον μήτε τὴν πατρίδα προπηλακίζομένην. λέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα πολὺ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀκούειν καὶ ἐπικελευόμενον λέγειν ἐγίνετο. [4] τοιγάρτοι καὶ θρασύτερον ἤδη καθήπτετο τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας διεξιὼν, ὡς πολλῶν μὲν ἀφείλοντο τὰς οὐσίας οἱ δέκα, πολλῶν δὲ πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο τὰ σώματα, παμπόλλους δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, γυναικῶν τε ὕβρεις καὶ παρθένων ἐπιγάμων ἀρπαγὰς καὶ παίδων ἐλευθέρων προπηλακισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτῶν παρανομίας τε καὶ ὠμότητας ἐκλογιζόμενος· [5] καὶ ταῦτ', ἔφη, προπηλακίζουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ μήτε νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες μήτε ψηφίσματι βουλῆς ἢ δήμου συγχωρήματι λαβόντες, — ὁ γὰρ ἐνιαύσιος αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος, ὃν ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐτέροις παραδοῦναι τὰ κοινὰ, παρελήλυθεν, — ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ βιασιότατου τῶν τρόπων, πολλὴν δειλίαν καὶ μαλακίαν καταγνόντες ἡμῶν ὥσπερ γυναικῶν. [6] εἰσελθὲν δὴ λογισμὸς ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ὧν τ' αὐτὸς πέπονθε καὶ ὧν οἶδεν ἐτέρους παθόντας· καὶ εἴ τις ὑμῶν δελεαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡδοναῖς τισιν ἢ χάρισιν οὐ πεφόβηται τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν οὐδὲ δέδοικε, [p. 181] μὴ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλθοι ποτὲ σὺν χρόνῳ τὰ δεινὰ, μαθὼν ὅτι τυράννοις οὐδὲν ἐστι πιστόν, οὐδ' ἀπ' εὐνοίας αἱ τῶν κρατούντων δίδονται τισι χάριτες, καὶ [7] πάντα τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, μεταγνώτω· καὶ μιᾷ διανοίᾳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἐλευθεροῦτε ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων τὴν πατρίδα, ἐν ἣ θεῶν τε ὑμῖν ἱερὰ ἴδρυται καὶ θῆκαι προγόνων εἰσίν, οὓς ὑμεῖς τιμᾶτε μετὰ θεοῦς, καὶ γηραιοὶ πατέρες τροφεῖα πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια τῶν πόνων ἀπαιτοῦντες, γυναικῆς τε κατὰ νόμους ἐγγυηθεῖσαι καὶ· θυγατέρες ἐπίγαμοι φροντίδος οὐ μικρᾶς δεόμεναι τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ γοναὶ παίδων ἀρρένων, οἷς ὀφείλεται τὰ [8] δίκαια φύσεως προγόνων. οἰκίας γὰρ δὴ καὶ κλήρους καὶ χρήματα σὺν πολλοῖς κτηθέντα πόνοις ὑπὸ πατέρων καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σιωπῷ· ὧν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔξεστι βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα τυραννησθε.

οὔτε σωφρόνων οὔτε γενναίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἀλλότρια κτᾶσθαι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, τὰ δ' οἰκεῖα περιορᾶν ἀπολλύμενα διὰ μαλακίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς μὲν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐλολούςκους καὶ Σαβίνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους περιοίκους ἅπαντας πολεμεῖν μακροὺς καὶ ἀδιαλείπτους πολέμους ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παρὰ νόμον ἄρχοντας ὑμῶν μὴ θέλειν ἄρασθαι τὰ ὄπλα ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. [p. 182] [2] οὐκ ἀναλήψεσθε τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πατρίδος· οὐ παραστήσεται λογισμὸς ὑμῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν γονέων ἄξιος, οἱ διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν Ταρκυνίου παίδων ὑβρισθείσης καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην ἑαυτὴν διαχρησαμένης, οὕτως ἡγανάκτησαν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ παρωξύνθησαν καὶ κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἡγήσαντο τὴν ὕβριν, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον Ταρκύνιον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν πολίτευμα κατέλυσαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπῆλπον μηδένα Ῥωμαίων ἄρχειν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχήν, αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς μεγίστους ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων ἀράς, [3] ἐάν τι παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶσι, καταρασάμενοι· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐνὸς οὐκ ἦνεγκαν ἀκολάστου μειρακίου τυραννικὴν ὕβριν εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐλεύθερον γενομένην, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολυκέφαλον τυραννίδα πάσῃ παρανομίᾳ τε καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ χρωμένην καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον χρησομένην, [4] ἐὰν νῦν ἀνάσχησθε, ὑπομενεῖτε· οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ

θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο διαφέρουσα τὴν ὄψιν ἑτέρων, ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ φανεροῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ προπηλακίζειν Ἄππιος ἐπεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν εἰσι πολλαὶ τοῖς μὲν θυγατέρες, τοῖς δὲ γαμεταί, τοῖς δὲ νεανίαὶ παῖδες εὐπρεπεῖς, οὓς τί κωλύσει πρὸς ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν δέκα τυράννων ἢ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀππίου ταῦτ' ἀπαθεῖν; εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγυητής, ὥς, ἐὰν τὰς ἐμὰς ταύτας συμφορὰς ἀτιμωρήτους ἐάσητε, οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμῶν πολλοὺς τὰ ὅμοια δεινὰ ἦξει, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς [p. 183] θυγατρὸς ὁ τυραννικὸς ἔρως προελθὼν στήσεται, καὶ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σώματα παιδῶν τε καὶ παρθένων σωφρονήσει. πολλῆς μέντοι μωρίας καὶ σκαιότητος, σαφῶς ἴστε, τὰ νοοῦμενα ταῦθ' ὥς οὐκ ἔσται λέγειν. [5] ἀόριστοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν τυράννων ἐπιθυμίαι κατὰ τὸ εἶκός, οἷα δὴ μήτε νόμον ἔχουσαι κωλυτὴν μήτε φόβον. ἐμοὶ τε δὴ πράττοντες τιμωρίαν δικαίαν καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλειαν, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτ' ἀπάθητε, παρασκευαζόμενοι διαρρήξατε ἤδη ποτὲ τοὺς χαλινούς, ὧς σχέτλιοι: [6] ἀναβλέψατε ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ἐπὶ τινὶ γὰρ ἑτέρᾳ προφάσει μᾶλλον ἀγανακτήσετε ἢ ταύτῃ, ὅτε τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν θυγατέρας ὥς δούλας ἀπάγουσιν οἱ τύραννοι καὶ μετὰ μαστίγων νυμφαγωγοῦσιν; ἐν ποίῳ δὲ τὸ ἐλεύθερον φρόνημα ἀναλήψεσθε καιρῷ τὸν νῦν παρέντες, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔχετε;

ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνεβόησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τιμωρήσιν ὑποσχομένους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν λόχων ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλουν ἀξιοῦντες ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλοὶ παριόντες ἐθάρρουν λέγειν, εἴ τι δεινὸν ἦσαν πεπονθότες. [2] μαθόντες δὲ τὰ γενόμενα οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες, οὓς ἔφην ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ταγμάτων, δεισαντες, μὴ τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ὄχλων ὀρμὴ γένηται, συνένδραμον εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον πάντες καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως παύσουσι τὴν ταραχήν, τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅπλα περιστησάμενοι. [3] ὥς δ' ἐπύθοντο [p. 184] ἀπεληλυθότας ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς λήξαντά τε καὶ παυσάμενον τὸν θόρυβον, ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τοῖς πλείοσι δεδογμένον ἦν δι' ἀπορρήτων συνωμοσιῶν ἀπόστασιν πράττειν καὶ συνελευθεροῦν τὴν πατρίδα, ἔκριναν, ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα τάχιστα γένηται, τὸν μὲν ἐκταράττοντα τοὺς ὄχλους Οὐεργίνιον συλλαβόντας ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἀναστήσαντας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν κρατίστην αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐγκαθημένους δηοῦν, περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραττομένων μηδὲν τοὺς σφετέρους ἔτι ἔwντας πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ὠφελείας, τὰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐσομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε ἀγῶνας. [4] ἐγένετο δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκ διαλογισμοῦ: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον εἶασαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ καλούμενον εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἀπελθεῖν, ὑποπτεύοντες, μὴ τι πάθοι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν διαληφθέντα λόγον, ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγαγεῖν τοὺς λόχους ἐβούλοντο, κατωνείδιζον λέγοντες: ὥς καλῶς ἡμῶν ἐστρατηγήκατε καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα καὶ νῦν λαβόντες ἐλπίδας ἀκολουθῶμεν ὑμῖν, οἵτινες ὅσῃν οὕτω πρότερον ἕτεροι Ῥωμαίων [p. 185] ἡγεμόνες ἐκ τ' αὐτῆς ἄγοντες τῆς πόλεως στρατιὰν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀγείραντες, οὔτε τινὰ νικῆν ἢ βλάβην ἐποίησατε κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνανδρίαν τε καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἀπεδείξασθε, κακῶς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν χώραν ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν καταδηλωθεῖσαν πτωχοὺς καὶ

ἀπόρους ἡμᾶς ἐποίησατε ἀπάντων, ὅσοι κρατοῦντες τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνικῶμεν ταῖς μάχαις, ὅτε ὑμῶν κρείττους ἦσαν στρατηγοί: τρόπαιά τε καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνιστᾷσι καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα διηρπακότες ἔχουσι τὰ ἡμέτερα.

Ὁ δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὑπὸ τ' ὀργῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι δεδοικέναι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐθαδέστερον αὐτῶν καθήπτετο λυμεῶνας τε καὶ ὀλέθρους τῆς πατρίδος ἀποκαλῶν καὶ παραινῶν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἅπασιν ἀραμένους τὰ σημεῖα οἴκαδε ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν. [2] ὀρρωδούντων δ' ἔτι τῶν πολλῶν τὰ ἱερὰ σημεῖα κινεῖν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καταλιπεῖν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτ' ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι πᾶσι νομιζόντων: ὁ τε γὰρ ὄρκος ὁ στρατιωτικός, ὃν ἀπάντων μάλιστα ἐμπεδοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύει τοὺς στρατευομένους, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἄγωσιν, ὁ τε νόμος [p. 186] ἀποκτείνειν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας: [3] ἢ τὰ σημεῖα καταλιπόντας ἀκρίτως: ταῦτα δὴ δι' εὐλαβείας αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ὁρῶν Οὐεργίνιος ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι λέλυκεν αὐτῶν τὸν ὄρκον ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὴ νόμῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθέντα δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄρχειν τῶν δυνάμεων, ἡ δὲ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐξουσία παράνομος ἦν ὑπερβαλοῦσα τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον, εἰς ὃν ἀπεδείχθη. τὸ δὲ τοῖς μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἄρχουσι ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον οὐκ εὐπείθειαν εἶναι καὶ εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' [4] ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι ἡγούμενοι καὶ παρακελευόμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ τι καὶ θάρσος ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαβόντες αἴρονται τὰ σημεῖα καὶ προῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος. ἔμελλον δ', ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐν ποικίλοις τ' ἦθεσι καὶ οὐχ ἅπασι τὰ κράτιστα διανοοῦμένοις, ἔσσεσθαι τινες οἱ μένοντες ἅμα τοῖς ὀλιγάρχαις καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ λοχαγοί, πλὴν οὐ τοσοῦτοι τὸ [5] πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ἐλάττους παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἐτέρων. οἱ δ' ἐξεληθόντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐπιπορευθέντες ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης παρήσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐδενὸς ἐξαγγελίαντος αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον, καὶ συνετάραξαν τοὺς ἔνδον οὐ μετρίως πολέμιον οἰομένους στρατὸν εἰσεληλυθέναι: κραυγὴ τε καὶ δρόμος ἄτακτος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν γε διέμεινεν ἡ ταραχὴ χρόνον, ὥστε κακόν τι γενέσθαι δι' αὐτήν. διεξιόντες γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐβόων, ὅτι φίλοι τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς πόλεως εἰσεληλυῖθασιν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅμοια παρείχοντο τοῖς λόγοις ἀδικοῦντες οὐδένα. [p. 187] [6] ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ἀουεντῖνον — ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἐμπεριεχομένων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόφων οὗτος ἐπιτηδεύοντος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι — περὶ τε τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κρατυνάμενοι τὸν χάρακα καὶ χιλιάρχους δέκα τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδείξαντες κυρίους, ὧν ἡγεμῶν ἦν Μάρκος Ὀππιος, ἔμενον ἐφ' ἡσυχίας.

ἦγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικούροι μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φιδήνῃ στρατιᾶς οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων λοχαγοὶ πολλὴν δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενοι, ἀλλοτρίως μὲν ἔτι πάλαι διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοὺς, ἐξ οὗ Σίκκιον τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπέκτειναν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, δεδιότες δ' ἄρξαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως πρότεροι, ὡς οἰκείων ὄντων τῇ δεκαδαρχίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ πέντε ταγμάτων, τότε δ', ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόστασιν ἐπέγνωσαν, ἀγαπητῶς τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης δεξάμενοι. [2] ἡγεμόνες δὲ καὶ τούτων

τῶν ταγματῶν ἦσαν δέκα χιλιάρχοι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀποδειχθέντες, ὧν ἐπιφανέστατος Σέξτος Μάλιος ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς εἴκοσι χιλιάρχοις ἐπέτρεψαν ἅπαντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀπέδειξαν δύο προβούλους, Μάρκον Ὀππιον καὶ Σέξτον Μάλιον· οὗτοι βουλευτήριον ἐξ ἀπάντων καταστησάμενοι τῶν λοχαγῶν, [3] μετ' ἐκείνων ἅπαντα διετέλουν πραγματευόμενοι. ἀδήλου δ' ἔτι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν οὐσης Ἄππιος μὲν, οἷα δὴ συγγινώσκων ἑαυτῷ τῆς παρουσίας [p. 188] ταραχῆς αἰτίῳ γεγονότι καὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων δι' αὐτὴν ἔσσεσθαι κακῶν, οὐκέτι τῶν κοινῶν οὐδὲν ἡξίου πράττειν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἶκον ἔμενεν· ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως Σπόριος Ὀππιος, διαταραχθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ αὐτός, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἐχθρῶν σφίσιν ἐπιθησομένων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡκόντων, ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν οὐδὲν νεωτερίσαντας αὐτούς, ὑφέμενος τοῦ δέους ἐκάλει τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατ' ἄνδρα μεταπεμπόμενος. [4] ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν συλλεγομένων ἦκον οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιδήνῃ στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνες ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ καταλελειφθαι τοὺς χάρακας ὑπὸ τῶν στραπιωτῶν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν πείθοντες ἀξίαν τοῦ πράγματος ὀργὴν κατ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγορεύειν γνώμην ἕκαστον ἔδει, Λεύκιος μὲν Κορνήλιος ἔφη δεῖν ἀπεῖναι τοὺς ταχθέντα εἰς τὸν Ἀουεντῖνον αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας, καὶ τὰ κελεύόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτελεῖν μηδενὸς ὄντας τῶν γεγονότων ὑποδίκους, πλὴν τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως μόνων· [5] τούτοις δὲ προσθεῖναι δίκας τοὺς στρατηγούς. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶσι ταῦτα, βουλευεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ συνέδριον ὡς ἐκλειοιπότες τὴν τάξιν, ἐφ' ἣν ἐτάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, καὶ περὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἡσεβηκότων ὄρκον. Λεύκιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος %2 %2 %2 %2 %2 %2 [p. 189] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένους εὗρομεν, οὔτε μηδένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον ἤρμοπτεν, οὕτω σεμνῶν ὄντων καὶ τοσαύτην ἐχόντων διαφορὰν παρὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς νομοθεσίας, οὔτε περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος προβαίνειν ἐκμηκύναντας τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν.

οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς δεκαδαρχίας τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν πρῶτοι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἐπὶ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποτῖτος καὶ Μάρκος Ὀράτιος Βαρβᾶτος, αὐτοὶ τε δημοτικοὶ τὰς φύσεις ὄντες καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ταύτην διαδεδεγμένοι τὴν πολιτείαν, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις φυλάττοντες, ἃς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς, ὅτ' ἀποθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα συνέπειθον αὐτούς, ὡς πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ πολιτευσόμενοι, νόμους ἐκύρωσαν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις λοχίτισι, δυσχεραίνοντων μὲν τῶν πατρικίων, αἰδουμένων δ' ἀντιλέγειν, ἄλλους τέ τινας, οὓς οὐ δέομαι γράφειν, καὶ τὸν κελεύοντα τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τεθέντας ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις νόμους ἅπασι κεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἴσου, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς λοχίτισιν ἐκκλησίαις τεθησομένοις. τιμωρίαι δὲ προσέκειντο τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἢ παραβαίνουσιν τὸν νόμον, [2] ἐὰν ἄλῳσι, θάνατος καὶ δήμευσις τῆς οὐσίας. οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἐξέβαλε τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις τῶν πατρικίων, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο

πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς πρότερον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες [p. 190] τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων
τεθεῖσι νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν, οὐδ' ὅλως τὰ ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις
ἐπικυρούμενα κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης δόγματα νομίζοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ
μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἴδιον: ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἡ λοχίτις ἐκκλησία γνῶ, τοῦθ' ἡγούμενοι
σφίσι τ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις τετάχθαι. ^[3] εἴρηται δὲ καὶ πρότερον,
ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς φυλετικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ πένητες ἐκράτουν
τῶν πατρικίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς λοχίτισιν ἐκκλησίαις οἱ πατρικιοὶ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν
ἄλλων ἐλάττους ὄντες περιῆσαν τῶν δημοτικῶν.

τούτου κυρωθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ νόμου σὺν ἄλλοις πῖσιν ὥσπερ ἔφην δημοτικοῖς εὐθύς οἱ δήμαρχοι καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἦκειν νομίζοντες, ἐν ᾧ τιμωρήσονται τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον, εἰσαγγελίας ὦντο δεῖν ποιήσασθαι κατ' αὐτῶν, οὐχ ἅμα πάντας ὑπάγοντες ὑπὸ τὴν δίκην, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀλλήλους ὠφελῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα: ῥῆον γὰρ οὕτως ὑπελάμβανον εὐμεταχειρίστους ἔσεσθαι. [2] σκοποῦμενοι δ' ἀπὸ τίνος ἂν ἄρξαιτο ἐπιτηδαιοτάτου, τὸν Ἀππίον πρῶτον ἔγνωσαν εὐθύναι τῶν τ' ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ἔνεκα μισοῦμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τῶν νεωστὶ περὶ τὴν παρθένον γενομένων παρανομιῶν. ἐλόντες μὲν γὰρ τοῦτον εὐπετῶς ἐδόκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κρατήσιν, εἰ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινότερων ἄρξαιτο, μαλακωτέρας ὑπελάμβανον τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ τελευταίους κρινομένους ἔσεσθαι, [p. 191] συντονωτέρας οὖσας ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀγῶσιν, ὃ [3] πολλάκις ἤδη συνέβη. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι συνέσχον τοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἀππίου δὲ Οὐεργίνιον ἔταξαν ἄνευ κλήρου κατηγορεῖν. εἰσαγγέλλεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸν δῆμον Ἀππίος ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐεργίνιου κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ αἰτεῖται χρόνον εἰς ἀπολογίαν. ἀπαχθεὶς δ' εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἵνα φυλάττηται μέχρι δίκης — οὐ γὰρ ἐδόθη διεγγύησις αὐτῷ — πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀποθνήσκει, ὥς μὲν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπόληψις ἦν ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς τῶν δημάρχων, ὥς δ' οἱ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολύσασθαι βουλόμενοι διεφήμεζον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναρτησάμενος βρόχῳ. [4] μετ' ἐκεῖνον Σπόριος Ὀππίος εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὑφ' ἑτέρου τῶν δημάρχων Ποπλίου Νομιτωρίου καὶ τυχῶν ἀπολογίας ἀπάσαις ἀλίσκεται ταῖς ψήφοις καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐθημερὸν ἀποθνήσκει. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν δέκα πρὶν εἰσαγγελθῆναι φυγαῖς αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν. τὰς δ' οὐσίας τῶν ἀνηρημένων καὶ τῶν πο ... οἱ ταμίαι τῆς πόλεως ἀνέλαβον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. [5] εἰσαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ Μάρκος Κλαύδιος ὁ τὴν παρθένον ἐπιβαλόμενος ὡς δούλην ἀπάγειν ὑπὸ τοῦ μνηστήρος αὐτῆς Ἰκιλίου: καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιτάξαντα παρανομεῖν Ἀππίον ἀναφέρων θανάτου μὲν ἀπολύεται, φυγῇ δ' αἰδίῳ ζημιοῦται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ὑπηρετησάντων τι παράνομον τοῖς ὀλιγάρχαις οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν ἀγῶνα δημόσιον, [p. 192] ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἄδεια ἐδόθη. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰσηγησάμενος ἦν Μάρκος Δοέλλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἀχθομένων ἤδη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν πολέμιων γενέσθαι προσδοκῶντων.

ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἐπαύσαντο ταραχαί, συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλὴν οἱ ὑπατοὶ δόγμα κυροῦσιν ἐξάγειν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους διὰ ταχέων. ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς Οὐαλέριος μὲν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους: συνῆλθε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ἔθνη. [2] ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων κατορθωμάτων αὐχῆμα προσειληφότας καὶ εἰς πολλὴν καταφρόνησιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως προελθόντας, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐβούλετο ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασυτέρους ποιῆσαι δόξαν οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρασχών, ὥς ὀρωδῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πάντα δεδιότως ἐποίει. [3] χωρίον τε γὰρ εἰς στρατοπεδείαν ὑψηλὸν καὶ δυσπρόσιτον ἐξελέξατο τάφρον τε βαθεῖαν περιέβαλετο καὶ χάρακας ἤγειρεν

ὕψηλούς. προκαλουμένων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν εἰς μάχην πολλάκις καὶ
κακιζόντων [p. 193] τὴν ἀνανδριαν ἠνείχετο μένων ἐφ' ἡσυχίας. ἐπεὶ δ'
ἔγνω τὴν κρατίστην τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν ἐπὶ προνομήν τῆς Ἑρνίκων τε
καὶ Λατίνων γῆς ἐξεληλυθυῖαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χάρακι φυλακὴν οὕτε πολλὴν
καταλειπομένην οὐτ' ἀγαθὴν, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίσας τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον
ἐξῆλγε κεκοσμημένην τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρέστησεν ὡς εἰς μάχην. [4] οὐδενός
τ' ἀντεπρόντος ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπέιχε, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὴν
ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἦγεν οὐ σφόδρα ὀχυρὰν οὖσαν. μαθόντες δὲ
πολιορκούμενον τὸν χάρακα οἱ προσεξεληλυθότες ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς ταχέως
ἦκον, πλήν οὐχ ἅμα καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ, σποράδες δὲ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ὡς
ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἐπιφανόμενοι: οἳ τ' ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπεὶ τοὺς σφετέρους
προσιόντας ἐθεάσαντο, θρασύτεροι γεγονότες ἐξῆλθον ἀθρόοι. [5] καὶ γίνεται
μέγας ἀγὼν καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς, ἐν ᾧ νικήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
τοὺς τε συστάδην μαχομένους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιδιώκοντες,
οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, οὓς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, τοῦ δὲ χάρακος αὐτῶν
κρατήσαντες χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον περιεβάλοντο. Οὐαλέριος
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀδεῶς ἤδη τὴν γῆν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ
ἐδίη.

Μάρκος δ' Ὀράτιος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Σαβίνων πόλεμον ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὸν
συνάρχοντα ἔγνω προαγαγὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὰς δυνάμεις [p.
194] ἀντεπῆγε θάπτον ὅλη δυνάμει πρὸς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀριθμὸν τοὺς
Σαβίνους καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐμπειροτάτους: ἐνεδείξαντο γὰρ φρόνημά τε καὶ
τόλμαν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων κατορθωμάτων πολλὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιμαχομένους,
καὶ κοινῶς πάντες καὶ ἰδίως ὁ τοῦτων προηγούμενος: ἦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον
στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ [2] πολεμιστὴς κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος: καὶ τῶν
ἱππέων μεγάλῃν προθυμίαν παρασχομένων νίκην ἀναιρεῖται λαμπροτάτην,
πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνας τῶν πολεμίων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλειόνων αἰχμαλώτων
τετυχηκῶς τοῦ τε χάρακος αὐτῶν ἐρήμου κρατήσας, ἐν ᾧ τὴν τ' ἀποσκευὴν
τῶν πολεμίων πολλὴν εὔρε καὶ τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς
ἐλήισαντο, αἰχμαλώτους τε πάνυ πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων ἀνέσώσατο. οὐ γὰρ
ἔφθασαν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὰς ὠφελείας οἱ Σαβῖνοι διὰ καταφρόνησιν. [3] τὰ
μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφέλειαν ἐφῆκε ποιεῖσθαι
προεξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ὅσα τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερώσειν ἔμελλε: τὴν δὲ
λείαν τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν ἀπέδωκε.

ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν εἰς Ῥώμην τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν
αὐτὸν χρόνον Οὐαλέριος ἦκεν, ἦν τ' ἀμφοτέροις μέγα φρονούσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς
νίκαις ἐλπίς ἐπιφανεῖς κατάξειν θριάμβους. [p. 195] [2] οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γε
αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐλπίδα τὸ ἔργον. συναχθεῖσα γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ
κατεστρατοπεδευκότων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον πεδῖον,
καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων μαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπινίκιον οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε
ποιήσασθαι θυσίαν πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐναντιωθέντων αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
φανεροῦ, μάλιστα δὲ Κλαυδίου Γαΐου: [3] θεῖος δ' ἦν οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἔφην,
Ἀππίῳ τῷ καταστησαμένῳ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ νεωστὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων
ἀναιρεθέντι: τοὺς τε κυρωθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν νόμους προβαλλομένου, δι' ᾧ

ἡλάττωσαν τὸ τῆς βουλῆς κράτος, καὶ τᾶλλα πολιτεύματα, ὅσα οὗτοι πολιτευόμενοι διετέλεσαν: τελευταίαν δὲ τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὓς προὔδωκαν τοῖς δημάρχοις, τῶν μὲν ἀπώλειαν, τῶν δὲ δήμευσιν, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, [4] διεξιόντος. τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συνομολογηθέντα τοῖς πατρικίοις πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐπ' ἀδεία τε πάντων γενέσθαι καὶ ἀμνηστία τῶν προτέρων: τὸν τ' Ἀππίου θάνατον οὐκ αὐτοχειρία γενέσθαι λέγοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιβούλως ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πρὸ δίκης, ἵνα μήτε λόγου τύχη κρινόμενος μήτ' ἐλέου, ὡς, εἰ κατέστη γοῦν εἰς κρίσιν ἀνὴρ, ἀπέφυγεν ἂν γένους ἀξίωμα παρεχόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τὸ κοινὸν εὖ πεποικώς ὄρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἐπιβώμενος, αἷς ἄνθρωποι πιστεύοντες [p. 196] εἰς διαλλαγὰς συνέρχονται, τέκνα τε καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ φέρων εἰς οἶκτον ἐφελκόμενα τὸ πλῆθος. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα κατηγορήματα τῶν ὑπάτων κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκχέαντος [5] Κλαυδίου Γαίου, καὶ πάντων τῶν παρόντων, ἔδοξεν ἀγαπᾶν αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι δίκας: θριάμβων δὲ καταγωγῆς ἢ τινων τοιοῦτων συγχωρήσεων οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀξίους εἶναι τυγχάνειν.

ἀποψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν θριάμβον ἀγανακτοῦντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον καὶ δεινὴν ὕβριν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὑβρίζεσθαι συνεκάλεσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος: καὶ πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς κατηγορήσαντες, συναγορευσάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν δημάρχων καὶ νόμον εἰσηγησαμένων, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαμβάνουσι τὴν καταγωγὴν τοῦ θριάμβου, πρῶτοι Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων τοῦτο εἰσηγησάμενοι τὸ ἔθος. [2] ἕκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν εἰς ἐγκλήματα καὶ διαφορὰς οἱ δημοτικοὶ καθίσταντο πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους: παρῶξυνον δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ δῆμαρχοι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκκλησιάζοντες καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς λέγοντες. ἦν δ' ἡ μάλιστα ἐρεθίζουσα τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπόληψις, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι παρεσκεύασαν ἰσχυρὰν γενέσθαι, φήμας τ' ἀδεσπότοις καὶ εἰκασμοῖς [p. 197] αὐξηθεῖσα οὐκ ὀλίγοις, ὡς καταλυσόντων τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς νόμους, οὓς ἐκύρωσαν οἱ περὶ Οὐαλέριον ὕπατοι: δόξα τ' ἰσχυρὰ καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσα τοῦ πίστις εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς κατεῖχε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων πραχθέντα τῶν ὑπάτων ταῦτ' ἦν.

οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐξῆς ὑπατεύσαντες ἐνιαυτὸν Λάρος Ἑρμίνιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος: καὶ οἱ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, Μάρκος Γεγάνιος

...

μηδὲν δ' αὐτῶν ἀποκρινομένων, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτούντων παρελθὼν αὖθις Σκάππιος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα: ἔχει, ἔφη, παρακεχωρημένον, ἄνδρες πολῖται, παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν διαφορομένων, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἑαυτοῖς μηδὲν προσηκούσης ἀντιποιοῦνται: πρὸς ταῦτα ὀρώντες τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ εὖορκα ψηφίσασθε. [2] ταῦτα τοῦ Σκαππίου λέγοντος αἰδῶς εἰσῆει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐνθυμουμένους, ὡς οὔτε δίκαιον οὐτ' εὐπρεπὲς ἡ δίκη λήψεται τέλος, ἂν τινα ἀμφισβητουμένην ὑφ' ἐτέρων χώραν δικαστῆς αἰρεθεῖς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος μηδέποτ' αὐτῆς ἀντιποιησάμενος ἑαυτῷ προσδικάσῃ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἀφελόμενος: καὶ πολλοὶ σφόδρα ἐλέχθησαν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ πράγματος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς βουλῆς λόγοι διακενῆς. [3] οἱ γὰρ ἀνειληφότες [p. 198] τὰς ψήφους πολλὴν μωρίαν εἶναι

λέγοντες ἑτέρους περιορᾷν τὰ σφέτερα κατέχοντας, καὶ οὐκ εὐσεβὲς ἐξοίσειν τέλος ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἐὰν Ἀρικηνοὺς ἢ Ἀρδεάτας κυρίου ἀποδείξωσι τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου γῆς ὁμωμοκότες ὧν ἂν εὕρωσιν αὐτὴν οὔσαν τούτων ἐπικρινεῖν: τοῖς τε δικαζομένοις ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, ὅτι τοὺς ἀποστερουμένους αὐτῆς δικαστὰς ἠξίωσαν λαβεῖν, ἵνα μὴδ' ὕστερον ἔτι σφίσι ἐγγένηται τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνακομίσασθαι κτῆσιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ μεθ' ὅρκου δικάσαντες ἑτέρων ἐπέγνωσαν εἶναι. [4] ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες τρίτον ἐκέλευσαν τεθῆναι καδίσκον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἐκάστην φυλὴν, εἰς ὃν ἀποθήσονται τὰς ψήφους: καὶ γίνεται πάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος τῆς ἀμφιλόγου χώρας κύριος. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπράχθη.

Μάρκου δὲ Γενυκίου καὶ Γαίου Κοιντίου τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων αἱ πολιτικαὶ πάλιν ἀνίσταντο διαφοραὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἀξιούντων ἅπασιν Ῥωμαίοις ἐξεῖναι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν — τέως γὰρ οἱ πατρίκιοι μόνοι μετήεσαν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς λοχίσις ἐκκλησίαις ἀποδεικνύμενοι — νόμον τε συγγράψαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν εἰσέφερον οἱ τότε δημαρχοῦντες ἐκτὸς ἐνὸς Γαίου Φουρνίου πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ συμφρονήσαντες, ἐν ᾧ τὸν δῆμον ἐποιοῦντο [p. 199] κύριον τῆς διαγνώσεως καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, εἴτε πατρικίους βούλοιτο μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατείαν εἴτε δημοτικούς. [2] ἐφ' οἷς ἡγανάκτουν οἱ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ μετέχοντες συνεδρίου καταλυομένην τὴν ἑαυτῶν δυναστείαν ὀρώντες καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν ὦντο δεῖν πρότερον ἢ τὸν νόμον κύριον ἔῃσαι γενέσθαι: ὀργαί τε καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ ἀντιπράξεις ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς ἐν ἰδίοις τε συλλόγοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδους, ἀπάντων τῶν πατρικίων πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡλλοτριωμένων τοὺς δημοτικούς. [3] καὶ λόγοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν προϋσταμένων τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐλέγχθησαν, ἐπεικέστεροι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰόμενων ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς δημοτικούς, τραχύτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νομιζόντων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ φθόνου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα συγκεῖσθαι.

ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου διακενῆς ἦκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἄγγελοι λέγοντες, ὅτι πολλῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλουσιν ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι, δεόμενοι βοήθειαν ἀποστελεῖν σφίσι διὰ ταχέων ὥς ἐν τριβῶ τοῦ πολέμου κειμένοις. [2] ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, Ἀρδεᾶται τ' αὐτῶν οὐκέτι ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι τῆς ἀμφιλόγου χώρας ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, ἣν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος αἰρεθεὶς δικαστῆς αὐτῷ προσεδίκασεν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ. [3] ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ψηφίζεται στρατὸν καταγράφειν [p. 200] καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραπτον δὲ τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέροντες ἔχουσι δ' ἐξουσίαν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δῆμαρχοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀφαιρούμενοί τε τοὺς ἀγομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὅρκον, καὶ τιμωρίαν οὐδεμίαν ἐῶντες λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων. [4] πολλὰ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξιοῦσης ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ τὴν φιλονεικίαν καταβαλεῖν, ὅταν δὲ τέλος οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι, τότε προτιθέναι τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν νόμον, οἷδε

τοσούτου ἔδεδῃσαν εἶξαι τοῖς καιροῖς, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναντιώσεσθαι τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς βουλῆς ἔλεγον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἑάσειν δόγμα περὶ οὐδενὸς κυρωθῆναι πράγματος, ἂν μὴ τὸν ὑπ' ^[5] αὐτῶν εἰσφερόμενον προβουλευέσθαι νόμον. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτ' ἀπειλῆσαι προήχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὄρκους, οἵπερ εἰσὶ μέγιστοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πίστεως διομοσάμενοι, ἵνα μηδὲ τι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων αὐτοῖς πεισθεῖσιν ἐξῇ καταλύειν.

πρὸς δὴ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ταύτας ἐσκόπουν, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ κορυφαῖοτάτοι τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, συναχθέντες [p. 201] εἰς τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν σύλλογον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοὶ καθ' ^[2] ἑαυτοὺς. Γάιος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος ἡκιστα δημοτικὸς ὢν καὶ ταύτην διαδεδεγμένος ἐκ προγόνων τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐθαδεστέραν γνώμην εἰσέφερε, μήτε ὑπατείας μήτ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τῷ δήμῳ παραχωρεῖν μηδεμιᾶς· τοὺς δὲ τάναντία πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ὄπλοις κωλύειν, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται τοῖς λόγοις, φειδῶ μηδεμίαν ποιουμένους μήτ' ἰδιώτου μήτ' ἀρχοντος. ἅπαντας γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας τὰ πάτρια κινεῖν ἔθη καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος τὸν ἀρχαῖον διαφθεῖρειν ἀλλοτρίους καὶ πολεμίους εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. ^[3] Τίτος δὲ Κοῖντιος οὐκ εἶα τῇ βίᾳ κατείργειν τὸ ἀντίπαλον, οὐδὲ δι' ὄπλων καὶ δι' αἵματος ἐμφυλίου χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ δημοτικόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δημάρχων σφίσιν ἐναντιωσομένων, οὓς ἱεροὺς εἶναι καὶ παναγεῖς ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ὄρκους κατ' ἐξωλείας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων, ἂν τι παραβαίνωσι τῶν συγκειμένων, κατομοσάμενοι.

ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρακληθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Κλαύδιος· οὐκ ἄγνωῶ μὲν, ἔφησεν, ἡλικῶν κρηπὶς καταβληθήσεται συμφορῶν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν, ἂν ἐπιτρέψωμεν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοῦ νόμου ψῆφον λαβεῖν· οὐκ ἔχων δ' ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὐδὲ δυνάμενος [p. 202] τοσούτοις οὔσιν μόνος ἀντιλέγειν, εἴκω τοῖς βουλήμασι τοῖς ὑμετέροις. ^[2] δίκαιον γὰρ ἀποφαίνεσθαι μὲν ἕκαστον ἃ δοκεῖ τῷ κοινῷ συνοίσειν, πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων κριθεῖσιν. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι παραινεῖν ὑμῖν ὡς ἐν χαλεποῖς καὶ ἀβουλήτοις πράγμασιν ἔχω, τῆς μὲν ὑπατείας μήτε νῦν μήθ' ὕστερον παραχωρεῖν μηδενὶ πλήν τῶν πατρικίων, οἷς μόνοις ὅσιόν τε καὶ ^[3] θεμιτόν ἐστι τυγχάνειν· ὅταν δ' εἰς ἀνάγκην κατακλεισθῇτε ὥσπερ νῦν μεταδιδόναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, χιλιάρχους τε ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποδείκνυτε, ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ὀρίσαντες ὅσον δὴ τινα — ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁκτῶ ἢ ἐξ ἀποχρῆς δοκεῖ — ἔν τε τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι μὴ ἐλάττονες ἀριθμὸν ἔστωσαν οἱ πατρικιοὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες οὔτε τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν εἰς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους καταβαλεῖτε οὔτε δυναστείας ἀδίκους ἑαυτοῖς κατασκευάζεσθαι δόξετε μηδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς μεταδιδόντες τοῖς δημοτικοῖς. ^[4] ἐπαινεσάντων δ' ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην καὶ οὐδενὸς τάναντία λέγοντος· ἀκούσατ', ἔφη, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὑμῖν ἔχω παραινεῖν. ἡμέραν προειπόντες, ἐν ἣ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐπικυρώσετε καὶ τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, λόγον ἀπόδοτε τοῖς ἀπολογουμένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῖς

κατηγοροῦσι: ῥηθέντων δὲ τῶν λόγων, ὅταν καθήκη τὰς [p. 203] γνῶμας ἐρωτᾶν, μήτ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἄρξησθε μήτ' ἀπὸ κοιντίου τουδὶ μήτ' ἀπ' ἄλλου τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδενός, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλοδημοτάτου τῶν βουλευτῶν Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀξιοῦτε Ὅρατιον εἶ τι βούλεται λέγειν. ὅταν δὲ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων γνῶμας ἐξετάσητε, τότε τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμᾶς κελεύετε λέγειν. [5] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐναντιουμένην γνῶμην τοῖς δημάρχois ἀποδείξομαι πάσῃ τῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος — τουτὶ γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρει — τὸ δὲ περὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων πολίτευμα, εἰ βουλομένοις ἐστίν, εἰσηγείσθω Τίτος Γενύκιος οὗτος: πρεπωδεστάτη γὰρ ἡ γνῶμη καὶ ὑποψίαν ἥκιστα παρέξουσα γένοιτ' ἂν, ἐὰν οὗτος αὐτὴν ὁ [6] σὸς ἀδελφός, ὦ Μάρκε Γενύκιε, λέγῃ. ἐδόκει καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ὑποτίθεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆεσαν ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου, τοῖς δὲ δημάρχois δέος ἐνέπιπτε πρὸς τὴν ἀπόρρητον τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνοουσίαν ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι τοῦ δήμου μεγάλῳ γενομένην, ἐπειδὴ κατ' οἰκίαν τε συνήδρευσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ, καὶ οὐδένα τῶν προεστηκότων τοῦ δήμου κοινωνῶν τῶν βουλευμάτων παρέλαβον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συνέδριον αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν φιλοδημοτάτων συναγαγόντες ἀλεξήματα καὶ φυλακὰς ἀντεμχανῶντο πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, ἃς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἔσσεσθαι σφίσις ὑπώπτευν.

ὡς δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔδει γενέσθαι, συγκαλέσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πολλὰς ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ εὐκοσμίας ποιησάμενοι [p. 204] παρακλήσεις πρῶτοις ἀπέδωκαν λέγειν τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις δημάρχois τὸν νόμον. [2] καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν Γαῖος Κανολήιος περὶ μὲν τοῦ δίκαιον ἢ συμφέροντα εἶναι τὸν νόμον οὗτ' ἐδίδασκεν οὗτ' ἐμέμνητο: θαυμάζειν δ' ἔφη τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅτι βεβουλευμένοι τε καὶ κεκριότες ἤδη κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἀδοκίμαστον πρᾶγμα καὶ βουλῆς δεόμενον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπεχείρησαν εἰσφέρειν, καὶ λόγον ἀπέδωκαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς προαιρουμένοις, εἰρωνεῖαν εἰσάγοντες οὕτε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἡλικίαις ἀρμόττουσαν, οὕτε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκουσαν. [3] πονηρῶν τ' ἀρχὰς ἔφη πολιτευμάτων αὐτοὺς εἰσάγειν ἀπόρρητα βουλευτήρια συνάγοντας ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἅπαντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς σφίσις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων συνέδρων τῶν ἀπελαθέντων τῆς κατοικιδίου βουλῆς ἦττον ἔφη θαυμάζειν, Μάρκου δὲ Ὅρατιου καὶ Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου τῶν καταλυσάντων τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὑπατικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐπιτηδεῖν τὰ κοινὰ βουλεύειν, τὴν ἀπαξίωσιν τῆς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παρακλήσεως ἐκπεπλήχθαι, καὶ οὐ δύνασθαι συμβάλλειν ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ δικαίῳ, εἰκάζειν δὲ μίαν αἰτίαν, ὅτι πονηρὰς καὶ ἀσυμφόρους γνῶμας εἰσηγεῖσθαι μέλλοντες κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο παρακαλεῖν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ συνέδρια τοὺς φιλοδημοτάτους, ἀγανακτῆσοντες δηλονότι καὶ οὐ περιοφεμένους [p. 205] οὐδὲν ἄδικον πολίτευμα κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενον.

τοιαῦτα Γαίου Κανοληίου μετὰ πολλοῦ σχετλιασμοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τῶν μὴ παραληφθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον βουλευτῶν πρὸς ὀργὴν δεξαμένων τὸ πρᾶγμα παρελθὼν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γενύκιος ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ प्रावνεῖν τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ἐπειρᾶτο διδάσκων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν φίλους παραλάβοιεν, οὐχ

ἵνα τι κατὰ τοῦ δήμου διαπραξάντο, ἀλλ' ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων βουλευσάντο, τί πράττοντες οὐδ' ὁποτέραν δόξουσιν ἐλαττοῦν τῶν αἰρέσεων, πότερον ταχεῖαν ἀποδιδόντες τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν ἢ ^[2] χρονιωτέραν. Ὅρατιον δὲ καὶ Οὐαλέριον οὐκ ἄλλης τινὸς χάριν αἰτίας μὴ παραλαβεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τις ὑποψία περὶ αὐτῶν παρ' ἀξίαν ἢ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ὡς μεταβεβλημένων τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας, ἐὰν ἄρα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας γένωνται γνώμης, τῆς ἀξιούσης ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἅπασι τοῖς παραληφθεῖσιν ἢ συντομωτέρα διάγνωσις ἀμείνων ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῆς βραδυτέρας, πράττειν ὡς ἐκείνοις ἐφάνη. ^[3] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ θεοὺς ἐπομοσάμενος ἢ μὴν τάληθ' ἰλέγειν καὶ τοὺς παρακληθέντας ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἔφη, πᾶσαν ἀπολύσεσθαι διαβολὴν οὐ λόγους, ^[4] ἀλλ' ἔργους. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι κατηγορεῖν καὶ ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ νόμου διεξέλθωσι τὰ δίκαια, [p. 206] πρῶτους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρώτησιν τῆς γνώμης καταλέγειν οὐχὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ τιμιωτάτους τῶν βουλευτῶν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸ γέρας, οὐδὲ τοὺς δι' ὑποψίας ὄντας παρὰ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χρηστὸν οὔτε λέγοντας οὔτε φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι φιλοδημοτάτους.

ὑποσχόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν τοῖς βουλομένοις λέγειν, ἔπειδὴ οὔτε κατηγορήσων οὔτ' ἀπολογησόμενος οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου παρήει, παρελθὼν αὖθις ἐρωτᾷ πρῶτον Οὐαλέριον, τί τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρει, καὶ τί προβουλεύσαι τοῖς συνέδροις παραινέῃ. ^[1] οὐ δ' ἀναστὰς καὶ πολλοὺς διεξελθὼν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων λόγους ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρους προΐσταμένων, καὶ καταριθμησάμενος ἅπαντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς κατασχόντας τὴν πόλιν κινδύνους ἐκ τῶν τάναντία πολιτευομένων, τοῖς τ' ἀπεχθῶς ἐσχηκόσι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπασιν ἄλυσιτελὲς γενόμενον ἀποδείξας τὸ μισόδημον, ἐπαίνους τε πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ δήμου ποιησάμενος, ὡς αἰτιωτάτου τῇ πόλει γεγονότος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις διεξῆλθε, τελευτῶν ἔφη μὴ δύνασθαι πόλιν ἐλευθέραν εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τις τὴν ἰσότητ' ἀνέλῃ: ^[3] ἔφη τε δοκεῖν ἑαυτῷ τὸν μὲν νόμον [p. 207] δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν ἀξιοῦντα πᾶσι μετεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς γε δὴ βίον ἀνεπίληπτον ἐσχηκόσι καὶ πράξεις ἀποδεδειγμένοις τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἀξίας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν οὐκ ἐπιτῆδειον εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διάγνωσιν ἐν πολεμικαῖς ὑπαρχούσης ταραχαῖς τῆς πόλεως: ^[4] συνεβούλευε τε τοῖς μὲν δημάρχοις ἐὰν τὴν καταγραφὴν γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον μὴ κωλύειν τῶν καταγραφέντων, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις, ὅταν τὸ κράτιστον τέλος ἐπιθῶσι τῷ πολέμῳ, πρῶτον ἁπάντων τὸ περὶ τοῦ νόμου προβούλευμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ γραφῆναι τ' ἤδη καὶ διομολογηθῆναι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων. ^[5] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Οὐαλερίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ὅρατιον — δευτέρῳ γὰρ τούτῳ λόγον ἀπέδωκεν οἱ ὑπατοὶ — ταῦτ' ὁ πάθος ἅπασι τοῖς παροῦσι συνέβη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸν νόμον βουλόμενοι τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνώσεως ἀγαπητῶς ἀκούσαντες, τὸ μετὰ τὸν

πόλεμον ἐπάναγκες εἶναι σφίσι προβουλεύσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς ἀπεδέξαντο: οἱ δὲ κύριον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου κριθῆναι προαιρούμενοι τὸ μὲν ὡμολογημένον δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν νόμον ἀσμένως ἥκουν, τὸ δ' εἰς ἐτέρους ἐκπίπτειν χρόνους τὸ προβούλευμα πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐλάμβανον.

Θορύβου δέ, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ γενομένου διὰ τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτῆς εὐαρεστεῖν [p. 208] ἀμφοτέρους παρελθὼν ὁ ὕπατος τρίτον ἡρώτα Γάϊον Κλαύδιον, ὃς ἐδόκει τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς ἐτέρας τάξεως τῆς ἐναντιουμένης τοῖς δημοτικοῖς αὐθαδέστατος εἶναι καὶ δυνατώτατος. [2] οὗτος ἐκ παρασκευῆς διεξῆλθε λόγον κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν, πάνθ' ὅσα ἔδοξε πῶποτε ἐναντία τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς ὑπομινῆσκων, οὗ κεφάλαιον ἦν, εἰς ὃ κατέσκηπτεν ἡ γνώμη, μηδεμίαν ἀποδιδόναι τῇ βουλῇ διάγνωσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου τοὺς ὑπάτους, μήτ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ μήτ' ὕστερον, ὥς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰσφερομένου καὶ συγγεῖν μέλλοντος ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας. [3] γενομένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἔτι πλείονος θορύβου τέταρτος ἀνίσταται κληθεὶς Τίτος Γενύκιος, ἀδελφὸς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων: ὃς ὀλίγα διαλεχθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατεχόντων καιρῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι дуεῖν ἀνάγκη τῶν χαλεπωτάτων θάτερον αὐτῇ συμπεσεῖν, ἢ διὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔριδας καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἰσχυρὰ τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ποιῆσαι πράγματα, ἢ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφερομένους ἀποτρέψασθαι βουλομένη κακῶς τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ πολιτικὸν διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον: [4] ἔφησε, дуεῖν ὄντων κακῶν, ὧν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἄκοντας ὑπομεῖναι, τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖν εἶναι λυσιτελέστερον, τὸ συγχωρῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ τὴν βουλήν παρασπάσαι τι τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις [p. 209] τε καὶ πολεμίοις καταγέλαστον ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν. [5] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τὴν δοκιμασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενηθέντων ἐν τῷ κατ' οἰκίαν συνεδρίῳ γνώμην εἰσέφερεν, ἣν εἰσηγήσατο Κλαύδιος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ἀποδειχθῆναι, τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων, τρεῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ὑπατικὴν: ὅταν δὲ τελῶσιν οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ καθήκη νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐθις συνελθόντας διαγνῶναι, πότερον ὑπάτους ἢ χιλιάρχους βούλονται παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἅπασι δόξη ψῆφον ἐπενέγκας, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον. ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν.

ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Γενυκίου πολὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνιστάμενοι μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες ταῦτα συνεχώρουν κράτιστα εἶναι. γράφεται δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸ μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς οἱ δήμαρχοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα καλέσαντες τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, πολλοὺς διέθεντο τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαίνους, καὶ παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἐθέλουσι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἅμα τοῖς πατρικίοις. [2] οὕτω δ' ἄρα κοῦφόν τι πρᾶγμά ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία διχα λόγου γινομένη καὶ ταχὺ μεταπίπτον ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη, μάλιστα δ' ἡ τῶν ὄχλων, ὥσθ' οἱ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι τέως τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταλαβεῖν καί, εἰ μὴ δοθῇ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ἢ καταλείψοντες τὴν [p. 210] πόλιν ὡς πρότερον, ἢ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων αὐτὸ ληψόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ συγχώρημα ἔλαβον, ἀπέστησαν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπὶ

θάτερον μετέβαλον. [3] πολλῶν γέ τοι δημοτικῶν παραγγελλόντων τὴν χιλιάρχian καὶ κατεσπουδασμένας ποιουμένων τὰς δεήσεις, οὐδένα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἄξιον εἶναι ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ γενόμενοι τῆς ψήφου κύριοι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων μετιόντας αὐτὴν ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς χιλιάρχους ἀποδεικνύουσιν, Αὖλον Σεμπρόνιον Ἀτρατῖνον καὶ Λεύκιον Ἀτίλιον Λοῦσκον καὶ Τίτον Κλύλιον Σικελόν.

οὗτοι παραλαμβάνουσι πρῶτοι τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Διφίλου. μετασχόντες δ' αὐτῆς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἡμέρας ἀποτίθενται κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐθισμόν ἐκούσιοι, θεοπέμπτων τινῶν σημείων κωλυτηρίων αὐτοῖς τοῦ [2] πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ γενομένων. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπειπαμένων ἢ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀποδείκνυσι. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προειπόντες ἀρχαιρέσια καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διάγνωσιν ἀποδιδόντες, εἴτε βούλεται χιλιάρχους εἴτε ὑπάτους ἀποδείξει, κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθισμοῖς, ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν πατρικίων μετέναι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν: καὶ γίνονται πάλιν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ὑπατοὶ Λεύκιος Παπίριος Μογιλῶνος καὶ Λεύκιος Σεμπρόνιος Ἀτρατῖνος, ἐνὸς [p. 211] [3] τῶν ἀποθεμένων τὴν χιλιάρχian ἀδελφός. αὗται δύο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχαὶ Ῥωμαίων αἱ τὸ μέγιστον ἔχουσαι κράτος ἐγένοντο: πλὴν οὐκ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς Ῥωμαικαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἀμφοτέραι φέρονται, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς μὲν οἱ χιλιάρχιοι μόνον, ἐν αἷς δ' οἱ ὑπατοὶ, ἐν οὐ πολλαῖς δ' ἀμφοτέροι, αἷς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἄνευ λογισμοῦ συγκατατιθέμεθα, πιστεύοντες δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τε καὶ ἀποθέτων βίβλων μαρτυρίαις. [4] ἄλλο μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἔργον ἱστορίας ἄξιον ἐπράχθη, συνθήκαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν ἐγένοντο περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας: ἐπρεσβεύσαντο γὰρ ἀποτιθέμενοι τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐγκλήματα παρακαλοῦντες φίλοι Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχοι. ταύτας τὰς συνθήκας τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχεῖον ἐπεκύρωσε.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ πάλιν ὑπάτους ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου κατασταθῆναι παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τῇ διχομήνιδι τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Μάρκος Γεγάνιος Μακερῖνος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τίτος Κοίντιος Καπιτωλῖνος τὸ πέμπτον. [2] οὗτοι διδάξαντες τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πράγματα διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν ὑπάτων στρατείας ἡμελημένα παρεῖται, πάντων δ' ἀναγκαιότατον τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν βίων νόμιμον, ἐξ ὧν ὁ τ' ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεῦσιμον ἡλικίαν ἐγινώσκετο καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσφορὰς ἔκαστον τελεῖν, οὐδεμιᾶς τιμήσεως ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα [p. 212] ἐτῶν γενομένης ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκίου Κορνηλίου καὶ Κοίντου Φαβίου ὑπατείας: ὥστε καταλιπεῖν οἱ πονηρότατοι τε καὶ ἀσελγέστατοι Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τόπον μεταλαμβάνειν, ἐν ᾧ περίεστι ζῆν αὐτοῖς, ὡς προήρηνται.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XII

ὅτι λιμοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην γενομένου ἰσχυροῦ ἀνὴρ τις οἴκου τε οὐκ ἀφανοῦς καὶ χρήμασιν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δυνατός, Σπόριος Μαίλιος Εὐδαίμων ἐπικλησιν ἐπὶ τῆς πολλῆς εὐπορίας νεωστὶ μὲν παρειληφώς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός, ἡλικίαν δὲ καὶ τάξιν ἔχων ἱππικὴν, οἷα μῆτε ἀρχὰς παραλαμβάνειν μῆτε ἄλλην κοινὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μηδεμίαν, λαμπρὸς εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος τὰ πολέμια καὶ πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένος ἀριστείοις, κράτιστον ὑπολαβὼν καιρὸν ἐπιθέσει τυραννίδος, ἐπὶ δημαγωγίαν τοῦ πλήθους ἐτρέπτετο, τὴν ῥαστώνην τῶν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα φερουσῶν ὁδῶν. ^[2] ἔχων δὲ πολλοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ πελάτας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διέπεμψε χρήματα δοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς συναγυρμοὺς τροφῆς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Τυρρηνίαν ὤχετο. ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ χρόνῳ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων πολλὴν κατακομίσας ἀγορὰν διεμέτρει τοῖς πολίταις, ἀντὶ δώδεκα δραχμῶν διδράχμου ἀπομετρῶν [p. 214] τὸν μόδιον: ὅσους δὲ αἰσθοίτο παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτους καὶ μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἔχοντας προέσθαι τὸ διάφορον ἄνευ τιμῆς χαριζόμενος. ^[3] ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θαυμαστήν ὄσῃν δόξαν ἀπενεγκάμενος ὤχετο πάλιν ἐμπορευσόμενος ἐτέρας ἀγοράς: καὶ παρῇν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ποταμηγούς ἄγων σκάφας πολλὰς πάνυ μεστὰς τροφῆς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς πολίταις ἐμέτρει. ^[4] οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι ταῦτα πράττοντα ὀρώντες αὐτὸν δι' ὑποψίας τε ἐλάμβανον τῆς ἄγαν φιλοτιμίας τοῦ ἀνδρός οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀπολαύσειν οἰόμενοι καὶ συνιστάμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσκόπουν, ὅντινα χρὴ τρόπον εὐπρεπέστερον ἄνευ κινδύνου παῦσαι τούτων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτευμάτων: κρύφα μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους συνιόντες καὶ διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καταβοῶντες, ἐπειδὴ βαρὺς τε καὶ ἀφόρητος ἦν ἔργα τε πράττων ὑπερηφανίας μεστὰ καὶ ^[5] λόγους διεξιὼν αὐθάδεις ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ: ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ βήματος περιφανοῦς, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς προσιοῦσι δι' ἡμέρας περὶ τὴν σιτοδοσίαν, ἐκβαλὼν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα ἔπαρχον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς: ^[6] ἔπειτα συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ὄν ἐν ἔθει Ῥωμαίοις ἰδιώτην ἐκκλησίαν συνάγειν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ [p. 215] Μηνυκίου κατηγορεῖ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ὄνομα φέροντος ἀρχῆς μόνον, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποδειξαμένου τοῖς πένησιν ὠφέλιμον, πολλὰ δὲ τοὺς πατρίκίους διέβαλλε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ταῦτα πράττοντας ἐξ ὧν ὀλίγου τε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιος ὁ δῆμος ἔσται καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ σιτοδείᾳ φροντίδα τῶν ἀπόρων ἔχοντας οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε κοινῇ πάντας οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τοὺς δυνατοὺς, παντὸς μάλιστα δέον αὐτοὺς χρήμασι τε καὶ σώμασιν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς δὴ κακοπαθεῖν καὶ πάντοθεν ἐπεισάγειν τῇ πόλει τὰς ἀγοράς. ^[7] ἡξίου τε πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα πατρίκιων τὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πραττόμενα ἐξετάζειν, ὡς πολὺ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα. ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναλίσκοντας ἔτι καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν σφετερισμένους πολὺν ἤδη καρποῦσθαι χρόνον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τῶν δημοσίων οὐδὲν ἔχοντα ἔτι καὶ τὴν πατρῶαν καταχορηγεῖν οὐσίαν εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν

ἀπόρων καί, ἐπειδὴν τὰ ὄντα καταναλώσῃ, δανείσματα ποιεῖσθαι παρὰ φίλων οὐθὲν ἀντικαταλλαπτόμενον τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοτιμίας ὅτι μὴ τὴν πολιτικὴν εὖνοιαν, ἧς οὐδὲ τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πλοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι τιμιώτερον.

[8] οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν συνεστῶτες αἰὲ σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα καὶ κτίστην ἀπεκάλουν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐλάττονα χάριν ἢ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν [p. 216] ἔργων αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι δοθεῖσαν ἀπέφαινον, ἄλλῃ δὲ τινι μείζονι καὶ λαμπροτέρῳ τιμῇ κοσμεῖν ἠξίουσαν αὐτόν, [9] ἣν καὶ γένος ἔξει τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἐξοδὸν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ παραθαλάττια τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκ τε Κύμης καὶ τῶν περὶ Μισσηνὸν λιμένων σιτηγοὺς ὀλκάδας ἄγων πολλὰς κατέπλευσεν εἰς Ὠστίαν, ὃ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστὶν ἐπίνειον, καὶ % κατέπαιψε ταῖς τροφαῖς τὴν πόλιν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐετηρίας διαφέρειν, ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἔτοιμος ἦν, εἰ γένοιτο τῆς ψήφου κύριος ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, εἴτε ὑπατείαν εἴτε ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν μετῴχοι, μηδενὸς ἐπιτρέποντος μήτε νόμου κωλύοντος μήτ' ἀνδρὸς ἐναντιουμένου χαρίζεσθαι.

[10] ταῦτα ὀρώντες οἱ προεσθηκότες τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ οὐτε ἐπιτρέπουν ἀξιοῦντες οὐτε κωλύειν δύναμιν ἔχοντες ἐν πολλῇ πάντες ἦσαν ἀθυμία: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον διεταράχθησαν, ἐπειδὴ κωλυόντων ἐκκλησίας συνάγειν αὐτόν καὶ δημηγορεῖν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ ὑπάτων, συστραφεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τῷ δὲ [11] Μαιλίῳ πολλὴν ἄδειαν καὶ ῥώμην παρέσχε. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὴ καταστάσει τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχούσης ὁ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀποδειχθεὶς ἔπαρχος, ἀχθόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προπηλακισμοῖς τῶν λόγων, οἷς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζων ὁ Μαίλιος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις διετέλει, δεδοικὼς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων, εἴ τις ἐπιλάβοιτο ἀρχῆς, μὴ πρότερον τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας αὐτὸν ποιήσεται ἢ τὸν [p. 217] δῆμον ἐξερεθίσας πρὸς αὐτὸν % ποιήσεται διὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας ἐπιβουλὴν τινα κατ' αὐτοῦ μηχανησάμενος, ἀγανακτῶν τε δι' ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι προθυμούμενος ἐκείνου μείζονα ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἐσχὺν ἔχοντος, ἐπιμελῆ ζήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων. [12] πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων, οἷς ὁ ἀνὴρ συνεργοῖς ἐχρήτο τῶν ἀπορρήτων, καὶ οὐτε τὰς φύσεις ὁμοίων οὐτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίων ἔμελλέ τις ὅπερ εἰκὸς οὐ βέβαιος αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι φίλος, ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ διὰ κέρδος ἴδιον: ὧς τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ὁ Μηνύκιος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ φράσειν ὅστις ἦν, ἅπασαν ἔγνω τὴν τε διάνοιαν τοῦ Μαιλίου καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. [13] ὥς δὲ καὶ τεκμήριον ἔλαβεν ἀναμφίλεκτον καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐν χερσὶν οὖσαν ἔγνω, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους: ἐκείνοι δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ποιῆσαι μόνοις ἐπιχειρήσεως τηλικαύτης ἐξέτασιν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ᾤοντο δεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰσφέρειν, καὶ συνεκάλουν τὸ συνέδριον εὐθὺς ὥς περὶ πολέμου δὴ τις ὑπερορίου βουλευσόμενοι. [14] πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου διὰ ταχέων παρελθὼν ἄτερος αὐτῶν ἔλεξεν, ὅτι πρᾶξις αὐτοῖς μεμνήνυται συσκευαζομένη κατὰ τῆς πόλεως [p. 218] πολλῆς πάνυ καὶ ταχείας φυλακῆς δεομένη διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος: ταύτης δ' ἔφη μηνυτὴν οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων εἶναι τινα πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' ὃν αὐτοὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτης τῷ κοινῷ χρείας ἔταξαν, δοκιμάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν τε πίστιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἐκ τῶν παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευομένων. μετεώρου δὴ

τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ γενομένης ἐκάλει τὸν Μηνύκιον, κάκεϊνος ἔλεξεν: ζῆτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγοριῶν. εσξ.

ὥς δ' ἐμηνύθη τῇ βουλῇ, δικτάτορα προχειρίζονται, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἱππάρχην ἐκέλευσεν ἔχοντι τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἡκιν ὥς αὐτὸν περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τοῖς δὲ βουλευταῖς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔωθεν ἔτι συλλέγεσθαι, τῷ δὲ Μηνυκίῳ τὸν τε μηνυτὴν ἄγοντι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποδείξεις κομίζοντι πρὸς τὸ βῆμα παρῆναι, ἅπανσι δὲ φυλάττειν ἀπόρρητα πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ συνεδρίου τὰ βουλευόμενα: μίαν εἶναι λέγων ἀσφάλειαν, εἰ μηδὲν ὁ Μαίλιος ἀκούσειε τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων τε καὶ [2] πραττομένων. διατάξας δὲ τᾶλλα ὅσων ἐδεῖτο, μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου πάντας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασχὼν σκότους ὄντος ἤδη διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον: ὥς δὲ μέση νύξ ἐγένετο, προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ... ἐξῆει περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπάτους. [3] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν [p. 219] τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἔωθεν κατειληφότες ἐφρούρουν: ὁ δὲ Μαίλιος οὐδὲν ἀκηκοὺς τούτων ἡμέρας γενομένης προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεζόμενος: καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ὁ ἵππαρχος Σερουίλιος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν ἱππέων ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις ξίφη καὶ στὰς πλησίον αὐτοῦ λέγει: [4] ὁ δικτάτωρ σε κελεύει, Μαίλιε, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡκιν: κάκεϊνος ὑποτυχὼν, ποῖος, ἔφη, κελεύει με, Σερουίλιε, δικτάτωρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ὁ ποῦ καὶ πότε γινόμενος; καὶ ἅμα διαταραχθεὶς περιέβλεψεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα. ἀφασίας δὲ ἅπαντας κατασχούσης διὰ τὸ μηδὲνα γινώσκειν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς λέγει πάλιν ὁ Σερουίλιος: εἰσηγγέλθης χθὲς εἰς τὴν βουλήν, ὦ Μαίλιε, νεωτέροις ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασιν, ἴσως οὐκ ἀληθῶς: οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας προκαταγινώσκειν. [5] ταύτην ἐξετάσαι τὴν μήνυσιν ἢ βουλήν προελομένη δικτάτορος ἔφησε δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥς οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον τῶν κινδύνων τρέχουσα, καὶ ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης κύριον Λεύκιον Κοίντιον Κικινυᾶτον, ὃν οἶσθα δήπου καὶ σὺ κράτιστον ὄντα τῶν πατρικίων καὶ δις ἤδη ταύτην ἀνεπιλήπτως τετελεκότα τὴν ἀρχήν. [6] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δικαστήριόν σοι καθίσει καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι βουλόμενος ἀπέσταλκεν ἡμᾶς, ἐμὲ τὸν ἱππαρχον ἅμα τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἄξοντας σε ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογία. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν πέποιθας, ἴθι καὶ λέγε τὰ δίκαια περὶ σαιτοῦ πρὸς [p. 220] ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν, ὃς οὐτε διὰ τὸν κοινὸν φθόνον οὐτε δι' ἄλλην ἄδικον πρόφασιν οὐδεμίαν ἐκποδὼν ποιῆσαι [7] σε βουλήσεται. ὁ δ' ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἀναπηδᾷ τε καὶ με- γάλα ἀναβοήσας, ἄνδρες, ἔφη, δημοτικοί, βοηθεῖτέ μοι συναρπαζομένῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ δίκην καλοῦμαι πρὸς αὐ- τῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάνατον καλοῦμαι. βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ θορύβου πολλοῦ περὶ τὸ βῆμα συγγνώς, ὅτι πλει- ους εἰσὶ τῶν βοηθούντων οἱ συλλαμβάνειν μέλλον- τες αὐτόν, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐτέρους ὑποκαθῆσθαι ἐν ὄπλοις, καταπηδᾷ ταχέως ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐχώρει δρόμῳ σπεύδων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατα- [8] φυγεῖν. καταλαμβανόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς ἐργαστήριον εἰστρέχει μαγειρικὸν καὶ κοπίδα τῶν κρεοκόπων ἀρπάσας παίει τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῷ προσ- ελθόντα. ἔπειτα πολλῶν ἐπιπεσόντων ἀθρόων ἀμυνό- μενος καὶ

βραχὺν ἀντισχῶν χρόνον ἀπεκόπη ὑπὸ τινος τὸν βραχίονα καὶ πίπτει καὶ κατακοπεῖς ὥσπερ θηρίον ἀποθνήσκει. [9] Μαίλιος μὲν δὴ μεγάλων ὄρεχθεῖς πραγ- μάτων καὶ μικροῦ πάνυ δεήσας τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγε- μονίαν κατασχεῖν οὕτως ἀζήλου καὶ πικρᾶς κατα- στροφῆς ἔτυχεν. ἔξενεχθέντος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ γεννηθέντος πᾶσι φανεροῦ δρόμος ἦν καὶ βοή καὶ θόρυβος ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν μὲν οἰκτειρόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀγανακτούντων, τῶν δὲ [p. 221] [10] ὁμόσε τοῖς δεδρακόσι χωρεῖν ἐσπουδακότων. τοιαύτης δὲ ταραχῆς γενομένης μαθὼν ὁ δικτάτωρ, ὅτι διαπé- πρακται τοῖς ἵππεῦσι τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔργον, κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς ἐπαγόμενος ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων γυμνὰ φαίνοντας ξίφη: καὶ δημηγορήσας ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀπέλυσε τὸν ὄχλον. Esc.

..... ἔχων περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ ἀπάσης συνειλεγμένους κακίας, οὓς ἐσίτιζεν ὥσπερ θηρία κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπήκουσέ μοι καὶ παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις μένοντα, μεγίστην ἂν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ παρέσχε ῥοπήν εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τεκμήριον οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἦν τοῦ μηδὲν βεβουλεῦσθαι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος: νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἔλαυ- νόμενος, ὃ πάσχουσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ἀνοσίους βουλὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σφίσι ποιησάμενοι, τοῦτο ἔπαθε: φυγεῖν τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔγνω, καὶ τοὺς ἥκοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι παίων ἀπήλυνεν ... Ambr

τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν οἱ <μὲν οὐ> συμβουλευ- σαντες τῇ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας ἡγανάκτουν καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ κοινωνήσαντες τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀφειμένοι τοῦ φόβου χαίρειν τε προσεποιοῦντο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν βου- λευμάτων ἐπήνουν: ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ πονη- [p. 222] ρότατοι λογοποιεῖν ἐτόλμων ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ὥς ἀνηρπασμένου πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν τοῦ Μαίλιου καὶ διαστασιάζειν τὸν δῆμον ἐπεχείρουν: οὓς ἀφανεῖ θανάτῳ διαχρησάμενος ὁ δικτάτωρ, ἐπειδὴ κατέπαυσε τοῦ θορυβοῦ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτίθεται. [2] οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ πιθανώτατά μοι δοκοῦντες γράφειν περὶ τῆς Μαίλιου τελευτῆς οὕτω παραδεδώκασι: λεγέσθω δὲ καὶ ὁ δοκῶν ἦττον εἶναι μοι πιθανὸς λόγος, ᾧ κέχρηται Κίγκιος καὶ Καλπούρνιος, ἐπιχώριοι συγγραφεῖς: οἱ φασιν οὕτε δικτάτορα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδειχθῆναι τὸν Κοίντιον οὕτε ἱπάρχην ὑπὸ τοῦ [3] κοιντίου τὸν Σερουίλιον. γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ Μηνυκίου τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πιστεύσαντας ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, γνώμην ἀποδειξαμένου τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τινὸς ἄκριτον ἢ μὴν ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ἄνδρα παραχρῆμα πεισθέντας, καὶ οὕτω τὸν Σερουίλιον ἐπὶ τοῦτο τάξαι τὸ ἔργον, νέον ὄντα καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖον. [4] τοῦτον δὲ φασι λαβόντα τὸ ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ μάλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μαίλιον πορευόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ προσελθόντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι βούλεται περὶ πράγματος ἀπορρήτου καὶ μεγάλου διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μαίλιου μικρὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ παρόντας, ἐπειδὴ [p. 223] μονωθέντα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔλαβε, γυμνώσαντα τὸ ξίφος βάψαι κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς: τοῦτο δὲ πράξαντα δρόμῳ χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔτι συγκαθημένων τῶν

συνέδρων, ἔχοντα τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον κεκραγόντα πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, ὅτι κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνήρηκε τὸν τύραννον. ^[5] ἀκούσαντας δὲ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὄνομα τοὺς ὠρμηκότες παίειν τε καὶ βάλλειν αὐτὸν ἀποτραπέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομήσαι. ἐκ τοῦτου καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸν Ἄλαν αὐτῷ τεθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὸ ξίφος ἔχων ὑπὸ μάλης ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα: ἄλας γὰρ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μάλας. ^[6] ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλή τὴν τε οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι δημοσίαν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἕως ἐδάφους κατασκαφῆναι. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς πέριξ οἰκίαις μόνος ἀνειμένος ἔρημος, καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Αἰκυμήλιον: ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν ἰσόπεδον Μήλιον. αἶκον γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχον ἐξοχὴν καλεῖται: τόπον οὖν τινα Αἶκον Μήλιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς κληθέντα, ὕστερον συμφθαρέντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν μίαν ἐκφορὰν τῶν ὀνομάτων Αἰκυμήλιον ἐκάλεσαν. τῷ δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ [p. 224] Μαιλίου μήνυσιν ἀποδόντι Μηνυκίῳ στάσιν ἀνδριάν-τος ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλή. Esc. et pag. 223, 18 — 22 Ambr.

Τυρρηνῶν καὶ Φειδηναίων καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν πολεμούντων Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Λάρου Τολουμνίου τοῦ βασιλέως Τυρρηνῶν πανδεινὰ ποιοῦντος κατ' αὐτῶν χιλιάρχος τις Ῥωμαῖος, Αὖλος Κορνήλιος Κόσσος ἐπὶ- κλησιν, ἐλαύνει τὸν ἵππον κατὰ τοῦ Τολουμνίου: καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, φέρουσι κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δό- ^[2] ρατα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τολοῦμνιος τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ παίει διὰ τοῦ στήθους, ὃς ἀναχαιτίσας ῥίπτει τὸν ἐπιβάτην: ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος διὰ θυρεοῦ τε καὶ θώρακος ἐλάσας τὴν αἰχμὴν εἰς τὰ πλευρὰ περιτρέπει τὸν Τολοῦμνιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ ἔτι διανισταμένου φέρει διὰ ^[3] <τοῦ> βουβῶνος τὸ ξίφος. ἀποκτείνας δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σκῦλα ἀφελόμενος οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὁμοσε χωροῦντας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἀνέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀντέχοντας εἰς ἀθυμίαν καὶ δέος κατέστησεν. Ambr.

δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντος Αὖλου Κορνηλίου Κόσσου καὶ Τίτου Κοιντίου αὐχμῷ μεγάλῳ κακωθεῖσα ἡ γῆ πάντων ἐσπάνισεν οὐ μόνον τῶν ὀμβρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ναματιαίων ὑδάτων: ἐκ δὲ τούτου προβάτων μὲν καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ βοῶν ἐπίλειψις παντελῆς ἐγένετο, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους νόσοι κατέσκηψαν πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ψωρῶδης καλουμένη, [p. 225] δεινὰς ὀδύνας παρέχουσα τοῖς χρωσὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὁδά- ξησμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐλκώσεις ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγριαίνον- μένη: πάθος ἐλεεινὸν ἐν τοῖς πάντι καὶ τοῦ ταχίστου τῶν ὀλέθρων αἴτιον. Ambr. ^[2] οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς προεστηκόσι τοῦ συνεδρίου βαθεῖαν εἰρήνην καὶ πολυχρόνιον ἄγειν σχολὴν ἐν-θυμουμένοις, ὅτι ῥαθυμία καὶ τρυφή συνεισπορεύεται ταῖς πόλεσι μετὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ἅμα τὰς πολιτικὰς ὀρρωδοῦσι ταραχάς. καὶ αὗται γὰρ ἅμα τῷ κατα- λυθῆναι τοὺς ὑπερορίους πολέμους χαλεπαὶ καὶ συν- εχεῖς ἐξ ἀπάσης προφάσεως ἀνίσταντο. ^[3] κρεῖττον ταῖς φιλανθρωπίαις περιεῖναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ ταῖς τιμωρίαις, δι' ἃς καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον αἰ γέ τοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίδες ἡδίστους αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. Ambr. ^[4] ὡς ἔμαθε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν προσιόντας, ἐπιστρέφειν μὲν ὀπίσω περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πανταχόθεν ἀπέγνω ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν ἅπαντες οὐθὲν

ἀποδειξάμενοι γενναῖον ἔργον αἰσχιστα διαφθαρήναι, ὀλίγοι τε πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι καὶ τεθωρακισμένοι πρὸς ἐλαφροὺς. ἰδὼν δὲ ὄχθον τινὰ ὑψηλὸν ἐπεικῶς, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ οὐ πρόσω, τοῦτον ἔγνω καταλαβέσθαι. Ambr. Ἀγρίππας Μενήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Λουκρήτιος καὶ Σερούιος Ναύτιος, χιλιάρχοι † τιμηθέντες, ἐπί- [p. 226] θεσίν τινα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως γενομένην ὑπὸ δούλων ἐφώρασαν. ^[5] ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ μετέχοντες τῆς συνωμοσίας πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ταῖς οἰκίαις κατὰ πολλοὺς ἅμα τόπους νύκτωρ, ὅποτε μάθοιεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν καιομένων βοθηθῆαι ὠρμηκότας ἅπαντας τὸ τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρυμνοὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι τόπους, ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ γενόμενοι τῶν καρτερῶν τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοὺς ἄλλους δούλους παρακαλεῖν, καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς δεσπότας τὰς τῶν πεφονευμένων γυναικὰς τε καὶ κτήσεις παραλαμβάνειν. ^[6] τῆς δὲ πράξεως περιφανοῦς γενομένης συλληφθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι συνθέντες τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ μαστιγωθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ἀπήχθησαν: τῶν δὲ μηνυσάντων αὐτοὺς, ὄντων δεῖν, ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δραχμὰς χιλίας ἑκάτερος ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου. Ambr.

ἔσπευδε τὸν πόλεμον συντελέσαι ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὁ Ῥωμαῖον χιλιάρχος ὡς δὴ ῥάδιόν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ κατὰ χειρὸς αὐτῷ γενησόμενον ὑποχειρίους ποιήσασθαι μίᾳ μάχῃ τοὺς πολεμίους. ^[2] τῷ δὲ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πολεμίων ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸ τε ἐμπειροπόλεμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις καρτερικὸν μάχην μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἴσῃν καὶ φανεράν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδόκει, διαστρατηγεῖν δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπάταις τισὶ καὶ δόλοις καὶ παρατηρεῖν, εἴ τι πλεονέκτημα καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκεῖνοι παρέξουσιν. Ambr. [p. 227] Τραυματίας καὶ παρασχεδὸν ἐλθὼν ἀποθανεῖν. Ambr.

ἐν Ῥώμῃ χειμῶνος γενομένου βιαίου, ἔνθα ἡ ἐλαχίστη χιὼν κατενίφθη, οὐκ ἐλάττων ἦν ἐπτὰ ποδῶν τὸ βάθος. καὶ συνέπεσεν ἀνθρώπους τε ὑπὸ τοῦ νιφετοῦ διαφθαρήναι τινας καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνῶν καὶ ὑποζυγίων μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ σφακελίσαντα, ^[2] τὰ δὲ νομῆς τῆς συνήθους ἀπορία. δένδρων τε καρποφόρων, ὅσα μὴ πέφυκεν ὑπερβολὰς νιφετῶν ὑπομένειν, τὰ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἐξηράνθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπικαέντα τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἄκαρπα ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους ἐγένετο. συνεχύθησάν τε καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν συχνὰ καὶ τινες καὶ περιετράπησαν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅσαι ἐκ τῶν λίθων κατὰ ^[3] τὴν διάλυσιν τε καὶ ἀπότηξιν τῆς χιόνος. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὔτε πρότερόν ποτε γερόμενον ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία παρειλήφαμεν οὔθ' ὕστερον ἕως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου, μετρίῳ γέ τι βιοειότερα τοῦ μέσου, κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηνῶν γραφόμενον δι' Ἑλλησπόντου παράλληλον. τότε δὲ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐξέβη τῆς εἰωθυίας κράσεως ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος τήνδε τὴν γῆν φύσις. Ambr.

ἐορτὰς ἦγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς καλουμένας τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ στρωμνὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Σιβυλλείων κελευσθέντες χρησμῶν. νόσος γάρ τις λοιμώδης γενομένη θεόπεμπτός τε καὶ ὑπὸ τέχνης ἀνθρωπίνης [p. 228] ἀνίατος εἰς ζήτησιν αὐτοὺς ἤγαγε τῶν χρησμῶν. ^[2] ἐκόσμησάν τε στρωμνὰς τρεῖς, ὡς ἐκέλευον οἱ χρησμοί, μίαν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Λητοῖ, ἑτέραν δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, τρίτην δὲ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι: καὶ διετέλουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ

δημοσίᾳ τε καταθύοντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατ' οἰκίαν δύναμιν ἅπαντες τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπαρχόμενοι, ἐστιάσεις τε λαμπροτάτας ἐπιτελοῦντες καὶ ^[3] ξένων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ὑποδεχόμενοι. Πείσων δὲ ὁ τιμητικὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτι προστίθῃσιν: ὅτι λελυμένων μὲν τῶν θεραπόντων ὅσους πρότερον ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς εἶχον οἱ δεσπότες, πληθυούσης ὄχλου ξενικοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν οἰκιῶν διὰ ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, καὶ διχα κωλύσεως εἰσιόντων εἰς αὐτὰς τῶν βουλομένων, οὔτε χρῆμα οὐδὲν ἀπολωλεκέναι τις ἡτιάσατο οὔτε ἡδικῆσθαι τινα ὑπ' οὐδενός, καίτοι πολλὰ φέρειν εἰωθότων πλημμελῆ καὶ παράνομα τῶν ἐορταίων καιρῶν διὰ τὰς μέθας. Ambr.

Οὐιεντανοὺς πολιορκούντων Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὴν ἐπιτολὴν τοῦ κυνός, ὅτε μάλιστα λίμναι τε ἐπιλείπουσι καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες, ὃ τι μὴ μόνος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Νεῖλος, λίμνη τις ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ῥώμης οὐ μείον ρκ' σταδίων ἐν τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς καλουμένοις ὄρεσι, παρ' ἧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μητρόπολις ὤκειτο, οὔτε ὑετῶν γενομένων οὔτε νιφετῶν οὔτ' ἄλλης τινὸς αἰτίας ἀνθρώποις φανεραῖς, τοσαύτην ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναμάτων ἐπίδοσιν, ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν ἐπικλύσαι [p. 229] τῆς παρορείου, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκήσεις γεωργικὰς καταβαλεῖν, τελευτῶσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν ὁρῶν αὐλῶνα διασπάσαι καὶ ποταμὸν ἐκχεᾶ κατὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων πεδίων ἐξάισιον. ^[2] τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν, ὡς δαιμονίου τινὸς μηνιοντος τῇ πόλει, θυσίαις ἐξιλάσασθαι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸν τόπον θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μάντεις ἀνέκρινον, εἴ τι λέγειν ἔχουσιν: ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε ἡ λίμνη τὴν ἑαυτῆς τάξιν ἀπελάμβανεν, οὔτε οἱ μάντεις ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι παρήνουν, ἐπὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν μαντεῖον ἀπέστειλαν θεοπρόπους. Ambr.

ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ Οὐιεντανῶν τις ἔμπειρος τῆς ἐπιχωρίου μαντικῆς διὰ προγόνων ἐτύγχανε φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ τείχους, ἐγεγόνει δὲ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης λοχαγῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ γνῶριμος. οὗτος ὁ λοχαγὸς ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ποτὲ γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ἀσπασμοὺς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀποδοὺς οἰκτεῖρειν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς καταληφτομένης ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφορᾷς, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἀλῶ. ^[2] καὶ ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἀκηκῶς τὴν ὑπέρχυσιν τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ περὶ αὐτῆς προειδῶς θέσφατα ἀναγέλσας: οἶον, ἔφησεν, ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν τὸ προειδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀγνωσίαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων πόλεμον ἀτελῆ καὶ πόνους ἀνηνύτους ἀντλεῖτε τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν ἀναστήσειν οἰόμενοι. εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι τῇ πόλει τῆδε [p. 230] τότε πέπτωται ἀλῶναι, ὅταν ἡ πρὸς Ἀλβανῷ λίμνη σπανίσασα τῶν αὐθιγενῶν ναμάτων μηκέτι μίσηται θαλάττῃ, ἐπαύσασθε ἂν αὐτοὶ τε δαπανώμενοι καὶ ^[3] ἡμᾶς ἐνοχλοῦντες. ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος μαθὼν πολὺς ἐν τῷ σκοπεῖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, τότε μὲν ἀπήει, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς προειπὼν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις, ἃ διανοεῖτο, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἄνοπλος, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν Τυρρηνὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. χρῆσάμενος δὲ τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἀσπασμοῖς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς κατεχούσης τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στρατόπεδον ἀμυχανίας διελέγετο ἄλλ', ἐφ' οἷς ἡσθήσεσθαι τὸν Τυρρηνὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἔπειτα ἐξηγητὴν αὐτῷ

γενέσθαι ἤξιον σημείων τινῶν καὶ τεράτων νεωστὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις γεγονότων. [4] πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις ὁ μάντις οὐδεμίαν δεδοικῶς ἐξαπάτην καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ μεταστῆναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς ἡκολούθει μόνος τῷ λοχαγῷ. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπαγόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἀπάτην μηχανηθέντων λόγων, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ περιτειχίσματος, περιλαβὼν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις μέσον αἵρεται τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀποφέρεται στρατόπεδον. Ambr.

τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ χιλιάρχοι λόγοις τε θεραπεύοντες καὶ βασάνων ἀπειλαῖς δεδιττόμενοι ἅπαντα παρεσκεύασαν ἐξειπεῖν, ἃ περὶ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης ἀπέκρυπτεν: εἶτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν [p. 231] ἀναπέμπουσι. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου οὐχ ἡ ὁμοία παρέστη δόξα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει πανοῦργός τις εἶναι καὶ γόνος ὁ Τυρρηνὸς καὶ καταφεύδεσθαι τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ περὶ τὸν χρησμόν, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρηκέναι. [2] ἐν τοιαύτῃ δ' ἀμχανίᾳ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπαρχούσης παρήσαν οἱ προαποσταλέντες εἰς Δελφοὺς θεόπροποι χρησμοὺς κομίζοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ πρότερον ἀπηγγελλέμενοις συνάδοντας: ὅτι θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες οἱ λαχόντες τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐγγυῶνται χρόνον ἀσάλευτον φυλάξαι τὴν ἐκ προγόνων παραδοθεῖσαν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὅσον ἂν διαμένωσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀλβανῷ λίμνης ὑπερχεόμεναι καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης ἀπορρέουσαι: [3] ὅταν δ' ἐκείναι φύσιν τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὁδοὺς τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐκλιποῦσαι καθ' ἑτέρας ἐκτραπῶσιν, ὡς μηκέτι μίσγεσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ, τότε καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀνάστατον ἔσεσθαι: τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γενήσεσθαι, ἐὰν ὀρύγμασι καθ' ἕτερα χωρία γενομένοις ἐκτρέψωσι τὴν πλήμυρὰν τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς τὰ πρόσω τῆς θαλάττης πεδία. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐθὺς ἐπέστησαν τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς χειροτέχνας. Ambr.

ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν Οὐιεντανοὶ παρ' αἰχμαλώτου τινός, ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἡθελον περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου, πρὶν ἄλῶναι κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀποδείκνυνται πρέσβεις οἱ πρεσβύτατοι. [2] ἀποψηφισαμένης δὲ [p. 232] τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς διαλλαγὰς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σιωπῇ, ὁ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐμπειρίαν δοκιμώτατος, ἐπιστὰς ταῖς θύραις καὶ περιβλέψας εἰς ἅπαντας τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ: καλόν, ἔφησεν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, δόγμα ἐξενηρόχατε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀξιοῦντες ἔχειν τῶν περιοίκων δι' ἀρετὴν, πόλιν οὔτε μικρὰν οὔτε ἄσημον ἀποτιθεμένην τὰ ὄπλα καὶ παραδιδούσαν ὑμῖν ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ὑπήκοον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν βουλόμενοι, οὔτε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ θείου δείσαντες χόλον, [3] οὔτε τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἐντραπέντες νέμεσιν. ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμῖν δίκη τιμωρὸς ἥξει παρὰ θεῶν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια ζημιοῦσα: Οὐιεντανοὺς γὰρ ἀφελόμενοι τὴν πατρίδα μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀποβαλεῖτε. Ambr. [4] μετὰ βραχὺ δὲ ἀλίσκομένης τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωροῦντες ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γινόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' αὐτοχειρίᾳ σφάξαντες αὐτοὺς διεφθάρησαν: ὅσοις δὲ δι' ἀνανδρίαν τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ψυχῆς πάντ' ἐφαίνετο τοῦ τεθνάναι τὰ δεινὰ μετριώτερα, ῥίψαντες τὰ ὄπλα παρεδίδουσαν

τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἑαυτούς. Ambr.

Ὁ δὲ δικτάτωρ Κάμιλλος, οὗ στρατηγία ἡ πόλις ἦλω, ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινὸς ἐστὼς ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ῥωμαίων, ὅθεν ἅπαντα ἡ πόλις [p. 233] ἦν καταφανής, πρῶτον μὲν ἐμακάρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς παρούσης εὐτυχίας, ὅτι καθελεῖν αὐτῷ μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαιμόνα πόλιν ἐξεγένετο δίχα πόνου, ἡ Τυρρηνίας μὲν ἀνθούσης τότε καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν κατοικοούντων τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθνῶν δυναμένης οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦν, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαφερομένη καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπομείνασα πολέμους ἄχρι δεκάτης γενεᾶς διετέλεσεν, ἐξ οὗ δ' ἤρξατο πολεμεῖν καὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι συνεχῶς, δέκα διήνεγκε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔτη πάσης πειραθεῖσα τύχης. [2] ἔπειτ' ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὡς ἐπὶ μικρᾶς αἰωρεῖται ῥοπῆς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονία, καὶ βέβαιον οὐδὲν διαμένει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, διατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας εὕξατο τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, μάλιστα μὲν ἀνεπίφθονον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πατρίδι γίνεσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν: εἰ δέ τις ἔμελλε κοινῇ συμφορὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἢ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον καταλαμβάνειν ἀντίπαλος τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν, ἐλαχίστην γενέσθαι ταύτην καὶ μετριωτάτην. Ambr.

ἦν δὲ ἡ Οὐιεντανῶν πόλις οὐθὲν ὑποδεεστέρα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνοικεῖσθαι γῆν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολὺκαρπον ἔχουσα, τὴν μὲν ὀρεινὴν, τὴν δὲ πεδιάδα, καὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον ἀέρα καθαρώτατον καὶ [p. 234] πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἀνθρώποις ἄριστον, οὐτε ἔλους πολησίον ὄντος, ὅθεν ἔλκονται βαρεῖς ἀτμοὶ καὶ δυσώδεις, οὐτε ποταμοῦ πινος ψυχρὰς ἔωθεν ἀνιέντος αὔρας, ὑδάτων τε οὐ σπανίων ὄντων οὐδ' ἐπακτῶν, ἀλλ' αὐθιγενῶν καὶ πλουσίων καὶ πινεσθαι κρατίστων. Ambr.

Αἰνείαν λέγουσι τὸν ἐξ Ἀγχίσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ὅτε κατέσχευεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, θῦσαι προαιρούμενον ὅτῳ δὴ τινι θεῶν, μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν μέλλοντα τοῦ παρεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἱερείου κατάρχεσθαι, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἰδεῖν τινα πρόσωθεν ἐρχόμενον, εἴτε Ὀδυσσεά, ὅτε τῷ περὶ τὸν Ἄορνον μαντεῖω χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν, εἴτε Διομήδην, ἡνίκα Δαῦνῳ [2] σύμμαχος ἀφίκετο: ἀχθόμενον δὲ τῷ συγκυρήματι καὶ πολεμίᾳ ὄψιν ἐφ' ἱεροῖς φανεῖσαν ὡς πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν ἀφοσιώσασθαι βουλόμενον, ἐγκαλύψασθαι τε καὶ στραφῆναι: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολεμίου χερνιψάμενον αὐθις ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν θυσίαν. [3] γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν κρειπτόνων ἠσθῆναι τε τῷ συγκυρήματι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ πάσης εὐχῆς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, τοὺς τε ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενομένους ὡς ἔν τι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἱεουργίας νομίμων καὶ τοῦτο διατηρεῖν. [4] ἐπόμενος δὴ τοῖς πατρικοῖς ὁ Κάμιλλος νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐποίησατο καὶ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰλκυσε τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἐβούλετο μὲν στραφῆναι, τῆς δὲ βάσεως ὑπενεχθείσης οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπτιος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν φέρεται. [5] τοῦτον τὸν οἰωνὸν οὐτε μαντείας [p. 235] οὐτ' ἐνδοιασμοῦ δεόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ φαυλοτάτῳ ῥάδιον ὄντα συμβαλεῖν, ὅτι πεσεῖν αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη πτώμα ἄσχημον, οὐτε φυλακῆς οὐτε ἀφοσιώσεως ἄξιον ὑπέλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ἑαυτῷ μετήνεγκεν, ὡς ὑπακηκοῶτων αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐλαχίστον παρεσκευακῶτων γενέσθαι. Ambr.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIII

Καμίλλου τὴν Φαλερίων πόλιν πολιορκοῦντος Φαλίσκων τις εἶτ' ἀπεγνωκῶς τὴν πόλιν εἶτε κέρδη θηρώμενος ἴδια παῖδας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἰκων παρακρουσάμενος — ἦν δὲ διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων — ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς περιπατήσοντάς τε πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαικὸν στρατόπεδον θεασομένους. [2] ὑπαγόμενος δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὺς προσωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ φυλακτήριον Ῥωμαικὸν ἄγει καὶ τοῖς ἐκδραμοῦσι παραδίδωσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀχθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ἔφη: βεβουλεῦσθαι μὲν ἔτι πάλαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ποιῆσαι, οὐδενὸς δὲ κύριος ὧν οὔτε ἄκρας οὔτε πυλῶν οὔθ' ὅπλων τοῦτον ἐξευρηκέναι τὸν τρόπον, ὑποχειρίους ποιῆσαι τοὺς υἱεῖς τῶν εὐγενεστάτων, ἄφυκτον ἀνάγκην ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν καταλήψεσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν τέκνων περιεχομένους τάχιον παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. [3] ὁ μὲν δὴ [p. 237] ταῦτ' ἔλεγε πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων θαυμαστοὺς τινας ἐξοίσεσθαι μισθοὺς τῆς προδοσίας. Ambr.

ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος εἰς φυλακὴν παραδιδούς τὸν γραμματιστὴν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιστέλλει τῇ βουλῇ διὰ γραμμάτων τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἦρετο. [2] ἐπιτρέψαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου πράττειν, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ φαίνηται κράτιστον, προαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν γραμματιστὴν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τὸ στρατηγικὸν βῆμα προστάξας τεθῆναι, πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου, τοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη, τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐδήλωσε τοῖς Φαλίσκοις, οἷα ὁ γραμματιστὴς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτόλμησε παρανομεῖν: ἔπειτα περικαταρρῆξαι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ [3] ξαίνειν τὸ σῶμα μάστιγι πάνυ πολλαῖς. ὡς δὲ ταύτης ἄλις εἶχε τῆς τιμωρίας, ῥάβδους τοῖς παισὶν ἀναδοὺς ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεδεμένον τῷ χεῖρει ὀπίσω παιοντάς τε καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰκίζομένους. κομισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας οἱ Φαλίσκοι καὶ τὸν γραμματιστὴν ἀξίως τῆς κακῆς διανοίας τιμωρησάμενοι παρέδωκαν τῷ Καμίλλῳ τὴν πόλιν. Ambr.

ὁ αὐτὸς Κάμιλλος ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν στρατεύων ηὔξατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἥρα τῇ ἐν Οὐιεντανοῖς, ἐὰν κρατήσῃ τῆς πόλεως τό τε ξόανον αὐτῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιδρῦσιν καὶ σεβασμοὺς αὐτῇ [p. 238] [2] καταστήσεσθαι πολυτελεῖς. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέστειλε τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀρουμένους ἐκ τῶν βάθρων τὸ ἔδος: ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον οἱ πεμφθέντες εἰς τὸν νεῶν, καὶ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶτε μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος εἶτε οἰωνοῦ δεόμενος, εἰ βούλοιτο μετελθεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην ἢ θεός, ἦρετο, φωνῇ γεγωνῶ τὸ ξόανον ἐφθέγγετο, ὅτι βούλεται. τοῦτο καὶ δις γέγονεν: ἀπιστοῦντες γὰρ οἱ νεανίσκοι, εἰ τὸ ξόανον ἦν τὸ φθεγγάμενον, πάλιν ἥροντο τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἤκουσαν. Ambr.

ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῶν μετὰ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπάτων νόσος εἰς Ῥώμην κατέσκηψε λοιμικὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τε ἀνομβρίας καὶ αὐχμῶν λαβοῦσα ἰσχυρῶν, ὑφ' ὧν κακωθεῖσα ἦ τε δενδρίτις καὶ ἡ σιτοφόρος ὀλίγους μὲν

ἀνθρώποις καρπούς ἐξήνεγκε καὶ νοσερούς, ^[2] ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ πονηρὰν βοσκήμασι νομήν. προβάτων μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων ἀναριθμητόν τι διεφθάρη πλῆθος οὐ χιλοῦ σπανισάμενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτοῦ: τοσαύτη γὰρ τῶν τε ποταμίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ναμάτων ἐπίλειψις ἐγένετο, ἥνικα μάλιστα κάμνει πάντα δίψει τὰ βοτὰ. ^[3] ἄνθρωποι δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες διεφθάρησαν, ἃς οὕτω πρότερον ἐπείρασαν προσενεγκάμενοι τροφάς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μικροῦ πάντες εἰς νόσους δεινὰς κατέπεσον ἀρχομένας μὲν ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἐξανθημάτων, ἃ περὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν χρῶτας ἀνίστατο, [p. 239] κατασκηπτούσας δ' εἰς ἔλκη μεγάλα φαγεδαίναις ὅμοια, πονηρὰν μὲν ὄψιν, δεινὴν δὲ ἀλγηδὸνα παρέχοντα. ^[4] ἦν τε οὕθεν ἱαμα τῆς περιωδυνίας τοῖς κάμνουσιν, ὅ τι μὴ κνησμοὶ καὶ σπαραγμοὶ συνεχεῖς λωβώμενοι τοῖς χρῶσι μέχρι γυμνώσεως ὁστέων. Ambr.

μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ οἱ δῆμαρχοι Καμίλλῳ φθονήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ συνήγαγον καὶ ἐξημίωσαν αὐτὸν δέκα μυριάσιν ἀσσαρίων, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι πολλοστόν τι μέρος ὁ βίος ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακρίματος, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἀπαχθεῖς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀσχημονήσῃ ὁ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους κατορθώσας πολέμου. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀργύριον οἱ πελάται τε καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ συνεισενέγκαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ἀπέδωκαν, ὥστε μηδεμιᾶς πειραθῆναι ὕβρεως, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἀφόρητον ἡγούμενος τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἐκχωρεῖν ἔγνω τῆς πόλεως. ^[2] γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀσπασάμενος ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ δακρύνοντας, οἷου στέρεσθαι μέλλοιεν ἄνδρός, πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν παρεῖων ἀφείς δάκρυα καὶ τὴν κατασχοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἀσχημοσύνην ἀνακlausάμενος, εἶπεν: ὦ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες, ἔφοροι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων, ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ δικαστὰς γενέσθαι μοι τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα πολιτευμάτων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ παρεληλυθότος βίου: ^[3] ἔπειτ', ἐὰν μὲν ἔνοχον εὐρητέ με ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἐφ' αἷς ὁ δῆμος κατεψηφίσατό μου, πονηρὰν καὶ ἀσχήμονα τελευτήν δοῦναι τοῦ βίου, ἐὰν δ' ἐν ἅπασιν, οἷς ἐπιστεύθην ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους, εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πάσης [p. 240] ἀσχήμονος ὑποψίας καθαρὸν, τιμωροὺς γενέσθαι μοι, τοιοῦτους ἐπιστήσαντας τοῖς ἡδίκηκόσι κινδύνους καὶ φόβους, δι' οὓς ἀναγκασθήσονται μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὀρῶντες ἐπ' ἐμὲ καταφυγεῖν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν εἰς πόλιν Ἀρδέαν ὤχετο. Ambr.

ὑπήκουσαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐχαῖς οἱ θεοί, καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν μετὰ μικρὸν ἡ πόλις ἐάλω ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου. καταφυγόντων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν περιφανεστέρων — τὸ γὰρ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς Ἰταλικαῖς φεῦγον διεσπάρη πόλεσι — καὶ πολιορκουμένων ὑπὸ Κελτῶν, οἱ παρὰ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν καταφυγόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Καιδίκιον τινα στρατοπεδάρχην ποιοῦσιν: ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλον ἀποδείκνυσι καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπόντα ἡγεμόνα πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα αὐτοκράτορα. ^[2] καὶ γενόμενος ἡγεμὼν τῆς πρεσβείας παρεκάλει Κάμιλλον διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, τὰς συμφοράς, ἐν αἷς ἦν, ἐπιλογισάμενον, δι' ἃς ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕβρισθέντα ὑφ' ἐαυτῆς καταφυγεῖν. ^[3] ὑποτυχὼν δὲ ὁ Κάμιλλος εἶπεν: οὐδέομαι παρακλήσεως, ὦ Καιδίκιε: αὐτὸς γάρ, εἰ μὴ θάπτον ὑμεῖς ἀφίκεσθε κοινωνεῖν με τῶν

πραγμάτων ἀξιούντες, ἔτοιμος ἦν ταύτην ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν παρούσαν ὀρᾷτέ μοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦκειν. ὑμῖν δέ, ὧ θεοὶ τε καὶ δαίμονες, ὅσοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐποπτεύετε βίον, ὧν τε ἤδη τετιμῆκατέ [p. 241] μοι πολλὴν οἶδα χάριν, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων εὐχομαι καλὴν καὶ εὐτυχῇ τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν κάθοδον. [4] εἰ δὲ ἐνῆν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσθαι προιδεῖν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὐξάμην ἐς τοιαύτας ἐλθοῦσαν τυχὰς τὴν πατρίδα δεηθῆναι μου: μυριάκις δ' ἂν εἰλόμην ἄζηλον γενέσθαι μοι καὶ ἄτιμον τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἢ βαρβάρων ἀνθρώπων ὠμότητι γενομένην τὴν Ῥώμην ὑποχείριον ἐπιδεῖν καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ [5] μόνῳ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχουσαν. ταῦτ εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις παραλαβὼν ἄφνω τε τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐπιφανείς εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς τρέπει καὶ ἐμπεσὼν ἀσυντάκτοις τε καὶ τεταραγμένοις δίκην προβάτων κατέσφαξεν. Ambr.

ἔτι δ' οὖν πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καταφυγόντων νέος τις ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πεμφθεὶς εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς αὐτόθι φυλάσσοντας Κελτοὺς ἀνῆλθέ τε καὶ εἰπὼν, ὅσα ἔδει, πάλιν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπηλλάγη. [2] ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τῶν Κελτῶν τις ἰδὼν τὰ ἴχνη λέγει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἐδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἄνοδον: ἔπειτ' αὐτοὺς ἡξίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ παρασχομένους τόλμαν πειραῖσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀναβάσεως, πολλὰς ὑπισχνούμενος τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι δωρεάς. ὁμολογησάντων δὲ συχνῶν παρήγγειλε τοῖς φύλαξιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἵνα καθεύδειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβόντες οἱ [3] Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ὕπνον τράπωνται. ἤδη [p. 242] δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ τοὺς ὑστεριζοντας ἀναδεχομένων, ἵνα πλείους γενόμενοι τότε ἀποσφάξωσι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς καὶ καταλάβωνται τὸ ἔρυμα, ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔμαθεν, ἱεροὶ δὲ τινες Ἦρας χῆνες ἐν τῷ τεμένει τρεφόμενοι καταβοῶντες ἅμα καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμόσε χωροῦντες κατήγοροι γίνονται τοῦ κακοῦ. [4] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ταραχὴ τε καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ ὁ δρόμος ἀπάντων ἦν παρακαλούντων ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ πλείους ἤδη γεγονότες ἐχώρουν ἐνδοτέρῳ. Ambr.

ἐνθάδε τις τῶν ἐσχηκόντων τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, Μάρκος Μάλλιος, ἀρπάσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ συστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν τε πρῶτον ἀναβάντα καὶ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ξίφος φέροντα φθάσας παίει κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ἀγκῶνα: [2] καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὀρθῶ τῷ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνατρέπει καὶ κείμενον ἀποσφάττει, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τεταραγμένους ἤδη ἐλαύνων ὑπὸ πόδας, οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ κατὰ τοῦ κρηνοῦ διώκων ἐξέχεεν. ἀντὶ ταύτης εὗρετο τῆς ἀριστείας τὴν πρέπουσαν τῷ τότε καιρῷ δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν κατεχόντων τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἴνου καὶ [3] ζέας τὴν ἐφήμερον ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου τροφήν. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐκλιπόντων, [p. 243] καθ' ὃν ἀνέβησαν οἱ Κελτοὶ, ζητήσεως γενομένης ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἢ μὲν βουλὴ θάνατον ἀπάντων κατεψηφίσατο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπιεικέστερος γενομένος ἐνὸς τοῦ [4] ἡγεμόνος αὐτῶν ἠρκέσθη τῇ κολάσει. ἵνα δὲ φανερὸς γένοιτο τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ, δεθείς τὰς χεῖρας ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ κρηνοῦ

βάλλεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Ἐκείνου δὲ τιμωρηθέντος οὐδὲν ἔτι ῥάθυμον ἦν τῶν περὶ τὰς φυλακάς, ἀλλὰ παννύχιοι διετέλουν ἅπαντες ἐγρηγορότες, ὥστε τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀπογνόντας δι' ἀπάτης ἢ κλοπῆς καθέξειν τὸ φρουρίον περὶ λύτρων διαλέγεσθαι, ἃ τοῖς βαρβάροις δόντες κομιοῦνται τὴν πόλιν. Ambr.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ὄρκια ἐπετέλεσαν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατήνεγκαν, σταθμὸς μὲν ἦν, ὃν ἔδει τοὺς Κελτοὺς λαβεῖν, εἰ καὶ κ τάλαντα: τεθέντος δὲ τοῦ ζυγοῦ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ τάλαντον ὁ Κελτὸς βαρύτερον τοῦ δικαίου παρῆν φέρων, ἔπειτα ἀγανακτούντων πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοσοῦτου ἐδέησε μετριάσαι περὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἅμα τῇ θήκῃ καὶ τῷ ζωστῆρι περιελόμενος ἐπέθηκε τοῖς σταθμοῖς. [2] τῷ δὲ ταμίᾳ πυνθανομένῳ, τί θέλει τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ἀπεκρίνατο τοῦτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασιν: ὀδύνη τοῖς κεκρατημένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ συγκείμενος σταθμὸς οὐκ ἐξεπληροῦτο διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κελτοῦ πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐνέδει μέρος, ἀπῆεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνον εἰς συμπορισμὸν τοῦ λείποντος αἰτησάμενοι: ὑπέμειναν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὑπερφηανίαν τῶν βαρβάρων οὐθὲν ἐγνωκότες τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου [p. 244] πραττομένων παρὰ Καϊδικίου καὶ Καμίλλου, ὡς ἔφαμεν. Ambr.

ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἀφίξεως τοιαύδε ἦν. Λοκόμων τις Τυρρηνῶν ἡγεμὼν μέλλων τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον ἀνδρὶ πιστῷ Ἄρροντι ὄνομα παρακατέθετο τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτροπεύειν: τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ παιδίου ὁ Ἄρρων ἐπιμελὴς καὶ δίκαιος γέγονε τῆς πίστεως φύλαξ, καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντι πᾶσαν ἀπέδειξε τῷ παιδί τὴν καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν. ἀνθ' ὧν οὐχ ὁμοίας ἐκομίσαστο παρὰ τοῦ μεираκίου χάριτας. [2] οὕσης γὰρ αὐτῷ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου καὶ νέας, ἧς περὶ πλείστου τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐποιεῖτο, σῶφρονος τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἅπαντα γενομένης ἐρασθεὶς ὁ νεανίσκος ἅμα τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς ἀνθρώπου διέφθειρεν, καὶ οὐκέτι κρύβδα, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἐζήτει αὐτῇ διαλέγεσθαι. ἀχθόμενος δὴ ὁ Ἄρρων τῷ ἀποσπασμῷ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὑβρίζετο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων δυσανασχετῶν, τιμωρίαν δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, ἀποδημίαν ἐστείλατο πρόφασιν αὐτῆς ποιησάμενος ἐμπορίαν. [3] ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ δεξαμένου καὶ παρασχόντος ὅσων εἰς τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐδεῖτο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀσκούς οἶνου τε καὶ ἐλαίου ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐπιθέμενος, πολλοὺς δὲ φορμοὺς σύκων ἦγεν εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν. Ambr. [p. 245]

οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ οὔτε οἶνον ἀμπέλινον εἰδότες τηνικαῦτα οὔτε ἔλαιον, οἷον αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐλαῖαι φέρουσιν, ἀλλ' οἶνω μὲν χρώμενοι κριθῆς σαπείσης ἐν ὕδατι χυλῷ δυσώδει, ἐλαίῳ δὲ σுவείῳ στέατι πεπαλαιωμένῳ τὴν τε ὁδὸν καὶ τὴν γεῦσιν ἀτόπω, τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἀπολαύσαντες ὧν οὕτω ἐγεύσαντο καρπῶν, θαυμαστάς ὅσας ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἐλάβανον ἡδονὰς καὶ τὸν ξένον ἡρώτων, πῶς τε γίνεται τούτων ἕκαστον καὶ [2] παρὰ τίσιν ἀνθρώποις. ὁ δὲ Τυρρηνὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς φησιν, ὅτι γῆ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ τούτους ἐκφέρουσα τοὺς καρποὺς πολλή καὶ ἀγαθή, νέμονται δὲ αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ εἰς πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἀμεινους γυναικῶν, ὑπέθετό τε αὐτοῖς μὴ δι' ὠνῆς αὐτὰ παρ' ἐτέρων ἔτι λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς τότε κυρίους ὡς οἰκεῖα

καρποῦσθαι. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις οἱ Κελτοὶ πειθόμενοι ἦλθον εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Τυρρηνῶν τοὺς καλουμένους Κλουσίνους, ὅθεν ἦν καὶ ὁ πείσας αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖν. Ambr.

ἀποσταλέντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ Κελτοῦς, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν εἷς τῶν πρεσβευόντων, Κόιντος Φάβιος, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ προνομὴν ἐξεληλυθέναι, συνάπτει πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν τῶν Κελτῶν ἡγεμόνα ἀναιρεῖ: ἀποστείλαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ βάρβαροι ἠξιοῦν παραδιδόναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκδότους, ποινὰς ὑφέζοντας τῶν [p. 246] ^[2] ἀπολωλότων. παρελκούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην τὸν πόλεμον ἀναγκαίως οἱ Κελτοὶ μετήγαγον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἐξήρσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄγοντες ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τε καὶ κατηθλημένων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις στρατιωτῶν τέτταρα τάγματα ἐντελῆ: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοὺς κατοικιδίους τε καὶ σχολαίους καὶ ἥττον ὠμιληκότας πολέμοις πλείους ὄντας ἀριθμῶ τῶν ἐτέρων. τούτους δὴ τρεψάμενοι οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Ῥώμην ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου παρεστήσαντο. Ambr.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIV

ἡ δὲ Κελτικὴ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν καθήκοντι τῆς Εὐρώπης μέρει μεταξὺ τοῦ τε βορείου πόλου καὶ τῆς ἰσημερινῆς δύσεως: τετράγωνος δὲ οὖσα τῷ σχήματι τοῖς μὲν Ἀλπείοις ὄρεσι μεγίστοις οὖσι τῶν Εὐρωπείων συνάπτει κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς, τοῖς δὲ Πυρρηναίοις κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον, τῇ δὲ ἔξω στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὰς δύσεις, τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ τε καὶ Θρακίῳ γένει κατὰ βορέαν ἄνεμον καὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπείων καταβαίνων ὀρῶν μέγιστος τῶν τῇδε ποταμῶν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρκτοις ἡπειρον διελθὼν εἰς τὸ Ποντικὸν ἐξερεῦνγεται πέλαγος. [2] τοσαύτη δὲ οὖσα τὸ μέγεθος, ὅση μὴ πολὺ ἀποδεῖν τετάρτη λέγεσθαι μοῖρα τῆς Εὐρώπης, εὐυδρὸς τε καὶ πείρα καὶ καρποῖς δαφυλῆς καὶ κτήνεσιν ἀρίστη νέμεσθαι, σχίζεται μέση ποταμῷ Ρήνῳ, μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἰστρον εἶναι δοκοῦντι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ποταμῶν. [p. 248] [3] καλεῖται δ' ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ρήνου Σκύθαις καὶ Θραξίν ὁμοροῦσα Γερμανία, μέχρι δρυμοῦ Ἐρκυνίου καὶ τῶν Ριπαίων ὀρῶν καθήκουσα, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέποντα μέχρι Πυρρήνης ὄρους, ἡ τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον περιλαμβάνουσα, Γαλατία τῆς θαλάττης ἐπώνυμος. [4] κοινῷ δ' ὀνόματι ἡ σύμπασα πρὸς Ἑλλήνων καλεῖται Κελτικὴ, ὥς μὲν τινὲς φασιν, ἀπὸ τινος γίγαντος Κελτοῦ αὐτόθι δυναστεύσαντος, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀστερόπης τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος δύο γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι παῖδας, Ἴβηρον καὶ Κελτόν, οὓς θέσθαι ταῖς χώραις, ὧν ἦρξαν ἀμφοτέροι, τὰς ὀνομασίας ἀφ' αὐτῶν. [5] οἱ δὲ ποταμὸν εἶναι τινα λέγουσι Κελτόν ἐκ τῆς Πυρρήνης ἀναδιδόμενον, ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν συνεγγὺς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν σὺν χρόνῳ κληθῆναι Κελτικὴν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τινες, ὅτι τοῖς πρώτοις Ἑλλήσιν εἰς τὴνδε τὴν γῆν περαιουμένοις αἱ νῆες ἀνέμῳ βιαίῳ φερόμεναι κατὰ τὸν κόλπον ἔκελσαν τὸν Γαλατικόν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐλάβοντο, Κελσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος αὐτοῖς πάθους τὴν χώραν ἐκάλεσαν, ἣν ἐνὸς ἀλλαγῇ γράμματος οἱ μεταγενέστεροι Κελτικὴν ὠνόμασαν. Ambr.

Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐν τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἐρεχθέως τῷ σηκῷ ἱερὰ τις ὑπ' Ἀθηνᾶς φυτευθεῖσα ἐλαία κατὰ [p. 249] τὴν ἔριν τὴν γενομένην αὐτῇ πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὖσιν ἐμπρησθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκράτησαν, δευτέρᾳ τῆς ἐμπρήσεως ἡμέρᾳ βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχους ἀνῆκεν ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον, δῆλον ἅπασι ποιῆσαι βουλομένων τῶν θεῶν, ὅτι ταχέως ἐαυτὴν ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα βλαστοῦς ἀντὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξοίσει νέους. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καλιάς τις Ἄρεος ἱερὰ περὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἰδρυμένη τοῦ Παλατίου συγκαταφλεγείσα ταῖς πέριξ οἰκίαις ἕως ἐδάφους, ἀνακαθαιρομένων τῶν οἰκοπέδων ἔνεκα τῆς ἐπισκευῆς, ἐν μέσῃ τῇ περικαύστῳ σποδῷ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως διέσωσεν ἀπαθές, ρόπαλον ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων ἐπικάμπιον, οἷα φέρουσι βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς οἱ μὲν καλαύροπας, οἱ δὲ λαγωβόλα καλοῦντες, ὧν Ῥωμύλος ὀρνιθευόμενος

διέγραφε τῶν οἰωνῶν τὰς χώρας, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζειν ἔμελλεν. [3] εὐζώνῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν ὅπλων φερούσῃ στρατιᾷ. κρότου καταρραγέντος, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ μὲν θεάματι, καλλίστῳ δ' ἀκούσματι, οἳ τε βεβαίως ἄποροι καὶ οἱ πλαττόμενοι τὴν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπορίαν. Ambr.

ὅτι Μάρκος Φούριος ὁ δικτάτωρ ἀνὴρ ἦν τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκμασάντων ἡλικίαν τὰ τε πολέμια λαμπρότατος καὶ τὰ πολιτικά φρονιμώτατος. Vales. [p. 250]

Μάλλιος ὁ ἀριστεύσας, ὅτε εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον Ῥωμαῖοι κατέφυγον, κινδυνεύον διὰ τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν ἀπολέσθαι, βλέψας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶν τοῦ Διὸς εἶπεν: οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος ἱκανὸς ἔσται με σῶσαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κρατηθέντα διέσωσα ὑμῖν ἐγώ; ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπέθνησκον καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθανοῦμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν συμπαθήσαντες ἀφῆκαν αὐτόν, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ κρηνοῦ ἔρριψεν. αμβρ.

κρατήσας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπικλύσας ταῖς ὠφελείαις Τίτος Κοίντιος δικτατορεύων ἐν ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις ἐννέα πολεμίων ἔλαβεν. ληφθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀγεληδὸν οἱ θεοστυγεῖς κατεκόπησαν. Ambr.

ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν πόλεων πράγμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις πρὸς τὰ τελευταῖα τῶν συμβαινόντων τὰς διανοίας μεθαρμοτομένων καὶ πολλάκις ἔχθρας τε μεγάλας διὰ τὰς τυχούσας φιланθρωπίας καταλυομένων καὶ φιλίας πολυχρονίους διὰ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα προσκρούματα διαιρῶντων ἐκεῖνοι τούναντιον ἐπὶ τῶν φίλων ὦντο χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ταῖς τε παλαιαῖς εὐεργεσίαις χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφάτοις ἐγκλήμασιν ὀργάς. [2] θαυμαστὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν: λέγω δὲ τὸ μηδενὶ μνησικακεῖν τῶν Τυσκλάνων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντας ἀζημίους: πολλῶ δ' ἐπὶ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον, [p. 251] ὃ μετὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσαντο. σκοποῦμενοι γάρ, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει γενήσεται μηδ' ἀφορμὴν νεωτερισμοῦ λήψονται τινες, οὔτε φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν ὦντο δεῖν εἰσάγειν, οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ὄμηρα λαμβάνειν, οὔτε ὅπλα τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφελέσθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλο σημεῖον οὐδὲν ἀπιστουμένης φιλίας ποιῆσαι: [3] μίαν δὲ πρᾶξιν οἰόμενοι συνέχειν ἅπαντας τοὺς κατὰ συγγένειαν ἢ φιλίαν προσήκοντας ἀλλήλοις τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰσομοίριαν, πολιτείαν ἔγνωσαν τοῖς κρατηθεῖσι χαρίσασθαι, πάντων μεταδόντες ὧν τοῖς φύσει Ῥωμαίοις μετῆν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν λαβόντες τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν οὔτ' Ἀθηναίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις: [4] τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων λέγειν; Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γε Σαμίους ἀποίκους ἑαυτῶν ὄντας, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μεσσηνίους ἀδελφῶν οὐδὲν διαφέροντας, ἐπειδὴ προσέκρουσαν αὐτοῖς τι, διαλυσάμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν οὕτως ὡμῶς διεχειρίσαντο καὶ θηριωδῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον, ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὰ ὁμόφυλα παρανομίας παραλιπεῖν. [5] μυρία τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἂν τις ἔχοι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἡμαρτημένα, ἃ παρήμι, ἐπεὶ καὶ

τούτων μεμνημένος ἄχθομαι: τὸ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐκ ὀνόματι διαφέρειν τοῦ βαρβάρου ἡξιοῦν οὐδὲ διαλέκτου [p. 252] χάριν, ἀλλὰ συνέσει καὶ χρηστικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων προαιρέσει, μάλιστα δὲ τῷ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους παρανομεῖν. ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῇ φύσει, τούτους οἶμαι δεῖν λέγειν Ἑλληνας, ὅσοις δὲ τάναντία βαρβάρους. [6] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπεικεῖς καὶ φιλανθρώπους διανοίας τε καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικὰς εἶναι λογιζομαι, τὰς δ' ὠμὰς καὶ θηριώδεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους γίνωνται, βαρβαρικάς. Τυσκλανοὶ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῶν σφετέρων ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἀγαθὰ προσλαβόντες ἀπήεσαν. Vales.

ὅτι Σολπικίος Ροῦφος ἐπὶ κλησιν ἀνὴρ ἦν ἐν τε ταῖς πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν ἐπιφανὴς καὶ πολιτείας προαίρεσιν ἐξηλεκτικῶς τὴν διὰ μέσου. Vales.

οἱ Κελτοὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐκ δευτέρου ἐπιστρατεύσαντες τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀλβανὴν ἐπόρθουν: ἔνθα μὲν πολλῆς ἅπαντες ἐδωδῆς ἐμπιπλάμενοι, πολὺν δὲ πίνοντες ἄκρατον οἶνον — ἔστι δὲ ὁ τῇδε φυόμενος μετὰ τὸν Φαλερινὸν ἡδιστος οἶνων μελικράτῳ μάλιστα προσεμφερὴς — ὕπνον τε πλείονα τοῦ συνήθους αἰρούμενοι καὶ δίαταν ὑπὸ σκιαῖς ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἔχοντες τοσαύτην ἔλαβον ἐπίδοσιν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα καὶ οὕτως ἐξεθληλύνθησαν τὰς δυνάμεις, [p. 253] ὥσθ', ὅποτε γυμνάζειν ἐπιβάλοιντο τὰ σώματα καὶ διαπονεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, κόπτεσθαι μὲν ἄσθματι συνεχεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ρεῖσθαι δ' ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ τὰ μέλη, θάπτον δὲ ἀρίστασθαι τῶν πόνων ἢ κελευσθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. Ambr.

ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δικτάτωρ Κάμιλλος, συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐδημηγόρησε πολλὰ παρορμῶντα εἰς τόλμαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τάδε: [2] ὅπλα κρεῖττονα τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἡμῖν μεμηχάνηται, θώρακες καὶ κράνη καὶ κνημῖδες καὶ κραταιοὶ θυρεοί, ὅφ' ὧν ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἔχομεν ἐν φυλακῇ, ξίφη τε ἀμφίστομα καὶ ἀντὶ λόγχης ὑσός, ἄφυκτον βέλος: τὰ μὲν σκεπαστήρια, οἷα μὴ ῥαδίως ταῖς πληγαῖς εἴκειν, τὰ δ' ἀμυντήρια, ὥς διὰ πάσης φέρεσθαι προβολῆς. τῶν δὲ γυμναὶ μὲν αἱ κεφαλαί, γυμνὰ δὲ τὰ στέρνα καὶ αἱ λαγόνες, γυμνοὶ δὲ μηροὶ καὶ σκέλη μέχρι ποδῶν, ἔρυμά τε οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ὃ τι μὴ θυρεοί: ἀμυντήρια δὲ [3] λόγχαι καὶ μάχαιραι κοπίδες ὑπερμήκεις. τὸ τε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμεθα, σύνεργον ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ μετέωρου κατιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανεές, ἐκείνοις δὲ πολέμιον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα χωρεῖν ἀναγκαζομένοις. φοβεῖσθω δὲ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν [p. 254] μήτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τὸ μέγεθος, μηδ' εἰς ταῦτά τις πλεονεκτῆματα αὐτῶν ὀρῶν ἀθυμότερος πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔστω, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμείσθω πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι κρεῖττον ἐστὶν ἔλαττον στράτευμα ἐπιστάμενον, ἢ δεῖ πράττειν, ἢ πολὺ ἀμαθές: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγωνιζομένοις ἢ φύσις αὐτῇ θάρσος τέ τι πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους παρίστησι, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιῶδες ὥσπερ τοῖς θεοφορήτοις παρέχει, τοῖς δ' ἀρπάσαι τὰ ἀλλότρια προθυμουμένοις μαλακώτερα πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ αἱ τόλμαι φιλοῦσι γίνεσθαι. [4] ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' οἷς δεδίπτονται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐκδειματοῦσιν, ὀρρωδητέα ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ ἀπείροις πολέμου. τί γὰρ ἂν δυνήσονται δεινὸν ἐργάσασθαι τοὺς ὁμοσε χωροῦντας αἱ

βαθεῖαι κόμαι καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτῶν πικρὸν καὶ ὁ βλοσυρὸς τῆς ὄψεως χαρακτήρ αἱ τε δὴ πλημμελεῖς αὐταὶ σκιρτήσεις καὶ τὰ διὰ κενῆς ἀνασείσματα τῶν ὄπλων καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θυρεῶν κτύποι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπὸ βαρβάρου καὶ ἄφρονος ἀλαζονείας κατὰ τε μορφὰς καὶ φωνὰς ἐν ἀπειλαῖς πολέμιων σπαθᾷται, τίνα παρέχειν πέφυκε τοῖς ἀνοήτως ἐπιούσι πλεονεξίαν ἢ τοῖς μετὰ ^[5] λογισμοῦ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἐστῶσι φόβον; ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθέντες, ὅσοι τε ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κελτῶν [p. 255] προτέρῳ πολέμῳ παρεγένεσθε καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητά ἀπελείφθητε αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἴνα τὴν τότε ἀρετὴν μὴ καταισχύνητε τῇ νῦν δειλία, οἱ δ' ἴνα μηδὲν ἐνδεέστεροι γένησθε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐν ἐπιδείξει καλῶν ἔργων, ἴτε, ὧ γενναῖοι παῖδες ἀγαθῶν ζηλωταὶ πατέρων, ἴτε ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς θεοὺς τε ἀρωγοὺς ἔχοντες, οἱ παρέξουσιν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν, οἷας ἐβούλεσθε παρὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀναστράξασθαι δίκας, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐμέ, ὧ πολλὴν μὲν εὐβουλίαν μαρτυρεῖτε, πολλὴν δ' εὐποτμίαν: ^[6] μακάριον μὲν ἔξοντες τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον, οἷς ἂν ἐγγένηται τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῇ πατρίδι στέφανον καταγαγεῖν, καλὴν δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον εὐκλείαν καταλειφόντες ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος νηπίοις παισὶ καὶ γηραιοῖς γονεῦσιν, οἱ ταύτην ἐκπληρώσοντες τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν: κινεῖται γὰρ ἤδη τὸ βάρβαρον στράτευμα χωροῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ἀλλ' ἅπιτε καὶ καθίστασθε εἰς τάξιν. Ambr.

ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν βαρβάρων μάχη πολὺ τὸ θηριῶδες καὶ μανικὸν ἔχουσα πλημμελής τις ἦν καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὅπλοις ἁμοιρος. τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀνατείνοντες ἄνω τὰς μαχαίρας τὸν ἄγριον τρόπον ἔπαιον ὅλοις συνεμπίπτοντες τοῖς ἐαυτῶν σώμασιν, ὥσπερ ὑλοτόμοι τινὲς ἢ σκαπανεῖς, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἀστοχάστους πληγὰς ἐξέφερον, ὥς αὐτοῖς σκεπαστηρίοις [p. 256] ὅλα διακόφοντες τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀντιπολέμων: ^[2] ἔπειτα τὰς ἀκμὰς τῶν σιδήρων ἀπέστρεφον. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀλκή καὶ πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον αὐτῶν ἀντιτέχνησις εὐπαιδευτος τε ἦν καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχουσα. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναιρομένων τὰς μαχαίρας ὑποδύνοντες ὑπὸ τοὺς βραχίονας καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς εἰς ὕψος ἀνατείνοντες, ἔπειτα γυροὶ καὶ βραχεῖς γινόμενοι, τὰς μὲν ἐκείνων πληγὰς ὑπερπετεῖς γινομένας ἀπράκτους καὶ κενὰς ἐποιοῦν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀρθὰ τὰ ξίφη φέροντες βουβῶνάς τε αὐτῶν ἔπαιον καὶ λαγόνας διήρουν καὶ διὰ στέρνων ἐπὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰς πληγὰς ἐξέτεινον: ὅσους δὲ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντας αἰσθόιντο, γονάτων ἢ σφυρῶν νεῦρα διακείροντες ἐξέχεον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆς βεβρυχότας καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀδακτιζοντας καὶ βοὴν ὠρυγῇ παραπλησίαν ὥσπερ τὰ ^[3] θηρία προῖεμένους. ἡ τε δύναμις ὑπέλειπε πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκλυομένων τῶν μελῶν ὑπὸ κόπων καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τὰ μὲν ἀπεστόμωτο, τὰ δὲ συνετέθραυστο, τὰ δ' οὐκέτι προσωφελεῖν δυνατὰ ἦν: χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ καταρρέοντος ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων αἵματος οἱ δι' ὅλων ἐκχεόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων ἰδρώτες οὔτε τὰς μαχαίρας εἶων κρατεῖν οὔτε τοὺς θυρεοὺς κατέχειν, περιολισθανόντων ταῖς λαβαῖς τῶν δυκτύλων καὶ τὰς ἀφὰς οὐκέτι κραταιὰς ἐχόντων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθάδες ὄντες πόνων διὰ τὰς ἀτρύτους καὶ συνεχεῖς στρατείας ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ γενναίως ἀνέφερον.

ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα θεόπεμπτα γέγονε, μέγιστον δ' ἀπάντων τόδε: τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὸ μέσον μάλιστα διαρραγῆναι τι τῆς γῆς εἰς βάθος ἄβυσσον καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας διαμεῖναι. ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὰ βιβλία εἶπον, ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῷ Ῥωμαίων δῆμῳ λαβοῦσα ἡ γῆ συνλευέσεται τε καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνήσει. [2] τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποφνημαμένων ἀπαρχὰς ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ χάσμα ἔφερεν, ὧν ὤετο δεῖν ἀγαθῶν τῇ πατρίδι, ἀπὸ τε καρπῶν πελάνους καὶ ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἀπαρχάς. [3] Μάρκος δὲ τις Κούρτιος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν νέων ἀριθμοῦμενος σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ πολέμους ἀρετῆς ἔφοδον αἰτησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν εἶπεν, ὅτι τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆμα κάλλιστον καὶ πόλει Ῥωμαίων ἀναγκαιότατον ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ: εἰ δὴ καὶ ταύτης ἀπαρχὴν τινα ἡ γῆ λάβοι καὶ γένοιτο ἐκὼν ὁ τοῦτο χαριούμενος τῇ πατρίδι, πολλοὺς ἀνήσει ἡ γῆ [4] ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ μηδενὶ παραχωρήσειν ἑτέρῳ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης ὑποσχόμενος τὰ τε ὅπλα περιέθετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἀνέβη: συναχθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου πρῶτον μὲν ἠῤῥατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελεῖν ποιῆσαι τὰ μαντεύματα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοίους αὐτῷ δοῦναι τῇ πόλει τῇ Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι: ἔπειτ' ἑφεῖς τῷ ἵππῳ τὰς ἡνίας καὶ τὰ κέντρα προσβαλὼν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ [p. 258] χάσματος ἑαυτόν. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα, πολλοὶ δὲ καρποὶ, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα, πολὺς δὲ κόσμος ἐσθῆτος, πολλαὶ δὲ ἀπαρχαὶ συμπασῶν τεχνῶν δημοσίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ χάσματος ἐρρίφησαν: καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ γῆ συνῆλθεν. Ambr.

ὑπερφυές τι χρῆμα σώματος ἦν ὁ Κελτός, οἷος ὑπεραίρειν πολὺ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν. Ambr. Λικίνιος Στόλων, ὁ δεκάκις δημαρχήσας καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰσηγησάμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δεκαετὴς στάσις ἐγένετο, ἀλοὺς ἐν δίκῃ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καταψηφισθεὶς τίμημα ἀργυρικὸν εἶπεν, ὅτι θηρίον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ δήμου μιαιώτερον, ὃς οὐδὲ τῶν σιτιζόντων ἀπέχεται. Ambr.

τοῦ ὑπάτου Μαρκίου Πριβερνάτας πολιорκοῦντος, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμία τοῦτοισι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ὑπελείπετο, ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν: τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος: φράσατέ μοι, πῶς αὐτοὶ κολάζετε τοὺς ἀφισταμένους ὑμῶν οἰκέτας; ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ πρεσβευτής: ὡς δεῖ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ποθοῦντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἔμφυτον ἐλευθερίαν. [2] καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν παρρησίαν φησὶν: ἔάν δὲ δὴ καὶ πεισθῶμεν ὑμῖν ἀφεῖναι τὰς ὀργάς, τίνα δώσετε πίστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι ποιήσειν ἐχθρῶν ἔργον; ἀποκρίνεται πάλιν ὁ πρεσβευτής: ἐπὶ σοὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις, Μάρκιε: κοιμισάμενοι μὲν γὰρ ἅμα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν βέβαιοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῖν ἐσόμεθα φίλοι, δουλεύειν δ' ἀναγκασθέντες οὐδέποτε. ἡγάσθη τε δὴ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσε. Ambr.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XV

τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τινος βασιλέως εἰς μονομαχίαν προκαλουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅστις εἴη ἀνὴρ, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος, εἷς τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἀπόγονος ὦν Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν, [2] ἐξῆι τῷ Κελτῷ διαγωνίσασθαι. ὡς δὲ συνήεσαν ὁμόσε, κόραξ καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ κράνους αὐτοῦ ἔκεκράγει τε δεινὸν εἰς τὸν βάρβαρον ὄρων καί, ὅποτε μέλλοι πληγὴν ἐκφέρειν, πηδῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς ὄνυσιν ἤμυττε τὰς παρειάς, τοτὲ δὲ τῷ ῥύγχει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔκοπτεν, ὥστε τὸν Κελτὸν ἔξω γενέσθαι τῶν φρενῶν, οὐθ' ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα ἀμύνοιτο δυνάμενον συμβαλεῖν, οὐθ' ὅπως τὸν κόρακα φυλάττοιτο. [3] ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἐγεγόνει τῇ μάχῃ χρόνος, ὁ μὲν Κελτὸς φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον τὴν μάχαιραν ὡς διὰ τῆς προβολῆς εἰς τὰ πλευρὰ βάψων, ἔπειτ' [p. 260] ἐπιπτάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ κόρακος καὶ τὰς ὄψεις ὀρύττοντος ἀνέτεινε τὸν θυρεὸν ὡς ἀπελάσων τὸν ὄρνιν: ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ἔτι μετεωρίζοντος τὸ ὄπλον ἀκολουθήσας κάτωθεν ὑποφέρει τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Κελτὸν. [4] ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Κάμιλλος χρυσέῳ τοῦτον στεφάνῳ ἐκόσμησεν ἐπωνυμίαν θέμενος αὐτῷ Κορβῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ συναγωνισαμένου κατὰ τὴν μονομαχίαν ζώου: κόρβους γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τοὺς κόρακας: αὐτὸς τε διετέλεσεν ἐξ ἐκείνου συμβόλῳ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους κοσμούμενος κόρακι, καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ πάσαις οἱ πλάττοντες καὶ γράφοντες τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφήρμοττον. Ambr.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν κτήσεις πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας γεμούσας. ἀνθρώπους πεπονημένους ὑπὸ πολέμου σώματα καὶ πλὴν ὅσον ἀνέπνεον τὰ λοιπὰ νεκροῖς ὁμοίους. ἔτι θερμῆς τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον οὐσῆς τῆς τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος σποδοῦ. [2] τὸν οἰκτιστὸν ἀπολεῖται τρόπον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ πολιτικῷ σιτίζοντος αἷματι τὸν φθόνον. μοῖραν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην τῶν ὠφελειῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίζομενος, ὥστ' ἐπικλύσαι πλούτῳ τὴν ἐκάστου πενίαν. διέφθειραν αὐτῶν ἀκμαζούσας ἤδη σπορολογεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς καρποφόρου ἐλωβήσαντο. Ambr. [p. 261]

ὅτι Κοίντου Σερουιλίου τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύοντος καὶ Γαίου Μαρκίου Ρουτίλου ὑπατευόντων κίνδυνοι τὴν Ῥώμην χαλεποὶ καὶ ἀπροσδόκητοι κατέσχον, οὕς εἰ μὴ θεία τις πρόνοια διεσκέδασε, δεῦν κακῶν θάτερον ἂν αὐτῇ συνέπεσεν, ἢ δόξαν αἰσχίστην ἐνεγκεῖν ξενοκτονίας ἢ φόνων ἄψασθαι πολιτικῶν. ἀφ' ἧς δ' αἰτίας εἰς τούτους ἦλθε τοὺς κινδύνους, μικρὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀναλαβὼν δι' ὀλίγων πειράσομαι διελθεῖν. [2] ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ τὸν Σαυνιτικὸν πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης Καμπανίας ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀραμένη καὶ τρισὶ νικήσασα μάχαις τοὺς ἀντιπαχθέντας ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπάσας ἀπάγειν τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς οὐθενὸς ἔτι κινδύνου ταῖς πόλεσι καταλειπομένου: δεομένων δὲ τῶν Καμπανῶν μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς συμμάχων ἐρήμους ὡς ἐπιησομένων σφίσι τῶν Σαυνιτῶν, εἰ μηδεμίαν ἔχοιεν ξενικὴν βοήθειαν, ἔγνω τὸν ἀπαλλάξαντα τοῦ πολέμου τὰς πόλεις ὑπατον Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον ὅσῃν ἂν αὐτοὶ βουλευθῶσι τρέφειν στρατιάν ἐν

ταῖς πόλεσι καταλιπεῖν. [3] γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης κύριος ὁ ὕπατος, ὅσοις ἦν βουλομένοις ὀψώνια καὶ μισθοὺς φέρεσθαι τῆς φυλακῆς, τούτους καθίστησιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν: ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ πλεῖον μέρος ἀνεστίων καὶ καταχρέων καὶ τὴν οἶκοι πενίαν καὶ ἀγνώσιαν ἀσμένως ἀποδιδρασκόντων. [4] τούτους οἱ Καμπανοὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀναλαμβάνοντες τραπέζαις τε ὑπεδέχοντο [p. 262] λαμπραῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐξένιζον φιλοφροσύναις. πολυτελὲς δὲ καὶ ἀβροδιαίτος ἱκανῶς τοῖς Καμπανίαν οἰκοῦσι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε ἦν ὁ βίος καὶ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσται χρόνον, πολὺκαρπὸν τε πεδιάδα καὶ πολὺβοτον καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἀνθρώποις γεωργοῦσιν ἀρίστην οὔσαν. [5] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀγαπητῶς οἱ φρουροὶ τὴν φιλοξενίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάμβανον, ἔπειτα διαφθειρόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρου τῶν ἀγαθῶν πονηροὺς ὑπολογισμοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐλάμβανον καὶ συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις ἔλεγον, ὡς ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων ποιήσουσιν ἔργον, εἰ τοσαύτην καταλιπόντες εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βίον ἀνακάμψουσιν, ἔνθα λυπρὰ μὲν ἡ γῆ, πολλὰ δὲ εἰσφοραὶ, πολέμων δὲ καὶ κακῶν ἀνάπαυσις οὐδεμία, τὰ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν πόνων ἄθλα παρ' ὀλίγοις. [6] οἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαιῶν ἀποροῦντες καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρέα μὴ δυνάμενοι διαλῦσαι τοῖς συμβαλοῦσι καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀποchrῶσαν εἶναι σύμβουλον τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσι ἀποφαίνοντες ἄνευ τοῦ καλοῦ, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες νόμοι τε καὶ ἄρχοντες τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας ἀπειλοῖεν αὐτοῖς ἐν Καμπανοῖς ἔτι μεθήσεσθαι τῆς παρούσης εὐδαιμονίας ἔλεγον καὶ τελευτῶντες εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἦλθον, ὥστε καὶ λέγειν ἐτόλμων: [7] τί δὴ καὶ δράσομεν δεινόν, ἐὰν Καμπανοὺς ἐκβαλόντες τὰς ἐκείνων πόλεις κατὰσχωμεν; οὔτοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου κτησάμενοι τὴν [p. 263] γῆν κατέσχον, ἀλλ' ἐπιξενωθέντες Τυρρηνοῖς τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἅπαντας διαφθείραντες τὰς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν περιμάχητον χώραν παρέλαβον: ὥστε σὺν δίκῃ πείσονται πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν πάθωσιν αὐτοὶ τῆς παρανομίας κατάρξαντες καθ' ἐτέρων. [8] τί δὴ καὶ τὸ κωλύσον ἡμᾶς ἔσται ταῦτα μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καρποῦσθαι τάγαθά; Σαυνῖται μὲν γε καὶ Σιδικῖνοι καὶ Αὖσονες καὶ πάντες οἱ περίοικοι τοσούτου δεήσουσι Καμπανοῖς τιμωροῦντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς γε στρατεῦειν, ὥστε ἀποchrῆν ὑπολήφονται σφισιν, εἰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐάσομεν ἐκάστοις ἔχειν. [9] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἴσως μὲν καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν δέξονται τὸ πραχθὲν ἅπασαν ἀξιοῦντες Ἰταλίαν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀποικίαις κρατεῖσθαι: εἰ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖν προσποιούμενοι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς κρίναντες οὐ τοσαῦτα δεινὰ διαθήσουσιν, ὅσα πείσονται πρὸς ἡμῶν. χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτῶν δηώσομεν, ὅσον ἂν ἡμῖν δοκῇ, καὶ δεσμώτας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λύσομεν καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθερώσομεν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων αὐτοῖς Οὐλολούςκων τε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκρομαένων Λατίνων στησόμεθα. ἡναγκασμένοις δ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸν ἐσχάτον περὶ ψυχῆς τρέχουσι δρόμον [p. 264] οὔτ' ἀπορον οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀντίπαλον. [10] τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀλίγοι μὲν τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα πλείους ἔγνωσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ δι' ὄρκων ἐδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις τὸ πιστόν. ἔφθασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἀγαγοῦσα μήνυσις, ἣν τῶν συνομοσάντων τινὲς ἐποιήσαντο

πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπᾶτων Μάρκιον, ὃ τὸν κατὰ Σαυνιτῶν πόλεμον ὁ κλῆρος ἀπένειμεν, ἤδη παρειληφότα τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καταγραφείσας δυνάμεις καὶ ὄντα ἐν ὁδῷ. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος ἀπροσδοκῆτου καὶ δεινοῦ πράγματος ἀκούσας ἔκρινε μὴ δεῖξιν τὸ πρᾶγμα μηδ' εἰδέναι δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπάτης τινὸς καὶ στρατηγίας κωλύσαι τὰ συμβησόμενα ταῖς πόλεσιν. [11] ἀποστείλας δὴ τινὰς ἅμα τοῖς μηνυταῖς κατασκευαστοὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις πρὶν αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν, προσεσκεύασε λέγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παραχειμασίαις, ὅτι τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς ἔγνω καταλιπεῖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς τότε οὖσας, ἐπειδὴ βουλομένοις ἐστὶ τοῖς Καμπανοῖς αὐτὰς μένειν, τῇ δ' οἴκοθεν ἀφιγμένη σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμει πολεμεῖν πρὸς Σαυνίτας παρασκευάζεται, καὶ ἔπεισεν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ὑπολαβεῖν. [12] ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης εἰς ἐκάστην παρῆει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς φρουραῖς ἀνακαλοῦμενος διέκρινεν ἀπάντων τοὺς μετασχόντας [p. 265] τῆς συνωμοσίας. ἔπειτα φιланθρώπως ἐκάστοις διαλεγόμενος οὓς μὲν ἀπέλυσε τῶν σημείων, ὡς ἂν χαριζόμενος τὴν ἄφεισιν τῆς στρατείας, οὓς δὲ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ καὶ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ παραδοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ χρείας δὴ τινὰς στρατιωτικὰς ἀπέλυσεν — οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πονηρότατοι καὶ οὐχ ὑπομένοντες ἀφείσθαι τῆς στρατείας — ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἄγουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην διακομίσει καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ἀδήλοις φυλακαῖς, χωρίσαντας ἄλλους ἀπ' ἄλλων, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἀφίκηται. [13] τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐνθυμουμένοις, ὅτι πάντες οἱ κορυφαιότατοι τῆς συνωμοσίας οἱ μὲν ἀπολύονται τῶν σημείων, οἱ δ' ἀποστέλλονται διχὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποιδῆποτε, λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθε περιφανῇ γεγονέναι σφῶν τὴν συνωμοσίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέος, εἰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων γένοιντο καὶ τὰ ὅπλα θεῖεν, μὴ δίκας ὑπόσχωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαχθέντες: συνιόντες τε κατ' ὀλίγους ἐσκόπουν, [14] τί χρὴ πράττειν. ἔπειτα γνώμην τινῶν εἰσηγησαμένων περὶ ἀποστάσεως, ἐπαίνεσαντες τὸ βούλευμα καὶ πίστει ἀπορρήτους ἐν ἀλλήλοις ποιησάμενοι, οἱ τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένοι περὶ Ταρρακινὰν πόλιν ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις χωρίοις παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν στρατοπεδεύονται. [15] ἔπειθ' οἱ μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἀποστελλόμενοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καταλιπόντες, ἐστὶ δ' οὓς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς στρατιωτῶν πείσαντες ἀποστήναι, περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδρύνονται τόπον. ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ οὗτοι τὰς παρόδους κατελάβοντο, πολλοὶ προσήεσαν [p. 266] αὐτοῖς ὁσημέραι, καὶ χεῖρ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτοὺς καρτερὰ: ἔπειτα τὰ δεσμωτήρια ἀπάντων, ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἦν, ἐλύετο καὶ συνέρρει ... εἴσορ.

οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ γῆν ἀδεῶς διελθόντες τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐναντιουμένων, τῶν δὲ συμπροπεμπόντων — πολλὰ δ' εἰσὶ δυσχωρία κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Καμπανίαν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ὄρεσι τε καὶ τέλμασι καὶ θαλάτταις καὶ ποταμοῖς ναυσιπόροις διακλειόμεναι, ἃς οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν διελθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκαταληφθείσας — [2] καὶ τινὰ καὶ ποταμόν, ὃς διὰ τῆς Κασιλίνων χώρας καὶ πόλεως φέρεται, τριάκοντα τῆς Καπύης ἀπέχοντα στάδια, Οὐολτοῦρνον ὄνομα, τεττάρων οὐκ ἐλάττω πλέρων ὄντα τὸ πλάτος, ξυλίνῃ γεφύρᾳ διαβάντες, ἣν ἐν τρισὶ κατεσκεύασαν ἡμέραις, διεξήεσαν, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦσι Καμπανοῖς θάρσος ὡς τὰ κράτιστα προηρημένοις ἐγγένηται, τοῖς δὲ

τάναντία δέος. [3] καὶ προελθόντες ἐπέκεινα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα σταδίων Καπύης στρατοπεδεύονται ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ θέντες τὸν χάρακα, ἔνθα ὑπομένοντες τὰς παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν ἀγοράς τε καὶ συμμαχίας ἐκαραδόκουν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ὑποσχοῦντο μὲν αὐτοῖς πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἐπήρκουν δ' οὐδὲν ὅτι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, στρατιάν τ' ἀγείρειν ἐκ πάσης πόλεως σκηπτόμενοι κατέτριβον [p. 267] [4] τοὺς χρόνους. ἀπογνόντες δὴ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικουρίας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις ὀρῶντες οὐθὲν ἰσχύος ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου προσλαμβανούσας, τὰς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων μακρῷ πλείους γιγνομένας, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [5] ἐνθυμούμενοι δ' ὅτι πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ δυσάγωγον καὶ ταῖς ἐπιταγαῖς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπειθές, ὥς ἐν ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς πείραις ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν τῇ Καμπανικῇ παραχειμασίᾳ, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἦλθον αὐτῶν τινες, ὥστε καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπατον καταλιπεῖν καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅπλα ἀναλαβεῖν, τούτους ὦντο δεῖν πρῶτον ἀποδεῖξαι σωφρονεστέρους, δεινότερον ποιήσαντες αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων φόβον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κίνδυνον. [6] ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἐκκλησίαν συνῆγον, καὶ λέγει Μάλλιος: ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγημάτων καὶ δημηγοριῶν. περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Μαλλίου τοῦ μονομαχήσαντος. εσξορ.

ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι τοὺς φίλους αὐτῶν Καμπανοὺς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔβλαπτον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Καμπανῶν πολλάκις ἐμφανιζόντων καὶ ἀποδυρομένων κατὰ τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν, πρέσβεις ἐψηφίσατο πρὸς τοὺς Νεαπολίτας ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ἀξιῶσοντας [p. 268] αὐτοὺς μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας παρανομεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδόναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ λαμβάνειν, καί, εἰ γε διαφέρονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μὴ δὲ ὅπλων, ἀλλὰ διὰ λόγων, σύμβολα ποιησαμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, μὴτ' αὐτοὺς ἔργα πράττοντας, ἃ μὴ προσήκει Ἑλλήσι, μῆτε τοῖς πράττουσι συνεργοῦντας: μάλιστα δ' εἰ δύναιτο θεραπείαις τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευάσοντας ἀποστῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ Σαυνιτῶν τὴν πόλιν, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι φίλην. [2] ἔτυχον δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀφιγμένοι πρὸς τοὺς Νεαπολίτας πρέσβεις ὑπὸ Ταραντίνων ἀποσταλέντες, ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πρόξενοι διὰ γένους τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν: καὶ ἕτεροι ὑπὸ Νωλάνων ὁμόρων ὄντων καὶ σφόδρα τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀσπαζομένων, τάναντία τοὺς Νεαπολίτας ἀξιῶσόντες μῆτε σύμβολα ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἢ τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῶν μῆτε διαλύεσθαι τὴν πρὸς Σαυνίτας φιλίαν. [3] ἐὰν δὲ ταύτην ποιήσωνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πρόφασιν, μὴ ὀρρωδεῖν, μηδ' ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν καταπεπληῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μένειν γενναίως καὶ ὡς προσήκεν Ἑλλήσι πολεμεῖν, τῇ τ' οἰκείᾳ πιστεύοντας [p. 269] δυνάμει καὶ τῇ παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν ἀφιζομένη βοήθειᾳ, ναυτικὴν τ' ἰσχὺν προσληφόμενους ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἣν Ταραντῖνοι πέμψουσιν, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ ταύτης δέωνται, πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν. Ursin.

συναχθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ λόγων, οὓς αἱ τε πρεσβεῖαι διεξῆλθον καὶ οἱ συναγορεύοντες αὐταῖς, διέστησαν αἱ γνώμαι τῶν συνέδρων, καὶ οἱ γε χαριέστατοι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔδοξαν φρονεῖν. [2]

ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲν ἐξηνέχθη προβούλευμα, εἰς ἑτέραν δὲ πάλιν ἔδραν ἀναβλήθεισας τῆς περὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν διαγνώσεως, ἀφικόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν Νεαπόλιν Σαυνιτῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι καὶ τοὺς προεστηκότας τῶν κοινῶν θεραπειῶν τοῖς οἰκειωσάμενοι πείθουσι τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ποιῆσαι τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος αἵρεσιν. [3] καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργεσίας διεξήεσαν, ἔπειτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως πολλὰ κατηγοροῦν, ὡς ἀπίστου καὶ δολίου, τελευτῶντες δὲ τοῦ λόγου θαυμαστὰς ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Νεαπολίταις ὑποσχέσεις, ἂν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταστῶσι, στρατιὰν τε πέμψειν, ὅσης ἂν δέωνται, τὴν φυλάξουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν εἶρεσίαν ἅπασαν παρέξειν, οὐ μόνον καταγγέλλοντες τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς πόλεμον δαπάνας ἐπιχορηγοῦντες: [4] ἀπωσαμένοις τε τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα Κῦμην τ' ἀνασώσειν, [p. 270] ἦν δευτέρᾳ γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς Κυμαίους Καμπανοὶ κατέσχον, καὶ συγκατάξιν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα τοὺς περιόντας ἔτι Κυμαίων, οὓς οἱ Νεαπολῖται τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ πάντων ἐποίησαντο κοινωνοὺς τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν, χώραν τε προσθήσειν τοῖς Νεαπολίταις, ἐξ ἧς οἱ Καμπανοὶ κατεῖχον πάνυ πολλήν. [5] τῶν δὲ Νεαπολιτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἦν μέρος εὖλογον καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ δυνάμενον ὄρᾳν τὰς καταληψομένας τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορὰς εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἡξίου: τὸ δὲ φιλόκαινον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ταραχῆς πλεονεξίας διῶκον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνελάμβανον, καταβοαὶ τ' ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ χειροκρασίαι καὶ προέβη τὸ νεῖκος εἰς λίθων βολὰς, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐκράτησαν οἱ κακίους τῶν κραιπτόνων, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπράκτους ἀπελθεῖν. διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Νεαπολίτας ἀποστελεῖται ἐβουλεύθη. Ursin.

ὅτι μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Σαυνίτας στρατιὰν ἀγείρειν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, οἱ δὲ προχειρισθέντες ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἔλεξαν: [2] ἀδικεῖτε, ἄνδρες Σαυνῖται, παραβαίνοντες τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἃς ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὄνομα μὲν ὑποδύομενοι [p. 271] συμμάχων, ἔργα δὲ πράττοντες πολεμίων, πολλαῖς μὲν ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μάχαις, δεήσει δὲ μεγάλῃ καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τυχόντες εἰρήνης οἷας ἐβούλεσθε: τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα φίλοι γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν προθυμηθέντες καὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμόσαντες ἔξιν ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους. [3] ὣν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενοι τοὺς ὅρκους ἐγκατελείπετε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λατίνους πολέμῳ καὶ πρὸς Οὐολούσκους συστάντι, οὓς δι' ὑμᾶς ἐχθροὺς ἔχομεν οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι πολέμου: ἐν δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαντῷ Νεαπολίτας δεδιότας ἀναδεῖξαι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν πόλεμον ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι παρωρμήσατε, μᾶλλον δ' ἡναγκάσατε καὶ τὰς δαπάνας ἐπιχορηγεῖτε καὶ τὴν πόλιν δι' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔχετε. [4] νῦν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθε στρατιὰν ἐκ παντὸς ἀγείροντες τόπου, πρόφασιν μὲν ἑτέραν ποιοῦμενοι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐγνωκότες ἄγειν ἀποίκους: καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ἀδίκους πλεονεξίας

Φουνδανούς παρακαλεῖτε καὶ Φορμιανούς καὶ ἄλλους τινάς, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἰσοπολιτείας μετεδώκαμεν. [5] οὕτω δὲ φανερώς καὶ ἀναισχύντως συγγεόντων ὑμῶν τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ὄρκια, ποιοῦντες πρεσβείαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκρίναμεν ἀποστεῖλαι πρῶτον, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἄρξαι τῶν ἔργων πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆναι [p. 272] τῶν λόγων. ἃ δὲ προκαλοῦμεθα ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὧν τυχόντες τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν ὀργὴν ἀποπληρώσειν οἰόμεθα, ταῦτα ἔστι: πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάγειν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν τὴν ἀποσταλεῖσαν Νεαπολίταις συμμαχίαν, ἔπειτα μηδεμίαν ἐκπέμπειν στρατιὰν κατὰ τῶν ἀποίκων τῶν ἡμετέρων μηδὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς πλεονεξίας παρακαλεῖν: [6] εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσι δόξαντα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἃ ἔπραττον τινες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης, παραδοῦναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ δίκην. τούτων τυχόντες ἀρκοῦμεθα, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας, οὓς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὠμόσατε, μαρτυρόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς εἰρηνοδίκας ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἄγοντες ἐληλύθαμεν. Ursin.

τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου λέξαντος βουλευσάμενοι καθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πρόβουλοι τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τοιαύτην ἐξήνεγκαν ἀπόκρισιν: [2] τοῦ μὲν ὀφισμοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Λατίνων πόλεμον συμμαχίας οὐ τὸ κοινὸν αἵτιον — ἐψηφισάμεθα γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν ὑμῖν — οἱ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες αὐτῆς πλείονα χρόνον ἀναλώσαντες ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ θάπτον ἐπειχθέντες ἐπὶ [p. 273] τὸν ἀγῶνα. τρισὶ γοῦν ἢ τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς μάχης οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀφίκοντο. [3] περὶ δὲ τῆς Νεαπολιτῶν πόλεως, ἐν ἣ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὲς εἰσιν, τοσοῦτου δέομεν ἀδικεῖν ὑμᾶς, εἴ τινα τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν βοήθειαν εἰς σωτηρίαν κοινῇ παρεχόμεθα, ὥστ' αὐτοὶ δοκοῦμεν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικεῖσθαι μεγάλα. φίλην γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ σύμμαχον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οὐκ ἔναγχος οὐδ' ἄφ' οὗ τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐποίησάμεθα ὁμολογίας, ἀλλὰ δευτέρᾳ γενεᾷ πρότερον διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας, οὐθὲν ἀδικηθέντες ὑμεῖς κατεδουλώσασθε. [4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τούτῳ γε τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ κοινὸν ὑμᾶς τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἡδίκησεν: ἰδιόξενοι δὲ τινὲς εἰσιν, ὡς πυνθανόμεθα, καὶ φίλοι τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν τῇ πόλει βοηθοῦντες καὶ τινες καὶ δι' ἀπορίαν ἴσως βίου μισθοφόροι. % φέρειν δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὑμῶν οὐθὲν δεόμεθα: καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ Φουνδανῶν καὶ Φορμιανῶν ἱκανοὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσμεν, ἐὰν καταστῶμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου. [5] ἢ δὲ παρασκευὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡμῶν ἐστίν οὐχ ὡς ἀφαιρησομένων τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀποίκους τὰ ἴδια, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἴδια ἐξόντων διὰ φυλακῆς. ἀντιπροκαλοῦμεθὰ τε ὑμᾶς, εἰ βούλεσθε τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν, ἐκχωρεῖν Φρεγέλλης, ἣν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πολέμῳ κρατησάντων ἡμῶν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ νόμος κτήσεως δικαιοτάτος, [p. 274] ὑμεῖς οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ σφετερισάμενοι δεῦτερον ἔτος ἤδη κατέχετε. τούτων ἡμεῖς τυχόντες οὐδὲν ὑποληψόμεθα ἀδικεῖσθαι. Vrsin.

[6] μετὰ τοῦτο παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰρηνοδίκης εἶπεν: οὐθὲν ἔτι τὸ κωλύσόν ἐστιν, οὕτω φανερώς ἀνηρη- κῶτων ὑμῶν τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄρκια βουλευέσθε τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον αἰτιάσασθαι. πάντα γὰρ αὐτῷ πέπρακται κατὰ τοὺς ἱερούς τε καὶ πατρίους νόμους, τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια, δικασταὶ δὲ τῶν μενόντων

ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις οἱ λαχόντες πολέμους ἐπισκοπεῖν ἔσονται θεοί. [2] μέλλων δ' ἀπέναι τὴν τε περιβολὴν κατὰ κεφαλῆς εἴλκυσε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀρὰς ἐποίησατο τοῖς θεοῖς: εἰ μὲν ἄδικα πάσχουσα ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων πόλις καὶ μὴ δυναμένη μετὰ λόγου καὶ κρίσεως διαλύσαι τὰς διαφορὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρῆσαι, βουλὰς τ' ἀγαθὰς αὐτῇ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἄγειν, καὶ % πράξειεν πᾶσι διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐντυχεῖν, εἰ δ' αὕτη τι πλημμελοῦσα περὶ τὰ τῆς φιλίας ὄρκια προφάσεις κατασκευάζεται τῆς ἔχθρας οὐκ ἀληθεῖς, μήτε βουλὰς ὀρθοῦν αὐτοῖς μήτε πράξεις. Ursin. [p. 275]

ὡς διελύθησαν ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα ἐδήλωσαν ἑκάτεροι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσι, τὰς ἐναντίας ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων δόξας ἀμφοτέροι, Σαυνῖται μὲν βραδύτερα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν, ὅτε μέλλοιεν ἄρχειν πολέμου, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν Σαυνιτῶν στρατιὰν ἤξουν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποίκους Φρεγελλάνους οἰόμενοι. ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰκότα παθεῖν συνέβη. [2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ παρασκευαζόμενοι καὶ μέλλοντες ἀπώλεσαν τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν πράξεων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐν ἐτοίμῳ πᾶσαν ἔχοντες παρασκευὴν ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀπέστειλαν ἀμφοτέρους: καὶ πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἔξοδον, ἥ τε νεωστὶ καταγραφεῖσα καὶ ἡ περὶ Οὐολούσκους χειμερίζουσα δύναμις, ἣν εἶχε Κορνήλιος, ἐντὸς ἣν τῶν Σαυνιτικῶν ὄρων. Ursin.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XVI

Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸν κατὰ Σαυνιτῶν τελευταῖον πόλεμον ἐξιόντων κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον κατασκήψας πέντε μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπέκτεινε, δύο δὲ σημείας διέφθειρεν, ὅπλα δὲ πολλὰ τὰ μὲν κατέκαυσε, τὰ δ' ἐσπίλωσε. κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηνέχθησαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἔτμον φέροντες τοῦνομα: κεραῖσμοι γὰρ τινές εἰσι καὶ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων εἰς τάναντία τρέποντες τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας τύχας. [2] αὐτὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἠνάγκασται τὴν ἰδίαν ἀλλάξαι φύσιν τὸ κεραύνιον πῦρ, εἴτε δὴ αἶθριον εἴτε μετάρσιον ἐστὶ, κάτω φερόμενον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτῷ θέμις ἐπὶ γῆν βρίθειν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω μετεωροπολεῖν: ἐν αἰθέρι γὰρ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πυρὸς. [3] δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν, εἴτε Προμηθεὺς εἴτε Ἥφαιστος δῶρόν ἐστιν, ὅποτε [p. 277] λύσειε τοὺς δεσμούς, ἐν οἷς ἠνάγκασται μένειν, δι' ἄερος ἄνω φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ συγγενὲς ἐκεῖνο καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιειληφὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν. τὸ δὴ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο καὶ χωρισθὲν ὕλης φθαρτῆς δι' ἄερος ὀχούμενον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καταφέρηται, βιασθὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἰσχυρᾶς μεταβολᾶς μαντεύεται καὶ [4] τροπὰς ἐπὶ τοῦμπαλιν. τοιοῦτου γοῦν τινος γενομένου καὶ τότε καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὑπὸ Ποντίου τοῦ Σαυνίτου κατακλεισθέντες εἰς ἀνεξόδους δυσχωρίας, μέλλοντες ἤδη τῷ λιμῷ διαφθεیرهσθαι παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους ὄντες: καὶ καταλείψαντες τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὸν ζυγὸν ἅπαντες ὑπῆλθον: τοῦτο δὲ σημεῖον τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἐστὶ. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Πόντιος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔπαθε, καὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ὑπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ambr.

ἐν τοῦτό σε ἀξιοῦμεν ἤδη κείμενοι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὄντες μηδεμίαν ἡμῶν ὕβριν προσθεῖναι ταῖς συμφοραῖς μηδὲ βαρεῖ ποδὶ ταῖς ἀθλίας ἐπεμβῆναι τύχαις. [2] οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων παῖδας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπολωλέκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀδελφούς, πολλοὶ δὲ φίλους; οἷς ἅπασι πῶς ἄκρατον νομίζεις ἐπὶ [p. 278] τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀνθήσειν τὴν χολήν, ἐὰν κωλῇ τις αὐτοὺς τοσαύταις ψυχαῖς πολεμίων τιμῆσαι τοὺς κατὰ γῆς, αἵπερ μόναι τῶν κατοικομένων δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τιμαί; [3] φέρε δὴ κεῖ τοῦτο πεισθέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ἢ ὅ τι δὴ ποτε παθόντες εἴξουσιν τε καὶ ζῆν αὐτοὺς ἐάσουσιν, ἅρ' ἔτι σοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοὺς ἐάσειν ἔχειν καὶ μηδεμιᾶς πειραθέντας ἀσχημοσύνης, ὥσπερ ἡρώας τινας ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς φανέντας, ὅποτε δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ θηρία περιχυθέντας διασπάσσεσθαι ταῦτα λέγειν ἐπιβαλόμενον ἐμέ; [4] οὐχ ὀρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς κυνηγοὺς οἱ θηρευταὶ κύνες, ὅταν ἁλῶ θηρίον κατακλεισθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ λῖνα, περισστανται τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν μοῖραν ἀπαιτοῦντες τῆς ἄγρας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ μεταλάβωσιν εὐθὺς αἷματος ἢ σπλάγχνων, ἀρράζουσιν ἐπόμενοι καὶ σπαράττουσι τὸν κυνηγόν, καὶ οὕτε διωκόμενοι οὕτε παιόμενοι ἀπείργονται; Ambr.

δι' ἡμέρας μὲν ὅλης ἀγωνιζόμενοι τῶν πόνων ἠνείχοντο, ἀφελομένου δὲ τοῦ σκότους τὴν γνώσιν τῶν τε οἰκείων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τοὺς

οἰκείους χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν. Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος περὶ τὰς θυσίας παρανομήσας [p. 279] τι ἀπετυφλώθη καὶ Καῖκος προσηγορεύθη: οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τυφλοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. [2] αἱ ἐντοίχιοι γραφαὶ ταῖς τε γραμμαῖς πάνυ ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς μίγμασιν ἠδεῖαι, παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον ἔχουσai τοῦ καλουμένου ῥώπου τὸ ἀνθηρόν. τὰς νουμηνίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλάνδας καλοῦσι, τὰς δὲ διχοτόμους νόννας, τὰς δὲ πανσελήνους εἰδούς. Ambr. [3] τοῖς δὲ κατὰ μέσσην ἀγωνιζομένοις τὴν φάλαγγα ἀσπάθητον οὖσαν καὶ λαγαρὰν οἱ τῇδε τεταγμένοι συμπεσόντες ἐξέωσαν τῆς στάσεως. ὁ κατοικιδῖός τε καὶ διοπετὴς πόλεμος ἐμάραινε τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως. ἄνδρας ἱεραγωγούς καὶ ἱεραφορίᾳ τετιμημένους. φορᾶς ἀβούλου μεστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ μανικὸν ἔχων τὸ τολμηρόν, ἰδιογνωμονήσας καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσας πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. [4] ἔπειτα σὺ τολμᾶς κατηγορεῖν τῆς τύχης ὡς κακῶς τοῖς πράγμασι χρησαμένης ἐπὶ περιτραπέντος αὐτὴν καθίσας σκάφους; οὕτω σκαιὸς ἦν. μέλη τὰ μὲν θεραπείας ἔτι δεόμενα, τὰ δὲ τὰς οὐλὰς ἐφέλκοντα νεωστί. Ambr. [p. 280]

ὅτι, φησὶ Διονύσιος, μιᾶς ἔτι μνησθήσομαι πράξεως πολιτικῆς ἀξίας ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καταφανὲς ἔσται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅσον ἦν τὸ μισοπὸνήρον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀμεῖλικτον. [2] Γάιος Λαιτῶριος Μέργος ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐπιφανὴς κατὰ γένος καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, ἐνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων χιλιάρχος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐν τῷ Σαυνιτικῷ πολέμῳ, νεανίαν τινὰ τῶν ὁμοσκήνων διαφέροντα τὴν ὄψιν ἐτέρων μέχρι μὲν τινος ἔπειθεν ἑαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥραν ἐκόντα. ὡς δ' οὔτε δωρεαῖς οὐτ' ἄλλῃ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸ μειράκιον ἠλίσκετο, κατέχειν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀδύνατος ὦν βίαν προσφέρειν ἐπεβάλετο. [3] περιβοήτου δὲ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γενομένης κοινὸν ἀδίκημα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι νομίσαντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι γραφὴν ἀποφέρουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατέγνω τιμῆμα δίκης ὀρίσας θάνατον, οὐκ ἀξιῶν εἰς ἐλευθέρα σώματα καὶ προπολεμοῦντα τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ὄντας καὶ ἀρχαῖς ὑβρίζειν τὰς ἀνηκέστους [p. 281] καὶ παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ὑβρεῖς. Vales. et συιδ. ζ. F. Γάιος Λαιτῶριος.

ἔτι δὲ τοῦτου θαυμασιώτερον ἔπραξαν οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, καίτοι περὶ δοῦλον σῶμα γενομένης τῆς ὑβρεως. ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν παραδόντων Σαυνίταις τὸ στρατόπεδον χιλιάρχων καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ὑπελθόντων, Ποπλιλίου υἱὸς ὡς ἐν πολλῇ καταλειφθεὶς πενία δάνειον ἠναγκάσθη λαβεῖν εἰς τὴν ταφήν τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς ἐρανισθησόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν. διαφυσθεὶς δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπήχθη πρὸς τὸ χρέος τῆς προθεσμίας διελθούσης, κομιδῇ νέος ὦν καὶ τῇ ὄψει ὥραῖος. [2] οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑπηρετῶν, ὅσα δούλους δεσπότηαι νόμος ἦν, ἠνείχετο, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὥραν χαρίσασθαι κελευόμενος ἠγανάκτει καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπεμάχετο. πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μαστίγων λαβὼν πληγὰς ἐξέδραμεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ στὰς ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινός, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἔμελλε τῆς ὑβρεως λήψεσθαι μάρτυρας, τὴν τ' ἀκολασίαν τοῦ δανειστοῦ διηγῆσατο καὶ τῶν μαστίγων τοὺς μῶλωπας

ὑπέδειξεν. [3] ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ δημοσίας ὀργῆς ἄξιον ἡγησαμένου τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν κρίσιν κατηγορούντων τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν τῶν δημάρχων ὥφλε θανάτου δίκην. καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο τὸ πάθος ἅπαντες οἱ δουλωθέντες [p. 282] πρὸς τὰ χρέα Ῥωμαῖοι νόμῳ κυρωθέντι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκομίσαντο. Vales. ετ σιιδας ς. f. Γάιος Λαιτώριος.

ἀξιῶν τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ κατὰχρεων. αἱ νεοσφαγεῖς τῶν θυομένων σάρκες μέχρι τούτου διατελοῦσι τρέμουσαι τε καὶ παλλόμεναι, ἕως ἂν τὸ κατεχόμενον ἐν αὐταῖς συγγενὲς πνεῦμα βιασάμενον τοὺς πόρους ἅπαν ἐξαναλωθῇ. [2] τοῦτο σεισμῶν αἴτιον γίνεται καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ: ἅπαντα γὰρ ὑπόνομος οὕσα μεγάλαις καὶ συνεχέσι τάφροις, δι' ὧν ὀχετεύεται τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πολλὰς ἀναπνοὰς στομάτων ἔχουσα, διὰ τούτων ἀνίησι τὸ κατακλεισθὲν πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτῇ: καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὃ κραδαίνει τε αὐτὴν καὶ σπαράττει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὅταν πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐναποληφθὲν εἴργηται. Ambr.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOKS XVII AND XVIII

ὅτι ὁ Σαυνιτικὸς αὖθις ἀνερριπίσθη πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἀρξάμενος. μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς, ἃς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν οἱ Σαυνῖται, χρόνον ὀλίγον ἐπισχόντες ἐπὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐστράτευσαν ὁμόρους ὄντας ἐκ παλαιᾶς τιнос ὀρμηθέντες ἔχθρας. [2] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεσι πιστεύοντες οἱ Λευκανοὶ τὸν τε πόλεμον διέφερον· ἐν ἀπάσαις δὲ μειονεκτοῦντες ταῖς μάχαις καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀπολωλεκότες ἤδη χωρία, κινδυνεύοντες δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς ἀπάσης, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βοήθειαν ἠναγκάσθησαν καταφυγεῖν, συνειδότες μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐψευσμένοις ἃς πρότερον ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίας, ἐν αἷς φιλίαν συνέθεντο καὶ συμμαχίαν, οὐκ ἀπογνόντες δὲ συμπεῖσειν αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους παῖδας ὁμήρους ἅμα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀποστείλωσιν· ὅπερ καὶ [p. 284] [3] συνέβη. ἀφικομένων γὰρ τῶν πρέσβων καὶ πολλὰ δεομένων ἢ τε βουλή δέχεσθαι τὰ ὁμηρα ἔγνω καὶ τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Λευκανοὺς συνάψαι, καὶ ὁ [4] δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. γενομένων δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν ἄνδρας οἱ πρεσβύτατοι Ῥωμαίων καὶ τιμώτατοι προχειρισθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Σαυνιτῶν σύνοδον, δηλώσοντες αὐτοῖς, ὅτι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων εἰσὶ Λευκανοί, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἦν ἔτυχον αὐτῶν ἀφηρημένοι παρακαλέσοντες ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι πράττειν ἔργον πολεμίων, ὥς οὐ περιοφομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ἱκέτας ἐξελαυνομένους ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας. Ursin.

οἱ δὲ Σαυνῖται τῶν πρέσβων ἀκούσαντες ἠγανάκτουν τε καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποιῆσθαι λέγοντες τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲνα μῆτε φίλον ἴδιον ἠγῆσασθαι μὴτ' ἐχθρόν, ἐὰν μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι κελεύωσιν· ἔπειθ' ὅτι Λευκανοὺς οὐ πρότερον ἐποίησαντο Ῥωμαῖοι φίλους, ἀλλ' ἔναγχος πολεμίους ἤδη σφῶν ὄντας, πρόφασιν οὕτε δικαίαν οὕτ' εὐσχήμονα κατασκευαζόμενοι [2] τοῦ καταλῦσαι τὰς σπονδὰς. ἀποκρινομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁμολογήσαντας ἔπεσθαι [p. 285] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καταλυσασμένους τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα πείθεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς παρειληφόσι τὴν ἀρχήν, καί, εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι τὰ κελεύόμενα ἐκόντες, πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς ἀπειλοῦντων, [3] ἀφόρητον ἠγησάμενοι τὴν αὐθάδειαν τῆς πόλεως οἱ Σαυνῖται τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παραχρῆμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῇ τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις εὐτρεπίζεσθαι. Ursin.

ἡ μὲν δὴ φανερὰ τοῦ Σαυνιτικοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐπρεπὴς λέγεσθαι ἢ Λευκανῶν ἐγένετο βοήθεια τῶν καταφυγόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς· ὥς κοινὸν δὴ τι τοῦτο καὶ πάτριον ἔθος τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν βοηθεῖν· ἡ δ' ἀφανὴς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζουσα διαλύεσθαι τὴν φιλίαν ἢ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἰσχὺς πολλή τ' ἤδη γεγονυῖα καὶ ἔτι πλείων γενήσεσθαι νομιζομένη, εἰ Λευκανῶν

τε χειρωθέντων καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς τῶν προσοίκων ἀκολουθήσειν ἔμελλε τὰ τε βαρβαρικά ἔθνη τὰ προσεχῇ τοῦτοις. αἱ τε δὴ σπονδαὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εὐθὺς ἐλέλυντο, καὶ στρατιαὶ δύο κατεγράφοντο. Ursin. [p. 286]

ὅτι Ποστόμιος ὁ ὕπατος τῆς διαδοχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγισάσης μέγα φρονῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς τ' ἀξιώσεως τοῦ γένους ἔνεκα, καὶ ὅτι διτταῖς ὑπατείαις ^[2] ἤδη κεκοσμημένος ἦν. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ καταρχὰς μὲν ὡς ἀπελαυνόμενος τῶν ἴσων ἡγανάκτει καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δίκαια πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ὕστερον δὲ συγγνοὺς ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τε προγόνων ὄγκον καὶ φίλων πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἐλάττονα ἰσχὺν ἔχοντι — δημοτικὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ τῶν νεωστὶ παρελθόντων εἰς γνῶσιν — εἰξέ τε τῷ συνυπάτῳ καὶ παρεχώρησε τοῦ Σαυνιτικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ^[3] πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο διαβολὴν ἡνεγκε τῷ Ποστομίῳ κατὰ πολλὴν αὐθάδειαν γενόμενον καὶ ἕτερον αὖθις ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ βαρύτερον ἢ ὡς κατὰ Ῥωμαῖον ἡγεμόνα. ἐπιλεξάμενος γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς περὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀγροὺς ἀπήγαγεν, οἷς ἄνευ σιδήρου δρυμὸν ἐκέλευσε κεῖρειν. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κατέσχε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς θητῶν ἔργα καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπηρετοῦντας. ^[4] τοσαύτη δὲ αὐθαδεῖα πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου χρησάμενος ἔτι βαρύτερος ἐφάνη τοῖς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν στρατείαν ἐπιτελεσθεῖσι καὶ παρέσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μίσους ἀφορμὰς δίκαιου. τὸν γὰρ ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ νικήσαντα Σαυνιτῶν τοὺς καλουμένους Πέντρους Φάβιον τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης μένειν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα [p. 287] πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μερίδα τῶν Σαυνιτῶν πολεμεῖν, γράμματα πέμπων ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προσηκούσης. ^[5] καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦντας μὴ κωλύειν τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μένειν μηδ' ἀντιπράττειν τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὑπερηφάνους καὶ τυραννικὰς ἔδωκεν ἀποκρίσεις, οὐ τὴν βουλὴν ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ φήσας, ἕως ἐστὶν ὕπατος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τῆς βουλῆς. ^[6] ἀπολύσας δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἦγε τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἐκὼν παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς ὅπλοις προσαναγκάσων. καταλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτον Κομινίῳ πόλει προσκατήμενον ἐξεπίεσεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθισμῶν καὶ δεινὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. Φάβιος μὲν αὐτοῦ εἰξας τῇ μανίᾳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξεχώρησεν. Vales. et σιιδας ς. ϝ. Ποστόμιος.

ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Ποστόμιος πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Κομίνιον ἐκ πολιορκίας παραλαμβάνει χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἐν ταῖς προσβολαῖς διατριψας, ἔπειτα Οὐενουσίαν πολυάνθρωπον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις πλείστας ὅσας, ἐξ ὧν μύριοι μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, ἑξακισχίλιοι δὲ καὶ ^[2] διακόσιοι τὰ ὅπλα παρέδοσαν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος οὐχ ὅπως χάριτος ἢ τιμῆς τινος ἡξιώθη παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προυπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν ἀπέβαλεν. ἀποστελλομένων γὰρ εἰς μίαν τῶν ἁλουσῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πόλεων, τὴν καλουμένην Οὐενουσίαν, δισμυρίων ἐποίκων ἕτεροι τῆς ἀποικίας ἡρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες: [p. 288] ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξελὼν καὶ τὴν γνῶμην τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν κληρουχῶν εἰσηγησάμενος οὐδὲ ταύτης ἄξιος ἐφάνη τῆς τιμῆς. ^[3] εἰ μὲν οὖν σῶφρονι

λογισμῷ τὰ συμβάντα ἦνεγκε καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ συνεδρίου λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων χρηστῶν θεραπείαις ἐπράννεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν ἔτι συμφορᾶς εἰς ἀτιμίαν φερούσης ἐπειράθη. νῦν δ' ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἀντιχαλεπαίνων τὰς τ' ὠφελείας ἃς ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπάσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ πρὶν ἀποσταλῆναι τὸν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέλυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τελευτῶν ὃν οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ οὔτε ὁ δῆμος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης κατήγαγεν. ^[4] Ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν ἔτι μείζονος ἐξ ἀπάντων μίσους ἐκκαυθέντος ἅμα τῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτὸν ὑπάτοις εἰς δίκην ὑπάγεται δημοσίαν ὑπὸ δυεῖν δημάρχων. καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς κατακρίνεται, τίμημα τῆς εἰσαγγελίας ἐχούσης χρηματικὸν πέντε μυριάδας ἀργυρίου. Vales.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIX

ὅτι Κρότων πόλις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ Σύβαρις ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ οὕτως κληθεῖσα. [2] ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μεσσηνίην ἐπολέμουν καὶ χῆρος ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλις ἦν, δεομέναις ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐν ἀκμῇ παρθένοις μὴ περιδεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀγάμους, τὰς δὲ ἀτέκνους γινομένας ἐπέμποντο τινες αἰὲν νέοι παραλλάξ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῆς μίξεως τῶν γυναικῶν ἕνεκα καὶ συνήεσαν, αἷς ἐπιτύχοιεν: ἐκ τούτων γίνονται τῶν ἀδιακρίτων ἐπιμιξιῶν παῖδες, οὓς ἀνδρωθέντας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεπηλάκιζον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ Παρθενίας προσηγόρευον. [3] στάσεως δὲ γενομένης ἡττηθέντες οἱ παρθενία ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησμὸν ἔλαβον πλεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἐξευρόντας δὲ χωρίον τῆς [p. 290] Ἰαπυγίας Σατύριον καὶ ποταμὸν Τάραντα, ἐνθ' ἂν ἴδωσι τράγον τῇ θαλάττῃ τέγγοντα τὸ γένειον, ἐκεῖ [4] τοὺς βίους ιδρύσασθαι. πλεύσαντες δὲ τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἐξεῦρον καὶ κατὰ τινος ἔρινεοῦ πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης πεφυκότος ἄμπελον ἐθεάσαντο κατακεχυμένην, ἐξ ἧς τῶν ἐπιτράγων τις καθειμένος ἥπτετο τῆς θαλάττης. τοῦτον ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι τὸν τράγον, ὃν προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὄψεσθαι τέγγοντα τὸ γένειον τῇ θαλάττῃ, αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἐπολέμουν Ἰάπυγας, καὶ ιδρύονται τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ποταμοῦ Τάραντος πόλιν. Ambr.

Ἀρτιμήδης ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς λόγιον εἶχεν, ἐνθ' ἂν εὖρη τὸν ἄρρενα ὑπὸ τῆς θηλείας ὀπιούμενον, αὐτόθι μένειν καὶ μηκέτι προσωτέρω πλεῖν: πλεύσας δὲ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἰδὼν ἄμπελον ... ἄρρενα δὲ τὸν ἔρινεόν, ὀχείαν δὲ τὴν πρόσφυσιν, τέλος ἔχειν τὸν χρησμὸν ὑπέλαβε: καὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸν τόπον βαρβάρους ἐκβαλὼν οἶκεῖ. [2] Ῥήγιον ὁ τόπος καλεῖται, εἶθ' ὅτι σκόπελος ἦν ἀπορρώξ, εἶθ' ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον ἢ γῆ τὸν τόπον ἐρράγη [p. 291] καὶ διέστησεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν ἀντικρὺ Σικελίαν, εἴτε ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν προσηγορίαν. Ambr.

Λευκίπῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ πυνθανομένῳ, ὅπου πεπρωμένον αὐτῷ εἶη κατοικεῖν καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς πλεῖν μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, γῆν δὲ οἰκίζειν, εἰς ἣν ἂν καταχθέντες ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα μείνωσι: καταχθέντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου περὶ Καλλίπολιν ἐπίνειόν τι τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀγασθεὶς τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν ὁ Λευκίππος πείθει Ταραντίνους συγχωρῆσαι σφισιν ἡμέραν αὐτόθι καὶ νύκτα ἐναυλίσασθαι. [2] ὥς δὲ πλείους ἡμέραι διῆλθον, ἀξιούντων αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι τῶν Ταραντίνων οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν ὁ Λευκίππος, παρ' ἐκείνων εἰληφέναι λέγων τὴν γῆν καθ' ὁμολογίας εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα: ἕως δ' ἂν ἦ τούτων θάτερον, οὐ μεθήσεσθαι τῆς γῆς. μαθόντες δὲ παρακεκρουσμένους ἑαυτοὺς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι συγχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς μένειν. Ambr.

ἄκραν τῆς Ἰταλίας Ζεφύριον οἱ Λοκροὶ κατοικήσαντες Ζεφύριοι ὠνομάσθησαν. μένειν αὐτὸν ἐγνώκεσαν ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν τόπῳ καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ῥέοντα πόλεμον ἀνέχειν. εἰς ὕλας καὶ φάραγγας καὶ τραχῶνας ὀρεινοὺς διεσκεδάσθησαν. [p. 292] [2] Ταραντῖνὸς τις ἀνὴρ Αἰνησίας καὶ περὶ πάσας

τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀσελγῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκολάστου καὶ κακῶς δημοσιευθείσης ἐν παισὶν ὥρας ἐπεκαλεῖτο Θάις. τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρολογῆσαντες ἀπήεσαν. οἱ σπερμολογώτατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναγωγότατοι. Ambr.

ὅτι Ποστόμιος πρέσβυς ἐστάλη πρὸς Ταραντίνους· καὶ τινὰ αὐτοῦ διεξιόντος λόγον οὐχ ὅπως προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ λογισμοὺς ἐλάμβανον οἱ Ταραντῖνοι σωφρόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ περὶ πόλεως κινδυνευούσης βουλευομένων, ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτήρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο παρατηροῦντες ἐγέλων, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατάσεις ἐτραχύνοντο καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλουν καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐξέβαλλον ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου. [2] ἀπιόντων δ' αὐτῶν εἷς τῶν ἐφεσθηκότων ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ Ταραντίνων, Φιλωνίδης ὄνομα, σπερμολόγος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰνοφλυγίας, ἥ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐκέχρητο, προσηγορεύετο Κοτύλη, μεστός ὢν ἔτι τῆς [p. 293] χθιζῆς μέθης, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦσαν οἱ πρέσβεις, ἀνασυράμενος τὴν περιβολὴν καὶ σχηματίσας ἑαυτὸν ὡς αἰσχιστον ὀφθῆναι, τὴν οὐδὲ λέγεσθαι πρέπουσαν ἀκαθαρσίαν κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐσθῆτος τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατεσκέδασε. [3] γέλωτος δὲ καταρραγέντος ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ συγκροτούντων τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀγερωχοτάτων ἐμβλέψας εἰς τὸν Φιλωνίδην ὁ Ποστόμιος εἶπεν· δεξιόμεθα τὸν οἰωνόν, ὦ σπερμολόγε ἄνθρωπε, ὅτι καὶ τὰ μὴ αἰτούμενα διδοτε ἡμῖν. ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑβρισμένην ἐσθῆτα δεικνύς, ὡς ἔμαθεν ἔτι πλείονα γινόμενον ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸν γέλωτα καὶ φωνὰς ἤκουσεν ἐνίων ἐπιχαιρόντων καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ἐπαινούντων· [4] γελᾶτε, ἔφησεν, ἕως ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ταραντῖνοι, γελᾶτε· πολὺν γὰρ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον κλαύσετε. ἐκπικρανθέντων δὲ τινων πρὸς τὴν ἀπειλήν· καὶ ἴνα γε μᾶλλον, ἔφησεν, ἀγανακτήσητε, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν λέγομεν, ὅτι πολλῷ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην αἵματι ἐκπλυνεῖτε. [5] ταῦτα οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ὑβρισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ταύτας τὰς φωνὰς ἐπιθεοπίσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ursin.

ἄρτι δ' Αἰμιλίου Βαρβόλα ἐπὶ κλησιν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότος παρῆσαν οἱ σὺν τῷ Ποστομίῳ [p. 294] πεμφθέντες εἰς τὸν Τάραντα πρέσβεις, ἀπόκρισιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντες, τὰς δὲ ὕβρεις ἃς ἦσαν ὑβρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν διεξιόντες, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ Ποστομίου πίστιν τῶν λόγων παρεχόμενοι. ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ μεγάλης ἐξ ἀπάντων γενομένης συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλὴν οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίων ὕπατοι τί χρὴ πράττειν ἐσκόπουν, ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας συχνάς. [2] ἦν δ' ἡ ζήτησις οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λελυθῆναι τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ταραντίνων, — τοῦτο γὰρ ἅπαντες ὡμολόγουν — ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀποσταλησομένης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιᾶς. ἦσαν γὰρ τινες οἱ παραινοῦντες μήπω τοῦτον ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἕως Λευκανοὶ τ' ἀφεστήκασιν καὶ Βρέττιοι καὶ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν πολὺ καὶ φιλοπόλεμον ἔθνος, καὶ Τυρρηγία παρ' αὐταῖς οὕσα ταῖς θύραις ἔτι ἀχείρωτος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑποχείρια γένηται τάδε τὰ ἔθνη, μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντα, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Τάραντος κείμενα. [3] τοῖς δὲ τάναντία τούτοις ἐφαίνετο συμφέρειν μηδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον

ἀναμένειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιψηφίζειν τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰς γνώμας ἔδει διαριθμεῖσθαι, πλείους ἐφάνησαν οὗτοι τῶν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς ἑτέρους καιροὺς παραινούντων· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ ζητεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγημάτων. Ursin. [p. 295]

... φύσιν ἔχουσι τοῖς μὲν διασῶσαι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀγαθὰ βουλομένοις οἱ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναστρεφόμενοι τόπον οἰωνοὶ σχολαιοτέρῃ τῇ πτῆσει πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι συμβόλου, τοῖς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιεμένοις οἱ τὴν ἐπίτομον καὶ ταχεῖαν ὁρμὴν ἔχοντες εἰς τὰ πρόσω· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ πορισταὶ τε καὶ θηρευταὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων εἰσίν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες τῶν παρόντων. Ambr. [2] ἅπασαν τὴν πολέμιαν διεξήει ἀρούρας τε ἀκμαῖον ἤδη τὸ σιτικὸν θέρος ἔχουσας πυρὶ διδοὺς καὶ δένδρα καρποφόρα κείρων. παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχουσιν αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις τοῖς πελάγεσιν· ἐκεῖνά τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων ταραττέται φύσιν ἔχοντα ἡρεμεῖν, αὗται τε ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν κυκῶνται μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυταῖς ἔχουσαι κακόν. Ambr.

τῶν Ταραντίνων βουλομένων ἐκ τῆς Ἥπειρου Πύρρον μετακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας ἐξελαυνόντων Μέντων τις καὶ αὐτὸς Ταραντῖνος, ἵνα τύχοι προσοχῆς καὶ διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς, ὅσα μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ τρυφῶσαν εἰσελεύσεται, συγκαθημένου τοῦ πλήθους παρῆν εἰς τὸ θέατρον [p. 296] ἐστεφανωμένος ὥσπερ ἐκ συμποσίου, παιδίσκην περιειληφώς αὐλητρίδα κωμαστικὰ μέλη προσαυλοῦσαν. [2] διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων σπουδῆς εἰς γέλωτα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄδειν αὐτὸν κελευόντων, τῶν δὲ ὀρχεῖσθαι περιβλέψας κύκλῳ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ διασημῆνας ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κατέστειλε τὸν θόρυβον· ἄνδρες, ἔφη, πολλῖται, τούτων, ὧν ἐμὲ ποιοῦντα ὀρᾶτε νῦν, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἐξέσται ποιεῖν, ἐὰν βασιλέα καὶ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν ἔασητε. [3] ὥς δὲ κινουμένους καὶ προσέχοντας εἶδε πολλοὺς καὶ κελεύοντας λέγειν, σῶζων ἔτι τὸ προσποίημα τῆς κραιπάλης τὰ συμβησόμενα αὐτοῖς ἡριθμεῖτο κακὰ· ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ τῶν κακῶν αἵτιοι συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐξωθοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου. Ambr.

βασιλεὺς Ἑπειρωτῶν Πύρρος, βασιλέως Αἰακίδου, Ποπλίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτῳ χαίρειν. πεπύσθαι μὲν εἰκὸς σε παρ' ἑτέρων, ὅτι πάρειμι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ταραντίνους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰταλιώταις ἐπικαλεσαμένοις βοηθήσων· καὶ μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀγνοεῖν, τίνων τε ἀνδρῶν ἀπόγονός εἰμι καὶ τίνας αὐτὸς ἀποδέδειγμαὶ πράξεις καὶ πόσῃ δυνάμει ἐπάγομαι καὶ ὥς τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθὴν. [2] οἰόμενος δὲ σε τούτων ἕκαστον ἐπιλογιζόμενον μὴ περιμένειν, ἕως ἔργῳ καὶ πείρᾳ μάθῃς τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας [p. 297] ἡμῶν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ἀποστάντα τῶν ὅπλων χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους, συμβουλευέω τε σοι, περὶ ὧν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος διαφέρεται πρὸς Ταραντίνους ἢ Λευκανοὺς ἢ Σαννίτας ἐμοὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐπιτρέπειν — διαιτήσω γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου τὰ διάφορα — καὶ παρέξω τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ φίλους ἅπασας τὰς βλάβας ἀποτίνοντας, [3] ἃς ἂν αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καταγνῶ. ὁρθῶς δὲ ποιήσετε καὶ ὑμεῖς βεβαιωτὰς παρασχόντες ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκείνων τινὲς ἐπικαλῶσιν, ὅτι τὰ κριθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φυλάξετε κύρια. ταῦτα ποιοῦσι μὲν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπαγγέλλομαι παρέξειν καὶ φίλος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐφ'

οὕς ἄν με παρακαλῇτε πολέμους προθύμως βοηθήσειν, ^[4] μὴ ποιοῦσι δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψαιμι χώραν συμμάχων ἀνδρῶν ἐξερημοῦν καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀναρπάξαι καὶ σώματα ἐλεύθερα λαφυροπωλεῖν, ἀλλὰ κωλύσω τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἵνα παύσησθε ἤδη ποτὲ ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ὅλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὡς δούλοις ἐντρυφῶντες. ἐκδέξομαι δὲ τὰς σὰς ἀποκρίσεις μέχρι δεκάτης ἡμέρας: περαιτέρω γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δυναίμην. Ambr.

πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἀντιγράφει τὴν τε αὐθάδειαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιρρατιζῶν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐνδεικνύμενος: Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Λαβίνιος, στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων, ^[2] βασιλεῖ Πύρρῳ χαίρειν. ἀνδρὸς ἔργον εἶναι [p. 298] μοι δοκεῖ σῶφρονος ἀπειλητικὰς πέμπειν ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους: ὧν δ' οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν ἐξήτακεν οὔτε τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπέγνωκε, τούτων ὡς φαύλων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίων καταφρονεῖν, ἀνοήτου μοι φαίνεται τρόπου τεκμήριον εἶναι καὶ τὸ διάφορον οὐκ ἐπισταμένου. ^[3] ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς λόγοις τιμωρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰώθαμεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ οὔτε δικαστὴν ποιούμεθά σε περὶ ὧν Ταραντίνοις ἢ Σαυνίταις ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολεμίοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὐτ' ἐγγυητὴν λαμβάνομεν ἐκτίσματος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὅπλοις τὸν ἀγῶνα κρινοῦμεν καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ θέλωμεν, ἀναπράξομεν. ταῦτα δὴ προειδὼς ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἡμῖν παρασκεύαζε σαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ ^[4] μὴ δικαστὴν. καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖς οὔστινας ἐγγυητὰς ἐκτισμάτων παρέξεις σκόπει: μὴ Ταραντίνους ἀναδέχου μηδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους τὰ δίκαια ὑφέξειν. εἰ δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πόλεμον αἴρεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς διέγνωκας, ἴσθι σοι ταὐτὸ συμβησόμενον, ὃ πᾶσι συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη τοῖς μάχεσθαι βουλομένοις, ^[5] πρὶν ἐξετάσαι πρὸς οὓς ποιήσονται τὴν μάχην. ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος, εἴ τις δέη τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀποθέμενος τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν αὔχημα καταβαλὼν ἴθι πρὸς τὴν βουλήν καὶ δίδασκε καὶ πείθε τοὺς συνέδρους, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσων οὔτε τῶν δικαίων οὔτε τῶν εὐγνωμόνων. Ambr.

Λαβίνιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος κατάσκοπον τοῦ Πύρρου συλλαβὼν καθοπλίσας τὴν στρατιάν [p. 299] πᾶσαν καὶ εἰς τάξιν καταστήσας, ὡς ἐπέδειξε τῷ κατασκόπῳ, φράζειν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ πρὸς οἷς ἐθεάσατο λέγειν, ὅτι Λαβίνιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ μὴ λάθρα πέμπειν ἑτέρους ἔτι τοὺς κατασκεφομένους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα φανερώς ἰδεῖν τε καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν. Ambr.

ἀνὴρ τις Ὀβλάκος ὄνομα, Οὐλσίνιος ἐπὶ κλησιν, τοῦ Φερεντανῶν ἔθνους ἡγεμὼν, ὁρῶν τὸν Πύρρον οὐ μίαν ἔχοντα στάσιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μαχομένοις ὀξέως ἐπιφαινόμενον, προσεῖχεν ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὅποι παριππεῦοι τὸν ἴδιον ἀντιπαρῆγεν ἵππον: ^[2] καὶ τις ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τῶν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, Λεοννᾶτος Λεοφάντου Μακεδῶν, ὑποπτεῦει τε καὶ δείξας τῷ Πύρρῳ λέγει: τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φυλάττου, βασιλεῦ: πολεμιστῆς γὰρ ἄκρος ταὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἐστηκώς τόπου μάχεται, σὲ δὲ παρατηρεῖ καὶ τέτακεν ἐπὶ ^[3] σοὶ τὸν νοῦν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως λέγοντος: τί δ' ἂν με δράσειεν εἷς ὧν τοσοῦτους ἔχοντα περὶ ἑμαυτὸν; καὶ τι καὶ νεανιευομένου περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ῥώμης, ὡς εἰ καὶ συνέλθοι πρὸς ἕνα μόνος οὐκ ἄπεισιν ὀπίσω

χαίρων, λαβὼν ὃν ἀνέμενε καιρὸν ὁ Φερεντανὸς Ὀβλάκος ἐλαύνει σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς μέσσην τὴν βασιλικὴν Ἰλην: διακόψας δὲ τὸ στίφος τῶν πέριξ ἵππεων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο τὸν βασιλέα, διαλαβὼν ἀμφοτέραις [p. 300] ^[4] ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ δόρυ: κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον ὁ μὲν Λεοννᾶτος, ὁ προειπὼν τῷ Πύρρῳ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, μικρὸν ἐκνεύσας εἰς τὰ πλάγια τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ παiei τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τῆς λαγόνος, ὁ δὲ Φερεντανὸς ἤδη καταφερόμενος τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τοῦ στήθους ἐλαύνει, καὶ συγκαταπίπτουσι τοῖς ἵπποις ἀμφοτέροι. ^[5] τὸν μὲν οὖν βασιλέα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὁ πιστότατος ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἵππον ἀναβιβάσας ἐξελαύνει, τὸν δὲ Ὀβλάκον μέχρι πολλοῦ διαγωνισάμενον, ἔπειτα ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν τραυμάτων καταπονηθέντα, τῶν ἑταίρων τινὲς ἀράμενοι μεγάλου περὶ ^[6] τὸν νεκρὸν ἀγῶνος γενομένου διακομίζουσιν. ἐκ τότε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα μὴ διάσημος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν χλαμῦδα, ἣν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἴωθει φορεῖν, ἀλουργῇ τε οὖσαν καὶ χρυσόπαστον, καὶ τὸν ὀπλισμὸν πολυτελέστερον ὄντα τῶν ἄλλων τῆς τε ὕλης ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τέχνης, τὸν πιστότατον τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀνδρειότατον Μεγακλῆν ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδύναι, τὴν δὲ φαιὰν ἐκείνου χλαμῦδα καὶ τὸν θώρακα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καυσίαν αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν: ὅπερ αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔδοξε γενέσθαι. Ambr.

ὅτι Πύρρου τοῦ Ἑπειρωτῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην στρατιὰν ἐξαγαγόντος ἐβουλεύσαντο πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ἀξιόσοντας Πύρρον ἀπολυτρώσαι σφίσι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἴτ' ἀντιδιαλλάξαμενον [p. 301] ἑτέρων σωμάτων εἴτ' ἀργύριον κατ' ἄνδρα ὀρίσαντα, καὶ ἀποδεικνύουσι πρέσβεις Γάιον Φαβρίκιον, ὃς ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ πρότερον ὑπατεύων Σαυνίτας καὶ Λευκανοὺς καὶ Βρεττίους ἐνίκησε μεγάλαις μάχαις καὶ τὴν Θουρίων πολιορκίαν ἔλυσε, καὶ Κόιντον Αἰμιλίον τὸν συνάρξαντα τῷ Φαβρίκιῳ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πολέμου σχόντα, καὶ Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον, ὃς ἐνιαυτῷ τετάρτῳ πρότερον ὑπατεύων Κελτῶν ἔθνος ὅλον, τοὺς καλουμένους Σένωνας ἐχθίστους Ῥωμαίων ὄντας, πολεμῶν ἅπαντας ἠβηδὸν κατέσφαξεν. ^[2] οὗτοι πρὸς Πύρρον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ διαλεχθέντες, ὅσα τῇ τοιαύτῃ χρειᾷ πρόσφορα ἦν, ὡς ἀτέκμαρτον πρᾶγμα τύχη καὶ ταχεῖαι τῶν πολέμων αἱ τροπαὶ καὶ τῶν συμβησομένων οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις προειδέναι ῥᾶδιον, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐποιοῦν, εἴτ' ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν εἴτε ἑτέρους αἰχμαλώτους. ^[3] Πύρρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων βουλευσάμενος ἀποκρίνεται τάδε αὐτοῖς: σχετλίον τι πρᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, φιλίαν μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι συνάψαι πρὸς ἐμέ, τοὺς δὲ ἀλόντας κατὰ πόλεμον ἀξιοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις σώμασιν εἰς τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμον ἔχητε χρῆσθαι. ^[4] ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευέσθε πράττειν καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν σκοπεῖτε, σπεισάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς [p. 302] συμμάχους ἀπολάβετε τοὺς ἰδίους προῖκα παρ' ἐμοῦ πολίτας τε καὶ συμμάχους ἅπαντας: ἄλλως δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιμι πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὑμῖν προέσθαι. Ursin.

ταῦτα μὲν τῶν τριῶν πρεσβευτῶν παρόντων ἔλεξεν, ἴδια δὲ τὸν

Φαβρίκιον ἀπολαβών: ἐγὼ σέ, φησίν, ὦ Φαβρίκιε, πυνθάνομαι κράτιστον ἐν ἡγεμονίαις πολέμων εἶναι κἀν τῷ βίῳ δίκαιον καὶ σὺφρονα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας ἔχοντα ἀρετάς, χρημάτων δ' ἄπορον καὶ καθ' ἐν τὸ μέρος τοῦτο ἐλασσούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ὥστε μὴδὲν ἄμεινον τῶν πενεστάτων βουλευτῶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον διατελεῖν. [2] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μέρος ἐκπληρῶσαι προθυμούμενος ἔτοιμός εἰμι διδόναι σοὶ πληθος ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον, ὅσον κτησάμενος ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλεῖς πλούτῳ τοὺς μάλιστα δοκοῦντας Ῥωμαίων εὐπορεῖν: καλὸν νομίσας ἀνάλωμα καὶ πρέπον ἡγεμόνι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ πενίαν πράττοντας εὐεργετεῖν καὶ βασιλικοῦ πλούτου τοῦτ' ἀνάθημα καὶ κατασκευάσμα λαμπρότατον. [3] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν προαίρεσιν, Φαβρίκιε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποθέμενος αἰδῶ μέτεχε τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν, ὡς ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος εἴσεσθαι καὶ μεγάλην σοι χάριν, καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐλάττω ... καὶ ξένων τοὺς τιμιωτάτους εἶναι [p. 303] νόμιζε. ἐμοὶ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων μὴτ' ἄδικον μὴτ' αἰσχρὰν πρᾶξιν ὑπηρετήσης μηδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς κρείττων ἔσῃ καὶ τιμιώτερος ἐν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι. [4] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγάς, ὅση δύναμις ἐν σοὶ, παρόρμησον τὴν ἄχρι τοῦδε δύσεριν καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν μετρίων φρονοῦσαν βουλὴν, διδάσκων, ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν ἀφίγμαι Ταραντίνους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰταλιώταις ὑποσχόμενος βοηθήσειν, οὓς οὐτε ὅσιον οὐτ' εὐσχημόν ἐστὶ μοι παρόντι μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν πρώτην νενικηκότι μάχην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πράγματα κατὰ τοῦτον γενόμενα τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν με ἀρχὴν μετακαλεῖ. [5] πίστεις τε ὑπέχομαι πάσας, ὅπόσαι βεβαιοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογίας, καὶ μόνῳ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβευτῶν περὶ τῆς οἴκαδε ἀνακομιδῆς % εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι ποιήσαιντο φίλοι, ἵνα θαρρῶν πρὸς τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας λέγῃς, εἰ δὴ τισι τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα ὑποπτὸν ἔστιν ὡς ἀπατηλὸν ἐν ὁμολογίαις, ἐξ ὧν ἕτεροί τινες ἐν ὄρκοις καὶ σπονδαῖς παρανομεῖν ἔδοξαν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ τεκμαιρομένοις. [6] γενομένης δὲ τῆς [p. 304] εἰρήνης ἴθι μετ' ἐμοῦ σύμβουλός τε ἀπάντων ἐσόμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑποστράτηγος καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς εὐτυχίας μέτοχος. ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ ἄνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πιστοῦ φίλου δεῖ, σοὶ τε χορηγίας βασιλικῆς καὶ πραγμάτων βασιλικῶν: ἐὰν δὴ συνενέγκωμεν ταῦτ' εἰς τὸ κοινόν, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀποισώμεθα. Ursin.

πασαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Φαβρίκιος εἶπε: περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον, οὐδὲν ἐμὲ δεῖ ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ πέπυσαι παρ' ἐτέρων: οὐδέ γε περὶ τῆς πενίας, ὅτι μοι γήδιον μικρὸν ἐστὶ κοιμίδῃ καὶ φαῦλον οἰκίδιον καὶ οὐτ' ἀπὸ δανεισμάτων οὐτ' ἀπ' ἀνδραποδῶν ὁ βίος: φαίνη γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς ἀκηκοέναι παρ' [2] ἐτέρων. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κακίον με Ῥωμαίων τινὸς πράττειν δι' ἀπορίαν καὶ μὴδὲν εἶναι μοι πλεον ἄσκοῦντι καλοκαγαθίαν, ὅτι τῶν πλουσίων οὐκ εἰμί, κακῶς ὑπείληφας, εἴτ' ἀκούσας τινὸς εἴτ' αὐτὸς εἰκάζων. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεμία πώποτε κακοδαιμονίας αἰσθησις παρὰ τὸ μὴ πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι γέγονεν οὐδ' ἔστιν, οὐδ' ὠδυράμην τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. [3] τί γὰρ

καὶ παθῶν ἐγκαλοῖν ἂν αὐτῇ; πότερον, ὅτι μοι τῶν καλῶν καὶ περιμαχήτων, ἐφ' οἷς ἅπανα φύσις ἐσπούδακεν εὐγενής, οὐδενὸς ἐξεγένετο παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος μεταλαβεῖν διὰ πενίαν; ὃς ἄρχω τε τὰς μεγίστας [p. 305] ἀρχὰς καὶ πρεσβεῦω τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας πρεσβείας καὶ σεβασμούς ἱερῶν πιστεύομαι τοὺς ἀγιωτάτους καὶ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν ἀξιούμενος περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καλοῦμαι ἐν ᾧ προσήκει με τόπῳ, ἐπαινοῦμαι τε καὶ ζηλοῦμαι καὶ οὐδενὸς δευτέρος εἰμι τῶν μέγιστα δυναμένων καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι δοκῶ καλοκαγαθίας, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς οὐσίας εἰς ταῦτα δαπανῶν, [4] ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐνοχλεῖ τοῖς ἐκάστου βίοις ἢ πόλις ἢ Ῥωμαίων ὥσπερ τινὲς ἔτεραι, ἐν αἷς ὁ κοινὸς μὲν πλοῦτος ὀλίγος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πολὺς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ παρέχει τοῖς πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσιοῦσιν ἅπαντα, ὅσων δέονται, λαμπρὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ὑποτιθεῖσα χορηγίας: ὥστε μηδὲν ἀτιμότερον εἶναι τὸν πενέστατον τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου κατὰ τὴν ἐπαξίωσιν τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας εἶναι Ῥωμαίους, ὅσοι ἂν ᾧσι διὰ καλοκαγαθίαν τούτων ἄξιοι τῶν τιμῶν, ἀλλήλοις ἴσους. [5] ὅποτε δὲ πενόμενος οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦτ' ἔλαττον ἔχω τῶν πολλὰ κεκτημένων, τί παθῶν ἂν κατηγόρησα τῆς τύχης, ὅτι οὐχ ὑμῖν ὅμοιον ἐμὲ ἐποίησε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, οἷς ὁ πολὺς θησαυρίζεται χρυσός; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς ἰδίοις τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω κακοδαιμονίας, ὥστ' ἐν ὀλίγοις πάνυ τῶν [p. 306] μακαρίων ἐμαυτὸν εἶναι δοκῶ παρὰ τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξετάζων, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγιστον φρονῶ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τὸ λυπρὸν ἀπόχρη μοι γήδιον φιλεργοῦντι καὶ ταμειουμένῳ παρέχουν, [6] τὰ δ' ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ βιάζεται ζητεῖν ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφή πᾶσα ἡδεῖά μοι, ἣν ἂν ὁ λιμὸς σκευάσῃ, καὶ ποτὸν ἅπαν γλυκύ, ὅταν ἡ δίψα πορίσῃ, καὶ ὕπνος μαλθακός, ὅταν ἡγήσῃται κόπος, ἐσθῆς τε ἡ παρέχουσα μὴ ῥιγοῦν αὐταρκεστάτη, καὶ σκεῦος ὃ τι ἂν εὐτελέστατον τῶν δυναμένων τὰς αὐτὰς παρέχουν χρεῖας οἰκειότατον. [7] ὥστ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτο δίκαιος εἶην ἂν τῆς τύχης κατηγορεῖν, ἢ μοι τοσαύτην παρέσχεν οὐσίαν, ὅσῃν ἡ φύσις ἐβούλετο ἔχειν: τῶν δ' ὑπερβαλλόντων οὔτε πόθον ἐνέφυσεν οὔτ' εὐπορίαν ἔδωκεν. Ursin.

νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' οὐ περίεστί μοι τοῖς πλησίον ἐπαρκεῖν, οὐδ' ἐκ περιουσίας ἐπιστήμην ἔδωκέ μοι ὁ θεὸς ἔχειν οὐδὲ μαντικὴν, αἷς ὠφέλουν ἂν τοὺς δεομένους, οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλὰ: ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ἐμοί, τούτων μεταδιδούς καὶ πόλει καὶ φίλοις, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν δύναμαι ποιεῖν εὖ τινας, ταῦτα τὰ κοινὰ τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχων, οὐκ ἂν ἡγησαίμην αἵτιον ἐμαυτόν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστίν, ἃ σὺ κράτιστα νομίζεις εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν [p. 307] [2] χρημάτων αἰτεῖς πρίασθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τῶν δεομένων τὸ πολλὰ κεκτηῖσθαι χρήματα μεγάλης ἦν σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἄξιον, καὶ μακαριωτάτους ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, ὡς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, πότερος ἦν μοι τρόπος εὐπορίας κρείττων; ἀφ' ὧν σὺ μοι νῦν μεταδίδως αἰσχροῦς ἢ ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκτησάμην καλῶς πρότερον; [3] παρέσχε γὰρ μοι τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα χρηματισμῶν ἀφορμὰς δικαίας, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, μάλιστα δ', ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Λευκανοὺς καὶ Βρεττίους στρατιὰν ἄγων ἐστάλην τετάρτῳ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν χώραν ἐλεηλάτησα, πολλὰς δὲ μάχαις τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους ἐνίκησα,

πολλὰς δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονας πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐξεπόρθησα, ἐξ ὧν τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν ἐπλούτισα, καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ἰδιώταις, ἃς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον προεισηνεγκαν, ἀπέδωκα, καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον εἰσήνεγκα. [4] ἔπειτ' ἐκείνων τῶν δορικτήτων ἐξόν μοι λαβεῖν ὀπόσ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην οὐ λαβὼν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου πλοῦτον ὑπεριδὼν ἔνεκα δόξης, ὡς Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ἐποίησε καὶ ἄλλοι πλείστοι πρὸς τοῦτ' [p. 308] συχνοί, δι' οὓς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν τηλικαύτη γέγονε, τὰς παρὰ σοῦ δέξομαι δωρεὰς καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς κρείττονος εὐπορίας ἀλλάξομαι τὴν χεῖρωνα; ἐκείνη μὲν γε τῇ κτήσει καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπολαύσεις πρὸς τῷ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως προσῆν: ταύτης δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄπεστι. δανείσματα γάρ ἐστιν, ὅσα προσλαμβάνουσιν ἄνθρωποι παρ' ἐτέρων, βαρύνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἕως ἂν ἀποδοθῇ, κἂν ὀνόμασι καλοῖς αὐτὰ κοσμήσῃ τις, φιланθρωπίας καλῶν καὶ δωρεὰς ἢ χάριτας. [5] φέρε, ἐὰν δὴ μανεῖς δέξωμαι χρυσόν, ὃν δίδως μοι, καὶ τοῦθ' ἅπανι Ῥωμαίοις γένηται φανερόν, ἔπειθ' οἱ τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἔχοντες ἀρχήν, οὓς ἡμεῖς τιμητὰς καλοῦμεν, οἷς ἀποδέδοται τοὺς ἀπάντων Ῥωμαίων ἐξετάζειν βίους καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ζημιοῦν, καλέσαντές με λόγον ἀποδοῦναι κελεύσωσι τῆς δωροδοκίας, ἀπάντων παρόντων ταῦτα προφερόμενοι. Ursin. et 308, 11 — 16 Ambr.

ἐπέμψαμέν σε, ὦ Φαβρίκιε, πρεσβευτὴν σὺν ἐτέροις δυσὶν ὑπατικοῖς ἀνδράσι πρὸς βασιλέα Πύρρον ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλώτων λύσεως διαλεξόμενον: ἦκεις ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἄγων οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῇ πόλει φέρων ἀγαθὸν οὐθέν, αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλικὰς δωρεὰς εἰληφὼς μόνος τῶν συναποσταλέντων σοι πρέσβεων, καὶ ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἀπεψηφίσατο [p. 309] ποιήσασθαι εἰρήνην, ταύτην ποιήσας μόνος, ἐπ' οὐθενί [2] τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῷ: πόθεν γάρ; ἀλλ' ἵνα προδῶς αὐτὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ διὰ σοῦ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἅπασαν Ἰταλίαν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσεται, δι' ἐκείνου δὲ σὺ τῆς πατρίδος ἀφέλῃ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ διώκουσιν ἅπαντες οἱ μὴ τὴν ἀληθινήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προσποιητὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες ἀρετὴν, ὅταν εἰς ὄγκον καὶ μέγεθος πραγμάτων προέλθωσιν. [3] εἰ δὲ δὴ μὴ τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἔχων ἀξίωμα, μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων τῆς πατρίδος, μηδ' ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι τῶν σεαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἐδωροδόκεις, ἀλλ' ἰδιώτης ὢν καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὸς συμμάχου καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως, ἄρ' οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνα τῆς μεγάλης ἀξίος εἶ ζημίας, ὅτι διαφθείρεις μὲν τοὺς νέους πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας βασιλικῆς ζῆλον εἰς τοὺς βίους εἰσάγων, οἷς πολλῆς δεῖ σωφροσύνης, εἰ μέλλει σωθῆσεσθαι τὰ κοινά: [4] καταισχύνεις δὲ τοὺς σεαυτοῦ προγόνους, ὧν οὐθεὶς ἐξέβη τοὺς πατέρας ἐθισμοὺς οὐδ' ἠλλάξατο πλοῦτον αἰσχροὺς ἀντὶ πενίας καλῆς, ἀλλ' ἅπαντες ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔμειναν τῆς μικρᾶς οὐσίας, ἦν σὺ [5] παραλαβὼν ἐλάττονα ἢ κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἠγήσω: διαφθείρεις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων γενομένην σοι δόξαν, ὡς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ σώφρων καὶ πάσης αἰσχροῦς ἐπιθυμίας κρείττων; ἔπειτα χαίρήσεις κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενος, ὅτ' ἔδει σε, καὶ εἰ πρότερον πονηρὸς ἦσθα, πεπαῦσθαι; ἢ τῶν καλῶν τινος [p. 310] ἔτι μεθεξείς τῶν ὀφειλομένων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄπει μάλιστα μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μὴ γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς; Ambr.

ἂν ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐκγράψωσί με τῆς βουλῆς καὶ μεταγάγῃσιν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀτίμων φυλάς, τί πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξω λέγειν δίκαιον ἢ ποιεῖν; τίνα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ζήσομαι τηλικαύτῃ περιπεσὼν ἀτιμία ^[2] καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἑμαυτοῦ πάντας περιλαβών; σοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τί χρήσιμος ἔτι φανήσομαι τὸ δύνασθαι τι καὶ τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἀποβαλὼν, δι' ἃ νῦν ἐσπούδακας περὶ ἑμοῦ; λείπεται δὴ τὸν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι χώραν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατέχειν δυνάμενον ἀπιέναι πανοικεσία, τὰς ἀσχήμονας αὐτοῦ καταγνόντα φυγὰς. ^[3] ἔπειτα ποῦ τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσομαι χρόνον; ἢ τις ὑποδέξεται με τόπος ἀπαρρησίαστον γενόμενον ὥσπερ εἰκός; ἢ σὴ βασιλεία, νῆ Δία, καὶ παρέξεις μοι σὺ τὴν τυραννικὴν ἅπασαν εὐδαιμονίαν; καὶ τί μοι τηλικοῦτο δώσεις ἀγαθόν, ὅσον ἀφελεῖ τὸ πάντων τιμιώτατον κτημάτων ἀφελόμενος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; ^[4] πῶς δ' ἂν ὑπομεῖναι δυνάμην ἐγὼ τοῦ βίου μεταβολὴν ὅφρ' ἐδουλεύειν διδασκόμενος; ὅπου γὰρ οἱ γεννηθέντες ἐν βασιλείαις καὶ τυραννίσιν, ὅταν εὐγενῶς ἔχῃσι, τῆς ἐλευθερίας γλίσχονται καὶ πάνθ' ἡγοῦνται τάγαθὰ ταύτης ἐλάττω, ἣν ποὺ οἱ ἐν ἐλευθέρῃ καὶ ἐτέρων ἄρχειν μαθούσῃ πόλει βιώσαντες πρῶτως οἴσουσι τὴν ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μεταβολὴν, ἐξ ἐλευθέρων [p. 311] ὑπομείναντες δοῦλοι γενέσθαι, ἵνα λαμπρὰς παρατιθῶνται καθ' ἡμέραν τραπέζας καὶ πολλοὺς θεράποντας περιάγωνται καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν εὐπρεπῶν ἀφειδεῖς ἀπολαύσεις λαμβάνωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τούτοις τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας κειμένης, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀρετῇ; ^[5] αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων, ἵνα συγχωρήσῃ τις αὐτὰ πολλῆς εἶναι σπουδῆς ἄξια, τίς γένοιτ' ἂν ἰλαρὰ χρήσις οὐκ ἔχουσα τὸ βέβαιον; ἐφ' ὅμῃν γάρ ἐστι τοῖς παρέχουσι τὰς ἡδονὰς ταύτας, ὅταν αὐτοὶ θέλητε, πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν τοὺς φθόνους, τὰς διαβολὰς, τὸ μηδένα χρόνον ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ φόβου ζῆν, τᾶλλα πολλὰ, ὅσα φέρει χαλεπὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια γενναίου φρονήματος ὁ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βίος. ^[6] μὴ τοσαύτη μανία κατάσχοι Φαβρίκιον, ὥστε τὴν περιβόητον καταλιπόντα Ῥώμην τὸν ἐν Ἡπειρῷ προελεσθαι βίον, καὶ ἐξδὸν ἡγεμόνος ἡγεῖσθαι πόλεως ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἄρχεσθαι μὴτὲν ἴσον τοῖς ἄλλοις φρονούντος καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούειν παρὰ πάντων ἐθισθέντος. ^[7] ἀλλάξαι μὲν γε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ταπεινὸν ἑμαυτόν ποιῆσαι βουλόμενος, ἵνα μηδὲν ὑποπτεύῃς ἐξ ἑμοῦ κακόν, οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην: διαμένων δὲ τοιοῦτος, οἷον ἢ φύσις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη πεποιήκε με, βαρὺς φανήσομαι σοι καὶ περισπᾶν δόξω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἑμαυτόν. τὸ δ' ὅλον ἔχω σοι παραινεῖν, μὴ ὅτι Φαβρίκιον, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα δέχεσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ μήτε κρεῖττονα [p. 312] μήτε ἴσον σεαυτῷ, μηδὲ ὅλως ἄνδρα ἐν ἐλευθέροις ἦθεσι τραφέντα καὶ φρόνημα μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἔχοντα. ^[8] οὔτε γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς βασιλεῖ σὺνοικος ἀνὴρ μεγαλόφρων οὔτε ἡδύς. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἰδίων συμφερόντων, ἃ σοι πρακτέον ἐστίν, αὐτὸς διαγνώσῃ, περὶ δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπικέες τι βουλευσάμενος ἄφες ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι. ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων, ἀγασθεῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐγένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δεξιᾶς λαμβάνεται καὶ φησιν: οὐκέτι θαυμάζειν ἐπέρχεται μοι, διὰ τί περιβόητος ἢ πόλις ὑμῶν ἐστι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἡγεμονίας περιβέβληται μέγεθος, τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν οὔσα τροφός: καὶ μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐβουλόμην ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδεμίαν συμβῆναι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαφοράν, ἐπεὶ

δὲ συνέβη, καὶ θεῶν τις ἐβούλετο πειραθέντας ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀλλήλων δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρετῆς τότε συναγαγεῖν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἵνα πρῶτος ἄρξω τῶν φιланθρώπων, ἐφ' ᾧ παρακαλεῖτέ με, χαρίζομαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἄνευ λύτρων. Ambr. Λιβύην χειρωσάμενος μέχρι καὶ τῶν προσωκεανίων ἐθνῶν. στεπη. βψζ. ζ. Ϝ. Ὠκεανός.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XX

Πύρρου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Δεκίου καὶ Ποπλίου Σουλπικίου συνθέμενοι δὲ διὰ κηρύκων τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ διαγωνιοῦνται, κατέβαινον ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο τοιάνδε: βασιλεὺς μὲν Πύρρος τὴν Μακεδονικὴν φάλαγγα πρώτην ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος μισθοφόρους Ἰταλιώτας. [2] ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐξ Ἀμπρακίας καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τὴν Ταραντίνων λευκάσπιν φάλαγγα, ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ Βρεττίων καὶ Λευκανῶν συμμαχικόν. ἐπὶ μέσης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος Θεσπρωτοὺς τε καὶ Χάονας, τοῦτοις δὲ συνεχεῖς τοὺς Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀθαμάνων μισθοφόρους, τελευταίους δὲ Σαυνίτας τὸ [3] λαῖον ἐκπληροῦντας κέρας. τῆς δὲ ἵππου τὴν μὲν Σαυνίτιν καὶ Θετταλικὴν καὶ Βρεττίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος μισθοφόρον ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἔστησεν, τὴν δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶτιν καὶ Λευκανὴν καὶ Ταραντίνην καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μισθοφόρον, ἣν ἐξεπλήρουν Ἀκαρνᾶνες [p. 314] τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ. [4] τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας διχῇ νεύμας ἀμφοτέρων κατόπιν ἔστησε τῶν κεράτων, σύμμετρόν τι χωρίον ἀφεστῶτας ὀλίγον ἐπανεστηκὸς τοῦ πεδίου. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ καλούμενον βασιλικὸν ἄγγμα τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ὁμοῦ τι δισχιλίων περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐκτὸς ἦν τάξεως, ὥστε εἶναι τοῖς κάμνουσιν αἰεὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἐξ ἐτοίμου παρεῖναι. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι κατὰ μὲν τὸ λαῖον κέρας ἔστησαν τάγμα τὸ καλούμενον πρῶτον ἐναντίον τῇ Μακεδονικῇ καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτικῇ φάλαγγι καὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις τῶν Ταραντίνων. ἐπόμενον δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τάγματι τὸ τρίτον, καθ' ὃ μέρος ἡ λευκάσπιν ἦν τῶν Ταραντίνων φάλαγξ καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων καὶ τὸ Λευκανῶν συμμαχικόν. [5] συναφὲς δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τὸ τέταρτον ἔστησαν κατὰ τοὺς Μολοπτοὺς τε καὶ Χάονας καὶ Θεσπρωτοὺς: τὸ δὲ δευτέρον ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρας ἐναντίον τοῖς μισθοφόροις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Ἀθαμᾶσι καὶ τῇ Σαυνιτῶν θυρεαφώρῳ φάλαγγι. Λατίνους δὲ καὶ Καμπανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους καὶ Ὀμβρικοὺς καὶ Οὐλοῦσκους καὶ Μαρουγκίνους καὶ Πελίγνους καὶ Φρεντανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηκόους, εἰς τέτταρα διελόντες μέρη, τοῖς Ῥωμαικοῖς παρενέβαλον [p. 315] [6] τάγμασιν, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀσθενὲς εἴη μέρος. τὴν δὲ ἵππον τὴν τ' οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχικὴν διελόντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔταξαν τῶν κεράτων. ἐκτὸς δὲ τάξεως τοὺς τε ψιλοὺς κατέστησαν καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας τριακοσίας τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἃς παρεσκευάσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων μάχην. αὗται κεραίας εἶχον ἐπιβεβηκυίας στώμιξιν ὀρθαῖς πλαγίας, εὐτρόχους, ὅπη βουληθεῖη τις ἅμα νοήματι περιάγεσθαι δυναμένης, ἐπ' ἄκρων δὲ τῶν κεραίων ἢ τριόδοντες ἦσαν ἢ κέστροι μαχαιορειδεῖς ἢ δρέπανα ὀλοσιδήρα, ἢ καταρράκτας τινὰς ἐπρριπτοῦντας ἄνωθεν βαρεῖς κόρακας. [7] πολλαῖς δ' αὐτῶν χεῖρες προσήρτηντο πυρφόροι στυπία πολλῇ πίττῃ λελιπασμένα περὶ αὐτὰς ἔχουσαι, προεκκείμεναι τῶν ἀμαξῶν, αἷς ἔμελλον ἐσθηκότες ἐπ' αὐτῶν τινες, ὅτε πλησίον γένοιτο τῶν θηρίων, πλήσαντες πυρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς προβοσκίδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα τὰς πληγὰς

φέρειν. ἐφειστήκεσαν δὲ ταῖς ἀμάξαις τετρακύκλοις ὑπαρχούσαις καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν συχνοὶ τοξόται καὶ χερμάται καὶ τριβόλων σιδηρῶν σφενδονῆται καὶ παρ' αὐτάς κάτωθεν ἔτι πλείους ἕτεροι. [8] τάξεις μὲν αὕτη τῶν στρατευσάντων ἦν ἀμφοτέρων, ἀριθμὸς δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μυριάδες ἑπτὰ πεζῶν, ἐν [p. 316] οἷς Ἕλληνες οἱ τὸν Ἴονιον κόλπον διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι· τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαικοῦ πλείους τῶν ἑπτὰ μυριάδων· ἑξ αὐτῆς μέντοι τῆς Ῥώμης ὁμοῦ τι δισμύριοι. ἵππεῖς δὲ παρεγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους, Πύρρῳ δὲ μικρῷ πλείους καὶ θηρία ἐνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσι. ατη.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μάχης ἀνεδείχθη, παιανίσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο πᾶσαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐπιστήμην. οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς οἱ παρὰ ἀμφοτέρα τεταγμένοι τὰ κέρατα προειδότες, ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτουν αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰς ταῦτα κατέφευγον, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς καὶ σταδιαίαν μάχην, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἵππικὸν εἰς τὰς περιελάσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐξελιγμούς· [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὅποτε διώκοιντο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπιστρέψαντες τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς κατασχόντες ἐπεζομάχουν, οἱ δὲ ὅποτε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μάθοιεν εἰς ἀντίπαλα καθισταμένους, ἐπὶ δόρῳ κλίναντες καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἐξελιξαντες περιεδίνουν τοὺς ἵππους αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ [3] τὰ κέντρα προσβαλόντες ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε. ἡ μὲν οὖν δὴ τῶν ἵππέων μάχη τοιαύτη τις ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τῇ μὲν ἐμφερῇς ἐκείνῃ, τῇ δὲ διάφορος. ἐμφερῇς μὲν κατὰ τὸ σὺμπαν, διάφορος δὲ κατὰ τὰ μέρη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐπιρρεπέστερον ὑπῆρχεν ἑκατέροις, [p. 317] τὸ δ' ἀριστερὸν ὑποδεέστερον. οὐ μέντοι σὺν τῷ ἀσχήμονι τὰ νῦτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέκλιναν οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλὰ σὺν κόσμῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς σημείαις μένοντες ἑκάτεροι καὶ τὴν προβολὴν φυλάττοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεχώρουν ὀπίσω. [4] οἱ δὲ ἀριστεύσαντες ἦσαν ἐκ μὲν τῆς βασιλικῆς στρατιᾶς Μακεδόνες — οὗτοι γὰρ ἀνέστειλαν τὸ πρῶτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ταχθέντας Λατίνους — ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς οἱ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸ δεῦτερον τάγμα Μολοττοῖς καὶ Θεσπρωτοῖς καὶ Χάοσιν ἐναντίοι. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ τὸ κάμνον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄγειν, μαθόντες τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν θηρίων οἱ ταῖς κεραιοφόροις ἐπιβεηκότες ἀμάξαις ἤλαυνον ὁμόσε. [5] οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπέσχον τῆς ὀρμῆς τὰ θηρία, παίοντες ταῖς μηχαναῖς καὶ τὰς πυρφόρους χεῖρας ἐς τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν ἐντρέποντες. ἔπειτα οὐκέτι προσαγόντων τὰ θηρία τῶν ἐφεισθηκότων τοῖς πύργοις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς λόγχαις βαλλόντων ἄνωθεν καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν διακοπτόντων τὰ περικείμενα γέρρα ταῖς ἀμάξαις καὶ νευροτομούντων τοὺς βόας καὶ καταπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχημάτων οἱ πρὸς ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατέφευγον εἰς τοὺς ἔγγιστα πεζοὺς καὶ πολλὴν παρεῖχον αὐτοῖς ταραχὴν. [6] οἱ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ φάλαγγι ταχθέντες Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέττιοι χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενοι τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου Ῥωμαικοῦ τάγματος ἀνασταλέντες. ὥς δὲ ἅπαξ ἐνέκλιναν οὗτοι, καὶ διερράγη [p. 318] τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς μέρος τῆς φάλαγγος, οὐδὲ οἱ τὴν πλησίον αὐτῶν λαβόντες στάσιν Ταραντῖνοι παρέμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐντρέψαντες κάκεῖνοι τὰ νῦτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔφευγον.

ατη.

βασιλεὺς δὲ Πύρρος ὡς ἔμαθεν, ὅτι Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέττιοι καὶ Ταραντῖνοι φεύγουσι προτροπάδην, καὶ λελώβηται τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους μέρος ἢ φάλαγξ, ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἰλῆς μέρος τι παραδοὺς ἑτέροις ἡγεμόσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἑτέρους ἱππεῖς, ὅσους ὑπέλαβεν ἀρκεῖν, ἀποστέλλει βοηθοὺς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διωκομένοις. ἐν οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο χρόνοις, παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου βοήθεια τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔκδηλος γίνεται. [2] Δαυνίων γάρ τινες ἐκ πόλεως Ἀργυρίππων, ἦν νῦν Ἄρπους καλοῦσι, πεζοὶ μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, ἐπικούρου τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀποσταλέντες, ὡς ἐγένοντο πλησίον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου πορευόμενοι καὶ τὸ πεδῖον εἶδον μεστὸν ἀνθρώπων, ὀλίγον ἐπισχόντες αὐτόθι χρόνον καὶ λογισμοὺς παντοδαποὺς λαβόντες, καταβαίνειν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ συλλαμβάνειν τῆς μάχης ἀπέγνωνσαν, οὔτε ὅπη τι φιλίον ἐστὶν εἰδότες οὔτε ὅπη πολέμιον, οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ στάντες ὠφέλειαν τινα παρέξουσιν τοῖς σφετέροις δυνάμενοι συλλαβεῖν, κράτιστον δὲ ὑπέλαβον εἶναι περιστάντες τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἐξελεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ τε πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἔξοντες ὠφελείας, εἰ κρατήσκειαν τῶν [p. 319] ἀποσκευῶν, καὶ μεγάλην παρέξοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ταραχήν, εἰ θεάσαιντο καιόμενον ἄφνω τὸν χάρακα: ἀπέιχε δὲ τὸ χωρίον τῆς μάχης οὐ πλεον εἴκοσι σταδίων. [3] ταῦτά τε δὴ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ παρὰ αἰχμαλώτων τινῶν ἀκούσαντες, οὓς ἐπὶ ξυλισμὸν ἐλθόντας εἰλήφεσαν, ὅτι κομιδῇ τινες ὀλίγοι φυλάττουσι τὸν χάρακα, προσέβαλον αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Πύρρος ἱππέως τινὸς ἀπαγγείλαντος, ὃς ἀρξαμένου πολιορκεῖσθαι τοῦ χάρακος διεξελάσας τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὰ κέντρα προσβαλὼν παρῆν διὰ ταχέων — τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατέχειν ἔγνω καὶ μήτε ἀνακαλεῖν μήτε κινεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα — τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀποστέλλει βοηθοὺς τῷ χάρακι. [4] ἔτι δὲ τούτων πορευομένων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς % ἄφνω ὁ χάραξ ἀνάπτεται. καὶ οἱ διαπραξάμενοι τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἔμαθον ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων ἐπιόντας σφίσι τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένους, εἰς ὄρους τινὸς κορυφὴν ἔφυγον, ἔνθα οὔτε τοῖς θηρίοις ἀνελθεῖν ῥάδιον ἦν οὔτε τοῖς ἵπποις. [5] οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς βοηθείας ὑστερήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου τάγματος Ῥωμαίους ἐτράποντο πολὺ προεληλυθότας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτε τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς πολεμίους [p. 320] ἐτρέψαντο. προιδόντες δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἔφοδον εἰς ὑψηλὸν τι καὶ λάσιον χωρίον ἀναδραμόντες εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐλέφαντες οὐ δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὄχθον ἀναβαίνειν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡδίκουν, οὐδὲ αἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἴλαι, οἱ δὲ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται βάλλοντες πανταχόθεν κατετίτρωσκόν τε καὶ διέφθειρον ἐξ αὐτῶν συχνούς. αἰσθήσεως δὲ γενομένης τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐκεῖ πραπτομένων Πύρρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπιστικῆς φάλαγγος Ἀθαμᾶνάς τε καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τινὰς ἀποστέλλει ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος Ἰλας τινὰς ἱππέων, ἐπειδὴ τοιαύτης ἔδει τοῖς πεζοῖς συμμαχίας. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἑτέρα πάλιν ἐκεῖ γίνεται μάχη πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων, καὶ φόνος

ἔτι πλείων. [7] ἄρξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπατοὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀνεκάλουν περὶ καταφορὰν ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ διαβιβάσαντες τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸν χάρακα συσκοτίζοντος ἤδη. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Πύρρου δύναμις ἀπολωλεκυῖα σκηνάς τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν ἐπὶ μετέωρου τινὸς χώρου παρενέβαλεν, ἔνθα τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὑπαίθριος, ἀσκευής, ἀθεράπευτος, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαιᾶς εὐποροῦσα τροφῆς, ὥστε καὶ διαφθαρῆναι συγχρῶς τραυματίας, οἷς ἐνῆν ἔτι σώζεσθαι βοήθειας τε καὶ κηδεμονίας μεταλαβοῦσιν. τοιοῦτου τέλους [p. 321] ἔτυχεν ἡ δευτέρα μάχη Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Πύρρον περὶ πόλιν Ἀσκλον. ατη.

ὅτι περὶ τὴν Ῥηγίνων πόλιν πάθος γίνεταί δεινόν, οἷον καὶ περὶ Μεσσήνην ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, μεγάλης φυλακῆς καὶ προνοίας ἄξιον ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις τῶν κατασχόντων αὐτὴν κακῶν προειπεῖν. [2] ὅτε Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέττιοι δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ Θουρίου στρατεύσαντες τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξεπόρθησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιχαρὰκώσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν — ἐφ' οὗς ἀπεστάλη Ῥωμαίων δύναμις, ἥς ἡγεῖτο Φαβρίκιος ὁ ὑπάτος — φοβηθέντες οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς οἱ βάρβαροι Ῥωμαίων ἀπελθόντων στρατιὰν ἀποστείλωσι, καὶ τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἔχοντες ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Φαβρικίου δύναμιν τῇ πόλει λιπεῖν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἐπιβουλὴ σφισιν ἀπροσδόκητος γένοιτο. καὶ λαμβάνουσι Καμπανοὺς μὲν ὀκτακοσίους, Σιδικίνους δὲ τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἀπάντων ἡγεῖτο Δέκιος Καμπανὸς τὸ γένος. [3] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὅτε κατὰγοιτο παρὰ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστιάσεις τε λαμπρὰς κατὰ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην τῶν ξένων ἐστιώμενος καὶ κατασκευὰς οἰκιῶν λαμπρὰς καὶ βαθυπλούτους [p. 322] παρὰ πολλοῖς ὁρῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐμακάριζε τοὺς Ῥηγίνους τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἔπειθ' ὡς ἀναξίους ἐφθόνει, τελευτῶν δ' ὡς πολεμίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν ἤρξατο. [4] καὶ προσλαβὼν κοινωὼν τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων τὸν γραμματέα, πανοῦργον ἄνδρα καὶ πάσης πονηρίας ἀρχιτέκτονα, πρὸς αὐτοῦ πάντα Ῥηγίνους ἀποκτείνει καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτῶν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς κατασχεῖν, τὴν δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις διελεῖν, λέγοντος, ὅτι Μεσσήνην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶλον ... ὑφ' οὗ πεισθεῖς καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος, τοὺς ταγματάρχας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκάλεσεν: δεηθεῖς δὲ ἀπάντων ἀπορρήτους φυλάξαι τοὺς λόγους κίνδυνον ἔφη μέγαν αὐτῷ ἐπικρεμασθῆναι πολλῆς πάνυ φυλακῆς καὶ ταχείας δεόμενον, ὡς τοῦ καιροῦ μὴ διδόντος ἀναστροφὴν. πεπυσμένους γὰρ τὴν Πύρρου διάβασιν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Ῥηγίνων κρύφα διατέμπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποσχνομένους κατασφάζειν τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ παραδώσειν ἐκείνῳ τὴν πόλιν. [5] ἔτι ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ παρῆν τις ἐγκάθετος, αὐχμηρὸς ὡς ἐξ ὁδοῦ, γράμματα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δεκίου κατεσκευασμένα κομίζων, ὡς παρὰ ξένου δὴ τινος ἰδίου, ἐν οἷς [p. 323] ἐδηλοῦτο μέλλων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον πεντακοσίους στρατιώτας ὡς καταληφτομένους τὴν πόλιν, ἀνοίξειν ὑπεσχημένων αὐτοῖς Ῥηγίνων τὰς πύλας. [6] τινὲς μὲν

λέγουσι τὸν γραμματεφόρον ὑπὸ Φαβρικίου τοῦ ὑπάτου κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπεστάλθαι, τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν ταῦτα περιέχειν, ἃ μικρῷ πρότερον ἔφην, καὶ παραινεῖν Δεκίῳ φθάσαι τοὺς Ῥηγίνους· ἔχει δὲ λόγον ἀμφοτέρα. ἔδειξε δὴ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παροῦσι, καὶ ἐπεὶ τάχιστα νῦν ἐγένετο, φράσαντες οἱ ταγματάρχαι τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις, ἃ διεννοοῦντο πράττειν, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἐχώρουν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐωχουμένους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κοιμωμένους καταλαβόντες ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις κατασφάττουσιν ἐφεστίοις ἀντιβολοῦντας καὶ γόνασι προσκυλιόμενους καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου ταῦτα πάσχουσι μαθεῖν ἀξιοῦντας, οὔτε ἡλικίας οὔτε τύχης οὐδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι. [7] φονεύσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔτι δεινότερον ἔργον ἐξειργάσαντο, τὰς τε γὰρ γυναῖκας τῶν ἰδίων ξένων καὶ τὰς παρθένους διελόμενοι συνῆσαν ἀκούσας, ὧν τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπέκτειναν. [8] Δέκιος δὲ ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἐγεγόνει τῆς Ῥηγίνων πόλεως, καὶ λογιζόμενος, ὅτι δώσει Ῥωμαίοις ὧν ἔδρασε δίκας, Καμπανοῖς τοῖς κατέχουσι Μεσσήνην συμμαχίαν τίθεται μεγίστην ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεων ἔχουσι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε φυλακῆς. εσξ. [p. 324]

ἡ δὲ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ῥηγίνους πάθη παρὰ τῶν διαφυγόντων τὸν ὄλεθρον οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναμείνασα χρόνον ἀποστέλλει στρατιὰν νεοσύλλεκτον ἄγοντα ἑτέραν τὸν κατὰ πόλιν στρατηγόν. [2] φθάσασα δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἄφιξιν ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς φρουρᾶς Δέκιον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνοσιῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὰ κυριώτατα τοῦ ζῆν ἐτιμωρήσατο μέρη, νόσον εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμβαλοῦσα δεινὰς περιωδυνίας φέρουσαν· ἦν ἰάσασθαι προθυμούμενος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἰατρὸν μεταπέμπεται, Δεξικράτην ὄνομα, πυνθανόμενος ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἰατρῶν, ἀγνοῶν δὲ ὅτι Ῥηγῖνος ἦν τὸ γένος· ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἐναλείφει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καυστικῷ φαρμάκῳ καὶ διακελυσάμενος ἀνέχεσθαι τὰς περιωδυνίας, ἕως ἂν ἀφίκηται, καταβὰς ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς τὸ παρεσκευασμένον πορθμεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τινὰ τὸ πραχθὲν εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀπέπλευσεν. [3] Δέκιος [p. 325] δὲ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐκκαιομένης τῆς ὀράσεως ἀλγηδόνας τε δεινὰς ὑπομένων ἠνείχετο τὸν ἰατρὸν προσδεχόμενος, ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἐγίγνετο ὁ χρόνος καὶ τὰς περιωδυνίας ἀδύνατος ἦν ἔτι φέρειν, σπογγίσας τὸ φάρμακον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίξας ἔγνω τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκεκαυμένους καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον διέμεινε τυφλός· ἡμέρας τε ὀλίγας ἔτι περιενέγκας ὑποχείριος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γίνεταί συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων. [4] ταύτην γὰρ οἰόμενοι τινες ἀπολογίαν Φαβρικίου τὴν τε πόλιν ἀνέωξαν τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τὸν Δέκιον δῆσαντες παρέδοσαν Φαβρικίῳ. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς περιοῦσι Ῥηγίνων, τοὺς δὲ φρουροὺς ἅπαντα καταλιπεῖν αὐτόθι κελεύσας ἀπήγαγεν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένους ἔξω τῶν ὀπλων· [5] ἐξ ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς ἀπέφαινον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνοσιῶν βουλευμάτων εἶναι κοινωνούς, δεσμίους εἰς Ῥώμην ἤγαγεν· οὓς ἐν ἀγορᾷ μαστιγῶν αἰκισάμενοι, ὡς ἦν πάτριον ἐπὶ τοῖς κακούργοις κείμενον, ἀπέκτειναν τῷ πελέκει τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποκοπέντας, ἐκτὸς Δεκίου καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως· οὗτοι δὲ παρακρουσάμενοι τοὺς φυλάττοντας ἢ χρήμασιν ὠνησάμενοι τὸ μὴ μεθ'

ὑβρεως ἀποθανεῖν ἑαυτοὺς διεχειρίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις. εσθ'.

αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τοὺς Ὀμηρικοὺς ἐπιφθεγξάμενος στίχους, οὓς Ἔκτωρ αὐτῷ πεποιήται πρὸς Αἴαντα λέγων, ὡς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰρημένους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν: [p. 326] Τῷ σε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλω βαλέειν, τοιοῦτον ἔοντα, Λάθρη ὀπιπτεύσας, ἀλλ' ἀμφοδόν, αἶ κε τύχοιμι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπὼν, ὅτι κινδυνεύει πονηρὰν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀσιωτάτους Ἑλλήνων καὶ δικαιοτάτους, μίαν ἔφη θεωρεῖν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου καλὴν καὶ συμφέρουσαν, εἰ φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων αὐτοὺς ποιήσαιτο, φιланθρωπίας τινὸς μεγάλης καταρξάμενος. [2] προαχθῆναι δὲ κελεύσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους καὶ δοὺς ἅπασιν ἐσθῆτας ἐλευθέροις πρεπούσας σώμασι καὶ ἐνοδίους δαπάνας, παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς μεμνησθαι, οἷος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λέγειν, ὅταν δ' εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔλθωσι πατρίδας, πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ πράττειν, ὅπως φίλους ποιήσουσι τὰς πόλεις. [3] ἄμαχον δὴ τίνα ἰσχὺν τὸ βασιλικὸν ἔχει χρυσίον, καὶ οὐδεμία εὖρηται πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ βέλος ἀνθρώποις φυλακῇ. Ambr.

ὅτι Κλεινίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης τυραννος ὦν ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ταῖς πόλεσι, φυγάδας ἀθροίσας ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ δούλους ἐλευθερώσας: οἷς τὴν τυραννίδα κρατυνάμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Κροτωνιατῶν οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: Ἀναξίλας δὲ Ῥηγίνων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατελάβετο καὶ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον κατασχὼν Λεόφρονι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέλιπε. καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τούτων δυναστείας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατασκεύασαν- [p. 327] [2] τες πάντα τὰ πράγματα διέφθειραν. ἡ δὲ τελευταία τε καὶ πασῶν μεγίστη κάκωσις ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ Διονυσίου τυραννὶς ἐγένετο τοῦ κρατήσαντος Σικελίας. διέβη γὰρ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ Ῥηγίνους Λοκρῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων, οἷς ἦσαν οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι διάφοροι: καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἰταλιωτῶν δυνάμεσι μεγάλαις συνάψας μάχην ἀπέκτεινε συχοὺς καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν δύο κατὰ κράτος ἐξεῖλεν. [3] εἴτ' αὐθις ἑτέραν ποιησάμενος διάβασιν Ἰππωνιεῖς ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οὓς ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ Κροτωνιάτας ἐξεῖλε καὶ Ῥηγίνους καὶ διετέλεσεν ἔτη δώδεκα τούτων τυραννῶν τῶν πόλεων. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν τὸν τυραννον δεδιότες τοῖς βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐνεχειρίζον, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων πολεμοῦμενοι τῷ τυράννῳ τὰς πόλεις παρεδίδουσιν: ὑφ' ὅτου δὲ πάσχοιεν, αἰεὶ κακῶς δυσχεραίνοντες εὐρίπου δίκην τῇδε καὶ τῇδε πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐτράποντο. Vales.

ὅτι Πύρρος διέβη τὸ δεύτερον εἰς Ἰταλίαν οὐ χωρὺντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πραγμάτων κατὰ νοῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ βασιλικὴν φανῆναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικὴν. εἰσαχθεὶς γὰρ εἰς Συρακούσας ὑπὸ τε Σωσιστράτου τοῦ κρατοῦντος τῆς πόλεως τότε καὶ Θοίνωνος τοῦ φρουράρχου, παραλαβὼν παρ' ἐκείνων τὰ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς χαλκεμβόλους ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίας καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος Σικελίαν πλὴν Λιλυβαίου πόλεως, ἣν ἔτι μόνην Καρχηδόνιοι κατεῖχον, εἰς αὐθάδειαν τυραννικὴν ἐτρέπετο. Vales. et συνιδας ς. F. Πύρρος. [p. 328] τὰς τε γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν Ἀγαθοκλέους οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἀφαιρούμενος τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου λαβόντας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐν ταῖς

πόλεσιν ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς προσένειμεν, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐκάστης πόλεως νόμους οὐδ' εἰς τὸν εἰωθότα χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτῷ ^[2] φίλον ἦν. δίκας τε καὶ ἀμφισβητήσεις καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτικὰς οἰκονομίας ἀπάσας τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς διήτα, τὰς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλήν ἀναστρέφειν καὶ διακρίνειν ἀπεδίδου ἀνθρώποις οὐθὲν ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἢ ὅ τι μὴ κερδαίνειν καὶ καθηδुπαθεῖν τὰς εὐπορίας· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάντα βαρὺς ταῖς ὑποδεξαμέναις πόλεσι καὶ ^[3] μισητὸς ἦν. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὑποῦλως ἦδη πολλοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντας εἰς τε τὰς πόλεις φρουρὰς εἰσῆγε πρόφασιν ποιούμενος τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως συλλαμβάνων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ προδοσίας εὐρηκέναι ψευδόμενος· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Θοίνων ὁ φρούραρχος, ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων ὡμολόγητο πλειστην σπουδὴν καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς τε τὴν διάβασιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν παράληψιν τῆς νήσου παρεσχῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ναυτικὸν στόλον ἄγων, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νῆσον, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐκράτει, παρέσχεν. ^[4] ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ καὶ Σωσίστρατον συλλαβεῖν διήμαρτε τῆς ἐλπίδος προαισθημένου τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ φυγόντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἀρξαμένων δὲ ταραττεσθαι ^[p. 329] τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πόλις καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰληφέναι νομίζουσα πρὸς ἀνάκτησιν τῶν ἀπολωλότων χωρίων στρατιὰν ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον. Vales.

ὅτι ἀμχανοῦντα τὸν Πύρρον καὶ πόρους παντοδαποὺς ἐπιζητοῦντα ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν οἱ κάκιστοι καὶ ἀνοσιώτατοι τῶν φίλων, Εὐήγορος Θεοδώρου καὶ Βάλακρος Νικάνδρου καὶ Δειναρχος Νικίου, τῶν ἀθέων καὶ ἐξαγίστων δογμάτων ζηλωταί, πόρον ὑποτίθενται χρημάτων ἀνοσιῶν, τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀνοῖζαι τῆς Περσεφόνης θησαυροῦς. ^[2] ἦν γὰρ ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῦτη ἅγιον καὶ πολὺν χρυσὸν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεφυλαγμένον ἄθικτον ἔχον, ἐν ᾧ χρυσὸς τις ἄβυσσος, ἀόρατος τοῖς πολλοῖς κατὰ γῆς κείμενος. ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξαπατηθεὶς τῶν κολάκων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην κρείττονα παντός, τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις τὴν γνώμην ἀνδράσι διακόνοις τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τὸν ἐξελαθέντα χρυσὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναυσὶν ἐνθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Τάραντα πολλῆς μεστὸς εὐθυμίας γενόμενος. Vales. ἐτ σιδίας ς. F. Πύρρος. ^[p. 330] ἡ δὲ δικαία πρόνοια τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἀπεδείξατο. ὡς γὰρ ἀνήχθησαν αἱ νῆες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος, τὴν μὲν ἀπόγειον αὔραν λαβοῦσαι προέκοψαν· ἄνεμος δ' ἐναντίος γενόμενος καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κατασχών ἃς μὲν κατέκλυσεν, ἃς δ' εἰς τὸν τῆς Σικελίας πορθμὸν ἐξέβαλεν, ἐν αἷς δὲ παρεκομίζετο τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ ὁ προσενεχθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθημάτων χρυσὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐξώκειλεν αἰγιαλοῦς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλέοντας ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν τῇ παλιρροίᾳ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζομένους διέφθειρε, τὰ δ' ἱερὰ χρήματα διασπασθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔγγιστα τῶν Λοκρῶν θίνας ἐξέβρασεν. ^[3] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καταπλαγεὶς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀπέδωκε τῇ θεῷ ὡς παραιτησόμενος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χόλον· νῆπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἦδει, ὃ οὐ πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. οὐ γὰρ τ' αἶψα θεῶν τρέπεται νόος αἰὲν ἐόντων, ^[4] ὡς Ὅμηρῳ εἴρηται. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἄφασθαι χρημάτων καὶ πόρον ὑποθέσθαι πολέμων, ἀνόνητον ἐποίησε τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ τὸ

δαμόνιον, ἵνα παράδειγμα καὶ παιδεύμα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γένοιτο τοῖς μετ' ἑαυτὸν. Vales.

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡττήθη ὁ Πύρρος κατὰ κράτος· οὐ γὰρ στρατιά τις φαύλη καὶ ἀνάσκητος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἡ κρατίστη τῶν τότε οὐσῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ πλείστους ἀγωνισαμένη πολέμους· οὐδὲ [p. 331] πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε παραταξαμένων ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ὅσον καὶ τριπλάσιον εἶναι, οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τις, ἀλλ' ὃν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι μέγιστον γενέσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων στρατηγῶν, [2] οὐδὲ τόπου φύσις ἄνισος οὔτ' ἐπικουρίας τοῖς ἐτέροις ἄφιξις αἰφνίδιος οὔτ' ἄλλη τις συμφορὰ καὶ πρόφασις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιτεσοῦσα συνέτριψε τὰ Πύρρου πράγματα, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς ἀσεβηθείσης θεᾶς χολός, ὃν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἡγνῶει Πύρρος, ὡς Πρόξενος ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπομνήμασι γράφει. Vales.

ἔμελλον ὅπερ εἰκὸς οἱ ὀπλῖται κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ θυρεοῖς βαρεῖς πρὸς ὀχθηρὰ χωρία καὶ μακρὰς ἀτραποὺς πορευόμενοι καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτας λεωφόρους, ἀλλ' αἰγότριβας δι' ὕλης τε καὶ κρημνῶν τάξιν τε οὐδεμίαν φυλάξειν, καὶ πρὶν ἐπιφανῆναι σφισι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξασθενήσκειν τὰ σώματα διψεῖ καὶ κόπῳ. [2] τοὺς τοῖς ἵπποκοῖς δόρασιν ἐκ διαλαβῆς ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς χερσὶ κρατουμένοις μαχομένους συστάδην καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατορθοῦντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις Πρίγκιπας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. Ambr.

ἐν τῇ νυκτί, ἐν ᾗ τὴν στρατιάν ἀπάξειν ὁ Πύρρος ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιθησόμενος χάρακι λάθρα, ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους [p. 332] ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους ὀδόντας καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος ἐκ τοῦ στόματος φέρεσθαι. [2] ταραχθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ μεγάλην ἔσεσθαι συμφορὰν μαντευόμενος — ἦδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον τοιαύτην ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου θεασαμένῳ δεινὴ τις συνέβη δυσποτμία — ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐκ ἴσχυσε δὲ νικῆσαι τὴν πεπρωμένην ἐναντιουμένων τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν καὶ μὴ μεθεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀξιούντων. Vales. Ambr. [3] ἀναβάντων δὲ τῶν σὺν τῷ Πύρρῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων αἰσθησιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες σκυμνίον ἐλέφαντος τιτρώσκουσιν, ὃ πολλὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐνεποίησε καὶ φυγὴν· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο μὲν ἐλεφάντας ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὀκτὼ δὲ κατακλείσαντες εἰς χωρίον ἀνέξοδον παραδόντων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἰνδῶν ζῶντας παραλαμβάνουσι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πολλὸν φόνον ἐργάζονται. Ambr.

ὁ ὕπατος Φαβρίκιος τιμητῆς γενόμενος ἄνδρα δυσὶ μὲν ὑπατείαις, μιᾷ δὲ δικτατωρείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Ρουφῖνον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς βουλῆς, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐν ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων κατασκευῇ πολυτελεῖς ἔδοξε γενέσθαι, δέκα λίτρας ἐκπωμάτων κτησάμενος· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν. ὀλίγῳ πλείους ὀκτὼ μνῶν Ἀττικῶν. Ambr. [2] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δόξης ἔτυχον, ὅτι τοὺς ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀργοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύοντας τῶν χρησίμων ὡς ἀδικοῦντας τὸ κοινὸν ἐζημίουν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὅτι τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ἐπέτρεπον τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας [p. 333] τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ὁτῳδήτινι τῶν δημοσίων τόπῳ ταῖς βακτηρίαις παίειν· τῶν δὲ κατ' οἰκίαν γενομένων οὔτε πρόνοιαν οὔτε φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο, τὴν αὖλειον θύραν

ἐκάστου ὅρον εἶναι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ βίου νομίζοντες. [3] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀναπετάσαντες οἰκίαν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν τιμητῶν προαγαγόντες ἀπάντων ἐποίησαν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ φύλακα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένων, οὔτε δεσπότην οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὦμόν εἶναι περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας οἰκετῶν οὔτε πατέρα πικρὸν ἢ μαλθακὸν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου περὶ τέκνων ἀγωγὰς οὔτε ἄνδρα περὶ κοινωνίαν γαμετῆς γυναικὸς ἄδικον οὔτε παῖδας γηραιῶν ἀπειθεῖς πατέρων οὔτε ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους τὸ πλεῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσου διώκοντας, οὐ συμπόσια καὶ μέθας παννυχίους, οὐκ ἀσελγείας καὶ φθορὰς ἡλικιωτῶν νέων, οὐχ ἱερῶν ἢ ταφῶν προγονικὰς τιμὰς ἐκλιπούσας, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἢ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει πραττομένων οὐδέν. ἐληγίζοντο τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλιζεῖν αἰτίαν. Ambr.

Νεμέριος Φάβιος Πίκτωρ καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κόιντος Ὀγούλνιος πρὸς τὸν Φιλάδελφον Πτολεμαῖον πρεσβεύσαντες περὶ πρεσβείας [p. 334] καὶ δωρεαῖς ἰδίαις τιμηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: ἦρχε δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δευτέρος μετὰ τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀλέξανδρον: [2] ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπήγγειλαν, ὅσα διεπράξαντο κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν, καὶ τὰς δωρεάς, αἷς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλαβον, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκαν: οὐς ἢ βουλὴ πάντων ἀγασθεῖσα τῶν ἔργων οὐκ εἴασε δημοσιῶσαι τὰς βασιλικὰς χάριτας, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἀπενέγκασθαι τιμὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ κόσμους ἐκγόνοις. Ambr.

οἱ Βρέττιοι ἐκόντες ὑποταγέντες Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὀρεινῆς παρέδωκαν αὐτοῖς, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Σίλα, μεστή δ' ἐστὶν ὕλης εἰς οἰκοδομὰς τε καὶ ναυπηγίας καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν εὐθέτου: πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττη πέφυκεν οὐρανομήκης ἐν αὐτῇ, πολλὴ δὲ αἰγειρος, πολλὴ δὲ πείριρα πεύκη ὀξύη τε καὶ πίτυς καὶ φηγὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς καὶ μελίαι ταῖς διαρρεοῦσαις λιβάσι παινόμεναι, καὶ πᾶσα ἄλλη βαθεῖα συνυφαινομένη τοῖς κλάδοις ὕλη σκιερὸν ἀποτελοῦσα δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας τὸ ὅρος. [2] ἐξ ἧς ἢ μὲν ἔγγιστα θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν φυομένη τιμηθεῖσα τὴν ἀπὸ ρίζης τομὴν ὀλόκληρος ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας τοὺς ἔγγιστα κατάγεται, πάσῃ διαρκῆς Ἰταλίᾳ πρὸς τε τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευάς: ἣ δὲ ἄνω θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν πρόσω κορμασθεῖσα κατὰ μέρη κώπας τε παρέχει καὶ κοντοὺς καὶ ὅπλα παντοῖα καὶ σκευὴ τὰ κατοικίδια, φοράδην [p. 335] ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κομιζομένη: ἣ δὲ πλείστη καὶ πιστάτη πιττουργεῖται καὶ παρέχει πασῶν ὧν ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς εὐωδεστάτην τε καὶ γλυκυτάτην τὴν καλουμένην Βρεττίαν πίτταν: ἀφ' ἧς μεγάλας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμος καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων λαμβάνει προσόδους. Ambr.

ἐγένετο δευτέρα ἐπανάστασις ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ῥηγίνων ὑπὸ τῆς καταλειφθείσης αὐτόθι Ῥωμαικῆς καὶ συμμαχικῆς φρουρᾶς, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν σφαγαὶ τε πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ φυγαί. τοὺτους τιμωρησόμενος τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Γενύκιος ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρατιάν: γενόμενος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆς Ῥηγίνων μὲν τοῖς φυγάσι ἀπέδωκε τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιθεμένους τῇ πόλει συλλαβὼν δεσμίους εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπήγαγεν: ἐφ' οἷς οὕτως ὠργίσθη καὶ ἠγανάκτησεν ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ὥστε μηδεμίαν γνώμην ἐπεικῇ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάσαις ταῖς

φυλαῖς ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακουργοῖς τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων καταψηφισθῆναι θάνατον. [2] κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας δόγματος πάτταλοι τε κατεπάγησαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ παραγόμενοι κατὰ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, περιηγμένοι τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ὀπίσω προσεδούντο τοῖς παττάλοις γυμνοί: ἔπειτα μάστιξιν αἰκισθέντες ἀπάντων ὁρώντων ἀπεκόπτοντο τῷ πελέκει τοὺς ὑπὸ [p. 336] ταῖς κεφαλαῖς νωτιαίους τένοντας: καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἕτεροι τριακόσιοι, καὶ αὖθις ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι διεφθάρησαν, οἱ σύμπαντες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἔτυχον, ἀλλ' ἐλκυσθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον τι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίον ὑπὸ οἰωνῶν καὶ κυνῶν διεφορήθησαν. Ambr.

τὸ ἄπορον πλῆθος, ὧ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων φροντὶς ἦν οὐδεμία, παρακρουσθὲν ὑπὸ Σαυνίτου τινὸς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνέρχεται. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἄγραυλον καὶ κακόπαθον τὸν βίον εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πλεῖον ἤδη καὶ ἀξιόμαχον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν καταλαμβάνεται, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενον ἐληίζετο πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλῳ χώραν. [2] ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγον στρατιὰν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ οὐ πολλῇ σὺν πραγματείᾳ τὴν πόλιν αἰρησάμενοι τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰκισάμενοι ῥάβδοις ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐλαφυροπώλησαν. ἔτυχε τῷ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ πεπραμένη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δορίκτῆτων ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸ πεσὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀργύριον διηρημένον τοῖς πολίταις. αμβρ.

The Art of Rhetoric

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Τέχνη περὶ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν

[1] Πανηγύρεις εὐρημα μὲν καὶ δῶρον θεῶν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον αἰεὶ πόνων παραδιδόμεναι, ὥς που ὁ Πλάτων φησίν, οἰκτειράντων τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐπίπονον γένος· συνήχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σοφῶν, κατεστάθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ πόλεων κοινῇ κοινῷ δόγματι εἰς τέρψιν καὶ ψυχαγωγίαν τῶν παρόντων. συντέλεια δὲ ἢ εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἄλλη ἄλλων· παρὰ μὲν τῶν πλουσίων δαπάναι χρημάτων, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων κόσμος περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορία· οἱ δὲ ἀθληταὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν σωμάτων κοσμοῦσι τὴν πανήγυριν, καὶ ὅσοι γε δὴ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁπαδοί, τῇ μουσικῇ τῇ παρ' ἑαυτῶν. ἀνδρὶ δὲ περὶ λόγους ἐσπουδακότη καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἀνατεθεικότη τοῦτοις πρέποι ἂν οἶμαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις λόγοις κοσμεῖν τὴν πανήγυριν, τέχνη μετιόντι τὸν λόγον, ὥς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἴη αὐτῷ γινόμενος. φέρε οὖν εἰς τοῦτο, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, λέγωμέν σοι, ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ τινος ἀστιβοῦς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡγεμόνες γιγνόμενοι, ἃ πάλαι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας παραλαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔτι τούτων ἀνωτέρω παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Μουσῶν λαβεῖν ἔφασαν οὐ μείον' ἢ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος ποιμὴν [ποίησιν] [2] παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι. ἴθι οὖν σὺν τέχνῃ οὕτως ἐπιώμεν τοὺς λόγους.

Θεὸς μὲν γέ που πάντως πάσης ἡστινοσοῦν πανηγύρεως ἡγεμῶν καὶ ἐπώνυμος, οἷον Ὀλυμπίων μὲν Ὀλύμπιος Ζεὺς, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Πυθοὶ Ἀπόλλων. ἀρχὴ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅστις ποτ' ἂν ἦ, ἔπαινος ἡμῖν γιγνέσθω, ὥσπερ πρόσωπόν τι τηλαυγὲς προκείμενος τοῦ λόγου. ἐπαινέσεις δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προσόντων τῷ θεῷ· εἰ μὲν Ζεὺς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς θεῶν, ὅτι τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός· εἰ δὲ Ἀπόλλων, ὅτι μουσικῆς εὐρετής, ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἥλιος, Ἥλιος δὲ πάντων πᾶσιν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος· εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς, ὅτι Διός, καὶ ἃ παρέσχεν τῷ βίῳ. καὶ σχεδὸν ὁ τόπος συμπληρωθήσεται ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος ἢ εὗρεν ἢ παρέσχεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐν βραχεὶ δὲ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ὁ λόγος ὁ προάγων μεῖζων γίγνοιτο.

[3] Ἐφεξῆς ἐπέναι χρή τὸν ἔπαινον τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ ἡ πανήγυρις· περὶ θέσεως αὐτῆς, περὶ γενέσεως· ἐν ᾧ τίς ὁ κτίστης θεὸς ἢ ἥρως, καὶ εἴ τι ἔχεις περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν· εἴ τι πέπρακται τῇ πόλει ἢ ἐν πολέμοις ἢ ἐπ' εἰρήνης. ἀρμόσει δὲ καὶ περὶ μεγέθους λέγειν, εἰ μεγάλη, ἢ «εἰ» σμικρά, ὅτι κάλλει διαφέρουσα, ὅτι εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει ἰσοῦται ταῖς μεγάλαις. ὅσα περὶ κόσμου, οἷον ἱερῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῦτοις ἀναθημάτων, δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων, ιδιωτικῶν, ὥς που καὶ Ἡρόδοτος πεντῶροφα καὶ ἐξώροφα φησὶν εἶναι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι· ἂν ποταμὸς ἦ μέγας ἢ καθαρὸς ἢ συμβαλλόμενος τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι τὴν χώραν· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μῦθος εἴη λεγόμενός τις περὶ τῆς πόλεως, οὕτω μὲν ἂν καὶ πολλὴν γλυκύτητα ἔχοι ὁ λόγος.

[4] Λεκτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τίς ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐφ' οἷσιν ἐτέθη, εἴτε μῦθός τις εἴη εἴτε ἄλλό τι ἀρχαῖον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενος μὴ ἀπλῶς παρέλθῃς τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ

παραβαλὲν χρή πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγῶνας. τοῦτο δ' εὐπορήσεις τῷ λόγῳ, οἷον ἀπὸ καιροῦ παραβάλλων· εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἔαρ ἄγοιτο, ὅτι ἐν τῷ συμμετροτάτῳ πρὸς ἑκάτερα· εἰ δὲ ἐν χειμῶνι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐρρωμενεστάτῳ καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτῳ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καιρῷ· εἰ δ' ἐν θέρει, ὅτι πρὸς ἄσκησιν καὶ <ῆ> θεωρία τῶν θεωμένων κατεστάθη, καὶ ὅτι ἔλεγχος τῆς προαιρέσεως, [ὡς] καὶ μὴ ὄντων ἀθλητῶν τοὺς θεωμένους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ἔχοις δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ [ὅτι] ἀπὸ συγκομιδῆς τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἤδη παύεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν πόνων.

[5] Σκοπεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος δεῖ. εἰ μὲν μουσικὸς καὶ γυμνικὸς εἴη, ὅτι τελεώτατος ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ἀνενδεῶς κεκραμένος καὶ ῥώμῃ σωμάτων καὶ καλλιφωνία καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς μέρεσι τῆς μουσικῆς· εἰ δὲ γυμνικός, ὅτι τὴν μουσικὴν ὡς ἐκθηλύνουσιν τὴν ψυχὴν παρητήσατο, τὴν δὲ ῥώμην τῶν σωμάτων παρέλαβεν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀγωνίας χρήσιμος πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις.

[6] Μὴ παρέργως δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν στέφανον παρέλθης, ὅστις ἐπῆ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος ἀπορήσεις ἐπαίνου)· τὴν μὲν δρῦν, ὅτι ἱερὰ Διός, καὶ ὅτι ἡ πρώτη καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τροφή τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄφρωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφθέγγαστό ποτε ἐν Δωδώνῃ. εἰ δὲ ἐλαία, ὅτι ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ ὅτι ἄκος πόνων, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τρόπαια ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ φυτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν οἱ παλαιοί, καὶ ὅτι τῆς νίκης τοῦτο σύμβολον τὸ φυτόν, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τοῦτῳ πρώτη ἐστέψατο νικήσασα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, καὶ ὅτι οἰκειότατον τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις (τὰ γὰρ γυμνάσια διὰ τοῦ ἐλαίου διαπνεύεται), καὶ ὅτι συναγωνίζεται πρὸς τὸν λόγον δι' οὗ πανηγύρεις κοσμοῦνται. καὶ τὴν δάφνην δὲ ἐρεῖς ὅτι καὶ ἱερὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μαντικὸν τὸ φυτόν· εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ τοῦ μύθου ἐφάπτεσθαι τοῦ περὶ τῆς Δάφνης, οὐδὲ τοῦτό σοι ἄπο τρόπου εἴη ἂν εἰρημένον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἕτερον εἰ ἐπέη, οἶονεῖ καρποὶ Δημητριακοὶ ἢ πίτυς, εὐπορήσεις που καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκάστου. οὐκ ἔξω δὲ φιλοτιμίας οὐδὲ τὸ παραβαλὲν τὸν στέφανον πρὸς τοὺς παρ' ἄλλοις.

[7] Ὁ δὲ σοι τοῦ παντὸς λόγου οἶονεῖ κολοφῶν ἐπήχθω τοῦ βασιλέως ἔπαινος, καὶ ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἀγνωσθέντος πάντων ἀγῶνων ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην πρυτανεύων, δι' ἣν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτελεῖν οἶόν τε. ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τοὺς διατιθέντας τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπήνεσαν, εἰ ἄρα ἔνδοξοί τινες οὗτοι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πρότερον γενόμενοι χρήσιμοι, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὅτι φιλοτιμότατοι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλα ἔχεις πρεσβύτερα, ὅτι ἀρχὴ τῆς φιλοτιμίας τῆς περὶ τὴν πατρίδα μεγίστη καὶ Ἑλληνικωτάτη.

Ἡ δὲ λέξις ἄλλη μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστων φύσιν ἢ [8] βούλησιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ κρατεῖν χρή τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, οὐ μονότροπον ταύτην συμβουλευέσαιμ' ἂν εἶναι ἀλλὰ ποικίλην καὶ μεμιγμένην, καὶ τὰ μὲν <ἐν> τῇ ἀφελείᾳ προάγοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀντιθέτοις τε καὶ παρισώσεσιν Ἰσοκράτους, τὰ δὲ διηρμένως. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἡμεδαποῦ χοροῦ ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κορυφαῖον οἶδα μετιόντα <πάντῃ> ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις, εἰ μὴ τι πρὸς εἶδος γράφειν τι προὔθετο· ἐκάστης δὲ ιδέας ἔδωκεν ἡ ὕλη τὴν ἀφορμὴν. δεῖ δὲ τοῖς νοήμασιν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν καὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν

ἐπάγειν, οἷον τὰ μὲν ἀφηγηματικὰ καὶ μύθου τινὸς ἐχόμενα ἀφελῶς προάγοντα· ὅσα δὲ περὶ βασιλέων ἢ θεῶν, σεμνῶς· ὅσα δὲ περὶ παραβολῶν καὶ συγκρίσεων, πολιτικῶς· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα «μῖαν» τινὰ ιδέαν λόγου διὰ πάντων παρέχοιτο· ἐπιδεικτικώτερον δὲ τὸ προειρημένον καὶ δημοτερπέστερον.

Μέθοδος γαμηλίων

[1] Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἦν τερπνὸν αὐτὸν παρόντα καὶ συγχορεύοντα καὶ ἀναβακχεύοντα μετὰ σοῦ τῆς φίλης ἐμοὶ κεφαλῆς ὑμνεῖν τε καὶ ἀνυμνεῖν τὸν μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπιτελεσθησόμενον γάμον καὶ ἄδειν γε τὸν ὑμέναιον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις πρέποντα λέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔοικεν δεσμός τις οὗτος ὁ πρὸς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῇ παρούσῃ διαιρεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων (μὴ γὰρ δὴ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τε καὶ διαθέσεσιν καὶ εὐνοίαις ταῖς ἐπ' αὐταῖς χωρισθείημέν ποτε), ἀλλ' οὖν ἔστω σοι ὡσπέρ τι δῶρον παρ' ἐμοῦ εἰς συντέλειάν τε καὶ κόσμον τῶν γάμων τὸ μηδὲ τῶν περὶ τούτων εἰωθότων λέγεσθαι μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἀπείρως ἔχειν, εἴτ' οὖν αὐτὸς καὶ παρὰ σεαυτῷ φυλάττειν βούλοιο εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τοῦτον οἶον ἔρανόν τινα εἰς χάριν συνεισφέρειν. τάχα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε προανεκρούσω ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν λόγων, ὀπηνίκα κομιδῇ νέος ὢν παρ' ἐμοὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁδὸν τῶν ῥητορικῶν μετήεις, τὰ τε ἄλλα γράφων καὶ συγγράφων γυμνάσματά τε καὶ ἀσκήματα τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς θέσεις οὕτω λεγομένας, καὶ τούτων τὰ εἰς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γάμου λόγον συντείνοντα καὶ τὴν [2] προτροπὴν τὴν εἰς αὐτόν. προκεχείρισται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων τοῖς νεωτέροις εἰς γραφήν, εἰ γαμητέον. οὐ πόρρω δὲ οὐδ' ὁ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν προχειριζόμενος λόγος τῆς περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἰδέας τῶν λόγων θήρας. ἀμέλει γε τοιοῖσδε τόποις, οἷς πέρ που καὶ ἐν ταῖς θέσεσιν ἀπὸ θεῶν, καὶ ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ εὐρόντες καὶ δεῖξαντες τοὺς γάμους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγγύντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες. οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγγύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν χορὸς παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον τῶν ἐπιφημισθέντων τοῖς γάμοις, γαμηλίων τε καὶ γενεθλίων οὕτως ὀνομαζομένων. καὶ ὅτι ὁ γάμος αἵτιος τοῦ τε ὀνομασθῆναι τούτους τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τιμᾶσθαι. ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν γάμων οὐδ' ἂν αἱ τιμαὶ τούτων παρῆλθον εἰς ἀνθρώπους.

[3] Ἐφεξῆς ἐπάγειν χρή τὸν περὶ τῆς φύσεως λόγον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο αὐτῆς ἔργον, τὸ γεννᾶν τε καὶ κυῖσκειν. καὶ ὅτι διῆλθεν διὰ πάντων τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν. εἴτα τὴν διαφορὰν ἐπάξομεν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μίξεως καὶ κοινωνίας, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν μίγνυται, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος τάξιν τινὰ καὶ νόμον ἐξεῦρεν τοῦ γάμου, οὐκ ἀγεληδὸν δίκην θηρίων ἐπιτρέπων μίγνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ σύμμιξιν καὶ κοινωνίαν δυοῖν τὴν προσφορωτάτην εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον μεμηχανημένος. ἐν ᾧ, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν θηριώδους καὶ πεπλανημένου βίου ἀπηλλάγησαν, βίον δὲ ἡμερον καὶ τεταγμένον ἔσχον διὰ τοῦ γάμου. καὶ ὅτι θνητὸν ὂν γε τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐκ τῆς μίξεως καὶ κοινωνίας τοῦ γάμου ἀθάνατον γέγονεν, ἐκ τῆς διαδοχῆς τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ὡσπερ φῶς ἀναπτόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τῇ γεννήσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ μήποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον. καὶ τοῦτον ἂν τις εἴποι δικαίως ἔρανον κάλλιστον οὐ χρημάτων οὐδὲ κτημάτων

τινῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ γένους.

[4] Εἶτα ἐξετάσεις ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα προσγίνεται τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι. πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς δόξαν, ὅτι ἐνδοξότεροι τὸ κάλλιστον μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν γάμων ἀρχόμενοι καρποῦσθαι, τὴν σωφροσύνην· ὁ γὰρ γάμος εὐθὺς καὶ σωφροσύνης δόξαν περιτίθησι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δοκοῦσιν τῆς μὲν ἀτάκτου μίξεως ἀπηλλάχθαι, πρὸς δὲ μίαν ἀφορᾶν μόνην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος γυναῖκα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ ἐντιμότερους ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πιστοτέρους δοκεῖν καὶ εὐνουστέρους περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἐν παντὶ διὰ τὸ ὥσπερ ὁμηρα δεδωκέναι ταῖς πατρίσι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, δι' οὗς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰς συμβουλίας παραλαμβάνεσθαι.

[5] Καὶ πρὸς λύπας δὲ καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ γάμος χρησιμώτατος, κουφότερα ταῦτα παρασκευάζων ὥσπερ φορτία, μεταδιδόντων ἡμῶν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖξιν τῶν δυσχερῶν καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ παρηγορουμένων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡδέα ἀνάγκη τερπνότερα φαίνεσθαι, μὴ αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν εὐφραινομένων, ἀλλὰ ἐχόντων καὶ τοὺς συμπανηγυρίζοντας καὶ τοὺς συνευφραινομένους παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς· καὶ ἑορταὶ δὲ καὶ πανηγύρεις διὰ τοῦτο τερπναί, ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς γίνονται. ἀνάγκη δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰς συγγενείας αὐξάνεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν συνοικίαι ἐγένοντο, εἶτα καὶ κῶμαι, εἶτα καὶ πόλεις. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιγαμιῶν καὶ ἡ γνῶσις πλείων καὶ ἡ συγγένεια ὑπερορίοις. ἥδη παραθετέον καὶ μνηστέον καὶ ἐνδόξων γάμων ἢ ἀρχαίων, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτων ἀγαθὰ ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅση ἀποτροπὴ τῶν δυσχερῶν διὰ γάμου, οἷον ὅτι Μενέλεως ἀθάνατος ἐγένετο διὰ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ ὁ Πηλεὺς διὰ τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος, καὶ ὁ Ἀδμητος διὰ τὴν Ἀλκηστιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς εἰμαρμένης θάνατον διέφυγεν.

[6] Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἱκανῶς περὶ τούτων διέλθῃς, εὐχῇ χρηστέον ἀγαθῶν μὲν αἵτησιν ἐχοῦση περὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὰς παιδοποιίας, ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τῶν κακῶν. εἶτα διατυπωτέον λόγῳ οἷον προαναφωνοῦντα, ὅποῖος ἂν ὁ βίος ὁ μετὰ τῶν παίδων γένοιτο, ὅτι τερπνότατος χορὸς παίδων οἱ γένοιτο γέροντι, καὶ ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνανεάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνηβᾶσκειν σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀναμινῆσκειν, ὥν ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν νεότητι ἐποίησεν· ἡδεῖα δὲ καὶ ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἐν παισίν ἡμῖν πεπραγμένων. καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστι τὸ ποιοῦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν βεβιωκέναι. εἰ δὲ εἰκόνα τις ὁρῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἄψυχον ἥδεται, «πόσω μᾶλλον ἡσθήσεται», ὅταν καὶ μὴ ἄψυχον ταύτην ὁρᾷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμψυχον, μηδὲ μίαν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, ἂν οὕτω τύχη; ἐπακτέον δὲ πάλιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἱστοριῶν τινων μνημονεύοντα, ὅσοι ἀπὸ παίδων εὐτύχησαν, ὅσοι κακῶν ἀποτροπὰς εὗραντο, οἷον τῷ Ἀγχιόῃ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰνείου. Δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν γαμούντων τε καὶ γαμουμένων παρεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπαίνους λέγειν. ποτὲ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ χρηστέον τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει· ἐὰν μὲν οὖν πάννυ ἐνδοξᾷ ἦ, ἐν ἀρχῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἡττονα, ὑπερβαλόντα καὶ [7] ἐπὶ πᾶσι λέγοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔπαινος ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἔξει, καὶ τόποι οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ «ἐκεῖ, ὁ» ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ὁ

ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωγῆς, καὶ ὅτι ἴσοι καὶ ὅμοιοι καὶ βέβαιοι ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων πατέρων καὶ προπατόρων· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ προσωκειωμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου· εἰ δὲ ἐκ διαφόρων, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν συνήχθησαν εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους εἰσίν, ὅτι αὐξήσις καὶ οἰκειότης συγγενείας ἄλλη ἐπ' ἄλλη γέγονεν, καὶ δεσμός βεβαιότερος καὶ ἰσχυρότερος· ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὃ μὲν ἀπὸ στρατείας, ὃ δὲ ἀπὸ παιδείας, ὅτι ἁρμονία αὕτη ἀρίστη, τὸ εἰς ταὐτὸν σοφίαν τε καὶ ἀνδρείαν τελεῖν, καὶ οἷους εἰκὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενέσθαι.

[8] Εἰ δὲ δὴ αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ γαμῶν ὁ τὸν λόγον διαθέμενος, περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου προοιμιαστὴν χαριέντως, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ σοὶ ποιητέον, ὅτι εἰ καὶ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τὰ αὐτῶν παιδικὰ ἐπαινοῦσι, πολὺ δὴ που μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πρέπον τὸν γάμον ἐπαινεῖν [ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικά]· καὶ ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου χρηστέον. ὥσπερ ἤδη προοιμιαζόμενον καὶ προκαταμαντευόμενον περὶ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς διαφέροντας περὶ παιδείαν γενέσθαι.

[9] Λέξει δὲ χρηστέον ἀφελεῖ μᾶλλον ἐγγὺς Ξενοφῶντός τε καὶ Νικοστράτου βαίνοντα, ὀλιγαχοῦ δὲ ἐξαίροντα τὸν λόγον εἰς σεμνότητα, εἴ που τὰ ἐννοήματα ἀναγκάζοι.

Μέθοδος γενεθλιακῶν

[1] Ἐχόμενος δέ σοι τούτου ὁ ἐπὶ ταῖς γενέσεσι τῶν παίδων λεγόμενος λόγος (γάμῳ γάρ που γένεσιν ἀνάγκη ἀκολουθεῖν)· ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν τελεῖν χρή τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἐκάστου ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐφ' ἧς ἐγένετο, ἀναγκαῖόν που ὀλίγα ἄττα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰπεῖν οἷον ἐγκωμιάζοντα τὸ προσόν, εἰ ἄρα ἰδιόν τι ἔχει παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ἐπισημαίνόμενον· εἰ μὲν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ, ὅτι ἀρχὴ τοῦ μηνός, ἀρχὴ δὲ κράτιστον καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ ὅτι ἡμισυ τοῦ παντός ἢ τὸ πᾶν κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα. εἰ δὲ ἐβδόμη ἢ ἕκτη, ὅτι ἱεραὶ τοῖν θεοῖν, καὶ ὅτι κοινωνία πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον κατὰ τὸ τῆς γενέσεως. ἔχοις δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνάτης λέγειν, ὅτι ἱερὰ τοῦ Ἥλιου, καὶ ὅτι εἰκὸς ἐπίσημον τὸν τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι, τάχα δὲ καὶ εὐεργετικὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἥλιου φύσιν. εἰ δὲ πεντεκαδεκάτη εἴη, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ ὅτι τέλειος ἐν τούτῳ ὁ κύκλος, καὶ εἰκὸς ἀνενδεῇ τὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι γένεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ ἄλλη τις ἡμέρα, ἢ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἢ τῷ τέλει προσβιβάζοντας καὶ τὸ προσὸν θεωροῦντας οὕτω πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἔπαινον ποιεῖσθαι.

[2] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιθεωρεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ὁποῖός τις οὗτος· καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὥραν, οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι ἢ ἐν ἡρὶ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις μέρεσι τοῦ ἔτους, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπαίνοις ἐπεσημαίνόμεθα τὰς ιδιότητας τῶν καιρῶν, τῷ μὲν τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τῷ δὲ τὸ φαιδρὸν ἀπονέμοντες, καὶ τῷ θέρει τὸ πεπληρῶσθαι τὴν γῆν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ ἀναπαύλῃ τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι. ἐπισημαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα ἐνίοτε τοῖς καιροῖς· οἷον εἰ ἐν ἑορτῇ τις γέγονεν, οἶονεῖ ἐν Διονυσίοις ἢ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἢ ἐν πανηγύρεσιν τισιν· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀφορμὰς παρέξει σοι εἰς τὸν ἔπαινον.

[3] Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ἰτέον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς τις γέγονεν· πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ περιέχον τὸ ἔθνος, Ἀσίαν, Εὐρώπην· καὶ τοῦτο αὖ πάλιν Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ βάρβαρον, ἢ σοφίαν ἢ ἀνδρείαν τοῦ ἔθνους ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπισημαίνόμενον. εἴτα ἐπὶ τὸ περιεχόμενον· τίς ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῷ· ἔχομένη ἢ πόλις μητροπόλεως τῇ τιμῇ, μεγάλη, πολυάνθρωπος, εὐφορος πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἢ ἂν τι ἕτερον ἀνδραγάθημα τῆς πόλεως. ἔπειτα τὰ μὲν περιεχόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει· ποίας τινὸς οἰκίας, ὅτι οὐ φαύλης, ὅτι οὐκ ἀδόξου, γένους· ὅτι ἐνδόξου, ποίων τινῶν προγόνων καὶ πατέρων, καὶ ἔπαινον ἐν βραχεῖ τούτων ἀπὸ τῶν προσόντων.

[4] Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥδη τὸν ἔπαινον ἰέναι τοῦ ἐγκωμιαζομένου καὶ οὗ ἡ γενέθλιος· ποίας τινὸς φύσεως κατὰ σῶμα, κατὰ ἰσχύν. εἰ μέγας ἐστί, κατὰ τὸν Αἴαντα· εἰ καλὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, κατὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα· καὶ εἰ «εὐγλωσσος ἢ» εὐβουλος ἢ δίκαιος ἢ σώφρων εἴη, τὰ ἀρμόζοντα πρόσωπα, τὸν Νέστορα, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὸν Ἀριστείδην, τὸν Φωκίωνα· εἰ χρηστός· ὅτι θυμοειδὴς μετὰ τοῦ πράου, ὅτι ὀξὺς ἐνθυμηθῆναι. καὶ εἰ μικρός, ὅτι μείζων τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς [5] ἀρετὴν, κατὰ τὸν Τυδέα, κατὰ τὸν Κόνωνα. οἷός τις τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον, εἰ φιλόκαλος, εἰ

μεγαλοπρεπής· οἷος πρὸς τοὺς ιδιώτας, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. κἂν εἰ ἐπιστήμης τινὸς ἐπήβολος εἴη, οἷον ἰατρικῆς ἢ ῥητορικῆς ἢ φιλοσοφίας, θετικῶς ἐπάγοντα τὸν ἐν τούτοις ἔπαινον, εἰς ὅσα τούτων ἕκαστον χρήσιμον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἀμφιλαφῆς ὁ λόγος γένοιτο. ποῖος ἤδη γέγονεν, ποῖός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ ποῖον εἰκὸς ἔσεσθαι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενοι οὐκ ἄπο τρόπου ἂν ποιοῖμεν καὶ εὐχόμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς γενεθλίοις θεοῖς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος βίου καὶ τοῦ ἀμείνω τοῦ παρελθυθότος γενέσθαι τοῦτον, καὶ πολλὰς περιόδους χρόνων τελέσαντα εἰς λιπαρὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον γῆρας παρελθεῖν.

Μέθοδος ἐπιθαλαμίου

[1] Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως λόγου (μικροῦ γάρ με παρήλθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον) ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θαλάμῳ λεγόμενος λόγος· ἐχόμενος δ' ὁ τι μάλιστα καὶ ἀκόλουθος <ἄν> εἶη τοῖς γαμικοῖς τῶν λόγων, σχεδὸν εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ γαμικῷ, πλὴν τῷ χρόνῳ διαφέρων, ἐπὶ τετελεσμένοις τοῖς γάμοις λεγόμενος οὗτος· οὐ μὴν τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἀπάδων τοῦ προειρημένου, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντὶ ὑμεναίων ἐπαδόμενος τοῖς γάμοις. τινὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ παρὰ Σαπφοῖ τῆς ιδέας ταύτης παραδείγματα, ἐπιθαλάμιοι οὕτως ἐπιγραφόμενα ὦδαί· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ μεταχείρισις ποιήσεώς τε καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοῖς μέτροις, οὕτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐννοήμασι διενήνοχεν ταῦτα, τοῦτον ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον προσφόρως μεταχειρίσασθαι, εἰ ἐν μὲν τῷ προοιμίῳ εὐθύς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπισημαίνωιο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν ὑμέναιον ᾄδουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμεναίου τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐλοῖς ἢ πηκτίσιν ἢ νῆ Δία καλλιφωνία τινὶ τοιαύτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἐπαίνοις καὶ ὕμνοις τῶν γεγαμηκότων.

[2] Εἴτα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπάγειν, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖος ὁ γάμος ἀνθρώποις γε οὔσι· σωτηρία γάρ τοῦ γένους· καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τοῦ γάμου. εἴτα μεταβῆσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν συνιόντων εἰς τὸν γάμον, ὅποιοί τινες οὗτοι· ἐν ᾧ περὶ γένους ἐρεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ περὶ κάλλους σωμάτων καὶ ἡλικίας· ὅσα ἐκ τύχης αὐτοῖς πρόσεστι, καὶ περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ὅτι σπουδὴν ἔσχον περὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὴν σύζευξιν αὐτοί· ὅπως διάκεινται ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ οἱ οἰκεῖοι, οἱ ἀλλότριοι, ἢ πόλις αὐτὴ δημοσία· ὅτι πᾶσι διὰ σπουδῆς ὁ γάμος ἐστίν, καὶ ὁ γάμος ἔοικεν πανηγύρει τινὶ καὶ νεομηνία καὶ δημοτελεῖ ἑορτῇ τῆς πόλεως. ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν τοῖς γαμικοῖς ἡξιοῦμεν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισκοπεῖν, οἷον εἰ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, οὕτως δὲ μὴδὲ ἐν τούτῳ παρὰ φαῦλον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο.

[3] Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις καὶ προτροπῇ τις ἔστω τοῖς γαμοῦσιν πρὸς τὸ σπουδάζειν περὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁμονοεῖν ὅ τι μάλιστα· καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμονοίας καὶ φιλίας ἀνάγκη συμβαίνειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ καθόλου ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἄγοντα τὸν λόγον· ὅτι ὁμόνοια πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἡγεῖται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν· καὶ εἰς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου παραληπτέον ἐνδόξῳ κρίσει χρώμενον, ὅτι οὐδὲν μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν

ἢ ὅτε ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχῃτον

ἀνὴρ ἡδὲ γυνή· τίνα μὲν ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνιάρᾳ, τίνα δὲ ἡδέα τοῖς φίλοις. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ καὶ εὐχῇ χρῆσθαι, ὅπως ὁ τι τάχιστα παῖδες γένοιτο, ὥς καὶ τούτων ἐπιδεῖν γάμους καὶ ᾄσαι τὸν ὑμέναιον καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ἔχειν αὐθις τοιούτων λόγων.

Μέθοδος προσφωνηματικῶν

[1] Ἰσοκράτης μὲν ὁ σὸς ἐταῖρος καὶ ἐμός, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, εἴ περ ἄλλό τι, φησὶ χρῆναι προσεῖναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀνθρώποις, ἐν τῇ παραινέσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἱππονίκου, καὶ τὴν φιλοπροσηγορίαν· ὃ πέρ ἐστι τὸ προσφωνεῖν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ὡς αὐτός φησιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ χρῆν πρὸς ἕκαστον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ὡς ὃ τι μάλιστα οἰκειοτέρως καὶ εὐμενεστέρως ἔχειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζωμεν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοπροσηγορίας, πολλῷ δὴ πού ἀναγκαιότερον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς προσφωνήσεως, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς γεγονότας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γίγνοιτο καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἐκ βασιλέων εἰς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἡμετέρας παραγινομένους, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ τοιοῦτου τρόπου καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας οἰκειοτέρως διακεῖσθαι παρασκευάσαιμεν. ἀμέλει γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη ἐπιχωριάζει ἐπὶ πᾶσι, καὶ καθάπερ τις οὗτος νόμος καὶ θεσμὸς διελήλυθεν διὰ πάντων, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄμα τε τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν πυλῶν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, εἰσόδῳ προσφωνεῖν τούτους δημοσίᾳ τὰς πόλεις ὑφ' ἐνὸς ὅτου οὖν τῶν ἀρίστων κατὰ τὴν παιδείαν ὥσπερ δημοσίᾳ τινὶ φωνῇ καὶ κοινῷ προσαγορεύματι προσαγορεύοντος. φέρε οὖν εἰπωμέν τι καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν λόγων, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τούτους ἄριστα καὶ ῥᾶστα μεταχειριζοίμεθα.

[2] Καθόλου μὲν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῶν τοιοῦτος, ὡς σύστασίν τινα ἔχειν τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχειν μέλλοντας. δεῖ δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον πραγματεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν. ἀρχὴ οὖν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ ἂν αὕτη γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως, καὶ δι' ὃ τι προκεχειρίσται ἐκ πάντων ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ὅτι ἀναγκαῖα αὐτῷ ἢ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ λόγου. ἐχέτω δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ θεραπείαν τινὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἀποδεχομένου τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἅπαντας καὶ οἷον αὐτοῦ χεῖρα ὀρέγοντος, δι' ὅπερ καὶ ἐτοιμότερον ὑπήκουσεν· καὶ ὅτι ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀκούειν τοῦτο εὐθὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι ἐναργέστερον τῇ ὄψει αὐτῇ πέφηνεν, ἀτεχνῶς οἷον ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου [καὶ] τῆς φαιδρότητος ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ τοῦ ἡθους καὶ τῆς πρὸς ταῦτα δεξιότητος φανερῶν γιγνομένων. οὕτω δὲ προκαταστησάμενον τὸν λόγον ἐξῆς ἰτέον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν βραχεῖ τοῦτο ποιησάμενον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπισημνιάμενον, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ἐτέρου καιροῦ, οὐ τοῦ παρόντος. κατακλείσεις δὲ τὸ ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐν τι τῶν καλῶν τῶν βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτο, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐπιλεξάμενον καταπέμψαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔθνος οὐ πόρρω βαίνοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως.

[3] Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχέσθω σοι τὸ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ἡγουμένου. χρηστέον δὲ καὶ ἐναυῖθα τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς τόποις, ἀπὸ γένους, ἀπὸ φύσεως, ἀπὸ ἀνατροφῆς· εἰ μὲν φανερὰ εἴη, καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς διεξιόντα· εἰ δὲ ἄδηλα, κατὰ τὸ πιθανὸν προάγοντα, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τὸν τηλικούτων καὶ τοιούτων κατηξιωμένον οὔτε γένει οὔτε φύσει οὔτε ἀνατροφῇ λείπεσθαι

τινων, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα προκεκρίσθαι· τὰ γε μὴν φανερὰ ἀκριβέστερον ἐπισημαινόμενον, οἷον «εἰ» ἐν νέᾳ ἡλικίᾳ τοιοῦτος, τί χρή προσδοκᾶν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον; καὶ ὅτι νέος μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, πρεσβύτερος δὲ τὴν φρόνησιν. εἰ δὲ πρεσβύτες, ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς δοὺς πείραν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰκότως καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐπιστεύθη· καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τῆς εὐμοιρίας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ ἀκμάζειν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σεμνότης τις προσεῖη τῷ προσώπῳ, μηδὲ τοῦτο παρέργως παρατρέχειν. εἰ φιλόλογος εἴη, ἐγκώμιον παιδείας, καὶ ὅτι οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι μάλιστα ἄξιοι ἀρχῆς καὶ τοιαύτης ἡγεμονίας. καὶ εἴτε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον εἴη πεπαιδευμένος, τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραβάλλειν· εἴτε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων καὶ περὶ τὰς δίκας ἀκριβής· παραδείγμασι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρηστέον προσώποις, τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, ἐφαρμόζοντα καὶ παραβάλλοντα καὶ τούτων ἀποφαίνοντα.

[4] Ἐὰν δὲ ἔχωμεν καὶ πράξεις τινὰς αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένας καὶ ἀρχὰς προηγουμένας λέγειν ἢ ἐν στρατείαις ἢ ἐν διοικήσεσιν, καὶ ταῦτας παρατιθέναι. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ «τινας» τιμὰς ἔχωμεν αὐτῷ «τῶν» πατέρων γενομένας λέγειν, καὶ τούτων χρή μνημονεύειν. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν προτροπὴ καὶ παράκλησις πρὸς εὐνοίαν τῆς πόλεως, ἐπισημνάζοντες, ὅτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα περὶ τοῦτου ἔχουσι. φανερόν γάρ τοι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέξασθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλανθρώπως καὶ εὐπροσηγόρως ἅπασι προσενεχθῆναι καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι· «καὶ» ὅτι εἰκότως τοῦτο ἐποίησεν· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις οἷα ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὖ χρησαμένους ἑαυτῇ.

[5] Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἔπαινος ὁ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν θέλῃς· περὶ γένους αὐτῆς, περὶ δυνάμεως τῆς ἐν ταῖς προσόδοις, περὶ παιδείας τῶν ἐνοικοούντων, περὶ χώρας τῆς ὑποτελοῦς, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πρόσοδος· εἰ μὲν πολλὴ εἴη, εἰς ἰσχὺν τῆς πόλεως ἀναφέροντα· εἰ δὲ ὀλίγη, ὅτι ἀρκεῖται καὶ ταύτη. ἔτι οὐπὲρ ἂν ἦ κτίστου, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν, ἐὰν τε θεὸς ἐὰν τε ἥρωες ἦ, εἴτ' οὖν τῶν ἀρχαίων τις εἴτ' οὖν τῶν ἑναγχοῦς γεγενημένων βασιλέων. οἷον κἂν μύθους τινὰς ἔχωμεν προσόντας τῇ πόλει, μηδὲ τούτους παραλιπεῖν. μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως, περὶ κάλλους, περὶ θέσεως, εἴτε ἡπειρωτικῇ εἴη, εἴτε ἐπιθαλαττίδιος ἢ νησιῶτις. κἂν εἰ τινὰς τιμὰς ἔχοιμεν παρὰ βασιλέων, μηδὲ ταύτας παραλιπεῖν, κἂν εἰ πράξεις τινὰς προγεγενημένας ἢ παλαιὰς ἢ νέας, ἢ εἰ τιμὰς προὔπαρξάσας παρ' ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς προγεγενημένους.

[6] Ἐν ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις μεμίχθω ἢ προτροπὴ καὶ παράκλησις πρὸς εὐνοίαν τῆς πόλεως· δεῖν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄρχοντας ταῖς τοιαύταις πόλεσιν τὰς παρ' ἑαυτῶν εὐνοίας προσνέμειν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει εὐχῇ χρησόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄρχοντος. καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δὲ αὐτῶν πάλιν μνησθυσόμεθα, εἰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχομένων εἴημεν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἡμεῖς τιμῆς καὶ δόξης τευξόμεθα· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἡδὴ προεοδοκιμηκότων καὶ προειρηκότων, ἀνεπαχθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπόντες εἰς τοῦτο καταλύσομεν τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐλπίδος τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες τοῦ μὴ φυλαχθῆσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ τούτων τὴν δόξαν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ

ἀμείνω πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι.

[7] Ἀπαγγελία δὲ πρέποι ἂν μάλιστα μεμιγμένη τῷ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ, ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν συνεστραμμένη, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ διηρμένη, ἐν τοῖς μύθοις ἀφελεστέρα. τὸ δὲ σαφὲς τῆς ἐρμηνείας δι' ὅλου τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔστω τῷ λέγοντι.

[Καθόλου ὁ περὶ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν λόγος ὥδὲ πως περαίνοιτο ἂν.]

[6]

Μέθοδος ἑπιταφίων. Β

[1] Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπείρως ἔχειν τὸν γε δὴ ὁδῶ τινι καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ μεπιόντα λόγους χρή. ἀπευκτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἀνθρώποις γε οὔσι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Καλλιάρχου τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα βέβαιον μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ κατθανεῖν γενομένῳ, καὶ ζῶντι εἶναι μὴ οἶόν τε ἐκτὸς αἴτης βαίνειν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀμφὶ ταφήν δύο λόγοι μεμηχάνηται, ὃ μὲν κοινὸς πρὸς πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ δῆμον [ὃ μὲν] τοῖς ἐν πολέμῳ πεσοῦσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄτερος αὐτοῖν, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ συμπίπτειν ἀνάγκη, ἐν διαφόροις ἡλικίαις ἐκάστῳ τῆς τελευτῆς συμπεσοῦσης· ὄνομά γε μὴν ἀμφοῖν ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἐπιτάφιος οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος· παραδείγματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστι πού καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ παρὰ γε τῷ τοῦ Ὀλόρου καὶ παρὰ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, Λυσίας τε καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ ὁ Παιανιεὺς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους ἐταῖρος Ναυκράτης πολλὰς ἡμῖν τοιαύτας ἰδέας παρέσχοντο. οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἕκαστον· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ τὰ ποιήματα μεστὰ τούτων, οἱ ἐπικήδαιοι οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενοι θρῆνοί τε· ὡς αὐτῶς πλοῦτος πολὺς τῶν καταλογάδην ἔστι τοιοῦτων λόγων ἐν τε τοῖς πάλαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγον τι πρὸ ἡμῶν γενομένοις· <οὐ> λήξομεν δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν, ἔστ' ἂν γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ χρεῶν ἐπικρατοῦν ἦ. μέτιμεν οὖν αὐτοῖν ἐκάτερον τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

[2] Συνελόντι μὲν οὖν ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἔπαινός ἐστι τῶν κατοικομένων. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, δηλὸν πού, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ληπτέον, ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ τὰ ἐγκώμια· πατρίδος, γένους, φύσεως, ἀγωγῆς, πράξεως. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἰτέον, οἷον περὶ πατρίδος λέγοντα, ὅτι μεγάλη καὶ ἔνδοξος καὶ ἀρχαία, καὶ εἰ τύχοι αὐτὴ πρώτη παρελθοῦσα εἰς ἀνθρώπους, οἷα καὶ Πλάτων περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς διέξεισιν· εἰ δὲ μικρά, ὅτι διὰ τούτους ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν τούτων καὶ δόξαν ἔνδοξος καὶ αὐτὴ ἐγένετο, οἷον ἡ Σαλαμίς διὰ τὸν Αἰάκον· ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, καὶ ἡ Αἰγίνα διὰ τὸν Αἰακόν. ἢ εἴ τι βέλτιον περὶ αὐτῆς ἔχοιμεν λέγειν εἰρημένον, ὥσπερ 'θεῖαν' τὴν Σαλαμίνα εἶπεν ὁ Πύθιος· ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ ἐκτίσθη, ὥσπερ Ἰωνία, Βυζάντιον ἢ εἰ δὴ τις ἑτέρα πόλις. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν πολέμοις πεσόντων κἂν ἐπιδαφιλεύσαιτό τις ἐν τούτοις. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον οὐ πάνυ τι ἀναγκαῖος ὁ πολὺς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος λόγος· ἰτέον οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους, εἰ οἱ πρόγονοι μὴ ἐπὶ λυδές, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες· καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ λυδές, ἀλλὰ κρίσει τὴν ἀρίστην γῆν λαβόντες, οὐ τύχη· καὶ ὅτι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους, ὃ περ ἀνδρειότατον· ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ, ὃ περ σοφώτατον, καὶ ὅτι Ἕλληνες. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τινὸς εὐκλείας λόγος γίνοιτο, ὅτι πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ προγόνων, καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἔπαινον, ὅποιοι δημοσίᾳ, ὅποιοι ἰδίᾳ, ὅποιοι ἐν λόγοις, ὅποιοι ἐν βίῳ, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἔργοις ἢ ἐν πράξεσιν· ἢ εἴ τινα τοιαῦτα ἢ ποιότης τοῦ προσώπου παρέχοι ἐκ τῆς φύσεως, ὅτι εὐφυῆς εἰς πάντα, κοινὸς δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος.

[3] Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀγωγῇ γενόμενοι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν πολιτείαν

ληψόμεθα, ὅτι ἡ δημοκρατία ἢ ἀριστοκρατία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις τὴν ἀνατροφήν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς [κοιναῖς] πράξεσιν ὁ μὲν κοινὸς ἔξει τὰ κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα καὶ ὅπως ἐτελεύτησαν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Πλάτωνι γε καὶ Θουκυδίδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴρηται. ὁπότεν δὲ περὶ ἐνός τινος λέγωμεν, περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ποιησόμεθα τὸν λόγον, οἷον περὶ ἀνδρείας, περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ σοφίας· ὅποιος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τούτοις, ὅποιος ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἕκαστα· ὅποιος περὶ φίλους, ὅποιος περὶ ἐχθρούς· καὶ ἔτι προστεθήτω, οἷος περὶ γονέας, οἷος ἐν ἀρχαῖς, εἴ τινα ἦρξεν.

[4] Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ προτρεπτικὸν μεταβησόμεθα, προτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους. καὶ πολὺς ὁ τόπος οὗτος. εἴτα οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ παραμυθητικὸν τῶν πατέρων, ὅσοι τε ἔτι παιδοποιεῖσθαι ἱκανοί, ὅσοι τε ἔξω τῆς ὥρας ταύτης· καὶ εἴρηται ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸ μὲν προτρεπτικὸν ἐνίστε μὲν οὐδὲ ὅλως παραλαμβάνομεν διὰ τὸ τάχα ἂν εἰ τύχοι παῖδας εἶναι τοὺς κατοικομένους· ἐνίστε δὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ, πλὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἐνδόξοις. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρῆσθαι τῷ εἶδει, οἷον «εἰ» ἐπὶ ἀρχοντός τινος καὶ τοιούτου προσώπου ὁ ἐπιτάφιος γίνοιτο, ἀναγκαῖον παρακελεύεσθαι μιμεῖσθαι τοῖς παισὶν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν τοκέας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅμοια σπεύδειν. ἀναγκαιότερος δὲ ὁ παραμυθητικὸς παραμυθουμένων ἡμῶν τοὺς προσήκοντας. δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν μέθοδον τοῦ παραμυθητικοῦ· οὐ γὰρ θρηνεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπολοφύρεσθαι τοὺς ἀποθανόντας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν παραμυθούμεθα τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους, ἀλλὰ μείζον τὸ πένθος παρασκευάζοιμεν· καὶ οὐ δόξει εἶναι τῶν κατοικομένων ἔπαινος, ἀλλὰ ὀλοφυρμὸς ὡς τὰ δεινότερα παθόντων. πειρᾶσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνδιδόναι τοῦ πάθους τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις, καὶ μὴ ἀντιτείνειν εὐθύς· ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐπαξόμεθα· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἔπαινον ἔξει ὁ λόγος, εἰ λέγοιμεν, ὅτι οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ῥᾶον φέρειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντες ὅμοιοι ταῖς ἡλικίαις, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τούτων ἔξομεν εἰς παραμυθίαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι ἐνδόξως ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ οὗτοι, καὶ ὅτι ταχύς καὶ ἀναίσθητος ὁ τοιοῦτος θάνατος, καὶ ἐκτὸς βασάνων καὶ τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νόσου· ὅτι δημοσίας ταφῆς ἔλαχον (ζηλωτὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα) καὶ ἀθάνατος αὐτῶν ἡ δόξα.

[5] Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡλικιῶν πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς παρέξει ὁ λόγος εἰς παραμυθίαν· εἰ μὲν τις ἄφνω τελευτήσειεν καὶ ἀλύπως, ὅτι μακαρίως αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτὴ συνηνέχθη· εἰ δὲ τις νόσῳ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον νοσήσας, ὅτι γενναίως ἐνεκαρτέρησεν τῇ νόσῳ· ἢ εἰ τις ἐν πολέμῳ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμενος· ἢ εἰ τις ἐν πρεσβείᾳ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ εἰ ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν διενήνοχεν· «μία γὰρ καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οἴμος» κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλον «εἰς Ἄιδου φέρουσα»· εἰ δὲ τις ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, ὅτι ἐν τῇ φιλτάτῃ καὶ τῇ γειναμένῃ καὶ τοῖς οἰκιστάτοις πᾶσιν. ἀπὸ ἡλικίας· εἰ μὲν νέος ὢν τοῦτο πάθει, ὅτι θεοφιλές· τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους φιλοῦσιν οἱ θεοί· καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν πολλοὺς ἀνῆρπασαν, οἷον τὸν Γανυμήδην, τὸν Τιθωνόν, τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, μὴ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ καλινδεῖσθαι ἢ πολὺν χρόνον ἐγκατορωρύχθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι

ὥσπερ ἐν τάφῳ ἢ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μὴδὲ δουλεύειν δεσπόταις κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐλευθεροῦν· καὶ μακάριοι φυγόντες τὰ ἀλγεινὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τὰ πάθη τὰ συμπίπτοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μυρία ταῦτα ὄντα καὶ ἄπειρα, ὁφθαλμῶν πηρώσεις, ποδῶν, ἐτέρου τινὸς μέρους τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἡ νόσος ἀλγεινοτάτη. εἰ δὲ μέσος τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτι ἐνακμάσας τῷ βίῳ καὶ νῷ δεῖγμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ παρέσχεν· καὶ ὅτι ποθοῦμενος, οὐκ ἀηδὴς ἤδη διὰ τὸ γῆρας γενόμενος ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βίου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐν γῆρᾳ τις τελευτήσκειν, ὅτι εἰς πᾶσαν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καλῶν συνεμετρήθη αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος. ἐν τούτῳ παρατιθέναι ἀναγκαῖον, ὅποσα ἐν πανηγύρεσιν τερπνὰ, ὅσα ἐν γάμοις, παιδοποιίαις, τιμαῖς <ταῖς> παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ πλείων περίοδος τοῦ χρόνου παρέχειν εἴωθεν· καὶ ὅτι 'λιπαρὸν γῆρας' κατὰ τὸν Νέστορα ἐβίωσεν· ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἐνδιέτριψεν, ἵνα παράδειγμα γένηται τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἔνδοξον εἶη τὸ πρόσωπον. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀθάνατος, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς τοιούτους ἐν θεοῖς ὄντας ἄμεινον εἰκὸς ἀπολαβεῖν. ἀρχὰς δὲ ἐνίστε αὐτὸ παρέξει τὸ πρόσωπον ἰδίας καὶ μὴ κοινάς· οἷον εἰ ἀπὸ λόγων εἶη, ὅτι ἀκόλουθον τοῖς λόγοις εὐφημεῖν αὐτόν· ἢ εἴπερ ἐπὶ ἑτέροις αὐτός τι τοιοῦτον εἰρηκῶς εἶη, ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρανον καὶ τούτῳ ἀποδοτέον· ἢ ὅ τί ποτ' ἂν ἡ ιδιότης τοῦ προσώπου παρέχῃ.

[6] Ἡ δὲ ἀπαγγελία ποικίλη, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀγωνιστικοῖς συνεστραμμένη· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσιν, οἷον ὅσα περὶ ψυχῆς, διηρμένη καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς βαίνουσα τῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

Προτρεπτικὸς ἀθληταῖς

[1] Ἀκόλουθος ἂν εἴη καί, ὡς <ἄν> εἴποι τις, συναφής, ὡς Ἐχέκρατες, καὶ ὁ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πανηγύρεσι λεγόμενος λόγος, οὐκ εἰς αὐτὴν μέντοι τὴν πανήγυριν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀθληταῖς δὴ πού, ὁ προτρεπτικὸς οὕτως λεγόμενος.

Σκεπτέον οὖν πρῶτον εὐθύς, ὅς τις ποτε ὁ λέγων (ὡς ἔγωγε οἶδα καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν καὶ ἐπ' ἑμοῦ τοῦτο γενόμενον καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχοῦ πῖσιν)· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως πολίτης, νῦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνά τις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην [2] εἶδον ἀγωνιστὴν τούτου τοῦ λόγου γεγεννημένον. τὰς γὰρ ἀρχὰς ἴσως πού καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τις οὐκ ἄπο καιροῦ ποιήσεται. εἰ μὲν πολίτης εἴη, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πεισθεὶς τοῖς ἀγωνοθέταις καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως νόμῳ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ παρεβάλετο κινδύνῳ οὐχ ἥττον ὄντι ἐργῶδει· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ σώματος, ὅδε δὲ ψυχῆς. χαλεπώτεροι δὲ οἱ ἀγῶνες οἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ οἱ τοῦ σώματος. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀγωνίας τῶν σωμάτων καὶ φανερά ἡ νίκη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἢ περ ἐναργεστάτη τῶν αἰσθήσεων· ἔτι δὲ καὶ βραβευτῆς ἐφέστηκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ κρείττων τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων φθόνου. ἦδε <δὲ ἢ> κρίσις οὐκ ἐφ' ἐνί, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλοῖς· καὶ οὐκ ὀφθαλμοῖς κρίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ, ἐν ἣ πολλὰ τὰ ἀντιστατοῦντα· ἄγνοια καὶ φιλοτιμία καὶ φθόνος, ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας μείζονα εἶναι τὰ ἐπαινούμενα τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγῳ. τούτοις δὲ ὑποβάλλειν κάκεῖνο ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ ἀνελεῖν ὡς ἀντικείμενον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ προσώπου ποιότητος, ὅτι μὴ καταφρονητέον λόγων τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἅτε ἐν ἔργοις ἀσκοῦσι. λόγος γὰρ εἰς πάντα ἐπιτήδειος καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἐπιρρώννυσιν· οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ πολέμου καὶ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως δέονται στρατιῶται τοῦ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγου καὶ τῆς προτροπῆς, καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγένοντο. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἀθληταὶ δέοιντο ἂν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου προτροπῆς καὶ ἐπικελεύσεως, ὄντες μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους μαθηταὶ τε καὶ ζηλωταὶ (ὣν ὁ μὲν εὐρετῆς τοῦ λόγου ἢ αὐτὸ χρῆμα λόγος· ὁ δὲ σὺν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πάντα κατώρθωσεν τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα· ἢ δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ νοῦς τε καὶ λόγος;), καὶ ὁσημέραι δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς γυμνασίαις ἐκάστοτε τοιούτους τοὺς ἐπικελευομένους ἔχοντες [3] αὐτοῖς. εἶτα διαφορὰν ἐρεῖς, ὅσῳ κρείττων οὗτος τοῦ ἐκείνων ἐπαινος· διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, οὗτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ· καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔθει τινί, οὗτος δὲ νόμῳ πόλεως καὶ δόγματι ἀρχόντων· κάκεῖνος οἷον ἐπιβόησίς τις, μηδὲν τῶν ἥχων διαφέρων, οὗτος δὲ μετὰ ἐπαίνων καὶ ἀποδείξεων παράκλησις. εἴτ' ἀκόλουθον τοῖς περὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος καλὸν σπουδάσασιν καὶ περὶ τὸ καλὸν τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ σπουδάσαι καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ τιμιώτερον ψυχὴ σώματος, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσκοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀσκήσασιν πειθομένους· ὅπερ οὐδὲ δυσχέρειάν τινα ἔχει οὐδὲ πόνον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῶν πεισθέντων τῆς πειθοῦς γινομένης· ὥπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ οἱ γνησιώτατοι παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγους ἀκούσαντες

μάλιστα φιλοτιμοῦνται περὶ τὴν νίκην, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι προτρεπτικοὺς λόγους οἰκείως ἀναδεξάμενοι· μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν ὀρέγοντο τοῦ περιγενέσθαι. καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένοις τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν τοῦ σώματος προσήκει καὶ ἀψευδεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ· εἰ δῆπου τις, καίτοι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων δόξης ἀδήλου τυγχανούσης, ὅμως ἐφίεται τούτου ἄλλως μηδὲ ἀνάγκης οὔσης, πόσω μᾶλλον «εἰκὸς» τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρόντας καὶ παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τοῖς γυμνασίοις χρησαμένους καὶ ὑπευθύνους ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσαντας πειθομένους φαίνεσθαι τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν καὶ τοῦ νόμου προκεχειρισμένῳ; Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης εἴη ὁ λέγων, πρὸς τούτοις ἢ πρὸ πάντων τούτων ἀρμόσει εἰπεῖν, ὅτι «εἰ ὁ» διατιθεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαι καὶ ὑποβαλεῖν τῇ τῶν ἀκουόντων κρίσει ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τοῦ ἔνδοξον καὶ μέγαν καὶ περισπούδαστον τοῦτον γενέσθαι, πολλῷ δῆπου ἀναγκαιότερον αὐτοῖς «τοῖς» ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ κληρονομεῖν μέλλουσι τῆς τοῦ ἀγῶνος δόξης. Τῷ δὲ ξένῳ καὶ τοῦτο ἂν ἀρμόζοι λέγειν, ὅτι προσήκων αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος διὰ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν καὶ τὴν μετουσίαν τῆς θέας· οἱ γὰρ τῆς θέας μεταδόντες καὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς μετέδοσαν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνδοξοτέρῳ τὴν πανήγυριν γενέσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γνήσιος πολίτης οὐχ ὁ ἐγγεγραμμένος μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ εὖνους τῇ πόλει καὶ περὶ τὰ καλὰ μόνον τὰ τῆς πόλεως σπουδάζων. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μὴ πολίτης ὢν ἐπέισθη τοῖς ἐπιτάξαισι καθεῖναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα, πολλῷ δῆπου μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀθληταῖς σπουδαστέον περὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις πολίταις τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὔσι.

[4] Τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀφορμῶν τάχα ἂν τινες καὶ εἰς τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον ἀρμόζοιεν, τοιούτων προσώπων πανηγυριζόντων καὶ τοιούτων ποιημάτων ἐμπεριελημμένων. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς προκαταστάσεως γενομένης ὑποβλητέον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν πανηγύρεων καθόλου λόγον ἔπαινον ἔχοντα τῶν προκαταστησάμενων, ὅτι τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν καταπαύσαντες τὰς πόλεις συνήγαγον ὥσπερ εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν πατρίδα πάντων, ὡς κοινῇ συνελθόντας θύειν καὶ ἐορτάζειν λήθην ἀπάντων τῶν πρότερον ποιησάμενους· καὶ οὐ ταῦτα ἀπέχρησε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάματα καὶ ἀκροάματα μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις προέθεσαν, οὐκ εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν· διὰ μὲν τῶν μουσικῶν ἀκροαμάτων παιδεύοντες ἡμᾶς, διὰ δὲ τῶν γυμνικῶν συνασκοῦντες εἰς τοὺς πολέμους. καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι σπουδάζειν περὶ τὴν θέαν, πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις αὐτοῖς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρόσκαιρος ἡ τέρψις, τοῖς δὲ ἀθάνατος ἡ δόξα· καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν γίνεται ἐκάστῳ τούτων εὐφημεῖσθαι καὶ δακτυλοδεικτεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις, νικάν, στεφανοῦσθαι, ἀναγορεύεσθαι, διὰ μιᾶς πράξεως καὶ νίκης οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως γενόμενον ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν παρόντων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποδεχόμενος τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὡς πολίτην αὐτοῦ προσοικειοῦται, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου δὴ τοῦτο· «ἐρχόμενον δὲ ἀνὰ» τὴν πανήγυριν «θεὸν ὡς εἰσορόωσιν», οὐ μόνον γε ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὅποτε αὐτὸν ἴδωσι μόνον. καὶ ἀγωνιζομένῳ ταῦτα καθ'

ἕκαστον ἀγῶνα· παυσασμένῳ δὲ παραμένουσιν τὸν βίον σύμπαντα οἱ καρποὶ <οἱ> ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης, τὴν περιουσίαν τοῦ βίου ἄφθονον παρέχοντες· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν ἢ μνήμη <ἡ> ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων εἰς τὸ ἀνάγραπτον ἔχειν τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς μνήμαις σωζομένην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν συγγραμμάτων συμπαραμένουσιν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ.

[5] Εἴτα ἐπὶ τούτοις προσάξεις καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς πόλεως λόγον, ὅτι καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν σπουδαστέον περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. σύμμετρος δὲ γινέσθω ὁ ἔπαινος, ἐπειδὴ οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ νῦν πρόκειται. ἀφορμαὶ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἔσονται δῆπου ἱκαναὶ αἱ προειρημέναι ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου μεθόδοις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐρεῖς ἐφεξῆς, καὶ πόθεν ἤρξατο, καὶ τίς ὁ καταστήσας, καὶ τίνων θεῶν ἐπάγεται, καὶ τίς ὁ ἐπώνυμος αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔπαινος διὰ βραχέων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀφορμῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ παραδεδομένων. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενον καὶ σύγκρισιν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγῶνας. ἡ δὲ σύγκρισις ἔσται καὶ ἀπὸ τόπου τοῦ ἀγῶνος, οἷον <ὅτι ἐνδοξότατος, καὶ> ἀπὸ χρόνου, ὅτι ἀρχαιότατος· ἢ εἰ νέος, ὅτι ὅσον τῷ χρόνῳ ὑποδεῖ, τοσοῦτον τῇ δόξῃ προέχει· καὶ ὅτι εἰ νῦν περισπούδαστός ἐστι, πολλῶ περισπούδαστότερος ἔσται λαβὼν τὸν χρόνον. εἰ θεὸς εἴη ὁ ἐπώνυμος, τὰ προσόντα τῷ θεῷ· εἰ τῶν ἡρώων τις, ὁμοίως τὰς πράξεις· εἰ ἐπιτάφιος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς τούτου θέσεως ἠξιώθη. ἔτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν παραβαλεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας, ἀπὸ μεγέθους, ἀπὸ κάλλους, ἀπὸ οἰκιστοῦ, ἀπὸ οἰκειώματος· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη. τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων οἰκειότατα ἂν ἐπαχθείη ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς λόγος κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην· Περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως καὶ τοιοῦτου ἀγῶνος πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ πάσαι ἐφιλοτιμήσαντο καὶ ἐσπούδασαν νικηφόροι γενέσθαι.

[6] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διάφορα τὰ πρόσωπα, τὰ μὲν ἐνδοξα, τὰ δὲ ἥττον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ στεφάνων πολλῶν, τὰ δὲ νῦν πρῶτον ἀρχόμενα, πειρασόμεθα ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ προσφύρων προτρέψασθαι· οἷον τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχοντας στεφάνους, ὅτι καλόν, μὴ ὅπως καταισχυῖναι τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσθεῖναι καὶ πλείους ἀποφῆναι· συναύξεται γὰρ τοῖς στεφάνοις καὶ ἡ δόξα. τοὺς δὲ ὀλίγους, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι τούτους ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ προῖκα, τῷ ἐπαγωνίσασθαι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἑτέρους. τοὺς δὲ νῦν πρῶτον ἀρξομένους· ‘ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἡμῖς παντός’. καὶ τοῖς ἡττημένοις πρότερον καλὸν ἀναμάχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τύχῃ μᾶλλον δοκῶσιν τῇ ἡττῇ κεκρῆσθαι. εἴτα συμπροτρέψεις τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὸ αἰσχροῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸ καλόν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ προνεκικῶσιν αἰσχροῦ τὸ ἡττηθῆναι τῶν μήπω νενικηκότων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἔντιμον καὶ οὐδὲ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς δόξης λόγον ἔχον <τὸ> τοὺς νενικηκότας κρατῆσαι καὶ δι’ ἐνὸς στεφάνου προσλαβεῖν τὴν τούτων δόξαν. εἴτα πειρασόμεθα ἀναιρεῖν, δι’ ἃ ἐπὶ τὸ διαφθείρεσθαι τινες τρέπονται, τῷ αἰσυχρῷ καὶ ἀδόξῳ, ὅτι αἰσχροῦ χρημάτων προέσθαι τὴν νίκην, κατὰ ἀμφοτέρα τὰ πρόσωπα τὸ αἰσχροῦ προσάπτοντες, καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῶν διδόντων καὶ κατὰ <τὸ> τῶν λαμβανόντων, ὅτι οἱ μὲν χρήματα ἀντὶ δόξης ἀνταλλάσσουνται· ἐν ᾧ οἱ

μὲν τὰ χρήματα, οἷα δὲ ἡ δόξα· τὰ μὲν πρόσκαιρα, ἡ δὲ ἀθάνατος· καὶ τὰ
 μὲν τύχη καὶ χρόνος καὶ πόλεμος ἀφείλεν, ἡ δὲ ἀναφαίρετος ὑπὸ τούτων·
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ζῶντας εὐφραίνει, ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ζηλωτοὺς ἀποφαίνει·
 καὶ τὰ μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ κακίας περιγίνεται, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας.
 ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ δόντες τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν νενικήκασιν, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐώνηται
 τὴν νίκην· καὶ ὅτι οὐ δόξαν κτῶνται, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνην, τὸ γὰρ μὴ μετὰ
 ἀληθείας κρατῆσαι πρὸς αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τῷ κρατήσαντι ἢ δόξαν· καὶ ὅτι
 εἰ καὶ λανθάνοιεν τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς συνίσασιν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις μὲν δοκοῦσι κρατεῖν, παρὰ δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἡττηνται· καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ ἡδονὴ
 ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης νίκης· καὶ ὅτι ὁ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔλεγχος αἰεὶ συμπάρεστιν
 αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπονειδίστου νίκης, καὶ ὅτι χεῖρους τῶν προδοτῶν· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
 γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους πωλοῦσιν, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτούς· καὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖς πόρνοις
 εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν λαμβάνοντες· κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἴσως καὶ δι'
 ἡλικίαν ἐξαπατηθέντες, οὗτοι δὲ δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδόντες. εἶτα
 ὅτι οὐδὲ λανθάνουσιν· ῥαδίως γὰρ ὁρῶνται καὶ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν γυμνασιῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀγώνων. ἐν ᾧ· τίνα τὰ ἐπὶ
 τούτοις; μάστιγες, ὕβρεις, αἰκίαι σωμάτων, ἃ δούλων καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθέρων·
 τὸ παρὰ τοῖς θεαταῖς βλασφημεῖσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινέσθαι κροτεῖσθαι
 στεφανοῦσθαι· ἐνίοτε δὲ [καὶ] ζημία καὶ τὸ ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 σταδίων καὶ ἀγώνων, μέγιστον δὲ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονοῦντας εἰς τὰς τῶν
 δούλων τιμωρίας περιορᾶν αὐτοὺς ἐμπύπτοντας. καὶ ἂν μὲν δοῦλον
 αἰσθάνωνταί τινα τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων εἶναι, κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς
 ἀνάξιον τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐκκρίνειν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀθλοθετῶν
 ψήφους τῆς ἐλευθερίας λαμβάνοντας τὴν τῆς δουλείας καθ' ἑαυτῶν φέρειν.

[7] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ γενομένου ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων
 μνημονεύειν καὶ παραδείγματα φέρειν, ὅσοι ἔνδοξοι· οἳ μὲν ὅτι ἀήττητοι, οἳ
 δὲ ὅτι πλείστας νίκας ἤρασαν, οἳ δὲ ὅτι εἰ καὶ ὀλίγας, ἀλλὰ τὰς
 ἐνδοξοτάτας, καὶ ὅτι πάσας προῖκα, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ σωφροσύνης, ἀπὸ
 ἐγκρατείας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο· καὶ ὃ τι αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον
 συνέβη· ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ ἰσόθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἳ δὲ καὶ ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶνται
 τῶν πάλαι.

Περὶ ἔσχηματισμένων α

[1] Ἀγῶνας ἔσχηματισμένους παντάπασιν οὐ φασιν εἶναι τινές, ἀλλὰ μέρη μὲν ἀγώνων ἔσχηματῖσθαι συνομολογοῦσιν, τὸ δὲ ὅλας ὑποθέσεις διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου τῶν λόγων περαίνεσθαι οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι φασί (μὴ γὰρ δυνατόν εἶναι μὴ σαφῶς ἀκούοντας τοὺς ἀκρωμένους συνιέναι περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἐστίν), οὐδὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κεχρηῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ εἶδει τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τρόποι τῶν ἔσχηματισμένων ἀγώνων, φράσομεν, καὶ τῆς μεταχειρίσεως αὐτὴν μέθοδον δηλώσομεν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς παλαιούς, οὓς οὐ φασί τινες κεχρηῖσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων, μαρτυρόμενοι.

[2] Ἔστι γὰρ τῶν καλουμένων σχημάτων εἶδη γ· τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ σχῆμα λέγον μὲν ἃ βούλεται, δεόμενον δὲ εὐπρεπείας ἢ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν προσώπων, πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος, ἢ δι' ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τῷ εἶδει οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ῥητορικοί, ἀλλὰ καλοῦσιν αὐτὸ χρῶμα. τοὺς γὰρ εὐπροσώπους λόγους, οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόθεν ὀρμηθέντες, οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν ἢ πρὸς πατρίδα τις διαλέγηται ἢ πρὸς ἀριστεὰ ἢ πρὸς στρατηγὸν ἢ πρὸς ἀρχὴν τινα ἢ πρὸς ὅλην πόλιν. τὸ δὲ τι σχῆμά ἐστι πλαγίως ἕτερα μὲν λέγον, ἕτερα δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐν λόγοις. τρίτον σχῆμά ἐστι τὸ οἷς λέγει τὰ ἐναντία πραχθῆναι πραγματευόμενον.

[3] Τοῦ μὲν οὖν καλουμένου ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν χρώματος οὔτε ἀποκεκρυμμένη οὔτε χαλεπὴ <ἡ> μέθοδος. ἐπιείκεια γὰρ προστεθεῖσα τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τὸ ὑποστέλλεσθαι τῇ παρρησίᾳ, αὐτὸ <τε> τοῦτο τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν μὴ βούλεσθαι τολμηρῶς μηδὲ ἀποκεκαλυμμένως λέγειν ἢ μέθοδός ἐστι τῶν τοιούτων λόγων. μεγίστη δὲ καὶ βαθυτάτη ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις μέθοδος, τὸ ἑτέρας αἰτίας ὑποβαλέσθαι εὐσχήμονας πρὸ τῶν λυπούντων λόγων. Οἱ δὲ ἕτερα μὲν λέγοντες, ἕτερα δὲ βουλόμενοι τίνι μεθόδῳ χρῶνται; προτείνουσι μὲν ἕτερα κεφάλαια τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις· ἃ δὲ βούλονται πείσαι, τοῖς προταθεῖσι συγκατασκευάζουσι. καὶ τρόπον τινὰ διπλοῦν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζονται· τῷ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τὸ κοινὸν προτείνουσι, τέχνη δὲ οὐ τὴν χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν. Ὁ δὲ οἷς λέγει τὰ ἐναντία βουλόμενος λόγος, ἀκοῦσαι οὕτως, ἄτοπὸν τινα τὴν μέθοδον ἔχειν δόξει· δεῖ γὰρ εἰς ἐναντιώσεις ὑποπίπτοντα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ εἶδει τὸ καινότατον διὴ φαίνεται τέχνη ῥήτορος οὔσα τὸ ἐναντία λέγειν. τίς ὁ λόγος; βραχὺς καὶ σαφής. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων ὠφέλειαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐναντία λέγειν, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα κέρδος αἱ ἐναντιώσεις ἔχουσιν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐναντία λέγειν ζημίαν. καὶ πάνυ δικαίως· εἰ γὰρ οἷς λέγει τις τὰ ἐναντία βούλεται, ἂν <ἃ> λέγῃ πείσῃ, τὰ ἐναντία πράξει· ἂν δὲ ἃ βούληται κατεργάζηται, τὰ ἐναντία οἷς λέγει πείθειν δόξει. μέθοδος δὲ τούτων τίς; ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ἀγῶσι, <οὕτως ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγῶσι> τὰς προτάσεις τὰς οἰκείας ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι δεῖ, τὰς δὲ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου ἰσχυράς, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐδιάλυτα προβάλλεσθαι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντιουμένου δυσκαταγνώιστα· αὕτη μία

μέθοδος. δευτέρα δέ· ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ἀγῶσιν οὐ χρή στρεφόμενα λέγειν οὐδ' οἷς ἂν καὶ ὁ ἀντίδικος χρήσαιτο, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν ἀγώνων τοιαῦτα λέγειν δεῖ, οἷς καὶ ὁ ἀντιλέγων χρήσεται. οἱ μὲν οὖν κυριώτατοι τρόποι τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων λόγων οὗτοι.

[4] Ἦρτηνται δὲ τούτων τῶν τρόπων κάκεῖνα· τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ δοκοῦντα λέγειν ἐτέρῳ προειπόντι ἐτέραν ὑπόθεσιν διοικεῖσθαι· τὸ ἐναντιοῦσθαι δοκοῦντα τῷ λόγῳ βοηθεῖν τῷ ἔργῳ, προκατασκευάσαντος τοῦ σχήματος τὴν χρεῖαν· τὸ ὥς ἐροῦντα ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρρησίαν εἰς ἕτερον καιρόν.

Τούτων δὴ καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων. ληφόμεθα δὲ παρὰ Δημοσθένους, Θουκυδίδου, Ξενοφώντος, Πλάτωνος, Εὐριπίδου, τῆς κωμωδίας, Ὀμήρου· ἀπὸ πασῶν ἰδεῶν τῆς ῥητορικῆς, συμβουλευτικῆς δικανικῆς πανηγυρικῆς.

Μεμῆσθαι χρή, ὅτι τῇ μεθόδῳ [καὶ περὶ τῶν σχημάτων τῶν ἐναντία βουλομένων οἷς λέγουσιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι], ἔάν τις πορευῇται, ὥς ἔφαμεν, δι' ἐναντιώσεων, μέγας κίνδυνος πρόσεσι τῷ μὴ φωραθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκρωμένων, ὅτι τεχνάζει, τῆς ἐναντιώσεως εἰς δόξαν ἐμπεσεῖν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐλεγχεῖται ἡ τέχνη, συμβήσεται φιλονεικοῦντας, ἃ προσποιεῖται λέγειν, συγχωρεῖν τῷ ῥήτορι, οὐχ ἃ βούλεται ταῦτα ψηφίζεσθαι. φράσομεν οὖν καὶ ὅπως τις ἂν λάθοι μεταχειριζόμενος τὸν δι' ἐναντιώσεων λόγον.

[5] Δημοσθένης τοίνυν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἵνα πρῶτον καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν δεῖξωμεν παρ' αὐτῷ δεικνύντες, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου διηγούμενος λόγον, ὃν συνεβούλευσεν διαθέσθαι πρὸς Θηβαίους, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν ἀλλὰ τινα τεχνικόν, ὧδέ πως λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπάγει τῆς τέχνης· ἑπειδὴν δὲ ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ὥς ἐκείνων μὲν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ 'κεῖνοι καὶ τὸ μέλλον προορωμένων, ἴν' ἔάν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὤμεν διωκόμενοι καὶ μετὰ σχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν'. Ὅρᾳς καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῆς διοικήσεως, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιφερόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸ 'σχῆμα'. ὁ αὐτὸς τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν μὲν τῷ περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἵνα ἀπὸ δικανικοῦ λόγου ἀρξώμεθα, ἄλλα προτείνων ἄλλα κατασκευάζει, δι' ὅλου τοῦ βυβλίου διοικούμενος διοίκησιν τινα τοιαύτην· κεφάλαια ἔστιν ἃ περ ἀσθενῇ ὄντα τῷ Δημοσθένει, ἔάν ἐφ' αὐτῶν προτείνηται, ἐλέγχεται· ταῦτα ἵνα πιθανὰ ποιήσῃ, ἕτερα μὲν προτείνει, λαβὼν δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν προσέχοντα τοῖς προταθεῖσι συμπλέκει τὰς πίστεις τῶν ἀσθενῶν τοῖς προτεινομένοις. οἷον, ἵνα ὁ λόγος ἐξη παράδειγμα, ἔροισ' ἂν εἰκότως ὁ Αἰσχίνης τὸν Δημοσθένην· Διὰ τί τῆς προτέρας πρεσβείας οὐ κατηγορεῖς; καὶ τοι τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πέπρακται (ὃ φησιν ὁ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ), ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἀπαίτησιν ὀρκῶν εἶχεν μόνην. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀληθοῦς αἰτία τοῦ μὴ κατηγορεῖν ἐκείνη· ἐπήνεσεν ὁ Δημοσθένης τὰ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ πάντα πεπραγμένα, καὶ ψηφίσματα ἔγραψεν, καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ

πρυτανεῖον τοὺς πρέσβεις. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία ἐστὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ. ἀλλὰ μὴν αἰτίαν ἱκανὴν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κατὰ τῆς ὑστεράς πρεσβείας· δεῖ οὖν αὐτὸν ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ τῆς προτέρας· κατηγορῶν οὖν ἅμα τῆς προτέρας πρεσβείας οὐ κατηγορεῖ. δεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ προφάσεως. τίς οὖν ἡ πρόφασις; φησὶν ἠγνοηκέναι τὸν Αἰσχίνην πεπρακότα αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ. τοῦτο οὕτως μὲν πρὸς ἐρώτησιν τὴν παρ' Αἰσχίνου ἐν παραιτήσεως σχήματι λεγόμενον ἀσθενὲς καὶ γελοῖον ἐστίν. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅπερ ἔφαμεν, ἐτέρου προφάσει τοῦτο συγκατασκευάζει. φησὶ γὰρ ἀποδείξειν τὸν Αἰσχίνην αὐτὸν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενον, ὅτι δῶρα εἴληφεν, καὶ διέξεισι λόγους οὓς εἶπε πρότερον κατὰ Φιλίππου· εἶτα φησὶν αὐτὸν πρότερον κατὰ Φιλίππου πολιτευσάμενον ὕστερον μεταβεβλήσθαι, οὐκ ἂν μεταβαλόντα, εἰ μὴ δώροις πεισθεὶς τοῦτο ἐποίει. ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὑποθεὶς συγκατασκευάζει τὸ ὅτι εἰκότως ἔλαθ' ἐν μετὰ δῶρα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας πρεσβείας· ὥμην γὰρ αὐτὸν χρηστὸν εἶναι, τῷ πρότερον κατὰ Φιλίππου πολιτεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν ἡ συμπλοκὴ τοῦ ἕτερα συγκατασκευάζειν ἕτερα προτείνοντα.

[6] Ποιεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ πῶς; ἀκούσωμεν τῆς λέξεως τοῦ ῥήτορος· φησὶ γὰρ ὧδε· ‘Βούλομαι δὲ πρὸ πάντων, ὧν μέλλω λέγειν, μνημονεύοντας ὑμῶν οἶδ' ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομῆσαι, τίνα τάξιν αὐτὸν ἔταξεν Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τίνας λόγους κατὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου δημηγορεῖν ὥτεο δεῖν· ἴν' εἰδῆτε, ὅτι τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεπραγμένοις καὶ δεδημηγορημένοις ἐν ἀρχῇ μάλιστα ἐξελεγχθήσεται δῶρα ἔχων. ἔστι τοίνυν ὁ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενος Φίλιππον, ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν καὶ διαφθείροντά τινες τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ προεσθηκότων· καὶ ἔχων Ἰσχανδρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου δευτεραγωνιστήν, προσίων μὲν τῇ βουλῇ, προσίων δὲ τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τούτων, καὶ πείσας ὑμᾶς πανταχοῦ πρέσβεις πέμψαι τοὺς συνάξοντας δεῦρο τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμου· καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων μετὰ ταῦτα ἦκων ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακροὺς λόγους, <οὓς> ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει πρὸς Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔφη δεδημηγορηκέναι· καὶ διεξιὼν, ἡλικία τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν, οὐχὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἀδικοῦσι μόνον πατρίδας οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντες παρὰ Φιλίππου. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ταῦτα πολιτευομένου τούτου τότε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δεῖγμα ἐξεννοχότος περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις πέμπειν ὡς Φίλιππον ἐπείσθητε ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαγγελλόντων οὐδ' ὅ τι οὖν ὑγιές, γίνεται τῶν πρέσβεων τούτων εἷς καὶ οὗτος, οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἀποδωσομένων τὰ ὑμέτερα οὐδ' ὡς τῶν πεπιστευκότων τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν φυλαξόντων τοὺς ἄλλους. διὰ γὰρ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους καὶ τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀπέχθειαν ταύτην εἰκότως περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντες εἶχετε τὴν δόξαν'. αὕτη μὲν ἡ μέθοδος τοῦ συγκατασκευάσαι· ἤδη γὰρ τὸν δῆμον συνεπεσπάσατο ὡς συνεξηπατημένον ἑαυτῷ ὁ Δημοσθένης. εἴτ' ἐπήγαγεν τῆς τέχνης τὸ δεινόν· ‘προσελθὼν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνετάττετο κοινῇ πρεσβεύειν, καὶ ὅπως τὸν μικρόν

καὶ λίαν ἀναιδῇ φυλάζομεν ἀμφοτέροι τὸν Φιλοκράτην, πολλὰ παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἐπανελεθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας ἐμὲ γοῦν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακῶς αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανεν'. ὡς θαυμαστή γε ἡ τέχνη· πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξηπατημένους ἀπέδειξεν. ἐπήγαγεν δὲ εὐθύς τὸ 'ὁμοίως γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐξηπάτησθε κάγώ', διὰ μέσου τὸ περὶ Φιλοκράτους εἰπών· αὐτὸς ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀπλότῃτος προσήματι κλέπτων τὴν πανουργίαν τῆς κατασκευῆς τῷ λέγειν 'ἐμὲ γοῦν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακῶς αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανεν', ἀλλὰ μὴ φάναι 'κάμέ', ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιχείρημα οἰκείας διοικήσεως ἐξειργάσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἕτερα προτείνων ἕτερα κατασκευάζει ὁ Δημοσθένης· καὶ ἐξῆς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς καὶ ἄχρι τέλους τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος. τοῦτο μὲν σοι δικανικῶν λόγων τὸ παράδειγμα [λόγων ἐσχηματισμένων], ἕτερα προτείνοντων, ἕτερα κατασκευαζόντων.

[7] Συμβουλευτικῶν δὲ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν δι' ὅλου τὴν τοιαύτην τέχνην ἐξεργάζεται. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ὠρμήκασιν μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν, τοιαῦτα τῶν ῥητόρων συμβουλευόντων καὶ ἐπαιρόντων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς προγόνους καὶ μεμνηῖσθαι τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔργων, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ὀκνοῦσι πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης αὐτὰ τὰ ἐναντία πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλεται, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον βούλεται. ὁρᾷς δύο ὑποθέσεις ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις; πῶς οὖν τοῦτο ποιεῖ; διπλῶ γὰρ τῷ σχήματι χρῆται. πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα οὐ φησι μὴ δεῖν πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδέπω πολεμεῖν· εἰ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐκέλευε μὴ πολεμεῖν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν, ὠρμηκότες πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ φησὶ μὲν πολεμεῖν δεῖν, ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁ βούλονται· πρότερον δὲ ἀξιοῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι, ἵνα ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ δικαιότερος ὁ πόλεμος γένοιτο, τέχνη τοῦτο ποιῶν. οἶδεν γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἀναβολὴ ἐκλύσει τὴν ὁρμήν. καὶ εὐθύς γε μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον κλέπτων τὸ δοκεῖν συναγορεύειν βασιλεῖ τί φησιν; 'ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων εἶναι βασιλέα· οὐ μὴν διὰ ταῦτα παραινέσαιμ' ἂν μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν αἶρεσθαι'. οὕτω μὲν ἐπέχει τὴν ὁρμήν, <τῇ> αὐτῇ τέχνῃ Θουκυδίδῃ χρώμενος. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ Ἀρχίδαμος, ὃν φησιν ὁ Θουκυδίδης συνετὸν εἶναι καὶ σώφρονα, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὠρμημένους πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὐχὶ μὴ πολεμεῖν κελεύει (ἦδει γὰρ οὐ πεισομένους), ἀλλὰ μηδέπω τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον παρασκευάζεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν γάρ, ὁ περ ἔφαμεν, ἐμποδίζει τὴν ὁρμήν αὐτῶν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὁμοίως τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ. διδάσκει δὲ προελθὼν τοῦ λόγου τὸν τρόπον ἧς παρασκευασθείσης εὐτρεπῆς γίνεται κατὰ Φιλίππου. καὶ οὕτως ἐκάτερος ὁ λόγος τεχνικῶς περαίνεται τῷ Δημοσθένει, τῷ βασιλεῖ μὲν μηδέπω πολεμεῖν, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα παρασκευῇ ἔχειν χρῆσθαι κατὰ Φιλίππου. οὕτω μὲν δι' ὅλου τοῦ λόγου τοῦ συμβουλευτικοῦ ἕτερα προτείνεται καὶ ἕτερα κατασκευάζεται, καὶ ὑπόθεσις ὑποθέσει συμπλέκονται. ἔχεις δύο ταῦτα παραδείγματα ἀγώνων ἐτέρων προτεινομένων, ἐτέρων

συγκατασκευαζομένων, τὸ μὲν δικανικοῦ εἶδους, τὸ δὲ συμβουλευτικοῦ.

[8] Ἐπεὶ μέντοι συμβουλευτικῶν καὶ δικανικῶν ἐμνήσθημεν, λάβε καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνος παραδείγματα ἀγώνων πλειόνων συμπεπλεγμένων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάντων «τῶν» μερῶν τῆς ῥητορικῆς συναγομένων. ἡ Σωκράτους Ἀπολογία τὴν μὲν πρότασιν ἔχει, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ, ἀπολογίαν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων κατηγορία, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα εἰς δίκην ὑπήγαγον. καὶ κέκρυπται τὸ πικρὸν τῆς κατηγορίας τῷ ἐπεικεῖ τῆς ἀπολογίας· ἃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογεῖται, Ἀθηναίων κατηγορεῖ. δύο μὲν αὗται συμπλοκαί. τρίτη δέ· ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ Σωκράτους ἐγκώμιον, καὶ τὸ ἐπαχθές τοῦ λόγου ἐπεσκίασται τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ τῆς ἀπολογίας· τρίτη αὕτη συμπλοκή. καὶ γεγόνاسι δύο μὲν δικανικαὶ ὑποθέσεις συνημμένα, ἡ ἀπολογία καὶ ἡ κατηγορία· μία δὲ ἐγκωμιαστική, ὁ ἔπαινος ὁ Σωκράτους. τετάρτη συμπλοκή, ἡ περ μεγίστη ὑπόθεσις τῷ Πλάτῳ, ἔχουσα συμβουλευτικῆς ιδέας δύναμιν, φιλόσοφον δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ βυβλίον παράγγελμα, ὅποιον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον. τοῦτο, ὡς μὲν ἐν ῥητορικῇ, συμβουλευτικὴ ἰδέα· ὡς δ' ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, δόγμα παραδιδόμενον· τοιοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὅποιος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολογίᾳ φαίνεται Σωκράτης. ταύτην τὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν τεττάρων ὑποθέσεων ζηλώσας ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τὴν μίμησιν ἐξήνεγκεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀπολογίαν ἔχει ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορεῖται, καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐλέγχοντος τοῦς ἡδικοτάτας καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίους, καὶ φανερώς ἐγκώμιον δεικνύντος ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιός ἐστι τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ τὸ δόγμα ὡς ἐν λόγῳ δικανικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ, ὅποιον εἶναι «δεῖ» τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σύμβουλον ἀγαθόν. λέγει γοῦν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ σαφῶς· «ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν κάγαθόν πολίτην δεῖ».

[9] Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σοι παρὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ Πλάτωνος. ἀλλὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης δύο ὑποθέσεις συμπλέκει ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφόμενῳ Ἐπιταφίῳ· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἐγκωμιαστικῆς ιδέας ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπιτάφιος, συμπλέκεται δὲ ἰδέα συμβουλευτική. οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἢ τοὺς ζῶντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρακαλεῖ. τοῦτο μέντοι ἀναγκαίως ποιεῖ· ὁ γὰρ λέγων ἐστὶ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον Περικλῆς, ἀνὴρ τοῦ πολέμου αἵτιος. ἔτι μέντοι τριῶν ὄντων κεφαλαίων τοῦ ἐπιταφίου, ἐπαίνου θρήνου παραμυθίας, τὸ ἐν τῶν κεφαλαίων ὑπερβαίνει, τὸν θρήνον· οὐ γὰρ συνέφερεν τῷ συμβουλευτικῷ οὐδὲ τῇ προτροπῇ τὸ θρηνεῖν, ὡς φησιν αὐτὸς ὁ Θουκυδίδης λέγων ὧςδε· «διὸ περ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι ἀραεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθῆσομαι». ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ἀναγκαίως, ἐπειδὴ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου τὸν λόγον ποιεῖται· ὡς εἰ ἐθρήνησεν τοὺς πρῶτους ἀποθανόντας, ἀθύμους ἂν ἐποίησεν τοὺς μέλλοντας πολεμεῖν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ τῆς διπλῆς ὑποθέσεως ἡ χρεία. πῶς δὲ ἔμιξεν τὰς κατασκευάς, καὶ πῶς μίξας αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ, φέρε θεασώμεθα. ἡ γὰρ κρᾶσις ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ σχήματος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐγκωμίου ὁ τοῦ γένους λόγος· οἱ οὖν προτρέποντες εἰς τοὺς πολέμους τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα διεξιόντες παρορμῶσι τοὺς ἀκούοντας· οὕτως συνετέλεσεν ὁ ἔπαινος τοῦ γένους εἰς τὴν συμβουλήν. πάλιν αὖ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἡ παραβολή,

τὸ παρεξετάζειν τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους ἑτέροις τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι ῥάδιος ὁ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἐκ τοῦ παραβαλεῖν τὰ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποδείκνυται. χρώμενος οὖν τῷ τῆς παραβολῆς λόγῳ καὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν συμβουλὴν περαίνει. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέσθη μὲν ἀποδείξειν ἀρχόμενος μὲν τοῦ λόγου ὑπισχνούμενος, ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ βεβαιούμενος, ὅπου καὶ ἐναλλάττει τὴν τάξιν τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ δείκνυσιν, ὅτι πρεσβύτερον ἦν τῷ ῥήτορι τὸ τῆς συμβουλῆς τοῦ ἐγκωμιαστικοῦ λόγου. λέγει γὰρ ὦδε· ‘ἀπὸ οἴας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἦλθον ἐπ’ αὐτά, καὶ τρόπων ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι [δεῖν] αὐτά, καὶ τὸν πάντα ὁμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων σύμφορον εἶναι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν’. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ’ ἀρχῇ· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἀποδείξας καὶ κεράσας ἐπάγει λέγων· ‘καὶ [εἰ] ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ’ οἷς νῦν λέγω φανεράν σημείοις καθιστάς’. τὸ γὰρ ‘ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτά’ τῆς ἐγκωμιαστικῆς ιδέας ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ κεφάλαιον ἐγκωμίου. τὸ δὲ ‘καὶ τὸν πάντα ὁμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων σύμφορον εἶναι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν’ τῆς συμβουλευτικῆς ιδέας ἐστί· κυριώτατον γὰρ ἐν συμβουλῇ κεφάλαιον τὸ συμφέρον. καὶ ‘διδασκαλίαν ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει’ τῆς συμβουλῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει. τὸ δὲ ‘τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ’ οἷς νῦν λέγω φανεράν σημείοις καθιστάς’ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου δείκνυσι τὴν ἰσχύν· τὴν δὲ κρᾶσιν αὐτῶν τὸ ‘ἅμα’ δηλοῖ. ταῦτά σοι καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδου.

[10] Ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ὄλῳ δράματι λόγον ἐσχηματισμένον περαίνει, ἐν τῇ Μελανίπῃ τῇ σοφῇ. κάκεῖ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα διπλοῦν, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου προσώπου τῆς Μελανίπης. συγγέγονεν Ἀναξαγόρα ὁ Εὐριπίδης· δόγμα δὲ ἦν Ἀναξαγόρου τὸ ‘ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα’. μετὰ ταῦτα συγγενόμενος Σωκράτει καὶ κρείττονος λόγου μετασχών, ἀξιώσας, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ τὸν Ἀναξαγόρου λόγον μνήμης ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸ τὸ δόγμα ἐν τῇ Μελανίπῃ τῇ σοφῇ. ἡ γοῦν ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῷ αἰνίττεται τὴν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον εὐνοίαν· φησὶ γὰρ ἡ Μελανίπῃ

Καὶ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ’ ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα. ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδου σχηματισμὸς οὗτος· ὁ δὲ τῆς Μελανίπης τίς; τὰ παιδιά ἐξέθηκεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς βουφόρβια· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ οἰόμενος εἶναι τοῦτο τέρας γνώμην ποιεῖται κατακαῦσαι τὰ παιδιά· ἡ δὲ σῶσαι βουλομένη τὰ τέκνα, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐσσι τέρας, φιλοσοφεῖ. καὶ οὕτως τὴν αὐτῆς χρεῖαν διοικεῖται ἐν παραινέσεως σχήματι φιλοσοφοῦσα.

[11] Ἡ δὲ γε κωμῳδία ὅτι πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ, ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ Εὐπολιν, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ἡ γὰρ τοι κωμῳδία αὐτὴ τὸ γελοῖον προστησαμένη φιλοσοφεῖ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁ καλὸς ὥς ἐν τῇ Παιδείᾳ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Περσῶν ὁμοσκεύους ποιῆσαι τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις, καὶ πάλιν βουλόμενος κοινὸν ἀγῶνα

ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἄριστα στρατευσομένοις προτιθέναι, τοῖς τε ὁμοτίμοις διαλεγόμενος ἐν Κύρου λόγῳ ὡς αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος, καὶ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνων προνοούμενος «σχηματίζει» ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ λόγῳ, παρήμι λέγειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀναβάσει ὑποπτεύουσι μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται, ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁ στόλος ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἔπεσθαι Κύρῳ βούλονται· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις δημηγορεῖ ὑποσχνούμενος μὲν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις πανταχόσε, ἐν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ κατασκευάζων τὸ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μένειν, μιμούμενος τὸν Ὀμήρου Φοίνικα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταῖς Λιταῖς προτείνεται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν λόγων τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὡς οὐ δυνατόν «δὲν» αὐτῷ μένειν, ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀπίη, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐψόμενος τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ. τὰς δὲ αἰτίας λέγων δι' ἃς οὐκ ἂν ἀπολειφθεῖη τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτι χρή μένειν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα κατασκευάζει, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν δεικνύς, καθ' ἃς προφάσεις οὐ μενετέον αὐτῷ, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπαιτῶν τὰς χάριτας, ἃς εἰς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα κατέθετο θρέψας καὶ παιδεύσας, Ἀγαμέμνονι δὲ χάριν φέρων τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα διανοούμενος τὸ σχῆμα τῶν λόγων ἐποίησατο, αὐτὸς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπεκιδιδάσκει. ὅπερ Ὀμήρῳ ἔθος, καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος μετεχειρίσατο τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο, παρ' Ὀμήρου μαθὼν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, τὸ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀποκρινομένων ῥήσεσι τῶν προειπόντων τὰς τέχνας διδάσκειν. λέγει τοίνυν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς

Μή μοι σύγχει θυμὸν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων,

Ἀτρεΐδῃ ἥρωϊ φέρων χάριν.

ὁρᾷς, ὡς τὴν τέχνην ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀπεκάλυψεν δεικνύς ὅτι συνῆκεν, ὡς πάντα εἰς χάριν Ἀγαμέμνονος λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν θυμὸν μαλάξαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. εἴτα ἐπειδὴ χάριτας αὐτῷ κατελογίσαστο ὁ Φοῖνιξ, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη ἀχάριστος εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸς πλαγίως ἀπολύεται τὴν αἰτίαν·

Ἴσον ἐμοὶ βασίλευε καὶ ἡμῖσιν μείρεο τιμῆς.

[12] Ταῦτα μὲν «τὰ» παραδείγματα ἕτερα προτείνοντος τοῦ ῥήτορος. ὑπολείπεται δὲ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τῶν τὰ ἐναντία λεγόντων οἷς βούλονται· ἐπειδὴ «δὲ» οὗτος ὁ λόγος τὸ τελεώτατον σχῆμά ἐστιν, πρότερον δεῖξωμεν παρὰ Ὀμήρῳ καὶ «ἃ» ἄλλα σχήματα ὑπεθέμεθα. ἦν δὲ τάδε· τὸ δοκεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ λέγοντα ἐτέραν ὑπόθεσιν περαίνειν, καὶ «τὸ» δοκεῖν ἐναντιούμενον ὡς ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ τὰς τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων ἀγώνων κατασκευᾶς ποιησόμενον ἀναβολῇ τὸ σχῆμα παραδοῦναι. τούτων τοίνυν τὰ παραδείγματα τίνα; ἐν τῷ β τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὅτε κατέχουσιν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ τε Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Νέστωρ, δοκοῦσιν μὲν ἀμφοτέρωι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν λέγειν οὐ μόνον γε ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν·

ὥστε γὰρ ἦ παῖδες νεαροὶ χῆραί τε γυναῖκες

ἀλλήλοισιν ὀδύρονται οἶκον δὲ νέεσθαι·

ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεύς· ὁ δὲ γε Νέστωρ

ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ παισὶν εἰκότες ἀγοράασθε

νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὐ τι μέλει πολεμήια ἔργα.

πάλιν Ὀδυσσεύς

οὐδέ τοι ἐκτελέουσιν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἣν περ ὑπέσταν

ἐνθάδ' ἔτι στείχοντες ἀπ' Ἀργεὸς ἵπποβότοιο.

εἴτα ὁ Νέστωρ

ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοίαιτο μήδεα τ' ἀνδρῶν. καὶ πάλιν Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν Κάλχαντος μαντείαν λέγει καὶ τὸ τέρας τὸ περὶ τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὰ τῆς στρουθοῦ τέκνα. ὁ δέ γε Νέστωρ

φημί γὰρ οὖν κατανεῦσαι ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα, καὶ λέγει τὰ οὐράνια σημεῖα καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς ἀστραπάς. ὅθεν καὶ παρέσχετο τοῖς πολλοῖς ζήτησιν, πότερος ἀμείνων ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις, Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ Νέστωρ· καὶ μαρτύρονται γε τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐκάτεροι λέγοντα, ὡς τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπήνεσεν τὸ πλῆθος, τὸν δὲ Νέστορα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων· οἱ μὲν

μῦθον ἐπαινήσαντες Ὀδυσσεὺς θείοιο, ὃ δὲ εἰπὼν

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν.

καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν περὶ τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν λόγων φλυαροῦσιν. τὸ δὲ ἦν ἄρα τέχνη· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν τοῦ ταῦτά λέγειν, ὥστε οὐδ' εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν λέγουσιν· σόφισμα δὲ τοῦτο ἔστι καὶ πάλαισμα τῶν ἀκουόντων. τί τοῦτο τὸ σόφισμα; ὁ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς κατασχεῖν βούλεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὠρμημένους ἀπέναντι· ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ κατεσχημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ μένοντας ἐκστρατεῦσαι βούλεται κατὰ γένη ἐκάστους ὑπὸ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἡγεμόνι. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἡ τῶν λόγων ὑπόθεσις οὐχ ἢ περ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ· γελοῖος γὰρ ἂν ἦν πεπεισμένοις ἔτι διαλεγόμενος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ Νέστορος;

κρῖν' ἀνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον·

ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγει, φύλα δὲ φύλοις

καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐφεξῆς εἰρημένα. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάνυ ἀρέσκει τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὁ λόγος ὁ Νέστορος· ὁ γὰρ Νέστωρ, ὃ μάλιστα βούλεται ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, τοῦτο περαίνει. βούλεται δὲ ἐκστρατεῦσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀπόπειραν πεποιήται·

ἀλλ' ἄγετ', αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.

διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Νέστορα, βουλόμενος πάντας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοίως ὁμογνώμονας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, λέγων

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παραμυθούμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως ἀγανακτοῦντας, ὁμολογίαν ἤδη ποιεῖται τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος, ἐπάγων τάδε τὰ ἔπη·

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν Ἀχιλεὺς τε μαχησάμεθ' εἵνεκα κούρης

ἀντιβίοις ἐπέεσσιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἦρχον χαλεπαίνων.

εἰ δέ ποτ' ἔς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν, οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα

Τρωσὶν ἀνάβλησις κακοῦ ἔσσεται οὐδ' ἡβαιόν. αὕτη οὖν ἡ τέχνη· ἐπειδὴ κατεσχημένους ὀρᾷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, μέλλει δὲ ἕτερον ἐπάξειν λόγον, τὸν τοῦ πῶς δεῖ στρατεῦεσθαι ἐκάστους, διὰ τῶν πεπεικότων ἤδη λόγων πορεύεται, ἵνα δεξαμένων τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἃ ἐπήνεσαν λάθῃ ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δοκοῦντα ἐτέρῳ λέγειν ἕτερα ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

[13] Ὁ δὲ Διομήδης τί ποτε αὐτῷ βούλεται ἀθυμοῦντι τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι λοιδορούμενος ἀκαίρως, ὡς ἂν τις οἰηθεῖη, καὶ ἀσυμφώνως τῇ αὐτοῦ γνῶμῃ καὶ ἀνακολούθως τῇ τοῦ προοιμίου θεραπείᾳ;

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχέσσομαι ἀφραδέοντι,

ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἄναξ, ἀγορή· σὺ δὲ μή τι χολωθῆς.

τὸ μὲν προοίμιον ἀνδρὸς πρᾶου, τὴν μέλλουσαν παρρησίαν ὡς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι γεννησομένην παραμυθουμένου· ἃ δὲ ἐπιφέρει·

ἄλκην μὲν μοι πρῶτον ὀνειδίσας ἐν Δαναοῖσιν,
φὰς ἔμεν ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἀνάλκιδα. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα
ἴσαο· Ἀργείων ἡμὲν νέοι ἡδὲ γέροντες.

σοὶ δὲ διάνδιχ' ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

σκῆπτρον μὲν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων·

ἄλκην δ' οὗ τοι δῶκεν, ὃ τοι κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἂν ἀλλήλοις συνᾶδοι τὸ ἀτυχοῦντι μνησικακεῖν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸν Διομήδην, καὶ <τὸ> ὅτε μὲν ὠνειδίσε, πρᾶως ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ τῷ χαλεπαίνοντι Σθενέλῳ ἐπιτιμῆσαι

Τέττα, σιωπῇ ἦσο, ἐμῷ δ' ἐπιτείθεο μύθῳ·

οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ νεμεσῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν·

ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀπομνημονεύειν; εἰ γάρ τις φαίη διὰ τὸ ἥριστευκέναι τὸν Διομήδην ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαίδευτον, οὐ μετρίως τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ χρώμενον. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐστίν; αὐτὴ ἡ κατηγορία Ἀγαμέμνονος μεγίστη παρὰ τοῦ Διομήδους τῷ βασιλεῖ συνηγορία ἐστὶ. βουλόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἐν προσποιήσει τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργῆς καὶ παρρησίας ἀναμένειν παραινεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ οἴεται ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πεισθῆσεσθαι ἀποπλεῖν, οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησιάζεται, ἐπιφέρων ταῖς λοιδορίαις τὴν ἔντεχνον ὑπόθεσιν·

δαιμόνι', οὕτω που μάλα ἔλπεα υἷας Ἀχαιῶν

ἀπτολέμους τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀνάλκιδας, ὡς ἀγορεύεις;

καὶ ὅσα ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα κελεύων, εἰ βούλεται, ἀποπλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας οὐκ ἄν' ἀνασχέσθαι ἀπελθεῖν φάσκων· ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ νεανικῶς πάνυ ἐπαπειλῶν

εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί,

φευγόντων

νῶϊ δ', ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε, μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε τέκμωρ

Ἰλίου εὖρωμεν· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ εἰλήλουσμεν.

τοῦτό σοι τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ κατηγοροῦντα συναγορεύειν, ἐσχηματισμένῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενον.

[14] ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ διαδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον παρὰ τοῦ Διομήδους τί ποιεῖ, θεασώμεθα καὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν τέχνην ἐξετάσωμεν, πρότερον τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἂν ἀπλῶς ἦ λεγόμενος ὁ λόγος, καταμαθόντες. ἐπαινεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Διομήδην τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐπαινέσας δὲ οὐ φησι πάντα ἐκτελέσαι τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐκτελέσαι τὰ ῥητέα τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰτιᾶται. ὑποσχνεῖται δὲ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖν καὶ πάντα διεξελεύσεσθαι· εἴτα μακρὰ προοιμιασάμενος καὶ ἐπανατεινάμενος λόγους τινὰς θαυμαστοὺς ὡς ἐρῶν, τοὺς μὲν φύλακας ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν, τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι συμβουλεύει δαῖτα παρασκευάζειν τοῖς γέρουσι, κάκεῖ φησὶν πολλῶν λεγόντων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἄριστα λέγοντος αἰρήσεσθαι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. ταῦτα οὕτως μὲν ἀκοῦσαι ἄτοπὰ ἐστίν. ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι <ὁ> Νέστωρ καὶ αὐτὸς σχηματίζει, καὶ

δέχεται μὲν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διομήδους εἰρημένα, οὐχ ἧ γνώμη <δὲ ὁ> Διομήδης εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτῷ συμφέρει πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ὁ γὰρ Διομήδης χαριζόμενος τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπέπληξεν αὐτῷ· ὃ δὲ ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν παρρησίαν, ὡς καλῶς αὐτὸν λοιδορησάμενον τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι. τί οὖν τοῦτο βούλεται; παρασκευάσαι βούλεται τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἰκετεῦσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποδέχεται τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα παρρησίαν. 'ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἴκεο μύθων' φησίν, 'ἧ μὴν καὶ νέος ἔσσι' ...,

ἀτὰρ πεπνυμένα βάζεις

Ἀργείων βασιλῆας

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγών, ὡς σεῖο γεραίτερος εὐχομαι εἶναι,

ἐξείπω καὶ πάντα διίξομαι.

τῆρει καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα· τὸ γὰρ 'ἐξείπω' ὥσπερ ἀπορρήτου λόγου ἐξαγόρευσιν ἔχει.

οὐδέ κέ τίς μοι

μῦθον ἀτιμήσει, οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων.

εἶτα πάλιν ἐπάγει τὸ σχῆμα ὡς διὰ κοινοῦ δόγματος καθαπτόμενος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος·

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέσπιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,

ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος.

εἶτα δείξας τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ λόγου τὸ μὲν ἀποκαλύπτει τὸν λόγον καὶ σαφῶς ἐλέγχειν αὐτὸν παρίησιν, ἀποπέμπεται δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους, ὡς ἂν μὴ αἰσχύνοιτο ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων ἐλεγχόμενος·

ἀλλ' ἦτοι νῦν μὲν πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ,

δόρπα τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα· φυλακτῆρες δὲ ἕκαστοι

λεξάσθων παρὰ τάφρον ὀρυκτὴν τείχεος ἐκτός.

εἶτα ἀποπέμψας τοὺς νέους ἰδίαν σύνοδον πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτῷ μηχανᾶται ἐπιφέρειν·

κούροισιν μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλομαι· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα,

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺ μὲν ἄρχε· σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτερός ἐσσι·

δαίνυ δαῖτα γέρουσιν· ἔοικέ τοι, οὐ τοι ἀεικές

πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομένων τῷ πείσειαι, ὅς κεν ἀρίστην

βουλὴν βουλεύσῃ.

εἶτα ἀναβαλλόμενος, ὡς εἰς τοῦτο ἐρῶν πάλιν ὑπαινίττεται καὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας τοῦ ἰκετεῦσαι δεῖν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐπάγει βιαίως πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα λέγων·

μάλα δὲ χρεὼ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς

ἐσθλῆς καὶ πυκινῆς, ὅτι δῆιοι ἐγγύθι νηῶν

καίουσιν πυρὰ πολλά. τίς ἂν τάδε γηθήσειε;

καὶ ἐπάγει τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς ἰκετείας, ὡς οὐ δι' ἀναβολῆς δέον αὐτὴν ἀλλ' ἤδη γενέσθαι·

νῦξ δ' <ἡδ'> ἡὲ διαρραΐσει στρατὸν ἡὲ σαώσῃ. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐν κοινῷ, ἐπειδὴ καθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ γέροντες γίνονται, ὥσπερ ἀποδείξας καὶ οὐ δεόμενος μακρῶν λόγων ἀποκαλύπτει τὸ σχῆμα φανερώς λέγων·

οὐ γάρ τις νόον ἄλλον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοήσει,
οἷον ἐγὼ νοέω ἡμὲν πάλαι ἡδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ἔξετι τοῦ, ὅτε διογενεὺς Βρισηίδα κούρην
χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας,
οὐ τι καθ' ἡμέτερόν γε νόον· μάλα γάρ τοι ἔγωγε
πόλλ' ἄπεμυθεόμην· σὺ δὲ σῶ μεγαλήτορι θυμῷ
εἴξας ἄνδρα φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατοὶ περ ἔτισαν,
ἡτίμησας· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχεις γέρας.

εἴτα ἐπάγει·

ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν

φρασσώμεσθ', ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν

δῶροισιν τ' ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπεσσι τε μειλιχίοισιν.

καὶ πείθεται τούτοις ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων. οὕτως σοι ὁ τρόπος τοῦ καὶ ὡς
ἀναβαλλόμενον ἐρεῖν ἤδη λέγειν τὸν ἐσχηματισμένον λόγον.

[15] Ἐπ' ἀνέλθωμεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπόλοιπον λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν τὰ ἐναντία
λεγόντων καὶ τὰ ἐναντία βουλομένων οἷς λέγουσιν. τοῦτου τοίνυν τοῦ
λόγου παράδειγμα ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐστὶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐν τῇ ἀποπείρᾳ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων ἡμῖν παραδιδούς. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προτείνας
τῇν ὑπόθεσιν

ἀλλ' ἄγετ' αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·

πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἣ θέμις ἐστί,

καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήισι κελεύσω·

ὑμεῖς δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρητύειν ἐπέεσσιν ἐπάγει τὴν τέχνην ἐν τῇ
δημηγορίᾳ ἀσθενεῖς προτάσεις προτείνων καὶ λαβὰς ἀντιλογίας διδοὺς τῷ
βουλομένῳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι καὶ στρεφόμενα λέγων. ἴδωμεν δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔπη·

Ζεὺς με μέγας Κρονίδης ἄτη ἐνέδησε βαρεῖη,

σχέτλιος, ὃς πρὶν μὲν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν

Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι.

ἔχοι τις ἂν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα· εἰ τοίνυν ὑπέσχετο καὶ
κατένευσεν, ὃ πέρ ἐστιν μέγιστον σημεῖον τοῦ ἀψευδεῖν τὸν Δία, ὡς αὐτὸς
ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Ὀμήρου λέγει·

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι, ὄφρα πεποιθήης·

τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον

τέκμωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν

οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὃ τί κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω·

εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὑπέσχετό σοι καὶ κατένευσεν, πῶς ἀξιοῖς ἀποπλεῖν;
εἴτα πάλιν ἐπάγει

νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλεύσατο, καί με κελεύει

δυσκλέα Ἄργος ἰκέσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν,

πάλιν ἀντιλαβὴν διδοὺς ἐν τῷ 'δυσκλέα'· δικαίως γὰρ ἂν τις ἀντείποι
πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ χρή αἰσχυρῶς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. εἴτα ἐξῆς λέγει

οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέει φίλον εἶναι· <τῇρει> τὴν φωνὴν αὐτήν,

ὅτι στοχασμὸν ἔχει, οὐκ ἀπόφασιν σαφῇ. εἴτα ἐφεξῆς

ὃς δὴ πολλὰν πολλὰν κατέλυσε κάρηνα

ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει·

πάλιν εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς αὐτόν· εἰ τοίνυν κατέλυσε πόλεις <πολλὰς> καὶ καταλύσει, πιστευτέον τῷ Διὶ καὶ μενετέον. τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς θαυμασίως στρεφόμενόν ἐστιν, ὃ χρῆται καὶ ὁ ἀντιλέγων,

αἰσχροὺν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι,

μᾶψ οὕτω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν

ἄπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.

αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ αἰσχρὸν ὁ μένειν ἀξιῶν προτείνει, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτὰ Ὅδυσσεὺς λέγει. τὸ δὲ τέλος τῶν λόγων ἰσχυρῶς ἐναντία βουλομένου ἐστὶν οἷς λέγει

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες,

φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

τὸ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος κατέχει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀποπέμπει τοὺς Ἕλληνας. τοῦτω γέ τοι τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ἡ Ἥρα πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίαν χρεῖται, τοῦτω ἡ Ἀθηναῖα πρὸς τὸν Ὅδυσσέα, τοῦτω Ὅδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοῦτω κέχρηται, καὶ ὅλως Ὅμηρος πανταχοῦ τὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὄνομα ἐπ' αἰσχροῦ καὶ δειλίας τάττει. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνδόσιμα καὶ εὐδιάλυτα προτείνει, καὶ στρεφόμενα καὶ ἐναντία λέγει.

[16] Λοιπὸς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λόγος, τοῦ λανθάνειν ἢ τέχνη. τίς οὖν ἡ τέχνη; ἢ τοῦ πάθους προσθήκη. ὥς γὰρ σχετλιάζων τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖται, καὶ ἥρξασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μέμφεσθαι τὸν Δία καὶ βλασφημεῖν εἰς τὸν θεόν· οὕτως ἔκλεψεν τὸν ἀκροατήν. οἱ γὰρ ἀκούοντες οἴονται αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ χρώμενον ἀλλὰ πάθει ταῦτα διεξιέναι. αὕτη καὶ τοῦ σχηματίζοντα τὸν σχηματισμὸν τοῦτον λαθεῖν ἢ μέθοδος.

Ἔχεις οὖν συμπλοκὴν πίστεων, ἢ περ μεγίστη σχημάτων μέθοδος· ἃ περ ἂν εἴπες εἰς ἀπλήν ὑπόθεσιν, τὰ αὐτὰ λέγοντα ἐπὶ τῶν πλαγίων λόγων τὸ σχῆμα περαίνειν· συγκατασκευάζοντα τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀγῶνα τῷ κοινῷ, ὥς ἔμαθες παρὰ Δημοσθένους, παρὰ Θουκυδίδου, παρὰ Πλάτωνος· εὐδιάλυτα λέγειν· στρεφομένοις χρῆσθαι λόγοις ἐν προσποιήσει πάθους. καὶ ὅλως εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι τὰ σχήματα οὐχὶ προσκρούματά ἐστιν <ἐν> ὀνομάτων ἀμφιβολίαις λεγόμενα, ἀλλὰ ἀγῶνες ὅλοι τέχνη τῆς συμπλοκῆς διοικούμενοι. ἢ μὲν γὰρ διαίρεσις ἀπλῇ τῶν σχημάτων, ἢ δὲ κατασκευὴ τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐκάστων ὥς δι' ἀπλῶν πορευομένοις τοὺς πλαγίους περαίνει λόγους.

Περὶ ἔσχηματισμένων β

[1] Τολμῶσί τινες λέγειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔσχηματισμένη ἰδέα λόγων. δεῖ γὰρ ἀπλῶς λέγειν ἢ μὴ λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον τὸ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν λέγειν. εἰ γὰρ συνήσιν ὁ ἀκούων, ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν τῷ φανερώς ἀκούοντι· εἰ μὴ συνήσῃ, πλέον οὐδὲν τῷ λέγοντι. ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμέν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει ὀρθῶς λέγειν ὁ λέγων μὴ εἶναι ἔσχηματισμένους λόγους, ὥστε τοῦναντίον οὐδεὶς λόγος ἀσχημάτιστος οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦς λόγος οὐδεὶς. καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ τῶν συντρόφων καὶ συνήθων ἀρχώμεθα. τὸ προσαγορεύειν ἄνευ σχήματος οὐ γίνεται· ὁ μὲν φιλοφρόνως προσαγορεύει, ὁ δὲ αἰδημόνως, ὁ δὲ σκώπτων, ὁ δὲ ἰαρωῶς, ὁ δὲ ὡς θαυμάζων. αἱ κλήσεις εἰς ἴδια δεῖπνα σχηματισμοῦ δέονται· οὐ γὰρ πάντας ὁμοίως τις καλεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἐκάστῳ τὴν πρέπουσαν κλῆσιν προστίθῃσιν. αἱ τῶν δανεισμάτων ἀπαιτήσεις οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὅμοιαι, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπείας δέονται καὶ διοικήσεως· καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰσι θρασύτεραι, αἱ δὲ μετριώτεραι, αἱ δὲ ἄλλης προφάσεως δέονται. ἵνα βραχέως εἴπω, ὅλον τὸ τῆς εἰρωνείας σχῆμα ἔσχηματισμένου λόγου σημεῖόν ἐστι.

[2] Δείξομεν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνας ὅλους ἔσχηματισμένους καὶ λόγους δημηγορικοὺς [ἔσχηματισμένους] καὶ πανηγυρικῆς ἰδέας, καὶ ἀποφανοῦμεν τῶν σχημάτων τὰ εἶδη. ἔστιν δὲ ταῦτα· ἥτοι λέγει μὲν <ᾧ> βούλεται, εὐπρεπῶς δὲ λέγει· ἢ ἕτερα προτείνων ἕτερα διοικεῖται· ἢ τὰ ἐναντία προτείνων τὰ ἐναντία διοικεῖται. <ποῦ> τούτων τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία; Ὅμηρος πάντα παραδίδωσι.

[3] Τὸ λέγοντα ζητεῖν εὐπρεπῶς λέγειν δείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰριδος καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγανακτοῦντος πρὸς τὸν Δία· παραινεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ Ἴρις εὐπρεπέστερον λέγειν, ἵν' ἀκινδυνότερος ὁ λόγος ᾗ· καὶ ταυτὶ παραινοῦσα ἐν τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς παραινέσεως τὸ εὐπρεπὲς διοικεῖ· ὥστε καὶ τὸ παράγγελμά ἐστι καὶ ἡ τέχνη παραδιδομένη·

Οὕτω γὰρ δὴ τοι, γαίηοχε κυανοχαῖτα,
τόνδε φέρω Διὶ μῦθον ἀπηνέα τε κρατερόν τε,
ἢ τι μεταστρέψεις;

ταῦτα μὲν παραινεῖ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς διδάσκουσα. ποιεῖ δὲ αὕτῃ αὐτὸ πῶς; μετὰ γὰρ ἐπαίνων θεραπεύει αὐτόν, ἵνα ἀνάσχηται τῆς παρρησίας, καὶ τὴν ἀπειλὴν αὐτῷ ἐπάγει ὀνόματι ἐνὶ λέγουσα 'Διὶ μῦθον'.

[4] Ὁ δὲ ἕτερα λέγων καὶ ἕτερα διοικούμενος λόγος ἐστὶ τῆς Θέτιδος πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ἄλογος εἶναι δοκῶν, ἂν μὴ τις τὸ σχῆμα γνῶ. παραμυθουμένη γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλου θανάτῳ λέγει

ἀγαθὸν δὲ γυναικί περ ἐν φιλότῃτι
μίσησθαι.

τίς ἂν εἴη ταύτης τῆς παραινέσεως ἀπρεπεστέρα παρὰ μητρός; ἀλλὰ ὡς μητρικῶς παραμυθουμένη ὑπαινίττεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι οὐ χρὴ αὐτόν τρυφᾶν, ἀλλὰ μεμῆσθαι καὶ τῆς προτέρας χάριτος τῆς περὶ τὴν Βρισηίδα, ὅτι ἐπήμυνεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ ἵνα ἀπολάβῃ, δεινὰ πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἀχαιοί.

Ἴν' οὖν μὴ ὀνειδίζοι τοῦτο, ὡς λύπης παραμυθίαν προτείνουσα τὸ καὶ συναναπαύσασθαι τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἐποιήσατο. σαφέστερον δὲ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὁ Διομήδους λόγος πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα, ὅτε Ἀγαμέμνων ἀπόπειραν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀριστέων, τὸ δεύτερον κελεύων φεύγειν·

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχέσσομαι ἀφραδέοντι,
ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἄναξ, ἀγορῇ· σὺ δὲ μὴ τι χολωθῆς.
ἄλκῃν μὲν μοι πρῶτον ὀνειδίσας ἐν Δαναοῖσιν,
φὰς ἔμεν ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἀνάλκιδα. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα
ἴσας· Ἀργεῖοι ἡμὲν νέοι ἡδὲ γέροντες.
σοὶ δὲ διάνδιχ' ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω,
σκήπτρῳ μὲν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων·
ἄλκῃν δ' οὗ τοι δῶκεν, ὃ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.
δαιμόνι', οὕτω που μάλα ἔλπεα υἷας Ἀχαιῶν
ἀπτολέμους τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀνάλκιδας, ὡς ἀγορεύεις;
εἰ δέ τοι αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐπέσσεται, ὥστε νέεσθαι,
ἔρχεο· πάρ τοι ὁδός. νῆες δέ τοι ἄγχι θαλάσσης
ἐστᾶσ', αἶ τοι ἔποντο Μυκῆνηθεν μάλα πολλαί.
ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μενέουσι κερηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,
εἰς ὃ κέ περ Τροίην διαπέρσομεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί,
φευγόντων σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν·
νῶϊ δ', ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε, μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε τέκμωρ
Ἰλίου εὕρωμεν· σὺν γὰρ θεῶ ἐιλήλουθμεν.

οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἂν μὴ τι ἕτερον διοικῆται ἢ λέγῃ, παντάπασιν ἄτοπός ἐστι καὶ ἀσχήμων· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι ἀπρεπέστατον. καὶ ἔοικέ πως ὁ Διομήδης ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι ἀπρεπῶς χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ· προοιμιάζεται γοῦν παραιτούμενος. καὶ ἀτοπώτατον πρᾶγμα λέγειν, ὅτε μὲν αὐτῷ ὀνειδίζειν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ἤνεγκεν εὐπρεπῶς καὶ τῷ Σθενέλῳ ἀποκρινομένῳ ἐπετίμησεν

Τέττα, σιωπῇ ἥσο, ἐμῷ δ' ἐπιπέθεο μύθῳ.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ νεμεσῶ Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν

ὀτρύνοντι μάχεσθαι εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς.

νῦν δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκειται καὶ μνησικακεῖ. εἰ δέ τις φαίῃ 'ἐπειδὴ ἡρίστευσεν, θαρρεῖ', τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ὑβριστότερος φαίνεται, εἰ τῇ τύχῃ ἐντρυφᾷ. ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι αὗται αἱ λοιδορίαι αἱ πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα χρυσὸς ἦν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι. ἐν γὰρ σχήματι τοῦ ἀγανακτεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν συναγορεύει· καὶ βουλόμενος παραινεῖσαι τοῖς ἀριστεῦσι μένειν καὶ μὴ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι οὐκ ἐν σχήματι παραινέσεως διαλέγεται ἀλλ' ἐν ὀργῇ τῇς πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα σχήματι κατετόλμησεν τοιαύτην γνώμην καταθέσθαι εἰς μέσον. ἤδη γὰρ ἡ λοιδορία ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχεται·

δαιμόνι', οὕτω που μάλα ἔλπεα υἷας Ἀχαιῶν

ἀπτολέμους τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀνάλκιδας, ὡς ἀγορεύεις;

ἂ γὰρ ἔδει συμβουλεύοντα πείθειν, μένειν, ταῦτα λέγει ὡς ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ ἀξιοῖ μένειν αὐτοὺς ὡς φεύγοντας· προτείνεται γάρ. εἴθ' ἢ ἐπίτασις τοῦ 'σὺ

πορεύου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μενοῦσιν'. οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοὶ συμβουλευεῖν μένειν, ἀλλ' ὡς πεπεισμένων διαλέγεται· εἴτα φοβούμενος, μὴ ἐνδῶσιν, καὶ αὐτοῖς συγχωρεῖ φεύγειν. οὗτος ὁ σχηματισμός ἐστι τοῦ ἄλλα λέγοντα ἄλλα διοικεῖν.

[5] Τὸ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία οἷς λέγει διοικεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ ἐστὶ δημηγορία τῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος. καὶ τηρητέον, ὅτι ἐν κινδύνοις οἱ σχηματισμοὶ εὐρίσκονται. ὁ γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀπόρως ἔχει ἐκστρατεῦσαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ προτείνει αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν·

Ἄλλ' ἄγετ' αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν.

πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἢ θέμις ἐστί,

καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήισι κελεύσω·

ὑμεῖς δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρητύειν ἐπέεσσιν.

καὶ τῆς διαπεύρας ἡ αἰτία φανερά τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀφέστηκεν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ οὐ συστρατεύεται (ἦν δὲ ἡγεμὼν πάντως τοῦ στρατεύματος), ζητεῖ, πῶς ἂν δίχα Ἀχιλλέως ἐξέλθοιεν. καὶ οἶδεν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὀργιζομένους ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ, καὶ φοβεῖται, μὴ ἄρα, ἂν κελεύσῃ, οὐχ ὑπακούσωσιν τοῦ ταγεύοντος·

ἀλλ' ἄγετ' αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ

πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἢ θέμις ἐστί,

καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήισι κελεύσω.

καὶ ἂν τις προτείνῃ ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐ τυγχάνει τῆς προαιρέσεως Ἀγαμέμνων, ἀλλ' ἀποπειρώμενος κινδυνεύει ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ ἀτυχῶς χρήται τῷ λόγῳ (ὠρμήκασι γὰρ εἰς τὰς πατρίδας), ἀγνοεῖ ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνονος τέχνη αὕτη ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρμῆσαι αὐτούς· οὐ γὰρ οἶεται τῇ ἀποπειρᾷ τῶν λόγων καθέξειν αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ τέχνη; ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτοῦσιν ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως, οὐκ ἐνδείκνυνται δὲ τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν, ἕως ἂν χρεία γένηται ἐξόδου, βούλεται αὐτοὺς ἀπορρηξαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ φανεροὺς γενέσθαι ὀργιζομένους, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων κατασχεθῆναι. τοῦτό τοι καὶ γίνεται· φαίνονται ἐτοιμῶς ἀπίνοντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ Νέστωρ κατέχουσιν αὐτούς. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀποπειρώμενος φανερώς τοῦ σχήματος τὴν διδασκαλίαν παιδεύει· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία οἷς βούλεται λέγει. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μέθοδος τούτων τῶν λόγων θαυμαστὴ τις καὶ ἄτοπος· τὰς γὰρ ἐν λόγοις ῥητορικοῖς κακίας ταύτας αὕτη ἡ ἰδέα ἀρετὰς ἀναφαίνει. εἰσὶ δὲ κακίαι λόγων ῥητορικῶν τό τε εὐδιάλυτα λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀγχίστροφα· ὦν τὸ μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ καὶ κινδύνου. δι' ἀμφοτέρων πορεύεται ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων εἰκότως. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὅταν τις ἂ βούληται λέγειν, οὐ χρή αὐτῶν οὗτ' ἐναντίοις ἔπεσι χρῆσθαι οὗτ' εὐδιαλύτοις, οὕτως ὅταν τις ὦν λέγει τὰ ἐναντία βούληται, ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν κακίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρετὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιήσασθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, συμβήσεται αὐτῷ ἐναντιώσει περιπεσεῖν ἄλλα τε πεῖσαι, οὐχ ἂ βούλεται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ μελετῶντες ἴσασιν. ὅταν γὰρ τις προσέλθῃ τῇ βουλῇ ἀξίων ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐναντία βούλεται ὦν λέγει. καὶ οἱ τὰ δῶρα «τὰ» παρὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπωθούμενοι, βουλόμενοι δέξασθαι, λέγουσιν μὲν τὰ ἐναντία, πράττουσιν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς διδάξαι, πῶς μὲν λέγει εὐδιάλυτα

καὶ στρεφόμενα, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πῶς ἔλαθεν τοῦτο ποιῶν· ἐπεὶ συμβήσεται, ἂν κατὰφωρος ἢ τέχνη γένηται, καὶ τὸν ἀκούοντα ἀντιτεχνάζειν καὶ ἀντισχηματίζειν, προσποιούμενον πείθεσθαι καὶ συγχωρεῖν. ὅτι μέντοι εὐδιάλυτα λέγει, ἐκεῖνο σημεῖον·

ὅς πρὶν μὲν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν

Ἰλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι·

εἰ τοίνυν ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν, περιμενετέον.

νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλευέσαστο, καί με κελεύει

δυσκλέα Ἄργος ἰκέσθαι· πάλιν ἀντιλαβὴν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ δυσκλεᾶ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα μὲν εὐδιάλυτα· ἐκεῖνα δὲ σαφῶς στρεφόμενα

αἰσχροὺν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι,

μὰς οὕτω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν

ἄπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἢ δὲ μάχεσθαι.

ταῦτα φανερώς ὁ ἀντιλέγων ἔρεῖ·

αἰσχροὺν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

πῶς οὖν διοικεῖ; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ εὐδιάλυτα λέγει καὶ στρεφόμενα, δῆλον· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἂν ἐπεξίῃ τις τὴν τέχνην τῶν ἐπῶν, εὐρήσει. ἀλλὰ τίς ἢ τέχνη τῶν τοιούτων; πάθους προβολὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δοκῇ ὑπὸ λύπης φέρεσθαι αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος, μὴ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς διοικεῖσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο Ἀγαμέμνων ἀπὸ σχετλιασμοῦ ἤρξατο·

Ζεὺς με μέγας Κρονίδης ἄτη ἐνέδησε βαρεῖη

σχέτλιος.

ὁ οὖν τῷ Διὶ οὕτω προσφερόμενος καὶ βλασφημῶν δῆλός ἐστιν ὑπὸ λύπης <ἐξιστάμενος> καὶ ἀσύμφωνα αὐτῷ λέγων. πάθους οὖν προβολὴ κλοπὴ γίνεται διοικήσεως τεχνικῆς. τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν οἷς βούλεται.

[6] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τέταρτον σχῆμα βαθύτατον, τὸ δι' ἄλλων πορευόμενον καὶ παντελῶς ἐπ' ἄλλης ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον ποιούμενον ἄλλην περαίνειν. καὶ τούτου Ὅμηρος τὸ παράδειγμα ἔδωκεν καὶ ἔλαθεν τοὺς πολλούς. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ ἀποπείρᾳ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἣν ποιεῖται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἱ κατέχοντες τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν εἰσὶν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Νέστωρ. καὶ θαυμαστὸν τί ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστί; διπλοῦν τὸ θαυμαστόν· ὅμοιος ὁ Νέστωρ μηδὲν ἴδιον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ὥσπερ μαθητῆς τὰ διδασκάλου· καὶ ἀπονέμει αὐτῷ ἔπαινον ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὡς κρατοῦντι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς, ὃ πέρ ἐστιν ἀτοπώτατον. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ διδάσκαλοι, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ἐπήνεσεν τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα μὴ λυποῖτο ὁ γέρων, καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων τὸν γέροντα· ὥσπερ παιδαρίων ἐν διδασκαλείῳ ἐπιδεικνυμένων καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀπονέμοντος, ἵνα μὴ κλαίῃ τὰ παιδιά. ἀλλ' ἢ τέχνη τίς; ὅπως ἢ αὐτὴ ὑπόθεσις τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἐστὶν Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Νέστορι. ἔροιτο ἂν τις· 'καὶ πῶς οὐχ ἢ αὐτὴ ὑπόθεσις; τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ λέγουσιν'. τοῦτο ἢ τέχνη ἢ Νέστορος, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ λέγων οὐκ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν λέγει. ἀλλ' ἢ τέχνη τίς; ἐπειδὴ μέλλει χαλεπὴν ὑπόθεσιν πείθειν, πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πεπεικυίας ὑποθέσεως. πεπεισμένοι εἰσὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς μένειν, καὶ ἤνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τὴν

ἐπιτίμησιν καὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν. ἀλλ' ἔχει χαλεπωτέραν ὑπόθεσιν ὁ γέρων·
πορεύεται οὖν δι' ὧν ἔπεισεν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει Ὀδυσσεΐ·

ῶστε γὰρ ἢ παῖδες νεαροὶ χῆραί τε γυναῖκες

ἀλλήλοισιν ὀδύρονται οἶκον δὲ νέεσθαι

Ὀδυσσεύς. τὰ αὐτὰ ὁ γέρων·

ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ παισὶν εἰκότες ἀγοράασθε

νηπιάχοις.

Πῇ δὲ συνθεσίου καὶ ὄρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν;

ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοίατο μήδεά τ' ἀνδρῶν <Νέστωρ. ἀλλ'
Ὀδυσσεύς>

μάλα δὴ σε, ἄναξ, ἐθέλουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ

πᾶσιν ἐλέγχιστον θέμεναι μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσιν.

λέγει ἐκεῖνος σημῖλον μαντείας τὸ περὶ τὸν Κάλχαντα, οὗτος τὰ τῆς
ἀστραπῆς· ὥστε διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πορεύονται. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ παραλλάττον;
διδάσκει τὸ παραλλάττον τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῶν ἐπαίνων ἢ διαίρεσις.
ἐπήνεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ κοινὸν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα· πεισθέντες
μένουσιν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως λαμπρόν·

τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ' ἥ ἐ νέεσθαι

ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῇσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

ὁ γέρων ἄλλην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχει· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πεπεισμένοι εἰσὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες
μένειν, ζητεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐκστρατεῦσαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος τοῦ μένειν ἄνευ τοῦ
ταχθῆναι· ὁ περ μάλιστα ὑπόθεσις ἐστὶ καὶ ζήτησις τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος·

ἀλλ' ἄγετ' αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν,

πῶς <ἀν> ἄνευ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐκστρατεύουσιντο. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ Νέστορος
ἡ ὑπόθεσις·

κρῖν' ἀνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον·

ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγει, φύλα δὲ φύλοις.

εἰ δέ κεν ὥς ἔρξης καὶ τοὶ πείθωνται Ἀχαιοί,

γνώσει ἔπειθ', ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακὸς ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν

ἦδ' ὅς κ' ἐσθλὸς ἔησι· κατὰ σφέας γὰρ μαχέονται.

αὕτη ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἐστίν, ἣς χρεῖαν ἔχει ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων· αὕτη ἡ ἐπικίνδυνος
ὑπόθεσις τῶν λόγων τῷ Νέστορι· ὥς ἐν παρέργῳ δὲ αὐτὴν ἔρριψεν

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἔρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν

ὥς προσθήκην τῷ λόγῳ ποιούμενος· καὶ γίνεται ὥσπερ τέλος τῆς
δημηγορίας τῆς πεπεικίας χρεῖα δημηγορίας ἀναγκαιοτέρα. διὰ τοῦτο
Ἀγαμέμνων τυχῶν ὧν ἐβούλετο ἐπαινεῖ τὸν γέροντα·

Ἥ μὰν αὖτ' ἀγορῇ νικᾷς, γέρον, υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.

αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων,

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν.

τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος

χεροῖν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησιν ἀλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε.

ὅτι δὲ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ Νέστορος, τὸ ἐκστρατεῦσαι, καὶ ὅτι
τοῦτο ἐπαινεῖ σχήματι ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὥς τυχῶν ὧν ἐβούλετο, τίς ὁ ἔλεγχος
καὶ τίς ἡ ἀπόδειξις; φοβεῖται, μὴ οὐ πείσῃ ὁ Νέστωρ, καὶ βοηθεῖ αὐτῷ,

ὅσα δύνатаι. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ποιοῦν πείθειν τὸν Νέστορα; ὀργὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως τῶν Ἑλλήνων. παραμυθεῖται τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὁμολογῶν ἡμαρτηκέναι, καὶ μέμνηται τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ἵνα μαλάξῃ αὐτῶν τὸν θυμὸν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. ἐπεὶ τί βούλεται τὸ

ἀλλὰ μοι αἰγίοχος Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν,
ὅς με μετ' ἀπρήκτους ἔριδας καὶ νείκεα βάλλει.
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν Ἀχιλεὺς τε μαχεσσάμεθ' εἵνεκα κούρης
ἀντιβίοις ἐπέεσσιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἦρχον χαλεπαίων.
εἰ δέ ποτ' ἔς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν, οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα
Τρωσὶν ἀνάβλησις κακοῦ ἔσσεται οὐδ' ἥβαιόν.

ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς οἰκτεῖραι, εἰ ὁμολογεῖ τὸ ἁμάρτημα, καὶ ἀπεπλήρωσεν αὐτῶν τὸν θυμόν. εἴτα συναγορεύσας τῷ γέροντι καὶ παραμυθησάμενος, ἀφείς ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκειότατον ἔρχεται, ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα·

νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα. ταῦτα κελεύσας ἐπάγει σφίσι καὶ τὴν ἀπειλήν, ἐὰν δὴ τις χωρίζηται·
ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα
ἄρκιον ἔσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἡδ' οἰωνοὺς.

ὥστε ἄρχεται ἀπὸ ἐπαίνου συναγορεύων τῷ Νέστορι, εἴτα παραμυθεῖται τὸν θυμὸν ὁμολογῶν ἡμαρτηκέναι, εἴτα κελεύει καὶ ἀπειλεῖ βασιλικῶς. αὕτη οὖν ἡ τέχνη τίς ἐστι; τὸ ἐπ' ἄλλης ὑποθέσεως πεπεικυίας πρότερον «εἰπόντα» ἐπὶ τέλει ὡς πάρεργον ἐρρίπτειν τὴν οἰκειοτέραν ὑπόθεσιν. ταύτην τὴν τέχνην τίς ἐμιμήσατο καὶ τίς ἐξηγήσατο; Πλάτων. ἐγκώμιον λέγει ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ Ἀλκιβιάδης Σωκράτους. ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ ἐγκωμίου λέγει πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης· ὄρα τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀγάθων, μὴ πάθῃς, ὃ περ οἱ πολλοί. ὁ γὰρ Σωκράτης οὗτος προσποιεῖται ἐραστής εἶναι, εἴτα ἐρώμενος ἀναφαίνεται. μὴ οὖν καὶ σὺ τὸ αὐτὸ πάθῃς, ὃ περ καὶ πάντες πεπόνθασι. ἔτυχεν δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐρῶν τοῦ Ἀγάθωνος καὶ ἐβούλετο ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἐρᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἔρριψεν τὴν παραίνεσιν τὴν πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου λέγων. αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖται ὁ Σωκράτης τὴν τέχνην· «νήφειν μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη· ἐδόκει γὰρ μεθύειν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης· «οὐ γὰρ ἂν κομφῶς γε» φησὶν «τὸ σατυρικὸν δρᾶμα περιέβαλες, εἰ μὴ ἔνηφες. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα εἰρηκας ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαβάλλειν ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀγάθωνα, ἵνα ἐγὼ μὲν σοῦ ἐρῶ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου. καὶ γὰρ ἐποίησας αὐτό» φησὶν «ὡς οὐδέν τι, ἐπὶ τέλει αὐτὸ εἰπὼν, ὡς οὐχ ἔνεκα τούτου πάντα τὰ ἄλλα εἰρηκῶς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλαθες, ἀλλὰ τὸ σατυρικὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτο ἀνεφάνη». οὕτω γὰρ τοι γίνεται ἡ τέχνη καὶ παραδίδοται.

Πειρασόμεθα οὖν δεῖξαι μετὰ τὰ Ὀμηρικὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν καὶ ἐν δημηγορίαις καὶ ἐν δίκαις καὶ ἐν πανηγυρικοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν διαλόγοις τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος γινόμενον.

[7] Πρότερον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο εἶδος ἴδωμεν λόγων ἐσχηματισμένων, διπλοῦν τοῦτο· τὸ μὲν πρὸ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων λεχθήσεσθαι παρρησίας ἔνδειξιν τῶν λεχθησομένων ἀσφαλῆ προανακρουομένην τὸ λυπηρὸν τοῦ ἀκούσματος· τὸ δὲ ἐν διοικήσει προσώπων ὑπαλλαγήν, ὅτε διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐτέροις

«τις διαλέγεται» καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ μὴ οἷς ἐπιπλήττει αὐτοῖς διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀκούοντων αὐτῶν ἑτέροις ταῦτα λέγειν, ἃ τοῦτοις προσήκει. τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον τὸ εἶδος; ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνέστη καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὁ μάντις ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ἐλέγχοντες τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, ὅτι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ νοσήματος αὐτὸς παρέχει. ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν συμβούλου σχήματι ὀνειδίζει τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἀπόρως διακείμενος καὶ ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ ἀφορμὴν ποιεῖ τῆς παρρησίας τῷ μάντι· ὁ δὲ μάντις ἀντιστοιχῶν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τῇ ἀρνήσει ὣν ὑπέβαλεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ζητῶν τὰς αἰτίας, προδιοικεῖται τὸ φανερὰν γενέσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν δεινῶν. ἴδωμεν οὖν τοὺς ἐκατέρων λόγους, πῶς ἔχουσιν δι' ἀλλήλων καὶ πῶς τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἔχουσιν οἱ μὲν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐν βαθύτητι ζητήσεως, οἱ δὲ τοῦ μάντεως «ἐν» ἀσφαλείᾳ πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως.

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ἄμμε παλιμπλαγχθέντας οἶω
ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν, εἴ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγοιμεν,
εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιοῦς.
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα
ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον (καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶν),
ὅς κ' εἴποι, ὅ τι τόσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
εἴ τ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴ θ' ἐκατόμβης·
αἶ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων
βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λιογὸν ἀμῦναι.

Ἦτοι ὁ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο.

μέχρι τούτου οἱ Ἀχιλλέως λόγοι τὸ σχῆμα ἔχουσιν ὑπαινιττομένου εἰς Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ προσκρούοντος ἐκείνῳ, ἐν δὲ σχήματι ζητήσεως καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς τοῦ δεινοῦ αἰτίας τὸ ἀσφαλὲς προδιοικουμένου. ἢ δὲ ἔνδειξις τοῦ εἰς Ἀγαμέμνονα λέγεσθαι ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τὸ κοινόν.

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ἄμμε παλιμπλαγχθέντας ...

ὡς γὰρ τιμῶν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποτεινόμενος τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔχει τοῦ προσκρούματος. εἴτα ἐξῆς ἐπάγει

εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιοῦς. αἴτιος τοῦ πολέμου Ἀγαμέμνων ἐστὶν συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. συνῆψεν καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ φησὶν αὐτὸν αἴτιον γεγονέναι· τί γὰρ ἢ μνήμη τοῦ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μὴ ἐβούλετο ἀμφοτέρων αἴτιον ἀποφῆναι τὸν αὐτόν; εἴτα ἐπειδὴ ἔδειξεν, ὅτι αὐτὸς αἴτιός ἐστιν, «ἀντὶ» τοῦ χωρὶς σαφῶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἦλθεν·

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα
ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον· καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶν·
ὅς κ' εἴποι, ὅ τι τόσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

ἢ προσθήκη τοῦ «τόσον» δηλοῖ, ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ὀργῆς ἃς ὑποβάλλει Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐ πιστεύει ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ αἰτίαν μερίζονα περιμένει·

εἴ ταρ ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴ θ' ἐκατόμβης ... οὐ δέχεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἔνεκεν εὐχολῆς καὶ ἐκατόμβης τόσον χολωθῆναι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς διοικεῖται τὸν λόγον. ὁ δὲ μάντις λαβόμενος τῆς ἀφορμῆς αὐτοῖς

τοῖς Ἀχιλλέως λόγοις χρῆται εἰς διατριβὴν τοῦ δεῖξαι τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι, πρὶν φανερώς εἰπεῖν, καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴ τῶν λόγων τὸ ‘τόσσον’· λέγει γάρ

οὐ τὰρ ὃ γ’ εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται οὐδ’ ἐκατόμβης. καὶ πρότερον προδιοικεῖται τὴν ἀσφάλειαν·

ἽΩ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλεαί με, δίφιλε, μυθήσασθαι

μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκατηβελέταο ἄνακτος.

τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω· σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μοι ὁμοοσον,

ἧ μὲν μοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν.

ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογοῦντός ἐστιν, ὅτι τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκρούσει. εἶτα τῷ προοιμίῳ τοῦτῳ ἐπάγει·

ἧ γὰρ οἴομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὃς μέγα πάντων

Ἀργείων κρατέει, καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί.

εἶτα γνωμολογεῖ·

κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεύς, ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηρι.

εἶτα τὴν τέχνην τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπάγει·

εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,

ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσῃ,

ἐν στήθεσσι ἐοῖσι. σὺ δὲ φράσαι, εἴ με σωώσεις.

καὶ ἤδη ἔδειξεν, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων τούτων ἀπάντων αἴτιος, μηδέπω εἰπὼν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπάγει ἀντίστοιχα λέγων ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ ὁμολογούμενα τούτοις·

Θαρσῆσας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον ὃ τι οἶσθα.

οὐ μὰ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα δίφιλον, ᾧ τε σύ, Κάλχαν,

εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις,

οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο

σοὶ κοίλης παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίσει

σμπάντων Δαναῶν· οὐδ’ ἦν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἴτηρ,

ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ εὔχεται εἶναι.

Καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσῃσε καὶ ἦνδα μάντις ἀμύμων.

ὁμολογεῖ ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν λόγων τὴν διοίκησιν.

Μία μὲν αὕτη εὐπρέπεια ἐσχηματισμένων λόγων, τὸ δι’ αἰνιγμάτων λέγειν, ἃ φρονεῖ τις, καὶ τὸ τῇ διατριβῇ καὶ τῇ μελλήσει τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, πρὶν εἰπεῖν, τῷ προοιμίῳ τὸ μέλλον δείκνυσθαι λυπηρόν.

[8] ἡ δὲ δευτέρα τίς; ἐλέγομεν ἐκείνην εἶναι τὴν μέθοδον, τὸ ἐτέροις διαλεγόμενον ἐτέρων καθάπτεσθαι, τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ μὴ προσκρούειν τῇ ὑπαλλαγῇ τοῦ προσώπου ἐνδιοικούμενον. καὶ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος ἔδειξεν ἐν Ὀδυσσέως λόγῳ. ὁ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὶν συναγαγεῖν τοὺς ὄχλους εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἵνα δημηγορήσῃ περὶ τῆς μονῆς, ὅτε τὴν ἀπόπειραν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποιήσατο, <ἄκουε> οἷον λέγει·

Ὅν τινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,

τὸν δ’ ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς·

Δαιμόνι’, οὐ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὥς δειδίσσεσθαι·

ἀλλ’ αὐτός τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλλους ἴδρυε λαοῦς.

οὐ γάρ πω σάφα οἶσθ', οἷος νόος Ἀτρεΐδαο·
νῦν μὲν πειρᾶται, τάχα δ' ἵψεται υἷας Ἀχαιῶν.
ἐν βουλῇ δ' οὐ πάντες ἀκούσαμεν, οἷον ἔειπεν.
μή τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξῃ κακὸν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν.
θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος.
τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστι· φιλεῖ δὲ ἐμπίετα Ζεὺς.
"Ὀν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι βοῶντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
τὸν σκῆπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μῦθω.

ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιτιμήσεσι συνάγει καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βυβλίοις οἶεται, ὅπερ καὶ προεῖρηκεν Ὅμηρος, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτόν, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι φιλοφρόνως διαλέγεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δήμοις πικρότερον καὶ σφοδρότερον. ὁ δὲ ποιεῖ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁ Ὀμήρου, οὐδεὶς ὀρᾷ. ἃ γὰρ ἐβούλετο καθάψασθαι τῶν βασιλέων, τῷ δήμῳ διελέγετο· ἃ δ' ἐβούλετο ἐπιτιμῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν διελέγετο. ἢ εἰπάτω μοί τις, τί ἔδοξεν τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ τοῖς δημόταις λέγειν

οὐ μὲν πως πάντες βασιλεύσομεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοί.
οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
εἷς βασιλεύς, ἢ τί ἔδοξεν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιτιμῶντα λέγειν
ἐν βουλῇ δ' οὐ πάντες ἀκούσαμεν, οἷον ἔειπεν.
νῦν μὲν πειρᾶται, τάχα δ' ἵψεται υἷας Ἀχαιῶν.

ταῦτα δὲ οὐ τοῖς δημόταις λέγει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἀναμιμνήσκει. γέγονεν οὖν ὁ λόγος <ὁ> πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἑκατέροις κοινός. καὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐπάγει Ὅμηρος τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων τούτων λόγων δι' ὀνόματος ἑνός, ὃ οὐδὲ ὀρώσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες· Ὅμηρος δὲ ὑπὸ φιланθρωπίας ἐξηγήσατο·

ὥς ὃ γε κοιρανέων δῖεπε στρατόν. τί ἐστὶ τὸ 'κοιρανέων'; ὡς κοίρανος διαλεγόμενος; οὐ δὴ που, ἀλλὰ τὸ στρατήγημα τῶν λόγων· οὕτως ὀνομάζων κατ' ἐξήγημα τοῦ στρατηγήματος διὰ τοῦ 'κοιρανέων δῖεπε στρατόν'. ἢ γὰρ διοίκησίς ἐστι τέχνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι λεγομένη.

[9] Ἴωμεν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὰ περὶ παραδείγματα. Δημοσθένης διδάσκει ἡμᾶς εὐπρεπῶς διαλέγεσθαι, ἃ βούλεται τις, καὶ οἶδεν τοῦ σχήματος τούτου τὸ ὄνομα· λέγει δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου ὧδε τῇ λέξει· 'ἐπειδὰν ἔλθωσι μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρῆσθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ, τούτῳ μοι πάνυ προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν'. εἶτα ἐπάγει ὥσπερ διδάσκαλος παραδιδούς μαθητῇ τὴν διοίκησιν· 'μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρός), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἐκείνοις, ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων μὲν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ 'κεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον <προορωμένων>· ἴν' ἐὰν μὲν δέχωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὧμεν διοικούμενοι καὶ μετὰ σχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν· ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ τύχη, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτῶν <κατηγορῶσιν>, ἂν τι ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδὲν <ἂν> αἰσχροὺς μηδὲ κακὸν ὀφθεῖμεν πεπεισμένοι'.

[10] Τὸ δὲ ἕτερα λέγειν καὶ ἕτερα διοικεῖσθαι δείκνυσί σοι πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς, ἐν τῷ περὶ συμμοριῶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ

λόγω (ὅσπερ λόγος εἰκότως ἂν καὶ δικαίως ἐπιγράφοιτο Περί τῶν βασιλικῶν), [ἐν τῷ] πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παραστὰς ἀντειπεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐναντιοῦται μὲν τῇ Ἀθηναίων γνώμῃ, ὠρμηκῶτων αὐτῶν πολεμεῖν βασιλεῖ. καὶ μία μὲν διοίκησις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ τὸ βουλόμενον τὸν ῥήτορα μὴ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ κλέπτειν δὴ τὴν δόξαν τῷ συμβουλευεῖν βασιλεῖ μήπω πολεμεῖν. καὶ αὕτη ἡ τέχνη ἐστὶν τοῦ ἃ βούλεται τις, λέγειν εὐπρεπῶς. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως· ‘ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι βασιλέα· οὐ μὴν διὰ ταῦτα παραινέσαιμ’ ἂν μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν συνάγειν’. καὶ ἔτι τέχνη βαθυτέρα τὸ κωλύοντα πολεμεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι περὶ δυνάμεως ἢ πολεμήσουσιν. τοῦτο μὲν κλέπτοντός ἐστι τὴν ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ πολέμου. μιμεῖται γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον τοῦ Θουκυδίδου. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὠρμηκῶτας πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐβούλετο δὲ αὐτοὺς κωλύσαι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν μὴ πολεμεῖν οὐ τολμᾷ λέγειν (οὐ γὰρ πείσονται), συμβουλευὼν δὲ τὸ μήπω πολεμεῖν τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖν λέγει. μία μὲν αὕτη διοίκησις ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. δευτέρα δὲ ἐκείνη· ὧ μὲν βούλονται πολεμεῖν, οὐ βούλεται αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖν ὁ Δημοσθένης· ὧ δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν πολεμεῖν, τούτῳ κελεύει πολεμεῖν. καὶ γίνεται διπλοῦς λόγος ἐσχηματισμένος. βασιλεῖ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλεται πολεμεῖν, ὧ πάνυ βούλονται· Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἀξιοῖ πολεμεῖν, ὧ οὐ βούλονται. τίνα οὖν διοίκησιν ἐποίησατο; ἐξ ἐκατέρας ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πείσαι μὴ πολεμεῖν ὧ βούλονται καὶ πολεμεῖν ὧ μὴ βούλονται συμβουλευεῖ πολεμεῖν βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ μήπω, παρασκευάζεσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν. τῷ μὲν οὖν ‘μηδέπω’ τὴν ὁρμὴν τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα κωλύει, συμβουλῇ δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς εὐτρεπῆ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐργάζεται. καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἡ τέχνη ἐστίν, λάβε αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην ὁμολογοῦντα· ‘εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἕτερός τις ἦν τρόπος δυνάμεως, ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους οἷόν τε ἦν ἀμύνασθαι, ἕτερος δέ τις, ἢ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰκότως <ἂν> φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἐγινγόμεθα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀντιπατόμενοι· εἰ δὲ πάσης παρασκευῆς ἐστὶ τρόπος ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι δύνασθαι, τοῖς οὕσι συμμάχοις βοηθεῖν, καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ σώζειν, τί τοὺς ὠμολογημένους ἐχθροὺς ἔχοντες ἄλλους ζητοῦμεν; ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζόμεθα μὲν πρὸς τούτους, ἀμυνόμεθα δὲ κάκεῖνον, ἂν ἡμᾶς πέσῃ’. καὶ ἀληθῶς τὸ ἀπόρρητον τοῦτο τῆς γνώμης μηνύει ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ· ‘ὁρῶ δ’ ὑμᾶς Φιλίππου μὲν καταφρονοῦντας, βασιλέα δὲ ὡς ἰσχυρὸν ἐχθρὸν φοβουμένους. εἰ δὲ τῷ μὲν πολεμεῖν οὐ θελήσομεν, τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἀξιώσομεν, πρὸς τίνας παραταξόμεθα’;

[11] Ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐριπίδης δι’ ὅλων λόγων διοικήσεως σχῆμα περαίνει ἐν ὅλῳ δράματι. πρότερον δὲ δείξωμεν [ἐν ὅλῳ δράματι] ἐν μέρει τινὶ σχῆμα διοικούμενον. ἐν τῷ Αἰόλῳ ὁ Μακαρεύς ἐστιν ὁμιλήσας τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ λανθάνων, καὶ συμβουλευὼν τῷ πατρὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνοικίσαι, ἵνα τὸ οἶκεῖον διοικήσῃται· καὶ οὕτως ἐσχημάτισται ὁ λόγος κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ συμβουλῇ. ἡ Μελανίππη σοφὴ τὸ δρᾶμα Εὐριπίδου ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σοφῇ, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοιαύτης μητρὸς ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπίθανος ἦ ἡ φιλοσοφία. ἔχει δὲ διπλοῦν σχῆμα, τὸ μὲν τοῦ

ποιητοῦ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ ἐν τῷ δράματι, τῆς Μελανίππης. τὸ μὲν τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοιόνδε [τὸ δὲ τοῦ προσώπου τοιόνδε]. Ἀναξαγόρα προσεφοίτησεν Εὐριπίδης. Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ λόγος ἐστίν, ὅτι ‘πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν· εἴτα ὕστερον διεκρίθη’. μετὰ ταῦτα ὠμίλησεν καὶ Σωκράτει καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐπορώτερον ἤγαγε τὸν λόγον. ὁμολογεῖ οὖν τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν διὰ τῆς Μελανίππης.

Καὶ οὐκ ἐμός ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ’ ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,

ὥς οὐρανός <τε> γαῖα τ’ ἦν μορφὴ μία. οὕτω μὲν ὁ ποιητὴς σχηματίζει τὸ αὐτοῦ. ἡ δὲ Μελανίππη ἐπεράνθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, γέγονε δὲ ταύτῃ παιδίᾳ· ἐξέθηκεν δὲ αὐτὰ εἰς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς βουφόρβια. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἡγέται ἐκ βοδὸς εἶναι, καὶ ὥς τέρας βούλεται κατακαῦσαι. βοηθοῦσα αὐτῇ ἡ Μελανίππη ἀποφαίνεσθαι πειρᾶται, ὅτι τέρας οὐδὲν ἐστίν. οὕτω τὸ δράμα ὅλον ἐσχημάτισται· καὶ ἅμα διδάσκει ἡμᾶς Εὐριπίδης, ὅτι τὸν σχηματίζοντα ἐγγυτάτω δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ λῦσαι τὸ σχῆμα μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ σχήματος. περιερχομένη γὰρ πάσας αἰτίας τοῦ σῶσαι τὰ παιδιά λέγει· ‘εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκεν τὰ παιδιά καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις’; ὥστε καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς πρᾶγμα λέγει ἐν σχήματι συμβουλῆς.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ὁ Πανηγυρικὸς Ἰσοκράτους τοιοῦτόν τι βυβλίον ἐστίν καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰσοκράτους καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τρισὶν τούτοις βυβλίοις ἐγκώμια διέρχεται τὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων, τὸ δὲ Φιλίππου, τὸ δ’ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκωμίοις καὶ τοῖς Φιλίππου συμβουλὴν ὑποθέμενος τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ ἐγκωμίου ἐπραγματεύσατο, καὶ πεποίηται ὥσπερ πάρεργον συμβουλῆς τὸ ἐγκώμιον· ὄντως δ’ ἐστὶν ἔργον τὸ ἐγκώμιον, πάρεργον δὲ ἡ συμβουλή. αὐτῷ δὲ ἔδωκεν ἐπαίνου ἀφορμὴν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἀπολογίας πρὸς τὰ κατηγορημένα. τοῦτο καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπραγματεύσατο. ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησεν γράψαι, καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν προετάξατο. τοῦτο καὶ Πλάτων πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ Σωκράτους ἐγκώμιον βουλόμενος γράψαι ἐν ἀπολογίᾳ σχήματι. τοῦτο καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· ὥς γὰρ ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους ἐγκώμιον Σωκράτους περαίνει. ἔργον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ πολλὰς ὑποθέσεις ὁμοῦ συμπλέκειν. ἢ γέ τοι ἀπολογία Σωκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀπολογία ἐστὶ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος ἀπολογία ἐστὶ. καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τέσσαρας ὑποθέσεις ἔχει· καὶ ἀπολογία ἐστὶ καὶ κατηγορία καὶ ἐγκώμιον Δημοσθένους, καὶ ὅποιον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁμολογῶν ἐγκώμιον Ἀγησιλάου ἐρεῖν λέγει ἐν ἱστορίας λόγῳ τὸ σχῆμα ποιούμενος. καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι πάλιν ἔν τε τῇ Παιδείᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀναβάσει εὐρήσετε ἐσχηματισμένους λόγους. βούλεται γὰρ τοὺς δημότας τὰ ἴσα ὅπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους. ἐκατέροις διαλέγεται εὐπρεπῶς, τοῖς μὲν ὡς τιμῶν αὐτοῦς, τοῖς δὲ ὡς συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συσχολασταῖς χαριζόμενος· καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρων οὕτω διοικεῖται. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει ὁ Κλέαρχός ἐστιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑποπτευόντων τὴν ἀνάβασιν τὴν Κύρου καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἀναβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ δεδοικότες τὰ ἅπορα. καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ παραπρεσβείας

ἄλλα προτείνει καὶ ἄλλα συγκατασκευάζει. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τέχνη τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων λόγων μάλιστα αὕτη, τὸ ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς συμπλέkein τὰ οἰκεῖα. ὃ περ πεποίηκεν καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ· δημηγορῶν γὰρ καὶ παρακαλῶν Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνέπλεξε τοῦ ἐπιταφίου κεφάλαια τῇ παραινέσει· ἐγκώμιόν ἐστιν ἡ παράκλησις ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς· ἐγκώμιόν ἐστιν ἐκ παραβολῆς ἡ παράκλησις, ἐκ τοῦ παραβαλεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκατέρας τῆς πόλεως.

[13] Οὗτω κινδυνεύει, ὃ περ ὑπεστησάμεθα ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων «ἀποδείξειν», τοσοῦτον ἀποδεῖν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ μὴ εἶναί τι ἐσχηματισμένον, ὥστε τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτὸ οὐδεὶς λόγος ἀσχημάτιστος. καὶ πάλιν ἐπανέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμεθα, ὅτι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος τῷ ῥήτορι διπλοῦ, τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ ἥθους, «καὶ» τούτου κρατοῦντος, ἡ περὶ τῶν ἡθῶν διοικήσις αἰεὶ ἐσχηματισμένους τοὺς λόγους ἔχει.

Πολλὰ σχήματα παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, πάμπολλα καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ὑποθέσεσιν ἄλλα διοικουμένῳ· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς Βρισηίδος λόγος οὐκ ἀσχημάτιστος, ὅτε ἤκουσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, θεασαμένη τὸν Πάτροκλον κείμενον ἐπιπίπτει τῷ σώματι καὶ θρηνεῖ Πάτροκλον. καὶ οἶεται ὁ ἀκροατής, ὅτι Πάτροκλον θρηνεῖ· ἐνδείκνυται δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς σοφίαν γυναικὸς ἐν ἀκμῇ καιροῦ ἀπαιτούσης τὰς γαμικὰς ὑποσχέσεις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θρήνου δίκην λεγούσης πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα·

Πάτροκλ' ἐμοὶ δειλῇ πλεῖστον κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,
ζῶν μὲν σε ἔλειπον ἐγὼ κλισίηθεν ἰούσα·
νῦν δέ σε τεθνειῶτα κιχάνομαι, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,
ἄψ ἄνιουσ'. ὥς μοι δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεὶ.

ταῦτα προοίμια θρηνούσης. εἴτα τὸ προοίμιον περαίνει ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸν θρήνον ὡς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ δικαίου [θρήνου].

ἄνδρα μὲν, ᾧ ἔδοσάν με πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαῖγμένον ὀξεί χαλκῷ,
τρῆς τε κασιγνήτους, οὓς μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ,
κηδεῖους, οἳ πάντες ὀλέθριον ἦμαρ ἐπέσπον.

ταῦτα ἡδὴ Ἀχιλλέως καθάπτεται, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνας ἔχει αὐτὴν συνοικοῦσαν, καὶ δεῖ αὐτῇ πολλῆς παραμυθίας. εἴτα συνθηκῶν ἀνάμνησις·

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἔκτεινεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύνητος,
κλαίειν, ἀλλὰ μ' ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆος θείοιο
κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσιν ἄξιν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην, δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.

καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐπιλόγου τὸ κέντρον τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως ἐπάγει

τῷ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίῳ τεθνηῶτα μελίχον αἰεὶ,

ὡς ἂν ἀκούων ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς δικαιολογουμένης εἴπῃ· «ἀλλὰ μὴ κλαῖε, γύναι, ἐκεῖνα βέβαια γενήσεται».

[14] Κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ὑφηγήσεις ἔστιν ἐπὶ ὄντα πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων καὶ τῶν δικανικῶν καὶ τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις εὐρεῖν πλείους τὰς πλάσεις τῶν σχημάτων ἢ τὰς ἀπλότητας τῶν κοινῶν λόγων. λέγω δὲ καὶ προστίθαι, ὅτι καὶ ὅταν τις ἀπλῶς λέγῃ, καὶ τοῦτο τέχνη σχήματος γίνεται, ἵνα ἡ τῆς ἀπλότητος προσποίησις τὸ πιθανὸν ἔχῃ τῷ ἀκούοντι. καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτου ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ Αἴαντος πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐν ταῖς Λιταῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φοῖνιξ τέχνη χρηῖται πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ προτείνας αὐτῷ ἡδίστην ὑπόθεσιν ἐναντιωτάτην ἀγωνίζεται.

εἰ μὲν δὴ νόστον γε μετὰ φρεσί, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
βάλλεαι, οὐδ' ἔτι πάμπαν ἀμύνειν νηυσὶ θοῇσιν
πῦρ ἐθέλεις αἰδηλόν, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεισε θυμῷ,
πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο, φίλον τέκος, αὐτὶ λιποίμην;

ἡδίστη γὰρ ὑπόθεσις Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸ λέγειν τὸν Φοῖνικα, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπολειφθήσεται. εἴτα ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι, ἡ τροφή, ἡ ἀγωγή, τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συντετράφθαι. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν ὑπόθεσιν. 'πιθοῦ μοι· τέτροφα γάρ σε, καὶ χάριτας ὀφείλεις'. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ἐστίν. ἐπὶ τέλει ὁμολογία τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

ἀλλ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν, οὐδὲ τί σε χρὴ
νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν· στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί. τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα συνιδῶν καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀντισχηματίζει ἐξῆς, μιμούμενος τὴν τέχνην τοῦ διδασκάλου. ἐξηγεῖται γὰρ οὕτως·

μή μοι σύγχει θυμὸν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων,
Ἀτρεΐδῃ ἥρωι φέρων χάριν.

αὕτη μὲν ἐξήγησις τῆς τοῦ Φοῖνικος τέχνης· εἴτα ὁ ἀντισχηματισμός·

ἴσον ἐμοὶ βασίλευε καὶ ἡμῖς μείρεο τιμῆς.

τί γάρ; ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτόν τι εἶπεν ἢ τινα χάριν ἦτησεν; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνέμνησεν αὐτὸν εἰπών

πολλάκι μοι κατέδυσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα
οἴνου ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ,

«καὶ· τὰς ἐν τῇ νεότητι πάθας προέτεινεν αὐτῷ, ὡς ὀφείλοντος χάριτας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχημάτισεν εἰπών· 'ἄλλην χάριν λάμβανε μείζω, μὴ ταύτην αἶτει'. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Φοῖνιξ σχηματίζει.

[15] Ὁ δέ γε Αἴας ἀπλούστατος ὢν βαθύτατος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πάντων ἐστίν. ἀνίσταται γὰρ ὡς ὀργιζόμενος καὶ ἀξιῶν μηκέτι μηδὲ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ λέγει·

οὐ γάρ μοι δοκᾷ μῦθοιο τελευτῇ
τῇδ' ἐγὼ κρανέεσθαι·

καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ Ἀχιλλεῖ χαλεπώτατα καὶ πικρότατα. ὁ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ παρρησίᾳ ἱκετεῦν καὶ δεόμενος καὶ βιαζόμενος Ἀχιλλέα οὗτός ἐστιν·

ὑπωρόφιοι δέ τοι εἰμὲν

πληθῆος ἐκ Δαναῶν. καὶ φαίνεται γέ τοι οὕτως ἀπλοῦς δὴ καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ παρρησία χρώμενος. εἴτα τῇ τέχνῃ προσχρώμενος φαίνεται μᾶλλον πεπεικώς. πῶς δὴ;

Αἶαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
πάντα τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν εἰείσω μυθήσασθαι.

ἀλλὰ μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ, ὅππότε κείνων
μνήσομαι, ὥς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν.

οὗτος οὖν ὁ λόγος δείκνυσιν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀπλότητος προσποιήσις
σχήματος ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖ· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν χαρίτων ἀπαιτήσεις οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ
ἐσχηματίσθαι γίνονται. οἱ γὰρ αἰτοῦντες τὰς χάριτας παρὰ τῶν εὖ
πεπονθότων ἐν καιρῷ φυλαττόμενοι τὸ ὀνειδίζειν εὐπρεπῶς ἀπαιτοῦσι. καὶ
δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν ὁ ποιητής, τίς μὲν ἂν ἦν ἀτέχνου ἀπαιτήσεως τρόπος, τίς δὲ
ἐντέχνου. Ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τῇ μητρὶ λέγει·

πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρός ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα
εὐχομένης, ὅτ' ἔφησθα κελαινεφεί Κρονίωνι
οἷη ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι,
ὅππότε μιν ξυνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι.

καὶ περαίνει τὴν διήγησιν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐπάγει παραινῶν αὐτῇ
τῶν νῦν μιν μνήσασα παρέξο καὶ λάβε γούνων.

ταῦτα ὑπακούει τῷ παιδὶ Θέτις, καὶ πείθουσα αὐτὸν θαρρεῖν
ἐπαγγέλλεται οὐ μόνον ἔρεῖν αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ λέξει λέγει

τοῦτο δέ τοι ἐρέουσα ἔπος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ
εἴμ' αὐτῇ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, αἶ κε πίθηται.

καὶ ταῦτα ὑποσχομένη, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Δία, τὸ μὲν ὀνειδίζειν
ἀφίησιν, τὸ δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν ἐπιμελῶς πραγματεύεται·

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ ποτε δὴ σε μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔτισα
ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ·

τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ εἶπεν, τὴν δὲ ἀνάμνησιν εὐπρεπῶς ἐποίησατο.
τοιοῦτός πως καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐστίν, γυμνότερος μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὴν Θέτιν,
εὐπρεπῶς δέ. ἐπικαλεσάμενος γὰρ τὸν θεὸν λέγει

εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
ταύρων ἢ δ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνην ἐέλδωρ.

Καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων λόγων παιδεύει ἡμᾶς Ὅμηρος, ὅτι
οὐ «μόνον» τῆς εὐπρεπείας δεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν χρειᾷ συντομίας. πῶς
γὰρ πάντων χρειᾷ ἐστίν, ὅσων μὲν ἡ τέχνη παραδίδωσιν, «εἰ» ταῦτα ὁ
καιρὸς παραιτεῖται; διδάσκει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμοῦ λόγοις πρὸς Πρίαμον
Ὅμηρος. τοῦτον γὰρ Ἑρμῆς ὥσπερ διδάσκαλος ὦν παιδεύει, πῶς χρὴ
ἐντυχεῖν Ἀχιλλεῖ, καὶ παραδίδωσι τὰς μεθόδους τῆς ἱκετείας·

τύνη δ' εἰσελθὼν λάβε γούνατα Πηλείωνος,
καί μιν ὑπὲρ πατρός καὶ μητέρος ἠυκόμοιο
λίσσεο καὶ τέκεος, ἵνα οἱ σὺν θυμὸν ὀρίνης·

καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῆς ἱκετείας παραλαμβάνει, τὸ γένειον τὸ
Ἀχιλλέως, «ἀνάμνησιν» πατρός, μητρός, υἱοῦ. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ γέρων οἶδεν
τέχνην κατὰ τέχνης· προσελθὼν γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τοῦ γενείου ἐπιλαμβάνεται
καὶ λέγει

μνήσαι πατρός σεῖο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ. καὶ οὔτε τοῦ παιδὸς

μέμνηται οὐτε τῆς μητρὸς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνου. τὴν πολλὴν γὰρ χορηγίαν παρέλιπεν τῇ χρεΐα τοῦ παιδός.

[16] Οὐκοῦν ὑπολείπεται ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος, ὅτι Ὅμηρος ἐπενόησεν ἐσχηματισμένον λόγον δι' εἰκόνας, ἵνα μηνύσῃ μὲν ὃ βούλεται, τὸ δὲ εὐπρεπὲς πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν, ἀλλ' εἰκόνι τὸν λόγον διαπεράνας. καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἀγνοοῦσιν τὴν εἰκόνα. ἔστι δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐν Ὀδυσσέως λόγῳ. ἐξάγει τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὠρμημένος σφόδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ θανάτῳ. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀξιοῖ αὐτοὺς πρότερον φαγεῖν καὶ οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν· καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, ὅτι προπετῶς ταῦτα βούλεται· καὶ λέγει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς παραινέσεως τὴν αἰτίαν, εἵτα τὴν παραΐνεσιν ἀδιανοήτως. ἢ εἰπάτω τις, τί βούλεται τὸ

κρείσων εἰς ἐμέθεν καὶ φέρτερος οὐκ ὀλίγον περ
ἔγχει· ἐγὼ δέ κε σεῖο νοήματί γε προβαλοίμην
πολλόν, ἐπεὶ πρότερος γενόμην καὶ πλείονα οἶδα.

ἤδη τὰ προοίμια τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ
μὴ δ' οὕτως ἀγαθός περ ἐών, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
κλέπτε νόψ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται οὐδὲ με πείσεις.

εἵτα εἰπὼν τῆς γνώμης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπάγει
τῷ τοι ἐπιτλήτω κραδίη μύθοισιν ἐμοῖσιν.
αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν,
ἧς τε πλείστην μὲν καλάμην χθονὶ χαλκὸς ἔχευεν,
ἄμητος δ' ὀλίγιστος, ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα
Ζεύς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμὴς πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν πέρας τῆς συμβουλῆς. εἰδέναι οὖν χρὴ ὅτι αὕτη ἡ εἰκὼν σοφία ἐστὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ Ὀμήρου. ἐπιτίμησις γὰρ ἐστὶ πικρὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων λυπηρὰ παραΐνεσις. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ προοίμιον αὐτῷ μακρόν ἐστι·

κρείσων εἰς ἐμέθεν καὶ φέρτερος οὐκ ὀλίγον περ
ἔγχει· ἐγὼ δέ κε σεῖο νοήματί γε προβαλοίμην
πολλόν, ἐπεὶ πρότερος γενόμην καὶ πλείονα οἶδα.

αὐτὸ τὸ προοίμιον τοῦ σχήματός ἐστιν ἀρχή· 'μὴ πάνυ θάρρει τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ τῇ σαντοῦ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐλέγχεις αὐτὴν τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἄκουε παρ' ἀνδρὸς ἐμπεύρου καὶ ἐπιστήμονος ἐκ πείρας πραγμάτων'. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιτίμησις ἐκεῖνω;

γαστέρι δ' οὐ πῶς ἔστι νέκυν πενθῆσαι Ἀχαιοῦς.
λίην γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπήτριμοι ἥματα πάντα
πίπτουσιν· πότε κέν τις ἀναπνεύσειε πόνοιο;
ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν, ὅς κε θάνῃσιν,
νηλέα θυμὸν ἔχοντας, ἐπ' ἥματι δάκρυ χέοντας.
ὅσοι δ' ἂν πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λίπωνται,
μεμνησθαι πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος, ὅφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι μαχώμεθα νωλεμὲς αἰεὶ
ἐσσάμενοι χροῖ χαλκὸν ἀτειρέα· μηδὲ τις ἄλλην
λαῶν ὄτρυντὸν προτιδέγμενος ἰσχανάσθω.

ἦδε γὰρ ὀτρυντὺς κακὸν ἔσσεται, ὃς κε λίπηται
νηυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀργείων· ἀλλ' ἀθρόοι κοσμηθέντες
Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοισιν ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἄρηα.

ὥσεὶ ἔλεγεν· ‘πολλοὶ τεθνᾶσιν ἤδη διὰ σὲ μηνιῶντα· νῦν ἀπορρίψας τὴν
μῆνιν ἀξιοῖς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προσθήκῃ ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης ἔχειν. ἐὰν οὖν
ἐξέλθωσι νήστες, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Ζεὺς χαριζόμενός σοι βοηθῇ τοῖς Ἑλλησι,
δυνήσονται διαρκέσαι νήστες ὄντες πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι. ὥστε μὴ φρόνει
μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ προσθήκῃ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ προπετῶς στρατεύου· ἐλεγχθήσῃ γὰρ
τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν’.

αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν ...

ἄμητος δ' ὀλίγιστος, ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα

Ζεὺς, ὃς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

τί γὰρ τοῦ Διὸς ἡ μνήμη ἐνταῦθα; ‘συμβήσεται οὖν οὐ πολλὴν γενέσθαι
ἡμῖν ὠφέλειαν ἐκ τῆς παρὰ σοῦ προτροπῆς διὰ τὸν Δία, ἂν ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες
στρατευσώμεθα· ὥστε ἐλεγχθήσεται σου ἡ ἀνδρεία ἢ θαυμαστὴ ὑπὸ τῆς
προπετείας’. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ταῦτα πικρά ἐστὶν καὶ ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχει, εἰκόνοιο
παρεμβολῇ τὸ πικρὸν τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως ἀσφαλὲς ἐποίησεν.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν μελέταις πλημμελουμένων

[1] Τάδε πλημμελούμενα ἐν ταῖς μελέταις· οἱ μὲν ἡθῶν ἀμοίρους τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται οἰόμενοι τοῦ πράγματος εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, τὸ δὲ ἦθος ἐν παρέργῳ τιθέμενοι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ἡθῶν οὐ σπουδαίως ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν ἀπλοῦν ἦ τὸ ἦθος καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἰδεῖν ἐκκείμενον, ἰδόντες καὶ προσπεσόντες χρῶνται τῷ ἦθει· ἂν δὲ διπλοῦν ἦ ἢ τριπλοῦν καὶ ποικιλώτερον, οὔτε τὰς διαιρέσεις τῶν ἡθῶν ζητοῦσιν οὔτε περὶ τὴν κρᾶσιν αὐτῶν πραγματεύονται· ὅθεν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ἦθεσιν συμβαίνει, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ ἦθους ἀγὼν ὑπάρχει τὰ καλούμενα ἐπιφωνήματα, προστυχοῦσαί τινες αὐτόματοι φωναὶ ἠθικαί· παρ' ὃ καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον καρποῦνται γυμνὰ τὰ ἦθη φθειγόμενοι, δέον καθόλου τοῦτοις διαγωνίζεσθαι, ὥσπερ σώματι ψυχὴν συμπλέκοντας τὰ ἦθη τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἔτι τε οὐχ ὑποτείνουσι τὸ ἐν μέγα ἦθος (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο <τὸ> ἐκ φιλοσοφίας), οὗ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα <τὰ> κατὰ μέρος ἐξηρτῆται πρόσφορα τοῖς ἐκάστοτε ὑποκειμένοις προσώποις· παρ' ὃ καὶ μικρότεροι ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἡθῶν χρείαις εἰσίν, ὅποταν καὶ τὰ ἦθη μεταχειρίζονται, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς διασώζοντες, δέον τοῦτο φυλάττειν πανταχοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ δεῖ τὸν λογισμὸν κρατεῖν, θυμὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν τούτῳ ὑπακοῦειν, καὶ ὅσα γε θυμῷ πράττομεν, μετὰ λογισμοῦ θυμοῦσθαι, ὅσα δὲ ἐπιθυμίαις χαρίζομεθα, μὴ ἄγαν ἀλογίστως χαρίζεσθαι· οὕτω δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐν μὲν ἦθος ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέγιστον τὸ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ὥσπερ λογισμὸν ὑποκεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐπάγειν, τὰ θυμικὰ λέγω καὶ τὰ οἰκτρὰ καὶ τὰ ἀστεῖα καὶ τὰ πικρὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίφθονα, πάντα ταῦτα ἐκείνου ἐξηρτημένα καὶ ἀλλήλοις συγκεκραμένα κατὰ τὸν τῆς χρείας λόγον.

[2] Τοῦτο τὸ ἦθος Πλάτων ὑποθέμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν, καὶ τὰ τῶν μεираκίων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων καὶ τὰ ἐλευθέρων ἦθη κατὰ λόγον τούτῳ συνέπλεξεν. τοῦτο καὶ Δημοσθένης ὑποθέμενος δι' ὅλου μεγαλοπρεπῆς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὁμοίως ἐν τε τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς τὸ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἦθος ὑποθέμενος καὶ τὸ τοῦ κολακεύοντος τούτῳ συμπλέκων <καὶ ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς> . καὶ διαφέρων τὴν δόξαν τοῦ συναγορεύοντος, ἐν οἷς πραχθῆναι συναγωνίζεται, κατὰ μίμησιν τὴν Πλάτωνος. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὰ δόγματα οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνεται, εἶτα περὶ αὐτῶν διαγωνίζεται· ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιούμενος πρὸς τοὺς διαλεγόμενους εὐρίσκων μᾶλλον τὸ δέον δόγμα ἢ φιλονεικῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαίνεται, πλὴν ὅσα περὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαλέγεται. τοῦτο καὶ Ὅμηρος πανταχῇ τηρῶν καὶ πάντα ἦθη καὶ πάσας φαντασίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμνῶν καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τέχνῃ μεταχειριζόμενος πρὸς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ὑποκειμένων [3] προσώπων ποιεῖται τὴν διάκρισιν. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἦθει πλημμελοῦμεν, <οἱ μὲν> τὸ μὴδὲ ὅλως ζητεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὸ μὴ πάντα εὐρίσκειν, οἱ δὲ τὸ μὴ περὶ τὴν κρᾶσιν πραγματεύεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες καὶ τὸ μὴ <τὸ> πρῶτον

καὶ μέγιστον ἦθος ὑφίστασθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀκολουθῶς τούτῳ ἐπάγειν.

[4] Περί δὲ γνώμην πρῶτον τὰ μέτρα οὐχ ὀρῶμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πάντα διὰ βραχέων ἐπιτρέχουσι δείξαντες ἕκαστα τῶν ζητουμένων καὶ παρελθόντες, συντομίαν τινὰ τοῦτο νομίζοντες, τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων θεωρίας· οἱ δὲ ὅπως πλεῖστα εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποκειμένων ζητημάτων ἐροῦσι, σκοποῦνται οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τὰ μὲν φύσει ὁμολογούμενα καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἡθεσι διεγνωσμένα καὶ τὰ ἔθεσι κεκριμένα βραχεῖα ἀποφάσει τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ἐὰν δὲ τις μηκύνῃ, ψυχρότερα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα αὐτὰ ἐξεργάζεται· περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν νόμων ἐξετάσεις καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀποδείξεις ἡ πολλὴ πραγματεία ἀναγκαῖα τῷ ῥήτορι. ἔτι τε πολλάκις ἀγνοοῦμεν ἃ τε βραχέως δεῖ λέγειν καὶ οἷς δεῖ μῆκος περιτιθέναι. καίτοι βραχύς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος, ὡς τὰ ἰσχυρότατα βραχύτατα λεκτέον, τὰ δὲ ἀσθενέστατά ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἀγχώμαλα τὰ τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰς ῥοπὴν δεόμενα. ὅλως δὲ οὔτε βραχέα οὔτε πολλὰ δεῖ ζητεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ σύμμετρα πανταχοῦ, ζητοῦντας πρὸς τῇ συμμετρίᾳ πανταχοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ἐπιθυμία δὲ τοῦ πολλὰ δοκεῖν εὐρίσκειν καὶ λέγειν πολλὰ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις λυμαινόμεθα. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ περὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀμαρτάνομεν.

[5] Ἀτεχνία δὲ ἐν μελέταις αὕτη· πρώτη μὲν γυμνὴ τῶν κεφαλαίων πρότασις πανταχοῦ τῷ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι μήτε προδιοικεῖσθαι, ὃ πέρ ἐστι προσυσιῆσαι ἢ προδιαβαλεῖν, μήτε τὰς τῶν προτάσεων μεθόδους· αἱ ἐπὶ τριῶν σχημάτων ἀγωνίζονται· ἢ ὡς εἰδότης τοῦ λέγοντος τὰ μέλλοντα λεχθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου· 'οἶδα τοίνυν, ὅτι ἐρεῖ' καὶ 'ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ἐρεῖ'· ἢ ὡς πυθομένου· 'πέπυσμαι τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν', 'ἀπήγγειλεν τοίνυν τίς μοι'· ἢ ὡς στοχαζομένου. ὣν ἑκάστη τῶν προτάσεων κατὰ λόγον τέχνης προτείνεται. ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς τέχνης οὗτος· περὶ ὧν θαρροῦμεν λύσειν, ἐροῦμεν εἰδέναι ἐροῦντα τὸν ἀντίδικον· περὶ ὧν ἀμφιβόλως ἔχομεν καὶ μέσως, εἰκάζειν προσποιοῦσόμεθα· ἃ δὲ ἰσχυρὰ ὄντα τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ ἴσμεν, ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι φήσομεν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν συνειδέναι τὰ ἰσχυρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

[6] Μία τοίνυν αὕτη ἀτεχνία, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἡ τῶν προτάσεων γυμνότης, ἣν καὶ τέχνην τινὲς διαιρέσεως νομίζουσιν. ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ δοκοῦσα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς τάξεως ἀκολουθία, τὸ καθ' ὅλον τοῦ προβλήματος τὴν τάξιν διδόναι τοῖς καλουμένοις κεφαλαίοις· ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος διακοσμεῖν τὰς πίστεις, ἔνια καὶ μεταπιθέντα, καὶ τάξια τὸ συμφέρον ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥσπερ στοιχείοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς κεφαλαίοις κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τοῦ α ἕως ω, καθάπερ γραμματικὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν ἀγῶνων, ὥσπερ <τὰ> γράμματα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα, οὕτω καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια πρὸς τὰ πράγματα διακοσμεῖν. ἕτερον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μηδαμοῦ συμπλέκειν τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τὰ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα τῇ τούτων ἰσχύϊ ἐκεῖνα ἐπικρύπτηται. ἔτι κάκεῖνο τὸ μηδαμοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐκβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι μηδεμίαν, καιροὺς ὑπερβαίνοντα, εἴτα πάλιν ἐπανιόντα. ὁ περ ποιοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί· ἐν ἐτέρων καιρῶν ἀγῶσιν ἐτέρων μνήμας ποιοῦνται, τεχνικῶς προδιοικούμενοι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων λεχθήσεσθαι πίστιν καὶ <τὰ> παρόντα ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνων συμπλέκοντες πίστεσιν. ἔτι κάκεῖνο ἀμάρτημα τὸ μηδὲν

προδοιοκείσθαι μηδὲ πρότερον ἀποδεικνύναι, εἴτα ἐπιφέρειν· ὁ περ ποιοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ πολλάκις, καὶ μάλιστα Δημοσθένης κατὰ μίμησιν τὴν Πλάτωνος, εἰδὼς ὅτι πολλαχοῦ προτεινόμενα τὰς κατασκευὰς ἀσθενεῖς ἔχει, προκατασκευασθέντα δὲ πιστὰ <τὰ> ἐπενεχθέντα φαίνεται. τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀκολουθίαν οὐχ ὀρώμεν; ἦν φησὶ δεῖν Πλάτων προσεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις, 'οὐ χύδην' ὡς ἔτυχεν 'βεβλήσθαι' τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἐοικότα σώματι ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ πόδας ἔχοντι τὰ μέρη καὶ τὰ μέλη ἀλλήλοις τε πρέποντα καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ συστήματι τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτο μὲν παρίημι εὐθύνειν, ὅτι ἔοικε σπάνιον εἶναι. ὁπότε γὰρ καὶ Λυσίαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐλέγχει, πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ῥητορικὴν ἔοικεν ἐλέγχειν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἐλεγχον τὸν τοῦ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀκολουθίαν μόνος Δημοσθένης ἐξέφυγεν κατὰ μίμησιν τὴν Πλάτωνος· πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον, ἐν τῷ περὶ μιμήσεως πειρασόμεθα. τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλέω τούτων τὰ τῆς ἀτεχνίας πλημμελήματα.

[7] Περὶ δὲ τὴν λέξιν συχνὰ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πάνυ εὐτελῶς φθέγγονται καὶ φασὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν δὴ καὶ γνώριμον μεταδιώκειν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν τῷ καλῷ μάλιστα <τὸ> γνώριμόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀγοραίῳ τῆς λέξεως οὐδὲ τὸ σαφές, μή τί γε <τὸ> γνώριμον φαίνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀγοραῖον οὔτε τὴν δήλωσιν ἀκριβῆ οὔτε τὴν φαντασίαν ἐναργῆ παρέχεται. οἱ δὲ τὸ παράσημον τῆς λέξεως ἐναγκαλίζονται, εἰ ποῦ τι ἀνακεχωρηκὸς ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα εἴρηται, τοῦτο θηρῶντες καὶ πανταχοῦ φθεγγόμενοι, ἐπ' ἀρχαιότητι δὴ τινι σεμνυνόμενοι· γελοῖον πεπονθότες, εἰ γε μὴ λογίζονται, ὅτι τὰ βυβλία διὰ τῶν γνωριμωτάτων ἀγωνίζεται, τὰ δὲ ἀνακεχωρηκὸτα ταῦτα σπάνια ἐστίν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀρχαίῳ <ἀν> δοκοίη ὁ τὰ ὀλιγάκις εἰρημένα ἀρχαίοις λέγων, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῖς ἀεὶ λεγομένοις καὶ πανταχοῦ χρώμενος. ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν σπανίων ὀνομάτων, καθ' ὅς αἰτίας ἔνεστι τοῖς βυβλίοις. εἰσὶ [8] δὲ αἱ αἰτίαι αὗται· πρώτη μὲν ἐκείνη· ἕνεια τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς τότε καιροῖς συνήθη ἦν καὶ γνώριμα, ὧν νῦν ἡ χρῆσις ἐξερρύηκεν· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὡς γνωρίμοις ἐχρῶντο, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν αὐτὰ εἰκότως ἐκκλίνοιμεν.

[9] δευτέρα αἰτία· ἕνεια τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ μὴ πολλάκις συνήθη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἀήθη πάντα ἔσχεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, οἷον τὸ περὶ τοῦς ὀδόντας πάθος, ὅταν ὑπὸ τινος δριμέος ἢ στριφνοῦ μὴ οἰοί τε ὥσιν τέμνειν οἱ ὀδόντες ὥπερ φρίττοντες. τοῦτο γὰρ σπανίως συμβαίνει· σπανία δὴ καὶ ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ ὀνόματος.

[10] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκκυκλοῦμεν ἀεὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα. τρίτη δὲ αἰτία ἐκείνη· ἐνίοτε λέγουσιν τὰ σπάνια τῶν ὀνομάτων κατὰ μίμησιν τὴν πρὸς ἐτέρους, καθάπερ ἐν ιδιώματι κωμωδίας. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε παίζοντες οὔτε ἀνάγκη κατακλειόμενοι θηρῶμεν τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα ὀνόματα, ὅψιμαθία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τῶν παθῶν περιπεπτωκότες. Ἐπὶ κακεῖνο πλημμέλημα ἐν τῇ λέξει τὸ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας πᾶσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὀνόμασι πανταχοῦ, τὸν καιρὸν μὴ προστιθέντα, οἷον λέγω ἱστορικόν που ὄνομα, διαλεκτικόν, ποιητικόν, ἐκ τραγωδίας ἢ κωμωδίας φθέγγεσθαι ὄνομα. ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο παιδείας μὲν ἴσως ἔνδειξις, χρήσεως δὲ ἀπειρία. δεῖ

γὰρ διακρίνειν, τίνα δικανικά τε τῶν ὀνομάτων, τίνα διαλεκτικά καὶ τίνα ἱστορικά, καὶ τίνα ποιητικά ἐκατέρας τῆς ποιήσεως, καὶ ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ πολιτικά πανταχόθεν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ γελοῖοι καὶ ἐπίφθονοι φανούμεθα· οὐχ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι που καὶ διαλεκτικὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἱστορικὸν καὶ ποιητικὸν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς βυβλίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς χρήσεως καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ μὲν καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὅταν ἐναργέστερόν τι ὄνομα ᾗ ἀπὸ ποιήσεως ἢ διαλεκτικῆς ἢ ἱστορικῆς, χρῆσθαι, ὡς ὁ ῥήτωρ, πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν. ἡ δὲ διοίκησις ἐκείνη, τὸ προεξηγήσασθαι καὶ τοῖς προταχθεῖσιν ἢ ἐπιφερομένοις οὕσι γνωρίμοις ἀφανίσαι τὴν καινότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ὁμολογία χρῆσθαι τοῦ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐξ ἄλλης ἰδέας λόγων εἶναι· ἱκανὴ γὰρ <ἡ> ὁμολογία καὶ παραμυθία τῆς καινότητος. ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω τοῦτων κατὰ λέξιν ἀμαρτάνομεν.

[11] Ἀκόλουθος δὲ τῇ λέξει καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν σχημάτων λόγος, ὅτι καὶ ἀπλάστως καὶ ἀσχηματίστως λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀγοραῖως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οἱ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν σχήματα συνάγουσιν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων. τοιαῦτα μὲν τινὰ καθόλου λέγειν ἔχομεν <πλημμελοῦμενα> ἐν ἡθελίᾳ, ἐν γνώμῃ, ἐν τέχνῃ, ἐν λέξει.

[12] Φέρε δὴ κατὰ μέρος σκεψώμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ὑποθέσεως στοιχείων τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ στοιχείῳ πλημμελήματα· ἔστι δὲ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως στοιχεῖα τέσσαρα προοίμιον, διήγησις, πίστεις, ἐπίλογοι.

[13] Ἀ τοίνυν πλημμελοῦμεν ἐν προοιμίῳ μελετῶντες, ταῦτά ἐστι. πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εἰδόσι τοῖς δικασταῖς διαλεγόμεθα προοιμιαζόμενοι, γελοιότατον πάσχοντες, ἐπειδὴ προβάλλομεν πρὸ τῆς μελέτης τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸν δικαστὴν ὥσπερ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐπίστασθαι τὸ πρόβλημα. δεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ καὶ παρανοίγειν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ προδηλοῦντα, περὶ ὧν ὁ ἀγὼν γενήσεται. ἔπειτα δὲ νόμον τινὰ προοιμίων ἐποίησαντο τὰ προοίμια, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν ἑξάρκει <πολλάκις>, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πλειόνων δεῖ. ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ προκαταχρῶνται τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις, οὐδὲ νοοῦντες, ὅτι τὰ προοίμια δεῖ σύστασιν μὲν εἶναι τῶν κεφαλαίων, οὐκέτι δὲ αὐτὰ κεφάλαια. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὑπολήψεις ἐν προοιμίοις διαλαμβάνουσιν. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ λοιδορούμεθα πανταχοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδίκους προοιμιαζόμενοι, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ῥήτωρ λοιδορία χρῆται ὡς πίστει ἤτοι κατὰ ἡθους ἢ κατὰ πραγμάτων χρεῖαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πανταχοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδίκους προοιμιαζόμενοι λοιδορούμεθα. ἔτι μέντοι ἐν σχῆματι τῶν προοιμίων ἡμῖν ἔστι, τὰ στρογγύλα καὶ τὰ περιφερῆ λέγειν προοίμια· οὐκ ἴσμεν δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀποτεταμένα ἔστιν ὡς ἐν διηγήσεως τρόπῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ παροιμίας που ἄρχεται προοίμιον, καὶ παράδειγμά που καὶ εἰκόνα προοίμιον ἔχει. πάντων δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀγνοημάτων <αἷτιον> τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι, τί τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τοῦ προοιμίου καὶ τίς ἡ τέχνη ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦ προοιμίου δόξα προσώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων· δεῖ γὰρ ἢ συστήσαι ἢ διαβαλεῖν ἢ πρόσωπον ἢ πρᾶγμα. ἡ δὲ τέχνη τοῦ προοιμίου προδιοίκησις τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος. δεῖ γὰρ παρασκευάσαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ, ὡς συμφέρει τῷ ῥήτορι τοῦτον τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθαι. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῶν προοιμίων εὐρίσκομεν κατὰ τὰς

διοικήσεις καὶ τὰς πλάσεις καὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἔστι κεφάλαια περὶ τῆς ἐν προοιμίῳ πλημμελείας.

[14] Διηγῆσεις δὲ οἱ μὲν οὕτω βραχείας ποιοῦνται, ὥσπερ οὐ δέον μακρῶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· οἱ δὲ οὕτω μακράς, ὥστε καὶ συμπλέκειν καὶ κατασκευάσας τινὰς καὶ αὐξήσεις. ἑκάτερον δὲ τούτων ἀμάρτημα. τό τε γὰρ μὴ σαφῶς διδάσκειν οὐκ ἂν εἴη διηγέσθαι· τό τε ἀπέραντα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν μέτρῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας τὸ πιθανὸν διοικεῖσθαι κλέπτοντα τὴν ἀκρόασιν - ματαία καὶ ἄκαιρος ἡ τοιαύτη ἀδολεσχία. δεῖ δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα διηγέσθαι μὲν ὡς διδάσκοντα, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ πείθειν ἐν τῷ διδάσκειν, τὰ <τε> σαθρὰ καὶ τὰ ἰσχυρά, τὰ τε τοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον μεταχειριζόμενον. ἀμάρτημα δὲ καὶ τὸ πανταχοῦ διηγέσθαι μὴ ἐπιστάμενον, ὅτι ὅλη μὲν ἰδέα συμβουλευτικῆς διηγήσεως οὐ δεῖται· ἴσασι γὰρ οἱ βουλευόμενοι περὶ ὧν σκοποῦνται, καὶ δέονται μαθεῖν ὃ πρακτέον ἐστίν, οὐχ ὅπερ βουλευτέον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δίκαι διηγῆσεις οὐκ ἔχουσαι· αὗται δὲ εἰσιν <αἱ> καὶ τοῖς δικάζουσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα γνῶριμον ἔχουσαι καὶ τοῖς ἀντιδίκῳ ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέροις ὁμολογούμενον· τοιαῦται δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ πλείους τῶν πραγματικῶν ὑποθέσεων. οὕτω δὲ που πράγματά ἐστι πολιτικά ἐν οἷς οὐ δεῖ διηγέσθαι, ἀλλὰ μάταιον τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῶν λόγων, ὅπου τοῖς λέγουσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ διήγησις περιττὴ καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἐκατέρω· οἷον ἀριστείων διηγῆσεις γελοῖαι παντάπασιν (ὁμολογοῦνται γάρ) καὶ ἐκ παραβολῆς αἰτήσεις· οἷον δύο στρατηγῶν ὃ μὲν τριακοσίους ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους, ὃ δὲ τριακοσίους ἀνήρηκεν· ἀμφισβητοῦσιν τῆς δωρεᾶς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ διηγέσθαι οὐδετέρῳ χρήσιμον, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον πᾶσι γνῶριμον.

[15] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ τῇ εἰρημένῃ ἀτεχνία καὶ τόδε [τὸ] πλημμέλημα, ἀλόγων τινῶν καὶ ἀπρεπῶν καὶ ἀπιθάνων κεφαλαίων συνήθεια, οἷς χρῶνται οἱ μελετῶντες, οὐκ ἂν χρησαμένων τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς λεγόντων· ἃ καὶ καλοῦσιν καθολικὰ κεφάλαια. ἐν μὲν τῇ συμβουλευτικῇ ἰδέα τὸ 'οὐ δεῖ πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρεῖσθαι'· τίς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λέγων, ὅτι δεῖ <αἰεῖ> ποτε πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρεῖσθαι; ἀλλ' εἰ μέντοι, ζητοῦμεν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας καὶ τὸ ἄχρι πόσου· ὧν ἡ ζήτησις ἐν τέσσαρσι τοῖς τῆς συμβουλῆς κεφαλαίοις, τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ συμφέροντι, τῷ καλῷ, τῇ δυνάμει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δικανικαῖς τὸ δεῖν τὸν ἡριστευκότα, τὸν ἀνηρηκότα τύραννον δωρεὰν λαμβάνειν, <ἦν> ἂν θελήσῃ, πᾶσαν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ νόμος κελεύει· τοῦτο γὰρ πῶς οὐ παντάπασιν ἄλογον καὶ ἀναίσχυντον; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, ζητεῖται, <ἃ> βούλεται τις, εἰ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα αὐτῷ αἰτοῦντι λαβεῖν καὶ τοῖς ψηφίζομένοις παρασχεῖν. ἔτι κάκεῖνο τὸ μὴ δεῖν τὸν στρατηγόν, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν κατὰ μέρος εὐθύνας ὑποσχεῖν· τούτῳ γὰρ σαφῶς ὁμολογεῖ ἀδικεῖν, τῷ μὴ πάντων ἀξιοῦν λόγον ὑποσχεῖν.

[16] φαίη τις ἂν ἐκ περιουσίας ταῦτα λέγεσθαι· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν λόγων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναλίσκουσιν. ἔπειτα εἰδέναι δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκ περιουσίας κεφαλαίων, ὅτι τότε λεκτέα ἐστίν, ὅταν χρήσιμον <ἦ> καὶ μὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον βλάβη. ἔτι κάκεῖνο τὸ μὴ δεῖν πατρὶ ἀποκηρύττοντι ἀντιλέγειν· τοῦτο πάντων γελοιότατον τὸ ἥκοντα εἰς δικαστήριον

κατηγορήσοντα παιδὸς φάναι μὴ δεῖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἀλογώτατον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἐξ εἰκότων κατηγορεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ παντάπασιν στοχασμὸν ἀναιρεῖ, ὃ περ μέγιστον δικανικῆς ἰδέας μέρος· αἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι δίκαι ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων κρίνονται. ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα κεφάλαια ἐν ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν διατριβαῖς εἰθισμένα ἀγωνίζεσθαι φευκτέα, εἰ μέλλει τις πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ^[17] ῥητορεύειν. Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ περὶ τῶν κεφαλαίων.

Ἐνίοις κάκεῖνο ἀμάρτημα, αἱ καλούμεναι ἐκφράσεις, πολλαχοῦ τὸ χειμῶνα γράφειν καὶ λοιμοὺς καὶ λιμοὺς καὶ παρατάξεις καὶ ἀριστείας. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις τῆς δίκης, ἐν τῷ διαγράψαι τὸν χειμῶνα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ματαῖα ἐπίδειξις καὶ λόγου ἀνάλωμα· εἰσερρύη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἐν ταῖς μελέταις κατὰ ζῆλον τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων. ἀγνοοῦμεν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι ἱστορία μὲν περὶ καὶ ποιήσεις γραφικὰς τὰς ὄψεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἀκούουσιν παράγουσιν, ἀγῶν δὲ δικανικὸς μεμέτρηται πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ καὶ ἱστορικοὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα τόποις τοῖς καὶ προσώποις ἐκτυποῦσιν, ὡς ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ μελετῶντες ῥήτορες οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁμολογουμένην οὐδὲ ἰδίαν τὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἰδέαν αὐτοῖς ἀναπλάττουσιν λοιμῶν καὶ λιμῶν καὶ χειμῶνων καὶ πολέμων ὄψεις, οὐ πάντων οὕτω συμβεβηκότων, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν. ἔξεστι γοῦν καὶ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ ἐτέρως αὐτὰ φράσαι ἢ ὡς ἂν ὁ ἀντίδικος εἴπῃ. ὥσπερ οὖν ἔφην, καὶ ταῦτα μάταιον μῆκος λόγων. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πάθημα ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοούντων, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τῶν ἀγῶνων ἔστι φαντασίας κίνησις ἱκανὴ καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἔξωθεν λόγοις φαντασίας ἐπεισκυκλεῖσθαι.

[18]

Περὶ δὲ ἐπιλόγων· ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ἐπιλόγους ὥσπερ ἐν δέλτῳ τραγήματα εἶναι τῶν λόγων καὶ ὥσπερ ‘ἐπιφυλλίδας καὶ στωμύλματα’ (παρ’ ὃ καὶ ἐπιφωνήματα καλοῦσιν τὰ ἐν ἐπιλόγοις λεγόμενα) οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι ὥσπερ τὸ προοίμιον διοίκησις τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐπίλογος βεβαίωσις ἢ ἐπανάμνησις τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων πραγμάτων, ἢ ἐν παθῶν συντάσει παροξυνόντων ἡμῶν ἢ οἰκτιζομένων ἢ καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦθι λόγων διάφορα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἐκάστοτε ἀγῶνι.

[19] Ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τούτων ῥητῆται τηρῶμεν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις πλημμελήματα.

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν παλαιότητα μὴ ἐν τῇ θέσει τῶν βυβλίων νομίζωμεν εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ χρήσει τῆς ὁμοιότητος. μίμησις γὰρ οὐ χρῆσις ἐστὶ τῶν διανοημάτων, ἀλλ’ ἡ ὁμοία τῶν παλαιῶν ἔντεχνος μεταχειρίσις. καὶ μιμεῖται τὸν Δημοσθένην οὐχ ὁ τὸ «Δημοσθένους λέγων ἀλλ’ ὁ» Δημοσθενικῶς, καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον. καὶ πᾶσα μίμησις ὧδε ἔχει· τέχνης ζῆλος ἐκμάττων ἐνθυμημάτων ὁμοιότητα. μακρότερος ὁ περὶ μιμήσεως λόγος, ὃν ἀλλαχῇ μεταχειρισόμεθα. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον τηρητέον τὰ ἐν μελέτῃ πλημμελήματα ἐν ἡθι, ἐν γνώμῃ, ἐν τέχνῃ, ἐν λέξει, κατὰ πάντα μέρη τῆς ὑποθέσεως, κατὰ προοίμιον, διηγήσεις, πίστεις, ἐπιλόγους. ταῦτα περὶ τὰ φανερώτατα· πλείω δὲ τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα, «ἀ» δειξουσιν αἱ συνουσίαι.

Περὶ λόγων ἐξετάσεως

[1] Ὁ μέγιστος κίνδυνός ἐστι καὶ νέω καὶ μὴ νέω περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων κρίσιν. ταῖς γὰρ ἡμετέραις δόξαις δίχα ἐπιστήμης εἰκῇ καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν ἃ ἔτυχεν ἐκάστοτε καὶ ψέγομεν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμβαίνει ταῦτά καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ ψέγεσθαι οὐ μόνον ἄλλοτε ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτά ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ποτὲ μὲν ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ ψέγεσθαι. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἄπειροι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ οὐδέποτε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσιν οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀπειρία παρέχει τεκμήριον τὴν ἀσυμφωνίαν· οὕτως ἀμέλει καὶ περὶ λόγους ἔχομεν οἱ πλεῖστοι· οὐδέποτε γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ἐπαινοῦμεν ταῦτα ἃ ποτὲ ἐψέγομεν, καὶ ἃ ἐψέξαμεν ἐπαινοῦμεν· ψυχαγωγούμεθα γὰρ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν ἀποφαινομένων ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκείνων ἀποβλέποντες, οὐκ οἰκεία κρίσει χρώμενοι. δεῖ δὲ ὥσπερ κανόνα εἶναι καὶ στάθμην τινὰ καὶ δοκίμιον ὠρισμένον, πρὸς ὃ τις ἀποβλέπων δυνήσεται τὴν κρίσιν ποιεῖσθαι ἢ ἐπὶ τὰδ' ἢ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα. ὥς οὖν ἔμοι δοκεῖ, φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. τέτταρα εἶναι φημι, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν δοκιμασίαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι τῶν λόγων ἀξιῶ. ἔστι δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα ταῦτα· ἥθος, γνώμη, τέχνη, λέξις. σκεπτέον οὖν αἰεὶ ἡμῖν, περὶ ὧν ἢ ἀνέγνωμεν ἢ ἠκούσαμεν ἢ ὁπωσοῦν ἐνετύχομεν, τί ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει εἰς ἥθος, τί εἰς γνώμην, τί εἰς τέχνην, τί εἰς λέξιν. ἔξω τούτων οὐκ εἰσὶν ὅροι.

[2] Τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω, μαθεῖν χρή. τὸ ἥθος φημὶ διπλοῦν εἶναι, κοινὸν τε καὶ ἴδιον. πῇ διορίζω τὸ κοινὸν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, φράσω. κοινὸν λέγω τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἐχόμενον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τί; τὸ εἰς ἀρετὴν προτρέπον καὶ κακίας ἀπαλλάττον. ἴδιον δὲ λέγω τὸ ρητορικόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τί; τὸ πρόποντας καὶ προσήκοντας τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος καὶ πρὸς οὗς ὁ λόγος· «οὗ» ὃ τί ποτέ ἐστιν, «ἔστιν» ὃ ἀγὼν τοῖς βυβλίοις πᾶσιν, καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς «καὶ τοῖς νέοις». τί οὖν περὶ τούτων λέγω; τὰ βυβλία μεστὰ ἐστὶ δικαίων ἠθῶν, ἀδίκων, σωφρόνων ἀκολάστων, ἀνδρείων δειλῶν, σοφῶν ἀμαθῶν, πρᾶων ὀργίλων. ἔξεστιν οὖν καταλιπόντας τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐκλαβόντας «τὰ» ἥθη φιλοσοφῆσαι τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα, καὶ τὰ μὲν μιμήσασθαι, τὰ δὲ φυγεῖν· οἷον εἴ τις λαβὼν παρὰ Ὀμήρου τὸ ἥθος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου λυμνηαμένου ξένου οἰκίαν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν ποιησαμένου ἀλλοτρίας γυναικὸς μισοῖ μὲν τὸ ἥθος, φυλάττειτο δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὥς καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τούτου κατασκαφεῖσαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἀνατραπέντα καὶ μεγίστην τιμωρίαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐκ θεῶν γενομένην. πάλιν αὖ ἔστι πονηρὸν ἥθος τοῦ Πανδάρου συγχέοντος τοὺς ὄρκους· ἡ τιμωρία φαίνεται ἐπαξία τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος. Νέστορός που σωφροσύνη φαίνεται· τοῦτο εἰς ἀρετὴν συντελεῖ. λέγει που ὁ Ζεὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἑκτορος, εὐσέβειαν αὐτῷ μαρτυρῶν

οὐ γὰρ μοί ποτε βωμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἰσης

λοιβῆς τε κνίσσης τε, τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς. καὶ ἂν καταλιπὼν

τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξετάσης τῶν ἡθῶν τὰς διακρίσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ βίου διὰ τῶν βυβλίων πορεύση. τοῦτο καὶ Πλάτων εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ ποιητικὴ 'μυρία τῶν παλαιῶν ἔργα κοσμοῦσα τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους παιδεύει'. παιδεία ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντευξις τῶν ἡθῶν. τοῦτο καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἔοικεν λέγειν, περὶ ἱστορίας λέγων, ὅτι καὶ ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων. 'ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιοῦτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα' χρῆσθαι ταῖς παλαιαῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ τοῖς παραδείγμασιν τῶν ἡθῶν ὡς ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ βίου. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡθους· κακίας φυγὴ καὶ ἀρετῆς κτῆσις.

[3] Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου ἡθους, ὃ ῥητορικὸν καλοῦμεν καὶ τρόπον τινα οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ διαιρέσεώς ἐστιν· περὶ οὗ μηδεὶς γέγραφεν μηδὲ εἴρηκέν ποτε. οἱ γὰρ ἀγῶνές εἰσιν τῷ ῥήτορι δύο, ὁ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἡθους· πρεσβύτερος δ' ὁ τοῦ ἡθους καὶ κυριώτερος, καὶ ὡς εἰπὲν τῷ ῥήτορι μόνος ὁ τοῦ ἡθους ἀγὼν ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα οἰκείαν ὕλην εἰς χορηγίαν παρέχει· ἡ τῶν ἡθῶν θεωρία ἀριθμῷ καταληφθεῖσαν διαίρεσιν ἡθῶν παραδίδωσι. συνέλωμεν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἡθῶν ἀριθμῷ καταδησώμεθα, ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι διαφυγεῖν. τὰ τοίνυν ἴδια καὶ ῥητορικὰ ἡθῶν τοῦτοις διαιρεῖται· κατὰ ἔθνη, γένη, ἡλικίας, προαιρέσεις, τύχας, ἐπιτηδεύσεις. ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς τόποι· τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος διπλοῦν, ἕκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ παντὸς καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου.

[4] Τί ποτὲ ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω, διηγῆσομαι. ζητητέον ἐστὶ, πότερον Ἑλλήνων ὁ λέγων ἢ βάρβαρος καθόλου. πολλὴ γὰρ διαίρεσίς ἐστι καὶ διάκρισις Ἑλληνικοῦ ἡθους καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ. εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἀγροικότερα τὰ βαρβαρικά ἡθῶν καὶ τραχύτερά πως καὶ ἔχοντά τινα αὐθάδειαν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Αἰγύπτιον λέγοντα εἰσάγει· ὧ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἑλλήνες αἰεὶ παῖδες ἐστέ, μάθημα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχετε χρόνῳ πολίον· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ καὶ ἡ τροπὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων δηλοῖ τὸ ἴδιον τῶν βαρβάρων. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Ἡρόδοτος πεποίηκεν διαλεγόμενον τὸν Κανδαύλην πρὸς τὸν Γύγην· ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισιν ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὀψεως διελέχθη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος τὴν γνώμην μετήνεγκεν. ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐλέξεως βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ ὁ λέγων χρῆμα ἑωρακέναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ᾧ χρώμενοι μαίνονται, τὴν γυμνασίαν τῶν ἀθλούντων λέγων, καὶ ὁ· 'μανίας [5] πόμα' λέγων τὸν οἶνον. Καὶ ὅλως τί δεῖ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγεσθαι; μετὰ γὰρ τὰ βυβλία τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐστίν.

Ἰδοῦ διαίρεσις τοῦ ἔθνους· Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ βάρβαρον τὸ ἡθος. ἀλλὰ θῶμεν εἶναι Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ θῶμεν βάρβαρον, πάλιν καταδιαίρεσεις τῶν ἡθῶν· καὶ δεῖ συνελθεῖν ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ τὸν Θρᾷκα τὸν φονικόν, καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ τὸν Σκύθην τὸν σύντομον. πάλιν Ἑλληνικὸν θῶμεν τὸ ἡθος. ἔστω Ἑλλήνων· ποῖόν τι ἔθνος Ἑλλήνων; Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναῖος· τορός, λάλος, σοφός. Ἑλλήνων Ἴων· ἀβρός, ἀνειμένος. Ἑλλήνων Βοιωτός· εὐήθης. Ἑλλήνων Θετταλός· διπλοῦς καὶ ποικίλος. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀνθρώποι φιλοσοφοῦντες τοῦτο καὶ ἐφιστανόμενοι τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ ἔθνη λοιδορίας ποιοῦνται, οὐκ ἐχόντων τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰς λοιδορίας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπολαζόντων ἡθῶν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὰς βλασφημίας λαμβάνοντες. ὡς καὶ

Δημοσθένης· οὐκ εἰσάγει ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι ‘τὸν Θοῤῥα τοῦτον’; καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ ἐν τῷ ‘τὸν Θοῤῥα’. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν; καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ παγκάλως, ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τόπους καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν αἱ κράσεις· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τινὰς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εἶναι φησὶ πρὸς μαθήματα ὀξυτέρους, τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἀργυρισμόν, τοὺς περὶ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Αἴγυπτον· ἄλλοι περὶ θυμόν, ὅσοι τῶν βαρβάρων εἰσὶ πολέμοις ἀνακείμενοι. καὶ εἰκότως ταῦτα λέγει. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἦθη φησὶν ἐνδύεσθαι τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ’ ἓνα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα πολιτειῶν εἶδη, τοσαῦτα ἡθῶν εἶδη, ὡς τὰς πολιτείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡθῶν τὰ τε ἦθη ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν γιγνόμενα. ὁρῶμεν οὖν ἀπὸ ἔθνους· διπλοῦν δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, Ἑλλήν ἢ βάρβαρος. μετὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἐρχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον· Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Λάκων ἢ Βοιωτὸς ἢ Ἴων, ἢ Σκύθης ἢ Θοῤῥῆς ἢ Κελτὸς ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Αἰγύπτου. Δεῖ οὖν συνελθεῖν τιν’ ἰδιότητα ἀπὸ γένους. <ὑπὸ> τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τὰ τῆς συγγενείας ὀνόματα· πατήρ βάρβαρος, καὶ βάρβαρος Κελτός, καὶ βάρβαρος Σκύθης· καὶ πατήρ Ἑλλήν· καὶ Ἑλλήν πατήρ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ὁδε πατήρ Ἀθηναῖος.

[6] Δεῖ προσελθεῖν τοῦτοις καὶ ἡλικίαν, καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἐν γενέσθαι· πατήρ, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, νέος. οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἦθη διασώζονται νέοι καὶ πατέρες ὄντες καὶ πρεσβῦται γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ γίνεται τὰ μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἦθη μαλακώτερα, τὰ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων ἀκμαιότερα. ὡς αὐτως καὶ εἰ ἀδελφὸν λέγοις, καὶ εἰ γυναῖκα λέγοις, καὶ εἰ ἄνδρα καὶ εἰ υἷόν. Ἐντεῦθεν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἦθος τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐξετάζεται· φιλόστοργος, ἀλλὰ τραχύς, ἀλλὰ σκληρός, ἀλλὰ φιλάργυρος, ἀλλὰ ἀνειμένος. ἡ προαίρεσις συντρέχει παντὶ ἡθει. Εἴτα ἀπὸ τύχης· εὖ πράττων, κακῶς πράττων· οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα ἦθη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἡ τύχη ῥυθμίζει. Εἴτα καὶ ἐπιτήδευσις· ἔστι γοῦν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδευμάτων· οἱ στρατιῶται ἔχουσιν τι ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς, οἱ ἰατροὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱατρικῆς, οἱ ῥητορικοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργικῆς. εὐρήσεις τὸν ἱατρὸν διαλεγόμενον λέγοντα· ‘δεῖ τοῦτο ἐκκαθῆραι’, ‘ἐκτεμεῖν αὐτό’. εὐρήσεις τὸν μουσικὸν λέγοντα· ‘παρὰ μέλος λέγεις’, ‘οὐ συνάδει τὰ λεγόμενα’. παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ ὁ Δημόδοκος λέγει πρὸς Σωκράτην· ‘ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡ τοῦτου τοῦ παιδὸς εἴτε φυτεῖαν εἴτε παιδοποιίαν χρή φάναι’· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ χρή νομίζειν ὅτι μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ χρῆται ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Δημόδοκος ἐργατικὸς καὶ γεωργικὸς, φωνὰς ἀφίησι τῆς τέχνης.

[7] Ταῦτα τὰ ἐπτὰ εἶδη ἐν γενέσθαι δεῖ. οὕτως εὐρήσεις καθ’ ἕκαστον ῥῆμα ὑποθέσεως προβαλλομένης ἡθῶν συναγωγάς. πένης καὶ πλούσιος ἐχθροὶ ἐκ πολιτείας· εὐρήσεις ἐν τῷ πένητι ἦθος, ἐν τῷ πλούσιῳ ἦθος, ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦθος, ἐν τῷ ἐκ πολιτείας ἦθος· οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἐχθρα ἐξ ἰδιωτικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἐκ πολιτικῶν, ἀλλ’ ἔξεις τὸ φρόνημα ἐκατέρου ἀξιοῦντος διαλέγεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ. εἴτα εἰ πατήρ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τις ἢ οὐ πατήρ. εἴτα πόλεμος κατέλαβεν, εἴτα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀριστεία ἢ πταῖσμα· εἴτα αἰτήσεις καὶ κρίσεις. εὐρήσεις καθ’ ἕκαστον ὄνομα τῆς πλοκῆς ἐν ταῖς ὑποθέσεσιν γένεσιν ἡθους ἀναγκαίου. καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διαιρετικὸς τῶν ἡθῶν ἀκριβής, ὁ μὴ ἐν ἦθος παραλαπών. ἂν γὰρ τὸν μὲν πατέρα δείξης,

τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν μὴ δείξης, ἢ τὸν μὲν πολιτικὸν δείξης, τὸν δὲ πατέρα μὴ δείξης· ἢ πάλιν ἂν μὲν τὸν πατέρα δείξης, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν μὴ δείξης, ἂν τὸν μὲν ἡριστευκότα δείξης, τὸν δὲ λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν μὴ δείξης· ἂν μὴ δείξης κατὰ τύχας καὶ προαιρέσεις καὶ γένη καὶ ἔθνη τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ <καθ’> ὅσα ἄλλα ἡριθμήσαμεν, οὐ πληροῖς τὸ ἥθος. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα, ὅσα ἡριθμήσαμεν, καλεῖται μὲν εἶδη, γίνεται δὲ ἥθος. ἢ γὰρ τέχνη τῆς διαιρέσεως, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, ‘διαίρέσεις καὶ συναγωγαί’, δεῖξαι τὰ εἶδη πόσα ἐστὶν καὶ πόσας ἔχει τομὰς, καὶ πάντα συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταῦτόν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ διαιρέσεως τέχνη· ἐν πολλὰ, πολλὰ ἔν. ἔχομεν τὸ ἥθος, ἐρχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην.

[8] Ἡ γνώμη τριπλὴν ἐξέτασιν ἔχει· μὴ περιττά, μὴ ἐλλείποντα, μὴ ἐναντία. τὰ περιττά φλυαρία, τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀσθενή, τὰ ἐναντία κίνδυνος. Ὅμηρος ταῦτα ἐπείσημίνατο·

Θερσίτης δ’ ἔτι μοῦνος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκολῶ· <τίς> τῆς ἀκαίρου περιττότητος ἡ αἰτία; ἐὰν γοῦν τοῦ Θερσίτου παρέλῃς δύο ἔπη, Νέστορος γίνεται δημηγορία. τὰ δὲ δύο ἔπη τίνα ἐστίν; Ὅμηρός σοι λέγει·

ἀλλ’ ὅ τί οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοῖον Ἀργείοισιν

ἔμμεναι·

ὅτι οὖν τῶν λεγομένων γελοῖόν ἐστιν, ἀλαζονευομένου ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὑβρίζοντος ἐν τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῇ ἀκράτῳ. ταῦτα ἂν περιέλῃς, τὰ λοιπὰ ἰσχυρά ἐστιν. τοῦτο καὶ ἡ Ὅμηρου τέχνη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀγανακτοῦντας ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ προθύμως ἔχοντας συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαλλακτικῶς ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, ἠθέλησεν λῦσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως δίκαια. ἀνέστησεν οὖν αὐτῷ συνήγορον ἐπίφθονον, γελοῖον, ἵν’ ἐν τῇ τοῦ συνηγόρου κακίᾳ ἀφανισθῇ τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ πράγματος·

ἔχθιστος δ’ Ἀχιλῆϊ μάλιστ’ ἦν ἡδ’ Ὀδυσῆι.

τῷ γὰρ νεικεῖσκε· τότ’ αὖ Ἀγαμέμνονι δίω

ὀξέα κεκληγῶς λέγ’ ὀνείδεα.

τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ θρασὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ περιττότης τοῦ ἥθους, καὶ ἡ ἀκαιρία τίς;

τῷ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀχαιοὶ

ἐκπάγλως κοτέοντο νεμέσσηθέν τ’ ἐνὶ θυμῷ.

εἰ μὴ γελοῖος ἦν οὗτος καὶ ἄξιος μίσους, ἦν ἰσχυρὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γέλως τοῖς Ἑλλήσι γίνεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γέλωτος διάλυσις τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς σκυθρωπότητος ἡ μεταβολὴ διὰ τὸ γενόμενον παρέσχεν εἰρηναίαν τὴν ψυχὴν. ὥστε ἤδη μάθημα μαθάνομεν μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, μὴ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν λεγομένων ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς ῥητορικῆς. τὰ ἐλλείποντα πῶς; οὕτω πως εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ Μενελάου·

παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως· ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος.

τὸ γὰρ ‘παῦρα μὲν’ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἶον οὐκ ἐντελῶς τῷ ἀγῶνι. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐναντία, ὅπερ καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ἐπήνεσεν, δικανικοῦ λόγου, ὡς δεῖ ἔχειν, καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῦ διαίρεσιν λέγων, ὅτι δεῖ ‘τοὺς μὲν ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, τοὺς δὲ

ἐπιδεικτικῶς, καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ εἶπεν

ὃ δ' ἀσφαλῶς ἀγορεύει·

τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ διὰ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων οὐ περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἀμφισβητήσιμα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀποδείξει τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἀμφισβητούμενον λύειν δυνάμενον. τοῦτο καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Πλάτων λέγουσιν περὶ Σωκράτους, ὅτι διὰ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐπορεύετο, ἐπεὶ διδάσκειν ἐβούλετο. Γίνεται οὖν ταῦτα τρία ἀριθμῶ· μὴ περιττά, μὴ ἐλλείποντα, μὴ ἐναντία. κάλεσον αὐτὰ δυσὶν ὀνόμασιν μέτρον καὶ ἀσφάλειαν. τῷ γὰρ μὴ περιττά μηδὲ ἐλλείποντα μέτρου ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐναντία ἀσφαλείας.

[9] Τρίτος ἡμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην· εἴπομεν γὰρ ἤδη περὶ ἥθους καὶ γνώμης. πρῶτον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, ἣ ἂν τις ἀμφισβητήσῃ, ἐκκαθάρωμεν. ἡ δ' ὑπόνοια τίς; οἰηθείη ἂν τις, εἴ περ μὴ περιττά λέγοι μήτ' ἐλλείποντα μήτ' ἐναντία, τεχνίτην αὐτὸν εἶναι. τί οὖν πλεόν ἢ τέχνη ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσφαλοῦς πραγματείας; πολὺ τὸ πλεόν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γνώμη τὸ τῷ πράγματι χρήσιμον ἔχει τὸ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν, ἡ τέχνη τὸ πιθανὸν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ὥσπερ ἐν ἱατρικῇ εἴ τις τὴν μὲν γνώμην λέγοι, τὸ δεῖν τεμεῖν ἢ τὸ δεῖν φαρμακοποιεῖν χρῆσθαι, τὴν δὲ τέχνην λέγοι τὸ κρύψαι τὸν σίδηρον, τὸ φάρμακον ἐν τοῖς γλυκέσι καὶ τοῖς συντρόφοις σιτίοις παρέχειν. αὕτη ἡ τέχνη μετὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐστίν. πῶς <δ> ἂν συναγάγοις ἥθος καὶ τὴν γνώμην τέχνη; * * *

ὡς δ' ὅταν ὠδίνουσας ἔχῃ βέλος ὁζὺ γυναῖκα

δριμύ, τό τε προίεϊσι μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι·

δεύτερον·

Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι.

τρίτον [τέταρτον] ἐστὶ δι' οὗ ἐπανερχεται ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον

ὡς ὁξεῖ ὁδύναι δύνον μένος Ἀτρεΐδαο.

οὕτω καὶ Θουκυδίδης· ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μέγала νομίζω γενέσθαι. εἴτα τὸ τεκμήριον πόσα ἔχει ὀνόματα; τεκμήριον, μαρτύριον, σημεῖον, παράδειγμα. προβάς ἐρεῖ· ‘μαρτύριον [σημεῖον] δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων’. πάλιν προελθὼν ἐρεῖ· ‘καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν’. καὶ πάλιν προελθὼν· ‘σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα’. καὶ ὅταν πᾶν εἴπῃ, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον πάλιν, ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον· καὶ ὅλως ἡ χρεία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνακαλέσεται. τοῦτο τὸ πολλοστῶς ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. ἔπεται τοῦτω τὸ ποικίλως. διαφέρει δὲ τὸ ποικίλως [10] τοῦ πολλοστῶς, τὸ τῶν ἰδεῶν τῆς λέξεως. ἔστι δ' εὐφορία κατὰ κρίσεις φαύλων ὀνομάτων· τοῦτο δικανικὸν ὄνομα, τοῦτο ἱστορικόν, τοῦτο διαλεκτικόν, τοῦτο κωμικόν. καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὰς ἰδέας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπανελθεῖν· κωμικὸν τοῦτο Ἀριστοφάνειον, κωμικὸν τοῦτο Κρατίνειον, τοῦτο Εὐπολίδειον, τοῦτο Μενάνδρου· εἴτα δικανικὸν τοῦτο Λυσίειον, τοῦτο Δημοσθενικόν, Αἰσχίνῃ πρεπωδέστερον τοῦτο ὄνομα, Ἀντιφῶντι τοῦτο σύνηθες μᾶλλον. τοῦτο τὸ ποικίλως ἐστίν.

Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ θεωρία, καθ' ἣν ἐξετάζεται <κατὰ> βυβλίων ἀκρόασεις

πᾶς λόγος μετὰ ἀσφαλείας πορευομένης τῆς ἐξετάσεως. ζητήσεις γὰρ τί ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα ἢ εἰρημένα ἢ ἠκουσμένα εἰς ἧθος, γνώμην, τέχνην, λέξιν. τὸ ἧθος διπλοῦν, κοινὸν καὶ ἴδιον. κοινὸν μὲν τὸ εἰς ἀρετὴν προτρέπον καὶ κακίας ἀποτρέπον· ἴδιον δὲ τὸ προσήκοντα καὶ πρέποντα τοῦς λόγους τῷ τε λέγοντι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος καὶ πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος παρέχεσθαι· γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οἷς εἵπομεν, τοῖς ἐπτά. εἴτα ἡ γνώμη μέτρῳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀριθμῶν. εἴτα ἡ τέχνη, ἡ κρᾶσις ἡθῶν καὶ πραγμάτων. εἴτα ἡ λέξις, τὸ σαφῶς, τὸ καθαρῶς, τὸ πολλοστῶς, τὸ ποικίλως. οὗτος ὁ περὶ <τῆς> τῶν λόγων ἐξετάσεως λόγος.

The Arrangement of Words

CONTENTS

THE ARRANGEMENT OF WORDS
EPITOME

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΑΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΘΕΣΕΩΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ

[1] 'Δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγὼ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι', καθάπερ ἡ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ φησὶν Ἑλένη ξενίζουσα τὸν Τηλέμαχον, πρώτην ἡμέραν ἄγοντι ταύτην γενέθλιον, ἅψ' οὗ παραγέγονας εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν, ἥδιστην καὶ τιμιωτάτην ἐορτῶν ἐμοί· πλὴν οὐτε χειρῶν δημούργημα πέμπω σοι τῶν ἐμῶν, ὡς ἐκείνη φησὶ διδοῦσα τῷ μεираκίῳ τὸν πέπλον, οὐτ' ἐς γάμου μόνον ὥραν, καὶ γαμετῇ χάριν εὐθετον, ἀλλὰ ποίημα μὲν καὶ γέννημα παιδείας καὶ ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς, κτῆμα δὲ [σοί] τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ χρῆμα πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρεῖας ὁπόσαι γίνονται διὰ λόγων ὠφέλιμον, ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπάντων χρημάτων, εἴ τι κάγῳ τυγχάνω τῶν δεόντων φρονῶν, ἅπασι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους, ἐν ἧ ποτ' ἂν ἡλικία τε καὶ ἔξει τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες· μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεираκίοις τε καὶ νεωστὶ τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπτομένοις ὑμῖν, ὧ Ροῦφε Μετίλιε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ κάμοι τιμιωτάτου φίλων.

Διττῆς γὰρ οὔσης ἀσκήσεως περὶ πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς λόγους, τῆς περὶ τὰ νοήματα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ὧν ἡ μὲν τοῦ πραγματικοῦ τόπου μᾶλλον ἐφάπτεσθαι δόξειεν ἂν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λεκτικοῦ, καὶ πάντων ὅσοι τοῦ λέγειν εὖ στοχάζονται περὶ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς θεωρίας τοῦ λόγου ταύτας σπουδαζόντων ἐξ ἴσου, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις φρόνησιν ἄγουσα ἡμᾶς ἐπιστήμη βραδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ χαλεπὴ νέοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατος εἰς ἀγενείων καὶ μεираκίων πεσεῖν ἡλικίαν· ἀκμαζούσης γὰρ ἤδη συνέσεώς ἐστι καὶ πολιαῖς κατηρτυμένης ἡλικίας [ἡ τούτων κατάληψις] οἰκιοτέρα, πολλῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων, πολλῇ δὲ πείρᾳ καὶ συμφορᾷ παθῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων συναυξομένη· τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς λέξεις φιλόκαλον καὶ ταῖς νεαραῖς ἐπέφυκε συνανθεῖν ἡλικίαις. ἐπτόηται γὰρ ἅπασα νέου ψυχῇ περὶ τὸν τῆς ἐρμηνείας ὠραϊσμόν, ἀλόγους τινὰς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιώδεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο λαμβάνουσα τὰς ὁρμάς· οἷς πολλῆς πάνυ καὶ ἐμφρονος δεῖ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιστάσεώς τε καὶ ἀγωγῆς, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ πᾶν 'ὅ τι κεν ἐπ' ἀκαιρίμαν γλῶσσαν ἔπος ἔλθῃ' λέγειν μὴδ' εἰκῇ συνθήσειν τὰ προστυχόντα ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' ἐκλογῇ τε χρῆσασθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ γενναίων ὀνομάτων καὶ συνθέσει ταῦτα κοσμήσειν μεμιγμένον ἐχούσῃ τῷ σεμνῷ τὸ ἡδύ. εἰς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὃ δεῖ πρῶτον νέοις ἀσκεῖσθαι, 'συμβάλλομαί σοι μέλος εἰς ἔρωτα' τὴν περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων πραγματεῖαν ὀλίγοις μὲν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθοῦσαν, ὅσοι τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητορικᾶς ἢ διαλεκτικᾶς συνέγραψαν τέχνας, οὐδενὶ δ' ἀκριβῶς οὐδ' ἀποχρώντως μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐξεργασμένην, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι. ἐὰν δ' ἐγγένηται μοι σχολή, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐτέραν ἐξοίσω σοι γραφήν, ἵνα τὸν λεκτικὸν τόπον τελείως ἐξεργασμένον ἔχῃς. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν πραγματεῖαν εἰς νέωτα πάλιν ὥραις ταῖς αὐταῖς προσδέχου θεῶν ἡμᾶς φυλαττόντων ἀσινεῖς τε καὶ ἀνόσοις, εἰ δὴ ποτε ἡμῖν ἄρα τούτου πέπρωται βεβαίως τυχεῖν· νυνὶ δὲ ἦν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἡγαγέ

μοι πραγματεῖαν δέχου.

Κεφάλαια δ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἃ πρόκειται μοι δεῖξαι ταῦτα, τίς τε ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς συνθέσεως φύσις καὶ τίνα ἰσχὺν ἔχει, καὶ τίνων στοχάζεται καὶ πῶς αὐτῶν τυγχάνει, καὶ τίνες αἱ γενικώταται αὐτῆς εἰσι διαφοραὶ καὶ τίς ἐκάστης χαρακτήρ καὶ ποῖαν κρατίστην αὐτῶν εἶναι πείθομαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ εὐγλωσσον καὶ μελιχρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, ὃ πέφυκε τῇ συνθέσει τῆς πεζῆς λέξεως παρακολουθεῖν, ποιητικῆς τε κατασκευῆς τὸν ἀπολήτον ἐκμimuμένης λόγον καὶ σφόδρα ἐν τῇ μιμῆσει κατορθούσης εὖ τί τὸ κράτος καὶ διὰ ποίας ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἐγγένοιτο ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν. τοιαυτὶ μὲν δὴ τινὰ ἐστὶν ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν μέλλω λέγειν. ἄρχεται δὲ ἐνθένδ' ἡ πραγματεία.

[2] Ἡ σύνθεσις ἔστι μὲν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, ποιά τις θέσις παρ' ἄλληλα τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων, ἃ δὴ καὶ στοιχεῖά τινες τῆς λέξεως καλοῦσιν. ταῦτα δὲ Θεοδέκτης μὲν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνους φιλοσοφῆσαντες τοὺς χρόνους ἄχρι τριῶν προήγαγον, ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ συνδέσμους πρῶτα μέρη τῆς λέξεως ποιοῦντες. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους γενόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Στωικῆς αἰρέσεως ἡγεμόνες, ἕως τεττάρων προὔβιβασαν, χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων τὰ ἄρθρα. εἴθ' οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τὰ προσηγορικὰ διελόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνοματικῶν πέντε ἀπεφάναντο τὰ πρῶτα μέρη. ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀντονομασίας ἀποξεύξαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἔκτον στοιχεῖον τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα διελόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τὰς προθέσεις ἀπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων καὶ τὰς μετοχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν προσηγορικῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς προσαγαγόντες τομὰς πολλὰ τὰ πρῶτα μόρια τῆς λέξεως ἐποίησαν. ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ μικρὸς ἂν εἴη λόγος. πλὴν ἢ γε τῶν πρώτων εἴτε τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων εἴθ' ὅσων δὴ ποτε ὄντων μερῶν πλοκὴ καὶ παράθεσις τὰ λεγόμενα ποιεῖ κῶλα, ἔπειθ' ἡ τούτων ἁρμονία τὰς καλουμένας συμπληροῖ περιόδους, αὗται δὲ τὸν σύμπαντα τελειοῦσι λόγον. ἔστι δὴ τῆς συνθέσεως ἔργα τά τε ὀνόματα οἰκείως θεῖναι παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ τοῖς κώλοις ἀποδοῦναι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἁρμονίαν καὶ ταῖς περιόδοις διαλαβεῖν εὖ τὸν λόγον.

δευτέρα δ' οὕσα μοῖρα τῶν περὶ τὸν λεκτικὸν τρόπον θεωρημάτων κατὰ γοῦν τὴν τάξιν (ἡγεῖται γὰρ ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογὴ καὶ προϋφίσταται ταύτης κατὰ φύσιν) ἡδονὴν καὶ πειθῶ καὶ κράτος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ κρείττον' ἐκείνης ἔχει. καὶ μηδεὶς ἡγήσεται παράδοξον, εἰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὄντων θεωρημάτων περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν, ὑπὲρ ὧν πολὺς ἐγένετο φιλοσόφοις τε καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσι λόγος, ἡ σύνθεσις δευτέραν ἔχουσα χώραν τῇ τάξει καὶ λόγων οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τῶν ἴσων ἐκείνῃ τυχοῦσα τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν ὥστε περιεῖναι πάντων τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων καὶ κρατεῖν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν, ὅσαι διαφόρους ὕλας λαμβάνουσιν συμφορητὸν ἐκ τούτων ποιοῦσι τὸ τέλος, ὡς οἰκοδομικὴ τε καὶ τεκτονικὴ καὶ ποικιλτικὴ καὶ ὅσαι ταῦταις εἰσὶν ὁμοιογενεῖς, αἱ συνθετικαὶ δυνάμεις τῇ μὲν τάξει δευτεραι τῶν ἐκλεκτικῶν εἰσι, τῇ δὲ δυνάμει πρότεραι· ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ αὐτὸ συμβέβηκεν, οὐκ ἄτοπον ἡγήτεον. οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ πίστεις παρασχεῖν

τοῦ προκειμένου, μή τι δόξωμεν ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαμβάνειν τῶν ἀμφισβήτησιν ἐχόντων λόγων.

[3] Ἔστι τοίνυν πᾶσα λέξις ἣ σημαίνομεν τὰς νοήσεις ἢ μὲν ἕμμετρος, ἢ δὲ ἄμετρος· ὧν ἑκατέρα καλῆς μὲν ἀρμονίας τυχοῦσα καλὸν οἶα τ' ἐστὶ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ μέτρον καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἀνεπιστάτως δὲ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ῥιπτουμένη προσαπόλλυσι καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρήσιμον. πολλοὶ γοῦν καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς φιλόσοφοί τε καὶ ῥήτορες λέξεις πάνυ καλὰς καὶ πρεπούσας τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἐκλέξαντες ἐπιμελῶς, ἀρμονίαν δὲ αὐταῖς ἀποδόντες εἰκαίαν τινὰ καὶ ἄμουςον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀπέλαυσαν ἐκείνου τοῦ πόνου. ἕτεροι δ' εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ ταπεινὰ λαβόντες ὀνόματα, συνθέντες δ' αὐτὰ ἡδέως καὶ περιττῶς πολλὴν τὴν ἀφροδίτην τῷ λόγῳ περιέθηκαν. καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνάλογόν τι πεπονθέναι δόξειεν ἂν ἡ σύνθεσις πρὸς τὴν ἐκλογὴν, ὃ πάσχει τὰ ὀνόματα πρὸς τὰ νοήματα. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄφελος διανοίας ἐστὶ χρηστῆς, εἰ μή τις αὐτῇ κόσμον ἀποδώσει καλῆς ὀνομασίας, οὕτω κἀναναῦθα οὐδὲν ἐστὶ προὔργου λέξιν εὐρεῖν καθαρὰν καὶ καλλιρήμονα, εἰ μή καὶ κόσμον αὐτῇ τις ἀρμονίας τὸν προσήκοντα περιθήσει.

Ἦνα δὲ μὴ δόξω φάσιν ἀναπόδεικτον λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐπέισθην κρεῖττον εἶναι καὶ τελειότερον ἄσκημα τῆς ἐκλογῆς τὴν σύνθεσιν, ἔργῳ πειράσομαι δεικνύναι, ἑμμέτρων τε καὶ πεζῶν λόγων ἀπαρχὰς ὀλίγας προχειρισάμενος. λαμβανέσθω δὲ ποιητῶν μὲν Ὅμηρος, συγγραφέων δὲ Ἡρόδοτος· ἀπόχη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκάσαι. ἔστι δὴ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ μὲν ὁ παρὰ τῷ συβώτῃ καταγόμενος Ὀδυσσεὺς περὶ τὴν ἑωθινήν ὥραν ἀκρατίζεσθαι μέλλων, ὡς τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθος ἦν· ἔπειτα ὁ Τηλέμαχος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαινόμενος ἐκ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποδημίας· πραγματί' ἄττα βιωτικά ἡρμηνευμένα ὑπέρευ. ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀρετὴ, τὰ ποιήματα δηλώσει παρατεθέντα αὐτά·

τῷ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος
ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον ἅμ' ἠοῖ κειαμένω πῦρ
ἔκπεψάν τε νομῆας ἅμ' ἄγρομένοισι σύεσσι.
Τηλέμαχον δὲ περίσσαινον κύνες ὕλακόμεωρι
οὐδ' ὕλαον προσιόντα. νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
σαίνοντάς τε κύνας, ὑπὸ δὲ κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖν·
αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Εὐμαιον προσεφώνεεν ἐγγυς ἐόντα·
Εὖμαι', ἦ μάλα τίς τοι ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' ἐταῖρος
ἢ καὶ γνώριμος ἄλλος, ἐπεὶ κύνες οὐχ ὕλαουσιν,
ἀλλὰ περισσάινουσι· ποδῶν δ' ὑπὸ δοῦπον ἀκούω.
οὕπῳ πᾶν εἴρητο ἔπος, ὅτε οἱ φίλος υἱὸς
ἔσθῃ ἐνὶ προθύροισι. ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσε συβώτης·
ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ χειρῶν πέσεν ἄγγεα, τοῖς ἐπονεῖτο
κίρνὰς αἶθοπα οἶνον. ὃ δ' ἀντίος ἔδραμ' ἀνακτος·
κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλὰ
χεῖράς τ' ἀμφοτέρας· θαλερὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ.

Ταῦθ' ὅτι μὲν ἐπάγεται καὶ κηλεῖ τὰς ἀκοὰς ποιημάτων τε τῶν πάνυ

ἡδίστων οὐδενὸς ἦττω μοῖραν ἔχει, πάντες ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μαρτυρήσειαν. ποῦ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ πειθὼ καὶ διὰ τί τοιαῦτά ἐστι, πότερον διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ διὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν; οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι· διὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐτελεσμάτων καὶ ταπεινοτάτων ὀνομάτων πέπλεκται πᾶσα ἡ λέξις, οἷς ἂν καὶ γεωργὸς καὶ θαλαττουργὸς καὶ χειροτέχνης καὶ πᾶς ὁ μηδεμίαν ὥραν τοῦ λέγειν εὖ ποιούμενος ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβὼν ἐχρήσατο. λυθέντος γοῦν τοῦ μέτρου φαῦλα φανήσεται τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄζηλα· οὔτε γὰρ μεταφοραὶ τινες ἔνεισιν εὐγενεῖς οὔτε ὑπαλλαγαὶ οὔτε καταχρήσεις οὔτ' ἄλλη τροπικὴ διάλεκτος οὐδεμία, οὐδὲ δὴ γλῶτται παλαιαὶ τινες οὐδὲ ξένα ἢ πεποιημένα ὀνόματα. τί οὖν λείπεται μὴ οὐχὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κάλλους τῆς ἐρμηνείας αἰτιᾶσθαι; τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ μυρία, ὡς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἴσασιν· ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπομνήσεως ἕνεκα λέγοντι ἄρκεϊ ταῦτα μόνον εἰρησθαι.

Φέρε δὴ μεταβῶμεν ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πεζὴν διάλεκτον καὶ σκοπῶμεν, εἰ κάκεινῃ τοῦτο συμβέβηκε τὸ πάθος, ὥστε παρὰ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράγματά τε καὶ ὀνόματα συνταχθέντα καλῶς μεγάλας ἡδονὰς γίνεσθαι καὶ χάριτας. ἐστὶ δὴ παρὰ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ βασιλεὺς τις Λυδῶν, ὃν ἐκεῖνος Κανδαύλην «καλεῖ, Μυρσίλον δὲ» καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐρῶν, ἔπειτα ἀξιῶν τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ γυμνὴν τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἰδεῖν, ὃ δὲ ἀπομαχόμενος μὴ ἀναγκασθῆναι, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὑπομένων τε καὶ θεώμενος αὐτὴν - πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὅτι σεμνὸν ἢ καλλιλογεῖσθαι ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδικὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐγγυτέρω· ἀλλ' εἴρηται σφόδρα δεξιῶς, καὶ κρεῖττον γέγονεν ἀκουσθῆναι λεγόμενον ἢ ὀφθῆναι γινόμενον. ἵνα δὲ μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὴν διάλεκτον εἶναι τῆς ἡδονῆς αἰτίαν τῇ λέξει, μεταθεὶς αὐτῆς τὸν χαρακτῆρα εἰς τὴν Ἀτθίδα γλῶτταν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο περιεργασάμενος οὕτως ἐξοίσω τὸν διάλογον.

Ἐγὼ γάρ σε δοκῶ πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἰδους τῆς γυναικὸς· ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποις ὄντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν· ποιεῖ ὅπως ἐκείνην θεάσῃ γυμνὴν. Ὁ δ' ἀναβοήσας εἶπε· Δέσποτα, τίνα λόγον λέγεις οὐχ ὑγιᾶ, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεάσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ χιτῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐξεύρηται, ἐξ ὧν μαθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν οἷς ἐν τῷδ' ἐστίν, ὅρᾳν τινὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασῶν γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σοῦ δέομαι μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀνόμων. ὃ μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα ἀπεμάχετο ..., ὃ δ' ἡμέιβετο τοῖσδε· Θάρσει Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ μήτ' ἐμέ, ὡς πειρώμενόν σου λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μή τί σοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτως, ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν αὐτὴν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σοῦ. ἀγαγὼν γάρ σε εἰς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐν ᾧ κοιμώμεθα, ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρας στήσω· μετὰ δὲ ἐμὲ εἰσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ εἰς κοίτην. κεῖται δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς εἰσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον ἐκδύσα θήσει, καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πολλὴν παρέσται σοι θεάσασθαι. ὅταν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου πορεύηται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νῶτον τε αὐτῆς γένῃ, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἀπιόντα

διὰ θυρῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἔτοιμος ἦν [ποιεῖν ταῦτα]’.

οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ ἡ σεμνότης τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐμορφον πεποίηκε τὴν φράσιν· ἀνεπιτήδευτα γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀνέκλεκτα, οἷα ἡ φύσις τέθηκεν σύμβολα τοῖς πράγμασιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤρμοττεν ἴσως κρείττοσι χρῆσασθαι ἐτέροις. ἀνάγκη δὲ δὴ πού, ὅταν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις τε καὶ προσεχισταῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐκφέρηται, τὰ νοήματα μηδὲν σεμνότερ’ εἶναι, ἢ οἷα ἐστιν «ἐκεῖνα». ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστι σεμνὸν οὐδὲ περιττόν, ὁ βουλόμενος εἴσεται μεταθεῖς οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ τὴν ἁρμονίαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις τεκμήρηται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ κάλλει τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ πειθῶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα.

[4] Ἵνα δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον αἰσθηταί τις, ὅσην ἔχει ῥώμην ἢ συνθετικὴ δύναμις ἐν τε ποιήμασι καὶ λόγοις, λήψομαί τινας εὖ ἔχειν δοκούσας λέξεις, ὧν τὰς ἁρμονίας μεταθεῖς ἄλλοῖα φαίνεσθαι ποιήσω καὶ τὰ μέτρα καὶ τοὺς λόγους. λαμβανέσθω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν ταῦτα·

ἀλλ’ ἔχεν ὥστε τάλαντα γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθής,

ἢ τε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἴριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει

ἰσάζουσ’, ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄροιτο.

τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἡρώδης ἐστὶν ἐξάπουν τέλειον, κατὰ δάκτυλον πόδα βαινόμενον. ἐγὼ δὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων μετακινήσας τὴν σύνθεσιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς στίχους ἀντὶ μὲν ἐξαμέτρων ποιήσω τετραμέτρους, ἀντὶ δὲ ἡρωϊκῶν προσοδιακοὺς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·

ἀλλ’ ἔχεν ὥστε γυνὴ χερνῆτις τάλαντ’ ἀληθής,

ἢ τις εἴριον ἀμφὶ καὶ σταθμὸν ἔχουσ’ ἀνέλκει

ἰσάζουσ’, ἵν’ ἀεικέα παισὶν ἄροιτο μισθόν.

τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ πριάπεια[ι, ὑπὸ τινων δ’ ἰθυφάλλια] λεγόμενα ταυτί·

Οὐ βέβηλος, ὧ τέλεται τοῦ νέου Διονύσου ...

κάγῳ δ’ ἐξ εὐεργεσίης ὠργισμένος ἦκω.

ἄλλους πάλιν λαβὼν στίχους Ὀμηρικούς, οὔτε προσθεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελών, τὴν δὲ σύνθεσιν ἀλλάξας μόνον ἕτερον ἀποδώσω γένος τὸ τετράμετρον καλούμενον Ἰωνικόν·

ὥς ὁ πρόσθ’ ἵππων καὶ δίφρου κέῖτο τανυσθεῖς,

βεβρυχώς, κόνιος δεδραγμένος αἱματοέσσης.

ὥς ὁ πρόσθ’ ἵππων καὶ δίφρου κέῖτο τανυσθεῖς,

αἱματοέσσης κόνιος δεδραγμένος, βεβρυχώς.

τοιαῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὰ Σωτάδεια ταυτί·

ἐνθ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπ’ ἄκραισι πυραῖς νέκυες ἔκειντο

γῆς ἐπὶ ξένης, ὄρφανὰ τείχεα προλιπόντες

Ἑλλάδος ἱερῆς καὶ μυχὸν ἐστίης πατρώης,

ἦβην τ’ ἐρατὴν καὶ καλὸν ἡλίου πρόσωπον.

ἐδυνάμην δ’ ἂν ἔτι πολλὰς ιδέας μέτρων καὶ διαφόρους εἰς τὸν ἡρωϊκὸν ἐμπιπτούσας στίχον ἐπιδεικνύειν, τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι συμβεβηκὸς μέτροις τε καὶ ῥυθμοῖς ἀποφαίνειν, ὥστε τῆς μὲν ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τῆς αὐτῆς μενούσης, τῆς δὲ συνθέσεως μόνης μεταπαιούσης

τά τε μέτρα μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι καὶ συμμεταπίπτειν αὐτοῖς τὰ σχήματα, τὰ χρώματα, τὰ ἦθη, τὰ πάθη, τὴν ὅλην τῶν ποιημάτων ἀξίωσιν· ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθῆσομαι πλείονων ἄψασθαι θεωρημάτων, ὧν ἔνια ὀλίγοις πάνυ ἐστὶ γνῶριμα. ἐπὶ πολλῶν δ' ἴσως καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι τὰ Εὐριπίδεια ταῦτα ἐπενεγκεῖν·

μή μοι

λεπτῶν θίγγανε μύθων, ψυχή·

τί περισσὰ φρονεῖς; εἰ μή μέλλεις

σεμνύνεσθαι παρ' ὁμοίοις.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔασειν μοι δοκῶ κατὰ τὸ παρόν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ πεζὴ λέξις τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται παθεῖν τῇ ἐμμέτρῳ μενόντων μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλαππομένης δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως, πάρεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν. λήψομαι δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἡροδότου λέξεως τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ γνῶριμός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς, μεταθεὶς τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς διαλέκτου μόνον. 'Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δ' Ἀλυάττου, τύραννος δ' ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μεταξὺ Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίησι πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον'. μετατίθημι τῆς λέξεως ταύτης τὴν ἀρμονίαν, καὶ γενήσεται μοι οὐκέτι ὑπαγωγικὸν τὸ πλάσμα οὐδ' ἱστορικόν, ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν μᾶλλον καὶ ἐναγώνιον· 'Κροῖσος ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Ἀλυάττου, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τύραννος δὲ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ ἐθνῶν· ὃς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον.' οὗτος ὁ χαρακτήρ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχειν ἂν δόξειεν τῶν Θουκυδίδου τοῦτων· 'Επίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος.' πάλιν δὲ ἀλλάξας τὴν αὐτὴν λέξιν ἑτέραν αὐτῇ μορφήν ἀποδώσω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· 'Ἀλυάττου μὲν υἱὸς ἦν Κροῖσος, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τῶν δ' ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ τύραννος ἐθνῶν· ὃς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων μεταξὺ πρὸς βορέαν ἐξίησιν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν καλούμενον πόντον Εὐξείνιον'. Ἥγησιακὸν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς συνθέσεως, μικρόκομφον, ἀγεννές, μαλθακόν· τοῦτων γὰρ τῶν λήρων ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα γράφων· 'Εξ ἀγαθῆς ἐορτῆς ἀγαθὴν ἄγομεν ἄλλην.' 'Ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας εἰμὶ τῆς μεγάλης Σιτυλεύς.' 'Οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν εἰς Θηβαίων ὕδωρ ἔπτυσεν ὁ Διόνυσος· ἡδὺ μὲν γάρ ἐστι, ποιεῖ δὲ μαίνεσθαι.'

Ἄλως ἔστω παραδειγμάτων. ἱκανῶς γὰρ οἶομαι πεποιηκέναι φανερόν ὃ προὔκειτό μοι, ὅτι μείζονα ἰσχὺν ἔχει τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἢ σύνθεσις. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτεῖν εἰκάσας αὐτὴν τῇ Ὀμηρικῇ Ἀθηνᾷ· ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοιον ἐποίει φαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν μικρὸν καὶ ῥυσὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν

πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἢ δὲ γέροντι,

τοτὲ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ῥάβδῳ πάλιν ἐφασαμένη

μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ιδέσθαι,

καὶ δὲ κάρητος

οὔλας ἦκε κόμας ὑακινθίνῳ ἀνθει ὁμοίας.

αὕτη τε τὰ αὐτὰ λαμβάνουσα ὀνόματα τοτὲ μὲν ἄμορφα καὶ ταπεινὰ καὶ
πτωχὰ ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὰ νοήματα, τοτὲ δ' ὑψηλὰ καὶ πλούσια [καὶ ἀδρὰ]
καὶ καλὰ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν σχεδὸν ὧ μάλιστα διαλλάττει ποιητῆς τε ποιητοῦ καὶ
ρήτωρ ρήτορος, τὸ συντιθέναι δεξιῶς τὰ ὀνόματα. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίοις
ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι πολλὴ ἐπιτήδευσις ἦν αὐτοῦ, παρ' ὃ καὶ καλὰ ἐστὶν
αὐτῶν τὰ τε μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ οἱ λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ μεταγενεστέροις
οὐκέτι πλὴν ὀλίγων· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον παντάπασιν ἡμελήθη καὶ οὐδεὶς
ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ εἶναι οὐδὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τι τῷ κάλλει τῶν
λόγων· τοιγάρτοι τοιαύτας συντάξεις κατέλιπον οἷας οὐδεὶς ὑπομένει μέχρι
κορωνίδος διελθεῖν, Φύλαρχον λέγω καὶ Δοῦριν καὶ Πολύβιον καὶ Ψάωνα
καὶ τὸν Καλλαπτιανὸν Δημήτριον Ἰερώνυμόν τε καὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ
Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἡγησιάνακτα καὶ ἄλλους μυρίους· ὧν ἀπάντων εἰ τὰ
ὀνόματα βουλοίμην λέγειν, 'ἐπλείψει με' ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος. καὶ τί δεῖ
τούτους θαυμάζειν, ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ τὰς
διαλεκτικὰς ἐκφέροντες τέχνας οὕτως εἰσὶν ἄθλιοι περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν
ὀνομάτων ὥστε αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν; ἀπόχρη δὲ τεκμηρίῳ χρῆσασθαι τοῦ
λόγου Χρυσίππῳ τῷ Στωϊκῷ (περαιτέρῳ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν προβαῖν)· τοῦτου γὰρ
οὔτ' ἄμεινον οὐδεὶς τὰς διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠκρίβωσεν οὔτε ἀρμονίᾳ
χείρονι συνταχθέντας ἐξήνεγκε λόγους τῶν γοῦν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης
ἄξιωθέντων. καίτοι σπουδάζεσθαι γέ τινες προσεποιήθησαν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ὃν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τέχνας γέ τινας ἔγραψαν
ὑπὲρ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων· ἀλλὰ πολὺ τι πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀληθείας ἀπεπλάγχθησαν καὶ οὐδ' ὄναρ εἶδον, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν
ἠδεῖαν καὶ καλὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν. ἐγὼ γ' οὖν ὅτ' ἔγνω συντάττεσθαι ταύτην
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἐξήτουν εἰ τι τοῖς πρότερον εἴρηται περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μάλιστα
τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλοσόφοις, εἰδὼς τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ μικρὰν φροντίδα τοῦ
λεκτικοῦ τόπου ποιουμένους· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τάληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν. οὐδαμῇ δ'
οὐδὲν εἰρημένον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρῶν τῶν γοῦν ὀνόματος ἠξιωμένων οὔτε
μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ προήρημαι πραγματεῖαν, ἃς δὲ Χρυσίππος
καταλέλοιπε συντάξεις διττὰς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσας 'περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν
τοῦ λόγου μερῶν' οὐ ρητορικὴν θεωρίαν ἔχουσας ἀλλὰ διαλεκτικὴν, ὡς
ἴσασιν οἱ τὰς βύβλους ἀνεγνωκότες, ὑπὲρ ἀξιωματῶν συντάξεως ἀληθῶν
τε καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ δυνατῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἐνδεχομένων τε καὶ
μεταπιπτόντων καὶ ἀμφιβόλων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τοιουτοτρόπων, οὐδεμίαν
οὔτ' ὠφέλειαν οὔτε χρεῖαν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις συμβαλλομένης εἰς γοῦν
ἠδονὴν καὶ κάλλος ἐρμηνείας, ὧν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τὴν σύνθεσιν· ταύτης
μὲν τῆς πραγματείας ἀπέστην, ἐσκόπουν δ' αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ γενόμενος,
εἰ τίνα δυναίμην εὐρεῖν φυσικὴν ἀφορμὴν, ἐπειδὴ παντὸς πράγματος καὶ
πάσης ζητήσεως αὕτη δοκεῖ κρατίστη εἶναι ἀρχή. ἀψάμενος δὲ τινων
θεωρημάτων καὶ δόξας ὁδῶ μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα χωρεῖν ὡς ἔμαθον ἐτέρωσέ ποι
ταύτην ἄγουσαν ἐμὲ τὴν ὁδόν, οὐχ ὅποι ἐπορευόμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν
ἐλθεῖν, ἀπέστην. κωλύσει δ' οὐδὲν ἴσως κάκεινης ἄψασθαι τῆς θεωρίας καὶ
τὰς αἰτίας εἰπεῖν δι' ἃς ἐξέλιπον αὐτήν, ἵνα μή με δόξη τις ἀγνοῖα
παρελθεῖν αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ προαιρέσει.

[5] Ἐδóκει δὴ μοι τῇ φύσει μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἐπομένους οὕτω δεῖν ἀρμόττειν τὰ μόρια τοῦ λόγου, ὡς ἐκείνη βούλεται. αὐτίκα τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερα ἡξίουν τάττειν τῶν ῥημάτων (τὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν δηλοῦν, τὰ δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός, πρότερον δ' εἶναι τῇ φύσει τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν συμβεβηκότων), ὡς τὰ Ὀμηρικὰ ἔχει ταυτί·

ἄνδρά μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον

καὶ

μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά

καὶ

ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε λιπῶν

καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις· ἡγεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τὰ ὀνόματα, ἔπεται δὲ τὰ ῥήματα. πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἔδοξεν εἶναί μοι. ἕτερα γοῦν παράσχοι τις ἂν παραδείγματα παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιητῇ κείμενα ἐναντίως συντεταγμένα ἢ ταῦτα συντέτακται, καλὰ δὲ οὐχ ἦττον καὶ πιθανά. οἷά τινά ἐστι ταῦτα·

κλυθί μευ αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτῶνη καὶ

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι ...

μνήσαι πατρὸς σεῖο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ.

ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἡγεῖται μὲν τὰ ῥήματα, ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αἰτιάσαιτο τὴν σύνταξιν ταύτην ὡς ἀηδῆ. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἄμεινον ἐδόκουν εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα προτάττειν τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ πρότερόν ἐστι τῇ φύσει τὸ ποιοῦν ἢ πάσχον τῶν συνεδρευόντων αὐτοῖς, τρόπου λέγω καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῶν παραπλησιῶν, ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν ἐπιρρήματα, παραδείγμασι χρώμενος τούτοις·

τύπτε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην, τῶν δὲ στόνος ὦρνυτ' ἀεικίης ...

ἦριπε δ' ἐξοπῖσω, ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχῇν ἐκάπυσσεν ...

ἐκλῖνθη δ' ἐτέρωσε, δέπας δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός.

ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ διὰ τούτοις ὕστερα τέτακται [ἄμα] τῶν ῥημάτων τὰ ἐπιρρήματα. καὶ τοῦτο πιθανὸν μὲν ὡς τὸ πρῶτον, οὐκ ἀληθὲς δὲ ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο. τάδε γὰρ διὰ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιητῇ ἐναντίως εἴρηται·

βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι ...

σήμερον ἄνδρα φάοσδε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια

ἐκφανεῖ.

ἄρ' οὖν τι χεῖρω γέγονε τὰ ποιήματα ὑποταχθέντων τοῖς ἐπιρρήμασι τῶν ῥημάτων; οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι. ἔτι καὶ τότε ὦμην δεῖν μὴ παρέργως φυλάττειν, ὅπως τὰ πρότερα τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ τῇ τάξει πρότερα λαμβάνηται· οἷά ἐστι ταῦτα·

αῖ ἔρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν καὶ

λίγξε βιός, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἄλτο δ' ὀιστός καὶ

σφαῖραν ἔπειτ' ἔρριψε μετ' ἀμφίπολον βασιλεία·

ἀμφιπόλου μὲν ἅμαρτε, βαθείῃ δ' ἔμβαλε δῖνῃ.

νῇ Δία, φαίη τις ἂν, εἴ γε μὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἦν πολλὰ οὐχ οὕτω συντεταγμένα ποιήματα οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ ταῦτα καλὰ·

πλῆξε δ' ἀνασχόμενος σχίζῃ δρυός, ἦν λίτε κείων,

πρότερον γὰρ δὴ που τὸ ἐπανατείνασθαί ἐστι τοῦ πληξῆαι. καὶ ἔτι
ἤλασεν ἄγχι στάς, πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας
αὐχενίους,

πρῶτον γὰρ δὴ που προσῆκεν τῷ μέλλοντι τὸν πέλεκυν ἐμβάλλειν εἰς
τοὺς τένοντας τοῦ ταύρου τὸ στῆναι αὐτοῦ πλησίον. ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις
ἠξίου τὰ μὲν ὀνομαστικὰ προτάττειν τῶν ἐπιθέτων, τὰ δὲ προσηγορικὰ τῶν
ὀνομαστικῶν, τὰς δ' ἀντονομασίας τῶν προσηγορικῶν, ἔν τε τοῖς ῥήμασι
φυλάττειν, ἵνα τὰ ὀρθὰ τῶν ἐγκλινομένων ἠγῆται καὶ τὰ παρεμφατικά τῶν
ἀπαρεμφάτων, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα διεσάλευσεν ἡ πείρα
καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέφαινε. τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν
ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς ἠδεῖα ἢ σύνθεσις καὶ καλή, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων
ἀλλ' ἐναντίων. διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τοιαύτης θεωρίας
ἀπέστην. ἐμνήσθην δ' αὐτῶν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὡς σπουδῆς ἀξίων, καὶ τὰς
διαλεκτικὰς παρεθέμην τέχνας οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαίας, ἀλλ' ἵνα μηδεὶς δοκῶν
ἔχειν τι αὐτὰς χρήσιμον εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν θεωρίαν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιῆται
εἰδέναι, θηρευθεὶς ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς τῶν πραγματειῶν ὁμοιότητά τινα
ἐχούσαις καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν συνταξαμένων αὐτάς.

Ἐπάνειμι δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν ἀφ' ἧς εἰς ταῦτ' ἐξέβην, ὅτι
πολλὴ πρόνοια τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἦν καὶ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι φιλοσόφοις
τε καὶ ῥήτορσι τῆς ιδέας ταύτης, καὶ οὔτε τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὔτε
τὰ κῶλα τοῖς κώλοις οὔτε τὰς περιόδους ἀλλήλαις εἰκῇ συνάπτειν ᾤοντο
δεῖν, τέχνη δέ τις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ θεωρήματα οἷς χρώμενοι συνετίθεσαν
εὔ. τίνα δ' ἦν τὰ θεωρήματα ταῦτα, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διδάσκειν, ὡς ἂν οἷός
τε ὦ, ὅσα μοι δύναιμι ἐγένετο συνεξευρεῖν, οὐχ ἅπαντα λέγων ἀλλ' αὐτὰ
τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα.

[6] Δοκεῖ μοι τῆς συνθετικῆς ἐπιστήμης τρία ἔργα εἶναι. ἓν μὲν ἰδεῖν, τί
μετὰ τίνος ἀρμοζόμενον πέφυκε καλὴν καὶ ἠδεῖαν λήψεσθαι συζυγίαν·
ἕτερον δὲ γινῶναι τῶν ἀρμόττεσθαι μελλόντων πρὸς ἄλληλα πῶς ἂν
ἕκαστον σχηματισθὲν κρείττονα ποιήσῃ φαινεσθαι τὴν ἀρμονίαν· τρίτον δ'
εἴ τι δεῖται μετασκευῆς τῶν λαμβανομένων, ἀφαιρέσεως λέγω καὶ
προσθήκης καὶ ἀλλοιώσεως, γινῶναί τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν χρεῖαν
οἰκείως ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὃ τι δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον δύναται, σαφέστερον ἐρῶ
χρησάμενος εἰκόσι τῶν δημιουργικῶν τεχνῶν τισιν ἃς ἅπαντες ἴσασιν,
οἰκοδομικῇ λέγω καὶ ναυπηγικῇ καὶ ταῖς παραπλησίαις· ὃ τε γὰρ οἰκοδόμος
ὅταν πορίσῃ τὴν ὕλην ἐξ ἧς μέλλει κατασκευάζειν τὴν οἰκίαν, λίθους καὶ
ξύλα καὶ κέραμον καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα, συντίθῃσιν ἐκ τούτων ἤδη τὸ ἔργον
τρία ταῦτα πραγματευόμενος, ποίω δεῖ λίθω τε καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ πλίνθῳ ποῖον
ἀρμόσαι λίθον ἢ ξύλον ἢ πλίνθον, ἔπειτα πῶς τῶν ἀρμοζομένων ἕκαστον
καὶ ἐπὶ ποίας πλευρᾷς ἐδράσαι, καὶ τρίτον, εἴ τι δύσεδρόν ἐστιν,
ἀποκροῦσαι καὶ περικόψαι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εὐἔδρον ποιῆσαι· ὃ τε ναυπηγὸς
τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα πραγματεύεται. τὰ δὲ παραπλησίά φημι δεῖν καὶ τοὺς
μέλλοντας εὔ συνθήσειν τὰ τοῦ λόγου μόρια, πρῶτον μὲν σκοπεῖν, ποῖον
ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων ποίω συνταχθὲν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔσται
κείμενον καὶ πῶς εὔ ἢ ἄμεινον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντα γε μετὰ πάντων τιθέμενα

πέφυκεν ὁμοίως διατιθέναι τὰς ἀκοάς)· ἔπειτα διακρίνειν, πῶς σχηματισθὲν τοῦνομα ἢ τὸ ῥῆμα ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὃ τι δὴ ποτε χαριέστερον ἰδρυθήσεται καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑποκείμενα πρεπωδέστερον· λέγω δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων, πότερον ἐνικῶς ἢ πληθυντικῶς λαμβανόμενα κρείττω λήψεται συζυγίαν, καὶ πότερον κατὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν ἐκφερόμενα πτῶσιν ἢ κατὰ τῶν πλαγίων τινά, καὶ εἴ τινα πέφυκεν ἐξ ἄρρενικῶν γίνεσθαι θηλυκὰ ἢ ἐκ θηλυκῶν ἄρρενικὰ ἢ οὐδέτερα ἐκ τούτων, πῶς ἂν ἄμεινον σχηματισθεῖν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ῥημάτων, πότερα κρείττω λαμβανόμενα ἔσται, τὰ ὀρθὰ ἢ τὰ ὑπτια, καὶ κατὰ ποίας ἐγκλίσεις ἐκφερόμενα, ἃς δὴ τινες πτώσεις ῥηματικὰς καλοῦσι, κρατίστην ἔδραν λήψεται, καὶ ποίας παρεμφαίνοντα διαφορὰς χρόνων καὶ εἴ τινα τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἄλλα παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκε (τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ λόγου μερῶν φυλακτέον, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον λέγω)· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ ληφθέντα διακρίνειν, εἴ τι δεῖται μετασκευῆς ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα, πῶς ἂν ἐναρμονιώτερόν τε καὶ εὐεδρότερον γένοιτο· τοῦτο τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν μὲν ποιητικῇ δασιλέστερόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ λόγοις πεζοῖς σπανιώτερον· πλὴν γίνεται γε καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐγχωρῇ· ὃ τε γὰρ λέγων 'εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα' προστέθηκέ τι τῇ ἀντωνυμίᾳ γράμμα τῆς συνθέσεως στοχαζόμενος· ἄρτιον γὰρ ἦν 'εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα' εἰπεῖν· καὶ πάλιν ὁ λέγων 'κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν' τῇ προθέσει παρηύξηκεν τοῦνομα, τὸ γὰρ ἰδὼν ἀπέχρη· καὶ ὁ γράφων 'μήτ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεχ' ἤκειν' ταῖς συναλοιφαῖς ἡλάττωκε τὰ μόρια τοῦ λόγου κάποκέκρουκέ τινα τῶν γραμμάτων· καὶ ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐποίησεν 'ἐποίησε' λέγων χωρὶς τοῦ ν καὶ ['ἔγραψε' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔγραψεν λέγων καὶ] 'ἀφαιρήσομαι' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφαιρεθήσομαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὃ τ' 'ἐχωροφίλησε' λέγων τὸ ἐφιλοχώρησε καὶ 'λελύσεται' τὸ λυθήσεται καὶ τὰ τοιουτότροπα μετασκευάζει τὰς λέξεις, ἵν' αὐτῷ γένοιτο ἁρμοσθῆναι καλλίους καὶ ἐπιτηδειότεραι.

[17] Μία μὲν δὴ θεωρία τῆς συνθετικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἡ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πρῶτα μόρια καὶ στοιχεῖα τῆς λέξεως ἦδε· ἑτέρα δέ, ὥσπερ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφην, ἡ περὶ τὰ καλούμενα κῶλα, ποικιλωτέρας τε δεομένη πραγματείας καὶ μεζονος, ὑπὲρ ἧς αὐτίκα δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν ὡς ἔχω γνώμης. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἁρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα δεῖ ὥστ' οἰκεῖα φαίνεσθαι καὶ φίλα καὶ σχηματῖσαι ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται κράτιστα προκατασκευάσαι τε, εἴ ποὺ τι δέοι, μειώσει καὶ πλεονασμῷ καὶ εἰ δὴ τιν' ἄλλην μετασκευὴν δέχεται τὰ κῶλα· τούτων δ' ἕκαστον ἡ πεῖρα αὐτῇ διδάσκει· πολλάκις γὰρ τουτὶ τὸ κῶλον τούτου μὲν προτεθὲν ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεθὲν εὐστομίαν τινὰ ἐμφαίνει καὶ σεμνότητα, ἑτέραν δέ τινα συζυγίαν λαβὼν ἄχαρι φαίνεται καὶ ἄσεμνον. ὃ δὲ λέγω, σαφέστερον ἔσται, εἴ τις αὐτὸ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ἴδοι. ἔστι δὴ τις παρὰ τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ λέξις ἐν τῇ Πλαταιέων δημηγορίᾳ πάνυ χαριέντως συγκειμένη καὶ μεστὴ πάθους ἦδε· 'ὕμεῖς τε ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν, μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾔτε.' φέρε δὴ τις λύσας τὴν συζυγίαν ταύτην μεθαρμοσάτω τὰ κῶλα οὕτως· 'ὕμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾔτε, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς.' ἄρ' ἔτι μένει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἡρμοσμένων τῶν κῶλων ἡ αὐτὴ χάρις ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος; οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι. τί δ' εἰ τὴν

Δημοσθένους λέξιν ταύτην ‘τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει;’ λύσας τις καὶ μεταθεῖς τὰ κῶλα τουτονὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐξενέγκαι· ‘ὁμολογῶν οὖν ἔννομον εἶναι τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα, παρανόμων γράφῃ τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι’, ἅρ’ ὁμοίως ἔσται δικανικὴ καὶ στρογγύλη; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι.

[8] ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν ἀρμογὴν τῶν κῶλων θεωρία τοιαύτη, ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν ποδαπή; οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς τρόπος τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ἀπάντων τῶν νοημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δ’ ὡς πυκνυόμενοι, τὰ δ’ ὡς εὐχόμενοι, τὰ δ’ ὡς ἐπιτάττοντες, τὰ δ’ ὡς διαποροῦντες, τὰ δ’ ὡς ὑποτιθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλως πως σχηματίζοντες, οἷς ἀκολουθῶς καὶ τὴν λέξιν πειρώμεθα σχηματίζειν. πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ πού σχηματισμοὶ καὶ τῆς λέξεως εἰσιν ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς διανοίας, οὓς οὐχ οἷόν τε κεφαλαιωδῶς περιλαβεῖν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄπειροι· περὶ ὧν καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος καὶ βαθεῖα ἡ θεωρία. οὐ δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται ποιεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ κῶλον οὕτω σχηματισθὲν ἢ οὕτως. ἐρῶ δὲ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος· εἰ τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκε τὸν τρόπον ὁ Δημοσθένης τὴν λέξιν ταύτην ‘ταῦτ’ εἴπας ἔγραψα, γράψας δ’ ἐπρέσβευσα, πρεσβεύσας δ’ ἔπεισα Θηβαίους’, ἅρ’ οὕτως ἂν συνέκειτο χαριέντως, ὡς νῦν σύγκειται; ‘οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδ’ ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδ’ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους’. πολὺς δ’ ἂν εἴη μοι λόγος, εἰ περὶ πάντων βουλοίμην λέγειν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ὅσους τὰ κῶλα ἐπιδέχεται. ἀπόχρη δὲ εἰσαγωγῆς ἕνεκα τοσαῦτα εἰρῆσθαι.

[9] ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε καὶ μετασκευᾶς δέχεται τῶν κῶλων ἔνια τοτὲ μὲν προσθήκας λαμβάνοντα οὐκ ἀναγκαίως ὡς πρὸς τὸν νοῦν, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφαιρέσεις ἀτελῆ ποιούσας τὴν διάνοιαν, ἃς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα ποιοῦσι ποιηταί τε καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἢ τῆς ἀρμονίας, ἴν’ ἡδεῖα καὶ καλὴ γένηται, πάνυ ὀλίγου δεῖν οἶμαι λόγου. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσαι τήνδε μὲν τὴν λέξιν ἣν ὁ Δημοσθένης εἴρηκε προσθήκη πλεονάζειν οὐκ ἀναγκαίᾳ τῆς ἀρμονίας ἕνεκα; ‘ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθεῖην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ.’ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χάριν πρόσκειται τὸ τοξεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον τὸ ‘κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ’ τραχύτερον τοῦ δέοντος ὢν καὶ οὐχ ἡδὺ ἀκουσθῆναι τῇ προσθήκῃ ταύτῃ γένηται χαριέστερον. καὶ ἔτι τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἐκείνην περίοδον, ἣν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ ὁ ἀνὴρ γράφει, τίς οὐκ ἂν φαίη παραπληρώματι λέξεως οὐκ ἀναγκαίῳ προσηρανίσθαι; ‘ἔργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος γίνεται τοῖς πράξασι παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων.’ ἐνταυθοῖ γὰρ τὸ ‘παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων’ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον τὸ ‘τοῖς πράξασι’ πάρισόν τε καὶ ἐφάμιλλον τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γένηται. τί δὲ δὴ τὸ παρ’ Αἰσχίνῃ λεγόμενον τουτί ‘ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς’, τρίκωλον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ἐπαινούμενον, οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ιδέας ἔχεται; ὁ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐνὶ κῶλῳ περιληφθῆναι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ‘ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς’, τοῦτο εἰς τρία διήρηται, τῆς αὐτῆς λέξεως οὐ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἕνεκα, τοῦ δὲ ἡδίω

ποιῆσαι τὴν ἁρμονίαν πολλάκις τεθείσης [καὶ προσέτι πάθος τῷ λόγῳ]. τῆς μὲν δὴ προσθέσεως ἢ γίνεται τοῖς κώλοις οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως δὲ τίς; ὅταν τῶν ἀναγκαίων τι λέγεσθαι λυπεῖν μέλλῃ καὶ διοχλεῖν τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἀφαιρεθὲν δὲ χαριεστέραν ποιῇ τὴν ἁρμονίαν· οἷά ἐστιν ἐν μὲν τοῖς μέτροις τὰ Σοφόκλεια ταυτί·

μῦθε καὶ δέδορκα κάξανίσταμαι

πλέον φυλάσσω ἀντὸς ἢ φυλάσσομαι·

ἐνταυθοῖ γὰρ ὁ δεῦτερος στίχος ἐκ δυεῖν σύγκειται κώλων οὐχ ὅλων· τελεία γὰρ ἂν ἡ λέξις ἦν οὕτως ἐξενεχθεῖσα ‘πλεῖον φυλάσσω ἀντὸς ἐτέρους ἢ φυλασσόμενος ὑφ’ ἐτέρων’, τὸ δὲ μέτρον ἡδίκητο καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔσχεν ἦν νῦν ἔχει χάριν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς λόγοις τὰ τοιαῦτα· ‘ἐγὼ δ’ ὅτι μὲν πινῶν κατηγοροῦντα πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀτέλειαν τῶν ἀδίκων ἐστίν, ἔάσω.’ μεμείωται γὰρ κἀνταῦθα τῶν πρώτων δυεῖν κώλων ἐκάτερον· αὐτοτελεῖ δ’ ἂν ἦν, εἴ τις αὐτὰ οὕτως ἐξήνεγκεν· ‘ἐγὼ δ’ ὅτι μὲν πινῶν κατηγοροῦντα ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖν ἔχειν τὴν ἀτέλειαν πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς δικαίως αὐτῆς τυχόντας τῶν ἀδίκων ἐστίν, ἔάσω.’ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐδόκει τῷ Δημοσθένει πλείονα ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν τῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν κώλων ἢ τῆς εὐρυθμίας.

τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ εἰρήσθω μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων περιόδων· καὶ γὰρ ταύτας χρὴ τάς τε προηγουμένας καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας οἰκείως συναρμόττειν, ὅταν ἐν περιόδοις προσῆκῃ τὸν λόγον ἐκφέρειν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πανταχῇ γε τὸ ἐμπερίοδον χρήσιμον. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ θεώρημα τῆς συνθετικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἴδιον, πότε δεῖ χρῆσθαι περιόδοις καὶ μέχρι πόσου καὶ πότε μὴ.

[10] Διωρισμένων δὴ μοι τούτων ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη λέγειν, τίνα ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον συντιθέναι τὴν λέξιν εὖ καὶ διὰ τίνων θεωρημάτων τυγχάνοι τις ἂν ὧν βούλεται. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δύο ταῦτ’ εἶναι <τὰ> γενικώτατα, ὧν ἐφίεσθαι δεῖ τοὺς συντιθέντας μέτρα τε καὶ λόγους, ἢ τε ἡδονὴ καὶ τὸ καλόν· ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἐπιζητεῖ ταῦτα ἡ ἀκοή, ὁμοίον τι πάσχουσα τῇ ὁράσει· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη πλάσματα καὶ γραφὰς καὶ γλυφὰς καὶ ὅσα δημιουργήματα χειρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὁρῶσα ὅταν εὐρίσκη τό τε ἡδὺ ἐνὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀρκεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ποθεῖ. καὶ μὴ παράδοξον ἡγήσεται τις, εἰ δύο ποιῶ τέλη καὶ χωρίζω τὸ καλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, μὴδ’ ἄτοπον εἶναι νομίση, εἴ τινα ἡγοῦμαι λέξιν ἡδέως μὲν συγκεῖσθαι, μὴ καλῶς δέ, ἢ καλῶς μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἡδέως· φέρει γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδὲν ἀξίῳ καινόν· ἢ γέ τοι Θεουκυδίδου λέξεις καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος τοῦ Ῥαμνουσίου καλῶς μὲν σύγκειται νῆ Δία, εἴ πέρ τινες καὶ ἄλλαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὰς ἔχοι μέμψασθαι κατὰ τοῦτο, οὐ μὴν ἡδέως γε πάνν· ἢ δέ γε τοῦ Κνιδίου συγγραφέως Κτησίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἡδέως μὲν ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα, οὐ μὴν καλῶς γ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἔδει· λέγω δὲ κοινότερον, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καθάπαξ, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνοις ἡρμостаί τινα ἡδέως καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καλῶς. ἢ δὲ Ἡροδότου σύνθεσις ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα ἔχει, καὶ γὰρ ἡδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ καλή.

[11] Ἐξ ὧν δ’ οἶμαι γενήσεσθαι λέξιν ἡδεῖαν καὶ καλήν, τέτταρά ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ τὰ κράτιστα, μέλος καὶ ρυθμὸς καὶ μεταβολὴ καὶ

τὸ παρακολουθοῦν τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦτοις πρέπον. τάττω δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν τε ὥραν καὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν εὐστομίαν καὶ τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ καλὸν τὴν τε μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν σεμνολογίαν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν πίνον καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια. ταυτὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ κυριώτατα εἶναι καὶ ὥσπερ κεφάλαια τῶν ἄλλων [ἐν ἑκατέρῳ]. ὧν μὲν οὖν στοχάζονται πάντες οἱ σπουδῇ γράφοντες μέτρον ἢ μέλος ἢ τὴν λεγομένην πεζὴν λέξιν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερον· οἱ δὲ πρωτεύσαντες ἐν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τούτων καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες· παραδείγματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου φέρειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ, ἵνα μὴ περὶ ταῦτα κατατρίψω τὸν λόγον· καὶ ἅμα εἴ τι λεχθῆναι περὶ τίνος αὐτῶν καθήκει καὶ δεῖσαι που μαρτυριῶν, ἕτερος αὐτοῖς ἔσται καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος, ὅταν τοὺς χαρακτηῖρας τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ὑπογράψω. νῦν δὲ ταῦτ' εἰρησθαὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπόχρη. ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς διαιρέσεις, αἷς ἐποισάμην τῆς θ' ἡδείας συνθέσεως καὶ τῆς καλῆς, ἵνα μοι καὶ καθ' ὁδόν, ὥς φασι, χωρῇ ὁ λόγος.

Ἔφην δὴ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἡδεσθαι πρῶτοις μὲν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἔπειτα τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, τρίτον ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῦτοις ἅπασιν τῷ πρέποντι. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τὴν πείραν αὐτὴν παρέξομαι μάρτυρα, ἦν οὐχ οἶδόν τε διαβάλλειν τοῖς κοινοῖς πάθεσιν ὁμολογουμένην· τίς γάρ ἐστιν ὃς οὐχ ὑπὸ μὲν ταύτης τῆς μελωδίας ἄγεται καὶ γοητεύεται, ὑφ' ἑτέρας δὲ τίνος οὐδὲν πάσχει τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων τῶν ῥυθμῶν οἰκείουται, ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων διοχλεῖται; ἤδη δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολυανθρωποτάτοις θεάτροις, ἃ συμπληροὶ παντοδαπὸς καὶ ἄμουσος ὄχλος, ἔδοξα καταμαθεῖν, ὥς φυσικὴ τις ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἡμῶν οἰκειότης πρὸς ἐμμέλειάν τε καὶ εὐρυθμίαν, κιθαριστὴν τε ἀγαθὸν σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἰδὼν θορυβηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅτι μίαν χορδὴν ἀσύμφωνον ἔκρουσε καὶ διέφθειρεν τὸ μέλος, καὶ αὐλητὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἔξεως χρώμενον τοῖς ὀργάνοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντα, ὅτι σομφὸν ἐμπνεύσας ἢ μὴ πῆσας τὸ στόμα θρυλιγμὸν ἢ τὴν καλουμένην ἐκμέλειαν ἠὔλησε. καίτοι γ' εἴ τις κελεύσειε τὸν ἰδιώτην τούτων τι ὧν ἐνεκάλει τοῖς τεχνίταις ὥς ἡμαρτημένων, αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι λαβόντα τὰ ὄργανα, οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο. τί δὴ ποτε; ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν, ἥς οὐ πάντες μετελήφραμεν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάθος ὃ πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ἡ φύσις. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν γινόμενον ἐθεασάμην, ἅμα πάντας ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ δυσαρεστομένους, ὅτε τις ἢ κροῦσιν ἢ κίνησιν ἢ μορφήν ἐν ἀσυμμέτροις ποιήσαιο χρόνοις καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἀφανίσειεν. καὶ οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμμελεῖ καὶ εὐρυθμῇ ἡδονῇς ἀγωγὰ ἐστὶ καὶ πάντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν κηλούμεθα, αἱ μεταβολαὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πρέπον οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν καὶ χάριν οὐδ' ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμοίως διακοῦνονται· ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνα πάνυ κηλεῖ πάντας ἡμᾶς κατορθούμενα καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ὀχλησιν ἄγει διαμαρτανόμενα· [τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν] τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι καὶ τῆς ὀργανικῆς μούσης καὶ τῆς ἐν ᾧδῇ καὶ τῆς ἐν ὀρχήσει χάριτος «μὲν» ἐν ἅπασιν διευστοχοῦσης, μεταβολὰς δὲ μὴ ποιησαμένης εὐκαίρους ἢ τοῦ πρέποντος ἀποπλανηθείσης βαρὺς μὲν ὁ κόρος, ἀηδὲς δὲ τὸ μὴ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀρμόττον φαίνεται. καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοτρίᾳ κέχηρμαι τοῦ

πράγματος εἰκόνι. μουσική γάρ τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη τῷ ποσῷ διαλλάττουσα τῆς ἐν ᾧδῃ καὶ ὀργάνοις, οὐχὶ τῷ ποιῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ μέλος ἔχουσιν αἱ λέξεις καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ πρέπον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀκοὴ τέρπεται μὲν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἄγεται δὲ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἀσπάζεται δὲ τὰς μεταβολάς, ποθεῖ δ' ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ οἰκεῖον, ἡ δὲ διαλλαγὴ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον.

διαλέκτου μὲν οὖν μέλος ἐνὶ μετρεῖται διαστήματι τῷ λεγομένῳ διὰ πέντε ὡς ἔγγιστα, καὶ οὔτε ἐπιτείνεται πέρα τῶν τριῶν τόνων καὶ ἡμιτονίου ἐπὶ τὸ ὅξυ οὔτ' ἀνίσταται τοῦ χωρίου τούτου πλέον ἐπὶ τὸ βαρὺ. οὐ μὴν ἅπαντα λέξεις ἢ καθ' ἐν μόριον λόγου ταπτομένη ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λέγεται τάσεως, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξεύας, ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας, ἢ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν. τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὰς τάσεις ἔχουσιν αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὅξει τὸ βαρὺ, ἃς δὴ περισπωμένας καλοῦμεν· αἱ δὲ ἐν ἐτέρᾳ τε καὶ ἐτέρᾳ χωρὶς ἐκάτερον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάττον φύσιν. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισυλλάβοις οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ μέσου χωρίον βαρύτητός τε καὶ ὀξύτητος· ταῖς δὲ πολυσυλλάβοις, ἡλίκαι ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἢ τὸν ὅξυν τόνον ἔχουσα μία ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς ἄλλαις βαρεῖαις ἔνεστιν. ἡ δὲ ὀργανικὴ τε καὶ ᾠδικὴ μοῦσα διαστήμασί τε χρῆται πλείοσιν, οὐ τῷ διὰ πέντε μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ πασῶν ἀρξαμένη καὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε μελωδεῖ καὶ τὸ διὰ τεττάρων καὶ <τὸ διὰ τριῶν καὶ τὸν> τόνον καὶ τὸ ἡμιτόνιον, ὡς δὲ τινες οἴονται, καὶ τὴν δίεσιν αἰσθητῶς· τὰς τε λέξεις τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑποτάττειν ἄξιοι καὶ οὐ τὰ μέλη ταῖς λέξεσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν δῆλον καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν Εὐριπίδου μελῶν, ἃ πεποίηκεν τὴν Ἥλέκτραν λέγουσαν ἐν Ὅρεσθι πρὸς τὸν χορόν·

σίγα σίγα, λευκὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης

τίθετε, μὴ κτυπεῖτ'·

ἀποπρὸ βᾶτ' ἐκεῖο', ἀποπρὸ μοι κοίτας.

ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις τὸ 'σίγα σίγα λευκὸν' ἐφ' ἐνὸς φθόγγου μελωδεῖται, καίτοι τῶν τριῶν λέξεων ἐκάστη βαρείας τε τάσεις ἔχει καὶ ὀξεύας. καὶ τὸ 'ἀρβύλης' τῇ μέσῃ συλλαβῇ τὴν τρίτην ὁμότονον ἔχει, ἀμηχάνου ὄντος ἐν ὄνομα δύο λαβεῖν ὀξεύας. καὶ τοῦ 'τίθετε' βαρυτέρα μὲν ἡ πρώτη γίνεται, δύο δ' αἱ μετ' αὐτὴν ὀξύτονοι τε καὶ ὁμόφωνοι. τοῦ τε 'κτυπεῖτε' ὁ περισπασμὸς ἠφάνισται· μᾶ γὰρ αἱ δύο συλλαβαὶ λέγονται τάσει. καὶ τὸ 'ἀποπρὸ βᾶτε' οὐ λαμβάνει τὴν τῆς μέσης συλλαβῆς προσωδίαν ὀξεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τετάρτην συλλαβὴν μεταβέβηκεν ἡ τάσις ἢ τῆς τρίτης. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ γίνεται καὶ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πεζὴ λέξις οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὀνόματος οὔτε ῥήματος βιάζεται τοὺς χρόνους οὐδὲ μετατίθῃσιν, ἀλλ' οἷας παρείληφεν τῇ φύσει τὰς συλλαβάς τὰς τε μακράς καὶ τὰς βραχείας, τοιαύτας φυλάττει· ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ τε καὶ ῥυθμικὴ μεταβάλλουσιν αὐτάς μειοῦσαι καὶ παραύξουσαι, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς τάναντία μεταχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἀπευθύνουσι τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρόνοις τὰς συλλαβάς.

Δεδειγμένης τῆς διαφορᾶς ἣ διαφέρει μουσικὴ λογικῇ λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη κάκεῖνα λέγειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῆς φωνῆς μέλος, λέγω δὲ οὐ τῆς ᾠδικῆς ἀλλὰ

τῆς ψιλῆς, ἐὰν ἡδέως διατιθῇ τὴν ἀκοήν, εὐμελὲς λέγοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμμελές· ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν μορίων συμμετρία σώζουσα τὸ μελικόν σχῆμα εὐρυθμος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνρυθμος· πῆ δὲ διαφέρει ταῦτα ἀλλήλων, κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ. νυνὶ δὲ τὰκόλουθ' ἀποδοῦναι πειράσομαι, πῶς ἂν γένοιτο λέξις πολιτικὴ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν ἡδύνουσα τὴν ἀκρόασιν κατὰ τε τὰ μέλη τῶν φθόγγων καὶ κατὰ τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ποικιλίας τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρέπον τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἐπειδὴ ταῦθ' ὑπεθέμην τὰ κεφάλαια.

[12] Οὐχ ἅπαντα πέφυκε τὰ μέρη τῆς λέξεως ὁμοίως διατιθέναι τὴν ἀκοήν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν ὁρατικὴν αἴσθησιν τὰ ὁρατὰ πάντα οὐδὲ τὴν γευστικὴν τὰ γευστὰ οὐδὲ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις τὰ κινοῦντα ἐκάστην· ἀλλὰ καὶ γλυκαίνουσιν αὐτὴν τινες ἦχοι καὶ πικραίνουσιν, καὶ τραχύνουσιν καὶ λεαίνουσιν, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα πάθη ποιοῦσι περὶ αὐτήν. αἰτία δὲ ἡ τε τῶν γραμμάτων φύσις ἐξ ᾧ ἡ φωνὴ συνέστηκεν, πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ἔχουσα δυνάμεις, καὶ ἡ τῶν συλλαβῶν πλοκὴ παντοδαπῶς σχηματιζομένη. τοιαύτην δὴ δύναμιν ἐχόντων τῶν τῆς λέξεως μορίων ἐπειδὴ μεταθεῖναι τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε, λείπεται τὸ τῇ μίξει καὶ κράσει καὶ παραθέσει συγκρῦψαι τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῶν τισιν ἀτοπίαν, τραχέσι λεῖα μίλογοντα καὶ σκληροῖς μαλακὰ καὶ κακοφώνους εὐφωνα καὶ δυσεκφόροις εὐπρόφορα καὶ βραχέσι μακρά, καὶ τᾶλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὐκαίρως συνπιθέντα καὶ μῆτ' ὀλιγοσύλλαβα πολλὰ ἐξῆς λαμβάνοντα (κόπτεται γὰρ ἡ ἀκρόασις) μῆτε πολυσύλλαβα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν, μηδὲ δὴ ὁμοιότονα παρ' ὁμοιοτόνοις μηδ' ὁμοιόχρονα παρ' ὁμοιοχρόνοις. χρή δὲ καὶ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνομαστικῶν ταχὺ μεταλαμβάνειν (μηκυνόμεναι γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ μετρίου πάνυ προσίστανται ταῖς ἀκοαῖς) καὶ τὴν ὁμοιότητα διαλύειν συνεχῶς ὀνομάτων τε τῶν ἐξῆς τιθεμένων πολλῶν καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τὸν κόρον φυλαττομένους, σχήμασί τε μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ μένειν ἀλλὰ θαμινὰ μεταβάλλειν καὶ τρόπους μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπεισφέρειν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλλειν, μηδὲ δὴ ἄρχεσθαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μηδὲ λῆγειν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπερτείνοντας τὸν ἑκατέρου καιρὸν.

Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰηθῇ με καθάπαξ ταῦτα παραγγέλλειν ὡς ἡδονῆς αἷτια διὰ παντὸς ἐσόμενα ἢ τάναντία ὀχλήσεως· οὐχ οὕτως ἀνόητός εἰμι· οἶδα γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γινομένην πολλάκις ἡδονήν, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιογενῶν, τοτὲ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοιογενῶν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν καιρὸν θηρᾶν· οὗτος γὰρ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀηδίας κράτιστον μέτρον. καιροῦ δὲ οὕτε ῥήτωρ οὐδεὶς οὕτε φιλόσοφος εἰς τόδε γε τέχνην ὥρισεν, οὐδ' ὅσπερ πρῶτος ἐπεχείρησε περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφειν Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος οὐδὲν ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔγραψεν· οὐδ' ἔχει φύσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς καθολικὴν καὶ ἔντεχνόν τινα περίληψιν πεσεῖν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπιστήμη θηρατός ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς ἀλλὰ δόξη. ταύτην δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ πολλάκις γυμνάσαντες ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτόν, οἱ δ' ἀγύμναστον ἀφέντες σπανιώτερον καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τύχης.

Ἴνα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴπω, ταῦτ' οἶμαι χρῆναι φυλάττειν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τὸν μέλλοντα διαθήσειν τὴν ἀκοήν ἡδέως· ἡ τὰ εὐμελῆ καὶ

εὐρυθμα καὶ εὐφωνα ὀνόματα, ὅφ' ὧν γλυκαίνεται τε καὶ ἐκμαλάττεται καὶ τὸ ὅλον οἰκείως διατίθεται ἢ αἰσθησις, ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις συναρμόττειν, ἢ τὰ μὴ τοιαύτην ἔχοντα φύσιν ἐγκαταπλέκειν τε καὶ συνυφαίνειν τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτὴν γοητεύειν, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων χάριτος ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦτων ἀηδία· οἷόν τι ποιοῦσιν οἱ φρόνιμοι στρατηλάται κατὰ τὰς συντάξεις τῶν στρατευμάτων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπικρύπτουσι τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς τὰ ἀσθενῆ, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῆς δυνάμεως ἄχρηστον. διαναπαύειν δὲ τὴν ταυτότητά φημι δεῖν μεταβολὰς εὐκαίρους εἰσφέροντα· καὶ γὰρ ἡ μεταβολὴ παντὸς ἔργου χρῆμα ἡδύ. τελευταῖον δὲ ὃ δὴ καὶ πάντων κράτιστον, οἰκείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις καὶ πρέπουσαν ἁρμονίαν. δυσωπεῖσθαι δ' οὐδὲν οἶομαι δεῖν οὔτε ὄνομα οὔτε ῥῆμα, ὃ τι καὶ τέτριπται, μὴ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ λέγεσθαι μέλλον· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω ταπεινὸν ἢ ῥυπαρὸν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δυσχέρειαν ἔχον ἔσεσθαι φημι λόγου μόριον, ὧ σημαίνεται τι σῶμα ἢ πρᾶγμα, ὃ μηδεμίαν ἔξει χώραν ἐπιτηδεῖαν ἐν λόγοις. παρακελεύομαι δὲ τῇ συνθέσει πιστεύοντας ἀνδρείως πάνυ καὶ τεθαρρηκότως αὐτὰ ἐκφέρειν Ὀμήρῳ τε παραδείγματι χρώμενος, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα κεῖται τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ Δημοσθένει καὶ Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον μνησθήσομαι καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἀρμόττη περὶ ἐκάστου. ταῦτά μοι περὶ τῆς ἡδείας εἰρήσθω συνθέσεως, ὀλίγα μὲν ἀπὸ πολλῶν θεωρημάτων, ἱκανὰ δὲ ὡς κεφάλαια εἶναι.

[13] εἶέν. καλὴ δ' ἁρμονία πῶς γένοιτ' ἂν εἰ τις ἔροιτό με καὶ ἐκ ποίων θεωρημάτων, οὐκ ἄλλως πως νῆ Δία φαίην ἂν οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν ἢ ἐξ ὧν περ ἡ ἡδεῖα· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ποιητικὰ ἀμφοῖν, μέλος εὐγενές, ῥυθμὸς ἀξιοματικός, μεταβολὴ μεγαλοπρεπής, τὸ πᾶσι τούτοις παρακολουθοῦν πρόπον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡδεῖά τις γίνεται λέξις, οὕτω γενναῖα τις ἄρα, καὶ ῥυθμὸς ὥσπερ γλαφυρός τις, οὕτω καὶ σεμνός τις ἕτερος, καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλειν ὥσπερ χάριν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ τόνον· τὸ δὲ δὴ πρόπον εἰ μὴ τοῦ καλοῦ πλεῖστον ἔξει μέρος, σχολῇ γ' ἂν ἄλλου τινός. ἐξ ἀπάντων δὴ φημι τούτων ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι δεῖν τὸ καλὸν ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ λέξεως ἐξ ὧν περ καὶ τὸ ἡδύ. αἰτία δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἢ τε τῶν γραμμάτων φύσις καὶ ἡ τῶν συλλαβῶν δύναμις, ἐξ ὧν πλέκεται τὰ ὀνόματα· ὑπὲρ ὧν καιρὸς ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὥσπερ ὑπεσχόμην.

[14] Ἀρχαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φωνῆς καὶ ἐνάρθρου μηκέτι δεχόμεναι διαίρεσιν, ἃ καλοῦμεν στοιχεῖα καὶ γράμματα· γράμματα μὲν ὅτι γραμμαῖς τισι σημαίνεται, στοιχεῖα δὲ ὅτι πᾶσα φωνὴ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τούτων λαμβάνει πρῶτων καὶ τὴν διάλυσιν εἰς ταῦτα ποιεῖται τελευταῖα. τῶν δὴ στοιχείων τε καὶ γραμμάτων οὐ μία πάντων φύσις, διαφορὰ δὲ αὐτῶν πρώτη μὲν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέξενος ὁ μουσικὸς ἀποφαίνεται, καθ' ἣν τὰ μὲν φωνὰς ἀποτελεῖ, τὰ δὲ ψόφους· φωνὰς μὲν τὰ λεγόμενα φωνήεντα, ψόφους δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα. δευτέρα δὲ καθ' ἣν τῶν μὴ φωνηέντων ἃ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ψόφους ὁποίους δὴ πινὰς ἀποτελεῖν πέφυκε, ῥοῖζον ἢ σιγμὸν ἢ μυγμὸν ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων ἤχων δηλωτικούς· ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἁμοιρα φωνῆς καὶ ψόφου καὶ οὐχ οἷά τε ἡχεῖσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὰ· διὸ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν ἄφωνα τινὲς ἐκάλεσαν, θάτερα δὲ ἡμίφωνα. οἱ δὲ τριχῇ νείμαντες τὰς πρώτας τε

καὶ στοιχειώδεις τῆς φωνῆς δυνάμεις φωνήεντα μὲν ἐκάλεσαν, ὅσα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ φωνεῖται καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοτελῆ· ἡμίφωνα δ' ὅσα μετὰ μὲν φωνηέντων αὐτὰ ἑαυτῶν κρεῖττον ἐκφέρεται, καθ' ἑαυτὰ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ οὐκ αὐτοτελῶς· ἄφωνα δ' ὅσα οὔτε τὰς τελείας οὔτε τὰς ἡμιτελεῖς φωνὰς ἔχει καθ' ἑαυτά, μεθ' ἑτέρων δ' ἐκφωνεῖται.

ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ὅστις ἔστιν, οὐ ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἐπεὶ πολλὴν παρέσχε καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπορίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾤθησαν εἶναι τριακαίδεκα τὰ πάντα τῆς φωνῆς στοιχεῖα, κατεσκευάσθαι δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ τούτων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων οἷς χρῶμεθα νῦν πλείω. ἢ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τούτων θεωρία γραμματικῆς τε καὶ μετρικῆς, εἰ δὲ βούλεται τις, καὶ φιλοσοφίας οἰκειοτέρα· ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπόχρη μήτ' ἐλάττους τῶν κδ μήτε πλείους ὑποθεμένοις εἶναι τὰς τῆς φωνῆς ἀρχὰς τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτοῖς λέγειν, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φωνηέντων ποιησαμένους.

ἔστι δὴ ταῦτα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ζ, δύο μὲν βραχέα τό τε ε καὶ τὸ ο, δύο δὲ μακρὰ τό τε η καὶ τὸ ω, τρία δὲ δίχρονα τό τε α καὶ τὸ ι καὶ τὸ υ, καὶ γὰρ ἐκτείνεται ταῦτα καὶ συστέλλεται· καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν δίχρονα, ὥσπερ ἔφην, οἱ δὲ μεταπτωτικὰ καλοῦσιν. φωνεῖται δὲ ταῦτα πάντα παρὰ τῆς ἀρτηρίας συνηχούσης τῷ πνεύματι καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἀπλῶς σχηματισθέντος τῆς τε γλώττης οὐδὲν πραγματευομένης ἀλλ' ἡρεμούσης. πλὴν τὰ μὲν μακρὰ καὶ τῶν διχρόνων ἃ μακρῶς λέγεται τεταμένον λαμβάνει καὶ διηνεκῇ τὸν αὐλὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, τὰ δὲ βραχέα ἢ βραχέως λεγόμενα ἐξ ἀποκοπῆς τε καὶ μιᾷ πληγῇ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς ἀρτηρίας ἐπὶ βραχὺ κινήσεως ἐκφέρεται. τούτων δὴ κράτιστα μὲν ἔστι καὶ φωνὴν ἡδίστην ἀποτελεῖ τά τε μακρὰ καὶ τῶν διχρόνων ὅσα μηκύνεται κατὰ τὴν ἐκφοράν, ὅτι πολὺν ἤχειται χρόνον καὶ τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος οὐκ ἀποκόπτει τόνον· χεῖρω δὲ τὰ βραχέα ἢ βραχέως λεγόμενα, ὅτι μικρόφωνα τε ἔστι καὶ σπανίζει τὸν ἦχον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν μακρῶν πάλιν εὐφωνότατον μὲν τὸ α, ὅταν ἐκτείνηται· λέγεται γὰρ ἀνοιγομένου τε τοῦ στόματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄνω φερομένου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν. δεύτερον δὲ τὸ η, διότι κάτω τε περὶ τὴν βάσιν τῆς γλώττης ἐρείδει τὸν ἦχον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνω, καὶ μετρίως ἀνοιγομένου τοῦ στόματος. τρίτον δὲ τὸ ω· στρογγυλίζεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ στόμα καὶ περιστέλλεται τὰ χεῖλη τὴν τε πληγὴν τὸ πνεῦμα περὶ τὸ ἀκροστόμιον ποιεῖται. ἔτι δ' ἦττον τούτου τὸ υ· περὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλη συστολῆς γινομένης ἀξιολόγου πνίγεται καὶ στενὸς ἐκπίπτει ὁ ἦχος. ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων τὸ ι· περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας τε γὰρ ἢ κροῦσις τοῦ πνεύματος γίνεται μικρὸν ἀνοιγομένου τοῦ στόματος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλαμπρυνόντων τῶν χειλῶν τὸν ἦχον. τῶν δὲ βραχέων οὐδέτερον μὲν εὖμορφον, ἦττον δὲ δυσειδὲς τοῦ ε τὸ ο· διίστησι γὰρ τὸ στόμα κρεῖττον θατέρου καὶ τὴν πληγὴν λαμβάνει περὶ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν μᾶλλον.

φωνηέντων μὲν οὖν γραμμάτων αὕτη φύσις· ἡμιφώνων δὲ τοιάδε· ὀκτὼ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων αὐτῶν πέντε μὲν ἔστιν ἀπλᾶ τό τε λ καὶ τὸ μ καὶ τὸ ν καὶ τὸ ρ καὶ τὸ σ· διπλᾶ δὲ τρία τό τε ζ καὶ τὸ ξ καὶ τὸ ψ. διπλᾶ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ ἦτοι διὰ τὸ σύνθετα εἶναι τὸ μὲν ζ διὰ τοῦ σ καὶ δ, τὸ δὲ ξ διὰ τοῦ κ καὶ σ, τὸ δὲ ψ διὰ τοῦ π καὶ σ συνεφθαρμένων ἀλλήλοις ἰδίαν

φωνὴν λαμβάνοντα, ἥ διὰ τὸ χῶραν ἐπέχειν δυεῖν γραμμάτων ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς παραλαμβανόμενον ἕκαστον. τούτων δὴ κρείττω μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ διπλᾶ τῶν ἀπλῶν, ἐπειδὴ μείζονά ἐστι τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγίζειν δοκεῖ τοῖς τελείοις· ἦττω δὲ τὰ ἀπλᾶ διὰ τὸ εἰς βραχυτέρους τόπους συνάγεσθαι τὸν ἦχον. φωνεῖται δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τοιούνδ' εἰς τινὰ τρόπον· τὸ μὲν λ τῆς γλώττης πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἰσταμένης καὶ τῆς ἀρτηρίας συνηχούσης· τὸ δὲ μ τοῦ μὲν στόματος τοῖς χεῖλεσι πιεσθέντος, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων μεριζομένου· τὸ δὲ ν τῆς γλώττης τὴν φορὰν τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποκλειούσης καὶ μεταφερούσης ἐπὶ τοὺς ῥώθωνας τὸν ἦχον· τὸ δὲ ρ τῆς γλώττης ἄκρας ἀπορριπιζούσης τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγὺς τῶν ὀδόντων ἀνισταμένης· τὸ δὲ σ τῆς μὲν γλώττης προσαγομένης ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλης, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος διὰ μέσων αὐτῶν φερομένου καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λεπτὸν καὶ στενὸν ἐξωθοῦντος τὸ σύριγμα. τρία δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμίφωνα μικτὸν λαμβάνει τὸν φύφον ἐξ ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν ἡμιφώνων τοῦ σ, τριῶν δὲ ἀφώνων τοῦ τε δ καὶ τοῦ κ καὶ τοῦ π.

οὗτοι σχηματισμοὶ γραμμάτων ἡμιφώνων. δύναται δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως κινεῖν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἅπαντα· ἡδύνει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ λ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἡμιφώνων γλυκύτατον, τραχύνει δὲ τὸ ρ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ὁμογενῶν γενναιότατον· μέσως δὲ πως διατίθῃσι τὰ διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων συνηχούμενα τό τε μ καὶ τὸ ν κερατοειδεῖς ἀποτελοῦντα τοὺς ἤχους. ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ καὶ πλεονάσαν σφόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός· τῶν γοῦν παλαιῶν τινες σπανίως ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ καὶ πεφυλαγμένως, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἀσίγμους ὅλας ῥῥῥῥ ἐποιοῦν· δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν οἷς φησι·

πρὶν μὲν εἶπε σχοινοτένεια τ' αἰοῖδ' ἀδιθυράμβω
καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις.

τριῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων ἃ δὴ διπλᾶ καλεῖται τὸ ζ μᾶλλον ἡδύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν ἐτέρων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξ διὰ τοῦ κ καὶ τὸ ψ διὰ τοῦ π τὸν συριγμὸν ἀποδίδωσι ψιλῶν ὄντων ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦτο δ' ἥσυχῃ τῷ πνεύματι δασύνεται καὶ ἔστι τῶν ὁμογενῶν γενναιότατον. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἡμιφώνων τοσαῦτα.

τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἀφώνων ἐννέα ὄντων τρία μὲν ἐστὶ ψιλὰ, τρία δὲ δασέα, τρία δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων· ψιλὰ μὲν τὸ κ καὶ τὸ π καὶ τὸ τ, δασέα δὲ τὸ θ καὶ τὸ φ καὶ τὸ χ, κοινὰ δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸ β καὶ τὸ γ καὶ τὸ δ. φωνεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τρόπον τόνδε· τρία μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χειλῶν ἄκρων, ὅταν τοῦ στόματος πιεσθέντος τότε προβαλλόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀρτηρίας τὸ πνεῦμα λύσῃ τὸν δεσμὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ψιλὸν μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τὸ π, δασὺ δὲ τὸ φ, μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸ β· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ψιλότερόν ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ δασύτερον. μία μὲν αὕτη συζυγία τριῶν γραμμάτων ἀφώνων ὁμοίῳ σχήματι λεγομένων, ψιλότητι δὲ καὶ δασύτητι διαφερόντων. τρία δὲ ἄλλα λέγεται τῆς γλώττης ἄκρῳ τῷ στόματι προσερεϊδομένης κατὰ τοὺς μετεώρους ὀδόντας, ἐπειθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπορριπιζομένης καὶ τὴν διέξοδον αὐτῷ κάτω περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἀποδιδούσης· διαλλάττει δὲ ταῦτα δασύτητι καὶ ψιλότητι· ψιλὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ τ, δασὺ δὲ τὸ θ, μέσον δὲ καὶ ἐπίκοινον τὸ δ. αὕτη

δευτέρα συζυγία τριῶν γραμμάτων ἀφώνων. τρία δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀφώνων λέγεται μὲν τῆς γλώττης ἀνισταμένης πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ φάρυγγος καὶ τῆς ἀρτηρίας ὑπηχούσης τῷ πνεύματι, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ταῦτα διαφέροντα τῇ σχήματι ἀλλήλων, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ μὲν κ φιλῶς λέγεται, τὸ δὲ χ δασέως, τὸ δὲ γ μετρίως καὶ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν. τούτων κράτιστα μὲν ἐστὶν ὅσα τῷ πνεύματι πολλῶ λέγεται, δευτέρα δ' ὅσα μέσως, κἀκίστα δὲ ὅσα φιλῶς· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἔχει μόνην, τὰ δὲ δασέα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος προσθήκην, ὥστ' ἐγγὺς που τελειότερα εἶναι ἐκείνων.

[15] Ἐκ δὴ τῶν γραμμάτων τοσούτων τε ὄντων καὶ δυνάμεις τοιαύτας ἐχόντων αἱ καλούμεναι γίνονται συλλαβαί. τούτων δὲ εἰσὶ μακραί μὲν ὅσαι συνεστήκασιν ἐκ τῶν φωνηέντων τῶν μακρῶν ἢ τῶν διχρόνων ὅταν μακρῶς ἐκφέρηται, καὶ ὅσαι λήγουσιν εἰς μακρὸν ἢ μακρῶς λεγόμενον γράμμα ἢ εἰς τι τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων· βραχεῖαι δὲ ὅσαι συνεστήκασιν ἐκ βραχέος φωνήεντος ἢ βραχέως λαμβανομένου, καὶ ὅσαι λήγουσιν εἰς ταῦτα. μήκους δὲ καὶ βραχύτητος συλλαβῶν οὐ μία φύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρότεραί τινές εἰσι τῶν μακρῶν καὶ βραχύτεραι τῶν βραχειῶν. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων.

ὁμολογεῖται δὴ βραχεῖα εἶναι συλλαβή, ἣν ποιεῖ φωνῆεν γράμμα βραχὺ τὸ ο, ὡς λέγεται ὁδός· ταύτῃ τις προσθέτω γράμμα ἐν τῶν ἡμιφώνων τὸ ρ καὶ γενέσθω Ῥόδος· μένει μὲν ἔτι βραχεῖα ἢ συλλαβή, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀλλ' ἔξει τινὰ παραλλαγὴν ἀκαρῇ παρὰ τὴν προτέραν. ἔτι προσθέτω ταύτῃ τῶν ἀφώνων γραμμάτων ἐν τὸ τ καὶ γενέσθω τρόπος· μείζων αὕτη τῶν προτέρων ἔσται συλλαβῶν καὶ ἔτι βραχεῖα μένει. τρίτον ἔτι γράμμα τῇ αὐτῇ συλλαβῇ προστεθήτω τὸ σ καὶ γενέσθω στρόφος· τρισὶν αὕτη προσθήκαις ἀκουσταῖς μακροτέρα γενήσεται τῆς βραχυτάτης μένουσα ἔτι βραχεῖα. οὐκοῦν τέτταρες αὗται βραχείας συλλαβῆς διαφοραὶ τὴν ἄλογον αἰσθησιν ἔχουσαι τῆς παραλλαγῆς μέτρον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακρᾶς. ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ η γινομένη συλλαβὴ μακρὰ τὴν φύσιν οὔσα τεττάρων γραμμάτων προσθήκαις παραυξηθεῖσα τριῶν μὲν προταττομένων, ἐνὸς δὲ ὑποταττομένου, καθ' ἣν λέγεται σπλήν, μείζων ἂν δῆπου λέγοιτο εἶναι τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης τῆς μονογραμμάτου· μισυμένη τ' οὖν αὖθις καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν προστεθέντων γραμμάτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦλαττον παραλλαγὰς αἰσθητὰς ἂν ἔχοι. αἰτία δὲ τίς ἐστὶ τοῦ μήτε τὰς μακρὰς ἐκβαίνειν τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν μέχρι γραμμάτων ε μηκυομένας μήτε τὰς βραχείας εἰς ἐν ἀπὸ πολλῶν γραμμάτων συσσελλομένας ἐκπίπτειν τῆς βραχύτητος, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνας ἐν διπλασίῳ λόγῳ θεωρεῖσθαι τῶν βραχειῶν καὶ ταύτας ἐν ἡμίσει τῶν μακρῶν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι σκοπεῖν. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὅσον εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἡρμοττεν εἰρηῇσθαι, ὅτι διαλλάττει καὶ βραχεῖα συλλαβὴ βραχείας καὶ μακρὰ μακρὰς καὶ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν οὔτ' ἐν λόγοις ψιλοῖς οὔτ' ἐν ποιήμασιν ἢ μέλεσιν διὰ μέτρων ἢ ῥυθμῶν κατασκευαζόμενοι πᾶσα βραχεῖα καὶ πᾶσα μακρά.

πρῶτον μὲν δὴ θεώρημα τοῦτο τῶν ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς παθῶν, ἕτερον δὲ τοιόνδε· τῶν γραμμάτων πολλὰς ἐχόντων διαφορὰς οὐ μόνον περὶ τὰ μήκη καὶ τὰς βραχύτητας ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἤχους, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγῳ

πρότερον εἴρηκα, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων συνισταμένας συλλαβὰς ἢ διὰ τούτων πλεκομένας ἅμα τὴν τε ἰδίαν ἐκάστου σῶζειν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν κοινήν ἀπάντων, ἢ γίνεται διὰ τῆς κράσεώς τε καὶ παραθέσεως αὐτῶν· ἐξ ὧν μαλακαὶ τε φωναὶ γίνονται καὶ σκληραὶ καὶ λεῖαι καὶ τραχεῖαι, γλυκαίνουσαι τε τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ πικραίνουσαι, καὶ στύφουσαι καὶ διαχέουσαι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κατασκευάζουσαι διάθεσιν φυσικὴν· αὗται δ' εἰσὶ μυρία τὸ πλῆθος ὅσαι.

Ταῦτα δὴ καταμαθόντες οἱ χαριέστατοι ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ὀνόματα συμπλέκοντες ἐπιτηδείως ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ γράμματα καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς οἰκείας οἷς ἂν βούλωνται παραστήσαι πάθεσιν ποικίλως φιλοτεχνοῦσιν, ὥς ποιεῖ πολλάκις Ὅμηρος, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προσσηνέμων αἰγιαλῶν τῇ παρεκτάσει τῶν συλλαβῶν τὸν ἄπαυστον ἐκφαίνειν βουλόμενος ἦχον

ἠϊόνες βοόωσιν ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς ἔξω· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τετυφλωμένου Κύκλωπος τό τε τῆς ἀληθδόνος μέγεθος καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν βραδεῖαν ἔρευναν τῆς τοῦ σπηλαίου θύρας

Κύκλωψ δὲ στενάχων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ὀδύνησι,

χερσὶ ψηλαφῶν·

καὶ ἄλλοθί που δέησιν ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος πολλὴν καὶ κατεσπουδασμένην

οὐδ' εἰ κεν μάλα πολλὰ πάθη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,

προπροκυλινδόμενος πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο. μυρία ἔστιν εὐρεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα χρόνου μῆκος ἢ σώματος μέγεθος ἢ πάθους ὑπερβολὴν ἢ στάσεως ἡρεμίαν ἢ τῶν παραπλησίων τι δηλοῦντα παρ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ἢ τὰς τῶν συλλαβῶν κατασκευάς· καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις ἐναντίως εἰργασμένα εἰς βραχύτητα καὶ τάχος καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὁμοιογενῇ, ὥς ἔχει ταυτί

ἀμβλήδην γοόωσα μετὰ δμῶησιν ἔειπεν

καὶ

ἠνίοχοι δ' ἔκπληγεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἀκάματον πῦρ.

ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος δηλοῦται συγκοπὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἄτακτον, ἐφ' ὧν δ' ἡ τῆς διανοίας ἔκστασις καὶ τὸ τοῦ δείματος ἀπροσδόκητον· ποιεῖ δὲ τούτων ἐκάτερον ἢ τῶν συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων ἐλάττωσις.

[16] Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι πρὸς χρῆμα ὀρῶντες οἰκεῖα καὶ δηλωτικὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων τὰ ὀνόματα, ὥσπερ ἔφην· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν λαμβάνουσιν ὥς ἐκεῖνοι κατεσκεύασαν, ὅσα μιμητικὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν· ὥς ἔχει ταυτί

ρόχθει γὰρ μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείριοι.

αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας ἐτέτετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.

αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλα βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος.

σκέπτει' οἰστῶν τε ροῖζον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων.

μεγάλῃ δὲ τούτων ἀρχὴ καὶ διδάσκαλος ἡ φύσις ἡ ποιοῦσα μιμητικοὺς [καὶ θετικοὺς] ἡμᾶς τῶν ὀνομάτων, οἷς δηλοῦται τὰ πράγματα κατὰ τινας

εὐλόγους καὶ κινητικὰς τῆς διανοίας ὁμοιότητας· ὅφ' ἧς ἐδιδάχθημεν ταύρων τε μυκήματα λέγειν καὶ χρεμετισμούς ἵππων καὶ φριμαγμούς τράγων πυρός τε βρόμον καὶ πάταγον ἀνέμων καὶ συριγμὸν κάλων καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις ὅμοια παμπληθῆ τὰ μὲν φωνῆς μηνύματα, τὰ δὲ μορφῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔργου, τὰ δὲ πάθους, τὰ δὲ κινήσεως, τὰ δ' ἡρεμίας, τὰ δ' ἄλλου χρήματος ὅτου δὴ· περὶ ὧν εἴρηται πολλὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, τὰ κράτιστα δ' ὡς πρώτῳ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐτυμολογίας εἰσαγαγόντι λόγον, Πλάτωνι τῷ Σωκρατικῷ, πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ.

Τί δὴ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστί μοι τούτου τοῦ λόγου; ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τὰς τῶν γραμμάτων συμπλοκὰς ἢ τῶν συλλαβῶν γίνεται δύναμις ποικίλη, παρὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν συλλαβῶν σύνθεσιν ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων φύσις παντοδαπὴ, παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁρμονίας πολύμορφος ὁ λόγος· ὥστε πολλὴ ἀνάγκη καλὴν μὲν εἶναι λέξιν ἐν ἣ καλὰ ἐστὶν ὀνόματα, κάλλους δὲ ὀνομάτων συλλαβὰς τε καὶ γράμματα καλὰ αἵτια εἶναι, ἡδεῖαν δὲ διάλεκτον ἐκ τῶν ἡδυνόντων τὴν ἀκοὴν γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον ὀνομάτων τε καὶ συλλαβῶν καὶ γραμμάτων, τὰς τε κατὰ μέρος ἐν τούτοις διαφοράς, καθ' ἃς δηλοῦται τὰ τε ἦθη καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ διαθέσεις καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν προσώπων καὶ τὰ συνεδρεύοντα τούτοις, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης κατασκευῆς τῶν γραμμάτων γίνεσθαι τοιαύτας.

χρήσομαι δ' ὀλίγοις παραδείγμασι τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε τῆς σαφηνείας ἔνεκα· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὄντα ἐπὶ σαντοῦ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρήσεις. ὁ δὴ πολυφωνότατος ἀπάντων ποιητῶν Ὅμηρος, ὅταν μὲν ὥραν ὄψεως εὐμόρφου καὶ κάλλος ἡδονῆς ἐπαγωγὸν ἐπιδείξασθαι βούληται, τῶν τε φωνηέντων τοῖς κρατίστοις χρήσεται καὶ τῶν ἡμιφώνων τοῖς μαλακωτάτοις, καὶ οὐ καταπυκνῶσει τοῖς ἀφώνοις τὰς συλλαβὰς οὐδὲ συγκόψει τοὺς ἦχους παρατιθεὶς ἀλλήλοις τὰ δυσέκφορα, πραεῖαν δὲ τινα ποιήσῃ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ρέουσιν ἀλύτως διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ὡς ἔχει ταυτί

ἢ δ' ἔν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια

Ἀρτέμιδι ἱκέλη ἢ ἐ χρυσεῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

Δήλῳ δὴποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ

φοῖνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.

καὶ Χλῶριν εἶδον περικαλλέα, τὴν ποτε Νηλεὺς

γῆμεν ἐδὸν μετὰ κάλλος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἔδνα.

ὅταν δ' οἰκτρὰν ἢ φοβερὰν ἢ ἀγέρωχον ὄψιν εἰσάγῃ, τῶν τε φωνηέντων οὐ τὰ κράτιστα θήσῃ ἀλλὰ «τὰ δυσηχέστατα, καὶ» τῶν φοφοειδῶν ἢ ἀφώνων τὰ δυσεκφορώτατα λήφεται καὶ καταπυκνῶσει τούτοις τὰς συλλαβὰς, οἷά ἐστι ταυτί

σμερδαλέος δ' αὐτῇσι φάνη κεκακωμένος ἄλμη.

τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῷ βλοσυρῷπις ἐστεφάνωτο

δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε.

ποταμῶν δὲ γε σύρρυσιν εἰς χωρίον ἐν καὶ πάταγον ὑδάτων ἀναμισγομένων ἐκμιμήσασθαι τῇ λέξει βουλόμενος οὐκ ἐργάσεται λείας συλλαβὰς ἀλλ' ἰσχυράς καὶ ἀντιτύπους

ὡς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες
ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ.

βιαζόμενον δέ τινα πρὸς ἐναντίον ῥεῦμα ποταμοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ
τὰ μὲν ἀντέχοντα, τὰ δ' ὑποφερόμενον εἰσάγων ἀνακοπὰς τε ποιήσει
συλλαβῶν καὶ ἀναβολὰς χρόνων καὶ ἀντιστηριγμοὺς γραμμάτων
δεινὸν δ' ἄμφ' Ἀχιλῆα κυκώμενον ἴστατο κύμα,
ᾧθι δ' ἐν σάκει πίπτων ῥόος, οὐδὲ πόδεσσι
εἶχε στηρίζεσθαι.

ἀραττομένων δὲ περὶ πέτρας ἀνθρώπων ψόφον τε καὶ μόρον οἰκτρὸν
ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀηδεστάτων τε καὶ κακοφωνοτάτων χρονεῖ
γραμμάτων οὐδαμῇ λεαίνων τὴν κατασκευὴν οὐδὲ ἡδύνων·

σύν τε δύω μάρψας ὥστε σκύλακας προτὶ γαίῃ
κόπτ'· ἐκ δ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν.

πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶη λέγειν, εἰ πάντων παραδείγματα βουλοίμην φέρειν ὧν
ἂν τις ἀπαιτήσῃ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τόνδε· ὥστε ἄρκεσθαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μεταβήσομαι. φημὶ δὴ τὸν βουλόμενον ἐργάσασθαι λέξιν καλὴν
ἐν τῷ συντιθέναι τὰς φωνάς, ὅσα καλλιλογίαν ἢ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἢ
σεμνότητα περιείληφεν ὀνόματα, εἰς ταῦτό συνάγειν. εἴρηται δέ τινα περὶ
τούτων καὶ Θεοφράστῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ κοινότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ λέξεως, ἔνθα
ὀρίζει, τίνα ὀνόματα φύσει καλὰ [παραδείγματος ἕνεκα], ὧν συντιθεμένων
καλὴν οἶεται καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ γενήσεσθαι τὴν φράσιν, καὶ αὐθις ἕτερα
μικρὰ καὶ ταπεινά, ἐξ ὧν οὐτε ποίημα χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι φησιν οὐτε λόγον.
καὶ μὰ Δία οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ταῦτα εἴρηται τῷ ἀνδρί. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγχωροίη
πάντ' εἶναι τὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως ὑφ' ὧν μέλλει δηλοῦσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα
εὐφωνά τε καὶ καλλιρήμονα, μανίας ἔργον ζητεῖν τὰ χεῖρω· εἰ δὲ ἀδύνατον
εἶη τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔχει, τῇ πλοκῇ καὶ μίξει καὶ παραθέσει
πειρατέον ἀφανίζειν τὴν τῶν χειρόνων φύσιν, ὅπερ Ὅμηρος εἶωθεν ἐπὶ
πολλῶν ποιεῖν. εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτο ὄντιν' οὖν ἢ ποιητῶν ἢ ῥητόρων, τίνα
σεμνότητα ἢ καλλιλογίαν ταῦτ' ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ ταῖς Βοιωταῖς κεῖται
πόλεσιν Ὑρία καὶ Μυκαλησοῦς καὶ Γραῖα καὶ Ἐτεωνὸς καὶ Σκῶλος καὶ
Θίσβη καὶ Ὀγχηστὸς καὶ Εὐτρησις καὶ τᾶλλ' ἐφεξῆς ὧν ὁ ποιητῆς
μέμνηται, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἦντιν' οὖν ἔχοι· ἀλλ' οὕτως αὐτὰ καλῶς
ἐκεῖνος συνύφαγκεν καὶ παραπληρώμασιν εὐφώνοις διεείληφεν ὥστε
μεγαλοπρεπέστατα φαίνεσθαι πάντων ὀνομάτων·

Βοιωτῶν μὲν Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος ἦρχον
Ἀρκεσίλαός τε Προθοήνωρ τε Κλονίος τε,
οἳ θ' Ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλίδα πετρήεσαν
Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε πολύκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν,
Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησοῦν,
οἳ τ' ἄμφ' Ἀρμ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Εἰλέσιον καὶ Ἐρυθράς,
οἳ τ' Ἐλεῶν εἶχον ἡδ' Ὑλην καὶ Πετεῶνα,
ᾧ καλέην Μεδεῶνά τ' ἐνυκτίμενον πολλίεθρον.

ἐν εἰδόσι λέγων οὐκ οἶομαι πλείονων δεῖν παραδειγμάτων. ἅπας γάρ
ἐστιν ὁ κατάλογος αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα, ἐν οἷς ἀναγκασθεῖς

ὀνόματα λαμβάνειν οὐ καλὰ τὴν φύσιν ἑτέροις αὐτὰ κοσμεῖ καλοῖς καὶ λυεῖ τὴν ἐκείνων δυσχέρειαν τῇ τούτων εὐμορφίᾳ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλως.

[17] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἔφην οὐ μικρὰν μοῖραν ἔχειν τῆς ἀξιοματικῆς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς συνθέσεως, ἵνα μηδεὶς εἰκῇ με δόξῃ λέγειν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα μουσικῆς οἰκεῖα θεωρίας εἰς οὐ ῥυθμικὴν οὐδ' ἔμμετρον εἰσάγοντα διάλεκτον, ἀποδώσω καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγον. ἔχει δ' οὕτως·

Πᾶν ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ ἄλλο μόριον λέξεως, ὃ τι μὴ μονοσύλλαβον ἐστίν, ἐν ῥυθμῷ τινὶ λέγεται· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καλῶ πόδα καὶ ῥυθμόν. δισυλλάβου μὲν οὖν λέξεως διαφοραὶ τρεῖς. ἡ γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἔσται βραχειῶν ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων μακρῶν ἢ τῆς μὲν βραχείας, τῆς δὲ μακρᾶς. τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τούτου ῥυθμοῦ διττὸς ὁ τρόπος· ὃ μὲν τις ἀπὸ βραχείας ἀρχόμενος καὶ λήγων εἰς μακράν, ὃ δ' ἀπὸ μακρᾶς καὶ λήγων εἰς βραχεῖαν. ὃ μὲν οὖν βραχυσύλλαβος ἡγεμῶν τε καὶ πυρρίχιος καλεῖται, καὶ οὕτε μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἐστίν οὔτε σεμνός· σχῆμα δ' αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε

λέγε δὲ σὺ κατὰ πόδα νεόχυτα μέλεα.

ὃ δ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συλλαβὰς μακρὰς ἔχων κέκληται μὲν σπονδεῖος, ἀξίωμα δὲ ἔχει μέγα καὶ σεμνότητα πολλήν· παράδειγμα δ' αὐτοῦ τόδε

ποιάν δῆθ' ὀρμάσω, ταύταν

ἢ κείναν, κείναν ἢ ταύταν;

ὃ δ' ἐκ βραχείας τε καὶ μακρᾶς συγκείμενος ἐὰν μὲν τὴν ἡγουμένην λάβῃ βραχεῖαν, ἱαμβος καλεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν οὐκ ἀγεννής· ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μακρᾶς ἀρχῇται, τροχαῖος, καὶ ἔστι μαλακώτερος θατέρου καὶ ἀγεννέστερος· παράδειγμα δὲ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου τοιόνδε

ἐπὶ σχολῇ πάρεστι, παῖ Μενοιτίου. τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου

θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε.

δισυλλάβων μὲν δὴ μορίων λέξεως διαφοραὶ τε καὶ ῥυθμοὶ καὶ σχήματα τοσαῦτα· τρισυλλάβων δ' ἕτερα πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ποικιλωτέραν ἔχοντα θεωρίαν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπασῶν βραχειῶν συνεστώς, καλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τινων χορεῖος [τρίβραχυσ ποῦς], οὗ παράδειγμα τοιόνδε

Βρόμιε, δορατοφόρ', ἐνυάλιε, πολεμοκέλαδε,

ταπεινός τε καὶ ἄσεμνός ἐστι καὶ ἀγεννής, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένοιτο γενναῖον. ὃ δ' ἐξ ἀπασῶν μακρῶν, μολοττὸν δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μετρικοὶ καλοῦσιν, ὑψηλός τε καὶ ἀξιοματικός ἐστι καὶ διαβεβηκῶς ἐπὶ πολὺ· παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε

ὦ Ζηνὸς καὶ Λήδας κάλλιστοι σωτῆρες.

ὃ δ' ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ δυεῖν βραχειῶν μέσην μὲν λαβὼν τὴν μακρὰν ἀμφίβραχυσ ὠνόμασται, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τῶν εὐσχήμων ἐστὶ ῥυθμῶν ἀλλὰ διακέκλασται τε καὶ πολὺ τὸ θῆλυ καὶ ἀηδὲς ἔχει, οἷά ἐστι ταυτί

Ἰτακχε θρίαμβε, σὺ τῶνδε χοραγέ.

ὃ δὲ προλαμβάνων τὰς δύο βραχείας ἀνάπαιστος μὲν καλεῖται, σεμνότητα δ' ἔχει πολλήν· καὶ ἔνθα δεῖ μέγεθός τι περιτιθέναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἢ πάθος, ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι παραλαμβάνεσθαι· τούτου τὸ σχῆμα

τοιόνδε

βαρύ μοι κεφαλᾶς ἐπίκρανον ἔχειν.

ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενος, λήγων δὲ εἰς τὰς βραχείας δάκτυλος μὲν καλεῖται, πάνυ δ' ἐστὶ σεμνὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀξιολογώτατος, καὶ τό γε ἡρωικὸν μέτρον ἀπὸ τούτου κοσμεῖται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ· παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τόδε

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασεν.

οἱ μέντοι ῥυθμικοὶ τούτου τοῦ ποδὸς τὴν μακρὰν βραχυτέραν εἶναι φασὶ τῆς τελείας, οὐκ ἔχοντες δ' εἰπεῖν ὅσω, καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἄλογον. ἕτερός ἐστιν ἀντίστροφον ἔχων τούτῳ ῥυθμόν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν βραχειῶν ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλογον τελευτᾷ· τοῦτον χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναπαίστων κυκλικὸν καλοῦσι παράδειγμα αὐτοῦ φέροντες τοιόνδε

κέχυται πόλις ὑψίπυλος κατὰ γᾶν.

περὶ ὧν ἂν ἕτερος εἴη λόγος· πλὴν ἀμφοτέροί γε τῶν πάνυ καλῶν οἱ ῥυθμοί. ἔν ἐτι λείπεται τρισυλλάβων ῥυθμῶν γένος, ὃ συνέστηκεν ἐκ δύο μακρῶν καὶ βραχείας, τρία δὲ ποιεῖ σχήματα· μέσης μὲν γὰρ γινομένης τῆς βραχείας, ἄκρων δὲ τῶν μακρῶν κρητικός τε λέγεται καὶ ἔστιν οὐκ ἀγεννής. ὑπόδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον

οἷ δ' ἐπείγοντο πλωταῖς ἀπῆναισι χαλκεμβόλοις. ἂν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αἱ δύο μακραὶ κατὰσχωσιν, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν ἡ βραχεῖα, οἷά ἐστι ταυτί

σοὶ Φοῖβε Μοῦσαί τε σύμβωμοι,

ἀνδρῶδες πάνυ ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ εἰς σεμνολογίαν ἐπιτήδειον. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ συμβήσεται κἂν ἡ βραχεῖα προτεθῇ τῶν μακρῶν· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ῥυθμὸς ἀξίωμα ἔχει καὶ μέγεθος· παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τόδε

τίν' ἄκτάν, τίν' ὕλαν δράμω; ποῖ πορευθῶ;

τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις ὀνόματα κεῖται τοῖς ποσὶν ὑπὸ τῶν μετρικῶν βακχεῖος μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ, θατέρῳ δὲ ὑποβάκχειος. οὗτοι δώδεκα ῥυθμοί τε καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι καταμετροῦντες ἅπασαν ἔμμετρόν τε καὶ ἄμετρον λέξιν, ἐξ ὧν γίνονται στίχοι τε καὶ κῶλα· οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι πόδες καὶ ῥυθμοὶ πάντες ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ σύνθετοι. ἀπλοῦς δὲ ῥυθμὸς ἢ ποὺς οὗτ' ἐλάττων ἔσται δύο συλλαβῶν οὔτε μείζων τριῶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ τὰ πλεῖω λέγειν.

[18] ὧν δ' ἔνεκα νῦν ὑπήχθην ταῦτα προειπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἄλλως γέ μοι προὔκειτο μετρικῶν καὶ ῥυθμικῶν ἅπτεσθαι θεωρημάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἔνεκα), ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τῶν γενναίων καὶ ἀξιωματικῶν καὶ μέγεθος ἐχόντων ῥυθμῶν ἀξιωματικὴ γίνεται σύνθεσις καὶ γενναία καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγεννῶν τε καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀμεγέθους τις καὶ ἄσεμνος, ἔάν τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι τούτων λαμβάνωνται τῶν ῥυθμῶν, ἔάν τε ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰς ὁμοζυγίας συμπλέκωνται. [δῆλον.] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσται δύναμις ἐξ ἀπάντων κρατίστων ῥυθμῶν συνθεῖναι τὴν λέξιν, ἔχοι ἂν ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἴη μίσειν τοῖς κρείττοσι τοὺς χείρονας, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν γίνεται (τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα κεῖται τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς ἔτυχεν), οἰκονομεῖν αὐτὰ χρὴ φιλοτέχνως καὶ διακλέπτειν τῇ χάριτι τῆς συνθέσεως τὴν ἀνάγκην ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἄδειαν ἔχοντας· οὐ γὰρ ἀπελαύνεται

ῥυθμὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀμέτρου λέξεως, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς ἐμέτρου.

μαρτύρια δὲ ὧν εἴρηκα παραθεῖναι λοιπόν, ἵνα μοι καὶ πίστιν ὁ λόγος λάβῃ. ἔσται δ' ὀλίγα περὶ πολλῶν. φέρε δὴ, τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν ἀξιοματικῶς τε συγκεῖσθαι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὴν Θουκυδίδου λέξιν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ ταύτην· 'Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν'. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ πεποίηκε ταύτην μεγαλοπρεπῇ τὴν σύνθεσιν; τὸ ἐκ τοιούτων συγκεῖσθαι ῥυθμῶν τὰ κῶλα. τρεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ τοῦ πρώτου προηγούμενοι κώλου σπονδεῖοι πόδες εἰσίν, ὃ δὲ τέταρτος ἀνάπαιστος, ὃ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον αὔθις σπονδεῖος, ἔπειτα κρητικός, ἅπαντες ἀξιοματικοί. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κῶλον διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ σεμνόν· τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς τουτί 'ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε' δύο μὲν ὑποβακχείους ἔχει τοὺς πρώτους πόδας, κρητικὸν δὲ τὸν τρίτον, εἴτ' αὔθις ὑποβακχείους δύο καὶ συλλαβὴν ὑφ' ἧς τελειοῦται τὸ κῶλον· ὥστ' εἰκότως σεμνόν ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων τε καὶ καλλίστων ῥυθμῶν συγκεῖμενον. τὸ δὲ δὴ τρίτον κῶλον 'ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν' ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρητικοῦ ποδός, δεύτερον δὲ λαμβάνει τὸν ἀνάπαιστον καὶ τρίτον σπονδεῖον καὶ τέταρτον αὔθις ἀνάπαιστον, εἴτα δύο τοὺς ἐξῆς δακτύλους, καὶ σπονδεῖους δύο τοὺς τελευταίους, εἴτα κατάληξιν. εὐγενὲς δὴ καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς πόδας γέγονεν. τὰ πλεῖστα δ' ἐστὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ τοιαῦτα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀλίγα τὰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα, ὥστ' εἰκότως ὑψηλὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ καλλιεπὴς ὡς εὐγενεῖς ἐπάγων ῥυθμούς.

τὴν δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴν λέξιν ταυτηνὴν τίνι ποτὲ ἄλλῳ κοσμηθεῖσαν οὕτως ἀξιοματικὴν εἶναι φαίη τις ἂν καὶ καλήν, εἰ μὴ τῷ συγκεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτων ῥυθμῶν; ἔστι γὰρ δὴ τῶν πάνυ φανερῶν καὶ περιβοήτων, ἣ κέχρηται ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐπιταφίου ἀρχήν· 'ἔργῳ μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδε ἔχουσιν τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορεῖαν'. ἐν τούτοις δύο μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ συμπληροῖ τὴν περίοδον κῶλα, ῥυθμοὶ δὲ οἱ ταῦτα διαλαμβάνοντες οἶδε· βακχείος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε ὡς ἱαμβικὸν ἀξιῶσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τὸ κῶλον τουτί ῥυθμίζειν ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιπροχάλους καὶ ταχεῖς ἀλλ' ἀναβεβλημένους καὶ βραδεῖς τοῖς οἰκτιζομένοις προσήκεν ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς χρόνους· σπονδεῖος δ' ὁ δεύτερος· ὃ δ' ἐξῆς δάκτυλος διαιρουμένης τῆς συναλοιφῆς· εἴθ' ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον σπονδεῖος· ὃ δ' ἐξῆς μᾶλλον κρητικός ἢ ἀνάπαιστος· ἐπειθ', ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα, σπονδεῖος· ὃ δὲ τελευταῖος ὑποβάκχειος, εἰ δὲ βούλεται τις, ἀνάπαιστος· εἴτα κατάληξις. τούτων τῶν ῥυθμῶν οὐδεὶς ταπεινὸς οὐδὲ ἀγεννής. τοῦ δὲ ἐξῆς κώλου τουδί 'ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορεῖαν' δύο μὲν εἰσιν οἱ πρῶτοι πόδες κρητικοί, σπονδεῖοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ τούτους δύο· μεθ' οὓς αὔθις κρητικός, ἔπειτα τελευταῖος ὑποβάκχειος. ἀνάγκη δὴ τὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων συγκεῖμενον καλῶν ῥυθμῶν καλὸν εἶναι λόγον. μυρία τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐμμέλειάν τε καὶ εὐρυθμίαν συνιδεῖν δαιμονιώτατος, καὶ εἴ γε δεινὸς ἦν οὕτως ἐκλέξαι τὰ ὀνόματα ὡς συνθεῖναι περιττός, καὶ

νὺ κεν ἡ παρέλασεν τὸν Δημοσθένη κάλλους ἔρμηνείας ἔνεκεν, ἡ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν. νῦν δὲ περὶ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἔστιν ὅτε διαμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκειον διώκη φράσιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτέρωθί μοι δηλοῦται σαφέστερον. συντίθησι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ἡδέως καὶ καλῶς νῆ Δία, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἔχοι κατὰ τοῦτο μέμψασθαι τὸ μέρος.

ἐνὸς ἔτι παραθήσομαι λέξιν, ᾧ τὰ ἀριστεῖα τῆς ἐν λόγοις δεινότητος ἀποδίδωμι. ὅρος γὰρ δὴ τίς ἐστιν ἐκλογῆς τε ὀνομάτων καὶ κάλλους συνθέσεως ὁ Δημοσθένης. ἐν δὴ τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγῳ τρία μὲν ἐστιν ἃ τὴν πρώτην περίοδον συμπληροῖ κῶλα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα καταμετροῦντες οἷδέ εἰσιν ῥυθμοί· πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις. ἄρχει δὲ τοῦ κώλου βακχεῖος ῥυθμός, ἔπειθ' ἔπεται σπονδεῖος, εἴτ' ἀνάπαιστός τε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἕτερος σπονδεῖος, εἴθ' ἐξῆς κρητικοὶ τρεῖς, σπονδεῖος δ' ὁ τελευταῖος. τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου κώλου τοῦδε ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν' πρῶτος μὲν ὑποβάκχειός ἐστι πούς, εἴτα βακχεῖος, εἰ δὲ βούλεται τις, δάκτυλος· εἴτα κρητικός· μεθ' οὓς εἰσι δύο σύνθετοι πόδες οἱ καλούμενοι παιᾶνες· οἷς ἔπεται μολοττός ἢ βακχεῖος, ἐγχωρεῖ γὰρ ἐκατέρως αὐτὸν διαιρεῖν· τελευταῖος δὲ σπονδεῖος. τοῦ δὲ τρίτου κώλου τοῦδε ὅσαυτήν ὑπάρξει μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα' ἄρχουσι μὲν ὑποβάκχειοι δύο, ἔπεται δὲ κρητικός, ᾧ συνῆπται σπονδεῖος· εἴτ' αὖθις βακχεῖος ἢ κρητικός, καὶ τελευταῖος πάλιν κρητικός, εἴτα κατάληξις. τί οὖν ἐκώλυε καλὴν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι λέξεως, ἐν ἣ μῆτε πυρρίχιός ἐστι πούς μῆτε ἱαμβικός μῆτε ἀμφίβραχος μῆτε τῶν χορείων ἢ τροχαίων μηδεῖς; καὶ οὐ λέγω τοῦτο, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος οὐ κέχρηται ποτε καὶ τοῖς ἀγεννεστέροις ῥυθμοῖς (κέχρηται γάρ), ἀλλ' εὖ συγκεκρύφασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνυφάγκασι διαλαβόντες τοῖς κρείττοις τοὺς χείρονας.

οἷς δὲ μὴ ἐγένετο πρόνοια τούτου τοῦ μέρους, οἱ μὲν ταπεινάς, οἱ δὲ κατακεκλασμένας, οἱ δ' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀμορφίαν ἐχούσας ἐξήνεγκαν τὰς γραφάς. ὧν ἐστι πρῶτός τε καὶ μέσος καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Μάγνης [ὁ σοφιστής] Ἥγησίας· ὑπὲρ οὗ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἅπαντας οὐκ οἶδα τί χρή λέγειν, πότερα τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναισθησία καὶ παχύτης ἦν ὥστε μὴ συνορᾶν, οἷτινές εἰσιν ἀγεννεῖς ἢ εὐγενεῖς ῥυθμοί, ἢ τοσαύτη θεοβλάβεια καὶ διαφθορὰ τῶν φρενῶν ὥστ' εἰδότα τοὺς κρείττους ἔπειτα αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς χείρονας, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον πείθομαι· ἀγνοίας μὲν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ κατορθοῦν πολλαχῇ, προνοίας δὲ τὸ μηδέποτε. ἐν γοῦν ταῖς τοσαύταις γραφαῖς, αἷς καταλέλοιπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, μίαν οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις σελίδα συγκεκριμένην εὐτυχῶς. ἔοικεν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπολαβεῖν ἐκείνων κρείττω καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, εἰς ἃ δι' ἀνάγκην ἐμπεσὼν ἂν τις ἐν λόγῳ σχεδίῳ δι' αἰσχύνης θεῖτο φρόνημα ἔχων ἀνὴρ. θήσω δὲ καὶ τούτου λέξιν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας, ἵνα σοι γένηται δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως, ὅσῃν μὲν ἀξίωσιν ἔχει τὸ εὐγενὲς ἐν ῥυθμοῖς, ὅσῃν δ' αἰσχύνην τὸ ἀγεννές. ἐστιν δ' ὁ λαμβάνει πρᾶγμα ὁ σοφιστής τοιόνδε. Ἀλέξανδρος πολιορκῶν Γάζαν χωρίον τι τῆς Συρίας πάνυ ἐχυρὸν τραυματίας τε γίνεται κατὰ τὴν

προσβολὴν καὶ τὸ χωρίον αἰρεῖ χρόνῳ. φερόμενος δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς τοὺς τ' ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἀποσφάττει πάντας, ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν, καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον λαβών, ἄνδρα ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ τύχης καὶ εἵδους, ἐξ ἄρματι τοῦ δίφρου δῆσαι κελεύσας ζῶντα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐλαύνειν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐν τῇ πάντων ὄψει διαφθείρει. τούτων οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν δεινότερα πάθη οὐδ' ὄψει φοβερώτερα πῶς δὴ ταῦτα ἡρμήνευκεν ὁ σοφιστής, ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, πότερα σεμνῶς καὶ ὑψηλῶς ἢ ταπεινῶς καὶ καταγελάσως.

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων τὸ σύνταγμα προηγέιτο. καὶ πῶς ἐβεβούλευτο τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἀπαντὰν ἐπιόντι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔγνωστο, κρατήσασιν ἐνὸς συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐλπίς αὐτῇ συνέδραμεν εἰς τόλμαν, ὥστ' Ἀλέξανδρον μηδέποτε κινδυνεῦσαι πρότερον οὕτως. ἀνὴρ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς γόνατα συγκαμφοθεὶς ἔδοξεν τοῦτ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ἱκετείας ἔνεκα πρᾶξαι. προσέμενος δ' ἐγγὺς μικρὸν ἐκνεύει τὸ ξίφος ἐνέγκαντος ἐπὶ τὰ πτερύγια τοῦ θώρακος, ὥστε γενέσθαι τὴν πληγὴν οὐ καιριωτάτην. ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσεν κατὰ κεφαλῆς τύπτων τῇ μαχαίρᾳ, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὀργῇ πρόσφατος ἐπίμπρα. οὕτως ἄρα ἐκάστου τὸν ἔλεον ἐξέστησεν ἡ τοῦ τολμήματος ἀπόνοια τῶν μὲν ἰδόντων, τῶν δ' ἀκουσάντων, ὥσθ' ἐξακισχιλίους ὑπὸ τὴν σάλπιγγα ἐκείνην τῶν βαρβάρων κατακοπῆναι. τὸν μέντοι Βαῖτιν αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγον ζῶντα Λεόνατος καὶ Φιλωτᾶς. ἰδὼν δὲ πολύσαρκον καὶ μέγαν καὶ βλοσυρωπὸν (μέλας γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ χρῶμα), μισήσας ἐφ' οἷς ἐβεβούλευτο καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐκέλευσεν διὰ τῶν ποδῶν χαλκοῦν ψάλιον διείραντας ἔλκειν κύκλῳ γυμνόν. πιλούμενος δὲ κακοῖς περὶ πολλὰς τραχύτητας ἔκραζεν. αὐτὸ δ' ἦν, ὃ λέγω, τὸ συνάγον ἀνθρώπους. ἐπέτεινε μὲν γὰρ ὁ πόνος, βάρβαρον δ' ἐβόα, δεσπότην καθικετεύων· γελᾶν δὲ ὁ σολοικισμὸς ἐποίει. τὸ δὲ στέαρ καὶ τὸ κύτος τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνέφαινε Βαβυλώνιον ζῶον ἔτερον ἄδρὸν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄχλος ἐνέπαιζε, στρατιωτικὴν ὕβριν ὑβρίζων εἰδεχθῆ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ σκαιὸν ἐχθρόν'.

ἄρα γε ὅμοια ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς ἐκείνοις, ἐν οἷς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐστὶν αἰκίζόμενος Ἑκτορα μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν; καίτοι τό γε πάθος ἐκείνο ἔλαπτον· εἰς ἀνάισθητον γὰρ σῶμα ἢ ὕβρις· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄξιον [ἐστὶν] ἰδεῖν, ὅσῳ διενήνοχεν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ.

ἦ ῥα, καὶ Ἑκτορα δῖον ἀεικέα μῆδετο ἔργα·

ἀμφοτέρων μετόπισθε ποδῶν τέτρηνε τένοντε

ἐς σφυρὸν ἐκ πτέρνης, βοέους δ' ἐξῆπτεν ἱμάντας,

ἐκ δίφροιο δ' ἔδησε· κάρη δ' ἔλκεσθαι ἔασεν.

ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀναβὰς ἀνά τε κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀείρας

μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην.

τοῦ δ' ἦν ἐλκομένοιο κονίσσαλος· ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται

κυάνεα πίμπλαντο, κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίρῃσι

κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν· τότε δὲ Ζεὺς δυσμενέεσσι

δῶκεν ἀεικίσσασθαι ἐῖ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

ὥς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιτο κάρη ἅπαν· ἡ δὲ νυ μῆτηρ

τῖλε κόμην, ἀπὸ δὲ λιπαρὴν ἔρριψε καλύπτρην
τηλόσε· κώκυσεν δὲ μάλα μέγα παῖδ' ἐσιδοῦσα.
ῶμωξεν δ' ἔλεεινὰ πατὴρ φίλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ
κωκυτῷ τ' εἶχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ.
τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὥς εἰ ἅπασα
Ἵλιος ὄφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης.

οὕτως εὐγενὲς σῶμα καὶ δεινὰ πάθη λέγεσθαι προσῆκεν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν
φρόνημα καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων. ὥς δὲ ὁ Μάγνης εἶρηκεν, ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἢ
κατεαγόντων ἀνθρώπων λέγοιτ' ἂν καὶ οὐδὲ τούτων μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
χλευασμῷ καὶ καταγέλωτι. τί οὖν αἴτιον ἦν ἐκείνων μὲν τῶν ποιημάτων τῆς
εὐγενείας, τούτων δὲ τῶν φλυαρημάτων τῆς ταπεινότητος; ἢ τῶν ῥυθμῶν
διαφορὰ πάντων μάλιστα, καὶ εἰ μὴ μόνη. ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς
ἄσημος στίχος [ἢ ἀδόκιμος], ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδεμία περίοδος ἣτις οὐ
λυπῆσει.

εἰρηκῶς δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν ὅσην δύναμιν ^[19] ἔχουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ
λειπόμενα μεταβήσομαι. ἦν δέ μοι τρίτον θεώρημα τῶν ποιούντων καλὴν
ἁρμονίαν ἢ μεταβολή. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐκ τῶν κρειπτόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω
(πάνυ γὰρ εὐηθες) οὐδέ γε τὴν ἐκ τῶν χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω, ἀλλὰ τὴν
ἐν τοῖς ὁμοειδέσι ποικιλίαν. κόρον γὰρ ἔχει καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα, ὥσπερ καὶ
τὰ ἡδέα, ὄντα ἐν τῇ ταυτότητι· ποικιλλόμενα δὲ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ἀεὶ καινὰ
μένει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη γράφουσιν οὐχ ἅπαντα ἔξεστι
μεταβάλλειν ἢ οὐχ ἅπασιν οὐδ' ἐφ' ὅσον βούλονται. αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν
ἐποποιοῖς μέτρον οὐκ ἔξεστι μεταβάλλειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη πάντας εἶναι τοὺς
στίχους ἐξαμέτρους· οὐδέ γε ῥυθμόν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχομένοις
συλλαβῆς χρῆσονται καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἅπασι. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μέλη γράφουσιν τὸ
μὲν τῶν στροφῶν τε καὶ ἀντιστροφῶν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἀλλάξει μέλος, ἀλλ' ἐάν
τ' ἐναρμονίους ἐάν τε χρωματικὰς ἐάν τε διατόνους ὑποθῶνται μελωδίας,
ἐν πάσαις δεῖ ταῖς στροφαῖς καὶ ἀντιστροφαῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀγωγὰς φυλάττειν·
οὐδέ γε τοὺς περιέχοντας ὅλας τὰς στροφὰς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰς
ἀντιστροφούς, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς διαμένειν· περὶ δὲ τὰς
καλουμένας ἐπωδοὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν κινεῖν ταῦτα ἔξεστι τό τε μέλος καὶ τὸν
ῥυθμόν. τὰ δὲ κῶλα ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε περίοδος ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας
δέδοται [αὐτοῖς] ποικίλως διαιρεῖν ἄλλοτε ἄλλα μεγέθη καὶ σχήματα αὐτοῖς
περιτιθέντας, ἕως ἂν ἀπαρτίσωσι τὴν στροφήν· ἔπειτα πάλιν δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ
μέτρα καὶ κῶλα ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί, λέγω δὲ Ἀλκαῖόν τε
καὶ Σαπφώ, μικρὰς ἐποιοῦντο στροφάς, ὥστ' ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς κώλοις οὐ
πολλὰς εἰσῆγον μεταβολάς, ἐπωδοῖς τε πάνυ ἐχρῶντο ὀλίγοις· οἱ δὲ περὶ
Στησίχορον τε καὶ Πίνδαρον μείζους ἐργασάμενοι τὰς περιόδους εἰς πολλὰ
μέτρα καὶ κῶλα διένειμαν αὐτὰς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔρωτι.
οἱ δέ γε διθυραμβοποιοὶ καὶ τοὺς τρόπους μετέβαλλον Δωρίους τε καὶ
Φρυγίους καὶ Λυδίους ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ᾄσματι ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς μελωδίας
ἐξήλλαττον τότε μὲν ἐναρμονίους ποιοῦντες, τότε δὲ χρωματικὰς, τότε δὲ
διατόνους, καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἐνεξουσιάζοντες
διετέλουν, οἳ γε δὴ κατὰ Φιλόξενον καὶ Τιμόθεον καὶ Τελεστήν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ

γε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεταγμένος ἦν καὶ ὁ διθύραμβος.

ἡ δὲ περὶ λέξις ἅπασαν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχει [καὶ ἄδειαν] ποικίλλειν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τὴν σύνθεσιν, ὅπως βούλεται. καὶ ἔστι λέξις κρατίστη πασῶν, ἣτις ἂν ἔχη πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τε καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐναρμονίους, ὅταν τουτὶ μὲν ἐν περιόδῳ λέγηται, τουτὶ δ' ἔξω περιόδου καὶ ἥδε μὲν ἡ περίοδος ἐκ πλειόνων πλέκεται κώλων, ἥδε δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κώλων τὸ μὲν βραχύτερον ἦ, τὸ δὲ μακρότερον καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτουργότερον [τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον], τὸ δὲ ἀκριβέστερον, ῥυθμοὶ τε ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι καὶ σχήματα παντοῖα καὶ τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσωδίαί διάφοροι κλέπτουσαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸν κόρον. ἔχει δὲ τινα χάριν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ τὸ οὕτω συγκείμενον ὥστε μὴ συγκεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. καὶ οὐ πολλῶν δεῖν οἶμαι λόγων εἰς τουτὶ τὸ μέρος· ὅτι γὰρ ἥδιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον ἐν λόγοις μεταβολή, πάντας εἰδέναι πείθομαι. παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτῆς ποιοῦμαι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Ἡροδότου λέξιν, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Πλάτωνος, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Δημοσθένους· ἀμήχανον γὰρ εὐρεῖν τούτων ἐτέρους ἐπεισοδίοις τε πλείοσι καὶ ποικιλίαις εὐκαιροτέραις καὶ σχήμασι πολυειδεστέροις χρησαμένους· λέγω δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι, τὸν δ' ὡς ἐν διαλόγων χάριτι, τὸν δ' ὡς ἐν λόγων ἐναγωνίων χρεῖα. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ γε Ἰσοκράτους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου γνωρίμων αἵρεσις ὁμοία ταύταις ἦν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἡδέως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς πολλὰ συνθέντες οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχοῦσιν· ἀλλ' ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἷς περίοδος κύκλος τις, ὁμοειδῆς σχημάτων τάξις, φυλακὴ συμπλοκῆς φωνηέντων ἢ αὐτῇ, ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα κόπτοντα τὴν ἀκρόασιν. οὐ δὴ ἀποδέχομαι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκείνην κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν ἴσως τῷ Ἰσοκράτει πολλὰί χάριτες ἐπήνθουν ἄλλαι ταύτην ἐπικρύπτουσαι τὴν ἀμορφίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνον ἅπ' ἐλαττόνων τῶν ἄλλων κατορθωμάτων περιφανέστερον γίνεται τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα.

[20] ἔτι τις καταλείπεται μοι λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ πρόποντος. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρήμασιν ἅπασι παρεῖναι δεῖ τὸ πρόπον, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἔργον ἀτυχεῖ τούτου τοῦ μέρους, καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦ παντός, τοῦ κρατίστου γε ἀτυχεῖ. περὶ μὲν οὖν ὅλης τῆς ιδέας ταύτης οὐχ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἀνασκοπεῖν· βαθεῖα γάρ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλῶν δεομένη λόγων ἢ θεωρία. ὅσα δὲ εἰς τοῦτο συντείνει τὸ μέρος ὑπὲρ οὗ τυγχάνω ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πάντα μηδὲ τὰ πλεῖστα, ὅσα γε οὖν ἐγχωρεῖ, λεγέσθω.

ὁμολογουμένου δὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι πρόπον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀρμόττον προσώποις τε καὶ πράγμασιν, ὥσπερ ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων εἴη τις ἂν ἡ μὲν πρόπουσα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἡ δὲ ἀπρεπής, οὕτω δὴ που καὶ σύνθεσις. παράδειγμα δὲ τούτου χρὴ λαμβάνειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὁ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ συνθέσει χρώμεθα ὀργιζόμενοι καὶ χαίροντες, οὐδὲ ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι, οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάθει ἢ κακῷ ὄντες, ὥσπερ ὅταν ἐνθυμώμεθα μηδὲν ὅλως ἡμᾶς ταραττεῖν μηδὲ παραλυπεῖν. [δείγματος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' εἴρηκα ὀλίγα περὶ πολλῶν.] μυρία ἄλλα ἐστὶν ὅσα τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τὰς ιδέας ἀπάσας ἐκλογίζεσθαι βουλόμενος τοῦ πρόποντος· ἐν δὲ ὁ προχειρότατον ἔχω καὶ κοινότατον εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ

αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καταστάσει τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντες ὅταν ἀπαγγέλλωσι πράγματα οἷς ἂν παραγενόμενοι τύχωσιν, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ χρῶνται συνθέσει περὶ πάντων ἀλλὰ μιμητικοὶ γίνονται τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων καὶ ἐν τῷ συντιθέναι τὰ ὀνόματα, οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀγόμενοι. ταῦτα δὴ παρατηροῦντα δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν καὶ ῥήτορα μιμητικὸν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρῃ, μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν. ὁ ποιεῖν εἴωθεν ὁ δαιμονιώτατος Ὅμηρος καίπερ μέτρον ἔχων ἐν ὧς καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ὀλίγους, ἀλλ' ὅμως αἰεὶ τι καινουργῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοτεχνῶν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφέρειν γινόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἢ λεγόμενα ὀρᾶν. ἐρῶ δὲ ὀλίγα, οἷς ἂν τις δύναιτο παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι πολλῶν. ἀπαγγέλλων δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φαίακας Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πλάνην καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄδου κατάβασιν εἰπὼν τὰς ὅψεις τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν ἀποδίδωσιν. ἐν δὴ τούτοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίσυφον διηγεῖται πάθη, ὧς φασὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους θεοὺς ὅρον πεποιθῆσθαι τῆς τῶν δεινῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς, ὅταν ὑπὲρ ὅχθου τινὸς ἀνακυλίῃ πέτρον· τοῦτο δὲ ἀμήχανον εἶναι καταπίπτοντος ὅταν εἰς ἄκρον ἔλθῃ πάλιν τοῦ πέτρου. πῶς οὖν δηλώσει ταῦτα μιμητικῶς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἄξιον ἰδεῖν.

καὶ μὴν Σίσυφον εἰσεῖδον κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,

λᾶαν βαστάζοντα πελώριον ἀμφοτέρησιν·

ἦτοι ὁ μὲν σκηριπτόμενος χερσὶν τε ποσὶν τε

λᾶαν ἄνω ὥθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον·

ἐνταῦθα ἡ σύνθεσις ἐστὶν ἡ δηλοῦσα τῶν γινομένων ἕκαστον, τὸ βάρος τοῦ πέτρου, τὴν ἐπίπτονον ἐκ τῆς γῆς κίνησιν, τὸν διEREιδόμενον τοῖς κώλοις, τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα πρὸς τὸν ὅχθον, τὴν μόλις ἀνωθυμένην πέτραν· οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλως εἴποι. καὶ παρὰ τί γέγονε τούτων ἕκαστον; οὐ μὰ Δί' εἰκῇ γε οὐδ' ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου. πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖ στίχοις οἷς ἀνακυλίει τὴν πέτραν, ἔξω δεῖν ῥημάτων τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια πάντ' ἐστὶν ἦτοι δισύλλαβα ἢ μονοσύλλαβα· ἔπειτα τῷ ἡμίσει πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ μακραὶ συλλαβαὶ τῶν βραχειῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν στίχων· ἔπειτα πᾶσαι διαβεβήκασιν αἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁρμονίαι διαβάσεις εὐμεγέθεις καὶ διεστήκασιν πάνυ αἰσθητῶς, ἢ τῶν φωνέντων γραμμάτων συγκρουομένων ἢ τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων συναπτομένων· ῥυθμοῖς τε δακτύλοις καὶ σπονδείοις τοῖς μηκίστοις καὶ πλείστην ἔχουσι διάβασιν ἅπαντα σύγκειται. τί δὴ ποτ' οὖν τούτων ἕκαστον δύναται; αἱ μὲν μονοσύλλαβοί τε καὶ δισύλλαβοι λέξεις πολλοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ χρόνους ἀλλήλων ἀπολείπουσιν τὸ χρόνιον ἐμιμήσαντο τοῦ ἔργου· αἱ δὲ μακραὶ συλλαβαὶ στηριγμοὺς τινας ἔχουσαι καὶ ἐγκαθίσματα τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν καὶ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ τὸ μόλις· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ὀνομάτων ψύγμα καὶ ἡ τῶν τραχυνόντων γραμμάτων παράθεσις τὰ διαλείμματα τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς ἐποχὰς καὶ τὸ τοῦ μόχθου μέγεθος· οἱ ῥυθμοὶ δ' ἐν μήκει θεωρούμενοι τὴν ἔκτασιν τῶν μελῶν καὶ τὸν διελκυσμὸν τοῦ κυλίουτος καὶ τὴν τοῦ πέτρου ἔρεισιν. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ φύσεώς ἐστιν αὐτοματιζούσης ἔργα ἀλλὰ τέχνης μιμῆσασθαι πειρωμένης τὰ γινόμενα, τὰ τούτοις ἐξῆς λεγόμενα δηλοῖ. τὴν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς

ἐπιστρέφουσιν πάλιν καὶ κατακυλισμένην πέτραν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡρμήνευκε τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἐπιταχύνει τε καὶ συστρέφει τὴν σύνθεσιν· προειπὼν γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι

ἀλλ' ὅτε μέλλοι

ἄκρον ὑπερβαλεῖν

ἐπιτίθησι τοῦτο

τότ' ἐπιστρέφασκε κραταίς·

αὗτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λαῖας ἀναιδής· οὐχὶ συγκυλίεται τῷ βάρει τῆς πέτρας ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔφθακε τὴν τοῦ λίθου φορὰν τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τάχος; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. καὶ τίς ἐνταῦθα πάλιν αἰτία; καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἦν ἄξιον ἰδεῖν· ὁ τὴν καταφορὰν δηλῶν τοῦ πέτρου στίχος μονοσύλλαβον μὲν οὐδεμίαν, δισυσλλάβους δὲ δύο μόνους ἔχει λέξεις· τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ πρῶτον οὐ διίστησι τοὺς χρόνους ἀλλ' ἐπιταχύνει· ἔπειθ' ἐπτακαίδεκα συλλαβῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῷ στίχῳ δέκα μὲν εἰσι βραχεῖαι συλλαβαί, ἐπτὰ δὲ μακραί οὐδ' αὗται τέλειοι· ἀνάγκη δὴ κατασπᾶσθαι καὶ συστέλλεσθαι τὴν φράσιν τῇ βραχύτητι τῶν συλλαβῶν ἐφελκομένην. ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις οὐδ' ὄνομα ἀπὸ ὀνόματος ἀξιόλογον εἴληφεν διάστασιν· οὔτε γὰρ φωνήεντι φωνῆεν οὔτε ἡμιφώνῳ ἡμίφωνον ἢ ἄφωνον, ἃ δὴ τραχύνειν πέφυκεν καὶ διιστάναι τὰς ἁρμονίας, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ παρακείμενον. οὐ δὴ γίνεται διάστασις αἰσθητὴ μὴ διηρημένων τῶν λέξεων, ἀλλὰ συνολισθαίνουσιν ἀλλήλαις καὶ συγκαταφέρονται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ μία ἐξ ἀπασῶν γίνεται διὰ τὴν τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκρίβειαν. ὁ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ῥυθμὸς οὐδεὶς τῶν μακρῶν οἱ φύσιν ἔχουσιν πίπτειν εἰς μέτρον ἡρωικόν, οὔτε σπονδεῖος οὔτε βακχεῖος ἐγκαταμέμικται τῷ στίχῳ, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες εἰσὶ δάκτυλοι, καὶ οὔτοι παραμειγμένους ἔχοντες τὰς ἀλόγους, ὥστε μὴ πολὺ διαφέρειν ἐνίους τῶν τροχαίων. οὐδὲν δὴ τὸ ἀντιπρᾶπτον ἐστὶν εὐτροχον καὶ περιφερῆ καὶ καταρρέουσιν εἶναι τὴν φράσιν ἐκ τοιούτων συγκεκριμένην ῥυθμῶν.

πολλὰ τις ἂν ἔχοι τοιαῦτα δεῖξαι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ λεγόμενα· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποχρῆν δοκεῖ καὶ ταῦτα, ἵν' ἐγγένηται μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν. ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἠδεῖαν καὶ καλὴν ποιήσιν σύνθεσιν ἐν τε ποιητικῇ καὶ λόγοις ἀμέτροις, ταῦτα κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν ἐστὶ τὰ γούν κυριώτατα καὶ κράτιστα. ὅσα δὲ οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν, ἐλάττω τε ὄντα τούτων καὶ ἀμυδρότερα καὶ διὰ πλῆθος δυσπερίληπτα μιᾷ γραφῇ, ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν γυμνασίαις προσυποθήσομαι καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ῥητόρων μαρτυρίοις χρῆσθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ καταλειπόμενα ὧν ὑπεσχόμην καὶ οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἀναγκαῖα εἰρῆσθαι, ταῦτ' ἔτι προσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ παύσομαι τίνες εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ τίς ἐκάστης χαρακτὴρ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τῶν τε πρωτευσάντων ἐν αὐταῖς μνησθῆναι καὶ δείγματα ἐκάστου παρασχεῖν, ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα λάβῃ μοι τέλος, τότε κάκεῖνα διευκρινῆσαι τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπορούμενα, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁ ποιεῖ τὴν μὲν πεζὴν λέξιν ὁμοίαν ποιήματι φαίνεσθαι μένουσαν ἐν τῷ τοῦ λόγου σχήματι, τὴν δὲ ποιητικὴν φράσιν ἐμφερῆ τῷ πεζῷ λόγῳ φυλάττουσαν τὴν ποιητικὴν σεμνότητα· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ κράτιστα

διαλεχθέντες ἢ ποιήσαντες ταῦτ' ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ λέξει τάγαθὰ. πειρατέον δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων, ἃ φρονῶ, λέγειν. ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου.

[21] Ἐγὼ τῆς συνθέσεως εἰδικὰς μὲν διαφορὰς πολλὰς σφόδρα εἶναι τίθεμαι καὶ οὗτ' εἰς σύνοψιν ἔλθειν δυναμένας οὗτ' εἰς λογισμὸν ἀκριβῆ, οἷομαί τε ἴδιον ἡμῶν ἐκάστω χαρακτηῖρα ὥσπερ ὄψεως, οὕτω καὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων παρακολουθεῖν, οὐ φαῦλῳ παραδείγματι χρώμενος ζωγραφία· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ αὐτὰ φάρμακα λαμβάνοντες ἅπαντες οἱ τὰ ζῶα γράφοντες οὐδὲν ἑοικότα ποιοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις τὰ μίγματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν ποιητικῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι χρώμενοι πάντες οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτὰ συντίθεμεν. τὰς μέντοι γενικὰς αὐτῆς διαφορὰς ταύτας εἶναι πείθομαι μόνας τὰς τρεῖς, αἷς ὁ βουλόμενος ὀνόματα θήσεται τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς τε χαρακτηῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς ἀκούσῃ. ἐγὼ μέντοι κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν οὐκ ἔχων αὐτὰς προσαγορεῦσαι ὡς ἀκατονομάστους μεταφορικοῖς ὀνόμασι καλῶ τὴν μὲν αὖστηράν, τὴν δὲ γλαφυράν [ἢ ἀνθηράν], τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐκρατον· ἦν ὅπως ποτὲ γίνεσθαι φαῖν ἄν, ἔγωγε ἀπορῶ καὶ 'δίχῃ μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν', εἴτε κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν ἄκρων ἐκατέρας εἴτε κατὰ μῖξιν· οὐ γὰρ ῥᾶδιον εἰκάσαι τὸ σαφές. μή ποτ' οὖν κρεῖττον ἢ λέγειν, ὅτι κατὰ ἄνεσιν τε καὶ ἐπίτασιν τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄρων οἱ διὰ μέσου γίνονται πολλοὶ πάνυ ὄντες· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν μουσικῇ τὸ ἴσον ἀπέχει τῆς νήτης καὶ τῆς ὑπάτης ἢ μέση, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν λόγοις ὁ μέσος χαρακτηρ ἐκατέρου τῶν ἄκρων ἴσον ἀφέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῶν ἐν πλάτει θεωρουμένων ὡς ἀγέλη τε καὶ σωρὸς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἀρμόττων τῇ θεωρίᾳ ταύτῃ· λεκτέον δ', ὥσπερ ὑπεθέμην, καὶ περὶ τῶν χαρακτηῖρων οὐχ ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι (μακρῶν γὰρ ἂν μοι πάνυ δεήσειε λόγων), ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ φανερώτατα.

[22] τῆς μὲν οὖν αὖστηρᾶς ἀρμονίας τοιόσδε ὁ χαρακτηρ· ἐρεῖδεσθαι βούλεται τὰ ὀνόματα ἀσφαλῶς καὶ στάσεις λαμβάνειν ἰσχυράς, ὥστ' ἐκ περιφανείας ἕκαστον ὄνομα ὀρθῶσθαι, ἀπέχειν τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ μόρια διαστάσεις ἀξιολόγους αἰσθητοῖς χρόνοις διειργόμενα· τραχείαις τε χρῆσθαι πολλαχῇ καὶ ἀντιτύποις ταῖς συμβολαῖς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ διαφέρει, οἷαι γίνονται τῶν λογάδην συντιθεμένων ἐν οἰκοδομαῖς λίθων αἱ μὴ εὐγώνιοι καὶ μὴ συνεξεσμέναι βάσεις, ἀργαὶ δέ τινες καὶ αὐτοσχέδιοι· μεγάλοις τε καὶ διαβεβηκόσιν εἰς πλάτος ὀνόμασιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μηκύνεσθαι φιλεῖ· τὸ γὰρ εἰς βραχείας συλλαβὰς συνάγεσθαι πολέμιον αὐτῇ, πλὴν εἴ ποτε ἀνάγκη βιάζοιτο.

ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι ταῦτα πειρᾶται διώκειν καὶ τούτων γλίσχεται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κώλοις ταῦτά τε ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεύει καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς τοὺς ἀξιοματικοὺς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, καὶ οὔτε πᾶρισα βούλεται τὰ κῶλα ἀλλήλοις εἶναι οὔτε παρόμοια οὔτε ἀνάγκῃ δουλεύοντα, ἀκόλουθα δὲ καὶ εὐγενῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ καὶ ἐλεύθερα, φύσει τ' εοικέναι μᾶλλον αὐτὰ βούλεται ἢ τέχνῃ, καὶ κατὰ πάθος λέγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἦθος. περιόδους δὲ συντιθέναι συναπαρτιζούσας ἑαυταῖς τὸν νοῦν τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ βούλεται· εἰ δέ ποτ' αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο κατενεχθείη, τὸ ἀνεπιτήδευτον

ἐμφαίνειν θέλει καὶ ἀφελέξ, οὔτε προσθήκαις πσιὶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα ὁ κύκλος ἐκπληρωθῇ, μηδὲν ὠφελούσαις τὸν νοῦν χρωμένη οὔτε ὅπως αἱ βάσεις αὐτῶν γένοιτο θεατρικαί τινες ἢ γλαφυραί, σπουδὴν ἔχουσα οὐδ' ἵνα τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λέγοντος ὥσιν αὐτάρκεις συμμετρομένη μάλα, οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ [πραγματεῖαν] τοιαύτην ἔχουσα ἐπιτήδευσιν οὐδεμίαν. ἔτι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐστὶν ἁρμονίας καὶ ταῦτα ἴδια· ἀντίρροπός ἐστι περὶ τὰς πτώσεις, ποικίλη περὶ τοὺς σχηματισμούς, ὀλιγοσύνδεσμος, ἄναρθρος, ἐν πολλοῖς ὑπεροπτική τῆς ἀκολουθίας, ἥκιστ' ἀνθηρά, μεγαλόφρων, αὐθέκαστος, ἀκόμφευτος, τὸν ἀρχαῖσμον καὶ τὸν πίνον ἔχουσα κάλλος.

ταύτης τῆς ἁρμονίας πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ζηλωταὶ κατὰ τε ποιήσιν καὶ ἱστορίαν καὶ λόγους πολιτικούς, διαφέροντες δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν μὲν ἐπικῇ ποιήσει ὁ τε Κολοφώνιος Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ φυσικός, ἐν δὲ μελοποιίᾳ Πίνδαρος, ἐν τραγωδίᾳ δ' Αἰσχύλος, ἐν ἱστορίᾳ δὲ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν δὲ πολιτικοῖς λόγοις Ἀντιφῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις ἀπῆται πολλὰ παρασχέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκάστου παραδείγματα, καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἀηδὴς ἂν ὁ λόγος ἐγένετο πολλοῖς ὥσπερ ἄνθεσι διαποικιλλόμενος τοῖς ἑαρινοῖς· ἀλλ' ὑπέμετρον ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι τὸ σύνταγμα καὶ σχολικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ παραγγελματικόν· οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδ' ἀνεξέλεγκτα παραλιπεῖν τὰ ῥηθέντα ἡρμοττεν, ὥς δὴ φανερά καὶ οὐ δεόμενα μαρτυρίας· ἔδει δὲ πως τὸ μέτριον ἀμφοῖν λαβεῖν καὶ μήτε πλεονάσαι τοῦ καιροῦ μήτ' ἐλλιπεῖν τῆς πίστεως. τοῦτο δὴ πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι δείγματα λαβὼν ὀλίγα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν. ποιητῶν μὲν οὖν Πίνδαρος ἀρκέσει παραληφθεὶς, συγγραφέων δὲ Θουκυδίδης· κράτιστοι γὰρ οὗτοι ποιηταὶ τῆς αὐστηρᾶς ἁρμονίας. ἀρχέτω δὲ Πίνδαρος, καὶ τούτου διθύραμβός τις οὗ ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

Δεῦτ' ἐν χορὸν Ὀλύμπιοι
ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί,
πολύβατον οἷ τ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις
οἶχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλές· ἀγοράν,
ἰοδέτων λαχεῖν στεφάνων τᾶν τ' ἑαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν·
Διόθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ
ἴδετε πορευθέντ' ἀοιδᾶν δεύτερον
ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδόταν θεόν,
τὸν Βρόμιον ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν,
γόνον ὑπάτων νίν τε πατέρων μέλπομεν
γυναικῶν τε Καδμεῖᾶν Σεμέλαν.
Ἐναργέα τελέων σάματ' οὐ λανθάνει,
φοινικοεάνων ὅπότ' οἶχθέντος Ὠρᾶν θαλάμου
εὐδομον ἐπάγησιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα·
τότε βάλλεται, τότε' ἐπ' ἄμβροτον χέρσον ἐραταὶ
Ἴων φόβαι ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μίγνυνται
ἄχεϊ τ' ὀμφαὶ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς
ἄχεϊ τε Σεμέλαν ἐλικάμπυκα χοροί.

ταῦθ' ὅτι μὲν ἔστιν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ σπιβαρὰ καὶ ἀξιωματικὰ καὶ πολὺ τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἔχει τραχύνει τε ἀλύπως καὶ πικραίνει μετρίως τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀναβέβληται τε τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ διαβέβηκεν ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις καὶ οὐ τὸ θεατρικὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ γλαφυρὸν ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχαϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ αὐστηρόν, ἅπαντες ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μαρτυρήσειαν οἱ μετρίαν ἔχοντες αἴσθησιν περὶ λόγους. τίνι δὲ κατασκευασθέντα ἐπιτηδεύσει τοιαῦτα γέγονεν (οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ γε τέχνης καὶ λόγου τινός, αὐτοματισμῷ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ χρησάμενα τοῦτον εἴληφε τὸν χαρακτηῖρα), ἐγὼ πειράσομαι δεικνύναι.

τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ κῶλον ἐκ τεττάρων σύγκειται λέξεως μορίων, ῥήματος καὶ συνδέσμου καὶ δυεῖν προσηγορικῶν· τὸ μὲν οὖν ῥῆμα καὶ ὁ σύνδεσμος συναλοφῇ κερασθέντα οὐκ ἀηδὴ πεποίηκε τὴν ἀρμονίαν· τὸ δὲ προσηγορικὸν τῷ συνδέσμῳ συντιθέμενον ἀποτετράχκεν ἀξιολόγως τὴν ἀρμογὴν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν χορὸν καὶ ἀντίτυπον καὶ οὐκ εὐεπές, τοῦ μὲν συνδέσμου λήγοντος εἰς ἡμίφωνον στοιχεῖον τὸ ν, τοῦ δὲ προσηγορικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν ἀφώνων τοῦ χ· ἀσύμμικτα δὲ τῇ φύσει ταῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀκόλλητα· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν τοῦ χ προτάττεσθαι τὸ ν, ὥστε οὐδὲ συλλαβῶν ὅρια γινόμενα συνάπτει τὸν ἦχον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη σιωπὴν τινα γενέσθαι μέσην ἀμφοῖν τὴν διορίζουσαν ἐκατέρου τῶν γραμμάτων τὰς δυνάμεις. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον κῶλον οὕτω τραχύνεται τῇ συνθέσει. κῶλα δὲ με δέξαι λέγειν οὐχ οἷς Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις μετρικῶν διεκόσμησε τὰς ᾠδὰς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ φύσις ἀξιοῖ διαρεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ ῥητόρων παῖδες τὰς περιόδους διαιροῦσι.

τὸ δέ γε τούτῳ παρακείμενον κῶλον τὸ 'ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί' διαβέβηκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου διάβασιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ περιεῖληφεν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰς ἀρμονίας ἀντιτύπους. ἄρχει μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ στοιχεῖον ἐν τῶν φωνηέντων τὸ ε καὶ παράκειται ἐτέρῳ φωνήεντι τῷ ι· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἔλγηε τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ. οὐ συναλείφεται δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀλλήλοις οὐδὲ προτάττεται κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν τὸ ι τοῦ ε· σιωπὴ δὲ τις μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν γίνεται διερείδουσα τῶν μορίων ἐκάτερον καὶ τὴν βάσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδούσα ἀσφαλῆ. ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ μέρος συνθέσει τοῦ κῶλου τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τε συνδέσμοις ἀφ' ὧν ἀρχεται τὸ κῶλον, εἴτε ἄρα πρόθεσιν αὐτῶν δεῖ τὸ ἡγούμενον καλεῖν, τὸ προσηγορικὸν ἐπικείμενον μόριον τὸ κλυτὰν ἀντίτυπον πεποίηκε καὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν σύνθεσιν· κατὰ τί ποτε; ὅτι βούλεται μὲν εἶναι βραχεῖα ἢ πρώτη συλλαβὴ τοῦ κλυτὰν, μακροτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς βραχείας ἐξ ἀφώνου τε καὶ ἡμιφώνου καὶ φωνήεντος συνεστῶσα. τὸ δὲ μὴ εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῆς βραχὺ καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἐν τῇ κράσει τῶν γραμμάτων δυσεκφόρητον ἀναβολὴν τε ποιεῖ καὶ ἐγκοπὴν τῆς ἀρμονίας. εἰ γοῦν τὸ κ τις ἀφέλοι τῆς συλλαβῆς καὶ ποιήσειεν ἐπὶ τε λυτὰν, λυθήσεται καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἀρμονίας. πάλιν τῷ κλυτὰν προσηγορικῷ τὸ πέμπετε ῥηματικὸν ἐπικείμενον οὐκ ἔχει συνῶδον οὐδ' εὐκέραστον τὸν ἦχον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη στηριχθῆναι τὸ ν καὶ πιεσθέντος ἱκανῶς τοῦ στόματος τότε ἀκουστὸν γενέσθαι τὸ π· οὐ γὰρ ὑποτακτικὸν τῷ ν τὸ π. τοῦτου δ' αἴτιον ὁ τοῦ στόματος σχηματισμὸς οὔτε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὔτε τῷ

αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκφέρων ἐκότερον· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν γίνεται ὁ ἦχος καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἄκροις τοῖς ὁδοῦσι προσανισταμένης καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων μεριζομένου, τοῦ δὲ π μύσαντός τε τοῦ στόματος καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς γλώττης συνεργούσης τοῦ τε πνεύματος κατὰ τὴν ἀνοιξιν τῶν χειλῶν τὸν ψόφον λαμβάνοντος ἀθροῦν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν τὸ στόμα σχηματισμὸν ἕτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου μήτε συγγενῇ μήτε παρόμοιον ἐμπεριλαμβάνεται τις χρόνος, σὺν ᾧ δίδισται τὸ λεῖόν τε καὶ εὐεπὲς τῆς ἁρμονίας· καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἡ προηγουμένη τοῦ πέμπτε συλλαβὴ μαλακὸν ἔχει τὸν ἦχον ἀλλ' ὑποτραχύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀρχομένη τε ἐξ ἀφώνου καὶ λήγουσα εἰς ἡμίφωνον. τῷ τε χάριν τὸ θεοὶ παρακείμενον ἀνακόπτει τὸν ἦχον καὶ ποιεῖ διερισμὸν ἀξιόλογον τῶν μορίων, τοῦ μὲν εἰς ἡμίφωνον λήγοντος τὸ ν, τοῦ δὲ ἁφωνον ἔχοντος ἡγούμενον τὸ θ· οὐδενὸς δὲ πέφυκε προτάττεσθαι τῶν ἀφώνων τὰ ἡμίφωνα.

τούτοις ἐπιφέρεται τρίτον κῶλον τουτί 'πολύβατον οἷ τ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις οἰχνεῖτε'. ἐνταῦθα τῷ τε ὀμφαλὸν εἰς τὸ ν λήγοντι τὸ θυόεντα παρακείμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ θ ἀρχόμενον ὁμοίαν ἀποδίδωσιν ἀντιτυπίαν τῇ πρότερον, καὶ τῷ θυόεντα εἰς φωνῆεν τὸ α λήγοντι ζευγνύμενον τὸ 'ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς' ἀπὸ φωνήεντος τοῦ ε λαμβάνον τὴν ἀρχὴν διέσπακε τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τὸν ἦχον οὐκ ὄντι ὀλίγῳ. τούτοις ἐκεῖνα ἔπεται 'πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν'· τραχεῖα κάνταῦθα καὶ ἀντίτυπος ἡ συζυγία· ἡμιφώνῳ γὰρ ἁφωνον συνάπτεται τῷ ν τὸ τ καὶ διαβέβηκεν ἀξιόλογον διάβασιν ὁ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε προσηγορικοῦ τοῦ πανδαίδαλον καὶ τῆς συναλοιφῆς τῆς συναπτομένης αὐτῷ χρόνος· μακρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέραι, μείζων δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τῆς μετρίας ἡ συναλείφουσα τὰ δύο συλλαβή, ἐξ ἀφώνου τε καὶ δυεῖν συνεστῶσα φωνηέντων· εἰ γοῦν τις αὐτῆς ἀφέλοι τὸ τ καὶ ποιήσῃε πανδαίδαλον εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν, εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ἐλθοῦσα μέτρον εὐεπεστάτην ποιήσει τὴν ἁρμονίαν.

ὅμοια τοῦτοις ἐστὶ κάκεῖνα ἰοδέτων λαχεῖν'. παράκειται γὰρ ἡμίφωνα δύο ἀλλήλοις τὸ ν καὶ τὸ λ, φυσικὴν οὐκ ἔχοντα συζυγίαν τῷ μήτε κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς <τόπους μήτε καθ'> ὁμοίους σχηματισμοὺς τοῦ στόματος ἐκφέρεσθαι. καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις λεγόμενα μηκύνεται τε ταῖς συλλαβαῖς καὶ διέστηκε ταῖς ἀρμονίαις ἐπὶ πολὺ 'στεφάνων τῶν τ' ἐαριδρόπων·' μακραὶ γὰρ καὶ δεῦρο συγκροῦνται συλλαβαὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεραίρουσαι μέτρον, ἥ τε λήγουσα τοῦ στεφάνων μορίου δυοὶ περιλαμβάνουσα ἡμιφώνοις φωνῆεν γράμμα φύσει μακρὸν καὶ ἡ συναπτομένη ταύτῃ τρισὶ μηκυνομένη γράμμασιν ἀφώνω καὶ φωνήεντι μακρῶς λεγομένω καὶ ἡμιφώνω· διερεισμός τε οὖν γέγονε τοῖς μήκεσι τῶν συλλαβῶν καὶ ἀντιτυπία τῇ παραθέσει τῶν γραμμάτων, οὐκ ἔχοντος τοῦ τ συνωδὸν τῷ ν τὸν ἥχον, ὃ καὶ πρότερον εἶρηκα. παράκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ αἰοιδᾷ εἰς τὸ ν λήγοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ δ ἀρχόμενον ἀφώνου τὸ Διόθεν τε καὶ τῷ σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ εἰς τὸ ι λήγοντι τὸ ἴδετε πορευθέντ' αἰοιδᾷ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ι. πολλὰ τις ἂν εὖροι τοιαῦτα ὅλην τὴν ᾠδὴν σκοπῶν.

Ἴνα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰπεῖν ἐγγένηται μοι, Πινδάρου μὲν ἄλις ἔστω, Θουκυδίδου δὲ λαμβανέσθω λέξις ἡ ἐκ τοῦ προοιμίου ἥδε·

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρω παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἐκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὖρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν· ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τᾶλλα. φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινων αἰὲ πλειόνων. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἐπιμινύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὃν ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο.

αὕτη ἡ λέξις ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔχει λείας οὐδὲ συνεξεσμένας ἀκριβῶς τὰς ἀρμονίας οὐδ' ἔστιν εὐεπὴς καὶ μαλακὴ καὶ λεληθότως ὀλισθάνουσα διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνὸν ἐμφαίνει, καὶ ὅτι πανηγυρικῆς μὲν ἢ θεατρικῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐφάπτεται χάριτος, ἀρχαϊκὸν δέ τι καὶ αὐθαδὲς ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος, ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας ὁμοίως τοὺς εὐπαιδεύτους ἅπαντας οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁμολογήσαντος, ὅτι εἰς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἦττον ἐπιτερπῆς ἢ

γραφή ἐστι, «κτῆμα δ' εἰσαεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα εἰς τὸ παραντίκα ἀκούειν σύγκειται». τίνα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ θεωρήματα οἷς χρησάμενος ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀπηνῆ καὶ αὐστηρὰν πεποίηκε τὴν ἁρμονίαν, δι' ὀλίγων σημανῶν· ῥάδιον γὰρ ἔσται μικρὰ μεγάλων εἶναι δείγματα τοῖς μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου τε καὶ ἀκολουθίου μεταβαίνουσιν θεωρίαν.

αὐτίκα ἐν ἀρχῇ τῷ Ἀθηναῖος προσηγορικῶς τὸ ξυνέγραψε ῥῆμα ἐφαρμοττόμενον διόστησιν ἀξιολόγως τὴν ἁρμονίαν· οὐ γὰρ προτάττεται τὸ σ τοῦ ξ κατὰ συνεκφορὰν τὴν ἐν μιᾷ συλλαβῇ γινομένην· δεῖ δὲ τοῦ σ σιωπῇ καταληφθέντος τότε ἀκουστὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ξ. τοῦτο δὲ τραχύτητα ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀντιτυπίαν τὸ πάθος. ἔπειθ' αἱ μετὰ τοῦτο γινόμεναι συγκοπαὶ τῶν ἤχων, τοῦ τε ν «καὶ τοῦ π» καὶ τοῦ τ καὶ τοῦ π καὶ τοῦ κ τετράκις ἐξῆς ἀλλήλοις παρακειμένων, χαράτπουσιν εὖ μάλα τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ διασαλεύουσιν ἀξιολόγως τὰς ἁρμονίας, ὅταν φῇ «τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων». τούτων γὰρ τῶν μορίων τῆς λέξεως οὐθὲν ὅ τι οὐ «σιωπῇ» καταληφθῆναι τε δεῖ καὶ πιεσθῆναι πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος περὶ τὸ τελευταῖον γράμμα, ἵνα τὸ συναπτόμενον αὐτῷ τρανὴν καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λάβῃ δύναμιν. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἡ τῶν φωνηέντων παράθεσις ἡ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ κώλου τοῦδε γενομένη ἐν τῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίων διακέκρουκε τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ διέστακεν πάνυ αἰσθητὸν τὸν μεταξὺ λαβοῦσα χρόνον· ἀκέραστοι γὰρ αἱ φωναὶ τοῦ τε ι καὶ τοῦ α καὶ ἀποκόπτουσαι τὸν ἦχον· τὸ δ' εὐεπὲς οἱ συνεχεῖς τε καὶ οἱ συλλαεινόμενοι ποιοῦσιν ἦχοι.

καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ τὸ προηγούμενον κῶλον τουτί «ἄρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου» μετρίως ἁρμόσας ὁ ἀνὴρ ὡς ἂν εὐφωόν τε μάλιστα φαίνοιτο καὶ μαλακόν, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποτραχύνει καὶ διασπᾷ τοῖς διαχαλάσμασι τῶν ἁρμονιῶν· «καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων», τρὶς γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐξῆς οὐ διὰ μακροῦ παράκειται φωνήεντα συγκρούσεις ἐργαζόμενα καὶ ἀνακοπὰς καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐνὸς κώλου συνεχοῦς λαβεῖν φαντασίαν· ἢ τε περίοδος αὐτῷ λήγουσα εἰς τὸ «τῶν προγεγενημένων» οὐκ ἔχει τὴν βάσιν εὐγραμμον καὶ περιφερῆ, ἀλλ' ἀκόρυφός τις φαίνεται καὶ ἀκατάστροφος, ὥσπερ μέρος οὖσα τῆς δευτέρας ἀλλ' οὐχὶ [τῆς πρώτης] τέλος.

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πέπονθε καὶ ἡ τρίτη περίοδος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀπερίγραφός ἐστι καὶ ἀνέδραστος ἡ βάσις τελευταῖον ἐχούσης μόριον «τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον», πολλὰς ἅμα καὶ αὐτὴ περιέχουσα φωνηέντων τε πρὸς φωνήεντα ἀντιτυπίας καὶ ἡμιφώνων πρὸς ἡμίφωνα καὶ ἄφωνα, ὥσπερ ἐργάζεται τὰ μὴ συνωδὰ τῇ φύσει τραχύτητας. ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, δώδεκά που περιόδων οὐσῶν ἅς παρεθέμην, εἴ τις αὐτὰς συμμέτρως μερίζοι πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, κώλων δὲ περιλαμβανομένων ἐν ταύταις οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ τριάκοντα τὰ μὲν εὐεπῶς συγκείμενα καὶ συνεξεσμένα ταῖς ἁρμονίαις οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις ἐξ ἧ ἐπτὰ τὰ πάντα κῶλα, φωνηέντων δὲ συμβολὰς ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα περιόδοις ὀλίγου δεῖν τριάκοντα ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων ἀντιτύπων καὶ πικρῶν καὶ δυσεκφόρων παραβολὰς, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε ἀνακοπαὶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγκαθίσματα τῇ λέξει γέγονε, τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος

ὥστε ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῆς μόριον εἶναι τι τῶν τοιούτων. πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν κώλων ἀσυμμετρία πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἡ τῶν περιόδων ἀνωμαλία καὶ ἡ τῶν σχημάτων καινότης καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ὑπεροπτικὸν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς ἀκομφεύτου τε καὶ αὐστηρᾶς ἐπελογισάμην ὄντα ἁρμονίας. ἅπαντα γὰρ διεξιέναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων καὶ καταδαπανᾶν εἰς ταῦτα τὸν χρόνον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι.

[23] Ἡ δὲ γλαφυρὰ [καὶ ἀνθηρὰ] σύνθεσις, ἣν δευτέραν ἐπιθέμην τῇ τάξει, χαρακτηῖρα τοιόνδε ἔχει· οὐ ζητεῖ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὄνομα ἐκ περιφανείας ὀρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἐν ἔδρᾳ πάντα βεβηκέναι πλατεῖα τε καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ οὐδὲ μακροὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἶναι χρόνους, οὐδ' ὅλως τὸ βραδὺ καὶ σταθερὸν τοῦτο φίλον αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ κενιῆσθαι βούλεται τὴν ὀνομασίαν καὶ φέρεσθαι θάτερα κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ὀνομάτων καὶ ὀχεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλληλουχίαν λαμβάνοντα βάσιν ὥσπερ τὰ ρέοντα καὶ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμοῦντα· συνηλεῖσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις ἀξιοῖ καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια ὡς μιᾶς λέξεως ὅψιν ἀποτελοῦντα εἰς δύναμιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκρίβειαι χρόνον αἰσθητὸν οὐδένα τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν ὀνομάτων περιλαμβάνουσαι· εἰσὶν τε κατὰ μέρος εὐητρίοις ὕφεσιν ἢ γραφαῖς συνεφθαρμένα τὰ φωτεινὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς ἐχούσαις. εὐφωνά τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεῖα καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά, τραχείαις δὲ συλλαβαῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθεται· πού· τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχει.

οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐπιτηδεῖως συνηρμόσθαι βούλεται καὶ συνεξέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κῶλα τοῖς κώλοις εὖ συνυφάνθαι καὶ πάντα εἰς περίοδον τελευτᾶν, ὀρίζουσα κώλου τε μῆκος, ὃ μὴ βραχυτέρον ἔσται μηδὲ μεῖζον τοῦ μετρίου, καὶ περιόδου μέτρον, οὗ πνεῦμα τέλειον ἀνδρὸς κρατήσῃ· ἀπερίοδον δὲ λέξιν ἢ περίοδον ἀκώλιστα ἢ κῶλον ἀσύμμετρον οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν ἐργάσασθαι. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ρυθμοῖς οὐ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέσοις τε καὶ βραχυτέροις· καὶ τῶν περιόδων τὰς τελευτὰς εὐρύθμους εἶναι βούλεται καὶ βεβηκυίας ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ στάθμης, τάναντία ποιοῦσα ἐν ταῖς τοῦτων ἁρμογαῖς ἢ ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ συναλείφει, ταύτας δὲ διόσθησι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ περιόπτου βούλεται φανερὰς εἶναι. σχήμασί τε οὐ τοῖς ἀρχαιοπρεπεστέροις οὐδ' ὅσοις σεμνότης τις ἢ βάρος ἢ τόνος πρόσσεστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρυφεροῖς τε καὶ κολακικοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι φιλεῖ, ἐν οἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλὸν ἔστι καὶ θεατρικόν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ κοινότερον εἴπω, τοῦναντίον ἔχει σχῆμα τῆς προτέρας κατὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι πάλιν λέγειν.

ἀκόλουθον δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ πρωτεύσαντας καταριθμήσασθαι. ἐποποιῶν μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε κάλλιστα τουτονὶ δοκεῖ τὸν χαρακτηῖρα ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἡσίοδος, μελοποιῶν δὲ Σαπφὼ καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Ἀνακρέων τε καὶ Σιμωνίδης, τραγωδοποιῶν δὲ μόνος Εὐριπίδης, συγγραφέων δὲ ἀκριβῶς μὲν οὐδεὶς, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πολλῶν Ἐφορός τε καὶ Θεόπομπος, ῥητόρων δὲ Ἰσοκράτης. θήσω δὲ καὶ ταύτης παραδείγματα τῆς ἁρμονίας, ποιητῶν μὲν προχειρισάμενος Σαπφῶ, ῥητόρων δὲ Ἰσοκράτην.

ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μελοποιιοῦ.

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια θῦμον·
ἀλλὰ τῦδ' ἔλθ', αἶ ποκα κἀτέρωτα
τᾶς ἔμας αὖδως αἰόισα πῆλυ
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα,
χρῦσιον ἦλθες
ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα. κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον
ὠκέες στρουῖθοι, περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα διννῆντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνῳθε-
ρος διὰ μέσσω.
αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο· τὸ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιάσαισ' ἀθανάτω προσώπω
ἦρε', ὅττι δῆν τὸ πέπονθα κῶττι
δηῖτε κάλημι,
κῶττ' ἔμω μάλιστα θέλω γενέσθαι
μαινόλα θύμω· τίνα δηῖτε πείθω
μαῖσ' ἄγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὦ
Ψάφφ', ἀδικήει;
καὶ γὰρ αἶ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει·
αἶ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει·
αἶ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὺκ ἐθέλοισα.
ἔλθέ μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλεπᾶν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μεριμνᾶν, ὅσσα δέ μοι τελέσσαι
θῦμος ἱμάρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὖτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

ταύτης τῆς λέξεως ἡ εὐέπεια καὶ ἡ χάρις ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ λειότητι γέγονε τῶν ἁρμοनिῶν· παράκειται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ συνύφανται κατὰ πινὰς οἰκειότητος καὶ συζυγίας φυσικᾶς τῶν γραμμάτων· τὰ γὰρ φωνήεντα τοῖς ἀφώνοις τε καὶ ἡμιφώνοις συνάπτεται μικροῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὥδῃς, ὅσα προτάττεσθαι τε καὶ ὑποτάττεσθαι πέφυκεν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεκφερόμενα· ἡμιφώνων δὲ πρὸς ἡμίφωνα ἢ ἄφωνα «καὶ ἀφώνων» καὶ φωνηέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπτώσεις αἱ διασαλεύουσαι τοὺς ἥχους ὀλίγα πάνυ ἔνεισιν· ἐγὼ γοῦν ὅλην τὴν ὥδῃν ἀνασκοπούμενος πέντε ἢ ἕξ ἴσως ἐν τοῖς τοσοῦτοις ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μορίοις ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων γραμμάτων συμπλοκὰς τῶν μὴ πεφυκότων ἀλλήλοις κεράννυσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτας ἐπὶ πολὺ τραχυνούσας τὴν εὐέπειαν εὐρίσκω, φωνηέντων δὲ παραθέσεις τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς κῶλοις αὐτοῖς γινομένας ἔτι ἐλάττους ἢ τοσαύτας, τὰς δὲ συναπτούσας ἀλλήλοις τὰ κῶλα ὀλίγω τινὶ τούτων πλείονας· εἰκότως δὴ γέγονεν εὖρους τις ἢ λέξις καὶ μαλακίη, τῆς ἁρμονίας τῶν ὀνομάτων μηδὲν ἀποκυματιζούσης τὸν

ἦχον.

ἔλεγον δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς συνθέσεως ταύτης ιδιώματα καὶ ἀπεδείκνυν ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων τοιαῦτα ὄντα οἷα ἐγὼ φημι, εἰ μὴ μακρὸς ἔμελλεν ὁ λόγος γενήσεσθαι καὶ ταυτολογίας τινὰ παρέξειν δόξαν. ἐξέσται γὰρ σοὶ καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐξηριθμημένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ τὴν προέκθεσιν τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος ἐπιλέγεσθαι τε καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων κατὰ πολλὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ σχολήν· ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐγγωρεῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη παραδεῖξαι μόνον ἀρκούντως ἃ βούλομαι τοῖς δυνησομένοις παρακολουθῆσαι.

ἐνὸς ἔτι παραθήσομαι λέξιν ἀνδρὸς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κατεσκευασμένου χαρακτηῖρα, Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃν ἐγὼ μάλιστα πάντων οἶομαι τῶν πεζῇ λέξει χρησαμένων ταύτην ἀκριβοῦν τὴν ἁρμονίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτικοῦ ἦδε·

Πολλοὺς ὑμῶν οἶομαι θαυμάζειν, ἦντινά ποτε γνώμην ἔχων περὶ σωτηρίας τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποίησάμην, ὥσπερ ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνοις οὔσης ἡ σφαλερῶς αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστώτων, ἀλλ' οὐ πλείους μὲν τριήρεις ἢ διακοσίας κεκτημένης, εἰρήνην δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγούσης καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχούσης, ἔτι δὲ συμμάχους ἐχούσης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐτοίμους ἡμῖν ἦν τι δέη βοηθήσοντας, πολλὴ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταπτόμενον ποιοῦντας. ὧν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμᾶς μὲν ἂν τις φήσειεν εἰκὸς εἶναι θαρρεῖν ὡς πόρρω τῶν κινδύνων ὄντας, τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις προσήκειν δεδιέναι καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ σωτηρίας. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι τούτῳ χρώμενοι τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προσόδου καταφρονεῖτε καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλπίζετε τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ κατασχέσειν· ἐγὼ δὲ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τυγχάνω δεδιώς. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἄριστα πράττειν οἰομένας κάκιστα βουλευομένας, καὶ τὰς μάλιστα θαρρούσας εἰς πλεῖστον κίνδυνον καθισταμένας. αἵτιον δὲ τούτων ἐστίν, ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ παραγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ συντέτακται καὶ συνακολουθεῖ τοῖς μὲν πλούτοις καὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις ἄνοια καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἀκολασία, ταῖς δὲ ἐνδεαῖς καὶ ταῖς ταπεινότησιν καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πολλὴ μετριότης. ὥστε χαλεπὸν εἶναι διαγνῶναι, ποτέραν ἂν τις εὖξαιτο τῶν μερίδων τούτων τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν· ἴδοι γὰρ ἂν ἐκ μὲν τῆς φαυλοτέρας εἶναι δοκούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδιδούσας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς κρείττονος φαινομένης ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εἰθισμένας μεταπίπτειν.

ταῦθ' ὅτι συνήλειπται τε καὶ συγκέχρωσται, καὶ οὐ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὄνομα ἐν ἔδρῳ περιφανεῖ καὶ πλατεία βέβηκεν οὐδὲ μακροῖς τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις διείργεται καὶ διαβέβηκεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐν κινήσει τε ὄντα φαίνεται καὶ φορᾷ καὶ ῥύσει συνεχεῖ, πραεῖαί τε αὐτῶν εἰσι καὶ μαλακαὶ καὶ προπετεῖς αἱ συνάπτουσαι τὴν λέξιν ἁρμονίαι, τὸ ἄλογον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ τῆς ἀκοῆς πάθος. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἄλλα τινὰ τούτων ἐστὶν αἵτια ἢ τὰ προειρημένα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ταύτης τῶν λόγων, ῥάδιον ἰδεῖν. φωνέντων μὲν γὰρ ἀντιτυπίαν οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις οὐδεμίαν ἐν γοῦν οἷς

παρεθέμην ἀριθμοῖς, οἶομαι δ' οὐδ' ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ λόγῳ, πλὴν εἴ τί με διαλέλθην· ἡμιφώνων δὲ καὶ ἀφώνων ὀλίγας καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐκφανεῖς οὐδὲ συνεχεῖς. ταῦτά τε δὴ τῆς εὐεπειας αἷτια τῇ λῆξει γέγονε καὶ ἡ τῶν κώλων συμμετρία πρὸς ἄλληλα, τῶν τε περιόδων ὁ κύκλος ἔχων τι περιφερὲς καὶ εὐγραμμον καὶ τεταμιευμένον ἄκρως ταῖς συμμετρίαις. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα οἱ σχηματισμοὶ πολὺ τὸ νεαρὸν ἔχοντες· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀντίθετοι καὶ παρόμοιοι καὶ πάριστοι καὶ οἱ παραπλήσιοι τούτοις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πανηγυρική διάλεκτος ἀποτελεῖται. οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκῶ μηκύνειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διεξιῶν· ἱκανῶς γὰρ εἴρηται καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς συνθέσεως ὅσα γε ἤρμοττεν.

[24] Ἡ δὲ τρίτη καὶ μέση τῶν εἰρημένων δυεῖν ἁρμονιῶν, ἦν εὐκρατον καλῶ σπάνει κυρίου τε καὶ κρείττονος ὀνόματος, σχῆμα μὲν ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἔχει, κεκέρασται δὲ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων μετρίως καὶ ἔστιν ἐκλογὴ τις τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ κρατίστων. αὕτη δοκεῖ μοι τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐπιτηδεῖα εἶναι φέρεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ μεσότης μὲν τίς ἐστί (μεσότης δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ βίων καὶ ἔργων [καὶ τεχνῶν], ὡς Ἀριστοτέλει τε δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν αἵρεσιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν), ὁρᾶται δ', ὥσπερ ἔφην καὶ πρότερον, οὐ κατὰ ἀπαρτισμὸν ἀλλ' ἐν πλάτει, καὶ τὰς εἰδικὰς ἔχει διαφορὰς πολλὰς· οἱ τε χρυσάμενοι αὐτῇ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ πάντες οὐδ' ὁμοίως ἐπετήδευσαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ταῦτα μᾶλλον, οἱ δ' ἐκεῖνα, ἐπέτεινάν τε καὶ ἀνῆκαν ἄλλως ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτά, καὶ πάντες ἐγένοντο λόγου ἄξιοι κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἰδέας τῶν λόγων. κορυφὴ μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων καὶ σκοπός,

ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι,

δικαίως ἂν Ὅμηρος λέγοιτο. πᾶς γὰρ αὐτῷ τόπος, ὅτου τις ἂν ᾄφηται, ταῖς τε αὐστηραῖς καὶ ταῖς γλαφυραῖς ἁρμονίαις εἰς ἄκρον διαπεποικίλται. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσοι τὴν αὐτὴν μεσότητα ἐπετήδευσαν, ὕστεροι μὲν Ὀμήρου μακρῷ παρ' ἐκείνον ἐξεταζόμενοι φαίνονται ἂν, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ εἰ θεωροίη τις αὐτούς, ἀξιοθέατοι, μελοποιῶν μὲν Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, τραγωδοποιῶν δὲ Σοφοκλῆς, συγγραφέων δὲ Ἡρόδοτος, ῥητόρων δὲ Δημοσθένης, φιλοσόφων δὲ κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν Δημόκριτός τε καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης· τούτων γὰρ ἐτέρους εὖρεῖν ἀμήχανον ἄμεινον κέρασαντας τοὺς λόγους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν χαρακτήρων ταῦθ' ἱκανά. παραδείγματα γὰρ τούτων οὐκ οἶομαι δεῖν φέρειν, φανερῶν πάνυ ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν δεομένων λόγου.

Εἰ δέ τι δοκεῖ καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ ταῦτα καὶ πραγματείας μεγάλης ἄξια εἶναι, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ κατὰ τὸν Δημοσθένην· ἀλλ' ἐὰν λογίσσῃται τοὺς ἐξακολουθοῦντας αὐτοῖς κατορθουμένοις ἐπαίνους καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡς γλυκύς, εὐπαθείας ἡγήσεται τοὺς πόνους. Ἐπικουρείων δὲ χορόν, οἷς οὐδὲν μέλει τούτων, παραιτοῦμαι· τὸ γὰρ 'οὐκ ἐπιπόνου τοῦ γράφειν ὄντος', ὡς αὐτὸς Ἐπικουρος λέγει, 'τοῖς μὴ στοχοζομένοις τοῦ πυκνὰ μεταπίπτοντος κριτηρίου' πολλῆς ἀργίας ἦν καὶ σκαιότητος ἀλεξιφάρμακον.

[25] Τούτων δὴ μοι τέλος ἔχόντων, ἐκεῖνά σε οἶομαι ποθεῖν ἔτι ἀκοῦσαι,

πῶς γίνεται λέξις ἄμετρος ὁμοία καλῶ ποιήματι ἢ μέλει, καὶ πῶς ποίημα ἢ μέλος πεζῇ λέξει καλῇ παραπλήσιον. ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς ψιλῆς λέξεως, ἓνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν προχειρισάμενος ὃν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα οἶμαι τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐκμεμάχθαι φράσιν, βουλούμενος μὲν καὶ πλείους, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἅπασι. φέρε δὴ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἔοικέναι ποιήμασί τε καὶ μέλεσι τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τε κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγορίας καὶ τοὺς δικανικοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς δημοσίους; ὧν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀρκέσει λαβεῖν τὸ προοίμιον τουτί·

‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με μήτ’ ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεχ’ ἥκειν Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορήσοντα τουτουί, μήτε μικρὸν ὀρώντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἁμάρτημα ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ προάγειν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειαν· ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἄρ’ ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι καὶ σκοπῶ, περὶ τοῦ Χερόνησον ἔχειν ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθέντας ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς, περὶ τούτου ἐστὶ μοι ἅπανα ἡ σπουδὴ’.

Πειρατέον δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν ἃ φρονῶ. μυστηρίοις μὲν οὖν ἔοικεν ἤδη ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ εἰς πολλοὺς οἶά τε ἐστὶν ἐκφέρεσθαι, ὥστ’ οὐκ ἂν εἴην φορτικός, εἰ παρακαλοῖην ‘οἷς θέμις ἐστὶν’ ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὰς τελετάς τοῦ λόγου, ‘θύρας δ’ ἐπιθέσθαι’ λέγοιμι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τοὺς ‘βεβήλους’. εἰς γέλωτα γὰρ ἔνιοι λαμβάνουσι τὰ σπουδαιότατα δι’ ἀπειρίαν, καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πάσχουσιν. ἃ δ’ οὖν βούλομαι λέγειν, τοιάδε ἐστί.

Πᾶσα λέξις ἢ δίχα μέτρου συγκεκριμένη ποιητικὴν μοῦσαν ἢ μελικὴν χάριν οὐ δύναται προσλαβεῖν κατὰ γοῦν τὴν σύνθεσιν αὐτῇ· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ ἐκλογή τῶν ὀνομάτων μέγα τι δύναται, καὶ ἔστι τις ὀνομασία ποιητικὴ γλωττηματικῶν τε καὶ ξένων καὶ τροπικῶν καὶ πεποιημένων, οἷς ἡδύνεται ποίησις, εἰς κόρον ἐγκαταμιγνόντων τῇ ἀμέτρῳ λέξει, ὃ ποιοῦσιν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων· οὐ δὴ λέγω περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς, ἀλλ’ ἀφείσθω κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἢ περὶ ταῦτα σκέψις. περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως αὐτῆς ἔστω ἡ θεωρία τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τετριμμένοις καὶ ἥκιστα ποιητικοῖς τὰς ποιητικὰς χάριτας ἐπιδεικνυμένης. ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, οὐ δύναται ψιλὴ λέξις ὁμοία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐμμέτρῳ καὶ ἐμμελεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ περιέχη μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς τινας ἐγκατατεταγμένους ἀδήλως. οὐ μέντοι προσήκει γε ἔμμετρον οὐδ’ ἔρρυθμον αὐτῇ εἶναι δοκεῖν (ποίημα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται καὶ μέλος ἐκβήσεται τε ἀπλῶς τὸν αὐτῆς χαρακτήρα), ἀλλ’ εὐρυθμον αὐτῇ ἀπόχρη καὶ εὐμετρον φαίνεσθαι μόνον· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν εἴη ποιητικὴ μέν, οὐ μὴν ποίημά γε, καὶ ἐμμελὴς μέν, οὐ μέλος δέ.

τίς δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ τούτων διαφορά, πάνυ ῥάδιον ἰδεῖν. ἡ μὲν ὁμοία περιλαμβάνουσα μέτρα καὶ τεταγμένους σῶζουσα ῥυθμοὺς καὶ κατὰ στίχον ἢ περίοδον ἢ στροφὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περαινομένη κἄπειτα πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆς στίχων ἢ περιόδων ἢ στροφῶν χρωμένη καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ ποιοῦσα ἔρρυθμός ἐστι καὶ ἔμμετρος, καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τῇ τοιαύτῃ λέξει μέτρον καὶ μέλος· ἡ δὲ πεπλανημένα μέτρα καὶ ἀτάκτους ῥυθμοὺς ἐμπεριλαμβάνουσα καὶ μήτε ἀκολουθίαν ἐμφαίνουσα αὐτῶν μήτε ὁμοζυγίαν μήτε ἀντιστροφὴν εὐρυθμος μὲν ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ διατεποίκιλταί τισιν ῥυθμοῖς, οὐκ ἔρρυθμος δέ,

ἐπειδὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. τοιαύτην δὴ φημι πᾶσαν εἶναι λέξιν ἄμετρον, ἥτις ἐμφαίνει τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ μελικόν. ἥ δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη κεκρῆσθαι φημι. καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγὼ καινοτομῶ, λάβοι μὲν ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους μαρτυρίας τὴν πίστιν· εἴρηται γὰρ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν τεχνῶν οἷαν αὐτὴν εἶναι προσῆκεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς εὐρυθμίας ἐξ ὧν τις τοιαύτη γένοιτο· ἐν ἣ τούτοις ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους ὀνομάζει ῥυθμοὺς καὶ πῆ χρησιμος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν καταφαίνεται, καὶ λέξεις παρατίθησιν τινὰς αἷς πειρᾶται βεβαιοῦν τὸν λόγον. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους μαρτυρίας, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἐμπεριλαμβάνεσθαι τινὰς τῇ πεζῇ λέξει ῥυθμούς, εἰ μέλλοι τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐπανθήσειν αὐτῇ κάλλος, ἐκ τῆς πείρας τις αὐτῆς γνώσεται.

αὐτίκα ὁ κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους λόγος οὗ καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ κωμικοῦ στίχου τετραμέτρου ἐξ ἀναπαίστων ῥυθμῶν συγκειμένον, λείπεται δὲ ποδὶ τοῦ τελείου, παρ' ὃ καὶ λέληθεν· 'μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με'· τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ προσλάβοι τὸ μέτρον πόδα ἦτοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἢ διὰ μέσου ἢ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς, τέλειον ἔσται τετράμετρον ἀναπαιστικόν, ὃ καλοῦσιν τινες Ἀριστοφάνειον·

μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με παρεῖναι, ἴσον δὲ τῷ

λέξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὡς δέκεται. τάχα τις ἐρεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοῦτο ἀλλ' ἐκ ταῦτομάτου ἐγένετο· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοσχεδιάζει μέτρα ἢ φύσις. ἔστω τοῦτο ἀληθὲς εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συναπτόμενον τούτῳ κῶλον, εἰ διαλύσειέ τις αὐτοῦ τὴν δευτέραν συναλοιφήν ἢ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸ ἄσημον ἐπισυνάπτουσα τῷ τρίτῳ κῶλῳ, πεντάμετρον ἐλεγειακὸν ἔσται συντετελεσμένον τουτί

μήτ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς

ἐνεκα ὁμοιον τούτοις

κοῦραι ἐλαφρὰ ποδῶν ἔχιν' ἀειράμεναι.

καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπολάβωμεν αὐτοματισμὸν ἄνευ γνώμης γεγενῆσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τοῦ μεταξὺ κώλου συγκειμένου λεκτικῶς τοῦ 'ἥκειν Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορήσοντα τουτουί' τὸ συμπλεκόμενον τούτῳ πάλιν κῶλον ἐκ δυεῖν συνέστηκεν μέτρων· 'μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἀμάρτημα, ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ'· εἰ γὰρ τὸ Σαπφικόν τις ἐπιθαλάμιον τουτί

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀτέρα πάις, ὦ γαμβρέ, τοιαύτά <ποτα>

καὶ τοῦ κωμικοῦ τετραμέτρου, λεγομένου δὲ Ἀριστοφανείου τουδί

ὅτ' ἐγὼ τὰ δίκαια λέγων ἦνθουν καὶ σωφροσύνη

'νενόμιστο τοὺς τελευταίους πόδας τρεῖς καὶ τὴν κατάληξιν ἐκλαβὼν συνάψειε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀτέρα πάις, ὦ γαμβρέ, τοιαύτά <ποτα>

καὶ σωφροσύνη 'νενόμιστο·

οὐδὲν διοίσει τοῦ 'μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἀμάρτημα, ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ'. τὸ δ' ἀκόλουθον ἴσον ἐστὶν ἰαμβικῷ τριμέτρῳ τὸν ἔσχατον ἀφηρημένῳ πόδα 'προάγειν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειαν'· τέλειον

γάρ ἔσται πόδα προσλαβὸν καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτο

προάγειν ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειάν τινα.

παρίδωμεν ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἄλλ' αὐτοματισμῷ γενόμενα; τί οὖν βούλεται πάλιν τὸ προσεχὲς τοῦτω κῶλον; ἱαμβεῖον γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο τρίμετρον ὀρθόν

ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι, τοῦ ἄρα συνδέσμου μακρὰν λαμβάνοντος τὴν προτέραν συλλαβήν. καὶ τί γε δὴ διὰ μέσου παρεμπεσὸν τὸ 'καὶ σκοπῷ', ὕφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ μέτρον ἐπισκοτούμενον ἠφάνισται; τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ παραλαμβανόμενον κῶλον ἐξ ἀναπαίστων σύγκειται ῥυθμῶν καὶ προάγει μέχρι ποδῶν ὅκτῳ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα διασῶζον

περὶ τοῦ Χερόνησον ἔχειν ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ μὴ

παρακρουσθέντας,

ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ τῷδε

βασιλεῦ χώρας τῆς πολυβώλου

Κισσεῦ, πεδίον πυρὶ μαρμαίρει.

καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν κείμενον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κώλου μέρος τουτί 'ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς' ἱαμβικὸν τρίμετρόν ἐστι ποδὶ καὶ ἡμίσει λειπόμενον· ἐγένετο δ' ἂν τέλειον οὕτως

ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς ἐν μέρει.

ταῦτ' ἔτι φῶμεν αὐτοσχέδια εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιτήδευτα οὕτω ποικίλα καὶ πολλὰ ὄντα; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦτοις ὅμοια εὗρεῖν ἔστι πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνάμεστα μέτρων τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν.

ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τοῦτον ὑπολάβῃ τις μόνον οὕτως αὐτῷ κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν λόγον, ἐτέρου πάλιν ἄφομαι τοῦ πάνυ ἡρμηνεῦσθαι δαιμονίως δοκοῦντος, τοῦ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ὃν ἐγὼ κράτιστον ἀποφαίνομαι πάντων λόγων· ὁρῶ δὴ κὰν τοῦτω μετὰ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐθέως τὸν κρητικὸν ῥυθμόν, εἴτε ἄρα παιᾶνά τις αὐτὸν βούλεται καλεῖν (διοίσει γὰρ οὐδέν) τὸν ἐκ πέντε συγκείμενον χρόνων οὐκ αὐτοσχεδίως μὰ Δία ἄλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα ἐπιτετηδευμένως δι' ὅλου τοῦ κώλου πλεκόμενον τοῦτου

τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις.

οὐ τοιοῦτος μέντοι κάκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ῥυθμός

Κρησίοις ἐν ῥυθμοῖς παῖδα μέλψωμεν; ἑμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ· ἔξω γὰρ τοῦ τελευταίου ποδὸς τά γε ἄλλα παντάπασιν ἴσα. ἔστω καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ βούλεται τις, αὐτοσχέδιον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συναπτόμενον τούτῳ κῶλον ἱαμβεῖόν ἐστιν ὀρθόν, συλλαβῇ τοῦ τελείου δέον, ἵνα δὴ κἀνταῦθα ἄσημον γένηται τὸ μέτρον, ἐπεὶ μιᾶς γε συλλαβῆς προστεθείσης τέλειον ἔσται

'ὄσπιν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἔγωγε διατελῶ'.

κᾶπεται ὁ παιὰν ἢ ὁ κρητικὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πεντάχρονος ἤξει ῥυθμὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς τούτοις 'τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα'. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔοικεν, ὃ τι μὴ κατακλωμένους ἔχει δύο πόδας ἐν ἀρχαῖς, κατὰ γοῦν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῷ παρὰ Βακχυλίδῃ

Οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς, ἀλλὰ χρυσαῖγίδος

Ἰτανίας

χρή παρ' εὐδαίδαλον ναὸν ἐλθόντας ἄβρὸν τι δεῖξαι.

Ὑφορῶμαι τινα πρὸς ταῦτα καταδρομὴν ἀνθρώπων τῆς μὲν ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀπείρων, τὸ δὲ ἀγοραῖον τῆς ῥητορικῆς μέρος ὁδοῦ τε καὶ τέχνης χωρὶς ἐπιτηδευόντων, πρὸς οὓς ἀναγκαῖον ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ δόξωμεν ἔρημον ἀφηκέναι τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐροῦσι δὴ ταῦτα· ὁ Δημοσθένης οὖν οὕτως ἄθλιος ἦν, ὥσθ' ὅτε γράφοι τοὺς λόγους, μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ὥσπερ οἱ πλάσται παρατιθέμενος, ἐναρμόττειν ἐπειρᾶτο τοῦτοις τοῖς τύποις τὰ κῶλα στρέφων ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ παραφυλάττων τὰ μήκη καὶ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὰς ἐγκλίσεις τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῖς μορίοις τοῦ λόγου πολυπραγμονῶν· ἡλίθιος μὲν τᾶν εἴη εἰς τοσαύτην σκευωρίαν καὶ φλυαρίαν ὁ τηλικούτος ἀνὴρ ἑαυτὸν διδοῦς. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις παραπλήσια κωμωδοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ καταχλευάζοντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ἀποκρούσαιτο ταῦτα εἰπών· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἦν, εἰ <ὁ> τοσαύτης δόξης ἡξιωμένος ἀνὴρ ὅσης οὐδεὶς τῶν πρότερον ὀνομασθέντων ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων, ἔργα συνταπτόμενος αἰώνια καὶ διδοῦς ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τῷ πάντα βασανίζοντι [φθόνῳ καὶ] χρόνῳ ἐβουλήθη μηδὲν εἰκῆ μήτε πρᾶγμα παραλαμβάνειν μήτ' ὄνομα, πολλὴν δ' ἄμφοιν ἔχειν τούτων πρόνοιαν τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν οἰκονομίας καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας τῆς περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων οὐ γραπτοῖς ἀλλὰ γλυπτοῖς καὶ τορευτοῖς ἐοικότας ἐκφερόντων λόγους, λέγω δὲ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος τῶν σοφιστῶν· ὁ μὲν γε τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον, ὡς οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον γράφοντες ἀποφαίνουσιν, ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα συνετάξατο, ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διαλόγους κτενίζων καὶ βοστρυχίζων καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀναπλέκων οὐ διέλειπεν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη· πᾶσι γὰρ δήπου τοῖς φιλολόγοις γνώριμα τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας τάνδρὸς ἱστορούμενα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δέλτον, ἣν τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν εὑρεθῆναι ποικίλως μετακειμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Πολιτείας ἔχουσαν τήνδε 'Κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος'. τί οὖν ἦν ἄτοπον, εἰ καὶ Δημοσθένει φροντὶς εὐφωνίας τε καὶ ἐμμελείας ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν εἰκῆ καὶ ἀβασανίστως τιθέναι μήτε ὄνομα μήτε νόημα; πολὺ τε γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ προσήκειν ἀνδρὶ κατασκευάζοντι λόγους πολιτικούς μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως αἰώνια μηδενὸς τῶν ἐλαχίστων ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἢ ζωγράφῳ τε καὶ τορευτῶν παισὶν ἐν ὕλῃ φθαρτῇ χειρῶν εὐστοχίας καὶ πόνους ἀποδεικνυμένοις περὶ τὰ φλέβια καὶ τὰ πτίλα καὶ τὸν χνοῦν καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας μικρολογίας κατατρίβειν τῆς τέχνης τὴν ἀκριβειαν. τοῦτοις τε δὴ τοῖς λόγοις χρώμενος δοκεῖ μοί τις ἂν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀξιοῦν καὶ ἔτι ἐκεῖνα εἰπών, ὅτι μειράκιον μὲν ὄντα καὶ νεωστὶ τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπτόμενον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄλογον <ἦν> πάντα περισκοπεῖν, ὅσα δυνατὰ ἦν εἰς ἐπιτηδευσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πεσεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ χρόνιος ἀσκήσις ἰσχὺν πολλὴν λαβοῦσα τύπους τινὰς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ παντὸς τοῦ μελετωμένου καὶ σφραγίδας ἐνεποίησεν, ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξεως αὐτὰ ἤδη ποιεῖν. οἷόν τι γίνεται κἂν ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις, ὧν ἐνέργειά τις ἢ ποίησις τὸ τέλος· αὐτίκα οἱ κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν ἄκρως εἰδότες ὅταν κρούσῃς

ἀκούσωσιν ἀσυνήθους, οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες ἀπαριθμοῦσιν αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἅμα νοήσει· μαθηθάνοντες δέ γε χρόνῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν φθόγγων ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν ἐν ἔξει τοῦ δρᾶν τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἦσαν, ὅψε δέ ποτε καὶ ὅτε ἡ πολλὴ ἄσκησις αὐταῖς εἰς φύσεως ἰσχὺν κατέστησε τὸ ἔθος, τότε τῶν ἔργων ἐγένοντο ἐπιτυχεῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; ὁ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴσμεν, ἀπόχρη καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν διακόψαι τὴν φλυαρίαν. τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὰ γράμματα ὅταν παιδεύωμεθα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνομεν, ἔπειτα τοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, εἴθ' οὕτω τὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ταύταις πάθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐταῖς, ἐκτάσεις τε λέγω καὶ συστολάς καὶ προσωδίας καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις. ὅταν δὲ τὴν τοῦτων ἐπιστήμην λάβωμεν, τότε ἀρχόμεθα γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, κατὰ συλλαβὴν <μὲν> καὶ βραδέως τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀξιόλογος προσελθὼν τύπους ἰσχυροὺς αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐμποιήσῃ, τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάστου δρῶμεν αὐτὰ καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιδῷ τις βυβλίον ἀπταίστῳ διερχόμεθα ἔξει τε καὶ τάχει [ἀπίστῳ]. τοιοῦτο δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ περὶ τὴν εὐέπειαν τῶν κώλων ὑποληπτέον γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς τοῦ ἔργου. τοὺς δὲ τοῦτου ἀπείρους ἢ ἀτριβεῖς [ἔργου ὅτουοῦν] θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ τι κεκρατημένως ὑφ' ἑτέρου γίνεται διὰ τέχνης, οὐκ ἄλογον. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς εἰωθότας χλευάζειν τὰ παραγγέλματα τῶν τεχνῶν ταῦτα εἰρήσθω.

[26] περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμμελοῦς τε καὶ ἐμμέτρου συνθέσεως τῆς ἐχούσης πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὴν πεζὴν λέξιν τοιαῦτά τινα λέγειν ἔχω, ὡς πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν αἰτία κἀνταῦθα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμέτρου ποιητικῆς ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ἀρμογή, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν κώλων σύνθεσις, τρίτη δὲ ἡ τῶν περιόδων συμμετρία. τὸν δὴ βουλόμενον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει κατορθοῦν τὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια δεῖ πολυειδῶς στρέφειν τε καὶ συναρμόττειν καὶ τὰ κῶλα ἐν διαστήμασι ποιεῖν συμμέτρως, μὴ συναπαρτίζοντα τοῖς στίχοις ἀλλὰ διατέμνοντα τὸ μέτρον, ἄνισά τε ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς κόμματα συνάγειν βραχύτερα κώλων, τὰς τε περιόδους μῆτε ἰσομεγέθεις μῆτε ὁμοιοσχήμονας τὰς γοῦν παρακειμένας ἀλλήλαις ἐργάζεσθαι. ἔγγιστα γὰρ φαίνεται λόγοις τὸ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰ μέτρα πεπλανημένον. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ ἔπη καὶ τοὺς ἰάμβους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὁμοειδῆ μέτρα κατασκευάζουσιν οὐκ ἔξεστι πολλοῖς διαλαμβάνειν μέτροις ἢ ῥυθμοῖς τὰς ποιήσεις, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη μένειν αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχήματος· τοῖς δὲ μελοποιοῖς ἔξεστι πολλὰ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς εἰς μίαν ἐμβαλεῖν περίοδον· ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν τὰ μονόμετρα συντιθέντες ὅταν διαλύσωσι τοὺς στίχους τοῖς κώλοις διαλαμβάνοντες ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, διαχέουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ μέτρου, καὶ ὅταν τὰς περιόδους μεγέθει τε καὶ σχήματι ποικίλας ποιῶσιν, εἰς λήθην ἐμβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς τοῦ μέτρου· οἱ δὲ μελοποιοὶ πολυμέτρους τὰς στροφὰς ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ τῶν κώλων ἐκάστοτε πάλιν ἀνίσων τε ὄντων καὶ ἀνομοίων ἀλλήλοις ἀνομοίους τε καὶ ἀνίσους ποιοῦμενοι τὰς διαιρέσεις, δι'

ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔωντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοειδοῦς ἀντίληψιν λαβεῖν ῥυθμοῦ πολλήν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁμοιότητα κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἔνεστί τε καὶ τροπικῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ γλωττηματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητικῶν ὀνομάτων μενόντων ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν μηδὲν ἦττον αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι λόγῳ παραπλήσια.

μηδεὶς δὲ ὑπολαμβάνετω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι κακία ποιήματος ἡ καλουμένη λογοείδεια δοκεῖ τις εἶναι, μηδὲ καταγιγνωσκέτω μου ταύτην τὴν ἀμαθίαν, ὥς ἄρα ἐγὼ κακίαν τινὰ ἐν ἀρεταῖς τάττω ποιημάτων ἢ λόγων· ὥς δὲ ἀξιῶ διαιρεῖν κἂν τοῦτοις τὰ σπουδαῖα ἀπὸ τῶν μηδενὸς ἀξίων, ἀκούσας μαθέτω. ἐγὼ τοὺς λόγους τὸν μὲν ἰδιώτην ἐπιστάμενος ὄντα, τὸν ἀδολέσχην τοῦτον λέγω καὶ φλύαρον, τὸν δὲ πολιτικόν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πολὺ κατεσκευασμένον ἐστὶ καὶ ἔντεχνον, ὃ τι μὲν ἂν τῶν ποιημάτων ὅμοιον εὐρίσκω τῷ φλυάρῳ καὶ ἀδολέσχῃ, γέλωτος ἄξιον τίθεμαι, ὃ τι δ' ἂν τῷ κατεσκευασμένῳ καὶ ἐντέχνῳ, ζήλου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐπιτήδειον τυγχάνειν οἶομαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν διαφόρου προσηγορίας τῶν λόγων ἑκάτερος ἐτύγχανεν, ἀκόλουθον ἦν ἂν καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ τοῦτοις ἔοικεν διαφόροις ὀνόμασι καλεῖν ἑκάτερον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὃ τε σπουδαῖος καὶ ὁ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξιος ὁμοίως καλεῖται λόγος, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τις τὰ μὲν εἰκότα τῷ καλῷ λόγῳ ποιήματα καλὰ ἡγοούμενος, τὰ δὲ τῷ μοχθηρῷ πονηρὰ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λόγου ὁμοειδείας ταραπτόμενος. κωλύσει γάρ οὐδὲν ἢ τῆς ὀνομασίας ὁμοιότης κατὰ διαφόρων ταπτομένης πραγμάτων τὴν ἑκατέρου φύσιν ὀρᾶν.

εἰρηκῶς δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων παραδείγματα σοὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ὀλίγα θεὶς αὐτοῦ κατακλείσω τὸν λόγον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπικῆς ποιήσεως ταῦτα ἀπόρη·

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐγ' λιμένος προσέβη τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπὸν· ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο κῶλον. ἕτερον δὲ

χῶρον ἂν' ὑλήεντα ἔλαττον τε τοῦ προτέρου καὶ δίχα τέμνον τὸν στίχον. τρίτον δὲ τουτί

δι' ἄκριας ἔλαττον κώλου κομμάτιον. τέταρτον δὲ

οἷ οἱ Ἀθήνη

πέφραδε δῖον ὑφορβόν

ἐξ ἡμιστιχίων δύο συγκείμενον καὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὐδὲν εἰκότος. ἔπειτα τὸ τελευταῖον

ὃ οἱ βιότοιο μάλιστα

κῆδετο οἰκῆων οὓς κτήσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς

ἐντελῇ μὲν τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦν στίχον, τοῦ δὲ τετάρτου τῇ προσθήκῃ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀφηρημένον. ἔπειτ' αὖθις

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ εὖρ' ἦμενον

οὐ συνεκτρέχον οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῷ στίχῳ.

ἐνθά οἱ αὐλῇ

ὑψηλῇ δέδμητο

ἄνισον καὶ τοῦτο τῷ προτέρῳ. κἄπειτα ὁ ἐξῆς νοῦς ἀπερίοδος ἐν κώλοις τε καὶ κόμμασι λεγόμενος· ἐπιθεὶς γάρ

περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ, πάλιν ἐποίησει

καλή τε μεγάλη τε βραχύτερον κώλου κομμάτιον, εἴτα
περίδρομος ὄνομα καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοῦν τινα ἔχον· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἄλλα τὸν
αὐτὸν κατασκευάσει τρόπον· τί γὰρ δεῖ μηκύνειν;
ἐκ δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως τῆς ἱαμβικῆς τὰ παρ' Εὐριπίδου ταυτί
ᾧ γαῖα πατρὶς ἦν Πέλοψ ὀρίζεται,
χαῖρε,

τὸ πρῶτον ἄχρι τούτου κῶλον.
ὅς τε πέτραι Ἀρκάδων δυσχεόμερον
* ἐμβατεύεις

τὸ δεύτερον μέχρι τοῦδε.

ἔνθεν εὐχομαι γένος.

τοῦτο τρίτον. τὰ μὲν πρότερα μείζονα στίχου, τοῦτο δὲ ἔλαττον.

Αὕγῃ γὰρ Ἀλλέου παῖς με τῷ Τιρυνθίῳ

τίκτει λαθραίως Ἡρακλεῖ·

μετὰ τοῦτο

ξύνοιδε ὄρος

Παρθένιον,

οὐθέτερον αὐτῶν στίχῳ συμμετρούμενον. εἴτ' αὖθις ἕτερον στίχου τε
ἐλαττον καὶ στίχου μείζον

ἔνθα μητέρ' ὠδίνων ἐμὴν

ἔλυσεν Εἰλείθυια

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τούτοις παραπλήσια.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς μελικῆς τὰ Σιμωνίδεια ταῦτα· γέγραπται δὲ κατὰ διαστολὰς
οὐχ ὣν Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ ἄλλός τις κατεσκεύασε κώλων ἄλλ' ὣν ὁ πεζὸς
λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ. πρόσεχε δὴ τῷ μέλει καὶ ἀναγίνωσκε κατὰ διαστολὰς, καὶ
εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι λήσεται σε ὁ ῥυθμὸς τῆς ὠδῆς καὶ οὐχ ἔξεις συμβαλεῖν οὔτε
στροφὴν οὔτε ἀντίστροφον οὔτ' ἐπωδόν, ἀλλὰ φανήσεται σοι λόγος εἰς
εἰρόμενος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ διὰ πελάγους φερομένη Δανάη τὰς ἑαυτῆς
ἀποδυρομένη τύχας·

Ὅτε λάρνακι ἐν δαιδαλέᾳ

ἄνεμός τε μιν πνέων <ἐφόρει>

κινηθεῖσά τε λίμνα,

δείματι φρίττεν οὔτ' ἀδιάντοισι παρειαῖς

ἀμφί τε Περσέϊ βάλλε φίλαν χέρα

εἶπέν τε· ᾧ τέκος,

οἶον ἔχω πόνον, οὐ δ' ἀνιᾷ σε·

γαλαθηνῶ δ' ἦθεϊ κνώσσεις

ἐν ἀτερπεί δούρατι χαλκεογόμφῳ δίχ' αὖ νυκτὸς ἀλαμπεῖ

κυανέῳ τε δνόφῳ σταλείς.

ἄλμαν δ' ὑπερθεν τεᾶν κομᾶν βαθεῖαν

παριόντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις

οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον, πορφυρέα

κεῖμενος ἐν χλανίδι πρὸς κόλπῳ καλὸν πρόσωπον.

εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,

καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπεῖχες οὔας.
κέλομαι· εὗδε βρέφος,
εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὐδέτω ἄμετρον κακόν.
μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο·

ὅ τι δὴ θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὐχομαι
νόσφι δίκας, σύγγνωθί μοι.

Τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς καλοῖς λόγοις μέτρα καὶ μέλη, διὰ ταύτας
γινόμενα τὰς αἰτίας ἃς προεῖπά σοι.

Τοῦθ' ἔξεις δῶρον ἡμέτερον, ὦ Προῦφε, 'πολλῶν ἀντάξιον ἄλλων', εἰ
βουληθείης ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τε αὐτὸ συνεχῶς ὥσπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν πάνυ
χρησίμων ἔχειν καὶ συνασκεῖν αὐτὸν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν γυμνασίαις. οὐ γὰρ
αὐτάρκη τὰ παραγγέλματα τῶν τεχνῶν ἐστι δεινοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ποιῆσαι
τοὺς βουλομένους γε δίχα μελέτης τε καὶ γυμνασίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πονεῖν
καὶ κακοπαθεῖν βουλομένοις κεῖται σπουδαῖ' ἂν εἶναι τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ
λόγου ἄξια ἢ φαῦλα καὶ ἄχρηστα.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΘΕΣΕΩΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ

[1] Δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνον φίλε Ροῦφε Μελίπτε, τοῦτο δίδωμι, καθάπερ ἢ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ φησὶν Ἑλένη ξενίζουσα τὸν Τηλέμαχον, πρώτην ἡμέραν ἄγοντι ταύτην γενέθλιον, ἀφ' οὗ παραγέγονας εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν. πέμπω δὲ κτῆμα τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ χρῆμα πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρείας, ὅποσαι γίνονται διὰ λόγων ὠφελίμων.

Διττῆς γὰρ οὔσης ἀσκήσεως περὶ πάντας ὡς εἶπεῖν τοὺς λόγους, τῆς περὶ τὰ νοήματα καὶ τὴν λέξιν, ὧν ἡ μὲν τοῦ πραγματικοῦ τόπου μᾶλλον ἐφάπτεσθαι δόξειεν ἄν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λεκτικοῦ, καὶ πάντων ὅσοι τοῦ λέγειν εὖ στοχάζονται περὶ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς θεωρίας τοῦ λόγου ταύτας σπουδαζόντων ἐξ ἴσου, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις φρόνησιν ἄγουσα ἡμᾶς ἐπιστήμη βραδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ χαλεπὴ νέοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατος εἰς ἀγενεῖων καὶ μεираκίων πεσεῖν ἡλικίαν· ἀκμαζούσης γὰρ ἤδη συνέσεως ἐστὶν ἡ τούτων κατάληψις πολλῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων, πολλῇ δὲ πείρᾳ καὶ συμφορᾷ παθῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων συναυξομένη. τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς λέξεις φιλόκαλον καὶ ταῖς νεαραῖς συνανθεῖν εἴωθεν οὐχ ἥττον ἡλικίας· ἐπτόηται γὰρ ἅπανα νέου ψυχῇ περὶ τὸν τῆς ἐρμηνείας ὠραϊσμόν, ἀλόγους τινὰς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιώδεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο λαμβάνουσα τὰς ὁρμάς· οἷς πολλῆς πάνυ καὶ ἔμφρονος δεῖ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιστάσεώς τε καὶ ἀγωγῆς, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ πᾶν, ὃ τι κεν ἐπ' ἀκαιρίμαν γλῶσσαν ἔπος ἔλθοι, λέγειν μὴδ' εἰκῇ συνθήσειν τὰ προστυχόντα ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' ἐκλογῇ κεχρηῖσθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ γενναίων ὀνομάτων, καὶ συνθέσει ταῦτα κοσμήσειν μεμιγμένον ἐχούσῃ τῷ σεμνῷ τὸ ἡδύ.

[2] Ἡ δὲ σύνθεσις ἔστι μὲν ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, ποιά τις θέσις παράλληλος τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων· ἃ δὴ καὶ στοιχεῖα τινὲς τῆς λέξεως καλοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων μερῶν πλοκὴ καὶ παράθεσις τὰ λεγόμενα ποιεῖ κῶλα· ἔπειθ' ἡ τούτων ἀρμονία τὰς καλουμένας συμπληροῖ περιόδους· αὐτὰ δὲ τὸν σύμπαντα τελειοῦσι λόγον.

Ἔστι δὴ τῆς συνθέσεως ἔργα τὰ τε ὀνόματα οἰκείως θεῖναι παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ τοῖς κύλοις ἀποδοῦναι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρμονίαν καὶ ταῖς περιόδους διαλαβεῖν εὖ τὸν λόγον. δευτέρα δ' οὕσα μοῖρα τῶν περὶ τὸν λεκτικὸν τόπον θεωρημάτων κατανοοῦντι τὴν τάξιν (ἡγεῖται γὰρ ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογὴ καὶ προϋφίσταται ταύτης κατὰ φύσιν) ἡδονὴν καὶ πειθὴν καὶ κράτος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ κρεῖττον ἐκείνης ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν, ὅσαι διαφόρους ὕλας λαμβάνουσαι συμφορητὸν ἐκ τούτων ποιοῦσι τὸ τέλος, ὡς οἰκοδομικὴ καὶ τεκτονικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ, τὸ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει· αἱ γὰρ συνθετικαὶ δυνάμεις τῇ μὲν τάξει δεύτεραι τῶν λεκτικῶν εἰσι, τῇ δὲ δυνάμει πρότεραι.

[3] Ἔστι τοίνυν πᾶσα λέξις, ἥ σημαίνομεν τὰς νοήσεις, ἡ μὲν ἄμετρος, ἡ δ' ἔμμετρος· ὧν ἑκατέρα καλῆς μὲν ἀρμονίας τυχοῦσα καλὸν οἶα τε ἐστὶ

ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ μέτρον καὶ τὸν λόγον· ἀνεπιστάτως δὲ καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε
ρίπτομένη προσπαθόλλυσι καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρήσιμον. πολλοὶ γοῦν καὶ
ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς, φιλόσοφοί τε καὶ ῥήτορες λέξεις πάνυ καλὰς καὶ
πρεπούσας τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἐκλέξαντες ἐπιμελῶς, ἁρμονίαν δὲ αὐταῖς
ἀποδόντες εἰκαίαν τινὰ καὶ ἄμουσον, οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀπέλαυσαν ἐκείνου
τοῦ πόνου· ἕτεροι δ' εὐκαταφρόνητα καὶ ταπεινὰ λαβόντες ὀνόματα,
συνθέντες δ' αὐτὰ ἰδίως καὶ περιπτῶς, πολλὴν τὴν ἀφροδίτην τῷ λόγῳ
περιέθηκαν. καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνάλογόν τι πεπονθέναι δόξειεν ἂν ἡ σύνθεσις
πρὸς τὴν ἐκλογὴν, ὃ πάσχει τὰ ὀνόματα πρὸς τὰ νοήματα. ὥσπερ γὰρ
οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι διανοίας χρηστῆς, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῇ κόσμον ἀποδώσει
καλῆς ὀνομασίας, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲν ἐστι προὔργου λέξιν εὖρεῖν
καθαρὰν καὶ καλλιρήμονα, εἰ μὴ καὶ κόσμον αὐτῇ τις ἁρμονίας τὸν
προσῆκοντα περιθῇσει.

Ὅτι δὲ κρεῖττον ἄσκημα καὶ τελειότερον τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἢ σύνθεσις,
Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μαρτυρήσει· Ὅμηρος μὲν ἐν οἷς φησί·

Τῷ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃσ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ δῖος ὕφορβος
ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον ἅμ' ἡοῖ κηαμένω πῦρ,
ἐκπέμψαντε νομῆας ἅμ' ἀγρομένοισι σύεσσι.

Τηλέμαχον δὲ περίσαινον κύνες ὑλακόμωροι·
οὐδ' ὕλαον προσιόντα· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
σαίνοντάς τε κύνας· ὑπὸ δὲ κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖν·
αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Εὐμαῖον προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα·
Εὐμαί', ἦ μάλα τίς σοι ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' ἐταῖρος,
ἦ καὶ γνῶριμος ἄλλος· ἐπεὶ κύνες οὐχ ὑλάουσιν,
ἀλλὰ περισαίνουσι· ποδῶν δ' ὑπὸ δοῦπον ἀκούω.

Οὕπω πᾶν εἴρητο ἔπος, ὅτε οἱ φίλος υἱὸς
ἔσθῃ ἐπὶ προθύροισι· ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσε συβώτης·
ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ χειρῶν πέσεν ἄγγεα, τοῖς ἐπονείτο
κίρνας αἶθροπα οἶνον· ὃ δ' ἀντίος ἔδραμ' ἄνακτος·
κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλὰ
χεῖράς τ' ἀμφοτέρας· θαλερὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ.

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀρετὴν
ἔχει· διὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων καὶ ταπεινοτάτων πέπλεκται, καὶ οἷς ἂν καὶ
γεωργὸς καὶ θαλαττουργὸς ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἐχρήσατο. ὅθεν καὶ λυθέντος τοῦ
μέτρου φαῦλα φανήσεται καὶ ἄζηλα. οὔτε γὰρ μεταφοραὶ τινές εἰσιν
εὐγενεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὑπαλλαγαὶ οὔτε καταχρήσεις οὔτε τινα τοιαῦτα. ὃ
δὲ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐνθα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κανδαύλου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς
διέξεισι· πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὅτι σεμνὸν ἢ καλλιλογεῖσθαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ταπεινὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐγγυτέρω·
ἀλλ' εἴρηται σφόδρα δεξιῶς, καὶ κρεῖττον γέγονεν ἀκουσθῆναι λεγόμενον ἢ
ὀφθῆναι γινόμενον. καλὴν δὲ κἀνταῦθα πεποίηκε τὴν φράσιν ἢ συνθήκη,
ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ σεμνότης τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἀνεπιτήδευτα γὰρ ἐστί καὶ ἀνέκλεκτα,
οἷα ἡ φύσις τέθεικε σύμβολα τοῖς [4] πράγμασι. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δύναται καὶ ἡ
περὶ λέξεις παθεῖν τῇ ἐμμέτρῳ· μενόντων γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων,

ἀλλαστομένης δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως, καταφανὲς τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄμουσόν τε καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον· οἷον ‘Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ’· εἰ γὰρ ὑπαλλάξεις, ἔφθαρται ἢ σύνθεσις· οἷον ‘Κροῖσος ἦν Ἀλυάττου μὲν παῖς, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τύραννος δὲ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ ἐθνῶν’· ὅτι τοίνυν μείζονα ἰσχὺν ἔχει τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἢ σύνθεσις, φανερόν· καὶ μοι οὐ δοκεῖ τις ἀμαρτεῖν εἰκάσας αὐτὴν τῇ Ὀμηρικῇ Ἀθηνᾷ· ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοιον ἐποίει φαίνεσθαι· τοτὲ μὲν μικρὸν καὶ ῥυσὸν καὶ αἰσχροῖον

πτωχῷ λευγαλέω ἐναλίγκιον ἢ δὲ γέροντι,
τοτὲ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ῥάβδῳ πάλιν ἐφασαμένη
μείζονά τ’ εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ιδέσθαι,
καδὲ δὲ κάρητος
οὔλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας.

αὐτὴ τε τὰ αὐτὰ λαμβάνουσα ὀνόματα τοτὲ μὲν ἄμορφα καὶ ταπεινὰ καὶ πτωχὰ ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὰ νοήματα, τοτὲ δ’ ὑψηλὰ καὶ πλούσια καὶ ἀδρὰ καὶ καλὰ· καὶ τοῦτ’ ἦν σχεδὸν ὧ μάλιστα διαλλάττει ποιητῆς τε ποιητοῦ καὶ ῥήτωρ ῥήτορος, τὸ συντιθέναι δεξιῶς τὰ ὀνόματα.

[5] καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολλὴ πρόνοια τῆς ιδέας ἦν ταύτης· καὶ οὔτε τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὔτε τὰ κῶλα τοῖς κώλοις οὔτε τὰς περιόδους ἀλλήλαις εἰκῇ συνάπτειν ὥοντο δεῖν· τέχνη δὲ τις ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ θεωρήματα, οἷς χρώμενοι συνετίθεσαν εὔ.

[6] Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι τῆς συνθετικῆς ταύτης ἐπιστήμης τρία εἶναι τὰ ἔργα· ἐν μὲν ιδεῖν, τί μετὰ τίνος ἀρμοζόμενον πέφυκε καλὴν καὶ ἡδεῖαν λήψεσθαι συζυγίαν· ἕτερον δὲ γνῶναι τῶν ἀρμόττεσθαι μελλόντων πρὸς ἄλληλα πῶς ἂν ἕκαστον σχηματισθὲν κρείττονα ποιήσῃ φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἀρμονίαν· τρίτον δέ, τί δεῖται μετασκευῆς τῶν λαμβανόμενων· ἀφαιρέσεως λέγω καὶ προσθέσεως καὶ ἀλλοιούσεως· ὥσπερ που καὶ οἰκοδόμος ὕλην παραλαβὼν τρία πραγματεύεται ταῦτα· ποίῳ δεῖ λίθῳ τε καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ πλίνθῳ ποῖον ἀρμόσαι λίθον ἢ ξύλον ἢ πλίνθον· ἔπειτα πῶς τῶν ἀρμοζομένων ἕκαστον καὶ ἐπὶ ποίας πλευρᾷς ἐδράσαι· καὶ τρίτον, εἴ τι δύσεδρόν ἐστιν, ἀποκροῦσαι καὶ περικόψαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εὐεδρον ποιῆσαι· δεῖ τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν σκοπεῖν, ποῖον ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων ποίῳ συνταχθὲν ἐπιτηδείως ἔσται κείμενον, καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἄμεινον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντ’ γε μετὰ πάντων τιθέμενα πέφυκεν ὁμοίως διατιθέναι τὰς ἀκοάς· ἔπειτα διακρίνειν, πῶς σχηματισθὲν τοῦνομα ἢ τὸ ῥῆμα ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτιδήποτε χαριέστερον ἰδρυνηθήσεται καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑποκείμενα πρεπωδέστερον· λέγω δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων, πότερον ἐνικῶς ἢ πληθυντικῶς λαμβανόμενα κρείττονα λήψεται συζυγίαν· καὶ πότερα κατὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν ἐκφερόμενα πῶσιν ἢ κατὰ τῶν πλαγίων τινά· καὶ εἴ τινα πέφυκεν ἐξ ἀρρένων γίνεσθαι θηλυκὰ ἢ ἐκ θηλυκῶν ἀρρενικὰ ἢ οὐδέτερα ἐκ τούτων, πῶς ἂν ἄμεινον σχηματισθεῖ· καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐπὶ τε τῶν ῥημάτων, πότερα κρείττω ἔσται λαμβανόμενα, τὰ ὀρθὰ ἢ τὰ ὑπτια· καὶ κατὰ ποίας ἐγκλίσεις ἐκφερόμενα κρατίστην ἔδραν λήψεται· καὶ ποίας

παρεμφαίνοντα διαφορὰς χρόνων, καὶ εἴ τινα τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἄλλα παρακολουθεῖ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ λέγω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ λόγου μερῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ ληφθέντα διακρίνειν, εἴ τι δεῖται μετασκευῆς ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα, ὡς ἂν ἐναρμονιώτερόν τε καὶ εὐεδρότερον γένοιτο. τοῦτο τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν μὲν ποιητικῇ θαυσιώτερόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ λόγοις πεζοῖς σπανιώτερον· πλὴν γίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτοις, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐγχωρῇ. ὁ τε γὰρ λέγων 'εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα' προσθέθεικε τι τῇ ἀντωνυμίᾳ γράμμα, τῆς συνθέσεως στοχαζόμενος· ἄρτιον γὰρ ἦν 'εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα' εἰπεῖν. καὶ πάλιν ὁ λέγων 'κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν' τῇ προθέσει παρηύξηκε τοῦνομα· τὸ γὰρ Ἰδὼν ἀπέχρη. καὶ ὁ γράφων 'μήτ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεχ' ἤκειν' ταῖς συναλοιφαῖς ἠλάττωκε τὰ μόρια τοῦ λόγου καὶ περικέκρουκε τινὰ τῶν γραμμάτων· καὶ ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐποίησεν Ἐποίησε λέγων χωρὶς τοῦ ν, καὶ Ἀφαιρήσομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀφαιρεθήσομαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὁ τ' Ἐχωροφίλησε λέγων τὸ Ἐφιλοχώρησε καὶ Λελύσεται τὸ Λυθήσεται καὶ τὰ τοιούτοτροπα μετασκευάζει τὰς λέξεις, ἵν' αὐτῷ γένοιτο ἁρμοσθῆναι καλλίονες καὶ ἐπιτηδειώτεραι.

[7] Μία μὲν δὴ θεωρία τῆς συνθετικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἡ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πρῶτα μόρια καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς λέξεως ἦδε· ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ περὶ τὰ κῶλα, ποικιλωτέρας δεομένη πραγματείας καὶ μείζονος· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἁρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα δεῖ, ὥστε οἰκεῖα φαίνεσθαι καὶ φίλα· καὶ σχηματίσαι ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται κράτιστα, προκατασκευάσαι τε εἴ πού τι δέοι μειώσαι καὶ πλεονασμῷ καὶ εἰ δὴ τινι ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ. τούτων δ' ἕκαστα ἡ πείρα αὐτῇ διδάσκει· πολλάκις γὰρ τουτὶ τὸ κῶλον τούτου μὲν προτεθὲν ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεθὲν εὐστομίαν τινὰ ἐμφαίνει καὶ σεμνότητα, ἑτέραν δὲ τινα συζυγίαν λαβὼν ἄχαρι φαίνεται καὶ ἄσεμνον· οἷον τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου 'ἡμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς, δεδίαμεν, μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε' εἴ τις μεθαρμόσας οὕτως ἐρεῖ 'ἡμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δεδίαμεν, μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε, ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς', οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φυλάξει· καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους 'τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφῃ' εἴ τις μεταθεὶς ἐρεῖ 'ὁμολογῶν οὖν ἔννομον εἶναι τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα, παρανόμων γράφῃ τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι', οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔσται δικανικὴ καὶ στρογγύλη ἡ περίοδος.

[8] Ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν ἁρμογὴν τῶν κῶλων θεωρία τοιαύτη· ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν ποταπὴ; οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς τρόπος τῆς ἐκφορᾶς πάντων τῶν νοημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δ' ὡς πυνθανόμενοι, τὰ δ' ὡς εὐχόμενοι, τὰ δ' ὡς ἐπιτάττοντες, τὰ δ' ὡς διαποροῦντες, τὰ δ' ὡς ὑποτιθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλως πως σχηματίζοντες· οἷς ἀκολούθως καὶ τὴν λέξιν πειρώμεθα σχηματίζειν. πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ που σχηματισμοὶ καὶ τῆς λέξεως εἰσίν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς διανοίας· οὓς οὐχ οἷόν τε κεφαλαιωδῶς περιλαβεῖν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται ποιεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ κῶλον οὕτω σχηματισθὲν ἢ οὕτως. ἐρῶ δὲ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος· εἰ τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκε τὸν τρόπον ὁ Δημοσθένης τὴν λέξιν ταύτην 'ταῦτ' εἶπας ἔγραψα· γράψας δὲ ἐπρέσβευσα· πρεσβεύσας δὲ ἔπεισα Θηβαίους', ἄρ' οὕτως ἂν συνέκειτο χαριέντως, ὡς νῦν σύγκειται

‘καὶ οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδὲ ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδὲ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους’;

[9] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε καὶ μετασκευὰς δέχεται τῶν κώλων ἔνια, τοτὲ μὲν προσθήκας λαμβάνοντα οὐκ ἀναγκαίως ὡς πρὸς τὸν νοῦν, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφαιρέσεις ἀτελῇ ποιούσας τὴν διάνοιαν ἔνεκα τοῦ τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἡδεῖαν καὶ καλὴν γενέσθαι, φανερόν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τῷ ‘ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῇην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ’ οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χάριν προσκεῖσθαι τὸ ‘μηδὲ τοξεύῃ’, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον τὸ ‘κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ’ τραχύτερον τοῦ δέοντος ὦν καὶ οὐχ ἡδὺ ἀκουσθῆναι τῇ προσθήκῃ ταύτῃ γένηται χαριέστερον; καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἔνθα φησὶν· ‘ἔργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος γίνεται τοῖς πράξασι παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων’· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ ‘παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων’ παραπλήρωμα τῆς λέξεως πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον ‘τοῖς πράξασι’ πᾶρισόν τε καὶ ἐφάμιλλον τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γένηται. καὶ διὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχίνου ‘ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς’, τρίκωλον πάνυ ἐπαινούμενον, τῆς αὐτῆς ιδέας ἔχεται· ὁ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐνὶ κώλῳ περιληφθῆναι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ‘ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς’, τοῦτο εἰς τρία διήρηται. τῆς μὲν διὴ προσθέσεως ἐν τοῖς κώλοις οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τῆς δὲ ἀφαιρέσεως, ὅταν τῶν ἀναγκαίων τι λεχθῆναι λυπεῖν μέλλῃ καὶ διοχλεῖν τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἀφαιρεθὲν χαριεστέραν ποιεῖ τὴν ἁρμονίαν· οἷα ἐστὶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς μέτροις τὰ Σοφόκλεια ταυτί·

Μῦω τε καὶ δέδορκα κάξανίσταμαι,

πλέον φυλάσσων αὐτὸς ἢ φυλάσσομαι·

ἐνταυθοὶ γὰρ ὁ δεῦτερος στίχος ἐκ δυεῖν σύγκειται κώλων οὐχ ὅλων· τελεία γὰρ ἡ λέξις ἦν οὕτως ἐξενεχθεῖσα· ‘πλέον φυλάσσων αὐτὸς ἐτέρους ἢ φυλασσόμενος ὑφ’ ἐτέρων’· τὸ δὲ μέτρον ἡδικεῖτο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔσχεν ἦν νυνὶ χάριν ἔχει. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς λόγοις τὰ τοιαῦτα· ‘ἐγὼ δ’ ὅτι μὲν τινων κατηγοροῦντα πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀτέλειαν τῶν ἀδίκων ἐστίν, ἔάσω’· μεμείωται γὰρ κἀνταῦθα τῶν πρώτων δυεῖν κώλων ἐκάτερον· αὐτοτελῇ δὲ ἂν ἦν, εἴ τις αὐτὰ οὕτως ἐξήνεγκεν· ‘ἐγὼ δ’ ὅτι μὲν τινων κατηγοροῦντα ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδαιοι ἔχουν τὴν ἀτέλειαν, πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς δικαίως αὐτῆς τυχόντας τῶν ἀδίκων ἐστίν, ἔάσω’· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐδόκει τῷ Δημοσθένει πλείονα ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν τῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν κώλων ἢ τῆς εὐρυθμίας.

Τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ εἰρήσθω μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων περιόδων· καὶ γὰρ ταύτας χρὴ ταῖς τε προηγουμέναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπομέναις οἰκείως συναρμώττειν, ὅταν ἐν περιόδοις προσήκῃ τὸν λόγον ἐκφέρειν. οὐ γὰρ διὴ πανταχῇ γε τὸ ἐμπερίοδον χρήσιμον.

[10] Διωρισμένων δὴ τούτων, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη λέγειν, τίνα ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τὸν βουλούμενον συντιθέναι τὴν λέξιν εὖ, καὶ διὰ τίνων θεωρημάτων τυγχάνοι τις ὧν ἂν βούληται. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι δύο ταῦτ’ εἶναι γενικώτατα ὧν ἐφίεσθαι δεῖ τοὺς συντιθέντας μέτρα τε καὶ λόγους, ἢ τε

ἡδονὴ καὶ τὸ καλόν· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἐπιζητεῖ ταῦτα ἡ ἀκοή, ὁμοίον τι πάσχουσα τῇ ὁράσει· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη πλάσματα καὶ γραφὰς καὶ γλυφὰς ὁρῶσα, ὅταν εὕρισκῃ ταῦτα ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀρκεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ποθεῖ. καὶ παράδοξον οὐδέν, εἰ δύο ποιῶ τέλη καὶ χωρίζω τὸ καλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τινα λέξιν ἡδέως μὲν συγκεῖσθαι, μὴ καλῶς δέ, ἢ καλῶς μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἡδέως. ἢ γάρ τοι Θουκυδίδου λέξεις καὶ Ἀντιφώντος τοῦ Ῥαμνουσίου καλῶς μὲν σύγκειται νῆ Δία· οὐ μὴν ἡδέως γε πάννυ· ἢ δέ γε τοῦ Κνιδίου Κτησίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἡδέως μὲν, οὐ μὴν καλῶς γε ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδει· λέγω δὲ κοινότερον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καθάπαξ· ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἤρμοσταί τινα ἡδέως, ὥς καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καλῶς. ἢ δὲ Ἡροδότου σύνθεσις ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ ἡδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ καλή.

[11] Ἐξ ὧν δ' οἶμαι γενέσθαι λέξιν ἡδεῖαν καὶ καλήν, τέτταρά ἐστι τὰ κυριώτατα· μέλος καὶ ῥυθμὸς καὶ μεταβολὴ καὶ τὸ παρακολουθοῦν τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις, τὸ πρέπον. τάττω δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν τε ὥραν καὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν εὐστομίαν καὶ τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ καλὸν τὴν τε μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν σεμνολογίαν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια.

Ἦδετα δὲ ἡ ἀκοή τοῖς τέτρασι τούτοις· τίς γάρ ἐστιν, ὃς οὐχ ὑπὸ μὲν ταύτης τῆς μελωδίας ἄγεται καὶ γοητεύεται, ὑφ' ἐτέρας δὲ τινος οὐδὲν πάσχει τοιοῦτον; καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ῥυθμῶν τούτων οἰκιοῦται, ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ διοχεῖται; τὸ δ' αὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ ἐν μεταβολαῖς καὶ τῷ πρέποντι· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν ὅτι καὶ τῆς ὀργανικῆς μούσης καὶ τῆς ἐν ᾧδῃ καὶ τῆς ἐν ὀρχήσει χάριτος ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν εὐστοχοῦσης, μεταβολὰς δὲ μὴ ποιησαμένης εὐκαίρους ἢ τοῦ πρέποντος ἀποπλανηθείσης βαρὺς μὲν ὁ κόρος, ἀηδὲς δὲ τὸ μὴ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀρμόττον φαίνεται; καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοτρίᾳ κέχρηται τοῦ πράγματος εἰκόνη· μουσικὴ γὰρ τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη, τῷ ποσῷ διαλλάττουσα τῆς ἐν ᾧδαῖς καὶ ὀργάνοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ μέλος ἔχουσιν αἱ λέξεις καὶ ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ πρέπον· ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀκοή τέρπεται μὲν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἄγεται δὲ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἀσπάζεται δὲ τὰς μεταβολάς, ποθεῖ δ' ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ οἰκεῖον· ἢ δὲ διαλλαγὴ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον.

Διαλέκτου μὲν οὖν μέλος ἐνὶ μετρεῖται διαστήματι τῷ λεγομένῳ διὰ πέντε ὡς ἔγγιστα· καὶ οὔτε ἐπιτείνεται πέρα τριῶν τόνων καὶ ἡμιτονίου ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύ, οὔτε ἀνίεται τοῦ χωρίου τούτου πλέον ἐπὶ τὸ βαρὺ. οὐ μὴν ἅπασα λέξις ἢ καθ' ἐν μόριον λόγου ταττομένη ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λέγεται τάσεως, ἀλλὰ ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξείας, ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας, αἱ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν. τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὰς τάσεις ἔχουσιν αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνδιεφθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὀξεῖ τὸ βαρὺ, ἃς δὴ περισπωμένας καλοῦμεν· αἱ δὲ ἐν ἐτέρᾳ καὶ ἐτέρᾳ χωρὶς ἐκάτερον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάττον φύσιν· καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισυλλάβοις οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ μέσου χωρίον βαρύτητός τε καὶ ὀξύτητος· ταῖς δὲ πολυσυλλάβοις, ἡλικαὶ ἂν ᾧσιν, ἢ τὸν ὀξὺν τόνον ἔχουσα μία ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς ἄλλαις βαρείαις ἔνεστιν. ἢ δὲ ὀργανικὴ τε καὶ ᾠδικὴ μοῦσα διαστήμασί τε χρῆται πλείοσιν, οὐ τῷ διὰ πέντε μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ πασῶν ἀρξαμένη καὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε μελωδεῖ καὶ τὸ διὰ

τεττάρων καὶ τὸ διάτονον καὶ τὸ ἡμιτόνιον, ὡς δέ τινες οἰόνται, καὶ τὴν δίεσιν αἰσθητῶς· τὰς τε λέξεις τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑποτάττειν ἀξιοῖ, καὶ οὐ τὰ μέλη ταῖς λέξεσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν δῆλον καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν Εὐριπίδου μελῶν, ἃ πεποίηκε τὴν Ἥλέκτραν λέγουσαν ἐν Ὁρέστη πρὸς τὸν χορόν·

Σίγα, σίγα· λευκὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης

τιθεῖτε, μὴ κτυπεῖτε·

ἄπο πρόβατ' ἐκεῖσε· ἄπο πρό μοι κοίτας·

ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις τὸ ‘σίγα, σίγα· λευκὸν’ ἐφ’ ἐνὸς φθόγγου μελωδεῖται, καίτοι τῶν τριῶν λέξεων ἐκάστη βαρείας τε τάσεις ἔχει καὶ ὀξείας· καὶ τὸ ‘ἀρβύλης’ τῇ μέσῃ συλλαβῇ τὴν τρίτην ὁμότονον ἔχει, ἀμηχάνου ὄντος ἐν ὄνομα δύο λαβεῖν ὀξείας· καὶ τοῦ ‘τιθεῖτε’ βαρυτέρα μὲν ἢ πρώτη γίνεται, δύο δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ὀξύτονοί τε καὶ ὁμόφωνοι· τοῦ τε ‘κτυπεῖτε’ ὁ περισπασμὸς ἠφάνισται· μιᾷ γὰρ αἱ δύο συλλαβαὶ λέγονται τάσει· καὶ τὸ ‘ἄπο πρόβατε’ οὐ λαμβάνει τὴν τῆς μέσης συλλαβῆς προσωδίαν ὀξεῖαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν τετάρτην συλλαβὴν μεταβέβηκεν ἢ τάσις ἢ τῆς τρίτης· τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ γίνεται καὶ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πεζὴ λέξις οὐδενὸς οὔτε ὀνόματος οὔτε ῥήματος βιάζεται τοὺς χρόνους οὔτε μετατίθησιν, ἀλλ’ οἷας παρείληφε τῇ φύσει τὰς συλλαβὰς τὰς τε μακρὰς καὶ τὰς βραχείας, τοιαύτας φυλάττει· ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ τε καὶ ῥυθμικὴ μεταβάλλουσιν αὐτάς μειοῦσαι καὶ παραυξοῦσαι, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς τάναντία μεταχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἀπευθύνουσι τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρόνοις τὰς συλλαβὰς· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως· πῶς δ’ ἂν γένοιτο λέξις πολιτικὴ παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν ἠδύνουσα τὴν ἀκρόασιν κατὰ τὰ πορρηθέντα τέτταρα κεφάλαια, γνοίημεν ἂν οὕτως.

[12] Οὐχ ἅπαντα πέφυκε τὰ μέρη τῆς λέξεως ὁμοίως διατιθέσθαι τὴν ἀκοήν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν γευστικὴν τὰ γευστὰ οὐδὲ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις τὰ κινουῦντα ἐκάστην· ἀλλὰ καὶ γλυκαίνουσιν αὐτὴν τινὲς ἦχοι καὶ πικραίνουσιν, καὶ τραχύνουσιν καὶ λεαίνουσιν, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα πάθη ποιοῦσι περὶ αὐτὴν· αἰτία δὲ ἡ τῶν γραμμάτων φύσις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ φωνὴ συνέστηκε, πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ἔχουσα δυνάμεις, καὶ ἡ τῶν συλλαβῶν πλοκὴ παντοδαπῶς σχηματιζομένη· τοιαύτην δὲ ἤδη δύναμιν ἐχόντων τῶν τῆς λέξεως μορίων, ἐπειδὴ μεταθεῖναι τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε, λείπεται τὸ τῇ μίξει καὶ κράσει καὶ παραθέσει συγκρῦπτειν τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῶν τισιν ἀτοπίαν, τραχέσι λεῖα μίσγοντα καὶ σκληροῖς μαλακὰ καὶ κακοφώνοις εὐφωνα καὶ δυσεκφόροις εὐπρόφορα καὶ βραχέσι μακρὰ καὶ τᾶλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὐκαίρως συντιθέντα, καὶ μῆτ’ ὀλιγοσύλλαβα πολλὰ ἐξῆς λαμβάνοντα (κόπτεται γὰρ ἡ ἀκρόασις), μῆτε πολυσύλλαβα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν, μηδὲ ὁμοιότονα παρ’ ὁμοιοτόνοις, μηδὲ ὁμοιόχρονα παρ’ ὁμοιοχρονοῖς· χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνοματικῶν ταχὺ μεταλαμβάνειν· καὶ τὴν ὁμοιότητα διαλύειν συνεχῶς, ὀνομάτων τε τινῶν ἐξῆς τιθεμένων πολλῶν καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν τὸν κόρον φυλασσομένους· σχήμασί τε μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ μένειν, μηδὲ τρόπους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρειν, μηδὲ ἄρχεσθαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μηδὲ

λήγειν ἐς τὰ αὐτά.

Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰηθῇ με καθάπαξ ταῦτα παραγγέλλειν, ὡς ἡδονῆς αἷτια διαπαντὸς ἐσόμενα ἢ τάναντία ὀχλήσεως· οὐχ οὕτως ἀνόητός εἰμι. οἶδα γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γινομένην πολλὰκις ἡδονήν, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιογενῶν, τοτὲ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοιογενῶν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων οἶομαι δεῖν τὸν καιρὸν ὁρᾶν· οὗτος γὰρ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀηδίας κράτιστον μέτρον· ὃς οὐκ ἔστι θηρατὸς ἐπιστήμη, ἀλλὰ δόξη.

Φημὶ δὴ τὸν μέλλοντα διαθήσειν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἡδέως ἢ τὰ ἐμμελῆ καὶ εὐρυθμα καὶ εὐφωνα ὀνόματα, ὅφ' ὧν γλυκαίνεται ἡ αἴσθησις, ἀλλήλοις συναρμόττειν, ἢ τὰ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐγκαταπλέκειν αὐτοῖς· ὥσπερ καὶ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἀσθενῇ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἐπικρύπτουσι καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῆς δυνάμεως ἄχρηστον. διαναπαύειν δὲ τὴν ταυτότητα φημὶ δεῖν, μεταβολὰς εὐκαίρους εἰσφέροντα· μεταβολὴ γὰρ πάντων ἡδύ. τελευταῖον δὲ ὃ καὶ πάντων κράτιστον, οἰκείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις καὶ πρέπουσαν ἁρμονίαν· δυσωπεῖσθαι δ' οὐδὲν οἶομαι δεῖν οὔτε ὄνομα οὔτε ῥῆμα ὃ τι καὶ τέτριπται, μὴ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ λέγεσθαι μέλλον· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω ταπεινὸν ἢ ῥυπαρὸν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δυσχέρειαν ἔχον ἔσεσθαι φημὶ λόγου μόριον, ὃ σημαίνεται τι σῶμα ἢ πρᾶγμα, ὃ μηδεμίαν ἔξει χώραν ἐπιτηδείαν ἐν λόγοις. παρακελεύομαι δὲ τῇ συνθέσει πιστεῦοντας ἀνδρείως πάνυ καὶ τεθαρρηκότως αὐτὰ ἐκφέρειν, Ὅμηρῳ τε παραδείγματι χρωμένους, παρ' ὧ καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα κεῖται τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ Δημοσθένει καὶ Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἡδείας συνθέσεως ταῦτα.

[13] Καλὴ δ' ἐκ τίνων γίνεται εἴ τις ἔροιτο, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἂν φαίην καὶ οὐχ ἐτέρων· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ποιητικὰ ἀμφοῖν· μέλος εὐγενές, ῥυθμὸς ἀξιοματικός, μεταβολὴ μεγαλοπρεπής, τὸ πᾶσι τούτοις παρακολουθοῦν πρέπον· αἰτία δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἢ τε τῶν γραμμάτων φύσις καὶ ἡ τῶν συλλαβῶν δύναμις, ἐξ ὧν πλέκεται τὰ ὀνόματα· ὑπὲρ ὧν καιρὸς ἂν εἴη λέγειν.

[14] Ἀρχαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φωνῆς καὶ ἐνάρθρου μηκέτι δεχόμεναι διαίρεσιν, ἃς καλοῦμεν στοιχεῖα καὶ γράμματα· τούτων δὲ οὐ μία πάντων φύσις· διαφορὰ δὲ αὐτῶν πρώτη μὲν, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς ἀποφαίνεται, καθ' ἣν τὰ μὲν φωνὰς ἀποτελεῖ ὡς τὰ φωνήεντα, τὰ δὲ ψόφους ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· δευτέρα δέ, καθ' ἣν τῶν μὴ φωνηέντων ἃ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ψόφους ὁποίους δὴ τινὰς ἀποτελεῖν πέφυκεν, ῥόιζον ἢ σιγμὸν ἢ μυγμὸν ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων ἤχων δηλωτικά· ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἁμοιρα φωνῆς καὶ ψόφου, καὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἡχεῖσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὰ· διὸ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν ἄφωνα τινὲς ἐκάλεσαν, θάτερα δὲ ἡμίφωνα. οἱ δὲ τριχῇ νείμαντες τὰ πάντα, φωνήεντα μὲν ἐκάλεσαν ὅσα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ φωνεῖται καὶ μεθ' ἐτέρων, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοτελῆ· ἡμίφωνα δ' ὅσα μετὰ μὲν φωνηέντων αὐτὰ ἑαυτῶν κρεῖττον ἐκφέρεται, καθ' ἑαυτὰ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ οὐκ αὐτοτελῶς· ἄφωνα δ' ὅσα οὔτε τὰς τελείας οὔτε τὰς ἡμιτελεῖς φωνὰς ἔχει καθ' ἑαυτά, μεθ' ἐτέρων δὲ ἐκφωνεῖται. ἀρκτέον τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῶν φωνηέντων.

Ἔστι δὴ ταῦτα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπτὰ· δύο μὲν βραχέα τό τε ε καὶ τὸ ο· δύο δὲ μακρὰ τό τε η καὶ τὸ ω· τρία δὲ δίχρονα τό τε α καὶ τὸ ι καὶ τὸ υ· καὶ

γὰρ ἐκτείνεται ταῦτα καὶ συστέλλεται. ἐκφωνεῖται δὲ πάντα παρὰ τῆς ἀρτηρίας συνεχούσης τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἀπλῶς σχηματισθέντος, τῆς τε γλώττης οὐδὲν πραγματευομένης ἀλλ' ἡρεμούσης. πλὴν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ καὶ τῶν διχρόνων ἃ μακρῶς λέγεται, τεταμένον λαμβάνει καὶ διηνεκῇ τὸν αὐλὸν τοῦ πνεύματος· τὰ δὲ βραχέα ἢ βραχέως λεγόμενα ἐξ ἀποκοπῆς τε καὶ μιᾷ πληγῇ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς ἀρτηρίας ἐπὶ βραχὺ κινήσεως ἐκφέρεται. τούτων δὴ κράτιστα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ φωνὴν ἡδίστην ἀποτελεῖ τὰ τε μακρὰ καὶ τῶν διχρόνων ὅσα μηκύνεται, ὅτι πολὺν ἤχειται χρόνον καὶ τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος οὐκ ἀποκόπτει χρόνον· χεῖρω δὲ τὰ βραχέα ἢ βραχέως λεγόμενα, ὅτι μικρόφωνα τε ἐστὶ καὶ σπανίζει τὸν ἦχον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν μακρῶν πάλιν εὐφωνότατον μὲν τὸ α, ὅταν ἐκτείνηται· λέγεται γὰρ ἀνοιγομένου τοῦ στόματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀναφερομένου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ η, διότι κάτω περὶ τὴν βάσιν τῆς γλώττης ἐρείδει τὸν ἦχον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνω, καὶ μετρίως ἀνοιγομένου τοῦ στόματος· τρίτον δὲ τὸ ω· στρογγυλίζεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ στόμα καὶ περιστέλλεται τὰ χεῖλη, τὴν τε πληγὴν τὸ πνεῦμα περὶ τὸ ἀκροστόμιον ποιεῖται. ἐστὶ δ' ἦττον τούτου τὸ υ· περὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλη συστολῆς γινομένης ἀξιολόγου πνίγεται καὶ στενὸς ἐκπίπτει ὁ ἦχος. ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων τὸ ι· περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας γὰρ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ πνεύματος γίνεται μικρὸν ἀνοιγομένου τοῦ στόματος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλαμπρυνόντων τῶν χειλῶν τὸν ἦχον. τῶν δὲ βραχέων οὐδέτερον μὲν εὐμορφον, ἦττον δὲ δυσειδές τὸ ε· διίστησι γὰρ τὸ στόμα κρεῖττον θατέρου, καὶ τὴν πληγὴν λαμβάνει περὶ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν μᾶλλον.

Φωνηέντων μὲν οὖν γραμμάτων αὕτη φύσις· ἡμιφώνων δὲ τοιάδε· ὁκτῷ γὰρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων αὐτῶν, πέντε μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπλᾶ λ μ ν ρ σ, διπλᾶ δὲ τρία ζ ξ ψ. διπλᾶ δὲ λέγονται διὰ τὸ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ δυοῖν ἀπλῶν συνεφθαρμένων ἀλλήλοις συγκεῖσθαι καὶ ἰδίαν φωνὴν λαμβάνειν, ἢ διὰ τὸ χώραν ἐπέχειν δυεῖν γραμμάτων ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς· τούτων δὴ κρείττω μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ διπλᾶ τῶν ἀπλῶν, ἐπειδὴ μείζονά ἐστὶ τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγίζειν δοκεῖ τοῖς τελείοις· ἦττω δὲ τὰ ἀπλᾶ διὰ τὸ εἰς βραχυτέρους αὐτῶν τόνους συνάγεσθαι τὸν ἦχον. φωνεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τοιόνδέ τινα τρόπον· τὸ μὲν λ τῆς γλώττης πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἰσταμένης καὶ τῆς ἀρτηρίας συνηκούσης· τὸ δὲ μ τοῦ μὲν στόματος τοῖς χεῖλεσι πιεσθέντος, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων μεριζομένου· τὸ δὲ ν τῆς γλώττης τὴν φορὰν τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποκλειούσης καὶ μεταφερούσης ἐπὶ τὸν ῥώθωνα τὸν ἦχον· τὸ δὲ ρ τῆς γλώττης ἄκρας ἀπορραπιζούσης τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγὺς τῶν ὀδόντων ἀνισταμένης· τὸ δὲ σ τῆς μὲν γλώττης προαγομένης ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλης, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος διὰ μέσου αὐτοῦ φερομένου καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λεπτὸν καὶ στενὸν ἐξωθοῦντος τὸ σύριγμα. τρία δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμίφωνα μικτὸν λαμβάνει τὸν ψόφον, ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν τῶν ἡμιφώνων τοῦ σ, τριῶν δὲ ἀφώνων τοῦ τε δ καὶ τοῦ κ καὶ τοῦ π. Δύναται δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως κινεῖν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἅπαντα· ἡδύνει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ λ, καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἡμιφώνων γλυκύτατον· τραχύνει δὲ τὸ ρ, καὶ ἔστι τῶν ὁμογενῶν γενναιοτάτον· μέσως δὲ πως διατίθῃσι τὰ διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων

συνηχούμενα, τὸ τε μ καὶ τὸ ν, κερατοειδεῖς ἀποτελοῦντα τοὺς ἥχους· ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ, καὶ πλεονάσαν σφόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ καὶ ἀλάλου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός· τῶν γοῦν παλαιῶν τινὲς σπανίως ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ καὶ πεφυλαγμένως· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἀσίγμους ὅλας ὠδὰς ἐποιοῦν· δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν οἷς φησι· 'πρὶν μὲν ἦριπε σχοινοτενῇ φωνήεντα διθυράμβων· καὶ τὸ σᾶν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις'. τῶν δὲ διπλῶν μᾶλλον ἡδύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν τὸ ζ ἡσυχῇ τῷ πνεύματι δασυνόμενον· τὸ γάρ τοι ξ διὰ τοῦ κ καὶ τὸ ψ διὰ τοῦ π, ψιλῶν ὄντων ἀμφοτέρων, συριγμὸν ἀποδίδωσι.

Τῶν δὲ ἀφώνων ἐννέα ὄντων τρία μὲν ἐστὶ ψιλὰ κ π τ, τρία δὲ δασέα θ φ χ, τρία δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων καὶ κοινὰ ἀμφοῖν β γ δ· φωνεῖται δὲ αὐτῶν τρία μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χειλέων ἄκρων, τὸ π καὶ τὸ φ καὶ τὸ β, ὅταν τοῦ στόματος πιεσθέντος τὸ προβαλλόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀρτηρίας πνεῦμα λύσῃ τὸν δεσμὸν αὐτοῦ· ὁμοίῳ δὲ σχήματι ταῦτα λεγόμενα ψιλότῃ καὶ δασύτῃ διαφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ῥηθισόμενα. τρία δὲ λέγεται ἄλλα τῆς γλώττης ἄκρῳ τῷ στόματι προσερισσομένης κατὰ τοὺς μετεώρους ὁδόντας, ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπορραπιζομένης καὶ τὴν διέξοδον αὐτῶν κάτω περὶ τοὺς ὁδόντας ἀποδιδούσης, τὸ τ καὶ τὸ θ καὶ τὸ δ. τρία δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ λέγεται μὲν τῆς γλώττης ἀνισταμένης πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ φάρυγγος, τῆς δὲ ἀρτηρίας ὑπηχούσης τῷ πνεύματι, τὸ κ καὶ τὸ χ καὶ τὸ γ. τούτων κράτιστα μὲν ἐστίν, ὅσα τῷ πνεύματι πολλῷ λέγεται· δεύτερα δὲ ὅσα μέσω· κάκιστα δὲ ὅσα ψιλῶ· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐαυτῶν δύναμιν ἔχει μόνην, τὰ δὲ δασέα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος προσθήκην, ὡς ἐγγὺς τοῦ τελειότερα εἶναι.

[15] Ἐκ δὴ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων αἱ καλούμεναι γίνονται συλλαβαί. τούτων δὲ εἰσὶ μακραί μὲν ὅσαι συνεστήκασιν ἐκ φωνηέντων μακρῶν ἢ διχρόνων μακρῶς ἐκφερομένων, καὶ ὅσαι λήγουσιν εἰς μακρὸν ἢ μακρῶς λεγόμενον γράμμα ἢ τι τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων· βραχεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἐκ βραχέος φωνήεντος ἢ βραχέως λαμβανομένου. μήκους δὲ καὶ βραχύτητος συλλαβῶν οὐ μία φύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρότεραί τινές εἰσι τῶν μακρῶν καὶ βραχύτεραι τῶν βραχειῶν. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων.

Ὁμολογεῖται δὴ βραχεῖα εἶναι συλλαβή, ἣν ποιεῖ φωνῆεν γράμμα βραχὺ τὸ ο, ὡς λέγεται Ὀδός. αὕτη προστεθήτω γράμμα ἐν τῶν ἡμιφώνων τὸ ρ, καὶ γενέσθω Ῥόδος· μένει μὲν ἔτι βραχεῖα ἢ συλλαβή, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἔξει τινὰ παραλλαγὴν παρὰ τὴν προτέραν· ἔτι προστεθήτω αὕτη τῶν ἀφώνων γραμμάτων ἐν τὸ τ, καὶ γενέσθω Τρόπος· μείζων αὕτη τῶν προτέρων ἔσται συλλαβῶν, καὶ ἔτι βραχεῖα μένει· τρίτον ἔτι γράμμα τῇ αὐτῇ συλλαβῇ προστεθήτω τὸ σ, καὶ γενέσθω Στρόφος· τρισὶν αὕτη προσθήκαις ἀκουσταῖς μακροτέρα γενήσεται τῆς βραχυτάτης μένουσα ἔτι βραχεῖα. οὐκοῦν τέσσαρες αὗται βραχείας συλλαβῆς διαφοραὶ τὴν ἄλογον αἰσθησιν ἔχουσαι τῆς παραλλαγῆς μέτρον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακρᾶς· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ η γινομένη συλλαβή μακρὰ τὴν φύσιν οὔσα, τεττάρων γραμμάτων προσθήκαις παραυξηθεῖσα, τριῶν μὲν προταττομένων, ἐνὸς δὲ ὑποταττομένου, καθ' ἣν λέγεται Σπλήν, μείζων ἂν δήπου λέγοιτο

εἶναι τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης τῆς μονογραμμάτου μειουμένη τε αὖ πάλιν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν προστεθέντων γραμμάτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαττον παραλλαγὰς αἰσθητὰς ἂν ἔχοι.

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ θεώρημα τοῦτο τῶν ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς παθῶν· ἕτερον δὲ τοιόνδε. τῶν γραμμάτων πολλὰς ἐχόντων διαφορὰς οὐ μόνον περὶ τὰ μήκη καὶ τὰς βραχυτήτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἤχους, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶρηκα, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων συνισταμένας συλλαβὰς ἅμα τὴν τε ἰδίαν ἐκάστου σώζειν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν κοινήν ἀπάντων, ἣ γίνεται διὰ τῆς κράσεώς τε καὶ παραθέσεως αὐτῶν· ἐξ ὧν μαλακαὶ τε φωναὶ καὶ σκληραί, καὶ λεῖται καὶ τραχεῖται, γλυκαίνουσαι τε τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ πικραίνουσαι, καὶ στύφουσαι καὶ διαχέουσαι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κατασκευάζουσαι διάθεσιν φυσικὴν· αὗται δὲ εἰσι μυρία τὸ πλῆθος.

Ταῦτα ἤδη καταμαθόντες οἱ χαριέστατοι ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ὀνόματα, συμπλέκοντες ἐπιτηδείως ἀλλήλοις τὰ γράμματα, καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς δὲ οἰκείας οἷς ἂν βούλονται παραστήσαι πάθεσι ποικίλως φιλοτεχνοῦσιν· ὡς Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προσηνέμων αἰγιαλῶν τῇ παρεκτάσει τῶν συλλαβῶν τὸν ἄπαυστον ἐκφαίνειν βουλόμενος ἦχον·

Ἥϊόνες βοόωσιν, ἐρευγομένης ἀλὸς ἔξω·

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τετυφλωμένου Κύκλωπος τό τε τῆς ἀλγηδόνης μέγεθος καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν βραδεῖαν ἔρευναν τῆς τοῦ σπηλαίου θύρας·

Κύκλωψ δὲ στενάχων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ὀδύνησι

χερσὶ ψηλαφῶν· καὶ ἄλλοθι που δέησιν ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος πολλὴν καὶ κατεσπουδασμένην·

Οὐδ' εἴ κεν μάλα πολλὰ πάθη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,

προπροκυλινδόμενος πατρὸς Διὸς· καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα.

[16] Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν λαμβάνουσιν ὡς ἐκεῖνοι κατεσκεύασαν, ὅσα μιμητικὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν, ὡς ἔχει ταυτί·

Ρόχθει γὰρ μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείροιο.

Αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.

Αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δὲ τε πόντος.

Σκέπτει' οἰστών τε ροῖζον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων.

μεγάλῃ δὲ τούτων ἀρχὴ καὶ διδάσκαλος ἡ φύσις, ἣ ποιοῦσα μιμητικούς καὶ θετικούς ἡμᾶς τῶν ὀνομάτων, οἷς δηλοῦται τὰ πράγματα κατὰ τινὰς εὐλόγους καὶ κινητικὰς τῆς διανοίας ὁμοιότητας· ὅφ' ὧν ἐδιδάχθημεν ταύρων τε μυκήματα λέγειν καὶ χρεμετισμοὺς ἵππων καὶ φριμαγμοὺς τράγων, πυρός τε βρόμον καὶ πάταγον ἀνέμων καὶ συριγμὸν κάλων καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις ὅμοια, τὰ μὲν φωνῆς μιμήματα, τὰ δὲ μορφῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔργων, τὰ δὲ πάθους, τὰ δὲ κινήσεως, τὰ δ' ἡρεμίας, τὰ δ' ἄλλου τινός.

Τί δὴ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ λόγου; ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τὰς τῶν γραμμάτων συμπλοκάς ἢ τῶν συλλαβῶν γίνεται σύνθεσις ποικίλη, παρὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν συλλαβῶν σύνθεσιν ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων φύσις παντοδαπή, παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁρμονίας πολύμορφος ὁ λόγος· ὥστε πολλὴ ἀνάγκη καλὴν μὲν εἶναι λέξιν ἐν ἣ καλὰ ἐστὶν ὀνόματα· κάλλους δὲ ὀνομάτων συλλαβὰς τε

καὶ γράμματα καλὰ αἴτιον εἶναι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡδεῖαν διάλεκτον ἐκ τούτων ἡδυνόντων γίνεσθαι. Ὅμηρος γοῦν ὅταν μὲν ὥραν ὄψεως εὐμόρφου ἐπιδείξασθαι βούληται, τῶν τε φωνηέντων τοῖς κρατίστοις χρήσεται καὶ τῶν ἡμιφώνων τοῖς μαλακωτάτοις· καὶ οὐ καταπτυνώνει τοῖς ἀφώνοις τὰς συλλαβὰς οὐδὲ συγκόψει τοὺς ἦχους παρατιθεὶς ἀλλήλοις τὰ δυσέκφορα· πρᾶϊαν δὲ τινα ποιήσει τὴν ἁρμονίαν τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ῥέουσιν ἀλύτως διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ὥς ἔχει ταυτί·

Ἦ δ' ἔν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,

Ἀρτέμιδι ἱκέλη ἢ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ

φοῖνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.

Καὶ Χλῶριν εἶδον περικαλλέα, τὴν ποτε Νηλεὺς

γῆμεν ἐδὸν διὰ κάλλος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἔδνα.

ὅταν δ' οἰκτρὰν ἢ φοβερὰν ἢ ἀγέρωχον ὄψιν εἰσάγῃ, τῶν φωνηέντων οὐ τὰ κράτιστα θήσῃ, ἀλλὰ τῶν φοφοειδῶν ἢ ἀφώνων τὰ δυσεκφορώτατα· καὶ καταπτυνώνει τούτοις τὰς συλλαβὰς·

Σμερδαλέος δ' αὐτῇσι φάνη κεκακωμένος ἄλμῃ.

Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῷ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο

δεινὸν δερκομένη· περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε.

ποταμῶν δὲ γε σύρρυσιν εἰς χωρίον ἓν καὶ πάταγον ὑδάτων ἀναμισγομένων ἐκμιμήσασθαι τῇ λέξει βουλόμενος οὐκέτι λείας συλλαβὰς, ἀλλ' ἰσχυρὰς καὶ ἀντιτύπους θήσῃ·

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες

ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄμβριμον ὕδωρ· καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγχωροίῃ πάντ' εἶναι τὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως, ὑφ' ὧν μέλλει δηλοῦσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, εὐφωνά τε καὶ καλλιρρήμονα, μανίας ἔργον ζητεῖν τὰ χεῖρω· εἰ δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶη τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔχει, τῇ πλοκῇ καὶ μίξει καὶ παραθέσει πειρατέον ἀφανίζειν τὴν τῶν χειρόνων φύσιν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ὀνόματα Ὑρία καὶ Μυκαλησσὸς καὶ Γραία καὶ Ἑτεωνὸς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδεμίαν ἔχει καλλιλογίαν· ἀλλ' οὕτως αὐτὰ καλῶς Ὅμηρος συνύφαγκε καὶ παραπληρώμασιν εὐφώνοις διείληφεν, ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπέστερα φαίνεσθαι πάντων ὀνομάτων.

[17] Ἵνα δὲ μηδεὶς εἰκῇ με δόξῃ λέγειν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα μουσικῆς οἰκεῖα θεωρίας εἰς οὐ ῥυθμικὴν οὐδ' ἔμμετρον εἰσάγοντα διάλεκτον (ἔφην γὰρ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς οὐ μικρὰν μοῖραν ἔχειν τῆς ἀξίωματικῆς θέσεως), ἀποδώσω καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγον. ἔχει δ' οὕτως. πᾶν μέρος λόγου, ὃ μὴ μονοσύλλαβόν ἐστιν, ἐν ῥυθμῷ τινι λέγεται· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καλῶ πόδα καὶ ῥυθμόν. Δισυλλάβου μὲν οὖν λέξεως διαφοραὶ τέσσαρες, σπονδεῖος, πυρρίχιος, ἱαμβος, τροχαῖος. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυρρίχιος οὔτε μεγαλοπρεπῆς ἐστὶν οὔτε σεμνός· σχῆμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε

Λέγε δὲ σὺ κατὰ πόδα νεόχυτα μέλεα. ὁ δὲ σπονδεῖος ἀξίωμα ἔχει καὶ σεμνότητα πολλήν· παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τόδε

Ποῖαν δῆθ' ὀρμάσω· ταύταν, ἢ κείναν· ἢ ταύταν;

ὁ δ' ἱαμβος οὐκ ἀγεννής, οἷον

Ἐπεὶ σχολὴ πάρεστι, παῖ Μενοιτίου.

ὁ δὲ τροχαῖος μαλακώτερος τοῦτου καὶ ἀγεννέστερος, οἶον

Θυμὲ θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε.

Δισυλλάβων μὲν δὴ ῥυθμοὶ καὶ σχήματα τοσαῦτα.

τρισυλλάβων δὲ σχήματα ὀκτώ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπασῶν βραχειῶν χορεῖος ταπεινός τε καὶ ἄσεμνος καὶ ἀγεννής, οἶον

Βρόμιε δορατοφόρ' ἐνυάλιε πολέμοιο κέλαδε·

ὁ δ' ἐξ ἀπασῶν μακρῶν μολοττὸς ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἀξιωματικός, οἶον

ἽΩ Ζηνὸς καὶ Λήδας κάλλιστοι σωτῆρες.

ὁ δὲ ἀμφίμακρος καὶ οὔτος τῶν εὖ ἐχόντων, οἶον

Οἷ δ' ἐπέγοντο πλωταῖς ἀπήναισι χαλκεμβόλοισι.

ὁ δὲ ἀμφίβραχυς οὐ σφόδρα τῶν εὐσχήμων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κέκλασται πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, οἶον

Ἰακχε διθύραμβε· σὺ τῶνδε χοραγέ.

ὁ δὲ ἀνάπαιστος σεμνότητα ἔχει πολλήν, ἐπιτήδειος μεγέθει ἢ πάθει, οἶον

Βαρύ μοι κεφαλᾷς ἐπίκρανον ἔχει·

ὁ δὲ δάκτυλος πάνυ σεμνὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀξιολογώτατος· καὶ τό γε ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον τούτῳ κοσμεῖται, οἶον

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν.

ὁ δὲ βακχεῖος ἀνδρώδης πάνυ καὶ εἰς σεμνολογίαν ἐπιτήδειος, οἶον

Σοὶ Φοῖβε Μοῦσαί τε σύμβωμοι.

ὁ δὲ παλιμβάκχειος καὶ οὔτος ὁμοῖος τῷ βακχείῳ, οἶον

Τίν' ἀκτάν, τίν' ὕλαν δράμω; ποῖ πορευθῶ;

οὔτοι δώδεκα ῥυθμοὶ τε καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι καταμετροῦντες ἅπασαν ἔμμετρόν τε καὶ ἄμετρον λέξιν· ἐξ ὧν γίνονται στίχοι τε καὶ κῶλα. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι πόδες καὶ ῥυθμοὶ πάντες ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ σύνθετοι. ἀπλοῦς δὲ ῥυθμὸς ἢ ποὺς οὗτ' ἐλάττων ἔσται δύο ^[18] συλλαβῶν οὔτε μείζων τριῶν. ἐνθὲν τοι καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἀξιωματικῶς συγκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ λέξιν βουλόμενος οὕτω φησίν· ‘Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν· διόλου γὰρ ταυτὶ τὰ κῶλα ἐκ σπονδείων καὶ ἀναπαίστων καὶ κρητικῶν εἶτ' οὖν ἀμφιμάκρων καὶ δακτύλων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἃ τὴν σεμνότητα ποιεῖ σύγκειται. καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα καὶ παρὰ Πλάτῳ ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐμμέλειάν τε καὶ εὐρυθμίαν συνιδεῖν δαιμονιώτατος· καὶ εἴ γε δεινὸς ἦν οὕτως ἐκλέξαι τὰ ὀνόματα, ὡς συνθεῖναι περιττός, καὶ νῦν κεν ἢ παρήλασεν ἂν τὸν Δημοσθένην κάλλος ἐρμηνείας ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκε. νῦν δὲ περὶ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἔστιν ὅτε διαμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον διώκη φράσιν· συντίθησι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ἡδέως καὶ καλῶς νῆ Δία, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἔχοι κατὰ τοῦτο μέμψασθαι τὸ μέρος. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὅρος τίς ἐστὶν ἐκλογῆς τε ὀνομάτων καὶ κάλλους συνθέσεως.

[19] Εἰρηκῶς δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον θεώρημα τὴν

μεταβολὴν μεταβῆσθαι. Λέγω δ' οὐ τὴν ἐκ τῶν κρειπτόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοειδέσι ποικιλίαν. κόρον γὰρ ἔχει καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἡδέα ὄντα ἐν τῇ ταυτότητι, ποικιλλόμενα δὲ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς αἰ καὶνὰ μένει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη γράφουσιν οὐχ ἅπαντα ἔξεστι μεταβάλλειν οὐδ' ἐφ' ὅσον βούλονται. αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν ἐποποιοῖς μέτρον οὐκ ἔξεστι μεταβάλλειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη πάντας εἶναι τοὺς στίχους ἐξαμέτρους· οὐδὲ γε ῥυθμόν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχομένοις συλλαβῆς χρήσονται. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μέλη γράφουσι τὸ μὲν τῶν στροφῶν τε καὶ ἀντιστροφῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀλλάξαι μέλος· ἀλλ' ἐάν τ' ἐναρμονίους ἐάν τε χρωματικὰς ἐάν τε διατόνους ὑποθῶνται μελωδίας, ἐν πάσαις δεῖ ταῖς στροφαῖς καὶ ἀντιστρόφοις τὰς αὐτὰς ἀγωγὰς φυλάττειν· περὶ δὲ τὰς καλουμένας ἐπωδοὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν κινεῖν ταῦτα ἔξεστι, τό τε μέλος καὶ τὸν ῥυθμόν τά τε κῶλα ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε περίοδος ἐκάστη, ἄλλοτε ἄλλα μεγέθη καὶ σχήματα αὐτοῖς περιτιθέντας.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί, λέγω Ἀλκαῖόν τε καὶ Σαπφώ, μικρὰς ἐποιοῦντο στροφάς, ὥστ' ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς κῶλοις οὐ πολλὰς εἰσῆγον μεταβολάς· οἱ δὲ περὶ Σητήχορον τε καὶ Πίνδαρον μείζους ἐργασάμενοι τὰς περιόδους εἰς πολλὰ μέτρα καὶ κῶλα διένειμαν αὐτὰς μεταβολῆς ἔρωτι. οἱ δὲ γε διθυραμβοποιοὶ καὶ τοὺς τρόπους μετέβαλλον, Δωρίους τε καὶ Φρυγίους καὶ Λυδίους ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ᾄσματι ποιοῦντες· καὶ τὰς μελωδίας ἐξήλλαττον, τοτὲ μὲν ἐναρμονίους ποιοῦντες, τοτὲ δὲ χρωματικὰς, τοτὲ δὲ διατόνους. ἡ δὲ πεζὴ λέξις ἅπασαν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχει ποικίλλειν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τὴν σύνθεσιν ὅπως βούλεται.

Καὶ ἔστι λέξις κρατίστη πασῶν, ἣ τις ἂν ἔχοι πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τε καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐναρμονίους, ὅταν τουτὶ μὲν ἐν περιόδῳ λέγηται, τουτὶ δ' ἔξω περιόδου, καὶ ἦδε μὲν ἡ περίοδος ἐκ πλείονων πλέκεται κῶλων, ἦδε δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κῶλων τὸ μὲν βραχύτερον ἦ, τὸ δὲ μακρότερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν γοργότερον, τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον, ῥυθμοὶ τε ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι, καὶ σχήματα παντοῖα, καὶ τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσωδίαί τε διάφοροι, κλέπτουσαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸν κόρον. ἔχει δὲ χάριν τὸ οὕτω συγκείμενον, ὥστε μὴ συγκεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. παράδειγμα δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης μεταβολῆς ποιοῦμαι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Ἡροδότου λέξιν, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Πλάτωνος, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Δημοσθένους· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εὖρεῖν τοῦτων ἐτέρους ἐπεισοδίοις τε πλείοσι καὶ ποικιλίαις εὐκαιροτέροις καὶ σχήμασι πολυειδεστέροις χρησάμενους· λέγω δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι, τὸν δ' ὡς ἐν διαλόγων χάριτι, τὸν δ' ὡς ἐν λόγων ἐναγωνίων χρεῖα. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου γνωρίμων αἵρεσις ὁμοία ταύταις ἦν· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἡδέως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς πολλὰ συνθέντες οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχοῦσιν· ἀλλ' ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς κύκλος τις, ὁμοειδῆς σχημάτων τάξις, φυλακὴ συμπλοκῆς φωνηέντων ἢ αὐτῇ, ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα κόπτοντα τὴν ἀκρόασιν. καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν ἴσως τῷ Ἰσοκράτει πολλαὶ χάριτες ἐπήνθουν ἄλλαι ταύτην ἐπικρύπτουσαι τὴν ἀμορφίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων τῶν ἄλλων κατορθωμάτων περιφανέστερον γίνεται τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα.

Ἔτι καταλείπεται ἡμῖν ὁ περὶ τοῦ πρόποντος λόγος. πρόπον δέ ἐστι τὸ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀρμόττον προσώποις καὶ πράγμασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἔστι τις ἐκλογὴ νοημάτων ἢ μὲν πρόπουσα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἢ δὲ ἀπρεπής, οὕτω δὴ πού καὶ σύνθεσις· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίᾳ συνθέσει χρώμεθα ὀργιζόμενοι καὶ χαίροντες, οὐδὲ ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι, οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάθει ὄντες· καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καταστάσει τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντες, ὅταν ἀπαγγέλλωσι πράγματα οἷς ἂν παραγενόμενοι τύχωσιν, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ χρῶνται συνθέσει περὶ πάντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμητικοὶ γίνονται τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων, οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀγόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ παρατηροῦντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν καὶ ῥήτορα μιμητικὸν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρῃ, μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν. Ὁ ποιεῖν εἴωθεν Ὅμηρος, καίτερ μέτρον ἔχων καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ὀλίγους, ἀλλ' ὅμως αἰεὶ τι καινουργῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοτεχνῶν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφέρειν γινόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἢ λεγόμενα ὁρᾶν. οἷον

Καὶ μὴν καὶ Σίσυφον εἶδον κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,
λᾶαν βαστάζοντα πελώριον ἀμφοτέρησιν·
ἦτοι ὃ μὲν σκηριπτόμενος χερσὶ τε ποσὶν τε
λᾶαν ἄνω ὥθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον·

ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ σύνθεσις ἐστὶν ἡ δηλοῦσα τῶν γινόμενων ἕκαστον· τὸ βάρος τοῦ πέτρου, τὴν ἐπίπνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς κίνησιν, τὸν διερειδόμενον τοῖς κώλοις, τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα πρὸς τὸν ὄχθον, τὴν μόλις ἀνωθουμένην πέτραν· γέγονε δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς δυοῖ στίχοις οἷς ἀνακυλίνει τὴν πέτραν, ἔξω δεῖν ῥημάτων τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια πάντ' ἐστὶν ἦτοι δισύλλαβα ἢ μονοσύλλαβα· ἔπειτα τῷ ἡμίσει πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ μακραὶ συλλαβαὶ τῶν βραχειῶν, καὶ διαβεβήκασιν πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμονίαι καὶ διεστήκασιν αἰσθητῶς, ἢ τῶν φωνηέντων συγκρουομένων ἢ τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων· ῥυθμοῖς τε καὶ δακτύλοις καὶ σπονδαίοις σύγκειται. αἱ μὲν οὖν μονοσύλλαβοι καὶ δισύλλαβοι λέξεις, πολλοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ χρόνους ἀλλήλων ἀπολείπουσαι, τὸ χρόνιον ἐμιμήσαντο τοῦ ἔργου· αἱ δὲ μακραὶ συλλαβαὶ στηριγμοὺς τινας ἔχουσαι καὶ ἐγκαθίσματα τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν καὶ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ τὸ μόλις· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ὀνομάτων ψύγμα καὶ ἡ τῶν τραχυνόντων γραμμάτων παράθεσις τὰ διαλείμματα τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς ἐποχὰς καὶ τὸ τοῦ μόχθου μέγεθος· οἱ ῥυθμοὶ δ' ἐν μήκει θεωρούμενοι τὴν διέκτασιν τῶν μελῶν καὶ τὸν διελκυσμὸν τοῦ κυλίντος καὶ τὴν τοῦ πέτρου ἔρεισιν. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ φύσεώς ἐστιν αὐτοματιζούσης ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τέχνης μιμήσασθαι πειρωμένης τὰ γινόμενα, τὰ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ· τὴν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπιστρέφουσιν πάλιν καὶ κατακυλιομένην πέτραν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡρμῆνευκε τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἐπιταχύνας καὶ συστρέψας τὴν σύνθεσιν· προειπὼν γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι

ἀλλ' ὅτε μέλλοι
ἄκρον ὑπερβαλέειν,
ἐπιτίθησι τοῦτο
τότ' ἐπιστρέψασκε κραταιὸς

αὐτίς· ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής·

οὐχὶ συγκυλίζεται τῷ βάρει τῆς πέτρας ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔφθακε τὴν τοῦ λίθου φορὰν τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τάχος; μονοσύλλαβον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν, δισυλλάβους δὲ δύο μόνas ἔχει λέξεις· καὶ οὐ διίστησι τοὺς χρόνους ἀλλ' ἐπιταχύνει· καὶ πλείους τῶν μακρῶν αἰ βραχεῖαι· καὶ οὔτε φωνήεντα διιστῶσιν ἀλλήλων τὰ ὀνόματα οὔτε ἡμιφώνῳ ἡμίφωνον ἢ ἄφωνον παράκειται, ἃ τραχύνει τὸν λόγον· ἀλλὰ συνολισθαίνουσιν ἀλλήλαις καὶ συγκαταφέρονται, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ μία ἐξ ἀπασῶν γίνεται διὰ τὴν τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκρίβειαν· καὶ ῥυθμὸς οὐδεὶς σπονδεῖος ἐν αὐτοῖς.

[21] Διαφοραὶ δὲ συνθέσεως εἰδικαὶ μὲν σφόδρα πολλαὶ καὶ εἰς σύνοψιν ἔλθειν οὐ δυνάμεναι· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως τὰ αὐτὰ ὀνόματα συντίθεμεν ἅπαντες· τὰς μέντοι γενικὰς αὐτῆς διαφορὰς μόνas τρεῖς εἶναι πείθομαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔχων ὀνομάζειν μεταφορικοῖς ὀνόμασι καλῶ, τὴν μὲν αὐστηράν, τὴν δὲ γλαφυράν ἢ ἀνθηράν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐκρατον εἰ τε κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν ἄκρων εἰ τε κατὰ μῖξιν εἰ τε κατὰ ἄνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄρων.

[22] Τῆς μὲν οὖν αὐστηρᾶς ἁρμονίας τοιοῦδε ὁ χαρακτήρ· ἐρείδεσθαι βούλεται τὰ ὀνόματα ἀσφαλῶς καὶ στάσεις λαμβάνειν ἰσχυράς, ὥστ' ἐκ περιφανείας ἕκαστον ὄνομα ὀρᾶσθαι, ἀπέχειν τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ μόρια διαστάσεις ἀξιολόγους αἰσθητοῖς χρόνοις διειργόμενα· τραχεῖαις τε χρῆσθαι πολλαχῇ καὶ ἀντιτύποις ταῖς συμβολαῖς· ῥυθμοὺς δὲ ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς ἀξιωματικοὺς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, καὶ οὔτε πάρισα βούλεται τὰ κῶλα ἀλλήλοις εἶναι οὔτε παρόμοια οὔτε ἀνάγκη δουλεύοντα, ἀκόλουθα δὲ καὶ εὐγενῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ καὶ ἐλεύθερα· φύσει τ' εἰοικέναι μᾶλλον αὐτὰ βούλεται ἢ τέχνῃ, καὶ κατὰ πάθος λέγεται μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἦθος· περιόδους δὲ συντιθέναι συναπαρτιζούσας ἑαυταῖς τὸν νοῦν τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ βούλεται· εἰ δέ ποτ' αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο κατενεχθεῖη, τὸ ἀνεπιτήδευτον ἐμφαίνειν θέλει καὶ ἀφελές, οὔτε προσθήκαις τισὶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα ὁ κύκλος ἐκπληρωθῇ, μηδὲν ὠφελούσαις τὸν νοῦν χρωμένῃ, οὔτε ὅπως αἱ βάσεις αὐτῶν γένοιτο θεατρικαί τινες ἢ γλαφυραῖ, οὐδ' ἵνα τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λέγοντος ὥσιν αὐτάρκεις· οὐδέ τι τοιοῦτον· ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰς πτώσεις ποικίλη, περὶ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς ὀλιγοσύνδεσμος, ἄναρθρος, ἐν πολλοῖς ὑπεροπτικῇ τῆς ἀκολουθίας, ἥκιστα ἀνθηρά, μεγαλόφρων, αὐθέκαστος, ἀκόμψευτος, τὸν ἀρχαϊσμὸν καὶ τὸν πῖνον ἔχουσα κάλλος. Ταύτης τῆς ἁρμονίας πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ζηλωταί, διαφέροντες δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν μὲν ποιήσει ὃ τε Κολοφώνιος Ἀντίμαχος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ φυσικός, ἐν δὲ μελοποιίᾳ Πίνδαρος, ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ δὲ Αἰσχύλος, ἐν ἱστορίᾳ δὲ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν δὲ πολιτικοῖς λόγοις Ἀντιφῶν. προκείσθω δὴ καὶ παραδείγματα· Πινδάρου μὲν διθύραμβός τις οὗ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχή·

‘Δεῦτ' ἐν χορὸν Ὀλύμπιοι

ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν ἐμέπετε χάριν θεοί,

πολύβατον οἷ τ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα

ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις

οἴχνηϊτε πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλές' ἀγοράν,

ἰοδῆτων λαχεῖν στεφάνων τᾶν τ' ἐαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν·
Διόθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ
ἴδετε πορευθέντ' ἀοιδᾶν δεύτερον
ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδόταν θεόν,
τὸν Βρόμιον ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν,
γόνον ὑπάτων νῖν τε πατέρων μέλπομεν
γυναικῶν τε Καδμεῖᾶν Σεμέλαν.
Ἐναργέα τελέων σάματ' οὐ λανθάνει,
φοινικοεάνων ὅπ' οἰχθέντος Ὠρᾶν θαλάμου
εὐοδμον ἐπάγησιν ἕαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα·
τότε βάλλεται, τότ' ἐπ' ἄμβροτον χέρσον ἐραταὶ
ἴων φόβαι ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μίγνυνται
ἄχεϊ τ' ὀμφαὶ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς
ἄχεϊ τε Σεμέλαν ἐλικάμπυκα χοροί·

Ταῦθ' ὅτι μὲν ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ στιβαρὰ καὶ ἀξιωματικὰ καὶ πολὺ τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἔχει, τραχύνει τε ἀλύπως καὶ πικραίνει μετρίως τὰς ἀκοάς, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν. γέγονε δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τέχνην· τὸ γὰρ ἓν χορόν· καὶ ἀντίτυπον καὶ οὐκ εὐεπές, τοῦ μὲν συνδέσμου λήγοντος εἰς τὸ ν, τοῦ δὲ προσηγορικοῦ ἀρχομένου ἐξ ἀφώνου τοῦ χ· ἀσύμμικτα δὲ κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν προηγουμένου τοῦ ν φύσει ταῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀκόλλητα· ὥστε τὰ τῶν συλλαβῶν δύο μόρια οὐ συνάπτει τὸν ἦχον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη σιωπὴν τινα γενέσθαι μέσοιν ἀμφοῖν τὴν διορίζουσιν ἐκατέρων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτι καὶ τὸ 'κλυτάν' ἀντίτυπον πεποίηκε καὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ δυσεκφώνητον ἀναβολὴν καὶ ἐγκοπὴν τῆς ἁρμονίας. εἰ γοῦν τὸ κ τις ἀφέλοι τῆς συλλαβῆς καὶ ποιήσῃ 'ἐπὶ τε λυτάν', λυθήσεται καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἁρμονίας. τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ 'πέμπετε' τῷ 'κλυτάν' ἐπικείμενον οὐκ εὐκέραστον ἦχον ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη στηριχθῆναι τὸ ν, καὶ πιεσθέντος ἱκανῶς τοῦ στόματος τότε ἀκουστὸν γενέσθαι τὸ π· οὐ γὰρ ὑποτακτικὸν τῷ ν τὸ π· τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὁ τοῦ στόματος σχηματισμός, οὔτε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον οὔτε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων ἐκφερομένων ὡς προδεδήλωταί μοι. καὶ πολλὰ τις ἂν εὔροι τοιαῦτα, ὅλην τὴν ᾠδὴν σκοπῶν.

Πινδάρου μὲν οὖν ἅλις ἔστω· Θουκυδίδου δὲ λαμβανέσθω λέξεις ἢ ἐκ τοῦ προοιμίου ἥδε·

Ἐκ τῆς Θουκυδίδους Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου, καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἀμφοτέρω παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἐκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον· κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων· τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν·

Αὕτη ἢ λέξις ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔχει λείας οὐδὲ συνευγμένους ἀκριβῶς

τὰς ἁρμονίας, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εὐεπὴς καὶ μαλακὴ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ στρυφνὸν ἐμφαίνει, οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁμολογήσαντος, ὅτι εἰς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἦττον ἐπιτερπὴς ἢ γραφὴ ἔστι, ‘κτῆμα δ’ εἰς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα εἰς τὸ παραντῖκα ἀκούειν σύγκειται’. τίνα δ’ ἔστι τὰ θεωρήματα, οἷς χρῆσάμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὕτως αὐστηρὰν πεποίηκε τὴν ἁρμονίαν, δι’ ὀλίγων σημανῶ.

Αὐτῖκα ἐν ἀρχῇ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὸ ‘ξυνέγραψεν’ ἐπαγόμενον διίστησιν ἀξιολόγως τὴν ἁρμονίαν· οὐ γὰρ προτάττεται τὸ σ τοῦ ξ κατὰ συνεκφοράν, δεῖ δὲ τοῦ σ σιωπῇ καταληφθέντος τότε ἀκουστὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ξ· τοῦτο δὲ τραχύτητα ἐργάζεται καὶ ἀντιτυπίαν τὸ πάθος. ἔπειθ’ αἱ μετὰ τοῦτο γινόμεναι συγκοπαὶ τῶν ἥχων, τοῦ τε ν καὶ τοῦ τ καὶ τοῦ π καὶ τοῦ κ, τετράκις ἐξῆς ἀλλήλαις παρακείμεναι, χαράτπουσιν εὖ μάλα τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ διασαλεύουσιν ἀξιολόγως τὰς ἁρμονίας, ὅταν φῇ ‘τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων’· τούτων γὰρ τῶν μορίων τῆς λέξεως οὐθὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καταληφθῆναί τε δεῖ καὶ πιεσθῆναι πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος περὶ τὸ τελευταῖον γράμμα, ἵνα τὸ συναπτόμενον αὐτῷ τρανὴν καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λάβη δύναμιν· ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἡ τῶν φωνηέντων παράθεσις ἐν τῷ ‘καὶ Ἀθηναίων’ διακέκρουκε τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ διέστηκε πάνυ αἰσθητὸν τὸν μεταξὺ λαβοῦσα χρόνον· ἀκέραστοι γὰρ αἱ φωναὶ τοῦ τε ι καὶ τοῦ α καὶ ἀποκόπτουσαι τὸν ἥχον· τὸ δ’ εὐεπὲς οἱ συνεχεῖς τε καὶ οἱ συλλαεινόμενοι ποιοῦσιν ἥχοι· καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἂν εὖροι τις.

[23] Ἡ δὲ γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις χαρακτηρὰ τοιόνδε ἔχει· οὐ ζητεῖ καθ’ ἓν ἕκαστον ὄνομα ἐκ περιφανείας ὀρᾶσθαι, οὐδ’ ἐν ἔδρᾳ πάντα βεβηκέναι πλατεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ, οὐδὲ μακροὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἶναι χρόνους, οὐδὲ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ σταθερὸν φίλον αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ κεκινήσθαι βούλεται τὴν ὀνομασίαν καὶ φέρεσθαι θάτερα κατὰ θατέρων ὀνομάτων ὥσπερ τὰ ῥέοντα, καὶ συνυφάνθαι τὰ μόρια, ὥς μιᾶς λέξεως ὄρεξιν διατελεῖν εἰς δύναμιν· τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκρίβεια· χρόνον οὐδένα αἰσθητὸν μεταξὺ ὀνομάτων περιλαμβάνουσαι· ἔοικέ τε κατὰ μέρος εὐητρίοις ὑφαῖς ἢ γραφαῖς συνεφθαρμένα τὰ φωτεινὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς ἐχούσαις· εὐφωνά τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεῖα καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά· τραχεῖαις δὲ συλλαβαῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις ἀπέχθειαι· πον· τὸ δὲ θρασὺ πᾶν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένον δι’ εὐλαβείας ἔχει· καὶ τὰ κῶλα δὲ τοῖς κώλοις εὖ συνυφάνθαι βούλεται καὶ πάντα εἰς περίοδον τελευτᾶν ὀρίζουσιν κώλου τε μῆκος ὃ μὴ βραχύτερον ἔσται μηδὲ μείζον τοῦ μετρίου, καὶ περιόδου μέτρον οὗ πνεῦμα τέλειον ἀνδρὸς κρατήσῃ· χρῆται δὲ καὶ ῥυθμοῖς οὐ τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέσοις τε καὶ βραχυτέροις· καὶ τῶν περιόδων τὰς τελευτὰς εὐρύθμους εἶναι βούλεται καὶ βεβηκυίας ὥς ἂν ἀπὸ στάθμης, τάναντία ποιοῦσα ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἁρμογαῖς ἢ ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ συναλείφει, ταύτας δὲ διίστησι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ περιόπτου βούλεται φανερὰς εἶναι· σχήμασί τε οὐ τοῖς ἀρχαιοπρεπεστάτοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρυφεροῖς καὶ θεατρικοῖς χρῆται· καὶ ὅλως τούναντίον ἔχει σχῆμα τῆς προτέρας· ἐποποιῶν μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε κάλλιστα τουτονὶ δοκεῖ τὸν χαρακτηρὰ ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἡσίοδος· μελοποιῶν δὲ Σαπφῶ καὶ μετ’ αὐτῇν

Ἀνακρέων καὶ Σιμωνίδης· τραγωδοποιῶν δὲ μόνος Εὐριπίδης· συγγραφέων δὲ ἀκριβῶς μὲν οὐδεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑφορός τε καὶ Θεόπομπος· ῥητόρων δὲ Ἴσοκράτης. θήσω δὲ καὶ ταύτης παραδείγματα τῆς ἁρμονίας, ποιητῶν μὲν προχειρισάμενος Σαπφῷ, ῥητόρων δὲ Ἴσοκράτην. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μελοποιουῦ.

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,
παῖ Διὸς δολοπλόκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ἀνίαισι δάμνα
πότνια θυμόν·

ἀλλὰ τύ δελφὲ πόκα τ' ἔρωτα
τὰς ἐμὰς αὐδὰς αἰοῖς· ἀπόλυ
ἔκλυες· πατρὸς δὲ δόμον λιποῖσα,
χρύσειον ἦλθες

ἄρμ' ὑποζεύξασα· καλοὶ δέ σ' ἄγον

ὠκέες στρουθοὶ περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πυκνὰ δινεῦντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠρανῶθε

ρος διὰ μέσω.

αἴψα δ' ἐξίκοντο· τὺ δ' ὦ μάκαιρα
μειδιάσας' ἀθανάτω προσώπω
ἦρε' ὅ τι δ' ἦν τὸ πέπονθα, κῶτι
δεῦρο κάλημι·

κῶτι γ' ἐμῷ μάλιστα θέλω γενέσθω
μαινόλα θυμῷ· τίνα δηῦτε πειθῶ
καὶ σαγήνεσσιν φιλότητα· τίς ὦ
Σαπφῷ δίκη·

καὶ γὰρ εἰ φεύγει ταχέως διώξει·
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δὲ καὶ τ' ἄλλα δώσει·
αἰ δὲ μὴ φιλεῖ, ταχέως φιλήσει·
κῶ εἰ καὶ θέλεις.

ἐλθέ μοι καὶ νῦν· χαλεπαῖν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μεριμνᾶν· ὅσα δέ μοι τελέσαι
θυμὸς ἱμέρει τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὐτᾶ
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

ταύτης τῆς λέξεως ἡ εὐέπεια καὶ ἡ χάρις ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ λειότητι γέγονε τῶν ἁρμονιῶν· παρὰκειται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ συνύφονται κατὰ τινὰς οἰκειότητος καὶ συζυγίας φυσικὰς τῶν γραμμάτων· τὰ γὰρ φωνήεντα τοῖς ἀφώνοις συνάπτεται μικροῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὥδῃς, ὅσα προτάττεσθαι καὶ ὑποτάττεσθαι πέφυκεν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεκφερόμενα· ἡμιφώνων τε πρὸς ἡμίφωνα καὶ ἀφώνων καὶ φωνηέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπτώσεις, αἱ διασπαλύνουσι τοὺς ἦχους, ὀλίγαι πάνυ ἔννευσιν. εἰκότως δὴ γέγονεν εὖρους τις ἡ λέξις καὶ μαλακὴ, τῆς ἁρμονίας τῶν ὀνομάτων μηδὲν ἀποκυματιζούσης τὸν ἦχον.

Καὶ Σαπφοῦς μὲν ταῦτα· Ἴσοκράτους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτικοῦ τάδε·

Ἐπολλοὺς ὑμῶν οἶομαι θαυμάζειν, ἦντινὰ ποτε γνώμην ἔχων περὶ σωτηρίας τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποίησάμην, ὥσπερ ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνοις

οὔσης ἢ σφαλερώς αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστώτων, ἀλλ' οὐ πλείους μὲν τριήρεις ἢ διακοσίας κεκτημένης, εἰρήνην δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγούσης καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχούσης, ἔτι δὲ συμμάχους ἐχούσης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐτοίμους ἡμῖν ἦν τι δέη βοηθήσοντας, πολλὸν δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταπτόμενον ποιοῦντας. ὧν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμᾶς μὲν ἂν τις φήσειεν εἰκὸς εἶναι θαρρεῖν ὡς πόρρω τῶν κινδύνων ὄντας, τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις προσήκειν δεδιέναι καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ σωτηρίας. ὕμεῖς μὲν οὖν οἴδ' ὅτι τοῦτῳ χρώμενοι τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προσόδου καταφρονεῖτε καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλπίζετε τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ κατασχέσειν· ἐγὼ δὲ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τυγχάνω δεδιώς. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἄριστα πράττειν οἰομένας κάκιστα βουλευομένας, καὶ τὰς μάλιστα θαρρούσας εἰς πλεῖστον κίνδυνον καθισταμένας. αἵτιον δὲ τούτων ἐστίν, ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ παραγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ συντέτακται καὶ συνακολουθεῖ τοῖς μὲν πλούτοις καὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις ἄνοια καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἀκολασία, ταῖς δὲ ἐνδεαῖς καὶ ταῖς ταπεινότησιν καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πολλὴ μετριότης. ὥστε χαλεπὸν εἶναι διαγνῶναι, ποτέραν ἂν τις εὖξαιτο τῶν μερίδων τούτων τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν· ἴδοι γὰρ ἂν ἐκ μὲν τῆς φαυλοτέρας εἶναι δοκούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδιδούσας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς κρείττονος φαινομένης ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εἰθισμένας μεταπίπτειν.'

Ταῦθ' ὅτι συνείληπταί τε καὶ συγκέχρωσται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕκαστον ὄνομα ἐν ἔδρῳ περιφανεῖ καὶ πλατεία βέβηκεν οὐδὲ μακροῖς τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις διείργεται καὶ διαβέβηκεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐν κινήσει φαίνεται καὶ ῥύσει συνεχεῖ, πραεῖαί τε εἰσι καὶ συνάπτουσαι τὴν λέξιν ἁρμονίαι, τὸ ἄλογον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ τῆς ἀκοῆς πάθος. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἄλλα τινὰ τούτων ἐστὶν αἵτια ἢ τὰ προειρημένα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ταύτης τῶν λόγων, ῥάδιον ἐξ ἐκείνων ἰδεῖν.

[24] Ἡ δὲ τρίτη καὶ μέση τῶν εἰρημένων ἁρμονιῶν σχῆμα μὲν ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἔχει, κεκέρασται δὲ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων μετρίως. καὶ ἔστιν ἐκλογὴ τις τῶν ἐν ἐκατέρῃ κρατίστων. ὧν αὕτη δοκεῖ μοι τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐπιτηδεῖα εἶναι φέρεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ μεσότης μὲν τις ἐστί· μεσότης δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ βίων καὶ ἔργων. ὁρᾶται δὲ οὐ κατὰ ἀπαρτισμόν, ἀλλὰ ἐν πλάτει, καὶ τὰς εἰδικὰς ἔχει διαφορὰς πολλὰς· οἳ τε χρησάμενοι αὐτῇ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ πάντες οὐδ' ὁμοίως ἐπετήδευσαν.

Κορυφὴ μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων καὶ σκοπός,

ἐξ οὗ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα

καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι, δικαίως ἂν Ὅμηρος λέγοιτο· πᾶς γὰρ αὐτῷ τόπος, ὅτου τις ἂν ἄψοιτο, ταῖς τε αὖστηραῖς καὶ ἀνθηραῖς ἁρμονίαις εἰς ἄκρον διαπεποίκιλται. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι τὴν αὐτὴν μεσότητα ἐπετήδευσαν, ὕστεροι μέντοι Ὀμήρου μακρῷ παρ' ἐκείνον ἐξεταζόμενοι φαίνονται· ἂν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ εἰ θεωροῖη τις αὐτούς, ἀξιοθέατοι· μελοποιῶν μὲν Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, τραγωδοποιῶν δὲ Σοφοκλῆς, συγγραφέων δὲ Ἡρόδοτος, ῥητόρων δὲ Δημοσθένης, φιλοσόφων δὲ κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν

Δημόκριτός τε καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. τούτων γὰρ ἐτέρους εὐρεῖν ἀμήχανον ἄμεινον κεράσαντας τοὺς λόγους.

[25] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥητέον, πῶς γίνεται λέξις ἄμετρος ὁμοία καλῶ ποιήματι ἢ μέλει, καὶ πῶς ποίημα ἢ μέλος πεζῇ λέξει καλῇ παραπλήσιον. ἔστω δὲ παράδειγμα Δημοσθένους, ὃν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα οἶμαι τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐκμεμάχθαι φράσιν· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε, τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰκέναι ποιήμασί τε καὶ μέλεσι τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς φιλιππικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δικανικοὺς τοὺς δημοσίους; ὣν ἐνὸς τὸ προοίμιον τουτί·

‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με μήτ’ ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεχ’ ἥκειν Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορήσοντα τουτουί, μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἀμάρτημα ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ προάγειν ἔμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειαν· ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἄρ’ ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι καὶ σκοπῶ, περὶ τοῦ Χερόνησον ἔχειν ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθέντας ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς, περὶ τούτου ἐστὶ μοι ἅπανα ἡ σπουδὴ’.

Πειρατέον δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν, ἃ φρονῶ. Πᾶσα λέξις ἢ δίχα μέτρου συγκεκριμένη ποιητικὴν ἢ μελικὴν οἶμαι χάριν οὐ δύναται προσλαβεῖν κατὰ γοῦν τὴν σύνθεσιν αὐτὴν, ἐὰν μὴ περιέχῃ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμούς τινας ἐγκατατεταγμένους ἀδήλους. οὐ μέντοι προσήκει γε ἔμμετρον οὐδ’ ἔρρυθμον αὐτὴν εἶναι δοκεῖν· ποίημα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται καὶ μέλος, ἀλλ’ εὐρυθμον αὐτὴν χρὴ καὶ ἔμμετρον φαίνεσθαι μόνον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἴη ποιητικὴ μέν, οὐ μὴν ποίημά γε· καὶ ἐμμελὴς μέν, οὐ μέλος δέ. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοία παραλαμβάνουσα μέτρα καὶ τεταγμένους σώζουσα ῥυθμούς καὶ κατὰ στίχον ἢ περίοδον ἢ στροφὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περαινομένη κἄπειτα πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆς χρωμένη καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ ποιοῦσα ἔρρυθμός ἐστι καὶ ἔμμετρος, καὶ ὀνόματα αὐτῇ μέτρον καὶ μέλος· ἢ δὲ πεπλανημένα μέτρα καὶ ἀτάκτους ῥυθμούς ἐμπεριλαμβάνουσα εὐρυθμός μὲν ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ διαπεποίκιλται τισὶ ῥυθμοῖς, οὐκ ἔρρυθμός δέ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. τοιαύτην δὴ φημι πᾶσαν εἶναι λέξιν ἄμετρον, ἥτις ἐμφαίνει τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ μελικόν· ἢ δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην κεχρησθαι φημί. αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος παραδείγματος ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ ἀναπαιστικοῦ στίχου τετραμέτρου· λείπεται δὲ ποδὶ τοῦ τελείου, παρ’ ὃ καὶ λέληθε· ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με’· τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ προσλάβοι πόδα, τέλειον ἀναπαιστικὸν ἔσται, ὃ καλοῦσι τινὲς Ἀριστοφάνειον· ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με παρεῖναι’· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ ταυτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ συναπτόμενον τούτῳ κῶλον, εἰ διαλύσειέ τις αὐτοῦ τὴν δευτέραν συναλοιφήν, ἢ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸ ἄσημον ἐπισυνάπτουσα τῷ τρίτῳ κῶλῳ, πεντάμετρον ἐλεγειακὸν ἔσται συντετελεσμένον τουτί· ‘μήτ’ ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεκα’· καὶ ἐνὸς δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ κῶλου συγκεκριμένου λεκτικῶς τοῦ ‘ἥκειν Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορήσαντα τουτουί’, τὸ συμπλεκόμενον τούτῳ πάλιν κῶλον Ἀριστοφάνειον ἐστί· ‘μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἀμάρτημα ἐτοίμως οὕτως’ τὸ δ’ ἀκόλουθον ἴσον ἐστὶν ἱαμβικῶς τριμέτρῳ τὸν ἔσχατον ἀφηρημένῳ πόδα· ‘προάγειν ἔμαυτὸν

εἰς ἀπέχθειαν'. καὶ τὸ προσεχὲς πάλιν ἱαμβεῖδόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦτο τρίμετρον ὀρθόν· ἄλλ' εἴπερ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι', τοῦ ἄρα συνδέσμου μακρὰν λαμβάνοντος τὴν προτέραν συλλαβήν· καὶ ἔτι τὸ 'καὶ σκοπῶ' παρεμπεσὸν ἐπισκοτούμενον τὸ μέτρον ἠφάνισε. καὶ μηδεὶς ἄτοπον λογίσαιτο, εἰ τοσαύτης δόξης ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων, ἔργα συνταττόμενος αἰώνια καὶ διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τῷ πάντα βασανίζοντι χρόνῳ ἡβουλήθη μηδὲν εἰκῇ μήτε πρᾶγμα παραλαμβάνειν μήτ' ὄνομα, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων οὐ γραπτοῖς ἀλλὰ γλυπτοῖς καὶ τορευτοῖς ἐοικότας ἐκφερόντων λόγους, λέγω δὲ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος τῶν σοφιστῶν· ὁ μὲν γε τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον, ὡς οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον γράφοντες, ἔτεσι δέκα συνετάξατο· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διαλόγους κτενίζων καὶ βοστρυχίζων καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀναπλέκων οὐ διέλιπεν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγωνῶς ἔτη· γνώρισμα δὲ τούτου τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δέλτον, ἣν τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν εὐρεθῆναι ποικίλως μετακειμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Πολιτείας ἔχουσιν τήνδε· 'Κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαῦκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος'. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον προσήκει τούτοις μηδενὸς τῶν ἐλαχίστων ὀλιγωρεῖν ἢ ζωγράφους καὶ τορευταῖς περὶ τὰ φλεβία καὶ τὰ πτίλα καὶ τὸν χνοῦν καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας μικρολογίας κατατρίβειν τὴν τῆς τέχνης ἀκρίβειαν. μεῖράκιον μὲν οὖν ὄντα αὐτὸν καὶ νεωστὶ τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπτόμενον οὐκ ἄλογον πάντα περισκοπεῖν, ὅσα δυνατὰ ἦν εἰς ἐπιτήδευσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πεσεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ χρόνιος ἄσκησις ἰσχὺν πολλὴν λαβοῦσα τύπους τινὰς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ παντὸς τοῦ μελετωμένου καὶ σφραγιῖδας ἐνεποίησεν, ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξεως αὐτὰ ἥδει ποιεῖν. οἷόν τι γίνεται κὰν ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις, ὣν ἐνέργειά τις ἢ ποίησις τὸ τέλος· καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ γράμματα παιδευόμενοι πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνομεν, ἔπειτα τοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, εἴθ' οὕτω τὰς συλλαβάς καὶ τὰ ἐν ταύταις πάθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐταῖς, ἐκτάσεις τε καὶ συστολὰς καὶ προσωδίας καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· ὅταν δὲ τούτων τὴν ἐπιστήμην λάβωμεν, τότε ἀρχόμεθα γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν κατὰ συλλαβάς· καὶ βραδέως τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀξιόλογος προσελθὼν τύπους ἰσχυροὺς αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ποιήσῃ, τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάστου δρῶμεν αὐτά, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιδῶ τις βιβλίον, ἀπταιστως διερχόμεθα ἔξει τε καὶ τάχει ἀπίστῳ. τοιοῦτο δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων γίνεται παρὰ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς τοῦ ἔργου· τοὺς δὲ τούτου ἀπείρους θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀπιστεῖν οὐκ ἄλογον.

[26] Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμμελοῦς καὶ ἐμμέτρου συνθέσεως τῆς ἐχούσης πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὴν πεζὴν λέξιν, πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν αἰτία κἀναυῖθα ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμογή· δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν κώλων σύνθεσις· τρίτη δὲ ἡ τῶν περιόδων ἐμμετρία. τὸν δὴ βουλόμενον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει κατορθοῦν δεῖ τὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια συμμέτρως μὴ συναπαρτίζοντα τοῖς στίχοις, ἀλλὰ διατέμνοντα τὸ μέτρον, ἄνισά τε ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς κόμματα συνάγειν βραχύτερα κώλων· τὰς τε περιόδους μήτε ἰσομεγέθεις μήτε ὁμοιοσχήμονας τὰς γοῦν παρακειμένας ἀλλήλαις ἐργάζεσθαι· ἔγγιστα γὰρ φαίνεται λόγοις τὸ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰ μέτρα πεπλανημένον·

παράδειγμα τούτων

Αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐγ' λιμένος προσέβη τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπὸν·

ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο κῶλον. ἕτερον δέ

χῶρον ἄν' ὑλήεντα

ἔλαττον τε τοῦ προτέρου, καὶ δίχα τέμνον τὸν στίχον· τρίτον δέ

δι' ἄκριας

κομμάτιον τέταρτον δέ

οἷ οἱ Ἀθήνη

πέφραδε δῖον ὑφορβόν ἐξ ἡμιστιχίων δύο· ἔπειτα τὸ τελευταῖον

ὃ οἱ βιότοιο μάλιστα

κῆδετο οἰκῆων· οὐς κτήσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς

ἀτελῇ μὲν τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦν στίχον, τοῦ δὲ τετάρτου τῇ προσθήκῃ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀφηρημένον. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ νοητέον κἂν τοῖς ἱαμβικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μέτροις· ὣν παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς μυρία τὰ παραδείγματα.

Τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς καλοῖς λόγοις μέτρα καὶ μέλη, διὰ ταύτας γινόμενα τὰς αἰτίας.

On Imitation

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΑΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΙΜΗΣΕΩΣ

[26] Ῥητορική ἐστὶ δύναμις τεχνικὴ πιθανοῦ λόγου ἐν πράγματι πολιτικῷ, τέλος ἔχουσα τὸ εὖ λέγειν.

[27] τρία ταῦτα τὴν ἀρίστην ἡμῖν ἔν τε τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις ἔξιν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τέχνῃ τε καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ χορηγήσει· φύσις δεξιὰ, μάθησις ἀκριβής, ἄσκησις ἐπίπονος· ἅ περ καὶ τὸν Παιανιέα τοιοῦτον ἀπειργάσατο.

[28] μίμησις ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἐκματτομένη τὸ παράδειγμα.

ζῆλος δέ ἐστιν ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς πρὸς θαῦμα τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καλοῦ κινουμένη.

[30] τῆς μὲν δυνάμεως τὴν κυριωτάτην εἶναι μοῖραν ἐν τῇ φύσει, ἣν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οἶαν ἀξιοῦμεν ἔχειν· τῆς δὲ προαιρέσεως οὐδὲν μέρος ἐστὶν οὐ μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν.

[31,1,1] Ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐντυγχάνειν συγγράμμασιν, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν μὴ μόνον τῆς ὑποθέσεως τὴν ὕλην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν ιδιωμάτων ζῆλον χορηγηθῶμεν. ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς παρατηρήσεως τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἐφέλκεται. ὁποῖόν τι καὶ γυναικὰ ἀγροίκου παθεῖν ὁ μῦθος λέγει· ἀνδρί, φασί, γεωργῷ τὴν ὄψιν αἰσχυρῷ παρέστη δέος, μὴ τέκνων ὁμοίων γένηται πατήρ· ὁ φόβος δὲ αὐτὸν οὗτος εὐπαιδίας ἐδίδαξε τέχνην. καὶ εἰκόνας παραδείξας εὐπρεπεῖς εἰς αὐτὰς βλέπειν εἴθισε τὴν γυναικὰ· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συγγενόμενος αὐτῇ τὸ κάλλος εὐτύχησε τῶν εἰκόνων. οὕτω καὶ λόγων μιμήσεσιν ὁμοιότης τίκτεται, ἐπὰν ζηλώσῃ τις τὸ παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν παλαιῶν βέλτιον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ καθά περ ἐκ πολλῶν ναμάτων ἔν τι συγκομίσας ῥεῦμα τοῦτ' εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μετοχετεύσῃ. καὶ μοι παρίσταται πιστώσασθαι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἔργῳ· Ζεῦξις ἦν ζωγράφος, καὶ παρὰ Κροτωνιατῶν ἐθαυμάζετο· καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἑλένην γράφοντι γυμνὴν γυμνάς ἰδεῖν τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεψαν παρθένους· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ περ ἦσαν ἅπασαι καλαί, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ὡς παντάπασιν ἦσαν αἰσχυραί· ὁ δ' ἦν ἄξιον παρ' ἐκάστη γραφῆς, ἐς μίαν ἡθοροίσθη σώματος εἰκόνα, καὶ πολλῶν μερῶν συλλογῆς ἔν τι συνέθηκεν ἡ τέχνη τέλειον [καλὸν] εἶδος. τοιγαροῦν πάρεστι καὶ σοὶ καθά περ ἐν θεάτρῳ παλαιῶν σωμάτων ιδέας ἐξιστορεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ψυχῆς ἀπανθίζεσθαι τὸ κρεῖττον, καὶ τὸν τῆς πολυμαθείας ἔρανον συλλέγοντι οὐκ ἐξίτηλον χρόνῳ γενησομένην εἰκόνα τυποῦν ἀλλ' ἀθάνατον τέχνης κάλλος.

* * * ἕάν τ' ἐκδήλους καὶ σαφεῖς τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἔχη τὸ μίμημα.

[31,2,1] Τῆς μὲν οὖν Ὀμηρικῆς ποιήσεως οὐ μίαν τινὰ τοῦ σώματος μοῖραν, ἀλλ' ἐκτύπωσαι τὸ σύμπαν, καὶ λάβε ζῆλον ἡθῶν τε τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παθῶν καὶ μεγέθους, καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀπασῶν εἰς ἀληθῆ τὴν παρὰ σοὶ μίμησιν ἡλλαγμένων. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ἐν οἷς <ἀν>

ἀλλήλων πλέον ἔχωσι, ^[31,2,2] χρή μιμεῖσθαι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἐφρόντισεν
 ἡδονῆς ^[31,2,3] δι' ὀνομάτων λειότητος καὶ συνθέσεως ἐμμελοῦς. Ἀντίμαχος
 δὲ εὐτονίας καὶ ἀγωνιστικῆς τραχύτητος καὶ ^[31,2,4] τοῦ συνήθους τῆς
 ἐξαλλαγῆς. Πανύασις δὲ τὰς τε ἀμφοῖν ἀρετὰς εἰσηνέγκατο, καὶ αὐτὸς
 πραγματεῖα ^[31,2,5] καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίᾳ διήνεγκεν. Ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ
 Πίνδαρος ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων εἵνεκα, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ τόνου
 καὶ περιουσίας κατασκευῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ πικρίας μετὰ ἡδονῆς· καὶ
 πυκνότητος καὶ σεμνότητος, καὶ γνωμολογίας καὶ ἐναργείας, καὶ
 σχηματισμῶν καὶ ἡθοποιίας καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ δεινώσεως· μάλιστα δὲ τῶν
 εἰς σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ^[31,2,6] καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἡθῶν. Σιμωνίδου
 δὲ παρατῇρη τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τῆς συνθέσεως τὴν ἀκρίβειαν·
 πρὸς τοῦτοις, καθ' ὃ βελτίων εὐρίσκεται καὶ Πινδάρου, τὸ οἰκτίζεσθαι μὴ
 μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀλλὰ ^[31,2,7] παθητικῶς. Ὅρα δὲ καὶ Στησίχορον ἔν τε τοῖς
 ἐκατέρων τῶν προειρημένων πλεονεκτήμασι κατορθοῦντα, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι λείπονται κρατοῦντα· λέγω δὲ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τῶν κατὰ
 τὰς ὑποθέσεις πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἡθῆ καὶ τὰ ἀξιώματα τῶν ^[31,2,8]
 προσώπων τετήρηκεν. Ἀλκαίου δὲ σκόπει τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ βραχὺ καὶ
 ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν,
 ὅσον αὐτῆς μὴ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τι κεκάκωται· καὶ πρὸ ἀπάντων τὸ τῶν
 πολιτικῶν ποιημάτων ἦθος· πολλαχοῦ γοῦν τὸ μέτρον τις εἰ περιέλοι,
 ῥητορείαν ἂν εὖροι πολιτικὴν. - ^[31,2,9] Ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τραγωδοὺς, οὐκ
 ἐπειδὴ μὴ προσήκει πᾶσιν τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐντυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντων
 καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μεμνησθαι· τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐξαιρέτων, ^[31,2,10] ἱκανόν ἐστιν.
 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αἰσχύλος πρῶτος ὑψηλὸς τε καὶ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἐχόμενος,
 καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ παθῶν τὸ πρέπον εἰδώς, καὶ τῇ τροπικῇ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ λέξει
 διαφερόντως κεκοσμημένος, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ
 ποιητῆς ἰδίῳν ὀνομάτων καὶ πραγμάτων, Εὐριπίδου δὲ καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ
 ποικιλώτερος ^[31,2,11] ταῖς τῶν προσώπων ἐπεισαγωγαῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἔν τε
 τοῖς «ἦθεσι καὶ τοῖς» πάθεσι διήνεγκεν τὸ τῶν προσώπων ἀξίωμα τηρῶν·
 Εὐριπίδῃ μέντοι τὸ ὅλον ἀληθές καὶ προσεχές τῷ βίῳ τῷ νῦν ἤρρεσεν· ὅθεν
 τὸ πρέπον αὐτὸν καὶ κόσμιον πολλαχοῦ διέφυγεν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὰ γεννικὰ καὶ
 μεγαλοφυῇ τῶν προσώπων ἡθῆ καὶ πάθη καθά περ Σοφοκλῆς κατάρθρωσεν·
 εἰ δέ τι ἄσεμνον καὶ ἀνανδρον καὶ ταπεινόν, σφόδρα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν αὐτὸν
 ἠκριβωκότα. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς μὲν οὐ περιττὸς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖος·
 ὁ δὲ Εὐριπίδης πολὺς ἐν ταῖς ῥητορικαῖς εἰσαγωγαῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητικὸς
 ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεγέθους εἰς διάκενον
 κόμπον ἐκπίπτων οἷον εἰς ἰδιωτικὴν παντάπασι ταπεινότητα κατέρχεται· ὁ
 δὲ οὔτε ὑψηλὸς ἐστιν οὔτε μὴν λιτός, ἀλλὰ κεκραμένη μεσότητι τῆς
 λέξεως κέχρηται.

Τῶν δὲ κωμωδῶν μιμητέον τὰς λεκτικὰς ἀρετὰς ἀπάσας· εἰσὶ γὰρ
 καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καθαροὶ καὶ σαφεῖς, καὶ βραχεῖς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ
 δεινοὶ καὶ ἠθικοί. Μενάνδρου δὲ καὶ τὸ πραγματικὸν θεωρητέον.

^[31,3,1] Τῶν μέντοι συγγραφέων Ἡρόδοτος μὲν ἐξείργασται βέλτιον τὸ
 πραγματικὸν εἶδος· τῷ δὲ λεκτικῷ ποτὲ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖ Θουκυδίδης, ποτὲ δὲ

ἐμπαλιν· ἔστιν δ' ἐν οἷς ἐξισοῦνται. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἥς ἑκάτεροι προήρηνται διαλέκτου ἀποσώζουσι τὸ ἴδιον· τῆς σαφηνείας δὲ ἀναμφισβητήτως Ἡροδότῳ τὸ κατόρθωμα δέδοται. καὶ τὸ μὲν σύντομον ἔστι παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐναργὲς παρὰ ἀμφοτέροις. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἠθικοῖς κρατεῖ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς ὁ Θουκυδίδης. πάλιν καλλιλογία καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεία διαφέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἑκάτεροι τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρετῶν κρατοῦσι. ῥώμῃ δὲ καὶ ἰσχύι καὶ τόνῳ καὶ τῷ περιττῷ καὶ πολυσχηματίστῳ παρηυδοκίμησε Θουκυδίδης· ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ χάριτι καὶ τῷ [ἀφελεῖ] αὐτοφυεῖ [ἀβασανίστῳ] μακρῷ διενεγκόντα τὸν Ἡρόδοτον εὐρίσκομεν· ὃς καὶ μετὰ τούτων τὸ πρέπον <περὶ> πραγματείαν καὶ προσωποποιίαν μᾶλλον συντετήρηκεν.

[31.3.2] Φιλίστου δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος * * ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν Ἡροδότου ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο κατὰ τε τὰς πραγματικὰς ἀρετὰς <καὶ τὰς λεκτικὰς· καὶ τῷ μὲν πραγματικῷ τύπῳ οὐχ ἥττων Ἡροδότου κατὰ τε τὰς ὑποθέσεις> καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰ ἠθικά, τῷ δὲ λεκτικῷ πῃ μὲν ὁμοιος, πῃ δὲ ἐλάττων· ἐκλεκτικὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθαρὸς τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ἐναργής, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἡδὺς καὶ εὐχαρις, ὥς καὶ πλεῖον <ἔχει> ἐκείνου· ὕψους δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ καθόλου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ πλάσματος οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ πρέποντος τοῖς προσώποις πολλάκις ἐστοχάσατο, περιτιθεὶς ἀνδράσιν ἰδιώταις καὶ βαρβάροις ἔσθ' ὅτε λόγους φιλοσόφους, λέξει χρώμενος διαλόγοις πρεπούσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιωτικοῖς κατορθώμασι. Φίλιστος δὲ μιμητὴς ἔστι Θουκυδίδου, ἔξω τοῦ ἥθους· ὧ μὲν γὰρ ἐλεύθερον καὶ φρονήματος μεστόν· τοῦτ' δὲ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν τυράννων καὶ δοῦλον πλεονεξίας. ἐζήλωκεν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀτελῆ καταλιπεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τρόπον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀταξίαν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκονομίας· καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητον τὴν πραγματείαν τῇ συγχύσει τῶν εἰρημένων πεποίηκεν. τῆς <δὲ> λέξεως τὸ μὲν γλωσσηματικὸν καὶ περιέργον οὐκ ἐζήλωκεν Θουκυδίδου· τὸ δὲ στρογγύλον καὶ πυκνὸν καὶ εὐτονον καὶ ἐναγώνιον πάννυ ἀκριβῶς ἀπεμάξατο, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως τὴν καλλιλογίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων, καὶ τὰ βάρη καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς. μικρὸς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταπεινὸς κομιδῇ ταῖς ἐκφράσεσιν ἥτοι τόπων ἢ ναυμαχιῶν ἢ πεζῶν παρατάξεων ἢ οἰκισμοῦ πόλεων. οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πράγματος ἐξισοῦται. συνετὸς μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. Θουκυδίδου <δὲ> πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἀγῶνας ὠφελιμώτερος.

[31.3.3] Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Χῖος πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ προέλεσθαι τοιαύτας ἱστορίας ὑποθέσεις ἄξιός τ' ἐστίν· μετὰ δέ, οἰκονομίας (ἔχει γοῦν τὸ εὐπαρακολούθητον καὶ σαφὲς ἢ γραφὴ)· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς ποικιλίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις παρρησίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ τὰς ἀπορρήτους τῶν γενομένων ἢ λεχθέντων αἰτίας ἀποκρύψασθαι, στοχάσασθαι δ' ἀκριβῶς τῆς τῶν εἰπόντων ἢ πεπονηκότων γνώμης. τὸ <δὲ> λεκτικὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰσοκρατικῷ παραπλήσιον, πλὴν ὅσον πικρόν ἐστι καὶ σφόδρα ἔντονον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοία ἢ λέξεις· καὶ γὰρ κοινὴ καὶ σαφὴς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ σεμνὴ καὶ πομπικὴ, συνθέσεως τετυχηκυῖα τῆς πρὸς

ἡδονήν. πονηρά δὲ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς τῶν φωνηέντων φυλακὴ συγκρούσεως καὶ <αἰ> κατεπιτετηδευμέναι κυκλικαὶ περίοδοι καὶ <οἱ> ὁμοιειδεῖς τῶν σχηματισμῶν. διήμαρτεν δὲ καὶ ὁμαλότητος πραγματικῆς κατὰ τὰς τῶν παρεκβάσεων ἐπεισαγωγάς· καὶ γὰρ ψυχρῶς ἔναι καὶ ἀκαίρως λέγονται, καθάπερ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Σιληνὸν ἱστορηθέντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν δράκοντα τὸν πρὸς τὴν τριήρη ναυμαχοῦντα.

[31.4,1] [Τῶν φιλοσόφων δ' ἀναγνωστέον τοὺς τε Πυθαγορικοὺς τῆς σεμνότητος καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἔνεκεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας· μεγαλοπρεπεῖς γὰρ τῇ λέξει καὶ ποιητικοί· καὶ οὐδὲ παραλυποῦσι τὴν σαφήνειαν κεκραμένη τῇ διαλέκτῳ χρώμενοι.] μιμητέον δὲ μάλιστα Ξενοφῶντα καὶ Πλάτωνα τῶν τε ἡθῶν χάριν καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπειάς. παραληπτέον δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην εἰς μίμησιν τῆς τε περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν δεινότητος καὶ τῆς σαφηνείας, καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος καὶ πολυμαθοῦς· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι μάλιστα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦτου λαβεῖν. φιλοτιμώμεθα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐντυγχάνειν, οὐδὲν ἐλάττωνος οὔσι σπουδῆς ἀξίους.

[31.4,2] Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐξεργασμένα, ῥητέον λοιπὸν καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων ἔστιν ἐκάστου λαβεῖν· ὁ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον.

[31.5,1] Ὁ Λυσιακὸς λόγος πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν αὐτάρκης, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐχμηρὸν ἐκπεφευγώς, πάνυ δὲ λιτὸς καὶ ἰσχνὸς κατὰ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν. ἔστι δὲ κομψὸς καὶ ἐναλήθης, καὶ τῷ ἀπτικισμῷ εὐχαρις· οὐ μὴν ἀτεχνῶς αὐξητικὸς, πλὴν τοῦ σκοποῦ λεληθότως ἐπιτυγχάνων, μετ' ἀκροτάτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν χάριν ἡδονῆς, ὡς ἀναγινωσκόμενον μὲν οὐ χαλεπὸν νομίζεσθαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι ζηλοῦν πειρωμένοις. μάλιστα δὲ ἐπιτευκτικὸς ἐν ταῖς διηγήσεσιν· ἰσχνότητι γὰρ τῆς φράσεως σαφῇ καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένην [31.5,2] ἔχουσι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔκθεσιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰσοκρατικὸς κομψεύεται μὲν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σεμνότητος, καὶ πανηγυρικώτερός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ δικανικώτερος. ἔχει δὲ τὸν κόσμον μετὰ ἐναργείας, καὶ πομπικὸς ἐστὶ πέρα τοῦ ἀνυστικοῦ καὶ χρησίμου· οὐ μὴν ἀγωνιστικὸς, περιγράφων δὲ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ταῖς περιόδοις, καὶ ὅλως σεμνότητα σωφρονίζων λιτότητι, τὸ δὲ λιτὸν ἐξαίρων *
* καὶ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ζηλωτέον τὴν τε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογὴν καὶ συνέχειαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ὅλης [31.5,3] ἰδέας ἐπιδεικτικόν. Ὁ δὲ Λυκούργειός ἐστι διὰ παντὸς αὐξητικὸς καὶ διηρμένος καὶ σεμνός, καὶ ὅλως κατηγορικὸς καὶ φιλαλήθης καὶ παρρησιαστικὸς· οὐ μὴν ἀστεῖος οὐδὲ ἡδύς, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαῖος. τοῦτου χρῆ [31.5,4] ζηλοῦν μάλιστα τὰς δεινώσεις. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθενικὸς εὐτόνος τῇ φράσει <καὶ> κεκραμένος τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ λέξεων ἐκλογῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ χρώμενος τάξει τῇ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὴν χάριν ἔχων καὶ συνεχής· οἷς μάλιστα δικασταὶ κατέχονται.

[31.5,5] Ὁ δὲ Αἰσχίνειος ἀτονώτερος μὲν τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λέξεων ἐκλογῇ πομπικὸς ἅμα καὶ δεινός· καὶ οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἔντεχνος, τῇ δὲ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εὐχερέϊα κεχορηγημένος· καὶ σφόδρα ἐνεργῆς καὶ βαρὺς καὶ αὐξητικὸς καὶ πικρός, καὶ ἡδύς μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐντυχόντι, [31.5,6] σφοδρὸς

δὲ ἐξετασθεῖς. Ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης εὖστοχος μὲν, σπάνιον δ' αὐξητικός· καὶ τῇ μὲν τῆς φράσεως κατασκευῇ Λυσίαν ὑπερηρκώς, τῇ δὲ τῆς εὐρέσεως πανουργία πάντας. ἔτι δὲ τοῦ κρινομένου διὰ παντὸς ἔχεται, καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τοῦ πράγματος προσπέφυκεν, καὶ συνέσει πολλῇ κεχορήγηται, καὶ χάριτος μεστός ἐστι· καὶ δοκῶν ἀπλοῦς οὐκ ἀπήλλακται δεινότητος. τούτου ζηλωτέον μάλιστα τῶν διηγήσεων τὸ λεπτόν καὶ σύμμετρον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους, ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα βαδίζει.

[31,5,7] Καί μοι καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων οὗτοι κεχακτηρισμένοι καὶ δεδειγμένοι, τίνος ἀρετῆς ἐπιλημμένοι εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἕκαστος συνεισφέρει. τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα τὰς τῶν προειρημένων ἀπάντων ἰδέας διεξῆλθον, ὥς ὑποδεδειχθαι τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιμελοῦς ἀναγνώσεως, ἐξ ἧς ὑπάρξει τὸ παρ' ἑκάστοις κατορθούμενον αἰρουμένοις μήτε παρέργως τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν μήτε λεληθότως τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσγινομένην περιμένειν ἀλλ' ἐπιστημόνως, ἄλλως τε καὶ κοσμήσειν μέλλουσι τὸν λόγον τοῖς παρὰ πάντων πλεονεκτήμασιν· ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν οἰκεία φύσει τέρπει, εἰ δὲ καὶ κερασθεῖη διὰ τῆς τέχνης εἰς ἐνὸς τύπον λογικοῦ σώματος, βελτίων ἢ φράσις τῇ μίξει γίνεται.

[31A] Ὅτι ζωγράφος τις κάλλος ἄριστον γράφαι βουλόμενος τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν καλὰς γυναῖκας συνήθροισε, καὶ ἄφ' ἑκάστης τὸ τῶν μελῶν μιμούμενος κάλλιστον, τῆς μὲν ὀφθαλμούς, τῆς δὲ ῥῖνα, τῆς δὲ ὀφρύας καὶ ἄπ' ἄλλης ἄλλο (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἀπάσας καλὰ φέρειν τὰ πάντα), κάλλιστον εἶδος ἀπηκριβώσατο. ἔοικε δὲ τοῦτο λαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Ὁμήρου. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπογράφων τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα [B 478 s]

ὄμματα (μὲν φησί) καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελος Διὶ <τερπικεραύνω>,

Ἄρει δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

[34] Γοργίας μὲν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐρμηνείαν μετήνεγκεν εἰς λόγους πολιτικούς, οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὅμοιον τὸν ῥήτορα τοῖς ἰδιώταις εἶναι. Λυσίας δὲ τὸνναντίον ἐποίησε· τὴν γὰρ φανεράν ἅπασι καὶ τετριμμένην λέξιν ἐζήλωσεν ἔγγιστα νομίζων εἶναι τοῦ πεῖσαι τὸν ἰδιώτην τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ὀνομασίας καὶ ἀφελές· ἥκιστα γὰρ ἂν τις εὖροι τὸν Λυσίαν τροπικῇ καὶ μεταφορικῇ λέξει κεκρημένον· σεμνὰ δὲ καὶ περιττὰ καὶ μεγάλα φαίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ποιεῖ τοῖς κοινοτάτοις ὀνόμασι χρώμενος καὶ ποιητικῆς οὐχ ἀπτόμενος κατασκευῆς.

[35] δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀπολήτός τις εἶναι καὶ ἀτεχνίτευτος ὁ τῆς ἐρμηνείας αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Λυσίου) χαρακτήρ, καὶ πολλοῖς ἂν καὶ τῶν φιλολόγων παράσχοι δόξαν, ὅτι ἀνεπιτηδεύτως καὶ οὐ κατὰ τέχνην, αὐτομάτως δέ πως καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε σύγκειται. ἔστι δὲ παντὸς ἔργου μᾶλλον τεχνικοῦ κατεσκευασμένος· πεποίηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀπολήτον καὶ δέδεται τὸ λελυμένον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν δεινῶς κατεσκευάσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ἔχει.

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[1] Πολλήν χάριν ἦν εἰδέναι τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ δίκαιον, ὃ κράτιστε Ἀμμαῖε, καὶ ἄλλων μὲν τινῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔνεκα νῦν κάλλιον ἀσκουμένων ἢ πρότερον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἐπιμελείας οὐ μικρὰν ἐπίδοσιν πεποιημένης ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν χρόνοις ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ φιλόσοφος ῥητορικὴ προπηλακίζομένη καὶ δεινὰς ὕβρεις ὑπομένουσα κατελύετο, ἀρξαμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτῆς ἐκπνεῖν καὶ μαραίνεισθαι κατ' ὀλίγον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας μικροῦ δεήσασα εἰς τέλος ἠφανίσθαι. ἑτέρα δὲ τις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνης παρελθοῦσα τάξιν, ἀφόρητος ἀναιδείᾳ θεατρικῇ καὶ ἀνάγωγος καὶ οὔτε φιλοσοφίας οὔτε ἄλλου παιδεύματος οὐδενὸς μετεληφυῖα ἐλευθερίου, λαθοῦσα καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὴν τῶν ὀχλῶν ἄγνοιαν, οὐ μόνον ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ μορφῇ πλείονι τῆς ἑτέρας διήγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς προστασίας τῶν πόλεων, ἃς ἔδει τὴν φιλόσοφον ἔχειν, εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνηρτήσατο καὶ ἦν φορτικὴ τις πάνυ καὶ ὀχληρὰ καὶ τελευτῶσα παραπλησίαν ἐποίησε γενέσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῖς τῶν ἀσώτων καὶ κακοδαιμόνων οἰκίαις. ὥπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείναις ἡ μὲν ἐλευθέρα καὶ σώφρων γαμετὴ κάθηται μηδενὸς οὔσα τῶν αὐτῆς κυρία, ἑταίρα δὲ τις ἄφρων ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ βίου παροῦσα πάσης ἀξιοῖ τῆς οὐσίας ἄρχειν, σκυβαλίζουσα καὶ δεδιττομένη τὴν ἑτέραν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν πάσῃ πόλει καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἦττον ἐν ταῖς εὐπαιδεύτοις (τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν κακῶν ἕσχατον) ἡ μὲν Ἀττικὴ μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων ἄτιμον εἰλήφει σχῆμα, τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπεσοῦσα ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐκ πινῶν βαράθρων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐχθρὸς καὶ πρῶην ἀφικομένη, Μυσὴ ἢ Φρυγίᾳ τις ἢ Καρικόν τι κακόν, [ἢ βάρβαρον] Ἑλληνίδας ἡξίου διοικεῖν πόλεις ἀπελάσασα τῶν κοινῶν τὴν ἑτέραν, ἡ ἀμαθὴς τὴν φιλόσοφον καὶ ἡ μαινομένη τὴν σώφρονα.

[2] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν δικαίων χρόνος σωτὴρ ἄριστος· κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεχνῶν νῆ Δία καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων γε καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου σπουδαίου χρήματος. ἔδειξε δὲ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος, εἴτε θεῶν τινος ἄρξαντος εἴτε φυσικῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν ἀνακυκλούσης εἴτε ἀνθρωπίνης ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅμοια πολλοὺς ἀγούσης, καὶ ἀπέδωκε τῇ μὲν ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ σώφρονι ῥητορικῇ τὴν δικαίαν τιμὴν, ἣν καὶ πρότερον εἶχε καλῶς, ἀπολαβεῖν, τῇ δὲ νέᾳ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ παύσασθαι δόξαν οὐ προσήκουσαν καρπούμενῃ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς τρυφῶσῃ. καὶ οὐ καθ' ἑν ἴσως τοῦτο μόνον ἐπαινεῖν τὸν παρόντα χρόνον καὶ τοὺς συμφιλοσοφοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ κρείττω τιμιώτερα ποιεῖν τῶν χειρόνων ἤρξαντο (καίτοι μέρος γε τοῦ παντὸς ἡμῖς ἀρχὴ λέγεται τε καὶ ἔστιν), ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ταχεῖαν τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ μεγάλην τὴν ἐπίδοσιν αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασε γενέσθαι. ἔξω γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν Ἀσιανῶν πόλεων, αἷς

δι' ἀμαθίαν βραδεῖα ἔστιν ἡ τῶν καλῶν μάθησις, αἱ λοιπαὶ πέπαινοντο τοὺς φορτικοὺς καὶ ψυχροὺς καὶ ἀναισθητοὺς ἀγαπῶσαι λόγους, τῶν μὲν πρότερον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρονούντων αἰδουμένων ἤδη καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπαυτομολούντων πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους, εἰ μὴ τινες παντάπασιν ἀνιάτως ἔχουσι, τῶν δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπτομένων εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἀγόντων τοὺς λόγους καὶ γέλωτα ποιουμένων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς σπουδὴν.

[3] αἰτία δ' οἷμαι καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἐγένετο ἡ πάντων κρατοῦσα Ῥώμη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγκάζουσα τὰς ὅλας πόλεις ἀποβλέπειν καὶ ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ δυναστεύοντες κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες, εὐπαίδευτοι πάνυ καὶ γενναῖοι τὰς κρίσεις γενόμενοι, ὑφ' ὧν κοσμούμενον τό τε φρόνιμον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιδέδωκεν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον ἠνάγκασται νοῦν ἔχειν. τοιγάρτοι πολλὰ μὲν ἱστορίαι σπουδῆς ἄξιαι γράφονται τοῖς νῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι πολιτικοὶ χαρίεντες ἐκφέρονται φιλόσοφοί τε συντάξεις οὐ μὰ Δία εὐκαταφρόνητοι ἄλλαι τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ πραγματεῖαι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησιν εὖ μάλα διεσπουδασμένοι προεληλύθασιν τε καὶ προελεύσονται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος. καὶ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι τηλικαύτης μεταβολῆς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γεγεννημένης, εἰ μηκέτι χωρήσει προσωτέρω μιᾶς γενεᾶς ὁ ζῆλος ἐκείνος τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγων· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συναχθὲν ῥάδιον ἐξ ὀλίγου μηδὲ εἶναι.

[4] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι τὰ πράγματα χρόνῳ καὶ τὸ τοὺς τὰ κράτιστα προαιρουμένους ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὸ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων εἰκάζειν καὶ πάντα τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις, ἃ κἂν ὁ τυχὼν εἰπεῖν δύναίτο, ἀφήσω, ἐξ ὧν δ' ἂν ἔτι μεῖζω λάβοι τὰ κρείττονα ἰσχύν, ταῦτα πειράσομαι λέγειν, ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ λόγου κοινὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ πλείστα δυναμένην ὠφελῆσαι λαβών. ἔστι δὲ ἡδε, τίνες εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο προαιρέσεις τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τί παρ' ἐκάστου δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἢ φυλάττεσθαι, καλὰ θεωρήματα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ οὐ δήπου μὰ Δία κοινὰ οὐδὲ κατημαξευμένα τοῖς πρότερον. ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐδεμιᾷ τοιαύτῃ περιτυχὼν οἶδα γραφῇ, πολλὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος. οὐ μέντοι διαβεβαιοῦμαι γε ὡς δὴ καὶ σαφῶς εἰδώς· τάχα γὰρ ἂν εἶέν τινες αἱ ἐμὲ διαλανθάνουσαι τοιαῦται γραφαί, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἱστορίας ὅρον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι τι τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι λέγειν αὐθαδὲς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πόρρω μανίας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔχω, καθάπερ ἔφην, διαβεβαιοῦσθαι. τῶν δὲ ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ λόγος, πολλῶν πάνυ ὄντων καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων γράφειν μακροῦ λόγου δεόμενον ὁρῶν ἐάσω, τοὺς δὲ χαριεστάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν προχειρισάμενος κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας ἐρῶ περὶ ἐκάστου, νῦν μὲν περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων, ἐὰν δὲ ἐγχωρῇ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν. ἔσονται δὲ οἱ παραλαμβανόμενοι ῥήτορες τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Λυσίας Ἰσοκράτης Ἰσαῖος, τρεῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπακμασάντων τούτοις, Δημοσθένης Ὑπερίδης Αἰσχίνης, οὓς ἐγὼ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγοῦμαι κρατίστους, καὶ διαιρεθῆσεται μὲν εἰς δύο συντάξεις ἡ πραγματεία, τὴν δὲ

ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης λήψεται τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γραφείσης.
προειρημένων δὴ τούτων ἐπανάγειν καιρὸς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα.

De Lysia

ΛΥΣΙΑΣ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΘΕΝ

[1] Λυσίας ὁ Κεφάλου Συρακουσίων μὲν ἦν γονέων, ἐγεννήθη δὲ Ἀθήνησι μετοικοῦντι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεπαιδεύθη τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ἀθηναίων. ἔτη δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονώς εἰς Θουρίους ὤχετο πλέων σὺν ἀδελφοῖς δυσὶν, κοινωνήσων τῆς ἀποικίας, ἣν ἔστελλον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς δωδεκάτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, καὶ διετέλεσεν αὐτόθι πολιτευόμενος ἐν εὐπορίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ «παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τισίᾳ τε καὶ Νικίᾳ» μέχρι τῆς συμφορᾶς τῆς κατασχούσης Ἀθηναίους ἐν Σικελίᾳ. μετ' ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ πάθος στασιάσαντος τοῦ δήμου ἐκπίπτει σὺν ἄλλοις τριακοσίοις ἀττικισμὸν ἐγκληθεῖς. καὶ παραγενόμενος αὖθις εἰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ ἄρχοντα Καλλίαν, ἔβδομον καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχων, ὡς ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου διετέλεσε τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενος Ἀθήνησι. πλείστους δὲ γράψας λόγους εἰς δικαστήριά τε καὶ βουλὰς καὶ πρὸς ἐκκλησίας εὐθέτους, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πανηγυρικούς, ἐρωτικούς, ἐπιστολικούς, τῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν γενομένων ῥητόρων ἢ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀκμασάντων ἠφάνισε τὰς δόξας, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγινομένων οὔτε πολλοῖς τισι κατέλιπεν ὑπερβολὴν οὔτ' ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἰδέαις τῶν λόγων καὶ μὰ Δί' οὔ τί γε ταῖς φανλοτάταις. τίνι δὲ κέχρηται χαρακτηρίῳ λόγων καὶ τίνας ἀρετὰς εἰσενήνεκται τίνι τε κρείττων ἐστὶ τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀκμασάντων καὶ πῇ καταδεέστερος καὶ τί δεῖ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ, νῦν ἤδη πειράσομαι λέγειν.

[2] καθαρὸς ἐστὶ τὴν ἐρμηνεῖαν πάνυ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς γλώττης ἄριστος κανὼν, οὗ τῆς ἀρχαίας, ἣ κέχρηται Πλάτων τε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιχωριαζούσης, ὡς ἔστι τεκμήρασθαι τοῖς τε Ἀνδοκίδου λόγοις καὶ τοῖς Κριτίου καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ μέρος, ὃ πέρ ἐστι πρῶτόν τε καὶ κυριώτατον ἐν λόγοις, λέγω δὲ τὸ καθαρεῦειν τὴν διάλεκτον, οὐθεὶς τῶν μεταγενεστέρων αὐτὸν ὑπερεβάλετο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μιμήσασθαι πολλοὶ δύναμιν ἔσχον ὅτι μὴ μόνος Ἰσοκράτης· καθαρῶτατος γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ Λυσίαν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὗτος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ γενέσθαι ὁ ἀνὴρ. μίαν μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἀρετὴν ἀξίαν ζήλου καὶ μιμήσεως εὐρίσκω παρὰ τῷ ῥήτορι καὶ παρακελευσαίμην ἂν τοῖς βουλομένοις καθαρῶς γράφειν ἢ λέγειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα ποιεῖσθαι παράδειγμα ταύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς.

[3] ἑτέραν δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττωνα ταύτης, ἣν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐζήλωσαν τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀκμασάντων, οὐδεὶς δὲ βεβαιότερον ἀπεδείξατο· τίς δ' ἔστιν αὕτη; ἢ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων ὀνομάτων ἐκφέρουσα τὰ νοοῦμενα «ἐρμηνεῖα». ἥκιστα γὰρ ἂν τις εὖροι Λυσίαν τροπικῇ φράσει χρησάμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ περιττὰ καὶ μεγάλα φαίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ποιεῖ τοῖς κοινοτάτοις χρώμενος ὀνόμασι καὶ ποιητικῆς οὐχ

ἀπτόμενος κατασκευῆς. τοῖς δὲ προτέροις οὐχ αὕτη ἡ δόξα ἦν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι κόσμον τινὰ προσεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις ἐξήλλαττον τὸν ιδιώτην καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὴν ποιητικὴν φράσιν, μεταφοραῖς τε πολλαῖς χρώμενοι καὶ ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τροπικαῖς ἰδέαις, ὀνομάτων τε γλωττηματικῶν καὶ ξένων χρήσει καὶ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων σχηματισμῶν τῇ διαλλαγῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ καινολογίᾳ καταπληττόμενοι τὸν ιδιώτην. δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο Γοργίας τε ὁ Λεοντῖνος, ἐν πολλοῖς πάνυ φορτικὴν τε καὶ ὑπέρογκον ποιῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ ‘οὐ πόρρω διθυράμβων τινῶν’ ἔνια φθεγγόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συνουσιαστῶν οἱ περὶ Λικύμνιον τε καὶ Πῶλον. ἦψατο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ῥητόρων ἡ ποιητικὴ τε καὶ τροπικὴ φράσις, ὥς μὲν Τίμαιός φησι, Γοργίου ἄρξαντος ἡνίκ’ Ἀθήναζε πρεσβεύων κατεπλήξατο τοὺς ἀκούοντας τῇ δημηγορίᾳ, ὥς δὲ τάληθές ἔχει, τὸ καὶ παλαιότερον αἰεὶ τι θαυμαζομένη. Θουκυδίδης γοῦν ὁ δαιμονιώτατος τῶν συγγραφέων ἐν τε τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις ποιητικῇ κατασκευῇ χρησάμενος ἐν πολλοῖς ἐξήλλαξε τὴν ἐρμηνείαν εἰς ὄγκον ἅμα καὶ κόσμον ὀνομάτων ἀηθέστερον. Λυσίας δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἤσκησεν ἐν γ’ οὐὖν τοῖς σπουδῇ γραφομένοις δικανικοῖς λόγοις καὶ συμβουλευτικοῖς ποιῆσαι, πλὴν εἴ τι μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς· περὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐταιρικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὐς μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἔγραψεν, οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ιδιώταις διαλέγεσθαι δοκῶν πλεῖστον ὅσον ιδιώτου διαφέρει καὶ ἔστι ποιητῆς κράτιστος λόγων, λελυμένης ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου λέξεως ἰδίαν τινὰ [λόγων] εὐρηκῶς ἁρμονίαν, ἥ τὰ ὀνόματα κοσμεῖ τε καὶ ἡδύνει μηδὲν ἔχοντα ὀγκῶδες μηδὲ φορτικόν. ταύτην δευτέραν τὴν ἀρετὴν κελεύω παρὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος τούτου λαμβάνειν, εἴ τινες ἀξιοῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ διαλέγεσθαι τρόπον. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως ταύτης ζηλωταὶ συγγραφεῖς τε καὶ ῥήτορες, ἔγγιστα δὲ αὐτῆς μετὰ Λυσίαν ἦψατο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων νέος ἐπακμάσας Ἰσοκράτης, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν προσωτέρῳ τούτων σκοπῶν ἐτέρους ῥήτορας ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναναι τοσαύτην ἐν ὀνόμασι κυρίοις καὶ κοινοῖς ἀποδειξαμένους.

[4] τρίτην ἀρετὴν ἀποφαίνομαι περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὴν σαφήνειαν οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἔστι γὰρ τις καὶ πραγματικὴ σαφήνεια οὐ πολλοῖς γνώριμος. τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι τῆς μὲν Θουκυδίδου λέξεως καὶ Δημοσθένους, οἱ δεινότατοι πράγματα ἐξειπεῖν ἐγένοντο, πολλὰ δυσεῖκαστά ἐστιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσαφῆ καὶ δεόμενα ἐξηγητῶν. ἡ δὲ Λυσίου λέξις ἅπασά ἐστι φανερά καὶ σαφὴς καὶ τῷ πάνυ πόρρω δοκοῦντι πολιτικῶν ἀφεστάναι λόγων. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι’ ἀσθένειαν δυνάμεως ἐγένετο τὸ σαφές, οὐκ ἄξιον ἦν αὐτὸ ἀγαπᾶν, νῦν δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων ἐκ πολλῆς αὐτῷ περιουσίας ἀποδείκνυται ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν. ὥστε καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν αὐτοῦ ζηλοῦν ἄξιον. καὶ μὴν τό γε βραχέως ἐκφέρειν τὰ νοήματα μετὰ τοῦ σαφῶς, χαλεποῦ πράγματος ὄντος φύσει τοῦ συναγαγεῖν ἅμφω ταῦτα καὶ κεράσαι μετρίως, ἥ μάλιστα οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείκνυται Λυσίας, ὅς γε οὐδὲν τοῖς διὰ χειρὸς ἔχουσι τὸν ἄνδρα οὔτε ἀκαιρολογίας οὔτε ἀσαφείας δόξειεν ἂν λαβεῖν. τούτου δὲ αἵτιον, ὅτι οὐ τοῖς ὀνόμασι δουλεύει τὰ πράγματα παρ’ αὐτῷ, τοῖς δὲ

πράγμασιν ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὐκ ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τὸν ἰδιώτην, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μιμήσασθαι λαμβάνει.

[5] καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄκαιρός τις καὶ μακρός, συνέστραπται δὲ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος καὶ πεπύκνωται τοῖς νοήμασι, καὶ τοσούτου δεῖ τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων τι λέγειν, ὥστε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ἂν δόξειε παραλιπεῖν, οὐ μὰ Δία ἀσθενεῖα εὐρέσεως αὐτὸ ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ συμμετρήσει τοῦ χρόνου, πρὸς ὃν ἔδει γενέσθαι τοὺς λόγους. βραχύς γε μὴν οὗτος, ὥς μὲν ἰδιώτῃ δηλῶσαι βουλομένῳ τὰ πράγματα ἀποχρῶν, ὥς δὲ ῥήτορι περιουσίαν δυνάμεως ἐνδείξασθαι ζητοῦντι οὐχ ἱκανός. μιμητέον δὴ καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τὴν Λυσίου· μετριοτέρα γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εὔρεθείη παρ' ἐτέρῳ ῥήτορι.

[6] μετὰ ταύτας ἀρετὴν εὐρίσκω παρὰ Λυσία πάνυ θαυμαστήν, ἥς Θεόφραστος μὲν φησιν ἄρξει Θρασύμαχον, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι Λυσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις οὗτος ἐκείνου προέχειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ (λέγω δ' ὥς ἐν ἀκμῇ κοινῇ βίου γενομένων ἀμφοῖν), καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο δοθείη, τῷ γέ τοι περὶ τοῦς ἀληθινοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐκείνου μᾶλλον τετρίφθαι. οὐ μέντοι διαβεβαιουμαί γε, ὁπότερος ἦρξε τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης, κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Λυσίας μᾶλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διήνεγκεν, τοῦτο θαρρῶν ἂν ἀποφηνάμην. τίς δ' ἐστὶν ἣν φημι ἀρετήν; ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξεις, οἰκεία πάνυ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς δικανικοῖς λόγοις καὶ παντὶ ἀληθεῖ ἀγῶνι. ταύτην ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐμιμήσαντο, Δημοσθένης δὲ καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο πλὴν οὐχ οὕτως γε λευκῶς οὐδὲ ἀφελῶς ὥσπερ Λυσίας χρησάμενος αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ περιέργως καὶ πικρῶς· λεγέσθω γὰρ, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται. ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαλέξομαι καιρόν.

[7] ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐνάργειαν πολλὴν ἡ Λυσίου λέξις. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ δύναμις τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα, γίγνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν παρακολουθούντων λήψεως. ὁ δὴ προσέχων τὴν διάνοιαν τοῖς Λυσίου λόγοις οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται σκαιὸς ἢ δυσάρεστος ἢ βραδὺς τὸν νοῦν, ὃς οὐχ ὑπολήφεται γινόμενα τὰ δηλούμενα ὅρᾱν καὶ ὥσπερ παροῦσιν οἷς ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ εἰσάγῃ προσώποις ὁμιλεῖν. ἐπιζητήσει τε οὐθέν, «οἶον» εἰκὸς τοὺς μὲν ἂν δρᾶσαι, τοὺς δὲ παθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ διανοηθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ εἰπεῖν. κράτιστος γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐγένετο ῥητόρων φύσιν ἀνθρώπων κατοπτεῦσαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι πάθη τε καὶ ἥθη καὶ ἔργα.

[8] ἀποδίδωμι τε οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην ἀρετὴν, καλουμένην δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἠθοποιίαν. ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδὲν εὐρεῖν δύναμαι παρὰ τῷ ῥήτορι τοῦτῳ πρόσωπον οὔτε ἀνηθοποίητον οὔτε ἄψυχον. τριῶν τε ὄντων, ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ ἃ τὴν ἀρετὴν εἶναι ταύτην συμβέβηκε, διανοίας τε καὶ λέξεως καὶ τρίτης τῆς συνθέσεως, ἐν ἅπασι τοῦτοις αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνομαι κατορθοῦν. οὐ γὰρ διανοουμένους μόνον ὑποτίθεται χρηστὰ καὶ ἐπεικῇ καὶ μέτρια τοὺς λέγοντας, ὥστε εἰκόνας εἶναι δοκεῖν τῶν ἠθῶν τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν λέξιν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς ἠθεσιν οἰκείαν, ἥ πέφυκεν αὐτὰ ἑαυτῶν κράτιστα δηλοῦσθαι, τὴν σαφεῇ καὶ κυρίαν καὶ κοινὴν καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις συνηθεστάτην· ὁ γὰρ ὄγκος καὶ τὸ ξένον καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἅπαν ἀνηθοποίητον. καὶ συντίθησιν γε αὐτὴν ἀφελῶς πάνυ καὶ ἀπλῶς, ὁρῶν ὅτι

οὐκ ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ διαλελυμένῃ λέξει γίνεται τὸ ἥθος. καθόλου δέ, ἵνα καὶ περὶ ταύτης εἴπω τῆς ἀρετῆς, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος ῥητόρων τῶν γε τῇ ὁμοίᾳ κατασκευῇ χρησαμένων τοῦ λόγου εἶτε ἥδιον συνέθηκεν εἶτε πιθανώτερον. δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀποίητός τις εἶναι καὶ ἀτεχνίτευτος ὁ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ καὶ οὐ θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν, εἰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλολόγων, ὅσοι μὴ μεγάλας ἔχουσι τριβὰς περὶ λόγους, τοιαύτην τινὰ παράσχοι δόξαν, ὅτι ἀνεπιτηδεύτως καὶ οὐ κατὰ τέχνην, αὐτομάτως δέ πως καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε σύγκειται. ἔστι δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἔργου τεχνικοῦ κατεσκευασμένος. πεποίηται γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ ἀποίητον καὶ δέδεται τὸ λελυμένον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν δεινῶς κατεσκευάσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ἔχει. τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὖν τις ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ φύσεως μιμητῆς γίνεσθαι βουλόμενος οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι τῇ Λυσίου συνθέσει χρώμενος· ἐτέραν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εὖροι ταύτης ἀληθεστέραν.

[9] οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἔχειν τὴν Λυσίου λέξιν οὐθενὸς ἦττον τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων, κρατίστην ἀπασῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ τελειοτάτην, ὁρῶν αὐτὴν πρὸς τε τὸν λέγοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα (ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον) ἀρκούντως ἡρμοσμένην. καὶ γὰρ ἡλικία καὶ γένει καὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματι καὶ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν οἷς διαφέρει τῶν προσώπων πρόσωπα, τὰς οἰκείας ἀποδίδωσι φωνὰς πρὸς τε τὸν ἀκροατὴν συμμετρεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα οἰκείως, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δικαστῇ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστῇ καὶ πανηγυρίζοντι διαλεγόμενος ὄχλῳ. διαφορὰς τε αὐτῷ λαμβάνει κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ λέξεις· ἀρχομένῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι καθεστηκυῖα καὶ ἠθικὴ, διηγουμένῳ δὲ πιθανὴ κἀπερίεργος, ἀποδεικνύντι δὲ στρογγύλῃ καὶ πυκνῇ, αὔξοντι δὲ καὶ παθαينوμένῳ σεμνὴ καὶ ἀληθινὴ, ἀνακεφαλαιουμένῳ δὲ διαλελυμένη καὶ σύντομος. ληπτέον δὴ καὶ τὸ πρέπον τῆς λέξεως παρὰ Λυσίου.

[10] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πιθανὴ καὶ πειστικὴ καὶ πολὺ τὸ φυσικὸν ἐπιφαίνουσα καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς τοιαύτης ἰδέας ἔχεται, πρὸς εἰδότας οὐδὲν ἴσως δεῖ λέγειν· δι' ὄχλου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτό γε καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὃς οὐχὶ καὶ πείρα καὶ ἀκοῇ μαθὼν ὁμολογεῖ πάντων ῥητόρων αὐτὸν εἶναι πιθανώτατον. ὥστε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν ληπτέον παρὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος.

πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ λέγειν ἔχων περὶ τῆς Λυσίου λέξεως, ἣν λαμβάνων καὶ μιμούμενος ἂν τις ἀμείνων γένοιτο τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ χρόνου στοχαζόμενος ἔασω, μίαν δὲ ἀρετὴν ἔτι τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀποδείξομαι, κρίνας καλλίστην τε καὶ κυριωτάτην καὶ μόνην αὐτὴν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων τὸν Λυσίου χαρακτήρα δυναμένην βεβαιῶσαι, ἣν ὑπερεβάλετο μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν ὕστερον, ἐμιμήσαντο δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κρείττους ἐτέρων ἔδοξαν εἶναι τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν οὐθὲν διαφέροντες· ὑπὲρ ὧν, ἂν ἐγχωρῇ, κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαλέξομαι τόπον. τίς δ' ἔστιν ἡδε ἡ ἀρετή; ἢ [τις] πᾶσιν ἐπανθοῦσα τοῖς ὀνόμασι κάπ' ἴσης χάρις, πρᾶγμα παντὸς κρεῖττον λόγου καὶ θαυμασιώτερον. ῥᾶστον μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὀφθῆναι καὶ παντὶ ὁμοίως ἰδιώτῃ τε καὶ τεχνίτῃ φανερόν, χαλεπώτατον δὲ λόγῳ δηλωθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς κράτιστα εἰπεῖν δυναμένοις εὖπορον.

[11] ὥστε εἴ τις ἀξιοίῃ λόγῳ διδασχθῆναι ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν, ἢ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πραγμάτων δυσεκκαλήτων ἀπαιτῶν λόγον· λέγω δὲ ἐπὶ κάλλους μὲν σωμάτων, τί δὴ ποτε τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ καλοῦμεν ὥραν, ἐπὶ κινήσεως δὲ μελῶν καὶ πλοκῆς φθόγγων, τί λέγεται τὸ εὐάρμοστον, ἐπὶ συμμετρίας δὲ χρόνων, τίς ἡ τάξις καὶ τί τὸ εὐρυθμον, καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ συλλήβδην ἔργου τε καὶ πράγματος, τίς ὁ λεγόμενος καιρὸς καὶ ποῦ τὸ μέτριον. αἰσθήσει γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον καταλαμβάνεται καὶ οὐ λόγῳ. ὥσθ' ὅπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ παραγγέλλουσι ποιεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἀκριβῶς ἁρμονίας, ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἐν τοῖς διαστήμασι δίεσιν ἀγνοεῖν, τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐθίζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ταύτης ἀκριβέστερον ζητεῖν κριτήριον, τοῦτο κἀγὼ τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὸν Λυσίαν καὶ τίς ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ χάρις ἐστὶ βουλομένοις μαθεῖν ὑποθείμην ἂν ἐπιτηδεύειν, χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μακρᾷ τριβῇ καὶ ἀλόγῳ πάθει τὴν ἄλογον συνασκεῖν αἰσθησιν. ταύτην μέντοι κρατίστην τε ἀρετὴν καὶ χαρακτηριστικώτατην τῆς Λυσίου λέξεως ἔγωγε τίθεμαι, εἴτε φύσεως αὐτὴν δεῖ καλεῖν εὐτυχίαν εἴτε πόνου καὶ τέχνης ἐργασίαν εἴτε μικτὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔξιν ἢ δύναμιν, ἢ πάντας ὑπερέχει τοὺς λοιποὺς ῥήτορας. καὶ ὅταν διαπορῶ περὶ τινος τῶν ἀναφερομένων εἰς αὐτὸν λόγων καὶ μὴ ῥάδιον ἦ μοι διὰ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων τάληθές εὐρεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην καταφεύγω τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς ἐπὶ ψῆφον ἐσχάτην. ἔπειτα ἂν μὲν αἱ χάριτες αἱ τῆς λέξεως ἐπικοσμεῖν δοκῶσί μοι τὴν γραφὴν, τῆς Λυσίου ψυχῆς αὐτὴν τίθεμαι καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι πορρωτέρῳ ταύτης σκοπεῖν ἀξιῶ. ἐὰν δὲ μηδεμίαν ἡδονὴν μηδὲ ἀφροδίτην ὃ τῆς λέξεως χαρακτήρ ἔχῃ, δυσωπῶ καὶ ὑποπτεύω μή ποτ' οὐ Λυσίου ὁ λόγος καὶ οὐκ ἔτι βιάζομαι τὴν ἄλογον αἰσθησιν, οὐδ' ἐὰν πάνυ δεινὸς εἶναι τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα μοι δοκῇ καὶ περιττῶς ἐξειργασμένος ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν εὖ γράφειν πολλοῖς οἰόμενος ὑπάρχειν κατὰ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἰδίους λέξεως χαρακτῆρας (πολυειδὲς γὰρ τοῦτο), τὸ δ' ἡδέως καὶ κεχαρισμένως καὶ ἐπαφροδίτως Λυσία.

τεκμηρίω γ' οὖν οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ κρείττονι χρώμενος ἢ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐρμηνεύεσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τούτου λεγόμενα [12] [ῶ] πολλοὺς ἤδη τῶν ἀναφερομένων εἰς αὐτὸν λόγων καὶ πεπιστευμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ὡς εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ γνησίοις Λυσίου, καὶ τὰ γε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀτόπως ἔχοντας, ὅτι τὴν χάριν οὐ προσβάλλουσι τὴν Λυσιακὴν οὐδὲ τὴν εὐστομίαν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνης τῆς λέξεως, ὑποπτεύσας τε καὶ βασανίσας εὖρον οὐκ ὄντας Λυσίου. ὦν ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Ἰφικράτους εἰκόνας, ὃν οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἠγήσαιντο ἂν καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως. οὗτος μέντοι ὁ λόγος ὁ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἡρμηνεῦσθαι δοκῶν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν εὐρῆσθαι περιττῶς καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχων ἀχαρίς ἐστὶ καὶ πολλοῦ δεῖ τὸ Λυσιακὸν ἐπιφαίνειν στόμα. μάλιστα δ' ἐγένετό μοι καταφανὲς ὅτι οὐχ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐγράφη, τοὺς χρόνους ἀναλογισαμένῳ. εἰ γὰρ ὀδοηκονταετῇ γενόμενον θήσει τις τελευτῆσαι Λυσίαν ἐπὶ Νίκωνος ἢ ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἄρχοντος, ἐπτά ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἂν εἴη προτεροῦσα τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἢ τελευτῇ τοῦ ῥήτορος. μετὰ γὰρ Ἀλκισθένην ἄρχοντα, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

καὶ βασιλεὺς ὤμοσαν, ἀποδοῦς τὰ στρατεύματα Ἱφικράτης ἰδιώτης γίνεται καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς εἰκόνος ἦν τότε ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ πρότερον τετελευτηκότος τῆς γραφῆς Λυσίου, πρὸ τοῦ συντάξασθαι τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα Ἱφικράτει. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ αὐτὴν εἰς Λυσίαν ἀναφερομένην οὔτε τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀτόπως ἔχουσαν οὔτε τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀσθενῶς δι' ὑποψίας ἔλαβον οὐκ ἐπανθούσης τῇ λέξει τῆς Λυσιακῆς χάριτος· καὶ παραθεὶς τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν εὖρον ὑστεροῦσαν τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὅλοις. ἐν γὰρ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν Ἱφικράτης ἠγώνισται καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέσχηκε τῆς στρατηγίας, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίνεται τοῦ λόγου καταφανές· οὗτος δὲ ὁ πόλεμος πίπτει κατὰ Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ Ἑλπίνην ἄρχοντας. ὅτου μὲν οὖν εἰσι λόγοι [τοῦ] ῥήτορος «οἱ» περὶ τε τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ τῆς προδοσίας, οὐκ ἔχω βεβαίως εἰπεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ἐνὸς ἀμφοτέρω, πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ προαίρεσις τε καὶ δύναμις ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι διασκοπεῖν. εἰκάζω δὲ Ἱφικράτους εἶναι αὐτούς· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐν λόγοις οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος, ἡ τε λέξις ἐν ἀμφοῖν πολὺ τὸ φορτικὸν καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἔχει καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμφαίνει ῥητορικὴν ἀγχίνοιαν ὡς στρατιωτικὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐτέρωθι δηλωθήσεται διὰ πλειόνων.

[13] ἀνιτέον δέ, ὅθεν ἐξέβημεν εἰς ταῦτα, ὅτι κράτιστόν ἐστι τῶν Λυσίου ἔργων καὶ χαρακτηριστικώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἡ κοσμοῦσά τε καὶ ἀνθίζουσα τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ χάρις, ἣν οὐθ' ὑπερεβάλετο τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐθεὶς οὔτε εἰς ἄκρον ἐμιμήσατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἀγαθὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος ταῦτα· συγκεφαλαιώσομαι γὰρ τὰ ῥηθέντα· τὸ καθαρὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἡ ἀκρίβεια τῆς διαλέκτου, τὸ διὰ τῶν κυρίων καὶ μὴ τροπικῶν κατασκευῶν ἐκφέρειν τὰ νοήματα, ἡ σαφήνεια, ἡ συντομία, τὸ συστρέφειν τε καὶ στρογγυλίζειν τὰ νοήματα, τὸ ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγειν τὰ δηλούμενα, τὸ μηδὲν ἄψυχον ὑποτίθεσθαι πρόσωπον μηδὲ ἀνηθοποίητον, ἡ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡδονὴ μιμουμένης τὸν ἰδιώτην, τὸ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις προσώποις καὶ πράγμασι τοὺς πρέποντας ἐφαρμόττειν λόγους, ἡ πιθανότης καὶ τὸ πειστικὸν καὶ ἡ χάρις καὶ ὁ πάντα μετρῶν καιρὸς. ταῦτα παρὰ Λυσίου λαμβάνων ἂν τις ὠφελῇ. ὕψηλὴ δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ Λυσίου λέξις οὐδὲ καταπληκτικὴ μὰ Δία καὶ θαυμαστὴ οὐδὲ τὸ πικρὸν ἢ τὸ δεινὸν ἢ τὸ φοβερὸν ἐπιφαίνουσα οὐδὲ ἀφὰς ἔχει καὶ τόνους ἰσχυροὺς οὐδὲ θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματός ἐστι μεστή οὐδ', ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσίν ἐστι πιθανή, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἰσχυρὰ οὐδ' ὡς ἡδῦναι καὶ πεῖσαι καὶ χαριεντίζασθαι δύναται, οὕτω βιάσασθαι τε καὶ προσαναγκάσαι. ἀσφαλὴς τε μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ παρακεκινδυνευμένη καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχὺν ἱκανὴ δηλῶσαι τέχνης, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀλήθειαν εἰκάσαι φύσεως.

[14] καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, τί δὴ ποτε παθῶν ὁ Θεόφραστος τῶν φορτικῶν καὶ περιέργων αὐτὸν οἶται ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λόγων καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν διώκειν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀληθινόν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως γραφεῖσι τῶν τε ἄλλων καταμέμφεται τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ παρισώσεις καὶ παρομοιώσεις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις σχήματα διεσποδακότων καὶ δὴ

καὶ τὸν Λυσίαν ἐν τούτοις κατηρίθμηκε, τὸν ὑπὲρ Νικίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων λόγον, ὃν εἶπεν ἐπὶ Συρακουσίων αἰχμάλωτος ὢν, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτου γεγραμμένον τοῦ ῥήτορος παραπθεῖς. κωλύσει δ' οὐδὲν ἴσως καὶ τὴν λέξιν αὐτὴν θεῖναι τὴν Θεοφράστου. ἔστι δὲ ἡδε· ‘ἀντίθεσις δ’ ἐστὶ τριττῶς, ὅταν τῷ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐναντία ἢ τῷ ἐναντίῳ τὰ αὐτὰ ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐναντία προσκατηγορηθῇ. τοσαυταχῶς γὰρ ἐγκωρεῖ συζευχθῆναι. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ὁμοιον παιδιῶδες καὶ καθαπερεὶ ποίημα· διὸ καὶ ἦπτον ἀρμόττει τῇ σπουδῇ. φαίνεται γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς σπουδάζοντα τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς ὀνόμασι παίζειν καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ λέξει περιαιρεῖν· ἐκλύει γὰρ τὸν ἀκροατὴν. οἷον ὡς ὁ Λυσίας ἐν τῇ τοῦ Νικίου ἀπολογίᾳ βουλόμενος ἔλεον ποιεῖν· Ἑλλήνων κλαίῳ ἀμάχητον καὶ ἀναυμάχητον ὄλεθρον ... ἰκέται μὲν αὐτοὶ τῶν θεῶν καθίζοντες, προδότας δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνοντες ... ἀνακαλοῦντές τε συγγένειαν, εὐμένειαν.’ ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ μὲν τῷ ὄντι Λυσίας ἔγραψε, δικαίως ἂν ἐπιτιμήσεως ἀξιοῖτο χαριεντιζόμενος ἐν οὐ χαρίεντι καιρῷ. εἰ δὲ ἐτέρου τινός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, ὡς περ ἔστιν, ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἃ μὴ προσῆκε, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεμπτότερος. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔγραψε Λυσίας τὸν ὑπὲρ Νικίου λόγον οὐδ’ ἔστιν οὔτε τῆς ψυχῆς οὔτε τῆς λέξεως ἐκείνης τὸ γράμμα, πολλοῖς πάνυ τεκμηρίοις ἀποδείξαι δυνάμενος οὐκ ἔχω καιρὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ. ἰδίαν δὲ περὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος πραγματείαν συνταττόμενος, ἐν ἣ τὰ τε ἄλλα δηλωθήσεται μοι καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ λόγοι γνήσιοι, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐν ἐκείνοις καὶ περὶ τοῦδε ἀποδοῦναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λόγου.

[15] νυνὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς διαλέξομαι, τίς ὁ πραγματικὸς ἐστὶ Λυσίου χαρακτήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς λέξεως <λόγον> ἀποδédωκα· τουτὶ γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται τὸ μέρος. εὐρετικὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνόντων λόγων ὁ ἀνὴρ, οὐ μόνον ὢν ἅπαντες ἂν εὖροιμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὢν μηθείς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς Λυσίας παραλείπει τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ λόγοι, οὐ τὰ πρόσωπα, οὐ τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ αὐτὰς τὰς πράξεις, οὐ τρόπους τε καὶ αἰτίας αὐτῶν, οὐ καιροὺς, οὐ χρόνους, οὐ τόπους, οὐ τὰς ἐκάστου τούτων διαφορὰς ἄχρι τῆς εἰς ἐλάχιστον τομῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀπάσης θεωρίας καὶ παντὸς μερισμοῦ τὰς οἰκείας ἀφορμὰς ἐκλέγει. δηλοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα τὴν δεινότητα τῆς εὐρέσεως αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἀμάρτυροι τῶν λόγων καὶ οἱ περὶ τὰς παραδόξους συνταχθέντες ὑποθέσεις, ἐν οἷς πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐνθυμήματα λέγει καὶ τὰ πάνυ δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπορα εἶναι καὶ ἀδύνατα εὖπορα καὶ δυνατὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ, κριτικὸς ὢν δεῖ λέγειν καὶ ὅτε μὴ πᾶσιν ἐξῆν χρῆσθαι τοῖς εὐρεθεῖσι, τῶν κρατίστων δὲ καὶ κυριωτάτων ἐκλεκτικὸς, εἰ μὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων, οὐδενός γε ἦπτον. τάξει δὲ ἀπλῇ τινι κέχρηται τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοειδεῖ, καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐξεργασίας τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἀφελῆς τις καὶ ἀπερίεργός ἐστιν· οὔτε γὰρ προκατασκευαῖς οὔτ’ ἐφόδοις οὔτε μερισμοῖς οὔτε ποικιλίαις σχημάτων οὔτε ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς τοιαύταις πανουργίαις εὐρίσκεταιαι χρώμενος, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἀπείριττός τις ἐλευθέριός τε καὶ ἀπόνηρος οἰκονομῆσαι τὰ εὐρεθέντα. ἐκ δὴ τούτων παρακελεύομαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν αὐτὸν τὴν μὲν εὖρεσιν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ζηλοῦν, τὴν δὲ τάξιν καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν, ἐνδεεστέραν οὔσαν τοῦ

προσήκοντος, μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐτέρων, οἱ κρείττους οἰκονομῆσαι τὰ εὐρεθέντα ἐγένοντο, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἐρῶ, τοῦτο τὸ στοιχεῖον λαμβάνειν.

[116] ἀποδεδωκώς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρετῶν τε καὶ στοιχείων λόγον, ἐρῶ νῦν καὶ περὶ τοῦ γένους [τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων] ἐν οἷς ἐστι θεωρήμασιν ἡ πολιτικὴ τέχνη. τριχῇ δὲ νενεμημένου τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ λόγου καὶ τρία περιειληφότος διάφορα τοῖς τέλεσι γένη, τό τε δικανικὸν καὶ τὸ συμβουλευτικὸν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον ἐπιδεικτικὸν ἢ πανηγυρικόν, ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τοῦτοις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ λόγου ἄξιος, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς ἀγῶσι. κἀν τοῦτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀμείνων ἐστὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ παράδοξα καὶ ἅπορα εἰπεῖν καλῶς, ἢ τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ εὐπορα δυνατῶς. ὁ βουλούμενος δὴ τὴν Λυσίου δύναμιν ἀκριβῶς καταμαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν δικανικῶν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λόγων ἢ ἐκ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν τε καὶ συμβουλευτικῶν σκοπεῖτω. ἵνα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐγγένηται μοι τὰ προσήκοντα εἰπεῖν, ἐάσω τε ταῦτα περὶ τε προοιμίων καὶ διηγήσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ διαλέξομαι καὶ δηλώσω, ποῖός τις ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν ἰδεῶν ὁ ἀνὴρ. διαιρήσομαι δὲ αὐτάς, ὥς Ἰσοκράτει τε καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα κοσμουμένοις ἤρεσεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν προοιμίων.

[117] φημὶ δὴ πάντων δεξιώτατον εἶναι τὸν ῥήτορα κατὰ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῶν λόγων καὶ χαριέστατον, ἐννοούμενος, ὅτι ἄρξασθαι μὲν καλῶς οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστιν, εἰ δὴ τις τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρῆσθαι βούλοιτο ἀρχῇ καὶ μὴ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα λόγον εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ῥηθέν, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ προτεθέντος λόγου μηδαμοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ πρώτου ὠφελήσῃ, τοῦτο ἀρχή τε καὶ προοίμιον), ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα πᾶσι κεχρημένον, οἷς τέχνηαι τε παραγγέλλουσι καὶ τὰ πράγματα βούλεται. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπαίνου λέγων αὐτὸς ἄρχεται, τότε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διαβολῆς τοῦ ἀντιδίκου, εἰ δὲ τύχοι αὐτὸς προδιαβληθείς, τὰς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἀπολύεται τὰς καθ' αὐτοῦ. τότε δὲ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἐπαινῶν καὶ θεραπεύων οἰκείους ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ πράγματι καθίστησι, τότε δὲ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τὴν ἰδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὴν τοῦ ἀντιδίκου καὶ τὸ μὴ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑποδείκνυσιν. τότε δὲ ὥς κοινὰ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πᾶσι καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀμελεῖσθαι λέγει, τότε δὲ ἄλλο τι κατασκευάζεται τῶν δυναμένων αὐτὸν μὲν ὠφελῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἀντίδικον ἐλαττώσαι. ταῦτα δὲ συντόμως καὶ ἀφελῶς διανοίαις τε χρησταῖς καὶ γνώμαις εὐκαίροις καὶ ἐνθυμήμασι μετρίοις περιλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπείγεται, δι' ἧς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι λέγεσθαι προειπὼν καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν παρασκευάσας εὐμαθῇ πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν καθίσταται. καὶ ἔστι μεθόριον αὐτῷ ἐκατέρας τῶν ἰδεῶν ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἢ πρόθεσις, ἥδη δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀπὸ μόνης ταύτης ἤρξατο. καὶ ἀπροοιμιάστως ποτὲ εἰσέβαλε τὴν διήγησιν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν. καὶ οὐκ ἄψυχος οὐδ' ἀκίνητός ἐστι περὶ ταύτην τὴν ἰδέαν. μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ θαυμάσειε τὴν ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις δύναμιν, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὅτι διακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττους δικανικοὺς γράψας λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ πέφηνεν οὔτε ἀπιθάνως προοιμιαζόμενος οὔτε ἀπρητημένη τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρχῇ χρώμενος, ἀλλ'

οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἐπιβέβληκε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς κατενήμεκται διανοίας. καίτοι γε τοῦτο καὶ οἱ λόγους ὀλίγους γράψαντες εὐρίσκονται πεπονθότες, λέγω δὲ τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν τόποις· ἐὼ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐτέροις εἰρημένα λαμβάνοντες ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες οὐκ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τίθενται τὸ ἔργον. οὗτοσί δὲ καινὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐστὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν λόγων κατὰ γε οὖν τὰς εἰσβολὰς καὶ τὰ προοίμια καὶ δυνατὸς, ὃ βούλοιτο, διαπράξασθαι· οὔτε γὰρ εὖνοϊαν κινήσαι βουλόμενος οὔτε προσοχὴν οὔτε εὐμάθειαν ἀτυχήσειεν ἂν ποτε τοῦ σκοποῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν ιδέαν ἢ πρῶτον ἢ οὐδενὸς δεύτερον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνομαι.

[18] ἐν δὲ τῷ διηγέισθαι τὰ πράγματα, ὅπερ οἶμαι μέρος πλείστης δεῖται φροντίδος καὶ φυλακῆς, ἀναμφιλόγως ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον αὐτὸν εἶναι πάντων ῥητόρων, ὅρον τε καὶ κανόνα τῆς ιδέας ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνομαι. οἶομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων, ἐν αἷς εἴρηται <τι> περὶ διηγήσεως ἀξιόλογον, οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὑπὸ Λυσίου γραφεισῶν εἰληφέναι τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ τὰς ἀφορμάς. καὶ γὰρ τὸ σύντομον μάλιστα αὗται ἔχουσιν αἱ διηγήσεις καὶ τὸ σαφὲς ἡδεῖαί τέ εἰσιν ὡς οὐχ ἕτεραι καὶ πιθαναὶ καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἅμα λεληθότως συνεπιφέρουσιν, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι μῆθ' ὅλην διήγησιν μηδεμίαν μῆτε μέρος αὐτῆς ψευδὲς ἢ ἀπίθανον εὐρεθῆναι· τοσαύτην ἔχει πειθὼ καὶ ἀφροδίτην τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ οὕτως λανθάνει τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἴτ' ἀληθῆ ὄντα εἴτε πεπλασμένα. ὥσθ' ὅπερ Ὅμηρος ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ὡς πιθανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ πλάσασθαι τὰ μὴ γενόμενα εἴρηκε, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ Λυσίου τις εἰπεῖν·

εἶσκεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα.

πᾶσι τε καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα τοῦτο παρεκελευσάμην ἀσκεῖν τὸ μέρος ἐν τοῖς Λυσίου παραδείγμασι ποιουμένους τὰς γυμνασίας. κράτιστα γὰρ <ἂν> ἀποδείξαιτο ταύτην τὴν ιδέαν ὁ μάλιστα τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα μιμησάμενος.

ἐν δὲ τῷ πιστοῦσθαι τὰ πράγματα τοιοῦτός τις ὁ ἀνὴρ [19] ἐστίν. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἐντέχνων πίστεων καὶ χωρὶς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου μέρους διαλέξομαι. τριχῇ δὴ νενεμημένων τούτων εἰς τε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ ἥθος τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος οὐδενὸς χεῖρον εὐρεῖν τε καὶ ἐξειπεῖν δύναται Λυσίας. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰκότος ἄριστος ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰκαστῆς καὶ τοῦ παραδείγματος, πῇ τε ὁμοιον εἶναι πέφυκε καὶ πῇ διαφέρον, ἀκριβέστατος κριτὴς τὰ τε σημεῖα διελεῖν τὰ παρεπόμενα τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εἰς τεκμηρίων δόξαν ἀγαγεῖν δυνατώτατος. καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἡθῶν γε πίστει ἀξιολόγως πάνυ κατασκευάζειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς φύσεως, πολλάκις δ' ἐκ τῶν προτέρων πράξεων καὶ προαιρέσεων ἀξιόπιστα κατασκευάζει τὰ ἥθη. ὅταν δὲ μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν τοιαύτην λάβῃ παρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, αὐτὸς ἡθοποιεῖ καὶ κατασκευάζει τὰ πρόσωπα τῷ λόγῳ πιστὰ καὶ χρηστά, προαιρέσεις τε αὐτοῖς ἀστείας ὑποτιθεῖς καὶ πάθη μέτρια προσάπτων καὶ λόγους ἐπεικεῖς ἀποδιδούς καὶ ταῖς τύχαις ἀκόλουθα φρονούντας εἰσάγων καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀχθομένους καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, τὰ δὲ δίκαια προαιρουμένους ποιῶν καὶ πάντα <τὰ> παραπλήσια τούτοις, ἐξ ὧν ἐπεικὲς ἂν καὶ μέτριον ἥθος φανεῖη, κατασκευάζων. περὶ δὲ τὰ πάθη μαλακώτερός ἐστι καὶ οὔτε

αὐξήσεις οὐτε δεινώσεις οὐτε οἴκτους οὐθ' ὅσα τοῦτοις ἐστὶ παραπλήσια νεανικῶς πάνυ καὶ ἔρρωμένως κατασκευάσαι δυνατὸς. οὐ δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιζητεῖν παρὰ Λυσίου. κἂν τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνακεφαλαιωτικὸν τῶν ῥηθέντων μέρος μετρίως τε καὶ χαριέντως ἀπαριθμῇ, τὸ δὲ παθητικὸν ἐκεῖνο, ἐν ᾧ παράκλησίς τε καὶ ἔλεος καὶ δέησις καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἀδελφὰ ἔνεστι, τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐνδεεστερῶς ἀποδίδωσι.

[20] τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἔστιν ὁ Λυσίου χαρακτήρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δόξης ἔχω περὶ αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλα παρὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωκεν, λεγέτω· κἂν ἢ πιθανώτερα, πολλὴν αὐτῷ χάριν εἴσομαι. ἵνα δὲ βέλτιον τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐγγένηται μαθεῖν, εἴτε ὀρθῶς ἡμεῖς ταῦτα καὶ προσηκόντως πεπεύσμεθα εἴτε καὶ διημαρτήκαμεν τὴν κρίσιν, τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γραφέντων ποιήσομαι προχειρισάμενός τε ἓνα λόγον (οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασιν) ἐξ ἐκείνου τὴν τε προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδείξομαι, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενος ψυχᾷς εὐπαιδεύτοις καὶ μετρίαις μικρά τε μεγάλων καὶ ὀλίγα πολλῶν γενέσθαι δείγματα. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτροπικῶν, ἐπιγραφόμενος κατὰ Διογείτονος, ὑπόθεσιν δὲ ἔχων τοιάνδε·

[21] Διόδωτος, εἷς τῶν μετὰ Θρασύλλου καταλεγέντων ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ, μέλλων ἐκπλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος, ἔχων νήπια παιδιά, διαθήκας ἐποιήσατο καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπίτροπον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀδελφὸν Διογείτονα, τῶν δὲ παιδίων θεῖόν τε καὶ πάππον ἀπὸ μητρός. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει, Διογείτων δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ὀρφανῶν διαχειρισάμενος καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρημάτων οὐδὲν ἀποδείξας αὐτοῖς, ἔτι περιῶν κατηγορεῖται πρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν μεираκίων δοκιμασθέντος κακῆς ἐπιτροπῆς. λέγει δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὁ τῆς ἐκείνου μὲν θυγατριδῆς τῶν δὲ μεираκίων ἀδελφῆς ἀνὴρ.

[22] προὔλαβον δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἵνα μᾶλλον γένηται καταφανές, εἰ μετρία καὶ προσηκούση ἀρχῇ κέχρηται·

[23] 'Εἰ μὲν μὴ μεγάλα ἦν τὰ διαφέροντα, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν τούτους εἴασα, νομίζων αἰσχιστον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέλους διαφέρεισθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀδικοῦντες χεῖρους ὑμῖν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵτινες ἂν ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔχοντες ἀνέχεσθαι μὴ δύνωνται. ἐπειδὴ μέντοι, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπεστέρηνται καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ὑφ' ὧν ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἐπ' ἐμὲ κηδεστήν ὄντα κατέφυγον, ἀνάγκη μοι γεγένηται εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ἔχω δὲ τούτων μὲν ἀδελφὴν Διογείτονος δὲ θυγατριδὴν· καὶ πολλὰ δεθηεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπεισ' αὐτοὺς <τοῖς> φίλοις ἐπιτρέψαι δίκαιαν, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὰ τούτων πράγματα μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Διογείτων, ᾧ φανερώς ἔχων ἐξηλέγχετο, περὶ τούτων οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἐτόλμα πείθεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἠβουλήθη καὶ φεύγειν δίκας καὶ μὴ οὐσας διώκειν καὶ ὑπομεῖναι τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσας ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν πρὸς τούτους ἐγκλημάτων, ὑμῶν δέομαι, ἐὰν μὲν ἀποδείξω οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτετροπευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου, ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν προσηκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει,

βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτῳ μὲν ἅπαντα πιστεύειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἡγεῖσθαι χεῖρους εἶναι. Ἐξ ἀρχῆς δ' ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν διδάξαι πειράσομαι.'

[24] τοῦτο τὸ προοίμιον ἀπάσας ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς, ὅσας δεῖ τὸ προοίμιον ἔχειν. δηλώσουσι δὲ οἱ κανόνες αὐτῷ παρατεθέντες οἱ τῶν τεχνῶν. ἅπαντες γὰρ δὴ που παραγγέλλουσιν οἱ συνταξάμενοι τὰς τέχνας, ὅταν πρὸς οἰκείους ὁ ἀγὼν, σκοπεῖν ὅπως μὴ πονηροὶ μηδὲ φιλοπράγμονες οἱ κατήγοροι φανήσονται. κελεύουσιν τε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους περιστάναι καὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι μεγάλα τὰδίκηματα καὶ οὐκ ἐνῆν αὐτὰ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαιοτέρων προσώπων ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ἐρήμων καὶ ἥττον ὑπεροφθῆναι ἀξίων, οἷς μὴ βοηθοῦντες κακίους ἂν ἐφάνησαν· καὶ ὅτι προκαλοῦμενοι τοὺς ἀντιδίκους εἰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ φίλοις τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ ἐλαττοῦσθαι ὑπομένοντες οὐδενὸς ἠδυνήθησαν τυχεῖν τῶν μετρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παραγγέλλουσι ποιεῖν οἱ τεχνογράφοι, ἵνα τὸ ἥθος τοῦ λέγοντος ἐπιεικέστερον εἶναι δόξῃ. δύναται δὲ αὐτοῖς εὖ νοῖαν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ ἔστι κράτιστον τῆς κατασκευῆς μέρος. ταῦθ' ὁρῶ πάντα διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου τοῦδε γεγονότα. καὶ μὴν εἰς γε τὸ εὐμαθεῖς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ποιῆσαι κελεύουσι συστρέφοντας εἰπεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα μὴ ἀγνωῶσι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οἱ δικασταί, καὶ οἷά περ ἂν ἦ τὰ μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ προοίμιον ὑποτίθεσθαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ δείγμα τοῦ πράγματος ποιουμένους κατευθὺ ἀπ' ἐνθυμημάτων πειρᾶσθαι ἄρχεσθαι. ἔχει δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὸ προοίμιον. ἔτι περὶ τῆς προσοχῆς ὧδέ πως τεχνολογοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν προσεκτικὸς μέλλοντα ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς καὶ λέγειν θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν δικαστῶν ἀκοῦσαι. φαίνεται δὴ καὶ ταῦτα πεπονηκώς ὁ Λυσίας. καὶ πρόσεστι τοῦτοις τὸ λεῖον τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ τὸ ἀφελές τῆς κατασκευῆς, ὧν μάλιστα δεῖ τοῖς ὑπ' οἰκείων προοιμιαζομένοις. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὴν διήγησιν ὡς ὠκονόμηται καταμαθεῖν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

[25] Ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Διόδοτος καὶ Διογείτων ὁμοπάτριοι καὶ ὁμομήτριοι. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφανῆ οὐσίαν ἐνείμαντο, τῆς δὲ φανερᾶς ἔκοινώνουν. ἐργασαμένου δὲ Διοδότου κατ' ἐμπορίαν πολλὰ χρήματα πείθει αὐτὸν Διογείτων λαβεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, ἥ περ ἦν αὐτῷ μόνη. καὶ γίνονται αὐτῷ υἱοὶ δύο καὶ θυγάτηρ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καταλεγείς Διόδοτος μετὰ Θρασύλλου τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καλέσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀδελφιδῆν οὖσαν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης μὲν πατέρα αὐτοῦ δὲ κηδεστὴν καὶ ἀδελφὸν [ὁμοπάτριον], πάππον δὲ τῶν παιδίων καὶ θεῖον, ἡγούμενος διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγκαιοτήτας οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον προσήκειν δικαίῳ περὶ τοῦς αὐτοῦ παῖδας γενέσθαι, διαθήκην αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου παρακαταθήκην, ναυτικὰ δὲ ἀπέδειξεν ἐκδεδομένα ἑπτὰ τάλαντα καὶ τετταράκοντα μνᾶς, δισχιλίας δὲ ὀφειλομένας ἐν Χερρονήσῳ. ἐπέσκηψε δέ, ἐάν τι πάθῃ, τάλαντον μὲν ἐπιδοῦναι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ δοῦναι, τάλαντον δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ. κατέλιπε <δὲ> καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τριάκοντα στατήρας Κυζικηνούς. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ οἶκοι ἀντίγραφα καταλιπὼν ὥχρετο στρατευσόμενος μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἀποθανόντος δὲ

ἐκείνου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Διογείτων τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ἔκρυπτε τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὰ γράμματα λαμβάνει, ἃ κατέλιπε σεσημασμένα, φάσκων τὰ ναυτικὰ χρήματα δεῖν ἐκ τούτων τῶν γραμματείων κομίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐδήλωσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐποίησαν τὰ νομιζόμενα, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ διητῶντο· ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατελέλειπτο τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνων δ' ἐπιλειπόντων τοὺς μὲν παῖδας εἰς ἄστὺ ἀναπέμπει, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτῶν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπιδοὺς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς, χιλίαις ἔλαττον ὧν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἔδωκεν. ὀγδόῳ δ' ἔτει δοκιμασθέντος μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῖν μειρακίοιν καλέσας αὐτοὺς εἶπε Διογείτων, ὅτι καταλείποι αὐτοῖς ὁ πατήρ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἀργυρίου καὶ τριάκοντα στατήρας. ἐγὼ οὖν πολλὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δεδασπάρην εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν τροφήν. καὶ ἔως μὲν εἶχον, οὐδέν μοι διέφερεν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόρως διάκειμαι. σὺ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ δεδοκίμασαι καὶ ἀνὴρ γεγένησαι, σκόπει αὐτὸς ἤδη, πόθεν ἔξεις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες, ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ δακρύοντες ὥχοντο πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐκείνην ἦκον πρὸς ἐμέ, οἰκτρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους διακείμενοι καὶ ἀθλίως ἐκπεπτωκότες, κλαίοντες καὶ παρακαλοῦντές με μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀποστερηθέντας τῶν πατρῶων μηδ' εἰς πτωχείαν καταστάντας, ὑβρισμένους ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστα ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ βοηθῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅσον πένθος ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ ἦν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ. τελευτῶσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἠντιβόλει με καὶ ἰκέτευσε συναγαγεῖν αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους, εἰποῦσα ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον εἴθισται λέγειν ἐν ἀνδράσι, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτὴν ἀναγκάσει τῶν συμφορῶν περὶ τῶν σφετέρων κακῶν δηλῶσαι πάντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐγὼ ἡγανάκτουν μὲν πρὸς Ἡγήμονα τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, λόγους δ' ἐποιούμην πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτηδεῖους, ἠξίου δὲ τοῦτον εἰς ἔλεγχον ἰέναι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Διογείτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ᾔθελε, τελευτῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἠναγκάσθη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήλθομεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν ἡ γυνή, τίνα ποτὲ ψυχὴν ἔχων ἀξιοῖ περὶ τῶν παίδων τοιαύτη γνώμη χρῆσθαι, ἀδελφὸς μὲν ὢν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, πατήρ δ' ἐμός, θεῖος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πάππος. καὶ εἰ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἠσχύνου, τοὺς θεοὺς ἐχρῆν σε, φησί, δεδέναι, ὃς ἔλαβες μὲν, ὅτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐξέπλει, πέντε τάλαντα παρ' αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐγὼ θέλω τοὺς παῖδας παρασημασμένη καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐμαυτῇ γενομένους ὁμόσαι, ὅπου ἂν οὗτος λέγῃ· καίτοι οὐχ οὕτως ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀθλία οὐδ' οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι χρήματα ὥστ' ἐπιорκήσασα κατὰ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐμαυτῆς τὸν βίον καταναλίσκειν, ἀδίκως δὲ ἀφελέσθαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν. ἔτι τοίνυν ἐξήλεγχεν αὐτὴ ἑπτὰ τάλαντα κεκομισμένον ναυτικὰ καὶ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ τούτων τὰ γράμματα ἀπέδειξεν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ διοικήσει, ὅτ' ἐκ Κολλυτοῦ διωκίζετο εἰς τὴν Φαίδρου οἰκίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτυχόντας ἐκβεβλημένῳ βιβλίῳ ἐνεγκεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν. ἀπέφηνε δ' αὐτὸν ἑκατὸν μνᾶς κεκομισμένον ἐγγεῖω ἐπὶ τόκῳ δεδανεισμένας καὶ ἑτέρας δισχιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ ἑππλά πολλοῦ ἄξια, φοιτᾶν δὲ καὶ σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἐκ Χερρονήσου καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. ἔπειτα σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἔφη, εἰπεῖν, ἔχων τοσαῦτα χρήματα, ὥς

δισχιλίαις δραχμαῖς ὁ τοῦτων πατήρ κατέλιπε καὶ τριάκοντα στατήρας· ἃ περ ἔμοι καταλειφθέντα ἐκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἐγὼ σοι ἔδωκα· καὶ ἐκβάλλειν τούτους ἡξίωκας θυγατρίδοϋς ὄντας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τριβωνίοις, ἀνυποδήτους, οὐ μετὰ ἀκολούθου, οὐ μετὰ στρωμάτων, οὐ μετὰ ἱματίων, οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπίπλων, ἃ <ὁ> πατήρ αὐτοῖς κατέλιπεν, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν, ἃς ἐκεῖνος παρὰ σοὶ κατέθετο. καὶ νῦν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς μητρυῖας τῆς ἐμῆς παιδεύεις ἐν πολλοῖς χρήμασιν εὐδαίμονας ὄντας (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καλῶς ποιεῖς), τοὺς δ' ἔμοϋς ἀδικεῖς, οὓς ἀτίμους ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλὼν ἀντὶ πλουσίων πτωχοὺς ἀποδεῖξαι προθυμεῖ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἔργοις οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς φοβεῖ οὔτε ἐμὲ τὴν συνειδυῖαν αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μέμνησαι, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς περὶ ἐλάττονος ποιεῖ χρημάτων. τότε μὲν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πολλῶν καὶ δεινῶν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ῥηθέντων οὔτω διετέθημεν πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦτω πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκείνης, ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς παῖδας οἷα ἦσαν πεπονθότες, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς ἀνάξιον τῆς οὐσίας τὸν ἐπίτροπον κατέλιπεν, ἐνθυμούμενοι δέ, ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐξευρεῖν ὅτω χρή περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πιστεῦσαι· ὥστε, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μηδένα τῶν παρόντων δύνασθαι φθέγγασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύνοντας μὴ ἦττον τῶν πεπονθότων ἀπιόντας οἴχεσθαι σιωπῇ.'

[26] ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀποδείξεων χαρακτήρ καταφανὴς γένηται, θήσω καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις λεγόμενα. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἰδίας πίστεις, ὡς οὐ πολλῶν ἔτι λόγων δεομένης, δι' αὐτῶν βεβαιοῦται τῶν μαρτύρων οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τοῦτο εἰπών· 'Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνάβητέ μοι μάρτυρες.' τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου δίκαια διχῇ νείμας, ὡς τὰ μὲν ὁμολογήσαντος αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ εἰς τὰς τροφὰς τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἀνηλωκέναι σκηψαμένου, τὰ δὲ ἐξάρνου γεννηθέντος εἰληφέναι κάπειτα ἐλεγχθέντος, ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον τὰς [δὲ] δαπάνας οὐχ ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἀπέφηνε γενέσθαι λέγων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τὰς πίστεις ἀποδιδούς.

[27] 'Ἀξιῶ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῷ λογισμῷ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμφορῶν ἐλεήσητε, τοῦτον δ' ἅπασιν τοῖς πολίταις ἄξιον ὀργῆς ἡγήσησθε. εἰς τοσαύτην γὰρ ὑποψίαν Διογείτων πάντας ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθίστησιν, ὥστε μήτε ζῶντας μήτε ἀποθνήσκοντας μηδὲν μᾶλλον τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἢ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις πιστεύειν· ὅς ἐτόλμησε τῶν μὲν ἕξαρνος γενέσθαι, τὰ δὲ τελευτῶν ὁμολογήσας ἔχειν εἰς δύο παῖδας καὶ ἀδελφὴν λῆμμα καὶ ἀνάλωμα ἐν ὀκτῷ ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίας δραχμαῖς ἀποδεῖξαι. καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἀναισχυντίας, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχων, ὅποι τρέψειε τὰ χρήματα, εἰς ὅσον μὲν δυοῖν παιδίοιν καὶ ἀδελφῇ πέντε ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλογίζετο, εἰς ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ εἰς γναφεῖον <καὶ εἰς> ἱμάτια καὶ εἰς κουρέως κατὰ μῆνα οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γεγραμμένα, συλλήβδην δὲ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πλεῖον ἢ τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. εἰς δὲ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀναλώσας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐκ πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν, τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς αὐτῷ τίθησι <τὸ δὲ> τούτοις λελόγισται. εἰς Διονύσια τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, (οὐκ ἄτοπον γάρ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ περὶ

τούτου μνησθῆναι), ἑκαίδεκα δραχμῶν ἀπέφηνεν ἑωνημένον ἀρνίον καὶ τούτων τὰς ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἐλογίζετο τοῖς παισίν. ἐφ' ᾧ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἤκιστα ὠργίσθημεν. οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ζημίαις ἐνίοτε οὐχ ἦττον τὰ μικρὰ λυπεῖ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους· λίαν γὰρ φανερὰν τὴν πονηρίαν τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐπιδείκνυσιν. εἰς τοῖνυν τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐλογίσατο αὐτοῖς πλεον ἢ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀνηλωμένας ἑτερά τε παμπληθῇ, ἃ πρὸς τὸ κεφάλαιον συνελογίζετο· ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίτροπος τῶν παιδίων καταλειφθείς, ἵνα γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποδείξειεν καὶ πενεστάτους ἀντὶ πλουσίων ἀποφῆναι καὶ ἵνα, εἰ μὲν τις αὐτοῖς πατρικὸς ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἐκείνου μὲν ἐπιλάθωνται, τῷ δ' ἐπιτρόπῳ τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστερημένοι πολεμῶσι. καίτοι εἰ ἡβούλετο δίκαιος εἶναι περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἐξῆν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἳ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις τῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις, μισθῶσαι τὸν οἶκον ἀπηλλαγμένον πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἢ γῆν πριάμενον ἐκ τῶν προσιόντων τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν, καὶ ὁπότερα τούτων ἐποίησεν, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἦττον Ἀθηναίων πλούσιοι ἦσαν. νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδεπώποτε διανοηθῆναι ὡς φανερὰν καταστήσων τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἔξων τὰ τούτων, ἡγούμενος δεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν κληρονόμον εἶναι τῶν τοῦ τεθνεῶτος χρημάτων. ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὦ ἄνδρες, δικασταί· οὗτος γὰρ συντριραρχῶν Ἀλέξιδι τῷ Ἀριστοδίκου, φάσκων δυοῖν δεούσας πεντήκοντα μνᾶς ἐκείνῳ συμβάλλεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖς τούτοις ὀρφανοῖς οὕσι λελόγισται, οὐς ἡ πόλις οὐ μόνον παῖδας ὄντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὴν δοκιμασθῶσιν, ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν ἀπασῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν. οὗτος δὲ πάππος ὢν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἐαυτοῦ τριηραρχίας παρὰ τῶν θυγατριδῶν τὸ ἡμῖς πράττεται. καὶ ἀποπέμφας εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὀλκάδα δυοῖν ταλάντοι, ὅτε μὲν ἀπέστελλεν, ἔλεγε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, ὅτι τῶν παιδῶν ὁ κίνδυνος εἴη, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσώθη καὶ ἐδιπλασίασεν, αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐμπορίαν φάσκει εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τὰς ζημίας τούτων ἀποδείξει, τὰ δὲ σωθέντα τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸς ἔξει, ὅποι μὲν ἀνήλωται τὰ χρήματα οὐ χαλεπῶς εἰς τὸν λόγον ἐγγράψει, ῥαδίως δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων αὐτὸς πλουτήσῃ. καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, δικασταί, πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη πρὸς ὑμᾶς λογίζεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μόλις παρ' αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον τὰ γράμματα, μάρτυρας ἔχων ἡρώτων Ἀριστοδίκον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀλέξιδος (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτύγχανε τετελευτηκώς), εἰ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ εἴη τῆς τριηραρχίας. ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν εἶναι. καὶ ἐλθόντες οἴκαδε εὖρομεν Διογείτονα τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐκείνῳ συμβεβλημένον εἰς τὴν τριηραρχίαν. οὗτος δὲ ἐπέδειξε δυοῖν δεούσας πεντήκοντα μνᾶς ἀνηλωκέναι· ὥστε τούτοις λελογίσθαι, ὅσον περ ὅλον τὸ ἀνάλωμα αὐτῷ γεγένηται. καίτοι τί αὐτὸν οἶεσθε πεποιηκέναι περὶ ὧν αὐτῷ οὐδεὶς σύνοιδεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος διεχειρίζεν, ὅς, ἃ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπράχθη καὶ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν περὶ τούτων πυθέσθαι, ἐτόλμησε ψευδόμενος τέτταρσι καὶ εἴκοσι μναῖς τοὺς αὐτοῦ θυγατρίδους ζημιῶσαι; καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες. - «μάρτυρες.» - «τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες, δικασταί. ἐγὼ δ' ὅσα τελευτῶν ὡμολόγησεν ἔχειν αὐτὸς χρήματα, ἐπτὰ τάλαντα καὶ τετταράκοντα μνᾶς,

ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ λογιῶμαι πρόσοδον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀποφαίνων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀναλίσκων, καὶ θήσω, ὅσον οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰς δύο παῖδας καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ θεράπαιναν χιλίας δραχμὰς ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ, μικρῷ ἔλαττον ἢ τρεῖς δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐν ὅκτῳ αὐταὶ ἔτεσιν γίνονται ὀκτακισχίλια δραχμαὶ ἔξ τάλαντα περιόντα τῶν ἐπτά ταλάντων, καὶ εἴκοσι μυαὶ <τῶν τετταράκοντα μυῶν>. οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο ἀποδείξαι οὐθ' ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀπολωλεκῶς οὔτε ζημίαν εἰληφῶς οὔτε χρήσταις ἀποδεδωκῶς.' ...

[28] ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῖς δικανικοῖς λόγοις <τοιοῦτός τις ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς> μαλακώτερος, ὥσπερ ἔφην. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ ὑψηλότερος εἶναι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος καὶ τῶν γε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ πρότερον ῥητόρων ἀκμασάντων οὐθενὸς ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι καταδεέστερος, οὐ διεγείρει δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτης [ἢ Δημοσθένης]. θήσω δὲ καὶ τούτων παράδειγμα.

[29] ἔστι δὴ τις αὐτῷ πανηγυρικὸς λόγος, ἐν ᾧ πείθει τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀγομένης Ὀλυμπίας τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐκβάλλειν Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Σικελίαν ἐλευθερῶσαι ἄρξασθαι τε τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτίκα μάλα, διαρπάσαντας τὴν τοῦ τυράννου σκηνὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ ἄλλῳ πλούτῳ πολλῷ κεκοσμημένην. ἔπεμψε γὰρ δὴ θεωροὺς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ὁ Διονύσιος ἄγοντας θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, μεγαλοπρεπῆς τε καταγωγῇ τῶν θεωρῶν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τεμένει καὶ πολυτελῆς, ἵνα θαυμασθεῖη μᾶλλον ὁ τύραννος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοιαύτην πεποιήται τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου·

[30] Ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἔνεκα, ᾧ ἄνδρες, ἄξιον Ἡρακλέους μεμνησθαι καὶ ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος συνήγειρε δι' εὐνοίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ τέως χρόνῳ ἄλλοτρίως αἱ πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διέκειντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς τυράννους ἔπαυσε καὶ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ἐκώλυσεν, ἀγῶνα μὲν σωμάτων ἐποίησε, φιλοτιμίαν <δὲ> πλούτῳ, γνώμης δ' ἐπίδειξιν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἵνα τούτων ἀπάντων ἔνεκα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλθωμεν, τὰ μὲν ὁψόμενοι, τὰ δ' ἀκουσόμενοι. ἠγήσατο γὰρ τὸν ἐνθάδε σύλλογον ἀρχὴν γενήσεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ταῦθ' ὑφηγήσατο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἦκω οὐ μικρολογησόμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μαχούμενος· ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἔργα μὲν εἶναι σοφιστῶν λίαν ἀχρήστων καὶ σφόδρα βίου δεομένων, ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου πολλοῦ ἀξίου περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλευεῖν, ὁρῶν οὕτως αἰσχροῦς διακειμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῆς ὄντα ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένας. καὶ ταῦτα εἰ μὲν δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπάσχομεν, στέργειν ἂν ἦν ἀνάγκη τὴν τύχην, ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ στάσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον τῶν μὲν παύσασθαι, τὰ δὲ κωλύσαι, εἰδότας ὅτι φιλονεικεῖν μὲν ἐστίν εὖ πραπτόντων, γνῶναι δὲ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀγωνιώντων; ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πανταχόθεν περιεσθηκότας. ἐπίστασθε δὲ ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν κρατούντων τῆς θαλάττης, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων βασιλεὺς ταμίας, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα

τῶν δαπανᾶσθαι δυναμένων, ναῦς δὲ πολλὰς αὐτὸς κέκτηται, πολλὰς δ' ὁ τύραννος τῆς Σικελίας. ὥστε ἄξιον τὸν μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον καταθέσθαι, τῇ δ' αὐτῇ γνώμῃ χρωμένους τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν παρεληλυθότων αἰσχύνεσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι δεδιέναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους μιμεῖσθαι, οἱ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐποίησαν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπιθυμοῦντας τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν στερεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ἐξελάσαντες κοινήν ἅπασιν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατέστησαν. θαυμάζω δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων μάλιστα, τίνι ποτὲ γνώμῃ χρώμενοι καιομένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιορῶσιν ἡγεμόνες ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀδίκως καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιστήμην, μόνοι δὲ οἰκοῦντες ἀπόρρητοι καὶ ἀτείχιστοι καὶ ἀστασίαστοι καὶ ἀήττητοι καὶ τρόποις αἰετὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι· ὧν ἕνεκα ἐλπίς ἀθάνατον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς κεκτηῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι κινδύνους σωτῆρας γενομένους τῆς Ἑλλάδος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προορᾶσθαι. οὐ τοίνυν ὁ ἐπιὼν καιρὸς τοῦ παρόντος βελτίων· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας δεῖ τὰς τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμφορὰς νομίζειν ἀλλ' οἰκείας, οὐδ' ἀναμεῖναι, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς αἱ δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρων ἔλθωσιν, ἀλλ' ἕως ἔτι ἔξεσσι, τὴν τούτων ὕβριν κωλύσαι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁρῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ μεγάλους αὐτοὺς γεγεννημένους; ὧν οὐ μόνον αἰσχυρῶν ὄντων ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινῶν τοῖς μὲν μεγάλα ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐξουσία γεγένηται τῶν πεπραγμένων, τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησιν οὐδεμία αὐτῶν τιμωρία.'

[31] ἐνὸς ἔτι παράδειγμα θήσω λόγου συμβουλευτικοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτου τοῦ γένους τῶν λόγων ὁ χαρακτήρ γένηται σαφής.

[32] ὑπόθεσιν δὲ περιέλιψε τὴν περὶ τοῦ μὴ καταλύσαι τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν Ἀθήνησι. τοῦ γὰρ δήμου κατελθόντος ἐκ Πειραιῶς καὶ ψηφισαμένου διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἄστει καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν γενομένων μνησικακεῖν, δέους δὲ ὄντος μὴ πάλιν τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τοὺς εὐπόρους ὑβρίζῃ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐξουσίαν κεκομισμένον καὶ πολλῶν ὑπὲρ τούτου γινομένων λόγων Φορμίσίος τις τῶν συγκατελθόντων μετὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμην εἰσηγήσατο τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας κατιέναι, τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς [τὴν] γῆν ἔχουσι παραδοῦναι, βουλομένων ταῦτα γενέσθαι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. ἔμελλον δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τούτου κυρωθέντος πεντακισχίλιοι σχεδὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀπελαθῆσθαι τῶν κοινῶν. ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, γράφει τὸν λόγον τόνδε ὁ Λυσίας τῶν ἐπισήμων τινὶ καὶ πολιτευομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐρρήθη τότε, ἄδηλον· σύγκειται γοῦν ὡς πρὸς ἀγῶνα ἐπιτηδείως. ἔστι δὲ ὁδε·

[33] "Ὅτε ἐνομίζομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς γεγεννημένας συμφορὰς ἱκανὰ μνημεῖα τῇ πόλει καταλελειφθαι, ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους ἐτέρας πολιτείας ἐπιθυμεῖν, τότε δὴ οὗτοι τοὺς κακῶς πεπονθότας καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένους ἐξαπατῆσαι ζητοῦσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οἷσπερ καὶ πρότερον δις ἦδη. καὶ τούτων μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω, ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν ἀκρωμένων, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὲ ἐπιλησμονέστατοι ἢ πάσχειν ἐτοιμότατοι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῇ μὲν τύχῃ τῶν Πειραιεῖ πραγμάτων μετέσχον, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως. καίτοι τί ἔδει φεύγοντας κατελθεῖν,

εἰ χειροτονοῦντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καταδουλώσεσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ <ἄνδρες> Ἀθηναῖοι, «οὔτε οὐσία τῆς πολιτείας» οὔτε γένει ἀπελαινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρω τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων πρότερος ὢν ἡγοῦμαι ταύτην μόνην σωτηρίαν εἶναι τῇ πόλει, ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις τῆς πολιτείας μετεῖναι· ἐπεὶ ὅτε καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, οὐχ ὅπως τινὰ Ἀθηναῖον ἀπώσομεν διεννοούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐβοεῦσιν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιοούμεθα· καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας ἀπελῶμεν; οὐκ, ἂν ἔμοιγε πείθησθε, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν αὐτῶν περιαιρησόμεθα, ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς καὶ ἵππείας καὶ τοξότας· ὢν ὑμεῖς ἀντεχόμενοι βεβαίως δημοκρατήσεσθε, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν πλεον ἐπικρατήσετε, ὠφελιμώτεροι δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἔσεσθε. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ ἵταίς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀλιγαρχίαις γεγενημέναις καὶ οὐ τοὺς γῆν κεκτημένους ἔχοντας τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσόντας· οὐς ὁ δῆμος καταγαγὼν ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύτης οὐκ ἐτόλμησε μετασχεῖν. ὥστ' ἐὰν ἔμοιγε πείθησθε, οὐ τοὺς εὐεργέτας, καθὼς δύνασθε, τῆς πατρίδος ἀποστερήσετε οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους πιστοτέρους τῶν ἔργων οὐδὲ τὰ μέλλοντα τῶν γεγενημένων νομιεῖτε ἄλλως τε καὶ μεμνημένοι τῶν περὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μαχομένων, οἳ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ τῷ δήμῳ πολεμοῦσι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἅπερ κτήσονται, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐρήμους συμμάχων λάβωσιν, εἴτα τοιούτων ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἐροῦσι, τίς ἔσται σωτηρία τῇ πόλει, εἰ μὴ ποιήσομεν, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κελεύουσιν; ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους εἰπεῖν ἄξιόν, τίς τῷ πλήθει περιγενήσεται, εἰ ποιήσομεν, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι προστάττουσιν; εἰ δὲ μή, πολὺ κάλλιον μαχομένοις ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ φανερώς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι. ἡγοῦμαι γάρ, ἐὰν μὲν πείσω, ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι κοινὸν <τὸν> κίνδυνον ... ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους καὶ Μαντινέας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ὁμόρους ὄντας Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοὺς δ' ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πλείους, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ τρισχιλίους ὄντας. ἴσασι γὰρ <Λακεδαιμόνιοι>, ὅτι, κἂν πολλάκις εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐμβάλωσι, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσονται ὅπλα λαβόντες, ὥστε οὐ καλὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ κίνδυνος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐὰν μὲν νικήσωσι, τούτους «οὐδὲ» καταδουλώσασθαί γ', ἐὰν δὲ ἡττηθῶσι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀποστερηῆσαι. ὅσω δ' ἂν ἄμεινον πράττωσι, τοσούτῳ «ἥττον» ἐπιθυμοῦσι κινδυνεύειν. εἴχομεν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, ὅτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρχομεν, καὶ ἐδοκοῦμεν καλῶς βουλευέσθαι, περιορῶντες μὲν τὴν χώραν τεμνομένην, οὐ νομίζοντες δὲ χρῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς διαμάχεσθαι. ἄξιον γὰρ ἦν ὀλίγων ἀμελοῦντας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν φείσασθαι. νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπάντων μάχῃ ἐστερήμεθα, ἡ δὲ πατρίς ἡμῖν λέλειπται, ἴσμεν ὅτι ὁ κίνδυνος οὗτος μόνος ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ χρή ἀναμνησθέντας, ὅτι ἤδη καὶ ἐτέροις ἀδικουμένοις βοηθήσαντες ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πολλὰ τρόπαια τῶν πολεμίων ἐστήσαμεν, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι, πιστεύοντας μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐλπίζοντας ἐπεὶ τὸ δίκαιον μετὰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἔσται. δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἶη, ὦ <ἄνδρες> Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν ἐφεύγομεν, ἐμαχόμεθα

Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἵνα κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ μαχώμεθα. οὐκοῦν αἰσχρόν, εἰ εἰς τοῦτο κακίας ἦξομεν, ὥστε οἱ μὲν πρόγονοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας διεκινδύνεον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν τολμᾶτε πολεμεῖν;

[34] ἀλλ' ἄλις ἤδη παραδειγμάτων, ἵνα καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ῥητόρων τὸν αὐτὸν διαλεχθῶμεν τρόπον. ἔπεται δὲ τῷ ῥήτορι τούτῳ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν χρόνων Ἰσοκράτης. περὶ δὴ τούτου λεκτέον ἐφεξῆς ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσιν.

De Isocrate

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

[1] Ἰσοκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἕκτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμάχου πέμπτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, δυσὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι νεώτερος Λυσίου, πατρὸς δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου, τινὸς τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιοῦς κεκτημένους καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔχοντος τῆς ἐργασίας. ἀγωγῆς δὲ τυχὼν εὐσχήμονος καὶ παιδευθεὶς οὐδενὸς Ἀθηναίων χειρόν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, φιλοσοφίας ἐπεθύμησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀκουστῆς Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Τισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου, τῶν τότε μέγιστον ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, ὥς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ Θηραμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃν οἱ τριάκοντα ἀπέκτειναν δημοτικὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα, σπουδὴν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο πράττειν τε καὶ λέγειν τὰ πολιτικά, ὥς δὲ ἡ φύσις ἡγαντιοῦτο, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀφελομένη, τόλμαν τε καὶ φωνῆς μέγεθος, ὧν χωρὶς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐν ὄχλῳ λέγειν, ταύτης μὲν ἀπέστη τῆς προαιρέσεως· ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ δόξης καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύσαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, καθάπερ αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν, ἐπὶ τῷ γράφειν ἃ διανοηθεῖη κατέφυγεν, οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν ποιοῦμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν τότε σοφιστῶν, περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν «καὶ πολιτικῶν» πραγμάτων, ἐξ ὧν ὑπελάμβανε τὰς τε πόλεις ἄμεινον οἰκήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπίδοσιν ἕξειν πρὸς ἀρετὴν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ λόγῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει. πεφυρμένην τε παραλαβὼν τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν λόγων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν σοφιστῶν πρῶτος ἐχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐριστικῶν τε καὶ φυσικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάζων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διετέλεσεν, ἐξ ἧς, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα παραγίνεται τοῖς μαθοῦσιν. ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων χρόνον καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Ἀθηνησίων τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς ἐγένοντο ἄριστοι λόγοις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν διήνεγκαν, [καὶ] ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις ἀνέγραψαν, καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκόνα ποιήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σχολὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας τῶν λόγων, πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας χρηματισαμένων περιποιησάμενος, ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ Χαιρωνίδου ἄρχοντος ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης δυεῖν δέοντα βεβιωκὼς ἑκατὸν ἔτη, γνῶμη χρησάμενος ἅμα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πόλεως συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, ἀδήλου ἔτι ὄντος, πῶς χρήσεται τῇ τύχῃ Φίλιππος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱστορούμενα περὶ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαιωδῶς ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

[2] ἡ δὲ λέξις, ἥ κέχρηται, τοιοῦτόν τινα χαρακτηῖρα ἔχει. καθαρὰ μὲν

ἐστιν οὐχ ἥττον τῆς Λυσίου καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῇ τιθεῖσα ὄνομα τὴν τε διάλεκτον ἀκριβοῦσα ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τὴν κοινὴν καὶ συνηθεστάτην. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πέφευγεν ἀπρηχαιωμένων καὶ σημειωδῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ἀπειροκαλίαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τροπικὴν φράσιν ὀλίγον τι διαλλάττει τῆς Λυσίου καὶ κέκρται συμμέτρως, τό τε σαφὲς ἐκείνῃ παραπλήσιον ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἐναργές, ἠθικὴ τέ ἐστὶ καὶ πιθανὴ καὶ «πρέπουσα». στρογγύλῃ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη, καὶ συγκεκροτημένη καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνας δικανικοὺς εὐθετος, ὑπτία δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον καὶ κεχυμένη πλουσίως, οὐδὲ δὴ σύντομος οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκελὴς καὶ βραδυτέρα τοῦ μετρίου. δι' ἣν δὲ αἰτίαν τοῦτο πάσχει, μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρώ. οὐδὲ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν φυσικὴν καὶ ἀφελῇ καὶ ἐναγώνιον, ὥσπερ ἡ Λυσίου, εἰ μὲν τὰς ζημίας τούτων ἀποδείξει, τὰ δὲ σωθέντα ποικίλην καὶ πῇ μὲν εὐπρεπεστέραν ἐκείνης πῇ δὲ περιεργότεραν. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τὴν εὐέπειαν ἐκ παντὸς διώκει καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς λέγειν στοχάζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς. τῶν τε γὰρ φωνηέντων τὰς παραλλήλους θέσεις ὡς ἐκλυούσας τὰς ἁρμονίας τῶν ἤχων καὶ τὴν λειότητα τῶν φθόγγων λυμαινομένης περιστάται, περιόδῳ τε καὶ κύκλῳ περιλαμβάνειν τὰ νοήματα πειρᾶται ῥυθμοειδεῖ πάνυ καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντι τοῦ ποιητικοῦ μέτρου, ἀναγνώσεώς τε μᾶλλον οἰκειότερός ἐστιν ἢ χρήσεως. τοιγάρτοι τὰς μὲν ἐπιδείξεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς θεωρίαν φέρουσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις καὶ δικαστηρίοις ἀγῶνας οὐχ ὑπομένουσι. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ παθητικὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις εἶναι δεῖ. τοῦτο δὲ ἥκιστα δέχεται περίοδος. αἱ τε παρομοιώσεις καὶ παρισώσεις καὶ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων σχημάτων κόσμος πολὺς ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ λυπεῖ πολλάκις τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν προσιστάμενος ταῖς ἀκοαῖς.

[3] καθόλου δὲ τριῶν ὄντων, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, ἐξ ὧν γίνεται τὸ μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ περιττὸν ἐν λέξει, τῆς τε ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἁρμονίας καὶ τῶν περιλαμβανόντων αὐτὰ σχημάτων, ἐκλέγει μὲν εὖ πάνυ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ὀνομάτων τίθησιν, ἀρμόττει δὲ αὐτὰ περιέργως, τὴν εὐφωνίαν ἐντείνων μουσικὴν, σχηματίζει τε φορτικῶς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ γίνεται ψυχρὸς ἢ τῷ πόρρωθεν λαμβάνειν ἢ τῷ μὴ πρέποντα εἶναι τὰ σχήματα τοῖς πράγμασι διὰ τὸ μὴ κρατεῖν τοῦ μετρίου. ταῦτα μέντοι καὶ μακροτέραν αὐτῷ ποιεῖ τὴν λέξιν πολλάκις, λέγω δὲ τό τε εἰς περιόδους ἐναρμόττειν ἅπαντα τὰ νοήματα καὶ τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τύποις τῶν σχημάτων τὰς περιόδους περιλαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ διώκειν ἐκ παντὸς τὴν εὐρυθμίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα δέχεται οὔτε μῆκος τὸ αὐτὸ οὔτε σχῆμα τὸ παραπλήσιον οὔτε ῥυθμὸν τὸν ἴσον. ὥστε ἀνάγκη παραπληρώμασι λέξεων οὐδὲν ὠφελουσῶν χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπομηκύνειν πέρα τοῦ χρησίου τὸν λόγον. λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὡς διαπαντὸς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ποιοῦντος (οὐχ οὕτως μαίνομαι· καὶ γὰρ συντίθησιν ποτε ἀφελῶς τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λύει τὴν περίοδον εὐγενῶς καὶ τὰ περίεργα σχήματα καὶ φορτικὰ φεύγει καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς τε καὶ δικανικοῖς λόγοις), ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τῷ ῥυθμῷ δουλεύοντος καὶ τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς περιόδου καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἐν τῷ περιττῷ τιθεμένου κοινότερον εἴρηκα περὶ αὐτοῦ. κατὰ δὲ ταῦτά φημι τὴν

Ἰσοκράτους λέξιν λείπεσθαι τῆς Λυσίου καὶ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν χάριν. καίτοι γε ἀνθρῶς ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, καὶ ἐπαγωγὸς ἡδονῇ τῶν ἀκρωμένων Ἰσοκράτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἐκείνῳ. τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπεται κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὅσον τῶν φύσει καλῶν σωμάτων τὰ συνεραυζόμενα κόσμοις ἐπιθέτοις. πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ Λυσίου λέξις ἔχειν τὸ χαρίεν, ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους βούλεται. ταύταις μὲν δὴ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑστερεῖ Λυσίου κατὰ τοῦν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. προτερεῖ δὲ γε ἐν ταῖς μελλούσαις λέγεσθαι· ὑψηλότερός ἐστιν ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος μακρῶ καὶ ἀξιωματικώτερος. θαυμαστὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς Ἰσοκράτους κατασκευῆς ὕψος, ἡρωϊκῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως οἰκεῖον. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι μὴ ἄπο σκοποῦ τις ἂν εἰκάσαι τὴν μὲν Ἰσοκράτους ῥητορικὴν τῇ Πολυκλείτου τε καὶ Φειδίου τέχνῃ κατὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχνον καὶ ἀξιωματικόν, τὴν δὲ Λυσίου τῇ Καλάμιδος καὶ Καλλιμάχου τῆς λεπτότητος ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνων οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττωσι καὶ ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις εἰσὶν ἐπιτυχέστεροι τῶν ἐτέρων, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ θειοτέροις δεξιώτεροι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς μικροῖς ἐστὶ σοφώτερος, ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις περιττότερος, τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ φύσει μεγαλόφρων τις ὢν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῇ γε προαιρέσει πάντως τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν διώκων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς λέξεως τοῦ ῥήτορος.

[4] τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ πραγματικῷ τόπῳ θεωρήματα τὰ μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς Λυσίου, τὰ δὲ κρείττονα. ἡ μὲν εὗρεσις ἡ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἡ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀρμόττουσα πρᾶγμα πολλὴ καὶ πυκνὴ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκείνης λειπομένη. καὶ κρίσις ὡσαύτως ἀπὸ μεγάλης φρονήσεως γινομένη. τάξις δὲ καὶ μερισμοὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡ κατ' ἐπιχείρημα ἐξεργασία καὶ τὸ διαλαμβάνεσθαι τὴν ὁμοειδειαν ἰδίαις μεταβολαῖς καὶ ξένοις ἐπεισοδίοις τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὴν πραγματικὴν οἰκονομίαν ἔστιν ἀγαθὰ πολλῶ μείζονά ἐστι παρ' Ἰσοκράτει καὶ κρείττονα, μάλιστα δ' ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ τῶν λόγων, περὶ οὓς ἐσπούδαζε, καὶ τῶν ὑποθέσεων τὸ κάλλος, ἐν αἷς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διατριβάς. ἐξ ὧν οὐ λέγειν δεινοὺς μόνον ἀπεργάσαιτ' ἂν τοὺς προσέχοντας αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἥθη σπουδαίους, οἴκῳ τε καὶ πόλει καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι χρησίμους. κράτιστα γὰρ δὴ παιδεύματα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσοκράτους ἔστιν εὐρεῖν λόγοις. καὶ ἔγωγέ φημι χρῆναι τοὺς μέλλοντας οὐχὶ μέρος τι τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως ἀλλ' ὅλην αὐτὴν κτήσασθαι τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν ῥήτορα διὰ χειρός. καὶ εἰ τις ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν ἀληθινὴν φιλοσοφίαν, μὴ τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῆς μόνον ἀγαπῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρακτικόν, μηδ' ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἄλυπον ἔξει βίον, ταῦτα προαιρούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν πολλοὺς ὠφελήσει, παρακελευσαίμην ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ ῥήτορος μιμεῖσθαι προαίρεσιν.

[5] τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο φιλόπολις τε καὶ φιλόδημος ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσειε τὴν πολιτικὴν καλοκάγαθίαν ἀναγνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὸν Παναγυρικόν; ἐν ᾧ διεξιὼν τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀρετὰς φησίν, ὥς οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ τὰ πολέμια δεινοὶ μόνον ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἥθη γενναῖοι καὶ φιλότιμοι καὶ σώφρονες, οἳ γε τῶν μὲν

κοινῶν μᾶλλον ἐφρόντιζον ἢ τῶν ιδίων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλοτρίων ἤττον ἐπεθύμουν ἢ τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ πρὸς ἀργύριον ἔκρινον ἀλλὰ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν, μέγαν οἰόμενοι τοῖς παισὶ καταλείψειν πλοῦτον καὶ ἀνεπίφθονον τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι τιμὴν· κρείττονα δὲ ἡγοῦντο τὸν εὐσχήμονα θάνατον ἢ τὸν ἀκλεῖ βίον, ἐσκόπουν δὲ οὐχ ὅπως οἱ νόμοι καλῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῖς ἐξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἡ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων μετριότης μὴ ἐκβήσεται τῶν πατρίων· οὕτως δὲ εἶχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτίμως καὶ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πότεροι πλείω τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσουσιν, οὐχ οἵτινες τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀπολέσαντες τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοὶ ἄρξουσιν. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῷ θεραπεύειν προσήγοντο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τῷ πείθειν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις κατεῖχον, πιστοτέροις χρώμενοι τοῖς λόγοις ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὄρκοις, καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀξιοῦντες μᾶλλον ἐμμένειν ἢ ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, τοιαῦτα δὲ περὶ τῶν ἡττόνων ἀξιοῦντες γινώσκουν, οἷα περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς κρείττους ἂν ἤξιωσαν φρονεῖν, οὕτω δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰς γνώμας, ὥς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἔχοντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις, κοινὴν δὲ πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἰκοῦντες.

[6] τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσειε μέγεθος ἔχων ἀνὴρ καὶ δυνάμειός τις ἡγούμενος, ἃ πρὸς Φίλιππον αὐτῷ τὸν Μακεδόνα γέγραπται; ἐν οἷς ἀξιοῖ στρατηγὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας κύριον διαλλάττειν μὲν τὰς διαφορομένας πόλεις ἀλλὰ μὴ συγκρούειν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ποιεῖν ὑπεριδόντα <τε> τῆς περὶ τὰ μικρὰ φιλοτιμίας τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔργοις, ἐξ ὧν κατορθώσας τε πάντων ἡγεμόνων ἐπιφανέστατος ἔσται καὶ ἀποτυχὼν τὴν γε εὖνοιαν τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κτήσεται· ἥς οἱ τυχόντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον εἰσι ζηλωτότεροι τῶν μεγάλαις πόλεις καὶ πολλὰς χώρας καταστρεψαμένων. ἔτι δὲ παρακελεύεται μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Ἡρακλέους τε προαίρεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων, ὅσοι μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ φησι χρῆναι τοὺς ἐτέρων διαφέροντας προαιρεῖσθαι μὲν τὰς μέγεθος ἐχούσας πράξεις, ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ αὐτὰς μετ' ἀρετῆς, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τὸ μὲν σῶμα θνητὸν ἔχομεν, ἀθάνατοι δὲ γιγνόμεθα δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπλήστως διακειμένοις ἀχθόμεθα, τοὺς δὲ τιμὴν μείζω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αἰὲν κτωμένους ἐπαινοῦμεν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων, ἐφ' οἷς εἰσιν ἀνθρώπιναι σπουδαί, πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας, πολλάκις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι κυρίους, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν εὐνοίας τοὺς οἰκέλους ἐκάστου κληρονομεῖν. πολλὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας ταῦτα δυνάστας φρονήματός τε μείζονος ὑποπίμπλασθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς.

[7] τίς δὲ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν προτρέψαιτο καθ' ἑκαστόν τε ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τὰς πόλεις ὅλας τοῦ Περί τῆς εἰρήνης λόγου; ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῶν μὲν ἄλλοτρίων μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργειν, καὶ τῶν μὲν μικρῶν πόλεων ὥσπερανεὶ κτημάτων φεῖδεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους τε καὶ εὐεργεσίαις περᾶσθαι κατέχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῖς ἀνάγκαις μὴδὲ ταῖς βίαις. τῶν δὲ

προγόνων μιμῆσθαι μὴ τοὺς πρὸ τῶν Δεκελεικῶν γενομένους, οἱ μικροὺ ἐδέξαντο ἀπολέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν, οἱ καλοκάγαθιαν ἀσκοῦντες διετέλεσαν. ἐπιδείκνυται τε ὡς οὐχ αἱ πολλαὶ τριῆρεις οὐδ' οἱ μετὰ βίας ἀρχόμενοι Ἕλληνες μεγάλην ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' αἱ δίκαιαί τε προαιρέσεις καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν. παρακαλεῖ τε τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν οἰκείαν ποιεῖν τῇ πόλει, μεγίστην ἡγουμένους μερίδα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καὶ πολεμικοὺς μὲν εἶναι ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς μελέταις, εἰρηνικοὺς δὲ τῷ μηδένᾳ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, διδάσκων ὡς οὐτε πρὸς πλοῦτον οὐτε πρὸς δόξαν οὐθ' ὅλως πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν οὐθὲν ἂν συμβάλοιτο τηλικαύτην δύναμιν, ὅσῃν ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ μέρη ταύτης· καὶ τοῖς μὴ ταῦτα ὑπειληφόσιν ἐπιτιμῶν, οἱ τὴν μὲν ἀδικίαν κερδαλέαν ἡγοῦντο καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν συμφέρουσιν, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην ἄλυσιτελῇ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτέροις ἢ τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠφέλιμον. τούτων γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τις ἂν ἢ βελτίους ἢ ἀληθεστέρους ἢ μᾶλλον πρέποντας φιλοσοφία δύναιτο λόγους εἰπεῖν.

[8] τίς δὲ τὸν Ἀρεοπαγитικὸν ἀναγνοῦς λόγον οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο κοσμιώτερος, ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος; ὃς ἐτόλμησε διαλεχθῆναι περὶ πολιτείας Ἀθηναίους ἀξιῶν μεταθέσθαι μὲν τὴν τότε καθεστῶσαν δημοκρατίαν ὡς μεγάλα βλάβπτουσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τῶν δημαγωγῶν οὐθεὶς ἐπεχειρεῖ λέγειν, θεωρῶν εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτὴν προεληλυθυῖαν ἀκοσμίαν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔτι τῶν ιδιωτῶν κρατεῖν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον, ὃ τι καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ γίνοιτο, καὶ ποιοῦντα καὶ λέγοντα, καὶ τὴν ἄκαιρον παρρησίαν δημοτικὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ πάντων νομιζομένην, ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Σόλωνός τε καὶ Κλεισθένης κατασταθεῖσαν πολιτείαν. ἥς τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὰ ἥθη διεξιὼν δεινότερον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι φησι τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους τὸ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀντιπεῖν ἢ δημοκρατίαν δὲ αὐτοὺς νομίζειν οὐ τὴν ἀκολασίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην. τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἐν τῷ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὰ κελεύόμενα ποιεῖν τίθεσθαι, ἐξουσίαν τε οὐθενὶ τῶν ἀκολάστων ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βελτίστοις ἀναπιθῆναι τὰς ἀρχάς, τοιούτους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπολαμβάνοντας, οἳ περ ἂν ὥσιν οἱ τὴν πόλιν διοικοῦντες. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπανορθοῦν τοὺς ἰδίους πλούτους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καταχωρηγεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πλείω τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πατέρας τῶν υἱῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων ἢ παίδων ὄντων ἐποιοῦντο, ἐνθυμουμένους, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς παιδείας ἀλλ' ἐκ ταύτης τῆς σωφροσύνης μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖται τὸ κοινόν. κρείττονά τε ὑπολαμβάνειν τὰ χρηστὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῆς ἀκριβοῦς νομοθεσίας, σκοποῦντας οὐχ ὅπως ταῖς τιμωρίαις τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀνείρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς μηδὲν ἄξιον ζημίας ἕκαστον «παρασκευάσουσιν» ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα δεῖν οἰομένους ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ διάγειν μεγάλῃ, τοῖς δ' ἰδιώταις μηδὲν ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν, ὃ τι ἂν οἱ νόμοι κωλύωσι. καρτερεῖν δὲ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ μὴ ἐκπλήττεσθαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

[9] τίς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον πείσειε καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἄνδρας τοῦ ῥήτορος πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους γραφέντι λόγῳ, ὃς

ἐπιγράφεται μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος, ὑπόθεσιν δὲ περιείληφε τὴν περὶ τοῦ μὴ
προέσθαι Μεσσήνην Βοιωτοῖς μηδὲ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν; ἡτύχητο γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα μάχη καὶ
πολλαὶ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔτεραι, καὶ τὰ μὲν Θηβαίων πράγματα ἦνθαι τε καὶ εἰς
μέγεθος ἀρχῆς προεληλύθει, τὰ δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης ταπεινὰ καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς
ἀρχαίας ἡγεμονίας γέγονει. τελευτώσα γοῦν, ἵνα τύχη τῆς εἰρήνης ἡ πόλις,
ἐβουλεύετο εἰ χρή Μεσσηνίας ἀποστῆναι, ταύτην ἐπιτιθέντων αὐτῇ
Βοιωτῶν τὴν ἀνάγκην. ὁρῶν οὖν αὐτὴν ἀνάξια πράττειν μέλλουσαν τῶν
προγόνων τόνδε τὸν λόγον συνετάξατο Ἀρχιδάμω νέω μὲν ὄντι καὶ οὐπω
βασιλεύοντι, ἐλπίδας δὲ πολλὰς ἔχοντι ταύτης τεύξεσθαι τῆς τιμῆς. ἐν ᾧ
διεξέρχεται πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς δικαίως ἐκτῆσαντο Μεσσηνὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
παραδόντων τε αὐτὴν τῶν Κρεσφόντου παίδων ὅτε ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς,
καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προσταξάντος δέχεσθαι καὶ τιμωρεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις ἐπικυρώσαντος μὲν τὴν κτῆσιν τοῦ πολέμου, κάτοχον δὲ καὶ
βέβαιον πεποικκότος τοῦ χρόνου. διδάσκει δέ, ὡς οὐ Μεσσηνίοις τοῖς
οὐκέτ' οὖσιν ἀλλὰ δοῦλοις καὶ εἴλωσιν ὀρμητήριον καὶ καταφυγὴν
παρέξουσι τὴν πόλιν. διεξέρχεται τε τοὺς κινδύνους τῶν προγόνων, οὓς
ὑπέμειναν ἔνεκα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῆς δόξης ὑπομιμνήσκει τῆς παρὰ τοῖς
Ἑλλησιν ὑπαρχούσης περὶ αὐτῶν παραινεῖ τε μὴ συγκαταπίπτειν ταῖς
τύχαις μηδ' ἀπογινώσκειν τὰς μεταβολάς, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν
ἤδη μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοντες ἢ Θηβαῖοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων
ἐκρατήθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ εἰς πολιορκίαν κατακλεισθέντες καὶ δεινότερα ἢ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσχοντες διέφθειραν τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας, καὶ
παράδειγμα ποιεῖται τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, ἣτις ἐκ πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας
ἀνάστατος γενομένη τοὺς ἐσχάτους ὑπέστη κινδύνους, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς
βαρβάροις ποιῇ τὸ προσταττόμενον. παρακελεύεται δὲ καὶ καρτερεῖν ἐπὶ
τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ θαρρεῖν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι τὰς
τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αἱ πόλεις ἐπανορθοῦνται πολιτεία χρηστῇ καὶ πολέμων
ἐμπειρίαις, ἐν οἷς προεῖχεν ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων. οἶεται δὲ δεῖν οὐ
τοὺς κακῶς πράττοντας εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς καινουργίας ἐπὶ τὸ
κρεῖττον μεταβάλλειν τὰ πράγματα ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας· ἐν γὰρ
τάκινδύνῳ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι φυλακὴν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
πρὸς τούτοις διεξελθὼν, ὅσα καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις αὐτῶν
ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους λαμπρὰ ἔργα, καὶ ὅσης αἰσχύνης ἄξια
δράσουσι, καὶ ὡς καὶ διαβληθήσονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἐπιλογισάμενος
καὶ ὅτι πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρία τις ἔσται τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιουμένοις καὶ
παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ συμμάχων καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, οἷς ἐπίφθορος
ἡ Θηβαίων δύναμις αὐξομένη, καὶ τὴν κατέχουσαν ἀκοσμίαν καὶ ταραχὴν
τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτροπευόντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βοιωτῶν ἐπιδειξάμενος, τελευτῶν,
εἰ καὶ μὴθὲν τούτων μέλλοι γίνεσθαι μηδ' ὑπολείποιτό τις ἄλλη σωτηρίας
ἐλπίς, ἐκκλιπεῖν κελεύει τὴν πόλιν, διδάσκων αὐτούς, ὡς χρή παῖδας μὲν καὶ
γυναῖκας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον εἰς τε Σικελίαν ἐκπέμψαι καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ
τᾶλλα χωρία τὰ φίλια, αὐτοὺς δὲ καταλαβομένους τόπον, ὅστις ἂν
ὀχυρώτατος ᾖ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεϊότατος, ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τοὺς

πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀξιώσειν δύναμιν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ἀνδράσι κρατίστοις μὲν τὰ πολέμια τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπονενοημένως δὲ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν διακειμένους, δικαίαν δὲ ὀργὴν καὶ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔχουσι. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις μόνοις συμβουλευεῖν φαίην ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πολλῶ κρεῖττον ἀπάντων φιλοσόφων, οἱ τέλος ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ καλόν.

[110] ἔχων δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους διεξιέναι λόγους πρὸς πόλεις τε καὶ δυνάστας καὶ ιδιώτας γραφέντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὰ πλήθη παρακαλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ εἰς μετριότητα καὶ νόμιμον ἀρχὴν τοὺς δυνάστας προάγουσιν, οἱ δὲ κοσμίους τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀπεργάζονται τοὺς βίους, ἃ δεῖ πράττειν ἕκαστον ὑποτιθέμενοι, δεδοικῶς μὴ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ὁ λόγος ἐκμηκυνθῇ μοι, ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω, τοῦ δ' εὐπαρακολούθητα γενέσθαι μοι μᾶλλον τὰ πρόσθεν εἰρημένα, καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἕνεκα, ἣ διαλλάττει Λυσίου, τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν εἰς βραχύτερον συναγαγὼν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ παραδείγματα μεταβήσομαι.

[111] πρῶτην μὲν τοῖνυν ἔφην ἀρετὴν εἶναι λόγων τὴν καθαρὰν ἐρμηνείαν, ἐν ἣ διαλλαγὴν οὐδεμίαν εὕρισκον παρ' οὐδετέρῳ. ἔπειτα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τὴν διαλέκτου τῆς τότε συνήθους· καὶ ταύτην ἐώρων ὁμοίαν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπελογιζόμεν, ὅτι τοῖς κυρίοις καὶ συνήθεσι καὶ κοινοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀμφοτέροι κέχρηται, ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους λέξις προσλαβοῦσα τι τῆς τροπικῆς κατασκευῆς μέχρι τοῦ μὴ λυπῆσαι προῆλθεν. τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ τῆς ἐναργείας ἀμφοτέρους κρατεῖν ἀπεφηνάμην, ἐν δὲ τῷ συντόμως ἐκφέρειν τὰ νοήματα Λυσίαν μᾶλλον ἡγούμην ἐπιτυχάνειν. περὶ τὰς αὐξήσεις Ἰσοκράτη κατορθοῦν ἄμεινον ἐδόκουν. ἐν τῷ συστρέφειν τὰ νοήματα καὶ στοργγύλως ἐκφέρειν ὡς πρὸς ἀληθινούς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτήδειον Λυσίαν ἀπεδεχόμεν. ἐν ταῖς ἡθοποιαῖς ἀμφοτέρους εὕρισκον δεξιούς, τῆς δὲ χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀναμφιλόγως ἀπεδίδουν τὰ πρωτεῖα Λυσία. τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐώρων παρ' Ἰσοκράτει. τοῦ πιθανοῦ καὶ πρέποντος οὐδέτερον ἐδόκουν ἀπολείπεσθαι. ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τῶν ὀνομάτων Λυσίαν μὲν ἀφελέστερον ἔκρινον, Ἰσοκράτην δὲ περιεργότερον, καὶ τὸν μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας πιθανώτερον εἰκαστήν, τὸν δὲ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀθλητὴν ἰσχυρότερον.

[112] ταῦτα ἔφην περὶ τῆς λέξεως τῆς ἐκατέρου. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ποιούμενος <τῇ> ἐξέτασιν, τὴν μὲν εὗρεσιν θαυμαστὴν παρ' ἀμφοῖν κατελαβόμεν καὶ ἔτι τὴν κρίσιν. τῇ δὲ τάξει τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ τοῖς μερισμοῖς τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ τῇ καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος ἐξεργασία τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς ἐν τῷ πραγματικῷ τόπῳ θεωρήμασι παρὰ πολὺ προτερεῖν ἡγούμην Ἰσοκράτην Λυσίου, κατὰ δὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον τῆς προαιρέσεως πλεῖον διαφέρειν ἢ παιδὸς ἄνδρα, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων εἶρηκεν, εἰ δὲ χρὴ τάληθές εἶπεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ῥητόρων, ὅσοι φιλοσόφως τοῦ μαθήματος τούτου προέστησαν. τῆς μέντοι ἀγωγῆς τῶν περιόδων τὸ κύκλιον καὶ τῶν σχηματισμῶν τῆς λέξεως τὸ μεираκιῶδες οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον. δουλεύει γὰρ ἡ διάνοια πολλάκις τῷ ῥυθμῷ

τῆς λέξεως καὶ τοῦ κομποῦ λείπεται τὸ ἀληθινόν. κράτιστον δὲ ἐπιτήδευμα ἐν διαλέκτῳ πολιτικῇ καὶ ἐναγωνίῳ τὸ ὁμοιότατον τῷ κατὰ φύσιν. βούλεται δὲ ἡ φύσις τοῖς νοήμασιν ἔπεσθαι τὴν λέξιν, οὐ τῇ λέξει τὰ νοήματα. συμβούλῳ δὲ δὴ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης λέγοντι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς τρέχοντι κίνδυνον ἐν δικασταῖς τὰ κομπὰ καὶ θεατρικὰ καὶ μεираκιώδη ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδα ἥντινα δύναίτο ἂν παρασχεῖν ὠφέλειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ βλάβης ἂν αἵτια γένοιτο. χαριεντισμὸς γὰρ πᾶς ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ κακοῖς γινόμενος ἄωρον πρᾶγμα καὶ πολεμιώτατον ἐλέω.

[13] οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος πρώτου μὰ Δία, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ταύτην εἶχον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν. Φιλόνικος μὲν γὰρ ὁ διαλεκτικὸς τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τῆς λέξεως ἐπαινῶν τάνδρὸς μέμφεται τῆς κενότητός τ' αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ φορτικοῦ εὐοικέναι τέ φησιν αὐτὸν ζωγράφῳ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐσθῆσι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς σχήμασι πάσας ἐπικοσμοῦντι τὰς γραφάς· 'ἅπαντες γοῦν εὕρισκον τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τρόποις τῆς λέξεως κεχρημένους, ὥστ' ἐν πολλοῖς τεχνικῶς τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα ἐξεργαζόμενον τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπρεπῇ παντελῶς φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ προσηκόντως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις τῶν ἡθῶν φράζειν'. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος φησιν ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ἂν τινα δυνηθῆναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καλῶς, δημηγορῆσαι δὲ τὴν τε φωνὴν καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπάραντα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κατασκευῇ μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοστούσης ὑποκρίσεως εἰπεῖν οὐ παντελῶς. τὸ γὰρ μέγιστον καὶ κινητικώτατον τῶν ὄχλων παρεῖσθαι, τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον· δουλεύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ λειότητι διαπαντός, τὸ δὲ κεκραμένον καὶ παντοδαπὸν ἐπιτάσσει τε καὶ ἀνέσει καὶ τὸ ταῖς παθητικαῖς ὑπερθέσει διειλημμένον ἀποβεβληκέναι. καθόλου δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναγνώστου παιδὸς φωνὴν καταδύντα μήτε τόνον μήτε πάθος μήτε ὑπόκρισιν δύνασθαι φέρειν. πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις εἰρηται, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν. ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἔσται τῆς Ἰσοκράτους λέξεως τεθείσης καταφανῆς ὅ τε τῶν περιόδων ῥυθμὸς ἐκ παντὸς διώκων τὸ γλαφυρὸν καὶ τῶν σχημάτων τὸ μεираκιῶδες περὶ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ παρισώσεις καὶ παρομοιώσεις κατατριβόμενον. καὶ οὐ τὸ γένος μέφομαι τῶν σχημάτων (πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ συγγραφεῖς καὶ ῥήτορες, ἀνθίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν λέξιν), ἀλλὰ τὸν πλεονασμόν.

[14] τῷ γὰρ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ προσίστασθαί φημι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς. ἐν γοῦν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ τῷ περιβοήτῳ λόγῳ πολὺς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις· 'πλείστων μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων ἐπαινῶν ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι'. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῷ κῶλῳ τὸ κῶλον ἴσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὀνόμασι, τῷ μὲν πλείστων τὸ μεγίστων, τῷ δ' ἀγαθῶν τὸ ἐπαινῶν, τῷ δὲ αἰτίους τὸ ἀξίους. καὶ αὖθις· 'οὐδὲ ἀπέλαυον μὲν ὡς ἰδίων, ἡμέλουν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοτρίων'. τό τε γὰρ κῶλον τὸ δεύτερον τῷ κῶλῳ πάρισον καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῷ μὲν ἀπέλαυον τὸ ἡμέλουν ἀντίθετον, τῷ δὲ ἰδίων τὸ ἄλλοτρίων. οἷς ἐπιτίθησιν· 'ἀλλὰ ἐκήδοντο μὲν ὡς οἰκείων, ἀπείχοντο δὲ ὥσπερ χρή τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων.' ἀντίκειται [γὰρ] δὴ πάλιν κἀνταῦθα τῷ μὲν ἐκήδοντο τὸ ἀπείχοντο, τῷ δὲ οἰκείων τὸ μηδὲν προσηκόντων. καὶ οὕτω ταῦθ' ἱκανά, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα περιόδῳ πάλιν

ἀντιστρέφει τῷ μὲν ‘αὐτός τε μέλλοι μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσειν’ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ‘καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μεγάλην δόξαν καταλείψειν’, τῷ δὲ ‘οὐδὲ τὰς θρασύτητας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐζήλουν’ τὸ συναπτόμενον αὐτῷ ‘οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἤσκουν’. καὶ οὐδὲ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν ἐπιφέρει τούτοις· ‘ἀλλὰ δεινότερον μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθνήσκειν.’ οὐκοῦν καὶ δεύτερον τῷ μὲν καλῶς τὸ κακῶς ἀντίστροφον, τῷ δὲ ἀκούειν τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν πᾶρισον. εἰ μέτριος εἴη μέχρι δεῦρο, ἀνεκτός, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀνήσει. πάλιν γοῦν ἐν τῇ μετ’ αὐτὴν περιόδῳ τίθῃσιν· ‘ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν δεήσει πολλῶν γραμμάτων ἀλλ’ ὀλίγων συνθημάτων, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὁμονήσουσιν.’ οὐκοῦν τὸ γραμμάτων καὶ συνθημάτων πᾶρισον καὶ τὸ πολλῶν καὶ ὀλίγων καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἰδίων ἀντίθετα. ἔπειθ’ ὥσπερ οὐδὲν εἰρηκῶς τοιοῦτον ἀθρόαις ἐπικλύσει ταῖς παρισώσεσιν, ἐπιφέρων ταυτί· ‘καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διώκουν θεραπεύοντες ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ στρατηγεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπόται προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτῆρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκαλεῖσθαι, τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλ’ οὐ βίᾳ καταστρεφόμενοι, πιστοτέροις μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὅρκοις χρώμενοι, ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ὥσπερ ἀνάγκαις ἐμμένειν ἀξιοῦντες.’ καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα διεξιόντα μηκύνειν; ὀλίγου γὰρ ἅπας ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτῷ κεκόμψευται σχημάτων. οἱ μέντοι γε ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου γραφέντες λόγοι ἤττόν εἰσι μεираκιώδεις, ὥς ἂν οἴμαι τελείαν ἀπειληφότες τὴν φρόνησιν παρὰ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα.

[15] ὥρα δὲ ἂν εἴη καὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἄψασθαι καὶ δεῖξαι τούτοις τίς ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἰσχύς. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ γένη τῶν προβλημάτων καὶ πάσας τὰς ἰδέας τῶν λόγων ἀμήχανον ἐν ὀλίγῳ δηλῶσαι, ἀρκεῖ δὲ μία τε δημηγορία παραληφθεῖσα καὶ λόγος εἷς ἐκ <τῶν> δικανικῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν συμβουλευτικὸς λόγος ἔστω, ἐν ᾧ παρακαλεῖ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαλύσασθαι μὲν τὸν συμμαχικὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον, ὃν ἐπολέμουν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Χίοι τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παύσασθαι δὲ πλεονεκτοῦντας καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀρχῆς· διδάσκων ὥς ἔστιν οὐ μόνον κρείττων ἡ δικαιοσύνη τῆς ἀδικίας ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελιμωτέρα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπτιον καὶ ἀναβεβλημένον τῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ τῶν περιόδων ὁ χαριεντισμὸς ἔνεστι κἂν τούτοις, τὰ δὲ θεατρικὰ τῶν σχημάτων τεταμιευμένως παρείληπται. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παρορᾶν δεῖ τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ μὴ ἄξια ἡγεῖσθαι σπουδῆς, ὥσπερ <καὶ> κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἔφην, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις πάνυ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐντεῦθεν·

[16] ‘Ἄπαντες μὲν εἰώθασιν οἱ παριόντες ἐνθάδε ταῦτα μέγιστα φάσκειν εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα σπουδῆς ἄξια τῇ πόλει, περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ μέλλουσι συμβουλεύειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων ἤρμοσε τοιαῦτα προειπεῖν, <δοκεῖ μοι πρέπειν> καὶ περὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἤκομεν γὰρ ἐκκλησιάζοντες περί τε πολέμου καὶ

εἰρήνης, ἃ μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευσαμένους ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος ὑπὲρ ὧν συνεληλύθαμεν τηλικούτον ἐστίν. ὁρῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου τῶν λεγόντων τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν, τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς φωνῆς ἀνεχομένους. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ποιεῖτε. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰώθατε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐκβάλλειν πλὴν τοὺς συναγορεύοντας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὑμῶν. οἷς καὶ δικαίως ἂν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν, ὅτι συνειδότες πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους οἴκους ὑπὸ τῶν κολακεύοντων ἀναστάτους γεγεννημένους καὶ μισοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων τοὺς ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν οὐχ ὁμοίως διάκεισθε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κατηγοροῦντες τῶν προσιεμένων καὶ χαιρόντων τοῖς τοιοῦτοις αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον φαίνεσθε τοῦτοις πιστεύοντες ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις. καὶ γὰρ τοι πεποιθήκατε τοὺς ῥήτορας μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει συνοίσειν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀρέσκοντας ὑμῖν λόγους ἐροῦσιν· ἐφ' οὗς καὶ νῦν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐρρύηκεν. ἅπασι γὰρ ἦν φανερόν, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἡσθήσεσθε τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβουλευούσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ προσδοκίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν, ὡς τὰς κτήσεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κομιούμεθα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναληφόμεθα πάλιν, ἦν πρότερον ἐτυχάνομεν ἔχοντες, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑποτείνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν δεῖ καὶ μὴ μεγάλων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ στέργειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὃ χαλεπώτατον πάντων τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐξηγήμεθα τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δοκούσας εἶναι πλεονεξίας ἀπλήστως ἔχομεν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι τοὺς μεγίστους πλούτους μένειν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κινδυνεύουσι. διόπερ ἄξιόν ἐστι δεδιέναι, μὴ καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔνοχοι γενώμεθα ταύταις ταῖς ἀνοίαις, λίαν γὰρ τινές μοι δοκοῦσιν ὠρμηθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ οὐ τῶν τυχόντων συμβεβουλευκότων ἀλλὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀκηκοότες, ὅτι κατορθώσομεν ἅπαντα καὶ ῥαδίως κρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας περὶ μὲν ὧν ἴσασι μὴ βουλεύεσθαι (περίεργον γάρ), ἀλλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἐγνώκασι, περὶ ὧν δ' ἂν βουλεύονται, μὴ νομίζειν εἰδέναι τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς δόξη μὲν χρωμένους, ὃ τι δὲ ἂν τύχῃ γενησόμενον, οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ὧν ὑμεῖς οὐδέτερον τυγχάνετε ποιοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόν τε ταραχωδέστατα διάκεισθε. συνεληλύθατε γὰρ ὡς δέον ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ῥηθέντων ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ βέλτιστον, ὥσπερ δ' ἤδη σαφῶς εἰδότες ὃ πρακτέον ἐστὶν οὐ θέλετε ἀκοῦειν πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορούντων. καίτοι προσῆκεν ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ ἐβούλεσθε ζητεῖν τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἢ τοῖς χαριζόμενοις, εἰδότας ὅτι τῶν ἐνθάδε παριόντων οἱ μὲν ἃ βούλεσθε λέγοντες ῥαδίως ἐξαπατᾶν δύνανται· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν ῥηθὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τῷ καθορᾶν τὸ βέλτιστον. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συμβουλευόντων οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιτε τοιοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μεταπεῖσαι δυνηθεῖεν «ὑμᾶς μὴ φανερόν τὸ συμφέρον ποιήσαντες. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωποι δυνηθεῖεν» καλῶς ἢ κρῖναι περὶ τῶν γεγεννημένων

ἢ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς τῶν ἐναντιουμένων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐξετάζοιεν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς κοινούς ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὰς παρὰσχοιεν; θαυμάζω δὲ τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μήκετι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδενὸς ἀκηκόασιν, ὅτι διὰ μὲν [γὰρ] τοὺς παραινοῦντας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης οὐθὲν πώποτε «κακὸν» ἐπάθομεν, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ῥαδίως πολεμεῖν αἰρουμένους «πολλαῖς ἤδη καὶ» μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιεπέσομεν. ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιοῦμεθα μνείαν, ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν μηδὲν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πράττοντες τριήρεις πληροῦν καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν τύχωμεν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει κινδυνεύοντες. τούτων δ' αἰτίον ἐστίν, ὅτι προσῆκον ὑμῶς ὁμοίως τῶν κοινῶν ὥσπερ τῶν ιδίων σπουδάζειν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ιδίων βουλευήσθε, ζητεῖτε συμβούλους τοὺς ἄμεινον φρονούντας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιάζητε, τοῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοις ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ φθονεῖτε, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων ἐπαινεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς μεθύοντας τῶν νηφόντων καὶ τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας τῶν εὖ φρονούντων καὶ τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως διανεμομένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς «ιδίας» οὐσίας ὑμῖν λειτουργούντων. ὥστ' ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἴ τις ἐλπίζει τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτοις συμβούλοις χρωμένην ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδώσειν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν, ὅτι πρόσαντές ἐστίν ἐναντιοῦσθαι ταῖς ὑμετέραις διανοαῖς καὶ διότι δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεάτροις τοῖς κωμωδοδιδασκάλοις, ὃ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ δεινότατον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκφέρουσιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας «τὰ» τῆς πόλεως ἀμαρτήματα τοσαύτην ἔχετε χάριν, ὅσῃν οὐδὲ τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας καὶ νουθετοῦντας ὑμῶς οὕτω θιατρίθεσθε δυσκόλως, ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς κακὸν τι τὴν πόλιν ἐργαζομένους. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίην ὧν διενόηθην. παρελήλυθα γὰρ οὐ χαριούμενος ὑμῖν οὐδὲ χειροτονίαν μνηστεύσων ἀλλ' ἀποφανόμενος ἃ τυγχάνω γινώσκων, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ ὧν ὁ πρύτανις προτίθησιν, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος ἔσται τῶν νῦν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γνωσθέντων, ἂν μὴ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀρθῶς βουλευσώμεθα. φημὶ δ' οὕν χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους τε καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κώους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ταύταις, αἷς νῦν τινες γεγράφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γενομέναις «μὲν» πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, προσταπτούσαις δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόλεων ἐξεῖναι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους. τούτων γὰρ οὕτε δικαιότερας εὐρήσομεν οὔτε μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει συμφερούσας.'

[17] ταῦτα προειπὼν καὶ οὕτω διαθεὶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα λόγον ἐπιτηδείως ἐγκώμιόν τε κάλλιστον τῆς δικαιοσύνης διαθέμενος καὶ τὰ καθεστηκότα πράγματα μεμψάμενος ἐπιτίθησι τούτοις τὴν σύγκρισιν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους. 'Τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα ταῦτα προεῖπον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν

ἀνειμένως μέλλω τοὺς λόγους ποιῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. τίς γάρ ἂν ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν καὶ μὴ συνδιεφθαρμένος ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γινομένοις οὐκ ἂν μαίνεσθαι καὶ παραφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς νομίσειεν, οἱ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἐγκωμιάζειν ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις πράττομεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ ὑναντίον; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν βίον ποριζομένους ἐκείθεν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγάγομεν. κάκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλευθεροῦντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βοηθοῦντες αὐταῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιώθησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταδουλούμενοι καὶ τάναντία τοῖς τότε πράττοντες ἀγανακτοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνοις ἔξομεν, οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελείμμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς διανοαῖς τῶν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς φροντίζομεν.

ἔν γὰρ ἀκούσαντες γνώσεσθε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ὡς θανάτου τῆς ζημίας ἐπικειμένης, ἣν τις ἁλῶ δεκάζων, τοὺς τοῦτο φανερώτατα ποιοῦντας στρατηγούς χειροτονοῦμεν καὶ τὸν πλείστους διαφθεῖραι δυνηθέντα τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων καθίσταμεν. σπουδάζοντες δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὅλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰδότες ἓν μὲν ταῖς ἡσυχίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀσφαλείαις αὐξομένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, ἓν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις δις ἤδη καταλυθεῖσαν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντας ὡς πρὸς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὄντας δυσκόλως ἔχομεν, τοὺς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαπῶντας ὡς τῆς δημοκρατίας κηδομένους εὖνους εἶναι νομίζομεν. ἐμπειρότατοι δὲ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντες οὕτως ἀλογίστως ἔχομεν, ὥστε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οὐ ταῦτ' ἀ γινώσκομεν, ἀλλ' ὧν πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβῆναι κατηγοροῦμεν, ταῦτα συνελθόντες χειροτονοῦμεν, οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον διαλιπόντες τοῖς ψηφισθεῖσιν, ἐπειδὴν ἀπίωμεν, πάλιν ἐπιτιμῶμεν. προσποιοῦμενοι δὲ σωφρονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι, τοιοῦτοις χρώμεθα συμβούλοις, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν καταφρονήσῃε, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους κυρίους ἀπάντων «τῶν κοινῶν» καθίσταμεν, οἷς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπitrέψειε.'

[18] τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ἓν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς λόγοις ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἓν δὲ τοῖς δικανικοῖς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάνυ ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ τῷ Λυσίου χαρακτηρὶ ἔγγιστα μὲν προσεληλυθώς, ἓν δὲ τῇ συνθέσει τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ λεῖον ἐκεῖνο καὶ εὐπρεπὲς ἔχων, ἔλαττον μὲν ἢ ἓν τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἔχων γε. μηθεὶς δ' ἀγνοεῖν «μὴ» ὑπολάβῃ μὴθ' ὅτι Ἀφαρεὺς ὁ πρόγονός τε καὶ εἰσποῖήτος Ἰσοκράτει γενόμενος ἓν τῷ πρὸς Μεγακλείδην περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως λόγῳ διορίζεται μηδεμίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπόθεσιν εἰς δικαστήριον γεγράφθαι, μὴθ' ὅτι δέσμας πάνυ πολλὰς δικανικῶν λόγων Ἰσοκρατείων περιφέρεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν βυβλιοπωλῶν Ἀριστοτέλης. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων λεγόμενα, καὶ οὕτε Ἀριστοτέλει πείθομαι ῥυπαίνειν τὸν ἄνδρα βουλομένῳ οὗτ' Ἀφαρεῖ τούτου γ' ἔνεκα λόγον εὐπρεπῇ πλαττομένῳ συντίθεμαι. ἱκανὸν δὲ ἡγησάμενος

εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιωτὴν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Κηφισόδωρον, ὃς καὶ συνεβίωσεν Ἰσοκράτει καὶ γνησιώτατος ἀκουστής ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν πάνυ θαυμαστὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην ἀντιγραφαῖς ἐποίησατο, πιστεύω γεγράφθαι λόγους τινὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς δικαστήρια οὐ μέντοι πολλοὺς, καὶ χρῶμαι παραδείγματι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐνί (οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ πλείοσι) τῷ Τραπεζιτικῷ λεγομένῳ, ὃν ἔγραψε ξένῳ τινὶ τῶν μαθητῶν κατὰ Πασίωνος τοῦ τραπεζίτου. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος οὗτος·

[19] ‘Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν μοι μέγας ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί· οὐ γὰρ μόνον περὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων κινδυνεύω, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδίκως τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν· ὃ ἐγὼ περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι· οὐσία γάρ μοι ἱκανὴ καταλειφθήσεται καὶ τούτων στερηθέντι. εἰ δὲ δόξαιμι μηδὲν προσῆκον τοσαῦτα χρήματα ἐγκαλέσαι, διαβληθεῖην ἂν τὸν ἅπαντα βίον. ἔστι δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πάντων χαλεπώτατον τοιούτων ἀντιδίκων τυχεῖν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ συμβόλαια πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἄνευ μαρτύρων γίνεται, τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις δὲ πρὸς τοιούτους ἀνάγκη κινδυνεύειν, οἳ καὶ φίλους πολλοὺς κέκτηνται καὶ χρήματα <πολλὰ> διαχειρίζουσι καὶ πιστοὶ διὰ τὴν τέχνην δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων ἡγοῦμαι φανερόν πᾶσι ποιήσκειν, ὅτι ἀποστεροῦμαι τοσούτων χρημάτων ὑπὸ Πασίωνος. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅπως ἂν δύνωμαι, διηγῆσομαι τὰ πεπραγμένα. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πατήρ μὲν ἐστὶ Σωπαῖος, ὃν οἱ πλείοντες εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἅπαντες ἴσασιν οὕτως οἰκείως πρὸς Σάτυρον διακείμενον, ὥστε πολλῆς μὲν χώρας ἄρχειν, ἀπάσης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου. πυνθανόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπεθύμησ’ ἀποδημῆσαι. ἐμπλήσας δὲ ὁ πατήρ μου δύο ναῦς σίτου καὶ χρήματα δοὺς ἐξέπεμψεν ἅμα κατ’ ἐμπορίαν καὶ θεωρίαν. συστήσαντος δέ μοι Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Φοίνικος Πασίωνα ἐχρώμην τῇ τούτου τραπέζῃ. χρόνῳ δ’ ὕστερον διαβολῆς πρὸς Σάτυρον γενομένης, ὡς καὶ ὁ πατήρ οὐμὸς ἐπιβουλεύει τῇ ἀρχῇ καγὼ τοῖς φυγάσι συγγενοίμην, τὸν μὲν πατέρα μου συλλαμβάνει, ἐπιστέλλει δὲ τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, τὰ χρήματα παρ’ ἐμοῦ παραλαβεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν εἰσπλεῖν κελεύειν, ἐὰν δὲ τούτων μηδὲν ποιῶ, παρ’ ὑμῶν ἔξαιτεῖν. ἐν τοσούτοις δὲ κακοῖς ὦν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, λέγω πρὸς Πασίωνα τὰς ἐμαυτοῦ συμφοράς. οὕτω γὰρ οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτὸν διεκέλετο, ὥστε μὴ μόνον περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τούτῳ μάλιστα πιστεύειν. ἡγούμην δέ, εἰ μὲν προοίμην ἅπαντα τὰ χρήματα, κινδυνεύσειν, εἴ τι πάθοι ἐκεῖνος, στερηθεῖς καὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἐνδεὲς γενήσεσθαι, εἰ δ’ ὁμολογῶν εἶναι ἐπιστεῖλαντος Σατύρου μὴ παραδοίην, εἰς τὰς μεγίστας διαβολὰς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καταστήσειν πρὸς Σάτυρον. βουλευομένοις οὖν ἡμῖν ἐδόκει βέλτιστον εἶναι τὰ μὲν φανερά τῶν χρημάτων παραδοῦναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρὰ τούτῳ κειμένων μὴ μόνον ἔξαρνον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφείλοντά με καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἑτέροις ἐπὶ τόκῳ φαίνεσθαι καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστα ἡμελλον πεισθήσεσθαι μὴ εἶναι μοι χρήματα. τότε μὲν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐνόμιζόν μοι Πασίωνα δι’ εὐνοίαν ἅπαντα ταῦτα συμβουλεύειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Σάτυρον διεπραξάμην,

ἔγνωσαν αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ἑμοῖς. βουλομένου γὰρ ἑμοῦ κομίσασθαι τὰμαυτοῦ καὶ πλεῖν εἰς Βυζάντιον, ἡγησάμενος οὗτος κάλλιστον καιρὸν αὐτῷ παραπεπτωκέναι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ κείμενα <καὶ> ἄξια ἀναισχυντίας, ἐμὲ δὲ πολλῶν ἀκουόντων ἔξαρνον γεγενῆσθαι μηδὲν κεκτῆσθαι πᾶσί τε φανερόν ἀπαιτούμενον καὶ ἐτέροις ὁμολογοῦντα ὀφείλειν· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, νομίζων, εἰ μὲν αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπιχειροῖν, ἐκδοθήσεσθαι με ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως Σατύρῳ, εἰ δ' ἄλλοσέ ποι τραποίμην, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μελήσειν τῶν ἑμῶν λόγων, εἰ δ' εἰσπλευσοίμην εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ἀποθανεῖσθαι με μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· ταῦτα διαλογιζόμενος διανοεῖτό με ἀποστερεῖν τὰ χρήματα καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐμὲ προσεποιεῖτο ἀπορεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν ἀποδοῦναι. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγώ, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, προσπέμπω Φιλόμηλον αὐτῷ καὶ Μενέξενον ἀπαιτήσοντας, ἔξαρνος γίνεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἔχειν τῶν ἑμῶν. πανταχόθεν δέ μοι τοσούτων κακῶν προσπεπτωκότων τίνα οἶσεσθέ με γνῶμην ἔχειν; ὧς γε ὑπῆρχε σιωπῶντι μὲν ὑπὸ τούτου ἀπεστερηθῆσθαι τῶν χρημάτων, λέγοντι δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μηδὲν μᾶλλον κομίσασθαι, πρὸς Σάτυρον δὲ εἰς τὴν μεγίστην διαβολὴν ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καταστήσαι. κράτιστον οὖν ἡγησάμην ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. μετὰ ταῦτα, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀφικνοῦνται μοι ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἀφεῖται καὶ Σατύρῳ οὕτως ἀπάντων μεταμέλει τῶν πεπραγμένων, ὥστε πίστεις τε τὰς μεγίστας αὐτῷ δεδοκῶς εἶη καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι μείζω πεποικῶς ἢς εἶχε πρότερον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑμὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱεῖ εἰληφῶς. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Πασίων καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι φανερώς ἤδη πράξω <περὶ> τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ, ἀφανίζει τὸν παῖδα, ὃς συνήδει <περὶ> τῶν χρημάτων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγώ προσελθὼν ἐπεζήτητον αὐτόν, ἡγούμενος ἔλεγχον ἂν τοῦτον σαφέστατον γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐνεκάλουν, λέγει λόγον δεινότατον, ὡς ἐγώ καὶ Μενέξενος διαφθείραντες καὶ πείσαντες τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ καθήμενον ἔξ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λάβοιμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἵνα δὲ μηδεὶς ἔλεγχος μηδὲ βάσανος γένοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν, ἔφασκεν ἡμᾶς ἀφανίσαντας τὸν παῖδα ἀντεγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξαιτεῖν τοῦτον, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἠφανίσσαμεν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ δακρυῶν εἰλκὲ με πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον, ἐγγυητὰς αἰτῶν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀφῆκεν, ἕως αὐτῷ κατέστησα ἔξ ταλάντων ἐγγυητὰς. καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.'

[20] ταῦθ' ὅτι μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ γένει διαφέρει τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν τε καὶ συμβουλευτικῶν κατὰ τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς λέξεως, οὐθίς ἐστιν ὃς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν. οὐ μέντοι παντάπασι γε τὴν Ἰσοκράτειον ἀγωγὴν ἐκβέβηκεν, ἀκαρῇ δέ τινα διασώζει τῆς κατασκευῆς τε καὶ σεμνολογίας ἐκείνης ἐνθυμήματα καὶ ποιητικώτερα μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἢ ἀληθινώτερα. οἷον ὅταν φη· 'ἡγούμην δέ, εἰ μὲν προείμην τὰ χρήματα, κινδυνεύσειν.' τὸ γὰρ ἀποίητόν τε καὶ ἀφελὲς τοιοῦτον· 'ἡγούμην δὲ [μὴ] παραδοὺς τὰ χρήματα κινδυνεύσειν.' ἔτι ἐκεῖνο· 'καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, νομίζων, εἰ μὲν αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπιχειροῖν, ἐκδοθήσεσθαι με ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως Σατύρῳ, εἰ δὲ ἄλλοσέ ποι τραποίμην, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μελήσειν τῶν ἑμῶν λόγων, εἰ δὲ εἰσπλευσοίμην εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ἀποθανεῖσθαι με μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.' ἢ τε γὰρ

περίοδος ἐκμηκύνεται καὶ ... πέρα τοῦ δικανικοῦ τρόπου καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἔχει τι τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τό τε σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν εἰληπται παρισώσεων καὶ παρομοιώσεων. τό τε οὖν ἐπιχειροῖν καὶ τραποίμην καὶ εἰσπλευσοίμην ἐν ἐνὶ χωρίῳ κείμενα καὶ τῶν κώλων τριῶν ὄντων τὸ [μὲν] μῆκος ἴσον ὑπάρχον τεκμήρια τῆς Ἰσοκράτους κατασκευῆς ἐστί. καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπιφερόμενα· ‘διενοεῖτό με ἀποστερεῖν τὰ χρήματα καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐμὲ προσεποιεῖτο ἀπορεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν’ παρόμοιά τε καὶ παραπλήσια ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἃ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐπιτίθουσιν· ‘ὥστε πίστεις τε <τὰς> μεγίστας αὐτῷ δεδωκώς εἶη καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι μείζω πεποιηκώς ἧς εἶχε πρότερον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱεῖ εἰληφώς.’ καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πάλιν τὸ δεδωκώς καὶ πεποιηκώς καὶ εἰληφώς παρόμοιον καὶ <τὸ> τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἔχοι δὲ ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ χαρακτήρ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔσται καταφανής, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἴσως στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ χρόνου.

De Isaeo

ΙΣΑΙΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

[1] Ἰσαῖος δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένους καθηγησάμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενόμενος περιφανής, ὡς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσι, Χαλκιδεύς. ἤκμασε δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρομαι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου δυναστείας παρεξέτεινε. γενέσεως δὲ καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκριβῆ χρόνον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ βίου τάνδρὸς, οἷός τις ἦν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀρχὴν εἰ προείλετό τινα ἢ πολιτείαν, οὐδ' ὅλως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾷ τοιαύτη περιτυχάνειν ἱστορίᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἑρμιππος, ἀκριβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν ἕξω δυεῖν τούτων, ὅτι διήκουσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους. [συνεγένετο δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων.]

[2] λείπεται δὴ περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τίνοι κέχρηται χαρακτῆρι λέγειν. γένους μὲν δὴ λόγων ἐνὸς ἀσκητῆς ἐγένετο τοῦ δικανικοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐσπούδασε. χαρακτῆρα δὲ τὸν Λυσίου κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐζήλωσε καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἔμπειρος πάνυ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη καὶ τριβάς ἀξιολόγους ἀμφοῖν ἔχων, οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίη ῥαδίως πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων, ὅποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ παρακρούσεται ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς <οὐχ> οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἐχούσαις, ὡς διὰ μιᾶς δηλοῦνταί μοι γραφῆς. οὐ μὴν ἀπαράλλακτός γέ ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὁμοιότης, ἀλλὰ ἔχουσα διαφορὰς τινὰς οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ὀλίγας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν καὶ κατὰ τὰ πράγματα, περὶ ὧν καιρὸς ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ὑπεilhφάμεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν μᾶλλον ἔοικε τῷ Λυσίᾳ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ποιησάμενος τὰς ὁμοιότητάς τε καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, ἃς ἔχει πρὸς ἐκείνην, ἐρῶ.

[3] καθαρὰ μὲν καὶ ἀκριβῆς καὶ σαφὴς κυρία τε καὶ ἐναργὴς καὶ σύντομος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πιθανή τε καὶ πρέπουσα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις στρογγύλη τε καὶ δικανικὴ οὐχ ἡττόν ἐστιν ἢ Ἰσαίου λέξεις τῆς Λυσίου, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὴν διαγνοίη. διαφέρειν δὲ ἐκείνης δόξειεν ἂν ἐν τοῖσδε· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀφελής τε καὶ ἡθικὴ μᾶλλον ἐστὶ σύγκειται τε φυσικώτερον καὶ ἐσχημάτισται ἀπλοῦστερον ἡδονῇ τε καὶ χάριτι πολλῇ κεχορήγηται. ἢ δὲ Ἰσαίου τεχνικωτέρα δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβεστέρα τῆς Λυσίου τὴν τε σύνθεσιν περιεργότερα τις καὶ σχηματισμοῖς διειλημμένη ποικίλοις, ὅσον τε ἀπολείπεται τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης, τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχει τῇ δεινότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ πηγὴ τις ὄντως ἐστὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους δυνάμεως. τὴν μὲν οὖν λέξιν οὕτως ἂν τις διαγνοίη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τοιαύτας τινὰς εὐρήσει διαφοράς. παρὰ Λυσίᾳ μὲν οὐ πολλὴν τὴν ἐπιτέχνησιν οὗτ' ἐν <τοῖς> μερισμοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτ' ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων οὗτ' ἐν ταῖς ἐξεργασίαις αὐτῶν ὄφεται· ἀπλοῦς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ.

παρ' Ἰσαίῳ δὲ <ἀκριβέστερον> καὶ τεχνικώτερον ἤδη γινόμενα ταῦτα εὐρήσει. καὶ γὰρ ἐφόδοις χρῆται καὶ προκατασκευαῖς καὶ μερισμοῖς τεχνικωτέροις καὶ τίθησιν ἐν οἷς δίδωσι χρῆσιν ἕκαστον καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ προάγει τὰς τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐξεργασίας σχημάτων τε μεταβολαῖς ἐναγωνίων καὶ παθητικῶν ποικίλλει τοὺς λόγους. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀντίδικον διαπονηρεύεται, τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς καταστρατηγεῖ, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἐκ παντὸς πειρᾶται βοηθεῖν.

[4] ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γένηται καταφανής, εἰκόνηι χρήσομαι τῶν ὁρατῶν τι. εἰσὶ δὴ τινες ἀρχαῖαι γραφαί, χρώμασι μὲν εἰργασμέναι ἀπλῶς καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς μίγμασιν ἔχουσαι ποικιλίαν, ἀκριβεῖς δὲ ταῖς γραμμαῖς καὶ πολὺ τὸ χαρίεν ἐν ταύταις ἔχουσαι. αἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνας εὐγραμμοὶ μὲν ἦττον, ἐξεργασμένοι δὲ μᾶλλον, σκιᾷ τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι. τοῦτων μὲν δὴ ταῖς ἀρχαιοτέραις ἔοικεν ὁ Λυσίας κατὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν χάριν, ταῖς δὲ ἐκπεπονημέναις τε καὶ τεχνικωτέραις ὁ Ἰσαῖος. ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα παρὰ τοῖς τότε γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης, ὡς δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τεχνιτεῦσαι λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο διεβάλλετο. δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀρχαίων τις ῥητόρων ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους κατηγορίᾳ Πυθέας, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πονηρίαν γὰρ τῷ Δημοσθένει καὶ κακίαν τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ἐνοικεῖν φήσας, κατὰ τὸδε τὸ μέρος οἷον εἰς διαβολὴν ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτι τὸν Ἰσαῖον ὅλον καὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐκείνου τέχνας σεσίτισται. καὶ μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄπο σκοποῦ τὴν διαβολὴν ταύτην εἶχεν ἐκάτερος. ἐμοὶ γοῦν οἱ μὲν Ἰσαίου τε καὶ Δημοσθένους λόγοι, κἂν περὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας συνταχθῶσιν ὑποθέσεις, ὑποπτοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τῆς πολλῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως ἔνεκα, οἱ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Λυσίου παντὸς μάλιστα δίκαιοί τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς, κἂν μὴ τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κακοῦργον οὐδὲν ἐπιφαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροὶ τινες καὶ ἀφελεῖς.

[5] ταυτί μοι τὰ διαλλάττοντα ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις οὐ χαλεπῶς διαγνῶναι τοὺς Λυσίου τε καὶ Ἰσαίου λόγους δυνηθεῖη. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπέιληφα, ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν <ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν παραδειγμάτων ποιουμένων> τὴν ἐξέτασιν. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν λέξιν θεωρημάτων. ἔστι δὴ τις Ἰσαίου λόγος ὑπὲρ Εὐμάθους, μετοίκου πινὸς τῶν τραπεζιτευόντων Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν εἰς δουλείαν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κληρονομήσαντος τὸν ἀπληθερωκότα τῶν ἀστῶν τις ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιεῖται περὶ αὐτοῦ. τὸ προοίμιον δὲ ἔστι τοῦ λόγου τοιόνδε· Ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον Εὐμάθει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην χρήσιμος δικαίως καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι ἔστι κατ' ἐμέ, πειράσομαι συσσώζειν αὐτὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν. μικρὰ δέ μου ἀκούσατε, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ προπετεῖα ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ ἀδικίᾳ πρὸς τὰ Εὐμάθους πράγματα προσῆλθον. τριηραρχοῦντος γάρ μου ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου ἄρχοντος καὶ λόγου ἀπαγγελλέντος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκῶς εἶην ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, οὕσης μοι παρακαταθήκης παρ' Εὐμάθει τούτῳ, μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ φίλους τοὺς ἐμοὺς Εὐμάθης ἐνεφάνισε τὰ χρήματα, ἃ ἦν μοι παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀπέδωκε πάντα ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως.

ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγὼ σωθεὶς ἐχρώμην τε αὐτῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ κατασκευαζομένην τὴν τράπεζαν εἰσευπόρησα ἀργυρίου. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄγοντος αὐτὸν Διονυσίου ἐξειλόμην εἰς ἐλευθερίαν εἰδὼς ἀφειμένον ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ὑπὸ Ἐπιγένους. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπισχίσω·

[6] ἔστι δὴ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Λυσίᾳ τις ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ξένου δίκην φεύγοντος περὶ κλήρου ποιοῦμενος τὴν ἀπολογίαν. τοῦτον ἐπιγράφει τὸν λόγον Καλλίμαχος ‘περὶ Φερενίκου ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλείδου κλήρου’ καὶ ἔστι πολλοῖς πρότερον ἡγωνισμένος ἔτεσι θατέρου. ἐν ᾧ τὴν αἰτίαν πρῶτως ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ ξένου ποιοῦμενος τοὺς λόγους ὥσπερ ὁ τὸν μέτοικον ἐξαιρούμενος εἰς ἐλευθερίαν. ἔστι δὲ τὸ προοίμιον τοῦ λόγου τόδε· ‘Ἀναγκαῖόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς Φερενίκου πρῶτον εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν θαυμάσῃ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν πῶποτε εἰρηκῶς πρότερον ὑπὲρ τούτου νυνὶ λέγω. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ξένος ἦν Κηφισόδοτος ὁ τούτου πατήρ, καὶ ὅτε ἐφεύγομεν, ἐν Θήβαις παρ’ ἐκείνῳ κατηγόμην καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων ὁ βουλόμενος, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσίᾳ παθόντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν κατήλθομεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν οὗτοι ταῖς αὐταῖς τύχαις ἐχρήσαντο καὶ φυγάδες Ἀθήναζε ἀφίκοντο, ἡγούμενος τὴν μεγίστην αὐτοῖς ὀφείλειν χάριν οὕτως οἰκείως αὐτοὺς ὑπεδεξάμην, ὥστε μηδένα γνῶναι τῶν εἰσιόντων, εἰ μὴ τις πρότερον ἠπίστατο, ὁπότερος ἡμῶν ἐκέκτητο τὴν οἰκίαν. οἶδε μὲν οὖν καὶ Φερενίκος, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι πολλοὶ λέγειν εἰσὶν ἐμοῦ δεινότεροι καὶ μᾶλλον τοιοῦτων πραγμάτων ἔμπειροι, ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἡγεῖται τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκειότητα πιστοτάτην εἶναι. αἰσχρὸν οὖν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κελεύοντος τούτου καὶ δεομένου τὰ δίκαια αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι περιδεῖν αὐτόν, καθ’ ὅσον οἷός τ’ εἰμὶ ἐγώ, τῶν ὑπ’ Ἀνδροκλείδου δεδομένων στερηθῆναι.’

[7] τί δὴ ταῦτα τὰ προοίμια ἀλλήλων διαφέρει; παρὰ Λυσίᾳ μὲν ἡδεῖα ἔστιν ἡ εἰσβολὴ καὶ δι’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι φυσικῶς πως εἴρηται καὶ ἀφελῶς· ‘ἀναγκαῖόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς Φερενίκου πρῶτον εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.’ καὶ τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀκατάσκευον φαίνεται εἶναι καί, ὥς ἂν ἰδιώτης τις εἰπεῖν δύναιτο, [τὸ] εἰρημένον· ‘ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν θαυμάσῃ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς <ὑμῶν> πῶποτε εἰρηκῶς πρότερον ὑπὲρ τούτου νῦν λέγω.’ παρὰ δὲ Ἰσαίῳ κατεσκεύασται τὸ δοκοῦν εἶναι ἀφελές καὶ οὐ ἐλέγηεν, ὅτι ἐστὶ ρητορικόν· ‘ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον Εὐμάθει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην χρήσιμος δικαίως καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι ἔστι κατ’ ἐμέ, πειράσομαι συσσωῆσαι αὐτόν.’ ὑψηλότερά <τε γάρ> ἔστι καὶ ἥττον ἐκείνων ἀφελέστερα, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ‘μικρὰ δέ μου ἀκούσατε, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ὑμῶν, ὥς ἐγὼ προπετεία ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ ἀδικία πρὸς τὰ Εὐμάθους πράγματα προσῆλθον.’ ἢ τε γὰρ προπέτεια καὶ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰ Εὐμάθους πράγματα προσελθεῖν πεποιημένοις μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἢ αὐτοφύεσι. καὶ αὐθὺς γε παρὰ μὲν τῷ Λυσίᾳ ἡ πρόφασις λέγεται ἀνεπιτηδεύτως· ‘ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ξένος ἦν Κηφισόδοτος ὁ τούτου πατήρ, καὶ ὅτε ἐφεύγομεν, ἐν Θήβαις παρ’ ἐκείνῳ κατηγόμην καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων ὁ βουλόμενος.’ ἡδέως τε καὶ

ἀφοριστικῶς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτίθεται· ‘καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσίᾳ παθόντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν κατήλθομεν.’ παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἰσαίῳ πέφρασται περιεργότερον καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχει τῆς Δημοσθένους κατασκευῆς· ‘τρηραρχοῦντος γάρ <μου> ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου ἄρχοντος καὶ λόγου ἀπαγγελθέντος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκῶς εἶην ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, οὔσης μοι παρακαταθήκης παρ’ Εὐμάθει τοῦτῳ.’ τό τε γὰρ λόγου ἀπαγγελθέντος καὶ τὸ ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκῶς εἶην καὶ τὸ οὔσης ἐμοὶ παρακαταθήκης οὐκ ἂν φαίην ἔγωγε ἀφελῶς εἰρῆσθαι. ἐκείνως γὰρ λεγόμενα μᾶλλον ἀποίητα· ‘ὅτε γὰρ ἔτρηράρχουν καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς ἐνθάδε, ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκῶς εἶην, ἔχων μου παρακαταθήκην Εὐμάθης οὐτοσί.’

[8] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τῶν προοιμιῶν μέρη παρ’ ᾧ μὲν ἀφελέστερον ἂν τις εὔροι λεγόμενα, παρ’ ᾧ δὲ ῥητορικώτερον. ἐν ἐτέρῳ δὲ ἀγῶνι πάλιν ὁ μὲν Ἰσαῖος ἐπιτρόπῳ τινὶ συντάξας ἀπολογίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφιδοῦ κρινομένῳ τοιαύτῃ κέχρηται <τῇ> ἀρχῇ· ‘Εβουλόμεν μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ λίαν οὕτως Ἀγνόθεον πρὸς χρήματ’ ἔχειν αἰσchrῶς, ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐπβουλεύειν καὶ δίκας τοιαύτας λαγχάνειν, ἀλλ’ ὄντα γε οὖν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐμὸν καὶ κύριον τῆς πατρώας οὐσίας οὐ μικρὰς ἀλλ’ ἱκανῆς ὥστε καὶ λειτουργεῖν, ὑφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ παραδοθείσης, ταύτης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῶν δ’ ἐμῶν μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν· ἵνα βελτίων τ’ ἐδόκει πᾶσιν εἶναι σῶζων αὐτὴν καὶ πλείω ποιῶν χρησιμώτερον ὑμῖν πολίτην παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀνῆρθε καὶ ἐπέπρακε καὶ αἰσchrῶς καὶ κακῶς διολώλεκεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμεν, πιστεύων δ’ ἑταιρίαις καὶ λόγων παρασκευαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐλήλυθεν, ἀνάγκη, ὡς ἔοικε, συμφορὰν μὲν εἶναι νομίζειν, ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἰκεῖος ὢν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ περὶ ὧν ἐγκέκληκε καὶ ἔξω με τοῦ πράγματος διαβέβληκεν ὡς ἂν οὖν δυνώμεθα προθυμότατα πρὸς ὑμᾶς.’ ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ἀνδρὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐγκαλουμένῳ κακῆς ἐπιτροπῆς συγγράφας λόγον τοιοῦτῳ κέχρηται τῷ προοιμίῳ· ‘Οὐχ ἱκανόν, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις, ὅσα πράγματα διὰ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διασώζοντες τὰς τῶν φίλων οὐσίας συκοφαντοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρφανῶν πολλοί. ὅπερ κάμοι νῦν συμβέβηκεν. ἐγὼ γάρ, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καταλειφθεὶς ἐπίτροπος τῶν Ἰποκράτους χρημάτων καὶ διαχειρίσας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ παραδούς τοῖς υἱοῖς δοκιμασθεῖσι τὰ χρήματα, ὧν ἐπίτροπος κατελείφθην, συκοφαντοῦμαι νῦν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀδίκως.’

[9] οὐ πολλῶν οἶμαι δεῖν λόγων, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀφελῶς καὶ ἡδέως εἰρηται ἡθὸς τε οὐ πεπλασμένον ἀλλὰ φυσικὸν ἐπιφαίνει. τὸ γάρ· ‘οὐχ ἱκανόν, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις, ὅσα πράγματα διὰ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν ἔχουσιν’ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ῥήτορος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ἰδιώτου καταστάντος εἰς ἀγῶνα ἄδικον. τὸ δ’ Ἰσαίου πεποιῆσθαι ῥητορικῶς καὶ κεκαλλιλογῆσθαι σεμνότερον ἅπαντες ἂν φήσειαν, τὸ γάρ· ‘ἐβουλόμεν μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ λίαν οὕτως Ἀγνόθεον πρὸς χρήματα ἔχειν αἰσchrῶς, ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐπβουλεύειν.’ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον παρὰ Λυσία μὲν χαριέντως πάνυ καὶ ἀφελῶς εἰρῆσθαι τὸ· ‘ἐγὼ γάρ, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καταλειφθεὶς

ἐπίτροπος τῶν Ἱπποκράτους χρημάτων καὶ διαχειρίσας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ παραδοὺς τοῖς υἱοῖς δοκιμασθεῖσι τὰ χρήματα.’ θάτερον δὲ τρανότερον καὶ οὐχ ὥς ἂν ἰδιώτης συνέθηκεν· ‘ἀλλ’ ὄντα γε οὖν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐμὸν καὶ κύριον τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας οὐ μικρᾷς ἀλλ’ ἱκανῆς, ὥστε καὶ λειτουργεῖν, ὑφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ παραδοθείσης, ταύτης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.’ ἐνὸς δ’ ἔτι μνησθῆσομαι γένους, ἐξ οὗ μάλιστα ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔσται καταφανής.

[10] ὑποτίθεται δὲ ἐκάτερος ἰδιώτην ἄνδρα καὶ ἀπράγμονα καὶ νέον παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσίν τε καὶ φύσιν ἠναγκασμένον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ λέγειν, ὁ μὲν Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχεβιάδην λόγῳ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ‘Ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἔλαχέ μοι ταύτην τὴν δίκην Ἀρχεβιάδης, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ λέγων, ὅτι νέος καὶ ἄπειρος εἶην πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδὲν δεόμενος εἰσιέναι εἰς δικαστήριον. ἐγὼ οὖν σε ἀξιῶ μὴ εὖρεμα ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμήν, ἀλλὰ παραλαβόντα τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς σαυτοῦ διηγῆσασθαι περὶ τοῦ χρέως, ὅθεν γεγένηται. κἂν δόξης ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐκείνοις, οὐδὲν σοι δεήσει πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν ἅπει τὰ σαυτοῦ. δίκαιος δὲ εἰ μὴδὲν παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ’ εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα, ἐπειδὴ νεώτερός εἰμι τοῦ συμβολαίου, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, βουλευσώμεθα περὶ ὧν σὺ λέγεις· ἐάν πως φανερόν γένηται, πότερον ἀδίκως τῶν ἐμῶν ἐφίεσαι ἢ δικαίως τὰ σεαυτοῦ ζητεῖς κομίσασθαι. ταῦτ’ ἐμοῦ προκαλουμένου οὐδεπώποτ’ ἠθέλησε συνελθεῖν οὐδὲ λόγον περὶ ὧν ἐνεκάλει ποιήσασθαι οὐδὲ δίαίταν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἕως ὑμεῖς τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν διαιτητῶν ἔθεσθε.’ ὁ δὲ Ἰσαῖος ἐν ἀμφισβητήσει χωρίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν κατεσχημένου, οἷς τὸ χωρίον ὑπέκειτο, ταύτην χρώμενον εἰσάγει τῇ ἀρχῇ· ‘Μάλιστα μὲν ἐβουλόμην, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰ δὲ μή, τοιοῦτων ἀντιδίκων τυχεῖν, πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν ἂν ἐφρόντιζον διαφερόμενος. νῦν δέ μοι πάντων πραγμάτων λυπηρότατον συμβέβηκεν. ἀδικοῦμαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὓς περιορᾷν μὲν ἀποστεροῦντας οὐ ῥάδιον, ἀπέχθεσθαι δὲ ἀηδές, μεθ’ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ <συνθῦειν καὶ> συνουσίας κοινὰς ποιεῖσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς χαλεπὸν ἀντιδικεῖν· μέγα γὰρ μέρος συμβάλλεται <τὸ> πλῆθος αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν ἀληθῆ λέγειν· ὅμως δὲ διὰ τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς πράγμασι, πολλῶν μοι καὶ δυσκόλων συμπιπτόντων οὐχ ἡγούμην δεῖν κατοκνήσαι δι’ ὑμῶν πειρᾶσθαι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων. δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν συγγνώμην ἔχειν, εἰ καὶ νεώτερος ὢν λέγειν ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου τετόλμηκα· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἀναγκάζομαι παρὰ τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ τρόπον τοιοῦτόν τι ποιεῖν. πειράσομαι δ’ ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι, διὰ βραχυτάτων εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.’

[11] τίς ἂν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε τὸν μὲν Λυσίου νέον καὶ ἰδιώτην καὶ ἀπράγμονα ἀρχέτυπόν τινα εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας διαφέροντα ἐκείνης οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ ἀπόγραφόν τινα καὶ οὐ λανθάνοντα ὅτι ἐπλάσται ῥητορικῇ τέχνῃ; καὶ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις καὶ τὰ νοήματα παρ’ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὸ αὐτοφυές, παρὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ κατασκευαστὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν. ὁ μὲν γε ἀρχῇ κέχρηται, ὅτι νέος τε καὶ ἄπειρος εἶη πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδὲν δεόμενος εἰς

δικαστήριον εἰσιέναι. καὶ ἐπιφέρει πάνυ ἥθικῶς· ‘ἐγὼ οὖν σε ἀξίῳ μὴ εὖρεμα ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμήν.’ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς φύσιν εἶχε γενέσθαι τε καὶ ῥηθῆναι, λέγει· ὡς ἐπὶ διαιτητὰς ἡξίουν <τοὺς> κοινοὺς ἐλθεῖν φίλους ‘κὰν δόξης ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐκείνοις, οὐδέν σοι δεήσει πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν ἅπει τὰ σαυτοῦ.’ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν ἥθει χρηστῷ διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν ἐπιτίθησι· ‘ταῦτ’ ἐμοῦ προκαλουμένου οὐδεπώποτε ἠθέλησε συνελθεῖν.’ ὁ δὲ Ἰσαῖος τουτὶ μὲν τὸ μέρος τὸ· ‘παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἡναγκάσθαι λέγειν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ νέον ὄντα’ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ προοιμίου τίθησιν. ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ διανοίας οὐ φαύλης μὰ Δία οὐδὲ ἰδιωτικῆς, ἀνιαιρότερον εἶναι λέγων πρὸς τοιούτους ἀπέχθεσθαι, μεθ’ ὧν ἀνάγκη εἶναι τῶν τιμιωτάτων κοινωνεῖν. ἔπειτα ἀπολύεται τι τῶν μελλόντων αὐτὸν λυπεῖν, τὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας τοὺς δημότας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιδικεῖν. συντίθησί τε τὰ ὀνόματα οὐ φαύλως μὰ Δία οὐδ’ ὡς ἂν ἰδιώτης· ‘ἀδικοῦμαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν’, φησίν, ‘οὓς περιορᾷν μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον ἀποστεροῦντας, ἀπέχθεσθαι δ’ ἀηδές, μεθ’ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ <συνθῦειν καὶ> συνουσίας κοινὰς ποιεῖσθαι.’ ἡ γὰρ ἀηδὴς ἀπέχθεια καὶ αἱ κοιναὶ συνουσίαι τεχνικώτερον σύγκεινται μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφελέστερον, καὶ ἔτι τὸ ‘πολλῶν μοι καὶ δυσκόλων συμπιπτόντων οὐχ ἡγούμην δεῖν κατοκνῆσαι δι’ ὑμῶν πειρᾶσθαι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων.’ ἥκιστα γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἂν οὕτως· ‘οὐχ ἡγούμην δεῖν κατοκνῆσαι’ οὐδέ γε τὸ ‘δι’ ὑμῶν πειρᾶσθαι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων’, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνως πως μᾶλλον· ‘τοσοῦτων γέ μοι συμπιπτόντων δυσκόλων ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἡνάγκασμαι καταφυγεῖν, ἵνα τῶν δικαίων τύχω δι’ ὑμῶν.’

[12] οἴμαι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἄδηλον εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν διαφοράν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔσται καταφανὴς καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν καὶ παθητικῶν λόγων, ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν Λυσίας ἀπλούστερός τις ἐστί καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ κατὰ τὴν κοινότητα τῶν σχημάτων, οὗτοσί δὲ ποικιλώτερος, πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν τις ἰδὼν εὖροι παρ’ αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν τούτῳ· ‘πόθεν χρὴ πιστεῦεσθαι τὰ εἰρημένα πρὸς θεῶν; οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μαρτύρων; οἶομαί γε. πόθεν δὲ τοὺς μάρτυρας; οὐκ ἐκ τῶν βασάνων; εἰκός γε. πόθεν δὲ γε ἀπιστεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων; οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φεύγειν τοὺς ἐλέγχους; ἀνάγκη μεγάλη. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ μὲν διώκων ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα εἰς βασάνους ἄγων, οὗτος δὲ ἐπὶ διαβολὰς καὶ λόγους καθιστάς, ὅπερ ἂν τις πλεονεκτεῖν βουλόμενος ποιήσειεν. ἐχρῆν δὲ αὐτόν, εἴπερ τι δίκαιον ἐφρόνει καὶ μὴ παρακρούσασθαι τὰς ὑμετέρας γνώμας ἐζήτει, μὴ μὰ Δία ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸν λογισμὸν μετὰ μαρτύρων ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρ’ ἐμοῦ πυνθανόμενον· εἰσφορὰς λογίζη πόσας; τόσας· κατὰ πόσον ἀργύριον εἰσενηνεγμένας; κατὰ πόσον καὶ πόσον· κατὰ ποῖα ψηφίσματα; ταυτί· ταύτας εἰλήφασι τίνες; οἶδε· καὶ ταῦτα μαρτυρόμενον σκέψασθαι τὰ ψηφίσματα, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσφορῶν, τὰ εἰσενηνεγμένα, τοὺς λαβόντας, καὶ εἰ μὲν εὖτε, τῷ λόγῳ πιστεύειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, νῦν παρασχέσθαι μάρτυρας, εἴ τι ψευδὸς ἦν ὧν ἐλογισάμην αὐτοῖς.’

[13] ταυτί μὲν διαλελυμένα καὶ ἐξ ἐπερωτήσεως. οἷς ὁ Λυσίας μὲν ἥκιστα

κέχρηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ παρὰ τουτουὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν ἀφειδέστερον, οἶον· ‘οὐκ οὖν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις; φήσει τις. καὶ παραχρῆμά γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἀπάντων, ὧς ἄνδρες· Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα τῶν κοινῶν τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων ἕκαστος, ὅτου δέοιτο ἢ πόλις, τοῦτο παρέχοι. ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν· οἴκοι μένων βελτίων εἶ, τοῦ δι’ ἐνδειαν ἀνάγκη τι ποιεῖν αἰσχροὺς ἀπηλλαγμένους. συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον, οἷα καὶ τὰ νῦν στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἔστι τις ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμῶν· ὅσα οὗτος ἀτάκτως νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτα ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει παραλαμβάνων πάντ’ ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν, ἃ χρὴ πράττεσθαι. ὅλως δὲ οὔτε ἀφελῶν οὔτε προσθεῖς πλὴν τι μικρῷ τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελών, εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον τὴν πόλιν, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεῦσθαι, τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦθ’, ὅ τι καθ’ ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ ὅτου καιρὸς εἴη, τάξιν ποιήσας.’ ἐκεῖνα δὲ κατὰ συστροφὴν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένα τῷ τε βραχέως καὶ ἀγκύλως καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου συντίθεσθαι, καὶ οὐχ ἅπασιν οὐδὲ ἐκ προχείρου γνωριζόμενα· ‘καὶ οὗτος ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σχετλιώτατος, οὐ παρεχομένων αὐτῶν μάρτυρας [δοῦναι], ὧν ἐναντίον ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι φασίν, [ὥς] ἐκεῖνοις πιστεύειν προσποιεῖται μᾶλλον, ὥς ἀποδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν, ἢ ἡμῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἀπειλήφωμεν. καίτοι πᾶσι φανερόν, ὥς ἔοικεν, <οἱ καὶ> τὸν τούτου πατέρα ἀπεστέρουν ὄντα ἐπίτιμον, ὅτι ἡμῖν ἐκόντες οὐκ ἂν ἀπέδοσαν, εἰσπράξασθαι <δὲ> οὕτως ἔχοντες οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνήθημεν.’ καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα, ὃ πολλάκις Δημοσθένης κέχρηται· ‘εἰτ’ οἴεσθε, οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν <ἂν> ἡδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι κακόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ παθεῖν ἐφυλάξαντ’ ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δὲ ἐκ προorrήσεως πολεμῆσαι;’ καὶ ἔτι γε τὰ τοιαῦτα· ‘ὦ γάρ, ἃ μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἔξω τῶν ἀποτιμηθέντων, κατελελειτοῦργητο, δανειζόμενῳ δ’ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔδωκεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἔτι πλεον οὐδὲν, ἀποδεδωκότι τὰς μισθώσεις ἔχειν ἐμοὶ προσῆκον ἀναμφισβητήτως, οὗτοι τηλικαύτην δίκην λαχόντες καὶ σφέτερα αὐτῶν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἐκώλυσάν μ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπισκευήν.’ καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω παρατιθέντα μηκύνειν; πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν τις εὖροι τῶν Ἰσαιοῦ <καὶ> κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς ἐξηλλαγμένα μὲν τῆς Λυσίου λέξεως, ἐοικότα δὲ τῇ Δημοσθένους δεινότητι.

[14] εἰρηκῶς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅτι δεινότερός ἐστιν οἰκονομῆσαι Λυσίου καὶ ὅλους τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξω ποιῶν τῆς τέχνης, ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλῇ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐχρήσατο, βούλομαι καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων παρασχέσθαι πίστεις. ἔσται δὲ κεφαλαιώδης τε καὶ ὥς πρὸς ἀνεγνωκότας τὸν ἄνδρα ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ παραδείγματα πάντων τιθέναι. αὐτίκα τὰς διηγήσεις τότε μὲν ἀπροκατασκευάστους καὶ συντόμους καὶ οὐδὲν προκαταλαμβάνουσας τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν ἐν τῇ προσηκούσῃ τίθησι χώρα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μέδοντα ποιεῖ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀγνόθεον καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ἀμφισβητήσει περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις συχνοῖς. τότε δὲ μερίσας αὐτὰς κατὰ κεφάλαια καὶ παρ’ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὰς πίστεις παρατιθεῖς

ἐκμηκύνει τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐκβαίνει τὸ τῆς διηγήσεως σχῆμα, τῷ συμφέροντι χρώμενος. ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς ιδέας ἢ τε πρὸς Ἑρμωνα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐγγύης ἀπολογία καὶ ἢ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην ἀμφισβήτησις ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ χωρίου λύσεως καὶ ἢ ὑπὲρ Εὐφιλῆτου πρὸς τὸν Ἑρχίεων δῆμον ἔφεσις. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις μακροτέρας τὰς διηγήσεις οὕσας οὐχ ἅμα τίθησιν ὅλας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη διαλαμβάνων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κεφαλαίῳ τοὺς τε μάρτυρας ἐπάγεται καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρέχεται πίστει, δεδοικῶς, παρ' ὅσα γοῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μὴ δυσπαρακολούθητος γένηται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κεφαλαίων ὁ λόγος καὶ πελαγίσῃ, αἱ τε πίστεις εἰς ἐν χωρίον ἅπασαι συναχθεῖσαι, πολλαὶ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν οὔσαι πραγμάτων, μὴ συνταράξωσι τὴν σαφήνειαν. τοιγάρτοι μετὰ τὰς διηγήσεις τὰς οὕτως ὠκονομημένας οὐκ ἔτι τὰς προηγουμένας ἀποδείξεις πολλοῖς βεβαιοῦται λόγοις οὐδ' ἔστιν ὁμοιος τοῖς νέοις τεχνογράφοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν ἀντιδίκων πίστεις ἀναιρεῖν οἶεται δεῖν.

[15] τότε δὲ προκατασκευάζεται τινα πρὸ τῶν διηγήσεων πράγματα καὶ προλαμβάνει τὰ μέλλοντα πιστοτέρας αὐτὰς ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι χρησιμωτέρας ποιήσιν [οἰόμενος], ὥς ἐν τῇ λήξει τῇ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ Ἀρχιππον εὐρίσκεται πεποικῶς, ἐν ἣ κλήρου τις ἀμφισβητῶν, ἀδελφὸς ὢν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, προκαλεῖται τὸν ἔχοντα τάφανῃ χρήματα εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ κλήρου κρατῶν παραγράφεται τὴν κλῆσιν, δεδόσθαι λέγων ἑαυτῷ τὰ χρήματα κατὰ διαθήκας. διττῆς δὲ τῆς ἀμφισβήτησεως ὑπαρχούσης, τῆς μὲν περὶ τοῦ γεγονέναι τὰς διαθήκας ἢ μὴ, τῆς δέ, τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἤδη, τίνα δεῖ τοῦ κλήρου κρατεῖν, πρῶτον ἀποδοῦς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων λόγον καὶ <κατὰ> τοῦτο ἀποδείξας τὸ μέρος, ὥς οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἐπίδικον κρατεῖσθαι κλῆρον πρὸ δίκης, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν ἔρχεται, δι' ἧς ἀποδείκνυσιν οὐδὲ γεγεννημένας ὑπὸ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τὰς διαθήκας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην τὴν διήγησιν ἀπλῶς πως συστρέψας καὶ ἀκατασκευάστως τίθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην μακροτέραν οὔσαν ἀποτομαῖς τισι διαλαμβάνει καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος μάρτυρας ἀναβιβάζεται καὶ προκλήσεις ἀναγινώσκει καὶ συνθήκας παρέχεται τεκμηρίοις τε καὶ σημείοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων ἐλέγχοις ἅπασι χρῆται. πολλὰς δ' ἂν ἔχοιμι καὶ ἄλλας παρασχέσθαι διηγήσεις, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ὠκονομημένας ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος προκατασκευαῖς, παρασκευαῖς, μερισμοῖς, χωρίων ἀλλαγαῖς, πραγμάτων μεταγωγαῖς, τῷ τὰ κεφάλαια ἀνεστράφθαι, τῷ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τὰ πραχθέντα εἰρῆσθαι, τῷ [ὡς] μὴ πάντα μὴδ' ἅμ' ὥς φύσιν εἶχε πραχθῆναι μὴδ' ὥς ἂν ιδιώτης τις εἴποι λέγεσθαι, μυρίοις ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις τρόποις. ἀλλ' οὔτε χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἔχω περὶ πασῶν λέγειν, ἐκδιηγούμενος εὐθύς ἐφ' ἐκάστης τὴν τέχνην, ὥς ἐβουλόμην ἂν, οὐθ' ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὰ πράγματα λόγος ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν παραδειγμάτων τὸ πιστὸν ἔχει ἀλλ' ἄρκεῖ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ ἡ βραχεῖα δῆλως.

[16] ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς περὶ ταύτης τῆς ιδέας ἣν ἐγὼ δόξαν ἔχω καὶ τίνι διαφέρειν οἶομαι τὸν Ἰσαῖον τοῦ Λυσίου. τοῦ Λυσίου μὲν δὴ τις ἀναγινώσκων τὰς διηγήσεις οὐδὲν ἂν ὑπολάβοι λέγεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην ἢ πονηρίαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια φέρει, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοῶν τῆς

τέχνης, ὅτι τὸ μιμησασθαι τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς μέγιστον ἔργον ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰσαίου διηγημάτων τοῦναντίον ἂν πάθοι, μηδὲν ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτοφυῶς καὶ ἀπραγματεύτως λέγεσθαι μηδ' εἴ τινα ὡς ἔτυχε γενόμενα εἴρηται, ἐκ κατασκευῆς δὲ πάντα καὶ μεμηχανημένα πρὸς ἀπάτην ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ κακουργίαν. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἂν καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ λέγοντι πιστεύσειεν ἂν, τῷ δὲ μηδ' ἂν ἀληθεύῃ, χωρὶς ὑποψίας προσέξει.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεικτικοῖς διαλλάττειν ἂν δόξειεν Ἰσαῖος Λυσίου τῷ τε μὴ κατ' ἐνθύμημά τι λέγειν ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ τῷ μὴ βραχέως ἀλλὰ διεξοδικῶς μηδὲ ἀπλῶς ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς αὔξειν τε μᾶλλον καὶ δεινότερα ποιεῖν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ πάθη ποιεῖν γεννικώτερα. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις οὐχ ἥττον ἐστὶ φανερός τῇ Δημοσθένους τέχνῃ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκώς, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν Λυσίου διώκων ἀφέλειαν, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἔστι λόγων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ πάντων τῶν γραφέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεκμήρασθαι. εἰ δέ τι δεῖ καὶ παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι, μὴ τις ἀναπόδεικτα δόξῃ λέγειν ἡμᾶς, ποιήσω καὶ τοῦτο, προχειρισάμενος τὸν ὑπὲρ Εὐφιλῆτου λόγον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἑρχιέων δῆμον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον προσκαλεῖται τις τῶν ἀποψηφισθέντων ὡς ἀδίκως τῆς πολιτείας ἀπελαυνόμενος. ἐγγράφη γὰρ δὴ τις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νόμος ἐξέτασιν γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ δῆμους, τὸν δὲ ἀποψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν τῆς πολιτείας μὴ μετέχειν, τοῖς δὲ ἀδίκως ἀποψηφισθεῖσιν ἔφεςιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἶναι, προσκαλεσαμένους τοὺς δημότας, καὶ ἐὰν τὸ δεύτερον ἐξελεγχθῶσι, πεπρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἶναι δημόσια. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὁ Εὐφίλητος προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς Ἑρχιέας ὡς ἀδίκως καταψηφισαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε διατίθεται. προείρηται μὲν δὴ τὰ πράγματα ταῦτ' ἀκριβῶς καὶ πεπίστωται διὰ τῶν μαρτύρων, οἷς δὲ βεβαίως βούλεται ποιῆσαι τὰς μαρτυρίας, τάδε ἐστίν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δόξης ἔχω, πάντ' ἀκριβῶς ἐξεργασμένα. κρινέτω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος, εἰ τὰ προσήκοντα ἔγνωκα περὶ αὐτῶν.

[17] 'Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀδελφὸς ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οὗτοσι Εὐφίλητος, οὐ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπάντων ἀκηκόατε μαρτυρούντων. σκέψασθε δὲ πρῶτον τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἂν ψεύδοιτο καὶ τοῦτον μὴ ὄντα αὐτοῦ υἱὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο. πάντας γὰρ εὐρήσετε τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντας ἢ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτοῖς γνησίων παιδῶν ἢ διὰ πενίαν ἀναγκαζομένους ξένους ἀνθρώπους εἰσποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελῶνταί τι ἀπ' αὐτῶν δι' αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίων γεγονότων. τῷ τοίνυν πατρὶ τούτων οὐδέτερον ὑπάρχει. γνήσιοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς δύο υἱεῖς ἐσμεν· ὥστε οὐκ ἂν γε δι' ἐρημίαν τοῦτον εἰσεποιεῖτο. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τροφῆς τε καὶ εὐπορίας τῆς παρὰ τούτου δεόμενος. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ <βίος> ἱκανὸς καὶ χωρὶς τούτου μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἐκ παιδῶν τρέφων καὶ ἀσκῶν καὶ εἰς <τοὺς> φράτερας εἰσάγων· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μικρὰ δαπανήματά ἐστιν. ὥστε τὸν τε πατέρα ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μηδὲν ὠφελούμενον οὕτως ἀδίκῳ πράγματι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐμέ γε οὐθεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὕτως τελέως ἂν ἄφρονα ὑπολάβοι, ὥστε τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖν τὰ ψευδῆ, ὅπως τὰ πατρῴα διὰ πλειόνων διανείμωμαι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ'

ἀμφισβητήσαι μοι ἐξουσία γένοιτ' ἂν ὕστερον, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδελφὸς οὗτος. ἐμοῦ γὰρ οὐθεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν τὴν φωνὴν ἀνάσχοιτ' ἂν ἀκούων, «εἰ» νῦν μὲν ὑπόδικον ἐμαυτὸν καθιστὰς μαρτυρῶ, ὡς ἔστιν ἀδελφὸς ἡμέτερος, ὕστερον δὲ φανοίμην τούτοις ἀντιλέγων. οὐ μόνον τοίνυν ἡμεῖς, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τάληθ' ἡμεμαρτυρηκέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς. ἐνθυμήθητε γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι οἱ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἡμῶν ἔχοντες οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐμαρτύρουν περὶ τούτου τὰ ψευδῆ. μητρὶα γὰρ ἡ τούτου μήτηρ ἐγγένητο ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀδελφαῖς. εἰώθασι δὲ πως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ διαφέρεισθαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ τε μητρὶα καὶ αἱ πρόγονοι. ὥστε εἰ οὗτος ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἦν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός, οὐκ ἂν ποτε, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἀνδρας αἱ ἀδελφαὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς μητρὸς ἡμῶν ὦν, τούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν προσήκων δήπου τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἠθέλησεν ἂν, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μαρτυρῆσαι ψευδῆ μαρτυρίαν, δι' ἣν ἡμῶν γίνεται βλάβη περιφανής, εἴπερ ξένον ὄντα τοῦτον εἰσποιοῦμεν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς. ἔτι τοίνυν, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρὸς τούτοις «πῶς» ἂν τις ὑμῶν καταγνοίῃ ψευδομαρτυριῶν Δημαράτου τουτουὶ καὶ Ἡγήμονος καὶ Νικοστράτου; οἱ πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν αἰσχροὺς οὐδέποτε φανήσονται ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, εἴτα δ' οἰκείοι ὄντες ἡμῶν καὶ εἰδότες ἡμεῖς ἅπαντας μεμαρτυρήκασι Εὐφίλῳ τούτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ συγγένειαν ἕκαστος. ὥστε ἡδέως καὶ τῶν ἀντιδικούντων ἡμῶν τοῦ σεμνοτάτου πυθοίμην, εἰ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἔχοι ἂν ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἢ ἐκ τούτων, ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὐφίλῳ ἐπιδείκνυμεν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶμαι ἄλλο τι ἂν αὐτὸν «εἰπεῖν» ἢ ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ ἀσπὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ «γαμετὴ καὶ ἀσπὸς» ὁ πατήρ· καὶ ὡς ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγει, παρέχοιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ τοὺς συγγενεῖς μάρτυρας· εἴτα, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ μὲν οὗτοι ἐκινδύνουν, ἡξίουν ἂν τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκείοις ὑμᾶς πιστεύειν μαρτυροῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς. νυνὶ δὲ ἡμῶν πάντα ταῦτα παρεχομένων ἀξιώσουσιν ὑμᾶς τοῖς αὐτῶν πείθεσθαι λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Εὐφίλῳ καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς φράτορσι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ συγγενείᾳ; καὶ μὴν οὗτοι μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἰδίᾳς ἔχθρας ἕνεκα «ταῦτα» ποιοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντας ὑποδίκους ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς καθιστάντες μαρτυροῦμεν. καὶ πρὸς ταῖς μαρτυρίαις, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τοῦ Εὐφίλῳ μήτηρ, ἣν οὗτοι ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀσπὴν εἶναι, ὅρκον ὁμόσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ διαιτητοῦ ἐβούλετο ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, ἥ μὴν τουτονὶ Εὐφίλῳ εἶναι ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός. καίτοι τίνα προσῆκε μᾶλλον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τοῦτ' εἰδέναι; ἔπειτα, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἡμέτερος, ὃν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτου μητέρα ἄριστα τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱὸν γινώσκειν, οὗτος καὶ τότε καὶ νυνὶ βούλεται ὁμόσαι, ἥ μὴν Εὐφίλῳ τοῦτον υἱὸν εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀσπῆς καὶ γαμετῆς γυναικός. πρὸς τούτοις τοίνυν, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐγὼ ἐτύγχανον μὲν τρισκαίδεκαετῆς ὢν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ὅτε οὗτος ἐγένετο, ἔτοιμος δὲ εἶμι ὁμόσαι, ἥ μὴν Εὐφίλῳ τουτονὶ ἀδελφὸν εἶναι ἐμαυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον. ὥστε, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, δικαίως ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅρκους πιστοτέρους νομίζοιτε ἢ τοὺς τούτων λόγους. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὁμόσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ θέλομεν, οὗτοι δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες

παρὰ τῶν τούτου διαφόρων ἢ αὐτοὶ πλάττοντες λέγουσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡμεῖς μὲν τοὺς συγγενεῖς μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διαιτητῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν παρεχόμεθα, οἷς οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπιστεῖν, οὗτοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἔλαχεν Εὐφίλητος τὴν δίκην τὴν προτέραν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τῷ τότε δημαρχοῦντι, ὅς νῦν τετελεύτηκε, δύο ἔτη τοῦ διαιτητοῦ τὴν δίκαιαν ἔχοντος οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν εὑρεῖν, ὥς οὐτοσί ἄλλου τινὸς πατρός ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ ἡμετέρου. τοῖς δὲ διαιτῶσι μέγιστα «ταῦτα» σημεῖα ἦν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τούτους καὶ κατεδιήτησαν αὐτῶν ἀμφότεροι. καί μοι λαβὲ τῆς προτέρας διαίτης τὴν μαρτυρίαν. - Μαρτυρία. - Ὡς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ τότε ὦφλον τὴν δίκαιαν, ἀκηκόατε. ἀξιῷ δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὥσπερ οὗτοι μέγα τοῦτ' ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι σημεῖον, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἥγησίππου, εἰ οἱ διαιτηταὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεδιήτησαν, οὕτω τὸ νῦν ἡμῖν τοιοῦτον εἶναι μαρτύριον ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἐπεὶ ἔδοξαν αὐτοὶ ἀδικεῖν τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα καὶ κυρίως πρῶτον ἐγγραφέντα ὕστερον ἐξαλείψαντες. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὐτοσί Εὐφίλητος καὶ πολίτης ὑμέτερος καὶ ἀδίκως ὑβρίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ συστάντων, ἱκανῶς οἶομαι ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀκηκοέναι.'

[18] οὗτος ὁ χαρακτηρ τῶν Ἰσαίου λόγων καὶ ταῦτα τὰ διαλλάττοντα παρὰ τὴν Λυσίου ἀγωγὴν. οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς περιλαμβάνοντα δι' ἐλαχίστης δηλώσεως τὰ φανερώτατα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ Λυσίας μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν διώκειν μᾶλλον, Ἰσαῖος δὲ τὴν τέχνην, καὶ ὁ μὲν στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ χαριέντως, ὁ δὲ τοῦ δεινῶς. εἰ δέ τις παραθεωροίη ταῦτα ὡς μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο ἱκανὸς αὐτῶν κριτής. ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἱ ὁμοιότητες συνταράξουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, ὥστε μὴ διαγνῶναι τὸν ἴδιον ἐκατέρου χαρακτηῖρα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς ἔχω δόξης δεδήλωταί μοι.

[19] βούλομαι δὲ ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων ἀποδοῦναι τὸν λόγον, ἵνα μή τις ἀγνοίᾳ με δόξη παραλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ὄντας καὶ ὀνόματος ἡξιωμένους οὐ μετρίου ἢ φυγῇ τοῦ πόνου τὸ ῥᾶστον αἰρούμενον τῶν ἔργων τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφεικέναι σκέψιν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτε ἡγνόουν, οὐς ἅπαντες Ἰσασιν, οὔτε ὥκνουν «ἂν» ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράφειν, εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἔμελλεν ἐξοίσειν ἢ γραφή. ἐνθυμούμενος δέ, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ποιητικὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸ μετέωρον δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πομπικὸν εἰρημένον οὐδεὶς Ἰσοκράτους ἀμείνων ἐγένετο, παρέλιπον ἐκὼν, οὐς ἥδειν ἦττον ἐν ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις κατορθοῦντας, Γοργίαν μὲν τὸν Λεοντῖνον ἐκπίπτοντα τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πολλοῦ παιδαριώδη γιγνόμενον ὁρῶν, Ἀλκιδάμαντα δὲ τὸν ἀκουστὴν αὐτοῦ παχύτερον ὄντα τὴν λέξιν καὶ κενότερον, Θεόδωρον δὲ τὸν Βυζάντιον ἀρχαῖόν τινα καὶ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς τέχναις ἀκριβῆ οὔτε ἐξέτασιν ἱκανὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐναγωνίοις δεδωκότα λόγοις, Ἀναξιμένην δὲ τὸν Λαμψακηνὸν ἐν ἀπάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἰδέαις τῶν λόγων τετράγωνόν τινα εἶναι βουλόμενον (καὶ γὰρ ἱστορίας γέγραφε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ συντάξεις καταλέλοιπε καὶ τέχνας ἐξενήνοχεν, ἥπται δὲ καὶ συμβουλευτικῶν καὶ δικανικῶν ἀγώνων), οὐ μέντοι τέλειόν γε ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τούτων τῶν ἰδεῶν ἀλλ' ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀπίθανον ὄντα ἐν ἀπάσαις θεωρῶν. οὐ δὴ δεῖν ὥρμην Ἰσοκράτους ἐν ἅπασιν πάντων τούτων ὑπερέχοντος λόγον τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι

περὶ ἐκείνων οὐδὲ γε περὶ τῶν συμβιωσάντων Ἰσοκράτει καὶ τὸν χαρακτηῖρα τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἐκείνου ἐκμινησασμένων οὐθενός, Θεοδόκτου λέγω καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ναυκράτους Ἐφόρου τε καὶ Φιλίσκου καὶ Κηφισοδώρου καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι κρίνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰσοκράτους δυνάμιν εἰσιν ἐπιτήδαιοι.

[20] τῶν μὲν δὴ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγωγὴν κοσμουμένων ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα διαφορώτατον ἡγησάμενος, οὐκ ἔτι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡξίωσα μακρολογεῖν καὶ δαπανᾷν εἰς οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον τὸν χρόνον. τῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς προαιρουμένων λόγους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐναγώνιον ἀσκούντων ῥητορικὴν, ὧν ἐγένετο Ἀντιφῶν τε ὁ Ῥαμνούσιος καὶ Θρασύμαχος ὁ Καλχηδόνιος καὶ Πολυκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Κριτίας τε ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα ἄρξας καὶ Ζωῖλος ὁ τὰς καθ' Ὀμήρου συντάξεις καταλιπὼν καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοί τινες, οὐδένα ἡγούμενος οὔτε ἀκριβέστερον οὔτε χαριέστερον γεγενῆσθαι Λυσίου· Ἀντιφῶν γε μὴν τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἔχει μόνον καὶ ἀρχαῖον, ἀγωνιστῆς δὲ λόγων οὔτε συμβουλευτικῶν οὔτε δικανικῶν ἐστί, Πολυκράτης δὲ κενὸς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς, ψυχρὸς δὲ καὶ φορτικὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς, ἄχαρις δὲ ἐν τοῖς χαριεντισμοῦ δεομένοις ἐστί, Θρασύμαχος δὲ καθαρὸς μὲν καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ δεινὸς εὖρεῖν τε καὶ εἰπεῖν στρογγύλως καὶ περιττῶς, ὃ βούλεται, πᾶς δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τεχνογραφικοῖς καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῖς, δικανικοὺς δὲ [ἢ συμβουλευτικοὺς] οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπε λόγους, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ Κριτίου καὶ περὶ Ζωΐλου τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πλὴν ὅσον τοῖς χαρακτηῖρσι τῆς ἐρμηνείας διαλλάττουσιν ἀλλήλων· τούτων δὴ, φημί, τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις διαφέρειν οἰόμενος Λυσίαν καὶ ὥσπερ ἀρχέτυπον ἀπογράφων ὑπερέχειν, ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν λόγων ἐποίησάμην κανόνα. τὸν δὲ δὴ τρίτον Ἰσαῖον εἴ τις ἔροιστό με τίνος ἔνεκα προσεθέμην, Λυσίου δὴ ζηλωτὴν ὄντα, ταύτην ἂν αὐτῷ φαίην τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος, ἣν οὐθεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς οὐ τελειοτάτην ἀπασῶν οἶεται γενέσθαι, τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ παρασχεῖν. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας μόνους παρέλαβον. εἰ δὲ περὶ πάντων ἡξίου γράφειν, εἰς κενότητος ἂν μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξέπιπτε καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴθὲν ἢ μὴ πολὺ τὸ χρήσιμον ἔχειν εἰς ἀπέραντόν τινα καὶ οὐ σύμμετρον ἐξεμκύνθη γραφήν. καὶ περὶ τούτων μὲν ἄλις. ἐτέραν δὲ ἀρχὴν ποιήσομαι τοῦ λόγου περὶ τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ὑπερείδου καὶ τρίτου λέγων Αἰσχίνου. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τελειοτάτη ῥητορικὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῶν ἐναγωνίων λόγων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔοικεν εἶναι.

On Dinarchus

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Περὶ Δειναρχοῦ

[1] Περὶ Δεινάρχου τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἰρηκῶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφεῖσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε εὐρετὴν ἰδίου γεγονέναι χαρακτῆρος τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥσπερ τὸν Λυσίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην καὶ τὸν Ἰσαῖον, μήτε τῶν εὐρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτῇν, ὥσπερ τὸν Δημοσθένη καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνην καὶ «τὸν» Ὑπερίδην ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἡξιωμένον ὀνόματος ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων καὶ ἀπολελοιπότα δημοσίους τε καὶ ἰδίους λόγους οὔτε ὀλίγους οὔτ' εὐκαταφρονήτους, ἡγησάμην δεῖν μὴ παραλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν καὶ διορίσαι τοὺς τε γνησίους καὶ ψευδεῖς λόγους πάντων ἢ τῶν γε πλείστων ἀναγκαιότερον οἶμαι τοῖς μὴ ἐκ περιζώματος ἀσκοῦσι ῥητορικῇν. ἅμα δὲ ὁρῶν οὐδὲν ἀκριβές οὔτε Καλλιμαχον οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ Περγάμου γραμματικούς περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψαντας, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξετάσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀκριβεστερων ἡμαρτηκότας, ὥς μὴ μόνον ἐψεῦσθαι πολλὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγους τοὺς οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ὡς Δεινάρχου τούτῳ προστίθεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφέντας ἑτέρων εἶναι λέγειν· ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ὃς ἔδοξε γενέσθαι πολυῖστωρ, ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων πραγματείᾳ λέγων καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ ὑπόληψιν παρασχών, ὡς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέξων τι ἀκριβές, διεψεύσθη τῆς δόξης. οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ τὰς λέξεις παραθέσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφέντα τάδε· «Δεινάρχοις δ' ἐνετύχομεν τέτταρσιν· ὧν ἔστιν ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ῥητόρων τῶν Ἀττικῶν, ὃ δὲ τὰς περὶ Κρήτην συναγῆοχε μυθολογίας, ὃ δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ἀμφοῖν τούτοις, Δῆλιος δὲ τὸ γένος, πεπραγματευμένος τοῦτο μὲν ἔπος, τοῦτο δὲ πράγματα, τέταρτος δὲ ὁ περὶ Ὀμήρου λόγον συντεθεικῶς. ἐθέλω δὲ πρὸς μέρος περὶ ἐκάστου διελθεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος. ἔστι τοίνυν οὗτος κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν οὐδὲν ἀπολείπων τῆς Ὑπερίδου χάριτος, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν· καὶ νῦν κεν ἢ παρέλασσεν. ἐνθύμημα γὰρ φέρει πειστικὸν καὶ σχῆμα παντοδαπόν, πιθανότητός γε μὴν οὕτως εὖ ἦκει, ὥστε παριστάνειν τοῖς ἀκούουσι, μὴ ἄλλως γεγονέναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς λέγει. καὶ νομίσειεν ἂν τις εὐήθεις εἶναι τοὺς ὑπολαβόντας τὸν λόγον τὸν κατὰ Δημοσθένους εἶναι τούτου· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέχει τοῦ χαρακτῆρος. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοσοῦτον σκότους ἐπιπεπόλακεν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοῦ λόγους σχεδὸν που ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντας «πάντας» ἀγνοεῖν συμβέβηκε, τὸν δὲ μὴ γραφέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐκείνου νομίζεσθαι. ἢ δὲ λέξις ἐστὶ τοῦ Δεινάρχου κυρίως ἠθική, πάθος κινουῖσα, σχεδὸν τῇ πικρία μόνον καὶ τῷ τόνῳ τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ χαρακτῆρος λειπομένη, τοῦ δὲ πιθανοῦ καὶ κυρίου μηδὲν ἐνδέουσα.»

[2] ἐκ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκριβές ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀληθές εὐρεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ γένος τάνδρὸς οὔτε χρόνου, καθ' οὓς ἦν, οὔτε τόπον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριψε, δεδήλωκεν, ὀνόματα δὲ μόνον κοινὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα ἐσπούδασε καὶ πληθεὺς λόγων εἶπεν οὐδενὶ τῶν ... σύμφωνον. ἔδει δὲ τούναντίον. ἂ οὖν ἐγὼ αὐτὸς δι' ἐμαυτοῦ κατελαβόμην, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· Δειναρχὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ υἱὸς

μὲν ἦν Σωστράτου, Κορίνθιος δὲ τὸ γένος, ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἦνθουν αἱ τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων διατριβαί, Θεοφράστῳ τε συνεγένετο καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ. εὐφυῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦς πολιτικοὺς λόγους γενόμενος ἀκμαζόντων ἔτι τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένην ἥρξατο λόγους γράφειν καὶ προΐει κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς δόξαν. μάλιστα δὲ ἤκμασε μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, Δημοσθένους μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων φυγαῖς αἰδίοις καὶ θανάτοις περιπεσόντων, οὐδενὸς δ' ὑπολειπομένου μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου λόγου. καὶ διατετέλεκεν ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα χρόνον λόγους συγγράφων τοῖς βουλομένοις, ἕως Κάσσανδρος τὴν πόλιν κατέσχευ. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ κατέλυσαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ φρουρὰν ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου κατασταθεῖσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον <τοὺς> βασιλεῖς, αἰτίαν ἔχων ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ἀθηναίων καίτοι ξένος αὐτὸς ὦν καταλῦσαι τὸν δῆμον, ὁρῶν ἡρεθισμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μάλιστα τῷ πλουτεῖν ἑαυτὸν ὑφορωμένους, μὴ διὰ τοῦτο πάθῃ τι δεινόν, εἰσελθεῖν μὲν εἰς δικαστήριον οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐξελθὼν δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Χαλκίδα τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, τὸν ἀπ' Ἀναξικράτους χρόνον ἕως Φιλίππου πεντεκαίδεκαετῇ γενόμενον ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ γένοιτο διὰ Θεοφράστου καὶ τῶν ³¹ ἄλλων φίλων κάθοδος, περιμένων. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ <τῶν> ἄλλων φυγάδων κάκείνῳ κατελθεῖν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ παρ' ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων Προξένῳ καταχθεῖς <τὸ> χρυσίον ἀπολλύει γηραιὸς ὦν ἤδη καὶ τὰς ὄψεις ἀσθενής. ὀλιγώρως δ' ἔχοντος τοῦ Προξένου πρὸς τὴν ζήτησιν, δίκην ἔλαχεν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸς οὐδεπώποτε πρότερον εἰς δικαστήριον παρελθών. οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος ἀνδρός. ἀποδείκνυται δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἕκ τε τῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν Φιλοχόρου καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ ξυνέγραψεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Προξένου, ὃς εἴρηται μὲν μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν, προσκειμένην δὲ ἔχει τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην· 'Δείναρχος Σωστράτου Κορίνθιος Προξένῳ, ᾧ σύνειμι, βλάβης ταλάντων δύο. Ἐβλαψέ με Πρόξενος, ὑποδεξάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐν ἀγρῷ, ὅτε πεφευγὼς Ἀθήνηθεν κατήειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος, χρυσίου μὲν στατήρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους καὶ πέντε, οὓς ἐκόμισα ἐκ Χαλκίδος εἰδότος Προξένου καὶ εἰσηλθὼν ἔχων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀργυρώματα δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον εἴκοσι μνῶν ἄξια, ἐπβουλεύσας τούτοις.' οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τοῦ μηδεμίαν δίκην πρότερον εἰσελθεῖν δεδήλωκεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς [πρότερον] μετὰ ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ τὴν βλάβην τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ διὰ Προξένου δεδήλωκεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς περὶ τε τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διεξέρχεται πάντων, ἐξ ὧν γίγνεται φανερά τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, ὅτι ξένος διέμεινε καὶ γέρων ἤδη ὦν εἶπε τὸν λόγον, ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς δίκης εἴρηκε.

ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Δείναρχος περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ἱστορίαις περὶ τε τῆς φυγῆς τῶν καταλυσάντων τὸν δῆμον καὶ περὶ τῆς καθόδου πάλιν οὕτως λέγει· 'Τοῦ γὰρ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος εὐθὺ μὲν ἢ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλις ἐάλω· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ <βασιλεὺς> κατελθὼν ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων κατεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ

κατασκάψας ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ. ὕστερον δὲ εἰσηγγέλθησαν πολλοὶ <τῶν> πολιτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. τῶν δ' εἰσαγγεληθέντων οὐς μὲν οὐχ ὑπομείναντας τὴν κρίσιν ἐθανάτωσαν τῇ ψήφῳ, οὐς δ' ὑπακούσαντας ἀπέλυσαν.' Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὁγδόης. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ φησί· 'Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ τουδὶ διελθόντος, ἐτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος, ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖον ἐγένετο τοιοῦτον· κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο. πάτριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἡλίου τ' ἐξέχοντος καὶ οὕσης αἰθρίας ἀστὴρ ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐκφανής. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐρωτηθέντες ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ σημείου καὶ τοῦ φαντάσματος, εἰς ὃ φέρει, φυγάδων κάθοδον ἔφαμεν προσημαίνειν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐκ μεταβολῆς πραγμάτων ἐσομένην, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ· καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι συνέβη.'

[4] προειρημένων δὴ τούτων ἔν ἐτι λείπεται καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον, τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ διορίσαι, ἵνα καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν τε γνησίων αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ σαφές τι ἔχωμεν λέγειν. τίθεμεν δὴ αὐτὸν ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔχοντα ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς κατεληλυθέναι, ὥς καὶ αὐτός φησι, γέροντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν· ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου καὶ καλεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰώθαμεν. ὑποκειμένων δὲ τούτων ὀλοσχερεῖ λογισμῷ (τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχομεν) εἴη ἂν κατὰ Νικόφημον ἄρχοντα γεγονώς. εἰ δέ τις ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ νεώτερον τῶν εἰρημένων χρόνων αὐτὸν εἶναι φήσῃ, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγειν καὶ λόγους αὖ πολλοὺς ἀφελεῖται, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντας πλὴν πέντε ἢ ἕξ, τῶν μὲν πρεσβύτερον αὐτόν, τῶν δὲ νεώτερον εἶναι λέγων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρξασθαι λέγοντες αὐτὸν λόγους συγγράφειν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου ἢ ἕκτου πρὸς τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτους οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοιμεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένη τότε ἀκμαζόντων. ἔκτος δὲ καὶ εἰκοστός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Νικοφῆμου Πυθόδημος. ὥσθ' ὅσους εὐρίσκομεν πρεσβυτέρους τούτου τοῦ ἄρχοντος [τοὺς φερομένους εἰς αὐτὸν λόγους] εἴ τις γνησίους θήσεται, ἀπιστοίημεν ἂν εἰκότως· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀναξικράτους ἕως Φιλίππου τετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ψευδέσιν ἀναγράφοιμεν ἂν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς Χαλκίδα ἂν τινες ἔπλεον λόγων χάριν ἢ ιδίων ἢ δημοσίων· οὐ γὰρ τέλεον ἠπόρουν οὕτω λόγων.

[5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος τάνδρὸς ὥς οἷόν τε ἀκριβέστατα εὐρηται, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τῶν λόγων τοὺς τε γνησίους καὶ μὴ διακρινοῦμεν, καιρὸς ἤδη καὶ περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος αὐτοῦ λέγειν. ἔστι δὲ δυσόριστον. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε κοινὸν οὔτ' ἴδιον ἔσχεν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳ οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίῳ ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Λυσίου παραπλήσιος ἔστιν ὅπου γίνεται καὶ τοῖς Ὑπερείδου καὶ τοῖς Δημοσθένους λόγοις. καὶ τούτων πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχοι παραδείγματα ἐκθέσθαι. τοῦ μὲν Λυσιακοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἔν τε τῷ περὶ Μνησικλέους λόγῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λυσικράτους ὑπὲρ Νικομάχου καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς. τοῦ δ' Ὑπεριδείου ταῖς τε οἰκονομίαις ἀκριβεστέρου καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς γενναιοτέρου πῶς ὄντος τῶν Λυσιακῶν ἐν πλείοσι μὲν ἢ τριάκοντα Δεινάρχου λόγοις παραδείγματα εὐρεῖν ἔστιν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ

τῆς Ἀγάθωνος διαμαρτυρίας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ χαρακτηῖρος, ὃν μάλιστα ἐμιμήσατο, πολὺ πλείω δύναται ἂν τις εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. προοιμιάζεται γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐκεῖνῳ, καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ λόγου παραπλήσιος μεμένηκε.

[6] πῶς οὖν ἂν τις δυνηθεῖ τούτους γνησίους αὐτῷ γνωρίζειν λόγους; πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἐπίσταιτο τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων χαρακτηῖρας, ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν Λυσίου παραπλησίους λόγους τοῦτ' προσφέρει, τοὺς δ' Ὑπερείδου δόξαντας εἶναι τισι Δεινάρχου λέγοι μακρὰ ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς τῶν βυβλίων χαίρειν εἰπών, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Δημοσθενικῷ χαρακτηῖρι προσεληλυθότας ὡς οἷόν τε τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διαβεβαίωτο εἶναι. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων, οὓς μεμίμηται, μεγίστη γνῶσις ἡ ὁμοείδεια τῶν λόγων. αὐτίκα ὁ μὲν Λυσίας ἔν τε τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσιν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὁμολογούμενός ἐστιν εἰς δὲ τὸν λεκτικὸν τρόπον κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σαφήνειαν καὶ σύνθεσιν αὐτοφυῆ μὲν καὶ λείαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, παντὸς δὲ λόγου κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν διαφέρουσιν. ὁ δ' Ὑπερείδης κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡττᾶται Λυσίου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πραγματικὸν τρόπον διαφέρει. διηγεῖται δὲ ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πορευόμενος. πιστοῦται <τε> οὐ κατ' ἐνθῦμημα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἐπιχείρημα πλατύνων. ὁ δὲ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος Δημοσθένης, ἅπαντα μιμησάμενος καὶ πάντων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκλεξάμενος, δῆλος μὲν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ μόνον, δῆλος δὲ καὶ τῷ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον λόγον πρέποντι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ <τῇ> συνθέσει καὶ τῷ τῶν σχηματισμῶν ἀγκύλῳ καὶ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ καὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῇ δεινότητι. ὁ δὲ Δεινάρχος οὔτε ὁμοίος ἐν ἅπασιν ἐστιν οὔτ' ἰδίου τινὸς εὐρετής, δι' οὗ γινώσεται τις αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, ἢ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· πολὺ γὰρ ἐμφαίνει μιμήσεις τε καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς πρὸς τῶν λόγων τάρχευτον διαφορὰν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους.

[7] ἔστωσαν δὴ τινες ἐπιγραφόμενοι λόγοι ὡς ὄντες Δεινάρχου, πολλὴν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὰ Λυσιακὰ ὁμοιότητα. τούτων ὁ βουλόμενος ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διάγνωσιν πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ιδιότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκεῖνου θεωρεῖτω, ἔπειτ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀρετὴν τε καὶ χάριν τοῖς λόγοις ἐπανθοῦσαν ἴδῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογὴν ἐνοῦσαν καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄψυχον εἶναι τῶν λεγομένων, θαρρῶν λεγέτω τούτους Λυσίου. ἐὰν δὲ μήτε <τὸ> χάριεν ὁμοίον εὐρίσκη μήτε τὸ πιθανὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀκριβὲς μήτε <τὸ> τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπτόμενον, ἐν τοῖς Δεινάρχου λόγοις αὐτοὺς ἑάτω. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ὑπερείδου· ἐὰν τῆς μὲν λέξεως τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τῆς δὲ συνθέσεως τὸ ἀπλοῦν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων τὸ εὐκαιρον, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τὸ μὴ τραγικὸν μηδὲ ὀγκῶδες ἔχῃ (ταῦτα γὰρ μέγιστα ἐκεῖνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιά ἐστιν), Ὑπερείδου λεγέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐνδεεστερώς ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔχῃ, κἂν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα μὴ φαύλως ἢ γεγραμμένα, ἐν τοῖς Δεινάρχου πάλιν ἀναγραφέτω. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπολαμβάνομεν. ἐὰν μὲν καὶ ἡ τῆς λέξεως μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ ἡ τῆς συνθέσεως ἐξαλλαγή καὶ τὸ τῶν παθῶν ἔμψυχον καὶ τὸ διὰ πάσης κεραίας διῆκον πικρὸν καὶ νοερὸν τό τε πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ

δεινότης πᾶσι παρέπληται, μηθὲν ἔτι τὸ κωλύον ἔστω <ἐν τοῖς> Δημοσθένους αὐτοὺς ἀναγράφειν. ἔὰν δ' ἑλλείπη τὸ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἄκρον ἢ τὸ διὰ πάσης ιδέας ὁμοιον, μενέτωσαν ἐν τοῖς Δειναρχείοις. ὥς δὲ καθόλου εἰπεῖν, δύο τρόπους τῆς διαφορᾶς ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα μιμήσεως εὐροι τις ἄν. ὧν ὁ μὲν φυσικός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐκ πολλῆς κατηχήσεως καὶ συντροφίας λαμβανόμενος, ὁ δὲ τούτῳ προσεχῆς ἐκ τῶν τῆς τέχνης παραγγέλματων. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προτέρου τί ἂν τις καὶ λέγοι; περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν <ἦ> ὅτι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἀρχετύποις αὐτοφύης τις ἐπιπρέπει χάρις καὶ ὥρα, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τούτων κατεσκευασμένοις, κἂν ἐπ' ἄκρον μιμήσεως ἔλθωσι, πρόσσεστί τι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτετηδευμένον καὶ οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως ὑπάρχον. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ παραγγέλματι οὐ ῥήτορες μόνον ῥήτορας διακρίνουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγράφοι τὰ Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μιμησαμένων καὶ πλάσται τὰ Πολυκλείτου καὶ γλυφεῖς τὰ Φειδίου.

[8] καὶ οἱ μὲν Πλάτωνα μιμεῖσθαι λέγοντες καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὑψηλὸν καὶ εὖχαρι καὶ καλὸν οὐ δυνάμενοι λαβεῖν, διθυραμβώδη δὲ ὀνόματα καὶ φορτικὰ εἰσφέροντες κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐλέγχονται ῥαδίως. οἱ δὲ Θουκυδίδην ζηλοῦν λέγοντες καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐτονον καὶ στερεὸν καὶ δεινὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια χαλεπῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ σολοικοφανεῖς σχηματισμοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀσαφὲς προχειριζόμενοι, πάνυ εὐχερῶς ἂν ἀλίσκοιντο ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραγγέλματος. ὥς πέρ γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ῥητόρων οἱ μὲν Ὑπερείδην μιμούμενοι, διαμαρτόντες τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, αὖχμηροὶ τινες ἐγένοντο, οἳτοι γεγόνασι Ῥοδιακοὶ ῥήτορες οἱ περὶ Ἀρταμένην καὶ Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ Φιλάγριον καὶ Μόλωνα· οἱ δ' Ἰσοκράτην καὶ τὰ Ἰσοκράτους ἀποτυπώσασθαι θελήσαντες ὕπιοι καὶ ψυχροὶ καὶ ἀσύστροφοι καὶ ἀναληθεῖς· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ Τίμαιον καὶ Ψάωνα καὶ Σωσιγένην. οἱ δὲ Δημοσθένην προχειρισάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τὰς ἐκείνου διώκοντες τῆς μὲν προαιρέσεως ἔνεκα ἐπηνέθησαν, οὐ μὴν ἴσχυσαν τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐκείνου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργων λαβεῖν. τούτων ἄριστον ἂν τις θέλῃ τὸν Δείναρχον γενέσθαι. λείπεται δὲ Δημοσθένους κατὰ <μὲν> τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων τῇ δεινότητι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῇ ἐξαλλαγῇ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐρεσιν τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων τῷ μὴ καινὰ καὶ παράδοξα λαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ φανερὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κείμενα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῇ τάξει καὶ ταῖς ἐξεργασίαις τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ ταῖς προκατασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐφόδοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τεχνικοῖς παραγγέλμασιν, ἃ περὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν ιδέαν, μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῦ λείπεται τῇ συμμετρίᾳ καὶ τῷ καιρῷ <καὶ τῷ> πρέποντι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν τῷ καθόλου τρόπῳ, ὥς μηδὲν τούτων κατορθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κοινοτέρῳ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἄγροικόν τινες Δημοσθένην ἔφασαν <αὐτὸν> εἶναι, κατὰ τὸ ἐλλειπὲς τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτην περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν λαβόντες· τὸ γὰρ ἄγροικον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ σώματος οὐ μορφῇ, κατασκευῇ δὲ καὶ διαθέσει πινὶ τῆς μορφῆς διήνεγκεν.

[9] ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐνεδέχετο περὶ τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐρεῖν τε καὶ γράφαι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν λόγων διάγνωσιν τρέψομαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν γνησίοις αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς προσέσται μόνον, τοῖς δὲ ψευδέσι τὰ

τοῦ τ' ἐλέγχου καὶ τῆς αἰτίας διηκριβωμένα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον ἀθετοῦμεν αὐτῶν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ τῶν χρόνων διάγνωσις, τοὺς Ἀθηήνησιν ἄρξαντας, ἀφ' οὗ Δεῖναρχον ὑπεθέμεθα γεγονέναι χρόνου, μέχρι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καθόδου, γενομένους ἑβδομήκοντα, προθήσομεν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε· Νικόφημος, Καλλιμήδης, Εὐχάριστος, Κηφισόδοτος, Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Ἑλπίνης, Καλλίστρατος, Διότιμος, Θεοῦδημος, Ἀριστόδημος, Θέελλος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Καλλίμαχος, Θεόφιλος, Θεμιστοκλῆς, Ἀρχίας, Εὐβουλος, Λυκίσκος, Πυθόδοτος, Σωσιγένης, Νικόμαχος, Θεόφραστος, Λυσιμαχίδης, Χαιρωνίδας, Φρύνιχος, Πυθόδημος· ἐπὶ τούτου πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰς δικαστήριον λόγους συγγράφειν ὑπεθέμεθα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Εὐαίνετος, Κτησικλῆς, Νικοκράτης, Νικήτης, Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κηφισοφῶν, Εὐθύκριτος, Ἥγῃμων, Χρέμης, Ἀντικλῆς, Ἑγησίαιος, Κηφισόδωρος, Φιλοκλῆς· ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν φρουρὰν ἐδέξαντο Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη. Ἀρχιππος, Νέαιχμος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ἀρχιππος, Δημογένης, Δημοκλείδης, Πραξιβουλος, Νικόδωρος, Θεόφραστος, Πολέμων, Σιμωνίδης, Ἰερομνήμων, Δημήτριος, Καίριμος, Ἀναξικράτης· ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου ὀλιγαρχία κατελύθη, καὶ οἱ εἰσαγγελθέντες ἔφυγον, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δεῖναρχος ἦν. Κόροιβος, Εὐξένιππος, Φερεκλῆς, Λεώστρατος, Νικοκλῆς, Κλέαρχος, Ἥγέμαχος, Εὐκτῆμων, Μνησίδημος, Ἀντιφάτης, Νικίας, Νικόστρατος, Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τούτου κάθοδος ἐδόθη τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φυγάσι καὶ Δεινάρῳ ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δημητρίου.

Δημόσιοι λόγοι γνήσιοι.

[10] κατὰ Πολυεύκτου βασιλεύειν λαχόντος δοκιμασία· ‘πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο.’ Κατὰ Πολυεύκτου ἐκφυλλοφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἔνδειξις· ‘πάλαι θαυμάζω ὑμῶν.’ Κατὰ Πολυεύκτου περὶ τοῦ γεωφανίου· ‘περὶ μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς μηνύσεως.’ Περὶ τοῦ γεωφανίου ἐπίλογος· ‘βραχύν, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Πυθέου ξενίας· ‘ἱκανὴ μὲν ἦν πρόφασις.’ Κατὰ Πυθέου περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον· ‘ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μὲν λέγειν τῶν ῥητόρων.’ Κατὰ Τιμοκράτους· ‘ὥσπερ δίκαιόν ἐστι.’ Κατὰ Λυκούργου εὐθυναί· ‘οἶδα, ὅτι, κἂν μὴδὲν ὑμῖν.’ Συνηγορία Αἰσχίνῃ κατὰ Δεινίου· ‘βουλοίμην ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Φορμισίου ἀσεβείας· ‘ἄρα γ’ εἴ τινες.’ Κατὰ Καλλιάρχου περὶ τῶν τιμῶν· ‘πολλάκις, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι.’ Τυρρηνικός· ‘ἅπαντα συμβήσεσθαι ἔτι.’ Κατὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως· ‘ἴσως μὲν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι.’ Καθ’ Ἱμεραίου εἰσαγγελτικός· ‘οὐδένα νομίζω, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι.’ Εἰσαγγελία κατὰ Πιστίου· ‘ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος.’ Κατ’ Ἀγασικλέους εἰσαγγελία ξενίας· ‘οὐδένα πώποτε οἶμαι.’ Κατὰ Θεοκρίνου ἔνδειξις· ‘τοῦ πατρός, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ τοῦτον Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Δημοσθένους φέρει. Κατὰ Στεφάνου παρανόμων· ‘ὑπάρχει τοῦ νόμου δεδωκός, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Καλλισθένους εἰσαγγελία· ‘οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ Διαδικασία Φαληρέων πρὸς Φοίνικας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος· ‘εὐχομαι, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, πρέπειν δῆ.’ Πρὸς τὴν Κηφισοφῶντος ἀπογραφὴν· ‘πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, δέομαι.’ Ὁ ὕστερος· ‘τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὠνήν.’ Ἀπολογία διαμαρτυρίας πρὸς τὴν Χάρητος εἰσαγγελία κατὰ Φειδιάδου γραμματέως· ‘οὗτ’ ἔχθρας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔνεκα.’ Κατὰ Φιλοκλέους ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων· ‘τί χρὴ λέγειν τὸ πρὸς τῶν.’ Κατὰ Γνωδίου περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων· ‘οὐκ ἄδηλον.’ Κατ’ Ἀριστονίκου περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων· ‘εὐτύχημα μὲν ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Δημοσθένους περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων· ‘ὁ μὲν δημαγωγὸς ὑμῖν.’ Κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων· ‘πάνθ’, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ ἄνδρες.’

Ψευδεπίγραφοι δημόσιοι.

[11] Κατὰ Θεοδώρου εὐθυντικός· ‘ἥκιστα μέν, ὧ ἄνδρες,’ πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῆς Δεινάρχου ἡλικίας. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχοντος μετὰ Θέελλον ἄρχοντα ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ <ἢ τετάρτῳ>, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γίνεται φανερόν, οὕτω πέμπτον <καὶ δέκατον>, ὡς ἐδείξαμεν, ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ. Κατὰ Κηρύκων· ‘εἰ μὲν ὁ πατήρ, ὧ ἄνδρες,’ οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν εἴρηται ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου ἢ Λυκίσκου τοῦ μετ’ Εὐβουλον, οὕτω εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ... ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος περὶ τινος ἀποψηφισθέντος γέγονεν ἐπ’ Ἀρχίου τοῦ μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέα. δῆλον δ’ ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γίνεται. Κατὰ Μοσχίωνος, ἀπογραψαμένου αὐτὸν Νικοδίκου· ‘τῶν ἀποψηφισαμένων, ὧ ἄνδρες, τουτοῦ Μοσχίωνος συμβαλὼν.’ καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τῷ προτέρῳ εἴρηται. δηλοῦται δ’ ἕκ τε αὐτῆς <τῆς> ἀρχῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ [τὰ] τῶν ἐξῆς. Κατὰ Μενεκλέους ἀπαγωγῆς· ‘ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τῶν νόμων καθ’ οὓς,’ καὶ οὗτος εἴρηται παιδὸς ὄντος ἔτι Δεινάρχου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κρινόμενός ἐστι Μενεκλῆς ὁ τὴν ἰέρειαν Νίνον ἐλὼν, ὁ δὲ κατηγορῶν υἱὸς τῆς Νίνου. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα πρεσβύτερα τῆς Δεινάρχου ἀκμῆς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθένους περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος [δεδηλώκαμεν] λόγος, ἐν ᾧ τούτων μέμνηται, κατὰ Θέελλον ἢ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἄρχοντα τετέλεσται, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δημοσθένους δεδηλώκαμεν. εἰ δ’ ὡς τεθηκός ἦδη τοῦ Μενεκλέους ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐκεῖ μέμνηται λέγων· ‘ἑωρᾶτε γὰρ πάντες αὐτὸν χρώμενον, ἕως ἔζη, Μενεκλεῖ’, παλαιὸς λόγος τίς ἐστιν. ὅτι δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μενεκλῆς, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωκεν ὁ κατηγορῶν. Διαδικασία Ἀθμονεῦσι περὶ τῆς μυρρίνης καὶ τῆς μύλακος· ‘εὐχομαι δὴ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ,’ πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῆς Δεινάρχου ἀκμῆς. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐπὶ Νικομάχου ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γίνεται δῆλον, ἐν πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτος τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔχοντος. οἱ μὲν οὖν <πρεσβύτεροι> τῆς ἀκμῆς αὐτοῦ φερόμενοι ψευδεπίγραφοι [εἰς αὐτὸν] λόγοι εἰσὶν οἶδε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Χαλκίδα ἀναχώρησιν οἶδε· Διαδικασία τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Δήμητρος πρὸς τὸν ἱεροφάντην· ‘πολλῶν καὶ παραδόξων, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί.’ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἦδη πεφευγός αὐτοῦ εἴρηται, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίνεται φανερόν. μέμνηται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ <ὁ λέγων> τῆς κατασχούσης ὀλιγαρχίας. Κατὰ Τιμοκράτους εἰσαγγελτικός δήμου καταλύσεως· ‘ἔργα ποιεῖς.’ οὗτος καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐστι δῆλος ψευδεπίγραφος ὢν. Κατὰ Σπουδίου· ‘καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορήσειν ὑπεσχόμην.’ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἴρηται καὶ οὗτος ἦδη Δεινάρχου [φαίνεται] φεύγοντος, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τοῦ λόγου γίνεται φανερόν. Διαδικασία Εὐδανέμων πρὸς Κήρυκας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κανῶς· ‘οὐδαμῶς τοιαῦτα πράγματα.’ καὶ οὗτος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους εἴρηται, πεφευγός ἦδη τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ πάλιν δηλοῦται. Ἀττικός· ‘πάντων ἦσαν ὁμοίως.’ καὶ οὗτος εἴρηται ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ φανερόν γίνεται. Αἰτωλικός· ‘καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Αἰτωλοί, πρέσβεις.’ οὗτος

καθεστῶσης τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν φυγάδων εἴρηται δεομένων τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Κάσσανδρος αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὕσιν ἐπεχείρει, ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ γίγνεται τοῦτο δηλόν. οὐκ οὖν εἰκὸς φίλον ὄντα τὸν Δείναρχον τῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καταστησάντων τοῖς καταλύειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν συναγωνίζεσθαι, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνηθε λόγους καταλαμβάνειν οἷόν τ' ἐστί. Διφίλῳ δημηγορικός, αἰτοῦντι δωρεάς· 'διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι.' τοῦτον ἐπείσθην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους γεγράφθαι τὸν λόγον, ὅτι τὰς δωρεὰς ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ Δημοσθένης, ὡς Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους λόγῳ δεδήλωκε, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τέλει <τοῦ> λόγου ὁ Δίφιλος Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖ συνήγορον. ἀπίθανον δὲ οἶμαι εἶναι τὰς μὲν τιμὰς οὕτω γράφειν εὐνοοῦντα τῷ Διφίλῳ τὸν Δημοσθένην, λόγον δὲ παρὰ Δεινάρχου λαβόντα περιδεῖν. Ἑρμία ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῇ περὶ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων ἀπολογία· 'δέομαι ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες.' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος εὖροι τις ἂν οὐκ ὄντα τὸν λόγον Δεινάρχου (ὑδαρῆς τε γὰρ καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ ψυχρὸς ἐστίν), ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἂν τις θεῖη Δημοκλείδου ἢ Μενεσαίχμου ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τινός. ἀφαιροῦμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Μενεσαίχμου λόγους ἀμφότερους αὐτοῦ, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐστίν περὶ τῆς Δήλου θυσίας· 'ἵκετεῦομεν ὑμᾶς καί·' ὁ δὲ πρὸς Περικλέα καὶ Δημοκράτην, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· 'νομίζομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες' διὰ τε τὸν χαρακτηῖρα (ὑδαρῆς γὰρ καὶ κεχυμένος καὶ ψυχρὸς) καὶ ὅτι ὁ λέγων αὐτοῦς, ὧν οὕτε ἄδοξος καὶ μετὰ Λυκοῦργον τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων παραλαβὼν, ἐξητασμένος δὲ πολλάκις αὐτός, ὡς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις περὶ ἀπάντων μηνύει, καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ καὶ ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀγῶσιν οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἀδύνατος, ὥστε Δεινάρχῳ λογογράφῳ· χρῆσθαι. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐκδοῦναι Ἄρπαλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 'οὐκ ἄξιον ἄρα θαυμάζειν.' οὐδ' οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐμφαίνει τὸν Δεινάρχου χαρακτηῖρα. εἰ γὰρ κἂν μηδὲν ἄλλο, τό γ' οὖν ἡλίθιον καὶ σοφιστικὸν εὖροι τις ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ, τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέχον τῶν Δεινάρχου χαρακτηῖρων. Δηλιακός· 'Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ῥοιοῦς τῆς Σταφύλου.' οὗτος οὐ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀλλ' ἐτέρου τινός συγγραφέως ἐστί. δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος ἀρχαϊκὸς ὧν καὶ περιτρέχων τὴν τοπικὴν Δήλου καὶ Λέρου ἱστορίαν. Κατὰ Δημοσθένους παρανόμων· 'εἰώθατε, ὦ ἄνδρες.' οὗτος ἐν τοῖς Περγαμηνοῖς πίναξι φέρεται ὡς Καλλικράτους. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν ἐκείνου ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον τῶν Καλλικράτους οὐδενί), ὅτι δὲ πάμπολυ τῶν Δεινάρχου λόγων ἀφέστηκεν, εὐτελὴς τε ὧν καὶ κενὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχων ἰδιωτικῆς φλυαρίας, πείθομαι.

Ἰδιωτικοὶ γνήσιοι.

[12] Κατὰ Προξένου βλάβης, ὃν αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· ‘εἴ τίς μοι θεῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Κηφισοκλέους καὶ τῶν οἰκείων βλάβης· ‘ἃ μὲν ἐγκαλῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Πρὸς Φανοκλέα βλάβης ἀπολογία· ‘ὥμην μὲν ἐγώ, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Πρὸς Λυσικράτην ὑπὲρ Νικομάχου βλάβης· ‘ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης.’ Συνηγορία Παρμένοντι ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου βλάβης· ‘καὶ παραγεγεννημένος ὕστερον, ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔγωγε ἔγνω, ὅτι Παρμένων ἀδικεῖται.’ Κατὰ Ποσειδίππου κλοπῆς· ‘ἀδικηθεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Ἡδύλης ἀποστασίου· ‘καταλιπόντος ἐνοτίου πατρός.’ Ἀποστασίου πρὸς Ἀρχέστρατον· ‘πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο.’ Συνηγορία Ἡγελόχῳ ὑπὲρ ἐπικλήρου· ‘ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμῶν ἕκαστος.’ Ἐπικληρικὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰοφῶντος θυγατρὸς· ‘ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ πένης ὦν.’ <Ο> ὕστερος· ‘ἄμαχον γὰρ ἦν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Διαμαρτυρία, ὡς οὐδὲ εἰσὶν ἐπίδικοι <α> Ἀριστοφῶντος θυγατέρες· ‘τοῦ νόμου δεδωκότος, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Πεδιέως κακώσεως παιδὸς ὀρφανοῦ· ‘μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες, θαυμάσῃ.’ Διαμαρτυρία περὶ τοῦ Εὐύππου κλήρου πρὸς Χάρητα· ‘πολλάκις ἦδη ἤκουσα.’ Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μνησικλέους κλήρου· ‘δικαίαν, ὧ <ἄνδρες>, δέξιν.’ Κατὰ Προξένου ὕβρεως· ‘ὕβριστης ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ <Απολογία> πληγῶν, ἔδει δ’ ἐπιγεγράφθαι Ἀπολογία ὕβρεως Ἐπιχάρει πρὸς Φιλωτάδην· ‘τὸν θαυμαστόν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Κλεομέδοντος αἰκίας· ‘ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ ὁ πατήρ Θεόδωρος δὴ.’ Πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην περὶ νεώς· ‘δικαίως ἂν οἶμαι, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Ἑρανικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Πατροκλέους παῖδας· ‘ἃ μὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Πρὸς Ἀμεινοκράτην διαδικασία περὶ καρπῶν χωρίου· ‘ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀνάγκη ἐστί.’ Περὶ τοῦ ἵππου· ‘τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Ὁ ὕστερος· ‘ἐβουλόμην ἂν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Λυσικλείδῃ κατὰ Δάου ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδων· ‘ἃ μὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Παραγραφή πρὸς Βιώτην· ‘ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπείρως.’ Κατὰ Θεοδώρου ψευδομαρτυριῶν· ‘νομίζομεν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Ἀγάθωνι συνηγορία· ‘ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν Ἀγάθων.’ Ἀποστασίου ἀπολογία Αἰσχύλῳ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα· ‘χρήσασθαι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες.’ Κατὰ Καλλίππου μεταλλικός· ‘ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, Κάλλιππος.’ Ὑπὲρ υἱοποιήτου, ἔδει δ’ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ‘Ὑπὲρ Θεοδώρου, ὃν ἐποίησατο υἱὸν Ἀρχεφῶν’· ‘βουλοίμην ἂν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον.’ Περὶ τοῦ Ἀρχεφῶντος κλήρου· ‘καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζων.’

Ἰδιωτικοὶ ψευδεπίγραφοι.

[13] Πρὸς Πεδιέα παραγραφή· ‘κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον.’ οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἴρηται ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδήμου ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γίνεται δῆλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σάμον ἀποσταλέντες κληροῦχοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀπεστάλησαν, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγει. Δείναρχος δ’ οὐπὼ δέκατον ἔτος τηνικαῦτα εἶχε. Πρὸς Μελήσανδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς τριηραρχίας· ‘ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν.’ οὗ ἂν ὁ λόγος ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν λέγων ὡς ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἄρχοντος γεγεννημένου τοῦ ἀδικήματος ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον. φησὶν δὲ τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει εἰσέναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ Νικοφίμου ἄρχοντος, καθ’ ὃν εὐρίσκεται γεγεννημένος ὁ Δείναρχος. Πρὸς Βοιωτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος· ‘οὐδεμιᾷ φιλοπραγμοσύνη.’ εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ Δημοσθένους ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ Δεινάρχῳ προσάπτοντες ἐλέγχοντο, τῷ χρόνῳ γ’ οὗν ἐπιδειχθεῖεν ἂν ψευδόμενοι. μέμνηται γὰρ ὡς νεωστὶ τῆς εἰς Πύλας ἐξόδου γεγεννημένης, ἣ δ’ εἰς <Πύλας> Ἀθηναίων ἐξοδος ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, ὃγδοον ἔτος Δεινάρχου ἔχοντος. Πρὸς Μαντίθεον περὶ προικός· ‘πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνιαρότατον.’ οὗτος ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔχει κατὰ <τὴν> λέξιν τοιαῦτα, ἃ εἶη ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ρήτορος, ἔξω τῆς τῶν Δεινάρχου ἡλικίας πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἠγωνίσται τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ κατήγορος, ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ τρισίν, ὡς ἀκριβέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ <περὶ> Δημοσθένους γραφῇ δεδηλώκαμεν. Ἀθηνάδῃ συνηγορία περὶ τῆς σχεδίας πρὸς Ἀμύντιχον· ‘φίλος μοι καὶ ἐπιτήδειος ὢν. Ὁ ὕστερος· ‘οἶομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ Διοπείθους ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλησποντον τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ διατρίβοντος εἴρηται ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίνεται φανερόν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χρόνος κατὰ Πυθόδοτον ἄρχοντα, ὡς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ἄρχοντος οὐδέπω εἰκοστὸν ἔχων ἔτος. Πρὸς Μήκυθον μεταλλικός· ‘πριάμενοι μέταλλον, ὦ ἄνδρες.’ ἐπὶ Νικομάχου ἄρχοντος εἴρηται ὁ λόγος οὗτος. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ λέγων ἐπ’ Εὐβούλου μὲν μισθώσασθαι τὸ μέταλλον, τρία δὲ ἔτη ἐργασάμενος, ἐκβαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἔχοντος μέταλλα, λαχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην κατὰ Νικόμαχον ἄρχοντα, Δεινάρχου ἔν καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντος. Σατύρῳ πρὸς Χαρίδημον ἐπιτροπῆς ἀπολογία· ‘μὴ μεγάλου κινδύνου συμβεβηκός.’ καὶ οὗτος ἐπὶ Νικομάχου εἴρηται. Ὑπὲρ ἀντιδόσεως <πρὸς> Μεγακλείδην· ‘εἰ μὲν ἔδει, ὦ ἄνδρες, πρὸς τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας.’ ὁ μὲν λέγων ἐστὶν Ἀφαρεύς, ἔξω δ’ ἐστὶ τῶν Δεινάρχου χρόνων <ὁ λόγος>. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Τιμοθέου ζῶντος κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς μετὰ Μενεσθέως στρατηγίας, ἐφ’ ἣ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑποσχὼν ἔάλω. Τιμόθεος δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέσχηκεν ἐπὶ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον, ὅτε καὶ

On the Admirable Style of Demosthenes

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΛΕΞΕΩΣ

[1] δικανικοῖς μὲν οὖν οὐ περιέτυχον αὐτοῦ λόγοις, δημηγορικοῖς δὲ ὀλίγοις καὶ τισι καὶ τέχναις, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐπιδεικτικοῖς. τῆς δὲ ἰδέας αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τοιοῦτος ὁ χαρακτήρ, ἐγκωμιάζει δὲ τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύσαντας Ἀθηναίων· ‘Τί γὰρ ἀπὴν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις, ὧν δεῖ ἀνδράσι προσεῖναι; τί δὲ προσῆν, ὧν δεῖ ἀπεῖναι; εἰπεῖν δυναίμην, ἃ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δέ, ἃ δεῖ, λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θεῖαν νέμεσιν, φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο ἔνθεον μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ θνητόν, <πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ παρὸν ἐπικεκῆς τοῦ αὐθάδους δικαίου προκρίνοντες, πολλὰ δὲ νόμου ἀκριβείας λόγων ὀρθότητα>, τοῦτον νομίζοντες θεϊότατον καὶ κοινότατον νόμων τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν, <καὶ δις ἄσκησαντες μάλιστα ὧν δεῖ, γνῶμην <καὶ ῥώμην>, τὴν μὲν βουλευόντες τὴν δ’ ἀποτελοῦντες>, θεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἀδίκως δυστυχούντων, κολασταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκως εὐτυχούντων, <αὐθάδεις πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον>, εὐόργητοι πρὸς τὸ πρέπον, τῷ φρονίμῳ τῆς γνῶμης παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον, ὑβρισταὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, κόσμιοι εἰς τοὺς κοσμίους, ἄφοβοι εἰς τοὺς ἀφόβους, δεινοὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολέμων Διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα τούτων δὲ ἀναθήματα, οὐκ ἄπειροι οὔτε ἐμφύτου Ἄρεως οὔτε νομίμων ἐρώτων οὔτε ἐνοπλίου ἔριδος οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης, σεμνοὶ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ’ ἀθάνατος ἐν οὐκ ἀθανάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.’ <ἔστασίαζε τε οὖν τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἀφυστερίζοντά που πύσσει τῶν προγενομένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐς τὸ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν τ’ ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ [τῇ] τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπία. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαίῳ. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆς δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα. καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπίπαν ἀργόν, τὸ δ’ ἐμπλήκτως ὀξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα προσετέθη, ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὐλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς αἰεὶ, ὁ δὲ ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὑποπτος. ἐπιβουλεύσας δὲ τις τυχὼν τε ξυνετὸς καὶ ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δεινότερος. προβουλεύσας δέ, ὅπως μὴδὲν αὐτῷ δεήσει, τῆς τε ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένος. ἀπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακὸν τι δρᾶν ἐπηρεῖτο καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο, διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν. οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελείας αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς

καθεστῶτας πλεονεξία. καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θεῷ καὶ νομίμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομήσαι· τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῇ, εἰ προὔχοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναϊότητι. ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τέ τινα περὶ πλείονος ἦν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ ὄρκοι εἰ που ἄρα γένοιτο ξυναλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἐκατέρῳ διδόμενοι ἴσχυον οὐκ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν δύναμιν.’ ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐξηλλαγμένη καὶ περιττὴ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις κόσμοις ἅπασι συμπεπληρωμένη λέξις, ἥς ὄρος καὶ κανὼν ὁ Θουκυδίδης, ὃν οὐθεὶς οὐθ’ ὑπερεβάλετο τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὔτε <εἰς ἄκρον> ἐμιμήσατο, τοιαύτη τις ἦν.

[2] ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα λέξις ἡ λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ δοκοῦσα κατασκευὴν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν τὴν πρὸς ἰδιώτην ἔχειν λόγον καὶ ὁμοιότητα πολλοὺς μὲν ἔσχε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας προστάτας συγγραφεῖς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους καὶ ῥήτορας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰς γενεαλογίας ἐξενέγκαντες καὶ οἱ τὰς τοπικὰς ἱστορίας πραγματευσάμενοι καὶ οἱ τὰ φυσικὰ φιλοσοφῆσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἠθικῶν διαλόγων ποιηταί, ὧν ἦν τὸ Σωκρατικὸν διδασκαλεῖον πᾶν ἔξω Πλάτωνος, καὶ οἱ τοὺς δημηγορικοὺς ἢ δικανικοὺς συνταπτόμενοι λόγους ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες ταύτης ἐγένοντο τῆς προαιρέσεως. ἐτελείωσε δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἤγαγε τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς Λυσίας ὁ Κεφάλου, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Γοργία τε καὶ Θουκυδίδη γενόμενος. τίς δὲ ἦν ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδηλωται γραφῇ καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖ νῦν πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν. ἀρκέσει δὲ τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὴν διαπασῶν ἀρμονίαν οὔτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες ἡρμόσαντο, τὰς ἀκρότητας ἀμφοτέρας τῆς λέξεως, αἱ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσι, δαιμονία σπουδῇ προελόμενοί τε καὶ τελειώσαντες. καὶ ὄνπερ ἡ νήτη πρὸς ὑπάτην ἐν μουσικῇ λόγον ἔχει, τοῦτον ἡ Λυσίου λέξις ἐν πολιτικῇ διαλέκτῳ πρὸς τὴν Θουκυδίδου. ἡ μὲν γὰρ καταπλήξασθαι δύναται τὴν διάνοιαν, ἡ δὲ ἡδῦναι, καὶ ἡ μὲν συστρέψαι καὶ συντεῖναι τὸν νοῦν, ἡ δὲ ἀνεῖναι καὶ μαλάξαι, καὶ εἰς πάθος ἐκείνη προαγαγεῖν, εἰς δὲ ἡθος αὕτη καταστήσῃ. πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν βιάσασθαι καὶ προσαναγκάσαι τι τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως ἴδιον, τὸ δ’ ἀπατήσῃ καὶ κλέψαι τὰ πράγματα τῆς Λυσίου. καὶ ἡ μὲν νεωτεροποιία καὶ τὸ τολμηρὸν τῆς τοῦ συγγραφέως οἰκεῖον ἰδέας, ἡ δ’ ἀσφάλεια καὶ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος. ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἐπιτηδεύσει φαίνεται ἀνεπιτήδευτον εἶναι θέλει. κατεσκευάσται μὲν οὖν ἑκατέρα καὶ εἰς ἄκρον γε ἡκει τῆς ἰδίας κατασκευῆς· ῥέπει δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ πέφυκεν εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἥττον. παραδειγμάτων δὲ καὶ ταύτης τῆς λέξεως οὐθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι οἴμαι δεῖν. δύο μὲν δὴ χαρακτηῖρες οὔτοι λέξεως, τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διάφοροι κατὰ τὰς ἀγωγάς, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ πρωτεύσαντες ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὓς διεξῆλθον, δεινοὶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔργοις ἀμφότεροι, καθ’ ὃ δὲ ἴσοι ἀλλήλων ἦσαν, ἀτελεῖς.

[3] τρίτη λέξεως ... ἦν ἡ μικτὴ τε καὶ σύνθετος ἐκ τούτων τῶν δυεῖν, ἦν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ καταστήσας εἰς τὸν νῦν ὑπάρχοντα κόσμον εἶτε Θρασύμαχος ὁ Καλχηδόνιος ἦν, ὡς οἶται Θεόφραστος, εἶτε ἄλλος τις,

οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. οἱ δὲ ἐκδεξάμενοι καὶ ἀναθρέψαντες καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποσχόντες τοῦ τελειῶσαι ῥητόρων μὲν Ἰσοκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγένετο, φιλοσόφων δὲ Πλάτων ὁ Σωκρατικός· τούτων γὰρ ἀμήχανον εὐρεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρους τινὰς ἔξω Δημοσθένους ἢ τἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα κρεῖττον ἀσκήσαντας ἢ τὴν καλλιλογίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπιθέτους κατασκευὰς βέλτιον ἀποδειξαμένους. ἡ μὲν οὖν Θρασυμάχου λέξις, εἰ δὴ πηγὴ τις ἦν ὄντως τῆς μεσότητος, αὐτὴν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἔοικεν ἔχειν σπουδῆς ἀξίαν· κέκρται γὰρ εὖ πως καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον εἴληφεν ἐκατέρας. δυνάμει δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἴση <τῇ> βουλήσει κέχρηται, παρὰδειγμα ἐξ ἐνὸς τῶν δημηγορικῶν λόγων τόδε· “Ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μετασχεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡνίκα σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη τοῖς νεωτέροις, τῶν τε πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαζόντων ἀγορεύειν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοντων. ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰς τοιοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀνέθετο χρόνον ὁ δαίμων, ὥστε . . . τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς . . . αὐτοὺς καὶ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι μηδὲ τῆς τύχης ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων, ἀνάγκη [δὲ] λέγειν. ἡ γὰρ ἀναίσθητος ἡ καρτερικώτατος ἐστίν, ὅστις ἐνεξαμαρτάνειν ἑαυτὸν ἔτι παρέξει τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ κακίας αὐτὸς ὑποσχίσει τὰς αἰτίας. ἄλλος γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν εἰρήνης ἐν πολέμῳ γενέσθαι καὶ κινδύνῳ, εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον τὴν μὲν παρελθοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀγαπῶσι, τὴν δ’ ἐπιούσαν δεδιόσιν, ἀντὶ δ’ ὁμονοίας εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ ταραχὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑβρίζειν τε ποιεῖ καὶ στασιάζειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσωφρονοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐμάνημεν, ἃ τοὺς ἄλλους σωφρονίζειν εἴωθεν. τί δῆτα μέλλοι τις ἂν γεγωνίσκειν [εἰπεῖν], ὅτῳ γε ... λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ νομίζειν ἔχειν τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔσται; πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς διαφορομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξω γε παρὰ λόγον πεπονθότας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπερ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄνευ γνώμης φιλονικοῦντας πάσχειν· οἰόμενοι γὰρ ἐναντία λέγειν ἀλλήλοις οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τὰ αὐτὰ πράττοντες οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν ἐτέρων λόγον ἐν τῷ σφετέρῳ λόγῳ ἐνόησαν. σκέψασθε γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἃ ζητοῦσιν ἐκάτεροι. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία ταραχὴν αὐτοῖς παρέχει ῥάστη γνωσθῆναι καὶ κοινοτάτῃ τοῖς πολίταις οὔσα πᾶσιν. ὅπόσα μὲν οὖν ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης ἐστίν, †ἀκούειν ἀνάγκη λέγειν τῶν παλαιότερων, ὅπόσα δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπέιδον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότεων πυνθάνεσθαι.” τοιαυτὴ μὲν οὖν τις ἡ Θρασυμάχειος ἐρμηνεία, μέση τοῖν δυεῖν καὶ εὐκρατος καὶ εἰς <ἀμφο>τέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἐπίκαιρον ἀφετήριον.

[14] <ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους λέξις, ὃς μέγιστον ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν <ἐκτίησας ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ>, ἀγῶνα μὲν οὐτ’ ἴδιον οὔτε δημόσιον οὐδένα <πώποτε τάνδρὸς ἀγω> νισαμένου γραφὰς δὲ συνταξαμένου πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς εἰς ἅπασαν ιδέαν λόγων, ὄντινα χαρακτηῖρα ἔχειν ἐφαίνετό μοι, διὰ πλειόνων μὲν ἐδήλωσα πρότερον. οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύσει καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα εἰπεῖν· ὅτι τῆς μὲν Λυσιακῆς λέξεως τὸ καθαρὸν ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀκριβές· οὔτε γὰρ ἀρχαίοις οὔτε πεπονημένοις οὔτε

γλωττηματικοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς κοινοτάτοις καὶ συνηθεστάτοις κέχρηται. ἡθικὴ τε καὶ πῖθανη καὶ ἡδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ πέφευγε τὴν τροπικὴν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη, [τὴν ἀπλῆν] φράσιν, τῆς δὲ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Γοργίου τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα καὶ καλλιλογίαν εἴληφε. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸ διδάξαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν σαφέστατα, ὅ τι βούλοιο, τὴν ἀπλῆν καὶ ἀκόσμητον ἐρμηνείαν ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν Λυσίου, εἰς δὲ τὸ καταπλήξασθαι τῷ κάλλει τῶν ὀνομάτων σεμνότητά τε καὶ μεγαληγορίαν περιθεῖναι τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ κατεσκευασμένην φράσιν τῶν περὶ Γοργίαν ἐκμέμακται. ἀμαρτάνει δὲ ἐν οἷς ὠραίζεται ποτε, τοὺς Γοργίου νεαροὺς σχηματισμοὺς ζηλοῦσα (τὰ γὰρ ἀντίθετά τε καὶ πάρισα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις οὕτε μετριάζοντα οὕτ' ἐν καιρῷ γινόμενα καταισχύνει τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν αὐτῆς), καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν οἷς τὴν εὐέπειαν διώκουσα καὶ τὴν εὐρυθμίαν δι' εὐλαβείας μὲν λαμβάνει τὸ συγκροῦσαι τὰ φωνήεντα τῶν γραμμάτων δι' εὐλαβείας δὲ ποιεῖται τὸ χρήσασθαι τινι τῶν τραχυνόντων. διώκει δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν περίοδον οὐδὲ ταύτην στρογγύλην καὶ πυκνὴν ἀλλ' ὑπαγωγικὴν τινα καὶ πλατεῖαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ὥσπερ οἱ μὴ κατ' εὐθείας ῥέοντες ποταμοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἐγκολπιζομένην. ταῦτα μέντοι πολλαχῇ μακροτέραν τε αὐτὴν ποιεῖ κἀναληθεστέραν ἀπαθῇ τε καὶ «ἄψυχον» καὶ πανηγυρικὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐναγώνιον. τοῖς δὲ παραδείγμασιν ὀλίγον ὕστερον, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτῇ, χρήσομαι.

[5] ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴ διάλεκτος βούλεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ αὕτῃ μῖγμα ἐκατέρων τῶν χαρακτήρων, τοῦ τε ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ, καθάπερ εἰρηταί μοι πρότερον, πέφυκε δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας εὐτυχίης. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀφελῇ καὶ ἀπολήτον ἐπιτηδεύῃ φράσιν, ἐκτόπως ἡδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. καθαρὰ γὰρ ἀποχρώντως γίνεται καὶ διανυγῆς, ὥσπερ τὰ διαφανέστατα τῶν ναμάτων, ἀκριβῆς τε καὶ λεπτὴ παρ' ἡντινοῦν ἑτέραν τῶν [εἰς] τὴν αὐτὴν διάλεκτον εἰργασμένων. τὴν τε κοινότητα διώκει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν ἀσκεῖ, πάσης ὑπεριδοῦσα κατασκευῆς ἐπιθέτου. ὅ τε πίνος αὐτῇ [καὶ ὁ χνοῦς] ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡρέμα καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέχει χλοερὸν τέ τι καὶ τεθελὸς καὶ μεστὸν ὥρας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι. καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεστάτων λειμῶνων αὐρὰ τις ἡδεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς φέρεται. καὶ οὕτε τὸ λιγυρὸν ἔοικεν ἐμφαίνειν ἄλλον οὕτε τὸ κομψὸν θεατρικόν. ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ τὸ καλλιπεῖν, ὃ πολλάκις εἴωθε ποιεῖν, ἄμετρον ὁρμὴν λάβῃ, πολλῷ χείρων ἑαυτῆς γίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἀηδεστέρα [τῆς ἑτέρας] καὶ κάκιον ἐλληνίζουσα καὶ παχυτέρα φαίνεται μελαίνει τε τὸ σαφές καὶ ζόφω ποιεῖ παραπλήσιον ἔλκει τε μακρὸν ἀποτείνασα τὸν νοῦν, συστρέψαι δέον ἐν ὀνόμασιν ὀλίγοις. ἐκχεῖται δ' εἰς ἀπειροκάλους περιφράσεις πλοῦτον ὀνομάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη κενόν, ὑπεριδοῦσά τε τῶν κυρίων καὶ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει κειμένων τὰ πεπονημένα ζητεῖ καὶ ξένα καὶ ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ. μάλιστα δὲ χειμάζεται περὶ τὴν τροπικὴν φράσιν, πολλὴ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, ἄκαιρος δ' ἐν ταῖς μετωνυμίαις, σκληρὰ «δὲ καὶ» οὐ σώζουσα τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐν ταῖς «μεταφοραῖς». ἀλληγορίας τε περιβάλλεται πολλὰς «καὶ μακράς», οὕτε μέτρον ἔχουσας οὕτε καιρόν. σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην

προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Γοργείοις ἀκαίρως καὶ μεираκιωδῶς ἐναβρύνεται. καὶ πολὺς ὁ τελέτης ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις παρ' αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἴρηκε που καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ πρότερον. οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος.

[6] μηδεὶς δέ με τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπολάβῃ λέγειν ἀπάσης καταγινώσκοντα τῆς ἐξηλλαγμένης καὶ ἐγκατασκευοῦ λέξεως, <ῆ> κέχρηται Πλάτων· μὴ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω σκαιὸς μηδ' ἀναίσθητος ἐγὼ γενοίμην, ὥστε ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς τηλικούτου λαβεῖν, ἐπεὶ πολλὰ περὶ πολλῶν οἶδα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας δυνάμεως ἐξενηγεμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενον ὅτι <τὰ> τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτήματα ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς εἴωθεν ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ χείρων μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γίνεται, ὅταν τὸ μέγα διώκῃ καὶ περιττὸν ἐν τῇ φράσει, μακρῷ δέ τι ἀμείνων, ὅταν τὴν ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ δοκοῦσαν μὲν ἀποίητον εἶναι κατεσκευασμένην δ' ἀμωμήτῳ καὶ ἀφελεῖ κατασκευῇ διάλεκτον εἰσφέρειν. ἢ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτάνει καθάπαξ ἢ βραχὺ τι κομιδῇ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον κατηγορίας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡξίουν τηλικούτον ἄνδρα πεφυλάχθαι πᾶσαν ἐπιτίμῃσιν. ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον γενόμενοι ὡς ἁμαρτάνοντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐθὲν δέομαι λέγειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τὸ λαμπρότατον. ἦσθετο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, τῆς ἰδίας ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο αὐτῇ τὸ διθύραμβον, ὃ νῦν ἂν ἡδέσθην ἐγὼ λέγειν ἀληθὲς ὄν. τοῦτο δὲ παθεῖν ἔοικεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ νομίζω, τραφεῖς μὲν ἐν τοῖς Σωκρατικοῖς διαλόγοις ἰσχυροτάτοις <οὔσι> καὶ ἀκριβεστάτοις, οὐ μείνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τῆς Γοργίου καὶ Θουκυδίδου κατασκευῆς ἐρασθεῖς. ὥστ' οὐθὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἔμελλε πείσεσθαι σπάσας τινὰ καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἅμα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὧν ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων χαρακτηῖρες.

[7] παράδειγμα δὲ ποιοῦμαι τῆς γε ὑψηλῆς λέξεως ἐξ ἐνὸς βυβλίου τῶν πάνυ περιβοήτων, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐρωτικοὺς διατίθεται λόγους ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς ἓνα τῶν γνωρίμων Φαῖδρον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἴληφε τὸ βυβλίον. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ συγγράμματι τούτῳ πολλὴν μὲν ὥραν ἔχει καὶ χαρίτων ἐστὶ μεστὰ τὰ πρῶτα ταυτί· ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν; Παρὰ Λυσίου, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦ Κεφάλου. πορεύομαι δὴ πρὸς περίπατον ἔξω τείχους. συχνὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖ διέτριψα χρόνον καθήμενος ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ' μέχρι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ Λυσιακοῦ λόγου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἕως τίνος. εἴθ', ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀέρος εὐδίου καὶ σταθεροῦ πολὺς ἄνεμος καταρραγεῖς, ταράττει τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς φράσεως ἐς ποιητικὴν ἐκφέρων ἀπειροκαλίαν, ἐνθὲνδ' ἀρξάμενος· Ἀγετε δὴ, Μοῦσαι, εἴτε δι' ᾧδης εἶδος λίγεται εἴτε διὰ γένος τὸ Λιγύων μουσικὸν ταύτην ἔσχετε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ξύμμοι λάβεσθε τοῦ μύθου.' ὅτι δὲ φόφοι ταῦτ' εἰσὶ καὶ διθύραμβοι, κόμπων ὀνομάτων πολλὴν νοῦν δὲ ὀλίγον ἔχοντες, αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ. διεξιὼν γάρ, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἔρως ἐτέθη τῷ πάθει τοῦνομα, καὶ τῇδε χρησάμενος· Ἡ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου δόξης ἐπὶ τάγαθόν ὁρμώσης κρατήσασα ἐπιθυμία, πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄγουσα κάλλους καὶ τῶν ἐαυτῆς συγγενῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἐπὶ σωματίων κάλλος ἐρρωμένως ῥωσθεῖσα νικήσασα ἀγωγὴ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ῥώμης ἐπωνυμίαν λαβοῦσα ἔρως ἐκλήθη' καὶ τοσαύτην ἐκμηκύνας περίφρασιν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι

δυναμένον περιληφθῆναι πράγματος ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς ἀκαιρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ φησι· ‘Σιγῇ τοίνυν μου ἄκουε. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεῖος εἶναι ἔοικεν ὁ τόπος, ὥστ’ ἐὰν ἄρα πολλάκις νυμφόληπτος γένωμαι προλόντος τοῦ λόγου, μὴ θαυμάσης. τὰ νῦν γὰρ <οὐκέ>τι πόρρω διθυράμβων τινῶν φθέγγομαι.’ <τὰδ’ οὐχ ὑ>π’ ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν λόγοις ἀλισκόμεσθα <κατὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν, δαιμονιώτατε Πλάτων, διθυράμβων ψόφους καὶ λήρους ἡγαπηκότες. ἃ δ’ ἐν τῇ παλινωδίᾳ τὸν ἔρωτα ἀφοσιούμενος αὖθις ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρηκεν ἐνθὲνδε ἀρξάμενος· ‘Ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος. τῷ δ’ ἔπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων κατὰ ἔνδεκα μέρη κεκοσμημένη. μένει γὰρ Ἑστία ἐν θεῶν οἴκῳ μόνη. τῶν δ’ ἄλλων, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἀριθμῷ τεταγμένοι θεοὶ ἄρχοντες ἡγοῦνται κατὰ τάξιν, ἣν ἕκαστος ἐτάχθη, πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ μακάριαι θέαι τε καὶ ἔξοδοι ἐντὸς οὐρανοῦ, ἃς θεῶν γένος εὐδαιμόνων ἐπιστρέφεται, πρᾶττων ἕκαστος δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰ αὐτῶν. ἔπεται δ’ αἰεὶ ὁ θέλων τε καὶ δυνάμενος· φθόνος γὰρ ἔξω θείου χοροῦ ἴσονται.’ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ πολλὰ ἐστίν, εἰ λάβοι μέλη καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ὥσπερ οἱ διθύραμβοι καὶ τὰ ὑπορχήματα, τοῖς Πινδάρου ποιήμασιν εἰκέναι δόξειεν ἂν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἥλιον εἰρημένοις, ὡς γ’ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται· ‘Ἀκτὺς ἀελίου, τί πολύσκοπ’ ἐμήσω θοῶν μᾶτερ ὁμμάτων; ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κλεπτόμενον ἔθικας ἀμάχανον ἰσχὺν πτανὸν ἀνδράσι καὶ σοφίας ὁδόν, ἐπίσκοτον ἄτραπὸν ἐσσυμένα. ἐλαύνεις τι νεώτερον ἢ πάρος; ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Διὸς ἱπποσόα θοάς, ἰκετεύω, ἀπήμονα ἐς οἶμον τινὰ τράποιο Θήβαις, ὦ πότνια, πάγκοινον τέρας. πολέμου δ’ εἰ σᾶμα φέρεις τινὸς ἢ καρποῦ φθίσιν ἢ νιφετοῦ σθένος ὑπέρφατον ἢ στάσιν οὐλομένην ἢ πόντου κενεῶσιν ἅμ πέδον ἢ παγετὸν χθονὸς ἢ νότιον θέρος ὕδατι ζακώτῳ διερὸν ἢ γαῖαν κατακλύσαισα θήσεις ἀνδρῶν νέον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς γένος, ὀλοφύρομαι οὐδὲν ὅ,τι πάντων μέτα πείσομαι’. κἀνταῦθα οὐ<κ ἄκαιρος ἢ ἀλ>ληγορία, ὡς παρὰ Πλάτωνι.

[8] ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἵνα μὴ <πέρα τοῦ δέοντος> ὁ λόγος μοι προβῇ, Πλάτωνα μὲν ἔασω, πορεύσομαι δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὗ δὴ χάριν τοὺς τε χαρακτηῖρας τῆς λέξεως, οὗς ἡγοῦμην εἶναι κρατίστους, καὶ τοὺς δυναστεύσαντας ἐν αὐτοῖς κατηριθμησάμην, οὐχ ἅπαντας· Ἀντιφῶν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Πολυκράτης Ἰσαῖός τε καὶ Ζώϊλος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ οἱ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι τούτοις χρόνους οὐθὲν οὔτε καινὸν οὔτε περιττὸν ἐπετήδευσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χαρακτήρων καὶ παρὰ τούτους τοὺς κανόνας τὰς ἑαυτῶν λέξεις κατεσκεύασαν. τοιαύτην δὴ καταλαβὼν τὴν πολιτικὴν λέξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης οὕτω κεκινημένην ποικίλως, καὶ τηλικούτοις ἐπεισελθὼν ἀνδράσιν ἐνὸς μὲν οὐθενὸς ἠξίωσε γενέσθαι ζηλωτῆς οὔτε χαρακτηῖρος οὔτε ἀνδρός, ἡμιέργους τινὰς ἅπαντας οἰόμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀτελεῖς, ἐξ ἁπάντων δ’ αὐτῶν ὅσα κράτιστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα ἦν, ἐκλεγόμενος συνύφαινε καὶ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν διάλεκτον ἀπετέλει, μεγαλοπρεπῇ λιτῇ, περιττῇ ἀπέριττον, ἐξηλλαγμένην συνήθη, πανηγυρικὴν ἀληθινήν, αὐστηρὰν ἱλαράν, σύντονον ἀνειμένην, ἠδεῖαν πικράν, ἠθικὴν παθητικὴν, οὐδὲν διαλλάττουσαν τοῦ μεμυθευμένου παρὰ

τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς Πρωτέως, ὃς ἅπασαν ἰδέαν μορφῆς ἀμογητὶ μετελάμβανεν, εἴτε θεὸς ἢ δαίμων τις ἐκεῖνος ἄρα ἦν παρακρουόμενος ὄψεις τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας εἴτε διαλέκτου ποικίλον τι χρῆμα ἐν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, πάσης ἀπατηλὸν ἀκοῆς, ὃ μᾶλλον ἢ τις εἰκάσειεν, ἐπειδὴ ταπεινὰς καὶ ἀσχήμονας ὄψεις οὔτε θεοῖς οὔτε δαίμοσι προσάπτειν ὅσιον. ἐγὼ μὲν <δὴ> τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως ἔχω καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦτον ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῷ τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης μικτὸν ἰδέας.

[9] εἰ δὲ τὰ προσήκοντα ἔγνωκα, πάρεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ποιουμένων τῶν <παραδειγ>μάτων τὴν ἐξέτασιν. ἃ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδου χαρακτῆρα κατεσκεύασται τῷ ῥήτορι, <τοιάδε τινὰ ἔστιν>· 'Πολλῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γινομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους <Ἑλληνας> ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν <δεῖν> καὶ πράττειν, ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦτο ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὀρῶ, ὥστε δέδοικα, μὴ βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς δὲ ἧ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς, ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατα τὰ πράγματα ἡμελλεν ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι.' κατὰ τί δὴ ταύτην ἡγοῦμαι τὴν λέξιν εἰκέναι τῇ Θουκυδίδου; καθ' ὃ κἀκείνην πείθομαι μάλιστα διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων. τουτὶ δ' ἔστι τὸ μὴ κατ' εὐθεῖαν ἐρμηνεῖαν ἐξηγνήσθαι τὰ νοήματα μηδ', ὡς ἔστι τοῖς ἄλλοις σύνηθες λέγειν, ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀφελῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐξηλλαχθαι καὶ ἀπεστράφθαι τὴν διάλεκτον ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἔθει καὶ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὰ μὴ συνήθη τοῖς πολλοῖς μηδ' ὡς ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ. ὃ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἀπλῶς ἂν ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ κατ' εὐθεῖαν ἐρμηνεῖαν ἐκφερόμενος, εἴ τις οὕτως κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν· 'πολλῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γινομένων καθ' ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ἐκκλησίαν, περὶ ὧν ἀδικεῖ Φίλιππος ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους' <Ἑλληνας, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο.> νυνὶ δὲ τό τε ὀλίγου δεῖν παραληφθὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ σχεδὸν καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖ Φίλιππος διαιρεθὲν καὶ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κομισάμενον καὶ τὸ οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους <Ἑλληνας, δυναμένου καὶ χωρὶς ἀποφάσεως διὰ τῆς συμπλοκῆς μόνης τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλῶσαι, τοῦ συνήθους ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ περίεργον πεποίηκε τὴν λέξιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ <τὸ> ἐπιλεγόμενον τούτῳ, εἰ μὲν ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀπεριέργως ἔδει ῥηθῆναι, τοῦτον ἂν δὴ πού τὸν τρόπον ἀπῆγ' <γελτο· <καὶ πάντων λεγόντων, καὶ εἴ τινες τοῦτο μὴ ποιοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει.> οὕτω δὲ ἐξεγενήεν· <καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν> οὐ σώζει τὴν εὐθεῖαν τῆς λέξεως ὁδόν. τό τε γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι χώραν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν εἶχε, καὶ τὸ φησάντων γ' ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ φασκόντων παρειλημμένον οὐ τὴν ἀφελῇ διάλεκτον ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ περίεργον ἐμφαίνει. ὁμοία δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ κἀκεῖνα· 'εἴτ' οἴεσθε, οἳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἡδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι κακόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ παθεῖν ἐφυλάξαντο ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι;' ἐνταυθοῖ γὰρ οὐθὲν ἂν εἶχε περίεργον ἢ λέξεις οὐδὲ

σκολιόν, εἰ τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκε τὸν τρόπον· εἴτ' οἴεσθε αὐτόν, οὐς μὲν ἑώρα μηδὲν δυναμένους αὐτὸν διαθεῖναι κάκιον, φυλαξαμένους δὲ ἂν ἴσως μὴ παθεῖν, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι; ἐναλλαγείσης δὲ τῆς πτώσεως καὶ τῶν συνδέσμων πολλῶν εἰς βραχὺ συναχθέντων, οἴμαι, περίεργός τε καὶ ἀσυνήθης καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένη γέγονεν ἡ διάλεκτος. ἔτι κάκεῖνα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἰδέας· ‘νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν δῆμον ἐτίμησεν ἄν, οὐδ’ ἐνεανιεύσατο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. ἐμοὶ δέ, ὅς, εἴτε τις, ᾧ ἄνδρες’ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεται νομίσαι μανίαν (μανία γὰρ ἴσως ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν τι ποιεῖν), εἴτε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, χορηγὸς ὑπέστην, οὕτω φανερώς <καὶ μιαιώως> ἐπηρεάζων παρηκολούθησεν, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἱματίων μηδὲ τοῦ χοροῦ μηδὲ τοῦ σώματος τῷ χεῖρε τελευτῶν ἀποσχέσθαι μου.’ τί δὴ πάλιν ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις τὸ συνταράττον τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἀπαγγελίαν; πρῶτον μὲν τό, πρὶν ἀπαρτίσαι τὸ ἡγούμενον εἴτε νόημα χρὴ λέγειν εἴτε κῶλον, ἕτερον παρεμβαλεῖν καὶ μηδὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τέλος ἔχοντος τὸ τρίτον ἐπιξεῦξαι, εἴτα τὴν τοῦ δευτέρου νοήματος ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ τέλος εἰληφότι θεῖναι, κᾶπειτα ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὃ τοῦ πρώτου μέρος ἦν, διὰ μακροῦ καὶ οὐκέ<τι> τῆς διανοίας αὐτὸ προσδεχομένης ἀποδοῦναι. <Ἐμοὶ> δὲ ὅς - οὐπω τοῦτο τέλος ἔχει - εἴτε τις, ᾧ ἄνδρες’ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεται νομίσαι μανίαν - ἕτερον τοῦτο κεχωρισμένον τοῦ προτέρου ἀτελὲς καὶ αὐτό - μανία γὰρ ἴσως ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν τι ποιεῖν - οὐδετέρου τοῦτο πάλιν τῶν προειρημένων μέρος ἄλλ’ αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτό· κεφαλαιώδης γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν ἀπόφασις - ἢ φιλοτιμίαν - τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου μέρος ἦν τοῦ εἴτε τις βούλεται νομίσαι μανίαν. τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις λεγόμενον ἅπασι τὸ χορηγὸς ὑπέστην τοῦ πρώτου μέρος ἦν τοῦ ἐμοὶ δέ, ὅς. μυρία τοιαῦτ’ ἐστὶ παρὰ Δημοσθένει καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Φιλίππου λόγοις, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα πλὴν ἐνὸς λόγου τοῦ περὶ Ἀλοννήσου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς γε οὖν δημοσίοις. καὶ σχεδὸν ἔν τε τούτοις καὶ ταῖς δημηγορίαις, ὥπερ ἔφην, ἂν διαγνοίης σημείῳ προχειροτάτῳ τὸν Δημοσθένους χαρακτῆρα. τῷ δὲ ἦττον ἢ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς κεκρῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὰς φύσεις ἀποβλέποντα τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις τῶν προσώπων πλανηθήσεται τις· ὅπερ ἴσως οὐκ ἄλογον.

[10] φέρε δὴ καὶ τίνι διαλλάττει τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως ἡ Δημοσθένους ἢ παρὰ τὸν αὐτὸν κατεσκευασμένη χαρακτῆρα, εἰπωμεν· ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ὁ λόγος. οὐχὶ τῷ ποιῶ μὰ Δία· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀμφοτέροι, λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξαλλάττειν ἐκ τοῦ συνήθους καὶ μὴ τὸ κοινὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ περιττὸν διώκειν· τῷ δὲ ποσῷ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς καιροῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀταμιεύτως τῇ κατασκευῇ κέχρηται καὶ ἄγεται μᾶλλον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἢ <αὐτὸς> ἄγει καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς ἐπίσταται λαβεῖν δεξιῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον πολλὰκίς ἀμαρτάνει. καθ’ ὃ ἡ μὲν ἀμετρία τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς ἀσαφῆ ποιεῖ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ μὴ κρατεῖν τῶν καιρῶν ἀηδῆ. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ τοῦ τε ἄρκοῦντος στοχάζεται καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς συμμετρεῖται οὐκ εἰς ἀνάθημα καὶ κτῆμα κα<τασκευάζων> τὴν λέξιν μόνον ὥσπερ ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς χρῆσιν. ὥστε οὐτε τὸ σαφὲς ἐκβέβηκεν, οὐ πρώτου τοῖς ἐναγωνίοις λόγοις δεῖ, τό τε δεινὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐφ’ ᾧ μάλιστα φαίνεται σπουδάζων,

προσείληφε. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ τινὰ ἔστιν, ἃ παρὰ τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένον τοῦ συνήθους χαρακτῆρα, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἅπαν ἦν ἐν τῇ δεινότητι, καὶ Θουκυδίδην τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ πρωτεύσαντα μιμούμενος ὁ Δημοσθένης κατεσκεύακεν.

[11] ἃ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἰσχνόν τε καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ζηλωτὸν <ὅς> ἀπὸ τοῦ διαλάμψαντος ἐν αὐτῷ Λυσιακὸς δᾶν εἰκότως λέγοιτο, τοιαῦτα. κωλύσει δ' οὐθὲν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ χαριεστέραν ποιήσει τὴν θεωρίαν θεθεῖσα πρῶτον ἢ Λυσίου λέξεις, ἥ τὴν Δημοσθένους εἰκέναι πείθομαι, διήγησίν τινα περιέχουσα ὑβριστικὴν· Ἄρχιππος γὰρ οὐτοσί, ὧς <ἄνδρες> Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπεδύσατο μὲν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παλαιστραν, οὐπὲρ καὶ Τῖσις ὁ φεύγων τὴν δίκην. ὀργῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐς σκώμματά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιλογίαν καὶ ἔχθραν καὶ λοιδορίαν κατέστησαν. ἔστιν οὖν Πυθέας ἐραστὴς μὲν τοῦ μεираκίου (πάντα γὰρ εἰρήσεται τάληθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς), ἐπίτροπος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλελειμμένος. οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ Τῖσις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ παλαιστρᾷ λοιδορίαν διηγῆσατο, βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν δεινὸς καὶ ἐπίβουλος εἶναι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἔκ τε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἡσθήμεθα καὶ τῶν εὖ εἰδότην ἐπυθόμεθα, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι διαλλαγῆναι, σκοπεῖν δέ, ὅπως αὐτὸν μόνον που λήψεται. πεισθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαλλαγείς καὶ χρώμενος καὶ προσποιούμενος ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι εἰς τοῦτο μανίας τηλικούτος ὢν ἀφίστατο, τ' ἐτύγχανε μὲν οὔσα ἵπποδρομία Ἀνακείων δ' αὐτὸν μετ' ἐμοῦ παρὰ τὴν θύραν παριόντα· <γείτονες γὰρ> ἀλλήλων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον <συνδειπνεῖν> ἐκέλευεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπὶ κῶμον, λέγων ὅτι μεθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δειπνήσαντες οὖν ἤδη συσκοτάζοντος ἐλθόντες κόπτομεν τὴν θύραν. οἱ δ' ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευον εἰσιέναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἐγενόμεθα, ἐμὲ μὲν ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, τουτονὶ δὲ συναρπάσαντες ἔδησαν πρὸς τὸν κίονα, καὶ λαβὼν μάλιστα Τῖσις, ἐντείνας πολλὰς πληγὰς, εἰς οἶκημα αὐτὸν καθεῖρξε. καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα μόνον ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐζηλωκῶς μὲν τῶν νέων τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐν τῇ πόλει, νεωστὶ δὲ τὰ πατρῶα παρειληφώς καὶ προσποιούμενος νέος καὶ πλούσιος εἶναι, πάλιν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἡμέρας ἤδη γενομένης πρὸς τὸν κίονα αὐτὸν δῆσαντας μαστιγοῦν. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἤδη πονήρως διακειμένου Ἀντίμαχον μεταπεμφάμενος τῶν μὲν γεγεννημένων οὐθὲν εἶπεν. ἔλεγε δ' ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνῶν τύχοι, οὗτος δὲ μεθύων ἔλθοι, ἐκκόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν καὶ εἰσελθὼν κακῶς λέγοι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀντίμαχον καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ὠργίζετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ὡς μεγάλα ἡμαρτηκόσιν, ὅμως δὲ μάρτυρας παρακαλέσας ἡρώτα αὐτόν, πῶς εἰσέλθοι. ὁ δὲ κελεύσαντος Τίσιδος καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἔφασκε. συμβουλευόντων δὲ τῶν εἰσελθόντων ὡς τάχιστα λῦσαι καὶ τὰ γεγεννημένα δεινὰ νομιζόντων εἶναι ἀπέδοσαν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. οὐ δυναμένου δὲ βαδίζειν, ἐκόμισαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα ἐν κλίνῃ καὶ ἐπέδειξαν πολλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίων πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων οὕτως διακείμενον, ὥστε τοὺς ἰδόντας μὴ μόνον τοῖς ποιήσασιν ὀργίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν, ὅτι οὐ δημοσίᾳ οὐδὲ παραχρῆμα τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντας τιμωρεῖται.'

[12] αὕτη μὲν ἡ Λυσίου διήγησις ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Τίσιδος λόγου. ἦν δὲ νῦν μέλλω λέγειν, Δημοσθένους ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Κόνωνος, ἥς τὴν πραγματικὴν ὁμοιότητα ἐάσαντες τὴν ἐν τῇ λέξει σκοπῶμεν. Ἐξήλθομεν ἔτος τουτὶ τρίτον εἰς Πάνακτον φρουρᾶς ἡμῖν προγραφείσης. ἐσκήνωσαν οὖν οἱ υἱεῖς οἱ Κόνωνος τουτοῦ ἐγγυὺς ἡμῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην. ἡ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχθρα καὶ τὰ προσκρούματα ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν συνέβη. ἐξῆς δὲ ἀκούσεσθε. ἔπινον ἐκάστοτε οὗτοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἀριστήσκειαν, καὶ τοῦθ', ἔωσπερ ἤμεν ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ, διετέλουν ποιοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δ', ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε εἰώθειμεν, οὕτω διήγομεν καὶ ἔξω. καὶ ἦν δειπνοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥραν συμβαίνοι, ταύτην ἂν οὗτοι ἐπαρώνουν ἤδη, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἀκολουθούς ἡμῶν, τελευτῶντες δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. φήσαντες γὰρ καπνίζειν αὐτοὺς ὀφοποιούμενους τοὺς παῖδας ἢ κακῶς λέγειν, ὃ τι τύχοιεν, ἔτυπτον καὶ τὰς ἀμίδας κατεσκεδάννυσαν καὶ προσεοῦρουν καὶ ἀσελγείας καὶ ὕβρεως οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπέλειπον. ὀρῶντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα καὶ λυπούμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεπεμψάμεθα· ὡς δ' ἐχλεύαζον ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύοντο, τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἴπομεν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ σύσσιτοι προσελθόντες, οὐδὲν ἐγὼ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξω. λοιδορηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου καὶ κακίσαντος αὐτούς, οὐ μόνον περὶ ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡσέλγαινον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐποίουν ὅλως ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τοσοῦτου ἐδέησαν παύσασθαι ἢ αἰσχυνθῆναι, ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ θᾶπτον συνεσκοτάσεν, εὐθύς ὡς ἡμᾶς εἰσεπήδησαν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἐνέτειναν ἑμοὶ καὶ τοσαύτην κραυγὴν καὶ θόρυβον περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐποίησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐλθεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς στρατιωτῶν, οἳ διεκώλυσαν μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν μηδ' αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι παροινουμένους ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος εἰς τοῦτο παρελθόντος, ὡς δεῦρο ἀνήλθομεν, ἦν ἡμῖν, οἷον εἰκός, ἐκ τούτων ὀργὴ καὶ ἔχθρα πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε ὥμην δεῖν οὔτε δίκην λαχεῖν αὐτοῖς οὔτε λόγον ποιεῖσθαι τῶν συμβάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπλῶς ἐγνώκειν τὸ λοιπὸν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μὴ πλησιάζειν ὡς τοὺς τοιούτους. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὧν εἴρηκα, τούτων βούλομαι τὰς μαρτυρίας παρασχόμενος μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅσα ὑπὸ τούτου πέπονθα, ἐπιδείξαι, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι «ὦ» προσῆκε τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ἀμαρτηθεῖσιν ἐπιτιμαῖν, οὗτος αὐτὸς πρὸς τούτοις πολλῶν δεινότερα διαπέπρακται. - Μάρτυρες. - Ὡν μὲν τοίνυν οὐθέννα ὥμην δεῖν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, ταῦτά ἐστι. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ περιπατοῦντος ὥσπερ εἰώθειν «ἐσπέρας» ἐν ἀγορᾷ μου μετὰ Φανοστράτου τοῦ Κηφισέως τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τινος παρέρχεται Κτησίας, ὁ υἱὸς «ὀ» τούτου μεθύων κατὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον ἐγγυὺς ἰὼν Πυθοδώρου. κατιδὼν δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ κραυγὰς καὶ διαλεχθεῖς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως, ὡς ἂν μεθύων, ὥστε μὴ μαθεῖν, ὃ τι λέγει, παρῆλθε πρὸς Μελίτην ἄνω. ἔπινον δ' ἄρα ἐνταῦθα παρὰ Παμφίλῳ τῷ γναφεὶ Κόνων οὗτοσι Θεόδωρός τις Ἀλκιβιάδης Σπίνθαρος ὁ Εὐβούλου Θεογένους ὁ Ἀνδρομέδους πολλοὶ τινες, οὓς ἐξαναστήσας ὁ Κτησίας ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. καὶ ἡμῖν συμβαίνει ἀναστρέφουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Φερρεφαττίου καὶ περιπατοῦσι πάλιν κατ' αὐτό πως τὸ Λεωκόριον εἶναι,

καὶ τοῦτοις περιτυγχάνομεν. ὥς δ' ἀνεμίχθημεν, εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀγνώς τις τῷ Φανοστράτῳ προσπίπτει καὶ κατεῖχεν ἐκεῖνον. Κόνων δὲ οὐτοσὶ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Ἀνδρομένους υἱὸς ἐμοὶ περιπεσόντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξέδυνον, εἶτα ὑποσκελίσαντες καὶ ῥάξαντες εἰς τὸν βόρβορον οὕτω διέθηκαν ἐναλλόμενοι καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, ὥστε τὸ μὲν χεῖλος διακόψαι τοὺς δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς συγκλεῖσαι. οὕτω δὲ κακῶς ἔχοντα κατέλιπον, ὥστε μήτε ἀναστῆναι μήτε φθέγγασθαι δύνασθαι. κείμενος δ' αὐτῶν ἤκουον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ λεγόντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα βλασφημίας ἔχει τινάς, ἃς κἂν ὀνομάζειν ὀκνήσαιμι, ὃ δὲ τῆς ὕβρεώς ἐστι τῆς τούτου σημεῖον καὶ τεκμήριον, ὥς πᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τούτου γενόμενον, τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἔρῳ· ἦδεν γὰρ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας μιμούμενος τοὺς νενικηκότας, οἳ δὲ κροτεῖν αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν ἀντὶ πεπερύγων τὰς πλευράς·

[13] ταῦτ' οὐ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ σαφῆ καὶ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν ὀνομάτων κατεσκευασμένα ὥσπερ τὰ Λυσίου; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν δοκεῖ. τί δέ; οὐχὶ σύντομα καὶ στρογγύλα καὶ ἀληθείας μεστὰ καὶ τὴν ἀφελῆ καὶ ἀκατάσκευον ἐπιφαίνοντα φύσιν, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα; πάντων μὲν οὖν μάλιστα. οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πιθανὰ καὶ ἐν ἡθείᾳ λεγόμενά τι καὶ τὸ πρέπον τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις προσώποις τε καὶ πράγμασι φυλάττοντα; ἡδονῆς δὲ ἄρα καὶ πειθοῦς καὶ χαρίτων καιροῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης τῆς τοῖς Λυσιακοῖς ἐπανθούσης ἀρετῆς οὐχὶ πολλὴ μοῖρα; οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. εἰ γοῦν μὴ διὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, οὗ τινός ἐστιν, ἐκάτερος τῶν λόγων γνῶριμος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιγράφοις περιετύχομεν αὐτοῖς, οὐ πολλοὺς ἂν ἡμῶν οἴομαι διαγνῶναι ῥαδίως, πότερος Δημοσθένους ἐστὶν ἢ Λυσίου· τοσαύτην οἱ χαρακτηῖρες ὁμοιότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσι. τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος καὶ ὁ κατ' Ὀλυμπιόδωρον [τῆς] βλάβης καὶ ὁ πρὸς Βοιωτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἢ τε πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἐφεσις καὶ ἡ πρὸς Μακάρτατον διαδικασία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἰδιωτικοὶ λόγοι οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν εἴκοσιν ὄντες. οἷς γε διὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐντετυχηκῶς γνῶσθι, ὅποια λέγω. καὶ τῶν δημοσίων δὲ ἀγώνων πολλὰ μέρη τούτῳ κατεσκευάσται τῷ χαρακτηρί. ἔφερον δ' ἂν ἐξ ἐκάστου τὰ παραδείγματα, εἰ μὴ πλείων ἔμελλε τοῦ μετρίου γενήσεσθαι ὁ λόγος. ἐν οἷς δὴλός ἐστι περὶ καλλιλογίαν καὶ σεμνότητα καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐπιθέτους κατασκευάς <οὐ> μᾶλλον ἐσπουδακῶς ἢ περὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς παρὰ Φιλίππου ῥηθεὶς λόγος, ὃν ἐπιγράφει Καλλιμάχος ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἔχων· ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι, ἃς Φίλιππος αἰτιᾶται' ὅλος ἐστὶν ἀκριβῆς καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ τὸν Λυσιακὸν χαρακτηῖρα ἐκμέμακται εἰς ὄνυχα, ἐξαλλαγῆς δὲ ἢ σεμνολογίας ἢ δεινότητος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινός, ἃ τῇ Δημοσθένους δυνάμει παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν, ὀλίγην ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει. τίς οὖν ἐστὶ κἂν τούτοις ἡ διαφορά; καὶ πῶς ἂν διαγνοίη τις, ὅταν εἰς τὸν ἀναγκαῖον καταβῇ χαρακτηῖρα ὁ Δημοσθένης, πῇ κρείττων ἐστὶ Λυσίου καὶ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν; ἀξιοῖς γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο μαθεῖν. φυσικὴ τις ἐπιτρέχει τοῖς Λυσίου λόγοις εὐστομία καὶ χάρις, ὥσπερ ἔφην καὶ πρότερον, ἢ προὔχει πλὴν Δημοσθένους τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων. αὕτη μέντοι, καθάπερ νότιός τις αὖρα,

μέχρι προοιμίου καὶ διηγήσεως αὐτὸν ἄγει, ὅταν δ' εἰς τοὺς ἀποδεικτικούς ἔλθῃ λόγους, ἀμυδρά τις γίνεται καὶ ἀσθενής, ἐν δὲ διὰ τοῖς παθητικοῖς εἰς τέλος ἀποσβέννυται· τόνος γὰρ οὐ πολὺς αὐτῇ πρόσεστιν οὐδ' ἰσχύς, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Δημοσθένει πολὺς μὲν ὁ τόνος, αὐτάρκης δ' ἡ χάρις, ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ τῷ διαρκεῖ καὶ μετρίῳ νικᾷν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ παντὶ προέχειν. τοῦτο παρατήρημα δεύτερον, ᾧ διαγνοίῃ τις ἂν τὴν Δημοσθένους διάλεκτον, ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα τὰναγκαῖα συνάγηται. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὴν ἐξαλλαγὴν καὶ περιττολογίαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπιθέτους ἐκδύεται κόσμους, οὕτως καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν τόνον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἀναφαίρετος οὗτος εἶτ' ἄρα συγγενῆς εἶτε ἀσκήσει παρῶν εἰς ῥῆσιν. ἐπιτάσεις μέντοι καὶ ἀνέσεις λαμβάνει τινὰς ἀναλόγους. καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδη γνώριμα οἷς λέγω, καὶ οὐθὲν δεόμεθα παραδειγμάτων.

[14] ὥστε περὶ μὲν τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος τοῦ δὲ ῥητορικοῦ γένους τοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων ἐκατέρων, ὃ ἀτελὲς παραλαβὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης παρ' Ἰσοκράτους τε καὶ ἔτι προτέρου Θρασυμάχου καὶ τελευταίου Πλάτωνος ἐτελείωσεν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνη φύσει δυνατόν, πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν πολλὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν <ἄλλων> δημοσίων λόγων παραδείγματα λάβοι, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἀπολογίας· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ μοι δοκεῖ καλλίστη καὶ μετριωτάτῃ κατασκευῇ λέξεως κεχρῆσθαι ὁ λόγος. εἰ μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἀρκοῦντα εἶχον, καὶ τὰς λέξεις αὐτάς ἂν παρετίθην. πολλῶν δὲ μοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔτι καταλειπομένων, τοῦτο μὲν ἔάσω, δείγμασι δὲ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρῆσομαι βραχυτάτοις ὡς ἐν εἰδόσι λέγων. ἔστι δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ μέσου χαρακτηῖρος παραδείγματα ἐκ μὲν τῆς Αἰσχίνου κατηγορίας· 'Αεὶ μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προσήκει μισεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς προδότας καὶ δωροδόκους, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τούτου γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ὠφελήσειεν ἀνθρώπους κοινῇ. νόσημα γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεινὸν ἐμπέπτωκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ χαλεπὸν, ὃ πολλῆς τινος εὐτυχίας καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιμελείας δεόμενον' καὶ <τὰ> ἐπόμενα τούτοις. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορίας· 'Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστί τοιαῦτα, οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι, ἐν δ' οὖν ἰδιώτατον πάντων καὶ σεμνότατον τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ δικαστήριον, περὶ οὗ τοσαῦτά ἐστι καλὰ παραδεδομένα καὶ μυθώδη καὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες ἐσμέν, ὅσα περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δικαστηρίου' καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν λόγου· 'Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Κόνωνα σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρα ἄξιον καταμεμψαμένους ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἄκυρόν τι ποιῆσαι τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοθέντων. οὗτος γάρ, ὡς ὑμῶν τινῶν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντων, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κάθοδον τὴν ἐκ Πειραιέως ἀσθενοῦς ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης' καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἀπολογίας· 'Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι <καὶ> δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δὲ ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγώ, διεκώλυον λαβεῖν, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπῶν· πλεονέκτημα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὐ πισὶν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως φορὰ

προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τὸ πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαν· καὶ τὰ συναπτόμενα τοῦτοις.

[15] τοῦτον ἔγωγε τὸν χαρακτηῖρα εἴ τις μὴ μάλιστα ἀποδέχοιτο τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν οὔτε τὰ Θουκυδίδεια ἐκεῖνα περιττὰ καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένα τοῦ συνήθους κράτιστα ἡγοῦμαι οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Λυσιακοῖς τοῖς ἰσχυοῖς καὶ συνεσπασμένοις τὴν τελείαν τῆς λέξεως ἀρετὴν τίθεμαι, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς αὐτόν· οἱ συνιόντες εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συλλόγους, ἔνθα πολιτικῶν δεῖ λόγων, οὔτε δεινοὶ καὶ περιττοὶ πάντες εἰσὶ καὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδου νοῦν ἔχοντες οὔθ' ἅπαντες ἰδιῶται καὶ κατασκευῆς λόγων γενναίων ἄπειροι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ γεωργίας οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θαλασσιουργίας οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν συνερρηκότες, οἷς ἀπλούστερον καὶ κοινότερον διαλεγόμενος μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἀρέσαι. τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ξένον καὶ πᾶν, ὃ τι μὴ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς ἀκούειν τε καὶ λέγειν, ὀχληρῶς διατίθῃσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ὥσπερ τι τῶν πάνυ ἀνιαρῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἢ ποτῶν ἀποστρέφει τοὺς στομάχους, οὕτως ἐκεῖνα ὀχληρῶς διατίθῃσι τὰς ἀκοάς. οἱ δὲ πολιτικοὶ τε καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἐληλυθότες, οἷς οὐκ ἔνι τὸν αὐτὸν ὄνπερ ἐκείνοις διαλέγεσθαι τρόπον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὴν ἐγκατάσκευον καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ξένην διάλεκτον τοῦτοις προσφέρειν. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐλάττους οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν ἐτέρων, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοστὸν ἐκείνων μέρος, καὶ τοῦτο οὐθεὶς ἀγνοεῖ· οὐ μὴν καταφρονεῖσθαι γε διὰ ταῦτα ἄξιοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ εὐπαιδεύτων στοχαζόμενος λόγος οὐκ ἔσται τῷ φαύλῳ καὶ ἀμαθεῖ πλήθει πιθανός, ὁ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις ἀρέσκειν ἀξίῳ καταφρονηθήσεται πρὸς τῶν χαριεστέρων, ὁ δ' ἀμφοτέρω τὰ κροατήρια πείθειν ζητῶν ἥττον ἀποτεύξεται τοῦ τέλους. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ μεμιγμένος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χαρακτηῖρων. διὰ ταῦτα ἐγὼ τὴν οὕτως κατασκευασμένην λέξιν μετριωτάτην εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων νενόμικα καὶ τῶν λόγων τούτους μάλιστα ἀποδέχομαι τοὺς πεφευγότας ἐκατέρου τῶν χαρακτήρων τὰς ὑπερβολάς.

[16] εἰρηκῶς δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν Ἰσοκράτης τε καὶ Πλάτων κράτιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτετηδεύκенаι τοῦτο τὸ γένος τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος καὶ προαγαγεῖν μὲν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ μήκιστον, οὐ μὴν καὶ τελειῶσαι, ὅσα δ' ἐνέλιπεν ἐκείνων ἐκάτερος, ταῦτα Δημοσθένην ἐξειργασμένον ἐπιδείξειν ὑποσχόμενος, ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἤδη πορεύσομαι, τὰς ἄριστα δοκούσας ἔχειν παρ' ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν λέξεις προχειρισάμενος καὶ ἀντιπαραθεῖς αὐταῖς τὰς Δημοσθένους, ὅσαι περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς συνετάχθησαν ὑποθέσεις, ἵνα μᾶλλον αἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προαιρέσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις γένωνται καταφανεῖς τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην [17] βάσανον ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἔργων λαβοῦσαι. εἰσαγέσθω δὲ πρῶτος Ἰσοκράτης, καὶ τούτου λαμβανέσθω λέξεις ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγου χαριέστατα δοκοῦσα ἔχειν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως λόγῳ προφέρεται μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονῶν, δι' ἧς συγκρίνει τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων πολιτείαν τῇ τότε καθεστῶσῃ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς παλαιὰς ἀντιπαρατίθῃσι ταῖς νέαις, τὰς μὲν ἀρχαίας ἐπαινῶν τὰς δ' ἐν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν χρόνῳ μεμφόμενος, τῆς τε μεταβολῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἀποφαίνων αἰτίους ὥς οὐ τὰ κράτιστα εἰσηγουμένους ἀλλὰ τὰ

πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῷ πλήθει δημηγοροῦντας. μακροτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς συγκρίσεως αὐτὰ τὰ κυριώτατα ὑπ' ἑμοῦ παρείληπται. ἔστι δὲ ταυτί. 'Τίς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν καὶ μὴ συνδιεφθαρμένος ἡμῖν ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γιγνομένοις οὐκ ἂν μαίνεσθαι καὶ παραφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς νομίσειεν; οἱ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἐγκωμιάζειν ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις πράττομεν ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν βίον ποριζομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγάγομεν. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλευθεροῦντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βοηθοῦντες αὐταῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιώθησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταδουλούμενοι καὶ τάναντία τοῖς τότε πράττοντες ἀγανακτοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνοις ἔχομεν. οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελείμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς διανοαῖς τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας τὴν τε πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν ἐτόλμησαν καὶ μαχόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πλεονεξίας κινδυνεύειν ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν μὲν ἀπάντων ζητοῦμεν στρατεύειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλομεν, καὶ πόλεμον μὲν μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρούμεθα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀσκοῦμεν ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν ἀπόλιδας τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων κακουργῶν συνερρηκότες, οἷς ὁπόταν τινὲς διδῶσι πλείω μισθόν, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀκολουθήσουσιν ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶμεν, ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν παίδων τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἴπερ τινὲς ἐξαμαρτάνοιεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλῃσαιμεν δίκας ὑποσχεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ παρανομίας μελλόντων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡκεῖν οὐχ ὅπως ἀγανακτοῦμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρομεν, ὅταν ἀκούσωμεν αὐτοὺς τοιοῦτόν τι διαπεπραγμένους. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ μωρίας ἐληλύθαμεν, ὥστ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνδεεῖς ἐσμεν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν, ξενοτροφεῖν δὲ ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ λυμαινόμεθα καὶ δασμολογοῦμεν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀπάντων κοινοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκπορίζωμεν. τοσοῦτῳ δὲ [καὶ] χεῖρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων, οὐ μόνον τῶν εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μισηθέντων, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τινὰς ψηφίσαιντο, μεστῆς οὔσης ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων τοῖς αὐτῶν σώμασιν ὥοντο δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν ἐληλυθότες καὶ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας μισθωτοῖς χρώμεθα τοῖς στρατοπέδοις. καὶ τότε μὲν, εἰ τριῆρεις ἐπληροῦμεν, τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας ἐνεβριβάζομεν τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξεπέμπομεν, νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὀπλίταις χρώμεθα τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὥσθ', ὁπόταν ἀποβαίνωσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολέμιων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦντες ὑπηρεσίον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, οἷους ὀλίγω πρότερον διῆλθον, μεθ' ὅπλων κινδυνεύουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν ἂν τις καλῶς διοικούμενα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαρσῆσειεν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

τούτοις μάλιστα ἄγανακτῆσειεν· οἵτινες αὐτόχθονες μὲν εἶναι φαμέν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην προτέραν οἰκισθῆναι τῶν ἄλλων, προσῆκον δ' ἡμᾶς εἶναι [τῶν ἄλλων] παράδειγμα τοῦ καλῶς τε καὶ τεταγμένως πολιτεύεσθαι χεῖρον καὶ παραχωδέστερον τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν διοικοῦμεν τῶν ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις οἰκίζόντων. καὶ σεμνυνόμεθα μὲν καὶ μεγαλοφρονοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῷ βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι, ῥᾶον δὲ μεταδίδομεν τοῖς βουλομένοις ταύτης τῆς εὐγενείας ἢ Τριβαλλοὶ τε καὶ Λευκανοὶ τῆς δυσγενείας.'

[18] ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους λέξις ἡ κάλλιστα τῶν ἄλλων δοκοῦσα ἔχειν τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι, πολλῶν μὲν ἔνεκα θαυμάζειν ἀξία· καθαρεῦει τε γὰρ εἴ τις ἄλλη τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὴν διάλεκτόν ἐστιν ἀκριβής, φανερά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ κοινὴ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἀπάσας περιείληφεν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν μάλιστα γένοιτο διάλεκτος σαφής. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιθέτων κόσμων ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ σεμνὴ καὶ ἀξιωματικὴ καλλιρρήμων τε καὶ ἡδεῖα καὶ εὐμορφος ἀποχρώντως ἐστίν, οὐ μὴν τελεία γε κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἂν τις αὐτὴν ὡς ἐλλειπόντων μέμφαιτο καὶ οὐ μὰ Δία τῶν φανλοτάτων. πρῶτον μὲν τῆς συντομίας· στοχαζομένη γὰρ τοῦ σαφοῦς ὀλιγωρεῖ πολλάκις τοῦ μετρίου. ἐχρῆν δὲ ὁμοίως προνοεῖν ἀμφοτέρων. μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς συστροφῆς· ὑπτία γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὑπαγωγικὴ καὶ περιρρέουσα τοῖς νοήμασιν, ὥσπερ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ἡ δ' ἐναγώνιος στρογγύλη τε εἶναι βούλεται καὶ συγκεκροτημένη καὶ μηδὲν ἔχουσα κολπῶδες. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις κάκεῖνα πρόσεστι τῷ ἀνδρί. ἄτολμός ἐστι περὶ τὰς τροπικὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ ψοφοδεῖς καὶ οὐκ εἰσφέρεται τόνους κραταιοὺς. καίτοι γε τοῖς ἀθληταῖς τῆς ἀληθινῆς λέξεως ἰσχυρὰς τὰς ἀφὰς προσεῖναι δεῖ καὶ ἀφύκτους τὰς λαβάς. παθαίνειν τε οὐ δύναται τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ὅποσα βούλεται, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ οὐδὲ βούλεται, πείθεται δὲ ἀποχρῆν τῷ πολιτικῷ διάνοιαν ἀποδείξασθαι σπουδαίαν καὶ ἥθος ἐπεικές. καὶ τυγχάνει μέντοι γε τούτων ἑκατέρου· δεῖ γὰρ τάληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα πάντων ἰσχυρότατον τῷ μέλλοντι πείθειν δῆμον ἢ δικαστήριον, ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἀγαγεῖν. οὐδὲ δὴ τοῦ πρόποντος ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπιτυγχάνει, ἀνθηρὰν δὲ καὶ θεατρικὴν ἐκ παντὸς ἀξιῶν εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον, ὡς τῆς ἡδονῆς ἅπαν ἐχούσης ἐν λόγοις τὸ κράτος, ἀπολείπεται ποτε τοῦ πρόποντος. οὐχ ἅπαντα δέ γε τὰ πράγματα τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπαιτεῖ διάλεκτον, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὥσπερ σώμασι πρόπουσά τις ἐσθής, οὕτως καὶ νοήμασιν ἀρμόττουσά τις ὀνομασία. τὸ δ' ἐκ παντὸς ἡδύνειν τὰς ἀκοὰς εὐφώνων τε καὶ μαλακῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογῇ καὶ πάντα ἀξιοῦν εἰς εὐρύθμους κατακλείειν περιόδων ἀρμονίας καὶ διὰ τῶν θεατρικῶν σχημάτων καλλωπίζειν τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἦν πανταχῇ χρησίμων. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ οἱ τὰ ἔπη καὶ οἱ τὰς τραγωδίας καὶ οἱ τὰ μέλη τὰ σπουδαῖα γράψαντες, οὐ τοσαύτην ποιοῦμενοι τῆς ἡδονῆς δόσιν, ὅσην τῆς ἀληθείας.

[19] εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ἐπιλογίζομαι ταῦτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐνδεέστερος ὁ ἀνὴρ, πάρεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρτίως παρατεθείσης λέξεως ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐξέτασιν. εὐθέως γοῦν τὴν πρώτην διάνοιαν ὀλίγοις ὀνόμασιν ἐξενεχθῆναι δυναμένην μακρὰν ποιεῖ κυκλογραφῶν καὶ δις ἢ τρίς τὰ αὐτὰ λέγων. ἐνῆν μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ

κῶλῳ τῷ ‘τίς γάρ ἂν ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν’ τὸ ‘καὶ μὴ συνδιεφθαρμένος ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γινομένοις· δυνάμει γὰρ ἄμφω ταυτά. καὶ ἐν τῷ ‘οἱ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις’ τὸ ‘καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἐγκωμιάζειν ἀξιοῦμεν’· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ ἐν τῷ ‘οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις πράττομεν’ τὸ ‘ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον’· ἥρκει γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι θάτερον. ἐξῆν δέ γε μίαν ἐκ τοῖν δυοῖν ποιῆσαι περίοδον καὶ συντομωτέραν καὶ χαριεστέραν· ‘τίς γάρ ἂν ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν οὐκ ἂν μαίνεσθαι νομίσειεν ἡμᾶς, οἱ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις πράττομεν’; πολλὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστι παραπληρώματα καθ’ ἐκάστην ὀλίγου δεῖν περίοδον οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν ἔχοντα χώραν, ἃ ποιεῖ τὴν ἐρμηνεῖαν ἀμετροτέραν, τὴν δὲ περίοδον κομψοτέραν. μακρὰ μὲν οὖν ἡ λέξις οὕτως ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, πλατεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀσυγκρότητος πῶς; ‘κάκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλευθεροῦντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βοηθοῦντες αὐταῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιώθησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ [καὶ] καταδουλούμενοι καὶ τάναντία τοῖς τότε πράττοντες ἀγανακτοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνοις ἔξομεν’. ταῦτα κεκολπυμένα σφίγξει μᾶλλον ἐνῆν καὶ στρογγυλότερα ὥδέ πως ποιῆσαι· ‘κάκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλευθεροῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ σώζοντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθον, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταδουλούμενοι καὶ διολλύντες ἀγανακτοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἴσων τευξόμεθα’. καὶ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα διάνοια πλατέως τε εἴρηται καὶ ἀσυγκρότητός ἐστιν· ‘οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελείμμεθα καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας τὴν τε πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν ἐτόλμησαν καὶ μαχόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν’. ἐξῆν δέ γε αὐτῆς ἐπιστρέψαι τὸ πλάτος οὕτως ἐξενέγκαντα· ‘οἱ τοσοῦτῳ χεῖρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν τε πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλιπον καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν’. μυρία καὶ ταύτης ἐστὶ λαβεῖν τῆς ἀσθενείας δείγματα. ἔξω γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας μᾶλλον ἢ κατ’ αὐτοματισμὸν συμβέβηκε τὸ συνεστράφθαι, τᾶλλα ἐν πλάτει λέγεται.

[20] ἄτονος δὲ δὴ καὶ λαβὰς οὐ κραταιὰς ἔχουσα πῶς ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις; τῷ ἐπιφέρειν τινὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις διάνοιαν τοιαύτην· ‘τοσοῦτον δὲ χεῖρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων οὐ μόνον τῶν εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μισηθέντων, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τινὰ ψηφίσαιτο, μεστῆς οὔσης ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν ὦντο δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, ἡμεῖς δ’ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν ἐληλυθότες καὶ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας μισθωτοῖς χρώμεθα τοῖς στρατοπέδοις’. φέρε δὲ πῶς ἐνῆν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν στρογγυλωτέραν; ‘ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως χεῖρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα βελτίους, οὐ λέγω τῶν εὐδοκιμησάντων, πόθεν γάρ; ἀλλὰ τῶν μισηθέντων. καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν πλείστων ποτὲ πληρώσαντες χρημάτων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐ κατεμισθοφόρουν τὸν κοινὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων εἰσφέροντες ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασι κινδυνεύειν ἡξίουσαν; ἡμεῖς δὲ οὕτως ὄντες ἄποροι καὶ

τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος μισθοφόροις τοῖς στρατεύμασι πολεμοῦμεν ὥσπερ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας'. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε ἄψυχός ἐστιν ἡ διάλεκτος αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ παθητικὴ πνεύματός τε, οὗ μάλιστα δεῖ τοῖς ἐναγωνίοις λόγοις, ἐλαχίστην ἔχουσα μοῖραν, οἶμαι μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ χωρὶς ὑπομνήσεως ἅπασιν εἶναι φανερόν. εἰ δὲ ἄρα καὶ παραδειγμάτων δεῖ, πολλῶν ὄντων, ἃ τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, μιᾷ διανοίᾳ χρησάμενος ἄρκεσθήσομαι. διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐξετασθεῖσαν ἀντίθεσιν ἐτέρα τοιαύτη τις ἀντίθεσις. 'καὶ τότε μὲν, εἰ τριήρεις ἐπληροῦμεν, τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ δούλους ναύτας ἐνεβριβάζομεν τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξεπέμπομεν, νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὀπλίταις χρώμεθα τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὥσθ' ὅποταν ἀποβαίνωσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦντες ὑπηρεσίον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, οἷους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον, μεθ' ὅπλων κινδυνεύουσιν'. ἐν τούτοις οὐ μέμφομαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ λήματος (γενναῖα γὰρ ἡ διάνοια καὶ δυναμένη κινῆσαι πάθος), τὸ δὲ τῆς λέξεως λεῖον καὶ μαλακὸν αἰτιῶμαι. τραχεῖαν γὰρ ἔδει καὶ πικράν εἶναι καὶ πληγῇ τι παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν. ἢ δ' ἔστιν ὑγρά καὶ ὁμαλὴ καὶ ὥσπερ ἔλαιον ἀσφορητὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ῥέουσα, θέλγειν γέ τοι καὶ ἡδύνειν ζητοῦσα τὴν ἀκοήν. ἀλλ' εὖ τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔχει πρὸς ἀγῶνας πολλοῖς οὔσι καὶ ποικίλοις καὶ διὰ τούτων παθαίνει τοὺς ἀκούοντας; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. τὰ γὰρ ἐκλύοντα μάλιστα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὴν ἀκοήν ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ μεираκιώδη πάρισα καὶ τὰ ψυχρὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις. αὐτίκα ἐν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τῇ λέξει, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, τό τε πρᾶγμα ὅλον ἐστὶν ἀντίθεσις καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος αὐτοῦ νοήματα ἐν πρὸς ἐν ἀντίκειται καὶ τῶν περιόδων ἐκάστη δι' ἀντιθέτων κατεσκεύασται, ὥστ' ἀποκναίειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀηδία καὶ κόρω. ὁ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. πάσης διανοίας καὶ περιόδου καὶ λήμματος αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐπιφοραὶ τοιαῦταί εἰσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς δέ, <καί> κἀκεῖνοι <μὲν ἡμεῖς δέ>, καί· τότε μὲν νῦν δέ, καί· ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἡμεῖς δέ, καί· τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο δέ. ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως τελευτῆς κεκύκλωκε. τροπαὶ δὲ καὶ μεταβολαὶ καὶ ποικιλίαι σχημάτων, ἃ πέφυκε λύειν τὸν τῆς διανοίας κόπον, οὐδαμοῦ. πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχοι τοιαῦτα ἐπιτιμᾶν Ἰσοκράτει τῶν περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ἐλλειμμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

[21] εἰσαγέσθω δὴ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ λαμβανέσθω κἀκεῖνου λέξις ἐκ μιᾶς τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγορίας, δι' ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς συγκρίνει τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔργα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς νέους δημαγωγοὺς τοῖς παλαιοῖς, οὐ καθ' ἐν ἔργον ἕκαστον ἀρχαῖον ἔργῳ καινῷ παραπιθεὶς οὐδὲ πάντα μικρολογῶν συγκρίσει, ἀλλὰ ὅλη <τῇ θέσει> ποιοῦμενος ὅλην τὴν ἀντίθεσιν διεξοδικῇ οὕτως. 'Καίτοι σκέψασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ τις ἂν κεφάλαια εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τῶν τε ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῶν. ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοτρίοις χρωμένους ὑμῖν παραδείγμασιν ἀλλ' οἰκέοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γίγνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρίζοντο οἱ λέγοντες, οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτούς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς οὔτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξαν ἐκόντων· πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια τάλαντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν

συνήγαγον· ὑπήκουε δὲ ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προσήκον βάρβαρον Ἑλλησι· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαια αὐτοῖς στρατευόμενοι· μόνοι δ' ἀνθρώπων κρείττω τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθονούντων κατέλιπον. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθε ὅποιοι ἐν <τε> τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, δημόσια μὲν τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κάλλη τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λειφθῆναι. ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἥθει μένοντες, ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν εἰ τις ἄρ' οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράττετο τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἕκαστος αὖξιν ὤετο δεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς, τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν μεγάλῃν εἰκότως ἐκέκτηντο εὐδαιμονίαν. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνοις χρωμένοις, οἷς εἶπον, προστάταις. νυνὶ δὲ πῶς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν τὰ πράγματα ἔχει; ἄρα γε ὁμοίως καὶ παραπλησίως; καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅσης πάντες ὁρᾷτε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἀπολωλότων, Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀξιοῦμαι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ὑμῖν ἀντῆραι, ἐξὸν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν, ἀπεστερήμεθα μὲν χώρας οἰκείας, πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, οὐς δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὐσης ἀπολωλέκασιν οὗτοι, ἐχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικούτον ἡσκήκαμεν. ἢ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθὼν, πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς γέγονεν ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὁ Φίλιππος; ἀλλ' ὦ τᾶν εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τά γε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι τὰς ἐπάλξεις, αἷς κονιῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς, αἷς ἐπισκευάζομεν, καὶ κρήνας καὶ λήρους; ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι, ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονε, τοσοῦτῳ τὰ τούτων ἠὔξηται. τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἵτιον τούτων; καὶ τί δὴ ποτ' εἶχεν ἅπαντα καλῶς τότε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ὁρθῶς; ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν καὶ κύριος αὐτὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστω καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλαβεῖν. νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον κύριοι μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐκνενευρισμένοι καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα, συμμάχους ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγέννησθε, ἀγαπῶντες, ἂν μεταδώσι θεωρικὸν ὑμῖν ἢ βοῖδια πέμψωσιν οὗτοι. καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀνανδρότατον· τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καθείρξαντες ὑμᾶς ἐπάγουσιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ τιθασεύουσι, χειροήθεις αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτε, οἴμαι, μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν

φρόνημα λαβεῖν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας. ὅποι' ἅττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἰ μείζων εἰπόντι μοι γένοιτο παρ' ὑμῶν βλάβη <ἦ> τῶν πεπονηκότων αὐτὰ ἐκάστω. οὐδὲ γὰρ παρρησία περὶ πάντων ἀεὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονε, θαυμάζω.' ταύτην τὴν διάλεξιν τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε καὶ κατὰ τᾶλλα μὲν πάντα διαφέρειν τῆς Ἰσοκράτους; καὶ γὰρ εὐγενέστερον ἐκείνης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡρμήνευκε τὰ πράγματα καὶ ... περιείληφεν ὀνόμασι συγκεκριμένη τε καὶ συνέσπασται καὶ περιτετόρνευται τοῖς νοήμασιν ἄμεινον ἰσχυρῶς τε πλείονι κέχρηται καὶ τόνοις ἐμβριθεστέροις καὶ πέφυγε τὰ ψυχρὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη σχήματα, οἷς ἐκείνη καλλωπίζεται πέρα τοῦ μετρίου· μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δραστήριον καὶ ἐναγώνιον καὶ ἐμπαθὲς ὄλῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττον ἔχει ἐκείνης. ἐγὼ γοῦν, ὃ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας πάσχω τὰς λέξεις, ἐρῶ· οἶομαι δὲ κοινόν τι πάθος ἀπάντων ἐρεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐμὸν ἴδιον μόνου.

[22] ὅταν μὲν τινὰ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους ἀναγινώσκω λόγων, εἴτε τῶν πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας γεγραμμένων ἢ τῶν ἐν ἧθει σπουδαῖος γίνομαι καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐσταθὲς ἔχω τῆς γνώμης, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν σπονδείων αὐλημάτων ἢ τῶν Δωρίων τε κἀναρμονίων μελῶν ἀκροώμενοι. ὅταν δὲ <τῶν> Δημοσθένους τινὰ λάβω λόγων, ἐνθουσιῶ τε καὶ δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε ἄγομαι, πάθος ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου μεταλαμβάνων, ἀπιστῶν, ἀγωνιῶν, δεδιώς, καταφρονῶν, μισῶν, ἐλεῶν, εὐνοῶν, ὀργιζόμενος, φθονῶν, ἅπαντα τὰ πάθη μεταλαμβάνων, ὅσα κρατεῖν πέφυκεν ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης· διαφέρειν τε οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ τῶν τὰ μητρῴα καὶ τὰ κορυβαντικά καὶ ὅσα τοῦτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι, τελουμένων, εἴτε ὁσμάϊς ἐκεῖνοί γε ... εἴτε ἥχοις εἴτε τῶν δαιμόνων πνεύματι αὐτῶν κινούμενοι τὰς πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἐκεῖνοι λαμβάνουσι φαντασίας. καὶ δὴ ποτε καὶ ἐνεθυμήθην, τί ποτε τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ταῦτα πάσχειν εἰκὸς ἦν. ὅπου γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπηρητημένοι τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ οὐθὲν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πεπονθότες οὕτως ὑπαγόμεθα καὶ κρατούμεθα καί, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἄγῃ, πορευόμεθα, πῶς τότε Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἦγοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν τε καὶ ἰδίων ἀγώνων, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκείνου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως, ἧς εἶχε, τὴν αὐτοπάθειαν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδεικνυμένου, κοσμοῦντος ἅπαντα καὶ χρωματίζοντος τῇ πρεπούσῃ ὑποκρίσει, ἧς δεινότητος ἀσκητῆς ἐγένετο, ὡς ἅπαντές τε ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἄρτι προηνεγκάμην, οὓς οὐκ ἐνὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν ἡδονῇ ὡς ἀνάγνωσμα διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ διδάσκουσι, πῶς αὐτοὺς ὑποκρίνεσθαι δεῖ, νῦν μὲν εἰρωνευόμενον, νῦν δὲ ἀγανακτοῦντα, νῦν δὲ νεμεσῶντα, δεδιττόμενόν τε αὖ καὶ θεραπεύοντα καὶ νοθετοῦντα καὶ παρορμῶντα καὶ πάνθ', ἃ βούλεται ποιεῖν ἢ λέξις, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐπὶ τῆς προφορᾶς. εἰ δὴ τὸ διὰ τοσοῦτων <ἐτῶν> ἐγκαταμισγόμενον τοῖς βυβλίοις πνεῦμα τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει καὶ οὕτως ἀγωγόν ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἦ που τότε ὑπερφυές τι καὶ δεινὸν χρῆμα ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων.

[23] ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἵνα μὴ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβων ἀναγκασθῶ παραλιπεῖν τι τῶν

περιλειπομένων, Ἰσοκράτην μὲν καὶ τὸν χαρακτηῖρα τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐκείνης ἔασω, περὶ δὲ Πλάτωνος ἤδη διαλέξομαι τὰ γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα μετὰ παρρησίας, οὐθὲν οὔτε τῇ δόξῃ τάνδρὸς προστιθεὶς οὔτε τῆς ἀληθείας ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ τινες ἀξιοῦσι πάντων αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων ἐρμηνεῦσαι τὰ πράγματα δαιμονιώτατον παρακελεύονταί τε ἡμῖν ὄρω καὶ κανόνι χρῆσθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρῶν λόγων τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ἤδη δὲ πινων ἤκουσα ἐγὼ λεγόντων, ὥς, εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς διάλεκτός ἐστιν, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κέχρηται γένος, οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὢν αὐτῶν διαλέγεται θεὸς ἢ ὥς Πλάτων. πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτας ὑπολήψεις καὶ τερατείας ἀνθρώπων ἡμιτελῶν περὶ λόγους, οἳ τὴν εὐγενῆ κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἴσασιν ἢ τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲ δύνανται, πᾶσαν εἰρωνεῖαν ἀφείς, ὥς πέφυκα, διαλέξομαι. ὃν δὲ ἀξιώ τρόπον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν αὐτοῦ, βούλομαι προειπεῖν. ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις δεινότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν φυλάττῃ τὸν Σωκρατικὸν χαρακτηῖρα, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Φιλήβῳ, πάνυ ἄγαμαί τε καὶ τεθαύμακα, τῆς δ' ἀπειροκαλίας αὐτὸν οὐδεπώποτ' ἐζήλωσα τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθέτοις κατασκευαῖς, ὥσπερ ἔφην καὶ πρότερον, καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν εἰς πολιτικὰς ὑποθέσεις συγκαθεῖς ἐγκώμια καὶ ψόγους κατηγορίας τε καὶ ἀπολογίας ἐπιχειρῇ γράφειν. ἕτερος γάρ τις αὐτοῦ γίνεται τότε καὶ κατασχύνει τὴν φιλόσοφον ἀξίωσιν. κάμοι γε πολλάκις ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτοῦ λόγων, ὃ πεποίηται παρ' Ὀμήρῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ζεὺς λέγων·

Οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμῆια ἔργα,

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο

Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων, ταῦτα δὲ πολιτικοῖς καὶ ῥήτορσιν ἀνδράσι μελήσει. ποιοῦμαι δὲ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ δόξης κοινούς κριτὰς τοὺς φιλόλογους ἅπαντας, ὑπεξαιρούμενος, εἰ τινὲς εἰσι φιλότιμοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δόξας ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κρίνοντες τὰ πράγματα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκλέγειν ἐξ ἀπάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων, εἴ τι κάκιστον εἴρηται, ὃ ποιοῦσιν ἕτεροί τινες, κἄπειτα τούτοις ἀντιπαρατιθέναι τὴν κράτιστα ἔχουσαν Δημοσθένους λέξιν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον, τὸ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μάλιστα εὐδοκίμουσιν, ταῦτα παρ' ἄλληλα θεὶς ἐξετάζειν τὰ κρείττω τοῦτ' ἔδοξ' εἶναι δίκαιον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοδὶ τρέφομαι τὸ μέρος. δικανικὸς μὲν οὖν λόγος εἷς ἐστὶ Πλάτωνι, Σωκράτους ἀπολογία, δικαστηρίου μὲν ἢ ἀγορᾶς οὐδὲ θύρας ἰδὼν, κατ' ἄλλην δέ τινα βούλησιν γεγραμμένος, οὗτ' ἐν λόγοις τόπον ἔχων οὗτ' ἐν διαλόγοις. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἔω. δημηγορία δὲ οὐδεμία, πλὴν εἰ τις ἄρα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς βούλεται δημηγορίας καλεῖν. ἀφείσθωσαν δὴ καὶ αὗται. ἐγκώμια δ' ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἔρωτος, ὢν ἔνια οὐκ ἄξια σπουδῆς, ἐν δὲ Σωκράτους ὁποῖον δὴ ποτε· οὐθὲν γὰρ δέομαι νῦν γε περὶ τούτου λέγειν. κράτιστος δὴ πάντων τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ὁ Μενέξενος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον διεξέρχεται λόγον, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, Θουκυδίδην παραμιμούμενος, ὥς δὲ αὐτός φησιν, Ἀρχίνῳ καὶ Δίῳνι τοῦτον δὴ παραλήψομαι τὸν λόγον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξετάσω Δημοσθένους λέξεις τινάς, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ <ἐπιταφίου>· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου

τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γεγράφαται· ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ λόγων, ὅσοι περὶ τε τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς εἴρηνται, μᾶλλον δ’ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀγῶνος· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω καιρὸν ὅσοις βούλομαι παραδείγμασι χρῆσασθαι, πάντων μάλιστα βουλευθεὶς ἂν. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ὁ τρόπος ἔσται μοι τῆς συγκρίσεως.

[24] λαμβανέσθω δὲ πρότερος Πλάτων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μέγα φρονεῖν ἔοικεν ἐπὶ τε ἀκριβεῖα καὶ σεμνότητι ὀνομάτων, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ βασανίσω, ἀρξάμενος, ὅθεν περ κἀκεῖνος, τοῦ λόγου· “Ἐργῳ μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδε ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορείαν.” ἡ μὲν εἰσβολὴ θαυμαστὴ καὶ πρόπουσα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασι κάλλους τε ὀνομάτων ἔνεκα καὶ σεμνότητος καὶ ἁρμονίας, τὰ δ’ ἐπιλεγόμενα οὐκέθ’ ὅμοια τοῖς πρώτοις, αὐτίκα <τό>· ‘προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων.’ ἐν γὰρ τῷ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τοὺς θαπτομένους ἐνῆν καὶ τὸ προπεμφθῆναι τὰ σώματα’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ. ὥστε <οὐκ> ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πάλιν ταὐτὸ λέγειν· εἰ μὴ κράτιστον <ἀπάντων> τῶν περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νομίμων τοῦτο ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶναι, λέγω δὴ τὸ παρῆναι πολλοὺς ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς, καὶ οὐθὲν ἄτοπον ἐδόκει ποιεῖν συμπεριλαβὼν τε αὐτὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ χωρὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μόνου λέγων. ἡλίθιος ἄρα τις ἦν, εἰ τοῦτον ἐδόκει τοῖς τελευτήσασι λαμπρότατον εἶναι τῶν κόσμων, οἷς ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμηι. ἵνα γὰρ ἀφῶ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα, τὸ δημοσίᾳ γηροτροφεῖσθαι τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου καὶ παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς υἱεῖς ἕως ἥβης πόσω κρεῖττον ἦν τοῦ προπέμπεσθαι τὰ σώματα δημοσίᾳ; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ μακρῶ. οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα, Πλάτων, ἦδε ἡ προσθήκη. ἀλλ’ ἄρα γε εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου, κάλλους γε ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς τῶν ἐπιθέτων ἔνεκα κόσμων παρῆληπται τὸ κῶλον αὐτῷ τουτί; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν σπουδῆς ἄξιον <μήτε κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων> μήτε κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν προσδιαφθεῖρει καὶ τὴν πρὸ αὐτοῦ περίοδον, λυμαίνεται γοῦν τὴν τε συμμετρίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν εὐφωνίαν. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δυσὶ περιλαμβανομένη κῶλοις σύμμετρός ἐστι καὶ ἐναρμόνιος καὶ στρογγύλη καὶ βάσιν εἵληφεν ἀσφαλῆ· ἐὰν δὲ προσλάβῃ τουτί τὸ κῶλον, ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀπεκρίθησαν, καὶ μεταλήφεται τὸν ἱστορικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ τύπον. εἰ δὲ χωρίσαντες τοῦτο τὸ κῶλον ἀπὸ τῶν προηγουμένων αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ ἐξοίσομεν, οὔτε περίοδος ἡμῖν γενήσεται καθ’ ἑαυτὸ γινόμενον οὔτε ἥθος ἢ πάθος ἔξει μὰ Δία οὔτε ἄλλην πειθῶ καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν. εἰ δὴ μήτε τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χάριν ἢ προσθήκη παρῆληπται μήτε τοῦ περιττοῦ (περὶ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἢ τῆς λέξεως κατασκευή), τίς ἂν τοῦτο ἔτι ἕτερον ὀνομάσειεν εἰ μὴ τοῦθ’ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς, ἀκαιρίαν. τούτοις ἐκεῖνα ἐπιτίθησιν ὁ ἀνὴρ· ‘Λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμενον κόσμον ὃ τε νόμος προστάττει τούτοις ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ χρή.’ τὸ καὶ χρή πάλιν <ἐνταῦθα> κείμενον ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τίνος ἔνεκα παρῆληπται καὶ διὰ τί; πότερα σαφεστέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν λέξιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς τῆς προσθέσεως ταύτης ἐστὶ σαφής. εἰ γε οὖν οὕτως εἶχε· ‘Λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμενον κόσμον ὃ νόμος ἀποδοῦναι προστάττει τοῖς ἀνδράσι,’ τίς ἂν ταύτην ἐμέμψατο ὡς οὐ σαφῆ; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἥδιον ἀκουσθῆναι καὶ

μεγαλοπρεπέστερον; πᾶν μὲν οὖν τοῦναντίον ἠφάνικεν αὐτῆς τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ λελύμανται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ δεῖ μαθεῖν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γινῶναι παθῶν. ταῖς γὰρ ἀλόγοις αἰσθήσεσιν ἅπαντα τὰ ὀχληρὰ καὶ ἡδέα κρίνεται, καὶ οὐθὲν δεῖ ταύταις οὔτε διδαχῆς οὔτε παραμυθίας.

[25] συκοφαντεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τάχ' ἂν εἴποι τις, εὐέπειαν ἀπαιτῶν καὶ καλλιλογίαν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς οὐ ταῦτα σοφοῦ. τὰς νοήσεις ἐξέταξε, εἰ καλαὶ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσι καὶ παρ' οὐθενὶ τῶν ἄλλων κείμεναι. περὶ ταύτας ἐκεῖνος ἐσπούδαζεν, ἐν ταύταις δεινὸς ἦν. τούτων εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτοῦ λάμβανε, τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς λέξεως ἔα. καὶ πῶς ἔνι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν; τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴσασιν, ὅτι πλείονι κέχρηται φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὴν ἔρμηνειαν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἢ περὶ τὰ πράγματα. μυρία τούτου τεκμήρια φέρειν ἔχοι τις ἂν, ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη λόγος εἷς οὗτος ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν κενοσπουδίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣ κέχρηται περὶ τὸν περιττὸν καλλωπισμὸν τῆς ἀπαγγελίας. αὐτίκα γε οὖν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπιτιθεῖς διανοίαν τινα οὔτε περιττὴν οὔτε θαυμαστὴν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένην καὶ πολλάκις (ὅτι γὰρ ὁ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἔπαινος ἀθανάτους τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς μνήμας δύναται ποιεῖν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, μυρίοις τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρηται), συνιδὼν οὐθὲν οὔτε σοφὸν οὔτε περιττὸν τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν, ὅπερ οἷμαι λοιπὸν ἦν, <τῷ κάλλει> τῆς ἔρμηνείας αὐτὴν ἡδύνειν βούλεται. ἔπειθ' ὥσπερ τὰ μεῖράκια καταβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν γενναίων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων τε καὶ σχημάτων ἐπὶ τὰ θεατρικὰ τὰ Γοργεῖα ταυτὶ παραγίνεται, τὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ τὰς παρισώσεις λέγω, καὶ διὰ τῶν λήρων τούτων κοσμεῖ τὴν φράσιν.

[26] ἀκουσόμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ, πῶς λέγει· “Ἐργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς πράξεσι γίνεται παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων.” ἐνταῦθα τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις ὁ λόγος ἀντίκειται, τῷ δὲ πραχθῆναι τὸ ῥηθῆναι, μετωνόμασται δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὖ τὸ καλῶς, παρισσοῦται δὲ τὰ τρία μόρια τοῦ λόγου τοῖς τρισί. τοῦ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς βῆναι τὴν περίοδον ἔνεκα καὶ οὐθενὸς ἀναγκαίου, τέλος ἤδη τῆς διανοίας ἐχούσης, προσεῖληπται τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. ἄρά γε ὁμοίως ἡρμήνευται ὁ αὐτὸς νοῦς οὕτωσὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, οὓς περιφρονεῖ καὶ ἀπελαύνει τῆς πολιτείας ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἢ κάλλιον καὶ γενναϊότερον; “Πρέπει δ' ἐσλοῖσιν ὑμνεῖσθαι ... καλλίσταις ᾠδαῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθανάτοις τιμαῖσι ποτιψαύει μόνον· ῥηθὲν ... θνάσκει δὲ σιγαθὲν καλὸν ἔργον.” Πίνδαρος τοῦτο πεποιήκεν εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα, περὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἐσπουδακῶς. Πλάτων δέ, ὃς ἐπαγγέλλεται σοφίαν, τρυφεροῖς καλλωπίζει καὶ περιέργοις σχήμασι τὴν φράσιν. καὶ οὕτω τοῦθ’

ἱκανόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν περιόδῳ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιῶν φανήσεται. φησὶ γάρ· “Δεῖ δὴ τοιοῦτου τινὸς λόγου, ὅστις τοὺς μὲν τετελευτηκότας ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσει, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς παραινέσει.” οὐκοῦν ἐπίρρημα ἐπιρρήματι ἀντιπαράκειται καὶ ῥήματι ῥῆμα, τὸ μὲν ἱκανῶς τῷ εὐμενῶς, τῷ δ' ἐπαινέσει τὸ παραινέσει, καὶ ταῦτα πάρισα· οὐ Λικύμνιοι ταῦτ' εἰσὶν οὐδ' Ἀγάθωνες οἱ λέγοντες “ὕβριν ἢ <κύ>πριν μισθῶ ποθὲν ἢ μόχθον πατρίδων,” ἀλλ' ὁ δαιμόνιος ἔρμηνευσαι Πλάτων. καὶ οὐ τοῖς σχήμασιν ἐπιτιμῶ· φέρει γάρ ποτε καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις ὥραν. οὗ

χάρι·ν οὐ ψέγω· οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀκαιρίαν
«μόνην μέφο»μαι καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτου γίνηται ἀνδρός, ὃ κανόνι
ὀρθοεπείας χρήσασθαι ἀξιοῦμεν. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τοῦτω κἀκεῖνά
ἐστιν· «Ὡν δ' οὔτε ποιητῆς πω δόξαν ἀξίαν ἐπ' ἀξίοις λαβὼν ἔχει,» καὶ
αὖθις· «Τειχισαμένη καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη, ἐκδεξαμένη τὸν πόλεμον,» καὶ ἔτι·
«Ὡν ἔνεκα καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ὕστατον καὶ διὰ παντὸς πᾶσαν πάντως
προθυμίαν πειρᾶσθε ἔχειν,» καὶ πάλιν· «Φέροντες μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς
ἀνδρείως δόξουσι τῷ ὄντι ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶναι,» κἀκεῖνά γε ἔτι·
«Τοὺς μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ γηροτροφοῦντες ἀξίως,» καὶ πάλιν
πou· «Καὶ αὐτὸς δέομαι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, τῶν μὲν μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, τῶν
δὲ καρτερεῖν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν,» καὶ ταυτί· «Πολιτεία γὰρ ἀνθρώπων τροφή· ὅτι
καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀγαθὴ ἀγαθῶν, μὴ καλὴ δὲ κακῶν.» κἀκεῖνα δ' ἔτι· «Νικήσαντες
μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, λυσάμενοι δὲ τοὺς φιλίους, ἀναξίου τύχης τυχόντες,»
πολύς ἐστι τῶν τοιούτων σχημάτων ὄχλος δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐπιταφίου. ἀλλ'
ἑάσας τὸ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογεῖν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνά τ' ἐλεύσομαι καὶ μοι πάνυ
μὲν αἰδουμένῳ καὶ ὀκνοῦντι εἰπεῖν, ὅμως δ' εἰρήσεται, ὅτι παχύτητος καὶ
ἀδυνασίας ἔδοξεν εἶναι μηνύματ' αὐτά.

[27] προειπὼν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ποῖόν τι σχῆμα λαβεῖν ἀρμόττει τὸν λόγον,
ἐπιτίθησι ταυτί· «Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν τῶν ἔργων πρᾶξιν ἐπιδείξωμεν, ὡς καλὴν
καὶ ἀξίαν τούτων ἀπεφήναντο.» ἔργων πρᾶξιν ἀξίαν ἀποφνηαμένους οὐκ
οἶδα εἴ τις ἂν ἡξίωσεν εἰπεῖν τῶν τὴν λεπτήν καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ καθαρὰν
διάλεκτον ἐπιτηδυνόντων. πράττεται μὲν γὰρ τὰ πράγματα, ἐργάζεται δὲ τὰ
ἔργα, ἀποφάνσεως <δὲ> ἀξιοῦται τὰ λεκτά. τουτί μὲν δὴ παχὺ εἴρηται, τὸ
<δ' ἐπὶ> τούτῳ λεγόμενον ἐνθύμημα ἀσθενέστερον· διὰ μακροῦ τε γὰρ καὶ
ἀκατάλληλον καὶ οὔτε δεινότητα ἔχον οὔτε σύνταξιν· «Τῆς δ' εὐγενείας
πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ <τῶν προγόνων> γένεσις, οὐκ ἔπηλυσ οὔσα οὐδὲ
τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτους ἀποφνηαμένη μετοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλοθεν
σφῶν ἡκόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας καὶ τῷ ὄντι πατρίδα οἰκοῦντας καὶ
ζῶντας καὶ τρεφομένους οὐχ ὑπὸ μητρὶν, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς
τῆς χώρας, ἐν ἧ ὥκουν, καὶ νῦν κείσθαι τελευτήσαντας ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις
τῆς τεκούσης τε καὶ θρεψάσης καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης.» ποῖον ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων
καθαρᾷ διαλέκτῳ χρώμενον ἐρεῖ γένεσιν τὴν μὲν αὐτόχθονα τὴν δὲ
ἐπήλυδα; ἡμῖν γὰρ δὴ τι συμβεβηκός ἐστι τὸ εἶναι αὐτόχθοσιν ἢ μὴ
ἐπιχωρίοις, οὐχὶ τῇ γενέσει. δύναται γοῦν τις ἀλλαχῇ γενόμενος ἀνὴρ
ἐτέρωσε μετοικῆσαι, ἢ δὲ γένεσις αὐτῇ τοῦτο παθεῖν οὐ δύναται. τίς δ' ἂν
ἀξιόσσειε τῶν εὐ διαλέγεσθαι σπουδαζόντων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἡ γένεσις ἢ τῶν
προγόνων τοὺς ὕστερον γενησομένους ἀπεφήνατο αὐτόχθονας καὶ μὴ
μετοίκους εἶναι τῆς χώρας, ἐν ἧ ἐγένοντο; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῇ τι
ἀποφαίνεσθαι φύσιν ἔχει, οὔτε μετοικεῖν τις, ἐν ἧ ἂν γένηται· ἀλλ'
ἀποφαινόμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς τὰ λεκτά, μετοικοῦσι δ' οἱ ἐξ ἄλλης ἀφικόμενοι
χώρας ἐν τῇ ὑποδεξαμένη. τίς δὲ βουλόμενος σώζειν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν,
εἰπὼν τὴν γένεσιν καὶ περὶ ταύτης τὸν λόγον ἀποδιδούς ἐπιζεύξειεν ἂν τὸ
ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἡκόντων, τὸ ἀρρενικὸν τῷ θηλυκῷ καὶ τῷ ἐνικῷ τὸ
πληθυντικόν; ἦν γὰρ δὴ που κατάλληλος ὁ λόγος, εἰ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν

ἀναφέρων, ὑπὲρ ἧς ὁ λόγος ἦν, ἐπέθηκεν· ‘ἄλλοθεν αὐτῆς ἠκούσης.’ ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν μέλλων ποιεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτως ἂν κατεστήσατο τὴν φράσιν· ‘τῆς δ’ εὐγενείας πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν τοῖσδε οἱ πρόγονοι, οὐχὶ ἐπήλυδες ὄντες οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτους ἀποφήναντες μετοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων, ἀλλ’ αὐτόχθονας.’

[28] ἄξιον δέ, ὃ καὶ περὶ τῆς εὐγενείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶρηκε, τὴν χώραν πρῶτον ἐπαινῶν, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένοντο, μὴ παρέργως ἰδεῖν. φησὶ δὴ θεοφιλῇ αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ παρέχεται τούτου μάρτυρας τοὺς ἀμφισβητήσαντας περὶ αὐτῆς θεοῦς, κοινόν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπαινεσάντων τὴν πόλιν εἰρημένον. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο συκοφαντεῖν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ, πῶς ἡρμήνευκεν αὐτά, καταμαθεῖν· ‘Μαρτυρεῖ δ’ ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ ἡ τῶν ἀμφισβητησάντων περὶ αὐτῆς θεῶν ἕρις <τε καὶ κρίσις>. ἦν δὲ θεοὶ ἐπήνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων δικαία ἐπαινεῖσθαι;’ ταπεινὴ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄζηλος ἡ λέξις καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχουσα τῆς περιμαχίτου πόλεως ἄξιον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. ποῖος γὰρ ἐνθάδε πλοῦτος ὀνομάτων; ποία σεμνότης; ποῖον ὕψος; τί οὐ μαλακώτερον τῆς ἀξίας; τί δ’ οὐκ ἐνδεέστερον τῆς ἀληθείας; οὕτως ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος εἰρησθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς στάσιν ἔριν τε καὶ κρίσιν; οὕτως τὸν ἔρωτα, ὃν ἔσχον οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τιμῶν, εἰς φαῦλόν τι καὶ μέτριον ῥῆμα ἀγαγεῖν ‘ἦν δὲ θεοὶ ἐπήνεσαν’ εἰπόντα; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἃ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτίθησιν εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς γῆς, ὅτι γένος τε τὸ ἀνθρώπων πρώτη ἐγεννήσατο καὶ καρποὺς ἡμέρους αὐτῷ συνεξήνεγκεν, ἄξιον ἰδεῖν· ‘Ἐξελέξατο δὲ τῶν ζῶων καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἄνθρωπον, ὃ συνέσει τε ὑπερέχει τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δίκην καὶ θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει.’ οὐκ οἶδα, εἴ τι λαμπρότατον ἄλλο πρᾶγμα τούτου εὐτελέστερον εἶρηται Πλάτωνι καὶ ἰδιωτικώτερον. δῶμεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγκώμιον οὕτως εἰπεῖν ὀλιγώρως καὶ ἀσθενῶς· ἀλλὰ περὶ γε τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ γενναία χρήσεται φράσει· ‘Μόνῃ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ πρώτη τροφήν ἀνθρωπεῖαν ἤνεγκεν τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν καρπόν.’ ὧ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες, ποῦ τὸ Πλατωνικὸν νᾶμα τὸ πλούσιον καὶ τὰς μεγάλας κατασκευὰς καυχάζον; οὕτως μικρολογεῖ καὶ κατὰ στράγγα ῥεῖ τὸ δωδεκάκρουνον ἐκεῖνο στόμα τοῦ σοφοῦ; ἐταμιεύσατο νῆ Δία καὶ ὑφῆκε τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐκὼν, ἴσως τις ἐρεῖ. καὶ πῶς; ὅς οὐκ οἶεται τὸ γάλα σεμνὸν εἶναι ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ πηγὴν τροφῆς αὐτὸ μετονομάζει διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς.

[29] ἐῷμεν καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς δὲ τῆς δωρεᾶς αὐτῆς εἴπε τὸ μέγεθος, ἐξετάσωμεν· ‘Ὡι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τρέφεται τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος.’ εἰ τῶν ἐπιγείων τις ἡμῶν καὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων ‘κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα’ εἶπεν, ὅσον ἂν ἐκίνησε γέλωτα; πλὴν ἀφείσθω καὶ τοῦτο. ‘Τούτου δὲ τοῦ καρποῦ οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ’ ἔνειμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.’ εἴ τις βουλήσεται παράδειγμα λαβεῖν μένης λέξεως, ἡ τοῦ καρποῦ μὴ φθονήσασα γῇ οὐχὶ πρώτη παρακεῖσεται; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ. ἡ δὲ μεταδοῦσα τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀγαθῶν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τηλικούτῳ κατασπεύρασα πλούτῳ βάρβαρόν τε καὶ Ἑλλάδα γῆν τούτοις ἀξία κοσμεῖσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ ὅτι ἔνειμεν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις; οὐ τοῦ μὲν ‘μὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς πέλας’ οὐδὲ μεμνησθαι [τοῖς πέλας] παντάπασιν ἐχρῆν, τὸ δὲ ‘νεῖμαι τοῦ

καρποῦ· σεμνοτέρῳ ὀνόματι δωρεᾶς ἢ χάριτος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιοῦτων περιλαβεῖν; ἐὼ ταῦτα. τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δωρεὰν οὕτως εἴρηκεν· ‘Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλαίου γένεσιν, πόνων ἀρωγὴν, ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις,’ περιφράσεις πάλιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ διθύραμβοι. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; δι’ ὅλου γὰρ ἂν τις εὖροι τοῦ λόγου πορευόμενος τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ λεπτῶς εἰρημένα, τὰ δὲ μειρακιωδῶς καὶ ψυχρῶς, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἰσχὺν καὶ τόνον, τὰ δὲ ἡδονῆς ἐνδεᾶ καὶ χαρίτων, τὰ δὲ διθυραμβώδη καὶ φορτικά. ἐγὼ δ’ ἡξίουν πάντα γενναῖα εἶναι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια. Πλάτων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, ὃς εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα οἴσεται τῆς λέξεως, περί γε τῶν δευτερείων πολὺν ἀγῶνα παρέξει τοῖς διαμιλλησομένοις. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλις.

[30] ἃ δὲ δὴ κράσιστα εἰρήσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ δοκοῦσὶ τινες ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ λόγου, κάγω σύμφημι, ταῦτα παραθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τρέφομαι. ὁ δὴ τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτῶν διεξιὼν φησὶν ἐπισκῆψαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς μέλλοντας τελευτᾶν, ἃ χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας τε καὶ πατέρας ἀπαγγέλλειν, εἴ τι παθεῖν αὐτοὺς συμβαίη κατὰ τὴν μάχην. ἔστι δὲ τάδε· ‘Φράσω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἃ τε ἤκουσα αὐτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ οἷα νῦν ἡδέως <ἂν> εἴποιεν ὑμῖν ἀναλαβόντες δύναμιν, τεκμαιρόμενος ἐξ ὧν τότ’ ἔλεγον. ἀλλὰ χρὴ νομίζειν ἀκούειν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἃ ἂν ἀπαγγέλλω. ἔστι δὲ τάδε· ὧ παῖδες, ὅτι μὲν ἔστε πατέρων ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸ μηνύει τὸ νῦν παρόν. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἐξὸν ζῆν μὴ καλῶς, <καλῶς> αἰρούμεθα μᾶλλον τελευτᾶν, πρὶν ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα εἰς ὀνειδὴ καταστῆσαι καὶ πρὶν τοὺς ἡμετέρους πατέρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόσθεν γένος αἰσχῦναι, ἡγούμενοι τῷ τοὺς αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνοντι ἀβίωτον εἶναι καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ οὔτε τινὰ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε θεῶν φίλον εἶναι, οὔτ’ ἐπὶ γῆς οὔθ’ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντι. χρὴ οὖν μεμνημένους τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, ἣν τι καὶ ἄλλο ἀσκήτε, ἀσκεῖν μετ’ ἀρετῆς, εἰδότας ὅτι τούτου λειπόμενα πάντα καὶ κτήματα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα αἰσχροῦ καὶ κακὰ. οὔτε γὰρ πλοῦτος κάλλος φέρει τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἀνανδρίαν (ἄλλοις γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλουτήσει καὶ οὐχὶ ἑαυτῷ), οὔτε κάλλος σώματος οὔτ’ ἰσχὺς δειλῷ καὶ κακῷ συνοικοῦντα πρέποντα φαίνεται, ἀλλ’ ἀπρεπῇ καὶ ἐπιφανεστέραν ἔχοντα τὴν δειλίαν, πᾶσά τε ἐπιστήμη χωριζομένη δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς πανουργία, ἀλλ’ οὐ σοφία φαίνεται. ὧν ἕνεκα <καὶ> πρῶτον καὶ ὕστατον καὶ διὰ παντὸς πᾶσαν πάντως προθυμίαν πειρᾶσθε ἔχειν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πρόσθεν εὐκλεία, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἴστε, ὡς ἡμῖν, ἂν μὲν νικῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀρετῇ, ἢ νίκη αἰσχύνην φέρει, ἢ δὲ ἦττα, ἐὰν ἡττώμεθα, εὐδαιμονίαν. μᾶλλον δ’ ἂν νικῶμεθα καὶ ὑμεῖς νικώητε, εἰ παρασκευάσαισθε τῇ τῶν προγόνων δόξῃ μὴ καταχρησόμενοι μηδ’ ἀναλώσοντες ταύτην, γνόντες ὅτι ἀνδρὶ οἰομένῳ τι εἶναι οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχίον οὐδὲν ἢ παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον μὴ δι’ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξαν προγόνων. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τιμὰς γονέων ἐκγόνοις καλὸς θησαυρὸς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής, καταχρήσασθαι δὲ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῶν θησαυρῷ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδιδόναι αἰσchrὸν καὶ ἀνανδρον ἀπορίᾳ ἰδίων αὐτοῦ κτημάτων τε καὶ εὐδοξιῶν. καὶ ἦν μὲν ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύσητε, φίλοι παρὰ φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἢ προσήκουσα μοῖρα κομίση,

ἀμελήσαντας δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ κακισθέντας οὐδεὶς εὖμενῶς ὑποδέξεται. τοῖς μὲν οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω. πατέρας δὲ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας αἰεὶ χρή παραμυθεῖσθαι ὡς ῥᾶστα φέρειν τὴν συμφορὰν, ἣν ἄρα συμβῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ συνοδύρεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ λυπήσοντος προσδεήσονται· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἡ γενομένη τύχη τοῦτο πορίζειν. ἀλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ πραῦνοντας ἀναμνησκείν αὐτούς, ὅτι, ὧν εὐχοντο, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι γεγόνασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι τοὺς παῖδας εὐχοντο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεῖς, ὧν ἔτυχον μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὄντων. πάντα δ' οὐ ῥάδιον θνητῷ ἀνδρὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἐν τῷ σφετέρῳ βίῳ ἐκβαίνειν. καὶ φέροντες μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς ἀνδρείως δόξουσιν τῷ ὄντι ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοι, ὑπέκοντες δ' ὑποψίαν παρέξουσιν ἢ μὴ ἡμέτεροι εἶναι ἢ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας καταψεύδεσθαι. χρή δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μάλιστα ἐπαινέτας ἡμῶν εἶναι ἔργῳ, παρέχοντας αὐτοὺς φαινομένους τῷ ὄντι πατέρας ὄντας ἀνδρας ἀνδρῶν. πάλαι γὰρ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν λεγόμενον καλῶς δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ εὖ λέγεται. ὅτῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα ἢ ἐγγὺς τούτου, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἐξ ὧν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων πλανᾶσθαι ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου, τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται ζῆν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων καὶ οὗτος ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φρόνιμος, οὗτος γιγνομένων παίδων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ διαφθειρομένων καὶ μάλιστα πείθεται τῇ παροιμίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυπούμενος ἄγαν φανήσεται διὰ τὸ αὐτῷ πεποιθέναι. τοιούτους δὴ ἡμεῖς ἀξιούμεν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους εἶναι καὶ βουλόμεθα καὶ φαμέν. καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς νῦν παρέχομεν τοιούτους, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντας οὐδὲ φοβούμενους ἄγαν, εἰ δεῖ τελευτᾶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. δεόμεθα δὲ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ χρωμένους τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον διάγειν καὶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐ θρηνοῦντες οὐδ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι ἡμᾶς ἡμῖν μάλιστα χαριοῦνται. ἀλλ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν αἰσθησις τῶν ζώντων, οὕτως ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἂν μάλιστα, ἑαυτούς τε κακοῦντες καὶ βαρέως φέροντες τὰς συμφορὰς, κούφως δὲ καὶ μετρίως μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζοιντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευτῇ ἤδη ἔξει, ἥπερ καλλίστη γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις· ὥστε πρέπει αὐτὰ μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν. γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ παίδων ἐπμελούμενοι <καὶ τρέφοντες> καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν νοῦν τρέποντες τῆς τε τύχης μάλιστ' ἂν εἶεν ἐν λήθῃ καὶ ζῶεν κάλλιον καὶ ὀρθότερον καὶ ἡμῖν προσφιλέστερον. ταῦτα δὴ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλειν. τῇ δὲ πόλει παρακελευόμεθα, ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ πατέρων καὶ υἱῶν ἐπμελήσονται, τοὺς μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ γηροτροφοῦντες ἀξίως. νῦν δ' ἴσμεν, ὅτι, κἂν μὴ ἡμεῖς παρακελευώμεθα, ἱκανῶς ἐπμελήσεται. ταῦτ' οὖν, ὧ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδες τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἐκεῖνοί τ' ἐπέσκηπτον ὑμῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν κἀγὼ ὡς δύναμαι προθυμότερα ἀπαγγέλλω.' αὕτη δοκεῖ κάλλιστα ἔχειν Πλάτωνι ἢ λέξις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ. ἔχει μέντοι τὰ πλείω καλῶς (οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ ψεύδεσθαι), πλὴν ὅτι πολιτικόν γε τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῆς ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐναγώνιον.

[31] ἀντιπαρεξετάσωμεν οὖν ταύτῃ Δημοσθένους λαβόντες λέξιν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος λόγου. ἔστι δ' οὐ παρὰ κλησις Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὸ καλὸν

καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐγκώμιον τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι πάντα ἡγεῖται τᾶλλα ἐλάττω τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, ἥς

φέρουσι καλαὶ πράξεις, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς μέλλοι κατορθοῦν. ἔστι δ’ ἡ λέξις ἥδε· Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἐγκείται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, καὶ μου, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ’ εὐνοίας, ἃ λέγω, θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι καὶ προήδεσαν ἅπαντες καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες καὶ διεμαρτύρου βῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ’ ἐφθέγγω, οὐδ’ οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴτερ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ’ ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴτα ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φίλιππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντως ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονίτι, περὶ ὧν οὐθένα κίνδυνον ὄντινον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἄν σου; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε μὴδ’ ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸς Διός, ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτα ἀγῶνα ἕτεροί τινες χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς πρόσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Ὀθηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν τούτων ἔτι πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ’ ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται, λαβοῦσιν καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐχοῦσιν τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἔαν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν, ὥς ἔοικε, ταῦτα τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ’ ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ’ ἐμφυτα, οὐδ’ ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προστιθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. ἀλλ’ ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διετέλεσε. καὶ ταῦθ’ οὕτως σεμνὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖτε, εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰς τὰς τριῆρεις ἐμβάντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ’ ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταπτομένοις Κυροῖλον καταλιθώσαντες οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ; οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγόν, δι’ ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίου, εἰ μὴ μετ’ ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλῃσει καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τοῦ

θανάτου τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, αἷς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρησα νῦν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπετίμησέ μοι; νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω καὶ δείκνυμι, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἢ πόλις. τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι. οὗτος δὲ ὁ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίσχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου καταψηφιεῖσθε, διημαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαπεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κρατήσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας μόνους, δικαίως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἅπανσι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δέ, ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται.

[32] οὐθεὶς ἔστιν, ὃς οὐχ ὁμολογήσειεν, εἰ μόνον ἔχοι μετρίαν αἴσθησιν περὶ λόγους καὶ μήτε βάσκανος εἶη μήτε δύσερίς τις, τοσοῦτω διαφέρειν τὴν ἀρτίως παρατεθεῖσαν λέξιν τῆς προτέρας, ὅσω διαλλάττει πολεμιστήρια μὲν ὅπλα πομπευτηρίων, ἀληθινὰ δὲ ὄψεις εἰδῶλων, ἐν ἡλίῳ δὲ καὶ πόνοις τεθραμμένα σώματα τῶν σκιάς καὶ ῥαστώνας διωκόντων. ἢ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔξω τῆς εὐμορφίας ἐπιτηδεύει καὶ παρὰ τοῦτ' ἔστιν αὐτῆς τὸ καλὸν ἐν ἀναληθέσιν, ἢ δὲ οὐδέν, ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ἀληθινὸν ἄγει. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτεῖν τὴν μὲν Πλάτωνος λέξιν εἰκάσας ἀνθηρῶ χωρίῳ καταγωγὰς ἡδείας ἔχοντι καὶ τέρψεις ἐφημέρους, τὴν δὲ Δημοσθένους διάλεκτον εὐκάρπῳ καὶ παμφόρῳ γῇ καὶ οὕτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς βίον οὕτε τῶν περιττῶν εἰς τέρψιν σπανιζούσῃ. δυνάμενος δ' ἂν, εἰ βουλοίμην, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐκατέρας κατορθώματα ἐξετάζειν καὶ δεικνύειν, ὅσω κρείττων ἐστὶν ἢ Δημοσθένους λέξις τῆς Πλατωνικῆς οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτήδειον (τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας ὁμοίως ἅπαντας οὐδὲ λόγου δεῖν οἶμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ τροπικόν, περὶ ὃ μάλιστα δεινὸς ὁ Πλάτων εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ πολλὰς ἔχων ἀφορμὰς λόγων ταύτην μὲν εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ἀναβάλλομαι τὴν θεωρίαν, εἵπερ περιέσται μοι χρόνος· ἰδίαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀκνήσω περὶ αὐτῆς ἐξενέγκαι πραγματεῖαν. νυνὶ δέ, ὅσα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἤρμοττεν, εἴρηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρελθεῖν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν Πλάτωνα, ᾧ τὰ πρωτεῖά τινες ἀπονέμουσι, κατατρίψαι δὲ τὸν λόγον περὶ μίαν ταύτην <τὴν> θεωρίαν ἐπιλελησμένου τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἦν, τῇδὲ μοι περιγεγράφθω. βούλομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ συλλογίσασθαι τὰ εἰρημένα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ δεῖξαι πάνθ', ὅσα ὑπεσχόμην ἀρχόμενος τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ λεκτικοῦ τύπου, πεποιηκότα ἐμαυτόν.

[33] ἡ πρόθεσις ἦν μοι καὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ λόγου, κρατίστη λέξει καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἡρμοσμένη μετριώτατα Δημοσθένη κεχρημένον ἐπιδείξει, καὶ τοῦτό γε συνάγειν ἐπειρώμην οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης μόνης τὰς πίστει διδούς (ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ θεωρούμενον, οἷόν ἐστιν, ὀφθῆναι καὶ καθαρῶς), ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρὰθεὶς αὐτῇ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λέξεις τὰς κράτιστα δοκούσας ἔχειν καὶ τῇ δι' ἀλλήλων βασιάνω φανεράν ποιῶν τὴν ἀμείνω. Ἰν' οὗν τὴν φυσικὴν ὁδὸν ὁ λόγος μοι λάβῃ, τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν διαλέκτων τοὺς ἀξιολογώτατους κατηριθμησάμην καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ἦλθον, ἔπειτα δείξας ἀτελεῖς ἅπαντας ἐκείνους καὶ καθ' ὃ μάλιστα ἀστοχεῖν ἕκαστον ὑπελάμβανον τοῦ τέλους ἐκλογισάμενος διὰ βραχέων, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη. τοῦτον δὲ ἐνὸς μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀποφηνάμενος οὔτε χαρακτῆρος οὔτ' ἀνδρὸς ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἀπάντων δὲ τὰ κράτιστα ἐκλεξάμενον κοινὴν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον τὴν ἐρμηνείαν κατεσκευακέναι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, πίστει ὑπὲρ τοῦδε παρειχόμεν, διελόμενος μὲν τὴν λέξιν εἰς τρεῖς χαρακτῆρας τοὺς γενικωτάτους τὸν τε ἰσχνὸν καὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ τούτων, ἀποδεικνὺς δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ γένεσι κατορθοῦντα τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα, λέξεις τινὰς αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων, αἷς ἀντιπαρεξίτατον ἐτέρας ὁμοειδεῖς λόγου μὲν ἀξίας, οὐ μὴν ἀνεπιλήπτους γε τελέως οὐδ', ὥσπερ ἐκείνη, πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐχούσας. καὶ γὰρ ἦ τε Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος καίτοι θαυμασιωτάτων ἀνδρῶν μνήμη καὶ σύγκρισις οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐγίγνετό μοι, ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ τοῦ μέσου καὶ κρατίστου χαρακτῆρος οὔτοι ζηλωταὶ γενόμενοι μεγίστης δόξης ἔτυχον, ἵνα δείξαιμι, κἄν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμείνους εἰσὶ, Δημοσθένει γε οὐκ ἀξίους ὄντας ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων.

ὀλίγα τούτοις ἔτι προσθεὶς περὶ τῆς λέξεως, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον τῆς θεωρίας μέρος μεταβήσομαι, [34] ταῦτα δὲ ἔστιν, ἃ τοῖς τρισὶ πλάσμασιν ὁμοίως παρέπεται καὶ ἔστι παντὸς λόγου Δημοσθενικοῦ μηνύματα χαρακτηριστικὰ καὶ ἀνυφαίρετα. ὑπομνήσω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις πλάσμασιν ἔφην ἰδίᾳς ἀρετὰς συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Δημοσθένους [ἢ Λυσίου], ἵν' εὐσύννοπος μᾶλλον γένηται μοι ὁ λόγος. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι τῶν μὲν ὑψηλῇ καὶ περιττῇ καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένῃ λέξει κεχρημένων κατὰ τὸ σαφέστερον καὶ κοινότερον τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ κεκρῆσθαι προὔχειν ὁ Δημοσθένης. τούτων γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ κατασκευῇ στοχάζεται μέγεθος ἐχούσῃ καὶ ταύταις κέχρηται χαρακτηρικωτάταις ἀρεταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς καὶ ξενοπρεποῦς ὀνομασίας ὥς γε μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ τὴν λιτὴν καὶ ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀπέριττον ἐπιτηδεύόντων φράσιν τῷ τόνῳ τῆς λέξεως ἐδόκει μοι διαλλάττειν καὶ τῷ βάρει καὶ τῇ στριφνότητι καὶ τῷ πικραίνειν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστιν ἐκείνου χαρακτηρικὰ τοῦ πλάσματος παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις. τῶν δὲ τὴν μέσῃν διάλεκτον ἡσκηκότων, ἦν δὴ κρατίστην ἀποφαίνομαι, κατὰ ταυτὶ διαφέρειν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανον· κατὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν, κατὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν, κατὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν, ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις κατὰ τὸ παθητικόν τε καὶ ἐναγώνιον καὶ δραστήριον καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ

πρέπον, ὃ τῶν ἄστρον ψαύει παρὰ Δημοσθένει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν τριῶν πλασμάτων παρακολουθεῖν ἔφην καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἡξίουσιν τὴν Δημοσθένους δύναμιν πεφυκότα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακολουθεῖν πλάσμασι, κρατίστην δὲ ὄψιν ἔχοντα καὶ ἐκπρεπεστάτην ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις. εἰ δέ τις ἀξιῶσει συκοφαντεῖν τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κοινῇ παρακολουθούσας πᾶσι τοῖς πλάσμασιν ἀρετὰς τρίχα διανείμασα τὸ ἴδιον ἐκάσταις ἀποδίδωσιν, ἐκεῖνα ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι καθ' ὃ μάλιστα χωρίον ἐκάστη τῶν ἀρετῶν ὄψιν τε ἡδίστην ἔχει καὶ χρῆσιν ὠφελιμωτάτην, κατὰ τοῦτο τάττειν αὐτὴν ἀξιῶ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ τῆς συντομίας καὶ τοῦ πιθανοῦ χωρίον ἀποφαίνουσιν οἱ τεχνογράφοι τὴν διήγησιν «οὐχ» ὥς οὐκ ἀλλαχοῦ οὐδαμοῦ δέον ἐξετάζεσθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς ταύτας (πάνυ γὰρ ἄτοπον), ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῇ διηγῇ δέον μάλιστα.

[35] φέρε δὴ τούτων εἰρημένων ἡμῖν λέγωμεν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων ἣ κέχρηται ὁ ἀνὴρ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν περιττὴ τίς ἐστιν ἢ τῆς λέξεως τῆς Δημοσθένους ἀρμονία καὶ μακρῷ δὴ τινι διαλλάττουσα τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων, οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος. ἅπαντες γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἂν μαρτυρήσειαν, ὅσοι μὴ παντάπασι πολιτικῶν εἰσιν ἄπειροι λόγων, ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάσαντες ἐκείνῳ θαυμάζοντές τε δῆλοί εἰσιν αὐτόν καὶ ζηλοῦντες ταύτης μάλιστα τῆς εὐτεχνίας, καίτοι τινὲς οὐδ' οἰκείως διακείμενοι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε κολακείας ἐξενέγκασθαι δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἔνιοί γε καὶ σφόδρα ἀπεχθεῖς καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐπανηρημένοι πολέμους. ὣν ἦν Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἀνὴρ λαμπροτάτῃ φύσει περὶ λόγους χρῆσάμενος, ὃς οὐ πολὺ ἂν ἀπέχρινε δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων καὶ μετὰ Δημοσθένην μηδενὸς δεύτερος ἀριθμεῖσθαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τῆς ἄλλης δεινότητος, ἢ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ λεκτικόν, ἔστιν ἃ διακνίζει καὶ συκοφαντεῖ, πρᾶγμα ἐχθροῦ ποιῶν. καὶ γὰρ καινότητα ὀνομάτων καὶ ἀηδῖαν καὶ περιεργίαν καὶ τὸ σκοτεινὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πικρὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα προστρίβεται αὐτῷ, βασκαίνων μὲν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, καὶ ταῦτα, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀφορμὰς γέ τινας τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν εὐλόγους λαμβάνων. περὶ δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν οὔτε μεῖζον ἢ καταγέλωτα φέρων. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτο πῶ θαυμάζειν «ἀξιον», ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μαρτυρῶν πολλαχῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῷ ῥήτορι κατάδηλός ἐστι καὶ ζηλῶν. φανερόν δὲ τοῦτο γένοιτο' ἂν ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, τότε μὲν οὕτω πῶς γράφων· “Ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκεείμενος καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων” (ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις οὐ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἐπαινεῖ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτοῦ, μὰ Δία· τίς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πικρᾶς καὶ περιέργου ζῆλος ὀνομασίας;), ἐν [ἀηδία] ἐτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ οὕτωσὶ λέγων· “Ὡς ὑμᾶς ὀρρωδῶ κακῶς πάσχοντας, τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ὀνομάτων ἀγαπήσαντας.” καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πάλιν οὐ δέδοικε, μὴ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀγαπήσωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ λάθωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς συνθέσεως γοητευθέντες, ὥστε καὶ τῶν φανερῶν αὐτόν ἀδικημάτων ἀφεῖναι διὰ τὰς σειρήνας τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας. ἐκ δὲ τούτων οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι δεινότητα μὲν αὐτῷ, ὅσῃν οὐχ ἐτέρῳ, μαρτυρῶν καὶ ταῖς σειρῇσιν ἀπεικάζων αὐτοῦ τὴν μουσικὴν, ἀγάμενος δὲ

οὐ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς συνθέσεως, ἀναμφιλόγως αὐτῷ ταύτην παρακεχώρηκε τὴν ἀρετὴν.

[36] τοῦτ' ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὸ μέρος, ὡς οὐ πολλοῦ λόγου δεόμενον, λέγω δὴ τὸ περιττὸν εἶναι συνθέτην ὀνομάτων τὸν Δημοσθένην, μαρτυρίαις τε ἀξιοχρεοῖς καὶ τῷ μηδένα τάναντία ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βεβαιούμενον ἔασω. τίς δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀρμονίας αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ καὶ ἀπὸ ποίας γέγονεν ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοιοῦτος καὶ πῶς ἂν τις αὐτὸν διαγνοίῃ παρεξετάζων ἑτέροις, ταυτὶ πειράσσομαι λέγειν, ἐκεῖνα προειπῶν. Πολλὴ τις ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐπιθυμία καὶ πρόνοια τοῦ καλῶς ἀρμόττειν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν τε μέτροις καὶ δίσχαις μέτρων, καὶ πάντες, ὅσοι σπουδαίας ἐβουλήθησαν ἐξευγεῖν γραφάς, οὐ μόνον ἐζήτησαν ὀνομάσαι τὰ νοήματα καλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ «τὰ ὀνόματα» εὐκόσμως συνθέσει περιλαβεῖν· πλὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γε πάντες ἐπετηδευσαν ἀρμονίαν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἦλθον ἅπαντες ὁδοῦς. τούτου δ' αἰτίας οἶμαι γενέσθαι πολλὰς. πρώτην μὲν τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν, ἣ ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλα πεφύκαμεν εὖ, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἐκ λόγου καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐμφυομένην δόξαν, δι' ἣν τὰ μὲν ἀσπαζόμεθα, τοῖς δ' ἐπαχθόμεθα, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐκ συνηθείας χρονίου κατασκευαζομένην ὑπόληψιν ὡς σπουδῆς ἀξίων, ὣν ἂν τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς λάβωμεν, τετάρτην ἔτι τὴν πρὸς οὓς ἂν φιλοτιμούμενοι τυγχάνωμεν, ὅποῦ ἅττα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ζηλώσιν, ἀναφορὰν τε καὶ μίμησιν· ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ τὰ φανερώτατα εἰπὼν ἐὼ τὰ λοιπὰ. ὅθεν οἱ μὲν τὴν εὐσταθεῖ καὶ βαρεῖαν καὶ αὐστηρὰν καὶ φιλόρραμον καὶ σεμνὴν καὶ φεύγουσαν ἅπαν τὸ κομψὸν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀρμονίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν γλαφυρὰν καὶ λιγυρὰν καὶ θεατρικὴν καὶ πολὺ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ μαλακὸν ἐπιφαίνουσιν, ἣ πανηγύρεις τε κηλοῦνται καὶ ὁ συμφορητὸς ὄχλος, οἱ δὲ συνθέντες ἀφ' ἑκατέρας τὰ χρησιμώτατα τὴν μικτὴν καὶ μέσσην ἐζήλωσαν ἀγωγὴν.

[37] τρεῖς γὰρ δὴ συνθέσεως σπουδαίας χαρακτῆρες οὗτοι οἱ γενικώτατοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι παρὰ τούτους τε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι, πολλοὶ σφόδρα ὄντες, ἐπιτάσει τε καὶ ἀνέσει διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων. εἰλικρινὴς μὲν οὖν ἀρμονία καὶ ἀκραιφνὴς χαρακτήρ κατὰ πᾶν οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθεῖ παρ' οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἐμμέτρων οὔτε πεζῶν ποιητῇ λόγων, οὐδὲ χρή μαρτύρια τοιαῦτα παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀπαιτεῖν. ὅπου γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν στοιχείων τῶν πρώτων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ τοῦ παντὸς συνέστη φύσις, γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, οὐδὲν εἰλικρινές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μετέχει πάντων, ὠνόμασται δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ πλεονάζον, τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ αἱ τῆς λέξεως ἀρμονίαι τρεῖς οὔσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰλικρινῆ τὴν φύσιν οὐδ' ἀνεπίμικτον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ὀνόματός τε ἡξίωνται καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἰδίου; ὥσθ', ὅταν παρέχωμαι δείγματα ἐκάστης καὶ μαρτύρια φέρω, λέξεις τινας παρατιθεῖς τῶν χρησαμένων αὐταῖς ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων, μηδεὶς συκοφαντείτω τὰς ἐπιπλοκάς καὶ τὰς κατὰ μόρια ποιότητας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεονάζον ἕκαστον τῶν παραλαμβανομένων σκοπεῖτω, τεκμαιρόμενος, εἰ πολλαχῇ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ δεικνύμενον, οὐκ εἰ ἀπανταχῇ.

[38] τῆς μὲν οὖν αὐστηραῖς καὶ φιλαρχαίου καὶ μὴ τὸ κομψὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ

σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύουσης ἁρμονίας τοιοῦσδε ὁ χαρκτήρ· ὀνόμασι χρῆσθαι φιλεῖ μεγάλους καὶ μακροσυλλάβοις καὶ ταῖς ἔδραις αὐτῶν εἶναι πλουσίως πάνυ βεβηκυίας, χρόνων τε ἀξιολόγων ἐμπεριλήφει διορίζεσθαι θάτερα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων. τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα [ἀπὸ] τῆς ἁρμονίας ποιοῦσιν αἱ τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων παραθέσεις, ὅταν ἢ τε προηγουμένη λέξις εἰς ἓν τούτων λήγῃ καὶ ἡ συνάπτουσα ταύτῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τούτων τινὸς λαμβάνῃ. ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν χρόνον τινὰ μέσον ἀμφοῖν ἀξιόλογον ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ· ‘τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἢ πῶς ἂν τις γένοιτο χρόνος, ὃς μεταθῇ ὀνόματα ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διεστάναι κατὰ τὰς τῶν φωνηέντων συμβολάς;’ δείκνυται γὰρ ὑπὸ τε μουσικῶν καὶ μετρικῶν ὁ διὰ μέσου τῶν φωνηέντων χρόνος ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ γραμμάτων ἡμιφώνων ἀναπληροῦσθαι δυνάμενος. τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐγίνετο μὴ σιωπῆς τινος ἀξιολόγου διειργούσης τὰ φωνήεντα ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τῆς ἁρμονίας ταύτης ἐστὶν ἰδίωμα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. ἕτερον δὲ τοιοῦτον· ἀνακοπὰς καὶ ἀντιστηριγμοὺς λαμβάνειν καὶ τραχύτητας ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιστυφούσας τὴν ἀκοὴν ἡσυχῇ βούλεται. ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἡ τῶν ἀφώνων τε καὶ ἡμιφώνων γραμμάτων δύναμις αἰτία, ὅπότ’ ἂν τὰ λήγοντα τῶν ἡγουμένων μορίων ἢ γράμματα τοῖς ἡγουμένοις [ὡς] μηδὲν τῶν ἐπιφερομένων μήτε συναλείφεσθαι μήτε συγχέεσθαι φύσιν ἔχῃ. πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἀντίτυπον ἐν ταῖς τούτων συμβολαῖς γίνεται, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν τραχυνόντων τὴν φωνὴν γραμμάτων αἱ καλούμεναι συλλαβαὶ συντεθῶσι. πολλῆς δὲ τινος ἐνταῦθα δεῖ τῆς τεχνήσεως, ἵνα μὴ κακὸφωνοὶ μηδὲ ἀηδεῖς μηδὲ ἄλλην τινὰ ὄχλησιν ἐπενεγκάμεναι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς λάθωσιν αἱ τοιαῦται συζυγαί, ἀλλ’ ἐπανθῇ τις αὐταῖς χνοὺς ἀρχαιοπινῆς καὶ χάρις ἀβίαστος. ἀρκεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἐν εἰδόσι λέγοντας, ὅτι φύσιν ἔχει μηδὲν τῶν σπουδαίων ῥημάτων ἁμοιρον ὥρας εἶναι καὶ χάριτος ἰδίας, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπεῖν.

[39] Ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις τε καὶ στοιχειώδεσι μορίοις τῆς λέξεως ταῦτα χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐστὶν ἁρμονίας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καλουμένοις κώλοις, ἃ συντίθεται μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων, συμπληροῖ δὲ τὰς περιόδους, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ <τὸ> τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς τοὺς καταμετροῦντας αὐτὰ μὴ ταπεινοὺς μηδὲ μαλθακοὺς μηδ’ ἀγεννεῖς εἶναι, ὑψηλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶδεις καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ φαῦλόν τι πρᾶγμα ῥυθμὸς ἐν λόγοις οὐδὲ προσθήκης τινὸς μοῖραν ἔχον οὐκ ἀναγκαίως, ἀλλ’ εἰ δεῖ τάληθές, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα, εἰπεῖν, ἀπάντων κυριώτατον τῶν γοητεῦειν δυναμένων καὶ κηλεῖν τὰς ἀκοάς. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς [τῶν ἐννοιῶν] γενναίους εἶναι καὶ ἀξιωματικούς οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τὰς νοήσεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν συνισταμένους. ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι δὲ νῦν, ὅσα γένη σχηματισμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν τε κατωνομασμένων καὶ τῶν ἀκατονομάστων, καὶ τίσιν αὐτῶν ἡ τοιαύτη μάλιστα πέφυκεν ἁρμονία χαίρειν, οὐκ ἔχω καιρόν. ἔτι τῆς ἁρμονίας ταύτης οἰκεῖόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὰς περιόδους αὐτουργοὺς τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀφελεῖς καὶ μήτε συναπαρτιζούσας ἐαυταῖς τὸν νοῦν μήτε συμμεμετρημένας τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λέγοντος μηδέ γε παραπληρώμασι τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαίοις ὡς πρὸς

τὴν ὑποκειμένην διάνοιαν χρωμένας μὴδ' εἰς θεατρικούς τινας καὶ γλαφυροὺς καταληγούσας ῥυθμούς. καθόλου δέ γε οὐδὲ ἀσπάζεται τὸ ἐμπερίοδον ἥδε ἡ σύνθεσις ὡς τὰ πολλά, ἀποιήτως δέ πως καὶ ἀφελῶς καὶ τὰ πλείω κομματικῶς κατεσκευάσθαι βούλεται, παράδειγμα ποιουμένη τὴν ἀκατάσκευον φύσιν. εἰ δέ ποτε ἀκολουθήσειεν τοῖς ἀνεπιτηδεύτως συντιθεμένοις κώλοις ἢ περιόδοις ἢ βάσεσιν εὐρυθμος, τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῆς αὐτομάτου τύχης οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ αὐστηρᾶς ἀρμονίας ἐστὶ χαρακτηριστικά· τὸ μῆτε συνδέσμοις χρῆσθαι πολλοῖς μῆτ' ἄρθροις συνεχέσιν ἄλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐλάττωσιν, τὸ μὴ χρονίζειν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πτώσεων τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ θαμινὰ μεταπίπτειν, τὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν προεξενεχθέντων ὑπεροπτικῶς ἔχειν τὴν φράσιν μὴδὲ κατ' ἄλληλα, τὸ περιπτῶς καὶ ἰδίως καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἢ βούλησιν τῶν πολλῶν συζεύγνυσθαι τὰ μόρια. καὶ παραδείγματα δὲ αὐτῆς ποιητῶν μὲν καὶ μελοποιῶν ἢ τ' Αἰσχύλου λέξεις ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Πινδάρου, χωρὶς ὅτι μὴ τὰ Παρθένεια καὶ εἴ τινα τούτοις ὁμοίας ἀπαιτεῖ κατασκευάς· διαφαίνεται δέ τις ὁμοία κἂν τούτοις εὐγένεια καὶ σεμνότης ἀρμονίας τὸν ἀρχαῖον φυλάττουσα πίνον. συγγραφέων δὲ λαμπρότατός τε καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων κατορθῶν περὶ ταύτην τὴν ἰδέαν Θουκυδίδης. εἰ δέ τω δοκεῖ μαρτυρίων ἔτι δεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, παρελθὼν τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐκ τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως ταυτί 'Τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος τε μέγα προὔβη, παθήματά τε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ. οὐτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων, εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλίσκόμεναι, οὐτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος ὃ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὃ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τ' ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενα συνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τ' ἔστιν παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείραςα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος.' ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ἡ γεννικὴ καὶ αὐστηρὰ καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ τὸ ἀρχαιοπρεπὲς διώκουσα τοιάδε τίς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν χαρακτῆρα.

[40] ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην <ἡ> γλαφυρὰ καὶ θεατρικὴ καὶ τὸ κομψὸν αἰρουμένη πρὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ τοιαύτη· ὀνομάτων αἰεὶ βούλεται λαμβάνειν τὰ λειότατα καὶ μαλακώτατα, τὴν εὐφωνίαν θηρωμένη καὶ τὴν εὐμέλειαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ ἡδύ. ἔπειτα οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀξιοῖ ταῦτα τιθῆναι οὐδὲ ἀπερισκέπτως συναρμόττειν θάτερα τοῖς ἑτέροις, ἀλλὰ διακρίνουσα τὰ ποῖα τοῖς ποίοις [καὶ] παρατιθέμενα μουσικωτέρους ποιεῖν δυνήσεται τοὺς ἦχους, καὶ σκοποῦσα κατὰ ποῖον σχῆμα ληφθέντα χαριεστέρας ἀποτελέσει τὰς συζυγίας, οὕτως συναρμόττειν ἕκαστα πειρᾶται, πολλὴν σφόδρα ποιουμένη φροντίδα τοῦ συνεξέσθαι καὶ συνηλεῖσθαι καὶ προπετεῖς ἀπάντων αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ἁρμονίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φεύγει μὲν ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ τὰς τῶν φωνηέντων συμβολὰς ὥς τὴν λειότητα καὶ τὴν εὐέπειαν διασπώσας, φεύγει δέ, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῇ, τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων γραμμάτων τὰς συζυγίας, ὅσαι τραχύνουσι τοὺς ἦχους καὶ ταράττειν δύνανται τὰς ἀκοάς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται πᾶσαν σημαίνουσαν σῶμα ἢ πρᾶγμα λέξιν ἐξ εὐφώνων συγκεῖσθαι γραμμάτων καὶ μαλακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε συγκεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτὰς καὶ κακῶς ἐνδέχεται, ὃ μὴ δίδωσιν ἢ φύσις, τοῦτο πειρᾶται λαμβάνειν ταῖς συζυγίαις αὐταῖς καὶ <οὕτω τὰς φωνὰς> ποιεῖν ἡδίους καὶ μαλακωτέρας. καὶ διῆτα καὶ παρεμβάλλειν αὐτὰς <ἀναγκαίαις> τινὰς ἑτέρας λέξεις ὑπομένει πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον νοῦν οὐτ' ἀναγκαίαις οὐτ' ἴσως χρησίμας, δεσμοῦ δέ τις ἢ κόλλης τάξιν ταῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτὰς κειμέναις ὀνομασίαις παρεξομένας, ἵνα μὴ συναπτόμεναι πρὸς ἀλλήλας αἱ καταλήγουσαί τε εἰς τραχὺ γράμμα καὶ αἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τινος τοιούτου λαμβάνουσαι σπαδονισμοὺς τῶν ἦχων ποιῶσι καὶ ἀντιτυπίας, τῇ δὲ παρεμπιπτούσῃ λέξει προσαναπαυόμεναι μαλακοὺς φαίνεσθαι ποιῶσι τοὺς ἦχους καὶ συνεχεῖς. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν αὐτῆς βούλημα καὶ ἡ πολλὴ πραγματεία περὶ τὸ συσπασθῆναι τε καὶ συνυφάνθαι πάντα τὰ μόρια τῆς περιόδου, μιᾶς λέξεως ἀποτελοῦντα φαντασίαν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτω περὶ τὸ πᾶσαν εἶναι τὴν λέξιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς μουσικαῖς συμφωνίαις, ἡδεῖαν καὶ λιγυράν. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν αἱ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀκρίβεια ποιοῦσι, τὸ δ' αἱ τῶν γραμμάτων δυνάμεις οἰκείως ἐχόντων πρὸς ἄλληλα ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους συμπαθείαις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑτέρας ἐπιστήμης <ἡ> θεωρία. ἐπιτρόχαλος δὴ τις γίνεται καὶ καταφερῆς ἢ ῥύσις τῆς λέξεως, ὥσπερ κατὰ πρανοῦς φερόμενα χωρίου νάματα μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντικρούοντος, καὶ διαρρεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἡδέως πως καὶ ἀσπαστῶς οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τὰ δι' ὥδης καὶ ὀργάνου μουσωθέντα κρούματα καὶ μέλη. ἔτι τῆς συνθέσεως ταύτης ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ κῶλα δεινῶς ποιήμασιν ἐμφερῇ, μαλακόφωνα καὶ λεῖα, πολὺ τὸ κωτίλον ἔχοντα, κατὰ τινα φιλότητα φυσικὴν συζευγνύμενα ἀλλήλοις. ἐξ ὧν ἡ περίοδος συνέστηκεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω περιόδου συντίθησιν. ἔτι τῶν ῥυθμῶν, εἰς ἃς διαστέλλεται περίοδους, οὐ τοὺς ἀξιωματικοὺς βούλεται λαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ τοὺς χαριεστάτους. εὐκόρυφοι δὴ φαίνονται καὶ εὐγραμμοὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ἔδραν ἀσφαλῆ τελευτῶσι. τῶν δὲ σχημάτων δίδωκει τὰ κινητικώτατα τῶν ὅχλων· καλλωπίζεται γὰρ καὶ τέθηλε τοῦτοίς, ἂν ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ λυπῆσαι τὰς ἀκοὰς προβαίνοι, ὧν εἰσὶν αἱ τε παρισώσεις καὶ παρομοιώσεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις καὶ τὰ παρωνομασμένα τά τε ἀντιστρέφοντα

καὶ τὰ ἐπαναφερόμενα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιητικῆς καὶ μελικῆς λέξεως ὄργανα. τοιαῦτά τινά μοι καὶ ταύτης εἶναι φαίνεται χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς ἁρμονίας. παραδείγματα δ' αὐτῆς ποιοῦμαι ποιητῶν μὲν Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Σαπφῶ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, τῶν δὲ περὶ λέξει χρησαμένων Ἰσοκράτην τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πλησιάσαντας. εἴρηνται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἤδη λέξεις τινές, ἐν αἷς τὸν ὅλον χαρακτῆρα αὐτοῦ τῆς λέξεως ὑπέγραφον, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν, εἰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν οἷα λέγομεν ἡμεῖς, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ἴδοι. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν διαρτᾶν τὰς ἀκολουθίας, τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ῥηθέντα παραδείγματα κελεύοντες ἀναστρέφειν, λαμβανέσθω κἀνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Πανηγυρικῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων λέξεις οὐ πολλὴν διατριβὴν παρέξουσα τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις, ἐν ᾗ διεξέρχεται τὰ πραχθέντα Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἥδε. 'Επειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα παρατάξασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις, παραλαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον ἐξέπλευσαν, ἵν' ἐν μέρει καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἐκάτερα κινδυνεύωσι. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἐκείνων ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἢ μᾶλλον φιλέλληνες ὄντες ἐπιδειχθεῖεν, οἵτινες ἔτλησαν ἐπιδεῖν, ὥστε μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἴτιοι γενέσθαι τῆς δουλείας, ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γιγνομένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθομένην, ἱερὰ δὲ συλώμενα καὶ νεῶς ἐμπιμπραμένους, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς διακοσίας καὶ χιλίας τριήρεις μόνοι διανυμαχεῖν οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, οὐ μὴν εἰάθησάν γε. καταισχνυθέντες τε γὰρ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν καὶ νομίσαντες προδιαφθαρέντων μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ' αὐτοὶ σωθήσεσθαι, κατορθωσάντων δ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις καταστήσειν, ἠναγκάσθησαν μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν θορύβους τοὺς ἐν τῷ πράγματι γιγνομένους καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις, ἃ κοινὰ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ναυμαχοῦντων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγοντας διατρίβειν. ἃ δ' ἔστιν ἴδια καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἄξια καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμολογούμενα, ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διέφερεν, ὅτε ἦν ἀκέραιος, ὥστε ἀνάστατος γενομένη πλείους μὲν συνεβάλετο τριήρεις εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, δυναμένας δὲ πρὸς δις τοσαύτας κινδυνεύειν. οὐδεῖς γ' οὕν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχει δυσμενῶς, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε διὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι, ταύτης δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. καίτοι μελλούσης στρατείας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔσεσθαι τίνας χρὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν; οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησαντας καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἰδίᾳ προκινδυνεύσαντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων ἀριστείων ἀξιοθέντας; οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτῶν καταλιπόντας περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν οἰκιστὰς πλείστων πόλεων γενομένους καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν διασώσαντας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάθοιμεν, εἰ τῶν κακῶν πλείστον μέρος μετασχόντες ἔλαττον ταῖς τιμαῖς ἔχειν ἀξιοθείημεν καὶ τότε προταχθέντες πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων νῦν ἐτέροις ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκασθείημεν;

[141] τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἁρμονίας, ἣν ἔφην μικτὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἶναι τὰ

χρησιμώτατα ἐκλέγουσαν ἅψ' ἑκατέρας, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ χαρακτήρ ἴδιος, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν οἱ μετιόντες αὐτὴν προαιρέσεως ἔχωσιν ἢ δυνάμει τὰ μὲν φυγεῖν, τὰ δὲ λαβεῖν, οὕτως κίρνανται καθάπερ ἐν τῇ ζωγραφίᾳ τὰ μίγματα. ταύτης τῆς ἁρμονίας κράτιστος μὲν ἐγένετο κανὼν ὁ ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι λέξιν ἄμεινον ἡρμοσμένην τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς ἅμω ταῦτα, λέγω δὲ τὴν τε ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸ σεμνόν. ἐζήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὼν τε πολλοὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ μελῶν, ἔτι δὲ τραγωδίας τε καὶ κωμωδίας, συγγραφεῖς τε ἀρχαῖοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ ῥήτορες. ὧν ἀπάντων μεμνησθαι πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη, ἀρκέσει δὲ τῶν ἐν λόγοις δυναστευσάντων, οὓς ἐγὼ κρατίστους εἶναι πείθομαι, δύο παρασχέσθαι μόνους, συγγραφέων μὲν Ἡρόδοτον, φιλοσόφων δὲ Πλάτωνα· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ χάρις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέχει ταῖς ἁρμονίαις. εἰ δὲ ὀρθὰ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰκότα ἔγνωκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν ἔστιν. φέρε δὴ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν τῆς τε αὐστηραῖς καὶ τῆς ἡδείας ἁρμονίας μέσην εἶναι τήνδε τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὰ κράτιστα εἰληφέναι παρ' ἑκατέρας, ἣ κέχρηται Ἡρόδοτος Ξέρξη περιθεὶς τὸν λόγον, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας στρατείας; μετακεκόμισται δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀτθίδα διάλεκτον ἡ λέξις. Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς καθηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδ' ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεὶς παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδένα χρόνον ἡτρημήσαμεν, ἐξ οὗ παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου καθελόντος Ἀστυάγην· ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτως ἐνάγει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐποῦσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. ἃ μὲν δὴ Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατὴρ τε ὁ ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατειργάσαντο «καὶ προσεκτήσαντο» ἔθνη, ἐπισταμένοις οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι. ἐγὼ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον, ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τῇδε μηδ' ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσαις. φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν προσγιγόμενον χώραν τε ἧς νῦν κεκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέραν παμφορωτέραν τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα, ἃ διανοοῦμαι πράττειν, ὑποθῶ ὑμῖν· μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι, ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν. ὁρᾶτε μὲν δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον προθυμούμενον στρατεῦεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετ' αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι, πρὶν ἔλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἳ γε ἐμέ τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιοῦντες· πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρᾳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ, ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τε ἄλση καὶ τὰ ἱερά. δεύτερα δὲ ἡμᾶς οἷα ἔδρασαν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν σφετέραν ἀποβάνας, ὅτε Δαίτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης ἐστρατήγουν, ἐπίστασθέ που πάντες. τούτων μέντοι ἔνεκα ἀνώρμημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοις πλησιοχώρους καταστρεφόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν [τε] τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδειξόμεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμορον οὔσαν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος

ὁμορον οὕσαν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς ἀπάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης ἐξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν· οὐτε τινὰ πόλιν αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ὑπολείπεσθαι ἡμῖν, ὃ οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν εἰς μάχην, τούτων, ὣν ἔλεξα, ὑπεξηρημένων. οὕτως οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἵτιοι ἔξουσι δοῦλιον ζυγὸν οἱ τε ἀνάιτιοι. ὑμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιοῦντες χαρίζοσθε· ἐπειδὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον, εἰς ὃν ἡμῖν ἤκειν δοκεῖ, προθύμως ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας δεῖ παρεῖναι. ὅς δ' ἂν ἔλθῃ ἔχων κατεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω αὐτῷ δωρεάν, ἣ δὴ τιμιωτάτη νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρου. ποιητέα μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὕτω. ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκῶ, τίθημι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμῶν τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.'

[42] ἐβουλόμην ἔτι πλείω παρασχέσθαι παραδείγματα τῆς τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀγωγῆς· ἰσχυροτέρα γὰρ ἢ πίστις οὕτως ἂν ἐγένετο. νῦν δ' ἐξείργομαι, σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα καὶ ἅμα δόξαν ὑφορώμενος ἀκαιρίας. συγγνώσεται δὴ μοι καὶ Πλάτων ὁ θαυμάσιος, εἰ μὴ παραθήσομαι κάκεινου λέξεις. ἢ γὰρ ὑπόμνησις ὡς ἐν εἰδόσιν ἱκανή. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ βουλόμενος τάς τε διαφορὰς τῶν ἁρμονιῶν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας ἐν αὐτοῖς διῆλθον, ἴν', ἐπειδὰν ἀποφαίνωμαι γνώμην ὅτι τὴν μέσην τε καὶ μικτὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐπετήδευσεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, μηδεὶς ὑποτυγχάνῃ μοι ταῦτα λέγων· 'αἱ γὰρ ἄκραι τίνες εἰσὶν ἁρμονίαι; καὶ τίς αὐτῶν ἑκατέρας <ῆ> φύσις καὶ τίς ἢ μῖξις ἢ ἡ κρᾶσις αὐτῇ; οὐδὲν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἄκρων.' τοῦτου μὲν δὴ πρώτου χάριν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκεῖνα ἠναγκάσθην προειπεῖν, ἔπειτα, ἵνα μοι μὴ μονόκωλος ᾦ μηδὲ αὐστηρὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ τινὰς εὐπαιδεύτους διαγωγάς. οὐτε γὰρ πιστοῦν τὰς τοιαύτας προσθήκας οὔτε ἀπαιτοῦντος τοῦ λόγου παραλιπεῖν καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι.

[43] δεδειγμένης δὴ μοι τῆς αἰρέσεως τοῦ ῥήτορος ταύτης ἤδη τις παρ' ἐαυτῷ σκοπεῖτω τὰ λεχθέντα, ὅτι τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν ὅσα σεμνῶς κατεσκευάσται τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ αὐστηρῶς καὶ ἀξιωματικῶς, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ ὅσα τερπνῶς καὶ ἡδέως. εἰ δὲ κἀνταῦθα δόξει τι δεῖν [ἢ πίστις] ἀποδείξεως, ὄντινα βούλεται τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ προχειρισάμενος καὶ ἀφ' οὗ βούλεται μέρους ἀρξάμενος καταβαινέτω τε καὶ σκοπεῖτω τῶν λεγομένων ἕκαστον, εἰ τὰ μὲν ἀναβεβλημένας ἔχει τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ διεστῶσας, τὰ δὲ προσκολλώσας καὶ συμπεπυκνωμένας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀποτραχύνει τε καὶ πικραίνει τὴν ἀκοήν, τὰ δὲ πραῖνει καὶ λεαίνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς πάθος ἐκτρέπει τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τὰ δ' εἰς ἥθος ὑπάγεται, τὰ δ' ἄλλας τινὰς ἐργάζεται καὶ πολλὰς διαφορὰς παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν. οἷά ἐστι ταυτί (χρήσομαι δὲ παραδείγμασιν οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ἀλλ' οἷς ἐνέτυχον, ἐξ ἐνὸς τῶν Φιλιππικῶν λαβόν). 'Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον εὐτυχοῦντα ὀρῶν ταύτῃ φοβερόν προσπολεμῆσαι νομίζει, σῶφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου προνοίᾳ χρῆται· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄλον ἢ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, εἰ τις αἴρεσιν μοι δοίῃ, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἐλοίμην ἐθελόντων, ἃ προσήκει, ποιεῖν ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἢ τὴν

ἐκείνου.’ ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ περιόδοις ταύταις τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀνόματα πάντα εὐφώνως τε σύγκειται καὶ ἡδέως τῷ συνεχεῖς σφόδρα καὶ μαλακὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ἁρμονίας. ὀλίγα δ’ ἐστὶ παντάπασιν, ἃ διῖσθησι τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τραχείας φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ αὐτάς, ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ περιόδῳ κατὰ δύο τρόπους τὰ φωνήεντα συγκρουόμενα ἐν τε τῷ ‘ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι’ καὶ ἐν τῷ ‘εὐτυχοῦντα ὀρών’, ἃ διῖσθησι τὸ συναφές. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δύο τρόπους ἢ τρεῖς τὰ ἡμίφωνα <καὶ ἄφωνα> παρατίπτοντα ἀλλήλοις τὰ φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα συναλείφεσθαι ἐν τε τῷ ‘τὸν Φίλιππον’ καὶ ἐν τῷ ‘ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι’ ταράττει τοὺς ἦχους μετρίως καὶ οὐκ ἐὰ φαίνεσθαι μαλακοὺς. ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ τραχύνεται μὲν ἡ σύνθεσις ἐν τῷ ‘μεγάλῃ γὰρ ῥοπή’, διὰ τὸ μὴ συναλείφεσθαι τὰ δύο ρ ρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ‘ἀνθρώπων πράγματα’ διὰ τὸ μὴ συλλαεῖνεσθαι <τὸ ν> τῷ ἐξῆς. διασπᾶται δ’ ἐν τῷ ‘μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλον ἢ τύχῃ’, βραχέων φωνηέντων πολὺν τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον περιλαμβανόντων. ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ περιόδῳ τὰ φωνήεντα μὲν, εἴ τις αὐτὰ βούλοιο συναλείψας ἐκθλίβειν ὥσπερ τὸ οἶομαι καὶ δέον, οὐκ ἂν εὖροι συμπλεκόμενα ἀλλήλοις. τῶν δὲ συμφωνουμένων δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν χωρίοις τὴν λειότητα μὴ φυλάττουσαι σὺν τοῖς παρακειμένοις εὐρεθῆσονται ἐν τῷ ‘αἵρεσίν μοι δοίῃ’ καὶ ἐν τῷ ‘<τῇ> τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως’. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶνδε ἡ δευτέρα τὰ πρωτεῖα ἁρμονία φέρει, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἡ προτέρα (διέσπασται <γὰρ> μᾶλλον τῆς ἐτέρας). ‘Πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν ἔχειν ὁρῶ ὑμῖν ἐνούσας ἢ ἐκείνῳ. ἀλλ’, οἶομαι, καθήμεθα οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες. οὐκ ἔνι δ’ αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντα οὐδὲ φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν, μή τί γε θεοῖς.’ ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τά τε φωνήεντα πολλαχῇ συγκρουόμενα δηλὰ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἡμίφωνα καὶ ἄφωνα, ἐξ ὧν σθηριγμούς τε καὶ ἐγκαθισμοὺς αἱ ἁρμονίαι λαμβάνουσι καὶ τραχύτητας αἱ φωναὶ συχνάς. ἐπειθ’ αἱ ταύταις ἐπιβάλλουσαι περίοδοι διαστάσεις μὲν οὐ λαμβάνουσι φωνηέντων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτρόχαλος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ σύνθεσις, ἀφώνων δὲ καὶ ἡμιφώνων συμβολαῖς διαχαραττόμεναι τραχύνουσι τὴν φωνὴν συμμέτρως. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅπαντα κατεσκεύασται τρόπον. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγοντα μηκύνειν; οὐ μόνον δὲ αἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων συζυγίαι τὴν μικτὴν ἁρμονίαν λαμβάνουσι παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ μέσην, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τῶν κώλων κατασκευαί τε καὶ συνθέσεις καὶ τὰ τῶν περιόδων μήκη τε καὶ σχήματα καὶ οἱ περιλαμβάνοντες αὐτάς τε καὶ τὰ κῶλα ῥυθμοί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ κόμματα πολλὰ εἴρηται τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστά γε οὕτως κατεσκεύασται, καὶ ἐν περιόδοις οὐκ ὀλίγα. τῶν δὲ περιόδων αἱ μὲν εἰσιν εὐκόρυφοι καὶ στρογγύλαι ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τόρνου, αἱ δὲ ὑπτιαί τε καὶ κεχυμένα καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσαι τὰς βάσεις περιττάς. μήκει τε αἱ μὲν ἐλάττους, ὥστε συμμετρηθῆναι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς πνεῦμα, αἱ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οἷαι καὶ μέχρι τῆς τετάρτης ἀναπαύσεως προελθοῦσαι τότε λήγειν εἰς πέρας. τῶν τε σχημάτων ἔνθα μὲν ἂν τις εὖροι τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ αὐστηρὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖα πλεονάζοντα, ἔνθα δὲ τὰ λιγυρὰ καὶ γλαφυρὰ καὶ θεατρικά. καὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν πολλαχῇ μὲν τοὺς ἀνδρώδεις καὶ ἀξιωματικούς καὶ εὐγενεῖς, σπανίως δὲ που τοὺς ὑπορχηματικούς τε καὶ Ἴωνικῶς [καὶ] διακλωμένους. ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν· ἕτερος γὰρ ἐπιτηδειότερος αὐτοῖς ἔσται

τόπος. νυνὶ δέ, ὃ προσαπαιτεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ λόγος, ἔτι προσθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν προκειμένων μεταβήσομαι.

[44] τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν; ἔπειδ' ἡ κρατίστην μὲν ἔφην εἶναι τὴν μικτὴν σύνθεσιν, ταύτῃ δὲ κεκρῆσθαι φημι τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀπάντων μετριώτατα τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπιτάσεις δὲ καὶ ἀνέσεις ἀξιολόγους ἐν αὐτῇ ποιεῖσθαι, τοτὲ μὲν ἀξιωματικωτέραν, τοτὲ δ' εὐπρεπεστέραν ποιοῦντα τὴν ἀγωγὴν, τί δὴ ποτε βουλόμενος οὐ πορεύεται μίαν αἰεὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν; καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷδε ἢ τῷδε πλεονάζειν χαρακτηῖρι ποίοις τισὶν ὀρίζει κανόσι; δοκεῖ δὴ μοι φύσει τε καὶ πείρᾳ διδασθεῖς ὁ ἀνὴρ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίας ἀπαιτοῦσι κατασκευὰς λέξεως οἱ πρὸς τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ σχολὰς συρρέοντες ὄχλοι τοῖς εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαντῶσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπάτης ὀρέγονται καὶ ψυχαγωγίας, οἱ δὲ διδασκῶντες, ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσι, καὶ ὠφελείας. οὔτε δὴ τὸν ἐν δικαστηρίοις λόγον ὦρετο δεῖν κωτίλλειν καὶ λιγαίνειν, οὔτε τὸν ἐπιδεικτικὸν αὐχμοῦ μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ πίνου. πανηγυρικοὺς μὲν οὖν λόγους οὐκ ἔχομεν αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι· πάντας γὰρ ἔγωγε τοὺς ἀναφερομένους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι πείθομαι καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔχοντας τὸν ἐκείνου χαρακτηῖρα οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν «οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι», τῆς δὲ συνθέσεως ὅλῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ λειπομένους. ὧν ἐστὶν ὃ τε φορτικὸς καὶ κενὸς καὶ παιδαριώδης ἐπιτάφιος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σοφιστικοῦ λήρου μεστὸν ἐγκώμιον εἰς Πausaniā. τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτων [45] ἀποδείξεις οὐχ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς λέγειν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐναγωνίων αὐτοῦ λόγων, ὅπόσοι πρὸς δικαστήρια γεγόνασιν ἢ πρὸς ἐκκλησίας, τεκμαίρομαι, ὅτι ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶχεν. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτόν, εἴ ποτε λάβοι πράγματα χαριεστέρας δεόμενα κατασκευῆς, πανηγυρικὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντα τῆς λέξεως ἁρμονίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους πεποίηκε λόγῳ πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν οἷς τὸν περὶ τῶν νόμων ἀποδίδωσι λόγον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν φονικῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐφ' ἧς χρείας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τέτακται· κὰν τῷ κατὰ Λεπτίνου περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις τῶν εὐεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως Χαβρίου τε καὶ Κόνωνος καὶ τινων ἑτέρων, κὰν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις συχνοῖς. τοῦτο δὲ δὴ μοι πρῶτον ἐνθυμηθεῖς δοκεῖ συμμαρμόζεσθαι ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι τὸν χαρακτηῖρα τῆς συνθέσεως [τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασι] καὶ ἔτι μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς ιδέας τοῦ λόγου καταμαθὼν, ὅτι οὐχ ἅπασαι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦσιν οὔτε ἐκλογῆς ὀνομάτων κόσμον οὔτε συνθέσεως, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν τὸν γλαφυρώτερον αἱ δὲ τὸν αὐστηρότερον, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀκολουθήσας χρεία τὰ μὲν προοίμια καὶ τὰς διηγήσεις ποιεῖν [τὸ] πλεῖον ἐχούσας τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἡδύ, τὰς δὲ πίστει καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλόγους τῆς μὲν ἡδείας συνθέσεως ἐλάττω μοῖραν ἐχούσας, τῆς δὲ αὐστηρᾶς καὶ πεπινωμένης πλείω. ἐν αἷς μὲν γὰρ δεῖ κολακευθῆναι τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι κακῶν ἀλλοτρίων διηγήσεις αὐχμηρὰς ἐνίοτε καὶ ἀηδεῖς ἀκούοντα, ἐνθα εἰ μὴ τὸ παρηδύνον ἢ σύνθεσις ἐπενέγκοι ἢ παραμυθῆσαιο τὸν τῆς διανοίας κόπον, οὐχ ἔξουσιν αἱ πίστει βάσιν ἀσφαλῆ· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον συντείνοντα λέγεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ἀπλοϊκῶς πως καὶ γενναίως καὶ μετὰ

σεμνότητος αὐστηρᾶς ἀπαιτοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ μανθάνειν, τὸ δὲ κωτῖλον ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ὥραν οὐκ ἔχει ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναγωνίων λόγων. οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν ἐπιστάμενος ἀπάντων φύσιν οὐδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὤετο δεῖν πᾶσι προσήκειν κόσμους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν δημηγορικοῖς τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν μεγαληγορίαν μᾶλλον ἀρμόττειν, τοῖς δὲ δικανικοῖς, ἐνθα τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀκουστῆς γίνεται κακῶν ὁ δικαστῆς, ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα τιμώτατά ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀγών, τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμβουλαῖς καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς κατὰ Φιλίππου κατακορεστέραις κέχρηται ταῖς αὐστηραῖς ἀρμονίαις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια συνταχθεῖσι ταῖς γλαφυραῖς. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν δικανικῶν πάλιν ἐν μὲν τοῖς δημοσίοις, ἐνθα τὸ ἀξίωμα ἔδει τῆς πόλεως φυλάξαι, ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστέραις πλείοσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς ἐλάττωσι.

[46] συνελόντι δ' εἶπεῖν, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν λόγων καὶ τὰς παραλλαγὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων διαφόρους ὤετο δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κράσεις τῶν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει χαρακτήρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ γένη τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων τὰ συμπληρωτικὰ μέρη διαφόρους ἔχοντα τὰς φύσεις ὁρῶν διαλλαττούσαις κατασκευαῖς τῆς ἀρμονίας ἐπειρᾶτο κοσμεῖν, ἄλλως μὲν τὰς γνωμολογίας συντιθεῖς, ἄλλως δὲ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, διαφόρως δὲ τὰ παραδείγματα. πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος, εἰ τὰς διαφορὰς ἀπάσας βουλοίμην λέγειν, ὅσας ἐκεῖνος ὁ δαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ὁρῶν καὶ πρὸς χρῶμα ἕκαστον αἰεὶ σχηματίζων τὸν λόγον, ἀνέσει τε καὶ ἐπιτάσει ταμειυόμενος τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ἑκατέραν, τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκεῖνους λόγους ἀνέπλασεν. παραδειγμάτων δ' οὐκ οἶομαι δεῖν ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα μοι μείζονα πίστιν ὁ λόγος λάβῃ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐξεταζομένων, εἰ τοιαυτὰ ἐστίν, οἷα λέγω. πολὺ γὰρ <ἂν> ἢ σύνταξις τὸ μῆκος λάβοι, καὶ δέος, μὴ ποτε εἰς τοὺς σχολικοὺς ἐκβῇ χαρακτηῖρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνηματικῶν. ὀλίγα δὲ ληφθέντα τῶν πολλῶν ἱκανὰ τεκμήρια, καὶ ἅμα πρὸς ἐπισταμένους (οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε τοῖς ἀπείροις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάδε γράφω) τὸ δεῖξαι τὰ πράγματα συμβολικῶς ἀπόχρη. ἐπάνειμι δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὧν ἐν ἀρχῇ προϋθέμην ἐρεῖν.

[47] δεύτερον δὲ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐπιδείξει, τίσι θεωρήμασι χρώμενος καὶ διὰ ποίας ἀσκήσεως προελθὼν τὸ κράτιστον μέρος ἔλαβε τῆς ἀρμονίας. ἐρῶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔχω δόξης. δεῖν ὄντων τελῶν περὶ πᾶν ἔργον, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ὧν τε φύσις δημιουργὸς καὶ ὧν αἱ τέχναι μητέρες, τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς, εἶδεν, ὅτι κἂν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς τε ἐμμέτροις καὶ τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ μέτρου κατασκευαζομένοις ἔμελλεν ἀποχρώντως ἔξειν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων. χωρισθὲν γὰρ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν θατέρου πρὸς τῷ μὴ τέλειον εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἀμαυροτέραν ἴσχει. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδὼν καὶ τῆς μὲν αὐστηρᾶς τὸ καλὸν ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι τέλος, τῆς δὲ γλαφυρᾶς τὸ ἡδύ, ἐζήτει, τίνα ποιητικὰ τοῦ κάλλους ἐστὶ καὶ τίνα τῆς ἡδονῆς. εὗρισκε δὴ τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέρων ὄντα αἴτια, τὰ μέλη καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸ παρακολουθοῦν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς πρέπον, οὐ μὴν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἑκάτερα σχηματιζόμενα. ὃν δὲ λόγον ἔχει τούτων ἕκαστον, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διδάσκειν.

[48] τοῖς πρώτοις μορίοις τῆς λέξεως, ἃ δὴ στοιχεῖα ὑπὸ πινων καλεῖται, εἴτε τρία ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὡς Θεοδέκτη τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σύνδεσμοι, εἴτε τέτταρα, ὡς τοῖς περὶ Ζήνωνα τὸν Στωικόν, εἴτε πλείω, δύο ταῦτα ἀκολουθεῖ μέλος καὶ χρόνος ἴσα. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὰς ὀξύτητάς τε καὶ βαρύτητας αὐτῶν τάττεται τὸ μέλος, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μήκη καὶ τὰς βραχύτητας ὁ χρόνος. οὗτος δὲ γίνεταί ῥυθμός, εἴτε ἀπὸ δυεῖν ἀρξάμενος συνίστασθαι βραχειῶν, ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες καὶ καλοῦσι τὸν οὕτως κατασκευασθέντα ῥυθμὸν ἡγεμόνα, πρῶτον ἔχοντα λόγον τῶν ἴσων ἄρσει τε καὶ θέσει χρόνων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τριῶν βραχειῶν, ὡς τοῖς περὶ Ἀριστόξενον ἔδοξεν, ὅς ἐν τῷ διπλασίῳ κατεσκεύασται λόγῳ πρῶτον. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν πρώτων μορίων τῆς λέξεως συντιθεμένοις τό τε μέλος εἰς αὐξήσιν ἤδη συμπροάγει καὶ οἱ ῥυθμοὶ προβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰ καλούμενα μέτρα. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃ τούτων ἐκάτερον ὑπεραίρειν τὸ μέτρον, ἡ μεταβολὴ τότε εἰσελθοῦσα ταμιεύεται τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν ἐκατέρου. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν ταῦτα χώραν λάβῃ, τότε ἀποδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν προσήκουσαν ὥραν τὸ πρέπον. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἔργων καταμαθεῖν. φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ὥδαῖς ἢ κρούμασιν ὀργάνων τὸ κάλλιστον ἐντείνας μέλος ῥυθμοῦ μηδένα ποιοῖτο λόγον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν τις ἀνάσχοιτο τῆς τοιαύτης μουσικῆς; τί δέ; τούτων μὲν ἀμφοτέρων προνοηθεῖν μετρίως, μένοι δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μελωδίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ῥυθμῶν, οὐδὲν ἐξαλλάττων οὐδὲ ποικίλλων, ἄρ' οὐχ ὅλον ἂν διαφθείροι τὸ ἀγαθόν; εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτου στοχάσαιτο, μηδεμίαν δὲ πρόνοιαν ἔχων φαίνοιτο τοῦ πρέποντος τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, οὐκ ἀνόνητος αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁ περὶ ἐκεῖνα ἔσται πόνος; ἐμοί γ' οὕν δοκεῖ. ταῦτα δὴ καταμαθὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης τά τε μέλη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ κῶλων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶν ἐπιλογιζόμενος οὕτω συναρμόττειν αὐτὰ ἐπειράτο, ὥστ' ἐμμελῆ φαίνεσθαι καὶ εὐρυθμα, ἐξαλλάττειν τε καὶ ποικίλλειν ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐπειράτο μυρίοις ὅσοις σχήμασι καὶ τρόποις καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος ὅσῃν οὐδεὶς τῶν περὶ λόγους σπουδαζόντων ἐποιεῖτο δόσιν. ἐνθυμηθεὶς δέ, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὡς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων θεωρημάτων ὃ τε ἡδὺς γίνεται λόγος καὶ ὁ καλός, ἐσκόπει πάλιν, τί ποτε ἦν τὸ αἵτιον, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν ἦν ποιητικά. εὗρισκε δὴ τῶν τε μελῶν οὕσας διαφοράς, αἱ ποιοῦσιν ἃ μὲν ἀξιωματικὰ φαίνεσθαι αὐτῶν ἃ δὲ γλαφυρά, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἀρμονίαν τὸ χρῶμα, κἂν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς δὲ τὸ παραπλήσιον γινόμενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἀξιωματικοὺς αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τρυφεροὺς καὶ μαλακοὺς. ἐν τε ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τοτὲ μὲν τὸ ἀρχαιοπρεπὲς καὶ αὐστηρόν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸ μελιχρὸν καὶ φιλόκαινον ἐμφαινόμενον. τό τε δὴ πρέπον ἀπάντων μάλιστα μεγάλην παρέχον εἰς ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ῥοπήν. συνιδὼν δὴ ταῦτα, ὅποτε μὲν τοῦ καλοῦ πλείονος δεῖν αὐτῷ τῇ κατασκευῇ ὑπολάβοι, τὰς τε ἐμμελείας ἐποίει μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἀξιωματικοὺς καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς γενναίας. ὁπότε δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας αὐτῷ φανείη δεῖσθαι συνθέσεως ἢ λέξεις, πάντα ταῦτα κατεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸ μουσικώτερον. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, εἰ καὶ τῇ πεζῇ λέξει φημὶ δεῖν ἐμμελείας καὶ εὐρυθμίας καὶ μεταβολῶν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ὥδαῖς καὶ τοῖς

ὀργάνοις, εἰ μηδενὸς τούτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῆς Δημοσθένους ἀκούων λέξεως, μηδὲ κακουργεῖν με ὑπολάβῃ τὰ προσόντα τῇ ψιλῇ λέξει προσμαρτυροῦντα. ἔχει γὰρ ταῦτα ἢ καλῶς κατεσκευασμένα λέξεις καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος. τῇ δ' εὐκαιρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ποσότητι τὴν αἴσθησιν διαλανθάνει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ συγκέχυται, τὰ δὲ συνέφθαρται, τὰ δ' ἄλλω τινὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐκβέβηκεν τῆς κατασκευῆς, ὥστε αὐτὴν ἐξηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν τῷ παντὶ καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν εἰοικέναι τοῖς ποιήμασιν.

[49] ἄρα γε ἀπαιτήσῃ μὲ τις ἐνταυθοῖ λόγον μελῶν τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς σχημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἐκάστῳ πρέποντος, ἀξιῶν ἀκοῦσαι, τίνα τε αὐτῶν ἐστίν, οἷς ἢ φιλόρχαιος ἁρμονία κοσμεῖται, καὶ τίνα τῆς κωτίλης γένοιτο ἂν ἁρμονίας; ἢ οἰκειοτέραν τὴν ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιφερόμενος εὐμουσίαν, ἣν ἔκ τε μουσικῆς καὶ γραμματικῆς ἐσχηκεν, αἱ ταῦτ' ἔχουσι τὰ θεωρήματα, ἐπιλαβόντα τὸ χρονίζειν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ γνωρίμοις τὸν λόγον οὐ συκοφαντήσῃ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ μέτρα ὀρών; οἶομαι μὲν οὖν, ὥς καὶ δόξαν ἐπεικῇ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ σοῦ, φίλτατε Ἀμμαῖε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐμουσίας τῆς σῆς λαμβάνων. εἰ δὲ τις ἀπαιτήσῃ καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπι μαθεῖν ὅπῃ ποτ' ἔχει, τοὺς ὑπομνηματισμοὺς ἡμῶν λαβών, οὓς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων πεπραγματεύμεθα, πάντα ὅσα ποθεῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε παραλειπομένων εἴσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδὲ πῃ περιγράψας τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγον ἐπὶ τὸ περιλειπόμενον ἐλεύσομαι μέρος.

[50] ὑπεσχόμην γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο δείξειν ἔτι, πῶς ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς Δημοσθένους συνθέσεως καὶ ποίοις χρώμενος σημείοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διορίσειεν. ἐν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ παράσημον αὐτῆς ἐκφανὲς οὕτως, ὥστε μόνη ταύτῃ καὶ μηδεμιᾷ τῶν ἄλλων παρακολουθεῖν, ἢ δὲ συνδρομή τε καὶ πλεονασμός, οἷς ἐλέγχεσθαι πέφυκε παντὸς πράγματος καὶ σώματος γνῶσις, ἴδιος αὐτῆς γίνεται χαρακτῆρ. χρήσομαι δ' εἰκόνι φανερά τῆς σαφηνείας ἔνεκα τοῖς σώμασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἅπανσι δὴ που συμβέβηκε μέγεθός τε καὶ χρῶμα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέλη καὶ ῥυθμός τις τῶν μελῶν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις. εἰ δὴ τις ἅφ' ἐνὸς τούτων ἀξιῶσει τὸν χαρακτῆρα σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς εἴσεται. ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ ἂν εὖροι μορφαῖς τοιοῦτόν τι ἕτερον, οἷον ἔθετο τῆς μιᾶς μορφῆς σύμβολον. ἐὰν δὲ πάντα συνθῇ τὰ συμβεβηκότα τῇ μορφῇ ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα ἢ τὰ κυριώτατα, ταχέϊαν τε πάνυ τὴν γνῶσιν λήψεται καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ ... σεται ταῖς ὁμοιότησι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν ἀξιῶσαιμ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους τὴν σύνθεσιν ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὴν Δημοσθένους, ἐκ πολλῶν αὐτὴν δοκιμάζειν ἰδιωμάτων, λέγω δὴ τῶν κρατίστων τε καὶ κυριωτάτων· πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἐμμελείας, ἥς κριτήριον ἄριστον ἢ ἄλογος αἴσθησις. δεῖ δὲ αὐτῇ τριβῆς πολλῆς καὶ κατηχήσεως χρονίου· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πλάσται μὲν καὶ ζωγράφων παῖδες, εἰ μὴ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν λάβοιεν, χρόνῳ τρίψαντες τὰς ὁράσεις μακρῶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων δημιουργῶν τέχνας, οὐκ ἂν εὐπετῶς αὐτὰς διαγνοῖεν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν βεβαίως, ὅτι [τῇ φήμῃ παραλαβόντες] τουτὶ μὲν ἐστὶ Πολυκλείτου τὸ ἔργον, τουτὶ δὲ Φειδίου, τουτὶ δὲ Ἀλκαμένους, καὶ τῶν γραφῶν Πολυγνώτου μὲν αὕτη, Τιμάνθους δὲ ἐκείνη, αὕτη δὲ Παρρασίου.

λόγων δὲ ἄρα τινὲς ἀκριβῶς ἐξ ὀλίγων παραγγελμάτων καὶ προσκαίρου κατηχήσεως ἐμμελοῦς ἁρμονίας εἴσονται φύσιν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον οἶομαι δεῖν σκοπεῖν ἐπιστήμη γε καὶ ἔθει, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν εὐρυθμίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι λέξις οὐδεμία Δημοσθένους, ἥτις οὐκ ἐμπεριείλφη ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα τὰ μὲν ἀηρητισμένα καὶ τέλεια, τὰ δ' ἄτελῃ, τοιαύτην ἐπιπλοκὴν ἔχοντα ἐν ἀλλήλοις καὶ οὕτως συνηρμοσμένα, ὥστε μὴ δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ μέτρα. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο πολιτικὴ λέξις παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐμφερὲς ποιήμασιν, ἂν μὴ περιέχῃ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμούς τινας ἐγκατακεχωρισμένους ἀδήλως. οὐ μέντοι γε προσήκει αὐτὴν ἔμμετρον οὐδ' ἔρρυθμον εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ποίημα ἢ μέλος, ἐκβᾶσα τὸν αὐτῆς χαρακτηῖρα, ἀλλ' εὐρυθμον αὐτὴν ἀπόχρη φαίνεσθαι καὶ εὔμετρον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἴη ποιητικὴ μὲν, οὐ μὴν ποίημά γε, καὶ μελίζουσα μὲν, οὐ μὴν μέλος. τίνα δ' ἔχει ταῦτα διαφοράν, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἡ μὲν ὅμοια παραλαμβάνουσα μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμούς τεταγμένους εἴτε κατὰ στίχον εἴτε κατὰ περίοδον, ἣν καλοῦσιν «οἱ» μουσικοὶ στροφὴν, κἄπειτα πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν στίχων ἢ περιόδων, ἃς ἀντιστρόφους ὀνομάζουσι, χρωμένη καὶ τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ τέλους προβαίνουσα ἔμμετρός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἔρρυθμος, καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τῇ τοιαύτῃ λέξει μέτρον καὶ μέλος, ἡ δὲ περιπεπλανημένα μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμούς ἀτάκτους ἐμπεριλαμβάνουσα καὶ μήτε ἀκολουθίαν αὐτῶν φυλάττουσα μήτε ὁμοζυγίαν μήτ' ἄλλην ὁμοιότητα τεταγμένην μηδεμίαν εὐρυθμος μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ εὔμετρος, ἐπεὶ δὴ διαπεποικίλται μέτροις τε καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τισιν, οὐ μὴν ἔρρυθμός γε οὐδὲ ἔμμετρος, ἐπεὶ δὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχουσι. τοιαύτην δὴ φημι πᾶσαν εἶναι λέξιν πολιτικὴν, ἐν ἣ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐμφαίνεται κάλλος. ἡ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη κεχρημένον ὀρῶ. τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους πίστεις ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως γραφεῖσιν ἀποδεδωκώς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι κἀνταῦθα λέγειν. τρίτον ἔτι καὶ τέταρτον ἰδίωμα τῆς συνθέσεως τοῦ ῥήτορος ἦν τό τε ἐξαλλάττειν παντοδαπῶς καὶ τὸ σχηματίζειν ποικίλως τὰ κῶλα καὶ τὰς περιόδους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ἀπλῶς τόπος, ὃς οὐχὶ διαπεποικίλται ταῖς τε ἐξαλλαγαῖς καὶ τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς, ὥς ἅπαντες ἴσασιν, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα μὴ λόγων δεῖσθαι γνώριμα καὶ τοῖς φανλοτάτοις ὄντα.

[51] ταυτί μοι δοκεῖ μηνύματα τῆς συνθέσεως εἶναι τῆς Δημοσθένους «ἀνυφαίρετα» καὶ χαρακτηριστικά, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις αὐτὴν διαγνοίῃ πᾶσαν, ἐξετάζειν βουληθεῖς. εἰ δέ τις ὑποτεύξεται πρὸς ταῦτα θαυμάζειν λέγων, εἰ καὶ κακοδαίμων οὕτως ἦν ὁ τηλικούτος ἀνὴρ, ὥσθ', ὅτε γράφοι τοὺς λόγους, ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφειν τὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων συντιθέμενα κῶλα, ἐμμελείας τε καὶ ῥυθμούς καὶ μέτρα, μουσικῆς οἰκεῖα θεωρίας πράγματα καὶ ποιητικῆς, εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν ἐναρμόττων φράσιν, ἡ τούτων οὐδενὸς μέτεστιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμηθῆτω, ὅτι ὁ τοσαύτης δόξης ἡξιωμένος ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ λόγοις, ὅσης οὐδεὶς τῶν πρότερον, αἰώνια συνταπτόμενος ἔργα καὶ τῷ πάντα βασανίζοντι χρόνῳ παραδιδούς, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος ἔγραφεν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν οἰκονομίας πολλὴν ἐποιεῖτο δόσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἁρμονίας, ὀρῶν γε

δὴ τούτους τοὺς θαυμαζομένους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ κρατίστων λόγων ποιητὰς νομιζομένους Ἰσοκράτην καὶ Πλάτωνα γλυπτοῖς καὶ τορευτοῖς ἐοικότας ἐκφέροντας λόγους, ἐνθυμούμενος δ', ὅτι τοῦ λέγειν εὖ διττὴ ἡ διαίρεσις ἐστίν, εἷς τε τὸν πραγματικὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰς τὸν λεκτικόν, καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὰς ἴσας διαιρεθέντων τομὰς, τοῦ πραγματικοῦ μὲν εἷς τε τὴν παρασκευὴν, ἣν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλοῦσιν εὐρεσιν, καὶ εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἣν προσαγορεύουσιν οἰκονομίαν, τοῦ λεκτικοῦ δὲ εἷς τε τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ἐκλεγέντων, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων πλείω μοῖραν ἔχει τὰ δεύτερα τῶν προτέρων· τὸ μὲν οἰκονομικὸν ἐν τῷ πραγματικῷ, τὸ δὲ συνθετικὸν ἐν τῷ λεκτικῷ. περὶ ὧν οὐ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηκύνειν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐννοηθεῖν ἂν, εἴ τις μὴ κοιμηθῇ σκαιὸς ἢ δύσερις, καὶ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν, εἰ φροντὶς ἐγένετο Δημοσθένει [ἔτι] μελῶν καὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ σχημάτων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, οἷς ἡδεῖα καὶ καλὴ γίνεται σύνθεσις. τοὺναντίον γὰρ μᾶλλον ὑπολάβοι τις <ἂν> ἀνὴρ μῆτε ὀλιγόπονος μῆτε ἀψίκωρος μῆτε ἀκρόσοφος ἄπορον εἶναι καὶ ἀμήχανον, ἢ μηδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιῆσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα τῆς ἀρμονίας τῶν λόγων ἢ φαύλην τινά, βουλόμενον μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διανοίας ἀθάνατα καταλιπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοι πλάσται μὲν καὶ γραφεῖς ἐν ὕλῃ φθαρτῇ χειρῶν εὐστοχίας ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοσοῦτους εἰσφέρονται πόνους, ὥστε καὶ φλέβια καὶ πτίλα καὶ χνοῦς καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια εἰς ἄκρον ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ κατατῆκεν εἰς ταῦτα τὰς τέχνας, πολιτικὸς δ' ἄρα δημιουργός, πάντα ὑπεράρας τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν φύσει τε καὶ πόνῳ, τῶν ἐλαχίστων τινὸς εἰς τὸ εὖ λέγειν, εἰ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἐλάχιστα, ὠλιγώρησε.

[52] βουλομένην δ' ἂν καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθῆναι [διότι] τοὺς ἔτι δυσπεῖστως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, ὅτι μειράκιον μὲν ἔτι ὄντα καὶ νεωστὶ τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπτόμενον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄλογον ἦν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πάντα διὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φροντίδος ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ χρόνιος ἄσκησις ἔξιν αὐτῷ ἐνεποίησε πολλὴν καὶ τύπους ἰσχυροὺς ἐνεργάσατο τῶν αἰεὶ μελετωμένων, τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάστου τε καὶ τῆς ἔξεως αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. οἷόν τι γίνεται καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα περὶ τὴν καλουμένην γραμματικὴν. ἱκανὴ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τεκμηριῶσαι, φανερωτάτη πασῶν οὕσα καὶ θαυμασιωτάτη. ταύτην γὰρ ὅταν ἐκμάθωμεν, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν στοιχείων τῆς φωνῆς ἀναλαμβάνομεν, ἃ καλεῖται γράμματα. ἔπειτα <τοὺς> τύπους τε αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα μάθωμεν, τότε τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτας πάθη. κρατήσαντες δὲ τούτων τὰ τοῦ λόγου μόρια, ὀνόματα λέγω καὶ ῥήματα καὶ συνδέσμους, καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα τούτοις, συστολάς, ἐκτάσεις, ὀξύτητας, βαρύτητας, γένη, πτώσεις, ἀριθμούς, ἐγκλίσεις, τὰ ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις μυρία ὄντα. ὅταν δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀπάντων ἐπιστήμην περιλάβωμεν, τότε ἀρχόμεθα γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, κατὰ συλλαβὴν μὲν καὶ βραδέως τὸ πρῶτον, ἅτε νεαρᾶς οὗσης ἔτι τῆς ἔξεως, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἰσχυρὸν τῇ ψυχῇ περιπεθέντος ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς μελέτης, τότε ἁπταίστως τε καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιδῶ τις βυβλίον οὐδὲν ἐκείνων ἔτι τῶν πολλῶν θεωρημάτων ἀναπολοῦντες ἅμα νοήσει

διερχόμεθα. τοιοῦτον δὴ τι καὶ περὶ ταύτην ὑποληπτέον γενέσθαι τὴν τέχνην, ἐκ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ γλίσχρων θεωρημάτων ἀυξομένην τὴν ἔξιν σὺν χρόνῳ ῥαδίως αὐτῶν κρατεῖν, ὥστε ἅμα νοήσῃ κεκριμένον τε καὶ ἀπταιστον αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ πραγματείας μεγάλης ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ κατὰ τὸν Δημοσθένη· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων μικρῶν ἐστὶ πόνων ὦνιον. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιλογίσῃται τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτοῖς καρπούς, μᾶλλον δ' ἐὰν ἕνα μόνον τὸν ἔπαινον, ὃν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ χρόνος καὶ ζῶσι καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, πᾶσαν ἡγήσεται τὴν [τε] πραγματείαν ἐλάττω τῆς προσηκούσης.

[53] εἷς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος ὁ περὶ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ὡς κεκόσμηκε τὴν λέξιν ἀνὴρ, ἀναγκαίας ἀρετῆς οὔσης περὶ λόγους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πολιτικούς. ἥς παρούσης μὲν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς γίνεται χώρα καὶ τόπος, ἀπούσης δὲ οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν ὄφελος οὐδ' ἐκείνων οὐδεμιᾶς. τεκμήριαιτο δ' ἂν τις, ἡλίκην ἰσχὺν τοῦτο τὸ στοιχεῖον ἔχει, καταμαθὼν, ὅσον ἀλλήλων ἀλλάττουσιν οἱ τραγωδίας τε καὶ κωμωδίας ὑποκρινόμενοι. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ποιήματα λέγοντες οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἡμᾶς κηλοῦσιν ἅπαντες, ἀλλ' ἐνίοις ἐπαχθόμεθα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενοί τι καθυποκρινομένοις καὶ διαφθείρουσι τὰς βουλήσεις τῶν ποιημάτων χαλεπαίνομεν. ταύτης δὴ φημι τῆς ἀρετῆς πάννυ δεῖν τοῖς ἐναγωνίοις λόγοις, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἔξῃν πολὺ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον. ἥς πλείστην ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ. διττὴν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς οὔσαν ὀρών, περὶ ἅμφω τὰ μέρη σφόδρα ἐσπούδασε. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὡς κράτιστα ἔξῃν ἔμελλεν, οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ κατειργάσατο, καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πάννυ εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες. τί δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ συντείνει; φαίη τις ἂν. ἡ λέξις μὲν οὖν, εἴποισι' ἂν, οἰκείως κατεσκεύασται πρὸς ταῦτα, μεστὴ πολλῶν οὔσα ἡθῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ διδάσκουσα, οἷας ὑποκρίσεως αὐτῇ δεῖ. ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας τὸν ῥήτορα τοῦτον ἐπιμελῶς χρὴ παρατηρεῖν, ἵνα τοῦτον ἕκαστα λέγῃται τὸν τρόπον, ἧ ἐκείνος ἐβούλετο. αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ λέξις διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας ψυχὴν εὐκίνητον, μεθ' οἷας αὐτὴν ὑποκρίσεως ἐκφέρεσθαι δεήσει. ὁ δὲ ἐγὼ σαφὲς ἐπὶ τῶν παραδειγμάτων ποιήσω.

[54] φέρε γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖτω τις προφέρεισθαι τοῦσδε τοὺς ἀριθμούς· “Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐῷ, ἃς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν, ὥστε μηδ', εἰ πῶποτε ὠκίσθησαν, ῥάδιον ἦν προσελθόντας εἰπεῖν. καὶ τὸ Φωκέων τοσοῦτον ἔθνος ἀνηρημένον σιωπῷ. ἐνταῦθα ἡ λέξις αὐτῇ διδάσκει, τίνας ὑποκρίσεως δεῖ αὐτῇ. διηρηκῶς γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνηρημένων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου πόλεων ἐπὶ Θράκης οὗ φησιν ἐρεῖν. οὐχὶ ταῦτ' οὖν εἰρωνευόμενον δεῖ λέγειν καὶ ἅμα ὑπαγανακτοῦντα καὶ παρεντείνοντα τὸν ἥχον; εἴτ' εἰ καὶ φησὶν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐρεῖν ταῦθ' ὥσπερ δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν, ὅμως ὁδύρεται πόλεων κατάλογον καὶ τελείαν ἀναίρεσιν διέξεισιν, ὡς οὐδ' ἶχνος ἔτι λοιπὸν ἔχουσῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς οἰκήσεως. οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τ' οὖν ταῦτα ὑπερβαλλούσης καὶ οἴκτου λέγεσθαι προσήκει; τίνας οὖν εἰσὶν ὀργῆς καὶ

ὀλοφυρμοῦ τόνοι καὶ ἐγκλίσεις καὶ σχηματισμοὶ προσώπου καὶ φοραὶ χειρῶν; ἃς οἱ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ταῦτα πεπονθότες ἐπιτελοῦσι. πάνν γὰρ εὐήθες ἄλλο τι ζητεῖν ὑποκρίσεως διδασκαλεῖον, ἀφέντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ αὖθις ἐπιφέρει ὁ ἀνὴρ· ‘ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας αὐτῶν ἀφῆρηται καὶ τετραρχίας καθέστακεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ «πλησίον» Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν;’ ταῦτα πάλιν ἑτέραν ὑπόκρισιν ἀπαιτεῖ. πυνθάνεται γάρ, εἴτ' ἀνθυποφέρει καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὖξει. ἴδιον δὲ δὴ που σχῆμα πεύσεως, ἴδιον δ' ἀνθυποφορᾶς, ἴδιον δ' αὐξήσεως· οὐ δύναται ταῦτα ἐνὶ τόνῳ καὶ μιᾷ μορφῇ φωνῆς λέγεσθαι. τούτοις ἐκεῖνα ἔπεται· ‘καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἥλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσεν· οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος χωρεῖ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου’. ταῦτα ἔνεστι προφέρεσθαι ἡδονῇ ἐν παροδικοῖς μέλεσιν ὥσπερ ἱστορίαν; οὐκ αὐτὰ βοᾷ καὶ διδάσκει, πῶς αὐτὰ δεῖ λέγεσθαι, μόνον οὐ φωνὴν ἀφιέντα· ‘ἐνταῦθα ἀστεῖον ἦχον, ταῦτα ἐσπευσμένως εἶπέ, ταῦτ' ἀναβεβλημένως, δευρὶ δ' ἀπόλιπε τὸ συνεχές, ἐνταυθοῖ σύναφον τὰ ἐξῆς, τούτοις συνάλγησον, τούτων καταφρόνησον, ταῦτα ἐκδειματώθητι, ταῦτα διάσυρον, ταῦτα αὖξησον’; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ. οὐκοῦν ἔστιν ἀλόγου ζώου ψυχὴν ἔχοντα, μᾶλλον δὲ λίθου φύσιν νωθράν, ἀναίσθητον, ἀκίνητον, ἀπαθῆ, τὴν Δημοσθένους προφέρεσθαι λέξις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖν, ἐπεὶ τὸ κάλλιστον αὐτῆς ἀγαθὸν ἀπολείται, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐδὲν διοίσει σώματος καλοῦ μὲν, ἀκινήτου δὲ καὶ νεκροῦ. πόλλ' ἂν τις εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, τοῦ δὲ συντάγματος ἱκανὸν εἰληφότος ἤδη μῆκος αὐτοῦ που καταπαῦσαι χρή τὸν λόγον, ἐκεῖνο ἔτι νῆ Δία τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσαποδόντας, ὅτι πάσας ἔχουσα τὰς ἀρετὰς ἡ Δημοσθένους λέξις λείπεται εὐτραπείας, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσι χάριν. πλεῖστον γὰρ αὐτῆς μετέχει μέρος

Οὐ γὰρ πως ἅμα πάντα θεοὶ δόσαν ἀνθρώποισιν, ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἀστεῖσμοὺς ἅμα ἐν τοῖς Δημοσθένους λόγοις. οὐδὲν γάρ, ὦν ἑτέροις πισὶν ἔδωκεν ἀγαθῶν ὁ δαίμων, ἐκεῖνῳ ἐφθόνησεν.

[155] ἃ δὲ γε Αἰσχίνης περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει συκοφαντῶν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τότε μὲν ὥς πικροῖς καὶ περιέργοις ὀνόμασι χρωμένους, τότε δ' ὥς ἀηδέσι καὶ φορτικοῖς, ῥαδίᾳς ἔχει τὰς ἀπολογίας. εἰ γέ τοι βουλευθεῖη τις χωρὶς ἑκαστον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων σκοπεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον ἢ κατηγορίας ἄξια εὐρήσει, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀληθῶς εἰρημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πικραίνειν τὴν διάλεκτον, ὅταν ἀπαιτῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ (πολλάκις δὲ ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων), ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι τοῦ ῥήτορος, εἰ γε δὴ τὸ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν αὐστηρὸν τῶν νόμων φύλακα καὶ πικρὸν ἐξεταστὴν τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τιμωρὸν ἀπαραίτητον τῶν παρανομοούντων παρὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς δυνάμεως ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαιτοῦμεν. ἀμήχανον δὲ τρυφεροῖς ὀνόμασι καλλωπίζοντα τὴν διάλεκτον ὀργὴν ἢ μῖσος ἢ τῶν παραπλησίων τι κινῆσαι παθῶν, ἀλλ'

ἀνάγκη καὶ νοήματ' ἐξευρεῖν, ἃ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἔσται παθῶν ἀγωγά, καὶ ὀνόμασι τοιούτοις αὐτὰ περιλαβεῖν, οἷς πέφυκεν ἀκοὴ πικραίνεσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν τῇ πικραίνουσῃ διαλέκτῳ χρώμενον ἀπεδείκνυνεν αὐτὸν ἢ πλεονάζοντα ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς ποσότητος ἀστοχοῦντα, εἰκότως ἂν ὡς ἁμαρτάνοντα διέβαλλεν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον ἔχει δεικνύναι, κοινῶς δὲ διαβάλλει τὴν παθητικὴν διάλεκτον, οὕσαν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην εἰς πολιτικοὺς παραλαμβάνεσθαι λόγους, λεληθότα ἐγκώμια μεταφέρων εἰς τὰς κατηγορίας, ὥσπερ ἔφην.

[56] τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς περιέργου λέξεως ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ χλευάζει τὴν ἀρετὴν. δεχέσθω δέ τις τὴν περιεργίαν τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ <λεγομένην> λέγεσθαι νυνὶ περιττὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένην τῶν ἐν ἔθει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε εἰ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα εἰκῇ τιθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα καὶ ταύτην ἀδιαφόρως κυκλεῖ τὴν λέξιν ἐπὶ τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους εἰκὸς αὐτῇ κεχρηῖσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀκαιρίαν ἢ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τῆς ἐξηλλαγμένης ἐρμηνείας διασύρων καὶ ταῦτα εἴρηκεν, ὡς τοῦ Δημοσθένους περὶ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἁμαρτάνοντος, ψεύδεται περιφανῶς. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημηγορίαις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀποβλέπων κέχρηται τῇ τοιαύτῃ κατασκευῇ πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς λόγοις, οὓς περὶ μικρῶν συμβολαίων ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις γέγραφε, τὴν κοινὴν καὶ συνήθη λέξιν ἐπιτηδεύει, σπανίως δέ ποτε τὴν περιττὴν καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, ἀλλ' ὥστε λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ κἀνταῦθα τῷ γένει τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς ὅλῳ πολέμῳ ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν Αἰσχίνης, ἄτοπόν τι ποιεῖ πρᾶγμα, ταύτην διασύρων τὴν δεινότητα, ἥς πλείστης τῷ ῥήτορι δεῖ. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμοίως ἐκφέρειν τὰς νοήσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον καὶ ποιητικώτερον ἐκβιβάζειν τὴν ὀνομασίαν παρὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως μάλιστα ἀπαιτοῦμεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγκώμια τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος ὄντα ὡς ἁμαρτήματα φέρων Αἰσχίνης οὐκ ἀληθῶς μὲν, εὐλόγως δ' ἴσως, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο διαβάλλειν δυνάμενος, ἀπερισκέπτως, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, συκοφαντεῖ.

[57] τὸ δὲ φάσκειν φορτικοῖς καὶ ἀηδέσι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτὸν κεχρηῖσθαι πόθεν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ [λέγειν], ὑπὲρ πάντα ἔγωγε τεθαύμακα. οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐρίσκω τούτων παρὰ Δημοσθένει κείμενον, ὣν εἰρηκέναι φησὶν αὐτὸν Αἰσχίνης, οἷον ὅτι 'οὐ δεῖ τῆς φιλίας ἀπορρῆξαι τὴν συμμαχίαν' καὶ ὅτι 'ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν' καὶ 'ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τοῦ δήμου' καὶ 'φορμορραφούμεθα' καὶ 'ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσιν', οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθησι διακωμωδῶν· 'ταῦτα δέ, ὦ κίναδος, τί ἐστι; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα;' οὐδέ γε ἄλλα τινὰ φορτικὰ καὶ ἀηδῆ ὀνόματα ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων εὐρεῖν δεδύνημαι καὶ ταῦτα πέντε ἢ ἑξ μυριάδας στίχων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταλελοιπότος. εἰ μέντοι τινὲς ἐν τοῖς ψευδεπιγράφοις εἰσὶ λόγοις ἀηδεῖς καὶ φορτικαὶ καὶ ἄγροικοι κατασκευαί, ὡς ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος β' καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογία τῶν δώρων καὶ ἐν τῷ <περὶ τοῦ> μὴ ἐκδοῦναι Ἄρπαλον καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας

καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τε συχνοῖς, οὐς ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἔγραψεν, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δηλοῦται μοι πραγματεία τὰ περὶ Δημοσθένη. καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν [58] Αἰσχίνης ἐπιτετίμηκεν αὐτῷ, ταῦτα ἱκανά.

ἤδη δὲ που ἀκακῆνόν τινες οἱ μὲν ὡς χαρακτηριστικὸν οἱ δ' ὡς ἀμάρτημα τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐσημειώσαντο, λέγω δὲ τὸ πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα δηλοῦν ἐνίοτε δῆ, οἷά ἐστι ταυτί· ‘Φιλίππῳ δ’ ἐξέσται καὶ πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι βούλεται’ καὶ ‘τὸν Μειδίαν τοῦτον οὐκ εἰδώς, ὅστις ποτ’ ἐστίν, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκων’ καὶ ‘τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐναντίον κόρης ἔτι καὶ παιδὸς οὔσης’ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἰδίωμα τοῦ χαρακτῆρος αὐτὸ ἀποφαίνουσι τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὀρθῶς λέγουσι· κέχρηται γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησίμως ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὥσπερ καὶ τῇ τμητικῇ [καὶ τῇ] βραχυλογίᾳ πάντων γε μᾶλλον καὶ εὐκαιρότερον. ὅσοι δ’ ἐν ἀμαρτήματος αὐτὸ μοῖρα φέρουσι, τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐξητακότες, δι’ ἃς εἰώθει πλεονάζειν ἐνίοτε ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐ δεόντως αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦσιν, ἀλλ’ εἰκόασιν οἱ τοῦτο συκοφαντοῦντες τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἐκ παντὸς ἀπαιτεῖν, ἣν, ὅπερ εἶπον, παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ εὐκαιρότερον παρέχεται, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν οὐδεμίαν, οὐκέτι συννοῶντες ὅτι καὶ τῆς σαφηνείας δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τῆς ἐναργείας καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐρυθμίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ παθητικῆν τε καὶ ἠθικῆν καὶ ἐναγώνιον ποιεῖν τὴν λέξιν, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἡ πλείστη τοῦ πιθανοῦ μοῖρα. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐκάστην οὐχ ἡ βραχυλογία κράτιστα δύναται ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πλεονασμὸς ἐνίων ὀνομάτων, ὧ καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης κέχρηται. ἔφερον δ’ ἂν σοι παραδείγματα τῶν εἰρημένων, εἰ μὴ κοπώδης ἔμελλον φανήσεσθαι πρὸς σὲ δῖτα λέγων. ταῦτα, ὧ κράτιστε Ἀμμαῖε, γράφειν εἰχομέν σοι περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως. ἐὰν δὲ σῶζῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡμᾶς, καὶ περὶ τῆς πραγματικῆς αὐτοῦ δεινότητος, ἔτι μείζονος ἢ τοῦδε καὶ θαυμαστοτέρου θεωρήματος, ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς γραφησομένοις ἀποδώσομέν σοι τὸν λόγον.

Libri secundi de antiquis oratoribus reliquiae

[1] TZETZAE scholion in Cramerī anecd. Oxon. t. III p. 367, 7 Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς φησὶν· ἀγνεύεται τὸ στόμα τῷ Δημοσθένει.

[2] SCHOLION Aeschinīs or. III 1 τὴν παράταξιν ὅση γεγένηται p. 315 Sch. δοκεῖ δὲ τραγικώτερον κεχρηῆσθαι εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῇ μεταφορᾷ, πολιτικώτερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰρησθαι τὸ αὐτὸ νόημα ἐν τῷ τῆς παρατρεσβείας εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἔχον οὕτως ‘ὅση μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σπουδὴ καὶ παραγγελία γέγονε’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

argumentum or. III p. 352 R. μέμψαιτο δ’ ἂν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον εἰκόες.

scholion ibid. p. 353 R. ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἥρξατο ἀπὸ συνηγῶρων ἐκβολῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης. cf. schol. or. I 69 ἀξιοῦσι τινὲς μέμφεσθαι τῷ ῥήτορι ἐν ἀγῶνι συνηγῶρων ἐκβολὴν ποιησαμένων, δέον ἐν ἐπιλόγῳ.

[3] SCHOLION Aeschinis or. III 90 πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου p. 331 Sch. ἔστι δὲ τὸ κῶλον χαριεντισμός. ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ κῶλον οἱ κριτικοὶ λέγοντες σωφρόνως αὐτὸ πεφράσθαι καὶ οὐ κοῦφως.

[4] SCHOLION LAVR. Aeschinis or. III 180 τὰ σώματα παρακαταθέμενοι p. 346 Sch. ἐπιλαμβάνεται δὲ Διονύσιος, ὅτι τὸ παρακαταθέσθαι φυλακῆς πλείον' ἐνδειξιν ἔχει, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων τὸ ἐναντίον γίνεται, διαφθείρονται γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅτε. οὐκοῦν κακῶς ἐχρήσατο τῇ λέξει ὁ Αἰσχίνης.

[5] SCHOLION LAVR. Aeschinis or. III 189 τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἔστιν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν p. 347 Sch. ὁ Διονύσιος ἐπιλαμβάνεται. οὐ γάρ. φησί, νικῆσαι βουλόμεθα τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς.

On the Character of Thucydides

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

[1] Ἐν τοῖς προεκδοθεῖσι περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ὑπομνηματισμοῖς ἐπεληλυθὼς οὐς ὑπελάμβανον ἐπιφανεστάτους εἶναι ποιητάς τε καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὧν Κόιντε Αἴλιε Τουβέρων, καὶ δεδηλωκὼς ἐν ὀλίγοις, τίνας ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰσφέρειται πραγματικὰς τε καὶ λεκτικὰς ἀρετάς, καὶ πῇ μάλιστα χείρων ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται κατὰ τὰς ἀποτυχίας, εἴ τε τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐχ ἅπαντα κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον λογισμὸν θηρώσης εἴ τε τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἔργοις κατορθούσης, ἵνα τοῖς προαιρουμένοις γράφειν τε καὶ λέγειν εὖ καλοὶ καὶ δεδοκιμασμένοι κανόνες ᾧσιν, ἐφ' ὧν ποιήσονται τὰς κατὰ μέρος γυμνασίας μὴ πάντα μιμούμενοι τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις κείμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν λαμβάνοντες, τὰς δ' ἀποτυχίας φυλαττόμενοι· ἀφάμενός τε τῶν συγγραφέων ἐδήλωσα καὶ περὶ Θουκυδίδου τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι, συντόμῳ τε καὶ κεφαλαιώδει γραφῇ περιλαβὼν, οὐ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν καὶ ῥαστώνην οὐδὲ διὰ σπάνιν τῶν δυνησομένων βεβαιῶσαι τὰς προθέσεις, ἀλλὰ τῆς εὐκαιρίας τῶν γραφομένων στοχαζόμενος, ὥς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποίησα. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβὴ καὶ διεξοδικὴν δῆλωσιν ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖσθαι, προελόμενον εἰς ἐλάχιστον ὄγκον συναγαγεῖν τὴν πραγματείαν. σοῦ δὲ βουλευθέντος ἰδίαν συντάξασθαι με περὶ Θουκυδίδου γραφὴν ἅπαντα περιειληφυῖαν τὰ δεόμενα λόγων, ἀναβαλόμενος τὴν περὶ Δημοσθένους πραγματείαν, ἣν εἶχον ἐν χερσίν, ὑπεσχόμην τε ποιήσειν, ὥς προηροῦ, καὶ τελέσας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποδίδωμι.

[2] Μέλλων δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἄπτεσθαι λόγων, ὀλίγα περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ γένους τῆς πραγματείας βούλομαι προειπεῖν· οὐ σοῦ μὰ Δία καὶ τῶν σοὶ παραπλησίον ἔνεκα, τῶν ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου κρινόντων τὰ πράγματα καὶ μηδὲν ἡγουμένων χρήμα τιμώτερον τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοις πολὺ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἔνεστιν «εἴ τε κατὰ τὸν ζῆλον» τῶν ἀρχαίων γινόμενον εἴτε κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας εἴ τε κατ' ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα τὰ πάθη κοινὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ὄντα φύσεως. ὑποπτεύω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τινὰς τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων τὴν γραφὴν τοὺς ἐπιτιμήσοντας ἡμῖν, ὅτι τολμῶμεν ἀποφαίνειν Θουκυδίδην τὸν ἀπάντων κράτιστον τῶν ἱστοριογράφων καὶ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσίν ποτε τῶν λόγων ἀμαρτάνοντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξασθενοῦντα, καὶ «διὰ» τοῦθ' οὗτος ἡμᾶς ὁ λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθεν, ὅτι παράδοξα· καινοτομεῖν πράγματα πρῶτοι καὶ μόνοι δόξομεν, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου γραφέντων συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιβαλοίμεθα, οὐ ταῖς κοιναῖς μόνον ἐναντιοῦμενοι δόξαις, ἅς ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου παραλαβόντες ἀναφαιρέτους ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων μαρτυρίαις ἀπιστοῦντες, οἱ κανόνα τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας ἐκείνον ὑποτίθενται τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους δεινότητος ὄρον· ὧν οὔτε προαιρέσεις ἰσχυράς· ταύτας δὴ τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀπολύσασθαι βουλόμενος ἐχούσας τι θεατρικὸν

καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγωγόν, περὶ μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ τοσοῦτον ἀρκεσθῆσομαι μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι τὸ φιλόνηκον τοῦτο καὶ δύσερι καὶ προσυλακτοῦν εἰκῇ πᾶσιν ἐν παντὶ πεφυλαγμένος τῷ βίῳ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐκδεδωκώς γραφὴν, ἐν ἣ κατηγοῦμι τινος, ἔξω μιᾶς πραγματείας, ἣν συνεταξάμην ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τοὺς κατατρέχοντας αὐτῆς ἀδίκως, οὐκ ἂν ἐπεχείρησα νῦν πρῶτον εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν συγγραφέων τὴν οὗτ' ἐλευθέρους ἦθεσι πρέπουσαν οὗτ' ἑμαυτῷ συνήθη κακοήθειαν ἐναποδείκνυσθαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένους τῆς γραφῆς πλείονα μὲν εἶχον λέγειν, ἀρκεσθῆσομαι δὲ ὀλίγοις. εἰ δὲ ἀληθεῖς καὶ προσήκοντας ἑμαυτῷ προήρημαι λόγους, σύ τε κρινεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλολόγων ἕκαστος.

[3] Ἔστι δὴ τὸ βούλημά μου τῆς πραγματείας οὐ καταδρομὴ τῆς Θουκυδίδου προαιρέσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως, οὐδ' ἐκλογισμὸς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδ' ἐξευτελισμὸς οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἔργον οὐδέν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν κατορθώματα καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς οὐδενὸς ἡξίωκα λόγου, τοῖς δὲ μὴ κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον εἰρημένοις ἐπιφύομαι· ἐκλογισμὸς δὲ τις τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος τῶν λόγων, ἅπαντα περιειληφώς, ὅσα συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ κοινὰ τε πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ διαφέροντα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους. ἐν οἷς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν μὴ τὰς ἀρετὰς λέγεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς γεινιώσας αὐταῖς κακίας. οὐδεμία γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἀνθρώπου φύσις οὗτ' ἐν λόγοις οὗτ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀναμάρτητος εἶναι, κρατίστη δὲ ἡ πλεῖστα μὲν ἐπιτυχάνουσα, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἀστοχοῦσα. ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀναφέρων ἕκαστος τὰ ῥηθησόμενα μὴ τῆς προαιρέσεώς μου γενέσθω κατήγορος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ιδίων τοῦ χαρακτηῖρος ἔργων ἐξεταστὴς δίκαιος. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐγὼ τοῦτο πρῶτος ἐπικεχείρηκα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ πάλοι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, οὐ φιλαπεχθήμονας προελόμενοι γραφὰς ἀλλὰ θεωρητικὰς τῆς ἀληθείας, μυρίους παρασχέσθαι δυνάμενος μάρτυρας, δυεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀρκεσθῆσομαι μόνοις, Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτῳ. Ἀριστοτέλης τε γὰρ οὐχ ἅπαντα κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον εἰρήσθαι πείθεται τῷ καθηγητῇ Πλάτῳ· ὧν ἐστι τὰ περὶ τῆς ιδέας καὶ τὰ περὶ τάγαθοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· αὐτὸς τε ὁ Πλάτων Παρμενίδην καὶ Πρωταγόραν καὶ Ζήγωνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυσιολόγων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἁμαρτηκότας ἀποδεικνύναι βούλεται· καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο ἐπιτιμᾷ, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι τῆς φιλοσόφου θεωρίας σκοπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας γνῶσις, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος γίνεται φανερόν. ὅπου δὴ τοὺς περὶ δογμάτων διαφορομένους οὐδεὶς μέμφεται τῆς προαιρέσεως, εἰ μὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἧς που τοὺς γε προελομένους χαρακτηῖρων ιδιότητα δηλῶσαι μέμψαιτ' ἂν τις, εἰ μὴ πάσας μαρτυροῦσι τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς μὴ προσοῦσας ἀρετάς;

[4] Ἐν ἔτι λείπεται μοι μέρος ἀπολογίας δεόμενον, ἐπίφθονον μὲν τι κατηγόρημα καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς κεχαρισμένον, ῥαδίως δ' ἐξελεγχθῆναι δυνησόμενον, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιές. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τῇ δυνάμει λειπόμεθα Θουκυδίδου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπολωλέκαμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰς Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ Ζεῦξιδος καὶ Πρωτογένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γραφῶν τῶν διωνομασμένων τέχνας οἱ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἔχοντες ἐκείνοις ἀρετὰς κρίνειν κεκώλυνται, οὐδὲ τὰ Φειδίου καὶ Πολυκλείτου καὶ

Μύρωνος ἔργα οἱ μὴ τηλικούτοι δημιουργοί. Ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλῶν ἔργων οὐχ ἥττων τοῦ τεχνίτου κριτῆς ὁ ἰδιώτης, τῶν τε δι' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καταλαμβανομένων, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσα τέχνη τοῦτων στοχάζεται τῶν κριτηρίων καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἄλις ἔστω μοι προοιμίων, ἵνα μὴ λάθω περὶ ταῦτα κατατρίψας τὸν λόγον.

[5] Μέλλων δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τῆς περὶ Θουκυδίδου γραφῆς ὀλίγα βούλομαι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφῶν εἰπεῖν, τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀκμασάντων ἐκεῖνῳ χρόνους, ἐξ ὧν ἔσται καταφανὴς ἢ τε προαίρεσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ χρησάμενος διήλλαξε τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις. ἀρχαῖοι μὲν οὖν συγγραφεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς ἔστιν Εὐγέων τε ὁ Σάμιος καὶ Δηίοχος ὁ Προκοννήσιος καὶ Εὐδημος ὁ Πάριος καὶ Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεὺς καὶ Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃ τε Ἀργεῖος Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων καὶ ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος Μελησαγόρας, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγιεὺς καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Χῖος καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. οὗτοι προαιρέσει τε ὁμοίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεις οὐ πολὺ τι διαφερούσας ἔσχον ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀναγράφοντες ἱστορίας, οἱ δὲ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς, [καὶ] αὐτάς τε ταύτας οὐ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπὸν, ὅσαι διεσφύζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνημαὶ κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες· ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοί τινες ἐνῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαί τινες περιπέτεια πολὺ τὸ ἥλθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι· λέξιν τε ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ὅσοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς προείλοντο τῶν διαλέκτων χαρακτῆρας, τὴν σαφεῖ καὶ κοινὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῇ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσιν τεχνικὴν· ἐπιτρέχει μέντοι τις ὥρα τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν καὶ χάρις, τοῖς μὲν πλείων, τοῖς δ' ἐλάττων, δι' ἣν ἔτι μένουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γραφαί. ὁ δ' Ἀλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος, γενόμενος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῶν Περσικῶν, παρεκτείνας δὲ μέχρι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, τὴν τε πραγματικὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐξήνεγκε καὶ λαμπρότερον, οὔτε πόλεως μιᾶς οὔτ' ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἱστορίαν προελόμενος ἀναγράψαι, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ διαφόρους πράξεις ἐκ τε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐκ τε τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς μιᾶς περιγραφὴν πραγματείας συναγαγεῖν (ἀρξάμενος γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Λυδῶν δυναστείας μέχρι τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου κατεβίβασε τὴν ἱστορίαν, πάσας τὰς ἐν τοῖς κ καὶ διακοσίοις ἔτεσι γενομένας πράξεις ἐπιφανεῖς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων μιᾷ συντάξει περιλαβών), καὶ τῇ λέξει προσαπέδωκε τὰς παραλειφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφῶν ἀρετάς.

[6] Τούτοις ἐπιγενόμενος Θουκυδίδης οὕτ' ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἐβουλήθη τόπου

καθιδρῦσαι τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον ἐποίησαν, οὔτε τὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης χώρας Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἐπιτελεσθείσας πράξεις εἰς μίαν ἱστορίαν συναγαγεῖν, μιμησάμενος Ἡρόδοτον· τῆς μὲν προτέρας ὑπεριδὼν ὡς εὐτελοῦς καὶ ταπεινῆς καὶ πολλὰ οὐ δυνησομένης τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ὠφελῆσαι· τῆς δ' ὑστέρας ὡς μερίζονος ἢ δυνατῆς πεσεῖν εἰς σύνοψιν ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῶν τρόπων· ἓνα δὲ προχειρισάμενος πόλεμον, ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῦτον ἐσπούδασεν ἀναγράψαι· ἐρρωμένος τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑγιαίνων καὶ μέχρι παντὸς αὐτοῦ βιώσας, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων τὰς πράξεις συντιθείς, ἀλλ' οἷς μὲν αὐτὸς παρῆν, ἐξ ἐμπειρίας, ὧν δ' ἀπελείφθη διὰ τὴν φυγὴν, παρὰ τῶν ἄριστα γινωσκόντων πυθνανόμενος. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο διήλλαξε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων, λέγω δὲ κατὰ τὸ λαβεῖν ὑπόθεσιν μήτε μονόκωλον παντάπασι μήτ' εἰς πολλὰ μεμερισμένην καὶ ἀσυνάρτητα κεφάλαια· ἔπειτα κατὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ μυθῶδες προσάψαι, μηδ' εἰς ἀπάτην καὶ γοητείαν τῶν πολλῶν ἐκτρέψαι τὴν γραφήν, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐποίησαν, Λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιέμενας, καὶ Ναϊδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ Ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μιζόθηρας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἀνθρώποις συνερχομένας, καὶ ἐκ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν συνουσιῶν γονὰς ἡμιθέους, καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ἀπίστους τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον ἔχειν δοκούσας ἱστορίας.

[7] Ταῦτα δ' εἰπεῖν προήχθη οὐκ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχων συγγνώμην, εἰ καὶ τῶν μυθικῶν ἤψαντο πλάσμάτων, ἔθνικὰς καὶ τοπικὰς ἐκφέροντες ἱστορίας· ἐν ἅπασιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις καὶ κοινῇ κατὰ τόπους καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἰδίᾳ μνημαὶ τινες ἐσώζοντο καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκουσμάτων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἃς διαδεχόμενοι παῖδες πατέρων ἐπιμελὲς ἐποιοῦντο παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐκφέρειν οὕτως ἡξίουν συγγράφειν, ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐδέξαντο. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ποικίλλειν τοῖς μυθώδεσιν ἐπεισοδίοις τὰς τοπικὰς ἀναγραφάς. Θουκυδίδῃ δὲ τῷ προελομένῳ μίαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἣ παρεγίνετο αὐτός, οὐχ ἥρμοττεν ἐγκαταμίσγειν τῇ διηγῆσει τὰς θεατρικὰς γοητείας οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπάτην ἀρμόττεσθαι τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων, ἣν ἐκεῖναι πεφύκασιν φέρειν αἰ συντάξεις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς ἱστορίας δεδήλωκε κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γράφων· ‘καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φαίνεται· ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γεγονότων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει· κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.’

[8] Μαρτυρεῖται δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τάχα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῶν γε πλείστων, ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἥς ἰέρεϊαν εἶναι τὴν ἱστορίαν βουλόμεθα, πλείστην ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, οὔτε προσπιθείς τοῖς πράγμασιν οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ δίκαιον οὔτε ἀφαιρῶν, οὐδὲ ἐνεξουσιάζων τῇ γραφῇ, ἀνέγκλητον δὲ καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπὸ παντὸς φθόνου καὶ

πάσης κολακείας φυλάττων, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γνῶμαις. καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ μνησθεὶς τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ ἀρετὰς ἀφθόνως ἐπελήλυθε, καὶ τῶν Περικλέους πολιτευμάτων ἀψάμενος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βύβλῳ τῆς διαβεβοημένης περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ἄξιον εἶρηκεν ἐγκώμιον· περὶ τε Δημοσθένους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ ἄλλων στρατηγῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων ἀναγκασθεὶς λέγειν, ὅσα προσήκοντα ἦν ἐκάστω, δεδήλωκε. παραδείγματα δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν φέρειν οὐ δέομαι τοῖς διεληλυθόσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἱστορίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, ἃ περὶ τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον ὁ συγγραφεὺς κατορθοῖ, καλὰ καὶ μιμήσεως ἄξια. [κράτιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ μηδὲν ἐκουσίως ψεύδεσθαι μηδὲ μιαίνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ συνείδησιν.]

[9] ἃ δ' ἐλλιπέστερον κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐγκαλοῦσιν αὐτῷ τινες, περὶ τὸ τεχνικώτερον μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ πραγματικοῦ, τὸ λεγόμενον μὲν οἰκονομικόν, ἐν ἀπάσαις δὲ γραφαῖς ἐπιζητούμενον, ἐάν τε φιλοσόφους προέληται τις ὑποθέσεις ἐάν τε ῥητορικάς. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐξεργασίας. ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως, προειπὼν ὅτι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων συγγραφῶν ἢ κατὰ τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἢ κατὰ χρόνους εὐπαρακολουθήτους ἐκεῖνος οὐδετέραν τούτων τῶν διαιρέσεων ἐδοκίμασεν. οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς τόποις, ἐν οἷς αἱ πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν, ἀκολουθῶν ἐμέρισε τὰς διηγήσεις, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφῶν ἐποίησαν· οὔτε τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς οἱ τὴν τοπικὴν ἐκδόντες ἱστορίαν προείλοντο, ἥτοι ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασιλέων μερίζοντες τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἢ ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ταῖς περιόδους τῶν ὀλυμπιάδων ἢ τοῖς ἀποδεικνυμένοις ἄρχουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐνιαυσίους ἀρχάς. καινὴν δὲ τινα καὶ ἀτριβὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις πορευθῆναι βουλευθεὶς ὁδὸν θερείαις καὶ χειμερίοις «ῥαις ἀκολουθῶν» ἐμέρισε τὴν ἱστορίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ τοῦναντίον ἢ προσεδόκησεν. οὐ γὰρ σαφεστέρα γέγονεν ἡ διαίρεσις τῶν χρόνων ἀλλὰ δυσπαρακολουθητοτέρα [κατὰ τὰς ῥας]. ἐφ' ᾧ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, πῶς αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν, ὅτι πολλῶν ἅμα πραγμάτων κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους γινομένων εἰς μικρὰς κατακερματιζομένη τομὰς ἢ διήγησις οὐκ ἀπολήψεται τὸ «τηλαυγὲς φῶς» ἐκεῖνο «καὶ καθαρὸν», ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν γίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων φανερόν. ἐν γοῦν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ (ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀρκεσθῆσομαι μόνῃ) τὰ περὶ Μυτιληναίους ἀρξάμενος γράφειν, πρὶν ὅλην ἐκπληρῶσαι τὴν διήγησιν, ἐπὶ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἅπεισιν ἔργα· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα συγκορυφώσας τῆς Πλαταιέων μέμνηται πολιορκίας· ἀφείς δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀτελῇ τοῦ Μυτιληναϊκοῦ μέμνηται πολέμου· εἴτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἄγει τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὰ περὶ Κέρκυραν, ὡς ἐστασίασαν οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπαγόμενοι· ἀφείς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἡμιτελῇ περὶ τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν στρατείας τῆς προτέρας Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγα λέγει. εἴτα Ἀθηναίων ἔκπλουν ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἀρξάμενος λέγειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν ἐπὶ Δωριεῖς στρατείαν τὰ περὶ Λευκάδα πρᾶχθέντα ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς πόλεμον

ἐπιπορεύεται· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ Ναυπάκτον. ἀτελεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡπειρωτικούς πολέμους καταλιπὼν Σικελίας ἄπτεται πάλιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Δῆλον καθαίρει καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν Ἄργος πολεμοῦμενον ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καταλείπει. καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν; ὅλη γὰρ ἡ βύβλος οὕτω συγκέκοπται καὶ τὸ διηνεκὲς τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ἀπολώλεκε. πλανώμεθα δὴ, καθάπερ εἰκός, καὶ δυσκόλως τοῖς δηλουμένοις παρακολουθοῦμεν, ταραττομένης ἐν τῷ διασπᾶσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὰς ἡμιτελεῖς τῶν ἀκουσθέντων μνήμας οὐ ῥαδίως οὐδ' ἀκριβῶς ἀναφερούσης. χρή δὲ τὴν ἱστορικὴν πραγματείαν εἰρομένην εἶναι καὶ ἀπερίσπαστον, ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴν περὶ πολλῶν γίνηται πραγμάτων καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτων. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ὀρθὸς ὁ κανὼν οὗτος οὐδ' οἰκεῖος ἱστορίᾳ, δῆλον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων συγγραφέων θερείαις καὶ χειμῶσι διεῖλε τὴν ἱστορίαν. ἀλλὰ πάντες τὰς τετριμμένας ὁδοὺς καὶ δυναμένας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν μετῴληθον.

[10] Αἰτιῶνται δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ τινες, ὡς οὔτε ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας εἰληφότος ἦν ἐχρῆν οὔτε τέλος ἐφηρμοκότος αὐτῇ τὸ πρέπον, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος εἶναι λέγοντες οἰκονομίας ἀγαθῆς ἀρχὴν τε λαβεῖν, ἥς οὐκ ἂν εἴη τι πρότερον, καὶ τέλει περιλαβεῖν τὴν πραγματείαν, ᾧ δόξει μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν. ὧν οὐδετέρου πρόνοιαν αὐτὸν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν προσήκουσαν. τὴν δὲ ἀφορμὴν <αὐτὸς> αὐτοῖς τῆς κατηγορίας ταύτης ὁ συγγραφεὺς παρέσχηται· προειπὼν γάρ, ὡς μέγιστος ἐγένετο τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ὁ Πελοποννησιακὸς χρόνου τε μήκει καὶ παθημάτων πολλῶν συντυχίαις, τελευτῶν τοῦ προοιμίου τὰς αἰτίας βούλεται πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε. διττὰς δὲ ταύτας ὑποθέμενος, τὴν τε ἀληθῆ μέν, οὐκ εἰς ἅπαντας δὲ λεγομένην, τὴν αὕξησιν τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἀληθῆ μέν, ὑπὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πλαττομένην, τὴν Ἀθήνηθεν ἀποσταλεῖσαν Κερκυραίοις κατὰ Κορινθίων συμμαχίαν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς καὶ αὐτῷ δοκούσης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιῆται τῆς διηγήσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας, κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γράφων· ἥρξαντο δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῦ καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδάς, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν διότι δὲ ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προέγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ μή τινας ζητῆσαί ποτε, ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἶδε ἦσαν. Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις εἰς δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. προσοικοῦσιν δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διεξέρχεται τὰ περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ τὰ περὶ Κέρκυραν καὶ τὰ περὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ τὴν Πελοποννησίων σύνοδον εἰς Σπάρτην καὶ τοὺς ῥηθέντας ἐκεῖ κατὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως λόγους. ταῦτα δὲ μέχρι δισχιλίων ἐκμηκύνas στίχων, τότε περὶ τῆς ἐτέρας αἰτίας τὸν λόγον ἀποδίδωσι τῆς ἀληθοῦς τε καὶ αὐτῷ δοκούσης, ἐνθὲνδε ἀρξάμενος· ἔψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδάς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν συμμάχων πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις, ὅσον

φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὀρώντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, ἐν οἷς ἠυξήθησαν.’ οἷς ἐπιτίθησι τὰ ἔργα τῆς πόλεως, ὅσα μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον ἕως τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ διεπράξαντο, κεφαλαιωδῶς καὶ ἐπιτροχάδην ἐν ἐλάττοσιν ἢ πεντακοσίοις στίχοις. ἀναμνησθεὶς δ’ ὅτι πρότερα τῶν Κερκυραϊκῶν ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐκείνων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τούτων, ταῦτα πάλιν κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· ‘μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίνεταί οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ προειρημένα, τὰ τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτιδιατικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἐγένοντο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμει, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυον, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, ἢ μὴ ἀναγκάζονται, τότε δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι· πλὴν ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἦρετο καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἠπτετο· τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἐποιοῦντο ἀνασχετόν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ καθαιρετέα ἡ ἰσχύς, ἣν [11] δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον.’ ἐχρῆν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου ζητεῖν πρῶτον ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἑαυτῷ δοκοῦσαν. ἣ τε γὰρ φύσις ἀπῆται τὰ πρότερα τῶν ὑστέρων ἄρχειν καὶ τάληθῆ πρὸ τῶν ψευδῶν λέγεσθαι, ἣ τε τῆς διηγήσεως εἰσβολὴ κρείττων ἂν ἐγίνετο μακρῷ, τοιαύτης οἰκονομίας τυχοῦσα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ βουλομένων, ὅτι μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἢ κοινὰ καὶ κατημαξευμένα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρχὴν ποιῆσθαι. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὡς ἐκλειφθέντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἄξιον ἱστορίας ὑπέιληφεν, αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτως γράφων· ‘ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην, διότι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἦν· καὶ ἢ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν, ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ. τούτων δὲ ὧν περ καὶ ἠψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.’ [12] ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τεκμήριον ἦν τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον ὥκονομῆσθαι τὴν διήγησιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, λέγω δὴ τὸ μὴ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν ἀρχήν. πρόσσεσι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰς ἃ ἔδει κεφάλαια τετελευτηκέναι τὴν ἱστορίαν. ἔτη γὰρ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι περιειληφότος τοῦ πολέμου, πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἕως τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτοῦ βιώσας, μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ κατεβίβασεν ἔτους τὴν ἱστορίαν, τῇ περὶ Κυνὸς σῆμα ναυμαχίᾳ τὴν ὀγδόην βύβλον παρεκτείνας, καὶ ταῦτα προειρηκῶς ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ πάντα περιλήψεσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ βύβλῳ πάλιν συνκεφαλαιοῦται τοὺς χρόνους, ἀφ’ οὗ τε ἤρξατο καὶ μέχρι οὗ προελθὼν κατελύθη, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν γεγραφώς· ‘καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι ἰσχυρισαμένοις μόνον δὴ

τοῦτο ὀχυρῶς ξυμβάν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μέμνημαι καὶ ἄρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μέχρι οὗ ἔτελεύτησε προφερόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν, ὅτι τρὶς ἐννέα ἔτη δέοι γενέσθαι αὐτόν. ἐπεβίων δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην, ὅπως ἀκριβῶς τι εἴσομαι· καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις διὰ τὴν φυγὴν καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι. τὴν οὖν μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διαφορὰν τε καὶ ξύγχυσιν τῶν σπονδῶν καὶ τὰ ἔπειτα, ὥς ἐπολεμήθη, ἐξηγήσομαι.'

[13] Ὅτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐξεργασίας τῶν κεφαλαίων ἦττον ἐπιμελής ἐστίν, ἢ πλείονας τοῦ δέοντος λόγους ἀποδιδούς τοῖς ἐλαττώωνν δεομένοις ἢ ῥαθυμότερον ἐπιτρέχων τὰ δεόμενα πλείονος ἐξεργασίας, πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις βεβαιῶσαι δυνάμενος ὀλίγοις χρήσομαι· τὰς μὲν πρώτας Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων ναυμαχίας ἀμφοτέρας περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς δευτέρας βύβλου γράφειν ἀρξάμενος, ἐν αἷς πρὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς Πελοποννησίων εἴκοσι ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι μόνοι πρὸς πολλαπλασίους τῶν βαρβάρων ναυμαχήσαντες ἃς μὲν διέφθειρον, ἃς δ' αὐτάνδρους ἔλαβον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ ὅσας ἔστειλαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. θήσω δὲ καὶ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ. 'Εγένετο μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφοτέρα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ εἶλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειρον τὰς πάσας διακοσίας.' ὅμοια δ' ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πεζικὰς μάχας ἢ μηχανόμενα πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἢ συναγόμενα εἰς ἔλαττον τοῦ μετρίου. τὰ μὲν γε περὶ Πύλον Ἀθηναίοιςπραχθέντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν καλουμένην νῆσον, ἐν ἣ Λακεδαιμονίους κατακλείσαντες ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, ἀρξάμενος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ βύβλῳ διηγέισθαι καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε πράξεις τινὰς ἐτέρας παραδιηγησάμενος, εἴτ' αὐθις ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἐξῆς, ἅπαντα τὰ γεγενημένα κατὰ τὰς μάχας ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων διελήλυθεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ δυνατῶς, πλείους ἢ τριακοσίους στίχους αὐτὸς ἀποδεδωκώς ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῶν ὄντων οὔτε τῶν ἀπολομένων οὔτε τῶν παραδόντων τὰ ὄπλα. αὐτός γέ τοι συγκεφαλαιούμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν μάχην κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γράφει· 'ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν τοσοῖδε· εἴκοσι μὲν ὀπλίται διέβησαν καὶ τετρακόσιοι οἱ πάντες· τοῦτων ζῶντες ἐκομίσθησαν ὅκτῳ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀπέθανον. καὶ Σπαρτιάται τοῦτων ἦσαν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν ζώντων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν.'

[14] Τῆς δὲ Νικίου στρατηγίας μνησθεὶς, ὅτε ναῦς ἐξήκοντα καὶ δισχιλίους <ὀπλίτας> Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγόμενος ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἔπλευσε, κατακλείσας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὰ φρούρια, τοὺς ἐν Κυθήροις <καὶ τοὺς ἐν Θυρέᾳ> κατοικοῦντας Αἰγινήτας ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Πελοποννήσου πολλὴν ἐδήλωσεν, ἐξ ἧς αἰχμαλώτων πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐπιτροχάδην, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν Κυθήροις πραγμάτων· 'καὶ μάχης γενομένης ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον

ὑπέστησαν οἱ Κυθήριοι· ἔπειτα τραπόμενοι κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν καὶ ὕστερον συνέβησαν πρὸς Νικίαν καὶ τοὺς ξυνάρχοντας, Ἀθηναίους ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν πλὴν θανάτου· περὶ δὲ τῆς Αἰγινητῶν ἀλώσεως τῶν ἐν Θυρέα· ‘ἐν τούτῳ δ’ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατασχόντες καὶ χωρήσαντες εὐθὺς πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ αἰροῦσι τὴν Θυρέαν, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν κατέκαυσαν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα ἐξεπόρθησαν, τοὺς τε Αἰγινήτας, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν χερσὶ διεφθάρησαν, ἄγοντες ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.’ γενομένων δὲ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀμφοτέρας εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου μεγάλων συμφορῶν, δι’ ἃς ἐπεθύμησαν ἀμφοτέραι τῆς εἰρήνης, περὶ μὲν τῆς προτέρας, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τετμημένης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας, οἰκοφθορημένης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ λοιμοῦ, πᾶσαν ἀπογνόντες βοήθειαν ἄλλην ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν εἰς Σπάρτην εἰρήνης τυχεῖν δεόμενοι, οὔτε τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ἄνδρας εἴρηκεν οὔτε τοὺς ῥηθέντας ἐκεῖ λόγους ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οὔτε τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας, ὑφ’ ὧν πεισθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀπεψηφίσαντο· φαύλως δὲ πως καὶ ῥαθύμως ὡς περὶ μικρῶν καὶ ἀδόξων πραγμάτων ταῦτα εἴρηκε· ‘μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν εἰσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἤ τε γῇ αὐτῶν ἐτέμνητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο ἅμα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἡλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμητο συγχωρεῖν, καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο.’ περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑστέρας, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς περὶ Πύλον ἀλόντας τριακοσίους κομίσασθαι προθέμενοι πρεσβείαν ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἴρηκε τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ῥηθέντας τότε καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπελήλυθε, δι’ ἃς οὐκ ἐπετετέλεσθησαν αἱ σπονδαί.

[15] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πρεσβείας <ἡ> τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν γινομένων περιειληφυῖα δῆλωσις ἥρκει, λόγων δὲ καὶ παρακλήσεων, αἷς ἐχρήσαντο οἱ πρέσβεις, οὐδὲν ἔδει, μήτε πεισθέντων μήτε δεξαμένων τὰς σπονδὰς Λακεδαιμονίων, τί δὴ ποτε οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν ἐφύλαξε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀφικομένων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διαπραξάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπῆλθον. εἰ δ’ ἀκριβῶς ἔδει ταῦτα εἰρησθαι, διὰ τί παρέλιπε ῥαθύμως ἐκεῖνα; οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε ἀσθενείᾳ δυνάμεως ἐξείργετο περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς ἐνόντας εὐρεῖν τε καὶ ἐξεῖπέν λόγους. εἰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ λογισμόν τινα τὴν ἑτέραν προείλετο πρεσβείαν ἐξεργάσασθαι, οὐκ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν, κατὰ τί τὴν Λακωνικὴν προέκρινε τῆς Ἀττικῆς μᾶλλον, τὴν ὑστέραν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀντὶ τῆς προτέρας καὶ τὴν ἁλλοτρίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἰδίας καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ ἐλάττωσι κακοῖς γενομένην ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ μείζοσι.

Πόλεων τε ἀλώσεις καὶ κατασκαφὰς καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς καὶ ἄλλας τοιαύτας συμφορὰς πολλάκις ἀναγκασθεὶς γράφειν ποτὲ μὲν οὕτως ὡμὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἶκτων ἄξια φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ τὰ πάθη, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν μήτε ἱστοριογράφους μήτε ποιηταῖς καταλιπεῖν· ποτὲ δὲ οὕτως ταπεινὰ καὶ μικρά, ὥστε μὴδ’ εἰς αἴσθησιν δεινῶν τι πεσεῖν γνώρισμα τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὸν ἄνδρα. λέγων τε ἃ περὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλεως εἴρηκε καὶ περὶ τῆς Μυτιληναίων καὶ περὶ τῆς Μηλίων, οὐδὲν δέομαι τὰς λέξεις

ἐκείνας φέρειν, ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας δυνάμεως ἐξείργασται τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν. ἐν αἷς δ' ἐπιτρέχει καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖ τὰ πάθη αὐτῇ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς ἱστορίας, τούτων μνησθήσομαι· 'Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτους Σκιωναίους Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραπόδισαν καὶ τὴν γῆν Πλαταιεῦσιν ἔδωκαν νέμεσθαι.' 'Καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς Εὐβοίαν διαβάντες Περικλέους στρατηγούντος κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν· καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὁμολογία κατέστησαν, Ἑσπιαεῖς δ' ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον.' 'Ἀνέστησαν δὲ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτούς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἰγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο τῇ Πελοποννησίῳ ἐπικειμένην αὐτῶν πέμψαντες ἐποίκους ἔχειν.'

[16] Πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τις ἂν εὖροι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας ἢ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξεργασίας τετυχηκότα καὶ μήτε πρόσθεσιν δεχόμενα μήτ' ἀφαίρεσιν, ἢ ῥαθύμως ἐπιτετροχασμένα καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔμφασιν ἔχοντα τῆς δεινότητος ἐκείνης, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ῥητορείαις. ὧν προνοούμενος ἔοικεν ἀτελῇ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταλιπεῖν, ὥς καὶ Κράτιππος ὁ συνακμάσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συναγαγὼν γέγραφε, οὐ μόνον ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτὰς ἐμπδὼν γεγενῆσθαι λέγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀχληρὰς εἶναι. τοῦτό γέ τοι συνέντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς ἱστορίας φησὶ μηδεμίαν τάξαι ῥητορείαν, πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν γενομένων, πολλῶν δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ὅσα <διὰ> διαλόγων καὶ δημηγοριῶν ἐπράχθη. εἰ γέ τοι τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην βύβλον ἀντιπαρεξετάζοι τις ἀλλήλαις, οὔτε τῆς αὐτῆς ἂν προαιρέσεως δόξειεν ἀμφοτέρας ὑπάρχειν οὔτε τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγα πράγματα καὶ μικρὰ περιέχουσα πληθύνει τῶν ῥητορειῶν, ἢ δὲ περὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας συνταχθεῖσα πράξεις δημηγορικῶν σπανίζει λόγων.

[17] Ἦδη δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἔδοξα ταῖς ῥητορείαις τοῦτο συμβεβηκέναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸ πάθος, ὥστε περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ τιθέναι μὲν ἅς οὐκ ἔδει, παραλιπεῖν δὲ ἅς ἔδει λέγεσθαι. οἷόν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς Μυτιληναίων πόλεως ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ πεποίηκε· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄφιξιν, οὓς ἀπέστειλεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πάχης, διττῶν ἐκκλησιῶν γενομένων ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ῥηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν λόγους παρέλιπεν ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαίους, ἐν ἧ τούτους αἰχμαλώτους ἀποκτείνει ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μυτιληναίους ἡβηδόν, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἀνδραποδίσαι· τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ῥηθέντας, ἐν ἧ μετάνοιά τις ὑπεισῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν συνταχθέντας ὑπόθεσιν παρέλαβεν ὥς ἀναγκαίους.

[18] Ὁ δὲ δὴ περιβόητος ἐπιτάφιος, ὃν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βύβλῳ διελήλυθε, κατὰ τίνα δὴ ποτε λογισμὸν ἐν τούτῳ κεῖται τῷ τόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ; εἰ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν αἷς Ἀθηναῖων πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ μαχόμενοι διεφθάρησαν, τοὺς εἰωθότας ὀλοφυρμούς ἐπ'

αὐτοῖς ἐχρῆν λέγεσθαι, εἰ τ' ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐπραγίαις, ἐξ ὧν δόξα τις ἐπιφανῆς ἢ δύναμις ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει, τιμᾶσθαι τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις ἐπαίνοις τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἐν ᾗ βούλεται τις μᾶλλον βύβλω ἢ ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἡρμωσεν εἰρῆσθαι· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῶν Πελοποννησίων εἰσβολὴν πεσόντες Ἀθηναῖοι κομιδῇ τινες ἦσαν ὀλίγοι, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι λαμπρόν τι πράξαντες ἔργον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Θουκυδίδης γράφει· προειπὼν γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Περικλέους, ὅτι 'τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσε καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο εἶχεν· ἱππέας μέντοι τινὰς ἐξέπεμπεν αἰὲ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν', καὶ ἵππομαχίαν φησὶ γενέσθαι βραχεῖαν 'ἐν Φρυγίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας· ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔσχον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέχρι οὗ προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοί· ἀνείλοντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀσπόνδους· καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τρόπαιον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔστησαν.' ἐν δὲ τῇ τετάρτῃ βύβλω οἱ μετὰ Δημοσθένους περὶ Πύλον ἀγωνισάμενοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης καὶ νικήσαντες ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς μάχαις, δι' οὗς ἡ πόλις αὐχήματος ἐπληρώθη, πολλῶ πλείους τε καὶ κρείττους ἦσαν ἐκείνων. τί δὴ ποτε οὖν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἵππεῦσι καὶ οὐδεμίαν οὔτε δόξαν οὔτε δύναμιν τῇ πόλει κτησαμένοις τὰς τε ταφὰς ἀνοίγει τὰς δημοσίας ὁ συγγραφεὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν δημαγωγῶν Περικλέα τὴν ὑψηλὴν τραγωδίαν ἐκείνην εἰσάγει διατιθέμενον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ κρείττοσι, δι' οὗς ὑπέπεσον Ἀθηναῖοις οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενέγκαντες κατ' αὐτῶν, ἐπιτηδειοτέροις οὖσι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οὐκ ἐποίησε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον; ἵνα δὲ πάσας ἀφῶ τὰς ἄλλας μάχας τὰς τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐν αἷς πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, οὗς πολὺ δικαιότερον ἢν κοσμεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις ἐπαίνοις ἢ τοὺς περιπόλους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἵππεῖς δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα ὄντας, οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ μετὰ Νικίου καὶ Δημοσθένους ἀποθανόντες Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐν τε ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ γῆν ἀγῶσι καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ δυστήνῃ φυγῇ τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς δυνηθέντες τυχεῖν τῆς νομίμου πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἦσαν ἐπιτηδειότεροι τυγχάνειν οἴκτων τε καὶ κόσμων ἐπιταφίων; ὁ δ' οὕτως ἡμέλει τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πένθος δημοσίᾳ προὔθετο ἢ πόλις καὶ τοὺς εἰωθότας ἐναγισμοὺς τοῖς ἐπὶ ξένης ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐπετέλεσεν καὶ τὸν ἐροῦντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀπέδειξεν, ὅς τῶν τότε ῥητόρων λέγειν ἦν ἱκανώτατος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰκὸς ἦν Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἵππεῦσιν δημοσίᾳ πενθεῖν, «τοὺς δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ πεσόντας, ἐν οἷς», τῶν δ' ἐκ καταλόγου πλείους οἱ διαφθαρέντες ἢ πεντακισχίλιοι, μὴδεμιᾶς ἀξιῶσαι τιμῆς. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ συγγραφεὺς (εἰρήσεται γὰρ ἂ φρονῶ) τῷ Περικλέους προσώπῳ βουλόμενος ἀποχρησασθαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου ῥηθέντα συνθεῖναι, ἐπεὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτησεν ἀνὴρ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένων τῇ πόλει συμφορῶν παρεγένετο, εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μικρὸν καὶ

οὐκ ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἔργον τὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ πράγματος ἔπαινον ἀποθέσθαι.

[19] Ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἴδοι τις ἂν τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐξεργασίας τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀνώμαλον ἐπιλογισάμενος, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα παραλιπὼν <τὸ> προοίμιον τῆς ἱστορίας μέχρι πεντακοσίων ἐκμηκύνει στίχων, τὰ πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πραχθέντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μικρὰ βουλόμενος ἀποδειῖξαι καὶ οὐκ ἄξια τῷδε παραβάλλεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ τάληθές οὕτως εἶχεν, ὥς ἐκ πολλῶν ἔστι παραδειῖξαι πραγμάτων, οὔτε ὁ τῆς τέχνης ὑπαγορεύει λόγος οὕτω μεθοδεύειν τὰς αὐξήσεις (οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι τῶν μικρῶν μεῖζόν ἐστι, διὰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη μέγα, ἀλλ' εἴ τι τῶν μεγάλων ὑπερέχει). γέγονέ τε αὐτῷ τὸ προοίμιον, τοσαύτας εἰληφὸς ἀποδεικτικὰς τῆς προθέσεως ἐξεργασίας, ἱστορία τις αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ τὰς ῥητορικὰς συνταξάμενοι τέχνας παραγγέλλουσι δείγματα τῶν λόγων τὰ προοίμια ποιεῖν αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν μελλόντων δηλοῦσθαι προλαμβάνοντας. ὁ δὲ καὶ πεποίηκεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τοῦ προοιμίου, μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι τῆς διηγήσεως, ἐν ἐλάττωσιν ἢ πεντήκοντα στίχοις· ὥστε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ καταβλητικὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἀναγκαίως αὐτῷ παρέλκεσθαι, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον οὕτω σύμπασα ἐκαλεῖτο ἐνὶ ὀνόματι ἢ Ἑλλάς, καὶ ὅτι περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οἱ τροφῆς ἀπορούμενοι ἤρξαντο καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἤρπαζον καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο. τί δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων τρυφῆς, ἥ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐχρῶντο, λέγειν, ὅτι κρωβύλους τε ἀνεπλέκοντο καὶ χρυσοῦς τέττιγας εἶχον ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς; καὶ ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι 'ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι καὶ εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο'; ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυπηγὸς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀμεινοκλῆς ὁ κατασκευάσας Σαμίους πρῶτος τέτταρας τριῆρεις, καὶ ὁ Σάμου τύραννος Πολυκράτης ὁ Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν καὶ ἀναθεὶς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, καὶ οἱ Φωκαεῖς οἱ Μασσαλίαν οἰκίσαντες ὅτι ναυμαχία Καρχηδονίου ἐνίκων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοῦτοις ἐστὶν ὅμοια, τίνα καιρὸν εἶχε πρὸ τῆς διηγήσεως λέγεσθαι;

[20] εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὅσιόν μοι καὶ θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν ἃ φρονῶ, δοκεῖ μοι κράτιστον ἂν γενέσθαι <τὸ> προοίμιον, εἰ τὸ τελευταῖον αὐτοῦ μέρος τῇ προθέσει προσήρμοσε πάντα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλιπὼν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτὸ κατεσκεύασε· Ἐουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων· τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἐκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη δὴ μεγίστη τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὖρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατον ἦν· ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντι πιστεύειν ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα· οὔτε ὡς

ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες, μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι συνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκρόασει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνεκικηκὸτα· εὐρῆσθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι, τὸν παρόντα ἀεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τάρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγεννημένος αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν ἐμοί τε ὦν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὃ τι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος ἤξιώσα γράφειν οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθόν. ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὐρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπότερον φανέῃται· ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν γεγονότων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιοῦτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτά, ἀρκούντως ἔξει· κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα εἰς τὸ παραχρήμα ἀκούειν ζύγκειται. τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυεῖν ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν· τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος τε μέγα προὔβη παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρμώθησαν αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων, εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον ἀλίσκόμεναι· οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος ὃ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον, ὃ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενας ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοί· καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείραςα, ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. ἥρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδάς, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν. διότι δὲ ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προέγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαι ποτε, ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι ^[21] κατέστη. Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸ πραγματικὸν μέρος ἀμαρτήματά τε καὶ κατορθώματα τοῦ συγγραφέως ταῦτά ἐστι.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ λεκτικόν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁ χαρακτήρ αὐτοῦ διάδηλός ἐστι, μέλλω νυνὶ λέγειν. ἀνάγκη δὲ ἴσως καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ιδέας

προειπεῖν, εἰς πόσα τε μέρη διαιρεῖσθαι πέφυκεν ἡ λέξις καὶ τίνας περιείληφεν ἀρετάς· ἔπειτα δηλῶσαι, πῶς ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεουκυδίδης παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων συγγραφέων παρέλαβε, καὶ τίνα μέρη πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἐκαίνωσεν, εἴ τ' ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον εἴ τ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, μηδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενον.

[22] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἅπανα λέξις εἰς δύο μέρη διαιρεῖται τὰ πρῶτα, εἷς τε τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅφ' ὧν δηλοῦται τὰ πράγματα, καὶ εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ἐλαττόνων τε καὶ μειζόνων μορίων, καὶ ὅτι τούτων αὐθις ἐκάτερον εἰς ἕτερα μόρια διαιρεῖται, ἢ μὲν ἐκλογὴ τῶν στοιχειωδῶν μορίων (ὀνοματικῶν λέγω καὶ ῥηματικῶν καὶ συνδετικῶν) εἷς τε τὴν κυρίαν φράσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τροπικὴν, ἢ δὲ σύνθεσις εἷς τε τὰ κόμματα καὶ τὰ κῶλα καὶ τὰς περιόδους, καὶ ὅτι τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις συμβέβηκε (λέγω δὴ τοῖς τε ἀπλοῖς καὶ ἀτόμοις ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων συνθέτοις) τὰ καλούμενα σχήματα, καὶ ὅτι τῶν καλουμένων ἀρετῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσιν ἀναγκαῖαι καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν ὀφείλουσι παρεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις, αἱ δ' ἐπίθετοι καὶ ὅταν ὑποστῶσιν αἱ πρῶται, τότε τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἰσχὺν λαμβάνουσιν, εἴρηται πολλοῖς πρότερον. ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐμὲ νυνὶ λέγειν οὐδ' ἐξ ὧν θεωρημάτων τε καὶ παραγγελμάτων τούτων τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐκάστη γίνεται, πολλῶν ὄντων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης τέτευχεν ἐξεργασίας.

[23] Τίσι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐχρήσαντο πάντες οἱ πρὸ Θεουκυδίδου γενόμενοι συγγραφεῖς καὶ τίνων ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἤψαντο, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβόν, ὥσπερ ὑπεσχόμην, κεφαλαιωδῶς διέξιμι· ἀκριβέστερον γὰρ οὕτως γινώσεται τις τὸν ἴδιον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαρακτῆρα. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι πάνυ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μόνον γινωσκόμενοι τῶν ὀνομάτων ποῖαν τινὰ λέξιν ἐπετήδευσαν, οὐκ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν, πότερα τὴν λιτὴν καὶ ἀκόσμητον καὶ μηδὲν ἔχουσαν περιττόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ἢ τὴν πομπικὴν καὶ ἀξιωματικὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθέτους προσηληφυῖαν κόσμους. οὔτε γὰρ διασφύζονται τῶν πλειόνων αἱ γραφαὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, οὔθ' αἱ διασφύζόμενα παρὰ πᾶσιν ὥς ἐκείνων οὔσαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν πιστεύονται· ἐν αἷς εἰσιν αἱ τε Κάδμου τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀρισταίου τοῦ Προκοννησίου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις. οἱ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ γενόμενοι πολέμου καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θεουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας ὁμοίας ἔσχον ἅπαντες ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προαιρέσεις, οἱ τε τὴν Ἰάδα προελόμενοι διάλεκτον τὴν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις μάλιστα ἀνθοῦσαν καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα μικράς τινας ἔχουσαν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα. πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι, καθάπερ ἔφην, περὶ τὴν κυρίαν λέξιν μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασαν ἢ περὶ τὴν τροπικὴν, ταύτην δὲ ὥσπερ ἡδυσμα παρελάμβανον, σύνθεσιν τε ὀνομάτων ὁμοίαν ἅπαντες ἐπετήδευσαν τὴν ἀφελῇ καὶ ἀνεπιτήδευτον, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ σχηματίζειν τὰς λέξεις «καὶ» τὰς νοήσεις ἐξέβησαν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς τετριμμένης καὶ κοινῆς καὶ συνήθους ἅπασι διαλέκτου. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖας ἀρετάς ἢ λέξεις αὐτῶν πάντων ἔχει (καὶ γὰρ καθαρὰ καὶ σαφὴς καὶ σύντομός ἐστιν ἀποχρώντως, σώζουσα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκάστη τῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα)· τὰς δ' ἐπιθέτους, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα διάδηλος ἡ τοῦ ῥήτορος γίνεται δύναμις, οὔτε ἀπάσας οὔτε εἰς ἄκρον ἠκούσας, ἀλλ' ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπὶ

βραχύ, ὕψος λέγω καὶ καλλιρημοσύνην καὶ σεμνολογίαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν· οὐδὲ δὴ τόνον οὐδὲ βάρος οὐδὲ πάθος διεγεῖρον τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐρρωμένον καὶ ἐναγώνιον πνεῦμα, ἐξ ὧν ἡ καλουμένη γίνεται δεινότης· πλὴν ἐνὸς Ἡροδότου. οὗτος δὲ κατὰ <τε> τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικίλιαν μακρῷ δὴ τινι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερεβάλετο, καὶ παρεσκεύασε τῇ κρατίστη ποιήσει τὴν περὶ φράσιν ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι πειθοῦς τε καὶ χαρίτων καὶ τῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἡκούσης ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα· ἀρετάς τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λαμπροτάτας ἔξω τῶν ἐναγωνίων οὐδὲν ἐν ταύταις ἐνέλιπεν, εἰ τε οὐκ εὖ πεφυκῶς πρὸς αὐτάς εἴ τε κατὰ λογισμόν τινα ἐκουσίως ὑπεριδὼν ὥς οὐχ ἀρμοστούσων ἱστορίαις. οὔτε γὰρ δημηγορίαις πολλαῖς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἐναγωνίοις κέχρηται λόγοις, οὔτ' ἐν τῷ παθαίνειν καὶ δεινοποιεῖν τὰ πράγματα τὴν ἀλκὴν ἔχει.

[24] Τοῦτω τε δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὧν πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, καὶ συνιδὼν ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔσχεν ἀρετάς, ἰδιὸν τινα χαρακτῆρα καὶ παρεωραμένον ἅπασι πρῶτος εἰς τὴν ἱστορικὴν πραγματείαν ἐσπούδασεν ἀγαγεῖν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν τροπικὴν καὶ γλωττηματικὴν καὶ ἀπρηχαιωμένην καὶ ξένην λέξιν προελόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν τ' ἐλαττόνων καὶ τῶν μειζόνων μορίων τὴν ἀξιωματικὴν καὶ αὐστηρὰν καὶ σπιβαρὰν καὶ βεβηκυῖαν καὶ τραχύνουσαν ταῖς τῶν γραμμάτων ἀντιτυπίαις τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀντὶ τῆς λιγυρᾶς καὶ μαλακῆς καὶ συνεξεσμένης καὶ μηδὲν ἐχοῦσης ἀντίτυπον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σχηματισμῶν, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη διενέγκαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πλείστην εἰσενεγκάμενος σπουδὴν. διετέλεσέ γέ τοι τὸν ἐπακκαιικοσαετῇ χρόνον τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς τὰς ὀκτὼ βύβλους, ἃς μόνας κατέλιπεν, στρέφων ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν τῆς φράσεως μορίων ῥινῶν καὶ τορεύων· καὶ τοτὲ μὲν λόγον ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιῶν, τοτὲ δ' εἰς ὄνομα συνάγων τὸν λόγον· καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ ῥηματικὸν ὀνοματικῶς ἐκφέρων, αὐθις δὲ τοῦνομα ῥῆμα ποιῶν, καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων ἀναστρέφων τὰς χρήσεις, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὀνοματικὸν προσηγορικὸν γένηται, τὸ δὲ προσηγορικὸν ὀνοματικῶς λέγεται· καὶ τὰ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δραστήρια, τὰ δὲ δραστήρια παθητικά· πληθυντικῶν τε καὶ ἐνικῶν ἐναλλάττων τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἀντικατηγορῶν ταῦτα ἀλλήλων· θηλυκὰ τε ἀρρενικοῖς καὶ ἀρρενικὰ θηλυκοῖς καὶ οὐδέτερα τούτων πιστὴ συνάπτων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία πλανᾶται· τὰς δὲ τῶν ὀνοματικῶν ἢ μετοχικῶν πτώσεις ποτὲ μὲν πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαίνοντος ἀποστρέφων, ποτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαινομένου· ἐν δὲ τοῖς συνδετικοῖς καὶ τοῖς προθετικοῖς μορίοις καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς διαρθροῦσι τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων δυνάμεις ποιητοῦ τρόπον ἐνεξουσιάζων. πλεῖστα δ' ἂν τις <εὐροι> παρ' αὐτῷ σχήματα προσώπων τε ἀποστροφαῖς καὶ χρόνων ἐναλλαγαῖς καὶ τροπικῶν σημειώσεων μεταφοραῖς ἐξηλλαγμένα τῶν συνήθων καὶ σολοικισμῶν λαμβάνοντα φαντασίας· ὅποσα τε γίγνεται πράγματα ἀντὶ σωμάτων ἢ σώματα ἀντὶ πραγμάτων· καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἐνθυμημάτων <τε καὶ νοημάτων> αἱ μεταξὺ παρεμπτώσεις πολλαὶ γινόμεναι

διὰ πολλοῦ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κομίζονται· τὰ τε σκολιὰ καὶ πολὺπλοκα καὶ
δυσεξέλικτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ συγγενῇ τοῦτοις. εὖροι δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ
τῶν θεατρικῶν σχημάτων κείμενα παρ' αὐτῷ, τὰς παρισώσεις λέγω <καὶ
παρομοιώσεις> καὶ παρονομασίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις, ἐν αἷς ἐπλεόνασε Γοργίας
ὁ Λεοντῖνος καὶ οἱ περὶ Πῶλον καὶ Λικύμνιον καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν κατ'
αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων. ἐκδηλότατα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρακτηριστικώτατά ἐστι τό τε
πειρᾶσθαι δι' ἐλαχίστων ὀνομάτων πλεῖστα σημαίνειν πράγματα καὶ πολλὰ
συντιθέναι νοήματα εἰς ἓν, καὶ <τὸ> ἔτι προσδεχόμενόν τι τὸν ἀκροατὴν
ἀκούσεσθαι καταλείπειν· ὅφ' ὧν ἀσαφὲς γίνεται τὸ βραχύ. ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν
εἴπω, τέτταρα μὲν ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ὄργανα τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως· τὸ
ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ πολυειδὲς τῶν σχημάτων, τὸ τραχύ τῆς
ἁρμονίας, τὸ τάχος τῶν σημασιῶν· χρώματα δὲ αὐτῆς τό τε στριφνὸν καὶ
τὸ πυκνόν, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ αὐστηρόν, καὶ τὸ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ τὸ δεινὸν
καὶ [τὸ] φοβερόν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸ παθητικόν. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τίς
ἐστὶν ὁ Θουκυδίδης κατὰ τὸν τῆς λέξεως χαρακτήρα, ὃ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους
διήνεγκεν. ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἢ τε προαίρεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δύναμις συνεκδράμη,
τέλεια γίνεται κατορθώματα καὶ δαιμόνια· ὅταν δὲ ἐλλείπη τὸ τῆς
δυνάμεως, οὐ παραμείναντος μέχρι πάντων τοῦ τόνου, διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς
ἀπαγγελίας ἀσαφὲς τε ἡ λέξις γίνεται καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ἐπιφέρει κῆρας οὐκ
εὐπρεπεῖς. τὸ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τρόπῳ τὰ ξένα καὶ πεποιημένα λέγεσθαι καὶ
μέχρι πόσου προελθόντα πεπαῦσθαι, καλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα θεωρήματα ἐν
πᾶσιν ὄντα τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἱστορίας φυλάττει.

[25] Προειρημένων δὲ τούτων κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις αὐτῶν
ῥα τρέπεσθαι. ποιήσομαι δὲ οὐ χωρὶς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης ἰδέας τὸν λόγον,
ὑποτάττων αὐταῖς τὴν Θουκυδίδου λέξιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περιοχάς τινας καὶ
τόπους, μέρη λαμβάνων τῆς τε διηγήσεως καὶ τῶν ῥητορειῶν καὶ
παρατιθεὶς τοῖς τε πραγματικοῖς καὶ τοῖς λεκτικοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἢ
ἀμαρτήμασι τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς τοιαῦτά ἐστι· δεηθεὶς σοῦ πάλιν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων φιλολόγων τῶν ἐντευξομένων τῇ γραφῇ, τὸ βούλημά μου τῆς
ὑποθέσεως ἧς προήρημαι σκοπεῖν, ὅτι χαρακτηρὸς ἐστὶ δήλωσις ἅπαντα
περιλειφνῦν τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ καὶ δεόμενα λόγου, σκοπὸν ἔχουσα τὴν
ὠφέλειαν αὐτῶν τῶν βουλευσομένων μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προοιμίου προθέσει χρησάμενος, ὅτι μέγιστος
ἐγένετο τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ὁ Πελοποννησιακός, κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω
γράφει· 'τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὖρεῖν διὰ
χρόνου πληθεὺς ἀδύνατον ἦν· ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον
σκοποῦντί μοι ξυνέβη πιστεῦσαι, οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ
τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε εἰς τὰ ἄλλα. φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ
πάσαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ
ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινων αἰεὶ
πλειόνων. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμινύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις
οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι, ὅσον
ἀποζῆν, καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυ<τε>ύοντες·

<γνώ>μη δεδουλωμένοι ὥς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους. καταφρονήσαντες

οὐν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἄθροοι ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς.' ἥδ' ἡ περιοχὴ ὠφеле μὲν κατεσκευάσθαι μὴ τοῦτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κοινότερον μᾶλλον καὶ ὠφελιμώτερον, τοῦ τελευταίου μορίου τῷ πρώτῳ προστεθέντος, τῶν δὲ διὰ μέσου τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα χώραν λαβόντων. ἀγκυλωτέρα μὲν οὐν ἢ φράσις οὕτω σχηματισθεῖσα γέγονε καὶ δεινότερα, σαφεστέρα δὲ καὶ ἡδίων ἐκείνως ἂν κατασκευασθεῖσα. 'Τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκέτι ἐπεκθεῖν, ἣ προσπίπτοιεν, δυναμένων, γνόντες αὐτούς οἱ ψιλοὶ βραδυτέρους ἦδη, συστραφέντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες, ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς ἄθροοι. ἔκ τε τῆς ὀψεως τὸ θαρρεῖν προσειληφότες, ὅτι πολλαπλάσιοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηκέτι δεινοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως σφίσι φαίνεσθαι καταφρονήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εὐθύς ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἦν ἔσχον ὑπόληψιν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπέβαινον τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι ὥς ἐπὶ ^[26] Λακεδαιμονίους.' ὑπεξαίρουμένης δὲ τῆς περιγραφῆς πάσης, τᾶλλα πάντα ὠνόμασταί τε τοῖς προσφυστάτοις ὀνόμασι καὶ περιείληπται τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις σχηματισμοῖς, ἀρετῆς τε οὐδεμιᾶς ὥς εἰπεῖν οὔτε λεκτικῆς οὔτε πραγματικῆς ἐνδεῶς ἔσχηκεν. ἄς οὐδὲν δέομαι πάλιν ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ βύβλῳ τὴν ἐσχάτην ναυμαχίαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Συρακοσίων ἀφηγούμενος οὕτως ὠνόμακέ τε καὶ ἐσχημάτικε τὰ πραχθέντα. 'Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Εὐθύδημος (οὔτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἐπέβησαν) ἄραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατοπέδου εὐθύς ἔπλεον πρὸς τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τὸν παραλειφθέντα διέκπλουν, βουλόμενοι βιάσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἔξω. προεξανηγόμενοι δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ναυσὶ παραπλησίαις τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πρότερον κατὰ τε τὸν ἔκπλουν μέρει αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσον καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον κύκλῳ λιμένα, ὅπως πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπίπτοιεν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς ἅμα παρεβοήθει, ἥπερ καὶ αἱ νῆες κατίσχυον. ἦρχον δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις Σικανδὸς μὲν καὶ Ἀγάθαρχος, κέρας ἐκάτερος τοῦ παντὸς ἔχων, Πυθὴν δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὸ μέσον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι προσέμισγον τῷ ζεύγματι, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ρύμῃ ἐπιπλέοντες ἐκράτουν τῶν τεταγμένων νεῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπειρῶντο λύειν τὰς κλείσεις. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πανταχόθεν σφίσι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιφερομένων οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῷ ζεύγματι ἢ ναυμαχία, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐγίνετο. καὶ ἦν καρτερὰ καὶ οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρα τῶν πρότερον. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐκατέρωις προθυμία ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπιπλεῖν, ὅποτε κελευσθεῖη, ἐγίνετο, πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἀντιτέχνησις τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἳ τε ἐπιβάται ἐθεράπευον, ὅτε προσπέσοι ναῦς νηὶ, μὴ λείπεσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος τῆς ἄλλης τέχνης, πᾶς τέ τις ἐν ᾧ προσετέτακτο αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἠπεύγετο πρῶτος φαίνεσθαι. ξυμπεσουσῶν δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν νεῶν (πλείσται γὰρ δὴ αὗται ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐναυμάχησαν. βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπον ξυναμφότεραι διακόσαι γενέσθαι) αἱ μὲν ἐκβολαὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀνακρούσεις καὶ διέκπλους ὀλίγαι ἐγίνοντο. αἱ δὲ προσβολαί, ὥς τύχοι ναῦς νηὶ προσπεσοῦσα ἢ διὰ τὸ φυγεῖν ἢ ἄλλῃ ἐπιπλεύουσα, πυκνότεραι ἦσαν. καὶ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον

προσφέροίτο ναῦς, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀφθόνοις ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἐχρῶντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσμῖξιαν, οἱ ἐπιβάται εἰς χεῖρας ἰόντες ἐπειρῶντο ταῖς ἀλλήλων ναυσὶν ἐπιβαίνειν. συνετύγχανέ τε πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμβεληκέναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐμβελῆσθαι, δύο τε περὶ μίαν καὶ ἔστιν ἥ καὶ πλείους ναῦς κατ’ ἀνάγκην ξυνηρτῆσθαι· καὶ τοῖς κυβερνήταις τῶν μὲν φυλακὴν, τῶν δ’ ἐπιβουλὴν μὴ καθ’ ἓν ἕκαστον, κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν περιεστάναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον μέγαν ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν συμπιπτουσῶν, ἔκπληξιν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς ὧν οἱ κελευσταὶ ἐφθέγγοντο παρέχειν. πολλὴ γὰρ ἑτέρα ἢ παρακέλευσις καὶ ἡ βοή ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων τοῖς κελευσταῖς κατὰ τε τὴν τέχνην καὶ πρὸς τὴν ναυτικὴν φιλονεικίαν ἐγίγνετο· τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις βιάζεσθαι τε τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπιβοῶντες, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σωτηρίας νῦν, εἴ ποτε, προθύμως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις καλὸν εἶναι κωλύσαι τε αὐτοὺς διαφυγεῖν, καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστους πατρίδα νικήσαντας ἐπαυξῆσαι· καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ προσέτι ἐκατέρων, εἴ τινά που ὀρώεν μὴ κατ’ ἀνάγκην πρύμναν κρουόμενον ἀνακαλοῦντες ὀνομαστὶ τὸν τριήραρχον ἡρώτων, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὴν πολεμιοτάτην γῆν οἰκειοτέραν ἤδη τῆς οὐ δι’ ὀλίγου πόνου ἐκτεμμένης θαλάσσης ἡγούμενοι ἀποχωροῦσιν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ οὐς σαφῶς ἴσασι προθυμουμένους Ἀθηναίους παντὶ τρόπῳ διαφυγεῖν, τούτους αὐτοὶ φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν. ὁ τ’ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἰσορρόπου τῆς ναυμαχίας καθεστηκυίας πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἶχε, φιλονεικῶν μὲν ὁ αὐτόθεν περὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἤδη καλοῦ, δεδιότες δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες, μὴ τῶν παρόντων ἔτι χεῖρω πράξωσι. πάντων γὰρ δὴ ἀνακειμένων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὁ τε φόβος ἦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐδενὶ ἐοικῶς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἠναγκάζοντο ἔχειν· δι’ ὀλίγου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς θέας καὶ οὐ πάντων ἅμα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπούντων, εἰ μὲν τινες ἰδοῖεν πῇ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησάν τε ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν μὴ στερεῖσθαι σφᾶς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐτρέποντο· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσώμενον βλέψαντες ὀλοφυρμῷ τε ἅμα μετὰ βοῆς ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων τῆς ὀψεως καὶ τὴν γνώμην μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀντίπαλόν τι τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπιδόντες διὰ τὸ ἀκρίτως ξυνεχὲς τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ περιδεῶς ξυναπονεύοντες ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διῆγον· αἰεὶ γὰρ παρ’ ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλλυντο. ἦν τε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἕως ἀγχώμαλα ἐναυμάχουν, πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμὸς βοή, νικῶντες κρατούμενοι, ἅλλα ὅσα ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον πολυειδῆ ἀναγκάζοιτο φθέγγεσθαι. παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἔπασχον, πρὶν γε δὴ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχούσης τῆς ναυμαχίας, ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπικείμενοι λαμπρῶς, πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ διακελευσμῷ χρώμενοι, κατεδίωκον ἐς τὴν γῆν. τότε δὴ ὁ μὲν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἄλλος ἄλλῃ, ὅσοι μὴ μετέωροι ἐάλωσαν, κατενεχθέντες ἐξέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς οὐκέτι διαφόρως, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς

οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ στόνῳ πάντες δυσανασχετοῦντες τὰ γιγνόμενα, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς παρεβοήθουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ τείχους ἐς φυλακὴν· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἤδη περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπῃ σωθήσονται διεσκόπουν. ἦν τε ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ οὐδεμιᾷς δὴ τῶν ξυμπασῶν ἐλάσσων ἐκπληξίς. παραπλήσιά τε ἐπεπόνθεσαν καὶ ἔδρασαν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλῳ· διαφθαρεῖσιν γὰρ τῶν νεῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσαπώλλυντο αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρες διαβεβηκότες. καὶ τότε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέλπιστον ἦν τὸ κατὰ γῆν σωθήσεσθαι, ἦν μὴ τι παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται. γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ πολλῶν νεῶν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπολομένων οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπικρατήσαντες τὰ τε ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο καὶ ἀποπλεύσαντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τρόπαιον ἔστησαν.'

[27] Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἄξια ζήλου τε καὶ μιμήσεως ἐφάνη, τὴν τε μεγαληγορίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν καλλιλογίαν καὶ τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπέισθην τελειοτάτας εἶναι, τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅτι πᾶσα ψυχὴ τοῦτω τῷ γένει τῆς λέξεως ἄγεται, καὶ οὐτε τὸ ἄλογον τῆς διανοίας κριτήριον, ὃ πεφύκαμεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἡδῶν ἢ ἀνιαρῶν, ἀλλοτριοῦται πρὸς αὐτὸ οὐτε τὸ λογικόν, ἐφ' οὗ διαγιγνώσκεται τὸ ἐν ἐκάστη τέχνῃ καλόν· οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοιεν οὐθ' οἱ μὴ πάνυ λόγων ἔμπειροι πολιτικῶν εἰπεῖν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δυσχεραίνουσιν ὀνόματι ἢ σχήματι, οὐθ' οἱ πάνυ περιττοὶ καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερορῶντες ἀμαθίας μέμψασθαι τὴν κατασκευὴν ταύτης τῆς λέξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ <τὸ> τῶν ὀλίγων τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόληψιν ἔξει· ὁ μὲν γε πολὺς ἐκεῖνος ἰδιώτης οὐ δυσχερανεῖ τὸ φορτικόν τῆς λέξεως καὶ σκολιὸν καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητον· ὁ δὲ σπάνιος καὶ οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης ἀγωγῆς γιγνόμενος τεχνίτης οὐ μέμψεται τὸ ἀγεννὲς καὶ χαμαιτυπὲς καὶ ἀκατάσκευον. ἀλλὰ συνωδὸν ἔσται τό τε λογικόν καὶ τὸ ἄλογον κριτήριον, ὅφ' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἀξιοῦμεν ἅπαντα κρίνεσθαι κατὰ τὰς τέχνας. ἐργάσεται θάτερον, οὐκέτι καλὸν οὐδὲ τέλειον ἀποδίδωσι [28] τὸ ἕτερον. ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐκ ἔχω, πῶς ἐκεῖνα ἐπαινέσω τὰ δοκοῦντα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά εἶναί τισιν, ὅσα μὴδὲ τὰς πρώτας ἀρετὰς ἔχει καὶ κοινοτάτας, ἀλλ' ἐκνενίκεται τῷ περιέργῳ καὶ περιττῷ μήτε ἡδέα εἶναι μήτε ὠφέλιμα· ὧν ὀλίγα παρέξομαι δείγματα παραπθεῖς εὐθύς ἐκάστοις τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς περιέστηκεν εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κακίας. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ τὰ περὶ Κέρκυραν ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ἔργα διὰ τὴν στάσιν εἰς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκ τοῦ δήμου γεγόμενα διεξιὼν, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ συνήθει τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπῳ τὰ πραχθέντα δηλοῖ, σαφῶς τε καὶ συντόμως καὶ δυνατῶς ἅπαντα εἴρηκεν· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἐπιτραγωδεῖν τὰς κοινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰς καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξαλλάττειν ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἔθει μακρῷ τι γίγνεται χεῖρων αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν ὡς ἡμαρτημένων ἐπιλάβοιτο, ταῦτα· Κερκυραῖοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὰς τε Ἀττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεύσας τὰς τε τῶν πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τοὺς Μεσσηνίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὄντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλεῦσαι κελεύσαντες, ἃς ἐπλήρωσαν, ἐς τὸν Ὑλαϊκὸν λιμένα, ἐν ὧσιν περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ τινα λάβοιεν ἀπέκτεινον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν

ὄσους ἔπεισαν εἰσβῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀνεχρῶντο· εἰς τὸ Ἥραιόν τε ἐλθόντες, τῶν ἱκετῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωνσαν ἀπάντων θάνατον· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ὡς ἐώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειρον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο, οἱ δ' ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο ἀνηλοῦντο. ἡμέρας τε ἑπτὰ, ἃς ἀφικόμενος ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνευσαν, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν· ἀπέθανον δὲ τινες καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσις ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων. πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γίνεσθαι, οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐ ξυνέβη, καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω· καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον οὕτως ὡμῇ στάσις προὔχωρσε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν «οὐσῶν» ἕκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δῆμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους·

[29] ἃ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει, σκολιὰ καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητα καὶ τὰς τῶν σχηματισμῶν πλοκάς σολοικοφανεῖς ἔχοντα καὶ οὔτε τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν βίον γενομένοις ἐπιτηδευθέντα οὔτε τοῖς ὕστερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἤκμασεν ἡ πολιτικὴ δύναμις· ἃ μέλλω νυνὶ λέγειν· «ἐστασίαζέν τε οὖν τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που ἐπιπύσσει τῶν προγενομένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπία·» ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν κώλων περιπέφρασται πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον· «ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν τὰ τῶν πόλεων· ὑγιέστερον γὰρ ἦν εἰπεῖν «ἐστασίαζον αἱ πόλεις». τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ λεγόμενον· «καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που» δυσεῖκαστόν ἐστι· σαφέστερον δ' ἂν ἐγένετο ῥηθὲν οὕτως· «αἱ δ' ὑστεροῦσαι πόλεις». οἷς ἐπὶ κεῖται· «ἐπιπύσσει τῶν προγεγενημένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐς τὸ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας·» βούλεται μὲν γὰρ λέγειν· «οἱ δὲ ὑστερίζοντες ἐπιπυνθανόμενοι τὰ γεγενημένα παρ' ἑτέροις ἐλάμβανον ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τὸ διανοεῖσθαι τι καινότερον·» χωρὶς δὲ τῆς πλοκῆς οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων σχηματισμοὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς εἰσιν ἡδεῖς, τούτοις ἐπιφέρει κεφάλαιον ἄλλο ποιητικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ διθυραμβικῆς σκευωρίας οἰκειότερον· «τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων ἐπιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπία· καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀξίωσιν ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαίῳσει·» ὃ γὰρ βούλεται δηλοῦν ἐν τῇ δυσεξελίκτῳ πλοκῇ, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· «πολλὴν τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανον εἰς τὸ διανοεῖσθαι τι καινότερον περὶ τὰς τέχνας τῶν ἐγχειρημάτων καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν τιμωριῶν· τὰ τε εἰωθότα ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λέγεσθαι μετατιθέντες ἄλλως ἡξίουσιν αὐτὰ καλεῖν·» ἢ δ' «ἐπιτέχνησις» καὶ ἢ «τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπία» καὶ ἢ «εἰωθυῖα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀξίωσις» καὶ ἢ «εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀντηλλαγμένη δικαίωσις» περιφράσεως ποιητικῆς ἐστὶν οἰκειότερα. οἷς ἐπιτίθησι τὰ θεατρικὰ σχήματα ταυτί· «τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἁλόγιστος ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη,

μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆς δειλία εὐπρεπής· παρομοιώσεις γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα καὶ παρισώσεις περιέχει, καὶ τὰ ἐπίθετα καλλωπισμοῦ χάριν κεῖται· τὸ γὰρ οὔτε θεατρικὸν ἄλλ· ἀναγκαῖον τῆς λέξεως σχῆμα τοιοῦτ' ἂν ᾦν· 'τὴν μὲν γὰρ τόλμαν ἀνδρίαν ἐκάλουν, τὴν δὲ μέλλησιν δειλίαν.' ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ συναπτόμενα· 'τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν συνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄργον'· κυριώτερον δ' ἂν οὕτως ἐλέχθη· 'οἱ δὲ σῶφρονες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ συνετοὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐν ἅπασιν ἄργοι.'

[30] εἰ μέχρι τούτων προελθὼν ἐπαύσατο τὰ μὲν καλλωπίζων, τὰ δὲ σκληραγωγῶν τὴν λέξιν, ἥττον ἂν ὀχληρὸς ᾦν. νῦν δ' ἐπιτίθισιν· 'ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὐλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς αἰεί, ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὑποπτος,' καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις πάλιν ἄδηλον μὲν ἐστὶ, τίνα βούλεται δηλοῦν τὸν χαλεπαίνοντα καὶ περὶ τίνος, τίνα δὲ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ. 'ἐπιβουλεύσας δέ τις' φησὶ 'τυχὼν τε ξυνετός, καὶ ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δεινότερος· προβουλεύσας δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτῷ δεήσει, τῆς ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένους.' οὕτε γὰρ ὁ 'τυχὼν' ἐμφαίνει μᾶλλον, ὃ βούλεται δηλοῦν, οὔτε ὁ αὐτὸς τυχὼν τε καὶ ὑπονοήσας ἅμα νοεῖσθαι δύναται, εἰ γε ὁ μὲν τυχὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατορθώσαντος καὶ ἐπιτυχόντος ὃ ἥλπισε λέγεται, ὁ δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ προαισθημένου τὸ μήπωπραχθὲν ἄλλ' ἔτι μέλλον κακόν. καθαρὸς δὲ καὶ τηλαυγὴς ὁ νοῦς οὕτως ἂν ᾦν· 'οἷ τ' ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἐτέροις εἰ κατορθώσειαν, δεινοί· καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς προὑπονοοῦντες εἰ φυλάξαιντο, ἔτι δεινότεροι· ὁ δὲ προιδόμενος, ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτῷ δεήσει μήτ' ἐπιβουλῆς μήτε φυλακῆς, τὰς τε ἐταιρίας διαλύειν ἐδόκει καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληχθαι.'

[31] μίαν δὲ τούτοις ἐπιθεὶς περίοδον ἀγκύλως εἰρημένην καὶ δυνατῶς μετὰ τοῦ σαφῶς· 'ἀπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακόν τι δρᾶν ἐπηγεῖτο καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοοῦμενον' ποιητικῇ πάλιν χρήσεται μεταλήψει· 'καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν.' τὸ γὰρ 'συγγενές' καὶ τὸ 'ἐταιρικόν' <ἀντὶ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς ἐταιρίας> κείμενον μετεἰληπται· τό τε 'ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν' ἄδηλον, εἴ τε ἐπὶ τῶν φίλων κεῖται νῦν εἴ τε ἐπὶ τῶν συγγενῶν. αἰτίαν γὰρ ἀποδούς, δι' ἣν τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀλλοτριωτέρους ἔκρινον τῶν φίλων, ἐπιτίθισιν, ὅτι τόλμαν ἀπροφασίστον παρείχοντο. σαφῆς δ' ἂν ᾦν <ὁ> λόγος, εἰ τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκε τὸν τρόπον κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν σχηματίζων· 'καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐταιρικὸν οἰκειότερον ἐγένετο τοῦ συγγενοῦς διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν.' περιπέφρασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ οὔτε ἰσχυρῶς οὔτε σαφῶς ἀπηγγέλται· 'οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελείας αἱ τοιαῦται σύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξία.' ὁ μὲν νοῦς ἐστὶ τοιόσδε· 'οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς κατὰ νόμον ὠφελείαις αἱ τῶν ἐταιριῶν ἐγίνοντο σύνοδοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τι πλεονεκτεῖν.' 'Καὶ ὅρκοι' φησὶν 'εἰ που ἄρα ἐγίνοντο συναλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον <ἐκατέρω> διδόμενοι ἴσχυον, οὐκ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν δύναμιν'· ἐν τούτοις ὑπερβατόν τε καὶ περίφρασις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ 'ὅρκοι τῆς συναλλαγῆς' τὸ σημανόμενον ἔχουσι τοιοῦτον· 'οἱ δὲ

περὶ τῆς φιλίας ὅρκοι εἴ που ἄρα γένοιτο· τὸ δὲ 'ἰσχυον' δι' ὑπερβατοῦ
κείμενον τῷ 'αὐτίκα' ἔπεται, βούλεται γὰρ δηλοῦν 'ἐν τῷ παραντίκα
ἰσχυον'· τὸ δὲ 'πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἐκατέρω διδόμενοι, οὐκ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν
δύναμιν' σαφέστερον ἂν ἦν οὕτως ἐξενεχθέν· 'διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἔχειν
δύναμιν κατὰ τὸ ἄπορον ἐκατέρω διδόμενοι'· τὸ δὲ κατάλληλον τῆς
διανοίας ἦν ἂν τοιοῦτο· 'οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ὅρκοι εἴ που ἄρα γένοιτο,
ἀπορία πίστεως ἄλλης ἐκατέρω διδόμενοι ^[32] ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα ἰσχυον.'

σκολιώτερα δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ἃ μετὰ ταῦτα τίθησιν· 'ἐν δὲ τῷ
παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάσας θαρρήσῃ εἰ ἴδοι ἄφρακτον, ἥδιον διὰ τὴν πίστιν
ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς· καὶ τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο, καὶ ὅτι
ἀπάτῃ περιγενόμενος συνέσεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανε'· τὸ δὲ
'παρατυχόν' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'παραχρήμα' κεῖται, τό τε 'ἄφρακτον' ἀντὶ τοῦ
'ἀφυλάκτου' καὶ τὸ 'ἥδιον τιμωρεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν πίστιν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ
προφανοῦς' σκοτεινῶς περιπέφραστοι, καὶ ἐλλείπει τι μόνιον εἰς τὸ
συμπληρωθῆναι τὴν νόησιν. εἰκάζειν δὲ ἔστιν, ὅτι τοῦτο βούλεται λέγειν·
'εἰ δὲ που παρατύχοι τινὶ καιρὸς καὶ μάθοι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀφύλακτον, ἥδιον
ἐτιμωρεῖτο, ὅτι πιστεύσαντι ἐπέθετο μᾶλλον ἢ φυλαττομένῳ· καὶ συνέσεως
δόξαν προσελάμβανε, τό τε ἀσφαλὲς λογιζόμενος καὶ ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην
αὐτοῦ περιεγένετο.' 'ῥῆον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι' φησὶν 'ὄντες δεξιοὶ
κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ
ἀγάλλονται'· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγκύλως μὲν εἴρηται καὶ βραχέως, ἐν ἀφανεῖ δὲ
κείμενον ἔχει τὸ σημαινόμενον. χαλεπὸν γὰρ μαθεῖν, τίνας δὴ ποτε νοεῖ
τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς· εἴ τε γὰρ ἀντιδιαστέλλεται πρὸς τοὺς
κακοῦργους, οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν ἀμαθεῖς οἱ μὴ κακοί· εἴ τ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ
ἀφρόνων τίθησι τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς, κατὰ τί δὴ ποτε τούτους ἀγαθοὺς καλεῖ; 'καὶ
τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται' τίνες; ἄδηλον γὰρ πότερον ἀμφοτέροι ἢ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς.
'ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται' κἀναυῖθα ἄδηλον, τίνες· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων
τίθησιν, οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῦργοις οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγάλλονται
οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαθέσιν οἱ κακοῦργοι αἰσχύνονται.

[33] Οὗτος ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς ἀσαφοῦς καὶ πεπλεγμένης λέξεως, ἐν ᾗ πλείων
ἔνεστι τῆς θέλξεως ἢ σκοτίζουσα τὴν διάνοιαν ὅκλησις, ἕως ἐκατὸν
ἐκμηκύνεται στίχων. θήσω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς οὐδεμίαν ἔπι λέξιν ἐμαντοῦ
προστιθείς· 'πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἵτιον ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν,
ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν
ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες, μετὰ ὀνόματος ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τε
ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σῶφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ
λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο· παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι
ἀλλήλων περιγενέσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα, ἐπεξήρσαν τε τὰς
τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει ξυμφόρου
προστιθέντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐκατέροις που αἰεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὀρίζοντες· καὶ ἡ
μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως ἡ χειρὶ κτῶμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν ἔτιμοι ἦσαν
τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονεικίαν ἐκπιμπλάναι. ὥστ' εὐσεβεῖα μὲν οὐδέτεροι
ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπεῖα δὲ λόγου, οἷς ξυμβαίῃ ἐπιφθόνως τι διαπράξασθαι,
ἄμεινον ἤκουον· τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἢ ὅτι οὐκ

ἐξηγῶνίζοντο ἢ ὅτι φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι, διεφθείροντο. οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ· καὶ τὸ εὐηθες, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη· τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις τῇ γνώμῃ ἀπίστως ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὄρκος φοβερός. κρείττους δὲ ὄντες πάντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προεσκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὡς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο. τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεές καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετόν, μὴ λόγοις τε ἦττους ὥσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβουλεύμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν· οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προαισθῆσθαι, καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν, ἃ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν, ἄφρακτοι μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο.’ Ἐκ πολλῶν ἔτι δυνάμενος παραδειγμάτων ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι κρείττων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασιν, ὅταν ἐν τῷ συνήθει καὶ κοινῷ τῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρι μένῃ, χείρων δέ, ὅταν ἐκτρέψῃ τὴν διάλεκτον ἐκ τῆς συνήθους ἐπὶ τὰ ξένα ὀνόματα καὶ βεβιασμένα σχήματα, ὧν ἔνια σολοικισμῶν παρέχεται δόξαν, ἀρκεσθήσομαι τούτοις, ἵνα μὴ περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἡ γραφή μοι προβῇ.

[34] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δημηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι φανερά ποιήσιν ὑπεσχόμεν, ἐν αἷς οἴονταί τινες τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι δύναμιν, διελόμενος καὶ ταύτην διχῇ τὴν θεωρίαν εἷς τε τὸ πραγματικὸν μέρος καὶ εἷς τὸ λεκτικὸν χωρὶς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου ποιήσομαι τὸν λόγον, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πραγματικοῦ. ἐν ᾧ πρῶτην μὲν ἔχει μοῖραν ἡ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τε καὶ νοημάτων εὗρεσις, δευτέραν δὲ ἡ τῶν εὗρεθέντων χρῆσις· ἐκεῖνη μὲν <ἐν> τῇ φύσει μᾶλλον ἔχουσα τὴν ἰσχύν, αὕτη δὲ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ. τούτων ἡ μὲν πλεον ἔχουσα τοῦ τεχνικοῦ τὸ φυσικὸν καὶ διδαχῆς ἐλάττονος δεομένη θαυμαστή τις ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ συγγραφεῖ· φέρει γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς πλουσίας ἄπειρόν τι χρῆμα νοημάτων τε καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων περιττῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ παραδόξων. ἡ δὲ πλεῖον ἔχουσα τὸ τεχνικὸν καὶ λαμπροτέραν ποιοῦσα φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐτέραν ἐνδεεστέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐκτεθαυμάκασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτριον, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν θεοφορήτων διαφέρειν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐοίκασιν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τοῦτ’ ἐσχηκέναι τὸ πάθος. οὐς ἂν διδάσκῃ τις ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ πράγματι παραπιθεὶς τὸν λόγον, ὅτι ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν προσώπων λέγεσθαι, ταυτὶ δ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς πράγμασιν οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτου, δυσχεραίνουσιν, ὁμοίον τι πάσχοντες τοῖς κεκρατημένοις ὑφ’ οἷας δὴ τινος ὄψεως ἔρωτι μὴ πολὺ ἀπέχοντι μανίας. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ πάσας τὰς ἀρετάς, ὁπόσαι γίνονται περὶ μορφὰς εὐπρεπεῖς, ταῖς καταδεδουλωμέναις αὐτοὺς προσεῖναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἐξονειδίζειν ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ τι περὶ αὐτὰς ὑπάρχει σίνος, ὡς βασκάνους καὶ συκοφάντας προβέβληνται· οὗτοί τε ὑπὸ τῆς μιᾶς ταύτης ἀρετῆς κεκαρωμένοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ μὴ προσόντα τῷ συγγραφεῖ μαρτυροῦσιν· ἃ γὰρ ἕκαστος εἶναι βούλεται περὶ τὸ φιλούμενόν τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ταῦτα οἶεται. ὅσοι δ’ ἀδέκαστον τὴν διάνοιαν φυλάσσουσι καὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς κανόνας

ἀναφέρουσιν, εἴ τε φυσικῆς τιнос κρίσεως μετεिल्φότες εἴ τε καὶ διὰ διδαχῆς ἰσχυρὰ τὰ κριτήρια κατασκευάσαντες, οὔτε ἅπαντα ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐπ' ἴσης οὔτε πρὸς ἅπαντα δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν κατορθώμασι τὴν προσήκουσαν μαρτυρίαν ἀπονέμουσιν, εἰ δέ τι διημάρτηται μέρος ἐν ^[35] αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσιν. ὁ γοῦν ἐπὶ πάντων ἐγὼ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ θεωρημάτων κανόνας ὑποτιθέμενος οὔτε πρότερον ὥκνησα τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι φέρειν ἐς μέσον οὔτε νῦν ἀποτρέφομαι. διδοὺς δὴ τὸ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφην, τὸ περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν τοῦ συγγραφέως εὖστοχον, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλως προὔπειλθεν εἴ τε διὰ φιλονεικίαν εἴ τε δι' ἀναισθησίαν, ἀμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν οἰόμενος, θάτερον οὐκέτι δίδωμι, τὸ περὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ τεχνικόν, πλὴν ἐπ' ὀλίγων πάνυ δημηγοριῶν. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ <τὰ> περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἐλαττώματα, περὶ ὧν ἦδη προείρηκα, πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα ταύταις συμβεβηκότα ταῖς ἰδέαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ γλωττηματικαὶ καὶ ξέναι καὶ πεποιημέναι λέξεις ἐν ταύταις μάλιστα ἐπιπολάζουσι, καὶ τὰ πολύπλοκα καὶ ἀγκύλα καὶ βεβιασμένα σχήματα πλεῖστα περὶ ταύτας ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ τὰ εἰκότα ἔγνωκα, σύ τε κρινεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀγόμενος τῶν ἔργων. ἔσται δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά ἡ παράθεσις αὐτῶν, ἀντιπαρεξεταζομένων τοῖς ἄριστά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν τῶν οὔτε κατὰ τὰς οἰκονομίας κατορθουμένων οὔτε κατὰ τὴν φράσιν ἀνεγκλήτων.

^[36] Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βύβλῳ <τὴν> ἐπὶ Πλαταιᾶς Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔλασιν ἀρξάμενος γράφειν ὑποτίθεται, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου μέλλοντος δηλώσειν τὴν γῆν, πρέσβεις παρὰ τῶν Πλαταιέων ἀφιγμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ λόγους ἀποδίδωσιν, οἷους εἰκὸς ἦν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων εἰρησθαι, τοῖς <τε> προσώποις πρέποντας καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἰκείους καὶ μήτ' ἐλλείποντας τοῦ μετρίου μήτε ὑπεραίροντας, λέξει τε κεκόσμηκεν αὐτοὺς καθαρᾷ καὶ σαφεῖ καὶ συντόμῳ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐχούσῃ· τὴν τε ἀρμονίαν οὕτως ἔναυλον ἀποδέδωκεν ἅμα τοῖς ἠδίοτοις παρεξετάζεσθαι· 'Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐκ ἐσέβαλον, ἐστράτευσαν δ' ἐπὶ Πλάταιαν· ἠγεῖτο δ' Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς· καὶ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔμελλε δηλώσειν τὴν γῆν. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς εὐθύς πρέσβεις πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτόν ἔλεγον τοιάδε· Ἀρχίδαμε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδὲ ἄξια οὐθ' ὑμῶν οὔτε πατέρων ὧν ἐστε, ἐς γῆν τὴν Πλαταιέων στρατεῦοντες. Πανσανίας γὰρ ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐλευθερώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐθελησάντων συνάρασθαι τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ τῆς μάχης, ἥ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, θύσας ἐν τῇ Πλαταιέων ἀγορᾷ ἱερὰ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαί τε μηδὲνα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμύνειν τοὺς παρόντας ξυμμάχους κατὰ δύναμιν. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις γενομένης. ὑμεῖς δὲ τάναντία ἐκείνοις δρᾶτε· μετὰ γὰρ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤκατε. μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς τε ὀρκίους τότε γενομένους

ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρώους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους λέγομεν ὑμῖν, γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, εἴαν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους, ὥσπερ Πανσανίας ἐδικαίωσε.’ τοιαῦτα τῶν Πλαταιέων λεγόντων Ἀρχίδαμος ἀποκρίνεται τοιάδε· ‘Δίκαια λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιεῖς, ἣν ποιῆτε ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις. καθάπερ γὰρ Πανσανίας ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν, αὐτοὶ τε αὐτονομεῖσθε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνελευθεροῦτε, ὅσοι μετασχόντες τῶν τότε κινδύνων ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν καὶ εἰσὶ νῦν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίοις· παρασκευὴ τε τοσῆδε καὶ πόλεμος γεγένηται αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερώσεως. ἥς μάλιστα μὲν μετασχόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμμείνατε τοῖς ὅρκοις. εἰ δὲ μή, ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον ἤδη προὔκαλεσάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν· καὶ ἔστε μηδὲ μεθ’ ἐτέρων, δέχεσθε δ’ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ μηδετέρους. καὶ τάδε ἡμῖν ἀρκέσει.’ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῶν πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν· καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ ῥηθέντα κοινῶσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀδύνατα εἶη σφίσι ποιεῖν, ἃ προκαλεῖται, ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων· παῖδες γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ’ ἐκείνοις εἶησαν. δεδιέναι δὲ καὶ περὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει, μὴ ‘κείνων ἀποχωρησάντων Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες σφίσι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν ἢ Θηβαῖοι ὡς ἔνορκοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι αὐθις σφῶν τὴν πόλιν πειράσωσι καταλαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφη· “Ὑμεῖς δὲ πόλιν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἡμῖν παράδοτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ γῆς ὅρους ἀποδείξατε, καὶ δένδρα τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δυνατὸν εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ· ἐπειδὴν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν, ἃ ἂν παραλάβωμεν· μέχρι δὲ τοῦδε ἔξομεν ὑμῖν παρακαταθήκην ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ ἀποφορὰν φέροντες, ἢ ἂν ὑμῖν ἱκανὴ μέλλῃ ἔσσεσθαι.” οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες αὐθις εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεξαν, ὅτι βούλονται Ἀθηναίοις κοινῶσαι πρῶτον ἃ προκαλεῖται, καὶ ἣν πείθωσιν αὐτούς, ποιεῖν ταῦτα. μέχρι δὲ τούτου σπείσασθαι σφίσι ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γῆν μὴ δηοῦν. ὁ δ’ ἡμέρας τε ἐσπείσατο, ἐν αἷς εἰκὸς ἦν κομισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἔτεμνεν. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ’ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἦλθον ἀγγέλλοντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοιάδε· ‘Οὐτ’ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ, ἄνδρες Πλαταιεῖς, ἀφ’ οὗ ὅτ’ ἐξυμμάχοι ἐγενόμεθα, Ἀθηναῖοι φασὶν ἐν οὐδενὶ ὑμᾶς προέσθαι ἀδικουμένους οὔτε νῦν περιόψεσθαι, βοηθήσειν δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν· ἐπισκῆπτουσὶν τε ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν ὀρκῶν, οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὡμοσαν, μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν.’ τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπαγγειλάντων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐβουλεύσαντο Ἀθηναίους μὴ προδιδόναι, ἀλλ’ ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ γῆν τεμνομένην, εἰ δέοι, ὀρῶντας καὶ ἄλλο πάσχοντας, ὅ τι ἂν ξυμβαίνει· ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα ἔτι, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι ἀδύνατά ἐστι σφίσι ποιεῖν ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προκαλοῦνται. ὡς δ’ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέστη λέγων ὥδε· ‘Θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε, καὶ ἡρώες, ξυνίστορες ἔστε, ὅτι οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως, ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶνδε

προτέρων τὸ ξυνώμοτον ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἤλθομεν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εὐξάμενοι ὑμῖν Μῆδων ἐκράτησαν καὶ παρέσχετε αὐτὴν εὐμενῇ ἐναγωνίωςασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὔτε νῦν ἦν τι ποιῶμεν, ἀδικήσομεν· προκαλεσάμενοι γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν. ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως· τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας καθίστη εἰς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν·

[37] Ἐξετάσωμεν δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν διάλογον <τὸν> οὕτω καλῶς καὶ περιττῶς ἔχοντα ἔτερον αὐτοῦ διάλογον, ὃν μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τούτου θαυμασταί. ὑποτίθεται δὴ, στρατιὰν ἀποστειλάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Μηλίου Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Μηλίων συνιόντας εἰς λόγους περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου· καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου δηλοῖ τὰ λεχθέντα ὑφ' ἐκατέρων, ἐπὶ μιᾷς δ' ἀποκρίσεως τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα διατηρήσας, τὸ διηγηματικόν, προσωποποιεῖ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα διάλογον καὶ δραματίζει. ἄρχει δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τάδε λέγων· Ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ λόγοι γίνονται, ὅπως δὴ μὴ συνεχεῖ ρήσει οἱ λαοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα ἐς ἅπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν ἀπατηθῶσι (γινώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο φρονεῖ ἡμῶν ἢ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀγωγή), ὑμεῖς οἱ προκαθήμενοι ἔτι ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσετε. καὶ μὴδ' ὑμεῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν ἐπιτηδεῖως λέγεσθαι εὐθύς ὑπολαμβάνοντες κρίνετε· καὶ πρῶτον, εἰ ἀρέσκει ὡς λέγομεν, εἵπατε· οἱ δὲ τῶν Μηλίων σύνεδροι ἀπεκρίναντο· Ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους οὐ ψέγεται· τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντα διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ φαίνετε· τοῦτο τὸ τελευταῖον εἴ τις ἐν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἀξιῶσει φέρειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι πάντας τοὺς σολοικισμοὺς, ὅσοι γίνονται παρὰ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς καὶ παρὰ τὰς πτώσεις, σχήματα καλῶν; προθεῖς γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν οὐ ψέγεται, ἔπειτα συνάψας τῷ ἐνικῶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν ἐξηγηγεμένῳ πτῶσιν 'τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντα' ἐπιζεύγνυσσι τούτοις ἐνικὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν ἐσχηματισμένον πτῶσιν, εἰ τε ἄρθρον δεικτικὸν βούλεται τις αὐτὸ καλεῖν εἰ τε ἀντονομασίαν, τὸ 'αὐτοῦ'· τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε τῷ θηλυκῶ καὶ ἐνικῶ καὶ ὀνοματικῶ προσαρμοστούμενον σῶζει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν οὔτε τῷ πληθυντικῶ καὶ οὐδετέρῳ <καὶ> κατὰ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν ἐσχηματισμένῳ πτῶσιν. ἦν δ' ἂν ὁ λόγος κατάλληλος οὕτω σχηματισθεῖς· ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους οὐ ψέγεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντα διαφέροντα αὐτῆς φαίνεται· τοῦτοις ἐπιτίθησιν ἐνθύμημα νενοημένον μὲν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἡμηνευμένον δὲ οὐκ εὐπαρακολουθῆτως· Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπονοίας τῶν μελλόντων λογιούμενοι ἢ ἄλλο τι ξυνήκετε, ἢ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὧν ὀρᾶτε περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσαντες τῇ πόλει, παυόμεθα· εἰ δ' ἐπὶ [38] τοῦτο, λέγοιμεν ἄν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποστρέψας τοῦ διηγήματος τὸν διάλογον ἐπὶ τὸ δραματικὸν ταῦτα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἀποκρινόμενον ποιεῖ· Εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ ξυγγνώμη, ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καθεστῶτα ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τραπέσθαι·

ἔπειτα εὐσχήμονα πρόθεσιν ὑποθέμενος ἢ μέντοι ξύνοδος καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἤδη πάρεσσι, καὶ ὁ λόγος, ᾧ προκαλεῖσθε τρόπῳ, εἰ δοκεῖ, γιγνέσθω· πρῶτον μὲν εἴρηκεν ἐνθύμημα οὔτε τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως ἄξιον οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις πράγμασιν ἀρμόττον λέγεσθαι· Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ὡς ἢ δικαίως τὸν Μῆδον καταλύσαντες ἄρχομεν, ἢ ἀδικούμενοι νῦν ἐπεξερχόμεθα, λόγων μῆκος ἄπιστον παρέξομεν· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὁμολογοῦντος τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας στρατεύειν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ μηδετέρου τούτων βούλεται τὸν λόγον ὑπέχειν· οἷς ἐπιτίθησιν 'οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιούμεν ἢ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι ὄντες οὐ ξυνεστρατεύσατε ἢ ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἡδικήκατε λέγοντας οἶεσθαι πείσειν, τὰ δυνατὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἀληθῶς φρονοῦμεν διαπράσσεσθαι.' τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν· ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀληθῶς φρονοῦντες ὅτι ἀδικεῖσθε, τὴν ἀνάγκην φέρετε καὶ εἴκετε· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι ἀδικούμεν ὑμᾶς, τῆς ἀσθενείας ὑμῶν περισσόμεθα τῇ βίᾳ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἑκατέρους δυνατὰ.' ἔπειτα τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδοῦναι τούτου βουλευθεὶς ἐπιλέγει· 'ὅτι δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προὔχοντες πρᾶσσουσιν καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς συγχωροῦσι.' [39] βασιλεῦσι γὰρ βαρβάρους ταῦτα πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἡρμοττε λέγειν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, οὓς ἡλευθέρωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων, οὐκ ἦν προσήκοντα εἰρῆσθαι, ὅτι τὰ δίκαια τοῖς ἴσοις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὰ δὲ βίαια τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. ὀλίγα δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν Μηλίων ἀποκριναμένων, ὅτι καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προνοεῖν τοῦ δικαίου, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτε σφαλέντες ὑπ' ἄλλων [ἐν] ἐξουσίᾳ γένωνται καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, ἀποκρινόμενον ποιεῖ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἣν καὶ πανθῇ, οὐκ ἄθυμοῦμεν τὴν τελευτήν', τούτου δ' αἰτίαν ἀποδιδόντα, ὅτι κἂν καταλύσωσιν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχήν, συγγνώμην ἔξουσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρᾶσσοντες. θήσω δὲ καὶ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ· 'οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσι.' τοῦτο δὲ ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ λέγειν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις οὐ μισοῦνται τύραννοι. οἷς ἐπιτίθησιν 'καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἡμῖν ἀφείσθω κινδυνεύεσθαι', ὃ μόγις ἂν εἶπεν τῶν καταποντιστῶν τις ἢ ληστῶν 'οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφομαι τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα τιμωρίας χαρισάμενος ἐπιθυμίαις ἐν τῷ παρόντι.' ἔπειτ' ὀλίγων τῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων ἀμοιβαίων καὶ τῶν Μηλίων εἰς ἐπεικῇ συγκαταβαίνοντων αἵρεσιν "Ὡστε δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας ἡμᾶς φίλους μὲν εἶναι ἀντὶ πολεμίων, ξυμμάχους δὲ μηδετέρων οὐκ ἂν δέξασθε;" ἀποκρινόμενον ποιεῖ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον 'Οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἢ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν, ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον', ἐνθύμημα πονηρὸν καὶ σκολιῶς ἀπηγγελλόμενον· εἰ δὲ τὸ νόημα βούλεται τις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, τοιόνδε ἐστίν, ὅτι 'φιλοῦντες μὲν ἡμᾶς ἀσθενεῖς φαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ποιήσετε, μισοῦντες δὲ ἰσχυροὺς· οὐ γὰρ ζητοῦμεν [40] εὐνοίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ φόβῳ.' τούτοις ἕτερα προσθεὶς πάλιν ἀμοιβαῖα περίεργα καὶ πικρά, τοὺς Μηλίους ὑποτίθεται λέγοντας, ὅτι κοινὰς τὰς τύχας φέρουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ 'τὸ μὲν εἶξα εὐθὺς ἀνέλπιστον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου ἔτι καὶ

σπῆναι ἐλπίς ὀρθῶς.’ πρὸς ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἀποκρινόμενον λαβυρίνθων σκολιώτερα περὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γινομένης, κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γράφων· ‘Ἐλπίς δὲ κινδύνου παραμύθιον οὔσα τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ κἂν βλάβῃ, οὐ καθεῖλεν· τοῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γινώσκεται σφαλέντων, καὶ ἐν ὧν φυλάσσεται τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἐλλείπει. ὁ ὑμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς τε καὶ ἐπὶ σκοπῆς μιᾶς ὄντες μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν μὴδ’ ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, <οἷς> παρὸν ἀνθρωπεύως ἔτι σώζεσθαι, ἐπειδὴν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλείπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικὴν τε καὶ χρησμοὺς καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ’ ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.’ ταῦτ’ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἂν τις ἐπαιnéσειεν ὡς προσήκοντα εἰρηῇσθαι στρατηγοῖς Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι λυμαίνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίς καὶ οὔτε χρησμῶν ὄφελος οὔτε μαντικῆς τοῖς εὐσεβῇ καὶ δίκαιον προηρημένους τὸν βίον. εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἄλλο, τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον, τὸ περὶ παντὸς πράγματος καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔπεσθαι καὶ μὴδὲν ἄνευ μαντικῆς καὶ χρησμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν. λεγόντων τε τῶν Μηλίων, ὅτι σὺν τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειᾳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις πεποίθασιν, οὐς εἰ καὶ διὰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, διὰ γοῦν τὴν αἰσχύνην αὐτοῖς βοηθήσειν καὶ οὐ περιόψεσθαι συγγενεῖς ἀπολλυμένους, αὐθαδέστερον ἔτι τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἀποκρινόμενον εἰσάγει· ‘Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μὲν ἀνθρωπείας, τῆς δ’ εἰς τὸ θεῖον νεμέσεως τῶν τ’ εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεων δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν. ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τό τε θεῖον δόξη τ’ ἀνθρώπειόν τε σαφῶς διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίως, οὔ ἂν κρατῇ, ἄρχειν· τούτων ὁ νοῦς ἔστι μὲν δυσείκαστος καὶ τοῖς πάνυ δοκοῦσιν ἐμπείρως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν, κατακλείεται δ’ εἰς τοιοῦτόν τι πέρας, ὅτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον δόξη γινώσκουσιν ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δίκαια τῷ κοινῷ τῆς φύσεως κρίνουνσι νόμῳ· οὗτος δ’ ἔστιν ἄρχειν ὧν ἂν δύνηταί τις κρατεῖν. ἀκόλουθα καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις οὔτε Ἑλλησι πρόποντα εἰρηῇσθαι.

[41] Πολλὰς δυνάμενος ἔτι διανοίας παρασχέσθαι τὸ συνετὸν ἐχούσας πονηρόν, ἵνα μὴ πλείων ὁ λόγος γένοιτό μοι τοῦ μετρίου, τὴν τελευταίαν ἔτι προσθήκην παραλήψομαι μόνην, ἣν ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου ὁ Ἀθηναῖος εἶρηκεν· ‘ἀλλ’ ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ ὄντα ἐλπίζόμενα μέλλεται, τὰ δὲ παρόντα βραχέα πρὸς τὰ ἤδη ἀντιτεταγμένα περιγενέσθαι. πολλήν γε ἀλογίαν’ φησὶ ‘τῆς διανοίας παρέχετε, εἰ μὴ μεταστησάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι τῶνδε σωφρονέστερον γνώσεσθε.’ οἷς ἐπιτίθησιν ‘οὐ γὰρ διὴ ἐπὶ γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προὔπτοις κινδύνους πλεῖστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην τρέψετε. πολλοῖς γὰρ προορωμένοις ἔτι ἐς οἷα φέρονται τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον ὀνόματος ἐπαγωγῷ δυνάμεις ἐπεσπάσατο ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος ἔργῳ συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ὀρώντας περιπεσεῖν.’

Τούτων τῶν λόγων ὅτι μὲν οὔτε αὐτὸς μετέσχευεν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τῷ συλλόγῳ τότε παρατυχὼν οὔτε τῶν διαθεμένων αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἢ Μηλίων ἤκουσεν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει,

μαθεῖν ῥάδιον, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει στρατηγίαν ἐξελαθεὶς τῆς πατρίδος πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον ἐν Θράκῃ διέτριψε. λείπεται δὴ σκοπεῖν, εἰ τοῖς τε πράγμασι προσήκοντα καὶ τοῖς συνελθυσθεῖσιν εἰς τὸν σύλλογον προσώποις ἀρμόττοντα πέπλακε <τὸν> διάλογον· ἐχόμενος ὡς ἔγγιστα τῆς συμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς ἱστορίας προείρηκεν. ἄρ' οὖν ὥσπερ τοῖς Μηλίοις οἰκεῖοι καὶ προσήκοντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας λόγοι παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ καταδουλοῦσθαι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνουσαν εἰς αὐτούς, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς πρέποντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μήτ' ἐξετάζειν ἑῶντες μήτε λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς βίας καὶ πλεονεξίας νόμον εἰσάγοντες καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι δίκαια τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀποφαίνοντες, ὅσα τοῖς ἰσχυροτέροις δοκεῖ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶομαι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς εὐνομωτάτης πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξω πόλεις ἀποστελλομένοις ἡγεμόσι ταῦτα προσήκειν λέγεσθαι, οὐδ' ἂν ἀξιῶσαιμι τοὺς μὲν μικροπολίτας καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐπιφανὲς ἀποδειξαμένους Μηλίουις πλέονα τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοϊαν ἢ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ πάντα ἐτοίμους εἶναι τὰ δεινὰ ὑποφέρειν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄσχημον ἀναγκασθῶσι πράττειν, τοὺς δὲ προελομένους τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν κατὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίους, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰσχροὺς ὑπομείνωσιν ἐπίταγμα, τῶν ταῦτά προαιρουμένων ὡς ἀνοήτων κατηγορεῖν. οἶομαι δ', ὅτι κἂν εἴ τινες ἄλλοι παρόντων Ἀθηναίων ταῦτα ἐπεχειροῦν λέγειν, ἐπαχθῶς ἤνεγκαν ἂν οἱ τὸν κοινὸν βίον ἐξημερώσαντες. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐπαινῶ τὸν διάλογον τοῦτον ἀντιπαρεξετάζων τὸν ἕτερον. ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος δίκαια τε προκαλεῖται τοὺς Πλαταιεῖς καὶ λέξει κέχρηται καθαρῇ καὶ σαφεῇ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχούσῃ σχῆμα βεβασανισμένον οὐδὲ ἀνακόλουθον· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων αἰσχιστα μὲν ἐνθυμήματα φέρουσιν, ἀηδεστάτῃ δ' αὐτὰ περιλαμβάνουσι λέξει· εἰ μὴ ἄρα μνησικακῶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν καταδίκην ταῦτα τὰ ὀνειδίδη κατεσκεδάσεν αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες μισήσειν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον. ἃ γὰρ οἱ προεστηκότες τῶν πόλεων καὶ τηλικαύτας ἐξουσίας πιστευόμενοι φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν <εοίκασιν> πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος, ταῦτα κοινὰ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἅπαντες εἶναι τῆς ἀποστελλούσης πόλεως αὐτούς. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν διαλόγων ἅλις.

[42] Τῶν δὲ δημηγορικῶν λόγων τεθαύμακα μὲν τὸν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ ῥηθέντα ἐν Ἀθήναις ὑπὸ Περικλέους περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶκειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὸν ἔχοντα τήνδε τὴν ἀρχήν· 'Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, μὴ εἶκειν Πελοποννησίοις' ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἡρμηνευμένον δαιμονίως καὶ οὕτε κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν μορίων οὕτε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαλλαγὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν τῶν ἀνακολούθων καὶ βεβιασμένων ἐνοχλοῦντα τὰς ἀκοάς, πάσας δὲ περιειληφότα τὰς ἀρετάς, ὅποσαι γίνονται περὶ δημηγορικοὺς <λόγους>· καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Νικίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥηθέντας ἐν Ἀθήναις ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν στρατείας· τὴν τε πεμφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ἣ ἡ χρήζει συμμαχίας ἄλλης καὶ διαδόχου, κάμνων τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ νόσου· καὶ τὴν παρὰ κλησιν τῶν

στρατιωτῶν, ἣν ἐποίησατο πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας ναυμαχίας· καὶ τὸν παραμυθητικὸν λόγον, ὅτε πεζῇ τὴν στρατιὰν ἔμελλεν ἀπάγειν, ἀπολωλεκῶς τὰς τριήρεις ἀπάσας· καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἄλλαι τοιαῦται δημηγορίαι καθαρὰ καὶ σαφεῖς καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτήδαιοι. ὑπὲρ ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ βύβλοις φερομένας τὴν Πλαταιέων ἀπολογίαν τεθαύμακα παρ’ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὥς τὸ μὴ βεβασανίσθαι μηδὲ κατεπιτετηδεῦσθαι, ἀληθεῖ δέ τινα καὶ φυσικῶς κεκοσμηθῆναι χρώματι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐνθυμήματα πάθους ἐστὶ μεστὰ καὶ ἡ λέξις οὐκ ἀποστρέφουσα τὰς ἀκοάς· ἥ τε γὰρ σύνθεσις εὐεπῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τῶν πραγμάτων ἴδια. ταῦτα δὴ τὰ Θουκυδίδου ζηλωτὰ ἔργα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ μιμήματα τοῖς ἱστοριογραφοῦσιν ὑποτίθεμαι λαμβάνειν.

[43] Τὴν δ’ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βύβλῳ Περικλέους ἀπολογίαν, ἣν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διετίθετο τραχυνομένων Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν, οὐχ ὅλην ἐπαινῶ· οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ τῆς Μυτιληναίων πόλεως δημηγορίας, ἃς διέθεντο Κλέων καὶ Διόδωτος, <τὰς> ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ· οὐδὲ τὴν Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Συρακοσίου πρὸς Καμαριναίους· οὐδὲ τὴν Εὐφήμου τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἐναντίαν ταύτης, οὐδὲ τὰς ὁμοίας ταύταις· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάσας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τὰς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κατεσκευασμένας τῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτηῖρα. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξῃ τις φάσεις ἀναποδείκτους με λέγειν, πολλὰς παρασχέσθαι πίστεις δυνάμενος δυσὶν ἀρκεσθῆσομαι δημηγορίαις, ἵνα μὴ μακρὸς ὁ λόγος γένηται, τῇ Περικλέους ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἑρμοκράτους πρὸς Καμαριναίους κατηγορίᾳ κατὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως.

[44] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Περικλῆς ταῦτα λέγει· ‘Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν εἰς ἐμὲ γεγένηται (αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας), καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τούτου ἔνεκα ξυνήγαγον, ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέψωμαι, εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε.’ ταῦτα Θουκυδίδῃ μὲν γράφοντι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἱστορικῷ σχήματι προσήκοντα ἦν, Περικλεῖ δὲ ἀπολογουμένῳ πρὸς ἡρεθισμένον ὄχλον οὐκ ἦν ἐπιτήδεια εἰρῇσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς ἀπολογίας, πρὶν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἀπομειλίξασθαι λόγοις τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν εἰκότως ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἀχθομένων, τετμημένης μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς κρατίστης γῆς, πολλοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν λοιμὸν ἀπολωλότος ὄχλου, τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν τούτων τοῦ πολέμου παρεσχηκότος, ὃν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πεισθέντες ἀνεδέξαντο. σχημὰ τε οὐ τοῦτο τῇ διανοίᾳ πρεπωδέστατον ἦν, τὸ ἐπιτιμητικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παραιτητικόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐρεθίζειν προσήκει τὰς τῶν ὄχλων ὀργὰς τοὺς δημηγοροῦντας ἀλλὰπραῦνειν. τούτοις ἐπτίθησι διάνοιαν ἀληθῆ μὲν καὶ δεινῶς ἀπηγγελεμένην, οὐ μέντοι γε τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ χρησίμην· ‘ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι’ φησὶ ‘πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἥσσον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον διασώζεται.’ εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἐβλάπτοντο τῶν πολιτῶν, εὐτύχει δὲ τὸ κοινόν, καλῶς ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς ἦσαν ἅπαντες, οὐκέτι

καλῶς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίς, ὅτι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τῇ πόλει γενήσεται τὰ δεινὰ, βέβαιον εἶχέν τι· ἀφανὲς γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ μέλλον καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς περὶ τῶν ^[45] ἐσομένων γνώμας αἱ τύχαι τρέπουσι. Τούτοις ἐπιτίθουσιν ἔτι φορτικωτέραν διάνοιαν καὶ ἡκιστα τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ πρέπουσαν· ‘καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε, ὃς οὐδενὸς οἶμαι ἥσων εἶναι γινῶναι τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολις τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσω.’ θαυμαστὸν γάρ, εἰ Περικλῆς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν τότε ρητόρων ἡγνῶει τοῦτο, ὃ μηδεὶς ἂν τῶν ἐχόντων μέτριον νοῦν ἡγνόησεν, ὅτι πανταχῇ μὲν οἱ μὴ τεταμειυμένως ἐπαινοῦντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὰς ἐπαχθεῖς τοῖς ἀκούουσι φαίνονται, μάλιστα δ’ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀγῶσιν, ἐν οἷς γε δὴ μὴ περὶ τιμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ περὶ τιμωριῶν ὁ κίνδυνος· τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαχθεῖς μόνον εἰσὶν ἑτέροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυστυχεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἐκκαλούμενοι τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν φθόνον· ὅταν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τις ἔξη δικαστάς τε καὶ κατηγορούς, μυρίων αὐτῷ δεῖ δακρύων τε καὶ οἴκτων εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον τὸ μετ’ εὐνοίας ἀκουσθῆναι. ὁ δὲ δημαγωγὸς οὐκ ἀρκεῖται τούτοις ἀλλ’ ἐπεξεργάζεται τε τούτοις καὶ μεταφράζει τὰ ρηθέντα· ‘ὃ τε γὰρ γνούς’ φησὶ ‘καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη, ὃ τ’ ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ δὲ πόλει δύσοντας οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἐνδὸς ἂν πωλοῖτο.’ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅς τις ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν, ὥσπερ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἦν, οὕτως καὶ προσήκοντα εἶναι ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἡρεθισμένοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγεσθαι. ἦν δέ γε οὐχ ἡ τῶν κρατίστων ἐνεθυμημάτων τε καὶ νοημάτων εὗρεσις αὐτῇ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἀξία σπουδῆς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν εἴη προσήκοντα καὶ τοῖς προσώποις καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἔφην, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποδεικνύμενος ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἦν εἶχε περὶ τῆς Περικλέους ἀρετῆς, παρὰ τόπον ἔοικεν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα. ἐχρῆν δέ γε αὐτὸν μὲν ὃ τι βούλεται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τῷ δὲ κινδυνεύοντι τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ παραιτητικοὺς τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποδοῦναι λόγους· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν πρέπον τῷ μιμεῖσθαι βουλομένῳ συγγραφεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

[46] Ὀχληρὰ δὲ κάκεινα τὰ μεираκιώδη καλλωπίσματα τῆς λέξεως καὶ τὰ πολύπλοκα τῶν ἐνεθυμημάτων σχήματα· ‘ἶεναι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμόσε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. φρόνημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγίγνεται· καταφρόνησις δέ, ὃς ἂν καὶ γνώμῃ πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν· ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἢ σύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ὀχυρωτέραν παρέχεται· ἐλπίδι τε ἥσων πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἢ ἰσχύς· γνώμῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἢ πρόνοια.’ τά τε γὰρ ‘φρονήματα’ ψυχρότερα ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Γοργίου προαιρέσεως μᾶλλον οἰκειότερα, ἢ τε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξήγησις ἀμφοτέρων σοφιστικῇ καὶ ἀπειρόκαλος· ἢ τε τόλμα ἦν ‘ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἢ σύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ὀχυρωτέραν παρέχεται’ τῶν Ἡρακλειτεῖων σκοτεινῶν ἀσαφεστέραν ἔχει τὴν δῆλωσιν, ἢ τε τῆς ἐλπίδος ‘ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἰσχύς’ καὶ ἡ τῆς γνώμης ‘ἀπὸ τῶν

ὑπαρχόντων βεβαιότερα πρόνοια· ποιητικώτερον περιέφραστα· βούλεται γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι δεῖ τῇ γνώμῃ πιστεύειν μᾶλλον, ἢν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων λαμβάνομεν, ^[47] ἢ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὧν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐστὶν ἡ ἰσχὺς. ἥδη δ' ἔγωγε κάκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθην, ὅτι παραμυθούμενος τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν κατειληφυῖαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς, ὧν αἱ πλείους παράλογοι τε συνέβησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπροσδόκητοι, καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰς συμφορὰς γενναίως ὑφίστασθαι μὴ ἀφανίζοντας τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωσιν, ἀπαλγήσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διεξελθὼν, ὅτι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν βεβαίως ἔχοντες οὐτε ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐτε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐτε ὑπ' ἄλλου ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους οὐδενὸς καταλυθήσονται (ὧν ἡ πίστις οὐχ ἡ παρούσα ἦν ἀλλ' ἡ μέλλουσα, οὐδ' ἐν τῇ προνοίᾳ τὸ βέβαιον ἔχουσα ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν), ἔπειτα τοῦτων ἐπιλαθόμενος ἀξιοῖ μὴ πιστεύειν τῇ ἐλπίδι, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχὺς. ἐναντία γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις, εἴ γε δὴ τὸ μὲν λυποῦν τὴν αἴσθησιν εἶχεν ἥδη παρούσαν, τῆς δ' ὠφελείας ἡ δῆλωσις ἔτι ἀπῆν.

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπαινῶ οὔτε κατὰ τὸ πραγματικὸν μέρος οὐτε κατὰ τὸ λεκτικόν, οὕτως ἐκεῖνα θεαύμακα ὡς νενοημένα τε ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἡρμηνευμένα περιττῶς καὶ συγκείμενα ἡδέως· 'καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλὰ ἄνοια πολεμήσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἰξάντας εὐθύς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι μὲν ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις.' καὶ ἔτι ἐκεῖνα· 'δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον· ...ὁμως δὲ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἐν ἡθεσιν ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους χρεῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν· ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δικαιοῦσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅστις ἂν μαλακία ἐλλείπη, καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον.' καὶ ἔτι τὰ διεγείροντα τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ πάτριον ταυτί· 'τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὧ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους, ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν· μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε. ἥς οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθίζεται. ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἥδη ἔχετε αὐτὴν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον', καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια, ὅσα τὰς τε ἐξαλλαγὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων μετρίας ἔχει καὶ οὔτε περιέργους οὔτε δυσπαρακολουθήτους.

[48] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑρμοκράτους δημηγορίας ἐπαινεῖν μὲν ἔχω ταῦτα τὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ συγγραφέως· 'ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθηναίων εὐκατηγόρητον οὖσαν πόλιν νῦν ἤκομεν ἀποφανοῦντες ἐν εἰδόσιν, ὅσα ἀδικεῖ· πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰτιασόμενοι, ὅτι ἔχοντες παραδείγματα τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἑλλήνων, ὡς ἐδουλώθησαν οὐκ ἀμύνοντες σφίσιν

αὐτοῖς, καὶ νῦν ἔφ' ἡμᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ παρόντα σοφίσματα, Λεοντίνων τε
ξυγγενῶν κατοικίσεις καὶ Αἰγεσταίων ξυμμάχων ἐπικουρίας, οὐ
ξυστραφέντες βουλόμεθα προθυμότερον δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ Ἵωνες ταῦτά
εἰσιν οὐδὲ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ νησιῶται, οἱ δεσπότην ἢ Μῆδον ἢ ἓνα γέ τινα
αἰεὶ μεταβάλλοντες δουλοῦνται, ἀλλὰ Δωριεῖς ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτονόμου τῆς
Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες. ἢ μένομεν, ἕως ἂν ἕκαστοι κατὰ
πόλεις ληφθῶμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι ταύτῃ μόνον ἀλωτοὶ ἐσμεν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῷ
σαφεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπῳ λεγόμενα προσείληφε καὶ τὸ τάχος
καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὴν δεινότητα, καὶ
πάθους ἐστὶν ἐναγωνίου μεστά· οἷς ἂν καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ χρήσαιτό τις καὶ
ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ φίλοις διαλεγόμενος. καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐκεῖνα· εἰ τέ
τις φθονεῖ μὲν ἢ καὶ φοβεῖται (ἀμφότερα γὰρ τάδε πάσχει τὰ μείζω), διὰ δ'
αὐτὰ τὰς Συρακόσας κακωθῆναι μέν, ἵνα σωφρονισθῶμεν, βούλεται,
περιγενέσθαι δὲ ἔνεκα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας, οὐκ ἀνθρωπείας δυνάμεως
βούλησιν ἐλπίζει. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν
αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ κείμενα τοῦ λόγου·
'δεόμεθα οὖν καὶ μαρτυρόμεθα, εἰ μὴ πείσομεν, ὅτι ἐπιβουλευόμεθα μὲν
ὑπὸ Ἵωνων αἰεὶ πολεμίων, προδιδόμεθα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν Δωριεῖς Δωριέων· καὶ
εἰ καταστρέφονται ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῖς μὲν ὑμετέραις γνώμαις κρατήσουσι,
τῷ δ' αὐτῶν ὀνόματι τιμηθήσονται, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἄθλον ἢ
τὸν τὴν νίκην παρασχόντα λήψονται.' ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια
τούτοις καλὰ καὶ ζήλου ἄξια ἡγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνα δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν
ἐπαινέσαιμι· νῦν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν προφάσει μέν, ἢ πυνθάνεσθε,
διανοία δέ, ἣν πάντες ὑπονοοῦμεν. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ Λεοντίνους
βούλεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἐξοικίσαι.' ψυχρὰ γὰρ ἡ
παρονομασία καὶ οὐ προσβάλλουσα πάθος, ἀλλ' ἐπιτήδευσιν. καὶ ἔτι τὰ
πεπλεγμένα καὶ πολλὰς τὰς ἑλικας ἔχοντα σχήματα ταυτί· 'καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς
ἐλευθερίας ἄρα οὔτε οἶδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς ἑαυτῶν τῷ
Μῆδω ἀντέστησαν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ, οἱ μὲν σφίσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ
καταδουλώσεως, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δεσπότην μεταβολῇ οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου,
κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ.' καὶ ἔτι τὸ κατακορὲς τῆς μεταγωγῆς <τῆς> ἕκ τε τοῦ
πληθυντικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐνικὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ προσώπων λόγου εἰς τὸ τοῦ
λέγοντος πρόσωπον· 'καὶ εἴ τῳ ἄρα παρέστηκε τὸν μὲν Συρακόσιον, ἑαυτὸν
δ' οὐ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ καὶ δεινὸν ἡγέται ὑπὲρ γε τῆς ἐμῆς
κινδυνεύειν, ἐνθυμηθῆτω οὐ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς μᾶλλον, ἐν ἴσῳ δὲ καὶ τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ ἅμα ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ μαχόμενος, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον, ὅσῳ οὐ
προδιεφθαρμένου ἐμοῦ, ἔχων δὲ ξύμμαχον ἐμὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔρημος ἀγωνιέται·
τόν τε Ἀθηναῖον μὴ τὴν τοῦ Συρακοσίου ἔχθραν κολάσασθαι.' ταῦτα γὰρ
καὶ μεираκιώδη καὶ περίεργα καὶ τῶν λεγομένων αἰνιγμάτων ἀσφέεστερα.
καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις· 'καὶ εἰ γνώμη ἀμάρτοι, τοῖς αὐτοῦ κακοῖς
ὀλοφυρθεῖς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποτε βουληθείη αὐθις
φθονῆσαι· ἀδύνατον δὲ προεμένῳ καὶ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους οὐ περὶ
τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐθελήσαντι προσλαβεῖν.' οἷς
ἐπιτίθησιν οὐδὲ μεираκίῳ προσῆκον ἐπιφώνημα· 'λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τῇν

ἡμετέραν δύναμιν σώζοι ἄν τις, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν.’

[49] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ δημηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ μέμψεως ἄξια, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι τὰ πλείω λέγειν· ἱκανῶς δ' οἶομαι καὶ διὰ τούτων φανερόν πεποικέναι τὸ προκείμενον, ὅτι τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως κρατίστη μὲν ἔστιν ἡ μετρίως ἐκβεβηκυῖα τὰ συνήθη καὶ τὰς πρώτας καὶ ἀναγκαίαις ἀρετὰς φυλάσσουσα, χείρων δὲ ἡ λαμβάνουσα πολλὴν ἐκτροπὴν ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ὀνομάτων τε καὶ σχημάτων εἰς τὰ ξένα καὶ βεβιασμένα καὶ ἀνακολούθητα, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν οὐδεμία τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείκνυνται δύναμιν. οὐτε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις χρησίμῳ ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς φράσεως, ἐν αἷς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου καὶ νόμων εἰσφορᾶς καὶ πολιτειῶν κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κοινῶν καὶ μεγάλων αἱ πόλεις βουλευσόμεναι συνέρχονται, οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ἔνθα περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ δεσμῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεως οἱ λόγοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐξουσίαν λέγονται (αἱ λυποῦσι τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄχλον οὐκ ὄντα τῶν τοιούτων ἀκουσμάτων ἐν ἔθει), οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς ὁμιλίαις, ἐν αἷς περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν διαλεγόμεθα πολίταις ἢ φίλοις ἢ συγγενέσιν διηγούμενοί τι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἑαυτοῖς ἢ συμβουλευόμενοι περὶ τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἢ νουθετοῦντες ἢ παρακαλοῦντες ἢ συνηδόμενοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἢ συναλγοῦντες τοῖς κακοῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι τῶν οὕτως διαλεγόμενων οὐδὲ αἱ μητέρες ἂν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἀνάσχοιντο διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλοεθνοὺς γλώσσης ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐρμηνευσόντων ἂν δεηθεῖεν. ταῦτα ἔστιν ἃ περὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπέσθην, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρημένα κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν.

[50] Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τισιν ἐξετάσαι δι' ὀλίγων, ἵνα μὴδὲν παρεϊκέναι δοκῶ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐτ' εἰς τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν οὐτ' εἰς τὰς ὁμιλίας τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς οὗτος ὁ χαρακτήρ, ἅπαντες ὁμολογήσουσιν οἱ μὴ διεφθαρμένοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἔχοντες. ἐπιχειροῦσι δέ τινες οὐκ ἄδοξοι σοφισταὶ λέγειν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὰς ὀχλικὰς ἐντεῦξεις παρεσκευασμένοις καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγουσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιτήδειος οὗτος ὁ χαρακτήρ, τοῖς δὲ τὰς ἱστορικὰς πραγματείας ἐκφέρουσιν, αἷς μεγαλοπρεπείας τε δεῖ καὶ σεμνολογίας καὶ καταπλήξεως, παντὸς μάλιστα προσήκει ταύτην ἀσκεῖν τὴν φράσιν τὴν γλωττηματικὴν τε καὶ ἀπρηχαιωμένην καὶ τροπικὴν καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένην τῶν ἐν ἔθει σχημάτων ἐπὶ τὸ ξένον καὶ περιττόν. οὐ γὰρ ἀγοραίοις ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἐπιδιφρίοις ἢ χειροτέχναις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ μὴ μετέσχον ἀγωγῆς ἐλευθερίου ταύτας κατασκευάζεσθαι τὰς γραφάς, ἀλλ' ἀνδράσι διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων ἐπὶ ῥητορικὴν τε «καὶ» φιλοσοφίαν ἐλγλυθόσιν, οἷς οὐδὲν φανήσεται τούτων ξένον. ἤδη δέ τινες ἐπεχείρησαν λέγειν, ὡς οὐ τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐσομένων στοχαζόμενος ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὕτως ἔγραψε τὰς ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὄντων, οἷς ἦν ἡ διάλεκτος χρήσιμος οὗτος ὁ χαρακτήρ οὐτ' εἰς τοὺς συμβουλευτικούς «οὐτ' εἰς τοὺς δικανικούς» ἀγῶνας, ἐν οἷς οἱ τ' ἐκκλησιάζοντες καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες, οὐχ οἷους ὁ Θουκυδίδης ὑπέθετο, συνέρχονται.

[51] Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς οἰομένους μόνων εἶναι τῶν εὐπαιδεύτων

ἀναγνώναί τε καὶ συνεῖναι τὴν Θουκυδίδου διάλεκτον ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχω, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον ἅπασιν (οὐδὲν γὰρ <ἀν> ἀναγκαιότερον γένοιτο οὐδὲ πολυωφελέστερον) ἀναιροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου, ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ἀνθρώπων οὕτω ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχουμέναις ἢ τυραννουμέναις πόλεσιν· εὐαρίθμητοι γὰρ τινές εἰσιν οἷοι πάντα τὰ Θουκυδίδου συμβαλεῖν, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι χωρὶς ἐξηγήσεως γραμματικῆς ἔνια. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον ἀναφέροντας τὴν Θουκυδίδου διάλεκτον ὡς δὴ τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις οὔσαν συνήθη, βραχὺς ἀπόχρη μοι λόγος καὶ σαφής, ὅτι πολλῶν γενομένων Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ῥητόρων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν κέχρηται ταύτῃ τῇ διαλέκτῳ, οὐθ' οἱ περὶ Ἀνδοκίδην καὶ Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Λυσίαν ῥήτορες οὐθ' οἱ περὶ Κριτίαν καὶ Ἀντισθένη καὶ Ξενοφῶντα Σωκρατικοί. ἐκ δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων δῆλός ἐστιν ἀνὴρ πρῶτος ἐπιτετηδευκὼς ταύτην τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, ἵνα διαλλάξῃ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγραφεῖς. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τεταμειευμένως αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι καὶ μετρίως, θαυμαστός ἐστι καὶ οὐδενὶ συγκριτὸς [οὐδ'] ἐτέρῳ. ὅταν δὲ κατακόρως καὶ ἀπειροκάλως, μήτε τοὺς καιροὺς διορίζων μήτε τὴν ποσότητα ὀρῶν, μεμπτός. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐτε αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἀκόσμητον καὶ ἰδιωτικὴν τὴν ἱστορικὴν εἶναι πραγματεῖαν ἀξιώσοιμ' ἂν, ἀλλ' ἔχουσάν τι καὶ ποιητικόν· οὐτε παντάπασι ποιητικὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐκβεβηκυῖαν τῆς ἐν ἔθει ἀνιαρὸν γὰρ ὁ κόρος καὶ τῶν πάνυ ἡδέων, ἡ δὲ συμμετρία πανταχῇ χρήσιμον.

[52] Εἷς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος <ὁ> περὶ τῶν μιμησαμένων τὸν ἄνδρα ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων, <ἀναγκαῖος μὲν ὢν>, ὥσπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος, εἰς τὴν συντέλειαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὅκνον δὲ τινα καὶ πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ἡμῖν παρέχων, μὴ τινα παράσχωμεν ἀφορμὴν διαβολῆς τοῖς πάντα συκοφαντεῖν εἰωθόσιν ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς ἐπεικείας, ἣ κεκρήμεθα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ περὶ τὰ ἦθη· οἷς τάχα βάσκανόν τι καὶ κακόηθες πρᾶγμα δόξομεν, εἰ τοὺς μὴ καλῶς τῇ μιμήσει χρησαμένους παράγομεν καὶ παρεχόμεθα τὰς γραφὰς αὐτῶν, ἐφ' αἷς μέγιστον ἐφρόνουν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δι' αἷς πλοῦτους τε μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο καὶ δόξης λαμπρᾶς κατηξιώθησαν. ἵνα δὲ μηδεμία ὑποψία καθ' ἡμῶν τοιαύτη γένηται, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν τισι καὶ μεμνησθαι τῶν ἡμαρτημένων αὐτοῖς ἐάσομεν· περὶ δὲ τῶν κατορθωσάντων ἐν τῇ μιμήσει μικρὰ προσθέντες ἔτι καταπαύσομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. Συγγραφέων μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίων, ὅσα κάμει εἰδέναι, Θουκυδίδου μιμητῆς <οὐδεὶς> ἐγένετο κατὰ ταῦτά γε, καθ' ἃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν, κατὰ τὴν γλωσσηματικὴν καὶ ἀπρηχαιωμένην καὶ ποιητικὴν καὶ ξένην λέξιν, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὑπερβατοὺς καὶ πολυπλόκους καὶ ἐξ ἀποκοπῆς πολλὰ σημαίνειν πράγματα βουλομένας καὶ διὰ μακροῦ τὰς ἀποδόσεις λαμβανούσας νοήσεις, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις κατὰ τοὺς σκαιοὺς καὶ πεπλανημένους ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν συζυγίας καὶ οὐδ' ἐν ἀπάσῃ ποιητικῇ χώραν ἔχοντας σχηματισμούς, ἐξ ὧν ἢ πάντα λυμαινομένη τὰ καλὰ καὶ σκότον παρέχουσα ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀσάφεια παρηλθεν εἰς τοὺς λόγους.

[53] Ῥητόρων δὲ Δημοσθένους μόνος, ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι μέγα τι καὶ

λαμπρὸν ἔδοξαν ποιεῖν ἐν λόγοις, οὕτω καὶ Θουκυδίδου ζηλωτῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν, ἃς οὔτε Ἀντιφῶν οὔτε Λυσίας οὔτε Ἰσοκράτης οἱ πρωτεύσαντες τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἔσχον ἀρετάς, τὰ τάχῃ λέγω καὶ τὰς συστροφὰς καὶ τοὺς τόνους καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ στριφνὸν καὶ τὴν ἐξεγείρουσαν τὰ πάθη δεινότητα· τὸ δὲ κατὰ γλωσσὸν τῆς λέξεως καὶ ξένον καὶ ποιητικὸν οὐχ ἡγησάμενος ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἀγῶσι παρέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν σχημάτων τὸ πεπλανημένον ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθίας καὶ τὸ σολοικοφανὲς ἡγάπησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἔμεινε, ταῖς μεταβολαῖς καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς ἀσχημάτιστον ἐκφέρειν νόημα κοσμῶν τὴν φράσιν. τὰς δὲ πολυπλόκους νοήσεις καὶ πολλὰ δηλοῦσας ἐν ὀλίγοις καὶ διὰ μακροῦ κοιμιζομένας τὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου τὰ ἐνθυμήματα φερούσας ἐζήλωσέν τε καὶ προσέθηκε τοῖς τε δημηγορικοῖς καὶ τοῖς δικανικοῖς λόγοις, ἦττον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν, δαφιλέστερον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀγώνων.

[54] Θῆσω δ' ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων παραδείγματα, πολλῶν ὄντων ὀλίγα καὶ τοῖς ἀνεγνωκόσι τὸν ἄνδρα ἀρκοῦντα. ἔστι δὴ τις αὐτῷ δημηγορία τὴν μὲν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχουσα περὶ τοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα πολέμου, παρακαλοῦσα δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ προχείρως αὐτὸν ἄρασθαι, ὡς οὔτε τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἀξιομάχου πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπαρχούσης οὔτε τῆς συμμαχικῆς πιστῶς καὶ βεβαίως τῶν κινδύνων ἀντιληφομένης· παρακαλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς παρασκευασμένους τὴν ἑαυτῶν δύναμιν φανεροὺς εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνον ὑπομενοῦσιν, ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάσασθαι πρέσβεις οὐκ ἔῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς καλέσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς οὐχ ὑπακουσόμενοι. τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ νόημα κατεσκευάκέν τε καὶ ἐσχημάτικεν οὕτως· 'Τότε δέ, ἐὰν ἄρα ἃ νῦν οἰόμεθα ἡμεῖς πράττητε, οὐδεὶς δῆπου τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων τηλικούτον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονεῖ, ὅστις ὁρῶν χιλίους ἱππέας, ὀπλίτας δὲ ὅσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας οὐχ ἥξει καὶ δεήσεται, μετὰ τούτων ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν ἡγούμενος σωθῆναι· οὐκοῦν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ καλεῖν ἤδη τὸ δεῖσθαι κἂν μὴ τύχητε ἐφαμαρτεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν δεομένους σῶζειν καὶ εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας ἥξοντας ἔστι.' ταῦτα ἐξήλλακται μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπαγγελίας, καὶ κρείττονά ἐστιν ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἰδιώτην· οὐ μὴν ἐσκοτίσται γε οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ γέγονεν ὥστε ἐξηγήσεως δεῖσθαι. ἀρξάμενός τε ὑπὲρ τῆς παρασκευῆς λέγειν ταῦτα ἐπιτίθησιν· 'ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον τῆς παρασκευῆς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μέγιστον, οὕτω διακεῖσθαι τὰς γνώμας ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἕκαστον ἐκόντα προθύμως ὃ τι ἂν δέῃ ποιήσονται. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν πώποτε ἐβουλήθητε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πράττειν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν ἡγήσατο, οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑμᾶς ἐξέφυγεν· ὅσα δ' ἐβουλήθητε μὲν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπεβλέψατε εἰς ἀλλήλους, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον τὰ δέοντα πράξοντα, οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑμῖν ἐγένετο.' καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐπλέκεται μὲν ἡ διάνοια πολυπλόκως, λέλεκται δ' ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος εἰς τὴν ἀσυνήθη

φράσιν ἐκβεβηκότα, φυλάττεται δὲ τὸ περιττὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ σαφεῖ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς οὕτως κατεσκεύακεν· ‘Πολλῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ· καὶ πάντων οἷδ’ ὅτι φησάντων γ’ ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν, ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦτο ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προεμένα ὅρῳ, ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάβοι μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δέ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλονθ’ οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατα ἔμελλε τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι.’ Ὁμοία δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ κάκεῖνα· ‘εἴτ’ οἴεσθε, εἰ μὲν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐποίησαν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δὲ φυλάξαιτο ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ’ ἐκ προρρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ’ ἕως ἂν <ἐκόντες> ἐξαπατᾷσθε;’ Ἐν δὲ τῷ κρατίστῳ τῶν δικανικῶν, τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφέντι λόγῳ τῆς Φιλίππου δεινότητος, ἣ κατεστρατηγῇ καὶ τὰς πόλεις, μνησθεὶς οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐσχημάτικεν· ‘καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κατέστη κύριος ὁ Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιланθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκομίσασθε.’ καὶ ἐν οἷς τοὺς προδιδόντας τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰ πράγματα πάντων αἰτίους ἀποφαίνει τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κακῶν, κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γράφει· ‘καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντα θεοῦς, εἰ γ’ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ καταφεύδεσθαι καὶ δι’ ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦσαν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ’ ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων εὖροιτ’ ἂν, οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ ὅτ’ ἦν ἀσθενῇ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλὰκι προλεγοντῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων <τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ’ αἰσχροκερδείας> τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐκαστοῖς πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν.’

[155] Μυρία παραδείγματα φέρειν δυναίμην ἂν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγων τῶν τε δημηγορικῶν καὶ τῶν δικανικῶν, ἃ παρὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδου κατεσκεύασται χαρακτηῖρα τὸν ἐν τῇ κοινῇ καὶ συνήθει διαλέκτῳ τὴν ἐξαλλαγὴν ἔχοντα. ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ μακρότερος τοῦ δέοντος ὁ λόγος γένοιτό μοι, τούτοις ἀρκεσθεὶς ἱκανοῖς οὔσι βεβαιῶσαι τὸ προκείμενον οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ὑποτίθεσθαι τοῖς γε δὴ τὰς κρίσεις ἀδιαστρόφους ἔτι φυλάσσουσι, Δημοσθένης συμβούλῳ χρησαμένους, ὃν ἀπάντων ῥητόρων κράτιστον γεγενῆσθαι πειθόμεθα, ταύτας μιμεῖσθαι τὰς κατασκευάς, ἐν αἷς ἢ τε βραχύτης καὶ ἡ δεινότης καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς ταύταις ἀρεταὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ φανεραί· τὰς δὲ αἰνιγματώδεις καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτους καὶ γραμματικῶν ἐξηγήσεων δεομένας καὶ πολὺ τὸ βεβασανισμένον καὶ τὸ

σολοικοφανὲς ἐν τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς ἐχούσας μήτε θαυμάζειν μήτε μιμεῖσθαι. ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ἐπ' ἴσης ζηλωτὰ εἶναι, τὰ τε μὴ σαφῶς εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως καὶ τὰ προσειληφότα σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς τὴν σαφήνειαν, οὐκ ἔχει λόγον· ἀνάγκη δὲ ὁμολογεῖν κρείττονα τῶν ἀτελεστέρων εἶναι τὰ τελειότερα καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων τὰ γ' ἐμφανέστερα. τί οὖν μαθόντες ἅπασαν τὴν διάλεκτον τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ βιαζόμεθα λέγειν, ὅτι τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις αὐτὰ ὁ Θεοκυδίδης ἔγραψε συνήθη πᾶσι καὶ γνώριμα ὄντα, ἡμῶν δὲ λόγος αὐτῷ τῶν ὕστερον ἐσομένων οὐκ ἦν, οἳ δ' ἐκβάλλομεν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἅπασαν τὴν Θεοκυδίδου λέξιν ὡς ἄχρηστον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ διηγηματικὸν μέρος αὐτῆς πλὴν ὀλίγων πάνυ θαυμαστῶς ἔχειν καὶ εἰς πάσας εἶναι τὰς χρείας εὐθετον, τὸ δὲ δημηγορικὸν οὐχ ἅπαν εἰς μίμησιν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ μέρος γνωσθῆναι μὲν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εὐπορον, κατασκευασθῆναι δ' οὐχ ἅπασι δυνατόν;

Τούτων ἡδὶώ μὲν εἶχόν σοι περὶ Θεοκυδίδου γράφειν, ὧ βέλτιστε Κόιντε Αἴλιε Τουβέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀληθέστερα.

Letters to Gn. Pompeius and Ammaeus

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Epistula ad Pompeium Geminum

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΓΝΑΙΩΙ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΩΙ

[1] ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

Ἐπιστολήν τινα παρὰ σοῦ κοιμισθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμην εὐπαίδευτόν τε καὶ πάννυ μοι κεχαρισμένην, ἐν ἣ γράφεις, ὅτι τὰς συντάξεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιχορηγοῦντός σοι Ζήνωνος τοῦ κοινοῦ φίλου διαπορευόμενος καὶ πάννυ διατιθέμενος οἰκείως, ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θαυμάζεις, ἐνὶ δὲ μέρει δυσχεραίνεις τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς κατακεχωρισμένων, τῇ Πλάτωνος κατηγορίᾳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν σεβαστικῶς διάκεισαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ὀρθῶς ποιεῖς. ὅτι δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν τάναντία ὑπείληφας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς.

[36] εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος ἐκπλήττεται ταῖς Πλατωνικαῖς ἐρμηνείαις, εὖ ἴσθι νῦν, κάγῳ τούτων εἷς εἰμι. ὁ δὲ πέπονθα πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπινοίας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν φέρουσιν ὠφέλειαν ἐπανορθοῦντες ἡμῶν βίους τε καὶ λόγους, ἐρῶ σοι, καὶ πείσω γε νῆ Δία, πιστεύων καινὸν οὐδὲν ἐρεῖν οὐδὲ παράδοξον οὐδ' ὁ μὴ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως δοκεῖ.

[37] Ἐγὼ οὖν νομίζω δεῖν, ὅταν μὲν ἔπαινον προέληται [3] γράφειν τις πράγματος εἴτε σώματος ὁποίου γέ τινος, τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ τὰ τυχήματα, εἴ τινα πρόσεσι, [τῷ πράγματι ἢ τῷ σώματι δεῖν] προφέρειν. ὅταν δὲ βουληθῇ διαγνῶναι, τί τὸ κράτιστον ἐν ὧν δὴ ποτε βίῳ καὶ τί τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ ταῦτ' ὄντος ἔργων, τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐξετάσιν προσφέρειν καὶ μηδὲν παραλείπειν τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς εἴτε κακῶν εἴτε ἀγαθῶν. ἢ γὰρ ἀλήθεια οὕτως εὐρίσκεται μάλιστα, ἥς [4] οὐδὲν χρῆμα τιμιώτερον. τοῦτο δὲ προθέμενος ἐκεῖνο λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἔστι μοι κατὰ Πλάτωνος λόγος τις καταδρομὴν περιέχων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ Ζωῖλῳ τῷ ῥήτορι, ἀσεβεῖν ὁμολογῶ. καὶ εἴ γε βουληθεὶς ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ γράφειν ψόγους τινὰς συγκαταλέκω τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀδικεῖν φημι καὶ παρεκβαίνειν τοὺς καθεστῶτας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις νόμους. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι διαβολὰς οἶμαι [5] δεῖν γράφειν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπολογία. εἰ δὲ χαρακτηρὰς λόγου προελόμενος σκοπεῖν καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ῥήτορας ἐξετάζειν τρεῖς μὲν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐξελεξάμην τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι λαμπροτάτους, Ἰσοκράτην τε καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Δημοσθένη, ἐκ δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν πάλιν προέκρινα Δημοσθένη, οὐδὲν ὥμην οὔτε Πλάτωνα οὔτε Ἰσοκράτην ἀδικεῖν.

[6] Νῆ Δία, φῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδει σε τὰ Πλάτωνος ἀμαρτήματα ἐξελέγχειν, βουλόμενον ἐπαινεῖν Δημοσθένη. ἔπειτα πῶς ἂν μοι τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην βᾶσανον ὁ λόγος ἔλαβεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀρίστους λόγους τῶν Ἰσοκράτους τε καὶ Πλάτωνος τοῖς κρατίστοις <τῶν> Δημοσθένους ἀντιπαρέθηκε καὶ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἦπτους οἱ τούτων λόγοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκείνου, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας ἐπέδειξα, οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτῆσθαι λέγων (μανίας γὰρ τοῦτ' ὄν), ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἅπαντα [7] ἐπίσης κατωρθῶσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐποίουν, ἐπήνουν δὲ Δημοσθένη πάσας διεξιὼν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀρετὰς, ὥς μὲν

ἀγαθὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἔπεισα πάντως ἂν τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους· ὡς δὲ καὶ κράτιστος πάντων τῶν πρωτευσάντων περὶ λόγους, οὐκ ἂν ἔπεισα μὴ παρατιθεῖς αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀρίστους· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν καθ' αὐτὰ φαινομένων καλῶν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐτέροις ἀντιπαρατεθέντα κρείττωσιν ἐλάττω τῆς δόξης ἐφάνη. οὕτω γέ τοι καὶ χρυσὸς ἐτέρῳ χρυσῷ παρατεθεὶς κρείττων εἶτε καὶ χεῖρων εὐρίσκεται καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο χειροῦργημα, καὶ ^[8] ὅσων ἐνέργεια τὸ τέλος. εἰ δὲ ἀχάριστον ὑπολήφεται τις ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις τὴν ἐκ τῆς συγκρίσεως ἐξέτασιν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἀξιῶσει σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύσει τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν, καὶ μήτε ποίησιν ἀντεξετάζειν ἐτέρῳ ποιήσει μήθ' ἱστορικὴν σύνταξιν ἐτέρῳ συντάξει μήτε πολιτείαν πολιτεία μήτε νόμον νόμῳ, μὴ στρατηγὸν στρατηγῷ, μὴ βασιλεῖ βασιλέα, μὴ βίῳ βίον, μὴ δόγματι δόγμα· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἂν τις συγχωρήσειε νοῦν ἔχων.

[9] Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μαρτυριῶν παρασχέσθαι σοι πίστεις, ἐξ ὧν μᾶλλον σοι γενήσεται καταφανές, ὅτι κράτιστος ἐλέγχου τρόπος ὁ κατὰ σύγκρισιν γινόμενος, ἀφείδους τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ χρήσομαι μάρτυρι Πλάτῳ.

[10] βουλευθεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἣν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἠρκέσθη ταῖς ἄλλαις γραφαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατίστου τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ συνετάξατο λόγον ἐρωτικὸν εἰς τὴν «αὐτὴν» ὑπόθεσιν· καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι τούτου προελθὼν ἐπαύσατο καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις τὴν διάγνωσιν, πότερός ἐστι κρείττων λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἦψατο τῶν Λυσιείων, τὰς μὲν λεκτικὰς μαρτυρῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ^[11] ἀρετάς, τῶν δὲ πραγματικῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. ὅποτε οὖν Πλάτων τὸ φορτικώτατον καὶ ἐπαχθέστατον τῶν ἔργων προελόμενος, αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων, οὐδὲν ὦετο ποιεῖν κατηγορίας ἄξιον, εἰ παρὰ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν τότε ῥητόρων τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξετάζειν ἡξίου λόγους ἐπιδεικνύμενος Λυσίαν τε ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτηκεν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν οἷς κατάρθωκε, τί θαυμαστὸν ἐποιοῦν ἐγὼ τοῖς Δημοσθένους λόγοις συγκρίνων τοὺς Πλάτωνος καὶ εἰ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ^[12] ὥμην, ἐπιλογιζόμενος; ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ γραφὰς παραφέρειν, ἐν αἷς κωμῶδαι τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, Παρμενίδην τε καὶ Ἰππίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν καὶ Πρόδικον καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Πῶλον καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Θρασύμαχον καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πάντα περὶ αὐτῶν γράφων ἄλλ' εἰ βούλει, καὶ ἀπὸ ^[13] φιλοτιμίας· ἦν γάρ, ἦν ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος φύσει πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐχούσῃ τὸ φιλότιμον. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα διὰ τῆς πρὸς Ὅμηρον ζηλοτυπίας, ὃν ἐκ τῆς κατασκευαζομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἐκβάλλει στεφανώσας καὶ μύρῳ χρίσας, ὡς δὴ τούτων αὐτῷ δέον ἐκβαλλομένῳ, δι' ὃν ἡ τε ἄλλη παιδεία πᾶσα παρήλθεν ^[14] εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τελευτῶσα φιλοσοφία. ἀλλὰ θῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντα λέγειν [ἀληθῆ] Πλάτωνα· τί οὖν ἄτοπον ἐποιοῦμεν «αὐτοῖς» τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν αὐτῷ τοὺς τῶν ἐπακμασάντων λόγους βουλόμενοι;

[15] Ἔπειτ' οὐ μόνος οὐδὲ πρῶτος ἐγὼ φανήσομαι περὶ Πλάτωνος ἐπιχειρήσας τι λέγειν. οὐδ' ἂν τις ἔχοι κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μέψασθαι με τὸ

μέρος, ὅτι τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ πλείοσιν ἢ δώδεκα γενεαῖς ἔμμαντοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἐξετάζειν ἐπεβαλόμην ^[16] ὥς δὴ διὰ τοῦτο δόξης τινὸς τευξόμενος. πολλοὶ γὰρ εὐρεθῆσονται πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτο πεπονηκότες, οἳ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου γενόμενοι χρόνον, οἳ δὲ λίαν ὕστερον ἐπακμάσαντες. καὶ γὰρ τὰ δόγματα διέβαλον αὐτοῦ τινες καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐμέμψαντο πρῶτον μὲν ὁ γνησιώτατος αὐτοῦ μαθητῆς Ἀριστοτέλης, ἔπειτα οἱ περὶ Κηφισόδωρόν τε καὶ Θεόπομπον καὶ Ζωῖλον καὶ Ἱπποδάμαντα καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, οὐ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην κωμωδοῦντες ἀλλὰ ^[17] τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξετάζοντες. τοσούτοις δὴ καὶ τηλικούτοις ἀνδράσι παραδείγμασι χρώμενος καὶ παρὰ πάντας τῷ μεγίστῳ Πλάτῳ οὐδὲν ἡγούμην τῆς φιλοσόφου ῥητορικῆς ποιεῖν ἀλλότριον ἀγαθοῦς ἀγαθοῖς ἀντεξετάζων. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς προαιρέσεως, ἣν ἔσχον ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν χαρακτήρων, ἱκανῶς ἀπολελόγημαι καὶ σοί, Γεμίνε φίλτατε.

[2]

[1] Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ μοι καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὧν εἴρηκα λόγων περὶ τὰνδρὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν πραγματεία ῥητόρων εἰπεῖν. θήσω δὲ αὐταῖς λέξειςιν, ὥς ἐκεῖ ^[2] γέγραφα· «Ὡς δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴ διάλεκτος βούλεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὴ μῖγμα ἐκατέρου τῶν χαρακτήρων, τοῦ τε ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηται μοι πρότερον· πέφυκε δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ^[3] χαρακτῆρας εὐτυχῆς. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀφελῇ καὶ ἀποίητον ἐπιτηδεύῃ φράσιν, ἐκτόπως ἡδεῖα ἐστὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. καθαρά τε γὰρ ἀποχρώντως γίνεται καὶ διαυγής, ὥσπερ τὰ διαφανέστατα τῶν ναμάτων, ἀκριβής τε καὶ λεπτὴ παρ' ἥντιν' οὖν ἑτέραν ^[4] τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν διάλεκτον εἰργασμένων, τὴν τε κοινότητα διώκει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν ἀσκεῖ πάσης ὑπεριδοῦσα κατασκευῆς ἐπιθέτου· ὃ τε πίνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡρέμα αὐτῇ καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέχει ἱλαρόν τέ τι καὶ τεθελὸς καὶ μεστὸν ὥρας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεδεσμάτων λειμώνων αὐρὰ τις ἡδεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς φέρεται, καὶ οὔτε τὸ λιγυρὸν ἔοικεν ἐμφαίνειν ἄλλον οὔτε τὸ κομψὸν θεατρικόν.

[5] ὅταν δ' εἰς τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ τὸ καλλιπεῖν, ὃ πολλάκις εἴωθε ποιεῖν, ἄμετρον ὁρμὴν λάβῃ, πολλῶν χειρῶν ἑαυτῆς γίνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀηδεστέρα καὶ κάκιον ἐλληνίζουσα καὶ παχυτέρα φαίνεται· μελαίνει τε τὸ σαφές καὶ ζόφῳ ποιεῖ παραπλήσιον, ἔλκει τε μακρὸν ἀποτείνουσα τὸν νοῦν, συστρέψαι δὲ θέον ἐν ὀλίγοις ὀνόμασιν ἐκχεῖται εἰς ἀπειροκάλους περιφράσεις, πλοῦτον ὀνομάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη, ὑπεριδοῦσα δὲ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων κἂν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει κειμένων τὰ πεποιημένα ^[6] ζητεῖ καὶ ξένα καὶ ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ. μάλιστα δὲ χειμάζεται περὶ τὴν τροπικὴν φράσιν· πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, ἄκαιρος δ' ἐν ταῖς μετωνυμίαις, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ σώζουσα τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς γίνεται, ἀλληγορίας τε περιβάλλεται μακρὰς καὶ πολλὰς οὔτε μέτρον ἐχούσας οὔτε καιρόν, σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Γοργιείοις ἀκαίρως καὶ μεираκιωδῶς ἐναβρύνεται· καὶ «πολὺς ὁ τελέτης ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις παρ' αὐτῷ», ὥς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἴρηκε πού καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί· «οὐ γὰρ ἐμός ὁ μῦθος».

[7] Μηδεὶς δέ με ταῦτα ἡγείσθω λέγειν ἀπάσης καταγινώσκοντα τῆς ἐγκατασκευῆς καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένης λέξεως ἢ κέχρηται Πλάτων (μὴ γὰρ οὕτω σκαιὸς γενοίμην ὥστε ταύτην τὴν δόξαν περὶ ἀνδρὸς τηλικούτου λαβεῖν), ἐπεὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν οἶδα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας δυνάμεως ἐξενηγεμένα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενον, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτήματα ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς εἶωθεν ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ χείρων «μὲν» αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γίνεται, ὅταν τὸ μέγα διώκῃ καὶ περιττὸν ἐν τῇ φράσει, μακρῷ δέ τινι ἀμείνων, ὅταν τὴν ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ «καὶ» δοκοῦσαν μὲν ἀποίητον εἶναι κατασκευασμένην δὲ ἀμωμήτῳ καὶ ἀφελεῖ κατασκευῇ διάλεκτον εἰσφέρει· ἢ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτάνει ἢ κομιδῇ βραχύ τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον [8] κατηγορίας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡξίουν τηλικούτον ἄνδρα πεφυλάχθαι πᾶσαν ἐπιτίμῃσιν. ταῦτ’ αὖτε κατ’ αὐτὸν γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δεῖ με λέγειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ λαμπρότατον)· ἦσθετο γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετ’ αὐτῇ τὸ διθύραμβον· ὃ νῦν ἂν ἡδέσθην ἐγὼ λέγειν ἀληθὲς ὄν. τοῦτο δὲ παθεῖν ἔοικεν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τραφεὶς μὲν ἐν τοῖς Σωκρατικοῖς λόγοις ἰσχυροτάτοις οὖσι καὶ ἀκριβεστάτοις, οὐ μείνας δ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τῆς Γοργίου καὶ Θουκυδίδου κατασκευῆς ἐρασθεὶς· ὥστ’ οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἔμελλεν πείσεσθαι σπάσας τινὰ καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἅμα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὧν ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων χαρακτηῖρες.

[9] Παραδείγματα δὲ τῆς ἰσχυρῆς καὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς λέξεως ἐξ ἐνὸς βυβλίου τῶν πάνυ περιβοήτων παραθήσομαι, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐρωτικούς ὁ Σωκράτης διατέθεται λόγους πρὸς ἓνα τῶν γνωρίμων Φαίδρον, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἴληφε τὸ βυβλίον

[13] Ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ μὲν πραγματικὸν οὐδαμῇ μέμφομαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, τοῦ δὲ λεκτικοῦ μορίου τὸ περὶ τὴν τροπικὴν τε καὶ διθυραμβικὴν φράσιν ἐκπύπτον, ἐν οἷς οὐ κρατεῖ τοῦ μετρίου, ἐπιτιμῶ τε οὐχ ὡς τῶν τυχόντων τῷ ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐγγὺς τῆς θείας ἐληλυθότι φύσεως, ὅτι τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ποιητικῆς κατασκευῆς εἰς λόγους ἦγαγε φιλοσόφους ζηλώσας τοὺς περὶ Γοργίαν, ὥστε καὶ διθυράμβοις τινὰ ποιεῖν εἰκότα, καὶ μὴδὲ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἁμάρτημα [14] ἀλλ’ ὁμολογεῖν. καὶ σύ γε αὐτός, ὦ βέλπτε Γεμίνε, ὁμοίαν ἐμοὶ γνώμην περὶ τὰνδρὸς ἔχων φαίνει δι’ αὐτῆς γέ τοι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐν οἷς κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γράφεις· ‘ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐτέροις σχήμασι ῥάδιον πεσεῖν μέσον τι ἐπαίνου καὶ μέμψεως· ἐν δὲ τῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ μὴ ἐπιτευχθὲν πάντῃ ἀποτυγχάνεται. διό μοι δοκεῖ τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικινδυνότερων οὐδὲ ἐλασσόνων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πλείστων [15] καὶ εὐτυχθέντων ἐξετάζειν’. καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα πάλιν ἐπιλέγεις ταυτί· ‘ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ ἔχων ἀπολογήσασθαι ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἢ τῶν γε πλείστων οὐ τολμῶ σοι ἐναντία λέγειν· ἐν δὲ τοῦτο δισχυρίζομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μεγάλως ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ μὴ τοιαῦτα τολμῶντα καὶ παραβαλλόμενον, ἐν οἷς καὶ σφάλεσθαι [16] ἐστὶν ἀναγκαῖον’. Οὐδὲν διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους· σύ τε γὰρ ὁμολογεῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβαλλόμενον μεγάλοις καὶ σφάλεσθαι ποτε, ἐγὼ τέ φημι τῆς ὑψηλῆς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένης φράσεως ἐφίεμενον Πλάτωνα μὴ

περὶ πάντα τὰ μέρη κατορθοῦν, πολλοσὴν μέντοι μοῖραν ἔχειν τῶν κατορθουμένων τὰ διαμαρτανόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ καθ' ἓν τοῦτο Πλάτωνά φημι λείπεσθαι Δημοσθένους, ὅτι παρ' ᾧ μὲν ἐκπίπτει ποτὲ τὸ ὕψος τῆς λέξεως [τῶν λόγων] εἰς τὸ κενὸν καὶ ἀηδές, παρ' ᾧ δὲ οὐδέποτε ἢ σπανίως γε κοιμίδῃ. καὶ περὶ μὲν Πλάτωνος τοσαῦτα.

[3]

[1] Περὶ δὲ Ἡροδότου καὶ Ξενοφώντος ἐβουλήθης μαθεῖν, τίνα περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπόληψιν ἔχω, καὶ γράψαι με περὶ αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθης. πεποίηκα [καί] τοῦτο οἷς <πρὸς> Δημήτριον ὑπεμνημάτισμαι περὶ μιμήσεως. τούτων ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτὴν περιείληφε τὴν περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ζήτησιν, ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος περὶ τοῦ τίνας ἄνδρας μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ ποιητάς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἱστοριογράφους <τε> καὶ ῥήτορας, ὁ δὲ τρίτος περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι μέχρι τοῦδε ἀτελής. ἐν δὴ τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἡροδότου τε καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ξενοφώντος καὶ Φιλίστου καὶ Θεοπόμπου (τούτους γὰρ ἔκρινον τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς μίμησιν ἐπιτηδειοτάτους) τάδε γράφω.

[2] Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, περὶ μὲν Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου ταῦτα φρονῶ. πρῶτόν τε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν πᾶσιν ἱστορίας ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξασθαι καλὴν καὶ κεχαρισμένην τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις. τοῦτο Ἡρόδοτος [3] κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι Θουκυδίδου. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κοινὴν Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ βαρβαρικῶν πράξεων ἐξενήνοχεν ἱστορίαν, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἶρηκε. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ προοίμιον καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ [4] τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἱστορίας. ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης πόλεμον ἓνα γράφει, καὶ τοῦτον οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε εὐτυχῇ. ὃς μάλιστα μὲν ὤφειλε μὴ γενέσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, σιωπῇ καὶ λήθῃ παραδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἡγνοῖσθαι. ὅτι δὲ πονηρὰν εἰληφεν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ αὐτός γε τοῦτο [5] ποιεῖ φανερόν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ. πόλεις τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν ἐξερημωθῆναι φησι πολλὰς Ἑλληνίδας, τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ φυγαδείας καὶ φθόρους ἀνθρώπων ὅσους οὕτω πρότερον γενέσθαι, σεισμούς τε καὶ αὐχμούς καὶ νόσους καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς συμφοράς. ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον ἡλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ἑλληνικῶν μέλλοντας [6] ἀκούειν. ὅσω δὲ κρεῖττων ἢ τὰ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα δηλοῦσα Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων γραφὴ τῆς τὰ οἰκτρὰ καὶ δεινὰ πάθη τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαγγελούσης, τοσοῦτω φρονιμώτερος Ἡρόδοτος Θουκυδίδου κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δι' ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφήν, ἐπιστάμενος <μὲν ὥς> ἐκεῖνα καλλίω, βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ ταῦτα ἐτέροις γράφειν. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ διασύρων τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα κάλλιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιτελεσθέντα φησὶν εἶναι, [7] καὶ φανερός ἐστι ταῦτα ἐκὼν ἐλόμενος. οὐ μὴν Ἡρόδοτός γε τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων γενομένων Ἑλλανίκου τε καὶ Χάρωνος τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν προεκδεδωκότων οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἀλλ' ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῷ κρεῖσσόν τι ἐξοίσειν. ὅπερ καὶ πεποίηκεν.

[8] Δεύτερόν ἐστι τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας ἔργον γνῶναι πόθεν τε ἄρξασθαι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ προελθεῖν δεῖ. φαίνεται δὴ κἂν τοῦτω Θουκυδίδου

πολὺν Ἡρόδοτος φρονιμώτερος· ἄρχεται τε ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἤρξαντο πρῶτον κακῶς ποιεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ προελθὼν εἰς τὴν <τῶν> βαρβάρων κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν ^[9] λήγει. ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐποιήσατο ἀφ' ἧς ἤρξατο κακῶς πράττειν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· ὅπερ Ἕλληνα ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναῖον οὐκ ἔδει ποιεῖν (καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τῶν ἀπερριμμένων ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐν πρῶτοις ἦγον Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγιῶν τε καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων τιμῶν ἀξιοῦντες)· καὶ οὕτω γε φθονερῶς, ὥστε καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τὰς φανεράς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου περιάπτειν, ἐτέραις ἔχοντα πολλαῖς ἀφορμαῖς περιάψαι τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ ἄρξασθαι γε τῆς διηγήσεως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν Κερκυραϊκῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν κρατίστων τῆς πατρίδος ἔργων, ἃ μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον εὐθύς ἔπραξεν (ὧν ὕστερον οὐκ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο φάυλως πως καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς), διελθόντα δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ὡς ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν ἔπειτ' ἐπενεγκεῖν, ὅτι τούτων φθόνῳ καὶ δέει προελθόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι προφάσεις ὑποθέντες ἐτεροίας ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τότε λέγειν τὰ Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτο λέγειν ^[10] ἐβούλετο. τὰ δ' ἐν τέλει πλείονος ἀμαρτίας πλήρη· καίπερ γὰρ λέγων ὅτι παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ παρεγένετο, καὶ πάντα δηλώσειν ὑποσχόμενος, εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τελευτᾷ τὴν περὶ Κυνὸς σῆμα γεγεννημένην Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων, ἣ συνέβη κατὰ ἔτος εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον. κρεῖττον δὲ ἦν διεξελθόντα πάντα τελευτὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀκούουσι κεχαρισμένην, τὴν κάθοδον τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις ἄρξαμένη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνεκομίσαστο.

^[11] Τρίτον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἱστορικοῦ <σκοπεῖν>, τίνα τε δεῖ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν πράγματα καὶ τίνα παραλιπεῖν. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι κἂν τούτῳ λείπεσθαι Θουκυδίδης. συνειδὼς γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι πᾶσα μῆκος ἔχουσα πολὺ διήγησις ἂν μὲν ἀναπαύσεις τινὰς λαμβάνη, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκρωμένων ἡδέως διατίθῃσιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένῃ πραγμάτων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτυχάνηται, λυπεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ κόρῳ, ποικίλην ἐβουλῆθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν Ὀμήρου ζηλωτῆς γενόμενος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ βυβλίον ἦν αὐτοῦ λάβωμεν, μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης συλλαβῆς ἀγάμεθα καὶ αἰεὶ τὸ πλεόν ^[12] ἐπιζητοῦμεν. Θουκυδίδης δὲ πόλεμον ἓνα κατατείνας ἀπνευστὶ διεξέρχεται μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις καὶ παρασκευὰς ἐπὶ παρασκευαῖς καὶ λόγους ἐπὶ λόγοις συντιθεῖς· ὥστε μοχθεῖν μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκρωμένων 'κόρον δ' ἔχει' φησὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος 'καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' ἀφροδίσια'. ἤδη δ' ὁ λέγω κάκεῖνος ἐνεθυμήθη, ὡς ἡδὺ χρῆμα ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ μεταβολὴ καὶ ποικίλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν δύο ἢ τρισὶ τόποις ἐποίησεν, ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ὀδρυσῶν ἀρχῆς, δι' ἧς αἰτίας ἐγένετο μεγάλη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεων.

^[13] Μετὰ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶν ἱστορικοῦ διελέσθαι τε καὶ τάξαι τῶν δηλουμένων ἕκαστον ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τόπῳ. πῶς οὖν ἐκάτερος διαιρεῖται καὶ τάττει τὰ λεγόμενα; Θουκυδίδης μὲν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀκολουθῶν, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ταῖς περιοχαῖς τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ γίνεταί Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀσαφὲς καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητος· πολλῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρος ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν χειμῶνα

γιγνομένων ἐν διαφόροις ὡς εἰκὸς τόποις, ἡμιτελεῖς τὰς πρώτας πράξεις καταλιπὼν ἐτέρων ἄπτεται [τῶν κατὰ θέρος ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν χειμῶνα γιγνομένων]· πλανώμεθα δὴ καθάπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ δυσκόλως τοῖς δηλουμένοις [14] παρακολουθοῦμεν ταραττομένης τῆς διανοίας. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλείας ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Κροίσου καταβάς ἐπὶ Κῦρον εὐθέως τὸν καταλύσαντα τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν μεταβαίνει, Αἰγυπτίων τε ἄρχεται διηγημάτων καὶ Σκυθικῶν καὶ Λιβυκῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀκόλουθα δηλῶν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπιζητούμενα προσαναλαμβάνων, τὰ δ' ὡς χαριεστέραν ποιήσοντα τὴν διήγησιν ἐπείσάγων· διεξελθὼν τε πράξεις Ἑλλήνων <τε> καὶ βαρβάρων ἔτεσιν ὁμοῦ διακοσίοις καὶ εἴκοσι γενομένας ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἡπείροις καὶ παραγράφας τῆς Ξέρξου φυγῆς τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐ διέσπασε τὴν διήγησιν· ἀλλὰ συμβέβηκε τῷ μὲν μίαν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντι πολλὰ ποιῆσαι μέρη τὸ ἐν σῶμα, τῷ δὲ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔοικυας ὑποθέσεις προελομένῳ σύμφωνον ἐν σῶμα πεποικέναι.

[15] Μιᾶς δ' ιδέας ἐπιμνησθήσομαι πραγματικῆς, ἣν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἦττον ἐν ἀπάσαις ἱστορίαις ζητοῦμεν, τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγραφέως διάθεσιν, ἣ κέχρηται πρὸς τὰ πράγματα περὶ ὧν γράφει· ἡ μὲν Ἡροδότου διάθεσις ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπικερὴς καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς συνηδομένη, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς συναλγοῦσα· ἡ δὲ Θουκυδίδου [διάθεσις] αὐθέκαστος τις καὶ πικρὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι τῆς φυγῆς μνησικακοῦσα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαρτήματα ἐπεξέρχεται καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ νοῦν κεχωρηκότων καθάπαξ οὐ μέμνηται, ἢ ὥσπερ ἠναγκασμένος.

Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πραγματικὸν τρόπον ἦττων ἐστὶν Ἡροδότου διὰ ταῦτα Θουκυδίδης· κατὰ δὲ τὸν λεκτικὸν τὰ μὲν ἦττων, τὰ δὲ κρείττων, τὰ δ' ἴσος. ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὡς ὑπέλκῃα.

[16] Πρώτη τῶν ἀρετῶν γένοίτ' ἂν, ἥς χωρὶς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὀφελὸς τι, ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτήρα σῶζουσα διάλεκτος. ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροι· Ἡρόδοτος τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανὼν Θουκυδίδης τε τῆς Ἀτθίδος.

[17] τρίτην ἔχει χώραν ἡ καλουμένη συντομία· ἐν ταύτῃ δοκεῖ προέχειν Ἡροδότου Θουκυδίδης, καίτοι λέγοι τις ἂν, ὡς μετὰ τοῦ σαφοῦς ἐξεταζόμενον ἡδὺ φαίνεται τὸ βραχύ· εἰ δὲ ἀπολείποιο τούτου, πικρόν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲν <ἡττων> ἔστω παρὰ τοῦτο. ἐνάργεια μετὰ ταῦτα τέτακται πρώτη μὲν τῶν ἐπιθέτων ἀρετῶν· ἱκανῶς ἐν ταύτῃ κατορθοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροι.

[18] μετὰ ταύτην συνίσταται τὴν ἀρετὴν [τῶν] ἡθῶν τε καὶ παθῶν μίμησις· διήρηνται τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην οἱ συγγραφεῖς· Θουκυδίδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ πάθη δηλῶσαι κρείττων, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τὰ γε ἦθη παραστήσαι δεινότερος. μετὰ ταῦτα αἱ τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐκφαίνουσαι τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρεταί· ἴσοι κὰν ταύταις οἱ [19] συγγραφεῖς. ἔπονται ταύταις αἱ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸν τόνον καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους δυνάμεις τῆς φράσεως ἀρεταὶ περιέχουσιν· κρείττων ἐν ταύταις Ἡροδότου Θουκυδίδης. ἡδονὴν δὲ καὶ πειθῶ καὶ τέρψιν καὶ τὰς ὁμοιογενεῖς ἀρετὰς εἰσφέρειται μακρῶς Θουκυδίδου κρείττονας Ἡρόδοτος. τῆς <δὲ> φράσεως [τῶν ὀνομάτων] τὸ μὲν κατὰ

φύσιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐξήλωκε, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν ^[20] Θουκυδίδης. «λείπει» πασῶν ἐν λόγοις ἀρετῶν ἢ κυριωτάτη τὸ πρέπον· ταύτην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἀκριβοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ Θουκυδίδης· ὁμοειδὴς γὰρ οὗτος ἐν πᾶσι, κἂν ταῖς δημηγορίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν· ἐμοὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ Καικιλίῳ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα αὐτοῦ μάλιστα «μιμήσασθαι» τε καὶ ζηλῶσαι ^[21] Δημοσθένους. Ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, καλαὶ μὲν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμφοτέραι (οὐ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην ποιήσεις αὐτὰς λέγων), διαφέρουσι δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀλλήλων, ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἡροδότου κάλλος ἱλαρόν ἐστι, φοβερόν δὲ τὸ Θουκυδίδου. ἀπόχρη ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι περὶ τούτων τῶν συγγραφέων, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐνόντων λέγεσθαι, περὶ ὧν καὶ ἕτερος ἔσται καιρός.

[4]

[1] Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος οἱ τούτοις ἐπακμάσαντες οὔτε φύσεις ὁμοίας εἶχον οὔτε προαιρέσεις. Ξενοφῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἡροδότου ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο κατ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, τὸν τε πραγματικὸν καὶ τὸν λεκτικόν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐξελέξατο καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσηκούσας· τὴν τε Κύρου παιδείαν, εἰκόνα βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ εὐδαίμονος· καὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ νεωτέρου Κύρου, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς συνανέβη, μέγιστον ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσιν τῶν συστρατευσαμένων Ἑλλήνων· καὶ τρίτην ἔτι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἦν κατέλιπεν ἀτελεῖ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν ἧ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον, αὐθις ^[2] ἀνίσταται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν ὑποθέσεων χάριν ἄξιός ἐπαινεῖσθαι [ζηλωτὴς Ἡροδότου γενόμενος], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας· ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀρχαῖς αὐτῶν ταῖς πρεπωδεστάταις κέχρηται καὶ τελευτὰς ἐκάστη τὰς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας ἀποδédωκε, μεμέρικέν τε καλῶς καὶ τέταχεν καὶ πεποίκικκε τὴν γραφήν. ἥθός τε ἐπιδείκνυται θεοσεβὲς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ εὐπρεπές, ἀπάσαις τε συλλήβδην κεκοσμημένον ἀρεταῖς· καὶ ὁ μὲν πραγματικὸς τύπος αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος.

[3] ὁ δὲ λεκτικὸς πῃ μὲν ὁμοίος Ἡροδότου, πῃ δὲ ἐνδεέστερος. καθαρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἱκανῶς καὶ σαφῆς «καὶ ἐναργής» καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος· ἐκλέγει δὲ ὀνόματα συνήθη τε καὶ προσφυῆ τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ συντίθησιν αὐτὰ ἡδέως πάνυ καὶ κεχαρισμένως οὐχ ἥττον Ἡροδότου. ὕψος δὲ καὶ κάλλος καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἰδίως πλάσμα ἱστορικὸν Ἡρόδοτος ^[4] ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ μόνον οὐκ ἴσχυσε τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ποτε διεγεῖραι βουληθῇ τὴν φράσιν, ὀλίγον ἐμπνεύσας ὥσπερ ἀπόγειος αὔρα ταχέως σβέννυται μακρότερος γὰρ γίνεται τοῦ δέοντος ἐν πολλοῖς, καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐχ ὥς Ἡρόδοτος ἐφάπτεται τῶν προσώπων εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλίγωρός ἐστιν, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ.

[5]

[1] Φίλιστος δὲ Θουκυδίδη μᾶλλον «ἂν» δόξειεν εὐοικεῖναι καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον κοσμεῖσθαι τὸν χαρακτῆρα. οὔτε γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν εἴληφε πολυωφελεῖ καὶ κοινήν, [ὥσπερ Θουκυδίδης] ἀλλὰ μίαν καὶ ταύτην τοπικὴν· διήρηκε δ' αὐτὴν εἰς γραφὰς δύο, Περὶ Σικελίας μὲν τὴν προτέραν ἐπιγράφων, Περὶ Διονυσίου δὲ τὴν ὑστέραν. ἔστι δὲ μία· καὶ τοῦτο γνοίης ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ^[2] τέλους τῆς Σικελικῆς. τάξιν δὲ οὐ τὴν κρατίστην ἀποδédωκε τοῖς

δηλουμένοις ἀλλὰ δυσπαρακολούθητον, χεῖρον τῆς Θουκυδίδου. καὶ πρᾶγμα ἔξωθεν οὐ βούλεται παραλαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁμοειδής. ἥθός τε κολακικὸν καὶ φιλοτύραννον ^[3] ἐμφαίνει καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ μικρολόγον. τῆς δὲ λέξεως ἡ Θουκυδίδης κέχρηται τὸ μὲν σημειῶδες καὶ περίεργον πέφευγεν, τὸ δὲ στρογγύλον καὶ πυκνὸν καὶ ἐνθυμηματικὸν ἐκμέμακται. τῆς μέντοι καλλιλογίας τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ <τῆς σεμνότητος καί> τοῦ πλούτου τῶν ^[4] ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ πολὺ ὑστερεῖ. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς σχηματισμούς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πλήρης σχημάτων (καὶ οὐδὲν οἶμαι περὶ τῶν φανερῶν ἐπὶ πλεον δεῖν λέγειν), ἡ δὲ Φιλίστου φράσις ὁμοειδής πᾶσα δεινῶς καὶ ἀσχημάτιστός ἐστι· καὶ πολλὰς εὖροι τις ἂν περιόδους ὁμοίως ἐφεξῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σχηματιζόμενας, οἷον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δευτέρας τῶν περὶ Σικελίας· ^[5] 'Συρακόσιοι δὲ παραλαβόντες Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐνναίους, Καμαριναῖοι δὲ Σικελοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους πλὴν Γελώων ἀθροίσαντες, Γελῶοι δὲ Συρακοσίους οὐκ ἔφασαν πολεμήσειν· Συρακόσιοι δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Καμαριναίους τὸν Ὑρμινον διαβάντας - '· ^[6] ταῦτα δὲ ἀηδῇ πάνυ ὄντα ἐμοὶ φαίνεται. μικρὸς τε παρὰ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐστὶ καὶ εὐτελής, ἐάν τε πολιορκίας διηγῆται ἐάν τε οἰκισμούς, ἐάν τε ἐπαίνους ἐάν τε ψόγους διαπορεύηται. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεξισῶν τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ φοφοδεεῖς καὶ τοὺς <κρατίστους> δημηγοροῦντας καταλείπων τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις ὁμοίους ἅπαντας ποιεῖ. εὐστομίαν δὲ τινα φυσικὴν εἰσφέρεται κατὰ τὴν ἔρμηνειαν καὶ σύνεσιν ἐπιτευκτικὴν τοῦ μετρίου. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτηδεϊότερος Θουκυδίδου.

[6]

[1] Θεόπομπος δὲ Χῖος ἐπιφανέστατος πάντων <τῶν> Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν γενόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πανηγυρικοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ συμβουλευτικοὺς συνταξάμενος λόγους ἐπιστολάς τε τὰς Χιακὰς ἐπιγραφομένας καὶ ὑποθήκας ἄλλας λόγου ἀξίας, ἱστορίαν πεπραγματευμένος ^[2] ἄξιος ἐπαινέσθαι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῶν ἱστοριῶν (καλαὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεραι, ἡ μὲν τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου περιέχουσα, ἡ δὲ τὰ Φιλίππῳ πεπραγμένα), ἔπειτα τῆς οἰκονομίας (ἀμφότεραι γὰρ εἰσιν εὐπαρακολούθητοι καὶ σαφεῖς), μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν· δηλὸς γὰρ ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔγραψε, πλείστην μὲν παρασκευὴν εἰς ταῦτα παρεσκευασμένος, μεγίστας δὲ δαπάνας εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν τετελεκώς, ^[3] καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πολλῶν μὲν αὐτόπτης γεγεννημένος, πολλοῖς δ' εἰς ὁμίλιαν ἐλθὼν ἀνδράσι τοῖς τότε πρωτεύουσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς δημαγωγοῖς τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις διὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τινες πάρεργον τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐποίησατο, ἔργον δὲ τὸ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν πόνον ἐνθυμηθεὶς τὸ πολύμορφον τῆς ^[4] γραφῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν εἴρηκεν οἰκισμοὺς καὶ πόλεων κτίσεις ἐπελήλυθε, βασιλέων τε βίους καὶ τρόπων ιδιώματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ εἴ τι θαυμαστὸν ἢ παράδοξον ἐκάστη γῇ καὶ θάλασσα φέρει, συμπεριεῖληφεν τῇ πραγματείᾳ. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ψυχαγωγίαν ταῦτ' εἶναι μόνον· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ^[5] ὠφέλειαν περιέχει. ἵνα δὲ πάντ' ἀφ' ὧν ἅλλα, τίς οὐχ

ὁμολογήσει τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν φιλόσοφον ῥητορικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν ἔθῃ καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐκμαθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ νόμους ἀκοῦσαι πολιτειῶν τε σχήματα, ^[6] καὶ βίους ἀνδρῶν καὶ πράξεις καὶ τέλη καὶ τύχας; τοῦτοις τοίνυν ἅπασαν ἀφθονίαν δέδωκεν οὐκ ἀπεσπασμένην τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ συμπαροῦσαν. πάντα <τε> δὴ ταῦτα ζηλωτὰ τοῦ συγγραφέως, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ὅσα φιλοσοφεῖ παρ' ὅλην τὴν <συγγραφὴν περὶ> δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν πολλοὺς ^[7] καὶ καλοὺς διεξερχόμενος λόγους. τελευταῖόν ἐστι τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρακτηριστικώτατον, ὃ παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἐξείργασται καὶ δυνατῶς οὔτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων· τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι; τὸ καθ' ἐκάστην πρᾶξιν μὴ μόνον τὰ φανερά τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πραξάντων αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃ μὴ ῥάδια τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδέναι, καὶ πάντα ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τε δοκούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνωστομένης ^[8] κακίας. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ πως ὁ μυθευόμενος ἐν Ἄιδου τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπολυθεισῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐξετασμός ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δικαστῶν οὕτως ἀκριβῆς εἶναι ὥς ὁ διὰ τῆς Θεοπόμπου γραφῆς γιγνόμενος. διὸ καὶ βάσκανος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, προσλαμβάνων τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τινα ὄνειδισμοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων προσώπων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα πράγματα, ὁμοίον τι ποιῶν τοῖς ἱατροῖς, οἳ τέμνουσι καὶ καίουσι τὰ διεφθαρμένα τοῦ σώματος ἕως βάθους τὰ καυτήρια καὶ τὰς τομὰς φέροντες, οὐδὲν τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐχόντων στοχαζόμενοι. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ὁ πραγματικὸς Θεοπόμπου χαρακτήρ.

^[9] ὁ δὲ λεκτικὸς Ἰσοκράτει μάλιστα ἔοικε· καθαρὰ τε γὰρ ἡ λέξις καὶ κοινὴ καὶ σαφής, ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ τὸ πομπικὸν ἔχουσα πολὺ, συγκειμένη τε κατὰ τὴν μέσσην ἀρμονίαν, ἡδέως καὶ μαλακῶς ῥέουσα. διαλλάττει δὲ τῆς Ἰσοκρατείου κατὰ τὴν πικρότητα καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπ' ἐνίων, ὅταν ἐπιτρέψῃ τοῖς πάθεσι, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ὀνειδίξῃ πόλεσιν ἢ στρατηγοῖς ^[10] πονηρὰ βουλευμάτων καὶ πράξεις ἀδίκους (πολὺς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις), καὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν διαφέρει, ὥς ἐξ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἂν τις ἴδοι κάκ τῶν Χιακῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς τῷ <συμφύτῳ> πνεύματι ἐπιτρέψας γέγραφεν. εἰ δ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐν τούτοις ἐφ' οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐσπούδακε τῆς τε συμπλοκῆς τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων καὶ τῆς κυκλικῆς εὐρυθμίας τῶν περιόδων καὶ τῆς ὁμοειδείας τῶν σχηματισμῶν, πολὺ ἀμείνων ἂν ἦν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν.

^[11] ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον ἀμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς παρεμβολάς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖαί τινες αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐν καιρῷ γενόμεναι, πολὺ δὲ τὸ παιδιῶδες ἐμφαίνουσαι· ἐν αἷς ἐστι καὶ τὰ περὶ Σιληνοῦ τοῦ φανέντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ δράκοντος τοῦ διανουμαχήσαντος πρὸς τὴν τριήρη καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγα ὅμοια.

Οὗτοι παραληφθέντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἀρκέσουσι τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὸν πολιτικὸν λόγον ἀφορμὰς ἐπιτηδείους παραδειγμάτων παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπασαν ἰδέαν.

Ad Ammaeum I

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΩΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

[1] Πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων ξένων τε καὶ παραδόξων ἀκουσμάτων, ὧν ἐνήνοχεν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος, ἔν τι καὶ τοῦτο ἐφάνη μοι πρῶτως ἀκούσαντι παρὰ σοῦ, ὅτι τῶν φιλοσόφων τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου πάντα χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ κτίσαντι ταύτην τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο ποιῆσιν φανερόν, ὅτι Δημοσθένης τὰς ῥητορικὰς τέχνας παρ' ἐκείνου μαθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους μετήνεγκε λόγους καὶ κατ' ἐκείνα κοσμούμενος τὰ παραγγέλματα πάντων ἐγένετο τῶν ῥητόρων κράτιστος. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ὑπελάμβανον τῶν πολλῶν τινὰ εἶναι τὸν ταῦτ' ἐπιχειρήσαντα λέγειν, καὶ παρήνουν σοι μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς παραδόξοις προσέχειν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπυθόμην, ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀποδέχομαι, ἐθαύμασα, καὶ πολὺς ἐν ἑμαυτῷ γενόμενος ἐπιμελεστέρας ὥμην δεῖσθαι σκέψεως τὸ πρᾶγμα, μή ποτε λέληθέ με τάληθές οὕτως ἔχον καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῇ τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἴρηται, ἵνα ἢ τὴν δόξαν ἦν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἔσχον «ἀφείην» βεβαίως μαθὼν ὅτι προτεροῦσι τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους τέχναι, ἢ τὸν οὕτως ἐγνωκότα καὶ γράψαι γε παρεσκευασμένον, πρὶν εἰς ὄχλον ἐκδοῦναι τὸ σύνταγμα, μεταβαλεῖν πείσαιμι τὴν δόξαν.

[2] Οὐκ ἐλαχίστην δέ μοι καὶ σὺ παρέσχου ῥοπήν εἰς τὸ μὴ παρέργως ἐξετάσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, παρακαλῶν φανεροὺς ποιῆσαι τοὺς λόγους, οἷς ἑμαυτὸν πέπεικα Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰρηκότος ἀγῶνας τότε ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους τὰς ῥητορικὰς γεγράφθαι τέχνας. ἐδόκεις τέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς παραινεῖν, μὴ σημείοις μηδὲ εἰκόσι μηδ' ἄλλοτρίαις τὸ πρᾶγμα πιστώσασθαι μαρτυρίαις, ἐπειδὴ τούτων οὐδεμία τῶν πίστεων δι' ἀναγκαίων συνάγεται λημμάτων· ἀλλ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλη παρασχέσθαι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων τεχνῶν ὁμολογοῦντα τάληθές οὕτως ἔχειν. τοῦτο δὴ πεποίηκα, βέλτιστε Ἀμμαῖε, τῆς τε ἀληθείας προνοούμενος, ἦν ἐπὶ παντὸς οἶομαι δεῖν πράγματος ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἐσπουδακότων χάριτος· ἵνα μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολάβωσιν, ὅτι πάντα περιείληφεν ἡ περιπατητικὴ φιλοσοφία τὰ ῥητορικὰ παραγγέλματα, καὶ οὔτε οἱ περὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Θρασύμαχον καὶ Ἀντιφῶντα σπουδῆς ἄξιον οὐδὲν εὔρον οὔτε Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας οὔτε οἱ τούτοις συμβίωσαντες τοῖς ἀνδράσι παραγγελμάτων τεχνικῶν συγγραφεῖς καὶ ἀγωνισταὶ λόγων ῥητορικῶν, οἱ περὶ Θεοδόκτην καὶ Φιλίσκον καὶ Ἰσαῖον καὶ Κηφισόδωρον Ὑπερίδην τε καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Αἰσχίνην, οὐδ' «ἄν» αὐτὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης ὁ πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τοὺς τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπερβολὴν καταλιπὼν τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἰσοκράτους τε καὶ Ἰσαίου κοσμούμενος παραγγέλμασιν, εἰ μὴ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους τέχνας ἐξέμαθεν.

[3] «Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτμος λόγος οὗτος», ὧ φίλε Ἀμμαῖε, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν

Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν τῶν ὕστερον ἐξενεχθεισῶν οἱ Δημοσθένους λόγοι συνετάχθησαν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑτέρας τινὰς εἰσαγωγάς· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἰδίᾳ δηλώσω γραφῇ τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι· πολὺς γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὃν οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν ἑτέρας γραφῆς ποιῆσαι ἄπαρεργον. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι τοῦτο πειράσομαι φανερὸν ποιῆσαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰρηκτός ἀγῶνας τοὺς τε δικανικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δημηγορικοὺς καὶ θαυμαζομένου διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων τότε ὁ φιλόσοφος τὰς ῥητορικὰς ἔγραψε τέχνας. ἀνάγκη δ' ἴσως πρῶτον, ὡς παρέλαβον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἃ κατέλιπον ἡμῖν οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξάμενοι, προειπεῖν. ποιήσομαι δὲ ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους τὴν ἀρχήν.

[4] Οὗτος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος· ἄρχοντας δὲ Τιμοκράτους εἰς ἔτος ἦν ἐμβεβηκῶς ἑπτακαιδέκατον δημοσίους δὲ λόγους ἤρξατο γράφειν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κατασκευασθέντων ἀγῶνων ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος, ὃν ἔγραφε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνονται τὸ ψήφισμα παρανόμων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἕτερος [ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος], ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, ὃν αὐτὸς διέθετο, χαριέστατος ἀπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος. ἐπὶ δὲ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες 'περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν'. ἐν ἣ παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ λύειν τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα γενομένην εἰρήνην μηδὲ προτέρους ἄρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, ἐὰν μὴ παρασκευάσωνται τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐν ἣ πλείστην εἶχον ἰσχύν, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτὸς ὑποτίθεται. ἐπὶ δὲ Θουδήμου τοῦ μετὰ Διότιμον ἄρξαντος τὸν τε κατὰ Τιμοκράτους λόγον ἔγραψε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνονται παρανόμων τὸν Τιμοκράτη καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν βοήθειας δημηγορικὸν αὐτὸς ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ Θούδημον ἔστιν Ἀριστόδημος ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἤρξατο, καὶ λόγον ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ διέθετο περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ ξενικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ τῶν δέκα φυγαδικῶν τριηρῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους ἔγραψε λόγον Εὐθυκλεῖ τῷ διώκοντι παρανόμων τὸ ψήφισμα. ἐπὶ δὲ Θεέλλου τοῦ μετὰ Ἀριστόδημον τὴν περὶ Ῥοδίων ἀπήγγειλε δημηγορίαν, ἐν ἣ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταλῦσαι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐλευθερῶσαι. ἐπὶ δὲ Καλλιμάχου τοῦ τρίτου μετὰ Θεέλλον ἄρξαντος τρεῖς διέθετο δημηγορίας παρακαλῶν Ἀθηναίους βοήθειαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, πρώτην μὲν ἣς ἔστιν ἀρχὴ 'Ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἰδεῖν ἂν τις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοί μοι δοκεῖ'. δευτέραν δὲ 'Οὐχὶ ταῦτά παρίσταται μοι γινώσκειν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι'. τρίτην δὲ 'Ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων'. κατὰ τοῦτον γέγραπται τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ ὁ κατὰ Μειδίου λόγος, ὃν συνετάξατο μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἣν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ κατεχειροτόνησε. μέχρι τοῦδ' εὕρισκομένων δώδεκα λόγων, ὧν εἴρηκα, δημοσίων, ἐν οἷς εἰσι δημηγορικοὶ μὲν ἑπτὰ, δικανικοὶ δὲ πέντε, ἅπαντες

«ἐγένοντο» πρότεροι τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν, ὡς ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδείξω καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφέντων, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος.

[5] Ἀριστοτέλης πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Νικομάχου τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀναφέροντος εἰς Μαχάονα τὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Φαισιτίδος ἀπογόνου τινὸς τῶν ἐκ Χαλκίδος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀγαγόντων εἰς Στάγειρα· ἐγεννήθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνενηκοστήν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα Διοτρεφοῦς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας τρισὶν ἔτεσι Δημοσθένους πρεσβύτερος. ἐπὶ δὲ Πολυζήλου ἄρχοντας τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκτωκαίδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦλθεν, καὶ συσταθεὶς Πλάτῳ χρόνον εἰκοσαετῇ διέτριψε σὺν αὐτῷ. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντας ἀπῆρε πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν Ἀταρνέως τύραννον καὶ τριετῇ χρόνον παρ' αὐτῷ διατρίψας ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἄρχοντας εἰς Μυτιλήνην ἐχωρίσθη· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὤχετο κατὰ Πυθόδοτον ἄρχοντα, καὶ διέτριψε χρόνον ὀκταετῇ παρ' αὐτῷ καθηγούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἐπ' Εὐαινέτου ἄρχοντας ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ χρόνον ἐτῶν δώδεκα. τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχοντας ἀπάρας εἰς Χαλκίδα νόσω τελευτᾷ, τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη.

[6] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἃ παραδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναγράψαντες. ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόσοφος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γράφει, πᾶσαν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπιχείρησιν τῶν χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένων αὐτῷ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα, πρὸς πολλοῖς «δ'» ἄλλοις ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι μεμνησθαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἃ τέθηκεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας, ὡς οὐ μειράκιον ἦν, ὅτε τὰς ῥητορικὰς συνετάττετο τέχνας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ γεγωνὶς ἀκμῇ καὶ προεκδεδωκῶς ἤδη τὰς τε τοπικὰς συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἀναλυτικὰς καὶ τὰς μεθοδικὰς, τεκμήρι' ἐστὶν ἰσχυρότατα. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐπιδεικνύειν, ἃς περιεῖληφεν ὁ ῥητορικὸς λόγος, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· «χρήσιμος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ῥητορικὴ διὰ γε τὸ φύσει εἶναι κρείττω τάληθῇ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῶν ἐναντίων· ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον αἱ κρίσεις γίνωνται, ἀνάγκη δι' αὐτὸν ἡττᾶσθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἄξιον ἐπιτιμήσεως. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ἐνίου, οὐδ' εἰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἔχοιμεν ἐπιστήμην, ῥάδιον ἀπ' ἐκείνης πεῖσαι λέγοντας· διδασκαλία γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην λόγος, τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διὰ τῶν κοινῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πίστεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς λέγομεν περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς [7] πολλοὺς ἐντεῦξεως.» περὶ δὲ παραδειγμάτων «καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων» προελόμενος λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ταῦτ' ἔχει δύναμιν ταῖς ἐπαγωγαῖς καὶ τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ἀναλυτικῆς καὶ μεθοδικῆς πραγματείας τίθησι· «τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ δείκνυσθαι <ἡ> φαίνεσθαι δείκνυσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀναλυτικοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστι, τὸ δὲ συλλογισμός, <τὸ δὲ φαινόμενος συλλογισμός>, καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ὁμοίως· ἐστι γὰρ τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἐπαγωγῇ, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον φαινόμενος συλλογισμός· καλῶ γὰρ ἐνθύμημα μὲν ῥητορικὸν συλλογισμόν, παράδειγμα δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν ῥητορικὴν· πάντες δὲ τὰς πίστεις

ποιοῦνται διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ὅτιοῦν, δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐκάτερον <αὐτῶν ἐκατέρω> τοῦτων τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. τίς δ' ἐστὶ διαφορὰ παραδείγματος καὶ ἐνθυμήματος, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν τοπικῶν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ περὶ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἐπαγωγῆς εἴρηται πρότερον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὁμοίων δείκνυσθαι ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ παράδειγμα· τὸ δὲ τινῶν ὄντων ἕτερόν τι διὰ ταῦτα συμβαίνειν παρὰ τὸ ταῦτ' εἶναι ἢ καθόλου ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ἐκεῖ μὲν συλλογισμός, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐνθύμημα καλεῖται. φανερόν δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐκάτερον ἔχει ἀγαθὸν τὸ εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας· καθάπερ <γὰρ> καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεθοδικοῖς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁμοίως ἔχει.' Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γέγραφε μαρτυρούμενος διαρρήδην, ὅτι τὰς ῥητορικὰς τέχνας συνετάξατο πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη καὶ τὰς κρατίστας συντάξεις προεκδεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐξ ὧν ὁ προειλόμην ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι προτεροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγῶνες τῶν τοῦ φιλοσόφου τεχνῶν, ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδείχθαι νομίζω· εἰ γε ὁ μὲν εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων ἥρξατο πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν καὶ λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφειν, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἔτι συνῆν Πλάτῳ καὶ διέτριψεν ἕως ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα οὔτε σχολῆς ἡγούμενος οὔτε ἰδίαν πεποικῶς αἵρεσιν.

[8] Εἰ δέ τις οὕτως ἔσται δύσερις ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιλέγειν, ὅτι μὲν ὕστερον ἐγράφησαν αἱ ῥητορικαὶ τέχναι τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν τε καὶ μεθοδικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν, ὁμολογῶν ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύειν λέγων ἀπάσας ταύτας κατεσκευακέναι τὸν φιλόσοφον τὰς πραγματείας ἔτι παιδευόμενον παρὰ Πλάτῳ, ψυχρὰν μὲν καὶ ἀπίθανον ἐπιχείρησιν εἰσάγων, βιαζόμενος δὲ τὸ κακουργότατον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ποιεῖν πιθανώτερον, ὅτι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰκὸς γίνεται ποτε εἰκός, ἀφείς ἃ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν εἶχον ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ τρέφομαι τοῦ φιλοσόφου μαρτυρίας, ἃς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ τῶν τεχνῶν τέθηκε περὶ τῆς μεταφορᾶς κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γράφων· 'τῶν δὲ μεταφορῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν, εὐδοκιμοῦσι μάλιστα αἱ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν· ὡς Περικλῆς ἔφη τὴν νεότητα τὴν ἀπολομένην ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὕτως ἠφανίσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ εἰ τις τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξέλῃ ... καὶ Κηφισόδοτος σπουδάζοντος Χάρητος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον ἡγανάκτει φάσκων αὐτὸν εἰς πνίγμα τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντα τὰς εὐθύνας περῆσθαι διδόναι.'

[9] Οὕτως μὲν δὴ σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀποδεικνύει μετὰ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον γεγραμμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς τέχνας. οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου γέγονεν ἄρχοντας, ὡς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν ἑκτῇ βύβλῳ τῆς Ἀθίδος κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γράφων· 'Καλλιμάχος Περγασῆθεν· ἐπὶ τούτου Ὀλυνθίοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ πρέσβεις Ἀθήναζε πέμψασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συμμαχίαν τε ἐποιήσαντο καὶ βοήθειαν ἔπεμψαν πελταστὰς δισχιλίους, τριῆρεις δὲ τριάκοντα τὰς μετὰ Χάρητος καὶ ἃς συνεπλήρωσαν ὀκτώ.' ἔπειτα διεξελθὼν ὀλίγα τὰ μεταξὺ γενόμενα τίθησι ταυτί· 'περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης θλιβομένων τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων Ἀθήναζε Χαρίδημον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ στρατηγόν· ὃς ἔχων ὀκτωκαίδεκα τριῆρεις καὶ πελταστὰς

τετρακισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τε Παλλήνην καὶ τὴν Βοττιαίαν μετ' Ὀλυνθίων καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησεν.' ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τρίτης συμμαχίας λέγει ταυτί· 'πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πρέσβεις ἀποσπειλάντων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ δεομένων μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτοὺς καταπολεμηθέντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις δυνάμεσι πέμψαι βοήθειαν μὴ ξενικὴν ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τριῆρεις μὲν ἑτέρας ἑπτακαίδεκα <καὶ> τῶν πολιτῶν ὀπλίτας δισχιλίους καὶ ἵππεῖς τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππηγοῖς, στρατηγὸν δὲ Χάρητα τοῦ στόλου παντός.'

[10] Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ῥηθέντα φανεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν ἀξιούντων τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐζηλωκέναι τέχνας τὸν Δημοσθένη, ὃς ἤδη τέτταρας μὲν ἔτυχεν εἰρηκῶς δημηγορίας Φιλippiκᾶς, τρεῖς δὲ Ἑλληνικᾶς, πέντε δὲ λόγους δημοσίους εἰς δικαστήρια γεγραφῶς, οὓς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι διαβαλεῖν ὥς εὐτελεῖς τινας καὶ φαύλους καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιφαίνοντας τεχνικόν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους συνετάχθησαν τεχνῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε μέχρι τούτου προελθὼν στήσομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ λόγους τοὺς μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐπιδείξω τοὺς τε δημηγορικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δικανικοὺς πρότερον ἀπηγγεμένους τῆς ἐκδόσεως τούτων τῶν τεχνῶν, μάρτυρι πάλιν αὐτῷ χρώμενος Ἀριστοτέλει. μετὰ γὰρ ἄρχοντα Καλλιμάχον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς εἰς Ὀλυνθον βοηθείας ἀπέστειλαν Ἀθηναῖοι πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, Θεόφιλος ἔστιν ἄρχων, καθ' ὃν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ὀλυνθίων πόλεως Φίλιππος. ἔπειτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλε Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων, ἧς ἔστιν ἀρχή· 'Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν.' μετὰ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀρχίας, ἐφ' οὗ παραινεῖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ κωλύειν Φίλιππον τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας μετέχειν μηδὲ ἀφορμὴν διδόναι πολέμου νεωστὶ πεπονημένους τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην· ἀρχὴ δὲ ταύτης τῆς δημηγορίας ἐστὶν ἡδε· 'Ὅρῳ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα.' μετὰ δὲ Ἀρχίαν ἔστιν Εὐβουλος· εἴτα Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Φιλippiκῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος· 'Ὅταν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγοι γίνωνται.' μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἔστιν ἄρχων Πυθόδοτος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὀγδόην τῶν Φιλippiκῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, ἧς ἔστιν ἀρχὴ· 'ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι', καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνετάξατο λόγον, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους. μετὰ Πυθόδοτον ἔστι Σωσιγένης, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνάτην διελήλυθεν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγορίαν περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στρατιωτῶν, ἵνα μὴ διαλυθῇ τὸ μετὰ Διοπείθους ξενικόν, ἀρχὴν ἔχουσαν ταύτην· 'Ἐδεῖ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας· καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν δεκάτην, ἐν ἣ περᾶται διδάσκειν, ὅτι λύει τὴν εἰρήνην Φίλιππος καὶ πρότερος ἐκφέρει τὸν πόλεμον, ἧς ἔστιν ἀρχή· 'Πολλῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγων γινομένων.' μετὰ Σωσιγένην ἄρχων ἔστι Νικόμαχος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην δημηγορίαν διελήλυθε περὶ τοῦ λελυκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πείθει Βυζαντίους

ἀποστεῖλαι βοήθειαν, ἥς ἐστὶν ἀρχή· ‘Καὶ σπουδαῖα νομίζων ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.’ ἔπεται Νικομάχῳ Θεόφραστος ἄρχων, ἐφ’ οὗ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γενναίως ὑπομεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον ὡς κατηγγεγκότος αὐτὸν ἤδη Φιλίππου· καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη τελευταία τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν, ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ταύτην· ‘Ὅτι μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Φίλιππος οὐκ ἐποίησατο τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἀνεβάλετο τὸν πόλεμον.’

[11] ‘Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τούτους ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους οὕς κατηρίθμηται πρὸ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλῃ παρέξομαι μαρτυροῦντα. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βύβλῳ τῶν τεχνῶν τοὺς τόπους ὀρίζειν, ἀφ’ ὧν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα φέρεται, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου παραλαμβάνει παρατιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὰ παραδείγματα. θήσω δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου λέξιν· ‘ἄλλος εἰς τὸν χρόνον σκοπεῖ· οἶον, ὡς ὁ Ἵφικράτης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀρμόδιον, ὡς εἰ πρὶν ποιῆσαι ἡξίου τῆς εἰκόνας τυχεῖν ἐὰν ποιήσῃ, ἔδοτε ἄν· ποιήσαντι δ’ οὐ δώσετε; μὴ τοίνυν μέλλοντες μὲν ὑποσχεῖσθε, παθόντες δὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθε. καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸ διὰ Θηβαίων διέναι Φίλιππον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὅτι εἰ πρὶν βοηθῆσαι <εἰς> Φωκεῖς ἡξίου, ὑπέσχοντο ἄν· ἄτοπον οὖν εἰ, διότι προεῖτο καὶ ἐπίστευσεν, μὴ διήσουσιν.’ ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ Φίλιππος ἡξίου Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι δίδον ὑπομιμνήσκων τῆς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φωκεῖς πολέμῳ γενομένης βοηθείας, ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς γίνεταί φανερός ἱστορίας. εἶχε γὰρ οὕτως· μετὰ τὴν Ὀλυνθίων ἄλωσιν ἄρχοντας Θεμιστοκλέους συνθῆκαι Φιλίππῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένοντο περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας· αὐταὶ διέμειναν ἑπταετὴ χρόνον ἄχρι Νικομάχου· ἐπὶ δὲ Θεοφράστου τοῦ μετὰ Νικόμαχον ἄρξαντος ἐλύθησαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν Φίλιππον αἰτιωμένων ἄρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐγκαλοῦντος. τὰς δὲ αἰτίας δι’ ἃς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγοντες ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσαν ἀκριβῶς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῆς Ἀθίδος βύβλῳ. θήσω δ’ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα· ‘Θεόφραστος Ἀλαιοῦς· ἐπὶ τούτου Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναπλεύσας Περίνθῳ προσέβαλεν, ἀποτυχὼν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει καὶ μηχανήματα προσῆγεν.’ ἔπειτα διεξελθὼν, ὅσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐνεκάλει διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ταῦτα πάλιν κατὰ λέξιν ἐπιτίθησιν· ‘ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ Δημοσθένους παρακαλέσαντος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ <τὰ> ψηφίσματα γράψαντος ἐχειροτόνησε τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν, ναῦς δὲ πληροῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.’ ταῦτα γράψας κατὰ Θεόφραστον ἄρχοντα γεγονέναι, τῷ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐνιαυτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα μετὰ τὴν λύσιν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἄρχοντος διεξέρχεται. θήσω δὲ καὶ τούτων αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα· ‘Λυσιμαχίδης Ἀχαρνέυς· ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἔργα τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην ἀνεβάλλοντο διὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐψηφίσαντο πάντ’ εἶναι στρατιωτικὰ Δημοσθένους γράψαντος. Φιλίππου δὲ καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Θήβας Θετταλῶν Αἰνιάνων Αἰτωλῶν Δολόπων Φθιωτῶν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πρέσβεις

ἀποστειλάντων τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένη, τοῦτοις συμμαχεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.’ Φανεροῦ δὴ γεγονότος τοῦ χρόνου, καθ’ ὃν εἰσῆλθον εἰς Θήβας οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ οἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου, ὅτι κατὰ Λυσιμαχίδην ἄρχοντα πίπτει, παρεσκευασμένων ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀμφοτέρων, αὐτὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης ποιήσει φανερόν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγῳ, τίνες ἦσαν αἱ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἀξιώσεις· θήσω δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβὼν τῆς ἐκείνου λέξεως τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα· ‘Οὕτως διαθεῖς Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ’ ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἔτι συμπνευσόντων ἡμῶν ἂν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων.’ ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰ τότε συμβάντα διεξελθὼν, διεξελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ῥηθέντας ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ λόγους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὥς πρεσβευτῆς ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων εἰς Θήβας ἐπέμφθη, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ἐπιτίθισιν· ‘ὥς δ’ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ’ ἐκείνου θρασεῖς.’ ἔπειτ’ ἐπιστολὴν τινα κελεύσας ἀναγνωσθῆναι ταῦτ’ ἐπιτίθισιν· ‘ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παριόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ’ ὑμῖν ἐγκαλοῦντες, πάνθ’ ὅσα πώποτε ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίους ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ’ οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίου, ὦν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὦν δ’ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἡδίκηνται δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβάλλοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν.’ Εἰ δὴ κατὰ Λυσιμαχίδην μὲν ἄρχοντα τὸν μετὰ Θεόφραστον λελυμένης ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης οἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας ἀπεστάλησαν παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς μάλιστα μὲν συνεισβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, εἰ δὲ μή, δίοδον τῷ Φιλίππῳ παρασχεῖν μεμνημένους τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον, ταύτης δὲ μέμνηται τῆς πρεσβείας Ἀριστοτέλης, ὥς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπέδειξα τὰς ἐκείνου λέξεις παρασχόμενος, ἀναμφιλόγοις δήπουθεν ἀποδεδείκται τεκμηρίοις, ὅτι πάντες οἱ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνες οἱ πρὸ τῆς Λυσιμαχίδου ἀρχῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τε καὶ δικαστηρίοις γενόμενοι πρότερον τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν

[12] ἐτέραν προσθήσω μαρτυρίαν παρὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λαβὼν, ἐξ ἧς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔσται φανερόν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Φίλιππον αἱ ῥητορικαὶ συνετάχθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τέχναι, Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ πάντας εἰρηνότους τοὺς τε δημηγορικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δικανικοὺς λόγους, ὦν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην. διεξιὼν γὰρ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας τίθησι· παρέξομαι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου λέξιν· ‘ἄλλος παρὰ τὸ ἀναίτιον <ὥς αἴτιον>, οἷον τῷ ἅμα ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο γεγονέναι. τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦτο <ὥς διὰ τοῦτο> λαμβάνουσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις· ὥς ὁ Δημάδης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν· μετ’ ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ‘. Ποίους οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης κατεσκεύασεν ἀγῶνας ταῖς Ἀριστοτελείοις

τέχναις ὁδηγοῖς χρῆσάμενος, εἰ πάντες οἱ δημόσιοι λόγοι, δι' οὓς ἐπαινεῖται τε καὶ θαυμάζεται, πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγόνασιν, ὥς πρότερον ἐπέδειξα, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου; οὗτος γὰρ μόνος εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελήλυθεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ἄρχοντος <ὀγδόω> μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, ἔκτω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνίκα μάχην.

Εἰ δέ τις ἐρεῖ τῶν πρὸς ἅπαντα φιλονεικούντων, ὅτι τοῦτον ἴσως ἔγραψε τὸν λόγον ταῖς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐντετευχῶς τέχναις, τὸν κράτιστον ἀπάντων <τῶν> λόγων, πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἔχων, ἵνα μὴ μακρότερος τοῦ δέοντος ὁ λόγος γένηται μοι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιδείξιν ὑπισχνοῦμαι τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν ἐπιτετελεσμένων αὐτῷ χρῆσάμενος τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μάρτυρι. προθεῖς γὰρ τόπον ἐνθυμημάτων τὸν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· 'ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα· εἰ γὰρ θατέρω <ὕπάρχει τὸ καλῶς ἢ δικαίως ποιῆσαι, θατέρω> τὸ πεπονθέναι, καὶ εἰ κελεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πεποιηκέναι· οἷον ὡς ὁ τελώνης ὁ Διομέδων· εἰ γὰρ μὴδ' ὑμῖν αἰσχρὸν τὸ πωλεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡμῖν τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι. καὶ εἰ τῷ πεπονθότι <τὸ> καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ὑπάρξει καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι ἢ ποιοῦντι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο παραλογίσασθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἰ δικαίως ἔπαθεν, ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ὑπὸ τούτου πέπονθε. διὸ δεῖ σκοπεῖν χωρὶς, εἰ ἄξιος ὁ παθὼν παθεῖν καὶ ὁ ποιήσας ποιῆσαι, εἴτα χρῆσθαι ὁποτέρως ἂν ἀρμότῃ. ἐνίστε γὰρ διαφωνεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ τῷ Θεοδέκτῳ ... καὶ οἷον ἢ περὶ Δημοσθένους δίκη καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων Νικάνορα.' Τίς οὖν ἔστιν ἡ Δημοσθένους δίκη [καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων Νικάνορα] περὶ ἧς ὁ φιλόσοφος γέγραπεν, ἐν ἧ τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ἀμφισβήτησεως κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἄλληλα τόπου; ἢ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ παρασχόντος Δημοσθένει τὸ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν τῶν παρανόμων φεύγοντος γραφὴν· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸ ζητούμενον ἦν οὐ τὸ κοινόν, εἰ τιμῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄξιος ἦν Δημοσθένης ἐπιδουὺς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων κτημάτων τὴν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη δαπάνην, ἀλλ' εἰ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, κωλύοντος τοῦ νόμου τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανοῦν. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰ ὥσπερ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ δοῦναι, οὕτως καὶ τῷ ὑπευθύνῳ τὸ λαβεῖν τὸν στέφανον ἐξῆν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταύτης οἶομαι τῆς δίκης μεμνησθαι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη. εἰ δέ τις ἐρεῖ, ὅτι περὶ τῆς τῶν δώρων, ἦν ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους ἄρχοντος ἀπελογήσατο περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, πολλῷ νεωτέρας ἔτι ποιήσει τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους τέχνας τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγώνων.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὁ ῥήτωρ παρὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὰς τέχνας παρέλαβεν αἷς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ἐκείνους κατεσκεύασε λόγους, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον τὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων ἔργα παραθέμενος Ἀριστοτέλης ταύτας ἔγραψε τὰς τέχνας, ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι νομίζω.

Ad Ammaeum I; De Thucydidis idiomatibus

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

[1] Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπελάμβανον ἀρκούντως δεδηλωκέναι τὸν Θουκυδίδου χαρακτήρα, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιωμάτων ἐπεξελθόν, ἐν οἷς γε δὴ μάλιστα διαφέρειν ἔδοξέν μοι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων, πρότερον μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων πρὸς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα συνταχθεῖσιν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς, ὀλίγοις <δὲ> δὴ πρόσθεν χρόνοις ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου κατασκευασθείσῃ γραφῇ προσειπὼν τὸν Αἴλιον Τουβέρωνα, ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα λόγου μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδείξεων διεξελέλυσθα κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν· σοῦ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνοντος ἦττον ἠκριβῶσθαι τὰς γραφάς, ἐπειδὴ προεκθέμενος ἅπαντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα τῷ χαρακτήρι τότε τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν πίστεις παρέχομαι, ἀκριβεστέραν δὲ τὴν δήλωσιν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τοῦ χαρακτήρος ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντος, εἰ παρὰ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν προθέσεων τὰς λέξεις τοῦ συγγραφέως παραπιθεῖην, ὃ οἱ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς τῶν λόγων πραγματευόμενοι ποιοῦσιν, προελόμενος εἰς μηδὲν ἑλλείπειν καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκα, τὸ διδασκαλικὸν σχῆμα λαβὼν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποδεικτικοῦ.

[2] Ἵνα δὲ εὐπαρακολούθητος ὁ λόγος σοι γένηται, προθεῖς κατὰ λέξιν, ὅσα περὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως τυγχάνω προειρηκώς, ἐπιτροχάδην ἀναλήψομαι τῶν προθέσεων ἐκάστην καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις παρέξομαι, καθάπερ ἤξious. ἔπεται δὲ τοῖς περὶ Ἡροδότου γραφεῖσιν τὰ μέλλοντα δηλοῦσθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ Θουκυδίδης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, καὶ συνιδὼν, ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔσχεν ἀρετάς, ἰδίον τι γένος χαρακτήρος, οὔτε πεζὸν αὐτοτελῶς οὔτ' ἔμμετρον ἀπηρτισμένως, κοινὸν δέ τι καὶ μικτὸν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐργασάμενος εἰς τὴν ἱστορικὴν πραγματείαν ἐσπούδασεν εἰσαγαγεῖν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν τροπικὴν καὶ γλωττηματικὴν καὶ ἀπηρχαιωμένην καὶ ξένην λέξιν παραλαμβάνων πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σχηματισμῶν, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη διενεγκεῖν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πλείστην εἰσενεγκάμενος πραγματείαν, τοτὲ μὲν λόγον ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιῶν, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ὄνομα συνάγων τὸν λόγον· καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ ῥηματικὸν ὀνοματικῶς ἐκφέρων, αὐθις δὲ τοῦνομα ῥῆμα ποιῶν· καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων ἀναστρέφων τὰς χρήσεις, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὀνοματικὸν <προσηγορικὸν γένηται, τὸ δὲ προσηγορικὸν ὀνοματικῶς> λέγεται, καὶ τὰ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δραστήρια, τὰ δὲ δραστήρια παθητικά· πληθυντικῶν δὲ καὶ ἐνικῶν ἀλλάττων τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἀντικατηγορῶν ταῦτα ἀλλήλων, θηλυκὰ τ' ἀρρενικοῖς καὶ ἀρρενικὰ θηλυκοῖς καὶ οὐδέτερα τούτων τισὶν συνάπτων, ἐξ ὧν ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία πλανᾶται· τὰς δὲ <τῶν> ὀνοματικῶν ἢ μετοχικῶν πτώσεις τοτὲ μὲν πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαίνοντος ἀποστρέφων, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὸ <σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ> σημαινομένου· ἐν δὲ τοῖς

συνδετικοῖς καὶ τοῖς προθετικοῖς μορίοις καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς διαρθροῦσι τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων δυνάμεις ποιητοῦ τρόπον ἐνεξουσιάζων. πλεῖστα δ' ἂν τις εὖροι παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν σχημάτων, προσώπων τε ἀποστροφᾶς καὶ χρόνων ἐναλλαγᾶς καὶ τροπικῶν σημειώσεων μεταφοραῖς ἐξηλλαγμένα καὶ σολοικισμῶν λαμβάνοντα φαντασίας· ὅποσα τε γίνεται πράγματα ἀντὶ σωμάτων ἢ σώματα ἀντὶ πραγμάτων, καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἐνθυμημάτων τε καὶ νοημάτων αἱ μεταξὺ παρεμπτώσεις πολλαὶ γινόμεναι διὰ μακροῦ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κομίζονται, τὰ τε σκολιὰ καὶ πολὺπλοκα καὶ δυσεξέλικτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ συγγενῇ τούτοις. εὖροι δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν θεατρικῶν σχημάτων κείμενα παρ' αὐτῷ, τὰς παρισώσεις λέγω καὶ παρομοιώσεις καὶ παρονομασίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις, ἐν αἷς ἐπλεόνασε Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος καὶ οἱ περὶ Πῶλον καὶ Λικύμνιον καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων. ἐκδηλότατα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρακτηριστικώτατά ἐστι τό τε πειρᾶσθαι δι' ἐλαχίστων ὀνομάτων πλεῖστα σημαίνειν πράγματα καὶ πολλὰ συντιθέναι νοήματα εἰς ἓν καὶ <τὸ> ἔτι προσδεχόμενόν τι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἀκούσεσθαι καταλιπεῖν, ὅφ' ὧν ἀσαφές γίνεται τὸ βραχύ. ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, τέσσαρα μὲν ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ὄργανα τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως, τὸ ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ πολυειδές τῶν σχημάτων, τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἁρμονίας, τὸ τάχος τῆς σημασίας· χρώματα δὲ αὐτῆς τό τε στριφνὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμβριθές καὶ τὸ δεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τὸ παθητικόν. τοιούτοσι μὲν δὴ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Θουκυδίδης κατὰ τὸν τῆς λέξεως χαρακτῆρα, ὧ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διήνεγκεν.

[3] Γλωσσηματικὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπρηχαιωμένα καὶ δυσεῖκαστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τό τε ἀκραιφνές καὶ ὁ ἐπιλογισμὸς καὶ ἡ περιωπὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνακωχή καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις. ποιητικὰ δὲ ἢ τε κωλύμη καὶ ἡ πρέσβευσις καὶ ἡ καταβολή καὶ ἡ ἀχθηδὼν καὶ ἡ δικαίωσις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

ἢ δ' ἐν τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς καινότης τε καὶ πολυτροπία καὶ ἡ ἐξαλλαγὴ τῆς συνήθους χρήσεως, ἐν ἧ μάλιστα διαφέρειν αὐτὸν ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τούτων γίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων φανερά· [4] ὅταν μὲν οὖν μίαν λέξιν εἴτε ὀνομαστικὴν εἴτε ῥηματικὴν ἐν πλείοσιν ὀνόμασιν ἢ ῥήμασιν ἐκφέρῃ περιφράζων τὴν αὐτὴν νόησιν, τοιαύτην ποιεῖ τὴν λέξιν· 'ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα διὰ φύσεως ἰσχυρὴν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι.' καὶ μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ γέγραπεν· 'οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δὲ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώλυται'· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τὸ σύντομον ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Βρασίδα τέθηκεν, ὅτε μαχόμενος περὶ Πύλον ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς τραυματίας γενόμενος ἐξέπεσεν· 'πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ' φησὶν 'εἰς τὴν παρεξιρεσίαν ἢ ἀσπὶς περιερρύη.' βούλεται γὰρ δηλοῦν· 'πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔξω τῆς νεῶς ἐπὶ τὰ προέχοντα μέρη τῆς εἰρεσίας' [εἰς θάλατταν].

[5] Ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰ ῥηματικὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως ὀνομαστικῶς σχηματίζει, τοιαύτην ποιεῖ τὴν φράσιν· ἐστὶν δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ τάδε λέγων· 'δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν,

παραΐνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε.’ τὸ γὰρ παραινεῖν καὶ ἀξιοῦν ῥήματα ὄντα ὀνομαστικὰ γέγονεν παραΐνεσις καὶ ἀξίωσις. ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς ιδέας ἢ τε οὐκ ἀποτείχισις τοῦ Πλημμυρίου ἢ ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ βύβλῳ «καὶ ἡ ὀλόφυρσις ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ» τέθηκεν ἐν δημηγορίᾳ. τὸ γὰρ ἀποτείχισαι καὶ τὸ ὀλοφύρασθαι ῥηματικὰ ὄντα ὀνομαστικῶς ἐσχημάτικεν ἀποτείχισιν καὶ ὀλόφυρσιν.

[6] Ὅταν δὲ ἀντιστρέψας ἐκατέρου τούτων τὴν φύσιν τὰ ὀνόματα ποιῇ ῥήματα, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκφέρει τὴν λέξιν, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ περὶ τῆς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου γράφει· «τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν, λόγῳ δὲ ἀφανεστάτην, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἶομαι μεγάλους γινομένους ἀναγκάσαι εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν.» βούλεται γὰρ δηλοῦν, ὅτι μεγάλοι γιγνόμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνάγκην παρέσχον τοῦ πολέμου· πεποίηκεν δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὀνομαστικῶν ὄντων ῥηματικὰ τό τε ἀναγκάσαι καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν.

[7] Ὅταν δὲ τῶν ῥημάτων ἀλλάττῃ τὰ εἶδη τῶν παθητικῶν καὶ ποιητικῶν, οὕτω σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον· «οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε.» τὸ γὰρ κωλύει ῥῆμα ἐνεργητικὸν ὑπάρχον ἀντὶ τοῦ κωλύεται παθητικοῦ ὄντος παρείληπται· ἦν δὲ τὸ σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως τοιοῦτο· «οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύεται ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε.» καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ λεγόμενα· «τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ’ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις·» καὶ γὰρ «ἐν» τούτοις τὸ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἐνεργητικὸν ὑπάρχον ῥῆμα τοῦ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι παθητικοῦ ὄντος χώραν ἐπέχει.

[8] Ὅταν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τὸ παθητικὸν παραλαμβάνῃ, τοῦτον σχηματίζει τὸν τρόπον· «ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν·» βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δηλοῦν· «ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις συνήλλαξαν», παρείληφεν δὲ τὸ ἐνηλλάγησαν παθητικὸν ὑπάρχον ἀντὶ ποιητικοῦ τοῦ συνήλλαξαν. καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τούτῳ· «τοὺς δ’ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ μᾶλλον κατωκημένους·» ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κατωκηκός τας τὸ παθητικὸν παρείληφεν τὸ κατωκημένους.

[9] Παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐνικῶν τε καὶ πληθυντικῶν διαφοράς, ὅταν ἐναλλάττῃ τὴν ἐκατέρου τούτων τάξιν, ἐνικὰ μὲν ἀντὶ πληθυντικῶν οὕτως ἐκφέρει· «καὶ εἴ τῳ ἄρα παρέστηκεν τὸν μὲν Συρακόσιον, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ·» βούλεται μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Συρακοσίους λέγειν καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πεποίηκεν δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκάτερον ἐνικόν. καὶ ἐν οἷς φησιν· «καὶ τὸν πολέμιον δεινότερον ἔξομεν, μὴ ῥαδίας αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως·» τοὺς γὰρ πολέμιους ἐσχημάτικεν ἐνικῶς, οὐχὶ πληθυντικῶς. Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐνικοῦ τὸ πληθυντικὸν παραλαμβάνει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξαλλάττων τὴν συνήθη φράσιν· κεῖται δὲ ἡ λέξις «ἐν» τῷ προοιμίῳ τοῦ ἐπιταφίου· «μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσιν περὶ ἐτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαι τι ὧν ἤκουσεν·» τὸ γὰρ ἕκαστος καὶ τὸ ἤκουσεν ἐνικὰ, τὰ δ’ ἐπιφερόμενα τούτοις πληθυντικῶς ἐξενήνεκται· «τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτὸν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν·» οὐ καθ’ ἑνὸς λέγεσθαι πεφύκασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλῶν.

[10] Ἀρρενικῶν δὲ καὶ θηλυκῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων ἀντιμετατάξεις

ἐκβεβηκυῖαι τῶν συνήθων σχημάτων αἱ τοιαῖδε εἰσίν, ὅταν τὴν μὲν παραγῇν τάραχον καλῇ τὸ θηλυκὸν ἐκφέρων ἀρρενικῶς καὶ τὴν ὄχλησιν ὄχλον, τὴν δὲ βούλησιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὸ βουλόμενον λέγῃ καὶ τὸ δυνάμενον· ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τέθηκεν, ὅτε τὴν εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπέστελλον στρατιάν· ‘οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον οὐκ ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλῶδους τῆς παρασκευῆς’, καὶ ἐν οἷς περὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἴρηκεν· ‘ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστεία μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομία ἐχρῶντο τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί’· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οὐδέτερον πεποίηκεν τὸ θηλυκόν· ἦν δὲ τὸ σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως τοιόνδε· ‘ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστεία μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομία ἐχρῶντο τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί.’

[11] Ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν προσηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν μετοχῶν καὶ <τῶν> συναπτομένων τοῦτοις ἄρθρων ἐξαλλάττει τοῦ συνήθους, οὕτως σχηματίζει [τῇ φράσει]· ‘σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρassoμένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες.’ οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῇ κοινῇ συνθηεῖα σχηματίζοντες τὴν φράσιν τῷ τε θηλυκῷ γένει τῆς προσηγορίας τὸ θηλυκὸν ἂν ἐξευξαν μόριον, καὶ τὴν πτῶσιν [τῆς μετοχῆς] τὴν αἰτιατικὴν <ἀν> ἀντὶ τῆς γενικῆς ἔταξαν τὸν τρόπον τόνδε· ‘σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρassoμένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον εὐνομίαν οὐ προτιμήσασαι.’ οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀρρενικὰ τοῖς θηλυκοῖς συντάττοντες, ὥσπερ οὗτος πεποίηκεν, <καὶ> τὰς γενικὰς ἀντὶ τῶν αἰτιατικῶν πτώσεων παραλαμβάνοντες σολοικίζειν ἂν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν λέγοντο. καὶ ἔτι τὰ τοιαῦτα· ‘καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες’· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς δοτικῆς πτώσεως ἐσχηματίσθαι τὴν λέξιν ἤρμοττεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς· ‘καὶ μὴ τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντες.’ οὐδὲ γὰρ ‘τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀργῇ φοβεῖσθαι’ λέγοιτ’ ἂν τις, ἀλλὰ ‘τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὀργήν.’

[12] Ἡ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκβεβηκυῖα τὸ κατάλληλον φράσις τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι· ‘καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη, καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεόν ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλοιμεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκαμνεῖν καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέροις τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθοῦντων φαίνεσθαι’· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐθέλοιμεν ῥῆμα τοῦ μέλλοντός ἐστι χρόνου δηλωτικόν, τὸ δὲ περιγίνεται τοῦ παρόντος. ἀκόλουθον δ’ ἂν ἦν, εἰ συνέζευξεν τῷ ἐθέλοιμεν τὸ περιέσται ‘τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω, ὃ μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν σύμμαχον γίνεται· ὑποχωρήσασι δὲ καίπερ χαλεπὸν ὄν εὐπορον ἔσται.’ τὸ μὲν γὰρ γίνεται τοῦ παρόντος ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἔσται τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου δηλωτικόν. γέγονεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πτώσεις σχηματισμὸς ἀκατάλληλος· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς γενικῆς πτώσεως ἐξενήνοχεν τό τε μετοχικὸν ὄνομα τὸ μενόντων καὶ <τὸ> ἀντονομαστικόν τὸ ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δοτικῆς τὸ ὑποχωρήσασιν· οἰκειότερον δ’ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξενηνέχθαι πτῶσιν.

[13] Ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸ σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαιομένου πράγματος τὴν

ἀποστροφὴν ποιῆται ἢ πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαίνοντος, οὕτως σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον· ‘τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων ὁ δῆμος ἐν πολλῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδι ἦσαν’· προθεὶς γὰρ ἐνικὸν ὄνομα τὸν δῆμον ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦτου τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὸ σημαίνόμενον πρᾶγμα πληθυντικὸν ὑπάρχον, τοὺς Συρακοσίους. καὶ αὖθις· ‘Λεοντῖνοι γὰρ ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν πολίτας τε ἐπεγράψαντο πολλοὺς καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπενόει τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι’· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Λεοντῖνοι ἀπέστρεψεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνικὸν ὄνομα τὸν δῆμον.

[14] Πρόσωπα δὲ παρ’ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα γίνεται, καθά περ ἐν τῇ Κορινθίων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους δημηγορίᾳ γέγονεν· ἀξίων γὰρ ὁ Κορίνθιος τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς Πελοποννήσου φυλάττειν αὐτῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα πρὸς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, οἷον παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον, ταῦτα λέγει· ‘πρὸς τὰδε βουλευέσθε εὔ, καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσον’ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν’· τὸ γὰρ ἐξηγεῖσθαι νῦν τέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προάγειν ἔξω τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἡγουμένους αὐτῆς· τοῦτο δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ μὲν ἀδύνατον ἦν συμβῆναι, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπάρχουσιν δυνατόν, καὶ βούλεται τοῦτο δηλοῦν.

Πράγματα δὲ ἀντὶ σωμάτων τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γίνεται· λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κορινθίων πρεσβευτοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκρίνοντος τὰ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· ‘οἱ μὲν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ὃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι’· μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων τὸ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως σώζει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ὥς ἐπὶ προσώπων ἀμφοτέρων κείμενον. ἔπειτα ἀποστρέφεται κατὰ θάτερον τῶν μερῶν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀντὶ σωμάτων πρᾶγμα γίνεται <τὸ> περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅταν φῇ· ‘αὖθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι’· τὸ γὰρ ὑμέτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμεῖς παρείληπται, πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχον ἀντὶ σώματος.

[15] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν τε καὶ νοήμασιν αἱ μεταξὺ παρεμπτώσεις πολλαὶ γινόμεναι καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀφικνούμεναι, δι’ ἧς ἡ φράσις δυσπαρακολούητος γίνεται, πλεῖσται μὲν εἰσιν καθ’ ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν· ἀρκέσουσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προοιμίου δύο ληφθεῖσαι μόναι, ἡ τε δηλοῦσα τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πραγμάτων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδούσα· ‘τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες, οὔτε γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὃν πότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἅμ’ ἀτειχίστων ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται· τῆς τε ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐπικρατήσῃ οἰόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο’ (<εἰ γὰρ τὸ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο> προσέθηκεν τῇ πρώτῃ περιόδῳ καὶ ἐσχημάτισεν οὕτως· ‘τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ’ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν <οὔτε κατὰ θάλασσαν>, νεμόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο’, φανερωτέραν ἂν ἐποίει τὴν διάνοιαν· τῇ δὲ παρεμβολῇ τῶν

μεταξύ πραγμάτων πολλῶν ὄντων ἀσαφῆ καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητον πεποίηκεν), καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς Εὐρυσθέως στρατείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦδε· Ἐὐρυσθέως ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείδων ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρώως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκῆνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεΐ· τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον· καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεὺς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλείδων, καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχεν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν.'

[16] Ἐν οἷς δὲ σκολιὰ καὶ πολὺπλοκος καὶ δυσεξέλικτος ἡ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων κατασκευὴ γίνεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔχει παρ' αὐτῷ· κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ ἡ λέξις· 'τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν δ' ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπιδὶ μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· ἐν τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.' τοιαῦτά ἐστι καὶ τὰ περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ· 'ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι. οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει, καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν οὐθὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής· καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε· ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπῆλλακτο· τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.'

[17] Οἱ δὲ μεираκιώδεις σχηματισμοὶ τῶν ἀντιθέτων τε καὶ παρομοιώσεων καὶ παρισώσεων, ἐν οἷς οἱ περὶ τὸν Γοργίαν μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασαν, ἥκιστα τῷ χαρακτήρι τούτῳ προσήκοντες, αὐστηρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ τοῦ κομποῦ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκότι, τοιοῦτοί τινές εἰσι παρὰ τῷ συγγραφεῖ· 'φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Ἑλλὰς οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη.' καὶ ἔτι δέ· 'οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύνάμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί· τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξι τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι, τῶν δὲ δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἶεσθαι ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι· καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰς καταλαβούσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα συμφορὰς διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐπεξέρχεται τοιάδε γράφων· 'τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη· μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆς δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον πρόσχημα τοῦ ἀνάνδρου, καὶ τὸ εἰς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν.' πολλὰ τοιαῦτά τις ἂν εὔροι δι' ὅλης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας λεγόμενα, ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦταδείγματος ἕνεκα εἰρησθαι.

Ἔχεις, ὦ φίλε Ἀμμαῖε, τὰ παρατηρήματα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἐξητασμένα πραγματείας, ὡς ἐπεζήτεις.

The Dual Text



Ruins of the University at Harran, an ancient city in Upper Mesopotamia, close to the site of the Battle of Carrhae, which took place in 53 BC — Dionysius cites the disastrous campaign of Crassus against the Parthians as occurring during his lifetime.

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by Earnest Cary

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of the extant eleven books of Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities*, alternating between the original Greek and Cary's English translation.

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BOOK I

[1] τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν λόγους ἥκιστα βουλόμενος ἀναγκάζομαι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ προειπεῖν, οὗτ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μέλλων πλεονάζειν ἐπαίνοις, οὓς ἐπαχθεῖς οἶδα φαινομένους τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οὗτε διαβολὰς καθ' ἐτέρων ἐγνωκῶς ποιεῖσθαι συγγραφέων, ὥσπερ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς ἀποδεικνύμενος, οἷς ἐχρησάμην ὅτε ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμησα τὴν πραγματείαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν ἀποδιδούς λόγον, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔλαβον τῶν γραφησομένων.

[1.1] Although it is much against my will to indulge in the explanatory statements usually given in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to prefix to this work some remarks concerning myself. In doing this it is neither my intention to dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be distasteful to the reader, nor have I the purpose of censuring other historians, as Anaximenes and Theopompus did in the prefaces to their histories but I shall only show the reasons that induced me to undertake this work and give an accounting of the sources from which I gained the knowledge of the things that I am going to relate.

[2] ἐπεισθὴν γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς προαιρουμένους μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καταλιπεῖν, ἃ μὴ συναφανισθήσεται [p. 2] τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς καθιδρῦσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντες ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀρχὴν φρονήσεως τε καὶ σοφίας οὔσαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας, ἔπειτα παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτηδεύουσας εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀφορμὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας.

[2] For I am convinced that all who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity as time shall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and particularly those who write histories, in which we have the right to assume that Truth, the source of both prudence and wisdom, is enshrined, ought, first of all, to make choice of noble and lofty subjects and such as will be of great utility to their readers, and then, with great care and pains, to provide themselves with the proper equipment for the treatment of their subject.

[3] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀδόξων πραγμάτων ἢ πονηρῶν ἢ μηδεμιᾶς σπουδῆς ἀξίῳ ἱστορικᾷ καταβαλλόμενοι πραγματείας, εἴτε τοῦ προελθεῖν εἰς γνῶσιν ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν ὅποιοιδήποτε ὀνόματος, εἴτε περιουσίαν ἀποδείξασθαι τῆς περὶ λόγους δυνάμεως βουλόμενοι, οὗτε τῆς γνώσεως ζηλοῦνται παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις οὗτε τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπαινοῦνται, δόξαν ἐγκαταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἱστορίας, ὅτι τοιοῦτους

ἐξήλωσαν αὐτοὶ βίου, οἷας ἐξέδωκαν τὰς γραφάς: ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ ἅπαντες νομίζουσιν εἰκόνας εἶναι τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς τοὺς λόγους.

[3] For those who base historical works upon deeds inglorious or evil or unworthy of serious study, either because they crave to come to the knowledge of men and to get a name of some sort or other, or because they desire to display the wealth of their rhetoric, are neither admired by posterity for their fame nor praised for their eloquence; rather, they leave this opinion in the minds of all who take up their histories, that they themselves admired lives which were of a piece with the writings they published, since it is a just and a general opinion that a man's words are the images of his mind.

[4] οἱ δὲ προαιρούμενοι μὲν τὰς κρατίστας ὑποθέσεις, εἰκῇ δὲ καὶ ῥαθύμως αὐτὰς συντιθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων, οὐδένᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἔπαινον κομίζονται: οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῦμεν αὐτοσχεδίου οὐδὲ ῥαθύμου εἶναι τὰς περὶ τε πόλεων ἐνδόξων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐν δυναστείᾳ γεγονότων ἀναγραφομένας ἱστορίας.

[4] Those, on the other hand, who, while making choice of the best subjects, are careless and indolent in compiling their narratives out of such reports as chance to come to their ears gain no praise by reason of that choice; for we do not deem it fitting that the histories of renowned cities and of men who have held supreme power should be written in an offhand or negligent manner.

[5] ταῦτα δὴ νομίσας ἀναγκαῖα [p. 3] καὶ πρῶτα θεωρήματα τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς εἶναι καὶ πολλὴν ποιησάμενος ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμέλειαν οὐτε παρελθεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον ἐβουλήθην, οὐτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ καταχωρίσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς πραγματείας.

[5] As I believe these considerations to be necessary and of the first importance to historians and as I have taken great care to observe them both, I have felt unwilling either to omit mention of them or to give it any other place than in the preface to my work.

[1] τὴν μὲν οὖν ὑπόθεσιν ὅτι καλὴν εἵληφα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ πολλοῖς ὠφέλιμον οὐ μακρῶν οἷμαι δεήσειν λόγων τοῖς γε δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχουσι τῆς κοινῆς ἱστορίας. εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιστήσας τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, ἔπειτα χωρὶς ἐκάστην σκοπῶν καὶ παρ' ἁλλήλας ἐξετάζων διαγνῶναι βουληθείη, τίς αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν τε μεγίστην ἐκτήσατο καὶ πράξεις ἀπεδείξατο λαμπροτάτας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους, μακρῷ δὴ τινι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἀπάσας ὑπερβεβλημένην ὄφεται τὰς πρὸ αὐτῆς μνημονευόμενας, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος τῶν πράξεων, ἃς οὕτω κεκόσμηκε λόγος οὐδεὶς ἀξίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ περιειληφότος αὐτὴν χρόνου μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας.

[2.1] That I have indeed made choice of a subject noble, lofty and useful to

many will not, I think, require any lengthy argument, at least for those who are not utterly unacquainted with universal history. For if anyone turns his attention to the successive supremacies both of cities and of nations, as accounts of them have been handed down from times past, and then, surveying them severally and comparing them together, wishes to determine which of them obtained the widest dominion and both in peace and war performed the most brilliant achievements, he will find that the supremacy of the Romans has far surpassed all those that are recorded from earlier times, not only in the extent of its dominion and in the splendor of its achievements — which no account has as yet worthily celebrated — but also in the length of time during which it has endured down to our day.

[2] ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴ παλαιὰ τις οὔσα καὶ εἰς τοὺς μυθικοὺς ἀναγομένη χρόνους ὀλίγου τινὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς Ἀσίας μέρους. ἡ δὲ Μηδικὴ καθελοῦσα τὴν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ μεῖζονα δυναστείαν περιβαλομένη χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης κατελύθη γενεᾶς. Πέρσαι δὲ οἱ [p. 4] Μήδους καταγωνισάμενοι τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης τελευτῶντες ἐκράτησαν, ἐπιχειρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις ἔθνεσιν οὐ πολλὰ ὑπηγάγοντο, χρόνον τε οὐ πολλῷ πλείονα διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἔμειναν ἐπὶ

[2] For the empire of the Assyrians, ancient as it was and running back to legendary times, held sway over only a small part of Asia. That of the Medes, after overthrowing the Assyrian empire and obtaining a still wider dominion, did not hold it long, but was overthrown in the fourth generation. The Persians, who conquered the Medes, did, indeed, finally become masters of almost all Asia; but when they attacked the nations of Europe also, they did not reduce many of them to submission, and they continued in power not much above two hundred years.

[3] τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἡ δὲ Μακεδονικὴ δυναστεία τὴν Περωῶν καθελοῦσα ἰσχύν μεγέθει μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπάσας ὑπερεβάλετο τὰς πρὸ αὐτῆς, χρόνον δὲ οὐδὲ αὕτη πολὺν ἤνθησεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἤρξατο φέρεσθαι. διασπασθεῖσα γὰρ εἰς πολλοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἄχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης ἰσχύσασα προελθεῖν γενεᾶς, ἀσθενῆς αὕτη δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐγένετο καὶ τελευτῶσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠφανίσθη.

[3] The Macedonian dominion, which overthrew the might of the Persians, did, in the extent of its sway, exceed all its predecessors, yet even it did not flourish long, but after Alexander's death began to decline; for it was immediately partitioned among many commanders from the time of the Diadochi, and although after their time it was able to go on to the second or third generation, yet it was weakened by its own dissensions and at the last destroyed by the Romans.

[4] καὶ οὐδὲ αὕτη μέντοι πᾶσαν ἐποίησατο γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ὑπῆκοον:

οὔτε γὰρ Λιβύης ὅτι μὴ τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ οὐ πολλῆς οὔσης ἐκράτησεν, οὔτε τὴν Εὐρώπην ὅλην ὑπηγάγετο, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν βορείων αὐτῆς μερῶν μέχρι Θράκης προῆλθε, τῶν δ' ἐσπερίων μέχρι τῆς Ἀδριανῆς κατέβη θαλάσσης.

[4] But even the Macedonian power did not subjugate every country and every sea; for it neither conquered Libya, with the exception of the small portion bordering on Egypt, nor subdued all Europe, but in the North advanced only as far as Thrace and in the West down to the Adriatic Sea.

[1] αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέσταται τῶν πρόσθεν ἡγεμονιῶν, ἃς παρειλήφαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας, τοσαύτην ἀκμὴν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν λαβοῦσαι κατελύθησαν: τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνικὰς δυνάμεις οὐκ ἄξιον αὐταῖς ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν, οὔτε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς οὔτε χρόνον ἐπιφανείας [p. 5]

[3.1] Thus we see that the most famous of the earlier supremacies of which history has given us any account, after attaining to so great vigour and might, were overthrown. As for the Greek powers, it is not fitting to compare them to those just mentioned, since they gained neither magnitude of empire nor duration of eminence equal to theirs.

[2] τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐκεῖναι λαβούσας. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γε αὐτῆς μόνον ἥρξαν τῆς παραλίου дуεῖν δέοντα ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀπάσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Εὐξείνου τε πόντου καὶ τοῦ Παμφυλίου πελάγους, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐθαλασσοκράτουν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κρατοῦντες Ἑλλάδος ἕως Μακεδονίας τὴν ἀρχὴν προὔβιβασαν, ἐπαύσθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οὐδὲ ὅλα τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες.

[2] For the Athenians ruled only the sea coast, during the space of sixty-eight years, nor did their sway extend even over all that, but only to the part between the Euxine and the Pamphylian seas, when their naval supremacy was at its height. The Lacedaemonians, when masters of the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece, advanced their rule as far as Macedonia, but were checked by the Thebans before they had held it quite thirty years.

[3] ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀπάσης μὲν ἄρχει γῆς ὅση μὴ ἀνέμβατός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖται, πάσης δὲ κρατεῖ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανίτιδος ὅση πλεῖσθαι μὴ ἀδύνατός ἐστι, πρώτη καὶ μόνη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος μνημονευομένων ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ὅρους ποιησαμένη τῆς δυναστείας: χρόνος τε αὐτῇ τοῦ κράτους οὐ βραχύς, ἀλλ' ὅσος οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε πόλεων οὔτε βασιλειῶν.

[3] But Rome rules every country that is not inaccessible or uninhabited, and she is mistress of every sea, not only of that which lies inside the Pillars of Hercules but also of the Ocean, except that part of it which is not navigable; she is the first and the only State recorded in all time that ever made the risings and the settings of the sun the boundaries of her dominion. Nor has her

supremacy been of short duration, but more lasting than that of any other commonwealth or kingdom.

[4] εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τὰ πλησίον ἔθην πολλὰ καὶ μάχιμα ὄντα προσήγετο καὶ προὔβαινε ἀεὶ πᾶν δουλουμένη τὸ ἀντίπαλον: ταῦτα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἔστιν εἰς ὑπάτους Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντα καὶ Πείσωνα Καλπούρνιον, οἱ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀπεδείχθησαν. [p. 6] ἐξ οὗ δὲ ὅλης ἐκράτησεν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐθάρρησεν ἀρχὴν προελθεῖν, ἐκβαλοῦσα μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης Καρχηδονίους, οἱ πλείστην ἔσχον ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ὑποχείριον δὲ λαβοῦσα Μακεδονίαν, ἣ

[4] For from the very beginning, immediately after her founding, she began to draw to herself the neighbouring nations, which were both numerous and warlike, and continually advanced, subjugating every rival. And it is now seven hundred and forty-five years from her foundation down to the consulship of Claudius Nero, consul for the second time, and of Calpurnius Piso, who were chosen in the one hundred and ninety-third Olympiad.

[5] τέως ἐδόκει μέγιστον ἰσχύειν κατὰ γῆν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντίπαλον ἔχουσα οὔτε βάρβαρον φῦλον οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν γενεὰν ἐβδόμην ἤδη τὴν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ διαμένει παντὸς ἀρχουσα τόπου: ἔθνος δὲ οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔστιν, ὃ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡγεμονίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ

[5] From the time that she mastered the whole of Italy she was emboldened to aspire to govern all mankind, and after driving from off the sea the Carthaginians, whose maritime strength was superior to that of all others, and subduing Macedonia, which until then was reputed to be the most powerful nation on land, she no longer had as rival any nation either barbarian or Greek; and it is now in my day already the seventh generation that she has continued to hold sway over every region of the world, and there is no nation, as I may say, that disputes her universal dominion or protests against being ruled by her.

[6] ἄρχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν διαφέρεται. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν οὔτε τὴν ἐλαχίστην τῶν ὑποθέσεων προήρημαι, καθάπερ ἔφην, οὔτε περὶ φαύλας καὶ ἀσήμους πράξεις ἔγνωκα διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τε πόλεως γράφω τῆς περιφανεστάτης καὶ περὶ πράξεων ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις ἐτέρας ἐπιδειξασθαι λαμπροτέρας, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ,τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν.

[6] However, to prove my statement that I have neither made choice of the most trivial of subjects nor proposed to treat of mean and insignificant deeds, but am undertaking to write not only about the most illustrious city but also about brilliant achievements to whose like no man could point, I know not what more I need say.

[1] ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἄνευ λογισμοῦ καὶ προνοίας ἔμφρονος ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ αὐτῆς ἔτραπόμην, ἀλλ' ἔχων εὐλογίστους ἀποδοῦναι τῆς προαιρέσεως αἰτίας, ὀλίγα βούλομαι προειπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τινες ἐπιτιμήσωσί μοι τῶν πρὸς ἅπαντα φιλαίτιων, οὐδὲν πω τῶν μελλόντων δηλοῦσθαι προακηκοότες, ὅτι τῆς αἰοιδίου γενομένης καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως ἀδόξους καὶ πάνυ ταπεινὰς τὰς πρώτας ἀφορμὰς λαβούσης καὶ οὐκ ἀξίας ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς, οὐ πολλὰς δὲ γενεαῖς πρότερον εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν ἀφигμένης, [p. 7] ἐξ οὗ τὰς τε Μακεδονικὰς καθεῖλε δυναστείας καὶ τοὺς Φοινικικοὺς κατῶρθωσε πολέμους, ἐξόν μοι τῶν ἐνδόξων τινὰ λαβεῖν αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεων, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν ἐπιφανὲς ἀρχαιολογίαν ἀπέκλινα.

[4.1] But before I proceed, I desire to show in a few words that it is not without design and mature premeditation that I have turned to the early part of Rome's history, but that I have well-considered reasons to give for my choice, to forestall the censure of those who, fond of finding fault with everything and not as yet having heard of any of the matters which I am about to make known, may blame me because, in spite of the fact that this city, grown so famous in our days, had very humble and inglorious beginnings, unworthy of historical record, and that it was but a few generations ago, that is, since her overthrow of the Macedonian powers and her success in the Punic wars, that she arrived at distinction and glory, nevertheless, when I was at liberty to choose one of the famous periods in her history for my theme, I turned aside to one so barren of distinction as her antiquarian lore.

[2] ἔτι γὰρ ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσιν ἢ παλαιὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἱστορία, καὶ δόξατινές οὐκ ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξηπατήκασιν, ὡς ἀνεστίους μὲν τινὰς καὶ πλάνητας καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτους ἐλευθέρους οἰκιστὰς εὐχομένης, οὐ δι' εὐσέβειαν δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίαν σὺν χρόνῳ παρελθούσης, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοματισμόν τινα καὶ τύχην ἄδικον εἰκῇ δωρουμένην τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀνεπιτηδαιοτάτοις: καὶ οἱ γε κακοηθέστεροι κατηγορεῖν εἰώθασιν τῆς τύχης κατὰ τὸ φανερόν ὡς βαρβάρων τοῖς πονηροτάτοις τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποριζομένης ἀγαθὰ.

[2] For to this day almost all the Greeks are ignorant of the early history of Rome and the great majority of them have been imposed upon by sundry false opinions grounded upon stories which chance has brought to their ears and led to believe that, having come upon various vagabonds without house or home and barbarians, and even those not free men, as her founders, she in the course of time arrived at world domination, and this not through reverence for the gods and justice and every other virtue, but through some chance and the injustice of Fortune, which inconsiderately showers her greatest favours upon the most undeserving. And indeed the more malicious are wont to rail openly at Fortune for freely bestowing on the basest of barbarians the blessings of the

Greeks.

[3] καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν, ὅπου γε καὶ τῶν συγγραφέων τινὲς ἐτόλμησαν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ταῦτα γράψαντες καταλιπεῖν, βασιλεῦσι βαρβάροις μισοῦσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷς δουλεύοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡδονὰς ὁμιλοῦντες διετέλεσεν, οὔτε δικαίας οὔτε ἀληθεῖς ἱστορίας χαριζόμενοι; [p. 8]

[3] And yet why should I mention men at large, when even some historians have dared to express such views in the writing they have left, taking this method of humouring barbarian kings who detested Rome's supremacy, — princes to whom they were ever servilely devoted and with whom they associated as flatterers, — by presenting them with “histories” which were neither just nor true?

[1] ταύτας δὴ τὰς πεπλανημένας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπολήψεις ἐξελέσθαι τῆς διανοίας τῶν πολλῶν προαιρούμενος καὶ ἀντικατασκευάσαι τὰς ἀληθεῖς, περὶ μὲν τῶν οἰκισάντων τὴν πόλιν, οἵτινες ἦσαν καὶ κατὰ τινὰς ἕκαστοι καιροὺς συνῆλθον καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὰς πατρίους οἰκῆσεις ἐξέλιπον, ἐν ταύτῃ δηλώσω τῇ γραφῇ, δι' ἧς Ἑλληνὰς τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐπιδείξειν ὑπισχοῦμαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἦ

[5.1] In order, therefore, to remove these erroneous impressions, as I have called them, from the minds of many and to substitute true ones in their room, I shall in this Book show who the founders of the city were, at what periods the various groups came together and through what turns of fortune they left their native countries.

[2] φαυλοτάτων ἔθνῶν συνεληλυθότας. περὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων, ἃς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν εὐθέως ἀπεδείξαντο, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθον οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς, ἀπὸ τῆς μετὰ ταύτην ἀρξάμενος ἀναγραφῆς ἀφηγησόμεαι, παραλιπὼν οὐδὲν ὅση μοι δύναμις τῶν ἀξίων ἱστορίας, ἵνα τοῖς γε μαθοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἃ προσήκει περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῇδε παραστῇ φρονεῖν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγρίως καὶ δυσμενῶς διάκεινται πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ μῆτε ἄχθεσθαι τῇ ὑποτάξει κατὰ τὸ εἶκός γενομένη (φύσεως γάρ δὴ νόμος ἅπασιν κοινός, ὃν οὐδεὶς καταλύσει χρόνος, ἄρχειν αἰεὶ τῶν ἡττόνων τοὺς κρείττονας· μήτε κατηγορεῖν τῆς τύχης, ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖω πόλει τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον προῖκα δωρησαμένης;

[2] By this means I engage to prove that they were Greeks and came together from nations not the smallest nor least considerable. And beginning with the next Book I shall tell of the deeds they performed immediately after their founding of the city and of the customs and institutions by virtue of which their descendants advanced to so great dominion; and, so far as I am able, I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded in history, to the end that I may

instil in the minds of those who shall then be informed of the truth the fitting conception of this city, — unless they have already assumed an utterly violent and hostile attitude toward it, — and also that they may neither feel indignation at their present subjection, which is grounded on reason (for by an universal law of Nature, which time cannot destroy, it is ordained that superiors shall ever govern their inferiors), nor rail at Fortune for having wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving city a supremacy so great and already of so long continuance,

[3] μαθοῦσι γε δὴ παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι μυρίας ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν, [p. 9] ὧν οὐτ' εὐσεβεστέρους οὔτε δικαιότερους οὔτε σωφροσύνη πλείονι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρησαμένους οὐδὲ γε τὰ πολέμια κρείττους ἀγωνιστὰς οὐδεμία πόλις ἤνεγκεν οὔτε Ἑλλὰς οὔτε βάρβαρος, εἰ δὴ ἀπέσται τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐπιφθονον: ἔχει γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἢ τῶν παραδόξων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ὑπόσχεσις.

[3] particularly when they shall have learned from my history that Rome from the very beginning, immediately after its founding, produced infinite examples of virtue in men whose superiors, whether for piety or for justice or for life-long self-control or for warlike valour, no city, either Greek or barbarian, has ever produced. This, I say, is what I hope to accomplish, if my readers will but lay aside all resentment; for some such feeling is aroused by a promise of things which run counter to received opinion or excite wonder.

[4] οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες οἱ τοσοῦτο περιθέντες αὐτῇ δυναστείας μέγεθος ἀγνοοῦνται πρὸς Ἑλλήνων, οὐ τυχόντες ἀξιολόγου συγγραφῆς: οὐδεμία γὰρ ἀκριβὴς ἐξελέλυθε περὶ αὐτῶν Ἑλληνὶς ἱστορία μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, ὅτι μὴ κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιτομαὶ πάνυ βραχεῖαι,

[4] And it is a fact that all those Romans who bestowed upon their country so great a dominion are unknown to the Greeks for want of a competent historian. For no accurate history of the Romans written in Greek language has hitherto appeared, but only very brief and summary epitomes.

[1] πρώτου μὲν, ὅσα κάμει εἰδέναι, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐπιδραμόντος Ἱερωνόμου τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ συγγραφῆς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων πραγματείᾳ: ἔπειτα Τιμαίου τοῦ Σικελιώτου τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἱστορίαις ἀφηγησαμένου, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν Ἑπειρώτην πολέμους εἰς ἰδίαν καταχωρίσαντος πραγματείας: ἅμα δὲ τοῦτοις Ἀντιγόνου τε καὶ Πολυβίου καὶ Σιληνοῦ καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπιβαλόντων, ὧν ἕκαστος ὀλίγα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς αὐτῷ διεσποδασμένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων συνθεῖς ἀνέγραψεν.

[6.1] The first historian, so far as I am aware, to touch upon the early period of the Romans was Hieronymus of Cardia, in his work on the Epigoni. After him

Timaeus of Sicily related the beginnings of their history in his general history and treated in a separate work the wars with Pyrrhus of Epirus. Besides these, Antigonus, Polybius, Silenus and innumerable other authors devoted themselves to the same themes, though in different ways, each of them recording some few things compiled without accurate investigation on his own part but from reports which chance had brought to his ears.

[2] ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτοις [p. 10] καὶ οὐδὲν διαφόρους ἐξέδωκαν ἱστορίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα τῆς πόλεως Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ συνέγραψαν, ὧν εἰσι πρεσβύτατοι Κόιντος τε Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Κίγκιος, ἀμφοτέροι κατὰ τοὺς Φοινικικοὺς ἀκμάσαντες πολέμους. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκάτερος, οἷς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔργοις παρεγένετο, διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψε, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖα τὰ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως γενόμενα κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπέδραμεν.

[2] Like to these in all respects are the histories of those Romans, also, who related in Greek the early achievements of the city; the oldest of these writers are Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cincius, who both flourished during the Punic wars. Each of these men related the events at which he himself had been present with great exactness, as being well acquainted with them, but touched only in a summary way upon the early events that followed the founding of the city.

[3] διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας ἔδοξέ μοι μὴ παρελθεῖν καλὴν ἱστορίαν ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀμνημόνευτον, ἐξ ἧς ἀκριβῶς γραφείσης συμβήσεται τὰ κράτιστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα τῶν ἔργων: τοῖς μὲν ἐκπεπληρωκόσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν μοῖραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς δόξης αἰωνίου τυχεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἐπαινέισθαι, ἃ ποιεῖ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι τῇ θεῇ καὶ μὴ συναποθνήσκειν αὐτῆς τὰ ἔργα τοῖς σώμασι:

[3] For these reasons, therefore, I have determined not to pass over a noble period of history which the older writers left untouched, a period, moreover, the accurate portrayal of which will lead to the following most excellent and just results: In the first place, the brave men who have fulfilled their destiny will gain immortal glory and be extolled by posterity, which things render human nature like upon the divine and prevent men's deeds from perishing together with their bodies.

[4] τοῖς δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἰσοθέων ἀνδρῶν νῦν τε οἷσι καὶ ὕστερον ἐσομένοις μὴ τὸν ἡδιστόν τε καὶ ῥᾶστον αἰρεῖσθαι τῶν βίων, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενέστατον καὶ φιλοτιμότατον, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τοὺς εἰληφότας καλὰς τὰς πρώτας ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἀφορμὰς μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς προσήκει φρονεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ἐπιτηδεύειν τῶν προγόνων:

[4] And again, both the present and future descendants of those godlike men will choose, not the pleasantest and easiest of lives, but rather the noblest and

most ambitious, when they consider that all who are sprung from an illustrious origin ought to set a high value on themselves and indulge in no pursuit unworthy of their ancestors.

[5] ἔμοι δὲ, ὃς οὐχὶ κολακείας χάριν ἐπὶ ταύτην [p. 11] ἀπέκλινα τὴν πραγματείαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ δικαίου προνοοῦμενος, ὦν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, ὅτι χρηστὴ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ φιλοθεώρους τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων: ἔπειτα χαριστηρίους ἀμοιβάς, ἃς ἔμοι δύναμις ἦν, ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, παιδείας τε μεμνημένῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὅσων ἀπέλαυσα διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ.

[5] And I, who have not turned aside to this work for the sake of flattery, but out of a regard for truth and justice, which ought to be the aim of every history, shall have an opportunity, in the first place, of expressing my attitude of goodwill toward all good men and toward all who take pleasure in the contemplation of great and noble deeds; and, in the second place, of making the most grateful return that I may to the city and other blessings I have enjoyed during my residence in it.

[1] ἀποδεδωκὼς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς προαιρέσεως λόγον ἔτι βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν εἰπεῖν, αἷς ἐχρησάμην ὅτ' ἔμελλον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ γραφῇ: ἴσως γὰρ οἱ προανεγνωκότες Ἱερώνυμον ἢ Τιμαίον ἢ Πολύβιον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ συγγραφέων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐποίησάμην λόγον ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὡς ἐπισευσρκότων τὴν γραφήν, πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφομένων οὐχ εὐρηκότες παρ' ἐκείνοις κείμενα σχεδιάζειν υπολήφονται με καὶ πόθεν ἡ τούτων γνῶσις εἰς ἐμὲ παραγέγονεν ἀξιῶσουσι μαθεῖν. ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοιαύτη δόξα παραστῇ τισι περὶ ἐμοῦ, βέλτιον ἅφ' ὧν ὠρμήθην λόγων τε καὶ

[7.1] Having thus given the reason for my choice of subject, I wish now to say something concerning the sources I used while preparing for my task. For it is possible that those who have already read Hieronymus, Timaeus, Polybius, or any of the other historians whom I just now mentioned as having slurred over their work, since they will not have found in those authors many things mentioned by me, will suspect me of inventing them and will demand to know how I came by the knowledge of these particulars. Lest anyone, therefore, should entertain such an opinion of me, it is best that I should state in advance what narratives and records I have used as sources.

[2] ὑπομνηματισμῶν προειπεῖν. ἐγὼ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μεσοῦσης, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος γενόμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίψας, διᾶλεκτόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ γραμμάτων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων [p. 12] λαβὼν ἐπιστήμην, ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην διετέλουν πραγματευόμενος.

[2] I arrived in Italy at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war, in the middle of the one hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad. and having from that time to this present day, a period of twenty-two years, lived at Rome, learned the language of the Romans and acquainted myself with their writings, I have devoted myself during all that time to matters bearing upon my subject.

[3] καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν λογιωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἦλθον, διδασχῇ παραλαβὼν, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναλεξάμενος, ἃς οἱ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαινοῦμενοι Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν Πόρκιος τε Κάτων καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Οὐαλέριος ὁ Ἀντιεὺς καὶ Λικίνιος Μάκερ Αἴλιοι τε καὶ Γέλλιοι καὶ Καλπούρνιοι καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὀρμώμενος τῶν πραγματειῶν εἰσὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἐοικυῖαί, τότε ἐπεχείρησα τῇ γραφῇ.

[3] Some information I received orally from men of the greatest learning, with whom I associated; and the rest I gathered from histories written by the approved Roman authors — Porcius Cato, Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the aelii, Gellii and Calpurnii, and many others of note; with these works, which are like the Greek annalistic accounts, as a basis, I set about the writing of my history.

[4] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ διείλεγμαί. λοιπὸν ἔτι δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῆς προειπεῖν, τίσι τε αὐτὴν περιλαμβάνω χρόνοις καὶ περὶ τίνων ποιοῦμαι πραγμάτων τὴν διήγησιν καὶ ποταπὸν ἀποδίδωμι τὸ σχῆμα τῇ πραγματείᾳ.

[4] So much, then, concerning myself. But it yet remains for me to say something also concerning the history itself — to what periods I limit it, what subjects I describe, and what form I give to the work.

[1] ἄρχομαι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιωτάτων μύθων, οὓς παρέλιπον οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γενόμενοι συγγραφεῖς χαλεποὺς ὄντας ἄνευ πραγματείας μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι:

[8.1] I begin my history, then, with the most ancient legends, which the historians before me have omitted as a subject difficult to be cleared up with diligent study;

[2] καταβιβάζω δὲ τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πρώτου Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου τὴν γενομένην ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ εἰκοστῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάσιν. ἀφηγοῦμαι δὲ τοὺς τε ὀθνεῖους πολέμους τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντας, ὅσους ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ τὰς ἐμφυλίους στάσεις [p. 13] ὅποσας ἐστασίασεν, ἐξ οἷων αἰτιῶν ἐγένοντο καὶ δι' οἷων τρόπων τε καὶ λόγων κατελύθησαν: πολιτειῶν τε ἰδέας διέξειμι πάσας ὅσαις ἐχρήσατο βασιλευομένη τε καὶ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν μονάρχων, καὶ τίς ἦν αὐτῶν ἐκάστης ὁ κόσμος: ἔθνη τε τὰ κράτιστα καὶ νόμους τοὺς

ἐπιφανεστάτους διηγοῦμαι καὶ συλλήβδην ὅλον ἀποδείκνυμι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον τῆς πόλεως.

[2] and I bring the narrative down to the beginning of the First Punic War, which fell in the third year of the one hundred and twenty-eighth Olympiad. I relate all the foreign wars that the city waged during that period and all the internal seditions with which she was agitated, showing from what causes they sprang and by what methods and by what arguments they were brought to an end. I give an account also of all the forms of government Rome used, both during the monarchy and after its overthrow, and show what was the character of each. I describe the best customs and the most remarkable laws; and, in short, I show the whole life of the ancient Romans.

[3] σχῆμα δὲ ἀποδίδωμι τῇ πραγματείᾳ οὗθ' ὅποῖον οἱ τοὺς πολέμους μόνους ἀναγράψαντες ἀποδεδώκασιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις οὗθ' ὅποῖον οἱ τὰς πολιτείας αὐτὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν διηγησάμενοι οὔτε ταῖς χρονικαῖς παραπλήσιον, ἅς ἐξέδωκαν οἱ τὰς Ἀττικῆς πραγματευσάμενοι: μονοειδεῖς γὰρ ἔκειναι τε καὶ ταχὺ προσιστάμεναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν: ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπάσης ἰδέας μικτὸν ἐναγωνίου τε καὶ θεωρητικῆς καὶ ἡδύαις, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς διατρίβουσι λόγους καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐσπουδακόσι θεωρίαν καὶ εἴ τι σιν ἀοχλήτου δεήσει διαγωγῆς ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ἀναγνώσμασιν,

[3] As to the form I give this work, it does not resemble that which the authors who make wars alone their subject have given to their histories, nor that which others who treat of the several forms of government by themselves have adopted, nor is it like the annalistic accounts which the authors of *Atthides* have published (for these are monotonous and soon grow tedious to the reader), but it is a combination of every kind, forensic, speculative and narrative, to the intent that it may afford satisfaction both to those who occupy themselves with political debates and to those who are devoted to philosophical speculations, as well as to any who may desire mere undisturbed entertainment in their reading of history.

[4] ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσα φαίνεται. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἱστορία περὶ τοιούτων τε γενήσεται πραγμάτων καὶ τοιούτου τεύξετα σχήματος: ὁ δὲ συντάξας αὐτὴν Διονύσιος εἰμι Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασεύς: ἄρχομαι δ' ἐνθένδε.

[4] Such things, therefore, will be the subjects of my history and such will be its form. I, the author, am Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the son of Alexander. And at this point I begin.

[1] τὴν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀπάσης [p. 14] πόλιν, ἣν νῦν κατοικοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, παλαιότατοι τῶν μνημονευομένων λέγονται κατασχεῖν βάρβαροι Σικελιοί, ἔθνος αὐθιγενές: τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων οὗθ' ὥς κατεῖχετο πρὸς ἑτέρων οὗθ' ὥς ἔρημος ἦν οὐδεὶς ἔχει βεβαίως εἰπεῖν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτὴν παραλαμβάνουσι πολέμῳ μακρῷ τοὺς ἔχοντας

ἀφελόμενοι:

[9.1] This city, mistress of the whole earth and sea, which the Romans now inhabit, is said to have had as its earliest occupants the barbarian Sicels, a native race. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited, none can certainly say. But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, having taken it from the occupants after a long war.

[2] οἱ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὥκουν ἄνευ τειχῶν κωμηδὸν καὶ σποράδες, ἐπεὶ δὲ Πελασγοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀναμιχθέντες αὐτοῖς συνήραντο τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοτέρμονας πολέμου, τὸ Σικελικὸν γένος ἀπαναστήσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς πόλεις περιέβαλοντο συχνὰς καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὑπήκοον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι πᾶσαν ὄσσην ὀρίζουσι ποταμοὶ δύο Λῆρις καὶ Τέβερις: οἱ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς λαμβάνουσι τῆς ῥύσεως ἐκ τῆς ὑπωρείας τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων, ὅφ' ὧν δίχα τέμνεται πᾶσα ἐπὶ μῆκος ἡ Ἰταλία, διαστάντες δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὀκτακόσια που στάδι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς τὸ Τυρρηρικὸν ἐξερεύγονται πέλαγος, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν βορείων μερῶν ὁ Τέβερις Ὠστίας πόλεως πλησίον ἐκδιδούς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ κλίματος ὁ Λῆρις Μίντουρναν παραμειβόμενος:

[2] These people had previously lived on the mountains in unwalled villages and scattered groups; but when the Pelasgians, with whom some other Greeks had united, assisted them in the war against their neighbours, they drove the Sicels out of this place, walled in many towns, and contrived to subjugate all the country that lies between the two rivers, the Liris and the Tiber. These rivers spring from the foot of the Apennine mountains, the range by which all Italy is divided into two parts throughout its length, and at points about eight hundred stades from one another discharge themselves into the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Tiber to the north, near the city of Ostia, and the Liris to the south, as it flows by Minturnae, both these cities being Roman colonies.

[3] Ῥωμαίων δὲ εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις ἀμφοτέραι ἄποικοι. καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίσεως οὐκέτι πρὸς ἐτέρων ἐξελαθέντες, ὀνομάτων ἀλλαγᾷς διτταῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι [p. 15] προσαγορευόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων ὀνομασίαν ἔτι σώζοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λατίνου βασιλέως, ὃς κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐδυνάστευε, Λατῖνοι ἀρξάμενοι καλεῖσθαι.

[3] And these people remained in this same place of abode, both never afterwards driven out by any others; but, although they continued to be one and the same people, their name was twice changed. Till the time of the Trojan war they preserved their ancient name of Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, who reigned at the time of that war, they began to be called Latins,

[4] Ρωμύλου δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν οἰκίσαντος ἑκκαίδεκα γενεαῖς τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον, ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν ὀνομασίαν μεταλαμβάνοντες, ἔθνος τε μέγιστον ἐξ ἐλαχίστου γενέσθαι σὺν χρόνῳ παρεσκεύασαν καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξ ἀδηλοτάτου, τῶν τε δεομένων οἰκίσεως παρὰ σφίσι φιλανθρώπῳ ὑποδοχῇ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου ἐν πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσι, δούλων τε ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖεν ἀστοῖς εἶναι συγχωρήσει, τύχης τε ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιᾶς εἰ μέλλοι τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελεῖν ἀπαξιώσει: ὑπὲρ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κόσμῳ τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὃν ἐκ πολλῶν κατεστήσαντο παθημάτων, ἐκ παντὸς καιροῦ λαμβάνοντές τι χρήσιμον.

[4] and when Romulus founded the city named after himself sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they took the name which they now bear. And in the course of time they contrived to raise themselves from the smallest nation to the greatest and from the most obscure to the most illustrious, not only by their humane reception of those who sought a home among them, but also by sharing the rights of citizenship with all who had been conquered by them in war after a brave resistance, by permitting all the slaves, too, who were manumitted among them to become citizens, and by disdaining no condition of men from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage, but above everything else by their form of government, which they fashioned out of their many experiences, always extracting something useful from every occasion.

[1] τοὺς δὲ Ἀβοριγῖνας, ἀφ' ὧν ἄρχει Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος, οἱ μὲν αὐτόχθονας Ἰταλίας, γένος αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γενόμενον ἀποφαίνουσιν: Ἰταλίαν δὲ καλῶ τὴν ἀκτὴν σύμπασαν, ὅσῃν Ἰονίος τε κόλπος καὶ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα καὶ τρίται περιέχουσιν ἐκ γῆς Ἄλλεϊς. καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν αὐτοῖς τὴν πρώτην φασὶ τεθῆναι [p. 16] διὰ τὸ γενέσεως τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἄρξαι, ὥσπερ ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν γενεάρχας ἢ πρωτογόνους.

[10.1] There are some who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are originally descended, were natives of Italy, a stock which came into being spontaneously (I call Italy all that peninsula which is bounded by the Ionian Gulf and the Tyrrhenian Sea and, thirdly, by the Alps on the landward side); and these authors say that they were first called Aborigines because they were the founders of the families of their descendants, or, as we should call them, genearchai or prôtogonoi.

[2] ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν ἀνεστίους τινὰς καὶ πλάνητας ἐκ πολλῶν συνελθόντας χωρίων κατὰ δαίμονα περιτυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις αὐτόθι καὶ τὴν οἰκῆσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι καταστήσασθαι, ζῆν δὲ ἀπὸ ληστείας καὶ νομῆς. παραλλάττουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ταῖς τύχαις οἰκειότερον, Ἀβερριγῖνας λέγοντες, ὥστε δηλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς πλάνητας. κινδυνεύει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτους μηδὲν διαφέρειν τὸ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων φῦλον ὧν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ Λελέγων: τοῖς γὰρ ἀνεστίοις καὶ μιγάσι καὶ μηδεμίαν γῆν βεβαίως ὡς πατρίδα κατοικοῦσι ταύτην ἐπετίθεντο τὴν ὀνομασίαν ὡς τὰ

[2] Others claim that certain vagabonds without house or home, coming together out of many places, met one another there by chance and took up their abode in the fastnesses, living by robbery and grazing their herds. And these writers change their name, also, to one more suitable to their condition, calling them Aberrigenes, to show that they were wanderers; indeed, according to these, the race of the Aborigines would seem to be no different from those the ancients called Leleges; for this is the name they generally gave to the homeless and mixed peoples who had no fixed abode which they could call their country.

[3] πολλά. ἄλλοι δὲ Λιγύων ἀποίκους μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι τῶν ὁμορουντῶν Ὀμβρικοῖς· οἱ γὰρ Λίγυες οἰκοῦσι μὲν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλαχθί, νέμονται δὲ τινα καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς. ὁποτέρᾳ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστί γῆ πατρὶς, ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν προσωτέρω σαφὲς οὐδέν.

[3] Still others have a story to the effect that they were colonists sent out by those Ligurians who are neighbours of the Umbrians. For the Ligurians inhabit not only many parts of Italy but some parts of Gaul as well, but which of these lands is their native country is not known, since nothing certain is said of them further.

[1] οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων, ἐν οἷς ἐστί Πόρκιος τε Κάτων ὁ τᾶς γενεαλογίας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐπιμελέστατα συναγαγὼν καὶ Γάιος Σεμπρώνιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, Ἕλληνας αὐτοὺς εἶναι λέγουσι τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ ποτὲ οἰκησάντων, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρότερον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ μεταναστάντας. οὐκέτι μέντοι διορίζουσιν [p. 17] οὔτε φῦλον Ἑλληνικὸν οὔ μετεῖχον, οὔτε πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἀπανέστησαν, οὔτε χρόνον οὔθ' ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας οὔθ' ὁποίαις τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀπέλιπον· Ἑλληνικῶς τε μύθῳ χρησάμενοι οὐδένα τῶν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γραφάντων βεβαιωτὴν παρέσχοντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀληθὲς ὅπως ποτ' ἔχει, ἄδηλον· εἰ δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τούτων λόγος ὑγίης, οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρου τινὸς εἴησαν ἀποικοὶ γένους ἢ τοῦ καλουμένου νῦν Ἀρκαδικοῦ.

[11.1] But the most learned of the Roman historians, among whom is Porcius Cato, who compiled with the greatest care the “origins” of the Italian cities, Gaius Sempronius and a great many others, say that they were Greeks, part of those who once dwelt in Achaia, and that they migrated many generations before the Trojan war. But they do not go on to indicate either the Greek tribe to which they belonged or the city from which they removed, or the date or the leader of the colony, or as the result of what turns of fortune they left their mother country; and although they are following a Greek legend, they have cited no Greek historian as their authority. It is uncertain, therefore, what the truth of the matter is. But if what they say is true, the Aborigines can be a colony of no other people but of those who are now called Arcadians;

[2] πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι περαιωθέντες τὸν Ἴονιον κόλπον ὤκησαν

Ἰταλίαν, ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς Οἰνώτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος· ἦν δὲ πέμπτος ἀπὸ τε Αἰζείου καὶ Φορωνέως τῶν πρώτων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ δυναστευσάντων. Φορωνέως μὲν γὰρ Νιόβη γίνεται· ταύτης δὲ υἱὸς καὶ Διὸς, ὡς λέγεται, Πελασγός· Αἰζείου δὲ υἱὸς Λυκάων· τούτου δὲ Δηιάνειρα θυγάτηρ· ἐκ δὲ Δηιανείρας καὶ Πελασγοῦ Λυκάων ἕτερος· τούτου δὲ Οἰνωτρος, ἑπτακαίδεκα γενεαῖς πρότερον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσάντων. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν Ἕλληνες εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οὗτος ἦν.

[2] for these were the first of all the Greeks to cross the Ionian Gulf, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, and to settle in Italy. This Oenotrus was the fifth from Aezeius and Phoroneus, who were the first kings in the Peloponnesus. For Niobê was the daughter of Phoroneus, and Pelasgus was the son of Niobê and Zeus, it is said; Lycaon was the son of Aezeius and Deianira was the daughter of Lycaon; Deianira and Pelasgus were the parents of another Lycaon, whose son Oenotrus was born seventeen generations before the Trojan expedition. This, then, was the time when the Greeks sent the colony into Italy.

[3] ἀπανέστη δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Οἰνωτρος οὐκ ἀρκούμενος τῇ μοίρᾳ· δύο γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι παιδῶν Λυκάονι γενομένων εἰς τοσοῦτους ἔδει κλήρους νεμηθῆναι τὴν Ἀρκάδων χώραν. ταύτης μὲν δὴ τῆς αἰτίας ἕνεκα Πελοπόννησον Οἰνωτρος ἐκλιπὼν καὶ κατασκευασάμενος ναυτικὸν διαίρει τὸν Ἴονιον πόντον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ [p. 18] Πευκέτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἷς. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ τε οἴκειου λαοῦ συχνοί, πολυάνθρωπον γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο λέγεται κατ' ἀρχὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι χώραν εἶχον ἐλάττω τῆς ἱκανῆς.

[3] Oenotrus left Greece because he was dissatisfied with his portion of his father's land; for, as Lycaon had twenty-two sons, it was necessary to divide Arcadia into as many shares. For this reason Oenotrus left the Peloponnesus, prepared a fleet, and crossed the Ionian Gulf with Peucetius, one of his brothers. They were accompanied by many of their own people — for this nation is said to have been very populous in early times — and by as many other Greeks as had less land than was sufficient for them.

[4] Πευκέτιος μὲν οὖν, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑπὲρ ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας ἐκβιάσας τὸν λεῶν αὐτοῦ καθιδρύεται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκοῦντες Πευκέτιοι ἐκλήθησαν. Οἰνωτρος δὲ τὴν πλειὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ἀφικνεῖται κόλπον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων μερῶν παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀναχεόμενον, ὃς τότε μὲν Αὐσόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν προσοικούντων Αὐσόνων ἐλέγετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ θαλασσοκράτορες ἐγένοντο, μετέλαβεν ἦν ἔχει νῦν προσηγορίαν.

[4] Peucetius landed his people above the Iapygian Promontory, which was the first part of Italy they made, and settled there; and from him the inhabitants of this region were called Peucetians. But Oenotrus with the greater part of the

expedition came into the other sea that washes the western regions along the coast of Italy; it was then called the Ausonian Sea, from the Ausonians who dwelt beside it, but after the Tyrrhenians became masters at sea its name was changed to that which it now bears.

[1] εὐρὺν δὲ χώραν πολλήν μὲν εἰς νομάς, πολλήν δὲ εἰς ἀρότους εὖθετον, ἔρημον δὲ τὴν πλείστην καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην πολυάνθρωπον, ἀνακαθήρας τὸ βάρβαρον ἐκ μέρους τινὸς αὐτῆς ὤκισε πόλεις μικρὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὅσπερ ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος οἰκήσεως συνήθης. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἢ τε χώρα πᾶσα πολλή οὔσα ὅσην κατέσχευεν Οἰνωτρία, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ὅσων ἦρξεν Οἰνωτροί, τρίτην μεταλαβόντες ὀνομασίαν ταύτην. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Αἰζειοῦ [p. 19] βασιλεύοντος Αἰζειοὶ ἐλέγοντο, Λυκάονος δὲ παραλαβόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου αὖθις Λυκάονες ὠνομάσθησαν, Οἰνώτρου δὲ κομίσαντος αὐτοῦς εἰς Ἰταλίαν Οἰνωτροί χρόνον τινὰ ἐκλήθησαν.

[12.1] And finding there much land suitable for pasturage and much for tillage, but for the most part unoccupied, and even that which was inhabited not thickly populated, he cleared some of it of the barbarians and built small towns contiguous to one another on the mountains, which was the customary manner of habitation in use among the ancients. And all the land he occupied, which was very extensive, was called Oenotria, and all the people under his command Oenotrians, which was the third name they had borne. For in the reign of Aezeius they were called Aezeians, when Lycaon succeeded to the rule, Lycaonians, and after Oenotrus led them into Italy they were for a while called Oenotrians.

[2] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ δράματι: πεποιεῖται γὰρ αὐτῷ Δημήτηρ διδάσκουσα τὸν Τριπτόλεμον, ὅσην χώραν ἀναγκασθήσεται σπεύρων τοῖς δοθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς καρποῖς διεξελθεῖν: μνησθεῖσα δὲ τῆς ἐψῶν πρῶτον Ἰταλίας, ἣ ἐστὶν ἀπ' ἄκρας Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ Σικελικοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀντικρὺ Ἀψαμένη Σικελίας, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον Ἰταλίαν αὖθις ἀναστρέφει καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν παράλιον ταύτην ἐθνῶν διεξέρχεται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνώτρων οἰκήσεως ποιησαμένη. ἀπόχρη δὲ ταῦτα μόνον λεχθέντα τῶν ἱαμβείων, ἐν οἷς φησι:

τὰ δ' ἐξόπισθε, χειρὸς εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ,

Οἰνωτρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Τυρρηνικὸς

κόλπος Λιγυστική τε γῆ σε δέξεται.

[2] What I say is supported by the testimony of Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama entitled *Triptolemus*; for he there represents Demeter as informing Triptolemus how large a tract of land he would have to travel over while sowing it with the seeds she had given him. For, after first referring to the

eastern part of Italy, which reaches from the Iapygian Promontory to the Sicilian Strait, and then touching upon Sicily on the opposite side, she returns again to the western part of Italy and enumerates the most important nations that inhabit this coast, beginning with the settlement of the Oenotrians. But it is enough to quote merely the iambs in which he says:

“And after this, — first, then, upon the right,

Oenotria wide-outstretched and Tyrrhene Gulf,

And next the Ligurian land shall welcome thee.”

[3] Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος, συγγραφεὺς πάνυ ἀρχαῖος, ἐν Ἰταλίας οἰκισμῷ τοὺς παλαιοτάτους οἰκήτορας διεξιὼν, ὡς ἕκαστοι τι μέρος αὐτῆς κατεῖχον, Οἰνώτρους λέγει πρῶτους τῶν μνημονευομένων ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῆσαι, εἰπὼν ὧδε: (Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων [p. 20] τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα: τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Ἰταλίη καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἰνωτροί) . ἔπειτα διεξελθὼν ὃν τρόπον ἐπολιτεῦοντο, καὶ ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰταλὸς ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐγένετο, ἀφ’ οὗ μετωνομάσθησαν Ἰταλοί, τοῦτου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Μόργης διεδέξατο, ἀφ’ οὗ Μόργητες ἐκλήθησαν, καὶ ὡς Σικελὸς ἐπιξενωθείς Μόργητι ἰδίαν πράττων ἀρχὴν διέστησε τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπιφέρει ταυτί: (οὕτω δὲ Σικελοὶ καὶ Μόργητες ἐγένοντο καὶ Ἰταλίητες ἐόντες Οἰνωτροί) .

[3] And Antiochus of Syracuse, a very early historian, in his account of the settlement of Italy, when enumerating the most ancient inhabitants in the order in which each of them held possession of any part of it, says that the first who are reported to have inhabited that country are the Oenotrians. His words are these: “Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, wrote this account of Italy, which comprises all that is most credible and certain out of the ancient tales; this country, which is now called Italy, was formerly possessed by the Oenotrians.” Then he relates in what manner they were governed and says that in the course of time Italus came to be their king, after whom they were named Italians; that this man was succeeded by Morges, after whom they were called Morgetes, and that Sicelus, being received as a guest by Morges and setting up a kingdom for himself, divided the nation. After which he adds these words: “Thus those who had been Oenotrians became Sicels, Morgetes and Italians.”

[1] φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ὅθεν ἦν τὸ τῶν Οἰνώτρων ἀποδειξωμεν, ἕτερον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων παρασχόμενοι μάρτυρα, Φερεκύδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον. πεποιῆται γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ βασιλευσάντων ὅδε ὁ λόγος: Πελασογοῦ καὶ Διανειρῆς γίνεται Λυκάων: οὗτος γαμεῖ Κυλλήνην, Νηίδα νύμφην, ἀφ’ ἧς τὸ ὄρος ἡ Κυλλήνη καλεῖται. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεννηθέντας διεξιὼν καὶ τινὰς ἕκαστοι

τόπους ὤκησαν, Οἰνώτρου καὶ Πευκετίου μιμνήσκειται λέγων ὧδε: (καὶ Οἰνώτρος, ἀφ’ οὗ Οἰνώτροι καλέονται οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ οἰκούντες, καὶ Πευκέτιος, ἀφ’ οὗ Πευκέτιοι καλέονται οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τὰ

[13.1] Now let me also show the origin of the Oenotrian race, offering as my witness another of the early historians, Pherecydes of Athens, who was a genealogist inferior to none. He thus expresses himself concerning the kings of Arcadia: “Of Pelasgus and Deïanira was born Lycaon; this man married Cyllenê, a Naiad nymph, after whom Mount Cyllenê is named.” Then, having given an account of their children and of the places each of them inhabited, he mentions Oenotrus and Peucetius, in these words: “And Oenotrus, after whom are named the Oenotrians who live in Italy, and Peucetius, after whom are named the Peucetians who live on the Ionian Gulf.”

[2] μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν εἰρημένα ποιητῶν τε καὶ [p. 21] μυθογράφων περὶ τε οἰκίσεως καὶ γένους τῶν Οἰνώτρων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν: οἷς ἐγὼ πειθόμενος, εἰ τῷ ὄντι Ἑλληνικὸν φύλον ἦν τὸ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων, ὡς Κάτωνι καὶ Σεμπρωνίῳ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις εἴρηται, τούτων ἔγγονον αὐτῶν τῶν Οἰνώτρων ὑποτίθεμαι. τὸ γὰρ δὴ Πελασγικὸν καὶ τὸ Κρητικὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὤκησεν, ὑστέροις εὗρισκω χρόνοις ἀφικόμενα. παλαιότερον δὲ τούτου στόλον ἀπαναστάντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὰ προσεσπέρια τῆς Εὐρώπης οὐδένα δύναμαι καταμαθεῖν.

[2] Such, then, are the accounts given by the ancient poets and writers of legends concerning the places of abode and the origin of the Oenotrians; and on their authority I assume that if the Aborigines were in reality a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempronius and many others, they were descendants of these Oenotrians. For I find that the Pelasgians and Cretans and the other nations that lived in Italy came thither afterwards; nor can I discover that any other expedition more ancient than this came from Greece to the western parts of Europe.

[3] τοὺς δὲ Οἰνώτρους τῆς τ’ ἄλλης Ἰταλίας πολλὰ χωρία οἶομαι κατασχεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἔρημα, τὰ δὲ φαύλως οἰκούμενα καταλαβόντας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ὀμβρικῶν γῆς ἐστὶν ἢν ἀποτεμέσθαι, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἀβοριγίνας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν οἰκίσεως (Ἀρκαδικὸν γὰρ τὸ φιλοχωρεῖν ἐν ὄρεσιν’, ὡς ὑπερακρίους τινὰς καὶ παραλίους Ἀθήνησιν.

[3] I am of the opinion that the Oenotrians, besides making themselves masters of many other regions in Italy, some of which they found unoccupied and others but thinly inhabited, also seized a portion of the country of the Umbrians, and that they were called Aborigines from their dwelling on the mountains (for it is characteristic of the Arcadians to be fond of the mountains), in the same manner as at Athens some are called Hyperakriori, and others Paralioi.

[4] εἰ δέ τινες πεφύκασι μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ πραγμάτων παλαιῶν ἄβασανίστως τὰ λεγόμενα δέχεσθαι, μὴ ταχεῖς ἔστωσαν μηδὲ Λίγυας ἢ Ὀμβρικοὺς ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς βαρβάρους αὐτοὺς νομίσαι, περιμείναντες δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν κρινέτωσαν ἐξ ἁπάντων τὸ πιθανώτατον.

[4] But if any are naturally slow in giving credit to accounts of ancient matters without due examination, let them be slow also in believing the Aborigines to be Ligurians, Umbrians, or any other barbarians, and let them suspend their judgment till they have heard what remains to be told and then determine which opinion out of all is the most probable.

[1] τῶν δὲ πόλεων, ἐν αἷς τὸ πρῶτον ὤκησαν Ἀβοριγῖνες, ὀλίγα περιῆσαν ἐπ' ἑμοῦ: αἱ δὲ πλεῖσται ὑπὸ τε πολέμων καὶ ἄλλων κακῶν οἰκοφθορηθεῖσαι [p. 22] ἔρημοι ἀφεῖνται. ἦσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥεατίνῃ γῇ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων οὐ μακρὰν, ὡς Οὐάρρων Τερέντιος ἐν ἀρχαιολογίαις γράφει, ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως αἱ τὸ βραχύτατον ἀπέχουσαι ἡμερήσιον διάστημα ὁδοῦ: ὧν ἐγὼ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἱστορεῖ, διηγῆσομαι.

[14.1] Of the cities first inhabited by the Aborigines few remained in my day; the greatest part of them, having been laid waste both by wars and other calamities, are abandoned. These cities were in the Reatine territory, not far from the Apennine mountains, as Terentius Varro writes in his *Antiquities*, the nearest being one day's journey distant from Rome. I shall enumerate the most celebrated of them, following his account.

[2] Παλάτιον μὲν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀφεστῶσα Ῥεάτου, πόλεως οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ, Κοϊντίας ὁδοῦ πλησίον. Τριβόλα δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐξήκοντα σταδίους τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀφεστῶσα, λόφον ἐπικαθημένη σύμμετρον. Συεσβόλα δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ διάστημα τῆς Τριβόλας ἀπέχουσα, τῶν Κεραυνίων ὄρων πλησίον. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τετταράκοντα σταδίοις διηρημένη πόλις ἐπιφανῆς Σούνα, ἔνθα νεὼς πάνυ ἀρχαῖός ἐστιν Ἄρεος.

[2] Palatium, twenty-five stades distant from Reate (a city that was still inhabited by Romans down to my time), near the Quintian Way. Tribula, about sixty stades from Reate and standing upon a low hill. Suesbula, at the same distance from Tribula, near the Ceraunian Mountains. Suna, a famous city forty stades from Suesbula; in it there is a very ancient temple of Mars.

[3] Μήφυλα δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα σταδίους ἄπωθεν τῆς Σούνης: δεικνυταὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρείπια τε καὶ τείχους ἔχνη. τετταράκοντα δὲ σταδίους ἀπέχουσα Μηφύλης Ὀρουίνιον, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη τῶν αὐτόθι πόλεων ἐπιφανῆς καὶ μεγάλη: δῆλοι γάρ εἰσιν αὐτῆς οἱ τε θεμέλιοι τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τάφοι τινὲς ἀρχαιοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολυανδρίων ἐν ὑψηλοῖς χώμασι μηκνυομένων περιβολοί: ἔνθα καὶ νεὼς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος, ἰδρυμένος ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας.

[3] Mefula, about thirty stades from Suna; its ruins and traces of its walls are pointed out. Orvinium, forty stades from Mefula, a city as famous and large as any in that region; for the foundations of its walls are still to be seen and some tombs of venerable antiquity, as well as the circuits of burying-places extending over lofty mounds; and there is also an ancient temple of Minerva built on the summit.

[4] ἀπὸ δὲ σταδίων ἄγδοήκοντα Ῥεάτου τοῖς ἰοῦσι [p. 23] διὰ τῆς Κουρίας ὁδοῦ παρὰ Κόρητον ὄρος Κόρσουλα νεωστὶ διεφθαρμένη. δέικνυνται δὲ τις καὶ νῆσος, Ἰσσα αὐτῇ ὄνομα, λίμνη περιρρυτος, ἣν χωρὶς ἐρύματος ποιητοῦ κατοικῆσαι λέγονται τοῖς τέλμασι τῆς λίμνης ὅποσα τείχεσι χρώμενοι. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἰσσης Μαρούιον ἐπὶ τῷ μυχῷ τῆς αὐτῆς λίμνης κειμένη, τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα τῶν καλουμένων Ἐπτὰ ὕδατων.

[4] At the distance of eighty stades from Reate, as one goes along the Curian Way past Mount Coretus, stood Corsula, a town but recently destroyed. There is also pointed out an island, called Issa, surrounded by a lake; the Aborigines are said to have lived on this island without any artificial fortification, relying on the marshy waters of the lake instead of walls. Near Issa is Maruvium, situated on an arm of the same lake and distant forty stades from what they call the Septem Aquae.

[5] ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥεάτου πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Λατίνην ὁδὸν ἰοῦσι Βατία μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων, Τίωρα δὲ ἀπὸ τριακοσίων, ἡ καλουμένη Ματιήνη. ἐν ταύτῃ λέγεται χρηστήριον Ἄρεος γενέσθαι πάνυ ἀρχαῖον. ὁ δὲ τρόπος αὐτοῦ παραπλήσιος ἦν ὥς φασι τῷ παρὰ Δωδωναίοις μυθολογουμένῳ ποτὲ γενέσθαι: πλὴν ὅσον ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ δρυὸς ἱερᾶς πέλεια καθεζομένη θεσπιωδεῖν ἐλέγετο, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι θεόπεμπτος ὄρνις, ὃν αὐτοὶ μὲν πῖκον, Ἕλληνες δὲ δρυκολάπτην καλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνου φαινόμενος τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδρα.

[5] Again, as one goes from Reate by the road towards the Listine district, there is Batia, thirty stades distant; then Tiora, called Matiene, at a distance of three hundred stades. In this city, they say, there was a very ancient oracle of Mars, the nature of which was similar to that of the oracle which legend says once existed at Dodona; only there a pigeon was said to prophesy, sitting on a sacred oak, whereas among the Aborigines a heaven-sent bird, which they call picus and the Greeks drykolaptês, appearing on a pillar of wood, did the same.

[6] τέτταρας δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀπέχουσα τῆς εἰρημένης πόλεως Λίστα, μητρόπολις Ἀβοριγίνων, ἣν παλαιότερον ἔτι Σαβῖνοι νύκτωρ ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἐκ πόλεως Ἀμιτέρνης ἀφύλακτον [p. 24] αἰροῦσιν: οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως περισωθέντες ὑποδεξαμένων αὐτοῦς Ῥεατίνων, ὥς πολλὰ πειραθέντες οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἱερὰν ἀνῆκαν ὥς σφετέραν ἔτι τὴν γῆν, ἐξαρίστους ποιήσαντες ἀραῖς τοὺς καρπωσομένους αὐτὴν ὕστερον.

[6] Twenty-four stades from the afore-mentioned city stood Lista, the mother-city of the Aborigines, which at a still earlier time the Sabines had captured by a surprise attack, having set out against it from Amiternum by night. Those who survived the taking of the place, after being received by the Reatines, made many attempts to retake their former home, but being unable to do so, they consecrated the country to the gods, as if it were still their own, invoking curses against those who should enjoy the fruits of it.

[1] ἀπὸ δὲ σταδίων ἑβδομήκοντα Ῥεάτου Κοτυλία πόλις ἐπιφανὴς πρὸς ὄρει κειμένη: ἥ ἐστιν οὐ πρόσω λίμνη τεττάρων πλέθρων ἔχουσα τὴν διάστασιν, αὐθιγενοῦς πλήρης νάματος ἀπορρέοντος αἰεὶ, βάθος ὡς λέγεται ἄβυσσος. ταύτην ἔχουσαν τι θεοπρεπὲς ἱερὰν τῆς Νίκης οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νομίζουσι καὶ περιεῖρξαντες κύκλῳ στέμμασι τοῦ μηδένᾳ τῷ νάματι πελάζειν ἄβατον φυλάττουσιν, ὅτι μὴ καιροῖς τισι διετησίοις, ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ θύουσιν ἃ νόμος ἐπιβαίνοντες τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ νησίδος οἷς ὄσιον.

[15.1] Seventy stades from Reate stood Cutilia, a famous city, beside a mountain. Not far from it there is a lake, four hundred feet in diameter, filled by everflowing natural springs and, it is said, bottomless. This lake, as having something divine about it, the inhabitants of the country look upon as sacred to Victory; and surrounding it with a palisade, so that no one may approach the water, they keep it inviolate; except that at certain times each year those whose sacred office it is go to the little island in the lake and perform the sacrifices required by custom.

[2] ἡ δὲ νῆσός ἐστι μὲν ὡσπερὰν πεντήκοντα ποδῶν τὴν διάμετρον, ὑπερανέστηκε δὲ τοῦ νάματος οὐ πλεῖον ἢ ποδιαῖον ὕψος: ἀνίδρυτος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ περινήχεται πολλαχῇ δινοῦντος αὐτὴν ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλους τόπους ἡρέμα τοῦ πνεύματος. χλόη δὲ τις ἐν αὐτῇ φύεται βουτόμῳ προσεμφερῆς καὶ θάμνοι τινὲς οὐ μεγάλοι, πρᾶγμα κρεῖττον λόγου τοῖς ἀθεάτοις ὧν ἡ φύσις δρᾷ καὶ θαυμάτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον.

[2] This island is about fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than a foot above the water; it is not fixed, and floats about in any direction, according to as the wind gently wafts it from one place to another. An herb grows on the island like the flowering rush and also certain small shrubs, a phenomenon which to those who are unacquainted with the works of Nature seems unaccountable and a marvel second to none.

[1] τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην οἴκησιν οἱ Ἀβοριγῖνες ἐν τούτοις λέγονται ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τόποις, ἐξελάσαντες ἐξ αὐτῶν Ὀμβρικούς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι [p. 25] τοῖς τε ἄλλοις βαρβάροις καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Σικελοῖς ὁμοτέρμοσιν οὖσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἐπολέμουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἱερὰ τις ἐξελθοῦσα νεότης, ἄνδρες ὀλίγοι κατὰ βίου ζητήσιν ὑπὸ τῶν γειναμένων ἀποσταλέντες, ἔθος ἐκπληροῦντες ἀρχαῖον, ᾧ πολλοὺς βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐπίσταται χρησαμένους.

[16.1] The Aborigines are said to have settled first in these places after they had driven out the Umbrians. And making excursions from there, they warred not only upon the barbarians in general but particularly upon the Sicels, their neighbours, in order to dispossess them of their lands. First, a sacred band of young men went forth, consisting of a few who were sent out by their parents to seek a livelihood, according to a custom which I know many barbarians and Greeks have followed.

[2] ὁπότε γὰρ εἰς ὄχλου πλῆθος ἐπίδοσιν αἱ πόλεις τισὶ λάβοιεν ὥστε μηκέτι τὰς οἰκείας τροφὰς ἅπασιν εἶναι διαρκεῖς, ἢ κακωθεῖσα ταῖς οὐρανίοις μεταβολαῖς ἢ γῇ σπανίους τοὺς εἰωθότας καρποὺς ἐξενέγκειεν, ἢ τοιόνδε τι πάθος ἄλλο τὰς πόλεις κατασχὼν εἴτε ἄμεινον εἴτε χεῖρον ἀνάγκην ἐπιστήσειε μειώσεως τοῦ πλήθους, θεῶν ὅτῳ δὴ καθιεροῦντες ἀνθρώπων ἑτείους γονὰς ἐξέπεμπον ὅπλοις κοσμήσαντες ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας· εἰ μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐανδρίας ἢ νίκης ἐκ πολέμου χαριστήρια θεοῖς ἀποδιδόειν, προθύοντες ἱερὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα, εὐφήμοις οἶωνοῖς τὰς ἀποικίας προπέμποντες· εἰ δ' ἐπὶ μηνίμασι δαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγὰς αἰτούμενοι τῶν κατεχόντων σφᾶς κακῶν τὸ παραπλήσιον δρῶεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἀχθόμενοι καὶ συγγνώμονας ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀπελαινόμενους.

[2] For whenever the population of any of their cities increased to such a degree that the produce of their lands no longer sufficed for them all, or the earth, injured by unseasonable changes of the weather, brought forth her fruits in less abundance than usual, or any other occurrence of like nature, either good or bad, introduced a necessity of lessening their numbers, they would dedicate to some god or other all the men born within a certain year, and providing them with arms, would send them out of their country. If, indeed, this was done by way of thanksgiving for populousness or for victory in war, they would first offer the usual sacrifices and then send forth their colonies under happy auspices; but if, having incurred the wrath of Heaven, they were seeking deliverance from the evils that beset them, they would perform much the same ceremony, but sorrowfully and begging forgiveness of the youths they were sending away.

[3] οἱ δὲ ἀπαναστάντες ὥς οὐκέτι τῆς πατρώας γῆς μεταληψόμενοι, εἰ μὴ κτήσαιντο ἑτέραν, τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην αὐτοὺς εἴτε πρὸς φιλίαν εἴτε ἐν πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσαν πατρίδα [p. 26] ἐποιοῦντο· ὃ τε θεὸς, ᾧ κατονομασθεῖεν ἀπελαινόμενοι, συλλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν κατορθοῦν τὰς ἀποικίας.

[3] And those who departed, feeling that henceforth they would have no share in the land of their fathers but must acquire another, looked upon any land that received them in friendship or that they conquered in war as their country. And the god to whom they had been dedicated when they were sent out seemed generally to assist them and to prosper the colonies beyond all human expectation.

[4] τοῦτῳ δὴ τῷ νόμῳ χρώμενοι καὶ τότε τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων τινὲς ἀνθούντων ἀνδράσι τῶν χωρίων (κτείνειν γὰρ οὐδένα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἡξιοῦν, ἄγους οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τοῦτο τιθέμενοί, θεῶν ὅτῳ δὴ καθιερώσαντες ἐνιαυσίους γονὰς ἀνδρωθέντας ἀποικίζουσι τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας, οἱ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἄγοντές τε καὶ

[4] In pursuance, therefore, of this custom some of the Aborigines also at that time, as their places were growing very populous (for they would not put any of their children to death, looking on this as one of the greatest of crimes), dedicated to some god or other the offspring of a certain year and when these children were grown to be men they sent them out of their country as colonists; and they, after leaving their own land, were continually plundering the Sicels.

[5] φέροντες διετέλουν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλιπον. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ οὗτοι χωρίων τινῶν τῆς πολεμίας ἐκράτησαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέρου ἤδη καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀβοριγῖνες οἱ δεόμενοι γῆς κατὰ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι ἐπεχείρουν τοῖς ὁμόροις καὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν ἄλλας τέ τινας καὶ τὰς μέχρι τοῦδε οἰκουμένας, Ἀντεμνάτας καὶ Τελληνεῖς καὶ Φικολνέους τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις Κορνίκλοις ὄρεσι καὶ Τιβουρτίνοισι, παρ' οἷς ἔτι καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνον μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως ὀνομάζεται Σικελικόν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀπάντων μάλιστα τῶν προσοικούντων λυπηροὶ τοῖς Σικελοῖς. ἀνίσταται δὲ ἐκ τούτων τῶν διαφορῶν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὅλοις πόλεμος ὅσος οὐδεὶς τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ προῆλθεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου μηκυνόμενος.

[5] And as soon as they became masters of any places in the enemy's country the rest of the Aborigines, also, who needed lands now attacked each of them their neighbours with greater security and built various cities, some of which are inhabited to this day — Antemnae, Tellenae, Ficulea, which is near the Corniculan mountains, as they are called, and Tibur, where a quarter of the city is even to this day called the Sichel quarter; and of all their neighbours they harassed the Sicels most. From these quarrels there arose a general war between the nations more important than any that had occurred previously in Italy, and it went on extending over a long period of time.

[1] ἔπειτα Πελασγῶν τινες τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Θετταλίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀναγκασθέντες [p. 27] ἐκλιπεῖν σύνοικοι γίνονται τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς. ἐδέξαντο δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀβοριγῖνες, ἴσως μὲν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὠφελήθησέσθαι ἐλπίδα, ὥς δ' ἐγὼ

[17.1] Afterwards some of the Pelasgians who inhabited Thessaly, as it is now called, being obliged to leave their country, settled among the Aborigines and jointly with them made war upon the Sicels. It is possible that the Aborigines received them partly in the hope of gaining their assistance, but I believe it was chiefly on account of their kinship;

[2] πείθομαι κατὰ τὸ συγγενές μάλιστα. ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐχρήσατο δὲ τύχαις δυσπότμοις εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὴν πολυπλανὸν τε καὶ οὐδενὸς τόπου βέβαιον οἴκησιν, πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον νῦν Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος ὤκησαν αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγουσι. τὴν δὲ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην ἐπὶ τοῦ

[2] for the Pelasgians, too, were a Greek nation originally from the Peloponnesus. They were unfortunate in many ways but particularly in wandering much and in having no fixed abode. For they first lived in the neighbourhood of the Achaean Argos, as it is now called, being natives of the country, according to most accounts. They received their name originally from Pelasgus, their king.

[3] Πελασγοῦ βασιλέως. ἦν δὲ ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐκ Διὸς, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ Νιόβης τῆς Φωρωνέως, ἥ πρώτη γυναικὶ θνητῇ μίσηται ὁ Ζεὺς ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἔχει. ἔκτη δ' ὕστερον γενεᾷ Πελοπόννησον ἐκλιπόντες εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰμονίαν, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν ὀνομαζομένην μετανέστησαν: ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Φθῖος καὶ Πελασγὸς οἱ Λαρίσης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰμονίαν τοὺς τε κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ βαρβάρους ἐξελαύνουσι καὶ νέμονται τὴν χώραν τριχῇ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι ποιήσαντες ὁμωνύμους τὰς μοίρας, Φθιώτιν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Πελασγιῶτιν. πέντε δὲ μείναντες αὐτόθι γενεάς, ἐν αἷς ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐτυχίας ἥλασαν τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ πεδίων καρποῦμενοι, περὶ τὴν ἕκτην γενεάν [p. 28] ἐξελαύνονται Θετταλίας ὑπὸ τε Κουρήτων καὶ Λελέγων, οἱ νῦν Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται, καὶ συχνῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκούντων, ἡγουμένους τῶν πολεμίων Δευκαλίωνος τοῦ Προμηθέως, μητρὸς δὲ Κλυμένης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ.

[3] Pelasgus was the son of Zeus, it is said, and of Niobê the daughter of Phoroneus, who, as the legend goes, was the first mortal woman Zeus had knowledge of. In the sixth generation afterwards, leaving the Peloponnesus, they removed to the country which was then called Haemonia and now Thessaly. The leaders of the colony were Achaëus, Phthius and Pelasgus, the sons of Larisa and Poseidon. When they arrived in Haemonia they drove out the barbarian inhabitants and divided the country into three parts, calling them, after the names of their leaders, Phthiotis, Achaia and Pelasgiotis. After they had remained there five generations, during which they attained to the greatest prosperity while enjoying the produce of the most fertile plains in Thessaly, about the sixth generation they were driven out of it by the Curetes and Leleges, who are now called Aetolians and Locrians, and by many others who lived near Parnassus, their enemies being commanded by Deucalion, the son of Prometheus and Clymenê, the daughter of Oceanus.

[1] σκεδασθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων τινὰς κατέσχον, οἱ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν τε καὶ τὴν

Ὅσσαν, καλουμένην δὲ Ἑστιάωτιν ὤκισαν, ἄλλοι δὲ εἰς τε Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Εὐβοίαν διεκομίσθησαν: οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθέντες τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον παραλίου πολλὰ χωρία κατέσχον καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῇ νήσων ἄλλας τε συχνὰς καὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Λέσβον, ἀναμιχθέντες τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στέλλουσι τὴν πρώτην ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἄγοντος Μάκαρος τοῦ Κριάσου.

[18.1] And dispersing themselves in their flight, some went to Crete, others occupied some of the islands called the Cyclades, some settled in the region called Hestiaeotis near Olympus and Ossa, others crossed into Boeotia, Phocis and Euboea; and some, passing over into Asia, occupied many places on the coast along the Hellespont and many of the adjacent islands, particularly the one now called Lesbos, uniting with those who composed the first colony that was sent thither from Greece under Macar, the son of Crinacus.

[2] τὸ δὲ πλεῖον αὐτῶν μέρος διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τραπόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ κατοικοῦντας σφῶν συγγενεῖς, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἡξίου πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν ὡς ἱεροῖς, χρόνον μὲν τινα σύμμετρον αὐτόθι διέτριψαν: ἐπεὶ δὲ λυπηροὶ αὐτοῖς ὄντες ἡσθάνοντο οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὕσης ἅπαντας τρέφειν τῆς γῆς, ἐκλείπουσι τὴν χώραν χρησιμῶ πειθόμενοι κελεύοντι πλεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἣ τότε Σατορνία ἐλέγετο.

[2] But the greater part of them, turning inland, took refuge among the inhabitants of Dodona, their kinsmen, against whom, as a sacred people, none would make war; and there they remained for a reasonable time. But when they perceived they were growing burdensome to their hosts, since the land could not support them all, they left it in obedience to an oracle that commanded them to sail to Italy, which was then called Saturnia.

[3] κατασκευασάμενοι δὲ ναῦς πολλὰς περαιοῦνται τὸν Ἰόνιον, σπουδὴν μὲν ποιοῦμενοι τῶν [p. 29] ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄψασθαι χωρίων: ὑπὸ δὲ νοτίου πνεύματος καὶ ἀγνοίας τῶν τόπων μετεωρότεροι ἐνεχθέντες καὶ πρὸς ἐνὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάδου στομάτων ὀρμισάμενοι Σπινῆτι καλουμένῳ ναῦς μὲν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ καταλείπουσι καὶ τὸν ἥκιστα δυνάμενον ταλαιπωρεῖν ὄχλον, φυλακὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς καταστήσαντες, ὡς ἔχοιεν εἰ

[3] And having prepared a great many ships they set out to cross the Ionian Gulf, endeavouring to reach the nearest parts of Italy. But as the wind was in the south and they were unacquainted with those regions, they were carried too far out to sea and landed at one of the mouths of the Po called the Spinetic mouth. In that very place they left their ships and such of their people as were least able to bear hardships, placing a guard over the ships, to the end that, if their affairs did not prosper, they might be sure of a retreat.

[4] μὴ προχωροῖη σφίσι τὰ πράγματα καταφυγὴν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπομείναντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, τεῖχος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιβαλόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν

εἰσκομίσαντες τὰς εἰς τὸν βίον εὐπορίας, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐδόκει χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, πόλιν ἔκτισαν ὁμώνυμον τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ: εὐτύχησάν τε μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκούντων θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἄχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ δεκάτας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνήγον τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὠφελειῶν,

[4] Those who were left behind there surrounded their camp with a wall and brought in plenty of provisions in their ships; and when their affairs seemed to prosper satisfactorily, they built a city and called it by the same name as the mouth of the river. These people attained to a greater degree of prosperity than any others who dwelt on the Ionian Gulf; for they had the mastery at sea for a long time, and out of their revenues from the sea they used to send tithes to the god at Delphi, which were among the most magnificent sent by any people.

[5] εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, λαμπροτάτας. ὕστερον μέντοι μεγάλῃ χειρὶ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐπιστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μετὰ χρόνον ἀνέστησαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Σπινῆτι καταλειφθὲν γένος τῶν Πελασγῶν οὕτως ἐφθάρη.

[5] But later, when the barbarians in the neighbourhood made war upon them in great numbers, they deserted the city; and these barbarians in the course of time were driven out by the Romans. So perished that part of the Pelasgians that was left at Spina.

[1] οἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τραπόμενοι, τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπερβαλόντες, εἰς τὴν Ὀμβρικῶν [p. 30] ἀφικνοῦνται χώραν τῶν ὁμορούντων Ἀβοριγῖσι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥκουν Ὀμβρικοί, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ μέγα τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐκράτουν οἱ Πελασγοὶ τῶν χωρίων ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἰδρύσαντο καὶ πολισμάτια τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν κατελάβοντό τινα: συνελθόντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλου στρατοῦ δέισαντες τῶν πολέμιων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀπὸντες τρέπονται.

[19.1] Those, however, who had turned inland crossed the mountainous part of Italy and came to the territory of the Umbrians who were neighbours to the Aborigines. (The Umbrians inhabited a great many other part of Italy also and were an exceeding great and ancient people.) At first the Pelasgians made themselves masters of the lands where they first settled and took some of the small towns belonging to the Umbrians. But when a great army came together against them, they were terrified at the number of their enemies and betook themselves to the country of the Aborigines.

[2] καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀβοριγῖνες ἅτε πολέμιοις ἐδικαίουν αὐτοῖς προσφέρεισθαι καὶ συνήεσαν ἐκ τῶν ἔγγιστα χωρίων διὰ τάχους ὥς ἐξαναστήσαντες αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ (τυγχάνουσι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ δαίμονα περὶ

Κοτυλίαν πόλιν Ἀβοριγίνων αὐλισάμενοι πλησίον τῆς ἱερᾶς λίμνης· ὥς δὲ τὴν τε νησίδα τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ περιδινουμένην κατέμαθον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὕς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔλαβον, ἤκουσαν τὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὄνομα τέλος ἔχειν σφίσι τὸ θεοπρόπιον ὑπέλαβον.

[2] And these, seeing fit to treat them as enemies, made haste to assemble out of the places nearest at hand, in order to drive them out of the country. But the Pelasgians luckily chanced to be encamped at that time near Cutilia, a city of the Aborigines hard by the sacred lake, and observing the little island circling round in it and learning from the captives they had taken in the fields the name of the inhabitants, they concluded that their oracle was now fulfilled.

[3] ὁ γὰρ ἐν Δωδώνῃ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς χρησμός, ὃν φησι Λεύκιος Μάλλιος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσημος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τινος τῶν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διὸς κειμένων τριπόδων γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις ἐγκεχαραγμένον, ὥδὲ εἶχε:

στείχετε μαίομενοι Σικελῶν Σατόρνιον αἶαν

ἦδ' Ἀβοριγινέων Κοτύλην, οὗ νᾶσος ὀχεῖται: [p. 31]

οἷς ἀναμιχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβῳ

καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα.

[3] For this oracle, which had been delivered to them in Dodona and which Lucius Mallius, no obscure man, says he himself saw engraved in ancient characters upon one of the tripods standing in the precinct of Zeus, was as follows:

“Fare forth the Sicels’ Saturnian land to seek,

Aborigines’ Cotylê, too, where floats an isle;

With these men mingling, to Phoebus send a tithe,

And heads to Cronus’ son, and send to the sire a man.”

[1] ἐλθοῦσι δὴ τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἱκετηρίας οἱ Πελαγοὶ προτείνοντες ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἄνοπλοι φράζοντές τε τὰς ἐαυτῶν τύχας καὶ δεόμενοι πρὸς φιλίαν δεξασθαι σφᾶς συνοίκους οὐ λυπηροὺς ἔσομένους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοὺς εἰς τήνδε μόνην ἄγει τὴν χώραν, ἐξηγοῦμενοι τὸ λόγιον.

[20.1] When, therefore, the Aborigines advanced with a numerous army, the Pelasgians approached unarmed with olive branches in their hands, and telling them of their own fortunes, begged that they would receive them in a friendly manner to dwell with them, assuring them that they would not be troublesome, since Heaven itself was guiding them into this one particular country according to the oracle, which they explained to them.

[2] τοῖς δὲ Ἀβοριγῖσι ταῦτα πυθομένοις ἐδόκει πείθεσθαι τῷ θεοπροπίῳ καὶ λαβεῖν συμμαχίαν Ἑλληνικὴν κατὰ τῶν διαφόρων σφισι βαρβάρων, πονουμένοις τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς πολέμῳ. σπένδονται τε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Πελαγοὺς καὶ διδόασιν αὐτοῖς χωρία τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀποδασάμενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν λίμνην, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδη, ἃ νῦν κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον Οὐέλια ὀνομάζεται.

[2] When the Aborigines heard this, they resolved to obey the oracle and to gain these Greeks as allies against their barbarian enemies, for they were hard pressed by their war with the Sicels. They accordingly made a treaty with the Pelasgians and assigned to them some of their own lands that lay near the sacred lake; the greater part of these were marshy and are still called Velia, in accordance with the ancient form of their language.

[3] σύνηθες γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ προτιθέσθαι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁπόσων αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπὸ φωνηέντων ἐγίνοντο, τὴν ου συλλαβὴν ἐνὶ στοιχείῳ γραφομένην. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὥσπερ γάμμα διτταῖς ἐπὶ μίαν ὀρθὴν ἐπιξευγνύμενον ταῖς πλαγίσις, ὡς φελένη καὶ

[3] For it was the custom of the ancient Greeks generally to place before those words that began with a vowel the syllable ou, written with one letter (this was like a gamma, formed by two oblique lines joined to one upright line), as φελένη, φάναξ, φοῖκος, φέαρ and many such words.

[4] φάναξ καὶ φοῖκος καὶ φαῖρ καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔπειτα μοῖρά τις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη, ὡς ἡ γῆ πᾶσιν οὐκ ἀπέχρη, πείσαντες τοὺς Ἀβοριγῖνας συνάρασθαι σφισι [p. 32] τῆς ἐξόδου στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀμβρικοὺς καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην ἄφνω προσπεσόντες αἰροῦσι Κρότωνα: ταύτῃ φρουρίῳ καὶ ἐπιτειχίσματι κατὰ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν χρώμενοι, κατεσκευασμένῃ τε ὡς ἔρυμα εἶναι πολέμου ἀποχρώντως καὶ χώραν ἐχούσῃ τὴν περίξ εὐβοτον, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐκράτησαν χωρίων τοῖς τε Ἀβοριγῖσι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς πόλεμον ἔτι συνεστῶτα πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ συνδιέφερον, ἕως ἐξήλασαν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας.

[4] Afterwards, a considerable part of the Pelasgians, as the land was not sufficient to support them all, prevailed on the Aborigines to join them in an expedition against the Umbrians, and marching forth, they suddenly fell upon and captured Croton, a rich and large city of theirs. And using this place as a stronghold and fortress against the Umbrians, since it was sufficiently fortified as a place of defence in time of war and had fertile pastures lying round it, they made themselves masters also of a great many other places and with great zeal assisted the Aborigines in the war they were still engaged in against the Sicels, till they drove them out of their country.

[5] καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς, τὰς μὲν οἰκουμένας καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν, τὰς δ' αὐτοὶ κατασκεύασαντες, ὥκουν οἱ Πελαγοὶ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν

Ἀβοριγίνων, ὧν ἔστιν ἥ τε Καιρητανῶν πόλις, Ἄγυλλα δὲ τότε καλουμένη, καὶ Πίσα καὶ Σατορνία καὶ Ἄλσιον καὶ ἄλλαι τινές, αἷς ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀφηρεθήσαν.

[5] And the Pelasgians in common with the Aborigines settled many cities, some of which had been previously inhabited by the Sicels and others which they built themselves; among these are Caere, then called Agylla, and Pisae, Saturnia, Alsium and some others, of which they were in the course of time dispossessed by the Tyrrhenians.

[1] Φαλέριον δὲ καὶ Φασκέννιον ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἰκοῦμεναι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, μικρὰ ἅττα διασώζουσαι ζώπυρα τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ γένους, Σικελῶν ὑπάρχουσαι πρότερον. ἐν ταύταις διέμεινε πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων διαιτημάτων, οἷς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ποτ' ἐχρήσατο, ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, οἷον ὅ τε τῶν ὅπλων τῶν πολεμιστηρίων κόσμος, ἀσπίδες Ἀργολικαὶ καὶ δόρατα, καὶ ὁπότε πολέμου ἄρχοντες ἢ τοὺς ἐπόντας ἀμυνόμενοι στρατὸν ὑπερόριον ἀποστέλλοιεν ἱεροὶ τινες ἄνδρες ἄνοπλοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἰόντες σπονδοφόροι, [p. 33] τῶν τε ἱερῶν αἱ κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν ἄγισμοι τε καὶ θυσίαι καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἔτερα:

[21.1] But Falerii and Fescennium were even down to my day inhabited by Romans and preserved some small remains of the Pelasgian nation, though they had earlier belonged to the Sicels. In these cities there survived for a very long time many of the ancient customs formerly in use among the Greeks, such as the fashion of their arms of war, like Argolic bucklers and spears; and whenever they sent out an army beyond their borders, either to begin a war or to resist an invasion, certain holy men, unarmed, went ahead of the rest bearing the terms of peace; similar, also, were the structure of their temples, the images of their gods, their purifications and sacrifices and many other things of that nature.

[2] πάντων δὲ περιφανέστατον μνημεῖον τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ ποτὲ οἰκίσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων οἷ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐξήλασαν, ὁ τῆς Ἥρας νεῶς ἐν Φαλερίῳ κατεσκευασμένος ὡς ἐν Ἀργεὶ, ἐνθα καὶ τῶν θυηπολιῶν ὁ τρόπος ὁμοῖος ἦν καὶ γυναικες ἱεραὶ θεραπεύουσαι τὸ τέμενος ἢ τε λεγομένη κανηφόρος ἀγνή γάμων παῖς καταρχομένη τῶν θυμάτων χοροὶ τε παρθένων ὕμνουσῶν τὴν θεὸν ὠδαῖς πατρίοις.

[2] But the most conspicuous monument which shows that those people who drove out the Sicels once lived at Argos in the temple of Juno at Falerii, built in the same fashion as the one at Argos; here, too, the manner of the sacrificial ceremonies was similar, holy women served the sacred precinct, and an unmarried girl, called the canephorus or “basket-bearer,” performed the initial rites of the sacrifices, and there were choruses of virgins who praised the goddess in the songs of their country.

[3] ἔσχον δέ τινα καὶ οὗτοι τῶν καλουμένων Καμπανῶν εὐβότων πάνυ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡδίστων πεδίων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν, ἔθνος τι βαρβαρικὸν Αὐρωνίσσους ἐκ μέρους ἀναστήσαντες αὐτῶν: καὶ πόλεις αὐτόθι κατεσκεύασαν ἄλλας τε καὶ Λάρισαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως ὄνομα θέμενοι αὐτῇ.

[3] These people also possessed themselves of no inconsiderable part of the Campanian plains, as they are called, which afford not only very fertile pasturage but most pleasing prospects as well, having driven the Auronissi, a barbarous nation, out of part of them. There they built various other cities and also Larisa, encamp they named after their mother-city in the Peloponnesus.

[4] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων πολισμάτων ἔστιν ἃ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ ὀρθὰ ἦν, διαμείψαντα πολλάκις τοὺς οἰκῆτορας: ἡ δὲ Λάρισα ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρόνων ἐρημωθεῖσα οὐδ' εἰ πώποτε ὤκῃθη γνῶρισμα φανερόν οὐδὲν ἔχει τοῖς νῦν ὅτι μὴ τοῦνομα, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο πολλοὶ ἴσασι: ἦν δὲ ἀγορᾶς Ποπιλίας καλουμένης οὐ πρόσω. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῆς τε παραθαλαττίου καὶ ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρία κατέσχον ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Σικελούς. [p. 34]

[4] Some of these cities were standing even to my day, having often changed their inhabitants. But Larisa has been long deserted and shows to the people of to-day no other sign of its ever having been inhabited but its name, and even this is not generally known. It was not far from the place called Forum Popilii. They also occupied a great many other places, both on the coast and in the interior, which they had taken from the Sicels.

[1] οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ 'οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἀντέχειν οἴοι τε ἦσαν ὑπὸ τε Πελασγῶν καὶ Ἀβοριγίνων πολεμουμένοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἦν ἀνασκευασάμενοι μεθίενται αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς. τραπόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπὶ τὰ νότια καὶ διεξελθόντες ἅπασαν Ἰταλίαν τὴν κάτω, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνοντο, σὺν χρόνῳ κατασκευασάμενοι σχεδίας ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ καὶ φυλάξαντες κατιόντα τὸν ῥοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας διέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑγγιστα

[22.1] The Sicels, being warred upon by both the Pelasgians and the Aborigines, found themselves incapable of making resistance any longer, and so, taking with them their wives and children and such of their possessions as were any other gold or silver, they abandoned all their country to these foes. Then, turning their course southward through the mountains, they proceeded through all the lower part of Italy, and being driven away from every place, they at last prepared rafts at the Strait and, watching for a downward current, passed over from Italy to the adjacent island.

[2] νῆσον. κατεῖχον δ' αὐτὴν Σικανοὶ, γένος Ἰβηρικόν, οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἐνοικισάμενοι Λίγυας φεύγοντες, καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν Σικανίαν κληθῆναι τὴν νῆσον, Τρινακρίαν πρότερον ὀνομαζομένην ἐπὶ τοῦ τριγώνου

σχήματος. ἦσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτῇ οἰκήτορες, ἀλλ' ἡ πλείων τῆς χώρας ἔτι ἦν ἔρημος. καταχθέντες οὖν εἰς αὐτὴν Σικελοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσιν ὤκησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλῃ πολλαχθί, καὶ τοῦνομα ἡ νῆσος ἐπὶ

[2] It was then occupied by the Sicaniens, an Iberian nation, who, fleeing from the Ligurians, had but lately settled there and had caused the island, previously named Trinacria, from its triangular shape, to be called Sicania, after themselves. There were very few inhabitants in it for so large an island, and the greater part of it was as yet unoccupied. Accordingly, when the Sicels landed there they first settled in the western parts and afterwards in several others; and from these people the island began to be called Sicily.

[3] τούτων ἤρξατο Σικελία καλεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ Σικελικὸν γένος οὕτως ἐξέλιπεν Ἰταλίαν, ὥς μὲν Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος φησι, τρίτῃ γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν Ἀλκυόνης ἱερωμένης ἐν Ἄργει κατὰ τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος. δύο δὲ ποιεῖ στόλους Ἰταλικοὺς διαβάντας εἰς Σικελίαν: τὸν μὲν πρότερον Ἑλύμων, οὗς [p. 35] φησιν ὑπ' Οἰνῶτρων ἐξαναστῆναι, τὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτει πέμπτῳ γενόμενον Αὐσόνων Ἰάπυγας φευγόντων: βασιλέα δὲ τούτων ἀποφαίνει Σικελὸν, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦνομα τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ νήσῳ τεθῆναι.

[3] In this manner the Sicel nation left Italy, according to Hellanicus of Lesbos, in the third generation before the Trojan war, and in the twenty-sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyonê at Argos. But he says that two Italian expeditions passed over into Sicily, the first consisting of the Elymians, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotrians, and the second, five years later, of the Ausonians, who fled from the Iapygians. As king of the latter group he names Sicelus, from whom both the people and the island got their name.

[4] ὥς δὲ Φίλιστος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἔγραψε, χρόνος μὲν τῆς διαβάσεως ἦν ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν πρὸ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου, ἔθνος δὲ τὸ διακομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας οὔτε Σικελῶν οὔτε Αὐσόνων οὔτ' Ἑλύμων, ἀλλὰ Λιγύων, ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς Σικελοῦ: τοῦτον δ' εἶναι φησιν υἱὸν Ἰταλοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τούτου δυναστεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι Σικελούς:

[4] But according to Philistus of Syracuse the date of the crossing was the eightieth year before the Trojan war and the people who passed over from Italy were neither Ausonians nor Elymians, but Ligurians, whose leader was Sicelus; this Sicelus, he says, was the son of Italus and in his reign the people were called Sicels,

[5] ἐξαναστῆναι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν τοὺς Λίγυας ὑπὸ τε Ὀμβρικῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος χρόνον μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ τῆς διαβάσεως, Σικελούς δὲ τοὺς μετानαστάντας ἀποφαίνει βιασθέντας ὑπὸ τε Οἰνῶτρων καὶ Ὀπικῶν, Στράτωνα δ' ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας ποιησαμένου. Θουκυδίδης

δὲ Σικελοὺς μὲν εἶναι γράφει τοὺς μεταναστάντας, Ὀπικοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας, τὸν δὲ χρόνον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Σικελῶν λεγόμενα τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μετενεγκαμένων τὴν οἴκησιν εἰς Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγου ἀξίων τοιαύδε ἐστίν.

[5] and he adds that these Ligurians had been driven out of their country by the Umbrians and Pelasgians. Antiochus of Syracuse does not give the date of the crossing, but says the people who migrated were the Sicels, who had been forced to leave by the Oenotrians and Opicans, and that they chose Straton as leader of the colony. But Thucydides writes that the people who left Italy were the Sicels and those who drove them out the Opicans, and that the date was many years after the Trojan war. Such, then, are the reports given by credible authorities concerning the Sicels who changed their abode from Italy to Sicily.

[1] οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς χώρας [p. 36] κρατήσαντες, πόλεις τε πολλὰς μὲν παραλαβόντες, ἄλλας δ' αὐτοὶ κατασκευάσαντες, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβον εἰς εὐανδρίαν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐτυχίαν, ἣς οὐ πολὺν ὥναντο χρόνον· ἀλλ' ἥνικα μάλιστα τοῖς σύμπασιν ἀνθεῖν ἐδόκουν, δαιμονίοις τισὶ χόλοις ἐλαστροθέντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θείων συμφορῶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐξεφθάρησαν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μέρος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον αὐθις ἐσκεδάσθη 'περὶ ὧν πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος, εἰ βουλοίμην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν γράφειν', ὀλίγον δὲ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων προνοία.

[23.1] The Pelasgians, after conquering a large and fertile region, taking over many towns and building others, made great and rapid progress, becoming populous, rich and in every way prosperous. Nevertheless, they did not long enjoy their prosperity, but at the moment when they seemed to all the world to be in the most flourishing condition they were visited by divine wrath, and some of them were destroyed by calamities inflicted by the hand of Heaven, others by their barbarian neighbours; but the greatest part of them were again dispersed through Greece and the country of the barbarians (concerning whom, if I attempted to give a particular account, it would make a very long story), though some few of them remained in Italy through the care of the Aborigines.

[2] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκοφθορίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐδόκει αὐχμῶ ἢ γῆ κακωθεῖσα ἄρξαι, ἥνικα οὗτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδροις καρπὸς οὐδεὶς ὥραϊος γενέσθαι διέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὥμοι κατέρρεον, οὐθ' ὅποσα σπερμάτων ἀνέντα βλαστοὺς ἀνθήσειεν ἕως στάχυος ἀκμῆς τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐξεπλήρου χρόνους, οὕτε πόα κτήνεσιν ἐφύετο διαρκῆς, τῶν τε ναμάτων τὰ μὲν οὐκέτι πίνεσθαι σπουδαῖα ἦν, τὰ δ' ὑπελίμπανε θέρους,

[2] The first cause of the desolation of their cities seemed to be a drought which laid waste the land, when neither any fruit remained on the trees till it

was ripe, but dropped while still green, nor did such of the seed corn as sent up shoots and flowered stand for the usual period till the ear was ripe, nor did sufficient grass grow for the cattle; and of the waters some were no longer fit to drink, others shrank during the summer, and others were totally dried up.

[3] τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος ἀπεσβέννυτο. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐγίνετο περὶ τε προβάτων καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς· ἥ γὰρ ἐξημβλοῦτο τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους διεφθείρετο ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τὰς φερούσας συνδιαλυμνήμενα. [p. 37] εἰ δέ τι διαφύγοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὠδίνων κίνδυνον ἔμπηρον ἢ ἀτελὲς ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ τύχην βλαφθὲν τρέφεσθαι χρηστὸν οὐκ ἦν· ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τὸ ἐν ἀκμῇ μάλιστα ἐκακοῦτο νόσοις καὶ θανάτοις παρὰ τὰ εἰκότα συχνοῖς.

[3] And like misfortunes attended the offspring both of cattle and of women. For they were either abortive or died at birth, some by their death destroying also those that bore them; and if any got safely past the danger of the delivery, they were either maimed or defective or, being injured by some other accident, were not fit to be reared. The rest of the people, also, particularly those in the prime of life, were afflicted with many unusual diseases and uncommon deaths.

[4] μαντευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς τίνα θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε πάσχουσι καὶ τί ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς λωφῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ ἐλπίς, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν ὅτι τυχόντες ὧν ἐβούλοντο οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν ἃ εὔξαντο, ἀλλὰ προσοφείλουσι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια.

[4] But when they asked the oracle what god or divinity they had offended to be thus afflicted and by what means they might hope for relief, the god replied that, although they had obtained what they desired, they had neglected to pay what they had promised, and that the things of greatest value were still due from them.

[5] οἱ γὰρ Πελασγοὶ ἀφορίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης ἐν τῇ γῇ πάντων χρημάτων εὔξαντο τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Καβείροις καταθύσειν δεκάτας τῶν προσγενησομένων ἀπάντων, τελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐξελόμενοι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀπάντων τὸ λάχος ἀπέθυσαν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τούτων μόνων εὔξαμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ Μυρσίλος ὁ Λέσβιος ἱστόρηκεν ὀλίγου δεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γράφων οἷς ἐγὼ νῦν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐ Πελασγοὺς καλεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνοὺς· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἔρω.

[5] For the Pelasgians in a time of general scarcity in the land had vowed to offer to Jupiter, Apollo and the Cabeiri tithes of all their future increase; but when their prayer had been answered, they set apart and offered to the gods the promised portion of all their fruits and cattle only, as if their vow had related to them alone. This is the account related by Myrsilus of Lesbos, who uses almost the same words as I do now, except that he does not call the

people Pelasgians, but Tyrrhenians, of which I shall give the reason a little later.

[1] ὥς δὲ ἀπενεχθέντα τὸν χρησμὸν ἔμαθον, οὐκ εἶχον τὰ λεγόμενα συμβαλεῖν. ἀμηχανοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν γεραιτέρων τις λέγει συμβαλὼν τὸ λόγιον, ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς ἡμαρτήκασιν, εἰ οἶονται τοὺς θεοὺς ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλεῖν. χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ ἀποδεδόσθαι τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἀπάσας ὀρθῶς τε καὶ σὺν δίκῃ, ἀνθρώπων δὲ γονῆς τὸ λάχος, χρῆμα παντὸς [p. 38] μάλιστα θεοῖς τιμιώτατον, ὀφείλεσθαι: εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τούτων λάβοιεν τὴν δικαίαν μοῖραν, τέλος ἔξειν σφίσι τὸ λόγιον.

[24.1] When they heard the oracle which was brought to them, they were at a loss to guess the meaning of the message. While they were in this perplexity, one of the elders, conjecturing the sense of the saying, told them they had quite missed its meaning if they thought the gods complained of them without reason. Of material things they had indeed rendered to the gods all the first-fruits in the right and proper manner, but of human offspring, a thing of all others the most precious in the sight of the gods, the promised portion still remained due; if, however, the gods received their just share of this also, the oracle would be satisfied.

[2] τοῖς μὲν δὴ ὀρθῶς ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι ταῦτα, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς συγκεῖσθαι ὁ λόγος: εἰσηγησαμένου δὲ τινος τὴν γνώμην, τὸν θεὸν ἐπερέσθαι, εἰ αὐτῷ φίλον ἀνθρώπων δεκάτας ἀπολαμβάνειν, πέμπουσι τὸ δεύτερον θεοπρόπους, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν οὕτω ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου στάσις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνει περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς δεκατεύσεως. καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις οἱ προεστηκότες τῶν πόλεων τὸ πρῶτον ἐταράχθησαν:

[2] There were, indeed, some who thought that he spoke aright, but others felt that there was treachery behind his words. And when some one proposed to ask the god whether it was acceptable to him to receive tithes of human beings, they sent their messengers a second time, and the god ordered them so to do. Thereupon strife arose among them concerning the manner of choosing the tithes, and those who had the government of the cities first quarrelled among themselves

[3] ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος δι' ὑποψίας τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐλάμβανεν. ἐγίνοντο τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ αἱ ἀπαναστάσεις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς οἴστρω καὶ θεοβλαβείᾳ ἀπελαυνόμεναι, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφέστια ὅλα ἐξηλείφθη μέρους αὐτῶν μεθισταμένου: οὐ γὰρ ἐδικαίουσαν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν ἀπολείπεσθαι τε τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐχθιστοῖς ὑπομένειν.

[3] and afterwards the rest of the people held their magistrates in suspicion. And there began to be disorderly emigrations, such as might well be expected from a people driven forth by a frenzy and madness inflicted by the hand of Heaven. Many households disappeared entirely when part of their members

left; for the relations of those who departed were unwilling to be separated from their dearest friends and remain among their worst enemies.

[4] πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι μεταναστάντες ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῆς βαρβάρου πολλὴν ἐπλανήθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἕτεροι ταῦτ' ὄντες ἔπαθον, καὶ τοῦτο διετέλει γινόμενον ὅσέτη. οὐ γὰρ ἀνίεσαν οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ἀνδρουμένης αἰὲς νεότητος [p. 39] ἐξαιρούμενοι τὰς ἀπαρχάς, τοῖς τε θεοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπουργεῖν ἀξιοῦντες καὶ στασιασμοὺς ἐκ τῶν διαλαθόντων δεδιότες. ἦν δὲ πολὺ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑχθραν σὺν προφάσει εὐπρεπεῖ ἀπελαννόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων: ὥστε πολλαὶ αἱ ἀπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γῆς τὸ Πελασγικὸν γένος διεφορήθη.

[4] These, therefore, were the first to migrate from Italy and wander about Greece and many parts of the barbarian world; but after them others had the same experience, and this continued every year. For the rulers in these cities ceased not to select the first-fruits of the youth as soon as they arrived at manhood, both because they desired to render what was due to the gods and also because they feared uprisings on the part of lurking enemies. Many, also, under specious pretences were being driven away by their enemies through hatred; so that there were many emigrations and the Pelasgian nation was scattered over most of the earth.

[1] ἦσαν δὲ τὰ τε πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ κινδύνων πεποιῆσθαι τὰς μελέτας ἐν ἔθνεσι φιλοπολέμοις ζῶντες πολλῶν ἀμείνους καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰ ναυτικὰ ἐπιστήμης διὰ τὴν μετὰ Τυρρηνῶν οἴκησιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐληλακότες: ἢ τε ἀνάγκη ἱκανὴ οὕσα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις βίου τόλμαν παρασχεῖν ἡγεμῶν τε καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ παντὸς κινδυνεύματος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο,

[25.1] Not only were the Pelasgians superior to many in warfare, as the result of their training in the midst of dangers while they lived among warlike nations, but they also rose to the highest proficiency in seamanship, by reason of their living with the Tyrrhenians; and Necessity, which is quite sufficient to give daring to those in want of a livelihood, was their leader and director in every dangerous enterprise, so that wherever they went they conquered without difficulty.

[2] ὥστε οὐ χαλεπῶς ὅπη ἐπέλθοιεν ἐπεκράτουν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τῆς τε χώρας ἐπικλήσει ἅφ' ἧς ἐξανέστησαν καὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένους μνήμη οἱ αὐτοὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελαγοί. ὦν ἐγὼ λόγον ἐποίησάμην τοῦ μή τινα θαῦμα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴν ποιητῶν ἢ συγγραφέων ἀκούῃ τοὺς Πελαγοὺς καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ὀνομαζόντων, πῶς ἀμφοτέρως ἔσχον τὰς ἐπωνυμίας οἱ αὐτοί.

[2] And the same people were called by the rest of the world both Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, the former name being from the country out of which they had been driven and the latter in memory of their ancient origin. I mention this so that no one, when he hears poets or historians call the Pelasgians Tyrrhenians also, may wonder how the same people got both these names.

[3] ἔχει γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἐναργῇ ἀκτῆς τῆς Θρακίας μνήμην καὶ [p. 40] τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένων πόλεων, αἷς οἰκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι δίγλωττοι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἔθνους ὅδε ὁ λόγος: ἔνι δέ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικὸν τῶν καὶ Λημνὸν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας οἰκησάντων Τυρρηνῶν'.

[3] Thus, with regard to them, Thucydides has a clear account of the Thracian Actê and of the cities situated in it, which are inhabited by men who speak two languages. Concerning the Pelasgian nation these are his words: "There is also a Chalcidian element among them, but the largest element is Pelasgian, belonging to the Tyrrhenians who once inhabited Lemnos and Athens."

[4] Σοφοκλεῖ δ' ἐν Ἰνάχῳ δράματι ἀνάπαιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ λεγόμενον πεποιήται ὧδε:

Ἰναχε νᾶτορ, παῖ τοῦ κρηνῶν

πατρὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, μέγα πρεσβεύων

Ἄργους τε γύαις Ἥρας τε πάγοις,

καὶ Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελαγοῖς.

[4] And Sophocles makes the chorus in his drama *Inachus* speak the following anapaestic verses:

"O fair-flowing Inachus, of ocean begot,

That sire of all waters, thou rulest with might

O'er the Argive fields and Hera's hills

And Tyrrhene Pelasgians also."

[5] Τυρρηνίας μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὄνομα τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ προσεσπέριος Ἰταλία τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαιρεθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἐπικλησιν ἐκείνην ἐλάμβανεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄλλη τε πολλαχῇ καὶ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην νῦν Πελοπόννησον ἐγένετο: ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἐθνῶν, τοῦ Ἀχαικοῦ, καὶ ἡ σύμπασα χερρόνησος, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἴωνικὸν καὶ ἄλλα συχνὰ ἔθην ἕνεστιν, Ἀχαΐα ὠνομάσθη. [p. 41]

[5] For the name of Tyrrhenia was then known throughout Greece, and all the western part of Italy was called by that name, the several nations of which it was composed having lost their distinctive appellations. The same thing happened to many parts of Greece also, and particularly to that part of it which is now called the Peloponnesus; for it was after one of the nations that inhabited it, namely the Achæan, that the whole peninsula also, in which are comprised the Arcadian, the Ionian and many other nations, was called Achaia.

[1] ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ Πελασγικὸν κακοῦσθαι ἤρξατο, δευτέρα γενεὰ σχεδὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐγένετο: διέτεινε δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, ἕως εἰς ἐλάχιστον συνεστάλη τὸ ἔθνος. ἔξω γὰρ Κρότωνος τῆς ἐν Ὀμβρικοῖς πόλεως ἀξιολόγου, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐν τῇ Ἀβοριγίνων οἰκισθὲν ἐτύγχανε, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Πελασγῶν διεφθάρη πολιίσματα. ἡ δὲ Κρότων ἄχρι πολλοῦ διαφυλάξασα τὸ παλαιὸν σχῆμα χρόνος οὐ πολὺς ἐξ οὗ τὴν τε ὀνομασίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἥλλαξε: καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικία, καλεῖται δὲ

[26.1] The time when the calamities of the Pelasgians began was about the second generation before the Trojan war; and they continued to occur even after that war, till the nation was reduced to very inconsiderable numbers. For, with the exception of Croton, the important city in Umbria, and any others that they had founded in the land of the Aborigines, all the rest of the Pelasgian towns were destroyed. But Croton long preserved its ancient form, having only recently changed both its name and in heights; it is now a Roman colony, called Corthonia.

[2] Κορθωνία. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τὴν χώραν Πελασγῶν κατασχόντες τὰς πόλεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς ἕκαστοί τισιν ἔτυχον ὁμοτέρμονας τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πλείστας τε καὶ ἀρίστας Τυρρηνοί. τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνοὺς οἱ μὲν αὐτόχθονας Ἰταλίας ἀποφαινοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἡλῦδας: καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῖς ταύτην οἱ μὲν αὐθιγενὲς τὸ ἔθνος ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἃ πρῶτοι τῶν τῇδε οἰκούντων κατεσκεύασαντο, τεθῆναι λέγουσι: τύρσεις γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς αἱ

ἐντεῖχιοι καὶ στεγαναὶ οἰκήσεις ὀνομάζονται ὥσπερ παρ' Ἑλλησιν. ἀπὸ δὴ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσι τεθῆναι τοῦνομα, ὡς περ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Μοσσυνοικοῖς: οἰκοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ κάκεῖνοι ἐπὶ ξυλίνοις ὥσπερ ἀνὰ πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς σταυρώμασι, μόσυνας αὐτὰ καλοῦντες. [p. 42]

[2] After the Pelasgians left the country their cities were seized by the various peoples which happened to live nearest them in each case, but chiefly by the Tyrrhenians, who made themselves masters of the greatest part and the best of them. As regards these Tyrrhenians, some declare them to be natives of Italy, but others call them foreigners. Those who make them a native race say that their name was given them from the forts, which they were the first of the inhabitants of this country to build; for covered buildings enclosed by walls are called by the Tyrrhenian as well as by the Greeks *tyrseis* or “towers.” So they will have it that they received their name from this circumstance in like manner as did the Mossynoeci in Asia; for these also live in high wooden palisades resembling towers, which they call *mossynes*.

[1] οἱ δὲ μετανάστας μυθολογοῦντες αὐτοὺς εἶναι Τυρρηγνὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας γενόμενον ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ θέσθαι τῷ ἔθνει τοῦνομα: τοῦτον δὲ Λυδὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς πρότερον Μηονίας καλουμένης, παλαιὸν δὴ τινα μετανάστην ὄντα: εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν πέμπτον ἀπὸ Διὸς, λέγοντες ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Γῆς Μάνην γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλέα: τοῦτου δὲ καὶ Καλλιρόης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς γεννηθῆναι Κότυν: τῷ δὲ Κότυϊ γῆμαντι θυγατέρα Τύλλου τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἀλίην δύο γενέσθαι παῖδας Ἀσίην καὶ Ἄτυν:

[27.1] But those who relate a legendary tale about their having come from a foreign land say that Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, gave his name to the nation, and that he was a Lydian by birth, from the district formerly called Maeonia, and migrated in ancient times. They add that he was the fifth in descent from Zeus; for they say that the son of Zeus and Gê was Manes, the first king of that country, and his son by Callirrhoê, the daughter of Oceanus, was Cotys, who by Haliê, the daughter of earth-born Tyllus, had two sons, Asies and Atys,

[2] ἐκ δὲ Ἄτυος καὶ Καλλιθέας τῆς Χωραίου Λυδὸν φῦναι καὶ Τυρρηγνόν: καὶ τὸν μὲν Λυδὸν αὐτοῦ καταμειναντα τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λυδίαν τὴν γῆν ὀνομασθῆναι: Τυρρηγνὸν δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγησάμενον πολλὴν κτήσασθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῖς συναραμένοις τοῦ στόλου ταύτην θέσθαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

[2] from the latter of whom by Callithea, the daughter of Choraëus, came Lydus and Tyrrhenus. Lydus, they continue, remaining there, inherited his father's kingdom, and from him the country was called Lydia; but Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, conquered a large portion of Italy and gave his name to those who had taken part in the expedition.

[3] Ἡροδότῳ δὲ εἴρηται Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω παῖδες οἱ περὶ Τυρρηγόν, καὶ ἡ μετανάστασις τῶν Μηόνων εἰς Ἰταλίαν οὐχ ἑκούσιος. φησὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄτυος ἀρχῆς ἀφορίαν καρπῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ Μηόνων γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τέως μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοχωρίας κρατουμένους πολλὰ διαμηχανήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν [p. 43] ἀλεξητήρια, τῇ μὲν ἐτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν μέτρια σιτία προσφερομένους, τῇ δ' ἐτέρᾳ διακαρτεροῦντας: χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ δεινοῦ διανειμάντας ἅπαντα τὸν δῆμον διχῇ κλήρους ταῖς μοίραις ἐπιβαλεῖν: τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς χώρας, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ μονῇ, καὶ τῶν Ἄτυος παιδῶν τὸν μὲν τῇ προσνεῖμαι, τὸν δὲ τῇ.

[3] Herodotus, however, says that Tyrrhenus and his brother were the sons of Atys, the son of Manes, and that the migration of the Maeonians to Italy was not voluntary. For they say that in the reign of Atys there was a dearth in the country of the Maeonians and that the inhabitants, inspired by love of their native land, for a time contrived a great many methods to resist this calamity, one day permitting themselves but a moderate allowance of food and the next day fasting. But, as the mischief continued, they divided the people into two groups and cast lots to determine which should go out of the country and which should stay in it; of the sons of Atys one was assigned to the one group the other to the other.

[4] λαχούσης δὲ τῆς ἅμα Λυδῷ μοίρας τὴν τοῦ μεῖναι τύχην, ἐκχωρήσαι τὴν ἐτέραν ἀπολαχοῦσαν τῶν χρημάτων τὰ μέρη, ὁρμισαμένην δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἔνθα ἦν Ὀμβρικοῖς ἡ οἴκησις, αὐτοῦ καταμείνασαν ἰδρύσασθαι πόλεις τὰς ἔτι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον οὖσας.

[4] And when the lot fell to that part of the people which was with Lydus to remain in the country, the other group departed after receiving their share of the common possessions; and landing in the western parts of Italy where the Umbrians dwelt, they remained there and built the cities that still existed even in his time.

[1] τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους συγγραφεῖς περὶ τοῦ Τυρρηγῶν γένους χρησαμένους ἐπίσταμαι, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ ταυτά, τοὺς δὲ μεταθέντας τὸν οἰκισμὸν καὶ τὸν χρόνον. ἔλεξαν γὰρ δὴ τινες Ἡρακλέους υἱὸν εἶναι τὸν Τυρρηγόν ἐξ Ὀμφάλης τῆς Λυδῆς γενόμενον: τοῦτον δ' ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οὐχ ἀπασῶν, ἀλλ' ὅσαι πέραν ἦσαν τοῦ Τεβέριος ἐν τῷ βορείῳ μέρει. ἕτεροι δὲ Τηλέφου παῖδα τὸν Τυρρηγόν ἀποφαίνουσιν, ἐλθεῖν δὲ μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἄλωσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

[28.1] I am aware that many other authors also have given this account of the Tyrrhenian race, some in the same terms, and others changing the character of the colony and the date. For some have said that Tyrrhenus was the son of Heracles by Omphalê, the Lydian, and that he, coming into Italy, dispossessed the Pelasgians of their cities, though not of all, but of those only that lay beyond the Tiber toward the north. Others declare that Tyrrhenus was the son

of Telephus and that after the taking of Troy he came into Italy.

[2] Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος [p. 44] ἔμπειρος ὢν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτῆς ἂν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθεῖς, οὐτε Τυρρηγνὸν ὠνόμακεν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς δυνάστην Λυδῶν οὔτε ἀποικίαν Μηδῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατασχοῦσαν ἐπίσταται Τυρρηνίας τε μνήμην ὡς Λυδῶν ἀποκτίσεως ταπεινοτέρων ἄλλων μεμνημένος οὐδεμίαν πεποιηται: Ἄτυος δὲ παῖδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρηβον, τοὺτους δὲ μερισαμένους τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέροις: καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἥρξαν ἐπ' ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε: ἅπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ, ἀπὸ Τορήβου δὲ Τόρηβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι σιλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ

[2] But Xanthus of Lydia, who was as well acquainted with ancient history as any man and who may be regarded as an authority second to none on the history of his own country, neither names Tyrrhenus in any part of his history as a ruler of the Lydians nor knows anything of the landing of a colony of Maeonians in Italy; nor does he make the least mention of Tyrrhenia as a Lydian colony, though he takes notice of several things of less importance. He says that Lydus and Torebus were the sons of Atys; that they, having divided the kingdom they had inherited from their father, both remained in Asia, and from them the nations over which they reigned received their names. His words are these: "From Lydus are sprung the Lydians, and from Torebus the Torebians. There is little difference in their language and even now each nation scoffs at many words used by the other, even as do the Ionians and Dorians."

[3] Δωριεῖς'. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς Τυρρηγνοὺς φησι Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένους, ἐπειδὴ κατώκησαν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, παραλαβεῖν ἦν νῦν ἔχουσι προσηγορίαν. ἔχει δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Φορωνίδι ὁ λόγος ὧδε: τοῦ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτῶν καὶ Μενίππης τῆς Πηνειοῦ ἐγένετο Φράστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ, τοῦ δὲ Τευταμίδης, τοῦ δὲ Νάνας. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεῦοντες οἱ Πελασγοὶ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ Σπινῇτι ποταμῷ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ τὰς νῆας καταλιπόντες [p. 45] Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσογείῳ εἶλον καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Τυρσηνίην ἔκτισαν'.

[3] Hellenicus of Lesbos says that the Tyrrhenians, who were previously called Pelasgians, received their present name after they had settled in Italy. These are his words in the *Phoronis*: "Phrastor was the son of Pelasgus, their king, and Menippê, the daughter of Peneus; his son was Amyntor, Amyntor's son was Teutamides, and the latter's son was Nanas. In his reign the Pelasgians were driven out of their country by the Greeks, and after leaving their ships on the river Spines in the Ionian Gulf, they took Croton, an inland city; and proceeding from there, they colonized the country now called Tyrrhenia."

[4] Μυρσίλος δὲ τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἀποφαινόμενος Ἑλλανικῶ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς φησιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλιπον, ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ μετονομασθῆναι Πελαργοὺς, τῶν ὀρνέων τοῖς καλουμένοις πελαργοῖς εἰκασθέντας, ὡς κατ' ἀγέλας ἐφοίτων εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον· καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τὸ Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον, τοὺτους περιβαλεῖν.

[4] But the account Myrsilus gives is the reverse of that given by Hellanicus. The Tyrrhenians, he says, after they had left their own country, were in the course of their wanderings called Pelargoi or “Storks,” from their resemblance to the birds of that name, since they swarmed in flocks both into Greece and into the barbarian lands; and they built the wall round the citadel of Athens which is called the Pelargic wall.

[1] ἔμοι μέντοι δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες ἀμαρτάνειν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος εἶναι τὸ Τυρρηρικὸν καὶ τὸ Πελασγικόν. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὀνομασίας ἀπολαῦσαι ποτε αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀλλήλων οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλα δὴ τινα ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλήνων, τὰ δὲ βαρβάρων, ταύτων ἔπαθεν, ὥσπερ τὸ Τρωικὸν καὶ τὸ Φρυγικὸν ἀγχοῦ οἰκοῦντα ἀλλήλων· πολλοῖς γέ τοι γένος ἐν ἄμφω ταῦτ' ἐνομίσθη, κλήσει διαλλάττον οὐ φύσει καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἄλλοθι που συνωνυμίας ἐπικερασθέντων καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ

[29.1] But in my opinion all though take the Tyrrhenians and the Pelasgians to be one and the same nation are mistaken. It is no wonder they were sometimes called by one another's names, since the same thing has happened to certain other nations also, both Greeks and barbarians, — for example, to the Trojans and Phrygians, who lived near each other (indeed, many have thought that those two nations were but one, differing in name only, not in fact). And the nations in Italy have been confused under a common name quite as often as any nations anywhere.

[2] ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπαθεν. ἦν γὰρ δὴ χρόνος ὅτε καὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ Αὔσονες καὶ συχνοὶ ἄλλοι Τυρρηνοὶ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλέγοντο, τῆς διὰ μακροῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν οἰκήσεως ἀσαφῆ ποιούσης τοῖς πρόσω τὴν ἀκριβείαν· τὴν τε Πρώμην αὐτὴν πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων [p. 46] Τυρρηνίδα πόλιν εἶναι ὑπέλαβον. ὀνομάτων μὲν οὖν ἐναλλαγὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ βίων, πείθομαι τοῖς ἔθνεσι γενέσθαι· κοινοῦ δὲ ἄμφω μετεκληθέναι γένους οὐ πείθομαι, πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς φωναῖς αὐτῶν διηλλαγμέναις καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὁμοιότητα σωζούσαις τεκμαιρόμενος.

[2] For there was a time when the Latins, the Umbrians, the Ausonians and many others were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks, the remoteness of the countries inhabited by these nations making their exact distinctions obscure to those who lived at a distance. And many of the historians have taken Rome itself for a Tyrrhenian city. I am persuaded, therefore, that these nations changed their name along with their place of abode, but can not believe that

they both had a common origin, for this reason, among many others, that their languages are different and preserve not the least resemblance to one another.

[3] 'καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε Κροτωνιῆται ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος 'οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶν ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δ' ὁμόγλωσσοι. δηλοῦσι δὲ ὅτι, τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτηῖρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσιν ἐν φυλακῇ. καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, εἰ Πλακιανοῖς μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσιν ὁμοίαν διάλεκτον εἶχον οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται, ἐπειδὴ Πελασγοὶ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέροι ἀρχῆθεν, Τυρρηνοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἔγγιστα οἰκοῦσι μηδὲν ὁμοίαν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς ὁμοφωνίας αἴτιον ὑποληπτέον, θάτερον δὴ που τῆς διαφωνίας:

[3] "For neither the Crotoniats," says Herodotus, "nor the Placians agree in language with any of their present neighbours, although they agree with each other; and it is clear that they preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them into those regions." However, one may well marvel that, although the Crotoniats had a speech similar to that of the Placians, who lived near the Hellespont, since both were originally Pelasgians, it was not at all similar to that of the Tyrrhenians, their nearest neighbours. For if kinship is to be regarded as the reason why two nations speak the same language, the contrary must, of course, be the reason for their speaking a different one,

[4] οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγχωρεῖ νομίζειν τὰμφοτέρα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον καὶ λόγον τιν' ἂν εἶχε γενόμενον, τὸ δὴ τοὺς πρόσω τὰς οἰκήσεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ποιησαμένους ὁμοεθνεῖς μηκέτι διασώζειν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτηῖρα διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πέλας ὁμιλίας: τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκοῦντας χωρίοις μηδ' ὅτιοῦν κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογεῖν ἐκ ταυτοῦ φόντας γένους οὐδένα λόγον ἔχει. [p. 47]

[4] since surely it is not possible to believe that both these conditions arise from the same cause. For, although it might reasonably happen, on the one hand, that men of the same nation who have settled at a distance from one another would, as the result of associating with their neighbours, no longer preserve the same fashion of speech, yet it is not at all reasonable that men sprung from the same race and living in the same country should not in the least agree with one another in their language.

[1] τοῦτω μὲν δὴ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενος ἑτέρους εἶναι πείθομαι τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τοὺς Πελασγοὺς. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἀποίκους οἶμαι γενέσθαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁμόγλωσσοι εἰσιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὥς φωνῇ μὲν οὐκέτι χρῶνται παραπλησίᾳ, ἄλλα δὲ τινα διασώζουσι τῆς μητροπόλεως γῆς μηνύματα. οὔτε γὰρ θεοὺς Λυδοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν οὔτε νόμοις οὐτ' ἐπιτηδεύμασι κέχρηνται παραπλησίοις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γε ταῦτα πλεον Λυδῶν διαφέρουσιν ἢ Πελασγῶν.

[30.1] For this reason, therefore, I am persuaded that the Pelasgians are a

different people from the Tyrrhenians. And I do not believe, either, that the Tyrrhenians were a colony of the Lydians; for they do not use the same language as the latter, nor can it be alleged that, though they no longer speak a similar tongue, they still retain some other indications of their mother country. For they neither worship the same gods as the Lydians nor make use of similar laws or institutions, but in these very respects they differ more from the Lydians than from the Pelasgians.

[2] κινδυνεύουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀληθέσι μᾶλλον εἰκότα λέγειν οἱ μηδαμόθεν ἀφιγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀρχαῖόν τε πάνυ καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ γένει οὔτε ὁμόγλωσσον οὔτε ὁμοδίαιτον ὃν εὕρισκεται. ὠνομάσθαι δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ οὐδὲν κωλύει, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς τύρρσεσιν οἰκήσεις καὶ

[2] Indeed, those probably come nearest to the truth who declare that the nation migrated from nowhere else, but was native to the country, since it is found to be a very ancient nation and to agree with no other either in its language or in its manner of living. And there is no reason why the Greeks should not have called them by this name, both from their living in towers and from the name of one of their rulers.

[3] ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου. Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι ἄλλαις αὐτὸ προσαγορεύουσιν ὀνομασίαις: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, ἐν ᾗ ποτε ὤκησαν, Ἑτρουρίας προσαγορευομένης Ἑτρούσκους καλοῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβάσματα λειτουργιῶν, διαφέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν ἐτέρων, νῦν μὲν Τοῦσκους ἀσαφέστερον, [p. 48] πρότερον δ' ἀκριβοῦντες τοῦνομα ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Θυοσκοὺς ἐκάλουν: αὐτοὶ μέντοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὸς Ρασέννα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ

[3] The Romans, however, give them other names: from the country they once inhabited, named Etruria, they call them Etruscans, and from their knowledge of the ceremonies relating to divine worship, in which they excel others, they now call them, rather inaccurately, Tusci, but formerly, with the same accuracy as the Greeks, they called them Thyoscoi. Their own name for themselves, however, is the same as that of one of their leaders, Rasenna.

[4] τρόπον ὀνομάζουσι. πόλεις δὲ ἄστινας ὤκισαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, καὶ πολιτευμάτων οὗς2τινας κατεστήσαντο κόσμους, δυνάμιν τε ὀπόσῃν οἱ σύμπαντες καὶ ἔργα εἴ τινα μνήμης ἄξια διεπράξαντο, τύχαις τε ὁποίαις ἐχρήσαντο, ἐν ἐτέρῳ δηλωθήσεται λόγῳ.

[4] In another book I shall show what cities the Tyrrhenians founded, what forms of government they established, how great power they acquired, what memorable achievements they performed, and what fortunes attended them.

[5] τὸ δ' οὖν Πελασγικὸν φύλον, ὅσον μὴ διεφθάρῃ τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας διεσπᾶσθῃ, διέμεινε δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ πολλοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων

πολιτευόμενον ἐν τούτοις ὑπελείφθη τοῖς χωρίοις, ὅπου σὺν χρόνῳ τῇν Ῥώμην οἱ ἔκγονοι αὐτῶν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπολίσσαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ γένους μυθολογούμενα τοιάδε ἐστί.

[5] As for the Pelasgian nation, however, those who were not destroyed or dispersed among the various colonies (for a small number remained out of a great many) were left behind as fellow citizens of the Aborigines in these parts, where in the course of time their posterity, together with others, built the city of Rome. Such are the legends told about the Pelasgian race.

[1] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον στόλος ἄλλος Ἑλληνικὸς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας καταγεται, ἐξηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ Παλλαντίου πόλεως Ἀρκαδικῆς ἀναστὰς. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Εὐάνδρος Ἑρμοῦ λεγόμενος καὶ νύμφης τινὸς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχωρίας, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Θέμιν εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ θεοφόρητον ἀποφαινουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συγγράψαντες [p. 49] ἀρχαιολογίας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσει Καρμέντην ὀνομάζουσιν: εἴη δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ Θεοσπιωδὸς τῇ νύμφῃ τοῦνομα: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὥδᾶς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κάρμινα, τὴν δὲ γυναικα ταύτην ὁμολογοῦσι δαιμονίῳ πνεύματι κατὰσχετον γενομένην τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν τῷ πλήθει δι' ὥδῃς προλέγειν.

[31.1] Soon after, another Greek expedition landed in this part of Italy, having migrated from Pallantium, a town of Arcadia, about the sixtieth year before the Trojan war, as the Romans themselves say. This colony had for its leader Evander, who is said to have been the son of Hermes and a local nymph of the Arcadians. The Greeks call her Themis and say that she was inspired, but the writers of the early history of Rome call her, in the native language, Carmenta. The nymph's name would be in Greek Thespiōdos or "prophetic singer"; for the Romans call songs carmina, and they agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, foretold to the people in song the things that would come to pass.

[2] ὁ δὲ στόλος οὗτος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἐπέμφθη, ἀλλὰ στασιάσαντος τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἐλαττωθὲν μέρος ἐκούσιον ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τότε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων παρειληφώς Φαῦνος, Ἄρεος ὡς φασιν ἀπόγονος, ἀνὴρ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου καὶ συνετὸς, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δαιμόνων θυσίαις καὶ ὥδαῖς γεραίρουσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δεξάμενος κατὰ πολλὴν φιλότητα τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὀλίγους ὄντας, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ὀπόσῃν ἐβούλοντο.

[2] This expedition was not sent out by the common consent of the nation, but, a sedition having arisen among the people, the faction which was defeated left the country of their own accord. It chanced that the kingdom of the Aborigines had been inherited at that time by Faunus, a descendant of Mars, it is said, a man of prudence as well as energy, whom the Romans in their sacrifices and songs honour as one of the gods of their country. This man

received the Arcadians, who were but few in number, with great friendship and gave them as much of his own land as they desired.

[3] οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ὡς ἡ Θέμις αὐτοῖς ἐπιθειάζουσα ἔφραζεν, αἰροῦνται λόφον ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντα τοῦ Τεβέριος, ὃς ἐστὶ νῦν ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, καὶ κατασκευάζονται πρὸς αὐτῷ κώμην βραχεῖαν, δυσὶ ναυτικοῖς πληρώμασιν ἐν οἷς ἀπανέστησαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποχρῶσαν, ἣν ἔμελλε τὸ πεπρωμένον σὺν χρόνῳ θήσειν ὅσῃν οὕθ' Ἑλλάδα πόλιν οὔτε βάρβαρον κατὰ τε οἰκίσεως μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ δυναστείας ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν εὐτυχίαν, [p. 50] χρόνον τε ὅποσον ἂν ὁ θνητος αἰὼν ἀντέχη

[3] And the Arcadians, as Themis by inspiration kept advising them, chose a hill, not far from the Tiber, which is now near the middle of the city of Rome, and by this hill built a small village sufficient for the complement of the two ships in which they had come from Greece. Yet this village was ordained by fate to excel in the course of time all other cities, whether Greek or barbarian, not only in its size, but also in the majesty of its empire and in every other form of prosperity, and to be celebrated above them all as long as mortality shall endure.

[4] πόλεων μάλιστα πασῶν μνημονευθησομένην. ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πολισμάτι τούτῳ τίθενται Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως: νῦν μέντοι Παλάτιον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λέγεται συγγέαντος τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀκριβείαν καὶ παρέχει πολλοῖς ἀτόπων ἐτυμολογιῶν ἀφορμάς:

[4] They named the town Pallantium after their mother-city in Arcadia; now, however, the Romans call it Palatium, time having obscured the correct form, and this name has given occasion of the many to suggest absurd etymologies.

[1] ὡς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἐπὶ τινος μειρακίου Πάλλαντος αὐτόθι τελευτήσαντος: τοῦτον δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι παῖδα καὶ Λαῦνας τῆς Εὐάνδρου θυγατρὸς: χῶσαντα δ' αὐτῷ τὸν μητροπάτορα τάφον ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ Παλλάντιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μειρακίου τὸν τόπον ὀνομάσαι.

[32] But some writers, among them Polybius of Megalopolis, related that the town was named after Pallas, a lad who died there; they say that he was the son of Hercules and Lavinia, the daughter of Evander, and that his maternal grandfather raised a tomb to him on the hill and called the place Pallantium, after the lad.

[2] ἐγὼ μέντοι οὔτε τάφον ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πάλλαντος οὔτε χοὰς ἔμαθον ἐπιτελουμένας οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων οὐδὲν ἡδυνήθην ἰδεῖν, καίτοι γε οὐκ ἀμνήστου τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἀφειμένης οὐδ' ἀμοῖρου τιμῶν αἷς τὸ δαιμόνιον γένος ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων γεραίρεται. καὶ γὰρ Εὐάνδρῳ θυσίας ἔμαθον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτελουμένας ὁσέτη δημοσίᾳ καὶ Καρμέντῃ, καθάπερ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἥρωσι καὶ δαίμοσι, καὶ βωμοὺς ἐθεασάμην ἰδρυμένους, Καρμέντῃ

μεν ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ ταῖς Καρμεντίσι πύλαις, Εὐάνδρῳ δὲ πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τῶν λόφων Αὐεντίνῳ λεγομένῳ τῆς Τριδύμου πύλης οὐ πρόσω: Πάλλαντι δὲ

[2] But I have never seen any tomb of Pallas at Rome nor have I heard of any drink-offerings being made in his honour nor been able to discover anything else of that nature, although this family has not been left unremembered or without those honours with which divine beings are worshipped by men. For I have learned that public sacrifices are performed yearly by the Romans to Evander and to Carmenta in the same manner as to the other heroes and minor deities; and I have seen two altars that were erected, one to Carmenta under the Capitoline hill near the Porta Carmentalis, and the other to Evander by another hill, called the Aventine, not far from the Porta Trigemina; but I know of nothing of this kind that is done in honour of Pallas.

[3] οὐδὲν οἶδα τούτων γινόμενον. οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀρκάδες [p. 51] ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ συνοικισθέντες τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμου τὸ κτίσμα τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἱερὰ ἰδρύνονται, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανὶ τῆς Θέμιδος ἐξηγουμένης Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατός τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Πάν' χωρίον ἐξευρόντες ἐπιτήδειον, ὃ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λουπερκάλιον, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εἴποιμεν Λύκαιον.

[3] As for the Arcadians, when they had joined in a single settlement at the foot of the hill, they proceeded to adorn their town with all the buildings to which they had been accustomed at home and to erect temples. And first they built a temple to the Lycaean Pan by the direction of Themis (for to the Arcadians Pan is the most ancient and the most honoured of all the gods), when they had found a suitable site for the purpose. This place the Romans call the Lupercal, but we should call it Lykaion or "Lycaeum."

[4] νῦν μὲν οὖν συμπεπολισμένων τῷ τεμένει τῶν περίξ χωρίων δυσεῖκαστος γέγονεν ἢ παλαιὰ τοῦ τόπου φύσις, ἣν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὡς λέγεται σπήλαιον ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ μέγα, δρυμῷ λασίῳ κατηρεφές, καὶ κρηνίδες ὑπὸ ταῖς πέτραις ἐμβύθιοι, ἣ τε προσεχὴς τῷ κρημνῷ νάπη πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις δένδροισιν ἐπίσκοις.

[4] Now, it is true, since the district about the sacred precinct has been united with the city, it has become difficult to make out by conjecture the ancient nature of the place. Nevertheless, at first, we are told, there was a large cave under the hill overarched by a dense wood; deep springs issued from beneath the rocks, and the glen adjoining the cliffs was shaded by thick and lofty trees.

[5] ἔνθα βωμὸν ἰδρυσάμενοι τῷ θεῷ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσαν, ἣν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου Ῥωμαῖοι θύουσιν ἐν μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ μετὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς, οὐδὲν τῶν τότε γενομένων μετακινούντες: ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θυσίας ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα λεχθήσεται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς

Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες θυσίας καὶ ταύτη κατεστήσαντο διετησίους, ἃς καὶ ἐπ' ἑμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθουν.

[5] In this place they raised an altar to the god and performed their traditional sacrifice, which the Romans have continued to offer up to this day in the month of February, after the winter solstice, without altering anything in the rites then performed. The manner of this sacrifice will be related later. Upon the summit of the hill they set apart the precinct of Victory and instituted sacrifices to her also, lasting throughout the year, which the Romans performed even in my time.

[1] ταύτην δὲ Ἀρκάδες μυθολογοῦσι Πάλλαντος εἶναι θυγατέρα τοῦ Λυκάονος: τιμὰς δὲ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἃς ἔχει νῦν Ἀθηνᾶς βουλήσει λαβεῖν, γενομένην τῆς θεοῦ σύντροφον. δοθῆναι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γονῆς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Πάλλαντι ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τέως εἰς ὥραν ἀφίκετο τραφῆναι. ἰδρῦσαντο [p. 52] δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῇ διὰ γυναικῶν τε καὶ νηφαλίους ἔθυσαν, ὡς Ἑλλησι νόμος,

[33] The Arcadians have a legend that this goddess was the daughter of Pallas, the son of Lycaon, and that she received those honours from mankind which she now enjoys at the desire of Athena, with whom she had been reared. For they say that Athena, as soon as she was born, was handed over to Pallas by Zeus and that she was reared by him till she grew up. They built also a temple to Ceres, to whom by the ministry of women they offered sacrifices without wine, according to the custom of the Greeks, none of which rites our time has changed.

[2] ὣν οὐδὲν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἥλλαξε χρόνος. ἀπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τέμενος Ἰππίῳ καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ἱπποκράτεια μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων, Κωνσουάλια δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λεγόμενα κατεστήσαντο, ἐν ἧ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἔθους ἐλινύουσιν ἔργων ἵπποι καὶ ὄρεῖς καὶ στέφονται τὰς κεφαλὰς ἄνθεσι.

[2] Moreover, they assigned a precinct to the Equestrian Neptune and instituted the festival called by the Arcadians Hippocrateia and by the Romans Consualia, during which it is customary among the latter for the horses and mules to rest from work and to have their heads crowned with flowers.

[3] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ βρέτη θεῶν καθωσίωσαν, ἀγισμοὺς τε καὶ θυσίας κατεστήσαντο πατρίους, αἱ μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἑμὲ χρόνων τὸν αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο τρόπον. οὐ θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν εἰ καὶ παρῇνται τινες διαφυγοῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἐπιγινόμενων μνήμην ὑπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου: ἀλλ' ἀποχρῶσι γε αἱ νῦν ἔτι γινόμεναι τεκμήρια εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν ποτε νομίμων: λεχθήσεται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐν ἑτέροις.

[3] They also consecrated many other precincts, altars and images of the gods and instituted purifications and sacrifices according to the customs of their own country, which continued to be performed down to my day in the same

manner. Yet I should not be surprised if some of the ceremonies by reason of their great antiquity have been forgotten by their posterity and neglected; however, those that are still practised are sufficient proofs that they are derived from the customs formerly in use among the Arcadians, of which I shall speak more at length elsewhere.

[4] λέγονται δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν χρῆσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρῶτοι διακομίσαι νεωστὶ φανεῖσαν Ἀρκάδες καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν δι' ὀργάνων, ἃ δὴ λύραι τε καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ αὐλοὶ καλοῦνται, τῶν προτέρων ὅτι μὴ σύριγξι ποιμενικαῖς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μουσικῆς τεχνήματι χρωμένων, νόμους τε θέσθαι καὶ τὴν διαιταν ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰς ἡμερότητα μεταγαγεῖν τέχνας τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τινα ὠφελήματα εἰς τὸ [p. 53] κοινὸν καταθεῖναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνειν πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων. τοῦτο δεῦτερον ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν μετὰ Πελασγοὺς ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ἰταλίαν κοινὴν ἔσχε μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων οἴκησιν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς Ρώμης ἰδρυσάμενον χωρίῳ.

[4] The Arcadians are said also to have been the first to introduce into Italy the use of Greek letters, which had lately appeared among them, and also music performed on such instruments as lyres, trigons and flutes; for their predecessors had used no musical invention except shepherd's pipes. They are said also to have established laws, to have transformed men's mode of life from the prevailing bestiality to a state of civilization, and likewise to have introduced arts and professions and many other things conducive to the public good, and for these reasons to have been treated with great consideration by those who had received them.

[5]

[5] This was the next Greek nation after the Pelasgians to come into Italy and to take up a common residence with the Aborigines, establishing itself in the best part of Rome.

[1] ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσι μετὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἄλλος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνεῖται στόλος Ἑλληνικὸς ἄγοντος Ἡρακλέους, ὃς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου πάντα χειρωσάμενος ἦκεν. ἐξ ὧν τινες Ἡρακλέα παραιτησάμενοι τῆς πραγματείας ἀφεθῆναι, περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὑπέμειναν καὶ πολίζονται λόφον ἐπιτήδειον εὐρόντες, τρισταδίῳ δὲ μάλιστα μήκει τοῦ Παλλαντίου διειργόμενον, ὃς νῦν μὲν Καπιτωλῖνος ὀνομάζεται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων Σατόρνιος ἐλέγετο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴποι τις Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ Κρόνιος.

[34.1] A few years after the Arcadians another Greek expedition came into Italy under the command of Hercules, who had just returned from the conquest of Spain and of all the region that extends to the setting of the sun. It was some of his followers who, begging Hercules to dismiss them from the expedition, remained in this region and built a town on a suitable hill, which they found at a distance of about three stades from Pallantium. This is now called the

Capitoline hill, but by the men of that time the Saturnian hill, or, in Greek, the hill of Cronus.

[2] τῶν δὲ ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν Πελοποννήσιοι, Φερεῶται τε καὶ Ἐπειοὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἥλιδος, οἷς οὐκέτι πόθος ἦν τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ διαπεπορθημένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἡρακλέα πολέμῳ, ἐμέμικτο δέ τι καὶ Τρωικὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντος αἰχμαλώτων ἐξ Ἰλίου γενομένων ὅτε τῆς πόλεως Ἡρακλῆς ἐκράτησε. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ πᾶν, εἴ τι καματηρὸν ἢ τῇ πλάνῃ ἀχθόμενον ἦν, ἄφεςιν τῆς στρατείας αἰτησάμενον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ

[2] The greater part of those who stayed behind were Peloponnesians — people of Pheneus and Epeans of Elis, who no longer had any desire to return home, since their country had been laid waste in the war against Hercules. There was also a small Trojan element mingled with these, consisting of prisoners taken from Ilium in the reign of Laomedon, at the time when Hercules conquered the city. And I am of the opinion that all the rest of the army, also, who were either wearied by their labours or irked by their wanderings, obtained their dismissal from the expedition and remained there.

[3] τῷδε ὑπομεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ λόφῳ τινὲς μὲν [p. 54] ὥσπερ ἔφην ἀρχαῖον οἰοῦνται εἶναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς οὐχ ἥκιστα φιλοχωρῆσαι τῷ λόφῳ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν Ἥλιδι Κρονίου λόφου, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Πισάτιδι γῇ ποταμοῦ πλησίον Ἀλφειοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νομίζοντες Ἡεῖλοι θυσίαις καὶ ἄλλαις τιμαῖς συνιόντες γεραίρουσιν ἐν ὠρισμένοις χρόνοις.

[3] As for the name of the hill, some think it was an ancient name, as I have said, and that consequently the Epeans were especially pleased with the hill through memory of the hill of Cronus in Elis. This is in the territory of Pisa, near the river Alpheus, and the Eleans, regarding it as sacred to Cronus, assemble together at stated times to honour it with sacrifices and other marks of reverence.

[4] Εὐξενος δὲ ποιητῆς ἀρχαῖος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἰταλικῶν μυθογράφων ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἰοῦνται Πισατῶν διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι Κρονίου τεθῆναι τῷ τόπῳ τοῦνομα, καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς ἰδρύσασθαι μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, ὅς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῇ ρίζῃ τοῦ λόφου κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, τὴν τε θυσίαν, ἣν καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθουον φυλάττοντες τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον, ἐκείνους εἶναι τοὺς καταστησαμένους.

[4] But Euxenus, an ancient poet, and some others of the Italian mythographers think that the name was given to the place by the men from Pisa themselves, from its likeness to their hill of Cronus, that the Epeans together with Hercules erected the altar to Saturn which remains to this day at the foot of the hill near the ascent that leads from the Forum to the Capitol, and that it

was they who instituted the sacrifice which the Romans still performed even in my time, observing the Greek ritual.

[5] ὥς δ' ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλέα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἱερὸς ἦν ὁ τόπος τοῦ Κρόνου καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Σατόρνιος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ ἀκτὴ σύμπασα ἢ νῦν Ἰταλία καλουμένη τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ ἀνέκειτο, Σατορνία πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων ὀνομαζομένη, ὥς ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν τε Σιβυλλεῖσις τισὶ λογίοις καὶ ἄλλοις χρηστηρίοις ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δεδομένοις εἰρημένον, ἱερά τε πολλαχῇ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶν ἰδρυμένα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πόλεις τινὲς οὕτως ὥσπερ ἡ σύμπασα τότε ἀκτὴ ὀνομαζόμενα χῶροί τε [p. 55] πολλοὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπώνυμοι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ σκόπελοι καὶ τὰ μετέωρα:

[5] But from the best conjectures I have been able to make, I find that even before the arrival of Hercules in Italy this place was sacred to Saturn and was called by the people of the country the Saturnian hill, and all the rest of the peninsula which is now called Italy was consecrated to this god, being called Saturnia by the inhabitants, as may be found stated in some Sibylline prophecies and other oracles delivered by the gods. And in many parts of the country there are temples dedicated to this god; certain cities bear the same name by which the whole peninsula was known at that time, and many places are called by the name of the god, particularly headlands and eminences.

[1] Ἰταλία δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὠνομάσθη ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου ὄνομα Ἰταλοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἀγαθὸν καὶ σοφὸν γεγεννημένον καὶ τῶν πλησιохώρων τοὺς μὲν λόγοις ἀναπειθόντα, τοὺς δὲ βίᾳ προσαγόμενον, ἅπασαν ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν γῆν ὅση ἐντὸς ἦν τῶν κόλπων τοῦ τε Ναπητίνου καὶ τοῦ Σκυλλητίνου: ἦν δὲ πρώτην κληθῆναι Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης καρτερὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς εἶχεν ὑπηκόους αὐτῷ, αὐτίκα τῶν ἐχομένων ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ πόλεις συναγεσθαι πολλάς: εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν Οἰνωτρον τὸ γένος.

[35.1] But in the course of time the land came to be called Italy, after a ruler named Italus. This man, according to Antiochus of Syracuse, was both a wise and good prince, and persuading some of his neighbours by arguments and subduing the rest by force, he made himself master of all the land which lies between the Napetine and Scylacian bays, which was the first land, he says, to be called Italy, after Italus. And when he had possessed himself of this district and had many subjects, he immediately coveted the neighbouring peoples and brought many cities under his rule. He says further that Italus was an Oenotrian by birth.

[2] Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος φησὶν Ἡρακλέα τὰς Γηρυόνης βοῦς ἀπελαύνοντα εἰς Ἄργος, ἐπειδὴ τις αὐτῷ δάμαλις ἀποσκοιρτήσας τῆς ἀγέλης ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐόντι ἤδη φεύγων διῆρε τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ διανηξάμενος πόρον τῆς θαλάττης εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐρόμενον αἰεὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθ' οὓς ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο διώκων τὸν δάμαλιν, εἴ πη τις αὐτὸν ἐωρακώς

εἴη, τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων Ἑλλάδος μὲν γλώττης ὀλίγα συνιέντων, τῇ δὲ πατρίῳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὰς μηνύσεις τοῦ ζώου καλοῦντων τὸν δάμαλιν οὐίτουλον, ὥστερ καὶ νῦν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τοῦ ζώου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι [p. 56]

[2] But Hellanicus of Lesbos says that when Hercules was driving Geryon's cattle to Argos and was come to Italy, a calf escaped from the herd and in its flight wandered the whole length of the coast and then, swimming across the intervening strait of the sea, came into Sicily. Hercules, following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came if anyone had seen it anywhere, and when the people of the island, who understood but little Greek and used their own speech when indicating the animal, called it vitulus (the name by which it is still known), he, in memory of the calf, called all the country it had wandered over Vitulia.

[3] πᾶσαν ὅσῃν ὁ δάμαλις διῆλθεν Οὐίτουλίαν. μεταπεσεῖν δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἰς τὸ νῦν σχῆμα οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πολλὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον πέπονθεν ὀνομάτων. πλὴν εἴτε ὡς Ἀντίοχος φησιν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμόνος, ὅπερ ἴσως καὶ πιθανώτερόν ἐστιν, εἴθ' ὡς Ἑλλάνικος οἶται ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύρου τὴν ὀνομασίαν ταύτην ἔσχεν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δῆλον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἡλικίαν ἢ μικρῷ πρόσθεν οὕτως ὠνομάσθη. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων Ἑλληνες μὲν Ἑσπερίαν καὶ Αὐσονίαν αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Σατορνίαν, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον.

[3] And it is no wonder that the name has been changed in the course of time to its present form, since many Greek names, too, have met with a similar fate. But whether, as Antiochus says, the country took this name from a ruler, which perhaps is more probable, or, as Hellanicus believes, from the bull, yet this at least is evident from both their accounts, that in Hercules' time, or a little earlier, it received this name. Before that it had been called Hesperia and Ausonia by the Greeks and Saturnia by the natives, as I have already stated.

[1] ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἕτερος λόγος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μυθολογούμενος, ὡς πρὸ τῆς Διὸς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κρόνος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ δυναστεύσειε, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπ' ἐκείνου βίος ἅπασι δασιλῆς ὁπόσοις ὦραι φύουσιν οὐ παρ' ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ σφίσι γένοιτο.

[36.1] There is another legend related by the inhabitants, to the effect that before the reign of Jupiter Saturn was lord in this land and that the celebrated manner of life in his reign, abounding in the produce of every season, was enjoyed by none more than them.

[2] καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλως ἀφελῶν τὸ μυθῶδες τοῦ λόγου χώρας ἀρετὴν ἐξετάζειν ἐθέλησειεν, ἐξ ἧς γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπων πλειστας εὐφροσύνας ἐκαρπώσατο γενόμενον εὐθύς εἴτ' ἐκ γῆς ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς ἔχει λόγος, εἴτ' ἄλλως πως, οὐκ ἂν εὖροι ταύτης τινὰ ἐπιτηδειότεραν. ὡς γὰρ μία γῇ πρὸς ἑτέραν κρίνεσθαι

τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος, οὐ μόνον τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης κρατίστη κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν ἐστὶν Ἰταλία.

[2] And, indeed, if anyone, setting aside the fabulous part of this account, will examine the merit of any country from which mankind received the greatest enjoyments immediately after their birth, whether they sprang from the earth, according to the ancient tradition, or came into being in some other manner, he will find none more beneficent to them than this. For, to compare one country with another of the same extent, Italy is, in my opinion, the best country, not only of Europe, but even of all the rest of the world.

[3] καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι πολλοῖς οὐ πιστὰ δόξω λέγειν, ἐνθυμουμένοις Αἴγυπτον τε καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἄλλοι χώροι εἰσιν εὐδαίμονες: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸν [p. 57] ἐκ γῆς πλοῦτον οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ τίθεται καρπῶν ἰδέα οὐδ' εἰσέρχεται με ζῆλος οἰκίσεως, ἐν ᾗ μόνον εἰσὶν ἄρουραι πίονες, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἢ βραχὺ τι χρησίμων, ἀλλ' ἥτις ἂν εἴη πολυαρκεστάτη τε καὶ τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐλάχιστον δεομένη, ταύτην κρατίστην εἶναι λογιζομαι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ παμφόρον καὶ πολυωφελὲς παρ' ἡντινοῦν ἄλλην γῆν Ἰταλίαν ἔχειν πείθομαι.

[3] And yet I am not unaware that I shall not be believed by many when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia and any other fertile countries there may be. But I, for my part, do not limit the wealth derived from the soil to one sort of produce, nor do I feel any eagerness to live where there are only rich arable lands and little or nothing else that is useful; but I account that country the best which is the most self-sufficient and generally stands least in need of imported commodities. And I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility and diversity of advantages beyond any other land.

[1] οὐ γὰρ ἀρούρας μὲν ἀγαθὰς ἔχει καὶ πολλάς, ἄδενδρος δ' ἐστὶν ὡς σιτοφόρος: οὐδ' αὖ φυτὰ μὲν ἱκανῇ παντοῖα θρέψασθαι, σπεῖρεσθαι δ' ὡς δενδρίτις ὀλιγόκαρπος: οὐδ' ἄμφω μὲν ταῦτα παρέχειν δασιλῆς, προβατεῦεσθαι δ' ἀνεπιτήδειος: οὐδ' ἂν τις αὐτὴν φαίη πολύκαρπον μὲν εἶναι καὶ πολύδενδρον καὶ πολύβοτον, ἐνδίαίτημα δ' ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχειν ἄχαρι: ἀλλ' ἔστι πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ

[37.1] For Italy does not, while possessing a great deal of good arable land, lack trees, as does a grain-bearing country; nor, on the other hand, while suitable for growing all manner of trees, does it, when sown to grain, produce scanty crops, as does a timbered country; nor yet, while yielding both grain and trees in abundance, is it unsuitable for the grazing of cattle; nor can anyone say that, while it bears rich produce of crops and timber and herds, it is nevertheless disagreeable for men to live in. Nay, on the contrary, it abounds in practically everything that affords either pleasure or profit.

[2] ὠφελείας ἔκπλεως. ποίας μὲν γὰρ λείπεται σιτοφόρου μὴ ποταμοῖς, ἀλλὰ

τοῖς οὐρανίοις ὕδασιν ἀρδομένης τὰ καλοῦμενα Καμπανῶν πεδία, ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ καὶ τρικάρπους ἔθεασάμην ἀρούρας θερινὸν ἐπὶ χειμερινῷ καὶ μετοπωρινὸν ἐπὶ θερινῷ σπόρον ἐκφερούσας; ποίας δ' ἐλαιοφόρου τὰ Μεσσαιῶν καὶ Δαυνίων καὶ Σαβίνων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων γεώργια; ποίας δ' οἰνοφύτου Τυρρηγία καὶ Ἀλβανή καὶ τὰ Φαλερινῶν χωρία θαυμαστῶς [p. 58] ὥς φιλάμπελα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου πόνου πλείστους ἅμα καὶ κρατίστους καρποὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν εὐπορα;

[2] To what grain-bearing country, indeed, watered, not with rivers, but with rains from heaven, do the plains of Campania yield, in which I have seen fields that produce even three crops in a year, summer's harvest following upon that of when and autumn's upon that of summer? To what olive orchards are those of the Messapians, the Daunians, the Sabines and many others inferior? To what vineyards those of Tyrrhenia and the Alban and the Falernian districts, where the soil is wonderfully kind to vines and with the least labour produces the finest grapes in the greatest abundance?

[3] χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἐνεργοῦ πολλὴν μὲν ἂν τις εὔροι τὴν εἰς ποιμένας ἀνειμένην αὐτῆς, πολλὴν δὲ τὴν αἰγινόμον, ἔτι δὲ πλείω καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν τὴν ἵπποφορβὸν τε καὶ βουκολίδα: ἡ γὰρ ἔλειος καὶ λειμωνία βοτάνη δασιλῆς οὔσα τῶν τε ὀργάδων ἡ δροσερὰ καὶ κατάρρυτος ἄπειρος ὅση θέρει νέμεται καὶ παρέχει διὰ παντὸς εὐθenoύσας τὰς ἀγέλας.

[3] And besides the land that is cultivated one will find much that is left untilled as pasturage for sheep and goats, and still more extensive and more wonderful is the land suitable for grazing horses and cattle; for not only the marsh and meadow grass, which is very plentiful, but the dewy and well-watered grass of the glades, infinite in its abundance, furnish grazing for them in summer as well as in winter and keep them always in good condition.

[4] πάντων δ' εἰσὶν οἱ δρυμοὶ θαυμασιώτατοι περὶ τε τὰ κρημνώδη χωρία καὶ τὰς νάπας καὶ τοὺς ἀγεωργήτους λόφους, ἐξ ὧν πολλῆς μὲν εὐποροῦσι καὶ καλῆς ὕλης ναυπηγησίμου, πολλῆς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐργασίας εὐθέτου. καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν οὔτε δυσπόριστόν ἐστιν οὔτε πρόσω τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης χρείας κείμενον, ἀλλ' εὐκατέργαστα καὶ ῥάδια παρῆναι πάντα διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ποταμῶν, οἳ διαρρέουσιν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ ποιοῦσι τὰς τε κομιδὰς καὶ τὰς ἀμειψεῖς τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων λυσιτελεῖς.

[4] But most wonderful of all are the forests growing upon the rocky heights, in the glens and on the uncultivated hills, from which the inhabitants are abundantly supplied with fine timber suitable for the building of ships as well as for all other purposes. Nor are any of these materials hard to come at or at a distance from human need, but they are easy to handle and readily available, owing to the multitude of rivers that flow through the whole peninsula and make the transportation and exchange of everything the land produces inexpensive.

[5] ἔχει δὲ ἡ γῆ καὶ νάματα θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐν πολλοῖς εὕρημένα χωρίοις, λουτρὰ παρασχεῖν ἥδιστα καὶ νόσους ἰάσασθαι χρονίους ἄριστα, καὶ μέταλλα παντοδαπὰ καὶ θηρίων ἄγρας ἀφθόνους καὶ θαλάττης φύσιν πολύγονον ἄλλα τε μυρία, τὰ μὲν [p. 59] εὖχρηστα, τὰ δὲ θαυμάσια, πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, ἀέρα κεκραμένον ταῖς ὥραις συμμετρώς, οἷον ἥκιστα πημαίνειν κρυμῶν ὑπερβολαῖς ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐξαισίους καρπῶν τε γένεσιν καὶ ζῶων φύσιν.

[5] Springs also of hot water have been discovered in many places, affording most pleasant baths and sovereign cures for chronic ailments. There are also mines of all sorts, plenty of wild beasts for hunting, and a great variety of sea fish, besides innumerable other things, some useful and others of a nature to excite wonder. But the finest thing of all is the climate, admirably tempered by the seasons, so that less than elsewhere is harm done by excessive cold or inordinate heat either to the growing fruits and grains or to the bodies of animals.

[1] οὐδὲν δὴ θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἱερὰν ὑπολαβεῖν τοῦ Κρόνου τὴν χώραν ταύτην, τὸν μὲν δαίμονα τοῦτον οἰομένους εἶναι πάσης εὐδαιμονίας δοτῆρα καὶ πληρωτὴν ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε Κρόνον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ὡς Ἑλλήνες ἀξιοῦσιν, εἴτε Σάτουρνον, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν δὲ περιειληφότα τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν, ὅποτέρως ἂν τις ὀνομάσῃ: τὴν δὲ χώραν ταύτην ὀρῶντας ἐκπλεω πάσης εὐπορίας καὶ χάριτος, ἥς τὸ θνητὸν ἐφίεται γένος, ἀξιοῦντας δὲ καὶ θεῖω καὶ θνητῷ γένει τὸ πρόσφορον εἶναι πάντων χωρίων ἀρμοδιώτατον, ὄρη μὲν καὶ νάπας Πανί, λειμῶνας δὲ καὶ τεθηλότα χωρία νύμφαις, ἀκτὰς δὲ καὶ νήσους πελαγίοις δαίμοσι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὡς ἐκάστω

[38.1] It is no wonder, therefore, that the ancients looked upon this country as sacred to Saturn, since they esteemed this god to be the giver and accomplisher of all happiness to mankind, — whether he ought to be called Cronus, as the Greeks deem fitting, or Saturn, as do the Romans, — and regarded him as embracing the whole universe, by whichever name he is called, and since they saw this country abounding in universal plenty and every charm mankind craves, and judged those places to be most agreeable both to divine and to human beings that are suited to them — for example, the mountains and woods to Pan, the meadows and verdant places to the nymphs, the shores and islands to the sea-gods, and all there places to the god or genius to whom each is appropriate.

[2] τι θεῷ καὶ δαίμονι οἴκεῖον. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιοὺς, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέως ἡ πόλις διέμεινε καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τὸδε χρόνου γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐθνῶν ἀνδροφόνους, Ἡρακλέα δὲ παῦσαι [p. 60] τὸν νόμον τῆς θυσίας βουλευθέντα τὸν τε βωμὸν ἰδρῦσασθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σατουρνίῳ καὶ κατάρξασθαι θυμάτων ἀγνῶν ἐπὶ καθαρῷ πυρὶ ἀγίζομένων, ἵνα δὲ μηδὲν εἴη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνθύμιον, ὡς πατρίων ἡλογηκόσι θυσιῶν, διδάξαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους

ἀπομειλιττομένους τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς συμποδίζοντες καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἀκρατεῖς ποιοῦντες ἐρρίπτουν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τεβέριος ῥεῖθρον, εἰδῶλα ποιοῦντας ἀνδρείκελα κεκοσμημένα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἵνα δὴ τὸ τῆς ὀπτείας ὃ τι δὴ ποτε ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ψυχαῖς παραμένον ἐξαιρεθῇ τῶν εἰκόνων τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθους ἔτι σωζομένων.

[2] It is said also that the ancients sacrificed human victims to Saturn, as was done at Carthage while that city stood and as is there is done to this day among the Gauls and certain other western nations, and that Hercules, desiring to abolish the custom of this sacrifice, erected the altar upon the Saturnian hill and performed the initial rites of sacrifice with unblemished victims burning on a pure fire. And lest the people should feel any scruple at having neglected their traditional sacrifices, he taught them to appease the anger of the god by making effigies resembling the men they had been wont to bind hand and foot and throw into the stream of the Tiber, and dressing these in the same manner, to throw them into the river instead of the men, his purpose being that any superstitious dread remaining in the minds of all might be removed, since the semblance of the ancient rite would still be preserved.

[3] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μέχρις ἑμοῦ ἔτι διετέλουν Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶντες μικρὸν ὕστερον ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας ἐν μηνὶ Μαίῳ ταῖς καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, διχομηνίδα βουλόμενοι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ προθύσαντες ἱερὰ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ καλούμενοι Ποντίφικες, ἱερέων οἱ διαφανέστατοι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς αἱ τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ διαφυλάττουσαι παρθένοι στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οὓς παρεῖναι ταῖς ἱερουργίαις θέμις εἰδῶλα μορφαῖς ἀνθρώπων εἰκασμένα, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεφύρας βάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ Τεβέριος, Ἀργείους [p. 61]

[3] This the Romans continued to do every year even down to my day a little after the vernal equinox, in the month of May, on what they call the Ides (the day they mean to be the middle of the month); on this day, after offering the preliminary sacrifices according to the laws, the pontifices, as the most important of the priests are called, and with them the virgins who guard the perpetual fire, the praetors, and such of the other citizens as may lawfully be present at the rites, throw from the sacred bridge into the stream of the Tiber thirty effigies made in the likeness of men, which they call Argei.

[4] αὐτὰ καλοῦντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερουργιῶν, ἃς ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις συντελεῖ κατὰ τε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δηλώσομεν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς ἔοικε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀφίξεως εἰς Ἰταλίαν μετ' ἐπιστάσεως πλείονος διελθεῖν καὶ εἰ τι λόγου ἄξιον ἔδρασεν αὐτόθι μὴ παραλιπεῖν.

[4] But concerning the sacrifices and the other rites which the Roman people perform according to the manner both of the Greeks and of their own country

I shall speak in another book. At present, it seems requisite to give a more particular account of the arrival of Hercules in Italy and to omit nothing worthy of notice that he did there.

[1] ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦδε λεγομένων τὰ μὲν μυθικώτερα, τὰ δ' ἀληθέστερα. ὁ μὲν οὖν μυθικὸς περὶ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ λόγος ὧδ' ἔχει: ὡς δὴ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' Εὐρύσθεως Ἡρακλῆς σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄθλοις καὶ τὰς Γηρυόνης βοῦς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας εἰς Ἄργος ἀπελάσαι, τελέσας τὸν ἄθλον καὶ τὴν οἶκαδε πορείαν ποιούμενος ἄλλῃ τε ποταμῷ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφίκετο καὶ τῆς Ἀβοριγίνων γῆς εἰς τὸ προσεχὲς τῷ Παλλαντίῳ χωρίον.

[39.1] Of the stories told concerning this god some are largely legend and some are nearer the truth. The legendary account of his arrival is as follows: Hercules, being commanded by Eurystheus, among other labours, to drive Geryon's cattle from Erytheia to Argos, performed the task and having passed through many parts of Italy on his way home, came also to the neighbourhood of Pallantium in the country of the Aborigines;

[2] εὐρῶν δὲ πόαν ἐν αὐτῷ βουκολίδα πολλὴν καὶ καλὴν, τὰς μὲν βοῦς: ἀνῆκεν εἰς νομὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυνόμενος ὑπο κόπου κατακλιθεὶς ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὕπνῳ. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ληστής τις ἐπιχώριος ὄνομα Κάκος περιτυγχάνει ταῖς βουσὶν ἀφυλάκτοις νεμομέναις καὶ αὐτῶν ἔρωτα ἴσχει. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα κοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν, ἀπάσας μὲν οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο δύνασθαι λαθεῖν ἀπελάσας, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ὄν τὸ πρᾶγμα κατεμάθανεν: ὀλίγας δὲ τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ πλησίον ὄντι ἐτύγχανε τὴν δίαίταν ποιούμενος, ἀποκρύπτεται ἔμπαλιν [p. 62] τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς ζώοις πορείας ἐπισπώμενος ἐκάστην κατ' οὐρανόν. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀφανισμόν ἐδύνατο παρασχεῖν ἐναντίας φανησομένης τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῆς ὁδοῦ.

[2] and there, finding much excellent grass for his cattle, he let them graze, and being overcome with weariness, lay down and gave himself over to sleep. Thereupon a robber of that region, named Cacus, chanced to come upon the cattle feeding with none to guard them and longed to possess them. But seeing Hercules lying there asleep, he imagined he could not drive them all away without being discovered and at the same time he perceived that the task was no easy one, either. So he secreted a few of them in the cave hard by, in which he lived, dragging each of them thither by the tail backwards. This might have destroyed all evidence of his theft, as the direction in which the oxen had gone would be at variance with their tracks.

[3] ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν βοῶν, ὡς ἔμαθε τινὰς ἐκλείπουσας, τέως μὲν ἠπόρει ποῦ κεχωρήκασιν καὶ ὡς πεπλανημένας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἐμάστευεν ἀνὰ τὸν χῶρον: ὡς δ' οὐχ εὗρισκεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀφικνεῖται τοῖς μὲν ἴχνεσι διαρτῶμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον οἰόμενος δεῖν διερευνήσασθαι τὸν χῶρον. τοῦ δὲ Κάκου πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐστῶτος καὶ οὐτ' ἰδεῖν τὰς βοῦς φάσκοντος ἐρομένῳ οὐτ'

ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐπιτρέποντος αἰτουμένῳ τοὺς τε πλησίον ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου ἐπιβοῶντος, ἀμειχανῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ πράγματι εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται προσελάσαι τῷ σπηλαίῳ τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς. ὡς δὲ ἄρα τῆς συννόμου φωνῆς τε καὶ ὁσμῆς αἱ ἔντοσθεν ἦσθοντο, ἀντεμυκῶντο ταῖς ἔκτοσθεν καὶ ἐγεγόνει ἡ φωνή

[3] Hercules, then, arising from sleep soon afterwards, and having counted the cattle and found some were missing, was for some time at a loss to guess where they had gone, and supposing them to have strayed from their pasture, he sought them up and down the region; then, when he failed to find them, he came to the cave, and though he was deceived by the tracks, he felt, nevertheless, that he ought to search the place. But Cacus stood before the door, and when Hercules inquired after the cattle, denied that he had seen them, and when the other desired to search his cave, would not suffer him to do so, to be called upon his neighbours for assistance, complaining of the violence offered to him by the stranger. And while Hercules was puzzled to know how he should act in the matter, he hit upon the expedient of driving the rest of the cattle to the cave. And thus, when those inside heard the lowing and perceived the smell of their companions outside, they bellowed to them in turn and thus their lowing betrayed the theft.

[4] αὐτῶν κατήγορος τῆς κλοπῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάκος, ἐπειδὴ περιφανῆς ἐγένετο κακουργῶν, τρέπεται πρὸς ἀλκὴν καὶ τοὺς εἰωθότας αὐτῷ συναγρᾶν εἰν ἀνεκάλει: Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἀλοίων αὐτὸν τῷ ῥοπάλῳ κτείνει, καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐξαγαγὼν, ἐπειδὴ κακούργων ὑποδοχαῖς εὖθετον ἑώρα τὸ χωρίον, ἐπικατασκάπτει τῇ καλαύροπι [p. 63] τὸ σπήλαιον. ἀγνίσας δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸν φόνον ἰδρύνεται πλησίον τοῦ τόπου Διὸς Εὐρέσιου βωμόν, ὃς ἐστὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παρὰ τῇ Τριδύμῳ πύλῃ, καὶ θύει τῷ θεῷ δάμαλιν ἓνα τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν βοῶν χαριστήριον. ταύτην ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις συνετέλει, νομίμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς ἅπασιν ἐν αὐτῇ χρωμένη, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος κατεστήσατο.

[4] Cacus, therefore, when his thievery was thus brought to light, put himself upon his defence and began to call out to his fellow herdsman. But Hercules killed him by smiting him with his club and drove out the cattle; and when he saw that the place was well adapted to the harbouring of evil-doers, he demolished the cave, burying the robber under its ruins. Then, having purified himself in the river from the murder, he erected an altar near the place to Jupiter the Discoverer, which is now in Rome near the Porta Trigemina, and sacrificed a calf to the god as a thank-offering for the finding of his cattle. This sacrifice the city of Rome continued to celebrate even down to my day, observing in it all the ceremonies of the Greeks just as he instituted them.

[1] οἱ δὲ Ἀβοριγῖνες καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ τὸ Παλλάντιον κατοικοῦντες, ὡς τοῦ τε Κάκου τὸν θάνατον ἐγνώσαν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶδον, τῷ μὲν ἀπεχθόμενοι διὰ τὰς ἄρπαγὰς, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπαγλούμενοι θεῖόν τι

χρῆμα ἐνόμισαν ὀρᾶν καὶ τοῦ ληστοῦ μέγα εὐτύχημα τὴν ἀποβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν κλάδους δρεψάμενοι δάφνης, ἥ πολλὴ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐφύετο, ἐκεῖνον τε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνέστεφον, ἦκον δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν Ἡρακλέα καλοῦντες. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις διεξιόντος ἔμαθον, ἐνεχείριζον αὐτῷ τὴν τε χώραν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ.

[40.1] When the Aborigines and the Arcadians who lived at Pallantium learned of the death of Cacus and saw Hercules, they thought themselves very fortunate in being rid of the former, whom they detested for his robberies, and were struck with awe at the appearance of the latter, in whom they seemed to see something divine. The poorer among them, plucking branches of laurel which grew there in great plenty, crowned both him and themselves with it; and their kings also came to invite Hercules to be their guest. But when they heard from him his name, his lineage and his achievements, they recommended both their country and themselves to his friendship.

[2] Εὐάνδρος δὲ παλαιότερον ἔτι τῆς Θέμιδος ἀκηκῶς διεξιούσης, ὅτι πεπρωμένον εἶη τὸν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης γενόμενον Ἡρακλέα διαμείψαντα τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ἀθάνατον γενέσθαι δι' ἀρετὴν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὅστις ἦν ἐπύθετο, φθάσαι βουλόμενος ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους Ἡρακλέα θεῶν τιμαῖς πρῶτος ἱλασάμενος, βωμὸν αὐτοσχέδιον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἰδρύεται καὶ δάμαλιν ἄζυγα θύει πρὸς αὐτῷ, τὸ θέσφατον ἀφηγησάμενος Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν ἱερῶν κατάρξασθαι. [p. 64]

[2] And Evander, who had even before this heard Themis relate that it was ordained by fate that Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, changing his mortal nature, should become immortal by reason of his virtue, as soon as he learned who the stranger was, resolved to forestall all mankind by being the first to propitiate Hercules with divine honours, and he hastily erected an improvised altar and sacrificed upon it a calf that had not known the yoke, having first communicated the oracle to Hercules and asked him to perform the initial rites.

[3] ἀγασθεὶς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς φιλοξενίας Ἡρακλεῖς, τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐστιάσει ὑποδέχεται θύσας τῶν βοῶν τινὰς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας τὰς δεκάτας ἐξελόν: τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς χώρᾳ πολλῇ δωρεῖται Λιγύων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσοίκων, ἧς μέγα ἐποιοῦντο ἄρχειν, παρανόμους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκβαλόν ἀνθρώπους. λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις, ὥς καὶ δεῖσιν τινα ποιήσαιτο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτοι θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐνόμισαν, ὅπως ἀθανάτους αὐτῷ διαφυλάττωσι τὰς τιμὰς, θύοντες μὲν ἄζυγα δάμαλιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἀγιστεύοντες δὲ τὴν ἱεουργίαν ἔθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς: καὶ ὥς διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς τὰς θυσίας, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα θύοιεν, οἴκους δύο τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παραλαβόν.

[3] And Hercules, admiring the hospitality of these men, entertained the

common people with a feast, after sacrificing some of the cattle and setting apart the tithes of the rest of his booty; and to their kings he gave a large district belonging to the Ligurians and to some others of their neighbours, the rule of which they very much desired, after he had first expelled some lawless people from it. It is furthermore reported that he asked the inhabitants, since they were the first who had regarded him as a god, to perpetuate the honours they had paid him by offering up every year a calf that had not known the yoke and performing the sacrifice with Greek rites; and that he himself taught the sacrificial rites to two of the distinguished families, in order that their offerings might always be acceptable to him.

[4] εἶναι δὲ τοὺς μαθόντας τότε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱερουργίαν Ποτιτίους τε καὶ Πιναρίους, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ γένη διαμεῖναι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενα τῶν θυσιῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατεστήσατο, Ποτιτίων μὲν ἡγουμένων τῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἀπαρχομένων, Πιναρίων δὲ σπλάγχχνων τε μετουσίας εἰργομένων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐχρῆν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν γίνεσθαι τὴν δευτέραν τιμὴν ἔχόντων. ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς προστεθῆναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ὀφίμου τῆς παρουσίας ἔνεκα, ἐπειδὴ ἔωθεν αὐτοῖς κελευσθὲν ἦκειν ἐσπλαγχνευμένων ἥδη τῶν ἱερῶν ἀφίκοντο.

[4] Those who were then instructed in the Greek ceremony, they say, were the Potitii and the Pinarii, whose descendants continued for a long time to have the superintendence of these sacrifices, in the manner he had appointed, the Potitii presiding at the sacrifice and taking the first part of the burnt-offerings, while the Pinarii were excluded from tasting the inwards and held second rank in those ceremonies which had to be performed by both of them together. It is said that this disgrace was fixed upon them for having been late in arriving; for though they had been ordered to be present early in the morning, they did not come till the entrails had been eaten.

[5] νῦν μέντοι οὐκέτι τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις ἡ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐπιμέλεια ἀνάκειται, ἀλλὰ παῖδες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνητοὶ δρῶσιν [p. 65] αὐτάς. δι' αἷς δὲ αἰτίας τὸ ἔθος μετέπεσε, καὶ τίς ἡ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπιφάνεια περὶ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῶν ἱεροποιῶν ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴν κατὰ τοῦτο γένομαι τοῦ

[5] To-day, however, the superintendence of the sacrifices no longer devolves on these families, but slaves purchased with the public money perform them. For what reasons this custom was changed and how the god manifested himself concerning the change in his ministers, I shall relate when I come to that part of the history.

[6] λόγου τὸ μέρος, διηγῆσομαι. ὁ δὲ βωμός, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς δεκάτας ἀπέθυσεν Ἡρακλῆς, καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μέγιστος, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Βοαρίας λεγομένης ἀγορᾶς πλησίον, ἀγιστευόμενος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ὅρκοι τε γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ συνθηκαὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις βεβαίως τι διαπράττεσθαι καὶ δεκατεύσεις χρημάτων γίνονται συχναὶ κατ' εὐχάς: τῇ

μέντοι κατασκευῇ πολὺ τῆς δόξης ἐστὶ καταδεέστερος· πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀνεῖται τεμένη τῷ θεῷ, καὶ βωμοὶ κατὰ πόλεις τε ἱδρυνται καὶ παρ' ὁδοῦς, καὶ σπανίως ἂν εὔροι τις Ἰταλίας χῶρον, ἔνθα μὴ τυγχάνει τιμώμενος ὁ θεός. ὁ μὲν οὖν μυθικὸς λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοιός2δε παραδέδοται.

[6] The altar on which Hercules offered up the tithes is called by the Romans the Greatest Altar. It stands near the place they call the Cattle Market and no other is held in greater veneration by the inhabitants; for upon this altar oaths are taken and agreements made by those who wish to transact any business unalterably and the tithes of things are frequently offered there pursuant to vows. However, in its construction it is much inferior to its reputation. In many other places also in Italy precincts are dedicated to this god and altars erected to him, both in cities and along highways; and one could scarcely find any place in Italy in which the god is not honoured. Such, then, is the legendary account that has been handed down concerning him.

[1] ὁ δ' ἀληθέστερος, ὃ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένων ἐχρήσαντο, τοιός2δε: ὡς στρατηλάτης γενόμενος ἅπαντων κράτιστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ἡγούμενος ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθε τὴν ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, καταλύων μὲν εἴ τις εἴη τυραννὶς βαρεῖα καὶ λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἢ πόλις ὑβρίζουσα καὶ λωβωμένη τὰς πέλας ἢ μοναὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνημέρῳ [p. 66] διαίτη καὶ ξενοκτονίαις ἀθεμίστοις χρωμένων, καθιστὰς δὲ νομίμους βασιλείας καὶ σωφρονικὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ βίων ἔθῃ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ κοινοπαθῆ: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις Ἑλλήσι τε βαρβάρους συγκεραννύμενος καὶ θαλαττίους ἡπειρώτας, οἱ τέως ἀπίστους καὶ ἀσυναλλάκτους εἶχον ὁμιλίας, ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ πόλεις ἐνιδρυνόμενος καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐκτρέπων ἐπικλύζοντας πεδία καὶ τρίβους ἐκτέμνων ἀβάτοις ὄρεσι καὶ ἄλλα μηχανώμενος, ὡς ἅπασα γῆ καὶ θάλαττα κοινῇ ταῖς ἁπάντων χρεῖαις γενήσοιτο.

[41.1] But the story which comes nearer to the truth and which has been adopted by many who have narrated his deeds in the form of history is as follows: Hercules, who was the greatest commander of his age, marched at the head of a large force through all the country that lies on this side of the Ocean, destroying any despotisms that were grievous and oppressive to their subjects, or commonwealths that outraged and injured the neighbouring states, or organized bands of men who lived in the manner of savages and lawlessly put strangers to death, and in their room establishing lawful monarchies, well-ordered governments and humane and sociable modes of life. Furthermore, he mingled barbarians with Greeks, and inhabitants of the inland with dwellers on the sea coast, groups which hitherto had been distrustful and unsocial in their dealings with each other; he also built cities in desert places, turned the course of rivers that overflowed the fields, cut roads through inaccessible mountains, and contrived other means by which every land and sea might lie

open to the use of all mankind.

[2] ἀφίκετο δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οὐ μονόστολος οὐδὲ ἀγέλην βοῶν ἐπαγόμενος: οὔτε γὰρ ὁ χῶρος ἐν τριβῷ τοῖς εἰς Ἄργος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀνασκευαζόμενοις, οὔτε τοῦ διελθεῖν ἔνεκα τὴν χώραν τοσαύτης ἀν ἡξιώθη τιμῆς: ἄλλ' ἐπὶ δουλώσει καὶ ἀρχῇ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων στρατὸν ἄγων πολὺν Ἰβηρίαν ἥδη κεχειρωμένος: διατριψαί τε αὐτόθι πλείω χρόνον ἠναγκάσθη τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ, ἣ ἐγένετο χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος, καὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κατέχοντα Ἰταλίαν προσχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐκούσια. [p. 67]

[2] And he came into Italy not alone nor yet bringing a herd of cattle (for neither does this country lies on the road of those returning from Spain to Argos nor would he have been deemed worthy of so great an honour merely for passing through it), but at the head of a great army, after he had already conquered Spain, in order to subjugate and rule the people in this region; and he was obliged to tarry there a considerable time both because of the absence of his fleet, due to stormy weather that detained it, and because not all the nations of Italy willingly submitted to him.

[3] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τὸ Λιγύων γένος πολὺ καὶ μάχιμον, ἐπὶ ταῖς παρόδοις τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ὁρῶν ἰδρυμένον, ἀποκωλύειν ὄπλοις τὰς εἰςβολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔνθα μέγιστος ἀγὼν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο πάντων αὐτοὺς ἐπιλειπόντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν βελῶν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ Ἰλυσμένῳ. πεποιηται γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ Προμηθεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ τα τε ἄλλα προλέγων, ὡς ἕκαστον αὐτῷ τι συμβήσεται ἐμελλε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γηρυόνην στρατείαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λιγυστικοῦ πολέμου ὡς οὐ ῥάδιος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται διηγούμενος. τὰ δὲ ποιήματα ᾧδ' ἔχει:

ἦξεῖς δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατὸν,

ἐνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θοῦρός περ ὦν μέμψει. πέπρωται γὰρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπεῖν.

[3] For, besides the other barbarians, the Ligurians, a numerous and warlike people seated in the passes of the Alps, endeavoured to prevent his entrance into Italy by force of arms, and in that place so great a battle was fought by the Greeks that all their missiles gave out in the course of the fighting. This war is mentioned by Aeschylus, among the ancient poets, in his *Prometheus Unbound*; for there Prometheus is represented as foretelling to Hercules in detail how everything else was to befall him on his expedition against Geryon and in particular recounting to him the difficult struggle he was to have in the war with the Ligurians. The verses are these:

“And thou shalt come to Liguria’s dauntless host,

Where no fault shalt thou find, bold though thou art,

With the fray: 'tis fated thy missiles all shall fail.”

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτους καταστρεφάμενος τῶν παρόδων ἐκράτησεν, οἱ μὲν τινες ἐκούσιοι παρεδίδουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις, μάλιστα δὲ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ γένους ἦσαν ἢ δυνάμεις οὐκ εἶχον ἀξιοχρέους, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐκ πολέμου καὶ πολιορκίας παρίσταντο.

[42.1] After Hercules had defeated this people and gained the passes, some delivered up their cities to him of their own accord, particularly those who were any other Greek extraction or who had no considerable forces; but the greatest part of them were reduced by war and siege.

[2] ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς μάχῃ κρατηθεῖσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μυθολογούμενον Κάκον, δυνάστην τινὰ κομιδῇ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνημέρων ἄρχοντα, γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτῷ διάφορον, ἐρμυνοῖς χωρίοις ἐπικαθήμενον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ὄντα λυπηρόν. [p. 68] ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔμαθεν ἐν τῷ προσεχεῖ πεδίῳ, ληστικῶς διασκευασάμενος ἐπιδρομῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐχρήσατο κατακοιμωμένον τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆς λείας ὄσῃ ἐπέτυχεν ἀφυλάκτῳ

[2] Among those who were conquered in battle, they say, was Cacus, who is celebrated in the Roman legend, an exceedingly barbarous chieftain reigning over a savage people, who had set himself to oppose Hercules; he was established in the fastnesses and on that account was a pest to his neighbours. He, when he heard that Hercules lay encamped in the plain hard by, equipped his followers like brigands and making a sudden raid while the army lay sleeping, he surrounded and drove off as much of their booty as he found unguarded.

[3] περιβαλλόμενος ἀπῆλασεν. ὕστερον δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς πολιορκίαν, τὰ τε φρουρία κατὰ κράτος ἁλόντ' ἐπέϊδε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν ἀνῆρέθη. τῶν δὲ φρουρίων αὐτοῦ κατασκαφέντων τὰ πέριξ χωρία οἱ συνεξελθόντες Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ σφᾶς ἕτεροι παρέλαβον Ἀρκάδες τέ τινες οἱ σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ καὶ Φαῦνος ὁ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων βασιλεὺς. εἰκάσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἐπειοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φενεοῦ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Τρώας ἐπὶ

[3] Afterwards, being besieged by the Greeks, he not only saw his forts taken by storm, but was himself slain amid his fastnesses. And when his forts had been demolished, those who had accompanied Hercules on the expedition (these were some Arcadians with Evander, and Faunus, king of the Aborigines) took over the districts round about, each group for itself. And it may be conjectured that those of the Greeks who remained there, that is, the Epeans and the Arcadians from Pheneus, as well as the Trojans, were left to guard the country.

[4] φυλακῇ τῆς χώρας καταλειφθῆναι. στρατηγικὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν

Ἡρακλέους ἔργων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἥττον θανμάζεσθαι ἐπιτήδειον, τὸ δὴ τοὺς ἀνασπάστους ἐκ τῶν κεκρατημένων πόλεων τέως μὲν ἐπάγεσθαι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας, ἐπεὶ δὲ προθύμως τοὺς πολέμους συνδιενέγκαιεν εἰς τὰ δορίκτητα κατοικίζειν καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐτέρων ἐπιχορηγηθεῖσι δωρεῖσθαι πλούτοις. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα μέγιστον ὄνομα καὶ κλέος Ἡρακλέους [p. 69] ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ οὐ τῆς παρόδου χάριν, ἥ σεμνὸν οὐδὲν προσῆν.

[4] For among the various measures of Hercules that bespoke the true general none was more worthy of admiration than his practice of carrying along with him for a time on his expeditions the prisoners taken from the captured cities, and then, after they had cheerfully assisted him in his wars, settling them in the conquered regions and bestowing on them the riches he had gained from others. It was because of these deeds that Hercules gained the greatest name and renown in Italy, and not because of his passage through it, which was attended by nothing worthy of veneration.

[1] λέγουσι δὲ τινες αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις τούτοις, ἃ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι κατοικοῦσιν, ἐκ δύο γυναικῶν γενομένους καταλιπεῖν: Πάλλαντα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Εὐάνδρου θυγατρὸς, ἥ Λαῦναν ὀνομά φασιν εἶναι, Λατῖνον δὲ ἔκ τινος ὑπερβορίδος κόρης, ἣν πατὴρ εἰς Ὀμηρείαν δόντος ἐπήγετο καὶ αὐτὴν μέχρι μὲν τινος ἀγνὴν γάμων ἐφύλαττεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἔπλει ἐρασθεὶς ἐγκύμονα ποιεῖ, ἣν καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἄργος ἔμελλε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων Φαύνῳ γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι διδωσι: δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν Λατῖνον τούτου υἱὸν νομίζειν, οὐχ Ἡρακλέους.

[43] Some say that he also left sons by two women in the region now inhabited by the Romans. One of these sons was Pallas, whom he had by the daughter of Evander, whose name, they say, was Lavinia; the other, Latinus, whose mother was a certain Hyperborean girl whom he brought with him as a hostage given to him by her father and preserved for some time untouched; but while he was on his voyage to Italy, he fell in love with her and got her with child. And when he was preparing to leave for Argos, he married her to Faunus, king of the Aborigines; for which reason Latinus is generally looked upon as the son of Faunus, not of Hercules.

[2] Πάλλαντα μὲν οὖν πρὶν ἡβῆσαι λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν, Λατῖνον δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα τὴν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. τούτου δὲ ἀπαιδὸς ἀρρένων παιδῶν τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους Ῥοτόλους μάχῃ περιστεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς Αἰνείαν τὸν Ἀγχίσου κηδεστὴν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἐτέροις χρόνοις ἐγένετο.

[2] Pallas, they say, died before he arrived at puberty; but Latinus, upon reaching man's estate, succeeded to the kingdom of the Aborigines, and when he was killed in the battle against the neighbouring Rutulians, without leaving any male issue, the kingdom devolved on Aeneas, the son of Anchises, his son-in-law. But these things happened at other times.

[1] Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπαντα ὡς ἐβούλετο κατεστήσατο καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς αὐτῷ στρατὸς σῶος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀφίκετο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς δεκάτας τῶν λαφύρων καὶ πολίχνην ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κτίσας, ἔνθα ὁ στόλος αὐτῷ ἐναυλόχει, [p. 70] ἥ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένη Νέας Πόλεως καὶ Πομπηίας ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται λιμένας ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ βεβαίους ἔχουσα, δόξης τε καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν ἰσοθέων παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ

[44.1] After Hercules had settled everything in Italy according to his desire and his naval force had arrived in safety from Spain, he sacrificed to the gods the tithes of his booty and built a small town named after himself in the place where his fleet lay at anchor (it is now occupied by the Romans, and lying as it does between Neapolis and Pompeii, has at all times Etruria havens); and having gained fame and glory and received divine honours from all the inhabitants of Italy, he set sail for Sicily.

[2] τυχῶν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Σικελίαν. οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουροὶ καὶ οἰκῆτορες Ἰταλίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Σατόρνιον ὄχθον ἰδρυμένοι τέως μὲν ἐπολιτεύοντο καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ μακρῷ διαίταν τε καὶ νόμους καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ συνενεγκάμενοι τὰ σφέτερα τοῖς Ἀβοριγίνων ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πελασγοὶ πόλεώς τε τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσι κοινωρήσαντες συνέβησαν ὁμοεθνεῖς νομίζεσθαι. Ἡρακλέους μὲν δὴ στρατείας περὶ καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὑπομονῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

[2] Those who were left behind by him as a garrison to dwell in Italy and were settled around the Saturnian hill lived for some time under an independent government; but not long afterwards they adapted their manner of life, their laws and their religious ceremonies to those of the Aborigines, even as the Arcadians and, still earlier, the Pelasgians had done, and they shared in the same government with them, so that in time they came to be looked upon as of the same nation with them. But let this suffice concerning the expedition of Hercules and concerning the Peloponnesians who remained behind in Italy.

[3] δευτέρᾳ δ' ὕστερον γενεᾷ μετὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἄπαρσιν, ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσι, βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀβοριγίνων ἦν Λατῖνος ὁ Φαῦνου, γόνος δὲ Ἡρακλέους, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3] In the second generation after the departure of Hercules, and about the fifty-fifth year, according to the Romans' own account, the king of the Aborigines was Latinus, who passed for the son of Faunus, but was actually the son of Hercules; he was now in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

[1] κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Τρῶες οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ διαφυγόντες ἐξ Ἰλίου τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης κατέσχον εἰς Λωρεντόν, αἰγιαλὸν Ἀβοριγίνων ἐπὶ τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει κείμενον, οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Τεβέριος:

λαβόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων [p. 71] χωρίον εἰς οἴκησιν καὶ ὅσα ἤξιουν, πολίζονται μικρὸν ἀποσχόντες ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ λόφῳ τινὶ Λαουίνιον ὄνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενοι.

[45.1] At that time the Trojans who had fled with Aeneas from Troy after its capture landed at Laurentum, which is on the coast of the Aborigines facing the Tyrrhenian sea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber. And having received from the Aborigines some land for their habitation and everything else they desired, they built a town on a hill not far from the sea and called it Lavinium.

[2] ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀλλάξαντες ὀνομασίαν ἅμα τοῖς Ἀβοριγῖσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς χώρας Λατῖνοι ὠνομάσθησαν: καὶ μετानαστάντες ἐκ τοῦ Λαουίνιου κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μεῖζονα περιβάλλονται πόλιν, ἣν Ἄλβαν ἐκάλεσαν, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμώμενοι πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἔκτισαν τῶν κληθέντων Πρίσκων Λατίνων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἰκοῦμεναι,

[2] Soon after this they changed their ancient name and, together with the Aborigines, were called Latins, after the king of that country. And leaving Lavinium, they joined with the inhabitants of those parts in building a larger city, surrounded by a wall, which they called Alba; and setting out thence, they built many other cities, the cities of the so-called Prisci Latini, of which the greatest part were inhabited even to my day.

[3] γενεαῖς δ' ὕστερον ἑκκαίδεκα μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐκπέμψαντες ἀποικίαν εἰς τὸ Παλλάντιόν τε καὶ τὴν Σατορνίαν, ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες τὴν πρώτην οἴκησιν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζώπυρ' ἅττα περιλειπόμενα τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένους, οἰκίζουσι τοὺς τόπους περιλαβόντες τείχεσι τὸ Παλλάντιον, ὥστε λαβεῖν πόλεως σχῆμα τότε πρῶτον. τίθενται δὲ τῷ κτίσματι Ῥώμην ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ στείλαντος τὴν ἀποικίαν Ῥωμύλου, ὃς ἦν ἔβδομος καὶ

[3] Then, sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, sending out a colony to Pallantium and Saturnia, where the Peloponnesians and the Arcadians had made their first settlement and where there were still left some remains of the ancient race, they settled these places and surrounded Pallantium with a wall, so that it then first received the form of a city. This settlement they called Rome, after Romulus, who was the leader of the colony and the seventeenth in descent from Aeneas.

[4] δέκατος ἀπ' Αἰνείου γεγονώς. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰνείου παρουσίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἐπεὶ τῶν συγγραφέων τοῖς μὲν ἠγνόηται, τοῖς δὲ διαπεφώνηται ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος, μὴ παρέργως διελθεῖν τὰς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων τῶν μάλιστα πιστευομένων ἱστορίας παραβαλὼν. ἔχει δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα ὧδε. [p. 72]

[4] But also concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, since some historians

have been ignorant of it and others have related it in a different manner, I wish to give more than a cursory account, having compared the histories of those writers, both Greek and Roman, who are the best accredited. The stories concerning him are as follows:

[1] Ἰλίου κρατηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν, εἴτε τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου τῇ ἀπάτῃ, ὡς Ὀμήρῳ πεποιῆται, εἴτε τῇ προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀντηνοριδῶν εἴτε ἄλλως πως, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τρωικὸν τε καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι καταλαμβανόμενον ἐφονεύετο 'νυκτὸς γὰρ δὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀφυλάκτοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιστῆναι ἔοικεν', Αἰνείας δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντες Ἰλιεῦσιν ἐπικούροι Τρῶες ἐκ Δαρδάνου τε πόλεως καὶ Ὀφρυνίου τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσοι τῆς κάτω πόλεως ἀλικομένης ἔφθασαν αἰσθησιν τοῦ δεινοῦ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰ καρτερὰ τοῦ Περγάμου συμφυγόντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰδίῳ τείχει φρουρουμένην καταλαμβάνονται, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῷα τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἦν καὶ χρημάτων ὁ πολὺς πλοῦτος, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν ἐχυρῷ,

[46.1] When Troy had been taken by the Achaeans, either by the stratagem of the wooden horse, as Homer represents, or by the treachery of the Antenoridae, or by some other means, the greatest part of the Trojans and of their allies then in the city were surprised and slain in their beds; for it seems that this calamity came upon them in the night, when they were not upon their guard. But Aeneas and his Trojan forces which he had brought from the cities of Dardanus and Ophrymium to the assistance of the people of Ilium, and as many others as had early notice of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking the lower town, fled together to the stronghold of Pergamus, and occupied the citadel, which was fortified with its own wall; here were deposited the holy things of the Trojans inherited from their fathers and their great wealth in valuables, as was to be expected in a stronghold, and here also the flower of their army was stationed.

[2] καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τὸ κράτιστον: ἔνθα ὑπομένοντες ἀπεκρούοντο τοὺς πειρωμένους ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τὸ διαπίπτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως πλῆθος ἐμπειρία στενωπῶν ὑποθέοντες ἀνελαμβάνον: καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ καταληφθέντος πλεῖον τὸ διαφυγόν. τὴν μὲν δὴ αὐτίκα ὀρμὴν τῶν πολεμίων, ἣν εἶχον ὅλην διαχρήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταληφθῆναι τὸ ἄστυ τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐξευρὼν Αἰνείας ἐπέσχε. λογισμὸν δὲ τὸν εἰκότα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λαμβάνων, ὡς ἀμήχανον εἶη πρᾶγμα σῶσαι πόλιν, ἥς τὰ πλείω ἤδη ἐκρατεῖτο, εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἐρήμου παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, [p. 73] τὰ δὲ σώματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῷα καὶ χρήματα ὅποσα φέρειν δύναίτο διασώσασθαι.

[2] Here they awaited and repulsed the enemy who were endeavouring to gain a foothold on the acropolis, and by making secret sallies they were able, through their familiarity with the narrow streets, to rescue the multitude which was seeking to escape at the taking of the city; and thus a larger number escaped than were taken prisoner. But with respect to the future he reasoned

very properly that it would be impossible to save a city the greater part of which was already in possession of the enemy, and he therefore decided to abandon the wall, bare of defenders, to the enemy

[3] δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ, παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ γηραιὰ σώματα καὶ ὅποσους ἄλλοις βραδείας ἔδει φυγῆς προεξελθεῖν κελεύει τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδην φερούσας ὁδοὺς, ἕως Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἐλεῖν προθυμούμενοι διώξεως τοῦ διαπίπτοντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθους οὐδὲν προεμηχανῶντο, τοῦ δὲ στρατιωτικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ἐξιόντων ἔταξεν, ὡς ἀσφαλῆς τε καὶ ἀταλαίπωρος ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἢ φυγὴ αὐτοῖς γένοιτο, εἴρητο δὲ τοῦτοις τὰ καρτερώτατα καταλαβέσθαι τῆς Ἰδης: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, ὃ δὴ κράτιστον ἦν, αὐτὸς ἔχων ὑπέμενε ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ παρεῖχε τοῖς προεξελθοῦσιν ἥττον ἐπιπόνους διηρημένων τειχομαχίᾳ τῶν πολέμιων τὰς φυγάς.

[3] and to save the inhabitants themselves as well as the holy objects inherited from their fathers and all the valuables he could carry away. Having thus resolved, he first sent out from the city the women and children together with the aged and all others whose condition required much time to make their escape, with orders to take the roads leading to Mount Ida, while the Achaeans, intent on capturing the citadel, were giving no thought to the pursuit of the multitude who were escaping from the city. Of the army, he assigned one part to escort the inhabitants who were departing, in order that their flight might be as safe and free from hardships as the circumstances would permit; and they were ordered to take possession of the strongest parts of Mount Ida. With the rest of the troops, who were the most valiant, he remained upon the wall of the citadel and, by keeping the enemy occupied in assaulting it, he rendered less difficult the flight of those who had gone on ahead.

[4] Νεοπτολέμου δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβάντος μέρους τινὸς τῆς ἄκρας καὶ προσβοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἀπάντων τῆς μὲν ἄκρας μεθίεται, ἀνοίξας δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀπῆει συντεταγμένους ἔχων τοὺς λοιποὺς φυγάδας, ἀγόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς κρατίσταις συνωρίσι τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς πατρώους γυναῖκὰ τε καὶ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι πλείστου ἄξιον ἦν σῶμα ἢ χρῆμα.

[4] But when Neoptolemus and his men gained a foothold on part of the acropolis and all the Achaeans rallied to their support, Aeneas abandoned the place; and opening the gates, he marched away with the rest of the fugitives in good order, carrying with him in the best chariots his father and the gods of his country, together with his wife and children and whatever else, either person or thing, was most precious.

[1] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ κράτος εἰλήφεσαν Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἐσπουδακότες [p. 74] πολλὴν ἄδειαν σῶζεσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσι

παρῆκαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν εὐρόντες τοὺς σφετέρους καὶ καθ' ἓν ἅπαντες γενόμενοι τὰ ὀχυρώματα καταλαμβάνονται τῆς Ἰδης.

[47.1] In the meantime the Achaeans had taken the city by storm, and being intent on plunder, gave those who fled abundant opportunity of making their escape. Aeneas and his band overtook their people while still on the road, and being united now in one body, they seized the strongest parts of Mount Ida.

[2] ἦλθον δ' ὥς αὐτοὺς οἱ τ' ἐν Δαρδάνῳ τότε οἰκοῦντες, ὥς εἶδον φλόγα πολλὴν παρὰ τὰ εἰωθότα φερομένην ἐξ Ἴλιου, νύκτωρ καταλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν ἔρρημον, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσοι σὺν Ἐλύμῳ καὶ Αἰγέστῳ ναυτικὸν τι συνεσκευασμένοι ἔτυχον προεξεληλυθότες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐξ Ὀφρυνίου πόλεως ὁ δῆμος ἅπας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Τρωικῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐλευθερίας οἱ περιεχόμενοι: δύναμιν τε αὕτη δι' ἐλαχίστου χρόνου μεγίστη τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐγένετο.

[2] Here they were joined not only by the inhabitants of Dardanus, who, upon seeing a great and unusual fire rising from Ilium, had in the night left their city undefended, — all except the men with Elymus and Aegestus, who had got ready some ships and had departed even earlier, — but also by the whole populace of Ophrynum and by those of the other Trojan cities who clung to their liberty; and in a very short time this force of the Trojans became a very large one.

[3] οἱ μὲν οὖν σὺν Αἰνείᾳ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς καταλήψεως ἐν τοῦτοις ὑπομένοντες τοῖς χωρίοις οὐ διὰ μακροῦ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα κατελεύσεσθαι ἤλπιζον τῶν πολεμίων ἀποπλευσάντων, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ συνέγγυς χωρία καὶ φρουρία δηώσαντες παρσκευάζοντο μὲν ὥς καὶ

[3] Accordingly, the fugitives who had escaped with Aeneas from the taking of the city and were tarrying on Mount Ida were in hopes of returning home soon, when the enemy should have sailed away; but the Achaeans, having reduced to slavery the people who were left in the city and in the places near by and having demolished the forts, were preparing to subdue those also who were in the mountains.

[4] τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι χειρωσόμενοι. πεμφάντων δὲ κήρυκας αὐτῶν περὶ διαλύσεων καὶ δεομένων μὴ σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστῆσαι πολέμου, συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς2δε ποιοῦνται πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαλύσεις: Αἰνείαν μὲν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα φέροντας ὅσα διεσώσαντο κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐν ὠρισμένοις πρὸς χρόνοις ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἀπελθεῖν, παραδόντας [p. 75] Ἀχαιοῖς τὰ φρούρια: Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἀπάσης ὅσης ἐκράτουν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀπιοῦσι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας.

[4] When, however, the Trojans sent heralds to treat for peace and begged them

not to reduce them to the necessity of making war, the Achaeans held an assembly and made peace with them upon the following terms: Aeneas and his people were to depart from the Troad with all the valuables they had saved in their flight within a certain fixed time, after first delivering up the forts to the Achaeans; and the Achaeans were to allow them a safe-conduct by land and sea throughout all their dominions when they departed in pursuance of these terms.

[5] δεξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα Αἰνείας καὶ νομίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων κράτιστα εἶναι Ἀσκάνιον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παιδῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ τινα μοῖραν, ἧς Φρύγιον ἦν τὸ πλεῖστον, εἰς τὴν Δασκυλῖτιν καλουμένην γῆν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀσκανία λίμνη, μετὰπεμπτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων γενόμενον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀποπέμπει· καὶ ὥκησεν Ἀσκάνιος αὐτόθι χρόνον τινα οὐ πολὺν. ἐλθόντων δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν Σκαμανδρίου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑκτοριδῶν ἀφειμένων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, κατάγων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν εἰς Τροίαν ἀφικνεῖται.

[5] Aeneas, having accepted these conditions, which he looked upon as the best possible in the circumstances, sent away Ascanius, his eldest son, with some of the allies, chiefly Phrygians, to the country of Dascylitis, as it is called, in which lies the Ascanian lake, since he had been invited by the inhabitants to reign over them. But Ascanius did not tarry there for any great length of time; for when Scamandrius and the other descendants of Hector who had been permitted by Neoptolemus to return home from Greece, came to him, he went to Troy, in order to restore them to their ancestral kingdom.

[6] καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἀσκανίου τοσαῦτα λέγεται· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παῖδας Αἰνείας παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθη τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ, διαπλεῖ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐπὶ τῆς ἔγγιστα κειμένης χερρονήσου τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος, ἣ πρόκειται μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, καλεῖται δὲ Παλλήνη. ἔθνος δ' εἶχεν αὐτὴν Θράκιον σύμμαχον Κρουσαῖον καλούμενον ἀπάντων προθυμότατον τῶν συναραμένων αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου.

[6] Regarding Ascanius, then, this is all that is told. As for Aeneas, after his fleet was ready, he embarked with the rest of his sons and his father, taking with him the images of the gods, and crossing the Hellespont, sailed to the nearest peninsula, which lies in front of Europe and is called Pallenê. This country was occupied by a Thracian people called Crusaeans, who were allies of the Trojans and had assisted them during the war with greater zeal than any of the others.

[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν πιστότατος τῶν λόγων, ὃ κέχρηται τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς [p. 76] Τρωικοῖς, περὶ τῆς Αἰνείου φυγῆς τοιόςδε ἐστίν. εἴρηνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχοντες λόγοι, οὓς ἤττον ἔγωγε τούτου πιθανοὺς εἶναι νομίζω. κρινέτω δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων βούλεται.

[48.1] This, then, is the most credible account concerning the flight of Aeneas and is the one which Hellanicus, among the ancient historians, adopts in his *Troica*. There are different accounts given of the same events by some others, which I look upon as less probable than this. But let every reader judge as he thinks proper.

[2] Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐν Λαοκόωντι δράματι μελλούσης ἀλίσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως πεποίηκε τὸν Αἰνείαν ἀνασκευαζόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἰδην, κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀγχίσου κατὰ τὴν μνήμην ὣν Ἀφροδίτη ἐπέσκηψε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεωστὶ γενομένων περὶ τοὺς Λαοκοωντίδας σημείων τὸν μέλλοντα ὄλεθρον τῆς πόλεως συντεκμηραμένον. ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα ἐν ἀγγέλου προσώπῳ λεγόμενα ὧδε:

νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνέας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ

πάρεστ' ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων κεραυνίου

νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος.

κύκλῳ δὲ πᾶσαν οἰκετῶν παμπληθίαν:

συμπλάσσεται δὲ πληῆθος οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς,

οἳ τῆς 2δ' ἐρώσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν.

[2] Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama *Laocoön* represents Aeneas, just before the taking of the city, as removing his household to Mount Ida in obedience to the orders of his father Anchises, who recalled the injunctions of Aphroditê and from the omens that had lately happened in the case of Laocoön's family conjectured the approaching destruction of the city. His iambs, which are spoken by a messenger, are as follows:

“Now at the gates arrives the goddess' son,

Aeneas, his sire upon his shoulders borne

Aloft, while down that back by thunderbolt

Of Zeus once smit the linen mantle streams;

Surrounding them the crowd of household slaves.

There follows a multitude beyond belief

Who long to join this Phrygian colony.”

[3] Μενεκράτης δὲ ὁ Ξάνθιος προδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει τὴν πόλιν τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην Ἀχαιοὺς αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι διασώσασθαι τὸν οἶκον. σύγκειται [p. 77] δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἀρξαμένῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως ταφῆς τὸν τρόπον τόνδε:

Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἀνίη εἶχε καὶ ἐδόκεον τῆς στρατιῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπηράχθαι. ὅμως δὲ τάφον αὐτῷ δαίσαντες ἐπολέμεον βίη πάσῃ, ἄχρις Ἴλιος ἑάλω Αἰνείω ἐνδόντος. Αἰνείης γὰρ ἄπιτος ἐὼν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπὸ γερέων ἱερῶν ἐξειργόμενος ἀνέτρεψε Πριάμον· ἐργασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ἀχαιῶν ἐγγεγόνει.

[3] But Menecrates of Xanthus says that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Achaeans out of hatred for Alexander and that because of this service he was permitted by them to save his household. His account, which begins with the funeral of Achilles, runs on this wise: “The Achaeans were oppressed with grief and felt that the army had had its head lopped off. However, they celebrated his funeral feast and made war with all their might till Ilium was taken by the aid of Aeneas, who delivered it up to them. For Aeneas, being scorned by Alexander and excluded from his prerogatives, overthrew Priam; and having accomplished this, he became one of the Achaeans.”

[4] ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτὸν τηνικαῦτα διατρίβοντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀπεσταλμένον ὑπὸ Πριάμου μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τινα χρεῖαν στρατιωτικὴν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μυθωδεστέραν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσι τὴν ἔξοδον. ἐχέτω δ' ὅπῃ τις αὐτὸν πείθεται.

[4] Others say that he chanced to be tarrying at that time at the station where the Trojan ships lay; and others that he had been sent with a force into Phrygia by Priam upon some military expedition. Some give a more fabulous account of his departure. But let the case stand according to each man's convictions.

[1] τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἔτι πλείω παρέχει τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν ἀπορίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕως Θράκης ἀγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ λέγουσι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, ὣν ἔστι Κεφάλων τε ὁ Γεργίθιος καὶ Ἡγήσιππος ὁ περὶ Παλλήνης γράφας, ἄνδρες ἀρχαῖοι καὶ λόγου ἄξιοι. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐκ Θράκης ἀναστήσαντες αὐτὸν ἕως Ἀρκαδίας παρακομίζουσιν, οἰκῆσαι δὲ λέγουσιν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τε τῷ Ἀρκαδικῷ, καὶ Νήσῳ δὲ λεγομένῃ, καίπερ οὔση μεσόχθονι, ἀπὸ τελμάτων καὶ ποταμοῦ: τὰς τε καλουμένας Καπύας Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων ἀπόκτισιν εἶναι, Καπύας ὀνομασθείσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ [p. 78] Κάπυος. λέγεται δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ἀρκαίῳ

[49.1] What happened after his departure creates still greater difficulty for most historians. For some, after they have brought him as far as Thrace, say he died there; of this number are Cephalon of Gergis and Hegesippus, who wrote concerning Pallenê, both of them ancient and reputable men. Others make him leave Thrace and take him to Arcadia, and say that he lived in the Arcadian Orchomenus, in a place which, though situated inland, yet by reason of marshes and a river, is called Nesos or "Island"; and they add that the town called Capyae was built by Aeneas and the Trojans and took its name from Capys the Troan.

[2] τῷ γράψαντι τὰ Ἀρκαδικά. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ δεῦρο μὲν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Αἰνείαν μυθολογοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι τὴν γε τελευτὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου συμπεσεῖν ἐν τοῖς 28 τοῖς χωρίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ὡς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ δηλοῦσι καὶ Ἀγάθυλλος Ἀρκὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ἐλεγείῳ λέγων ὧδε:

ἴκετο δ' Ἀρκαδίην, Νήσω δ' ἐγκάτθετο παῖδας

δοιάς, Κωδώνης λέκτρα καὶ Ἀνθεμόνης.

αὐτὸς δ' Ἑσπερίην ἔσυντο χθόνα, γείνατο δ' υἷα Ῥωμύλον.

[2] This is the account given by various other writers and by Ariaethus, the author of *Arcadica*. And there are some who have the story that he came, indeed, to Arcadia and yet that his death did not occur there, but in Italy; this is stated by many others and especially by Agathyllus of Arcadia, the poet, who writes thus in an elegy:

"Then to Arcadia came and in Nesos left his two daughters,

Fruit of his love for Anthemonê fair and for lovely Codonê;

Thence made haste to Hesperia's land and begat there male offspring,

Romulus named.”

[3] τῆς δ' εἰς Ἰταλίαν Αἰνείου καὶ Τρώων ἀφίξεως Ῥωμαῖοι τε πάντες βεβαιῶνται καὶ τὰ δρώμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔν τε θυσίαις καὶ ἑορταῖς μηνύματα, Σιβύλλης τε λόγια καὶ χρησμοὶ Πυθικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ, ὧν οὐκ ἂν τις ὡς εὐπρεπείας ἔνεκα συγκειμένων ὑπερίδοι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσι γνωρίσματα καὶ φανερὰ εἰς τόδε χρόνον περιλείπεται, ἔνθα ὠρμίσαντο καὶ παρ' οἷς διατριβὴν ἀπλοίας ἔνεκεν ἐποίησαντο: ὧν ἐγὼ μνήμην ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὧ πολλῶν ὄντων βραχυτάτην ποιήσομαι.

[3] The arrival of Aeneas and the Trojans in Italy is attested by all the Romans and evidences of it are to be seen in the ceremonies observed by them both in their sacrifices and festivals, as well as in the Sibyl's utterances, in the Pythian oracles, and in many other things, which none ought to disdain as invented for the sake of embellishment. Among the Greeks, also, many distinct monuments remain to this day on the coasts where they landed and among the people with whom they tarried when detained by unfavourable weather. In mentioning these, though they are numerous, I shall be as brief as possible.

[4] πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θράκην ἀφικόμενοι κατὰ τὴν χερρόνησον, ἣ καλεῖται Παλλήνη, ὠρμίσαντο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἔφην βάρβαροι Κρουσαῖοι καλούμενοι καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοῖς τὰς καταγωγὰς ἀσφαλεῖς. [p. 79] μείναντες δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν αὐτόθι νεῶν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἐνὸς καὶ πόλιν Αἰνείαν ἔκτισαν, ἐν ἣ τούς τε ὑπὸ καμάτων ἀδυνάτους πλεῖν καὶ ὅσοις αὐτοῦ μένειν βουλομένοις ἦν, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσομένους, ὑπελίποντο. αὕτη διέμεινεν ἕως τῆς Μακεδόνων δυναστείας τῆς κατὰ τοὺς διαδόχους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Κασάνδρου βασιλείας καθηρέθη, ὅτε Θεσσαλονίκη πόλις ἐκτίζετο, καὶ οἱ Αἰνεᾷται σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς εἰς τὴν νεόκτιστον μετώκησαν.

[4] They first went to Thrace and landed on the peninsula called Pallenê. It was inhabited, as I have said, by barbarians called Crusaeans, who offered them a safe refuge. There they stayed the winter season and built a temple to Aphroditê on one of the promontories, and also a city called Aeneia, where they left all those who from fatigue were unable to continue the voyage and all who chose to remain there as in a country they were henceforth to look upon as their own. This city existed down to that period of the Macedonian rule which came into being under the successors of Alexander, but it was destroyed in the reign of Cassander, when Thessalonica was being founded; and the inhabitants of Aeneia with many others removed to the newly-built city.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Παλλήνης ἄραντες οἱ Τρῶες εἰς Δῆλον ἀφικνοῦνται βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἀνίου: καὶ ἦν πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐν Δήλῳ τῆς Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων παρουσίας, ἕως ἡνθι τε καὶ ὤκισθ' ἡ νῆσος. ἔπειτα εἰς Κύθηρα νῆσον ἑτέραν, ἣ πρόκειται Πελοποννήσου,

[50.1] Setting sail from Pallenê, the Trojans came to Delos, of which Anius was king. Here there were many evidences of the presence of Aeneas and the Trojans as long as the island was inhabited and flourished. Then, coming to Cythera, another island, lying off the Peloponnesus, they built a temple there to Aphroditê.

[2] παραγενόμενοι ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύνονται. ἀπὸ δὲ Κυθήρων ποιοῦμενοι τὸν πλοῦν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Πελοποννήσου τελευτήσαντα τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰ τῶν Αἰνείου Κιναιθον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τινὸς θάπτουσιν, ὃ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κιναιθιον καλεῖται· καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας συγγένειαν ἀνανεωσάμενοι, περὶ ἧς ἐν ὑστέρω λόγῳ διηγήσομαι, χρόνον τε ὀλίγον περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία διατρίψαντες καὶ ὑπολιπόμενοι τινὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν εἰς Ζάκυνθον ἀφικνοῦνται.

[2] And while they were on their voyage from Cythera and not far from the Peloponnesus, one of Aeneas' companions, named Cinaethus, died and they buried him upon one of the promontories, which is now called Cinaethion after him. And having renewed their kinship with the Arcadians, concerning which I shall speak in a later chapter, and having stayed a short time in those parts, they left some of their number there and came to Zacynthus.

[3] δεξαμένων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν Ζακυνθίων πρὸς φιλίαν διὰ τὸ [p. 80] συγγενές· Δαρδάνῳ γάρ τῳ Διὸς καὶ Ἥλέκτρας τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος δύο γενέσθαι φασὶν ἐκ Βατείας παῖδας, Ζάκυνθόν τε καὶ Ἐριχθόνιον, ὧν ὁ μὲν Αἰνείου πρόγονος ἦν, Ζάκυνθος δὲ τῆς νήσου κτίστης· ταύτης τε δὴ τῆς συγγενείας ἀναμνήσει καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων διατρίβοντες αὐτόθι καὶ ἅμα ἀπλοῖα κατειργόμενοι θύουσιν Ἀφροδίτῃ πρὸς τῷ κατασκευασθέντι ἱερῷ θυσίαν, ἣν εἰς τὸδε χρόνου συντελοῦσι κοινῇ Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιοῦσιν ἐφήβοις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ δρόμου· τὸ δὲ νικητήριον ὁ πρῶτος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν νεῶν λαμβάνει· λέγεται δὲ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὁ δρόμος, καὶ

[3] The Zacynthians, also, received them in a friendly manner on account of their kinship; for Dardanus, the son of Zeus and Electra, the daughter of Atlas, had, as they say, by Bateia two sons, Zacynthus and Erichthonius of whom the latter was the ancestor of Aeneas, and Zacynthus was the first settler of the island. In memory, therefore, of this kinship and by reason of the kindness of the inhabitants they stayed there some time, being also detained by unfavourable weather; and they offered to Aphroditê at the temple they had built to her a sacrifice which the entire population of Zacynthus performs to this day, and instituted games for young men, consisting among other events of a foot-race in which the one who comes first to the temple gains the prize. This is called the course of Aeneas and Aphroditê, and wooden statues of both are erected there.

[4] ξόανα τούτων ἔστηκεν ἀμφοτέρων. ἐκέϊθεν δὲ πελάγιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν

πλοῦν εἰς Λευκάδα κατὰγονται, κατεχόντων ἔτι τὸ χωρίον Ἀκαρνάνων. κἀν ταύτῃ πάλιν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύνονται τοῦτο, ὃ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ νησίδι τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ Διορύκτου τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείαδος. ἄραντες δὲ αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τε Ἄκτιον ἐλθόντες ὀρμίζονται τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου πρὸς τὸ ἄκρωτήριον. κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν ἀφικνοῦνται πόλιν, ἧς ἐβασίλευεν Ἀμβραξ ὁ Δεξαμενοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ ὑπολείπονται ἐκατέρωθι μνημεῖα τῆς ἀφίξεως: ἐν Ἀκτίῳ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείαδος ἱερὸν καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ θεῶν μεγάλων, ἃ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν: ἐν δὲ Ἀμβρακίᾳ ἱερὸν τε τῆς αὐτῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἡρώων Αἰνείου πλησίον τοῦ μικροῦ θεάτρου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ξόανον μικρὸν ἀρχαῖκόν Αἰνείου [p. 81] λεγόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ θυσίαις ἐγέραιρον αἱ καλούμεναι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀμφίπολοι.

[4] From there, after a voyage through the open sea, they landed at Leucas, which was still in the possession of the Acarnanians. Here again they built a temple to Aphroditê, which stands to-day on the little island between Dioryctus and the city; it is called the temple of Aphroditê Aeneias. And departing thence, they sailed to Actium and anchored off the promontory of the Ambracian Gulf; and from there they came to the city of Ambracia, which was then ruled by Ambrax, the son of Dexamenus, the son of Heracles. Monuments of their coming are left in both places: at Actium, the temple of Aphroditê Aeneias, and near to it that of the Great Gods, both of which existed even to my time; and in Ambracia, a temple of the same goddess and a hero-shrine of Aeneas near the little theatre. In this shrine there was a small archaic statue of wood, said to be of Aeneas, that was honoured with sacrifices by the priestesses they called amphilpoloi or “handmaidens.”

[1] ἔκ δὲ Ἀμβρακίας Ἀγχίσης μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἔχων παρὰ γῆν κομιζόμενος εἰς Βουθρωτὸν λιμένα τῆς Ἠπείρου κατὰγεται, Αἰνείας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀκμαιότατοι σὺν αὐτῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ διανύσαντες ἡμερῶν δυεῖν ὁδὸν εἰς Δωδώνην ἀφικνοῦνται χρῆσόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτόθι Τρώας τοὺς σὺν Ἐλένῳ. ἀνελόμενοι δὲ χρησμούς περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναθήμασι δωρησάμενοι Τρωικοῖς ἄλλοις τε καὶ κρατῆρσι χαλκοῖς, ὧν τινες ἔτι περίεσιν ἐπιγραφαῖς πάνυ ἀρχαίαις δηλοῦντες τοὺς ἀναθέντας, ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀφικνοῦνται τεττάρων μάλιστα ἡμερῶν διελθόντες ὁδόν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς Βουθρωτὸν τῶν Τρώων παρουσίαν λόφος τις, ᾧ τότε στρατοπέδω

[51.1] From Ambracia Anchises, sailing with the fleet along the coast, came to Buthrotum, a seaport of Epirus. But Aeneas with the most vigorous men of his army made a march of two days and came to Dodona, in order to consult the oracle; and there they found the Trojans who had come thither with Helenus. Then, after receiving responses concerning their colony and after dedicating to the god various Trojan offerings, including bronze mixing bowls, — some of which are still in existence and by their inscriptions, which are very ancient, show by whom they were given, — they rejoined the fleet after a

march of about four days. The presence of the Trojans at Buthrotum is proved by a hill called Troy, where they encamped at that time.

[2] ἐχρήσαντο, Τροία καλούμενος. ἐκ δὲ Βουθρωτοῦ παρὰ γῆν κομισθέντες ἄχρι λιμένος Ἀγχίσου μὲν τότε ὀνομασθέντος, νῦν δ' ἄσαφεστέραν ἔχοντος ὀνομασίαν, ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρυσάμενοι διαίρουσι τὸν Ἴονιον ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες τῆς ναυτιλίας, οἱ συνέπλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἐθελούσιοι συνεπισπόμενοι, τοὺς σὺν Πάτρωνι τῷ Θουρίῳ· καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους, ἐπειδὴ σῶος ὁ στρατὸς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπ' οἴκου αὖθις ἀνεκομισθησαν, Πάτρων δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Αἰνείου κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀποικίας [p. 82] καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τινες τῶν φίλων ὑπέμειναν ἐν τῷ στόλῳ· οὓς ἔνιοι φασιν ἐν Ἀλοντίῳ κατοικῆσαι τῆς Σικελίας. ταύτης ὑπομνήσει τῆς εὐεργεσίας Ἀκαρναῖσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λευκάδα καὶ Ἀνακτόριον ἀφελόμενοι Κορινθίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐχαρίσαντο Οἰνιάδας τε ἀποκαταστήσαι βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους καρποῦσθαι κοινῇ μετ' Αἰτωλῶν ἔδωκαν.

[2] From Buthrotum they sailed along the coast and came to a place which was then called the Harbour of Anchises but now has a less significant name; there also they built a temple to Aphroditê, and then crossed the Ionian Gulf, having for guides on the voyage Patron the Thyrian and his men, who accompanied them of their own accord. The greater part of these, after the army had arrived safely in Italy, returned home; but Patron with some of his friends, being prevailed on by Aeneas to join the colony, stayed with the expedition. These, according to some, settled at Aluntium in Sicily. In memory of this service the Romans in the course of time bestowed Leucas and Anactorium, which they had taken from the Corinthians, upon the Acarnanians; when the latter desired to restore the Oeniadae to their old home, they gave them leave to do so, and also to enjoy the produce of the Echinades jointly with the Aetolians.

[3] οἱ δὲ σὺν Αἰνείῳ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόβασιν οὐ καθ' ἓν χωρίον τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μὲν πλείστοις ναυσὶ πρὸς ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίας ὀρμισάμενοι, ἢ τότε Σαλεντῖνος ἐλέγετο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον, ἐνθα καὶ αὐτὸς Αἰνείας ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιβάς Ἰταλίας· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἄκρωτήριον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ θερινὸς ὅρμος, ὃς ἐξ ἐκείνου λιμὴν Ἀφροδίτης καλεῖται, παρέπλευσαν ἄχρι πορθμοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες Ἰταλίαν, ἴχνη τινα κὰν τοῦτοις ὑπολειπόμενοι τοῖς τόποις τῆς ἀφίξεως ἄλλα τε καὶ φιάλην χαλκῆν ἐν Ἑρας ἱερῷ γραφῇ δηλοῦσαν ἀρχαία τοῦ δωρησαμένου τῇ θεῷ Αἰνείου τοῦνομα.

[3] As for Aeneas and his companions, they did not all go ashore at the same place in Italy, but most of the ships came to anchor at the Promontory of Iapygia, which was then called the Salentine Promontory, and the others at a place named after Minerva, where Aeneas himself chanced to set foot first in Italy. This place is a promontory that offers a harbour in the summer, which from that time has been called the Harbour of Venus. After this they sailed along the coast until they reached the strait, having Italy on the right hand, and

left in these places also some traces of their arrival, among others a bronze patera in the temple of Juno, on which there is an ancient inscription showing the name of Aeneas as the one who dedicated it to the goddess.

[1] γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ Σικελίαν, εἴτε γνώμη χρησάμενοι τῇδε ὀρμίσασθαι εἴτε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνέμων πονηρῶν βιασθέντες, ἃ δὴ φιλεῖ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τήνδε γίνεσθαι, κατάγονται τῆς νήσου περὶ τὰ καλούμενα Δρέπανα: ἔνθα περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς σὺν Ἑλύμῳ [p. 83] καὶ Αἰγέστῳ προεξελθοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς Τροίας, οἳ τύχης τε καὶ πνεύματος οὐρίου λαβόμενοι καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολλῇ ἀποσκευῇ βαρυνόμενοι δι' ὀλίγου κατήχθησαν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ὤκησαν περὶ ποταμὸν καλούμενον Κριμισὸν ἐν γῇ Σικανῶν, πρὸς φιλίαν λαβόντες παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον διὰ τὴν Αἰγέστου συγγένειαν γενομένου τε καὶ τραφέντος ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατὰ

[52.1] When they were off Sicily, whether they had any design of landing there or were forced from their course by tempests, which are common around this sea, they landed in that part of the island which is called Drepana. Here they found the Trojans who with Elymus and Aegestus had left Troy before them and who, being favoured by both fortune and the wind, and at the same time being not overburdened with baggage, had made a quick passage to Sicily and were settled near the river Crimisus in the country of the Sicanians. For the latter had bestowed the land upon them out of friendship because of their kinship to Aegestus, who had been born and reared in Sicily owing to the following circumstance.

[2] τοιόνδε τι πάθος. τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ γένους ὢν Λαομέδοντι διάφορος γίνεται, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αἰτία δὴ πινι λαβὼν κτείνει καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρρεν ἅπαν, ὑπὸ δέους μὴ τι πρὸς αὐτῶν πάθῃ: τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας παρθένους ἔτι οὖσας ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἐνόμισε, Τρωσὶ δὲ συνοικούσας περιδεῖν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, δίδωσι δ' αὐτάς ἐμπόροις ὡς προσωτάτω κελεύσας ἀπάγειν.

[2] One of his ancestors, a distinguished man of Trojan birth, became at odds with Laomedon and the king seized him on some charge or other and put him to death, together with all his male children, lest he should suffer some mischief at their hands. But thinking it unseemly to put the man's daughters to death, as they were still maidens, and at the same time unsafe to permit them to live among the Trojans, he delivered them to some merchants, with orders to carry them as far away as possible.

[3] ταύταις ἀπιούσαις συνεκπλεῖ μειράκιόν τι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κρατούμενον ἔρωτι τῆς ἑτέρας καὶ γαμεῖ τὴν παιδίσκην ἀχθεῖσαν εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς παῖς ἐν Σικελοῖς διατρίβουσιν Αἰγέστος ὄνομα: ὃς ἦθη καὶ γλῶσσαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκμαθὼν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῷ τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, βασιλεύοντος ἐν Τροίᾳ Πριάμου κάθοδον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι διαπράττεται, καὶ συνδιενέγκας τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πόλεμον ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως

ἀπέπλει πάλιν εἰς Σικελίαν σὺν Ἑλύμῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν φυγὴν ἐν τρισὶ [p. 84] ναυσὶν, ἃς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔχων ὅτε τὰς Τρωάδας ἐληίζετο πόλεις ἔρμασιν ὑφάλοις περιπεσοῦσας ἀπέβαλεν.

[3] They were accompanied on the voyage by a youth of distinguished family, who was in love with one of them; and he married the girl when she arrived in Sicily. And during their stay among the Sicels they had a son, named Aegestus, who learned the manners and language of the inhabitants; but after the death of his parents, Priam being then king of Troy, he obtained leave to return home. And having assisted Priam in the war against the Achaeans, he then, when the city was about to be taken, sailed back again to Sicily, being accompanied in his flight by Elymus with the three ships which Achilles had had with him when he plundered the Trojan cities and had lost when they struck on some hidden rocks.

[4] Ἐντυχὼν δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις Αἰνείας ἀνδράσι φιλοφρονεῖται τε αὐτοὺς καὶ κατασκευάζεται αὐτοῖς πόλεις Αἴγεσταν καὶ Ἑλυμα καὶ τινα καὶ μοῖραν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς ἐν τοῖς πολισμοσιν ὑπολείπεται, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω γνῶμη ἐκουσίῳ χρησάμενος, ἵνα τοῖς ὑπὸ καμάτων βαρυνόμενοις ἢ καὶ ἄλλως θαλάττῃ ἀχθομένοις ἀναπαύσεις γίνοντο ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ καταγωγαί, ὥς δέ τινες γράφουσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μειωθέντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἔμπρησιν, ἣν ἐποίησαντο τῶν γυναικῶν τινες ἀχθόμεναι τῇ πλάνῃ, τὸν οὐκέτι δυνάμενον συμπλεῖν ὄχλον ἐκ τῶν κατακεκαυμένων νεῶν ἀνάγκῃ καταλιπών.

[4] Aeneas, meeting with the men just named, showed them great kindness and built cities for them, Aegesta and Elyma, and even left some part of his army in these towns. It is my own surmise that he did this by deliberate choice, to the end that those who were worn out by hardships or otherwise irked by the sea might enjoy rest and a safe retreat. But some writers say that the loss of part of his fleet, which was set on fire by some of the women, who were dissatisfied with their wandering, obliged him to leave behind the people who belonged to the burned ships and for that reason could sail no longer with their companions.

[1] τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς εἰς Σικελοὺς Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων ἀφίξεως πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, περιφανέστατα δὲ τῆς Αἰνειάδος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ βωμὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ἑλύμου ἰδρυμένος καὶ ἱερὸν Αἰνείου ἰδρυμένον ἐν Αἰγέστῃ, τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Αἰνείου τῇ μητρὶ, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ σῶσαντος σφᾶς ἀνάθημα ποιησαμένων. τὸ μὲν δὴ σὺν Ἑλύμῳ καὶ Αἰγέστῳ Τρωικὸν ἐν τούτοις κατέμεινε τοῖς χωρίοις, [p. 85] καὶ διετέλεσαν Ἑλυμοὶ καλούμενοι. προεῖχε γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν Ἑλυμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ὢν,

[53] There are many proofs of the coming of Aeneas and the Trojans to Sicily, but the most notable are the altar of Aphrodītē Aeneias erected on the summit of Elymus and a temple erected to Aeneas in Aegesta; the former was built by

Aeneas himself in his mother's honour, but the temple was an offering made by those of the expedition who remained behind to the memory of their deliverer. The Trojans with Elymus and Aegestus, then, remained in these parts and continued to be called Elymians; for Elymus was the first in dignity, as being of the royal family, and from him they all took their name.

[2] ἀφ' οὗ τὴν κλῆσιν οἱ σύμπαντες ἔλαβον. οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Αἰνείᾳ πλέοντες ἀπὸ Σικελίας διὰ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους πρῶτον μὲν ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας κατὰ λιμένα τὸν Παλίνουρον, ὃς ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Αἰνείου κυβερνητῶν τελευτήσαντος αὐτόθι ταύτης τυχεῖν λέγεται τῆς ὀνομασίας. ἔπειτα νήσω προσέσχον, ἣ τοῦνομα ἔθεντο Λευκασίαν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀνεπιφῆς Αἰνείου περὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον ἀποθανούσης.

[2] But Aeneas and his companions, leaving Sicily, crossed the Tyrrhenian sea and first came to anchor in Italy in the harbour of Palinurus, which is said to have got this name from one of the pilots of Aeneas who died there. After that they put in at an island which they called Leucosia, from a woman cousin of Aeneas who died at that place.

[3] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατάραντες εἰς λιμένα βαθὺν καὶ καλὸν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς, τελευτήσαντος καὶ αὐτόθι Μισηνοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινος, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸν λιμένα ὠνόμασαν, νήσω τε Προχύτῃ καὶ ἀκρωτηρίῳ Καίητῃ τύχῃ προσορμισάμενοι κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀτίθενται τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς τόποις, γυναικῶν ἀποθανουσῶν βουλόμενοι μνημεῖα ποιῆσαι τὰ χωρία. τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν συγγενῆς Αἰνείου λέγεται γενέσθαι, ἡ δὲ τροφός. τελευτῶντες δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Λωρεντόν, ἔνθα τῆς πλάνης παυσάμενοι χάρακα ἔθεντο, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Τροία καλεῖται, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ἀμφὶ τοὺς τέτταρας σταδίου.

[3] From there they came into a deep and excellent harbour of the Opicans, and when here also one of their number died, a prominent man named Misenus, they called the harbour after him. Then, putting in by chance at the island of Prochyta and at the promontory of Caieta, they named these places in the same manner, desiring that they should serve as memorials of women who died there, one of whom is said to have been a cousin of Aeneas and the other his nurse. At last they arrived at Laurentum in Italy, where, coming to the end of their wandering, they made an entrenched camp, and the place where they encamped has from that time been called Troy. It is distant from the sea about four stades.

[4] Ἔργαφα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐποίησάμην τοῦ ἀναγκαιῶς χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν συγγραφέων οἱ [p. 86] μὲν οὐδ' ἐλθεῖν Αἰνείαν φασὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἅμα Τρωσίν, οἱ δ' ἕτερον Αἰνείαν, οὐ τὸν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγχίσου γενόμενον, οἱ δ' Ἀσκάνιον τὸν Αἰνείου, οἱ δ' ἄλλους τινάς. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὸν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείαν λέγουσι καταστήσαντα τὸν λόχον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀνακομισθῆναι πάλιν οἴκαδε καὶ βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Τροίας, τελευτῶντα δὲ

καταλιπεῖν Ἀσκανίῳ τῷ παιδί τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὸ ἅπ' ἐκείνου γένος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν: ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τοῖς Ὀμήρου ἔπεσιν οὐκ ὀρθῶς λαμβανομένοις παρακρουσθέντες.

[4] It was necessary for me to relate these things and to make this digression, since some historians affirm that Aeneas did not even come into Italy with the Trojans, and some that it was another Aeneas, not the son of Anchises and Aphroditê, while yet others say that it was Ascanius, Aeneas' son, and others name still other persons. And there are those who claim that Aeneas, the son of Aphroditê after he had settled his company in Italy, returned home, reigned over Troy, and dying, left his kingdom to Ascanius, his son, whose posterity possessed it for a long time. According to my conjecture these writers are deceived by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses.

[5] πεποιεῖται γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ποσειδῶν προλέγων τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου γενησομένους ἐπιφάνειαν ὧδέ πως:

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαιο βῆ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει

καὶ παῖδες παιδων, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

ὑπολαβόντες οὖν τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δυναστεύοντας εἰδέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνατόν ὃν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκοῦντας βασιλεύειν Τρώων, τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ Αἰνείου ἀνέπλασαν. ἀρχεῖν δὲ δὴ τῶν Τρώων οὐς ἐπήγετο καὶ ἄλλοθι πολιτευομένων οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἦν: ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ ἑτέρας αἰτίας λαβεῖν.

[5] For in the *Iliad* he represents Poseidon as foretelling the future splendour of Aeneas and his posterity on this wise:

“On great Aeneas shall devolve the reign,

And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.”

Thus, as they supposed that Homer knew these men reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return of Aeneas, as if it were not possible for them to reign over Trojans while living in Italy. But it was not impossible for Aeneas to reign over the Trojans he had taken with him, even though they were settled in another country. However, other reasons also might be given for this error.

[1] εἰ δὲ τινὰς ταραττεῖ τὸ πολλαχῇ λέγεσθαι τε καὶ δεικνυσθαι τάφους Αἰνείου ἀμηχάνου ὄντος ἐν πλείοσι τὸν αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι χωρίοις, ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι κοινὸν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τοῦτο γε τὸ ἄπορον [p. 87] καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς τὰς τύχας, πλάνητας δὲ τοὺς βίους ἐσχηκότων, μαθέτωσαν ὅτι χωρίον μὲν ἐν τῷ δεξιόμενον τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν, μνημεῖα δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς κατεσκεύαστο δι' εὐνοίαν τῶν ἐν ὠφελείαις τισὶ δι' αὐτοὺς γενομένων, μάλιστα εἰ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν τι περιῆν ἢ πόλεώς τινος ἀπόκτισις

ἡ χρόνιοι τινες καὶ φιλάνθρωποι μοναὶ: οἷα δὴ καὶ περὶ

[54.1] But if it creates a difficulty for any that tombs of Aeneas are both said to exist, and are actually shown, in many places, whereas it is impossible for the same person to be buried in more than one place, let them consider that this difficulty arises in the case of many other men, too, particularly men who have had remarkable fortunes and led wandering lives; and let them know that, though only one place received their bodies, yet their monuments were erected among many peoples through the gratitude of those who had received some benefits from them, particularly if any of their race still survived or if any city had been built by them or if their residence among any people had been long and distinguished by great humanity — just such things, in fact, as we know are related of this hero.

[2] τόνδε τὸν ἥρωα μυθολογούμενα ἴσμεν. Ἰλίῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν παρασχών, τῇ δὲ καλουμένῃ Βεβρυκίᾳ τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν διασωθῆναι παρασκευάσας, ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀσκάνιον βασιλέα καταλιπών, ἐν Παλλήνῃ δὲ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον κτίσας, ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ θυγατέρας κηδεύσας, ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπολιπόμενος, ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χωρίοις φιλάνθρωπους τὰς διατριβὰς δωρήσασθαι δοκῶν ἐκούσιον εἶχε παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν εὖνοιαν, δι' ἣν τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐκλιπὼν ἡρώοις ἐκοσμεῖτο καὶ μνημάτων κατασκευαῖς πολλαχῇ.

[2] For he preserved Ilium from utter destruction at the time of its capture and sent away weight Trojan allies safe to Bebrycia, he left his son Ascanius as king in Phrygia, built a city named after himself in Pallenê, married off his daughters in Arcadia, left part of his army in Sicily, and during his residence in many other places had the reputation of conducting himself with great humanity; thus he gained the voluntary affection of those people and accordingly after he left this mortal life he was honoured with hero-shrines and monuments erected to him in many places.

[3] ἐπεὶ φέρε τινὰς ἂν αἰτίας ἔχοι τις ὑποθέσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτοῦ μνημάτων, εἰ μήτε ἦρξε τούτων τῶν χωρίων μήτε καταγωγὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐποίησατο μήθ' ὅλως ἐγνώσθη πρὸς αὐτῶν; ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὐθις λεχθήσεται, καθότι ἂν ὁ λόγος ἐφ' ἐκάστου καιροῦ δηλωθῆναι ἀπαιτῇ. [p. 88]

[3] What reasons, pray, could anyone assign for his monuments in Italy if he never reigned in these parts or resided in them or if he was entirely unknown to the inhabitants? But this point shall be again discussed, according as my narrative shall from time to time require it to be made clear.

[1] τοῦ δὲ μηκέτι προσωτέρω τῆς Εὐρώπης πλεῦσαι τὸν Τρωικὸν στόλον οἷ τε χρησμοὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο τέλος λαβόντες ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πολλαχῶς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ βούλησιν ἐνδεικνύμενον: ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ ὄρμω

χρησάμενοι τῷ Λωρεντῷ σκηνὰς ἐπήξαντο περὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, πρῶτον μὲν πιεζόμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ δίψης οὐκ ἔχοντος ὕδωρ τοῦ τόπου ἔλεγω δὲ ἅ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων παρέλαβον' λιβάδες αὐτόματοι νάματος ἡδίστου ἐκ γῆς ἀνελθοῦσαι ὤφθησαν, ἐξ ὧν ἢ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα ὕδρευσατο καὶ ὁ τόπος περίρρυτος γέγονε μέχρι θαλάττης καταβάντος ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ρεύματος.

[55.1] The failure of the Trojan fleet to sail any farther into Europe was due to the oracles which reached their fulfilment in those parts and to the divine power which revealed its will in many ways. For while their fleet lay at anchor off Laurentum and they had set up their tents near the shore, in the first place, when the men were oppressed with thirst and there was no water in the place (what I say I had from the inhabitants), springs of the sweetest water were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank and the place was flooded as the stream ran down to the sea from the springs.

[2] νῦν μέντοι οὐκέτι πλήθουσιν ὥστε καὶ ἀπορρεῖν αἱ λιβάδες, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ συνεστηκὸς, λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἱερὸν ἡλίου: καὶ βωμοὶ δύο παρ' αὐτῷ δεικνυνται, ὁ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς δύσεις, Τρωικὰ ἰδρύματα, ἐφ' ὧν τὸν Αἰνείαν μυθολογοῦσι πρῶτην θυσίαν ποιήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον τῶν ὑδάτων.

[2] To-day, however, the springs are no longer so full as to overflow, but there is just a little water collected in a hollow place, and the inhabitants say it is sacred to the Sun; and near it two altars are pointed out, one facing to the east, the other to the west, both of them Trojan structures, upon which, the story goes, Aeneas offered up his first sacrifice to the god as a thank-offering for the water.

[3] ἔπειτα ἄριστον αὐτοῖς αἵρουμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου σέλινά μὲν πολλοῖς ὑπέστρωτο καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ὥσπερ τράπεζα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων: ὡς δὲ φασὶ τινες, ἴτρια καρποῦ πεποιημένα πυρίνου, καθαριότητος ταῖς τροφαῖς ἔνεκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι τροφαὶ κατανάλωντο, τῶν ὑπεστρωμένων αὐτοῖς σελίνων εἴτε ἰτριῶν ἔφαγέ τις [p. 89] καὶ αὖθις ἕτερος: ἐν τούτῳ τυγχάνει τις εἰπὼν εἴτε τῶν Αἰνείου παιδῶν, ὡς λόγος ἔχει, εἴτε τῶν ὁμοσκήνων, Ἄλλ' ἡμῖν γε ἤδη καὶ ἡ τράπεζα κατεδήδεσται: ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἤκουσαν, ἅπαντες ἀνεθορύβησαν, ὡς τὰ

[3] After that, while they were taking their repast upon the ground, many of them strewed parsley under their food to serve as a table; but others say that they thus used wheaten cakes, in order to keep their victuals clean. When all the victuals that were laid before them were consumed, first one of them ate of the parsley, or cakes, that were placed underneath, and then another. Thereupon one of Aeneas' sons, as the story goes, or some other of his messmates, happened to exclaim, "Look you, at last we have eaten even the table." As soon as they heard this, they all cried out with joy that the first part

of the oracle was now fulfilled.

[4] πρῶτα τοῦ μαντεύματος ἤδη σφίσι τέλος ἔχοι. ἦν γάρ τι θέσφατον αὐτοῖς, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ γενόμενον, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ χέρσῳ τῆς Ἰδης, ἔνθα ὤκει Σίβυλλα ἐπιχωρία νύμφη χρησμῶδος, ἣ αὐτοῖς ἔφρασε πλεῖν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἡλίου, τέως ἂν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἔλθωσιν, ἐν ᾧ κατέδονται τὰς τραπέζας; ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο μάθωσι γενόμενον, ἡγεμόνα τετράποδα ποιησάμενους, ὅπου ἂν κάμῃ τὸ

[4] For a certain oracle had been delivered to them, as some say, in Dodona, but, according to others, in Erythrae, a place on Mount Ida, where lived a Sibyl of that country, a prophetic nymph, who ordered them to sail westward till they came to a place where they should eat their tables; and that, when they found this had happened, they should follow a four-footed beast as their guide, and wherever the animal grew wearied, there they should build a city.

[5] ζῶον, ἐνταῦθα δεῖμασθαι πόλιν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θεοπρόπιον ἀναμνησθέντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν Αἰνείου κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ ἀποδειχθὲν χωρίον ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ἐξέφερον, οἱ δὲ βάρη καὶ βωμοὺς κατεσκεύαζον αὐτοῖς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ὀλολυγῇ καὶ χορείαις χρώμεναι παρεκόμιζον τὰ ἱερά, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν παρασκευασθείσης θυσίας ἔχοντες τοὺς στεφάνους περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησαν.

[5] Calling to mind, then, this prophecy, some at the command of Aeneas brought the images of the gods out of the ship to the place appointed by him, others prepared pedestals and altars for them, and the women with shouts and dancing accompanied the images. And Aeneas with his companions, when a sacrifice had been made ready, stood round the altar with the customary garlands on their heads.

[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐποίησαντο, ἣ μέλλουσα καθιεροῦσθαι ὕς ἐγκύμων οὔσα καὶ οὐ πρόσω τόκου καταρχομένων αὐτῆς τῶν θυτῆρων διασεισαμένη καὶ ἀποφυγοῦσα τοὺς κατέχοντας ἄνω θαλάττης [p. 90] ἔθει. Αἰνείας δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι ταύτην ἄρα τὴν τετράποδα ἡγεμόνα τὸ θέσφατον αὐτοῖς ἐδήλου παρηκολούθει σὺν ὀλίγοις μικρὸν ὑπολειπόμενος, δεδοικῶς μὴ ὑπὸ θορύβου τῶν διωκόντων ἀποτραπείη τῆς κατὰ

[56.1] While these were offering up their prayers, the sow which was the destined victim, being big with young and near her time, shook herself free as the priests were performing the initial rites, and fleeing from those who held her, ran back into the country. And Aeneas, understanding that this, then, was the four-footed beast the oracle intended as their guide, followed the sow with a few of his people at a small distance, fearing lest, disturbed by her pursuers, she might be frightened from the course fate had appointed for her.

[2] δαίμονα ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἣ μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρας σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάττης διελθοῦσα λόφον τινὰ προσανατρέχει, ἔνθα ὑπὸ καμάτου

μοχθήσασα καθέζεται. τῷ δὲ Αἰνεία ἔτελος γὰρ τὰ μαντεύματα ἔφαινετο ἔχειν ὁρῶντι τὸ χωρίον γῆς τε οὐκ ἐν καλῷ καὶ θαλάττης πρόσω καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἐνορμίσασθαι ἀγαθῆς, πολλὴ παρίσταται ἀμηχανία, πότερα χρὴ τῷ θεσφάτῳ πειθομένους αὐτοῦ κατοικεῖν, ἔνθα λυπηρὸν εἰσαεῖ βίον τρίψουσιν οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ ἀπολαύοντες, ἢ προσωτέρω χωρητέον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀμείνωνος μάστευσιν.

[2] And the sow, after going about twenty-four stades from the sea, ran up a hill and there, spent with weariness, she lay down. But Aeneas, — for the oracles seemed now to be fulfilled, — observing that the place was not only in a poor part of the land, but also at a distance from the sea, and that even the latter did not afford a safe anchorage, found himself in great perplexity whether they ought in obedience to the oracle to settle there, where they would lead a life of perpetual misery without enjoying any advantage, or ought to go farther in search of better land.

[3] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ διανοομένῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχοντι δι' αἰτίας ἄφνω λέγεται φωνή τις ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἀφανοῦς ὄντος τοῦ φθεγγομένου προσπεσεῖν κελεύουσα μένειν τε αὐτόθι καὶ πολιζεσθαι διὰ ταχέων καὶ μὴ τῷ ἀπόρῳ τῆς παρούσης δόξης ἐπιτρέψαντα, εἰ μὴ ἐν εὐβότῳ γῇ τὸν βίον ἰδρύσεται, τὴν μέλλουσάν τε καὶ

[3] While he was pondering thus and blaming the gods, on a sudden, they say, a voice came to him from the wood, — though the speaker was not to be seen, — commanding him to stay there and battle a city immediately, and not, by giving way to the difficulty occasioned by his present opinion, just because he would be establishing his abode in a barren country, to reject his future good fortune, that was indeed all but actually present.

[4] ὅσον οὐπὼ παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν ἀπώσασθαι. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ πεπρωμένον ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενον τῆς λυπρᾶς καὶ ὀλίγης τὸ πρῶτον οἰκήσεως πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐπικτήσασθαι γῆν σὺν χρόνῳ: παισὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνοις ἔσσεσθαι ἀρχὴν μεγίστην καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐκμηκυνθησομένην ὑπάρξει. ταύτην μὲν οὖν [p. 91] ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταγωγὴν ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς Τρωσὶ: μετὰ δὲ τοσοῦτους ἐνιαυτοὺς ὅσους ἂν ἡ ὕς τέκη χοίρους κτισθήσεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενησομένων πόλιν ἐτέραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. μαθόντα δὲ τὸν Αἰνείαν καὶ νομίσαντα δαιμόνιον τι τὸ χρῆμα τῆς φωνῆς εἶναι ποιεῖν ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευεν.

[4] For it was fated that, beginning with this sorry and, at first, small habitation, he should in the course of time acquire a spacious and fertile country, and that his children and posterity should possess a vast empire which should be prolonger for many ages. For the present, therefore, this settlement should be a refuge for the Trojans, but, after as many years as the sow should bring forth young ones, another city, large and flourishing, should be built by his posterity. It is said that Aeneas, hearing this and looking upon the voice as

something divine, did as the god commanded.

[5] ἔτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν ἀδημονοῦντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παρειακότι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καταβάντι οὔτε σῖτα προσενεγκαμένῳ, αὐτοῦ δὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν αὐλισθέντι τὴν νύκτ' ἐκείνην, ἐπιστῆναι μεγάλην τινὰ καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐνυπνίου τῶν θεῶν τινι τῶν πατρίων εἰκασθεῖσαν ὅψιν τὰ λεχθέντα μικρῷ πρότερον ὑποτιθεμένην: ὁποτέρως δὲ τάληθές ἔχει θεοῖς ἂν εἶη γνῶριμον. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ τριάκοντα λέγεται χοίρους ἢ ὕς ἐκτεκεῖν, καὶ τοσοῦτοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων ἑτέρα κτισθῆναι πόλιν κατὰ τὸ θέσφατον, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τόπῳ διαλέξομαι.

[5] But others say that while he was dismayed and had neglected himself in his grief, to such a degree that he neither came into the camp nor took any food, but spent that night just as he was, a great and wonderful vision of a dream appeared to him in the likeness of one of his country's gods and gave him the advice just before mentioned. Which of these accounts is the true one the gods only know. The next day, it is said, the sow brought forth thirty young ones, and just that many years later, in accordance with the oracle, another city was built by the Trojans, concerning which I shall speak in the proper place.

[1] Αἰνείας δὲ τῆς μὲν ὕδς τὸν τόκον ἅμα τῇ γειναμένη τοῖς πατρώοις ἀγίζει θεοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷδ', οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ καλιάς, καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Λαουινιάται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄβατον φυλάττοντες ἱερὰν νομίζουσι: τοῖς δὲ Τρωσὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἰδρύεται τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ αὐτίκα περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ πολισματος ἀπάσῃ [p. 92] προθυμίᾳ ὥρμητο ἐλάμβανέ τε καταθέων ἐκ τῶν πέριξ χωρίων ὅποσα εἰς τὸν πολιισμόν αὐτῷ ἦν χρήσιμα καὶ μάλιστα ἔμελλε λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι φανήσεσθαι, σίδηρον καὶ ξύλα καὶ τὰς γεωργικὰς παρασκευάς.

[57] Aeneas sacrificed the sow with her young to his household gods in the place where now stands the chapel, which the Lavinians looking as sacred and preserve inaccessible to all but themselves. Then, having ordered the Trojans to remove their camp to the hill, he placed the images of the gods in the best part of it and immediately addressed himself to the building of the town with the greatest zeal. And making descents into the country round about, he took from there such things as were of use to him in building and the loss of which was likely to be the most grievous to the owners, such as iron, timber and agricultural implements.

[2] Λατίνῳ δὲ, ὃς ἦν τότε βασιλεὺς, πολεμοῦντι πρὸς ἔθνος ὁμορον τοὺς καλουμένους Προτόλους καὶ δυσημεροῦντι κατὰ τὰς μάχας ἀγγέλλεται τὰ γινόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερῶτατον, ὡς ἀνάστατος αὐτοῦ γίνεται πᾶσα ἡ παράλιος ὑπερορίῳ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰ μὴ σὺν τάχει κωλύσει τὰ δρώμενα χρυσὸς αὐτῷ φανήσεται ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγεῖτονας ἀγών. ἀκούσαντι δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δέος εἰσέρχεται καὶ αὐτίκα τοῦ παρόντος πολέμου μεθέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρώας ἐλαύνει πολλῇ στρατιᾷ.

[2] But Latinus, the king of the country at that time, who was at war with a neighbouring people called the Rutulians and had fought some battles with ill success, received an account of what had passed in the most alarming form, to the effect that all his coast was being laid waste by a foreign army and that, if he did not immediately put a stop to their depredations, the war with his neighbours would seem to him a joy in comparison. Latinus was struck with fear at this news, and immediately abandoning the war in which he was then engaged, he marched against the Trojans with a great army.

[3] ὁρῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὠπλισμένους τε ὡς Ἑλληνας καὶ ἐν τάξει εὐκόσμῳ ἀκαταπλήκτως τὸ δεινὸν ὑπομένοντας, τῆς μὲν αὐτίκα παρακινδυνεύσεως, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοὺς ἔτι χειρωσάμενος, ἣν ἔσχε διάνοιαν οἰκοθεν ὁρμώμενος, ἀποτρέπεται: στρατοπεδευσάμενος δ' ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν ᾧετο δεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόπου, ὃς πολὺς ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ συντόνου διώξεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο.

[3] But seeing them armed like Greeks, drawn up in good order and resolutely awaiting the conflict, he gave up the idea of hazarding an immediate engagement, since he saw no probability now of defeating them at the first onset, as he had expected when he set out from home against them. And encamping on a hill, he thought he ought first to let his troops recover from their present fatigue, which from the length of the march and the eagerness of the pursuit was very great;

[4] αὐλίσσάμενος δὲ διὰ νυκτὸς αὐτόθι γνώμην [p. 93] ἐποιεῖτο ἀρχομένης ἕω συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐγνωκότες δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγει τις ἐπιστὰς καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιχώριος δαίμων δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας τῇ χώρᾳ συνοίκους: ἥκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μέγα ὠφέλημα Λατίνῳ καὶ κοινὸν Ἀβοριγίνων ἀγαθόν: Αἰνεία τε οἱ πατρῴοι θεοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς φανέντες παρακελεύονται πείθειν Λατῖνον ἐκόντα παρασχεῖν σφίσι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐν ᾧ βούλονται χωρίῳ, καὶ χρήσασθαι δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ συμμάχῳ μᾶλλον ἢ διαφόρῳ: ἀμφοτέρους δὲ τὸ ὄναρ ἐκώλυνεν ἄρχειν μάχης. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ διεκοσμήθησαν εἰς μάχην αἱ δυνάμεις, κήρυκες ἦκον ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ἄξιοῦντες, συνελθεῖν ἀλλήλοις εἰς λόγους: καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦτο.

[4] and passing the night there, he was resolving to engage the enemy at break of day. But when he had reached this decision, a certain divinity of the place appeared to him in his sleep and bade him receive the Greeks into his land to dwell with his own subjects, adding that their coming was a great advantage to him and admonished him to persuade Latinus to grant them of his own accord a settlement in the part of the country they desired and to treat the Greek forces rather as allies than as enemies. Thus the dream hindered both of them from beginning an engagement. And as soon as it was day and the armies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds came to each of the commanders from the other with the same request, that they should meet for a parley; and so it came to pass.

[1] πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Λατῖνος ἔγκλημα ποιούμενος τὸν αἰφνιδιὸν τε καὶ ἀκατάγγελτον πόλεμον ἡξίου τὸν Αἰνείαν λέγειν, ὅστις ὦν καὶ τί βουλούμενος ἄγει καὶ φέρει τὰ χωρία πεπονθῶς τε οὐδὲν δεινὸν πρότερος καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸν ἄρχοντα πολέμου πᾶς ὁ προπαθὼν ἀμύνεται: παρασχόν τε ἂν αὐτῷ πᾶν, εἴ τις ἐδεῖτο μετρίου, πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων εὐρίσκεσθαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, παρελθὼν τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δικαίωσιν αἰσχίον ἢ κάλλιον ἡξίωσε βίαν προσφέρων τὰ αὐτὰ λαμβάνειν.

[58.1] And first Latinus complained of the sudden war which they had made upon his subjects without any previous declaration and demanded that Aeneas tell him who he was and what he meant by plundering the country without any provocation, since he could not be ignorant that every one who is attacked in war defends himself against the aggressor; and he complained that when Aeneas might have obtained amicably and with the consent of the inhabitants whatever he could reasonably desire, he had chosen to take it by force, contrary to the universal sense of justice and with greater dishonour than credit to himself.

[2] τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεχθέντος ἀπεκρίνατο Αἰνείας: ἡμεῖς γένος μὲν Τρῳῆς ἐσμεν, πόλεως δὲ οὐ τῆς ἀφανεστάτης ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγενόμεθα: ἦν ἀφαιρεθέντες ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν δεκαετὶ πολέμῳ χειρωθεῖσαν, ἀλῆται περιερχόμενοι [p. 94] πόλεως τε καὶ χώρας ἐν ἧ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκήσομεν ἀπορία, θεοῖς δὲ κελεύουσι πειθόμενοι δεῦρ' ἀφίγμεθα: καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς τὰ θέσφατα λέγει λιμὴν τῆς πλάνης ἦδε ἡ γῆ μόνη λείπεται. ποριζόμεθα δὲ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὧν ἡμῖν δεῖ δυστυχέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ εὐπρεπέστερον, ὡς ἡδιστα νεωστὶ ἐβουλόμεθα.

[2] After he had spoken thus Aeneas answered: "We are natives of Troy, not the least famous city among the Greeks; but since this has been captured and taken from us by the Achaeans after a ten-years' war, we have been wanderers, roving about for want both of a city and a country where we may henceforth live, and are come hither in obedience to the commands of the gods; and this land alone, as the oracles tell us, is left for us as the haven of our wandering. We are indeed taking from the country the things we need, with greater regard to our unfortunate situation than to propriety, — a course which until recently we by no means wished to pursue.

[3] ἀμειψόμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ πολλαῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς ἔργων ἀμοιβαῖς παρέχοντες ὑμῖν καὶ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς εὖ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ πεπαιδευμένας χρῆσθαι ὅποσα βούλεσθε, τὴν ὑμετέραν γῆν φυλάττοντες ἀδήωτον, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων προθύμως συγκατακτώμενοι. ἰκέται δὲ ὑμῶν γινόμεθα μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν τὰ πεπραγμένα λαμβάνειν, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὡς οὐ σὺν ὕβρει, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ταῦτα βιασθέντες ἐποιοῦμεν: ἅπαν δὲ σύγγνωμον τὸ ἀκούσιον.

[3] But we will make compensation for them with many good services in return, offering you our bodies and our minds, well disciplined against

dangers, to employ as you think proper in keeping your country free from the ravages of enemies and in heartily assisting you to conquer their lands. We humbly entreat you not to resent what we have done, realizing, as you must, that we did it, not out of wantonness, but constrained by necessity; and everything that is involuntary deserves forgiveness.

[4] καὶ δεῖ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἐναντίον βουλευῖσαι περὶ ἡμῶν χεῖρας προεχομένων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας οἱ κατέχουσι τήνδε τὴν γῆν παραιτούμενοι συγγνώμονας ἡμῖν γενέσθαι καὶ ὧν ἡναγκασμένοι δρώμεν πειρασόμεθα πολέμου ἄρχοντας ὑμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρώτου οὐδὲ μεγίστου πολέμου τοῦδε ἀπολαύσαιμεν.

[4] And you ought not to take any hostile resolution concerning us as we stretch forth our hands to you; but if you do so, we will first beg the gods and divinities who possess this land to forgive us even for what we do under the constraint of necessity and will then endeavour to defend ourselves against you who are the aggressors in the war; for this will not be the first nor the greatest war that we have experienced.”

[5] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Λατῖνος ἤκουσεν ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς αὐτόν: ἄλλ’ ἔγωγε εὖνοιάν τε πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος ἔχω καὶ συμφοραῖς ἀνθρώπων [p. 95] ἀναγκαίαις πάνυ ἄχθομαι, σῶζεσθαι τε ὑμᾶς περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, εἴ μοι δῆλοι γένοισθε οἰκήσεως δεόμενοι ἤκειν ἐν ἀποχρῶσιν τε γῆς μοῖρα καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν τῶν δοθησομένων μεθέξοντες, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν ἐμὴν δυναστείαν ἀφαιρησόμενοι πρὸς βίαν. εἰ δ’ ἐπαληθεύεται ὑμῖν ὃδ’ ὁ λόγος πίστεις τούτων ἀξιώ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν, αἱ φυλάξουσιν ἡμῖν ἀδόλους τὰς ὁμολογίας.

[5] When Latinus heard this he answered him: “Nay, but I cherish a kindly feeling towards the whole Greek race and am greatly grieved by the inevitable calamities of mankind. And I should be very solicitous for your safety if it were clear to me that you have come here in search of a habitation and that, contented with a suitable share of the land and enjoying in a spirit of friendship what shall be given you, you will not endeavour to deprive me of the sovereignty by force; and if the assurances you give me are real, I desire to give and receive pledges which will preserve our compact inviolate.”

[1] Αἰνείου δὲ ἐπαινέσαντος τὰ λεγόμενα γίνονται συνθήκαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐφ’ ὀρκίῳν τοιαίδε: Ἀβοριγῖνας μὲν Τρωσὶ δοῦναι χώραν ὅσῃν ἤξiou ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετταράκοντα σταδίους πανταχοῦ πορευομένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου: Τρῶας δὲ Ἀβοριγῖσι τοῦ τ’ ἐν χερσὶ πολέμου συλλαβέσθαι καὶ ὅπου ἂν ἄλλη παρακαλῶνται συστρατεύειν: κοινῇ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους τὰ κράτιστα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων πράττειν καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ.

[59.1] Aeneas having accepted this proposal, a treaty was made between the two nations and confirmed by oaths to this effect: the Aborigines were to grant to

the Trojans as much land as they desired, that is, the space of about forty stades in every direction from the hill; the Trojans, on their part, were to assist the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in and also to join them with their forces upon every other occasion when summoned; and, mutually, both nations were to aid each other to the utmost of their power, both with their arms and with their counsel.

[2] συνθέμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τέκνων ὁμηρεΐαις τὰς πίστεϊς βεβαιώσαντες κοινῇ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ῥωτόλων: δι' ὀλίγου δὲ τάκεϊ πάντα χειρωσάμενοι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πόλισμα τὸ Τρωικὸν ἡμιτελὲς ἔτ' ὃν καὶ μιᾷ προθυμίᾳ πάντες χρώμενοι τειχίζουσιν αὐτό.

[2] After they had concluded this treaty and had given pledges by handing over children as hostages, they marched with joint forces against the cities of the Rutulians; and having soon subdued all opposition there, they came to the town of the Trojans, which was still but half-finished, and all working with a common zeal, they fortified the town with a wall.

[3] ὄνομα δὲ τῷ κτίσματι Αἰνείας τίθεται Λαουίνιον, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς, ἣ Λαῦναν εἶναι φασὶ τοῦνομα: ὡς δ' ἄλλοι [p. 96] τινὲς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μυθογράφων ἔλεξαν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνίου τοῦ Δηλίων βασιλέως θυγατρὸς, Λαῦνας καὶ τῆς2δε ὀνομαζομένης, ἥς ἀποθανούσης νόσῳ περὶ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς πόλεως πρώτης καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἔκαμε χωρίῳ ταφείσης μνήμα γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. συμπλεῦσαι δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς Τρωσὶ λέγεται δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Αἰνεία δεθέντι μαντικὴν οὔσαν καὶ σοφὴν.

[3] This town Aeneas called Lavinium, after the daughter of Latinus, according to the Romans' own account; for her name, they say, was Lavinia. But according to some of the Greek mythographers he named it after the daughter of Anius, the king of the Delians, who was also called Lavinia; for as she was the first to die of illness at the time of the building of the city and was buried in the place where she died, the city was made her memorial.

[4] λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὸν πολιισμόν τοῦ Λαουίνιου σημεῖα τοῖς Τρωσὶ γενέσθαι τοιάδε: πυρὸς αὐτομάτως ἀναφθέντος ἐκ τῆς νάπης λύκον μὲν κομίζοντα τῷ στόματι τῆς ξηρᾶς ὕλης ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, αἰτὸν δὲ προσπετόμενον ἀναρριπίζειν τῇ κινήσει τῶν πετερυγῶν τὴν φλόγα: τούτοις δὲ τάναντια μηχανωμένην ἀλώπεκα τὴν οὐρὰν διάβροχον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φέρουσιν ἐπιρραπίζειν τὸ καίομενον πῦρ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τοὺς ἀνάπτοντας ἐπικρατεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τὴν ἀποσβέσαι βουλομένην: τέλος δὲ νικῆσαι τοὺς δύο, καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν οἶχεσθαι μηδὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν δυναμένην.

[4] She is said to have embarked with the Trojans after having been given by her father to Aeneas at his desire as a prophetess and a wise woman. While Lavinium was building, the following omens are said to have appeared to the

Trojans. When a fire broke out spontaneously in the forest, a wolf, they say, brought some dry wood in his mouth and threw it upon the fire, and an eagle, flying thither, fanned the flame with the motion of his wings. But working in opposition to these, a fox, after wetting his tail in the river, endeavoured to beat out the flames; and now those that were kindling it would prevail, and now the fox that was trying to put it out. But at last the two former got the upper hand, and the other went away, unable to do anything further.

[5] ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Αἰνείαν εἰπεῖν ὥς ἐπιφανῆς μὲν ἔσται καὶ θαυμαστὴ καὶ γνώσεως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡξούσα ἢ ἀποικία, ἐπίφθορος δὲ τοῖς πέλας αὐξομένη καὶ λυπηρά, κρατήσει δ' ὅμως τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων κρείττονα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τύχην λαβοῦσα τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἐναντιωσομένου φθόνου. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω περιφανῇ μηνύματα [p. 97] λέγεται γενέσθαι τῶν συμβησομένων τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν μνημεῖα ἐν τῇ Λαουινιατῶν ἀγορᾷ χαλκᾷ εἰδῶλα τῶν ζώων ἐκ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου διατηρούμενα.

[5] Aeneas, on observing this, said that the colony would become illustrious and an object of wonder and would gain the greatest renown, but that as it increased it would be envied by its neighbours and prove grievous to them; nevertheless, it would overcome its adversaries, the good fortune that it had received from Heaven being more powerful than the envy of men that would oppose it. These very clear indications are said to have been given of what was to happen to the city; of which there are monuments now standing in the forum of the Lavinians, in the form of bronze images of the animals, which have been preserved for a very long time.

[1] ἔπειδ' ἂν κατεσκευάσθῃ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἡ πόλις, ἐπιθυμία πάντας ἴσχειν ἰσχυρὰ τοῦ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀπολαῦσαι χρησίμου, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν πρῶτοι ἄρχουσι μίξαντες τοῦ τε ἐπιχωρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπήλυδος γένους τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐπὶ συναλλαγαῖς γάμου, δόντος Λατίνου τὴν θυγατέρα Λαῦναν Αἰνείᾳ γυναικα.

[60.1] After the Trojans' city was built all were extremely desirous of enjoying the mutual benefit of their new alliance. And their kings setting the example, united the excellence of the two races, the native and the foreign, by ties of marriage, Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas.

[2] ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιθυμίαν λαβόντες καὶ δι' ὀλίγου πάνυ χρόνου συνενεγκάμενοι ἔθῃ καὶ νόμους καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κηδεῖας τε συνάφαντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ κοινωνίας πολέμων ἀνακεράσθέντες, οἱ σύμπαντες κοινῇ ὀνομασίᾳ προσαγορεύοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων Λατίνους, οὕτω βεβαίως ἔμειναν ἐπὶ τοῖς συγκειμένοις, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἔτι χρόνος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέστησε.

[2] Thereupon the rest also conceived the same desire as their kings; and combining in a very brief time their customs, laws and religious ceremonies,

forming ties through intermarriages and becoming mingled together in the wars they jointly waged, and all calling themselves by the common name of Latins, after the king of the Aborigines, they adhered so firmly to their pact that no lapse of time has yet severed them from one another.

[3] τὰ μὲν δὴ συνελθόντα ἔθνη καὶ κοινωσάμενα τοὺς βίους, ἐξ ὧν τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος ὥρμηται, πρὶν ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν οἰκισθῆναι πόλιν, ταῦτά ἐστιν: Ἀβοριγῖνες μὲν πρῶτον, οἱ Σικελοὺς ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τούτων τῶν χωρίων, Ἕλληνες ὄντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου [p. 98] τῶν σὺν Οἰνώτρῳ μετενεγκαμένων τῇν οἴκησιν ἐκ τῆς καλουμένης νῦν Ἀρκαδίας, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι: ἔπειθ' οἱ μεταναστάντες ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν Αἰμονίας, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίας καλουμένης, Πελασγοί: τρίτοι δὲ οἱ σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ παραγενηθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Παλλαντίου πόλεως: μετὰ δὲ τούτους τῶν σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ στρατευομένων Πελοποννησίων Ἐπειοὶ τε καὶ Φενεᾶται, οἷς καὶ Τρωικὸν τι ἐμμέμικται: τελευταῖοι δὲ οἱ διασωθέντες σὺν Αἰνείᾳ Τρῳῆς ἐξ Ἰλίου τε καὶ Δαρδάνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Τρωικῶν πόλεων.

[3] The nations, therefore, which came together and shared in a common life and from which the Roman people derived their origin before the city they now inhabit was built, are these: first, the Aborigines, who drove the Sicels out of these parts and were originally Greeks from the Peloponnesus, the same who with Oenotrus removed from the country now called Arcadia, according to my opinion; then, the Pelasgians, who came from Haemonia, as it was then called, but now Thessaly; third, those who came into Italy with Evander from the city of Pallantium; after them the Epeans and Pheneats, who were part of the Peloponnesian army commanded by Hercules, with whom a Trojan element also was commingled; and, last of all, the Trojans who had escaped with Aeneas from Ilium, Dardanus and the other Trojan cities.

[1] ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Τρῳῶν ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ποτὲ ὥρμημένον, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πάλα, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ δι' ὀλίγων. ἔχει δὲ ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν ὧδε: Ἄτλας γίνεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, ὧκει δὲ περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Καυκῶνιον ὄρος. τούτῳ θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἑπτὰ αἱ νῦν ἐν οὐρανῷ κατηστερίσθαι λεγόμεναι Πλειάδες ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὧν μίαν μὲν Ἥλέκτραν Ζεὺς γαμεῖ καὶ

[61.1] That the Trojans, too, were a nation as truly Greek as any and formerly came from the Peloponnesus has long been asserted by some authors and shall be briefly related by me also. The account concerning them is as follows. Atlas was the first king of the country now called Arcadia, and he lived near the mountain called Thaumasius. He had seven daughters, who are said to be numbered now among the constellations under the name of the Pleiades; Zeus married one of these, Electra, and had by her two sons, Iasus and Dardanus.

[2] γεννᾷ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἴασον καὶ Δάρδανον. Ἴασος μὲν οὖν ἡίθεος μένει,

Δάρδανος δὲ ἄγεται γυναῖκα Χρύσην Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες Ἰδαῖος καὶ Δεῖμας. οὗτοι τέως μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ παραλαβόντες τὴν Ἄτλαντος δυναστείαν ἐβασίλευον, ἔπειτα κατακλυσμοῦ γενομένου μεγάλου περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τὰ μὲν πεδία ἐξελιμνώθη καὶ πολλοῦ [p. 99] χρόνου γεωργεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ὥκουν γὰρ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη γλίσχρως ποριζόμενοι τὰς τροφάς· συμφρονήσαντες ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὴ βόσκειν ἔσται πάντας ἡ περιοῦσα γῆ νέμονται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διχῆ: καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ὑπομένουσι βασιλέα καταστησάμενοι Δεῖμαντα τὸν Δαρδάνου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ

[2] Iasus remained unmarried, but Dardanus married Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, by whom he had two sons, Idaeus and Deimas; and these, succeeding Atlas in the kingdom, reign for some time in Arcadia. Afterwards, a great deluge occurring throughout Arcadia, the plains were overflowed and for a long time could not be tilled; and the inhabitants, living upon the mountains and eking out a sorry livelihood, decided that the land remaining would not be sufficient for the support of them all, and so divided themselves into two groups, one of which remained in Arcadia, after making Deimas, the son of Dardanus, their king, while the other left the Peloponnesus on board a large fleet.

[3] ἀπανίστανται Πελοποννήσου στόλῳ μεγάλῳ. ποιούμενοι δὲ τὸν πλοῦν παρὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην εἰς τὸν Μέλανα καλούμενον ἀφικνοῦνται κόλπον καὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἐν νήσῳ τινὶ τῆς Θράκης ὀρμισάμενοι, ἣν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν εἴτε ἦν οἰκουμένη καὶ πρότερον, εἴτ' ἔρημος: ἣ τίθενται τοῦνομα σύνθετον ἐκ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ τόπου, Σαμοθράκην: τὸ μὲν γὰρ χωρίον τῆς Θράκης, ὃ δὲ οἰκιστὴς Σάμων, υἱὸς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ νύμφης Κυλληνίδος Πήνης ὀνομαζομένης.

[3] And sailing along the coast of Europe, they came to a gulf called Melas and chanced to land on a certain island of Thrace, as to which I am unable to say whether it was previously inhabited or not. They called the island Samothrace, a name compounded of the name of a man and the name of a place. For it belongs to Thrace and its first settler was Samon, the son of Hermes and a nymph of Cyllenê, named Rhenê.

[4] ἐκεῖ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν διατρίψαντες, ὡς οὐκ εὐμαρὴς ἦν ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς γῇ τε λυπρᾷ καὶ θαλάττῃ ἀγρία μαχομένοις, ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ λειπόμενοι ἀπανίστανται πάλιν οἱ πλείους εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας Δάρδανον: Ἴασος γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κεραυνῷ πληγείς τελευτᾷ Δήμητρος εὐνῆς ὀριγνώμενος οἱ ἔχειν: ποιησάμενοί τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ νῦν Ἑλλησπόντῳ περὶ τὴν ὕστερον κληθεῖσαν οἰκίζονται Φρυγίαν, [p. 100] Ἰδαῖος μὲν ὁ Δαρδάνου μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἃ νῦν Ἰδαῖα ἀπ' ἐκείνου λέγεται, ἐνθα μητρὶ θεῶν ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς κατεστήσατο, αἱ καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνον διαμένουσιν ἐν ἀπάσῃ Φρυγίᾳ: Δάρδανος δ' ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Τρωάδι πόλιν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσας, δόντος αὐτῷ τὰ χωρία Τεύκρου

βασιλέως, ἀφ' οὗ Τευκρὶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ γῆ ἐλέγετο:

[4] Here they remained but a short time, since the life proved to be no easy one for them, forced to contend, as they were, with both a poor soil and a boisterous sea; but leaving some few of their people in the island, the greater part of them removed once more and went to Asia under Dardanus as leader of their colony (for Iasus had died in the island, being struck with a thunderbolt for desiring to have intercourse with Demeter), and disembarking in the strait now called the Hellespont, they settled in the region which was afterwards called Phrygia. Idaeus, the son of Dardanus, with part of the company occupied the mountains which are now called after him the Idaean mountains, and there built a temple to the Mother of the Gods and instituted mysteries and ceremonies which are observed to this day throughout all Phrygia. And Dardanus built a city named after himself in the region now called the Troad; the land was given to him by Teucer, the king, after whom the country was anciently called Teucris.

[5] τοῦτον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Φανόδημος ὁ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γράψας ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετοικῆσαι φασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν δῆμου Ἐυπεταίως ἄρχοντα καὶ πολλὰ παρέχονται τοῦ λόγου τεκμήρια. κρατήσαντα δὲ χώρας συχνῆς τε καὶ ἀγαθῆς καὶ οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἐχοῦσης γένος ἀσμένως τὸν Δάρδανον ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον Ἑλληνικόν, τῶν τε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμων συμμαχίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἵνα ἢ γῆ μὴ ᾗ ἔρημος.

[5] Many authors, and particularly Phanodemus, who wrote about the ancient lore of Attica, say that Teucer had come into Asia from Attica, where he had been chief of the deme called Xypetê, and of this tale they offer many proofs. They add that, having possessed himself of a large and fertile country with but a small native population, he was glad to see Dardanus and the Greeks who came with him, both because he hoped for their assistance in his wars against the barbarians and because he desired that the land should not remain unoccupied.

[1] ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἐξ ὧν ἔφθι διηγήσασθαι: βραχεῖα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσει σημανῶ. Δάρδανος ἐπειδὴ Χρύσην τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς οἱ πρότεροι παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ, τελευτῆσαι συνέπεσε, Βάτειαν γαμῆ τὴν Τεύκρου θυγατέρα: καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Ἐριχθόνιος, ὃς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι τῆς τε πατρῴας καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ μητροπάτορι γενομένης [p. 101]

[62] But the subject requires that I relate also how Aeneas was descended: this, too, I shall do briefly. Dardanus, after the death of Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, by whom he had his first sons, married Bateia, the daughter of Teucer, and by her had Erichthonius, who is said to have been the most fortunate of all men, since he inherited both the kingdom of his father and that of his maternal

grandfather.

[2] κληρονομήσας ἀρχῆς. Ἐριχθονίου δὲ καὶ Καλλιρρόης τῆς Σκαμάνδρου γίνεται Τρώς, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν τὸ ἔθνος ἔχει: Τρωὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀκαλλαρίδος τῆς Εὐμήδους Ἀσσάρακος ἦν: τοῦτου δὲ καὶ Κλυτοδώρας τῆς Λαομέδοντος Κάπυς: Κάπυος δὲ καὶ νύμφης Ναϊάδος Ἱερομνήμης Ἀγχίσης: Ἀγχίσου δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείας. ὥς μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ Τρωικὸν γένος Ἑλληνικὸν ἀρχῆθεν ἦν δεδῆλωται μοι.

[2] Of Erichthonius and Callirrhoê, the daughter of Scamander, was born Tros, from whom the nation has received its name; of Tros and Acallaris, the daughter of Eumedes, Assaracus; of Assaracus and Clytadora, the daughter of Laomedon, Capys; of Capys and a Naiad nymph, Hieromnemê, Anchises; of Anchises and Aphrodîtê, Aeneas. Thus I have shown that the Trojan race, too, was originally Greek.

[1] περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς ἐκτίσθη τὸ Λαουῖνιον ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλως λέγουσιν: ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἔτει φέροντες αὐτὴν εἰκότα μᾶλλον λέγειν. Ἴλιος μὲν γὰρ ἐάλω τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους, ἑπτακαίδεκα πρότερον ἡμέραις τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς, ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χρόνους ἄγουσι, περιτταὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐκπληροῦσαι μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν εἴκοσιν ἡμέραι. ἐν δὴ ταῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως διαγενομέναις τὰ τε περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἶομαι διοικήσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐπιδέξασθαι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀφροστηκότων καὶ τὰ ὄρκια ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦς:

[63.1] Concerning the time when Lavinium was built there are various reports, but to me the most probable seems to be that which places it in the second year after the departure of the Trojans from Troy. For Ilium was taken at the end of the spring, seventeen days before the summer solstice, and the eighth from the end of the month Thargelion, according to the calendar of the Athenians; and there still remained twenty days after the solstice to complete that year. During the thirty-seven days that followed the taking of the city I imagine the Achaeans were employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a treaty with them.

[2] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει, πρώτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν [p. 102] ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ἄραντες οἱ Τρῶες ἐκ τῆς γῆς περαιοῦνται τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς τὴν Θράκην αὐτοῦ διατρίβουσι τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν δεχόμενοι τε τοὺς ἐπισυνιόντας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ εἰς τὸν ἀπόπλουν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἀναστάντες ἕαρος ἀρχομένου τελοῦσι τὸν μεταξὺ πλοῦν ἄχρι Σικελίας: ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁρμισαμένοις αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο τελευτᾷ, καὶ διατρίβουσι τὸν δεῦτερον χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις συνοικίζοντες τοῖς Ἑλύμοις ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

[2] In the following year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans set sail about the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont, and landing in Thrace, passed the winter season there, during which they received the fugitives who kept flocking to them and made the necessary preparations for their voyage. And leaving Thrace in the beginning of spring, they sailed as far as Sicily; when they had landed there that year came to an end, and they passed the second winter in assisting the Elymians to found their cities in Sicily.

[3] πλοῖμων δὲ γενομένων ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου περῶσι τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος καὶ τελευτῶντες εἰς Λωρεντὸν ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν Ἀβοριγίνων αἰγιαλὸν μεσοῦσης θερείας. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ χωρίον οἰκίζουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λαουίνιον τὸν δεῦτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐκπληρώσαντες ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς ἔχω δόξης δεδήλωται μοι.

[3] But as soon as conditions were favourable for navigation they set sail from the island, and crossing the Tyrrhenian sea, arrived at last at Laurentum on the coast of the Aborigines in the middle of the summer. And having received the ground from them, they founded Lavinium, thus bringing to an end the second year from the taking of Troy. With regard to these matters, then, I have thus shown my opinion.

[1] Αἰνείας δὲ κατασκευάσας ἱεροῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κόσμοις ἀποχρώντως τὴν πόλιν, ὣν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν, τῷ μὲν ἑξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ, τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου, Τρώων ἐβασίλευσε μόνων: τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τελευτήσαντος Λατίνου καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖνον βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει τῆς τε κηδεῖας οἰκειότητι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπικλήρου τῆς Λαύνας γενομένης μετὰ τὸν Λατίνου θάνατον καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄστρυγεῖτονας πολέμου τῆς στρατηγίας ἕνεκα.

[64.1] But when Aeneas had sufficiently adorned the city with temples and other public buildings, of which the greatest part remained even to my day, the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, he reigned over the Trojans only. But in the fourth year, Latinus having died, he succeeded to his kingdom also, not only in consideration of his relationship to him by marriage, Lavinia being the heiress after the death of Latinus, but also because of his being commander in the war against the neighbouring tribes.

[2] ἀπέστησαν γὰρ αὖθις ἀπὸ τοῦ Λατίνου Ῥότολοι λαβόντες ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτομόλων τινὰ τῆς Λατίνου γυναικὸς [p. 103] Ἀμίτας ἀνεψιὸν ὄνομα Τυρρηνόν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ τῆς Λαύνας τὸν κηδεστήν μεμφόμενος, ὅτι παρελθὼν τὸ συγγενὲς ὀθνείοις ἐκῆδευσε, τῆς τε Ἀμίτας παροξυνούσης καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συλλαμβανόντων ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν, ἧς αὐτὸς ἦρχε, προστίθεται τοῖς Ῥότολοις.

[2] For the Rutulians had again revolted from Latinus, choosing for their leader one of the deserters, named Tyrrhenus, who was a nephew of Amata, the wife

of Latinus. This man, blaming Latinus in the matter of Lavinia's marriage, because he had ignored his kinsmen and allied his family with outsiders, and being goaded on by Amata and encouraged by others, had gone over to the Rutulians with the forces he commanded.

[3] πολέμου δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τούτων γενομένου καὶ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς Λατῖνός τε ἀποθνήσκει καὶ Τυρρηνὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνοί, κρατοῦσι δ' ὅμως οἱ σὺν Αἰνείᾳ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ κηδεστῇ γενομένην ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας παραλαμβάνει. τρία δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη μετὰ τὴν Λατίνου τελευτὴν τῷ τετάρτῳ θνήσκει κατὰ πόλεμον.

[3] War arose out of these complaints and in a sharp battle that ensued Latinus, Tyrrhenus and many others were slain; nevertheless, Aeneas and his people gained the victory. Thereupon Aeneas succeeded to the kingdom of his father-in-law; but when he had reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth he lost his life in battle.

[4] Ῥότολοι τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύουσιν ἅπαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Τυρρηνῶν Μεσέντιος δεισας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας, ἥδη γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγα χωροῦσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ὀρῶν δύναμιν ἤχθετο. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερᾶς οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Λαουινίου καὶ πολλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολομένων τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης διελύθη, τὸ δὲ Αἰνείου σῶμα φανερόν οὐδαμῇ γενόμενον οἱ μὲν εἰς θεοὺς μεταστῆναι εἵκαζον, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, παρ' ὃν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, διαφθάρῃαν.

[4] For the Rutulians marched out in full force from their cities against him, and with them Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, who thought his own country in danger; for he was troubled at seeing the Greek power already making rapid headway. A severe battle took place not far from Lavinium and many were slain on both sides, but when night came on the armies separated; and when the body of Aeneas was nowhere to be seen, some concluded that it had been translated to the gods and others that it had perished in the river beside which the battle was fought.

[5] καὶ αὐτῷ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι ἡρώον ἐπιγραφῇ τοιαύδε κοσμούμενον: πατρὸς θεοῦ χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ῥεῦμα διέπει. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγουσιν ἐπ' Ἀγχίσῃ [p. 104] κατασκευασθῆναι αὐτὸ ὑπ' Αἰνείου, ἐνιαντῷ πρότερον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου τελευτήσαντι. ἔστι δὲ χωμάτιον οὐ μέγα καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ δένδρα στοιχηδὸν πεφυκότα θέας ἄξια.

[5] And the Latins built a hero-shrine to him with this inscription: "To the father and god of this place, who presides over the waters of the river Numicius." But there are some who say the shrine was erected by Aeneas in honour of Anchises, who died in the year before this war. It is a small mound, round which have been set out in regular rows trees that are well worth seeing.

[1] Αἰνείου δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεταστάντος ἐβδόμῳ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν Εὐρυλέων παρέλαβε τὴν Λατίνων ἡγεμονίαν ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἀσκάnios ἐν τῇ φυγῇ. ἦσαν δὲ τειχῆρεις οἱ Τρῶες ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις αἰεὶ προσῆι δύναιμι, αἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ Λαουινίῳ πολιορκούμενοις ἐπικουρεῖν.

[65.1] Aeneas having departed this life about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who in the flight had been renamed Ascanius, succeeded to the rule over the Latins. At this time the Trojans were undergoing a siege; the forces of the enemy were increasing daily, and the Latins were unable to assist those who were shut up in Lavinium.

[2] τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν τε καὶ συνθήκας μετρίας προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσκάnios: ὥς δ' οὐδὲν προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς, ἐπιτρέπειν ἐκείνοις ἡναγκάζοντο καταλῦσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαιοῦσι. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς δεδουλωμένοις ἀφόρητα ἐπιτάσσοντος καὶ τὸν οἶνον ὅσον ἂν ἡ Λατίνων γῇ φέρῃ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀπάγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς μὲν ἀμπέλου τὸν καρπὸν ἱερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γνώμην ἀγορεύσαντος Ἀσκανίου, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀλλήλοις παρακελευσάμενοι προθύμοις ἀγωνισταῖς γενέσθαι καὶ θεοὺς αἰτήσάμενοι συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ κινδυνεύματος ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξαντες νύκτ' ἄσέλῃνον.

[2] Ascanius and his men, therefore, first invited the enemy to a friendly and reasonable accommodation, but when no heed was paid to them, they were forced to allow their enemies to put an end to the war upon their own terms. When, however, the gate of the Tyrrhenians, among other intolerable conditions that he imposed upon them, as upon a people already become his slaves, commanded them to bring to the Tyrrhenians every year all the wine the country of the Latins produced, they looked upon this as a thing beyond all endurance, and following the advice of Ascanius, voted that the fruit of the vine should be sacred to Jupiter. Then, exhorting one another to prove their zeal and valour and praying the gods to assist them in their dangerous enterprise, they fixed upon a moonless night and sallied out of the city.

[3] εὐθὺς δὲ προσβαλόντες τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολέμιων, ὃς ἐγγυτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως ἔκειτο καὶ [p. 105] ἦν προτειχισμα τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἐν ἐρυμνῷ τε κατεσκευασμένος χωρίῳ καὶ τὴν κρατίστην νεότητα Τυρρηνῶν ἔχων, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Μεσεντίου παῖς Λαῦσος ὄνομα, οὐδενὸς προειδομένου τὴν ἔφοδον αἰροῦσιν εὐπετῶς τὸ ὀχύρωμα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἥλiskeτο, φῶς τε ἄκαιρον ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκότες καὶ βοήν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀκούοντες ἔφευγον ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς πεδινοὺς τόπους ἐπὶ τὰ

[3] And they immediately attacked that part of the enemy's rampart which lay nearest to the city and which, being designed as an advanced post to cover the rest of their forces, had been constructed in a strong position and was

defended by the choicest youth of the Tyrrhenians, under the command of Lausus, the son of Mezentius; and their attack being unforeseen, they easily made themselves masters of the stronghold. While they were employed in taking this post, those of the enemy who were encamped on the plains, seeing an unusual light and hearing the cries of the men who were perishing, left the level country and were fleeing to the mountains.

[4] ὄρη. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλὴ ἐγένετο ταραχὴ καὶ θόρυβος, οἷα ἐν νυκτὶ κινουμένης στρατιᾶς, ὥς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐπιθησομένων οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ οὐδὲ κατὰ τέλη τὴν ἔλασιν ποιούμενοις· οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι, ἐπεὶδὴ τὸ τε φρούριον ἐξ ἐφόδου κατειλήφεσαν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἔμαθον τεταραγμένον, ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς κτείνοντες καὶ διώκοντες. τῶν δ' οὐχ ὅπως τις πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μαθεῖν ἐν οἷς ἦσαν κακοῖς ἠδύνατο· ὑπὸ δὲ θορύβου καὶ ἀμηχανίας οἱ μὲν κατὰ κρημνῶν φερόμενοι διεφθείροντο, οἱ δ' εἰς φάραγγας ἀνεξόδους ἐμπίπτοντες ἠλίσκοντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀγνοήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτός ὅσα πολεμίους διέθεσαν, καὶ ὁ [p. 106] πλεῖστος αὐτῶν φθόρος ἀλληλοκτόνος ἐγένετο. Μεσέντιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις λόφον τινὰ καταλαβὼν, ἐπεὶδὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν μόρον ἐπύθετο καὶ ὅσος αὐτῷ στρατὸς διέφθαρτο ἐν οἷῳ τε χωρίῳ κατακεκλεικώς ἑαυτὸν ἦν,

[4] During this time there was great confusion and tumult, as was but natural with an army moving at night; for they expected the enemy would every moment fall upon them while they were withdrawing in disorder and with ranks broken. The Latins, after they had taken the fort by storm and learned that the rest of the army was in disorder, pressed after them, killing and pursuing. And not only did none of the enemy attempt to turn and resist, but it was not even possible for them to know in what evil plight they were, and in their confusion and helplessness some were falling over precipices and perishing, while others were becoming entangled in blind ravines and were being taken prisoner; but most of them, failing to recognize their comrades in the dark, treated them as enemies, and the greatest part of their loss was due to their slaying of one another.

[5] ὥς ὢν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χρήματος, ἔπεμψε κήρυκας εἰς τὸ Λαουῖνιον περὶ φιλίας διαλεξομένους, Ἀσκανίου δὲ τοῖς Λατῖνοις ταμιεῦεσθαι τὴν τύχην συμβουλευόντος ἄδειαν εὐρόμενος ἀπῆλθεν ὑπόσπονδος μεθ' ὅσης εἶχε δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον ἅπαντα διαλυσάμενος τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς τοὺς Λατῖνους βέβαιος φίλος ἦν.

[5] Mezentius with a few of his men seized a hill, but when he learned of the fate of his son and of the numbers he had lost and discovered the nature of the place in which he had shut himself up, realizing that he was packing in everything needful, he sent heralds to Lavinium to treat for peace. And since Ascanius advised the Latins to husband their good fortune, Mezentius obtained permission to retire under a truce with the forces he had left; and

from that time, laying aside all his enmity with the Latins, he was their consulate friend.

[1] τριακοστῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ Λαουινίου πόλιν ἑτέραν οἰκίζει κατὰ τὸ γενόμενον Αἰνεΐα θέσφατον Ἀσκάnios ὁ Αἰνεΐου καὶ μεταγει τοὺς τ' ἐκ Λαουινίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Λατίνων ὅσοις ἦν βουλομένοις ἄμεινον οἰκεῖν εἰς τὴν νεόκτιστον, ὄνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενος Ἄλβαν. ἔστι δ' ἡ Ἄλβα καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν Λευκή, σαφηνισμοῦ δ' ἔνεκα διορίζεται παρ' ἑτέραν πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἐπικλήσει τὸ σχῆμα ἐπικατηγοροῦσθαι, καὶ ἔστιν ὥσπερ σύνθετον ἦδη τοῦνομα ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Ἄλβα λόγγα, τοῦτο δ' ἔστι Λευκὴ μακρά.

[66.1] In the thirtieth year after the founding of Lavinium Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, in pursuance of the oracle given to his father, built another city and transferred both the inhabitants of Lavinium and the other Latins who were desirous of a better habitation to this newly-built city, which he called Alba. Alba means in the Greek tongue Leukê or "White"; but for the sake of clearness it is distinguished from another city of the same name by the addition of an epithet descriptive of its shape, and its name is now, as it were, a compound, made up of the two terms, Alba Longa, that is Leukê Makra or "Long White (town)."

[2] νῦν μὲν οὖν ἔρημός ἐστιν: ἐπὶ γὰρ Ὀσπιλίου Τύλλου Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως στασιάζειν δόξασα πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνηρέθη: τὸ [p. 107] δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πολιτευόμενον πλῆθος ἡ καθελοῦσα τὴν μητρόπολιν ὑπεδέξατο Ῥώμη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱκνουμένοις χρόνοις ἐγένετο, ἡνίκα δὲ ὤκιζετο πρὸς ὄρει καὶ λίμνῃ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ μέσον ἐπέχουσα ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα δυσάλωτον αὐτὴν ποιοῦντα. τὸ τε γὰρ ὄρος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ὀχυρόν τε καὶ ὑψηλόν ἐστιν ἢ τε λίμνη βαθεῖα καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ κλισιάδων ἀνοιγομένων ὑποδέχεται τὸ πεδῖον ταμειυομένων ὅποσον βούλονται τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ὕδωρ.

[2] This city is now uninhabited, since in the time of Tullus Hostilius, king of the Romans, Alba seemed to be contending with her colony for the sovereignty and hence was destroyed; but Rome, though she razed her mother-city to the ground, nevertheless welcomed its citizens into her midst. But these events belong to a later time. To return to its founding, Alba was built near a mountain and a lake, occupying the space between the two, which served the city in place of walls and rendered it difficult to be taken. For the mountain is extremely strong and high and the lake is deep and large; and its waters are received by the plain when the sluices are opened, the inhabitants having it in their power to husband the supply as much as they wish.

[3] ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστά μὲν ἰδεῖν, πλούσια δὲ καὶ οἶνους καὶ καρποὺς ἐξευεγκεῖν παντοδαποὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνδεεστέρους τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Ἄλβανὸν οἶνον ἡδὺν καὶ καλόν, ἔξω τοῦ Φαλερίνου λεγομένου τῶν γούν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαφορώτατον.

[3] Lying below the city are plains marvellous to behold and rich in producing wines and fruits of all sorts in no degree inferior to the rest of Italy, and particularly what they call the Alban wine, which is sweet and excellent and, with the exception of the Falernian, certainly superior to all others.

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ κτίσει τῆς πόλεως θαῦμα μέγιστον λέγεται γενέσθαι. κατασκευασθέντος τοῖς ἔδεσι τῶν θεῶν, οὓς Αἰνείας ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἠνέγκατο καὶ καθίδρυσεν ἐν τῷ Λαουινίῳ, ναοῦ χωρίον ἔχοντος ἄβατον καὶ τῶν ἱδρυμάτων ἐκ τοῦ Λαουινίου μετακομισθέντων ἐκ τοῦ νεῷ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν μυχόν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα κεκλεισμένων τε ὡς μάλιστα τῶν θυρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν παθόντων οὔτε περιβόλων οὔτε ὀροφῶν διαμειψαντα τὰ βρέτη τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ τῶν [p. 108]

[67.1] While the city was building, a most remarkable prodigy is said to have occurred. A temple with an inner sanctuary had been built for the images of the gods which Aeneas had brought with him from the Troad and set up in Lavinium, and the statues had been removed from Lavinium to this sanctuary; but during the following night, although the doors were most carefully closed and the walls of the enclosure and the roof of the temple suffered no injury, the statues changed their position and were found upon their old pedestals.

[2] ἀρχαίων εὐρεθῆναι κείμενα βάθρων: μετακομισθέντα δὲ αὐθις ἐκ τοῦ Λαουινίου σὺν ἱκετείαις καὶ θυσίαις ἀρεσθηρίοις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως ἀνελθεῖν. τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τέως μὲν ἀπορεῖν ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασιν οὔτε διχα τῶν πατρῶων θεῶν οἰκεῖν ἄξιοῦντας οὔτε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν οἴκησιν αὐθις ἀναστρέφειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ γνώμην εὐρέσθαι, ἣ ἔμελλεν ἀποχρώντως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα ἔξειν: τὰ μὲν ἔδη κατὰ χώραν ἔῃσαι μένειν, ἄνδρας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἄλβας εἰς τὸ Λαουίνιον αὐθις ἐποίκους μεταγαγεῖν. καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες ἑξακόσιοι μελεδωνοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῖς μεταναστάντες ἐφεστίοις: ἡγεμὼν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐτάχθη Αἰγέστος.

[2] And after being brought back again from Lavinium with supplications and propitiatory sacrifices they returned in like manner to the same place. Upon this the people were for someone time in doubt what they should do, being unwilling either to live apart from their ancestral gods or to return again to their deserted habitation. But at last they hit upon an expedient which promised to meet satisfactorily both these difficulties. This was to let the images remain where they were and to conduct men back from Alba to Lavinium to live there and take care of them. Those who were sent to Lavinium to have charge of their rites were six hundred in number; they removed thither with their entire households, and Aegestus was appointed their chief.

[3] τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλοῦσιν: οἱ δ' ἐξηρμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τοῦνομα οἱ μὲν Πατρώους

ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ Γενεθλίους, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μυχίους, οἱ δὲ Ἑρκείους. ἔοικε δὲ τούτων ἕκαστος κατὰ τινος τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπικλήσιν κινδυνεύουσι τε πάντες ἄμωσ2γέπως τὸ αὐτὸ

[3] As for these gods, the Romans call them Penates. Some who translate the name into the Greek language render it Patrôoi, others Genethlioi, some Ktêsiori, others Mychioi, and still others Herkeioi. Each of these seems to be giving them their name from some one of their attributes, and it is probable that they are all expressing more or less the same idea.

[4] λέγειν. σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν περὶ Τιμαῖος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται: κηρύκια σιδηρᾷ καὶ χαλκᾷ καὶ κέραμον Τρωικὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουνίνῳ κείμενα ἱερά, πυθέσθαι δὲ [p. 109] αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ὁρᾷ ἅπασιν οὐ θέμις οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ὁρώντων ἀκούειν οὔτε ἀναγράφειν οἶμαι δεῖν, νεμεσῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσοι πλείω τῶν συγχωρουμένων ὑπὸ νόμου ζητεῖν ἢ γινώσκειν ἄξιοῦσιν.

[4] Concerning their figure and appearance, Timaeus, the historian, makes the statement that the holy objects preserved in the sanctuary at Lavinium are iron and bronze caducei or “heralds’ wands,” and a Trojan earthenware vessel; this, he says, he himself learned from the inhabitants. For my part, I believe that in the case of those things which it is not lawful for all to see I ought neither to hear about them from those who do see them nor to describe them; and I am indignant with every one else, too, who presumes to inquire into or to know more than what is permitted by law.

[1] ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι καὶ δέος οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει με περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν τοιάδε ἐστὶ: νεῶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δεικνυται τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ἐπίτομον ὁδὸν ὑπεροχῇ σκοτεινὸς ἰδρυμένος οὐ μέγας. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν ὑπ' Ἑλαιίας τὸ χωρίον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κεῖνται τῶν Τρωικῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, ἃς ἅπασιν ὁρᾷ θέμις, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαι δηλοῦσαν τοὺς Πενάτας. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι τοῦ θ μήπω γράμματος εὐρημένου τῷ δ δηλοῦν τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν οἱ παλαιοί.

[68.1] But the things which I myself know by having seen them and concerning which no scruple forbids me to write are as follows. They show you in Rome a temple built not far from the Forum in the short street that leads to the Carinae; it is a small shrine, and is darkened by the height of the adjacent buildings. The place is called in the native speech Velia. In this temple there are images of the Trojan gods which it is lawful for all to see, with an inscription showing them to be the Penates.

[2] εἰσὶ δὲ νεανία δύο καθήμενοι δόρατα διειληφότες, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἔργα τέχνης. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀρχαίοις εἶδωλα τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἔθεασάμεθα, καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν νεανίσκοι δύο στρατιωτικὰ σχήματα ἔχοντες

φαίνονται. ὁρᾷ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔξεστιν, ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἃ Καλλιστρατός [p. 110] τε ὁ περὶ Σαμοθράκης συνταξάμενος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ: τοὺς ἀρχαίους μύθους συναγαγὼν καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, παλαιότατος δὲ ὢν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ποιητῆς Ἀρκτῖνος.

[2] They are two seated youths holding spears, and are pieces of ancient workmanship. We have seen many other statues also of these gods in ancient temples and in all of them are represented two youths in military garb. These it is permitted to see, and it is also permitted to hear and to write about them what Callistratus, the author of the history of Samothrace, relates, and also Satyrus, who collected the ancient legends, and many others, too, among whom the poet Arctinus is the earliest we know of.

[3] λέγουσι γοῦν ὧδε: Χρύσην τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα γημαμένην Δαρδάνῳ φερνὰς ἐπενέγκασθαι δωρεὰς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ τε Παλλάδια καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν διδασθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τὰς τελετάς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν φεύγοντες Ἀρκάδες Πελοπόννησον μὲν ἐξέλιπον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Θρακίᾳ νήσῳ τοὺς βίους ἰδρύσαντο, κατασκευάσαι τὸν Δάρδανον ἐνταῦθα τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἱερὸν ἀρρήτους τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιοῦντα τὰς ἰδίου αὐτῶν ὀνομασίας καὶ τὰς τελετάς αὐτοῖς τὰς καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνου γινομένας ὑπὸ Σαμοθράκων ἐπιτελεῖν.

[3] At any rate, the following is the account they give. Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, when she was married to Dardanus, brought for her dowry the gifts of Athena, that is, the Palladia and the sacred symbols of the Great Gods, in whose mysteries she had been instructed. When the Arcadians, fleeing from the deluge, left the Peloponnesus and established their abode in the Thracian island, Dardanus built there a temple to these gods, whose particular names he kept secret from all any others, and performed the mysteries in their honour which are observed to this day by the Samothracians.

[4] ὥς δὲ μετῆγε τοῦ λεῶ τὴν πλειὴν μοῖραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς τελετάς τοῖς ὑπομείναισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καταλιπεῖν: τὰ δὲ Παλλάδια καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας κατασκευασάμενον ἀγαγεῖσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. διαμαντευόμενον δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως τὰ τε ἄλλα μαθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς φυλακῆς τόνδε τὸν χρησμὸν λαβεῖν:

εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίζησθαι θεοῖς σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ

θεῖναι, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσίαις τε χοροῖς τε.

ἔστ' ἂν γὰρ τάδε σεμνὰ καθ' ὑμετέρεν χθόνα μίμνη [p. 111]

δῶρα Διὸς κούρης ἀλόχῳ σέθεν, ἣ δὲ πόλις σοι

ἔσται ἀπόρθητος τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἥματα πάντα.

[4] Then, when he was conducting the greater part of the people into Asia, he

left the sacred rites and mysteries of the gods with those who remained in the island, but packed up and carried with him the Palladia and the images of the gods. And upon consulting the oracle concerning the place where he should settle, among other things that he learned he received this answer relating to the custody of the holy objects:

“In the town thou buildest worship undying found

To gods ancestral; guard them, sacrifice,

Adore with choirs. For whilst these holy things

In thy land remain, Zeus’ daughter’s gifts of old

Bestowed upon thy souse, secure from harm

Thy city shall abide forevermore.”

[1] Δάρδανον μὲν ἐν τῇ κτισθείσῃ τε ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὀνομασίας ὁμοίας τυχοῦσῃ πόλει τὰ ἔδη καταλιπεῖν, Ἴλιου δ’ ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ συνοικισθέντος ἐκεῖσε μετενεχθῆναι πρὸς τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερά. ποιήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς νεῶν τε καὶ ἄδυτον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ φυλάττειν δι’ ἐπιμελείας ὅσης ἐδύναντο πλείστης θεόπεμπτά τε ἡγουμένους εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίας κύρια τῇ πόλει.

[69.1] Dardanus, accordingly, left the statues in the city which he founded and named after himself, but when Ilium was settled later, they were removed thither by his descendants; and the people of Ilium built a temple and a sanctuary for them upon the citadel and preserved them with all possible care, looking upon them as sent from Heaven and as pledges of the city’s safety.

[2] ἀλικομένης δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὸν Αἰνεῖαν καρτερὸν τῆς ἄκρας γενόμενον, ἄραντα ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων τὰ τε ἱερά τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἔτι περιῆν Παλλᾶδιον ἑσπεριότερον γὰρ Ὀδυσσεῶα καὶ Διομήδην νυκτὸς φασιν εἰς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένους κλοπῇ λαβεῖν οἷχασθαι τε κομίσαντα τὸν Αἰνεῖαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἄγοντα εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

[2] And while the lower town was being captured, Aeneas, possessing himself of the citadel, took out of the sanctuary the images of the Great Gods and the Palladium which still remained (for Odysseus and Diomed, they say, when they came into Ilium by night, had stolen the other away), and carrying them with him out of the city, brought them into Italy.

[3] Ἀρκτῖνος δὲ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλᾶδιον ἐν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἢ πόλις ἡλίσκετο κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ: εἰκόνα δ’ ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην ὡς μηδὲν τῆς ἀρχετύπου διαφέρειν ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἕνεκεν ἐν φανερώ τεθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν.

[3] Arctinus, however, says that only one Palladium was given by Zeus to Dardanus and that this remained in Ilium, hidden in the sanctuary, till the city was being taken; but that from this a copy was made, differing in no respect from the original, and exposed to public view, on purpose to deceive those who might be planning to steal it, and that the Achaeans, having formed such a plan, took the copy away.

[4] τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπ' Αἰνείου κοιμισθέντα ἱερὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος γράφω τῶν τε μεγάλων θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι, οὓς Σαμοθρᾶκες Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα [p. 112] ὀργιάζουσι, καὶ τὸ μυθευόμενον Παλλᾶδιον, ὃ φασὶ τὰς ἱερὰς φυλάττειν παρθένους ἐν ναῶ κείμενον Ἑστίας, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον διασώζεται πῦρ: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ὑστέρω λεχθήσεται λόγῳ. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βεβήλοις ἡμῖν ἄδηλα ἕτερα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Τρωικῶν ἱερῶν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

[4] I say, therefore, upon the authority of the men above-mentioned, that the holy objects brought into Italy by Aeneas were the images of the Great Gods, to whom the Samothracians, of all the Greeks, pay the greatest worship, and the Palladium, famous in legend, which they say is kept by the holy virgins in the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire is also preserved; but concerning these matters I shall speak hereafter. And there may also be other objects besides these which are kept secret from us who are not initiated. But let this suffice concerning the holy objects of the Trojans.

[1] Ἀσκανίου δὲ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Σιλοῦιος ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀσκανίου, μετὰ τὸν Αἰνείου θάνατον γενόμενος ἐκ Λαύνας τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς, ὃν φασιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν νομέων ἐκτραφῆναι.

[70.1] Upon the death of the Ascanius in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded to the rule. He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneas, and they say that he was brought up on the mountains by the herdsmen.

[2] τοῦ γὰρ Ἀσκανίου παραλαβόντος τὴν βασιλείαν περιδεῆς ἡ Λαῦνα γενομένη μὴ τι δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθῃ κατὰ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομα, ἐγκύμων οὕσα δίδωσιν ἑαυτὴν Τυρρηνῶτινι συοφορβίῳ ἐπιμελητῇ βασιλικῶν, ὃν ἴδῃ Λατίνῳ γενόμενον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα προσήγορον. ὁ δ' εἰς ὕλας ἐρήμους ἀγαγὼν αὐτὴν ὡς τῶν ἐπιτυχουσῶν τινα, φυλαττόμενος ὀφθῆναι τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἔτρεφεν ἐν τῇ νάπῃ κατασκευάσας οἴκησιν οὐ πολλοῖς γνῶριμον καὶ τὸ παιδίον γενόμενον ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ τρέφει Σιλοῦιον ὀνομάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις Ἑλλάδι γλώσσει

[2] For when Ascanius took over the rule, Lavinia, becoming alarmed lest her relationship as step-mother might draw upon her some severity from him, and being then with child, entrusted herself to a certain Tyrrhenus, who had

charge of the royal herds of swine and whom she knew to have been on very intimate terms with Latinus. He, carrying her into the lonely woods as if she were an ordinary woman, and taking care that she was not seen by anyone who knew her, supported her in a house he built in the forest, which was known to but few. And when the child was born, he took it up and reared it, naming it, from the wood, Silvius, or, as one might say in Greek, Hylaios.

[3] λέξειεν Ὑλαῖον. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὡς πολλὴν ζήτησιν ἔγνω τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων γινομένην καὶ δι' αἰτίας ὄντα παρὰ τῷ πλήθει τὸν Ἀσκάνιον, [p. 113] ὡς ἀνηρηκότα τὴν παιδίσκην, φράζει τῷ δήμῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ἄγει μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκ τῆς νάπτης. τύχη μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος ὁ Σιλοῦϊος τὴν εἰρημένην ἔσχεν ὀνομασίαν καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου γένος ἅπαν, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαι συνέπεσεν, ἀμφίλογον γενομένην πρὸς ἕνα τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τῶν Ἀσκανίου παιδῶν Ἰούλον ἀξιοῦντα τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχὴν διαδέξασθαι.

[3] But in the course of time, finding that the Latins made great search for the woman and that the people accused Ascanius of having put her to death, he acquainted them with the whole matter and brought the woman and her son out of the forest. From this experience Silvius got his name, as I have related, and so did all his posterity. And he became king after the death of his brother, though not without a contest with one of the sons of Ascanius, — Iulus, the eldest, — who claimed the succession to his father's rule;

[4] τὴν δὲ δίκην ἐπεψήφισεν ὁ δῆμος ἄλλοις τε ὑπαχθεῖς λόγοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι μητρὸς ἦν ὁ Σιλοῦϊος ἐπικλήρου τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ἰούλῳ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἱερά τις ἐξουσία προσετέθη καὶ τιμὴ τῷ τε ἀκινδύνῳ προὔχουσα τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τῇ ραστώνῃ τοῦ βίου, ἣν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένος ἐκαρποῦτο, Ἰούλιοι κληθέντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου. ἐγένετο δὲ μέγιστος ἅμα καὶ λαμπρότατος οἰκῶν οὗτος, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἄνδρας τε διαφορωτάτους ἡγεμόνων ἤνεγκεν, οἷς τὸ εὐγενὲς αἰ ἀρεταὶ μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι παρέσχον: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἄλλῳ δηλωθήσεται λόγῳ τὰ προσήκοντα.

[4] the issue was decided by vote of the people, who were influenced chiefly by this consideration, among others, that Silvius' mother was heiress to the kingdom. Upon Iulus was conferred, instead of the sovereignty, a certain sacred authority and honour preferable to the royal dignity both for security and ease of life, and this prerogative was enjoyed even to my day by his posterity, who were called Julii after him. This house became the greatest and at the same time the most illustrious of any we know of, and produced the most distinguished commanders, whose virtues were so many proofs of their nobility. But concerning them I shall say what is requisite in another place.

[1] Σιλοῦϊοι δ' ἐνὸς δέοντα τριάκοντα ἔτη κατασχόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν ἐνὶ πλειῷ τριάκοντα ἔτῳ

ἐβασίλευσεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔν καὶ πεντήκοντα Λατῖνος ἦρξεν ἔτη. Ἄλβας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἑνὸς δέοντα τετταράκοντα [p. 114] ἔτη. μετὰ δὲ Ἄλβαν Κάπετος ἔξ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν. ἔπειτα Κάπυς δυεῖν δέοντα τριάκοντα. μετὰ δὲ Κάπυν Κάλπετος ἄχρι τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔξῃς δὲ Τιβερίνιος ὀκταετῇ χρόνον ἐβασίλευσεν.

[71.1] Silvius, after holding the sovereignty twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Aeneas, his son, who reigned thirty-one years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty-one, then Alba, thirty-nine; after Alba, Capetus reigned twenty-six, then Capys twenty-eight, and after Capys, Capetus held the rule for thirteen years.

[2] τελευτῆσαι δ' οὗτος ἐν μάχῃ παρὰ ποταμῷ γενομένη λέγεται: παρενεχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτῷ κατέλιπε τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀλβουλαν καλούμενον πρότερον. Τιβερίνου δὲ διάδοχος Ἀγρίππας ἔν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη.

[2] Then Tiberinus reigned for a period of eight years. This king, it is said, was slain in a battle that was fought near a river, and being carried away by the stream, gave his name to the river, which had previously been called the Albula. Tiberinus' successor, Agrippa, reigned forty-one years.

[3] μετὰ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν Ἀλλώδιος τυραννικὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ θεοῖς ἀπεχθόμενον ἑνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσιν: ὧ περιφρονοῦντι τὰ δαιμόνια κατεσκεύαστο κεραυνῶν τε μιμήματα καὶ κτύποι βρονταῖς ἐμφερεῖς, οἷς δεδίττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς θεὸς ἡξίου. ὄμβρων δὲ καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κατασκηψάντων τῆς τε λίμνης, παρ' ἣν οἰκῶν ἐτύγχανε, πλημμύραν οὐκ εἰωθυῖαν λαβούσης κατακλυσθεὶς πανοίκιος ἀπόλλυται. καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαλαμπούσης τῆς λίμνης ἐν μέρει τινί, ὅταν ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ σταθερὸς ὁ βυθὸς γένηται, πασάδων ἐρείπια καὶ ἄλλα οἰκήσεως ἴχνη φαίνεται.

[3] After Agrippa, Allocius, a tyrannical creature and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen years. Contemptuous of the divine powers, he had contrived imitations of lightning and sounds resembling thunder-claps, with which he proposed to terrify people as if he were a god. But rain and lightning descended upon his house, and the lake beside which it stood rose to an unusual height, so that he was overwhelmed and destroyed with his whole household. And even now when the lake is clear in a certain part, which happens whenever the flow of water subsides and the depths are undisturbed, the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling appear.

[4] Ἀουεντῖνος δὲ παρὰ τούτου τὴν δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος, ἀφ' οὗ τῶν ἑπτὰ λόφων τις ἐπώνυμος ἐγένετο τῶν συμπεπολισμένων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχευεν. πρόκας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτη εἴκοσι [p. 115] καὶ τρία. ἔπειτα Ἀμόλιος οὐ σὺν δίκῃ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχὼν Νεμέτορι προσήκουσαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτερος ἀδελφός, δύο

καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη δυναστεύει.

[4] Aventinus, after whom was named one of the seven hills that are joined to make the city of Rome, succeeded him in the sovereignty and reigned thirty-seven years, and after him Proca twenty-three years. Then Amulius, having unjustly possessed himself of the kingdom which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned forty-two years.

[5] Ἀμολίου δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς κόρης γενομένων, ὡς αὐτίκα λεχθήσεται, μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν κατὰ νόμον δυναστείαν Νεμέτωρ ὁ τῶν νεανίσκων μητροπάτωρ. τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει τῆς Νεμέτορος ἀρχῆς, δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν, ἀποικίαν στείλαντες Ἀλβανοὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῆς ἐχόντων κτίζουσι Ῥώμην ἔτους ἐνεστῶτος πρώτου τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δαϊκλῆς Μεσσήνιος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Χάροπος ἔτος τῆς δεκαετίας πρῶτον.

[5] But when Amulius had been slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of the holy maiden, as shall presently be related, Numitor, the maternal grandfather of the youths, after his brother's death resumed the sovereignty which by law belonged to him. In the next year of Numitor's reign, which was the four hundred and thirty-second after the taking of Troy, the Albans sent out a colony, under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, and founded Rome, in the beginning of the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Daicles of Messenê was victor in the foot race, and at Athens Charops was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon.

[1] ἀμφισβητήσεως δὲ πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς κτίσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὥμην δεῖν ὥσπερ ὁμολογούμενα πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπελθεῖν. Κεφάλων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Γεργίθιος συγγραφεὺς παλαιὸς πάνυ δευτέρᾳ γενεᾷ μετὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐκτίσθαι λέγει τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου διασωθέντων σὺν Αἰνείᾳ, οἰκιστὴν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἡγησάμενον τῆς ἀποικίας Ῥῶμον, τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τῶν Αἰνείου παιδῶν ἕνα: τέτταρας δὲ φησιν Αἰνείᾳ γενέσθαι παῖδας, Ἀσκάνιον, Εὐρυλέοντα, Ῥωμύλον, Ῥῶμον. εἴρηται [p. 116] δὲ καὶ Δημαγόρα καὶ Ἀγαθύλλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς ὃ τε χρόνος καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμὼν ὁ

[72.1] But as there is great dispute concerning both the time of the building of the city and the founders of it, I have thought it incumbent on me also not to give merely a cursory account of these things, as if they were universally agreed on. For Cephalon of Gergis, a very ancient writer, says that the city was built in the second generation after the Trojan war by those who had escaped from Troy with Aeneas, and he names as the founder of it Romus, who was the leader of the colony and one of Aeneas' sons; he adds that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Remus. And Demagoras, Agathyllus and many others agree with him as regards both the time and the leader of the colony.

[2] αὐτὸς. ὁ δὲ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην πραχθέντα συναγαγὼν Αἰνείαν φησὶν ἐκ Μολοσσῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα μετ' Ὀδυσσεά οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ὀνομάσαι δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν Ἰλιαδῶν Ῥώμης. ταύτην δὲ λέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις Τρωάσι παρακελευσαμένην κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐμπρῆσαι τὰ σκάφη βαρυνομένην τῇ πλάνῃ. ὁμολογεῖ

[2] But the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aeneas came into Italy from the land of the Molossians with Odysseus and became the founder of the city, which he named after Romê, one of the Trojan women. He says that this woman, growing weary with wandering, stirred up the other Trojan women and together with them set fire to the ships. And Damastes of Sigeum and some others agree with him.

[3] δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Δαμαστῆς ὁ Σιγεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος Ἀχαιῶν τινὰς ἱστορεῖ τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀνακομισαμένων περιπλέοντας Μαλέαν, ἔπειτα χειμῶνι βιαίῳ καταληφθέντας τέως μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων φερομένους πολλαχῇ τοῦ πελάγους πλανᾶσθαι, τελευτῶντας δ' ἔλθειν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ὀπικῆς, ὃς καλεῖται Λατίνιον ἐπὶ τῷ

[3] But Aristotle, the philosopher, relates that some of the Achaeans, while they were doubling Cape Malea on their return from Troy, were overtaken by a violent storm, and being for some time driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea, till at last they came to this place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latinium, lying on the Tyrrhenian sea.

[4] Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει κείμενος. ἀσμένους δὲ τὴν γῆν ἰδόντας ἀνελκῦσαι τε τὰς ναῦς αὐτόθι καὶ διατρίψαι τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν παρασκευαζομένους ἕαρος ἀρχομένου πλεῖν. ἐμπρησθεισῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὅπως ποιήσονται τὴν ἄπαρσιν, ἀβουλήτῳ ἀνάγκῃ τοὺς βίους ἐν ᾧ κατήχθησαν χωρίῳ ἰδρύσασθαι. συμβῆναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο διὰ γυναικας αἰχμαλώτους, ἃς ἔτυχον ἄγοντες ἐξ Ἰλίου. ταύτας δὲ κατακαῦσαι τὰ πλοῖα φοβουμένας τὴν οἴκαδε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄπαρσιν, ὥς εἰς δουλείαν ἀφιξομένας.

[4] And being pleased with the sight of land, they hauled up their ships, stayed there the winter season, and were preparing to sail at the beginning of spring; but when their ships were set on fire in the night and they were unable to sail away, they were compelled against their will to fix their abode in the place where they had landed. This fate, he says, was brought upon them by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy, who burned the ships, fearing that the Achaeans in returning home would carry them into slavery.

[5] Καλλίας δὲ ὁ τὰς Ἀγαθοκλέους πράξεις ἀναγράφας Ῥώμην [p. 117] τινὰ Τρωάδα τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Τρωσὶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν γήμασθαι Λατίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων καὶ γεννῆσαι τρεῖς παῖδας, Ῥώμον καὶ Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τηλέγονον ... οἰκίσαντας δὲ πόλιν, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῇ θέσθαι τοῦνομα. Ξεναγόρας δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Κίρκης υἱοὺς γενέσθαι τρεῖς, Ῥώμον, Ἀντεϊαν, Ἀρδεϊαν: οἰκίσαντας δὲ τρεῖς πόλεις ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν θέσθαι τοῖς κτίσμασι τὰς ὀνομασίας.

[5] Callias, who wrote of the deeds of Agathocles, says that Romê, one of the Trojan women who came into Italy with the other Trojans, married Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, by whom she had three son, Romus, Romulus and Telegonus, . . . and having built a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, writes that Odysseus and Cîrcê had three sons, Romus, Anteias and Ardeias, who built three cities and called them after their own names.

[6] Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οἰκιστὴν μὲν ἀποφαίνει τῆς πόλεως Ῥῶμον: τοῦτον δὲ λέγει κατὰ μὲν τινὰς Ἀσκανίου, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Ἡμαθίωνος εἶναι παῖδα. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτίσθαι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ῥώμου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Λευκαρίας τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς.

[6] Dionysius of Chalcis names Romus as the founder of the city, but says that according to some this man was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion. There are others who declare that Rome was built by Romus, the son of Italus and Leucaria, the daughter of Latinus.

[1] Ἔχων δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν παρέχεσθαι συγγραφέων, οἱ διαφόρους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς πόλεως, ἵνα μὴ δόξω μακρηγορεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐλεύσομαι συγγραφεῖς. παλαιὸς μὲν οὖν οὔτε συγγραφεὺς οὔτε λογογράφος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ εἷς: ἐκ παλαιῶν μέντοι λόγων ἐν ἱεραῖς δέλτοις σωζομένων ἕκαστός τι παραλαβὼν ἀνέγραψεν.

[73.1] I could cite many other Greek historians who assign different founders to the city, but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The Romans, to be sure, have not so much as one single historian or chronicler who is ancient; however, each of their historians has taken something out of ancient accounts that are preserved on sacred tablets.

[2] τούτων δὲ τινες μὲν Αἰνείου γενέσθαι υἱοὺς λέγουσι Ῥωμύλον τε καὶ Ῥῶμον τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, ἕτεροι δὲ θυγατρὸς Αἰνείου παῖδας, ὅτου δὲ πατρὸς οὐκέτι διορίζοντες: δοθῆναι δ' [p. 118] αὐτοὺς ὑπ' Αἰνείου Λατίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων ὁμηρεύσοντας, ὅτε καὶ αἱ πιστεῖς τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐπήλυδας ἐγένοντο. ἀσπαζόμενον δὲ αὐτοὺς Λατῖνον τῇ τε ἄλλῃ θεραπείᾳ περιέπειν εὖ καὶ ἐκγόνου ἄρρενος ἄπαιδα τελευτῶντα διαδόχους μέρους τινὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καταλιπεῖν.

[2] Some of these say that Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneas, others say that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneas, without going on to determine who was their father; that they were delivered as hostages by Aeneas to Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants and the new-comers, and that Latinus, after giving them a kindly welcome, not only did them might good offices, but, upon dying without male issue, left them his successors to some

part of his kingdom.

[3] ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν Αἰνείου τελευτήσαντος Ἀσκάνιον ἅπασαν τὴν Λατίνων ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντα νείμασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ῥωμύλον τε καὶ Ῥῶμον τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Λατίνων τριχῇ: αὐτὸν μὲν δὴ τὴν τε Ἄλβαν κτίσαι καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα πολιίσματα: Ῥῶμον δὲ Καπύην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάππου Κάπυος, Ἀγχίσην δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀγχίσου, Αἰνείαν δὲ τὴν ὕστερον κληθεῖσαν Ἰάνικλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, Ῥώμην δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ταύτην δὲ χρόνους τινὰς ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἐτέρας αὖθις ἐλθούσης ἀποικίας, ἣν Ἀλβανοὶ ἔστειλαν ἡγουμένου Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου, τὴν ἀρχαίαν κτίσιν ἀπολαβεῖν: ὥστε διττὰς εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κτίσεις: τὴν μὲν ὀλίγον ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν γενομένην, τὴν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα γενεαῖς ὕστεροῦσαν τῆς προτέρας.

[3] Others say that after the death of Aeneas Ascanius, having succeeded to the entire sovereignty of the Latins, divided both the country and the forces of the Latins into three parts, two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus and Remus. He himself, they say, built Alba and some other towns; Remus built cities which he named Capuas, after Capys, his great-grandfather, Anchisa, after his grandfather Anchises, Aeneia (which was afterwards called Janiculum), after his father, and Rome, after himself. This last city was for some time deserted, but upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent out under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, it received again its ancient name. So that, according to this account, there were two settlements of Rome, one a little after the Trojan war, and the other fifteen generations after the first.

[4] εἰ δέ τις ἀπιδεῖν βουλήσεται τὰ προσωτέρω καὶ τρίτη τις ἀρχαιοτέρα τούτων εὑρεθήσεται Ῥώμη γενομένη πρὶν Αἰνείαν καὶ Τρῳᾶς ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τις οὐδὲ νέων συγγραφεὺς ἱστορήκεν, ἀλλ' Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος, [p. 119] οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην. φησὶ δὲ Μόργητος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ βασιλεύοντος ἧν δὲ τότε Ἰταλία ἢ ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι Ποσειδωνίας παράλιος' ἐλθεῖν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα φυγάδα ἐκ Ῥώμης. λέγει δὲ ὧδε: 'ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰταλὸς κατεγήρα, Μόργης ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάς: Σικελὸς ὄνομα αὐτῷ.'

[4] And if anyone desires to look into the remoter past, even a third Rome will be found, more ancient than these, one that was founded before Aeneas and the Trojans came into Italy. This is related by no ordinary or modern historian, but by Antiochus of Syracuse, whom I have mentioned before. He says that when Morges reigned in Italy (which at that time comprehended all the seacoast from Tarentum to Posidonia), a man came to him who had been banished from Rome. His words are these: "When Italus was growing old, Morges reigned. In his reign there came a man who had been banished from Rome; his name was Seicelus."

[5] κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν Συρακούσιον συγγραφέα παλαιὰ τις εὐρίσκεται καὶ προτεροῦσα τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων ἢ Ῥώμῃ. πότερον δὲ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἦν τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἢ νῦν οἰκουμένη πόλις ἐστίν, ἢ χωρίον ἕτερον ἐτύγχανεν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀσαφὲς ἐκείνου καταλιπόντος οὐδ' ἐγὼ δύναμαι συμβαλεῖν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν παλαιῶν κτίσεων ἱκανὰ ἡγοῦμαι τὰ προειρημένα.

[5] According to the Syracusan historian, therefore, an ancient Rome is found even earlier than the Trojan war. However, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same region where the present city stands or whether some other place happened to be called by this name, I, too, can form no conjecture. But as regards the ancient settlements of Rome, I think that what has already been said is sufficient.

[1] τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον γενόμενον τῆς Ῥώμης οἰκισμὸν ἢ κτίσιν ἢ ὅτι δῆποτε χρή καλεῖν Τιμαῖος μὲν ὁ Σικελιώτης οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ κανόνι χρησάμενος ἅμα Καρχηδόνι κτιζομένῃ γενέσθαι φησὶν ὁγδὼ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Λεύκιος δὲ Κίγκιος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς δωδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Κόϊντος δὲ Φάβιος κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὁγδῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.

[74.1] As to the last settlement or founding of the city, or whatever we ought to call it, Timaeus of Sicily, following what principle I do not know, places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad; Lucius Cincius, a member of the senate, places it about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad, and Quintus Fabius in the first year of the eighth Olympiad.

[2] Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὐχ ὀρίζει χρόνον, ἐπιμελὴς δὲ γενόμενος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἀρχαιολογουμένης ἱστορίας ἔτεσιν ἀποφαίνει δυοὶ καὶ [p. 120] τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίαις ὑστεροῦσαν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν. ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος ἀναμετρηθεὶς ταῖς Ἐρατοσθένους χρονογραφίαις κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος πίπτει τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος. ὅτι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ κανόνες ὑγιεῖς, οἷς Ἐρατοσθένης κέχρηται, καὶ πῶς ἂν τις ἀπευθύνῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων χρόνους πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δεδήλωται μοι λόγῳ.

[2] Porcius Cato does not give the time according to Greek reckoning, but being as careful as any writer in gathering the date of ancient history, he places its founding four hundred and thirty-two years after the Trojan war; and this time, being compared with the *Chronicles* of Eratosthenes, corresponds to the first year of the seventh Olympiad. That the canons of Eratosthenes are sound I have shown in another treatise, where I have also shown how the Roman chronology is to be synchronized with that of the Greeks.

[3] οὐ γὰρ ἤξιουν ὡς Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτίσθαι πείθομαι, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι κειμένου πίνακος ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου τὴν πίστιν ἀβασάνιστον καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιλογισμούς, οἷς αὐτὸς προσέθεμην, εἰς μέσον ὑπευθύνους τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν ἐσομένους ἐξενεγκεῖν.

[3] For I did not think it sufficient, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to say merely that I believe Rome was built in the second year of the seventh Olympiad, nor to let my belief rest without further examination upon the single tablet preserved by the high priests, the only one of its kind, but I determined to set forth the reasons that had appealed to me, so that all might examine them who so desired.

[4] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκρίβεια ἐν ἐκείνῳ δηλοῦται τῷ λόγῳ, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆσδε τῆς πραγματείας αὐτὰ τάναγκαιότατα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως: ἡ Κελτῶν ἔφοδος, καθ' ἣν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐάλω, συμφωνεῖται σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Πυργίωνος γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδόνος καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς καταλήψεως χρόνος ἀναγόμενος εἰς Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον Κολλατίνον τοὺς πρώτους ὑπατεύσαντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν βασιλέων ἔτη περιεῖληφεν εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν.

[4] In that treatise, therefore, the detailed exposition is given; but in the course of the present work also the most essential of the conclusions there reached will be mentioned. The matter stands thus: It is generally agreed that the invasion of the Gauls, during which the city of Rome was taken, happened during the archonship of Pyrgion at Athens, in the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad. Now if the time before the taking of the city is reckoned back to Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls at Rome after the overthrow of the kings, it comprehends one hundred and twenty years.

[5] δηλοῦται δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν καλουμένων τιμητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἃ διαδέχεται παῖς [p. 121] παρὰ πατρὸς καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐσομένοις ὥσπερ ἱερὰ πατρῶα παραδιδόναι: πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν τιμητικῶν οἴκων ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς οἱ διαφυλάττοντες αὐτά: ἐν οἷς εὗρισκω δευτέρῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς ἀλώσεως τιμησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου γενομένην, ἣ παραγέγραπται καθάπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρόνος οὗτος: ὑπατεύοντος Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου Ποτίτου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου Καπιτωλίνου μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἐνὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει.'

[5] This is proved in many other ways, but particularly by the records of the censors, which receives in succession from the father and takes great care to transmit to posterity, like family rites; and there are many illustrious men of

censorian families who preserve these records. In them I find that in the second year before the taking of the city there was a census of the Roman people, to which, as to the rest of them, there is affixed the date, as follows: "In the consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, in the one hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of the kings."

[6] ὥστε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔφοδον, ἣν τῷ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν τιμήσιν ἔτει γενομένην εὕρισκομεν, ἐκπεπληρωμένων τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν γενέσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου τριάκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδων εὕρισκεται γενόμενον, ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρώτους ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπάτους ὁμολογεῖν ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἰσαγόρου παρειληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.

[6] So that the Gallic invasion, which we find to have occurred in the second year after the census, happened when the hundred and twenty years were completed. If, now, this interval of time is found to consist of thirty Olympiads, it must be allowed that the first consuls to be chosen entered upon their magistracy in the first year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad, the same year that Isagoras was archon at Athens.

[1] καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ γε τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμύλον ἀναβιβασθεὶς ὁ χρόνος ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἀποτελεῖ. γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῖς ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν. Ῥωμύλος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὴν πόλιν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη λέγεται κατασχεῖν τὴν δυναστείαν: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλου θάνατον ἀβασίλευτος ἡ πόλις γενέσθαι χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον.

[75.1] And, again, if from the expulsion of the kings the time is reckoned back to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, it amounts to two hundred and forty-four years. This is known from the order in which the kings succeeded one another and the number of years each of them ruled. For Romulus, the founder of Rome, reigned thirty-seven years, it is said, and after his death the city was a year without a king.

[2] ἔπειτα Νόμας Πομπίλιος [p. 122] αἵρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τρία καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη βασιλεῦσαι. Τύλλος δὲ Ὀστίλιος μετὰ Νόμαν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ βασιλεύσας Ἄγκος Μάρκιος τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. μετὰ δὲ Μάρκιον Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ κληθεὶς Πρίσκοις ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα. τοῦτον δὲ διαδεξάμενος Σερούϊος Τύλλιος τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα. ὁ Σερούϊον δὲ ἀνελὼν Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ τυραννικὸς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ὑπεροψίαν κληθεὶς Σούπερβος ἕως εἰκοστοῦ καὶ πέμπτου προαγαγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν.

[2] Then Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the people, reigned forty-three years; after Numa, Tullus Hostilius thirty-two; and his successor, Ancus

Marcus, twenty-four; after Marcus, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty-eight; Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, forty-four. And the slayer of Servius, Lucius Tarquinius, the tyrannical prince who, from his contempt of justice, was called Superbus, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year.

[3] τεττάρων δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀναπληρουμένων ἐτῶν, ἃ κατέσχον οἱ βασιλεῖς, Ὀλυμπιάδων δὲ μιᾷς καὶ ἐξήκοντα πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸν πρῶτον ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως Ρωμύλον ἔτει πρῶτῳ τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος παρειληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι τῆς δεκαετίας Χάροπας ἔτος πρῶτον. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λογισμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν ἀπαιτεῖ. ὅτι δὲ τοσαῦτα ἕκαστος τῶν βασιλέων ἦρξεν ἔτη δι' ἐκεῖνον δηλοῦται μοι τοῦ λόγου.

[3] As the reigns, therefore, of the kings amount to two hundred and forty-four years or sixty-one Olympiads, it follows necessarily that Romulus, the first ruler of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Charops at Athens was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. For the count of the years requires this; and that each king reigned the number of years is shown in that treatise of mine to which I have referred.

[4] τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἡ νῦν δυναστεύουσα πόλις ὤκισθη τοῖς τε πρὸ ἐμοῦ γενομένοις εἰρημένα κάμοι δοκοῦντα τοιάδ' ἔστιν. οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς οἵτινες ἦσαν καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν ὅσα τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ἰστόρηται πολλοῖς μὲν εἴρηται καὶ διαφόρως τὰ πλεῖστα ἐνίοις, λεχθήσεται δὲ κάμοι τὰ πιθανώτατα τῶν μνημονευομένων. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε: [p. 123]

[4] This, therefore, is the account given by those who lived before me and adopted by me concerning the time of the settlement of the city which now rules supreme. As to its founders, who they were and by what turns of fortune they were induced to lead out the colony, and any other details told concerning its settlement, all this has been related by many, and the greatest part of it in a different manner by some; and I, also, shall relate the most probable of these stories. They are as follows:

[1] Ἀμόλιος ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλείαν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφὸν Νεμέτορα τῷ κατισχυῖσαι τῆς πατρίου τιμῆς ἀπειρξας, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν δικαίων ἔδρα καὶ τελευτῶν ἔρημον γένους τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Νεμέτορος ἐπεβούλευσε ποιῆσαι, τοῦ τε δίκην ὑποσχεῖν φόβῳ καὶ ἔρωτι μὴ πανοσθῆναι ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[76.1] When Amulius succeeded to the kingdom of the Albans, after forcibly excluding his elder brother Numitor from the dignity that was his by inheritance, he not only showed great contempt for justice in everything else that he did, but he finally plotted to deprive Numitor's family of issue, both from fear of suffer punishment for his usurpation and also because of his desire never to be dispossessed of the sovereignty.

[2] βουλευσάμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Νεμέτορος Αἰγεστον ἄρτι γενειάζοντα φυλάξας ἔνθα ἐκυνηγέται, προλοχίσας τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ἀφανέστατον, ἐξελθόντα ἐπὶ θήραν ἀποκτείνει καὶ παρεσκεύασε λέγεσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀναιρεθεῖν τὸ μεираκιον. οὐ μέντοι κρείττων ἢ κατασκευαστὴ δόξα τῆς σιωπωμένης ἀληθείας ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸ

[2] Having long resolved upon this course, he first observed the neighbourhood where Aegestus, Numitor's son, who was just coming to man's estate, was wont to follow the chase, and having placed an ambush in the most hidden part of it, he caused him to be slain when he had come out to hunt; and after the deed was committed he contrived to have it reported that the youth had been killed by robbers. Nevertheless, the rumour thus concocted could not prevail over the truth which he was trying to keep concealed, but many, though it was unsafe to do so, ventured to tell what had been done.

[3] ἀσφαλὲς ἐτολμᾶτο λέγεσθαι τὸ πραχθέν. Νεμέτωρ δὲ ἤδει μὲν τὸ ἔργον, λογισμῷ δὲ κρείττονι τοῦ πάθους χρώμενος ἄγνοιαν ἐσκήπτετο εἰς ἀκινδυνότερον ἀναβαλέσθαι χρόνον τὴν ὀργὴν βουλευσάμενος. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τὰ τοῦ μεираκίου ὑπολαβὼν λεληθέναι δεύτερα τάδε ἐποιοί: τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Νεμέτορος Ἰλίαν, ὡς δὲ τινες γράφουσι Ῥεάν ὄνομα, Σιλουίαν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐν ἀκμῇ γάμου γενομένην ἱέρειαν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἑστίας, ὡς μὴ τάχιον εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα τέκῃ τιμωροῦς τῷ γένει. πενταετοῦς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω χρόνου ἔδει τὰς ἱερὰς κόρας ἀγνὰς διαμεῖναι γάμων, αἷς ἀνατέθεται [p. 124] τοῦ τε ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἢ φυλακῇ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο θρησκευέσθαι τῷ κοινῷ διὰ παρθένων νόμιμον ἦν.

[3] Numitor was aware of the crime, but his judgment being superior to his grief, he affected ignorance, resolving to defer his resentment to a less dangerous time. And Amulius, supposing that the truth about the youth had been kept secret, set a second plan on foot, as follows: he appointed Numitor's daughter, Ilia, — or, as some state, Rhea, surnamed Silvia, — who was then ripe for marriage, to be a priestess of Vesta, lest, if she first entered a husband's house, she might bring forth avengers for her family. These holy maidens who were intrusted with the custody of the perpetual fire and with the carrying out of any other rites that it was customary for virgins to perform in behalf of the commonwealth were required to remain undefiled by marriage for a period of not less than five years.

[4] ἔπραττε δὲ Ἀμόλιος τοῦτο μετ' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ὡς τιμὴν τῷ γένει καὶ κόσμον περιτιθεῖς οὔτε αὐτὸς εἰσηγησάμενος τὸν νόμον τόνδε οὔτε κοινῷ ὄντι πρῶτον ἀναγκάσας τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι χρῆσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐν ἔθει δὲ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ ἐν καλῷ ὄν τὰς εὐγενεστάτας ἀποδείκνυσθαι κόρας τῆς Ἑστίας προπόλους. ὁ δὲ Νεμέτωρ αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ταῦτα πράττοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀργὴν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῖτο, ἵνα μὴ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέχθοιτο, ἀπόρρητον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐφύλαττε τὸ ἐγκλημα.

[4] Amulius was carrying out his plan under specious pretences, as if he were conferring honour and dignity on his brother's family; for he was not the author of this law, which was a general one, nor, again, was his brother the first person of consideration whom he had obliged to yield obedience to it, but it was both customary and honourable among the Albans for maidens of the highest birth to be appointed to the service of Vesta. But Numitor, perceiving that these measures of his brother proceeded from no good intention, dissembled his resentment, lest he should incur the ill-will of the people, and stifled his complaints upon this occasion also.

[1] τετάρτῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τὴν Ἰλίαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἄρεος ὕδατος ἀγνοῦ κομιδῆς ἔνεκα, ᾧ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἔμελλε χρήσασθαι, βιάζεται τις ἐν τῷ τεμένει. τοῦτον δὲ τινες μὲν ἀποφαίνουσι τῶν μνηστήρων ἕνα γενέσθαι τῆς κόρης ἐρῶντα τῆς παιδισκης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀμόλιον οὐκ ἐπιθυμίας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιβουλῆς ἔνεκα φραξάμενόν τε ὄπλοις ὡς ἐκπληκτικώτατος ὀφθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως γνώριμον εἰς ἀσαφὲς ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο καθιστάντα:

[77.1] The fourth year after this, Ilia, upon going to a grove consecrated to Mars to fetch pure water for use in the sacrifices, was ravished by somebody or other in the sacred precinct. Some say that the author of the deed was one of the maiden's suitors, who was carried away by his passion for the girl; others say that it was Amulius himself, and that, since his purpose was to destroy her quite as much as to satisfy his passion, he had arrayed himself in such armour as would render him most terrible to behold and that he also kept his features disguised as effectively as possible.

[2] οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι μυθολογοῦσι τοῦ δαίμονος εἶδωλον, οὗ τὸ χωρίον ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῷ πάθει δαιμόνια ἔργα προσάπτοντες ἡλίου τε ἀφανισμόν αἰφνιδιον καὶ [p. 125] ζόφον ἐν οὐρανῷ κατασχόντα: ὅψιν δέ, ἣν καὶ τὸ εἶδωλον εἶχε, θαυμασιωτέραν μακρῷ δὴ τι κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ἀνθρώπων: φασὶ τε εἰπεῖν τῇ κόρῃ παρηγοροῦντα τὴν λύπην τὸν βιασάμενον, ἔξ οὗ γενέσθαι δῆλον ὅτι θεὸς ἦν, μηδὲν ἄχθεσθαι τῷ πάθει. τὸ γὰρ κοινώνημα τῶν γάμων αὐτῇ γεγονέναι πρὸς τὸν ἐμβατεύοντα τῷ χωρίῳ δαίμονα, τέξεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ βιασμοῦ δύο παῖδας ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ κρατίστους ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα νέφει περικαλυφθῆναι καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀρθέντα φέρεσθαι δι' ἄερος ἄνω.

[2] But most writers relate a fabulous story to the effect that it was a spectre of the divinity to whom the place was consecrated; and they add that the advantageous was attended by many supernatural signs, including a sudden disappearance of the sun and a darkness that spread over the sky, and that the appearance of the spectre was far more marvellous than that of a man both in stature and in beauty. And they say that the ravisher, to comfort the maiden (by which it became clear that it was a god), commanded her not to grieve at all at what had happened, since she had been united in marriage to the divinity

of the place and as a result of her violation should bear two sons who would far excel all men in valour and warlike achievements. And having said this, he was wrapped in a cloud and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air.

[3] ὅπως μὲν οὖν χρή περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε δόξης ἔχειν, πότερον καταφρονεῖν ὡς ἀνθρωπίνων ῥαδιουργημάτων εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφερομένων μηδὲν ἂν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτούργημα τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως ἀνάξιον ὑπομένοντος, ἢ καὶ ταύτας παραδέχασθαι τὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς ἀνακεκραμένης τῆς ἀπάσης οὐσίας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ θείου καὶ θνητοῦ γένους τρίτης τινὸς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως, ἣν τὸ δαιμόνων φύλον ἐπέχει, τοτὲ μὲν ἀνθρώποις, τοτὲ δὲ θεοῖς ἐπιμιγνύμενον, ἐξ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἔχει τὸ μυθευόμενον ἡρώων φῦναι γένος, οὔτε καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι διασκοπεῖν ἄρκεϊ τε ὅσα φιλοσόφοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέχθη.

[3] This is not a proper place to consider what opinion we ought to entertain of such tales, whether we should scorn them as instances of human frailty attributed to the gods, — since God is incapable of any action that is unworthy of his incorruptible and blessed nature, — or whether we should admit even these stories, upon the supposition that all the substance of the universe is mixed, and that between the race of gods and that of men some third order of being exists which is that of the daemons, who, uniting sometimes with human beings and sometimes with the gods, beget, it is said, the fabled race of heroes. This, I say, is not a proper place to consider these things, and, moreover, what the philosophers have said concerning them is sufficient.

[4] ἢ δ' οὖν κόρη μετὰ τὸν βιασμὸν ἀρρωστεῖν σκηψαμένη 'τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῇ παρήνεσεν ἡ μήτηρ [p. 126] ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίων ἔνεκά οὐκέτι προσήει τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίνετο παρθένων, αἷς τὸ αὐτὸ προσέκειτο ἔργον, ὅσα λειτουργεῖν ἐκείνην ἔδει.

[4] But, be that as it may, the maid after her violation feigned illness (for this her mother advised out of regard both for her own safety and for the sacred services of the gods) and no longer attended the sacrifices, but her duties were performed by the other virgins who were joined with her in the same ministry.

[1] Ἀμόλιος δὲ εἶτε κατὰ τὴν συνειδησιν τῶνπραχθέντων εἶτε ὑπονοίᾳ τῶν εἰκότων προαχθεὶς ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς χρονίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστάσεως, κατὰ τίνα γίνεται μάλιστ' αἰτίαν ἱατρούς τε οἷς μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν εἰσπέμπων καὶ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν νόσον αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπόρητον ἀνθρώποις ἡτιῶντο εἶναι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα φύλακα τῆς κόρης καταλιπών.

[78.1] But Amulius, moved either by his own knowledge of what had happened or by a natural suspicion of the truth, began to inquire into her long absence from the sacrifices, in order to discover the real reason. To this end he kept

sending in to her some physicians in whom he had the greatest confidence; and then, since the women alleged that her ailment was one that must be kept secret from others, he left his wife to watch her.

[2] ὥς δὲ κατήγορος αὕτη τοῦ πάθους ἐγένετο γυναικεῖα τεκμάρσει τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνευροῦσα, τῆς μὲν παιδός, ὥς μὴ λάθῃ τεκοῦσα ἣν δὲ οὐ πρόσω τοῦ τόκου φυλακὴν ἐποιεῖτο δι' ὄπλων: αὐτὸς δὲ καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τῆς τε λανθανούσης τοὺς ἄλλους φθορᾷ μηνυτῆς γίνεται καὶ ἡτιᾶτο συγκακουργεῖν τῇ κόρῃ τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκέλευέ τε μὴ

[2] She, having by a woman's marking of the signs discovered what was a secret to the others, informed him of it, and he, lest the girl should be delivered in secret, for she was now near her time, caused her to be guarded by armed men. And summoning his brother to the council, he not only announced the deflowering of the girl, of which the rest knew naught, but even accused her parents of being her accomplices; and he ordered Numitor not to hide the guilty man, but to expose him.

[3] κρύπτειν τὸν εἰργασμένον, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον ἄγειν. Νεμέτωρ δὲ παραδόξων τε λόγων ἀκούειν ἔφη καὶ παντὸς ἀναίτιος εἶναι τοῦ λεγομένου χρόνον τε ἡξίου βασάνου τῆς ἀληθείας ἔνεκα λαβεῖν: τυχὼν δὲ ἀναβολῆς μόλις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν ὥς ἡ παῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀφηγήσατο, τὸν τε βιασμὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοὺς λεχθέντας [p. 127] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν διδύμων παιδῶν λόγους διεξῆλθεν ἡξίου τε πίστιν ποιήσασθαι ταύτην τῶν λεγομένων, εἰ τοιοῦτος ὁ τῆς ὠδίνος ἔσται γόνος, οἷον ὁ θεὸς ὑφηγήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ὁμοῦ τι τῷ τίκτειν εἶναι τὴν κόρην, ὥστε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ῥαδιουργεῖν φανήσεται. παρεδίδου δὲ καὶ τὰς φυλαττούσας τὴν κόρην καὶ

[3] Numitor said he was amazed at what he heard, and protesting his innocence of everything that was alleged, desired time to test the truth of it. Having with difficulty obtained this delay, and being informed by his wife of the affair as his daughter had related it in the beginning, he acquainted the council with the rape committed by the god and also related what the god had said concerning the twins, and asked that his story should be believed only if the fruit of her travail should prove to be such as the god had foretold; for the time of her delivery was near at hand, so that it would not be long, if he were playing the rogue, before the fact would come to light. Moreover, he offered to put at their disposal for examination the women who were watching his daughter, and he was ready to submit to any and every test.

[4] ἐλέγχων οὐδενὸς ἀφίστατο. ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῶν συνέδρων πλῆθος ἐπείθετο, Ἀμόλιος δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀπέφαινε τῶν ἀξιομένων, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς ὠρμητο τρόπου τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἀπολέσαι. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο παρῆσαν οἱ τὴν ὠδῖνα φρουρεῖν ταχθέντες ἀποφαίνοντες ἄρρενα βρέφη διδυμα τεκεῖν τὴν κόρην, καὶ αὐτίκα Νεμέτωρ μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺς

ἦν λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τε ἀποδεικνύς τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴδὲν εἰς τὴν κόρην ἀναίτιον οὖσαν τοῦ πάθους παρανομεῖν ἄξιῳ· Ἀμολίῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν μηχανημάτων καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν τόκον ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρασκευασθέντος ἐτέρου ταῖς γυναιξὶ βρέφους ἢ κρύφα τῶν φυλάκων ἢ συγκακουργούντων, καὶ

[4] As he spoke thus the majority of the councilors were persuaded, but Amulius declared that his demands were altogether insincere, and was bent on destroying the girl by every means. While this was taking place, those who had been appointed to keep guard over Ilia at the time of her delivery came to announce that she had given birth to male twins. And at once Numitor began to urge at length the same arguments, showing the deed to be the work of the god and demanding that they take no unlawful action against his daughter, who was innocent of her condition. On the other hand, Amulius thought that even in connexion with her delivery there had been some human trickery and that the women had provided another child, either unknown to the guards or with their connivance, and he said much more to the same purport.

[5] πολλὰ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλέχθη. ὥς δὲ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως ἔμαθον οἱ συνέδροι ἀπαραιτήτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρωμένῃ ἐδικαίωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἡξίου χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ κελεύοντι τὴν μὲν αἰσχύνασαν τὸ σῶμα ῥάβδοις αἰκισθεῖσαν ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάλλεσθαι ῥεῖθρον· νῦν μέντοι [p. 128] ζώσας κατορύττεσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγορεύει νόμος.

[5] When the councilors found that the king's decision was inspired by implacable anger, they, too, voted, as he demanded, that the law should be carried out which provided that a Vestal who suffered herself to be defiled should be scourged with rods and put to death and her offspring thrown into the current of the river. To-day, however, the sacred law ordains that such offenders shall be buried alive.

[1] μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὰ αὐτὰ ἢ μικρὸν παραλλάττοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθωδέστερον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὅμοιον μᾶλλον ἀποφαίνουσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς διαφέρονται.

[79.1] Up to this point the greater part of the historians give the same account or differ but slightly, some in the direction of what is legendary, others of what is more probable; but they disagree in what follows.

[2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι λέγουσι τὴν κόρην, οἱ δ' ἐν εἰρκτῇ φυλαττομένην ἀδήλῳ διατελέσαι δόξαν τῷ δήμῳ παρασχοῦσαν ἀφανοῦς θανάτου. ἐπικλασθῆναι δὲ τὸν Ἀμόλιον εἰς τοῦτο ἰκετευούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἀνεψιὰν αὐτῇ· ἦσαν δὲ σύντροφοὶ τε καὶ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσπαζόμεναι τε ἀλλήλας ὥς ἀδελφάς. χαριζόμενον οὖν ταύτῃ Ἀμόλιον, μόνη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ θυγάτηρ, θανάτου μὲν ἀπολύσαι τὴν Ἰλίαν,

φυλάττειν δὲ καθείρξαντα ἐν ἀφανεί: λυθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον Ἀμολίου τελευτήσαντος.

[2] Some say that the girl was put to death immediately; others that she remained in a secret prison under a guard, which caused the people to believe that she had been put to death secretly. The latter authors say that Amulius was moved to do this when his daughter begged him to grant her the life of her cousin; for, having been brought up together and being of the same age, they loved each other like sisters. Amulius, accordingly, to please her, — for she was his only daughter, — saved Ilia from death, but kept her confined in a secret prison; and she was at length set at liberty after the death of Amulius.

[3] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰλίας οὕτω διαλλάττουσιν αἱ τῶν παλαιῶν γραφαί, λόγον δ' ἔχουσιν ὡς ἀληθεῖς ἑκάτεραι. διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ μνήμην ἀμφοτέρων ἐποίησάμην, ὁποτέρᾳ δὲ χρὴ πιστεῦειν αὐτὸς τις εἴσεται τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων.

[3] Thus do the accounts of the ancient authors vary concerning Ilia, and yet both opinions carry with them an appearance of truth; for this reason I, also, have mentioned them both, but each of my readers will decide for himself which to believe.

[4] περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίας γενομένων Κόιντος μὲν Φάβιος ὁ Πικτωρ λεγόμενος, ὃς Λεύκιος τε Κίγκιος καὶ Κάτων Πόρκιος καὶ Πείσων Καλπούρνιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων οἱ πλείους ἠκολούθησαν, γέγραφε: ὡς κελεύσαντος [p. 129] Ἀμολίου τὰ βρέφη λαβόντες ἐν σκάφῃ κείμενα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινες ἔφερον ἐμβαλοῦντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως ἀμφὶ τοῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους.

[4] But concerning the babes born of Ilia, Quintus Fabius, called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Porcius Cato, Calpurnius Piso and most of the other historians have followed, writes thus: By the order of Amulius some of his servants took the babes in an ark and carried them to the river, distant about a hundred and twenty stades from the city, with the intention of throwing them into it.

[5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον ἔξω τοῦ γνησίου ρείθρου τὸν Τέβεριν ὑπὸ χειμῶνων συνεχῶν ἐκτετραμμένον εἰς τὰ πεδία, καταβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλλαντίου τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὸ προσεχέστατον ὕδωρ, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οἴοιτε ἦσαν ἔνθα πρῶτον ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλήμῃ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἦπτετο, τίθενται τὴν σκάφην ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. ἢ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐνήχητο, ἔπειτα τοῦ ρείθρου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποχωροῦντος ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἔσχατα λίθου προσπταίσει περιτραπέϊσα ἐκβάλλει τὰ βρέφη.

[5] But when they drew near and perceived that the Tiber, swollen by continual rains, had left its natural bed and overflowed the plains, they came down from the top of the Palatine hill to that part of the water that lay nearest (for they could no longer advance any farther) and set down the ark upon the flood

where it washed the foot of the hill. The ark floated for some time, and then, as the waters retired by degrees from their extreme limits, it struck against a stone and, overturning, threw out the babes, who lay whimpering and wallowing in the mud.

[6] τὰ μὲν δὴ κνυζούμενα κατὰ τοῦ τέλματος ἐκυλινδεῖτο, λύκαινα δέ τις ἐπιφανεῖσα νεοτόκος σπαργῶσα τοὺς μαστοὺς ὑπὸ γάλακτος ἀνεδίδου τὰς θηλὰς τοῖς στόμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τὸν πηλόν, ᾧ κατὰπλεοι ἦσαν, ἀπελίχμα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ νομεῖς ἐξελαύνοντες τὰς ἀγέλας ἐπὶ νομὴν ἥδη γὰρ ἐμβατὸν ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἰδὼν τὴν λύκαιναν ὡς ἡσπάζετο τὰ βρέφη τέως μὲν ἀχανὴς ἦν ὑπὸ τε θάμβους καὶ ἀπιστίας τῶν θεωρουμένων: ἔπειτ' ἀπελθὼν καὶ συλλέξας ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους τῶν ἀγχοῦ νεμόντων 'οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετο λέγων' ἄγει τοῦργον αὐτὸ θασσομένους.

[6] Upon this, a she-wolf that had just whelped appeared and, her udder being distended with milk, gave them her paps to suck and with her tongue licked off the mud with which they were besmeared. In the meantime the herdsmen happened to be driving their flocks forth to pasture (for the place was now become passable) and one of them, seeing the wolf thus fondling the babes, was for some time struck dumb with astonishment and disbelief of what he saw. Then going away and getting together as many as he could of his fellows who kept their herds near at hand (for they would not believe what he said), he led them to see the sight themselves.

[7] ὡς δὲ κάκεῖνοι πλησίον ἐλθόντες ἔμαθον τὴν [p. 130] μὲν ὥσπερ τέκνα περιέπουσαν, τὰ δ' ὡς μητρὸς ἐξεχόμενα, δαιμόνιον τι χρῆμα ὄραν ὑπολαβόντες ἐγγυτέρω προσήεσαν ἄθρόοι δεδιττόμενοι βοῇ τὸ θηρίον. ἡ δὲ λύκαινα οὐ μάλ' ἀγριαίνουσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ προσόδῳ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν χειροῆθης ἀποστᾶσα τῶν βρεφῶν ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν τοῦ ποιμενικοῦ

[7] When these also drew near and saw the wolf caring for the babes as if they had been her young and the babes clinging to her as to their mother, they thought they were beholding a supernatural sight and advanced in a body, shouting to terrify the creature. The wolf, however, far from being provoked at the approach of the men, but as if she had been tame, withdrew gently from the babes and went away, paying little heed to the rabble of shepherds.

[8] ὁμίλου ἀπήει. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τις οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων ἐκεῖθεν ἱερὸς χῶρος ὕλη βαθεῖα συνηρεφὴς καὶ πέτρα κοίλῃ πηγὰς ἀνιέῖσα, ἐλέγετο δὲ Πανὸς εἶναι τὸ νάπος, καὶ βωμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι τοῦ θεοῦ: εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐλθοῦσα ἀποκρύπτεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος οὐκέτι διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἄντρον, ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβὰς ἐκδίδεται, τῷ Παλλαντίῳ προσωκοδομημένον δεικνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλησίον, ἔνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται τοῦ πάθους λύκαινα παιδίοις δυσὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐπίσχουσα,

χαλκᾷ ποιήματα παλαιᾷς ἐργασίας. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ ποτὲ οἰκισάντων αὐτὸ Ἀρκάδων ἱερὸν ὡς λέγεται.

[8] Now there was not far off a holy place, arched over by a dense wood, and a hollow rock from which springs issued; the wood was said to be consecrated to Pan, and there was an altar there to that god. To this place, then, the wolf came and hid herself. The grove, to be sure, no longer remains, but the cave from which the spring flows is still pointed out, built up against the side of the Palatine hill on the road which leads to the Circus, and near it is a sacred precinct in which there is a statue commemorating the incident; it represents a she-wolf suckling two infants, the figures being in bronze and of ancient workmanship. This spot is said to have been a holy place of the Arcadians who formerly settled there with Evander.

[9] ὡς δὲ ἀπέστη τὸ θηρίον αἶρουν οἱ νομεῖς τὰ βρέφη σπουδῇν ποιοῦμενοι τρέφειν ὡς θεῶν αὐτὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένων. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς συοφορβίων βασιλικῶν ἐπιμελούμενος ἐπικίχης ἀνὴρ Φαιστύλος ὄνομα, ὃς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ δὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἐγεγόνει καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἡ φθορὰ τῆς Ἰλίας καὶ ὁ τόκος ἠλέγχετο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομιζομένων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν βρεφῶν τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὰ κατὰ [p. 131] θείαν τύχην ἅμα διεληλύθει τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν εἰς τὸ Παλλάντιον ἰών: ὃς ἤκιστα τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφανῆς γενόμενος ὡς ἐπίσταται τι τοῦ πράγματος ἀξιώσας αὐτῷ συγχωρηθῆναι τὰ βρέφη λαμβάνει τε αὐτὰ παρὰ

[9] As soon as the beast was gone the herdsmen took up the babes, and believing that the god desired their preservation, were eager to bring them up. There was among them the keeper of the royal herds of swine, whose name was Faustus, an upright man, who had been in town upon some necessary business at the time when the deflowering of Ilia and her delivery were made public. And afterwards, when the babes were being carried to the river, he had by some providential chance taken the same road to the Palatine hill and gone along with those who were carrying them. This man, without giving the least intimation to the others that he knew anything of the affair, asked that the babes might be delivered to him, and having received them by general consent, he carried them home to his wife.

[10] τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ φέρων ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα ἔρχεται. τετοκυῖαν δὲ καταλαβὼν καὶ ἀχθομένην ὅτι νεκρὸν αὐτῇ τὸ βρέφος ἦν παραμυθεῖται τε καὶ διδωσιν ὑποβαλέσθαι τὰ παιδιά πᾶσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγησάμενος τὴν κατασχοῦσαν αὐτὰ τύχην. αὐξομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὄνομα τίθεται τῷ μὲν Ῥωμύλον, τῷ δὲ Ῥῶμον. οἱ δὲ ἀνδρωθέντες γίνονται κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν μορφῆς καὶ φρονήματος ὄγκον οὐ συοφορβοῖς καὶ βουκόλοις ἐοικότες, ἀλλ' οἷους ἂν τις ἀξιώσειε τοὺς ἐκ βασιλείου τε φύντας γένους καὶ ἀπὸ δαιμόνων σπορᾶς γενέσθαι νομιζομένους, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ὕμνοις ὑπὸ

[10] And finding that she had just given birth to a child and was grieving

because it was still-born, he comforted her and gave her these children to substitute in its place, informing her of every circumstance of their fortune from the beginning. And as they grew older he gave to one the name of Romulus and to the other that of Remus. When they came to be men, they showed themselves both in dignity of aspect and elevation of mind not like swineherds and neatherds, but such as we might expect those to be who are born of royal race and are looked upon as the offspring of the gods; and as such they are still celebrated by the Romans in the hymns of their country.

[11] Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ῥῖδεται. βίος δ' αὐτοῖς ἦν βουκολικὸς καὶ διαίτα αὐτουργὸς ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ πολλὰ πηξαμένοις διὰ ξύλων καὶ καλάμων σκηνὰς αὐτορόφους· ὧν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν τις τοῦ Παλλαντίου ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἱππόδρομον στρεφούσης λαγόνος Ῥωμύλου λεγομένη, ἣν φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον ἐξαγοντες, εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν ὑπὸ χεიმῶνος ἢ χρόνου τὸ λείπον ἐξακούμενοι καὶ

[11] But their life was that of herdsmen, and they lived by their own labour, generally upon the mountains in huts which they built, roofs and all, out of sticks and reeds. One of these, called the hut of Romulus, remained even to my day on the flank of the Palatine hill which faces towards the Circus, and it is preserved holy by those who have charge of these matters; they add nothing to it to render it more stately, but if any part of it is injured, either by storms or by the lapse of time, they repair the damage and restore the hut as nearly as possible to its former condition.

[12] τῷ πρόσθεν ἑξομοιοῦντες εἰς δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες ἦσαν ἀμφιλογόν τι περὶ τῆς νομῆς αὐτοῖς γίνεται πρὸς τοῦς Νεμέτορος [p. 132] βουκόλους, οἱ περὶ τὸ Αὐεντῖνον ὄρος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Παλλαντίου κείμενον εἶχον τὰς βουστάσεις. ἥτιῳντο δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι θαμινὰ ἢ τὴν μὴ προσήκουσαν ὀργάδα κατανέμειν ἢ τὴν κοινήν μόνους διακρατεῖν ἢ ὃ τι δῆποτε τύχοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας ταύτης ἐγένοντο πληγαὶ ποτε διὰ χειρῶν, εἴτα δι' ὀπλων.

[12] When Romulus and Remus were about eighteen years of age, they had some dispute about the pasture with Numitor's herdsmen, whose herds were quartered on the Aventine hill, which is over against the Palatine. They frequently accused one another either of grazing the meadow-land that did not belong to them or of monopolizing that which belonged to both in common, or of whatever the matter chanced to be. From this wrangling they had recourse sometimes to blows and then to arms.

[13] τραύματα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν μειρακίων λαβόντες οἱ τοῦ Νεμέτορος καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπολέσαντες τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἐξειργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο δόλον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτούς. προλοχίσαντες δὲ τῆς φάραγγος τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς λοχῶσι τὰ μειράκια τὸν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως καιρὸν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὰ μανδρεύματα αὐτῶν νύκτωρ

ἐπέβαλον. Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐτύγχανεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν κωμητῶν πεπορευμένος εἰς τι χωρίον Καίνιναν ὀνομαζόμενον ἱερὰ

[13] Finally Numitor's men, having received many wounds at the hands of the youths and lost some of their number and being at last driven by force from the places in dispute, devised a stratagem against them. They place an ambuscade in the hidden part of the ravine and having concerted the time of the attack with those who lay in wait for the youths, the rest in a body attacked the others' folds by night. No wit happened that Romulus, together with the chief men of the village, had gone at the time to a place called Caenina to offer sacrifices for the community according to the custom of the country;

[14] ποιήσων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάτρια: Ῥῶμος δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐξεβοήθει λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα διαταχέων ὀλίγους τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης φθάσαντας καθ' ἑν γενέσθαι παραλαβών. κάκεῖνοι οὐ δέχονται αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν ὑπαγόμενοι ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἐν καλῷ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐπιθήσεσθαι: ὁ δὲ Ῥῶμος κατ' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ μηχανήματος ἄχρι πολλοῦ διώκων αὐτοὺς παραλλάττει τὸ λελοχισμένον χωρίον, κὰν τούτῳ [p. 133] ὃ τε λόχος ἀνίσταται καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες ὑποστρέφουσι. κυκλωσάμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοῖς ἀράττοντες λίθοις λαμβάνουσιν ὑποχειρίους. ταύτην γὰρ εἶχον ἐκ τῶν δεσποτῶν τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ζῶντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεανίσκους κομίσαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ χειρωθεὶς ὁ Ῥῶμος ἀπήγετο.

[14] but Remus, being informed of the foe's attack, hastily armed himself and with a few of the villagers who had already got together went out to oppose them. And they, instead of awaiting him, retired, in order to draw him to the place where they intended to face above and attack him to advantage. Remus, being unaware of their stratagem, pursued them for a long distance, till he passed the place where the rest lay in ambush; thereupon these men rose up and at the same time the others who had been fleeing faced about. And having surrounded Remus and his men, they overwhelmed them with a shower of stones and took them prisoners; for they had received orders from their masters to bring the youths to them alive. Thus Remus was captured and led away.

[1] ὡς δὲ Τουβέρων Αἴλιος δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιμελὴς γράφει, προειδότες οἱ τοῦ Νεμέτορος θύσοντας τὰ Λύκαια τοὺς νεανίσκους τῷ Πανὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν ὡς Εὐάνδρος κατεστήσατο θυσίαν ἐνὶ ἡδρευσαν τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς ἱεουργίας, ἥνικα χρῆν τοὺς περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον οἰκοῦντας τῶν νέων ἐκ τοῦ Λυκαίου τεθυκότας περιελθεῖν δρόμῳ τὴν κώμην γυμνοὺς ὑπεζωσμένους τὴν αἰδῶ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν νεοθύτων. τοῦτο δὲ καθαρμὸν τινα τῶν κωμητῶν πάτριον ἐδύνατο,

[80.1] But Aelius Tubero, a shrewd man and careful in collecting the historical

data, writes that Numitor's people, knowing beforehand that the youths were going to celebrate in honour of Pan the Lupercalia, the Arcadian festival as instituted by Evander, set an ambush for that moment in the celebration when the youths living near the Palatine were, after offering sacrifice, to proceed from the Lupercal and run round the village naked, their loins girt with the skins of the victims just sacrificed. This ceremony signified a sort of traditional purification of the villagers, and is still performed even to this day.

[2] ὡς καὶ νῦν ἔτι δρᾶται. ἐν δὴ τοῦτω τῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς νεανίσκους οἱ βουκόλοι λοχίσαντες κατὰ τὸ στενόπορον τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον τάγμα τὸ σὺν τῷ Ῥώμῳ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο, τῶν ἀμφὶ Ῥωμύλον τε καὶ ἄλλων ὑστεριζόντων ἑκατέρῃ γὰρ ἐνεμένοντο καὶ ἐκ διαστήματος ἔθεον· οὐ περιμείναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐμβοήσαντες ἄθροοι καὶ περιστάντες ἔβαλλον οἱ μὲν ἀκοντίοις, οἱ δὲ λίθοις, οἱ δ' ὡς ἕκαστοι τι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον. [p. 134] οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἀμηχανοῦντες ὃ τι δράσειαν πρὸς ὠπλισμένους ἄνθρωποι μαχόμενοι κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἐχειρώθησαν.

[2] On this occasion, then, the herdsmen lay in wait in the narrow part of the road for the youths who were taking part in the ceremony, and when the first band with Remus came abreast of them, that with Romulus and the rest being behind (for they were divided into three bands and ran at a distance from one another), without waiting for the others they set up a shout and all rushed upon the first group, and, surrounding them, some threw darts at them, others stones, and others whatever they could lay their hands on. And the youths, startled by the unexpected attack and at a loss how to act, fighting unarmed as they were against armed men, were easily overpowered.

[3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥώμος ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενος οὕτως, εἶθ' ὡς ὁ Φάβιος παραδέδωκε δέσμιος εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν ἀπήγετο. Ῥωμύλος δ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω πάθος, διώκειν εὐθὺς ὥρετο δεῖν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἔχων τῶν νομέων, ὡς ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὄντα καταληψόμενος τὸν Ῥώμον· ἀποτρέπεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαιστύλου. ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν μακροτέρην οὖσαν οὗτος νομισθεὶς ὁ πατήρ, ἃ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἀπόρρητα ποιοῦμενος τοῖς μεираκίοις διετέλεσεν, ὡς μὴ θάπτον ὁρμήσωσι παρακινδυνεῦσαι τι πρὶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀκμῆς γενέσθαι, τότε δὴ πρὸς τῆς ἀνάγκης βιασθεὶς μονωθέντι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ λέγει.

[3] Remus, therefore, having fallen into the hands of the enemy in this manner or in the way Fabius relates, was being led away, bound, to Alba. When Romulus heard of his brother's fate, he thought he ought to follow immediately with the stoutest of the herdsmen in the hope of overtaking Remus while he was still on the road, but he was dissuaded by Faustulus. For seeing that his haste was too frenzied, this man, who was looked upon as the father of the youths and who had hitherto kept everything a secret from them, lest they should venture upon some hazardous enterprise before they were in

their prime, now at last, compelled by necessity, took Romulus aside and told him everything.

[4] μαθόντι δὲ τῷ νεανίσκῳ πᾶσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατασχοῦσαν αὐτοὺς τύχην τῆς τε μητρὸς οἶκος εἰσέρχεται καὶ Νεμέτορος φροντίς, καὶ πολλὰ βουλευσαμένῳ μετὰ τοῦ Φαιστύλου τῆς μὲν αὐτίκα ὁρμῆς ἐπισχεῖν ἐδόκει, πλείονι δὲ παρασκευῇ δυνάμεως χρησάμενον ὅλον ἀπαλλάξαι τὸν οἶκον τῆς Ἀμολίου παρανομίας κίνδυνόν τε τὸν ἔσχατον ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄθλων ἀναρρῖψαι, πράττειν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ μητροπάτορος ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ. [p. 135]

[4] When the youth heard every circumstance of their fortune from the beginning, he was touched both with compassion for his mother and with solicitude for Numitor. And after taking much counsel with Faustus, he decided to give up his plan for an immediate attack, but to get ready a larger force, in order to free his whole family from the lawlessness of Amulius, and he resolved to risk the direst peril for the sake of the greatest rewards, but to act in concert with his grandfather in whatever the other should see fit to do.

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι ἔδοξε συγκαλέσας τοὺς κωμήτας ἅπαντας ὁ Ῥωμύλος καὶ δεηθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν ἐπείγεσθαι διαταχέων μὴ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας ἅπαντας μὴδ' ἀθρόους εἰσιόντας, μὴ τις ὑπόνοια πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει γένηται, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπομένοντας ἐτοίμους εἶναι δρᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον,

[81.1] This plan having been decided upon as the best, Romulus called together all the inhabitants of the village and after asking them to hasten into Alba immediately, but not all by the same gates nor in a body, lest the suspicions of the citizens should be aroused, and then to stay in the market-place and be ready to do whatever should be ordered, he himself set out first for the city.

[2] ἀπῆει πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Ῥῶμον ἄγοντες ἐπειδὴ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς τε ὕβρεις ἀπάσας, ὅσας ἦσαν ὑβρισμένοι πρὸς τῶν μεираκίων, κατηγόρουν καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας σφῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τιμωρίας εἰ μὴ τεύξονται καταλείπειν προλέγοντες τὰ βουφόρβια. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τοῖς χωρίταις κατὰ πλῆθος ἐληλυθόσι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ τῷ Νεμέτορι παρῶν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε συναγανακτῶν τοῖς πελάταις εἰρήνην τε ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν σπεύδων εἶναι καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸ αὐθαδὲς τοῦ μεираκίου, ὥς ἀκατάπληκτον ἦν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, δι' ὑποφίας λαμβάνων καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην: τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τὸν Νεμέτορα ποιεῖ κύριον εἰπών, ὥς τῷ δράσαντι δεινὰ τὸ ἀντιπαθεῖν οὐ πρὸς ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πεπονθότος ὀφείλεται.

[2] In the meantime those who had carried off Remus brought him before the king and complained of all the outrageous treatment they had received from the youths, producing their wounded, and threatening, if they found no

redress, to desert their herds. And Amulius, desiring to please both the countrymen, who had come in great numbers, and Numitor (for he happened to be present and share the exasperation of his retainers), and longing to see peace throughout the country, and at the same time suspecting the boldness of the youth, so fearless was in his answers, gave judgment against him; but he left his punishment to Numitor, saying that the one who had done an injury could be punished by none so justly as by the one who had suffered it.

[3] ἐν ᾧ δ' ὁ Ῥῶμος ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Νεμέτορος βουκόλων ἤγετο δεδεμένος τε ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀγόντων ἐπικερτομούμενος, ἀκολουθῶν ὁ Νεμέτωρ τοῦ τε σώματος τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀπεθαύμαζεν, ὥς πολὺ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶχε, καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐνεθυμεῖτο, [p. 136] ἦν καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ διέσωσεν οὐ πρὸς οἶκτον οὐδὲ λιπαρήσεις, ὥς ἅπαντες ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ποιοῦσι τύχαις, τραπόμενος, ἀλλὰ σὺν εὐκόσμῳ σιωπῇ πρὸς τὸν μόρον ἀπιών.

[3] While Numitor's herdsmen were leading Remus away with his hands bound behind him and mocking him, Numitor followed and not only admired his grace of body, so much was there that was kingly in his bearing, but also observed his nobility of spirit, which he preserved even in distress, not turning to lamentations and entreaties, as all do under such afflictions, but with a becoming silence going away to his fate.

[4] ὥς δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφίκοντο μεταστῆναι τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας μονωθέντα τὸν Ῥῶμον ἤρετο τίς εἴη καὶ τίνων, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων γε ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον γενόμενον. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμου τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον κατὰ πύστιν τοῦ τρέφοντος, ὅτι σὺν ἀδελφῷ διδυμῷ ἐκτεθειή βρέφος εἰς νάπην εὐθύς ἀπὸ γονῆς καὶ πρὸς τῶν νομέων ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐκτραφεῖν, βραχὺν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον εἴτε ὑποτοπηθεὶς τι τῶν ἀληθῶν εἴτε τοῦ δαίμονος ἄγοντος εἰς τοῦμφανὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν:

[4] As soon as they were arrived at his house he ordered all the rest to withdraw, and Remus being left alone, he asked him who he was and of what parents; for he did not believe such a man could be meanly born. Remus answered that he knew this much only from the account he had received from the man who brought him up, that he with his twin brother had been exposed in a wood as soon as they were born and had then been taken up by the herdsmen and reared by them. Upon which Numitor, after a short pause, either because he suspected something of the truth or because Heaven was bringing the matter to light, said to him:

[5] Ὅτι μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ὦ Ῥῶμε, παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δικαιώσω, καὶ ὥς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσαιντ' ἂν οἱ κομίσαντές σε δεῦρο πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν. εἰ δέ σε θανάτου τε καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐκλυσαιμην κακοῦ, ἄρ' ἂν εἰδείης μοι χάριν καὶ δεομένῳ ὑπουργήσεας ὁ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἔσται ἀγαθόν;

[5] “I need not inform you, Remus, that you are in my power to be punished in whatever way I may see fit, and that those who brought you here, having suffered many grievous wrongs at your hands, would give much to have you put to death. All this you know. But if I should free you from death and every other punishment, would you show your gratitude and serve me when I desire your assistance in an affair that will conduce to the advantage of us both?”

[6] ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μεираκίου ὅποσα τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσει βίου κειμένους ἢ τοῦ σωθῆσεσθαι ἐλπὶς τοῖς κυρίοις τούτου λέγειν καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι ἐπαίρει, λῦσαι κελεύσας αὐτὸν ὁ Νεμέτωρ καὶ πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐκποδῶν φράζει τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας, ὡς Ἀμόλιος αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸς ὦν ἀπεστέρησε τῆς βασιλείας ὀρφανὸν τε τέκνων ἔθηκε, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ θήρᾳ [p. 137] κρύφα διαχειρισάμενος, τὴν δ' ἐν εἰρκτῇ δεδεμένην φυλάττων, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅποσα δεσπότης χρώμενος δούλῳ λωβᾶται.

[6] The youth, having in answer said everything which the hope of life prompts those who are in despair of it to say and promise to those on whom their fate depends, Numitor ordered him to be unbound. And commanding everybody to leave the place, he acquainted him with his own misfortunes — how Amulius, though his brother, had deprived him of his kingdom and bereft him of his children, having secretly slain his son while he was hunting and keeping his daughter bound in prison, and in all other respects continued to treat him as a master would treat his slave.

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πολλὴν θρῆνον ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις καταχεάμενος ἡξίου τιμωρὸν τοῖς κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ κακοῖς τὸν Ῥῶμον γενέσθαι. ἀσμένως δὲ ὑποδεξαμένου τὸν λόγον τοῦ μεираκίου καὶ παραυτίκα τάττειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοῦντος ἐπαινέσας ὁ Νεμέτωρ τὴν προθυμίαν, τῆς μὲν πράξεως ἔφη τὸν καιρὸν ἐγὼ ταμיעύσομαι, σὺ δὲ τέως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπόρρητον ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγγελίαν πέμψον, ὅτι σῶζῃ τε δηλῶν καὶ διαταχέων αὐτὸν ἤκειν ἀξίῳν.

[82.1] Having spoken thus and accompanied ship words with many lamentations, he entreated Remus to avenge the wrongs of his house. And when the youth gladly embraced the proposal and begged him to set him at the task immediately, Numitor commended his eagerness and said: “I myself will determine the proper time for the enterprise; but do you meanwhile send a message privately to your brother, informing him that you are safe and asking him to come here in all haste.”

[2] ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπεται τις ἐξευρεθείς, ὃς ἐδόκει ὑπηρετήσιν καὶ περιτυχὼν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ὄντι Ῥωμύλῳ διασαφεῖ τὰς ἀγγελίας: ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔρχεται σπουδῇ πρὸς Νεμέτορα καὶ περιπλακεὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀσπάζεται μεν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα φράζει τὴν ἔκθεσιν σφῶν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Φαιστύλου ἐπύθετο. τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις τε καὶ οὐ πολλῶν ἵνα πιστεύσειαν τεκμηρίων δεομένοις καθ' ἡδονὰς τὸ λεγόμενον ἦν.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέγνωσαν ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα συνετάπτοντο καὶ διεσκόπουν ὅστις ἔσται [p. 138]

[2] Thereupon a man who seemed likely to serve their purpose was found and sent; and he, meeting Romulus not far from the city, delivered his message. Romulus was greatly rejoiced at this and went in haste to Numitor; and having embraced them both, he first spoke words of greeting and then related how he and his brother had been exposed and brought up and all the other circumstances he had learned from Faustulus. The others, who wished his story might be true and needed few proofs in order to believe it, heard what he said with pleasure. And as soon as they knew one another they proceeded to consult together and consider the proper method and occasion for making their attack.

[3] τρόπος ἦ καιρὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπιθεσιν ἐπιτήδειος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν ὁ Φαιστύλος ἀπάγεται πρὸς Ἀμόλιον. δεδοικὼς γὰρ μὴ οὐ πιστὰ δόξη τῷ Νεμέτορι λέγειν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἄνευ σημείων ἐμφανῶν μεγάλου πράγματος μηνυτῆς γενόμενος, τὸ γνῶρισμα τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν βρεφῶν τὴν σκάφην ἀναλαβὼν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐδίωκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

[3] While they were thus employed, Faustulus was brought before Amulius. For, fearing lest the information given by Romulus might not be credited by Numitor, in an affair of so great moment, without manifest proofs, he soon afterwards followed him to town, taking the ark with him as evidence of the exposing of the babes.

[4] διερχόμενον δ' αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ταραχῶδῶς πάνυ καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον μηδενὶ ποιῆσαι καταφανὲς τὸ φερόμενον τῶν φυλάκων τις καταμαθὼν ἦν δὲ πολεμίων ἐφόδου δέος, καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ μάλιστα πιστευόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρούρουν' συλλαμβάνει τε καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν ὃ τι δῆποτ' ἦν καταμαθεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἀποκαλύπτει βίᾳ τὴν περιβολήν. ὥς δὲ τὴν σκάφην ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔμαθεν ἀπορούμενον, ἤξιον λέγειν τις ἢ ταραχὴ καὶ τι τὸ βούλημα τοῦ μὴ φανερώς ἐκφέρειν σκεῦος οὐδὲν δεόμενον ἀπορρήτου φορᾶς.

[4] But as he was entering the gates in great confusion, taking all possible pains to conceal what he carried, one of the guards observed him (for there was fear of an incursion of the enemy and the gates were being guarded by those who were most fully trusted by the king) and laid hold of him; and insisting upon knowing what the concealed object was, he forcibly threw back his garment. As soon as he saw the ark and found the man embarrassed, he demanded to know the cause of his confusion and what he meant by not carrying openly an article that required no secrecy.

[5] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πλείους τῶν φυλάκων συνέρρεον καὶ τις αὐτῶν γνωρίζει τὴν σκάφην αὐτὸς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ παιδία κομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ φράζει πρὸς

τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ δὲ συλλαβόντες τὸν Φαιστύλον ἄγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διηγοῦνται τὰ γενόμενα.

[5] In the meantime more of the guards flocked to them and one of them recognized the ark, having himself carried the children in it to the river; and he so informed those who were present. Upon this they seized Faustulus, and carrying him to the king himself, acquainted him with all that had passed.

[6] Ἀμόλιος δὲ ἀπειλῇ βασάνων καταπληξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ λέξοι τὰς ἀληθείας [p. 139] ἐκὼν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ζῶσιν οἱ παῖδες ἤρετο: ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔμαθε τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ὅστις ὁ τρόπος ἐγένετο: διηγησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ὡς ἐπράχθη, Ἄγε δὴ, φησὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἀληθεύσας ἔχεις, φράσον ὅπου νῦν ἂν εὕρεθεῖεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δίκαιοι εἰσιν ἐν βουκόλοις καὶ ἄδοξον βίον ζῆν ἔμοιγε ὄντες συγγενεῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ θεῶν προνοίᾳ σωζόμενοι.

[6] Amulius, having terrified the man by the threat of torture if he did not willingly tell the truth, first asked him if the children were alive; and learning that they were, he desired to know in what manner they had been preserved. And when the other had given him a full account of everything as it had happened, the king said: "Well then, since you have spoken the truth about these matters, say where they may now be found; for it is not right that they who are my relations should any longer live ingloriously among herdsmen, particularly since it is due to the providence of the gods that they have been preserved."

[1] Φαιστύλος δὲ τῆς ἀλόγου πραότητος ὑποψία κινηθεὶς μὴ φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις ἀποκρίνεται ὥδε: οἱ μὲν παῖδές εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βουκολοῦντες, ὅσπερ ἐκείνων βίος, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπέμφθην παρ' αὐτῶν τῇ μητρὶ δηλώσων ἐν αἷς εἰσι τύχαις: ταύτην δὲ παρὰ σοι φυλάττεσθαι ἀκούων δεήσεσθαι τῆς σῆς θυγατρὸς ἔμελλον, ἵνα με πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀγάγοι. τὴν δὲ σκάφην ἔφερον, ἵν' ἔχω δεικνῦναι τεκμήριον ἐμφανὲς ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις. νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ δέδοκται σοι τοὺς νεανίσκους δεῦρο κομίσαι χαίρω τε, καὶ πέμψον οὐς2πινας βούλει σὺν ἐμοί. δεῖξω μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τοὺς παῖδας, φράσουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ παρὰ σου.

[83.1] But Faustulus, suspecting from the king's unaccountable mildness that his intentions were not in harmony with his professions, answer him in this manner: "The youths are upon the mountains tending their herds, which is their way of life, and I was sent by them to their mother to give her an account of their fortunes; but, hearing that she was in your custody, I was intending to ask your daughter to have me brought to her. And I was bringing the ark with me that I might support my words with a manifest proof. Now, therefore, since you have decided to have the youths brought here, not only am I glad, but I ask you to send such persons with me as you wish. I will point out to them the youths and they shall acquaint them with your commands."

[2] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἀναβολὴν εὐρέσθαι βουλόμενος τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς ἀποδράσεσθαι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι γένηται, ἐλπίσας. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ὀπλοφόρων ἐπιστείλας κρύφα, οὕς ἂν ὁ συοφορβὸς αὐτοῖς [p. 140] δεῖξῃ συλλαβόντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἄγειν, ἀποστέλλει διαταχέων. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος αὐτίκα γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν εὖ θῇται τὰ παρόντα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπ'

[2] This he said in the desire to discover some means of delaying the death of the youths and at the same time in the hope of making his own escape from the hands of those who were conducting him, as soon as he should arrive upon the mountains. And Amulius speedily sent the most trustworthy of his guards with secret orders to seize and bring before him the persons whom the swineherd should point out to them. Having done this, he at once determined to summon his brother and keep under mild guard till he had ordered the present business to his satisfaction, and he sent for him as if for some other purpose;

[3] ἄλλο δὴ τι ἐκάλει. ὁ δὲ ἀποσταλεῖς ἄγγελος εὐνοίᾳ τε τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος καὶ ἐλέῳ τῆς τύχης ἐπιτρέψας κατήγορος γίνεται Νεμέτορι τῆς Ἀμολίου γνώμης. ὁ δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τὸν κατελιηφὸτα κίνδυνον αὐτοὺς καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι παρῆν ἄγων ὠπλισμένους ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια τῶν τε ἄλλων πελατῶν καὶ ἐταίρων καὶ θεραπείας πιστῆς χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ξίφη κεκρυμμένα, στίφος καρτερόν. βιασάμενοι δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀθρόα ὁρμῇ πάντες οὐ πολλοῖς ὀπλίταις φρουρουμένην ἀποσφάττουσιν εὐπετῶς Ἀμόλιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἄκραν καταλαμβάνονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς περὶ Φάβιον εἴρηται.

[3] but the messenger who was sent, yielding both to his good-will toward the man in danger and to compassion for his fate, informed Numitor of the design of Amulius. And Numitor, having revealed to the youths the danger that threatened them and exhorted them to show themselves brave men, came to the palace with a considerable band of his retainers and friends and loyal servants. These were joined by the countrymen who had entered the city earlier and now came from the complain with swords concealed under their clothes, a sturdy company. And having by a concerted attack forced the entrance, which was defended by only a few heavy-armed troops, they easily slew Amulius and afterwards made themselves masters of the citadel. Such is the account given by Fabius.

[1] ἕτεροι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν μυθωδεστέρων ἀξιοῦντες ἱστορικῇ γραφῇ προσήκειν τὴν τε ἀπόθεσιν τὴν τῶν βρεφῶν οὐχ ὡς ἐκελεύσθη τοῖς ὑπηρέταις γενομένην ἀπίθανον εἶναι φασι, καὶ τῆς λυκαίνης τὸ τιθασόν, ἢ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐπέτρεχε τοῖς παιδίοις, ὡς δραματικῆς μεστὸν ἀτοπίας διασύρουσιν:

[84.1] But others, who hold that nothing bordering on the fabulous has any place in historical writing, declare that the exposing of the babes by the servants in a manner not in accordance with their instructions is improbable, and they ridicule the tameness of the she-wolf that suckled the children as a story full of melodramatic absurdity.

[2] ἀντιδιαλλαττόμενοι [p. 141] δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Νεμέτωρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰλίαν ἔγνω κύουσαν, ἕτερα παρασκευασάμενος παιδία νεογνὰ διηλλάξατο τεκούσης αὐτῆς τὰ βρέφη καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀθνεῖα δέδωκε τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὰς ὠδῖνας ἀποφέρειν εἴτε χρημάτων τὸ πιστὸν τῆς χρείας αὐτῶν πριάμενος εἴτε διὰ γυναικῶν τὴν ὑπαλλαγὴν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ αὐτὰ λαβὼν Ἀμόλιος ὅτῳ δὴ τινι τρόπῳ ἀναιρεῖ: τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίας γενόμενα περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενος ὁ μητροπάτωρ διασώζεσθαι δίδωσι τῷ Φαιστύλῳ.

[2] In place of this they give the following account of the matter: Numitor, upon learning that Ilia was with child, procured other new-born infants and when she had given birth to her babes, he substituted the former in place of the latter. Then he gave the supposititious children to those who were guarding her at the time of her delivery to be carried away, having either secured the loyalty of the guards by money or contrived this exchange by the help of women; and when Amulius had received them, he made away with them by some means or other. As for the babes that were born of Ilia, their grandfather, who was above all things solicitous for their preservation, handed them over to Faustulus.

[3] τὸν δὲ Φαιστύλον τοῦτον Ἀρκάδα μὲν εἶναι φασὶ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ, κατοικεῖν δὲ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχοντα τῶν Ἀμολίου κτημάτων. χαρίσασθαι δὲ Νεμέτορι τὴν ἐκτροφὴν τῶν παιδῶν τὰδελφῷ πιθόμενον ὄνομα Φαυστινῷ τὰς περὶ τὸν Αὐεντῖνον τρεφομένας τοῦ

[3] This Faustulus, they say, was of Arcadian extraction, being descended from those Arcadians who came over with Evander; he lived near the Palatine hill and had the care of Amulius' possessions, and he was prevailed on by his brother, named Faustinus, who had the oversight of Numitor's herds that fed near the Aventine hill, to do Numitor the favour of bringing up the children.

[4] Νεμέτορος ἀγέλας ἐπιτροπεύοντι: τὴν τε τιθηνησαμένην τὰ παιδία καὶ μαστοὺς ἐπισχοῦσαν οὐ λύκαιναν εἶναι φασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς γυναῖκα τῷ Φαιστύλῳ συνοικοῦσαν Λαυρεντίαν ὄνομα, ἣ δημοσιευοῦση ποτὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥραν οἱ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον διατρίβοντες ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔθεντο τὴν Λούπαν: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ ταῖς μισθαρνοῦσαις τὰφροδίσια τιθέμενον, αἱ νῦν εὐπρεπεστέρᾳ κλήσει ἐταῖραι προσαγορεύονται. ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ τινας αὐτὸ πλάσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς λυκαίνης μῦθον, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ [p. 142] τὴν γλῶτταν, ἣν τὸ Λατίνων ἔθνος φθέγγεται, λούπα καλεῖται τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον. ἥνικα δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ γάλακτι τροφῆς

ἀπὸ πλῆθος τὰ παῖδια, δοθῆναι πρὸς τῶν τρεφόντων εἰς Γαβίους πόλιν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ

[4] They say, moreover, that the one who nursed and suckled them was not a she-wolf, but, as may well be supposed, a woman, the wife of Faustus, named Laurentia, who, having formerly prostituted her beauty, had received from the people living round the Palatine hill the nickname of Lupa. This is an ancient Greek term applied to women who prostitute themselves for gain; but they are now called by a more respectable name, hetaerae or “companions.” But some who were ignorant of this invented the myth of the she-wolf, this animal being called in the Latin tongue lupa.

[5] Παλλαντίου κειμένην, ὡς Ἑλλάδα παιδεῖαν ἐκμάθοιεν, κάκεῖ παρ’ ἀνδράσιν ἰδιοξένοις τοῦ Φαιστύλου τραφεῖναι γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ χρῆσιν ὅπλων Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκδιδασκόμενους μέχρις ἡβῆς.

[5] The story continues that after the children were weaned they were sent by those who were rearing them to Gabii, a town not far from the Palatine hill, to be instructed in Greek learning; and there they were brought up by some personal friends of Faustus, being taught letters, music, and the use of Greek arms until they grew to manhood.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς νομιζομένους γονεῖς συμβῆναι τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Νεμέτορος βουκόλους περὶ τῶν συννόμων χωρίων: ἐκ δὲ τούτου πληγὰς αὐτοῖς δόντας ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπελάσαι τὰς ἀγέλας, ποιῆσαι δὲ ταῦτα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Νεμέτορος, ἵν’ ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἅμα παρουσίας εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῷ νομευτικῷ

[6] After their return to their supposed parents the quarrel arose between them and Numitor’s herdsmen concerning their common pastures; thereupon they beat Numitor’s men so that these drove away their cattle, doing this by Numitor’s direction, to the intent that it might serve as a basis for his complaints and at the same time as an excuse for the crowd of herdsmen to come to town.

[7] πλῆθει πρόφασις. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο Νεμέτορα μὲν Ἀμολίου καταβοᾶν, ὡς δεινὰ πάσχει διαρπαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου βουκόλων, καὶ ἀξιοῦν εἰ μηδενὸς αἵτιος τῶν ἐκείνου ἐστὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν βουφορβὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐπὶ δίκῃ: Ἀμόλιον δὲ ἀπολύσασθαι βουλόμενον τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦς τε αἰτηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅσοι παρῆναι τοῖς γενομένοις εἶχον αἰτίαν, ἥκειν κελεῦειν δίκας ὑφέζοντας τῷ Νεμέτορι.

[7] When this had been brought about, Numitor raised a clamour against Amulius, declaring that he was treated outrageously, being plundered by the herdsmen of Amulius, and demanding that Amulius, if he was not responsible for any of this, should deliver to him the herdsmen and his sons for trial; and Amulius, wishing to clear himself of the charge, ordered not only those

who were complained of, but all the rest who were accused of having been present at the conflict, to come and stand trial before Numitor.

[8] πολλῶν δὲ συνελθόντων ἅμα τοῖς ἐπαιτίοις ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῆς δίκης φράσαντα τοῖς νεανίσκοις τὸν μητροπάτορα πᾶσαν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν [p. 143] αὐτοὺς τύχην καὶ φήσαντα τιμωρίαν νῦν εἶ ποτε καιρὸν εἶναι λαβεῖν, αὐτίκα ποιήσασθαι σὺν τῷ νομευτικῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. περὶ μὲν οὖν γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς τῶν οἰκιστῶν τῆς Ῥώμης ταῦτα λέγεται.

[8] Then, when great numbers came to town together with the accused, ostensibly to attend the trial, the grandfather of the youths acquainted them with all the circumstances of their fortune, and telling them that now, if ever, was the time to avenge themselves, he straightway made his attack upon Amulius with the crowd of herdsmen. These, then, are the accounts that are given of the birth and rearing of the founders of Rome.

[1] τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν αὐτὴν γενόμενα τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι μοι τὸ μέρος τῆς γραφῆς λείπεται νῦν ἔρχομαι διηγησόμενος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ἀμολίου τελευτήσαντος ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Νεμέτωρ ὀλίγον ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς πρότερον ἐπεχούσης ἀκοσμίας εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκόσμηι τρόπον, εὐθὺς ἐπενόει τοῖς μειρακίοις ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν κατασκευάσαι ἑτέραν πόλιν οἰκίας.

[85.1] I am now going to relate the events that happened at the very time of its founding; for this part of my account still remains. When Numitor, upon the death of Amulius, had resumed his rule and had spent a little time in restoring the city from its late disorder to its former orderly state, he presently thought of providing an independent rule for the youths by founding another city.

[2] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐπίδοσιν εἰς εὐανδρίαν ἐσχηκότος ἀπαναλῶσαι τι καλῶς ἔχειν ᾤετο, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ διάφορον αὐτῷ ποτε γενόμενον, ὡς μὴ δι' ὑποψίας αὐτοὺς ἔχοι. κοινωσάμενος δὲ τοῖς μειρακίοις, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοις ἐδόκει, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς χωρία μὲν ὧν ἄρξουσιν, ἔνθα παῖδες ὄντες ἐτράφησαν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λεῶ τὸν τε δι' ὑποψίας αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὃς ἔμελλε νεωτερισμοῦ εἰσαυθίς ἄρξειν, καὶ εἰ τι ἐκούσιον ἀπαναστήναι ἐβούλετο.

[2] At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to get rid of some part of them, particularly of those who had once been his enemies, lest he might have cause to suspect any of his subjects. And having communicated this plan to the youths and gained their approval, he gave them, as a district to rule, the region where they had been brought up in their infancy, and, for subjects, not only that part of the people which he suspected of a design to begin rebellion anew, but also any who were willing to migrate voluntarily.

[3] ἦν δὲ ἐν τούτοις πολὺ μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν πόλει κινουμένη τὸ δημοτικὸν

γένος, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γνώριμον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τὸ εὐγενέστατον δὴ νομιζόμενον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ γενεαὶ τινες ἔτι περιῆσαν εἰς ἐμέ, πεντήκοντα μάλιστ' οἴκοι. ἐχορηγεῖτο δὲ [p. 144] τοῖς νεανίσκοις καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὄπλα καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο πόλεως ἦν κατασκευῇ πρόσφορον.

[3] Among these, as is likely to happen when a city sends out a colony, there were great numbers of the common people, but there were also a sufficient number of the prominent men of the best class, and of the Trojan element all those who were esteemed the noblest in birth, some of whose posterity remained even to my day, consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms and corn, with slaves and beasts of burden and everything else that was of use in the building of a city.

[4] ὡς δὲ ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἄλβας οἱ νεανίσκοι τὸν λεῶν μίξαντες αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτόθεν, ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ Παλλαντίῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν Σατορνίαν ὑπολιπῆς, μερίζονται τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν διχῇ. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς δόξαν παρέσχε φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα θᾶπτον ἀνύηται τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμίλλῃ τὰ ἔργα,

[4] After they had led their people out of Alba and intermingled with them the local population that still remained in Pallantium and Saturnia, they divided the whole multitude into two parts. This they did in the hope of arousing a spirit of emulation, so that through their rivalry with each other their tasks might be the sooner finished; however, it produced the greatest of evils, discord.

[5] αἷτιον δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου κακοῦ, στάσεως, ἐγένετο. οἱ τε γὰρ προσνεμηθέντες αὐτοῖς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμόνα ἕκαστοι κυδαίνοντες ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ἁπάντων ἄρχειν ἐπῆρον, αὐτοὶ τε οὐκέτι μίαν γνώμην ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἀδελφὰ διανοεῖσθαι ἀξιοῦντες, ὡς αὐτὸς ἄρξων ἐκάτερος θατέρου, παρώσαντες τὸ ἴσον τοῦ πλείονος ὠρέγοντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ἀφανῇ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα αὐτῶν ἦν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξερράγη σὺν τοιᾷδε προφάσει.

[5] For each group, exalting its own leader, extolled him as the proper person to command them all; and the youths themselves, being now no longer one in mind or feeling it necessary to entertain brotherly sentiments toward each, since each expected to command the other, scorned equality and craved superiority. For some time their ambitions were concealed, but later they burst forth on the occasion which I shall now describe.

[6] τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἰδρῦσιν τὴν πόλιν οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡρεῖτο ἐκάτερος. Ῥωμύλου μὲν γὰρ ἦν γνώμη τὸ Παλλάντιον οἰκίζειν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τύχης τοῦ τόπου, ἢ τὸ σωθῆναι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τραφῆναι παρέσχε: Ῥώμῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τὴν καλουμένην νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Ῥεμορίαν οἰκίζειν. ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον ὑποδέξασθαι πόλιν λόφος οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τεβέριος κείμενος, ἀπέχων τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμφοὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα σταδίους. ἐκ δὲ τῆς

φιλονεικίας ταύτης ἀκοινώνητος εὐθύς ὑπεδηλοῦτο φιλαρχία. τῷ γὰρ εἷξαντι τὸ κρατῆσαν εἰς πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. [p. 145]

[6] They did not both favour the same site for the building of the city; for Romulus proposed to settle the Palatine hill, among other reasons, because of the good fortune of the place where they had been preserved and brought up, whereas Remus favoured the place that is now named after him Remoria. And indeed this place is very suitable for a city, being a hill not far from the Tiber and about thirty stades from Rome. From this rivalry their unsociable love of rule immediately began to disclose itself; for on the one who now yielded the victor would inevitably impose his will on all occasions alike.

[1] χρόνου δὲ τινος ἐν τούτῳ διαγενομένου, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἐμειοῦτο τὸ τῆς στάσεως, δόξαν ἀμφοῖν τῷ μητροπάτορι ἐπιτέψαι παρήσαν εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ὑποτίθεται: θεοὺς ποιήσασθαι δικαστάς, ὁποτέρου χρή τὴν ἀποικίαν λέγεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι. ταξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθέζεσθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἐν αἷς ἑκάτεροι ἀξιοῦσιν ἔδραις: προθύσαντας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα φυλάττειν οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους: ὁποτέρῳ δ' ἂν οἱ ὄρνιθες προτέρῳ κρείττους γένωνται,

[86.1] Meanwhile, some time having elapsed and their discord in no degree abating, the two agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather and for that purpose went to Alba. He advised them to leave it to the decision of the gods which of them should give his name to the colony and be its leader. And having appointed for them a day, he ordered them to place themselves early in the morning at a distance from one another, in such stations as each of them should think proper, and after first offering to the gods the customary sacrifices, to watch for auspicious birds; and he ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony.

[2] τοῦτον ἄρχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. ἀπήεσαν οἱ νεανίσκοι ταῦτ' ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα παρήσαν ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ τῆς πράξεως ἡμέρᾳ. ἦν δὲ Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν οἰωνιστήριον, ἔνθα ἡξίου τὴν ἀποικίαν ἰδρῦσαι, τὸ Παλλάντιον, Ῥώμῳ δ' ὁ προσεχὴς ἐκείνῳ λόφος Ἀυεντίνος καλούμενος, ὡς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἡ Ῥεμορία: φυλακὴ τε ἀμφοῖν παρῆν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσα ὅ τι μὴ φανεῖν λέξειν.

[2] The youths, approving of this, went away and according to their agreement appeared on the day appointed for the test. Romulus chose for his station the Palatine hill, where he proposed settling the colony, and Remus the Aventine hill adjoining it, or, according to others, Remoria; and a guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things otherwise than as they appeared.

[3] ὡς δὲ τὰς προσηκούσας ἔδρας ἔλαβον ὀλίγον ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν φθόνου, ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἐνήγε, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ὅτιοῦν σημεῖον θεάσασθαι

πέμψας ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄγγελους ἦκειν ἡξίου διαταχέων, ὡς πρότερος ἰδὼν οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπάτην οὐ σπουδῇ ἐχώρουν, τῷ Ῥώμῳ γῦπες [p. 146] ἐπισημαίνουσιν ἔξ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν πετόμενοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν τοὺς ὄρνιθας περιχαρὴς ἐγένετο, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πεμφθέντες ἀναστήσαντες αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον.

[3] When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from eagerness and jealousy of his brother, — though possibly Heaven was thus directing him, — even before he saw any omen at all, sent messengers to his brother desiring him to come immediately, as if he had been the first to see some auspicious birds. But while the persons he sent were proceeding with no great haste, feeling ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right; and he, seeing the birds, rejoiced greatly. And not long afterwards the men sent by Romulus took him thence and brought him to the Palatine hill.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἤρετο μὲν τὸν Ῥωμύλον ὁ Ῥῶμος, οὕς2πινας οἰωνοὺς ἴδοι πρότερος, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἀπόρῳ γίνεται ὃ τι ἀποκρίναιτο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δώδεκα γῦπες αἰσίοι πετόμενοι ὤφθησαν, οὓς ἰδὼν θαρρεῖ τε καὶ τῷ Ῥώμῳ δεῖξας λέγει, Τι γὰρ ἀξιοῖς τὰ πάλα γενόμενα μαθεῖν; τοὺς2δε γὰρ δὴ που τοὺς οἰωνοὺς αὐτὸς ὀρᾷς. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖ τε καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖται, ὡς διηρημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε ἀποικίας οὐ μεθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ φησιν.

[4] When they were together, Remus asked Romulus what birds he had been the first to see, and Romulus knew not what to answer. But thereupon twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying; and upon seeing these he took courage, and pointing them out to Remus, said: “Why do you demand to know what happened a long time ago? For surely you see these birds yourself.” But Remus was indignant and complained bitterly because he had been deceived by him; and he refused to yield to him his right to the colony.

[1] ἀνίσταται δὴ ἐκ τούτου μείζων τῆς προτέρας ἔρις ἐκατέρου τὸ πλεον ἔχειν ἀφανῶς δικαιουμένου, τὸ δὲ μὴ μείον ἀναφανδὸν ἀπὸ δικαιώσεως τοιαύ2δε ἐπισυνάπτοντος. εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος, ὅτῳ ἂν προτέρῳ κρείττους ὄρνιθες ἐπισημήνωσι, τοῦτον ἄρχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. γένους δὲ ὀρνίθων ἐνὸς ἀμφοῖν ὀφθέντος ὁ μὲν τῷ πρότερος, ὁ δὲ τῷ πλείους ἰδεῖν ἐκρατύνετο. συνελάμβανε δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλονεικίας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἥρξεν τε πολέμου δίχα τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὀπλισθέν, καὶ γίνεται μάχη καρτερὰ καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πολὺς.

[87.1] Thereupon greater strife arose between them than before, as each, while secretly striving for the advantage, was ostensibly willing to accept equality, for the following reason. Their grandfather, as I have stated, had ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony; but, as the same kind of birds had been seen by both, one had the advantage of

seeing them first and the other that of seeing the greater number. The rest of the people also espoused their quarrel, and arming themselves without orders from their leaders, began war; and a sharp battle ensued in which many were slain on both sides.

[2] Ἐν ταύτῃ [p. 147] φασὶ τινες τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Φαιστύλον, ὃς ἐξεθρέψατο τοὺς νεανίσκους, διαλυῖσαι τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἀδελφῶν βουλόμενον, ὥς οὐδὲν οἶός τ' ἦν ἀνῦσαι, εἰς μέσους ὤσασθαι τοὺς μαχομένους ἄνοπλον θανάτου τοῦ ταχίστου τυχεῖν προθυμούμενον, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν λίθινον, ὃς ἔκειτο τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ Φαιστύλου τεθῆναι φασιν, ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐρόντων ταφέντος.

[2] In the course of this battle, as some say, Faustulus, who had brought up the youths, wishing to put an end to the strife of the brothers and being unable to do so, threw himself unarmed into the midst of the combatants, seeking the speediest death, which fell out accordingly. Some say also that the stone lion which stood in the principal part of the Forum near the rostra was placed over the body of Faustulus, who was buried by those who found him in the place where he fell.

[3] ἀποθανόντος δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥώμου νίκην οἰκτίστην ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀλληλοκτονίας ἀνελόμενος τὸν μὲν Ῥῶμον ἐν τῇ Ῥεμορίᾳ θάπτει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ζῶν τοῦ χωρίου τῆς κτίσεως περιείχετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ μετανοίας τῶν πεπραγμένων παρὲς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ βίου τρέπεται. τῆς δὲ Λαυρεντίας, ἣ νεογνοὺς παραλαβοῦσα ἐξεθρέψατο καὶ μητρὸς οὐχ ἦττον ἡσπάζετο, δεομένης καὶ παρηγορούσης, ταύτῃ πειθόμενος ἀνίσταται: συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς Λατίνους, ὅσοι μὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγῳ πλείους ὄντας τρισχιλίων ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς γενομένου πλήθους, ὅτε τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστελλε,

[3] Remus having been slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory through the death of his brother and the mutual slaughter of citizens, buried Remus at Remoria, since when alive he had clung to it as the site for the new city. As for himself, in his grief and repentance for what had happened, he became dejected and lost all desire for life. But when Laurentia, who had received the babes when newly born and brought them up and loved them no less than a mother, entreated and comforted him, he listened to her and rose up, and gathering together the Latins who had not been slain in the battle (they were now little more than three thousand out of a very great multitude at first, when he led out the colony), he built a city on the Palatine hill.

[4] πολίξει τὸ Παλλάντιον. ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτατος τῶν λόγων περὶ τῆς Ῥώμου τελευτῆς οὗτος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. λεγέσθω δ' ὅμως καὶ εἴ τις ἐτέρως ἔχων παραδέδοται. φασὶ δὴ τινες συγχωρήσαντ' αὐτὸν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν

ἡγεμονίαν, ἀχθόμενον δὲ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντα [p. 148] τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐπειδὴ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ τεῖχος φλαῦρον ἀποδείξει τὸ ἔρυμα βουλόμενον, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γ', εἰπεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ὑμῖν ὑπερβαίῃ πολέμιος, ὥσπερ ἐγώ: καὶ αὐτίκα ὑπεραλέσθαι: Κελέριον δὲ τινα τῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων τοῦ τείχους, ὃς ἦν ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν πολέμιον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ἡμῶν ἀμύναιτο, εἰπόντα, πλῆξαι τῷ σκαφεῖω κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐτίκα ἀποκτεῖναι: τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς στάσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοιοῦτο λέγεται γενέσθαι.

[4] The account I have given seems to me the most probable of the stories about the death of Remus. However, if any has been handed down that differs from this, let that also be related. Some, indeed, say that Remus yielded the leadership to Romulus, though not without resentment and anger at the fraud, but that after the wall was built, wishing to demonstrate the weakness of the fortification, he cried, "Well, as for this wall, one of your enemies could as easily cross it as I do," and immediately leaped over it. Thereupon Celer, one of the men standing on the wall, who was overseer of the work, said, "Well, as for this enemy, one of us could easily punish him," and striking him on the head with a mattock, he killed him then and there. Such is said to have been the outcome of the quarrel between the brothers.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν ἐμποδῶν τῷ κτίσματι προειπὼν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρεσάμενος ἔμελλε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἔργων ποιήσασθαι, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὅσα εἰς θυσίας καὶ ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ λεῶν χρησίμως ἔξειν ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἦκεν ὁ συγκείμενος χρόνος αὐτός τε προθύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας κατὰ δύναμιν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶν ὄρνιθας μὲν πρῶτον αἰσίους λαμβάνει: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πυρκαϊὰς πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν γενέσθαι κελεύσας ἐξάγει τὸν λεῶν τὰς φλόγας ὑπερθρώσκοντα τῆς ὀσιώσεως τῶν μiasμάτων ἕνεκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν, ὅσον ἦν ἐκ λογισμοῦ

[88.1] When no obstacle now remained to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day on which he planned to begin the work, after first propitiating the gods. And having prepared everything that would be required for the sacrifices and for the entertainment of the people, when the appointed time came, he himself first offered sacrifice to the gods and ordered all the rest to do the same according to their abilities. He then in the first place took the omens, which were favourable. After that, having commanded fires to be lighted before the tents, he caused the people to come out and leap over the flames in order to expiate their guilt.

[2] θεοῖς φίλον, ὥετο πεπρᾶχθαι καλέσας ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον περιγράφει τετράγωνον σχῆμα τῷ λόφῳ, βοῶς ἄρρενος ἅμα θηλείᾳ ζευχθέντος ὑπ' ἄροτρον ἐλκύσας αὐλάκα διηνεκῇ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑποδέξεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος: ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο [p. 149] τῆς περιάρσεως τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἰκισμοῖς πόλεων παραμένει. ἐργασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν βοῶν ἑκατέρους ἱερεύσας ἄλλων τε πολλῶν θυμάτων

καταρξάμενος ἐφίστησι τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν λεών. ταύτην ἔτι καὶ

[2] When he thought everything had been done which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to the appointed place and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing with a plough drawn by a bull and a cow yoked together a continuous furrow designed to receive the foundation of the wall; and from that time this custom has continued among the Romans of ploughing a furrow round the site where they plan to build a city. After he had done this and sacrificed the bull and the cow and also performed the initial rites over many other victims, he set the people to work.

[3] εἰς ἑμὲ τὴν ἡμέραν Ῥωμαίων ἢ πόλιν ἐορτῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττονα τιθεμένη καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἄγει, καλοῦσι δὲ Παρίλια. θύουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ περὶ γονῆς τετραπόδων οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ νομεῖς θυσίαν χαριστήριον ἕαρος ἀρχομένου. πότερον δὲ παλαιτερον ἔτι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐν εὐπαθείαις διάγοντες ἐπιτηδειοτάτην οἰκισμῷ πόλεως ἐνόμισαν, ἢ τοῦ κτισματος ἄρξασαν ἱερὰν ἐποίησαντο καὶ θεοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς ποιμέσι φίλους γεραίρειν ὥοντο δεῖν οὐκ ἔχω βεβαίως εἰπεῖν.

[3] This day the Romans celebrate every year even down to my time as one of their greatest festivals and call it the Parilia. On this day, which comes in the beginning of spring, the husbandmen and herdsmen offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But whether they had celebrated this day in even earlier times as a day of rejoicing and for that reason looked upon it as the most suitable for the founding of the city, or whether, because it marked the beginning of the building of the city, they consecrated it and thought they should honour on it the gods who are propitious to shepherds, I cannot say for certain.

[1] ἃ μὲν οὖν ἑμοὶ δύνამις ἐγένετο σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνευρεῖν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων συχνὰς ἀναλεξαμένῳ γραφὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. γένους, τοιάδ' ἐστίν. ὥστε θαρρῶν ἤδη τις ἀποφαινέσθω πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς βαρβάρων καὶ δραπετῶν καὶ ἀνεστίων ἀνθρώπων καταφυγὴν τὴν Ῥώμην ποιοῦσιν Ἑλλάδα πόλιν αὐτήν, ἀποδεικνύμενος μὲν κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην, ἐνθυμούμενος. ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων φῦλον Οἰνωτρικὸν ἦν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀρκαδικόν:

[89.1] Such, then, are the facts concerning the origin of the Romans which I have been able to discover a reading very diligently many works written by both Greek and Roman authors. Hence, from now on let the reader forever renounce the views of those who make Rome a retreat of barbarians, fugitive and vagabonds, and let him confidently affirm it to be a Greek city, — which will be easy when he shows that it is at once the most hospitable and friendly of all cities, and when he bears in mind that the Aborigines were Oenotrians, and these in turn Arcadians,

[2] μεμνημένος δὲ τῶν συνοικησάντων αὐτοῖς Πελασγῶν, οἳ Θετταλίαν καταλιπόντες [p. 150] Ἀργεῖοι τὸ γένος ὄντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκοντο: Εὐάνδρου τε αὖ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀφίξεως, οἳ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον ὤκησαν, Ἀβοριγίνων αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων τὸ χωρίον: ἔτι δὲ Πελοποννησιῶν τῶν σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ παραγενομένων, οἳ κατώκησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σατορνίου: τελευταῖον δὲ τῶν ἀπαναστάντων ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ συγκερασθέντων τοῖς προτέροις. τούτων γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲν εὖροι τῶν ἐθνῶν οὔτε ἀρχαιότερον οὔτε Ἑλληνικώτερον.

[2] and remembers those who joined with them in their settlement, the Pelasgians who were Argives by descent and came into Italy from Thessaly; and recalls, moreover, the arrival of Evander and the Arcadians, who settled round the Palatine hill, after the Aborigines had granted the place to them; and also the Peloponnesians, who, coming along with Hercules, settled upon the Saturnian hill; and, last of all, those who left the Troad and were intermixed with the earlier settlers. For one will find no nation that is more ancient or more Greek than these.

[3] αἱ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιμιξίαι, δι' ἃς ἡ πόλις πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπέμαθε, σὺν χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ θαῦμα μὲν τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἂν εἶναι δόξειε τὰ εἰκότα λογισαμένοις, πῶς οὐχ ἅπανσα ἐξεβαρβαρώθη Ὀπικούς τε ὑποδεξαμένη καὶ Μαρσοὺς καὶ: Σαυνίτας καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Βρεττίους Ὀμβρικῶν τε καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν συχνὰς μυριάδας ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐτέρων ἀφιγμένα τόπων μυρία ὅσα οὔτε ὁμόγλωττα οὔτε ὁμοδιαίτα, ὧν οὔτε φωνὰς οὔτε διαίταν καὶ βίους σύγκλυδας ἀναταραχθέντας ἐκ τοσαύτης διαφωνίας πολλὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ

[3] But the admixtures of the barbarians with the Romans, by which the city forgot many of its ancient institutions, happened at a later time. And it may well seem a cause of wonder to many who reflect on the natural course of events that Rome did not become entirely barbarized after receiving the Opicans, the Marsians, the Samnites, the Tyrrhenians, the Bruttians and many thousands of Umbrians, Ligurians, Iberians and Gauls, besides innumerable other nations, some of whom came from Italy itself and some from other regions and differed from one another both in their language and habits; for their very ways of life, diverse as they were and thrown into turmoil by such dissonance, might have been expected to cause many innovations in the ancient order of the city.

[4] κόσμου τῆς πόλεως νεοχμῶσαι εἰκὸς ἦν: ἐπεὶ ἄλλοι γε συχνοὶ ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκοῦντες ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπέμαθον, ὥς μήτε φωνὴν Ἑλλάδα φθέγγεσθαι μήτε %ἑπιτηδεύμασιν Ἑλλήνων [p. 151] χρῆσθαι, μήτε θεοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζειν, μήτε νόμους τοὺς ἐπικεῖς, ᾧ μάλιστα διαλλάσσει φύσις Ἑλλὰς βαρβάρου, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων συμβολαίων μηδ' ὅτιοῦν. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ὡς ἀληθῆ

εἶναι Ἀχαιῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πόντον ὥκημένοι τεκμηριῶσαι, Ἑλείων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικωτάτου γενόμενοι, βαρβάρων δὲ συμπάντων τῶν νῦν ὄντες ἀγριώτατοι.

[4] For many others by living among barbarians have in a short time forgotten all their Greek heritage, so that they neither speak the Greek language nor observe the customs of the Greeks nor acknowledge the same gods nor have the same equitable laws (by which most of all the spirit of the Greeks differs from that of the barbarians) nor agree with them in anything else whatever that relates to the ordinary intercourse of life. Those Achaeans who are settled near the Euxine sea are a sufficient proof of my contention; for, though originally Eleans, of a nation the most Greek of any, they are now the most savage of all barbarians.

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ φωνὴν μὲν οὐτ' ἄκρως βάρβαρον οὐτ' ἀπηρτισμένως Ἑλλάδα φθέγγονται, μικτὴν δὲ τινα ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἡ πλείων Αἰολίς, τοῦτο μόνον ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιμιξιῶν, τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις ὀρθοεπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅποσα γένους Ἑλληνικοῦ μηνύματ' ἐστὶν ὡς οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν ἀποικισάντων διασώζοντες, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι πρὸς φιλίαν ζῆν, ἡνίκα τὴν τύχην πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ῥέουσαν διδάσκαλον ἔχουσι τῶν καλῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον ὠρέχθησαν τῆς διαποντίου τὴν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς οὗ συνωκίσθησαν χρόνου βίον Ἑλληνα ζῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ἐπιτηδεύοντες πρὸς ἀρετὴν νῦν ἢ πρότερον.

[90.1] The language spoken by the Romans is neither utterly barbarous nor absolutely Greek, but a mixture, as it were, of both, the greater part of which is Aeolic; and the only disadvantage they have experienced from their intermingling with these various nations is that they do not pronounce all their sounds properly. But all other indications of a Greek origin they preserve beyond any other colonists. For it is not merely recently, since they have enjoyed the full tide of good fortune to instruct them in the amenities of life, that they have begun to live humanely; nor is it merely since they first aimed at the conquest of countries lying beyond the sea, after overthrowing the Carthaginian and Macedonian empires, but rather from the time when they first joined in founding the city, that they have lived like Greeks; and they do not attempt anything more illustrious in the pursuit of virtue now than formerly.

[2] μυρία δ' εἰς τοῦτο λέγειν [p. 152] ἔχων καὶ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος ἀνδρῶν τε μαρτυρίας φέρειν οὐκ ἀξίων ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ἀναβάλλομαι ταῦτα εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν συγγραφησόμενον λόγον. νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξῆς διήγησιν τρέφομαι τὴν ἀνακεφαλαιώσιν τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δεδηλωμένων τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἐχομένης γραφῆς ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν.

[2] I have innumerable things to say upon this subject and can adduce many arguments and present the testimony of credible authors; but I reserve all this for the account I purpose to write of their government. I shall now resume the thread of my narrative, after prefacing to the following Book a recapitulation of what is contained in this.

[1] ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἴδρυται μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ ποταμὸν Τέβεριν, ὃς κατὰ μέσην μάλιστα τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀπέχουσα τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάττης ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους. οἱ δὲ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν πρῶτοι τῶν μνημονευομένων βάρβαροί τινες ἦσαν αὐτόχθονες Σικελοὶ λεγόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρία κατασχόντες, ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγα διέμεινεν οὐδ' ἀφανῆ μνημεῖα μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τόπων τινῶν ὀνόματα Σικελικὰ λεγόμενα, μνηνύοντα τὴν πάλαι ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐνοίκησιν.

[1.1] The city of Rome is situated in the western part of Italy near the river Tiber, which empties into the Tyrrhenian sea about midway along the coast; from the sea the city is distant one hundred and twenty stades. Its first known occupants were certain barbarians, natives of the country, called Sicels, who also occupied many other parts of Italy and of whom not a few distinct memorials are left even to our times; among other things there are even some names of places said to be Sicel names, which show that this people formerly dwelt in the land.

[2] τοὺτους ἐκβαλόντες Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτοὶ κατέσχον τὸν τόπον Οἰνώτρων ὄντες ἀπόγονοι τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι Ποσειδωνίας παράλιον. ἱερά τις αὕτη νεότης καθοσιωθεῖσα θεοῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἀποσταλῆναι λέγεται χώραν οἰκήσουσα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσι [p. 154] δοθησομένην. τὸ δὲ τῶν Οἰνώτρων γένος Ἀρκαδικὸν ἦν ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν καλουμένης Λυκαονίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀρκαδίας, ἐκουσίως ἐξελθὼν ἐπὶ γῆς κτῆσιν ἀμείνονος ἡγουμένου τῆς ἀποικίας Οἰνώτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος,

[2] They were driven out by the Aborigines, who occupied the place in their turn; these were descendants of the Oenotrians who inhabited the seacoast from Tarentum to Posidonia. They were a band of holy youths consecrated to the gods according to their local custom and sent out by their parents, it is said, to inhabit the country which Heaven should give them. The Oenotrians were an Arcadian tribe who had of their own accord left the country then called Lycaonia and now Arcadia, in search of a better land, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, from whom the nation received its name.

[3] ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπικλησιν τὸ ἔθνος ἔλαβεν. Ἀβοριγίνων δὲ κατεχόντων τὰ χωρία πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτοῖς γίνονται σύνοικοι Πελασγοὶ πλάνητες ἐκ τῆς τότε μὲν καλουμένης Αἰμονίας, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίας, ἐν ᾗ χρόνον τινὰ ὤκησαν: μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς Ἀρκάδες ἐκ Παλλαντίου πόλεως ἐξελθόντες Εὐάνδρον ἡγεμόνα ποιησάμενοι τῆς ἀποικίας Ἑρμοῦ καὶ νύμφης Θέμιδος υἱόν, οἱ πρὸς ἐνὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ λόφων πολιζονται ὃς ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα κεῖται τῆς

Ῥώμης, Παλλάντιον ὀνομάσαντες τὸ χωρίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πατρίδος.

[3] While the Aborigines occupied this region the first who joined with them in their settlement were the Pelasgians, a wandering people who came from the country then called Haemonia and now Thessaly, where they had lived for some time. After the Pelasgians came the Arcadians from the city of Pallantium, who had chosen as leader of their colony Evander, the son of Hermes and the nymph Themis. These built a town beside one of the seven hills that stands near the middle of Rome, calling the place Pallantium, from their mother-city in Arcadia.

[4] χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἡρακλέους καταχθέντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὅτε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξ Ἐρυθείας οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε, μοῖρ' αὖ τις ὑπολειφθεῖσα τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως Ἑλληνικὴ πλησίον ἰδρύεται τοῦ Παλλαντίου, πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τῶν ἐμπεπολισμένων τῇ πόλει λόφων, ὅς τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Σατόρνιος ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ Καπιτωλῖνος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· Ἐπειοὶ οἱ πλείους τούτων ἦσαν ἐκ πόλεως Ἥλιδος ἐξαναστάντες διαπεπορημένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους. [p. 155]

[4] Not long afterwards, when Hercules came into Italy on his return home with his army from Erytheia, a certain part of his force, consisting of Greeks, remained behind be settled near Pallantium, beside another of the hills that are now inclosed within the city. This was then called by the inhabitants Saturnian hill, but is now called the Capitoline hill by the Romans. The greater part of these men were Epeans who had abandoned their city in Elis after their country had been laid waste by Hercules.

[1] γενεᾷ δ' ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ μετὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον Ἀλβανοὶ συνοικίζουσιν ἄμφω τὰ χωρία ταῦτα τείχει περιλαβόντες καὶ τάφρῳ. τέως δὲ ἦν αὐλία βουφορβίων τε καὶ ποιμνίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταγωγῶν βοτῆρων ἄφθονον ἀναδιδούσης πόαν τῆς αὐτόθι γῆς οὐ μόνον τὴν χειμερινήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θερινόμον διὰ τοὺς ἀναφύχοντάς τε καὶ κατάρδοντας αὐτὴν ποταμοὺς.

[2.1] In the sixteenth generation after the Trojan war the Albans united both these places into one settlement, surrounding them with a wall and a ditch. For until then there were only folds for cattle and sheep and quarters of the other herdsmen, as the land round about yielded plenty of grass, not only for winter but also for summer pasture, by reason of the rivers that refresh and water it.

[2] γένος δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν μικτὸν ἦν ἔκ τε Πελασγῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἐπειῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἐλθόντων, τελευταίων δὲ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἀφικομένων εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρώων, οὓς ἦγεν Αἰνείας ὁ Ἀγχίσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. εἰκὸς δὲ τι καὶ βαρβαρικὸν ἐκ τῶν προσοίκων ἢ παλαιῶν οἰκητόρων ὑπολιπὲς τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ συγκαταμιγῆναι. ὄνομα δὲ κοινὸν οἱ σύμπαντες οὗτοι Λατῖνοι ἐκλήθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς δυναστεύσαντος τῶν τόπων

Λατίνου τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαιρεθέντες.

[2] The Albans were a mixed nation composed of Pelasgians, of Arcadians, of the Epeans who came from Elis, and, last of all, of the Trojans who came into Italy with Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Aphroditê, after the taking of Troy. It is probable that a barbarian element also from among the neighbouring peoples or a remnant of the ancient inhabitants of the place was mixed with the Greek. But all these people, having lost their tribal designations, came to be called by one common name, Latins, after Latinus, who had been king of this country.

[3] ἔτειχίσθη μὲν ζοῦν ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος. οἱ δὲ ἀγαγόντες τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ἦσαν: Ῥωμύλος αὐτῶν ὄνομα θατέρῳ, [p. 156] τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ Ῥῶμος: τὰ μητρόθεν μὲν ἀπ' Αἰνείου τε καὶ Δαρδανίδαι, πατρός δὲ ἀκριβείαν μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου φύντες, πεπίστευνται δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Ἄρεος υἱοὶ γενέσθαι.

[3] The walled city, then, was built by these tribes in the four hundred and thirty-second year after the taking of Troy, and in the seventh Olympiad. The leaders of the colony were twin brothers of the royal family, Romulus being the name of one and Remus of the other. On the mother's side they were descended from Aeneas and were Dardanidae; it is hard to say with certainty who their father was, but the Romans believe them to have been the sons of Mars.

[4] οὐ μέντοι διέμεινάν γε ἀμφοτέροι τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς στασιάσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περιλειφθεὶς αὐτῶν Ῥωμύλος ἀπολομένου θατέρου κατὰ τὴν μάχην οἰκιστὴς γίνεται τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτῇ τῆς ἰδίας κλήσεως ἐπώνυμον τίθεται. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν μετασχόντων αὐτῷ τῆς ἀποικίας ἀπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐξαποσταλέντος ὀλίγος ἦν ὁ καταλειφθεὶς, τρισχίλιοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς τριακόσιοι.

[4] However, they did not both continue to be leaders of the colony, since they quarrelled over the command; but after one of them had been slain in the battle that ensued, Romulus, who survived, became the founder of the city and called it after his own name. The great numbers of which the colony had originally consisted when sent out with him were now reduced to a few, the survivors amounting to three thousand foot and three hundred horse.

[1] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ τε τάφρος αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τέλος εἶχεν αἱ τε οἰκῆσεις τὰς ἀναγκαίους κατασκευὰς ἀπειλήφεσαν, ἀπῆται δ' ὁ καιρὸς καὶ περὶ κόσμου πολιτείας ᾧ χρῆσονται σκοπεῖν, ἀγορὰν ποιησάμενος αὐτῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ὑποθεμένου τοῦ μητροπάτορος καὶ διδάξαντος ἃ χρὴ λέγειν, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔφη ταῖς τε δημοσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις κατασκευαῖς ὡς νεόκτιστον

ἀποχρῶντως κεκοσμηῖσθαι: ἡξίου δ' ἐνθυμεῖσθαι πάντας ὡς οὐ ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

[3.1] When, therefore, the ditch was finished, the rampart completed and the necessary work on the houses done, and the situation required that they should consider also what form of government they were going to have, Romulus called an assembly of the people by the advice of his grandfather, who had instructed him what to say, and told them that the city, considering that it was newly built, was sufficiently adorned both with public and private buildings; but he asked them all to bear in mind that these were not the most valuable things in cities.

[2] οὐτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις τὰς βαθείας τάφρους καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐρύματα ἱκανὰ εἶναι τοῖς ἔνδον ἀπράγμονα σωτηρίας ὑπόληψιν παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τι μόνον ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸ μηθὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κακὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν παθεῖν προκαταληφθέντας, οὐθ' ὅταν ἐμφύλιοι ταραχαὶ τὸ κοινὸν κατάσχωσι, [p. 157] τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων καὶ ἐνδιατημάτων τὰς καταφυγὰς ὑπάρχειν τινὶ ἀκινδύνους.

[2] For neither in foreign wars, he said, are deep ditches and high ramparts sufficient to give the inhabitants an undisturbed assurance of their safety, but guarantee one thing only, namely, that they shall suffer no harm through being surprised by an incursion of the enemy; nor, again, when civil commotions afflict the State, do private houses and dwellings afford anyone a safe retreat.

[3] σχολῆς γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ταῦτα καὶ ῥαστώνης βίων εὐρῆσθαι παραμύθια, μεθ' ὧν οὐτε τὸ ἐπιβουλεῦον τῶν πέλας κωλύεσθαι μὴ οὐ πονηρὸν εἶναι οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ἀκινδύνῳ βεβηκέναι θαρρεῖν τὸ ἐπιβουλεuόμενον, πόλιν τε οὐδεμίαν πω τοῦτοις ἐκλαμπρυνθεῖσαν ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐδαίμονα γενέσθαι καὶ μεγάλην, οὐδ' αὖ παρὰ τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν τινὰ κατασκευῆς ἰδίας τε καὶ δημοσίας πολυτελοῦς κεκωλύσθαι μεγάλην γενέσθαι καὶ εὐδαίμονα: ἀλλ' ἕτερα εἶναι τὰ σώζοντα καὶ ποιοῦντα μεγάλας ἐκ μικρῶν τὰς πόλεις:

[3] For these have been contrived by men for the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity in their lives, and with them neither those of their neighbours who plot against them are prevented from doing mischief nor do those who are plotted against feel any confidence that they are free from danger; and no city that has gained splendour from these adornments only has ever yet become prosperous and great for a long period, nor, again, has any city from a want of magnificence either in public or in private buildings ever been hindered from becoming great and prosperous. But it is other things that preserve cities and make them great from small beginnings:

[4] ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις τὸ διὰ τῶν ὀπλων κράτος, τοῦτο δὲ τόλμη παραγίνεσθαι καὶ μελέτῃ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις ταραχαῖς τὴν τῶν πολιτευομένων ὁμοφροσύνην, ταύτην δὲ τὸν σῶφρονα καὶ δίκαιον ἐκάστου

βιον ἀπέφηνεν ἱκανώτατον ὄντα τῷ κοινῷ παρασχεῖν.

[4] in foreign wars, strength in arms, which is acquired by courage and exercise; and in civil commotions, unanimity among the citizens, and this, he showed, could be most effectually achieved for the commonwealth by the prudent and just life of each citizen.

[5] τοὺς δὴ τὰ πολέμια τε ἀσκοῦντας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατοῦντας ἄριστα κοσμεῖν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας τείχη τε ἀνάλωτα τῷ κοινῷ καὶ καταγωγὰς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν βίοις ἀσφαλεῖς τούτους εἶναι τοὺς παρασκευαζομένους: μαχητὰς δέ γε καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύοντας τὸ τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα ποιεῖν τοῖς φρονίμως αὐτὸ καταστησάμενοις, μαλθακοὺς τε αὖ καὶ πλεονέκτας καὶ δούλους αἰσχροῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τὰ πονηρὰ [p. 158]

[5] Those who practise warlike exercises and at the same time are masters of their passions are the greatest ornaments to their country, and these are the men who provide both the commonwealth with impregnable walls and themselves in their private lives with safe refuges; but men of bravery, justice and the other virtues are the result of the form of government when this has been established wisely, and, on the other hand, men who are cowardly, rapacious and the slaves of base passions are the product of evil institutions.

[6] ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπιτελεῖν. Ἔφη τε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διὰ πολλῆς ἱστορίας ἐληλυθότων ἀκοῦειν, ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἀποικία μεγάλα καὶ εἰς εὐδαίμονας ἀφικόμεναι τόπους, αἱ μὲν αὐτίκα διεφθάρησαν εἰς στάσεις ἐμπεσοῦσαι, αἱ δ' ὀλίγον ἀντισχοῦσαι χρόνον ὑπῆκοοι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἠναγκάσθησαν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ κρείττονος χώρας, ἣν κατέσχον, τὴν χειρόνα τύχην διαλλάξασθαι δοῦλαι ἐξ ἐλευθέρων γεγόμεναι: ἕτεραι δ' ὀλιγάνθρωποι καὶ εἰς χωρία οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖα παραγενόμεναι ἐλεύθεροι μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ἑτέρων ἄρχουσαι διετέλεσαν: καὶ οὔτε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις τῶν ὀλίγων οὔτε ταῖς δυστυχίαις τῶν πολλῶν ἕτερόν τι ἢ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα ὑπάρχειν αἴτιον.

[6] He added that he was informed by men who were older and had wide acquaintance with history that of many large colonies planted in fruitful regions some had been immediately destroyed by falling into seditions, and others, after holding out for a short time, had been forced to become subject to their neighbours and to exchange their more fruitful country for a worse fortune, becoming slaves instead of free men; while others, few in numbers and settling in places that were by no means desirable, had continued, in the first place, to be free themselves, and, in the second place, to command others; and neither the successes of the smaller colonies nor the misfortunes of those that were large were due to any other cause than their form of government.

[7] εἰ μὲν οὖν μία τις ἦν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις βίου τάξις ἢ ποιοῦσα

εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις, οὐ χαλεπὴν ἂν γενέσθαι σφίσι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῆς: νῦν δ' ἔφη πολλὰς πυνθάνεσθαι τὰς κατασκευὰς παρ' Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροις ὑπαρχούσας, τρεῖς δ' ἐξ ἁπασῶν ἐπαινουμένας μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμένων ἀκούειν, καὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰλικρινῇ, προσεῖναι δὲ τινὰς ἐκάστη κῆρας συμφύτους, ὥστε χαλεπὴν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν. ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς βουλευσαμένους ἐπὶ σχολῆς εἰπεῖν εἴτε ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἄρχεσθαι θέλουσιν ἀνδρὸς εἴτε ὑπ' ὀλίγων εἴτε νόμους καταστησάμενοι πᾶσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τῶν κοινῶν προστασίαν.

[7] If, therefore, there had been but one mode of life among all mankind which made cities prosperous, the choosing of it would not have been difficult for them; but, as it was, he understood there were many types of government among both the Greeks and barbarians, and out of all of them he heard three especially commended by those who had lived under them, and of these systems none was perfect, but each had some fatal defects inherent in it, so that the choice among them was difficult. He therefore asked them to deliberate at leisure and say whether they would be governed by one man or by a few, or whether they would establish laws and entrust the protection of the public interests to the whole body of the people.

[8] Ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν, ἔφη, πρὸς ἣν ἂν καταστήσῃσθε πολιτείαν εὐτρεπῆς καὶ οὔτε ἄρχειν ἀπαξιῶ [p. 159] οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἀναίνομαι. τιμῶν δέ, ἅς μοι προσεθήκατε ἡγεμόνα με πρῶτον ἀποδείξαντες τῆς ἀποικίας, ἔπειτα καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ θέντες, ἅλις ἔχω. ταύτας γὰρ οὔτε πόλεμος ὑπερόριος οὔτε στάσις ἐμφύλιος οὔτε ὁ πάντα μαραίνων τὰ καλὰ χρόνος ἀφαιρήσεται με οὔτε ἄλλη τύχη παλὶγκοτος οὐδεμία: ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντι καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκλιπόντι τούτων ὑπάρξει μοι τῶν τιμῶν παρὰ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν αἰῶνα τυγχάνειν.

[8] “And whichever form of government you establish,” he said, “I am ready to comply with your desire, for I neither consider myself unworthy to command nor refuse to obey. So far as honours are concerned, I am satisfied with those you have conferred on me, first, by appointing me leader of the colony, and, again, by giving my name to the city. For of these neither a foreign war nor civil dissension nor time, that destroyer of all that is excellent, nor any other stroke of hostile fortune can deprive me; but both in life and in death these honours will be mine to enjoy for all time to come.”

[1] τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ μητροπάτορος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἔλεξεν. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνονται τοιαῦτα: ἡμεῖς πολιτείας μὲν καινῆς οὐδὲν δεόμεθα, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων δοκιμασθεῖσαν εἶναι κρατίστην παραλαβόντες οὐ μετατιθέμεθα γνώμῃ τε ἐπόμενοι τῶν παλαιότερων, οὐς ἀπὸ μείζονος οἰόμεθα φρονήσεως αὐτὴν καταστήσασθαι, καὶ τύχῃ ἄρεσκόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ τήνδε μεμψαίμεθ' ἂν εἰκότως, ἢ παρέσχεν ἡμῖν βασιλευσόμενοις τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχήν.

[4] Such was the speech that Romulus, following the instructions of his grandfather, as I have said, made to the people. And they, having consulted together by themselves, returned this answer: “We have no need of a new form of government and we are not going to change the one which our ancestors approved of as the best and handed down to us. In this we show both a deference for the judgment of our elders, whose superior wisdom we recognize in establishing it, and our own satisfaction with our present condition. For we could not reasonably complain of this form of government, which has afforded us under our kings the greatest of human blessings — liberty and the rule over others.

[2] περὶ μὲν δὴ πολιτείας ταῦτα ἐγνώκαμεν: τὴν δὲ τιμὴν ταύτην οὐχ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ σοὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τοῦ τε βασιλείου γένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα δ’ ὅτι τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνι κεκρήμεθά σοι καὶ πολλὴν συνίσμεν δεινότητα, πολλὴν δὲ σοφίαν, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργῳ μαθόντες. ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀκούσας ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ἔφη [p. 160] βασιλείας ἄξιος ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων κριθείς: οὐ μέντοι γε λήψεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν πρότερον, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθεσπίσῃ δι’ οἰωνῶν αἰσίων.

[2] Concerning the form of government, then, this is our decision; and to this honour we conceive none has so good a title as you yourself by reason both of your royal birth and of your merit, but above all because we have had you as the leader of our colony and recognize in you great ability and great wisdom, which we have seen displayed quite as much in your actions as in your words.” Romulus, hearing this, said it was a great satisfaction to him to be judged worthy of the kingly office by his fellow men, but that he would not accept the honour until Heaven, too, had given its sanction by favourable omens.

[1] ὥς δὲ κάκεινοις ἦν βουλευμένοις προειπῶν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ διαμαντεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔμελλεν, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος ἀναστὰς περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς προῆλθεν: στὰς δὲ ὑπαίθριος ἐν καθαρῷ χωρίῳ καὶ προθύσας ἃ νόμος ἦν εὔχετο Διὶ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οὓς ἐποίησατο τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνας, εἰ βουλευμένοις αὐτοῖς ἔστι βασιλεύεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, σημεῖα οὐράνια φανῆναι καλὰ.

[5.1] And when the people approved, he appointed a day on which he proposed to consult the auspices concerning the sovereignty; and when the time was come, he rose at break of day and went forth from his tent. Then, taking his stand under the open sky in a clear space and first offering the customary sacrifice, he prayed to King Jupiter and to the other gods whom he had chosen for the patrons of the colony, that, if it was their pleasure he should be king of the city, some favourable signs might appear in the sky.

[2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἀστραπὴ διῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ. τίθενται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἀστραπὰς αἰσίους,

εἴτε παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν διδασκόμενοι, εἴτε πατέρων καθηγησαμένων κατὰ τοιόνδε: τινά, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, λογισμὸν, ὅτι καθέδρα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ στάσις ἀρίστη τῶν οἰωνοῖς μαντευομένων ἢ βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ὅθεν ἡλίου τε ἀναφοραὶ γίνονται καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν, ἢ τε τοῦ κόσμου περιφορά, δι' ἣν τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεται, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἀποδίδωσι κίνησιν.

[2] After this prayer a flash of lightning darted across the sky from the left to the right. Now the Romans look upon the lightning that passes from the left to the right as a favourable omen, having been thus instructed either by the Tyrrhenians or by their own ancestors. Their reason is, in my opinion, that the best seat and station for those who take the auspices is that which looks toward the east, from whence both the sun and the moon rise as well as the planets and fixed stars; and the revolution of the firmament, by which all things contained in it are sometimes above the earth and sometimes beneath it, begins its circular motion thence.

[3] τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολάς βλέπουσιν ἀριστερὰ μὲν γίνεται τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέφοντα μέρη, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν φέροντα: τιμώτερα δὲ τὰ πρότερα πέφυκεν [p. 161] εἶναι τῶν ὑστέρων. μετεωρίζεται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν βορείων μερῶν ὁ τοῦ ἄξονος πόλος, περὶ ὃν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου στροφή γίνεται, καὶ τῶν πέντε κύκλων τῶν διεζωκότων τὴν σφαῖραν ὁ καλούμενος ἀρκτικός ἀεὶ τῇδε φανερός: ταπεινοῦται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νοτίων ὁ καλούμενος ἀνταρκτικός κύκλος ἀφανὴς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος.

[3] Now to those who look toward the east the parts facing toward the north are on the left and those extending toward the south are on the right, and the former are by nature more honourable than the latter. For in the northern parts the pole of the axis upon which the firmament turns is elevated, and of the five zones which girdle the sphere the one called the arctic zone is always visible on this side; whereas in the southern parts the other zone, called the antarctic, is depressed and invisible on that side.

[4] εἰκὸς δὴ κράτιστα τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ μεταρσίων σημείων ὑπάρχειν, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ κρατίστου γίνεται μέρους, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐστραμμένα πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς ἡγεμονικωτέραν μοῖραν ἔχει τῶν προσεσπερίων, αὐτῶν δὲ γε τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ὑψηλότερα τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων, ταῦτα ἂν εἴη κράτιστα.

[4] So it is reasonable to assume that those signs in the heavens and in mid-air are the best which appear on the best side; and since the parts that are turned toward the east have preëminence over the western parts, and, of the eastern parts themselves, the northern are higher than the southern, the former would seem to be the best.

[5] ὡς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ πρὶν ἢ παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν μαθεῖν

τοῖς Ῥωμαίων προγόνους αἴσιοι ἐνομιζόντο αἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστραπαί. Ἀσκανίῳ γάρ τῳ ἐξ Αἰνείου γεγονότι, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπὸ Τυρρηγῶν, οὓς ἦγε βασιλεὺς Μεσέντιος, ἐπολεμεῖτο καὶ τειχέρης ἦν, περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἔξοδον, ἣν ἀπεγνωκῶς ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι, μετ' ὀλοφυρμοῦ τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αἰτουμένῳ θεοὺς αἶσια σημεῖα δοῦναι τῆς ἐξόδου φασὶν αἰθρίας οὕσης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράψαι τὸν οὐρανόν. τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος ἐκείνου λαβόντος τὸ κράτιστον τέλος διαμεῖναι παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενον αἴσιον τόδε τὸ σημεῖον.

[5] But some relate that the ancestors of the Romans from very early times, even before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning that came from the left as a favourable omen. For they say that when Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, was warred upon and besieged by the Tyrrhenians led by their king Mezentius, and was upon the point of making a final sally out of the town, his situation being now desperate, he prayed with lamentations to Jupiter and to the rest of the gods to encourage this sally with favourable omens, and thereupon out of a clear sky there appeared a flash of lightning coming from the left; and as this battle had the happiest outcome, this sign continued to be regarded as favourable by his posterity.

[1] τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου βέβαια προσέλαβε, συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον [p. 162] εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ μαντεῖα δηλώσας βασιλεὺς ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ κατεστήσατο ἐν ἔθει τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι μῆτε βασιλείας μῆτε ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεσπίση, διέμεινέ τε μέχρι πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ περὶ τοὺς οἰωνισμοὺς νόμιμον, οὐ μόνον βασιλευομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κατάλυσιν τῶν μονάρχων ἐν ὑπάτων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν

[6.1] When Romulus, therefore, upon the occasion mentioned had received the sanction of Heaven also, he called the people together in assembly; and having given them an account of these omens, he was chosen king by them and established it as a custom, to be observed by all his successors, that none of them should accept the office of king or any other magistracy until Heaven, too, had given its sanction. And this custom relating to the auspices long continued to be observed by the Romans, not only while the city was ruled by kings, but also, after the overthrow of the monarchy, in the elections of their consuls, praetors and other legal magistrates;

[2] ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ νόμους ἀρχόντων αἵρέσει. πέπανται δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πλὴν οἷον εἰκὼν τις αὐτοῦ λείπεται τῆς ὁσίας αὐτῆς ἕνεκα γινομένη. ἐπαυλίζονται μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς μέλλοντες λαμβάνειν καὶ περὶ τὸν ὀρθρον ἀνιστάμενοι ποιοῦνται τινὰς εὐχὰς ὑπαίθριοι, τῶν δὲ παρόντων τινὲς ὀρنيθοσκόπων μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φερόμενοι ἀστραπὴν αὐτοῖς μηνύειν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν φασιν τὴν οὐ

[2] but it has fallen into disuse in our days except as a certain semblance of it

remains merely for form's sake. For those who are about to assume the magistracies pass the night out of doors, and rising at break of day, offer certain prayers under the open sky; whereupon some of the augurs present, who are paid by the State, declare that a flash of lightning coming from the left has given them a sign, although there really has not been any.

[3] γενομένην. οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς οἰωνὸν λαβόντες ἀπέρχονται τὰς ἀρχὰς παραληψόμενοι οἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι τὸ μηδένα γενέσθαι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τε καὶ κωλύοντων οἰωνῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ θεοῦ κωλύοντος, ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε βιαζόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀρπάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνοντες.

[3] And the others, taking their omen from this report, depart in order to take over their magistracies, some of them assuming this alone to be sufficient, that no omens have appeared opposing or forbidding their intended action, others acting even in opposition to the will of the god; indeed, there are times when they resort to violence and rather seize than receive the magistracies.

[4] δι' οὓς πολλὰ μὲν ἐν γῇ στρατιὰ [p. 163] Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο πανώλεθροι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν θαλάττῃ στόλοι διεφθάρησαν αὐτανδροί, ἄλλαι τε μεγάλαι καὶ δεινὰ περιπέτεια τῇ πόλει συνέπεσον αἱ μὲν ἐν ὀθνείοις πολέμοις, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐμφυλίου διχοστασίας, ἐμφανεστάτη δὲ καὶ μεγίστη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτε Λικίνιος Κράσος ἀνὴρ οὐδενὸς δεῦτερος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Πάρθων ἔθνος, ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ δαιμονίου πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς ἀποτρέπουσι τὴν ἔξοδον οἰωνοῖς μυρίοις ὅσοις γενομένοις. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ δαιμόνιον ὀλιγωρίας, ἣ χρῶνται τινες ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πολὺ ἔργον ἂν εἴη λέγειν.

[4] Because of such men many armies of the Romans have been utterly destroyed on land, many fleets have been lost with all their people at sea, and other great and dreadful reverses have befallen the commonwealth, some in foreign wars and others in civil dissensions. But the most remarkable and the greatest instance happened in my time when Licinius Crassus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army against the Parthian nation contrary to the will of Heaven and in contempt of the innumerable omens that opposed his expedition. But to tell about the contempt of the divine power that prevails among some people in these days would be a long story.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἀποδειχθεὶς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεὺς τὰ τε πολέμια δεινὸς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος ὡμολόγηται γενέσθαι καὶ πολιτείαν ἐξηγήσασθαι τὴν κρατίστην φρονιμώτατος. διέξιμι δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς κατὰ πολέμους, ὧν καὶ λόγον ἂν τις ἐν ἱστορίας ἀφηγήσει ποιήσαιτο.

[7.1] Romulus, who was thus chosen king by both men and gods, is allowed to

have been a man of great military ability and personal bravery and of the greatest sagacity in instituting the best kind of government. I shall relate such of his political and military achievements as may be thought worthy of mention in a history;

[2] ἔρῳ δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων ἡγοῦμαι πολιτικῶν κόσμων αὐταρκέστατον ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους. ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε: τριχῇ νείμας τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν ἐκάστη τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα. ἔπειτα τῶν τριῶν πάλιν μοιρῶν ἐκάστην εἰς δέκα μοίρας διελών, ἴσους ἡγεμόνας καὶ τούτων ἀπέδειξε [p. 164] τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους: ἐκάλει δὲ τὰς μὲν μείζους μοίρας τριβους, τὰς δ' ἐλάττους κουρίας, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἔτι προσαγορεύονται.

[2] and first I shall speak of the form of government that he instituted, which I regard as the most self-sufficient of all political systems both for peace and for war. This was the plan of it: He divided all the people into three groups, and set over each as leader its most distinguished man. Then he subdivided each of these three groups into ten others, and appointed as many of the bravest men to be the leaders of these also. The larger divisions he called tribes and the smaller curiae, as they are still termed even in our day.

[3] εἴη δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα μεθερμηνευόμενα φυλὴ μὲν καὶ τριττὺς ἢ τριβους, φράτρα δὲ καὶ λόχος ἢ κουρία, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς τῶν τριβων ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες φύλαρχοι τε καὶ τριττῦαρχοι, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τριβούνους: οἱ δὲ ταῖς κουρίαις ἐφεστηκότες καὶ φρατρίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κουρίωνας ὀνομάζουσι.

[3] These names may be translated into Greek as follows: a tribe by phylê and trittys, and a curia by phratra and lochos; the commanders of the tribes, whom the Romans call tribunes, by phylarchoi and trittyarchoi; and the commanders of the curiae, whom they call curiones, by phratriarchoi and lochagoi.

[4] διήρηντο δὲ καὶ εἰς δεκάδας αἱ φράτραι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐκάστην ἐκόσμει δεκάδα, δεκουρίων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλώτταν προσαγορευόμενος. ὡς δὲ διεκρίθησαν ἅπαντες καὶ συνετάχθησαν εἰς φυλάς καὶ φράτρας, διελών τὴν γῆν εἰς τριάκοντα κλήρους ἴσους ἐκάστη φράτρᾳ κλῆρον ἀπέδωκεν ἓνα, ἐξελών τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ τινα καὶ τῷ κοινῷ γῆν καταλιπών. μία μὲν αὕτη διαίρεσις ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἡ περιέχουσα τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μεγίστην ἰσότητα, τοιάδε τις ἦν.

[4] These curiae were again divided by him into ten parts, each commanded by its own leader, who was called decurio in the native language. The people being thus divided and assigned to tribes and curiae, he divided the land into thirty equal portions and assigned one of them to each curia, having first set apart as much of it as was sufficient for the support of the temples and shrines

and also reserved some part of the land for the use of the public. This was one division made by Romulus, both of the men and of the land, which involved the greatest equality for all alike.

[1] ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς διανέμουσα κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μέλλω διηγείσθαι. τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς κατὰ γένος καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένους καὶ χρήμασιν ὥς ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὐπόρους, οἷς ἤδη παῖδες ἦσαν, [p. 165] διώριζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσήμων καὶ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων. ἐκάλει δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ καταδεεστέρᾳ τύχῃ πληβείους, ὥς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν δημοτικούς· τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ κρείττονι πατέρας εἴτε διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῦειν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴθ' ὅτι παῖδες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ γένους, εἴτε διὰ πάντα ταῦτα· ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ὥς ἂν τις εἰκάσειε, τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἔτι διαμενούσης τὸ παράδειγμα λαβών.

[8.1] But there was another division again of the men only, which assigned kindly services and honours in accordance with merit, of which I am now going to give an account. He distinguished those who were eminent for their birth, approved for their virtue and wealthy for those times, provided they already had children, from the obscure, the lowly and the poor. Those of the lower rank he called “plebeians” (the Greek would call them *dēmotikoi* or “men of the people”), and those of the higher rank “fathers,” either because they had children or from their distinguished birth or for all these reasons. One may suspect that he found his model in the system of government which at that time still prevailed at Athens.

[2] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ εἰς δύο μέρη νείμαντες τὸ πλῆθος εὐπατριδας μὲν ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων καὶ χρήμασι δυνατούς, οἷς ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέκειτο προστασία, ἀγροίκους δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, οἱ τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἦσαν κύριοι· σὺν χρόνῳ

[2] For the Athenians had divided their population into two parts, the *eupatridai* or “well-born,” as they called those who were of the noble families and powerful by reason of their wealth, to whom the government of the city was committed, and the *agroikoi* or “husbandmen,” consisting of the rest of the citizens, who had no voice in public affairs, though in the course of time these, also, were admitted to the offices.

[3] δὲ καὶ οὗτοι προσελήφθησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ πιθανώτατα περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἱστοροῦντες διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας κληθῆναι φασὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους πατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν πατρικίους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον φθόνον ἀναφέροντες τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διαβάλλοντες εἰς δυσγένειαν τὴν πόλιν οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πατρικίους ἐκείνους κληθῆναι φασιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι πατέρας εἶχον ἀποδεῖξαι μόνοι, ὥς τῶν γε ἄλλων δραπετῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὀνομάσαι πατέρας ἐλευθέρους.

[3] Those who give the most probable account of the Roman government say it was for the reasons I have given that those men were called “fathers” and their posterity “patricians”; but others, considering the matter in the light of their own envy and desirous of casting reproach on the city for the ignoble birth of its founders, say they were not called patricians for the reasons just cited, but because these men only could point out their fathers, — as if all the rest were fugitives and unable to name free men as their fathers.

[4] τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου παρέχουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πατρικίους, ὅποτε δόξειε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συγκαλεῖν, οἱ κήρυκες ἐξ ὀνόματος τε καὶ πατρόθεν ἀνηγόρευον, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικοὺς ὑπηρεταί τινες ἀθρόους κέρασι βοείοις ἐμβυκανῶντες ἐπὶ τὰς [p. 166] ἐκκλησίας συνῆγον. ἔστι δὲ οὔτε ἡ τῶν κηρύκων ἀνάκλησις τῆς εὐγενείας τῶν πατρικίων τεκμήριον, οὔτε ἡ τῆς βυκάνης φωνὴ τῆς ἀγνωσίας τῶν δημοτικῶν σύμβολον, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνη μὲν τιμῆς, αὕτη δὲ τάχους. οὐ γὰρ οἴοντε ἦν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὴν πλῆθὺν καλεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος.

[4] As proof of this they cite the fact that, whenever the kings thought proper to assemble the patricians, the heralds called them both by their own names and by the names of their fathers, whereas public servants summoned the plebeians *en masse* to the assemblies by the sound of ox horns. But in reality neither the calling of the patricians by the heralds is any proof of their nobility nor is the sound of the horn any mark of the obscurity of the plebeians; but the former was an indication of honour and the latter of expedition, since it was not possible in a short time to call every one of the multitude by name.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπειδὴ διέκρινε τοὺς κρείττους ἀπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων, ἐνομοθέτει μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ διέταττεν, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἐκατέρους: τοὺς μὲν εὐπατρίδας ἱεραῖσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ δικάζειν καὶ μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔργων μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς τούτων μὲν ἀπολελεύσθαι τῶν πραγματειῶν ἀπείρους τε αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ δι’ ἀπορίαν χρημάτων ἀσχόλους, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ κτηνοτροφεῖν καὶ τὰς χρηματοποιοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἢ τῶν ἐν τέλει προπηλακίζοντων τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἢ τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀπόρων τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς φθονούντων.

[9.1] After Romulus had distinguished those of superior rank from their inferiors, he next established laws by which the duties of each were prescribed. The patricians were to be priests, magistrates and judges, and were to assist him in the management of public affairs, devoting themselves to the business of the city. The plebeians were excused from these duties, as being unacquainted with them and because of their small means wanting leisure to attend to them, but were to apply themselves to agriculture, the breeding of cattle and the exercise of gainful trades. This was to prevent them from engaging in seditions, as happens in other cities when either the magistrates mistreat the lowly, or the common people and the needy envy those in

authority.

[2] παρακαταθήκας δὲ ἔδωκε τοῖς πατρικίοις τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἐπιτρέψας ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, νέμειν προστάτην ἔθος Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον, ὃ Θερταλοὶ τε μέχρι πολλοῦ χρώμενοι διετέλεσαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω λαβῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπεροπτικῶς ἐχρῶντο τοῖς πελάταις ἔργα τε ἐπιτάττοντες οὐ προσήκοντα ἐλευθέροις, καὶ ὅποτε μὴ πράξειάν τι τῶν κελευομένων, πληγὰς ἐντείνοντες καὶ [p. 167] τᾶλλα ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις παραχρῶμενοι. ἐκάλουν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θήτας τοὺς πελάτας ἐπὶ τῆς λατρείας, Θερταλοὶ δὲ πενέστας ὀνειδίζοντες αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ κλήσει τὴν τύχην.

[2] He placed the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, by allowing every plebeian to choose for his patron any patrician whom he himself wished. In this he improved upon an ancient Greek custom that was in use among the Thessalians for a long time and among the Athenians in the beginning. For the former treated their clients with haughtiness, imposing on them duties unbecoming to free men; and whenever they disobeyed any of their commands, they beat them and misused them in all other respects as if had been slaves they had purchased. The Athenians called their clients *thêtes* or “hirelings,” because they served for hire, and the Thessalians called theirs *penestai* or “toilers,” by the very name reproaching them with their condition.

[3] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπικλήσει τε εὐπρεπεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκόσμησε πατρωνείαν ὀνομάσας τὴν τῶν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν προστασίαν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα χρηστὰ προσέθηκεν ἐκατέροις, καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ πολιτικὰς κατασκευαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὰς συζυγίας.

[3] But Romulus not only recommended the relationship by a handsome designation, calling this protection of the poor and lowly a “patronage,” but he also assigned friendly offices to both parties, thus making the connexion between them a bond of kindness befitting fellow citizens.

[1] ἦν δὲ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ὀρισθέντα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ παραμειναντα χρόνου Ῥωμαίοις ἔθι περὶ τὰς πατρωνείας τοιάδε: τοὺς μὲν πατρικίους ἔδει τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ὧν οὐκ εἶχον ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, παρόντων τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ παρόντων τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τρόπον ἅπαντα πράττοντας, ὅσα περὶ παιδῶν πράττουσι πατέρες, εἰς χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν περὶ χρήματα συμβολαίων λόγον: δίκας τε ὑπὲρ τῶν πελατῶν ἀδικουμένων λαγχάνειν, εἴ τις βλάπτοιτο περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια, καὶ τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὑπέχειν: ὥς δὲ ὀλίγα περὶ πολλῶν ἅν τις εἴποι πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων, ἧς μάλιστα ἐδέοντο, παρέχειν.

[10] The regulations which he then instituted concerning patronage and which long continued in use among the Romans were as follows: It was the duty of

the patricians to explain to their clients the laws, of which they were ignorant; to take the same care of them when absent as present, doing everything for them that fathers do for their sons with regard both to money and to the contracts that related to money; to bring suit on behalf of their clients when they were wronged in connexion with contracts, and to defend them against any who brought charges against them; and, to put the matter briefly, to secure for them both in private and in public affairs all that tranquillity of which they particularly stood in need.

[2] τοὺς δὲ πελάτας ἔδει τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προστάταις θυγατέρας τε συνεκδίδοσθαι γαμουμένας, εἰ σπανίζοιεν οἱ πατέρες χρημάτων, καὶ λύτρα καταβάλλειν πολεμίοις, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἢ παίδων αἰχμάλωτος γένοιτο: δίκας τε [p. 168] ἀλόντων ἰδίας ἢ ζημίας ὀφλόντων δημοσίας ἀργυρικὸν ἐχούσας τίμημα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λύεσθαι χρημάτων, οὐ δανείσματα ποιοῦντας, ἀλλὰ χάριτας: ἔν τε ἀρχαῖς καὶ γερηφορίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ δαπάναις τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ὡς τοὺς γένει προσήκοντας μετέχειν.

[2] It was the duty of the clients to assist their patrons in providing dowries for their daughters upon their marriage if the fathers had not sufficient means; to pay their ransom to the enemy if any of them or of their children were taken prisoner; to discharge out of their own purses their patrons' losses in private suits and the pecuniary fines which they were condemned to pay to the State, making these contributions to them not as loans but as thank-offerings; and to share with their patrons the costs incurred in their magistracies and dignities and other public expenditures, in the same manner as if they were their relations.

[3] κοινῇ δ' ἄμφοτέροις οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτε θέμις ἦν κατηγορεῖν ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ δίκαις ἢ καταμαρτυρεῖν ἢ ψῆφον ἐναντίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ τις ἐξελεγχθεῖη τούτων τι διαπραπτόμενος ἔνοχος ἦν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς προδοσίας, ὃν ἐκύρωσεν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, τὸν δὲ ἀλόντα τῷ βουλομένῳ κτείνειν ὅσιον ἦν ὡς θῦμα τοῦ καταχθονίου Διός. ἐν ἔθει γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοις, ὅσους ἐβούλοντο νηποινὶ τεθνάναι, τὰ τούτων σώματα θεῶν ὀτωδῆντι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς καταχθονίοις κατονομάζειν: ὃ καὶ τότε ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐποίησε.

[3] For both patrons and clients alike it was impious and unlawful to accuse each other in law-suits or to bear witness or to give their votes against each other or to be found in the number of each other's enemies; and whoever was convicted of doing any of these things was guilty of treason by virtue of the law sanctioned by Romulus, and might lawfully be put to death by any man who so wished as a victim devoted to the Jupiter of the infernal regions. For it was customary among the Romans, whenever they wished to put people to death without incurring any penalty, to devote their persons to some god or other, and particularly to the gods of the lower world; and this was the course what Romulus then adopted.

[4] τοιγάρτοι διέμειναν ἐν πολλαῖς γενεαῖς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαι συγγενικῶν ἀναγκαιοτήτων αἱ τῶν πελατῶν τε καὶ προστατῶν συζυγία παισὶ παίδων συνιστάμεναι, καὶ μέγας ἔπαινος ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων ὡς πλείστους πελάτας ἔχειν τὰς τε προγονικὰς φυλάττουσι διαδοχὰς τῶν πατρωνειῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς ἄλλας ἐπικτωμένοις, ὃ τε ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λειφθῆναι τῆς ἀλλήλων χάριτος ἔκτοπος ἡλικος ἀμφοτέροις ἦν τῶν μὲν πελατῶν ἅπαντα τοῖς προσταταῖς ἀξιούντων ὡς δυνάμεως [p. 169] εἶχον ὑπηρετεῖν, τῶν δὲ πατρικίων ἥκιστα βουλομένων τοῖς πελάταις ἐνοχλεῖν χρηματικὴν τε οὐδεμίαν δωρεὰν προσιεμένων: οὕτως ἐγκρατὴς ὁ βίος ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης ἡδονῆς καὶ τὸ μακαρίον ἀρετῇ μετρῶν, οὐ τύχη.

[4] Accordingly, the connexions between the clients and patrons continued for many generations, differing in no wise from the ties of blood-relationship and being handed down to their children's children. And it was a matter of great praise to men of illustrious families to have as many clients as possible and not only to preserve the succession of hereditary patronages but also by their own merit to acquire others. And it is incredible how great the contest of goodwill was between the patrons and clients, as each side strove not to be outdone by the other in kindness, the clients feeling that they should render all possible services to their patrons and the patrons wishing by all means not to occasion any trouble to their clients and accepting no gifts of money. So superior was their manner of life to all pleasure; for they measured their happiness by virtue, not by fortune.

[1] οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὸ δημοτικὸν ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πατρικίων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀποίκων αὐτῆς πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχία καὶ φιλίᾳ προσελθουσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ πολέμου κεκρατημένων ἐκάστη φύλακας εἶχε καὶ προστατάς οὓς ἐβούλετο Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολλάκις ἡ βουλή τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφισβητήματα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τοῦς προῖσταμένους αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλουσα, τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων δικασθέντα κύρια ἡγεῖτο.

[1] It was not only in the city itself that the plebeians were under the protection of the patricians, but every colony of Rome and every city that had joined in alliance and friendship with her and also every city conquered in war had such protectors and patrons among the Romans as they wished. And the senate has often referred the controversies of these cities and nations to their Roman patrons and regarded their decisions binding.

[2] οὕτω δὲ ἄρα βέβαιος ἦν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ὁμόνοια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασκευασθέντων λαβοῦσα ἐθνῶν, ὥστε οὐδέποτε δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνου τοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχώρησαν ἐντὸς ἑξακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀμφισβητημάτων γενομένων τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς ἐν ἀπάσαις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι μικραῖς τε καὶ μεγάλαις πόλεσιν:

[2] And indeed, so secure was the Romans' harmony, which owed its birth to the regulations of Romulus, that they never in the course of six hundred and thirty years proceeded to bloodshed and mutual slaughter, though many great controversies arose between the populace and their magistrates concerning public policy, as is apt to happen in all cities, whether large or small;

[3] ἀλλὰ πείθοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰκόντες, τὰ δὲ παρ' εἰκόντων λαμβάνοντες, πολιτικὰς ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλύσεις. ἐξ οὗ δὲ Γάιος Γράκχος ἐπὶ τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας γενόμενος διέφθειρε τὴν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἁρμονίαν, οὐκέτι πέπαινται σφάττοντες [p. 170] ἀλλήλους καὶ φυγάδας ἐλαύνοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀνηκέστων ἀπεχόμενοι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται τοῖς λόγοις καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος.

[3] but by persuading and informing one another, by yielding in some things and gaining other things from their opponents, who yielded in turn, they settled their disputes in a manner befitting fellow citizens. But from the time that Gaius Gracchus, while holding the tribunician power, destroyed the harmony of the government they have been perpetually slaying and banishing one another from the city and refraining from no irreparable acts in order to gain the upper hand. However, for the narration of these events another occasion will be more suitable.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε βουλευτὰς εὐθὺς ἔγνω καταστήσασθαι, μεθ' ὧν πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ ἔμελλεν, ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε τὴν διαίρεσιν: αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἓνα τὸν ἄριστον ἀπέδειξεν, ὃ τὰς κατὰ πόλιν ᾧετο δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν οἰκονομίας, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐξαγοί στρατιὰν ὑπερόριον:

[12.1] As soon as Romulus had regulated these matters he determined to appoint senators to assist him in administering the public business, and to this end he chose a hundred men from among the patricians, selecting them in the following manner. He himself appointed one, the best out of their whole number, to whom he thought fit to entrust the government of the city whenever he himself should lead the army beyond the borders.

[2] τῶν δὲ φυλῶν ἑκάστη προσέταξε τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ τότε ὄντας ἡλικία καὶ δι' εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανεῖς. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐννέα τούτους ἑκάστην φράτρην πάλιν ἐκέλευσε τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀποδείξαι τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους: ἔπειτα τοῖς πρώτοις ἐννέα τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν ἀποδειχθεῖσι τοὺς ἐνενήκοντα προσθεῖς, οὓς αἱ φράτραι προεχειρίσαντο, καὶ τούτων, ὃν αὐτὸς προέκρινεν, ἡγεμόνα ποιήσας τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξεπλήρωσε βουλευτῶν ἀριθμόν.

[2] He next ordered each of the tribes to choose three men who were then at the age of greatest prudence and were distinguished by their birth. After these

nine were chosen he ordered each curia likewise to name three patricians who were the most worthy. Then adding to the first nine, who had been named by the tribes, the ninety who were chosen by the curiae, and appointing as their head the man he himself had first selected, he completed the number of a hundred senators.

[3] τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐρμηνευόμενον γερουσίαν δύναται δηλοῦν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως καλεῖται. πότερον δὲ διὰ γῆρας τῶν [p. 171] καταλεγέντων εἰς αὐτὸ ἀνδρῶν ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπικλήσεως οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφές εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους γέροντας εἰώθεσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλεῖν. οἱ δὲ μετέχοντες τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πατέρες ἔγγραφον προσηγορεύθησαν καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ ταύτης ἐτύγχανον τῆς προσηγορίας.

[3] The name of this council may be expressed in Greek by gerousia or “council of elders,” and it is called by the Romans to this day; but whether it received its name from the advanced age of the men who were appointed to it or from their merit, I cannot say for certain. For the ancients used to call the older men and those of greatest merit gerontes or “elders.” The members of the senate were called Conscript Fathers, and they retained that name down to my time. This council, also, was a Greek institution.

[4] Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἦν. τοῖς γοῦν βασιλεῦσιν, ὅσοι τε πατρίους ἀρχὰς παραλάβοιεν καὶ ὅσους ἢ πληθὺς αὐτῇ καταστήσαιτο ἡγεμόνας, βουλευτήριον ἦν ἐκ τῶν κρατίστων, ὡς Ὅμηρος τε καὶ οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν ποιητῶν μαρτυροῦσι: καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις αὐθάδεις καὶ μονογνώμονες ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων δυναστεῖαι.

[4] At any rate, the Greek kings, both those who inherited the realms of their ancestors and those who were elected by the people themselves to be their rulers, had a council composed of the best men, as both Homer and the most ancient of the poets testify; and the authority of the ancient kings was not arbitrary and absolute as it is in our days.

[1] ὡς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο καὶ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τῶν γερόντων συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, ὁρῶν ὅπερ εἰκὸς ὅτι καὶ νεότητος αὐτῷ δεήσει τινὸς συντεταγμένης, ἣ χρήσεται φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων ὑπηρεσίᾳ, τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἰκῶν τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς ἀπεδείξαν αἱ φρᾶτραι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὃνπερ τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκάστη φράτρα δέκα νέους, τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν:

[13.1] After Romulus had also instituted the senatorial body, consisting of the hundred men, he perceived, we may suppose, that he would also require a body of young men whose services he could use both for the guarding of his

person and for urgent business, and accordingly he chose three hundred men, the most robust of body and from the most illustrious families, whom the curiae named in the same manner that they had named the senators, each curia choosing ten young men; and these he kept always about his person.

[2] ὄνομα δὲ κοινὸν ἅπαντες οὗτοι ἔσχον κελήριοι, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλείους γράφουσιν [p. 172] ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξύτητος τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, τοὺς γὰρ ἑτοιμοὺς καὶ ταχεῖς περὶ τὰ ἔργα κέλερας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν' ὥς δὲ Οὐαλέριος ὁ Ἀντιεὺς φησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ

[2] They were all called by one common name, celeres; according to most writers this was because of the “celerity” required in the services they were to perform (for those who are ready and quick at their tasks the Romans call celeres), but Valerius Antias says that they were thus named after their commander.

[3] ἡγεμόνος αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἔχοντος τοῦνομα. ἦν γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ διαφανέστατος, ᾧ τρεῖς ὑπετάγησαν ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ αὖθις ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἕτεροι τὰς ὑποδεστέρας ἔχοντες ἀρχάς, οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μὲν αἰχμοφόροι τε αὐτῷ παρηκολούθουν καὶ τῶν κελευομένων ὑπηρεταί, κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας πρόμαχοι τε ἦσαν καὶ παρασπισταί: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὗτοι κατώρθουν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πρῶτοί τε ἄρχοντες μάχης καὶ τελευταῖοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀφιστάμενοι, ἵππεῖς μὲν ἔνθα ἐπιτήδειον εἶη πεδίον ἐνιππομαχεῖν, πεζοὶ δὲ ὅπου τραχὺς εἶη καὶ ἀνιππος τόπος.

[3] For among them, also, the most distinguished man was their commander; under him were three centurions, and under these in turn were others who held the inferior commands. In the city these celeres constantly attended Romulus, armed with spears, and executed his orders; and on campaigns they charged before him and defended his person. And as a rule it was they who gave a favourable issue to the contest, as they were the first to engage in battle and the last of all to desist. They fought on horseback where there was level ground favourable for cavalry manoeuvres, and on foot where it was rough and inconvenient for horses.

[4] τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων μετενέγκασθαι τὸ ἔθος μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις οἱ γενναιότατοι τῶν νέων τριακόσιοι φύλακες ἦσαν τῶν βασιλέων, οἷς ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους παρασπισταῖς, ἵππεῦσιν τε οὔσιν καὶ πεζοῖς.

[4] This custom Romulus borrowed, I believe, from the Lacedaemonians, having learned that among them, also, three hundred of the noblest youths attended the kings as their guards and also as their defenders in war, fighting both on horseback and on foot.

[1] καταστησάμενος δὴ ταῦτα διέκρινε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, ἃς ἐκάστους ἐβούλετο ἔχειν. βασιλεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐξήρητο τάδε τὰ γέρα: πρῶτον

μὲν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν καὶ πάντα δι' ἐκείνου πράττεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια, ἔπειτα νόμων τε καὶ πατρίων ἐθισμῶν φυλακὴν ποιῆσθαι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ συνθήκας δικαίου προνοεῖν τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων τὰ μέγιστα μὲν αὐτὸν [p. 173] δικάζειν, τὰ δ' ἐλάττονα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν προνοοῦμενον ἵνα μηδὲν γίγνηται περὶ τὰς δίκας πλημμελές, βουλὴν τε συναγεῖν καὶ δῆμον συγκαλεῖν καὶ γνώμης ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς πλείοσι ἐπιτελεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἀπέδωκε βασιλεῖ τὰ γέρα καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν πολέμῳ.

[14.1] Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honours and powers which he wished each class to have. For the king he had reserved these prerogatives: in the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies and sacrifices and the conduct of everything relating to the worship of the gods; secondly, the guardianship of the laws and customs of the country and the general oversight of justice in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature or the civil law; he was also the judge in person the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senators, but seeing to it that no error was made in their decisions; he was to summon the senate and call together the popular assembly, to deliver his opinion first and carry out the decision of the majority. These prerogatives he granted to the king and, in addition, the absolute command in war.

[2] τῷ δὲ συνεδρίῳ τῆς βουλῆς τιμὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀνέθηκε τοιάνδε: περὶ παντὸς ὅτου ἂν εἰσηγῇται βασιλεὺς διαγινώσκειν τε καὶ ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσι τοῦτο νικᾶν: ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦτο μετενεγκάμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ἦσαν ὃ τι βούλοιντο πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἡ γερουσία πᾶν εἶχε τῶν κοινῶν τὸ κράτος.

[2] To the senate he assigned honour and authority as follows: to deliberate and give their votes concerning everything the king should refer to them, the decision of the majority to prevail. This also Romulus took over from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians; for their kings, too, did not have arbitrary power to do everything they wished, but the gerousia exercised complete control of public affairs.

[3] τῷ δὲ δημοτικῷ πλήθει τρία ταῦτα ἐπέτρεψεν: ἀρχαιρεσιάζειν τε καὶ νόμους ἐπικυροῦν καὶ περὶ πολέμου διαγινώσκειν, ὅταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφῇ, οὐδὲ τούτων ἔχοντι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνεπιληπτον, ἂν μὴ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα δοκῇ. ἔφερε δὲ τὴν ψῆφον οὐχ ἅμα πᾶς ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς φράτρας συγκαλούμενος: ὃ τι δὲ ταῖς πλείοσι δόξειε φράτραις τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀνεφέρετο. ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μετὰκειται τὸ ἔθος: οὐ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ διαγινώσκει τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γνωσθέντων ὁ δῆμος ἐστι κύριος: πότερον δὲ τῶν ἐθῶν κρεῖττον, ἐν κοινῷ τίθημι τοῖς βουλομένοις σκοπεῖν.

[3] To the populace he granted these three privileges: to choose magistrates, to ratify laws, and to decide concerning war whenever the king left the decision to them; yet even in these matters their authority was not unrestricted, since the concurrence of the senate was necessary to give effect to their decisions. The people did not give their votes all at the same time, but were summoned to meet by curiae, and whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae was reported to the senate. But in our day this practice is reversed, since the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions passed by the people, but the people have full power over the decrees of the senate; and which of the two customs is better I leave it open to others to determine.

[4] ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα σώφρονας ἐλάμβανε καὶ τεταγμένας τὰς διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ταχείας καὶ [p. 174] εὐπειθεῖς. ὅποτε γὰρ αὐτῷ φανεῖν στρατιὰν ἐξαγεῖν, οὔτε χιλιάρχους τότε ἔδει ἀποδείκνυσθαι κατὰ φυλὰς οὔτε ἑκατοντάρχους κατὰ λόχους οὔτε ἱππέων ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τε καὶ λοχιζεσθαι καὶ τάξιν ἐκάστους τὴν προσήκουσαν λαμβάνειν: ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς μὲν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις παρήγγελλεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς: παρὰ δὲ τούτων οἱ δεκάδαρχοι μαθόντες ἐξῆγον τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι, ἅφ' ἑνός τε κελεύσματος εἴτε πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις εἴτε μοῖρά τις ἐξ αὐτῆς κληθεῖν τὰ ὄπλα ἔχουσα παρῆν εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον εὐτρεπῆς.

[4] By this division of authority not only were the civil affairs administered in a prudent and orderly manner, but the business of war also was carried on with dispatch and strict obedience. For whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army there was then no necessity for tribunes to be chosen by tribes, or centurions by centuries, or commanders of the horse appointed, nor was it necessary for the army to be numbered or to be divided into centuries or for every man to be assigned to his appropriate post. But the king gave his orders to the tribunes and these to the centurions and they in turn to the decurions, each of whom led out those who were under his command; and whether the whole army or part of it was called, at a single summons they presented themselves ready with arms in hand at the designated post.

[1] τεταγμένην μὲν οὖν καὶ κεκοσμημένην πρὸς εἰρήνην τε ἀποχρώντως καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐπιτηδεύς ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀπειργάσατο, μεγάλην δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἐκ τῶνδε:

[15.1] By these institutions Romulus sufficiently regulated and suitably disposed the city both for peace and for war: and he made it large and populous by the following means.

[2] πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἀνάγκην κατέστησε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἅπασαν ἄρρενα γενεὰν ἐκτρέφειν καὶ θυγατέρων τὰς πρωτογόνους, ἀποκτινύναι δὲ μηδὲν τῶν γεννωμένων νεώτερον τριετοῦς, πλὴν εἴ τι γένοιτο παιδίον ἀνάπηρον ἢ τέρας εὐθύς ἀπὸ γονῆς. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν ἐκτιθέναι τοὺς

γυναμένους ἐπιδειξάντας πρότερον πέντε ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἔγγιστα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐὰν κάκεῖνοις συνδοκῇ. κατὰ δὲ [p. 175] τῶν μὴ πειθομένων τῷ νόμῳ ζημίας ὥρισεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἶναι δημοσίαν.

[2] In the first place, he obliged the inhabitants to bring up all their male children and the first-born of the females, and forbade them to destroy any children under three years of age unless they were maimed or monstrous from their very birth. These he did not forbid their parents to expose, provided they first showed them to their five nearest neighbours and these also approved. Against those who disobeyed this law he fixed various penalties, including the confiscation of half their property.

[3] Ἔπειτα καταμαθὼν πολλὰς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεων πονηρῶς ἐπιτροπευομένας ὑπὸ τυραννίδων τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν πόλεων συχνοὺς ὄντας, εἰ μόνον εἶεν ἐλευθεροὶ, διακρίνων οὔτε συμφορὰς οὔτε τύχας αὐτῶν ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ μετὰγειν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεχειρεῖ, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων δυνάμιν αὐξῆσαι βουλευθεὶς καὶ τὰς τῶν περιοίκων ἐλαττῶσαι: ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα πρόφασιν ἐξευρὼν εὐπρεπῇ καὶ εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν τὸ ἔργον ἀναφέρων.

[3] Secondly, finding that many of the cities in Italy were very badly governed, both by tyrannies and by oligarchies, he undertook to welcome and attract to himself the fugitives from these cities, who were very numerous, paying no regard either to their calamities or to their fortunes, provided only they were free men. His purpose was to increase the power of the Romans and to lessen that of their neighbours; but he invented a specious pretext for his course, making it appear that he was showing honour to a god.

[4] τὸ γὰρ μεταξὺ χωρίον τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας, ὃ καλεῖται νῦν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον μεθόριον δυεῖν δρυμῶν καὶ ἦν τότε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐπώνυμον, ὕλαις ἀμφιλαφέσι κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συναπτούσας τοῖς λόφοις λαγόνας ἐπίσκιον, ἱερὸν ἀνείς ἄστυλον ἰκέταις καὶ ναὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατασκευασάμενος ὅτῳ δὲ ἄρα θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἰκέταις τοῦ τε μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν παθεῖν ἐγγυητῆς ἐγίνετο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας προφάσει καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν πολιτείας μετεδίδου καὶ γῆς μοῖραν, ἣν κτήσαιο πολεμίους ἀφελόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέρρεον ἐκ παντὸς τόπου τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες κακὰ καὶ οὐκέτι ἐτέρωσε ἀπανίσταντο ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ὁμιλίαις καὶ χάρισιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενοι. [p. 176]

[4] For he consecrated the place between the Capitol and the citadel which is now called in the language of the Romans “the space between the two groves,” — a term that was really descriptive at that time of the actual conditions, as the place was shaded by thick woods on both sides where it joined the hills, — and made it an asylum for suppliants. And built a temple there, — but to what god or divinity he dedicated it I cannot say for certain,

— he engaged, under the colour of religion, to protect those who fled to it from suffering any harm at the hands of their enemies; and if they chose to remain with him, he promised them citizenship and a share of the land he should take from the enemy. And people came flocking thither from all parts, fleeing from their calamities at home; nor had they afterwards any thought of removing to any other place, but were held there by daily instances of his sociability and kindness.

[1] τρίτον ἦν ἔτι Ῥωμύλου πολίτευμα, ὃ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἄσκεῖν ἔδει, κράτιστον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων ὑπάρχον, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα φέρει, ὃ καὶ τῆς βεβαίου Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθερίας ἦρχε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀγόντων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν παρέσχε, τὸ μῆτε κατασφάττειν ἡβηδὸν τὰς ἀλούσας πολέμῳ πόλεις μῆτε ἀνδραποδιζεσθαι μηδὲ γῆν αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι μηλόβοτον, ἀλλὰ κληροῦχους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ ποιεῖν ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κρατηθείσας, ἐνιαίαι δὲ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδιδόναι.

[16.1] There was yet a third policy of Romulus, which the Greeks ought to have practised above all others, it being, in my opinion, the best of all political measures, as it laid the most solid foundation for the liberty of the Romans and was no slight factor in raising them to their position of supremacy. It was this: not to slay all the men of military age or to enslave the rest of the population of the cities captured in war or to allow their land to go back to pasturage for sheep, but rather to send settlers thither to possess some part of the country by lot and to make the conquered cities Roman colonies, and even to grant citizenship to some of them.

[2] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα τούτοις ὅμοια καταστησάμενος πολιτεύματα μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποίησε τὴν ἀποικίαν, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνοικίσαντες μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἀνδρῶν τρισχιλίων πεζοὶ καὶ τριακοσίων ἐλάττους ἵππεῖς; οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου, ὅτ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, πεζοὶ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι πρὸς τέτταρσι μυριάσιν, ἵππεῖς δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες χιλίων.

[2] By these and other like measures he made the colony great from a small beginning, as the actual results showed; for the number of those who joined with him in founding Rome did not amount to more than three thousand foot nor quite to three hundred horse, whereas he left behind him when he disappeared from among men forty-six thousand foot and about a thousand horse.

[3] ἐκείνου δὲ ἄρξαντος τῶν πολιτευμάτων τούτων οἱ τε βασιλεῖς οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡγησάμενοι τῆς πόλεως τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφυλάξαντο προαίρεσιν καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους τὰς ἐνιαυσίους λαμβάνοντες ἀρχὰς ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προστιθέντες, οὕτως ὥστε μηδενὸς ἔθνους τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι πολυανθρωποτάτου τὸν Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι δῆμον ἐλάττονα. [p. 177]

[3] Romulus having instituted these measures, not alone the kings who ruled the city after him but also the annual magistrates after them pursued the same policy, with occasional additions, so successfully that the Roman people became inferior in numbers to none of the nations that were accounted the most populous.

[1] τὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἔθῃ παρὰ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπαινέσω τὰ τε Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τῶν μέγιστον ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ φρονούντων Ἀθηναίων, οἳ φυλάττοντες τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ μηδενὶ μεταδιδόντες εἰ μὴ σπανίοις τῆς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πολιτείας ἔῴ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ξενηλατοῦντες ἔνιοι πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἀπολαῦσαι ταύτης τῆς μεγαληγορίας ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δι' αὐτὴν ἐβλάβησαν.

[17.1] When I compare the customs of the Greeks with these, I can find no reason to extol either those of the Lacedaemonians or of the Thebans or of the Athenians, who pride themselves most on their wisdom; all of whom, jealous of their noble birth and granting citizenship to none or to very few (I say nothing of the fact that some even expelled foreigners), not only received no advantage from this haughty attitude, but actually suffered the greatest harm because of it.

[2] Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν γε πταίσαντες μάχῃ τῇ περὶ Λεῦκτρα, ἐν ἧ' χιλίους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἀπέβαλον, οὐκέτι τὴν πόλιν ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας σὺν αἰσχύνῃ. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξ ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἀτυχήματος ἅμα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν πατριον ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφηρέθησαν.

[2] Thus, the Spartans after their defeat at Leuctra, where they lost seventeen hundred men, were no longer able to restore their city to its former position after that calamity, but shamefully abandoned their supremacy. And the Thebans and Athenians through the single disaster at Chaeronea were deprived by the Macedonians not only of the leadership of Greece but at the same time of the liberty they had inherited from their ancestors.

[3] ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ πολέμους ἔχουσα μεγάλους Σικελίαν τε ἀφεστῶσαν ἀνακτωμένη καὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραγμάτων ἐκπεπολεμῶμένων πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ Καρχηδόνοιο ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πάλιν ἀνισταμένης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας οὐ μόνον ἀφεστῶσης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεπαγούσης τὸν Ἀννιβιακὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον, τοσοῦτοις περιπετῆς γενομένη κινδύνοις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οὐχ ὅπως ἐκακώθη διὰ τὰς τότε τύχας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἰσχὺν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι μείζονα τῆς προτέρας τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ [p. 178] πρὸς ἅπαντα διαρκῆς γενομένη τὰ δεινὰ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τινες εὐνοίᾳ τύχης χρησαμένη:

[3] But Rome, while engaged in great wars both in Spain and Italy and employed in recovering Sicily and Sardinia, which had revolted, at a time when the situation in Macedonia and Greece had become hostile to her and Carthage was again contending for the supremacy, and when all but a small portion of Italy was not only in open rebellion but was also drawing upon her the Hannibalic war, as it was called, — though surrounded, I say, by so many dangers at one and the same time, Rome was so far from being overcome by these misfortunes that she derived from them a strength even greater than she had had before, being enabled to meet every danger, thanks to the number of her soldiers, and not, as some imagine, to the favour of Fortune;

[4] ἐπεὶ ταύτης γε χάριν ὥχετ' ἂν ὑποβρυχίος ἐξ ἐνὸς τοῦ περὶ Κάννας πτώματος, ὅτε αὐτῇ ἀπὸ μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων ἵππῶν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι περιελειφθήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ μυριάδων ὀκτώ τῶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν στράτευμα καταγραφεισῶν ὀλίγῳ πλείους τρισχιλίων ἐσώθησαν.

[4] since for all of Fortune's assistance the city might have been utterly submerged by the single disaster at Cannae, where of six thousand horse only three hundred and seventy survived, and of eighty thousand foot enrolled in the army of the commonwealth little more than three thousand escaped.

[1] ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄγαμαι καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, ὅτι τοῦ καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις αἰτίας ὑπολαβὼν, ἃς θρυλοῦσι μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ πολιτικοί, κατασκευάζουσι δ' ὀλίγοι, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖνοιαν, ἧς παρούσης ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω συμφέρεται, ἔπειτα σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, δι' ἃς ἦττον ἀλλήλους βλάπτοντες μᾶλλον ὁμονοοῦσι καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ ταῖς αἰσχίσταις μετροῦσιν ἡδοναῖς ἀλλὰ τῷ καλῷ, τελευταίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γενναιότητα τὴν παρασκευάζουσαν εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠφελίμους, οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου παραγίνεσθαι τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐνόμισεν,

[18.1] It is not only these institutions of Romulus that I admire, but also those which I am going to relate. He understood that the good government of cities was due to certain causes which all statesmen prate of but few succeed in making effective: first, the favour of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives success to men's every enterprise; next, moderation and justice, as a result of which the citizens, being less disposed to injure one another, are more harmonious, and make honour, rather than the most shameful pleasures, the measure of their happiness; and, lastly, bravery in war, which renders the other virtues also useful to their possessors.

[2] ἀλλ' ἔγνω διότι νόμοι σπουδαῖοι καὶ καλῶν ζῆλος ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὐσεβῆ καὶ σώφρονα καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦσαν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθὴν ἐξεργάζονται πόλιν: ὣν πολλὴν ἔσχε πρόνοιαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ δαιμόνια σεβασμῶν. ἱερὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ξοάνων [p. 179] ἰδρύσεις μορφάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ

δωρεάς, αἷς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν εὐηργέτησαν, ἑορτάς τε ὁποίας τινὰς ἑκάστῳ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων ἄγεσθαι προςζήκει καὶ θυσίας, αἷς χαίρουσι γεραίρόμενοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἔκεχειρίας τε αὖ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ πόνων ἀναπαύλας καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως κατεστήσατο τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι νομίμων:

[2] And he thought that none of these advantages is the effect of chance, but recognized that good laws and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a State pious, temperate, devoted to justice, and brave in war. He took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship of the gods and genii. He established temples, sacred precincts and altars, arranged for the setting up of statues, determined the representations and symbols of the gods, and declared their powers, the beneficent gifts which they have made to mankind, the particular festivals that should be celebrated in honour of each god or genius, the sacrifices with which they delight to be honoured by men, as well as the holidays, festal assemblies, days of rest, and everything alike of that nature, in all of which he followed the best customs in use among the Greeks.

[3] τοὺς δὲ παραδεδομένους περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους, ἐν οἷς βλασφημίας τινὲς ἔνεισι κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ κακηγορίαι, πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀσχήμονας ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ὅτι θεῶν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους, ἅπαντας ἐξέβαλε καὶ παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ κράτιστα περὶ θεῶν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσάπτοντας ἀνάξιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως.

[3] But he rejected all the traditional myths concerning the gods that contain blasphemies or calumnies against them, looking upon these as wicked, useless and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but even of good men; and he accustomed people both to think and to speak the best of the gods and to attribute to them no conduct unworthy of their blessed nature.

[1] οὔτε γὰρ Οὐρανὸς ἐκτεμνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παιδῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις λέγεται οὔτε Κρόνος ἀφανίζων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ γονὰς φόβῳ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσεως οὔτε Ζεὺς καταλύων τὴν Κρόνου δυναστείαν καὶ κατακλείων ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τοῦ Ταρτάρου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδέ γε πόλεμοι καὶ τραύματα καὶ

[19.1] Indeed, there is no tradition among the Romans either of Caelus being castrated by his own sons or of Saturn destroying his own offspring to secure himself from their attempts or of Jupiter dethroning Saturn and confining his own father in the dungeon of Tartarus, or, indeed, of wars, wounds, or bonds of the gods, or of their servitude among men.

[2] δεσμοὶ καὶ θητεῖαι θεῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις: ἑορτὴ τε οὐδεμία παρ' αὐτοῖς μελανείμων ἢ πένθιμος ἄγεται τυπετοὺς ἔχουσα καὶ θρήνους γυναικῶν ἐπὶ

θεοῖς ἀφανιζομένοις, ὥς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιτελεῖται περὶ τε Φερσεφόνης ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὰ Διονύσου πάθη καὶ ὅσα [p. 180] ἄλλα τοιαῦτα: οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοι τις παρ' αὐτοῖς, καίτοι διεφθαρμένων ἤδη τῶν ἐθῶν, οὐ θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κορυβαντισμοὺς, οὐκ ἀγυρμούς, οὐ βακχείας καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ διαπαννουχισμοὺς ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις τερατευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐλαβῶς ἅπαντα πραττόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥς οὔτε παρ' Ἑλλήσιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάροις:

[2] And no festival is observed among them as a day of mourning or by the wearing of black garments and the beating of breasts and the lamentations of women because of the disappearance of deities, such as the Greeks perform in commemorating the rape of Persephonê and the adventures of Dionysus and all the other things of like nature. And one will see among them, even though their manners are now corrupted, no ecstatic transports, no Corybantic frenzies, no begging under the colour of religion, no bacchanals or secret mysteries, no all-night vigils of men and women together in the temples, nor any other mummary of this kind; but alike in all their words and actions with respect to the gods a reverence is shown such as is seen among neither Greeks nor barbarians.

[3] καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε τεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὄσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐληλυθότων ἐθνῶν, οἷς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς οἰκοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον ἐλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἢ πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὁ πολλαῖς ἤδη συνέβη παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινα κατὰ χρησμοὺς ἐπεισηγάγετο ἱερά, τοῖς ἐαυτῆς αὐτὰ τιμᾷ νομίμοις ἅπασαν ἐκβαλοῦσα τερθρεῖαν μυθικὴν, ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς Ἰδαίας θεᾶς ἱερά.

[3] And, — the thing which I myself have marvelled at most, — notwithstanding the influx into Rome of innumerable nations which are under every necessity of worshipping their ancestral gods according to the customs of their respective countries, yet the city has never officially adopted any of those foreign practices, as has been the experience of many cities in the past; but, even though she has, in pursuance of oracles, introduced certain rites from abroad, she celebrates them in accordance with her own traditions, after banishing all fabulous clap-trap. The rites of the Idaean goddess are a case in point;

[4] θυσίας μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ Φρυγία καὶ γυνὴ Φρυγία καὶ περιάγουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι μητραγυρτοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπομένων τὰ μητρῶα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες:

[4] for the praetors perform sacrifices and celebrated games in her honour every year according to the Roman customs, but the priest and priestess of the

goddess are Phrygians, and it is they who carry her image in procession through the city, begging alms in her name according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breasts and striking their timbrels while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honour of the Mother of the Gods.

[5] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὔτε μητραγυρτῶν τις οὔτε καταυλούμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκῶς στολὴν οὔτε ὀργιάζει τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργιασμοῖς κατὰ νόμον [p. 181] καὶ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. οὕτως εὐλαβῶς ἡ πόλις ἔχει πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ἐπιχώρια ἔθνη περὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα ὀττεύεται τύπον, ὃ μὴ πρὸς 2 εἶσι τὸ εὐπρεπές.

[5] But by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman walks in procession through the city arrayed in a parti-coloured robe, begging alms or escorted by flute-players, or worships the god with the Phrygian ceremonies. So cautious are they about admitting any foreign religious customs and so great is their aversion to all pompous display that is wanting in decorum.

[1] καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων εἰσὶ τινες ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, οἱ δὲ παραμυθίας ἕνεκα συγκείμενοι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων συμφορῶν, οἱ δὲ ταραχὰς ἐξαιρούμενοι ψυχῆς καὶ δαίματα καὶ δόξας καθαιροῦντες οὐχ ὑγιεῖς, οἱ δ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἕνεκα συμπλασθέντες ὠφελείας.

[20.1] Let no one imagine, however, that I am not sensible that some of the Greek myths are useful to mankind, part of them explaining, as they do, the works of Nature by allegories, others being designed as a consolation for human misfortunes, some freeing the mind of its agitations and terrors and clearing away unsound opinions, and others invented for some other useful purpose.

[2] ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα οὐδενὸς χεῖρον ὅμως εὐλαβῶς διακείμεαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον ἀποδέχομαι θεολογίαν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων ἀγαθὰ μικρὰ τε ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς δυνάμενα ὠφελεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς ἐξητακότας ὧν ἕνεκα γίνεται, σπάνιοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετεληφότες ταύτης τῆς φιλοσοφίας. ὁ δὲ πολὺς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους καὶ δυνεῖν πάσχει θάτερον, ἢ καταφρονεῖ τῶν θεῶν ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαμονίᾳ κυλινδουμένων, ἢ τῶν αἰσχίστων τε καὶ παρανομωτάτων οὐδενὸς ἀπέχεται θεοῖς αὐτὰ προσκείμενα ὀρῶν.

[2] But, though I am as well acquainted as anyone with these matters, nevertheless my attitude toward the myths is one of caution, and I am more inclined to accept the theology of the Romans, when I consider that the advantages from the Greek myths are slight and cannot be of profit to many, but only to those who have examined the end for which they are designed; and this philosophic attitude is shared by few. The great multitude, unacquainted

with philosophy, are prone to take these stories about the gods in the worse sense and to fall into one of two errors: they either despise the gods as buffeted by many misfortunes, or else refrain from none of the most shameful and lawless deeds when they see them attributed to the gods.

[1] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων τοῖς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ θεωρητικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος ἀποτετμημένοις ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν, τῆς δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασταθείσης πολιτείας καὶ τάδε ἡγησάμην ἱστορίας ἄξια. πρῶτον [p. 182] μὲν, ὅτι πολλοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέδωκε θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐν γοῦν ἄλλῃ πόλει νεοκτιστῶ τοσούτους ἱερεῖς τε καὶ θεραπευτὰς θεῶν εὐθὺς ἀποδειχθέντας οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴπεῖν ἔχοι.

[2.1.] But let the consideration of these matters be left to those who have set aside the theoretical part of philosophy exclusively for their contemplation. To return to the government established by Romulus, I have thought the following things also worthy the notice of history. In the first place, he appointed a great number of persons to carry on the worship of the gods. At any rate, no one could name any other newly-founded city in which so many priests and ministers of the gods were appointed from the beginning.

[2] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς συγγενικὰς ἱερωσύνας οἱ τὰ κοινὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ συντελοῦντες κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ φράτρας ἐξήκοντα κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς: λέγω δὲ ἃ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἐν ἀρχαιολογίαις γέγραφεν, ἀνὴρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων πολυπειρότατος.

[2] For, apart from those who held family priesthoods, sixty were appointed in his reign to perform by tribes and curiae the public sacrifices on behalf of the commonwealth; I am merely repeating what Terentius Varro, the most learned man of his age, has written in his *Antiquities*.

[3] ἔπειτα, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων φαύλως πως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ποιουμένων τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν ἐπιστησομένων τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀργυρίου τὸ τίμιον ἀξιούντων ἀποκηρύττειν, τῶν δὲ κλήρῳ διαιρούντων, ἐκεῖνος οὔτε ὠνητὰς χρημάτων ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερωσύνας οὔτε κλήρῳ μεριστὰς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐκάστης φράτρας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀποδεικνυσθαι δύο τοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας τοὺς γένει τε προὔχοντας τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφόρους καὶ χρημάτων περιουσίαν ἔχοντας ἀρκοῦσαν καὶ μηδὲν ἡλαττωμένους τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα: τοὺς δὲ οὐκ εἰς ὠρισμένον πινὰ χρόνον τὰς τιμὰς ἔταξεν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου στρατειῶν μὲν ἀπολελυμένους διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὁχληρῶν διὰ τὸν νόμον. [p. 183]

[3] In the next place, whereas others generally choose in a careless and inconsiderate manner those who are to preside over religious matters, some thinking fit to make public sale of this honour and others disposing of it by lot,

he would not allow the priesthoods to be either purchased for money or assigned by lot, but made a law that each curia should choose two men over fifty years of age, of distinguished birth and exceptional merit, of competent fortune, and without any bodily defects; and he ordered that these should enjoy their honours, not for any fixed period, but for life, freed from military service by their age and from civil burdens by the law.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ γυναικῶν ἔδει τινὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ παιδῶν ἀμφιθαλῶν ἕτερα, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα γένηται κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον, τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἔταξε τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀνδράσι συνιερᾶσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ θέμις ἦν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀργιάζεσθαι κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιχώριον, ταύτας ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν τὰ καθήκοντα λειτουργεῖν: τοῖς δὲ ἅπαισιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων οἴκων τοὺς χαριεστάτους καταλεγέντας ἐξ ἐκάστης φράτρας, κόρον καὶ κόρην, τὸν μὲν ἕως ἡβῆς ὑπηρετεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τὴν δὲ κόρην ὅσον ἂν ἦ χρόνον ἀγνῇ γάμων: ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων καὶ ταῦτα μετενεγκάμενος, ὥς ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

[22.1] And because some rites were to be performed by women, others by children whose fathers and mothers were living, to the end that these also might be administered in the best manner, he ordered that the wives of the priests should be associated with their husbands in the priesthood; and that in the case of any rites which men were forbidden by the law of the country to celebrate, their wives should perform them and their children should assist as their duties required; and that the priests who had no children should choose out of the other families of each curia the most beautiful boy and girl, the boy to assist in the rites till the age of manhood, and the girl so long as she remained unmarried. These arrangements also he borrowed, in my opinion, from the practices of the Greeks.

[2] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ αἱ κανηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφόροι λεγόμεναι λειτουργοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν, ταῦτα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις αἱ προσαγορευόμεναι τουτολᾶται συντελοῦσι στεφάναις κοσμούμεναι τὰς κεφαλὰς, οἷαις κοσμεῖται τὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφιδρύματα παρ' Ἑλλήσιν. ὅσα δὲ παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ ἔτι πρότερον παρὰ Πελασγοῖς ἐτέλουν ἐπὶ τε Κουρήτων καὶ μεγάλων θεῶν ὀργιασμοῖς οἱ καλούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν κάδμιλοι, ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπηρετοῦν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἱ

[2] For all the duties that are performed in the Greek ceremonies by the maidens whom they call kanêphoroi and arrhêphoroi are performed by those whom the Romans call tutulatae, who wear on their heads the same kind of crowns with which the statues of the Ephesian Artemis are adorned among the Greeks. And all the functions which among the Tyrrhenians and still earlier among the Pelasgians were performed by those they called cadmili in the rites of the Curetes and in those of the Great Gods, were performed in the same manner by those attendants of the priests who are now called by the Romans camilli.

[3] λεγόμενοι νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κάμιλοι. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἔταξε μάντιν ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὃν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἱεροσκοπόν καλοῦμεν, Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 184] δὲ ὀλίγον τι τῆς ἀρχαίας φυλάττοντες ὀνομασίας ἀρούσπικα προσαγορεύουσιν. ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ λειτουργοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀποδεικνυσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φρατριῶν, ἐπικυροῦσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ θεῖα διὰ μαντικῆς.

[3] Furthermore, Romulus ordered one soothsayer out of each tribe to be present at the sacrifices. This soothsayer we call hieroskopos or “inspector of the vitals,” and the Romans, preserving something of the ancient name, aruspex. He also made a law that all the priests and ministers of the gods should be chosen by the curiae and that their election should be confirmed by those who interpret the will of the gods by the art of divination.

[1] ταῦτα περὶ τῶν θρησκευόντων τοὺς θεοὺς καταστησάμενος διήρει πάλιν, ὡς ἔφην, κατ’ ἐπιτηδειότητα ταῖς φράτραις τὰ ἱερά, θεοὺς ἀποδεικνύς ἑκάστοις καὶ δαίμονας, οὓς ἔμελλον αἰεὶ σέβειν, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὰ ἱερά δαπάνας ἔταξεν, ἃς ἔχρην αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδοσθαι.

[23.1] After he had made these regulations concerning the ministers of the gods, he again, as I have stated, assigned the sacrifices in an appropriate manner to the various curiae, appointing for each of them gods and genii whom they were always to worship, and determined the expenditures for the sacrifices, which were to be paid to them out of the public treasury.

[2] συνέθυόν τε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἱ φρατρίεις τὰς ἀπομερισθείσας αὐτοῖς θυσίας καὶ συνειστιῶντο κατὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐπὶ τῆς φρατριακῆς ἐστίας· ἐστιατόριον γὰρ ἦν κατεσκευασμένον ἑκάστη φράτρη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ καθωσίωτό τις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πρυτανείοις, ἐστία κοινὴ τῶν φρατριῶν. ὄνομα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐστιατορίοις ἦν, ὅπερ ταῖς φράτραις, κουρίαι καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν οὕτω καλοῦνται.

[2] The members of each curia performed their appointed sacrifices together with their own priests, and on holy days they feasted together at their common table. For a banqueting-hall had been built for each curia, and in it there was consecrated, just as in the Greek prytanea, a common table for all the members of the curia. These banqueting-halls had the same name as the curiae themselves, and are called so to our day.

[3] τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα δοκεῖ μοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγωγῆς τῆς περὶ τὰ φιδιπία κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιχωριαζούσης, ἣν Λυκοῦργος εἰσηγήσασθαι δοκεῖ παρὰ Κρητῶν μαθὼν, καὶ μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν εἰς εὐτέλειαν ἄγων τοὺς βίους καὶ σωφροσύνην τῆς καθ’ ἡμέραν διαίτης, ἐν πολέμῳ δ’ εἰς αἰδῶ καὶ πρόνοιαν καταστήσας ἕκαστον τοῦ [p. 185] μὴ καταλιπεῖν τὸν παραστάτην, ᾧ καὶ συνέσπεισε καὶ

[3] This institution, it seems to me, Romulus took over from the practice of the

Lacedaemonians in the case of their phiditia, which were then the vogue. It would seem that Lycurgus, who had learned the institution from the Cretans, introduced it at Sparta to the great advantage of his country; for he thereby in time of peace directed the citizens' lives toward frugality and temperance in their daily repasts, and in time of war inspired every man with a sense of shame and concern not to forsake his comrade with whom he had offered libations and sacrifices and shared in common rites.

[4] συνέθυσε καὶ κοινῶν ἱερῶν μετέσχεν. καὶ οὐ μόνον τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σοφίας χάριν ἄξιος ἐπαινέσθαι ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εὐτελείας τῶν θυσιῶν, αἷς γεραίρεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνομοθέτησεν, ὧν αἱ πλεῖστοι διέμενον ἕως τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας, εἰ μὴ καὶ πᾶσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπιτελούμεναι τρόπον.

[4] And not alone for his wisdom in these matters does Romulus deserve praise, but also for the frugality of the sacrifices that he appointed for the honouring of the gods, the greatest part of which, if not all, remained to my day, being still performed in the ancient manner.

[5] ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐθεασάμην ἐν ἱεραῖς οἰκίαις δεῖπνα προκείμενα θεοῖς ἐπὶ τραπέζαις ξυλίναις ἀρχαῖκαῖς ἐν κήνῃσι καὶ πινακίσκοις κεραμεοῖς, ἀλφίτων μάζας καὶ πόπανα καὶ ζέας καὶ καρπῶν τινων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λιτὰ καὶ εὐδάπανα καὶ πάσης ἀπειροκαλίας ἀπηλλαγμένα: καὶ σπονδὰς εἶδον ἐγκεκραμένας οὐκ ἐν ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς ἄγγεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὀστρακίναῖς κυλίσκαις καὶ πρόχοις, καὶ πάνυ ἡγάσθην τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅτι διαμένουσιν ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθουσιν οὐδὲν ἐξαλλάττοντες τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν εἰς τὴν ἀλαζόνα πολυτέλειαν.

[5] At any rate, I myself have seen in the sacred edifices repasts set before the gods upon ancient wooden tables, in baskets and small earthen plates, consisting of barley bread, cakes and spelt, with the first-offerings of some fruits, and other things of like nature, simple, cheap, and devoid of all vulgar display. I have seen also the libation wines that had been mixed, not in silver and gold vessels, but in little earthen cups and jugs, and I have greatly admired these men for adhering to the customs of their ancestors and not degenerating from their ancient rites into a boastful magnificence.

[6] ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἃ καὶ Νόμας Πομπήλιος ὁ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον ἄρξας τῆς πόλεως κατεστήσατο μνήμης ἄξια καὶ λόγου, περιπτὸς τὴν γνώμην ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγήσασθαι σοφὸς ἐν ὀλίγοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὕστερον ἐρῶ, καὶ Τύλλος Ὅστιλιος ὁ τρίτος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύσας καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς: ἀλλ' ὁ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς παρασχὼν καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα καταστησάμενος τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομίμων Ῥωμύλος ἦν. [p. 186]

[6] There are, it is true, other institutions, worthy to be both remembered and related, which were established by Numa Pompilius, who ruled the city after Romulus, a man of consummate wisdom and of rare sagacity in interpreting

the will of the gods, and of them I shall speak later; and yet others were added by Tullus Hostilius, the second king after Romulus, and by all the kings who followed him. But the seeds of them were sown and the foundations laid by Romulus, who established the principal rites of their religion.

[1] δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας, ἣ χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διεφύλαξαν εὐδαιμονοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεάς, ἐκεῖνος ἄρξαι νόμους καλοὺς καὶ συμφέροντας ἀγράφους μὲν τοὺς πλείστους, ἔστι δ' οὐς καὶ ἐν γράμμασι κειμένους καταστησάμενος, ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν, οὐς δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τεθαύμακα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὑπείληφα καταφανῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενήσεσθαι νομοθεσίαν, ὡς αὐστηρὰ καὶ μισοπόνηρος ἦν καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα πρὸς τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς βίους ὁμοιότητα,

[24.1] Romulus also seems to have been the author of that good discipline in other matters by the observance of which the Romans have kept their commonwealth flourishing for many generations; for he established many good and useful laws, the greater part of them unwritten, but some committed to writing. There is no need for me to mention most of them, but I will give a short account of those which I have admired most of all and which I have regarded as suitable to illustrate the character of the rest of this man's legislation, showing how austere it was, how averse to vice, and how closely it resembled the life of the heroic age.

[2] δι' ὀλίγης ὑπομνήσεως σημανῶ, τοσοῦτο προειπὼν, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ διατάξαντες τὰς τε βαρβαρικὰς καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πολιτείας τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὀρθῶς ἰδεῖν, ὅτι πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐκ πολλῶν οἴκων συνεστῶσαν ὀρθὴν τε πλεῖν εἰκὸς ὅταν οἱ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν εὐσταθῶσι βίοι, καὶ χειμῶνα πολὺν ἄγειν ὅταν κακῶς ἐκάστοις ἔχη τὰ ἴδια, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα πολιτικὸν ἔαν τε νομοθέτης ἔαν τε βασιλεὺς ᾗ, ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν, ἃ ποιήσει δικαίους καὶ σώφρονας τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίους.

[2] However, I will first observe that all who have established constitutions, barbarian as well as Greek, seem to me to have recognized correctly the general principle that every State, since it consists of many families, is most likely to enjoy tranquillity when the lives of the individual citizens are untroubled, and to have a very tempestuous time when the private affairs of the citizens are in a bad way, and that every prudent statesman, whether he be a lawgiver or a king, ought to introduce such laws as will make the citizens just and temperate in their lives.

[3] ἐξ ὧν δ' ἂν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ δι' οἷων γένοιτο τοιοῦτοι νόμων, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἅπαντες δοκοῦσι μοι συνιδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔνιοι γε πολλοὺ καὶ τοῦ παντός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις καὶ πρώτοις μέρεσι τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀμαρτεῖν.

[3] Yet by what practices and by what laws this result may be accomplished they do not all seem to me to have understood equally well, but some of them

seem to have gone widely and almost completely astray in the principal and fundamental parts of their legislation.

[4] αὐτίκα περὶ γάμων καὶ τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίας, ἀφ' ἧς ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ [p. 187] φύσις ἀρμόττειν τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ἤρξατο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες ἀφέτους καὶ κοινὰς τὰς μιξεις ἐποίησαν τῷ ἄρρενι πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, ὡς ἐρωτικῶν τε οἰστρῶν ἐλευθερώσοντες τοὺς βίους καὶ ζήλων ἀλληλοκτόνων ἐξελοῦμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀπαλλάξοντες κακῶν, ἃ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς τε ἰδίους οἴκους καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅλας διὰ γυναῖκας:

[4] For example, in the matter of marriage and commerce with women, from which the lawgiver ought to begin (even as Nature has begun thence to form our lives), some, taking their example from the beasts, have allowed men to have intercourse with women freely and promiscuously, thinking thus to free their lives from the frenzies of love, of save them from murderous jealousy, and to deliver them from many other evils which come upon both private houses and whole States through women.

[5] οἱ δὲ ταύτας μὲν ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀγερῶχους καὶ θηριώδεις συνουσίας ἄνδρα συναρμόσαντες εἰς γυναῖκα μίαν, περὶ δε φυλακῆς γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης γυναικῶν νομοθετεῖν οὕτε μεῖζον οὕτ' ἔλαττον οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδυνάτου πράγματος ἀπέστησαν:

[5] Others have banished this wanton and bestial intercourse from their States by joining a man to one woman; and yet for the preservation of the marriage ties and the chastity of women they have never attempted to make even the slightest regulation whatsoever, but have given up the idea as something impracticable.

[6] οἱ δὲ οὕτε ἀνεγγύους ἐποίησαν ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς ἀφροδισίους μιξεις οὕτε ἀφῆκαν ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν φυλακάς, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔθεσαν ἐπ' αὐταῖς νόμους σωφρονιστάς. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἀρχὴν τινα κατέστησαν ἐπιμελησομένην εὐκοσμίας γυναικῶν: οὐ μὴν ἀποχρῶσά γε ἡ πρόνοια αὐτῶν τῆς τηρήσεως, ἀλλὰ μαλακωτέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ἱκανὴ τὴν μὴ σπουδαίᾳ φύσει κεκραμένην εἰς ἀνάγκην βίου σώφρονος ἀγαγεῖν.

[6] Others have neither permitted sexual intercourse without marriage, like some barbarians, nor neglected the guarding of their women, like the Lacedaemonians, but have established many laws to keep them within bounds. And some have even appointed a magistrate to look after the good conduct of women; this provision, however, for their guarding was found insufficient and too weak to accomplish its purpose, being incapable of bringing the woman of unvirtuous nature to the necessity of a modest behaviour.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ρωμύλος οὔτε ἀνδρὶ κατὰ γυναικὸς ἐγκλήματα δοὺς φθαρείσης ἢ τὸν οἶκον ἀδίκως ἀπολιπούσης οὔτε γαμετῇ κατ' ἀνδρὸς αἰτιωμένη κάκωσιν [p. 188] ἢ ἄδικον ἀπόλειπιν οὔτε περὶ προικὸς ἀποδόσεως ἢ κομιδῆς νόμους θεῖς οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις διορίσας οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἓνα δὲ νόμον ὑπὲρ πάντων εὔ ἔχοντα, ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσε, καταστησάμενος εἰς σωφροσύνην καὶ πολλὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἤγαγε τὰς γυναῖκας.

[25.1] But Romulus, without giving either to the husband an action against his wife for adultery or for leaving his home without cause, or to the wife an action against her husband on the ground of ill-usage or for leaving her without reason, and without making any laws for the returning or recovery of the dowry, or regulating anything of this nature, by a single law which effectually provides for all these things, as the results themselves have shown, led the women to behave themselves with modesty and great decorum.

[2] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ νόμος: γυναῖκα γαμετὴν τὴν κατα γάμους ἱεροὺς συνελθοῦσαν ἀνδρὶ κοινωνὸν πάντων εἶναι χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν. ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ νομίμους οἱ παλαιοὶ γάμους Ρωμαϊκῇ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνοντες φαρραχείους ἐπὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ φαρρός, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ζέαν. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἀρχαία καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συνήθης ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἡ τροφή: φέρει δὲ πολλὴν καὶ καλὴν ἡ Ρωμαίων γῆ τὴν ζέαν. καὶ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸν κριθινὸν καρπὸν ἀρχαιότατον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν κριθαῖς καταρχόμεθα οὐλὰς αὐτὰς καλοῦντες, οὕτω Ρωμαῖοι τιμιώτατον τε καρπὸν καὶ ἀρχαιότατον εἶναι νομίζοντες τὰς ζέας διὰ τούτων ἀπάσης ἐμπύρου θυσίας κατάρχονται. μένει γὰρ ἔτι καὶ οὐ μεταπέπτωκεν εἰς πολυτελεστέρας ἀπαρχὰς τὸ

[2] The law was to this effect, that a woman joined to her husband by a holy marriage should share in all his possessions and sacred rites. The ancient Romans designated holy and lawful marriages by the term “farreate,” from the sharing of far, which we call *zea*; for this was the ancient and, for a long time, the ordinary food of all the Romans, and their country produces an abundance of excellent spelt. And as we Greeks regard barley as the most ancient grain, and for that reason begin our sacrifices with barley-corns which we call *oulai*, so the Romans, in the belief that spelt is both the most valuable and the most ancient of grains, in all burnt offerings begin the sacrifice with that. For this custom still remains, not having deteriorated into first-offerings of greater expense.

[3] ἔθος. τὸ δὲ κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἱερωτάτης τε καὶ πρώτης τροφῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὅλῃ συνελθεῖν τυχῇ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ [p. 189] φαρρός εἶχεν, εἰς σύνδεσμον δ' ἀναγκαῖον οἰκειότητος ἔφερεν ἀδιαλύτου, καὶ τὸ διαιρῆσον τοὺς γάμους τούτους οὐδὲν ἦν.

[3] The participation of the wives with their husbands in this holiest and first food and their union with them founded on the sharing of all their fortunes took its name from this sharing of the spelt and forged the compelling bond of an indissoluble union, and there was nothing that could annul these marriages.

[4] οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε τὰς γαμετάς, οἷα δὴ μηδεμίαν ἔχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποστροφήν, πρὸς ἓνα τὸν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ

[4] This law obliged both the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves entirely to the temper of their husbands, and the husbands to rule their wives as necessary and inseparable possessions.

[5] ἀναφαιρέτου κτήματος τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. σωφρονοῦσα μὲν οὖν καὶ πάντα τῷ γεγαμηκότῃ πειθομένη γυνὴ κυρία τοῦ οἴκου τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἦν, ὥνπερ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἀνδρὸς κληρονόμος ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς θυγάτηρ πατρός, εἰ μὲν ἅπαις τε καὶ μηδὲν διαθέμενος ἀποθάνοι πάντων οὕσα κυρία τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων, εἰ δὲ γενεὰν ἔχοι τοῖς πασὶν ἰσόμοιρος γινομένη.

[5] Accordingly, if a wife was virtuous and in all things obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house to the same degree as her husband was master of it, and after the death of her husband she was heir to his property in the same manner as a daughter was to that of her father; that is, if he died without children and intestate, she was mistress of all that he left, and if he had children, she shared equally with them. But if she did any wrong, the injured party was her judge and determined the degree of her punishment.

[6] ἀμαρτάνουσα δὲ τι δικαστὴν τὸν ἀδικοῦμενον ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐδίκαζον: ἐν οἷς ἦν φθορὰ σώματος καί, ὁ πάντων ἐλάχιστον ἀμαρτημάτων Ἑλλήσι δόξειεν ἂν ὑπάρχειν, εἴ τις οἶνον εὕρεθει ποῦσα γυνή. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν συνεχώρησεν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς ἀμαρτημάτων γυναικείων αἰσχιστα, φθορὰν μὲν ἀπονοίας ἀρχὴν νομίσας, μέθην δὲ φθορᾶς.

[6] Other offences, however, were judged by her relations together with her husband; among them was adultery, or where it was found she had drunk wine — a thing which the Greeks would look upon as the least of all faults. For Romulus permitted them to punish both these acts with death, as being the gravest offences women could be guilty of, since he looked upon adultery as the source of reckless folly, and drunkenness as the source of adultery.

[7] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινε χρόνου ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαραιτήτου τυγχάνοντα ὀργῆς. μάρτυς δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἔχειν τὸν περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμον ὁ πολὺς χρόνος. ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ ἐντὸς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίων [p. 190] μηδεὶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ λυθῆναι γάμος: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἐπὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Πομπωνίου καὶ Γαίου Παπιρίου πρῶτος ἀπολῦσαι λέγεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα Σπόριος Καρουίλιος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀφανής, ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν ὁμόσαι τέκνων ἕνεκα γυναικὶ συνοικεῖν ἣν δ' αὐτῷ στεῖρα ἢ γυνή, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ καίτοι δι' ἀνάγκην γενομένῳ μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διετέλεσεν.

[7] And both these offences continued for a long time to be punished by the

Romans with merciless severity. The wisdom of this law concerning wives is attested by the length of time it was in force; for it is agreed that during the space of five hundred and twenty years no marriage was ever dissolved at Rome. But it is said that in the one hundred and thirty-seventh Olympiad, in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and Gaius Papirius, Spurius Carvilius, a man of distinction, was the first to divorce his wife, and that he was obliged by the censors to swear that he had married for the purpose of having children (his wife, it seems, was barren); yet because of his action, though it was based on necessity, he was ever afterwards hated by the people.

[1] ἃ μὲν οὖν εἰς γυναῖκας εὖ ἔχοντα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐξ ὧν κοσμιωτέρας περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτὰς ἀπειργάσατο, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ δ' εἰς αἰδῶ καὶ δικαιοσύνην παιδῶν, ἵνα σέβωσι τοὺς πατέρας ἅπαντα πράττοντές τε καὶ λέγοντες ὅσα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύωσιν, ἔτι τούτων ἦν σεμνότερα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους διαφορὰν.

[26] These, then, are the excellent laws which Romulus enacted concerning women, by which he rendered them more observant of propriety in relation to their husbands. But those he established with respect to reverence and dutifulness of children toward their parents, to the end that they should honour and obey them in all things, both in their words and actions, were still more august and of greater dignity and vastly superior to our laws.

[2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς καταστησάμενοι πολιτείας βραχὺν τινα κομιδῇ χρόνον ἔταξαν ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων, οἱ μὲν ἕως τρίτον ἐκπληρώσωσιν ἀφ' ἥβης ἔτος, οἱ δὲ ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡίθεοι μένωσιν, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τὰ δημόσια ἐγγραφῆς, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Σόλωνος καὶ Πιττακοῦ καὶ Χαρώνδου νομοθεσίας ἔμαθον,

[2] For those who established the Greek constitutions set a very short time for sons to be under the rule of their fathers, some till the expiration of the third year after they reached manhood, others as long as they continued unmarried, and some till their names were entered in the public registers, as I have learned from the laws of Solon, Pittacus and Charondas, men celebrated for their great wisdom.

[3] οἷς πολλὴ μαρτυρεῖται σοφία: τιμωρίας τε κατὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἔταξαν, ἐὰν ἀπειθῶσι τοῖς πατράσιν, οὐ βαρείας [p. 191] ἐξέλᾶσαι τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα μὴ καταλιπεῖν, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐδέν. εἰσὶ δ' οὐχ ἱκαναὶ κατασχεῖν ἄνοιαν νεότητος καὶ αὐθάδειαν τρόπων οὐδ' εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἀγαγεῖν τοὺς ἡμεληκότας τῶν καλῶν αἱ μαλακαὶ τιμωρίαι: τοιγάρτοι πολλὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ὑπὸ τέκνων εἰς πατέρας ἀσχημονεῖται.

[3] The punishments, also, which they ordered for disobedience in children toward their parents were not grievous: for they permitted fathers to turn their

sons out of doors and to disinherit them, but nothing further. But mild punishments are not sufficient to restrain the folly of youth and its stubborn ways or to give self-control to those who have been heedless of all that is honourable; and accordingly among the Greeks many unseemly deeds are committed by children against their parents.

[4] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης ἅπασαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν πατρὶ καθ' υἱοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἂν τε εἰργεῖν, ἂν τε μαστιγοῦν, ἂν τε δέσμιον ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων κατέχειν, ἂν τε ἀποκτινύναι προαιρῆται, κἂν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττων ὁ παῖς ἤδη τυγχάνῃ κἂν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐξεταζόμενος κἂν διὰ τὴν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ

[4] But the lawgiver of the Romans gave virtually full power to the father over his son, even during his whole life, whether he thought proper to imprison him, to scourge him, to put him in chains and keep him at work in the fields, or to put him to death, and this even though the son were already engaged in public affairs, though he were numbered among the highest magistrates, and though he were celebrated for his zeal for the commonwealth.

[5] φιλοτιμίαν ἐπαινούμενος, κατὰ τοῦτόν γέ τοι τὸν νόμον ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς δημηγορίας διεξιόντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐναντίας μὲν τῇ βουλῇ, κεχαρισμένους δὲ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντες ἐπὶ ταύταις κατασπασθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων, ἦν ἂν ἐκείνοις φανῇ τιμωρίαν ὑφέζοντες: οὓς ἀπαγομένους διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἐξελεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἦν οὔτε ὕπατος οὔτε δήμαρχος οὔτε ὁ κολακευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν ἐλάττω τῆς ἰδίας εἶναι νομίζων ὄχλος.

[5] Indeed, in virtue of this law men of distinction, while delivering speeches from the rostra hostile to the senate and pleasing to the people, have been dragged down from thence and carried away by their fathers to undergo such punishment as these thought fit; and while they were being led away through the Forum, none present, neither consul, tribune, nor the very populace, which was flattered by them and thought all power inferior to its own, could rescue them.

[6] ἔῷ γὰρ λέγειν ὅσους ἀπέκτειναν οἱ πατέρες ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἕτερόν τι διαπράξασθαι [p. 192] ἔργον γενναῖον προαχθέντας, ὃ μὴ προσέταξαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πατέρες, καθάπερ ἐπὶ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτου καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων παρελήφαμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῷ.

[6] I forbear to mention how many brave men, urged by their valour and zeal to proof some noble deed that their fathers had not ordered, have been put to death by those very fathers, as is related of Manlius Torquatus and many others. But concerning them I shall speak in the proper place.

[1] καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔσθι τῆς ἐξουσίας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ

πωλεῖν ἐφῆκε τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί, οὐδὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς εἰ τις ὤμῳν ὑπολήφεται τὸ συγχώρημα καὶ βαρύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν. καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἦθεσι τοῖς ἐκκελυμένοις τραφεὶς ὡς πικρὸν καὶ τυραννικόν, καὶ τοῦτο συνεχώρησε τῷ πατρί, μέχρι τρίτης πράσεως ἀφ' υἱοῦ χρηματίσασθαι, μείζονα δοῦς ἐξουσίαν πατρὶ κατὰ

[27.1] And not even at this point did the Roman lawgiver stop in giving the father power over the son, but he even allowed him to sell his son, without concerning himself whether this permission might be regarded as cruel and harsher than was compatible with a natural affection. And, — a thing which anyone who has been educated in the lax manners of the Greeks may wonder at above all things and look upon as harsh and tyrannical, — he even gave leave to the father to make a profit by selling his son as often as three times, thereby giving greater power to the father over his son than to the master over his slaves.

[2] παιδὸς ἢ δεσπότῃ κατὰ δούλων. θεραπόντων μὲν γὰρ ὁ πραθεὶς ἅπαξ, ἐπειτα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εὐρόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη κύριός ἐστιν, υἱὸς δὲ πραθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰ γένοιτο ἐλεύθερος ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ πάλιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπεμποληθεὶς τε καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς δοῦλος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἦν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην πρᾶσιν ἀπήλλακτο τοῦ πατρὸς.

[2] For a slave who has once been sold and has later obtained his liberty is his own master ever after, but a son who had once been sold by his father, if he became free, came again under his father's power, and if he was a second time sold and a second time freed, he was still, as at first, his father's slave; but after the third sale he was freed from his father.

[3] τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐφύλαττον εἴτε γεγραμμένον εἴτε ἄγραφον 'οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν' ἀπάντων κράτιστον ἡγούμενοι νόμον. καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς μοναρχίας, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐφάνη Ῥωμαίοις ἅπαντας τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς τε καὶ [p. 193] νόμους ἅμα τοῖς ἐπεισάκτοις ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεῖναι φανεροὺς ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις, ἵνα μὴ συμμεταπίπτη τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐξουσίαις, οἱ λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς συναγωγῆς τε καὶ ἀναγραφῆς αὐτῶν δέκα ἄνδρες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνέγραψαν νόμοις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν λεγομένων δώδεκα δέλτων, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

[3] This law, whether written or unwritten, — I cannot say positively which, — the kings observed in the beginning, looking upon it as the best of all laws; and after the overthrow of the monarchy, when the Romans first decided to expose in the Forum for the consideration of the whole body of citizens all their ancestral customs and laws, together with those introduced from abroad, to the end that the rights of the people might not be changed as often as the powers of the magistrates, the decemvirs, who were authorized by the people

to collect and transcribe the laws, recorded it among the rest, and it now stands on the fourth of the Twelve Tables, as they are called, which they then set up in the Forum.

[4] ὅτι δ' οὐχ οἱ ἄνδρες δέκα οἱ τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀποδειχθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν νόμων πρῶτοι τοῦτον εἰσηγήσαντο τὸν νόμον Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ κείμενον παραλαβόντες οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων καταλαμβάνομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν Νόμα Πομπιλίου τοῦ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον ἄρξαντος νόμων, ἐν οἷς καὶ οὗτος γέγραπται: ἐὰν πατὴρ υἱῷ συγχωρήσῃ γυναῖκα ἀγαγέσθαι κοινωνὸν ἐσομένην ἱερῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, μηκέτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ πωλεῖν τὸν υἱόν: ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἔργαφεν εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντας ἐξῆν τῷ πατρὶ πωλεῖν τοὺς υἱούς.

[4] And that the decemvirs, who were appointed after three hundred years to transcribe these laws, did not first introduce this law among the Romans, but that, finding it long before in use, they dared not repeal it, I infer from many other considerations and particularly from the laws of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, among which there is recorded the following: "If a father gives his son leave to marry a woman who by the laws is to be the sharer of his sacred rites and possessions, he shall no longer have the power of selling his son." Now he would never have written this unless the father had by all former laws been allowed to sell his sons.

[5] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἄλῃς, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων διελεῖν κόσμον, ᾧ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκόσμησε βίους.

[5] But enough has been said concerning these matters, and I desire also to give a summary account of the other measures by which Romulus regulated the lives of the private citizens.

[1] ὁρῶν γὰρ ὅτι τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ δίκαια πρὸ τῶν κερδαλέων αἰρεῖσθαι καρτερίαν τε τὴν παρὰ τοὺς πόνους ἀσκεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν χρῆμα τιμιώτερον ἀρετῆς οὐ λόγων [p. 194] διδασκῆ παραγίνεσθαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πλήθεσι πέφυκεν, ἐν οἷς τὸ πλεῖον ἐστὶ δυσάγωγον, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἐθισμοῖς τῶν πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν ἀγόντων, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς παραγινομένους, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν εἴη τὸ κωλύσον ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀλισθαίνοντας εἰδώς, ἐπιδιφρίους μὲν καὶ βαναύσους καὶ προσαγωγοὺς ἐπιθυμιῶν αἰσχυρῶν τέχνας, ὡς ἀφανιζούσας καὶ λυμαινομένας τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μεταχειριζομένων, δούλοις καὶ ξένοις ἀπέδωκε μεθοδεύειν: καὶ διέμεινεν ἕως πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου δι' αἰσχύνης ὄντα Ῥωμαίοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν αὐθιγενῶν ἐπιτηδεύοντα.

[28.1] Observing that the means by which the whole body of citizens, the greater part of whom are hard to guide, can be induced to lead a life of

moderation, to prefer justice to gain, to cultivate perseverance in hardships, and to look upon nothing as more valuable than virtue, is not oral instruction, but the habitual practice of such employments as lead to each virtue, and knowing that the great mass of men come to practise them through necessity rather than choice, and hence, if there is nothing to restrain them, return to their natural disposition, he appointed slaves and foreigners to exercise those trades that are sedentary and mechanical and promote shameful passions, looking upon them as the destroyers and corruptors both of the bodies and souls of all who practise them; and such trades were for a very long time held in disgrace by the Romans and were carried on by none of the native-born citizens.

[2] δύο δὲ μόνα τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐπιτηδεύματα κατέλιπε τὰ τε κατὰ γεωργίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ πολέμους, ὁρῶν ὅτι γαστρός τε ἄνθρωποι γίνονται διὰ τούτους τοὺς βίους ἐγκρατεῖς ἀφροδισίοις τε ἥττον ἀλίσκονται παρανόμοις πλεονεξίαν τε οὐ τὴν βλάπτουσαν ἀλλήλους διώκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιποιουμένην τὰς ὠφελείας. ἀτελῆ δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερον ἡγούμενος εἶναι τῶν βίων χωριζόμενον θατέρου καὶ φιλαίτιον οὐχ ἑτέροις μὲν τισιν ἀπέδωκεν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἑτέροις δὲ τὰ πολεμίων φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν ὡς ὁ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶχε νόμος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τὸν τε πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸν γεωργικὸν ἔταξε βίον ζῆν:

[2] The only employments he left to free men were two, agriculture and warfare; for he observed that men so employed become masters of their appetite, are less entangled in illicit love affairs, and follow that kind of covetousness only which leads them, not to injure one another, but to enrich themselves at the expense of the enemy. But, as he regarded each of these occupations, when separate from the other, as incomplete and conducive to fault-finding, instead of appointing one part of the men to till the land and the other to lay waste the enemy's country, according to the practice of the Lacedaemonians, he ordered the same persons to exercise the employments both of husbandmen and soldiers.

[3] εἰ μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγοιεν ἐπὶ [p. 195] τοῖς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργοις ἐθίζων ἅπαντας μένειν, πλὴν εἴ ποτε δεηθεῖεν ἀγορᾶς, τότε δ' εἰς ἄστν συνιόντας ἀγοράζειν, ἐνάτην ὀρίζων ἡμέραν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς: ὅτε δὲ πόλεμος καταλάβοι στρατεύεσθαι διδάσκων καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν ἑτέροις μήτε τῶν πόνων μήτε τῶν ὠφελειῶν. διήρει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου γῆν τε ὄσσην ἂν ἀφέλοιτο πολεμίους καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἀγαπητῶς δέχεσθαι τὰς στρατείας.

[3] In time of peace he accustomed them to remain at their tasks in the country, except when it was necessary for them to come to market, upon which occasions they were to meet in the city in order to traffic, and to that end he appointed every ninth day for the markets; and when war came he taught them to perform the duties of soldiers and not to yield to others either in the

hardships or advantages that war brought. For he divided equally among them the lands, slaves and money that he took from the enemy, and thus caused them to take part cheerfully in his campaigns.

[1] τῶν δ' εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτων οὐ χρονίους ἀλλὰ ταχείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς κρίσεις τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς διατῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέπων, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐποιεῖτο. ἀποτρέπειν τε ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ τὸν φόβον μάλιστα δυνάμενον ὁρῶν πολλὰ εἰς τοῦτο παρεσκευάσατο χωρίον τε, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ φανερωτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ στρατιωτῶν, οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ τριακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, καταπληκτικώτατοι τὴν πρόσοψιν, ῥάβδους τε καὶ πελέκεις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δώδεκα φερομένους, οἷς τοὺς μὲν ἄξια μαστιγῶν δεδρακότας ἔξαινον ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ἡδικηκότων τοὺς τραχήλους ἀπέκοπτον ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ.

[29.1] In the case of wrongs committed by the citizens against one another he did not permit the trials to be delayed, but caused them to be held promptly, sometimes deciding the suits himself and sometimes referring them to others; and he proportioned the punishment to the magnitude of the crime. Observing, also, that nothing restrains men from all evil actions so effectually as fear, he contrived many things to inspire it, such as the place where he sat in judgment in the most conspicuous part of the Forum, the very formidable appearance of the soldiers who attended him, three hundred in number, and the rods and axes borne by twelve men, who scourged in the Forum those whose offences deserved it and beheaded others in public who were guilty of the greatest crimes.

[2] τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ὁ κόσμος ἦν τῆς κατασκευασθείσης ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου πολιτείας: ἀπόχρη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκάσαι. [p. 196]

[2] Such then, was the general character of the government established by Romulus; the details I have mentioned are sufficient to enable one to form a judgment of the rest.

[1] αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πράξεις αἱ τε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενόμεναι καὶ αἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὧν ἂν τις καὶ λόγον ποιήσαιτ' ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ, τοιαῦται τινες παραδίδονται.

[30.1] The other deeds reported of this man, both in his wars and at home, which may be thought deserving of mention in a history are as follows.

[2] πολλῶν περιοικούντων τὴν Ῥώμην ἐθνῶν μεγάλων τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀλκίμων, ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φίλιον, οἰκείωσασθαι ταῦτα βουλευθεὶς ἐπιγαμίαις, ὅσπερ ἐδόκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος εἶναι βεβαιότατος τῶν συναπτόντων φιλίας, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ ὅτι βουλόμεναι μὲν αἱ πόλεις οὐκ ἂν συνέλθοιεν αὐτοῖς ἄρτι τε συνοικιζομένοις καὶ οὔτε χρήμασι δυνατοῖς οὔτε λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐπιδεδειγμένοις οὐδέν, βιασθεῖσαι δὲ εἴξουσιν εἰ μηδεμία

γένοιτο περὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὕβρις, γνώμην ἔσχεν, ἥ καὶ Νεμέτωρ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ προσέθετο, δι' ἀρπαγῆς παρθένων ἀθρόας γενομένης ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἐπιγαμίας.

[2] Inasmuch as many nations that were both numerous and brave in war dwelt round about Rome and none of them was friendly to the Romans, he desired to conciliate them by intermarriages, which, in the opinion of the ancients, was the surest method of cementing friendships; but considering that the cities in question would not of their own accord unite with the Romans, who were just getting settled together in one city, and who neither were powerful by reason of their wealth nor had performed any brilliant exploit, but that they would yield to force if no insolence accompanied such compulsion, he determined, with the approval of Numitor, his grandfather, to bring about the desired intermarriages by a wholesale seizure of virgins.

[3] γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα θεῶ μὲν εὐχὰς τίθεται πρῶτον ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἡγεμόνι, ἐὰν ἡ πεῖρα αὐτῷ χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν θυσίας καὶ ἑορτὰς ἄξιον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν: ἔπειτα τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς γερουσίας ἀνενέγκας τὸν λόγον, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοις τὸ βούλευμα ἤρεσκεν, ἑορτὴν προεῖπε καὶ πανήγυριν ἄξιον Ποσειδῶνι καὶ περιήγγελλεν εἰς τὰς ἔγγιστα πόλεις καλῶν τοὺς βουλομένους ἀγορᾶς τε μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀγώνων: καὶ γὰρ ἀγῶνας ἄξιον ἔμελλεν ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν παντοδαπούς.

[3] After he had taken this resolution, he first made a vow to the god who presides over secret counsels to celebrate sacrifices and festivals every year if his enterprise should succeed. Then, having laid his plan before the senate and gaining their approval, he announced that he would hold a festival and general assemblage in honour of Neptune, and he sent word round about to the nearest cities, inviting all who wished to do so to be present at the assemblage and to take part in the increases; for he was going to hold contests of all sorts, both between horses and between men.

[4] συνελθόντων δὲ [p. 197] πολλῶν ξένων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν γυναῖξιν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις, ἐπειδὴ τὰς τε θυσίας ἐπετέλεσε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἥ διαλύσειν ἔμελλε τὴν πανήγυριν, παράγγελμα δίδωσι τοῖς νέοις, ἡνίκ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἄρῃ τὸ σημεῖον ἀρπάζειν τὰς παρούσας ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν παρθένους, αἷς ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν ἕκαστοι, καὶ φυλάττειν ἀγνάς ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα, τῇ δ'

[4] And when many strangers came with their wives and children to the festival, he first offered the sacrifices to Neptune and held the contests: then, on the last day, on which he was to dismiss the assemblage, he ordered the young men, when he himself should raise the signal, to seize all the virgins who had come to the spectacle, each group taking those they should first encounter, to keep them that night without violating their chastity and bring them to him the next day.

[5] ἔξῃς ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄγειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέοι διαστάντες κατὰ συστροφάς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνθημα ἄρθέν εἶδον τρέπονται πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρθένων ἄρπαγὴν, ταραχὴ δὲ τῶν ξένων εὐθύς ἐγένετο καὶ φυγὴ μεῖζόν τι κακὸν ὑφορωμένων. τῇ δ' ἔξῃς ἡμέρᾳ προαχθειςτῶν τῶν παρθένων, παραμυθησάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀθυμίαν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς οὐκ ἔφ' ὕβρει τῆς ἄρπαγῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμῳ γενομένης, Ἑλληνικὸν τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἀποφαίνων τὸ ἔθος καὶ τρόπων συμπάντων καθ' οὓς συνάπτονται γάμοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπιφανέστατον, ἡξίου στέργειν τοὺς δοθέντας αὐταῖς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης:

[5] So the young men divided themselves into several groups, and as soon as they saw the signal raised, fell to seizing the virgins; and straightway the strangers were in an uproar and fled, suspecting some greater mischief. The next day, when the virgins were brought before Romulus, he comforted them in their despair with the assurance that they had been seized, not out of wantonness, but for the purpose of marriage; for he pointed out that this was an ancient Greek custom and that of all methods of contracting marriages for women it was the most illustrious, and he asked them to cherish those whom Fortune had given them for their husbands.

[6] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διαριθμήσας τὰς κόρας ἑξακοσίας τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς εὗρεθεισας κατέλεξεν αὐθις ἕκ τῶν ἀγάμων ἄνδρας ἰσαριθμούς, οἷς αὐτὰς συνήρμωτε κατὰ τοὺς πατριούς ἐκάστης ἐθισμούς, ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ἐγγυῶν τοὺς γάμους, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελοῦνται χρόνων.

[6] Then counting them and finding their number to be six hundred and eighty-three, he chose an equal number of unmarried men to whom he united them according to the customs of each woman's country, basing the marriages on a communion of fire and water, in the same manner as marriages are performed even down to our times.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ γενέσθαι τινὲς μὲν γράφουσι κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἀρχῆς, Γναῖος [p. 198] δὲ Γέλλιος κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον: ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκός. νέον γὰρ οἰκίζομένης πόλεως ἡγεμόνα πρὶν ἢ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν ἔργῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ ἔχει λόγον. τῆς δὲ ἄρπαγῆς τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν εἰς σπάνιν γυναικῶν ἀναφέρουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀφορμὴν πολέμου, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες, οἷς κἀγὼ συγκατεθέμην, εἰς τὸ συνάψαι φιλότητα πρὸς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἀναγκαίαν.

[31.1] Some state that these things happened in the first year of Romulus' reign, but Gnaeus Gellius says it was in the fourth, which is more probable. For it is not likely that the head of a newly-built city would undertake such an enterprise before establishing its government. As regards the reason for the seizing of the virgins, some ascribe it to a scarcity of women, others to the seeking of pretext for war; but those who give the most plausible account — and with them I agree — attribute it to the design of contracting an alliance

with the neighbouring cities, founded on affinity.

[2] τὴν δὲ τότε ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου καθιερωθεῖσαν ἑορτὴν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν Κωνσουάλια καλοῦντες, ἐν ἧ βωμός τε ὑπόγειος ἰδρυμένος παρὰ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν ἵπποδρόμων περισκαφείσης τῆς γῆς θυσίαις τε καὶ ὑπερπύροις ἀπαρχαῖς γεραίρεται, καὶ δρόμος ἵππων ζευκτῶν τε καὶ ἄζευκτων ἐπιτελεῖται. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεός, ὃν ταῦτ' ἐπιτελοῦσι, Κῶνσος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ὃν ἐξερμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναι τινες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπογείῳ τετιμῆσθαι βωμῷ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει.

[2] And the Romans even to my day continued to celebrate the festival then instituted by Romulus, calling it the Consualia, in the course of which a subterranean altar, erected near the Circus Maximus, is uncovered by the removal of the soil round about it and honoured with sacrifices and burnt-offerings of first-fruits and a course is run both by horses yoked to chariots and by single horses. The god to whom these honours are paid is called Consus by the Romans, being the same, according to some who render the name into our tongue, as Poseidon Seisichthon or the "Earth-shaker"; and they say that this god was honoured with a subterranean altar because he holds the earth.

[3] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον οἶδα λόγον ἀκούων, ὡς τῆς μὲν ἑορτῆς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀγομένης καὶ τοῦ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων τοῦτῳ τῷ θεῷ γινομένου, τοῦ δὲ καταγείου βωμοῦ δαίμονι ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ βουλευμάτων κρυφίων ἡγεμόνι καὶ φύλακι κατασκευασθέντος ὕστερον: Ποσειδῶνι γὰρ ἀφανῇ βωμὸν οὐδαμόθι γῆς οὐθ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων οὐθ' ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καθιδρυῖσθαι: τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅπως ἔχει χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν.

[3] I know also from hearsay another tradition, to the effect that the festival is indeed celebrated in honour of Neptune and the horse-races are held in his honour, but that the subterranean altar was erected later to a certain divinity whose name may not be uttered, who presides over and is the guardian of hidden counsels; for a secret altar has never been erected to Neptune, they say, in any part of the world by either Greeks or barbarians. But it is hard to say what the truth of the matter is.

[1] ὡς δὲ διεβόηθη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν [p. 199] τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους εἰς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις, αἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ πραχθὲν πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐλάμβανον, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἐπράχθη διαθέσεως καὶ εἰς ὃ τέλος ἐχώρησεν ἀναλογιζόμεναι μετρίως αὐτὸ ἔφερον, κατέσκηψε δ' οὖν ἀνὰ χρόνον εἰς πολέμους τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὐπετεῖς, ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρὸς Σαβίνους μέγαν καὶ χαλεπὸν: οἷς ἅπασι τέλος ἐπηκολούθησεν εὐτυχές, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα προεθέσπισε πρὶν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῷ ἔργῳ πόνους μὲν καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους προσημαίνοντα, τὰς δὲ τελευτὰς αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι καλὰς.

[32.1] When, now, the report of the seizure of the virgins and of their marriage was spread among the neighbouring cities, some of these were incensed at the proceeding itself, though others, considering the motive from which it sprang and the outcome to which it led, bore it with moderation; but, at any rate, in the course of time it occasioned several wars, of which the rest were of small consequence, but that against the Sabines was a great and difficult one. All these wars ended happily, as the oracles had foretold to Romulus before he undertook the task, indicating as they did that the difficulties and dangers would be great but that their outcome would be prosperous.

[2] ἦσαν δὲ αἱ πρῶται πόλεις ἄρξασαι τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου Καινίνη καὶ Ἄντεμνα καὶ Κρουστομέρεια, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμεναι τὴν ἄρπαγὴν τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκας, ὡς δὲ τάληθές εἶχεν ἀχθόμεναι τῇ κτίσει τε καὶ αὐξήσει τῆς Ῥώμης δι' ὀλίγου πολλῇ γενομένῃ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιόυσαι περιδεῖν κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἅπασι κακὸν φυόμενον.

[2] The first cities that made war upon him were Caenina, Antemnae and Crustumerium. They put forward as a pretext the seizure of the virgins and their failure to receive satisfaction on their account; but the truth was that they were displeased at the founding of Rome and at its great and rapid increase and felt that they ought not to permit this city to grow up as a common menace to all its neighbours.

[3] τέως μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ἀποστέλλουσαι πρέσβεις ἐκείνους ἠξιοῦν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου παραλαβεῖν ἰσχύν τε μεγίστην ἔχοντας καὶ χρήμασι πλείοσι δυναμένους ἄρχειν τε ἀξιοῦντας τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστα τῶν ἄλλων περιυβρισμένους: τῶν γὰρ ἡρπασμένων αἱ πλείους ἦσαν ἐκείνων. [p. 200]

[3] For the time being, then, these cities were sending ambassadors to the Sabines, asking them to take command of the war, since they possessed the greatest military strength and were most powerful by reason of their wealth and were laying claim to the rule over their neighbours and inasmuch as they had suffered from the Romans' insolence quite as much as any of the rest; for the greater part of the virgins who had been seized belonged to them.

[1] Επεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον ἀντικαθισταμένων αὐταῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πρεσβειῶν καὶ θεραπευουσῶν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸ ἔθνος, ἀχθόμεναι τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου μελλόντων αἰεὶ τῶν Σαβίνων καὶ ἀναβαλλομένων εἰς χρόνους μακροὺς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου βουλὴν αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἔγνωσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμεναι τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν, εἰ καθ' ἓν αἱ τρεῖς γένοιτο, μίαν ἄρασθαι πόλιν οὐ μεγάλην. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν ταῦτα, συνελθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἔφθησαν εἰς ἓν ἅπασαι στρατόπεδον προεξαναστάντων προχειρότερον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καινίνης,

[33.1] But when they found they were accomplishing nothing, since the embassies from Romulus opposed them and courted the Sabine people both by their words and by their actions, they were vexed at the waste of time — for the Sabines were forever affecting delays and putting off to distant dates the deliberation concerning the war — and resolved to make war upon the Romans by themselves alone, believing that their own strength, if the three cities joined forces, was sufficient to conquer one inconsiderable city. This was their plan: but they did not all assemble together promptly enough in one camp, since the Caeninenses, who seemed to be most eager in promoting the war, rashly set out ahead of the others.

[2] οἱ περ καὶ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν τὸν πόλεμον ἐνάγειν. ἔξοστρατευμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ δρῶντων τὴν ὁμορον ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἀφυλάκτοις οὖσιν ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπιτίθεται καὶ τοῦ τε χάρακος αὐτῶν ἄρτίως ἰδρυμένου γίνεται κύριος τοῖς τε φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπόμενος οὐδέπω τῶν ἔνδον πεπτυσμένων τὴν περὶ τοῦς σφετέρους συμφορὰν τεῖχος τε ἀφύλακτον εὐρὼν καὶ πύλας ἀκλείστους αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν Καϊνινιτῶν ὑπαντήσαντα σὺν καρτερᾷ χειρὶ μαχόμενος αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνει καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀφαιρεῖται.

[2] When these men, then, had taken the field and were wasting the country that bordered on their own, Romulus led out his army, and unexpectedly falling upon the enemy while they were as yet off their guard, he made himself master of their camp, which was but just completed. Then following close upon the heels of those who fled into the city, where the inhabitants had not as yet learned of the defeat of their forces, and finding the walls unguarded and the gates unbarred, he took the town by storm; and when the king of the Caeninenses met him with a strong body of men, he fought with him, and slaying him with his own hands, stripped him of his arms.

[1] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι τοῦς ἀλόντας κελεύσας καὶ [p. 201] παῖδας εἰς ὁμηρεῖαν, οὓς ἐβούλετο, λαβὼν ἐπὶ τοῦς Ἀντεμνάτας ἐχώρει. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως ἐσκεδασμένης ἔτι κατὰ τὰς προνομὰς τῇ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐφόδῳ καθάπερ καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦς ἀλόντας διαθεὶς ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν, ἄγων σκυῖλα τε ἀπὸ τῶν πεπτωκότων κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀκροθίνια λαφύρων θεοῖς, καὶ

[34.1] The town being taken in this manner, he ordered the prisoners to deliver up their arms, and taking such of their children for hostages as he thought fit, he marched against the Antemnates. And having conquered their army also, in the same manner as the other, by falling upon them unexpectedly while they were still dispersed in foraging, and having accorded the same treatment to the prisoners, he led his army home, carrying with him the spoils of those who had been slain in battle and the choicest part of the booty as an offering to the gods; and he offered many sacrifices besides.

[2] πολλὰς ἅμα τοῦτοις θυσίας ἐποιήσατο. τελευταῖος δὲ τῆς πομπῆς αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐσθῆτα μὲν ἡμφιεσμένος ἀλουργῇ, δάφνη δὲ κατεστεμμένος τὰς κόμας καὶ ἵνα τὸ βασιλεῖον ἀξίωμα σώζῃ τεθρίππῳ παρεμβεβηκώς. ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις αὐτῷ παρηκολούθει πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππεων κεκοσμημένη κατὰ τέλη θεοὺς τε ὕμνοῦσα πατρίοις ᾠδαῖς καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα κυδαίνουσα ποιήμασιν αὐτοσχεδιοῖς. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα γυναιξὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις παρ' ἅμφω τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ τῇ τε νίκῃ συνηδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοφροσύνην. ὥς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἡ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατῆροί τε ἐπετύγχανεν οἶνω κεκραμένοις καὶ τραπέζαις τροφῆς παντοίας γεμούσαις, αἱ παρὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔκειντο, ἵνα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἦ.

[2] Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe and wearing a crown of laurel upon his head, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity, he rode in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army, both foot and horse, followed, ranged in their several divisions, praising the gods in songs of their country and extolling their general in improvised verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives and children, who, ranging themselves on each side of the road, congratulated them upon their victory and expressed their welcome in every other way. When the army entered the city, they found mixing bowls filled to the brim with wine and tables loaded down with all sorts of viands, which were placed before the most distinguished houses in order that all who pleased might take their fill.

[3] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπινικίος τε καὶ τροπαιοφόρος πομπὴ καὶ θυσία, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι θρίαμβον, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου πρῶτου [p. 202] κατασταθεῖσα τοιαύτη τις ἦν: ἐν δὲ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ πολυτελὲς γέγονε καὶ ἀλαζῶν εἰς πλούτου μᾶλλον ἐπίδειξιν ἢ δόκησιν ἀρετῆς ἐπιτραγωδουμένη καὶ καθ'

[3] Such was the victorious procession, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans call a triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus. But in our day the triumph had become a very costly and ostentatious pageant, being attended with a theatrical pomp that is designed rather as a display of wealth than as approbation of valour, and it has departed in every respect from its ancient simplicity.

[4] ἅπασαν ἰδέαν ἐκβέβηκε τὴν ἀρχαίαν εὐτέλειαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν νεῶν κατασκευάσας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου λόφου Διός, ὃν ἐπικαλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι φερέτριον, οὐ μέγαν: ἐπὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ σώζεται τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἶχνος ἐλάττονας ἢ πέντε ποδῶν καὶ δέκα τὰς μείζους πλευρὰς ἔχον: ἐν τούτῳ καθιέρωσε τὰ σκῦλα τοῦ Καινινιτῶν βασιλέως, ὃν αὐτοχειρίᾳ κατειργάσατο. τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν φερέτριον, ᾧ τὰ ὄπλα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀνέθηκεν, εἶτε βούλεται τις τροπαιοῦχον εἶτε σκυλοφόρον καλεῖν ὥς ἀξιοῦσι τινες εἶθ', ὅτι πάντων ὑπερέχει καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιεῖληφε τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, ὑπερφερέτην οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς ἀληθείας.

[4] After the procession and the sacrifice Romulus built a small temple on the summit of the Capitoline hill to Jupiter whom the Romans call Feretrius; indeed, the ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet. In this temple he consecrated the spoils of the king of the Caeninenses, whom he had slain with his own hand. As for Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus dedicated these arms, one will not err from the truth whether one wishes to call him Tropaïochos, or Skylophoros, as some will have it, or, since he excels all things and comprehends universal nature and motion, Hyperphretês.

[1] ὥς δ' ἀπέδωκε τοῖς θεοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χαριστηρίους θυσίας τε καὶ ἀπαρχάς, πρὶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι διασπράξασθαι βουλὴν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν κρατηθεισῶν πόλεων, ὄντινα χρηστέον αὐταῖς τρόπον, αὐτὸς ἦν ὑπελάμβανε κρατίστην εἶναι γνώμην, πρῶτος ἀποδειξάμενος.

[35.1] After the king had offered to the gods the sacrifices of thanksgiving and the first-fruits of victory, before entering upon any other business, he assembled the senate to deliberate with them in what manner the conquered cities should be treated, and he himself first delivered the opinion he thought the best.

[2] ὥς δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παροῦσιν ἢ τε ἀσφάλεια τῶν βουλευμάτων τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἤρεσκε καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐξ αὐτῶν γενήσεται τῇ πόλει χρήσιμα οὐκ ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον [p. 203] ἐπηνεῖτο, συνελθεῖν κελεύσας τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι τοῦ τε Ἀντεμνατῶν καὶ τοῦ Καινινιτῶν ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι γένους, ἡρπασμέναι δὲ ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ προκυλιόμεναι καὶ τὰς τῶν πατρίδων ἀνακλαιούσαι τύχας, ἐπισχεῖν τῶν ὀδυρμῶν καὶ σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας ἔλεξε:

[2] When all the senators who were present had approved of the counsels of their chief as both safe and brilliant and had praised all the other advantages that were likely to accrue from them to the commonwealth, not only for the moment but for all future time, he gave command for the assembling of all the women belonging to the race of the Antemnates and of the Caeninenses who had been seized with the rest. And when they had assembled, lamenting, throwing themselves at his feet and bewailing the calamities of their native cities, he commanded them to cease their lamentations and be silent, then spoke to them as follows:

[3] τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις πατράσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῶν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ ὀφείλεται παθεῖν, ὅτι πόλεμον ἀντὶ φιλίας οὔτε ἀναγκαῖον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνείλοντο: ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλῶν ἔνεκεν ἐγνώκαμεν μετρία χρήσασθαι γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς θεῶν τε νέμεσιν ὑφορώμενοι τὴν ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑπερόγκοις ἐνισταμένην καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον δεδιότες ἔλεόν τε κοινῶν κακῶν οὐ μικρὸν ἔρανον εἶναι νομίζοντες, ὥς κἂν αὐτοὶ ποτε τοῦ παρ'

ἐτέρων δεηθέντες, ὑμῖν τε οὐ μεμπταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις μέχρι τοῦδε περὶ τοῦς ἑαυτῶν ἀνδρας οὐ μικρὰν οἴόμενοι ταύτην ἔσσεσθαι τιμὴν καὶ χάριν.

[3] “Your fathers and brothers and your entire cities deserve to suffer every severity for having preferred to our friendship a war that was neither necessary nor honourable. We, however, have resolved for many reasons to treat them with moderation; for we not only fear the vengeance of the gods, which ever threatens the arrogant, and dread the ill-will of men, but we are also persuaded that mercy contributes not a little to alleviate the common ills of mankind, and we realize that we ourselves may one day stand in need of that of others. And we believe that to you, whose behaviour towards your husbands has thus far been blameless, this will be no small honour and favour.

[4] παρίεμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμαρτάδα ταύτην ἀζήμιον καὶ οὔτε ἐλευθερίαν οὔτε κτῆσιν οὔτ’ ἄλλο τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν τοὺς πολίτας ὑμῶν ἀφαιρούμεθα. ἐφίεμεν δὲ τοῖς τε μένειν γλιχομένοις ἐκεῖ καὶ τοῖς μετενέγκασθαι βουλομένοις τὰς οἰκήσεις ἀκινδυνόν τε καὶ ἀμεταμέλητον τὴν αἵρεσιν. τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἐπεξαμαρτεῖν μηδ’ εὐρεθῆναι τι χρῆμα, ὃ ποιήσει τὰς πόλεις διαλύσασθαι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν, φάρμακον ἡγούμεθα κράτιστον εἶναι πρὸς εὐδοξίαν τε καὶ πρὸς [p. 204] ἀσφάλειαν τὸ αὐτὸ χρήσιμον ἀμφοτέροις, εἰ ποιήσαιμεν ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς πόλεις καὶ συνοίκους αὐταῖς πέμπαιμεν αὐτόθεν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς. ἅπιτε οὖν ἀγαθὴν ἔχουσαι διάνοιαν καὶ διπλασίως ἢ πρότερον ἀσπάζεσθε καὶ τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὑφ’ ὧν γονεῖς τε ὑμῶν ἐσώθησαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατρίδες ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται.

[4] We suffer this offence of theirs, therefore, to go unpunished and take from your fellow citizens neither their liberty nor their possessions nor any other advantages they enjoy; and both to those who desire to remain there and to those who wish to change their abode we grant full liberty to make their choice, not only without danger but without fear of repenting. But, to prevent their ever repeating their fault or the finding of any occasion to induce their cities to break off their alliance with us, the best means, we consider, and that which will at the same time conduce to the reputation and security of both, is for us to make those cities colonies of Rome and to send a sufficient number of our own people from here to inhabit them jointly with your fellow citizens. Depart, therefore, with good courage; and redouble your love and regard for your husbands, to whom your parents and brothers owe their preservation and your countries their liberty.”

[5] αἱ μὲν δὴ γυναῖκες ὡς ταῦτ’ ἤκουσαν περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ πολλὰ δάκρυα ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς ἀφεῖλαι μετέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὃ δὲ Ῥωμύλος τριακοσίους μὲν ἀνδρας εἰς ἑκατέραν ἀποίκους ἀπέστειλεν, οἷς ἔδοσαν αἱ πόλεις τρίτην κατακληρουχῆσαι μοῖραν τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς.

[5] The women, hearing this, were greatly pleased, and shedding many tears of joy, left the Forum; but Romulus sent a colony of three hundred men into each

city, to whom these cities gave a third part of their lands to be divided among them by lot.

[6] Καινινιτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀντεμνατῶν τοὺς βουλομένους μεταθέσθαι τὴν οἰκῆσιν εἰς Ῥώμην γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις μετήγαγον κλήρους τε τοὺς ἐοῦς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας καὶ χρήματα φερομένους ὅσα ἐκέκτηντο, οὓς εὐθὺς εἰς φυλὰς καὶ φράτρας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέγραψε, τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας,

[6] And those of the Caeninenses and Antemnates who desired to remove to Rome they brought thither together with their wives and children, permitting them to retain their allotments of land and to take with them all their possessions; and the king immediately enrolled them, numbering not less than three thousand, in the tribes and the curiae, so that the Romans had then for the first time six thousand foot in all upon the register.

[7] ὥστε τοὺς σύμπαντας ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρῶτον ἐκ καταλόγου γενέσθαι. Καινίνη μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀντεμνα πόλεις οὐκ ἄσκημοι γένος ἔχουσαι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, Ἀβοριγῖνες γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Σικελοὺς κατέσχον, Οἰνώτρων μοῖρα τῶν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἀφικομένων, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀποικία Ῥωμαίων γεγέννητο. [p. 205]

[7] Thus Caenina and Antemnae, no inconsiderable cities, whose inhabitants were of Greek origin (for the Aborigines had taken the cities from the Sicels and occupied them, these Aborigines being, as I said before, part of those Oenotrians who had come out of Arcadia), after this war became Roman colonies.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Κρουστομερίνους ἐξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν παρεσκευασμένους ἄμεινον τῶν προτέρων: οὓς ἐκ παρατάξεώς τε καὶ τειχομαχίας παραστησάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα γενομένους οὐδὲν ἔτι διαθεῖναι κακὸν ἤξιωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀποικὸν Ῥωμαίων τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ τὰς προτέρας.

[36.1] Romulus, having attended to these matters, led out his army against the Crustumnerians, who were better prepared than the armies of the other cities had been. And after he had reduced them both in a pitched battle and in an assault upon their city, although they had shown great bravery in the struggle, he did not think fit to punish them any further, but made this city also a Roman colony like the two former.

[2] ἦν δὲ τὸ Κρουστομέριον Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις πολλοῖς πρότερον τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσταλεῖσα χρόνοις. διαγγελλούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης πολλαῖς πόλεσι τὴν τε κατὰ πολέμους γενναιοσύνην τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κρατηθέντας ἐπιείκειαν ἄνδρες τε αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιοχρεοῦς πανοικίᾳ μετανισταμένους ἐπαγόμενοι, ὧν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἡγεμόνος ἐκ Τυρρηνίας ἐλθόντος, ᾧ Καίλιος ὄνομα ἦν, τῶν λόφων τις, ἐν ᾧ καθιδρύθη, Καίλιος εἰς τὸδε χρόνον καλεῖται: καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς ἀπὸ

τῆς Μεδυλλίων ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαι.

[2] Crustumerium was a colony of the Albans sent out many years before the founding of Rome. The fame of the general's valour in war and of his clemency to the conquered being spread through many cities, many brave men joined him, bringing with them considerable bodies of troops, who migrated with their whole families. From one of these leaders, who came from Tyrrhenia and whose name was Caelius, one of the hills, on which he settled, is to this day called the Caelian. Whole cities also submitted to him, beginning with Medullia, and became Roman colonies.

[3] Σαβῖνοι δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ἤχθοντο καὶ δι' αἰτίας ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἐκώλυσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέγα προηκούσῃ συμφέρεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἐδόκει τε αὐτοῖς ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν προτέραν ἄγνοιαν ἀξιολόγου δυνάμεως ἀποστολῇ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀγορὰν ποιησάμενοι σύμπαντες ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τε πόλει καὶ πλεῖστον ἀξίωμα ἐχούσῃ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἣ Κυρὶς ὄνομα ἦν, ψῆφον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου διήνεγκαν [p. 206] ἀποδείξαντες ἡγεμόνα τῆς στρατιᾶς Τίτον, ὃς

[3] But the Sabines, seeing these things, were displeased and blamed one another for not having crushed the power of the Romans while it was in its infancy, instead of which they were now to contend with it when it was greatly increased. They determined, therefore, to make amends for their former mistake by sending out an army of respectable size. And soon afterwards, assembling a general council in the greatest and most famous city in the nation, called Cures, they voted for the war and appointed Titus, surnamed Tatius, the king of that city, to be their general.

[4] ἐπεκαλεῖτο Τάτιος, βασιλέα Κυριτῶν. Σαβῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι καὶ διαλυθέντες κατὰ τὰς πόλεις τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἠὑτρεπιζοντο, ὥς εἰς νέωτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐλάσσοντες.

[4] After the Sabines had come to this decision, the assembly broke up and all returned home to their several cities, where they busied themselves with their preparations for the war, planning to advance on Rome with a great army the following year.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο τὰ κράτιστα, ὥς ἀμυνόμενος ἄνδρας τὰ πολέμια ἀλκίμους, τοῦ μὲν Παλατίου τὸ τεῖχος ὥς ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι τοῖς ἔνδον ὑψηλοτέροις ἐρύμασιν ἐγείρων, τοὺς δὲ παρακειμένους αὐτῷ λόφους τὸν τε Αὐεντῖνον καὶ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον νῦν λεγόμενον ἀποταφρεύων καὶ χαρακώμασι καρτεροῖς περιλαμβάνων, ἐν οἷς τὰ ποιμνία καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς αὐλιζεσθαι τὰς νύκτας ἐπέταξεν ἐχεγγύῳ φρουρᾷ καταλαβὼν ἑκάτερον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χωρίον ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἔμελλεν ἀποταφρεύων καὶ περισταυρῶν καὶ

[37.1] In the meantime Romulus also was making the best preparations he could

in his turn, realizing that he was to defend himself against a warlike people. With this in view, he raised the wall of the Palatine hill by building higher ramparts upon it as a further security to the inhabitants, and fortified the adjacent hills — the Aventine and the one now called the Capitoline — with ditches and strong palisades, and upon these hills he ordered the husbandmen with their flocks to pass the nights, securing each of them by a sufficient garrison; and likewise any other place that promised to afford them security he fortified with ditches and palisades and kept under guard.

[2] διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων. ἦκε δὲ αὐτῷ Τυρρηνῶν ἐπικουρίαν ἱκανὴν ἄγων ἐκ Σολωνίου πόλεως ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔργα διαφανής, Λοκόμων ὄνομα, φίλος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονώς, καὶ παρ' Ἀλβανῶν ἄνδρες, οὓς ὁ πάππος ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ, συχνοὶ στρατιῶται τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ τεχνῖται πολεμικῶν ἔργων, σίτος τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ὅσα τοῦτοις πρόσφορα ἦν ἱκανῶς ἅπαντα ἐπεχορηγεῖτο.

[2] In the meantime there came to him a man of action and reputation for military achievements, named Lucumo, lately become his friend, who brought with him from the city of Solonium a considerable body of Tyrrhenian mercenaries. There came to him also from the Albans, sent by his grandfather, a goodly number of soldiers with their attendants, and with them artificers for making engines of war; these men were adequately supplied with provisions, arms, and all necessary equipment.

[3] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ἐτοιμῷ τὰ [p. 207] πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἦν ἑκατέροις, ἔαρος ἀρχομένου μέλλοντες ἐξάγειν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔγνωσαν ἀποστελεῖναι πρεσβείαν πρῶτον ὡς τοὺς πολεμίους τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἀξιώσουσαν ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ δίκας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰτήσουσαν τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἵνα δὴ δι' ἀνάγκην δοκῶσιν ἀνειληφέναι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ τυγχάνοντες τῶν δικαίων, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ ταῦτα.

[3] When everything was ready for the war on both sides, the Sabines, who planned to take the field at the beginning of spring, resolved first to send an embassy to the enemy both to ask for the return of the women and to demand satisfaction for their seizure, just so that they might seem to have undertaken the war from necessity when they failed to get justice, and they were sending the heralds for this purpose.

[4] Πρωμύλου δὲ ἀξιοῦντος τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας, ἐπειδὴ οὐδ' αὐταῖς ἀκούσαις ὁ μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν βίος ἦν, ἔάν παρὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι μένιν, εἰ δὲ τινος ἄλλου δεόνται λαμβάνειν ὡς παρὰ φίλων, πολέμου δὲ μὴ ἄρχειν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀξιουμένων ὑπακούσαντες ἐξῆγον τὴν στρατιὰν πεζοὺς μὲν ἄγοντες πεντακισχιλίους ἐπὶ δύο μυριάσιν, ἵππεῖς δὲ ὀλίγου δεόντας χιλίῳ.

[4] Romulus, however, asked that the women, since they themselves were not unwilling to live with their husbands, should be permitted to remain with

them; but he offered to grant the Sabines anything else they desired, provided they asked it as from friends and did not begin war. Thereupon the others, agreeing to none of his proposals, led out their army, which consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and almost a thousand horse.

[5] ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαβίνων δέουσα δύο μὲν αἱ τῶν πεζῶν μυριάδες, ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἵππεῖς, καὶ προεκάθητο τῆς πόλεως διχῇ διηρημένη, μία μὲν μοῖρα τὸν Ἑσκυλῖνον κατέχουσα λόφον, ἐφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἦν, ἑτέρα δὲ τὸν Κυρινίον οὐπω ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἧς ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἦν Λοκόμων ἡγεμὼν.

[5] And the Roman army was not much smaller than that of the Sabines, the foot amounting to twenty thousand and the horse to eight hundred; it was encamped before the city in two divisions, one of them, under Romulus himself, being posted on the Esquiline hill, and the other, commanded by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian, on the Quirinal, which did not as yet have that name.

[1] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν Τάτιος ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων βασιλεὺς νυκτὸς ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγε διὰ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν σινόμενος τῶν [p. 208] κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ πρὶν ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν ἥλιον μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κυρινίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τίθησιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὸν χάρακα. ὀρῶν δὲ ἀσφαλεῖ πάντα φυλακῇ κατεχόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, σφίσι δὲ οὐδὲν χωρίον ἀπολειπόμενον ὄχυρὸν εἰς πολλὴν ἐνέπιπτεν ἀπορίαν οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι χρήσεται τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου.

[38.1] Tattius, the king of the Sabines, being informed of their preparations, broke camp in the night and led his army through the country, without doing any damage to the property in the fields, and before sunrise encamped on the plain that lies between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. But observing all the posts to be securely guarded by the enemy and no strong position left for his army, he fell into great perplexity, not knowing what use to make of the enforced delay.

[2] ἀμηχανοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ παράδοξος εὐτυχία γίνεται παραδοθέντος τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ὄχυρωμάτων κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ συντυχίαν. παρεξιώντας γὰρ τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τοὺς Σαβίνους εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, εἴ τι μέρος εὐρεθεῖν τοῦ λόφου κλοπῇ ληφθῆναι δυνατόν ἢ βίᾳ, παρθένος τις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου κατεσκόπει θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ᾧ προσέκειτο ἡ

[2] While he was thus at his wit's end, he met with an unexpected piece of good fortune, the strongest of the fortresses being delivered up to him in the following circumstances. It seems that, while the Sabines were passing by the foot of the Capitoline to view the place and see whether any part of the hill could be taken within by surprise or by force, they were observed from above by a maiden whose name was Tarpeia, the daughter of a distinguished man who had been entrusted with the guarding of the place.

[3] τοῦ χωρίου φυλακῇ, Τάρπεια ὄνομα· καὶ αὐτὴν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος τε καὶ Κίγκιος γράφουσιν, ἔρως εἰσέρχεται τῶν φελλίων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίουσιν ἐφόρουν, καὶ τῶν δακτυλίων· χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τότε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἀβροδίατοι· ὡς δὲ Πείσων Λεῦκιος ὁ τιμητικὸς ἱστορεῖ, καλοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμία γυμνοῦς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὀπλῶν παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁπότερον δὲ τούτων ἀληθέστερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων ἔξεστιν εἰκάζειν.

[3] This maiden, as both Fabius and Cincius relate, conceived a desire for the bracelets which the men wore on their left arms and for their rings; for at that time the Sabines wore ornaments of gold and were no less luxurious in their habits than the Tyrrhenians. But according to the account given by Lucius Piso, the ex-censor, she was inspired by the desire of performing a noble deed, namely, to deprive the enemy of their defensive arms and thus deliver them up to her fellow citizens.

[4] πέμψασα δ' οὖν τῶν θεραπεινίδων τινὰ διὰ πυλίδος, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἔμαθεν ἀνοιγομένην, ἥξιον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σαβίνων ἐλθεῖν αὐτῇ διχα τῶν ἄλλων εἰς λόγους, ὡς ἐκείνῳ διαλεξομένη περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου. δεξαμένου δὲ [p. 209] τοῦ Τατίου τὸν λόγον κατ' ἐλπίδα προδοσίας καὶ συνελθόντος εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον, προσελθοῦσα εἰς ἐφικτόν ἢ παρθένος ἐξεληλυθῆναι μὲν νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς ἔφη χρειᾶς τινὸς ἕνεκα, τὰς δὲ κλεῖς αὐτὴ φυλάττειν τῶν πυλῶν καὶ παραδώσειν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔρυμα νυκτὸς ἀφικομένοις μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας λαβοῦσα τὰ φορήματα τῶν Σαβίνων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς εὐωνύμοις εἶχον ἅπαντες βραχίουσιν.

[4] Which of these accounts is the truer may be conjectured by what happened afterwards. This girl, therefore, sending out one of her maids by a little gate which was not known to be open, desired the king of the Sabines to come and confer with her in private, as if she had an affair of necessity and importance to communicate to him. Tattius, in the hope of having the place betrayed to him, accepted the proposal and came to the place appointed; and the maiden, approaching within speaking distance, informed him that her father had gone out of the fortress during the night on some business, but that she had the keys of the gates, and if they came in the night, she would deliver up the place to them upon condition that they gave her as a reward for her treachery the things which all the Sabines wore on their left arms.

[5] εὐδοκοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τατίου λαβοῦσα τὰς πίστεις δι' ὄρκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ δοῦσα τοῦ μὴ ψεῦδεσθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τόπον τε ὀρίσασα, ἐφ' ὃν ἔδει τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐλθεῖν, τὸν ἐχυρώτατον καὶ νυκτὸς ὥραν τὴν ἀφυλακτοτάτην ἀπῆει καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἔλαθε.

[5] And when Tattius consented to this, she received his sworn pledge for the faithful performance of the agreement and gave him hers. Then having appointed, as the place to which the Sabines were to repair, the strongest part

of the fortress, and the most unguarded hour of the night as the time for the enterprise, she returned without being observed by those inside.

[1] μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων συμφέρονται πάντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον λεγομένοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι. Πείσων γὰρ ὁ τιμητικός, οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄγγελόν φησιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ταρπείας ἀποσταλῆναι νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου δηλώσοντα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὰς γενομένας τῇ κόρῃ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους ὁμολογίας, ὅτι μέλλοι τὰ σκεπαστήρια παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν ὄπλα διὰ τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ὁμολογιῶν παρακρουσασμένη, δύνανιν τε ἀξιῶσοντα πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἑτέραν νυκτός, ὥς αὐτῷ στρατηλάτῃ παραληψόμενον τοὺς πολεμίους γυμνοὺς τῶν ὅπλων: [p. 210] τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον αὐτομολήσαντα πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Σαβίνων κατήγορον γενέσθαι τῶν τῆς Ταρπείας βουλευμάτων.

[39.1] So far all the Roman historians agree, but not in what follows. For Piso, the ex-censor, whom I mentioned before, says that a messenger was sent out of the place by Tarpeia in the night to inform Romulus of the agreement she had made with the Sabines, in consequence of which she proposed, by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the expression in that agreement, to demand their defensive arms, and asking him at the same time to send a reinforcement to the fortress that night, so that the enemy together with their commander, being deprived of their arms, might be taken prisoners; but the messenger, he says, deserted to the Sabine commander and acquainted him with the designs of Tarpeia. Nevertheless, Fabius and Cincius say that no such thing occurred, but they insist that girl kept her treacherous compact.

[2] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον τε καὶ Κίγκιον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ φυλάξαι τὴν κόρην διαβεβαίουνται τὰς περὶ τῆς προδοσίας συνθήκας. τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἅπαντες πάλιν ὁμοίως γράφουσι. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι παραγενομένου σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρει τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σαβίνων φυλάττουσα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡ Τάρπεια τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀνέωξε τὴν συγκειμένην πυλίδα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ φύλακας ἀναστήσασα διαταχέων σῶζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἡξίου καθ' ἑτέρας ἐξόδους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀφανεῖς, ὥς κατεχόντων ἤδη τῶν Σαβίνων τὸ φρούριον:

[2] In what follows, however, all are once more in agreement. For they say that upon the arrival of the king of the Sabines with the flower of his army, Tarpeia, keeping her promise, opened to the enemy the gate agreed upon, and rousing the garrison, urged them to save themselves speedily by other exits unknown to the enemy, as if the Sabines were already masters of the place;

[3] διαφυγόντων δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν Σαβίνους ἀνεωγμένας εὐρόντας τὰς πύλας κατασχεῖν τὸ φρούριον ἔρημον τῶν φυλάκων, τὴν δὲ Τάρπειαν ὥς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς ὅσα συνέθετο παρεσχημένην ἀξιοῦν τοὺς μισθοὺς τῆς προδοσίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν.

[3] that after the flight of the garrison the Sabines, finding the gates open, possessed themselves of the stronghold, now stripped of its guards, and that Tarpeia, alleging that she had kept her part of the agreement, insisted upon receiving the reward of her treachery according to the oaths.

[1] ἔπειτα πάλιν ὁ μὲν Πείσων φησὶ τῶν Σαβίνων τὸν χρυσὸν ἐτοίμων ὄντων διδόναι τῇ κόρῃ τὸν περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίονσι τὴν Τάρπειαν οὐ τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ τοὺς θυρεοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν. Τατίω δὲ θυμόν τε εἰσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξαπάτῃ καὶ λογισμόν τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς ὁμολογίας. δόξα δ' οὖν αὐτῷ δοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα, ὥσπερ ἡ παῖς ἤξιωσε, ποιῆσαι δ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς μηδὲν λαβοῦσα χρήσεται, καὶ αὐτίκα διατεινόμενον ὡς μάλιστα ἰσχύος εἶχε ῥίψαι [p. 211] τὸν θυρεὸν κατὰ τῆς κόρης καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύεσθαι ταύτῃ ποιεῖν. οὕτω δὲ βαλλομένην πάντοθεν τὴν Τάρπειαν ὑπὸ πλήθους τε καὶ ἰσχύος τῶν πληγῶν πεσεῖν καὶ περισωρευθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

[40.1] Here again Piso says that, when the Sabines were ready to give the girl the gold they wore on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded of them their shields and not their ornaments. But Tatius resented the imposition and at the same time thought of an expedient by which he might not violate the agreement. Accordingly, he decided to give her the arms as the girl demanded, but to contrive that she should make no use of them; and immediately poisoning his shield, he hurled it at her with all his might, and ordered the rest to do the same; and thus Tarpeia, being pelted from all sides, fell under the number and force of the blows and died, overwhelmed by the shields.

[2] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ποιοῦσι τὴν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἀπάτην: δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν χρυσόν, ὥσπερ ἡ Τάρπεια ἤξιον, κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀποδιδόναι, χαλεπαίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ μισθοῦ τὰ σκεπαστήρια κατ' αὐτῆς βαλεῖν, ὡς ταῦτα ὅτε ὤμνυσαν αὐτῇ δώσειν ὑπεσχημένους. ἔοικε δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γινόμενα τὴν Πείσωνος ἀληθεστέραν ποιεῖν ἀπόκρισιν.

[2] But Fabius attributes this fraud in the performance of the agreement to the Sabines; for they, being obliged by the agreement to give her the gold as she demanded, were angered at the magnitude of the reward and hurled their shield at her as if they had engaged themselves by their oaths to give her these. But what followed gives the greater appearance of truth to the statement of Piso.

[3] τάφου τε γὰρ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἤξιωται τὸν ἱερώτατον τῆς πόλεως κατέχουσα λόφον, καὶ χοῶς αὐτῇ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦσι, λέγω δὲ ἃ Πείσων γράφει ὣν οὐδενὸς εἰκὸς αὐτήν, εἰ προδιδούσα τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε παρὰ τῶν προδοθέντων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τι λείψανον αὐτῆς ἦν τοῦ σώματος ἀνασκαφὲν ἔξω ῥιφῆναι σὺν χρόνῳ φόβου τε καὶ ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα τῶν

μελλόντων τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων κρινέτω τις ὡς βούλεται.

[3] For she was honoured with a monument in the place where she fell and lies buried on the most sacred hill of the city and the Romans every year perform libations to her (I relate what Piso writes); whereas, if she had died in betraying her country to the enemy, it is not to be supposed that she would have received any of these honours, either from those whom she had betrayed or from those who had slain her, but, if there had been any remains of her body, they would in the course of time have been dug up and cast out of the city, in order to warn and deter others from committing the like crimes. But let everyone judge of the matters as he pleases.

[1] ὁ δὲ Τάτιος καὶ οἱ Σαβῖνοι φρουρίου γενόμενοι καρτεροῦ κύριοι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων [p. 212] ἀποσκευῆς ἀμοχθεὶ παρειληφότες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον. πολλάι μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ διὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις παρεστρατοπεδευκότων ἀλλήλοις δι' ὀλίγου πείραι τε καὶ συμπλοκαὶ οὔτε κατορθώματα μεγάλα ἐκατέρω φέρουσαι τῶν στρατευμάτων οὔτε τὰ σφάλματα, μέγισται δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως ὅλαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας μάχαι διτταὶ καὶ φόνος ἐκατέρων πολλὺς.

[41.1] As for Tattius and the Sabines, having become masters of a strong fortress and having without any trouble taken the greatest part of the Romans' baggage, they carried on the war thereafter in safety. And as the armies lay encamped at a short distance from each other and many occasions offered, there were many essays and skirmishes, which were not attended with any great advantages or losses to either side, and there were also two very severe pitched battles, in which all the forces were opposed to each other and there was great slaughter on both sides.

[2] ἔλκομένου δὴ τοῦ χρόνου γνῶμην ἀμφοτέροι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχον ὀλοσχερεῖ κρῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα μάχῃ, καὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων χωρίον ἡγεμόνες τε ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια καὶ στρατιῶται πολλῶν ἐθάδες ἀγώνων ἄξια λόγου ἔργ' ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐπιόντες τ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας δεχόμενοι καὶ ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς εἰς ἴσον αὖθις καθιστάμενοι.

[2] For, as the time dragged along, they both came to the same resolution, namely, to decide the issue by a general engagement. Whereupon leaders of both armies, who were masters of the art of war, as well as common soldiers, trained in many engagements, advanced into the plain that lay between the two camps and performed memorable feats both in attacking and receiving the enemy as well as in rallying and renewing the fight on equal terms.

[3] οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐστῶτες ἰσορρόπου θεαταὶ ἀγῶνος καὶ θαμινὰ ἐκατέρωσε μεταπίπτοντος τῷ μὲν κατορθοῦντι τῶν σφετέρων ἐπικελεύσει τε καὶ παιανισμῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν τὴν εἰς τὸ εὐψυχον ἐπίδοσιν, τῷ δὲ κάμνοντι καὶ διωκομένῳ δεήσεις τε καὶ οἰμωγὰς προῖεμένοι κωλυταὶ τοῦ εἰς τέλος

ἀνάνδρου ἐγίνοντο: ὑφ' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἡναγκάζοντο καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπομένειν τὰ δεινὰ. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτω διενέγκαντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν μάχην, σκοτούς ὄντος ἤδη ἄσμενοι εἰς τοὺς οἰκίους ἐκάτεροι χάρακας ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [p. 213]

[3] Those who from the ramparts were spectators of this doubtful battle, which, often varying, favoured each side in turn, when their own men had the advantage, inspired them with fresh courage by their exhortations and songs of victory, and when they were hard pressed and pursued, prevented them by their prayers and lamentations from proving utter cowards; and thanks to these shouts of encouragement and entreaty the combatants were compelled to endure the perils of the struggle even beyond their strength. And so, after they had thus carried on the contest all that day without a decision, darkness now coming on, they both gladly retired to their own camps.

[1] ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀνακτησάμενοι δυνάμεις τε παρασκευάσαντες ἄλλας, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἑτέραν συνάψαι μάχην, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ προτέρῳ χωρίον συνελθόντες ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο.

[42.1] But on the following days they buried their dead, took care of the wounded and reinforced their armies; then, resolving to engaged in another battle, they met again in the same plain as before and fought till night.

[2] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφοτέροις ἐπικρατούντων τοῖς κέρασιν, εἶχε δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμύλος, τοῦ δὲ ἀριστεροῦ Λοκόμων ὁ Τυρρηνόσ' τοῦ δὲ μέσου μηδέπω κρίσιν ἔχοντος, ὁ κωλύσας τὴν εἰς τέλος τῶν Σαβίνων ἦτταν καὶ εἰς ἀντίπαλα καταστήσας αὖθις τὰ λειπόμενα τοῖς νικῶσιν εἰς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο Μέττιος Κούρτιος ὄνομα, ῥώμην τε σώματος πολὺς ἀνὴρ, καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα ὀκνεῖν φόβον ἦ

[2] In this battle, when the Romans had the advantage on both wings (the right was commanded by Romulus himself and the left by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian) but in the centre the battle remained as yet undecided, one man prevented the utter defeat of the Sabines and rallied their wavering forces to renew the struggle with the victors. This man, whose name was Mettius Curtius, was of great physical strength and courageous in action, but he was famous especially for his contempt of all fear and danger.

[3] κίνδυνον εὐδοκιμῶν. οὗτος δ' ἐτάχθη μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ μέσην ἀγωνιζομένων τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἐνίκᾳ, βουλευθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ κέρατα τῶν Σαβίνων μοχθοῦντα ἤδη καὶ ἐξωθούμενα εἰς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσαι, παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐδίδωκε τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν πολεμίων ἐσκεδασμένους καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν αὐτοὺς ἤλασεν, ὥστε ἡναγκάσθη καταλιπὼν ἡμιτελῇ τὴν νίκην ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπιστρέφει τε καὶ ἐπὶ

τὰ νικῶντα τῶν πολεμίων ὥσασθαι μέρος.

[3] He had been appointed to command those fighting in the centre of the line and was victorious over those who opposed him; but wishing to restore the battle in the wings also, where the Sabine troops were by now in difficulties and being forced back, he encouraged those about him, and pursuing such of the enemy's forces as were fleeing and scattered, he drove them back to the gates of the city. This obliged Romulus to leave the victory but half completed and to return and make a drive against the victorious troops of the enemy.

[4] τὸ μὲν δὴ κάμνον τῶν Σαβίνων μέρος ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ πάλιν ἦν ἀπελθούσης τῆς μετὰ Ῥωμύλου δυνάμεως, ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος ἅπας περὶ τὸν Κούρτιον [p. 214] καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικῶντας ἐγεγόνει. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οἱ Σαβῖνοι δεξάμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους λαμπρῶς ἠγωνίσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνιόντων ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ διέσωζον ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, πολλὴν τοῦ Κουρτίου παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ μὴ διώκεσθαι τεταραγμένως, ἀλλὰ βάδην ἀποχωρεῖν ἀσφάλειαν.

[4] Upon the departure of Romulus with his forces those of the Sabines who had been in trouble were once more upon equal terms with their opponents, and the whole danger was now centred round Curtius and his victorious troops. For some time the Sabines received the onset of the Romans and fought brilliantly, but when large numbers joined in attacking them, they gave way and began to seek safety in their camp, Curtius amply securing their retreat, so that they were not driven back in disorder, but retired without precipitation.

[5] αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰστήκει μαχόμενος καὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐπιόντα ἐδέχετο, γίνεται τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτῶν συμπεσόντων ἀλλήλοις μέγας καὶ καλὸς ἀγών. ἔξαιμος δὲ ὢν ἤδη καὶ καταβελῆς ὁ Κούρτιος ὑπῆει κατ' ὀλίγον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν ὑπεδέχετο λίμνη βαθεῖα, ἣν περιελθεῖν μὲν χαλεπὸν ἦν περικεχυμένων πανταχόθεν τῶν πολεμίων, διελθεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἰλύος πλήθους, ἣν τὰ πέριξ τέλματα εἶχε, καὶ βάθους ὕδατος τοῦ κατὰ μέσην αὐτὴν συνεστῶτος ἄπορον.

[5] For he himself stood his ground fighting and awaited Romulus as he approached; and there ensued a great and glorious engagement between the leaders themselves as they fell upon each other. But at last Curtius, having received many wounds and lost much blood, retired by degrees till he came to a deep lake in his rear which its difficult for him to make his way round, his enemies being massed on all sides of it, and impossible to pass through by reason of the quantity of mud on the marshy shore surrounding it and the depth of water that stood in the middle.

[6] ταύτῃ πλησιάσας ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ νᾶμα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ διαφθαρησομένου καὶ ἅμα

ἀδύνατον ἦν κατὰ τέλματός τε αὐτὸν καὶ δι' ὕδατος πολλοῦ διώκειν' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σαβίνους τρέπεται· ὁ δὲ Κούρτιος πολλὰ μοχθήσας σὺν χρόνῳ σώζεται τε ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τὰ ὄπλα ἔχων καὶ εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἀπάγεται. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἀνακέχωσται μὲν ἤδη, καλεῖται δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ πάθους Κούρτιος λάκκος ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα ὧν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς.

[6] When he came to the lake, he threw himself into the water, armed as he was, and Romulus, supposing that he would immediately perish in the lake, — moreover, it was not possible to pursue him through so much mud and water, — turned upon the rest of the Sabines. But Curtius with great difficulty got safely out of the lake after a time without losing his arms and was led away to the camp. This place is now filled up, but it is called from this incident the Lacus Curtius, being about in the middle of the Roman Forum.

[1] Ῥωμύλος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους διώκων ἐγγὺς [p. 215] γενόμενος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων αἰρήσειν τὸ φρούριον ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς τραύμασι καταπονηθεὶς καὶ δὴ καὶ λίθου πληγῇ ἐξαισίῳ κατὰ κροτάφου ἐνεχθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν κακωθεὶς, αἵρεται τε πρὸς τῶν παρόντων ἡμιθανὴς καὶ εἰς τὸ

[43.1] Romulus, while pursuing the others, had drawn near the Capitoline and had great hopes of capturing the stronghold, but being weakened by many other wounds and stunned by a severe blow from a stone which was hurled from the heights and hit him on the temple, he was taken up half dead by those about him and carried inside the walls.

[2] τεῖχος ἀποφέρεται. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δέος ἐμπίπτει τὸν ἡγεμόνα οὐκέτι ὀρώσι, καὶ τρέπεται τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας εἰς φυγὴν· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ταχθέντες ἅμα τῷ Λοκόμῳ τῶς μὲν ἀντεῖχον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀναθαρρρυνόμενοι, λαμπροτάτου τὰ πολέμια ἀνδρὸς καὶ πλεῖστα ἔργα κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειξαμένου· ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεῖνος ἐλασθεὶς διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν σαννίῳ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπολιπούσης ἔπεσεν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διέμειναν, φυγὴ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντων αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τεθαρρηκότες ἐδίωκον ἄχρι τῆς πόλεως.

[2] When the Romans no longer saw their leader, they were seized with fear and the right wing turned to flight; but the troops that were posted on the left with Lucumo stood their ground for some time, encouraged by their leader, a man most famous for his warlike prowess and who had performed many exploits during the course of this war. But when he in his turn was pierced through the side with a javelin and fell through weakness, they also gave way; and thereupon the whole Roman army was in flight, and the Sabines, taking courage, pursued them up to the city.

[3] ἤδη δὲ πλησιάζοντες ταῖς πύλαις ἀπηλαύνοντο τῆς νεότητος ἐπεξελεύσεως αὐτοῖς ἀκραιφνοῦς, ἥ τὰ τείχη φυλάττειν ὁ βασιλεὺς

ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου, ῥᾶον γὰρ ἤδη εἶχεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἐκβοηθήσαντος ὡς εἶχε τάχους, ἐγίνετό τε ἀγχίστροφος ἢ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τύχη καὶ πολλήν ἔχουσα τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταβολήν.

[3] But as they were already drawing near the gates they were repulsed, when the youths whom the king had appointed to guard the walls sallied out against them with their forces fresh; and when Romulus, too, who by this time was in some degree recovered of his wound, came out to their assistance with all possible speed, the fortune of the battle quickly turned and veered strongly to the other side.

[4] οἱ μὲν γε φεύγοντες ὡς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου φανέντα εἶδον ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου δέους εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐχ ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς [p. 216] χωρεῖν: οἱ δὲ τέως κατειργοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδεμίαν οἰόμενοι μηχανὴν εἶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ αἰφνιδιὸν τε καὶ παράδοξον ἐθεάσαντο τῆς μεταβολῆς, περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐσκόπουν. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐπετής ἢ πρὸς τὸν χάρακα ἀναχώρησις καθ' ὑψηλοῦ τε χωρίου καὶ διὰ κοίλῃς ὁδοῦ διωκομένοις, καὶ ὁ πολὺς αὐτῶν φόνος ἐν ταύτῃ γίνεται τῇ τροπῇ.

[4] For those who were fleeing recovered themselves from their late fear on the unexpected appearance of their leader, and reforming their lines, no longer hesitated to come to blows with the enemy; while the latter, who but now had been driving the fugitives into the city and thought there was nothing that could prevent them from taking the city itself by storm, when they saw this sudden and unexpected change, took thought for their own safety. But they found it no easy matter to retreat to their camp, pursued as they were down from a height and through a hollow way, and in this rout they sustained heavy losses.

[5] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀγχωμάλως ἀγωνισάμενοι καὶ εἰς τύχας παραλόγους ἀμφότεροι καταστάντες ἡλίου περὶ καταφορὰν ὄντος ἤδη διεκρίθησαν.

[5] And so, after they had thus fought that day without a decision and both had met with unexpected turns of fortune, the sun now being near his setting, they parted.

[1] ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις οἱ τε Σαβῖνοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐγίνοντο πότερον ἀποίσουσιν ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις, ὅσα δύνανται τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων κακώσαντες, ἢ προσμεταπέμπωνται στρατιὰν ἑτέραν οἴκοθεν καὶ προσμένωσι λιπαροῦντες ἕως τὸ κάλλιστον

[44] But during the following days the Sabines were taking counsel whether they should lead their forces back home, after doing all possible damage to the enemy's country, or should send for another army from home and still hold

out obstinately until they should put an end to the war in the most honourable manner.

[2] ἐπιθήσουσι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος. πονηρὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀπιέναι μετ' αἰσχύνῃς τῆς ἀπράκτου ἀναχωρήσεως ἐφαίνετο εἶναι καὶ τὸ μένειν οὐδενός σφισι χωροῦντος κατ' ἐλπίδα. συμβάσεως δὲ περὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἥνπερ ἐδόκουν εἶναι μόνην εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ πολέμου ἀπαλλαγὴν, οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς [p. 217]

[2] They considered that it would be a bad thing for them to return home with the shame of having effected nothing or to stay there when none of their attempts succeeded according to their expectations. And to treat with the enemy concerning an accommodation, which they looked upon as the only honourable means of putting an end to the war, they conceived to be no more fitting for them than for the Romans.

[3] μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρμόττειν ὑπελάμβανον: Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν Σαβίνων εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν ἐνέπιπτον ὃ τι χρῆσαιτο τοῖς πράγμασιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδιδόναι τὰς γυναῖκας ἤξιουν οὔτε κατέχειν: τῷ μὲν ἦτταν ὁμολογουμένην ἀκολουθεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν σφισιν ἐσόμενον πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο ἐπιταχῶσιν ὑπομένειν, τῷ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπιδεῖν χωρας τε πορθουμένης καὶ νεότητος τῆς κρατίστης ἀπολλυμένης: περὶ φιλίας τε εἰ διαλέγοντο πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους, οὐδενὸς ὑπελάμβανον τεύξεσθαι τῶν μετρίων διὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι ταῖς αὐθαδεῖαις οὐ μετρίότης γίνεται πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ θεραπείας τραπομένον ἀλλὰ βαρύτης.

[3] On the other side, the Romans were not less, but even more, perplexed than the Sabines what course to take in the present juncture. For they could not resolve either to restore the women or to retain them, believing that the former course involved an acknowledgment of defeat and that it would be necessary to submit to whatever else might be imposed upon them, and that the alternative course would necessitate their witnessing many terrible sights as their country was being laid waste and the flower of their youth destroyed; and, if they should treat with the Sabines for peace, they despaired of obtaining any moderate terms, not only for many other reasons, but chiefly because the proud and headstrong treat an enemy who resorts to courting them, not with moderation, but with severity.

[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα διαλογιζόμενοι καὶ οὔτε μάχης ἄρχειν τολμῶντες οὔτε περὶ φιλίας διαλεγόμενοι παρέϊλκον τὸν χρόνον, αἱ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες ὅσαι τοῦ Σαβίνων ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι γένους, δι' ἃς ὁ πόλεμος συνειστήκει, συνελθοῦσαι δίχα τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἓν χωρίον καὶ λόγον ἑαυταῖς δοῦσαι γνώμην ἐποίησαντο συμβατηρίων ἄρξαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐταὶ λόγων.

[45] While both sides were consuming the time in these considerations, neither daring to renew the fight nor treating for peace, the wives of the Romans who were of the Sabine race and the cause of the war, assembling in one place apart from their husbands and consulting together, determined to make the first overtures themselves to both armies concerning an accommodation.

[2] ἡ δὲ τοῦτο εἰσηγησαμένη τὸ βούλευμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν Ἑρσιλία μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο, γένους δ' οὐκ ἀφανοῦς ἦν ἐν Σαβίνοις. ταύτην δ' οἱ μὲν φασι γεγαμημένην ἤδη σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρπασθῆναι [p. 218] κόραις ὡς παρθένον, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες ἐκοῦσαν ὑπομεῖναι λέγουσι μετὰ θυγατρὸς: ἀρπασθῆναι γὰρ δὴ κάκεινης θυγατέρα μονογενή.

[2] The one who proposed this measure to the rest of the women was named Hersilia, a woman of no obscure birth among the Sabines. Some say that, though already married, she was seized with the others as supposedly a virgin; but those who give the most probable account say that she remained with her daughter of her own free will, for according to them her only daughter was among those who had been seized.

[3] ὡς δὲ ταύτην ἔσχον τὴν γνώμην αἱ γυναῖκες ἤκον ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τυχοῦσαι λόγου μακρὰς ἐξέτειναν δεήσεις, ἐπιτροπὴν ἀξιοῦσαι λαβεῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐξόδου, πολλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν λέγουσαι περὶ τοῦ συνάξειν εἰς ἓν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ποιῆσιν φιλίαν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν οἱ συνεδρεύοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα τε ἡγάσθησαν καὶ πόρον ὡς ἐν ἀμυγχανοῖς πράγμασι τοῦτον ὑπέλαβον εἶναι μόνον.

[3] After the women had taken this resolution they came to the senate, and having obtained an audience, they made long pleas, begging to be permitted to go out to their relations and declaring that they had many excellent grounds for hoping to bring the two nations together and establish friendship between them. When the senators who were present in council with the king heard this, they were exceedingly pleased and looked upon it, in view of their present difficulties, as the only solution.

[4] γίνεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δόγμα τοιόνδε βουλῆς: ὅσαι τοῦ Σαβίνων γένους ἦσαν ἔχουσαι τέκνα, ταύταις ἐξουσίαν εἶναι καταλιπούσαις τὰ τέκνα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι πρεσβεύειν ὡς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, ὅσαι δὲ πλειόνων παιδων μητέρες ἦσαν ἐπάγεσθαι μοῖραν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσηνδῆτινα καὶ πράττειν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν συνάξουσιν τὰ ἔθνη.

[4] Thereupon a decree of the senate was passed to the effect that those Sabine women who had children should, upon leaving them with their husbands, have permission to go as ambassadors to their countrymen, and that those who had several children should take along as many of them as they wished and endeavour to reconcile the two nations.

[5] μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξήρσαν ἐσθῆτας ἔχουσαι πενθίμους, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ

τέκνα νήπια ἐπαγόμενα. ὥς δ' εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Σαβίνων προῆλθον ὀδυρόμεναι τε καὶ προσπίπτουσαι τοῖς τῶν ἀπαντῶντων γόνασι πολὺν οἶκτον ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶντων ἐκίνησαν,

[5] After this the women went out dressed in mourning, some of them also carrying their infant children. When they arrived in the camp of the Sabines, lamenting and falling at the feet of those they met, they aroused great compassion in all who saw them and none could refrain from tears.

[6] καὶ τὰ δάκρυα κατέχειν οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἦν. συναθρόντος δὲ αὐταῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν προβούλων καὶ κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν ἢ τοῦ [p. 219] βουλευάματος ἄρξασα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχουσα τῆς πρεσβείας Ἑρσιλία μακρὰν καὶ συμπαθῆ διεξῆλθε δέησιν, ἀξιοῦσα χαρίσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ταῖς δεομέναις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δι' αἷς ἐξενηγέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπέφαινε: ἐφ' οἷς δὲ γενήσονται δικαίοις αἱ διαλύσεις, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθόντας ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διομολογήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ὀρῶντας.

[6] And when the councillors had been called together to receive them and the king had command them to state their reasons for coming, Hersilia, who had proposed the plan and was at the head of the embassy, delivered a long and pathetic plea, begging them to grant peace to those who were interceding for their husbands and on whose account, she pointed out, the war had been undertaken. As to the terms, however, on which peace should be made, she said the leaders, coming together by themselves, might settle them with a view to the advantage of both parties.

[1] τοιαῦτα εἰποῦσαι προὔπεσον ἅπασαι τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γονάτων ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ διέμενον ἐρριμμένοι, τέως ἀνέστησαν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἱ παρόντες ἅπαντα ποιήσιν τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ ὑποσχόμενοι. μεταστησάμενοι δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ βουλευσάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔκριναν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλλαγὰς. καὶ γίνονται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκεχειρίαι μὲν πρῶτον: ἔπειτα συνελθόντων τῶν βασιλέων συνθῆκαι περὶ φιλίας.

[46.1] After she had spoken thus, all the women with their children threw themselves at the feet of the king and remained prostrate till those who were present raised them from the ground and promised to do everything that was reasonable and in their power. Then, having ordered them to withdraw from the council and having consulted together, they decided to make peace. And first a truce was agreed upon between the two nations; then the kings met together and a treaty of friendship was concluded.

[2] ἦν δὲ τὰ συνομολογηθέντα τοῖς ἀνδράσι, περὶ ὧν τοὺς ὅρκους ἐποίησαντο, τοιάδε: βασιλέας μὲν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τάτιον ἰσοψήφους ὄντας καὶ τιμὰς καρπομένους τὰς ἴσας, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν μὲν

πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸ αὐτὸ φυλάττουσαν ὄνομα Ῥώμην, καὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πολιτῶν Ῥωμαῖον, ὡς πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τῆς Τατίου πατρίδος κοινῇ περιλαμβανομένους κλήσει Κυρίτας: πολιτεῦειν δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους Σαβίνων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἱερά τε συνενεγκαμένους καὶ εἰς φυλὰς καὶ εἰς φράτρας ἐπιδοθέντας. [p. 220]

[2] The terms agreed upon by the two, which they confirmed by their oaths, were as follows: that Romulus and Tatius should be kings of the Romans with equal authority and should enjoy equal honours; that the city, preserving its name, should from its founder be called Rome; that each individual citizen should as before be called a Roman, but that the people collectively should be comprehended under one general appellation and from the city of Tatius be called Quirites, and that all the Sabines who wished might live in Rome, joining in common rites with the Romans and being assigned to tribes and curiae.

[3] ταῦτα ὁμόσαντες καὶ βωμοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἰδρυσάμενοι κατὰ μέσην μάλιστα τὴν καλουμένην ἱερὰν ὁδὸν συνεκεράσθησαν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβόντες ἡγεμόνες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου, Τάτιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οἰκῶν τῶν διαφανεστάτων ὑπέμειναν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τιμὰς ἔσχον, ἃς τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦτο γένος, Οὐόλοσσος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Τάλλος Τυράννωσ ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ τελευταῖος Μέττιος Κούρτιος, ὁ τὴν λίμνην σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις διανηξάμενος, οἷς παρέμειναν ἐταῖροί τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ πελάται, τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐλάττους.

[3] After they had sworn to this treaty and, to confirm their oaths, had erected altars near the middle of the Sacred Way, as it is called, they mingled together. And all the commanders returned home with their forces except Tatius, the king, and three persons of the most illustrious families, who remained at Rome and received those honours which their posterity after them enjoyed; these were Volusus Valerius and Tallus, surnamed Tyrannius, with Mettius Curtius, the man who swam cross the lake with his arms, and with them there remained also their companions, relations and clients, no fewer in number than the former inhabitants.

[1] καταστάντων δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔδοξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ὄχλου πλῆθος ἢ πόλιν εἰλήφει, διπλάσιον τοῦ προτέρου ποιῆσαι τὸν τῶν πατρικίων ἀριθμὸν προσκαταλέξαντας σὺν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις οἰκοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον ἐποικησάντων ἴσους τοῖς προτέροις, νεωτέρους οὖς ἐκάλεσαν πατρικίους: ἔξ ὧν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, οὓς αἱ φρᾶτραι προεχειρίσαντο, τοῖς ἄρχαίοις βουλευταῖς προσέγραψαν.

[47.1] Everything being thus settled, the kings thought proper, since the city had received a great increase of people, to double the number of the patricians by adding to the most distinguished families others from among the new settlers equal in number to the old, and they called these "new patricians." Of these a

hundred persons, chosen by the curiae, were enrolled with the original senators.

[2] περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες οἱ συγγράψαντες τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἱστορίας συμπεφωνήκασιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες περὶ τοῦ πλήθους [p. 221] τῶν προσκαταγραφέντων βουλευτῶν διαφέρονται. οὐ γὰρ ἑκατὸν ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἐπεισελθόντας εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀποφαίνουσι γενέσθαι.

[2] Concerning these matters almost all the writers of Roman history agree. But some few differ regarding the number of the newly-enrolled senators, for they say it was not a hundred, but fifty, that were added to the senate.

[3] περὶ δὲ τῶν τιμῶν, ἃς ταῖς γυναιξὶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπέδωκαν, ὅτι συνήγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν, οὐχ ἅπαντες Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς συμφέρονται. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν γράφουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δωρήσασθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς φράτρας τριάκοντα οὔσας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐπωνύμους τῶν γυναικῶν ποιῆσαι: τοσαύτας γὰρ εἶναι γυναῖκας τὰς ἐπιπρεσβευσάμενας.

[3] Concerning the honours, also, which the kings conferred on the women in return for having reconciled them, not all the Roman historians agree; for some write that, besides many other signal marks of honour which they bestowed upon them, they gave their names to the curiae, which were thirty, as I have said, that being the number of the women who went upon the embassy.

[4] Οὐάρρων δὲ Τερέντιος τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ παλαιότερον ἔτι λέγων ἐν ταῖς κουρίαις τεθῆναι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ πλήθους διαίρεσιν τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ληφθέντα ἡγεμόνων, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ πάγων: τὰς τ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξελθούσας γυναῖκας οὐ τριάκοντα εἶναι φησιν, ἀλλὰ πεντακοσίας τε καὶ τριάκοντα τριῶν δεοῦσας οἶται τε οὐδ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τοσούτων γυναικῶν τιμὴν ἀφελομένους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὀλίγαις ἐξ αὐτῶν δοῦναι μόναις. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔτε μηδένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον οὔτε πλείω γράφειν τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐφαίνεται μοι.

[4] But Terentius Varro does not agree with them in this particular, for he says that Romulus gave the names to the curiae earlier than this, when he first divided the people, some of these names being taken from men who were their leaders and others from districts; and he says that the number of the women who went upon the embassy was not thirty, but five hundred and twenty-seven, and he thinks it very improbable that the kings would have deprived so many women of this honour to bestow it upon only a few of them. But as regards these matters, it has not seemed to me fitting either to omit all mention of them or to say more than is sufficient.

[1] περὶ δὲ τῆς Κυριτῶν πόλεως, ἐξ ἧς οἱ περὶ τὸν Τάτιον ἦσαν ἄπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν ἦσαν, εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα

παρελάβομεν. ἐν τῇ Ῥεατίνων χώρᾳ καθ' [p. 222] ὃν χρόνον Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτὴν κατεῖχον παρθένος τις ἐπιχωρία τοῦ πρώτου γένους εἰς ἱερὸν ἦλθεν Ἐνυαλίου χορεύουσα:

[48.1] Concerning the city of Cures from which Tatius and his followers came (for the course of my narrative requires that I should speak of them also, and say who they were and whence), we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in possession of it, a certain maiden of that country, who was of the highest birth, went into the temple of Enyalius to dance.

[2] τὸν δ' Ἐνυάλιον οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες Κυρῖνον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἴτε Ἄρης ἐστὶν εἴτε ἕτερός τις ὁμοίας Ἄρει τιμᾶς ἔχων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑνὸς οἴονται θεοῦ πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἡγεμόνος ἐκάτερον τῶν ὀνομάτων κατηγορῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ κατὰ

[2] The Sabines and the Romans, who have learned it from them, give to Enyalius the name of Quirinus, without being able to affirm for certain whether he is Mars or some other god who enjoys the same honours as Mars. For some think that both these names are used of one and the same god who presides over martial combats; others, that the names are applied to two different gods of war.

[3] δύο τάττεσθαι δαιμόνων πολεμιστῶν τὰ ὀνόματα. ἐν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ τεμένει χορεύουσα ἢ παῖς ἔνθεος ἄφνω γίνεται καὶ καταλιποῦσα τὸν χορὸν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰστρέχει τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα ἐγκύμων ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὡς ἅπασιν ἐδόκει, γενομένη τίκτει παῖδα Μόδιον ὄνομα, Φαβίδιον ἐπικλησιν, ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς μορφήν τε οὐ κατ' ἀνθρωπον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἴσχει, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων γίνεται λαμπρότατος: καὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέρχεται πόθος οἰκίσαι πόλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ.

[3] Be that as it may, this maiden, while she was dancing in the temple, was on a sudden seized with divine inspiration, and quitting the dance, ran into the inner sanctuary of the god; after which, being with child by this divinity, as everybody believed, she brought forth a son named Modius, with the surname Fabidius, who, being arrived at manhood, had not a human but a divine form and was renowned above all others for his warlike deeds. And conceiving a desire to found a city on his own account,

[4] συναγαγὼν δὴ χεῖρα πολλὴν τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἰκούντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ κτίζει τὰς καλουμένας Κύρεις, ὡς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ἐξ οὗ γενέσθαι λόγος αὐτὸν εἶχε, τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμῆς: κύρεις γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς αἰχμὰς καλοῦσιν. ταῦτα μὲν οὗν Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων γράφει.

[4] he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood and in

a very short time built the city called Cures: he gave it this name, as some say, from the divinity whose son he was reputed to be, or, as others state, from a spear, since the Sabines call spears cures. This is the account given by Terentius Varro.

[1] Ζηνόδοτος δ' ὁ Τροιζήνιος συγγραφεὺς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἔθνος αὐθιγενὲς ἰστορεῖ τὸ μὲν [p. 223] πρῶτον οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥεατίνην: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐξελασθέντας εἰς ταύτην ἀφικέσθαι τὴν γῆν ἔνθα νῦν οἰκοῦσι καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἅμα τῷ τόπῳ τοῦνομα Σαβίνους ἐξ Ὀμβρικῶν προσαγορευθῆναι.

[49.1] But Zenodotus of Troezen, a . . . historian, relates that the Umbrians, a native race, first dwelt in the Reatine territory, as it is called, and that, being driven from there by the Pelasgians, they came into the country which they now inhabit, and changing their name with their place of habitation, from Umbrians were called Sabines.

[2] Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει τεθῆναι φησιν ἐπὶ Σάβου τοῦ Σάγκου δαίμονος ἐπιχωρίου, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σάγκον ὑπὸ τινων πιστιον καλεῖσθαι Δία. πρώτην δ' αὐτῶν οἰκησιν ἀποφαίνει γενέσθαι κώμην τιὰ καλουμένην Τεστροῦναν ἀγχοῦ πόλεως Ἀμιτέρνης κειμένην, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμηθέντας τότε Σαβίνους εἰς τὴν Ῥεατίνην ἐμβαλεῖν Ἀβοριγίνων ἅμα Πελασγοῖς κατοικούντων καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην Κοτυλίασ πολέμῳ χειρωσαμένους κατασχεῖν.

[2] But Porcius Cato says that the Sabine race received its name from Sabus, the son of Sancus, a divinity of that country, and that this Sancus was by some called Jupiter Fidius. He says also that their first place of abode was a certain village called Testruna, situated near the city of Amiternum; that from there the Sabines made an incursion at that time into the Reatine territory, which was inhabited by the Aborigines together with the Pelasgians, and took their most famous city, Cutiliae, by force of arms and occupied it;

[3] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ῥεατίνης ἀποικίας ἀποστειλαντας ἄλλας τε πόλεις κτίσαι πολλὰς, ἐν αἷς οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς προσαγορευομένας Κύρεις: χώραν δὲ κατασχεῖν τῆς μὲν Ἀδριανῆς θαλάττης ἀπέχουσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους, τῆς δὲ Τυρρηνικῆς τετταράκοντα πρὸς διακοσίους: μῆκος δὲ αὐτῆς εἶναι φησιν ὀλίγῳ

[3] and that, sending colonies out of the Reatine territory, they built many cities, in which they lived without fortifying them, among others the city called Cures. He further states that the country they occupied was distant from the Adriatic about two hundred and eighty stades and from the Tyrrhenian Sea a little less than a thousand stades.

[4] μεῖον σταδίων χιλίων. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαβίνων ἐν ἱστορίαις ἐπιχωρίοις λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποικησάντων

αὐτοῖς καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτροπεύων Εὐνομον τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Λυκοῦργος [p. 224] ἔθετο τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοὺς νόμους. ἀχθομένους γάρ τινες τῇ σκληρότητι τῆς νομοθεσίας καὶ διαστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων οἴχεσθαι τὸ παραπάν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: ἔπειτα διὰ πελάγους πολλοῦ φερομένους εὐξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἵκθων γάρ τινα ὑπελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅποιασδήποτε γῆς εἰς ἣν ἂν ἔλθωσι πρώτην, ἐν ταύτῃ

[4] There is also another account given of the Sabines in the native histories, to the effect that a colony of Lacedaemonians settled among them at the time when Lycurgus, being guardian to his nephew Eunomus, gave his laws to Sparta. For the story goes that some of the Spartans, disliking the severity of his laws and separating from the rest, quitted the city entirely, and after being borne through a vast stretch of sea, made a vow to the gods to settle in the first land they should reach; for a longing came upon them for any land whatsoever.

[5] κατοικήσειν. καταχθέντας δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ τὰ καλούμενα Πωμεντῖνα πεδία τὸ τε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ὠρμίσαντο, Φορωνίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πελαγίου φορήσεως ὀνομάσαι καὶ θεᾶς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι Φορωνίας, ἣ τὰς εὐχὰς ἔθεντο: ἦν νῦν ἐνὸς ἀλλαγῇ γράμματος Φερωνίαν καλοῦσιν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ὀρμηθέντας αὐτῶν τινες συνοίκους τοῖς Σαβίνοις γενέσθαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων εἶναι Σαβίνων Λακωνικά, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ φιλοπόλεμόν τε καὶ τὸ λιτοδίατον καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ βίου σκληρόν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Σαβίνων γένους ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

[5] At last they made that part of Italy which lies near the Pomentine plains and they called the place where they first landed Foronia, in memory of their being borne through the sea, and built a temple owing to the goddess Foronia, to whom they had addressed their vows; this goddess, by the alteration of one letter, they now call Feronia. And some of them, setting out from thence, settled among the Sabines. It is for this reason, they say, that many of the habits of the Sabines are Spartan, particularly their fondness for war and their frugality and a severity in all the actions of their lives. But this is enough about the Sabine race.

[1] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τάτιον τὴν τε πόλιν εὐθύς ἐποιοῦν μεῖζονα προσθέντες ἑτέρους αὐτῇ δύο λόφους, τὸν τε Κυρίνιον κληθέντα καὶ τὸν Καίλιον, καὶ διελόμενοι τὰς οἰκῆσεις χωρὶς ἀλλήλων διαίταν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑκάτεροι χωρίοις ἐποιοῦντο, Ῥωμύλος μὲν τὸ Παλάτιον κατέχων καὶ τὸ Καίλιον ὄρος: ἔστι δὲ τῷ Παλατίῳ προσεχές: Τάτιος δὲ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον, ὃνπερ ἔξ ἀρχῆς κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Κυρίνιον [p. 225]

[50.1] Romulus and Tatius immediately enlarged the city by adding to it two other hills, the Quirinal, as it is called, and the Caelian; and separating their habitations, each of them had his particular place of residence. Romulus occupied the Palatine and Caelian hills, the latter being next to the Palatine,

and Tatius the Capitoline hill, which he had seized in the beginning, and the Quirinal.

[2] ὄχθον. τὸ δ' ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πεδῖον ἐκκόψαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκυῖαν ὕλην καὶ τῆς λίμνης, ἣ δὴ διὰ τὸ κοῖλον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον ἐπλήθυνε τοῖς καπιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν νάμασι, τὰ πολλὰ χώσαντες ἀγορὰν αὐτόθι κατεστήσαντο, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι διατελοῦσι, καὶ τὰς συνόδους ἐνταῦθα ἐποιοῦντο ἐν Ἡφαίστου χρηματίζοντες ἱερῷ

[2] And cutting down the wood that grew on the plain at the foot of the Capitoline and filling up the greatest part of the lake, which, since it lay in a hollow, was kept well supplied by the waters that came down from the hills, they converted the plain into a forum, which the Romans continue to use even now; there they held their assemblies, transacting their business in the temple of Vulcan, which stands a little above the Forum.

[3] μικρὸν ἐпанεστηκότι τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἱερὰ τε ἰδρύσαντο καὶ βωμοὺς καθιέρωσαν οἷς ἠϋξάντο κατὰ τὰς μάχας θεοῖς, Ῥωμύλος μὲν ὀρθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μουγωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσαν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ὑπακούσας ταῖς εὐχαῖς στήναι τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι: Τάτιος δὲ Ἥλιῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Ῥέᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑστίᾳ καὶ Ἥφαιστῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ὧν χαλεπὸν ἐξειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν ἀπάσαις τε ταῖς κουρίαις Ἥρᾳ τραπέζας ἔθετο κυριτίδι λεγομένῃ, αἱ καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνου κεῖνται.

[3] They built temples also and consecrated altars to those gods to whom they had addressed their vows during their battles: Romulus to Jupiter Stator, near the Porta Mugonia, as it is called, which leads to the Palatine hill from the Sacred Way, because this god had heard his vows and had caused his army to stop in its flight and to renew the battle; and Tatius to the Sun and Moon, to Saturn and to Rhea, and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, Enyalius, and to other gods whose names are difficult to be expressed in the Greek language; and in every curia he dedicated tables to Juno called Quiritis, which remain even to this day.

[4] ἔτη μὲν οὖν πέντε συνεβασίλευσαν ἀλλήλοις ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς διαφερόμενοι χρήματος, ἐν οἷς κοινὴν πρᾶξιν ἀπεδείξαντο τὴν ἐπὶ Καμερίνους στρατείαν. ληστήρια γὰρ ἐκπέμποντες οἱ Καμερίνοι καὶ πολλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακοῦντες οὐ συνέβαινον ἐπὶ δίκην πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενοι: οὐς ἐκ παρατάξεώς τε νικήσαντες ἔχωρῃσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁμόσέ καὶ [p. 226] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τειχομαχίας κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες ὅπλα μὲν ἀφείλοντο καὶ χώρας ἐζημίωσαν τῇ τρίτῃ μερίδι: ἦν τοῖς σφετέροις διεῖλον. τῶν δὲ Καμεριναίων τοὺς ἐποίκους λυμαינוμένων τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπεξελθόντες

[4] For five years, then, the kings reigned together in perfect harmony, during which time they engaged in one joint undertaking, the expedition against the Camerini; for these people, who kept sending out bands of robbers and doing great injury to the country of the Romans, would not agree to have the case submitted to judicial investigation, though often summoned by the Romans to do so. After conquering the Camerini in a pitched battle (for they came to blows with them) and later besieging and taking their town by storm, they disarmed the inhabitants and deprived them of a third part of their land, which they divided among their own people.

[5] καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἅπαντα τοῖς σφετέροις πολίταις διεῖλον, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅποσοι ἐβούλοντο ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατοικεῖν εἶασαν. ἐγένοντο δ' ὥς τετρακισχίλιοι, οὓς ταῖς φράτταις ἐπεμέρισαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησαν. ἦν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις ἡ Καμερία πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἀποσταλεῖσα πρότερον τῆς Ῥώμης: τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον Ἀβοριγίνων οἴκησις ἐν τοῖς πάντι ἐπιφανής.

[5] And when the Camerini proceeded to harass the new settlers, they marched out against them, and having put them to flight, divided all their possessions among their own people, but permitted as many of the inhabitants as wished to so to live at Rome. These amounted to about four thousand, whom they distributed among the curiae, and they made their city a Roman colony. Cameria was a colony of the Albans planted long before the founding of Rome, and anciently one of the most celebrated habitations of the Aborigines.

[1] ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ἕκτῳ περιίσταται πάλιν εἰς ἓνα Ῥωμύλον ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴ Τατίου τελευτήσαντος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἣν συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Λαουινιατῶν οἱ κορυφαϊότατοι συμφρονήσαντες ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: τῶν ἐταίρων τινὲς τοῦ Τατίου ληστήριον ἐξαγαγόντες εἰς τὴν Λαουινιατῶν χώραν χρήματά τε αὐτῶν ἥρπασαν πολλὰ καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀπῆλασαν ἀγέλας, τῶν δ' ἐπιβοηθούντων οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, οὓς δ' ἔτραυμάτισαν.

[51.1] But in the sixth year, the government of the city devolved once more upon Romulus alone, Tattius having lost his life as the result of a plot which the principal men of Lavinium formed against him. The occasion for the plot was this. Some friends of Tattius had led out a band of robbers into the territory of the Lavinians, where they seized a great many of their effects and drove away their herds of cattle, killing or wounding those who came to the rescue.

[2] ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας παρὰ τῶν ἡδικομένων καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀπαιτούσης ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος ἐδίκαιωσε παραδοῦναι τοὺς δράσαντας τοῖς [p. 227] ἡδικοθεῖσιν ἀπάγειν, ὁ δὲ Τάτιος τῶν ἐταίρων περιεχόμενος οὐκ ἤξιον πρὸ δίκης τινὰς ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἄγεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα πολίτας ὄντας ὑπὸ ξένων: δικάζεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἡδικῆσθαι λέγοντας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενους.

[2] Upon the arrival of an embassy from the injured to demand satisfaction, Romulus decided that those who had done the injury should be delivered up for punishment to those they had wronged. Tattius, however, espousing the cause of his friends, would not consent that any persons should be taken into custody by their enemies before trial, and particularly Roman citizens by outsiders, but ordered those who complained that they had been injured to come to Rome and proceed against the others according to law.

[3] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις οὐδὲν εὐρόμενοι τῶν δικαίων ἀγανακτοῦντες ἀπῆεσαν, ἀκολουθήσαντες δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαβίνων τινὲς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἐσκηνωμένοις παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἑσπέρα γὰρ αὐτοὺς κατέλαβεν' ἐπιτίθενται καθεδύδουσι καὶ τὰ τε χρήματ' αὐτοὺς ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ὁπόσους ἐν ταῖς κοιταῖς ἔτι κατέλαβον ἀποσφάττουσιν, ὅσοις δὲ ταχεῖα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῶν αἰσθησις ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν δύναμις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται. μετὰ τοῦτο ἔκ τε Λαουινίου πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων συχνῶν κατηγοροῦν τῆς παρανομίας καὶ πόλεμον

παρήγγελον εἰ μὴ τεύξονται τῆς δίκης.

[3] The ambassadors, accordingly, having failed to obtain any satisfaction, went away full of resentment; and some of the Sabines, incensed at their action, followed them and set upon them while they were asleep in their tents, which they had pitched near the road when evening overtook them, and not only robbed them of their money, but cut the throats of all they found still in their beds; those, however, who perceived the plot promptly and were able to make their escape got back to their city. After this ambassadors came both from Lavinium and from many cities, complaining of this lawless deed and threatening war if they should not obtain justice.

[1] Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν οὖν δεινόν, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐφαίνετο πάθος καὶ ταχείας ἀφοσιώσεως δεόμενον, ὡς ἱεροῦ καταλυομένου νόμου. καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας, ὡς εἶδεν ὀλιγωροῦντα τὸν Τάτιον αὐτὸς συνέλαβε τοὺς ἐνόχους τῷ ἄγχι καὶ

[52.1] This violence committed against the ambassadors appeared to Romulus, as indeed it was, a terrible crime and one calling for speedy expiation, since it had been in violation of a sacred law; and finding that Tatius was making light of it, he himself, without further delay, caused those who had been guilty of the outrage to be seized and delivered up in chains to the ambassadors to be led away.

[2] δῆσας παρέδωκε τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπάγειν. Τατίῳ δὲ θυμὸς τε εἰσέρχεται τῆς ὕβρεως, ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἡτιᾶτο ὑβρίσθαι κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ οἶκτος τῶν ἀπαγομένων ἦν γὰρ καὶ συγγενῆς τις αὐτοῦ τῷ ἄγχι ἔνοχος· καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐβοήθει διὰ τάχους ἐν ὁδῷ [p. 228] τε ὄντας τοὺς πρέσβεις καταλαβὼν ἀφείλετο τοὺς

[2] But Tatius not only was angered at the indignity which he complained he had received from his colleague in the delivering up of the men, but was also moved with compassion for those who were being led away (for one of the guilty persons was actually a relation of his); and immediately, taking his soldiers with him, he went in haste to their assistance, and overtaking the ambassadors on the road, he took the prisoners from them.

[3] ἀπαγομένους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ὡς μὲν τινες φασιν, ἅμα Ῥωμύλῳ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ Λαουίνιον ἔνεκα θυσίας, ἦν ἔδει τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θῦσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων τε καὶ γένει προσηκόντων τοῖς ἀνηρημένοις πρέσβεσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ταῖς μαγειρικαῖς σφαγίσιν καὶ τοῖς βουπόροις ὀβελοῖς παιόμενος ἀποθνήσκει.

[3] But not long afterwards, as some say, when he had gone with Romulus to Lavinium in order to perform a sacrifice which it was necessary for the kings to offer to the ancestral gods for the prosperity of the city, the friends and

relations of the ambassadors who had been murdered, having conspired against him, slew him at the altar with the knives and spits used in cutting up and roasting the oxen.

[4] ὥς δ' οἱ περὶ Λικίννιον γράφουσιν οὐ μετὰ Ῥωμύλου παραγενόμενος οὐδὲ χάριν ἱερῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὥς πείσων τοὺς ἀδικηθέντας ἀφεῖναι τοῖς δεδρακόσι τὴν ὀργήν, ἀγανακτήσαντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραδίδοσθαι σφισι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥς ὃ τε Ῥωμύλος ἐδικαίωσε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔκρινε βουλή, καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς τεθνεῶσι κατὰ πλῆθος ὀρμησάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀδύνατος ὢν ἔτι διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην καταλευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει.

[4] But Licinius writes that he did not go with Romulus nor, indeed, on account of any sacrifices, but that he went alone, with the intention of persuading those who had received the injuries to forgive the authors of them, and that when weight people became angry because the men were not delivered up to them in accordance with the decision both of Romulus and of the Roman senate, and the relations of the slain men rushed upon him in great numbers, he was no longer able to escape summary justice and was stoned to death by them.

[5] Τάτιος μὲν οὖν τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχε τρία μὲν ἔτη πολεμήσας Ῥωμύλῳ, πέντε δὲ συνάρξας, θάπτεται δ' εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθεὶς ἐντίμῳ ταφῇ καὶ χοᾶς αὐτῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ πόλις ἐπιτελεῖ δημοσίᾳ.

[5] Such was the end to which Tatius came, after he had warred against Romulus for three years and had been his colleague for five. His body was brought to Rome, where it was given honourable burial; and the city offers public libations to him every year.

[1] Ῥωμύλος δὲ μόνος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ δεύτερον καταστάς τὸ τε ἄγος ἀφοσιοῦται τὸ περὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις γενόμενον προειπὼν τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις τὸ μῦθος ὕδατος εἵργεσθαι καὶ πυρὸς ἐπεφεύγεσαν γὰρ [p. 229] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες ἅμα τῷ τὸν Τάτιον ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τῶν Λαουινιατῶν τοὺς συστάντας ἐπὶ τὸν Τάτιον δικαστηρίῳ παραδοὺς ἐκδοθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπειδὴ δικαιότερα ἐδόκουν λέγειν τὰ βίαια τιμωρησάμενοι τοῖς βίαιοις, ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας.

[53.1] But Romulus, now established for the second time as sole ruler, expiated the crime committed against the ambassadors by forbidding those who had perpetrated the outrage the use of fire and water; for upon the death of Tatius they had all fled from the city. After that, he brought to trial the Lavinians who had conspired against Tatius and who had been delivered up by their own city, and when they seemed to plead, with considerable justice, that they had but avenged violence with violence, he freed them of the charge.

[2] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Φιδηναίων ἐστράτευσε πόλιν ἀπὸ

τετταράκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης κειμένην, μεγάλην τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον οὔσαν τότε. ἀγομένης γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγορᾶς ἐν σκάφαις ποταμηγοῖς, ἣν Κρουστομερῖνοι πιεζομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστειλαν, ὡσάμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὰς σκάφας οἱ Φιδιναῖοι τὴν τε ἀγορὰν διήρπασαν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινὰς τῶν ἐπιβοηθούντων ἀπέκτειναν αἰτούμενοι

[2] After he had attended to these matters, he led out his army against the city of Fidenae, which was situated forty stades from Rome and was at that time both large and populous. For on an occasion when the Romans were oppressed by famine and provisions which the people of Crustumerium had sent to them were being brought down the river in boats, the Fidenates crowded aboard the boats in great numbers, seized the provisions and killed some of the men who defended them, and when called upon to make satisfaction, they refused to do so.

[3] τε δίκας οὐχ ὑπέιχον. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτῶν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ γενόμενος ἀφθόνου λείας ἐγκρατὴς ἀπάγειν μὲν παρεσκευάζετο τὴν δύναμιν, ἐπεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Φιδιναίων συνάπτει πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχην. καρτεροῦ δὲ ἀγῶνος γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἡσσηθέντες οἱ Φιδιναῖοι τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν, ὃ δ' ἐκ ποδὸς συνακολουθῶν αὐτοῖς συνεισπίπτει τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος.

[3] Romulus, incensed at this, made an incursion into their territory with a considerable force, and having possessed himself of a great quantity of booty, was preparing to lead his army home; but when the Fidenates came out against him, he gave them battle. After a severe struggle, in which many fell on both sides, the enemy were defeated and put to flight, and Romulus, following close upon their heels, rushed inside the walls along with the fugitives.

[4] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἐφόδου τιμωρησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταλιπὼν τῆς τε χώρας μοῖραν ἀποτεμόμενος, ἦν τοῖς σφετέροις διεῖλεν, ἀποικίαν ἐποίησε Ῥωμαίων καὶ [p. 230] ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἣν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκισθεῖσα Νωμεντῶ τε καὶ Κρουστομερεῖα χρόνον τριῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγησασμένων, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὴν Φιδήνην ἔκτισεν.

[4] When the city had been taken at the first assault, he punished a few of the citizens, and left a guard of three hundred men there; and taking from the inhabitants a part of their territory, which he divided among his own people, he made this city also a Roman colony. It had been founded by the Albans at the same time with Nomentum and Crustumerium, three brothers having been the leaders of the colony, of whom the eldest built Fidenae.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Καμερίνους ἐστράτευσεν ἐπιθεμένους τοῖς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐποίκοις, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔκαμνεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ὑπὸ νόσου

λοιμικῆς: ἥ δὲ μάλιστα ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Καμερίνοι καὶ νομίσαντες ἄρδην τὸ Ῥωμαίων διαφθάρησεσθαι γένος ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν ἐποίκων, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλον.

[54.1] After this war Romulus undertook another against the Camerini, who had attacked the Roman colonists in their midst while the city of Rome was suffering from a pestilence; it was this situation in particular that encouraged the Camerini, and believing that the Roman nation would be totally destroyed by the calamity, they killed some of the colonists and expelled the rest.

[2] ἀνθ' ὧν τιμωρούμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν ἐφῆκε, τῆς τε χώρας τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀποτεμόμενος ἔξω τῆς πρότερον τοῖς κληρούχοις δοθείσης καὶ φρουρὰν ἀξιόχρεων καταλιπὼν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι παρακινήσαι τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ δεύτερον θρίαμβον κατήγαγε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τέθριππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέστησεν εἰκόνα ἐπιγράψας Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις.

[2] In revenge for this Romulus, after he had a second time made himself master of the city, put to death the authors of the revolt and permitted his soldiers to plunder the city; and he also took away half the land besides that which had been previously granted to the Roman settlers. And having left a garrison in the city sufficient to quell any future uprising of the inhabitants, he departed with his forces. As the result of this expedition he celebrated a second triumph, and out of the spoils he dedicated a chariot and four in bronze to Vulcan, and near it he set up his own statue with an inscription in Greek characters setting forth his deeds.

[3] τρίτος αὐτῷ συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς ἔθνους Τυρρηνικοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαν τότε πόλιν, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Οὐιοί, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν σταδίους, [p. 231] κεῖται δ' ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ σκοπέλου καὶ περιρρῶγος μέγεθος ἔχουσα ὅσον Ἀθῆναι. ἐποίησαντο δ' οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν τὴν τῆς Φιδήνης ἄλωσιν καὶ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες ἐκέλευον Ῥωμαίοις ἐξάγειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν κατεῖχον ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Φιδηναίους, ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ἐξ ἄρχῆς κυρίοις. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον ἐλάσαντες πολλῇ στρατιᾷ πλησίον τῆς Φιδήνης ἐν ἀπόπτῳ τίθενται τὸν χάρακα.

[3] The third war Romulus engaged in was against the most powerful city of the Tyrrhenian race at that time, called Veii, distant from Rome about a hundred stades; it is situated on a high and craggy rock and is as large as Athens. The Veientes made the taking of Fidenae the pretext for this war, and sending ambassadors, they bade the Romans withdraw their garrison from that city and restore to its original possessors the territory they had taken from

them and were now occupying. And when their demand was not heeded, they took the field with a great army and established their camp in a conspicuous place near Fidenae.

[4] προεγνωκώς δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐξεληλύθει τὴν κρατίστην δύναμιν ἔχων καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Φιδιναίων εὐτρεπής. ἔπει δ' ἔτοιμα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἦν, ἀμφοτέροι προελθόντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐμάχοντο καὶ διέμειναν ἄχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τέως ἢ νύξ ἐπιλαβοῦσα διέκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἴσους κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα γενομένους. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν μάχην οὕτως ἡγωνίσαντο:

[4] Romulus, however, having received advance information of their march, had set out with the flower of his army and lay ready at Fidenae to receive them. When all their preparations were made for the struggle, both armies advanced into the plain and came to grips, and they continued fighting with great ardour for a long time, till the coming on of night parted them, after they had proved themselves evenly matched in the struggle. This was the course of the first battle.

[1] ἑτέρας δὲ μάχης μετ' οὐ πολὺ γενομένης, ἐνίκων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σοφίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ὅρος τι καταλαβομένου νύκτωρ οὐ πολὺν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων τόπον ἀπέχον καὶ λοχίσαντος ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην τῶν ὕστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἵππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν δύναμιν.

[55.1] But in a second battle, which was fought not long afterwards, the Romans were victorious as the result of the strategy of their general, who had occupied in the night a certain height not far distant from the enemy's camp and placed there in ambush the choicest both of the horse and foot that had come to him from Rome since the last action.

[2] συνελθόντων δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγωνιζομένων τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἦρε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ λοχῶντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς [p. 232] Οὐιεντανοὺς ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀνθρώποις μεμοχθηκόσιν αὐτοὶ ἀκμῆτες ὄντες οὐ σὺν πολλῷ τρέπουσι χρόνῳ. τῶν δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἀποθνήσκουσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, οἱ δὲ πλείους εἰς τὸν Τέβεριν ποταμὸν ῥεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Φιδήνην ῥίψαντες ἑαυτούς, ὥς διανηξόμενοι τὸ ρεῦμα, διεφθάρησαν. τραυματίαι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ κόπου ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο διανήξασθαι: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπειρία τοῦ νεῖν, οὐ προῖδόντες, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἐπιταραχθέντες ἐν ταῖς δίναις ἀπώλλυντο.

[2] The two armies met in the plain and fought in the same manner as before; but when Romulus raised the signal to the troops that lay in ambush on the height, these, raising the battle cry, rushed upon the Veientes from the rear, and being themselves fresh while the enemy were fatigued, they point them to flight with no great difficulty. Some few of them were slain in battle, but the

great part, throwing themselves into the Tiber, which flows by Fidenae, with the intention of swimming across the river, were drowned; for, being wounded and spent with labour, they were unable to swim across, while others, who did not know how to swim and had not looked ahead, having lost all presence of mind in face of the danger, perished in the eddies of the river.

[3] εἰ μὲν οὖν συνέγνωσαν ἑαυτοῖς Οὐιεντανοὶ κακῶς τὰ πρῶτα βεβουλευμένοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦγον ἡσυχίαν οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔτι μείζονος ἀπέλαυσαν κακοῦ, νῦν δὲ ἀναμαχεῖσθαι τε τὰ πρότερα σφάλματα ἐλπίσαντες καὶ εἰ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπιβάλοιεν, ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσειν οἰόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, πολλῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως καταγραφείσῃ καὶ τῇ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν κατὰ φιλίαν παραγενομένη τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους ἐλαύνουσι:

[3] If, now, the Veientes had realized that their first plans had been ill-advised and had remained quiet after this, they would have met with no greater misfortune; but, as it was, hoping to repair their former losses and believing that if they attacked with a larger force they would easily conquer in the war, they set out a second time against the Romans with a large army, consisting both of the levy from the city itself and of others of the same race who in virtue of their league came to their assistance.

[4] καὶ γίνεται πάλιν αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερὰ τῆς Φιδήνης πλησίον, ἣν ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες. ἕλῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ χάραξ αὐτῶν μεστὸς ὦν χρημάτων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων, καὶ σκάφαι ποταμηγοὶ γέμουςαι πολλῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐλήφθησαν, [p. 233] ἐν αἷς ὁ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατήγετο διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

[4] Upon this, another severe battle was fought near Fidenae, in which the Romans were victorious, after killing many of the Veientes and taking more of them prisoners. Even their camp was taken, which was full of money, arms and slaves, and likewise their boats, which were laden with great store of provisions; and in these the multitude of prisoners were carried down the river to Rome.

[5] οὗτος κατήχθη τρίτος ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου θρίαμβρος μακρῷ τῶν προτέρων ἐκπρεπέστερος. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Οὐιεντανῶν πρεσβείας ἀφικομένης περὶ διαλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου καὶ συγγνώμην τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀξιούσης λαβεῖν δίκας ὁ Ῥωμύλος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθησι τάςδε: χώραν τε παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν προσεχῇ τῷ Τεβέρει, τοὺς καλουμένους Ἑπτὰ πάγους, καὶ τῶν ἁλῶν ἀποστήναι τῶν παρὰ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσαι τὸ πιστὸν παρασχεῖν ὅμηρα πεντήκοντα ἀγογόντας.

[5] This was the third triumph that Romulus celebrated, and it was much more magnificent than either of the former. And when, not long afterwards,

ambassadors arrived from the Veientes to seek an end to the war and to ask pardon for their offences, Romulus imposed the following penalties upon them: to deliver up to the Romans the country adjacent to the Tiber, called the Seven Districts, and to abandon the salt-works near the mouth of the river, and also to bring fifty hostages as a pledge that they would attempt no uprising in the future.

[6] ὑπομεινάντων δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν ἅπαντα ταῦτα σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἔτη στήλαις ἐνεχάραξε τὰς ὁμολογίας. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέναι βουλομένους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, τοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ μένειν προαιρουμένους πολλῶι πλείους ὄντας τῶν ἐτέρων πολιτάς ποιησάμενος ταῖς φράτραις ἐπιδιεῖλε καὶ κλήρους αὐτοῖς προσένειμε τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Τεβέριος.

[6] When the Veientes submitted to all these demands, he made a treaty with them for one hundred years and engraved terms of it on pillars. He then dismissed without ransom all the prisoners who desired to return home; but those who preferred to remain in Rome — and these were far more numerous than the others — he made citizens, distributing them among the curiae and assigning to them allotments of land on this side of the Tiber.

[1] οὗτοι συνέστησαν οἱ πόλεμοι Ῥωμύλῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιοι. τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν πλησίων ἐθνῶν ὑπαγαγέσθαι ταχεῖα ἢ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου συμβῆσα ἔτι ἀκμάζοντι αὐτῷ τὰ πολέμια πράττειν ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενέσθαι ἔδοξε: περὶ ἧς πολλοὶ παραδέδονται λόγοι καὶ διάφοροι.

[56.1] These are the memorable wars which Romulus waged. His failure to subdue any more of the neighbouring nations seems to have been due to his sudden death, which happened while he was still in the vigour of his age for warlike achievements. There are many different stories concerning it.

[2] οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθωδέστερα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντες ἐκκλησιάζοντά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου [p. 234] ζόφου κατασκήψαντος ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ χειμῶνος μεγάλου καταρραγέντος ἀφανῇ γενέσθαι καὶ πεπιστεύκασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἄρεος τὸν ἄνδρα ἀνηρπάσθαι:

[2] Those who give a rather fabulous account of his life say that while he was haranguing his men in the camp, sudden darkness rushed down out of a clear sky and a violent storm burst, after which he was nowhere to be seen; and these writers believe that he was caught up into heaven by his father, Mars.

[3] οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτερα γράφοντες πρὸς τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν. αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ φέρουσι τὴν τε ἄφρσιν τῶν ὁμήρων, οὓς παρὰ Οὐιεντανῶν ἔλαβεν, ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης γενομένην παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, καὶ τὸ μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προσφέρεσθαι τρόπον τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις πολιταῖς καὶ τοῖς προσγράφοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τιμῇ πλείονι ἄγειν, τῶν δ' ἐπεισαχθέντων ὑπερορᾶν, τὸ τε ὡμὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὰς

τιμωρίας τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων καὶ αὐθαδεις, Ῥωμαίων γάρ τινες ἐπὶ ληστεία τῶν πλησιοχώρων κατηγορηθέντας οὔτε ἀφανεῖς ἄνδρας οὔτε ὀλίγους ἐκέλευσεν ὥσαι κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸς μόνος δικάσας· μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι βαρὺς ἦδη καὶ αὐθάδης εἶναι ἐδόκει καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικώτερον ἐξάγειν.

[3] But those who write the more plausible accounts say that he was killed by his own people; and the reason they allege for his murder is that he released without the common consent, contrary to custom, the hostages he had taken from the Veientes, and that he no longer comported himself in the same manner toward the original citizens and toward those who were enrolled later, but showed greater honour to the former and slighted the latter, and also because of his great cruelty in the punishment of delinquents (for instance, he had ordered a group of Romans who were accused of brigandage against the neighbouring peoples to be hurled down the precipice after he had sat alone in judgment upon them, although they were neither of mean birth nor few in number), but chiefly because he now seemed to be harsh and arbitrary and to be exercising his power more like a tyrant than a king.

[4] διὰ ταύτας δὴ λέγουσι τὰς αἰτίας συστάντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς πατρικίους βουλευῆσαι τὸν φόνον, πρᾶξι δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ διελόντας τὸ σῶμα κατὰ μέρη χάριν τοῦ μὴ φανῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐξελθεῖν κρύπτοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ὅσον ἕκαστος εἶχεν αὐτοῦ

[4] For these reasons, they say, the patricians formed a conspiracy against him and resolved to slay him; and having carried out the deed in the senate-house, they divided his body into several pieces, that it might not be seen, and then came out, each one hiding his part of the body under his robes, and afterwards burying it in secret.

[5] μέρος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γῆ κρύψαι κατὰ τὸ ἀφανές. οἱ δ' ἐκκλησιάζοντα μὲν αὐτὸν φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἐπιχειρῆσαι δ' αὐτοὺς [p. 235] τῷ φόνῳ καθ' ὃν χρόνον δηλαδὴ καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐγένετο διασκεδασθέντος ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ δήμου καὶ μονωθέντος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν φασὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τῆς τροπῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπώνυμον εἶναι καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ὄχλου φυγῇν καλεῖσθαι.

[5] Others say that while haranguing the people he was slain by the new citizens of Rome, and that they undertook the murder at the time when the rain and the darkness occurred, the assembly of the people being then dispersed and their chief left without his guard. And for this reason, they say, the day on which this event happened got its name from the flight of the people and is called Populifugia down to our times.

[6] ἔοικε δ' οὐ μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν παρέχειν τοῖς θεοποιοῦσι τὰ θνητὰ καὶ εἰς

οὐρανὸν ἀναβιβάζουσι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τὰ συμβάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν. Ἐν τε γὰρ τῷ βιασμῷ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶθ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων τινὸς εἶθ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενομένῳ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν φασιν ὅλον καὶ σκότος παντελῶς ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν γῆν κατασχεῖν ἔν τε τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' συμβῆναι λέγουσι πάθος.

[6] Be that as it may, the incidents that occurred by the direction of Heaven in connexion with this man's conception and death would seem to give no small authority to the view of those who make gods of mortal men and place the souls of illustrious persons in heaven. For they say that at the time when his mother was violated, whether by some man or by a god, there was a total eclipse of the sun and a general darkness as in the night covered the earth, and that at his death the same thing happened.

[7] ὁ μὲν δὴ κτίσας τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμύλος τοιαύτης λέγεται τελευτῆς τυχεῖν, οὐδεμίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενεὰν καταλιπών, ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα βασιλεύσας, πεντηκοστὸν δὲ καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων ἀπὸ γενεᾶς. νέος γὰρ δὴ παντάπασιν ἔτυχε τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὀκτωκαιδεκαέτης ὢν, ὡς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες ἱστορίας.

[7] Such, then, is reported to have been the death of Romulus, who built Rome and was chosen by her citizens as their first king. He left no issue, and after reigning thirty-seven years, died in the fifty-fifth year of his age; for he was very young when he obtained the rule, being no more than eighteen years old, as is agreed by all who have written his history.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ βασιλεὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπεδείχθη Ῥωμαίων, ἀρχὴ δέ τις, ἣν καλοῦσι μεσοβασιλειον, ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κοινῶν τοιόνδε τινα τρόπον ἀποδεικνυμένη: τῶν πατρικίων οἱ καταγραφέντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν [p. 236] ὄντες, ὥσπερ ἔφην, διενεμήθησαν εἰς δεκάδας: ἔπειτα διακληρωσάμενοι τοῖς λαλοῦσι δέκα πρώτοις ἀπέδωκαν ἄρχειν τῆς πόλεως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν.

[57.1] The following year there was no king of the Romans elected, but a certain magistracy, called by them an interregnum, had the oversight of public affairs, being created in much the following manner: The patricians who had been enrolled in the senate under Romulus, being, as I have said, two hundred in number, were divided into decuriae; then, when lots had been cast, the first ten persons upon whom the lot fell were invested by the rest with the absolute rule of the State.

[2] ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὐχ ἅμα πάντες ἐβασίλευον, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἡμέρας πέντε ἕκαστος, ἐν αἷς τὰς τε ράβδους εἶχε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σύμβολα. παρεδίδου δ' ὁ πρῶτος ἄρξας τῷ δευτέρῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κάκεῖνος τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου. διεξεληούσης δὲ τοῖς

πρώτοις δέκα βασιλευσί τῆς πεντηκονθημέρου προθεσμίας ἕτεροι δέκα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελάβανον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων αὐθις ἄλλοι.

[2] They did not, however, all reign together, but successively, each for five days, during which time they had both the rods and the other insignia of the royal power. The first, after his power had expired, handed over the government to the second, and he to the third, and so on to the last. After the first ten had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the rule from them, and from those in turn others.

[3] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ παῦσαι τὰς δεκαδαρχίας ἀχθομένῳ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τῶν ἐξουσιῶν διὰ τὸ μήτε προαιρέσεις ἅπαντας ὁμοίας ἔχειν μήτε φύσεις, τότε δὴ συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος οἱ βουλευταὶ κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ φράτρας ἀπέδωκαν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας σκοπεῖν, εἴτε βασιλεῖ βούλεται τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιτρέπειν εἴτε ἀρχαῖς ἐνιαυσίοις.

[3] But presently the people decided to abolish the rule of the decuriae, being irked by all the changes of power, since the men did not all have either the same purposes or the same natural abilities. Thereupon the senators, calling the people together in assembly by tribes and curiae, permitted them to consider the form of government and determine whether they wished to entrust the public interests to a king or to annual magistrates.

[4] οὐ μὴν ὃ γε δῆμος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκε τοῖς βουλευταῖς τὴν διάγνωσιν ὡς ἀγαπήσων ὁποτέραν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι δοκιμάσωσι τῶν πολιτειῶν: τοῖς δὲ βασιλικὴν μὲν ἐδόκει καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν ἅπασι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄρξιν στάσις ἐνέπιπτεν ἐξ ὁποτέρας ἔσται τάξεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων βουλευτῶν ὦνοντο δεῖν ἀποδειχθῆναι τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπείσασθέντων, οὓς νεωτέρους ἐκάλουν. [p. 237]

[4] The people, however, did not take the choice upon themselves, but referred the decision to the senator, intimating that they would be satisfied with whichever form of government the others should approve. The senators all favoured establishing a monarchical form of government, but strife arose over the question from which group the future king should be chosen. For some thought that the one who was to govern the commonwealth ought to be chosen from among the original senators, and others that he should be chosen from among those who had been admitted afterwards and whom they called new senators.

[1] Ἐλκομένης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς φιλονεικίας τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνέβησαν τῷ δικαίῳ, ὥστε δυεῖν θάτερον, ἢ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βουλευτὰς ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα σφῶν μὲν αὐτῶν μηδὲνα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὃν ἂν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι νομίσωσιν, ἢ τοὺς νεωτέρους τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο. δέχονται τὴν αἵρεσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ πόλλ' ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν βουλευσάμενοι τάδ' ἔγνωσαν:

ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀπηλαύνοντο μηδὲ τῶν ἐπεισελθόντων βουλευτῶν μηδενὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐπακτόν τινα ἔξωθεν ἄνδρα καὶ μηδ' ὁποτέρους προσθησόμενον, ὥς ἂν μάλιστα ἐξαίρεθει τὸ στασιάζον,

[58.1] The contest being drawn out to a great length, they at last reached an agreement on the basis that one of two courses should be followed — either the older senators should choose the king, who must not, however, be one of themselves, but might be anyone else whom they should regard as most suitable, or the new senators should do the same. The older senators accepted the right of choosing, and after a long consultation among themselves decided that, since by their agreement they themselves were excluded from the sovereignty, they would not confer it on any of the newly-appointed senators, either, but would find some man from outside who would espouse neither party, and declare him king, as the most effectual means of putting an end to party strife.

[2] ἔξευρόντες ἀποδείξαι βασιλέα. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι προὔχειρίσαντο ἄνδρα γένους μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνων, υἱὸν δὲ Πομπιλίου Πόμπωνος ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς κατ' ὄνομα Νόμαν, χρὴ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκτείνοντας βαρυτονεῖν ἡλικίας τε τῆς φρονιμωτάτης ὄντα, τετταρακονταετίας γὰρ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέιχε, καὶ ἀξιώσει μορφῆς βασιλικόν.

[2] After they had come to this resolution, they chose a man of the Sabine race, the son of Pompilius Pompon, a person of distinction, whose name was Numa. He was in that stage of life, being near forty, in which prudence is the most conspicuous, and of an aspect full of royal dignity;

[3] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ κλέος μέγιστον οὐ παρὰ Κυρίταις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς συγκαλοῦσι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τότε μεσοβασιλεὺς εἶπεν, ὅτι κοινῇ δόξαν ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλευταῖς βασιλικὴν καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν, κύριος [p. 238] γεγονώς αὐτὸς τῆς διαγνώσεως τοῦ παραληφόμενου τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως αἰρεῖται Νόμαν Πομπίλιον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρεσβευτὰς ἀποδείξας ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀπέστειλε τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πυθαγόρας Λάκων.

[3] and he enjoyed the greatest renown for wisdom, not only among the citizens of Cures, but among all the neighbouring peoples as well. After reaching this decision the senators assembled the people, and that one of their number who was then the interrex, coming forward, told them that the senators had unanimously resolved to establish a monarchical form of government and that he, having been empowered to decide who should succeed to the rule, chose Numa Pompilius as king of the State. After this he appointed ambassadors from among the patricians and sent them to conduct

Numa to Rome that he might assume the royal power. This happened in the third year of the sixteenth Olympiad, at which Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian, won the foot-race.

[1] μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω πρὸς τοὺς ἐκδεδωκότας τὴν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἱστορίαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀπορῶ τι ποτε χρῆ λέγειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ γράψαντες ὅτι Πυθαγόρου μαθητὴς ὁ Νόμας ἐγένετο καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς φιλοσοφῶν ἐν Κρότωνι διέτριβεν, ὁ δὲ χρόνος τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας μάχεται πρὸς τὸν λόγον.

[59.1] Up to this point, then, I have nothing to allege in contradiction to those who have published the history of this man; but in regard to what follows I am at a loss what to say. For many have written that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras and that when he was chosen king by the Romans he was studying philosophy at Croton. But the date of Pythagoras contradicts this account,

[2] οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρσι γενεαῖς ὅλαις ὕστερος ἐγένετο Πυθαγόρας Νόμα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παρελήφαμεν ἱστοριῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος μεσοῦσης τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, Πυθαγόρας δὲ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα διέτριψεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.

[2] since he was not merely a few years younger than Numa, but actually lived four whole generations later, as we learn from universal history; for Numa succeeded to the sovereignty of the Romans in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad, whereas Pythagoras resided in Italy after the fiftieth Olympiad.

[3] τούτου δ' ἔτι μεῖζον ἔχω τεκμήριον εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συμφωνεῖν τοὺς χρόνους ταῖς παραδεδομέναις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὁ Νόμας ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτω πόλις ἦν ἡ Κρότων: τέτταρσι γὰρ ὅλοις ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νόμαν ἄρξαι Ῥωμαίων Μύσκελος αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐπτακαιδεκάτης [p. 239] ὀλυμπιάδος. οὔτε δὴ Πυθαγόρα τῷ Σαμίῳ συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τῷ μετὰ τέτταρας ἀκμάσαντι γενεᾷς δυνατὸς ἦν τὸν Νόμαν οὔτ' ἐν Κρότωνι διατρίβειν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ

[3] But I can advance yet a stronger argument to prove that the chronology is incompatible with the reports handed down about Numa, and that is, that at the time when he was called to the sovereignty by the Romans the city of Croton did not yet exist; for it was not until four whole years after Numa had begun to rule the Romans that Myscelus founded this city, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. Accordingly, it was impossible for Numa either to have studied philosophy with Pythagoras the Samian, who flourished four generations after him, or to have resided in Croton, a city not as yet in existence when the Romans called him to the sovereignty.

[4] μήπω τότε οὔση πόλει. ἀλλ' εἰκόασιν οἱ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράψαντες, εἰ χρῆ

δόξαν ἰδίαν ἀποφήνασθαι, δύο ταῦτα λαβόντες ὁμολογούμενα, τὴν τε Πυθαγόρου διατριβὴν τὴν γενομένην ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὴν Νόμα σοφίαν ὡμολόγηται γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων ὁ ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι σοφός· ἐπισυνάψαι ταῦτα καὶ ποιῆσαι Πυθαγόρου μαθητὴν τὸν Νόμαν οὐκέτι τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαντες, εἰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἤκμασαν ἀμφοτέροι χρόνους,

[4] But if I may express my own opinion, those who have written his history seem to have taken these two admitted facts, namely, the residence of Pythagoras in Italy and the wisdom of Numa (for he has been allowed by everybody to have been a wise man), and combining them, to have made Numa a disciple of Pythagoras, without going on to inquire whether they both flourished at the same period — unless, indeed, one is going to assume that there was another Pythagoras who taught philosophy before the Samian, and that with him Numa associated.

[5] ὅπερ ἐγὼ πεποίηκα νῦν: εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα Πυθαγόραν ἕτερον ὑποθήσεται πρὸ τοῦ Σαμίου γεγομένην παιδευτὴν σοφίας, ᾧ συνδιέτριψεν ὁ Νόμας. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν ἀποδείξαι δύναιτο μηδενὸς τῶν ἀξιολόγων μήτε Ῥωμαίου μήθ' Ἑλληνος, ὅσα κάμει εἰδέναι, παραδεδωκότος ἐν ἱστορίᾳ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλως.

[5] But I do not know how this could be proved, since it is not supported, so far as I know, by the testimony of any author of note, either Greek or Roman. But I have said enough on this subject.

[1] ὁ δὲ Νόμας ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν τούτων τῶν καλούντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τέως μὲν ἀντέλεγε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινεν ἀπομαχόμενος μὴ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τε ἀδελφοὶ προσέκειντο λιπαροῦντες καὶ τελευτῶν ὁ πατήρ οὐκ ἤξιον τηλικαύτην τιμὴν διδομένην ἀπωθεῖσθαι, συνέγνων γενέσθαι βασιλεύς:

[60.1] When the ambassadors came to Numa to invite him to the sovereignty, he for some time refused it and long persisted in his resolution not to accept the royal power. But when his brothers kept urging him insistently and at last his father argued that the offer of so great an honour ought not to be rejected, he consented to become king.

[2] τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις πυθομένοις ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν [p. 240] πρεσβευτῶν, πρὶν ὅφει τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν πολλὺς αὐτοῦ παρέστη πόθος, ἱκανὸν ἡγουμένοις τεκμήριον εἶναι τῆς σοφίας, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτριον ἐκτετιμηκότων βασιλείαν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον ἐν ταύτῃ τιθεμένων μόνος ἐκεῖνος ὡς φαύλου τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀξίου σπουδῆς πράγματος καταφρονεῖ, παραγενομένῳ τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἑστὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντι σὺν ἐπαίνῳ πολλῷ καὶ ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς παραπέμποντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

[2] As soon as the Romans were informed of this by the ambassadors, they conceived a great yearning for the man before they saw him, esteeming it a

sufficient proof of his wisdom that, while the others had valued sovereignty beyond measure, looking upon it as the source of happiness, he alone despised it as a paltry thing and unworthy of serious attention. And when he approached the city, they met him upon the road and with great applause, salutations and other honours conducted him into the city.

[3] ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο συναχθείσης, ἐν ἣ διήνεγκαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους αἱ φυλαὶ κατὰ φράτρας καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπικυρωσάντων τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πλήθει καὶ τελευταῖον ἔτι τῶν ὀρνιθοσκοπῶν αἴσια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημεῖα ἀποφηνάντων παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3] After that, an assembly of the people was held, in which the tribes by curiae gave their votes in his favour; and when the resolution of the people had been confirmed by the patricians, and, last of all, the augurs had reported that the heavenly signs were auspicious, he assumed the office.

[4] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖοι φασὶ στρατείαν μηδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, θεοσεβῆ δὲ καὶ δίκαιον γενόμενον ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διατελέσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄριστα πολιτευομένην παρασχεῖν, λόγους τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς καὶ θαυμαστοὺς λέγουσιν ἀναφέροντες τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν εἰς θεῶν ὑποθήκας.

[4] The Romans say that he undertook no military campaign, but that, being a pious and just man, he passed the whole period of his reign in peace and caused the State to be most excellently governed. They relate also many marvellous stories about him, attributing his human wisdom to the suggestions of the gods.

[5] νύμφην γάρ τινα μυθολογοῦσιν Ἑγερίαν φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκάστοτε διδάσκουσιν τὴν βασιλικὴν σοφίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ οὐ νύμφην, ἀλλὰ τῶν Μουσῶν μίαν. καὶ τοῦτο φασὶ γενέσθαι πᾶσι φανερόν. ἀπιστούντων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ πεπλάσθαι νομιζόντων τὸν περὶ τῆς θεᾶς λόγον, βουλόμενον [p. 241] αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξασθαι τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν ἐναργές τι μῆνυμα τῆς πρὸς τὴν δαίμονα ὁμιλίας καὶ διδαχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι τάδε:

[5] For they fabulously affirm that a certain nymph, Egeria, used to visit him and instruct him on each occasion in the art of reigning, though others say that it was not a nymph, but one of the Muses. And this, they claim, became clear to every one; for, when people were incredulous at first, as may well be supposed, and regarded the story concerning the goddess as an invention, he, in order to give the unbelievers a manifest proof of his converse with this divinity, did as follows, pursuant to her instructions.

[6] καλέσαντα Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ἣ διαιτώμενος ἐτύγχανεν, ἔπειτα δεῖξαντα τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τὰ ἔνδον τῇ τε ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ φαύλως κεχορηγημένα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν εἰς ἐστίασιν ὀχλικήν

ἐπιτηδεῖων ἄπορα, τότε μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κελεῖν, εἰς ἑσπέραν δὲ

[6] He invited to the house where he lived a great many of the Romans, all men of worth, and having shown them his apartments, very meanly provided with furniture and particularly lacking in everything that was necessary to entertain a numerous company, he ordered them to depart for the time being, but invited them to dinner in the evening.

[7] καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον: παραγενομένοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ὥραν ἐπιδεῖξαι στρωμνάς τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας ἐκπωμάτων γεμούσας πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐστίασιν τε αὐτοῖς παραθεῖναι κατακλιθεῖσιν ἀπάσης ἐδωδῆς, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου παρασκευάσασθαι τινι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ῥάδιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰπληξιν τε πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ὀρωμένων ὑπελθεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου παραστῆναι βέβαιον, ὅτι θεὰ τις αὐτῷ συνῆν.

[7] And when they came at the appointed hour, he showed them rich couches and tables laden with a multitude of beautiful cups, and when they were at table, he set before them a banquet consisting of all sorts of viands, such a banquet, indeed, as it would not have been easy for any man in those days to have prepared in a long time. The Romans were astonished at everything they saw, and from that time they entertained a firm belief that some goddess held converse with him.

[1] οἱ δὲ τὰ μυθώδη πάντα περιαιροῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας πεπλάσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νόμα τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἥγερίας λόγον, ἵνα ῥᾶον αὐτῷ προσέχωσιν οἱ τὰ θεῖα δεδιότες καὶ προθυμῶς δέχωνται τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιθεμένους νόμους, ὥς παρὰ θεῶν κομιζομένους.

[61.1] But those who banish everything that is fabulous from history say that the report concerning Egeria was invented by Numa, to the end that, when once the people were possessed with a fear of the gods, they might more readily pay regard to him and willingly receive the laws he should enact, as coming from the gods.

[2] λαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν τούτων μίμησιν ἀποφαινουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν παραδειγμάτων ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον τῆς τε Μίνω τοῦ Κρητὸς καὶ τῆς Λυκούργου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου σοφίας: ὣν ὁ μὲν ὁμιλητῆς [p. 242] ἔφη γενέσθαι τοῦ Διὸς καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς τὸ Δικταῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τραφῆναι τὸν Δία μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ Κρηῖτες ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων νεογνὸν ὄντα, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐκεῖ συντιθεῖς ἐκόμιζεν, οὓς ἀπέφαινε παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνειν: ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικνούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ

[2] They say that in this he followed the example of the Greeks, emulating the wisdom both of Minos the Cretan and of Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. For the former of these claimed to hold converse with Zeus, and going frequently

to the Dictaeon mountain, in which the Cretan legends say that the new-born Zeus was brought up by the Curetes, he used to descend into the holy cave; and having composed his laws there, he would produce them, affirming that he had received them from Zeus. And Lycurgus, paying visits to Delphi, said he was forming his code of laws under the instruction of Apollo.

[3] Ἀπόλλωνος ἔφη διδάσκεσθαι τὴν νομοθεσίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν ἱστορημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν εἰς θεοῦς ἀναφερομένων μακρῶν λόγων δεόμενον ὁρῶν ἔασω, ἃ δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀγαθὰ Ῥωμαῖοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔμαθον ἱστοριῶν ἀφηγήσομαι, προειπὼν ἐν οἷς ἐτύγχανε παραχαῖς τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως ὄντα, πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν.

[3] But, as I am sensible that to give a particular account of the legendary histories, and especially of those relating to gods, would require a long discussion, I shall omit doing so, and shall relate instead the benefits which the Romans seem to me to have received from this man's rule, according to the information I have derived from their own histories. But first I will show in what confusion the affairs of the State were before he came to the throne.

[1] μετὰ τὴν Ῥωμύλου τελευτὴν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν γενομένη κυρία καὶ χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατασχοῦσα τὴν δυναστείαν διαφέρεισθαι καὶ στασιάζειν αὐτὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἤρξατο περὶ τοῦ πλείονός τε καὶ ἴσου. ὅσον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς μέρος Ἀλβανῶν ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἅμα Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν ἀποικίαν στειλάντων, γνώμης τε ἄρχειν ἡξίου καὶ τιμῶν τὰς μεγίστας λαμβάνειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς τῶν

[62.1] After the death of Romulus the senate, being now in full control of the government and having held the supreme power for one year, as I have related, began to be at odds with itself and to split into factions over questions of pre-eminence and equality. For the Alban element, who together with Romulus had planted the colony, claimed the right, not only of delivering their opinions first and enjoying the greatest honours, but also of being courted by the newcomers.

[2] ἐπηλύδων: οἱ δ' ὕστερον εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους καταγραφέντες ἐκ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐδεμιᾶς ὦντο δεῖν ἀπελύνεσθαι τιμῆς οὐδὲ μειονεκτεῖν τῶν ἑτέρων, μάλιστα δ' ὅσοι τοῦ Σαβίνων ἐτύγχανον ὄντες γένους καὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς γενομένας Ῥωμύλῳ πρὸς [p. 243] Τάτιον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις γενόμενοι μετεκληθέναι τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἐκείνοις αὐτοὶ δεδοκέναι ἐδόκουν.

[2] Those, on the other hand, who had been admitted afterwards into the number of the patricians from among the new settlers thought that they ought not to be excluded from any honours or to stand in an inferior position to the

others. This was felt particularly by those who were of the Sabine race and who, in virtue the treaty made by Romulus with Tatius, supposed they had been granted citizenship by the original inhabitants on equal terms, and that they had shown the same favour to the former in their turn.

[3] ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὴν βουλὴν διαστῆναι καὶ τῶν πελατῶν πλῆθος διχῆ ἡμερισθὲν ἑκατέρῳ συνέβαινε τῶν στάσεων. ἦν δὲ τι τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν νεωστὶ προσεληλυθότων τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ὃ διὰ τὸ μηδενὸς συνάρασθαι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ πολέμου παρημελημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος οὔτε γῆς εἰλήφει μοῖραν οὔτε ὠφελείας. τοῦτο ἀνέστιον καὶ πτωχὸν ἀλώμενον ἐχθρὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἦν καὶ νεωτερίζειν ἐτοιμότατον.

[3] The senate being thus at odds, the clients also were divided into two parties and each joined their respective factions. There were, too, among the plebeians not a few, lately admitted into the number of the citizens, who, having never assisted Romulus in any of his wars, had been neglected by him and had received neither a share of land nor any booty. These, having no home, but being poor and vagabonds, were by necessity enemies to their superiors and quite ripe for revolution.

[4] ἐν τοιούτῳ δὴ κλύδωνι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως σαλεύοντα ὁ Νόμας καταλαβὼν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν δημοτῶν ἀνέλαβε διανείμας αὐτοῖς ἄφ' ἧς Ῥωμύλος ἐκέκτητο χώρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δημοσίας μοῖράν τινα ὀλίγην: ἔπειτα τοὺς πατρικίους οὐδὲν μὲν ἀφελόμενος ὧν οἱ κτίσαντες τὴν πόλιν εὗροντο, τοῖς δ' ἐποίκοις ἑτέρας τινὰς ἀποδοὺς τιμὰς, ἔπαυσε διαφερομένους.

[4] So Numa, having found the affairs of the State in such a raging sea of confusion, first relieved the poor among the plebeians by distributing to them some small part of the land which Romulus had possessed and of the public land; and afterwards he allayed the strife of the patricians, not by depriving them of anything the founders of the city had gained, but by bestowing some other honours on the new settlers.

[5] ἄρμοσάμενος δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸς ἓνα τὸν τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸν περίβολον αὐξήσας τῷ Κυρινεῖῳ λόφῳ 'τέως γὰρ ἔτι ἀτειχιστος ἦν' τότε τῶν ἄλλων πολιτευμάτων ἥπτετο [p. 244] δύο ταῦτα πραγματευόμενος, οἷς κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπελάμβανεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα γεννησεσθαι καὶ μεγάλην: εὐσέβειαν μὲν πρῶτον, διδάσκων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ θεοὶ δοτῆρὲς εἰσι τῇ θνητῇ φύσει καὶ φύλακες, ἔπειτα δικαιοσύνην, δι' ἣν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπέφαιναν ἀγαθὰ καλὰς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις φέροντα τοῖς κητσαμένοις.

[5] And having attuned the whole body of the people, like a musical instrument, to the sole consideration of the public good and enlarged the circuit of the city by the addition of the Quirinal hill (for till that time it was

still without a wall), he then addressed himself to the other measures of government, labouring to inculcate these two things by the possession of which he conceived the State would become prosperous and great: first, piety, by informing his subjects that the gods are the givers and guardians of every blessing to mortal men, and, second, justice, through which, he showed them, the blessings also which the gods bestow bring honest enjoyment to their possessors.

[1] ἔξ ὧν δὲ διεπράξατο νόμων τε καὶ πολιτευμάτων ἑκάτερον τούτων εἰς μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν προελθεῖν ἅπαντα μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῷ γράφειν, τὸ μῆκος ὑφορώμενος τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἀναγκαίαν ὀρῶν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ φανεράν δυνάμενα ποιῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ἐρῶ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα διακοσμήσεως ποιησάμενος.

[63.1] As regards the laws and institutions by which he made great progress in both these directions, I do not think it fitting that I should enter into all the details, not only because I fear the length of such a discussion but also because I do not regard the recording of them as necessary to a history intended for Greeks; but I shall give a summary account of the principal measures, which are sufficient to reveal the man's whole purpose, beginning with his regulations concerning the worship of the gods.

[2] ὅσα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου ταχθέντα ἐν ἔθισμοις τε καὶ νόμοις παρέλαβεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τετάχθαι πάντα ἡγησάμενος εἶα κατὰ χώραν μένειν, ὅσα δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου παραλελείφθαι ἐδόκει, ταῦτα προσετίθει πολλὰ μὲν ἀποδεικνύς τεμένη τοῖς μήπω τιμῶν τυγχάνουσι θεοῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς ἰδρυσόμενος ἑορτὰς τε ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀπονέμων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς καθιστὰς ἀγνείας τε καὶ θρησκείας καὶ καθαρμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θεραπείας καὶ τιμὰς πάνυ πολλὰς νομοθετῶν, ὅσας οὐθ' Ἑλληνὶς οὔτε βάρβαρος ἔχει πόλις οὐδ' αἱ

[2] I should state, however, that all those rites which he found established by Romulus, either in custom or in law, he left untouched, looking upon them all as established in the best possible manner. But whatever he thought had been overlooked by his predecessor, he added, consecrating many precincts to those gods who had hitherto received no honours, erecting many altars and temples, instituting festivals in honour of each, and appointing priests to have charge of their sanctuaries and rites, and enacting laws concerning purifications, ceremonies, expiations and many other observances and honours in greater number than are to be found in any other city, either Greek or barbarian, even in those that have prided themselves the most at one time or another upon their piety.

[3] μέγιστον ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ φρονοῦσαι ποτε: αὐτόν τε τὸν Ῥωμύλον ὡς κρείττονα γενόμενον ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν [p. 245] φύσιν ἱεροῦ κατασκευῇ καὶ

θυσίαις διετησίοις ἔταξε Κυρίνον ἐπονομαζόμενον γεραίρεσθαι. ἔτι γὰρ ἀγνοούντων τὸν ἀφανισμόν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἴτε κατὰ δαίμονος πρόνοیان εἴτ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐγένετο, παρελθὼν τις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν Ἰούλιος ὄνομα τῶν ἀπ' Ἀσκανίου γεωργικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀνεπίληπτος, οἷος μηδὲν ἂν ψεύσασθαι κέρδους ἔνεκα οἰκείου, ἔφη παραγιγνόμενος ἐξ ἀγροῦ Ῥωμύλον ἰδεῖν ἀπionτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος:

[3] He also ordered that Romulus himself, as one who had shown a greatness beyond mortal nature, should be honoured, under the name of Quirinus, by the erection of a temple and by sacrifices throughout the year. For while the Romans were yet in doubt whether divine providence or human treachery had been the cause of his disappearance, a certain man, named Julius, descended from Ascanius, who was a husbandman and of such a blameless life that he would never have told an untruth for his private advantage, arrived in the Forum and said that, as he was coming in from the country, he saw Romulus departing from the city fully armed and that, as he drew near to him, he heard him say these words:

[4] Ἀγγέλλε Ῥωμαίοις Ἰούλιε τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι με ὁ λαχὼν ὅτ' ἐγενόμην δαίμων εἰς θεοῦς ἄγεται τὸν θνητὸν ἐκπληρώσαντα αἰῶνα: εἰμὶ δὲ Κυρίνος. περιλαβὼν δὲ ἅπασαν τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίαν γραφαῖς διεῖλεν εἰς ὀκτὼ μοίρας, ὅσαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἦσαν αἱ συμμορίαι.

[4] “Julius, announce to the Romans from me, that the genius to whom I was allotted at my birth is conducting me to the gods, now that I have finished my mortal life, and that I am Quirinus.” Numa, having reduced his whole system of religious laws to writing, divided them into eight parts, that being the number of the different classes of religious ceremonies.

[1] ἀπέδωκε δὲ μίαν μὲν ἱερουργιῶν διάταξιν τοῖς τριάκοντα κουρίωσιν, οὓς ἔφην τὰ κοινὰ

[64.1] The first division of religious rites he assigned to the thirty curiones, who, as I have stated, perform the public sacrifices for the curiae.

[2] θύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν φρατριῶν ἱερά. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων στεφανηφόροις, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φλάμοσιν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς φορήσεως τῶν πῖλων τε καὶ στεμμάτων, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φοροῦσι φλάμα καλοῦντες, οὕτω προσαγορεύουσι.

[2] The second, to those called by the Greeks *stephanêphoroi* or “wearers of the crown” and by the Romans *flamines*; they are given this name from their wearing caps and fillets, called † *flama*, which they continue to wear even to this day.

[3] τὴν δὲ τρίτην τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν κελερίων, οὓς ἔφην ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς

στρατευομένους φύλακας ἀποδείκνυσθαι τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ γὰρ οὔτοι τεταγμένους τινὰς [p. 246]

[3] The third, to the commanders of the celeres, who, as I have stated, were appointed to be the body-guards of the kings and fought both as cavalry and infantry; for these also performed certain specified religious rites.

[4] ἱερουργίας ἐπετέλουν. τὴν δὲ τετάρτην τοῖς ἐξηγουμένοις τὰ θεόπεμπτα σημεῖα καὶ διαιροῦσι τίνων ἐστὶ μηνύματα πραγμάτων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ, οὓς ἂν ἐνὸς εἶδους τῶν θεωρημάτων τῆς τέχνης Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν αὐγόρας, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εἴπομεν οἰωνοπόλους, ἀπάσης τῆς μαντικῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας ἐπιστήμονας τῆς τε περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ μετάρσια καὶ

[4] The fourth, to those who interpret the signs sent by the gods and determine what they portend both to private persons and to the public; these, from one branch of the speculations belonging to their art, the Romans call augurs, and we should call them οἰδνοποιοὶ or “soothsayers by means of birds”; they are skilled in all sorts of divination in use among the Romans, whether founded on signs appearing in the heavens, in mid-air or on the earth.

[5] τὰ ἐπίγεια. τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ταῖς φυλαττούσαις τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ παρθένοις, αἱ καλοῦνται πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἦν θεραπεύουσιν ἐστιάδες, αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος Ῥωμαίοις Ἑστίας καὶ παρθένους ἀποδείξας αὐτῇ θυηπόλους: ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπαιτοῦσης ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. ἔστι γὰρ ἃ καὶ ζητήσεως ἡξίωται καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐξητακότες ἐπιμελῶς εἰκαιτέρας ἐξηνεγκαν τὰς γραφάς.

[5] The fifth he assigned to the virgins who are the guardians of the sacred fire and who are called Vestals by the Romans, after the goddess whom they serve, he himself having been the first to build a temple at Rome to Vesta and to appoint virgins to be her priestesses. But concerning them it is necessary to make a few statements that are most essential, since the subject requires it; for there are problems that have been thought worthy of investigation by many Roman historians in connexion with this topic and those authors who have not diligently examined into the causes of these matters have published rather worthless accounts.

[1] τὴν γοῦν ἰδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ῥωμύλῳ τινὲς ἀνατιθέασιν τῶν ἀμηχάνων νομίζοντες εἶναι πόλεως οἰκίζομένης ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐμπείρου μαντικῆς μὴ κατασκευασθῆναι πρῶτον ἐστίαν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Ἑλβᾷ τοῦ κτίστου τραφέντος, ἐν ἧ παλαιὸν ἐξ οὗ τὸ τῆς θεᾶς ταύτης ἱερὸν ἰδρυμένον ἦν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ θυηπόλου γενομένης τῇ [p. 247] θεῷ: διαιρούμενοί τε διχῇ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κοινὰ ποιοῦντες καὶ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια καὶ συγγενικά, δι' ἅμφω ταῦτά φασι πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἶναι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ταύτην σέβειν τὴν θεόν.

[65.1] At any rate, as regards the building of the temple of Vesta, some ascribe it to Romulus, looking upon it as an inconceivable thing that, when a city was being founded by a man skilled in divination, a public hearth should not have been erected first of all, particularly since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where the temple of this goddess had been established from ancient times, and since his mother had been her priestess. And recognizing two classes of religious ceremonies — the one public and common to all the citizens, and the other private and confined to particular families — they declare that on both these grounds Romulus was under every obligation to worship this goddess.

[2] οὐτε γὰρ ἀναγκαϊότερον ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν εἶναι τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας οὔτε τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον προγόνων μὲν ὑπάρχοντι τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου τὰ τῆς θεᾶς ἱερὰ μετενεγκαμένων, μητρὸς δὲ ἱερείας. εἰκοίασι δ' οἱ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἰδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ῥωμύλῳ μᾶλλον ἀναπιθέντες ἢ Νόμῳ, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὀρθῶς λέγειν, ὅτι πόλεως οἰκισομένης ἐστίαν πρῶτον ἔδει ἰδρυθῆναι καὶ ταῦτα ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀπείρου τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφίας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τε τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ νῦν ὄντος ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν θεραπευουσῶν τὴν θεὸν παρθένων ἡγνοῦσθαι.

[2] For they say that nothing is more necessary for men than a public hearth, and that nothing more nearly concerned Romulus, in view of his descent, since his ancestors had brought the sacred rites of this goddess from Ilium and his mother had been her priestess. Those, then, who for these reasons ascribe the building of the temple to Romulus rather than to Numa seem to be right, in so far as the general principle is concerned, that when a city was being founded, it was necessary for a hearth to be established first of all, particularly by a man who was not unskilled in matters of religion; but of the details relating to the building of the present temple and to the virgins who are in the service of the goddess they seem to have been ignorant.

[3] οὐτε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν φυλάττεται πῦρ Ῥωμύλος ἦν ὁ καθιερώσας τῇ θεῷ μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον ὅτι τῆς τετραγώνου καλουμένης Ῥώμης ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐτείχισεν ἐκτός ἐστιν, ἐστίας δὲ κοινῆς ἱερὸν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ μάλιστα καθιδρύνονται τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, ἔξω δὲ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεῖς· οὔτε διὰ παρθένων τὰς θεραπείας κατεστήσατο τῇ θεῷ μεμνημένος ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῦ περὶ τὴν μητέρα πάθους, ἧ συνέβη θεραπευοῦσθαι τὴν θεὸν τὴν παρθενίαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ὥς οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἐσόμενος, ἐάν τινα τῶν θυηπόλων εὖρη διεφθαρμένην, κατὰ τοὺς πατριούς τιμωρήσασθαι νόμους διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς ἀνάμνησιν.

[3] For, in the first place, it was not Romulus who consecrated to the goddess this place where the sacred fire is preserved (a strong proof of this is that it is outside of what they call Roma Quadrata, which he surrounded with a wall, whereas all men place the shrine of the public hearth in the best part of a city and nobody outside of the walls); and, in the second place, he did not appoint

the service of the goddess to be performed by virgins, being mindful, I believe, of the experience that had befallen his mother, who while she was serving the goddess lost her virginity; for he doubtless felt that the remembrance of his domestic misfortunes would make it impossible for him to punish according to the traditional laws any of the priestesses he should find to have been violated.

[4] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὸν [p. 248] ἱερὸν οὐ κατεσκευάσατο τῆς Ἑστίας οὐδὲ ἱερείας ἔταξεν αὐτῇ παρθένους, ἐν ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα φρατριῶν ἰδρυσάμενος ἑστίαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἔθνον οἱ φρατρίεις, θυηπόλους αὐτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς τῶν κουριῶν ἡγεμόνας τὰ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἔθη μιμησάμενος, ἃ παρὰ ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις τῶν πόλεων ἔτι γίνεσθαι. τὰ γὰρ τοι καλούμενα πρυτανεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἑστίας ἐστὶν ἱερά, καὶ θεραπεύεται πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κράτος.

[4] For this reason, therefore, he did not build a common temple of Vesta nor did he appoint virgins to be her priestesses; but having erected a hearth in each of the thirty curiae on which the members sacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the curiae to be the priests of those hearths, therein imitating the customs of the Greeks that are still observed in the most ancient cities. At any rate, what are called prytaneia among them are temples of Hestia, and are served by the chief magistrates of the cities.

[1] νόμας δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας οὐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν φρατριῶν ἑστίας, κοινήν δὲ κατεστήσατο πάντων μίαν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τοῦ Παλατίου χωρίῳ, συμπεπολισμένων ἤδη τῶν λόφων ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ καὶ μέσης ἀμφοῖν οὔσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐν ᾗ κατεσκευάσται τὸ ἱερὸν, τὴν τε φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατὰ τὸν πάτριον τῶν Λατίνων νόμον διὰ παρθένων ἐνομοθέτησε γίνεσθαι:

[66.1] Numa, upon taking over the rule, did not disturb the individual hearths of the curiae, but erected one common to them all in the space between the Capitoline hill and the Palatine (for these hills had already been united by a single wall into one city, and the Forum, in which the temple is built, lies between them), and he enacted, in accordance with the ancestral custom of the Latins, that the guarding of the holy things should be committed to virgins.

[2] ἔχει δὲ τινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ τὸ φυλαττόμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τί δήποτε ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τί πρόσκειται παρθένοις. τινὲς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ φανεροῦ πυρὸς εἶναι φασὶ τὸ τηρούμενον, τὴν δὲ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ παρθένοις ἀνακεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδράσι ποιοῦνται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, ὅτι πῦρ μὲν ἀμίαντον, παρθένος δ' ἄφθαρτον, τῷ δ' ἀγνωτάτῳ τῶν θείων τὸν καθαρώτατον τῶν θνητῶν φίλον.

[2] There is some doubt, however, what it is that is kept in this temple and for what reason the care of it has been assigned to virgins, some affirming that

nothing is preserved there but the fire, which is visible to everybody. And they very reasonably argue that the custody of the fire was committed to virgins, rather than to men, because fire is incorrupt and a virgin is undefiled, and the most chaste of mortal things must be agreeable to the purest of those that are divine.

[3] Ἔστια δ' ἀνακεῖσθαι τὸ πῦρ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι γῆ τε οὖσα ἢ θεὸς καὶ τὸν μέσον κατέχουσα [p. 249] τοῦ κόσμου τόπον τὰς ἀνάψεις τοῦ μεταρσίου ποιεῖται πυρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ φασιν ἔξω τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱερὰ κεῖσθαι τινα ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς θεᾶς, ὧν οἱ τε ἱεροφάνται τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι, τεκμήριον οὐ μικρὸν παρεχόμενοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ συμβὰν περὶ τὴν ἔμπρησιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὸν Φοινικικὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρῶτον συστάνα Ῥωμαῖοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ Σικελίας.

[3] And they regard the fire as consecrated to Vesta because that goddess, being the earth and occupying the central place in the universe, kindles the celestial fires from herself. But there are some who say that besides the fire there are some holy things in the temple of the goddess that may not be revealed to the public, of which only the pontiffs and the virgins have knowledge. As a strong confirmation of this story they cite what happened at the burning of the temple during the First Punic War between the Romans and the Carthaginians over Sicily.

[4] ἔμπρησθέντος γὰρ τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τῶν παρθένων φευγουσῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν τις Λεύκιος Καικίλιος ὁ καλούμενος Μέτελλος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ὁ τὸν ἀοιδιμον ἐκ Σικελίας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων καταγαγὼν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλεφάντων θρίαμβον, ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα παρεκινδύνευσεν εἰς τὰ καιόμενα βιάσασθαι καὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀρπάσας ἱερὰ διέσωσεν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός· ἐφ' ᾧ τιμὰς παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξηνέγκατο μεγάλας, ὡς ἢ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ κειμένης ἐπιγραφὴ μαρτυρεῖ.

[4] For when the temple caught fire and the virgins fled from the flames, one of the pontiffs, Lucius Caecilius, called Metellus, a man of consular rank, the same who exhibited a hundred and thirty-eight elephants in the memorable triumph which he celebrated for his defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, neglecting his own safety for the sake of the public good, ventured to force his way into the burning structure, and, snatching up the holy things which the virgins had abandoned, saved them from the fire; for which he received the honours from the State, as the inscription upon his statue on the Capitol testifies.

[5] τοῦτο δὴ λαβόντες ὁμολογούμενον ἐπισυνάπτουσιν αὐτοὶ στοχασμούς τινας ἰδίους, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ λέγοντες ἱερῶν μοῖραν εἶναι τινα φυλαττομένην τὴν ἐνθάδε, Δαρδάνου μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κτισθεῖσαν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὰ ἱερὰ μετενεγκαμένου, [p. 250] Αἰνείου δέ, ὅτ' ἔφυγεν

ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ταῦτα κομίσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὸ διοπετέες Παλλάδιον ἀποφαίνοντες εἶναι τὸ παρ' Ἰλιεῦσι γενόμενον, ὡς Αἰνείου κομίσαντος αὐτὸ δι' ἐμπειρίαν, Ἀχαιῶν δὲ τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ λαβόντων κλοπῇ: περὶ οὗ πολλοὶ σφόδρα εἴρηνται ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι λόγοι.

[5] Taking this incident, then, as an admitted fact, they add some conjectures of their own. Thus, some affirm that the objects preserved here are a part of those holy things which were once in Samothrace; that Dardanus removed them out of that island into the city which he himself had built, and that Aeneas, when he fled from the Troad, brought them along with the other holy things into Italy. But others declare that it is the Palladium that fell from Heaven, the same that was in the possession of the people of Ilium; for they hold that Aeneas, being well acquainted with it, brought it into Italy, whereas the Achaeans stole away the copy, — an incident about which many stories have been related both by poets and by historians.

[6] ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶναι τινα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄδηλα ἱερὰ φυλαττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καὶ οὐ τὸ πῦρ μόνον ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ καταλαμβάνομαι, τίνα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἄξιῳ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐτ' ἐμαυτὸν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια τηρεῖν.

[6] For my part, I find from very many evidences that there are indeed some holy things, unknown to the public, kept by the virgins, and not the fire alone; but what they are I do not think should be inquired into too curiously, either by me or by anyone else who wishes to observe the reverence due to the gods.

[1] αἱ δὲ θεραπεύουσαι τὴν θεὸν παρθένοι τέτταρες μὲν ἦσαν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν βασιλέων αὐτὰς αἰρουμένων ἐφ' οἷς κατεστήσατο δικαίοις ὁ Νόμας, ὕστερον δὲ διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἃς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἔξ γενόμεναι μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαμένονσι χρόνου δίαitan ἔχουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, ἔνθα δι' ἡμέρας μὲν οὐδεῖς. ἀπειργεται τῶν βουλομένων εἰσιέναι, νύκτωρ δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀρρένων ἐναυλίσασθαι θέμις.

[67.1] The virgins who serve the goddess were originally four and were chosen by the kings according to the principles established by Numa, but afterwards, from the multiplicity of the sacred rites they perform, their number was increased of six, and has so remained down to our time. They live in the temple of the goddess, into which none who wish are hindered from entering in the daytime, whereas it is not lawful for any man to remain there at night.

[2] χρόνον δὲ τριακονταετῇ μένειν αὐτὰς ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνάς γάμων θυηπολοῦσας τε καὶ ἄλλα θρησκευούσας κατὰ νόμον, ἐν ᾧ δέκα μὲν ἔτη μανθάνειν αὐτὰς ἔδει, δέκα δ' ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ἱερά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δέκα διδάσκειν ἐτέρας. ἐκπληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς τριακονταετίας οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον τὰς βουλομένας ἀποθείσας τὰ στέμματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς [p. 251]

ἱερωσύνης γαμεῖσθαι. καὶ ἐποίησαν τινες τοῦτο πάνυ ὀλιγαί, αἷς ἄζηλοι συνέβησαν αἱ τελευταὶ τῶν βίων καὶ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖς, ὥστε δι' οἰωνοῦ λαμβάνουσαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι μένουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ μέχρι θανάτου, τότε δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκλιπούσης ἀριθμὸν ἑτέρα πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ἀποδείκνυται.

[2] They were required to remain undefiled by marriage for the space of thirty years, devoting themselves to offering sacrifices and performing the other rites ordained by law. During the first ten years their duty was to learn their functions, in the second ten to perform them, and during the remaining ten to teach others. After the expiration of the term of thirty years nothing hindered those who so desired from marrying, upon laying aside their fillets and the other insignia of their priesthood. And some, though very few, have done this; but they came to ends that were not at all happy or enviable. In consequence, the rest, looking upon their misfortunes as ominous, remain virgins in the temple of the goddess till their death, and then once more another is chosen by the pontiffs to supply the vacancy.

[3] τιμαὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἀποδεδόνται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πολλαὶ καὶ καλαί, δι' ἃς οὔτε παιδων αὐταῖς ἐστὶ πόθος οὔτε γάμων, τιμωριαὶ τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις κεῖνται μεγάλαι, ὧν ἐξετασται τε καὶ κολασταὶ κατὰ νόμον εἰσὶν οἱ ἱεροφάνται, τὰς μὲν ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἁμαρτανούσας ῥάβδοις μαστιγοῦντες, τὰς δὲ φθαρείσας αἰσχίστῳ τε καὶ

[3] Many high honours have been granted them by the commonwealth, as a result of which they feel no desire either for marriage or for children; and severe penalties have been established for their misdeeds. It is the pontiffs who by law both inquire into and punish these offences; to Vestals who are guilty of lesser misdemeanours they scourge with rods, but those who have suffered defilement they deliver up to the most shameful and the most miserable death.

[4] ἐλεεινοτάτῳ παραδιδόντες θανάτῳ. ζῶσαι γὰρ ἔτι πομπεῦουσιν ἐπὶ κλίνης φερόμεναι τὴν ἀποδεδειγμένην τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐκφορὰν, ἀνακλαιομένων αὐτὰς καὶ προπεμπόντων φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν, κοιμισθεῖσαι δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης, ἐντὸς τειχους εἰς σηκὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κατεσκευασμένον ἅμα τοῖς ἐνταφίοις κόσμοις τίθενται καὶ οὔτ' ἐπιστήματος οὔτ' ἐναγισμῶν οὔτ'

[4] While they are yet alive they are carried upon a bier with all the formality of a funeral, their friends and relations attending them with lamentations, and after being brought as far as the Colline Gate, they are placed in an underground cell prepared within the walls, clad in their funeral attire; but they are not given a monument or funeral rites or any other customary solemnities.

[5] ἄλλου τῶν νομίμων οὐδενὸς τυγχάνουσι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα δοκεῖ

μηνύματα εἶναι τῆς οὐχ ὁσίως ὑπηρετοῦσης τοῖς ἱεροῖς, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ σβέσις τοῦ πυρός, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δεδοίκασιν ἀφανισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως σημεῖον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἀφ' ἧς ποτ' ἂν αἰτίας γένηται, καὶ πολλαῖς αὐτὸ θεραπαίαις [p. 252] ἐξιλασκόμενοι κατὰγουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν: ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ.

[5] There are many indications, it seems, when a priestess is not performing her holy functions with purity, but the principal one is the extinction of the fire, which the Romans dread above all misfortunes, looking upon it, from whatever cause it proceeds, as an omen that portends the destruction of the city; and they bring fire again into the temple with many supplicatory rites, concerning which I shall speak on the proper occasion.

[1] πάνυ δ' ἄξιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἱστορῆσαι τῆς θεᾶς, ἣν ἐπεδείξατο ταῖς ἀδίκως ἐγκληθείσαις παρθένοις, πεπίστευται γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, εἰ καὶ παράδοξά ἐστι, καὶ πολὺν πεποιηται λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ συγγραφεῖς.

[68.1] However, it is also well worth relating in what manner the goddess has manifested herself in favour of those virgins who have been falsely accused. For these things, however incredible they may be, have been believed by the Romans and their historians have related much about them.

[2] ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀθεοὺς ἀσκοῦσι φιλοσοφίας, εἰ δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφίας αὐτὰς δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀπάσας διασύροντες τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν τὰς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάροις γενομένας καὶ ταύτας εἰς γέλωτα πολὺν ἄξουσι τὰς ἱστορίας ἀλαζονεῖαι: ἀνθρωπίναις αὐτὰς ἀνατιθέντες, ὡς οὐδενὶ θεῶν μέλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδενός. ὅσοι δ' οὐκ ἀπολύουσι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐμενεῖς εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς δυσμενεῖς διὰ πολλῆς ἐληλυθότες ἱστορίας, οὐδὲ ταῦτας ὑπολήφονται τὰς ἐπιφανείας εἶναι ἀπίστους.

[2] To be sure, the professors of the atheistic philosophies, — if, indeed, their theories deserve the name of philosophy, — who ridicule all the manifestations of the gods which have taken place among either the Greeks or barbarians, will also laugh these reports to scorn and attribute them to human imposture, on the ground that none of the gods concern themselves in anything relating to mankind. Those, however, who do not absolve the gods from the care of human affairs, but, after looking deeply into history, hold that they are favourable to the good and hostile to the wicked, will not regard even these manifestations as incredible.

[3] λέγεται δὴ ποτε τοῦ πυρός ἐκλιπόντος δι' ὀλιγωρίαν τινὰ τῆς τότε αὐτὸ φυλαττοῦσης Αἰμιλίας ἐτέρᾳ παρθένῳ τῶν νεωστὶ κατειλεγμένων καὶ ἄρτι μανθανουσῶν παραδόσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ ζητήσις ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν, μή τι μίasma περὶ τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἱερείας ἐτύγγανε γεγονός: ἔνθα δὴ φασὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ἀναίτιον μὲν οὔσαν,

ἀπορουμένην δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι παρόντων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρθένων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκτείνασαν εἶπεῖν: [p. 253]

[3] It is said, then, that once, when the fire had been extinguished through some negligence on the part of Aemilia, who had the care of it at the time and had entrusted it to another virgin, one of those who had been newly chosen and were then learning their duties, the whole city was in great commotion and an inquiry was made by the pontiffs whether there might not have been some defilement of the priestess to account for the extinction of the fire. Thereupon, they say, Aemilia, who was innocent, but distracted at what had happened, stretched out her hands toward the altar and in the presence of the priests and the rest of the virgins cried:

[4] ἔστια τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως φύλαξ, εἰ μὲν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἐπιτετέλεκά σοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρόνον ὀλίγου δέοντα τριακονταετοῦς καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχουσα καθαρὰν καὶ σῶμα ἀγνόν, ἐπιφάνηθι μοι καὶ βοήθησον καὶ μὴ περιιδῆς τὴν σεαυτῆς ἱέρειαν τὸν οἴκτιστον μόρον ἀποθανοῦσαν: εἰ δὲ ἀνόσιόν τι πέπρακται μοι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τιμωρίαις τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄγος ἀφάγνισον.

[4] “O Vesta, guardian of the Romans’ city, if, during the space of nearly thirty years, I have performed the sacred offices to thee in a holy and proper manner, keeping a pure mind and a chaste body, do thou manifest thyself in my defence and assist me and do not suffer thy priestess to die the most miserable of all deaths; but if I have been guilty of any impious deed, let my punishment expiate the guilt of the city.”

[5] ταῦτ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ περιρρήξασαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρπασίνης ἐσθῆτος, ἣν ἔτυχεν ἐνδεδυκυῖα, βαλεῖν τὸν τελαμῶνα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς κατεψυγμένης πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ οὐδένα φυλαττούσης σπινθῆρα τέφρας ἀναλάμψαι φλόγα πολλὴν διὰ τῆς καρπάσου, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει μήτε ἀγνισμῶν μήτε νέου πυρός.

[5] Having said this, she tore off the band of the linen garment she had on and threw it upon the altar, they say, following her prayer; and from the ashes, which had been long cold and retained no spark, a great flame flared up through the linen, so that the city no longer required either expiations or a new fire.

[1] ἔτι δὲ τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστι καὶ μῦθω μᾶλλον ἐοικὸς ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. κατηγορεῖσθαι τινὰ φασιν ἀδίκως μιᾶς τῶν παρθένων τῶν ἱερῶν Τυκκίας ὄνομα, ἀφανισμόν μὲν πυρὸς οὐκ ἔχοντα προφέρειν, ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς ἐξ εἰκότων τεκμηρίων καὶ μαρτυριῶν ἀποδείξεις φέροντα οὐκ ἀληθεῖς: κελευσθεῖσαν δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὴν παρθένον τοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις ἀπολύσεται τὰς διαβολάς:

[69.1] But what I am going to relate is still more wonderful and more like a myth. They say that somebody unjustly accused one of the holy virgins,

whose name was Tuccia, and although he was unable to point to the extinction of the fire as evidence, he advanced false arguments based on plausible proofs and depositions; and that the virgin, being ordered to make her defence, said only this, that she would clear herself from the accusation by her deeds.

[2] ταῦτα δ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐπικαλεσαμένην ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ γενέσθαι προάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Τέβεριν ἐπιτρεφάντων μὲν αὐτῇ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν, [p. 254] τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου συμπροπέμποντος: γενομένην δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον τὸ παροιμαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀδυνάτων τόλμημα ὑπομεῖναι, ἄρυσσάμενην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καινῶ κοσκίνῳ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐνέγκασαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ἐξερᾶσαι τὸ ὕδωρ.

[2] Having said this and called upon the goddess to be her guide, she led the way to the Tiber, with the consent of the pontiffs and escorted by the whole population of the city; and when she came to the river, she was so hardy as to undertake the task which, according to the proverb, is among the most impossible of achievement: she drew up water from the river in a sieve, and carrying it as far as the Forum, poured it out at the feet of the pontiffs.

[3] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά φασι τὸν κατήγορον αὐτῆς πολλῆς ζητήσεως γενομένης μήτε ζῶντα εὐρεθῆναι μήτε νεκρόν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανειῶν τῆς θεᾶς ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανὰ εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω.

[3] After which, they say, her accuser, though great search was made for him, could never be found either alive or dead. But, though I have yet many other things to say concerning the manifestations of this goddess, I regard what has already been said as sufficient.

[1] ἔκτη δὲ μοῖρα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίας ἦν ἡ προσνεμηθεῖσα τοῖς καλουμένοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων σαλίοις, οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Νόμας ἀπέδειξεν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων δώδεκα τοὺς εὐπρεπεστάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος νέους, ὧν ἐν Παλατίῳ κεῖται τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ καλοῦνται Παλατῖνοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγωναλεῖς, ὑπὸ δὲ πινων Κολλῖνοι καλούμενοι σάλιοι, ὧν τὸ ἱεροφυλάκιόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κολλίνου λόφου, μετὰ Νόμαν ἀπεδειχθησαν ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ὅστιλιου κατ'

[70.1] The sixth division of his religious institutions was devoted to those the Romans call Salii, whom Numa himself appointed out of the patricians, choosing twelve young men of the most graceful appearance. These are the Salii whose holy things are deposited on the Palatine hill and who are themselves called the (Salii) Palatini; for the (Salii) Agonales, by some called the Salii Collini, the repository of whose holy things is on the Quirinal hill, were appointed after Numa's time by King Hostilius, in pursuance of a vow he had made in the war against the Sabines. All these Salii are a kind of dancers and singers of hymns in praise of the gods of war.

[2] εὐχῆν, ἣν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σαβίνους εὐξάτο πολέμῳ. οὗτοι πάντες οἱ σάλιοι χορευταὶ τινὲς εἰσι καὶ ὑμνηταὶ τῶν ἐνόπλων θεῶν. ἑορτὴ δ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ Παναθηναῖα ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Μαρτίῳ μηνὶ δημοτελὴς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀγομένη, ἐν αἷς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγουσι τοὺς χοροὺς εἷς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίους τόπους, χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκαῖς μίτραις [p. 255] κατεζωσμένοι καὶ τηβέννας ἐμπεπορημένοι περιπορφύρους φοινικοπαρύφους, ἃς καλοῦσι τραβέας ἔστι δ' ἐπιχώριος αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐσθῆς ἐν τοῖς πάντι μιμῶν καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀπίκας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, πῖλους ὑψηλοὺς εἰς σχῆμα συναγομένους κωνοειδῆς, ἃς Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσι κυρβασίαι.

[2] Their festival falls about the time of the Panathenaea, in the month which they call March, and is celebrated at the public expense for many days, during which they proceed through the city with their dances to the Forum and to the Capitol and to many other places both private and public. They wear embroidered tunics girt about with wide girdles of bronze, and over these are fastened, with brooches, robes striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, which they call trabeae; this garment is peculiar to the Romans and a mark of the greatest honour. On their heads they wear apices, as they are called, that is, high caps contracted into the shape of a cone, which the Greeks call kyrbasiai.

[3] παρέζωσται δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ξίφος καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ἢ ῥάβδον ἢ τι τοιοῦθ' ἕτερον κρατεῖ, τῇ δ' εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει πέλτην Θρακίαν: ἢ δ' ἐστὶ ῥομβοειδὲς θυρεῶν στενωτέρας ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνας ἐμφερῆς, οἷας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κουρήτων παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱερά.

[3] They have each of them a sword hanging at their girdle and in their right hand they hold a spear or a staff or something else of the sort, and on their left arm a Thracian buckler, which resembles a lozenge-shaped shield with its sides drawn in, such as those are said to carry who among the Greeks perform the sacred rites of the Curetes.

[4] καὶ εἰσιν οἱ σάλιοι κατὰ γούν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην Ἑλληνικῶν μεθερμηνευθέντες ὀνόματι Κουρήτες, ὑφ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτως ὀνομασμένοι παρὰ τοὺς κούρους, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς συντόνου κινήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάλλεσθαι τε καὶ πηδᾶν σαλῖρε ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγεται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὀρχηστάς, ἐπεὶ κὰν τοῦτοις πολὺ τὸ ἄλμα καὶ σκίρτημα ἔνεστι, παράγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σαλίων τοῦνομα σαλτάτωρας καλοῦσιν.

[4] And, in my opinion at least, the Salii, if the word be translated into Greek, are Curetes, whom, because they are kouroi or “young men,” we call by that name from their age, whereas the Romans call them Salii from their lively motions. For to leap and skip is by them called salire; and for the same reason they call all other dancers saltatores, deriving their name from the Salii,

because their dancing also is attended by much leaping and capering.

[5] εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπείληφα ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποδιδούς ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος συμβαλεῖ. κινουῦνται γὰρ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὰς ἐνοπλίους κινήσεις τοτὲ μὲν ὁμοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ [p. 256] παραλλάξ καὶ πατρίους τινὰς ὕμνους ᾄδουσιν ἅμα ταῖς χορείαις. χορείαν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν ἐνόπλιον καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων φόρον, εἴ τι δεῖ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι λόγοις, Κουρῆτες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι. τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν μῦθον οὐδὲν δέομαι πρὸς εἰδότας ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντας γράφειν.

[5] Whether I have been well advised or not in giving them this appellation, anyone who pleases may gather from their actions. For they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turns, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns. But this dance and exercise performed by armed men and the noise they make by striking their bucklers with their daggers, if we may base any conjectures on the ancient accounts, was originated by the Curetes. I need not mention the legend which is related concerning them, since almost everybody is acquainted with it.

[1] ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέλταις, ἃς οἱ τε σάλιοι φοροῦσι καὶ ἃς ὑπηρεται τινὲς αὐτῶν ἡρτημένας ἀπὸ κανόνων κομίζουσι, πολλαῖς πάνυ οὔσαις μίαν εἶναι λέγουσι διοπετῇ, εὖρεθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς Νόμα, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενέγκαντος μηδ' ἐγνωσμένου πρότερον ἐν Ἰταλοῖς τοιοῦτου σχήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπολαβεῖν Ῥωμαίους θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸ ὅπλον.

[71.1] Among the vast number of bucklers which both the Salii themselves bear and some of their servants carry suspended from rods, they say there is one that fell from heaven and was found in the palace of Numa, though no one had brought it thither and no buckler of that shape had ever before been known among the Italians; and that for both these reasons the Romans concluded that this buckler had been sent by the gods.

[2] βουλευθέντα δὲ τὸν Νόμαν τιμᾶσθαι τε αὐτὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων νέων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπετειῶν τυγχάνειν, δεδοκὸτα δὲ ἐπιβουλὰς τε τὰς ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀφανισμόν αὐτοῦ κλοπαῖον, ὅπλα λέγουσι πολλὰ κατασκευάσασθαι τῷ διοπετεῖ παραπλήσια, Μαμορίου τινὸς δημιουργοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἀναδεξαμένου, ὥστε ἄσημον γενέσθαι καὶ δυσδιάνγνωστον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν τὴν τοῦ θεοπέμπτου φύσιν διὰ τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἔργων ὁμοιότητα.

[2] They add that Numa, desiring that it should be honoured by being carried through the city on holy days by the most distinguished young men and that

annual sacrifices should be offered to it, but at the same time being fearful both of the plot of his enemies and of its disappearance by theft, caused many other bucklers to be made resembling the one which fell from heaven, Mamurius, an artificer, having undertaken the work; so that, as a result of the perfect resemblance of the man-made imitations, the shape of the buckler sent by the gods was rendered inconspicuous and difficult to be distinguished by those who might plot to possess themselves of it.

[3] ἐπιχώριον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πάνυ τίμιον ὁ κουρητισμός, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπὰς τὰς τε ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς [p. 257]

[3] This dancing after the manner of the Curetes was a native institution among the Romans and was held in great honour by them, as I gather from many other indications and especially from what takes place in their processions both in the Circus and in the theatres.

[4] θεάτροις γινομένας: ἐν ἀπάσαις γὰρ ταύταις πρόσηβοι κόροι χιτωνίσκους ἐνδεδυκότες ἐκπρεπεῖς κράνη καὶ ξίφη καὶ πάρμας ἔχοντες στοιχηδὸν πορεύονται, καὶ εἰσιν οὗτοι τῆς πομπῆς ἡγεμόνες καλούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς παιδιᾶς τῆς ὑπὸ Λυδῶν ἐξευρῆσθαι δοκούσης λυδίωνες, εἰκόνες ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν σαλίων, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε Κουρητικῶν οὐδὲν ὥσπερ οἱ σάλιοι δρῶσιν οὐτ' ἐν ὕμνοις οὐτ' ἐν ὀρχήσει. χρῆν δὲ τοὺτους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς, οἱ δ' εἰσὶν ἐξ ὁποίας 2δηποτε τύχης. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὰ πλείω περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν;

[4] For in all of them young men clad in handsome tunics, with helmets, swords and bucklers, march in file. These are the leaders of the procession and are called by the Romans, from a game of which the Lydians seem to have been the inventors, ludiones; they show merely a certain resemblance, in my opinion, to the Salii, since they do not, like the Salii, do any of the things characteristic of the Curetes, either in their hymns or dancing. And it was necessary that the Salii should be free men and native Romans and that both their fathers and mothers should be living; whereas the others are of any condition whatsoever. But why should I say more about them?

[1] ἡ δὲ ἑβδόμη μοῖρα τῆς ἱερᾶς νομοθεσίας τῷ συστήματι προσετέθη τῶν καλουμένων φετιαλίων. οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἴησαν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καλούμενοι διάλεκτον εἰρηνοδίκαι. εἰσὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων οἴκων ἄνδρες ἐπιλεκτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ἱερόμενοι τοῦ βίου, Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου καὶ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἱερὸν ἀρχεῖον καταστησαμένου:

[72.1] The seventh division of his sacred institutions was devoted to the college of the fetiales; these may be called in Greek eirênodikai or “arbiters of peace.” They are chosen men, from the best families, and exercise their holy office for life; King Numa was also the first who instituted this holy magistracy among

the Romans.

[2] εἰ μέντοι παρὰ τῶν καλουμένων Αἰκικλῶν τὸ παράδειγμα ἔλαβεν ὥσπερ οἴονται τινες, ἢ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρδεατῶν πόλεως ὡς γράφει Γέλλιος οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ἀπόκρη δὲ μοι τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Νόμα ἀρχῆς οὕτω τὸ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν σύστημα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν.

[2] But whether he took his example from those called the Aequicoli, according to the opinion of some, or from the city of Ardea, as Gellius writes, I cannot say. It is sufficient for me to state that before Numa's reign the college of the fetiales did not exist among the Romans.

[3] κατεστήσατο δ' αὐτὸ Νόμας ὅτε Φιδηνάταις ἔμελλε πολεμεῖν ληστείας καὶ καταδρομὰς τῆς [p. 258] χώρας αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένοις, εἰ βούλονται συμβῆναι διχα πολέμου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπερ εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστάντες ἐποίησαν. οἶομαι δ' ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιχώριον Ἑλλήσι τὸ περὶ τοῦς εἰρηνοδικὰς ἀρχεῖον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι πόσων καὶ πηλίκων ἐστὶ πραγμάτων κύριον διελθεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐσεβείαν, ἣν οἱ τότε ἄνδρες ἐπετήδευον, μὴ παράδοξον εἶναι φανῇ τὸ πάντας αὐτοῖς τὸ κάλλιστον λαβεῖν τοῦς πολέμους τέλους.

[3] It was instituted by Numa when he was upon the point of making war on the people of Fidenae, who had raided and ravaged his territories, in order to see whether they would come to an accommodation with him without war; and that is what they actually did, being constrained by necessity. But since the college of the fetiales is not in use among the Greeks, I think it incumbent on me to relate how many and how great affairs fall under its jurisdiction, to the end that those who are unacquainted with the piety practised by the ares of those times may not be surprised to find that all their wars had the most successful outcome; for it will appear that the origins and motives of them all were most holy, and for this reason especially the gods were propitious to them in the dangers that attended them.

[4] ἀπάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εὐσεβεστάτας φανήσονται ποιησάμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦς θεοὺς ἐσχηκότες ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εὐμενεῖς. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν ὅσα ἀνάκειται τοῦτοις τοῖς εἰρηνοδικαῖς ἐπελθεῖν διὰ πλῆθος οὐ ῥάδιον, κεφαλαιώδει δ' ὑπογραφῇ δηλῶσαι τοιάδ' ἐστι: φυλάττειν ἵνα μηδένα Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον ἐξενέγκωσι κατὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἐνσπόνδου πόλεως ἄδικον, ἀρξάντων δὲ παρασπονδεῖν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτέρων πρεσβεύεσθαι τε καὶ τὰ δίκαια πρῶτον αἰτεῖν λόγῳ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωνται τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις,

[4] The multitude of duties, to be sure, that fall within the province of these fetiales makes it no easy matter to enumerate them all; but to indicate them by a summary outline, they are as follows: It is their duty to take care that the Romans do not enter upon an unjust war against any city in alliance with

them, and if others begin the violation of treaties against them, to go as ambassadors and first make formal demand for justice, and then, if the others refuse to comply with their demands, to sanction war.

[5] τότε ἔπικυροῦν τὸν πόλεμον. ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν ἀδικεῖσθαι τινες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔνσπονδοι λέγοντες τὰ δίκαια αἰτῶσι, τούτους διαγινώσκειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἴ τι πεπόνθασιν ἔκσπονδον καὶ ἐὰν δόξωσι τὰ: προσήκοντα ἐγκαλεῖν τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις συλλαβόντας ἐκδότους τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσι παραδιδόναι τὰ τε περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἀδικήματα δικάζειν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὅσα φυλάττειν εἰρήνην τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ [p. 259] γεγεννημένην, ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς δόξῃ πεπρᾶχθαι νόμους, ἀκυροῦν καὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν παρανομίας, ὅσαι περὶ τε ὅρκους καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπιτελοῦνται, διαγινώσκοντας ἀφοσιοῦσθαι, περὶ ὧν κατὰ

[5] In like manner, if any people in alliance with the Romans complain of having been injured by them and demand justice, these men are to determine whether they have suffered anything in violation of their alliance; and if they find are complaints well grounded, they are to seize the accused and deliver them up to the injured parties. They are also to take cognizance of the crimes committed against ambassadors, to take care that treaties are religiously observed, to make peace, and if they find that peace has been made otherwise than is prescribed by the holy laws, to set it aside; and to inquire into and expiate the transgressions of the generals in so far as they relate to oaths and treaties, concerning which I shall speak in the proper places.

[6] τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς ποιήσομαι τον λόγον. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενα, ὅτε τὴν δόξασαν ἀδικεῖν πόλιν αἰτοῖεν δίκας ἄξιον γὰρ μὴδὲ ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν κατὰ πολλὴν φροντίδα τῶν ὁσίων καὶ δικαίων γινόμενά τοιαῦτα παρέλαβον: εἷς μὲν ἐκ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν, ὃν οἱ λοιποὶ προχειρίζαιτο, κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι καὶ φορήμασιν ἱεροῖς, ἵνα διάδηλος ᾗ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀδικούντων παρεγίνετο πόλιν: ἐπιστὰς δὲ τοῖς ὀρίοις τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλεῖτο θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ὅτι δίκας αἰτῶν ἦκει περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως:

[6] As to the functions they performed in the quality of heralds when they went to any city thought to have injured the Romans (for these things also are worthy of our knowledge, since they were carried out with great regard to both religion and justice), I have received the following account: One of these fetiales, chosen by his colleagues, wearing his sacred robes and insignia to distinguish him from all others, proceeded towards the city whose inhabitants had done the injury; and, stopping at the border, he called upon Jupiter and the rest of the gods to witness that he was come to demand justice on behalf of the Roman State.

[7] ἔπειτα ὁμόσας ὅτι πρὸς ἀδικοῦσαν ἔρχεται πόλιν καὶ ἄρᾳ τὰς μεγίστας εἰ ψεύδοιτο ἐπαρασάμενος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε ἐντὸς ἦει τῶν ὄρων:

ἔπειτα ὅτῳ πρώτῳ περιτύχοι τοῦτον ἐπιμαρτυράμενος, εἴτε τῶν ἀγροίκων εἴτε τῶν πολιτικῶν εἴη, καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς προσθεὶς ἄρὰς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὥχετο, κῆῖτα πρὶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελθεῖν τὸν πυλωρὸν ἢ τὸν πρῶτον ἀπαντήσαντα ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπιμαρτυράμενος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προήει: ἐκεῖ δὲ καταστὰς τοῖς ἐν τέλει περὶ ὧν ἦκοι διελέγετο πανταχῇ τοὺς τε ὄρκους καὶ

[7] Thereupon he took an oath that he was going to a city that had done an injury; and having uttered the most dreadful imprecations against himself and Rome, if what he averred was not true, he then entered their borders. Afterwards, he called to witness the first person he met, whether it was one of the countrymen or one of the townspeople, and having repeated the same imprecations, he advanced towards the city. And before he entered it he called to witness in the same manner the gate-keeper or the first person he met at the gates, after which he proceeded to the forum; and taking his stand there, he discussed with the magistrates the reasons for his coming, adding everywhere the same oaths and imprecations.

[8] τὰς ἄρὰς προστιθείς. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπέχοιεν τὰς δίκας [p. 260] παραδιδόντες τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἀπῆει τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπάγων φίλος τε ἤδη γεροντὺς καὶ παρὰ φίλων: εἰ δὲ χρόνον εἰς βουλὴν αἰτήσαιντο δέκα διδούς ἡμέρας παρεγίνετο πάλιν καὶ μέχρι τρίτης αἰτήσεως ἀνεδέχετο. διελθουσῶν δὲ τῶν. τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν, εἰ μὴ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὰ δίκαια ἡ πόλις, ἐπικαλεσάμενος τοὺς τε οὐρανίους καὶ καταχθονίους θεοὺς ἀπῆει, τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπὼν ὅτι βουλεύσεται περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐφ' ἡσυχίας.

[8] If, then, they were disposed to offer satisfaction by delivering up the guilty, he departed as a friend taking leave of friends, carrying the prisoners with him. Or, if they desired time to deliberate, he allowed them ten days, after which he returned and waited till they had made this request three times. But after the expiration of the thirty days, if the city still persisted in refusing to grant him justice, he called both the celestial and infernal gods to witness and went away, saying no more than this, that the Roman State would deliberate at its leisure concerning these people.

[9] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέφαιναν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰρηνοδικαῖς παραγενόμενος ὅτι πέπρακται πᾶν αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἦν ὅσιον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο ψηφίζεσθαι πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλύσον ἀπὸ θεῶν. εἰ δὲ τι μὴ γένοιτο τούτων οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ κυρία ἦν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι πόλεμον οὔτε ὁ δῆμος. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν.

[9] Afterwards he, together with the other fetiales, appeared before the senate and declared that they had done everything that was ordained by the holy laws, and that, if the senators wished to vote for war, there would be no obstacle on the part of the gods. But if any of these things was omitted, neither the senate nor the people had the power to vote for war. Such, then, is the account we have received concerning the fetiales.

[1] τελευταῖος δ' ἦν τῆς Νόμα διατάξεως μερισμὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὧν ἔλαχον οἱ τὴν μεγίστην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἱερατείαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες. οὗτοι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον ἐφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἔργων ὃ πράττουσιν ἐπισκευάζοντες τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ποντίφικες προσαγορεύονται, εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων

[73.1] The last branch of the ordinances of Numa related to the sacred offices allotted to those who held the higher priesthoods and the greatest power among the Romans. These, from one of the duties they perform, namely, the repairing of the wooden bridge, are in their own language called pontifices; but they have jurisdiction over the most weighty matters.

[2] πραγμάτων κύριοι. καὶ γὰρ δικάζουσιν οὗτοι τὰς ἱεράς δικὰς ἀπάσας ἰδιώταις τε καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεῶν καὶ νομοθετοῦσιν ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν ἄγραφα ὄντα καὶ ἀνέθιστα κρίνοντες ἃ ἂν ἐπιτήδεια [p. 261] τυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς φανείη νόμων τε καὶ ἐθισμῶν: τὰς τε ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας, ὅσαις θυσία τις ἢ θεραπεία θεῶν ἀνάκειται, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας ἐξετάζουσιν, ὑπηρέτας τε αὐτῶν καὶ λειτουργούς, οἷς χρῶνται πρὸς τὰ ἱερά, οὗτοι φυλάττουσι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν περὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους: τοῖς τε ἰδιώταις ὅποσοι μὴ ἴσασιν τοὺς περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἢ δαιμόνια σεβασμούς, ἐξηγηταὶ γίνονται καὶ προφηταί: καὶ εἴ τινας αἰσθοῖντο μὴ πειθομένους ταῖς ἐπιταγαῖς αὐτῶν, ζημιοῦσι πρὸς ἕκαστον χρῆμα ὀρώντες, εἰσὶ τε ἀνυπεύθυνοι πάσης δικῆς τε καὶ ζημίας οὔτε βουλῇ λόγον ἀποδιδόντες οὔτε δήμῳ, περὶ γοῦν τῶν ἱερῶν:

[2] For they the judges in all religious causes wherein private citizens, magistrates or the ministers of the gods are concerned; they make laws for the observance of any religious rites, not established by written law or custom, which may seem to them worthy of receiving the sanction of law and custom; they inquire into the conduct of all magistrates to whom the performance of any sacrifice or other religious duty is committed, and also into that of all the priests; they take care that their servants and ministers whom they employ in religious rites commit no error in the matter of the sacred laws; to the laymen who are unacquainted with such matters they are the expounders and interpreters of everything relating to the worship of the gods and genii; and if they find that any disobey their orders, they inflict punishment upon them with due regard to every offence; moreover, they are not liable to any prosecution or punishment, nor are they accountable to the senate or to the people, at least concerning religious matters.

[3] ὥστε εἰ βούλεται τις αὐτοὺς ἱεροδιδασκάλους καλεῖν εἴτε ἱερονόμους εἴτε ἱεροφύλακας εἴτε, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν, ἱεροφάντας, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται τοῦ ἀληθοῦς. ἐκλιπόντος δὲ τινος αὐτῶν τὸν βίον ἕτερος εἰς τὸν ἐκείνου καθίσταται τόπον οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἵρεθεις, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὃς ἂν ἐπιτηδεϊότατος εἶναι δοκῇ τῶν πολιτῶν: παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν ἱερατείαν ὁ δοκιμασθεὶς, ἐὰν εὐόρνηθες αὐτῷ τύχωσιν οἰωνοὶ

[3] Hence, if anyone wishes to call them hierodidaskaloi, hieronomoi, hierophylakes, or, as I think proper, hierophantai, he will not be in error. When one of them dies, another is appointed in his place, being chosen, not by the people, but by the pontifices themselves, who select the person they think best qualified among their fellow citizens; and the one thus approved of receives the priesthood, provided the omens are favourable to them.

[4] γενόμενοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸ θεῖον νομοθετηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νόμα καὶ διαιρεθέντα κατὰ τὰς συμμορίας τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐξ ὧν εὐσεβεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν [p. 262] πόλιν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐλάττωσι τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα ταῦτ' ἦν.

[4] These — not to speak of others less important — are the greatest and the most notable regulations made by Numa concerning religious worship and divided by him according to the different classes of sacred rites; and through these it came about that the city increased in piety.

[1] τὰ δ' εἰς εὐτέλειαν τε καὶ σωφροσύνην ἄγοντα τὸν ἐκάστου βίον καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καταστήσαντα τῆς φυλαττοῦσης ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τὴν πόλιν δικαιοσύνης πλεῖστα ὅσα, τὰ μὲν ἐγγράφοις περιληφθέντα νόμοις, τὰ δ' ἐξω γραφῆς εἰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἀχθέντα καὶ συνασκήσεις χρονίους: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπάντων μὲν πολλὸν ἂν ἔργον εἶη λέγειν, ἀρκέσει δὲ δύο τὰ μεγίστης μνήμης τυχόντα τεκμήρια καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

[74.1] His regulations, moreover, that tended to inspire frugality and moderation in the life of the individual citizen and to create a passion for justice, which preserves the harmony of the State, were exceedingly numerous, some of them being comprehended in written laws, and others not written down but embodied in custom and long usage. To treat of all these would be a difficult task; but mention of the two of them which have been most frequently cited will suffice to give evidence of the rest.

[2] γενέσθαι: τῆς μὲν αὐταρκειᾶς καὶ τοῦ μηδὲνα τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ περὶ τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς τῶν κτήσεων νομοθεσία. κελεύσας γὰρ ἑκάστῳ περιγράψαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κτῆσιν καὶ στήσαι λίθους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἱεροὺς ἀπέδειξεν ὀρίου Διὸς τοὺς λίθους, καὶ θυσίας ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτελεῖν ἅπαντας ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον συνερχομένους, ἑορτὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀρίων θεῶν καταστησάμενος.

[2] First, to the end that people should be content with what they had and should not covet what belonged to others, there was the law that appointed boundaries to every man's possessions. For, having ordered every one to draw a line around his own land and to place stones on the bounds, he consecrated these stones to Jupiter Terminalis and ordained that all should assemble at the place every year on a fixed day and offer sacrifices to them; and he made the festival in honour of these gods of boundaries among the most dignified of all.

[3] ταύτην Ῥωμαῖοι Τερμινάλια καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τερμόνων καὶ τοὺς ὅρους αὐτοὺς ἐνὸς ἀλλαγῇ γράμματος παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον ἐκφέροντες τέρμινας προσαγορεύουσιν. εἰ δέ τις ἀφανίσκειεν ἢ μεταθεῖη τοὺς ὅρους, ἱερὸν ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τούτων τι διαπραξάμενον, ἵνα τῷ βουλομένῳ κτείνειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἱερόσυλον ἢ τε ἀσφάλεια καὶ τὸ καθαρῷ μιάσματος εἶναι προσῇ.

[3] This festival the Romans call Terminalia, from the boundaries, and the boundaries themselves, by the change of one letter as compared with our language, they call termines. He also enacted that, if any person demolished or displaced these boundary stones he should be looked upon as devoted to the god, to the end that anyone who wished might kill him a sacrilegious person with impunity and without incurring any stain of guilt.

[4] τοῦτο [p. 263] δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν κατεστήσατο μόνον κτήσεων τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων, ὅροις κἀκείνας περιλαβὼν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀστυγείτονος ὅριοι διαιρῶσι θεοὶ καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας. τοῦτο μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων φυλάττουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ χρόνου μνημεῖα τῆς ὁσίας αὐτῆς ἕνεκα. θεοὺς τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τέρμινας καὶ θύουσιν αὐτοῖς ὅσῃ τῶν μὲν ἐμψύχων οὐδὲν οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον αἰμάττειν τοὺς λίθους πελάνους δὲ

[4] He established this law with reference not only to private possessions but

also to those belonging to the public; for he marked these also with boundary stones, to the end that the gods of boundaries might distinguish the lands of the Romans from those of their neighbours, and the public lands from such as belonged to private persons. Memorials of this custom are observed by the Romans down to our times, purely as a religious form. For they look upon these boundary stones as gods and sacrifice to them yearly, offering up no kind of animal (for it is not lawful to stain these stones with blood), but cakes made of cereals and other first-fruits of the earth.

[5] δημητρίους καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς καρπῶν ἀπαρχάς. ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔτι φυλάττειν πιστὸν αὐτοῦς, οὗ χάριν θεοὺς ἐνόμισε τοὺς τέρμονας ὁ Νόμας, ἱκανομένους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κτήμασι, τῶν δ' ἄλλοτριῶν μήτε βία σφετεριζομένους μηδὲν μήτε δόλῳ. νῦν δ' οὐχ ὡς ἄμεινον οὐδ' ὡς οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν ὀρίζουσί τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ὄρος τῶν κτήσεων οὐχ ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἡ πάντων ἐπιθυμία, πρᾶγμα οὐ καλόν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις παριέμεν σκοπεῖν.

[5] But they ought still to observe the motive, as well, which led Numa to regard these boundary stones as gods and content themselves with their own possessions without appropriating those of others either by violence or by fraud; whereas now there are some who, in disregard of what is best and of the example of their ancestors, instead of distinguishing that which is theirs from that which belongs to others, set as bounds to their possessions, not the law, but their greed to possess everything, — which is disgraceful behaviour. But we leave the considerations of these matters to others.

[1] ὁ δὲ Νόμας εἰς μὲν εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην διὰ τοιούτων συνέστειλε νόμων τὴν πόλιν, [p. 264] εἰς δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια δικαιοσύνην ὑκηγάγετο πρᾶγμα ἐξευρὼν ἡγνοημένον ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν καταστησαμένων τὰς ἐλλογίμους πολιτείας. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὅτι τῶν συμβολαίων τὰ μὲν ἐν φανερωῷ καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων πραττόμενα ἢ τῶν συνόντων αἰδῶς φυλάττει, καὶ σπάνιοι τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδικοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἀμάρτυρα πολλῶ πλείω τῶν ἑτέρων ὄντα μίαν ἔχει φυλακὴν τὴν τῶν συμβαλόντων πίστιν, περὶ ταύτην ᾧετο δεῖν σπουδάσαι παντὸς ἄλλου μάλιστα καὶ ποιῆσαι θεῶν σεβασμῶν ἄξιαν.

[75.1] By such laws Numa brought the State to frugality and moderation. And in order to encourage the observance of justice in the matter of contracts, he hit upon a device which was unknown to all who have established the most celebrated institutions. For, observing that contracts made in public and before witnesses are, out of respect for the persons present, generally observed and that few are guilty of any violation of them, but that those which are made without witnesses — and these are much more numerous than the others — rest on no other security than the faith of those who make them, he thought it incumbent on him to make this faith the chief object of his care and to render it worthy of divine worship.

[2] δίκην μὲν γὰρ καὶ Θέμιν καὶ Νέμεσιν καὶ τὰς καλουμένας παρ' Ἑλλησιν Ἐρινύας καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον ἀποχρώντως ἐκτεθειῶσθαι τε καὶ καθωσιῶσθαι ἐνόμιζε, Πίστιν δέ, ἥς οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἱερώτερον πάθος ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐδέν, οὔπω σεβασμῶν τυγχάνειν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν πόλεων πράγμασιν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδιοῖς.

[2] For he felt that Justice, Themis, Nemesis, and those the Greeks call Erinyes, with other concepts of the kind, had been sufficiently revered and worshipped as gods by the men of former times, but that Faith, than which there is nothing greater nor more sacred among men, was not yet worshipped either by states in their public capacity or by private persons.

[3] ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθεὶς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Πιστεως δημοσίας καὶ θυσίας αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, δημοτελεῖς. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα σὺν χρόνῳ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ἦθος πιστὸν καὶ βέβαιον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους γενόμενον τοιοῦτους ἀπεργάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τρόπους. οὔτω γοῦν σεβαστὸν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀμίαντον ἐνόμισθη τὸ πιστόν, ὥστε ὅρκον τε μέγιστον γενέσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκάστω πίστιν καὶ μαρτυρίας συμπάσης ἰσχυροτάτην, καὶ ὅποτε ὑπὲρ [p. 265] ἁμαρτύρου συναλλάγματος ἀμφιλογὸν τι γένοιτο ἐνὶ πρὸς ἓνα, ἢ διαιροῦσα τὸ νεῖκος καὶ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οὐκ ἔωσα τὰς φιλονεικίας ἢ θατέρου τῶν διαδικαζομένων αὐτῶν πίστις ἦν, αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πίστεως ὅρκοις διήχτων.

[3] As the result of these reflexions he, first of all men, erected a temple to the Public Faith and instituted sacrifices in her honour at the public expense in the same manner as to the rest of the gods. And in truth the result was bound to be that this attitude of good faith and constancy on the part of the State toward all men would in the course of time render the behaviour of the individual citizens similar. In any case, so revered and inviolable a thing was good faith in their estimation, that the greatest oath a man could take was by his own faith, and this had greater weight than all the testimony taken together. And if there was any dispute between one man and another concerning a contract entered into without witnesses, the faith of either of the parties was sufficient to decide the controversy and prevent it from going any farther.

[4] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ σωφροσύνης τε παρακλητικὰ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀναγκαστήρια ὑπὸ τοῦ Νόμα τότε ἐξευρεθέντα κοσμιωτέραν οἰκίας τῆς κράτιστα οἰκουμένης τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀπειργάσατο.

[4] And the magistrates and courts of justice based their decisions in most causes on the oaths of the parties attesting by their faith. Such regulations, devised by Numa at that time to encourage moderation and enforce justice, rendered the Roman State more orderly than the best regulated household.

[1] ἃ δὲ μέλλω νῦν λέγειν ἐπιμελῆ τε αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ

τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐργάτιν. ἐνθυμούμενος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὅτι πόλιν τὴν μέλλουσιν ἀγαπήσιν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μενεῖν ἐν τῷ σῶφρονι βίῳ τῆς ἀναγκαιῶς δεῖ χορηγίας εὐπορεῖν, διεῖλε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους πάγους καὶ κατέστησεν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πάγων ἄρχοντα ἐπίσκοπόν τε καὶ περίπολον τῆς ἰδίας μοίρας.

[76.1] But the measures which I am now going to relate made it both careful to provide itself with necessities and industrious in acquiring the advantages that flow from labour. For this man, considering that a State which was to love justice and to continue in the practice of moderation ought to abound in all things necessary to the support of life, divided the whole country into what are called pagi or “districts,” and over each of these districts he appointed an official whose duty it was to inspect and visit the lands lying in his own jurisdiction.

[2] οὗτοι γὰρ περιιόντες θαμινὰ τοὺς εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς εἰργασμένους τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπεγράφοντο καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέφαινον, ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιμελεῖς γεωργοὺς ἐπαίνοισι τε καὶ φιланθρωπίαις ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς γεωργοὺς ὀνειδίζων τε καὶ ζημιῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θεραπεύειν ἄμεινον τὴν γῆν προὔτρεπετο. τοιγάρτοι πολέμων τε ἀπηλλαγμένοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν πραγμάτων σχολὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντες ἀργίας τε καὶ βλακειᾶς σὺν αἰσχύνῃ [p. 266] τίνοντες δίκας αὐτουργοὶ πάντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὸν ἐκ γῆς πλοῦτον ἀπάντων ὄντα πλούτων δικαιοτάτον τῆς στρατιωτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐχούσης τὸ βέβαιον εὐπορίας γλυκύτερον ἐτίθεντο.

[2] These men, going their rounds frequently, made a record of the lands that were well and ill cultivated and laid it before the king, who repaid the diligence of the careful husbandmen with commendations and favours, and by reprimanding and fining the slothful encouraged them to cultivate their lands with greater attention. Accordingly, the people, being freed from wars and exempt from any attendance on the affairs of the State, and at the same time being disgraced and punished for idleness and sloth, all became husbandmen and looked upon the riches which the earth yields and which of all others are the most just as more enjoyable than the precarious influence of a military life.

[3] τῷ δὲ Νόμῳ περιῆν ἐκ τούτων φιλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ζηλοῦσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων, μνημονεύεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων: δι' ὧν οὕτε στάσις ἐμφύλιος τὴν πολιτικὴν ἔλυσεν ὁμόνοιαν, οὕτε πόλεμος ἀλλοεθνῆς ἐκ τῶν κρατίστων καὶ θαυμασιωτάτων τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκίνησε. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέσχον οἱ περιοικοὶ τὴν ἀπόλεμον ἡσυχίαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφορμὴν τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσεως ὑπολαβεῖν, ὥστε καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέστη πόλεμος διαλλακτῆρας ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖους καὶ ἐπὶ διαιτητῇ Νόμῳ

[3] And by the same means Numa came to be beloved of his subjects, the example of his neighbours, and the theme of posterity. It was owing to these

measures that neither civil dissension broke the harmony of the State nor foreign war interrupted the observance of his most excellent and admirable institutions. For their neighbours were so far from looking upon the peaceful tranquillity of the Romans as an opportunity for attacking them, that, if at any time they were at war with one another, they chose the Romans for mediators and wished to settle their enmities under the arbitration of Numa.

[4] τὰς ἔχθρας διαλύειν ἠξίου. τοῦτον οὖν οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπ' εὐδαιμονίᾳ διαβοηθέντων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καταριθμεῖν. γένους τε γὰρ ἔφθυ βασιλείου καὶ μορφῆς ἀπέλαυσε βασιλικῆς παιδείαν τε οὐ τὴν περὶ λόγους ἄχρηστον ἥσκησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἧς εὐσεβεῖν ἔμαθε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀρετάς.

[4] This man, therefore, I should take no shame in placing among the foremost of those who have been celebrated for their felicity in life. For he was of royal birth and of royal appearance; and he pursued an education which was not the kind of useless training that deals only with words, but a discipline that taught him to practise piety and every other virtue.

[5] ἡγεμονίαν δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων παραλαβεῖν ἠξιώθη νέος ὢν κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικλητος ἀχθεὶς καὶ διετέλεσε πειθομένοις ἅπαντα τὸν βίον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις χρώμενος· ἡλικίας δ' ἐπὶ μήκιστον [p. 267] ἤλασεν ὀλόκληρος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κακωθεὶς καὶ θανάτων τὸν ῥᾶστον ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ γήρωος μαρανθεὶς, ὁμοίου παραμείναντος αὐτῷ τοῦ συγκληρωθέντος ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαίμονος ἕως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, βιώσας μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ τρία καὶ τετταράκοντα, γενεὰν δὲ καταλιπών, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείους γράφουσιν, υἱοὺς τέτταρας καὶ θυγατέρα μίαν, ὣν ἔτι σώζεται τὰ γένη, ὡς δὲ Γέλλιος Γναῖος ἱστορεῖ θυγατέρα μόνην, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένετο Ἄγκος Μάρκιος ὁ τρίτος ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς.

[5] When he was young he was thought worthy to assume the sovereignty over the Romans, who had invited him to that dignity upon the reputation of his virtue; and he continued to command the obedience of his subjects during his whole life. He lived to a very advanced age without any impairment of his faculties and without suffering any blow at Fortune's hands; and he died the easiest of all deaths, being withered by age, the genius who had been allotted to him from his birth having continued the same favour to him till he disappeared from among men. He lived more than eighty years and reigned forty-three, leaving behind him, according to most historians, four sons and one daughter, whose posterity remain to this day; but according to Gnaeus Gellius he left only one daughter, who was the mother of Ancus Marcius, the second king of the Romans after him.

[6] τελευτήσαντι δ' αὐτῷ πένθος μέγα προὔθετο ἡ πόλις καὶ ταφὰς ἐποιήσατο λαμπροτάτας. κεῖται δ' ἐν Ἰανίκλῳ πέραν τοῦ Τεβέρριος ποταμοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν

περὶ Πομπιλίου Νόμα τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν.

[6] His death was greatly lamented by the state, which gave him a most splendid funeral. He lies buried upon the Janiculum, on the other side of the river Tiber. Such is the account we have received concerning Numa Pompilius.

BOOK III

[1] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πομπιλίου γενομένη πάλιν: ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν κυρία μένειν ἔγνω ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου γνώμην λαβόντος ἑτέραν, καὶ καθίστησιν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς ἄρξοντας τὴν μεσοβασιλείον ἀρχὴν εἰς ὠρισμένον τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀποδείκνυται βασιλεὺς, ὃν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἡξίου, Τύλλος Ὅστιλιος γένους ὦν τοιοῦδε:

[1.1] After the death of Numa Pompilius the senate, being once more in full control of the commonwealth, resolved to abide by the same form of government, and as the people did not adopt any contrary opinion, they appointed some of the older senators to govern as interreges for a definite number of days. These men, pursuant to the unanimous desire of the people, chose as king Tullus Hostilius, whose descent was as follows.

[2] ἐκ πόλεως Μεδουλρίας, ἣν Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν ἔκτισαν, Ῥωμύλος δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας παραλαβὼν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησεν ἀποικίαν, ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ χρήμασι δυνατὸς Ὅστιλιος ὄνομα μετενεγκάμενος εἰς Ῥώμην τὸν βίον ἄγεται γυναῖκα ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων γένους Ἐρσιλίου θυγατέρα τὴν ὑφηγησαμένην ταῖς ὁμοεθνεσί πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτε Σαβῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τοῦ συνελθεῖν εἰς φιλίαν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι δοκοῦσαν. [p. 269] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ πολλοὺς συνδιενέγκας Ῥωμύλῳ πολέμους καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Σαβίνους μάχαις, ἀποθνήσκει καταλιπὼν παιδίον μονογενὲς καὶ θάπτεται πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ στήλης ἐπιγραφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν μαρτυροῦσης ἀξιωθεῖς.

[2] From Medullia, a city which had been built by the Albans and made a Roman colony by Romulus after he had taken it by capitulation, a man of distinguished birth and great fortune, named Hostilius, had removed to Rome and married a woman of the Sabine race, the daughter of Hersilius, the same woman who had advised her country-women to go as envoys to their fathers on behalf of their husbands at the time when the Sabines were making war against the Romans, and was regarded as the person chiefly responsible for the alliance then concluded by the leaders of the two nations. This man, after taking part with Romulus in many wars and performing mighty deeds in the battles with the Sabines, died, leaving an only son, a young child at the time, and was buried by the kings in the principal part of the Forum and honoured with a monument and an inscription testifying to his valour.

[3] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς εἰς ἄνδρας ἀφικομένου καὶ γάμον ἐπιφανῇ λαβόντος υἱὸς γίνεται Τύλλος Ὅστιλιος ἀνὴρ δραστήριος, ὃς ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ψήφῳ τε πολιτικῇ διενεχθείσῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νόμους καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου δι' οἰωνῶν αἰσίων ἐπικυρώσαντος τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δήμῳ. ἔτος δὲ

ἦν ἓν ὧ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν ὁ δευτερος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Εὐρυβάτης Ἀθηναῖος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Λεωστράτου.

[3] His only son, having come to manhood and married a woman of distinction, had by her Tullius Hostilius, a man of action, the same who was now chosen king by a vote passed by the citizens concerning him according to the laws; and the decision of the people was confirmed by favourable omens from Heaven. The year in which he assumed the sovereignty was the second of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, the one in which Eurybates, an Athenian, won the prize in the foot-race, Leostratus being archon at Athens.

[4] οὗτος ἔργον ἀπάντων μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἀποδειξάμενος αὐτὸς εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπαν τὸ θητικὸν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄπορον οἰκεῖον ἔσχεν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε: χώραν εἶχον ἐξαιρετον οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, ἐξ ἧς ἀναιρούμενοι τὰς προσόδους ἱερὰ τε θεοῖς ἐπετέλουν καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἀφθόνους εἶχον εὐπορίας, ἦν ἐκτήσατο μὲν Ῥωμύλος πολέμῳ τοὺς τότε κατασχόντας ἀφελόμενος, ἐκείνου δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Πομπίλιος Νόμας ὁ μετ' ἐκείνον βασιλεύσας ἐκαρποῦτο: ἦν δὲ οὐκέτι δημοσία κτῆσις, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἰὲ βασιλέων κληῖρος.

[4] Tullus, immediately upon his accession, gained the hearts of all the labouring class and of the needy among the populace by performing an act of the most splendid kind. It was this: The kings before him had possessed much fertile land, especially reserved for them, from the revenues of which they not only offered sacrifices to the gods, but also had abundant provision for their private needs. This land Romulus had acquired in war by dispossessing the former owners, and when he died childless, Numa Pompilius, his successor, had enjoyed its use; it was no longer the property of the state, but the inherited possession of the successive kings.

[5] ταύτην ὁ Τύλλος ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς [p. 270] μηδένα κληῖρον ἔχουσι Ῥωμαίων κατ' ἄνδρα διανεῖ- μασθαι, τὴν πατρώαν αὐτῷ κτῆσιν ἀρκοῦσαν ἀποφαίνων εἷς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς τοῦ βίου δαπάνας. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ φιланθρωπία τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνέλαβε παύσας λατρεύοντας ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις: ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ οἰκίας ἄμοιρος εἴη τις προστετεῖχισε τῇ πόλει τὸν καλούμενον Καίλιον λόφον, ἐνθα ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἀνέσποιο λαχόντες τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ἀρκοῦν κατε- σκεύασαντ' οἰκίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν οἰκῆσιν εἶχεν. πολιτικὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα παραδίδοται λόγου ἄξια:

[5] Tullus now permitted this land to be divided equally among such of the Romans as had no allotment, declaring that his own patrimony was sufficient both for the sacrifices and for his personal expenditures. By this act of humanity he relieved the poor among the citizens by freeing them from the necessity of labouring as serfs on the estates of others. And, to the end that none might lack a habitation either, he included within the city wall the hill

called the Caelian, where those Romans who were unprovided with dwellings were allotted a sufficient amount of ground and built houses; and he himself had his residence in this quarter. These, then, are the memorable actions reported of this king so far as regards his civil administration.

[1] πολεμικαὶ δὲ πράξεις πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι μνημονεύονται, <μέγιστα δὲ> περὶ ὧν ἔρχομαι λέξων τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀλβανούς πολέμου. αἷτιος δὲ τοῦ διασπῆναι τὰς πόλεις καὶ λῦσαι τὸ συγγενὲς ἀνὴρ Ἀλβανὸς ἐγένετο Κλοίλιος ὄνομα τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιωθείς, ὃς ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κατέχειν τὸν φθόνον οὐ δυνάμενος φύσει τε αὐθάδης καὶ ὑπομαργότερος ὧν ἐκ-

[2.1] Many military exploits are related of him, but the greatest are those which I shall now narrate, beginning with the war against the Albans. The man responsible for the quarrel between the two cities and the severing of their bond of kinship was an Alban named Cluilius, who had been honoured with the chief magistracy; this man, vexed at the prosperity of the Romans and unable to contain his envy, and being by nature headstrong and somewhat inclined to madness, resolved to involve the cities in war with each other.

[2] πολεμῶσαι τὰς πόλεις ἔγνω πρὸς ἀλλήλας. οὐχ ὁρῶν δὲ ὅπως ἂν πείσειε τοὺς Ἀλβανούς στρατὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄγειν ἐπιτρέψαι μήτε δικαίας ἔχοντι προ- φάσεις μήτε ἀναγκαίας, μηχανᾶται δὴ τι τοιόνδε: τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις Ἀλβανῶν καὶ θρασυτάτοις ἐφῆκε λη- [p. 271] στεῦναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀγροὺς ἄδειαν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ παρεσκεύασε πολλοὺς ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη διώκοντας, ὧν οὐδὲ κωλυόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἀποστήσεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμου ληστρικοῦ τὴν ὁμορον.

[2] But not seeing how he could persuade the Albans to permit him to lead an army against the Romans without just and urgent reasons, he contrived a plan of the following sort: he permitted the poorest and boldest of the Albans to pillage the fields of the Romans, promising them immunity, and so caused many to overrun the neighbouring territory in a series of plundering raids, as they would now be pursuing without danger gains from which they would never desist even under the constraint of fear.

[3] τοῦτο δ' ἔπραττε κατὰ λογισμὸν οὐκ ἀπεικότα, ὥς τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησε. Ῥωμαίους μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ὑπελάμβανεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρῆ- σειν, αὐτῷ δ' ἐξουσίαν ἔσεσθαι κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥς ἀρχόντων πολέμου, Ἀλβανῶν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους φθονοῦντας τοῖς ἀποίκους τῆς εὐτυ- χίας δέξεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς ἀσμένους καὶ τὸν κατ'

[3] In doing this he was following a very natural line of reasoning, as the event bore witness. For he assumed that the Romans would not submit to being plundered but would rush to arms, and he would thus have an opportunity of accusing them to his people as the aggressors in the war; and he also believed

that the majority of the Albans, envying the prosperity of their colony, would gladly listen to these false accusations and would begin war against the Romans. And that is just what happened.

[4] αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν, ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ἀγόντων γὰρ καὶ φερόντων ἀλλήλους τῶν κακουργοτάτων ἐξ ἑκατέρας πόλεως καὶ στρατιᾶς ποτε Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐμβα- λούσης εἰς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν, ὅφ' ἧς πολλοὶ τῶν ληστῶν οἱ μὲν ἀνῆρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ συνελήφθησαν, συγκαλέ- σας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Κλοίλιος, ἐν ᾗ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατηγορίαν, τραυματίας τε συχνοὺς ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῖς ἡρπασμένοις ἢ τεθνηκόσι παράγων καὶ πλείω τῶν γεγονότων ἐπικαταψευδόμενος, πρεσβείαν πέμπειν πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο δίκας αἰτήσουσαν τῶν γεγονότων: ἔαν δὲ ἀγνωμονῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν.

[4] For when the worst elements of each city fell to robbing and plundering each other and at last a Roman army made an incursion into the territory of the Albans and killed or took prisoner many of the bandits, Cluilius assembled the people and inveighed against the Romans at great length, showed them many who were wounded, produced the relations of those who had been seized or slain, and at the same time added other circumstances of his own invention; whereupon it was voted on his motion to send an embassy first of all to demand satisfaction for what had happened, and then, if the Romans refused it, to begin war against them.

[1] ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ὑποπτεύσας ὁ Τύλλος, ὅτι δίκας αἰτήσοντες ἦκοιεν, [p. 272] αὐτὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πρότερος ἔγνω περιστῆσαι βουλόμενος εἰς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ λῦειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν συγκείμενα. συνθῆκαι γὰρ ἦσαν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου γενόμεναι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔχουσαι δίκαια καὶ ἴνα μηδετέρα πολέμου ἄρχῃ: ἡ δ' ἐγκαλοῦσα ὅ τι δὴ ποτε ἀδίκημα δίκας αἰτοῖ παρὰ τῆς ἀδικούσης, εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοι τότε τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπιφέρει πόλεμον, ὥς λελυμένων ἤδη τῶν σπονδῶν.

[3.1] Upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Rome, Tullius, suspecting that they had come to demand satisfaction, resolved to anticipate them in doing this, since he wished to turn upon the Albans the blame for breaking the compact between them and their colony. For there existed a treaty between the two cities which had been made in the reign of Romulus, wherein, among other articles, it was stipulated that neither of them should begin a war, but if either complained of any injury whatsoever, that city would demand satisfaction from the city which had done the injury, and failing to obtain it, should then make war as a matter of necessity, the treaty being looked upon as already broken.

[2] φυλαττόμενος δὲ τὸ μὴ προτέρους αἰτηθέντας δίκας Ῥωμαίους ἀντειπεῖν,

ἔπειτα ὑπαίτιους Ἀλβανοῖς γενέσθαι, προσέταξε τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων τοὺς Ἀλβανῶν πρέσβεις ξενίζειν ἀπάσῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ καὶ κατέχειν ἔνδον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς: αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ἀσχολίαις εἶναι τισὶν ἀναγκαιοῖς σκηψάμενος διεκρούσατο

[2] Tullius, therefore, taking care that the Romans should not be the first called upon to give satisfaction and, by refusing it, become guilty in the eyes of the Albans, ordered the most distinguished of his friends to entertain the ambassadors of the Albans with every courtesy and to detain them inside their homes while he himself, pretending to be occupied with some necessary business, put off their audience.

[3] τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτῶν. τῇ δ' ἔγγιστα νυκτὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἄλβαν ἅμα τοῖς εἰρηνοδικαῖς αἰτήσοντας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡδίκηντο Ῥωμαῖοι δίκας παρ' Ἀλβανῶν λαβεῖν, οἳ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν διανύσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν πληθυνοῦσης τῆς ἑωθινῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ Κλοιλίῳ κατ' ἀγορὰν ὄντι καὶ διεξιόντες ὅσα ἡδίκηντο Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Ἀλβανῶν ἤξιουν πράττειν τὰ συγκείμενα ταῖς πόλεσιν.

[3] The following night he sent to Alba some Romans of distinction, duly instructed as to the course they should pursue, together with the fetiales, to demand satisfaction from the Albans for the injuries the Romans had received. These, having performed their journey before sunrise, found Cluilius in the market-place at the time when the early morning crowd was gathered there. And having set forth the injuries which the Romans had received at the hands of the Albans, they demanded that he should act in conformity with the compact between the cities.

[4] ὁ δὲ Κλοίλιος, ὡς Ἀλβανῶν προτέρων ἀπεσταλκότων εἰς Ῥώμην τοὺς αἰτήσοντας δίκας καὶ μηδὲ ἀποκρίσεως [p. 273] ἤξιωμένων, ἀπιέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευσεν ὡς παραβεβηκότας τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. ἀπαλλαττόμενος δὲ ὁ τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγεμὼν τοῦτ' ἤξιωσεν ἀκοῦσαι παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνον, εἰ παραβαίνειν τὰς σπονδὰς ὁμολογεῖ τοὺς προτέρους αἰτηθέντας δίκας καὶ μηδὲν ὑπομείναντας ποιεῖν τῶν ὁσίων.

[4] But Cluilius, alleging that the Albans had been first in sending envoys to Rome to demand satisfaction and had not even been vouchsafed an answer, ordered the Romans to depart, on the ground that they had violated the terms of the treaty, and declared war against them. The chief of the embassy, however, as he was departing, demanded from Cluilius an answer to just this one question, namely, whether he admitted that those were violating the treaty who, being the first called upon to give satisfaction, had refused to comply with any part of their obligation.

[5] ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλοιλίου, μαρτύρομαι τοῖνυν, ἔφη, τοὺς θεοὺς, οὓς

ἐποισάμεθα τῶν σπονδῶν μάρτυρας, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοις οὐ τυχούσι τῶν δικαίων προτέροις ὅσιος ὁ κατὰ τῶν παραβάντων τὰς σπονδὰς πόλεμος ἔσται, οἱ δὲ πεφευγότες τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ὑμεῖς ἔστε, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα δηλοῖ. πρότεροί τε γὰρ αἰτηθέντες τὸ δίκαιον οὐχ ὑπέσχετε καὶ πρότερον τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν προειρήκατε. τοιγάρτοι τοὺς ἀμυννυμένους ὑμᾶς προσδέχεσθε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

[5] And when Cluilius said he did, he exclaimed: “Well, then, I call the gods, whom we made witnesses of our treaty, to witness that the Romans, having been the first to be refused satisfaction, will be undertaking a just war against the violators of that treaty, and that it is you Albans who have avoided giving satisfaction, as the events themselves show. For you, being the first called upon for satisfaction, have refused it and you have been the first to declare war against us. Look, therefore, for vengeance to come upon you ere long with the sword.”

[6] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς Ῥώμην ἀκούσας ὁ Τύλλος, τότε τοὺς Ἀλβανούς προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν. ἀπαγγειλάντων δ’ αὐτῶν ὅσα προσέταξεν ὁ Κλοίλιος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπειλούντων εἰ μὴ τεύξονται τῆς δίκης, Ἐγὼ πρότερος ὑμῶν, ἔφη, τοῦτο πεποίηκα καὶ μηδὲν εὐρόμενος ὧν ἐκέλευον αἱ συνθήκαι... φαίνονται παρ’ ὑμῶν προτέρων αὗται λελυμένα τε καὶ μηδενὸς λόγου ἡξιωμένα: ὅθεν δὴ τὸν ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ δίκαιον Ἀλβανοῖς παραγγέλλω πόλεμον.

[6] Tullius, having learned of all this from the ambassadors upon their return to Rome, then ordered the Albans to be brought before him and to state the reasons for their coming; and when they had delivered the message entrusted to them by Cluilius and were threatening war in case they did not obtain satisfaction, he replied: “I have anticipated you in doing this, and having obtained nothing that the treaty directs, I declare against the Albans the war that is both necessary and just.”

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας παρεσκευάζοντο [p. 274] ἀμφοτέροι τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μόνον τὰς οἰκείας καθοπλίζοντες δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι: ὡς δὲ πάντα ἦν αὐτοῖς εὐτρεπῇ συνήεσαν ὁμοσε καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται τετταράκοντα τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίου ἀποσχόντες: οἱ μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους ἑφυλάττουσι γὰρ ἔτι τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος αὐτὰς ἐπικλησιν Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὀλίγον ἐνδοτέρω τὸν ἐπιτηδεϊότατον εἰς στρατοπεδεῖαν τόπον ἐκλεξάμενοι.

[4.1] After these pretences they both prepared themselves for war, not only arming their own forces but also calling to their assistance those of their subjects. And when they had everything ready the two armies drew near to each other and encamped at the distance of forty stades from Rome, the Albans at the Cluilian Ditches, as they are called (for they still preserve the

name of the man who constructed them) and the Romans a little farther inside, having chosen the most convenient place for their camp.

[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεῖδον ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέροι τὰς δυνάμεις οὔτε πλήθει λειπομένας οὔτε ὀπλισμοῖς εὐτελεῖς οὔτε ταῖς ἄλλαις παρασκευαῖς οὔσας εὐκαταφρονήτους, τῆς μὲν ταχείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀρμῆς, ἣν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶχον ὡς αὐτῇ ἐφόδῳ τρεφόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπέστησαν: φυλακῆς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ προεπιχειρήσεως πρόνοιαν ἐλάμβανον ὑψηλοτέρους ἐγείροντες τοὺς χάρακας, εἰσῆι τε αὐτῶν τοῖς χαριεστάτοις λογισμὸς ὡς οὐ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένοις, καὶ κατάμεμψις τῶν ἐν τέλει.

[2] When the two armies saw each other's forces neither inferior in numbers nor poorly armed nor to be despised in respect of their other preparations, they lost their impetuous ardour for the combat, which they had felt at first because of their expectation of defeating the enemy by their very onset, and they took thought rather of defending themselves by building their ramparts to a greater height than of being the first to attack. At the same time the most intelligent among them began to reflect, feeling that they were not being governed by the best counsels, and there was a spirit of faultfinding against those in authority.

[3] ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου διὰ κενῆς 'οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον εἶτε καταδρομαῖς ψιλῶν ἢ συμπλοκαῖς ἱππέων ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου δόξας αἴτιος γενονέναι Κλοιῖλιος ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπράκτῳ καθέδρᾳ γνώμην ἔσχεν ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς μάχην, ἐὰν [p. 275] δὲ μὴ ὑπακούσωσι προσβάλλειν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐρύματα.

[3] And as the time dragged on in vain (for they were not injuring one another to any notable extent by sudden dashes of the light-armed troops or by skirmishes of the horse), the man who was looked upon as responsible for the war, Cluilius, being irked at lying idle, resolved to march out with his army and challenge the enemy to battle, and if they declined it, to attack their entrenchments.

[4] παρασκευασάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα καί, εἰ δεήσει τειχομαχίας, ὅσα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πρόσφορα ἔργῳ μηχανησάμενος, ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐγένετο καθεύδων ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ σκηνῇ παρούσης αὐτῷ τῆς εἰωθυίας φυλακῆς περὶ τὸν ὀρθρον εὐρίσκεται νεκρὸς, οὔτε σφαγῆς οὔτε ἀγχόνης οὔτε φαρμάκων οὔτε ἄλλης βιαίου συμφορᾶς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν ἔχων.

[4] And having made his preparations for an engagement and all the plans necessary for an attack upon the enemy's ramparts, in case that should prove necessary, when night came on he went to sleep in the general's tent, attended by his usual guard; but about daybreak he was found dead, no signs appearing on his body either of wounds, strangling, poison, or any other violent death.

[1] παραδόξου δὲ τοῦ πάθους ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἅπασι φαινομένου καὶ ζητουμένης

τῆς αἰτίας ὁὐδὲ γὰρ νόσον προηγησαμένην εἶχε τις αἰτιάσασθαι οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν πρόνοιαν ἀπάσας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἀναφέροντες τύχας κατὰ χόλον δαιμόνιον ἔλεγον αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξέκαυσε τῇ μητροπόλει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκτισιν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτε ἀναγκαῖον: οἱ δὲ χρηματισμὸν ἡγοῦμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μεγάλων ἀπεστερῆσθαι νομίζοντες ὠφελειῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλήν καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπινον τὸ ἔργον μετέφερον αἰτιώμενοι τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων τινὰς ἀφανῆ καὶ δυσεξέλεγκτα ἐξευρόντας φάρμακα διὰ τούτων τὸν ἄνδρα ἀνῆρηκέναι:

[5.1] This unfortunate event appearing extraordinary to everybody, as one would naturally expect, and the cause of it being enquired into — for no preceding illness could be alleged — those who ascribed all human fortunes to divine providence said that this death had been due to the anger of the gods, because he had handled an unjust and unnecessary war between the mother-city and her colony. But others, who looked upon war as a profitable business and thought they had been deprived of great gains, attributed the event to human treachery and envy, accusing some of his fellow citizens of the opposing faction of having made away with him by secret and untraceable poisons that they had discovered.

[2] οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ ἀμηχανίας κρατούμενον ἐκουσίῳ χρήσασθαι τελευτῇ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἐπειδὴ πάντα χαλεπὰ καὶ ἄτορα συνέβαιναν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχώρει κατὰ νοῦν τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ὅτε εἰς τὰ πράγματα εἰσῆι, προσδοκηθέντων: τοῖς δ' ἐκτὸς οὔσι φιλίας τε καὶ ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν [p. 276] καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου κρίνουν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οὔτε ἡ θεία νέμεσις οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων φθόνος οὔθ' ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόγνωσις ἀνῆρηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ χρεῶν ὡς ἐκπεπληρωκότα τὴν ὀφειλομένην μοῖραν, ἧς ἅπασι τοῖς γινομένοις πέπρωται τυχεῖν.

[2] Still others alleged that, being overcome with grief and despair, he had taken his own life, since all his plans were becoming difficult and impracticable and none of the things that he had looked forward to in the beginning when he first took hold of affairs was succeeding according to his desire. But those who were not influenced by either friendship or enmity for the general and based their judgment of what had happened on the soundest grounds were of the opinion that neither the anger of the gods nor the envy of the opposing faction nor despair of his plans had put an end to his life, but rather Nature's stern law and fate, when once he had finished the destined course which is marked out for everyone that is born.

[3] Κλοῖλιος μὲν δὴ πρὶν ἢ γενναῖον ἀποδειξασθαι τι τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον ἀποδείκνυται στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Μέττιος Φουφέττιος, ἀνὴρ οὔτε πολέμου ἡγεμὼν ἱκανὸς οὔτε εἰρήνης βέβαιος φύλαξ, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἦττον Ἀλβανῶν πρόθυμος ὢν κατ' ἀρχὰς διαστῆσαι τὰς πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν

Κλοιλίου θάνατον ἀξιωθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτυχε καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δυσχερῇ καὶ ἄπορα συνεῖδεν, οὐκέτι διέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς βουλευμασιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἄγειν ἡξίου τὰ πράγματα ὁρῶν οὔτε τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς ἅπαντας ὁμοίαν ἔχοντας ἔτι προθυμίαν πρὸς πόλεμον οὔτε τὰ σφάγια ὅποτε θύοιτο περὶ μάχης καλὰ γινόμενα:

[3] Such, then, was the end that Cluilius met, before he had performed any noble deed. In his place Mettius Fufetius was chosen general by those in the camp and invested with absolute power; he was a man without either ability to conduct a war or constancy to preserve a peace, one who, though he had been at first as zealous as any of the Albans in creating strife between the two cities and for that reason had been honoured with the command after the death of Cluilius, yet after he had obtained it and perceived the many difficulties and embarrassments with which the business was attended, no longer adhered to the same plans, but resolved to delay and put off matters, since he observed that not all the Albans now had the same ardour for war and also that the victims, whenever he offered sacrifice concerning battle, were unfavourable.

[4] τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ εἰς καταλλαγὰς ἔγνω προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους πρότερος ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος, μαθὼν τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον ἔξωθεν Ἀλβανοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κίνδυνον, εἰ μὴ σπείσονται τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον, ἀφύλακτον ὄντα, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἀμφοτέρας ἀναρπάσασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις. ἦν δὲ τοιός2δε: [p. 277]

[4] And at last he even determined to invite the enemy to an accommodation, taking the initiative himself in sending heralds, after he had been informed of a danger from the outside which threatened both the Albans and Romans, a danger which, if they did not terminate their war with each other by a treaty, was unavoidable and bound to destroy both armies. The danger was this:

[1] Οὐέντανοὶ καὶ Φιδηναῖοι μεγάλας καὶ πολυανθρώπους ἔχοντες πόλεις ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμύλου βασιλείας εἰς πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας Ῥωμαίοις κατέστησαν, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰς ἀπολέσαντες δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέροι καὶ χώρας ἀποδασμῷ ζημιωθέντες ὑπήκοοι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἠναγκάσθησαν γενέσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδήλωκα γραφῇ τὸ ἀκριβές: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Νόμα Πομπιλίου δυναστείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύσαντες βεβαίον πολλὴν ἔσχον ἐπίδοσιν εἰς εὐανδρίαν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐδαιμονίαν. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπαρθέντες ἐλευθερίας τε αὖθις ὠρέγοντο καὶ φρόνημα ἐλάμβανον ὑψηλότερον παρασκευάζοντό τε ὥς οὐκέτι Ῥωμαῖων ἀκροώμενοι.

[6.1] The Veientes and Fidenates, who inhabited large and populous cities, had in the reign of Romulus engaged in a war with the Romans for command and sovereignty, and after losing many armies in the course of the war and being punished by the loss of part of their territory, they had been forced to become subjects of the conquerors; concerning which I have given a precise account

in the preceding Book. But having enjoyed an uninterrupted peace during the reign of Numa Pompilius, they had greatly increased in population, wealth and every other form of prosperity. Elated, therefore, by these advantages, they again aspired to freedom, assumed a bolder spirit and prepared to yield obedience to the Romans no longer.

[2] τέως μὲν οὖν ἄδηλος αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς ἐφανερῶθη πολέμῳ. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο πανστρατιᾷ Ῥωμαίους ἐξεληλυθότας ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς ἀγῶνα, κράτιστον ὑπολαβόντες εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐπιθέσεως ἀπορρήτους ἐποίησαντο διὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας ἅπαντας τοὺς ὀπλοφορεῖν δυναμένους εἰς Φιδήνην συνελθεῖν κρύφα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ἰόντας, ὥς ἂν ἥκιστα γένοιντο τοῖς ἐπιβουλευομένοις καταφανεῖς:

[2] For a time, indeed, their intention of revolting remained undiscovered, but during the Alban war it became manifest. For when they learned that the Romans had marched out with all their forces to engaged the Albans, they thought that they had now got the most favourable opportunity for their attack, and through their most influential men they entered into a secret conspiracy. It was arranged that all who were capable of bearing arms should assemble in Fidenae, going secretly, a few at a time, so as to escape as far as possible the notice of those against whom the plot was aimed,

[3] ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπομένοντας ἐκδέχεσθαι τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε αἱ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δυνάμεις ἐκλιποῦσαι τοὺς χάρακας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα προελεύσονται, τοῦτον δὲ φανερόν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον διὰ συμβόλων σκοποῖ [p. 278] τινες ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι λοχῶντες· ὅταν δὲ ἀρθῇ τὰ σημεῖα λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔδει πάντας κατὰ τάχος, ἣν δὲ οὐ πολλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀπὸ Φιδήνης φέρουσα ὁδός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡ δυσὶν ὥραις ἡ τρισὶν ἀνυσθῆναι τὸ μακρότατον· ἐπιφανέντας δὲ τῷ ἀγῶνι τέλος ἤδη ἔχοντι ὥσπερ εἰκὸς μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι φίλιον, ἀλλ' ἐάν τε Ἀλβανοὶ νικῶσιν ἐάν τε Ῥωμαῖοι κτείνειν τοὺς κεκρατηκότας αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ἦν ἃ διέγνωστο πράττειν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν πόλεων.

[3] and should remain there awaiting the moment when the armies of the Romans and Albans should quit their camps and march out to battle, the actual time to be indicated to them by means of signals given by some scouts posted on the mountains; and as soon as the signals were raised they were all to take arms and advance in haste against the combatants (the road leading from Fidenae to the camps was not a long one, but only a march of two or three hours at most), and appearing on the battlefield at the time when presumably the conflict would be over, they were to regard neither side as friends, but whether the Romans or the Albans had won, were to slay the victors. This was the plan of action on which the chiefs of those cities had determined.

[4] εἰ μὲν οὖν θρασύτερον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὤρμησαν Ἀλβανοὶ Ῥωμαίων καταφρονήσαντες καὶ μιᾷ κρῖναι μάχῃ τὰ ὅλα διέγνωσαν, οὐθὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύον ἦν τὸν τε κατασκευασθέντα δόλον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς λεληθέναι καὶ διεφθάρθαι τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρα: νῦν δὲ ἡ διατριβὴ τοῦ πολέμου παράδοξος ἅπασι γενομένη καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ παρεσκευάζοντο πολὺς ἐφελκυσθεὶς διέχεεν αὐτῶν τὰ βουλευόμενα. τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας τινές, εἴτε οἰκεῖα κέρδη περιβαλέσθαι ζητοῦντες εἴτε τοῖς κορυφαιοτάτοις τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὸ ἔργον εἰσηγησαμένοις φθονοῦντες εἴτε μήνυσιν ἑτέρων δεδιότες, ὃ τι πολλοῖς συνέβη παθεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρώποις καὶ χρονιζομέναις συνωμοσίαις, εἴτε ὑπὸ θείας ἀναγκαζόμενοι γνώμης οὐκ ἀξιούσης ἔργον ἀνόσιον εἰς εὐτυχὲς κατασκήψαι τέλος μηνυταὶ γίνονται τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦ δόλου. [p. 279]

[4] If, therefore, the Albans, in their contempt for the Romans, had rushed more boldly into an engagement and had resolved to stake everything upon the issue of a single battle, nothing could have hindered the treachery contrived against them from remaining secret and both their armies from being destroyed. But as it was, their delay in beginning war, contrary to all expectations, and the length of time they employed in making their preparations were bringing their foes’ plans to nought. For some of the conspirators, either seeking to compass their private advantage or envying their leaders and those who had been the authors of the undertaking or fearing that others might lay information — a thing which has often happened in conspiracies where there are many accomplices and the execution is long delayed — or being compelled by the will of Heaven, which could not consent that a wicked design should meet with success, informed their enemies of the treachery.

[1] ταῦτα δὴ μαθὼν ὁ Φουφέτιος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔσπευσε ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις, ὥς οὐδὲ αἰρέσεως ἔτι τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα πράττειν σφίσι καταλειπομένης. ἐγέγονει δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς συνωμοσίας ταύτης ἡ μήνυσις παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Φιδήνης φίλων, ὥστ’ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἔτι διαμελλήσας δέχεται τὰς τοῦ Φουφεττίου προκλήσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων χωρίον ἐπαγόμενοι συμβούλους ἑκάτεροι τοὺς φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανοὺς, ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτον ἀλλήλους ὡς πρότερον εἰώθεσαν καὶ φιλοφρονηθέντες τὰς ἑταιρικὰς τε καὶ συγγενικὰς φιλοφροσύνας διελέγοντο περὶ τῶν διαλύσεων.

[7.1] Fufetius, upon learning of this, grew still more desirous of making an accommodation, feeling that they now had no choice left of any other course. The king of the Romans also had received information of this conspiracy from his friends in Fidenae, so that he, too, made no delay but hearkened to the overtures made by Fufetius. When the two met in the space between the camps, each being attended by his council consisting of persons of competent judgment, they first embraced, according to their former custom, and

exchanged the greetings usual among friends and relations, and then proceeded to discuss an accommodation.

[2] ἦρχετο δ' ὁ Ἀλβανὸς πρότερος τοιάδε λέγων· ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τὰς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἐπιδείξαι, δι' ἃς ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἡξίωσα περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου διαλέγεσθαι, οὔτε μάχη κρατηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὔτ' ἐπιστισμοὺς εἰσάγεσθαι κωλυόμενος οὔτε εἰς ἄλλην κατακεκλεισμένος ἀνάγκην οὐδεμίαν, ἵνα μὴ με ὑπολάβητε τῆς μὲν οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἀσθένειαν κατεγνωκότα, τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν ἰσχὺν δυσκαταγώνιστον εἶναι νομίζοντα εὐπρεπῇ ζητεῖν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου. ἀφόρητοι γὰρ ἂν γένοισθε ὑπὸ βαρύντητος, εἴ τι πεισθεῖητε περὶ ἡμῶν τοιοῦτον, καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν τῶν μετρίων ὑπομείναιτε ποιεῖν, ὥς κρατοῦντες [p. 280]

[2] And first the Alban leader began as follows:

“It seems to me necessary to begin my speech by setting forth the reasons why I have determined to take the initiative in proposing a termination of the war, though neither defeated by you Romans in battle nor hindered from supplying my army with provisions nor reduced to any other necessity, to the end that you may not imagine that a recognition of the weakness of my own force or a belief that yours is difficult to overcome makes me seek a plausible excuse for ending the war. For, should you entertain such an opinion of us, you would be intolerably severe, and, as if you were already victorious in the war, you could not bring yourself to do anything reasonable.

[3] ἦδη τῷ πολέμῳ. ἵνα δὴ μὴ τὰς ψευδεῖς αἰτίας εἰκάζητε περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως, δι' ἃς ἀξιῶ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀκούσατε τὰς ἀληθεῖς· ἐγὼ στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοκράτωρ ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσκόπουν τίνες ἦσαν αἱ συνταράξασαι τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν προφάσεις. ὁρῶν δὲ μικρὰς καὶ φανύλας καὶ οὐχ ἱκανὰς διελεῖν τοσαύτην φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν οὐ τὰ κράτιστα ἡγοῦμην οὔτε Ἀλβανοὺς οὔτε ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι.

[3] In order, therefore, that you may not impute to me false reasons for my purpose to end the war, listen to the true reasons. My country have been appointed me general with absolute power, as soon as I took over the command I considered what were the causes which had disturbed the peace of our cities. And finding them trivial and petty and of too little consequence to dissolve so great a friendship and kinship, I concluded that neither we Albans nor you Romans had been governed by the best counsels.

[4] ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἔγνων τοῦτο καὶ πολλὴν κατέγνων ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν μανίαν, ἐπειδὴ παρήλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ πείραν ἐλάβανον τῆς ἐκάστου προαιρέσεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις ὁμονοοῦντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου πάντας Ἀλβανοὺς ἑώρων, μακρῷ δὲ τινι τῶν ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ καταλαμβανομένων χαλεπῶν τὰ δαιμόνια

σημεῖα, ὅποτε χρησαίμην σφαγίοις περὶ μάχης, χαλεπώτερα γινόμενα πολλὴν δυσθυμίαν παρεῖχε μοι καὶ ἀμηχανίαν.

[4] And I was further convinced of this and led to condemn the great madness that we both have shown, an once I had taken hold of affairs and began to sound out each man's private opinion. For I found that the Albans neither in their private meetings nor in their public assemblies were all of one mind regarding the war; and the signs from Heaven, whenever I consulted the victims concerning battle, presenting, as they did, far greater difficulties than those based on human reasoning, caused me great dismay and anxiety.

[5] ἐνθυμούμενος δὴ ταῦτα τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχον, ἀναβολὰς δὲ καὶ διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦμην τοῦ πολέμου προτέρους ὑμᾶς οἰόμενος ἄρξειν τῶν περὶ φιλίας λόγων: καὶ ἔδει γε, ὦ Τύλλε, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀποίκους ὄντας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἢ μητρόπολις ἄρξη. ὅσης γὰρ ἀξιοῦσι τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ πατέρες παρὰ τῶν ἐκγόνων, τοσαύτης οἱ κτίσαντες τὰς πόλεις παρὰ τῶν ἀποίκων.

[5] In view, therefore, of these considerations, I restrained my eagerness for armed conflicts and devised delays and postponements of the war, in the belief that you Romans would make the first overtures towards peace. And indeed you should have done this, Tullius, since you are our colony, and not have waited till your mother-city set the example. For the founders of cities have a right to receive as great respect from their colonies as parents from their children.

[6] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλομεν καὶ παρετηροῦμεν ἀλλήλους, [p. 281] πότεροι τῶν εὐγνωμόνων ἄρξουσι λόγων, ἑτέρα τις ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη κρείττων ἅπαντος ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ περιλαβοῦσα συνάγει: ἦν ἐγὼ πυθόμενος ἔτι λανθάνουσαν ὑμᾶς οὐκέτ' ὥομην δεῖν τῆς εὐπρεπειας τῶν διαλλαγῶν στοχάζεσθαι. δειναὶ γὰρ, ὦ Τύλλε, μηχαναὶ πλέκονται καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ δόλος ἄφυκτος ἔρραπτai κατ' ἀμφοτέρων, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἀκονιτὶ καὶ δίχα πόνου πάντα συντρίψειν καὶ διαφθερεῖν ἡμῶν τὰ

[6] But while we have been delaying and watching each other, to see which side should first make friendly overtures, another motive, more compelling than any arguments drawn from human reason, has arisen to draw us together. And since I learned of this while it was yet a secret to you, I felt that I ought no longer to aim at appearances in concluding peace. For dreadful designs are being formed against us, Tullius, and a deadly plot has been woven against both of us, a plot which was bound to overwhelm and destroy us easily and without effort, bursting upon us like a conflagration or a flood.

[7] πράγματα πυρὸς ἢ ποταμοῦ δίκην ἐμπεσῶν. δημιουργοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνοσίων βουλευμάτων εἰσὶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι Φιδηναίων τε καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν συνελθόντες. ὅστις δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῶν τρόπος ἦν καὶ πόθεν εἰς ἐμὲ

ἡ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων γνώσις ἐλήλυθεν ἀκούσατε.

[7] The authors of these wicked designs are the chiefs of the Fidenates and Veientes, who have conspired together. Hear now the nature of their plot and how the knowledge of their secret design came to me.”

[1] ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν διδωσι τῶν παρόντων τινὶ ἀναγνῶναι τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς αὐτῷ κεκομικῶς τις ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Φιδήνῃ ξένων καὶ τὸν κομίσαντα αὐτὰς παρήγαγεν. ἀναγνωσθεῖσιν δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐξηγησαμένου πάντα ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων αὐτὰς ἀπὸ στόματος ἤκουσεν ἐκπλήξεώς τε μεγάλης κατασχούσης τοὺς ἀκούοντας, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ κακῷ παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἀκουσθέντι, μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Φουφέτιος πάλιν ἔλεξεν:

[8.1] With these words he gave to one of those present the letters which a certain man had brought to him from his friends at Fidenae, and desired him to read them out; and at the same time he produced the man who had brought the letters. After they were read and the man had informed them of everything he had learned by word of mouth from the persons who had despatched the letters, all present were seized with great astonishment, as one would naturally expect upon their hearing of so great and so unexpected a danger. Then Fufetius, after a short pause, continued:

[2] ἀκηκόατε τὰς αἰτίας, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, δι’ ἃς ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ἀνεβαλλόμεν τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγῶνας, νῦν [p. 282] δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ φιλίας ἡξίωσα πρότερος ἄρχειν λόγων. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη σκοπεῖσθε, πότερον οἴεσθε δεῖν περὶ βοιδίων καὶ προβατίων ἀρπαγῆς ἄσπειστον πόλεμον φυλάττειν πρὸς τοὺς κτίσαντας καὶ πατέρας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κρατηθέντες ἀπολεῖσθε καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἢ διαλυσάμενοι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἔχθραν μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς χωρεῖν, οἳ γε οὐ μόνον ἀπόστασιν ἐβούλευσαν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανάστασιν, οὔτε πεπονθότες οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὔτε μὴ πάθωσι δεδιότες, καὶ οὐδ’ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν, ὥς ὁ κοινὸς ἀξιοῖ τοῦ πολέμου νόμος, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ σκότους, ὥς ἂν ἥκιστα ὑπίδοιτό τις αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ φυλάξαιτο.

[2] You have now heard, Romans, the reasons why I have thus far been postponing armed conflicts with you and have now thought fit to make the first overtures concerning peace. After this it is for you to consider whether, in order to avenge the seizure of some miserable oxen and sheep, you ought to continue to carry on an implacable war against year founders and fathers, in the course of which, whether conquered or conquerors, you are sure to be destroyed, or, laying aside your enmity toward your kinsmen, to march with us against our common foes, who have plotted not only to revolt from you but also to attack you — although they have neither suffered any harm nor had any reason to fear that they should suffer any — and, what is more, have not attacked us openly, according to the universally recognized laws of war, but

under cover of darkness, so that their treachery could least be suspected and guarded against.

[3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοσίους ἀνθρώπους ἰτέον ἡμῖν ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ καταλυσασμένοις τὰ ἔχθη 'μανίας γὰρ θάτερα ἀξιοῦν' ὡς ἐγνωκόσιν ὑμῖν καὶ ποιήσουσιν οὐδὲν δέομαι πλείω λέγειν καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι. ὃν δὲ τρόπον αἱ διαλύσεις καλαὶ καὶ συμφέρουσαι γένοιντ' ἂν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι 'τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσως ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι πάλαι νῦν ἤδη πειράσομαι λέγειν.

[3] But I need say no more to convince you that we ought to lay aside our enmity and march with all speed against these impious men (for it would be madness to think otherwise), since you are already resolved and will pursue that resolution. But in what manner the terms of reconciliation may prove honourable and advantageous to both cities (for probably you have long been eager to hear this) I shall now endeavour to explain.

[4] ἐγὼ νομίζω κρατίστας μὲν εἶναι διαλλαγὰς καὶ πρεπωδεστάτας συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔγκοτον οὐδὲ μνησικακὸν ἀφέσεως ἅπασι πρὸς ἅπαντας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδρασαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀδόλου γινομένης, ἥττον δὲ τούτων εὐπρεπεῖς, ἐν αἷς τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἀπολύεται τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οἱ δὲ ἀδικήσαντες ἀλλήλους [p. 283] ἀναγκάζονται δίκας ὑπέχειν λόγῳ κρινόμενοι καὶ νόμῳ.

[4] For my part, I hold that that mutual reconciliation is the best and the most becoming to kinsmen and friends, in which there is no rancour nor remembrance of past injuries, but a general and sincere remission of everything that has been done or suffered on both sides; less honourable than this form of reconciliation is one by which, indeed, the mass of the people are absolved of blame, but those who have injured one another are compelled to undergo such a trial as reason and law direct.

[5] τούτων δὴ τῶν διαλλαγῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ χρῆναι τὰς εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερας ἡμῶς ἐλέσθαι καὶ γνώμην θέσθαι περὶ μηδενὸς ἡμῶς ἀλλήλοις μνησικακεῖν, σὺ δ' εἰ μὴ βούλει διαλλάττεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὦ Τύλλε, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδόναι δίκας καὶ λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῖς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις παρ' ἀλλήλων, ἔτοιμοι καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν εἰσιν Ἀλβανοὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθη προκαταλυσάμενοι. εἰ δὲ τινὰς ἔχεις παρὰ ταύτας λέγειν ἑτέρας εἴτε καλλίους διαλλαγὰς εἴτε δικαιοτέρας, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις φέρων εἰς μέσον καὶ πολλήν σοι χάριν εἶσομαι.

[5] Of these two methods of reconciliation, now, it is my opinion that we ought to choose the one which is the more honourable and magnanimous, and we ought to pass a decree of general amnesty. However, if you, Tullius, do not wish a reconciliation of this kind, but prefer that the accusers and the accused should mutually give and receive satisfaction, the Albans are also ready to do this, after first settling our mutual hatreds. And if, besides this, you have any

other method to suggest which is either more honourable or more just, you cannot lay it before us too soon, and for doing so I shall be greatly obliged to you.”

[1] ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος τοῦ Φουφεττίου παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔλεξε· καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὦ Φουφέττιε, βαρεῖαν ὑπελαμβάνομεν ἡμᾶς καταλήψεσθαι συμφορὰν, εἰ δι’ αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἀναγκασθῆμεν κρίναι τὸν συγγενῇ πόλεμον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅποτε τὰ προπολέμια θύοιμεν ἐκωλύομεθα ἄρχειν μάχης· τὰς τε ἀπορρήτους Φιδηναίων καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν συνωμοσίας, αἷς ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν συνώμοσαν, ὀλίγῳ πρότερον σοῦ πεπύσμεθα παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ξένων καὶ οὐκ ἀφύλακτοι πρὸς αὐτάς ἐσμεν, ἀλλ’ ὥς παθεῖν τε μηδὲν αὐτοὶ κακὸν κάκεινους τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀξίως παρεσκευάσμεθα, οὐχ ἥττον τε σοῦ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀμαχητὶ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐβουλόμεθα.

[9.1] After Fufetius had thus spoken, the king of the Romans answered him and said:

“We also, Fufetius, felt that it would be a grave calamity for us if we were forced to decide this war between kinsmen by blood and slaughter, and whenever we performed the sacrifices preparatory to war we were forbidden by them to begin an engagement. As regards the secret conspiracy entered into by the Fidenates and Veientes against us both, we have learned of it, a little ahead of you, through our friends in their midst, and we are not unprepared against their plot, but have taken measures not only to suffer no mischief ourselves but also to punish those foes in such a manner as their treachery deserves. Nor were we less disposed than you to put an end to the war without a battle rather than by the sword;

[2] πρότεροι δὲ πρεσβεύεσθαι περὶ διαλλαγῶν [p. 284] οὐκ ἤξιοῦμεν, ἐπεὶπερ οὐδ’ ἥρξαμεν αὐτοὶ πρότεροι τοῦ πολέμου, ἄρξαντας δὲ ἡμυνάμεθα. ἀποτιθεμένων δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ ὅπλα δεχόμεθα τὰς προκλήσεις ἄσμενοι καὶ περὶ διαλλαγῶν οὐδὲν ἀκριβολογούμεθα, ἀλλὰ τὰς κρατίστας τε καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατας δεχόμεθα πᾶν ἀδίκημα καὶ πᾶν ἀμάρτημα τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως ἀφιέντες, εἰ δὴ καὶ κοινὰ χρή καλεῖν πόλεως ἀμαρτήματα, ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς ὑμῶν Κλοῖλιος αἴτιος ἦν, ὃς ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν οὐ μεμπτὰς τέτικε δίκας τοῖς θεοῖς.

[2] yet we did not consider it fitting that we should be the first to send ambassadors to propose an accommodation, since we had not been the first to begin the war, but had merely defended ourselves against those who had begun it. But once you are ready to lay down your arms, we will gladly receive your proposal, and will not scrutinize too closely the terms of the reconciliation, but will accept those that are the best and the most magnanimous, forgiving every injury and offence we have received from the city of Alba — if, indeed, those deserve to be called public offences of the

city for which your general Cluilius was responsible, and has paid no mean penalty to the gods for the wrongs he did us both.

[3] ἀφείσθω δὴ πᾶσα ἐγκλήματος ἰδίου τε καὶ κοινοῦ πρόφασις καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι μνήμη τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἔστω κακῶν, ὥς καὶ σοί, ὦ Φουφέττιε, δοκεῖ: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόχρη τοῦτο μόνον ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τὴν παροῦσαν ἔχθραν διαλυσάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴδ' αὐθις ποτε πολεμήσομεν ἔτι δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι: οὐ γὰρ ἀναβολὰς ποιησόμενοι τῶν κακῶν συνεληλύθαμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαγάς. τίς οὖν ἢ βεβαία τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσις ἔσται καὶ τί παρασχόντες εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἑκάτεροι νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἐσόμεθα φίλοι, σὺ μὲν παρέλιπες, ὦ Φουφέττιε, ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι πειράσομαι.

[3] Let every occasion, therefore, for complaint, whether private or public, be removed and let no memory of past injuries any longer remain — even as you also, Fufetius, think fitting. Yet it is not enough for us to consider merely how we may compose our present enmity toward one another, but we must further take measures to prevent our ever going to war again; for the purpose of our present meeting is not to obtain a postponement but rather an end of our evils. What settlement of the war, therefore, will be enduring and what contribution must each of us make toward the situation, in order that we may be friends both now and for all time? This, Fufetius, you have omitted to tell us; but I shall endeavour to go on and supply this omission also.

[4] εἰ παύσαιντο μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ φθονοῦντες Ῥωμαίοις ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ πόνων πολλῶν αὐτὰ κτησάμενοι, οὐθὲν γοῦν πεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὔτε μείζον οὔτε ἔλαττον κακὸν διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖτε ἡμᾶς, ὅτι [p. 285] δοκοῦμεν ἄμεινον ὑμῶν πράττειν· παύσαιντο δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὑποψίας ἔχοντες Ἀλβανούς ὥς ἐπιβουλευόντας αἰεὶ σφισι καὶ φυλαττόμενοι καθάτερ ἐχθροῦς: οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο βεβαίως φίλος τῷ μισοῦντι οὐδεὶς.

[4] If, on the one hand, the Albans would cease to envy the Romans the advantages they possess, advantages which were acquired not without great perils and many hardships (in any case you have suffered no injury at our hands, great or slight, but you hate us for this reason alone, that we seem to be better off than you); and if, on the other hand, the Romans would cease to suspect the Albans of always plotting against them and would cease to be on their guard against them as against enemies (for no one can be a firm friend to one who distrusts him).

[5] πῶς οὖν γενήσεται τούτων ἑκάτερον; οὐκ ἂν γράψωμεν αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις οὐδ' ἂν ὁμώσωμεν ἀμφοτέροι καθ' ἱερῶν, μικραὶ γὰρ αὗται γε αἱ φυλακαὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς· ἀλλ' ἂν κοινὰς ἡγησώμεθα τὰς ἀλλήλων τύχας. ἐν γὰρ ἔστι μόνον, ὦ Φουφέττιε, λύπης ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς γινομένης ἄκος, τὸ μηκέτι τοὺς φθονοῦντας ἀλλότρια τὰ τῶν φθονουμένων

ἀγαθὰ ἡγεῖσθαι.

[5] How, then, shall each of these results be brought about? Not by inserting them in the treaty, nor by our both swearing to them over the sacrificial victims — for these are small and weak assurances — but by looking upon each other's fortunes as common to us both. For there is only one cure, Fufetius, for the bitterness which men feel over the advantages of others, and that is for the envious no longer to regard the advantages of the envied as other than their own.

[6] ἵνα δὴ τοῦτο γένηται, Ῥωμαίους μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν Ἀλβανοῖς θεῖναι πάντα ὅσα τε νῦν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐθις ἔξουσιν ἀγαθὰ, Ἀλβανούς δὲ ἀγαπητῶς τὰ διδόμενα δέχεσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ὑμῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οἰκήτορας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ Σαβίνοις μὲν καὶ Τυρρηνοῖς καλῶς εἶχεν ἐκλιποῦσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις μεταθέσθαι τοὺς βίους ὥς ἡμᾶς, ὑμῖν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενόμενον οὐχ ἔξει καλῶς;

[6] In order to accomplish this, I think the Romans ought to place equally at the disposal of the Albans all the advantages they either now or shall hereafter possess; and that the Albans ought cheerfully to accept this offer and all of you, if possible, or at least the most and the best of you, become residents of Rome. Was it not, indeed, a fine thing for the Sabines and Tyrrhenians to leave their own cities and transfer their habitation to Rome? And for you, who are our nearest kinsmen, will it not accordingly be a fine thing if this same step is taken?

[7] εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀξιώσετε μίαν οἰκεῖν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν μεγάλην τε οὖσαν ἤδη καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐσομένην, ἀλλὰ φιλοχωρήσετε τοῖς πατρώοις ἐφ'esείοις, ἐκεῖνό γε τοι ποιήσατε: βουλευτήριον ἔν' ἀποδειξατε, ὃ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρας βουλευσεί πόλεως, [p. 286] καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπόδοτε μιᾷ τῇ κρείττονι πόλει καὶ πλείονα δυναμένη ποιεῖν ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἥττονα. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ καὶ τούτων γενομένων τόθ' ἡγοῦμαι βεβαίως ἡμᾶς ἔσεσθαι φίλους, δύο δὲ πόλεις οἰκοῦντας ἰσοκορυφούς ὥσπερ νῦν οὐδέποτε ὁμονήσειν.

[7] If, however, you refuse to inhabit the same city with us, which is already large and will be larger, but are going to cling to your ancestral hearths, do this at least: appoint a single council to consider what shall be of advantage to each city, and give the supremacy to that one of the two cities which is the more powerful and is in a position to render the greater services to the weaker. This is what I recommend, and if these proposals are carried out I believe that we shall then be lasting friends; whereas, so long as we inhabit two cities of equal eminence, as at present, there never will be harmony between us."

[1] ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Φουφῆτιος χρόνον εἰς βουλὴν ἠτήσατο, καὶ μεταστὰς

ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου μετὰ τῶν παρόντων Ἀλβανῶν εἰ χρηὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐσκόπει. ὥς δὲ τὰς ἀπάντων γνώμας ἔλαβεν, ἐπιστρέψας αὖθις εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ἔλεξεν: ἡμῖν μὲν, ὦ Τύλλε, τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καταλιπεῖν οὐ δοκεῖ οὐδ' ἐξερημοῦν ἱερὰ πατρῶα καὶ προγονικὰς ἐστίας καὶ τόπον, ὃν ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν κατέσχον, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ πολέμου κατειληφότος ἡμᾶς μηδ' ἄλλης θεοπέμπτου συμφορᾶς μηδεμιᾶς: ἐν δὲ καταστήσασθαι βουλευτήριον καὶ μίαν εἶναι

[10.1] Fufetius, hearing this, desired time for taking counsel; and withdrawing from the assembly along with the Albans who were present, he consulted with them whether they should accept the proposals. Then, having taken the opinions of all, he returned to the assembly and spoke as follows: “We do not think it best, Tullius, to abandon our country or to desert the sanctuaries of our fathers, the hearths of our ancestors, and the place which our forbears have possessed for nearly five hundred years, particularly when we are not compelled to such a course either by war or by any other calamity inflicted by the hand of Heaven. But we are not opposed to establishing a single council and letting one of the two cities rule over the other.

[2] τὴν ἄρξουσιν τῆς ἐτέρας πόλιν οὐκ ἀπαρέσκει. γραφέσθω δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ πᾶσα ἀναιρεῖσθω πολέμου πρόφασις. ὥς δὲ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλήψεσθαι πόλεως διεφέροντο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐλέχθησαν εἰς τοῦτο λόγοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων δικαιούντος ἑκατέρου τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἄρχειν τῆς ἐτέρας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλβανὸς τοιαῦτα προῖσχετο δίκαια:

[2] Let this article, then, also be inserted in the treaty, if agreeable, and let every excuse for war be removed.”

These conditions having been agreed upon, they fell to disputing which of the two cities should be given the supremacy and many words were spoken by both of them upon this subject, each contending that his own city should rule over the other.

[3] ἡμεῖς, ὦ Τύλλε, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἄρχειν ἄξιοι ἐσμεν Ἰταλίας, ὅτι ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μέγιστον [p. 287] τῶν κατοικούντων τὴνδε τὴν γῆν ἐθνῶν παρεχόμεθα, τοῦ δὲ Λατίνων ἔθνους, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, ἡγεῖσθαι δικαιούμεν οὐκ ἄτερ αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων νόμον, ὃν ἡ φύσις ἔδωκεν ἅπασι, τῶν ἐκγόνων ἄρχειν τοὺς προγόνους. ὑπὲρ ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποικίας, αἷς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲν ἐγκαλοῦμεν, τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰόμεθα δεῖν πόλεως ἄρχειν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπεσταλκότες, ὥστε ἐξίτηλον εἶναι ἤδη τὸ ἀφ' ἡμῶν γένος ὑπὸ χρόνου παλαιωθὲν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τρίτῃ πρὸ ταύτης γενεᾷ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψασα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους δικαιοσύσεις ἡ φύσις τὰ νέα τάξῃ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ ἐκγονα τῶν προγόνων, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνεξόμεθα τὴν μητρόπολιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀποικίας ἀρχομένην, πρότερον δὲ οὐ.

[3] The claims advanced by the Alban leader were as follows:

“As for us, Tullius, we deserve to rule over even all the rest of Italy, inasmuch as we represent a Greek nation and the greatest nation of all that inhabit this country. But to the sovereignty of the Latin nation, even if no other, we think ourselves entitled, not without reason, but in accordance with the universal law which Nature bestowed upon all men, that ancestors should rule their posterity. And above all our other colonies, against whom we have thus far no reason to complain, we think we ought to rule your city, having sent our colony thither not so long ago that the stock sprung from us is already extinct, exhausted by the lapse of time, but only the third generation before the present. If, indeed, Nature, inverting human rights, shall ever command the young to rule over the old and posterity over their progenitors, then we shall submit to seeing the mother-city ruled by its colony, but not before.

[4] Ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ δικαίωμα παρεχόμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίημεν ὑμῖν ἐκόντες ἕτερον δὲ τοιόνδε: δέξασθε δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ καὶ ὀνειδισμῷ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἔνεκα: ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλβανῶν γένος οἷον ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν κτισάντων τὴν πόλιν, τοιοῦτον ἕως τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων διαμένει, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις ἐπιδείξει φῦλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Λατίνων, ὃ τῆς πολιτείας μεταδεδώκαμεν: ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν [p. 288] ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς πολιτεύματος διεφθάρκατε Τυρρηνοὺς τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ Σαβίνους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνεστίους καὶ πλάνητας καὶ βαρβάρους πάνυ πολλοὺς, ὥστε ὀλίγον τὸ γνήσιον ὑμῶν ἔστιν ὅσον ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ὠρμήθη, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοστὸν τοῦ

[4] This, then, is one argument we offer in support of our claim, in virtue of which we will never willingly yield the command to you. Another argument — and do not take this as said by way of censure or reproach of you Romans, but only from necessity — is the fact that the Alban race has to this day continued the same that it was under the founders of the city, and one cannot point to any race of mankind, except the Greeks and Latins, to whom we have granted citizenship; whereas you have corrupted the purity of your body politic by admitting Tyrrhenians, Sabines, and some others who were homeless, vagabonds and barbarians, and that in great numbers too, so that the true-born element among you that went out from our midst is become small, or rather a tiny fraction, in comparison with those who have been brought in and are of alien race.

[5] ἐπεισάκτου τε καὶ ἀλλοφύλου. εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς παραχωρήσαιμεν ὑμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ νόθον ἄρξει τοῦ γνησίου καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπεισάκτον τοῦ αὐθιγενοῦς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ἔχοιτε εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἔπηλυν ὄχλον οὐδενὸς εἰάκατε εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν κύριον, ἄρχετε δ’ αὐτοὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ βουλευεσθε οἱ αὐθιγενεῖς: ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀποδείκνυτε ξένους, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ πλεῖστον ὑμῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλύδων, ὧν οὐδὲν

ἂν φήσατε ἐκόντες ὑπομένειν. τίς γὰρ ἐκουσίως ἄρχεται τῶν κρειττόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος; πολλή δὴ μωρία καὶ κακότης, ἃ δι' ἀνάγκην φαίητ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ὑπομένειν,

[5] And if we should yield the command to you, the base-born will rule over the true-born, barbarians over Greeks, and immigrants over the native-born. For you cannot even say this much for yourself, that you have not permitted this immigrant mob to gain any control of public affairs but that you native-born citizens are yourselves the rulers and councillors of the commonwealth. Why, even for your kings you choose outsiders, and the greatest part of your senate consists of these newcomers; and to none of these conditions can you assert that you submit willingly. For what man of superior rank willingly allows himself to be ruled by an inferior? It would be great folly and baseness, therefore, on our part to accept willingly those evils which you must own you submit to through necessity.

[6] ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἐκόντας δέχεσθαι. τελευταῖός μοι λόγος ἐστίν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως οὐθὲν ἔτι παρακινεῖ μέρος τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἤδη γενεάν οἰκουμένης καὶ πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ συνήθη καὶ πάτρια ἐπιτελοῦσης, ἣ δ' ὑμετέρα πόλις ἀδιακόσμητός ἐστιν ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάτακτος, ἅτε νεόκτιστος οὖσα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συμφορητὸς ἐθνῶν, ἣ μακρῶν δεῖ χρόνων καὶ παθημάτων παντοδαπῶν, ἵνα καταρτισθῇ καὶ παύσῃται ταραττομένη καὶ στασιάζουσα [p. 289] ὥσπερ νῦν. ἅπαντες δ' ἂν εἴποιεν ὅτι δεῖ τὰ καθεστηκότα τῶν ταραττομένων καὶ τὰ πεπειραμένα τῶν ἀδοκιμάστων καὶ τὰ ὑγιαίνοντα τῶν νοσοῦντων ἄρχειν: οἷς ὑμεῖς τάναντία ἀξιοῦντες οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖτε.

[6] My last argument is this: The city of Alba has so far made no alteration in any part of its constitution, though it is already the eighteenth generation that it has been inhabited, but continues to observe in due form all its customs and traditions; whereas your city is still without order and discipline, due to its being newly founded and a conglomeration of many races, and it will require long ages and manifold turns of fortune in order to be regulated and freed from those troubles and dissensions with which it is now agitated. But all will agree that order ought to rule over confusion, experience over inexperience, and health over sickness; and you do wrong in demanding the reverse."

[1] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Φουφεττίου λέξαντος παραλαβὼν ὁ Τύλλος τὸν λόγον εἶπε: τὸ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ προγόνων ἀρετῆς δίκαιον, ὃ Φουφέττιε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνδρες Ἀλβανοί, κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν: τοὺς αὐτοὺς γὰρ εὐχόμεθα προγόνους ἐκάτεροι, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ τούτου χάριν οὔτε πλέον ἡμῶν ἔχειν τοὺς ἑτέρους οὔτ' ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ ἄρχειν ἐκ παντὸς τῶν ἀποικιῶν τὰς μητροπόλεις ὡς ἀναγκαῖόν τι φύσεως νόμιμον οὔτε ἀληθές οὔτε δίκαιον ἡξιοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν:

[11] After Fufetius had thus spoken, Tullius answered and said:

“The right which is derived from Nature and the virtue of one’s ancestors, Fufetius and ye men of Alba, is common to us both; for we both boast the same ancestors, so that on this score neither of use ought to have any advantage or suffer any disadvantage. But as to your claim that by a kind of necessary law of Nature mother-cities should invariably rule over their colonies, it is neither true nor just.

[2] πολλά γέ τοι φῦλά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων, παρ’ οἷς αἱ μητροπόλεις οὐκ ἄρχουσιν ἀλλ’ ὑποτάσσονται ταῖς ἀποικίαις. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ φανερώτατον τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε παράδειγμα ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν πόλις οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσα Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους ὅθεν ἀπωκίσθη. καὶ τι δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀποικίσαντες Λαουῖνιαιτῶν ἐστε ἄποικοι.

[2] Indeed, there are many races of mankind among which the mother-cities do not rule over their colonies but are subject to them. The greatest and the most conspicuous instance of this is the Spartan state, which claims the right not only to rule over the other Greeks but even over the Doric nation, of which she is a colony. But why should I mention the others? For you who colonized our city are yourself a colony of the Lavinians.

[3] εἰ δὴ φύσεώς ἐστι νόμος ἄρχειν τῆς ἀποικίας τὴν μητρόπολιν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν Λαουῖνιᾶται τὰ δίκαια τάττοντες; πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὸ πρῶτον ὑμῶν δικαίωμα καὶ πλείστην ἔχον εὐπροσωπίαν [p. 290] ταῦθ’ ἱκανά: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν πόλεων ἀντιπαρεξετάξουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐπεχείρεις, ὦ Φουφῆττιε, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλβανῶν εὐγενὲς ὅμοιον αἰεὶ διαμένει, τὸ δ’ ἡμέτερον ἐξέφθαρται ταῖς ἐπιμιξίαις τοῦ ἄλλοφύλου, καὶ οὐκ ἤξιους ἄρχειν τῶν γνησίων τοὺς νόθους οὐδὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ λυδας, μάθε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀμαρτάνων μάλιστα τὸ δικαίωμα.

[3] If, therefore, it is a law of Nature that the mother-city should rule over its colony, would not the Lavinians be the first to issue their just orders to both of us? To your first claim, then, and the one which carries with it the most specious appearance, this is a sufficient answer. But since you also undertook to compare the ways of life of the two cities, Fufetius, asserting that the nobility of the Albans has always remained the same while ours has been ‘corrupted’ by the various admixtures of foreigners, and demanded that the base-born should not rule over the well-born nor newcomers over the native-born, know, then, that in making this claim, too, you are greatly mistaken.

[4] ἡμεῖς γὰρ τοσούτου δέομεν αἰσχύνεσθαι κοινὴν ἀναδειξαντες τὴν πόλιν τοῖς βουλομένοις, ὥστε καὶ σεμνυνόμεθα ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ ἔργῳ, οὐκ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ζήλου τοῦδε ἄρξαντες, παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες, ἧς μέγιστον κλέος ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰ μὴ καὶ

[4] For we are so far from being ashamed of having made the privileges of our city free to all who desired them that we even take the greatest pride in this course; moreover, we are not the originators of this admirable practice, but took the example from the city of Athens, which enjoys the greatest reputation among the Greeks, due in no small measure, if indeed not chiefly, to this very policy.

[5] μάλιστα τὸ πολίτευμα. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡμῖν πολλῶν γενόμενον ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον οὗτ' ἐπιμεμψιν οὔτε μεταμέλειαν ὥς ἡμαρτηκόσι φέρει, ἄρχει τε καὶ βουλευεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς καρποῦται παρ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ χρήματα κεκτημένος οὐδὲ ὁ πολλοὺς πατέρας ἐπιχωρίους ἐπιδεῖξαι δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν ἢ τούτων τῶν τιμῶν ἄξιος. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐγένειαν ὑπάρχειν νομιζομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρετῇ. ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὄχλος σῶμα τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ δυνάμιν τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων παρεχόμενος. μεγάλη τε ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ φοβερά τοῖς περιοίκους ἐξ εὐκαταφρονήτου διὰ ταύτην τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν γέγονε, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας, [p. 291] ὑπὲρ ἧς τῶν ἄλλων Λατίνων οὐδεὶς ἀντιποιεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοις τὸ πολίτευμα ἥρξεν οὗ

[5] And this principle, which has been to us the source of many advantages, affords us no ground either for complaint or regret, as if we had committed some error. Our chief magistracies and membership in the senate are held and the other honours among us are enjoyed, not by men possessed of great fortunes, nor by those who can show a long line of ancestors all natives of the country, but by such as are worthy of these honours; for we look upon the nobility of men as consisting in nothing else than in virtue. The rest of the populace are the body of the commonwealth, contributing strength and power to the decisions of the best men. It is owing to this humane policy that our city, from a small and contemptible beginning, is become large and formidable to its neighbours, and it is this policy which you condemn, Fufetius, that has laid the foundation of that supremacy which none of the other Latins disputes with us.

[6] σὺ κατηγόρεις, ὦ Φουφέττιε. ἐν ἰσχύι γὰρ ὅπλων κεῖται τὸ τῶν πόλεων κράτος, αὕτη δ' ἐκ πολλῶν σωμάτων γίνεται: ταῖς δὲ μικραῖς καὶ ὀλιγανθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρχειν ἐτέρων,

[6] For the power of states consists in the force of arms, and this in turn depends upon a multitude of citizens; whereas, for small states that are sparsely populated and for that reason weak it is not possible to rule others, nay, even to rule themselves.

[7] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἑαυτῶν ἄρχειν. καθόλου δ' ἔγωγε τόθ' ὑπολαμβάνω δεῖν τὰς ἐτέρων διασύρειν πολιτείας καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαινεῖν, ὅταν τις ἐξη δεῖξαι τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἃ φησιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην οὔσαν, τὰς δὲ διαβαλλομένας διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῦτα προαιρεῖσθαι

κακοδαιμονούσας. τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα πράγματα οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὑμετέρα πόλις ἀπὸ μείζονος αὐχήματος ἀρχομένη καὶ πλειόνων ἀφορμῶν τυχοῦσα εἰς ἐλάττωνα ὄγκον συνήκται, ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰς τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς λαβόντες ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ μεγίστην τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων τὴν Ῥώμην πεποιήκαμεν τοῦτοις τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ὧν σὺ κατηγορεῖς χρώμενοι.

[7] On the whole, I am of the opinion that a man should only then disparage the government of other states and extol his own when he can show that his own, by following the principles he lays down, is grown flourishing and great, and that the states he censures, by not adopting them, are in an unhappy plight. But this is not our situation. On the contrary, your city, beginning with greater brilliance and enjoying greater resources than ours, has shrunk to lesser importance, while we, from small beginnings at first, have in a short time made Rome greater than all the neighbouring cities by following the very policies you condemned.

[8] τὸ δὲ στασιάζον ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο δι' αἰτίας εἶχες, ὧ Φουφέττιε, οὐκ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ καὶ ἐλαττώσει τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ αὐξήσει γίνεται. φιλοτιμούμεθα γάρ οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ οἱ ἔποικοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους, πότεροι πλείονα ποιήσομεν τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν.

[8] And as for our factional strife — since this also, Fufetius, met with your censure — it tends, not to destroy and diminish the commonwealth, but to preserve and enhance it. For there is emulation between our youths and our older men and between the newcomers and those who invited them in, to see which of us shall do more for the common welfare.

[9] ἵνα δὲ συντεμῶν εἴπω τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἑτέρων ἄρξιν δύο προσεῖναι δεῖ ταῦτα, [p. 292] τὴν ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευέσθαι φρόνησιν, ἃ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρα: καὶ ὅτι οὐ κενὸς ὁ κόμπος ἢ παντὸς λόγου κρείττων πείρα ἡμῖν μαρτυρεῖ. τοσαύτην γοῦν μεγέθει καὶ δυνάμει πόλιν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν γενέσθαι τρίτῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν, εἰ μὴ τὸ τε ἀνδρεῖον ἐπερίττευσεν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον. ἱκανὰ δὲ τεκμηριῶσαι τὸ κράτος αὐτῆς πολλὰ πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων οὔσαι γένους καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἔχουσαι, αἱ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑπεριδοῦσαι πόλιν ἡμῖν προσκεχωρήκασιν καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀξιούσιν ἢ ὑπ' Ἀλβανῶν, ὥς ἡμῶν μὲν ἀμφοτέρα ἱκανῶν ὄντων τοὺς τε φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, ὑμῶν δ' οὐδέτερα.

[9] In short, those who are going to rule others ought to be endowed with these two qualities, strength in war and prudence in counsel, both of which are present in our case. And that this is no empty boast, experience, more powerful than any argument, bears us witness. It is certain in any case that the city could not have attained to such greatness and power in the third generation after its founding, had not both valour and prudence abounded in

it. Suffer proof of its strength is afforded by the behaviour of many cities of the Latin race which owe their founding to you, but which, nevertheless, scorning your city, have come over us, choosing rather to be ruled by the Romans than by the Albans, because they look upon us as capable of doing both good to our friends and harm to our enemies, and upon you as capable of doing neither.

[10] πολλὰ εἶχον ἔτι καὶ ἰσχυρά, ὧ Φουφέττιε, πρὸς τὰς δικαιοσύνας, ἃς σὺ παρέσχου, λέγειν: μάταιον δὲ ὁρῶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λεχθισόμενα πρὸς ἀντιπάλους ὄντας ὑμᾶς τοῦ δικαίου κριτὰς παύομαι λέγων. ἓνα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων κράτιστον εἶναι καὶ μόνον ἡμῶν τὰ νείκη δύνασθαι διακρίναι τρόπον, ὧ πολλοὶ βάρβαροί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς ἔχθη καταστάντες οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμφισβητησίμου γῆς ἐχρήσαντο, τοῦτον εἰπὼν ἔτι παύσομαι:

[10] I had many other arguments, and valid ones, Fufetius, to advance against the claims which you have presented; but as I see that argument is futile and that the result will be the same whether I say much or little to you, who, though our adversaries, are at the same time the arbiters of justice, I will make an end of speaking. However, since I conceive that there is but one way of deciding our differences which is the best and has been made use of by many, both barbarians and Greeks, when hatred has arisen between them either over the supremacy or over some territory in dispute, I shall propose this and then conclude.

[11] εἰ ποιησάμεθα μέρος τι τῆς ἑαυτῶν στρατιᾶς ἑκάτεροι τὸν ἀγῶνα εἰς ὀλιγοστόν τι πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν συναγαγόντες τὴν τοῦ πολέμου [p. 293] τύχην: ἐξ ὁποτέρας δ' ἂν πόλεως οἱ κρατήσαντες τῶν ἀντιπάλων γένωνται, ταύτῃ συγχωρήσασιν ἄρχειν τῆς ἑτέρας. ὅποσα γὰρ μὴ διαιρεῖται ὑπὸ λόγου, ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπλων κρίνεται.

[11] Let each of us fight the battle with some part of our forces and limit the fortune of war to a very small number of combatants; and let us give to that city whose champions shall overcome their adversaries the supremacy over the other. For such contests as cannot be determined by arguments are decided by arms."

[1] τὰ μὲν δὴ λεχθέντα περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν πόλεων δικαιοῦματα ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν τοιάδε ἦν: τέλος δὲ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησεν οἷον ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπετίθετο. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ παρόντες Ἀλβανῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ταχέϊαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσασθαι ζητοῦντες ὅπλοις τὸ νείκος ἔγνωσαν διελεῖν. συγχωρηθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου περὶ τοῦ πλείους τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων ζήτησις ἐγένετο οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκάτερου τῶν στρατηγῶν διάνοιαν ἀποδεικνυμένου.

[12.1] These were the reasons urged by the two generals to support the

pretensions of their respective cities to the supremacy; and the outcome of the discussion was the adoption of the plan Tullius proposed. For both the Albans and Romans who were present at the conference, in their desire to put a speedy end to the war, resolved to decide the controversy by arms. This also being agreed to, the question arose concerning the number of the combatants, since the two generals were not of the same mind.

[2] Τύλλος μὲν γὰρ ἐβούλετο ἐν ἐλαχίστοις σώμασι γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν ἐνὸς Ἀλβανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πρὸς ἓνα Ῥωμαῖον τὸν ἄριστον μονομαχήσοντος καὶ πρόθυμος ἦν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἀγωνίσασθαι προκαλούμενος εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν φιλοτιμίαν τὸν Ἀλβανόν, καλοὺς ἀποφαίνων τοῖς ἀνειληφόσι τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ἐὰν νικήσωσιν ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κρατηθῶσιν ὑπ' ἀγαθῶν, καὶ διεξιῶν ὅσοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς προκινδυνεύσαι τῶν κοινῶν παρέσχον δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τῶν μὲν τιμῶν πλέον αὐτοὶ φέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ πόνων ἔλαττον.

[2] For Tullius desired that the fate of the war might be decided by the smallest possible number of combatants, the most distinguished man among the Albans fighting the bravest of the Romans in single combat, and he cheerfully offered himself to fight for his own country, inviting the Alban leader to emulate him. He pointed out that for those who have assumed the command of armies combats for sovereignty and power are glorious, not only when they conquer brave men, but also when they are conquered by the brave; and he enumerated all the generals and kings who had risked their lives for their country, regarding it as a reproach to them to have a greater share of the honours than others but a smaller share of the dangers.

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανὸς τὸ μὲν ὀλίγοις σώμασι [p. 294] κινδυνεύειν τὰς πόλεις ὀρθῶς ἐνόμιζεν εἰρηῇσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνὶ πρὸς ἓνα μάχης διεφέρετο λέγων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡγουμένοις τῶν στρατοπέδων ὅταν ἰδίαν κατασκευάζωνται δυναστείαν καλὸς καὶ ἀναγκαῖός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγών, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν αὐταῖς ἐπειδὰν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων διαφέρωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλας οὐ μόνον σφαλερὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰσχροὺς ὁ διὰ μονομαχίας κίνδυνος, ἐὰν τε τῆς κρείττονος λάβωνται τύχης ἐὰν τε τῆς χείρονος.

[3] The Alban, however, while approving of the proposal to commit the fate of the cities to a few champions, would not agree to decide it by single combat. He owned that when commanders of the armies were seeking to establish their own power a combat between them for the supremacy was noble and necessary, but when states themselves were contending for the first place he thought the risk of single combat not only hazardous but even dishonourable, whether they met with good or ill fortune.

[4] τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐπιλέκτους ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πόλεως συνεβούλευεν ὑπὸ τὴν

ἀπάντων ὄψιν Ἀλβανῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων διαγωνίσασθαι. ἐπιτηδειότατον γὰρ εἶναι τόνδε τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἅπασαν ἀμφισβητούμενου πράγματος διαίρεσιν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὴν ἔχοντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν ὃ τε σύλλογος διελύθη καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπῆεσαν ἐκάτεροι χάρακας.

[4] And he proposed that three chosen men from each city should fight in the presence of all the Albans and Romans, declaring that this was the most suitable number for deciding any matter in controversy, as containing in itself a beginning, a middle and an end. This proposal meeting with the approval of both Romans and Albans, the conference broke up and each side returned to its own camp.

[1] ἔπειτα καλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρας οἱ στρατηγοὶ διεξῆλθον ἃ τε διελέχθησαν αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπικυρωσάντων δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ πολλὴν εὐδόκησιν τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁμολογίας, θαυμαστὴ μετὰ τοῦτο κατεῖχε φιλοτιμία καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας πολλῶν πάνυ προθυμουμένων ἐξενέγκασθαι τὰ τῆς μάχης ἀριστεία καὶ οὐ λόγῳ σπουδαζόντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ φιλοτιμίας ἀποδεικνυμένων, ὥστε χαλεπὴν [p. 295] γενέσθαι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδειοτάτων διάγνωσιν.

[13.1] After this the generals assembled their respective armies and gave them an account both of what they had said to each other and of the terms upon which they had agreed to put an end to the war. And both armies having with great approbation ratified the agreement entered into by their generals, there arose a wonderful emulation among the officers and soldiers alike, since a great many were eager to carry off the prize of valour in the combat and expressed their emulation not only by their words but also by their actions, so that their leaders found great difficulty in selecting the most suitable champions.

[2] εἰ γάρ τις ἦν ἡ πατέρων ἐπιφανείᾳ λαμπρὸς ἢ σώματος ῥώμῃ διαπρεπὴς ἢ πράξει τῇ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τύχην ἢ τόλμαν ἐπίσημος ἑαυτὸν ἡξίου τάττειν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς τρισί.

[2] For if anyone was renowned for his illustrious ancestry or remarkable for his strength of body, famous for some brave deed in action, or distinguished by some other good fortune or bold achievement, he insisted upon being chosen first among the three champions.

[3] ταύτην ἐπὶ πολὺ χωροῦσαν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατεύμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὃ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἔπαυσε στρατηγὸς ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ὅτι θεία τις πρόνοια ἐκ πολλοῦ προορωμένη τὸν μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀγῶνα τοὺς προκινδυνεύσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κατεσκεύασε γενέσθαι οἰκῶν

τε οὐκ ἀφανῶν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοὺς ὀφθῆναι τε καλλίστους καὶ οὐ γενέσεως ὁμοίας τοῖς πολλοῖς μετειληφότας, ἀλλὰ σπανίου καὶ θαυμαστῆς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον.

[3] This emulation, which was running to great lengths in both armies, was checked by the Alban general, who called to mind that some divine providence, long since foreseeing this conflict between the two cities, had arranged that their future champions should be sprung of no obscure families and should be brave in arms, most comely in appearance, and distinguished from the generality of mankind by their birth, which should be unusual and wonderful because of its extraordinary nature.

[4] Ὅρατιῳ γάρ τινι Ῥωμαίῳ καὶ Κορατίῳ τὸ γένος Ἀλβανῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐνεγγύησε θυγατέρας διδύμους Σικίνιος Ἀλβανός. τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγκύμονες ἅμα γενόμεναι, τὰς πρωτοτόκους ἐκφέρουσι γονὰς ἄρρενα βρέφη τριδυμα, καὶ αὐτὰ ἃ οἱ γεινόμενοι πρὸς οἴωνοῦ λαβόντες ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πόλει καὶ οἴκῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ τρέφουσιν ἅπαντα καὶ τελειοῦσιν: θεὸς δ' αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφην, δίδωσι κάλλος τε καὶ ῥώμην καὶ δὴ καὶ ψυχῆς γενναιότητα μηδενὸς τῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότων χεῖροσι γενέσθαι. τούτοις ἔγνω τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ Φουφέττιος ἐπιτρέπειν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγῶνα [p. 296] καὶ προκαλεσάμενος εἰς λόγους τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ῥωμαίων λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν:

[4] It seems that Sicinius, an Alban, had at one and the same time married his twin daughters to Horatius, a Roman, and to Curiatius, an Alban; and the two wives came with child at the same time and each was brought to bed, at her first lying-in, of three male children. The parents, looking upon the event as a happy omen both to their cities and families, brought up all these children till they arrived at manhood. And Heaven, as I said in the beginning, gave them beauty and strength and nobility of mind, so that they were not inferior to any of those most highly endowed by Nature. It was to these men that Fufetius resolved to commit the combat for supremacy; and having invited the Roman king to a conference, he addressed him as follows:

[1] θεὸς τις ἔοικεν, ὦ Τύλλε, προνοοῦμενος τῶν πόλεων ἑκατέρας ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα φανεράν τὴν εὖνοϊαν πεποιῆσθαι. τὸ γὰρ εὐρεθῆναι τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους ὑπὲρ πάντων γένει τε μηδενὸς χείρονας καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοὺς ὀφθῆναι τε καλλίστους, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐξ ἑνὸς πεφυκότας πατρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ μιᾶς γεγεννημένους μητρὸς καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον ἐν μιᾷ προελθόντας εἰς φῶς γενέσει, παρ' ὑμῖν μὲν Ὅρατιους, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ Κορατίους, θαυμαστῇ τινι καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ.

[14.1] “Tullius, some god who keeps watch over both our cities would seem, just as upon many other occasions, so especially in what relates to this combat to have made his goodwill manifest. For that the champions who are to fight

on behalf of all their people should be found inferior to none in birth, brave in arms, most comely in appearance, and that they should furthermore have been born of one father and mother, and, most wonderful of all, that they should have come into the world on the same day, the Horatii with you and the Curiatii with us, all this, I say, has every appearance of a remarkable instance of divine favour.

[2] τί οὖν οὐ δεχόμεθα τὴν τοσαύτην τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοιαν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγῶνα τοὺς τριδύμους ἀδελφοὺς ἑκάτεροι; τὰ τε γὰρ ἅλλ', ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἄριστα μαχησομένοις βουλοίμεθ' ἂν εἶναι, κὰν τούτοις ἔνεστι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὸ μὴ προλιπεῖν τοὺς παρασπιστὰς κάμνοντας τούτοις μᾶλλον ὑπάρξει ἀδελφοῖς οὔσι παρ' οὔστινας ἄλλους Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, ἧ τε φιλοτιμία τῶν ἄλλων νέων χαλεπὴ λυθῆναι δι' ἑτέρου τινὸς οὔσα τρόπου ταχεῖαν ἔξει τὴν κρίσιν.

[2] Why, therefore, do we not accept this great providence of the god and each of us invite the triplets on his side to engage in the combat for the supremacy? For not only all the other advantages which we could desire in the best-qualified champions are to be found in these men, but, as they are brothers, they will be more unwilling than any others among either the Romans or the Albans to forsake their companions when in distress; and furthermore, the emulation of the other youths, which cannot easily be appeased in any other way, will be promptly settled.

[3] τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ τινα καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν χάριν ἐν πολλοῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀντιποιοιμένων ἀρετῆς, [p. 297] ὥσπερ καὶ παρ' Ἀλβανοῖς; οὐς εἰ διδάσκοιμεν ὅτι θεία τις ἔφθακε τύχη τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας σπουδὰς αὐτῆς παρασχούσης τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀγῶνα ποιησομένους, οὐ χαλεπῶς πείσομεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀρετῇ λείπεσθαι δόξουσι τῶν τριδύμων ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλὰ φύσεως εὐκληρίᾳ καὶ τύχης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐπιτηδειότητι.

[3] For I surmise that among you also, as well as among the Albans, there is a kind of strife among many of those who lay claim to bravery; but if we inform them that some providential fortune has anticipated all human efforts and has itself furnished us with champions qualified to engage upon equal terms in the cause of the cities, we shall easily persuade them to desist. For they will then look upon themselves as inferior to the triplets, not in point of bravery, but only in respect of a special boon of Nature and of the favour of a Chance that is equally inclined toward both sides."

[1] τοσαῦτα τοῦ Φουρεττίου λέξαντος καὶ πάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινέσαντων ἔτυχον δὲ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν οἱ κράτιστοι παρόντες ἀμφοτέροισ' μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ὁ Τύλλος λέγει: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἐπιλελογίσθαι μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Φουφέττιε; θαυμαστὴ γὰρ τις ἢ τὴν οὐδέποτε συμβᾶσαν ὁμοιογένειαν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς

ἔξενέγκασα τύχη: ἔν δ' ἄγνοεῖν ἔοικας, ὃ πολὺν παρέξει τοῖς νεανίσκοις ὄκνον, ἔάν ἀξιῶμεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις χωρεῖν διὰ μάχης.

[15.1] After Fufetius had thus spoken and his proposal had been received with general approbation (for the most important both of the Romans and Albans were with the two leaders), Tullius, after a short pause, spoke as follows:

“In other respects, Fufetius, you seem to me to have reasoned well; for it must be some wonderful fortune that has produced in both our cities in our generation a similarity of birth never known before. But of one consideration you seem to be unaware — a matter which will cause great reluctance in the youths if we ask them to fight with one another.

[2] ἡ γὰρ Ὅρατιων μήτηρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδελφὴ τῆς Κορατίων μητρός ἐστι τῶν Ἀλβανῶν, καὶ τέθραπται τὰ μεираκια ἐν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν γυναικῶν κόλποις ἀσπάζονται τ' ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοῦσιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ πολλοὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἀδελφούς. ὅρα δὴ μὴ ποτε οὐδ' ὅσιον ἦ τοῦτοις ἀναδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἀνεψιούς καὶ συντρόφους ὄντας. τὸ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄγος, ἔάν ἀναγκασθῶσιν ἀλλήλους μισοφρονεῖν, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλεῦσεται τοὺς ἀναγκάζοντας.

[2] For the mother of our Horatii is sister to the mother of the Alban Curiatii, and the young men have been brought up in the arms of both the women and cherish and love one another no less than their own brothers. Consider, therefore, whether, as they are cousins and have been brought up together, it would not be impious in us to put arms in their hands and invite them to mutual slaughter. For the pollution of kindred blood, if they are compelled to stain their hands with one another's blood, will deservedly fall upon us who compel them.”

[3] [p. 298] λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Φουφέτιος: οὐδ' ἐμὲ λέληθεν, ὦ Τύλλε, τὸ συγγενὲς τῶν μεираκίων, οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκάσω αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνεψιοῖς διὰ μάχης χωρεῖν εἰ μὴ βουλευθεῖεν αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπομεῖναι παρεσκευασάμην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθέ μοι τόδε τὸ βούλευμα τοὺς Ἀλβανούς Κορατίους μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ διάπειραν ἔλαβον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών: δεξαμένων δ' αὐτῶν τὸν λόγον ἀπιστῶ τινὶ καὶ θαυμαστῇ προθυμίᾳ, τότε ἀνακαλύπτειν ἔγνω τὸ βούλευμα καὶ φέρειν εἰς μέσον: σοὶ τε τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑποτίθεμαι ποιεῖν καλέσαντι τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν τριδύμους πεῖραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης ποιήσασθαι.

[3] To this Fufetius answered: “Neither have I failed, Tullius, to note the kinship of the youths, nor did I purpose to compel them to fight with their cousins unless they themselves were inclined to undertake the combat. But as soon as this plan came into my mind I sent for the Alban Curiatii and sounded them in private to learn whether they were willing to engage in the combat; and it was only after they had accepted the proposal with incredible and

wonderful alacrity that I decided to disclose my plan and bring it forward for consideration. And I advise you to take the same course yourself — to send for the triplets on your side and sound out their disposition.

[4] ἔάν μὲν οὖν ἐκόντες συνεπιδιῶσι κάκεινοι τὰ σώματα προκινδυνεῦσαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος δέχου τὴν χάριν, ἔάν δὲ ἀναδύωνται μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς πρόσφερε ἀνάγκην. μαντεύομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οἷα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἴπερ οὖν εἰσὶν οἴους ἀκούομεν, ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἄριστα πεφυκόσιν ὅμοιοι καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοί· κλέος γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε τῆς ἀρετῆς.

[4] And if they, too, agree of their own accord to risk their lives for their country, accept the favour; but if they hesitate, bring no compulsion to bear upon them. I predict, however, the same result with them as with our own youths — that is, if they are such men as we have been informed, like the few most highly endowed by Nature, and are brave in arms; for the reputation of their valour has reached us also.”

[1] δέχεται δὴ τὴν παραίνεσιν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ δεχημέρους ποιησάμενος ἀνοχάς, ἐν αἷς βουλευέσεται τε καὶ μαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Ὁρατίων ἀποκρινεῖται παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ταῖς δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέραις βουλευσάμενος [p. 299] ἅμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς πλείστοις ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὰς τοῦ Φουφεττίου προκλήσεις, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς τριδύμους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς:

[16.1] Tullius, accordingly, approved of this advice and made a truce for ten days, in order to have time to deliberate and give his answer after learning the disposition of the Horatii; and thereupon he returned to the city. During the following days he consulted with the most important men, and when the greater part of them favoured accepting the proposals of Fufetius, he sent for the three brothers and said to them:

[2] ἄνδρες Ὁράτιοι, Φουφέττιος ὁ Ἀλβανὸς εἰς λόγους συνελθὼν ἐμοὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου σύνοδον ἔφη τοὺς προκινδυνεύσοντας ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρας πόλεως τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς κατὰ θεῖαν γεγενῆσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εὖροιμεν ἑτέρους οὔτε γενναιότερους οὔτε ἐπιτηδειότερους, Ἀλβανῶν μὲν Κορατίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὑμᾶς· τοῦτ’ οὖν καταμαθὼν :αὐτὸς ἐξητακέναι πρῶτον εἰ βουλομένοις εἴη τοῖς ἀνεψιοῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ σώματα τῇ πατρίδι, μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναδεχομένους τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀγῶνα κατὰ πολλὴν προθυμίαν θαρρῶν εἰς μέσον ἐκφέρειν ἤδη τὸν λόγον, ἤξιον τε καὶ ἐμὲ πεῖραν ὑμῶν λαβεῖν, πότερον βουλήσεσθε προκινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος ὁμοσε χωρήσαντες Κορατίους ἢ

[2] Horatii, Fufetius the Alban informed me at a conference the last time we met at the camp that by divine providence three brave champions were at hand for each city, the noblest and most suitable of any we could hope to find — the Curatii among the Albans and you among the Romans. He added that

upon learning of this he had himself first inquired whether your cousins were willing to give their lives to their country, and that, finding them very eager to undertake the combat on behalf of all their people, he could now bring forward this proposal with confidence; and he asked me also to sound you out, to learn whether you would be willing to risk your lives for your country by engaging with the Curiatii, or whether you choose to yield this honour to others.

[3] παραχωρεῖτε τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης ἑτέροις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀρετῆς μὲν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα γενναιότητος, ἣν οὐ λανθάνουσιν ἔχετε, πάντων μάλιστα δεξιόμενοι ὑμᾶς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριστείων κίνδυνον ἄρασθαι, δεδοικῶς μὴ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλβανούς τριδύμους συγγενὲς ἐμπόδιον ὑμῖν γένηται τῆς προθυμίας, [p. 300] χρόνον ἡτησάμην εἰς βουλὴν ἀνακωχᾶς δεχημέρους ποιησάμενος: ὡς δὲ ἀφικόμην δεῦρο τὴν βουλὴν συνεκάλεσα καὶ προὔθηκα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν: δόξαν δὲ ταῖς πλείοσι γνώμαις, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες ἀναδέχοισθε τὸν ἀγῶνα καλὸν ὄντα καὶ προσήκοντα ὑμῖν, ὃν ἐγὼ πρόθυμος ἦμην μόνος ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων διαγωνίσασθαι, ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν, εἰ δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς ἐντρεπόμενοι μίσμα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ κακοὶ ψυχὴν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ γένους ἀξιώσατε καλεῖν, μηδεμίαν ὑμῖν ἀνάγκην προσφέρειν. ταῦτα τῆς :βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ὀργὴν δεξιόμενης εἰ δι' ὅκνου τὸ ἔργον λάβοιτε οὔτε μικρὰν χάριν εἰσομένης ὑμῖν εἰ τιμιωτέραν ἡγήσασθε τῆς συγγενείας τὴν πατρίδα, τυγχάνετε εὖ βουλευσάμενοι.

[3] I, in view of your valour and your gallantry in action, which are not concealed from public notice, assumed that you of all others would embrace this danger for the sake of winning the prize of valour; but fearing lest your kinship with the three Alban brothers might prove an obstacle to your zeal, I requested time for deliberation and made a truce for ten days. And when I came here I assembled the senate and laid the matter before them for their consideration. It was the opinion of the majority that if you of your own free will accepted the combat, which is a noble one and worthy of you and which I myself was eager to wage alone on behalf of all our people, they should praise your resolution and accept the favour from you; but if, to avoid the pollution of kindred blood — for surely it would be no admission of cowardice on your part — you felt that those who are not related to them ought to be called upon to undertake the combat, they should bring no compulsion to bear upon you. This, then, being the vote of the senate, which will neither be offended with you if you show a reluctance to undertake the task nor feel itself under any slight obligation to you if you rate your country more highly than your kinship, deliberate carefully and well.”

[1] ὡς δὴ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν οἱ νεανῖαι, μεταστάντες ἑτέρωσε καὶ διαλεχθέντες ὀλίγα πρὸς ἀλλήλους προσέρχονται πάλιν ἀποκρινόμενοι καὶ λέγει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος τοιάδε: εἰ μὲν ἑλευθέροις ἡμῖν οὗσι καὶ κυρίοις τῆς

ιδίας γνώμης ἐξουσίαν παρεῖχες, ὧ Τύλλε, βουλευσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἀγῶνος, οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες ἀπεκρινάμεθα ἅν σοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν διαλογισμούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ περίεστιν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲ τάλάχιστα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἀξιοῦμεν, αἰτούμεθά σε [p. 301] ὀλίγον ἀναδέξασθαι χρόνον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἡμῶν, ἕως τῷ πατρὶ διαλεχθῶμεν.

[17.1] The youths upon hearing these words withdrew to one side, and after a short conference together returned to give their answer; and the eldest on behalf of them all spoke as follows: “If we were free and sole masters of our own decisions, Tullius, and you had given us the opportunity to deliberate concerning the combat with our cousins, we should without further delay have given your our thoughts upon it. But since our father is still living, without whose advice we do not think it proper to say or do the least thing, we ask you to wait a short time for our answer till we have talked with him.”

[2] ἔπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν καὶ κελεύσαντος οὕτω ποιεῖν ἀπήεσαν ὡς τὸν πατέρα. δηλώσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς προκλήσεις τοῦ Φουφεττίου καὶ οὕς ὁ Τύλλος διελέχθη λόγους καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπόκρισιν ἤξιουν εἰπεῖν ἥντινα γνώμην αὐτὸς ἔχει.

[2] Tullius having commended their filial devotion and told them to do as they proposed, they went home to their father. And acquainting him with the proposals of Fufetius and with what Tullius had said to them and, last of all, with their own answer, they desired his advice.

[3] ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, Ἄλλ’ εὐσεβὲς μὲν, ἔφη, πρᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, ὧ παῖδες, τῷ πατρὶ ζῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης διαπραττόμενοι, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἤδη περὶ ὑμῶν τὰ γε τηλικαῦτα φαίνεσθαι φρονοῦντας. ὑπολαβόντες οὖν τὸν ἐμὸν βίον ἤδη τέλος ἔχειν φανερὸν ποιήσατέ μοι, τί δὴ ποτ’ ἂν αὐτοὶ προεἰλεσθε πράττειν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βουλευσάμενοι.

[3] And he answered and said: “But indeed this is dutiful conduct on your part, my sons, when you live for your father and do nothing without my advice. But it is time for you to show that you yourselves now have discretion in such matters at least. Assume, therefore, that my life is now over, and let me know what you yourselves would have chosen to do if you had deliberated without your father upon your own affairs.”

[4] ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος τοιάδε· ἐδεξάμεθ’ ἅν, ὧ πάτερ, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγῶνα καὶ πάσχειν ὑπεμείναμεν ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τῷ δαιμονίῳ· τεθνάναι γὰρ ἂν βουλοίμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἀνάξιοι γενόμενοι σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς συγγενὲς οὐχ ἡμεῖς πρότεροι λύσομεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διαλέλνται στέρξομεν.

[4] And the eldest answered him thus: “Father, we would have accepted this combat for the supremacy and would have been ready to suffer whatever

should be the will of Heaven; for we had rather be dead than to live unworthy both of you and of our ancestors. As for the bond of kinship with our cousins, we shall not be the first to break it, but since it has already been broken by fate, we shall acquiesce therein.

[5] εἰ γὰρ Κορατίοις ἔλαττον κρίνεται τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ συγγενές, οὐδὲ Ὅρατιοις τιμώτερον φανήσεται τὸ γένος τῆς ἀρετῆς. ὁ δὲ πατήρ ὡς ἔμαθε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχών εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλὰς ἔφη χάριτας εἰδέναι τοῖς [p. 302] θεοῖς, ὅτι παῖδας ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς· ἔπειτα περιλαβὼν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἡδίστας ἀποδοὺς ἀσπασμῶν τε καὶ φιλημάτων φιλοφροσύνας, "Ἐχετ', ἔφη, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ὧ παῖδες ἀγαθοί, καὶ πορευθέντες ἀποκρίνασθε Τύλλῳ

[5] For if the Curiatii esteem kinship less than honour, the Horatii also will not value the ties of blood more highly than valour." Their father, upon learning their disposition, rejoiced exceedingly, and lifting his hands to Heaven, said he rendered thanks to the gods for having given him noble sons. Then, throwing his arms about each in turn and giving the tenderest of embraces and kisses, he said: "You have my opinion also, my brave sons. Go, then, to Tullius and give him the answer that is both dutiful and honourable."

[6] τὴν τ' εὐσεβῆ καὶ καλὴν ἀπόκρισιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες ἐπὶ τῇ παρακελεύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπήεσαν καὶ προσελθόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναδέχονται τὸν ἀγῶνα, κάκεῖνος συγκαλέσας τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους τῶν νεανίσκων διαθέμενος ἀποστέλλει πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀλβανὸν τοὺς δηλώσοντας, ὅτι δέχονται Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παρέξονται τοὺς Ὅρατιους διαγωνιζομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[6] The youths went away pleased with the exhortation of their father, and going to the king, they accepted the combat; and he, after assembling the senate and sounding the praises of the youths, sent ambassadors to the Alban to inform him that the Romans accepted his proposal and would offer the Horatii to fight for the sovereignty.

[1] ἀπαιτούσης δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸν τρόπον διεξελεῖν τῆς μάχης ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταύτην γενόμενα πάθη θεατρικαῖς ἐοικότα περιπετεῖαις μὴ ῥαθὺμως διελθεῖν πειράσομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπ' ἀκριβείας ἕκαστον, ὡς ἐμὴ δύναμις, εἰπεῖν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἦκεν ἐν ᾧ τέλος ἔδει λαβεῖν τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξήεσαν μὲν αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις πανστρατιά, ἐξήεσαν δὲ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ νεανίσκοι τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς εὐξάμενοι καὶ προῆγον ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατευφημούμενοι τε ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου καὶ παττόμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἄνθεσιν: ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἐξεληλύθει στρατιά.

[18.1] As my subject requires not only that a full account of the way the battle

was fought should be given, but also that the subsequent tragic events, which resemble the sudden reversals of fortune seen upon the stage, should be related in no perfunctory manner, I shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to give an accurate account of every incident. When the time came, then, for giving effect to the terms of the agreement, the Roman forces marched out in full strength, and afterwards the youths, when they had offered up their prayers to the gods of their fathers; they advanced accompanied by the king, while the entire throng that filled the city acclaimed them and strewed flowers upon their heads. By this time the Albans' army also had marched out.

[2] Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο πλησίον ἀλλήλων μεταίχμιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν διειργοντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων [p. 303] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν ὄρον, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον εἶχον ἑκάτεροι τοὺς χάρακας, πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὰ θύσαντες ὤμοσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων στέρξειν τὴν τύχην, ἣν ἂν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῶν ἀνεπιῶν ἑκατέρα πόλις ἐξενέγκηται, καὶ φυλάξειν τὰς ὁμολογίας βεβαίους μηδένα προσάγοντες αὐταῖς δόλον αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια διεπράξαντο, θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα προῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀμφοτέροι θεαταὶ τῆς μάχης ἐσόμενοι τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων σταδίων τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις καταλιπόντες: καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρήν τοὺς τε Κορατίους ὁ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν στρατηγὸς ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ὀρατίους ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ὡπλισμένους τε κάλλιστα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἔχοντας κόσμον οἷον ἄνθρωποι λαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

[2] And when the armies had encamped near one another, leaving as an interval between their camps the boundary that separated the Roman territory from that of the Albans, each side occupying the site of its previous camp, they first offered sacrifice and swore over the burnt offerings that they would acquiesce in whatever fate the event of the combat between the cousins should allot to each city and that they would keep inviolate their agreement, neither they nor their posterity making use of any deceit. Then, after performing the rites which religion required, both the Romans and Albans laid aside their arms and came out in front of their camps to be spectators of the combat, leaving an interval of three or four stades for the champions. And presently appeared the Alban general conducting the Curiatii and the Roman king escorting the Horatii, all of them armed in the most splendid fashion and withal dressed like men about to die.

[3] γενόμενοι δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων τὰ μὲν ξίφη τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς παρέδωκαν, προσδραμόντες δὲ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις κλαίοντες καὶ τοῖς ἡδίοις ὀνόμασιν ἀνακαλοῦντες, ὥστε εἰς δάκρυα προπεσεῖν ἅπαντας καὶ πολλὴν ἄστοργίαν κατηγορεῖν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ὅτι παρὸν ἄλλοις πιστὴ σώμασι κρίναι τὴν μάχην εἰς ἐμφύλιον αἷμα καὶ συγγενικὸν ἄγος τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀγῶνα κατέκλεισαν. παυσάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἀσπασμῶν οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη παρὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν λαβόντες ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πέλας ἐτάξαντό τε καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ συνήεσαν ὁμοσε.

[3] When they came near to one another they gave their swords to their armour-bearers, and running to one another, embraced, weeping and calling each other by the tenderest names, so that all the spectators were moved to tears and accused both themselves and their leaders of great heartlessness, in that, when it was possible to decide the battle by other champions, they had limited the combat on behalf of the cities to men of kindred blood and compelled the pollution of fratricide. The youths, after their embraces were over, received their swords from their armour-bearers, and the bystanders having retired, they took their places according to age and began the combat.

[1] τέως μὲν οὖν ἡσυχία τε καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχεν [p. 304] ἀμφοτέρως τὰς δυνάμεις: ἔπειτα ἀναβοήσεις τε ἄθροαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παρακελεύσεις τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐναλλάξ εὐχαί τε καὶ οἰμωγαὶ καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πάθους ἐναγωνίου φωναὶ συνεχεῖς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ δρώμενά τε καὶ ὀρώμενα ὑφ' ἑκατέρων,

[19.1] For a time quiet and silence prevailed in both armies, and then there was shouting by both sides together and alternate exhortations to the combatants; and there were vows and lamentations and continual expressions of every other emotion experienced in battle, some of them caused by what was either being enacted or witnessed by each side, and others by their apprehensions of the outcome; and the things they imagined outnumbered those which actually were happening.

[2] αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντά τε καὶ ὑποπτευόμενα: καὶ ἦν πλείω τὰ εἰκαζόμενα τῶν γινομένων. ἥ τε γὰρ ὄψις ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος γινομένη πολὺ τὸ ἀσαφὲς εἶχε, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγωνιστὰς ἑκάστοις συμπαθὲς ἐπὶ το βεβουλημένον ἐλάμβανε τὰ πρασσόμενα, αἱ τε συνεχεῖς τῶν μαχομένων ἐπεμβάσεις καὶ ὑπαναχωρήσεις καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίπαλον αὐτῆς ἀντιμεταστάσεις πολλαὶ καὶ ἀγχιστροφοὶ γινόμεναι τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῆς γνώμης ἀφηροῦντο: καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐγένετο χρόνον.

[2] For it was impossible to see very clearly, owing to the great distance, and the partiality of each side for their own champions interpreted everything that passed to match their desire; then, too, the frequent advances and retreats of the combatants and their many sudden countercharges rendered any accurate judgment out of the question; and this situation lasted a considerable time.

[3] ῥώμην τε γὰρ σώματος ἔτυχον ὁμοίαν ἔχοντες ἑκάτεροι καὶ τὸ γενναῖον τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσόρροπον ὅπλοις τε καλλίστοις ἐσκεπασμένοι τὰ σώματα ὅλα καὶ γυμνὸν οὐδὲν ἀπολιπόντες μέρος ὃ τι καὶ τρωθὲν ὀξεῖαν ἐμελλεν οἴσειν τὴν τελευτήν, ὥστε πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φιλονεικεῖν τε καὶ συμπαθεῖν τοῖς σφετέροις ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς τὸ τῶν κινδυνευόντων μεταλαβόντες πάθος ἀγωνισταὶ τε μᾶλλον ἐβούλοντο ἢ θεαταὶ τῶν, δρωμένων γεγονέναι.

[3] For the champions on both sides not only were alike in strength of body but were well matched also in nobility of spirit, and they had their entire bodies protected by the choicest armour, leaving no part exposed which if wounded would bring on swift death. So that many, both of the Romans and of the Albans, from their eager rivalry and from their partiality for their own champions, were unconsciously putting themselves in the position of the combatants and desired rather to be actors in the drama that was being enacted than spectators.

[4] ὁψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτεταγμένῳ συμπλέκεται παίων τε καὶ παιόμενος [p. 305] ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις πληγὰς καὶ πως τυγχάνει τοῦ Ῥωμαίου διὰ βουβῶνος ἐνέγκας τὸ ξίφος. ὁ δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τραύμασι κεκαρωμένος ἤδη καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν πληγὴν θανατηφόρον ἔχων ὑπολυθέντων τῶν μελῶν καταρρυεῖς ἀποθνήσκει.

[4] At last the eldest of the Albans, closing with his adversary and giving and receiving blow after blow, happened somehow to run his sword thru the Roman's groin. The latter was already stupefied from his other wounds, and now receiving this final low, a mortal one, he fell down dead, his limbs no longer supporting him.

[5] ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον οἱ θεαταὶ τῆς μάχης ἅμα πάντες ἀνεβόησαν, Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν ὡς νικῶντες ἤδη, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὡς κρατούμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ σφετέρους δύο τοῖς τρισὶν Ἀλβανοῖς εὐκατεργάστους ὑπελάμβανον γενήσεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐγένετο ταῦτα, ὁ παρασπίζων τῷ πεσόντι Ῥωμαῖος ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι περιχαρῇ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ὠθεῖται ταχὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τραύματα δούς, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τυγχάνει πως κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ

[5] When the spectators of the combat saw this they all cried out together, the Albans as already victorious, the Romans as vanquished; for they concluded that their two champions would be easily dispatched by the three Albans. In the meantime, the Roman who had fought by the side of the fallen champion, seeing the Alban rejoicing in his success, quickly rushed upon him, and after inflicting many wounds and receiving many himself, happened to plunge his sword into his neck and killed him.

[6] βάψας τὸ ξίφος καὶ διαχρησάμενος. μεταβαλοῦσης δὲ τῆς τύχης ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὰ τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν θεωμένων πάθη, καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀναθαρρησάντων ἐκ τῆς πρότερον κατηφείας, Ἀλβανῶν δὲ ἀφηρημένων τὸ χαῖρον, ἑτέρα πάλιν ἀντιπνεύσασα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατορθώμασι τύχη τούτων μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τὰς ἐλπίδας, τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρεν. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀλβανοῦ πεσόντος ὁ τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἔχων στάσιν ἀδελφὸς συμπλέκεται τῷ καταβαλόντι, καὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἀμφοτέροι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πληγὰς ἐξαισίους ἐξενέγκαντες κατ' ἀλλήλων, ὁ μὲν Ἀλβανὸς

τοῦ Ῥωμαίου κατὰ τοῦ μεταφρένου καὶ μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχχνων βάψας τὸ ξίφος, ὁ [p. 306] δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπελθὼν τὴν προβολὴν τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τῶν ἰγνυῶν τὴν ἑτέραν ὑποτεμῶν.

[6] After Fortune had thus in a short time made a great alteration both in the state of the combatants and in the feelings of the spectators, and the Romans had now recovered from their former dejection while the Albans had had their joy snatched away, another shift of Fortune, by giving a check to the success of the Romans, sunk their hopes and raised the confidence of their enemies. For when Alban fell, his brother who stood next to him closed with the Roman who had struck him down; and each, as it chanced, gave the other a dangerous wound at the same time, the Alban plunging his sword down through the Roman's back into his bowels, and the Roman throwing himself under the shield of his adversary and slashing one of his thighs.

[1] ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸ καίριον τραῦμα λαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐτεθήκει, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰγνύαν τετρωμένος οὐκέτι βέβαιος ἦν ἐστάναι, σκάζων δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ θυρεῷ διερειδόμενος ἀντεῖχεν ὅμως ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ περιλειπομένου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπομένοντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐχώρει, περιέστησάν τε αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιών,

[20.1] The one who had received the mortal wound died instantly, and the other, who had been wounded in the thigh, was scarcely able to stand, but limped and frequently leaned upon his shield. Nevertheless, he still made a show of resistance and with his surviving brother advanced against the Roman, who stood his ground; and they surrounded him, one coming up to him from in front and the other from behind.

[2] ὁ δὲ κατὰ νώτου. τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ δείσαντι μὴ κυκλωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν εὐκατέρωστος γένηται δυσὶ τε μαχόμενος καὶ διχόθεν ἐπιούσιν, ἦν δὲ ἀκραιφνὴς ἔτι, λογισμὸς εἰσέρχεται διελεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ χωρὶς ἑκατέρῳ μάχεσθαι. ῥᾶστα δὲ διαστήσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ δόξαν παράσχοι φυγῆς: οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων διώξεσθαι τῶν Ἀλβανῶν, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑνός, ὁρῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκέτι καρτερὸν τῶν ποδῶν. ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθεὶς ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἔφευγε καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτῷ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς ἐλπίδος.

[2] The Roman, fearing that, being thus surrounded by them and obliged to fight with two adversaries attacking him from two sides, he might easily be overcome — he was still uninjured — hit upon the plan of separating his enemies and fighting each one singly. He thought he could most easily separate them by feigning flight; for then he would not be pursued by both the Albans, but only by one of them, since he saw that the other no longer had control of his limbs. With this thought in mind he fled as fast as he could; and it was his good fortune not to be disappointed in his expectation.

[3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν Ἀλβανῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔχων πληγὴν καίριον ἐδίωκεν αὐτὸν ἐκποδός, ὁ δ' ἐπιβαίνειν ἀδύνατος ὦν πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος ὑστέρει. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τοῖς σφετέροις ἐγκελευομένων, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὸν αὐτῶν ἀγωνιστὴν κακιζόντων καὶ τῶν μὲν δὴ παιανιζόντων τε καὶ στεφανουμένων ὡς [p. 307] ἐπὶ κατορθουμένῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι, τῶν δ' ὀδυρομένων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τῆς τύχης σφᾶς διαναστησομένης, ταμιευσάμενος τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ὑποστρέφει τε ὀξέως καὶ πρὶν ἢ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Ἀλβανὸν φθάνει τῷ ξίφει κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος πληγὴν ἐνέγκας καὶ διελὼν τὸν ἀγκῶνα.

[3] For the Alban who was not mortally wounded followed at his heels, while the other, being unable to keep going was falling altogether too far behind. Then indeed the Albans encouraged their men and the Romans reproached their champion with cowardice, the former singing songs of triumph and crowning themselves with garlands as if the contest were already won, and the others lamenting as if Fortune would never raise them up again. But the Roman, having carefully waited for his opportunity, turned quickly and, before the Alban could put himself on his guard, struck him a blow on the arm with his sword and clove his elbow in twain,

[4] πεσοῦσης δὲ χαμαὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἅμα τῷ ξίφει μίαν ἔτι πληγὴν καίριον ἐξενέγκας ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀλβανόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταῖον ὡσάμενος ἡμιθνήτα καὶ παρειμένον ἐπικατασφάττει. σκυλεύσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἀνεπιῶν νεκροὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡπείγετο πρῶτος ἀπαγγεῖλαι θέλων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην τῷ πατρί.

[4] and when his hand fell to the ground together with his sword, he struck one more blow, a mortal one, and dispatched the Alban; then, rushing from him to the last of his adversaries, who was half dead and fainting, he slew him also. And taking the spoils from the bodies of his cousins, he hastened to the city, wishing to give his father the first news of his victory.

[1] ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτον ἄνθρωπον ὄντα μὴ πάντα διευτυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαῦσαι τι τοῦ φθονεροῦ δαίμονος, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκ μικροῦ μέγαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ θεὸς χρόνῳ καὶ εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν θαυμαστὴν καὶ παράδοξον ἐξἄρας κατέβαλε φέρων αὐθημερὸν εἰς ἄχαριν συμφορὰν ἀδελφοκτόνον.

[21.1] But it was ordained after all that even he, as he was but a mortal, should not be fortunate in everything, but should feel some stroke of the envious god who, having from an insignificant man made him great in a brief moment of time and raised him to wonderful and unexpected distinction, plunged him the same day into the unhappy state of being his sister's murderer.

[2] ὡς γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τῶν πυλῶν, ἄλλον τε ὄχλον ὁρᾷ παντοδαπὸν ἐκχεόμενον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν προστρέχουσαν: διαταραχθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ὄψιν, ὅτι καταλιποῦσα τὴν μετὰ μητρὸς

οἰκουρίαν παρθένος ἐπίγαμος εἰς ὄχλον αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν ἀγνώτα, καὶ πολλοὺς λαμβάνων λογισμοὺς ἀτόπους τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπικεῖς καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀπέκλινεν, ὡς ἀσπάσασθαι τε [p. 308] πρώτη τὸν σωθέντα ἀδελφὸν ποθοῦσα καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν βουλομένη τῶν εὐσχημόνων ὑπερίδοι γυναικεῖόν τι πάσχουσα.

[2] For when he arrived near the gates he saw a multitude of people of all conditions pouring out from the city and among them his sister running to meet him. At the first sight of her he was distressed that a virgin ripe for marriage should have deserted her household tasks at her mother's side and joined a crowd of strangers. And though he indulged in many absurd reflections, he was at last inclining to those which were honourable and generous, feeling that in her yearning to be the first to embrace her surviving brother and in her desire to receive an account from him of the gallant behaviour of her dead brothers she had disregarded decorum in a moment of feminine weakness.

[3] ἡ δὲ ἄρα οὐ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ποθοῦσα τὰς ἀσυνήθεις ἐτόλμησεν ἐξελθεῖν ὁδοῦς, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι κρατουμένη τῶν ἀνεψιῶν ἑνός, ᾧ καθωμολόγητο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ γάμῳ, καὶ κρύπτουσα τὸ πάθος ἀπόρρητον ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τινὸς ἤκουσεν ἀπαγγέλλοντος τὰ περὶ τὴν μάχην, οὐκέτι κατέσχευε, ἀλλ' ἐκλιποῦσα τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ αἱ μαινάδες ἐφέρετο πρὸς τὰς πύλας οὐδὲν ἐπιστρεφομένη τῆς ἀνακαλοῦσης τε καὶ μεταδιωκούσης τροφοῦ.

[3] However, it was not, after all, her yearning for her brothers that had led her to venture forth in this unusual manner, but it was because she was overpowered by love for one of her cousins to whom her father had promised her in marriage, a passion which she had till then kept secret; and when she had overheard a man who came from the camp relating the details of the combat, she could no longer contain herself, but leaving the house, rushed to the city gates like a maenad, without paying any heed to her nurse who called her and ran to bring her back.

[4] ἔξω δὲ γενομένη τῆς πόλεως ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶδε περιχαρῆ: τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἐπικείμενον στεφάνους, οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέδησε, καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ φέροντας τὰ τῶν πεφονευμένων σκύλα, ἐν οἷς ἦν πέπλος ποικίλος, ὃν αὐτὴ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐξυφύνασα τῷ μνηστῆρι δῶρον εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα γάμον ἀπεστάλκει 'ποικίλους γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἀμφιέννυσθαι. πέπλους Λατίνων τοῖς μετιοῦσι τὰς νύμφας', τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πέπλον θεασαμένη πεφυρμένον αἵματι τὸν τε χιτῶνα κατερρήξατο καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις παίουςα τὸ στήθος ἐθρήνει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἀνεψιόν, ὥστε πολλὴν κατάπληξιν εἰσελθεῖν ἅπαντας ὅσοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἦσαν τόπον.

[4] But when she got outside the city and saw her brother exulting and wearing the garlands of victory with which the king had crowned him, and his friends

carrying the spoils of the slain, among which was an embroidered robe which she herself with the assistance of her mother had woven and sent as a present to her betrothed against their nuptial day (for it is the custom of the Latins to array themselves in embroidered robes when they go to fetch their brides), when, therefore, she saw this robe stained with blood, she rent her garment, and beating her breast with both hands, fell to lamenting and calling upon her cousin by name, so that great astonishment came upon all who were present there.

[5] ἀνακλαυσαμένη δὲ τὸν μόρον τοῦ μνηστῆρος ἀτενέσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὄρᾳ καὶ λέγει: μιαρῶτατε ἄνθρωπε, χαίρεις ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς κάμῃ [p. 309] τὴν παναθλίαν ἀδελφὴν ἀποστερήσας γάμου, ὧ δύστηνες; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔλκος εἰσέρχεται σε τῶν ἀπολωλότων συγγενῶν, οὗς ἀδελφοὺς ἐκάλεις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν τι διαπεπραγμένος ἐξέστηκας τῶν φρενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐπικεῖσαι κακοῖς τίνος ἔχων ψυχὴν θηρίου;

[5] After she had bewailed the death of her betrothed she stared with fixed gaze at her brother and said: “Most abominable wretch, so you rejoice in having slain your cousins and deprived your most unhappy sister of wedlock! Miserable fellow! Why, you are not even touched with pity for your slain kinsmen, whom you were wont to call your brothers, but instead, as if you had performed some noble deed, you are beside yourself with joy and wear garlands in honour of such calamities. Of what wild beast, then, have you the heart?”

[6] κακεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν, φιλοῦντος, ἔφη, τὴν πατρίδα πολίτου καὶ τοὺς κακῶς αὐτῇ βουλομένους κολάζοντος, ἐάν τε ἀλλότριοι τύχωσιν αὐτῆς ὄντες, ἐάν τε οἰκεῖοι: ἐν οἷς τίθεμαι καὶ σέ, ἦτις ἐνὶ καιρῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν τε νίκην τῆς πατρίδος, ἣν ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐγὼ πάρειμι κατάγων, καὶ τὸν θάνατον τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὧ μιὰρὰ σὺ, τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς πατρίδος χαίρεις οὗτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις τῆς οἰκίας ἀλγεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν σεαυτῆς ἀδελφῶν τὸν τοῦ μνηστῆρος ἀνακλαίεις μόρον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους ἀποφθαρεῖσά που κατὰ μόνας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ μοι τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ὀνειδίζεις, ὧ ψευδοπάρθενε καὶ μισάδελφε καὶ ἀναξία τῶν προγόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖνυν οὐ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πενθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔχεις, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παρὰ τῷ νεκρῷ, ἅπιθι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὃν ἀνακαλῇ καὶ μήτε τὸν πατέρα μήτε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [p. 310]

[6] And he, answering her, said: “The heart of a citizen who loves his country and punishes those who wish her ill, whether they happen to be foreigners or his own people. And among such I count even you; for though you know that the greatest of blessings and of woes have happened to us at one and the same time — I mean the victory of your country, which I, your brother, am bringing

home with me, and the death of your brothers — you neither rejoice in the public happiness of your country, wicked wretch, nor grieve at the private calamities of your own family, but, overlooking your own brothers, you lament the fate of your betrothed, and this, too, not after taking yourself off somewhere alone under cover of darkness, curse you! but before the eyes of the whole world; and you reproach me for my valour and my crowns of victory, you pretender to virginity, you hater of your brothers and disgrace to your ancestors! Since, therefore, you mourn, not for your brothers, but for your cousins, and since, though your body is with the living, your soul is with him who is dead, go to him on whom you call and cease to dishonour either your father or your brothers.”

[7] καταίσχυνε. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν ἐν τῷ μισοπονήρῳ τὸ μέτριον, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς ὡθεῖ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῆς τὸ ξίφος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν παρῆν ὡς τὸν πατέρα. οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μισοπόννηρα καὶ αὐθάδη τὰ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἦθη καὶ φρονήματα ἦν καὶ, εἰ τις αὐτὰ βούλοιοτο παρὰ τὰ νῦν ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐξετάζειν βίους, ὡμὰ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ τῆς θηριώδους οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντα φύσεως, ὥστε πάθος οὕτω δεινὸν ὁ πατήρ ἀκούσας οὐχ ὅπως ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ὑπέλαβε τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχειν:

[7] After these words, being unable in his hatred of baseness to observe moderation, but yielding to the anger which swayed him, he ran his sword through her side; and having slain his sister, he went to his father. But so averse to baseness and so stern were the manners and thoughts of the Romans of that day and, to compare them with the actions and lives of those of our age, so cruel and harsh and so little removed from the savagery of wild beasts, that the father, upon being informed of this terrible calamity, far from resenting it, looked upon it as a glorious and becoming action.

[8] ὅς γε οὕτε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἶασεν εἰσενεχθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς οὕτ' ἐν τοῖς πατρῷοις τεθῆναι μνήμασιν ἐπέτρεψεν οὕτε κηδεῖας καὶ περιστολῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων μεταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ παριόντες αὐτὴν ἐρριμμένην ἐν ᾧ διεχρήσθη χωρίῳ λίθους ἐπιφοροῦντες καὶ γῆν ἐκήδευσαν ὡς πτώμα ἔρημον κηδομένων.

[8] In fact, he would neither permit his daughter's body to be brought into the house nor allow her to be buried in the tomb of her ancestors or given any funeral or burial robe or other customary rites; but as she lay there where she had been cast, in the place where she was slain, the passers-by, bringing stones and earth, buried her like any corpse which had none to give it proper burial.

[9] ταῦτά τε δὴ στεργρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, ἃ μέλλω λέγειν: ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ καλοῖς τε καὶ εὐτυχέσιν ἔργοις αὐθημερὸν ἔθνε τοῖς πατρῷοις θεοῖς ἅς εὔξατο θυσίας καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐστιάσει λαμπρᾷ τε καὶ καθάπερ ἐν

ταῖς μεγίσταις ἑορταῖς ὑπεδέχετο ἐλάττους ἡγούμενος τὰς ἰδίας συμφορὰς τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἀγαθῶν.

[9] Besides these instances of the father's severity there were still others that I shall mention. Thus, as if in gratitude for some glorious and fortunate achievements, he offered that very day to the gods of his ancestors the sacrifices he had vowed, and entertained his relations at a splendid banquet, just as upon the greatest festivals, making less account of his private calamities than of the public advantages of his country.

[10] τοῦτο δ' οὐ μόνον ὁ Ὁράτιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄλλοι συχνοὶ Ῥωμαίων μνημονεύονται ποιήσαντες ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς: λέγω δὲ τὸ θῦειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν καὶ [p. 311] θριάμβους κατὰγειν τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλότων ἔναγχος, ὅταν εὐτυχήσῃ δι' αὐτοὺς τὸ κοινόν: ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐρῶ καιροῦς.

[10] This not only Horatius but many other prominent Romans after him are said to have done; I refer to their offering sacrifice and wearing crowns and celebrating triumphs immediately after the death of their sons when through them the commonwealth had met with good fortune. Of these I shall make mention in the proper places.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τῶν τριδύμων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἱ τότε ὄντες ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι λαμπρὰς τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν οἷς ἔπεσον χωριοῖς καὶ θύσαντες τάπινικια τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν, Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δι' αἰτίας ἔχοντες, ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότα, αἰσιτοὶ τε οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην διετέλεσαν.

[22.1] After the combat between the triplets, the Romans who were then in the camp buried the slain brothers in a splendid manner in the places where they had fallen, and having offered to the gods the customary sacrifices for victory, were passing their time in rejoicings. On the other side, the Albans were grieving over what had happened and blaming their leader for bad generalship; and the greatest part of them spent that night without food and without any other care for their bodies.

[2] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὰ παραμυθησάμενος, ὡς οὔτε ἄσχημον ἐπιτάξων αὐτοῖς οὐθὲν οὔτε χαλεπὸν οὔθ' ὃ μὴ συγγενέσι πρέπει, τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων τὰ κράτιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα συμβουλευσών, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτῶν Φουφέττιον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς κατασχὼν ἄλλο τε οὐδὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν μεθαρμοσάμενος οὐδὲ κινήσας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν.

[2] The next day the king of the Romans called them to an assembly and consoled them with many assurances that he would lay no command upon

them that was either dishonourable, grievous or unbecoming to kinsmen, but that with impartial judgment he would take thought for what was best and most advantageous for both cities; and having continued Fufetius, their ruler, in the same office and made no other change in the government, he led his army home.

[3] καταγαγόντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς θρίαμβον καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν ἀρξαμένῳ προσέρχονται τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς τὸν Ὀράτιον ἄγοντες ὑπὸ δίκην, ὡς οὐ καθαρὸν αἵματος ἐμφυλίου διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς φόνον· καὶ καταστάντες μακρὰν διεξῆλθον [p. 312] δημηγορίαν τοὺς νόμους παρεχόμενοι τοὺς οὐκ ἔῶντας ἄκριτον ἀποκτείνειν οὐθέντα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπάντων μηνίματα ταῖς μὴ κολαζούσαις πόλεσι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς διεξιόντες.

[3] After he had celebrated the triumph which the senate had decreed for him and had entered upon the administration of civil affairs, some citizens of importance came to him bringing Horatius for trial, on the ground that because of his slaying of his sister he was not free of the guilt of shedding a kinsman's blood; and being given a hearing, they argued at length, citing the laws which forbade the slaying of anyone without a trial, and recounting instances of the anger of all the gods against the cities which neglected to punish those who were polluted.

[4] ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τοῦ μειρακίου κατηγορῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τιμωρίαν οὐ φόνον εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν λέγων δικαστὴν τε αὐτὸν ἀξίων εἶναι τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν ἀμφοτέρων γενόμενον πατέρα. συχνῶν δὲ λόγων ῥηθέντων ὑπ' ἐκατέρων πολλῇ τὸν βασιλέα κατεῖχεν ἀμηχανία, τί τέλος ἐξενέγκῃ

[4] But the father spoke in defence of the youth and blamed his daughter, declaring that the act was a punishment, not a murder, and claiming that he himself was the proper judge of the calamities of his own family, since he was the father of both. And a great deal having been said on both sides, the king was in great perplexity what decision to pronounce in the cause.

[5] περὶ τῆς δίκης. οὐτε γὰρ ἀπολῦσαι τοῦ φόνου τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνηρηκέναι πρὸ δίκης καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς οὐ συνεχώρουν ἀποκτείνειν οἱ νόμοι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ τὸ ἄγος ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδρακότος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εἰσενέγκηται, οὐτε ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλόμενον προκινδυνεῦσαι καὶ τοσαύτης αὐτῇ δυναστείας γενόμενον αἴτιον ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολύντος αὐτὸν τῆς αἰτίας, ὥς τὴν περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ὀργὴν ἢ τε φύσις ἀπεδίδου πρῶτῳ καὶ ὁ νόμος.

[5] For he did not think it seemly either to acquit any person of murder who confessed he had put his sister to death before a trial — and that, too, for an act which the laws did not concede to be a capital offence — lest by so doing

he should transfer the curse and pollution from the criminal to his own household, or to punish as a murderer any person who had chosen to risk his life for his country and had brought her so great power, especially as he was acquitted of blame by his father, to whom before all others both nature and the law gave the right of taking vengeance in the case of his daughter.

[6] ἀπορούμενος δὲ τί χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασι τελευτῶν κράτιστον εἶναι διέγνω τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διαγνώσιν ἐπιτρέπειν. γενόμενος δὲ θανατηφόρου κρίσεως τότε πρῶτον ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος κύριος τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πατρὸς προσέθετο καὶ ἀπολύει τοῦ φόνου τὸν ἄνδρα: οὐ μὴν ὁ γε βασιλεὺς ἀποχρῆν ἔλεγε τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς [p. 313] ὅσια φυλάττειν τὴν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων συντελεσθεῖσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς ἱεροφάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐξιλάσασθαι θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας καὶ καθῆραι τὸν ἄνδρα οἷς νόμος τοὺς ἀκουσίους φόνους ἀνγίζεσθαι καθαρμοῖς.

[6] Not knowing, therefore, how to deal with the situation, he at last decided it was best to leave the decision to the people. And the Roman people, becoming upon this occasion judges for the first time in a cause of a capital nature, sided with the opinion of the father and acquitted Horatius of the murder.

Nevertheless, the king did not believe that the judgment thus passed upon Horatius by men was a sufficient atonement to satisfy those who desired to observe due reverence toward the gods; but sending for the pontiffs, he ordered them to appease the gods and other divinities and to purify Horatius with those lustrations with which it was customary for involuntary homicides to be expiated.

[7] κάκεῖνοι βωμοὺς ἰδρυσάμενοι δύο τὸν μὲν Ἥρας, ἣ λέλογχεν ἐπισκοπεῖν ἀδελφάς, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ τινος ἣ δαίμονος Ἰανοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν, ἐπωνύμου δὲ Κορατίων τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀνεσιῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσαντες τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπήγαγον τὸν Ὀράτιον ὑπὸ ζυγόν. ἔστι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις νόμιμον, ὅταν πολεμίων παραδιδόντων τὰ ὅπλα γένωνται κύριοι, δύο καταπτήττειν ξύλα ὀρθὰ καὶ τρίτον ἐφαρμόττειν αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν πλάγιον, ἔπειθ' ὑπάγειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ ταῦτα καὶ διελθόντας ἀπολύειν ἐλευθέρους ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα. τοῦτο καλεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς ζυγόν, ᾧ καὶ οἱ τότε καθαιροντες τὸν ἄνδρα τελευταίῳ τῶν περὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς νομίμων ἐχρήσαντο.

[7] The pontiffs erected two altars, one to Juno, to whom the care of sisters is allotted, and the other to a certain god or lesser divinity of the country called in their language Janus, to whom was now added the name Curiatius, derived from that of the cousins who had been slain by Horatius; and after they had offered certain sacrifices upon these altars, they finally, among other

expiations, led Horatius under the yoke. It is customary among the Romans, when enemies deliver up their arms and submit to their power, to fix two pieces of wood upright in the ground and fasten a third to the top of them transversely, then to lead the captives under this structure, and after they have passed through, to grant them their liberty and leave to return home. This they call a yoke; and it was the last of the customary expiatory ceremonies used upon this occasion by those who purified Horatius.

[8] ἐν ᾧ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χωρίῳ τὸν ἀγνισμὸν ἐποιήσαντο πάντες Ῥωμαῖοι νομιζουσιν ἱερόν: ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῷ φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύπριον ἐρχομένοις στενωπὸν, ἔνθα οἱ τε βωμοὶ μένουσιν οἱ τότε ἰδρυθέντες καὶ ξύλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τέταται δυσὶ τοῖς ἄντικρυς ἀλλήλων τοίχοις ἐνηρμοσμένον, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς [p. 314] ἐξιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καλούμενον τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ

[8] The place in the city where they performed this expiation is regarded by all the Romans as sacred; it is in the street that leads down from the Carinae as one goes towards Cuprius Street. Here the altars then erected still remain, and over them extends a beam which is fixed in each of the opposite walls; the beam lies over the heads of those who go out of this street and is called in the Roman tongue “the Sister’s Beam.” This place, then, is still preserved in the city as a monument to this man’s misfortune and honoured by the Romans with sacrifices every year.

[9] ξύλον ἀδελφῆς. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ χωρίον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνημεῖον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλάττεται θυσίαις γεραιρόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ἕτερον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἣν ἐπεδείξατο κατὰ τὴν μάχην μαρτύριον ἢ γωνιαία στυλὶς ἢ τῆς ἐτέρας παστάδος ἄρχουσα ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐφ’ ἧς ἔκειτο τὰ σκῦλα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τριδύμων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄπλα ἠφάνισται διὰ μῆκος χρόνου, τὴν δ’ ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἢ στυλὶς ἔτι φυλάττει τὴν αὐτὴν Ὀρατία καλουμένη πῖλα.

[9] Another memorial of the bravery he displayed in the combat is the small corner pillar standing at the entrance to one of the two porticos in the Forum, upon which were placed the spoils of the three Alban brothers. The arms, it is true, have disappeared because of the lapse of time, but the pillar still preserves its name and is called pila Horatia or “the Horatian Pillar.”

[10] ἔστι δὲ καὶ νόμος παρ’ αὐτοῖς δι’ ἐκεῖνο κυρωθεὶς τὸ πάθος, ᾧ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ χρῶνται, τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀθάνατον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις περιτιθεὶς ὁ κελεύων, οἷς ἂν γένωνται τριδυμοὶ παῖδες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰς τροφὰς τῶν παιδῶν χορηγεῖσθαι μέχρις ἡβῆς. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Ὀρατίων οἰκίαν γενόμενα θαυμαστάς καὶ παραδόξους περιπετείας λαβόντα τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

[10] The Romans also have a law, enacted in consequence of this episode and

observed even to this day, which confers immortal honour and glory upon these men; it provides that the parents of triplets shall receive from the public treasury the cost of rearing them until they are grown. With this, the incidents relating to the family of the Horatii, which showed some remarkable and unexpected reversals of fortune, came to an end.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐνιαύσιον διαλιπὼν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκεύασατο, στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιδηναίων πόλιν ἔγνω προφάσεις τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενος, ὅτι κληθέντες εἰς ἀπολογίαν περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἣν συνεστήσαντο κατὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα [p. 315] καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες Οὐιεντανῶν τε συμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀφειστήκεσαν καὶ τοῖς παραγενομένοις ἐκ Ῥώμης πρεσβευταῖς πυνθανομένοις τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπεκρίναντο μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν εἶναι κοινόν, ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμύλος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐτελεύτησε,

[23.1] The king of the Romans, after letting a year pass, during which he made the necessary preparations for war, resolved to lead out his army against the city of the Fidenates. The grounds he alleged for the war were that this people, being called upon to justify themselves in the matter of the plot that they had formed against the Romans and Albans, had paid no heed, but immediately taking up arms, shutting their gates, and bringing in the allied forces of the Veientes, had openly revolted, and that when ambassadors arrived from Rome to inquire the reason for their revolt, they had answered that they no longer had anything in common with the Romans since the death of Romulus, their king, to whom they had sworn their oaths of friendship.

[2] πρὸς ὃν ἐποίησαντο τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ὄρκια. ταύτας δὴ τὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν τὴν τε οἰκείαν καθῶπλιζε δύναμιν καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμαχῶν μετεπέμπετο. πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ κράτιστον ἐπικουρικὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως Μέττιος Φουφέττιος ἦκεν ἄγων ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπέσιν, ὥστε πάσας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὰς συμμαχικὰς δυνάμεις.

[2] Seizing on these grounds for war, Tullus was not only arming his own forces, but also sending for those of his allies. The most numerous as well as the best auxiliary troops were brought to him from Alba by Mettius Fufetius, and they were equipped with such splendid arms as to excel all the other allied forces.

[3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος ὡς ἐκ προθυμίας τε καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου κοινωνεῖν ἔγνωκότα τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Μέττιον ἐπήγει καὶ πάντων ἐποιεῖτο τῶν βουλευμάτων συνίστορα: ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐν αἰτίαις παρὰ τοῖς πολιταῖς ὑπάρχων ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκῶς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς προδοσίαν διαβαλλόμενος, ἐπειδὴ τρίτον ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διέμενε Τύλλου κελεύσαντος, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τε ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ὑπήκοον

οὐδὲ ὑποτάττεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖσθαι πρᾶγμα τι ἐπεβούλευσεν ἄνόσιον.

[3] Tullus, therefore, believing that Mettius had been actuated by zeal and by the best motives in deciding to take part in the war, commended him and communicated to him all his plans. But this man, who was accused by his fellow citizens of having mismanaged the recent war and was furthermore charged with treason, in view of the fact that he continued in the supreme command of the city for the third year by order of Tullus, disdaining now to hold any longer a command that was subject to another's command or to be subordinated rather than himself to lead, devised an abominable plot.

[4] διαπρεσβευσάμενος γὰρ κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πολεμίους ἐνδοιαστώως ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντας ἐπῆρεν αὐτοὺς μὴ κατοκνεῖν, ὡς αὐτὸς συνεπιθησόμενος Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, [p. 316] καὶ ταῦτα πράττων τε καὶ διανοούμενος ἅπαντας ἐλάνθανε. Τύλλος δ' ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσατο τὴν τ' οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχικὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαβάς τὸν Ἀνίητα ποταμὸν οὐ μακρὰν τῆς

[4] He sent ambassadors here and there secretly to the enemies of the Romans while they were as yet wavering in their resolution to revolt and encouraged them not to hesitate, promising that he himself would join them in attacking the Romans during the battle; and these activities and plans he kept secret from everybody.

[5] Φιδήνης κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. εὐρὼν δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως στρατιὰν ἐκτεταγμένην πολλὴν αὐτῶν τε Φιδηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχοῦντων αὐτοῖς ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχε, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς Φουφέττιον τε μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν Ἀλβανὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους ἐσκόπει μετ' ἐκείνων τίνα χρηστέον εἴη τῷ πολέμῳ τρόπον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἔδοξε μάχην τίθεσθαι διαταχέν καὶ μὴ τριβεῖν τὸν χρόνον, χώραν καὶ τάξιν, ἣν ἕκαστος ἔμελλεν ἔξειν, προειπὼν ἡμέραν τε ὀρίσας τῆς μάχης τὴν κατοπιν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον.

[5] Tullus, as soon as he had got ready his own army as well as that of his allies, marched against the enemy and after crossing the river Anio encamped near Fidenae. And finding a considerable army both of the Fidenates and of their allies drawn up before the city, he lay quiet that day; but on the next he sent for Fufetius, the Alban, and the closest of his other friends and took counsel with them concerning the best method of conducting the war. And when all were in favour of engaging promptly and not wasting time, he assigned them their several posts and commands, and having fixed the next day for the battle, he dismissed the council.

[6] ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανὸς Φουφέττιος ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἔτι ἄδελφος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων πολλοῖς προδοσίαν μηχανώμενος συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους

Ἀλβανῶν λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξιάρχους λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε: ἄνδρες ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί, πράγματα μέλλω ἐς ὑμᾶς μεγάλα καὶ ἀπροσδόκητα ἐκφέρειν, ἃ τέως ἔκρυπτον, ἵκετεύω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπόρρητα ποιήσασθαι, εἰ μὴ με διεργάσεσθε, καὶ ἐὰν δόξῃ συνοίσειν ἐπιτελεῖν γενόμενα συλλαβέσθαι μοι αὐτῶν. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν λέγειν ὁ καιρὰς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει βραχὺς ὢν, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα ἐρῶ.

[6] In the meantime Fufetius, the Alban — for his treachery was still a secret to many even of his own friends — calling together the most prominent centurions and tribunes among the Albans, addressed them as follows:

“Tribunes and centurions, I am going to disclose to you important and unexpected things which I have hitherto been concealing; and I beg of you to keep them secret if you do not wish to ruin me, and to assist me in carrying them out if you think their realization will be advantageous. The present occasion does not permit of many words, as the time is short; so I shall mention only the most essential matters.

[7] ἐγὼ πάντα τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις [p. 317] ὑπετάχθημεν ἕως τῆς 2δς τῆς ἡμέρας αἰσχύνης μεστὸν καὶ ὀδύνης ἔχων τὸν βίον διατετέλεκα καίτοι τιμηθεὶς γε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ, ἣν τρίτον ἔτος ἤδη τοῦτο ἔχω καὶ εἰ βουλοίμην μέχρι παντὸς ἔξω. ἀλλὰ πάντων ἡγούμενος εἶναι κακῶν ἔσχατον ἐν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦσι τοῖς κοινοῖς μόνος εὐτυχεῖν, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ ὅτι παρὰ πάντα τὰ νενομισμένα παρ’ ἀνθρώποις ὅσια τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφηρέθημεν, ἐσκοποῦν ὅπως ἂν αὐτὴν ἀνακομισαίμεθα μηδεμιᾶς πειραθέντες μεγάλης συμφορᾶς: πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παντοδαποὺς λογισμοὺς λαμβάνων μίαν εὕρισκον ὁδὸν ἄγουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ῥάστην τε καὶ ἀκινδυνοτάτην, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἀνασταίῃ πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων.

[7] I, from the time we were subordinated to the Romans up to this day, have led a life full of shame and grief, though honoured by the king with the supreme command, which I am now holding for the third year and may, if I should so desire, hold as long as I live. But regarding it as the greatest of all evils to be the only fortunate man in a time of public misfortune, and taking it to heart that, contrary to all the rights mankind look upon as sacred, we have been deprived by the Romans of our supremacy, I took thought how we might recover it without experiencing any great disaster. And although I considered many plans of every sort, the only way I could discover that promised success, and at the same time the easiest and the least dangerous one, was in hand a war should be started against them by the neighbouring states.

[8] εἰς γὰρ τοῦτον ὑπελάμβανον αὐτοὺς καθισταμένους συμμάχων δεήσεσθαι καὶ πρώτων γε ἡμῶν. τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῆς ὑπελάμβανον ὑμῖν διδαχῆς δεήσειν, ὅτι κάλλιον τε καὶ δικαιότερον περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα.

[8] For I assumed that when confronted by such a war they would have need of allies and particularly of us. As to the next step, I assumed that it would not require much argument to convince you that it is more glorious as well as more fitting to fight for our liberty than for the supremacy of the Romans.

[9] ταῦτα διανοηθεῖς ὑπενόμενος Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ Φιδηναίους πείσας ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν, ὡς συλληψόμενος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ μέχρι τούτου λελήθα Ῥωμαίους ταῦτα πράττων καὶ ταμιευόμενος ἑμαυτῷ τὸν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως καιρόν: ἐν ᾧ σκέψασθε ὅσα ὠφεληθσόμεθα.

[9] “With these thoughts in mind I secretly stirred up a war against the Romans on the part of their subjects, encouraging the Veientes and Fidenates to take up arms by a promise of my assistance in the war. And thus far I have escaped the Romans’ notice as I contrived these things and kept in my own hands the opportune moment for the attack. Just consider now the many advantages we shall derive from this course.

[10] πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐν φανερωῷ βουλευσάντες [p. 318] ἀπόστασιν, ἐν ᾧ κίνδυνος ἦν καθ’ ἑκάτερον ἢ ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθέντας καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει μόνῃ πιστευσάντας τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀναρρῖψαι κύβον, ἢ παρασκευαζομένους καὶ βοηθείας ἐγείραντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν παρασκευῇ ὄντων προκαταληφθῆναι, οὐδετέρου τῶν χαλεπῶν τούτων πειραθέντες τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων χρήσιμον ἔξομεν. ἔπειτα πολλὴν καὶ δυσπολέμητον οὔσαν τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἰσχὺν καὶ τύχην οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ βιαίου τρόπου πειρασόμεθα καθαρεῖν, ἀλλ’ οἷς ἀλίσκεται πάντα τὰ ὑπέρανχα καὶ μὴ ῥάδια τῷ βιαίῳ καθαρεθῆναι, δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ, οὔτε πρῶτοι ἄρξαντες αὐτῶν οὔτε μόνοι.

[10] First, by not having openly planned a revolt, in which there would have been a double danger — either of being hurried or unprepared and of putting everything to the hazard while trusting to our own strength only, or, while we were making preparations and gathering assistance, of being forestalled by an enemy already prepared — we shall now experience neither of these difficulties but shall enjoy the advantage of both. In the next place, we shall not be attempting to destroy the great and formidable power and good fortune of our adversaries by force, but rather by those means by which every thing that is overbearing and not easy to be subdued by force is taken, namely, by guile and deceit; and we shall be neither the first nor the only people who have resorted to these means.

[11] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἀξιομάχῳ οὔσῃ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἰσχὺν ἀντιπαρῃσθῆναι Φιδηναίων τε καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν τοσαύτην οὔσαν ὅσῃν ὀρᾷτε προσειλήφαμέν τε, καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα θάρσος τινὶ συμμαχίας βεβαίου τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν παράσχοι προσγενόμενον οὕτω παρεσκεύασται μοι.

[11] Besides, as our own force is not strong enough to be arrayed against the whole power of the Romans and their allies, we have also added the forces of the Fidenates and the Veientes, whose great numbers you see before you; and I have taken the following precautions that these auxiliaries who have been added to our numbers may with all confidence be depended on to adhere to our alliance.

[12] οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ Φιδιναῖοι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι, τῆς δὲ αὐτῶν προκινδυνεύοντες ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν φυλάξουσιν. ὁ δὲ πάντων μὲν ἐστὶν ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις, σπανίως δὲ τισιν ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος αἰῶνος ἐξεγένετο, καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει: εὖ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων εὖ δρᾶν ἐκείνους αὐτοὶ δόξομεν. [p. 319]

[12] For it will not be in our territory that the Fidenates will be fighting, but while they are defending their own country they will at the same time be protecting ours. Then, too, we shall have this advantage, which men look upon as the most gratifying of all and which has fallen to the lot of but few in times past, namely, that, while receiving a benefit from our allies, we shall ourselves be thought to be conferring one upon them.

[13] καὶ ἐὰν ἡμῖν κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσῃ τὸ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔχει, Φιδιναῖοι τε καὶ Οὐιεντανοὶ βαρείας ἀπαλλάξαντες ἡμᾶς ὑποταγῆς ὡς ὑφ' ἡμῶν τοῦτο πεπονθότες αὐτοὶ χάριν ἡμῖν εἴσονται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ διὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος παρασκευασθέντα ἱκανὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι θάρσος τε καὶ προθυμίαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὑμῖν παρασχέειν.

[13] And if this enterprise turns out according to our wish, as is reasonable to expect, the Fidenates and the Veientes, in delivering us from a grievous subjection, will feel grateful to us, as if it were they themselves who had received this favour at our hands.

“These are the preparations which I have made after much thought and which I regard as sufficient to inspire you with the courage and zeal to revolt.

[14] ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ ἔργῳ βεβούλευμαι, τοῦτ' ἀκούσατέ μου: τάξιν μὲν ἀποδεδώκε μοι Τύλλος τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ κελεύει με θατέρου τῶν κεράτων ἄρχειν, ὅταν δὲ μέλλωμεν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρεῖν, ἄρξω μὲν ἐγὼ λύσας τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἄγειν, ἀκολουθήσετε δὲ μοι ὑμεῖς συντεταγμένους ἄγοντες τοὺς λόχους. ἀψάμενος δὲ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γενόμενος τίνα χρήσομαι τρόπον τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα πράγμασιν ἀκούσατέ μου:

[14] Now hear from me the manner in which I have planned to carry out the undertaking. Tullus has assigned me my post under the hill and has given me the command of one of the wings. When we are about to engage the enemy, I will break ranks and begin to lead up the hill; and you will then follow me with your companies in their proper order. When I have gained the top of the

hill and am securely posted, hear in what manner I shall handle the situation after that.

[15] ἔὰν μὲν ὁρῶ κατὰ γνώμην ἃ διαλογίζομαι χωροῦντά μοι καὶ θρασεῖς μὲν γεγονότας τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς συλλαμβανόντων, ταπεινοὺς δὲ καὶ περιφόβους Ῥωμαίους, ὡς προδομένους ὑφ' ἡμῶν, φυγῆς τε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλκῆς προνοούμενους, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἐπιθήσομαι αὐτοῖς καὶ μεστὸν ποιήσω νεκρῶν τὸ πεδῖον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε κατιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πρानὲς θαρροῦσιν τε καὶ συντεταγμένῃ δυνάμει πρὸς ἐπτοημένους ἀνθρώπους προσφερόμενος καὶ σποράδας.

[15] If I find my plans turning out according to my wish, that is, if I see that the enemy has become emboldened through confidence in our assistance, and the Romans disheartened and terrified, in the belief that they have been betrayed by us, and contemplating, as they likely will, flight rather than fight, I will fall upon them and cover the field with the bodies of the slain, since I shall be rushing down hill from higher ground and shall be attacking with a courageous and orderly force men who are frightened and dispersed.

[16] δεινὴ δ' ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἡ διὰ κενῆς ἐμπίπτουσα προδοσία συμμάχων ἢ πολέμιων ἄλλων ἐφόδου δόκησις, [p. 320] καὶ πολλὰ ἤδη στρατεύματα μεγάλα ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὕτως ἑτέρου φοβεροῦ παθήματος ὡς ὑπὸ δόξης κενῆς ἴσμεν πανώλεθρα διαφθαρέντα. τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον οὐ λόγος ἔσται κενὸς οὐδ' ἀφανὲς δεῖμα, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἀπάσης ὄψεως καὶ πείρας φοβερώτερον.

[16] For a terrible thing in warfare is the sudden impression, even though ill-grounded, of the treachery of allies or of an attack by fresh enemies, and we know that many great armies in the past have been utterly destroyed by no other kind of terror so much as by an impression for which there was no ground. But in our case it will be no vain report, no unseen terror, but a deed more dreadful than anything ever seen or experienced.

[17] ἔὰν δ' ἄρα τάναντία τῶν λελογισμένων γινόμενα ὁρῶ ἡγεέσθω γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας δόξας εἰωθότα ἀπαντᾶν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ εἰκότα οἱ βίοι φέρουσι τάναντία καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν προὔθεμν ἐπιχειρήσω ποιεῖν. ἄξω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συλλήψομαι αὐτοῖς τῆς νίκης τήν τε κατὰληψιν τῶν ὑψηλῶν πεποιῆσθαι σκήψομαι τῆς κυκλώσεως τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἔνεκα. γενήσεται δὲ μου πιστὸς ὁ λόγος ἔργα ὁμολογούμενα τῇ σκῆψει παρεσχημένου, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν μὲν δεινῶν μηδετέροις κοινωνῆσαι, τῆς δ' ἀμείνονος τύχης παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μεταλαβεῖν.

[17] If, however, I find that the contrary of my calculations is in fact coming to pass (for mention must be made also of those things which are wont to happen contrary to human expectations, since our lives bring us many improbable experiences as well), I too shall then endeavour to do the contrary of what I

have just proposed. For I shall lead you against the enemy in conjunction with the Romans and shall share with them the victory, pretending that I occupied the heights with the intention of surrounding the foes drawn up against me; and my claim will seem credible, since I shall have made my actions agree with my explanation. Thus, without sharing in the dangers of either side, we shall have a part in the good fortune of both.

[18] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔγνωκά τε καὶ δράσω σὺν θεοῖς κράτιστα ὄντα οὐ μόνον Ἀλβανοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Λατίνοις, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή σιγὴν μὲν πρῶτον φυλάττοντας, ἔπειτα κόσμον τε σώζοντας καὶ τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις ὁξέως ὑπηρετοῦντας προθύμους ἀγωνιστὰς γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτοῖς προθύμους παρέχειν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοιός ἐστιν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὁ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας [p. 321] ἀγών, οἷς 2 τισιν ἐν ἔθει καθέστηκεν ἄρχεσθαι ὑφ' ἑτέρων καὶ ὅσοις τοιαύτην πολιτείαν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν.

[18] “I, then, have determined upon these measures, and with the assistance of the gods I shall carry them out, as being the most advantageous, not only to the Albans, but also to the rest of the Latins. It is your part, in the first place, to observe secrecy, and next, to maintain good order, to obey promptly the orders you shall receive, to fight zealously yourselves and to infuse the same zeal into those who are under your command, remembering that we are not contending for liberty upon the same terms as other people, who have been accustomed to obey others and who have received that form of government from their ancestors.

[19] ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἔφυνεν καὶ ἄρχειν τῶν προσοίκων παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες ὁμοῦ τι πεντακόσια ἔτη τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ βίου διαφυλάξαντες, οὗ μὴ ἀποστερήσωμεν ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἐκγόνους. παραστῇ δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν δέος ἂν ταῦτα ἐθέλῃ πράττειν μὴ συνθήκας τε λύσῃ καὶ ὅρκους τοὺς ἐπ' αὐταῖς γενομένους παραβῇ, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖσθω διότι τὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων λελυμένας εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκαταστήσει καὶ οὐ τὰς γε ἐλαχίστου ἀξίας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἢ τε φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπεῖα κατεστήσατο καὶ ὁ πάντων κοινὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων βεβαίος νόμος, ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν τοὺς πατέρας τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς μητροπόλεις ταῖς ἀποικίαις.

[19] For we are freemen descended from freemen, and to us our ancestors have handed down the tradition of holding sway over our neighbours as a mode of life preserved by them for someone five hundred years; of which let us not deprive our posterity. And let none of you entertain the fear that by showing a will to do this he will be breaking a compact and violating the oaths by which it was confirmed; on the contrary, let him consider that he will be restoring to its original force the compact which the Romans have violated, a compact far from unimportant, but one which human nature has established and the universal law of both Greeks and barbarians confirms, namely, that fathers shall rule over and give just commands to their children, and mother-cities to

their colonies.

[20] ταύτας δὴ τὰς συνθήκας οὐδέποτε ἀναιρεθησομένας ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως οὐχ ἡμεῖς οἱ κυρίας ἀξιοῦντες αἰεὶ διαμένειν παρασπονδοῦμεν, οὐδ' ἂν τις ἡμῖν θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων νεμεσήσειεν ὡς ἀνόσια πράττουσιν εἰ δουλεύειν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκγόνοις δυσανασχετοῦμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ καταλύσαντες αὐτὰς ἀρχῆθεν καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀθεμίτῳ κρείττῳ ποιῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου τὸν ἀνθρώπινον· καὶ ὃ τε δαιμόνιος χόλος οὐχ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις ἐναντιώσεται κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, καὶ ἡ παρ' ἀνθρώπων νέμεσις εἰς τούτους ἀνθ' ἡμῶν κατασκήφει.

[20] This compact, which is forever inseparable from human nature, is not being violated by us, who demand that it shall always remain in force, and none of the gods or lesser divinities will be wroth with us, as guilty of an impious action, if we resent being slaves to our own posterity; but it is being violated by those who have broken it from the beginning and have attempted by an impious act to set up the law of man above that of Heaven. And it is reasonable to expect that the anger of the gods will be directed against them rather than against us, and that the indignation of men will fall upon them rather than upon us.

[21] εἰ μὲν οὖν [p. 322] ταῦτα κράτιστα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι δοκεῖ, πράττωμεν αὐτὰ θεοῦς καὶ δαίμονας ἄρωγους ἐπικαλεσάμενοι, εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν τάναντία ἔγνωκε καὶ дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ μηδέποτε ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως οἶεται δεῖν, ἢ καιρὸν ἕτερόν τινα τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιτηδειότερον περιμένων ἀναβάλλεται τὸν παρόντα, μὴ κατοκνεῖτω φέρειν εἰς μέσον ἃ φρονεῖ· ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν κράτιστον φανῇ βούλευμα τούτῳ χρησόμεθα.

[21] If, therefore, you all believe that these plans will be the most advantageous, let us pursue them, calling the gods and other divinities to our assistance. But if any one of you is minded to the contrary and either believes that we ought never to recover the ancient dignity of our city, or, while awaiting a more favourable opportunity, favours deferring our undertaking for the present, let him not hesitate to propose his thoughts to the assembly. For we shall follow whatever plan meets with your unanimous approval."

[1] ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην τῶν παρόντων καὶ πάντα ὑποσχομένων ποιήσειν ὅρκοις ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καταλαβὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προήεσαν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ Φιδιθναίων τε καὶ συμμάχων δυνάμεις ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν καὶ παρετάσσοντο ὡς εἰς μάχην, ἀντεπεξῆεσαν δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ καθίσταντο εἰς τάξιν.

[24.1] Those who were present having approved of this advice and promised to carry out all his orders, he bound each of them by an oath and then dismissed the assembly. The next day the armies both of the Fidenates and of their allies

marched out of their camp at sunrise and drew up in order of battle; and on the other side the Romans came out against them and took their positions.

[2] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀριστερὸν κέρασ αὐτὸς ὁ Τύλλος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεῖχον ἐναντίοι Οὐιεντανοῖς ὅσοι γὰρ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κατεῖχον κέρασ', ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρατος ὁ Μέττιος καὶ οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ κατὰ Φιδηναίους παρὰ τὴν λαγόναν τοῦ ὄρους ἐτάξαντο.

[2] Tullus himself and the Romans formed the left wing, which was opposite to the Veientes (for these occupied the enemy's right), while Mettius Fufetius and the Albans drew up on the right wing of the Roman army, over against the Fidenates, beside the flank of the hill.

[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο, πρὶν ἐντὸς βέλους γενέσθαι οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ σχισθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ συντεταγμένους ἤγον τοὺς λόχους ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. οἱ μὲν οὖν Φιδηναῖοι μαθόντες τοῦτο καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθεύειν σφίσι τὰς περὶ τῆς προδοσίας [p. 323] ὑποσχέσεις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν θρασύτερον ἤδη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρασ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιλωμένον τῆς συμμαχίας παρερρήγνυτο τε καὶ σφόδρα ἐπόνει, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἀνὰ κράτος ἡγωνίζετο, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Τύλλος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων μαχόμενος.

[3] When the armies drew near one another and before they came within range of each other's missiles, the Albans, separating themselves from the rest of the army, began to lead their companies up the hill in good order. The Fidenates, learning of this and feeling confident that the Albans' promises to betray the Romans were coming true before their eyes, now fell to attacking the Romans with greater boldness, and the right wing of the Romans, left unprotected by their allies, was being broken and was suffering severely; but the left, where Tullus himself fought among the flower of the cavalry, carried on the struggle vigorously.

[4] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσελάσας τις ἱππεὺς τοῖς ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ μαχομένοις, κάμνει τὸ δεξιὸν ἡμῖν κέρασ, ἔφησεν, ὦ Τύλλε. Ἀλβανοὶ τε γὰρ ἐκλιπόντες τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα ἐπείγονται, Φιδηναῖοι τε καθ' οὓς ἐκεῖνοι ἐτάχθησαν ὑπὲρ κέρατος ὄντες τοῦ ἐπιλωμένου κυκλοῦσθαι μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἰδόντας τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος δεῖμα ὡς κυκλωσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καταλαμβάνει, ὥστε οὔτε μάχεσθαι οὔτε μένειν αὐτοῖς ἐπῆει.

[4] In the meantime a horseman rode up to those who were fighting under the king and said: "Our right wing is suffering, Tullus. For the Albans have deserted their posts and are hastening up to the heights, and the Fidenates, opposite to whom they were stationed, extend beyond our wing that is now left unprotected, and are going to surround us." The Romans, upon hearing this and seeing the haste with which the Albans were rushing up the hill, were

seized with such fear of being surrounded by the enemy that it did not occur to them either to fight or to stand their ground.

[5] ἔνθα δὴ σοφίᾳ λέγεται χρήσασθαι ὁ Τύλλος οὐδὲν ἐπιταραχθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε καὶ οὕτως ἀπροσδοκίτου φανέντος κακοῦ, δι' ἣν οὐ μόνον ἔσωσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς προὔπτον κατακεκλειμένην ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμιων πράγματα σύμπαντα συνέτριψέ τε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ὥς γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου μεγάλῃ φωνῇ χρώμενος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν,

[5] Thereupon Tullus, they say, not at all disturbed in mind by so great and so unexpected a misfortune, made use of a stratagem by which he not only saved the Roman army, which was threatened with manifest ruin, but also shattered and brought to nought all the plans of the enemy. For, as soon as he had heard the messenger, he raised his voice, so as to be heard even by the enemy, and cried:

[6] κρατοῦμεν, εἶπεν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ πλησίον [p. 324] ὄρος τοῦτο κατειλήφασιν, ὥσπερ ὁρᾶτε, κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐντολάς, ἵνα κατὰ νώτου γενόμενοι τῶν πολέμιων ἐπίωσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐνθυμηθέντες οὖν ὅτι ἐν καλῷ τοὺς ἐχθίστους ἡμῖν ἔχομεν, οἱ μὲν ἀντικρυς ἐπιόντες, οἱ δὲ κατόπιν, ἔνθα οὐτε πρόσω χωρεῖν οὕτ' ὀπίσω ἐπιστρέφειν δυνάμενοι ποταμῷ τε καὶ ὄρει ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἀποκλειόμενοι καλὴν δώσουσιν ἡμῖν δίκην, ἵτε σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει ἐπ' αὐτούς.

[6] “Romans, we are victorious over the enemy. For the Albans have occupied for us this hill hard by, as you see, by my orders, so as to get behind the enemy and fall upon them. Consider, therefore, that we have our greatest foes where we want them, some of us attacking them in front and others in the rear, in a position where, being unable either to advance or to retire, hemmed in as they are on the flanks by the river and by the hill, they will make handsome atonement to us. Forward, then, and show your utter contempt of them.”

[1] ταῦτα παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἀπάσας παρεξιών ἔλεγε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς μὲν Φιδηναίους δέος εἰσέρχεται παλινπροδοσίας ὥς κατεστρατηγημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐτε ἀντιμεταταξάμενον αὐτὸν εἶδον οὕτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐθύς αὐτὸν ἐλαύνοντα, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐπῆρεν εἰς εὐτολμίαν καὶ θάρρους ἐνέπλησεν ὁ λόγος· καὶ μέγα ἐμβοήσαντες ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρόοι. τροπὴ δὲ γίνεται μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Φιδηναίων καὶ φυγὴ

[25.1] These words he repeated as he rode past all the ranks. And immediately the Fidenates became afraid of counter-treachery, suspecting that the Alban had deceived them by a stratagem, since they did not see either that he had changed his battle order so as to face the other way or that he was promptly

charging the Romans, according to his promise; but the Romans, on their side, were emboldened by the words of Tullus and filled with confidence, and giving a great shout, they rushed in a body against the enemy. Upon this, the Fidenates gave way and fled toward their city in disorder.

[2] πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἄκοσμος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐπιρράξας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον περιφόβοις οὖσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις καὶ μέχρι τινὸς διώξας, ὡς ἔμαθεν ἐσκεδασμένους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ οὔτε λογισμὸν ἔτι τοῦ συστῆναι ληφόμενους οὔτε δύνανται ἔχοντας, ἀφείλ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἔτι καὶ διαμένον τῶν πολέμιων ἐχώρει μέρος. καὶ γίνεται καλὸς μὲν καὶ ὁ τῶν πεζῶν ἀγὼν, ἔτι δὲ καλλίων ὁ τῶν ἱππέων.

[2] The Roman king hurled his cavalry against them while they were in this fear and confusion, and pursued them for some distance; but when he learned that they were dispersed and separated from one another and neither likely to take thought for getting together again nor in fact able to do so, he gave over the pursuit and marched against those of the enemy whose ranks were still unbroken and standing their ground.

[3] οὐ γὰρ ἐνέκλινον οἱ τῇδε τεταγμένοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τὴν [p. 325] ἔφοδον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου καταπλαγέντες, ἀλλ' ἀντείχον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἔπειτα μαθόντες ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν ἦττηται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Φιδιθναίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων στρατιὰ φεύγει προτροπάδην, δείσαντες μὴ κυκλωθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναστραφέντων ἐκ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τρέπονται καὶ αὐτοὶ λύσαντες τὰς τάξεις καὶ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σῶζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρώντο.

[3] And now there took place a brilliant engagement of the infantry and a still more brilliant one on the part of the cavalry. For the Veientes, who were posted at this point, did not give way in terror at the charge of the Roman horse, but maintained the fight for a considerable time. Then, learning that their left wing was beaten and that the whole army of the Fidenates and of their other allies was in headlong flight, and fearing to be surrounded by the troops that had returned from the pursuit, they also broke their ranks and fled, endeavouring to save themselves by crossing the river.

[4] ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμενέστατοι τε αὐτῶν ἦσαν καὶ ἥκιστα ὑπὸ τραυμάτων βαρυνόμενοι νεῖν τε οὐκ ἀδύνατοι δίχα τῶν ὅπλων τὸ ρεῖθρον διεπεραιοῦντο, ὅσοι δὲ τούτων τινὸς ἐνέλιπον ἐν ταῖς δίναις ἀπέθνησκον: ὅξυ γὰρ τοῦ Τεβέριος περὶ τὴν Φιδιήνην καὶ σκολιὸν τὸ ρεῦμα.

[4] Accordingly, those among them who were strongest, least disabled by their wounds, and had some ability to swim, got across the river, without their arms, while all who lacked any of these advantages perished in the eddies; for the stream of the Tiber near Fidenae is rapid and has many windings.

[5] ὁ δὲ Τύλλος μοίρῃ τινὶ τῶν ἱππέων κελεύσας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὠθουμένους κτείνειν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν τὴν ἄλλην

δύναμιν ἄγων ἐξ ἐφόδου γίνεται κύριος αὐτοῦ: καὶ τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα παραδόξου τυχόντα σωτηρίας ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

[5] Tullus ordered a detachment of the horse to cut down those of the enemy who were pressing toward the river, while he himself led the rest of the army to the camp of the Veientes and captured it by storm. This was the situation of the Romans after they had been unexpectedly preserved from destruction.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανὸς ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς ἤδη νικῶντας ἐθεάσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Τύλλον, καταβιβάσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Φιδηναίων ἐχώρει, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γένοιτο πᾶσι φανερὸς ἔργον τι ποιῶν συμμάχου καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν διεσκεδασμένων ἐν τῇ φυγῇ

[26.1] When the Alban observed that Tullus had already won a brilliant victory, he also marched down from the heights with his own troops and pursued those of the Fidenates who were fleeing, in order that he might be seen by all the Romans performing some part of the duty of an ally; and he destroyed many of the enemy who had become dispersed in the left.

[2] διέφθειρε. συνεῖς δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μισήσας τὴν παλινπροδοσίαν ὁ Τύλλος οὐδὲν ἐξελέγγειν ὤετο [p. 326] δεῖν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἕως ἄν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσῃται τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖν τε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα πρὸς πολλοὺς τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου γενομένην ἐσκήπτετο καὶ τῶν ἱππέων μοῖρᾴν τινα πέμψας ὡς αὐτὸν ἡξίου τελείαν ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν προθυμίαν, τοὺς μὴ δυνηθέντας εἰς τὰ τείχη τῶν Φιδηναίων καταφεύγειν ἀλλ' ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν συχνοὺς ὄντας κελεύων διερευνώμενον ἀποκτείνειν.

[2] Tullus, though he understood his purpose and understood his double treachery, thought he ought to utter no reproaches for the present till he should have the man in his power, but addressing himself to many of those who were present, he pretended to applaud the Alban's withdrawal to the heights, as if it had been prompted by the best motive; and sending a party of horse to him, he requested him to give the final proof of his zeal by hunting down and slaying the many Fidenates who had been unable to get inside the walls and were dispersed about the country.

[3] κάκεῖνος ὡς θάτερον ὦν ἤλπισε διαπεπραγμένος καὶ λεληθὼς τὸν Τύλλον ἔχαιρέ τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ καθιππεύων τὰ πεδία τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους διέφθειρεν, ἥδη δὲ δεδυκότος ἡλίου τοὺς ἱππέας ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐκ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἦν.

[3] And Fufetius, imagining that he had succeeded in one of his two hopes and that Tullus was unacquainted with his treachery, rejoiced, and riding over the plains for a considerable time, he cut down all whom he found; but when the

sun was now set, he returned from the pursuit with his horsemen to the Roman camp and passed the following night in making merry with his friends.

[4] ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἐν τῷ Οὐιεντανῶν χάρακι μείνας ἄχρι πρώτης φυλακῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνακρίνας, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἡγεμόνες, ὡς ἔμαθε καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν Μέττιον Φουφέττιον ἐν τοῖς συνομοσασμένοις ὑπάρχοντα, δόξας συνάδειν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηνυομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ἐταίρων παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀφιππεύει:

[4] Tullus remained in the camp of the Veientes till the first watch and questioned the most prominent of the prisoners concerning the leaders of the revolt; and when he learned that Mettius Fufetius, the Alban, was also one of the conspirators and considered that his actions agreed with the information of the prisoners, he mounted his horse, and taking with him the most faithful of his friends, rode off to Rome.

[5] καὶ πρὸ μέσων νυκτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς συγκαλέσας τὴν τε προδοσίαν αὐτοῖς λέγει τὴν τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ μάρτυρας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους παρασχόμενος καὶ ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸς κατεστρατήγησε τοὺς τε πολέμιους [p. 327] καὶ τοὺς Φιδηναίους διηγεῖται. τέλος δὴ τὸ κράτιστον εἰληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἤδη σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου, τίνα χρή τρόπον τιμωρῆσασθαι μὲν τοὺς προδότας, σωφρονεστέραν δὲ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν ἀποδοῦναι πόλιν εἰς τὸ λοιπόν.

[5] Then, sending to the houses of the senators, he assembled them before midnight and informed them of the treachery of the Alban, producing the prisoners as witnesses, and informed them of the stratagem by which he himself had outwitted both their enemies and the Fidenates. And he asked them, now that the war was ended in the most successful manner, to consider the problems that remained — how the traitors ought to be punished and the city of Alba rendered more circumspect for the future.

[6] τὸ μὲν οὖν τιμωρῆσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας ἔργοις ἀνοσίοις πᾶσιν ἐδόκει δίκαιόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, ὃν δὲ τρόπον τοῦτο γένοιτ' ἂν ῥᾶστα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα πολλὴν αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν ἀπορίαν. ἀδήλω μὲν γὰρ καὶ λεληθότι μόρῳ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Ἀλβανῶν ἄνδρας διαχειρίσασθαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι: εἰ δὲ φανερώς συλλαμβάνειν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐπιχειρήσειαν, οὐ περιόψεσθαι τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς ὑπελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρήσειν. ἅμα δὲ πολεμεῖν Φιδηναίοις τε καὶ Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν σφῶν συνεληλυθόσιν Ἀλβανοῖς οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ἀπορουμένων δ' αὐτῶν τελευταῖος ἀποδείκνυται γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, ἣν ἅπαντες ἐπήνεσαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρῶ.

[6] That the authors of these wicked designs should be punished seemed to all both just and necessary, but how this was to be most easily and safely accomplished was a problem that caused them great perplexity. For they thought it obviously impossible to put to death a great number of brave Albans in a secret and clandestine manner, whereas, if they should attempt openly to apprehend and punish the guilty, they assumed that the Albans would not permit it but would rush to arms; and they were unwilling to carry on war at the same time with the Fidenates and Tyrrhenians and with the Albans, who had come to them as allies. While they were in this perplexity, Tullus delivered the final opinion, which met with the approval of all; but of this I shall speak presently.

[1] τετταράκοντα δ' ὄντων σταδίων τῶν μεταξὺ Φιδήνης τε καὶ Ῥώμης ἐλάσας τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι καλέσας Μάρκον Ὀράτιον τὸν περιλειφθέντα ἐκ τῶν τριδύμων καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀκμασιότατους ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν πόλιν ἄγειν, παρελθόντα δ' ἐντὸς τείχους [p. 328] ὡς φίλον ὄντα, ὅταν ὑποχειρίους λάβῃ τοὺς ἔνδον, καθελεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἄχρι θεμελίων μηθενὸς μήτε ἰδίου μήτε κοινοῦ κατασκευάσματος φειδόμενον ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μηθέντα μήτε κτείνειν μήτε ἀδικεῖν,

[27] The distance between Fidenae and Rome being forty stades, Tullus rode full speed to the camp, and sending for Marcus Horatius, the survivor of the triplets, before it was quite day, he commanded him to take the flower of the cavalry and infantry, and proceeding to Alba, to enter the city as a friend, and then, as soon as he had secured the submission of the inhabitants, to raze the city to the foundations without sparing a single building, whether private or public, except the temples; but as for the citizens, he was neither to kill nor injure any of them, but to permit them to retain their possessions.

[2] ἀλλὰ πάντας ἔῃν ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν. ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοῦτον ἐκάλει τοὺς ταξίαρχους καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ διασαφήσας φυλακὴν ἐκ τούτων καθίσταται περὶ τὸ σῶμα: καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ὁ Ἀλβανὸς ὡς ἐπὶ νικῆματι κοινῷ γεγηθὼς καὶ τῷ Τύλλῳ συνηδόμενος. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀπόρρητον τὴν γνώμην ἔτι φυλάσσων ἐπῆναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ μεγάλων ἄξιον ἀπέφαινε δωρεῶν παρεκάλει τε γράψαντα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλβανῶν ὀνόματα τῶν ἐπιφανές τι κατὰ τὴν μάχην διαπραξαμένων φέρειν ὡς αὐτὸν, ἵνα κάκεῖνοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων ἀπενέγκωνται μοῖραν.

[2] After sending him on his way he assembled the tribunes and centurions, and having acquainted them with the resolutions of the senate, he placed them as a guard about his person. Soon after, the Alban came, pretending to express his joy over their common victory and to congratulate Tullus upon it. The latter, still concealing his intention, commended him and declared he was deserving of great rewards; at the same time he asked him to write down the

names of such of the other Albans also as had performed any notable exploit in the battle and to bring the list to him, in order that they also might get their share of the fruits of victory.

[3] ὁ μὲν δὴ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων, οἷς ἐχρήσατο τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων συνεργοῖς, εἰσγράφας εἰς δέλτον ἐπιδίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἅπαντας ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα ἐκάλει: συνιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιαρχοῖς τε καὶ λοχαγοῖς παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ βῆμα ἐκέλευσεν ἐστάναι, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλβανοὺς ταχθέντας ἐκκλησιάζειν, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν συμμάχων πλῆθος: ἔξωθεν δὲ πάντων περιέστησε Ῥωμαίους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ γενναιότατοι, ξίφη κρύπτοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς. ὥς δ’ ἐν καλῷ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν ἀναστὰς ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [p. 329]

[3] Mettius, accordingly, greatly pleased at this, entered upon a tablet and gave to him a list of his most intimate friends who had been the accomplices in his secret designs. Then the Roman king ordered all the troops to come to an assembly after first laying aside their arms. And when they assembled he ordered the Alban general together with his tribunes and centurions to stand directly beside the tribunal; next to these the rest of the Albans were to take their place in the assembly, drawn up in their ranks, and behind the Albans the remainder of the allied forces, while outside of them all he stationed Romans, including the most resolute, with swords concealed under their garments. When he thought he had his foes where he wanted them, he rose up and spoke as follows:

[1] ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ ἄλλοι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τολμήσαντας εἰς πόλεμον ἡμῖν καταστήναι Φιδηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἐτιμωρησάμεθα σὺν θεοῖς, καὶ δεῖν θάτερον ἢ παύσονται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνοχλοῦντες ἡμῖν ἢ

[28.1] “Romans and you others, both friends and allies, those who dared openly to make war against us, the Fidenates and their allies, have been punished by us with the aid of the gods, and either will cease for the future to trouble us or will receive an even severer chastisement than that they have just experienced.

[2] δίκας τίσουσιν ἔτι τούτων χεῖρονας. ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἡμῖν κατ’ εὐχὴν κεχώρηκε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμωρήσασθαι πολεμίους, ὅσοι φίλων μὲν ἔχουσιν ὀνόματα καὶ παρελήφθησαν εἰς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὥς κακῶς τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς μεθ’ ἡμῶν ποιήσοντες, ἐγκατέλιπον δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πιστὸν καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας διαφθεῖραι πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπεβάλοντο.

[2] It is now time, since our first enterprise has succeeded to our wish, to punish those other enemies also who bear the name of friends and were taken

into this war to assist us in harrying our common foes, but have broken faith with us, and entering into secret treaties with those enemies, have attempted to destroy us all.

[3] πολὺ γὰρ οὗτοι κακίους τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολεμίων εἰσὶ καὶ μείζονος τιμωρίας ἄξιοι: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ φυλάξασθαι ῥάδιον τοῖς ἐπιβουλευομένοις καὶ συμπλακέντας ὡς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι δυνατόν, φίλους δ' ἐχθρῶν ἔργα ποιοῦντας οὔτε φυλάξασθαι ῥάδιον οὔτε ἀμύνασθαι τοῖς προκαταληφθεῖσι δυνατόν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως ἐπὶ δόλῳ σύμμαχοι κακὸν μὲν οὕθ' ἐν ὑφ' ἡμῶν παθόντες,

[3] For these are much worse than open enemies and deserve a severer punishment, since it is both easy to guard against the latter when one is treacherously attacked and possible to repulse them when they are at grips as enemies, but when friends act the part of enemies it is neither easy to guard against them nor possible for those who are taken by surprise to repulse them. And such are the allies sent us by the city of Alba with treacherous intent, although they have received no injury from us but many considerable benefits.

[4] ἀγαθὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα. ἅποικοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντες οὐθ' ἐν τῇς τούτων ἀρχῇς παρασπάσαντες ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πολέμων ἐκτησάμεθα, ἔθνεσι δὲ μεγίστοις καὶ πολεμικωτάτοις [p. 330] ἐπιτειχίσαντες τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πόλιν πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν τούτοις τοῦ τε ἀπὸ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ Σαβίνων πολέμου παρειχόμεθα: ἥς δὴ πόλεως εὖ τε πραττούσης ἀπάντων μάλιστα χαίρειν αὐτοὺς ἔδει καὶ σφαλλομένης μηδὲν ἐνδεέστερον ἢ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἄχθεσθαι.

[4] For, as we are their colony, we have not wrested away any part of their dominion but have acquired our own strength and power from our own wars; and by making our city a bulwark against the greatest and most warlike nations we have effectually secured them from a war with the Tyrrhenians and Sabines. In the prosperity, therefore, of our city they above all others should have rejoiced, and have grieved at its adversity no less than at their own.

[5] οἱ δὲ ἄρα φθονοῦντες οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τῆς δι' ἡμᾶς εὐτυχίας διετέλουν καὶ τελευτῶντες ὡς οὐκέτι κατέχειν τὴν ὑπουλον ἔχθραν ἐδύναντο πόλεμον ἡμῖν προεῖπον. μαθόντες δ' ἡμᾶς εὖ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρεσκευασμένους, ὡς οὐθ' ἐν οἴοιτ' ἦσαν ἐργάσασθαι κακόν, εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐκάλουν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νεῖκος ἐν τρισὶν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πόλεως σώμασιν ἡξιοῦν κριθῆναι. ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτας τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ νικήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἔσοχμεν ὑποχείριον.

[5] But they, it appears, continued not only to begrudge us the advantages we had but also to begrudge themselves the good fortune they enjoyed because of us, and at last, unable any longer to contain their festering hatred, they

declared war against us. But finding us well prepared for the struggle and themselves, therefore, in no condition to do any harm, they invited us to a reconciliation and friendship and asked that our strife over the supremacy should be decided by three men from each city. These proposals also we accepted, and after winning in the combat became masters of their city. Well, then, what did we do after that?

[6] φέρε δὴ τί μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποιήσαμεν; ἔξδ' ἡμῖν ὄμηρά τε αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπεῖν καὶ τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους τῶν διαστησάντων τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐκβαλεῖν πολιτείας τε αὐτῶν κόσμον μεταστῆσαι πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν συμφέρον καὶ χώρας καὶ χρημάτων ἀποδασμῷ ζημιῶσαι καὶ, ὃ πάντων ῥᾶστον ἦν, ἀφελέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοῦς, ἐξ ὧν ἐγκρατεστέραν ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστησάμεθα, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἡξιώσαμεν ποιῆσαι, τῷ δ' εὐσεβεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπετρέψαμεν καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ κρεῖττον ἡγησάμενοι συνεχωρήσαμεν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ σφέτερα καρποῦσθαι, [p. 331] Μέττιον δὲ Φουφέττιον, ὃν αὐτοὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἀρχῇ ἐκόσμησαν, ὡς δὴ κράτιστον Ἀλβανῶν διοικεῖν τὰ κοινὰ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος εἰάσαμεν.

[6] Though it was in our power to take hostages from them, to leave a garrison in their city, to destroy some of the principal authors of the war between the two cities and to banish others, to change the form of their government according to our own interest, to punish them with the forfeiture of a part of their lands and effects, and — the thing that was easiest of all — to disarm them, by which means we should have strengthened our rule, we did not see fit to do any of these things, but, consulting our filial obligations to our mother-city rather than the security of our power and considering the good opinion of all the world as more important than our own private advantage, we allowed them to enjoy all that was theirs and permitted Mettius Fufetius, as being supposedly the best of the Albans — since they themselves had honoured him with the chief magistracy — to administer their affairs up to the present time.

[7] ἀνθ' ὧν τινὰς ἡμῖν χάριτας ἀπέδωσαν, ἡνίκα μᾶλλον φίλων τε καὶ συμμάχων εὐνοίας ἔδει, ἀκούσατε: ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας πρὸς τοὺς κοινοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι συνεπιθησόμενοι ἡμῖν μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐγινόμεθα καταλιπόντες τὴν τάξιν ἐφ' ἣν ἐτάχθησαν ὥχοντο πρὸς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη δρόμῳ προκαταλαβέσθαι σπεύδοντες τὰ ὄχυρά.

[7] “For which favours hear now what gratitude they showed, at a time when we needed the goodwill of our friends and allies more than ever. They made a secret compact with our common enemies by which they engaged to fall upon us in conjunction with them in the course of the battle; and when the two armies approached each other they deserted the post to which they had been

assigned and made off for the hills near by at a run, eager to occupy the strong positions ahead of anyone else.

[8] εἰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ νοῦν ἡ πεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐχώρει, οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύον ἦν ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ἀπολωλέναι κυκλωθέντας ὑπὸ τε πολεμίων καὶ φίλων, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡγωνισάμεθα, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ διαφθαρῆναι μῖα.

[8] And if their attempt had succeeded according to their wish, nothing could have prevented us, surrounded at once by our enemies and by our friends, from being all destroyed, and the fruit of the many battles we had fought for the sovereignty of our city from being lost in a single day.

[9] ἔπειδὴ δὲ διέπεσεν αὐτῶν τὸ βούλευμα θεῶν μὲν εὐνοίας προηγησαμένης ἅπασας γὰρ ἔγωγε τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς πράξεις ἐκείνοις ἀνατίθημι, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἷς τε τὸ δέος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ εἰς τὸ θάρσος τὸ ὑμέτερον παρασχομένης ἃ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι ἔφην, ὡς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κελευσθέντες Ἀλβανοὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντα τὰ ὄρη κυκλώσεως τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκα, πλάσματα καὶ

[9] But since their plan has miscarried, owing, in the first place, to the goodwill of the gods (for I at any rate ascribe all worthy achievements to them), and, second, to the stratagem I made use of, which contributed not a little to inspire the enemy with fear and you with confidence (for the statement I made during the battle, that the Albans were taking possession of the heights by my orders with a view of surrounding the enemy, was all a fiction and a stratagem contrived by myself),

[10] στρατηγήματα ἦν ἐμά', κεχωρηκότων δ' ἡμῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἡμῖν συνέφερεν οὐκ ἂν εἶημεν ἄνδρες οἴους ἡμᾶς προσῆκεν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τιμωρησαίμεθα [p. 332] τοὺς προδότας, οἳ γε χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἀναγκαιότητος, ἦν διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν, σπονδὰς καὶ ὄρκια ποιησάμενοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔναγχος οὔτε θεοὺς δείσαντες, οὓς τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἐποιήσαντο μάρτυρας, οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην νέμεσιν ἐντραπέντες, οὔτε τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος εἰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς ἢ προδοσία χωρήσειεν ὑπολογιζόμενοι, τὸν οἵκτιστον τρόπον ἡμᾶς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἀποίκους τε καὶ εὐεργέτας, οἳ κτίσται μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων τε καὶ πολεμιωτάτων στάντες.

[10] since, I say, things have turned out to our advantage, we should not be the men we ought to be if we did not take revenge on these traitors. For, apart from the other ties which, by reason of their kinship to us, they ought to have preserved inviolate, they recently made a treaty with us confirmed by oaths, and then, without either fearing the gods whom they had made witnesses of the treaty or showing any regard for justice itself and the condemnation of men, or considering the greatness of the danger if their treachery should not

succeed according to their wish, endeavoured to destroy us, who are both their colony and their benefactors, in the most miserable fashion, thus arraying themselves, though our founders, on the side of our most deadly foes and our greatest enemies.”

[1] ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἰμωγαὶ τε τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παντοδαπαὶ δεήσεις τοῦ μὲν δήμου μηδὲν ἐγνωκέναι λέγοντος ὧν ὁ Μέττιος ἐμμηχανᾶτο, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐχόντων οὐ πρότερον πεπύσθαι τὰς ἀπορρήτους βουλάς σκηπτομένων ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῷ ἀγῶνι, ἥνικα οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε μὴ πράττειν τὰ κελευόμενα ἐν δυνατῷ σφίσιν ἦν, ἥδη δὲ τινων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκούσιον ἀνάγκην ἀναφερόντων τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ κηδεῖαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν:

[29.1] While he was thus speaking the Albans had recourse to lamentations and entreaties of every kind, the common people declaring that they had no knowledge of the intrigues of Mettius, and their commanders alleging that they had not learned of his secret plans till they were in the midst of the battle itself, when it was not in their power either to prevent his orders or to refuse obedience to them; and some even ascribed their action to the necessity imposed against their will by their affinity or kinship to the man. But the king, having commanded them to be silent, addressed them thus:

[2] οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας ἔλεξεν: οὐδ' ἐμὲ λέληθεν, ἄνδρες Ἀλβανοί, τοῦτων ὧν ἀπολογεῖσθε οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὴν προδοσίαν οἶμαι τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι πολλῶν συνειδόντων οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πέφυκε τάπορρητα σιωπᾶσθαι χρόνον, τῶν δὲ ταξιαρχῶν τε καὶ λοχαγῶν βραχὺ τι μέρος ἡγοῦμαι τὸ συνεπιβουλεῦσαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, [p. 333] τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐξηπατῆσθαι καὶ εἰς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας ἀφῖχθαι.

[2] “I, too, Albans, am not unaware of any of these things that you urge in your defence, but am of the opinion that the generality of you had no knowledge of this treachery, since secrets are not apt to be kept even for a moment when many share in the knowledge of them; and I also believe that only a small number of the tribunes and centurions were accomplices in the conspiracy formed against us, but that the greater part of them were deceived and forced into a position where they were compelled to act against their will.

[3] εἰ δέ γε τοῦτων μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἦν, ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰσῆλθεν Ἀλβανούς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε ὄντας ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλειπομένους ἢ τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμία, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου δεδογμένον ὑμῖν ἦν, τῆς συγγενείας ἕνεκα πολλῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνάγκη καὶ

[3] Nevertheless, even if nothing of all this were true, but if all the Albans, as well you who are here present as those who are left in your city, had felt a desire to hurt us, and if you had not now for the first time, but long since,

taken this resolution, yet on account of their kinship to you the Romans would feel under every necessity to bear even this injustice at your hands.

[4] ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τὰδικήματα φέρειν. ἵνα δὲ μηθὲν βουλευέσθε ἔτι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄδικον μήτε δὴ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς πόλεως μήτε παρακρουσθέντες μία φυλακὴ καὶ πρόνοιά· ἐστίν, εἰ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πολῖται γενοίμεθα πάντες καὶ μίαν ἡγοίμεθα πατρίδα, ἥς εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον φερομένης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος ἕκαστος οἴσεται τῆς τύχης· ἕως δ' ἂν ἐκ διαφόρου γνώμης, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔχει, τὸ τε πλεῖον καὶ τοὔλαττον ἐπικρίνωμεν ἑκάτεροι, οὐκ ἔσται βέβαιος ἡμῖν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλία, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ μέλλοιεν οἱ μὲν πρότεροι ἐπιβουλευσάντες τοῖς ἑτέροις ἢ κατορθώσαντες πλεῖον ἔξειν ἢ σφαλέντες ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἔσεσθαι διὰ τὸ συγγενές, καθ' ὧν δ' ἂν αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γένωνται ὑποχείριοι καταστάντες τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν καὶ διαφυγόντες μηθὲν ὥσπερ ἐχθροὶ

[4] But against the possibility of your forming some wicked plot against us hereafter, as the result either of compulsion or deception on the part of the leaders of your state, there is but one precaution and provision, and that is for us all to become citizens of the same city and to regard one only as our fatherland, in whose prosperity and adversity everyone will have that share which Fortune allots to him. For so long as each of our two peoples decides what is advantageous and disadvantageous on the basis of a different judgment, as is now the case, the friendship between us will not be enduring, particularly when those who are the first to plot against the others are either to gain an advantage if they succeed, or, if they fail, are to be secured by their kinship from any serious retribution, while those against whom the attempt is made, if they are subdued, are to suffer the extreme penalties, and if they escape, are not, like enemies, to remember their wrongs — as has happened in the present instance.

[5] μνησικακεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι γέγονεν. ἴστε δὴ ταῦτα δεδογμένα Ῥωμαίοις τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ [p. 334] συναγαγόντος ἑμοῦ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδροις γραφάμενου, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὑμῶν καθαιρεθῆναι καὶ μήτε τῶν δημοσίων μήτε τῶν ιδιωτικῶν κατασκευασμάτων ὀρθόν τι ἔἶσαι διαμένειν μηθὲν ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν:

[5] “Know, then, that the Romans last night came to the following resolutions, I myself having assembled the senate and proposed the decree: it is ordered that your city be demolished and that no buildings, either public or private, be left standing except the temples;

[6] τοὺς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἔχοντας οὐς καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι κλήρους ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων μηθὲν ἀφαιρεθέντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον οἰκεῖν: ὅσῃν τε τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν ἐκέκτητο γῆν τοῖς μηθέναι κληρὸν ἔχουσιν Ἀλβανῶν διαμερισθῆναι χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν κτημάτων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίνοντο. οἰκῶν δὲ κατασκευῆς, ἐν οἷς

τοὺς βίους ἰδρῦσεσθε οἱ μετανιστάμενοι, καθ' οὓς ἔσονται τῆς πόλεως τόπους, ἐμὲ ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν συλλαμβάνοντα τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις ὑμῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔργα δαπάνης.

[6] that all the inhabitants, while continuing in the possession of the allotments of land they now enjoy and being deprived of none of their slaves, cattle and other effects, reside henceforth at Rome; that such of your lands as belong to the public be divided among those of the Albans who have none, except the sacred possessions from which the sacrifices to the gods were provided; that I take charge of the construction of the houses in which you newcomers are to establish your homes, determining in what parts of the city they shall be, and assist the poorest among you in the expense of building;

[7] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν δημοτικῶν συντελεῖν εἰς φυλὰς καὶ φράτρας καταμερισθέν, βουλῆς δὲ μετέχειν καὶ ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις προσενηθῆναι τοῦδε τοὺς οἴκους: Ἰουλίους, Σερουλίους, Κορατίους, Κοϊντίλιους, Κλοιλίους, Γεγανίους, Μετιλίους: Μέττιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν τούτῳ βουλευσάντας τὴν προδοσίαν δίκας ὑποσχεῖν, ἃς ἂν ἡμεῖς τάξωμεν δικασταὶ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπαιτίων καθεζόμενοι: οὐθέννα γὰρ ἀποστερήσομεν κρίσεως οὐδὲ λόγου. [p. 335]

[7] that the mass of your population be incorporated with our plebeians and be distributed among the tribes and curiae, but that the following families be admitted to the senate, hold magistracies and be numbered with the patricians, to wit, the Julii, the Servilii, the Curiatii, the Quintilii, the Cloelii, the Geganii, and the Metilii; and that Mettius and his accomplices in the treachery suffer such punishments as we shall ordain when we come to sit in judgment upon each of the accused. For we shall deprive none of them either of a trial or of the privilege of making a defence.”

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Ἀλβανῶν πένητες ἡγάπων εἰ Ῥώμην τε οἰκήσουσι καὶ τῆς γῆς κλῆρον ἔξουσι καὶ ἐπήνουν μεγάλῃ βοῇ τὰ διδόμενα, οἱ δὲ λαμπρότεροι τοῖς ἀξιώμασι καὶ ταῖς τύχαις κρείττους ἦχθοντο, εἰ δεήσει πόλιν τε τὴν γειναμένην αὐτοὺς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ προγονικὰς ἐστίας ἐρημῶσαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ ξένῃ: οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπήγει λέγειν εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην κατακεκλειμένοις ἀνάγκην. ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἐπειδὴ τὴν διάνοιαν εἶδε τῶν πολλῶν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸν Μέττιον ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν βούλεται.

[30.1] At these words of Tullus the poorer sort of the Albans were very well satisfied to become residents of Rome and to have lands allotted to them, and they received with loud acclaim the terms granted them. But those among them who were distinguished for their dignities and fortunes were grieved at the thought of having to leave the city of their birth and to abandon the hearths of their ancestors and pass the rest of their lives in a foreign country; nevertheless, being reduced to the last extremity, they could think of nothing

to say. Tullus, seeing the disposition of the multitude, ordered Mettius to make his defence, if he wished to say anything in answer to the charges.

[2] οὐκ ἔχων δ' ὁ Μέττιος ὃ τι χρὴ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντάς τε καὶ καταμαρτυροῦντας τὴν Ἀλβανῶν βουλὴν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ὑποθέσθαι ποιεῖν δι' ἀπορρήτων, ὅτε ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἡξίου τε τοὺς Ἀλβανούς, οἷς ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπεχειρεῖ, βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε τὴν πατρίδα κατασκαπτομένην περιορᾶν μήτε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίαις συναρπαζομένους. ταραχῆς δὲ γινομένης κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τινων φεῦγειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ὠρμηκότων οἱ περιστεφανωκότες τὸν ὄχλον ἀρθέντος σημείου τινὸς ἀνέσχον τὰ ξίφη.

[2] But he, unable to justify himself against the accusers and witnesses, said that the Alban senate had secretly given him these orders when he led his army forth to war, and he asked the Albans, for whom he had endeavoured to recover the supremacy, to come to his aid and to permit neither their city to be razed nor the most illustrious of the citizens to be haled to punishment. Upon this, a tumult arose in the assembly and, some of them rushing to arms, those who surrounded the multitude, upon a given signal, held up their swords.

[3] περιφόβων δὲ γενομένων ἀπάντων ἀναστὰς πάλιν ὁ Τύλλος εἶπεν: οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔξοστιν ὑμῖν νεωτερίζειν οὐδ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἄνδρες Ἀλβανοί. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἂν παρακινεῖν τι τολμήσητε, πάντες [p. 336] ἀπολείσθε ὑπὸ τούτων: δείξας τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ ξίφη. δέχεσθε οὖν τὰ διδόμενα καὶ γίνεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦδε Ῥωμαῖοι. δυεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη θάτερον ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἢ Ῥώμην κατοικεῖν ἢ μηδεμίαν ἑτέραν γῆν ἔχειν πατρίδα.

[3] And when all were terrified, Tullus rose up again and said: "It is no longer in your power, Albans, to act seditiously or even to make any false move. For if you dare attempt any disturbance, you shall all be slain by these troops (pointing to those who held their swords in their hands). Accept, then, the terms offered to you and become henceforth Romans. For you must do one of two things, either live at Rome or have no other country.

[4] οἷχεται γὰρ ἔωθεν ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Μάρκος Ὁράτιος ἀναιρήσων τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντας εἰς Ῥώμην μετάξω. ταῦτα οὖν εἰδότες ὅσον οὕτω γενησόμενα παύσασθε θανατῶντες καὶ ποιεῖτε τὰ κελεύόμενα. Μέττιον δὲ Φουφέττιον ἀφανῶς τε ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ὀκνήσαντα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς ταραχώδεις καὶ στασιαστάς καλεῖν τιμωρήσομαι τῆς κακῆς καὶ δολίου ψυχῆς ἀξίως.

[4] For early this morning Marcus Horatius set forth, sent by me, to raze your city to the foundations and to remove all the inhabitants to Rome. Knowing, then, that these orders are as good as executed already, cease to court destruction and do as you are bidden. As for Mettius Fufetius, who has not only laid snares for us in secret but even now has not hesitated to call the

turbulent and seditious to arms, I shall punish him in such manner as his wicked and deceitful heart deserves.”

[5] ταῦτα λέξαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐρεθιζόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας μέρος ἔπηξεν, οἷα δὴ κρατούμενον ἀνάγκῃ ἀφύκτω, τὸν δὲ Φουφέττιον ἀγανακτοῦντα ἔτι καὶ κεκραγότα μόνον τὰς τε συνθήκας ἀνακαλοῦμενον, ἃς αὐτὸς ἐξηλέγχθη παρασπονδῶν, καὶ οὐδ’ ἐν κακοῖς τοῦ θράσους ὑφίεμενον οἱ ῥαβδοῦχοι κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Τύλλου συλλαβόντες καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περικαταρρήξαντες ἔξαινον τὸ σῶμα μᾶστιξι πάνυ πολλαῖς.

[5] At these words, that part of the assembly which was in an irritated mood, cowered in fear, restrained by inevitable necessity. Fufetius alone still showed his resentment and cried out, appealing to the treaty which he himself was convicted of having violated, and even in his distress abated nothing of his boldness; but the lictors seized him at the command of King Tullus, and tearing off his clothes, scourged his body with many stripes.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης ἄλις εἶχε τῆς τιμωρίας, προσελάσαντες δύο συνωρίδας τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ προσήρτων τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτοῦ, τῇ δ’ ἑτέρᾳ τοὺς πόδας ῥυτῆρσι κατεχομένους μακροῖς: ἔλαυνόντων δὲ τῶν ἡνιόχων τὰς συνωρίδας ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ξαινόμενός τε περὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνθελκόμενος [p. 337] ὑφ’ ἑκατέρας ἐπὶ τάναντία ὁ δειλαιὸς ἐν ὀλίγῳ διασπᾶται χρόνῳ.

[6] After he had been sufficiently punished in this manner, they brought up two teams of horses and with long traces fastened his arms to one of them and his feet to the other; then, as the drivers urged their teams apart, the wretch was mangled upon the ground and, being dragged by the two teams in opposite directions, was soon torn apart.

[7] Μέττιος μὲν δὴ Φουφέττιος οὕτως οἰκτρᾷς καὶ ἀσχήμονος τελευτῆς ἔτυχε, τοῖς δ’ ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ συνειδόσι τὴν προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ δικαστήρια ὁ βασιλεὺς καθίσας τοὺς ἁλόντας ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν τῶν λειποτακτῶν τε καὶ προδοτῶν νόμον ἀπέκτεινεν.

[7] This was the miserable and shameful end of Mettius Fufetius. For the trial of his friends and the accomplices of his treachery the king set up courts and put to death such of the accused as were found guilty, pursuant to the law respecting deserters and traitors.

[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, Μάρκος Ὁράτιος ὁ προαπεσταλμένος μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τὴν καθαιρεσιν τῆς Ἄλβας ταχέως διανύσας τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν πύλας τε ἀκλειστοὺς καὶ τεῖχος ἀφύλακτον εὐπετῶς γίνεται τῆς πόλεως κύριος. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ τεπραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἅπαντα ἐδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ

[31.1] In the meantime Marcus Horatius, who had been sent on with the picked troops to destroy Alba, having quickly made the march and finding the gates

open and the walls unguarded, easily made himself master of the city. Then, assembling the people, he informed them of everything which had happened during the battle and read to them the decree of the Roman senate.

[2] το ψήφισμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς διεξῆλθεν. ἀντιβολουμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρόνον εἰς πρεσβείαν αἰτουμένων οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατασκεύασμα ἰδιωτικὸν ἢ δημόσιον ἦν κατέσκαπτε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους μετὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος παρέπεμπεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄγοντάς τε τὰ ἐαυτῶν χρήματα καὶ φέροντας:

[2] And though the inhabitants had recourse to supplications and begged for time in which to send an embassy, he proceeded without any delay to raze the houses and walls and every other building, both public and private; but he conducted the inhabitants to Rome with great care, permitting them to take their animals and their goods with them.

[3] οὕς ὁ Τύλλος ἀφικόμενος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου ταῖς Ῥωμαίων φυλαῖς καὶ φράτραις ἐπιδιεῖλεν οἰκῆσεις τε συγκατεσκεύασεν ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ προηροῦντο τῆς πόλεως τόποις καὶ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν τοῖς θητεῦουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεμέριζε ταῖς τε ἄλλαις [p. 338]

[3] And Tullus, upon arriving from the camp, distributed them among the Roman tribes and curiae, assisted them in building houses in such parts of the city as they themselves preferred, allotted a sufficient portion of the public lands to those of the labouring class, and by other acts of humanity relieved the needs of the multitude.

[4] φιλανθρωπίας ἀνελάμβανε τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν πόλις, ἣν ἔκτισεν Ἀσκάνιος ὁ ἐξ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου καὶ Κρεοῦσης τῆς Πριάμου θυγατρός, ἔτη διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν πεντακόσια τριῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα δέοντα, ἐν οἷς πολλὴν ἔσχεν ἐπίδοσιν εἰς εὐάνδριαν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ τὰς τριάκοντα Λατίνων ἀποικίσασα πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡγησαμένη τοῦ ἔθνους, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀποικίσεως καθαιρεθεῖσα ἔρημος εἰς τὸδε χρόνου διαμένει.

[4] Thus the city of Alba, which had been built by Ascanius, the son whom Aeneas, Anchises' son, had by Creusa, the daughter of Priam, after having stood for four hundred and eighty-seven years from its founding, during which time it had greatly increased in population, wealth and every form of prosperity, and after having colonized the thirty cities of the Latins and during all this time held the leadership of that nation, was destroyed by the last colony it had planted, and remains uninhabited to this day.

[5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Τύλλος τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα διαλιπὼν ἔαρος ἀρχομένου στρατὸν ἐπὶ Φιδηναίους πάλιν ἐξάγει. τοῖς δὲ Φιδηναίοις κοινῇ μὲν οὐδ' ἥτισοῦν βοήθεια ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν συμμαχίδων ἀφίκετο πόλεων, μισθοφόροι

δέ τινες ἐκ πολλῶν συνερρύησαν τόπων, οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐθάρρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προελθεῖν: παραταξάμενοι δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποβαλόντες

[5] King Tullus, after letting the following winter pass, led out his army once more against the Fidenates at the beginning of spring. These had publicly received no assistance whatever from any of the cities in alliance with them, but some mercenaries had resorted to them from many places, and relying upon these, they were emboldened to come out from their city; then, after arraying themselves for battle and slaying many in the struggle that ensued and losing even more of their own men, they were again shut up inside the town.

[6] κατεκλείσθησαν πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. ὥς δὲ περιχαρὰ κώσας αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ περιταφρεὺσας εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην κατέκλεισε τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπορίαν, ἠναγκάσθησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο. γενόμενος δὲ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς πόλεως κύριος τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀποκτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἀπολύσας καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα καρποῦσθαι [p. 339] τὸν αὐτὸν ἔασας τρόπον τὴν τε πολιτείαν, ἣν πρότερον εἶχον, ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην τὴν τροπαιοφόρον ἀπεδίδου τοῖς θεοῖς πομπήν τε καὶ θυσίαν δευτέρον ἐκεῖνον κατὰ γων θρίαμβον.

[6] And when Tullus had surrounded the city with palisades and ditches and reduced those within to the last extremity, they were obliged to surrender themselves to the king upon his own terms. Having in this manner become master of the city, Tullus put to death the authors of the revolt, but released all the rest, leaving them in the enjoyment of all their possessions in the same manner as before and restoring to them their previous form of government. He then disbanded his army, and returning to Rome, rendered to the gods the trophy-bearing procession and sacrifices of thanksgiving, this being the second triumph he celebrated.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἕτερος ἀνέστη Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους, ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόφασις ἐγένετο τοιάδε: ἱερὸν ἐστὶ κοινῇ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Λατίνων ἅγιον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ θεᾶς Φερωνείας ὀνομαζομένης, ἣν οἱ μεταφράζοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν οἱ μὲν Ἀνθοφόρον, οἱ δὲ Φιλοστέφανον, οἱ δὲ Φερσεφόνην καλοῦσιν: εἰς δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο συνήεσαν ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων κατὰ τὰς ἀποδεδειγμένας ἑορτὰς πολλοὶ μὲν εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόντες καὶ θυσίας τῇ θεῷ, πολλοὶ δὲ χρηματιούμενοι διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ἔμποροι τε καὶ χειροτέχναι καὶ γεωργοί, ἀγοραὶ τε αὐτόθι λαμπρόταται τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τόποις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγομένων ἐγίνοντο.

[32.1] After this war another arose against the Romans on the part of the Sabine nation, the beginning and occasion of which was this. There is a sanctuary, honoured in common by the Sabines and the Latins, that is held in the greatest reverence and is dedicated to a goddess named Feronia; some of those who translate the name into Greek call her Anthophoros or “Flower Bearer,” others Philostephanos or “Lover of Garlands,” and still others Persephonê. To this sanctuary people used to resort from the neighbouring cities on the appointed days of festival, many of them performing vows and offering sacrifice to the goddess and many with the purpose of trafficking during the festive gathering as merchants, artisans and husbandmen; and here were held fairs more celebrated than in any other places in Italy.

[2] εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐλθόντας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀφανεῖς Σαβῖνοι τινες ἄνδρες συναρπάσαντες ἔδησαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλοντο, πρεσβείας τε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης οὐδὲν ἐβούλοντο τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν συλληφθέντων κατεῖχον ἐγκαλοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Σαβίνων φυγάδας ὑπεδέχοντο κατασκευάσαντες ἄσυλον ἱερὸν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν [p. 340]

[2] At this festival some Romans of considerable importance happened to be present on a certain occasion and were seized by some of the Sabines, who imprisoned them and robbed them of their money. And when an embassy was sent concerning them, the Sabines refused to give any satisfaction, but retained both the persons and the money of the men whom they had seized, and in their turn accused the Romans of having received the fugitives of the

Sabines by establishing a sacred asylum (of which I gave an account in the preceding Book).

[3] τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ δεδήλωται μοι. ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντες ἐξήρισαν εἰς ὑπαιθρον ἀμφοτέροι δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς, γίνεται τε αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγών· διέμενον γὰρ ἀγχωμάλως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ διελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμφίλογον καταλιπόντες τὸ νίκημα. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις μαθόντες ἀμφοτέροι τῶν τε ἀπολωλότων καὶ τῶν τραυματιῶν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκέτι πείραν ἐβούλοντο ἑτέρου λαβεῖν ἀγῶνος, ἀλλ' ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς χάρακας ἀπήσαν:

[3] As a result of these accusations the two nations became involved in war, and when both had taken the field with large forces a pitched battle occurred between them; and both sides continued to fight with equal fortunes until night parted them, leaving the victory in doubt. During the following days both of them, upon learning the number of the slain and wounded, were unwilling to hazard another battle but left their camps and retired.

[4] καὶ διαλιπόντες τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον πάλιν ἐξήρισαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους μείζονας παρασκευασάμενοι δυνάμεις, γίνεται τε αὐτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἑρητὸν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγών, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων συνέβη πεσεῖν· ἰσορρόπου δὲ κάκεινης τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διαμενούσης ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ὁ Τύλλος εὖξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, ἂν νικήσῃ τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ Σαβίνους, Κρόνου τε καὶ Ῥέας καταστήσεσθαι δημοτελεῖς ἑορτάς, ἃς ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὅταν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ γῆς συγκομίσωσι καρπούς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Σαλίων καλουμένων διπλασιάσειν ἀριθμόν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ πατέρων εὐγενῶν ἐνοπλίους ὀρχήσεις κινούμενοι πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις καὶ ὕμνους τινὰς ᾄδοντες πατρίους, ὡς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ

[4] They let that year pass without further action, and then, having increased their forces, they again marched out against one another and near the city of Eretum, distant one hundred and sixty stades from Rome, engaged in a battle in which many fell on both sides. And when that battle also continued doubtful for a long time, Tullus, lifting his hands to heaven, made a vow to the gods that if he conquered the Sabines that day he would institute public festivals in honour of Saturn and Ops (the Romans celebrate them every year after they have gathered in all the fruits of the earth) and would double the number of the Salii, as they are called. These are youths of noble families who at appointed times dance, fully armed, to the sound of the flute and sing certain traditional hymns, as I have explained in the preceding Book.

[5] δεδήλωκα λόγῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην θάρσος [p. 341] τι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ὥπερ ἀκμῆτες εἰς κάμνοντας ὥσάμενοι διασπῶσι τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιν ἥδη καὶ ἀναγκάζουσι τοὺς πρωτοστάτας ἄρξαι φυγῆς, ἀκολουθήσαντές τε αὐτοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν

χάρακα καὶ περὶ τὰς τάφρους πολλῶν πλείονας καταβαλόντες, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀπετράποντο, ἀλλὰ παραμείναντες τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος μαχομένους ἀνείρξαντες ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρεμβολῆς.

[5] After this vow the Romans were filled with a kind of confidence and, like fresh troops falling on those that are exhausted, they at last broke the enemy's line in the late afternoon and forced the first ranks to begin flight. Then, pursuing them as they fled to their camp, they cut down many more round the trenches, and even then did not turn back, but having stayed there the following night and cleared the ramparts of their defenders, they made themselves masters of the camp.

[6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον: ὅσιν ἐβούλοντο τῆς τῶν Σαβίνων λεηλατήσαντες, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξῆι μαχησόμενος, ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μάχης τὸν τρίτον κατήγαγε θρίαμβον ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πρεσβευσαμένοις τοῖς Σαβίνοις καταλύεται τὸν πόλεμον αἰχμαλώτους τε παρ' αὐτῶν κομισάμενος, οὓς ἐτύγχανον εἰληφότες ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, καὶ αὐτομόλους βοσκημάτων τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ὅσα τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀφείλοντο, ἣν ἔταξεν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ζημίαν τιμησαμένη τὰς βλάβας πρὸς ἀργύριον, ἀναπράξας.

[6] After this action they ravaged as much of the territory of the Sabines as they wished, but when no one any longer came out against them to protect the country, they returned home. Because of this victory the king triumphed a third time; and not long afterwards, when the Sabines sent ambassadors, he put an end to the war, having first received from them the captives that they had taken in their foraging expeditions, together with the deserters, and levied the penalty which the Roman senate, estimating the damage at a certain sum of money, had imposed upon them for the cattle, the beasts of burden and the other effects that they had taken from the husbandmen.

[1] ἐπὶ τοῦτοις καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν στήλας ἀντιγράφους θέντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐπειδὴ συνέστη Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις κοινῇ συνηρπαγμένας πόλεμος οὐ ῥάδιος ἐν ὀλίγῳ καθαιρεθῆναι χρόνῳ 'δι ᾧ [p. 342] δὲ αἰτίας ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐρῶ, δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀγαπητῶς ὄρκων μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ συνθηκῶν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γεγεννημένων ἐπελάθοντο, καιρὸν δὲ νομίσαντες ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν ὧν ἐξέτισαν Ῥωμαίοις χρημάτων πολλαπλάσια παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὀλίγοι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐξιόντες ἐληίζοντο τὴν ὁμορον:

[33.1] Although the Sabines had ended the war upon these conditions and had set up pillars in their temples on which the terms of the treaty were inscribed, nevertheless, as soon as the Romans were engaged in a war not likely to be soon terminated against the cities of the Latins, who had all united against them, for reasons which I shall presently mention, they welcomed the situation and forgot those oaths and the treaty as much as if they never had

been made. And thinking that they now had a favourable opportunity to recover from the Romans many times as much money as they had paid them, they went out, at first in small numbers and secretly, and plundered the neighbouring country;

[2] ἔπειτα δὲ πολλοὶ συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφικομένης βοηθείας, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ’ αὐτὴν διεννοοῦντο τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν καὶ συνῆγον ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως στρατὸν, διελέγοντο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσι περὶ

[2] but afterwards many met together and in an open manner, and since their first attempt had turned out as they wished and no assistance had come to the defence of the husbandmen, they despised their enemies and proposed to march even on Rome itself, for which purpose they were gathering an army out of every city. They also made overtures to the cities of the Latins with regard to an alliance,

[3] συμμαχίας. οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό γε αὐτοῖς φιλίαν τε καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος· μαθὼν γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἀνοχὰς πρὸς Λατίνους ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τούτους ἔγνω στρατὸν ἐξάγειν τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαν δύναμιν καθοπλίσας διπλασίαν οὔσαν ἤδη τῆς πρότερον, ἐξ οὗ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν πόλιν προσέλαβε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν ἐπικουρικὸν ὅσον πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο μεταπεμφάμενος.

[3] but were not able to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance with that nation. For Tullus, being informed of their intention, made a truce with the Latins and determined to march against the Sabines; and to this end he armed all the forces of the Romans, which since he had annexed the Alban state, were double the number they had been before, and sent to his other allies for all the troops they could furnish.

[4] συνῆκτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἤδη τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο περὶ τὴν καλουμένην ὕλην κακοῦργον ὀλίγον τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον ἀφέντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἦσαν ἰσόρροποι μέχρι πολλοῦ· ἤδη δὲ περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ Σαβῖνοι [p. 343] βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἱππικοῦ καὶ πολλὺς αὐτῶν γίνεται φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νεκροὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσαντες καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῷ χάρακι διαρπάσαντες τῆς τε χώρας τὴν κρατίστην λεηλατήσαντες ἀπήεσαν ἐπ’ οἴκου. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔλαβεν ὁ συμβὰς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῆς Τύλλου ἀρχῆς.

[4] The Sabines, too, had already assembled their army, and when the two forces drew near one another they encamped near a place called the Knaves’ Wood, leaving a small interval between them. The next day they engaged and the fight continued doubtful for a long time; but at length, in the late

afternoon, the Sabines gave way, unable to stand before the Roman horse, and many of them were slain in the flight. The Romans stripped the spoils from the dead, plundered their camp and ravaged the best part of the country, after which they returned home. This was the outcome of the war that occurred between the Romans and the Sabines in the reign of Tullus.

[1] αἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο διάφοροι τότε πρῶτον, οὐκ ἄξιοῦσαι κατεσκευασμένης τῆς Ἀλβανῶν πόλεως τοῖς ἀνηρηκόσιν αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόναι. ἐτῶν γὰρ διαγενομένων πεντεκαίδεκα μετὰ τὸν ἀφανισμόν τῆς Ἀλβας πρεσβείας ἀποστείλας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποίκους τε καὶ ὑπηκόους αὐτῆς τριάκοντα πόλεις ἤξιον πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιταττομένοις, ὡς παρειληφόντων αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις οἳ εἶχον Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους, δύο μὲν ἀποφαίνων τρόπους κτήσεων, καθ' οὓς ἄνθρωποι γίνονται τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν κύριοι, τὸν τε ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἐκούσιον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ λέγων καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸν τρόπον παρειληφέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὧν εἶχον Ἀλβανοὶ πόλεων.

[34.1] The cities of the Latins now became at odds with the Romans for the first time, being unwilling after the razing of the Albans' city to yield the leadership to the Romans who had destroyed it. It seems that when fifteen years had passed after the destruction of Alba the Roman king, sending embassies to the thirty cities which had been at once colonies and subjects of Alba, summoned them to obey the orders of the Romans, inasmuch as the Romans had succeeded to the Alban's supremacy over the Latin race as well as to everything else that the Albans had possessed. He pointed out that there were two methods of acquisition by which men became masters of what had belonged to others, one the result of compulsion, the other of choice, and that the Romans had by both these methods acquired the supremacy over the cities which the Albans had held.

[2] πολεμίων τε γὰρ αὐτῶν σφισι γενομένων τοῖς ὅπλοις κεκρατηκέναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολωλεκόσι τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῖς μεταδεωκέναι: ὥστε καὶ ἄκουσιν Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ ἐκούσι προσηκείν ἐξεστάναι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀρχῆς.

[2] For when the Albans had become enemies of the Romans, the latter had conquered them by arms, and after the others had lost their own city the Romans had given them a share in theirs, so that it was but reasonable that the Albans both perforce and voluntarily should yield to the Romans the sovereignty they had exercised over their subjects.

[3] αἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις ἰδίᾳ μὲν [p. 344] οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, κοινῇ δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀγορὰν ἐν Φερεντίνῳ ποιησάμενοι ψηφίζονται μὴ παραχωρεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτίκα αἰροῦνται δύο στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης τε καὶ πολέμου, Ἄγκον Πουπλίκιον ἐκ

πόλεως Κόρας καὶ Σπούσιον Οὐεκίλιον ἐκ Λαουίνιου.

[3] The Latin cities gave no answer separately to the ambassadors, but in a general assembly of the whole nation held at Ferentinum they passed a vote not to yield the sovereignty to the Romans, and immediately chose two generals, Ancus Publicius of the city of Cora and Spusius Vecilius of Lavinium, and invested them with absolute power with regard to both peace and war.

[4] διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας συνέστη Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πόλεμος, προὔβη δὲ ἄχρι πενταετοῦς χρόνου πολιτικός τις γενόμενος καὶ ἀρχαϊκός. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως ὅλοις τοῖς στρατεύμασι πρὸς ὅλα συμβάλλουσι μεγάλη συμφορὰ καὶ φθόρος ὀλοσχερῆς συνέβη οὔτε πόλις αὐτῶν οὐδεμία πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα κατασκαφῆς ἢ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς ἐπειράθη: ἀλλ' ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἀλλήλων γῆν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ σίτου καὶ προνομεύσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις διαμειβόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.

[4] These were the causes of the war between the Romans and their kinsmen, a war that lasted for five years and was carried on more or less like a civil war and after the ancient fashion. For, as they never engaged in pitched battles with all their forces ranged against all those of the foe, no great disaster occurred nor any wholesale slaughter, and none of their cities went through the experience of being razed or enslaved or suffer any other irreparable calamity as the result of being captured in war; but making incursions into one another's country when the corn was ripe, they foraged it, and then returning home with their armies, exchanged prisoners.

[5] μίαν δὲ πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους Μεδουλλίαν παλαιότερον ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα λόγῳ, μεταθεμένην αὖθις ὡς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πολιορκία παραστησάμενος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔπεισε μὴθὲν ἔτι νεωτερίζειν: ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι φέρουσι δεινῶν οὐδετέροις ἐν τῷ τότε συνέβη χρόνῳ. τοιγάρτοι ῥάδιαι τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔγκοτον ἔχουσαι προθυμηθέντων Ῥωμαίων αἱ διαλύσεις ἐπετελέσθησαν. [p. 345]

[5] However, one city of the Latin nation called Medullia, which earlier had become a colony of the Romans in the reign of Romulus, as I stated in the preceding Book, and had revolted again to their countrymen, was brought to terms after a siege by the Roman king and persuaded not to revolt for the future; but no other of the calamities which wars bring in their train was felt by either side at that time. Accordingly, as the Romans were eager for peace, a treaty was readily concluded that left no rancour.

[1] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς βασιλεὺς Τύλλος Ὅστιλιος, ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄξιος εὐλογεῖσθαι τῆς τε εὐτολμίας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὰ

πολέμια καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως τῆς περὶ τὰ δεινὰ, ὑπὲρ ἅμφω δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐ ταχὺς ὢν εἰς πόλεμον ἵεναι βέβαιος ἦν καταστὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν ἅπασιν τῶν ἀντιπάλων προέχειν, ἔτι δὲ κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἐμπρησθείσης τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γυνή τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τέκνα καὶ ὁ ἄλλος οἰκετικὸς ἅπας ὄχλος καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός.

[35.1] These were the achievements performed during his reign by King Tullus Hostilius, a man worthy of exceptional praise for his boldness in war and his prudence in the face of danger, but, above both these qualifications, because, though he was not precipitate in entering upon a war, when he was once engaged in it he steadily pursued it until he had the upper hand in every way over his adversaries. After he had reigned thirty-two years he lost his life when his house caught fire, and with him his wife and children and all his household perished in the flames.

[2] καταπρησθῆναι δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ λέγουσι μηνίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὀλιγορίαν ἱερῶν τινων ἔκλιπεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου πατριούς τινὰς θυσίας, ἑτέρας δ' οὐχ ὑπαρχούσας ἐπιχωρίους Ῥωμαίοις παραγαγεῖν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης φασὶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πάθος γενέσθαι ἀναπιθέντες τὸ ἔργον Μαρκίῳ τῷ μετ' ἐκείνον ἄρξαντι τῆς πόλεως.

[2] Some say that his house was set on fire by a thunderbolt, Heaven having become angered at his neglect of some sacred rites (for they say that in his reign some ancestral sacrifices were omitted and that he introduced others that were foreign to the Romans), but the majority state that the disaster was due to human treachery and ascribe it to Marcius, who ruled the state after him.

[3] τοῦτον γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Νόμα Πομπιλίου θυγατρὸς γενόμενον ἄχθεσθαι τε, ὅτι ἐκ βασιλείου γένους πεφυκὼς αὐτὸς ἰδιώτης ἦν, καὶ γένος ἐπιτρεφόμενον ὀρώντα τῷ Τύλλῳ παντὸς μάλιστα ὑποπεύειν, εἴ τι πάθοι Τύλλος εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνου παῖδας ἡξείν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτα δὴ διανοοῦμενον ἐκ πολλοῦ στήσασθαι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιβουλὴν πολλοὺς ἔχοντα Ῥωμαίων τοὺς συγκατασκευάζοντας αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν, φίλον [p. 346] δὲ ὄντα τοῦ Τύλλου καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευόμενον φυλάττειν ὅτε καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος φανείη τῆς ἐπιθέσεως.

[3] For they say that this man, who was the son of Numa Pompilius' daughter, was indignant at being in a private station himself, though of royal descent, and seeing that Tullus had children growing up, he suspected very strongly that upon the death of Tullus the kingdom would fall to them. With these thoughts in mind, they say, he had long since formed a plot against the king, and had many of the Romans aiding him to gain the sovereignty; and being a friend of Tullus and one of his closest confidants, he was watching for a suitable opportunity to appear for making his attack.

[4] μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου θυσίαν τινὰ κατ' οἶκον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἣν αὐτοῦς μόνον ἐβούλετο τοὺς ἀναγκαίους εἶδέναι, καὶ κατὰ δαίμονα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης χειμερίου σφόδρα γενομένης κατὰ τε ὄμβρον καὶ ζάλην καὶ σκότος, ὥστ' ἔρημον ἀπολειφθῆναι τὸν πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας τόπον τῶν φυλαττόντων, ἐπιτήδειον ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὸν καιρὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς τὰ ξίφη παρελθεῖν εἰς τῶν θυρῶν, ἀποκτείναντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἐνέτυχεν ἐνεῖναι πῦρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεραννώσεως διασπεῖραι λόγον.

[4] Accordingly, when Tullus proposed to perform a certain sacrifice at home which he wished only his near relations to know about and that day chanced to be very stormy, with rain and sleet and darkness, so that those who were upon guard before the house had left their station, Marcius, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity, entered the house together with his friends, who had swords under their garments, and having killed the king and his children and all the rest whom he encountered, he set fire to the house in several places, and after doing this spread the report that the fire had been due to a thunderbolt.

[5] ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν οὐ δέχομαι τὸν λόγον οὔτ' ἀληθῆ νομίζων οὔτε πιθανόν, τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ μᾶλλον προστιθέμενος κατὰ δαίμονα νομίζω τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπόρρητον φυλαχθῆναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν συσκευαζομένην. εἰκὸς ἦν, οὔτε τῷ συστήσαντι αὐτὴν βέβαιον ἦν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ὀστιλίου τελευτὴν ἐκεῖνον ἀποδειξοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως, οὔτ' εἰ τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ πιστὰ καὶ βέβαια ἦν, τὰ γέ τοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅμοια ἔμελλε ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἀγνοίαις ἔσεσθαι.

[5] But for my part I do not accept this story, regarding it as neither true nor plausible, but I subscribe rather to the former account, believing that Tullus met with this end by the judgment of Heaven. For, in the first place, it is improbable that the undertaking in which so many were concerned could have been kept secret, and, besides, the author of it could not be certain that after the death of Hostilius the Romans would choose him as king of the state; furthermore, even if men were loyal to him and steadfast, yet it was unlikely that the gods would act with an ignorance resembling that of men.

[6] μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν γενησομένην [p. 347] ψηφοφορίαν τοὺς θεοὺς ἔδει τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ δι' οἰωνῶν αἰσίων ἐπιθεσπίσαι: ἄνδρα δὲ μιὰν καὶ τοσοῦτοις ἡμαγμένον φόνοις ἀδικοῖς τίς ἔμελλε θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων παρήσειν βωμοῖς τε προσιόντα καὶ θυμάτων καταρχόμενον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιτελοῦντα θεραπείας; ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιβουλήν ἀλλ' εἰς θεοῦ βούλησιν τὸ ἔργον ἀναφέρω, κρινέτω δ' ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται.

[6] For after the tribes had given their votes, it would be necessary that the

gods, by auspicious omens, should sanction the awarding of the kingdom to him; and which of the gods or other divinities was going to permit a man who was impure and stained with the unjust murder of so many persons to approach the altars, begin the sacrifices, and perform the other religious ceremonies? I, then, for these reasons do not attribute the catastrophe to the treachery of men, but to the will of Heaven; however, let everyone judge as he pleases.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὅστιλιου Τύλλου τελευτὴν ἡ μεσοβασιλείος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἀρχὴ κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς αἰρεῖται βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως Μάρκιον ἐπικλησιν Ἄγκον· ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶν γενομένων συντελέσας τὰ κατὰ νόμον ἅπαντα παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς τριακοστῆς καὶ πέμπτῃς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Σφαῖρος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν εἶχε Δαμασίας.

[36.1] After the death of Tullus Hostilius, the interreges appointed by the senate according to ancestral usage chose Marcus, surnamed Ancus, king of the state; and when the people had confirmed the decision of the senate and the signs from Heaven were favourable, Marcus, after fulfilling all the customary requirements, entered upon the government in the second year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad (the one in which Sphaerus, a Lacedaemonian, gained the prize), at the time when Damasias held the annual archonship at Athens.

[2] οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλὰς τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἀμελουμένας καταμαθὼν, ἃς ὁ μητροπάτωρ αὐτοῦ Πομπίλιος Νόμας κατεστήσατο, πολεμιστὰς τε καὶ πλεονέκτας τοὺς πλείστους Ῥωμαίων γεγονότας ὁρῶν καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν γῆν ὡς πρότερον ἐργαζομένους, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τὰ τε θεῖα σέβειν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Νόμα διετέλουν σέβοντες, διεξιὼν ὅτι παρὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὀλιγωρίαν νόσοι τε λοιμικαὶ πολλαὶ κατέσκηψαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐφθάρη μοῖρα τοῦ [p. 348] πλήθους οὐκ ὀλίγη, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ὅστιλιος ὁ μὴ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν ἦν ἔδει φυλακὴν κάμνων ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους τὸ σῶμα πάθεισι παντοδαποῖς καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς γνώμης ἔτι τῆς αὐτοῦ καρτερὸς διαμένων, ἀλλὰ συνδιαφθαρεὶς τῷ σώματι τὰς φρένας, οἰκτρᾷς καταστροφῇς ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς τε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ:

[2] This king, finding that many of the religious ceremonies instituted by Numa Pompilius, his maternal grandfather, were being neglected, and seeing the greatest part of the Romans devoted to the pursuit of war and gain and no longer cultivating the land as aforetime, assembled the people and exhorted them to worship the gods once more as they had done in Numa's reign. He pointed out to them that it was owing to their neglect of the gods that not only many pestilences had fallen upon the city, by which no small part of the population had been destroyed, but also that King Hostilius, who had not shown the proper regard for the gods, had suffered for a long time from a

complication of bodily ailments and at last, no longer sound even in his understanding but weakened in mind as well as in body, had come to a pitiable end, both he and his family.

[3] πολιτείας τε ἀγωγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Νόμα κατασταθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαινῶν ὡς καλὴν καὶ σῶφρονα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δικαιοτάτων ἔργων τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστω παρέχουσαν εὐπορίας, ἀνανεώσασθαι πάλιν αὐτὴν παρεκάλει γεωργίαις τε καὶ κτηνοτροφίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐργασίαις, ὅσαις μὴθὲν ἀδίκημα προσῆν, ἀρπαγῆς δὲ καὶ βίας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γινομένων ὠφελειῶν ὑπεριδεῖν.

[3] He then commended the system of government established by Numa for the Romans as excellent and wise and one which supplied every citizen with daily plenty from the most lawful employments; and he advised them to restore this system once more by applying themselves to agriculture and cattle-breeding and to those occupations that were free from all injustice, and to scorn rapine and violence and the profits accruing from war.

[4] ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια διαλεγόμενος καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστὰς ἅπαντας ἡσυχίας ἀπολέμου καὶ φιλεργίας σῶφρονος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἱεροφάντας καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συγγραφάς, ἃς Πομπίλιος συνεστήσατο, παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἀνέγραψεν εἰς δέλτους καὶ προὔθηκεν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις σκοπεῖν, ἃς ἀφανισθῆναι συνέβη τῷ χρόνῳ: χαλκαὶ γὰρ οὕτω στήλαι τότε ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν δρυΐναις ἐχαράττοντο σανίσιν οἳ τε νόμοι καὶ αἱ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν διαγραφαί: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων εἰς ἀναγραφὴν δημοσίαν αὐθις ἤχθησαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἱεροφάντου Γαίου Παπυρίου, τὴν ἀπάντων [p. 349] τῶν ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας. ἀνακτησάμενος δὲ τὰ κατερραθυμημένα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸν ἀργὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐργασίας ἀποστείλας ἐπῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἐπιμελεῖς γεωργοὺς, ἐμέμφετο δὲ τοὺς κακῶς προϊσταμένους τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, ὡς οὐ βεβαίους πολίτας.

[4] By these and similar appeals he inspired in all a great desire both for peaceful tranquillity and for sober industry. After this, he called together the pontiffs, and receiving from them the commentaries on religious rites which Pompilius had composed, he caused them to be transcribed on tablets and exposed in the Forum for everyone to examine. These have since been destroyed by time, for, brazen pillars being not yet in use at that time, the laws and the ordinances concerning religious rites were engraved on oaken boards; but after the expulsion of the kings they were again copied off for the use of the public by Gaius Papirius, a pontiff, who had the superintendence of all religious matters. After Marcius had re-established the religious rites which had fallen into abeyance and turned the idle people to their proper employments, he commended the careful husbandmen and reprimanded those who managed their lands ill as citizens not to be depended on.

[1] ταῦτα καθιστάμενος τὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ διὰ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐλπίσας ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον διατελέσειν, ὥσπερ ὁ μητροπάτωρ, οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁμοίαν τῇ προαιρέσει τὴν τύχην, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην πολεμιστῆς ἠναγκάσθη γενέσθαι καὶ μηδένα χρόνον ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ παραχῆς βῶσαι.

[37.1] While instituting these administrative measures he hoped above all else to pass his whole life free from war and troubles, like his grandfather, but he found his purpose crossed by fortune and, contrary to his inclinations, was forced to become a warrior and to live no part of his life free from danger and turbulence.

[2] εὐθὺς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπράγμονα καθιστασθαι πολιτείαν καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ Λατῖνοι καὶ νομίσαντες δι' ἀνανδρίαν οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἶναι πολέμους στρατηγεῖν, ληστήρια διέπεμπον εἰς τὴν ὁμοροῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι χώραν, ὅφ' ὧν πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλάπτοντο.

[2] For at the very time that he entered upon the government and was establishing his tranquil régime the Latins, despising him and looking upon him as incapable of conducting wars through want of courage, sent bands of robbers from each of their cities into the parts of the Roman territory that lay next to them, in consequence of which many of the Romans were suffering injury.

[3] ἀφικομένων δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τὰ δίκαια Ῥωμαίοις ἀξιούντων ὑπέχειν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, οὔτε γινώσκειν ἐσκήπτοντο τῶν περὶ τὰ ληστήρια κατηγορουμένων οὐδὲν ὥς οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης γεγονότων οὔτε ὑπόδιοι γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις περὶ οὐθενὸς πράγματος: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς ἐκείνους ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τύλλον, τελευτήσαντος [p. 350] δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου λελύσθαι σφίσι τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας.

[3] And when ambassadors came from the king and summoned them to make satisfaction to the Romans according to the treaty, they alleged that they neither had any knowledge of the robberies complained of, asserting that these had been committed without the general consent of the nation, nor had become accountable to the Romans for anything they did. For they had not made the treaty with them, they say, but with Tullus, and by the death of Tullus their treaty of peace had been terminated.

[4] ἀναγκασθεὶς δὴ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἀποκρίσεις τῶν Λατίνων ὁ Μάρκιος ἐξάγει στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενος τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν Πολιτωρίῳ, πρὶν ἐπικουρίαν τινὰ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικέσθαι Λατίνων, παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν καθ' ὁμολογίας: οὐ μέντοι διέθηκε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δεινὸν οὐθέν, ἀλλ' ἔχοντας τὰ σφέτερα πανδημεὶ μετήγαγεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ κατένειμεν εἰς φυλάς.

[4] Marcius, therefore, compelled by these reasons and the answers of the Latins, led out an army against them, and laying siege to the city of Politorium, he took it by capitulation before any aid reached the besieged from the other Latins. However, he did not treat the inhabitants with any severity, but, allowing them to retain their possessions, transferred the whole population to Rome and distributed them among the tribes.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Λατίνων εἰς ἔρημον τὸ Πολιτώριον ἐποίκους ἀποστειλάντων καὶ τὴν τῶν Πολιτωρίνων χώραν ἐπεργαζομένων ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάρκιος ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. προελθόντων δὲ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Λατίνων καὶ παραταξαμένων νικήσας αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν τὸ δεύτερον. ἐμπρήσας δὲ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος κατασκάψας, ἵνα μὴθὲν αὐθις ὀρμητήριον ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι μὴδ' ἐργάζοιντο τὴν γῆν, ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν.

[38.1] The next year, since the Latins had sent settlers to Politorium, which was then uninhabited, and were cultivating the lands of the Politorini, Marcius marched against them with his army. And when the Latins came outside the walls and drew up in order of battle, he defeated them and took the town a second time; and having burnt the houses and razed the walls, so the enemy might not again use it as a base of operations nor cultivate the land, he led his army home.

[2] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Λατῖνοι μὲν ἐπὶ Μεδυλλίαν πόλιν στρατεύσαντες, ἐν ἣ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἄποικοι, προσκαθεζόμενοι τῷ τείχει καὶ πανταχόθεν ποιησάμενοι τὰς προσβολὰς αἰροῦσιν αὐτὴν κατὰ κράτος. Μάρκιος δὲ Τελλήνας πόλιν τῶν Λατίνων ἐπιφανῆ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν [p. 351] αἰρεῖ χρόνον ἐκ παρατάξεώς τε νικήσας καὶ διὰ τειχομαχίας παραστησάμενος, τοὺς τε ἁλόντας οὐδὲν ὧν εἶχον ἀφελόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην μητήγαγε καὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰς κατασκευὴν οἰκιῶν τόπον ἀπεμέρισε:

[2] The next year the Latins marched against the city of Medullia, in which there were Roman colonists, and besieging it, attacked the walls on all sides and took it by storm. At the same time Marcius took Tellenae, a prominent city of the Latins, after he had overcome the inhabitants in a pitched battle and had reduced the place by an assault upon the walls; after which he transferred the prisoners to Rome without taking any of their possessions from them, and set apart for them a place in the city in which to build houses.

[3] Μεδυλλίαν τε τριετῇ χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῖς Λατίνοις γενομένην τῷ τετάρτῳ κομίζεται πάλιν ἐνιαυτῷ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις παραστησάμενος μάχαις. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν Φικαναίων αἰρεῖ πόλιν, ἣν τρίτῳ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ λαβὼν καθ' ὁμολογίας καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅπαντας εἰς Ῥώμην μεταγαγὼν, ἄλλο δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν κακῶσας, ἐπιεικέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερον ἔδοξε βουλεύεσθαι.

[3] And when Medullia had been for three years subject to the Latins, he recovered it in the fourth year, after defeating the inhabitants in many great battles. A little later he captured Ficana, a city which he had already taken two years before by capitulation, afterwards transferring all the inhabitants to Rome but doing no other harm to the city — a course in which he seemed to have acted with greater clemency than prudence.

[4] ἀποίκους γὰρ ἀποστειλαντες εἰς αὐτὴν οἱ Λατῖνοι καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διακατέχοντες αὐτοὶ τὴν τῶν Φικαναίων ἐκαρποῦντο, ὥστε ἡναγκάσθη πάλιν ὁ Μάρκιος τὸ δεῦτερον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατεῦσαι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πραγματείας κύριος αὐτῆς καταστάς ἐμπρῆσαι τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τειχη κατασκάψαι.

[4] For the Latins sent colonists thither and occupying the land of the Ficanenses, they enjoyed its produce themselves; so that Marcius was obliged to lead his army a second time against this city and, after making himself master of it with great difficulty, to burn the houses and raze the walls.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτο γίνονται Λατίνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι παραταξαμένων μάχαι διτταί. τῇ μὲν οὖν προτέρᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαγωνισάμενοι καὶ δόξαντες ἰσόρροποι γεγονέναι διεκρίθησαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἑκάτεροι χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν, τῇ δ' ὑστέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι νικῶσι τοὺς Λατίνους καὶ μέχρι [p. 352]

[39.1] After this the Latins and Romans fought two pitched battles with large armies. In the first, after they had been engaged a considerable time without any seeming advantage on either side, they parted, each returning to their own camp. But in the later contest the Romans gained the victory and pursued the Latins to their camp.

[2] στρατοπέδου διώκουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας ταύτας ἀγῶν μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέστη, καταδρομαὶ δὲ τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς καὶ συμπλοκαὶ τῶν περιπόλων τῆς γῆς ἵππέων τε καὶ ψιλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐπεκράτουν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δύναντι ὑπαιθρον ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις φρουρίοις ὑποκαθημένην,

[2] After these actions there was no other pitched battle fought between them, but continual incursions were made by both into the neighbouring territory and there were all skirmishes between the horse and light-armed foot who patrolled the country; in these the victors were generally the Romans, who had their forces in the field posted secretly in advantageous strongholds, under the command of Tarquinius the Tyrrhenian.

[3] ἥς ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ταρκύνιος ἡγεῖτο. ἀπέστησαν δὲ καὶ Φιδιναῖοι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναδείξαντες, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγους καὶ κρύφα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καταδρομαῖς

κακουργοῦντες· ἐφ’ οὗς ὁ Μάρκιος εὐζώνῳ στρατιᾷ ἐλάσας, πρὶν ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι τοὺς Φιδηναίους τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως τίθεται τὸν χάρακα.

[3] About the same time the Fidenates also revolted from the Romans. They did not, indeed, openly declare war, but ravaged their country by making raids in small numbers and secretly. Against these Marcius led out an army of light troops, and before the Fidenates had made the necessary preparations for war he encamped near their city.

[4] οἱ δὲ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐσκήπτοντο ἀντὶ ποίων ἀδικημάτων στρατὸς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀφίκεται, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως εἰπόντος ὅτι δίκας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἦκει ληψόμενος ὣν διήρπασάν τε καὶ κατέβλαψαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν, ἀπελογοῦντο πρὸς ταῦτα ὥς οὐ τὸ κοινὸν αἴτιον εἶη τῶν ἀδικημάτων, καὶ χρόνον ἤτοῦντο εἰς διάγνωσιν τε καὶ ζήτησιν τῶν ἐνόχων ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ πολλὰς κατέτριψαν ἡμέρας πράττοντες μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων, ἐπικαλοῦμενοι δὲ κρύφα τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ περὶ κατασκευὴν ὅπλων γινόμενοι.

[4] At first they pretended not to know what injuries they had committed to draw the Roman army against them, and when the king informed them that he had come to punish them for their plundering and ravaging of his territory, they excused themselves by alleging that their city was not responsible for these injuries, and asked for time in which to make an investigation and to search out the guilty; and they consumed many days in doing nothing that should have been done, but rather in sending to their allies secretly for assistance and busying themselves with the preparing of arms.

[1] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπονόμους ὥρυττεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας παρεμβολῆς ἀρξάμενος ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τέλος εἶχεν ἤδη τὸ ἔργον, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεν ἐπὶ [p. 353] τὴν πόλιν, μηχανὰς τε πολλὰς καὶ κλίμακας καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς τειχομαχίαν κατασκευασμένα ἐπαγόμενος, οὐ καθ’ ὃν αἱ διώρυγες ἐγίνοντο τοῦ τείχους τόπον, ἀλλὰ

[40.1] Marcius, having learned of their purpose, proceeded to dig mines leading under the walls of the city from his own camp; and when the work was finally completed, he broke camp and led his army against the city, taking along many siege-engines and scaling-ladders and the other equipment he had prepared for an assault, and approaching a different point from that where the walls were undermined.

[2] καθ’ ἕτερον. τῶν δὲ Φιδηναίων ἐπὶ τὰ πολιορκούμενα μέρη τῆς πόλεως συνδραμόντων ἀθρώων καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς γενναίως ἀποτριβομένων ἀναστομώσαντες τὰ πέρατα τῶν ὑπονόμων οἱ ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐντὸς ἐγένονεσαν τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας διαφθείραντες

ἀνοίγουσι τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὰς πύλας.

[2] Then, the Fidenates had rushed in great numbers to those parts of the city that were being stormed, and were stoutly repulsing the assaults, the Romans who had been detailed for the purpose opened the mouths of the mines and found themselves within the walls; and destroying all who came to meet them, they threw open the gates to the besiegers.

[3] πολλῶν δ' ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπολλυμένων τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν Φιδηναιῶν ὄπλα τε παραδοῦναι κελεύσας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ εἰς ἓνα τόπον τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντας προκηρύξας συνελθεῖν, ὀλίγους ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν, οἰκίας δ' ἁπάντων διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέψας καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν ἀξιόχρεων ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους.

[3] When many of the Fidenates had been slain in the taking of the town, Marcius ordered the rest to deliver up their arms, and made proclamation that all should repair to a certain place in the city. Thereupon he caused a few of them who had been the authors of the revolt to be scourged and put to death, and having given leave to his soldiers to plunder all their houses and left a sufficient garrison there, he marched with his army against the Sabines.

[4] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διέμειναν ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις, αἷς ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς βασιλέα Τύλλον, ἀλλ' ἐμβалόντες εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐδήρουν αὖθις τὴν ὁμορον, μαθὼν τε ὁ Μάρκιος παρὰ τε κατασκόπων καὶ αὐτομόλων τον καιρὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐσκεδασμένων τῶν Σαβίνων καὶ λεηλατούντων τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἅμα τοῖς πεζοῖς [p. 354] ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἀφικόμενος ὀλίγην ἔχοντα φυλακὴν καταλαμβάνει τὸ ἔρυμα ἐξ ἐφόδου, Ταρκύνιον δὲ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἄγοντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπειγέσθαι ἐκέλευε.

[4] For these also had failed to abide by the terms of the peace which they had made with King Tullus, and making incursions into the territory of the Romans, were again laying waste the neighbouring country. When Marcius, therefore, learned from spies and deserters the proper time to put his plan into execution, while the Sabines were dispersed and plundering the fields, he marched in person with the infantry to the enemy's camp, which was weakly guarded, and took the ramparts at the first onset; and he ordered Tarquinius to hasten with the cavalry against those who were dispersed in foraging.

[5] μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὴν ἵππον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνουσαν ἀφέντες τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὠφελείας, ὅσας ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: ὥς δὲ κἀκεῖνον ἐγνωσαν κατεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, ἀποροῦντες ὅποι τράποιντο συνέτειναν εἰς ὕλας τε καὶ ὄρη. διωκόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππεων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους διεφθάρησαν. καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην πρεσβευσάμενοι

πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην εἰρήνης τυγχάνουσιν οἷας ἐβούλοντο. ἔτι γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις συνεστηκὼς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος ἀναγκαίως ἐποιοεῖ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ἀνοχὰς τε καὶ διαλύσεις.

[5] The Sabines, learning that the Roman cavalry was coming against them, left their plunder and the other booty they were carrying and driving off, and fled to their camp; and when they perceived that this too was in the possession of the infantry, they were at a loss which way to turn and endeavoured to reach the woods and mountains. But being pursue by the light-armed foot and the horse, the greater part of them were destroyed, though some few escaped. And after this misfortune, sending ambassadors once more to Rome, they obtained such a peace as they desired. For the war which was still going on between the Romans and the Latin cities rendered both a truce and a peace with their other foes necessary.

[1] τετάρτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐνιαυτῷ Μάρκιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὴν τε πολιτικὴν δύναμιν ἄγων καὶ τὴν συμμαχικὴν μεταπεμφάμενος ὅσῃν ἐδύνατο πλείστην ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσεν. ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἤρξαντο ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐμβαλόντες καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἀρπαγὰς χρημάτων, πολλὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὄλεθρον ποιήσαντες: [p. 355]

[41.1] About the fourth year after this war Marcius, the Roman king, leading his own army of citizens and sending for as many auxiliaries as he could obtain from his allies, marched against the Veientes and laid waste a large part of their country. These had been the aggressors the year before by making an incursion into the Roman territory, where they seized much property and slew many of the inhabitants.

[2] στρατιᾶς δὲ πολλῆς παρὰ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐξελθούσης καὶ πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριους ποταμοῦ πρὸς τῇ Φιδηναίων πόλει χάρακα θεμένης ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦγεν ὡς εἶχε τάχους καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδων αὐτοὺς ἀπέκλεισεν ἱπποκρατῶν, ἔπειτ' εἰς παράταξιν προελθεῖν ἀναγκάσας ἐνίκησε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἐκράτησε. χωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπνίκιον πομπὴν καὶ τὸν εἰωθότα θρίαμβον τοῖς θεοῖς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικόμενος.

[2] And when the Veientes came out against him with a large army and encamped beyond the river Tiber, near Fidenae, Marcius set out with his army as rapidly as possible; and being superior in cavalry, he first cut them off from the roads leading into the country, and then, forcing them to come to a pitched battle, defeated them and captured their camp. Having succeeded in this war also according to his desire, he returned to Rome and conducted in honour of the gods the procession in celebration of his victory and the customary triumph.

[3] δευτέρῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει πάλιν τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν λυσάντων ἃς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς καὶ τὰς ἀλὰς ἀξιούντων ἀπολαβεῖν, ὧν ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου βασιλέως καθ' ὁμολογίας ἀπέστησαν, ἑτέραν τίθεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχην περὶ ταῖς ἀλαῖς μείζονα τῆς προτέρας, ἣν εὐπετῶς ἐνίκησε,

[3] The second year after this, the Veientes having again broken the truce they had made with Marcius and demanding to get back the salt-works which they had surrendered by treaty in the reign of Romulus, he fought a second battle with them, one more important than the first, near the salt-works; and having easily won it, he continued from that time forth in undisputed possession of the salt-works.

[4] καὶ τὰς ἀλὰς ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεῖχεν ἀναμφιλόγως. τὰ δὲ ἀριστεῖα καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἔλαβε τῆς μάχης ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμὼν Ταρκύνιος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Μάρκιος ἄνδρα πάντων κράτιστον ἡγησάμενος τὰ τε ἄλλα σεμνύνων διετέλει καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν πατρικίων τε καὶ βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν κατέγραψεν.

[4] The prize for valour in this battle also was won by Tarquinius, the commander of the horse; and Marcius, looking upon him as the bravest man in the whole army, kept honouring him in various ways, among other things making him both a patrician and a senator.

[5] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἔθνος τῷ Μαρκίῳ πόλεμος λησθηρίων κάκεῖθεν ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγρούς: καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλῃ χειρὶ πολλὴν περιέβαλετο λείαν πόλει τε αὐτῶν Οὐελίτραις προσκαθεζόμενος [p. 356] ἀπετάφρυνε καὶ περιεχαράκου καὶ τειχομαχίαν συνίστατο τῆς ὑπαίθρου κρατῶν. ἐξελθόντων δὲ σὺν ἱκετηρίαις τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τὰς τε βλάβας διαλύσειν ὑποσχομένων, ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς δικαιώσῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐπὶ δίκην παρέξειν ὁμολογούντων, ἀνοχὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιησάμενος καὶ τὰ δίκαια παρ' ἐκόντων λαβὼν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν συντίθεται.

[5] Marcius also engaged in a war with the Volscians, since bands of robbers from this nation too were setting out to plunder the fields of the Romans. And marching against them with a large army, he captured much booty; then, laying siege to one of their cities called Velitrae, he surrounded it with a ditch and palisades and, being master of the open country, prepared to assault the walls. But when the elders came out with the emblems of suppliants and not only promised to make good the damage they had done, in such manner as the king should determine, but also agreed to deliver up the guilty to be punished, he made a truce with them, and, after accepting the satisfaction they freely offered, he concluded a treaty of peace and friendship.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους αὐθις ἕτεροί τινες τῆς Ῥωμαίων οὕπω πεπειραμένοι δυνάμεως, πόλιν οἰκοῦντες εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, ἐγκαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔχοντες, φθονεῖν δὲ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ἀναγκαζόμενοι

μειζοσιν ἢ κατὰ λόγον γινομέναις, ἄνθρωποι δεινοὶ τὰ πολέμια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ λησθηρίων καὶ καταδρομῆς ἀγρῶν ὀλίγοι συνελθόντες ἤρξαντο, ἔπειτα δελεαζόμενοι ταῖς ὠφελείαις φανεράν ποιοῦνται στρατεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου πολλήν λεηλατοῦντες ἐκάκωσαν ἰσχυρῶς.

[42.1] Again, some others of the Sabine nation who had not yet felt the Roman power, the inhabitants of . . . , a great and prosperous city, without having any grounds of complain against the Romans but being driven to envy of their prosperity, which was increasing disproportionately, and being a very warlike people, began at first with brigandage and the raiding of their fields in small bodies, but afterwards, lured by the hope of booty, made war upon them openly and ravaged much of the neighbouring territory, inflicting severe damage.

[2] οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετο γε αὐτοῖς οὔτε τὰς ὠφελείας ἀπ᾿αγειν οὔτ' αὐτοῖς ἄθωοις ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκβοηθήσας κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς καὶ πλησίον τῆς ἐκείνων παρεμβολῆς θέμενος τὸν χάρακα προελθεῖν

[2] But they were not permitted either to carry off their booty or themselves to retire unscathed, for the Roman king, hastening to the rescue, pitched his camp near theirs and forced them to come to an engagement.

[3] αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν εἰς μάχην. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν μέγας ἀγὼν καὶ πολλοὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔπεσον, ἐκράτησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὸ ἔμπειρόν τε καὶ φιλόπονον, ὧν [p. 357] ἐθάδες ἦσαν ἐκ πλείστου, καὶ περιεγένοντο παρὰ πολὺ τῶν Σαβίνων τοῖς τε φεύγουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα σποράσι καὶ ἄσυντάκτοις ἐκποδὸς ἐπόμενοι πολὺν ἐποιοῦν φόνον.

[3] A great battle, therefore, was fought and many fell on both sides, but the Romans won by reason of their skill and their endurance of toil, virtues to which they had been long accustomed, and they proved far superior to the Sabines; and pursuing them closely as they fled, dispersed and in disorder, toward their camp, they wrought great slaughter.

[4] κρατήσαντες δὲ καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσης καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς ἔλαβον οἱ Σαβῖνοι κατὰ τὰς προνομάς, ἀπολαβόντες ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἶκον. αἱ μὲν δὴ πολεμικαὶ πράξεις τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλέως αἱ μνήμης καὶ λόγου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τυγχάνουσαι τοιαῖδε τινὲς λέγονται γενέσθαι: πολιτικά δὲ ἃς ἔρχομαι λέξω.

[4] Then, having also captured their camp, which was full of all sorts of valuables, and recovered the captives the Sabines had taken in their raids, they returned home. These in brief are the military exploits of this king that have been remembered and recorded by the Romans. I shall now mention the achievements of his civil administration.

[1] πρῶτον μὲν τῇ πόλει μοῖραν οὐ μικρὰν προσέθηκεν τειχίσας τὸν

λεγόμενον Ἀουεντῖνον: ἔστι δὲ λόφος ὕψηλός ἐπεικῶς ὀκτωκαίδεκά που σταδίων τὴν περιμετρον, ὃς τότε μὲν ὕλης παντοδαπῆς μεστός ἦν, πλειστης δὲ καὶ καλλίστης δάφνης, ἐφ' ἧς Λαυρήτον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται τόπος τις ἐπ' αὐτοῦ: νῦν δὲ οἰκιῶν ἐστὶ πλήρης ἅπας, ἔνθα σὺν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἱδρύται, εἴργεται δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρου τῶν συμπεριεχομένων τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόφων τοῦ καλουμένου Παλλαντίου, περὶ ὃν ἡ πρώτη κατασκευασθεῖσα πόλις ἱδρύθη, βαθεῖα καὶ στενῇ φάραγγι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐχώσθη πᾶς ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν λόφων αὐλῶν.

[43.1] In the first place, he made no small addition to the city by enclosing the hill called the Aventine within its walls. This is a hill of moderate height and about eighteen stades in circumference, which was then covered with trees of every kind, particularly with many beautiful laurels, so that one place on the hill is called Lauretum or “Laurel Grove” by the Romans; but the whole is now covered with buildings, including, among many others, the temple of Diana. The Aventine is separated from another of the hills that are included within the city of Rome, called the Palatine Hill (round which was built the first city to be established), by a deep and narrow ravine, but in after times the whole hollow between the two hills was filled up.

[2] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόφον ἐπιτείχισμα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ὀρῶν ἐσόμενον, εἴ [p. 358] τις αὐτῇ ἐπίοι στρατὸς τείχει καὶ τάφρῳ περιέλαβε καὶ τοὺς μεταχθέντας ἐκ Τελλήνης τε καὶ Πολιτωρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσων ἐκράτησεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ καθίδρυσεν. ἐν μὲν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ βασιλέως παραδίδοται καλὸν ἅμα καὶ πραγματικόν, ἐξ οὗ μείζονά τε συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἑτέρας προσθέσει πόλεως καὶ πολλῇ χειρὶ πολεμίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἦττον εὐληπτον:

[2] Marcius, observing that this hill would serve as a stronghold against the city for any army that approached, encompassed it with a wall and ditch and settled here the populations that he had transferred from Tellenae and Politorium and the other cities he had taken. This is one peace-time achievement recorded of this king that was at once splendid and practical; thereby the city was not only enlarged by the addition of another city but also rendered less vulnerable to the attack of a strong enemy force.

[1] ἕτερον δὲ τι τοῦ προειρημένου πολιτεύματος κρεῖττον, ὃ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἅπασιν εὐδαιμονεστέραν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπῆρεν ἄσφαθαι γενναιοτέρων. τοῦ γὰρ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ καταβαίνοντος μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν, παρ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ῥέοντος, ἐμβάλλοντος δ' εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς ἀλιμένους καὶ προσεχεῖς, οὓς τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν ποιεῖ πέλαιος, μικρὰ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου τὴν Ῥώμην ὠφελοῦντος διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς ἔχειν φρούριον, ὃ τὰς εἰσκομιζόμενας διὰ θαλάττης καὶ καταγομένας ἄνωθεν ἀγορὰς ὑποδέχεται τε καὶ ἀμείψεται τοῖς ἐμπορευομένοις, ἱκανοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἄχρι μὲν τῶν πηγῶν ποταμηγοῖς σκάφειν εὐμεγέθεσιν ἀναπλεῖσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ θαλαττίαις ὀλκάσι

μεγάλαις, ἐπίνειον ἔγνω κατασκευάζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς αὐτοῦ λιμένι χρησάμενος αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

[44.1] Another peace-time achievement was of even greater consequence than the one just mentioned, as it made the city richer in all the conveniences of life and encouraged it to embark upon nobler undertakings. The river Tiber, descending from the Apennine mountains and flowing close by Rome, discharges itself upon harbourless and exposed shores made by the Tyrrhenian Sea; but this river was of small and negligible advantage to Rome because of having at its mouth no trading post where the commodities brought in by sea and down the river from the country above could be received and exchanged with the merchants. But as it is navigable quite up to its source for river boats of considerable size and as far as Rome itself for sea-going ships of great burden, he resolved to build a seaport at its outlet, making use of the river's mouth itself for a harbour.

[2] εὐρύνεται τε γὰρ ἐπιπολὺ τῇ θαλάττῃ συνάπτων καὶ κόλπους λαμβάνει [p. 359] μεγάλους, οἷους οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν θαλαττίων λιμένων: ὁ δὲ μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, οὐκ ἀποκλείεται τοῦ στόματος ὑπὸ τῆς θαλαττίας θινὸς ἐμφραττόμενος, ὃ πάσχουσι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν, οὐδ' εἰς ἔλη καὶ τέλματα πλανώμενος ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ προκαταναλίσκεται πρὶν ἢ τῇ θαλάττῃ συνάψαι τὸ ρεῖθρον, ἀλλὰ ναυσιπέρατός ἐστιν αἰεὶ καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἐκδίδωσι τοῦ γνησίου στόματος ἀνακόπτων τὰς πελαγίους ῥαχίας τῆς θαλάττης, καίτοι πολὺς αὐτόθι γίνεται καὶ χαλεπὸς ὁ πνέων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἄνεμος.

[2] For the Tiber broadens greatly where it unites with the sea and forms great bays equal to those of the best seaports; and, most wonderful of all, its mouth is not blocked by sandbanks piled up by the sea, as happens in the case of many even of the large rivers, nor does it by wandering this way and that through fens and marshes spend itself before its stream unites with the sea, but it is everywhere navigable and discharges itself through its one genuine mouth, repelling the surge that comes from the main, notwithstanding the frequency and violence of the west wind on that coast.

[3] αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ κωποὶ νῆες ὀπηλίκαι ποτ' ἂν οὔσαι τύχωσι καὶ τῶν ὀλκάδων αἱ μέχρι τρισχιλιοφόρων εἰσάγουσιν τε διὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ ῥύμασι παρελκόμεναι κομίζονται, αἱ δὲ μείζους πρὸ τοῦ στόματος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν σαλεύουσιν αἰεὶ ποταμηγοῖς ἀπογεμίζονται τε καὶ ἀντιφορτίζονται σκάφαις.

[3] Accordingly, oared ships however large and merchantmen up to three thousand bushels burden enter at the mouth of the river and are rowed and towed up to Rome, while those of a larger size ride at anchor off the mouth, where they are unloaded and loaded again by river boats.

[4] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγκῶνι πόλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντειχίσας, ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Ὡστίαν ὠνόμασεν, ὡς δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν θύραν, οὐ μόνον ἡπειρῶτιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαλαττίαν παρεσκεύασε τὴν Ῥώμην γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν διαποντίων ἀγαθῶν ἔγευσεν.

[4] Upon the elbow of land that lies between the river and the sea the king built a city and surrounded it with a wall, naming it from its situation Ostia, or, as we should call it, thyrā or “portal”; and by this means he made Rome not only an inland city but also a seaport, and gave it a taste of the good things from beyond the sea.

[1] ἔτειχισε δὲ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανικόλον ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ κείμενον καὶ φρουρὰν ἱκανὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κατέστησεν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῶν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλεόντων: [p. 360] ἐλήστευον γὰρ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἅπασαν κατέχοντες τὴν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν:

[45.1] He also built a wall round the high hill called the Janiculum, situated on the other side of the river Tiber, and stationed there an adequate garrison for the security of those who navigated the river; for the Tyrrhenians, being masters of all the country on the other side of the river, had been plundering the merchants.

[2] καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν, ἦν ἄνευ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου δεδέσθαι θέμις ὑπ' αὐτῶν διακρατουμένην τῶν ξυλίνων, ἐκεῖνος ἐπθεῖναι τῷ Τεβέρει λέγεται, ἦν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος διαφυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν εἶναι νομίζοντες. εἰ δὲ τι πονήσειεν αὐτῆς μέρος οἱ ἱεροφάνται θεραπεύουσι θυσίας τινὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κατασκευῇ

[2] He also is said to have built the wooden bridge over the Tiber, which was required to be constructed without brass or iron, being held together by its beams alone. This bridge they preserve to the present day, looking upon it as sacred; and if any part of it gives out the pontiffs attend to it, offering certain traditional sacrifices while it is being repaired.

[3] πατρίους. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἱστορίας ἄξια καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ὀλίγῳ κρείττονα παραδούς τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἥς αὐτὸς παρέλαβεν, ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχὼν ἀποθνήσκει δύο καταλιπὼν υἱούς, τὸν μὲν ἔτι παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἄρτίως γενειῶντα.

[3] These are the memorable achievements of this king during his reign, and he handed Rome on to his successors in much better condition than he himself had received it. After reigning twenty-four years he died, leaving two sons, one still a child in years and the elder just growing a beard.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου θάνατον ἡ βουλὴ πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῇ

τοῦ δήμου πολιτείαν ἦν ἐβούλετο καταστήσασθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔγνω καὶ ἀποδείκνυσι μεσοβασιλεῖς. οἱ δὲ συναγαγόντες εἰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τὸ πλῆθος αἱροῦνται βασιλέα Λεῦκιον Ταρκύνιον. βεβαιωσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημείων τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παραλαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ μάλιστα τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κλεώνδας Θηβαῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἡνιοχίδου.

[46.1] After the death of Ancus Marcius the senate, being empowered by the people to establish whatever form of government they thought fit, again resolved to abide by the same form and appointed interreges. These, having assembled the people for the election, chosen Lucius Tarquinius as king; and the omens from Heaven having confirmed the decision of the people, Tarquinius took over the sovereignty about the second year of the forty-first Olympiad (the one in which Cleondas, a Theban, gained the prize), Heniochides being archon at Athens.

[2] γονέων δ' ὁποίων τινῶν οὗτος ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἦν καὶ πατρίδος ἐξ ἧς ἔφνυ καὶ δι' [p. 361] ἅςτινας αἰτίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο καὶ δι' οἷων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρῆλθεν, ὥς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις συγγραφαῖς εὗρον ἐρῶ.

[2] I shall now relate, following the account I have found in the Roman annals, from what sort of ancestors this Tarquinius was sprung, from what country he came, the reasons for his removing to Rome, and by what course of conduct he came to be king.

[3] Κορινθίος τις ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Δημάρατος ἐκ τῆς Βακχιαδῶν συγγενείας ἐμπορεύεσθαι προελόμενος ἐπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁλκάδα τε οἰκείαν ἀνάγων καὶ φόρτον ἴδιον. ἐξεμπολήσας δὲ τὸν φόρτον ἐν ταῖς Τυρρηνῶν πόλεσιν εὐδαιμονούσας μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τότε καὶ μεγάλα κέρδη περιβαλλόμενος ἐκέῖθεν οὐκέτι εἰς ἄλλους ἐβούλετο κατάγεσθαι λιμένας, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰργάζετο συνεχῶς θάλατταν Ἑλληνικὸν τε φόρτον εἰς Τυρρηνοὺς κομίζων καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρων καὶ γίνεται πάνυ πολλῶν χρημάτων κύριος.

[3] There was a certain Corinthian, Demaratus by name, of the family of the Bacchiadae, who, having chosen to engage in commerce, sailed to Italy in a ship of his own with his own cargo; and having sold the cargo in the Tyrrhenian cities, which were at the time the most flourishing in all Italy, and gained great profit thereby, he no longer desired to put into any other ports, but continued to ply the same sea, carrying a Greek cargo to the Tyrrhenians and a Tyrrhenian cargo to Greece, by which means he became possessed of great wealth.

[4] ἐπικαταλαβούσης δὲ στάσεως τὴν Κόρινθον καὶ τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος ἐπανισταμένης τοῖς Βακχιάδαις οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι δοκῶν ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν

πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς οἰκίας ὑπάρχων, συνεσκευασμένος τὴν οὐσίαν ὅσῃν οἷός τ'

[4] But when Corinth fell a prey to sedition and the tyranny of Cypselus was rising in revolt against the Bacchiadae, Demaratus thought it was not safe for him to live under a tyranny with his great riches, particularly as he was of the oligarchic family; and accordingly, getting together all of his substance that he could, he sailed away from Corinth.

[5] ἦν ὥχετο πλέων ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου. ἔχων δὲ φίλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Τυρρηνῶν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐπιμιξίας, μάλιστα δ' ἐν Ταρκυνίοις πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι τότε οὔσῃ, οἶκόν τε αὐτόθι κατασκευάζεται καὶ γυναῖκα ἐπιφανῇ κατὰ γένος ἄγεται. γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ δυεῖν παιδῶν Τυρρηνικὰ θέμενος [p. 362] αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα, τῷ μὲν Ἄρροντα, τῷ δὲ Λοκόμωνα καὶ παιδεύσας ἀμφοτέρους Ἑλληνικὴν τε καὶ Τυρρηνικὴν παιδείαν, εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἴκων λαμβάνει.

[5] And having from his continual intercourse with the Tyrrhenians many good friends among them, particularly at Tarquinii, which was a large and flourishing city at that time, he built a house there and married a woman of illustrious birth. By her he had two sons, to whom he gave Tyrrhenian names, calling one Arruns and the other Lucumo; and having instructed them in both the Greek and Tyrrhenian learning, he married them, when they were grown, to two women of the most distinguished families.

[1] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν γένος οὐδὲν καταλιπὼν ἐμφανὲς ἀποθνήσκει. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας αὐτὸς ὁ Δημάρατος ὑπὸ λύπης τελευτᾷ κληρονόμον ἀπάσης τῆς οὐσίας τὸν περιλειπόμενον τῶν παιδῶν Λοκόμωνα καταλιπὼν: ὃς παραλαβὼν τὸν πατρικὸν πλοῦτον μέγαν ὄντα πολιτεύεσθαι τε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀστῶν εἶναι προήρητο.

[47.1] Not long afterward the elder of his sons died without acknowledged issue, and a few days later Demaratus himself died of grief, leaving his surviving son Lucumo heir to his entire fortune. Lucumo, having thus inherited the great wealth of his father, had aspired to public life and a part in the administration of the commonwealth and to be one of its foremost citizens.

[2] ἀπελαινόμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀριθμούμενος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς μέσοις, ἀνιαρῶς ἔφερε τὴν ἀτιμίαν. ἀκούων δὲ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ὅτι πάντας ἀσμένως ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς ξένους ἀστοὺς ποιεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν ἔγνω τὰ τε χρήματα πάντα συσκευασάμενος καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ οἰκείων τοὺς βουλομένους: ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ συναπαίρειν αὐτῷ προθυμηθέντες συγχνοί.

[2] But being repulsed on every side by the native-born citizens and excluded, not only from the first, but even from the middle rank, he resented his disfranchisement. And hearing that the Romans gladly received all strangers and made them citizens, he resolved to get together all his riches and remove thither, taking with him his wife and such of his friends and household as wished to go along; and those who were eager to depart with him were many.

[3] ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανικόλον ἦσαν, ὅθεν ἡ Ῥώμη τοῖς ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας ἐρχομένοις πρῶτον ἀφορᾶται, καταπτὰς ἀετὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὸν πῖλον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κείμενον ἀρπάσας, ἀνέπτη πάλιν ἄνω κατὰ [p. 363] τὴν ἐγκύκλιον αἰώραν φερόμενος καὶ εἰς τὸ βάθος τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος ἀπέκρυπεν: ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτίθησι τῷ Λοκόμῳ τὸν πῖλον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀρμόσας ὡς πρότερον ἤρμοστο.

[3] When they were come to the hill called Janiculum, from which Rome is first discerned by those who come from Tyrrhenia, an eagle, descending on a sudden, snatched his cap from his head and flew up again with it, and rising in a circular flight, hid himself in the depths of the circumambient air, then of a sudden replaced the cap on his head, fitting it on as it had been before.

[4] θαυμαστοῦ δὲ καὶ παραδόξου πᾶσι τοῦ σημείου φανέντος ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λοκόμῳ ὄνομα Τανακύλλα ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν ἐκ πατέρων ἔχουσα τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς οἰνοσκοπίας, λαβοῦσα μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν συνόντων ἡσπάσατό τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐνέπλησεν ὡς ἐξ ἰδιωτικῆς τύχης εἰς ἐξουσίαν βασιλικὴν ἐλευσόμενον. σκοπεῖν μέντοι συνεβούλευεν ὅπως παρ' ἐκόντων λήψεται Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἄξιον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἑαυτὸν παρασχών.

[4] This prodigy appearing wonderful and extraordinary to them all, the wife of Lucumo, Tanaquil by name, who had a good understanding standing, through her ancestors, of the Tyrrhenians' augural science, took him aside from the others and, embracing him, filled him with great hopes of rising from his private station to the royal power. She advised him, however, to consider by what means he might render himself worthy to receive the sovereignty by the free choice of the Romans.

[1] ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς τῷ σημείῳ γενόμενος ἐπειδὴ ταῖς πύλαις ἤδη συνήγγιζεν, εὐξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελῆ γενέσθαι τὰ μαντεύματα καὶ σὺν ἀγαθαῖς εἰσελθεῖν τύχαις παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συνελθὼν εἰς λόγους Μαρκίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐδήλωσεν ὅστις ἦν, ἔπειθ' ὅτι κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει βουλούμενος παρεῖη πᾶσαν τὴν πατρικὴν οὐσίαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἦν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἔφη τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τιθένα μείζονα οὐσαν ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἄνδρα κεκτῆσθαι.

[48.1] Lucumo was overjoyed at this omen, and as he was now approaching the gates have besought the gods that the prediction might be fulfilled and that his

arrival might be attended with good fortune; then he entered the city. After this, gaining an audience with King Marcius, he first informed him who he was and then told him that, being desirous of settling at Rome, he had brought with him all his paternal fortune, which, as it exceeded the limits suitable for a private citizen, he said he proposed to place at the disposal of the king and of the Roman state for the general good.

[2] ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ὑποδεξαμένου καὶ καταχωρίσαντος ἅμα τοῖς συμπαροῦσιν αὐτῷ Τυρρηνῶν εἰς φυλὴν τε καὶ φρατρίαν, οἰκίαν τε κατασκευάζεται [p. 364] τόπον διαλαχὼν τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἄρκοῦντα καὶ γῆς λαμβάνει κληῖρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διωκήσατο καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν εἰς ἐγγόνει, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἐκάστῳ κοινὸν τ' ὄνομα κεῖται καὶ μετὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἕτερον, ὃ δὴ συγγενικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστι καὶ πατρωνυμικόν, ἐξομοιοῦσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς βουλόμενος Λεῦκιον μὲν ἀντὶ Λοκόμωνος ἑαυτῷ τίθεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, Ταρκύνιον δὲ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾗ γενέσεώς τε καὶ τροφῆς ἔτυχε:

[2] And having met with a favourable reception from the king, who assigned him and his Tyrrhenian followers to one of the tribes and to one of the curiae, he built a house upon a site in the city which was allotted to him as sufficient for the purpose, and received a portion of land. After he had settled these matters and had become one of the citizens, he was informed that every Roman had a common name and, after the common name, another, derived from his family and ancestors, and wishing to be like them in this respect also, he took the name of Lucius instead of Lucumo as his common name, and that of Tarquinius as his family name, from the city in which he had been born and brought up.

[3] βασιλέως τε φίλος ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ γίνεται δῶρα διδούς, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐν χρεῖα μάλιστα γινόμενον ἡσθάνετο καὶ χρήματα παρέχων εἰς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρεῖας ὅσων ἐδεῖτο, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατείαις ἀπάντων κράτιστα πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἀγωνιζόμενος γνώμης τε ὅπου δεήσειεν ἀγαθῆς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ φρονίμοις τῶν συμβούλων ἀριθμούμενος.

[3] In a very short time he gained the friendship of the king by presenting him with those things which he saw he needed most and by supplying him with all the money he required to carry on his wars. On campaigns he fought most bravely of all, whether of the infantry or of the cavalry, and wherever there was need of good judgment he was counted among the shrewdest counsellors.

[4] γενόμενος δὲ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίμιος οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας διήμαρτεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πατρικίων πολλοὺς ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ὑπηγάγετο καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος οἰκείως ἔχειν ἑαυτῷ παρεσκεύασεν εὐπροσηγόροις τε ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ κεχαρισμέναις ὁμιλίαις καὶ χρημάτων μεταδόσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φιλοφροσύναις.

[4] Yet the favour of the king did not deprive him of the goodwill of the rest of the Romans; for he not only won to himself many of the patricians by his kindly services but also gained the affections of the populace by his cordial greetings, his agreeable conversation, his dispensing of money and his friendliness in other ways.

[1] τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τις ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἦν καὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ζῶντός τε Μαρκίου πάντων ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ τελευτήσαντος [p. 365] ἐκείνου τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ πάντων ἄξιος ἐκρίθη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπολέμησε τοῖς καλουμένοις Ἀπιολανοῖς πόλει τοῦ

[49.1] This was the character of Tarquinius and for these reasons he became during the lifetime of Marcius the most illustrious of all the Romans, and after that king's death was adjudged by all as worthy of the kingship. When he had succeeded to the sovereignty he first made war upon the people of Apiolae, as it was called, a city of no small note among the Latins.

[2] Λατίνων ἔθνους οὐκ ἄφανεῖ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀπιολανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμπαντες Λατῖνοι μετὰ τὸν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου θάνατον λελύσθαι τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας οἰόμενοι ληστειαῖς τε καὶ προνομαῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐπόρθουν: ἀνθ' ὧν τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐξεστράτευσε πολλῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν τὴν κρατίστην ἐδήλωσεν:

[2] For the Apiolani and all the rest of the Latins, looking upon the treaty of peace as having been terminated after the death of Ancus Marcius, were laying waste the Roman territory by plundering and pillaging. Tarquinius, desiring to take revenge upon them for these injuries, set out with a large force and ravaged the most fruitful part of their country;

[3] ἀφικομένης δ' ἐκ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Λατίνων ἐπικουρίας μεγάλης τοῖς Ἀπιολανοῖς διττὰς τίθεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχας, κρατήσας δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέραις περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐγίνετο καὶ προσῆγε τοῖς τείχεσι τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ διαδοχῆς: οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὀλίγοι τε πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι καὶ κατ' οὐδένα καιρὸν ἀναπαύσεως τυγχάνοντες ἐξηρέθησαν σὺν χρόνῳ. αἰούσης δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ἀπιολανῶν μαχόμενοι κατεσφάγησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τὰ ὄπλα παραδόντες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἐπράθησαν, παῖδες τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπήχθησαν, καὶ ἡ πόλις διαρπασθεῖσα ἐνεπρήσθη.

[3] then, when important reinforcements came to the Apiolani from their Latin neighbours, he fought two battles with them and, having gained the victory in both, proceeded to besiege the city, causing his troops to assault the walls in relays; and the besieged, being but few contending against many and not having a moment's respite, were at last subdued. The city being taken by storm, the greater part of the Apiolani were slain fighting, but a few after delivering up their arms were sold together with the rest of the booty; their

wives and children were carried away into slavery by the Romans and the city was plundered and burned.

[4] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκάψας ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ’ οἴκου καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ’ ἑτέραν στρατιὰν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κρουστομερίνων πόλιν. αὕτη δὲ [p. 366] ἀποικία μὲν ἦν Λατίνων, προσεχώρησε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμύλου δυναστείας: Ταρκυνίου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος τὰ Λατίνων αὐθις ἤρξατο φρονεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ γε καὶ ταύτην πολιορκίᾳ τε παραστήσασθαι

[4] After the king had done this and had razed the walls to the foundations, he returned home with his army. Soon afterwards he undertook another expedition against the city of the Crustumerians. This was a colony of the Latins and in the reign of Romulus had submitted to the Romans; but after Tarquinius succeeded to the sovereignty it began again to incline on the side of the Latins.

[5] καὶ πόνω: μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Κρουστομερίνοι τὸ τε πλῆθος τῆς ἡκούσης ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Λατίνων ἀφικομένης ἀνέωξαν τὰς πύλας καὶ προελθόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τιμωτάτοι παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἄξιοῦντες ἐπικεικῶς σφισι χρῆσασθαι καὶ μετρίως.

[5] However, it was not necessary to reduce this place by a siege and great effort; for the Crustumerians, having become aware both of the magnitude of the force that was coming against them and of their own weakness, since no aid came to them from the rest of the Latins, opened their gates; and the oldest and most honoured of the citizens, coming out, delivered up the city to Tarquinius, asking only that he treat them with clemency and moderation.

[6] τῷ δὲ κατ’ εὐχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα Κρουστομερίνων, ὀλίγους δὲ πάνυ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως φυγαῖς αἰδίοις ἐξῆμῳσε, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τὰ σφέτερα συνεχώρησεν ἔχειν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας μετέχειν ὡς πρότερον, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι παρακινῆσαι χάριν ἐποίκουσ αὐτοῖς κατέλιπε Ῥωμαίους.

[6] This fell out according to his wish, and entering the city, he put none of the Crustumerians to death and punished only a very few, who had been the authors of the revolt, with perpetual banishment, while permitting all the rest to retain their possessions and to enjoy Roman citizenship as before; but, in order to prevent any uprising for the future, he left Roman colonists in their midst.

[1] τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ Νωμεντανοῖς διανοηθεῖσι τῶν αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἐξεγένετο. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ληστήρια πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀγροὺς πολέμοι κατέστησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ταῖς Λατίνων πεποιθότες συμμαχίαις: στρατεύσαντος δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ταρκυνίου καὶ τῆς Λατίνων ἐπικουρίας

ὕστεριζούσης οὐχ οἳοί τε ὄντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τοσαύτην δύναμιν ἀντέχειν, [p. 367] ἵκετηρίας ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρέδωσαν ἑαυτούς.

[50.1] The Nomentans also, having formed the same plans, met with the same fate. For they kept sending bands of robbers to pillage the fields of the Romans and openly became their enemies, relying upon the assistance of the Latins. But when Tarquinius set out against them and the aid from the Latins was too late in arriving, they were unable to resist so great a force by themselves, and coming out of the town with the tokens of suppliants, they surrendered.

[2] οἱ δὲ τὴν καλουμένην Κολλατίαν κατοικοῦντες ἐπειράθησαν μὲν ἐλθεῖν διὰ μάχης πρὸς τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις καὶ προῆλθον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀπάσαις δὲ ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ἐλαττοῦμενοι καὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς λαμβάνοντες ἠναγκάσθησαν πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καταφυγεῖν καὶ διεπέμποντο πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις αἰτοῦμενοι συμμαχίαν. ὥς δὲ βραδύτερα τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦν, καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἠναγκάσθησαν σὺν χρόνῳ.

[2] The inhabitants of the city called Collatia undertook to try the fortune of battle with the Roman forces and for that purpose came out of their city; but being worsted in every engagement and having many of their men wounded, they were again forced to take refuge inside their walls, and they kept sending to the various Latin cities asking for assistance. But as these were too slow about relieving them and the enemy was attacking their walls in many places, they were at length obliged to deliver up their town.

[3] οὐ μέντοι τῆς αὐτῆς μετριότητος ἔτυχον, ἥς Νωμεντανοὶ τε καὶ Κρουστομερίνοι, ἀλλ' ὅπλα τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο καὶ εἰς χρήματα ἐζημίωσε καὶ φρουρὰν κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἱκανὴν ἄρχειν τε αὐτῶν ἔταξε τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν διὰ βίου Ταρκύνιον Ἄρροντα τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφιδοῦν, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ τε πατρὸς Ἀρροντος καὶ τοῦ πάππου Δημαράτου γενόμενος οὔτε τῶν πατρῶων οὔτε τῶν τοῦ πάππου χρημάτων τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκκληρονόμησε μοῖραν καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν Ἠγέριος ἐπωνομάσθη. τοὺς γὰρ ἀπόρους καὶ πτωχοὺς οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐξ οὗ δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτός τε Κολλατῖνος ἐπεκλήθη καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενοι.

[3] They did not, however, meet with the same lenient treatment as had the Nomentans and Crustumers, for the king disarmed them and fined them in a sum of money; and leaving a sufficient garrison in the city, he appointed his own nephew, Tarquinius Arruns, to rule over them with absolute power for life. This man, who had been born after the death both of his father Arruns and of his grandfather Demaratus, had inherited from neither the part of their respective fortunes which otherwise would have fallen to his share and for this reason he was surnamed Egerius or “the Indigent”; for that is the name the

Romans give to poor men and beggars. But from the time when he took charge of this city both he himself and all his descendants were given the surname of Collatinus.

[4] μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κολλατίας παράδοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Κορνικόλον [p. 368] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν: ἦν δὲ κάκεινι τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἡ πόλις. λεηλατήσας δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένου πρὸς αὐτὴν στρατεύεται τὴν πόλιν προκαλοῦμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν: οὐ βουλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τῇ ἐχυρότητι πεποιθότων καὶ συμμαχίας πολλαχόθεν ἦξειν οἰομένων, περὶ πάντα τὸν κύκλον τῆς πόλεως τὴν δύναμιν περιστήσας ἐτειχομάχει.

[4] After the surrender of Collatia the king marched against the place called Corniculum; this also was a city of the Latin race. And having ravaged their territory in great security, since none offered to defend it, he encamped close by the city itself and invited the inhabitants to enter into a league of friendship. But since they were unwilling to come to terms, but relied on the strength of their walls and expected allies to come from many directions, he invested the city on all sides and assaulted the walls.

[5] οἱ δὲ Κορνικολανοὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἀντεῖχον ἀνδρείως ἀπομαχόμενοι καὶ πολλὰς τοῖς προσβαλοῦσι πληγὰς ἔδωκαν, κάμνοντες δὲ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πόνων καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔτι γνώμην ἅπαντες φυλάττοντες τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει παραδίδοναι τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς δὲ μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχειν· δι' αὐτὸ τὸ στασιάζειν μάλιστα καταπονούμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἐάλωσαν.

[5] The Corniculans resisted long and bravely, inflicting numerous losses upon the besiegers, but becoming worn out with continual labour and no longer being unanimous (for some wished to deliver up the town and others to hold out to the last) and their distress being greatly increased by this very dissension, the town was taken by storm.

[6] τὸ μὲν οὖν κράτιστον αὐτῶν μέρος ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως μαχόμενον διεφθάρη, τὸ δὲ ἀγεννὲς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σωθὲν ἐν ἀνδραποδῶν ἐπράθη λόγω γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις, ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν διαρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐνεπρήσθη.

[6] The bravest part of the people were slain fighting during the capture of the town, while the craven, who owed their preservation to their cowardice, were sold for slaves together with their wives and children; and the city was plundered by the conquerors and burned.

[7] ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λατῖνοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῇ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι πολλὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν κρατιστὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνέβαλον, ἐξ ἧς αἰχμαλώτους τε πολλοὺς ἀπήγαγον καὶ λείας ἐγένοντο μεγάλης κύριοι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ἐξῆλθε [p. 369] μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐζωνὸν τε καὶ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐκέτι

δὲ καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς φθάσας εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰ ὅμοια διέθηκε.

[7] The Latins, resenting this proceeding, voted to lead a joint army against the Romans; and having raised a numerous force, they made an irruption into the most fruitful part of their country, carrying off thence many captives and possessing themselves of much booty. King Tarquinius marched out against them with his light troops who were ready for action, but too late to overtake them, he invaded their country and treated it in similar fashion.

[8] τοιαῦτα συνέβαινε πολλὰ παραλλὰξ ἑκατέροις ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμόρους χώρας ἐκστρατευομένοις ἐλαττώματά τε καὶ πλεονεκτήματα, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐγένετο μάχη Φιδήνης πόλεως πλησίον ἀπάσαις συμβαλόντων ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἐν ἧ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον ἀμφοτέρων, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἠνάγκασαν λιπόντας τὸν χάρακα νύκτωρ εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις ἀπελθεῖν.

[8] Many other such reverses and successes happened alternately to each side in the expeditions they made against one another's borders; and they fought one pitched battle with all their forces near the city of Fidenae, in which many fell on both sides though the Romans gained the victory and forced the Latins to abandon their camp by night and retire to their own cities.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἔχων συντεταγμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔχωρει λόγους προφέρων περὶ φιλίας. οἱ δ' οὔτ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συνεστῶσαν ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὔτε ταῖς ἰδίαις παρασκευαῖς πεποιθότες ἐδέχοντο τὰς προκλήσεις, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτῶν τινες τὰς πόλεις ὀρῶντες, ὅτι ταῖς μὲν ἀλούσαις κατὰ κράτος ἀνδραποδισμοὶ τε ἡκολούθουν καὶ κατασκαφαί, ταῖς δὲ προσχωρούσαις καθ' ὁμολογίας τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ ἀνήκεστον οὐδέν.

[51.1] After this engagement Tarquinius led his army in good order to their cities, making offers of friendship; and the Latins, since they had no national army assembled and no confidence in their own preparations, accepted his proposals. And some of them proceeded to surrender their cities, observing that in the case of the cities which were taken by storm the inhabitants were made slaves and the cities razed, while those which surrendered by capitulation were treated with no other severity than to be obliged to yield obedience to the conquerors.

[2] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Φικόλνεοι προσέθεντο αὐτῷ πόλις ἀξιόλογος ἐπὶ συγκειμένοις τισὶ δικαίαις, ἔπειτα Καμαρῖνοι, αἷς ἡκολούθησαν ἄλλαι τινὲς πολίχνηαι μικραὶ καὶ

[2] First, then, Ficulea, a city of note, submitted to him upon fair terms, then Cameria; and their example was followed by some small towns and strong fortresses.

[3] φροῦρια ἔχυρά. ἐφ’ οἷς ταραχθέντες οἱ λοιποὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ δέισαντες μὴ πᾶν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσῃται τὸ [p. 370] ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐν Φερεντίνῳ συνελθόντες ἀγορὰν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν τε οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως ἐξάγειν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐθνῶν τὰ κράτιστα παρακαλεῖν, καὶ διεπρεσβεῦοντο πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς τε καὶ

[3] But the rest of the Latins, becoming alarmed at this and fearing that he would subjugate the whole nation, met together in their assembly at Ferentinum and voted, not only to lead out their own forces from every city, but also to call the strongest of the neighbouring peoples to their aid; and to that end they sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians and Sabines to ask for assistance.

[4] Σαβίνους αἰτοῦμενοι συμμαχίαν. Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὑπέσχοντο αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκείνους ἐμβεβληκότας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀκούσωσιν, ἀναλαβόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὄπλα τὴν πλησίον αὐτῶν χώραν λεηλατήσιν: Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ συμμαχίαν ἀποστελεῖν ὡμολόγησαν, ἥς ἂν αὐτοὶ δεηθῶσιν, οὐχ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γενόμενοι γνώμης, ἀλλὰ πέντε πόλεις μόναι Κλουσῖνοι τε καὶ Ἀρρητῖνοι καὶ Οὐολατερρανοὶ Ῥουσιλανοὶ τε καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις Οὐετυλωνιδᾶται.

[4] The Sabines promised that as soon as they should hear that the Latins had invaded the territory of the Romans they too would take up arms and ravage that part of their territory which lay next to them; and the Tyrrhenians engaged to send to their assistance whatever forces they themselves should not need, though not all were of the same mind, but only five cities, namely, Clusium, Arretium, Volaterrae, Rusellae, and, in addition to these, Vetulonia.

[1] ταῦταις ἐπαρθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι παρασκευασάμενοι δύναμιν οἰκείαν συχνὴν καὶ τὴν παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν προσλαβόντες εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐνέβαλον, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους αἱ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνήσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμεναι πόλεις τὴν προσόμουρον κυροῦσαν αὐταῖς χώραν ἐδήουν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς παρασκευασάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ

[52.1] The Latins, elated by these hopes, got ready a large army of their own forces and having added to it the troops from the Tyrrhenians, invaded the Roman territory; and at the same time the cities of the Sabine nation which had promise to take part with them in the war proceeded to lay waste the country that bordered their own. Thereupon the Roman king, who in the meantime had also got ready a large and excellent army, marched in haste against the enemy.

[2] ταχέων. Σαβίνοις μὲν οὖν ἅμα καὶ Λατῖνοις πολεμεῖν καὶ διαιρεῖν εἰς δύο μέρη τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀσφαλές [p. 371] ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν

στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Λατίνους ἄγειν ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ τίθεται πλησίον αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ὀκνηρῶς εἶχον ἑκάτεροι πάσαις ἀποκινδυνεύσαι ταῖς δυνάμεσι δεδιότες τὰς ἀλλήλων παρασκευάς, ἀκροβολισμοὺς δὲ κατιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ ψилоὶ παρ' ἑκατέρων συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἰσόμαχοι:

[2] But thinking it unsafe to attack the Sabines and the Latins at the same time and to divide his forces into two bodies, he determined to lead his whole army against the Latins, and encamped near them. At first both sides were reluctant to hazard an engagement with all their forces, being alarmed at each other's preparations; but the light-armed troops, coming down from their entrenchments, engaged in constant skirmishes with one another, generally without any advantage on either side.

[3] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐμπεσοῦσης ἀμφοτέροις ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀψιμαχιῶν φιλονεικίας ἐπιβοηθοῦντες ἑκάτεροι τοῖς σφετέροις, ὀλίγοι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα σύμπαντες ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων προελθεῖν. καὶ καταστάντες εἰς μάχην ἄνδρες οὔτε πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἀτριβεῖς οὔτε πλήθει πολὺ ἀποδέοντες ἀλλήλων πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἱππεῖς προθυμίᾳ τε ὠρμημένοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁμοῖα καὶ κινδύνων τὸν ἔσχατον ἀναρριπτεῖν νομίσαντες ἠγωνίσαντο μὲν ἀμφοτέροι λόγου ἀξίως, διεκριθῆσαν δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἰσόμαχοι νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης.

[3] After a time, however, these skirmishes produced a spirit of rivalry in both armies and each side supported its own men, at first in small numbers, but at last they were all forced to come out of their camps. The troops which now engaged, being used to fighting and being nearly equal in numbers, both foot and horse, animated by the same warlike ardour, and believing that they were running the supreme risk, fought on both sides with noteworthy bravery; and they separated, without a decision, when night overtook them.

[4] ἡ μέντοι μετὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα διάνοια ἑκατέρων οὐχ ὁμοία γενομένη φανεροὺς ἐποίησε τοὺς κρεῖττον ἀγωνισαμένους τῶν ἑτέρων: τῇ γὰρ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ Λατῖνοι μὲν οὐκέτι προήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ὃ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐξαγαγὼν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἔτοιμος ἦν ἑτέραν ποιεῖσθαι μάχην καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κατέσχευεν ἐν τάξει τὴν φάλαγγα. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀντεπεξῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, σκυλευσας αὐτῶν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνελόμενος σὺν πολλῷ αὐχῇματι ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χάρακα. [p. 372]

[4] But the different feelings of the two sides after the action made it clear which of them had fought better than their opponents. For on the next day the Latins stirred no more out of their camp, while the Roman king, leading out his troops into the plain, was ready to fight another engagement and for a long time kept his lines in battle formation. But when the enemy did not come out against him, he took the spoils from their dead, and carrying off his own dead,

led his army with great exultation back to his own camp.

[1] ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀφικομένης τοῖς Λατίνοις ἐτέρας παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν συμμαχίας δεύτερος ἄγών γίνεται πολὺ μείζων τοῦ προτέρου, ἐξ οὗ νίκην ἀναιρεῖται βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἥς αὐτὸς αἷτιος ὠμολογεῖτο ὑπὸ πάντων γεγενῆσθαι.

[53.1] The Latins having received fresh aid from the Tyrrhenians during the days that followed, a second battle was fought, much greater than the former, in which King Tarquinius gained a most signal victory, the credit for which was allowed by all to belong to him personally.

[2] καμνούσης γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας παραρρηγνυμένης μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐλάττωμα περὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔτυχε δὲ τότε μαχόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τὰς κρατίστας τῶν ἱππέων Ἰλας ἐπιστρέψας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀκμασιότατους ἀναλαβὼν ἦγε κατὰ νώτου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς καὶ παραλλάξας τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας ἤλυνεν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῆς φάλαγγος. ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ καὶ τὰ κέντρα προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἵπποις εἰς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλει τοὺς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν λόχους οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολέμιων μαχόμενοι κέρατος ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτούς, ἐπιφανεῖς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητος πολλὴν ἐκπληξιν καὶ ταραχὴν παρέσχεν.

[2] For when the Roman line was already in distress and its close formation was being broken on the left wing, Tarquinius, as soon as he learned of this reverse to his forces (for he happened then to be fighting on the right wing), wheeling the best troops of horse about and taking along the flower of the foot, led them behind his own army and passing by the left wing, advanced even beyond the solid ranks of his line of battle. Then, wheeling his troops to the right and all clapping spurs to their horses, he charged the Tyrrhenians in flank (for these were fighting on the enemy's right wing and had put to flight those who stood opposite to them), and by thus appearing to them unexpectedly he caused them great alarm and confusion.

[3] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ πεζὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἀναλαβοῦσα ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου δειμματος εἰς ἀντίπαλα ἐχώρει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φόνος τε πολὺς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος παντελῆς. Ταρκύνιος δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύσας ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ βάδην αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρει τὸ τῶν πολέμιων ἐλαύνων τοὺς ἵππους ἀνὰ κράτος, φθάσας δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἀνασωζομένους ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τοῦ χάρακος [p. 373] εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου. οἱ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ καταλειφθέντες οὔτε τὴν κατασχοῦσαν τοὺς σφετέρους συμφορὰν προεγνωκότες οὔτε τοὺς προσιόντας ἱππεῖς γνωρίσαι διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς ἐφόδου δυνηθέντες εἶασαν αὐτοῦς παρελθεῖν.

[3] In the meantime the Roman foot also, having recovered themselves from

their earlier fear, advanced against the enemy; and thereupon there followed a great slaughter of the Tyrrhenians and the utter rout of their right wing. Tarquinius, having ordered the commanders of the infantry to follow in good order and slowly, led the cavalry himself at full speed to the enemy's camp; and arriving there ahead of those who were endeavouring to save themselves from the rout, he captured the entrenchments at the very first onset. For the troops which had been left there, being neither aware as yet of the misfortune that had befallen their own men nor able, by reason of the suddenness of the attack, to recognize the cavalry that approached, permitted them to enter.

[4] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς τῶν Λατίνων οἱ μὲν ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὡς εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καταφυγὴν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλαβομένων αὐτὴν ἱππέων ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φεύγειν ὀρμήσαντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος ὁμόσε χωρούσης ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πλείους αὐτῶν ὠθοῦμενοι τε ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ καταπατοῦμενοι περὶ τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἢ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους τὸν οἰκτιστὸν τε καὶ ἀγεννέστατον τρόπον διεφθάρησαν: ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῆς σωτηρίας οὐδένα πόρον εὐρεῖν δυνάμενοι παραδοῦναι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἑαυτούς.

[4] After the camp of the Latins had been taken, those of the enemy who were retiring thither from the rout of their army, as to a safe retreat, were slain by the cavalry, who had possessed themselves of it, while others, endeavouring to escape from the camp into the plain, were met by the serried ranks to Roman infantry and cut down; but the greater part of them, being crowded by one another and trodden under foot, perished on the palisades or in the trenches in the most miserable and ignoble manner. Consequently, those who were left alive, finding no means of saving themselves, were obliged to surrender to the conquerors.

[5] γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος πολλῶν σωμάτων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατὴς τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδοτο, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι καταληφθέντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίσατο.

[5] Tarquinius, having taken possession of many prisoners and much booty, sold the former and granted the plunder of the camp to the soldiers.

[1] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Λατίνων ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μάχῃ τὰς μὴ προσχωρούσας αὐτῷ παραστησόμενος: οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ γε αὐτῷ τειχομαχίας. ἅπαντες γὰρ εἰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἐτράποντο καὶ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμπαντες καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἤξιουν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἠβούλετο καὶ τὰς πόλεις παρέδοσαν.

[54.1] After this success he led his army against the cities of the Latins, in order to reduce by battle those who would not voluntarily surrender to him; but he did not find it necessary to lay siege to any of them. For all had recourse to supplications and prayers, and sending ambassadors to him from the whole

nation, they asked him to put an end to the war upon such conditions as he himself wished, and delivered up their cities to him.

[2] γενόμενος δὲ τῶν [p. 374] πόλεων κατὰ τάσδε τὰς ὁμολογίας ὁ βασιλεὺς κύριος ἐπεικέστατα πάσαις προσηνέχθη καὶ μετριώτατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινεν οὔτε φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν οὔτε χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε Λατίνων οὐδένα γῆν τε αὐτοῖς καρποῦσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπέτρεψε καὶ πολιτεύμασι χρῆσασθαι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐφῆκεν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων θεράποντάς τε ἀποκαταστήσαι τοῖς δεσπótαις ὅσων ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς προνομὰς κύριοι καὶ χρήματα ὅσα τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀφείλοντο διαλῦσαι καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατέβλαψαν ἢ διέφθειραν ἐν ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ἐπανορθῶσαι.

[2] The king, becoming master of their cities upon these terms, treated them all with the greatest clemency and moderation; for he neither put any of the Latins to death nor forced any into exile, nor laid a fine upon any of them, but allowed them to enjoy their lands and to retain their traditional forms of government. He did, however, order them to deliver up the deserters and captives to the Romans without ransom, to restore to their masters the slaves they had captured in their incursions, to repay the money they had taken from the husbandmen, and to make good every other damage or loss they had occasioned in their raids.

[3] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντας εἶναι φίλους Ῥωμαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἅπαντα πράττοντας ὅσα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύωσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς Λατίνους συστὰς Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος εἰς τοῦτο τὸ τέλος κατέσκηψε, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου κατήγαγε θρίαμβον.

[3] Upon their performing these commands they were to be friends and allies of the Romans, doing everything that they should command. This was the outcome of the war between the Romans and the Latins; and King Tarquinius celebrated the customary triumph for his victory in this war.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει παραλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους ἦγεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς προεγνώκτας. οὐχ ὑπομείναντες δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν παρεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρασκευασάμενοι δύναμιν ἱκανὴν ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε. γενομένης δὲ αὐτοῖς μάχης περὶ τὰ μεθόρια τῆς χώρας ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐνίκων μὲν οὐδέτεροι, πάνυ δ' ἰσχυρῶς ἐπόνησαν ἀμφοτέροι.

[55.1] The following year he led his army against the Sabines, who had long since been aware of his purpose and preparations against them. They were unwilling, however, to let the war to be brought into their own country, but having got ready an adequate force in their turn, they were advancing to meet him. And upon the confines of their territory they engaged in a battle which lasted till night, neither army being victorious, but both suffering very

severely.

[2] ταῖς γοῦν ἑξῆς ἡμέραις οὔτε ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων ἡγεμὼν προῆγεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὰς δυνάμεις οὔτε ὁ τῶν [p. 375] Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἀναστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἀμφοτέρω καὶ τῆς ἀλλήλων γῆς οὐδὲν κακώσαντες ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. γνώμη δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ὁμοία μείζονα δύναιμι ἐτέραν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων χώραν ἐξάγειν ἕαρος ἀρχομένου.

[2] At all events, during the following days neither the Sabine general nor the Roman king led his forces out of their entrenchments, but both broke camp and returned home without doing any injury to the other's territory. The intention of both was the same, namely, to lead out a new and larger force against the other's country at the beginning of spring.

[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, πρότεροι μὲν ἐξῆλθον οἱ Σαβῖνοι Τυρρηνῶν ἔχοντες δύναιμι ἱκανὴν πρὸς συμμαχίαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται Φιδήνης πλησίον περὶ τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀνιήτος καὶ τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ διττοὺς βαλόμενοι τοὺς χάρακας ἐναντίους τε καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ κοινὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ποταμῶν ῥεῖθρον, ἐφ' οὗ κατεσκεύαστο γέφυρα ξυλόφρακτος σκάφαις ἀνεχομένη καὶ σχεδίαις ἢ ποιοῦσα ταχείας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφίξεις καὶ τὸν χάρακα ἓνα.

[3] After they had made all their preparations, the Sabines first took the field, strengthened with a sufficient body of Tyrrhenian auxiliaries, and encamped near Fidenae, at the confluence of the Anio and the Tiber rivers. They pitched two camps opposite and adjoining each other, the united stream of both rivers running between them, over which was built a wooden bridge resting on boats and rafts, thus affording quick communication between them and making them one camp.

[4] πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν εἰσβολὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐξῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα καθιδρύεται τε μικρὸν ἄνωτέρω τῆς ἐκείνων στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀνίητα ποταμὸν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς καρτεροῦ. ἀπάσῃ δὲ προθυμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὠρμημένων ἀμφοτέρων οὐδεὶς ἀγὼν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὔτε μεῖζων οὔτ' ἐλάσσων αὐτοῖς συνέστη. ἔφθασε γὰρ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἀγχινοῖα στρατηγικῇ πάντα συντρίψας τὰ τῶν Σαβίνων πράγματα καὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρας ἀράμενος. τὸ δὲ στρατήγημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοιόνδε ἦν: [p. 376]

[4] Tarquinius, being informed of their irruption, marched out in his turn with the Roman army and pitched his camp a little above theirs, near the river Anio, upon a strongly situated hill. But though both armies had all the zeal imaginable for the war, no pitched battle, either great or small, occurred between them; for Tarquinius by a timely stratagem ruined all the plans of the Sabines and gained possession of both their camps. His stratagem was this:

[1] σκάφας ποταμηγοὺς καὶ σχεδίας ξύλων αὔων καὶ φρυγάνων γεμούσας, ἔτι δὲ πίσεως τε καὶ θείου παρασκευασάμενος ἐπὶ θατέρου τῶν ποταμῶν, παρ' ὃν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύκει, ἔπειτα φυλάξας ἄνεμον οὕριον περὶ τὴν ἐωθινήν φυλακὴν πῦρ ἐνεῖναι ταῖς ὕλαις ἐκέλευσε καὶ μεθεῖναι τὰς σκάφας καὶ τὰς σχεδίας φέρεσθαι κατὰ ῥοῦν. αἱ δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ διελθοῦσαι τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον ἐπιπίπτουσι τῇ

[56.1] He got together boats and rafts on the one side of the two rivers near which he himself lay encamped and filled them with dry sticks and brushwood, also with pitch and sulphur, and then waiting for a favourable wind, about the time of the morning watch he ordered the firewood to be set on fire and the boats and rafts turned adrift to drop downstream. These covered the intervening distance in a very short time, and being driven against the bridge, set fire to it in many places.

[2] γεφύρα καὶ ἀνάπτουσιν αὐτὴν πολλαχόθεν. τῶν δὲ Σαβίνων ὥς εἶδον ἄφνω πολλὴν φλόγα φερομένην συνδραμόντων ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ πάντα μηχανωμένων ὅσα σβεστήρια τοῦ πυρὸς ἦν, ἦκεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος περὶ τὸν ὀρθρον ἄγων συντεταγμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν καὶ προσβαλὼν θατέρῳ χάρακι τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐκλελοιπότων τὰς φυλακὰς διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ καιόμενα ὁρμὴν, ὀλίγων δὲ τινων πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπομένων,

[2] The Sabines, seeing a vast flame flare up on a sudden, ran to lend their assistance and tried all means possible to extinguish the fire. While they were thus employed Tarquinius arrived about dawn, leading the Roman army in order of battle, and attacked one of the camps; and since the greater part of the guards had left their posts to run to the fire, though some few turned and resisted, he gained possession of it without any trouble.

[3] ἐγκρατὴς αὐτοῦ γίνεται διχα πόνου. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο χρόνῳ καὶ

τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Σαβίνων χάρακα τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κείμενον ἑτέρα δύναμις Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθοῦσα αἰρεῖ, ἣ προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον, διεληλύθει δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν ποταμῶν ἕνα γενόμενον ἐν σκάφαις καὶ σχεδιαῖς καθ' ὃ μέρος περαιουμένη λήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τοῦς Σαβίνους, πλησίον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας ἐγεγόνει παρεμβολῆς ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὴν γέφυραν καιομένην: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ σὺνθημα [p. 377]

[3] While these things were going on another part of the Roman army came up and took the other camp of the Sabines also, which lay on the other side of the river. This detachment, having been sent on ahead by Tarquinius about the first watch, had crossed in boats and rafts the river formed by the uniting of the two streams, at a place where their passage was not likely to be discovered by the Sabines, and had got near to the other camp at the same time that they saw the bridge on fire; for this was their signal for the attack.

[4] τῆς ἐφόδου. τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς χάραξι καταληφθέντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν συμβολὴν τῶν ποταμῶν ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ δύνηθέντες ὑπερενεχθῆναι τὰς δίνας κατεπόθησαν: ἐφθάρη δὲ τις αὐτῶν μοῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ κατὰ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς γεφύρας ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἀμφοτέρω τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς καταληφθέντα χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψε διανεῖμασθαι, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς πάνυ ὄντας Σαβίνων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Τυρρηγῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγαγὼν διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε φυλακῆς.

[4] Of those who were found in the camps some were slain by the Romans while fighting, but any others threw themselves into the confluence of the rivers, and being unable to get through the whirlpools, were swallowed up; and not a few of them perished in the flames while they were endeavouring to save the bridge. Tarquinius, having taken both camps, gave leave to the soldiers to divide among themselves the booty that was found in them; but the prisoners, who were very numerous, not only of the Sabines themselves but also of the Tyrrhenians, he carried to Rome, where he kept them under strict guard.

[1] Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐγνῶσιμάχησαν ὑπὸ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς βιασθέντες καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου σπονδὰς ἐξαετῆς, Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ ὀργῇ φέροντες ὅτι ἤττηντό τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολλάκις καὶ ὅτι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοῖς ὁ Ταρκύνιος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου πρεσβευσάμενοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμήρων κατεῖχε λόγῳ, ψήφισμα ποιοῦνται πάσας τὰς τῶν Τυρρηγῶν πόλεις κοινῇ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, τὴν δὲ μὴ μετέχουσιν τῆς στρατείας ἔκσπονδον εἶναι.

[57.1] The Sabines, subdued by this calamity, grew sensible of their own weakness, and sending ambassadors, concluded a truce from the war for six years. But the Tyrrhenians, angered not only because they had been often defeated by the Romans, but also because Tarquinius had refused to restore to

them the prisoners he held when they sent an embassy to demand them, but retained them as hostages, passed a vote that all the Tyrrhenian cities should carry on the war jointly against the Romans and that any city refusing to take part in the expedition should be excluded from their league.

[2] ταῦτ' ἐπικυρώσαντες ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Τέβεριν ἀγχοῦ Φιδήνης τίθενται τὰ ὄπλα. γενόμενοι δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐγκρατεῖς διὰ προδοσίας στασιασάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν σώματα λαβόντες, πολλήν [p. 378] δὲ λείαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων χώρας ἐλαύνοντες ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου, φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ Φιδήνῃ καταλιπόντες ἀποκρῶσαν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὀρμητήριον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι κράτιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου.

[2] After passing this vote they led out their forces and, crossing the Tiber, encamped near Fidenae. And having gained possession of that city by treachery, there being a sedition among the inhabitants, and having taken a great many prisoners and carried off much booty from the Roman territory, they returned home, leaving a sufficient garrison in Fidenae; for they thought this city would be an excellent base from which to carry on the war against the Romans.

[3] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος εἰς τοῦτον ἔτος Ῥωμαίους τε σύμπαντας καθοπλίσας καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους παραλαβὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, πρὶν ἐκείνους συναχθέντας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς πρότερον ἐλθεῖν: καὶ διελὼν εἰς δύο μοῖρας ἄπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐστράτευσε, τῆς δὲ συμμαχικῆς, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ἦν τῶν Λατίνων, Ἠγέριον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συγγενῆ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ πολεμίους ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν.

[3] But King Tarquinius, having for the ensuing year armed all the Romans and taken as many troops as he could get from his allies, led them out against the enemy at the beginning of spring, before the Tyrrhenians could be assembled from all their cities and march against him as they had done before. Then, having divided his whole army into two parts, he put himself at the head of the Roman troops and led them against the cities of the Tyrrhenians, while he gave the command of the allies, consisting chiefly of the Latins, to Egerius, his kinsman, and ordered him to march against the enemy in Fidenae.

[4] ἡ μὲν οὖν συμμαχικὴ πλησίον τῆς Φιδήνης τὸν χάρακα οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ θεμένη διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγου τινὸς ἐδέησεν πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι: οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουροὶ βοήθειαν ἑτέραν παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν κρύφα μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ φυλάξαντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἔλαβον ἐξ ἐφόδου φαύλως φυλαττόμενον καὶ τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων ἐπὶ

[4] This force of allies, through contempt of the enemy, placed their camp in an unsafe position near Fidenae and barely missed being totally destroyed; for the garrison in the town, having secretly sent for fresh aid from the Tyrrhenians and watched for a suitable occasion, sallied forth from the town and captured the enemy's camp at the first onset, as it was carelessly guarded, and slew many of those who had gone out for forage.

[5] τὰς προνομᾶς πολὺν εἰργάσαντο φόνον. ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἥς Ταρκύνιος ἡγεῖτο τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν κείρουσα καὶ λεηλατοῦσα χώραν καὶ πολλὰς ὠφελείας [p. 379] ἐξενεγκαμένη συνελθούσης ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν Τυρρηνιδῶν πόλεων μεγάλης τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς ἐπικουρίας εἰς μάχην καταστᾶσα νικὴν ἀναμφίλογον ἀναιρεῖται: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διεξιούσα τὴν χώραν τῶν πολεμίων ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει γενομένη τε πολλῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἐγκρατὴς, πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων οἷα ἐξ εὐδαίμονος χώρας, τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους οἶκαδε ἀπῆει.

[5] But the army of Romans, commanded by Tarquinius, laid waste and ravaged the country of the Veientes and carried off much booty, and when numerous reinforcements assembled from all the Tyrrhenian cities to aid the Veientes, the Romans engaged them in battle and gained an incontestable victory. After this they marched through the enemy's country, plundering it with impunity; and having taken many prisoners and much booty — for it was prosperous country — they returned home when the summer was now ending.

[1] Οὐιεντανοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς μάχης μεγάλως κακωθέντες οὐκέτι προήεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἠνείχοντο κειρομένην τὴν χώραν ὀρῶντες. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος τρισὶν εἰσβολαῖς χρησάμενος καὶ τριετὴ χρόνον ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἐπικαρπιῶν, ὡς ἔρημον ἐποίησε τὴν πλείστην καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτειν αὐτὴν εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Καιρητανῶν πόλιν ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἣ πρότερον μὲν Ἄγυλλα ἐκαλεῖτο Πελασγῶν αὐτὴν κατοικοῦντων, ὑπὸ δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς γενομένη Καίρητα μετωνομάσθη, εὐδαίμων δ' ἦν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων καὶ πολυάνθρωπος:

[58.1] The Veientes, therefore, having suffered greatly from that battle, stirred no more out of their city but suffered their country to be laid waste before their eyes. King Tarquinius made three incursions into their territory and for a period of three years deprived them of the produce of their land; but when he had laid waste the greater part of their country and was unable to do any further damage to it, he led his army against the city of the Caeretani, which earlier had been called Agylla while it was inhabited by the Pelasgians but after falling under the power of the Tyrrhenians had been renamed Caere, and was as flourishing and populous as any city in Tyrrhenia.

[2] ἐξ ἥς στρατιὰ μεγάλη μαχησομένη περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξῆλθε καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν διαφθείρασα τῶν πολεμίων, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποβαλοῦσα τῶν

σφετέρων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατέφυγε. τῆς δὲ χώρας αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατοῦντες ἄφθονα πάντα παρεχομένης συχνὰς διέτριψαν ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἀπάρσεως ἦν, ἄγοντες ὅσας οἱοῖ τε ἦσαν ὠφελείας ἀπῆσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

[2] From this city a large army marched out to defend the country; but after destroying many of the enemy and losing still more of their own men they fled back into the city. The Romans, being masters of their country, which afforded them plenty of everything, continued there many days, and when it was time to depart they carried away all the booty they could and returned home.

[3] Ταρκύνιος δ' ἐπειδὴ [p. 380] τὰ πρὸς Οὐιεντανοὺς ἐχώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ πολεμίους ἐξάγει τὴν στρατιάν ἐκβαλεῖν τε βουλόμενος τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν καὶ τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὰ τεῖχη τιμωρήσασθαι προθυμούμενος. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθόντας καὶ ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχίαις ἀγῶν καρτερός.

[3] Tarquinius, now that his expedition against the Veientes had succeeded according to his desire, led out his army against the enemies in Fidenae, wishing to drive out the garrison that was there and at the same time being anxious to punish those who had handed over the walls to the Tyrrhenians. Accordingly, not only a pitched battle took place between the Romans and those who sallied out of the city, but also sharp fighting in the attacks that were made upon the walls.

[4] ἔάλω δ' οὖν ἡ πόλις κατὰ κράτος, καὶ οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ δεθέντες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αἰχμαλώτοις ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇ, Φιδηναίων δὲ οἱ δοκοῦντες αἴτιοι γεγονέναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μαστιγῶν αἰκισθέντες ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ φυγαῖς ἐζημιώθησαν ἀίδιοις: τὰς δὲ οὐσίας αὐτῶν διέλαχον οἱ καταλειφθέντες Ῥωμαίων ἔποικοι τε καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς πόλεως.

[4] At any rate, the city was taken by storm, and the garrison, together with the rest of the Tyrrhenian prisoners, were kept in chains under a guard. As for those of the Fidenates who appeared to have been the authors of the revolt, some were scourged and beheaded in public and others were condemned to perpetual banishment; and their possessions were distributed by lot among those Romans who were left both as colonists and as a garrison for the city.

[1] τελευταία δὲ μάχη Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἐγένετο πόλεως Ἡρήτου πλησίον ἐν τῇ Σαβίνων γῇ. δι' ἐκείνης γὰρ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλασιν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ δυνατῶν, ὡς συστρατευσομένων σφίσι τῶν Σαβίνων. αἱ γὰρ ἐξαετείς αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς Ταρκύνιον ἀνοχαὶ διεληλύθεσαν ἤδη, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν

Σαβίνων πόθος ἦν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὰς προτέρας ἦττας ἐπιτεθραμμένες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νεότητος ἱκανῆς.

[59.1] The last battle between the Romans and Tyrrhenians was fought near the city of Eretum in the territory of the Sabines. For the Tyrrhenians had been prevailed on by the influential men there to march through that country on their expedition against the Romans, on the assurance that the Sabines would join them in the campaign; for the six-years' truce, looking to peace, which the Sabines had made with Tarquinius, had already expired, and many of them longed to retrieve their former defeats, now that a sufficient body of youths had grown up in the meantime in their cities.

[2] οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γε αὐτοῖς ἡ πεῖρα κατὰ [p. 381] νοῦν θάπτον ἐπιφανείσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς, οὐδ' ἐξεγένετο παρ' οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πόλεων κοινήν ἀποσταλῆναι τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐθέλονται τινες ἐπεκούρησαν αὐτοῖς ὀλίγοι μισθοῖς μεγάλοις ὑπαχθέντες.

[2] But their attempt did not succeed according to their desire, the Roman army appearing too soon, nor was it possible for aid to be sent publicly to the Tyrrhenians from any of the Sabine cities; but a few went to their assistance of their own accord, attracted by the liberal pay.

[3] ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης μεγίστης τῶν προτέρων γενομένης, ὅσας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμησαν, τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα θαυμαστὴν ὄσσην ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβε νίκην ἐξενεγκαμένων καλλίστην, καὶ βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ τὴν τροπαιοφόρον πομπὴν κατὰγειν ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἔπεσε φρονήματα πάσας μὲν ἐξαποστειλάντων εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως δυνάμεις, ὀλίγους δὲ τινας ἐκ πολλῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ὑποδεξαμένων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρατάξει μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ τροπῇ δυσχωρίαις ἐγκυρήσαντες ἀνεξόδοις παρέδωκαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἑαυτοὺς.

[3] This battle, the greatest of any that had yet taken place between the two nations, gave a wonderful increase to the power of the Romans, who were gained a most glorious victory, for which both the senate and people decreed a triumph to King Tarquinius. But it broke the spirits of the Tyrrhenians, who, after sending out all the forces from every city to the struggle, received back in safety only a few out of all that great number. For some of them were cut down while fighting in the battle, and others, having in the route found themselves in rough country from which they could not extricate themselves, surrendered to the conquerors.

[4] τοιαύτης μέντοι συμφορᾶς πειραθέντες οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔργον ἐποίησαν ἀνθρώπων φρονίμων. ἑτέραν γὰρ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγόντος βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου συναχθέντες εἰς μίαν ἀγορὰν περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πέμπουσι

τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἄνδρας καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδειξάντες τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογιῶν.

[4] The leading men of their cities, therefore, having met with so great a calamity, acted as became prudent men. For when King Tarquinius led another army against them, they met in a general assembly and voted to treat with him about ending the war; and they sent to him the oldest and most honoured men from each city, giving them full powers to settle the terms of peace.

[1] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτῶν πολλὰ διαλεχθέντων ἐπαγωγὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μετριότητα [p. 382] καὶ τῆς συγγενείας, ἣς εἶχε πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, ὑπομιμνησκόντων ἔν τοῦτο μόνον ἔφη παρ' αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, πότερον ἔτι διαφέρονται περὶ τῶν ἴσων καὶ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας πάρεισι ποιησόμενοι, ἢ συγγινώσκουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κεκρατημένοις καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ. ἀποκριναμένων δ' αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην στέρξουσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ποτε δικαίους αὐτῆς τύχωσι, περιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτοις γενόμενος,

[60.1] The king, after he had heard the many arguments they advanced to move him to clemency and moderation and had been reminded of his kinship to their nation, whether they still contended for equal rights and were come to make peace upon certain conditions, or acknowledged themselves to be vanquished and were ready to deliver up their cities to him. Upon their replying that they were not only delivering up their cities to him but should also be satisfied with a peace upon any fair terms they could get, he was greatly pleased at this and said:

[2] ἀκούσατε νῦν, ἔφησεν, ἐφ' οἷς καταλύσομαι τὸν πόλεμον δικαίους καὶ τινὰς ὑμῖν διδωμι χάριτας: ἐγὼ Τυρρηνῶν οὔτε ἀποκτεῖναι τινὰ πρόθυμός εἰμι οὔτε φυγάδα ποιῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε ἀφαιρέσει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ζημιῶσαι τὰς τε πόλεις ὑμῖν ἀφιῆμι πάσας ἀφρουρήτους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους καὶ αὐτονόμους πολιτείας τε κόσμον ἑκάστη φυλάττειν συγχωρῶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον.

[2] “Hear now upon what fair terms I will put an end to the war and what favours I am granting you. I am not eager either to put any of the Tyrrhenians to death or to banish any from their country or to punish any with the loss of their possessions. I impose no garrisons or tributes upon any of your cities, but permit each of them to enjoy its own laws and its ancient form of government.

[3] διδοὺς δὲ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἔν οἷομαι δεῖν ἀνθ' ὧν διδωμι πάντων ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν πόλεων, ἣς κύριος μὲν ἔσομαι καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν ἕως ἂν κρατῶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, παρ' ἐκόντων δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ἀκόντων τυχεῖν αὐτῆς βούλομαι. ταῦτ' ἀπαγγέλλετε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐγὼ

δὲ ὑμῖν ἑκχειρίαν ἕως ἄν ἀφίκησθε παρέξειν ὑπισχνοῦμαι.

[3] But in granting you this I think I ought to obtain one thing from you in return for all that I am giving, and that is the sovereignty over your cities — something that I shall possess even against your will as long as I am more powerful in arms, though I prefer to obtain it with your consent rather than without it. Inform your cities of this, and I promise to grant you an armistice till you return.

[1] ταύτας λαβόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὥχοντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας παρῆσαν οὐ λόγους αὐτῷ μόνον φέροντες ψιλοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ [p. 383] σύμβολα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἷς ἐκόσμουσαν αὐτοὶ τοὺς σφετέρους βασιλεῖς, κομίζοντες στεφανὸν τε χρύσειον καὶ θρόνον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ σκῆπτρον ἄετὸν ἔχον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χιτῶνά τε πορφυροῦν χρυσόσημον καὶ περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν ποικίλον, οἷα Λυδῶν τε καὶ Περσῶν ἐφόρουσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, πλὴν οὐ τετράγωνόν γε τῷ σχήματι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἡμικύκλιον. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀμφισμαῶν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες δὲ τήβεννον καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν μαθόντες: Ἑλληνικὸν γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται μοι τοῦνομα εἶναι.

[61.1] The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed, and after a few days returned, not merely with words alone, but bringing the insignia of sovereignty with which they used to decorate their own kings. These were a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle perched on its head, a purple tunic decorated with gold, and an embroidered purple robe like those the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that it was not rectangular in shape like theirs, but semicircular. This kind of robe is called toga by the Romans and tēbenna by the Greeks; but I do not know where the Greeks learned the name, for it does not seem to me to be a Greek word.

[2] ὥς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἐκόμισαν αὐτῷ λαβόντες ἕξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἓνα. Τυρρηνικὸν γὰρ εἶναι ἔθος δοκεῖ ἐκάστου τῶν κατὰ πόλιν βασιλέων ἓνα προηγεῖσθαι ῥαβδοφόρον ἅμα τῇ δέσμῃ τῶν ῥάβδων πέλεκυν φέροντα: εἰ δὲ κοινῇ γίνοιτο τῶν δώδεκα πόλεων στρατεία, τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἐνὶ παραδίδοσθαι τῷ λαβόντι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν.

[2] And according to some historians they also brought to Tarquinius the twelve axes, taking one from each city. For it seems to have been a Tyrrhenian custom for each king of the several cities to be preceded by a lictor bearing an axe together with the bundle of rods, and whenever the twelve cities undertook any joint military expedition, for the twelve axes to be handed over to the one man who was invested with absolute power.

[3] οὐ μὴν ἅπαντές γε συμφέρονται τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας πελέκεις δώδεκα πρὸ τῶν βασιλέων φέρεσθαι φασι, καταστήσασθαι δὲ τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο Ῥωμύλον εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν

τὴν ἀρχὴν. οὐθὲν δὲ κωλύει τὸ μὲν εὖρημα Τυρρηνῶν εἶναι, χρήσασθαι δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ῥωμύλον παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντα, κομισθῆναι δὲ Ταρκυνίῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κόσμοις βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις, ὥσπερ γε καὶ νῦν [p. 384] Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ τὰ διαδήματα δωροῦνται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βεβαιοῦντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐξουσίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ μὴ λαβόντες γε παρ' ἐκείνων ἔχουσιν αὐτά.

[3] However, not all the authorities agree with those who express this opinion, but some maintain that even before the reign of Tarquinius twelve axes were carried before the kings of Rome and that Romulus instituted this custom as soon as he received the sovereignty. But there is nothing to prevent our believing that the Tyrrhenians were the authors of this practice, that Romulus adopted its use from them, and that the twelve axes also were brought to Tarquinius together with the other royal ornaments, just as the Romans even to-day give sceptres and diadems to kings in confirmation of their power; since, even without receiving those ornaments from the Romans, these kings make use of them.

[1] ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς ὁ Ταρκύνιος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐχρήσατο λαβών, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι γράφουσι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλ' ἀποδοὺς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διάγνωσιν εἰ ληπτέον αὐτά, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσι βουλομένοις ἦν, τότε προσεδέξατο καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ἕως εἰς τὸ χρεῶν μετέστη στέφανόν τε χρύσειον ἐφόρει καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα ποικίλην ἡμίσιχeto καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐλεφάντινον ἔχων ἐπὶ θρόνου ἐκαθέζετο ἐλεφαντίνου, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ῥαβδοῦχοι τοὺς πελέκεις φέροντες ἅμα ταῖς ῥάβδοις δικάζοντι τε αὐτῷ παρίσταντο καὶ πορευομένου προηγούμενοι.

[62.1] Tarquinius, however, did not avail himself of these honours as soon as he received them, according to most of the Roman historians, but left it to the senate and people to decide whether he should accept them or not; and when they unanimously approved, he then accepted them and from that time till he died always wore a crown of gold and an embroidered purple robe and sat on a throne of ivory holding an ivory sceptre in his hand, and the twelve lictors, bearing the axes and rods, attended him when he sat in judgment and preceded him when he went abroad.

[2] οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἅπας καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι παρέμεινε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπάτοις ἔξω τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ποικίλης ἐσθῆτος: ταῦτα δ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρέθη μόνα φορτικὰ δόξαντα εἶναι καὶ ἐπιφθονα. πλὴν ὅταν ἐκ πολέμου νίκην κατάγοντες θριάμβου παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξιωθῶσι, τότε καὶ χρυσοφοροῦσι καὶ ποικίλαις ἀλουργίσιν ἀμφιέννυνται. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς συστὰς Ταρκυνίῳ πόλεμος ἔτη κατασχὼν ἑννέα τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν.

[2] All these ornaments were retained by the kings who succeeded him, and,

after the expulsion of the kings, by the annual consuls — all except the crown and the embroidered robe; these alone were taken from them, being looked upon as vulgar and invidious. Yet whenever they return victorious from a war and are honoured with a triumph by the senate, they then not only wear gold but are also clad in embroidered purple robes. This, then, was the outcome of the war between Tarquinius and the Tyrrhenians after it had lasted nine years.

[1] ἐνὸς δὲ καταλειπομένου τοῦ Σαβίνων [p. 385] ἔθνους ἀντιπάλου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄνδρας τε μαχητὰς ἔχοντος καὶ χώραν νεμομένου πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐ πρόσω κειμένην, πολλὴν ἔσχεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος προθυμίαν καὶ τοὺτους ὑπαγαγέσθαι καὶ προῆπεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐγκαλῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑποσχομένους Τυρρηνοῖς ἂν ἀφίκωνται στρατὸν ἄγοντες εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν φίλας, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἐχθρὰς ποιήσιν τὰς σφετέρας πατρίδας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἐκδοῦναι.

[63.1] Since there now remained as a rival to the Romans for the supremacy only the Sabine race, which not only possessed warlike men but also inhabited a large and fertile country lying not far from Rome, Tarquinius was extremely desirous of subduing these also and declared war against them. He complained that their cities had refused to deliver up those who had promised the Tyrrhenians that if they entered their country with an army they would make their cities friendly to them and hostile to the Romans.

[2] οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ὑποδέχονται τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν ἀστῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὶ στρατὸν ἐξάγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὡς ἤκουσε διαβεβηκότας τοὺς Σαβίνους Ἀνίητα ποταμὸν καὶ λεηλατούμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἅπαντα, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν εὐζωνοτάτην Ῥωμαίων νεότητα ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς διεσπαρμένους ἐπὶ τὰς προνομᾶς.

[2] The Sabines not only cheerfully accepted the war, being unwilling to be deprived of the most influential of their citizens, but also, before the Roman army could come against them, they themselves invaded the others' territory. As soon as King Tarquinius heard that the Sabines had crossed the river Anio and that all the country round their camp was being laid waste, he took with him such of the Roman youth as were most lightly equipped, and led them with all possible speed against those of the enemy who were dispersed in foraging.

[3] ἀποκτείνας δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λείαν ὅσην ἦγον ἀφελόμενος ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐκείνων παρεμβολῆς τίθεται τὸν χάρακα καὶ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας, ἕως ἣ τε λοιπὴ δύναμις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ αἱ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίαι συνήχθησαν, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὡς μαχησόμενος.

[3] Then, having slain many of them and taken away all the booty which they were driving off, he pitched his camp near theirs; and after remaining quiet there for a few days till not only the remainder of his army from Rome had reached him but the auxiliary forces also from his allies had assembled, he descended into the plain ready to give battle.

[1] ἰδόντες δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἱ Σαβῖνοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦντας ἐξῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις οὔτε πλήθει λειπόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων [p. 386] οὔτε ἀρετῇ καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο πᾶσαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι τόλμαν, ἕως ἣν αὐτοῖς εἰς μόνος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἀγών. ἔπειτα μαθόντες ἐπὶόντα σφίσι κατὰ νώτου στρατὸν πολεμίων ἕτερον ἐν τάξει τε καὶ κόσμῳ χωροῦντα καταλιπόντες τὰ σημεῖα τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρες ἐπιλεκτοὶ πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς οἱ κατόπιν ἐπιφανέντες τοῖς Σαβίνοις, οὓς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις χωρίοις διὰ νυκτὸς ἐλόχισε.

[64.1] When the Sabines saw the Romans eagerly advancing to the combat, they also led out their forces, which were not inferior to the enemy either in numbers or in courage, and engaging, they fought with all possible bravery, so long as they had to contend only with those who were arrayed opposite them. Then, learning that another hostile army was advancing in their rear in orderly battle formation, they deserted their standards and turned to flight. The troops that appeared behind the Sabines were chosen men of the Romans, both horse and foot, whom Tarquinius had placed in ambush in suitable positions during the night.

[2] τοὺτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ Σαβῖνοι δείσαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου σφίσιν ἐπιφανομένους οὐθὲν ἔτι γενναῖον ἔργον ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀλλ' ὥς κατεστρατηγημένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ συμφορᾷ πεπληγότες ἀμάχῳ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπειρῶντο, κἂν τοῦτῳ μάλιστα πολλὺς αὐτῶν φόνος ἐγένετο διωκομένων ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀποκλειομένων: ὥστε ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν κομιδῇ γενέσθαι τοὺς διασωθέντας εἰς τὰς ἔγγιστα πόλεις, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον μέρος ὅσον μὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεσεν ὑποχείριον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῷ χάρακι τὴν ἔφοδον ἀποκρούσασθαι τῶν ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ἐθάρρησαν οὐδ' εἰς πείραν ἦλθον μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐκταραχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα κακοῦ παρέδοσαν ἀμαχητὶ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἔρμα.

[2] The unexpected appearance of these troops struck such terror into the Sabines that they displayed no further deed of bravery, but, feeling that they had been outmanoeuvred by the enemy and overwhelmed by an irresistible calamity, they endeavoured to save themselves, some in one direction and some in another; and it was in this route that the greatest slaughter occurred among them, while they were being pursued by the Roman horse and surrounded on all sides. Consequently, those of their number who escaped to the nearest cities were very few and the greater part of those who were not

slain in the battle fell into the hands of the Romans. Indeed, not even the forces that were left in the camp had the courage to repulse the assault of the enemy or to hazard an engagement, but, terrified by their unexpected misfortune, surrendered both themselves and their entrenchments without striking a blow.

[3] αἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Σαβίνων πόλεις ὡς κατεστρατηγημέναι καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ τὴν νίκην ἀφηρημέναι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, [p. 387] ἀλλὰ δόλῳ μείζονας αὐθις ἀποστέλλειν δυνάμεις παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐμπειρότερον. ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος μαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν συνήγε τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ τάχους καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους ἅπαντας δῆ

[3] The Sabine cities, feeling that they had been outmanoeuvred and deprived of the victory by their foes, not by valour but by deceit, were preparing to send out again a more numerous army and a more experienced commander. But Tarquinius, being informed of their intention, hastily collected his army, and before the enemy's forces were all assembled, forestalled them by crossing the river Anio.

[4] συνελθεῖν φθάνει διαβάς τὸν Ἀνιῆτα ποταμόν. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων στρατηγὸς ἐξῆλει μὲν ὡς εἶχε τάχους τὴν νεωστὶ συνηγμένην δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται πλησίον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ὕψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου, μάχης δὲ ἄρχειν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζεν ἕως αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Σαβίνων δυνάμεις συνέλθωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς προνομεύοντας τὴν χώραν ἐκπέμπων αἰετίνους τῶν ἵππέων καὶ λόχους ἐγκαθίζων ὕλαις ἢ νάπαις εἴργε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδων.

[4] Upon learning of this the Sabine general marched out with his newly raised army as speedily as possible and encamped near the Romans upon a high and steep hill; however, he judged it inadvisable to engage in battle till he was joined by the rest of the Sabine forces, but by continually sending some of the cavalry against the enemy's foragers and placing ambuscades in the woods and glades he barred the Romans from the roads leading into his country.

[1] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ χρωμένου τῷ πολέμῳ πολλαὶ μὲν συμπλοκαὶ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ψιλῶν τε καὶ ἵππέων ἐγίνοντο, μάχη δὲ ὀλοσχερῆς ἀπάντων οὐδεμία. ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου δι' ὀργῆς φέρων τὴν διατριβὴν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων τὰς δυνάμεις ἔκρινεν ἄγειν καὶ πολλὰς ἐποίησατο προσβολάς.

[65.1] While the Sabine general was conducting the war in this manner many skirmishes took place between small parties both of the light-armed foot and the horse, but no general action between all the forces. The time being thus protracted, Tarquinius was angered at the delay and resolved to lead his army against the enemy's camp; and he attacked it repeatedly.

[2] ἔπειτα καταμαθὼν τῷ βιαίῳ τῶν τρόπων οὐ ῥάδιαν οὔσαν αὐτὴν ἀλῶναι

διὰ τὴν ἐχυρότητα τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ διέγνω, καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς φερούσας: ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς φρουρία κατασκευαζόμενος, ξυλίζεσθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ χιλὸν ἵπποις συναγαγεῖν [p. 388] καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἔῶν εἰς πολλὴν κατέστησεν ἀπάντων ἀπορίαν: ὥστ' ἤναγκάσθησαν φυλάξαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδασι καὶ ἀνέμῳ φυγεῖν αἰσχυρῶς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπόντες ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τε ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν.

[2] Then, finding that it could not easily be taken by forcible means, because of its strength, he determined to reduce those within by famine; and by building forts upon all the roads that led to the camp and hindering them from going out to get wood for themselves and forage for their horses and from procuring many other necessities from the country, he reduced them to so great a shortage of everything that they were obliged to take advantage of a stormy night of rain and wind and flee from their camp in a shameful manner, leaving behind them their beasts of burden, their tents, their wounded, and all their warlike stores.

[3] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἄπαρσιν αὐτῶν καὶ γενόμενοι τοῦ χάρακος ἀμαχητὶ κύριοι σκηνὰς μὲν καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα διήρπασαν, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπάγοντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεψαν. οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος ἔτη πέντε διέμεινε συνεχῶς πολεμούμενος, ἐν ᾧ γῆν ἀμφοτέροι τὴν ἀλλήλων πορθοῦντες καὶ μάχας πολλὰς ἐλάττους τε καὶ μείζους μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, ὀλίγα μὲν τινα καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων εὐτυχούντων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα Ῥωμαίων: ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευταίᾳ μάχῃ τέλος ἔλαβεν ὁλοσχερές.

[3] The next day the Romans, learning of their departure, took possession of their camp without opposition and after seizing the tents, the beasts of burden, and the personal effects, returned to Rome with the prisoners. This war continued to be waged for five years in succession, and in its course both sides continually plundered one another's country and engaged in many battles, some of lesser and some of greater importance, the advantage occasionally resting with the Sabines but usually with the Romans; in the last battle, however, the war came to a definite end.

[4] Σαβῖνοι γὰρ οὐχ ὥς πρότερον ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες οἱ στρατεύσιμον ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ῥωμαῖοι τε σύμπαντες τὰς Λατίνων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων δυνάμεις παραλαβόντες ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολέμοις.

[4] The Sabines, it seems, did not as before go forth to war in successive bands, but all who were any other an age to bear arms went out together; and all the Romans, with the forces of the Latins, the Tyrrhenians and the rest of their allies, were advancing to meet the enemy.

[5] ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Σαβίνων στρατηγὸς διχῇ μερίσας τὰς δυνάμεις δύο ποιεῖται στρατόπεδα, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τρία ποιήσας τάγματα καὶ τρεῖς παρεμβολὰς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων θέμενος [p. 389] αὐτὸς μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡγεῖτο δυνάμεως, Ἀρρόντα δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς συμμαχίας ἀπέδειξε στρατηγόν:

[5] The Sabine general, dividing his forces, formed two camps, while the Roman king made three divisions of his troops and pitched three camps not far apart. He commanded the Roman contingent himself and made his nephew Arruns leader of the Tyrrhenian auxiliaries,

[6] Λατίνων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἔταξεν ἄρχειν ἄνδρα γενναῖον μὲν τὰ πολέμια καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώτατον, ξένον δὲ καὶ ἄπολιν: Σερούϊος αὐτῷ προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα ἦν, Τύλλιος δὲ τὸ συγγενικόν: ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Λευκίου Ταρκυνίου τελευτὴν βασιλεύειν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψαν οὐκ οὔσης Ταρκυνίῳ γενεᾶς ἄρρενος, ἀγάμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς τε περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς. γένος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τύχας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου γενομένην περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὅταν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου, διηγῆσομαι.

[6] while over the Latins and the other allies he placed a man who was valiant in warfare and of most competent judgment, but a foreigner without a country. This man's first name was Servius and his family name Tullius; it was he whom the Romans, after the death of Lucius Tarquinius without male issue, permitted to rule the state, since they admired him for his abilities in both peace and war. But I shall give an account of this man's birth, education and fortunes and of the divine manifestation made with regard to him when I come to that part of my narrative.

[1] τότε δ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδεια, συνήεσαν εἰς μάχην, εἶχον δὲ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν οἱ Τυρρηνοί, κατὰ μέσσην δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Λατῖνοι ἐτάχθησαν. γενομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος καρτεροῦ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐνίκων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, τῶν δὲ παρεμβολῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων μέγαν περιβαλόμενοι πλοῦτον ἀδεῶς ἥδη τῆς ὑπαίθρου πάσης ἐκράτουν, ἦν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσι λωβησάμενοι κακοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα, [p. 390] λύσαντες τὰς παρεμβολὰς ἀπῆεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τρίτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς τὸν ἐκ τῆς 2δῆς τῆς μάχης κατήγαγε θρίαμβον.

[66.1] On this occasion, then, when both armies had made the necessary preparations for the struggle, they engaged; the Romans were posted on the left wing, the Tyrrhenians on the right, and the Latins in the centre of the line. After a hard battle that lasted the whole day the Romans were far superior;

and having slain many of the enemy, who had acquitted themselves as brave men, and having taken many more of them prisoners in the rout, they possessed themselves of both Sabine camps, where they seized a rich store of booty. And now being masters of all the open country without fear of opposition, they laid it waste with fire and sword and every kind of injury; but as the summer drew to an end, they broke camp and returned home. And King Tarquinius in honour of this victory triumphed for the third time during his own reign.

[2] τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ παρασκευαζομένου πάλιν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Σαβίνων ἐξάγειν καὶ πολιορκίας αὐτὰς προσάγεσθαι διεγνώκοτος, γενναῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι βούλευμα καὶ νεανικὸν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐγένετο, πᾶσαι δὲ κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρησάμεναι πρὶν εἰς κίνδυνον ἐλθεῖν ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ κατασκαφῆς καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἔγνωσαν.

[2] The following year, when he was preparing to lead his army once more against the cities of the Sabines and had determined to reduce them by siege, there was not one of those cities that any longer took any brave or vigorous resolution, but all unanimously determined, before incurring the risk of slavery for themselves and the razing of their cities, to put an end to the war.

[3] καὶ παρῆσαν ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν Σαβίνων πρὸς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ἐξεληλυθότα μετὰ πάσης ἡδὴ δυνάμεως παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὰ τείχη καὶ δεόμενοι μετρίας ποιήσασθαι τὰς συμβάσεις. ὁ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς δεξάμενος τὴν ἄνευ κινδύνων ὑποταγὴν τοῦ ἔθνους σπονδὰς τε ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ φιλίας ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁμολογίαις, αἷς Τυρρηνοὺς πρότερον ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἄνευ λύτρων.

[3] And the most important men among the Sabines came from every city to King Tarquinius, who had already taken the field with all his forces, to deliver up their walled cities to him and to beg him to make reasonable terms. Tarquinius gladly accepted this submission of the nation, unattended as it was by any hazards, and made a treaty of peace and friendship with them upon the same conditions upon which he had earlier received the submission of the Tyrrhenians; and he restored their captives to them without ransom.

[1] αὗται πολεμικαὶ πράξεις βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου μνημονεύονται, εἰρηνικαὶ δὲ καὶ πολιτικαὶ τοιαίδε τινές, οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτας βούλομαι παρελθεῖν ἀμνημονεύτους. εὐθύς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον οἰκέειν ἑαυτῷ ποιῆσαι προθυμηθεῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ πρότεροι βασιλεῖς ἐποιοῦν, διὰ τοιαύτας εὐεργεσίας ὑπηγάγετο: ἐπιλέξας [p. 391] ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἷς ἀρετὴν τινα πολεμικὴν ἢ πολιτικὴν φρόνησιν ἅπαντες ἐμαρτύρουν, πατρικίους ἐποίησε καὶ κατέταξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαῖοι τριακόσιοι βουλευταὶ τέως ὄντες διακόσιοι.

[67.1] These are the military achievements of Tarquinius which are recorded; those that relate to peace and to the civil administration (for these too I do not wish to pass over without mention) are as follows: As soon as he had assumed the sovereignty, being anxious to gain the affections of the common people, after the example of his predecessors, he won them over by such services as these: He chose a hundred persons out of the whole body of the plebeians who were acknowledged by all to be possessed of some warlike prowess or political sagacity, and having made them patricians, he enrolled them among the senators; and then for the first time the Romans had three hundred senators, instead of two hundred, as previously.

[2] ἔπειτα ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις, ὅφ' ὧν τὸ ἄσβεστον φυλάττεται πῦρ, τέτταρσιν οὖσαις δύο προσκατέλεξεν ἑτέρας: πλειόνων γὰρ ἤδη συντελουμένων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἱεουργιῶν, αἷς ἔδει τὰς τῆς Ἑστίας παρεῖναι θυηπόλους, οὐκ ἑδόκουν αἱ τέτταρες ἄρκεῖν. Ταρκυνίου δὲ ἄρξαντος ἡκολούθουν οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ἔξ ἀποδείκνυνται τῆς Ἑστίας ἀμφίπολοι.

[2] Next, he added to the four holy virgins who had the custody of the perpetual fire two others; for the sacrifices performed on behalf of the state at which these priestesses of Vesta were required to be present being now increased, the four were not thought sufficient. The example of Tarquinius was followed by the rest of the kings and to this day six priestesses of Vesta are appointed.

[3] δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας, αἷς κολάζονται πρὸς τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν αἱ μὴ φυλάττουσαι τὴν παρθενίαν, ἐκεῖνος ἐξευρεῖν πρῶτος εἶτε κατὰ λογισμὸν εἶτε ὡς οἴονται τινες ὀνειρώπειόμενος, ἃς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐν τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις εὐρεθῆναι χρησμοῖς οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ λέγουσιν: ἐφωράθη γὰρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας ἱέρεια Πιναρία Ποπλίου θυγάτηρ οὐχ ἀγνή προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς. τρόπος δὲ τιμωρίας ὅστις ἐστίν, ᾧ κολάζουσι τὰς διαφθαρείσας, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδηλωται

[3] He seems also to have first devised the punishments which are inflicted by the pontiffs on those Vestals who do not preserve their chastity, being moved to do so either by his own judgment or, as some believe, in obedience to a dream; and these punishments, according to the interpreters of religious rites, were found after his death among the Sibylline oracles. For in his reign a priestess named Pinaria, the daughter of Publius, was discovered to be approaching the sacrifices in a state of unchastity. The manner of punishing the Vestals who have been debauched has been described by me in the preceding Book.

[4] μοι γραφῇ. τὴν τε ἀγοράν, ἐν ᾗ δικάζουσι καὶ ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτικὰς ἐπιτελοῦσι παράξεις ἐκεῖνος ἐκόσμησεν ἐργαστηρίοις τε καὶ παστάσι περιλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως αὐτοσχέδια [p. 392] καὶ

φαῦλα ταῖς ἐργασίαις ὄντα πρῶτος ὠκοδομήσατο λίθοις ἀμαξιαίοις εἰργασμένοις πρὸς κανόνα.

[4] Tarquinius also adorned the Forum, where justice is administered, the assemblies of the people held, and other civil matters transacted, by surrounding it with shops and porticos. And he was the first to build the walls of the city, which previously had been of temporary and careless construction, with huge stones regularly squared.

[5] ἤρξατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπονόμους ὀρύττειν τάφρους, δι' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸν Τέβεριν ὀχετεύεται πᾶν τὸ συρρέον ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν ὕδωρ, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ κρείττω λόγου κατασκευασάμενος. ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτοις κατασκευάσμασι τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐμφαίνεται μέγεθος, τὰς τε τῶν ὑδάτων ἀγωγὰς τίθεμαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ὁδῶν στρώσεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐργασίας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν διάνοιαν ἀναφέρων, ὑπὲρ οὗ κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀναλωμάτων πολυτέλειαν, ἣν ἐξ ἐνθὸς ἔργου τεκμήραιτ' ἂν τις Γάιον Ἀκίλλιον ποιησάμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι βεβαιωτὴν, ὅς φησιν ἀμεληθεῖσιν ποτε τῶν τάφρων καὶ μηκέτι διαρροομένων τοὺς τιμητὰς τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χιλίων μισθῶσαι ταλάντων.

[5] He also began the digging of the sewers, through which all the water that collects from the streets is conveyed into the Tiber — a wonderful work exceeding all description. Indeed, in my opinion the three most magnificent works of Rome, in which the greatness of her empire is best seen, are the aqueducts, the paved roads and the construction of the sewers. I say this with respect not only to the usefulness of the work (concerning which I shall speak in the proper place), but also to the magnitude of the cost, of which one may judge by a single circumstance, if one takes as his authority Gaius Acilius, who says that once, when the sewers had been neglected and were no longer passable for the water, the censors let out the cleaning and repairing of them at a thousand talents.

[1] κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἵπποδρόμων Ταρκύνιος τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Αὐεντίνου καὶ τοῦ Παλλαντίου κείμενον πρῶτος ὑποστέγους ποιήσας περὶ αὐτὸν καθέδρας 'τέως γὰρ ἐστῶτες ἐθεώρουν' ἐπ' ἱκρίοις, δοκῶν ξυλίναις σκηναῖς ὑποκειμένων: [p. 393] καὶ διελὼν τοὺς τόπους εἰς τριάκοντα φράτρας ἐκάστη φράτρη μοῖραν ἀπέδωκε μίαν, ὥστε ἐν τῇ προσηκούσῃ χώρᾳ καθεζόμενον ἕκαστον θεωρεῖν.

[68.1] Tarquinius also built the Circus Maximus, which lies between the Aventine and Palatine Hills, and was the first to erect covered seats round it on scaffolding (for till then the spectators had stood), the wooden stands being supported by beams. And dividing the places among the thirty curiae, he assigned to each curia a particular section, so that every spectator was seated

in his proper place.

[2] ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ καλοῖς καὶ θαυμαστοῖς κατασκευάσμασι τῆς πόλεως γενήσεσθαι. μῆκος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου τριῶν καὶ ἡμίσεος ἐστὶ σταδίων, εὖρος δὲ τεττάρων πλέθρων· περὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τε τὰς μείζους πλευρὰς καὶ κατὰ μίαν τῶν ἐλαττόνων εὐριπος εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ὕδατος ὀρώρυκται βάθος τε καὶ πλάτος δεκάπους. μετὰ δὲ τὸν εὐριπον ὠκοδόμῃνται στοαὶ τρίστεγοι. τούτων δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐπιτεδοὶ λιθινὰς ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ὀλίγον ὑπερανεστηκυίας ἀλλήλων καθέδρας,

[2] This work also was destined to become in time one of the most beautiful and most admirable structures in Rome. For the Circus is three stades and a half in length and four plethra in breadth. Round about it on the two longer sides and one of the shorter sides a canal has been dug, ten feet in depth and width, to receive water. Behind the canal are erected porticos three stories high, of which the lowest story has stone seats, gradually rising, as in the theatres, one above the other, and the two upper stories wooden seats.

[3] αἱ δ' ὑπερῶοι ξυλινὰς. συνάγονται δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνάπτουσιν ἀλλήλαις αἱ μείζους ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλάττονος μηνοειδὲς ἐχούσης τὸ σχῆμα συγκλειόμεναι, ὥστε μίαν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν γίνεσθαι στοὰν ἀμφιθέατρον ὅκτῳ σταδίων ἱκανὴν ὑποδέξασθαι πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ τῶν ἐλαττόνων πλευρῶν αἴθριος ἀνειμένη ψαλιδωτὰς ἵππαφέσεις ἔχει διὰ

[3] The two longer porticos are united into one and joined together by means of the shorter one, which is crescent-shaped, so that all three form a single portico like an amphitheatre, eight stades in circuit and capable of holding 150,000 persons. The other of the shorter sides is left uncovered and contains vaulted starting-places for the horses, which are all opened by means of a single rope.

[4] μιᾶς ὕσπληγος ἅμα πάσας ἀνοιγομένης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἔξωθεν ἑτέρα στοὰ μονόστεγος ἐργαστήρια ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ οἰκῆσεις ὑπὲρ αὐτά, δι' ἧς εἰσιν εἰσοδοὶ τε καὶ ἀναβάσεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἀφικομένοις παρ' ἕκαστον ἐργαστήριον, ὥστε [p. 394] μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τὰς τοσάδε μυριάδας εἰσιούσας τε καὶ ἀπολυομένας.

[4] On the outside of the Circus there is another portico of one story which has shops in it and habitations over them. In this portico there are entrances and ascents for the spectators at every shop, so that the countless thousands of people may enter and depart without inconvenience.

[1] ἐνεχείρησε δὲ καὶ τὸν νεῶν κατασκευάζειν τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐχὴν ἀποδιδούς, ἣν ἐποίησατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ πρὸς Σαβίνους μάχῃ. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόφον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἱερόν ἔμελλεν ἰδρύεσθαι, πολλῆς δεόμενον πραγματείας ὅτε γὰρ εὐπρόσδοος ἦν

οὔτε ὁμαλός, ἀλλ' ἀπότομος καὶ εἰς κορυφὴν συναγόμενος ὄξειαν' ἀναλήμμασιν ὑψηλοῖς πολλαχόθεν περιλαβὼν καὶ πολὺν χοῦν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀναλημμάτων καὶ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐμφορήσας, ὁμαλὸν γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασε καὶ πρὸς ἱερῶν ὑποδοχὴν ἐπιτηδεϊότατον.

[69.1] This king also undertook to construct the temple to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, in fulfilment of the vow he had made to these gods in his last battle against the Sabines. Having, therefore, surrounded the hill on which he proposed to build the temple with high retaining walls in many places, since it required much preparation (for it was neither easy of access nor level, but steep, and terminated in a sharp peak), he filled in the space between the retaining walls and the summit with great quantities of earth and, by levelling it, made the place most suitable for receiving temples.

[2] τοὺς δὲ θεμελίους οὐκ ἔφθασε θεῖναι τοῦ νεῦ χρόνον ἐπιβιώσας μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου τετραετῇ. πολλοῖς δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὁ τρίτος βασιλεύσας ἀπ' ἐκείνου Ταρκύνιος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν, τοὺς τε θεμελίους κατεβάλετο καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τὰ πολλὰ εἰργάσατο. οὐ μὲν ἐτελείωσε τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων ἀρχόντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατευσάντων τὴν συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ὁ νεῶς.

[2] But he was prevented by death from laying the foundations of the temple; for he lived but four years after the end of the war. Many years later, however, Tarquinius, the second king after him, the one who was driven from the throne, laid the founds of this structure and built the greater part of it. Yet even he did not complete the work, but it was finished under the annual magistrates who were consuls in the third year after his expulsion.

[3] ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς αὐτοῦ γενόμενα διελθεῖν, ἃ παραδεδώκασιν ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ἐπιχωρίους συναγαγόντες ἱστορίας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλε κατασκευάζειν ὁ Ταρκύνιος τὸν γαόν, συγκαλέσας τοὺς οἰωνομάντεις ἐκέλευσε [p. 395] τοῖς ἀνδράσι περὶ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διαμαντεύσασθαι τοῦ τόπου, τίς ἐπιτηδεϊότατός ἐστι τῆς πόλεως χῶρος ἱερὸς ἀνεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα κεχαρισμένος.

[3] It is fitting to relate also the incidents that preceded the building of it as they have been handed down by all the compilers of Roman history. When Tarquinius was preparing to build the temple he called the augurs together and ordered them first to consult the auspices concerning the site itself, in order to learn what place in the city was the most suitable to be consecrated and the most acceptable to the gods themselves;

[4] ἀποδειξάντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον, ὃς τότε μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ταρπήιος, νῦν δὲ Καπιτωλῖνος, αὖθις ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς διαμαντευσασμένους εἰπεῖν ἐν ὁποίῳ τοῦ λόφου χωρίῳ θέσθαι δεήσει τοὺς θεμελίους. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάνυ ῥάδιον ἦν: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ βωμοὶ

θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων, οὕς ἔδει μετὰγειν ἑτέρωσέ ποι, καὶ πᾶν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ μέλλοντι τοῖς θεοῖς τεμένει γενήσεσθαι τὸ δάτεδον.

[4] and upon their indicating the hill that commands the Forum, which was then called the Tarpeian, but now the Capitoline Hill, he ordered them to consult the auspices once more and declare in what part of the hill the foundations must be laid. But this was not at all easy; for there were upon the hill many altars both of the gods and of the lesser divinities not far apart from one another, which would have to be moved to some other place and the whole area given up to the sanctuary that was to be built to the gods.

[5] ἔδοξε δὴ τοῖς οἰωνοπόλοις ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου βωμοῦ τῶν καθιδρυμένων διαμαντευσαμένοις, ἔαν παραχωρῶσιν οἱ θεοὶ τότε κινεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι θεοὶ τε καὶ δαίμονες ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἕτερα χωρία τοὺς βωμοὺς σφῶν μεταφέρειν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Τέρμονος καὶ τῆς Νεότητος πολλὰ παραιτουμένοις τοῖς μάντεσι καὶ λιπαροῦσιν οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν οὐδ' ἡνέσχοντο παραχωρῆσαι τῶν τόπων. τοιγάρτοι συμπεριελήφθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ βωμοὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ νῦν ὁ μὲν ἕτερός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σηκῷ πλησίον τοῦ ἔδους.

[5] The augurs thought proper to consult the auspices concerning each one of the altars that were erected there, and if the gods were willing to withdraw, then to move them elsewhere. The rest of the gods and lesser divinities, then, gave them leave to move their altars elsewhere, but Terminus and Juventas, although the augurs besought them with great earnestness and importunity, could not be prevailed on and refused to leave their places. Accordingly, their altars were included within the circuit of the temples, and one of them now stands in the vestibule of Minerva's shrine and the other in the shrine itself near the statue of the goddess.

[6] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέβαλον οἱ μάντις, ὅτι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὔτε τοὺς ὄρους μετακινήσει καιρὸς οὐθεὶς οὔτε τὴν ἀκμὴν μεταβαλεῖ: καὶ μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων ἀληθὲς [p. 396] αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἑκάτερον εἰκοστὴν ἤδη καὶ τετάρτην γενεάν.

[6] From this circumstance the augurs concluded that no occasion would ever cause the removal of the boundaries of the Romans' city or impair its vigour; and both have proved true down to my day, which is already the twenty-fourth generation.

[1] ὁ δὲ τῶν οἰωνοσκόπων ἐπιφανέστατος ὁ τοὺς βωμοὺς μεθιδρυσάμενος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τεμένισας καὶ τᾶλλα προλέγων τὰ θεῖα τῷ δήμῳ διὰ μαντικῆς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα καὶ προσηγορικὸν Νέβιος, τὸ δὲ συγγενικὸν Ἄπτιος, ὃς ἀπάντων θεοφιλέστατος ὁμολογεῖται γενέσθαι τῶν ἀκριβοῦντων τὴν τέχνην καὶ μεγίστου τυχεῖν δι' αὐτὴν ὀνόματος ἀπίστους

τινὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῆς οἰωνομαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐπιδειξάμενος· ὦν ἐγὼ μίαν, ἣν μάλιστα τεθαύμακα, προχειρισάμενος ἐρῶ προειπὼν ἐξ οἷας ὀρμηθεῖς συντυχίας καὶ τινὰς ἀφορμὰς παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαβὼν τοσαύτην ἔσχεν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὥστε πάντας ἀζήλους ἀποδεῖξαι τοὺς κατὰ

[70] The most celebrated of the augurs, the one who changed the position of the altars and marked out the area for temple of Jupiter and in other things foretold the will of the gods to the people by his prophetic art, had for his common and first name Nevius, and for his family name Attius; and he is conceded to have been the most favoured by the gods of all the experts in his profession and to have gained the greatest reputation by it, having displayed some extraordinary and incredible instances of his augural skill. Of these I shall give one, which I have selected because it has seemed the most wonderful to me; but first I shall relate from what chance he got his start and by what opportunities vouchsafed to him by the gods he attained to such distinction as to make all the other augurs of his day appear negligible in comparison.

[2] τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκμάσαντας ἡλικίαν. πένης αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἐγένετο χωρίον εὐτελὲς γεωργῶν, ᾧ τὰ τε ἄλλα συνειργάζετο παῖς ὦν ὁ Νέβιος, ὅσα τοῖς τηλικούτοις δύναμις ἦν, καὶ τὰς ὕς ἐξελαύνων ἔβοσκεν. ἀποκοιμηθεὶς δὲ ποτε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέγερσιν οὐχ εὕρισκων τινὰς τῶν ὑῶν τέως μὲν ἔκλαιε τὰς πληγὰς ὀρρωδῶν τὰς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἔπειτ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τὴν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καθιδρυμένην ἡρώων ἡξίου τοὺς ἥρωας συνεξευρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰς ὕς, γενομένου δὲ τούτου θύσειν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ

[2] His father was a poor man who cultivated a cheap plot of ground, and Nevius, as a boy, assisted him in such tasks as his years could bear; among his other employments he used to drive the swine out to pasture and tend them. One day he fell asleep, and upon waking missed some of the swine. At first he wept, dreading the blows his father would give him; then, going to the chapel of some heroes that had been built on the farm, he besought them to assist him in finding his swine, promising that if they did so he would offer up to them the largest cluster of grapes on the farm.

[3] χωρίου βοτρύων. εὐρῶν δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰς ὕς ἐβούλετο [p. 397] μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἥρωσι τὴν εὐχὴν, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δὲ ἦν πολλῇ τὸν μέγιστον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξευρεῖν βότρυν. ἀδημονῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι τοὺς θεοὺς ἡξίου δι' οἰωνῶν φανερόν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὸ ζητούμενον. ἔπειτ' ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ κατὰ δαίμονα διχῇ νέμει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, θάτερα μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ἐκ δεξιᾶς, θάτερα δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου τῶν μερῶν τοὺς παρακειμένους οἰωνοὺς ἐσκόπει. φανέντων δ' ἐπὶ θατέρου μέρους ὀρνίθων, οἷων αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, πάλιν ἐκεῖνο διχῇ διήρει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς ὀρνίθους διέκρινε τοὺς παραγινομένους κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. ταύτη χρώμενος τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἀμπελον

ὑπελθὼν εὕρισκει βότρυος ἄπιστόν τι χρῆμα καὶ αὐτὸν φέρων ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τῶν ἡρώων ὁρᾶται πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς.

[3] And having found the swine shortly afterwards, he wished to perform his vow to the heroes, but found himself in great perplexity, being unable to discover the largest cluster of grapes. In his anxiety over the matter he prayed to the gods to reveal to him by omens what he sought. Then by a divine inspiration he divided the vineyard into two parts, taking one on his right hand and the other on his left, after which he observed the omens that showed over each; and when there appeared in one of them such birds as he desired, he again divided that into two parts and distinguished in the same manner the birds that came to it. Having continued this method of dividing the places and coming up to the last vine that was pointed out by the birds, he found an incredibly huge cluster. As he was carrying it to the chapel of the heroes he was observed by his father;

[4] θαυμάσαντι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς σταφυλῆς καὶ πόθεν εἰλήφει πυνθανομένω διηγέεται πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐμφύτους εἶναι τινας ἀρχὰς μαντικῆς ἐν τῷ παιδί, κομίσας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν γραμμάτων διδασκάλοις συνίστησιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας ἀποχρῶντως μετέλαβε, Τυρρηγῶν αὐτὸν παραδίδωσι τῷ λογιωτάτῳ

[4] and when the latter marvelled at the size of the cluster and inquired where he had got it, the boy informed him of the whole matter from the beginning. His father concluded, as was indeed the case, that there were some innate rudiments of the art of divination in the boy, and taking him to the city, he put him in the hands of elementary teachers; then, after he had acquired sufficient general learning, he placed him under the most celebrated master among the Tyrrhenians to learn the augural art.

[5] τὴν οἰωνοσκοπικὴν τέχνην διδασθαισόμενον. ἔχων δὲ τὴν ἔμφυτον ὁ Νέβιος μαντικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπικτητον [p. 398] παρὰ Τυρρηγῶν προσλαβὼν μακρῷ δὴ πού τοὺς ἄλλους οἰωνοσκόπους ἅπαντας, ὡς ἔφην, ὑπερεβάλετο, εἰς ἀπάσας τε τὰς δημοσίας ἐπισκέψεις οἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰωνομάντιες οὐκ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ συστήματος παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν μαντευμάτων καὶ οὐθὲν ὃ τι μὴ δόξειεν ἐκείνῳ προὔλεγον.

[5] Thus Nevius, who possessed an innate skill of divination and had now added to it the knowledge acquired from the Tyrrhenians, naturally far surpassed, as I said, all the other augurs. And the augurs in the city, even though he was not of their college, used to invite him to their public consultations because of the success of his predictions, and they foretold nothing without his approval.

[1] οὗτος ὁ Νέβιος βουλομένῳ ποτὲ τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ τρεῖς φυλὰς ἐτέρας ἀποδείξει νέας ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον κατειλεγμένων ἱπτέων καὶ

ποιῆσαι τὰς ἐπιθέτους φυλὰς ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἑταίρων ἑπωνύμους μόνος ἀντεῖπε κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, οὐκ ἔῶν κινεῖν τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασταθέντων οὐθέν.

[71.1] This Nevius, when Tarquinius once desired to create three new tribes out of the knights he had previously enrolled, and to give his own name and the names of his personal friends to these additional tribes, alone violently opposed it and would not allow any of the institutions of Romulus to be altered.

[2] ἀχθόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κωλύσει καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Νέβιον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὡς ἀλαζονευομένου καὶ μηθὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντος. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκάλει τὸν Νέβιον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλοῦ παρόντος ὄχλου κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. προδιαλεχθεὶς δὲ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν δι' οὗ τρόπου ψευδόμεντιν ἀποδείξειν τὸν οἰωνοσκόπον ὑπελάμβανεν, ἐπειδὴ παρεγένετο φιланθρωποῖς αὐτὸν ἄσπασμοῖς ἀναλαβών, Νῦν, ἔφη, καιρὸς ἐπιδειξασθαι σε τὴν ἀκριβειαν τῆς μαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ὧ Νέβιε. πράξει γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν μεγάλῃ διανοοῦμενος, εἰ τὸ δυνατόν αὐτῇ πρόσσεσι μαθεῖν βούλομαι. ἀλλ' ἄπιθι καὶ διαμαντευσάμενος ἦκε ταχέως, ἐγὼ δ' ἐνθάδε καθήμενος ἀναμενῶ.

[2] The king, resenting this opposition and being angry with Nevius, endeavoured to bring his science to nought and show him up as a charlatan who did not speak a word of truth. With this purpose in mind he summoned Nevius before the tribunal when a large crowd was present in the Forum; and having first informed those about him in what manner he expected to show the augur to be a false prophet, he received Nevius upon his arrival with friendly greetings and said: "Now is the time, Nevius, for you to display the accuracy of your prophetic science. For I have in mind to undertake a great project, and I wish to know whether it is possible. Go, therefore, take the auspices and return speedily. I will sit here and wait for you."

[3] ἐποίει τὰ κελευόμενα ὁ μάντις καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν αἰσίους [p. 399] εἰληφέναι λέγων οἰωνοὺς καὶ δυνατὴν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποφαίνων. γελάσας δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ προενέγκας ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ξυρὸν καὶ ἀκόνην λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐάλωκας, ὧ Νέβιε, φενακίζων ἡμᾶς καὶ καταψευδόμενος τοῦ δαιμονίου καταφανῶς, ὅποτε καὶ τὰς ἀδυνάτους πράξεις τετόλμηκας λέγειν δυνατάς. ἔγωγ' οὖν διεμαντευόμην, εἰ τῷ ξυρῷ τῷδε τὴν ἀκόνην πλήξας μέσῃν δυνήσομαι διελεῖν.

[3] The augur did as he was ordered, and returning soon after, said he had obtained favourable omens and declared the undertaking to be possible. But Tarquinius laughed at his words, and taking out a razor and a whetstone from his bosom, said to him: "Now you are convicted, Nevius, of imposing on us and openly lying about the will of the gods, since you have dared to affirm that even impossible things are possible. I wanted to know from the auspices

whether if I strike the whetstone with this razor I shall be able to cut it in halves.”

[4] γέλωτος δ' ἔξ ἁπάντων γενομένου τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα οὐθὲν ἐπιταραχθεὶς ὁ Νέβιος ὑπὸ τοῦ τωθασμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ θορύβου, παῖε θαρρῶν, ἔφη, Ταρκύνιε, τὴν ἀκόνην, ὡς προαιρῇ: διαιρεθήσεται γὰρ ἢ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐγώ. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ θράσος τοῦ μάντεως φέρει τὸ ξυρὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀκόνης, ἡ δὲ ἀκμή τοῦ σιδήρου δι' ὅλου κατελθοῦσα τοῦ λίθου τὴν τε ἀκόνην διαιρεῖ καὶ τῆς κατεχούσης αὐτὴν χειρὸς ἐπιτέμνει τι μέρος.

[4] At this, laughter arose from all who stood round the tribunal; but Nevius, nothing daunted by their raillery and clamour, said: “Strike the whetstone confidently, as you propose, Tarquinius. For it will be cut asunder, or I am ready to submit to any punishment.” The king, surprised at the confidence of the augur, struck the razor against the whetstone, and the edge of the steel, making its way quite through the stone, not only cut the whetstone asunder but also cut off a part of the hand that held it.

[5] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς τὸ θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἄπιστον ἔργον ἐθεάσαντο, καταπληγέντες ἀνεβόησαν, ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος αἰδεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ διατείρᾳ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τὸ ἀπρεπὲς τῶν ὀνειδισμῶν ἐπανορθώσασθαι βουλόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς φυλὰς ἐγχειρημάτων ἀπέστη, ἔπειτα δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Νέβιον ἀποθεραπεῦσαι διαγνοὺς, ὡς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλέστατον, ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς φιλανθρωπίαις ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ἵνα μνήμης αἰωνίου τυγχάνῃ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἰκόνα κατασκευάσας αὐτοῦ χαλκῇν ἀνέστησεν [p. 400] ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἣ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κειμένη πλησίον τῆς ἱερᾶς συκῆς ἐλάττων ἀνδρὸς μετρίου τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχουσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ὀλίγον δὲ ἄπωθεν αὐτῆς ἡ τε ἀκὼνη κεκρύφθαι λέγεται κατὰ γῆς καὶ τὸ ξυρὸν ὑπὸ βωμῷ τινι: καλεῖται δὲ Φρέαρ ὁ τόπος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ μάντεως τούτου μνημονευόμενα ταῦτά ἐστι.

[5] All the others who beheld this wonderful and incredible feat cried out in their astonishment; and Tarquinius, ashamed of having made this trial of the man's skill and desiring to atone for his unseemly reproaches, resolved to win back the goodwill of Nevius himself, seeing in him one favoured above all men by the gods. Among many other instances of kindness by which he won him over, he caused a bronze statue of him to be made and set up in the Forum to perpetuate his memory with posterity. This statue still remained down to my time, standing in front of the senate-house near the sacred fig-tree; it was shorter than a man of average stature and the head was covered with the mantle. At a small distance from the statue both the whetstone and the razor are said to be buried in the earth under a certain altar. The place is called a well by the Romans. Such then, is the account given of this augur.

[1] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ἀναπεπαισμένος ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων διὰ γῆρας, ἦν γὰρ ὀγδοηκονταέτης, δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου παίδων ἀποθνήσκει ἐπιχειρησάντων μὲν ἔτι πρότερον ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολλακίς τοῦτο πραγματευσαμένων κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιπεσεῖν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσόντος ἐκείνου τὴν δυναστείαν, ὡς δὴ πατρῶαν σφίσιν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν δοθησομένην.

[72.1] King Tarquinius, being now obliged to desist from warlike activities by reason of old age (for he was eighty years old), lost his life by the treachery of the sons of Ancus Marcius. They had endeavoured even before this to dethrone him, indeed had frequently made the attempt, in the hope that when he had been removed the royal power would devolve upon them; for they looked upon it as theirs by inheritance from their father and supposed that it would very readily be granted to them by the citizens.

[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ διήμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐπιβουλὴν ἄφυκτον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐμηχανήσαντο, ἦν οὐκ εἶασεν ἀτιμώρητον γενέσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον. διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως αὐτῶν ἀρξάμενος.

[2] When they failed in their expectation, they formed against him a plot from which there would be no escape; but Heaven did not allow it to go unpunished. I shall now relate the nature of their plot, beginning with their first attempt.

[3] ὁ Νέβιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ δεινὸς οἰωνομάντις, ὃν ἔφην ἐναντιωθῆναι ποτε τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείονας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων ποιῆσαι τὰς φυλάς βουλομένῳ, ὅτε μάλιστα ἦνθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην καὶ πλεῖστον ἡδύνατο Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, εἶτε φθονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιτέχνων τινὸς εἴτ' [p. 401] ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν εἶτε ὃ τι δὴ ποτε ἄλλο παθὼν ἀφανῆς ἄφνω γίνεται, καὶ οὔτε τὸν μόνον αὐτοῦ τις ἡδύνατο τῶν προσηκόντων συμβαλεῖν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ἐξευρεῖν:

[3] Nevius, that skilful augur who, as I said, once opposed the king when he wished to increase the number of the tribes, had, at the very time when he was enjoying the greatest repute for his art and exceeded all the Romans in power, suddenly disappeared, either through the envy of some rival in his own profession or through the plotting of enemies or some other mischance, and one of his relations could either guess his fate or find his body.

[4] ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ δεινῶς φέροντος τὸ πάθος ὑπονοίας τε πολλὰς καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν λαμβάνοντος, κατανοήσαντες τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου παῖδες, ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα Ταρκύνιον τὴν διαβολὴν τοῦ ἄγους ἀνέφερον ἄλλο μὲν οὐθὲν ἔχοντες φέρειν τῆς διαβολῆς οὔτε τεκμήριον οὔτε σημεῖον, δυσὶ δὲ τοῖς εἰκόσι τούτοις κρατυνόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καινὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διεγνωκῶς παρανομεῖν τὸν ἐναντιωσόμενον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐκ ποδῶν ἐβούλετο ποιήσασθαι,

ἔπειτα ὅτι δεινοῦ πάθους γεγονότος οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησατο τῶν δεδρακότων ζήτησιν, ἀλλ' ἄμελεία παρέδωκε τὸ πραχθέν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι

[4] And while the people were grieving over and resenting the calamity and entertaining many suspicions against many persons, the sons of Marcius, observing this impulse on the part of the multitude, endeavoured to put the blame for the pollution upon King Tarquinius, though they had no proof or evidence to offer in support of their accusation, but relied upon these two specious arguments: first, that the king, having resolved to make many unlawful innovations in the constitution, wished to get rid of the man who was sure to oppose him again as he had done on the former occasions, and second, that, when a dreadful calamity had occurred, he had caused no search to be made for the perpetrators, but had neglected the matter — a thing, they said, which no innocent man would have done.

[5] τινὰ τῶν ἔξω τῆς αἰτίας ὑπαρχόντων. παρασκευασάμενοι δὲ μεγάλας ἑταιρείας περὶ αὐτοὺς πατρικίων τε καὶ δημοτικῶν, οἷς τὰς ἑαυτῶν οὐσίας κατηγορήγουν, πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ Ταρκυνίου κατηγορίαν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρήνουν μὴ περιορᾶν ἄνδρα μιὰρὸν ἱεροῖς τε προσφέροντα τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν μαινοντα καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἀλλ' ἐπήλυτον ὄντα καὶ ἄπολιν.

[5] And having gathered about them strong bands of partisans, both patricians and plebeians, upon whom they had lavished their fortunes, they made many accusations against Tarquinius and exhorted the people not to permit a polluted person to lay hands on the sacrifices and defile the royal dignity, especially one who was not a Roman, but some newcomer and a man without a country.

[6] τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἱταμοὶ καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἠρέθισαν τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἱ παραγενόμενον [p. 402] αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπολογίας χάριν ἐξελαύνειν ἐπεχείρησαν ὥς οὐ καθαρὸν: οὐ μὴν καταγωνισασθαι γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἴσχυσαν οὐδὲ πεῖσαι τὸν δῆμον ἐδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[6] By delivering such harangues in the Forum these men, who were bold and not lacking in eloquence, inflamed the minds of many of the plebeians, and these, when Tarquinius came into the Forum to offer his defence, endeavoured to drive him out as an impure person. However, they were not strong enough to prevail over the truth or to persuade the people to depose him from power.

[7] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπολογηθεὶς κράτιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διαβολὴν ἀπελύσατο καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Τύλλιος, ᾧ τὴν ἑτέραν δεδωκώς ἦν θυγατέρα, μέγιστον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δυνάμενος εἰς ἔλεον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπηγάγετο, συκοφάνται καὶ πονηροὶ δόξαντες εἶναι καὶ πολλὴν ὀφλόντες αἰσχύνῃ ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

[7] And after both Tarquinius himself had Middle Ages powerful defence and refuted the calumny against him, and his son-in-law Tullius, to whom he had given one of his two daughters in marriage and who had the greatest influence with the people, had stirred the Romans to compassion, the accusers were looked upon as slanderers and wicked men, and they left the Forum in great disgrace.

[1] ταύτης δὴ τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχόντες καὶ διαλλαγὰς τῆς ἔχθρας διὰ φίλων εὐρόμενοι μετρίως τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶν ἐνέγκαντος τοῦ Ταρκυνίου διὰ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἱκανὴν ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι τῆς προπετείας διόρθωσιν ἔτη μὲν τρία διέμειναν ἐν τῇ προσποιήσει τῆς φιλίας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸν ὑπέλαβον ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν δόλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ῥάπτουσι τοιόνδε:

[73.1] Having failed in this attempt and having, with the aid of their friends, found reconciliation with Tarquinius, who bore their folly with moderation because of the favours he had received from their father, and looked upon their repentance as sufficient to correct their rashness, they continued for three years in this pretence of friendship; but as soon as they thought they had a favourable opportunity, they contrived the following treacherous plot against him:

[2] νεανίσκους δύο τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας τοὺς τολμηροτάτους ποιμενικαῖς ἐνδύσαντες στολαῖς καὶ δρεπάνοις καθοπλίσαντες ὕλουργοῖς πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμέρας μεσουσσης διδάξαντες ἃ χρὴ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιθέσεως αὐτοῖς ὑφηγησάμενοι. οὗτοι πλησίον τῶν βασιλείων γενόμενοι κακῶς τε ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ὡς ἀδικούμενοι καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ χεῖρε τῶν σωμάτων ἀπείχοντο βοῇ τε μεγάλῃ [p. 403] χρώμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως βοήθειαν ἐκάλουν ἀμφοτέροι, παρόντων αὐτοῖς συγχῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἀγροίκων δὴ τῷ λόγῳ, συναγανακτούντων τε ἀμφοτέροις καὶ συμμαρτυρούντων.

[2] They dressed up two youths, the boldest of their accomplices, and arming them with billhooks, sent them to the king's house at midday, after instructing them what they were to say and do and showing them in what manner they were to make their attack. These youths, upon approaching the palace, fell to abusing each other, as if they had received some injury, and even proceeded to blows, while both with a loud voice implored the king's assistance; and many of their accomplices, ostensibly rustics, were present, taking part with one or the other of them in his grievance and giving testimony in his favour.

[3] ὡς δὲ εἰσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ ὧν διεφέροντο, αἰγῶν μὲν ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐσκῆπτοντο, κεκραγότες δὲ ἅμα καὶ παθαινόμενοι τὸν ἄγριον τρόπον καὶ μὴθὲν εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγοντες πολὺν ἐκίνησαν ἐξ ἀπάντων γέλωτα. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καιρὸν ἔδοξαν εἰληφέναι τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τὸν ἐπιτήδειον, φέρουσι κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ

βασιλέως πληγὰς τοῖς δρεπάνοις καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντες ἔφευγον ἔξω θυρῶν.

[3] When the king ordered them to be brought before him and commanded them to inform him of the subject of their quarrel, they pretended their dispute was about some goats, and both of them bawling at the same time and gesticulating passionately, after the manner of rustics, without saying anything to the purpose, they provoked much laughter on the part of all. And when they thought that the derision which they were exciting offered the proper moment for putting their design into execution, they wounded the king on the head with their billhooks, after which they endeavoured to escape out of doors.

[4] κραυγῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ βοηθείας πολλὰχόθεν συνδραμούσης οὐ δυνηθέντες διαφυγεῖν συλλαμβάνονται πρὸς τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βασάνοις κατακισθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναγκασθέντες εἶπεῖν τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας ἔτυχον σὺν χρόνῳ. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ταρκύνιος οὐ μικρῶν οὐδὲ ὀλίγων Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν αἷτιος γενόμενος, ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν οὕτω τελευτᾷ.

[4] But when an outcry was raised at this calamity and assistance to escape and were seized by those who had pursued them; and later, after being put to the torture and forced to name the authors of the conspiracy, they at length met with the punishment they deserved.

BOOK IV

[1] [p. 1] βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ταρκύνιος οὐ μικρῶν οὐδ' ὀλίγων Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος, ὅκτῳ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν οὕτω τελευτᾷ υἱωνοὺς τε δύο καταλιπὼν νηπίους καὶ δύο θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἤδη συνοικοῦσας. διάδοχος δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ γίνεται Τύλλιος ἑνιαυτῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκαστάδιον Ἐπιτελίδης Λάκων ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεστρατίδου: [p. 2] περὶ οὗ καιρὸς ἤδη λέγειν, ἃ κατ' ἀρχὰς παρελπίομεν, ἐξ ὧν τε γονέων ἔφυ καὶ τίνας ἀπεδείξατο πράξεις ἰδιώτης ὧν ἔτι καὶ πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν παρελθεῖν.

[1.1] King Tarquinius, accordingly, who had conferred not a few important benefits upon the Romans, died in the manner I have mentioned, after holding the sovereignty for thirty-eight years, leaving two grandsons who were infants and two daughters already married. His son-in-law Tullius succeeded him in the sovereignty in the fourth year of the fiftieth Olympiad (the one in which Epiteldes, a Lacedaemonian, won the short-distance foot-race), Archestratides being archon at Athens. It is now the proper time to mention those particulars relating to Tullius which we at first omitted, namely, who his parents were and what deeds he performed while he was yet a private citizen, before his accession to the sovereignty.

[2] τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα, οἷς μάλιστα ἔγωγε συγκατατίθεμαι, τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐν Κορνικόλῳ πόλει τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους Τύλλιος ὄνομα γυναικὶ συνῆν Ὀκρισίᾳ καλλίστῃ τε καὶ σωφρονεστάτῃ τῶν ἐν Κορνικόλῳ γυναικῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος, ὅθ' ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατελαμβάνετο, μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει, τὴν δ' Ὀκρισίαν ἐγκύμονα οὔσαν ἐξαιρετον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων λαμβάνει Ταρκύνιος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δίδωσι δωρεὰν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί. μαθοῦσα δ' ἐκείνη πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπον οὐ πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὕστερον ἐλευθέραν αὐτὴν ἀφίησι καὶ πασῶν μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀσπαζομένη τε καὶ τιμῶσα διετέλεσεν.

[2] Concerning his family, then, the account with which I can best agree is this: There lived at Corniculum, a city of the Latin nation, a man of the royal family named Tullius, who was married to Ocrisia, a woman far excelling all the other women in Corniculum in beauty and modesty. When this city was taken by the Romans, Tullius himself was slain while fighting, and Ocrisia, then with child, was selected from the spoils and taken by King Tarquinius, who gave her to his wife. She, having been informed of everything that related to this woman, freed her soon afterwards and continued to treat her with kindness and honour above all other women.

[3] ἐκ ταύτης γίνεται τῆς Ὀκρισίας ἔτι δουλευούσης παιδίον, ᾧ τίθεται

τραφέντι ἡ μήτηρ τὸ μὲν ἰδίον τε καὶ συγγενικὸν ὄνομα Τύλλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν καὶ προσηγορικὸν Σερούιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας τύχης, ὅτι δουλεύουσα ἔτεκεν αὐτόν. εἶη δ' ἂν ὁ Σερούιος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταβιβαζόμενος Δούλιος.

[3] While Ocrisia was yet a slave she bore a son, to whom, when he had left the nursery, she gave the name of Tullius, from his father, as his proper and family name, and also that of Servius as his common and first name, from her own condition, since she had been a slave when she had given birth to him. Servius, if translated into the Greek tongue, would be doul ios or “servile.”

[1] φέρεται δὲ τις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἕτερος ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐξαιρῶν τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ὃν ἐν πολλαῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς [p. 3] ἱστορίαις εὕρομεν, εἰ θεοῖς τε καὶ δαίμοσι λέγεσθαι φίλος τοιοῦτος: αἵτινες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῶν βασιλείων, ἐφ' ἧς ἄλλας τε Ῥωμαῖοι συντελοῦσιν ἱερουργίας καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δειπνῶν ἀπαρχὰς ἀγίζουσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνασχεῖν λέγουσιν αἰδοῖον ἄνδρος. τοῦτο δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν Ὀκρισίαν πρώτην φέρουσαν τοὺς εἰωθότας πελάνους ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλθοῦσαν εἰπεῖν.

[2.1] There is also current in the local records another story relating to his birth which raises the circumstances attending to the realm of the fabulous, and we have found it in many Roman histories. This account — if it be pleasing to the gods and the lesser divinities that it be related — is somewhat as follows: They say that from the hearth in the palace, on which the Romans offer various other sacrifices and also consecrate the first portion of their meals, there rose up above the fire a man's privy member, and that Ocrisia was the first to see it as she was carrying the customary cakes to the fire, and immediately informed the king and queen of it.

[2] τὸν μὲν οὖν Ταρκύνιον ἀκούσαντά τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἰδόντα τὸ τέρας ἐν θαύματι γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Τανακυλίδαν τὰ τ' ἄλλα σοφὴν οὔσαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ μαντικὰ οὐδενὸς χεῖρον Τυρρηνῶν ἐπισταμένην εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς βασιλείου πέπρωται γενέσθαι κρεῖττον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἐκ τῆς μιχθείσης τῷ φάσματι γυναικός. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τερατοσκόπων ἀποφνημαμένων δόξασι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν Ὀκρισίαν, ἥ πρώτη ἐφάνη τὸ τέρας, εἰς ὁμιλίαν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν γυναῖκα κοσμησάμενην, οἷς ἔθος ἐστὶ κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς γαμουμένας, κατακλεισθῆναι μόνην εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέρας ὤφθη.

[2] Tarquinius, they add, upon hearing this and left beholding the prodigy, was astonished; but Tanaquil, who was not only wise in other matters but also inferior to none of the Tyrrhenians in her knowledge of divination, told him it was ordained by fate that from the royal hearth should issue a scion superior to the race of mortals, to be born of the woman who should conceive by that phantom. And the other soothsayers affirming the same thing, the king

thought it fitting that Ocrisia, to whom the prodigy had first appeared, should have intercourse with it. Thereupon this woman, having adorned herself as brides are usually adorned, was shut up alone in the room in which the prodigy had been seen.

[3] μιχθέντος δὴ τινος αὐτῇ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων καὶ μετὰ τὴν μίξιν ἀφανισθέντος εἴθ' Ἑφαιστου καθάπερ οἴονται τινες εἶτε τοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν ἥρωος, ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι καὶ τεκεῖν τὸν Τύλλιον ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις. τοῦτο τὸ μύθευμα οὐ πάνυ τι πιστὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν ἑτέρα [p. 4] τις ἐπιφάνεια θεία γενομένη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστῇ

[3] And one of the gods or lesser divinities, whether Vulcan, as some think, or the tutelary deity of the house, having had intercourse with her and afterwards disappearing, she conceived and was delivered of Tullius at the proper time. This fabulous account, although it seems not altogether credible, is rendered less incredible by reason of another manifestation of the gods relating to Tullius which was wonderful and extraordinary.

[4] καὶ παράδοξος ἦττον ἀπιστεῖσθαι ποιεῖ. καθημένου γάρ ποτ' αὐτοῦ μεσοῦσης μάλισθ' ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ παστάδι τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κατενεχθέντος ἐφ' ὕπνον, πῦρ ἀπέλαμψεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, ἥ τε μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνὴ πορευόμεναι διὰ τῆς παστάδος ἐθεάσαντο καὶ πάντες ὅσοι σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐτύγχανον τότε παρόντες, καὶ μέχρι τούτου διέμενεν ἡ φλόξ ὅλην αὐτοῦ καταλάμπουσα τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἕως ἡ μήτηρ προσδραμοῦσα διανέστησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ φλόξ ἅμα τῷ ὕπνῳ διασκεδασθεῖσα ἠφανίσθη. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν.

[4] For when he had fallen asleep one day while sitting in the portico of the palace about noon, a fire shone forth from his head. This was seen by his mother and by the king's wife, as they were walking through the portico, as well as by all who happened to be present with them at the time. The flame continued to illumine his whole head till his mother ran to him and wakened him; and with the ending of his sleep the flame was dispersed and vanished. Such are the accounts that are given of his birth.

[1] ἃ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι διεπράξατο λόγου ἄξια, ἐξ ὧν Ταρκύνιος τ' αὐτὸν ἠγάσθη καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος τῆς μετὰ βασιλέα τιμῆς ἠξίου, τοιαῦδε. ἀντίπαις μὲν ὧν ἔτι τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ, ἣν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς Ταρκύνιος ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσι τεταγμένος οὕτως ἔδοξεν ἀγωνίσασθαι καλῶς, ὥστε περιβόητος εὐθὺς γενέσθαι καὶ τάριστεία πρῶτος ἀπάντων λαβεῖν: ἔπειθ' ἑτέρας γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος στρατείας καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς περὶ πόλιν Ἥρητον ἀνδρείοτατος ἀπάντων φανεὶς στεφάνοις αὐθις ἀριστείοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔκοσμεῖτο.

[3.1] The memorable actions he performed before becoming king, in

consideration of which Tarquinius admired him and the Roman people honoured him next to the king, are these: When, scarcely more than a boy as yet, he was serving in the cavalry in the first campaign that Tarquinius undertook against the Tyrrhenians, he was thought to have fought so splendidly that he straightway became famous and received the prize of valour ahead of all others. Afterwards, when another expedition was undertaken against the same nation and a sharp battle was fought near the city of Eretum, he showed himself the bravest of all and was again crowned by the king as first in valour.

[2] ἔτη δὲ γεγωνὺς εἴκοσι μάλιστα τῆς συμμαχικῆς στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη [p. 5] δυνάμεως, ἦν Λατῖνοι ἔπεμψαν, καὶ συγκατεκτήσατο βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ τὴν τῶν Τυρρηγῶν ἀρχήν: ἔν τε τῷ πρὸς Σαβίνους πολέμῳ τῷ πρώτῳ συστάντι τῶν ἱππέων ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡγεμὼν ἐτρέψατο τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀντέμνης ἐλάσας τᾶριστεῖα καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἔλαβεν: ἐτέρας τε πολλὰς πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος ἀγωνισάμενος μάχας τοτὲ μὲν ἱππέων ἡγούμενος, τοτὲ δὲ πεζῶν ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐφάνη ψυχὴν ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἐστεφανοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων.

[2] And when he was about twenty years old he was appointed to command the auxiliary forces sent by the Latins, and assisted King Tarquinius in obtaining the sovereignty over the Tyrrhenians. In the first war that arose against the Sabines, being general of the horse, he put to flight that of the enemy, pursuing them as far as the city of Antemnae, and again received the prize of valour because of this battle. He also took part in many other engagements against the same nation, sometimes commanding the horse and sometimes the foot, in all of which he showed himself a man of the greatest courage and was always the first to be crowned ahead of the others.

[3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρέστη Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ὑπόταξιν τε καὶ παράδοσιν τῶν πόλεων τὸ ἔθνος, αἰτιώτατος εἶναι δόξας Ταρκυνίῳ καὶ ταύτης τῆς δυναστείας τοῖς ἐπινικίοις στεφάνοις ἀνεδεῖτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ πολιτικὰ συνετώτατος καὶ λόγῳ τὰ βουλευθέντα ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐδενὸς χείρων ἀπάσαις θ' ἁρμόσαι ταῖς τύχαις καὶ παντὶ συνεξομοιωθῆναι προσώπῳ δυνατώτατος.

[3] And when that nation came to surrender themselves and deliver up their cities to the Romans, he was regarded by Tarquinius as the chief cause of his gaining this dominion also, and was crowned by him with the victor's crown. Moreover, he not only had the shrewdest understanding of public affairs, but was inferior to none in his ability to express his plans; and he possessed in an eminent degree the power of accommodating himself to every circumstance of fortune and to every kind of person.

[4] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μεταγαγεῖν ἠξίωσαν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντες, ὥσπερ Ταρκύνιον τε πρότερον καὶ ἔτι πρὸ τούτου Νόμαν Πομπίλιον: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κηδεστήν ἐποίησατο τήν

ἐτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων ἐγγυήσας, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ νόσους ἢ διὰ γῆρας ἀδύνατος ἦν ἐπιτελεῖν, δι' ἑαυτοῦ τούτῳ πράττειν ἐπέσκηπτεν, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον ἐπιτρέπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικεῖν ἀξιῶν. ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ἐξητάσθη πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ οὐδὲν ὥοντο διαφέρειν οἱ δημόται [p. 6] Ταρκύνιον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἢ Τύλλιον: οὕτως ἐξεθεραπεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις.

[4] Because of these accomplishments the Romans thought proper to transfer him by their votes from the plebeian to the patrician order, an honour they had previously conferred on Tarquinius, and, still earlier, on Numa Pompilius. The king also made him his son-in-law, giving him one of his two daughters in marriage, and whatever business his infirmities or his age rendered him incapable of performing by himself, he ordered Tullius to transact, not only entrusting to him the private interests of his own family, but also asking him to manage the public business of the commonwealth. In all these employments he was found faithful and just, and the people felt that it made no difference whether it was Tarquinius or Tullius who looked after the public affairs, so effectually had he won them to himself by the services he had rendered to them.

[1] φύσεώς τε δὴ μετεिल्φώς ἀποχρώντως κατεσκευασμένης πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐσχηκώς ἀφορμάς, ἐπειδὴ τελευτῆσαι συνέβη Ταρκύνιον ἐπιβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄγκου Μαρκίου παιδῶν ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν βουλομένων, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα λόγῳ, δόξας ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καλεῖσθαι, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν καιρόν.

[4.1] This man, therefore, being endowed with a nature adequately equipped for command and also supplied by Fortune with many great opportunities for attaining it, believed, when Tarquinius died by the treachery of the sons of Ancus Marcius, who desired to recover their father's kingdom, as I have related in the preceding book, that he was called to the kingship by the very course of events and so, being a man of action, he did not let the opportunity slip from his grasp.

[2] ἡ δὲ συγκατασκευάσασα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντων αἰτία γενομένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλέως ἦν γυνὴ γαμβρῷ τε συλλαμβάνουσα ἰδίῳ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεγνωκῖα θεσφάτων, ὅτι βασιλεῦσαι Ῥωμαίων ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα εἴμαρτο. ἔτυχε δ' αὐτῇ νεανίας μὲν υἱὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τετελευτηκῶς χρόνου, παιδία δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δύο νήπια καταλειπόμενα.

[2] The person who helped him to seize possession of the supreme power and the author of all his good fortune was the wife of the deceased conflict, who aided him both because he was her son-in-law and also because she knew

from many oracles that it was ordained by fate that this man should be king of the Romans. It chanced that her son, a youth, had died shortly before and that two infant sons were left by him.

[3] ἐνθυμουμένη δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐρημίαν καὶ περιδεῆς οὔσα, μὴ κατασχόντες οἱ Μάρκιοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄρωνται τὰ παῖδια καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλικὴν συγγένειαν ἀφανίσωσι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέταξε τὰς τῶν βασιλείων θύρας κλεῖσαι καὶ φύλακας ἐπ’ αὐταῖς ἐπέστησε διακελευσαμένη μηδένα παριέναι μήτ’ ἔσω μήτ’ ἔξω: ἔπειτ’ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου πάντας ἐξελεῖν κελεύσασα τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐν ᾧ τὸν [p. 7] Ταρκύνιον ἡμιθνήτα ἔθεσαν, τὴν δ’ Ὀκρισίαν καὶ τὸν Τύλλιον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν συνοικοῦσαν τῷ Τυλλίῳ κατασοῦσα καὶ τὰ παῖδια ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν ἐνεχθῆναι κελεύσασα λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς:

[3] She, therefore, reflecting on the desolation of her house and being under the greatest apprehension lest, if the sons of Marcius possessed themselves of the sovereignty, they should destroy these infants and extirpate all the royal family, first commanded that the gates of the palace should be shut and guards stationed there with orders to allow no one to pass either in or out. Then, ordering all the rest to leave the room in which they had laid Tarquinius when he was at the point of death, she detained Ocrisia, Tullius and her daughter who married to Tullius, and after ordering the children to be brought by their nurses, she spoke to them as follows:

[4] Ταρκύνιος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ᾧ Τύλλιε, παρ’ ᾧ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας ἔτυχες, ἀπάντων μάλιστα σὲ τιμήσας φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἀνόσια παθῶν ἐκπεπλήρωκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μοῖραν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἰδίων πραγμάτων διαθέμενος οὐδὲν οὔτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπισκῆψας, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀσπάσασθαι τινα ἡμῶν καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς δυνηθεῖς. ἔρημα δὲ καὶ ὀρφανὰ τὰ δύστηνα ταυτὶ παῖδια καταλείπεται κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τρέχοντα: εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μαρκίοις τοῖς ἀνελοῦσι τὸν ἀπάππον αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται πράγματα, τὸν οἴκτιστον ἀπολοῦνται τρόπον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν: ἔσται γ’ οὐδ’ ὑμῖν ἀσφαλὴς ὁ βίος, οἷς ἐνεγγύησε Ταρκύνιος τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας ἐκείνους ὑπεριδῶν, ἐὰν οἱ φονεύσαντες αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατάσχωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ φίλοις καὶ συγγενέσιν οὐδ’ ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις γυναιξίν: ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερώς τε καὶ κρύφα πειράσονται διολεῖσαι.

[4] “Our king Tarquinius, in whose home you received your nurture and training, Tullius, and who honoured you above all his friends and relations, has finished his destined course, the victim of an impious crime, without having either made any disposition by will of his private interests or left injunctions concerning the public business of the commonwealth, and without having had it in his power even to embrace any of us and utter his last farewells. And these unhappy children here are left destitute and orphaned and in imminent danger of their lives. For if the power falls into the hands of the

Marcii, the murderers of their grandfather, they will be put to death by them in the most piteous manner. Even the lives of you men, to whom Tarquinius gave his daughters in preference to them, will not be safe, should his murderers obtain the sovereignty, any more than the lives of the rest of his friends and relations or of us miserable women; but they will endeavour to destroy us all both openly and secretly.

[5] ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμουμένους ἡμᾶς δεῖ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτείναντας ἄνδρας ἀνοσίους καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐχθροὺς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν κτησαμένους, ἀλλ' ἐναντιοῦσθαι καὶ κωλύειν νῦν μὲν ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ χρησαμένους: τούτων [p. 8] γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ: ὅταν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ἡμῖν χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν, τότε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τούτων δέῃ. ἀλλ' οὐ δεήσει βουληθέντων ἡμῶν πράττειν νῦν ἅ δεῖ.

[5] Bearing all this in mind, then, we must not permit the wicked murderers of Tarquinius and the enemies of us all to obtain so great power, but must oppose and prevent them, now by craft and deceit, since these means are necessary at present, but when our first attempt has succeeded, then coming to grips with them openly with all our might and with arms, if those too shall be necessary. But they will not be necessary if we are willing to take the proper measures now.

[6] τίνα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστί; πρῶτον μὲν κρυπτώμεθα τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐξενεχθῆναι παρασκεύασωμεν, ὅτι πληγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει καιρίον, οἳ τ' ἰατροὶ λεγέτωσαν ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις αὐτὸν ἀποδείξειν ὑγιῆ: ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ προελθοῦσα εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἐρῶν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, ὡς δὴ Ταρκυνίου μοι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἐπισκῆψαντος, ὅτι πάντων ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ φύλακα τῶν τ' ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ὑγιῆς γένηται, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γαμβρῶν, τὸ σὸν εἰποῦσα, ὧ Τύλλιε, ὄνομα ἔσται δ' οὐκ ἄκουσι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, ὅφ' οὔ

[6] And what are these measures? Let us, in the first place, conceal the king's death and cause a report to be spread among the people that he has received no mortal wound, and let the physicians state that in a few days they will show him safe and sound. Then I will appear in public and will announce to the people, as if Tarquinius had so enjoined, that he has committed to one of his two sons-in-law (naming you, Tullius) the care and guardianship both of his private interests and of the public business till he is recovered of his wounds; and the Romans, far from being displeased, will be glad to see the state administered by you, who often have administered it already in the past.

[7] πολλακίς ἤδη καὶ πρότερον ἐπετροπεύθη. ὅταν δὲ τὸν παρόντα κινδυνὸν διασκεδάσωμεν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρόν ἐστι ζῆν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελλομένου, παραλαβὼν σὺ τὰς τε ῥάβδους καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίαν

καλεῖ τοὺς βουλευσάντας ἀποκτεῖναι Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκίου παιδῶν ἀρξάμενος καὶ πρόθεσ αὐτοῖς δίκας· τιμωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺτους ἅπαντας, ἂν μὲν ὑπομείνωσι τὰς κρίσεις, θανάτοις, ἂν δ' ἐρήμους ἀφῶσιν, ὃ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς οἶμαι ποιήσῃν, ἀειφυγία καὶ δημεύσει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, [p. 9] καθίστασ' ἤδη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁμιλίαις τε φιλανθρώποις τὸ πλῆθος ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδίκημα γενέσθαι πολλὴν ἔχων φροντίδα καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν εὐεργεσίαις τισὶ καὶ δωρεαῖς ὑπαγόμενος· ἔπειθ' ὅταν ἡμῖν καιρὸς εἶναι δοκῇ, τότε λέγωμεν ἀποτεθνηκέναι

[7] Then, when we have averted the present danger — for the power of our enemies will be at an end the moment the king is reported to be alive — do you assume the rods and the military power and summon before the people those who formed the plot to assassinate Tarquinius, beginning with the sons of Marcius, and cause them to stand trial. After you have punished all these, with death, if they submit to be tried, or with perpetual banishment and the confiscation of their estates, if they let their case go by default, which I think they will be more apt to do, then at last set about establishing your government. Win the affections of the people by kindly affability, take great care that no injustice be committed, and gain the favour of the poorer citizens by sundry benefactions and gifts. Afterwards, when we see a proper time, let us announce that Tarquinius is dead and hold a public funeral for him.

[8] Ταρκύνιον καὶ ταφὰς αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ φανεροῦ. δίκαιος δ' εἶ, Τύλλιε, τραφεὶς θ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ παιδευθεὶς καὶ πάντων μετεσχekῶς ἀγαθῶν, ὅσων παρὰ μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς υἱοὶ μεταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν ἡμετέρα, ἂν δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένῃ Ῥωμαίων ἑμοῦ καὶ εἰς τοῦτό σοι συναγωνισαμένης, πατρὸς εὖνοιαν τοῖς παιδίοις τοῖς2δε παρασχέσθαι· ὅταν δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἔλθωσι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἱκανοὶ γένωνται, τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξειαι Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνα.

[8] And as for you, Tullius, if you, who have been brought up and educated by us, have partaken of every advantage that sons receive from their mother and father, and are married to our daughter, shall in addition actually become king of the Romans, it is but just, since I helped to win this also for you, that you should show all the kindness of a father to these little children, and when they come to manhood and are capable of handling public affairs, that you should appoint the elder to be leader of the Romans.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα καὶ τῶν παιδίων ἐκάτερον εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἐμβαλοῦσα τοῦ τε γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κινήσασα οἶκτον, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἔνδον εὐτρεπῇ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς συγκαλεῖν. διαλιποῦσα δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ νύκτα τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ πολλοῦ πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία συνδραμόντος ὄχλου προῆλθεν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ταῖς θυρίσιν ἐπιστᾶσα ταῖς φερούσαις εἰς τὸν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν στενωπὸν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν

ἐδήλωσε [p. 10] τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς βουλευσάντας ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν φόνον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦργον ἀποσταλέντας ὑπ’

[5.1] With these words she thrust each of the children in turn into the arms of both her son-in-law and her daughter and roused great compassion in them both; then, when it was the proper time, she went out of the room and ordered the servants to get everything ready for dressing the king’s wounds and to call the physicians. And letting that night pass, the next day, when the people flocked in great numbers to the palace, she appeared at the windows that gave upon the narrow street before the gates and first informed them who the persons were who had plotted the murder of the king, and produced in chains those whom they had sent to commit the deed.

[2] αὐτῶν δεδεμένους παρήγαγεν· ἔπειθ’ ὡς εἶδε πολλοὺς· ὀλοφυρομένους τε τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῖς δεδρακόσιν ἀπεχθομένους, τελευτῶσα εἶπεν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀνοσιῶν ἐπιβουλευμάτων γεγονέναι οὐ δυνηθεῖσιν ἀποκτεῖναι Ταρκύνιον. ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τὸν λόγον ἀπάντων δεξαμένων τότε τὸν Τύλλιον αὐτοῖς συνίστησιν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίτροπον ἀπάντων τῶν τ’ ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἕως αὐτὸς ῥαίῃ.

[2] Then, finding that many lamented the calamity and were angry at the authors of it, she at last told them that these men had gained naught from their wicked designs, since they had not been able to kill Tarquinius. This statement being received with universal joy, she then commended Tullius to them as the person appointed by the king to be the guardian of all his interests, both private and public, till he himself recovered.

[3] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἀπήει περιχαρὴς γενόμενος, εἰ μὴδὲν πέπονθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς δεινόν, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἔχων ταύτην διετέλει. ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος ἰσχυρὰν χεῖρα περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων καὶ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς βασιλικοὺς προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς Μαρκίους ἐκήρυττεν ἥκειν ὑφ’ ἑξόντας δίκην· ὡς δ’ οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἐπικηρύξας αὐτοῖς ἁΐδιους φυγὰς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη τὴν Ταρκυνίου κατεῖχεν ἀρχήν.

[3] The people, therefore, went away greatly rejoicing, in the belief that the king had suffered no fatal injury, and continued for a long time in that opinion. Afterwards Tullius, attended by a strong body of men and taking along the king’s lictors, went to the Forum and caused proclamation to be made for the Marcii to appear and stand trial; and upon their failure to obey, he pronounced sentence of perpetual banishment against them, and having confiscated their property, he was now in secure possession of the sovereignty of Tarquinius.

[1] βούλομαι δ’ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον ἀποδοῦναι τὰς αἰτίας, δι’ ἃς οὔτε Φαβίῳ συγκατεθέμην οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱστορικοῖς, ὅσοι γράφουσιν υἱοῦς

εἶναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παῖδας ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου, ἵνα μὴ τινες τῶν ἐκείναις ἐντυχόντων ταῖς ἱστορίαις σχεδιάζωσιν με ὑπολάβωσιν οὐχ υἱοὺς, ἀλλ' υἱωνοὺς αὐτοῦ [p. 11] γράφοντα τοὺς παῖδας. παντάπασι γὰρ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ῥαθὺμως οἱ συγγραφεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ταύτην ἐξενηνόχασιν τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐδὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν ἀναιρῶντων αὐτὴν ἀδυνάτων τε καὶ ἀτόπων: ὧν ἕκαστον ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι φανερὸν δι' ὀλίγων.

[6.1] I shall interrupt the narration of what follows that I may give the reasons which have induced me to disagree with Fabius and the rest of the historians who affirm that the children left by Tarquinius were his sons, to the end that none who have read those histories may suspect that I am inventing when I call them his grandsons rather than his sons. For it is sheer heedlessness and indolence that has led these historians to publish that account of them without first examining any of the impossibilities and absurdities that are fatal to it. Each of these absurdities I will endeavour to point out in a few words.

[2] Ταρκύνιος ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μετανίσταται τὸν οἶκον ὅλον ἀνασκευασάμενος ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ τοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπάρχων ἡλικίᾳ. πολιτεύεσθαι γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀξιῶν παραδίδοται, καὶ τὴν ἄпарσιν ἐκεῖθεν πεπονημένος διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν.

[2] Tarquinius packed up and removed from Tyrrhenia with all his household at an age the most capable of reflection; for it is reported that he already aspired to take part in public life, to hold magistracies and to handle public affairs, and that he removed from there because he was not allowed to share in any position of honour in the state.

[3] ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ὑπέθετο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντα τοῦλάχιστον, ὅτ' ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας: ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἡλικίας καλοῦσιν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς ἄρχειν τε καὶ πράττειν βουλομένους τὰ κοινὰ: ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νεώτερον αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεμαι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ποιῶ κατὰ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἀπανιστάμενον. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γυναῖκα Τυρρηνίδα ἐπηγάγετο, ἣν ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς ἔγνημεν, ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς συγγράψαντες ἱστορίας.

[3] Anyone else, then, might have assumed that he was at least in his thirtieth year when he left Tyrrhenia, since it is from this age onwards, as a rule, that the laws call to the magistracies and to the administration of public affairs those who desire such a career; but I will suppose him five whole years younger than this and put him in his twenty-fifth year when he removed. Moreover, all the Roman historians agree that he brought with him a Tyrrhenian wife, whom he had married while his father was yet alive.

[4] παραγίνεται δ' εἰς Ῥώμην Ἄγκου Μαρκίου βασιλεύοντος, ὥς μὲν Γέλλιος ἱστορεῖ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας, ὥς δὲ Λικίνιος γράφει κατὰ τὸν ὀγδοόν. ἔστω δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον ἐληλυθὼς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, καθ' ὃν

γράφει Λικίνιος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον: ἐν ὑστέρῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη χρόνῳ παραγεγονώς, εἶγε δὴ κατὰ τὸν ἔνατον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς [p. 12] Ἄγκου δυναστείας ἱππέων ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Λατίνους πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πέμπεται, ὡς ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς: εἰ δὴ παρεγένετο μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην οὐ πλείω τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονώς ἐτῶν, Ἄγκῳ δὲ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸν ὄγδοον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνιαυτὸν φίλος γενόμενος ἑπτακαίδεκα διέτριψεν ἔτη παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ λοιπὰ: τέτταρα γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι βεβασιλευκεν Ἄγκος: ἔτη δ' ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχευεν αὐτὸς ὡς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὀγδοηκονταέτης ἂν ἦν, ὅτ' ἐτελεύτα. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ

[4] He came to Rome in the first year of the reign of Ancus Marcius, as Gellius writes, but according to Licinius, in the eighth year. Grant, then, that he came in the year Licinius states and not before; for he could not have come after that time, since in the ninth year of the reign of Ancus he was sent by the king to command the cavalry in the war against the Latins, as both these historians state. Now, if he was not more than twenty-five years old when he came to Rome, and, having been received into the friendship of Ancus, who was then king, in the eighth year of his reign (for Ancus reigned twenty-four years), and if he himself reigned thirty-eight, as all agree, he must have been fourscore years old when he died; for this is the sum obtained by adding up the years.

[5] τῶν ἐτῶν τοῦτο συνάγεται τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ γυνὴ δ' εἰ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἦν αὐτοῦ νεωτέρα καθάπερ εἰκός, ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἂν δῆπου καὶ πέμπτον εἶχεν ἔτος, ὅτ' ἀπέθνησκε Ταρκύνιος. εἰ δὴ τὸν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν ἔσχατον ἐκύησεν ἔτος ἔχουσα πεντηκοστὸν: προσωτέρῳ γὰρ οὐκέτι κυῖσκειται τούτου τοῦ χρόνου γυνή, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗτος αὐτὸς τῶν ὠδίνων ὁ ὅρος, ὡς οἱ ταῦτ' ἐξητακότες γράφουσιν: οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττω γεγονώς ἦν ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μείων ἑπτακαικκοσαέτους: οὐκ ἄρα νηπίους κατέλιπεν υἱοὺς

[5] If his wife was five years younger, as may well be supposed, she was presumably in her seventy-fifth year when Tarquinius died. Accordingly, if she conceived her second and last son when she was in her fiftieth year (for at a more advanced age a woman no longer conceives, but this is itself the limit of her child-bearing, as those authors write who have looked into these things), this son could not have been less than twenty-five years old when his father died, and Lucius, the elder, not less than twenty-seven; hence the sons whom Tarquinius left by this wife could not have been infants.

[6] ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐκ ταύτης γεγονότας τῆς γυναικός. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰγ' ἀνδρῶν ἡλικίαν εἶχον οἱ παῖδες, ὅθ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀπέθνησκεν, οὗτ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἦν [p. 13] ἀθλία καὶ θεοβλαβής, ὥστ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι μὲν τῶν ἑαυτῆς τέκνων ἦν κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πατὴρ ἀρχὴν, τῷ δ' ἄλλοτριῳ καὶ ἐκ δούλης γεγονότι χαρίζεσθαι: οὗτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς

ἀποστεροῦμενοι φαύλως καὶ ῥαθυμῶς τὸ ἀδίκημα ἤνεγκαν καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ τοῦ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν ὄντες ἀκμῇ: οὐτε γὰρ εὐγενεῖα προεῖχεν αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐκ δούλης μητρὸς ὧν οὐθ' ἡλικίας ἀξιώματι παρὰ πολὺ διήλλαττεν, ἀλλὰ τρισὶ μόνον ἔτεσι θατέρου πρεσβύτερος ἦν: ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν γε παρεχώρησαν αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκόντες.

[6] But surely, if her sons had been grown men when their father died, it cannot be imagined either that their mother would have been so miserable a creature or so infatuated as to deprive her own children of the sovereignty their father had left them and bestow it upon an outsider and the son of a slave-woman, or, again, that her sons themselves, when thus deprived of their father's sovereignty, would have borne the injustice in so abject and supine a manner, and that at an age when they were at the very height of their powers both of speech and of action. For Tullius neither had the advantage of them in birth, being the son of a slave-woman, nor excelled them much in the dignity of age, being only three years older than one of them; so that they would not willingly have yielded the kingship to them.

[1] ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀτοπίας, ἃς ἅπαντες ἠγνόησαν οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξάμενοι πλὴν ἐνός, οὗ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρῶ τοῦνομα. ὠμολόγηται γάρ, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ταρκυνίου τελευτὴν παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν Τύλλιος ἐπ' ἔτη τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα κατέσχευεν, ὥστ' εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐκτακαεικοσαέτης ἦν, ὅτ' ἀπεστερεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Ταρκυνίων, ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς ἂν ἦν, ὅτε τὸν Τύλλιον ἀπέκτεινεν.

[7.1] This view involves some other absurdities, too, of which all the Roman historians have been ignorant, with the exception of one whom I shall name presently. For it has been agreed that Tullius, having succeeded to the kingdom after the death of Tarquinius, held it for forty-four years; so that, if the eldest of the Tarquinii was twenty-seven years old when he was deprived of the sovereignty, he must have been above seventy when he killed Tullius.

[2] ἐν κρατίστῃ δὲ γ' αὐτὸν ἡλικίᾳ τότε ὄντα παραδεδώκασιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς καὶ φασιν, ὅτι Τύλλιον αὐτὸς ἀράμενος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ φέρων ἔξω κατὰ τῶν κρηπιδῶν ἐξέχεεν. ἢ τ' ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔκπτωσις αὐτοῦ γίνεται πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτει, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει στρατευόμενος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀρδεάτας εἰσάγεται πολέμῳ καὶ πάντα [p. 14] τὰ ἔργα δι' ἑαυτοῦ τελῶν: οὐκ εἶχε δὲ λόγον ἐν πολέμοις ἐξετάζεσθαι ἔξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βεβηκώς ἔτη.

[2] But he was then in the prime of life, according to the tradition handed down by the historians, and they state that he himself lifted up Tullius, and carrying him out of the senate-house, hurled him down the steps. His expulsion from the kingship happened in the twenty-fifth year after this, and in that same year he is represented as making war against the people of Ardea and performing

all the duties himself; but it is not reasonable to suppose that a man ninety-six years old should be taking part in wars.

[3] ἐκπεσὼν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἐλάττω τεττάρων καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξεταζόμενος, ὥς φασι, παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἐστὶ δόξας, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βίου χρόνος αὐτῷ πλείων ἀναφαίνεται τῶν ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα γεγονώς ἐτῶν: τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῶν βίων οὐ φέρουσιν οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς τόποι.

[3] And after his expulsion he still makes war against the Romans for no less than fourteen years, being present himself, they say, at all the engagements — which is contrary to all common sense. Thus, according to them, he must have lived above one hundred and ten years; but this length of life is not produced by our climes.

[4] ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄτοπα συνειδότες τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων τινὲς ἐτέραις αὐτὰ λύειν ἐπειράθησαν ἀτοπίας, οὐ Τανακυλῖδα ποιοῦντες μητέρα τῶν παιδίων, ἀλλὰ Γεγανίαν τινά, περὶ ἧς οὐδεμίαν παρειλήφαμεν ἱστορίαν: ἄωρος δὴ γίνεται πάλιν ὁ γάμος τοῦ Ταρκυνίου μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἡ τῶν τέκνων γένεσις τοῖς ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἄπιστος: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄπαις ἦν, ὥστ' ἐκ παντὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι τέκνων, ἀλλὰ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αὐτῷ δύο καὶ

[4] Some of the Roman historians, being sensible of these absurdities, have endeavoured to solve them by means of other absurdities, alleging that not Tanaquil but one Gegania, of whom no other account has come down to us, was the mother of the children. But here again, the marriage of Tarquinius is unseasonable, he being then very near fourscore years old, and the begetting of children by men of that age is incredible; nor was he a childless man, who would wish by all means for children, for he had two daughters and these already married.

[5] αὗται γ' ἤδη γεγαμημέναι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀδυνάτων τε καὶ ἀτόπων ἕκαστα ἐπιλογιζόμενος οὐχ υἱοὺς εἶναι Ταρκυνίου γράφω τοὺς παῖδας, ἀλλ' υἱωνούς, Λευκίῳ Πείσωνι τῷ Φρῦγι συγκαταθέμενος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις πραγματείαις ταῦθ' ἰστόρηκε μόνος: εἰ [p. 15] μὴ γ' ἄρα γόνῳ μὲν ἦσαν υἱωνοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ παῖδες, ποιήσει δ' υἱοί, καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν αἴτιον τῆς ἀπάτης τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς συγγράψασι τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἱστορίας. προειρημένων δὴ τούτων καιρὸς ἐπανάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολειπομένην διήγησιν.

[5] In the light, therefore, of these various impossibilities and absurdities, I state that the children were not the sons, but the grandsons, of Tarquinius, agreeing therein with Lucius Piso Frugi (for he in his *Annals* is the only historian who has given this account); unless, indeed, the children were the king's grandsons by birth and his sons by adoption and this circumstance misled all the other Roman historians. Now that these explanations have been

made by way of preface, it is time to resume my narrative where it was broken off.

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς βασιλείας ὁ Τύλλιος καὶ τὴν ἑταιρίαν τῶν Μαρκίων ἐξελάσας βεβαίως ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνόμιζε κρατεῖν, τὸν τε βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον, ὡς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τετελευτηκότα ἔναγχος, ἐκκομιδῇ τε πολυτελεῖ καὶ μνήματος ἐπισήμου κατασκευῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἐκόσμη, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ὡς ἐπίτροπος ὦν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους παίδων τὸν τ' ἴδιον αὐτῶν βίον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως διὰ φυλακῆς τε καὶ φροντίδος ἐποιεῖτο.

[8.1] When Tullius, after receiving the guardianship of the kingdom and expelling the faction of the Marcii, thought he was now in secure possession of the sovereignty, he honoured King Tarquinius, as if he had but recently died of his wounds, with a very costly funeral, an imposing monument, and the other usual honours. And from that time, as guardian of the royal children, he took under his protection and care both their private fortunes and the public interests of the commonwealth.

[2] τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις οὐκ ἦν τὰ γινόμενα καθ' ἡδονάς, ἀλλ' ἡγανάκτουν καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ τινα μηχανήσασθαι βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν, μήτε βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης μήτε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ νόμον ἐπιτελεσθέντων. συνιόντες τε πολλάκις οἱ πλεῖστον ἐξ αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς παρανόμου ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴν πρῶτον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυλλίου ἀναχθῶσιν, ἀναγκάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς ῥάβδους ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς σύμβολα: ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο γένηται, τοὺς καλουμένους μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐλέσθαι τὸν ἄρξοντα τῆς [p. 16]

[2] The patricians, however, were not pleased with these proceedings, but felt indignation and resentment, being unwilling that Tullius should build up a kind of royal power for himself without either a decree of the senate or the other formalities prescribed by law. And the most powerful of them met together frequently and discussed with one another means of putting an end to his illegal rule; and they resolved that in the first time Tullius should assemble them in the senate-house they would compel him to lay aside the rods and the other symbols of royalty, and that after this was done they would appoint the magistrates called interreges and through them choose a man to rule the state in accordance with the laws.

[3] πόλεως κατὰ νόμους. ταῦτα διανοουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐτρέπετο, δι' ἐκείνων ἐλπίσας τὴν ἀρχὴν καθεξείν, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ τε παιδία προήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ λόγον διεξῆλθε τοιόνδε.

[3] While they were making these plans, Tullius, becoming aware of their

purpose, applied himself to flattering and courting the poorer citizens, and hopes of retaining the sovereignty through them; and having called an assembly of the people, he brought the children forward to the tribunal and delivered a speech somewhat as follows:

[1] πολλή με ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν, ἄνδρες πολῖται, κήδεσθαι τῶν παιδίων τούτων καὶ νηπίων. Ταρκύνιος γὰρ ὁ πάππος αὐτῶν ἀπάτορα καὶ ἄπολιν ὄντα με παραλαβὼν ἐξέθρεψεν οὐδὲν ἐνδεέστερον ἄγων τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων ἔδωκε μοι γυναῖκα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότα τιμῶν καὶ φιλῶν, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, διετέλεσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν, εἴ τι πάθοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων,

[9.1] “I find myself under great obligation, citizens, to take care of these infant children. For Tarquinius, their grandfather, received me when I was fatherless and without a country, and brought me up, holding me in no respect inferior to his own children. He also gave me one of his two daughters in marriage, and during the whole course of his life continued to honour and love me, as you also know, with the same affection as if I had been his own son. And after that treacherous attack was made upon him he entrusted me with the guardianship of these children in case he should suffer the fate of all mortals.

[2] ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παιδίων ἐπίστευσε. τίς οὖν ἢ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσιον ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαιον ὑπολήφεται με, ἐὰν ἐγκαταλίπω καὶ προδῶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, οἷς τοσαύτας ὀφείλω χάριτας; ἀλλ’ οὔτε τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προδώσω πίστιν οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν παιδίων ἐρημίαν ἐγκαταλείψω κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμήν. δίκαιοι δ’ ἐστὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς διαμεμνησθαι τὰς εὐεργεσίας, αἷς ὁ πάππος αὐτῶν τὸ κοινὸν εὐηργέτησεν ὑποτάξας μὲν ὑμῖν τὰς Λατίνων τοσαύτας πόλεις ἀντιποιουμένας τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπηκόους δὲ ποιήσας Τυρρηνοὺς ἅπαντας μέγιστον τῶν περιοίκων [p. 17] δυναμένους, ἀναγκάσας δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, μετὰ πολλῶν ἄκαντα ταῦτα καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων κατεργασάμενος.

[2] Who, therefore, will think me pious towards the gods or just towards men if I abandon and betray the orphans to with I owe so great a debt of gratitude? But, to the best of my ability, I shall neither betray the trust reposed in me nor yet abandon the children in their forlorn condition. You too ought in justice to remember the benefits their grandfather conferred upon the commonwealth in reducing to your obedience so many cities of the Latins, your rivals for the sovereignty, in making all the Tyrrhenians, the most powerful of your neighbours, your subjects, and in forcing the Sabine nation to submit to you — all of which he effected at the cost of many great dangers.

[3] ὅσον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἔζη χρόνον, ἐκείνῳ κροσῆκεν ὑμᾶς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν χάριτας εἰδέναί, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τετελεύτηκε τὸν βίον τοῖς ἐγγόνις αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποτινείν, καὶ μὴ συγκατορύττειν ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι τῶν

εὐεργετῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἔργων. δόξατε οὖν κοινῇ πάντες ἐπίτροποι καταλελειφθαι τῶν παιδίων καὶ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτοῖς ἦν ὁ πάππος κατέλιπεν ἀρχὴν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀπολαύσειαν ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐνὸς ὄντος προστασίας, ὅσον ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν βοηθείας.

[3] As long, therefore, as he himself was living, it became you to give him thanks for the benefits you had received from him; and now that he is dead, it becomes you to make a grateful return to his posterity, and not to bury the remembrance of their deeds together with the persons of your benefactors. Consider, therefore, that you have all jointly been left guardians of these little children, and confirm to them the sovereignty which their grandfather left them. For they would not receive so great an advantage from my guardianship, which is that of one man only, as from the joint assistance of you all.

[4] ταῦτα δ' εἰπεῖν ἡνάγκασμαι συνισταμένους τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτέροις παραδοῦναι βουλομένους. ἄξιῳ δ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν μεμνημένους ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡγωνισάμην, οὔτε μικρῶν ὄντων οὔτ' ὀλίγων, οὓς οὐδὲν δέομαι πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς λέγειν, τὰς ἀντὶ τούτων ὀφειλομένας ἐμοὶ χάριτας τοῖς παιδίοις ἀκοδοῦναι τούτοις. οὐ γὰρ ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενος, ἥς οὐδενὸς ἦπτον ἄξιος ἦν βουλευθεὶς τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ταρκυνίου γένει βοηθῶν τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν προήρημαι.

[4] I have been compelled to say these things because I have perceived that some persons are conspiring against them and desire to hand the sovereignty over the others. I ask you, Romans, also to call to mind the struggles I have undergone in the interest of your supremacy — struggles neither inconsiderable nor few, which I need not relate to you who are familiar with them — and to repay to these little children the gratitude you owe me in return. For it has not been with a view to securing a sovereignty of my own — of which, if that had been my aim, I was as worthy as anyone — but in order to aid the family of Tarquinius, that I have chosen to direct public affairs.

[5] ἰκέτης δ' ὑμῶν γίνομαι μὴ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν [p. 18] νῦν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς κινδυνεύοντας, εἰ δ' ἡ πρώτη πεῖρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν χωρήσει κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελαθισομένους. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ὥς ἐγνωκόσιν ὑμῖν τὰ δέοντα καὶ ποιήσουσιν, ὅσα προσήκει, οὐδὲν δέομαι πλείω λέγειν: ἃ δὲ παρεσκεύασμαι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὦν χάριν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλεσα, ἀκούσατέ μου.

[5] And I entreat you as a suppliant not to abandon these orphans, who are now, indeed, only in danger of losing the sovereignty, but, if this first attempt of their enemies succeeds, will also be expelled from the city. But on this subject I need say no more to you, since you both know what is required and will perform your duty.

[6] ὅσοι μὲν ὑμῶν ὀφείλοντες ἤδη χρέα διὰ πενίαν ἀδύνατοί εἰσιν ἀποδοῦναι, τοῦτοις βοηθεῖν προθυμούμενος, ἐπειδὴ πολῖται τ' εἰσι καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνηντλήκασι πόνους, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφαιρεθῶσιν ἐλευθερίαν οἱ τὴν κοινὴν βεβαιώσαντες, ἐκ τῶν ἔμαντοῦ

[6] “Hear from me now the benefits I myself have arranged to confer upon you and the reasons that induced me to summon this assembly. Those among you who already have debts which through poverty they are unable to discharge, I am eager to help, since they are citizens and have undergone many hardships in the service of their country; hence, in order that these men who have securely established the common liberty may not be deprived of their own, I am giving them from my own means enough to pay their debts.

[7] χρημάτων δίδωμι διαλύσασθαι τὰ χρέα. ὅσοι δ' ἂν μετὰ ταῦτα δανείσωνται, τοὺτους οὐκ ἔασω πρὸς τὰ χρέα ἀπάγεσθαι καὶ νόμον θήσομαι μηδένα δανεῖζειν ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἐλευθέροις ἱκανὸν ἡγούμενος τοῖς δανεισταῖς τῆς οὐσίας τῶν συμβαλόντων κρατεῖν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γινομένας εἰσφοράς, δι' ἃς οἱ πένητες ἐπιβαροῦνται τε καὶ ἀναγκάζονται δανείσματα ποιεῖν, κουφοτέρας εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν φέρητε, τιμήσασθαι τὰς οὐσίας ἅπαντας κελεύσω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος ἕκαστον εἰσφέρειν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, ὥς ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ εὐνομωτάταις πόλεσι πυνθάνομαι γινόμενον, δίκαιόν [p. 19] τε καὶ συμφέρον τῷ κοινῷ τοῦθ' ἡγούμενος τοὺς μὲν πολλὰ κεκτημένους πολλὰ εἰσφέρειν, τοὺς δ' ὀλίγα ἔχοντας ὀλίγα.

[7] And those who shall hereafter borrow I will not permit to be haled to prison on account of their debts, but will make a law that no one shall lend money on the security of the persons of free men; for I hold that it is enough for the lenders to possess the property of those who contracted the debts. And in order to lighten for the future the burden also of the war taxes you pay to the public treasury, by which the poor are oppressed and obliged to borrow, I will order all the citizens to give in a valuation of their property and everyone to pay his share of the taxes according to that valuation, as I learn is done in the greatest and best governed cities; for I regard it as both just and advantageous to the public that those who possess much should pay much in taxes and those who have little should pay little.

[8] δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς, ἣν διὰ τῶν ὀπλων κτησάμενοι κατέχετε, μὴ τοὺς ἀναιδεστάτους ὥσπερ νῦν κρατεῖν οὔτε χάριτι λαβόντας οὔτ' ὦνῃ κτησαμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μηδένα κλῆρον ἔχοντας ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ θητεύητε ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι μηδὲ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἰδίας γεωργῇτε: οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο φρόνημα εὐγενὲς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπορουμένοις τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων.

[8] I also believe that the public lands, which you have obtained by your arms and now enjoy, should not, as at present, be held by those who are the most shameless, whether they got them by favour or acquired them by purchase,

but by those among you who have no allotment of land, to the end that you, being free men, may not be serfs to others or cultivate others' lands instead of your own; for a noble spirit cannot dwell in the breasts of men who are in want of the necessities of daily life.

[9] Ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνων καὶ ἴσῃν καὶ κοινὴν ποιεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ δίκαια πᾶσι πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅμοια. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἤκουσι τινες αὐθαδείας, ὥσθ' ὑβρίζειν εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀξιοῦσι καὶ μὴδ' ἐλευθέρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς πένητας ὑμῶν. Ἰνα δὲ καὶ λαμβάνωσι τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὑπέχωσιν οἱ μείζους τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἐξ ἴσου, νόμους θήσομαι κωλυτὰς μὲν τῆς βίας, φύλακας δὲ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδένα χρόνον ἀνήσω τῆς ἀπάντων προνοοῦμενος ἰσηγορίας.

[9] But, above all these things, I have determined to make the government fair and impartial and justice the same for all and towards all. For some have reached that degree of presumption that they take upon themselves to maltreat the common people and do not look upon the poor among you as being even free men. To the end, therefore, that the more powerful may both receive justice from and do justice to their inferior impartially, I will establish such laws as shall prevent violence and preserve justice, and I myself will never cease to take thought for the equality of all the citizens."

[1] τοιαῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν καὶ δίκαιος περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἐπαινοῦντων, τῶν δ', ὅτι φιλάνθρωπος καὶ μεγαλόψυχος εἰς τοὺς ἀπόρους, τῶν δ', ὡς μέτριος καὶ δημοτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινότερους, ἀπάντων δ', ὅτι νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος ἄρχων, ἀγαπώντων [p. 20]

[10.1] While he was thus speaking there was much praise from the assembly, some commending him for his loyalty and justice to his benefactors, others for his humanity and generosity to the poor, and still others for his moderation and democratic spirit towards those of humbler station; but all loved and admired him for being a lawful and just ruler.

[2] τε καὶ τεθναμακότων. διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀπογράφεσθαι κελεύσας τοὺς ὑποχρέους, ὅσοι τὴν πίστιν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν φυλάττειν, τίσιν ὀφείλουσι καὶ πόσον ἕκαστος, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔλαβε, τραπέζας θεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ πάντων ὁρώντων ἀπριθμεῖ τοῖς δανεισταῖς τὰ χρέα.

[2] The assembly having been dismissed, during the following days he ordered lists to be made of all the debtors who were unable to keep their pledges, with the amount each owed and the names of the creditors; and when this list had been delivered to him, he commanded tables to be placed in the Forum and in the presence of all the citizens counted out to the lenders the amount of the debts.

[3] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐξέθηκεν ἐν φανερωῷ διάταγμα βασιλικόν, ἐκχωρεῖν τῆς δημοσίας γῆς τοὺς καρπουμένους τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἐν ὠρισμένῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ, καὶ τοὺς οὐδένα κληῖρον ἔχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπογράφεσθαι: νόμους τε συνέγραφεν οὓς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παρημελημένων ἀνανεοῦμενος, οὓς Ῥωμύλος τ' εἰσηγήσατο καὶ Νόμας Πομπίλιος, οὓς δ'

[3] Having finished with this, he published a royal edict commanding that all those who were enjoying the use of the public lands and holding them for their own should quit possession within a certain specified time, and that those citizens who had no allotments of land should give in their names to him. He also drew up laws, in some cases renewing old laws that had been introduced by Romulus and Numa Pompilius and had fallen into abeyance, and establishing others himself.

[4] αὐτὸς καθιστάμενος. ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένου χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ πατρίκιοι καταλυομένην τὴν δυναστείαν τῆς βουλῆς ὀρῶντες καὶ λογισμοὺς οὐκέτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐναντίους τοῖς προτέροις ἐλάμβανον.

[4] While he was pursuing these measures, the patricians were growing indignant as they saw the power of the senate being overthrown, and they proceeded to a plan of action which was no longer the same as before, but the opposite.

[5] ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν γὰρ ὥρμησαν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν παράνομον αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν ἀποδείξαντες μεσοβασιλεῖς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐλέσθαι τὸν κατὰ νόμους ἔξοντα τὴν ἀρχήν: τότε δὲ στέργειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ὥοντο δεῖν καὶ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν. εἰσῆι γὰρ αὐτοῖς λογισμός, ὅτι τῆς μὲν βουλῆς, ὃν αὐτὴ προηρεῖτο, παραγούσης ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ὁ δῆμος ἐναντιώσεται τὴν ψῆφον ἀναλαβών: ἔαν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσωσι τὴν [p. 21] τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἅπασαι τὸν Τύλλιον ψηφοφορήσουσιν αἱ φρᾶτραι, καὶ περιέσται τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸ δοκεῖν κατὰ νόμους ἄρχειν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι κλέπτοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παρακρουόμενον τοὺς πολίτας μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαντα καὶ φανερωῶς λαβόντα κατέχειν.

[5] For whereas at first they had determined to deprive him of his illegal power, to appoint interreges, and through them to choose one who should hold the office legally, they now thought they ought to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs and not to interfere at all. For it occurred to them that, if the senate attempted to place a man of its own choosing at the head of affairs, the people, when they came to give their votes, would oppose him; whereas, if they should leave the choice of the king to the people, all the curiae would elect Tullius and the result would be that he would seem to hold the office legally. They thought it better, therefore, to permit him to continue in the possession of the sovereignty by stealth and by deceiving the citizens rather than after persuading them and receiving it openly.

[6] ἄλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο προὔργου τῶν λελογισμένων: οὕτω κατεστρατήγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τύλλιος καὶ κατέσχε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων. κατασκευάσας γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ φήμας λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πατρικίων προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσθῆτα πιναρὰν περιβεβλημένος καὶ κατηγῆς συνούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Ὀκρισίας καὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου γυναικὸς Τανακυλίδος καὶ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς βασιλικῆς ὅλης. ὄχλου δὲ συνδραμόντος πολλοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλέσας προῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ διεξῆλθε τοιοῦτον τινα λόγον.

[6] But none of their calculations availed them aught, so artfully did Tullius outmanoeuvre them and get possession of the royal power against their will. For having long before caused a report to be spread through the city that the patricians were plotting against him, he came into the Forum meanly dressed and with a dejected countenance, accompanied by his mother Ocrisia, Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius, and all the royal family. And when great crowds flocked together at so unexpected a sight, he called an assembly, and ascending the tribunal, addressed them much as follows:

[1] οὐκέτι μοι περὶ τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν μόνον ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεινὸν πάθωσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δέος εἰσέρχεται, μὴ πικρὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀπολάβω. ἐπιβουλεύομαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ μεμῆνυνται μοι τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι με συνομνύμενοι ἀδίκημα μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἔχοντες ἐγκαλεῖν, ὧν δὲ τὸν δῆμον εὖ πεποίηκα καὶ [p. 22] παρεσκεύασμαι ποιεῖν ἀχθόμενοι τε καὶ ἀναξιοπαθοῦντες:

[11.1] "It is no longer the children of Tarquinius alone whom I see in danger of suffering some injury at the hands of their enemies, but I am already coming to fear for my own life, lest I receive a bitter requital for my justice. For the patricians are plotting against me and I have received information that some of them are conspiring to kill me, not because they can charge me with any crime, great or trivial, but because they resent the benefits I have conferred and am prepared to confer upon the people and feel that they are being treated unjustly.

[2] οἱ δανεισταὶ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς πένητας ὑμῶν οὐκ εἴασα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι πρὸς τὰ χρέα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντας: οἱ δὲ κατανοοφιζόμενοι τὰ δημόσια καὶ κατέχοντες, ἦν ὑμεῖς δι' αἵματος ἐκτῆσασθε γῆν ἐκλιπεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ὥσπερ τὰ πατρῷα ἀποστεροῦμενοι καὶ οὐ τὰλλότρια ἀποδιδόντες: οἱ δ' ἀνείμενοι τῶν εἰσφορῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ τιμήσασθαι τοὺς βίους ἀναγκασθήσονται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων τὰς εἰσφορὰς συνεισφέρειν: κοινῇ δὲ σύμπαντες, ὅτι κατὰ νόμους γεγραμμένους ἐθισθήσονται ζῆν τὰ δίκαια ἐξ ἴσου διδόντες ὑμῖν καὶ λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις παραχρήσονται τοῖς πένησιν, ὃ ποιοῦσι νῦν.

[2] The money-lenders, for their part, feel aggrieved because I did not permit the poor among you to be haled to prison by them because of their debts and to be deprived of their liberty. And those who misappropriate and hold what belongs to the state, finding themselves obliged to give up the land which you acquired with your blood, are as angry as if they were being deprived of their inheritances instead of merely restoring what belongs to others. Those, again, who have been exempt from war taxes resent being compelled to give in a valuation of their property and to pay taxes in property to those valuations. But the general complaint of them all is that they will have to accustom themselves to live according to written laws and impartially dispense justice to you and receive it from you, instead of abusing the poor, as they now do, as if they were so many purchased slaves.

[3] καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματα συνενέγκαντες εἰς τὸ κοινὸν βεβούλευνται τε καὶ συνομωμόκασι κατάγειν τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ τοῖς Μαρκίου παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδιδόναι, οὓς ὑμεῖς Ταρκύνιον ἀποκτείναντας τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ τηλικοῦτο διαπραξαμένους ἄγος τὰς τε δίκας ἐρήμους ἐκλιπόντας καὶ φυγῆς ἑαυτοῖς τιμησαμένους πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἶργειν ἐψηφίσασθε: ἔμελλον τ', εἰ μὴ θάπτον ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων ἐγένετο μήνυσις, ξενικὴν δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενοι νυκτὸς ἔτι πολλὴν κατάγειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν [p. 23]

[3] And making common cause of these complaints, they have taken counsel and sworn to recall the exiles and to restore the kingdom to Marcius' sons, against whom you passed a vote forbidding them the use of fire and water for having assassinated Tarquinius, your king, a worthy man and a lover of his country, and, after they had committed such an act of pollution, for having failed to appear for their trial and thus condemned themselves to exile. And if I had not received early information of these designs, they would, with the assistance of a foreign force, have brought back the exiles into the city in the dead of night.

[4] τοὺς φυγάδας. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντες ἴστε δήπου, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω, ὅτι Μάρκιοι συλλαμβανόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πατρικίων κατασχόντες τὰ πράγματα διχα πόνου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐμὲ τὸν φύλακα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεσάμενον δίκας ἔμελλον ἀναρπάσσεσθαι, ἔπειτα ταντὶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους Ταρκυνίου πάντας ἀρεῖσθαι: γυναικας δ' ἡμῶν καὶ μητέρας καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ γένος ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιήσασθαι λόγῳ, πολὺ

[4] You all know, of course, what would have been the consequence of this, even without my mentioning it — that the Marcii, with the support of the patricians, after getting control of affairs without any trouble, would first have seized me, as the guardian of the royal family and as the person who had pronounced sentence against them, and after that would have destroyed these children and all the other kinsmen and friends of Tarquinius; and, as they have

much of the savage and the tyrant in their nature, they would have treated our wives, mothers and daughters and all the female sex like slaves.

[5] τὸ θηριῶδες ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τυραννικόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἐστίν, ὧς δημόται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους κατὰγειν καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν εὐεργετῶν παῖδας ἐξελαύνειν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου καταλειφθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, στερῶμεν τὴν τύχην. ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπάντων θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, ὅσοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐποπτεύουσι βίον, ἰκέται πάντες ὑμῶν γινόμενοι σὺν γυναιξὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις ἀντὶ πολλῶν μὲν, ὧν Ταρκύνιος ὁ τῶν παιδίων πάππος εὖ ποιῶν ὑμᾶς διετέλεσεν, ἀντὶ πολλῶν δέ, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐγενόμην ὑμῖν χρήσιμος, ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς μίαν ἡμῖν δοῦναι ταύτην δωρεάν, φανεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γνώμην.

[5] If, therefore, it is *your* pleasure also, citizens, to recall the assassins and make them kings, to banish the sons of your benefactors and to deprive them of the kingdom their grandfather left them, we shall submit to our fate. But we all, together with our wives and children, make supplication to you by all the gods and lesser divinities who watch over the lives of men that, in return for the many benefits Tarquinius, the grandfather of these children, never ceased to confer upon you, and in return for the many services I myself, as far as I have been able, have done you, you will grant us this single boon — to declare your own sentiments.

[6] εἰ γὰρ ἐτέρους τινὰς ἀξιονικότερους ἡμῶν ὑπειλήφατε εἶναι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνειν, [p. 24] τὰ μὲν παιδία οἰχήσεται τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καταλιπόντα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ταρκυνίου συγγένεια: ἐγὼ δ' ἕτερόν τι βουλευέσομαι γενναιότερον ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ: βεβίωται γὰρ ἤδη μοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἀποχρώντως καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσαιμι τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας ψευθεῖς, ἢν ἀντὶ παντὸς εἰλόμην ἀγαθοῦ, ζῆν αἰσχροῦς ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ. παραλάβετε δὴ τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ δότε, εἰ βούλεσθε, τοῖς πατρικίοις: ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐνοχλήσω παρών.

[6] For if you have come to believe that any others are more worthy than we of this honour, the children, with all the other relations of Tarquinius, shall withdraw, leaving the city to you. As for me, I shall take a more generous resolution in my own case For I have already lived long enough both for virtue and for glory, and if I am disappointed of your goodwill, which I have preferred to every other good thing, I could never bring myself to live in disgrace among any other people. Take the rods, then, and give them to the patricians, if you wish; I shall not trouble you with my presence.”

[1] ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παραχωρεῖν οἴου τε ὄντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κραυγὴ τε παρὰ πάντων ἐξαισιος ἐγένετο καὶ δεήσεις μεμιγμέναι δάκρυσιν, ἵνα μένη τε καὶ διακατέχη τὰ πράγματα μηδένα δεδοικώς. ἔπειτ' ἐγκέλευστοί τινες διειληφότες τὴν ἀγορὰν βασιλέα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐβόων καὶ συγκαλεῖν

τὰς φράτρας ἤξουσιν καὶ ψῆφον ἤτουν. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως ἐγεγόνει.

[12.1] While he was speaking these words and seemed about to leave the tribunal, they all raised a tremendous clamour, and mingling tears with their entreaties, besought him to remain and to retain control of affairs, fearing no one. Thereupon some of his partisans, who had stationed themselves in different parts of the Forum, following his instructions, cried out, “Make him king,” and demanded that the curiae should be called together and a vote taken; and after these had set the example, the whole populace was promptly of the same opinion.

[2] τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Τύλλιος οὐκέτι παρήκε τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι φήσας χάριτας, ὅτι μέμνηται τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ ἔτι πλείονα ὑποσχόμενος ἀγαθὰ ποιήσιν, ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξωσι βασιλέα, προεῖπεν ἡμέραν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, εἰς ἣν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἅπαντας παρεῖναι.

[2] Tullius, seeing this, no longer let the occasion slip, but told them that he felt very grateful to them for remembering his services; and after promising to confer even more benefits if they should make him king, he appointed a day for the election, at which he ordered everybody to be present including those from the country.

[3] συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καλῶν τὰς φράτρας κατὰ μίαν ἀνεδίδου τὰς ψήφους. ἀπάσαις δὲ ταῖς φράτραις κριθεῖς τῆς βασιλείας [p. 25] ἄξιος παραλαμβάνει τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους πολλὰ χαίρειν τῇ βουλῇ φράσας, ἣν οὐκ ἤξιωσεν ἐπικυρῶσαι τὰ τοῦ δήμου κρίματα, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ἔθος ἦν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθὼν πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων πολιτευμάτων εἰσηγητῆς ἐγένετο, μέγαν δὲ καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἐπολέμησε πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον. ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τοὺς λόγους.

[3] When the people had assembled he called the curiae and took the vote of each curia separately. And upon being judged worthy of the kingship by all the curiae, he then accepted it from the populace, telling the senate to go hang; for he did not ask that body to ratify the decision of the people, as it was accustomed to do. After coming to the sovereignty in this manner, he introduced many reforms in the civil administration and also carried on a great and memorable war against the Tyrrhenians. But I shall first give an account of his administrative reforms.

[1] εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διένειμε τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν τοῖς θητεούσι Ῥωμαίων: ἔπειτα τοὺς νόμους τοὺς τε συναλλακτικοὺς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐπεκύρωσε ταῖς φράτραις: ἦσαν δὲ πεντήκοντά που μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι μεμνηῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν.

[13.1] Immediately upon receiving the sovereignty he divided the public lands among those of the Romans who served others for hire. Next he caused both the laws relating to private contracts and those concerning torts to be ratified by the curiae; these laws were about fifty in number, of which I need not make any mention at present.

[2] τῇ τε πόλει προσέθηκε δύο λόφους, τὸν τε Οὐμινάλιον καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἴσκυλῖνον, ὧν ἑκάτερος ἀξιολόγου πόλεως ἔχει μέγεθος, καὶ διένειμεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνεστίοις Ῥωμαίων οἰκίας κατασκευάσασθαι: ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησατο τὴν οἰκισιν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς Ἴσκυλίας τόπῳ.

[2] He also added two hills to the city, those called the Viminal and the Esquiline, each of which has the size of a fairly large city. These he divided among such of the Romans as had no homes of their own, so that they might build houses there; and he himself fixed his habitation there, in the best part of the Esquiline Hill.

[3] οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευταῖος ἠὔξησε τὸν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δύο τοῖς πέντε προσθεῖς λόφοις, ὀρνιθευσάμενός τε ὡς νόμος ἦν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια διαπραξάμενος. προσωτέρῳ δ' οὐκέτι προῆλθεν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐῶντος, ὥς φασι, τοῦ δαιμονίου, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκούμενα χωρία, πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα, γυμνὰ καὶ ἀτείχιστα [p. 26]

[3] This king was the last who enlarged the circuit of the city, by adding these two hills to the other five, after he had first consulted the auspices, as the law directed, and performed the other religious rites. Farther than this the building of the city has not yet progressed, since the gods, they say, have not permitted it; but all the inhabited places round it, which are many and large, are unprotected and without walls, and very easy to be taken by any enemies who may come.

[4] καὶ ῥᾶστα πολεμίοις ἐλθοῦσιν ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι: καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰς ταῦτά τις ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐξετάζειν βουλήσεται τῆς Ῥώμης, πλανᾶσθαι τ' ἀναγκασθήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἔξει βέβαιον σημεῖον οὐδέν, ὥ διαγνώσεται, μέχρι ποῦ προβαίνουσα ἔτι πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται μηκέτ' εἶναι πόλις, οὕτω συνύφανται τὸ ἄστρ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκμηκνυομένης πόλεως ὑπόληψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχεται.

[4] If anyone wishes to estimate the size of Rome by looking at these suburbs he will necessarily be misled for want of a definite clue by which to determine up to what point it is still the city and where it ceases to be the city; so closely is the city connected with the country, giving the beholder the impression of a city stretching out indefinitely.

[5] εἰ δὲ τῷ τειχεῖ τῷ δυσσευρέτῳ μὲν ὄντι διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανούσας αὐτὸ πολλαχόθεν οἰκίσεις, ἴχνη δὲ τινα φυλάττοντι κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς

ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς, βουλευθεῖη μετρεῖν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὸν περιέχοντα Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἄστυ, οὐ πολλῶ τιμι μείζων ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἂν αὐτῷ φανεῖη κύκλος. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ μεγέθους τε καὶ κάλλους τῆς πόλεως, ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν εἶχεν ἡλικίαν, ἕτερος ἔσται τῇ διηγήσει καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος.

[5] But if one should wish to measure Rome by the wall, which, though hard to be discovered by reason of the buildings that surround it in many places, yet preserves in several parts of it some traces of its ancient structure, and to compare it with the circuit of the city of Athens, the circuit of Rome would not seem to him very much larger than the other. But for an account of the extent and beauty of the city of Rome, as it existed in my day, another occasion will be more suitable.

[1] ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἑπτὰ λόφους ἐνὶ τείχει περιέλαβεν, εἰς τέτταρας μοίρας διελὼν τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων ταῖς μοίραις τὰς ἐπικλήσεις, τῇ μὲν Παλατινῇ, τῇ δὲ Σουβουράνῃ, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ Κολλινῇ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν μοιρῶν Ἰσχυλινῇ, τετράφυλον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, τρίφυλον οὖσαν τέως:

[14.1] After Tullius had surrounded the seven hills with one wall, he divided the city into four regions, which he named after the hills, calling the first the Palatine, the second the Suburan, the third the Colline, and the fourth the Esquiline region; and by this means he made the city contain four tribes, whereas it previously had consisted of but three.

[2] καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔταξε τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν τεττάρων οἰκοῦντας, ὥσπερ κωμῆτας, μήτε μεταλαμβάνειν [p. 27] ἑτέραν οἴκησιν μήτ' ἄλλοθι που συντελεῖν, τὰς τε καταγραφὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων τὰς γινομένας εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας χρείας, ἃς ἕκαστον ἔδει τῷ κοινῷ παρέχειν, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς φυλάς τὰς γενικὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς τέτταρας τὰς τοπικὰς τὰς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διαταχθείσας ἐποιεῖτο, ἡγεμόνας ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἀποδείξας συμμορίας, ὥσπερ φυλάρχους ἢ κωμάρχας, οἷς προσέταξεν εἰδέναι, ποίαν οἰκίαν ἕκαστος οἰκεῖ.

[2] And he ordered that the citizens inhabiting each of the four regions should, like persons living in villages, neither take up another abode nor be enrolled elsewhere; and the levies of troops, the collection of taxes for military purposes, and the other services which every citizen was bound to offer to the commonwealth, he no longer based upon the three national tribes, as aforetime, but upon the four local tribes established by himself. And over each region he appointed commanders, like heads of tribes or villages, whom he ordered to know what house each man lived in.

[3] ἔπειτα κατὰ πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στενωποὺς ἱερὰ ἐγκατασκευασθῆναι

καλιάδας ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων ἤρωσι προνωπίοις καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν πελάνους εἰσφερούσης ἐκάστης οἰκίας: τοῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν γεινόνων ἱερὰ συντελοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς προνωπίοις οὐ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δούλους ἔταξε παρεῖναι τε καὶ συνιερουργεῖν, ὡς κεχαρισμένης τοῖς ἤρωσι τῆς τῶν θεραπόντων ὑπηρεσίας:

[3] After this he commanded that there should be erected in every street by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood chapels to heroes whose statues stood in front of the houses, and he made a law that sacrifices should be performed to them every year, each family contributing a honey-cake. He directed also that the persons attending and assisting those who performed the sacrifices at these shrines on behalf of the neighbourhood should not be free men, but slaves, the ministry of servants being looked upon as pleasing to the heroes.

[4] ἦν ἔτι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐορτὴν ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῶν Κρονίων, σεμνὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ καὶ πολυτελεῖ, Κομπιτάλια προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῶν στενωπῶν: κομπίτους γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς καλοῦσι: καὶ φυλάττουσι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐθισμόν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἤρωας ἱλασκόμενοι καὶ ἅπαν τὸ δοῦλον ἀφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἵνα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ταύτῃ [p. 28] πιθασσεύομενοι μέγα τι καὶ σεμνὸν ἐχούσῃ χαριέστεροι γίνωνται περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς τύχης ἥττον βαρύνονται.

[4] This festival the Romans still continued to celebrate even in my day in the most solemn and sumptuous manner a few days after the Saturnalia, calling it the Compitalia, after the streets; for compiti, is their name for streets. And they still observe the ancient custom in connexion with those sacrifices, propitiating the heroes by the ministry of their servants, and during these days removing every badge of their servitude, in order that the slaves, being softened by this instance of humanity, which has something great and solemn about it, may make themselves more agreeable to their masters and be less sensible of the severity of their condition.

[1] διεῖλε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος φησιν, εἰς μοίρας ἕξ τε καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς καλεῖ φυλάς καὶ τὰς ἀστικὰς προστιθεὶς αὐταῖς τέτταρας: ὡς δὲ Οὐεννώνιος ἱστόρηκεν, εἰς μίαν τε καὶ τριάκοντα, ὥστε σὺν ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν οὖσαις ἐκπεπληρῶσθαι τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε φυλάς: Κάτων μέντοι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀξιοπιστότερος ὢν τριάκοντα φυλάς ἐπὶ Τυλλίου τὰς πάσας γενέσθαι λέγει καὶ οὐ χωρίζει τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἀριθμόν.

[15.1] Tullius also divided the country as a whole into twenty-six parts, according to Fabius, who calls these divisions tribes also and, adding the four city tribes to them, says that there were thirty tribes in all under Tullius. But according to Vennonius he divided the country into thirty-one parts, so that with the four city tribes the number was rounded out to the thirty-five tribes

that exist down to our day. However, Cato, who is more worthy of credence than either of these authors, does not specify the number of the parts into which the country was divided.

[2] διελὼν δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος εἰς ὅποσας δήποτε μοῖρας τὴν γῆν κατὰ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς γεωργοῖς παρέχειν δυνησομένουσ' ὄχθους κρησφύγετα κατεσκεύασεν, Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ καλῶν Πάγους, ἔνθα συνέφευγον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἅπαντες, ὅποτε γένοιτο πολεμίων ἐφοδος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ

[2] After Tullius, therefore, had divided the country into a certain number of parts, whatever that number was, he built places of refuge upon such lofty eminences as could afford ample security for the husbandmen, and called them by a Greek name, pagi or "hills." Thither all the inhabitants fled from the fields whenever a raid was made by enemies, and generally passed the night there.

[3] διενυκτέρευον ἐνταῦθα. ἄρχοντες δὲ καὶ τούτων ἦσαν, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ τ' ὀνόματα τῶν γεωργῶν εἰδέναι τῶν συντελούντων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πάγον, καὶ [p. 29] τὰς κτήσεις, ἐν αἷς ὁ βίος αὐτῶν ἦν: καὶ ὅποτε χρεια γένοιτο ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς χωρίτας καλεῖν ἢ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς κατ' ἄνδρα ἐκλέγειν, οὗτοι τὰ τε σώματα συνῆγον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰσέπραττον. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ πληθὺς μὴ δυσεὔρετος, ἀλλ' εὐλόγιστος ἦ καὶ φανερά, βωμοὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἰδρύσασθαι θεῶν ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ φυλάκων τοῦ πάγου, οὓς ἔταξε θυσίαις κοιναῖς γεραίρειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἅμα συνερχομένους, ἑορτὴν τινα καὶ ταύτην ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμίαν καταστησάμενος, τὰ καλούμενα Παγανάλια: καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων, οὓς ἔτι διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, συνέγραψεν.

[3] These places also had their governors, whose duty it was to know not only the names of all the husbandmen who belonged to the same district but also the lands which afforded them their livelihood. And whenever there was occasion to summon the countrymen to take arms or to collect the taxes that were assessed against each of them, these governors assembled the men together and collected the money. And in order that the number of these husbandmen might not be hard to ascertain, but might be easy to compute and be known at once, he ordered them to erect altars to the gods who presided over and were guardians of the district, and directed them to assemble every year and honour these gods with public sacrifices. This occasion also he made one of the most solemn festivals, calling it the Paganalia; and he drew up laws concerning these sacrifices, which the Romans still observe.

[4] εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἅπαντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁμοπάγους κατὰ κεφαλὴν ὠρισμένον νόμισμα τι συνεισφέρειν, ἕτερον μὲν τι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἕτερον δὲ τι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἄλλο δὲ τι τοὺς ἀνήβους. ἐξ οὗ συναριθμηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων τοῖς ἱεροῖς φανερὸς ὁ τῶν

ἀνθρώπων ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ γένη τε καὶ καθ' ἡλικίας.

[4] Towards the expense of this sacrifice and of this assemblage he ordered all those of the same district to contribute each of them a certain piece of money, the men paying one kind, the women another and the children a third kind. When these pieces of money were counted by those who presided over the sacrifices, the number of people, distinguished by their sex and age, became known.

[5] ὥς δὲ Πείσων Λεύκιος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων ἀναγραφῶν ἱστορεῖ, βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄστει διατριβόντων τὸ πλῆθος εἰδέναι, τῶν τε γεννωμένων καὶ τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφομένων, ἔταξεν ὅσον ἔδει νόμισμα καταφέρειν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τοὺς προσήκοντας, εἰς μὲν τὸν τῆς Εἰλειθυίας θησαυρόν, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἥραν φωσφόρον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεννωμένων: εἰς δὲ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν ἄλσει καθιδρυμένης, ἣν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβιτίνην, [p. 30] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογινομένων: εἰς δὲ τὸν τῆς Νεότητος, ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἀρχομένων συντελεῖν: ἔξ ὧν ἤμελλε διαγνώσεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅσοι τε οἱ σύμπαντες ἦσαν καὶ τίνες ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον 2 ἡλικίαν εἶχον.

[5] And wishing also, as Lucius Piso writes in the first book of his *Annals*, to know the number of the inhabitants of the city, and of all who were born and died and arrived at the age of manhood, he prescribed the piece of money which their relations were to pay for each — into the treasury of Plithiya (called by the Romans Juno Lucina) for those who were born, into that of the Venus of the Grove (called by them Libitina) for those who died, and into the treasury of Juventas for those who were arriving at manhood. By means of these pieces of money he would know every year both the number of all the inhabitants and which of them were of military age.

[6] ταῦτα καταστησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους ἀπογράφεσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς οὐσίας πρὸς ἀργύριον ὁμόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον, ἧ μὲν τάληθῃ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου τετιμῆσθαι, πατέρων τε ὧν εἰσι γράφοντας καὶ ἡλικίαν ἣν ἔχουσι δηλοῦντας γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ὀνομάζοντας καὶ ἐν τίνι κατοικοῦσιν ἕκαστοι τῆς πόλεως φυλῇ ἢ πάγῳ τῆς χώρας προστιθέντας: τῷ δὲ μὴ τιμησαμένῳ τιμωρίαν ὥρισε τῆς τ' οὐσίας στέρεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν μαστιγωθέντα πραθῆναι: καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὗτος ὁ νόμος.

[6] After he had made these regulations, he ordered all the Romans to register their names and give in a monetary valuation of their property, at the same time taking the oath required by law that they had given in a true valuation in good faith; they were also to set down the names of their fathers, with their own age and the names of their wives and children, and every man was to declare in what tribe of the city or in what district of the country he lived. If any failed to give in their valuation, the penalty he established was that their

property should be forfeited and they themselves whipped and sold for slaves. This law continued in force among the Romans for a long time.

[1] τιμησαμένων δὲ πάντων ἀναλαβὼν τὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ διαγνοὺς τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν βίων σοφώτατον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων εἰσηγήσατο καὶ μεγίστων Ῥωμαῖος ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον, ὡς 3 τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσε.

[16.1] After all had given in their valuations, Tullius took the registers and the size of their estates, introduced the wisest of all measures, and one which has been the source of the greatest advantages to the Romans, as the results have shown.

[2] τὸ δὲ πολίτευμα τοιόνδε ἦν: μίαν ἀφεῖλεν ἐξ ἀπάντων μοῖραν, ἥς τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑκατὸν μνῶν. τούτους δὲ συντάξας εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα λόχους ὅπλα φέρειν ἐπέταξεν ἀσπίδας Ἀργολικὰς καὶ δόρατα καὶ κράνη χάλκεα καὶ θώρακας καὶ κνημίδας καὶ ξίφη. διελὼν δ' αὐτοὺς [p. 31] διχῇ, τετταράκοντα μὲν ἐποίησε νεωτέρων λόχους, οἷς τὰς ὑπαιθρίους ἀπέδωκε στρατείας, τετταράκοντα δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, οὓς ἔδει τῆς νεότητος εἰς πόλεμον ἐξιούσης ὑπομένοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ἐντὸς τειχους φυλάττειν.

[2] The measure was this: He selected from the whole number of the citizens one part, consisting of those whose property was rated the highest and amounted to no less than one hundred minae. Of these he formed eighty centuries, whom he ordered to be armed with Argolic bucklers, with spears, brazen helmets, corslets, greaves and swords. Dividing these centuries into two groups, he made forty centuries of younger men, whom he appointed to take the field in time of war, and forty of older men, whose duty it was, when the youth went forth to war, to remain in the city and guard everything inside the walls.

[3] αὕτη πρώτη σύνταξις ἦν: χώραν δὲ κατεῖχεν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὴν προαγωνιζομένην τῆς φάλαγγος ὅλης. ἔπειτ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἑτέραν ἀφήρει μοῖραν, οἷς ἦν ἐντὸς μὲν μυρίων δραχμῶν, οὐ μείον δὲ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μνῶν τὸ τίμημα. συντάξας δὲ τούτους εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φορεῖν ὅπλα προσέταξεν, ὅσα τοὺς προτέρους, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας αὐτῶν ἀφεῖλε, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀνέδωκε θυρεοὺς. διελὼν δὲ καὶ τούτων τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη γεγονότας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν, δέκα μὲν ἐποίησε λόχους νεωτέρων, οὓς ἔδει προπολεμεῖν τῆς πόλεως, δέκα δὲ πρεσβυτέρων, οἷς ἀπέδωκε τειχοφυλακεῖν. αὕτη δευτέρα σύνταξις ἦν, ἑκοσμεῖτο δ'

[3] This was the first class; in wars it occupied a position in the forefront of the whole army. Next, from those who were left he took another part whose rating was under ten thousand drachmae but not less than seventy-five minae. Of these he formed twenty centuries and ordered them to wear the same armour

as those of the first class, except that he took from them the corslets, and instead of the bucklers gave them shields. Here also he distinguished between those who were over forty-five years old and those who were of military age, constituting ten centuries of the younger men, whose duty it was to serve their country in the field, and ten of the older, to whom he committed the defence of the walls. This was the second class; in engagements they were drawn up behind those fighting in the front ranks.

[4] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι μετὰ τοὺς προμάχους. τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἐποίησι σύνταξιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων, ὅσοι τιμησιν εἶχον ἐλάττωνα μὲν τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν, οὐ μείονα δὲ μνῶν πεντήκοντα. τούτων δ' ἐμείωσε τὸν ὅπλισμόν οὐ μόνον τοῖς θώραξιν,

[4] The third class he constituted out of those who were left, taking such as had a rating of less than seven thousand five hundred drachmae but not less than fifty minae. The armour of these he diminished not only by taking away the corslets, as from the second class, but also the greaves.

[5] ὥσπερ τῶν δευτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περικνημῖσι. συνέταξε δὲ καὶ τούτους εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους καὶ διεῖλε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς προτέροις καθ' ἡλικίας, δέκα λόχους ἀποδοὺς τοῖς νεωτέροις καὶ δέκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. [p. 32] χώρα δὲ καὶ στάσις ἦν τούτων τῶν λόχων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἢ μετὰ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τοῖς προμάχοις.

[5] He formed likewise twenty centuries of these, dividing them, like the former, according to their age and assigning ten centuries to the younger men and ten to the older. In battles the post and station of these centuries was in the third line from the front.

[1] ἀφελὼν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων τοὺς ἐλάττω πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν ἔχοντας οὐσίαν ἄχρι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνῶν, τετάρτην ἐποίησε μοῖραν. διέταξε δὲ καὶ τούτους εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους, καὶ δέκα μὲν ἐποίησε τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ, δέκα δὲ τῶν ὑπερηλίκων κατὰ ταύτῃ τοῖς προτέροις. ὅπλα δὲ φέρειν ἔταξεν αὐτοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ ξίφη καὶ δόρατα καὶ στάσιν ἔχειν 4 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τὴν ὑστάτην.

[17.1] Again taking from the remainder those whose property amounted to less than five thousand drachmae but was as much as twenty-five minae, he formed a fourth class. This he also divided into twenty centuries, ten of which he composed of such as were in the vigour of their age, and the other ten of those who were just past it, in the same manner as with the former classes. He ordered the arms of these to be shields, swords and spears, and their post in engagements to be in the last line.

[2] τὴν δὲ πέμπτην μοῖραν, οἷς ἐντὸς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε μνῶν ἄχρι δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίους μνῶν ὁ βίος ἦν, εἰς τριάκοντα συνέταξε λόχους. διήρηντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καθ' ἡλικίαν: πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν λόχοι τοὺς

πρεσβυτέρους εἶχον, πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους. τούτους ἔταξε σαννία καὶ

[2] The fifth class, consisting of those whose property was between twenty-five minae and twelve minae and a half, he divided into thirty centuries. These were also distinguished according to their age, fifteen of the centuries being composed of the older men and fifteen of the younger. These he armed with javelins and slings, and placed outside the line of battle.

[3] σφενδόνας ἔχοντας ἔξω τάξεως συστρατεύεσθαι. τέτταρας δὲ λόχους οὐδὲν ἔχοντας ὄπλον ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνόπλοις: ἦσαν δὲ τῶν τεττάρων τούτων δύο μὲν ὀπλοποιῶν τε καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατασκευαζόντων τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρηστα: δύο δὲ σαλπιστῶν τε καὶ βυκανιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλοις τισὶν ὀργάνοις ἐπισημαινόντων τὰ παρακλητικὰ τοῦ πολέμου. προσέκειντο δ' οἱ μὲν χειροτέχναι τοῖς τὸ δεύτερον ἔχουσι τίμημα διηρημένοι καθ' ἡλικίαν, ὁ μὲν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὁ δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκολουθῶν

[3] He ordered four unarmed centuries to follow those that were armed, two of them consisting of armourers and carpenters and of those whose business it was to prepare everything that might be of use in time of war, and the other two of trumpeters and horn-blowers and such as sounded the various calls with any other instruments. The artisans were attached to the second class and divided according to their age, one of their centuries following the older centuries, and the other the younger centuries;

[4] λόχος. οἱ δὲ σαλπισταὶ τε καὶ οἱ βυκανισταὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ [p. 33] συνετάττοντο μοίρᾳ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εἷς μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λόχος, εἷς δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων: λοχαγοὶ δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπιλεχθέντες οἱ γενναϊότατοι τὰ πολέμια τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστοι λόχους εὐπειθεῖς τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις παρείχοντο.

[4] the trumpeters and horn-blowers were added to the fourth class, and one of their centuries also consisted of the older men and the other of the younger. Out of all the centuries the bravest men were chosen as centurions, and each of these commanders took care that his century should yield a ready obedience to orders.

[1] αὕτη μὲν ἡ διακόσμησις ἦν ἡ τὸ πεζικὸν ἐκπληροῦσα τῶν τε φαλαγγιτῶν καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν στρατεύμα: τὸ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος ἐπέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα καὶ κατὰ γένος ἐπιφανῶν: συνέταξε δ' εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχους καὶ προσένειμεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν φαλαγγιτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα λόχοις: εἶχον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους λοχαγούς.

[18.1] This was the arrangement he made of the entire infantry, consisting of both the heavy-armed and light-armed troops. As for the cavalry, he chose them out of such as had the highest rating and were of distinguished birth,

forming eighteen centuries of them, and added them to the first eighty centuries of the heavy-armed infantry; these centuries of cavalry were also commanded by persons of the greatest distinction.

[2] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πολίτας, οἱ τίμησιν εἶχον ἐλάττονα δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίους μῶν, πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας τῶν προτέρων, ἅπαντας εἰς ἓνα συντάξας λόχον στρατείας τ' ἀπέλυσε καὶ πάσης εἰσφορᾶς ἐποίησεν ἀτελεῖς. ἐγένοντο δὴ συμμοριαὶ μὲν ἕξ, ἃς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι κλάσσεις, κατὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς κλήσεις παρονομάσαντες: ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ῥῆμα προστακτικῶς σχηματίζαντες ἐκφέρομεν, κάλει, τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι κάλα καὶ τὰς κλάσσεις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν καλέσεις:

[2] The rest of the citizens, who had a rating of less than twelve minae and a half but were more numerous than those already mentioned, he put into a single century and exempted them from service in the army and from every sort of tax. Thus there were six divisions which the Romans call classes, by a slight change of the Greek word klêseis (for the verb which we Greeks pronounce in the imperative mood kalei, the Romans call cala, and the classes they anciently called caleses),

[3] λόχοι δ', οὓς αἱ συμμοριαὶ περιελάμβανον, ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑννηκοντατρεῖς. ἐπεῖχον δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην συμμορίαν ὀκτώ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα λόχοι σὺν τοῖς ὑπεῦσι: τὴν δὲ [p. 34] δευτέραν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο σὺν τοῖς χειροτέχναις: τὴν δὲ τρίτην εἴκοσι: τὴν δὲ τετάρτην πάλιν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο σὺν τοῖς σαλπισταῖς καὶ βυκανισταῖς: τὴν δὲ πέμπτην τριάκοντα: τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πάσαις τεταγμένην εἷς λόχος ὁ τῶν ἀπόρων.

[3] and the centuries included in these divisions amounted to one hundred and ninety-three. The first class contained ninety-eight centuries, counting the cavalry; the second, twenty-two, counting the artificers; the third, twenty; the fourth, again, contained twenty-two, counting the trumpeters and horn-blowers; the fifth, thirty; and the last of all, one century, consisting of the poor citizens.

[1] ταύτῃ τῇ διακοσμήσει χρῆσάμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταγραφὰς κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν τῶν λόχων, τὰς δὲ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ἐπιταγὰς κατὰ τὰ τιμήματα τῶν βίων. ὅποτε γὰρ αὐτῷ δεήσειε μυρίων ἢ δισμυρίων, εἰ τύχοι, στρατιωτῶν, καταδιαιρῶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑννηκοντατρεῖς λόχους τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω λόχῳ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε παρέχειν ἕκαστον λόχον: τὴν δὲ δαπάνην τὴν εἰς τὸν ἐπισιτισμὸν τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας χορηγίας τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐπιτελεσθισομένην συμμετρησάμενος, ὅποση τις ἀρκοῦσα ἔσται, διαιρῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑννηκοντατρεῖς λόχους, τὸ ἐκ τῆς τιμήσεως ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω διάφορον ἅπαντας ἐκέλευεν εἰσφέρειν.

[19.1] In pursuance of this arrangement he levied troops according to the

division of the centuries, and imposed taxes in proportion to the valuation of their possessions. For instance, whenever he had occasion to raise ten thousand men, or, if it should so happen, twenty thousand, he would divide that number among the hundred and ninety-three centuries and then order each century to furnish the number of men that fell to its share. As to the expenditures that would be needed for the provisioning of soldiers while on duty and for the various warlike supplies, he would first calculate how much money would be sufficient, and having in like manner divided that sum among the hundred and ninety-three centuries, he would order every man to pay his share towards it in proportion to his rating.

[2] συνέβαιναν οὖν τοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἔχουσιν οὐσίας ἐλάττωσι μὲν οὖσιν, εἰς πλείονας δὲ λόχους μεμερισμένοις, στρατεύεσθαι τε πλείους στρατείας οὐδέποτε ἀναπαυομένους καὶ χρήματα πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εἰσφέρειν: τοῖς δὲ τὰ μέτρια καὶ μικρὰ κεκτημένοις πλείοσιν οὖσιν ἐν ἐλάττωσι λόχοις, στρατεύεσθαι τ' ὀλιγάκις καὶ ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ βραχείας συντελεῖν εἰσφοράς: [p. 35] τοῖς δ' ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν κεκτημένοις ἀφεῖσθαι πάντων ὀκληρῶν.

[2] Thus it happened that those who had the largest possessions, being fewer in number but distributed into more centuries, were obliged to serve oftener and without any intermission, and to pay greater taxes than the rest; that those who had small and moderate possessions, being more numerous but distributed into fewer centuries, serve seldom and in rotation and paid small taxes, and that those whose possessions were not sufficient to maintain them were exempt from all burdens.

[3] ἐποίει δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον οὐκ ἄτερ αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος, ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἄθλα τῶν πολέμων ἐστὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων φυλακῆς ἅπαντες κακοπαθοῦσιν: ὀρθῶς οὖν ἔχειν ᾧτο τοὺς μὲν περὶ μεϊζόνων κινδυνεύοντας ἄθλων μεῖζονας ὑπομένειν κακοπαθείας τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ ἐλαττόνων ἦττον ἐνοχλεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, τοὺς δὲ περὶ μηδενὸς δεδοικότας μηδὲν κακοπαθεῖν, τῶν μὲν εἰσφορῶν ἀπολυομένους διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῶν δὲ στρατειῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνείσφοριαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβανον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τότε Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιωτικοὺς μισθοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐστρατεύοντο.

[3] Tullius made none of these regulations without reason, but from the conviction that all men look upon their possessions as the prizes at stake in war and that it is for the sake of retaining these that they all endure its hardships; he thought it right, therefore, that those who had greater prizes at stake should suffer greater hardships, both with their persons and with their possessions, that those who had less at stake should be less burdened in respect to both, and that those who had no loss to fear should endure no hardships, but be exempt from taxes by reason of their poverty and from military service because they paid no tax. For at that time the Romans received no pay as soldiers from the public treasury but served at their own

expense.

[4] οὐτε δὴ χρήματα συνεισφέρειν τοὺς οὐκ ἔχοντας, ὁπόθεν συνεισίσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαιῶν ἀπορουμένους ὥετο δεῖν, οὐτε μηδὲν συμβαλλομένους στρατεύεσθαι τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὁψωνιαζομένους χρημάτων, ὥσπερ τοὺς μισθοφόρους.

[4] Accordingly, he did not think it right either that those should pay taxes who were so far from having wherewithal to pay them that they were in want of the necessities of daily life, or that such as contributed nothing to the public taxes should, like mercenary troops, be maintained in the field at the expense of others.

[1] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἅπαν ἐπιθείς τὸ βάρος τοῖς πλουσίοις τῶν τε κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ὡς εἶδεν ἀγανακτοῦντας αὐτούς, δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου τὴν τ' ἀθυμίαν αὐτῶν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπράννε πλεονέκτημα δωρησάμενος, ἐξ οὗ πάσης ἔμελλον τῆς πολιτείας ἔσεσθαι κύριοι, τοὺς πένητας ἀπελάσας ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν: καὶ τοῦτο διαπραξάμενος ἔλαθε [p. 36] τοὺς δημοτικούς. ἦν δὲ τὸ πλεονέκτημα περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς τὰ μέγιστα ἐπεκυροῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

[20.1] Having by this means laid upon the rich the whole burden of both the dangers and expenses and observing that they hand discontented, he contrived by another method to relieve their uneasiness and mitigate their resentment by granting to them an advantage which would make them complete masters of the commonwealth, while he excluded the poor from any part in the government; and he effected this without the plebeians noticing it. This advantage that he gave to the rich related to the assemblies, where the matters of greatest moment were ratified by the people.

[2] εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τριῶν πραγμάτων ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων κύριος ἦν τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξαι τὰς τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν ἐπικυρῶσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀνελεῖν, καὶ περὶ πολέμου συνισταμένου τε καὶ καταλυομένου διαγνῶναι. τὴν δὲ περὶ τούτων διάσκεψιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐποιεῖτο κατὰ τὰς φράτρας ψηφοφορῶν: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τάλάχιστα κεκτημένοι τοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἔχουσιν οὐσίας ἰσόψηφοι: ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων, ὥσπερ εἰκός, τῶν πλουσίων, οἱ πένητες ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις ἐπεκράτουν μακρῷ πλείους ὄντες ἐκείνων.

[2] I have already said before that by the ancient laws the people had control over the three most important and vital matters: they elected the magistrates, both civil and military; they sanctioned and repealed laws; and they declared war and made peace. In discussing and deciding these matters they voted by curiae, and citizens of the smallest means had an equal vote with those of the greatest; but as the rich were few in number, as may well be supposed, and the

poor much more numerous, the latter carried everything by a majority of votes.

[3] τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπὶ τοὺς πλουσίους μετέθηκε τὸ τῶν ψήφων κράτος. ὅποτε γὰρ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύειν ἢ περὶ νόμου διαγινώσκειν ἢ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν δόξειεν αὐτῷ, τὴν λοχίτην ἀντὶ τῆς φρατρικῆς συνῆγεν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκάλει δ' εἰς ἀπόφασιν γνώμης πρῶτους μὲν λόχους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος καταγραφέντας, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ τε τῶν ἱππέων ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.

[3] Tullius, observing this, transferred this preponderance of votes from the poor to the rich. For whenever he thought proper to have magistrates elected, a law considered, or war to be declared, he assembled the people by centuries instead of by curiae. And the first centuries that he called to express their opinion were those with the highest rating, consisting of the eighteen centuries of cavalry and the eighty centuries of infantry.

[4] οὗτοι τρισὶ πλείους ὄντες τῶν ὑπολειπομένων εἰ ταὐτὸ φρονήσειαν, ἐκράτουν τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ γνώμη: εἰ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως ἅπαντες οὗτοι, τότε τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου τιμήματος εἴκοσι καὶ δύο λόχους ἐκάλει. μερισθεισῶν δὲ καὶ [p. 37] τότε τῶν ψήφων τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ἐκάλει: καὶ τετάρτους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου τιμήματος. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίει μέχρι τοῦ γενέσθαι λόχους ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἰσοψήφους. εἰ δὲ μέχρι τῆς πέμπτης κλήσεως

[4] As these centuries amounted to three more than all the rest together, if they agreed they prevailed over the others and the matter was decided. But in case these were not all of the same mind, then he called the twenty-two centuries of the second class; and if the votes were still divided, he called the centuries of the third class, and, in the fourth place, those of the fourth class; and this he continued to do till ninety-seven centuries concurred in the same opinion.

[5] μὴ τύχοι τοῦτο γενόμενον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἴσα μέρη σχισθεῖεν αἱ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἑνενήκοντα δύο λόχων γνώμαι, τότε τὸν ἑσχατον ἐκάλει λόχον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφειμένων ἀπάσης στρατείας τε καὶ εἰσφορᾶς πολιτῶν πλῆθος ἦν: ὅποτέρᾳ δὲ προσθοῖτο τῶν μερίδων οὗτος ὁ λόχος, αὕτη τὸ κράτος ἐλάμβανε. τοῦτο δ' ἦν σπάνιον καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον τάδυνάτου. τὰ πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης κλήσεως τέλος ἐλάμβανεν, ὀλίγα δὲ μέχρι τῆς τετάρτης προὔβαινεν: ἡ δὲ πέμπτη κλήσις καὶ ἡ τελευταία παρείλκοντο.

[5] And if after the calling of the fifth class this had not yet happened but the opinions of the hundred and ninety-two centuries were equally divided, he then called the last century, consisting of the mass of the citizens who were poor and for that reason exempt from all military service and taxes; and whichever side this century joined, that side carried the day. But this seldom

happened and was next to impossible. Generally the question was determined by calling the first class, and it rarely went as far as the fourth; so that the fifth and the last were superfluous.

[1] τοῦτο τὸ πολιτεῦμα καταστησάμενος καὶ πλεονέκτημα τοῖς πλουσίοις τηλικούτο δοὺς ἔλαθε τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, καταστρατηγήσας καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἀπελάσας τῶν κοινῶν. ὑπελάμβανον μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντες ἶσον ἔχειν τῆς πολιτείας μέρος κατ' ἄνδρα διερωτώμενοι τὰς γνώμας ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἕκαστοι λόχοις, ἐξηπατῶντο δὲ τῷ μίαν εἶναι ψῆφον ὅλου τοῦ λόχου τοῦ τ' ὀλίγους ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ πολίτας καὶ τοῦ πάνυ πολλοῦς: καὶ τῷ πρώτους ἐπιφέρειν ψῆφον τοὺς τὸ μέγιστον ἔχοντας τίμημα λόχους, πλείους μὲν ὄντας τῶν ὑπολειπομένων, ἐλάττωνα δ' ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντας: μάλιστα δὲ τῷ τοὺς ἀπόρους μίαν ψῆφον ἔχειν πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ τελευταίους καλεῖσθαι.

[21.1] In establishing this political system, which gave so great an advantage to the rich, Tullius outwitted the people, as I said, without their noticing it and excluded the poor from any part in public affairs. For they all thought that they had an equal share in the government because every man was asked his opinion, each in his own century; but they were deceived in this, that the whole century, whether it consisted of a small or a very large number of citizens, had but one vote; and also in that the centuries which voted first, consisting of men of the highest rating, though they were more in number than all the rest, yet contained fewer citizens; but, above all, in that the poor, who were very numerous, had but one vote and were the last called.

[2] γενομένου [p. 38] δὲ τούτου τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις τοῖς πολλὰ δαπανωμένοις καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀνάπausιν τῶν πολεμικῶν κινδύνων λαμβάνουσιν ἥττον ἐσῆι βαρύνεσθαι κυρίοις τε γεγονόσι τῶν μεγίστων καὶ πᾶν τὸ κράτος ἀφηρημένοις τῶν μὴ ταῦτ' αἰοῦντων: τοῖς δὲ πένησι τοῖς πολλοσπὴν ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτικῶν μοῖραν εὐλογίως καὶ πρῶως φέρειν τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐλάττωσιν, ἀφειμένοις τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν: τῇ δὲ πόλει τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς βουλευσομένους θ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἃ δεῖ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν κινδύνων πλεῖστον τῶν ἄλλων μεταλαχόντας καὶ πράξοντας ὅσα δεῖ.

[2] When this had been brought about, the rich, though paying out large sums and exposed without intermission to the dangers of war, were less inclined to feel aggrieved now that they had obtained control of the most important matters and had taken the whole power out of the hands of those who were not performing the same services; and the poor, who had but the slightest share in the government, finding themselves exempt both from taxes and from military service, prudently and quietly submitted to this diminution of their power; and the commonwealth itself had the advantage of seeing the same persons who were to deliberate concerning its interests allotted the greatest share of the dangers and ready to do whatever required to be done.

[3] οὗτος ὁ κόσμος τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐπὶ πολλὰς διέμεινε γενεὰς φυλαττόμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων: ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς κεκίνηται χρόνοις καὶ μεταβέβληκεν εἰς τὸ δημοτικώτερον, ἀνάγκαις πρὸς βιασθεῖς ἰσχυραῖς, οὐ τῶν λόγων καταλυθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῆς κλήσεως αὐτῶν οὐκέτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν

ἀκριβειαν φυλακτοῦσης, ὡς ἔγνω τῆς ἀρχαιρεσίαις αὐτῶν πολλάκις παρῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐχ ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς ἀρμόττων τοῖς λόγοις.

[3] This form of government was maintained by the Romans for many generations, but is altered in our times and changed to a more democratic form, some urgent needs having forced the change, which was effected, not by abolishing the centuries, but by no longer observing the strict ancient manner of calling them — a fact which I myself have noted, having often been present at the elections of their magistrates. But this is not the proper occasion to discuss these matters.

[1] τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπειδὴ διέταξε τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμήσεις, κελεύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίων ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τάξας τοὺς θ' ἵππεῖς κατὰ τέλη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν φάλαγγι καὶ τοὺς ἐσταλμένους τὸν [p. 39] ψιλικὸν ὀπλισμὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκάστους λόχοις καθαρμὸν αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο ταύρω καὶ κριῶ καὶ τράγῳ. τὰ δ' ἱερεῖα ταῦτα τρίς περιεχθῆναι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελεύσας ἔθυσσε τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδῖον Ἄρει.

[22.1] Thereupon Tullius, having completed the business of the census, commanded all the citizens to assemble in arms in the largest field before the city; and having drawn up the horse in their respective squadrons and the foot in their massed ranks, and placed the light-armed troops each in their own centuries, he performed an expiatory sacrifice for them with a bull, a ram and a boar. These victims he ordered to be led three times round the army and then sacrificed them to Mars, to whom that field is consecrated.

[2] τοῦτον τὸν καθαρμὸν ἕως τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων Ῥωμαῖοι καθαίρονται μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν τιμήσεων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἱερωτάτην ἀρχὴν Λοῦστρον ὀνομάζοντες. ἐγένετο δ' ὁ σύμπας τῶν τιμησαμένων τοὺς βίους Ῥωμαίων ἀριθμὸς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τιμητικοῖς φέρεται γράμμασιν, ἐπὶ μυριάσιν ὀκτῶ χιλιάδες πέντε τριακοσίων ἀποδέουσαι.

[2] The Romans are to this day purified by this same expiatory sacrifice, after the completion of each census, by those who are invested with the most sacred magistracy, and they call the purification a *lustrum*.

The number of all the Romans who then gave in a valuation of their possessions was, as appears by the censors' records, 84,700.

[3] ἐποίησατο δὲ καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τοῦ πολιτικοῦ συντάγματος οὐ μικρὰν πρόνοιαν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρᾶγμα συνιδὼν, ὃ παρέλιπον ἅπαντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ξένους ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ μεταδιδόντες τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας φύσιν τ' ἢ τύχην αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀπαξιοῦντες, εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν προήγαγον τὴν πόλιν.

[3] This king also took no small care to enlarge the body of citizens, hitting

upon a method that had been overlooked by all the kings before him. For they, by receiving foreigners and bestowing upon them equal rights of citizenship without rejecting any, whatever their birth or condition, had indeed rendered the city populous;

[4] ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερουμένοις τῶν θεραπόντων, ἐὰν μὴ θέλωσιν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις ἀπιέναι, μετέχειν τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἐπέτρεψε. κελεύσας γὰρ ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐλευθέροις καὶ τούτους τιμήσασθαι τὰς οὐσίας, εἰς φυλάς κατέταξεν αὐτοὺς τὰς κατὰ πόλιν τέτταρας ὑπαρχούσας, ἐν αἷς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ταπτόμενον διατελεῖ τὸ ἐξελευθερικὸν φῦλον, ὅσον ἂν ᾤ: καὶ πάντων [p. 40] ἀπέδωκε τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῖς μετέχειν, ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοτικοῖς.

[4] but Tullius permitted even manumitted slaves to enjoy these same rights, unless they chose to return to their own countries. For he ordered these also to report the value of their property at the same time as all the other free men, and he distributed them among the four city tribes, in which the body of freedmen, however numerous, continued to be ranked even to my day; and he permitted them to share in all the privileges which were open to the rest of the plebeians.

[1] ἀχθομένων δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντων συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Πρῶτον μὲν θαυμάζειν, ἔφη, τῶν ἀγανακτοῦντων, εἰ τῇ φύσει τὸ ἐλεύθερον οἶονται τοῦ δούλου διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ τύχῃ: ἔπειτ' εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἐξετάζουσι τοὺς ἀξίους τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς συντυχίαις, ὁρῶντες ὡς ἀστάθμητόν ἐστι πρᾶγμα εὐτυχία καὶ ἀγχίστροφον, καὶ οὐδενὶ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ μακαρίων μέχρι τίνος αὐτῷ

[23.1] The patricians being displeased and indignant at this, he called an assembly of the people and told them that he wondered at those who were displeased at his course, first, for thinking that free men differed from slaves by their very nature rather than by their condition, and, second, for not determining by men's habits and character, rather than by the accidents of their fortune, those who were worthy of honours, particularly when they saw how unstable a thing good fortune is and how subject to sudden change, and how difficult it is for anyone, even of the most fortunate, to say how long it will remain with him.

[2] παρέσται χρόνου. ἡξίου τ' αὐτοὺς σκοπεῖν, ὅσαι μὲν ἤδη πόλεις ἐκ δουλείας μετέβαλον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν βάρβαροί τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδες, ὅσαι δ' εἰς δουλείαν ἐξ ἐλευθερίας: εὐήθειάν τε πολλὴν αὐτῶν κατεγίνωσκεν, εἰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῖς ἀξίοις τῶν θεραπόντων μεταδιδόντες, τῆς πολιτείας φθονοῦσι: συνεβούλευε τ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὲν πονηροὺς νομίζουσι, μὴ ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, εἰ

[2] He asked them also to consider how many states, both barbarian and Greek, had passed from slavery to freedom and how many from freedom to slavery. He called it great folly on their part if, after they had granted liberty to such of their slaves as deserved it, they envied them the rights of citizens; and he advised them, if they thought them bad men, not to make them free, and if good men, not to ignore them because they were foreigners.

[3] δὲ χρηστοὺς, μὴ περιορᾶν ὄντας ἄλλοτρίους: ἄτοπὸν τε πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ ἀμαθὲς ἅπασιν τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιτρέποντας τῆς πόλεως μετέχειν καὶ μὴ διακρίνοντας αὐτῶν τὰς τύχας μηδ' εἴ τινες ἐκ δούλων ἐγένοντο ἐλεύθεροι πολυπραγμονοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ σφίσι δεδουλευκότας ἀναξίους ἡγεῖσθαι ταύτης τῆς χάριτος: φρονήσει τε διαφέρειν οἰομένους τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ καὶ κοινότατα ὄρᾶν ἔφασκεν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις εἶναι πρόδηλα, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν δεσπόταις [p. 41] πολλὴ φροντίς ἔσται τοῦ μὴ προχειρῶς τινὰς ἐλευθεροῦν, ὡς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν οἷς ἔτυχε δωρησομένοις: τοῖς δὲ δούλοις ἔτι μείζων ὑπάρξει προθυμία χρηστοῖς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς δεσπότες, ἐὰν μάθωσιν, ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἄξιοι κριθέντες εὐδαίμονος εὐθέως καὶ μεγάλης ἔσονται πολλῖται πόλεως, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔξουσιν ἀμφοτέρα παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τάγαθὰ.

[3] He declared that they were doing an absurd and stupid thing, if, while permitting all strangers to share the rights of citizenship without distinguishing their condition or inquiring closely whether any of them had been manumitted or not, they regarded such as had been slaves among themselves as unworthy of this favour. And he said that, though they thought themselves wiser than other people, they did not even see what lay at their very feet and was to be observed every day and what was clear to the most ordinary men, namely, that not only the masters would take great care not to manumit any of their slaves rashly, for fear of granting the greatest of human blessings indiscriminately, but the slaves too would be more zealous to observe their masters faithfully when they knew that if they were thought worthy of liberty they should presently become citizens of a great and flourishing state and receive both these blessings from their masters.

[4] τελευτῶν δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰσηγήσατο λόγον τοὺς μὲν ἐπισταμένους ὑπομνησκῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄγνοοῦντας διδάσκων, ὅτι πόλει δυναστείας ἐφιεμένη καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἐαυτὴν ἀξιούσῃ οὐδενὸς οὕτω δεῖ πράγματος ὡς πολυανθρωπίας, ἵνα διαρκέσῃ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πολέμους οἰκείοις ὅπλοις χρωμένη, καὶ μὴ ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι καταμισθοφοροῦσα συνεξαναλωθῇ τοῖς χρήμασι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔφη τοὺς προτέρους βασιλεῖς ἅπασιν μεταδεδωκέναι τῆς πολιτείας τοῖς ξένοις.

[4] He concluded by speaking of the advantage that would result from this policy, reminding those who understood such matters, and informing the ignorant, that to a state which aimed at supremacy and thought itself worthy of great things nothing was so essential as a large population, in order that it

might be equal to carrying on all its wars with its own armed forces and might not exhaust itself as well as its wealth in hiring mercenary troops; and for this reason, he said, the former kings had granted citizenship to all foreigners.

[5] εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον καταστήσονται τὸν νόμον, πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθερουμένων ἐπιτραφήσεσθαι νεότητα καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπορήσειν τὴν πόλιν οἰκείων ὄπλων, ἀλλ' ἔξειν δυνάμεις αἰεὶ διαρκεῖς, καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκασθῇ πολεμεῖν.

[5] But if they enacted this law also, great numbers of youths would be reared from those who were manumitted and the state would never lack for armed forces of its own, but would always have sufficient troops, even if it should be forced to make war against all the world.

[6] χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ κοινῇ χρησίμου καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλὰ ὠφελήσεσθαι τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους Ῥωμαίων, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους ἐῷσι τῆς πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τε καὶ ψηφοφορίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτικαῖς χρείαις τὰς χάριτας, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα δεόνται πράγμασι, κομιζομένους [p. 42] καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων γινομένους πελάτας τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καταλείποντας.

[6] And besides this advantage to the public, the richest men would privately receive many benefits if they permitted the freedmen to share in the government, since in the assemblies and in the voting and in their other acts as citizens they would receive their reward in the very situations in which they most needed it, and furthermore would be leaving the children of these freedmen as so many clients to their posterity.

[7] τοιαῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ συνεχώρησαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελθεῖν, καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ὥς ἔν τι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀκινήτων νομίμων διατελεῖ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλαττόμενον.

[7] These arguments of Tullius induced the patricians to permit this custom to be introduced into the commonwealth, and to this day it continues to be observed by the Romans as one of their sacred and unalterable usages.

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο γέγονα τὸ μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ διελθεῖν, ὥς εἶχε τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ περὶ τοὺς δούλους ἔθη, ἵνα μήτε τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιχειρήσαντα τοὺς δεδουλευκότας ἀστοὺς ποιεῖν μήτε τοὺς παραδεξαμένους τὸν νόμον ἐν αἰτίαις σχῆ τις, ὥς ῥιπτοῦντας εἰκῇ τὰ καλὰ.

[24.1] Now that I have come to this part of my narrative, I think it necessary to give an account of the customs which at that time prevailed among the Romans with regard to slaves, in order that no one may accuse either the king who first undertook to make citizens of those who had been slaves, or the Romans who accepted the law, of recklessly abandoning their noble

traditions.

[2] ἐτύγχανον δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἱ τῶν θεραπόντων κτήσεις κατὰ τοὺς δικαιοτάτους γινόμεναι τρόπους. ἢ γὰρ ὠνησάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου τοὺς ὑπὸ δόρυ πωλούμενους ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συγχωρήσαντος ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ὠφελείαις καὶ τοὺς δορυαλώτους τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔχειν ἢ πριαμένοις παρ' ἐτέρων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρόπους κυρίων γενομένων 5 ἐκέκτηντο τοὺς δούλους.

[2] The Romans acquired their slaves by the most just means; for they either purchased them from the state at an auction as part of the spoils, or the general permitted the soldiers to keep the prisoners they had taken together with the rest of the booty, or else they bought them of those who had obtained possession of them by these same means.

[3] οὐδὲν δὴ πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν αἰσχύνης ἢ βλάβης κοινῆς αἵτιον οὐθ' ὁ Τύλλιος ὁ καταστησάμενος τὸ ἔθος οὐθ' οἱ παραδεξάμενοι καὶ διαφυλάξαντες ὦντο, εἰ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρηστοῖς γενομένοις περὶ τοὺς καταδουλωσαμένους ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τούτων [p. 43] πριαμένους ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὑπάρξει.

[3] So that neither Tullius, who established this custom, nor those who received and maintained thought they were doing anything dishonourable or detrimental to the public interest, if those who had lost both their country and their liberty in war and had proved loyal to those who had enslaved them, or to those who had purchased them from these, had both those blessings restored to them by their masters.

[4] ἐτύγχανον δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι προῖκα διὰ καλοκάγαθιαν: καὶ κράτιστος ἀπαλλαγῆς δεσποτῶν τρόπος οὗτος ἦν: ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες λύτρα κατατιθέντες ἐξ ὁσίων καὶ δικαίων ἐργασιῶν συναχθέντα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, ἀλλ' εἰς τοσαύτην σύγχυσιν ἦκει τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ καλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὕτως ἄτιμα καὶ ῥυπαρὰ γέγονεν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ληστείας καὶ τοιχωρυχίας καὶ πορνείας καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πονηροῦ πόρου χρηματισάμενοι τούτων ὠνοῦνται τῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ εὐθύς εἰσι Ῥωμαῖοι:

[4] Most of these slaves obtained their liberty as a free gift because of meritorious conduct, and this was the best kind of discharge from their masters; but a few paid a ransom raised by lawful and honest labour.

This, however, is not the case in our day, but things have come to such a state of confusion and the noble traditions of the Roman commonwealth have become so debased and sullied, that some who have made a fortune by robbery, housebreaking, prostitution and every other base means, purchase their freedom with the money so acquired and straightway are Romans.

[5] οἱ δὲ συνίστορες καὶ συνεργοὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις γενόμενοι φαρμακειῶν καὶ ἀνδροφονιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἢ τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικημάτων ταύτας φέρονται παρ' αὐτῶν τὰς χάριτας· οἱ δ' ἵνα τὸν δημοσίᾳ διδόμενον σῆτον λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μῆνα καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων γίγνοιτο τοῖς ἀτόροις τῶν πολιτῶν φιланθρωπία φέρωσι τοῖς δεδωκόσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· οἱ δὲ διὰ

[5] Others, who have been confidants and accomplices of their masters in poisonings, receive from them this favour as their reward. Some are freed in order that, when they have received the monthly allowance of corn given by the public or some other largesse distributed by the men in power to the poor among the citizens, they may bring it to those who granted them their freedom. And others owe their freedom to the levity of their masters and to their vain thirst for popularity.

[6] κουφότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ κενὴν δοξοκοπίαν. ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐπίσταμαι τινὰς ἅπασι τοῖς δούλοις συγκεχωρηκότας εἶναι ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὰς ἐαυτῶν τελευτάς, ἵνα χρηστοὶ καλῶνται νεκροὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ταῖς κλίναις αὐτῶν ἐκκομιζομέναις παρακολουθῶσι τοὺς πῖλους ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς· ἐν οἷς ἐπόμεπυνόν τινες, ὡς ἦν [p. 44] παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ἀκούειν, ἐκ τῶν δεσποτηριῶν ἐξεληλυθότες ἀρτίως κακοῦργοι μυρίων ἄξια διασπεπραγμένοι θανάτων. εἰς τοὺτους μέντοι τοὺς δυσεκαθάρτους σπῖλους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποβλέποντες οἱ πολλοὶ δυσχεραίνουν καὶ προβέβληνται τὸ ἔθος, ὡς οὐ πρόπον ἡγεμονικῇ πόλει καὶ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἀξιούσῃ

[6] I, at any rate, know of some who have allowed all their slaves to be freed after their death, in order that they might be called good men when they were dead and that many people might follow their biers wearing their liberty-caps; indeed, some of those taking part in these processions, as one might have heard from those who knew, have been malefactors just out of jail, who had committed crimes deserving of a thousand deaths. Most people, nevertheless, as they look upon these stains that can scarce be washed away from the city, are grieved and condemn the custom, looking upon it as unseemly that a dominant city which aspires to rule the whole world should make such men citizens.

[7] τόπου τοιούτους ποιέισθαι πολίτας. ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα διαβαλεῖν ἔθῃ καλῶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπινοηθέντα, κακῶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐπιτριβόμενα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ τι μεῖζον ἐκραγῇ τῷ κοινῷ δι' αὐτοῦ κακόν· ἐπανορθοῦσθαι μέντοι φημὶ δεῖν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ὄνειδη μεγάλα καὶ ῥύτους δυσεκαθάρτους εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσαγομένους.

[7] One might justly condemn many other customs also which were wisely devised by the ancients but are shamefully abused by the men of to-day. Yet, for my part, I do not believe that this law ought to be abolished, lest as a result some greater evil should break out to the detriment of the public; but I do say

that it ought to be amended, as far as possible, and that great reproaches and disgraces hard to be wiped out should not be permitted entrance into the body politic.

[8] καὶ μάλιστα μὲν τοὺς τιμητὰς ἀξιῶσαιμ' ἂν τοῦτου τοῦ μέρους προνοεῖν: εἰ δὲ μή γε, τοὺς ὑπάτους: δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχῆς τιнос μεγάλης: οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλευθέρους γινομένους ἐξετάσουσι, τινες ὄντες καὶ διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἡλευθερώθησαν, ὥσπερ γε τοὺς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν βίους ἐξετάζουσιν: ἔπειθ' οὐς μὲν ἂν εὖρωσιν ἀξίους τῆς πόλεως ὄντας, εἰς φυλάς καταγράψουσι καὶ μένειν ἐφήσουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει: τὸ δὲ μισρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον φῦλον ἐκβαλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα τῷ πράγματι τιθέντες, ἀποικίαν. [p. 45] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπαιτούσης ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἔθεσιν εἰπεῖν.

[8] And I could wish that the censors, preferably, or, if that may not be, then the consuls, would take upon themselves the care of this matter, since it requires the control of some magistracy, and that they would make inquiries about the persons who are freed each year — who they are and for what reason they have been freed and how — just as they inquire into the lives of the knights and senators; after which they should enroll in the tribes such of them as they find worthy to be citizens and allow them to remain in the city, but should expel from the city the foul and corrupt herd under the specious pretence of sending them out as a colony. These are the things, then, which as the subject required it, I thought it both necessary and just to say to those who censure the customs of the Romans.

[1] ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοῖς πολιτεύμασι δημοτικὸς ὧν ἐδήλωσεν, ἐν οἷς ἐδόκει τὴν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πατρικίων δυναστείαν ἐλαττοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμείωσεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελόμενος.

[25.1] Tullius showed himself a friend to the people, not only in these measures by which he seemed to lessen the authority of the senate and the power of the patricians, but also in those by which he diminished the royal power, of half of which he deprived himself.

[2] τῶν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἀπάσας ἀξιούντων ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἄγειν τὰς δίκας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ τ' ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῶν τρόπον δικαζόντων ἐκεῖνος διελὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν τὰ δημόσια, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν φερόντων ἀδικημάτων αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διαγνώσεις, τῶν δ' ἰδιωτικῶν ἰδιώτας ἔταξεν εἶναι δικαστάς, ὁρους καὶ

[2] For whereas the kings before him had thought proper to have all causes brought before them and had determined all suits both private and public as they themselves thought fit, he, making a distinction between public and

private suits, took cognizance himself of all crimes which affected the public, but in private cases appointed private persons to be judges, prescribing for them as norms and standards the laws which he himself had established.

[3] κανόννας αὐτοῖς τάξας, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔγραψε νόμους. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα τὸν κράτιστον εἰλήφει κόσμον, εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἦλθεν ἐπιφανές τι διαπραξάμενος αἰώνιον ἑαυτοῦ μνήμην τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις καταλιπεῖν. ἐφιστὰς δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων τε καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν μνημεῖα, ἐξ ὧν εἰς ὀνόματα καὶ δόξας προῆλθον, οὕτε τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου τείχους ἐμακάρισε τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἐκείνην γυναῖκα οὕτε τῶν ἐν Μέμφει πυραμίδων τοὺς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖς οὕτ' εἴ τις ἄλλη πλούτου καὶ πολυχειρίας ἐπιδειξίς ἦν ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμόνος, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα μικρὰ καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια καὶ οὐκ ἄξια σπουδῆς ἡγησάμενος ὅφρως τ' [p. 46] ἀπάτας, οὐκ ἀληθεῖς βίου καὶ πραγμάτων ὠφελείας, ἐξ ὧν μακαρισμοὶ τοῖς κατασκευασασμένοις ἠκολούθουν μόνον, ἐπαίνου δὲ καὶ ζήλου ἄξια τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἔργα ὑπολαβὼν, ἧς πλεῖστοι τ' ἀπολαύουσι καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον καρποῦνται τὰς ὠφελείας, πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων τὴν Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐπίνοιαν ἡγάσθη, ὃς ἀσθενὲς ὁρῶν καὶ ῥάδιον ὑπὸ τῶν περιοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐξαναλωθῆναι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος, εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνου κληθεῖσαν Ἀμφικτυονικὴν σύνοδον καὶ πανηγυριν αὐτὸ συνήγαγε, νόμους καταστησάμενος ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων, ὧν ἐκάστη πόλις εἶχε, τοὺς κοινοὺς ἅπασιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν Ἀμφικτυονικοὺς, ἐξ ὧν φίλοι μὲν ὄντες ἀλλήλοις διετέλουν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς φυλάττοντες μᾶλλον ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις, λυπηροὶ δὲ τοῖς 6 βαρβάροις καὶ φοβεροί.

[3] When he had arranged affairs in the city in the best manner, he conceived a desire to perpetuate his memory with posterity by some illustrious enterprise. And upon turning his attention to the monuments both of ancient kings and statesmen by which they had gained reputation and glory, he did not envy either that Assyrian woman for having built the walls of Babylon, or the kings of Egypt for having raised the pyramids at Memphis, or any other prince for whatever monument he might have erected as a display of his riches and of the multitude of workmen at his command. On the contrary, he regarded all these things as trivial and ephemeral and unworthy of serious attention, mere beguilements for the eyes, but no real aids to the conduct of life or to the administration of public affairs, since they led to nothing more than a reputation for great felicity on the part of those who built them. But the things that he regarded as worthy of praise and emulation were the works of the mind, the advantages from which are enjoyed by the greatest number of people and for the greatest length of time. And of all the achievements of this nature he admired most the plan of Amphictyon, the son of Hellen, who, seeing the Greek nation weak and easy to be destroyed by the barbarians who surrounded them, brought them together in a general council and assemblage of the whole nation, named after him the Amphictyonic council; and then, apart from the particular laws by which each city was governed, established

others common to all, which they call the Amphictyonic laws, in consequence of which they lived in mutual friendship, and fulfilling the obligations of kinship by their actions rather than by their professions, continued troublesome and formidable neighbours to the barbarians.

[4] παρ' οὗ τὸ παράδειγμα λαβόντες Ἴωνές θ' οἱ μεταθέμενοι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὰ παραθαλάττια τῆς Καρίας καὶ Δωριεῖς οἱ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυσάμενοι ἱερὰ κατεσκεύασαν ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων: Ἴωνες μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, Δωριεῖς δ' ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: ἔνθα συνιόντες γυναιξὶν [p. 47] ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας χρόνους συνέθον τε καὶ συνεπανηγύριζον καὶ ἁγῶνας ἐπετέλουν ἵππικοὺς καὶ γυμνικοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ μουσικὴν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι κοινοῖς ἐδωροῦντο.

[4] His example was followed by the Ionians who, leaving Europe, settled in the maritime parts of Caria, and also by the Dorians, who built their cities in the same region and erected temples at the common expense — the Ionians building the temple of Diana at Ephesus and the Dorians that of Apollo at Triopium — where they assembled with their wives and children at the appointed times, joined together in sacrificing and celebrating the festival, engaged in various contests, equestrian, gymnastic and musical, and made joint offerings to the gods.

[5] θεωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ πανηγυρίσαντες καὶ τὰς ἄλλας φιλοφροσύνας παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλαβόντες, εἴ τι πρόσκρουσμα πόλει πρὸς πόλιν ἐγγένοι, δικασταὶ καθεζόμενοι διήττων καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμοφροσύνης κοινὰς ἐποιοῦντο βουλὰς.

[5] After they had witnessed the spectacles, celebrated the festival, and received the other evidences of goodwill from one another, if any difference had arisen between one city and another, arbiters sat in judgment and decided the controversy; and they also consulted together concerning the means both of carrying on the war against the barbarians and of maintaining their mutual concord.

[6] ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις παραδείγματα λαβὼν προθυμίαν ἔσχε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάσας τὰς μετεχούσας πόλεις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους συστήσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζουσαι καὶ πολεμοῦσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπὸ τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῶσι.

[6] These and the like examples inspired Tullius also with a desire of bringing together and uniting all the cities belonging to the Latin race, so that they might not, as the result of engaging in strife at home and in wars with one another, be deprived of their liberty by the neighbouring barbarians.

[1] γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς κρατίστους ἄνδρας ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως συνεκάλει περὶ μεγάλων καὶ κοινῶν φήσας πραγμάτων συμβούλους αὐτοὺς συγκαλεῖν.

ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, συναγαγὼν τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἦκοντας λόγον διεξῆλθε παρακλητικὸν ὁμονοίας, διδάσκων ὡς καλὸν μὲν χρῆμα πολλὰ πόλεις μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρώμεναι, αἰσχροῖ δ' ὄψις συγγενῶν ἀλλήλαις διαφερομένων: αἵτιόν τ' ἰσχύος μὲν ταῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀποφαίων ὁμοφροσύνην, ταπεινότητος δὲ καὶ ἀσθενείας καὶ ταῖς πάνυ ἰσχυραῖς ἀλληλοφθορίαν.

[26.1] After he had taken this resolution he called together the most important men of every city, stating that he was summoning them to take counsel with him about matters of great consequence and of mutual concern. When they had assembled, he caused the Roman senate and these men who came from the cities to meet together, and made a long speech exhorting them to concord, pointing out what a fine thing it is when a number of states agree together and what a disgraceful sight when kinsmen are at variance, and declaring that concord is a source of strength to weak states, while mutual slaughter reduces and weakens even the strongest.

[2] ταῦτα διεξελθὼν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, ὡς [p. 48] χρὴ Λατίνους μὲν τῶν προσοίκων ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν Ἑλλήνας ὄντας βαρβάρους: Ῥωμαίους δὲ τὴν ἀπάντων Λατίνων ἔχειν προστασίαν μεγέθει τε πόλεως προὔχοντας καὶ πραγμάτων ὄγκῳ καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ δαιμονίου κρείττονι κεχηρμένους ἐκείνων, δι' ἣν εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιφάνειαν προῆλθον.

[2] After this he went on to show them that the Latins ought to have the command over their neighbours and, being Greeks, ought to give laws to barbarians, and that the Romans ought to have the leadership of all the Latins, not only because they excelled in the size of their city and the greatness of their achievements, but also because they, more than the others, had enjoyed the favour of divine providence and in consequence had attained to so great eminence.

[3] τοιαῦτα διεξελθὼν συνεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἄσυλον ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ θύσουσι θ' αἱ πόλεις συνερχόμεναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰδίας τε καὶ κοινὰς θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἄξουσιν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὀρίσωσι χρόνοις, καί, εἴ τι γένοιτο πρόσκρουσμα αὐταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦτο διαλύσονται, ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπιτρέψασαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαγνῶναι.

[3] Having said this, he advised them to build a temple of refuge at Rome at their joint expense, to which the cities should repair every year and offer up sacrifices both individually and in common, and also celebrate festivals at such times as they should appoint; and if any difference should arise between these cities, they should terminate it over the sacrifices, submitting their complaints to the rest of the cities for decision.

[4] διεξιὼν ταῦτα τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔξουσιν ἀγαθὰ βουλευτήριον

ἐγκαταστησάμενοι πάντας ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντας· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατεσκεύασεν ἐξ ὧν ἅπασαι συνήνεγκαν αἱ πόλεις χρημάτων τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεών, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόφων ἰδρυμένον Αὐεντίνου· καὶ τοὺς νόμους συνέγραψε ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ πανήγυριν, ὃν ἐπιτελεσθήσεται τρόπον, ἔταξεν.

[4] By enlarging upon these and the many other advantages they would reap from the appointment of a general council, he prevailed on all who were present at the session to give their consent. And later, with the money contributed by all the cities, he built the temple of Diana, which stands upon the Aventine, the largest of all the hills in Rome; and he drew up laws relating to the mutual rights of the cities and prescribed the manner in which everything else that concerned the festival and the general assembly should be performed.

[5] ἵνα δὲ μηδεὶς χρόνος αὐτοὺς ἀφανίσῃ, στήλην κατασκευάσας χαλκῇν ἔγραψεν ἐν ταύτῃ τὰ τε δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τὰς μετεχούσας τῆς [p. 49] συνόδου πόλεις. αὕτη διέμεινεν ἡ στήλη μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ κειμένη γραμμάτων ἔχουσα χαρακτῆρας Ἑλληνικῶν, οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐχρῆτο. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τις οὐ μικρὸν τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ βαρβάρους εἶναι τοὺς οἰκίσαντας τὴν Ῥώμην. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐχρῶντο γράμμασιν ὄντες βάρβαροι.

[5] And to the end that no lapse of time should obliterate these laws, he erected a bronze pillar upon which he engraved both the decrees of the council and the names of the cities which had taken part in it. This pillar still existed down to my time in the temple of Diana, with the inscription in the characters that were anciently used in Greece. This alone would serve as no slight proof that the founders of Rome were not barbarians; for if they had been, they would not have used Greek characters.

[6] πολιτικά μὲν δὴ πράξεις τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου σὺν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐλάττοσι τε καὶ ἀμαυροτέραις αἱ μέγιστα καὶ λαμπρόταται αὗται μνημονεύονται, πολεμικά δ' αἱ πρὸς ἐν τὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνος γενόμεναι, περὶ ὧν μέλλω νῦν διεξιέναι.

[6] These are the most important and most conspicuous administrative measures that are recorded of this king, besides many others of less note and certainty. His military operations were directed against one nation only, that of the Tyrrhenians; of these I shall now give an account.

[1] μετὰ τὴν ταρκυνίου τελευτὴν αἱ παραδοῦσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ πόλεις οὐκέτι φυλάττειν ἐβούλοντο τὰς ὁμολογίας Τυλλίῳ τ' οὐκ ἄξιοῦσαι ταπεινῶν κατὰ γένος ὄντι ὑπακούειν, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πατρικίων τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα γενομένην μεγάλην σφίσιν ὠφέλειαν παρέξειν νομιζουσαι.

[27.1] After the death of Tarquinius those cities which had yielded the

sovereignty to him refused to observe the terms of their treaties any longer, disdainingly to submit to Tullius, since he was a man of lowly birth, and anticipating great advantages for themselves from the discord that had arisen between the patricians and their ruler.

[2] ἤρξαντο δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι παρὰ τοῦ Τυλλίου πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίναντο μηδεμίαν εἶναι σφισι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μῆθ' ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας παραχωρήσεως μήτε περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας συνθήκην. ἀρξάντων δὲ τούτων Καιρητανοὶ τ' ἠκολούθησαν καὶ Ταρκυνίηται, καὶ τελευτῶσα ἐν ὅπλοις ἦν ἅπασα ἡ Τυρρηνία.

[2] The people called the Veientes were the leaders of this revolt; and when Tullius sent ambassadors they replied that they had no treaty with him either concerning their yielding the sovereignty or concerning friendship and an alliance. These having set the example, the people of Caere and Tarquinii followed it, and at last all Tyrrhenia was in arms.

[3] οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἴκοσι διέμεινεν ἔτη συνεχῶς πολεμούμενος εἰσβολὰς τε πολλὰς ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλους στρατεύμασι ποιουμένων εἰς τὴν [p. 50] ἀλλήλων καὶ παρατάξεις ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις συνισταμένων. ἐν ἀπάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις κατορθῶν ὁ Τύλλιος, ὅσαι κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ πρὸς ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῷ συνέστησαν, καὶ τρισὶν ἐπιφανεστάτοις κοσμηθεὶς θριάμβοις τελευτῶν ἠνάγκασε τοὺς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας ἄρχεσθαι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐκόντας λαβεῖν.

[3] This war lasted for twenty years without intermission, during which time both sides made many irruptions into one another's territories with great armies and fought one pitched battle after another. But Tullius, after being successful in all the battles in which he engaged, both against the several cities and against the whole nation, and after being honoured with three most splendid triumphs, at last forced those who refused to be ruled to accept the yoke against their will.

[4] εἰκοστῷ δ' οὖν ἔτει συνελθοῦσαι πάλιν αἱ δώδεκα πόλεις ἐξανηλωμένοι τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα γνῶμην ἔσχον παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ πάσης πόλεως οἱ προχειρισθέντες σὺν ἱκετηρίαῖς ἐπιτρέποντες Τυλλίῳ τὰς πόλεις καὶ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλευῖσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦντες.

[4] In the twentieth year, therefore, the twelve cities, having become exhausted by the war both in men and in money, again met together and decided to yield the sovereignty to the Romans upon the same terms as previously. And so the men chosen as envoys from each city arrived with the tokens of suppliants, and entrusting their cities to Tullius, begged of him not to adopt any extreme measures against them.

[5] Τύλλιος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς

ἀσβεβημάτων, οὕς ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν ὁμολογιῶν παρέβησαν τὰ συγκεείμενα, πολλῶν αὐτοὺς ἔφη τιμωριῶν ἀξιους εἶναι καὶ μεγάλων: τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιεικείας καὶ μετρίοτης, ἐπειδὴ συγγόντες ἀδικεῖν στέμματος καὶ λιτανείας παρηγοῦντο

[5] Tullius told them that because of their folly and their impiety towards the gods whom they had made sponsors of their treaties, only to violate their agreements afterwards, they deserved many severe punishments; but that, since you acknowledged their fault and were come with the fillets of suppliants and with entreaties to deprecate the resentment they had merited, they should fail of none of the clemency and moderation of the Romans at this time.

[6] τὴν ὀργὴν, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀτυχήσειν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καταλύεται τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ διχα ὀργῆς μνησικάκου πολιτεύεσθαι τ' ἀποδοὺς ὡς πρότερον καὶ τὰ ἴδια καρποῦσθαι, μενούσαις ἐν ταῖς γραφείσαις πρὸς αὐτὰς συνθήκαις ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου: τρεῖς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεις, αἱ προεξανέστησάν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπηγάγοντο [p. 51] κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, Καιρητανοὺς καὶ Ταρκυνιῆτας καὶ Οὐιεντανοὺς, ἀφαιρέσει χώρας τιμωρησάμενος, ἣν κατεκληροῦχησε Ῥωμαίων τοῖς νεωστὶ προσεληλυθόσι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

[6] Having said this, he put an end to the war against them, and in the case of most of the cities, without imposing any conditions or harbouring any resentment for past injuries, he permitted them to retain the same government as before and also to enjoy their own possessions as long as they should abide by the treaties made with them by Tarquinius. But in the case of the three cities of Caere, Tarquinii and Veii, which had not only begun the revolt but had also induced the rest to make war upon the Romans, he punished them by seizing a part of their lands, which he portioned out among those who had lately been added to the body of Roman citizens.

[7] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ ναοὺς δύο κατασκευασάμενος Τύχης, ἥ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔδοξεν ἀγαθῇ κεκρῆσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Βοαρία, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡίοσι τοῦ Τεβέριος, ἦν ἀνδρείαν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται: ἡλικίας τε προβεβηκώς ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τελευτῆς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχων, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου τε τοῦ γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀποθνήσκει. διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γενομένων ἀναλαβών.

[7] Besides these achievements in both peace and war, he built two temples to Fortune, who seemed to have favoured him all his life, one in the market called the Cattle Market, the other on the banks of the Tiber to the Fortune which he named Fortuna Virilis, as she is called by the Romans even to this day. And being now advanced in years and not far from a natural death, he

was treacherously slain by Tarquinius, his son-in-law, and by his own daughter. I shall also relate the manner in which this treacherous deed was carried out; but first I must go back and mention a few things that preceded it.

[1] ἦσαν τῷ Τυλλίῳ δύο θυγατέρες ἐκ γυναικὸς γενόμεναι Ταρκυνίας, ἣν ἐνεγγύησεν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος. ταύτας τὰς κόρας ἐπιγάμους γενομένας ἐκδίδοται τοῖς ἀδελφιδοῖς τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν, νίωνοις δὲ Ταρκυνίου, τῷ τε πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἀρμόσας καὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν νεωτέραν: οὕτως οἰόμενος αὐτὰς μάλιστα συνοίσεσθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν.

[28.1] Tullius had two daughters by his wife Tarquinia, whom King Tarquinius had given to him in marriage. When these maidens were of marriageable age, he gave them to the nephews of their mother, who were also the grandsons of Tarquinius, joining the elder daughter to the elder nephew and the younger to the younger, since he thought they would thus live most harmoniously with their husbands.

[2] ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν γαμβρῶν ἑκάτερος ἐναντιὰ συναφθεῖς τύχῃ κατὰ τὴν οὐχ ὁμοτροπίαν: Λευκίῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ [p. 52] πρεσβυτέρῳ τολμηρῷ καὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τυραννικῷ τὴν φύσιν ὄντι χρηστὴ καὶ σώφρων καὶ φιλοπάτωρ συνῆλθε γυνή, Ἄρροῦντι δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ πολὺ τὸ πρᾶον ἔχοντι καὶ εὐλόγιστον ἀνοσία καὶ μισοπάτωρ καὶ πάντολμος 7 ἦν ἡ γαμετή.

[2] But it happened that each of his sons-in-law was joined by an adverse fate in the matter of dissimilarity of character. For the wife of Lucius, the elder of the two brothers, who was of a bold, arrogant and tyrannical nature, was a good woman, modest and fond of her father; on the other hand, the wife of Arruns, the younger brother, a man of great mildness and prudence, was a wicked woman who hated her father and was capable of any rash action.

[3] συνέβαινε δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκατέρῳ φέρεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, μετὰγεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τάναντία: ὁ μὲν γε πονηρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τὸν κηδεστὴν προθυμούμενος καὶ πάντα μηχανώμενος εἰς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς μετεπειθέτο ἀντιβολούσης τε καὶ ὀδυρομένης: ὁ δ' ἐπεικῆς οὐδὲν οἰόμενος δεῖν ἐξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸν πενθερόν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν, ἕως ἢ φύσις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξαγάγῃ, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔων πράττειν τὰ μὴ δίκαια, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνοσίας γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τάναντία μετήγετο νοθευούσης τε καὶ λοιδορουμένης καὶ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν κακιζούσης:

[3] Thus it chanced that each of the husbands tried to follow his own bent, but was drawn in the opposite direction by his wife. For when the wicked husband desired to drive his father-in-law from the throne and was devising every means to accomplish this, his wife by her prayers and tears endeavoured to prevail on him to desist. And when the good husband thought himself obliged to abstain from all attempts against the life of his father-in-law and to wait till he should end his days by the course of nature, and tried to prevent his brother

from doing what was wrong, his wicked wife, by her remonstrances and reproaches and by reviling him with a want of spirit, sought to draw him in the opposite direction.

[4] ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον οὔτε αἱ τῆς σώφρονος λιτανεῖαι τὰ κράτιστα τὸν οὐ δίκαιον ἄνδρα πειθούσης, οὔτε αἱ τῆς μιαρᾶς παραινέσεις ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις τὸν οὐ πονηρὸν εἶναι πεφυκότα παρακαλοῦσης, ἀλλ' ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἐφέρετο καὶ λυπηρὰν ἤγεῖτο τὴν μὴ τὰ ὅμοια βουλομένην, τῇ μὲν ὀδύρεσθαι τε καὶ φέρειν τὸν ἑαυτῆς δαίμονα περιῆν: τῇ δὲ παντόλμῳ χαλεπαίνειν καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ζητεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος.

[4] But when nothing was accomplished by either the entreaties of the virtuous wife as she urged upon her unjust husband the best course, or by the exhortations of the wicked wife when she strove to incite to impious deeds the husband who was not by nature evil, but each husband followed his natural bent and thought his wife troublesome because her wishes differed from his own, nothing remained but for the first wife to lament and submit to her fate and for her audacious sister to rage and endeavour to rid herself of her husband.

[5] ἔπειτα δ' ἡ κακὴ τὴν φύσιν ἀπονοηθεῖσα καὶ νομίσασα τοῖς ἑαυτῆς τρόποις ἀρμόττειν μάλιστα τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα [p. 53] μεταπέμπεται τ' αὐτὸν ὥς ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαιῶν πράγματος διαλεξομένη,

[5] At last this wicked woman, grown desperate and believing her sister's husband to be most suitable to her own character, sent for him, as if she wanted to talk with him concerning a matter of urgent importance.

[1] καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρεγένετο, μεταστῆναι κελεύσασα τοὺς ἔνδον, ἵνα μόνῃ διαλεχθεῖν πρὸς μόνον, Ἄρ', ἔφησεν, ὦ Ταρκύνιε, μετὰ παρρησίας ἔξεστί μοι καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἅπαντα εἰπεῖν, ὅσα φρονῶ περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων, καὶ καθέξεις οὓς ἂν ἀκούσης λόγους; ἢ σιωπᾶν ἄμεινόν ἐστί μοι καὶ μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον βουλὰς ἀπορρήτους;

[29.1] And when he came, after first ordering those who were in the room to withdraw, that she might talk with him in private, she said: "May I, Tarquinius, speak freely and without risk all my thoughts concerning our common interests? And will you keep to yourself what you shall hear? Or is it better for me to remain silent and not to communicate plans that require secrecy?"

[2] κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου λέγειν, ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ περὶ τοῦ καθέξειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς λόγους πιστεῖς ἐπιθέντος δι' ὄρκων, οὓς ἐκείνη προηρεῖτο, οὐδὲν ἔτι αἰσχυνθεῖσα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: μέχρι τίνος, ὦ Ταρκύνιε, τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστεροῦμενος ἀνέχεσθαι διανοῇ; πότερον ἐκ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀσέμων ἔφυς προγόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀξιόις ἐπὶ σεαυτῷ

μέγα φρονεῖν; ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασιν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαίοις ὑμῶν προγόνοις Ἑλλήσιν οὕσι καὶ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονόσι τῆς εὐδαίμονος ἄρξαι Κορίνθου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ὑπῆρξεν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολλὰς, ὡς ἀκούω, γενεάς: τῷ δὲ πάππῳ σου Ταρκυνίῳ μεταθεμένῳ τὴν οἶκῳ ἐκ Τυρρηνῶν ταύτης βασιλεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξεγένετο δι' ἀρετὴν: οὗ σὺ κληρονομεῖν οὐ μόνον τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλεις πρεσβύτερος υἱὸν ὦν.

[2] And when Tarquinius bade her say what she wished, and gave her assurances, by such oaths as she herself proposed, that he would keep everything to himself, Tullia, laying aside all shame from that moment, said to him: "How long, Tarquinius, do you intend to permit yourself to be deprived of the kingship? Are you descended from mean and obscure ancestors, that you refuse to entertain high thoughts of yourself? But everyone knows that your early ancestors, who were Greeks and descended from Hercules, exercised the sovereign power in the flourishing city of Corinth for many generations, as I am informed, and that your grandfather, Tarquinius, after removing from Tyrrhenia, was able by his merits to become king of this state; and not only his possessions, but his kingdom as well, ought to descend to you who are the elder of his grandsons.

[3] ἢ σῶματος οὐκ ἔτυχες ἱκανοῦ πράττειν, ὅσα βασιλεῖ προσῆκε, δι' ἀσθένειάν τε καὶ ἀμορφίαν; ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε καὶ ῥώμῃ πάρεστιν, οἷα τοῖς [p. 54] κράτιστα πεφυκόσι, καὶ μορφῇ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ἀξία. ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον, ἢ δ' ἀσθενὴς ἔτι καὶ πολὺ ἀπέχουσα τοῦ φρονεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα νεότης μετέλκει σε, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἀξιοῖς τὰ πολιτικά πράττειν, ὅς οὐ πολλοῖς ἀποδεῖς ἔτεσι πενηκονταέτης εἶναι; κράτιστα δ' ἄνθρωποι πεφύκασι φρονεῖν οἱ περὶ ταύτην μάλιστα γενόμενοι τὴν ἡλικίαν.

[3] Or have you been given a body incapable of performing the duties of a king because of some weakness and deformity? But surely you are endowed both with strength equal to those most highly favoured by Nature and with a presence worthy of your royal birth. Or is it neither of these, but your youth, as yet weak and far from being capable of forming sound judgments, that holds you back and causes you to decline the government of the state — you who want not many years from being fifty? Yet at about this age a man's judgment is naturally at its best.

[4] φέρε, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ κατέχοντος τὰ πράγματα εὐγένεια καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτηδεϊότης, δι' ἣν οὐκ εὐεπιχειρητὸς ἔστιν, ἀνέχεσθαι σε ἀναγκάζει; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω κακῶς ἔχοντα αὐτῷ τυγχάνει καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὰ γε ἀγνοεῖς. καὶ μὴν ἢ γε τόλμα καὶ τὸ φιλοκίνδυνον ἔνεστί σου τοῖς τρόποις, ὧν μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῦειν μέλλοντι δεῖ. ὑπάρχει δέ σοι καὶ πλοῦτος ἱκανὸς καὶ φίλοι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πρὸς τὰ πράγματ'

[4] Well, then, is it the high birth of the man who is now in control of affairs

and his popularity with the best citizens — which makes him difficult to attack — that forces you to submit? But in both these respects too he happens to be unfortunate, as not even he himself is unaware. Moreover, boldness and willingness to undergo danger are inherent in your character, qualities most necessary to one who is going to reign. You have sufficient wealth also, numerous friends, and many other important qualifications for public life.

[5] ἀφορμαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. τί οὖν ἔτι μέλλεις καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον ἐκδέχῃ καιρόν, ὃς ἥξει σοι φέρων τὴν βασιλείαν μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο πραγματευσαμένῳ, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Τυλλίου δήπου τελευτήν; ὥσπερ ἀναμενούσης τῆς τύχης τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας μελλήσεις, ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τὰς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστῳ τελευτὰς φερούσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀδήλῳ καὶ δυστεκμάρτῳ τέλει πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων κειμένων.

[5] Why, then, do you still hesitate and wait for an occasion to be provided by chance, an occasion that will come bringing to you the kingship without your having made any effort to obtain it? And that, I presume, will be after the death of Tullius! As if Fate waited on men's delays or Nature dispensed death to each man according to his age, and the outcome of all human affairs were not, on the contrary, obscure and difficult to be foreseen!

[6] ἐρῶ δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας, [p. 55] καὶ εἴ με φήσεις θρασεῖαν, τὸ δοκοῦν αἷτιον εἶναι μοι τοῦ μηδεμιᾶς ὀρέγεσθαι σε μήτε φιλοτιμίας μήτε δόξης. γυνή σοι σύνεστι μηδὲν ἐοικυῖα τοῖς σοῖς τρόποις, ἢ σε κηλοῦσα καὶ κατὰδουσα μαλθακὸν ἀποδέδωκε, καὶ λήσεις ὑπ' αὐτῆς γενόμενος ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τὸ μηδέν: ὥσπερ γε κάμοι φοφοδεῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀνδρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς με ταπεινὴν ποιεῖ μεγάλων οὕσαν ἀξίαν καὶ καλὴν τὸ σῶμα, μαρανθεῖσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

[6] But I will declare frankly, even though you may call me bold for it, what seems to me to be the reason why you reach out for no coveted honour or glory. You have a wife whose disposition is in no respect like your own and who by her allurements and enchantments has softened you; and by her you will insensibly be transformed from a man into a nonentity. Just so have I a husband who is timorous and has nothing of a man in him, who makes me humble though I am worthy of great things, and though I am fair of body, yet because of him I have withered away.

[7] εἰ δ' ἐξεγένετο σοὶ τε λαβεῖν ἐμὲ γυναιῖκα κάμῃ σοῦ τυχεῖν ἀνδρὸς, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ιδιώτῃ βίῳ τοσοῦτον διεξήσαμεν χρόνον. τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπανορθοῦμεθα τὸ τῆς τύχης ἐλάττωμα ἡμεῖς μεταθέμενοι τοὺς γάμους, καὶ σὺ μὲν ἀπαλλάττεται τοῦ βίου τὴν σαντοῦ γυναιῖκα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ βουλευόμενος, ἐκποδῶν πεποιημένοι τὰ λυποῦντα ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἄλλα τις ἀδικεῖν ὀκνῇ, βασιλείας γε χάριν οὐ νέμεσις ἅπαντα τολμᾷ.

[7] But if it had been possible for you to take me as your wife and for me to get you as my husband, we had not lived so long in a private station. Why, therefore, do we not ourselves correct this error of fate by exchanging our marital ties, you removing your wife from life and I making this disposition of my husband? And when we have put them out of the way and are joined together, we will then consider in secure what remains to be done, having rid ourselves of what now causes our distress. For though one may hesitate to commit all the other crimes, yet for the sake of a throne one cannot be blamed for daring anything.”

[1] τοιαῦτα τῆς Τυλλίας λεγούσης ἄσμενος δέχεται τὰς αἰρέσεις ὁ Ταρκύνιος, καὶ αὐτίκα δοὺς αὐτῇ πίστει καὶ λαβὼν τὰ προτέλεια τῶν ἀνοσιῶν γάμων διαπραξάμενος ἀπέρχεται. διελθόντος δ’ οὐ πολλοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνου τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάθεσιν ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἢ τε πρεσβύτερα τῶν Τυλλίου θυγατέρων καὶ ὁ νεώτερος τῶν Ταρκυνίων.

[30.1] Such were Tullia’s words, and Tarquinius, gladly agreeing to the course she proposed, immediately exchanged pledges with her, and then, after celebrating the rites preliminary to their unholy nuptials, he departed. Not long after this the elder daughter of Tullius and the year Tarquinius died the same kind of death.

[2] ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἀναγκάζομαι μεμνησθαι Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν [p. 56] ἐξέτασιν τῶν χρόνων ἐλέγχειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς Ἀρροῦντος τελευτῆς γενόμενος οὐ καθ’ ἓν ἀμαρτάνει μόνον, ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὅτι γέγραφεν υἱὸν εἶναι Ταρκυνίου τὸν Ἀρροῦντα: ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἕτερον, ὅτι φησὶν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Τανακυλλίδος τεθᾶφθαι, ἣν ἀμήχανον ἦν ἔτι καὶ κατ’ ἐκείνους περιεῖναι τοὺς χρόνους.

[2] Here again, I find myself obliged to make mention of Fabius and to show him guilty of negligence in his investigation of the chronology of events. For when he comes to the death of Arruns he commits not only one error, as I said before, in stating that he was the son of Tarquinius, but also another in saying that after his death he was buried by his mother Tanaquil, who could not possibly have been alive at that time.

[3] ἐδείχθη γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔχουσα καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἡ Τανακυλλίς, ὅτε βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐτελεύτα: προστεθέντων δὴ τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἑτέρων τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν: ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐνιαυσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς κατὰ τὸν τετταρακοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Τυλλίου ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἀρροῦντα τετελευτηκότα παρειλήφαμεν: ἐτῶν ἡ Τανακυλλίς ἔσται πεντεκαίδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. οὕτως ὀλίγον ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀληθείας ταλαίπωρον.

[3] For it was shown in the beginning that when Tarquinius died Tanaquil was seventy-five years of age; and if to the seventy-five years forty more are added

(for we find in the annals that Arruns died in the fortieth year of the reign of Tullius), Tanaquil must have been one hundred and fifteen years old. So little evidence of a laborious inquiry after truth do we find in that author's history.

[4] μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπάγεται γυναῖκα τὴν Τυλλίαν οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς βεβαιοῦντος τὸν γάμον οὔτε τῆς μητρὸς συνευδοκούσης, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν παρ' ἑαυτῆς λαβών.

[4] After this deed of theirs Tarquinius married Tullia without any further delay, though the marriage had neither the sanction of her father nor the approval of her mother, but he took her of her own gift.

[5] ὥς δὲ συνεκεράσθησαν αἱ ἀνόσιοι καὶ ἀνδροφόνοι φύσεις, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τὸν Τύλλιον, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἐκὼν παραδοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐμψχανῶντο ἐταιρίας τε συνάγοντες καὶ τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ πολιτεύματα παρακαλοῦντες [p. 57] ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους, οἷς οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων φροντίς ἦν, χρήμασιν ἐξωνοῦμενοι καὶ οὐδὲ ἀφανῶς ἕκαστα τούτων πράττοντες.

[5] As soon as these impious and bloodthirsty natures were commingled they began plotting to drive Tullius from the throne if he would not willingly resign his power. They got together bands of their adherents, appealed to such of the patricians as were ill-disposed towards the king and his popular institutions, and bribed the poorest among the plebeians who had no regard for justice; and all this they did without any secrecy.

[6] ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Τύλλιος ἤχθετο μὲν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δεδιώς, εἴ τι πείσεται προκαταληφθεῖς: ἡγανάκτει δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα, εἰ θυγατρὶ καὶ γαμβρῷ πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθήσεται καὶ τιμωρίας ὥς παρ' ἐχθρῶν λαμβάνειν, πολλάκις μετὰ τῶν φίλων προκαλούμενος εἰς λόγους τὸν Ταρκύνιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐγκαλῶν, τὰ δὲ νουθετῶν, τὰ δὲ πείθων μηδὲν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν: ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς βουλήs ἔφη τὰ δίκαια πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν, συγκαλέσας τὸ συνέδριον:

[6] Tullius, seeing what was afoot, was not only disturbed because of his fears for his own safety, if he should be caught unprepared and come to some harm, but was especially grieved at the thought that he should be forced to take up arms against his own daughter and his son-in-law and to punish them as enemies. Accordingly, he repeatedly invited Tarquinius and his friends to confer with him, and sought, with by reproaches, now by admonitions, and again by arguments, to prevent him from doing him any wrong. When Tarquinius gave no heed to what he said but declared he would plead his cause before the senate, Tullius called the senators together and said to them:

[7] ἄνδρες, ἔφη, βουλευταί, Ταρκύνιος ἐταιρίας ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνάγων καὶ προθυμούμενος ἐκβαλεῖν με τῆς ἀρχῆς καταφανῆς γέγονέ μοι. βούλομαι δὲ

πάντων ὑμῶν παρόντων μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ, τί πεπονηθῶς ἰδίᾳ κακὸν ἢ τί τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶν ἀδικουμένην ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ μηχανᾶται. ἀποκρίναι δὴ, Ταρκύνιε, μηδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος, τί μου κατηγορεῖν ἔχεις, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτους ἡξίους ἀκοῦσαι.

[7] “Senators, it has become clear to me that Tarquinius is gathering bands of conspirators against me and is anxious to drive me from power. I desire to learn from him, therefore, in the presence of you all, what wrong he has personally received from me or what injury he has seen the commonwealth suffer at my hands, that he should be forming these plots against me. Answer me, then, Tarquinius, concealing nothing, and say what you have to accuse me of, since you have asked that these men should hear you.”

[1] λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ταρκύνιος: βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος, ὦ Τύλλιε, καὶ δίκαιος: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προειλόμην αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺτους ἐκφέρειν. Ταρκύνιος ἐμὸς ὢν πάππος ἐκτήσατο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀράμενος: ἐκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἐγὼ διάδοχος εἰμι κατὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων νόμους: [p. 58] καὶ προσήκει μοι καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς διαδεχομένοις τὰ παππῶα, μὴ μόνον τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ

[31.1] Tarquinius answered him: “My arriving, Tullius, is brief and founded on justice, and for that reason I have chosen to lay it before these men. Tarquinius, my grandfather, obtained the sovereignty of the Romans after fighting many hard battles in its defence. He being dead, I am his successor according to the laws common to all men, both Greeks and barbarians, and it is my right, just as it is of any others who succeed to the estates of their grandfathers, to inherit not only his property but his kingship as well.

[2] καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ κληρονομεῖν. σὺ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεδωκάς μοι, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἀποστερεῖς με καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη κατέχεις χρόνον, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου λαβών: οὔτε γὰρ μεσοβασιλεῖς σε ἀπέδειξαν, οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ ψῆφον ὑπὲρ σοῦ διήνεγκεν, οὔτε ἀρχαιρεσίαις νομίμοις τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἔτυχες, ὥς ὁ πάππος τε οὐμὸς καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς: ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνέστιον καὶ ἄπορον καὶ πρὸς καταδίκας ἢ χρέα τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀπολωλεκὸς φῦλον, ὃ τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἔμελε, καταμισθοδοτήσας καὶ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρας, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε μέντοι σαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν δυναστείαν λέγων, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν φυλάξειν σκηπτόμενος ὀρφανοῖς οὔσι καὶ νηπίοις, ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα παρηλθες καὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων ὠμολόγεις, ὅταν ἀνδρωθῶμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐμοὶ

[2] You have, it is true, delivered up to me the property that he left, but you are depriving me of the kingship and have retained possession of it for so long a time now, though you obtained it wrongfully. For neither did any interreges appoint you king nor did the senate pass a vote in your favour, nor did you obtain this power by a legal election of the people, as my grandfather and all

the kings before him obtained it; but by bribing and corrupting in every way possible the crowd of vagabonds and paupers, who had been disfranchised for convictions or for debts and had no concern for the public interests, and by not admitting even then that you were seeking the power for yourself, but by pretending that you were going to guard it for us who were orphans and infants, you came into control of affairs and kept promising in the hearing of all that when we came to manhood you would hand over the sovereignty to me as the elder brother.

[3] παραδώσειν ὄντι πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν σε, εἰ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠθελες, ὅτε μοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πάππου παρεδίδους, ἅμα τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδεδωκέναι παραδειγμασι χρώμενον τοῖς τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἔργοις, ὅσοι βασιλικοὺς παῖδας ὀρφανοὺς πατέρων παραλαβόντες εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσιν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τὰς πατρῴας καὶ

[3] You ought, therefore, if you desired to do right, when you handed over to me the estate of my grandfather, to have delivered up his kingship also together with his property, following the example of all the upright guardians who, having taken upon themselves the care of royal children bereft of their parents, have rightly and justly restored to them the kingdoms of their fathers and ancestors when they came to be men.

[4] 8 προγονικὰς ἀπέδωκαν ἀρχάς: εἰ δὲ μήπω σοι φρονεῖν τὰ καθήκοντα ἐφαινόμην, ἀλλ' ἔτι διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐχ ἱκανὸς εἶναι πόλιν τηλικαύτην διοικεῖν, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν κρατίστην παρεγενόμην τοῦ σώματος καὶ [p. 59] τῆς φρονήσεως ἀκμὴν τριάκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη, μετὰ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐγχειρίσαι πράγματα: ταύτην γέ τοι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχων καὶ σὺ τὸν τ' οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐπιτροπεύειν ἤρξω καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

[4] But if you thought I had not yet attained a proper degree of prudence and that by reason of my youth I was still unequal to the government of so great a state, yet when I attained to my full vigour of body and mind at the age of thirty, you ought, at the same time that you gave me your daughter in marriage, to have put also the affairs of the state into my hands; for it was at that very age that you yourselves first undertook both the guardianship of our family and the oversight of the kingship.

[1] περιῆν γὰρ ἂν σοι ταῦτα πράξαντι πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβεῖ καὶ δικαίῳ λέγεσθαι, ἔπειτα συμβασιλεύειν ἐμοὶ καὶ πάσης μετέχειν τιμῆς, εὐεργέτην τε καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ πάντα, ὅσα τιμιώτατα ὀνόματα ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ καλοῖς κεῖται πράγμασιν, ἀκούειν καὶ μὴ τέταρτον ἤδη τοῦτο καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος ἀποστερεῖν με τῶν ἐμῶν, οὔτε σώματος ἀναπήρου τυχόντα οὔτε διανοίας ἡλιθίου. Ἐπειτ' ἐρωτᾷν με τολμᾶς, τί παθὼν δεινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι σε καὶ διὰ τί

[32.1] “If you had done this you would, in the first place, have gained the reputation of a loyal and just man, and again, you would have reigned with me and shared in every honour; and you would have been called my benefactor, my father, my preserver, and all the other laudatory names that men bestow in recognition of noble actions, instead of depriving me for all these forty-four years of what was mine, though I was neither maimed in body nor stupid in mind. And after that have you the assurance to ask me what ill-treatment provokes me to look upon you as my enemy and for what reason I accuse you?

[2] σου κατηγορῶ; σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπόκριναι μοι, Τύλλιε, τίνος αἰτίας χάριν οὐκ ἄξιοις με τῶν τοῦ πάππου τιμῶν κληρονομεῖν καὶ τίνα πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ τῆς ἀποστερήσεως σκηπτόμενος; πότερον οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου γένους εἶναι με γνήσιον, ἀλλ’ ὑποβολιμαῖόν τινα καὶ νόθον; τί οὖν ἐπετρέπεις τὸν ἀλλότριον τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἀνδρωθέντι ἀπεδίδους; ἀλλ’ ἔτι νομίζων με ὀρφανὸν εἶναι παῖδα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀδύνατον, ὃς οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχω πεντηκονταετίας; κατὰβαλε δὲ τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν τῶν ἀναισχύντων [p. 60]

[2] Nay, do *you*, answer *me* rather, Tullius, and declare why you think me unworthy to inherit the honours of my grandfather and what specious reason you allege for depriving me of them. Is it because you do not regard me as the legitimate offspring of his blood, but as some supposititious and illegitimate child? If so, why did you act as guardian to one who was a stranger to his blood, and why did you deliver up his estate to me as soon as I reached manhood? Or is it that you still look upon me as an orphan child and incapable of handling the business of the state — me who am not far from fifty years old? Lay aside now the dissimulation of your shameless questions and cease at last to play the rogue.

[3] ἐρωτημάτων καὶ παῦσαι ποτε ἤδη πονηρὸς ὢν: εἰ δὲ τι δίκαιον ἔχεις πρὸς ταῦτ’ εἰπεῖν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι τοῦτοις ἐπιτρέπειν δικασταῖς, ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἐτέρους εἰπεῖν ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ πόλει κρείττους: ἐὰν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδιδράσκων, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αἰεὶ σοι ποιεῖν σὺνηθες, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκδημαγωγούμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ καταφεύγῃς ὄχλον, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω σοι: παρεσκεύασμαι γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἐρῶν καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιο τὰ βίαια πράξων.

[3] However, if you have any just reason to allege against what I have said, I am ready to leave the decision to these men as judges, than whom you can name none better in the city. But if you attempt to run away from this tribunal and fly for refuge, as is ever your habit, to the rabble you mislead by your cajolery, I will not permit it. For I am prepared, not only to speak in defence of my rights, but also, if this should fail to convince you, to act with force.”

[1] παυσασμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Τύλλιος ἔλεξεν ὧδε: ἅπαντα μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, ᾧ βουλή, τὰ

παράδοξα καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἄπιστον, ὅπου γε κάμῃ Ταρκύνιος οὕτοσὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παῦσαι πρόθυμός ἐστιν: ὃν ἐγὼ νήπιον παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔσωσα καὶ ἐξεθρεψα καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντα κηδεστὴν ἡξίωσα λαβεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι πάθοιμι διάδοχον ἔμελλον καταλείπειν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἅπαντ' ἀπὴντηκέ μοι καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδικῶν αὐτὸς ἐγκαλοῦμαι, τὴν μὲν τύχην ὕστερον ἀνακλαύσομαι,

[33.1] When he had done speaking, Tullius took the floor and said: “Anything, it seems, senators, that is unexpected is to be expected by a mortal man, and nothing should be regarded as incredible, since Tarquinius here is set upon deposing *me* from my office, though I received him when he was an infant and, when his enemies were forming designs against his life, preserved him and brought him up, and when he came to be a man, saw fit to take him for a son-in-law and in the event of my death was intending to leave him heir to all that I possessed.

[2] 9 τὰ δὲ δίκαια νῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρῶ. ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν ἐπιτροπείαν ὑμῶν ἔλαβον, ὧ Ταρκύνιε, νηπίων καταλειφθέντων οὐχ ἑκὼν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεῖς: ἐπειδὴ τὸν μὲν πάππον ὑμῶν οἱ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιούμενοι φανερώς ἀπέκτειναν, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ συγγενέσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐλέγοντο [p. 61] ἀφανῶς: καὶ πάντες τοῦθ' οἱ προσήκοντες ὑμῖν ὠμολόγουν, ὅτι κρατήσαντες ἐκεῖνοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ σπέρμα τοῦ Ταρκυνίου καταλείψουσι γένους. κηδεμῶν δὲ καὶ φύλαξ οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἕτερος ἦν, ὅτι μὴ γυνή, πατρὸς μήτηρ, καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ γῆρας ἐτέρων δεομένη κηδεμόνων: ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοὶ κατελείπεσθε μόνῳ φύλακι τῆς ἐρημίας, ὃν νῦν ἀλλότριον καὶ οὐδὲν προσήκοντα ἀποκαλεῖς.

[2] But now that everything has happened to me contrary to my expectation and I myself am accused of wrongdoing, I shall lament my misfortune later one, but at present I will plead my just cause against him. I took upon myself, Tarquinius, the guardianship of your brother and yourself when you were left infants, not of my own will, but compelled by the circumstances, since those who aspired to the kingship had openly assassinated your grandfather and were said to be plotting secretly against you and the rest of his kin; and all your friends acknowledged that if those men once got the power into their hands they would not leave even a seed of the race of Tarquinius. And there was no one else to care for you and guard you but a woman, the mother of your father, and she, by reason of her great age, herself stood in need of others to care for her; but you children were left in my charge alone, to be guarded in your destitute condition — though you now call me a stranger and in no degree related to you.

[3] τοιοῦτοις μέντοι πράγμασιν ἐπιστὰς ἐγὼ τοὺς τ' ἀποκτείναντας τὸν πάππον ὑμῶν ἐτιμωρησάμην καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἄνδρας ἡγαγον καὶ γενεᾶς ἄρρενος οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κυρίους προσιλόμην ποιῆσαι. ἔχεις

τὸν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς λόγον, ὃ Τарκύνιε, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπιχειρήσεις εἰπεῖν, ὥς ψεύδομαι τι τούτων.

[3] Nevertheless, when I had been put in command of such a situation, I not only punished the assassins of your grandfather and reared you boys to manhood, but, as I had no male issue, I proposed to make you the owners of what I possessed. You have now, Tarquinius, the account of my guardianship, and you will not venture to say that a word of it is false.

[1] περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ κατηγορεῖς μου, ἄκουσον, ὅπως τ' αὐτῆς ἔτυχον, καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας οὕθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μεθίεμαι. ὅτε τῇν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως παρέλαβον, αἰσθόμενος ἐπιβουλὰς τινὰς κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ γινομένας, παραδοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἐβουλήθην: καὶ συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεδίδουν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπιφθόνου ταύτης καὶ πλείω τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν ἡδέων ἐχούσης ἡγεμονίας τὴν ἀκίνδυνον ἀντικαταλασσόμενος ἡσυχίαν.

[34] “But concerning the kingship, since this is the point of your accusation, learn not only by what means I obtained it, but also for what reasons I am not resigning it either to you or to anyone else. When I took upon myself the oversight of the commonwealth, finding that there were certain plots forming against me, I desired to surrender the conduct of affairs to the people; and having called them all together in assembly, I offered to resign the power to them, exchanging this envied sovereignty, the source of more pains than pleasures, for a quiet life free from danger.

[2] οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτά μου πράττειν βουλομένου οὐδ' ἡξίωσαν ἕτερόν τινα τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεῖξαι κύριον, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ κατέσχον [p. 62] καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκάν μοι ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντες, τὴν ἑαυτῶν, Τарκύνιε, κτῆσιν, οὐ τὴν ὑμετέραν:

[2] But the Romans would not permit me to follow this preference, nor did they see fit to make anyone else master of the state, but retained me and by their votes gave me the kingship — thing which belonged to them, Tarquinius, rather than to you or your brother —

[3] ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὸν πάππον ὑμῶν παρήγαγον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ξένον ὄντα καὶ οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῷ πρότερον βασιλεῖ: καίτοι παῖδάς γ' Ἄγκος Μάρκιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέλιπεν ἀκμάζοντας, οὐχ υἱωνοὺς καὶ νηπίους, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς Τарκύνιος. εἰ δὲ κοινὸς ἀπάντων νόμος ἦν τοὺς διαδεχομένους τὴν τε φανεράν οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἐκλειπόντων βασιλέων σὺν τούτοις καὶ τὰς βασιλείας αὐτῶν παραλαμβάνειν, οὐκ ἂν Τарκύνιος ὁ πάππος ὑμῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν Ἄγκου τελευτήσαντος, ἀλλ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ἐκείνου παιδων.

[3] in the same manner as they had entrusted the government to your grandfather, who was a foreigner and in no way related to the king who

preceded him; and yet King Ancus Marcius had left sons in their prime of life, not children and infants, as you and your brother were left by Tarquinius. But if it were a general law that the heirs to the estate and possessions of deceased kings should also be heirs to their kingly office, Tarquinius, your grandfather would not have succeeded to the sovereignty upon the death of Ancus, but rather the elder of the king's sons.

[4] ἄλλ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων οὐ τὸν διάδοχον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἑκάλει· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ τὰ μὲν χρήματα τῶν κτησαμένων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῶν δεδωκότων· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅταν τι πάθωσιν οἱ κύριοι τοὺς κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ διαθήκας διαδόχους προσήκειν παραλαμβάνειν, τὴν δ' ὅταν ἐκλίπωσιν οἱ λαβόντες τοὺς δεδωκότας ἔχειν· εἰ μὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις δικαίωμα φέρειν, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ πάππος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι παρέλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἀναφαίρετον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐ κύριος

[4] But the Roman people did not call to power the heir of the father, but rather the person who was worthy to rule. For they held that, while property belongs to those who acquired it, the kingly office belongs to those who conferred it, and that the former, when anything happens to its owners, ought to descend to the natural heirs or the testamentary heirs, but that the latter, when the persons who received it die, should return to those who gave it. Unless, indeed, you have some claim to offer to the effect that your grandfather received the kingship upon certain express conditions, whereby he was not to be deprived of it himself and could also leave it to you, his grandsons, and that it was not in the power of the people to take it from you and confer it upon me.

[5] ἦν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὴν ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ δοῦναι. εἰ γὰρ τι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἔχεις, τί οὐ φέρεις τὰς συνθήκας εἰς μέσον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις. εἰ δ' οὐ κατὰ τὸν βέλτιστον [p. 63] αὐτῆς ἔτυχον ἐγὼ τρόπον, ὡς λέγεις, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν μεσοβασιλέων αἰρεθεὶς μήτε τῆς βουλῆς μοι παραδόσης τὰ πράγματα μήτε τῶν ἄλλων γενομένων τῶν κατὰ νόμον, τούτους ἀδικῶ δῆπου καὶ οὐχὶ σέ, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων παυσθῆναι δικαίως εἰμι τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ὑπὸ

[5] If you have any such claim to allege, why do you not produce the contract? But you cannot do so. And if I did not obtain the office in the most justifiable manner, as you say, since I was neither chosen by the interreges nor entrusted with the government by the senate and the other legal requirements were not observed, then surely it is these men here that I am wronging and not you, and I deserve to be deprived of power by them, not by you.

[6] σοῦ. ἀλλ' οὔτε τούτους οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα ἀδικῶ. μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου μοι καὶ τότε δοθείσης καὶ νῦν ὑπαρχούσης ἐξουσίας ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τετταρακονταετὶ γεγονότι Ῥωμαίων οὐδεὶς ἡγήσατό με πώποτ' ἀδικεῖν, οὐδ' ἐκβαλεῖν με τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεχείρησεν οὐθ' ὁ δῆμος οὐθ' ἡ βουλὴ.

[6] But I am not wronging either these men nor anyone else. The length of my reign, which has now lasted forty years, bears me witness that power was both then justly given to me and is now justly vested in me; for during this time none of the Romans ever thought I reigned unjustly, nor did either the people or the senate ever endeavour to drive me from power.

[1] ἀλλ' ἵνα ταῦτα πάντ' ἀφῶ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρήσω τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις, εἴ σε παρακαταθήκην παππῶαν ἀπεστέρουν καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις δίκαια τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν κατεῖχον, ἐχρῆν σε παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐμοῦ τε, ὅτι τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα κατέχω, καὶ τῶν δεδωκότων, ὅτι τὰλλότρια ἐχαρίσαντό μοι: ῥαδίως γὰρ ἂν ἔπεισας αὐτούς, εἴ τι δίκαιον εἶχες λέγειν.

[35.1] “But — to pass over all these matters and to come to grips with your charges — if I had been depriving you of a deposit that had been left in my hands by your grandfather in trust for you and, contrary to all the established rules of justice recognized by mankind, had been retaining the kingship which was yours, you ought to have gone to those who granted the power to me and to have vented your indignation and reproaches, both against me, for continuing to hold what did not belong to me, and against them, for having conferred on me what belonged to others; for you would easily have convinced them if you had been able to urge any just claim.

[2] εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευες τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ δικαίως δ' ἄρχεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμιζες ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον εἶναι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κοινῶν παραλαβεῖν, ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν σοι προσῆκεν: ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἐμῶν ποιησάμενον ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τὰς σαυτοῦ πράξεις ἐξαριθμησάμενον καλεῖν με εἰς διαδικασίαν: ὧν οὐδέτερον ἐποίησας, ἀλλὰ τοσούτοις χρόνοις [p. 64] ὕστερον ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀνανήψας μέθης νῦν ἤκεις μου κατηγορῶν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν, ὅπου δεῖ.

[2] If, however, you had no confidence in this argument and yet thought that I had no right to rule the state and that you were a more suitable person to be entrusted with its oversight, you ought to have done as follows — to have made an investigation of my mistakes and enumerated your own services and then to have challenged me to a trial for the determination of our respective merits. Neither of these things did you do; but, after all this time, as if recovered from a long fit of drunkenness, you now come to accuse me, and even now not where you should have come.

[3] οὐ γὰρ ἐνθάδε σοι ταῦτα προσήκει λέγειν: καὶ μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆτέ μοι ταῦτα λέγοντι, ᾧ βουλή: οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἀφαιρούμενος τὴν διάγνωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τούτου συκοφαντίαν ἐπιδειξασθαι βουλόμενος ταῦτα λέγω: προειπόντα δέ σ' ἔδει μοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγεῖν κάκεῖ μου κατηγορεῖν. πλὴν ἐπεὶ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ποιήσω καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον παρέξομαι σοι δικαστὴν ὧν ἂν μου κατηγορήσης, καὶ ἀποδώσω πάλιν

αὐτῷ διαγινῶναι, πότερος ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστιν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν: καὶ ὅτι ἂν ἅπαντες οὕτοι γινῶσι πράττειν με δεῖν, ποιήσω.

[3] For it is not here that you should present these charges — do not take any offence at this statement of mine, senators, for it is not with a view of taking the decision away from you that I say this, but from the desire to expose this man's calumnies — but you ought to have told me beforehand to call an assembly of the people and there to have accused me. However, since you have avoided doing so, I will do it for you, and having called the people together, I will appoint them judges of any crimes of which you may accuse me, and will again leave it to them to decide which of us two is the more suitable to hold the sovereignty; and whatever they shall unanimously decide I ought to do, I will do.

[4] καὶ πρὸς μὲν σὲ ταῦθ' ἱκανά: ἐν ἴσῳ γάρ ἐστι τό τε πολλὰ δίκαια πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνώμονας ἀντιδίκους λέγειν καὶ τὸ ὀλίγα: τὸ γὰρ πεῖσον αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρηστοὺς οὐ πεφύκασι φέρειν οἱ λόγοι.

[4] As for you, this is a sufficient answer, since it is all the same whether one urges many or few just claims against unreasonable adversaries; for mere words naturally cannot bring any argument which will persuade them to be honest.

[1] ὅμῶν δὲ θεαύμακα, εἴ τινές εἰσιν, ᾧ βουλή, τῆς ἀρχῆς με ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τούτου συνεσθηκότες ἐπ' ἐμοί: ἡδέως δ' ἂν πυθοίμην παρ' αὐτῶν, τίνας ἀδικήματος ἔνεκα πολεμοῦσί μοι καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων ἀχθόμενοι: πότερον ὅτι πολλοὺς ἴσασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς ἀκρίτους ἀπολωλότας ἢ τῆς [p. 65] πατρίδος στερομένους ἢ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολωλεκότας ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ συμφορᾷ κεκρημένους ἀδίκως; ἢ τούτων μὲν τῶν τυραννικῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγονός, ὕβρεις δὲ μοί τινας συνοῖδασιν εἰς γυναῖκας γαμετὰς ἢ προσηλακισμοὺς εἰς θυγατέρας παρθένους ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ περὶ σῶμα ἐλεύθερον ἀκολασίαν; δικαίως μὲντ' ἂν, εἴ τι μοι τοιοῦτον ἡμάρτηται, τῆς ἀρχῆς θ' ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερηθεῖην.

[36.1] “But I have been surprised, senators, that any of *you* wish to remove me from power and have conspired with this man against me. I should like to learn from them what injury provokes them to attack me and at what action of mine they are offended. Is it because they know that great numbers during my reign have been put to death without a trial, banished from their country, deprived of their possessions, or have met with any other misfortune which they have not merited? Or, though they can accuse most of none of these tyrannical misdeeds, are they acquainted with any outrages I have been guilty of toward married women, or insults to their maiden daughters, or any other wanton attempt upon a person of free condition? If I have been guilty of any such crime I should deserve to be deprived at the same time both of the

kingship and of my life.

[2] φέρε ἄλλ' ὑπερήφανός εἰμι καὶ διὰ βαρύτητα ἐπαχθῆς καὶ τὴν αὐθάδειαν, ἧ κέχρημαι περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐδεὶς φέρειν δύναται μου; τίς μέντοι τῶν πρὸ ἔμοῦ βασιλέων οὕτω μέτριος ὢν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ διετέλεσε καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἅπανι τοῖς πολίταις ὡς πατήρ πρῶος υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ χρώμενος; ὅς γε καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐδώκατέ μοι πατέρων φυλάττοντες παραδοχάς, οὐχ ἅπασαν ἐβουλήθη ἐχειν, ἀλλὰ νόμους θ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων καταστησάμενος, οὓς ἅπαντες ἐπεκυρώσατε, κατὰ τούτους ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκα διδόναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ λαμβάνειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηταζόμεν πρῶτος οἷς ὥρισα κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων δικαίοις ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης πειθόμενος: τῶν τ' ἀδικημάτων οὐχ ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ἐγινόμεν δικαστής, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς δίκας ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκα διαγινώσκειν, ὃ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν οὐδεὶς ἐποίησε βασιλέων.

[2] Well then, am I haughty, am I burdensome by my severity, and can no one bear the arrogance of my administration? And yet which of my predecessors constantly used his power with such moderation and kindliness, treating all the citizens as an indulgent father treats his own children? What, I did not even desire to retain all the power which you, following the traditions of your fathers, gave to me, but after establishing laws, which you all confirmed, relating to the most essential matters, I then granted to you the privilege of giving and receiving justice in accordance with these laws; and to these rules of justice which I prescribed for others I showed myself the first to yield obedience, like any private citizen. Nor did I make myself the judge of all sorts of crimes, but causes of a private nature I restored to your jurisdiction — a thing which none of the former kings ever did.

[3] ἄλλ' ἔοικεν ἀδίκημα μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι, δι' ὃ [p. 66] δυσχεραίνουσί μοι τινες, αἱ δ' εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος εὐεργεσία λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς δοκοῦσι, περὶ ὧν πολλάκις ἀπολελόγημαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δεῖ τούτων νυνὶ τῶν λόγων: εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ κρεῖττον ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν Ταρκύνιος οὕτως τὰ πράγματα παραλαβὼν, οὐ φθονῶ τῇ πόλει βελτίονος ἡγεμόνος: ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ δεδωκότι μοι δήμῳ καὶ γενόμενος ἰδιώτης πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι πᾶσι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐπίσταμαι καλῶς καὶ ἄρχεσθαι δύναμαι σωφρόνως.

[3] But it appears that it is no wrongdoing on my part that has drawn upon me the ill-will of certain persons, but it is rather the benefits I have conferred on the plebeians that grieve you unjustly — concerning which I have often given you my reasons. But there is no need for such explanations now. If you believe that Tarquinius here by taking over the government will administer affairs better than I, I shall not envy the commonwealth a better ruler; and after I have surrendered the sovereignty to the people, from whom I received it, and have become a private citizen, I shall endeavour to make it plain to all that I not only know how to rule well, but can also obey with equanimity."

[1] τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ εἰς πολλὴν αἰδῶ καταστήσας τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς κήρυκας ἀνακαλεσάμενος ἐκέλευσε διὰ πάντων τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιόντας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλεῖν.

[37.1] After this speech, which covered the conspirators with shame, Tullius dismissed the meeting and then, summoning the heralds he ordered them to go through all the streets and call the people together to an assembly.

[2] συνδραμόντος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μακρὰν καὶ συμπαθῇ διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν τὰς τε πολεμικὰς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις ἐξαριθμούμενος, ἃς Ταρκυνίου τε ζῶντος διεπράξατο καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν καὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἐξ ὧν πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἔδοξεν ἐσχηκέναι τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελείας.

[2] And when the whole populace of the city had flocked to the Forum, he came forward to the tribunal and made a long and moving harangue, enumerating all military achievements he had performed, both during the lifetime of Tarquinius and after his death, and recounting in addition one by one all his administrative measures from which the commonwealth appeared to have reaped many great advantages.

[3] πολλοῦ δ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν λεγομένων ἀπαντῶντος ἐπαίνου καὶ πάντων σπουδὴν ἔχοντων μαθεῖν, τίνων ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγει, τελευτῶν ἔφησεν, ὅτι Ταρκύνιος αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὴν βασιλείαν οὐ δικαίως κατέχειν ἑαυτῷ προσήκουσαν· καταλιπεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν πάππον ἀποθνήσκοντα σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὴν [p. 67] ἀρχήν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον οὐκ εἶναι κύριον τάλλοτρία ἐτέρῳ

[3] And when everything he said met with great applause and all the people earnestly desired to know for what reasons he mentioned these things, at last he said that Tarquinius accused him of retaining the kingship unjustly, since it belonged to himself; for Tarquinius claimed that his grandfather at his death had left him the sovereignty together with his property, and that the people did not have it in their power to bestow on another what was not their own to give.

[4] δίδοναι. κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένης σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας αὐτοὺς ἤξιον μὴδὲν ἄχθεσθαι μὴδὲ ἀγανακτεῖν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' εἴ τι δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἔχει Ταρκύνιος, καλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διδασθέντας, ἐάν τ' ἀδικούμενον εὕρωσιν ἐάν τ' ἐπιτηδειότερον ἄρχειν, ἐκείνῳ παραδοῦναι τὴν τῆς πόλεως προστασίαν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔφησεν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ ἀποδίδοναι τοῖς κυρίοις, παρ' ὧν αὐτὴν ἔλαβεν.

[4] This raising a general clamour and indignation among the people, he ordered them to be silent and asked them to feel no displeasure or resentment

at his words, but in case Tarquinius had any just claim to advance in support of his pretensions, to summon him and if, after learning what he had to say, they should find that he was being wronged and was the more suitable man to rule, to entrust him with the leadership of the commonwealth. As for himself, he said, he now resigned the sovereignty and restored it to those to whom it belonged and from whom he had received it.

[5] ταῦτα λέξαντος αὐτοῦ καταβαίνειν τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος βουλομένου κραυγὴ τ' ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐγένετο καὶ δεήσεις πολλαὶ σὺν οἰμωγαῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς: τινὲς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐβόων. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν δείσας τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην ὁρμῆς ἤδη γινομένης τῶν ὄχλων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥχετο φεύγων ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις: τὸν δὲ Τύλλιον ἡ πληθὺς ἅπασα μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κρότου καὶ πολλῆς εὐφημίας παραπέμπουσα μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας κατέστησεν.

[5] After he had said this and was on the point of descending from the tribunal, there was a general outcry and many begged of him with groans not to surrender the sovereignty to anyone; and some of them even called out to stone Tarquinius. He, however, fearing summary punishment, since the crowds were already making a rush against him, fled, and his companions with him, while the entire populace with joy, applause, and many acclamations conducted Tullius as far as his house and saw him safely established there.

[1] ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης διήμαρτε τῆς πείρας ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ἀδημονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπεποίθει, γενέσθαι, χρόνον μὲν τινα διέτριβε κατ' οἰκίαν τοῖς ἐταίροις μόνοις διαλεγόμενος: ἔπειτα γνώμην ἀποδειξαμένης τῆς γυναικὸς μηδὲν ἔτι μαλακίζεσθαι μηδὲ κατοκνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καταβαλόντα τοὺς λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖν διαλλαγὰς πρῶτον εὐρόμενον διὰ φίλων πρὸς τὸν Τύλλιον, [p. 68] ἵνα πιστεύσας ὡς φίλῳ γεγονότι ἦττον αὐτὸν φυλάττοιτο, δόξας δ' αὐτὴν τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθέσθαι μετanoεῖν τε περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἐσκήπτετο καὶ πολλὰ διὰ φίλων λιπαρῶν τὸν Τύλλιον ἡξίου συγγνώμονα 10 γενέσθαι.

[38.1] When Tarquinius failed in this attempt also, he was dismayed that from the senate, upon which he had chiefly relied, no assistance had come to him, and remaining at home for some time, he conversed only with his friends. Afterwards, when his wife advised him no longer to play the weakling or hesitate, but to have done with words and proceed to deeds, after he should first have obtain a reconciliation with Tullius by the intercession of friends — to the end that the king, trusting him as having become his friend, might be the less upon his guard against him — believing that her advice was most excellent, he began to pretend to repent of his past behaviour and through friends besought Tullius with many entreaties to forgive him.

[2] ῥᾶστα δὲ πείσας τὸν ἄνδρα φύσει τ' εὐδιάλλακτον ὄντα καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντα

πόλεμον ἄσπειστον θυγατρί καὶ γαμβρῷ πολεμεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἔλαβε διεσκεδασμένου τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὴν, ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐχόντων ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ξίφη, τοὺς τε πελέκεις ὑπηρέταις τισὶν ἀναδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαγόμενος: ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου στὰς ἐκέλευσε τῷ κήρυκι τοὺς βουλευτὰς καλεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. ἦσαν δ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔτοιμοι περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ συνειδότες αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶξιν

[2] And he very easily persuaded the man, who was not only by his nature inclined to reconciliation but was also averse to waging an implacable contest with his daughter and his son-in-law; then, as soon as he saw a favourable opportunity, when the people were dispersed about the country for the gathering of the harvest, he appeared in public with his friends, all having swords under their garments, and giving the axes to some of his servants, he himself assumed the royal apparel and all the other insignia of royalty. Then, going to the Forum, he took his stand before the senate-house and ordered the herald to summon the senators thither; indeed, many of the patricians who were privy to his design and were urging him on were by prearrangement ready in the Forum.

[3] καὶ παρορμῶντες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων συχνοί. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνήεσαν: τῷ δὲ Τυλλίῳ λέγει τις ἐλθὼν ὄντι κατ' οἰκίαν, ὅτι Ταρκύνιος ἐν ἐσθῆτι βασιλικῇ προελήλυθε καὶ καλεῖ τοὺς βουλευτὰς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τάχιον ἢ φρονιμώτερον προῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας οὐ πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων. ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς καθήμενον ἔδρας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον 11 βασιλείων ἔχοντα κόσμον:

[3] And so the senators assembled. In the meantime someone went and informed Tullius, who was at home, that Tarquinius had appeared in public in royal apparel and was calling a meeting of the senate. And he, astonished at the other's rashness, set out from his house with more haste than prudence, attended by but a few. And going into the senate-house and seeing Tarquinius seated on the throne with all the other insignia of royalty, he exclaim:

[4] τίς, εἶπεν, ὧ μιαιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτό σοι τὸ σχῆμα συνεχώρησε λαβεῖν; [p. 69] καὶ ὃς ὑπολαβὼν: ἦ σὴ τόλμα καὶ ἀναιδεία, εἶπεν, ὦ Τύλλιε, ὃς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερος ὢν, ἀλλὰ δοῦλος ἐκ δούλης, ἦν οὐμὸς ἐκτήσατο πάππος ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἐτόλμησας βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων σεαυτὸν ἀναδεῖξαι. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Τύλλιος, ἐκπικρανθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ὤρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξαναστήσων τῆς ἔδρας.

[4] “Who, most wicked of men, gave you authority to assume this attire?” To which the other replied: “Your boldness and impudence, Tullius; for, though you were not even a free man, but a slave and the son of a slave mother, whom my grandfather got from among the captives, you nevertheless have

dared to proclaim yourself king of the Romans.” When Tullius heard this, he was so exasperated at the reproach that, heedless of his own safety, he rushed at him with the intent of forcing him to quit the throne.

[5] καὶ ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἄσμενος τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ἀναπηδᾷ τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου, καὶ συναρπάσας τὸν γέροντα κεκραγότα καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐπικαλοῦμενον ἔφερε. γενόμενος δ' ἔξω τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μετέωρον ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸν ἀκμάζων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ῥωμαλέος ἀνὴρ ῥίπτει κατὰ τῶν κρηπιδων τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον φερουσῶν.

[5] Tarquinius was pleased to see this, and leaping from his seat, seized and bore off the old man, who cried out and called upon his servants to assist him. When he got outside the senate-house, being a man of great vigour and in his prime, he raised him aloft and hurled him down the steps that lead from the senate-house to the comitium.

[6] μόγῃς δ' ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος ἀναστὰς ὁ πρεσβύτης ὡς εἶδε μεστὰ τὰ πέριξ ἅπαντα τῆς περὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἑταιρείας, τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ φίλων πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, ἀπῆει στένων κρατούντων καὶ παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ὀλίγων, αἷματι πολλῷ ῥεόμενος καὶ κακῶς ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος ἔχων.

[6] The old man got up from his fall with great difficulty, and seeing the whole neighbourhood crowded with the followers of Tarquinius and noting a great dearth of his own friends, he set out for home lamenting, only a few persons supporting and escorting him, and as he went he dripped much blood and his entire body was in a wretched plight from his fall.

[1] τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δεινὰ μὲν ἀκουσθῆναι, θαυμαστὰ δὲ καὶ ἄπιστα πραχθῆναι, τῆς ἀνοσίας αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς ἔργα παραδιδόται. πεπυσμένη γὰρ τὴν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῦ πατρὸς εἴσοδον καὶ σπουδὴν [p. 70] ἔχουσα μαθεῖν οἷόν τι λήψεται τὰ πράγματα τέλος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπῆνης καθεζομένη παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τῆς κρηπίδος ἐστῶτα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θεασαμένη βασιλέα τ' αὐτὸν ἡσπάσατο πρώτη μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάτο ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν.

[39.1] What happened next, terrible to hear yet astonishing and incredible to have been done — the deeds of his impious daughter — have been handed down to us. She, having been informed that her father had one to the senate-house, and being in haste to know what would be the outcome of the affair, entered her carriage and rode to the Forum; and there, hearing what had passed and seeing Tarquinius standing upon the steps before the senate-house, she was the first person to salute him as king, which she did in a loud voice, and prayed to the gods that his seizing of the sovereignty might redound to the advantage of the Roman state.

[2] ἀσπασαμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλέα τῶν

συγκατασκευασάντων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα μόνον αὐτόν: τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, ἔφη, πέπρακται σοι, Ταρκύνιε, κατὰ τὸ δέον: βεβαίως δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν Τυλλίου περιόντος οὐκ ἔνεστι σοι. ἐκδημαγωγῆσει γὰρ αὐθις ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ἐὰν καὶ ὅποσονοῦν ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας περιγένηται χρόνον: ἐπίστασαι δ', ὡς εὖνους ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν: ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀποστείλας τοὺς διαχρησομένους ἐκποδῶν ποιήσον.

[2] And after all the rest who had assisted him in gaining the sovereignty had also saluted him as king, she took him aside and said to him: "The first steps, Tarquinius, you have taken in the manner that was fitting; but it is impossible for you to hold the kingship securely so long as Tullius survives. For by his harangues he will again stir up the populace against you if he remains alive but the least part of this day; and you know how attached the whole body of the plebeians is to him. But come, even before he gets home, send some men and put him out of the way."

[3] ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα καὶ καθεζομένη πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ὤχετο: Ταρκύνιος δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς δόξας τὴν ἀνοσιωτάτην γυναῖκα ὑποτιθεσθαι πέμπει τινὰς τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ξίφη: οἱ τάχει πολλῷ τὴν μεταξὺ διανύσαντες ὁδὸν ἐγγὺς ὄντα τῆς οἰκίας ἤδη τὸν Τυλλίον καταλαβόντες κατέσφαζαν. ἔτι δὲ νεοσφαγοὺς ἐρριμμένους τοῦ σώματος καὶ σπαίροντος

[3] Having said this, she again entered her carriage and departed. Tarquinius upon this occasion also approved of the advice of his most impious wife, and sent some of his servants against Tullius armed with swords; and they, swiftly covering the interval, overtook Tullius when he was already near his house and slew him. While his body lay freshly slain and quivering where it had been flung, his daughter arrived;

[4] ἡ θυγάτηρ παρῆν. στενοῦ δ' ὄντος πάνυ τοῦ στενωποῦ, δι' οὗ τὴν ἀπήνην ἔδει διελθεῖν, αἱ ἡμίονοι τὸ πτώμα ἰδοῦσαι διεταράχθησαν, καὶ ὁ προηγούμενος αὐτῶν ὀρεοκόμος παθὼν τι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἐλεεινὸν [p. 71] ἐπέστη καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν ἀπέβλεψε. πυνθανομένης δ' ἐκείνης, τι παθὼν οὐκ ἄγει τὸ ζεῦχος: οὐχ ὀρᾷς, εἶπεν, ὦ Τυλλία, τὸν πατέρα σου νεκρὸν κείμενον καὶ ἀροδοῦν οὐκ οὔσαν ἄλλην, εἰ μὴ διὰ

[4] and, the street through which her carriage was obliged to pass being very narrow, the mules became fractious at the sight of the body, and the groom who was leading them, moved by the piteous spectacle, stopped short and looked at his mistress. Upon her asking what possessed him not to lead the team on, he said: "Do you not see your father lying dead, Tullia, and that there is no other way but over his body?"

[5] τοῦ πτώματος; ἡ δ' ἐκπικρανθεῖσα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν τὸ βάθρον ἀρπάσασα βάλλει τὸν ὀρεοκόμον καὶ φησιν: οὐκ ἄξεις, ἀλιτήριε, καὶ διὰ

τοῦ νεκροῦ; κάκεινος ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πληγῇ στενάξας ἄγει βίᾱ τὰς ἡμιόνους κατὰ τοῦ πώματος. οὗτος ὁ στενωπὸς ὄρβιος καλούμενος πρότερον ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ μυσσαροῦ πάθους ἀσεβῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλῶτταν καλεῖται.

[5] This angered her to such a degree that she snatched up the stool from under her feet and hurled it at the groom, saying “Will you not lead on, accursed wretch, even over the body” Thereupon the groom, with lamentations caused more by the shocking deed than by the blow, led the mules forcibly over the body. This street, which before was called Orbian Street, is, from this horrid and detestable incident, called by the Romans in their own language Impious Street, that is, vicus Sceleratus.

[1] τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχε Τύλλιος ἔτη τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχών. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρῶτον τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη καὶ νόμιμα κινῆσαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντα οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, καθάπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μόνου τοῦ δήμου, δεκάσμοις δὲ καὶ δωροδοκίαις καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς κολακείαις ἐκθεραπεύσαντα τοὺς ἀπόρους; καὶ ἔχει τάληθές οὕτως.

[40.1] Such was the death which fell to the lot of Tullius after he had reigned forty-four years. The Romans say that this man was the first who altered ancestral customs and laws by receiving the sovereignty, not from the senate and the people jointly, like all the former kings, but from the people alone, the poorer sort of whom he had won over by bribery and many other ways of courting popular favour; and this is true.

[2] ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, ὅποτε βασιλεὺς ἀποθάνοι, τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίδου τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς βουλῆς, οἷαν προέλοιτο καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν: ἡ δὲ βουλή μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυνεν: ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὸν ἄριστον ἄνδρα, εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἴτ' ἐκ τῶν ξένων, βασιλέα καθίστασαν. εἰ [p. 72] μὲν οὖν ἡ τε βουλή τὸν αἰρεθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεψήφισε καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα ἐπεκύρωσε, παρελάμβανεν οὗτος τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐλλείποντος δὲ τινος τούτων ἕτερον ὠνόμαζον, καὶ τρίτον, εἰ μὴ συμβαίῃ μηδὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ τε παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ

[2] For before this time, upon the death of a king it was the custom for the people to grant to the senate authority to establish such a form of government as they should think fit; and the senate created interreges, who appointed the best man king, whether he was a native Roman or a foreigner. And if the senate approved of the one so chosen and the people by their votes confirmed the choice, and if the auguries also gave their sanction to it, he assumed the sovereignty; but if any one of these formalities was lacking, they named a second, and then a third, if it so happened that the second was likewise not found unobjectionable by both men and gods.

[3] τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀνεπίληπτα. ὁ δὲ Τύλλιος ἐπιτρόπου βασιλικοῦ σχῆμα κατ' ἀρχὰς λαβὼν, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, ἔπειτα φιланθρωπίαις τισὶ τὸν δῆμον οἰκειωσάμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείχθη μόνου. ἐπικικῆς δὲ καὶ μέτριος ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἔλυσε τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πράξει. διαβολὰς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔργοις, παρέσχε τε πολλοῖς ὑπόληψιν ὡς, εἰ μὴ θᾶπτον ἀνηρέθη, μεταστήσων τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν.

[3] Tullius, on the contrary, at first assumed the guise of royal guardian, as I said before, after which he gained the affections of the people by certain ingratiating acts and was appointed king by them alone. But as he proved to be a man of mildness and moderation, by his subsequent actions he put an end to the complaints caused by his not having observed the laws in all respects, and gave occasion for many to believe that, if he had not been made away with too soon, he would have changed the form of government to a democracy.

[4] καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ λέγεται τῶν πατρικίων αὐτῷ τινὰς συνεπιβουλευσαι: ἀδυνάτους δ' ὄντας δι' ἑτέρου τρόπου τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα παραλαβεῖν καὶ συγκατασκευάσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῳ, κακῶσαι τε βουλομένους τὸ δημοτικὸν ἰσχύος οὐ μικρᾶς ἐπειλημμένον ἐκ τῆς Τυλλίου πολιτείας, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀξίωσιν, ἣν πρότερον εἶχον, ἀναλαβεῖν.

[4] And they say it was for this reason chiefly that some of the patricians joined in the conspiracy against him; that, being unable by any other means to overthrow his power, they took Tarquinius as an ally in their undertaking and aided him in gaining the sovereignty, it being their wish not only to weaken the power of the plebeians, which had received no small addition from the political measures of Tullius, but also to recover their own former dignity.

[5] θορύβου δὲ γενομένου πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Τυλλίου θανάτῳ δείσας ὁ Ταρκύνιος, εἰ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὁ νεκρὸς φέροιτο, ὥς ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος, τὸν τε βασιλείον κόσμον ἔχων καὶ τᾶλλ', ὅσα νόμος ἐπὶ ταφαῖς βασιλικαῖς μὴ τις εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὁρμὴ γένηται τοῦ δημοτικοῦ, πρὶν ἢ βεβαίως κρατύνασθαι [p. 73] τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ εἶασε τῶν νομίμων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι: ἀλλ' ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Τυλλίου σὺν ὀλίγοις πισὶ τῶν φίλων, Ταρκυνίου θυγάτηρ οὕσα τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως, νυκτὸς ἐκκομίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως, ὥς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τινός: καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐκείνου δαίμονα κατοδुरαμένη, μυρίας δὲ κατάρας τῷ τε γαμβρῷ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καταρασαμένη κρύπτει γῇ τὸ σῶμα.

[5] The death of Tullius having occasioned a great tumult and lamentation throughout the whole city, Tarquinius was afraid lest, if the body should be carried through the Forum, according to the custom of the Romans, adorned with the royal robes and the other marks of honour usual in royal funerals, some attack might be made against him by the populace before he had firmly established his authority; and accordingly he would not permit any of the usual ceremonies to be performed in his honour. But the wife of Tullius, who was daughter to Tarquinius, the former king, with a few of her friends carried the body out of the city at night as if it had been that of some ordinary person; and after uttering many lamentations over the fate both of herself and of her husband and heaping countless imprecations upon her son-in-law and her daughter, she buried the body in the ground.

[6] ἀπελθοῦσα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος οἴκαδε καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιβίωσασα μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν τῇ κατόπιν νυκτὶ ἀποθνήσκει. τοῦ θανάτου δ' ὁ τρόπος, ὅστις ἦν, ἠγνοεῖτο τοῖς πολλοῖς; ἔλεγον δ' οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὸ ζῆν προεμένην αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν; οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀναιρεθῆναι τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα συμπαθείας τε καὶ εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. ταφῆς μὲν οὖν βασιλικῆς καὶ μνήματος ἐπιφανοῦς διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἔξεγένετο τυχεῖν τῷ Τυλλίου σώματι, μνήμης δ' αἰωνίου τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὑπάρχει τυγχάνειν.

[6] Then, returning home from the sepulchre, she lived but one day after the burial, during the following night. The manner of her death was not generally known. Some said that in her grief she lost all desire to live and died by her own hand; others, that she was put to death by her son-in-law and her daughter because of her compassion and affection for her husband. For the reasons mentioned, then, the body of Tullius could not be given a royal funeral and a stately monument; but his achievements have won lasting remembrance for all time.

[7] ἐδήλωσε δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο δαιμόνιον ἔργον, ὅτι θεοφιλὴς ἦν ἀνὴρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ μυθικὴ καὶ ἄπιστος ὑπόληψις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι πρότερον, ἀληθὴς εἶναι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιστεύθη. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Τύχης, ὃν αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασεν, εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ κειμένη ξυλινὴ κατὰχρυσος ἐμπρήσεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαφθαρέντων μόνῃ διέμεινεν οὐδὲν λωβηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὁ μὲν νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα, [p. 74] ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἔμπρησιν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον κόσμον ἐπετελέσθη φανερά, ὅτι τῆς καινῆς ἐστὶ τέχνης, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν, οἷα πρότερον ἦν, ἀρχαϊκὴ τὴν κατασκευὴν: διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνουσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ περὶ μὲν Τυλλίου τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν.

[7] And it was made clear by another prodigy that this man was dear to the gods; in consequence of which that fabulous and incredible opinion I have already mentioned concerning his birth also came to be regarded by many as true. For in the temple of Fortune which he himself had built there stood a gilded wooden statue of Tullius, and when a conflagration occurred and everything else was destroyed, this statue alone remained uninjured by the flames. And even to this day, although the temple itself and all the objects in it, which were restored to their formed condition after the fire, are obviously the products of modern art, the statue, as aforetime, is of ancient workmanship; for it still remains an object of veneration by the Romans. Concerning Tullius these are all the facts that have been handed down to us.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον παραλαμβάνει Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν οὐ κατὰ νόμους, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κατασχών, κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀγάθαρχος Κερκυραῖος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Θηρικλέους.

[41.1] He was succeeded in the sovereignty over the Romans by Lucius Tarquinius, who obtained it, not in accordance with the laws, but by arms, in the fourth year of the sixty-first Olympiad (the one in which Agatharchus of Corcyra won the foot-race), Thericles being archon at Athens.

[2] οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν μὲν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους, ὑπεριδὼν δὲ τῶν πατρικίων, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν παρήχθη, ἔθη τε καὶ νόμους καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπιχώριον κόσμον, ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ἐκόσμησαν οἱ πρότεροι βασιλεῖς, συγχέας καὶ διαφθείρας εἰς ὁμολογουμένην τυραννίδα μετέστησε τὴν ἀρχήν.

[2] This man, despising not only the populace, but the patricians as well, by whom he had been brought to power, confounded and abolished the customs, the laws, and the whole native form of government, by which the former kings had ordered the commonwealth, and transformed his rule into an avowed tyranny.

[3] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν φυλακὴν κατεστήσατο περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων θρασυτάτων ξίφη καὶ λόγχας φερόντων ἐπιχωρίων τε καὶ ἄλλοδαπῶν, οἱ νυκτὸς τε περὶ τὴν βασιλείον αὐλιζόμενοι αὐλήν καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξιόντι παρακολουθοῦντες, ὅπῃ πορεύοιτο, πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσόντων ἀσφάλειαν παρείχοντο. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐξόδους οὔτε συνεχεῖς οὔτε τεταγμένας, ἀλλὰ σπανίους καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτους ἐποιεῖτο ἐχρηματίζετο τε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν κατ' οἶκον μὲν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων [p. 75]

[3] And first he placed about his person a guard of very daring men, both natives and foreigners, armed with swords and spears, who camped round the palace at night and attended him in the daytime wherever he went, effectually securing him from the attempts of conspirators. Secondly, he did not appear in public often or at stated times, but only rarely and unexpectedly; and he transacted the public business at home, for the most part, and in the presence of none but his most intimate friends, and only occasionally in the Forum.

[4] συμπαρόντων, ὀλίγα δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ. προσελθεῖν δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν βουλομένων ἐπέτρεπεν, εἰ μὴ τινα καλέσειεν αὐτός: οὔτε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν εὐμενῆς οὐδὲ πρῆξις ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ τύραννος, βαρὺς τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ὀργὴν καὶ φοβερὸς μᾶλλον ἢ φαιδρὸς ὀφθῆναι: καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητήτων συμβολαίων κρίσεις οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τρόπους ἀναφέρων ἐποιεῖτο. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπωνυμίαν τίθενται αὐτῷ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Σούπερβον, τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῦν βούλεται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν τὸν ὑπερήφανον. τὸν δὲ πάμπαν αὐτοῦ Πρίσκον ἐκάλουν: ὥς δ' ἡμεῖς ἂν εἴποιμεν, προγενέστερον: ὁμώνυμος γὰρ ἦν τῷ νεωτέρῳ κατ' ἄμφω τὰ ὀνόματα.

[4] To none who sought an audience would he grant it unless he himself had sent for them; and even to those who did gain access to him he was not gracious or mild, but, as is the way with tyrants, harsh and irascible, and his

aspect was terrifying rather than genial. His decisions in controversies relating to contracts he rendered, not with regard to justice and law, but according to his own moods. For these reasons the Romans gave him the surname of Superbus, which in our language means “the haughty”; and his grandfather they called Priscus, or, as we should say, “the elder,” since both his names were the same as those of the younger man.

[1] ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγκρατῶς ἤδη κατέχειν ὑπελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχήν, παρασκευάσας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς πονηροτάτους δι’ ἐκείνων ἦγεν εἰς ἐγκλήματα καὶ θανάτου δίκας πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν: πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρῶς διακειμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, οἷς οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις Τύλλιον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν: ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὓς ὑπελάμβανε βαρεῖαν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ οἷς πολὺς πλοῦτος ἦν.

[42.1] When he thought he was now in secure possession of the sovereignty, he suborned the basest of his friends to bring charges against many of the prominent men and place them on trial for their lives. He began with such as were hostile to him and resented his driving of Tullius from power; and next he accused all those whom he thought to be aggrieved by the change and those who had great riches.

[2] οἱ δ’ ὑπάγοντες αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς δίκας ἄλλους ἐπ’ ἄλλαις ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπιβουλεύειν αἰτιώμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ, κατηγοροῦν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δικαστῇ. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν θάνατον κατεδίκαζε, τῶν δὲ φυγὴν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοὺς τ’ [p. 76] ἀναιρουμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελαυνομένους ἀφαιρούμενος τοῖς μὲν κατηγοροῖς μικράν τινα μοῖραν ἀπέθυεν,

[2] When the accusers brought these men to trial, charging them with various fictitious crimes but chiefly with conspiring against the king, it was by Tarquinius himself, sitting as judge, that the charges were heard. Some of the accused he condemned to death and others to banishment, and seizing the property of both the slain and the exiled, he assigned some small part to the accusers but retained the largest part for himself.

[3] αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλείω κατεῖχεν. ἔμελλον δ’ ἄρα πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν, πρὶν ἀλῶναι τὰς ἐπαγομένας σφίσι δίκας, εἰδότες ὧν ἔνεκεν ἐπεβουλεύοντο, καταλείψειν τῷ τυράννῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐκόντες καὶ πολλῶ πλείονες ἐγένοντο τῶν ἐτέρων. ἦσαν δὲ τινες, οἱ καὶ κρύφα διεφθάρησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατ’ οἰκίας τε καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγρῶν ἀναρπαζόμενοι, λόγου ἄξιοι ἄνδρες, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα 12 ἐφάνη.

[3] The result was therefore bound to be that many influential men, knowing the motives underlying the plots against them, voluntarily, before they could be convicted of the charges brought against them, left the city to the tyrant, and the number of these was much greater than of the others. There were some who were even seized in their homes or in the country and secretly

murdered by him, men of note, and not even their bodies were seen again.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ διέφθειρε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς μέρος θανάτοις τε καὶ ἀειφυγίαις, ἑτέραν βουλήν αὐτὸς κατεστήσατο παραγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τιμὰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἑταίρους. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτοις μέντοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὔτε πράττειν ἐπέτρεπεν οὐδὲν 13 οὔτε λέγειν ὃ τι μὴ κελεύσειεν αὐτός.

[4] After he had destroyed the best part of the senate by death or by exile for life, he constituted another senate himself by working his own followers into the honours of the men who had disappeared; nevertheless, not even these men were permitted by him to do or say anything but what he himself commanded.

[5] ὥσθ' ὅποσοι κατελείφθησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ βουλευταὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τυλλίου καταλεγέντων, διάφοροι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς τέως ὄντες καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ νομίζοντες ἀγαθῷ γενήσεσθαι: τοιαύτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεινεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὑποσχέσεις ἐξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων: τότε μαθόντες, ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἔτι μετεῖχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ἅμα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἀφηρέθησαν, ὠδύροντο μὲν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα [p. 77] τῶν παρόντων δεινότερα ὑπώπτευον, στέργειν δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἠναγκάζοντο δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχοντες κωλύειν τὰ πραττόμενα.

[5] Consequently, when the senators who were left of those who had been enrolled in the senate under Tullius and who had hitherto been at odds with the plebeians and had expected the change in the form of government to turn out to their advantage (for Tarquinius had held out such promises to them with a view of deluding and tricking them) now found that they had no longer any share in the government, but that they too, as well as the plebeians, had been deprived of their freedom of speech, although they lamented their fate and suspected that things would be still more terrible in the future than they were at the moment, yet, having no power to prevent what was going on, they were forced to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs.

[1] ταῦτα δ' ὀρῶντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ δίκαια πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ ἐπέχαιρον ὑπ' εὐθειας, ὡς ἐκείνοις μόνοις τῆς τυραννίδος βαρεῖας ἐσομένης, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀκινδύνου. ἦκε δὲ κάκεινοις οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἔτι πλείω τὰ χαλεπὰ. τοὺς τε γὰρ νόμους τοὺς ὑπὸ Τυλλίου γραφέντας, καθ' οὓς ἐξ ἴσου τὰ δίκαια παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐλάμβανον καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων ὡς πρότερον ἐβλάπτοντο περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια, πάντα ἀνεῖλε: καὶ οὐδὲ τὰς σανίδας, ἐν αῖς ἦσαν γεγραμμένοι, κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς καθαιρεθῆναι κελεύσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διέφθειρεν.

[43.1] The plebeians, seeing this, looked upon them as justly punished and in their simplicity rejoiced at their discomfiture, imagining that the tyranny would be burdensome to the senators alone and would involve no danger to

themselves. Nevertheless, to them also came even more hardships not long afterwards. For the laws drawn up by Tullius, by which they all received justice alike from each other and by which they were secured from being injured by the patricians, as before, in their contracts with them, were all abolished by Tarquinius, who did not leave even the tables on which the laws were written, but ordered these also to be removed from the Forum and destroyed.

[2] ἔπειτα κατέλυσε τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων εἰσφορὰς καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕξ ἀρχῆς τρόπον ἀποκατέστησε: καὶ ὅποτε δεήσειεν αὐτῷ χρημάτων, τὸ ἴσον διάφορον ὁ πενέστατος τῷ πλουσιωτάτῳ κατέφερε. τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα πολὺ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους ἀπανήλωσεν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς εἰσφορᾶς ἀναγκαζομένου κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἑκάστου δραχμὰς δέκα εἰσφέρειν. συνόδους τε συμπάσας, ὅσαι πρότερον ἐγίνοντο κωμητῶν ἢ φρατριαστῶν ἢ γειτόνων ἔν τε τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔφ' ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίας ἅπασι κοινὰς προεῖπε μηκέτι συντελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτό πολλοὶ βουλὰς ἀπορρήτους μετ' ἀλλήλων ποιῶνται περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[2] After this he abolished the taxes based on the census and revived the original form of taxation; and whenever he required money, the poorest citizen contributed the same amount as the richest. This measure ruined a large part of the plebeians, since every man was obliged to pay ten drachmae as his individual share of the very first tax. He also forbade the holding in future of any of the assemblies to which hitherto the inhabitants of the villages, the members of the curiae, or the residents of a neighbourhood, both in the city and in the country, had resorted in order to perform religious ceremonies and sacrifices in common, lest large numbers of people, meeting together, should form secret conspiracies to overthrow his power.

[3] ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ πολλαχῇ διεσπαρμένοι κατόπται [p. 78] τινὲς καὶ διερευνηταὶ τῶν λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων λεληθότες τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἱ συγκαθιέντες εἰς ὁμιλίαν τοῖς πέλας καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου λέγοντες αὐτοί, πείραν τῆς ἑκάστου γνώμης ἐλάβανον: ἔπειθ' οὗς αἰσθοῖντο τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασιν ἄχθομένους κατεμήνυνον πρὸς τὸν τύραννον: αἱ δὲ τιμωρίαι κατὰ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων ἐγίνοντο πικραὶ καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι.

[3] He had spies scattered about in many places who secretly inquired into everything that was said and done, while remaining undiscovered by most persons; and by insinuating themselves into the conversation of their neighbours and sometimes by reviling the tyrant themselves they sounded every man's sentiments. Afterwards they informed the tyrant of all who were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs; and the punishments of those who were found guilty were severe and relentless.

[1] καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα μόνον εἰς τοὺς δημοτικούς αὐτῷ παρανομεῖν, ἀλλ'

ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅσον ἦν πιστὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἰς τὰς πολεμικὰς
χρείας ἐπιτήδειον, τὸ λοιπὸν ἠνάγκασεν ἐργάζεσθαι τὰς κατὰ πόλιν
ἐργασίας, μέγιστον οἰόμενος εἶναι κίνδυνον τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὅταν οἱ
πονηρότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀπορώτατοι σχολὴν ἄγωσι, καὶ ἅμα
προθυμίαν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς τὰ καταλειφθέντα ἡμίεργα ὑπὸ τοῦ
πάππου τελειῶσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐξαγωγίμους τῶν ὕδατων τάφρους, ἃς ἐκεῖνος
ὀρύττειν ἤρξατο, μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταγαγεῖν, τὸν δ' ἀμφιθέατρον
ἱππόδρομον οὐδὲν ἔξω κρηπίδων ἔχοντα παστάσιν ὑποστέγοις περιλαβεῖν:

[44.1] Nor was he satisfied merely with these illegal vexations of the plebeians, but, after selecting from among them such as were loyal to himself and fit for war, he compelled the rest to labour on the public works in the city; for he believed that monarchs are exposed to the greatest danger when the worst and the most needy of the citizens live in idleness, and at the same time he was eager to complete during his own reign the works his grandfather had left half finished, namely, to extend to the river the drainage canals which the other had begun to dig and also to surround the Circus, which had been carried up no higher than the foundations, with covered porticos.

[2] εἰς ταῦτα δὴ πάντες οἱ πένητες εἰργάζοντο οἷτα παρ' αὐτοῦ μέτρια λαμβάνοντες: οἱ μὲν λατομοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὑλοτομοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τὰς κομιζούσας ταῦθ' ἀμάξας ἄγοντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοὶ τὰ ἄχθη φέροντες: μεταλλεῦντές τε τὰς ὑπονόμους [p. 79] σήραγγας ἕτεροι καὶ πλάττοντες τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς καμάρας καὶ τὰς παστάδας ἐγείροντες, καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα πράττουσι χειροτέχναις ὑπηρετοῦντες χαλκοτύποι τε καὶ τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἔργων ἀφεστῶτες ἐπὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις κατεῖχοντο χρεῖαις.

[2] At these undertakings all the poor laboured, receiving from him but a moderate allowance of grain. Some of them were employed in quarrying stone, others in hewing timber, some in driving the wagons that transported these materials, and others in carrying the burdens themselves upon their shoulders, still others in digging the subterranean drains and constructing the arches over them and in erecting the porticos and serving the various artisans who were thus employed; and smiths, carpenters and masons were taken from their private undertakings and kept at work in the service of the public.

[3] περὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἔργα τριβόμενος ὁ λεὼς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐλάμβανεν: ὥσθ' οἱ πατρίκιοι τὰ τούτων κακὰ καὶ τὰς λατρείας ὀρῶντες ἔχαιρόν τ' ἐν μέρει καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπελανθάνοντο ἀλγεινῶν: κωλύειν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτεροι τὰ γινόμενα ἐπεχείρουν.

[3] Thus the people, being worn out by these works, had no rest; so that the patricians, seeing their hardships and servitude, rejoiced in their turn and forgot their own miseries. Yet neither of them attempted to put a stop to these proceedings.

[1] λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ὅτι τοῖς μὴ κατὰ νόμους λαβοῦσι τὰς δυναστείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων κτησαμένοις, οὐ μόνον ἐπιχωρίου δεῖ φυλακῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξενικῆς, τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους καὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάντων δυνάμενον ἐσπούδαζε φίλον ποιήσασθαι τῷ γάμῳ συζεύξας τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ὀκταούιος Μამίλιος, ἀνέφερε δὲ τὸ γένος εἰς Τηλέγονον τὸν ἐξ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Κίρκης, κατῴκει δ' ἐν πόλει Τύσκλῳ, ἐδόκει δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ συνετὸς ἐν ὀλίγοις εἶναι καὶ πολέμους στρατηγεῖν ἱκανός.

[45.1] Tarquinius, considering that those rulers who have not got their power legally but have obtained it by arms require a body-guard, not of natives only, but also of foreigners, earnestly endeavoured to gain the friendship of the most illustrious and most powerful man of the whole Latin nation, by giving his daughter to him in marriage. This man was Octavius Mamilius, who traced his lineage back to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe; he lived in the city of Tusculum and was looked upon as a man of singular sagacity in political matters and a competent military commander.

[2] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ἔχων καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τῶν τὰ κοινὰ πραττόντων προσλαβὼν τὸτ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὑπαθρίων ἐπεχειρεῖ πειρᾶσθαι πολέμων καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους ἐξάγειν οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν ὁμολογιῶν οἰομένους, [p. 80] ἐξ οὗ Τύλλιος ἐτελεύτησε, πρὸς ὃν ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ὁμολογίας.

[2] When Tarquinius had gained the friendship of this man and through him had won over the chief men at the head of affairs in each city, he resolved then at last to try his strength in warfare in the open and to lead an expedition against the Sabines, who refused to obey his orders and looked upon themselves as released from the terms of their treaty upon the death of Tullius, with whom they had made it.

[3] γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπε δι' ἀγγέλων ἥκειν εἰς τὴν ἐν Φερεντίνῳ γινομένην ἀγορὰν τοὺς εἰωθότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων συνεδρεῦειν, ἡμέραν τινὰ ὀρίσας, ὡς περὶ κοινῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτοῖς βουλευσόμενος.

[3] After he had taken this resolution he sent messengers to invite to the council at Ferentinum those who were accustomed to meet together there on behalf of the Latin nation, and appointed a day, intimating that he wished to consult with them concerning some important matters of mutual interest.

[4] οἱ μὲν δὴ παρήσαν, ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος αὐτὸς ὁ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ὑστέρει. ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἐγένετο καθημένοις ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν ὕβρις εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀνὴρ τις ἐν πόλει μὲν οἰκῶν Κορίλλῃ, δυνατὸς δὲ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος πολιτικόν τε λόγον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἄδύνατος,

Τῦρνος Ἐρδώνιος ὄνομα, Μαμιλίῳ τε διάφορος ὢν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ Ταρκυνίῳ διὰ τὸν Μαμίλιον ἀπεχθόμενος, ὅτι κηδεστήν ἐκεῖνον ἡξίωσε λαβεῖν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὴν ἐποίειτο τοῦ Ταρκυνίου κατηγορίαν τ' ἄλλα διεξιὼν ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἷς αὐθάδειά τις ἐδόκει προσεῖναι καὶ βαρύντης, καὶ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτὸν τὸν κεκληκότα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων παρόντων.

[4] The Latins, accordingly, appeared, but Tarquinius, who had summoned them, did not come at the time appointed. They waited for a long time and the majority of them regarded his behaviour as an insult. Among them was a certain man, named Turnus Herdonius, who lived in the city of Corilla and was powerful by reason of both of his riches and of his friends, valiant in war and not without ability in political debate; he was not only at variance with Mamilius, owing to their rivalry for power in the state, but also, on account of Mamilius, an enemy to Tarquinius, because the king had seen fit to take the other for his son-in-law in preference to himself. This man now inveighed at length against Tarquinius, enumerating all the other actions of the man which seemed to shown evidence of arrogance and presumption, and laying particular stress upon his not appearing at the assembly which he himself had summoned, when all the rest were present.

[5] ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ Μαμιλίου καὶ εἰς ἀναγκαιᾶς τινὰς ἀναφέροντος αἰτίας τὸν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου χρονισμόν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τ' ἀξιοῦντος τὸν σύλλογον εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, πεισθέντες οἱ πρόεδροι τῶν Λατίνων ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν βουλὴν.

[5] But Mamilius attempted to excuse Tarquinius, attributing his delay to some unavoidable cause, and asked that the assembly might be adjourned to the next day; and the presiding officers of the Latins were prevailed on to do so.

[1] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ Ταρκύνιος καὶ συναχθέντος τοῦ συλλόγου μικρὰ θ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρονισμοῦ προειπὼν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας εὐθύς ἐποίειτο [p. 81] λόγους ὡς κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης, ἐπειδὴ Ταρκύνιος αὐτὴν κατέσχευεν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ πολέμῳ κτησάμενος, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας παρείχετο τὰς γενομένας ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

[46.1] The next day Tarquinius appeared and, the assembly having been called together, he first excused his delay in a few words and at once entered upon a discussion of the supremacy, which he insisted belonged to him by right, since Tarquinius, his grandfather, had held it, having acquired it by war; and he offered in evidence the treaties made by the various cities with Tarquinius.

[2] πολλὸν δὲ λόγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν διεξελθὼν καὶ μεγάλα τὰς πόλεις εὐεργετήσιν ὑποσχόμενος, ἔαν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ διαμείνωσι, τελευτῶν ἐπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος συστρατεύειν.

[2] After saying a great deal in favour of his claim and concerning the treaties,

and promising to confer great advantages on the cities in case they should continue in their friendship, he at last endeavoured to persuade them to join him in an expedition against the Sabines.

[3] ὥς δ' ἐπαύσατο λέγων, παρελθὼν ὁ Τύρνος ὁ καὶ τὸν ὀψισμὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαλὼν οὐκ εἶα τοὺς συνέδρους παραχωρεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὥς οὔτε κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῶν Λατίνων δοθησομένης· καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων διεξῆλθε λόγους τὰς μὲν συνθήκας, αἷς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντες τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, λελύσθαι λέγων μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον διὰ τὸ μὴ προσγεγράφθαι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι δωρεὰν καὶ τοῖς Ταρκυνίου ἐγγόνιοις, τὸν δ' ἀξιοῦντα τῶν τοῦ πάππου δωρεῶν κληρονομεῖν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων παρανομώτατον ἀποφαίνων καὶ πονηρότατον καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διεξιὼν, αἷς ἐπὶ τῷ

[3] When he had ceased speaking, Turnus, the man who had censured him for his failure to appear in time, came forward and sought to dissuade the council from yielding to him the supremacy, both on the ground that it did not belong to him by right and also because it would not be in the interest of the Latins to yield it to him; and he dwelt long upon both these points. He said that the treaties they had made with the grandfather of Tarquinius, when they granted to him the supremacy, had been terminated after his death, no clause having been added to those treaties providing that the same grant should descend to his posterity; and he showed that the man who claimed the right to inherit the grants made to his grandfather was of all men the most lawless and most wicked, and he recounted the things he had done in order to possess himself of the sovereignty over the Romans.

[4] κατασχεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπετελέσατο. διεξελθὼν δὲ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινὰς κατηγορίας τελευτῶν ἐδίδασκεν, ὥς οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶχε τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ νόμους παρ' ἐκόντων λαβὼν ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, ὅπλοις δὲ καὶ βίᾳ κατισχύσας τυραννικὴν τε μοναρχίαν καταστησάμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖνοι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐξελαύνει τῆς πατρίδος, τῶν δὲ περικόπτοι [p. 82] τὰς οὐσίας, ἀπάντων δ' ἅμα τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιροῖτο: πολλῆς τε μωρίας ἔφη καὶ θεοβλαβείας εἶναι παρὰ πονηροῦ καὶ ἀνοσίου τρόπου χρηστὸν τι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐλπίζειν καὶ νομίζειν, ὥς ὁ τῶν συγγενεστάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων μὴ φεισάμενος τῶν ἄλλοτρίων φείσεται: παρῆναι τε τέως οὔπω τὸν χαλινὸν εἰλήφασι τῆς δουλείας περὶ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν διαμάχεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ἕτεροι πεπόνθασι δεινῶν τεκμαιρομένους, ἃ συμβήσεται παθεῖν αὐτοῖς.

[4] After enumerating many terrible charges against him, he ended by informing them that Tarquinius did not hold even the kingship over the Romans in accordance with the laws by taking it with their consent, like the former kings, but had prevailed by arms and violence; and that, having established a tyranny, he was putting some of the citizens to death, banishing

others, despoiling others of their estates, and taking from all of them their liberty both of speech and of action. He declared it would be an act of great folly and madness to hope for anything good and beneficent from a wicked and impious nature and to imagine that a man who had not spared such as were nearest to him both in blood and friendship would spare those who were strangers to him; and he advised them, as long as they had not yet accepted the yoke of slavery, to fight to the end against accepting it, judging from the misfortunes of others what it would be their own fate to suffer.

[1] τοιαύτῃ καταδρομῇ τοῦ Τύρνου χρησαμένου καὶ τῶν πολλῶν σφόδρα κινηθέντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αἰτησάμενος εἰς ἀπολογία ὁ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν καὶ λαβὼν, ὥς ὁ σύλλογος διελύθη, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους ἐσκόπει μετ' ἐκείνων, τίνα χρηστέον τοῖς πράγμασι τρόπον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἦν αὐτῷ λεκτέον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὑπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς τρόπους, οἷς ἔδει τὸ πλῆθος ἀποθεραπεύειν, ἀπελογίζοντο. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος τούτων μὲν οὐδενὸς ἔφη δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἰδίαν δὲ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο μὴ τὰ κατηγορηθέντα λυεῖν, ἀλλ'

[47.1] After Turnus had thus inveighed against Tarquinius and most of those present had been greatly moved by his words, Tarquinius asked that the following day might be set for his defence. His request was granted, and when the assembly had been dismissed, he summoned his most intimate friends and consulted with them how he ought to handle the situation. These began to suggest to him the arguments he should use in his defence and to run over the means by which he should endeavour to win back the favour of the majority; but Tarquinius himself declared that the situation did not call for any such measures, and gave it as his own opinion that he ought not to attempt to refute the accusations, but rather to destroy the accuser himself.

[2] αὐτὸν τὸν κατηγορήσαντα ἀναιρεῖν. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων συνταξάμενος μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν πράγματι ἐπεχείρησεν ἥκιστα δυναμένῳ πεσεῖν εἰς πρόνοιαν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ φυλακὴν. [p. 83] τῶν γὰρ παρακομιζόντων τὰ θ' ὑποζύγια καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν τοῦ Τύρνου θεραπόντων τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἔξευρὼν καὶ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν ἔπειθεν ὑπὸ νύκτα ξίφη πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντας εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ἀποθέσθαι κρύψαντας ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις.

[2] When all had praised this opinion, he arranged with them the details of the attack and then set about carrying out a plot that was least likely to be foreseen by any man and guarded against. Seeking out the most evil among the servants of Turnus who conducted his pack animals with the baggage and bribing them with money, he persuaded them to take from him a large number of swords at nightfall and put them away in the baggage-chests where they would not be in sight.

[3] τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναχθείσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρελθὼν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν κατηγορηθέντων βραχεῖαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν ἀπολογία καὶ δικαστὴν ἀπάντων ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτὸν τὸν κατηγορον. οὗτοσὶ γάρ, ἔφη, Τύρνος, ὧ σὺνεδροι, τούτων ὧν νυνὶ μου κατηγορεῖ πάντων δικαστῆς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπέλυσέ με, ὅτε τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν γυναῖκα.

[3] The next day, when the assembly had convened, Tarquinius came forward and said that his defence against the accusations was a brief one, and he proposed that his accuser himself should be the judge of all the charges. “For, councillors,” he said, “Turnus here, as a judge, himself acquitted me of everything of which he now accuses me, when he desired my daughter in marriage.

[4] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηξιώθη τῶν γάμων κατὰ τὸ εἶκος· τίς γὰρ ἂν τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων Μάμιλιον τὸν εὐγενέστατον τε καὶ κράτιστον Λατίνων ἀπεώσατο, τοῦτον δὲ κηδεστὴν ἡξίωσε λαβεῖν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰς τρίτον πάππον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔχει τὸ γένος; ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ νῦν ἤκει μου κατηγορῶν. ἔδει δ' αὐτὸν, εἰ μὲν ἦδει με τοιοῦτον ὄντα, οἷον νῦν αἰτιᾶται, μὴ προθυμεῖσθαι λαβεῖν τότε πενθερόν· εἰ δὲ χρηστὸν ἐνόμιζεν, ὅτε τὴν θυγατέρα με ἤτεῖτο, μηδὲ νῦν ὡς πονηροῦ κατηγορεῖν.

[4] But since he was thought unworthy of the marriage, as was but natural (for who in his senses would have refused Mamilius, the man of highest birth and greatest merit among the Latins, and consented to take for his son-in-law this man who cannot trace his family back even five generations?), in resentment for this slight he has now come to accuse me. Whereas, if he knew me to be such a man as he now charges, he ought not to have desired me then for a father-in-law; and if he thought me a good man when he asked me for my daughter in marriage, he ought not now to traduce me as a wicked man.

[5] καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ τοσαῦτα λέγω· ὑμῖν δ', ὧ σὺνεδροι, κινδύνων τὸν μέγιστον τρέχουσιν οὐ περὶ ἐμοῦ σκεπτέον ἐστὶ νυνὶ, πότερα χρηστὸς ἢ πονηρὸς εἰμι· τουτὶ γὰρ ἐξέσται καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σκοπεῖν· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρίδων ἐλευθερίας. ἐπιβουλεύεσθε [p. 84] γὰρ οἱ κορυφαίωτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου δημαγωγοῦ, ὃς παρεσκεύασται τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνας ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ Λατίνων ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ'

[5] So much concerning myself. As for you, councillors, who are running the greatest of dangers, it is not for you to consider now whether I am a good or a bad man (for this you may inquire into afterwards) but to provide both for your own safety and for the liberty of your respective cities. For a plot is being formed by this fine demagogue against you who are the chief men of your cities and are at the head of affairs; and he is prepared, after he has put the most prominent of you to death, to attempt to seize the sovereignty over

the Latins, and has come here for that purpose.

[6] 14 ἡκει. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος λέγω μηνύσεώς μοι γενομένης ἐν τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν μετεσχηκότων τῆς συνωμοσίας. τεκμήριον δ' ὑμῖν παρέξομαι τῶν λόγων ἔργον ἀναμφίλεκτον, ἐὰν ἐθελήσητε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν αὐτοῦ, τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν αὐτῇ δειξάς ὅπλα.

[6] I do not say this from conjecture but from my certain knowledge, having last night received information of it from one of the accomplices in the conspiracy. And I will give you an incontestible proof of what I say, if you will go to his lodging, by showing you the arms that are concealed there."

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνεβόησάν τε πάντες καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι δεδιότες ἐλέγχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἡξιοῦν. καὶ ὁ Τῦρνος, οἷα δὴ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν οὐ προεγνωκώς, ἄσμενος τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἔφη δέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προέδρους ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς καταλύσεως ἐκάλει καὶ δεῖν γενέσθαι θάτερον ἔφη δεῖν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐὰν εὕρεθῃ παρεσκευασμένος ὅπλα ἔξω τῶν ἐνοδίων, ἢ τὸν καταφευσάμενον αὐτοῦ

[48.1] After he had thus spoken they all cried out, and fearing for the men's safety, demanded that he prove the matter and not impose upon them. And Turnus, since he was unaware of the treachery, cheerfully offered to submit to the investigation and invited the presiding officers to search his lodging, saying that one of two things ought to come of it — either that he himself should be put to death, if he were found to have provided more arms than were necessary for his journey, or that the person who had accused him falsely should be punished.

[2] δίκην ὑποσχεῖν. ἐδόκει ταῦτα: καὶ οἱ πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις τὰ κατακρυφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ξίφη. μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Τῦρνον οὐκέτι λόγου τυχεῖν ἔασαντες εἰς βάραθρόν τι καταβάλλουσι καὶ ἐπικατασκάφαντες ἔτι ζῶντος τὴν γῆν διαφθεῖρουσι παραχρῆμα.

[2] This offer was accepted; and those who went to his lodging found the swords which had been hidden in the baggage-chests by the servants. After this they would not permit Turnus to say anything more in his defence, but cast him into a pit and promptly dispatched him by burying him alive.

[3] 15 τὸν δὲ Ταρκύνιον ἐπαινέσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὥς κοινὸν εὐεργέτην τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῷ σεσωκέναι τοὺς [p. 85] ἀρίστους ἄνδρας, ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς δίκαις, ἐφ' οἷς Ταρκύνιον τε τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐποίησαντο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Τύλλιον: συνθήκας τε γράφαντες ἐν στήλαις καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς τῶν συγκειμένων ὄρκια τεμόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον.

[3] As for Tarquinius, they praised him in the assembly as the common benefactor of all their cities for having saved the lives of their chief citizens, and they appointed him leader of their nation upon the same terms as they had appointed Tarquinius, his grandfather, and, after him, Tullius; and having engraved the treaty on pillars and confirmed it by oaths, they dismissed the assembly.

[1] τυχὼν δὲ τῆς Λατίνων ἡγεμονίας ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπρεσβεύσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἑρνίκων πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς Οὐολούσκων προκαλούμενος κἀκείνους εἰς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν. Ἑρνικες μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐψηφίσαντο ποιεῖν τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους δύο πόλεις ἐδέξαντο μόναι τὰς προκλήσεις, Ἐχेत्रανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀντιᾶται. τοῦ δὲ μένειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰ συγκείμενα ταῖς πόλεσι πρόνοιαν ὁ Ταρκύνιος λαμβάνων ἱερὸν ἔγνω κοινὸν ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λατίνων καὶ Ἑρνίκων καὶ Οὐολούσκων τῶν ἐγγραφαμένων εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἵνα συνερχόμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον πανηγυρίζωσι καὶ συνεσιῶνται καὶ κοινῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαμβάνωσιν.

[49.1] After Tarquinius had obtained the supremacy over the Latins, he sent ambassadors to the cities of the Hernicans and to those of the Volscians to invite them also to enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with him. The Hernicans unanimously voted in favour of the alliance, but of the Volscians only two cities, Ecetra and Antium, accepted the invitation. And as a means of providing that the treaties made with those cities might endure forever, Tarquinius resolved to designate a temple for the joint use of the Romans, the Latins, the Hernicans and such of the Volscians as had entered into the alliance, in order that, coming together each year at the appointed place, they might celebrate a general festival, feast together and share in common sacrifices.

[2] ἀγαπητῶς δὲ πάντων τὸ πρᾶγμα δεξαμένων τόπον μὲν ἀπέδειξεν, ἔνθα ποιήσονται τὴν σύνοδον ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν κείμενον ὄρος ὕψηλόν, ὃ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν ὑπέρεκειται πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ πανηγύρεις τ' ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄγεσθαι καὶ ἐκ χειρίας εἶναι πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας ἐνομοθέτησε θυσίας τε συντελεῖσθαι κοινὰς τῷ καλουμένῳ Λατιαρῷ Διὶ καὶ συνεσιᾶσεις, τάχας ἃ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰς τὰ [p. 86] ἱερά, καὶ μοῖραν, ἣν ἐκάστην δεήσει λαμβάνειν. αἱ δὲ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς ἐορτῆς τε καὶ τῆς θυσίας πόλεις τριῶν δέουσαι πεντήκοντα ἐγένοντο.

[2] This proposal being cheerfully accepted by all of them, he appointed for their place of assembly a high mountain situated almost at the centre of these nations and commanding the city of the Albans; and he made a law that upon this mountain an annual festival should be celebrated, during which they should all abstain from acts of hostility against any of the others and should perform common sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris, as he is called, and feast together, and he appointed the share each city was to contribute towards these

sacrifices and the portion each of them was to receive. The cities that shared in this festival and sacrifice were forty-seven.

[3] ταύτας τὰς ἑορτάς τε καὶ τὰς θυσίας μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ἐπιτελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λατίνας καλοῦντες, καὶ φέρουσιν εἰς αὐτάς αἱ μετέχουσαι τῶν ἱερῶν πόλεις αἱ μὲν ἄρνας, αἱ δὲ τυρούς, αἱ δὲ γάλακτός τι μέτρον, αἱ δὲ ὅμοιόν τι τοῦτοις πελάνου γένος· ἐνὸς δὲ ταύρου κοινῶς ὑπὸ πασῶν θυομένου μέρος ἐκάστη τὸ τεταγμένον λαμβάνει. θύουσι δ' ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

[3] These festivals and sacrifices the Romans celebrate to this day, calling them the “Latin Festivals”; and some of the cities that take part in them bring lambs, some cheeses, others a certain measure of milk, and others something of like nature. And one bull is sacrificed in common by all of them, each city receiving its appointed share of the meat. The sacrifices they offer are on behalf of all and the Romans have the superintendence of them.

[1] ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύταις ἐκρατύνατο τὴν ἀρχὴν ταῖς συμμαχίαις, στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους ἔγνω Ῥωμαίων τ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξας οὓς ἥκιστα ὑπώπτευν, εἰ κύριοι τῶν ὅπλων γένοιτο, ἐλευθερίας μεταποιήσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφιγμένην δύναμιν προσλαβὼν πολλῷ πλεονα τῆς πολιτικῆς ὑπάρχουσιν.

[50.1] When he had strengthened his power by these alliances also, he resolved to lead an army against the Sabines, choosing such of the Romans as he least suspected of being apt to assert their liberty if they became possessed of arms, and adding to them the auxiliary forces that had come from his allies, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans.

[2] δηώσας δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωρήσαντας μάχῃ νικήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Πωμεντίνους ἤγε τὴν δύναμιν, οἳ πόλιν μὲν Σύεσσαν ὥκουν, εὐδαιμονέστατοι δ' ἐδόκουν ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν εὐτυχίαν ἅπανι λυπηροὶ καὶ βαρεῖς, ἐγκαλῶν αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγὰς τινὰς καὶ ληστείας, ὑπὲρ [p. 87] ὧν αἰτούμενοι δίκας αὐθάδεις ἔδωκαν ἀποκρίσεις. οἳ δ' ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι προσδεχόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

[2] And having laid waste the enemy's country and defeated in battle those who came to close quarters with him, he led his forces against the people called the Pometini, who lived in the city of Suessa and had the reputation of both more prosperous than any of their neighbours and, because of their great good fortune, of being troublesome and oppressive to them all. He accused them of certain acts of brigandage and robbery and of giving haughty answers when asked for satisfaction therefor. But they were expecting war and were ready and in arms.

[3] συνάψας δ' αὐτοῖς μάχην περὶ τὰ μεθόρια καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνας,

τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος καὶ κατακλείσας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ὥς οὐκέτι προήεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, παραστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπετάφρευέ τε καὶ περιχαράκου καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο τοῖς τεῖχεσι συνεχεῖς, οἱ δ' ἔνδον τέως μὲν ἀπεμάχοντο καὶ πολὺν ἀντέσχον τῇ τάλαιπωρίᾳ χρόνον: ὥς δ' ὑπέλειπεν αὐτοὺς τὰπιτῆδεια, ἐξασθενοῦντες τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐτ' ἐπικουρίαν οὐδεμίαν προσλαβόντες οὐδ' ἀναπαύσεως τυγχάνοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοὶ τάλαιπωροῦντες ἀλίσκονται κατὰ κράτος.

[3] Tarquinius engaged them in battle upon the frontiers, and after killing many of them and putting the rest to flight, he shut them up within their walls; and when they no longer ventured out of the city, he encamped near by, and surrounding it with a ditch and palisades, made continuous assaults upon the walls. The inhabitants defended themselves and withstood the hardships of the siege for a considerable time; but when their provisions began to fail and their strength was spent, since they neither received any assistance nor even obtained any respite, but the same men had to toil both night and day, they were taken by storm.

[4] γενόμενος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διέφθειρε, γυναῖκας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων πλῆθος οὐδ' ἀριθμηθῆναι ῥάδιον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψεν ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν τ' ἄλλην κτῆσιν τῆς πόλεως ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, εἴ τις ἐπιτύχοι, τὴν τ' ἐντὸς τείχους καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐφῆκεν: ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσόν, ὅσος εὐρέθη, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἓν χωρίον καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος εἰς κατασκευὴν ἱεροῦ τὰ

[4] Tarquinius, being now master of the city, put to death all he found in arms and permitted the soldiers to carry off the women and children and such others as allowed themselves to be made prisoners, together with a multitude of slaves not easy to be numbered; and he also gave them leave to carry away all the plunder of the city that they found both inside the walls and in the country. As to the silver and gold that was found there, he ordered it all to be brought to one place, and having reserved a tenth part of it to build a temple, he distributed the rest among the soldiers.

[5] λοιπὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις διεῖλεν. οὕτω δ' ἄρα πολλὺς ὁ καταληφθεὶς ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἦν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον πέντε μνᾶς ἀργυρίου [p. 88] λαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς δεκατευχθὲν ἀργῦριον τετρακοσίων οὐ μῆλον γενέσθαι τάλαντων.

[5] The quantity of silver and gold taken upon this occasion was so considerable that every one of the soldiers received for his share five minae of silver, and the tenth part reserved for the gods amounted to no less than four hundred talents.

[1] ἔτι δ' ἐν τῇ Συνέσσει διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ παρῆν τις ἀγγέλλων, ὅτι Σαβίνων

ἡ κρατίστη νεότης ἐξελήλυθε καὶ δυσὶ μεγάλοις στρατεύμασιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλοῦσα λεηλατεῖ τοὺς ἀγρούς, ἡ μὲν Ἡρήτου πλησίον θεμένη τὸν χάρακα, ἡ δὲ περὶ Φιδήνην: καὶ εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς δύναιμις ἐναντιωθήσεται, πάντα οἰχθήσεται τάκεϊ.

[51.1] While he was still tarrying at Suessa a messenger brought the news that the flower of the Sabine youth had set out and made an irruption into the territory of the Romans in two large armies and were laying waste the country, one of them being encamped near Eretum and the other near Fidenae, and that unless a strong force should oppose them everything there would be lost.

[2] ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν, ἐν μὲν τῇ Συέσση βραχὺ τι καταλείπει μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ τε λάφυρα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν φυλάττειν παρακελευσάμενος, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν εὖζωνον ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Ἡρήτῳ κατεστρατοπεδευκότας καὶ τίθεται τὸν χάρακα μετέωρον ὀλίγον τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον καταλιπὼν. δόξαν δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν Σαβίνων μάχην ἔωθεν τίθεσθαι μεταπεμφαμένοις τὸ ἐν Φιδήνῃ στράτευμα, μαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὁ Ταρκύνιος: ἕαλω γὰρ ὁ τὰ γράμματα κομίζων παρὰ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ: σοφία πρὸς τὸ συμβᾶν ἀπὸ τύχης ἐχρήσατο τοιᾷδε.

[2] When Tarquinius heard this he left a small part of his army at Suessa, ordering them to guard the spoils and the baggage, and leading the rest of his forces in light marching order against that body of the Sabines which was encamped near Eretum, he pitched camp upon an eminence within a short distance of the enemy. And the generals of the Sabines having resolved to send for the army that was at Fidenae and to give battle at daybreak, Tarquinius learned of their intention (for the bearer of the letter from these generals to the others had been captured) and availed himself of this fortunate incident by employing the following stratagem:

[3] 16 νεῖμας τὴν δύναμιν διχῇ τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὑπὸ νύκτα πέμπει λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὴν φέρουσαν ἀπὸ Φιδήνης ὁδόν, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἅμα τῷ λαμπρᾷ ἡμέραν γενέσθαι συντάξας προῆγεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ὡς εἰς μάχην: καὶ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τεθαρρηκότες ἀντεπεξήρσαν τοὺς τε πολεμίους οὐ πολλοὺς ὀρῶντες καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν [p. 89] δύναμιν τὴν ἀπὸ Φιδήνης ὅσον οὕτω παρέσεσθαι νομίζοντες. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἦν ἰσόρροπος αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ ἀγών: οἱ δὲ προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου νύκτωρ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ νῶτον τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπῆρσαν.

[3] He divided his army into two bodies and sent one of them in the night without the enemy's knowledge to occupy the road that led from Fidenae; and drawing up the other division as soon as it was fully day, he marched out of his camp as if to give battle. The Sabines, seeing the small number of the

enemy and believing that their other army from Fidenae would come up at any moment, boldly marched out against them. These armies, therefore, engaged and the battle was for a long time doubtful; then the troops which had been sent out in advance by Tarquinius during the night turned back in their march and prepared to attack the Sabines in the rear.

[4] τούτους ἰδόντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ γνωρίσαντες ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων ἐξέστησαν τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἐπειρῶντο σώζειν ἑαυτούς. ἦν δ' ἄπορος ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς πολλοῖς περιεχομένοις κύκλῳ ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ ἵππος ἐπικειμένη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς ἀπέκλειεν: ὥστ' ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔφθισαν τὰ δεινὰ ὑπεκδύντες, οἱ δὲ πλείους κατεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ἀντέσχον δ' οὐδ' οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα ἐάλω τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ: ἔνθα σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις τῶν Σαβίνων χρήμασι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα σὺν πολλοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἔτι ἀκέραια ὄντα τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσιν ἀνεσώθη.

[4] The Sabines, upon seeing them and recognizing them by their arms and their standards, were upset in their calculations, and throwing away their arms, sought to save themselves by flight. But escape was impossible for most of them, surrounded as they were by enemies, and the Roman horse, pressing upon them from all sides, hemmed them in; so that only a few were prompt enough to escape disaster, but the greater part were either cut down by the enemy or surrendered. Nor was there any resistance made even by those who were left in the camp, but this was taken at the first onset; and there, besides the Sabines' own effects, all the possessions that had been stolen from the Romans, together with many captives, were recovered still uninjured and were restored to those who had lost them.

[1] ὥς δ' ἡ πρώτη πεῖρα τῷ Ταρκυνίῳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ ἐστρατοπεδευκotas τῶν Σαβίνων, οἷς οὐπω δῆλος ἦν ὁ τῶν σφετέρων ὄλεθος. ἔτυχον δὲ κάκεῖνοι προεξεληλυθότες ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ ἤδη ὄντες ἐν ὁδῷ: ὥς δὴ πλησίον ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ δορατίων ἀναπεπηγυίας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν σφετέρων ἡγεμόνων: [p. 90] προὔτεινον γὰρ αὐτὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταπλήξεως τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκα: μαθόντες, ὅτι διέφθαρται τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν στράτευμα, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀπεδειξαντο γενναῖον ἔργον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις τραπόμενοι παρέδωκαν 17 ἑαυτούς.

[52.1] After Tarquinius had succeeded in his first attempt he marched with his forces against the rest of the Sabines who were encamped near Fidenae and were not yet aware of the destruction of their companions. It happened that these also had set out from their camp and were already on the march when, coming near to the Roman army, they saw the heads of their commanders fixed upon pikes (for the Romans held them forward in order to strike the enemy with terror), and learning thus that their other army had been destroyed, they no longer performed any deed of bravery, but turning to

supplications and entreaties, they surrendered.

[2] οὕτω δ' αἰσχροῦς καὶ κακῶς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναρπασθέντων εἰς στενὰς ἐλπίδας οἱ Σαβῖνοι κατακεκλεισμένοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ ἔξ ἐφόδου καταληφθῶσι, δεδιότες ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διεπρεσβέοντο παραδιδόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ταρκυνίου καὶ φόρου τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖς. σπεισάμενος δὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαις παραλαβὼν τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ Σύεσσαν ὤχετο. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τὴν τε καταλειφθεῖσαν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς 18 Ῥώμην ἀπῆει πλουτούσαν τὴν στρατιάν ἀπάγων.

[2] The Sabines, having had both their armies snatched away in so shameful and disgraceful a manner, were reduced to slender hopes, and fearing that their cities would be taken by assault, they sent ambassadors to treat for peace, offering to surrender, become subjects of Tarquinius, and pay tribute for the future. He accordingly made peace with them and received the submission of their cities upon the same terms, and then returned to Suessa. Thence he marched with the forces he had left there, the spoils he had taken, and the rest of his baggage, to Rome, bringing back his army loaded with riches.

[3] ἐποίησατο δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων χώραν τοτὲ μὲν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει, τότε δὲ μέρει τινί, καὶ λείας πολλῆς ἐγένετο κύριος. ἦδη δὲ τῶν πλείστων αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν χωρούντων πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν ὁμόρων ἀνέστη χρόνῳ τε μακρός· ἔτη γὰρ ἑπτὰ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη· καὶ παθήμασι χαλεποῖς καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοις μέγας. ἀφ' ὧν δ' αἰτιῶν ἦρξατο καὶ [p. 91] τελευτῆς ὁποίας ἔτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ δολίῳ τ' ἀπάτῃ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ παραδόξῳ κατειργάσθη, δι' ὀλίγων ἐρῶ.

[3] After that he also made many incursions into the country of the Volscians, sometimes with his whole army and sometimes with part of it, and captured much booty. But when now most of his undertakings were succeeding according to his wish, a war broke out on the part of his neighbours which proved not only of long duration (for it lasted seven years without intermission) but also important because of the severe and unexpected misfortunes with which it was attended. I will relate briefly from what causes it sprang and how it ended, since it was brought to a conclusion by a clever ruse and a novel stratagem.

[1] πόλις ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων γένους Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίου ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς Πραίνεστον φεροῦσης ὁδοῦ κειμένη· Γαβίους αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν· νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα, πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν διόδον, τότε δὲ πολυάνθρωπος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη καὶ μεγάλη. τεκμήριαιτο δ' ἂν τις αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐρείπια θεασάμενος οἰκίων πολλαχῇ καὶ τείχους κύκλον,

[53.1] There was a city of the Latins, which had been founded by the Albans, distant one hundred stades from Rome and standing upon the road that leads to Praeneste. The name of this city was Gabii. To-day not all parts of it are still inhabited, but only those that lie next the highway and are given up to inns; but at that time it was as large and populous as any city. One may judge both of its extent and importance by observing the ruins of the buildings in many places and the circuit of the wall, most parts of which are still standing.

[2] ἔτι γὰρ ἔσθηκεν αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα. εἰς ταύτην συνερρύσαν Πωμεντίνων τε τῶν ἐκ Συέσσης διαφυγόντων τινές, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Ταρκύνιος κατελάβετο, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάντων συχνοί: οὗτοι δεόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες τιμωρῆσαι σφισι τοὺς Γαβίους καὶ πολλὰς ὑπισχνούμενοι δωρεάς, εἰ κατέλθοιεν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα, τὴν τε κατάλυσιν τοῦ τυράννου δυνατὴν ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ ῥαδίαν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συλληφισμένων, ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς συμπροθυμηθέντων καὶ Οὐολούσκων: ἔπρεσβεύσαντο γὰρ κάκεῖνοι δεόμενοι συμμαχίας: τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν.

[2] To this city had flocked some of the Pometini who had escaped from Suessa when Tarquinius took their town and many of the banished Romans. These, by begging and imploring the Gabini to avenge the injuries they had received and by promising great rewards if they should be restored to their own possessions, and also by showing the overthrow of the tyrant to be not only possible but easy, since the people in Rome too would aid them, prevailed upon them, with the encouragement of the Volscians (for these also had sent ambassadors to them and desired their alliance) to make war upon Tarquinius.

[3] ἐγίνοντο δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοις στρατεύμασιν εἰς τὴν ἀλλήλων γῆν εἰσβολαὶ καὶ καταδρομαὶ μάχαι τε, ὅπερ εἰκός, τοτὲ μὲν ὀλίγοις πρὸς ὀλίγους, τοτὲ δὲ πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας, ἐν αἷς πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Γάβιοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τρεφάμενοι μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν [p. 92] καὶ πολλοὺς καταβαλόντες ἀδεῶς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, πολλάκις δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Γαβίους ὠσάμενοι καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνδράποδα καὶ λείαν αὐτῶν πολλὴν ἀπῆγον.

[3] After this both the Gabini and the Romans made incursions into and laid waste one another's territories with large armies and, as was to be expected, engaged in battles, now with small numbers on each side and now with all their forces. In these actions the Gabini often put the Romans to flight and pursuing them up to their walls, slew many and ravaged their country with impunity; and often the Romans drove the Gabini back and shutting them up within their city, carried off their slaves together with much booty.

[1] συνεχῶς δὲ τούτων γινομένων ἡναγκάζοντο ἀμφοτέρω τῆς χώρας ὅσα ἦν ἔρυμνὰ τειχίζοντες φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς καθιστάναι καταφυγῆς τῶν γεωργῶν ἕνεκα: ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὰ τε ληστήρια, καὶ εἴ τι ἀποσπασθὲν ἴδοιεν μέρος

ὀλίγον ἀπὸ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν προνομαῖς ἀσύντακτον διὰ καταφρόνησιν, κατιόντες ἄθροοι διέφθειρον: καὶ τῶν πόλεων ὅσα ἦν ἐπιμαχα καὶ ῥάδια ληφθῆναι διὰ κλιμάκων ἐξοικοδομεῖν τε καὶ ἀποταφρεῦν δεδοικότες τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἀλλήλων ἐφόδους.

[54.1] As these things happened continually, both of them were obliged to fortify the strongholds in their territories and to garrison them so that they might serve as places of refuge for the husbandmen; and sallying out from these strongholds in a body, they would fall upon and destroy bands of robbers and any small groups they might discover that had been detached from a large army and, as would naturally be expected in forages, were observing no order, through contempt of the enemy. And they both were obliged in their fear of the sudden assaults of the other to raise the walls and dig ditches around those parts of their cities that were vulnerable and could easily be taken by means of scaling-ladders.

[2] μᾶλλον δ' ὁ Ταρκύνιος περὶ ταῦτ' ἐνεργὸς ἦν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαβίους φέροντα τοῦ περιβόλου διὰ πολυχειρίας ἐξωχυροῦτο τάφρον ὀρυξάμενος εὐρυτέραν καὶ τεῖχος ἐγείρας ὑψηλότερον καὶ πύργοις διαλαβὼν τὸ χωρίον πυκνοτέροις: κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐδόκει μάλιστα τὸ μέρος ἢ πόλις ἀνώχυρος εἶναι, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον περίβολον ἀσφαλῆς ἐπεικῶς οὔσα καὶ δυσπρόσιτος.

[2] Tarquinius was particularly active in taking these precautions and employed a large number of workmen in strengthening those parts of the city walls that looked toward Gabii by widening the ditch, raising the walls, and placing the towers at shorter intervals; for on this side the city seemed to be the weakest, the rest of the circuit being tolerably secure and difficult of approach.

[3] ἔμελλε δ', ὃ πάσαις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς μακροῖς πολέμοις δηουμένης διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσβολὰς τῆς γῆς καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκφερούσης, [p. 93] σπάνις ἀπάσης τροφῆς ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἔσσεσθαι καὶ δεινὴ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀθυμία: κάκιον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπέεζεν ἢ τοὺς Γαβίους ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔνδεια, καὶ οἱ πενέστατοι αὐτῶν μάλιστα κάμνοντες ὁμολογίας ὥοντο δεῖν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Γαβίους καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ἐκέينوι θέλωσι διαλύσασθαι.

[3] But, as is apt to happen to all cities in the course of long wars, when the country is laid waste by the continual incursions of the enemy and no longer produces its fruits, both were bound to experience a dearth of all provisions and to feel terrible discouragement regarding the future; but the want of necessaries was felt more keenly by the Romans than by the Gabini and the poorest among them, who suffered most, thought a treaty ought to be made with the enemy and an end put to the war upon any terms they might grant.

[1] ἄδημονοῦντος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τοῦ Ταρκυνίου καὶ οὐτε διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αἰσχυρῶς ὑπομένοντος οὐτ' ἀντέχειν ἔτι δυναμένου, πάσας δὲ πείρας ἐπιτεχνωμένου καὶ δόλους παντοδαποὺς συντιθέντος, ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν Σέξτος ὄνομα κοινωσάμενος τὴν γνώμην τῷ πατρὶ μόνῳ καὶ δόξας τολμηρῷ μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι καὶ μέγαν ἔχοντι κίνδυνον, οὐ μὴν ἀδυνάτῳ γε, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς ποιεῖν ὅσα βούλεται, σκήπτεται διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου:

[55.1] While Tarquinius was dismayed at the situation and neither willing to end the war upon dishonourable terms nor able to headland out any longer, but was contriving all sorts of schemes and devising ruses of every kind, the eldest of his sons, Sextus by name, privately communicated to him his own plan; and when Tarquinius, who thought the enterprise bold and full of danger, yet not impossible after all, had given him leave to act as he thought fit, he pretended to be at odds with his father about putting an end to the war.

[2] μαστιγωθείς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥάβδοις ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ τᾶλλα περιυβρισθεὶς, ὥστε περιβόητον γενέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἔπεμπεν ὡς αὐτομόλους φράσοντας τοῖς Γαβίοις δι' ἀπορρήτων, ὅτι πολεμεῖν τῷ πατρὶ διεγνώκεν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀφικόμενος, εἰ λάβοι πίστεις, ὅτι φυλάξουσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάδας καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσουσι τῷ πατρὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ

[2] Then, after being scourged with rods in the Forum by his father's order and receiving other indignities, so that the affair became noised abroad, he first sent some of his most intimate friends as deserters to inform the Gabini secretly that he had resolved to betake himself to them and make war against his father, provided he should receive pledges that they would protect him as well as the rest of the Roman fugitives and not deliver him up to his father in the hope of settling their private enmities to their own advantage.

[3] σφετέρῳ συμφέροντι διαλύσεσθαι. ἀσμένως δὲ τῶν Γαβίων τὸν λόγον ἀκουσάντων καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομήσειν διομολογησάμενων παρῆν ἑταίρους τε [p. 94] πολλοὺς καὶ πελάτας ἐπαγόμενος ὡς αὐτόμολος καὶ ἵνα δὴ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πιστεύσειαν ἀληθεύειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπόστασιν, ἀργύριόν τε καὶ χρυσίον πολὺ κομίζων: ἐπισυνέρρεόν τ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως φεύγειν τὴν τυραννίδα σκηπτόμενοι,

[3] When the Gabini listened to this proposal gladly and agreed not to do him any wrong, he went over to them as a deserter, taking with him many of his friends and clients, and also, in order to increase their belief in the genuineness of his revolt from his father, carrying along a great deal of silver and gold. And many flocked to him afterwards from Rome, pretending to flee from the tyranny of Tarquinius, so that he now had a strong body of men about him.

[4] καὶ χεῖρ ἤδη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν καρτερὰ. δόξαντες δ' οἱ Γάβιοι μέγα προσγεγονέναι σφίσι πλεονέκτημα πολλῶν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀφικομένων καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑποχείριον ἔξειν ἐλπίσαντες καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξαπατηθέντες ὑφ' ὧν ἔπραττεν ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποστάτης συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξιὼν καὶ πολλὰς περιβαλλόμενος ὠφελείας· παρεσκεύασε γὰρ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ προειδὼς εἰς οὓς παρέσται τόπους, τὴν τε λείαν ἄφθονον καὶ τὰ χωρία ἀφύλακτα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἔπεμπε, ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὓς ἐν ὑποψίαις εἶχεν· ἐξ ἀπάντων τε τούτων δόξαντες φίλον τε πιστὸν εἶναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ στρατηλάτην ἀγαθόν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεκασθέντες, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παράγουσιν ἀρχήν.

[4] The Gabini looked upon the large numbers who came over to them as a great accession of strength and made no doubt of reducing Rome in a short time. Their delusion was further increased by the actions of this rebellious son, who continually made incursions into his father's territory and captured much booty; for his father, knowing beforehand what parts he would visit, took care that there should be plenty of plunder there and that the places should be unguarded, and he kept sending men to be destroyed by his son, selecting from among the citizens those whom he held in suspicion. In consequence of all this the Gabini, believing the man to be their loyal friend and an excellent general — and many of them had also been bribed by him — promoted him to the supreme command.

[1] τοσαύτης δὴ γενόμενος ἐξουσίας ὁ Σέξτος κύριος δι' ἀπάτης καὶ φρενακισμοῦ τῶν θεραπόντων τινὰ λαθῶν τοὺς Γαβίους πέμπει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὴν τ' ἐξουσίαν, ἣν εἰληφὼς ἦν, δηλώσοντα καὶ πειυσόμενον,

[56.1] After Sextus had obtained so great power by deception and trickery, he sent one of his servants to his father, without the knowledge of the Gabini, both to inform him of the power he had gained and to inquire what he should now do.

[2] τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος οὐδὲ τὸν θεράποντα γινώσκειν βουλόμενος, ἃ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευσε [p. 95] ποιεῖν, ἄγων τὸν ἄγγελον προῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις κῆπον· ἔτυχον δὲ μήκωνες ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκυῖαι πλήρεις ἤδη τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ συγκομιδῆς ὥραν ἔχουσαι· διεξιὼν δὴ διὰ τούτων τῆς ὑπερεχούσης ἀεὶ μήκωνος τῷ σκῆπῳ παίων τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπήραττε.

[2] Tarquinius, who did not wish even the servant to learn the instructions that he sent his son, led the messenger into the garden that lay beside the palace. It happened that in this garden there were poppies growing, already full of heads and ready to be gathered; and walking among these, he kept striking and knocking off the heads of all the tallest poppies with his staff.

[3] ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος τῷ πολλάκις ἐπερωτῶντι, τὴν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Μιλησίου διάνοιαν ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ μιμησάμενος: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος Περιάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῷ Κορινθίων τυράννῳ πυνθανομένῳ διὰ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἀγγέλου, πῶς ἂν ἐγκρατέστατα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰσχοι, λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέστειλεν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ τὸν ἥκοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ κελεύσας, ἥγε δι' ἀρούρας σιτοσπόρου καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχῶν ἀποθραύων ἐρρίπτει χαμαὶ διδάσκων, ὅτι δεῖ τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους κολοῦειν τε καὶ διαφθείρειν.

[3] Having done this, he sent the messenger away without giving any answer to his repeated inquiries. Herein, it seems to me, he imitated the thought of Thrasybulus the Milesian. For Thrasybulus returned no verbal answer to Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, by the messenger Periander once sent him to inquire how he might most securely establish his power; but, ordering the messenger to follow him into a field of wheat and breaking off the ears that stood above the rest, he threw them upon the ground, thereby intimating that Periander ought to lop off and destroy the most illustrious of the citizens.

[4] τὸ παραπλήσιον δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τότε ποιήσαντος συνεῖς τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ Σέξτος, ὅτι κελεύει τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν Γαβίων ἀναιρεῖν, συνεκάλεσεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον διαθέμενος, ὅτι καταπεφευγὼς εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων πίστιν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις κινδυνεύει συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τινων τῷ πατρὶ παραδοθῆναι, τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν ἔτοιμος ἦν ἀποθέσθαι, καὶ πρὶν ἢ παθεῖν τι δεινὸν ἀπαίρειν ἐκ τῆς [p. 96] πόλεως ἐβούλετο δακρῶν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην καταλοφυρόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶντες.

[4] When, therefore, Tarquinius did a like thing on this occasion, Sextus understood his father's meaning and knew that he was ordering him to put to death the most eminent of the Gabini. He accordingly called an assembly of the people, and after saying a great deal about himself he told them that, having fled to them with his friends upon the assurance they had given him, he was in danger of being seized by certain persons and delivered up to his father and that he was ready to resign his power and desired to quit their city before any mischief befell him; and while saying this he wept and lamented his fate as those do who are in very truth in terror of their lives.

[1] ἡρεθισμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας πυνθανομένου, τινες εἰσὶν οἱ μέλλοντες αὐτὸν προδιδόναι, τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν Γαβίων Ἀντιστίον Πέτρωνα ὠνόμασεν, ὃς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε πολλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα πολιτευσάμενος καὶ στρατηγίας πολλὰς τετελεκὼς ἐπιφανέστατος ἀπάντων ἐγεγόνει: ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδέναι πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν ὑπομένοντος ἔφη βούλεσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διερευνῆσαι πέμψας ἑτέρους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν ἐκείνῳ, τέως ἂν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἔλθωσι, μένειν.

[57.1] When the people became incensed at this and were eagerly demanding to know who the men were who were intending to betray them, he named Antistius Petro, who not only had been the author of many excellent measures in time of peace but had also often commanded their armies and had thus become the most distinguished of all the citizens. And when this man endeavoured to clear himself and, from the consciousness of his innocence, offered to submit to any examination whatever, Sextus said he wished to send some others to search Petro's house, but that he himself would stay with him in the assembly till the persons sent should return.

[2] ἔτυχε δὲ διεφθαρκῶς αὐτοῦ τῶν θεραπόντων τινὰς ἀργυρίῳ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ Πέτρωνος κατασκευασθείσας ἐπιστολὰς σεσημειωμένας τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς σφραγίδι λαβόντας ἔνδον ἀποθέσθαι. ὥς δ' οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρευναν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Πέτρων, ἀλλ' ἔφηκε τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρευνᾶν: εὐρόντες, ἔνθα ἦν ἀποκεκρυμμένα τὰ γράμματα, παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλας τε πολλὰς φέροντες ἐπιστολὰς ἐπίσεημασμένας καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίστιον γραφεῖσαν, ἐπιγινώσκειν φήσας τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ Σέξτος ἔλυσε, καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ δοὺς ἐκέλευσεν 19 ἀναγινώσκειν.

[2] It seems that he had bribed some of the servants of Petro to take the letters prepared for Petro's destruction and sealed with the seal of Tarquinius and to hide them in their master's house. And when the men sent to make the search (for Petro made no objection but gave permission for his house to be searched), having discovered the letters in the place where they had been hidden, appeared in the assembly with many sealed letters, among them the one addressed to Antistius, Sextus declared he recognized his father's seal, and breaking open the letter, he gave it to the secretary and ordered him to read it.

[3] ἐγγράπτο δ' ἐν αὐτῇ, μάλιστα μὲν [p. 97] ζῶντα παραδοῦναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ καὶ κομιζεσθαι τοὺς διωμολογημένους μισθοὺς, ἐὰν δ' ἀδύνατος ἦ τοῦτο τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα πέμψαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς συλλαβομένοις τοῦ ἔργου χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων μισθῶν, οὓς πρότερον ὑπέσχητο, πολιτείαν τε τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δώσειν ἔφη καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν πατρικίων ἀριθμὸν ἅπαντας ἐγγράψειν οἰκίας τε καὶ κλήρους καὶ

[3] The purport of the letter was that Antistius should, if possible, deliver up his son to him alive, but if he could not do this, that he should cut off his head and send it. In return for this Tarquinius said that, besides the rewards he had already promised, he would grant Roman citizenship both to him and those who had assisted him in the business, and would admit them all into the number of the patricians, and furthermore bestow on them houses, allotments of land and many other fine gifts.

[4] ἄλλας δωρεὰς πολλὰς ἐπιθήσειν καὶ μεγάλας. ἐφ' οἷς ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ Γάβιοι τὸν μὲν Ἀντίστιον ἐκτεπληγότα ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ συμφορᾷ καὶ οὐδὲ

φωνήν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ῥῆξι δυνάμενον ἀποκτείνουσι βάλλοντες λίθοις: τὴν δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ζήτησιν τε καὶ τιμωρίαν τῶν ταῦτὰ τῷ Πέτρωνι βουλευσαμένων ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ Σέξτῳ ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑταίροις τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν πυλῶν, ἵνα μὴ διαφύγοιεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις, πέμπων ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπέκτεινε πολλοὺς τῶν Γαβίων καὶ ἀγαθοῦς.

[4] Thereupon the Gabini became so incensed against Antistius, who was thunderstruck at this unexpected calamity and unable in his grief to utter a word, that they stoned him to death and appointed Sextus to inquire into and punish the crimes of his accomplices. Sextus committed the guarding of the gates to his own followers, lest any of the accused should escape him; and sending to the houses of the most prominent of the Gabini, he put many good men to death.

[1] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, θορύβου κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄντος ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω κακῷ μαθὼν τὰ γινόμενα διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Ταρκύνιος παρῆν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ περὶ μέσον νυκτὸς ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενος ἀνοιχθεῖσῶν τῶν πυλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο [p. 98] παρεσκευασμένων εἰσελθὼν διχα πόνου κύριος ἐγεγόνει τῆς πόλεως.

[58.1] While these things were going on and all the city was in an uproar, as was natural in consequence of so great a calamity, Tarquinius, having been informed by letter of all that was passing, marched thither with his army, approached the city about the middle of the night, and then, when the gates had been opened by those appointed for the purpose, entered with his forces and made himself master of the city without any trouble.

[2] ὡς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πάθος ἀπάντων κατοδυρομένων ἑαυτοὺς οἷα πείσονται, σφαγὰς τε καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς καὶ πάντα ὅσα καταλαμβάνει δεινὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ τυράννων ἀλόντας προσδοκῶντων, εἰ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα πράξειαν, δουλείας τε καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κατεψηφικόντων, οὐδὲν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὦν προσεδόκων τε καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν καίτοι πικρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπαραίτητος 20 ὦν ἔδρασεν.

[2] When this disaster became known, all the citizens bewailed the fate awaiting them; for they expected slaughter, enslavement and all the horrors that usually befall those captured by tyrants, and, as the best that could happen to them, had already condemned themselves to slavery, the loss of their property and like calamities. However, Tarquinius did none of the things that they were expecting and dreading even though he was harsh of temper and inexorable in punishing his enemies.

[3] οὐτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινεν οὐδένα Γαβίων οὐτ' ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως οὐτ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν ἢ χρημάτων ἀφαίρεσιν ἐζημίωσε, συγκαλέσας δ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βασιλικὸν ἐκ τυραννικοῦ τρόπου μεταλαβὼν τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς

ἔφη τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἔχουσι, συγχωρεῖν καὶ σὺν τούτοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσοπολιτείαν ἅπασι χαρίζεσθαι, οὐ δι' εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γαβίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγκρατέστερον κατέχη ταῦτα πράττων: κρατίστην ἡγούμενος ἔσεσθαι φυλακὴν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τὴν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐλπίδας σεσωσμένων καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα κεκομισμένων πίστιν.

[3] For he neither put any of the Gabini to death, nor banished any from the city, nor punished any of them with disfranchisement or the loss of their property; but calling an assembly of the people and changing to the part of a king from that of a tyrant, he told them that he not only restored their own city to them and allowed them to keep the property they possessed, but in addition granted to all of them the rights of Roman citizens. It was not, however, out of goodwill to the Gabini that he adopted this course, but in order to establish more securely his mastery over the Romans. For he believed that the strongest safeguard both for himself and for his family would be the loyalty of those who, contrary to their expectation, had been preserved and had recovered all their possessions.

[4] καὶ ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι δεῖμα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπάρχη χρόνου μηδ' ἐνδοιάζωσιν, εἰ βέβαια ταῦτα σφίσι διαμενεῖ, γράψας ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις φίλοι, τὰ περὶ τούτων ὅρκια συνετέλεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας [p. 99] παραχρῆμα καὶ διωμόσατο κατὰ τῶν σφαγίων. τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρκίων μνημεῖον ἐν Ῥώμῃ κείμενον ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Πιστίου, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι Σάγκον καλοῦσιν, ὅστις ξυλινὴ βύρση βοεῖα περίτονος τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρκίων τότε βοός, γράμμασιν ἀρχαϊκοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένη τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς ὁμολογίας. ταῦτα πράξας καὶ βασιλέα τῶν Γαβίων τὸν υἱὸν Σέξτον ἀποδείξας ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς Γαβίους πόλεμος τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

[4] And, in order that they might no longer have any fear regarding the future or any doubt of the permanence of his concessions, he ordered the terms upon which they were to be friends to be set down in writing, and then ratified the treaty immediately in the assembly and took an oath over the victims to observe it. There is a memorial of this treaty at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, whom the Romans call Sancus; it is a wooden shield covered with the hide of the ox that was sacrificed at the time they confirmed the treaty by their oaths, and upon it are inscribed in ancient characters the terms of the treaty. After Tarquinius had thus settled matters and appointed his son Sextus king of the gabini, he led his army home. Such was the outcome of the war with the Gabini.

[1] Ταρκύνιος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀναπαύσας τὸν λεῶν τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ πολέμων περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγένετο τὰς τοῦ πάππου προθυμούμενος εὐχὰς ἐπτελέσαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ πολέμῳ μαχόμενος πρὸς Σαβίνους εὗξατο τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἕαν

κρατήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ναοὺς αὐτοῖς κατασκευάσειν: καὶ τὸν μὲν σκόπελον, ἔνθα ἰδρῦσεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔμελλεν, ἀναλήμμασι τε καὶ χώμασι μεγάλοις ἐξειργάσατο, καθάπερ ἔφην ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ, τὴν δὲ τῶν ναῶν κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἔφθῃ τελέσαι. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔργον ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν ἐκ Συνέσεως λαφύρων ἐπιτελέσαι προαιρούμενος ἅπαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐργασίαις.

[59.1] After this achievement Tarquinius gave the people a respite from military expeditions and wars, and being desirous of performing the vows made by his grandfather, devoted himself to the building of the sanctuaries. For the elder Tarquinius, while he was engaged in an action during his last war with the Sabines, had made a vow to build temples to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva if he should gain the victory; and he had finished off the peak on which he proposed to erect the temples to these gods by means of retaining walls and high banks of earth, as I mentioned in the preceding Book; but he did not live long enough to complete the building of the temples. Tarquinius, therefore, proposing to erect this structure with the tenth part of the spoils taken at Suessa, set all the artisans at the work.

[2] ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τέρας τι θαυμαστὸν ὑπόγειον ὀρυττομένων τε τῶν θεμελιῶν καὶ τῆς ὀρυγῆς εἰς πολὺ βάθος ἤδη προϊούσης, εὐρήσθαι κεφαλὴν νεοσφαγοῦς ἀνθρώπου τὸ τε πρόσωπον ἔχουσα [p. 100] τοῖς ἐμψύχοις ὁμοιον καὶ τὸ καταφερόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀποτομῆς αἷμα θερμὸν ἔτι καὶ νεαρὸν.

[2] It was at this time, they say, that a wonderful prodigy appeared under ground; for when they were digging the foundations and the excavation had been carried down to a great depth, there was found the head of a man newly slain with the face like that of a living man and the blood which flowed from the severed head warm and fresh.

[3] τοῦτο τὸ τέρας ἰδὼν ὁ Ταρκύνιος τοῦ μὲν ὀρύγματος ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους: συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μάντις ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν, τί βούλεται σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. οὐδὲν δ' αὐτῶν ἀποφαινομένων, ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀποδιδόντων τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιστήμην ἐξετάσας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ μαθὼν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς τερατοσκόπων, ὅστις ἦν, πέμπει τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτόν.

[3] Tarquinius, seeing this prodigy, ordered the workmen to leave off digging, and assembling the native soothsayers, inquired of them what the prodigy meant. And when they could give no explanation but conceded to the Tyrrhenians the mastery of this science, he inquired of them who was the ablest soothsayer among the Tyrrhenians, and when he had found out, sent the most distinguished of the citizens to him as ambassadors.

[1] τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀφικομένοις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τερατοσκόπου

περιτυγχάνει τι μεिरάκιον ἐξιόν, ὃ φράσαντες, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων εἰσι πρέσβεις τῷ μάντει βουλόμενοι συντυχεῖν, παρεκάλουν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ νεανίας, Πατήρ ἐμός ἐστιν, ἔφησεν, ὃ χρῆζετε συντυχεῖν: ἀσχολεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρόν: ἔσται δ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγου χρόνου παρελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.

[60.1] When these men came to the house of the soothsayer they met by chance a youth who was just coming out, and informing him that they were ambassadors sent from Rome who wanted to speak with the soothsayer, they asked him to announce them to him. The youth replied: "The man you wish to speak with is my father. He is busy at present, but in a short time you may be admitted to him.

[2] ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐκεῖνον ἐκδέχεσθε, πρὸς ἐμὲ δηλώσατε, περὶ τίνος ἦκετε. περιέσται γὰρ ὑμῖν, εἴ τι μέλλετε διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν σφάλεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διδαχθεῖσι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν: μοῖρα δ' οὐκ ἐλαχίστη τῶν ἐν μαντικῇ θεωρημάτων ἐρώτησις ὀρθή. ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὕτω ποιεῖν, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ τέρας. ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσε μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἀκούσας, ἔφησεν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι: τὸ μὲν τέρας ὑμῖν ὁ πατήρ [p. 101] διελεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν ψεύσεται: μάντει γὰρ οὐ θέμις: ἃ δὲ λέγοντες ὑμεῖς καὶ ἀποκρινόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀναμάρτητοί τε καὶ ἀψευδεῖς ἔσεσθε: διαφέρει γὰρ ὑμῖν προεγνωκέναι ταῦτα: παρ' ἐμοῦ μάθετε.

[2] And while you are waiting for him, acquaint me with the reason of your coming. For if, through inexperience, you are in danger of committing an error in phrasing your question, when you have been informed by me you will be able to avoid any mistake; for the correct for of question is not the least important part of the art of divination." The ambassadors resolved to follow his advice and related the prodigy to him. And when the youth had heard it, after a short pause he said: "Hear me, Romans. My father will interpret this prodigy to you and will tell you no untruth, since it is not right for a soothsayer to speak falsely; but, in order that you may be guilty of no error or falsehood in what you say or in the answers you give to his questions (for it is of importance to you to know these things beforehand), be instructed by me.

[3] ὅταν ἀφηγήσησθε αὐτῷ τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἀκριβῶς μανθάνειν φήσας ὃ τι λέγετε περιγράψει τῷ σκήπῳ τῆς γῆς μέρος ὅσον δὴ τι: ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν ἐρεῖ, Τουτὶ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ Ταρπήιος λόφος, μέρος δ' αὐτοῦ τουτὶ μὲν τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς βλέπον, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὰς δύσεις,

[3] After you have related the prodigy to him he will tell you that he does not fully understand what you say and will circumscribe with his staff some piece of ground or other; then he will say to you: 'This is the Tarpeian Hill, and this is part of it that faces the east, this the part that faces the west, this point is north and the opposite is south.'

[4] βόρειον δ' αὐτοῦ τὸδε καὶ τοῦναντίον νότιον. ταῦτα τῷ σκήπῳ δεικνύς

πεύσεται παρ' ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ ποίῳ τῶν μερῶν τούτων εὑρέθη ἡ κεφαλὴ. τί οὖν ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνασθαι παραινῶ; μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν τόπων τούτων, οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖνος τῷ σκήπτῳ δεικνὺς πυνθάνηται, τὸ τέρας εὑρεθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ φάναι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Ταρπηίῳ λόφῳ. ταύτας ἐὰν φυλάττητε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ μηδὲν παράγησθε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συγγνούς, ὅτι τὸ χρεὼν οὐκ ἔνεστι μετατεθῆναι, διελεῖται τὸ τέρας ὑμῖν ὅ τι βούλεται σημαίνειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύπεται.

[4] These parts he will point out to you with his staff and then ask you in which of these parts the head was found. What answer, therefore, do I advise you to make? Do not admit that the prodigy was found in any of these places he shall inquire about when he points them out with his staff, but say that it appeared among you at Rome on the Tarpeian Hill. If you stick to these answers and do not allow yourselves to be misled by him, he, well knowing that fate cannot be changed, will interpret to you without concealment what the prodigy means."

[1] ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐπειδὴ σχολὴν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔσχε καὶ προῆλθέ τις αὐτοὺς μετιών, εἰσελθόντες φράζουσι τῷ μάντι τὸ τέρας. σοφιστομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαγράφοντος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περιφερεῖς [p. 102] τε γραμμὰς καὶ ἑτέρας αὐθις εὐθείας καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον χωρίον ποιουμένου τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐρωτήσεις οὐδὲν ἐπιταραπτόμενοι τὴν γνώμην οἱ πρέσβεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφύλαττον ἀπόκρισιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπέθετο υἱός, τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὸν Ταρπήιον ὀνομάζοντες αἰεὶ λόφον καὶ τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἀξιοῦντες μὴ σφετεριζέσθαι τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ

[61.1] Having received these instructions, the ambassadors, as soon as the old man was at leisure and a servant came out to fetch them, went in and related the prodigy to the soothsayer. He, craftily endeavouring to mislead them, drew circular lines upon the ground and then other straight lines, and asked them with reference to each place in turn whether the head had been found there; but the ambassadors, not at all disturbed in mind, stuck to the one answer suggested to them by the soothsayer's son, always naming Rome and the Tarpeian Hill, and asked the interpreter not to appropriate the omen to himself, but to answer in the most sincere and just manner.

[2] κρατίστου καὶ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου λέγειν. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δὲ παρακροῦσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ μάντις οὐδὲ σφετερίσασθαι τὸν οἶωνόν λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς, Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, λέγετε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πολίτας, ὅτι κεφαλὴν εἴμαρται γενέσθαι συμπάσης Ἰταλίας τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὑρετε. ἐξ ἐκείνου καλεῖται τοῦ χρόνου Καπιτωλῖνος ὁ λόφος ἐπὶ τῆς εὐρεθείσης ἐν αὐτῷ κεφαλῆς: κάπιτα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὰς κεφαλὰς.

[2] The soothsayer, accordingly, finding it impossible for him either to impose upon the men or to appropriate the omen, said to them: "Romans, tell your fellow citizens it is ordained by fate that the place in which you found the

head shall be the head of all Italy.” Since that time the place is called the Capitoline Hill from the head that was found there; for the Romans call heads capita.

[3] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων ἀκούσας ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦς τεχνίτας· καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐξειργάσατο τοῦ ναοῦ, τελειῶσαι δ’ οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἅπαν τὸ ἔργον ἐκπεσὼν τάχιον ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις αὐτὸν εἰς συντέλειαν ἐξειργάσατο. ἐποιεῖται δ’ ἐπὶ κρηπιδος ὑψηλῆς βεβηκώς ὀκτάπλευρος τὴν περίοδον, διακοσίων ποδῶν ἔγγιστα τὴν πλευρὰν ἔχων ἐκάστην· ὀλίγον δέ τι τὸ διαλλάττον εὖροι τις ἂν τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ μήκους παρὰ τὸ πλάτος οὐδ’ ὄλων πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν.

[3] Tarquinius, having heard these things from the ambassadors, set the artisans to work and built the greater part of the temple, though he was not able to complete the whole work, being driven from power too soon; but the Roman people brought it to completion in the third consulship. It stood upon a high base and was eight hundred feet in circuit, each side measuring close to two hundred feet; indeed, one would find the excess of the length over the width to be but slight, in fact not a full fifteen feet.

[4] ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις ὁ μετὰ τὴν [p. 103] ἔμπρησιν οἰκοδομηθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν εὐρέθη τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης μόνον διαλλάττων τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον μέρους τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέποντος τριπλῶ περιλαμβανόμενος στοιχῶ κιόνων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων ἀπλῶ· ἐν δ’ αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἔνεισι σηκοὶ παράλληλοι κοινὰς ἔχοντες πλευράς, μέσος μὲν ὁ τοῦ Διός, παρ’ ἐκάτερον δὲ τὸ μέρος ὃ τε τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑφ’ ἐνὸς αἰετοῦ καὶ μιᾶς στέγης καλυπτόμενοι.

[4] For the temple that was built in the time of our fathers after the burning of this one was erected upon the same foundations, and differed from the ancient structure in nothing but the costliness of the materials, having three rows of columns on the front, facing the south, and a single row on each side. The temple consists of three parallel shrines, separated by party walls; the middle shrine is dedicated to Jupiter, while on one side stands that of Juno and on the other that of Minerva, all three being under one pediment and one roof.

[1] λέγεται δέ τι καὶ ἔτερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας πάνν θαυμαστὸν εὐτύχημα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάρξει πόλει εἴτε θεῶν τινος εἴτε δαιμόνων εὐνοία δωρηθέν· ὅπερ οὐ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἔσωσεν ἐκ μεγάλων κακῶν.

[62.1] It is said that during the reign of Tarquinius another very wonderful piece of good luck also came to the Roman state, conferred upon it by the favour of some god or other divinity; and this good fortune was not of short duration, but throughout the whole existence of the country it has often saved it from

great calamities.

[2] γυνή τις ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν τύραννον οὐκ ἐπιχωρία βύβλους ἐννέα μεστὰς Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἀπεμπολῆσαι θέλουσα. οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τῆς αἰτηθείσης τιμῆς πρίασθαι τὰς βύβλους ἀπελθοῦσα τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν κατέκαυσε· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὰς λοιπὰς ἑξ ἐνέγκασα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπώλει τιμῆς. δόξασα δ' ἄφρων τις εἶναι καὶ γελασθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῷ τῇν αὐτῇν τιμὴν αἰτεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, ἣν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν πλειόνων ἐδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἀπελθοῦσα πάλιν τὰς ἡμισείας τῶν ἀπολειπομένων κατέκαυσε καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς [p. 104]

[2] A certain woman who was not a native of the country came to the tyrant wishing to sell him nine books filled with Sibylline oracles; but when Tarquinius refused to purchase the books at the price she asked, she went away and burned three of them. And not long afterwards, bringing the remaining six books, she offered to sell them for the same price. But when they thought her a fool and mocked at her for asking the same price for the smaller number of books that she had been unable to get for even the larger number, she again went away and burned half of those that were left; then, bringing the remaining books, she asked the same amount of money for these.

[3] τρεῖς ἐνέγκασα τὸ ἴσον ἦτει χρυσίον. θαυμάσας δὲ τὸ βούλημα τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Ταρκύνιος τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους μετεπέμψατο καὶ διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τί χρὴ πράττειν, ἤρετο. κάκεῖνοι διὰ σημείων τινῶν μαθόντες, ὅτι θεόπεμπτον ἀγαθὸν ἀπεστράφη, καὶ μεγάλην συμφορὰν ἀποφαίνοντες τὸ μὴ πάσας αὐτὸν τὰς βύβλους πρίασθαι, ἐκέλευσαν ἀπαριθμῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὅσον ἦτει καὶ τοὺς περιόντας τῶν χρησμῶν λαβεῖν.

[3] Tarquinius, wondering at the woman's purpose, sent for the augurs and acquainting them with the matter, asked them what he should do. These, knowing by certain signs that he had rejected a god-sent blessing, and declaring it to be a great misfortune that he had not purchased all the books, directed him to pay the woman all the money she asked and to get the oracles that were left.

[4] ἡ μὲν οὖν γυνή τὰς βύβλους δοῦσα καὶ φράσασα τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, Ταρκύνιος δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς δύο προχειρισάμενος καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοῖς θεράποντας δύο παραζευξας ἐκείνοις ἀπέδωκε τὴν τῶν βιβλίων φυλακὴν, ὧν τὸν ἕτερον Μάρκον Ἀτίλιον ἀδικεῖν τι δόξαντα περὶ τὴν πύστιν καταμηνυθέντα ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν δημοσίων, ὡς πατροκτόνον εἰς ἀσκὸν ἐνράψας βόειον ἔρριπεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.

[4] The woman, after delivering the books and bidding him take great care of them, disappeared from among men. Tarquinius chose two men of distinction from among the citizens and appointing two public slaves to assist them,

entrusted to them the guarding of the books; and when one of these men, named Marcus Atilius, seemed to have been faithless to his trust and was informed upon by one of the public slaves, he ordered him to be sewed up in a leather bag and thrown into the sea as a parricide.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα τὴν τῶν χρησμῶν προστασίαν ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῶν φύλακας, οἱ διὰ βίου ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν στρατειῶν ἀφειμένοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν πραγματειῶν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοῖς παρακαθίστησιν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τὰς ἐπισκέψεις τῶν χρησμῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι ποιῆσθαι. συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι φυλάττουσιν οὔθ' ὅσιον κτῆμα οὔθ' ἱερὸν ὡς τὰ Σιβύλλεια θέσφατα. χρῶνται δ' αὐτοῖς, [p. 105] ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται, στάσεως καταλαβοῦσης τὴν πόλιν ἢ δυστυχίας τινὸς μεγάλης συμπεσοῦσης κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ τεράτων τινῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων μεγάλων καὶ δυσσευρέτων αὐτοῖς φανέντων, οἷα πολλάκις συνέβη. οὗτοι διέμειναν οἱ χρησμοὶ μέχρι τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ κληθέντος πολέμου κείμενοι κατὰ γῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου Διὸς ἐν λιθίνῃ λάρνακι, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δέκα φυλαττόμενοι.

[5] Since the expulsion of the kings, the commonwealth, taking upon itself the guarding of these oracles, entrusts the care of them to persons of the greatest distinction, who hold this office for life, being exempt from military service and from all civil employments, and it assigns public slaves to assist them, in whose absence the others are not permitted to inspect the oracles. In short, there is no possession of the Romans, sacred or profane, which they guard so carefully as they do the Sibylline oracles. They consult them, by order of the senate, when the state is in the grip of party strife or some great misfortune has happened to them in war, or some important prodigies and apparitions have been seen which are difficult of interpretation, as has often happened. These oracles till the time of the Marsian War, as it was called, were kept underground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in a stone chest under the guard of ten men.

[6] μετὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐμπρησθέντος τοῦ ναοῦ, εἴτ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ὡς οἴονται τινες, εἴτ' ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου, σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οὗτοι διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐκ πολλῶν εἰσι συμφορητοὶ τόπων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων κοιμισθέντες, οἱ δ' ἐξ Ἑρυθρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς τριῶν ἀποσταλέντων πρεσβευτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν: οἱ δ' ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν μεταγραφέντες: ἐν οἷς εὗρίσκονται τινες ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσις, ἐλέγχονται δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀκροστιχίσι: λέγω δ' ἃ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἱστόρηκεν ἐν τῇ θεολογικῇ πραγματείᾳ.

[6] But when the temple was burned after the close of the one hundred and seventy-third Olympiad, either purposely, as some think, or by accident, these

oracles together with all the offerings consecrated to the god were destroyed by the fire. Those which are now extant have been scraped together from many places, some from the cities of Italy, others from Erythrae in Asia (whither three envoys were sent by vote of the senate to copy them), and others were brought from other cities, transcribed by private persons. Some of these are found to be interpolations among the genuine Sibylline oracles, being recognized as such by means of the so-called acrostics. In all this I am following the account given by Terentius Varro in his work on religion.

[1] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἀποικίσας τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Σιγνίαν οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ταῦτομάτου, χειμασάντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ κατασκευασμένων τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς μηδὲν [p. 106] διαφέρειν πόλεως: Κιρκαίαν δὲ κατὰ λογισμόν, ὅτι τοῦ Πωμεντίνου πεδίου μεγίστου τῶν περὶ τῇ Λατινῇ καὶ τῆς συναπτούσης αὐτῷ θαλάττης ἔκειτο ἐν καλῷ: ἔστι δὲ χερσονησοειδῆς σκόπελος ὑψηλὸς ἐπεικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους κείμενος, ἔνθα λόγος ἔχει Κίρκην τὴν Ἥλιου θυγατέρα κατοικῆσαι: καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ἀμφοτέρας δυσὶ τῶν παίδων οἰκισταῖς ἀναθεῖς, Κιρκαίαν μὲν Ἄρροντι, Σιγνίαν δὲ Τίτῳ, δέος ἅτε οὐδὲν ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων, διὰ γυναικὸς ὕβριν αὐτῆς, ἣν ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων Σέξτος διέφθειρεν, ἐξελαύνεται τῆς τ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως, προθεσπίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν μέλλουσαν γενήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν οἶκον συμφορὰν πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ

[63.1] Besides these achievements of Tarquinius both in peace and in war, he founded two colonies. One of them, called Signia, was not planned, but was due to chance, the soldiers having established their winter quarters in the place and built their camp in such a manner as not to differ in any respect from a city. But it was with deliberate purpose that he settled Circeii, because the place was advantageously situated in relation both to the Pomptine plain, which is the largest of all the plains in the Latin country, and to the sea that is contiguous to it. For it is a fairly high rock in the nature of a peninsula, situated on the Tyrrhenian Sea; and tradition has it that Circe, the daughter of the Sun, lived there. He assigned both these colonies to two of his sons as their founders, giving Circeii to Arruns and Signia to Titus; and being now no longer in any fear concerning his power, he was both driven from power and exiled because of the outrageous deed of Sextus, his eldest son, who ruined a married woman. Of this calamity that was to overtake his house, Heaven had forewarned him by numerous omens, and particularly by this final one:

[2] ἄλλοις οἴωνοις, τελευταίῳ δὲ τῷδε. αἰετοὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις κῆπον ἕαρος ὥρα νεοττιὰν ἔπλαττον ἐπὶ κορυφῇ φοίνικος ὑψηλοῦ. τούτων δὲ τῶν αἰετῶν ἀπτήνας ἔτι τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἔχόντων γῦπες ἀθρόοι προσπετασθέντες τὴν τε νεοττιὰν διεφόρησαν καὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοὺς αἰετοὺς προσιόντας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς

ἀμύττοντές τε καὶ παίοντες τοῖς ταρσοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος ἀπήλασαν.

[2] Two eagles, coming in the spring to the garden near the palace, made their aerie on the top of a tall palm tree. While these eagles had their young as yet unfledged, a flock of vultures, flying to the aerie, destroyed it and killed the young birds; and when the eagles returned from their feeding, the vultures, tearing them and striking them with the flat of their wings, drove them from the palm tree.

[3] τούτους τοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἰδὼν ὁ Ταρκύνιος καὶ φυλαττόμενος, εἴ πως δύναιτο διακρούσασθαι τὴν μοῖραν, οὐκ ἴσχυσε νικῆσαι τὸ χρεὼν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου συμφρονήσαντος ἐξέπεσε τῆς [p. 107] δυναστείας. οἷτινες δ' ἦσαν οἱ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ἄρξαντες καὶ δι' οἷων τρόπων ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, δι' ὀλίγων πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.

[3] Tarquinius, seeing these omens, took all possible precautions to avert his destiny but proved unable to conquer fate; for when the patricians set themselves against him and the people were of the same mind, he was driven from power. Who the authors of this insurrection were and by what means they came into control of affairs, I shall endeavour to relate briefly.

[1] τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἐπολιόρκει πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος, ὅτι τοὺς ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάδας ὑπεδέχετο καὶ συνέπραττεν αὐτοῖς περὶ καθόδου: ὡς δὲ τάληθές εἶχεν ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῇ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον εὐδαμονοῦσιν μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων. γενναίως δὲ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν ἀπομαχομένων καὶ πολυχρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης οἱ τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κάμνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἀπειρηκότες ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἦσαν, εἴ τις ἀρχὴ γένοιτο.

[64.1] Tarquinius was then laying siege to Ardea, alleging as his reason that it was receiving the Roman fugitives and assisting them in their endeavours to return home. The truth was, however, that he had designs against this city on account of its wealth, since it was the most flourishing of all the cities in Italy. But as the Ardeates bravely defended themselves and the siege was proving a lengthy one, both the Romans who were in the camp, being fatigued by the length of the war, and those at Rome, who had become exhausted by the war taxes, were ready to revolt if any occasion offered for making a beginning.

[2] ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ Σέξτος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς πόλιν, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Κολλάτεια, χρείας τινὰς ὑπηρετήσων στρατιωτικὰς παρ' ἀνδρὶ κατήχθη συγγενεῖ Λευκίῳ Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ Κολλατίνῳ

[2] At this time Sextus, the eldest son of Tarquinius, being sent by his father to a city called Collatia to perform certain military services, lodged at the house of his kinsman, Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus.

[3] προσαγορευομένῳ. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Φάβιος μὲν υἱὸν εἶναι φησιν Ἑγερίου, περὶ οὗ δεδήλωκα πρότερον, ὅτι Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεύσαντι Ῥωμαίων ἀδελφόπαις ἦν καὶ Κολλατείας ἡγεμῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει διατριβῆς αὐτὸς τε Κολλατίνος ἐκλήθη καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν κατέλιπεν ἐπικλησιν: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον [p. 108] υἱωνὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἑγερίου πείθομαι, εἴ γε τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε τοῖς Ταρκυνίου παισὶν ἡλικίαν, ὡς Φάβιός τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγγραφεῖς παραδεδώκασιν: ὁ γὰρ χρόνος ταύτην μοι τὴν ὑπόληψιν βεβαιοῖ.

[3] This man is said by Fabius to have been the son of Egerius, who, as I have shown earlier, was the nephew of Tarquinius the first Roman king of that name, and having been appointed governor of Collatia, was not only himself called Collatinus from his living there, but also left the same surname to his posterity. But, for my part, I am persuaded that he too was a grandson of Egerius, inasmuch as he was of the same age as the sons of Tarquinius, as Fabius and the other historians have recorded; for the chronology confirms me in this opinion.

[4] ὁ μὲν οὖν Κολλατίνος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τότε ὦν ἐτύγχανεν, ἡ δὲ συνοικοῦσα αὐτῷ γυνὴ Ῥωμαία, Λουκρητίου θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐξένιζεν αὐτὸν ὡς συγγενῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα καλλίστην οὔσαν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν καὶ σωφρονεστάτην ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Σέξτος διαφθεῖραι, παλαιότερον μὲν ἔτι εἰργόμενος, ὅποτε κατάγοιτο παρὰ τῷ συγγενεῖ, τότε δὲ καιρὸν ἀρμόττοντα οἴομενος ἔχειν.

[4] Now it happened that Collatinus was then at the camp, but his wife, who was a Roman woman, the daughter of Lucretius, a man of distinction, entertained him, as a kinsman of her husband, with great cordiality and friendliness. This matron, who excelled all the Roman women in beauty as well as in virtue, Sextus tried to seduce; he had already long entertained this desire, whenever he visited his kinsman, and he thought he now had a favourable opportunity.

[5] ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀπῆλθε κοιμησόμενος ἐπισχὼν τῆς νυκτὸς πολὺ μέρος, ἐπειδὴ καθεύδειν ἅπαντας ἐνόμιζεν, ἀναστὰς ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν Λουκρητίαν ᾗδει καθεύδουσαν, καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ δωματίου κοιμωμένους εἰσέρχεται ξίφος ἔχων.

[5] Going, therefore, to bed after supper, he waited a great part of the night, and then, when he thought all were asleep, he got up and came to the room where he knew Lucretia slept, and without being discovered by her slaves, who lay asleep at the door, he went into the room sword in hand.

[1] ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ διεγερθείσης ἅμα τῷ συνεῖναι τὸν ψόφον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ πυνθανομένης, ὅστις εἴη, φράσας τοῦνομα σιωπᾶν ἐκέλευε καὶ

μένειν ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ σφάζειν αὐτὴν ἀπειλήσας, ἔὰν ἐπιχειρήσῃ φεύγειν ἢ βοᾷν. τοῦτῳ καταπληξάμενος τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ἄνθρωπον αἰρέσεις αὐτῇ δύο προὔτεινεν, ὧν ποτέραν αὐτὴ προηρεῖτο λαβεῖν ἡξίου, θάνατον μετ' [p. 109]

[65.1] When he paused at the woman's bedside and she, hearing the noise, awakened and asked who it was, he told her his name and bade her be silent and remain in the room, threatening to kill her if she attempted either to escape or to cry out. Having terrified the woman in this manner, he offered her two alternatives, bidding her choose whichever she herself preferred — death with dishonour or life with happiness.

[2] αἰσχύνῃς ἢ βίον μετ' εὐδαιμονίας. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπομενεῖς, ἔφη, χαρίσασθαι μοι, γυναικᾶ σε ποιήσομαι καὶ βασιλεύσεις σὺν ἐμοὶ νῦν μὲν ἦς ὁ πατήρ μοι ἔδωκε πόλεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λατίνων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων ἐκεῖνος ἄρχει. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδ', ὅτι παραλήψομαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλείαν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ πρεσβύτατος ὢν. ὅσα δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀγαθὰ, ὧν ἀπάντων ἔση σὺν ἐμοὶ κυρία, τί δεῖ σε καλῶς ἐπισταμένην διδάσκειν;

[2] “For,” he said, “if you will consent to gratify me, I will make you my wife, and with me you shall reign, for the present, over the city my father has given me, and, after his death, over the Romans, the Latins, the Tyrrhenians, and all the other nations he rules; for I know that I shall succeed to my father's kingdom, as is right, since I am his eldest son. But why need I inform you of the many advantages which attend royalty, all of which you shall share with me, since you are well acquainted with them?”

[3] εἰ δ' ἀντιπράττειν ἐπιχειρήσεις σῶζειν βουλομένη τὸ σῶφρον, ἀποκτενῶ σε καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπικατασφάζας ἕνα θήσω τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ἅμα καὶ φήσω κατελιγνὺς ἀσχημονοῦσάν σε μετὰ τοῦ δούλου τετιμωρῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ συγγενοῦς ὕβριν μετερχόμενος, ὥστ' αἰσχρὰν καὶ ἐπονείδιστόν σου γενέσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ μηδὲ ταφῆς τὸ σῶμά σου τυχεῖν μηδ' ἄλλου τῶν νομίμων μηδενός.

[3] If, however, you endeavour to resist from a desire to preserve your virtue, I will kill you and then slay one of your slaves, and having laid both your bodies together, will state that I had caught you misbehaving with the slave and punished you to avenge the dishonour of my kinsman; so that your death will be attended with shame and reproach and your body will be deprived both of burial and every other customary rite.”

[4] ὥς δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἀπειλῶν θ' ἅμα καὶ ἀντιβολῶν καὶ διομνύμενος ἀλθεύειν τῶν λεγομένων ἑκάτερον, εἰς ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν ἡ Λουκρητία φοβηθεῖσα τὴν περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀσχημοσύνην εἴξαι τε καὶ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἃ προηρεῖτο διαπραξάμενον.

[4] And as he kept urgently repeating his threats and entreaties and swearing

that he was speaking the truth as to each alternative, Lucretia, fearing the ignominy of the death he threatened, was forced to yield and to allow him to accomplish his desire.

[1] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆει πονηρὰν καὶ ὀλέθριον ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκπεπληρωκώς, ἡ δὲ Λουκρητία δεινῶς φέρουσα τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐπιβᾶσα τῆς ἀπήνης εἰς Ῥώμην ὥχετο, μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα περιβαλομένη καὶ ξιφιδιὸν τι [p. 110] κρύπτουσα ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ, οὔτε προσαγορεύουσα κατὰ τὰς συναντήσεις οὐδένα τῶν ἀσπαζομένων οὔτ' ἀποκρινομένη τοῖς μαθεῖν βουλομένοις, ὃ τι πέπονθεν, ἀλλὰ σύννους καὶ κατηφῆς καὶ μεστοὺς ἔχουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς 21 δακρύνων.

[66.1] When it was day, Sextus, having gratified his wicked and baneful passion, returned to the camp. But Lucretia, overwhelmed with shame at what had happened, got into her carriage in all haste, dressed in black raiment under which she had a dagger concealed, and set out for Rome, without saying a word to any person who saluted her when they met or making answer to those who wished to know what had befallen her, but continued thoughtful and downcast, with her eyes full of tears.

[2] ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσῆλθε τοῦ πατρός· ἔτυχον δὲ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τινὲς παρ' αὐτῷ· τῶν γονάτων αὐτοῦ λαβομένη καὶ περιπεσοῦσα τέως μὲν ἔκλαιε φωνὴν οὐδεμίαν προῖεμένη, ἔπειτ' ἀνιστάντος αὐτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τί πέπονθεν ἀξιοῦντος λέγειν· ἰκέτις ἔφη γίνομαι σου πάτερ δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὑπομείνασα ὕβριν, τιμωρῆσαι μοι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν σεαυτοῦ

[2] When she came to her father's house, where some of his relations happened to be present, she threw herself at his feet and embracing his knees, wept for some time without uttering a word. And when he raised her up and asked her what had befallen her, she said: "I come to you as a suppliant, father, having endured terrible and intolerable outrage, and I beg you to avenge me and not to overlook your daughter's having suffered worse things than death."

[3] θυγατέρα θανάτου χεῖρονα παθοῦσαν. θαυμάσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ τίς ὕβρικεν αὐτὴν καὶ ποδαπὴν ὕβριν ἀξιοῦντος λέγειν· ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμάς, ἔφη, συμφοράς, ὦ πάτερ, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν· χάρισαι δέ μοι ταύτην πρῶτον αἰτουμένη τὴν χάριν· κάλεσον ὅσους δύνασαι πλείστους φίλους τε καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἵνα παρ' ἐμοῦ τῆς τὰ δεινὰ παθοῦσης ἀκούσωσι καὶ μὴ παρ' ἐτέρων. ὅταν δὲ μάθῃς τὰς κατασχούσας αἰσχροῦς καὶ δεινὰς ἀνάγκας, βούλευσαι μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅντινα τιμωρήσεις ἐμοί τε καὶ σεαυτῷ τρόπον καὶ μὴ πολὺν ποιεῖ χρόνον τὸν διὰ μέσου.

[3] When her father as well as all the others was struck with wonder at hearing this and he asked her to tell who had outraged her and in what manner, she said: "You will hear of my misfortunes very soon, father; but first grant me this favour I ask of you. Send for as many of your friends and kinsmen as you

can, so that they may hear the report from me, the victim of terrible wrongs, rather than from others. And when you have learned to what shameful and dire straits I was reduced, consult with them in what manner you will avenge both me and yourself. But do not let the time between be long.”

[1] ταχεῖα δὲ καὶ κατεσπουδασμένη παρακλήσει τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν συνελθόντων ὥσπερ ἡξίου, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα [p. 111] ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἀσπασαμένη τὸν πατέρα καὶ πολλὰς λιτανείας ἐκείνου τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντων ποιησαμένη θεοῖς τε καὶ δαίμοσιν εὐξαμένη ταχεῖαν αὐτῇ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου σπᾶται τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ κατέκρυπτεν ὑπὸ τοῖς πέπλοις, καὶ μίαν ἐνέγκασα διὰ τῶν στέρνων πληγὴν ἕως τῆς καρδίας ὡθεῖ τὸ ξίφος.

[67.1] When, in response to his hasty and urgent summons, the most prominent men had come to his house as she desired, she began at the beginning and told them all that had happened. Then, after embracing her father and addressing many entreaties both to him and to all present and praying to the gods and other divinities to grant her a speedy departure from life, she drew the dagger she was keeping concealed under her robes, and plunging it into her breast, with a single stroke pierced her heart.

[2] κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ θρήνου καὶ τυπετοῦ γυναικείου τὴν οἰκίαν ὄλην κατασχόντος ὁ μὲν πατὴρ περιχυθεὶς τῷ σώματι περιέβαλλε καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ ὥς ἀνοίσουσιν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐτμημελεῖτο, ἢ δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτοῦ σπαίρουσα καὶ ψυχorraγοῦσα ἀποθνήσκει. τοῖς δὲ παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων οὕτω δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἔλεεινὸν τὸ πάθος, ὥστε μίαν ἀπάντων γενέσθαι φωνήν, ὡς μυριάκις αὐτοῖς κρεῖττον εἶη τεθνάναι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ τοιαύτας ὕβρεις ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων γενομένας περιορᾶν.

[2] Upon this the women beat their breasts and filled the house with their shrieks and lamentations, but her father, enfolding her body in his arms, embraced it, and calling her by name again and again, ministered to her, as though she might recover from her wound, until in his arms, gasping and breathing out her life, she expired. This dreadful scene struck the Romans who were present with so much horror and compassion that they all cried out with one voice that they would rather die a thousand deaths in defence of their liberty than suffer such outrages to be committed by the tyrants.

[3] ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος ἐνὸς τῶν ἅμα Τατίω παραγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην Σαβίνων ἀπόγονος, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ φρόνιμος. οὗτος ἐπὶ στρατόπεδον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πέμπεται τῷ τ’ ἀνδρὶ τῆς Λουκρητίας τὰ συμβεβηκότα φράσων καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ πράξων ἀπόστασιν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλῆθους ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων.

[3] There was among them a certain man, named Publius Valerius, a descendant of one of those Sabines who came to Rome with Tatius, and a man

of action and prudence. This man was sent by them to the camp both to acquaint the husband of Lucretia with what had happened and with his aid to bring about a revolt of the army from the tyrants.

[4] ἄρτι δ' αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ἐξεληλυθότι συναντᾷ κατὰ δαίμονα παραγινόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, [p. 112] τῶν κατεσχρότων τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κακῶν οὐδὲν εἰδῶς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεῦκιος Ἰούνιος, ὃ Βροῦτος ἐπωνύμιον ἦν: εἴη δ' ἂν ἐξερμηνεύόμενος ὁ Βροῦτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἡλίθιος: ὑπὲρ οὗ μικρὰ προειπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον ἀποφαίνουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς καταλύσεως τῶν τυράννων αἰτιώτατον γενέσθαι, τίς τ' ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων καὶ διὰ τι τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἔτυχεν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης.

[4] He was no sooner outside the gates than he chanced to meet Collatinus, who was coming to the city from the camp and knew nothing of the misfortunes that had befallen his household. And with him came Lucius Junius, surnamed Brutus, which, translated into the Greek language, would be êlithios or “dullard.” Concerning this man, since the Romans say that he was the prime mover in the expulsion of the tyrants, I must say a few words before continuing my account, to explain who he was and of what descent and for what reason he got his surname, which did not at all describe him.

[1] τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοῦτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Μάρκος Ἰούνιος ἐνὸς τῶν σὺν Αἰνεΐᾳ τὴν ἀποικίαν στειλάντων ἀπόγονος, ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ῥωμαίων ἀριθμούμενος δι' ἀρενήν, μήτηρ δὲ Ταρκυνία τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου θυγάτηρ: αὐτὸς δὲ τροφῆς τε καὶ παιδείας τῆς ἐπιχωρίου πάσης μετέλαβε καὶ φύσιν 22 εἶχε πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν ἀντιπράττουσαν.

[68.1] The father of Brutus was Marcus Junius, a descendant of one of the colonists in the company of Aeneas, and a man who for his merits was ranked among the most illustrious of the Romans; his mother was Tarquinia, a daughter of the first King Tarquinius. He himself enjoyed the best upbringing and education that his country afforded and he had a nature not averse to any noble accomplishment.

[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ Τύλλιον ἀποκτείνας Ταρκύνιος σὺν ἄλλοις ἀνδράσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα διεχρήσατο ἀφανεῖ θανάτῳ δι' οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδίκημα, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου προαχθεὶς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν, ὃν ἐκ παλαιᾶς τε καὶ προγονικῆς παραλαβῶν εὐτυχίας ἐκέκτητο, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον υἱὸν εὐγενές τι φρόνημα διαφαίνοντα καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναντα, νέος ὢν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔτι καὶ κομιδῇ βοηθείας συγγενικῆς ἔρμος ἔργον ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι πάντων φρονιμώτατον, ἐπιθετον ἑαυτοῦ καταψεύσασθαι μωρίαν: καὶ διέμεινεν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου [p. 113] χρόνον, ἕως οὔ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔδοξε καιρὸν ἔχειν, φυλάττων τὸ προσποίημα τῆς ἀνοίας, ἐξ οὗ ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπωνυμίας: τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο μηδὲν δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου παθεῖν πολλῶν καὶ

[2] Tarquinius, after he had caused Tullius to be slain, put Junius' father also to death secretly, together with many other worthy men, not for any crime, but because he was in possession of the inheritance of an ancient family enriched by the good fortune of his ancestors, the spoils of which Tarquinius coveted; and together with the father he slew the elder son, who showed indications of a noble spirit unlikely to permit the death of his father to go unavenged. Thereupon Brutus, being still a youth and entirely destitute of all assistance from his family, undertook to follow the most prudent of all courses, which was to feign a stupidity that was not his; and he continued from that time to maintain this pretence of folly from which he acquired his surname, till he thought the proper time had come to throw it off. This saved him from suffering any harm at the hands of the tyrant at a time when many good men were perishing.

[1] καταφρονήσας γὰρ ὁ Ταρκύνιος τῆς δοκούσης εἶναι περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὑπαρχούσης μωρίας, ἀφελόμενος ἅπαντα τὰ πατρῷα, μικρὰ δ' εἰς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ἐπιχορηγῶν, ὡς παῖδα ὀρφανὸν ἐπιτρόπων ἔτι δεόμενον ἐφύλαττεν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι τε μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παιδῶν ἐπέτρεπεν, οὐ διὰ τιμὴν, ὡς ἐσκήπτετο πρὸς τοὺς πέλας οἷα δὴ συγγενῆς, ἀλλ' ἵνα γέλωτα παρέχῃ τοῖς μεираκίοις λέγων τ' ἀνόητα πολλὰ καὶ πράττων ὅμοια τοῖς κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἡλιθίοις.

[69.1] For Tarquinius, despising in him this stupidity, which was only apparent and not real, took all his inheritance from him, and allowing him a small maintenance for his daily support, kept him under his own authority, as an orphan who still stood in need of guardians, and permitted him to live with his own sons, not by way of honouring him as a kinsman, which was the pretence he made to his friends, but in order that Brutus, by saying many stupid things and by acting the part of a real fool, might amuse the lads.

[2] καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτε τῷ Δελφικῷ μαντεῖϊ χρησομένους ἀπέστελλε τοὺς δύο τῶν παιδῶν Ἄρροντα καὶ Τίτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ: κατέσκηψε γὰρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας οὐκ εἰωθῦα νόσος εἰς παρθένους τε καὶ παῖδας, ὑφ' ἧς πολλὰ διεφθάρη σώματα, χαλεπωτάτη δὲ καὶ δυσίατος εἰς τὰς κυούσας γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς βρέφεσιν ἀποκτείνουσα τὰς μητέρας ἐν ταῖς γοναῖς: τὴν τ' αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου γνῶναι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν λύσιν βουλόμενος συνέπεμψε κάκεινον ἅμα τοῖς μεираκίοις δεηθεῖσιν, ἵνα κατασκώπτειν τε καὶ περιυβρίξειν ἔχοιεν.

[2] And when he sent two of his sons, Arruns and Titus, to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the plague (for some uncommon malady had in his reign descended upon both maids and boys, and many died of it, but it fell with the greatest severity and without hope of cure upon women with child, destroying the mothers in travail together with their infants), desiring to learn from the

god both the cause of this distemper and the remedy for it, he sent Brutus along with the lads, at their request, so that they might have somebody to laugh at and abuse.

[3] ὥς δὲ παρεγενήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἔλαβον ὑπὲρ ὧν [p. 114] ἐπέμφθησαν, ἀναθήμασι δωρησάμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ Βρούτου πολλὰ καταγελάσαντες, ὅτι βακτηρίαν ξυλίνην ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι: ὁ δὲ διατρήσας αὐτὴν ὅλην ὥσπερ αὐλὸν χρυσὴν ῥάβδον ἐνέθηκεν οὐδενὸς ἐπισταμένου: μετὰ τοῦτ' ἡρώτων τὸν θεόν, τινὶ πέπρωται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἀνέειλε, τῷ πρώτῳ τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντι.

[3] When the youths had come to the oracle and had received answers concerning the matter upon which they were sent, they made their offerings to the god and laughed much at Brutus for offering a wooden staff to Apollo; in reality he had secretly hollowed the whole length of it like a tube and inserted a rod of gold. After this they inquired of the god which of them was destined to succeed to the sovereignty of Rome; and the god answered, "the one who should first kiss his mother."

[4] οἱ μὲν οὖν νεανίσκοι τοῦ χρησμοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγνοήσαντες συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα φιλῆσαι τὴν μητέρα βουλόμενοι κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχεῖν, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος συνείς ὁ βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ θεός, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη, προσκύψας κατεφίλησε τὴν γῆν, ταύτην οἰόμενος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι μητέρα. τὰ μὲν οὖν προγενόμενα τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοῦτῳ τοιαῦτ' ἦν.

[4] The youths, therefore, not knowing the meaning of the oracle, agreed together to kiss their mother at the same time, desiring to possess the kingship jointly; but Brutus, understanding what the god meant, as soon as he landed in Italy, stooped to the earth and kissed it, looking upon that as the common mother of all mankind. Such, then, were the earlier events in the life of this man.

[1] τότε δ' ὥς ἤκουσε τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τὰ συμβάντα τῇ Λουκρητίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῆς διηγουμένου τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν: ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, ὅσοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐπισκοπεῖτε βίον, ἄρα γ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦκει νῦν, ὃν ἐγὼ περιμένων ταύτην τοῦ βίου τὴν προσποιήσιν ἐφύλαττον; ἄρα πέπρωται Ῥωμαίοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δι' ἐμὲ τῆς ἀφορήτου τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγῆναι;

[70.1] On the occasion in question, when Brutus had heard Valerius relate all that had befallen Lucretia and describe her violent death, he lifted up his hands to Heaven and said: "O Jupiter and all ye gods who keep watch over the lives of men, has that time now come in expectation of which I have both keeping up this pretence in my manner of life? Has fate ordained that the

Romans shall by me and through me be delivered from this intolerable tyranny?"

[2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐχώρει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἅμα τῷ Κολλατίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθεν ὁ μὲν Κολλατῖνος ἰδὼν τὴν Λουκρητίαν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κειμένην καὶ τὸν πατέρα περικείμενον αὐτῇ μέγα ἀνοιμῶξας καὶ περιλαβὼν τὴν [p. 115] νεκρὰν κατεφίλει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ζῶσαν ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γεγονῶς ὑπὸ

[2] Having said this, he went in all haste to the house together with Collatinus and Valerius. When they came in Collatinus, seeing Lucretia lying in the midst and her father embracing her, uttered a loud cry and, throwing his arms about his wife's body, kept kissing her and calling her name and talking to her as if she had been alive; for he was out of his mind by reason of his calamity.

[3] τοῦ κακοῦ. πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ καταλοφουρομένου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν μέρει καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὅλης κλαυθμῷ καὶ θρήνοις κατεχομένης βλέψας εἰς αὐτοὺς ὁ Βροῦτος λέγει: μυρίους ἔξετε καιροὺς, ὦ Λουκρήτιε καὶ Κολλατῖνε καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ τῇ γυναικὶ προσήκοντες, ἐν οἷς αὐτὴν κλαύσετε, νυνὶ δ' ὡς τιμωρήσομεν αὐτῇ,

[3] While he and her father were pouring forth their lamentations in turn and the whole house was filled with wailing and mourning, Brutus, looking at them, said: "You will have countless opportunities, Lucretius, Collatinus, and all of you who are kinsmen of this woman, to bewail her fate; but now let us consider how to avenge her, for that is what the present moment calls for."

[4] σκοπῶμεν: τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐδόκει ταῦτ' εἰκότα λέγειν, καὶ καθεζόμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸν τ' οἰκετικὸν καὶ θητικὸν ὄχλον ἐκποδῶν μεταστήσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο, τί χρὴ πράττειν. πρῶτος δ' ὁ Βροῦτος ἀρξάμενος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν δοκοῦσαν τοῖς πολλοῖς μωρίαν οὐκ εἶχεν ἀληθινὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπίθετον, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας εἰπὼν, δι' αἷς τὸ προσποιήμα τοῦθ' ὑπέμεινε, καὶ δόξας ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι φρονιμώτατος, μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἅπαντας λαβόντας ἐξελάσαι Ταρκύνιον τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ εἰς τοῦτο διαλεχθεῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας εἶδεν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ὄντας οὐ λόγων ἔφη δεῖν οὐδ' ὑποσχέσεων, ἀλλ' ἔργων, εἴ τι τῶν δεόντων μέλλει γενήσεσθαι: ἄρξειν δὲ τούτων αὐτὸς ἔρη.

[4] His advice seemed good; and sitting down by themselves and ordering the slaves and attendants to withdraw, they consulted together what they ought to do. And first Brutus began to speak about himself, telling them that what was generally believed to be his stupidity was not real, but only assumed, and informing them of the reasons which had induced him to submit to this pretence; whereupon they regarded him as the wisest of all men. Next he endeavoured to persuade them all to be of one mind in expelling both

Tarquinius and his sons from Rome; and he used many alluring arguments to this end. When he found they were all of the same mind, he told them that what was needed was neither words nor promises, but deeds, if any of the needful things were to be accomplished; and he declare days that he himself would take the lead in such deeds.

[5] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτὴν ἢ γυνή, καὶ τῷ πτώματι προσελθὼν αὐτῆς: ἔτι γὰρ ἔκειτο ἐν φανερωῷ θέαμα οἰκτιστον: ὤμοσε τὸν τ' Ἄρη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πᾶν ὅσον [p. 116] δύναται πράξειν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς Ταρκυνίων δυναστείας, καὶ οὐτ' αὐτὸς διαλλαγήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους οὔτε τοῖς διαλλαττομένοις ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσεσθαι τὸν μὴ ταῦτὰ βουλόμενον καὶ μέχρι θανάτου τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ τοῖς συναγωνιζομένοις αὐτῇ διεχθρεῦσειν. εἰ δὲ παραβαίῃ τὸν ὄρκον τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τελευτήν ἡράσατο τοῦ βίου γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν, οἷας ἔτυχεν ἢ γυνή.

[5] Having said this, he took the dagger with which Lucretia had slain herself, and going to the body (for it still lay in view, a most piteous spectacle), he swore by Mars and all the other gods that he would do everything in his power to overthrow the dominion of the Tarquinii and that he would neither be reconciled to the tyrants himself nor tolerate any who should be reconciled to them, but would look upon every man who thought otherwise as an enemy and till his death would pursue with unrelenting hatred both the tyranny and its abettors; and if he should violate his oath, he prayed that he and his children might meet with the same end as Lucretia.

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον: οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσαντες ἀνίσταντο καὶ τὸ ξίφος δεχόμενοι παρ' ἀλλήλων ὤμνου. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκωμοσιῶν μετὰ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἐζήτουν, τίς ὁ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔσται τρόπος. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ὑποτίθεται τοιάδε: πρῶτον μὲν διὰ φυλακῆς τὰς πύλας ἔχωμεν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων κατὰ τῆς τυραννίδος αἰσθηται Ταρκύνιος, πρὶν ἢ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐτρεπῇ

[71.1] Having said this, he called upon all the rest also to take the same oath; and they, no longer hesitating, rose up, and receiving the dagger from one another, swore. After they had taken the oath they at once considered in what manner they should go about their undertaking. And Brutus advised them as follows: "First, let us keep the gates under guard, so that Tarquinius may have no intelligence of what is being said and done in the city against the tyranny till everything on our side is in readiness.

[2] γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα κομίσαντες τὸ σῶμα τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς ἔστιν αἵματι πεφυρμένον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προθέντες ἐν φανερωῷ συγκαλῶμεν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. ὅταν δὲ συνέλθῃ καὶ πλήθουσιν ἴδωμεν τὴν ἀγορὰν, προελθὼν Λουκρήτιός τε καὶ Κολλατίνος ἀποδυσάσθωσαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν

τύχας ἅπαντα τὰ γενόμενα φράσαντες.

[2] After that, let us carry the body of this woman, stained as it is with blood, into the Forum, and exposing it to the public view, call an assembly of the people. When they are assembled and we see the Forum crowded, let Lucretius and Collatinus come forward and bewail their misfortunes, after first relating everything that has happened.

[3] ἔπειτα τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος παριῶν κατηγορεῖτω τῆς τυραννίδος καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν [p. 117] παρακαλεῖτω. ἔσται δὲ πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοις κατ' εὐχὴν, ἐὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πατρικίους ἄρχοντας τῆς ἐλευθερίας: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ μικρᾶς ἀφορμῆς δέονται. ὅταν δὲ λάβωμεν τὸ πλῆθος ὠρμημένον καταλῦσαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ψῆφόν τ' αὐτοῖς ἀναδῶμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι Ῥωμαίων Ταρκύνιον ἄρξειν καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων δόγμα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου διαπεμφώμεθα ἐν τάχει.

[3] Next, let each of the others come forward, inveigh against the tyranny, and summon the citizens to liberty. It will be what all Romans have devoutly wished if they see us, the patricians, making the first move on behalf of liberty. For they have suffered many dreadful wrongs at the hands of the tyrant and need but slight encouragement. And when we find the people ager to overthrow the monarchy, let us give them an opportunity to vote that Tarquinius shall no longer rule over the Romans, and let us send their decree to this effect to the soldiers in the camp in all haste.

[4] καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες, εἰ μάθοιεν, ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐστὶν ἀλλότρια, πρόθυμοι περὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν γενήσονται οὔτε δωρεαῖς ἔτι κατεχόμενοι ὥς πρότερον οὔτε τὰς ὕβρεις τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν τε καὶ κολάκων φέρειν δυνάμενοι.

[4] For when those who have arms in their hands hear that the whole city is alienated from the tyrant they will become zealous for the liberty of their country and will no longer, as hitherto, be restrained by bribes or able to bear the insolent acts of the sons and flatterers of Tarquinius.”

[5] ταῦτα λέξαντος αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον Οὐαλέριος, Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ἔφησεν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιλογίζεσθαι μοι δοκεῖς, Ιουνίε: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔτι βούλομαι μαθεῖν, τίς ὁ καλέσων ἔσται αὐτὴν κατὰ νόμους καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἀναδῶσων ταῖς φράτραις. ἄρχοντι γὰρ ἀποδεδόται τοῦτο πράττειν: ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχει. ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν: ἐγώ, φησίν, ὦ Οὐαλέριε.

[5] After he had spoken thus, Valerius took up the discussion and said: “In other respects you seem to me to reason well, Junius; but concerning the assembly of the people, I wish to know further who is to summon it according to law and propose the vote to the curiae. For this is the business of a magistrate and none of us holds a magistracy.”

[6] τῶν γὰρ Κελερίων ἄρχων εἰμί, καὶ ἀποδέδοται μοι κατὰ νόμους ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτε βουλοίμην, συγκαλεῖν. ἔδωκε δέ μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὁ τύραννος μεγίστην οὖσαν ὡς ἡλιθίῳ καὶ οὐτ' εἰσομένῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς οὐτ', εἰ γνοίην, χρησομένῳ: καὶ τὸν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου λόγον πρῶτος ἐγὼ διαθήσομαι. [p. 118]

[6] To this Brutus answered: "I will, Valerius; for I am commander of the celeres and I have the power by law of calling an assembly of the people when I please. The tyrant gave me this most important magistracy in the belief that I was a fool and either would not be aware of the power attaching to it or, if I did recognize it, would not use it. And I myself will deliver the first speech against the tyrant."

[1] ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσαν ἅπαντες, ἐπήνεσάν τε καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ καλῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀρξάμενον καὶ νομίμου τὰ λοιπὰ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἤξιουν. κάκεῖνος εἶπεν, Ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα οὕτω πράττειν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, σκοπώμεθα πάλιν, τίς ἡ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύσουσα ἀρχὴ γενήσεται μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἀνδρός, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, ὅστις ἔσται πολιτείας κόσμος, ὃν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τοῦ τυράννου καταστησόμεθα. βεβουλεῦσθαι γὰρ ἅπαντα βέλτιον, πρὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔργῳ τηλικῷδε, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνεξέταστον ἀφεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀπροβούλευτον. ἀποφαινέσθω δὴ περὶ

[72.1] Upon hearing this they all applauded him for beginning with an honourable and lawful principle, and they asked him to tell the rest of his plans. And he continued: "Since you have resolved to follow this course, let us further consider what magistracy shall govern the commonwealth after the expulsion of the kings, and by what man it shall be created, and, even before that, what form of government we shall establish as we get rid of the tyrant. For it is better to have considered everything before attempting so important an undertaking and to have left nothing unexamined or unconsidered. Let each one of you, accordingly, declare his opinion concerning these matters."

[2] τούτων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἃ φρονεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐλέχθησαν πολλοὶ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγοι. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν βασιλικὴν αὐθις καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν ἐξαριθμουμένους, ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησαν ἀγαθὰ πάντες οἱ πρότεροι βασιλεῖς: τοῖς δὲ μηκέτι ποιεῖν ἐφ' ἐνὶ δυνάστει τὰ κοινὰ τὰς τυραννικὰς διεξιούσι παρανομίας, αἷς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν ἐχρήσαντο καὶ Ταρκύνιος τελευτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάντων ἀποδείξαι κύριον ὡς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων:

[2] After this many speeches were made by many different men. Some were any other the opinion that they ought to establish a monarchical government again, and they recounted the great benefits the state had received from all the former kings. Others believed that they ought no longer to entrust the government to a single ruler, and they enumerated the tyrannical excesses which many other kings and Tarquinius, last of all, had committed against

their own people; but they thought they ought to make the senate supreme in all matters, according to the practice of many Greek cities.

[3] οἱ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδετέραν προηροῦντο τῶν πολιτειῶν, δημοκρατίαν δὲ συνεβούλευον ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησι καταστήσαι, τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας τῶν ὀλίγων προφερόμενοι καὶ τὰς στάσεις τὰς γινομένας τοῖς ταπεινοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας [p. 119] ἔλευθέρᾳ τε πόλει τὴν ἰσονομίαν ἀποφαίνοντες ἀσφαλεστάτην οὖσαν καὶ πρεπωδεστάτην τῶν πολιτειῶν.

[3] And still others liked neither of these forms of government, but advised them to establish a democracy like at Athens; they pointed to the insolence and avarice of the few and to the seditions usually stirred up by the lower classes against their superiors, and they declared that for a free commonwealth the equality of the citizens was of all forms of government the safest and the most becoming.

[1] χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσκρίτου τῆς αἰρέσεως ἅπασι φαινομένης διὰ τὰς παρακολουθοῦσας ἐκάστη τῶν πολιτειῶν κακίας τελευταῖος παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Βροῦτος εἶπεν: ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Λουκρήτιε καὶ Κολλατῖνε καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ παρόντες ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, καινὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν οἶομαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς καθίστασθαι πολιτείαν κατὰ τὸ παρόν: ὃ τε γὰρ καιρὸς, εἰς ὃν συνήγμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, βραχύς, ἐν ᾧ μεθαρμόσασθαι πόλεως κόσμον οὐ ῥᾶδιον, ἢ τε πεῖρα τῆς μεταβολῆς, κἂν τὰ κράτιστα τύχωμεν περὶ αὐτῆς βουλευσάμενοι, σφαλερὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος, ἐξέσται θ' ἡμῖν ὕστερον, ὅταν ἀπαλλαγῶμεν τῆς τυραννίδος μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν βουλευομένοις τὴν κρείττονα πολιτείαν ἀντὶ τῆς χειρόνος ἐλέσθαι, εἰ δὴ τις ἄρα ἔστι κρείττων, ἥς Ὑμῦλος τε καὶ Πομπήλιος καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους βασιλεῖς καταστησάμενοι παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν, ἐξ ἧς μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων καὶ πολλῶν ἄρχουσα ἀνθρώπων ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διετέλεσεν.

[73.1] The choice appearing to all of them difficult and hard to decide upon by reason of the evils attendant upon each form of government, Brutus took up the discussion as the final speaker and said: "It is my opinion, Lucretius, Collatinus, and all of you here present, good men yourselves and descended from good men, that we ought not in the present situation to establish any new form of government. For the time to which we are limited by the circumstances is short, so that it is not easy to reform the constitution of the state, and the very attempt to change it, even though we should happen to be guided by the very best counsels, is precarious and not without danger. And besides, it will be possible later, when we are rid of the tyranny, to deliberate with greater freedom and at leisure and thus choose a better form of government in place of a poorer one — if, indeed, there is any constitution better than the one which Romulus, Pompilius and all the succeeding kings instituted and handed down to us, by means of which our commonwealth has continued to be great and prosperous and to rule over many subjects.

[2] ἃ δὲ παρακολουθεῖν εἴωθε ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπὰ, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τυραννικὴν ὠμότητα περιστάνται καὶ δι' ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἅπαντες αὐτάς, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἵνα μηδ' ἐξ ὑστέρου γένηται

[2] But as for the evils which generally attend monarchies and because of which they degenerate into a tyrannical cruelty and are abhorred by all mankind, I advise you to correct these now and at the same time to take precautions that they shall never again occur hereafter.

[3] ποτε φυλάξασθαι παραινῶ. τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πραγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ [p. 120] σκοποῦσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ προσίενται τίνα τῶν βλαβερῶν ἢ φεύγουσι τῶν ὠφελίμων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, μεταθέσθαι τοῦνομα τῆς πολιτείας ὑμῖν παραινῶ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔξειν τὴν ἀπάντων ἐξουσίαν μήτε βασιλεῖς ἔτι μήτε μονάρχους καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετριοτέραν τινὰ καὶ φιλανθρωποτέραν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θέσθαι προσηγορίαν.

[3] And what are these evils? In the first place, since most people look at the names of things and, influenced by them, either admit some that are hurtful or shrink from others that are useful, of which monarchy happens to be one, I advise you to change the name of the government and no longer to call those who shall have the supreme power either kings or monarchs, but to give them a more modest and humane title.

[4] ἔπειτα μὴ ποιεῖν μίαν γνώμην ἀπάντων κυρίαν, ἀλλὰ δυσὶν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀνδράσι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς Λακεδαιμονίους πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἤδη γενεάς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀπάντων μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνομεῖσθαι τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν: ἦττον γὰρ ὕβρισταὶ καὶ βαρεῖς ἔσονται διαιρεθείσης τῆς ἐξουσίας διχῇ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντος ἰσχύϊν ἑκατέρου: αἰδῶς τ' ἀλλήλων καὶ κῶλυσις τοῦ καθ' ἡδονὴν ζῆν φιλοτιμία τε πρὸς ἀρετῆς δόκησιν ἐκ ταύτης γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκάστω τῆς ἰσοτιμίου δυναστείας μάλιστα.

[4] In the next place, I advise you not to make one man's judgment the supreme authority over all, but to entrust the royal power to two men, as I am informed the Lacedaemonians have been doing now for many generations, in consequence of which form of government they are said to be the best governed and the most prosperous people among the Greeks. For the rulers will be less arrogant and vexatious when the power is divided between two and each has the same authority; moreover, mutual respect, the ability of each to prevent the other from living as suits his pleasure, and a rivalry between them for the attainment of a reputation for virtue would be most likely to result from such equality of power and honour.

[1] τῶν τε παρασῆμων, ἃ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀποδέδεται, πολλῶν ὄντων εἴ τινα λυπηρὰς ὄψεις καὶ ἐπιφθόνους τοῖς πολλοῖς παρέχεται, τὰ μὲν μειῶσαι, τὰ

δ' ἀφελεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴομαι δεῖν: τὰ σκῆπτρα ταυτὶ λέγω καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦς στεφάνους καὶ τὰς ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσοσήμους ἀμπεχόνας, πλὴν εἰ μὴ κατὰ καιροὺς τινας ἑορταίους καὶ ἐν πομπαῖς θριάμβων, ὅτε αὐτὰ τιμῆς θεῶν ἔνεκα λήφονται: λυπήσει γὰρ οὐδέν', ἐὰν γένηται σπάνια: θρόνον δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλεφάντινον, [p. 121] ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενοι δικάσουσι, καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα περιπόρφυρον καὶ τοὺς προηγουμένους ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις δώδεκα πελέκεις καταλιπεῖν.

[74.1] “And inasmuch as the insignia which have been granted to the kings are numerous, I believe that if any of these are grievous and invidious in the eyes of the multitude we ought to modify some of them and abolish others — I mean these sceptres and golden crowns, the purple and gold-embroidered robes — unless it be upon certain festal occasions and in triumphal processions, when the rulers will assume them in honour of the gods; for they will offend no one if they are seldom used. But I think we ought to leave to the men the ivory chair, in which they will sit in judgment, and also the white robe bordered with purple, together with the twelve axes to be carried before them when they appear in public.

[2] ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, ὃ πάντων οἴομαι τῶν εἰρημένων χρησιμώτατον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτιώτατον, μὴ διὰ βίου τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔαν ἄρχειν: χαλεπὴ γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀόριστος ἀρχὴ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξέτασιν διδοῦσα τῶνπραπτομένων, ἐξ ἧς φύεται τυραννίς: ἀλλ' εἰς ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον, ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γίνεται, τὸ κράτος τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάγειν.

[2] There is one thing more which in my opinion will be of greater advantage than all that I have mentioned and the most effectual means of preventing those who shall receive this magistracy from committing many errors, and that is, not to permit the same persons to hold office for life (for a magistracy unlimited in time and not obliged to give any account of its actions is grievous to all and productive of tyranny), but to limit the power of the magistracy to a year, as the Athenians do.

[3] τὸ γὰρ ἐν μέρει τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διαφθαρῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας συστέλλει τὰς αὐθάδεις φύσεις καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ μεθύσκεσθαι ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὰ ἥθη. ταῦθ' ἡμῖν καταστησάμενοις ὑπάρξει τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ καρποῦσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς πολιτείας, τῶν δὲ παρακολουθούντων αὐτῇ κακῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι.

[3] For this principle, by which the same person both rules and is ruled in turn and surrenders his authority before his mind has been corrupted, restrains arrogant dispositions and does not permit men's natures to grow intoxicated with power. If we establish these regulations we should be able to enjoy all the benefits that flow from monarchy and at the same time to be rid of the evils that attend it.

[4] Ἰνα δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας πάτριον ὑπάρχον ἡμῖν καὶ σὺν οἰωνοῖς αἰσίοις θεῶν ἐπικυρωσάντων παρεληλυθὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς ἔνεκα τῆς ὁσίας φυλάττηται, ἱερῶν ἀποδεικνύσθω τις ἀεὶ βασιλεὺς, ὁ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἔξω διὰ βίου, πάσης ἀπολελυμένος πολεμικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀσχολίας, ἐν τοῦτο μόνον ἔχων ἔργον ὥσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν θυηπολιῶν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. [p. 122]

[4] But to the end that the name, too, of the kingly power, which is traditional with us and made its way into our commonwealth with favourable auguries that manifested the approbation of the gods, may be preserved for form's sake, let there always be appointed a king of sacred rites, who shall enjoy the honour for life exempt from all military and civil duties and, like the "king" at Athens, exercising this single function, the superintendence of the sacrifices, and no other.

[1] Ὦν δὲ τρόπον ἔσται τούτων ἕκαστον, ἀκούσατέ μου: συνάξω μὲν ἐγὼ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ συγκεχώρηται μοι κατὰ νόμον καὶ γνώμην εἰσηγήσομαι: φεύγειν Ταρκύνιον ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πόλεως τε καὶ χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαίων εἰργομένους τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν: ὅταν δ' ἐπιψηφίσωσι τὴν γνώμην οἱ πολῖται, δηλώσας αὐτοῖς ἦν διανοοῦμεθα καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν μεσοβασιλέα ἐλοῦμαι τὸν ἀποδείξοντα τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὰ κοινά, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθήσομαι τὴν τῶν Κελερίων ἀρχήν.

[75.1] "In what manner each of these measures shall be effected I will now tell you. I will summon the assembly, as I said, since this power is accorded me by law, and will propose this resolution: That Tarquinius be banished with his wife and children, and that they and their posterity as well be forever debarred both from the city and from the Roman territory. After the citizens have passed this vote I will explain to them the form of government we propose to establish; next, I will choose an interrex to appoint the magistrates who are to take over the administration of public affairs, and I will then resign the command of the celeres.

[2] ὁ δὲ κατασταθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεσοβασιλεὺς συναγαγὼν τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ὀνομασάτω τε τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔξειν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ψήφον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῖς πολίταις δότω: ἔάν δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι δόξη λόχοις κυρίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὰ μαντεύματα γένηται περὶ αὐτῶν καλὰ, τοὺς πελέκεις οὔτοι παραλαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σύμβολα πραττέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐλευθέραν οἰκήσομεν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μηκέτι κάθοδον ἔξουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν Ταρκύνιοι: πειράσσονται γάρ, εὔ ἴστε, καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ βίᾳ καὶ δόλῳ καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ παρελθεῖν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν, ἔάν μὴ φυλαττώμεθα αὐτούς.

[2] Let the interrex appointed by me call together the centuriate assembly, and having nominated the persons who are to hold the annual magistracy, let him

permit the citizens to vote upon them; and if the majority of the centuries are in favour of ratifying his choice of men and the auguries concerning them are favourable, let these men assume the axes and the other insignia of royalty and see to it that our country shall enjoy its liberty and that the Tarquinii shall nevermore return. For they will endeavour, be assured, by persuasion, violence, fraud and every other means to get back into power unless we are upon our guard against them.

[3] ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὧν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν ἔχω καὶ παραινεῖν: τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ οὐ ῥάδια νῦν δι' ἀκριβείας ἐξετασθῆναι: συνήγημεθα γὰρ εἰς καιρὸν ὁξύν: [p. 123] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἴομαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι τοῖς παραληφόμενοις τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3] “These are the most important and essential measures that I have to propose to you at present and to advise you to adopt. As for the details, which are many and not easy to examine with precision at the present time (for we are brought to an acute crisis), I think we leave them to the men themselves who are to take over the magistracy.

[4] σκοπεῖσθαι μέντοι φημὶ χρῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἅπαντα μετὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐποιοῦν, καὶ μηδὲν πράττειν δίχα ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ φέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἔθος ἦν, μηδενὸς ἀφαιρουμένους αὐτὸν ὧν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον καιροῖς κύριος ἦν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα ἔξει τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[4] But I do say that these magistrates ought to consult with the senate in everything, as the kings formerly did, and to do nothing without your advice, and that they ought to lay before the people the decrees of the senate, according to the practice of our ancestors, depriving them of none of the privileges which they possessed in earlier times. For thus their magistracy will be most secure and most excellent.”

[1] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἰουνίου Βρούτου πάντες ἐπήνεσαν καὶ αὐτίκα περὶ τῶν παραληφόμενων τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀνδρῶν βουλευόμενοι μεσοβασιλέα μὲν ἔκριναν ἀποδειχθῆναι Σπόριον Λουκρήτιον τὸν πατέρα τῆς διαχρησαμένης ἑαυτῆς: ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ἔξοντας τὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἐξουσίαν ὀνομασθῆναι Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον Κολλατῖνον.

[76] After Junius Brutus had delivered this opinion they all approved it, and straightway consulting about the persons who were to take over the magistracies, they decided that Spurius Lucretius, the father of the woman who had killed herself, will be appointed interrex, and that Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus should be nominated by him to exercise the power of the kings.

[2] τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας τούτους ἔταξαν καλεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον

κωνσούλας: τοῦτο μεθερμηνευόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν τοῦνομα συμβούλους ἢ προβούλους δύναται δηλοῦν, κωνσίλια γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς συμβουλὰς καλοῦσιν: ὕπατοι δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ χρόνον ὠνομάσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅτι πάντων τ' ἄρχουσι καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω χώραν ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ ὑπερέχον καὶ

[2] And they ordered that these magistrates should be called in their language consules; this, translated into the Greek language, may signify symbouloi (“counsellors”) or probouloi (“pre-counsellors”), for the Romans call our symboulai (“counsels”) consilia. But in the course of time they came to be called by the Greeks hypatoi (“supreme”) from the greatness of their power, because they command all the citizens and have the highest rank; for the ancients called that which was outstanding and superlative hypaton.

[3] ἄκρον ὕπατον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοί τε καὶ καταστησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαῖς [p. 124] λιτανεύσαντες συλλαβέσθαι σφίσιν ὁσίων καὶ δικαίων ἔργων ἐφιεμένοις ἐξήρισαν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ θεράποντες ἐπὶ κλίνης μέλασιν ἀμφίοις ἐστρωμένης κομιζόντες ἀθεράπευτόν τε καὶ πεφυρμένην αἷματι τὴν νεκράν: ἦν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τεθῆναι κελεύσαντες ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιφανῆ συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.

[3] Having discussed and settled these matters, they besought the gods to assist them in the pursuit of their holy and just aims, and then went to the Forum. They were followed by their slaves, who carried upon a bier spread with black cloth the body of Lucretia, unprepared for burial and stained with blood; and directing them to place it in a high and conspicuous position before the senate-house, they called an assembly of the people.

[4] ὄχλου δὲ συναχθέντος οὐ μόνον τοῦ κατ' ἀγοράν τότε ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην: διεξήρισαν γὰρ οἱ κήρυκες διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν καλοῦντες: ἀναβάς ὁ Βροῦτος, ἔνθα τοῖς συνάγουσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας δημηγορεῖν ἔθος ἦν, καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους παραστησάμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[4] When a crowd had gathered, not only of those who were in the Forum at the time but also of those who came from all parts of the city (for the heralds had gone through all the streets to summon the people thither), Brutus ascended the tribunal from which it was the custom for those who assembled the people to address them, and having placed the patricians near them, spoke as follows:

[1] ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαιῶν καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους μέλλων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, ἄνδρες πολῖται, περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ πρῶτον ὀλίγα βούλομαι προειπεῖν: ἴσως γάρ τισιν ὑμῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοῖς τεταράχθαι δόξω τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀνὴρ οὐ φρενήρης περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν, ὃ

[77.1] “Citizens, as I am going to speak to you upon urgent matters of general interest, I desire first to say a few words about myself. For by some, perhaps, or more accurately, as I know, by many of you, I shall be thought to be disordered in my intellect when I, a man of unsound mind, attempt to speak upon matters of the greatest importance — a man who, as being not mentally sound, has need of guardians.

[2] ἴστε δὴ τὴν κοινὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἣν περὶ ἐμοῦ πάντες εἶχετε ὡς ἡλιθίου, ψευδῇ γενομένην καὶ οὐχ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς κατασκευασθεῖσαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ. ὁ δ’ ἀναγκάσας με μὴθ’ ὡς ἡ φύσις ἡξίου μὴθ’ ὡς ἡρμοττέ μοι ζῆν, ἀλλ’ ὡς Ταρκυνίῳ τ’ ἦν βουλομένῳ κάμοι συνοίσειν ἔδοξεν, ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φόβος ἦν.

[2] Know, then, that the general opinion you all entertained of me as of a fool was false and contrived by me and by me alone. That which compelled me to live, not as my nature demanded or as beseemed me, but as was agreeable to Tarquinius and seemed likely to be to my own advantage, was the fear I felt for my life.

[3] πατέρα γάρ μου Ταρκύνιος ἀποκτείνας ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ κατάσχοι [p. 125] πολλὴν σφόδρα οὔσαν, καὶ ἀδελφὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὃς ἔμελλε τιμωρήσειν τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρός, εἰ μὴ γένοιτο ἐκποδῶν, ἀφανεῖ θανάτῳ διαχρησάμενος, οὐδ’ ἐμοῦ δῆλος ἦν φεισόμενος ἐρήμου τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων γεγονότος, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐπίθετον ἐσκηψάμην μωρίαν.

[3] For my father was put to death by Tarquinius upon his accession to the sovereignty, in order that he might possess himself of his property, which was very considerable, and my elder brother, who would have avenged his father’s death if he had not been put out of the way, was secretly murdered by the tyrant; nor was it clear that he would spare me, either, now left destitute of my nearest relations, if I had not pretended a folly that was not genuine.

[4] τοῦτό με τὸ πλάσμα πιστευθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου μὴ ταῦτά παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἐρρύσατο καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος διασέσωκε χρόνον: νῦν δ’ αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἥκει γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν εὐχόμεν τε καὶ προσεδεχόμεν, πέμπτον ἤδη τοῦτο καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος φυλάξας ἀποτίθεμαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα.

[4] This fiction, finding credit with the tyrant, saved me from the same treatment that they had experienced and has preserved me to this day; but since the time has come at last which I have prayed for and looked forward to, I am now laying it aside for the first time, after maintaining it for twenty-five years. So much concerning myself.

[1] τὰ δὲ κοινὰ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμᾶς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλεσα, ταῦτ' ἐστί. Ταρκύνιον οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἡμῶν ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους τὴν δυναστείαν κατασχόντα οὐτ', ἐπειδὴ κατέσχεν ὅπως δὴ ποτε λαβὼν, καλῶς αὐτῇ καὶ βασιλικῶς χρώμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπερβεβληκότα πάντας ὕβρει τε καὶ παρανομίᾳ τοὺς ὅπου δὴ ποτε γενομένους τυράννους, ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν βεβουλεύμεθα συνελθόντες οἱ πατρίκιοι, πάλαι μὲν δεόν, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ νῦν αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες ἐπιτηδεῖω, ὑμᾶς τ', ὧς δημόται, συνεκαλέσαμεν, ἵνα τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀποδειξάμενοι τὴν ἐαυτῶν συναγωνιστὰς ἀξιώσωμεν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, πράττοντας ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι, ἥς οὔτε πρότερον ἡμῖν ἐξεγένετο μεταλαβεῖν, ἐξ οὗ Ταρκύνιος τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν, οὐθ' ὕστερον, ἐὰν νῦν μαλακισθῶμεν, ἐξέσται.

[78] "The state of public affairs, because of which I have called you together, is this: Inasmuch as Tarquinius neither obtained the sovereignty in accordance with our ancestral customs and laws, nor, since he obtained it — in whatever manner he got it — has he been exercising it in an honourable or kingly manner, but has surpassed in insolence and lawlessness all the tyrants the world ever saw, we patricians met together and resolved to deprive him of his power, a thing we ought to have done long ago, but are doing now when a favourable opportunity has offered. And we have called you together, plebeians, in order to declare our own decision and then ask for your assistance in achieving liberty for our country, a blessing which we might have hitherto been able to enjoy since Tarquinius obtained the sovereignty, nor shall hereafter be able to enjoy if we show weakness now.

[2] εἰ μὲν οὖν χρόνον εἶχον, ὅσον [p. 126] ἐβουλόμην, ἢ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας ἔμελλον λέγειν, ἀπάσας διεξῆλθον ἂν τὰς τοῦ τυράννου παρανομίας, ἐφ' αἷς οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἅπασιν εἶη δίκαιος ἀπολωλέναι: ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ τε καιρὸς, ὃν τὰ πράγματα μοι δίδωσι, βραχύς, ἐν ᾧ λέγειν μὲν ὀλίγα δεῖ, πράττειν δὲ πολλά, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας οἱ λόγοι, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐδ' ἀπολογίας οὐδεμιᾶς δυνάμενα τυχεῖν, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω.

[2] Had I as much time as I could wish, or were I about to speak to men unacquainted with the facts, I should have enumerated all the lawless deeds of the tyrant for which he deserves to die, not once, but many times, at the hands of all. But since the time permitted me by the circumstances is short, and in this brief time there is little that needs to be said but much to be done, and since I am speaking to those who are acquainted with the facts, I shall remind you merely of those of his deeds that are the most heinous and the most conspicuous and do not admit of any excuse.

[1] οὗτός ἐστιν, ἄνδρες πολῖται, ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὁ πρὸ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἄρροντα τὸν γνήσιον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι πονηρὸς οὐκ ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι, φαρμάκοις διαχρησάμενος, συνεργὸν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μῦθος λαβὼν τὴν ἐκείνου γυναικα, τῆς δ' αὐτῷ συνοικουσης ἀδελφὴν, ἣν ἐμοίχευεν ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς

ἔτι καὶ πάλαι:

[79.1] “This is that Tarquinius, citizens, who, before he took over the sovereignty, destroyed his own brother Arruns by poison because he would not consent to become wicked, in which abominable crime he was assisted by his brother’s wife, the sister of his own wife, whom this enemy of the gods had even long before debauched.

[2] 24 οὗτος ὁ τὴν γαμετὴν γυναῖκα, σὺφρονα καὶ τέκνων κοινωνὸν γεγυῖαν, ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν φαρμάκων ἀποκτεῖνας οὐδ’ ἀφοσιώσασθαι τῶν φαρμακειῶν ἀμφοτέρων τὰς διαβολάς, ὥς οὐχ ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ γενομένων, ἠξίωσεν ἐλεεινῶ χρησάμενος σχήματι καὶ μικρᾷ προσποιήσει πένθους, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ αὐτὰ διαπράξασθαι τὰ θαυμαστά ἔργα, πρὶν ἢ μαρανθῆναι τὰς ὑποδεξαμένας τὰ δύστηνα σώματα πυράς, φίλους εἰστία καὶ γάμους ἐπετέλει καὶ τὴν ἀνδροφόνον νύμφην ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς θάλαμον ἦγετο τὰς ἀπορρήτους ἐμπεδῶν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁμολογίας: ἀνόσια καὶ ἐξάγιστα [p. 127] καὶ οὐθ’ Ἑλλάδος οὔτε βαρβάρου γῆς οὐδαμῶθι γενόμενα πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν εἰσαγαγὼν καὶ

[2] This is the man who on the same days and with the same poisons killed his wedded wife, a virtuous woman who had also been the mother of children by him, and did not even deign to clear himself of the blame for both of these poisonings and make it appear that they were not his work, by assuming a mourning garb and some slight pretence of grief; nay, close upon the heels of his committing those monstrous deeds and before the funeral-pyre which had received those miserable bodies had died away, he gave a banquet to his friends, celebrated his nuptials, and led the murderess of her husband as a bride to the bed of her sister, thus fulfilling the abominable contract he had made with her and being the first and the only man who ever introduced into the city of Rome such impious and execrable crimes unknown to any nation in the world, either Greek or barbarian.

[3] μόνος. οἷα δ’ ἐξεργάσατο, ὧς δημόται, τὰ περιβόητα καὶ δεινὰ περὶ τοὺς κηδεστὰς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιχειρήματα ἐπὶ ταῖς δυσμαῖς ὄντας ἤδη τοῦ βίου; Σερούιον μὲν Τύλλιον τὸν ἐπικέστατον τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πλεῖστα ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσαντα φανερώς ἀποσφάξας καὶ οὗτ’ ἐκκομιδῆς οὔτε ταφῆς ἑάσας νομίμου τὸ σῶμα τυχεῖν:

[3] And how infamous and dreadful, plebeians, were the crimes he committed against both his parents-in-law when they were already in the sunset of their lives! Servius Tullius, the most excellent of your kings and your greatest benefactor, he openly murdered and would not permit his body to be honoured with either the funeral or the burial that were customary;

[4] Ταρκυνίαν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκα, ἣν προσῆκεν αὐτῷ τιμᾶν ὥσπερ μητέρα, πατρὸς ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν καὶ σπουδαίαν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένην, πρὶν

ἦ πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα τῷ κατὰ γῆς ἀνδρὶ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀθλίαν ἀγχόνῃ διαχρησάμενος, ὅφ' ὧν ἐσώθη καὶ παρ' οἷς ἐτράφη καὶ οὕς διαδέξεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔμελλεν ὀλίγον ἀναμείνας, ἕως ὃ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς παραγέννηται θάνατος.

[4] and Tarquinia, the wife of Tullius, whom, as she was the sister of his father and had always shown great kindness to him, it was fitting that he should honour as a mother, he destroyed, unhappy woman, by the noose, without allowing her time to mourn her husband under the sod and to perform the customary sacrifices for him. Thus he treated those by whom he had been preserved, by whom he had been reared, and whom after their death he was to have succeeded if he had waited but a short time till death came to them in the course of nature.

[1] ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτοις ἐπιτιμῷ τοσαύτας ἔχων αὐτοῦ παρανομίας κατηγορεῖν ἔξω τῶν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ κηδεστὰς γενομένων, τὰς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελεσθείσας, εἰ δὴ καὶ παρανομίας δεῖ καλεῖν αὐτάς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνατροπὰς καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς ἀπάντων τῶν τε νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἐθῶν; αὐτίκα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἢ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄρξωμαι, πῶς παρέλαβεν; ἄρα γ' ὥς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς; πόθεν; [p. 128]

[80.1] “But why do I censure these crimes committed against his relations and his kin by marriage when, apart from them, I have so many other unlawful acts of which to accuse him, which he has committed against his country and against us all — if, indeed, they ought to be called merely unlawful acts and not rather the subversion and extinction of all that is sanctioned by our laws and customs? Take, for instance, the sovereignty — to begin with that. How did he obtain it? Did he follow the example of the former kings? Far from it!

[2] πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι πάντες ὅφ' ὅμων ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας παρήγοντο κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους; πρῶτον μὲν ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γραφέντος, ἣ περὶ πάντων ἀποδέδοται τῶν κοινῶν προβουλευεῖν; ἔπειτα μεσοβασιλέων αἵρεθέντων, οἷς ἐπιτρέπεται τὸ συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν ἀξίων τῆς ἀρχῆς διαγνῶναι τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον; μετὰ ταῦτα ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντος ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις τοῦ δήμου, μέθ' ἧς ἅπαντα ἐπικυροῦσθαι βούλεται τὰ μέγιστα ὁ νόμος; ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τοῦτοις οἰωνῶν καὶ σφαγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων καλῶν γενομένων, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης σπουδῆς καὶ προνοίας ὄφελος.

[2] The others were all advanced to the sovereignty by you according to our ancestral customs and laws, first, by a decree of the senate, which body has been given the right to deliberate first concerning all public affairs; next, by the appointment of interreges, whom the senate entrusts with the selection of the most suitable man from among those who are worthy of the sovereignty; after that, by a vote of the people in the comitia, by which vote the law requires that all matters of the greatest moment shall be ratified; and, last of

all, by the approbation of the auguries, sacrificial victims and other signs, without which human diligence and foresight would be of no avail.

[3] φέρε δὴ τί τούτων οἶδέ τις ὑμῶν γενόμενον, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ταρκύνιος ἐλάμβανε; ποῖον προβούλευμα συνεδρίου; τίνα μεσοβασιλέων διάγνωσιν; ποῖαν δῆμου ψηφοφορίαν; ποίους οἰωνοὺς αἰσίους; οὐ λέγων ταῦτα πάντα, καίτοι δέον, εἰ γοῦν ἔμελλεν ἔξειν καλῶς, μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ἔθει κατὰ τοὺς νόμους παραλελειφθαι, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐν μόνον ἔξη τούτων ἐπιδείξαι γεγονός, οὐκ ἄξιόν τὰ παραλειφθέντα συκοφαντεῖν. πῶς οὖν παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν δυναστείαν; ὄπλοις καὶ βίᾳ καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνωμοσίαις, ὡς τυράννοις ἔθος, ἀκόντων ὑμῶν καὶ δυσχεραινόντων.

[3] Well, then, which of these things does any one of you know to have been done when Tarquinius was obtaining the sovereignty? What preliminary decree of the senate was there? What decision on the part of the interreges? What vote of the people? What favourable auguries? I do not ask whether all these formalities were observed, though it was necessary, if all was to be well, that nothing founded either in custom or in law should have been omitted; but if it can be shown that any one of them was observed, I am content not to quibble about those that were omitted. How, then, did he come to the sovereignty? By arms, by violence, and by the conspiracies of wicked men, according to the custom of tyrants, in spite of your disapproval and indignation.

[4] φέρε, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατέσχε τὴν δυναστείαν ὅπωςδῆποτε λαβὼν, ἄρα βασιλικῶς αὐτῇ κέχρηται ζηλῶν τοὺς προτέρους ἡγεμόνας, [p. 129] οἱ λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τοιαῦτα διετέλουν, ἐξ ὧν εὐδαιμονεστέραν τε καὶ μειζω τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις παρέδωσαν, ἧς αὐτοὶ παρέλαβον; καὶ τίς ἂν ὑγιαίνων ταῦτα φήσειεν, ὁρῶν ὡς οἰκτρῶς καὶ κακῶς ἅπαντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διατεθείμεθα;

[4] Well, but after he had obtained the sovereignty — in whatever manner he got it — did he use it in a fashion becoming a king, in imitation of his predecessors, whose words and actions were invariably such that they handed down the city to their successors more prosperous and greater than they themselves had received it? When man in his senses could say so, when he sees to what a pitiable and wretched state we all have been brought by him?

[1] τὰς μὲν οὖν ἡμετέρας τῶν πατρικίων συμφοράς, ἃς καὶ τῶν πολέμιων ἂν τις μαθὼν δακρύσειε, σιωπῶ, εἰ γ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν λελείμεθα, ταπεινοὶ δ' ἐκ μεγάλων γεγόναμεν, εἰς πενίαν δὲ καὶ δεινὴν ἀπορίαν ἤκομεν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μακαρίων ἐκπεσόντες ἀγαθῶν. οἱ λαμπροὶ δ' ἐκείνοι καὶ δεινοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, δι' οὓς ἐπιφανῆς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ποτε ἦν, οἱ μὲν ἀπολώλασιν,

[81.1] "I shall say nothing of the calamities we who are patricians have suffered,

of which no one even of our enemies could hear without tears, since we are left but few out of many, have been brought low from having been exalted, and have come to poverty and dire want after being stripped of many enviable possessions. Of all those illustrious men, those great and able leaders because of whom our city was once distinguished, some have been put to death and others banished.

[2] οἱ δὲ φεύγουσι τὴν πατρίδα. ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑμέτερα πράγματα, ὧς δημόται, πῶς ἔχει; οὐκ ἀφήρηται μὲν ὑμῶν τοὺς νόμους, ἀφήρηται δὲ τὰς ἐφ' ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίας συνόδους, πέπαυκε δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας καὶ ψηφοφοροῦντας καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκκλησιάζοντας, ἀναγκάζει δ' ὅσα δούλους ἀργυρωνήτους αἰσχύνῃς ἄξια ταλαιπωρεῖν λατομοῦντας ὑλοτομοῦντας ἀχθοφοροῦντας, ἐν ταρτάροις καὶ βαράθροις δαπανωμένους, ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην λαμβάνοντας;

[2] But what is your condition, plebeians? Has not Tarquinius taken away your laws? Has he not abolished your assemblages for the performance of religious rites and sacrifices? Has he not put an end to your electing of magistrates, to your voting, and to your meeting in assembly to discuss public affairs? Does he not force you, like slaves purchased with money, to endure shameful hardships in quarrying stone, hewing timber, carrying burdens, and wasting your strength in deep pits and caverns, without allowing you the least respite from your miseries?

[3] τίς οὖν ὅρος ἔσται τῶν συμφορῶν, καὶ μέχρι τίνος χρόνου ταῦτα πάσχοντες ὑπομενοῦμεν, καὶ πότε τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτησόμεθα; ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ Ταρκύνιος; νῆ Δία. καὶ τί πλέον ἡμῖν ἔσται τότε, τί δ' οὐ χεῖρον; τρεῖς γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς Ταρκυνίου ἔξομεν [p. 130]

[3] What, then, will be the limit of our calamities? And when shall we recover the liberty our fathers enjoyed? When Tarquinius dies? To be sure! And how shall we be in a better condition then? Why should it not be a worse? For we shall have three Tarquinii sprung from the one, all far more abominable than their sire.

[4] πολλῷ μισητέρους τοῦ πατρός. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ γενόμενος ἐξ ιδιῶτου τύραννος καὶ ὅψ' ἀρξάμενος πονηρὸς εἶναι, πᾶσαν ἀκριβοῖ τὴν τυραννικὴν κακίαν, ποδαποὺς χρὴ νομίζειν ἔσεσθαι τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου φύντας, οἷς πονηρὸν μὲν γένος, πονηραὶ δὲ τροφαί, πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ μέτριον οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἐξεγένετο πώποτε πραττόμενον οὔτε μαθεῖν; ἵνα δὲ μὴ μαντεύσῃτε τὰς καταράτους αὐτῶν φύσεις, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς μάθητε, οἷους σκύλακας ὑμῖν ἡ Ταρκυνίου τυραννὶς ὑποτρέφει, θεάσασθε ἔργον ἑνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου.

[4] For when one who from a private station has become a tyrant and has begun late to be wicked, is an expert in all tyrannical mischief, what kind of

men may we expect those to be who are sprung from him, whose parentage has been depraved, whose nurture has been depraved, and who never had an opportunity of seeing or hearing of anything done with the moderation befitting free citizens? In order, therefore, that you may not merely guess at their accursed natures, but may know with certainty what kind of whelps the tyranny of Tarquinius is secretly rearing up for your destruction, behold the deed of one of them, the eldest of the three.

[1] αὕτη Σπορίου μέν ἐστι Λουκρητίου θυγάτηρ, ὃν ἀπέδειξε τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχον ὁ τύραννος ἐξίων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ταρκυνίου δὲ Κολλατίνου γυνὴ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τῶν τυράννων καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κακοπαθήσαντος. αὕτη μέντοι σωφρονεῖν βουλομένη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς φιλοῦσα, ὥσπερ ἀγαθῇ προσήκει γυναικί, ξενιζομένου παρ' αὐτῇ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτί, Κολλατίνου δὲ τότε ἀποδημοῦντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν ἀκόλαστον ὕβριν τῆς τυραννίδος οὐκ ἐδυνήθη διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτος ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κρατηθεῖσα ὑπέμεινε ὅσα μὴ θέμις ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ παθεῖν.

[82.1] “This woman is the daughter of Spurius Lucretius, whom the tyrant, when he went to the war, appointed prefect of the city, and the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, a kinsman of the tyrant who has undergone many hardships for their sake. Yet this woman, who desired to preserve her virtue and loved her husband as becomes a good wife, could not, when Sextus was entertained last night at her house as a kinsman and Collatinus was absent at the time in camp, escape the unbridled insolence of tyranny, but like a captive constrained by necessity, had to submit to indignities that it is not right any woman of free condition should suffer.

[2] ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτοῦσα καὶ ἀφόρητον ἡγουμένη τὴν ὕβριν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς τὰς κατασχούσας αὐτὴν ἀνάγκας διεξῆλθε πολλὰς ποιησαμένη διήσεις καὶ ἄρας, ἵνα τιμωροὶ τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῆς γένοιτο καὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὑπὸ τοῖς κόλποις ξίφος [p. 131] σπασαμένη τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρώντος, ᾧ δημόται, διὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς σπλάγχχνων ἔβαψε τὸν σίδηρον.

[2] Resenting this treatment and looking upon the outrage as intolerable, she related to her father and the rest of her kinsmen the straits to which she had been reduced, and after earnestly entreating and adjuring them to avenge the wrongs she had suffered, she drew out the dagger she had concealed under the folds of her dress and before her father's very eyes, plebeians, plunged the steel into her vitals.

[3] ᾧ θαυμαστὴ σὺ καὶ πολλῶν ἐπαινῶν ἀξία τῆς εὐγενοῦς προαιρέσεως, οἷχλη καὶ ἀπόλῳλας οὐχ ὑπομείνασα τυραννικὴν ὕβριν, ἀπάσας ὑπεριδοῦσα τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδονάς, ἵνα σοι μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον συμβῇ παθεῖν. ἔπειτα σὺ μέν, ᾧ Λουκρητία, γυναικείας τυχοῦσα φύσεως ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς φρόνημα

ἔσχες, ἡμεῖς δ' ἄνδρες γενόμενοι γυναικῶν χεῖρους ἀρετῇ γενησόμεθα; καὶ σοὶ μὲν, ὅτι μίαν ἐτυραννήθης νύκτα τὴν ἀμείαντον ἀφαιρεθεῖο· αἰδῶ μετὰ βίας, ἡδίων καὶ μακαριώτερος ἔδοξεν ὁ θάνατος εἶναι τοῦ βίου, ἡμῖν δ' ἄρ' οὐ παραστήσεται τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπολαβεῖν, ὣν Ταρκύνιος οὐ μίαν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη τυραννῶν, πάσας ἀφήρηται τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδονὰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελόμενος;

[3] O admirable woman and worthy of great praise for your noble resolution! You are gone, you are dead, being unable to hear the tyrant's insolence and despising all the pleasures of life in order to avoid suffering any such indignity again. After this example, Lucretia, when you, who were given a woman's nature, have shown the resolution of a brave man, shall we, who were born men, show ourselves inferior to women in courage? To you, because you had been deprived by force of your spotless chastity by submission to a tyrant during one night, death appeared sweeter and more blessed than life; and shall not the same feelings sway us, whom Tarquinius, by a tyranny, and of one day only, but of twenty-five years, has deprived of all the pleasures of life in depriving us of our liberty?

[4] οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν, ὧς δημόται, βιωτὸν ἐν τοιοῦτοις καλινδουμένοις κακοῖς, ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓσιν ἀπογόνους, οἱ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν ἡξιοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δόξης ἥραντο κινδύνους: ἀλλὰ дуεῖν θάτερον ἅπασιν αἰρετέον, ἢ βίον ἐλεύθερον, ἢ θάνατον ἔνδοξον.

[4] Life is intolerable to us, plebeians, while we wallow amid such wretchedness — to us who are the descendants of those men who thought themselves worthy to give laws to others and exposed themselves to many dangers for the sake of power and fame. Nay, but we must all choose one of two things — life with liberty or death with glory.

[5] ἦκει δὲ καιρὸς, οἷον εὐχόμεθα, μεθεστηκότος μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ταρκυνίου, ἡγουμένων δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τῶν πατρικίων, οὐδενὸς δ' ἡμῖν ἐλλείποντος, ἐὰν ἐκ προθυμίας χωρήσωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, οὐ σωματῶν, οὐ χρημάτων, οὐχ ὅπλων, [p. 132] οὐ στρατηγῶν, οὐ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς εἰς τὰ πολέμια παρασκευῆς: μεσθὴ γὰρ ἀπάντων ἡ πόλις, αἰσχροὶ τε Οὐολούσκων καὶ Σαβίνων καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦν, αὐτοὺς δὲ δουλεύοντας ἑτέροις ὑπομένειν, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ταρκυνίου πλεονεξίας πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι πολέμους, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίας μηδένα.

[5] An opportunity has come such as we have been praying for. Tarquinius is absent from the city, the patricians are the leaders of the enterprise, and naught will be lacking to us if we enter upon the undertaking with zeal — neither men, money, arms, generals, nor any other equipment of warfare, for the city is full of all these; and it would be disgraceful if we, who aspire to rule the Volscians, the Sabines and countless other peoples, should ourselves submit to be slaves of others, and should undertake many wars to gratify the

ambition of Tarquinius but not one to recover our own liberty.

[1] τίσιν οὖν ἀφορμαῖς εἰς τὰ πράγματα χρησόμεθα καὶ ποίαις συμμαχίαις; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν. πρῶταις μὲν ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσιν, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς μιάινει Ταρκύνιος ταῖς αἰμοφύρτοις χερσὶ καὶ παντὸς ἐμφυλίου γεμουσiais ἄγους θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν καταρχόμενος: ἔπειτα ταῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὐτ' ὀλίγων ὄντων οὐτ' ἀπείρων πολέμου: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ταῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίαις, οἳ μὴ καλούντων μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἀζιώσουσι πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἐὰν δ' ἄρετῆς ὁρῶσι μεταποιουμένους ἄσμενοι συναροῦνται τοῦ πολέμου: τυραννὶς γὰρ ἅπασιν ἐχθρὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐλευθέροις εἶναι.

[83.1] “What resources, therefore, what assistance shall we have for our undertaking? For this remains to be discussed. First there are the hopes we place in the gods, whose rites, temples and altars Tarquinius pollutes with hands stained with blood and defiled with every kind of crime against his own people every time he begins the sacrifices and libations. Next, there are the hopes that we place in ourselves, who are neither few in number nor unskilled in war. Besides these advantages there are the forces of our allies, who, so long as they are not called upon by us, will not presume to busy themselves with our affairs, but if they see us acting the part of brave men, will gladly assist us in the war; for tyranny is odious to all who desire to be free.

[2] εἰ δέ τινες ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συνόντας ἅμα Ταρκυνίῳ πολίτας δεδοικασιν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μὲν συναγωνιουμένους, ἡμῖν δὲ πολεμήσοντας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δεδοικασι. βαρεῖα γὰρ κάκεινοις ἢ τυραννὶς καὶ ἔμφυτος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πόθος, καὶ πᾶσα μεταβολῆς πρόφασις τοῖς δι' ἀνάγκην ταλαιπωροῦσιν ἱκανή: οὐς, εἰ ψηφιεῖσθε τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, οὐ φόβος ὁ καθεξὼν ἔσται παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις, οὐ χάρις, οὐχ [p. 133] ἕτερόν τι τῶν βιαζομένων ἢ πειθόντων ἀνθρώπους τὰ

[2] But if any of you are afraid that the citizens who are in the camp with Tarquinius will assist him and make war upon us, their fears are groundless. For the tyranny is grievous to them also and the desire of liberty is implanted by Nature in the minds of all men, and every excuse for a change is sufficient for those who are compelled to bear hardships; and if you by your votes order them to come to the aid of their country, neither fear nor favour, nor any of the other motives that compel or persuade men to commit injustice, will keep them with the tyrants.

[3] μὴ δίκαια πράττειν. εἰ δέ τισιν αὐτῶν ἄρα διὰ κακὴν φύσιν ἢ πονηρὰς τροφὰς τὸ φιλοτύραννον ἐμπέφυκεν οὐ πολλοῖς οὕσι μὰ Δία, μεγάλαις καὶ τοῦτους ἀνάγκαις ἐνζεύξομεν, ὥστ' ἐκ πονηρῶν γενέσθαι χρηστούς: ὁμηρα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ γονεῖς, ἃ τιμιώτερα τῆς ἰδίας ἐστὶν ἐκάστω ψυχῆς. ταῦτά τ' οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, ἐὰν ἀποστῶσι τῶν τυράννων, ὑποσχνούμενοι καὶ ἄδειαν ὧν ἡμαρτον

ψηφιζόμενοι ῥαδίως πείσομεν.

[3] But if by reason of an evil nature or a bad upbringing the love of tyranny is, after all, rooted in some of them — though surely there are not many such — we will bring strong compulsion to bear upon these men too, so that they will become good citizens instead of bad. For we have, as hostages for them in the city, their children, wives and parents, who are dearer to every man than his own life. By promising to restore these to them if they will desert the tyrants, and by passing a vote of amnesty for the mistakes they have made, we shall easily prevail upon them to join us.

[4] ὥστε θαρροῦντες, ὧ δῆμῳ, καὶ ἀγαθὰς ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδας χωρεῖτε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, κάλλιστον ὢν πώποτε ἤρασθε πολέμων τόνδε ὑποστησόμενοι. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὧ θεοὶ πατρῷοι, φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, καὶ δαίμονες, οἱ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν λελόγχατε, καὶ πόλις θεοφιλεστάτη πόλεων, ἐν ἧ γενέσεώς τε καὶ τροφῆς ἐτύχομεν, ἀμυνοῦμεν ὑμῖν καὶ γνώμῃς καὶ λόγοις καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ψυχαῖς, καὶ πάσχειν ἔτοιμοι πᾶν, ὅ τι ἂν ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸ χρεὼν φέρῃ.

[4] Advance to the struggle, therefore, plebeians, with confidence and with good hopes for the future; for this war which you are about to undertake is the most glorious of all the wars you have ever waged. Ye gods of our ancestors, kindly guardians of this land, and ye other divinities, to whom the care of our fathers was allotted, and thou City, dearest to the gods of all cities, the city in which we received our birth and nurture, we shall defend you with our counsels, our words, our hands and our lives, and we are ready to suffer everything that Heaven and Fate shall bring.

[5] μαντεύομαι δὲ καλοῖς ἐγχειρήμασιν εὐτυχὲς ἀκολουθήσειν τέλος. εἴη δὲ τοῦτοις ἅπασι ταῦτ' ὁ λαβούσι θάρσος καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρησαμένοις, σώζειν θ' ἡμᾶς καὶ σώζεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν.

[5] And I predict that our glorious endeavours will be crowned with success. May all here present, emboldened by the same confidence and united in the same sentiments, both preserve us and be preserved by us!"

[1] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βρούτου δημηγοροῦντος ἀναβοήσεις τε συνεχεῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν λεγομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἐγίνοντο διασημαίνουσαι τὸ βουλούμενόν [p. 134] τε καὶ ἐπικελευόμενον, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δάκρυα ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἔρρει θαυμαστῶν καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἀκούουσι λόγων: πάθη τε ποικίλα τὴν ἐκάστου ψυχὴν κατελάμβανεν οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις εἰκότα: λύπαι τε γὰρ ἡδοναῖς ἐκέκραντο, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προγεγονόσι δεινοῖς, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προσδοκωμένοις ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ θυμοὶ συνεξέπιπτον φόβοις, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς δράσαι τὰ μισούμεενα τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὑπερορᾶν ἐπαίροντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ λογισμὸν τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίαν εἶναι τὴν καθαιρεσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ὅκνον ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐπιφέροντες.

[84.1] While Brutus was thus addressing the people everything he said was received by them with continual acclamations signifying both their approval and their encouragement. Most of them even wept with pleasure at hearing these wonderful and unexpected words, and various emotions, in no wise resembling one another, affected the mind of each of his hearers. For pain was mingled with pleasure, the former arising from the terrible experiences that were past and the latter from the blessings that were anticipated; and anger went hand in hand with fear, the former encouraging them to despise their own safety in order to injure the objects of their hatred, while the latter, occasioned by the thought of the difficulty of overthrowing the tyranny, inspired them with reluctance toward the enterprise.

[2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαύσατο λέγων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἅπαντες τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἀνέκραγον ἄγειν σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἡσθεὶς, Ἐάν γε πρότερον, ἔφη, τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαθόντες ἐπικυρώσητε τὸ δοχθέν. δέδοκται γὰρ ἡμῖν φεῦγειν Ταρκυνίους πόλιν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ χώραν, ὅσης ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἅπαν· καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι περὶ καθόδου Ταρκυνίων μήτε πράττειν μηδὲν μήτε λέγειν, ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὕρισκῃται τεθνάναι.

[2] But when he had done speaking, they all cried out, as from a single mouth, to lead them to arms. Then Brutus, pleased at this, said: “On this condition, that you first hear the resolution of the senate and confirm it. For we have resolved that the Tarquinii and all their posterity shall be banished both from the city of Rome and from all the territory ruled by the Romans; that no one shall be permitted to say or do anything about their restoration; and that if anyone shall be found to be working contrary to these decisions he shall be put to death.

[3] 25 ταύτην εἰ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν ἔστι τὴν γνώμην εἶναι κυρίαν, διαστάντες κατὰ τὰς φράτρας ψῆφον ἐπενέγκατε, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν πρῶτον ἀρξάτω τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐγίνετο ταῦτα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαι τὴν φυγὴν τῶν τυράννων αἱ φρᾶτραι κατεψηφίσαντο, παρελθὼν πάλιν ὁ Βροῦτος λέγει· ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρῶτα [p. 135] ἡμῖν κεκύρωται κατὰ τὸ δέον, ἀκούσατε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ

[3] If it is your pleasure that this resolution be confirmed, divide yourselves into your curiae and give your votes; and let the enjoyment of this right be the beginning of your liberty.” This was done; and all the curiae having given their votes for the banishment of the tyrants, Brutus again came forward and said: “Now that our first measures have been confirmed in the manner required, hear also what we have further resolved concerning the form of our government.

[4] ὅσα βεβουλευμέθα περὶ τῆς πολιτείας. ἡμῖν σκοπούμενοις, τίς ἀρχὴ γενήσεται τῶν κοινῶν κυρία, βασιλείαν μὲν οὐκέτι καταστήσασθαι δοκεῖ,

ἄρχοντας δὲ δύο καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι βασιλικὴν ἔξοντας ἔξουσιαν, οὕς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἀποδείξητε ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντες κατὰ λόχους. εἰ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἐπιψηφίσατε. ἐπὶ γὰρ καὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ψῆφος οὐδεμία ἐγένετο ἐναντία.

[4] It was our decision, upon considering what magistracy should be in control of affairs, not to establish the kingship again, but to appoint two annual magistrates to hold the royal power, these men to be whomever you yourselves shall choose in the comitia, voting by centuries. If, therefore, this also is your pleasure, give your votes to that effect.” The people approved of this resolution likewise, not a single vote being given against it.

[5] μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἀποδεικνυσὶ μεσοβασιλέα τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους Σπόριον Λουκρήτιον: κάκεῖνος ἀπολύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας ἡγεῖν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἔνθα σὺνηθες αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀρχαιρεσιάζειν, ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα ἐν τάχει. ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρας αἰρεῖται δύο τοὺς πράζοντας ὅσα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔξῃν, Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κολλατῖνον: καὶ ὁ δῆμος καλοῦμενος κατὰ λόχους ἐπεκύρωσε τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πόλιν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πραχθέντα τοιαῦτ' ἦν.

[5] After that, Brutus, coming forward, appointed Spurius Lucretius as interrex to preside over the comitia for the election of magistrates, according to ancestral custom. And he, dismissing the assembly, ordered all the people to go promptly in arms to the field where it was their custom to elect their magistrates. When they were come thither, he chose two men to perform the functions which had belonged to the kings — Brutus and Collatinus; and the people, being called by centuries, confirmed their appointment. Such were the measures taken in the city at that time.

[1] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὡς ἤκουσε παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγγέλων, οἷς ἐξεγένετο πρῶτοις πρὶν ἢ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας διαδρᾶναι, τοσοῦτο μόνον ἀπαγγελλόντων, ὅτι κατέχει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Βροῦτος δημαγωγῶν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρακαλῶν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων φράσας ἡπείγετο τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, [p. 136] ἐλαύνων τοὺς ἵππους ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος, ὡς φθάσων τὴν ἀπόστασιν. εὐρὼν δὲ κεκλεισμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ μεστὰς ὅπλων τὰς ἐπάλξεις ὥχετο πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εἶχε τάχους οἰμῶζων καὶ δεινοπαθῶν.

[85.1] As soon as King Tarquinius heard by the first messengers who had found means to escape from the city before the gates were shut that Brutus was holding the assembled people enthralled, haranguing them and summoning the citizens to liberty, which was all the information they could give him, he took with him his sons and the most trustworthy of his friends, and without communicating his design to any others, rode at full gallop in hopes of forestalling the revolt. But finding the gates shut and the battlements full of

armed men, he returned to the camp as speedily as possible, bewailing and complaining of his misfortune.

[2] ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τὰ κεῖ πράγματα ἤδη διεφθαρμένα. οἱ γὰρ ὕπατοι ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν προορώμενοι πέμπουσι γράμματα καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἐν ἄστει 26 ποιοῦντες φανερά.

[2] But his cause there also was now lost. For the consuls, foreseeing that he would quickly come to the city, had sent letters by other roads to those in the camp, in which they exhorted them to revolt from the tyrant and acquainted them with the resolutions passed by those in the city.

[3] ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕπαρχοι Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος καὶ Μάρκος Ὁράτιος ἀνέγνωσαν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ: καὶ γνώμας διερωτήσαντες κατὰ λόχους, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἐφάνη κύρια ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκέτι προσδέχονται παραγεννηθέντα τὸν Τаркύνιον.

[3] Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius, who had been left by the king to command in his absence, having received these letters, read them in an assembly of the soldiers; and asking them by their centuries what they thought should be done, when it was their unanimous opinion to regard the decisions reached by those in the city as valid, they no longer would admit Tarquinius when he returned.

[4] ἀπωσθεῖς δὴ καὶ ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐλπίδος φεύγει σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς Γαβίων πόλιν, ἧς βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀπέδειξε τῶν υἱῶν Σέξτον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην: ἡλικίαν μὲν ἤδη πολιὸς ὢν, ἔτη δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχών. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἑρμινίον τε καὶ τὸν Ὁράτιον ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου καταστησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας πεντεκαιδεκαετῆς ἀπήγαγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. ἡ μὲν δὴ βασιλικὴ πολιτεία διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμόν [p. 137] τῆς Ῥώμης ἐτῶν τεττάρων καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀριθμόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως τυραννὶς γενομένη, διὰ ταῦτα τὰς προφάσεις καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων κατελύθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

[4] After the king found himself disappointed of this hope also, he fled with a few companions to the city of Gabii, over which, as I said before, he had appointed Sextus, the eldest of his sons, to be king. He was now grown grey with age and had reigned twenty-five years. In the meantime Herminius and Horatius, having made a truce with the Ardeates for fifteen years, led their forces home.

[1] ἡ μὲν δὴ βασιλικὴ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἑτῶν τεττάρων καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀριθμὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως τυραννὶς γενομένη διὰ ταύτας τὰς προφάσεις καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων κατελύθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν, Ὀλυμπιάδος μὲν ὀγδῆς καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς ἐνεστώσης, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἰσχόμαχος Κροτωνιάτης, Ἀθήνησι δὲ

[1.1] The Roman monarchy, therefore, after having continued for the space of two hundred and forty-four years from the founding of Rome and having under the last king become a tyranny, was overthrown for the reasons stated and by the men named, at the beginning of the sixty-eighth Olympiad (the one in which Ischomachus of Croton won the foot-race), Isagoras being the annual archon at Athens.

[2] τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος Ἰσαγόρου. ἀριστοκρατίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες ὕπατοι τεττάρων μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐπιλειπομένων Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος καὶ Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος Κολλατῖνος, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον ὥσπερ ἔφην προβούλους, [p. 139] ἑτέρους παραλαβόντες πολλοὺς ἐλθόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς πρὸς Ἀρδεάτας, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ τυράννου συγκαλέσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ὁμονομίας λόγους ποιησάμενοι ψήφισμά τε πάλιν ἐπεκύρωσαν ἕτερον, περὶ ὧν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ὄντες πρότερον ἐπεψηφίσαντο φυγὴν Ταρκυνίους ἐπιβαλόντες αἰδίων:

[2] An aristocracy being now established, while there still remained about four months to complete that year, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls invested with the royal power; the Romans, as I have said, call them in their own language consules or “counsellors.” These men, associating with themselves many others, now that the soldiers from the camp had come to the city after the truce they had made with the Ardeates, called an assembly of the people a few days after the expulsion of the tyrant, and having spoken at length upon the advantages of harmony, again caused them to pass another vote confirming everything which those in the city had previously voted when condemning the Tarquinii to perpetual banishment.

[3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καθαρμοὺς τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὄρκια τεμόντες αὐτοὶ τε πρῶτοι στάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων ὥμοσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἔπεισαν ὁμόσαι, μὴ κατὰξειν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον μήτε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ μήτε τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεννησομένους, βασιλέα τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μηκέτι καταστήσειν μηθένα μηδὲ τοῖς καθιστάναι βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῦ μεθ’ ἑαυτοὺς γένους ὥμοσαν.

[3] After this they performed rites of purification for the city and entered into a solemn covenant; and they themselves, standing over the parts of the victims, first swore, and then prevailed upon the rest of the citizens likewise to swear, that they would never restore from exile King Tarquinius or his sons or their posterity, and that they would never again make anyone king of Rome or permit others who wished to do so; and this oath they took not only for themselves, but also for their children and their posterity.

[4] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι γεγονέναι τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν ἔδοξαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, φυλάττειν τοῦνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅσον ἂν ἡ πόλις διαμένῃ χρόνον, βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἱεροφάντας τε καὶ οἰωνομάντεις ἐκέλευσαν ἀποδεῖλαι τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἤμελλεν ἔξειν ἐτέρου πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβασμῶν τὴν προστασίαν, ἀπάσης λειτουργίας πολεμικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀφειμένος, [p. 140] ἱερῶν καλούμενος βασιλεὺς. καὶ καθίσταται πρῶτος ἱερῶν βασιλεὺς Μάνιος Παπίριος ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀνὴρ ἡσυχίας φίλος.

[4] However, since it appeared that the kings had been the authors of many great advantages to the commonwealth, they desired to preserve the name of that office for as long a time as the city should endure, and accordingly they ordered the pontiffs and augurs to choose from among them the older men the most suitable one for the office, who should have the superintendence of religious observances and of naught else, being exempt from all military and civil duties, and should be called the king of sacred rites. The first person appointed to this office was Manius Papirius, one of the patricians, who was a lover of peace and quiet.

[1] ὡς δὲ κατεστήσαντο ταῦτα, δείσαντες, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μὴ δόξα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγγένηται περὶ τῆς καινῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἀληθῆς, ὅτι δύο βασιλεῖς κύριοι γέγονασι τῆς πόλεως ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἑκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἔχοντος, ὥσπερ εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἔκριναν τὸ τε δέος ἀφελεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας μειῶσαι τὸν φθόνον, τοῦ μὲν ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων τοὺς δώδεκα κατατάξαντες προηγέσθαι πελέκεις, τοῦ δ' ἐτέρου δώδεκα ὑπηρέτας ῥάβδους ἔχοντας μόνον, ὡς δὲ τινες ἰστοροῦσι, καὶ κορυῖνας, γίνεσθαι δὲ τῶν πελέκεων τὴν παράληψιν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἓνα ἰ μῆνα κατέχοντος αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρου παραλλάξ.

[2.1] After the consuls had settled these matters, fearing, as I suspect, that the masses might gain a false impression of their new form of government and imagine that two kings had become masters of the state instead of one, since each of the consuls had the twelve axes, like the kings, they resolved to quiet the fears of the citizens and to lessen the hatred of their power by ordering that one of the consuls should be preceded by the twelve axes and the other by twelve lictors with rods only, or, as some relate, with clubs also, and that they should receive the axes in rotation, each consul possessing them in turn one month.

[2] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πολίτευμα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις παραπλήσια οὐκ ὀλίγα πρόθυμον ἐποίησαν εἰς τὴν διαμονὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν δημότην καὶ ταπεινὸν ὄχλον καὶ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων τοὺς ὑπὸ Τυλλίου γραφέντας φιλανθρώπους καὶ δημοτικούς εἶναι δοκοῦντας, οὓς ἅπαντας κατέλυσε Ταρκύνιος, ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, αἷς ἐποιοῦντο κοινῶς συνιόντες οἱ δημόται τε καὶ οἱ φυλῆται, πάλιν προσέταξαν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, [p. 141] ὡς ἐπὶ Τυλλίου συνετελοῦντο: ἐκκλησιάζειν τ' αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοσαν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν καὶ ἄλλα πράττειν, ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους ἐθισμοὺς ἔπραττον.

[2] By this and not a few other measures of like nature they caused the plebeians and the lower class to be eager for a continuance of the existing order. For they restored the laws introduced by Tullius concerning contracts, which seemed to be humane and democratic, but had all been abrogated by Tarquinius; and they restored to the people the right of holding assemblies concerning affairs of the greatest moment, of giving their votes, and of doing all the other things they had been wont to do according to former custom.

[3] τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν τὰ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἦν ἐκ πολυχρονίου δουλείας εἰς ἀνέλπιστον ἀφιγμένοις ἐλευθερίαν, εὐρέθησαν δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅμως, οἷς πόθος ἦν τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι κακῶν δι' εὐήθειαν ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν, ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, οἱ συνώμοσαν ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως Ταρκύνιον τε καταδεῖξασθαι συνθέμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡγεμόνες δ' αὐτῶν οἵτινες ἐγένοντο καὶ δι' οἷας ἐξηλέγχθησαν ἀνελπίστου συντυχίας καίτοι πάντας ἀνθρώπους λεληθῆναι δοκοῦντες, μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γενομένων ἀναλαβὼν λέξω.

[3] These acts of the consuls pleased the masses, who had come out of long slavery into unexpected liberty; nevertheless, there were found among them some, and these no obscure persons, who from either simplicity or greed longed for the evils existing under a tyranny, and these formed a conspiracy to betray the city, agreeing together, not only to restore Tarquinius, but also to kill the consuls. Who the heads of this conspiracy and by what unexpected good fortune they were detected, though they imagined they had escaped the notice of everybody, shall now be related, after I have first gone back and mentioned a few things that happened earlier.

[1] Ταρκύνιος ἐπειδὴ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσε, χρόνον μὲν τινα οὐ πολὺν ἐν πόλει Γαβίοις διέτριβε τοὺς τε συνιόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑποδεχόμενος, οἷς ἦν τυραννὶς ἀσπαστότερον χρῆμα ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων ἐλπίσιν ἐπέχων ὡς δι' ἐκείνων καταχθησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν αἱ πόλεις οὐδ' ἐβούλοντο πόλεμον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐκφέρειν, ἀπογνοὺς τὰς παρὰ τούτων ἐπικουρίας, εἰς Τυρρηνικὴν καταφεύγει πόλιν Ταρκυνίου, ἐξ ἧς τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς αὐτῷ γένος ἦν.

[3.1] Tarquinius, after being driven from the throne, remained a short time in the city of Gabii, both to receive such as came to him from Rome, to whom tyranny was a more desirable thing than liberty, and to await the event of the hopes he placed in the Latins of being restored to the sovereignty by their aid. But when their cities paid no heed to him and were unwilling to make war upon the Roman state on his account, he despaired of any assistance from them and took refuge in Tarquinii, a Tyrrhenian city, from whence his family on his mother's side had originally come.

[2] πείσας δὲ τὰ τέλη τῶν Ταρκυνιητῶν [p. 142] δωρεαῖς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραχθείς τὴν τε συγγένειαν ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας διεξῆλθεν, ἃς ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ πάσαις ἐχαρίσατο ταῖς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεσι, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑπεμίμησεν, ἃς ἦσαν πεποιημένοι πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτοις ἅπασι τῆς κατείληφύας αὐτόν ὠδύρετο τύχας, ὡς ἐκ μεγάλης ἐκπεσὼν εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πλάνης καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ἐνδεὴς σὺν υἱοῖς τρισὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ποτε 2 γενομένους ἠναγκάσθη καταφυγεῖν.

[2] And having bribed the magistrates of the Tarquinienses with gifts and been brought by them before the assembly of the people, he renewed the ties of kinship which existed between him and their city, recounted the favours his grandfather had conferred on all the Tyrrhenian cities, and reminded them of the treaties they had made with him. After all this, he lamented the calamities which had overtaken him, showing how, after having fallen in one day from the height of felicity, he had been compelled, as a wanderer in want of the necessaries of life, to fly for refuge, together with his three sons, to those who had once been his subjects.

[3] διεξελθὼν δ' ὧδε ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν οἴκτων τε καὶ δακρῶν ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον πρέσβεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην συμβατηρίους φέροντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγους, ὡς δὴ συμπραττόντων αὐτῷ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ συλληψομένων τῆς καθόδου. ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν, οὓς αὐτὸς προεἶλετο, διδάξας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἃ χρὴ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ φυγάδων γράμματα δοὺς δεήσεις ἔχοντα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους, ἀπέστειλε φέροντάς τι καὶ χρυσίον.

[3] Having thus recounted his misfortunes with many lamentations and tears, he prevailed upon the people, first of all to send ambassadors to Rome to possess terms of accommodation on his behalf, assuring them that the men in power there were working in his interest and would aid in his restoration. Ambassadors, of his own selection, having then been appointed, he instructed them in everything they were to say and do; and giving them letters from the exiles who were with him, containing entreaties to their relations and friends, he gave them some gold also and sent them on their way.

[1] οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, Ὅτι

Ταρκύνιος ἀξιοῖ λαβῶν ἄδειαν ἐλθεῖν σὺν ὀλίγοις πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον: ἔπειτ' ἂν λάβῃ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ συγχώρημα τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθεῖν λόγον ὑφέξων ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἔπραξεν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβε, καὶ δικασταῖς χρησόμενος ἔαν τις αὐτοῦ [p. 143]

[4.1] When these men arrived in Rome, they said in the senate that Tarquinius desired leave to come there under a safe-conduct, together with a small retinue, and to address himself, first to the senate, as was right and proper, and after that, if he received permission from the senate, to the assembly of the people also, and there give an account of all his actions from the time of his accession to the sovereignty, and if anyone accused him, to submit himself to the judgment of all the Romans.

[2] κατηγορήσῃ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις. ἀπολογηθεὶς δὲ καὶ πείσας ἅπαντας, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄξιον εἰργασταὶ φυγῆς, ἔαν μὲν ἀποδώσιν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτίς, ἄρξῃν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ὀρίσωσιν οἱ πολῖται δίκαιοις, ἔαν δὲ μηκέτι βασιλεῦσθαι προαιρῶνται καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν τινὰ καταστήσασθαι πολιτείαν, μένων ἐν τῇ πόλει πατρίδι οὕσῃ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον ἔχων πολιτεύεσθαι μετὰ πάντων ἐξ ἴσου, φυγῆς δ' ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ πλάνης.

[2] And after he had made his defence and convinced them all that he had done nothing worthy of banishment, he would then, if they gave him the sovereignty again, reign upon such conditions as the citizens should determine; or, if they preferred no longer to live under a monarchy, as formerly, but to establish some other form of government, he would remain in Rome, which was his native city, and enjoying his private property, would live on an equality with all the others, and thus have done with exile and a life of wandering.

[3] ταῦτα διεξεληθόντες ἐδέοντο τῆς βουλῆς, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ὃ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθέστηκε, μηθένα λόγου καὶ κρίσεως ἀποστερεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἧς αὐτοὶ γενήσονται δικασταί: εἰ δ' ἐκείνῳ ταύτην οὐ βούλονται δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, τῆς δεομένης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἕνεκα μετριάσαι, δωρεὰν αὐτῇ διδόντας, ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ βλαπτόμενοι μεγάλην δόξουσι τιμὴν κατατίθεσθαι τῇ λαμβανούσῃ, ἀνθρώπους δ' ὄντας μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φρονεῖν μηδ' ἀθανάτους ἔχειν τὰς ὀργὰς ἐν θνητοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τι πράττειν ἐπεικέες ὑπομεῖναι τῶν δεομένων χάριν, ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι φρονίμων μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον ἐστὶ ταῖς φιλίαις χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ἔχθρας, ἀνοήτων δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συναναιρεῖν τοὺς φίλους.

[3] Having stated their case, the ambassadors begged of the senate that they would preferably, on the principle of the right, recognized by all men, that no one should be deprived of the opportunity of defending himself and of being tried, grant him leave to make his defence, of which the Romans themselves

would be the judges; but if they were unwilling to grant this favour to him, then they asked them to act with moderation out of regard for the city that interceded on his behalf, by granting her a favour from which they would suffer no harm themselves and yet would be looked upon as conferring great honour upon the city that received it. And they asked them, as being men, not to think thoughts too lofty for human nature or to harbour undying resentment in mortal bodies, but to consent to perform an act of clemency even contrary to their inclination, for the sake of those who entreated them, bearing in mind that it is the part of wise men to waive their enmities in the interest of their friendships and the part of stupid men and barbarians to destroy their friends together with their enemies.

[1] τοιαῦτα λεξάντων αὐτῶν ἀναστὰς ὁ Βροῦτος ἔφη Περὶ μὲν εἰσόδου Ταρκυνίων εἰς τήνδε πόλιν παύσασθε, ἄνδρες Τυρρηνοί, τὰ πλείω λέγοντες. ἐπῆκται γὰρ ἤδη ψῆφος αἰδίων κατ’ αὐτῶν ὀρίζουσα φυγὴν, [p. 144] καὶ θεοὺς ὁμωμόκαμεν ἅπαντες μὴτ’ αὐτοὶ κατάξειν τοὺς τυράννους μηδὲ τοῖς κατάγουσιν ἐπιτρέψειν: εἰ δέ τινος ἄλλου δεῖσθε τῶν μετρίων, ἃ μὴ νόμοις μηδ’ ὅρκοις κεκωλύμεθα δρᾶν, λέγετε. μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθόντες 3 οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσι:

[5.1] After they had done speaking, Brutus rose up and said: “Concerning a return of the Tarquinii to this city, Tyrrhenians, say no more. For a vote has already been passed condemning them to perpetual banishment, and we have all sworn by the gods neither to restore the tyrants ourselves nor to permit others to restore them. But if you desire anything else of us that is reasonable which were not prevented from doing by the laws or by our oaths, declare it.” Thereupon the ambassadors came forward and said:

[2] παρὰ δόξαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀπῆντηται τὰ πρῶτα: πρεσβευσάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου λόγον ὑμῖν ὑποσχεῖν ἀξιοῦντος καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων δίκαιον εἰς ἰδίαν αἰτούμενοι χάριν οὐ δεδυνήμεθα τούτου τυχεῖν: ἐπεὶ δ’ οὕτως ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, περὶ μὲν εἰσόδου Ταρκυνίων οὐδὲν ἔτι λιπαροῦμεν, προκαλοῦμεθα δ’ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἕτερόν τι δίκαιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰς ἐντολάς ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ἡ πατρίς, καὶ οὔτε νόμος ὁ κωλύσων αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν οὔθ’ ὅρκος, ἀποδοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐκέκτητο οὐθὲν τῶν ὑμετέρων οὔτε βία κατασχὼν οὔτε λάθρα, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενος καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετενέγκας. ἀπόκρι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομισαμένῳ ζῆν ἐτέρωθι που μακαρίως μηθὲν ἐνοχλοῦντι ὑμῖν.

[2] “Our first efforts have not turned out as we expected. For, though we have come as ambassadors on behalf of a suppliant who desires to give you an account of his actions, and though we ask as a private favour the right that is common to all men, we have not been able to obtain it. Since, then, this is your decision, we plead no longer for the return of the Tarquinii, but we do call upon you to perform an act of justice of another kind, concerning which our country has given us instructions — and there is neither law nor oath to

hinder you from doing it — namely, to restore to the king the property formerly possessed by his grandfather, who however got anything of yours either by force or by fraud, but inherited his wealth from his father and brought it to you. For it is enough for him to recover what belongs to him and to live happily in some other place, without causing you any annoyance.”

[3] τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις διαλεχθέντες ἐξῆλθον: τῶν δ' ὑπάτων Βροῦτος μὲν κατέχειν τὰ χρήματα συνεβούλευσε τιμωρίας τε χάριν ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ τύραννοι τὸ κοινὸν ἡδίκησαν πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων, καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτ' αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, διδάσκων ὥς οὐκ ἀγαπήσουσι Ταρκύνιοι τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολαβόντες οὐδ' ὑπομενοῦσιν ἰδιώτην βίον ζῆν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἐπάξουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλοεθνῇ καὶ πειράσσονται βίᾳ κατελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3] After the ambassadors had said this, they withdrew. Of the two consuls, Brutus advised retaining the fortunes of the tyrants, both as a penalty for the injuries they had done to the commonwealth, which were many and great, and for the advantage that would result from depriving them of these resources for war; for he showed that the Tarquinii would not be contented with the recovery of their possessions nor submit to leading a private life, but would bring a foreign war upon the Romans and attempt by force to get back into power.

[4] Κολλατῖνος δὲ τάναντία παρήγει λέγων, ὥς οὐδὲν τὰ [p. 145] χρήματα τῶν τυράννων ἡδίκηε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σώματα, φυλάττεσθαι τ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν ἀμφοτέρα, μὴ δόξης τε πονηρᾶς παρὰ πάντων τύχωσιν ὥς διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεληλακότες ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ταρκυνίου, καὶ πρόφασιν πολέμου δικαίαν παράσχωσιν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἀποστερουμένοις τῶν ἰδίων: ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι φάσκων, εἰ κομισάμενοι τὰ χρήματα πολεμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς καθόδου, πρόδηλον δὲ θάτερον ὥς οὐκ ἀξιώσουσιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τὰς οὐσίας ἀφαιρεθέντες.

[4] But Collatinus advised the contrary, saying that it was not the possessions of the tyrants, but the tyrants themselves, that had injured the commonwealth, and he asked them to guard against two things: first, not to incur the bad opinion of the world as having driven the Tarquinii from power for the sake of their riches, and, secondly, not to give the tyrants themselves a just cause for war as having been deprived of their private property. For it was uncertain, he said, whether, if they got back their possessions, they would any longer attempt to make war upon them in order to secure their return from exile, but it was perfectly clear, on the other hand, that they would not consent to keep the peace if they were deprived of their property.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων λεγόντων καὶ πολλῶν συναγορευόντων ἀμφοτέροις ἀποροῦσα, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέρας συχνὰς σκοποῦσα, ἐπεὶ συμφορώτερα μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐδόκει λέγειν, δικαιότερα δ' ὁ Κολλατῖνος

παρῆναι, τελευτῶσα διέγνω τὸν δῆμον ποιῆσαι τοῦ τε συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου κριτὴν.

[6.1] As the consuls expressed these opinions and many spoke in favour of each, the senate was at a loss what to do and spent many days in considering the matter; for while the opinion of Brutus seemed more expedient, the course urged by Collatinus was more just. At last they determined to make the people the judges between expediency and justice.

[2] πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ὑφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναλαβοῦσαι ψῆφον αἱ φραῖτραι τριάκοντα οὔσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὕτω μικρὰν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ῥοπήν, ὥστε μιᾷ ψήφῳ πλείους γενέσθαι τῶν κατέχειν τὰ χρήματα βουλομένων τὰς ἀποδιδόναι κελευούσας. λαβόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπαινέσαντες, ὅτι τὰ δίκαια πρὸ τῶν συμφερόντων εἶλοντο, Ταρκυνίῳ μὲν ἐπέστειλαν τοὺς ἀποληφόμενους τὰ χρήματα πέμπειν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπέμειναν ἐν τῇ πόλει συναγωγὴν τε τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ διάθεσιν τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἄγεσθαι τε καὶ φέρεσθαι σκηπτόμενοι: ὥς δὲ τάληθές εἶχε ταραττοντες καὶ [p. 146] σκευωροῦμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ὁ τύραννος αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλε.

[2] After much had been said by each of the consuls, the curiae, which were thirty in number, upon being called to give their votes, inclined to one side by so small a margin that the curiae in favour of restoring the possessions outnumbered by only one those that were for retaining them. The Tyrrhenians, having received their answer from the consuls and given great praise to the commonwealth for having preferred justice to expediency, wrote to Tarquinius to send some persons to receive his possessions, while they themselves remained in the city, pretending to be employed in collecting his furniture and disposing of the effects that could not be driven or carried away, whereas in reality they were stirring up trouble in the city and carrying on intrigues, pursuant to the instructions the tyrant had sent them.

[3] τὰς τε γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρὰ τῶν φυγάδων τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδουσιν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἑτέρας πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ἐλάμβανον: συνιόντες δὲ πολλοῖς εἰς ὁμίλιαν καὶ διάπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς προαιρέσεως λαμβάνοντες, οὓς εὐρίσκοιεν εὐαλῶτους δι' ἀσθένειαν γνῶμης ἢ βίου σπάνιν ἢ πόθον τῶν ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι πλεονεξιῶν, ἐλπίδας τε χρηστὰς ὑποτείνοντες αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα διδόντες ἐπεχείρουν

[3] For they employed themselves in delivering letters from the exiles to their friends in the city and in receiving others from these for the exiles; and engaging in conversation with many of the citizens and sounding their sentiments, if they found any easy to be ensnared through the feebleness of conviction, lack of means, or a longing for the advantages they had enjoyed under the tyranny, they endeavoured to corrupt them by holding out fair hopes and giving them money.

[4] 4 διαφθείρειν. ἔμελλον δ' ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν πόλει μεγάλη καὶ πολυοχλοῦση φανήσεσθαι τινες οἱ τὴν χεῖρω πολιτείαν αἰρησόμενοι πρὸ τῆς κρείττονος οὐ τῶν ἀσήμεων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν Ἰούνιοι τε δύο Τίτος καὶ Τιβέριος Βρούτου παῖδες τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος ἀρτίως ἀρχόμενοι γενεῖαν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Οὐιτέλλιοι τε δύο Μάρκος καὶ Μάνιος, ἀδελφοὶ τῆς Βρούτου γυναικός, ἱκανοὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν, καὶ Κολλατίνου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀδελφῆς υἱοὶ δύο Λεῦκιος καὶ Μάρκος Ἀκύλλιοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες τοῖς Βρούτου παισὶν ἡλικίαν, παρ' οἷς αἱ σύνοδοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο πατρὸς οὐκέτι περιόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν τυράννων βουλευόμενα συνετίθετο.

[4] And in a large and populous city there were sure to be found, as we may suppose, some who would prefer a worse to a better form of government, and that not only among the obscure, but even among the men of distinction. Of this number were the two Junii, Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Brutus the consul, then just coming to manhood, and with them the two Vitellii, Marcus and Manius, brothers of the wife of Brutus, men capable of administering public affairs, and also the Aquilii, Lucius and Marcus, sons of the sister of Collatinus, the other consul, of the same age with the sons of Brutus. It was at the house of the Aquilii, whose father was no longer living, that the conspirators generally held their meetings and laid their plans for bringing back the tyrants.

[1] ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προνοίᾳ θεῶν εἰς τοσαύτην προελθεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τότε [p. 147] γενομένων. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἄνοια καὶ θεοβλάβεια τοὺς δυστήνους ἐκείνους κατέσχευεν, ὥσθ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιστολὰς γράψαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον αὐτογράφους δηλοῦντες αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος τε τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς συνωμοσίας καὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπίθεσιν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου γραμμάτων, ὅτι βούλεται προειδέναι, τίνας αὐτῷ προσήκει Ῥωμαίων εὔ

[7.1] Not only from many other circumstances has it seemed to me to be due to the providence of the gods that the affairs of the Romans have come to such a flourishing condition, but particularly by what happened upon this occasion. For so great a folly and infatuation possessed those unfortunate youths that they consented to write letters to the tyrant in their own hand, informing him not only of the number of their accomplices, but also of the time when they proposed to make the attack upon the consuls. They had been persuaded to do so by the letters that came to them from the tyrant, in which he desired to know beforehand the names of the Romans whom he ought to reward after he had regained the sovereignty.

[2] ποιεῖν κατασχόντι τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτων δ' ἐγένοντο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ὕπατοι κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ συντυχίαν. παρ' Ἀκυλλίοις τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κολλατίνου γεγονόσιν ἀδελφῆς οἱ κορυφαῖότατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ

κατήγοντο παρακληθέντες ὡς ἐφ' ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου κελεύσαντες τοὺς διακόνους καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος ἀπελθεῖν διεφέροντό τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰ δόξαντα εἰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεχώριζον αὐτογράφους, ἃς ἔδει τοὺς Ἀκυλλίους λαβόντας ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἐκ Τυρρηνίας πρέσβεσιν,

[2] The consuls got possession of these letters by the following chance. The principal conspirators used to hold night sessions at the house of the Aquilii, the sons of the sister of Collatinus, being invited there ostensibly for some religious rites and a sacrifice. After the banquet they first ordered the servants to go out of the room and to withdraw from before the door of the men's apartment, and then proceeded to discuss together the means of restoring the tyrants and to set down in the letters in their own handwriting the decisions arrived at; these letters the Aquilii were to deliver to the Tyrrhenian ambassadors, and they in turn to Tarquinius.

[3] ἐκείνους δὲ Ταρκυνίῳ. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν θεραπόντων τις οἰνοχόος ἐκ πόλεως Καινίνης αἰχμάλωτος ὄνομα Οὐνδίκιος ὑποπτεύσας τοὺς ἄνδρας βουλεύειν πονηρὰ τῇ μεταστάσει τῶν διακόνων ἔμεινε μόνος ἔξω παρὰ ταῖς θύραις καὶ τοὺς τε λόγους παρ' αὐτῶν ἠκροάσατο καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς εἶδεν ὑπὸ πάντων [p. 148] γραφομένας, ἀρμῶ τι νι τῆς θύρας διαφανεῖ τὴν ὄψιν προσβαλὼν.

[3] In the mean time one of the servants, who was their cup-bearer and a captive taken at Caenina, Vindicius by name, suspecting, from their ordering the servants to withdraw, that they were plotting some mischief, remained alone outside the door, and not only heard their conversation, but, by applying his eye to a crevice of the door that afforded a glimpse inside, saw the letters they were all writing.

[4] ἐξελθὼν δὲ πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης ὡς ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ χρεῖαν τινά, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ὤκνησεν ἐλθεῖν δεδιώς, μὴ συγκρῦσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλόμενοι διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν συγγενῶν τὸν μηνύσαντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἀφανίσωσιν, ἀφικόμενος δ' ὡς Πόπλιον Οὐαλέριον, ὃς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τέτταρσιν ἦν τῶν τὴν τυραννίδα καταλυσάντων, δεξιώσει καὶ δι' ὄρκων τὸ πιστὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ὣν τ' ἤκουσε καὶ

[4] And setting out from the house while it was still the dead of night, as if he had been sent by his masters upon some business, he hesitated to go to the consuls, lest, in their desire to keep the matter quiet out of goodwill for their kinsmen, they might do away with the one who gave information of the conspiracy, but went to Publius Valerius, one of the four who had taken the lead in overthrowing the tyranny; and when this man had given him assurance of his safety by offering his hand and swearing oaths, he informed him of all that he had both heard and seen.

[5] ὣν εἶδε γίνεται. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔμαθεν οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τῇν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀκυλλίων σὺν χειρὶ πολλῇ πελατῶν τε καὶ φίλων παραγίνεται περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον καὶ παρελθὼν εἴσω τῶν θυρῶν ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλην τινὰ χρεῖαν παρῶν ἀκωλύτως κατ' οἶκον ἔτι τῶν μεираκίων ὄντων ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους συλλαβὼν καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους.

[5] Valerius, upon hearing this story, made no delay, but went to the house of the Aquilii about daybreak, attended by a large number of clients and friends; and getting inside the door without hindrance, as having come upon some other business, while the lads were still there, he got possession of the letters, and seizing the youths, took them before the consuls.

[1] τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργα θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Βρούτου μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ λέγειν ἔχων, ἐφ' οἷς μέγιστα φρονοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, δέδοικα μὴ σκληρὰ καὶ ἄπιστα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δόξω λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ πεφύκασιν ἅπαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν τὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα κρίνειν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἄπιστον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖν: ἐρῶ δ' οὖν ὁμως.

[8.1] I am afraid that the subsequent noble and astonishing behaviour of Brutus, one of the consuls, which I am now to relate and in which the Romans take the greatest pride, may appear cruel and incredible to the Greeks, since it is natural for all men to judge by their own experience whatever is said of others, and to determine what is credible and incredible with reference to themselves. Nevertheless, I shall relate it.

[2] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμέρα τάχιστα [p. 149] ἐγένετο, καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ διασκεπτόμενος, ὡς εὔρε τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν γραφείας ταῖς σφραγίσιν ἐκατέραν γνωρίσας καὶ μετὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς χειρογράφοις, ἀναγνωσθῆναι πρῶτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρους ὑπὸ τοῦ γραμματέως εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν παρόντων ἀκοήν: ἔπειτα λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παισίν, εἴ τι βούλονται.

[2] As soon, then, as it was day, Brutus seated himself upon the tribunal and examined the letters of the conspirators; and when he found those written by his sons, each of which he recognized by the seals, and, after he had broken the seals, by the handwriting, he first ordered both letters to be read by the secretary in the hearing of all who were present, and then commanded his sons to speak if they had anything to say.

[3] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῶν οὐδέτερος πρὸς ἄρνησιν ἀναιδῆ τραπέσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατεψηφικότες ἑαυτῶν ἔκλειον ἀμφοτέροι, ὀλίγον δ' ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἀνίσταται καὶ σιωπὴν προκηρύξας ἐκδεχομένων ἀπάντων, τί τέλος ἐξοίσει, θάνατον ἔφη καταδικάζειν τῶν τέκνων: ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἀνέκραγον οὐκ ἄξιοῦντες τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ζημιωθῆναι τέκνων θανάτῳ καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μεираκίων ἐβούλοντο τῷ πατρί.

[3] But when neither of them dared resort to shameless denial, but both wept,

having long since convicted themselves, Brutus, after a short pause, rose up and commanding silence, while everyone was waiting to learn what sentence he would pronounce, said he condemned his sons to death. Whereupon they all cried out, indignant that such a man should be punished by the death of his sons, and they wished to spare the lives of the youths as a favour to their father.

[4] ὁ δ' οὔτε τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν οὔτε τὰς οἰμωγὰς ἀνασχόμενος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἀπάγειν τοὺς νεανίσκους ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντας καὶ ταῖς φιλτάταις αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένους προσηγορίαις. θαυμαστὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἐφάνη τὸ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦναι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν μήτε πρὸς τοὺς οἴκτους τῶν τέκτων, πολλῷ δ' ἐπὶ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἀμείλικτον.

[4] But he, paying no heed to either their cries or their lamentations, ordered the lictors to lead the youths away, though they wept and begged and called upon him in the most tender terms. Even this seemed astonishing to everybody, that he did not yield at all to either the entreaties of the citizens or the laments of his sons; but much more astonishing still was his relentlessness with regard to their punishment.

[5] οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλοθι που συνεχώρησεν ἀπαχθέντας τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔξω τῆς ἀπάντων ὄψεως ἀποθανεῖν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑпанεχώρησεν, [p. 150] ἕως ἐκεῖνοι κολασθῶσι, τὴν δεινὴν θέαν ἐκτρεπόμενος, οὔτ' ἄνευ προπηλακισμοῦ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην ἐκπληρῶσαι μοῖραν: ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα φυλάττων, ὅσα τοῖς κακοῦργοις ἀπόκειται παθεῖν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ πάντων ὁρώντων αἰκισθέντας τὰ σώματα πληγαῖς, αὐτὸς ἅπασι τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρών, τότε συνεχώρησε τοὺς αὐχένας τοῖς πελέκεσιν ἀποκοπῆναι.

[5] For he neither permitted his sons to be led away to any other place and put to death out of sight of the public, nor did he himself, in order to avoid the dreadful spectacle, withdraw from the Forum till after they had been punished; nor did he allow them to undergo the doom pronounced against them without ignominy, but he caused every detail of the punishment established by the laws and customs against malefactors to be observed, and only after they had been scourged in the Forum in the sight of all the citizens, he himself being present when all this was done, did he then allow their heads to be cut off with the axes.

[6] Ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἀτενὲς τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἄτεγκτον ἦν: ὅς γε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσοι τῷ πάθει παρεγένοντο κλαιόντων μόνος οὔτ' ἀνακlausάμενος ὥφθη τὸν μόρον τῶν τέκνων οὔτ' ἀποιμῶξας ἑαυτὸν τῆς καθεξούσης τὸν οἶκον ἐρημίας οὔτ' ἄλλο μαλακὸν οὐθὲν ἐνδούς, ἀλλ' ἄδακρύς τε καὶ ἀστένακτος καὶ ἀτενῆς διαμένων εὐκαρδίως ἤνεγκε τὴν συμφορὰν. οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς ἦν τὴν γνώμην

καὶ βέβαιος τὰ κριθέντα διατηρεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπιταραπτόντων τοὺς λογισμοὺς παθῶν καρτερός.

[6] But the most extraordinary and the most astonishing part of his behaviour was that he did not once avert his gaze nor shed a tear, and while all the rest who were present at this sad spectacle wept, he was the only person who was observed not to lament the fate of his sons, nor to pity himself for the desolation that was coming upon his house, nor to betray any other signs of weakness, but without a tear, without a groan, without once shifting his gaze, he bore his calamity with a stout heart. So strong of will was he, so steadfast in carrying out the sentence, and so completely the master of all the passions that disturb the reason.

[1] ἀποκτείνας δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς εὐθὺς ἐκάλει τοὺς ἀδελφιδοὺς τοῦ συνάρχοντος Ἀκυλλίου, παρ' οἷς αἱ σύνοδοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συνομοσαμένων ἐγένοντο: καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῶν ἀναγνῶναι τῷ γραμματεῖ κελεύσας, ὥστε πάντας ἀκούειν τοὺς παρόντας, ἀπολογία ἐφῆσεν αὐτοῖς διδόναι. ὥς δὲ προήχθησαν οἱ νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, εἴθ' ὑποθεμένου τινὸς τῶν φίλων εἴτ' αὐτοὶ συμφρονήσαντες τοῖς γόνασι [p. 151] τοῦ θεοῦ προσπίπτουσιν ὥς δι' ἐκείνου σωθισόμενοι.

[9.1] After he had caused his sons to be put to death, he at once summoned the nephews of his colleague, the Aquilii, at whose house the meetings of the conspirators against the state had been held; and ordering the secretary to read out their letters, that all present might hear them, he told them they might make their defence. When the youths were brought before the tribunal, either acting on the suggestion of one of their friends or having agreed upon it themselves, they threw themselves at the feet of their uncle in hopes of being saved by him.

[2] κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἀποσπᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον, εἰ μὴ βούλονται ἀπολογήσασθαι, μικρὸν ἐπισχεῖν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ὁ Καλλατῖνος εἰπὼν, ἕως τῷ συνάρχοντι διαλεχθῇ, λαβὼν τὸν ἄνδρα καταμόνας πολλὰς ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειρακίων δεήσεις: τὰ μὲν ἀπολογούμενος ὥς διὰ νεότητος ἄνοιαν καὶ πονηρὰς φίλων ὁμιλίας εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσόντων τὴν φρενοβλάβειαν, τὰ δὲ παρακαλῶν ἑαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν συγγενῶν

[2] And when Brutus ordered the lictors to drag them away and lead them off to death, unless they wished to make a defence, Collatinus, ordering the lictors to forbear a little while till he had talked with his colleague, took him aside and earnestly entreated him to spare the lads, now excusing them on the ground that through the ignorance of their youth and evil associations with friends they had fallen into this madness, and again begging him to grant him as a favour the lives of his kinsmen, the only favour he asked of him and the only trouble he should ever give him, and still again showing him that there

was danger that the whole city would be thrown into an uproar if they attempted to punish with death all who were believed to have been working with the exiles for their return, since there were many such and some of them were of no obscure families.

[3] μίαν αἰτουμένῳ ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ περὶ οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἑτέρου ἐνοχλήσονται, τὰ δὲ διδάσκων, ὅτι συνταραχθῆναι κίνδυνος ὅλην τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν ἅπαντας ἐπιχειρῶσι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν τοὺς δόξαντάς τι συμπράττειν τοῖς φυγάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς καθόδου: πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμεων οἰκιῶν ἐνίου. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, τελευτῶν ἡξίου μὴ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ μετρίαν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρίσαι κόλασιν, ἄτοπον εἶναι λέγων τοὺς μὲν τυράννους φυγαῖς ἐζημιῶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων φίλους θανάτῳ. ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τῆς κολάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐδ' εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι χρόνους τὰς κρίσεις τῶν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις βουλομένου: τελευταῖα γὰρ αὕτη τοῦ συνάρχοντος δέησις ἦν: ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἀποκτενεῖν ἅπαντας ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ διομνυμένου, ἀδημονῶν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ὦν ἡξίου τυγχάνειν, Τοιγαροῦν, ἔφησεν, ἐπεὶ σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ πικρὸς ἐγὼ τὰ μεираκία ἀφαιροῦμαι τῆς [p. 152] αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας ἧς σὺ κύριος ὢν. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκπικρανθεὶς, οὐκ ἔμοῦ γ', ἔφη, ζῶντος, ὦ Κολλατῖνε, τοὺς προδότας τῆς πατρίδος ἰσχύσεις ἐξελέσθαι: ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ δώσεις δικας ἅς προσῆκεν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

[3] But being unable to persuade him, he at last asked him not to condemn them to death, but to impose a moderate punishment on them, declaring that it was absurd, after punishing the tyrants with banishment only, to punish the friends of the tyrants with death. And when Brutus opposed even the equitable punishment that he suggested and was unwilling even to put off the trials of the accused (for this was the last request his colleague made), but threatened and swore he would put them all to death that very day, Collatinus, distressed at obtaining naught that he was asking, exclaimed: "Well then, since you are boorish and harsh, I, who possess the same authority as you, set the lads free." And Brutus, exasperated, replied: "Not while I am alive, Collatinus, shall you be able to free those who are traitors to their country. Nay, but you too shall pay the fitting penalty, and that right soon."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῖς μεираκίοις ἐπιστήσας ἐκάλει τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. πληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄχλου: περιβόητον γὰρ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην τὸ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πάθος ἐγεγονέει: προσελθὼν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ

[10] Having said this and stationed a guard over the lads, he called an assembly of the people, and when the Forum was filled with a crowd (for the fate of his sons had been noised abroad through the whole city), he came forward and placing the most distinguished members of the senate near him, spoke as follows:

[2] 5 παραστησάμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἄν, ὧ ἄνδρες πολῖται, Κολλατῖνον τουτονὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα περὶ πάντων μοι ταῦτ' αὖ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μισεῖν τοὺς τυράννους καὶ πολεμεῖν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τάναντία φρονῶν γέγονέ μοι καταφανὴς καὶ ἔστιν οὐ μόνον τῇ φύσει Ταρκυνίων συγγενής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει, διαλλαγὰς τε πράττων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκοπῶν λυσιτελές, αὐτὸς τε κωλύειν αὐτὸν παρεσκεῦασμαι πράττειν ἃ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχει πονηρὰ ὄντα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρεκάλεσα: φράσω δ' ὑμῖν πρῶτον μὲν, ἐν οἷς ἐγένετο κινδύνοις τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, ἔπειτα πῶς αὐτοῖς ἑκάτερος ἡμῶν κέχρηται.

[2] “I could wish, citizens, that Collatinus, my colleague here, held the same sentiments as I do in everything and that he showed his hatred and enmity towards the tyrants, not by his words only, but by his actions as well. But since it had become clear to me that his sentiments are the opposite of my own and since he is related to the Tarquini, not alone by blood, but also by inclination, both working for a reconciliation with them and considering his private advantage instead of the public good, I have not only made my own preparations to prevent him from carrying out the mischievous designs he has in mind, but I have also summoned you for this same purpose. I shall inform you, first, of the dangers to which the commonwealth has been exposed and then in what manner each of us has dealt with those dangers.

[3] τῶν πολιτῶν τινες συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀκυλλίων οἰκίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Κολλατίνου γεγονότων ἀδελφῆς, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ τ' ἐμοὶ παῖδες ἀμφοτέρω καὶ οἱ τῆς γυναικὸς [p. 153] ἀδελφοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἅμα τούτοις οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ συνώμοσαν ἀποκτείναντες ἐμὲ καταγαγεῖν Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐπιστολάς τε περὶ τούτων γράψαντες αὐτογράφους καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν σφραγῖσι κατασημνημένοι πέμπειν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ἔμελλον.

[3] Some of the citizens, assembling at the house of the Aquilii, who are sons of the sister of Collatinus, among them my two sons and the brothers of my wife, and some others with them, no obscure men, entered into an agreement and conspiracy to kill me and restore Tarquinius to the sovereignty. And having written letters concerning these matters in their own handwriting and sealed them with their own seals, they were intending to send them to the exiles.

[4] ταῦθ' ἡμῖν θεῶν πινος εὐνοίᾳ καταφανῆ γέγονεν ὑπὸ τοῦδε μηνυθέντα τοῦ ἀνδρός: ἔστι δ' Ἀκυλλίων δοῦλος, παρ' οἷς καταγόμενοι τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἔγραψαν: καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων γεγόναμεν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατεῖς. Τίτον μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ Τιβέριον τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τετιμώρημαι: καὶ οὐδὲν καταέλυσται διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπείκειαν οὔτε νόμος οὔθ' ὄρκος: Ἀκυλλίου δὲ Κολλατῖνος ἀφαιρεῖται μου καὶ φησιν οὐκ ἔασειν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐμοῖς παισὶ βουλευσάντας τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκείνοις τυχεῖν.

[4] These things, by the favour of some god, have become known to us through information given by this man — he is a slave belonging to the Aquilii, at whose house they held a session last night and wrote the letters — and the letters themselves have come into our possession. As for Titus and Tiberius, my own sons, I have punished them, and neither the law nor our oath has in any degree been violated through clemency on my part. But Collatinus is trying to take the Aquilii out of my hands and declares that, even though they have taken part in the same counsels as my sons, he will not allow them to meet with the same punishment.

[5] εἰ δ' οὔτοι μηδεμίαν ὑπέξουσιν δίκην, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους προδότας τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέσται μοι κολάσαι. τί γὰρ δὴ δίκαιον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξω λέγειν, ἂν τοὺτους ἀφῶ; τίνος οὖν ταῦτα μηνύματα τίθεσθε; πότερα τῆς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίας ἢ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους διαλλαγῶν, καὶ πότερα τῆς ἐμπεδώσεως τῶν ὄρκων, οὐς ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀρξάμενοι πάντες ὠμόσατε, ἢ τῆς συγχύσεώς τε καὶ ἐπορκίας;

[5] But if these are not to suffer any penalty, then it will be impossible for me to punish either the brothers of my wife or the other traitors to their country. For what just charge shall I be able to bring against them if I let these off? Of what, then, do you think these actions of his are indications? Of loyalty to the commonwealth, or of a reconciliation with the tyrants? Of a confirmation of the oaths which you, following us, all took, or of a violation of those oaths, yes, of perjury?

[6] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔλαθεν ἡμᾶς, ταῖς ἀραῖς ἔνοχος ἦν ἂν καὶ θεοῖς ὑπέσχετο, οὐς ἐπιώρκει, δίκας: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφανὴς γέγονεν, ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτὸν προσήκει κολασθῆναι, [p. 154] ὅς γ' ὀλίγαις μὲν ἡμέραις πρότερον τὰ χρήματα τοῖς τυράννοις ὑμᾶς ἔπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἔχη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οἱ ἐχθροὶ: νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῶν τυράννων συνομοσαμένους ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας οἴεται δεῖν, ἐκεῖνοις αὐτοὺς δηλονότι χαριζόμενος, ἵν', ἐὰν ἄρα κατέλθωσιν εἴτ' ἐκ προδοσίας εἴτε πολέμῳ, ταύτας προφερόμενος τὰς χάριτας ἀπάντων ὡς φίλος ὅσων ἂν αἰρήται παρ' αὐτῶν τυγχάνῃ.

[6] And if he had escaped discovery by us, he would have been subject to the curses we then invoked and he would have paid the penalty to the gods by whom he had sworn falsely; but since he has been found out, it is fitting that he should be punished by us — this man who but a few days ago persuaded you to restore their possessions to the tyrants, to the end that the commonwealth might not make use of them in the war against our enemies, but that our enemies might use them against the commonwealth. And now he thinks that those who have conspired to restore the tyrants ought to be let off from punishment, with a view no doubt of sparing their lives as a favour to the tyrants, so that, if these should after all return as the result of either treachery or war, he may, by reminding them of these favours, obtain from them, as

being a friend, everything that he chooses.

[7] 6 ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐμῶν οὐ φεισάμενος τέκνων σοῦ φείσομαι, Κολλατίνε, ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχεις, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προδότας τῆς πατρίδος σῶζεις, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀποκτενεῖς; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ: ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐξεργάσῃ, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιροῦμαι σε καὶ πόλιν ἑτέραν κελεύω μεταλαβῆναι: ὑμῖν δ', ὧ πολῖται, ψῆφον ἀναδῶσω καλέσας αὐτίκα μάλ᾽ αὐτοῦς λόχους, ἵνα διαγνώσιν, εἰ χρὴ ταυτ' εἶναι κύρια: εὔ δ' ἴστε ὅτι δυσὲν θάτερον ἢ Κολλατίνον ἔξοντες ὑπατον ἢ Βροῦτον.

[7] After this, shall I, who have not spared my own sons, spare you, Collatinus, who are with us indeed in person, but with our enemies in spirit, and are trying to save those who have betrayed their country and to kill me who am fighting in its defence? Far from it! On the contrary, to prevent you from doing anything of the kind in future, I now deprive you of your magistracy and command you to retire to some other city. And as for you, citizens, I shall assemble you at once by your centuries and take your votes, in order that you may decide whether this action of mine should be ratified. Be assured, however, that you will have only one of us two for your consul, either Collatinus or Brutus."

[1] τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ βῶν καὶ δεινοπαθῶν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπιβουλὸν τε καὶ προδότην τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρ' ἕκαστα ἀποκαλῶν καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διαβολῶν ἀπολογούμενος, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν δεόμενος ψῆφόν τε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ [p. 155] τοῖς πολίταις οὐκ ἔων ἀναδοῦναι χαλεπώτερον ἐποίει τὸν δῆμον καὶ δεινοὺς ἡγειρεν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λεγομένοις θορύβους.

[11] While Brutus was thus speaking, Collatinus kept crying out and loudly protesting and at every word calling him a plotter and a betrayer of his friends, and now by endeavouring to clear himself of the accusations against him, and now by pleading for his nephews, and by refusing to allow the matter to be put to the vote of the citizens, he made the people still angrier and caused a terrible uproar at everything he said.

[2] ἡγριωμένων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὗτ' ἀπολογίαν ὑπομενόντων οὔτε δέησιν προσιεμένων, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδοθῆναι σφίσι κελευσάντων, δι' εὐλαβείας τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ λαβὼν Σπόριος Λουκρήτιος, ἀνὴρ τῷ δῆμῳ τίμιος, μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπέσῃ, λόγον αἰτησάμενος παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπᾶτων καὶ τυχὼν τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης πρῶτος, ὥς φασιν οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφείς, οὕτω τότε Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος ἐν ἔθει δημηγορεῖν ἰδιώτην ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, κοινὴν ἐποίησατο δέησιν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπᾶτων, Κολλατίνῳ μὲν παραινῶν μὴ θυμομαχεῖν μὴδ' ἀκόντων κατέχειν τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἣν παρ' ἐκόντων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ τοῖς δοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκόντα

καταθέσθαι καὶ μὴ τοῖς λόγοις ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διαβολάς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασι, μεταθέσθαι τε τὴν οἴκησιν ἐτέρωσέ ποι ποτε πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λαβόντα, ἕως ἂν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γένηται τὰ κοινά, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρειν, ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι γενομένοις ὀργίζεσθαι πεφύκασιν ἅπαντες, προδοσίᾳ δὲ καὶ ὑποπτευομένη, σωφρονέστερον ἡγούμενοι καὶ διὰ κενῆς φοβηθέντες αὐτὴν φυλάξασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ [p. 156]

[2] The citizens being now exasperated against him and refusing either to hear his defence or to listen to his entreaties, but calling for their votes to be taken, Spurius Lucretius, his father-in-law, a man esteemed by the people, feeling concern about the situation, lest Collatinus should be ignominiously driven from office and from his country, asked and obtained from both consuls leave to speak. He was the first person who ever obtained this privilege, as the Roman historians relate, since it was not yet customary at that time for a private citizen to speak in an assembly of the people. And addressing his entreaties to both consuls jointly, he advised Collatinus not to persist so obstinately in his opposition nor to retain against the will of the citizens the magistracy which he had received by their consent, but if those who had given it thought fit to take back the magistracy, to lay it down voluntarily, and to attempt to clear himself of the accusations against him, not by his words, but by his actions, and to remove with all his goods to some other region till the commonwealth should be in a state of security, since the good of the people seemed to require this. For he should bear in mind that, whereas in the case of other crimes all men are wont to show their resentment after the deed has been committed, in the case of treason they do so even when it is only suspected, regarding it as more prudent, though their fears may be vain, to guard against the treason than, by giving way to contempt, to be undone.

[3] καταφρονήσει ἐπιτρέψαντες ἀνατραπήναι: Βροῦτον δὲ πείθων μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνῃς καὶ προπηλακισμοῦ τὸν συνάρχοντα τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβαλεῖν, μεθ' οὗ τὰ κράτιστα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλευσεν: ἀλλ' ἔὰν αὐτὸς ὑπομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παραχωρῇ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκὼν, τὴν τ' οὐσίαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἀνασκευάσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προσθεῖναι τινα δωρεάν, ἵνα παραμύθιον ἔχη τῆς συμφορᾶς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριν.

[3] As for Brutus, he endeavoured to persuade him not to expel from his country with shame and vituperation his colleague with whom he had concerted the best measures for the commonwealth, but if Collatinus himself was willing to resign the magistracy and leave the country voluntarily, not only to give him leave to get together all his substance at his leisure, but also to add some gift from the public treasury, to the end that this favour conferred upon him by the people might be a comfort to him in his affliction.

[1] ταῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀμφοτέροις παραινούντος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν

ἐπαινεσάντων τὸν λόγον, ὁ μὲν Κολλατῖνος πολλὰ κατολοφυρόμενος ἑαυτὸν, εἰ διὰ συγγενῶν ἔλεον ἐκλιπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσεται τὴν πατρίδα μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ἀποτίθεται τὴν ἀρχήν.

[12.1] When Lucretius thus advised both consuls and the citizens had voiced their approval, Collatinus, uttering many lamentations over his misfortune in being obliged, because of the compassion he had shown to his kinsmen, to leave his country, though he was guilty of no crime, resigned his magistracy.

[2] ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ κράτιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πόλει βεβουλευμένον παρεκάλει μὴτ' αὐτῷ μῆτε τῇ πατρίδι μνησικακεῖν: ἑτέραν δὲ μεταλαβόντα οἴκησιν τὴν καταλειπομένην πατρίδα ἡγεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς μὴτ' ἔργου μῆτε λόγου κοινωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατ' αὐτῆς: τὸ δ' ὅλον ἀποδημίαν ὑπολαβόντα τὴν μετανάστασιν, οὐκ ἐξορισμὸν οὐδὲ φυγὴν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παρὰ τοῖς προπέμπουσι. ταῦτα δ' ὑποθέμενος τῷ ἀνδρὶ πείθει τὸν δῆμον εἴκοσι τάλαντων δοῦναι αὐτῷ δωρεὰν [p. 157] καὶ αὐτὸς πέντε τάλαντα προστίθῃσιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

[2] Brutus, praising him for having taken the best and the most advantageous resolution for both himself and the commonwealth, exhorted him not to entertain any resentment either against him or against his country, but after he had taken up his residence elsewhere, to regard as his country the home he was now leaving, and never to join with her enemies in any action or speech directed against her; in fine, to consider his change of residence as a sojourn abroad, not as an expulsion or a banishment, and while living in body with those who had received him, to dwell in spirit with those who now sent him on his way. After this exhortation to Collatinus he prevailed upon the people to make him a present of twenty talents, and he himself added five more from his own means.

[3] Ταρκύνιος μὲν δὴ Κολλατῖνος τοιαύτῃ τύχῃ περιπεσὼν εἰς Λαουίνιον ὤχετο τὴν μητρόπολιν τοῦ Λατίνων γένους, ἐν ᾗ γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτα: ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος οὐκ ἀξιῶν μόνος ἄρχειν οὐδ' εἰς ὑπόνοιαν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολίταις, ὅτι μοναρχίας ὑπαχθεὶς πόθῳ τὸν συνύπατον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, καλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, ἔνθα σύνηθες αὐτοῖς ἦν τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καθιστάναι, συνάρχοντα αἰρεῖται Πόπλιον Οὐαλέριον, ἀπόγονον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, τοῦ Σαβίνου Οὐαλερίου, ἀνδρα πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων χάριν ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιον, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς αὐταρκειας τοῦ βίου. φιλοσοφία γάρ τις αὐτοδίδακτος ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτόν, ἣν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπεδείξατο πράγμασιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐρῶ.

[3] So Tarquinius Collatinus, having met with this fate, retired to Lavinium, the mother-city of the Latin nation, where he died at an advanced age. And Brutus, thinking that he ought not to continue alone in the magistracy or to

give occasion to the citizens to suspect that it was because of a desire to rule alone that he had banished his colleague from the country, summoned the people to the field where it was their custom to elect their kings and other magistrates, and chose for his colleague Publius Valerius, a descendant, as I have stated earlier, of the Sabine Valerius, a man worthy of both praise and admiration for many other qualities, but particularly for his frugal manner of life. For there was a kind of self-taught philosophy about him, which he displayed upon many occasions, of which I shall speak a little later.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη μιᾷ γνώμῃ περὶ πάντων χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ τῶν φυγάδων συνομοσαμένους ἅπαντας ἀπέκτειναν παραχρῆμα, καὶ τὸν μηνύσαντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν δοῦλον ἐλευθερίᾳ τε καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐτίμησαν. ἔπειτα τρία πολιτεύματα κάλλιστα καὶ συμφωρῶτα τῷ κοινῷ καταστησάμενοι τοὺς τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντας ὁμονοεῖν παρεσκεύασαν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐταιρίας ἐμείωσαν.

[13.1] After this Brutus and his colleague, acting in everything with a single mind, immediately put to death all who had conspired to restore the exiles, and also honoured the slave who had given information of the conspiracy, not only with his freedom, but also by the bestowal of citizenship and a large sum of money. Then they introduced three measures, all most excellent and advantageous to the state, by which they brought about harmony among all the citizens and weakened the factions of their enemies.

[2] ἦν δὲ τὰ πολιτεύματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιάδε: πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλέξαντες [p. 158] πατρικίους ἐποίησαν καὶ συνεπλήρωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν βουλήν τοὺς τριακοσίους: ἔπειτα τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τυράννων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις φέροντες ἔθεσαν, συγχωρήσαντες ὅσον λάβοι τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχειν: καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ὅσην ἐκέκτηντο τοῖς μηδένα κλῆρον ἔχουσι διένειμαν, ἐν μόνον ἐξελόμενοι πεδίον, ὃ κεῖται μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τοῦτο δ' Ἄρεος ὑπάρχειν ἱερὸν οἱ πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο ἵπποις τε λειμῶνα καὶ νέοις ἄσκοῦσι τὰς ἐνοπλίους μελέτας γυμνάσιον ἐπιτηδειότατον: ὅτι δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἱερὸν ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, Ταρκύνιος δὲ σφετερισάμενος ἔσπειρεν αὐτὸ μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι τεκμήριον εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τότε περὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καρπούς.

[2] Their measures were as follows: In the first place, choosing the best men from among the plebeians, they made them patricians, and thus rounded out the membership of the senate to three hundred. Next, they brought out and exposed in public the goods of the tyrants for the benefit of all the citizens, permitting everyone to have as large a portion of them as he could seize; and the lands the tyrants had possessed they divided among those who had no allotments, reserving only one field, which lies between the city and the river. This field their ancestors had by a public decree consecrated to Mars as a meadow for horses and the most suitable drill-field for the youth to perform

their exercises in arms. The strongest proof, I think, that even before this the field had been consecrated to this god, but that Tarquinius had appropriated it to his own use and sown it, was the action then taken by the consuls in regard to the corn there.

[3] ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐπιτρέψαντες τῷ δήμῳ τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν, τὸν ἐν τοῦτῳ γινόμενον τῷ πεδίῳ σῆτον τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς καλάμαις, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἔτι ἄλωσιν κείμενον καὶ τὸν ἤδη κατειργασμένον οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν οὐδενὶ φέρειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξάγιστόν τε καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιτήδειον εἰς οἰκίας εἰσενεχθῆναι, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καταβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.

[3] For though they had given leave to the people to drive and carry away everything that belonged to the tyrants, they would not permit anyone to carry away the grain which had grown in this field and was still lying upon the threshing-floors whether in the straw or threshed, but looking upon it as accursed and quite unfit to be carried into their houses, they caused a vote to be passed that it should be thrown into the river.

[4] καὶ ἔστι νῦν μνημεῖον ἐμφανὲς τοῦ ποτε ἔργου νῆσος εὐμεγέθης Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερά, περικλυστος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, [p. 159] ἣν φασιν ἐκ τοῦ σωροῦ τῆς καλάμης σαπείσης καὶ ἔτι καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσλιπαίνοντος αὐτῇ ἰλὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου πεφευγόσι Ῥωμαίων κάθοδον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ἄδεια τε καὶ ἀμνηστία παντὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἔδωκαν χρόνον ὀρίσαντες ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν: εἰ δὲ μὴ κατέλθοιεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τιμωρίας αὐτοῖς ὥρισαν αἰδίους φυγὰς καὶ

[4] And there is even now a conspicuous monument of what happened on that occasion, in the form of an island of goodly size consecrated to Aesculapius and washed on all sides by the river, an island which was formed, they say, out of the heap of rotten straw and was further enlarged by the silt which the river kept adding. The consuls also granted to all the Romans who had fled with the tyrant leave to return to the city with impunity and under a general amnesty, setting a time-limit of twenty days; and if they did not return within this fixed time, the penalties set in their case were perpetual banishment and the confiscation of their estates.

[5] κτημάτων ὧν ἐκέκτηντο δημεύσεις. ταῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ πολιτεύματα τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαύσαντας ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν τυράννων ὅτου δὴ τιнос ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι πάλιν ἃς ἔσχον ὠφελείας ἅπαντα κίνδυνον ἐποίησεν ὑπομένειν: τοὺς δὲ κατὰ δέος ὧν παρηνόμησαν ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος μὴ δίκην ἀναγκασθεῖεν ὑπέχειν φυγῆς ἑαυτοῖς τιμησαμένους, ἀπαλλαγέντας τοῦ φόβου μηκέτι τὰ τῶν τυράννων, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως φρονεῖν.

[5] These measures of the consuls caused those who had enjoyed any part whatever of the possessions belonging to the tyrants to submit to any danger rather than be deprived again of the advantages they had obtained; and, on the

other hand, by freeing from their fear those who, through dread of having to stand trial for the crimes they had committed under the tyranny, had condemned themselves to banishment, they caused them to favour the side of the commonwealth rather than that of the tyrants.

[1] διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπισάμενοι τέως μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει τὰς δυνάμεις συνεῖχον ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ὑπὸ σημείοις τε καὶ ἡγεμόσι τεταγμένους καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκούσας πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἀγείρειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς στρατὸν, καὶ δύο μὲν πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συλλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς τῆς καθόδου, Ταρκυνιήτας τε καὶ Οὐιεντανούς, ἀξιοχρεοῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀμφοτέρως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθελοντάς τινας, οὓς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων παρασκευασθέντας, οὓς δὲ μισθοφόρους: [p. 160] ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον ἐξεληλυθότας ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς ἔγνωσαν, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις διαβιβάσαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν πλησίον Τυρρηγῶν ἐν λειμῶνι καλουμένῳ Ναιβίῳ παρὰ δρυμὸν

[14.1] After they had instituted these measures and made the necessary preparations for the war, they for some time kept their forces assembled in the plains under the walls of the city, disposed under their various standards and leaders and performing their warlike exercises. For they had learned that the exiles were raising an army against them in all the cities of Tyrrhenia and that two of these cities, Tarquinii and Veii, were openly assisting them toward their restoration, both of them with considerable armies, and that from the other cities volunteers were coming to their aid, some of them being sent by their friends and some being mercenaries. When the Romans heard that their enemies had already taken the field, they resolved to go out and meet them, and before the others could cross the river they led their own forces across, and marching forward, encamped near the Tyrrhenians in the Naevian Meadow, as it was called, near a grove consecrated to the hero Horatius.

[2] ἱερὸν ἥρωος Ὅρατιου. ἐτύγχανον δὲ πλήθει τε ἀγχώμαλοι μάλισθ' αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν οὕσαι καὶ προθυμία ὁμοία χωροῦσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀμφοτέρω. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῶν ἱππέων μάχη βραχεῖα τις εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ συνιδεῖν ἀλλήλους πρὶν ἢ τοὺς πεζοὺς καταστρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἐν ᾗ διάπειραν ἀλλήλων λαβόντες καὶ οὔτε νίκησαντες οὔτε λειφθέντες πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάτεροι χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν: ἔπειτα οἱ τε ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρων συνήεσαν ταξάμενοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις τρόπον, μέσσην μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν ποιήσαντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἵππον στήσαντες.

[2] Both armies, as it chanced, were nearly equal in numbers and advanced to the conflict with the same eagerness. The first engagement was a brief cavalry skirmish, as soon as they came in sight of one another, before the foot were encamped, in which they tested each other's strength and then, without either winning or losing, retired to their respective camps. Afterwards the heavy-

armed troops and the horse of both armies engaged, both sides having drawn up their lines in the same manner, placing the solid ranks of foot in the centre and stationing the horse on both wings.

[3] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Ῥωμαίων κέρατος Οὐαλέριος ὁ προσαιρεθεὶς ὕπατος ἐναντίαν στάσιν ἔχων Οὐιεντανοῖς, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου Βροῦτος, καθ' ὃ μέρος ἡ Ταρκυνιητῶν δύναμις ἦν: ἡγεμόνες δ' αὐτὴν ἐκόσμουσαν οἱ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες.

[3] The right wing of the Romans was commanded by Valerius, the newly-elected consul, who stood opposite to the Veientes, and the left by Brutus, in the sector where the forces of the Tarquinienses were, under the command of the sons of King Tarquinius.

[1] μελλόντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν Τυρρηνῶν εἰς τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδων, Ἄρρους ὄνομα, ῥωμὴν τε κράτιστος καὶ [p. 161] ψυχὴν λαμπρότατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐγγὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλάσας τὸν ἵππον, ὅθεν μορφήν τε καὶ φωνὴν ἅπαντες ἔμελλον αὐτοῦ συνήσειν, λόγους ὕβριστάς εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων Βροῦτον ἀπερρίπτει, θηρίον ἄγριον ἀποκαλῶν καὶ τέκνων αἷματι μιαρὸν, ἀνανδρίαν τ' ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ δειλίαν ὀνειδίζων, καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀγῶνα προὔκαλεῖτο μόνον αὐτῷ

[15.1] When the armies were ready to engage, one of the sons of Tarquinius, named Arruns, the most remarkable of the brothers both for the strength of his body and the brilliance of his mind, advanced before the ranks of the Tyrrhenians, and riding up so close to the Romans that all of them would recognize both his person and his voice, hurled abusive taunts at Brutus, their commander, calling him a wild beast, one stained with the blood of his sons, and reproaching him with cowardice and cravenness, and finally challenged him to decide the general quarrel by fighting with him in single combat.

[2] συνοισόμενον. κάκεῖνος οὐκ ἀξιῶν τοὺς ὀνειδισμοὺς ὑπομένειν ἤλαυνε τὸν ἵππον ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τῶν ἀποτρεπόντων φίλων ἐπὶ τὸν κατεψηφισμένον ὑπὸ τῆς μοίρας θάνατον ἐπειγόμενος. ὁμοίῳ δ' ἀμφοτέροι θυμῷ φερόμενοι καὶ λογισμόν οὐχ ὧν πείσονται λαβόντες, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐβούλοντο δρᾶσαι, συρράπτουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ φέρουσι ταῖς σαρίσαις ἀφύκτους κατ' ἀλλήλων πληγὰς ἀμφοτέροι δι' ἀσπίδων τε καὶ θωράκων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλευρὰ βάψας τὴν αἰχμὴν, ὁ δ' εἰς τὰς λαγόνας: καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν ἐμπλέξαντες τὰ στήθη τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπισθοῖς ἀνίστανται ποσὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀναχαιτίζοντες ἀποσεισνται.

[2] Then Brutus, unable to bear these reproaches and deaf also to the remonstrances of his friends, spurred forward from the ranks, rushing upon the death that was decreed for him by fate. For both men, urged on by a like

fury and taking thought, not of what they might suffer, but only of what they desired to do, rode full tilt at each other, and clashing, delivered unerring blows against each other with their pikes, piercing through shield and corslet, so that the point was buried in the flank of one and in the loins of the other; and their horses, crashing together breast to breast, rose upon their hind legs through the violence of the charge, and throwing back their heads, shook off their riders.

[3] οὕτω μὲν δὴ πεσόντες ἔκειντο πολὺ διὰ τῶν τραυμάτων ἐκβάλλοντες αἷμα καὶ ψυχορραγοῦντες, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἶδον συμπεσόντας, ὠθοῦνται σὺν ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ πατάγῳ, καὶ γίνεται μέγιστος ἀπάντων ἀγῶν πεζῶν τε [p. 162]

[3] These champions, accordingly, having fallen, lay there in their death agony, while streams of blood gushed from their wounds. But the two armies, when they saw that their leaders had fallen, pressed forward with shouts and the clash of arms, and the most violent of all battles ensued on the part of both foot and horse, the fortune of which was alike to both sides.

[4] καὶ ἱππέων καὶ τύχη περὶ ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοία. Ῥωμαίων τε γὰρ οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες, ἐφ' οὗ τεταγμένος ἦν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλέριος, ἐνίκων τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου διώξαντες ἐπλήρωσαν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδῖον, Τυρρηγῶν τε οἱ τὴν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἔχοντες στάσιν, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Τίτος καὶ Σέξτος οἱ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες, ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ ὄντας Ῥωμαίων κέρατος, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν γενόμενοι πείρας μὲν οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, εἰ δύναιτο ἐλεῖν τὸ ἔρυμα ἐξ ἐφόδου, πολλὰς δὲ πληγὰς λαβόντες ὑποστάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔνδον ἀπετράποντο. ἦσαν δ' αὐτοῦ φύλακες οἱ τριάριοι λεγόμενοι, παλαιοὶ τε καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειροὶ πολέμων, οἷς ἐσχάτοις, ὅταν ἀπογνωσθῇ πᾶσα ἐλπίς, εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνας καταχρῶνται.

[4] For those of the Romans who were on the right wing, which was commanded by Valerius, the other consul, were victorious over the Veientes, and pursuing them to their camp, covered the plain with dead bodies; while those of the Tyrrhenians who were posted on the enemy's right wing and commanded by Titus and Sextus, the sons of King Tarquinius, put the left wing of the Romans the son of flight, and advancing close to their camp, did not fail to attempt to take it by storm; but after receiving many wounds, since those inside stood their ground, they desisted. These guards were the triarii, as they are called; they are veteran troops, experienced in many wars, and are always the last employed in the most critical fighting, when every other hope is lost.

[1] ἤδη δὲ περὶ καταφορὰν ὄντος ἡλίου πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀνέστρεψαν ἑκάτεροι χάρακας, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαίροντες, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀχθόμενοι καί, εἰ δεήσειεν αὐτοῖς ἑτέρας μάχης, οὐχ

ἱκανοὺς ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἁγῶνα ἄρασθαι τοὺς περιλειπομένους σφῶν τραυματίας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄντας.

[16.1] The sun being now near setting, both armies retired to their camps, not so much elated by their victory as grieved at the numbers they had lost, and believing that, if it should be necessary for them to have another battle, those of them now left would be insufficient to carry on the struggle, the major part of them being wounded.

[2] πλείων δ' ἦν περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀθυμία καὶ ἀπόγνωσις τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος θάνατον: καὶ λογισμὸς εἰσῆει πολλοῖς, ὥς ἄμεινον εἴη σφίσιν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι. τοιαῦτα δ' αὐτῶν διανοουμένων καὶ διαλεγομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τὴν πρώτην που μάλιστα φυλακὴν [p. 163] ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, παρ' ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, φωνή τις ἠκούσθη ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀμφοτέραις γεγонуῖα, ὥσθ' ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἀκούειν εἴτε τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸ τέμενος ἥρωος εἴτε τοῦ καλουμένου Φαύνου.

[2] But there was greater dejection and despair of their cause on the side of the Romans because of the death of their leader; and the thought occurred to many of them that it would be better for them to quit their camp before break of day. While they were considering these things and discussing them among themselves, about the time of the first watch a voice was heard from the grove near which they were encamped, calling aloud to both armies in such a manner as to be heard by all of them; it may have been the voice of the hero to whom the precinct was consecrated, or it may have been that of Faunus, as he is called.

[3] τοῦτῳ γὰρ ἀναπιθέαςι τῷ δαίμονι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πανικὰ καὶ ὅσα φάσματα μορφὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλοιαις ἴσχοντα εἰς ὄψιν ἀνθρώπων ἔρχεται δείματα φέροντα, ἢ φωναὶ δαιμόνιοι ταραττοῦσι τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦτου φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἔργον. ἡ δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου φωνὴ θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὥς νενικηκόσιν, ἐνὶ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀποφαίνουσα νεκρούς. ταῦτη λέγουσι τῇ φωνῇ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἐπαρθέντα νυκτὸς ἔπι πολλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Τυρρηγῶν ὤσασθαι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντα ἐξ αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκβαλόντα κρατῆσαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου.

[3] For the Romans attribute panics to this divinity; and whatever apparitions come to men's sight, now in one shape and now in another, inspiring terror, or whatever supernatural voices come to their ears to disturb them are the work, they say, of this god. The voice of the divinity exhorted the Romans to be of good courage, as having gained the victory, and declared that the enemy's dead exceeded theirs by one man. They say that Valerius, encouraged by this voice, pushed on to the Tyrrhenians' entrenchments while it was still the dead of night, and having slain many of them and driven the rest out of the camp,

made himself master of it.

[1] τοιοῦτο μὲν ἡ μάχη τέλος ἔλαβεν: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ σκυλεύσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν θάψαντες ἀπήεσαν. τὸ δὲ Βρούτου σῶμα ἀράμενοι μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων τε καὶ δακρύων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπεκόμιζον οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἱππέων στεφάνοις κεκοσμημένον ἀριστείοις.

[17.1] Such was the outcome of the battle. The next day the Romans, having stripped the enemy's dead and buried their own, returned home. The bravest of the knight took up the body of Brutus and with many praises and tears bore it back to Rome, adorned with crowns in token of his superior valour.

[2] ὑπήντα δ' αὐτοῖς ἥ τε βουλὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῇ ψηφισαμένη κοσμήσαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας κρατῆρσι καὶ τραπέζαις ὑποδεχόμενος τὴν στρατιάν. ὥς δ' εἰς [p. 164] τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, πομπεύσας ὁ ὕπατος, ὥς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔθος ἦν, ὅτε τὰς τροπαιφόρους πομπὰς τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελοῖεν, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀναθεῖς, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερὰν ἀνῆκε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστιάσει προθεὶς ὑπεδέχετο: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ φαῖαν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν καὶ τὸ Βρούτου σῶμα προθεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ κεκοσμημένον ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἐκπρεποῦς συνεκάλει τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔλεξεν ἐπ'

[2] They were met by the senate, which had decreed a triumph in honour of their leader, and also by all the people, who received the army with bowls of wine and tables spread with viands. When they came into the city, the consul triumphed according to the custom followed by the kings when they conducted the trophy-bearing processions and the sacrifices, and having consecrated the spoils to the gods, he observed that day as sacred and gave a banquet to the most distinguished of the citizens. But on the next day he arrayed himself in dark clothing, and placing the body of Brutus, suitably adorned, upon a magnificent bier in the Forum, he called the people together in assembly, and advancing to the tribunal, delivered the funeral oration in his honour.

[3] 7 αὐτῷ λόγον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Οὐαλέριος πρῶτος κατεστήσατο τὸν νόμον τόνδε Ῥωμαίοις ἢ κείμενον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων παρέλαβεν, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν: ὅτι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον εὖρεμα τὸ παρὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπαίνους τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι καὶ οὐχ Ἑλλήνες αὐτὸ κατεστήσαντο πρῶτοι, παρὰ τῆς κοινῆς ἱστορίας οἶδα μαθὼν, ἦν ποιητῶν τε οἱ παλαιότατοι καὶ συγγραφέων οἱ λογιώτατοι παραδεδώκασιν.

[3] Whether Valerius was the first who introduced this custom among the Romans or whether he found it already established by the kings and adopted it, I cannot say for certain; but I do know from my acquaintance with universal history, as handed down by the most ancient poets and the most

celebrated historians, that it was an ancient custom instituted by the Romans to celebrate the virtues of illustrious men at their funerals and that the Greeks were not the authors of it.

[4] ἀγῶνας μὲν γὰρ ἐπιταφίους τιθεμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις ἀνδράσι γυμνικοὺς τε καὶ ἵππικοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἱστορήκασιν, ὡς ὑπὸ τ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Πέλοπι: ἐπαινούς δὲ λεγομένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐ γράφουσιν ἔξω τῶν Ἀθήνησι τραγωδοποιῶν, οἳ κολακεύοντες τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θησέως θαπτομένοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμύθευσαν. ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι προσέθεσαν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον τῷ νόμῳ, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς [p. 165] ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανόντων ἀρξάμενοι, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Μαραθῶνα ἔργων. ὕστερεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ Μαραθῶνια τῆς Βρούτου ταφῆς, εἰ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτων πρώτων ἥρξαντο οἱ ἔπαινοι λέγεσθαι τοῖς ἀπογενομένοις, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν.

[4] For although these writers have given accounts of funeral games, both gymnastic and equestrian, held in honour of famous men by their friends, as by Achilles for Patroclus and, before that, by Heracles for Pelops, yet none of them makes any mention of eulogies spoken over the deceased except the tragic poets at Athens, who, out of flattery to their city, invented this legend also in the case of those who were buried by Theseus. For it was only at some late period that the Athenians added to their custom the funeral oration, having instituted it either in honour of those who died in defence of their country at Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea, or on account of the deeds performed at Marathon. But even the affair at Marathon — if, indeed, the eulogies delivered in honour of the deceased really began with that occasion — was later than the funeral of Brutus by sixteen years.

[5] εἰ δέ τις ἐάσας σκοπεῖν, οἳ τινες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἐπαινούς καταστησάμενοι, τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ βουλευθεῖη καταμαθεῖν, παρ' ὁποτέρους ἄμεινον ἔχει, τοσοῦτ' ἄν φρονιμώτερον εὐρήσει παρὰ τοῖσδε κείμενον αὐτὸν ἢ παρ' ἐκείνοις, ὅσῳ γ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις καταστήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἀγορεύεσθαι λόγους δοκοῦσιν ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀρετῆς, κἀν τᾷλλα φαῦλος γένηται τις, ἐξετάζειν οἴομενοι δεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς:

[5] However, if anyone, without stopping to investigate who were the first to introduce these funeral orations, desires to consider the custom in itself and to learn in which of the two nations it is seen at its best, he will find that it is observed more wisely among the Romans than among the Athenians. For, whereas the Athenians seem to have ordained that these orations should be pronounced at the funerals of those only who have died in war, believing that one should determine who are good men solely on the basis of the valour they show at their death, even though in other respects they are without merit,

[6] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνδόξοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐὰν τε πολέμων ἡγεμονίας λαβόντες ἐὰν τε πολιτικῶν ἔργων προστασίας συνετὰ βουλευματα καὶ πράξεις ἀποδεικνύονται καλὰς, ταύτην ἔταξαν εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀποθανοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁποιαδῆποτε χρησαμένοις τοῦ βίου τελευτῇ, ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀρετῆς οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἐπαινέσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον εὐκλείας.

[6] the Romans, on the other hand, appointed this honour to be paid to all their illustrious men, whether as commanders in war or as leaders in the civil administration they have given wise counsels and performed noble deeds, and this not alone to those who have died in war, but also to those who have met their end in any manner whatsoever, believing that good men deserve praise for every virtue they have shown during their lives and not solely for the single glory of their death.

[1] Ἰούνιος μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκβαλὼν καὶ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος, ὃψὲ μὲν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν προελθὼν, ἀκαρῇ δὲ χρόνον ἀνθήσας ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων κράτιστος φανεὶς τοιαύτης [p. 166] τελευτῆς ἔτυχε, γενεὰν οὔτε ἄρρενα καταλιπὼν οὔτε θήλειαν, ὥς οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σαφέστατα ἐξητακότες γράφουσι, τεκμήρια πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦτου φέροντες, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ὃ δυσαντίλεκτόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοῦ πατρικίων γένους ἐκεῖνος ἦν, οἱ δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης αὐτοὺς λέγοντες εἶναι τῆς οἰκίας Ἰούνιοι τε καὶ Βροῦτοι πάντες ἦσαν πλήβειοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς μετήεσαν, ἃς τοῖς δημοτικοῖς μετέναι νόμος, ἀγορανομίας τε καὶ δημαρχίας, ὑπατεῖαν δ' οὐδεὶς, ἥς τοῖς πατρικίοις 8 μετῇν.

[18.1] Such, then, was the death of Junius Brutus, who overthrew the monarchy and was appointed the first consul. Though he attained late to a place of distinction and flourished in it but a brief moment, yet he was looked upon as the greatest of all the Romans. He left no issue, either sons or daughters, according to the writers who have investigated the history of the Romans most accurately; of this they offer many proofs, and this one in particular, which is not easily refuted, that he was of a patrician family, whereas those who have claimed to be descended from that family, as the Junii and Bruti, were all plebeians and were candidates for those magistracies only which were open by law to the plebeians, namely, the aedileship and tribuneship, but none of them stood for the consulship, to which the patricians only were eligible.

[2] ὃψὲ δὲ ποτε καὶ ταύτης ἔτυχον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτε συνεχωρήθη καὶ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς αὐτὴν λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οἷς μέλει τε καὶ διαφέρει τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι παρὶμι σκοπεῖν.

[2] Yet at a late period they obtained this magistracy also, when the plebeians too were allowed to hold it. But I leave the consideration of these matters to those whose business and interest it is to discover the precise facts.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βρούτου τελευτὴν ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Οὐαλέριος Ὑπόπτος γίνεται τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ὡς βασιλείαν κατασκευαζόμενος: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι μόνος κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν δέον εὐθὺς ἐλέσθαι τὸν συνύπατον, ὥσπερ ὁ Βρούτος ἐποίησε Κολλατῖνον ἐκβαλὼν: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἐπιφθόνῳ τόπῳ κατεσκευάσατο λόφον ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὕψηλὸν ἐπικεικῶς καὶ περίτομον, ὃν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐελίαν,

[19.1] After the death of Brutus his colleague Valerius became suspected by the people of a design to make himself king. The first ground of their suspicion was his continuing alone in the magistracy, when he ought immediately to have chosen a colleague as Brutus had done after he had expelled Collatinus. Another reason was that he had built his house in an invidious place, having chosen for that purpose a fairly high and steep hill, called by the Romans Velia, which commands the Forum.

[2] ἐκλεξάμενος. πυθόμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὅτι ταῦτα λυπεῖ τὸν δῆμον, ἀρχαιρεσιῶν προθεὶς ἡμέραν [p. 167] ὕπατον αἰρεῖται Σπόριον Λουκρήτιον, ὃς οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν ἀποθνήσκει. εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον καθίστησι Μάρκον Ὀράτιον, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου μετατίθεται κάτω, ἵν' ἐξεῖη Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησιάζων ἔφη, βάλλειν αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου τοῖς λίθοις, ἐάν τι λάβωσιν ἀδικοῦντα.

[2] But the consul, being informed by his friends that these things displeased the people, appointed a day for the election and chose for his colleague Spurius Lucretius, who died after holding the office for only a few days. In his place he then chose Marcus Horatius, and removed his house from the top to the bottom of the hill, in order that the Romans, as he himself said in one of his speeches to the people, might stone him from the hill above if they found him guilty of any wrongdoing.

[3] βεβαίαν τε πίστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοὺς δημοτικοὺς λαβεῖν βουλόμενος ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων τοὺς πελέκεις, καὶ κατεστήσατο τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπάτοις ἔθος, ὃ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς διέμεινεν ἡλικίας, ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως γένωνται χρῆσθαι τοῖς πελέκεσιν, ἔνδον δὲ ταῖς ῥάβδοις κοσμεῖσθαι μόναις:

[3] And desiring to give the plebeians a definite pledge of their liberty, he took the axes from the rods and established it as a precedent for his successors in the consulship — a precedent which continued to be followed down to my day — that, when they were outside the city, they should use the axes, but inside the city they should be distinguished by the rods only.

[4] νόμους τε φιланθρωποτάτους ἔθετο βοηθείας ἔχοντας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς: ἔνα μὲν, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην ἀπεῖπεν ἄρχοντα μηδένα εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λάβῃ τὴν ἀρχήν, θάνατον ἐπιθείς ζημίαν, ἐάν τις παρὰ

ταῦτα ποιῆ, καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τούτων τινὰ ποιῶν ἀθῶνον: ἕτερον δ', ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται, Ἐάν τις ἄρχων Ῥωμαίων τινὰ ἀποκτείνειν ἢ μαστιγοῦν ἢ ζημιοῦν εἰς χρήματα θέλῃ, ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἰδιώτῃ προκαλεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν, πάσχειν δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἄν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσῃται.

[4] He also introduced most beneficent laws which gave relief to the plebeians. By one of these he expressly forbade that anyone should be a magistrate over the Romans who did not receive the office from the people; and he fixed death as the penalty for transgressing the law, and granted impunity to the one who should kill any such transgressor. In a second law it is provided: "If a magistrate shall desire to have any Roman put to death, scourged, or fined a sum of money, the private citizen may summon the magistrate before the people for judgment, and in the mean time shall be liable to no punishment at the hands of the magistrate till the people have given their vote concerning him."

[5] ἐκ τούτων γίνεται τῶν πολιτευμάτων τίμιος τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ τίθενται αὐτῷ ἐπωνύμιον Ποπλικόλαν: τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον βούλεται δηλοῦν δημοκηδῆ. καὶ τὰ μὲν [p. 168] ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ συντελεσθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τοιαῦδε ἦν:

[5] These measures gained him the esteem of the plebeians, who gave him the nickname of Publicola, which means in the Greek language *dēmokêdês* or "the People's Friend." These were the achievements of the consuls that year.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς αὐτός τε πάλιν ἀποδείκνυται Οὐαλέριος τὸ δεύτερον ὕπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λουκρήτιος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου ἐπράχθη, τιμήσεις δ' ἐγένοντο τῶν βίων καὶ τάξεις τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εἰσφορῶν, ὡς Τύλλιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνομοθέτησε, πάντα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας χρόνον ἀφειμέναι, τότε δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνανεωθεῖσαι: ἐξ ᾧ εὐρέθη τῶν ἐν ἡβῃ Ῥωμαίων περὶ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας. καὶ εἰς χωρίον τι Σιγνούριον καλούμενον Ῥωμαίων ἀπεστάλῃ στρατιά, διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξουσα τὸ φρούριον ἐπὶ ταῖς Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων πόλεσι κείμενον, ὅθεν τὸν πόλεμον προσεδέχοντο.

[20.1] The next year Valerius was appointed consul for the second time, and with him Lucretius. In their consulship nothing worthy of note occurred except that a census was taken and war taxes were levied according to the plan introduced by King Tullius, which had been discontinued during all the reign of Tarquinius and was then renewed for the first time by these consuls. By this census it appeared that the number of Roman citizens who had reached manhood amounted to about 130,000. After this an army of Romans was sent to a place called Signurium in order to garrison that stronghold, which stood as an outpost against the cities both of the Latins and of the Hernicans, from whence they expected war.

[1] Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐάλεριου τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Ποπλικόλα τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδειχθέντος ἀρχὴν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάρκου Ὁρατίου Πολβίλλου τὸ δεύτερον βασιλεὺς Κλουσινῶν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ Λάρος ὄνομα, Πορσίνας ἐπὶ κλησιν, καταφυγόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ταρκυνίων, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς δεῖν θάτερον ἢ διαλλάξιν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ καθόδῳ καὶ ἀναλήψει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ τὰς οὐσίας ἀνακομισάμενος, ἃς ἀφηρέθησαν, ἀποδώσειν, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ μεμιγμένας ἀπειλαῖς ἐπικλήσεις κομίζοντας οὔτε διαλλαγὰς εὔρετο [p. 169] τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ κάθοδον, αἰτιωμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἀρὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς γενομένους κατ' αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰς οὐσίας ἀνεπράξατο αὐτοῖς, τῶν διανειμαμένων καὶ κατακληρουχησάντων αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἀποδιδόναι:

[2.1.] After Publius Valerius, surnamed Publicola, had been appointed to the same magistracy for the third time, and with him Marcus Horatius Pulvillus for the second time, the king of the Clusians in Tyrrhenia, named Lars and surnamed Porsenna, declared war on the Romans. He had promised the Tarquinii, who had fled to him, that he would either effect a reconciliation between them and the Romans upon the terms that they should return home and receive back the sovereignty, or that he would recover and restore to them the possessions of which they had been deprived; but upon sending ambassadors the year before to Rome with appeals mingled with threats, he had not only failed to obtain a reconciliation and return for the exiles, the senate basing its refusal on the curses and oaths by which they had bound themselves not to receive them, but he had also failed to recover their possessions, the persons to whom they had been distributed and allotted refusing to restore them.

[2] ὕβριζεσθαι φήσας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ὅτι τῶν ἀξιουμένων οὐδετέρου παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχεν, ἀνὴρ αὐθάδης καὶ διεφθαρμένος τὴν γνώμην ὑπὸ τε πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀρχῆς μεγέθους, ἀφορμὰς ὑπέλαβεν ἔχειν καλὰς καταλύσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παλαιότερον ἔτι τοῦτο βουλόμενος καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον.

[2] And declaring that he was insulted by the Romans and treated outrageously in that he could obtain neither one of his demands, this arrogant man, whose mind was corrupted by both his wealth and possessions and the greatness of his power, thought he now had excellent grounds for overthrowing the power of the Romans, a thing which he had long since been desiring to do, and he accordingly declared war against them.

[3] συνήρετο δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν προθυμίαν ἀποδεῖξαι βουλόμενος ὁ Ταρκυνίου γαμβρὸς Ὀκταούιος Μαιμίλιος, ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμώμενος Τύσκλου, Καμερίνους μὲν καὶ Ἀντεμνάτας, οἱ τοῦ Λατίνων μετεῖχον γένους, ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος ἀφροσθηκὸτας ἤδη Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ: παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοεθνῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις πολεμεῖν ἀναφανδὸν ἐνσπὸνδω τε καὶ μεγάλῃν ἰσχὺν ἐχούσῃ πόλει διὰ προφάσεις οὐκ ἀναγκαίας,

ἐθέλοντάς συχνούς ἰδίᾳ πεπεικῶς χάριτι.

[3] He was assisted in this war by Octavius Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, who was eager to display all possible zeal and marched out of Tusculum at the head of all the Camerini and Antemnates, who were of the Latin nation and had already openly revolted from the Romans; and from among the other Latin peoples that were not willing to make open war upon an allied and powerful state, unless for compelling reasons, he attracted numerous volunteers by his personal influence.

[1] ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν χρήματά τε καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα μετὰγειν τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκέλευσαν εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη φρούρια κατασκευάσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἱκανὰ σώζειν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καταφυγόντας· ἔπειτα τὸν καλούμενον Ἰανικόλον ὄχθον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτ' [p. 170] ὄρος ὕψηλόν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ κείμενον· ὀχυρωτέrais ἐκρατύναντο κατασκευαῖς τε καὶ φυλακαῖς, περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι μὴ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ἐπικαίρον χωρίον ἐπιτείχισμα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὰς ἐνταῦθ' ἀπέθεντο· τὰ τ' ἐντὸς τείχους ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον καθίσταντο πολλὰ πολιτευόμενοι φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τοὺς πένητας, ἵνα μὴ μεταβάλλοιντο πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις κέρδεσι πεισθέντες 9 προδοῦναι τὸ κοινόν:

[22.1] The Roman consuls, being informed of these things, in the first place ordered all the husbandmen to remove their effects, cattle, and slaves from the fields to the neighbouring mountains, in the fastnesses of which they constructed forts sufficiently strong to protect those who flee thither. After that they strengthened with more effectual fortifications and guards the hill called Janiculum, which is a high mount near Rome lying on the other side of the river Tiber, taking care above all things that such an advantageous position should not serve the enemy as an outpost against the city; and they stored their supplies for the war there. Affairs inside the city they conducted in a more democratic manner, introducing many beneficent measures in behalf of the poor, lest these, induced by private advantage to betray the public interest, should go over to the tyrants.

[2] καὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν τελῶν, ὅσα βασιλευομένης τῆς πόλεως ἐτέλουν, καὶ ἀνεισφόρους τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀναλίσκομένων ἐποίησαν, μέγα κέρδος ἡγούμενοι τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ τὰ σώματα μόνον αὐτῶν ἔξουσι προκινδυνεύοντα τῆς πατρίδος· τὴν τε δύναμιν ἡσκημένην ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ παρεσκευασμένην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πεδίῳ.

[2] Thus they had a vote passed that they should be exempt from all the public taxes which they had paid while the city was under the kings, and also from all contributions for military purposes and wars, looking upon it as a great

advantage to the state merely to make use of their persons in defending the country. And with their army long since disciplined and ready for action, they were encamped in the field that lies before the city.

[3] βασιλεὺς δὲ Πορσίνας ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν τὸ μὲν Ἰανικόλον ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνεται καταπληξάμενος τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὸ καὶ φρουρὰν Τυρρηνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καθίστησιν: ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνων ὡς καὶ ταύτην διχα πόνου παραστησόμενος, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον τῆς γεφύρας ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐθεάσατο προκαθημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, παρεσκευάζετο [p. 171] τε πρὸς μάχην ὡς ἀναρπασόμενος αὐτοὺς πλήθει καὶ ἐπῆγε σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει τὴν δύναμιν.

[3] But King Porsena, advancing with his forces, took the Janiculum by storm, having terrified those who were guarding it, and placed there a garrison of Tyrrhenians. After this he proceeded against the city in expectation of reducing that also without any trouble; but when he came near the bridge and saw the Romans drawn up before the river, he prepared for battle, thinking to overwhelm them with his numbers, and led on his army with great contempt of the enemy.

[4] εἶχον δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ μὲν ἀριστεροῦ κέρως οἱ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες, Σέξτος καὶ Τίτος, Ῥωμαίων τ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φυγάδας ἄγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαβίων πόλεως τὸ ἀκμαιότατον ξένων τε καὶ μισθοφόρων χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην: τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ Μامίλιος ὁ Ταρκυνίου κηδεστής, ἐφ' οὗ Λατίνων οἱ ἀποστάντες Ῥωμαίων ἐτάξαντο: βασιλεὺς δὲ Πορσίνας κατὰ μέσσην τὴν φάλαγγα ἐτέτακτο.

[4] His left wing was commanded by the sons of Tarquinius, Sextus and Titus, who had with them the Roman exiles together with the choicest troops from the city of Gabii and no small force of foreigners and mercenaries; the right was led by Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, and here were arrayed the Latins who had revolted from the Romans; King Porsena had taken his place in the centre of the battle-line.

[5] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος κατεῖχον ἐναντίοι Ταρκυνίοις: τὸ δ' ἀριστερὸν Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ἀδελφὸς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλικόλα καὶ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ὑπατεύσας ἔτει Μامιλίῳ καὶ Λατίνοις συνοισόμενοι: τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν κεράτων οἱ ὕπατοι κατεῖχον ἀμφοτέροι.

[5] On the side of the Romans the right wing was commanded by Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, who stood opposite to the Tarquinii; the left by Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, one of the consuls, and Titus Lucretius, the consul of the previous year, who were to engage Mamilius and the Latins; the centre of the line between the wings was commanded by the two consuls.

[1] ὡς δὲ συνῆλθον εἰς χεῖρας, ἐμάχοντο γενναίως καὶ πολὺν ἀντεῖχον

ἀμφοτέροι χρόνον: ἔμπειρία μὲν καὶ καρτερία κρείττους ὄντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ἐναντίων, πλήθει δὲ κρατοῦντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τε καὶ Λατῖνοι μακρῷ. πολλῶν δὲ πεσόντων ἀφ' ἑκατέρων δέος εἰσέρχεται Ῥωμαίους, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρασ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐθεάσαντο Οὐαλέριον τε καὶ Λουκρήτιον τραυματίας ἀποκομισθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης: ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τεταγμένους νικῶντας ἤδη τὴν σὺν Ταρκυνίοις δύναμιν τὸ αὐτὸ καταλαμβάνει πάθος,

[23.1] When the armies engaged, they both fought bravely and sustained the shock for a considerable time, the Romans having the advantage of their enemies in both experience and endurance, and the Tyrrhenians and Latins being much superior in numbers. But when many had fallen on both sides, fear fell upon the Romans, and first upon those who occupied the left wing, when they saw their two commanders, Valerius and Lucretius, carried off the field wounded; and then those also who were stationed on the right wing, though they were already victorious over the forces commanded by the Tarquinii, were seized by the same terror upon seeing the flight of the others.

[2] ὀρῶντας τὴν τροπὴν τῶν ἑτέρων. φευγόντων δ' εἰς [p. 172] τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων καὶ διὰ μιᾶς γεφύρας βιαζομένων ἀθρόων ὁρμὴ γίνεται τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλη: ὀλίγου τε πάνυ ἡ πόλις ἐδέησεν ἁλῶναι κατὰ κράτος ἀτειχιστος οὕσα ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν μερῶν, εἰ συνεισέπεσον εἰς αὐτὴν ἅμα τοῖς φεύγουσιν οἱ διώκοντες. οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀρτὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπισχόντες καὶ διασώσαντες ὅλην τὴν στρατιὰν τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο, Σπόριος μὲν Λάρκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες κέρασ ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Πόπλιος δ' Ὀράτιος ὁ καλούμενος Κόκλης ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐλαττώματος ἐκκοπέας ἐν μάχῃ τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων, μορφὴν τε κάλλιστος ἀνθρώπων καὶ

[2] While they were all fleeing to the city and endeavouring to force their way in a body over a single bridge, the enemy made a strong attack upon them; and the city came very near being taken by storm, and would surely have fallen if the pursuers had entered it at the same time with those who fled. Those who checked the enemy's attack and saved the whole army were three in number, two of them older men, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, who commanded the right wing, and one a younger man, Publius Horatius, who was called Cocles from an injury to his sight, and one of his eyes having been struck out in a battle, and was the fairest of men in philosophical appearance and the bravest in spirit.

[3] ψυχὴν ἄριστος. οὗτος ἀδελφιδοῦς μὲν ἦν Ὀρατίου Μάρκου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων, τὸ δὲ γένος κατῆγεν ἀφ' ἐνὸς τῶν τριδύμων Ὀρατίου Μάρκου τοῦ νικήσαντος τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς τριδύμους, ὅτε περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αἱ πόλεις εἰς πόλεμον καταστᾶσαι συνέβησαν μὴ πάσαις ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀλλὰ τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας, ὥς ἐν τοῖς προτέροις δεδήλωκα 10

λόγοις.

[3] This man was nephew to Marcus Horatius, one of the consuls, and traced his descent from Marcus Horatius, one of the triplets who conquered the Alban triplets when the two cities, having become involved in war over the leadership, agreed not to risk a decision with all their forces, but with three men on each side, as I have related in one of the earlier books.

[4] οὗτοι δὲ μόνοι κατὰ νώτου λαβόντες τὴν γέφυραν εἴργον τῆς διαβάσεως τοὺς πολεμίους μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ διέμενον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς στάσεως βαλλόμενοι θ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν παντοδατοῖς βέλεσι καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς παιόμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἕως ἅπαντα ἡ στρατιὰ διῆλθε τὸν ποταμόν.

[4] These three men, then, all alone, with their backs to the bridge, barred the passage of the enemy for a considerable time and stood their ground, though pelted by many foes with all sorts of missiles and struck with swords in hand-to-hand conflict, till the whole army had crossed the river.

[1] ὥς δ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔδοξαν [p. 173] γεγονέναι, δύο μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἑρμινίος τε καὶ Λάρκιος διεφθαρμένων αὐτοῖς ἤδη τῶν σκεπαστηρίων διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πληγὰς ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. Ὅράτιος δὲ μόνος ἀνακαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν θ' ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένων σωθῆναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς γειναμένοις οὐκ ἐπέισθη, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἔστη, κελεύσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑρμίνιον λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους, ὥς αὐτοῦ φράσαντος, ἀποκόπτειν τὴν γέφυραν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τάχει: ἦν δὲ μία κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ξυλόφρακτος ἄνευ σιδήρου δεδεμένη ταῖς σανίσιν αὐταῖς, ἣν καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ τοιαύτην φυλάττουσι Ῥωμαῖοι: ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅταν τὰ πλείω τῆς γεφύρας λυθῇ καὶ βραχὺ τὸ λειπόμενον ἧ μέρος, φράσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν σημείοις τισὶν ἢ φωνῇ γεγωνοτέρα: τὰ λοιπὰ λέγων ἑαυτῷ μελήσειν.

[24.1] When they judged their own men to be safe, two of them, Herminius and Larcius, their defensive arms being now rendered useless by the continual blows they had received, began to retreat gradually. But Horatius alone, though not only the consuls but the rest of the citizens as well, solicitous above all things that such a man should be saved to his country and his parents, called to him from the city to retire, could not be prevailed upon, but remained where he had first taken his stand, and directed Herminius and Larcius to tell the consuls, as from him, to cut away the bridge in all haste at the end next the city (there was but one bridge in those days, which was built of wood and fastened together with the timbers alone, without iron, which the Romans preserve even to my day in the same condition), and to bid them, when the greater part of the bridge had been broken down and little of it remained, to give him notice of it by some signals or by shouting in a louder voice than usual; the rest, he said, would be his concern.

[2] ταῦτ' ἐπικελευσάμενος τοῖς δυσὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἴσταται τῆς γεφύρας καὶ τῶν ὁμόσε χωροῦντων οὓς μὲν τῷ ξίφει παίων, οὓς δὲ τῷ θυρεῷ περιτρέπων πάντας ἀνέστειλε τοὺς ὀρμήσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν: οὐκέτι γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ χωρεῖν ἐτόλμων οἱ διώκοντες ὡς μεμνηνότει καὶ θανατῶντι: καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥάδιον αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ὑπάρχον ἐξ εὐωνύμων μὲν καὶ δεξιῶν ἔχοντι πρόβλημα τὸν ποταμόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὄπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν σωρόν: ἀλλ' ἄπωθεν ἐστῶτες ἄθροοι λόγχαις τε καὶ σαννίοις καὶ λίθοις χειροπληθέσιν [p. 174] ἔβαλλον, οἷς δὲ μὴ παρῆν ταῦτα τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ

[2] Having given these instructions to the two men, he stood upon the bridge itself, and when the enemy advanced upon him, he struck some of them with his sword and beat down others with his shield, repulsing all who attempted to rush upon the bridge. For the pursuers, looking upon him as a madman who was courting death, dared no longer come to grips with him. At the same time it was not easy for them even to come near him, since he had the river as a defence on the right and left, and in front of him a heap of arms and dead bodies. But standing massed at a distance, they hurled spears, javelins, and large stones at him, and those who were not supplied with these threw the swords and bucklers of the slain.

[3] ταῖς ἀσπίσι τῶν νεκρῶν. ὁ δ' ἡμύνετο τοῖς ἐκείνων χρώμενος ὄπλοις κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς εἰς ἀθρόους βάλλων αἰετίνος τεύξεσθαι σκοποῦ. ἤδη δὲ καταβελῆς ὢν καὶ τραυμάτων πληθεὺς ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, μίαν δὲ πληγὴν λόγχης, ἣ διὰ θατέρου τῶν γλουτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ μηροῦ ἀντία ἐνεχθεῖσα ἐκάκωσεν αὐτὸν ὀδύναις καὶ τὴν βάσιν ἔβλαπτεν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατόπιν ἤκουσεν ἐμβοησάντων λελύσθαι τῆς γεφύρας τὸ πλεον μέρος, καθάλλεται σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις εἰς τὸν ποταμόν καὶ διανηξάμενος τὸ ῥεῦμα χαλεπῶς πάνυ: περὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑπηρείσμασι τῶν σανίδων σχιζόμενος ὁ ῥοῦς ὀξὺς ἦν καὶ δίνας ἐποιοεὶ μεγάλας: ἐξεκολύμβησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν τῶν ὄπλων ἐν τῷ νεῖν ἀποβαλὼν.

[3] But he fought on, making use of their own weapons against them, and hurling these into the crowd, he was bound, as may well be supposed, to find some mark every time. Finally, when he was overwhelmed with missiles and had a great number of wounds in many parts of his body, and one in particular inflicted by a spear which, passing straight through one of his buttocks above the hip-joint, weakened him with the pain and impeded his steps, he heard those behind him shouting out that the greater part of the bridge was broken down. Thereupon he leaped with his arms into the river and swimming across the stream with great difficulty (for the current, being divided by the piles, ran swift and formed large eddies), he emerged upon the shore without having lost any of his arms in swimming.

[1] τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀθάνατον αὐτῷ δόξαν εἰργάσατο. παραχρῆμά τε γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στεφανώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπέφερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑμνοῦντες ὡς τῶν ἡρώων ἓνα, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατοικίδιος ὄχλος ἐξεχεῖτο ποθῶν αὐτόν, ἕως ἔτι περιῖν, θεάσασθαι τὴν τελευταίαν πρόσοψιν: ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν διαρθαρῆσεσθαι:

[25.1] This deed gained him immortal glory. For the Romans immediately crowned him and conducted him into the city with songs, as one of the heroes; and all the inhabitants poured out of their houses, desiring to catch the last sight of him while he was yet alive, since they supposed he would soon succumb to his wounds.

[2] καὶ ἐπειδὴ διέφυγε τὸν θάνατον, εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἔνοπλον ὁ δῆμος ἔστησεν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ χώραν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας ἔδωκεν, ὅσῃν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ζεύγει βοῶν περιαρόσει: χωρὶς δὲ τῶν δημοσίων δοθέντων κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἕκαστος [p. 175] ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅτε μάλιστα δεινὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιτηδείων ἅπαντας κατεῖχε, μιᾷς ἡμέρας τροφὴν ἐχαρίσαντο μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων αἱ

[2] And when he escaped death, the people erected a bronze statue of him fully armed in the principal part of the Forum and gave him as much of the public land as he himself could plough round in one day with a yoke of oxen. Besides these things bestowed upon him by the public, every person, both man and woman, at a time when they were all most sorely oppressed by a dreadful scarcity of provisions, gave him a day's ratio of food; and the number of people amounted to more than three hundred thousand in all.

[3] σύμπασαι πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα. Ὅρατιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτην ἀποδειξάμενος ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ζηλωτὸς μὲν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ἄχρηστος δ' εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν πῆρωσιν τῆς βάσεως: καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην οὐθ' ὑπατείας οὐτ' ἄλλης ἡγεμονίας στρατιωτικῆς οὐδεμιᾷς ἔτυχεν.

[3] Thus Horatius, who had shown so great valour upon that occasion,

occupied as enviable a position as any Roman who ever lived, but he was rendered useless by his lameness for further services to the state; and because of this misfortune he obtained neither the consulship nor any military command either.

[4] οὗτός τε δὴ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον ἀποδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι Ῥωμαίοις ἄξιος εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος τῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία διονομασθέντων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτω Γάιος Μούκιος, ὃν Κόρδος ἐπωνύμιον ἦν, ἀνὴρ ἐξ ἐπιφανῶν πατέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγχειρήματι ἐπιβαλόμενος μεγάλῳ, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐρῶ διηγησάμενος πρῶτον, ἐν οἷς ἢ πόλις ἦν τότε συμφοραῖς.

[4] This was one man, therefore, who for the wonderful deed he performed for the Romans in that engagement deserves as great praise as any of those who have ever won renown for valour. And besides him there was also Gaius Mucius, surnamed Cordus, a man of distinguished ancestry, who also undertook to perform a great deed; but of him I shall speak a little later, after first relating in what dire circumstances the state found itself at that time.

[1] μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ὁ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ πλησίον ὄρει καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ὅθεν τὴν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, τῆς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐκράτει. οἱ δὲ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Μάμιλιος σχεδίας τε καὶ σκάφαις διαβιβάσαντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην φέροντα ἐν ἐχυρῷ τίθενται χωρίῳ τὸν χάρακα: ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐδήρουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς κατέσκαπτον καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ νομαῖς [p. 176] ἐξιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων βοσκήμασιν ἐπετίθεντο.

[26] After the battle that has been described the king of the Tyrrhenians, encamping on the neighbouring hill, from whence he had driven the garrison of Rome, was master of all the country on that side of the river Tiber. The sons of Tarquinius and his son-in-law, Mamilius, having transported their forces in rafts and boats to the other, or Roman, side of the river, encamped in a strong position. And making excursions from there, they laid waste the territory of the Romans, demolished their farm houses, and attacked their herds of cattle when they went out of the strongholds to pasture.

[2] κρατουμένης δὲ τῆς ὑπαιθρου πάσης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ οὗτ' ἐκ γῆς εἰσκομιζομένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀγορῶν οὕτε μὴν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταγομένων ὅτι μὴ σπανίων, ταχεῖα τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις ἐγένετο μυριάσι πολλαῖς τὰ παρασκευασθέντα οὐ πολλὰ ὄντα δαπανώσαις.

[2] All the open country being in the power of the enemy and no food supplies being brought into the city by land and but small quantities even by the river, a scarcity of provisions was speedily felt as the many thousands of people consumed the stores previously laid in, which were inconsiderable.

[3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ θεράποντες πολλοὶ καταλιπόντες τοὺς δεσπότας

ἡῦτομόλουν ὁσημέραι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους οἱ πονηρότατοι πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἀφίσταντο: ταῦθ' ὀρώσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξε Λατίνων μὲν δεῖσθαι τῶν ἔτι αἰδουμένων τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ μένειν δοκούντων ἐν τῇ φιλῷ συμμαχίας σφίσι πέμψαι διὰ ταχέων, εἰς δὲ τὴν Καμπανίδα Κῦμην καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Πωμεντίνῳ πεδίῳ πόλεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρέσβεις ἀξιόσοντας αὐτὰς σίτου σφίσιν ἐξαγωγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι.

[3] Thereupon the slaves, leaving their masters, deserted in large numbers daily, and the worst element among the common people went over to the tyrants. The consuls, seeing these things, resolved to ask those of the Latins who still respected the tie of kinship and seemed to be continuing in their friendship to send troops promptly to their assistance; and also resolved to send ambassadors both to Cumae in Campania and to the cities in the Pomptine plain to ask leave to import grain from there.

[4] Λατῖνοι μὲν οὖν διεκρούσαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ὥς οὐχ ὅσιον αὐτοῖς ὄν οὔτε Ταρκυνίοις πολεμεῖν οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπεὶδὴ κοινῇ συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ὄρκια: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πωμεντίνου πεδίου Λάρκιος τε καὶ Ἑρμίνιος οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρακομιδὴν τοῦ σίτου πρέσβεις πολλὰς γεμίσαντες σκάφας παντοίας τροφῆς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν νυκτὶ ἀσελήνῃ λαθόντες τοὺς πολέμιους διεκόμισαν.

[4] The Latins, for their part, refused to send the desired assistance, on the ground that it was not right for them to make war against either the Tarquini or the Romans, since they had made their treaty of friendship jointly with both of them. But Larcius and Herminius, the ambassadors who had been sent to convey the grain from the Pomptine plain, filled a great many boats with all sorts of provisions and brought them from the sea up the river on a moonless night, escaping the notice of the enemy.

[5] ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐξαναλωθείσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπορίας μαθὼν παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ὁ Τυρρηνός, ὅτι κάμνουσιν [p. 177] ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ οἱ ἔνδον, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτάττων δέχεσθαι Ταρκύνιον, εἰ βούλονται πολέμου τε καὶ λιμοῦ ἀπηλλάχθαι.

[5] When these supplies also had soon been consumed and the people were oppressed by the same scarcity as before, the Tyrrhenian, learning from the deserters that the inhabitants were suffering from famine, sent a herald to them commanding them to receive Tarquinius if they desired to be rid of both war and famine.

[1] οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς ἐπιταγὰς, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομένειν βουλομένων, καταμαθὼν ὁ Μούκιος, ὅτι дуεῖν αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται θάτερον ἢ μὴ διαμεῖναι πολὺν ἐν τοῖς λελογισμένοις χρόνον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ἐκβιασθεῖσιν, ἢ φυλάττουσι βεβαίας τὰς κρίσεις τὸν

οἴκτιστον ἀπολέσθαι μόρον, δεηθεῖς τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν βουλήν αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν, ὡς μέγα τι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐξοίσων πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ συνήχθη, λέγει τοιαῦδε: ἄνδρες πατέρες, ἐγχείρημα τολμᾶν διανοοῦμενος, ὑφ' οὗ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλαγῆσεται κακῶν ἡ πόλις, τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάνυ θαρρῶ καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν οἴομαι: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, εἰ περιέσται μοι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον, οὐ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ χρή τάληθές λέγειν οὐδεμίαν.

[27.1] When the Romans would not listen to this command, but chose rather to bear any calamities whatever, Mucius, foreseeing that one of two things would befall them, either that they would not adhere long to their resolution through want of the necessities of life, or, if they held firmly to their decision, that they would perish by the most miserable of deaths, asked the consuls to assemble the senate for him, as he had something important and urgent to lay before them; and when they were met, he spoke as follows:

“Fathers, having it in my mind to venture upon an undertaking by which the city will be freed from the present evils, I feel great confidence in the success of the plan and believe I shall easily carry it out; but as for my own life, I have small hopes of surviving the accomplishment of the deed, or, to say the truth, none at all.

[2] εἰς τοσοῦτον δὴ κίνδυνον ἐμαυτὸν καθιέναι μέλλων οὐκ ἄξιῶ λαθεῖν ἅπαντας αἰωρηθεῖς ὑπὲρ μεγάλων, ἐὰν ἄρα συμβῇ μοι διαμαρτεῖν τῆς πείρας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις μεγάλων ἐπαίνων τυγχάνειν, ἐξ ὧν ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον ὑπάρξει μοι κλέος.

[2] As I am about to expose myself, then, to so great a danger, I do not think it right that the world should remain in ignorance of the high stakes for which I have played — in case it should be my fate to fail after all in the undertaking — but I desire in return for noble deeds to gain great praise, by which I shall exchange this mortal body for immortal glory.

[3] δῆμῳ μὲν φράζειν ἃ διανοοῦμαι πράττειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, μὴ τις ἴδια κέρδη περιβαλλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὰ ἐξενέγκῃ, δεὸν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ μυστηρίου ἀπορρήτου φυλακῆς: ὑμῖν δ' οὐς καθέξειν [p. 178] αὐτὰ πεπίστευκα ἐγκρατῶς πρῶτοις τε καὶ μόνοις ἐκφέρω: παρ' ὑμῶν δ' οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ μαθήσονται.

[3] It is not safe, of course, to communicate my plan to the people, lest some one for his own advantage should inform the enemy of a thing which ought to be concealed with the same care as an inviolable mystery. But you, who, I am persuaded, will keep the secret inviolate, are the first and the only persons to whom I am disclosing it; and from you the rest of the citizens will learn of it at the proper season.

[4] τὸ δ' ἐγχείρημά μου τοιόνδε ἐστίν. αὐτομόλου σχῆμα μέλλω λαβὼν ἐπὶ

τὸν χάρακα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν πορεύεσθαι. ἔάν μὲν οὖν ἀπιστηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀποθάνω, ἐνὶ πολίτῃ μόνον ἐλάττους οἱ λοιποὶ γενήσεσθε: ἔάν δὲ παρελθεῖν εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος ἐκγένηται μοι, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτενεῖν ὑμῖν ὑποδέχομαι: ἀποθανόντος δὲ Πορσίνου καταλυθήσεται μὲν ὁ πόλεμος, ἐγὼ δ' εἰ ὅ τι ἂν τῷ δαιμονίῳ δόξῃ πείσομαι, τούτων συνίστορας ὑμᾶς ἔξων καὶ μάρτυρας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἄπειμι τὴν κρείττονα τύχην τῆς πατρίδος ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενος.

[4] My enterprise is this: I propose to go to the camp of the Tyrrhenians in the guise of a deserter. If I am disbelieved by them and put to death, the number of you citizens who remain will be only one less. But if I can enter the enemy's camp, I promise you to kill their king; and when Porsena is dead, the war will be at an end. As for myself, I shall be ready to suffer whatever Heaven may see fit. In the assurance that you are privy to my purpose and will bear witness of it to the people, I go my way, making the better fortune of my country the guide of my journey."

[1] ἐπαινεθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ λαβὼν οἶωνοὺς αἰσίους τῆς πράξεως διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν εἰσέρχεται, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὰς πύλας ὡς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν τις, ὅπλον τ' οὐθὲν φανερόν ἔχων καὶ γλώττῃ Τυρρηνικῇ διαλεγόμενος, ἦν ἐξέμαθεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὑπὸ τροφοῦ Τυρρηνίδος τὸ

[28.1] After he had received the praises of the senators and obtained favourable omens for his enterprise, he crossed the river. And arriving at the camp of the Tyrrhenians, he entered it, having deceived the guard at the gates, who took him for one of their own countrymen since he carried no weapon openly and spoke the Tyrrhenian language, which he had been taught when a child by his nurse, who was a Tyrrhenian.

[2] γένος ἐκδιδασχθεὶς. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἀφίκετο, ἄνδρα ὄρᾳ μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος διαφέροντα, ἐσθῆτα πορφυρᾶν ἐνδεδυκότα, καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βήματος, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστῶτας ἐνόπλους συγχοὺς. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς δόξης, [p. 179] οἷα δὴ μηδέποτε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν θεασάμενος, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπέλαβε Πορσίναν εἶναι: ὁ δ' ἦν ἄρα γραμματεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκάθητο δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος διαριθμῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ διαγράφων αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὀφωνιασμούς.

[2] When he came to the forum and to the general's tent, he perceived a man remarkable both for his stature and for his physical strength, clad in a purple robe and seated upon the general's tribunal with many armed men standing round him. And jumping to a false conclusion, as he had never seen the king of the Tyrrhenians, he took this man to be Porsena. But it seems he was the king's secretary, who sat upon the tribunal while numbering the soldiers and making a record of the pay due them.

[3] ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν γραμματέα χωρήσας διὰ τοῦ περισθηκότος ὄχλου καὶ ἀναβὰς ὡς ἄνοπλος ὑπ' οὐθενὸς κωλυόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, σπᾶται τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ τῆς περιβολῆς ἐντὸς ἔκρυπτε, καὶ παiei τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ γραμματέως πληγῇ μιᾷ, συλληφθεὶς εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πεπυσμένον ἤδη τὴν τοῦ γραμματέως ἀναίρεσιν ἀπάγεται.

[3] Making his way, therefore, to this man through the crowd that surrounded him and ascending the tribunal (for as he seemed unarmed nobody hindered him), he drew the dagger he had concealed under his garment and struck the man on the head. And the secretary being killed with one blow, Mucius was promptly seized by those who stood round the tribunal and brought before the king, who had already been informed by others of his secretary's death.

[4] ὁ δ' ὡς εἶδεν αὐτόν, ὦ μιαιώτατε πάντων, εἶπεν, ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δίκας ὑφ' ἑξῶν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὦν ἅγιος εἶ, λέγε, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν ἀφιγμένος καὶ τινὶ βοηθείᾳ πεποιστὸς ἐπεχείρησας ἔργῳ τηλικῷδε: καὶ πότερον τὸν γραμματέα τὸν ἐμὸν ἀποκτείνειν σοι προὔκειτο μόνον ἢ κάμει: καὶ τίνας ἔχεις κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ συνίστορας; ἀποκρύψῃ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἀληθῶν, ἵνα μὴ βασανιζόμενος ἀναγκασθῇς λέγειν.

[4] Porsena, upon seeing him, said: "Most accursed of all men and destined to suffer the punishment you deserve, tell who you are and from whence you come and what assistance you counted on when you dared to commit such a deed? Did you propose to kill my secretary only, or me also? And who are your accomplices in this attempt, or privy to it? Conceal no part of the truth, lest you be forced to declare it under torture."

[1] καὶ ὁ Μούκιος οὔτε μεταβολῇ χρώματος οὔτε συννοίᾳ προσώπου τὸν ὀρρωδοῦντα διασημήνας οὔτ' ἄλλο παθὼν οὐδέν, ὦν φιλοῦσι πάσχειν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐγὼ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν εἰμι, καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἔνεκα γένους, ἐλευθερῶσαι [p. 180] δὲ τὴν πατρίδα τοῦ πολέμου βουλευθεὶς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑμῶν ὡς τῶν αὐτομόλων τις, ἀποκτείνειν σε βουλούμενος: οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν, ὅτι καὶ κατορθώσαντι καὶ διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχει μοι, χαρίσασθαι δὲ τῇ γειναμένῃ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ψυχὴν προαιρούμενος καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν καταλιπεῖν: ψευθεὶς δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀντὶ σοῦ τὸν γραμματέα, ὃν οὐθὲν ἐδεόμην, ἀνήρηκα τῇ τε πορφύρᾳ καὶ τῷ δίφρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς 11 ἐξουσίας συμβόλοις πλανηθεὶς.

[29.1] Mucius, without showing any sign of fear, either by a change of colour or by an anxious countenance, or experiencing any other weakness common to men who are about to die, said to him: "I am a Roman, and no ordinary man as regards birth; and having conceived a desire to free my country from the war, I came into your camp as a deserter with the purpose of killing you. I knew well that, whether I succeeded or failed in the attempt, death would be

my portion; yet I resolved to give my life to my country from which I received it and in place of my mortal body to leave behind me immortal glory. But being cheated of my hope, I slew, instead of you, your clerk, whom I had no cause to slay, misled by the purple, the chair of state, and the other insignia of power.

[2] τὸν μὲν οὖν θάνατον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ κατεψηφισάμην, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔμελλον ὀρμᾶν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι: βασάνους δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕβρεις εἰ μοι παρείης, πίστεις δοὺς ἐπὶ θεῶν ὑποσχοῦμαί σοι μέγα πρᾶγμα δηλώσειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν 12 σωτηρίαν ἀνῆκόν σοι.

[2] As for death, therefore, to which I condemned myself when I was planning to set out on this undertaking, I do not ask to escape that; but if you would remit for me the tortures and the other indignities and give me assurances of this by the gods, I promise to reveal to you a matter of great moment which concerns your own safety."

[3] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καταστρατηγῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα διανοούμενος: ὁ δ' ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γεγωνὺς καὶ ἅμα κινδύνους ἐκ πολλῶν μαντευόμενος ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ δι' ὄρκων τὸ πιστόν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ Μούκιος καινότατον ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἀπάτης τρόπον, ὃς ἐν ἀφανεῖ τὸν ἔλεγχον εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: ὦ βασιλεῦ, Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρες τριακόσιοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν πατρικίων ἅπαντες ἐβουλευσάμεθα συνελθόντες ἀποκτεῖναι σε καὶ τὸ πιστόν ὄρκοις παρ'

[3] This he said with the purpose of tricking the other; and the king, being out of his wits and at the same time conjuring up imaginary perils as threatening him from many people, gave him upon oath the pledge he desired. Thereupon Mucius, having thought of a most novel kind of deceit that could not be put to an open test, said to him: "O king, three hundred of us Romans, all of the same age and all of patrician birth, met together and formed a plot to kill you; and we took pledges from one another under oath.

[4] 13 ἀλλήλων ἐλάβομεν. ἔδοξε δ' ἡμῖν βουλευομένοις ὅστις ὁ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἦν τρόπος, μὴθ' ἅπαντας ἅμα χωρεῖν [p. 181] ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, μὴτε φράζειν ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ ποῦ καὶ τίσιν ἀφορμαῖς χρησάμενος ἐπιθήσεται σοι, ἵνα ῥᾶον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχηι τὸ λαθεῖν. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἐκκληρωσάμεθα, καὶ πρῶτος ἄρξαι τῆς πείρας ἔλαχον ἐγώ. προειδὼς οὖν, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μοι διάνοιαν ἔξουσιν ἐπιθυμία δόξης, ὣν ὡς εἰκάσαι τις ἀμείνονι τύχηι χρήσεται τῆς ἐμῆς, σκόπει, τίς ἔσται σοι πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀρκοῦσα φυλακή.

[4] And when we were considering what form our plot should take, we resolved not to set about the business all together, but one at a time, nor yet to communicate to one another when, how, where, or by what expedients each of us was to attack you, to the end that it might be easier for us to escape

discovery. After we had settled these matters, we drew lots and it fell to my lot to make the first attempt. Since, therefore, you know in advance that many brave men will have the same purpose as I, induced by a thirst for glory, and that some one of them presumably will meet with better fortune than I, consider how you may sufficiently guard yourself against them all.”

[1] ὦ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐκείνον μὲν ἀπαγαγόντας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευσε διῆσαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἄρροντα παρακαθισάμενος, μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐσκόπει, τί ποιῶν τὰς ἐπιβουλάς αὐτῶν διακρούσεται.

[30.1] When the king heard this, he commanded his bodyguards to lead Mucius away and bind him, guarding him diligently. He himself assembled the most trustworthy of his friends, and causing his son Arruns to sit beside him, considered with them what he should do to escape the plots of these men.

[2] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἕκαστος εὐήθεις ἀσφαλείας λέγων ἐδόκει τῶν δεόντων φρονεῖν οὐδέν· ὁ δ’ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τελευταίαν ἀπεφώνησε γνώμην πρεσβυτέραν τῆς ἡλικίας, ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν μὴ σκοπεῖν, τίσι φυλακαῖς χρώμενος οὐδὲν πείσεται δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τί ποιῶν οὐ δεήσεται φυλακῆς· θαυμασάντων δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πάντων καὶ πῶς ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο [p. 182] μαθεῖν βουλομένων, εἰ φίλους ἀντὶ πολέμιων, ἔφη, ποιήσαιο τοὺς ἄνδρας, τιμιωτέραν ἡγησάμενος τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τῆς καθόδου τῶν σὺν Ταρκυνίῳ φυγᾶδων.

[2] All the rest proposed such simple precautionary measures that they seemed to have no understanding of what was needed; but his son, who expressed his opinion last, showed a wisdom beyond his years. For he advised his father not to consider what precautions he should take in order to meet with no misfortune, but what he should do in order to have no need of precaution/precautions. When all had marvelled at his advice and desired to know how this might be accomplished, he said, “If you would make these men friends instead of enemies and would set a greater value of your own life than on the restoration of the exiles with Tarquinius.”

[3] καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ κράτιστα μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτὸν λέγειν, βουλῆς δ’ εἶναι ἄξιον τὸ πρᾶγμα, πῶς εὐπρεπεῖς γενήσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ διαλλαγαι· μεγάλην αἰσχύνην φάσκων εἶναι, εἰ κρατήσας αὐτῶν μάχη καὶ τειχῆρεις ἔχων ἀπελεύσεται, μὴδὲν ὦν Ταρκυνίοις ὑπέσχετο διαπραξάμενος, ὥπερ ἡττημένος ὑπὸ τῶν νενικημένων καὶ πεφευγῶς τοὺς μὴδ’ ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν ὑπομένοντας ἔτι προσελθεῖν· μίαν δὲ μόνην ἔσεσθαι ἀποφαινων καλὴν τῆς ἔχθρας λύσιν, εἰ παρὰ τῶν πολέμιων παραγένοιτό τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας διαλεγόμενοι.

[3] The king said his advice was most excellent, but that it was a matter calling

for deliberation how an honourable peace could be made with them; for he said it would be a great disgrace if, after he had defeated them in battle and kept them shut up within their walls, he should then retire without having effected anything he had promised to the Tarquinii, just as if he had been conquered by those he had overcome and had fled from those who dared no longer even set foot outside their gates; and he declare days that there would be one and only one honourable way of ending this war, namely, if some persons should come to him from the enemy to treat for friendship.

[1] ταῦτα μὲν τότε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν: ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις αὐτὸς ἠναγκάσθη πρότερος ἄρχειν λόγων διαλλακτηρίων διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: ἐσκεδασμένων ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀγομένας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγορὰς ἀφαιρουμένων καὶ τοῦτο ποιούντων συνεχῶς, οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι λοχῆσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ διαφθεῖρουσι τε συχνοὺς καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων αἰχμαλώτους λαμβάνουσιν. ἐφ' ᾧ χαλεπαίνοντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ συστροφάς, δι' αἰτίας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ποθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

[31.1] This is what the king then said to his son and to the others present. But a few days later he was obliged to take the initiative himself in proposing terms of accommodation, for the following reason: While his soldiers were dispersed about the country and plundering the provisions that were being conveyed to the city, and doing this continually, the Roman consuls lay in wait for them in a favourable place and destroying a goodly number, took even more of them prisoners than they slew. Upon this the Tyrrhenians were angered and talked matters over with one another as they gathered in knots, blaming both the king and the other commanders for the prolonging of the war, and desiring to be dismissed to their homes.

[2] δόξας μὲν οὖν [p. 183] ἅπασι κεχαρισμένας φανήσεσθαι τὰς διαλλαγὰς, ἀποστέλλει πρεσβευτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους. τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασὶ καὶ τὸν Μούκιον ἅμα τούτοις ἀποσταλῆναι δόντα τὴν πίστιν τῷ βασιλεῖ δι' ὄρκων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάλιν ἐλεύσεσθαι: ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν ὄμηρον, ἕως αἱ διαλλαγαὶ γένωνται, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φυλάττεσθαι: καὶ τάχ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτ'

[2] The king, therefore, believing that an accommodation would be acceptable to them all, sent the closest of his personal friends as ambassadors. Some, indeed, say that Mucius also was sent with them, having given the king his pledge upon oath that he would return; but others say that he was kept in the camp as a hostage till peace should be concluded, and this may perhaps be the truer account.

[3] ἀληθέστερον. ἐντολαὶ δ' ἦσαν, αἷς ἔδωκε τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοιαίδε: περὶ μὲν καθόδου Ταρκυνίων μηδὲνα ποιεῖσθαι λόγον, τὰ δὲ

χρήματα αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦν ἀποδοθῆναι, μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντα ὅσα Ταρκύνιος θ' ὁ πρεσβύτατος κατέλιπε καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτησάμενοι κατέσχον: εἰ δὲ μὴ γ' ὅσα δυνατὰ ἀγρῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ὧν ἐκ γῆς ἀνήρηνται καρπῶν τὰς ἀξίας, ὅποτερως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ συμφέρειν, ἐὰν τε τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὰ καὶ καρπουμένους εἰσφέρειν, ἐὰν τ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διαλύειν.

[3] The instructions given by the king to the ambassadors were these: Not to make the least mention of the restoration of the Tarquinii, but to demand the restitution of their property, preferably of all that the elder Tarquinius had left and they themselves had justly acquired and possessed, or, if that could not be, then to demand so far as possible the value of their lands, houses and cattle, and of the produce taken from the land, leaving it to the Romans to determine whether it was to their advantage that this should be paid by those who were in the possession and enjoyment of the land or defrayed by the public treasury.

[4] ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, ἐαυτῷ δ' αἰτεῖσθαι διαλυομένῳ τὴν ἔχθραν τοὺς καλουμένους Ἑπτὰ πάγους: αὕτη Τυρρηνῶν ἡ χώρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὴν κατέσχον πολέμῳ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφελόμενοι: καὶ ἵνα μένωσι Ῥωμαῖοι Τυρρηνοῖς βέβαιοι φίλοι, παῖδας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἰκιῶν τοὺς ὁμηρεύσοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν.

[4] So far their instructions related to the Tarquinii. Then, for himself, they were to demand, upon his putting an end to the war, the so-called Seven Districts (this territory had formerly belonged to the Tyrrhenians, but the Romans had taken it from them in war and occupied it), and, in order that the Romans should remain firm friends of the Tyrrhenians, they were to demand of them the sons of their most illustrious families to serve as hostages for the state.

[1] ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας εἰς Ῥώμην ἡ βουλὴ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο Ποπλικόλα θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων [p. 184] πεισθεῖσα πάντα συγχωρεῖν, ὅσα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἡξίου, κάμνειν τὸν δημότην καὶ ἄπορον ὄχλον οἰομένη τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ ἀγαπητῶς δέξεσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου λύσιν, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν γένηται δικαίους.

[32.1] When the embassy came to Rome, the senate, by the advice of Publicola, one of the consuls, voted to grant everything that the Tyrrhenian demanded, believing that the crowd of plebeians and poor people, oppressed by the scarcity of provisions, would cheerfully accept the termination of the war upon any terms whatever.

[2] ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ προβουλεύματος ἐψηφίσατο κύρια εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἀπόδοσιν τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ τάναντία ἔγνω, μήτ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μήτ' ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς τυράννοις μηδὲν ἀποδιδόναι, πρεσβευτὰς δὲ

περὶ τούτων πρὸς βασιλέα Πορσιναν ἀποστεῖλαι, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ὄμηρα καὶ τὴν χώραν παραλαβεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν δικαστὴν γενόμενον Ταρκυνίοις τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅταν ἀμφοτέρων ἀκοῦσῃ κρῖναι τὰ δίκαια μῆτε χάριτι μῆτ’

[2] But the people, though they ratified every other article of the senate’s decree, would not hear of restoring the property. On the contrary, they voted that no resolution should be made to the tyrants either from private sources or from the public funds, and that ambassadors should be sent to King Porsena concerning these matters, to ask him to accept the hostages and the territory he demanded, but as regarded the property, that he himself, acting as judge between the Tarquinii and the Romans, should determine, after hearing both sides, what was just, being influenced by neither favour nor enmity.

[3] ἔχθρα παραχθέντα. ἀπήεσαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ταύτας πρὸς βασιλέα κομίζοντες καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρέσβεις ἄγοντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων οἰκῶν εἴκοσι παῖδας, οὓς ἔδει περὶ τῆς πατριδος ὀμρεῦσαι, τῶν ὑπάτων πρώτων τὰ τέκνα ἐπιδόντων, Μάρκου μὲν Ὅρατιου τὸν υἱόν, Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ἔχουσιν ὦραν.

[3] The Tyrrhenians returned to the king with this answer, and with them the ambassadors appointed by the people, taking with them twenty children of the leading families to serve as hostages for their country; the consuls had been the first to give their children for that purpose, Marcus Horatius delivering his son to them and Publius Valerius his daughter, who had reached the age for marriage.

[4] ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦσθη τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπαιέσας ἀνοχὰς σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ὠρισμένον τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸς ἀναδέχεται δικάζειν. Ταρκύνιοι δ’ ἤχθοντο μὲν ἀπὸ μειζόνων ἐκπεσόντες ἐλπίδων, ἃς εἶχον ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καταχθῆναι δόξαντες [p. 185] ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, στέργειν δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ τὰ δεδομένα δέχεσθαι. ἀφικομένων δ’ εἰς τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀπολογησομένων τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τὸν υἱὸν συνδικάζειν κελεύσας ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λόγον.

[4] When these arrived at the camp, the king was pleased, and heartily commending the Romans, have made a truce with them for a specified number of days and undertook to act as judge of the controversy himself. But the Tarquinii were aggrieved at finding themselves disappointed of the greater hopes they had been placing in the king, having expected to be restored by him to the sovereignty; however, they were obliged to be content with the present state of things and to accept the terms that were offered. And when the men who were sent to defend the cause of the commonwealth, . . . and the

oldest of the senators had come from the city at the appointed time, the king seated himself upon the tribunal with his friends, and ordering his son to sit as judge with him, he gave them leave to speak.

[1] ἔτι δὲ τῆς δικαιολογίας γινομένης ἤκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων τὴν φυγὴν τῶν ὁμηρεουσῶν παρθένων. δεηθεῖσαι γὰρ τῶν φυλαττόντων, ἵνα συγχωρήσωσιν αὐταῖς λούσασθαι παραγενομέναις εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ συγχώρημα ἔλαβον ἀποστῆναι μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰποῦσαι, τέως ἂν ἀπολούσωνται τε καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπολάβωσιν, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὰς ὀρώσιν αὐτάς· ποιησάντων καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, παρακελευσαμένης αὐταῖς τῆς Κλοιλίας καὶ πρώτης καταρχούσης, διανηξάμεναι τὸν ποταμόν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆλθον.

[33.1] While the cause was still pleading, a messenger brought word of the flight of the maidens who were serving as hostages. It seems that they had asked leave of their guards to go to the river and bathe, and after obtaining it they had told the men to withdraw a little way from the river till they had bathed and dressed themselves again, so that they should not see them naked; and the men having done this also, the maidens, following the advice and example of Cloelia, swam across the river and returned to the city.

[2] ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ὁ Ταρκύνιος ἦν ἐπιорκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα παροξύνων ὡς ἐξαπατῶμενον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δολίων μηθὲν προσέχειν αὐτοῖς. ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγοντος εἶναι τῶν παρθένων δίχα τῆς ἐπιταγῆς τῶν πατέρων, καὶ τὸ πιστὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν παρέξεσθαι λέγοντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐμβουλῆς ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν πεπραῖχθαι, πεισθεὶς [p. 186] ὁ βασιλεὺς συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πορευθέντι τὰς παρθένους ἀγαγεῖν, ὡς ὑπισχνεῖτο.

[2] Then indeed Tarquinius was vehement in accusing the Romans of a breach of their oaths and of perfidy, and in goading the king, now that he had been deceived by treacherous persons, to pay no heed to them. But when the consul defended the Romans, declaring that the maidens had done this thing of themselves without orders from their fathers and that he would soon offer convincing proof that the consuls had not been guilty of any treachery, the king was persuaded and gave him leave to go to Rome and bring back the maidens, as he kept promising to do.

[3] Οὐαλέριος μὲν δὴ τὰς παρθένους ἄξων ὥχετο: Ταρκύνιος δὲ καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ τῶν δικαίων ὑπεριδόντες πράγματι ἐπεβούλευσαν ἀνοσίῳ, λόχον ὑποπέμφαντες εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἱππέων, τὰς τε παρθένους ἀρπάσαι τὰς ἀγομένας καὶ τὸν ὑπάτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐρχομένους συλλαβεῖν, ὡς ῥύσια καθέζοντες ἀνθ' ὧν Ταρκύνιον ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι χρημάτων τὰ σώματα ταῦτα, καὶ τῆς δίκης τὸ τέλος οὐκέτι περιμενοῦντες.

[3] Valerius, accordingly, departed in order to bring them to the camp. But Tarquinius and his son-in-law, in contempt of all that was right, formed a wicked plot, sending out secretly a party of horse to lie in wait on the road, in order to seize not only the maidens as they were being brought back, but also the consul and the others who were coming to the camp. Their purpose was to hold these persons as pledges for the property the Romans had taken from Tarquinius, and not to wait any longer for the outcome of the hearing.

[4] οὐκ εἶασε δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν χωρῆσαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐν ὄσῳ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων χάρακος ἐξήεσαν οἱ μέλλοντες τοῖς παραγενομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι, φθάσας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἦγε τὰς κόρας· καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς ἤδη ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ χάρακος ὦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας στρατοπεδείας καταλαμβάνεται. ἔνθα τῆς συμπλοκῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης ταχεῖα τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς αἰσθησις ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς Ἴλην ἱππέων ἐπαγόμενος ἐβοήθει, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ προκαθήμενοι τοῦ χάρακος συνέδραμον.

[4] But Heaven did not permit their plot to go according to their wish. For even as the horsemen who were intending to attack them upon their return were going out of the camp of the Latins, the consul was arriving with the maidens in time to forestall them, and he was already at the very gates of the Tyrrhenian camp when he was overtaken by the horsemen from the other camp who had pursued him. When the encounter between them occurred here, the Tyrrhenians quickly perceived it; and the king's son came in haste with a squadron of horse to their assistance and those of the foot who were posted before the camp also rushed up.

[1] ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτῶν ὁ Πορσίνας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς συνεκάλει καὶ διεξελθὼν, ὡς ἐπιτρεψάντων αὐτῷ δίκας Ῥωμαίων δικάσαι περὶ ὧν ἐνεκαλοῦντο ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου, πρὶν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν [p. 187] δίκην εἰς ἱερὰ σώματα πρέσβεων τε καὶ ὁμήρων παρανομεῖν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ δικαίως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελασθέντες· ὅθεν Τυρρηνοὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀπολύουσι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, Ταρκυνίῳ δὲ καὶ Μαμιλίῳ διαλύονται τὴν ξενίαν· καὶ προεῖπεν αὐθημερὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπιέναι.

[34.1] Porsena, resenting this attempt, assembled the Tyrrhenians and informed them that after the Romans had appointed him judge of the accusations brought against them by Tarquinius, but before the cause was determined, the exiles justly expelled by the Romans had during a truce been guilty of a lawless attempt upon the inviolable persons both of ambassadors and of hostages; for which reason, he said, the Tyrrhenians now acquitted the Romans of those charges and at the same time renounced all friendly relations with the Tarquinii and Mamilius; and he ordered them to depart that very day from the camp.

[2] Ταρκύνιοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς γενόμενοι κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς ἡ

τυραννήσοντες αὖθις τῆς πόλεως Τυρρηνῶν σφίσι βοηθοῦντων ἢ τὰ χρήματα κομιούμενοι, διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ τὰ ὄμηρα παρανομίαν ἀμφοτέρων διαμαρτόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ

[2] Thus the Tarquinii, who at first had entertained excellent hopes either of exercising their tyranny again in the city with the assistance of the Tyrrhenians or of getting their property back, were disappointed in both respects in consequence of their lawless attempt against the ambassadors and hostages, and departed from the camp with shame and the detestation of all.

[3] στρατοπέδου σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ μίσει. ὁ δὲ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄμηρα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προαχθῆναι κελεύσας ἀποδίδωσι τῷ ὑπάτῳ εἰπὼν, ὅτι πάσης ὀμηρείας κρεῖττονα ἡγεῖται τὴν πίστιν τῆς πόλεως. μίαν δὲ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν ὀμήρων, ὅφ' ἥς ἐπείσθησαν αἱ λοιπαὶ διανήξασθαι τὸν ποταμόν, ἐπαινέσας ὡς κρεῖττον ἔχουσαν φρόνημα τῆς τε φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν μακαρίσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐκτρέφειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένους ἀνδράσιν ὁμοίας, δωρεῖται τὴν κόρην ἵππῳ πολεμιστῇ

[3] Then the king of the Tyrrhenians, ordering the Roman hostages to be brought up to the tribunal, returned them to the consul, saying that he considered the good faith of the commonwealth as worth more than any hostages. And praising one maiden among them, by whom the others had been persuaded to swim across the river, as possessing a spirit superior both to her sex and age, and congratulating the commonwealth for producing not only brave men but also maidens the equals of men, he made her a present of a war-horse adorned with magnificent trappings.

[4] φαλάροις κεκοσμημένῳ διατρεπέσι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας ὅρκια πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιησάμενος καὶ ξενίας αὐτοὺς δῶρα τῇ πόλει φέρεσθαι δίδωσι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἄνευ λύτρων συχνοὺς πάντῃ ὄντας, καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατοπεδευκὼς ἦν, κατεσκευασμένον οὐχ ὡς στρατόπεδον ἐν ξένῃ γῇ πρὸς ὀλίγον [p. 188] καιρόν, ἀλλ' ὡς πόλιν ἰδίαις τε καὶ δημοσίαις οἰκοδομαῖς ἀποχρῶντως, οὐκ ὄντος τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἔθους, ὅποτε ἀναστρατοπεδεύοιεν ἐκ πολέμιας, ὀρθὰς καταλείπειν τὰς κατασκευάς, ἀλλὰ καίειν, οὐ μικρὰν τῇ πόλει χαρισάμενος εἰς χρημάτων λόγον δωρεάν. ἐδήλωσε δ' ἡ πράσις, ἣν ἐποίησαντο μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν

[4] After the assembly he made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Roman ambassadors, and having entertained them, he returned to them without ransom all the prisoners, who were very numerous, as a present to take to the commonwealth. He also gave them the place where he was encamped, which was not laid out, like a camp, for a short stay in a foreign country, but, like a city, was adequately equipped with buildings both private and public, — though it is not the custom of the Tyrrhenians, when they break

camp and quit the enemy's country, to leave these buildings standing, but to burn them. Thereby he made a present to the commonwealth of no small value in money, as appeared from the sale made by the quaestors after the king's departure.

[5] τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ταμίαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ συστάς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ταρκυνίους τε καὶ βασιλέα Κλουσίων Λάρον Πορσιναν, εἰς κινδύνους μεγάλους ἀγαγὼν τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

[5] Such, then, was the outcome of the Romans' war with the Tarquinius and Lars Porsena, king of the Clusians, a war which brought the commonwealth into great dangers.

[1] ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν Τυρρηνῶν συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Πορσινὰ μὲν πέμψαι θρόνον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ θριαμβικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἣ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐκοσμοῦντο: Μουκίῳ δὲ τῷ προελομένῳ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν αἰτιωτάτῳ δόξαντι γεγενῆσθαι τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου χώραν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας δοθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ Ὅρατιῳ τῷ πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἀγωνισαμένῳ πρότερον, ὅσῃ ἂν ἀρότρῳ περιλαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ δύνηται. [p. 189] οὗτος ὁ χῶρος ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων,

[35.1] After the departure of the Tyrrhenians the Roman senate voted to send to Porsena a throne of ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe, which had been the insignia of the kings. And to Mucius, who had resolved to die for his country and was looked upon as the chief instrument in putting an end to the war, they voted that a portion of the public land bey the Tiber should be given (just as previously in the case of Horatius, who had fought in front of the bridge), as much, namely, as he could plough round in one day; and this place even to my day is called the Mucian Meadows. These were the rewards they gave to the men.

[2] Μούκιοι λειμῶνες καλοῦνται. ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι: Κλοιλία δὲ τῇ παρθένῳ στάσιν εἰκόνας χαλκῆς ἔδοσαν, ἣν ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φεροῦσης οἱ τῶν παρθένων πατέρες. ταύτην ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐκέτι κειμένην εὕρομεν, ἐλέγετο δ' ἐμπρήσεως περὶ

[2] In honour of Cloelia, the maiden, they ordered a bronze statue to be set up, which was erected accordingly by the fathers of the maidens on the Sacred Way, that leads to the Forum. This statue I found no longer standing; it was said to have been destroyed when a fire broke out in the adjacent houses.

[3] τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας γενομένης ἠφανίσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς εἰς συντέλειαν ἐξειργάσθη, περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δεδηλωκα λόγῳ. τὴν δ' ἀνιέρωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔλαβε Μάρκος Ὅρατιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων φθάσας τὴν

παρουσίαν τοῦ συνάρχοντος. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Οὐαλέριος προεξεληλυθὼς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς χώρας. ἄρτι γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταλιπόντων τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ συνιόντων εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ληστήρια πέμπων Μামীλιος μεγάλα τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐβλαπτεν. ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη.

[3] In this year was completed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, of which I gave a detailed description in the preceding Book. This temple was dedicated by Marcus Horatius, one of the consuls, and inscribed with his name before the arrival of his colleague; for at that time it chanced that Valerius had set out with an army to the aid of the country districts. For as soon as the people had left the fortresses and returned to the fields, Mamilius had sent bands of robbers and done great injury to the husbandmen. These were the achievements of the third consulship.

[1] οἱ δὲ τὸν τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρξαντες ὕπατοι Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἑρμίνιος ἄνευ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσαν. ἐπὶ τούτων Ἄρρος ὁ Πορσίνου τοῦ Τυρρηνῶν βασιλέως υἱὸς τὴν Ἀρικηνῶν πόλιν δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη πολιορκῶν ἐτελεύτησεν.

[36.1] The consuls for the fourth year, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, went through their term of office without war. In their consulship Arruns, the son of Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, died while besieging the city of Aricia for the second year.

[2] εὐθὺς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι τὰς Ῥωμαίων σπονδὰς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβὼν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρικηνοὺς ἰδίαν κατασκευαζόμενος [p. 190] ἀρχὴν καὶ μικροῦ δεήσας τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, ἐλθούσης τοῖς Ἀρικηνοῖς ἐπικουρίας ἔκ τ' Ἀντίου καὶ Τύσκλου καὶ τῆς Καμπανίδος Κύμης, παραταξάμενος ἐλάττονι δυνάμει πρὸς μείζονα τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐτρέψατο καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἤλασεν, ὑπὸ δὲ Κυμαίων, οὓς ἦγεν Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Μαλακὸς ἐπικαλούμενος, νικηθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν μετὰ

[2] For as soon as peace was made with the Romans, he got from his father one half of the army and led an expedition against the Aricians, with a view of establishing a dominion of his own. When he had all but taken the city, aid came to the Aricians from Antium, Tusculum, and Cumae in Campania; nevertheless, arraying his small army against a superior force, he put most of them to flight and drove them back to the city. But he was defeated by the Cumaeans under the command of Aristodemus, surnamed the Effeminate, and lost his life, and the Tyrrhenian army, no longer making a stand after his death, turned to flight.

[3] τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν οὐκέτι ὑπομείνασα τρέπεται πρὸς φυγὴν. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν διωκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυμαίων διεφθάρησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους

σκεδασθέντες ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντας κατέφυγον ὅπλα τ' ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τὰ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν. οὕς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατακομίζοντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀμάξαις τε καὶ ἀπήναις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποζυγίοις ἡμιθνήτας ἐνίους, καὶ φέροντες εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν οἰκίας τροφαῖς τε καὶ θεραπαίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φιланθρωπίαις πολὺ τὸ συμπαθὲς ἐχούσαις ἀνελάμβανον: ὥστε πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ταῖς χάρισι ταύταις ὑπαχθέντας μηκέτι τῆς οἴκαδε ἀφίξεως πόθον ἔχειν,

[3] Many of them were killed in the pursuit by the Cumaeans, but many more, dispersing themselves about the country, fled into the fields of the Romans, which were not far distant, having lost their arms and being unable by reason of their wounds to proceed farther. There, some of them half dead, the Romans brought from the fields into the city upon wagons and mule-carts and upon beasts of burden also, and carrying them to their own houses, restored them to health with food and nursing every other sort of kindness that great compassion can show; so that many of them, induced by these kindly services, no longer felt any desire to return home but wished to remain with their benefactors.

[4] ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς εὐεργέταις σφῶν βούλεσθαι καταμένειν: οἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ χώρον τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθα οἰκήσεις ἔμελλον κατασκευάσασθαι, τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τέτταρσι μάλιστα μηκυνόμενον σταδίοις αὐλῶνα, ὃς καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ Τυρρηγῶν οἴκησις [p. 191] ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον διάλεκτον ἢ φέρουσα διόδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵππόδρομον. ἂνθ' ὧν εὗροντο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν δωρεὰν οὐ τὴν ἐλαχίστου ἀξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἣ μάλιστα ἥσθησαν, τὴν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν, ἥς ἀπέστησαν ὅτε διελύοντο τὸν πόλεμον: καὶ θυσίας ἀπέδωσαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν, αἷς εὗξαντο γενόμενοι πάλιν τῶν Ἑπτὰ πάγων κύριοι συντελέσειν.

[4] To these the senate gave, as a place in the city for build houses, the valley which extends between the Palatine and Capitoline hills for a distance of about four stades; in consequence of which even down to my time the Romans in their own language give the name of Vicus Tuscus or "the habitation of the Tyrrhenians," to the thoroughfare that leads from the Forum to the Circus Maximus. In consideration of these services the Romans received from the Tyrrhenian king a gift of no slight value, but one which gave them the greatest satisfaction. This was the territory beyond the river which they had ceded when they put an end to the war. And they now performed sacrifices to the gods at great expense which they had vowed to offer up whenever they should again be masters of the Seven Districts.

[1] ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ἐνάτη καὶ ἐξηκοστή, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἰσχομάχος Κροτωνιάτης τὸ δευτέρον, ἄρχων δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀκεστορίδης, ὕπατοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος

[37.1] The fifth year after the expulsion of the king occurred the sixty-ninth Olympiad, at which Ischomachus of Croton won the foot-race for the second time, Acestorides being archon at Athens, and Marcus Valerius, brother of Valerius Publicola, and Publius Postumius, surnamed Tubertus, consuls at Rome.

[2] Πόπλιος Ποστόμιος Τούβερτος ἐπικαλούμενος. ἐπὶ τούτων ἕτερος ἐξεδέξατο Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν ἔγγιστα οἰκούντων, ὃς ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ ληιστηρίων, προὔβη δ' εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας, ἐχώρησε μέντοι τελευτῶν εἰς διαλλαγὰς εὐπρεπεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης μετὰ τοῦσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπατείας πάντα τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον πολεμηθεῖς. Σαβίνων γάρ τινες καταγνόντες ἀσθένειαν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πταίσματος, ὥς οὐκέτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀξίωσιν ἀναληψομένης, ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς εἰς τὴν χώραν κατιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ληιστήρια καταστησάμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς [p. 192]

[2] In their consulship another war awaited the Romans, this one stirred up by their nearest neighbours. It began with acts of brigandage and developed into many important engagements; however, it ended in an honourable peace in the third consulship after this one, having been carried on during that whole interval without intermission. For some of the Sabines, deciding that the commonwealth was weakened by the defeat she had received from the Tyrrhenians and would never be able to recover her ancient prestige, attacked those who came down into the wood fields from the strongholds by organizing bands of robbers, and they caused many injuries to the husbandmen.

[3] ἔβλαπτον. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀποστείλαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρεσβείαν πρὶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρῆσαι δίκας ἦτουν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤξιουν μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν γῆν παρανομεῖν. αὐθάδεις δὲ λαβόντες ἀποκρίσεις προεῖπον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γίνεται ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἔξοδος ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλερίου σὺν ἱππεῦσι καὶ ψιλῶν τοῖς ἀκμαιοτάτοις αἰφνίδιος ἐπὶ τοὺς ληιζομένους τὴν χώραν καὶ φόνος τῶν καταληφθέντων ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς συχνῶν ὄντων πολὺς, οἷα εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀσυντάκτων 14 τε καὶ οὐ προησθημένων τὴν ἔφοδον.

[3] For these acts the Romans, sending an embassy before resorting to arms, sought satisfaction and demanded that for the future they should commit no lawless acts against those who cultivated the land; and having received a haughty answer, they declared war against them. First an expedition was conducted by one of the consuls, who with the horse and the flower of the light-armed foot fell suddenly upon those who were laying waste the country; and there was great slaughter among the many men surprised most their plundering, as may well be imagined, since they were keeping no order and had no warning of the attack.

[4] Ἐπειτα τῶν Σαβίνων πολλὴν ἀποστείλαντων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατιὰν ὕφ’ ἡγεμόνι τεταγμένην ἐμπείρῳ πολέμου Ῥωμαίων ἑτέρα γίνεται ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔξοδος ἀπάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων. Ποστόμιος μὲν οὖν πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν ὀρεινοῖς τόποις κατεστρατοπέδευσε δεδιώς, μὴ τις ἔφοδος ἐκ τῶν φυγᾶδων ἐπ’ αὐτὴν γένηται αἰφνίδιος· Οὐαλέριος δ’ ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνίητα, ὃς ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Τιβύρων καθ’ ὕψηλοῦ πολὺς ἐκχεῖται σκοπέλου, φέρεται δὲ διὰ τῆς Σαβίνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πεδιάδος ὀρίζων τὴν ἑκατέρων χώραν· συνάπτει δὲ τὸ ρεῦμα τῷ Τεβέρει ποταμῷ καλὸς μὲν ὀφθῆναι, γλυκὺς δὲ πίνεισθαι.

[4] Afterwards, when the Sabines sent a large army against them commanded by a general experienced in war, the Romans made another expedition against them with all their forces, led by both consuls. Postumius encamped on heights near Rome, fearing lest some sudden attempt might be made upon the city by the exiles; and Valerius posted himself not far from the enemy, on the bank of the river Anio, which after passing through the city of Tibur pours in a vast torrent from a high rock, and running through the plain belonging to both the Sabines and the Romans, serves as a boundary to both their territories, after which this river, which is fair to look upon and sweet to drink, mingles its stream with the Tiber.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων τοῦ ποταμοῦ μερῶν ἢ τῶν Σαβίνων ἔκειτο παρεμβολὴ τοῦ ρεύματος οὐδ’ αὐτὴ πολὺν ἀπέχουσα τόπον ἐπὶ γεωλόφῳ τινὸς ἡρέμα [p. 193] κατακλινοῦς οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυροῦ. κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν δι’ εὐλαβείας εἶχον ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι καὶ μάχης ἄρχειν διαβάντες τὸν ποταμὸν ὥκνουν, χρόνῳ δ’ ὕστερον οὐ κατὰ λογισμὸν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς τε καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐξαφθέντες συνάπτουσι μάχην.

[38.1] On the other side of the river was placed the camp of the Sabines, this too at no great distance from the stream, upon a gently sloping hill that was not very strongly situated. At first both armies observed one another with caution and were unwilling to cross the river and begin an engagement. But after a time they were no longer guided by reason and a prudent regard for their advantage, but becoming inflamed with anger and rivalry, they joined battle.

[2] ὕδρευόμενοι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν πότον ἐνέβαινον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· βραχὺς δ’ ἔρρει τηνικαῦτα οὕτω τοῖς χειμερινοῖς ὕδασι πληθύνων, ὥστ’ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ γόνατος ἔχοντες αὐτὸν ἐπεραιοῦντο. συμπλοκῆς δὴ τινος πρῶτον ὀλίγοις πρὸς οὐ πολλοὺς γινομένης ἐξέδραμόν τινες ἐπικουροῦντες τοῖς σφετέροις ἐξ ἑκατέρου χάρακος· ἔπειθ’ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἀμυνοῦντες τοῖς κατισχυομένοις ἐκ θατέρου· καὶ τοτὲ μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Σαβίνους ἀνέστελλον ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος, τοτὲ δ’ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεῖργον τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

[2] For, going to the river for water and leading their horses there to drink, they

advanced a good way into the stream, which was then low, not yet being swollen with the winter's rains, so that they crossed it without having the water much above their knees. And first, when a skirmish occurred between small parties, some ran out of each camp to assist their comrades, then others again from one camp or the other to aid those who were being overpowered. And at times the Romans forced the Sabines back from the river, at times the Sabines kept the Romans from it.

[3] πολλῶν δὲ φόνων καὶ τραυμάτων γενομένων καὶ φιλονεικίας ἅπασιν ἔμπεσούσης, οἷα περὶ τὰς ἀψιμαχίας τὰς ἐκ καιροῦ συμπεσούσας γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, προθυμία τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁμοία παρέστη διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμόν.

[3] Then, after many had been killed and wounded and a spirit of rivalry had possessed them all, as is apt to happen when skirmishes occur on the spur of the moment, the generals of both armies felt the same eagerness to cross the river.

[4] ἔφθασε δὲ πρῶτος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος καὶ διαβιβάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔτι τῶν Σαβίνων ὀπλιζομένων τε καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένων ἐν χερσὶν ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἐμέλλησάν γ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι θέσθαι μάχην, καταφρονήσει πολλῇ ἐπαρθέντες, ὅτι οὔτε πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὑπάτους οὔτε πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἔμελλον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, καὶ συρράξαντες [p. 194] ἐμάχοντο πᾶσαν εὐτολμίαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

[4] But the Roman consul got the start of the enemy, and after getting his army across, was already close upon the Sabines while they were still arming themselves and taking their positions. However, they too were not backward in engaging, but, elated with a contempt of their foes, since they were not going to fight against both consuls nor the whole Roman army, they joined battle with all the boldness and eagerness imaginable.

[1] ἀγῶνος δὲ καρτεροῦ γενομένου καὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρατος, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ ὕπατος, ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προσωτέρω χωροῦντος, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου κάμνοντος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἐξωθουμένου, μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ὁ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβολὴν κατέχων ὕπατος ἐξῆγγε τὴν στρατιάν.

[39.1] A vigorous action ensuing and the right wing of the Romans, commanded by the consul, attacking the enemy and gaining ground, while their left was already in difficulties and being forced towards the river by the enemy, the consul, who commanded the other camp, being informed of what was passing, proceeded to lead out his army.

[2] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν ἐπαγόμενος βάδην ἠκολούθει: τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων Σπόριον Λάρκιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἄγοντα πέμπει κατὰ σπουδὴν: ὃς ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος τοὺς

ἵππους ἐλαύνων τὸν τε ποταμὸν διαπεραιοῦται κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς εὐπετῶς καὶ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κέρας παριππεύσας, ἐνσεῖει πλαγίοις τοῖς ἵππεῦσι τῶν Σαβίνων· καὶ γίνεται μέγας αὐτόθι τῶν ἵππεων ἀμφοτέρων συστάδην μαχομένων ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἀγών.

[2] And while he himself with the solid ranks of the foot followed at a normal pace, he sent ahead in all haste his legate, Spurius Larcius, who had been consul the year before, together with all the horse. Larcius, urging the horse forward at full speed, crossed the river with ease, as no one opposed him, and riding past the right wing of the enemy, charged the Sabine horse in fact; and there and then occurred a severe battle between the horse on both sides, who fought hand-to-hand for a long time.

[3] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος τοὺς πεζοὺς ἄγων πλησίον αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο· καὶ συρράξας τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀποκτείνει τε πολλοὺς μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξωθεῖ τῆς τάξεως. εἰ δὲ μὴ νύξ ἐπέλαβεν, ἅπαντες ἂν οἱ Σαβῖνοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποκρατούντων ἤδη πανσυδὶ διεφθάρησαν. νῦν δὲ τὸ σκότος τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὄντας ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς [p. 195] ἐρρύσατο καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία. τῆς δὲ παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν οἱ ὕπατοι χωρὶς ἀγῶνος ἐκράτησαν ἐκλειφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὴν τροπὴν τῶν σφετέρων· ἐξ ἧς πολλὰς ὠφελείας λαβόντες, ἃς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψαν,

[3] In the mean time Postumius also drew near the combatants with the foot, and attacking that of the enemy, killed many in the conflict and threw the rest into confusion. And if night had not intervened, the whole army of the Sabines, being surrounded by the Romans, who had now become superior in horse, would have been totally destroyed. But as it was, the darkness saved those who fled from the battle unarmed and few in number, and brought them home in safety. The consuls, without meeting any resistance, made themselves masters of their camp, which had been abandoned by the troops inside as soon as they saw the rout of their own army; and, capturing much booty there, which they permitted the soldiers to drive or carry away, they returned home with their forces.

[4] ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. τότε πρῶτον ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πταίσματος εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκατέστη φρόνημα, καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν περιοίκων ὡς πρότερον ἐθάρρησεν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ψηφίζεται κοινῇ μὲν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις θριάμβου καταγωγὴν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν Οὐαλερίῳ δωρεὰν τόπον εἰς οἴκησιν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τοῦ Παλλαντίου τόπῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν δαπάνας ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου χορηγεῖσθαι. ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας, παρ' ἣν ὁ χαλκοῦς ἔστηκε ταῦρος, αἱ κλισιάδες θύραι μόναι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δημοσίων τε καὶ ιδιωτικῶν οἴκων εἰς τὸ ἔξω μέρος ἀνοίγονται.

[4] Then for the first time the commonwealth, recovering from the defeat

received at the hands of the Tyrrhenians, recovered its former spirit and dared as before to aim at the supremacy over its neighbours. The Romans decreed a triumph jointly to both the consuls, and, as a special gratification to one of them, Valerius, ordered that a site should be given him for his habitation on the best part of the Palatine Hill and that the cost of the building should be defrayed from the public treasury. The folding doors of this house, near which stands the brazen bull, are the only doors in Rome either of public or private buildings that open outwards.

[1] παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκδέχονται τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος ὁ κληθεὶς Ποπλικόλας τὸ τέταρτον ἄρχειν αἰρεθεὶς καὶ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος τὸ δεύτερον τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συνάρχων. ἐφ' ὧν ἅπαντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι κοινὴν ποιησάμενοι τῶν πόλεων ἀγορὰν ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν, ὡς λελυμένων σφίσι τῶν σπονδῶν, ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, πρὸς ὃν ἐποίησαντο τοὺς ὅρκους:

[40.1] These men were succeeded in the consulship by Publius Valerius, surnamed Publicola, chosen to hold the office for the fourth time, and Titus Lucretius, now colleague to Valerius for the second time. In their consulship all the Sabines, holding a general assembly of their cities, resolved upon a war against the Romans, alleging that the treaty they had made with them was dissolved, since Tarquinius, to whom they had sworn their oaths, had been driven from power.

[2] πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Σέξτου θατέρου τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν, [p. 196] ὃς αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ θεραπεύων καὶ λιπαρῶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐξεπολέμωσε κοινῇ πρὸς πάντα καὶ προσηγάγετο δύο πόλεις, Φιδήνην καὶ Καμερίαν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀποστήσας, ἐκείνοις δὲ συμμαχεῖν πείσας: ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως καταγράφειν, ὡς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ δι' ἀσθένειαν δυνάμεως καὶ στρατηγοῦ μωρίαν σφαλέντες.

[2] They had been induced to take this step by Sextus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, who by privately courting them and importuning the influential men in each city had roused them all to united hostility against the Romans, and had won over two cities, Fidenae and Cameria, detaching them from the Romans and persuading them to become allies of the Sabines. In return for these services they appointed him general with absolute power and gave him leave to raise forces in every city, looking upon the defeat they had received in the last engagement as due to the weakness of their army and the stupidity of their general.

[3] οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν: τύχη δὲ τις ἐξισῶσαι βουλομένη ταῖς βλάβαις τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς ὠφελείας ἀντὶ τῶν καταλιπόντων αὐτοὺς συμμάχων ἑτέραν οὐκ ἡλπισμένην ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων βοήθειαν προσέθηκε τοιάνδε. ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους πόλιν οἰκῶν Ῥήγιλλον εὐγενῆς καὶ χρήμασι

δυνατὸς Τίτος Κλαύδιος, αὐτομολεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συγγένειάν τε μεγάλην ἐπαγόμενος καὶ φίλους καὶ πελάτας συχνοὺς αὐτοῖς μεταναστάντας ἐφρεστίοις, οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακισχιλίων τοὺς ὄπλα φέρειν δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ καταλαβοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν εἰς Ῥώμην τοιαύτη 15 λέγεται γενέσθαι.

[3] While they were employed in these preparations, some good fortune, designing to balance the losses of the Romans with corresponding advantages, gave them, in place of the allies who had deserted them, an unexpected accession of strength from among their enemies, of the following nature: A certain man of the Sabine nation who lived in a city called Regillum, a man of good family and influential for his wealth, Titus Claudius by name, deserted to them, bringing with him many kinsmen and friends and a great number of clients, who removed with their whole households, not less than five hundred in all who were able to bear arms. The reason that compelled him to remove to Rome is said to have been this:

[4] οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσιν ἄλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας, εἰς δίκην αὐτὸν ὑπῆγον αἰτιασάμενοι προδοσίαν, ὅτι τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἦν πρόθυμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνος ἀντέλεγε τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, [p. 197] καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας οὐκ εἶα κύρια εἶναι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖσθαι. ταύτην ὁρρωδῶν τὴν δίκην:

[4] The men in power in the principal cities, being hostile to him because of their political rivalry, were bringing him to trial on a charge of treason, because he was not eager to make war against the Romans, but both in the general assembly alone opposed those who maintained that the treaty was dissolved, and would not permit the citizens of his own town to regard as valid the decrees which had been passed by the rest of the nation.

[5] ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων δικασθῆναι πόλεων: ἀναλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προστίθεται ῥοπήν τ' οὐ μικρὰν εἰς τὰ πράγματα παρέσχε καὶ τοῦ κατορθωθῆναι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπάντων ἔδοξεν αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι: ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἰς τε τοὺς πατρικίους αὐτὸν ἐνέγραψε καὶ τῆς πόλεως μοῖραν εἶασεν ὅσην ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν εἰς κατασκευὴν οἰκίων χώραν τ' αὐτῷ προσέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας τὴν μεταξὺ Φιδίηνης καὶ Πικετίας, ὡς ἔχοι διανεῖμαι κλήρους ἅπασιν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ φυλὴ τις ἐγένετο σὺν χρόνῳ Κλαυδία καλουμένη καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ διέμεινε τὸ αὐτὸ φυλάττουσα ὄνομα.

[5] Dreading this trial, then, (for it was to be conduct by the other cities), he took his goods and his friends and came over to the Romans; and by adding no small weight to their cause he was looked upon as the principal instrument in the success of this war. In consideration of this, the senate and people enrolled him among the patricians and gave him leave to take as large a

portion of the city as he wished for building houses; they also granted to him from the public land the region that lay between Fidenae and Picetia, so that he could give allotments to all his followers. Out of these Sabines was formed in the course of time a tribe called the Claudian tribe, a name which it continued to preserve down to my time.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἅπαντα ἀμφοτέροις, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξῆγον οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ποιοῦνται δύο παρεμβολὰς μίαν μὲν ὑπαιθρον οὐ πρόσω Φιδήνης, ἑτέραν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Φιδήνῃ φυλακῆς τε τῶν ἔνδον ἕνεκα καὶ καταφυγῆς τῶν ἔξω στρατοπεδευόντων, ἃν τι γένηται πταῖσμα περὶ αὐτοῦς. ἔπειτα οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπατοὶ μαθόντες τὴν τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἔλασιν καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντα ἄγοντες τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατοπεδεύονται χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, Οὐαλέριος μὲν ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὑπαίθρου τῶν Σαβίνων παρεμβολῆς, Λουκρήτιος

[41.1] After all the necessary preparations had been made on both sides, the Sabines first led out their forces and formed two camps, one of which was in the open not far from Fidenae, and the other in Fidenae itself, to serve both as a guard for the citizens and as a refuge for those who lay encamped without the city, in case any disaster should befall them. Then, when the Roman consuls learned of the Sabines' expedition against them, they too led out all their men of military age and encamped apart from each other, Valerius near the camp of the Sabines that lay in the open, and Lucretius not far distant, upon a hill from which the other camp was clearly in view.

[2] δ' ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν ἐπ' ὄχθου τινός, ὅθεν ἦν ὁ ἕτερος χάραξ καταφανής. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπόληψις [p. 198] ἦν συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτίκα, ὥς ἐν ἀγῶνι φανερωῖ τοῦ πολέμου ταχείαν ἔξοντος τὴν κρίσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαβίνων στρατηγὸς ὀρρωδῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς εὐτολμίαν τε καὶ καρτερίαν ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομένειν ἐτοιμῶν νύκτωρ ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔγγω:

[2] It was the opinion of the Romans that the fate of the war would quickly be decided by an open battle; but the general of the Sabines, dreading to engage openly against the boldness and constancy of men prepared to face every danger, resolved to attack them by night,

[3] καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τάφρου τε χώσει καὶ χάρακος ἐπιβάσει ἃ πρόσφορα εἶναι ἔμελλεν, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπῆ, μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ὕπνον ἀναστήσας τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔμελλεν ἔρυμα, τοῖς τ' ἐν Φιδήνῃ κατεστρατοπεδευκόσι παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐξεληλυθότας αἰσθωνταὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐξίεναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κούφῃ ἐσταλμένους ὀπλίσει: ἔπειτα λοχήσαντας ἐν χωρίοις ἐπιτηδεῖοις ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τινες ἐπικούροι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐπίοιεν, ἀναστάντας καὶ κατὰ νῶτου γενομένους σὺν βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ πολλῷ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς.

[3] and having prepared everything that would be of use for filling up the ditch and scaling the wall, he was intending, now that all was in readiness for the attack, to rouse up the flower of his army after the first watch and lead them against the entrenchments of the Romans. He also gave notice to the troops encamped in Fidenae that, as soon as they perceived that their comrades were come out of the camp, they also should march out of the city, with light equipment; and then, after setting ambuscades in suitable places, if any reinforcements should come to Valerius from the other army, they were to rise up and, getting behind them, attack them with shouts and a great din.

[4] ὁ μὲν δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς φράσας, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοις ἦν βουλομένοις, περιέμεινε τὸν καιρὸν: αὐτομόλος δὲ τις ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων μηνύει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἦκον ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Σαβίνων, οὓς ἐπὶ ξυλισμὸν ἐξεληλυθότας συνέλαβον. οὗτοι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἀνακρινόμενοι, τί παρασκευάζεται: πράττειν [p. 199] σφῶν αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγός, λέγουσιν, ὅτι κλίμακας τεκταίνεται καὶ διαβάθρας: ὅπου δ' αὐταῖς καὶ ὅποτε μέλλοι χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔφασαν εἶδέναι.

[4] This was the plan of Sextus, who communicated it to his centurions; and when they also approved of it, he waited for the proper moment. But a deserter came to the Roman camp and informed the consul of the plan, and a little later a party of horse came in bringing some Sabine prisoners who had been captured while they were out to get wood. These, upon being questioned separately as to what their general was preparing to do, said that he was ordering ladders and gang-boards to be constructed; but where and when he proposed to make use of them, they professed not to know.

[5] ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐαλέριος ἀποστέλλει τὸν πρεσβευτὴν Λάρκιον εἰς τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα τὴν τε διάνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαγγελοῦντα τῷ κατέχοντι τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐκείνην Λουκρητίῳ, καὶ τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποθησόμενον: αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς καλέσας καὶ φράσας ὅσα τοῦ τ' αὐτομόλου καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἤκουσε καὶ παρακαλέσας ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καιρὸν εἰληφέναι νομίσαντας εὐχῆς ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ δίκας λήφονται παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καλὰς, ἃ τε δέοι πράττειν ἐκάστοις ὑποθέμενος καὶ τὸ σύνθημα δοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις.

[5] After learning this, Valerius sent his legate Larcius to the other camp to acquaint Lucretius, who had the command of it, with weight intention of the enemy and to advise him in what way they ought to attack the enemy. He himself summoned the tribunes and the centurions, and informing them of what he had learned both from the deserter and from the prisoners, exhorted them to acquit themselves as brave men, confident that they had got the best opportunity they could wish for to take a glorious revenge upon their enemies; and after advising them what each of them should do and giving the watchword, he dismissed them to their commands.

[1] οὐπω μέσαι νύκτες ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ τῶν Σαβίνων ἡγεμὼν ἀναστήσας τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ κράτιστον μέρος ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα σιωπᾶν ἅπασιν παραγγείλας καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν φόφον τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα μὴ γνοῖεν ἤκοντας αὐτοῦς οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι γένωνται. ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τοῦ χάρακος οἱ πρῶτοι πορευόμενοι καὶ οὔτε φέγγη λαμπτήρων ἐώρων οὔτε φωνὰς φυλάκων κατήκουον, πολλὴν μωρίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταγνόντες ὥς ἀφεικότων ἐρήμους τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ χάρακος καθευδόντων, ἐνεπίμπλασαν ὕλης [p. 200] τὰς τάφρους κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη καὶ διέβαινον οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν γινομένου.

[42.1] It was not yet midnight when the Sabine general roused up the flower of his army and led them to the enemy's camp, after ordering them all to keep silence and to make no noise with their arms, that the enemy might not be apprised of their approach till they arrived at the entrenchments. When those in front drew near the camp and neither saw the lights of watch-fires nor heard the voices of sentinels, they thought the Romans guilty of great folly in leaving their sentry-posts unguarded and sleeping inside their camp; and they proceeded to fill up the ditches in many places with brushwood and to cross over without opposition.

[2] παρεκάθηντο δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν περισταυρωμάτων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ σπείρας ἀφανεῖς διὰ τὸ σκότος, καὶ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας αὐτῶν, ὅτε γένοιτο ἐν χερσίν, ἐφόνευον. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ἐλάνθανε τοὺς ὑστέρους προσιόντας ὁ τῶν προηγουμένων ὀλεθρος: ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο σελήνης ἀνισχούσης οἱ πλησιάζοντες τῇ τάφρῳ σωροὺς θ' ὀρῶντες οἰκείων νεκρῶν παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ στίφη πολεμίων καρτερὰ ὁμόσε χωροῦντα, ῥίψαντες τὰ

[2] But the Romans were lying in wait by companies between the ditches and the palisades, being unperceived by reason of the darkness; and they kept killing those of the enemy who crossed over, as soon as they came within reach. For some time the destruction of those who led the way was not perceived by their companions in the rear; but when it became light, upon the rising of the moon, and those who approached the ditch saw not only heaps of their own men lying dead near it but also strong bodies of the enemy advancing to attack them, they threw down their arms and fled.

[3] ὅπλα τρέπονται πρὸς φυγὴν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μέγα ἀναβοήσαντες: ἦν δὲ τοῦτο σὺνθημα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας παρεμβολῆς: ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἅπαντες ἄθροοι. καὶ ὁ Λουκρήτιος ὥς ἤκουσε τῆς κραυγῆς τοὺς ἱππεῖς προαποστείλας διερευνησομένους, μὴ τις ἐγκάθηται πολεμίων λόχος, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἠκολούθει τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν πεζῶν ἐπαγόμενος.

[3] Thereupon the Romans, giving a great shout, which was the signal to those in the other camp, rushed out upon them in a body. Lucretius, hearing the shout, sent the horse ahead to reconnoitre, lest there might be an ambushade

of the enemy, and he himself followed presently with the flower of the foot.

[4] καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οἱ θ' ἱππεῖς τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Φιδήνης λοχῶσι περιτυχόντες τρέπουσιν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν σφῶν ἀφικομένους κτείνοντες ἐδίωκον οὔτε ὅπλα οὔτε κόσμον σώζοντας. ἐν ταύταις ταῖς μάχασι Σαβίνων τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπέθανον μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι: καὶ ὁ μὲν χάραξ αὐθημερὸν ἐάλω. [p. 201]

[4] And at one and the same time the horse, meeting with those from Fidenae who were lying in ambush, put them to flight, and the foot pursued and slew those who had come to their camp but were now keeping neither their arms nor their ranks. In these actions about 13,500 of the Sabines and their allies were slain and 4200 were made prisoners; and their camp was taken the same day.

[1] ἡ δὲ Φιδήνη πολιορκηθεῖσα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα δυσάλωτος εἶναι μέρος ἐδόκει καὶ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἐφυλάσσετο, κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐλήφθη. οὐ μὴν ἀνδραποδισμοῦ γ' ἢ κατασκαφῆς ἐπειράθη φόνος τ' ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολλὺς ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν: ἀποχρῶσα γὰρ ἐφάνη ζημία τοῖς ὑπάτοις πόλεως ὁμοεθνοῦς ἀμαρτοῦσης ἀρπαγῇ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ὁ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπολομένων ὄλεθρος: τοῦ δὲ μὴ προχείρως ἔτι τοὺς ἐάλωκότας ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι φυλακὴ γενήσεσθαι μετρία καὶ συνήθης Ῥωμαίοις,

[43.1] Fidenae after a few days' siege was taken in that very part which was thought to be the most difficult of capture and was for that reason guarded by only a few men. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were not made slaves nor was the city demolished; nor were many people put to death after the city was taken. For the consuls thought that the seizing of their goods and their slaves and the loss of their men who had perished in the battle was a sufficient punishment for an erring city belonging to the same race, and that to prevent the captured from lightly resorting to arms again, a moderate precaution and one customary with the Romans would be to punish the authors of the revolt.

[2] ἡ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως κόλασις. συγκατέσαντες δὲ Φιδηναῖων τοὺς ἀλόντας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀνοίας αὐτῶν κατηγορήσαντες ἀξιους τ' εἶναι φήσαντες ἅπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἀπολωλέναι μήτε ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις χάριν εἰδότας μήτε τοῖς κακοῖς σωφρονιζομένους, ῥάβδοις αἰκισάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀπάντων ὀρώντων ἀπέκτειναν: τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἴασαν οἰκεῖν ὡς πρότερον ὥκουν φρουροὺς συγκατοικίσαντες αὐτοῖς, ὅσους ἔκρινεν ἡ βουλή, καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀφελόμενοι τινα μοῖραν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἔδωκαν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ἀπῆγον ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολέμιων καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα θρίαμβον κατήγαγον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη.

[2] Having, therefore, assembled all the captured Fidenates in the forum and inveighed strongly against their folly, declaring that all of them, from youths to old men, deserved to be put to death, since they neither showed gratitude for the favours they received nor were chastened by their misfortunes, they ordered the most prominent of them to be scourged with rods and put to death in the sight of all; but the rest they permitted to live in the city as before, though they left a garrison, as large as the senate decided upon, to live in their midst; and taking away part of their land, they gave it to this garrison. After they had settled these matters, they returned home with the army from the enemy's country and celebrated the triumph which the senate had voted to them. These were the achievements of their consulship.

[1] Ποπλίου δὲ Ποστομίου τοῦ καλουμένου Τουβέρτου τὸ δεῦτερον ἄρχειν αἰρεθέντος καὶ [p. 202] Ἀγρίππα Μενηγίου τοῦ λεγομένου Λανάτου τρίτη γίνεται Σαβίνων εἰσβολὴ μείζονι στρατιᾷ, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι Ῥωμαίους αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους τῆς Ῥώμης ἔλασις: ἐν ᾗ πολὺς ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίων φόνος οὐ μόνον τῶν γεωργῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν προσδεχομένοις αἰφνιδίως ἐπέστη τὸ δεινόν, πρὶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια τὰ πλησίον ἐκάστους καταφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[44.1] When Publius Postumius, who was called Tubertus, had been chosen consul for the second time, and with him Agrippa Menenius, called Lanatus, the Sabines made a third incursion into the Roman territory with a larger army, before the Romans were aware of their setting out, and advanced up to the walls of Rome. In this incursion there was great loss of life on the side of the Romans, not only among the husbandmen, on whom the calamity fell suddenly and unexpectedly, before they could take refuge in the nearest fortresses, but also among those who were living in the city at the time.

[2] τῶν κατὰ πόλιν τηνικαῦτα διατριβόντων. ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Ποστόμιος οὐκ ἀνεκτὴν εἶναι τὴν ὕβριν τῶν πολεμίων ἠγησάμενος ἐξεβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν τοὺς ἐπιτυχάνοντας ἄγων προχειρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερον. οὕς ἰδόντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει χωροῦντας ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀσυντάκτους τε καὶ διεσπασμένους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐξῆσαι τὸ καταφρονοῦν αὐτῶν βουλόμενοι θάττον ἢ βάδην ἀνεχώρουν ὡς δὴ φεύγοντες ὀπίσω, τέως εἰς δρυμοὺς ἀφίκοντο βαθεῖς, ἔνθα ὁ λοιπὸς αὐτῶν στρατὸς ὑπεκάθητο: ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἐχώρουν τοῖς διώκουσιν ὁμόσε, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ μέγα ἀλαλάξαντες ἵενται 16 ἐπ' αὐτοῦς.

[2] For Postumius, one of the consuls, looking upon this insolence of the enemy as intolerable, hastily took the first men he came upon and marched out to the rescue with greater eagerness than prudence. The Sabines, seeing the Romans advance against them very contemptuously, without order and separated from one another, and wishing to increase their contempt, fell back at a fast walk, as if fleeing, till they came into thick woods where the rest of

their army lay in wait. Then, facing about, they engaged with their pursuers, and at the same time the others came out of the wood with a great shout and fell upon them.

[3] ἄσυντάκτοις δ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ τεταραγμένοις καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου συγκεκομμένοις τὰ πνεύματα πολλοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπελθόντες, καταβάλλουσι τε τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαντας ὑποτεμόμενοι τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερούσας ὁδοὺς εἰς ὀρεινὴν τινα κατακλείουσι ῥάχιν ἔρημον. θέμενοι δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα: νύξ γὰρ ἦδη [p. 203] κατελάμβανε: φυλακὰς ἐποιοῦντο δι' ὅλης νυκτός, ἵνα μὴ λάθοιεν σφῆς ἀποδράντες.

[3] The Sabines, who were very numerous and were advancing in good order against men who were not keeping their ranks but were disordered and out of breath with running, killed such of them as came to close quarters, and when the rest turned to flight, they barred the roads leading to the city and hemmed them in on the unfortified ridge of a hill. Then, encamping near them (for night was now coming on), they kept guard throughout the whole night to prevent them from stealing away undiscovered.

[4] ὥς δ' εἰς τὴν Πρώμην τὸ πάθος ἀπηγγέλθη ταραχὴ τ' ἦν πολλή καὶ δρόμος ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ δέος ἀπάντων, μὴ διὰ νυκτός εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔλθοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι τῷ κατορθώματι ἐπαρθέντες, τῶν τ' ἀπολωλότων οἶκτος καὶ τῶν περιλειπομένων ἔλεος, ὥς ἀναρπασθησομένων αὐτίκα μάλα δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρία ἔλθοι ταχεῖα.

[4] When the news of this misfortune was brought to Rome, there was a great tumult and a rush to the walls, and fear on the part of all lest the enemy, elated by their success, should enter the city in the night. There were lamentations for the slain and compassion for the survivors, who, it was believed, would be promptly captured for want of provisions unless some assistance should reach them quickly.

[5] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα πονηρὰς ἔχοντας τὰς ψυχὰς ἄγρυπνοι διῆγον: τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ καθοπλίσας ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Μενήνιος ἦγεν ἐπικούρους τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει κόσμον καὶ τάξιν φυλάττοντας. ἰδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Σαβῖνοι προσιόντας οὐκέτι παρέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸν αὐτῶν στρατὸν ἦγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενοι σφίσι τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν: καὶ οὐ πολλὸν ἔτι διατρίψαντες χρόνον ἀπῆεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σὺν αὐχήματι μεγάλῳ βοσκημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ χρημάτων ἀφθόνους ἄγοντες ὠφελείας.

[5] That night, accordingly, they passed in a sorry state of mind and without sleep; but the next day the other consul, Menenius, having armed all the men of military age, marched out with them in good order and discipline to the assistance of those upon the hill. When the Sabines saw them approaching,

they remained no longer, but roused up their army and withdrew from the hill, feeling that their present good fortune was enough; and without tarrying much longer, they returned home in great elation, taking with them a rich booty in cattle, slaves, and money.

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ποστόμιον ἐν αἰτίαις ἔχοντες ἔγνωσαν ἀπάσαις δυνάμεσι στρατεῦειν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, τὴν τε ἦτταν αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀνέλπιστον γενομένην ἐπανορθῶσαι προθυμοῦμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ νεωστὶ ἀφικομένῃ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων πρεσβείᾳ πολλὴν ὕβρις ἐχούσῃ καὶ αὐθάδειαν ἀχθόμενοι. [p. 204]

[45.1] The Romans, resenting this defeat, for which they blamed Postumius, one of the consuls, resolved to make an expedition against the territory of the Sabines speedily with all their forces; they were not only eager to retrieve the shameful and unexpected defeat they had received, but were also angered at the very insolent and haughty embassy that had recently come to them from the enemy.

[2] ὥς γὰρ δὴ κρατοῦντες ἤδη καὶ διχα πόνου τὴν Ῥώμην αἰρήσοντες αὐτῶν μὴ βουλομένων τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, Ταρκυνίους τε διδόναι τὴν κάθοδον ἐκέλευον καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας σφίσι παραχωρεῖν πολιτείαν τε καταστήσασθαι καὶ νόμους, οὓς ἂν οἱ κεκρατηκότες τάξωσιν. ἀποκρινάμενοι δὲ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπαγγέλλειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κελεύουσι Σαβίνους ὅπλα τ' ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰς πόλεις ὑπηκόους τ' εἶναι πάλιν, ὥσπερ πρότερον ἦσαν, ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἡκεῖν τότε περὶ ὧν ἡδίκησαν ἢ κατέβλαψαν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς πρότερον εἰσβολαῖς δεησομένους, εἰ βούλονται τυχεῖν εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶσι τὰ κελευόμενα προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἥξοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν 17 οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

[2] For, as if already victorious and having it in their power to take Rome without any trouble if the Romans refused to do as they commanded, they had ordered them to grant a return to the Tarquinii, to yield the leadership to the Sabines, and to establish such a form of government and such laws as the conquerors should prescribe. Replying to the ambassadors, they bade them report to their general council that the Romans commanded the Sabines to lay down their arms, to deliver up their cities to them, and to be subject to them once more as they had been before, and after they had complied with these demands, then to come and stand trial for the injuries and damage they had done them in their former incursions, if they desired to obtain peace and friendship: and in case they refused to carry out these orders, they might expect to see the war soon brought home to their cities.

[3] τοιαῦτα ἐπιταχθέντες τε καὶ ἐπιτάξαντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἐξηρτύσαντο τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις, Σαβίνοι τε τὴν κρατίστην ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως νεότητα ὅπλοις ἐκπρεπέσι κεκοσμημένην ἐπαγόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν τε κατὰ πόλιν

καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀναλαβόντες, ἱκανοὺς οἰόμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν γεγονότας καὶ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἐρύματα φυλάττειν.

[3] Such demands having been given and received, both sides equipped themselves with everything necessary for the war and led out their forces. The Sabines brought the flower of their youth out of every city armed with splendid weapons; and the Romans drew out all their forces not only from the city but also from the fortresses, looking upon those above the military age and the multitude of domestic servants as a sufficient guard for both the city and the fortresses in the country.

[4] καὶ συνελθόντες ὁμόσε τίθενται τοὺς χάρακας [p. 205] ἀμφοτέροι μικρὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀλλήλων Ἡρήτου πόλεως, ἥ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἐστὶν ἔθνους, οὐ πρόσω.

[4] And the two armies, approaching each other, pitched their camps a little distance apart near the city of eretum, which belongs to the Sabine nation.

[1] ὡς δὲ συνεῖδον ἀμφοτέροι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πράγματα, τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν στρατοπέδων εἰκάσαντες καὶ παρ' αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες, τοῖς μὲν Σαβίνοις θάρσος παρέστη καὶ καταφρόνησις τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ὀλιγότητος, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δέος πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων πλῆθος: ἐθάρρησαν δὲ καὶ οὐ μικρὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἔλαβον ἄλλων τε σημείων γενομένων σφίσι θεοπέμπτων καὶ δὴ καὶ τελευταίου φάσματος, ὅτε παρατάττεσθαι ἔμελλον, τοιοῦδε.

[46.1] When each side observed the enemy's condition, of which they judged by the size of the camps and the information given by prisoners, the Sabines were inspired with confidence and felt contempt for the small numbers of the enemy, while the Romans were seized with fear by reason of the multitude of their opponents. But they took courage and entertained no small hopes of victory because of various omens sent to them by the gods, and particularly from a final portent which they saw when they were about to array themselves for battle.

[2] ἐκ τῶν καταπεπηγμένων παρὰ ταῖς σκηναῖς ὑσῶν: ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα βέλη Ῥωμαίων, ἃ συνιόντες εἰς χεῖρας ἐξακοντίζουσι, ξύλα προμήκη τε καὶ χειροπλήθη τριῶν οὐχ ἧττον ποδῶν σιδηροῦς ὀβελίσκους ἔχοντα προὔχοντας κατ' εὐθείαν ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων, μετρίοις ἀκοντίοις ἴσα σὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ: ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὑσῶν περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν ὀβελίσκων φλόγες ἀνήπτοντο, καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸ σέλας ἦν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ

[2] It was as follows: From the javelins that were fixed in the ground beside their tents (these javelins are Roman weapons which they hurl and having pointed iron heads, not less than three feet in length, projecting straight forward from one end, and with the iron they are as long as spears of

moderate length) — from these javelins flames issued forth round the tips of the heads and the glare extended through the whole camp like that of torches and lasted a great part of the night.

[3] λαμπάδων, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἐκ τούτου κατέλαβον τοῦ φάσματος, ὥσπερ οἱ τερατοσκόποι ἀπέφαινον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις συμβαλεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν, ὅτι νίκην αὐτοῖς ταχέϊαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σημαίνει τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαν εἴκει τῷ πυρὶ καὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διαφθείρεται. τοῦτο δ' ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀμυντηρίων αὐτοῖς ὄπλων ἀνήφθη, μετὰ [p. 206] πολλοῦ θάρρους προήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ συρράξαντες τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἐμάχοντο πολλαπλασίοις ἐλάττους ἐν τῷ θαρρεῖν τὸ πιστὸν ἔχοντες: καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία δὲ σὺν τῷ φιλοπόνῳ πολλὴ αὐτοῖς παροῦσα παντὸς ἐπήγετο 18 δεινοῦ καταφρονεῖν.

[3] From this portent they concluded, as the interpreters of prodigies informed them and as was not difficult for anyone to conjecture, that Heaven was portending to them a speedy and brilliant victory, because, as we know, everything yields to fire and there is nothing that is not consumed by it. And inasmuch as this fire issued from defensive weapons, they came out with great boldness from their camp, and engaging the Sabines, fought, few in number, with enemies many times superior, placing their reliance in their own good courage. Besides, their long experience joined to their willingness to undergo toil encouraged them to despise every danger.

[4] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ποστόμιος τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων κέρας ἀναλύσασθαι τὴν προτέρα ἦτταν προθυμούμενος τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξωθεῖ κέρας πρόνοϊαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς, ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν ποιοῦμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μεμνηότες καὶ θανατῶντες εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους ῥιπτῶν ἑαυτὸν: ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ σὺν τῷ Μενηνίῳ θάτερον ἔχοντες κέρας κάμνοντες ἤδη καὶ ἐξωθούμενοι τῆς στάσεως, ὡς ἔμαθον, ὅτι νικῶσι τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ τοῦ Ποστομίου, θαρρήσαντες εἰς ἀντίπαλα χωροῦσι: καὶ γίνεται τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἐκκλινάντων τροπὴ παντελής.

[4] First, then, Postumius, who commanded the left wing, desiring to repair his former defeat, forced back the enemy's right, taking no thought for his own life in comparison with gaining the victory, but, like those who are mad and court death, hurling himself into the midst of his enemies. Then those also with Menenius on the other wing, though they were already in distress and being forced to give ground, when they found that the forces under Postumius were victorious over those who confronted them, took courage and advanced against the enemy. And now, as both their wings gave way, the Sabines were utterly routed.

[5] οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι ταχθέντες ἐπιλωμένων τῶν ἄκρων ἔτι παρέμειναν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξελαυνούσης κατὰ τέλη βιασθέντες ἀνεστάλσαν. φυγῆς δὲ πάντων γενομένης ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρακας

ἀκολουθήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ συνεισπεσόντες ἀμφοτέρα λαμβάνουσι αὐτῶν τὰ ἐρύματα. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πανσυδὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων διαφθαρῆναι στρατὸν ἢ τε νύξ αἰτία ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῖς συμβῆναι: ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ [p. 207] φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐσώζοντο δι' ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τόπων.

[5] For not even those who were posted in the centre of the line, when once their flanks were left bare, stood their ground any longer, but being hard pressed by the Roman horse that charged them in separate troops, they were driven back. And when they all fled toward their entrenchments, the Romans pursued them, and entering with them, captured both camps. All that saved the army of the enemy from being totally destroyed was that night came on and their defeat happened in their own land. For those who fled got safely home more easily because of their familiarity with the country.

[1] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ καύσαντες τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νεκροὺς οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ τὰ σκῦλα συλλέξαντες: ἐάλω δὲ τινα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώντων ῥιπτούντων ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τὰ ὄπλα: ἄνδρας τ' αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντες, οὓς ἔλαβον οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ χρήματα, χωρὶς ὧν οἱ στρατιῶται διήρπασαν: τούτων δὲ διαπραθέντων δημοσίᾳ τὰς κατ' ἄνδρα γενομένας εἰσφοράς, αἷς ἔστειλαν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἅπαντες ἐκομίσαντο: καὶ ἀπήεσαν ἐπ'

[47.1] The next day the consuls, after burning their own dead, gathered up the spoils (there were even found some arms belonging to the living, which they had thrown away in their flight) and carried off the captives, whom they had taken in considerable numbers, and the booty, in addition to the plunder taken by the soldiers. This booty having been sold at public auction, all the citizens received back the amount of the contributions which they had severally paid for the equipment of the expedition. Thus the consuls, having gained a most glorious victory, returned home.

[2] οἴκου λαμπροτάτην ἀνηρημένοι νικην. καὶ θριάμβοις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκοσμοῦντο ἀμφοτέροι, Μενήνιος μὲν τῷ μείζονι καὶ τιμιωτέρῳ, παρεμβεβηκῶς ἐφ' ἄρματιος δίφρου βασιλικοῦ, Ποστόμιος δὲ τῷ ἐλάσσονι καὶ ὑποδεεστέρῳ, ὃν καλοῦσιν οὐαστὴν, παρεγκλίναντες τοῦνομα Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπάρχον εἰς τὰσαφές. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον εὐαστῆς οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐλέγετο, ὥς αὐτός τ' εἰκάζω καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς εὕρισκω γραφαῖς ἐπιχωρίοις φερόμενον.

[2] They were both honoured with triumphs by the senate, Menenius with the greater and more honourable kind, entering the city in a royal chariot, and Postumius with the lesser and inferior triumph which they call ouastês or “ovation,” perverting the name, which is Greek, to an unintelligible form. For it was originally called euastês, from what actually took place, according to both my own conjecture and what I find stated in many native histories, the senate, as Licinius relates,

[3] τότε δὲ πρῶτον, ὡς Λικίνιος ἱστορεῖ, τοῦτον ἐξευρούσης τὸν θρίαμβον τῆς βουλῆς. διαφέρει δὲ θατέρου πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι πεζὸς εἰσέρχεται μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς προηγούμενος ὁ τὸν οὐαστὴν κατὰγων [p. 208] θρίαμβον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἄρματος ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος: ἔπειθ' ὅτι οὐ τὴν ποικίλην καὶ χρυσοσημὸν ἀμφιέννυται στολὴν, ἣ κοσμεῖται ὁ ἕτερος, οὐδὲ τὸν χρυσοῦν ἔχει στέφανον, ἀλλὰ περιπόρφυρον λευκὴν περιβέβληται τήβενναν, τὸ ἐπιχώριον τῶν ὑπάτων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν φόρημα, στέφανον δ' ἐπίκειται δάφνης, μεμειώται δὲ καὶ τοῦ σκῆπτρου τῇ φορήσει παρὰ τὸν ἕτερον,

[3] having then first introduced this sort of triumph. It differs from the other, first, in this, that the general who triumphs in the manner called the ovation enters the city on foot, followed by the army, and not in a chariot like the other; and, in the next place, because he does not don the embroidered robe decorated with gold, with which the other is adorned, nor does he have the golden crown, but is clad in a white toga bordered with purple, the native dress of the consuls and praetors, and wears a crown of laurel; he is also inferior to the other in not holding a sceptre, but everything else is the same.

[4] τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα ταῦτ' ἔχει. αἴτιον δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ποστομίῳ τῆς ἐλάττονος τιμῆς ἐγένετο, καίτοι λαμπροτάτῳ πάντων γενομένῳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ πρότερον παῖσμα ἐν τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ μέγα καὶ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ γενόμενον, ἐξ οὗ τῆς τε δυνάμεως πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου ἐδέησε σὺν τοῖς περιλειφθεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αἰχμάλωτος γενέσθαι.

[4] The reason why this inferior honour was decreed to Postumius, though he had distinguished himself more than any man in the last engagement, was the severe and shameful defeat he had suffered earlier, in the sortie he made against the enemy, in which he not only lost many of his men, but narrowly escaped being taken prisoner himself together with the troops that had survived that rout.

[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ἐπικαλούμενος νοσήσας ἐτελεύτα, κράτιστος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν νομισθεὶς. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα, δι' ἃ θαυμάζεσθαι τε καὶ μνήμης τυγχάνειν ἄξιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν δεομαι λέγειν: ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε τὰ πολλὰ εἴρηται: ὁ δ' ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγκωμίων θαυμασιώτατον καὶ οὕτω τέτευχε λόγου, τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν μὴ παρελθεῖν, παντὸς μάλιστα νομίζων τοῦτο προσήκειν τοῖς γράφουσιν ἱστορίας, μὴ μόνον τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐπισήμων ἡγεμόνων [p. 209] διεξιέναι, μηδ' εἴ τι πολίτευμα καλὸν καὶ σωτήριον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπεδείξαντο ἐξευρόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν, εἰ μέτριοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ μένοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι διετέλεσαν, ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.

[48.1] In the consulship of these men Publius Valerius, surnamed Publicola, fell sick and died, a man esteemed superior to all the Romans of his time in every virtue. I need not relate all the achievements of this man which he deserves to be both admired and remembered, because most of them have been already narrated in the beginning of this Book; but I think I should not omit one thing which most deserves admiration of all that can be said in his praise and has not yet been mentioned. For I look upon it as the greatest duty of the historian not only to relate the military achievements of illustrious generals and any excellent and salutary measures that they have devised and put into practice for the benefit of their states, but also to note their private lives, whether they have lived with moderation and self-control and in strict adherence to the traditions of their country.

[2] ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὁ ἀνὴρ συγκαταλύσας μὲν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τέτταρσι πατρικίοις καὶ δημεύσας αὐτῶν τὰς ὑπάρξεις, τετράκις δὲ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας γενόμενος κύριος, μεγίστους δὲ δύο νικήσας πολέμους καὶ θριάμβους καταγαγὼν ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνους, τὸν δὲ δεῦτερον ἀπὸ Σαβίνων, τοιαύτας ἀφορμὰς χρηματισμοῦ λαβὼν, ἃς οὐδεὶς ἂν ὡς αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀδίκου διεβάλεν, οὐχ ἑάλω τῇ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταδουλουμένῃ καὶ ἀσχημονεῖν ἀναγκαζούσῃ φιλοχρηματίᾳ: ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῇ μικρᾷ καὶ πατροπαραδότῳ διέμενεν οὐσίᾳ σώφρονα καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας κρεῖττονα βίον ζῶν, καὶ παῖδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρήμασιν ἐθρέψατο τοῦ γένους ἀξίους, καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησεν ἅπασιν, ὅτι πλούσιός ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ κεκτημένος, ἀλλ’ ὁ μικρῶν δεόμενος.

[2] This man, then, though he had been one of the first four patricians who expelled the kings and confiscated their fortunes, though he had been invested four times with the consular power, had been victorious in two wars to greatest consequence and celebrated triumphs for both — the first time for his victory over the Tyrrhenian nation and the second time for that over the Sabines — and though he had such opportunities for amassing riches, which none could have traduced as shameful and wrong, nevertheless was not overcome by avarice, the vice which enslaves all men and forces them to act unworthily; but he continued to live on the small estate he had inherited from his ancestors, leading a life of self-control and frugality superior to every desire, and with his small means he brought up his children in a manner worthy of their birth, making it plain to all men that he is rich, not who possesses many things, but who requires few.

[3] πίστις δ’ ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτος τῆς αὐταρκειᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἦν ἀπεδείξατο παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἢ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ φανεῖσα ἀπορία. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ εἰς τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταφήν, ὣν ἀνδρὶ προσήκει τηλικούτῳ τυχεῖν, ἀρκοῦντα ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι κατέλιπεν: ἀλλ’ ἐμέλλησαν αὐτὸν οἱ συγγενεῖς φαύλως πως καὶ ὡς ἓνα [p.

210] τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἔκκομίσαντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καίειν τε καὶ θάπτειν: ἡ μέντοι βουλή μαθοῦσα ὡς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἀπόρως, ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐψηφίσαστο χρημάτων ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τὰς εἰς τὴν ταφὴν δαπάνας, καὶ χωρίον, ἔνθα ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη, μόνῳ τῶν μέχρις ἐμοῦ γενομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει σύνεγγυς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέδειξεν ὑπ' Οὐελίας: καὶ ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ἐνθάπτεσθαι ἀνειμένον, παντὸς πλούτου καὶ πάσης βασιλείας κρεῖττον ἀγαθόν, εἴ τις μὴ ταῖς ἐπονειδίστοις ἡδοναῖς μετρεῖ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ καλῷ.

[3] A sure and incontestable proof of the frugality he had shown during his whole lifetime was the poverty that was revealed after his death. For in his whole estate he did not leave enough even to provide for his funeral and burial in such a manner as became a man of his dignity, but his relations were intending to carry his body out of the city in a shabby manner, and as one would that of an ordinary man, to be burned and buried. The senate, however, learning how impoverished they were, decreed that the expenses of his burial should be defrayed from the public treasury, and appointed a place in the city near the Forum, at the foot of the Velia, where his body was burned and buried, an honour paid to him alone of all the illustrious men down to my time. This place is, as it were, sacred and dedicated to his posterity as a place of burial, an advantage greater than any wealth or royalty, if one measures happiness, not by shameful pleasures, but by the standard of honour.

[4] Οὐαλέριος μὲν δὴ Ποπλικόλας οὐθὲν ἔξω τῆς εἰς τὰναγκαῖα δαπάνης κτήσασθαι προελόμενος, ὡς τῶν πολυχρημάτων τις βασιλέων λαμπραῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκοσμήθη ταφαῖς: καὶ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι συνειπάμεναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον ἀποθέσει χρυσοῦ τε καὶ πορφύρας τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον, ὡς ἔθος αὐταῖς ἐστι πενθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιῶς τῶν συγγενῶν κήδεσι.

[4] Thus Valerius Publicola, who had aimed at the acquisition of nothing more than wanted supply his necessary wants, was honoured by his country with a splendid funeral, like one of the richest kings. And all the Roman matrons with one consent, mourned for him during a whole year, as they had done for Junius Brutus, by laying aside both their gold and purple; for thus it is the custom for them to mourn after the funeral rites of their nearest relations.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὕπατοι καθίστανται Σπόριος Κάσσιος Οὐκελλῖνος ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ Ὀπίτωρ Οὐεργίνιος Τρικᾶτος. ἐφ' ὧν ὁ πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμος ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν ὑπᾶτων Σπορίου κατελύθη μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Κυριτῶν πόλεως: ἐξ ἧς ἀπέθανον μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς [p. 211] μυρίους καὶ τριακοσίους Σαβίνων, αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τετρακισχιλίων.

[49.1] The next year Spurius Cassius, surnamed Vecellinus, and Opiter Verginius Tricostus were appointed consuls. In their consulship the war with

the Sabines was ended by one of them, Spurius, after a hard battle fought near the city of Cures; in this battle about 10,300 Sabines were killed and nearly 4000 taken prisoners.

[2] ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ τελευταία πληγέντες οἱ Σαβῖνοι πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὕπατον διαλεξομένους περὶ φιλίας. ἀναβαλλομένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Κασσίου, παραγεννηθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην σὺν πολλῇ δεήσει μόλις εὕρισκονται διαλλαγὰς καὶ κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου, οἷόν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ δόντες, ὅσον ἐπέταξε Κάσσιος καὶ ἀργυρίον τι τακτὸν κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ γῆς πεφυτευμένης πλέθρα μύρια.

[2] Overwhelmed by this final misfortune, the Sabines sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace. Then, upon being referred to the senate by Cassius, they came to Rome, and after many entreaties obtained with difficulty a reconciliation and termination of the war by giving, not only as much grain to the army as Cassius ordered, but also a certain sum of money per man and ten thousand acres of land under cultivation.

[3] Σπόριος μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε κατήγαγεν: ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐεργίνιος ἐπὶ τὴν Καμαριναίων πόλιν ἐστράτευσεν μὲν ἀφεστῶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων συμμαχίας κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, ἄγων τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς, φράσας δ' οὐδενί, ποῦ μέλλει πορεύεσθαι καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας τὴν ὁδόν, ἵνα ἀπαρασκεύοις καὶ μὴ

[3] Spurius Cassius celebrated a triumph for his victory in this war; but the other consul, Verginius, led an expedition against the city of Cameria, which had withdrawn from its alliance with the Romans during this war. He took half the other army with him, telling no one whither he was marching, and covered the distance during the night, in order that he might fall upon the inhabitants while they were unprepared and unapprised of his approach; and so it fell out.

[4] προειδόσι τὴν ἔφοδον τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπιθῆται: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. γενόμενος γὰρ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ἅπαντας ἔλαθεν ἄρτι τῆς ἡμέρας διαυγούσης, καὶ πρὶν ἢ καταστρατοπεδεύεσθαι κριοὺς προσέφερε καὶ κλίμακας καὶ πάσῃ πολιορκίας ἐχρήτο ἰδέα. τῶν δὲ Καμαριναίων καταπλαγέντων τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας καὶ δέχεσθαι τὸν ὕπατον ἀξιούντων, τῶν δ' ἀμύνεσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μὴ παρίεναι τοὺς πολεμίους εἴσω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ταραπτόμενόν [p. 212] τε καὶ στασιάζον αὐτῶν ἐπεκράτει, τὰς πύλας ἐκκόψας καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα τῶν ἐρυμάτων κλίμαξι καταλαβόμενος κατὰ κράτος εἰλήφει τὴν πόλιν. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα φέρειν τε καὶ

[4] For he was already close to their walls, without having been discovered by anybody, just as day was breaking; and before encamping he brought up battering-rams and scaling ladders, and made use of every device used in

sieges. The Camerini were astounded at his sudden arrival and some of them thought they ought to open the gates and receive the consul, while others insisted upon defending themselves with all their power and not permitting the enemy to enter the city; and while this confusion and dissension prevailed, the consul, having broken down the gates and scaled the lowest parts of the ramparts by means of ladders, took the city by storm.

[5] ἄγειν τὰ χρήματα τοῖς σφετέροις ἐφῆκε: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς συναχθῆναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς ἓν χωρίον κελεύσας τοὺς μὲν βουλευσάντας τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ὄχλον ἀπέδοτο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατέσκαψεν.

[5] That day and the following night he permitted his men to pillage the town; but the next day he ordered the prisoners to be brought together in one place, and having put to death all the authors of the revolt, he sold the rest of the people and razed the city.

[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Νικέας Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Σμύρου, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν Πόστομος Κομίνιος καὶ Τίτος Λάρκιος: ἐφ' ὧν ἀπέστησαν αἱ Λατίνων πόλεις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας, Ὀκταουῖου Μαιμιλίου τοῦ κηδεύσαντος Ταρκυνίῳ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως, τοὺς μὲν ὑποσχέσεσι δώρων, τοὺς δὲ δεήσεσι πείσαντος συμπρᾶξαι τοῖς

[50.1] In the seventieth Olympiad (the one in which Niceas of Opus in Locris won the foot-race), Smyrus being archon at Athens, Postumus Cominius and Titus Larcius took over the consulship. In their year of office the cities of the Latins withdrew from the friendship of the Romans, Octavius Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, having prevailed upon the most prominent men of every city, partly by promises of gifts and partly by entreaties, to assist in restoring the exiles.

[2] φυγάσι τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ γίνεται κοινὴ τῶν συναγομένων εἰς Φερεντῖνον ἀγορὰ πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως: ταῦτη γὰρ οὐκ ἐπήγγειλαν μόνῃ παρεῖναι, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν: ἐν ᾗ ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν ἔδει τὰς πόλεις περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατηγούς ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ

[2] And a general assembly was held of all the cities that were wont to meet at Ferentinum except Rome (for this was the only city they had not notified as usual to be present), at which the cities were to give their votes concerning war, to choose generals, and to consider the other preparations.

[3] περὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευσασθαι παρασκευῶν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτῆς Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός εἰς τὰς ὁμόρους πόλεις δεησόμενος αὐτῶν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν: [p. 213] ἐλήστευον γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τινες τοὺς ὁμοτέρμονας ἀγροὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀποστελλόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐβλπτον: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν κοινὴν σύνοδον ἔγνω τῶν πόλεων

γιγνομένην ἐπὶ τῷ διενεγκεῖν ἀπάσας τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ψῆφον, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον καὶ λόγον αἰτησάμενος παρὰ τῶν προέδρων ἔλεξεν, ὅτι πεμφθεῖη μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς τὰς ἀποστελλούσας τὰ ληστήρια πόλεις δεησόμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνόχους τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἐξευρούσας ἐκδοῦναι σφίσι τιμωρίας ὑφέζοντας κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥρισαν, ὅτε συνετίθεντο τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀξιώσων φυλάττειν, ἵνα μὴδὲν ἀμάρτημα γένηται κοινόν, ὃ διαστήσει τὴν τε φιλίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν.

[3] Now it happened that at this time Marcus valerius, a man of consular rank, had been sent as ambassador by the Romans to the neighbouring cities to ask them not to begin any revolt; for some of their people sent out by the men in power were plundering the neighbouring fields and doing great injury to the Roman husbandmen. This man, upon learning that the general assembly of the cities was being held so that all might give their votes concerning the war, came to the assembly; and requesting of the presidents leave to speak, he said that he had been sent as ambassador by the commonwealth to the cities that were sending out the bands of robbers, to ask of them that they would seek out the men who were guilty of these wrongs and deliver them up to be punished according to the provision which they had laid down in the treaty when they entered into their league of friendship, and also to demand that they take care for the future that no fresh offence should occur to disrupt their friendship and kinship.

[4] ὁρῶν δ' ἀπάσας συνεληλυθυίας τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμῳ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων καταλαμβανόμενος, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις μόνοις οὐ παρήγγειλαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεῖναι, γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀπάσας παρεῖναι τὰς πόλεις ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀγοραῖς, ὅσαι τοῦ Λατίνων εἰσὶ γένους, παραγγειλάντων αὐταῖς τῶν προέδρων, θαυμάζειν, τί δήποτε παθόντες ἢ τί κατηγορεῖν ἔχοντες τῆς πόλεως οἱ σύεδροι μόνην οὐ παρέλαβον ἐκείνην ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον, ἣν πρῶτην τε πασῶν ἔδει παρεῖναι καὶ πρῶτην ἐρωτᾶσθαι γνώμην ἡγεμονίαν ἔχουσαν τοῦ ἔθνους, ἧς ἔτυχε παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκόντων ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν. [p. 214]

[4] But, observing that all the cities had met together in order to declare war against the Romans — a purpose which he recognized, not only from many other evidences, but particularly because the Romans were the only persons they had not notified to be present at the assembly, although it was stipulated in the treaty that all the cities of the Latin race should be represented at the general assemblies when summoned by the presidents — he said he wondered what provocation or what cause of complaint against the commonwealth had caused the deputies to omit Rome from the cities they had invited to the assembly, when she ought to have been the first of all to be represented and the first to be asked her opinion, inasmuch as she held the leadership of the nation, which she had received from them with their own consent in return for

many great benefits she had conferred upon them.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀρικηνοὶ τε λόγον αἰτησάμενοι κατηγοροῦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγον σφίσιν ὄντες συγγενεῖς καὶ παρέσχον ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀπάσας τὰς Λατίνων πόλεις ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι: καὶ Ταρκύνιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνανεούμενος τὰς γενομένας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πόλεων συνθήκας περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας, ἥξιον τὰς πόλεις ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς ὄρκους, κατὰγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: Καμαριναίων τε καὶ Φιδηναίων φυγάδες, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς πατρίδος, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀνδραποδισμόν καὶ τὴν κατασκαφὴν ὀδυρόμενοι, παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

[51.1] Following him, the Aricians, having asked leave to speak, accused the Romans of having, though kinsmen, brought upon them the Tyrrhenian war and of having caused all the Latin cities, as far as lay in their power, to be deprived of their liberty by the Tyrrhenians. And King Tarquinius, renewing the treaty of friendship and alliance that he had made with the general council of their cities, asked those cities to fulfil their oaths and restore him to the sovereignty. The exiles also from Fidenae and Cameria, the former lamenting the taking of their city and their own banishment from it, and the latter the enslaving of their countrymen and the razing of their city, exhorted them to declare war.

[2] τελευταῖος δὲ πάντων ὁ Ταρκυνίου κηδεστῆς Μამίλιος μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις δυνάμενος ἀναστὰς μακρὰν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν. ἀπολογουμένου δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα τοῦ Οὐαλερίου καὶ δοκοῦντος περιεῖναι τοῖς δικαίοις, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς τὰ κατηγορήματα καὶ τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀναλῶσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπέθηκαν τῇ βουλῇ τέλος: τῇ δὲ κατόπιν οὐκέτι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρόεδροι προαγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον, ἀλλὰ Ταρκυνίῳ τε καὶ Μამιλίῳ καὶ Ἀρικηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν ἀποδόντες λόγον, ἐπειδὴ πάντων διήκουσαν ψηφίζονται λελῦσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Οὐαλέριον πρέσβεσιν ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν, ὅτι τὸ συγγενὲς ἐκείνων τοῖς ἀδικήμασι λελυκότων βουλευσονται [p. 215] κατὰ σχολὴν ὄντινα τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι χρή.

[2] Last of all, Tarquinius' son-in-law, Mamilius, a man most powerful at that time among the Latins, rose up and inveighed against the Romans in a long speech. And, Valerius answering all his accusations and seeming to have the advantage in the justice of his cause, the deputies spent that day in hearing the accusations and the defences without reaching any conclusion to their deliberations. But on the following day the presidents would no longer admit the Roman ambassadors to the assembly, but gave a hearing to Tarquinius, Mamilius, the Arician, and all the others who wished to make charges against the Romans, and after hearing them all through, they voted that the treaty had been dissolved by the Romans, and gave this answer to the embassy of

Valerius: that inasmuch as the Romans had by their acts of injustice dissolved the ties of kinship between them, they would consider at leisure in what manner they ought to punish them.

[3] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο χρόνῳ, συνωμοσία κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο δούλων συχνῶν συνειπαμένων τὰς τ' ἄκρας καταλαβέσθαι καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐμπρηῆσαι τόπους τὴν πόλιν. μηνύσεως δὲ γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδόντων αἱ πύλαι τ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων εὐθύς ἐκλείοντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐρύματα τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων κατειληπτοί: καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συλληφθέντες, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀναχθέντες, ὅσους ἀπέφαινον οἱ μηνυταὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς συνωμοσίας, μάλιστα καὶ βασιάνοις αἰκισθέντες ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν ἅπαντες. ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπράχθη τῶν ὑπάτων.

[3] While this was going on, a conspiracy was formed against the state, numerous slaves having agreed together to seize the heights and to set fire to the city in many places. But, information being given by their accomplices, the gates were immediately closed by the consuls and all the strong places in the city were occupied by the knights. And straightway all those whom the informers declared to have been concerned in the conspiracy were either seized in their houses or brought in from the country, and after being scourged and tortured they were all crucified. These were the events of this consulship.

[1] Σερουιλίου δὲ Σολπικίου Καμερινοῦ καὶ Μανίου Τυλλίου Λόγγου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντων Φιδηναίων τινὲς παρὰ Ταρκυνίων στρατιώτας μεταπεμφάμενοι τὴν ἄκραν καταλαμβάνονται, καὶ τῶν μὴ ταῦτὰ προαιρουμένων οὓς μὲν διαφθειραντες, οὓς δ' ἐξέλασαντες, ἀφιστᾶσιν αὐθις ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὴν πόλιν: πρεσβείας τε Ῥωμαικῆς ἀφικομένης ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, κωλυθέντες δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως,

[52.1] Servius Sulpicius Camerinus and Manius Tullius Longus having taken over the consulship, some of the Fidenates, after sending for soldiers from the Tarquinii, took possession of the citadel at Fidenae, and putting to death some of those who were not of the same mind and banishing others, caused the city to revolt again from the Romans. And when a Roman embassy arrived, they were inclined to treat the men like enemies, but being hindered by the elders from doing so, they drove them out of the city, refusing either to listen to them or to say anything to them.

[2] οὐτε δοῦναι λόγον ἀξιώσαντες οὔτε λαβεῖν. ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μαθοῦσα πρὸς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν πρόθυμος ἦν, πυνθανομένη μὴ πᾶσιν εἶναι τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν [p. 216] προβούλων κατὰ νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀναδύεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἀξιοῦντας μένειν τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν διαλελυσθαι λεγόντων: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν Φιδήνῃ τὸν ἕτερον ἐψηφίσαντο τῶν ὑπάτων Μάνιον Τύλλιον ἀποστεῖλαι στρατιάν ἄγοντα πολλήν: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν

χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδῆωσε κατὰ πολλήν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδῆωσε κατὰ πολλήν ἄδειαν οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένου, πλησίον τοῦ τείχους καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐφύλαττε μήτ' ἀγορὰς εἰσάγεσθαι τοῖς ἔνδον μήτε ὄπλα 19 μήτε ἄλλην βοήθειαν μηδεμίαν.

[2] The Roman senate, being informed of this, did not desire as yet to make war upon the whole nation of the Latins, because they understood that they did not all approve of the resolutions taken by the deputies in the assembly, but that the common people in every city shrank from the war, and that those who demanded that the treaty should remain in force outnumbered those who declared it had been dissolved. But they voted to send one of the consuls, Manius Tullius, against the Fidenates with a large army; and he, having laid waste their country quite unmolested, as none offered to defend it, encamped near the walls and placed guards to prevent the inhabitants from receiving provisions, arms, or any other assistance.

[3] Φιδιναῖοι μὲν δὴ τειχήρεις ἐγένοντο καὶ πρὸς τὰς Λατίνων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πόλεις δεόμενοι ταχείας συμμαχίας· οἱ δὲ προεστηκότες τῶν Λατίνων, ἀγορὰν ποιησάμενοι τῶν πόλεων, Ταρκυνίοις τε αὖθις ἀποδόντες λόγον καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἤκουσιν, ἐκάλουν τοὺς συνέδρους εἰς ἀπόφασιν γνώμης, τίνα χρή πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τρόπον, ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀρξάμενοι.

[3] The Fidenates, being thus shut up within their walls, sent ambassadors to the cities of the Latins to ask for prompt assistance; whereupon the presidents of the Latins, holding an assembly of the cities and again giving leave to the Tarquinii and to the ambassadors from the besieged to speak, called upon the deputies, beginning with the oldest and the most distinguished, to give their opinion concerning the best way to make war against the Romans.

[4] πολλῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων λόγων καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου πρῶτον, εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν ἐπικυρῶσαι, οἱ μὲν ταραχωδέστεροι τῶν συνέδρων τὸν βασιλέα κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠξιοῦν καὶ Φιδιναίοις βοηθεῖν παρήνουν· ἐν ἡγεμονίαις μὲν βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι στρατιωτικαῖς καὶ πραγμάτων ἐφάπασθαι μεγάλων, μάλιστα δ' οἱ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐρῶντες, ἦν συγκατασκευάσειν αὐτοῖς Ταρκυνίους ἐπείθοντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησαμένους. οἱ δ' εὐπορώτατοι τε καὶ ἐπικέστοι μένειν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἠξιοῦν τὰς πόλεις καὶ μὴ προχειρῶς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα [p. 217] χωρεῖν· καὶ ἦσαν οὗτοι τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατοι.

[4] And many speeches having been made, first, concerning the war itself, the most turbulent of the deputies were for restoring the king to power and advised assisting the Fidenates, being desirous of getting into positions of command in the armies and engaging in great undertakings; and this was the case particularly with those who yearned for domination and despotic power in their own cities, in gaining which they expected the assistance of the

Tarquinius when these had recovered the sovereignty over the Romans. On the other hand, the men of the greatest means and of the greatest reasonableness maintained that the cities ought to adhere to the treaty and not hastily resort to arms; and these were the most influential with the common people.

[5] ἔξωθούμενοι δὴ πρὸς τῶν παραινούντων τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπισπεύδοντες, τοῦτό γε πείθουσι ποιῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τελευτῶντες, πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς παρακαλέσοντας ἅμα καὶ συμβουλευόντας τῇ πόλει δέχεσθαι Ταρκυνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἐπ' ἁδείᾳ καὶ ἀμνηστία, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅρκια τεμόντας τῇ πατρίῳ κοσμεῖσθαι πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῆς Φιδηναίων πόλεως ἀπανιστάναί τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς σφῶν γε οὐχ ὑπεροφωμένων συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀφαιρεθέντας τὴν πατρίδα: ἔὰν δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ὑπομείνωσι πράττειν, τότε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου:

[5] Those who pressed for war, being thus defeated by the advisers of peace, at last persuaded the assembly to do this much at least — to send ambassadors to Rome to invite and at the same time to advise the commonwealth to receive the Tarquinius and the other exiles upon the terms of impunity and a general amnesty, and after making a covenant concerning these matters, to restore their traditional form of government and to withdraw their army from Fidenae, since the Latins would not permit their kinsmen and friends to be despoiled of their country; and in case the Romans should consent to do neither of these things, they would then deliberate concerning war.

[6] οὐκ ἄγνοοῦντες μὲν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδέτερον ὑπομενοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, προφάσεις δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας βουλόμενοι λαβεῖν εὐπρεπεῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους σφίσι θεραπείαις ἐν τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ καὶ χάρισιν ἐπάξεσθαι νομίζοντες. ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι καὶ χρόνον ὀρίσαντες ἐνιαύσιον Ῥωμαίοις μὲν βουλῆς, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ παρασκευῆς, καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀποδείξαντες, οὓς Ταρκύνιος ἐβούλετο, διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον.

[6] They were not unaware that the Romans would consent to neither of these demands, but they desired to have a specious pretence for their hostility, and they expected to win over their opponents in the meantime by courting them and doing them favours. The deputies, having passed this vote and set a year's time for the Romans in which to deliberate and for themselves to make their preparations, and having appointed such ambassadors as Tarquinius wished, dismissed the assembly.

[1] διασκεδασθέντων δὲ τῶν Λατίνων κατὰ πόλεις, ὀρῶντες οἱ περὶ Μαιμίλιον τε καὶ Ταρκύνιον, ὅτι ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναπεπτώκασιν οἱ πολλοί, τὰς μὲν ὑπερορίους ἐλπίδας ὡς οὐ πάννυ βεβαίας ἀφίεσαν: μεταθέμενοι δὲ τὰς γνώμας τὸν πολιτικὸν καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἐμχανῶντο πόλεμον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναστῆσαι τῆς [p. 218] Ῥώμης, στάσιν εἰσάγοντες τοῖς πένησι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους.

[53.1] When the Latins had dispersed to their several cities, Mamilius and Tarquinius, observing that the enthusiasm of most of the people had flagged, began to abandon their hopes of foreign assistance as not very certain, and changing their minds, they formed plans to stir up in Rome itself a civil war, against which their enemies would not be on their guard, by fomenting a sedition of the poor against the rich.

[2] ἤδη δ' ὑπέκινει τὸ πολὺ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος καὶ ἐνόσει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ ἄπορον καὶ ὑπὸ δανείων ἠναγκασμένον μηκέτι τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἐμετρίαζον ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις οἱ δανεῖζοντες, ἀλλ' εἰς δεσμοὺς τὰ τῶν ὑποχρέων ἀπῆγον σώματα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο.

[2] Already the greater part of the common people were uneasy and disaffected, especially the poor and those who were compelled by their debts no longer to have the best interests of the commonwealth at heart. For the creditors showed no moderation in the use of their power, but haling their debtors to prison, treated them like slaves they had purchased.

[3] ταῦτα δὴ μαθὼν ἔπεμψεν ὁ Ταρκύνιος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Λατίνων ἀνυπόπτους τινὰς ἄνδρας φέροντας χρυσίον, οἳ συνιόντες εἰς λόγους τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ θραυστάτοις, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδόντες αὐτοῖς, τὰ δ', εἰ κατέλθοιεν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, πολλοὺς πάνυ τῶν πολιτῶν διέφθειραν: καὶ γίνεται συνωμοσία κατὰ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρων ἀπόρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων πονηρῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίσιν ὑπαχθέντων, οἳ διὰ τοὺς κολασθέντας ὁμοδούλους ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ δυσμενῶς καὶ ἐπιβούλως διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας, ἀπιστοῦμενοι τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντες ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ σφίσι ἐπιθησόμενοι ποτε εἰ καιρὸν λάβοιεν, ἄσμενοι τοῖς παρακαλοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθέσιν ὑπήκουσαν.

[3] Tarquinius, hearing of this, sent some persons who free from suspicion to Rome with money, in company with the ambassadors of the Latins, and these men, engaging in conversation with the needy and with those who were boldest, and giving them some money and promising more if the Tarquini returned, corrupted a great many of the citizens. And thus a conspiracy was formed against the aristocracy, not only by needy freemen, but also by unprincipled slaves who were beguiled by hopes of freedom. The latter, because of the punishment of their fellow-slaves the year before, were hostile toward their masters and in a mood to plot against them, since they were distrusted by them and suspected of being ready themselves also to attack them at some time if the opportunity should offer; and accordingly they hearkened willingly to those who invited them to make the attempt.

[4] ὁ δὲ τῆς συνωμοσίας αὐτῶν τοιοῦδε ἦν λογισμός. τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔδει φυλάξαντας νύκτ' ἀσέληνον τὰς ἄκρας καὶ τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς

τῆς πόλεως τόπους καταλαβέσθαι: τοὺς δὲ θεράποντας, ὅταν αἰσθωνταί κρατοῦντας ἐκείνους τῶν ἐπικαίρων χωρίων: ἀλαλαγμῷ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐμελλεν [p. 219] αὐτοῖς γενήσεσθαι φανερόν: ἀποκτείνει τοὺς δεσπότας καθεύδοντας, ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένους τὰς τε οἰκίας διαρπάσαι τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς τυράννοις ἀνοῖξει.

[4] The plan of their conspiracy was as follows: The leaders of the undertaking were to wait for a moonless night and then seize the heights and the other strong places in the city; and the slaves, when they perceived that the others were in possession of those places of advantage (which was to be made known to them by raising a shout), were to kill their masters while they slept, and having done this, to plunder the houses of the rich and open the gates to the tyrants.

[1] ἡ δ' ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ σώζουσα τὴν πόλιν καὶ μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων παραμένουσα θεία πρόνοια διεκάλυπεν αὐτῶν τὰ βουλευόμενα μηνύσεως θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων γενομένης Σολπικίῳ, ἣν ἐποίησαν ἀδελφοὶ δύο Ταρκύνιοι, Πόπλιος καὶ Μάρκος, ἐκ Λαυρέντου πόλεως, κορυφαιότατοι τῶν μετασχόντων τῆς συνωμοσίας, ὑπὸ θείας ἀνάγκης βιαζόμενοι.

[54.1] But the divine Providence, which has on every occasion preserved this city and down to my own times continues to watch over it, brought their plans to light, information being given to Sulpicius, one of the consuls, by two brothers, Publius and Marcus Tarquinius of Laurentum, who were among the heads of the conspiracy and were forced by the compulsion of Heaven to reveal it.

[2] ἐφίσταντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὅτε κοιμηθεῖεν, ὅψεις ὀνείρων φοβεραὶ τιμωρίας ἐπαπειλοῦσαι μεγάλας, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο καὶ ἀποσταῖεν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, διώκεσθαι τε ὑπὸ δαιμόνων τινῶν καὶ παῖεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ σκέτλια πάσχειν τελευτῶντες ἐδόκουν: ὕφ' ὧν περίφοβοι καὶ τρόμῳ παλλόμενοι διηγείροντο καὶ οὐδὲ καθεύδειν διὰ τὰ δειμάτα ταῦτ' ἐδύναντο.

[2] For frightful visions haunted them in their dreams whenever they slept, threatening them with dire punishments if they did not desist and abandon their attempt; and at last they thought that they were pursued and beaten by some demons, that their eyes were gouged out, and that they suffered many other cruel torments. In consequence of which they would wake with fear and trembling, and they could not even sleep because of these terrors.

[3] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀποτροπαίοις τισὶ καὶ ἐξακεστηρίοις θυσίαις ἐπειρῶντο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνισταμένους σφίσι δαίμονας: ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἐπὶ μαντείας ἐτράποντο τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀπόρρητον φυλάττοντες, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἀξιοῦντες μαθεῖν, εἰ καιρὸς ἦδη πράττειν, ἃ βούλονται. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι πονηρὰν καὶ

ὀλέθριον [p. 220] βαδίζουσιν ὁδὸν καί, εἰ μὴ μεταθήσονται τὰ βουλευμάτα, τὸν αἰσχιστὸν ἀπολοῦνται τρόπον, δεισάντες μὴ φθάσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι τὰ κρυπτὰ εἰς φῶς ἐξενέγκαντες, αὐτοὶ μηνυταὶ γίνονται πρὸς τὸν ἐνδημοῦντα 20 τῶν ὑπάτων.

[3] At first they endeavoured, by means of certain propitiatory and expiatory sacrifices, to avert the anger of the demons who haunted them; but accomplishing naught, they had recourse to divination, keeping secret the purpose of their enterprise and asking only to know whether it was yet the time to carry out their plan; and when the soothsayer answered that they were travelling an evil and fatal road, and that if they did not change their plans they would perish in the most shameful manner, fearing lest others should anticipate them in revealing the secret, they themselves gave information of the conspiracy to the consul who was then at Rome.

[4] ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος εὖ ποιήσειν, ἐὰν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις ἐπιδείξωνται, τούτους μὲν ἔνδον παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατεῖχεν οὐδενὶ φράσας· τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λατίνων πρέσβεις ἀναβαλλόμενος τέως καὶ παρέλκων τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τότε εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ

[4] He, having commended them and promised them great rewards if they made their actions conform to their words, kept them in his house without telling anyone; and introducing to the senate the ambassadors of the Latins, whom he had hitherto kept putting off, delaying his answer, he now gave them the answer that the senators had decided upon.

[5] δόξαντα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτούς: ἄνδρες φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀπαγγέλλετε ἀπὸντες πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖον ὁ δῆμος οὔτε πρότερον Ταρκυνιήταις ἀξιοῦσιν ἔχαριστο τὴν τῶν τυράννων κάθοδον, οὐθ' ὕστερον ἅπασι Τυρρηνοῖς, οὓς ἦγε βασιλεὺς Πορσίνας, ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένοις καὶ πόλεμον ἐπάγουσιν ἀπάντων πολέμων βαρύτερον ἐνέκλινεν, ἀλλ' ἠνέσχετο γῆν τε κειρομένην ὀρῶν καὶ αὐλὰς ἐμπιπραμένας, τειχῆρης γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ μηθὲν ὧν μὴ βούλεται πράττειν κελευσθεῖς: ὑμῶν τ', ὧ Λατῖνοι, τεθαύμακεν, εἰ ταῦτ' εἰδότες οὐδὲν ἤττον δέχεσθαι τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τὴν Φιδήνης πολιορκίαν λύειν ἐπιτάττοντες ἤκετε [p. 221] καὶ μὴ πειθομένοις πόλεμον ἀπειλεῖτε. παύσασθε δὴ ψυχρὰς καὶ ἀπιθάνους τῆς ἔχθρας παραβαλλόμενοι προφάσεις καὶ εἰ διὰ ταῦτα μέλλετε διαλύειν τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυροῦν, μηθὲν ἔτι ἀναβάλλεσθε.

[5] “Friends and kinsmen,” he said, “go back and report to the Latin nation that the Roman people did not either in the first instance grant the request of the Tarquinienses for the restoration of the tyrants or afterwards yield to all the Tyrrhenians, led by King Porsena, when they interceded in behalf of these same exiles and brought upon the commonwealth the most grievous of all wars, but submitted to seeing their land laid waste, their farm-houses set on

fire, and themselves shut up within their walls for the sake of liberty and of not having to act otherwise than they wished at the command of another. And they wonder, Latins, that though you are aware of this, you have nevertheless come to them with orders to receive the tyrants and to raise the siege of Fidenae, and, if they refuse to obey you, threaten them with war. Cease, then, putting forward these stupid and improbable excuses for enmity; and if for these reasons you are determined to dissolve your ties of kinship and to declare war, defer it no longer.”

[1] ταῦτα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τοῦτο φράζει τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς ἀπορρήτου συνωμοσίας, ἃ παρὰ τῶν μηνυτῶν ἔμαθε: καὶ λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν παρ’ αὐτῶν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ διερευνήσασθαι τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων καὶ τοῦ κολάσαι τοὺς ἐξευρεθέντας, οὐ τὴν αὐθάδη καὶ τυραννικὴν ἦλθεν ὁδόν, ὥς ἕτερος ἂν τις ἐποίησεν εἰς τοσαύτην κατακλεισθεὶς ἀνάγκην: ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐλόγιστόν τε καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῆς καθεστῶσης τότε πολιτείας ἀκόλουθον ἔτραπετο.

[55.1] Having given this answer to the ambassadors and ordered them to be conduct out of the city, he then told the senate everything relating to the secret conspiracy which he had learned from the informers. And receiving from the senate full authority to seek out the participants in the conspiracy and to punish those who should be discovered, he did not pursue the arbitrary and tyrannical course that anyone else might have followed under the like necessity, but resorted to the reasonable and safe course that was consistent with the form of government then established.

[2] οὐτε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συλλαμβανομένους ἄγεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποσπωμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ πατέρων ἐβουλήθη, τὸν τ’ οἶκτον ἐνθυμούμενος, οἷος ἔσται τῶν προσηκόντων ἑκάστοις παρὰ τὸν ἀποσπασμὸν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ δεδοικώς, μὴ τινες ἀπονοηθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τὴν ὁρμὴν λάβωσι, καὶ δι’ αἵματος ἐμφυλίου χωρήσῃ τὸ ἀναγκασθὲν παρανομεῖν: οὐτε δικαστήρια καθίζειν αὐτοῖς ὥετο δεῖν, λογιζόμενος, ὅτι πάντες ἀρνήσονται καὶ οὐθὲν ἔσται βέβαιον τοῖς δικασταῖς τεκμήριον οὐδ’ ἀναμφίλεκτον ἔξω τῆς μηνύσεως, ᾧ πιστεύσαντες θάνατον τῶν πολιτῶν καταψηφιοῦνται:

[2] Thus he was unwilling, in the first place, that citizens should be seized in their own houses and haled thence to death, torn from the embraces of their wives, children and parents, but considered the compassion which the relations of the various culprits would feel at the violent snatching away of those who were closest to them, and also feared that some of the guilty, if they were driven to despair, might rush to arms, and those who were forced to turn to illegal methods might engage in civil bloodshed. Nor, again, did he think he ought to appoint tribunals to try them, since he reasoned that they would deny all guilty and that no certain and incontrovertible proof of it, besides the

information he had just received, could be laid before the judges to which they would give credit and condemn the citizens to death.

[3] καινὸν δὲ τινα [p. 222] τρόπον ἀπάτης ἐξεῦρε τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, δι' οὗ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντες εἰς ἓν χωρίον ἤξουσιν οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἡγεμόνες, ἔπειτ' ἀναμφιλέκτοις ἀλώσονται τεκμηρίοις, ὥστε μηδ' ἀπολογία ἀυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι μηδεμίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις οὐκ εἰς ἔρημον συναχθέντες τόπον οὐδ' ἐν ὀλίγοις μάρτυσιν ἐξελεγχθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ πάντων ὁρώντων γενόμενοι καταφανεῖς ἃ προσήκει πείσονται, ταραχὴ τ' οὐδεμία γενήσεται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπαναστάσεις ἐτέρων, οἷα συμβαίνειν φιλεῖ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἐπισφαλέσι καιροῖς.

[3] But he devised a new method of outwitting those who were stirring up sedition, a method by which, in the first place, the leaders of the conspiracy would of themselves, without any compulsion, meet in one place, and then would be convicted by incontrovertible proofs, so that they would be left without any defence whatever; furthermore, as they would not then be assembled in an unfrequented place nor convicted before a few witnesses only, but their guilt would be made manifest in the Forum before the eyes of all, they would suffer the punishment they deserved, and there would be no disturbance in the city nor uprisings on the part of others, as often happens when the seditious are punished, particularly in dangerous times.

[1] ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συλλαβὼν τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ὀλίγης τοῖς πράγμασι δηλώσεως δέον: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς συλλήψεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱστορίας ἄξιον εἶναι νομίσας ἔκρινα μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὰς ἱστορίας οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἐστὶν εἰς ὠφέλειαν τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τῶν πραχθέντων ἀκοῦσαι, ἀπαιτεῖ δ' ἕκαστος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἱστορῆσαι τῶν γινομένων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πράξεων καὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν πραξάντων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου συγκυρήσαντα, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀνήκοος γενέσθαι τῶν πεφυκότων τοῖς πράγμασι παρακολουθεῖν: τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς καὶ [p. 223] πάνυ ἀναγκαίαν ὑπάρχουσαν ὁρῶν τὴν τούτων μάθησιν, ἵνα παραδείγμασιν ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα χρῆσθαι.

[56.1] Another historian, now, might have thought it sufficient to state merely the gist of this matter, namely, that the consul apprehended those who had taken part in the conspiracy and point them to death, as if the facts needed little explanation. But I, since I regarded the manner also of their apprehension as being worthy of history, decided not to omit it, considering that the readers of histories do not derive sufficient profit from learning the bare outcome of events, but that everyone demands that the causes of events also be related, as well as the ways in which things were done, the motives of those who did them, and the instances of divine intervention, and that they be left uninformed of none of the circumstances that naturally attend those

events. And for statesmen I perceive that the knowledge of these things is absolutely necessary, to the end that they may have precedents for their use in the various situations that arise.

[2] ἦν δ' ὁ τρόπος τῆς συλλήψεως τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ὃν ἐξεῦρεν ὁ ὕπατος, τοιόσδε. τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν λάβωσι τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ τῶν πιστοτάτων φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τῆς πόλεως καταλαβέσθαι τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἔχοντες· τοῖς θ' ἵππεῦσι προεῖπεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτηδαιοτάταις τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκιῶν περιμένειν ἔχουσι ξίφη καὶ ποιεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς κελεύῃ.

[2] Now the manner of apprehending the conspirators devised by the consul was this: From among the senators he selected those who were in the vigour of their age and ordered that, as soon as the signal should be given, they, together with their most trusted friends and relations, should seize the strong places of the city where each of them chanced to dwell; and the knights he commanded to wait, equipped with their swords, in the most convenient houses round the Forum and to do whatever he should command.

[3] Ἰνα δὲ μηθὲν ἐν τῇ συλλήψει τῶν πολιτῶν νεωτερίσωσιν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς πολιτῶν μηδ' ἐμφύλιοι διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν ταύτην γένωνται φόνοι, γράμματα πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς Φιδηναίων τεταγμένον ὕπατον ἐκέλευσεν ἀρχομένης τῆς νυκτὸς ἄγοντα τὸ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ἐν ὀρεινῷ τόπῳ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα.

[3] And to the end that, while he was apprehending the citizens, neither their relations nor any of the other citizens should create a disturbance and that there might be no civil bloodshed by reason of this commotion, he sent a letter to the consul who had been appointed to conduct the siege of Fidenae, bidding him come to the city at the beginning of night with the flower of his army and to encamp upon a height near the walls.

[1] παρασκευασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς μηνύσασιν τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶπε ..., πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἦκειν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἄγοντας οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύουσι τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς ἐκεῖ τάξιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ σύνθημα ληφόμενους, καὶ ἃ δεῖ [p. 224] πράττειν ἐκάστους ἀκούοντας. ἐγίνετο ταῦτα: καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνήχθησαν οἱ προεστηκότες τῶν ἐταίρων ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, διὰ συνθημάτων ἀδήλων ἐκείνοις εὐθύς αἱ τε ἄκραι πλήρεις ἐγίνοντο τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀνειληφόντων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφρουρεῖτο κύκλῳ, μία τε οὐ κατελείπετο τοῖς ἀπιέναι βουλομένοις ἔξοδος.

[57.1] Having made these preparations, he ordered those who had given information of the plot to send word to the heads of the conspiracy to come to

the Forum about midnight bringing with them their most trusted friends, there to learn their appointed place and station and the watch-word and what each of them was to do. This was done. And when all the leaders among the conspirators had assembled in the Forum, signals, not perceived by them, were given, and immediately the heights were filling with men who had taken up arms in defence of the state and all the parts round the Forum were under guard by the knights, not a single outlet being left for any who might desire to leave.

[2] καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μάνιος ἀπὸ τῆς Φιδήνης ἀναστὰς παρῆν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν. ὥς δ' ἡμέρα τάχιστα διέλαμψεν, ὀπλίτας περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν στενωπῶν τοῖς κήρυξι περιαγγεῖλαι κελεύσαντες ἤκειν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου συνδραμόντος, δηλοῦσι τε αὐτοῖς τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ τοῦ τυράννου συνωμοσίαν καὶ τοὺς μηνυτὰς ἀναβιβάζοντα.

[2] And at the same time Manius, the other consul, having broken camp at Fidenae, arrived in the Field with his army. As soon as day appeared, the consuls, surrounded by armed men, advanced to the tribunal and ordered the heralds to go through all the streets and summon the people to an assembly; and when the entire populace of the city had flocked thither, they acquainted them with the conspiracy formed to restore the tyrant, and produced the informers.

[3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι συγχωρήσαντες, ἂν τινες ἀμφισβητῶσι πρὸς τὴν μήνυσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἄρνησιν οὐδεὶς ἐπεχείρησε τραπέσθαι, μεταστάντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον γνώμας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηρώτησαν τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ γραψάμενοι τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς ἤκον αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα ἀνέγνωσαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε: Ταρκυνίοις μὲν τοῖς μηνύσασι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν πολιτείαν δεδόσθαι καὶ ἀργυρίου μυρίας ἑκατέρῳ δραχμὰς καὶ πλῆθρα γῆς δημοσίας εἴκοσι: [p. 225] τοὺς δὲ μετασχόντας τῆς συνωμοσίας συλληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτά δοκῇ.

[3] After that they gave the accused an opportunity of making their defence if any of them had any objections to offer to the information. When none attempted to resort to denial, they withdrew from the Forum to the senate-house to ask the opinion of the senators concerning them; and having caused their decision to be written out, they returned to the assembly and read the decree, which was as follows: To the Tarquinii who had given information of the attempt should be granted citizenship and ten thousand drachmae of silver to each and twenty acres of the public land; and the conspirators should be seized and put to death, if the people concurred.

[4] τοῦ δὲ συνεληλυθότος ὄχλου κύρια ποιήσαντος τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ,

μεταστῆναι κελεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνελθυθότας, ἔπειτ' ἐκάλεσαν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔχοντας ξίφη, οἱ πάντας τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐν ᾧ συνεκλείσθησαν χωρίῳ περιστάντες κατεφόνευσαν. διαχρησάμενοι δὲ τούτους οὐκέτι παρεδέξαντο μὴνυσιν οὐδεμίαν κατ' οὐθενὸς τῶν ταῦτὰ βουλευσαμένων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀφῆκαν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοὺς διαφυγόντας τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς κόλασιν, ἵνα πᾶν ἐξαιρεθῇ τὸ παραχῶδες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

[4] The assembled crowd having confirmed the decree of the senate, the consuls ordered those who had come together for the assembly to withdraw from the Forum; then they summoned the lictors, who were equipped with their swords, and these, surrounding the guilty men in the place where they were hemmed in, put them all to death. After the consuls had caused these men to be executed, they received no more informations against any who had participated in the plot, but acquitted of the charges everyone who had escaped summary punishment, to the end that all cause of disturbance might be removed from the city.

[5] οἱ μὲν δὴ συστήσαντες τὴν συνωμοσίαν τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καθαρθῆναι ψηφισαμένη τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας, ὅτι περὶ πολιτικοῦ φόνου γνώμας ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀποδειξασθαι, ὥς οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἱερὰ παρεῖναι καὶ θυσιῶν κατάρχεσθαι, πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὸ μίasma καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν λῦσαι τοῖς εἰωθόσι καθαρμοῖς: ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὅσιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ θεῖα κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον ἐπράχθη, θυσίας μετὰ τοῦτο χαριστηρίους καὶ ἀγῶνας ἔκρινεν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔθηκεν εἰς ταῦτα ἱεράς. Μανίου δὲ Τυλλίου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶσι [p. 226] κατὰ τὴν πομπὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεσόντος ἄρματος κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἱππόδρομον, καὶ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσαντος, τὸν λειπόμενον χρόνον βραχὺν ὄντα τὴν ἀρχὴν μόνος ὁ Σολπίκιος κατέσχευεν.

[5] In such fashion were those who had formed the conspiracy put to death. The senate then ordered all the citizens to be purified because they had been under the necessity of giving their votes about shedding the blood of citizens, on the ground that it was not lawful for them to be present at the sacred rites and take part in the sacrifices before they had expiated the pollution and atoned for the calamity by the customary lustrations. After everything that was required by divine law had been performed by the interpreters of religious matter according to the custom of the country, the senate voted to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving and to celebrate games, and set aside three days as sacred for this purpose. And when Manius Tullius, one of the consuls, fell from the sacred chariot in the Circus itself during the procession at the sacred games called after the name of the city, and died the third day after, Sulpicius continued alone in the magistracy during the rest of the time, which was not long.

[1] Ὑπατοὶ δ' εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ὀντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθησαν Πόπλιος Οὐτεῦριος Γεμίος καὶ Πόπλιος Αἰβούτιος Ἑλβας. τοῦτων ὁ μὲν Αἰβούτιος ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐτάχθη πραγμάτων φυλακῆς οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖσθαι δοκούντων, μὴ τις ἑτέρα νεωτερισθῇ πράξεις ἐκ τῶν πενήτων: Οὐτεῦριος δὲ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Φιδηναίων γῆν ἐδήρου κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενος τῇ πόλει προσβολᾶς ἐποιεῖτο συνεχεῖς. οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ πολιορκίᾳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλεῖν ἀπεχάρακου τὰ πέριξ καὶ ἀπετάφρευεν ὡς λιμῷ

[58.1] Publius Veturius Geminus and Publius Aebutius Elva were appointed consuls for the following year. Of these Aebutius was put in charge of the civil affairs, which seemed to require no small attention, lest some fresh uprising should be made by the poor. And Veturius, marching out with one half of the army, laid waste the lands of the Fidenates without opposition, and sitting down before the town, delivered attacks without ceasing; but not being able to take the wall by siege, he proceeded to surround the town with palisades and a ditch, intending to reduce the inhabitants by famine.

[2] 21 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παραστησόμενος. ἤδη δὲ κάμνουσι τοῖς Φιδηναίοις ἦκεν ἐπικουρία Λατίνων, ἣν ἀπέστειλε Σέξτος Ταρκύνιος, καὶ σῖτος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄλλα τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια. οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐθάρρησαν προελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, δύνამις οὐ μικρά, καὶ ποιοῦνται στρατόπεδον ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὲ περιτειχισμὸς οὐκέτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρήσιμος ἦν, ἐδόκει δ' ἀγῶνος δεῖν: καὶ γίνεται πλησίον τῆς πόλεως μάχη μέχρι τινὸς ἀγχώματος: ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ τάλαιπώρου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἄσκησιν αὐτοῖς περιῆν, ἐκβιασθέντες οἱ Φιδηναῖοι πλείους ὄντες ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων εἰς φυγὴν κατέστησαν.

[2] The Fidenates were already in great distress when assistance from the Latins arrived, sent by Sextus Tarquinius, together with grain, arms and other supplies for the war. Encouraged by this, they made bold to come out of the town with an army of no small size and encamped in the open. The line of contravallation was now of no further use to the Romans, but a battle seemed necessary; and an engagement took place near the city, the outcome of which for some time remained indecisive. Then, forced back by the stubborn endurance of the Romans, in which they excelled because of their long training, the Fidenates, though more numerous, were put to flight by the smaller force.

[3] φόνος δ' οὐ πολὺς [p. 227] αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς διώξαντας ἀποκρουσαμένων. μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἐπικουροὶ διασκεδασθέντες ἀπῆσαν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἔνδον ὠφελήσαντες: ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς πάλιν ἐγεγόνει συμφοραῖς καὶ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπονεῖτο,

[3] They did not suffer any great loss, however, since their retreat into the city was over a short distance and the men who manned the walls repulsed the

pursuers. After this action the auxiliary troops dispersed and returned home, without having been of any service to the inhabitants; and the city found itself once more in the same distress and laboured under a scarcity of provisions.

[4] κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Σέξτος Ταρκύνιος ἄγων στρατιὰν Λατίνων ἐπὶ Σιγνίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐστράτευσεν, ὥς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὸ φρούριον παραληφόμενος. γενναίως δὲ τῶν ἔνδον ἀπομαχεσασμένων, παρεσκεύαστο μὲν ὡς λιμῷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ χωρίον ἐκλιπεῖν ἀναγκάσων καὶ πολὺν αὐτόθι χρόνον οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράττων διετέλει: ἀποτυχὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀφικομένης τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ βοηθείας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις.

[4] About the same time, Sextus Tarquinius marched with an army of Latins to Signia, then in the possession of the Romans, in expectation of taking the place by storm. When the garrison made a brave resistance, he was prepared to force them by famine to quit the place, and he remained there a considerable time without accomplishing anything worth mentioning; but finding himself disappointed of this hope also when provisions and assistance from the consuls reached the garrison, he raised the siege and departed with his army.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Ῥωμαῖοι καθιστᾷσιν ὑπάτους Τίτον Λάρκιον Φλάβιον καὶ Κόιντον Κλοίλιον Σικελόν. τούτων ὁ μὲν Κλοίλιος τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, ἐπεικῆς τὴν φύσιν εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ δημοτικός. ὁ δὲ Λάρκιος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Φιδηναίων πόλεμον ἐξηρτυμένην στρατιὰν ἄγων καὶ τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευασάμενος ὤχετο.

[59.1] The following year the Romans created Titus Larcius Flavus and Quintus Cloelius Siculus consuls. Of these, Cloelius was appointed by the senate to conduct the civil administration and with one half of the army to guard against any who might be inclined to sedition; for he was looked upon as fair-minded and democratic. Larcius, on his part, set out for the war against the Fidenates with a well-equipped army, after getting ready everything necessary for a siege.

[2] πονουμένοις τε τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντων σπανίζουσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων χαλεπὸς ἦν [p. 228] ὑπορύττων τε τοὺς θεμελίους τῶν τειχῶν καὶ χώματα ἐγείρων καὶ μηχανὰς προσφέρων καὶ οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς τῆς πολιορκίας ἀφιστάμενος ὀλίγου τε χρόνου κατὰ κράτος αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπολαμβάνων. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ Λατίνων πόλεις, αἷς οἱ Φιδηναῖοι μόναις πιστεύοντες ἀνείλοντο τὸν πόλεμον, ἱκαναὶ σῶζειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι τότε ἦσαν.

[2] And to the Fidenates, who were in dire straits owing to the length of the war and in want of all the necessities of life, he proved a sore affliction by undermining the foundations of the walls, raising mounds, bringing up his

engines of war, and continuing the attacks night and day, in the expectation of taking the city in a short time by storm.

[3] μία μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμία πόλις ἀξιόχρεως ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς πολιορκίας αὐτοῦς, κοινῇ δ' ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους οὕτω συνειστέκει δύναμις, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ἐδίδοσαν οἱ προεστηκότες τῶν πόλεων ἀποκρίσεις, ὡς ἀφιζομένης σφίσιν ἐπικουρίας ἐν τάχει: ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὅμοιον, ἀλλὰ μέχρι λόγων αἱ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐλπίδες ἐχώρουν.

[3] Nor were the Latin cities, on which alone the Fidenates had relied in undertaking the war, ably any longer to save them; for not one of their cities had sufficient strength by itself to raise the siege for them, and as yet no army had been raised jointly by the whole nation. But to the ambassadors who came frequently from Fidenae the leading men of the various cities kept giving the same answer, that aid would soon come to them; no action, however, followed corresponding to the promises, but the hopes of assistance they held out went no farther than words.

[4] οὐ μὴν παντάπασι γε τὰ παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἀπεγνώκεσαν οἱ Φιδηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐλπίσι πάντα τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομένοντες. ἦν δ' ὑπὲρ πάντα ὁ λιμὸς ἄμαχον πρᾶγμα καὶ πολλὸν οὗτος ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπων φθόρον. ὡς δ' ἀπειρήκεσαν ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς, πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὑπατον ἀνοχὰς αἰτοῦντες εἰς τεταγμένον τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἐν τούτῳ βουλευσόμενοι τῷ χρόνῳ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὴν ποιήσονται δικαίους.

[4] Notwithstanding this, the Fidenates had not altogether despaired of help from the Latins, but supported themselves with constancy under all their dreadful experiences by their confidence in those hopes. Above all else, the famine was what they could not cope with and this caused the death of many inhabitants. When at last they gave way to their calamities, they sent ambassadors to the consul to ask for a truce for a definite number of days, in order to deliberate during that time concerning the conditions upon which they should enter into a league of friendship with the Romans.

[5] ἦν δ' οὐ βουλῆς χάριν αἰτούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῆς τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐδήλωσαν τῶν αὐτομόλων τινὲς ἔναγχος ἀφιγμένοι. τῇ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν νυκτὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους [p. 229] τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πλεῖστον ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσι δυναμένους ἀπεστάλκεσαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἵκετηρίας φέροντας.

[5] But this time was not sought by them for deliberating, but for securing reinforcements, as was revealed by some of the deserters who had lately come over to the Romans. For the night before they had sent the most important of their citizens and such as had the greatest influence in the cities of the Latins

to their general council bearing the tokens of suppliants.

[1] ταῦτα δὴ προεγνωκῶς ὁ Λάρκιος τοῖς μὲν αἰτοῦσι τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθεμένοις καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαι, τότε διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν: ἄλλως δ' οὔτε διαλλαγὰς οὔτε ἀνοχὰς οὔτε ἄλλο φιλάνθρωπον ἢ μέτριον οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν ἔφη παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως: τοὺς δ' ἀποσταλέντας ἐπὶ τὸ Λατίνων ἔθνος πρεσβευτὰς ἐφύλαττε μηκέτι παρελθεῖν ἐντὸς τείχους, ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγούσας ὁδοὺς φρουραῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις διαλαβών, ὥστε ἡναγκάσθησαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀπογνόντες ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δεήσεις καταφυγεῖν. καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔκριναν ὑπομένειν τὰς διαλλαγὰς,

[60.1] Larcius, being aware of this beforehand, ordered those who asked for a truce to lay down their arms and open their gates first, and then to treat with him. Otherwise, he told them, they would get neither peace nor a truce nor any other humane or moderate treatment from Rome. He also, by stationing more diligent guards along all the roads leading to the city, took care that the ambassadors sent to the Latin nation should not get back inside the walls. Consequently the besieged, despairing of the hoped for assistance from their allies, were compelled to have recourse to supplicating their enemies. And meeting in assembly, they decided to submit to such conditions of peace as the conqueror prescribed.

[2] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ κρατῶν ἡξίου. οὕτως δ' ἄρα πολιτικὰ ἦν τὰ τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων ἦθη καὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντα τυραννικῆς αὐθαδείας, ἦν σπάνιοι τινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνων ἰσχυσαν ἐξουσίας ἐπαρθέντες μεγέθει διαφυγεῖν, ὥστε παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ὁ ὕπατος οὐθὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κελεύσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆει, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ συνέδριον ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς σκοπεῖν,

[2] But the commanders at that time, it seems, were in their whole behaviour so obedient to the civil power and so far removed from tyrannical presumption (which only a few of the commanders in our days, elated by the greatness of their power, have been able to avoid), that the consul, after taking over the city, did nothing on his own responsibility, but ordering the inhabitants to lay down their arms and leaving a garrison in the citadel, went himself to Rome, and assembling the senate, left it to them to consider how those who had surrendered themselves ought to be treated.

[3] τίνα χρηστέον τοῖς παραδοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς τρόπον. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγασθέντες τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς τιμῆς οἱ σύεδροι τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεστάτους Φιδιναίων καὶ τῆς [p. 230] ἀποστάσεως ἄρξαντας ἐδικαίωσαν, οὓς ἂν ὁ ὕπατος ἀποφῆνῃ ράβδοις μαστιγωθέντας ἀποκοπῆναι τὰς κεφαλὰς: περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐποίησαν ἅπαντα πράττειν, ὅσα προηρεῖτο.

[3] Thereupon the senators, admiring him for the honour he had shown them, decided that the most prominent of the Fidenates and those who had been the authors of the revolt — these to be named by the consul — should be scourged with rods and beheaded; but concerning the rest, they gave him authority to do everything he thought fit.

[4] γενόμενος δ' ὁ Λάρκιος ἀπάντων κύριος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς τῶν Φιδηναίων κατηγορηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν τάναντία φρονούντων ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἐδήμευσε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπέδωκε τὴν τε πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, τῆς δὲ γῆς αὐτῶν ἀπετέμετο τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ἣν ἐκκληροῦχσαν οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ τῆς ἄκρας, ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατίαν.

[4] Larcius, having thus been given full power in all matters, ordered some few of the Fidenates, who were accused by those of the opposite party, to be put to death before the eyes of all and confiscated their fortunes; but all the others he permitted to retain both their city and their goods. Nevertheless, he took from them one half of their territory, which was divided by lot among those Romans who were left in the city as a garrison for the citadel. Having settled these matters, he returned home with his army.

[1] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τοῖς Λατίνοις ἡ τῆς Φιδήνης ἄλωσις, ὀρθὴ καὶ περίφοβος πᾶσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν ἅπαντες ἐχαλέπαινον ὥς προδεδωκόσι τοὺς συμμάχους. συναχθείσης δ' ἀγορᾶς ἐν Φερεντίνῳ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὸν πόλεμον κατηγορίαν οἱ τὰ ὅπλα πειθόντες αὐτοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Ταρκύνιός τε καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Μαμίλιος καὶ οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς Ἀρικηνῶν πόλεως.

[61.1] When the Latins heard of the capture of Fidenae, every city was in a state of the utmost excitement and fear, and all the citizens were angry with those who were at the head of federal affairs, accusing them of having betrayed their allies. And a general assembly being held at Ferentinum, those who urged a recourse to arms, particularly Tarquinius and his son-in-law Mamilius, together with the heads of the Arician state, inveighed bitterly against those who opposed the war;

[2] ὅφ' ὧν ἐκδημαγωγηθέντες, ὅσοι τοῦ Λατίνων μετεῖχον γένους, κοινῇ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦνται πόλεμον: καὶ ἵνα πόλις μηδεμία μῆτε προδῶ τὸ κοινὸν μῆτε προκαταλύσῃται τὴν ἔχθραν [p. 231] ἄνευ τῆς ἀπάντων γνώμης ὅρκους ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοὺς μὴ φυλάζοντας τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐκσπόνδους εἶναι καὶ καταράτους ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πολεμίους ἀπάντων.

[2] and by their harangues all the deputies of the Latin nation were persuaded to undertake the war jointly against the Romans. And to the end that no city might either betray the common cause or be reconciled to the Romans without the consent of all, they swore oaths to one another and voted that those who

violated this agreement should be excluded from their alliance, be accursed and regarded as the enemies of all.

[3] οἱ δ' ἐγγραφάμενοι ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῦτα πρόβουλοι καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ὁμόσαντες ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν ἄνδρες, Ἀρδεατῶν, Ἀρικηνῶν, Βοῖλλανῶν, Βουβεντανῶν, Κόρνων, Καρνευτανῶν, Κιρκαιητῶν, Κοριολανῶν, Κορβιντῶν, Καβανῶν, Φορτινείων, Γαβίων, Λαυρεντίνων, Λανουινίων, Λαβινιατῶν, Λαβικανῶν, Νωμεντανῶν, Νωρβανῶν, Πραινεστίνων, Πεδανῶν, Κορκοτουλανῶν, Σατρικανῶν, Σκαπτηνίων, Σητινῶν, Τιβουρτινῶν, Τυσκλανῶν, Τοληρίων, Τελληνίων, Οὐελιτρανῶν: ἐκ τούτων ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ συστρατεύειν ὅσων ἂν δέη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ὀκταυῖῳ Μαιμῖῳ καὶ Σέξτῳ Ταρκυνίῳ: τούτους γὰρ ἀπέδειξαν στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας.

[3] The deputies who subscribed to the treaty and swore to its observance were from the following cities: Ardea, Aricia, Bovillae, Bubentum, Cora, Carventum, Circeii, Corioli, Corbio, Cabum, Fortinea, Gabii, Laurentum, Lanuvium, Lavinium, Labici, Nomentum, Norba, Praeneste, Pedom, Querquetula, Satricum, Scaptia, Setia, Tibur, Tusculum, Tolerium, Tellenae, Velitrae. They voted that as many men of military age from all these cities should take part in the campaign as their commanders, Octavius Mamilius and Sextus Tarquinius, should require; for they had appointed these to be their generals with absolute power.

[4] ἵνα δ' εὐπρεπεῖς δόξωσι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τοῦ πολέμου προφάσεις, πρεσβευτὰς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους [p. 232] εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγον κατηγορεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐπιφερόντων Τυρρηνῶν Ἀρικηνοῖς οὐ μόνον ἀσφαλεῖς παρέσχον αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν χώρας τὰς διόδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέπραξαν ὅσων αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔδει, καὶ τοὺς φυγόντας ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὑποδεξάμενοι τραυματίας καὶ ἀνόπλους ἅπαντας ὄντας ἔσωσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι κοινὸν ἐπῆγον ἅπασιν τοῖς ὁμοεθνεῖσι πόλεμον, καὶ εἰ τὴν Ἀρικηνῶν πόλιν ὑποχείριον ἔλαβον, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καταδουλώσασθαι πόλεις ἀπάσας.

[4] And in order that the grounds they offered for the war might appear plausible, they sent the most prominent men from every city to Rome as ambassadors. These, upon being introduced to the senate, said that the Arician state preferred the following charges against the Roman state: When the Tyrrhenians had made war upon the Aricians, the Romans had not only granted them a safe passage through their territory, but had also assisted them with everything they required for the war, and having received such of the Tyrrhenians as fled from the defeat, they had saved them when they all were wounded and without arms, though they could not be ignorant that they were making war against the whole nation in common, and that if they had once made themselves masters of the city of Aricia nothing could have hindered

them from enslaving all the other cities as well.

[5] εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλήσονται δίκας Ἀρικηνοῖς ὑπέχειν ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων ἀφικόμενοι δικαστήριον καὶ στέρξουσι τοῖς ὑπὸ πάντων δικασθησομένοις, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν δεῖσιν πολέμου: εἰ δὲ τὴν συνήθη φυλάξαντες αὐθάδειαν, οὐδὲν ἀξιώσουσι συγχωρεῖν τοῖς συγγενέσι τῶν δικαίων καὶ μετρίων, ἡπείλουν πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς Λατίνους ἅπαντας ἀνά κράτος.

[5] If, therefore, the Romans would consent to appear before the general tribunal of the Latins and answer there the accusations brought against them by the Aricians, and would abide by the decision of all the members, they said the Romans would not need to have a war; but if they persisted in their usual arrogance and refused to make any just and reasonable concessions to their kinsmen, they threatened that all the Latins would make war upon them with all their might.

[1] ταῦτα προκαλουμένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα δίκην ὑποσχεῖν Ἀρικηνοῖς ἢ βουλή, περὶ ᾧ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἔμελλον γίνεσθαι κριταί, καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων κριτὰς ἔσεσθαι ὑπολαμβάνουσα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ προσθήσειν ἔτι βαρύτερα τούτων ἐπιτάγματα, δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τῶν ἀγώνων οὐδεμίαν [p. 233] ὑπελάμβανον καταλήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν συμφοράν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὠρρώδει τῶν πολέμιων: καὶ πολλαχῇ διαπέμπουσα πρέσβεις παρεκάλει τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἀντιπρεσβευομένων εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς καὶ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ῥώμης κατηγορούντων.

[62.1] This was the proposal made by the ambassadors; but the senate was unwilling to plead its cause with the Aricians in a controversy in which their accusers would be the judges, and they did not imagine that their enemies would even confine their judgment to these charges alone, but would add other demands still more grievous than these; and accordingly they voted to accept war. So far, indeed, as bravery and experience in warfare were concerned, they did not suppose any misfortune would befall the commonwealth, but the multitude of their enemies alarmed them; and sending ambassadors in many directions, they invited the neighbouring cities to an alliance, while the Latins in their turn sent counter-embassies to the same cities and bitterly assailed Rome.

[2] Ἑρνικες μὲν οὖν κοινῇ συνελθόντες ὑποπτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις ἀπεκρίναντο, συμμαχήσειν μὲν οὐδετέροις λέγοντες κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, βουλευέσεσθαι δ' ὁπότεροι δικαιότερα ἀξιοῦσι κατὰ σχολήν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον ἀποδώσειν.

[2] The Hernicans, meeting together, gave suspicious and insincere answers to both embassies, saying that they would not for the present enter into an

alliance with either, but would consider at leisure which of the two nations made the juster claims, and that they would give a year's time to that consideration.

[3] Ῥότολοι δὲ Λατίνοις μὲν ἐπικουρίαν πέμψειν ἄντικρυς ὑπέσχοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἂν βουληθῶσι καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν, διὰ σφῶν μετριωτέρους παρέξειν Λατίνους ἔφασαν καὶ τὰς συμβάσεις αὐτοῖς διαιτήσειν. Οὐλοοῦσκοι δὲ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀναισχυντίας, ὅτι συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς, ὅτι τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἡδίκηκότες ἦσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ὡς τῆς χώρας τὴν κρατίστην αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας σφᾶς παρακαλεῖν, συνεβούλευόν τ' αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦσι τὴν χώραν τότε παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς φίλων ἀπαιτεῖν τὰ δίκαια. Τυρρηνοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐμποδῶν ἐγίνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν σπονδὰς γεγονέναι λέγοντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, πρὸς δὲ Ταρκυνίους συγγένειαν εἶναι σφίσι καὶ φιλίαν. [p. 234]

[3] The Rutulians openly promised the Latins that they would send them assistance, and assured the Romans that, if they would consent to give up their enmity, they through their influence would cause the Latins to moderate their demands and would mediate a peace between them. The Volscians said they even wondered at the shamelessness of the Romans, who, though conscious of the many injuries they had done them, and particularly of the latest, in taking from them the best part of their territory and retaining it, had nevertheless had the effrontery to invite them, who were their enemies, to an alliance; and they advised them first to restore their lands and then to ask satisfaction from them as from friends. The Tyrrhenians put obstacles in the way of both sides by alleging that they had lately made a treaty with the Romans and that they had ties of kinship and friendship with the Tarquinii.

[4] τοιαῦτα τοῦτων ἀποκριναμένων οὐθὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταπεινωθέντες, ὃ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς μέγαν τε πόλεμον αἰρομένους καὶ πάσας ἀπεγνωκότας τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσι πιστεύοντες μόναις πολλῷ προθυμότεροι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐγίνοντο, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐσόμενοι, καὶ ἔαν κατὰ νοῦν πράξωσι ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρεταῖς κατορθώσαντες τὸν πόλεμον οὐδενὶ κοινωσόμενοι τῆς δόξης. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς φρονήματος καὶ τόλμης ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγώνων περιῆν.

[4] Notwithstanding these answers, the Romans abated nothing of their spirit, which would have been a natural thing for those who were entering upon a dangerous war and had given up hope of any assistance from their allies; but trusting to their own forces alone, they grew much more eager for the contest, in the confidence that because of their necessity they would acquit themselves as brave men in the face of danger, and that if they succeeded according to their wish and won the war by their own valour, the glory of it would not have to be shared with anyone else. Such spirit and daring had they acquired from their many contests in the past.

[1] παρασκευαζόμενοι δὲ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀρξάμενοι καταγράφειν, εἰς πολλὴν ἐνέπιπτον ἀμηχανίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπάντων προθυμίαν εἰς τὰ ἔργα παρεχομένων. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδεεῖς βίου καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὰ χρέα τοῖς συμβαλοῦσι διαλῦσαι οὐ δυνάμενοι πολλοὶ σφόδρα ὄντες οὐχ ὑπήκουον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καλούμενοι οὐδ' ἐβούλοντο κοινωνεῖν οὐδενὸς ἔργου τοῖς πατρικίοις, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσαιντο αὐτοῖς χρεῶν ἄφεσιν: ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλείπειν τινὲς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔλεγον καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἀλλήλοις μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν πόλει μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ μεταδιδούσῃ.

[63.1] While they were preparing everything that was necessary for the war and beginning to enrol their troops, they fell into great perplexity when they found that all the citizens did not show the same eagerness for the service. For the needy, and particularly those who were unable to discharge their debts to their creditors — and there were many such — when called to arms refused to obey and were unwilling to join with the patricians in any undertaking unless they passed a vote for the remission of their debts. On the contrary, some of them threatened even to leave the city and exhorted one another to give up their fondness for living in a city that allowed them no share in any thing that was good.

[2] τέως μὲν οὖν παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς οἱ πατρικιοὶ καὶ μεταπειθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐθὲν ἐγίνοντο μετριώτεροι πρὸς τὰς παρακλήσεις, οὕτω δὴ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσκόπουν, τίς εὐπρεπεστέρα λύσις ἔσται τῆς κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν ταραχῆς. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν [p. 235] ἐπεικεῖς τὴν φύσιν καὶ μέτριοι τοῖς τιμήμασι τῶν βίων ἦσαν, παρήνουν ἀφεῖναι τὰ χρέα τοῖς πένησι καὶ πρίασθαι πολιτικὴν εὐνοίαν ὀλίγου διαφόρου, μεγάλα μέλλοντας ἐξ αὐτῆς κερδανεῖν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ.

[2] At first the patricians endeavoured by entreaties to prevail upon them to change their purpose, but finding that in response to their entreaties they showed no greater moderation, they then assembled in the senate-house to consider what would be the most seemly method of putting an end to the disturbance that was troubling the state. Those senators, therefore, who were fair-minded and of moderate fortunes advised them to remit the debts of the poor and to purchase for a small price the goodwill of their fellow-citizens, from which they were sure to derive great advantages both private and public.

[1] ἦν δ' ὁ ταύτης ἡγούμενος τῆς γνώμης Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος, υἱὸς Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου, ἐνὸς τῶν καταλυσάντων τὴν τυραννίδα, τοῦ κληθέντος διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν εὐνοίαν Ποπλικόλα, διδάσκων αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνιζομένοις ἴσαι φιλοῦσιν ἐμφύεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα φιλοτιμίαι, τοῖς δὲ μηδὲν ἀπολαύειν μέλλουσιν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν γενναῖον: ἡρεθίσθαι τε λέγων ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπόρους καὶ περιόντας κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγειν:

[64.1] The author of this advice was Marcus Valerius, the son of Publius

Valerius, one of those who had overthrown the tyranny and from his goodwill toward the common people had been called Publicola. He showed them that those who fight for equal rewards are apt to be inspired to action by an equal spirit of emulation, whereas it never occurs to those who are to reap no advantage to entertain any thought of bravery. He said that all the poor people were exasperated and were going about the Forum saying:

[2] τί δ' ἡμῖν ἔσται πλεον, ἐὰν νικήσωμεν τοὺς ἑξωθεν πολεμίους, εἰ τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀγώγιμοι πρὸς τὰ χρέα γενησόμεθα καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατασκευάσαντες αὐτοὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς σώμασι φυλάξαι δυνησόμεθα; κινδυνὸν τ' οὐ τοῦτον μόνον ἐπαχθῆναι σφίσιν ἀποφαίνων, ἐὰν ἐκπολεμωθῇ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ὁ δῆμος, μὴ καταλίπη τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, ὃ πάντας ὀρωδεῖν χρή τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνον τὸν ἔτι τούτου χαλεπώτερον, μὴ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν τυράννων φιλανθρωπίας ἐξαπατηθεῖς κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἄρῃται τὰ ὅπλα [p. 236]

[2] “What advantage shall we gain by overcoming our foreign enemies if we are liable to be haled to prison for debt by the money-lenders, or by gaining the leadership for the commonwealth if we ourselves cannot maintain even the liberty of our own persons?” He then showed them that this was not the only danger which had been brought upon them in case the people should become hostile to the senate, namely, that they would abandon the city in the midst of its perils — a possibility at which all who desired the preservation of the commonwealth must shudder — but that there was the further danger, still more formidable than this, that, seduced by favours from the tyrants, they might take up arms against the patricians and aid in restoring Tarquinius to power.

[3] καὶ συγκαταγάγῃ Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι λόγους καὶ ἀπειλὰς εἶναι, πονηρὸν δ' ἔργον μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, φθάσαι τῇ βοήθειᾳ ταύτῃ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὰ πράγματα προοικειωσαμένους παρῆναι, οὔτε πρῶτους τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦτο καθισταμένους οὔτε αἰσχύνῃν τινὰ δι' αὐτὸ μεγάλην ὀφλήσοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔχοντας ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ τοῦτο ὑπομείναντας καὶ ἄλλα πολλῶ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, ὅταν μηδὲν ἐξῇ πράττειν ἕτερον: τὰς γὰρ ἀνάγκας κρείττους εἶναι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τότε ἀξιοῦν ἅπαντας σκοπεῖν, ὅταν ἔχωσιν ἤδη τὸ ἀσφαλές.

[3] Accordingly, while it was still only a matter of words and threats, and no mischievous deed had been committed by the people as yet, he advised them to act in time and reconcile the people to the situation by affording them this relief; for they were neither the first to adopt such a measure nor would they incur any great disgrace on account of it, but could point to many others who had submitted, not only to this, but to other demands much more grievous, when they had no alternative. For necessity, he said, is stronger than human nature, and people insist on considering appearances only when they have already gained safety.

[1] ἔξαριθμησάμενος δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν παραδείγματα πόλεων τελευταίαν παρέσχετο τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν μεγίστου τότε τυγχάνουσας ὀνόματος ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἄφεισιν χρεῶν ψηφισαμένην τοῖς ἀπόροις Σόλωνος καθηγησαμένου, καὶ οὐθένα τῇ πόλει τοῦ πολιτεύματος τούτου ἐπιτιμᾶν οὐδὲ τὸν εἰσηγησάμενον αὐτὸ δημοκόπον καὶ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πεισθεῖσι πολλὴν φρόνησιν ἅπαντας μαρτυρεῖν, καὶ

[65.1] After he had enumerated many examples taken from many cities, he at last offered them that of the city of Athens, then in the greatest repute for wisdom, which not very long before, but in the time of their fathers, had under the guidance of Solon voted a remission of debts to the poor; and no one, he said, censured the city for this measure or called its author a flatterer of the people or a knave, but all bore witness both to the great prudence of those who were persuaded to enact it and to the great wisdom of the man who persuaded them do so.

[2] τῷ πείσαντι μεγάλην σοφίαν. Ῥωμαίοις δ', οἷς οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι διαφορῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραδοθῆναι ἄλιν ὡμῶ καὶ παντὸς χειρόνι θηρίου τυράννῳ, τίς τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν, ἐὰν τῇ φιλάνθρωπιᾳ ταύτῃ συμμάχους ἀντὶ πολεμίων [p. 237] τοὺς πένητας κατασκευάσωνται τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι;

[2] As for the Romans, whose perilous situation was due to no trivial differences, but to the danger of being delivered up again to a cruel tyrant more savage than any wild beast, what man in his senses could blame them if by this instance of humanity they should cause the poor to become joint supporters, instead of enemies, of the commonwealth?

[3] διεξελθὼν δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ παραδείγματα τελευταῖον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔργων προσελάμβανε: λόγον ὑπομιμνήσκων τὰς ἔναγχος κατασχοῦσας αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκας, ὅτε κρατουμένης σφῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Τυρρηγνῶν τειχῆρεις γενόμενοι καὶ εἰς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν καταστάντες ἀπορίαν οὐκ ἔσχον ἀνθρώπων μεμνηνόντων καὶ θανατῶντων ἀνοήτους λογισμοὺς, ἀλλ' εἰζαντες τοῖς κατέχουσι καιροῖς καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην διδάσκαλον τῶν συμφερόντων λαβόντες, ὅμηρα τε δοῦναι βασιλεῖ Πορσίνα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους παῖδας ὑπέμειναν, οὕτω πρότερον τοῦτο ὑπομείναντες, καὶ μέρει τῆς χώρας ζημιωθῆναι, τῶν Ἑπτὰ πάγων Τυρρηγοῖς ἀποστάντες, καὶ δικαστῇ χρήσασθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ, περὶ ὧν αὐτοῖς ὁ τύραννος ἐνεκάλει, διδόντες καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐδέοντο Τυρρηγοὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ

[3] After enumerating these foreign examples he ended with a reference to their own actions, reminding them of the straits to which they had been lately reduced when, their country being in the power of the Tyrrhenians and they themselves shut up within their walls and in great want of the necessities of

life, they had not taken the foolish resolutions of madmen courting death, but yielding to the emergency that was upon them and allowing necessity to teach them their interest, had consented to deliver up to King Porsena their most prominent children as hostages, a thing to which they had never submitted before, to be deprived of part of their territory by the cession of the Seven Districts to the Tyrrhenians, to accept the enemy as the judge of the accusations brought against them by the tyrant, and to furnish provisions, arms, and everything else the Tyrrhenians required as the condition of their putting an end to the war.

[4] καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς παραδείγμασι χρησάμενος οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς φρονήσεως ἔργον ἀπέφαινε εἶναι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις περὶ μηθενὸς ὧν ἤξιωσαν ἀντεπεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἐαυτῶν πολίταις περὶ μικροῦ πολεμεῖν διαφόρου, οἳ πολέμους μὲν ἠγωνίσαντο καλοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὅτε κατεῖχον οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰ κοινὰ, μεγάλην δὲ προθυμίαν εἰς τὸ συνελυθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων παρέσχοντο, ἔτι δὲ πλεονα παρέξεσθαι σπουδὴν ἔμελλον εἰς τὰ [p. 238]

[4] Having made use of these examples, he went on to show that it was not the part of the same prudence first to refuse no terms insisted on by their enemies and then to make war over a trivial difference upon their own citizens who had fought many glorious battles for Rome's supremacy while the kings held sway, and had shown great eagerness in assisting the patricians to free the state from the tyrants, and would show still greater zeal in what remained to be done, if invited to do so; for, though they lacked the means of existence, they would freely expose their persons and lives, which were all they had left, to any dangers for her sake.

[5] λοιπὰ ἔργα παρακληθέντες, βίων μὲν σπανίζοντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ἃ μόνα περιῆν αὐτοῖς, ἀφειδῶς εἰς τοὺς περὶ αὐτῆς κινδύνους ἐπιδιδόντες. ἔφη δὲ τελευτῶν ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπεχείρουν ἐκεῖνοι τοιοῦτον ὑπ' αἰσχύνης κρατούμενοι λέγειν, μηδὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν, τοὺς πατρικίους ἐχρῆν λογισμὸν τὸν προσήκοντα περὶ αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ὧν ἦδεσαν δεομένους καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, ταῦτ' ἐξ ἑτοίμου χαρίζεσθαι, ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι πρᾶγμα ὑπερήφανον ποιοῦσιν αἰτοῦντες μὲν παρ' ἐκείνων τὰ σώματα, μὴ χαριζόμενοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα, καὶ λέγοντες μὲν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὅτι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔνεκα πολεμοῦσι, τῶν δὲ συγκατακτησάμενων αὐτὴν ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐ πονηρίαν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπορίαν, ἣν οἰκτεῖρεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μισεῖσθαι προσῆκε.

[5] In conclusion he said that, even if these men from a sense of shame forbore to say or demand anything of this kind, the patricians ought to take proper account of them and to give them readily whatever they knew they needed, whether as a class or individually, bearing in mind that they, the patricians, were doing an arrogant thing in asking of them their persons while refusing them their money, and in publishing to all the world that they were making war to

preserve the common liberty even while they were depriving of liberty those who had assisted them in establishing it, though they could reproach them with no wrongdoing, but only with poverty, which deserved compassion rather than hatred.

[1] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Οὐαλερίου λέγοντος καὶ πολλῶν τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινούντων Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβίνος ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι κληθεὶς τόπῳ τάναντία παρῆναι διδάσκων, ὅτι τὸ στασιάζον οὐκ ἐξαιρεθήσεται τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν ψηφίσωνται χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, ἀλλ' ἔτι πονηρότερον ἔσται μεταχθὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πενήτων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους.

[66.1] After Valerius had spoken to this effect and many had approved of his advice, Appius Claudius Sabinus, being called upon at the proper time, advised the opposite course, declaring that the seditious spirit would not be removed from the state if they decreed an abolition of debts, but would become more dangerous by being transferred from the poor to the rich.

[2] δῆλον γὰρ δὴ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν, ὅτι χαλεπῶς οἴσουσιν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποστερεῖσθαι τῶν χρημάτων πολῖται τ' ὄντες καὶ ἐπίτιμοι καὶ πάσας ἐστρατευμένοι τὰς ἐπιβαλοῦσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως στρατείας, [p. 239] οὐδ' ἀξιοῦντες ἃ κατέλιπον αὐτοῖς οἱ πατέρες καὶ αὐτοὶ φιλεργοῦντες καὶ σωφρόνως ζῶντες ἐκτήσαντο δημεύεσθαι τοῖς πονηροτάτοις καὶ ἀργοτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν. πολλῆς δ' εἶναι μωρίας ἔργον τῷ χεῖρονι μέρει τοῦ πολιτεύματος χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένους τοῦ κρείττονος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικωτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς ἀλλοτρίας δημεύοντας οὐσίας τῶν δικαίων αὐτὰς κτησαμένων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

[2] For it was plain enough to everyone that those who were to be deprived of their money would resent it, as they were not only citizens in possession of all civil rights, but had also served their country in all the campaigns that fell to their lot, and would regard it as unjust that the money left them by their fathers, together with what they themselves had by their industry and frugality acquired, should be confiscated for the benefit of the most unprincipled and the laziest of the citizens. It would be the part of great folly for them, in their desire to gratify the worse part of the citizenry, to disregard the better element, and in confiscating the fortunes of others for the benefit of the most unjust of the citizens, to take them away from those who had justly acquired them.

[3] ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τ' αὐτοὺς ἡξίου, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων αἱ πόλεις ἀπόλλυνται τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν δυναμένων, ὅταν ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ὑβρίζωνται καὶ τῶν δικαίων μὴ τυγχάνωσιν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀγανακτήσειν μέλλοιεν οἱ τῶν συμβολαίων ἀποστερούμενοι, πρῶως δὲ πως καὶ ῥαθύμως οἴσειν τὰς βλάβας, οὐδ' οὕτως ἔφη καλῶς ἔξειν σφίσιν οὐδ' ἀσφαλῶς δωρεὰν τοῖς πένησι χαρίζεσθαι τοιαύτην, δι' ἣν ἀσυνάλλακτος ὁ

κοινὸς ἔσται βίος καὶ μισάλληλος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν χρειῶν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐκ ἔνεστιν οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ἐνδεής, οὔτε τὴν χώραν σπειρόντων ἔτι καὶ φυτευόντων τῶν γεωργῶν, οὔτε τὴν θάλατταν πλεόντων καὶ διαμειβομένων τὰς διαποντίους ἀγορὰς τῶν ἐμπόρων, οὔτε ἄλλην ἐργασίαν οὐδεμίαν δικαίαν ποιουμένων τῶν πενήτων.

[3] He asked them also to bear in mind that states are not overthrown by those who are poor and without power, when they are compelled to do justice, but by the rich and such as are capable of administering public affairs, when they are insulted by their inferiors and fail to keep justice. And even if those who were to be deprived of the benefit of their contracts were not going to harbour any resentment but would submit with some degree of meekness and indifference to their losses, yet even in that case, he said, it would be neither honourable nor safe for them to gratify the poor with such a gift, by which the life of the community would be devoid of all intercourse, full of mutual hatred, and lacking in the necessary employments without which cities cannot be inhabited, since neither the husbandmen would any longer sow and plant their lands, nor the merchants sail the sea and trade in foreign markets, nor the poor employ themselves in any other just occupation.

[4] εἰς ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῖς δεομένοις ἀφορμῆς οὐδένα τῶν εὐπόρων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα προήσεσθαι: ἐκ δὲ τούτων φθονήσεσθαι μὲν εὐπορίαν, καταλυθήσεσθαι δὲ φιλεργίαν, κρείττω δὲ μοῖραν ἔξειν [p. 240] τοὺς ἀκολάστους τῶν σωφρόνων, τοὺς δ' ἀδίκους τῶν δικαίων καὶ τοὺς σφετεριζομένους τὰλλότρια τῶν φυλαττόντων τὰ ἴδια. ταῦτα δ' εἶναι τὰ ποιοῦντα διχοστασίας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀλληλοφθορίας ἀπαύστους καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κακῶν ἰδέαν, ὅφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν εὐτυχέστατα πράξασαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφηρέθησαν, αἱ δὲ τῆς χειρόνος μοίρας τυχοῦσαι πανώλεθροι διεφθάρησαν.

[4] For none of the rich would throw away their money to supply those who needed the means of carrying on any of these occupations; and in consequence wealth would be hated and industry destroyed, and the prodigal would be in a better condition than the frugal, the unjust than the just, and those who appropriated to themselves the fortunes of others would have the advantage over those who guarded their own. These were the things that created seditions in states, mutual slaughter without end, and every other sort of mischief, by which the most prosperous of them had lost their liberty and those whose lot was less fortunate had been totally destroyed.

[1] παντὸς δὲ μάλιστα σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου καινὴν καθισταμένους πολιτείαν, ὅπως μὴθὲν εἰς αὐτὴν παρελεύσεται πονηρὸν ἔθος, πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἶναι λέγων ὅποῖ ἅπ' ἂν ἦ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιτηδεύματα, τοιοῦτους γίνεσθαι τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίους. ἔθος δ' εἶναι οὐδὲν κάκιον οὔτε πόλεσιν οὔτε οἴκοις τοῦ καθ' ἡδονὰς αἰεὶ ζῆν ἕκαστον καὶ τοῦ πάντα συγχωρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἥττοσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κρείττωνων, εἴτε πρὸς χάριν εἴτε πρὸς

ἀνάγκην: οὐ γὰρ ἀποπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀφρόνων τυγχανούσας ὧν ἂν δεηθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων εὐθύς ὀρέγεσθαι μειζόνων καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον προβαίνειν: μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχειν τοὺς ὄχλους: ἃ γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος αἰσχύνεται πράττειν ἢ δέδιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος κατειργόμενος, ταῦτ' ἐν κοινῷ γενομένους ἐτοιμότερον παρανομεῖν προσειληφότας ἰσχύν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γνώμαις ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅμοια βουλομένων.

[67.1] But, above all, he advised them, in instituting a new form of government, to take care that no bad custom should gain admittance there. For he declared that of whatever nature the public principles of states were, such of necessity would be the lives of the individual citizens. And there was no worse practice, he said, either for states or for families, than for everyone to live always according to his own pleasure and for everything to be granted to inferiors by their superiors, whether out of favour or from necessity. For the desires of the unintelligent are not satisfied when they obtain what they demand, but they immediately covet other and greater things, and so on without end; and this is the case particularly with the masses. For the lawless deeds which each one by himself is either ashamed or afraid to commit, being restrained by the more powerful, they are more ready to engage in when they have got together and gained strength for their own inclinations from those who are like minded.

[2] ἀπληρώτους δὲ καὶ ἀορίστους ὑπαρχούσας τὰς τῶν ἀνοήτων ὄχλων ἐπιθυμίας ἀρχομένας ἔφη δεῖν κωλύειν, ἕως εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς, οὐχ, ὅταν ἰσχυραὶ [p. 241] καὶ μεγάλαι δύνωνται, καθαιρεῖν. χαλεπωτέραν γὰρ ὀργὴν ἅπαντας ἔχειν τῶν συγχωρηθέντων στερομένους ἢ τῶν ἐλπίζομένων μὴ τυγχάνοντας.

[2] And since the desires of the unintelligent mob are insatiable and boundless, it is necessary, he said, to check them at the very outset, while they are weak, instead of trying to destroy them after they have become great and powerful. For all men feel more violent anger when deprived of what has already been granted to them than when disappointed of what they merely hope for.

[3] παραδείγμασι τε πολλοῖς εἰς τοῦτ' ἐχρήσατο πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἔργα διεξιῶν, ὅσαι μαλακισθεῖσαι δι' ἀκαιροὺς τινὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρχὰς ἐφεῖσαι παρελθεῖν οὐκέτι παῦσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὰ δύναμιν ἔσχον: ἐξ ὧν εἰς αἰσχροὺς καὶ ἀνηκέστους ἡναγκάσθησαν προελθεῖν συμφορὰς. εἰκέναι τε τῷ καθ' ἓνα τὸ κοινὸν ἔφη, ψυχῇ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλογον ἐχούσης τι τῆς βουλῆς,

[3] He cited many examples to prove this, relating the experiences of various Greek cities which, having become weakened because of certain critical situations and having given admittance to the beginnings of evil practices, had no longer had the power to put an end to them and abolish them, in consequence of which they had been compelled to go on into shameful and irreparable calamities. He said the commonwealth resembled each particular

man, the senate bearing some resemblance to the soul of a man and the people to his body.

[4] σώματι δὲ τοῦ δήμου. ἔὰν μὲν οὖν τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἄφρονα δῆμον ἄρχειν ἔωσιν, ὅμοια πείσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοῖς ὑποτάττουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ σώματι καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν λογισμόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάθη ζῶσιν. ἔὰν δ' ἄρχεσθαι τε καὶ ἄγεσθαι τὸν δῆμον συνεθίζωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ταῦτ' οὖν ποιήσουσι τοῖς ὑποτάττουσι τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, ἀλλὰ μὴ

[4] If, therefore, they permitted the unintelligent populace to govern the senate, they would fare the same as those who subject the soul to the body and live under the influence, not of their reason, but of their passions; whereas, if they accustomed the populace to be governed and led by the senate, they would be doing the same as those who subject the body to the soul and lead lives directed toward what is best, not most pleasant.

[5] πρὸς τὸ ἥδιον τοὺς βίους ἄγουσι. βλάβην δὲ μεγάλην οὐδεμίαν ἀπέφαινε συμβῆσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἔὰν οἱ πένητες ἀνανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συγχωρηθῆναι σφίσι τὴν χρεοκοπίαν μὴ θελήσωσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλαβεῖν, ὀλίγους τινὰς εἶναι λέγων παντάπασι τοὺς μηδὲν ὑπολειπομένους ἑαυτοῖς ἔξω τοῦ σώματος, οὓς οὐτ' ὠφελειάν τινα παρέξεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ θαυμαστὴν [p. 242] ὅσῃν παρόντας ταῖς στρατείαις, οὔτε βλάβην ἀπόντας: ὑπομινῆσκων αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπελάμβανον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χώραν οἱ τοῦλάχιστον ἔχοντες τοῦ βίου τιμήμα, καὶ ὅτι προσθήκης μοῖραν ἐπέιχον οὗτοι τοῖς ἐν φάλαγγι τεταγμένοις, κατασπλήξεως ἕνεκα τῶν πολέμιων συνόντες, οἷα δὴ μηδὲν φέροντες ὄπλον ὅτι μὴ σφενδόνας, ὧν ἐλάχιστον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἶναι ὄφελος.

[5] He showed them that no great mischief would befall the state if the poor, dissatisfied with them for not granting an abolition of debts, should refuse to take up arms in its defence, declaring that there were few indeed who had nothing left but their persons, and these would neither offer any remarkable advantage to the state when present on its expeditions, nor, by their absence to do any great harm. For those who had the lowest rating in the census, he reminded them, were posted in the rear in battle and counted as a mere appendage to the forces that were arrayed in the battle-line, being present merely to strike the enemy with terror, since they had no other arms but slings, which are of the least use in action.

[1] τοὺς τ' οἰκτεῖρειν τὴν πενίαν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀξιοῦντας καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις διαλύσαι τὰ χρέα παραινούντας ἔφη δεῖν ἐξετάζειν, τί ποτε τὸ πεποιηκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους κλήρους τε παραλαβόντας, οὓς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν κατέλιπον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν πολλὰ ὠφεληθέντας, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ τῆς δημευθείσης τῶν τυράννων οὐσίας τὴν ἐπιβαλοῦσαν μοῖραν λαβόντας: ἔπειθ' οὓς μὲν ἂν ὀρώσι τῇ γαστρὶ καὶ ταῖς αἰσχίσταις ἐζηκότας ἡδοναῖς καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκπεπτωκότας ἐκ τῶν βίων, αἰσχύνας τῆς

πόλεως νομίζειν καὶ βλάβας, καὶ μέγα τῷ κοινῷ κέρδος ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἐὰν ἐκόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποφθαρῶσιν: οὓς δ' ἂν αἰσθάνωνται διὰ πονηρὰν τύχην ἀπολωλεκότας τοὺς βίους, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τούτους [p. 243]

[68.1] He said that those who thought it proper to pity the poverty of the citizens and who advised relieving such of them as were unable to pay their debts ought to inquire what it was that had made them poor, when they had inherited the lands their fathers had left them and had gained much booty from their campaigns, and, last of all, when each of them had received his share of the confiscated property of the tyrants; and after that they ought to look upon such of them as they found had lived for their bellies and the most shameful pleasures, and by such means had lost their fortunes, as a disgrace and injury to the city, and to regard it as a great benefit to the common weal if they would voluntarily get to the devil out of the city. But in the case of such as they found to have lost their fortunes through an unkind fate, he advised them to relieve these with their private means.

[2] εὖ ποιεῖν. ἄριστα δὲ τοῦτο καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ ποιήσκειν ἔφησε τοὺς συμβεβληκότας αὐτοῖς καὶ βοηθήσκειν αὐτῶν ταῖς τύχαις αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους οὐκ ἀναγκασθέντας ὑφ' ἑτέρων, ἀλλ' ἐκόντας, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἡ χάρις ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων καλὸν ὀφείλημα περιῇ. κοινὴν δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν βοήθειαν ἅπασιν, ἥς ἐξ ἴσου μεθέξουσιν οἱ πονηροὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τινὰς εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ ὧν τὰ χρήματα ἀφαιροῦνται, τοῦτοις μηδὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καταλιπεῖν χάριτας, ἥκιστα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῇ προσήκειν.

[2] Their creditors, he said, not only understood this best, but would attend to it best, and would themselves relieve their misfortunes, not under compulsion from others, but voluntarily, to the end that gratitude, instead of their money, might accrue to them as a noble debt. But to extend the relief to all alike, when the worthless would share it equally with the deserving, and to confer benefits on certain persons, not at their own expense, but at that of others, and not to leave to those whose money they took away even the gratitude owed for these services, was in no wise consistent with the virtue of Romans.

[3] ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα, δεινὸν τι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιοιούμενοις, ἦν διὰ πολλῶν πόνων οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν κτησάμενοι τοῖς ἐκγόνοις κατέλιπον, μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν μηδὲ πεισθέντας μηδ' ἐν ᾧ προσῆκε καιρῷ τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροντα πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως ἢ προσδοκώσης τοῦτο πείσεσθαι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτοῖς πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν ὠφέλειαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἢ μικράν τινα κομιδὴν λήφονται, κακῶν δὲ κινδυνεύουσιν τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν.

[3] But above all these and the other considerations, it was a grievous and intolerable thing for the Romans, who were laying claim to the leadership — a leadership which their ancestors had acquired through many hardships and left

to their posterity — if they could not do what was best and most advantageous for the commonwealth also, by their own choice, or when convinced by argument, or at the proper time, but, just as if the city had been captured or were expecting to suffer that fate, must do things contrary to their own judgment from which they would receive very little benefit, if any, but would run the risk of suffering the very worst of ills.

[4] μακρῶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι κρεῖττον ἃ κελεύουσι Λατῖνοι πράττειν ὥς μετριώτερα ὄντα καὶ μηδ' εἰς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν πολέμου, ἢ τοῖς μηδαμῇ μηδὲν χρησίμοις συγχωρήσαντας ἃ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀνελεῖν τὴν πίστιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἱεροῦ κατασκευῇ [p. 244] καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἔταξαν γεραίρεσθαι, μέλλοντας σφενδονητῶν συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον προσλαμβάνειν.

[4] For it was far better for them to submit to the commands of the Latins, as being more moderate, and not even to try the fortune of war, than by yielding to the pleas of those who were of no use upon any occasion, to abolish from the south the public faith, which their ancestors had appointed to be honoured by the erection of a temple and by sacrifices performed throughout the year — and this when they were merely going to add a body of slingers to their forces for the war.

[5] κεφάλαιον δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἦν αὐτῷ τόδε: τοὺς μὲν θέλοντας τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τύχης ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δίκαιοις, οἷς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος, παραλαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα: τοὺς δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας ὁποίας δῆποτε ἀξιοῦντας ἀναλαμβάνειν τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς οὐδὲν εἰ λάβοιεν ὠφελήσοντας, χαίρειν ἔαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο μάθοιεν, εἴξειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη, καὶ παρέξειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ βουλευόουσιν εὐπειθεῖς. εἰθέναι γὰρ αἰεὶ πως τὸ ἀνόητον ἅπαν, ὅταν μὲν τις αὐτὸ κολακεύῃ μεγάλα φρονεῖν, ὅταν δὲ δεδιττηται σωφρονεῖν.

[5] The sum and substance of his advice was this: to take for the business in hand such citizens as were willing to share the fortune of the war upon the same terms as every other Roman, and to let those who insisted upon any special terms whatever for taking up arms for their country go hang, since they would be of no use even if they did arm. For if they knew this, he said, they would yield and show themselves prompt to obey those who took the wisest counsel for the commonwealth; since all the unintelligent are generally wont, when flattered, to be arrogant, and when terrified, to show restraint.

[1] αὗται μὲν αἱ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαι γνώμαι ἐλέχθησαν, ἕτεροι δὲ τινες αἱ τὴν μεταξὺ τούτων ἔχουσαι χώραν συχναί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μόνον ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν χρεῶν τοὺς μηδὲν κεκτημένους ἠξιοῦν, τὰ χρήματα ποιοῦντες ἀγώγιμα τοῖς δανεισταῖς, οὐ τὰ σώματα: οἱ δὲ τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδυνάτων διαλύσαι τὰ συμβόλαια συνεβούλευον, ἵνα ἢ τε πίστις τῶν πενήτων ὑπὸ τῆς δημοσίας φυλαχθῇ χάριτος καὶ οἱ συμβεβληκότες αὐτοῖς μηθὲν ἀδικηθῶσιν. ἐδόκει δὲ τισι καὶ τῶν ἤδη κατεχομένων [p. 245] πρὸς τὰ χρέα καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀφαιρεθῆσεσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ῥύσασθαι τὰ σώματα, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἕτερα τοῖς δανεισταῖς διαμειψάμενους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σώματα.

[69.1] These were the extreme opinions delivered upon that occasion, but there were many which took the middle ground between the two. For some of the senators favoured remitting the debts of those only who had nothing, permitting the money-lenders to seize the goods of the debtors, but not their persons. Others advised that the public treasury should discharge the obligations of the insolvents, in order both that the credit of the poor might be preserved by this public favour and their creditors might suffer no injustice. Certain others thought that they ought to ransom the persons of those who were already being held for debt or were going to be deprived of their liberty, by substituting captives in their stead and assigning these to their creditors.

[2] τοιούτων δὲ τινων λεχθέντων ἡ νικῶσα ἦν γνώμη, μηθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν προβούλεμα: ὅταν δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τέλος οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι, τότε προθεῖναι τοὺς ὑπάτους λόγον καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδοῦναι τοῖς συνέδροις: τέως δὲ μηδεμίαν εἰσπραξίν εἶναι μήτε συμβολαίου μηθενὸς μήτε καταδίκης μηδεμιᾶς, ἀφεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀμφισβητήσεις πάσας, καὶ μήτε τὰ δικαστήρια καθίζειν μήτε τὰς ἀρχὰς διαγινώσκειν περὶ μηθενὸς ἕξω

τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνηκόντων.

[2] After various views such as these had been expressed, the opinion that prevailed was that they should pass no decree for the time being concerning these matters, but that after the wars were ended in the most satisfactory manner, the consuls should then bring them up for discussion and take the votes of the senators; and that in the meantime there should be no money exacted by virtue of either any contract or any judgment, that all other suits should be dropped, and that neither the courts of justice should sit nor the magistrates take cognizance of anything but what related to the war.

[3] τοῦτο τὸ προβούλευμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεχθὲν ἐμείωσε μὲν τι τῆς πολιτικῆς ταραχῆς, οὐ μὴν ἅπαν γε τὸ στασιάζον ἐξεῖλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἐκ τοῦ θητικοῦ πλήθους, οἷς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἀποχρῶσα εἶναι βοήθεια ἢ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλπίς φανερόν οὐδὲ βέβαιον ἔχουσα οὐδέν: ἀλλὰ дуεῖν θάτερον αὐτὴν ἡξιοῦν ποιεῖν, ἢ διδόναι σφίσις ἤδη τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν χρεῶν, εἰ βούλεται κοινωνοὺς τῶν κινδύνων ἔχειν, ἢ μὴ φενακίζειν εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλλομένην χρόνους: οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίας εἶναι τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεομένων τε καὶ ἀποπληρωθέντων, ὅτου ἂν δεηθῶσιν.

[3] When this decree was brought to the people, it allayed in some measure the civil commotion, yet it did not entirely remove the spirit of sedition from the state. For some of the labouring class did not look upon the hope held out by the senate, which contained nothing express or certain, as a sufficient relief; but they demanded that the senate should do one of two things, either grant them the remission of debts immediately, if it wanted to have them as partners in the dangers of the war, or not delude them by deferring it to another occasion. For men's sentiments, they said, were very different when they were making requests and after their requests had been satisfied.

[1] ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὴ καταστάσει τῶν κοινῶν ὑπαρχόντων σκοποῦσα ἡ βουλή, δι' οὗ μάλιστα διαπράσσεται τρόπου μηθὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσαι τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἔκρινε [p. 246] τὴν μὲν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνελεῖν κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἑτέραν δὲ τινα ἀρχὴν ἀποδεῖξαι πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος κυρίαν, αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον, ὧν ἂν βουλευῶσται καὶ πράξῃ.

[70.1] While the public affairs were in this condition, the senate, considering by what means it could most effectually prevent the plebeians from creating any fresh disturbances, resolved to abolish the consular power for the time being and to create some other magistracy with full authority over war and peace and every other matter, possessed of absolute power and subject to no accounting for either its counsels or its actions.

[2] χρόνου δ' εἶναι μέτρον τῇ νέᾳ ἀρχῇ μῆνας ἕξ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξάμηνον αὐθις ἄρχειν τοὺς ὑπάτους. τὰ δ' ἀναγκάσαντα αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ καταλῦσαι τὸ

τυραννικὸν πόλεμον αὐθαίρετον ὑπομεῖναι τυραννίδα πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἦν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ὁ κυρωθεὶς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τοῦ κληθέντος Ποπλικόλα νόμος, ὑπὲρ οὗ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφην, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων γνώμας ἀκύρους ἐποίησε, μὴ τιμωρεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίων τινὰ πρὸ δίκης, ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς ἀγομένοις ἐπὶ τὰς κολάσεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν προκαλεῖσθαι τὴν διαγνώσιν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τέως ἂν ἡ πληθὺς ἐνέγκῃ ψῆφον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σώμασι τε καὶ βίοις τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχειν: τὸν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τι ποιεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα νηπιονὶ τεθνάναι κελεύων.

[2] The term of this new magistracy was to be limited to six months, after the expiration of which time the consuls were again to govern. The reasons that compelled the senate to submit to a voluntary tyranny in order to put an end to the war brought upon them by their tyrant were many and various, but the chief one was the law introduced by the consul Publius Valerius, called Publicola (concerning which I stated in the beginning that it rendered invalid the decisions of the consuls), providing that no Roman should be punished before he was tried, and granting to any who were haled to punishment by their orders the right to appeal from their decision to the people, and until the people had given their vote concerning them, the right to enjoy security for both their persons and their fortunes; and it ordained that if any person attempted to do anything contrary to these provisions he might be put to death with impunity.

[3] ἐλογίζετο δὴ μένοντος μὲν κυρίου τοῦ νόμου τοῦδε μὴθὲν ὑπηρετήσιν ἀναγκαζομένους ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τοὺς πένητας καταφρονοῦντας ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν τιμωριῶν, ἃς οὐ παραχρῆμα ὑφέξιν ἐμελλον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν καταψηφίσηται, ἀναιρεθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην τὰ κελευόμενα ποιήσιν ἅπαντας. ἵνα δὲ μὴθὲν ἐναντιωθεῖεν οἱ πένητες, εἴ τις αὐτὸν καταλύοι τὸν νόμον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, τὴν ἰσοτύραννον ἀρχὴν ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα παραγαγεῖν, [p. 247] ἢ πάντας ἐμελλεν ἔξιν ὑφ' ἑαυτῇ τοῦς νόμους.

[3] The senate reasoned that while this law remained in force the poor could not be compelled to obey the magistrates, because, as it was reasonable to suppose, they would scorn the punishments which they were to undergo, not immediately, but only after they had been condemned by the people, whereas, when this law had been repealed, all would be under the greatest necessity of obeying orders. And to the end that the poor might offer no opposition, in case an open attempt were made to repeal the law itself, the senate resolved to introduce into the government a magistracy of equal power with a tyranny, which should be superior to all the laws.

[4] καὶ γράφει προβούλευμα, δι' οὗ παρακρουσαμένη τοὺς πένητας καὶ τὸν βεβαιοῦντα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἀνελοῦσα ἔλαθεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα τοιόνδε: Λάρκιον μὲν καὶ Κλοίλιον τοὺς τότε ὑπατεύοντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀρχὴν τινα εἶχεν ἢ πραγμάτων

τινῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν: ἓνα δ' ἄνδρα, ὃν ἂν ἢ τε βουλή προέλῃται καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίῃ, τὴν ἀπάντων ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντα ἄρχειν μὴ πλείονα χρόνον ἐξαμήνου, κρείττονα ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα τῶν ὑπάτων.

[4] And they passed a decree by which they deceived the poor and, without being detected, repealed the law that secured their liberty. The decree was to this effect; that Larcus and Cloelius, who were the consuls at the time, should resign their power, and likewise any other person who held a magistracy or had the oversight of any public business; and that a single person, to be chosen by the senate and approved of by the people, should be invested with the whole authority of the commonwealth and exercise it for a period not longer than six months, having power superior to that of the consuls.

[5] τοῦτ' ἀγνοήσαντες, ἣν ἔχει δύναμιν, οἱ δημοτικοὶ ψηφίζονται κύρια εἶναι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ: ἣν δ' ἄρα ἡ κρείττων ἀρχὴ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τυραννίς: τὴν τε αἵρεσιν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄρχειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βουλευομένοις ποιήσασθαι.

[5] The plebeians, being unaware of the real import of this proposal, ratified the resolutions of the senate, although, in fact, a magistracy that was superior to a legal magistracy was a tyranny; and they gave the senators permission to deliberate by themselves and choose the person who was to hold it.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὴ ζήτησις ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς προεσθηκόσι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρόνοια περὶ τοῦ παραληφόμενου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς δραστηρίου τ' ἄνδρὸς εἰς τὰ πράγματα δεῖν καὶ πολλὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις φρονίμου τε καὶ σώφρονος καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνόητον παραχθησομένου: ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ προσεῖναι στρατηλάταις ἀγαθοῖς ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς εἰδότος καὶ μηδὲν μαλακὸν ἐνδύσοντος τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν, οὗ

[71.1] After this the leading men of the senate devoted much earnest thought to searching for the man who should be entrusted with the command. For they felt that the situation required a man both vigorous in action and of wide experience in warfare, a man, moreover, possessed of prudence and self-control, who would not be led into folly by the greatness of his power; but, above all these qualities and the others essential in good generals, a man was required who knew how to govern with firmness and would show no leniency toward the disobedient, a quality of which they then stood particularly in need.

[2] μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐδέοντο. ἅπαντα δ' ὀρῶντες [p. 248] ὅσα ἤξιουν περὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπάρχοντα τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτον Λάρκιον: ὁ γὰρ Κλοίλιος ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς χρεῖαις διάφορος ὢν τὸ δραστήριον καὶ φιλοπόλεμον οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ γε τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ φοβερὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπεικῆς τιμωρὸς ἦν τῶν

ἀπειθοῦντων· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δι' αἰσχύνῃς ἐλάμβανον τοῦ μὲν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἣν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἶχε, τῷ δὲ χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἐξουσίαν, μείζονα βασιλικοῦ σχήματος γινομένην· καὶ τι καὶ δέος αὐτὴν ὑπῆει, μὴ βαρεῖαν ὁ Κλοίλιος ἡγησάμενος τὴν ἀπαξίωσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ἡτιμασμένος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἔπειτα μεταθῆται τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου τοῦ δήμου γενόμενος προστάτης

[2] And though they observed that all the qualities they demanded were to be found in Titus Larcus, one of the consuls (for Cloelius, who excelled in all administrative virtues, was not a man of action nor fond of war, nor had he the ability to command others and to inspire fear, but was a mild punisher of the disobedient), they were nevertheless ashamed to deprive one of the consuls of the magistracy of which he was legally possessed and to confer upon the other the power of both, a power which was being created greater than the kingly authority. Besides, they were under some secret apprehensions lest Cloelius, taking to heart his removal from office and considering it a dishonour put upon him by the senate, might change his sentiments and, becoming a patron of the people, overthrow the whole government.

[3] καὶ πάντα ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ κοινά. αἰδουμένων δ' ἀπάντων, ἃ φρονοῦντες ἐτύγχανον, εἰς μέσον ἐκφέρειν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τοῦτο ποιούντων ὁ πρεσβύτατός τε καὶ τιμιώτατος τῶν ὑπατικῶν γνώμην ἀπεδείξατο, δι' ἧς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἴσῃ τιμῇ τοὺς ὑπάτους φυλάξας παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον ἄρχειν εὔρετο· ἔφη γὰρ αὐτῷ δοκεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἦ τε βουλὴ διέγνωκε καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεπήφικεν ἐνὶ δοθῆναι, δύο δὲ καταλείπεται βουλῆς καὶ φροντίδος οὐ μικρᾶς δεόμενα, τίς ὁ παραληψόμενος τὴν ἰσοτύραννον ἀρχὴν ἔσται καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐξουσίας νομίμου, ἐκ τῶν τότε ὄντων ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον, εἴτε παραχωρήσαντος [p. 249] τοῦ συνάρχοντος, εἴτε κλήρῳ λαχόντα, ἐλέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὃν ὑπολαμβάνει κράτιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτροπεύσειν. μεσοβασιλέων δ' αὐτοῖς μηθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖν, οὕς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀποδείκνυσθαι μονογνώμονας τῶν μελλόντων ἄρξειν ἔθος ἦν, ἐχούσης τῆς πόλεως τὴν ὅσιον ἀρχήν.

[3] And when all were ashamed to lay their thoughts before the senate, and this situation had continued for a considerable time, at last the oldest and most honoured of the men of consular rank delivered an opinion by which he preserved an equal share of honour to both the consuls and yet found out from those men themselves the one who was the more suitable to command. He said that, since the senate had decreed and the people in confirm thereof had voted that the power of this magistracy should be entrusted to a single person, and since two matters remained that required no small deliberation and thought, namely, who should be the one to receive this magistracy that was of equal power with a tyranny, and by what legal authority he should be appointed, it was his opinion that one of the present consuls, either by consent

of his colleague or by recourse to the lot, should choose among all the Romans the person he thought would govern the commonwealth in the best and most advantageous manner. They had no need on the present occasion, he said, of interreges, to whom it had been customary under the monarchy to give the sole power of appointing those who were to reign, since the commonwealth was already provided with the lawful magistrate.

[1] ἑπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων μετὰ τοῦτον ἀναστὰς ἕτερος εἶπεν· ἐμοὶ δ', ὧ βουλῇ, δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτι προστεθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ, δεῦν ἀνδρῶν κρατίστων εἰς τόδε χρόνου τὰ κοινὰ διοικούντων, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εὕροιτε ἀμείνους, τὸν μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶν κύριον ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς ἀναρρήσεως, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αἰρεθῆναι διαγνόντων αὐτῶν ἐν ἀλλήλοις τὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον· ἵνα αὐτοῖς περιγένηται σὺν τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ τὸ χαῖρον ἴσον, τῷ μὲν ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα κράτιστον ἀπέφηνε, τῷ δ' ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἄριστος ἐκρίθη· ἡδὺ γὰρ καὶ καλὸν ἐκάτερον. οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ μὴ προστεθέντος τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦδε τοῦ μέρους, αὐτοῖς ἂν ἐφάνη τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὕτως ποιεῖν· κρεῖττον δὲ τὸ μηδ' ὑμῶν ἕτερόν τι βουλομένων.

[72.1] This opinion being applauded by all, another senator rose up and said: "I think, senators, this also ought to be added to the motion, namely, that as two persons of the greatest worth have at present the administration of the public affairs, men whose superiors you could not find, one of them should be empowered to make the nomination and the other should be appointed by his colleague, after they have considered together which of them is the more suitable person, to the end that, as the honour is equal between them, so the satisfaction may be equal also, to the one, in having declared his colleague to be the best man, and to the other, in having been declared the best by his colleague; for each of these things is pleasing and honourable. I know, to be sure, that even if this amendment were not made to the motion, they themselves would have thought proper to act in this manner; but it is better it should appear that you likewise approve of no other course."

[2] ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ νοῦν ἅπασιν εἰρῆσθαι· καὶ οὐθενὸς ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ προστεθέντος ἐπικυροῦται τὸ δόγμα. ὥς δὲ παρέλαβον τὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ τοῦ διαγνῶναι, πότερος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄρχειν ἐστὶν ἐπιτηδειότερος, θαυμαστόν τι καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ὑπολήψεις πρᾶγμα ἐποιοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐκάτερος ἄξιον ἀπέφαινε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, [p. 250] ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕτερον· καὶ κατέτριψαν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὰς ἀλλήλων ἀρετὰς ἐξαριθμοῦμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες μὴ λαβεῖν αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥστε ἐν πολλῇ γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντας ἀμηχανία.

[2] This proposal also seemed to meet with the approval of all, and the motion was then passed without further amendment. When the consuls had received the authority to decide which of them was the more suitable to command, they did a thing both admirable in itself and passing all human belief. For each of

them declared, as worthy of the command, not himself, but the other; and they continued all that day enumerating one another's virtues and begging that they themselves might not receive the command, so that all who were present in the senate were in great perplexity.

[3] 22 διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ προσήκοντες κατὰ γένος ἑκατέρω, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι πρὸς τὸν Λάρκιον ἀφικόμενοι πολλὰς ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄχρι πολλῆς νυκτὸς δεήσεις διδάσκοντες, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἢ βουλὴ τέθεται πάσας, καὶ τὸ ἀσπούδαστον αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πονηρὸν εἶναι τῷ κοινῷ λέγοντες. ὁ δ' ἦν ἀτενὴς καὶ πολλὰ ἐν μέρει δεόμενός τε καὶ ἀντιβολῶν ἕκαστον διετέλει. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν τοῦ συνεδρίου συναχθέντος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε διεμάχετο καὶ πειθόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς γνώμης, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κλοίλιος ἀναγορεύει τ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν οἱ μεσοβασιλεῖς, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὸς ἐξόμνυται.

[3] When the senate had been dismissed, the kinsmen of each and the most honoured among the senators at large came to Larcus and continued to entreat him till far into the night, informing him that the senate had placed all its hopes in him and declaring that his indifference toward the command was prejudicial to the commonwealth. But Larcus was unmoved, and in his turn continued to address many prayers and entreaties to each of them. The next day, when the senate had again assembled, and he still resisted and, in spite of the advice of all the senators, would not change his mind, Cloelius rose up and nominated him, according to the practice of the interreges, and then abdicated the consulship himself.

[1] οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ μόναρχος ἀπεδείχθη πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος αὐτοκράτωρ. ὄνομα δ' αὐτῷ τίθενται δικτάτορα, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ κελεῦν, ὅτι θέλοι, καὶ τάττειν τὰ δικαῖά τε καὶ τὰ καλὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ: τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτάγματα καὶ τὰς διαγραφὰς τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἡδίκτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν: εἴτε ὥς τινες γράφουσι διὰ τὴν τότε γενομένην ἀνάρρησιν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐρόμενος κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς ἔξειν ἔμελλεν, [p. 251]

[73.1] Larcus was the first man to be appointed sole ruler at Rome with absolute authority in war, in peace, and in all other matters. They call this magistrate a dictator, either from his power of issuing whatever orders he wishes and of prescribing for the others rules of justice and right as he thinks proper (for the Romans call commands and ordinances respecting what is right and wrong edicta or "edicts") so, as some write, from the form of nomination which was then introduced, since he was to receive the magistracy, not from the people, according to ancestral usage, but by the appointment of one man.

[2] ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐνός. οὐ γὰρ ὦντο δεῖν ἐπιφθονον ὄνομα καὶ βαρὺ θέσθαι τινὶ ἀρχῇ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν ἐπιτροπευούσῃ, τῶν τε ἀρχομένων ἔνεκα, ἵνα μὴθὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς μισουμέναις προσηγορίαις ἐκταράττωνται, καὶ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς προνοίᾳ, μὴ τι λάθωσιν ἢ παθόντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων πλημμελὲς ἢ δράσαντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς πέλας, ὧν φέρουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται δυναστεῖαι: ἐπεὶ τὸ γε τῆς ἐξουσίας μέγεθος, ἧς ὁ δικτάτωρ ἔχει, ἥκιστα δηλοῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος:

[2] For they did not think they ought to give an invidious and obnoxious title to any magistracy that had the oversight of a free people, as well as for the sake of the governed, lest they should be alarmed by the odious terms of address, as from a regard for the men who were assuming the magistracies, lest they should unconsciously either suffer some injury from others or themselves commit against others acts of injustice of the sort that positions of such authority bring in their train. For the extent of the power which the dictator possesses is by no means indicated by the title; for the dictatorship is in reality an elective tyranny.

[3] ἔστι γὰρ αἰρετὴ τυραννὶς ἢ δικτατορία. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Ἑλλήνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πολίτευμα λαβεῖν. οἱ γὰρ Αἰσυμνήται καλούμενοι παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος, αἰρετοὶ τινες ἦσαν τύραννοι: ἡροῦντο δ' αὐτοὺς αἱ πόλεις οὐτ' εἰς ὀριστὸν χρόνον οὔτε συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς, ὅποτε δόξειε συμφέρειν, καὶ εἰς ὅποσονοῦν χρόνον: ὥσπερ καὶ Μιτυληναῖοι ποθ' εἵλοντο Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκαῖον τὸν ποιητὴν.

[3] The Romans seem to me to have taken this institution also from the Greeks. For the magistrates anciently called among the Greeks aisymnêtai or “regulators,” as Theophrastus writes in his treatise *On Kingship*, were a kind of elective tyrants. They were chosen by the cities, not for a definite time nor continuously, but for emergencies, as often and for as long a time as seemed convenient; just as the Mitylenaeans, for example, once chose Pittacus to oppose the exiles headed by Alcaeus, the poet.

[1] ἦλθον δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρῶτοι διδασθέντες τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ χρήσιμον. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ἅπανα πόλεις Ἑλλὰς ἐβασίλευετο, πλὴν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμους τινὰς καὶ ἐθισμοὺς πατρίους: καὶ κράτιστος ἦν βασιλεὺς ὁ δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ νομιμώτατος καὶ μὴθὲν ἐκδιατῶμενος τῶν πατρίων.

[74.1] The first men who had recourse to this institution had learned the advantage of it by experience. For in the beginning all the Greek cities were governed by kings, though not despotically, like the barbarian nations, but according to certain laws and time-honoured customs, and he was the best king who was the most just, the most observant of the laws, and did not in any wise depart from the established customs.

[2] δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος δικασπόλους τε καλῶν [p. 252] τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ θεμιστοπόλους. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισιν αἱ βασιλεῖαι διοικούμεναι, καθάπερ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων: ἀρξαμένων δὲ τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις πλημμελεῖν καὶ νόμοις μὲν ὀλίγα χρωμένων, ταῖς δ' ἐαυτῶν γνώμαις τὰ πολλὰ διοικούντων, δυσχεράναντες ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ πολλοὶ κατέλυσαν μὲν τὰ βασιλικά πολιτεύματα, νόμους δὲ καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξαντες, ταύταις ἐχρῶντο τῶν πόλεων φυλακαῖς.

[2] This appears from Homer, who calls kings dikaspoloi or “ministers of justice,” and themispoloi or “ministers of the laws.” And kingships continued to be carried on for a long time subject to certain stated conditions, like that of the Lacedaemonians. But as some of the kings began to abuse their powers and made little use of the laws, but settled most matters according to their own judgment, people in general grew dissatisfied with the whole institution and abolished the kingly governments; and enacting laws and choosing magistrates, they used these as the safeguards of their cities.

[3] ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ αὐτάρκεις ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ τεθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν νόμοι βεβαιοῦν τὸ δίκαιον οὔτε οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν λαμβάνοντες βοηθεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, οἳ τε καιροὶ πολλὰ νεοχοῦντες οὐ τὰ κράτιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ πρεπωδέστατα ταῖς καταλαμβανούσαις αὐτοὺς συντυχίαις ἠνάγκαζον αἰρεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις συμφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ κἀν ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις τὸ μέτριον εὐτυχίαις, διαφθειρομένων δι' αὐτὰς τῶν πολιτικῶν κόσμων, οἷς ἐπανορθώσεως ταχείας καὶ αὐτογνώμονος ἔδει, ἠναγκάζοντο παράγειν πάλιν τὰς βασιλικὰς καὶ τυραννικὰς ἐξουσίας εἰς μέσον, ὀνόμασι περικαλύπτοντες αὐτὰς εὐπρεπεστέροις, Θετταλοὶ μὲν ἀρχοὺς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἀρμοστὰς καλοῦντες, φοβούμενοι τυράννους ἢ βασιλεῖς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, ὥς οὐδ' ὅσιον σφίσιν ὑπάρχον, ἃς κατέλυσαν ἐξουσίας ὅρκοις καὶ ἀραῖς ἐπιθεσπισάντων [p. 253]

[3] But when neither the laws they had made were sufficient to ensure justice nor the magistrates who had undertaken the oversight of them able to uphold the laws, and times of crisis, introducing many innovations, compelled them to choose, not the best institutions, but such as were best suited to the situations in which they found themselves, not only in unwelcome calamities, but also in immoderate prosperity, and when their forms of government were becoming corrupted by these conditions and required speedy and arbitrary correction, they were compelled to restore the kingly and tyrannical powers, though they concealed them under more attractive titles. Thus, the Thessalians called these officials archoi or “commanders,” and the Lacedaemonians harmosati or “harmonizers,” fearing to call them tyrants or kings, on the ground that it was not right for them to confirm those powers again which they had abolished with oaths and imprecations, under the approbation of the gods.

[4] θεῶν, ταύτας πάλιν ἐμπεδοῦν. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δοκοῦσι

Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ παράδειγμα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, Λικίνιος δὲ παρ' Ἀλβανῶν οἴεται τὸν δικτάτορα Ῥωμαίους εἰληφέναι, τοὺτους λέγων πρώτους μετὰ τὸν Ἀμολίου καὶ Νεμέτορος θάνατον ἐκλιπούσης τῆς βασιλικῆς συγγενείας ἐνιαυσίους ἄρχοντας ἀποδείξει τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, καλεῖν δ' αὐτοὺς δικτάτορας· ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τοῦνομα ζητεῖν ἠξιοῦν, πόθεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς περιλαμβανομένης τῷ ὀνόματι παράδειγμα. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐθὲν ἂν εἴη τάχα προὔργου τὰ πλείω γράφειν.

[4] My opinion, therefore, is, as I said, that the Romans took this example from the Greeks; but Licinius believes they took the dictatorship from the Albans, these being, as he says, the first who, when the royal family had become extinct upon the death of Amulius and Numitor, created annual magistrates with the same power the kings had enjoyed and called these magistrates dictators. For my part, I have not thought it worth while to inquire from whence the Romans took the name but from whence they took the example of the power comprehended under that name. But perhaps it is not worth while to discuss the matter further.

[1] ὃν δὲ τρόπον ὁ Λάρκιος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασι δικτάτωρ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς καὶ κόσμον, οἷον περιέθηκε τῇ ἀρχῇ, συντόμως πειράσομαι διεξελεῖν, ταῦτα ἡγούμενος εἶναι χρησιμώτατα τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις, ἃ πολλὴν εὐπορίαν παρέξει καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων παραδειγμάτων νομοθέταις τε καὶ δημαγωγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τοῖς πολιτεῦεσθαι τε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν βουλομένοις. οὐ γὰρ ἀζήλου καὶ ταπεινῆς πόλεως πολιτεύματα καὶ βίους οὐδὲ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀπερριμμένων ἀνθρώπων βουλευματα καὶ πράξεις μέλλω διηγέισθαι, ὥστε ὄχλον ἂν τινι καὶ φλυαρίαν φανῇ τὴν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα ἡμῶν σπουδὴν· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἅπασιν τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ὀριζούσης πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο καταστησαμένων αὐτὴν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἡγεμόνων, ἃ τις ἂν σπουδάσειε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν [p. 254]

[75.1] I shall now endeavour to relate in a summary manner how Larcus handled matters when he had been appointed the first dictator, and show with what dignity he invested the magistracy, for I look upon these matters as being most useful to my readers, since they will afford a great abundance of noble and profitable examples, not only to lawgivers and leaders of the people, but also to all others who aspire to take part in public life and to govern the state. For it is no mean and humble state of which I am going to relate the institutions and manners, nor were the men nameless outcasts whose counsels and actions I shall record, so that my zeal for small and trivial details might to some appear tedious and trifling; but I am writing the history of the state which prescribes rules of right and justice for all mankind, and of the leaders who raised her to that dignity, matters concerning which any philosopher or statesman would earnestly strive not to be ignorant.

[2] φιλόσοφος καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ, συγγραφέω. εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἱπάρχην ἀποδείκνυσι Σπώριον Κάσσιον, τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἕως τῆς κατ' ἐμὲ γενεᾶς ἐφυλάττετο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ οὐθεὶς εἰς τόδε χρόνου δικτάτωρ αἰρεθεὶς χωρὶς ἱπάρχου τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν. ἔπειτα τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κράτος ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλευθεὶς ὅσον ἐστὶ, καταπλήξεως μᾶλλον ἢ χρήσεως ἔνεκα τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα ταῖς δεσμαῖς τῶν ῥάβδων τοὺς πελέκεις διὰ τῆς πόλεως φέρειν: ἔθος ἐπιχώριον μὲν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐκλειφθὲν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐξ οὗ Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ὁ πρῶτος ὑπατεύσας ἐμείωσε τὸν φθόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς ἀνανεωσάμενος.

[2] As soon, therefore, as Larcius had assumed this power, he appointed as his Master of the Horse Spurius Cassius, who had been consul about the seventieth Olympiad. This custom has been observed by the Romans down to my generation and no one appointed dictator has thus far gone through his magistracy without a Master of the Horse. After that, desiring to show how great was the extent of his power, he ordered the lictors, more to inspire terror than for any actual use, to carry the axes with the bundles of rods through the city, thereby reviving once more a custom that had been observed by the kings but abandoned by the consuls after Valerius Publicola in his first consulship had lessened the hatred felt for that magistracy.

[3] καταπληξάμενος δὲ τούτῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβόλοις τῆς βασιλικῆς ἡγεμονίας τοὺς ταρακτικούς καὶ νεωτεριστάς, τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ Σερουίου Τυλλίου τοῦ δημοτικωτάτου βασιλέως κατασταθέντων νομίμων, πρῶτον ἐπέταξε ποιῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασι, τιμήσεις κατὰ φυλὰς τῶν βίων ἐνεγκεῖν, προσγράφοντας γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδῶν ὀνόματα καὶ ἡλικίας ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ τέκνων.

[3] Having by this and the other symbols of royal power terrified the turbulent and the seditious, he first ordered all the Romans, pursuant to the best of all the practices established by Servius Tullius, the most democratic of the kings, to return valuations of their property, each in their respective tribes, adding the names of their wives and children as well as the ages of themselves and their children. And all of them having registered in a short time by reason of the severity of the penalty (for the disobedient were to lose both their property and their citizenship), the Romans who had arrived at the age of manhood were found to number 150,700.

[4] ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντων τιμησαμένων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τιμωρίας: τὴν τε γὰρ οὐσίαν ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ἔδει καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν: ἑπτακοσίοις πλείους εὐρέθησαν οἱ ἐν ἡβῇ Ῥωμαῖοι πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων. μετὰ τοῦτο διακρίνας τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων [p. 255] καὶ καταχωρίσας εἰς λόχους, διένειμε πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεῖς εἰς τέτταρας μοίρας: ὧν μίαν μὲν τὴν κρατίστην περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων Κλοίλιον ἐκέλευσε τὸν συνύπατον ἦν αὐτὸς

ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην Σπόριον Κάσσιον τὸν ἱππάρχην, τὴν δὲ καταλειπομένην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σπόριον Λάρκιον· αὕτη φρουρεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐτάχθη σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐντὸς τείχους μένουσα.

[4] After that he separated those who were of military age from the older men, and distributing the former into centuries, he formed four bodies of foot and horse, of which he kept one, the best, about his person, while of the remaining three bodies, he ordered Cloelius, who had been his colleague in the consulship, to choose the one he wished, Spurius Cassius, the Master of the Horse, to take the third, and Spurius Larcius, his brother, the remaining one; this last body together with the older men was ordered to guard the city, remaining inside the walls.

[1] ὥς δ' ἦν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια εὐτρεπῆ, προήγαγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ὕπαιθρον, καὶ τίθεται στρατόπεδα τρία καθ' οὓς μάλιστα ὑπελάμβανε τόπους ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους τὴν ἑφοδον. ἐνθυμούμενος δ', ὅτι φρονίμων στρατηγῶν ἔστιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐαυτῶν πράγματα ποιεῖν ἰσχυρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμιων ἀσθενῆ, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἄνευ μάχης καὶ πόνου καταλύεσθαι τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε σὺν ἐλαχίστῃ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους δαπάνῃ, πολέμων θ' ἀπάντων κακίστους ἡγούμενος καὶ πλεῖστα τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχοντας, οὓς πρὸς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀναγκαζόμενοι τινες ἀναιροῦνται, ἐπικειστέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοτέρων ὦετο δεῖν αὐτοῖς διαλύσεων.

[76.1] When he had got everything ready that was necessary for the war, he took the field with his forces and established three camps in the places where he suspected the Latins would be the most likely to make their invasion. He considered that it is the part of a prudent general, not only to strengthen his own position, but also to weaken that of the enemy, and, above all, to bring wars to an end without a battle or hardship, or, if that cannot be done, then with the least expenditure of men; and regarding as the worse of all wars and the most distressing those which men are forced to undertake against kinsmen and friends, he thought they ought to be settled by an accommodation in which clemency outweighed the demands of justice.

[2] κρύφα τε δὴ πέμπων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Λατίνων ἀνυπόπτους τινὰς ἔπειθε φιλίαν πράττειν ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πρεσβευόμενος κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξειργάσατο μηκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπαντας ὁρμὴν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεθεράπευσε καὶ διαστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐποίησε διὰ τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας. [p. 256]

[2] Accordingly, he not only sent secretly to the most important men among the Latins some persons who were free from suspicion and attempted to persuade them to establish friendship between the two states, but he also sent ambassadors openly both to the several cities and to their league and by that

means easily brought it about that they no longer entertained the same eagerness for the war. But in particular he won them over and set them against their leaders by the following service.

[3] οἱ γὰρ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότες τῶν Λατίνων στρατηγίαν, Μαμίλιος τε καὶ Σέξτος ἐν Τύσκλῳ πόλει τὰς δυνάμεις συνέχοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς ἐλάσσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐδαπάνων δὲ πολὺν εἰς τὸ μέλλειν χρόνον, εἴτε τὰς ὑστεριζούσας ἀναμένοντες πόλεις, εἴτε τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῖς οὐ γινομένων καλῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ τινὲς ἀποσκιδνάμενοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν χώραν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπόρθουν.

[3] The men who had received the supreme command over the Latins, namely, Mamilius and Sextus, keeping their forces all together in the city of Tusculum, were preparing to march on Rome, but were consuming much time in delay, either waiting for the cities which were slow in joining them or because the sacrificial victims were not favourable. During this time some of their men, scattering abroad from the camp, proceeded to plunder the territory of the Romans.

[4] τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Λάρκιος ἀποστέλλει τὸν Κλοίλιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄγοντα τῶν ἵππεων τε καὶ ψιλῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους. ὃς ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἀποκτείνει μαχόμενος, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαμβάνει. τούτους ὁ Λάρκιος ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐκθεραπεύσας φιλανθρωπιαῖς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Τύσκλον ἄθρόους ἄνευ λύτρων, πρεσβευτὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς πέμψας Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους. οὗτοι διεπράξαντο διαλυθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Λατίνων καὶ γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιαυσίους ἀνοχάς.

[4] Larcius, being informed of this, sent Cloelius against them with the most valiant, both of the horse and light-armed troops; and he, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed a few in the action and took the rest prisoners. These Larcius caused to be cured of their wounds, and having gained their affection by many other instances of kindness, he sent them to Tusculum safe and sound without ransom, and with them the most distinguished of the Romans as ambassadors. Through their efforts the army of the Latins was disbanded and a year's truce concluded between the two states.

[1] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς ὑπαιθρου καὶ πρὶν ἢ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκπληρῶσαι χρόνον ὑπάτους ἀποδείξας ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗτ' ἀποκτείνας οὐθένεα Ῥωμαίων οὗτ' ἐξελάσας τῆς πατρίδος οὗτ' ἄλλῃ συμφορᾷ βαρεῖα περιβαλὼν 23 οὐδεμιᾷ.

[77.1] After Larcius had effected these things, he brought the army home from the field, and having appointed consuls, laid down his magistracy before the whole term of his power had expired, without having put any of the Romans to death, banished any, or inflicted any other severity on any of them.

[2] οὗτος ὁ ζῆλος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρξάμενος ἅπασι παρέμεινε τοῖς λαμβάνουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἄχρι τῆς τρίτης πρὸ ἡμῶν γενεᾶς. οὐθέν α[ρ. 257] γοῦν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παρειλήφαμεν, ὅς οὐ μετρίως αὐτῇ καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐχρήσατο, πολλάκις ἀναγκασθείσης τῆς πόλεως καταλῦσαι τὰς νομίμους ἀρχὰς καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα ὑφ' ἐνί.

[2] This enviable example set by Larcus was continued by all who afterwards received this same power till the third generation before ours. Indeed, we find no instance of any one of them in history who did not use it with moderation and as became a citizen, though the commonwealth has often found it necessary to abolish the legal magistracies and to put the whole administration under one man.

[3] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις μόνον ἦσαν οἱ λαμβάνοντες τὴν δικτατορίαν ἀγαθοὶ προστάται τῆς πατρίδος μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφθειρόμενοι ἦττον ἂν θαυμαστὸν ἦν: νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις διχοστασίαις πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γενομέναις καὶ ἐπὶ καταλύσει βασιλειῶν καὶ τυραννίδων ὑποπτευομένων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συμφορῶν κωλύσει μυρίων ὅσων οἱ τηλικαύτης τυχόντες ἐξουσίας ἅπαντες ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ λαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁμοίους ἑαυτοὺς παρέσχον: ὥσθ' ἅπασι παραστῆναι τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν, ὅτι μία βοήθεια παντός ἐστιν ἀνιάτου κακοῦ καὶ τελευταίας σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, ὅταν ἀπορραγῶσιν ἅπασαι διὰ καιροὺς τινας, ἢ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀρχή. ἐπὶ δὲ

[3] If, now, in foreign wars alone those who held the dictatorship had shown themselves brave champions of the fatherland, quite uncorrupted by the greatness of their power, it would not be so remarkable; but as it was, all who obtained this great power, whether in times of civil dissensions, which were many and serious, or in order to overthrow those who were suspected of aiming at monarchy or tyranny, or to prevent numberless other calamities, acquitted themselves in a manner free from reproach, like the first man who received it; so that all men gained the same opinion, and the last hope of safety when all others had been snatched away by some crisis, was the dictatorship.

[4] τῆς κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἡλικίας ὁμοῦ τι τετρακοσίων διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Τίτου Λαρκίου δικτατορίας διεβλήθη καὶ μισητὸν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐφάνη τὸ πρᾶγμα Λευκίου Κορνηλίου Σύλλα πρώτου καὶ μόνου πικρῶς αὐτῇ καὶ ὡμῶς χρησαμένου: ὥστε τότε πρῶτον αἰσθῆσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὃ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡγνόουν, ὅτι τυραννὶς ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ

[4] But in the time of our fathers, a full four hundred years after Titus Larcus, the institution became an object of reproach and hatred to all men under L. Cornelius Sulla, the first and only dictator who exercised his power with harshness and cruelty; so the Romans then perceived for the first time what they had along been ignorant of, that the dictatorship is a tyranny.

[5] δικτάτορος ἀρχή. βουλὴν τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνέστησε καὶ τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας κράτος εἰς [p. 258] τοῦλάχιστον συνέστειλε καὶ πόλεις ὅλας ἐξώκισε καὶ βασιλείας τὰς μὲν ἀνεῖλε, τὰς δ' αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ αὐθάδη διεπράξατο, περὶ ὧν πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶη λέγειν: πολίτας τε χωρὶς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολομένων τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισμυρίων ἀπέκτεινεν, ὧν τινὰς καὶ

[5] For Sulla composed the senate of commonplace men, reduced the power of the tribunes to the minimum, depopulated whole cities, abolished some kingdoms and established others himself, and was guilty of many other arbitrary acts, which it would be a great task to enumerate. As for the citizens, besides those slain in battle, he put no fewer than forty thousand to death after they had surrendered to him, and some of these after he had first tortured them.

[6] βασάνοις πρῶτον αἰκισάμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαιῶς ἢ συμφερόντως τῷ κοινῷ πάντα ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, οὐχ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς ἐξετάζειν: ὅτι δὲ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμισήθη καὶ δεινὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος ὄνομα, τοῦτό μοι προὔκειτο ἐπιδείξει. πέφυκε δ' οὐ ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῦτο μόναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβαίνειν τοῖς περιμαχῆτοις καὶ θαυμαζομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου πράγμασι. καλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντα φαίνεται καὶ συμφέροντα τοῖς χρωμένοις, ὅταν τις αὐτοῖς χρῆται καλῶς, αἰσχρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσύμφορα, ὅταν πονροὺς λάβῃ προστάτας. τούτου δ' ἡ φύσις αἰτία προσθεῖσα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασι καὶ κῆρὰς τινὰς συμφύτους. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἂν εἶη τοῖς λόγοις καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαντῷ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες Αὐλὸς Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος καὶ Μάρκος Μηνύκιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνῖκα στάδιον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἰππάρχου.

[6] Whether all these acts of his were necessary or advantageous to the commonwealth the present is not the time to inquire; all I have undertaken to show is that the name of dictator was rendered odious and terrible because of them. This is wont to be the case, not only with positions of power, but also with the other advantages which are eagerly contended for and admired in everyday life. For they all appear noble and profitable to those who hold them when they are used nobly, but base and unprofitable when they find unprincipled champions. For this result Nature is responsible, which to all good things has attached some congenital evils. But another occasion may be more suitable for discussing this subject.

BOOK VI

[1] οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, Αὐλὸς Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος καὶ Μάρκος Μηνύκιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἱππάρχου, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἱστορίας ἄξιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῆς ἔπραξαν· αἱ τε γὰρ πρὸς Λατίνους ἀνοχαὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολέμων παρέσχον εἰρήνην ἢ τε τῆς ἀναπράξεως τῶν δανείων κώλυσις, ἣν ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ, τέως ἂν ὁ προσδοκώμενος πόλεμος εἰς ἀσφαλὲς ἔλθῃ τέλος, ἔπαυσε τοὺς ἐντὸς τείχους νεωτερισμοὺς, οὓς ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πένητες ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν χρεῶν ἀξιοῦντες δημοσίᾳ:

[1.1] Aulus Sempronius Atratinus and Marcus Minucius, who assumed the consulship the following year, in the seventy-first Olympiad (the one in which Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race), Hipparchus being archon at Athens, performed no action either of a military or administrative nature worthy of the notice of history during their term of office, since the truce with the Latins gave them ample respite from foreign wars, and the injunction decreed by the senate against the exaction of debts till the war that was expected should be safely terminated, quieted the disturbances raised in the city by the poor, who desired to be discharged of their debts by a public act;

[2] δόγμα δὲ βουλῆς ἐκύρωσαν ἐπεικέστατον, Λατίνοις ἀνδράσιν εἴ τινας ἔτυχον [p. 260] ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνους συνοικοῦσαι γυναῖκες ἢ Ῥωμαίους Λατῖναι, ἑαυτῶν εἶναι κυρίας, ἂν τε μένιν θέλωσι παρὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν ἂν τε μὴ, εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀναστρέφειν: τῶν δ' ἐκγόνων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα παρὰ τοῖς πατράσι μένιν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας καὶ ἔτι ἀγάμους ταῖς μητράσιν ἔπεσθαι: ἐτύγχανον δὲ πολλὰὶ πάνυ γυναῖκες εἰς τὰς ἀλλήλων πόλεις ἐκδεδομέναι καὶ διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ διὰ φιλίαν, οἱ τυχοῦσαι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀδείας ἐδήλωσαν ὅσην εἶχον ἐπιθυμίαν 1 τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης.

[2] but they caused the senate to pass a most reasonable decree which provided that any women of Roman birth who were married to Romans should have full power to decide for themselves whether they preferred to stay with their husbands or to return to their own cities, and also provided that the male children should remain with their fathers and the female and unmarried should follow their mothers. For it happened that a great many women, by reason of the kinship and friendship existing between the two nations, had been given in marriage each into the other's state. The women, having this liberty granted to them by the decree of the senate, showed how great was their desire to live at Rome;

[3] αἱ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσι Ῥωμαῖαι μικροῦ δεῖν πᾶσαι καταλιποῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ὥς τοὺς πατέρας ἀνέστρεψαν, αἱ τε Ῥωμαίους

ἐκδεδομέναι Λατίνων πλὴν δυεῖν, αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν πατρίδων ὑπεριδοῦσαι παρὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν ἔμειναν: οἷωνδὸς εὐτυχῆς τῆς μελλούσης πόλεως ἐπικρατήσιν τῷ πολέμῳ.

[3] for almost all the Roman women who lived in the Latin cities left their husbands and returned to their fathers, and all the Latin women who were married to Romans, except two, scorned their native countries and stayed with their husbands — a happy omen foretelling which of the two nations was to be victorious in the war.

[4] ἐπὶ τούτων φασὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν νεῶν καθιερωθῆναι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν ἄνδον τὴν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρουσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καὶ δημοτελεῖς ἀναδειχθῆναι τῷ θεῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐορτάς τε καὶ θυσίας. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων βωμὸν αὐτόθι καθιδρῦσθαι λέγουσι τὸν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους κατεσκευασμένον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς ἐμπύρους ἀπαρχὰς ἔθυσον Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσιν οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ παρ' ἐκείνου παραλαβόντες: τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰδρύσεως τοῦ ναοῦ τινὲς μὲν ἱστοροῦσι λαβεῖν [p. 261] Τίτον Λάρκιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ, οἱ δὲ καὶ βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον τὸν ἐκπεσόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς: τὴν δὲ καθιέρωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ λαβεῖν Πόστομον Κομίνιον κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰρήνης ὥσπερ ἔφην βαθείας ἐξεγένετο ἀπολαῦσαι.

[4] Under these consuls, they say, the temple was dedicated to Saturn upon the ascent leading from the Forum to the Capitol, and annual festivals and sacrifices were appointed to be celebrated in honour of the god at the public expense. Before this, they say, an altar built by Hercules was established there, upon which the persons who had received the holy rites from him offered the first-fruits as burnt-offerings according to the customs of the Greeks. Some historians state that the credit for beginning this temple was given to Titus Larcius, the consul of the previous year, others, that it was even given to King Tarquinius — the one who was driven from the throne — and that the dedication fell to Postumus Cominius pursuant to a decree of the senate. These consuls, then, had the opportunity, as I said, of enjoying a profound peace.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν Αὔλος Ποστόμιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς Λατίνους διελέλυτο, παρασκευαὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὑφ' ἑκατέρων ἐγίνοντο μεγάλαι. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐκούσιον καὶ σὺν πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ χωροῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα: τοῦ δὲ Λατίνων τὸ πλεον ἀπρόθυμον καὶ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κατειργόμενον, τῶν μὲν δυναστευόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων δωρεαῖς τε καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου τε καὶ Μαιμιλίου διεφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν, ὅσοις οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις ὁ πόλεμος, ἀπελαυνομένων ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδος:

[2.1] They were succeeded in the consulship by Aulus Postumius and Titus

Verginius, under whom the year's truce with the Latins expired; and great preparations for the war were made by both nations. On the Roman side the whole population entered upon the struggle voluntarily and with great enthusiasm; but the greater part of the Latins were lacking in enthusiasm and acted under compulsion, the powerful men in the cities having been almost all corrupted with bribes and promises by Tarquinius and Mamilius, while those among the common people who were not in favour of the war were excluded from a share in the public counsels; for permission to speak was no longer granted to all who desired it.

[2] οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος ἔτι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπεδίδото. ἡναγκάζοντο δὴ χαλεπαίνοντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ συχνοὶ καταλιπεῖν τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολεῖν: κωλύειν γὰρ οὐκ ἤξιον οἱ δι' ἑαυτῶν πεπονημένοι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ πολλήν τοῖς διαφόροις, τῆς ἐκουσίου φυγῆς χάριν ἤδεσαν. ὑποδεχόμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς μὲν ἅμα γυναῖξί καὶ τέκνοις ἀφικνουμένους εἰς τὰς ἐντὸς τειχέας κατέταττον στρατῶς τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐγκαταμινύντες λόχοις, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποστέλλοντες φρουρία καὶ ταῖς ἀποικίαις [p. 262] ἀπομερίζοντες, ἵνα μὴ τι νεωτερίσειαν, εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ.

[2] Indeed, many, resenting this treatment, were constrained to leave their cities and desert to the Romans; for the men who had got the cities in their power did not choose to stop them, but thought themselves much obliged to their adversaries for submitting to a voluntary banishment. These the Romans received, and such of them as came with their wives and children they employed in military services inside the walls, incorporating them in the centuries of citizens, and the rest they sent out to the fortresses near the city or distributed among their colonies, keeping them under guard, so that they should create no disturbance.

[3] ἀπάντων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην λαβόντων, ὅτι μιᾶς δεῖ πάλιν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφειμένης ἅπαντα διοικεῖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτῆς λογισμὸν ἀνυπευθύνου ἀρχῆς, δικτάτωρ ἀποδεικνύται τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ νεώτερος Αὐλὸς Ποστόμιος ὑπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος Οὐεργίνιου: ἱππάρχην δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ προσεῖλετο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ προτέρῳ δικτάτορι Τίτον Αἰβούτιον Ἑλβαν: καὶ καταγράψας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῃ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας καὶ διελὼν εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τὴν δύναμιν, μιᾶς μὲν αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο μοίρας, ἑτέρας δὲ τὸν συνύπατον Οὐεργίνιον ἔταξεν ἄρχειν, τῆς δὲ τρίτης Αἰβούτιον τὸν ἱππάρχην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης κατέλιπεν ἑπαρχον Αὐλὸν Σεμπρόνιον, ὃ τὴν πόλιν φυλάττειν ἐπέτρεψεν.

[3] And since all men had come to the same conclusion, that the situation once more called for a single magistrate free to deal with all matters according to his own judgment and subject to no accounting for his actions, Aulus Postumius, the younger of the consuls, was appointed dictator by his colleague Verginius, and following the example of the former dictator, chose

his own Master of the Horse, naming Titus Aebutius Elva. And having in a short time enlisted all the Romans who were of military age, he divided his army into four parts, one of which he himself commanded, while he gave another to his colleague Verginius, the third to Aebutius, the Master of the Horse, and left the command of the fourth to Aulus Sempronius, whom he appointed to guard the city.

[1] παρεσκευασμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα τάπιτήδεια πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦκον ἀγγέλλοντες οἱ σκοποὶ πανστρατιᾷ Λατίνους ἐξεληλυθότας· καὶ αὐθις ἕτεροι δηλοῦντες ἐξ ἐφόδου τι καταληφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν Κορβιῶνα καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ φρουρά τις ἦν Ῥωμαίων ἐνοικουροῦσα ὀλίγη· ἦν ἅπασαν διαφθείραντες καὶ τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸ κατασχόντες ὀρμητήριον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου· ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα οὐ κατελάμβανον ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῷ Κορβιῶνι ἐγκαταληφθέντων, προανεσκευασμένων πρὸ πολλοῦ [p. 263] τῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τὰ προσεχέστατα τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ὅσα δύναμις ἦν ἐκάστοις φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν· οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν ἐνεπιμπρασαν ἐρήμους ἀφειμένας καὶ γῆν ἐδήουν.

[3.1] After the dictator had prepared everything that was necessary for the war, his scouts brought him word that the Latins had taken the field with all their forces; and others in turn informed him that they had captured by storm a strong place called Corbio, in which there was stationed a small garrison of the Romans. The garrison they wiped out completely, and the place itself, now that they had gained possession of it, they were making a base for the war. They were not capturing any slaves or cattle in the country districts, except those taken at Corbio, since the husbandmen had long before removed into the nearest fortresses everything that they could drive or carry away; but they were setting fire to the houses that had been abandoned and laying waste the country.

[2] ἀφίκετο δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξεστρατευμένοις ἤδη ἐξ Ἀντίου πόλεως ἐπιφανεστάτης τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους στρατιά τε ἱκανὴ καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σῖτος καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδέοντο. ἐφ' οἷς πάνυ θαρρήσαντες ἐν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Οὐολούσκων συναρουμένων σφίσι τοῦ πολέμου τῆς Ἀντιατῶν πόλεως ἀρξαμένης.

[2] After the Latins had already taken the field, an army of responsible size came to them from Antium, the most important city of the Volscian nation, with arms, grain, and everything else that was necessary for carrying on the war. Greatly heartened by this, they were in excellent hopes that the other Volscians would join them in the war, now that the city of Antium had set the example.

[3] ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐξεβοήθει διὰ ταχέων πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπαντας· ἀγαγὼν δ' ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πορεῖα συντόνῳ πλησίον γίνεται τῶν Λατίνων ἐστρατοπεδευκότων παρὰ λίμνῃ

Ῥηγίλλῃ καλουμένῃ ἐν ἐχυρῷ χωρίῳ καὶ τίθεται τὸν χάρακα κατὰ κεφαλῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ καὶ δυσβάτῳ, ἔνθ' ὑπομένων πολλὰ πλεονεκτῆσιν ἔμελλεν.

[3] Postumius, being informed of all this, set out hastily to the rescue before all the enemy's forces could assemble; and having led his army out by a forced march in the night, he arrived near the Latins, who lay encamped in a strong position near the lake called Regillus, and pitched his camp above them on a hill that was high and difficult of access, where, if he remained, he was sure to have many advantages over them.

[1] οἱ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων ἡγεμόνες, Ὀκταυῖος τε ὁ Τυσκλανὸς ὁ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός, ὡς δὲ τινες γράφουσιν, υἱὸς τοῦ γαμβροῦ, καὶ Σέξτος Ταρκύνιος: ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δὴ τηνικαῦτα χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευκότες: εἰς ἓν συνάγουσι τὰς δυνάμεις χωρίον καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς χιλιάρχους τε καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐσκόπουν, ὅστις ἔσται τρόπος τοῦ πολέμου:

[4.1] The generals of the Latins, Octavius of Tusculum, the son-in-law or, as some state, the son of the son-in-law of King Tarquinius, and Sextus Tarquinius — for they happened at that time to be encamped separately — joined their forces, and assembling the tribunes and centurions, they considered with them in what manner they should carry on the war; and many opinions were expressed.

[2] καὶ [p. 264] πολλὰ γινῶμαι ἐλέχθησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἐφόδου χωρεῖν ἤξιουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἅμα τῷ δικτάτορι καταλαβομένους τὸ ὄρος, ἕως ἔτι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς φοβεροί, οὐκ ἀσφαλείας σημεῖον εἶναι νομίζοντες τὴν τῶν ἐχυρῶν κατάληψιν, ἀλλὰ δειλίας: οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποταφρεύσαντας ὀλίγη τινὶ κατείργειν φυλακῇ, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγειν ὡς ῥάδιαν ἀλῶναι τῆς κρατίστης νεότητος ἐξεληλυθυίας: οἱ δὲ τὰς Οὐλοούσκων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων βοήθειαν ἀναμένειν συνεβούλευον τὰ ἀσφαλέστερα πρὸ τῶν θρασυτέρων αἰρουμένους: Ῥωμαίους μὲν γὰρ οὐθὲν ἀπολαύσειν ἐκ τῆς τριβῆς τοῦ χρόνου, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ βραδυνόμενα κρεῖττω γενήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα.

[2] Some thought they ought to charge the troops under the dictator which had occupied the hill, while they could still inspire them with fear; for they regarded their occupation of the strong positions as a sign, not of assurance, but of cowardice. Others thought they ought to surround the camp of the Romans with a ditch, and keeping them hemmed in by means of a small guard, march with the rest of the army to Rome, which they believed might easily be captured now that the best of its youth had taken the field. Still others advised them to await the reinforcements from both the Volscians and their other allies, choosing safe measures in preference to bold; for the Romans, they say, would reap no benefit from the delay, whereas their own situation would be improved by it.

[3] ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν βουλευομένων ἦκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος ἔχων τὴν σὺν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν αἰφνίδιος ἐν τῇ κατόπιν νυκτὶ τὴν ὁδὸν διανύσας καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται διχα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἐφ' ἑτέρας ῥάχεως ὀρεινῆς πάνυ καὶ ἐχυρᾶς· ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι τοὺς Λατίνους τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πολέμιαν ἐξόδων, τοῦ μὲν ὑπάτου τῶν ἀριστερῶν προκαθημένου μερῶν, τοῦ δὲ δικτάτορος τῶν δεξιῶν.

[3] While they were still debating, the other consul, Titus Verginius, suddenly arrived from Rome with his army, after making the march during the very next night, and encamped apart from the dictator upon another ridge that was exceeding craggy and strongly situated. Thus the Latins were cut off on both sides from the roads leading into the enemy's country, the consul encamping on the left-hand side and the dictator on the right. This still further increased the confusion of their commanders, who had chosen safety in preference to every other consideration, and also their fear that by delaying they should be forced to use up their supplies of food, which were not plentiful.

[4] ἔτι δὲ πλείονος ταραχῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς οὐδὲν πλεῖον τῶν ἀσφαλῶν προελομένους ἡγεμόνας καὶ δέους, μὴ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὐ πολλὰ ὄντα δαπανᾶν ἀναγκάζονται βραδύνοντες, μαθὼν ὁ Ποστόμιος, ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἄπειρον στρατηγίας, πέμπει τὸν ἱππάρχην [p. 265] Τίτον Αἰβούτιον ἄγοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἵππεῖς τε καὶ ψιλοὺς, καταλαβέσθαι κελεύσας ὅρος τι καλῶς ἐν παρόδῳ κείμενον ταῖς παρακομιζομέναις Λατίνοις ἀγοραῖς οἴκοθεν· καὶ φθάνει πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολέμιους ἢ σὺν τῷ ἱππάρχῃ πεμφθεῖσα δύναμις νύκτωρ παρενεχθεῖσα καὶ δι' ὕλης ἀτριβοῦς διελθοῦσα καὶ γενομένη ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ λόφου.

[4] When Postumius observed the inexperience of these commanders, he sent the Master of the Horse, Titus Aebutius, with the flower both of the horse and light-armed troops with orders to occupy a hill which lay close beside the road by which provisions were brought to the Latins from home; and before the enemy was aware of it, the forces sent with the Master of the Horse passed by their camp in the night, and marching through a pathless wood, gained possession of the hill.

[1] μαθόντες δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν πολέμιων καταλαμβανόμενα καὶ τὰ κατὰ νώτου σφῶν ἐρυμνά καὶ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς οἴκοθεν ἀγορᾶς χρηστὰς ἔτι ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες ὥς ἀσφαλῶς σφίσι παρακομισθησομένης, ἀπαράξαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔγνωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου, πρὶν ἢ χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ κρατύνασθαι.

[5.1] The generals of the enemy, finding that the strong places which lay in their rear were also being occupied, and no longer feeling any confident hopes that even their provisions from home would get through to them safely, resolved to drive the Romans from the hill before they could fortify it with a palisade and ditch.

[2] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἄτερος αὐτῶν Σέξτος ἤλαυνεν ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτήν, ὡς οὐ δεξιμένης αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου. γενναίως δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπionτας ὑπομεινάντων μέχρι μὲν τινος ἀντεῖχεν ὑποστρέφων τε καὶ αὖθις ἐπάγων: ἐπεὶ δ' ἢ τε φύσις τοῦ χωρίου τοῖς μὲν ἤδη κρατοῦσι τῶν ἄκρων μεγάλα πλεονεκτήματα παρεῖχε, τοῖς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐπιούσιν οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ πολλὰς πάνυ πληγὰς καὶ πόνους ἀνηνύτους ἔφερε, καὶ αὖθις ἑτέρα παρῆν δύναμις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος ἐπικούρος, ἣν ὁ Ποστόμιος κατὰ πόδας ἀπέστειλεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πράττειν δυνάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βεβαίως κρατοῦντες τὸ χωρίον προφανῶς κρατύνονται τὴν φυλακὴν.

[2] And Sextus, one of the two generals, taking the horse with him, rode up to them full speed in the expectation that the Roman horse would not await his attack. But when these bravely withstood their charge, he maintained the fight for some time, alternately retiring and renewing the attack; and then, since the nature of the ground offered great advantages to those who were already in possession of the heights, while bringing to those who attacked from below nothing but many blows and ineffectual hardships, and since, moreover, a fresh force of chosen legionaries, sent by Postumius to follow close upon the heels of the first detachment, came to the assistance of the Romans, he found himself unable to accomplish anything further and led the horse back to the camp; and the Romans, now secure in the possession of the place, openly strengthened the garrison there.

[3] μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ [p. 266] ἔργον τοῖς περὶ Μαιμίλιον καὶ Σέξτον ἐδόκει μὴ πολὺν διὰ μέσου ποιεῖν τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὅξεια κρῖναι τὰ πράγματα μάχη. τῷ δὲ δικτάτορι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταρχὰς οὕτως ἔχοντι προαιρέσεως, ὡς ἀμαχητὶ καταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἀντιστρατήγων τοῦτο ποιήσῃν ἐλπίσαντι, τότε ἑφάνη χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐάλωσαν γάρ τινες ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς ὁδοὺς ἱππέων ἄγγελοι γράμματα φέροντες παρ' Οὐολούσκων πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Λατίνων δηλοῦντα, ὅτι πολλαὶ δυνάμεις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἤξουσιν εἰς ἡμέραν τρίτην μάλιστα καὶ αὖθις ἕτεροι παρ' Ἑρνίκων.

[3] After this action Mamilius and Sextus determined not to let much time intervene, but to decide the issue by an early battle. The Roman dictator, who at first had not been of this mind, but had hoped to end the war without a battle, founding his hopes of doing so chiefly on the inexperience of the opposing generals, now resolved to engage. For some couriers had been captured by the horse that patrolled the roads, bearing letters from the Volscians to the Latin generals to inform them that numerous forces would come to their assistance in about two days, and still other forces from the Hernicans.

[4] τὰ μὲν δὴ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ταχεῖαν παρατάξεως ἀνάγκην τέως οὐ προαιρουμένοις ταυτ' ἦν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη παρ' ἐκατέρων

τῆς μάχης, προήεσαν εἰς τὸ μεταξύ χωρίον ἀμφοτέροι καὶ ἐξέτασσον τὰς δυνάμεις κατὰ τὰδε: Σέξτος μὲν Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ τῶν Λατίνων ἐτάχθη κέρατος, Ὀκταούιος δὲ Μαμίλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τὴν δὲ κατὰ μέσον στάσιν εἶχεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδων Τίτος, ἔνθα καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ τε αὐτόμολοι καὶ οἱ φυγάδες ἐτάχθησαν. ἡ δ' ἵππος ἅπαντα τριχῇ διαιρεθεῖσα τοῖς κέρασιν ἀμφοτέροις προσενεμήθη καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέσῃν τεταγμένοις

[4] These were the considerations that reduced their commanders to an immediate necessity of fighting, though until then they had not been of this mind. After the signals for battle had been raised on both sides, the two armies advanced into the space between their camps and drew up in the following manner: Sextus Tarquinius was posted on the left wing of the Latins and Octavius Mamilius on the right; Titus, the other son of Tarquinius, held the centre, where also the Roman deserters and exiles were posted. And, all their horse being divided into three bodies, two of these were placed on the wings and one in the centre of the battle-line.

[5] τὴν φάλαγγα. τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν κέρας εἶχεν ὁ ὑπάρχης Τίτος Αἰβούτιος ἐναντίος [p. 267] Ὀκταοῦῳ Μαμιλίῳ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος ὁ ὕπατος Σέξτῳ Ταρκυνίῳ στάσιν ἐναντίαν ἐπέχων: τὰ δὲ μέσα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτὸς ὁ δικτάτωρ Ποστόμιος ἐξεπλήρου Τίτῳ Ταρκυνίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν φυγάσι χωρήσων ὁμόσε: πλήθος δὲ τῆς συνελθούσης δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν παράταξιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου στρατεύματος ἦν Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις τε καὶ τετρακισχίλοις πεζοὶ τριακοσίων δέοντες, χίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς: Λατίνων δὲ σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις τετρακισμύριοι μάλιστα πεζοὶ καὶ τρισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς.

[5] The left of the Roman army was commanded by Titus Aebutius, the Master of the Horse, who stood opposite to Octavius Mamilius; the right by Titus Verginius, the consul, facing Sextus Tarquinius; the centre of the line was commanded by the dictator Postumius in person, who proposed to encounter Titus Tarquinius and the exiles with him. The number of the forces of each army which drew up for battle was: on the side of the Romans 23,700 foot and 1000 horse, and on that of the Latins and their allies about 40,000 foot and 3000 horse.

[1] ὥς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦξιν ἔμελλον, οἱ τε τῶν Λατίνων στρατηγοὶ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς σφετέρους πολλὰ εἰς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ δεήσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν μακρὰς διεξῆλθον, ὃ τε Ῥωμαῖος ὀρρωδοῦντας ὀρῶν τοὺς σφετέρους, ὅτι πλήθει συνοίσονται μακρῷ προὔχοντι τοῦ σφετέρου, ἐξελέσθαι τὸ δέος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας βουλόμενος συνεκάλεσεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ παρασησάμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε:

[6.1] When they were on the point of engaging, the Latin generals called their men together and said many things calculated to incite them to valour, and

addressed long appeals to the soldiers. And the Roman dictator, seeing his troops alarmed because they were going to encounter an army greatly superior in number to their own, and desiring to dispel that fear from their minds, called them to an assembly, and placing near him the oldest and most honoured members of the senate, addressed them as follows:

[2] θεοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ὑποσχοῦνται δι' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ σφαγίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει παρέξειν καὶ νίκην εὐτυχῇ, ἀμοιβὰς τε ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόντες ἀγαθὰς, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοὺς σέβοντες καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦντες ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν διετελέσαμεν, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν νεμεσῶντες κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ συγγενεῖς τε [p. 268] ὄντες καὶ φίλοι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁωμοκότες ἔξειν ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους, ἀπάντων ὑπεριδόντες τούτων πόλεμον ἐπιφέρουσιν ἡμῖν ἄδικον, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας, ὅποτέρους ἡμῶν μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἔχειν προσῆκεν: ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν δεινόν: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ταρκυνίων τυραννίδος, ἵνα δούλην ἀντ' ἐλευθέρας τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι.

[2] “The gods by omens, sacrifices, and other auguries promise to grant to our commonwealth liberty and a happy victory, both by way of rewarding us for the piety we have shown toward them and the justice we have practised during the whole course of our lives, and also from resentment, we may reasonably suppose, against our enemies. For these, after having received many great benefits from us, being both our kinsmen and friends, and after having sworn to look upon all our enemies and friends as their own, have scorned all these obligations and are bringing an unjust war upon us, not for the sake of supremacy and dominion, to determine which of us ought more rightly to possess it, — that, indeed, would not be so terrible, — but in support of the tyranny of the Tarquini, in order to make our commonwealth enslaved once more instead of free.

[3] χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ στρατιῶται, μαθόντας, ὅτι συμμάχους ἔχετε τοὺς θεοὺς, οἵπερ αἰεὶ τὴν πόλιν σώζουσιν, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι περὶ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα: ἐπισταμένους, ὅτι τῆς παρὰ θεῶν βοήθειας ὑπάρχει τυγχάνειν τοῖς γενναίως ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν πρόθυμα παρεχομένοις, οὐ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ταλαιπωρεῖν. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡμῖν πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πλεονεκτήματα πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρεσκευασμένα, τρία δὲ πάντων κάλλιστα καὶ φανερώτατα.

[3] But it is necessary that you too, both officers and men, knowing that you have for allies the gods, who have always preserved our city, should acquit yourselves as brave men in this battle, remembering that the assistance of the gods is given to those who fight nobly and eagerly contribute everything in their power toward victory, not to those who fly from dangers, but to those who are willing to undergo hardships in their own behalf. We have many other advantages conducive to victory prepared for us by Fortune, but three in

particular, which are the greatest and the most obvious of all.

[1] πρῶτον μὲν τὸ παρ' ἀλλήλων πιστόν, οὗ μάλιστα δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρατήσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀρξαμένους ὑμᾶς τήμερον ἀλλήλοις εἶναι βεβαίους φίλους δεῖ καὶ πιστοὺς συμμάχους, ἀλλ' ἢ πατρὶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦθ' ἅπασι παρεσκεύακε τὰγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ [p. 269] ἐτράφητε ὁμοῦ καὶ παιδείας ἐτύχετε κοινῆς καὶ θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βωμῶν ἐθύετε καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολελεύκατε, πολλῶν δὲ κακῶν πεπειρασθε κοινῇ, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχυραὶ καὶ ἀδιάλυτοι πεφύκασι συγκεράννυσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φιλίαι: ἔπειτα δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κοινὸς ἅπασιν ὑπάρχων ἄγων.

[7.1] "First, there is the confidence you have in one another, which is the thing most needed by men who are going to conquer their foes; for you do not need to begin to-day to be firm friends and faithful allies to one another, but your country has long since prepared this boon for you all. For you have been brought up together and have received the same education; you were wont to sacrifice to the gods upon the same altars; and you have both enjoyed many advantages and experienced many evils in common, by the sharing of which strong and indissoluble friendships are wont to be formed among all men.

[2] εἰ γὰρ ὑποχέριοι γενήσεσθε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑμῶν ὑπάρξει μηδενὸς πειραθῆναι δεινοῦ, τοῖς δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἅπασιν ὁμοίως ἀπολωλέκεναι, καὶ μήτε γυναικῶν μήτε παιδῶν μήτ' οὐσίας μήτ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὧν ἔχετε ἀπολαύσειν ἀγαθῶν, τοῖς δ' ἡγουμένοις τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦσι τὸν οἴκτιστον μόρον ἀποθανεῖν σὺν αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις.

[2] Secondly, the struggle, in which your highest interests are at stake, is common to you all alike. For if you fall into the enemy's power it will not mean that some of you will meet with no severity while others suffer the worst of fates, but all of you alike will have lost your proud position, your sovereignty and your liberty, and will no longer have the enjoyment of your wives, your children, your property, or any other blessing you now have; and those who are at the head of the commonwealth and direct the public affairs will die the most miserable death accompanied by indignities and tortures.

[3] ὅπου γὰρ οὐδὲν πεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν κακὸν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐξῆβρισαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ποιήσιν αὐτοὺς, ἂν νῦν κρατήσωσι τοῖς ὅπλοις, μνησικακοῦντας, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεστήσατε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλεσθε καὶ οὐδ'

[3] For if your enemies, though they have received no injury, great or small, at your hands, have heaped many outrages of every sort upon all of you, what must you expect them to do if they now conquer you by arms, resentful as they are because you drove them from the city, deprived them of their property, and do not permit them even to set foot upon the land of their

fathers?

[4] ἐπιβῆναι τῆς πατρώας γῆς ἔατε; τελευταῖον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου φῆσαι· ἂν εἶναι πλεονεκτημάτων ἔλασσον, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς σκοπῇτε, τὸ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἡμῖν ἀπνητῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, οἷα ὑπελάβομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ τῆς δόξης ἐνδεέστερα. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν [p. 270] ἐπικουρίας οὐδένας ἄλλους ὁρᾶτε κοινωνοὺς παρόντας αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου: ἡμεῖς δ' ἅπαντας Οὐολούσκους ἤξειν αὐτοῖς ὑπελαμβάνομεν συμμάχους καὶ Σαβινῶν τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων συχοὺς καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους 2 διὰ κενῆς ἀνεπλάττομεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φόβους.

[4] And finally, of the advantages I have mentioned you cannot, if you consider the matter aright, call this one inferior to any other — that the forces of the enemy have not proved to be so formidable as we conceived them to be, but are far short of the opinion we entertained of them. For, with the exception of the support furnished by the Antiates, you see no other allies present to take part with them in the war; whereas we were expecting that all the Volscians and many of the Sabines and Hernicans would come to them as allies, and were conjuring up in our minds a thousand other vain fears.

[5] πάντα δ' ἦν ἄρα ταῦτα Λατίνων ὄνειράτα, ὑποσχέσεις ἔχοντα κενὰς καὶ ἐλπίδας ἀτελεῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκαταλελοιπασιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν καταφρονήσαντες τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας, οἱ δὲ μελλήσουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθήσουσι τρίβοντες ἐν ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὸν χρόνον, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὑστερήσαντες τῆς μάχης οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτοῖς χρήσιμοι γενήσονται.

[5] But all these things, it appears, were only dreams of the Latins, holding out empty promises and futile hopes. For some of their allies have failed to send the promised aid, out of contempt for the inexperience of their generals; others, instead of assisting them, will keep delaying, wearing away the time by merely fostering their hopes; and those who are now engaged in making their preparations will arrive too late for the battle and will be of no further use to them.

[1] εἰ δὲ τινες ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἰρήσθαι νομίζουσιν, ὁρῶδοῦσι δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων πλῆθος, βραχεῖα διδαχῇ μαθέτωσαν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δεδιότες, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναμνήσει: πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅτι πλεῖον ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἡναγκασμένον τὰ ὄπλα καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὥς ἐκ πολλῶν ἡμῖν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων ἐδήλωσε, τὸ δ' ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ ἐκ προθυμίας ὑπὲρ τῶν τυράννων ἀγωνιζόμενον πάνυ ὀλίγον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τι τοῦ ἡμετέρου: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοὺς πολέμους ἅπαντας οὐχ οἱ πλείους τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς κατορθοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ κρείττους ἀρετῇ.

[8.1] “But if any of you, though convinced of the reasonableness of what I have said, nevertheless fear the numbers of the enemy, let them learn by a few

words of instruction, or rather from their own memory, that what they dread is not formidable. Let them consider, in the first place, that the greater part of our enemies have been forced to take up arms against us, as they have often shown us by both actions and words, and that the number of those who willingly and eagerly fight for the tyrants is very small, in fact only an insignificant fraction of ours; and secondly, that all wars are won, not by the forces which are larger in numbers, but by those which are superior in valour.

[2] πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶη παραδείγματα φέρειν, ὅσα βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων στρατεύματα ὑπερβαλόντα πλήθει μικραὶ [p. 271] πάνυ κατηγωνίσαντο δυνάμεις, οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους. ἐὼ τᾶλλα: ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ πόσους κατωρθώκατε πολέμους μετ' ἐλάττονος ἢ ὅσης νῦν ἔχετε δυνάμεως μείζοσιν ἢ τοσαύταις παρασκευαῖς πολεμίων ἀντιπαχθέντες; φέρε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις φοβεροὶ διατελεῖτε ὄντες ὧν ἐκρατεῖτε μαχόμενοι, Λατίνοις δ' ἄρα τοῦτοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν Οὐολούσκοις εὐκαταφρόνητοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πειραθῆναι ποτε αὐτοὺς τῆς ὑμετέρας μάχης; ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴστε, ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ἔθνη πολλαῖς ἐνίκων μάχαις οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν.

[2] It would tedious to cite as examples all the armies of the Greeks as well as barbarians which, though superior in numbers, were overcome by forces so very small that the reports about the numbers engaged are not even credible to most people. But, to omit other instances, how many wars have you yourselves won, with a smaller force than you now have, when arrayed against enemies more numerous than all these the enemy have now got together? Well, then, can it be that, though you indeed continue to be formidable to those whom you have repeatedly overcome in battle, you are nevertheless contemptible in the eyes of these Latins and their allies, the Volscians, because they have never experienced your prowess in battle? But you all knew that our fathers conquered both of these nations in many battles.

[3] ἄρ' οὖν λόγον ἔχει τὰ μὲν τῶν κρατηθέντων πράγματα ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς κρείττονα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐπὶ ταῖς τηλικαύταις εὐπραγίαις χειρόνα; καὶ τίς ἂν τοῦτο φήσειε νοῦν ἔχων; θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν τὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος, ἐν ᾧ βραχὺ τὸ γενναῖον ἐστίν, ὀρρωδεῖ, τῆς δ' οἰκείας δυνάμεως οὕτω πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὕσης καταφρονεῖ, ἥς οὗτ' ἀρετῇ κρείττων οὗτ' ἀριθμῷ πλείων συνηνέχθη ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν πρὸ τούτου πολέμων δυνάμεις.

[3] Is it reasonable, then, to suppose that the condition of the conquered has been improved after so many disasters and that of the conquerors impaired after so many successes? What man in his senses would say so? I should indeed be surprised if any of you feared the numbers of the enemy, in which there are few brave men, or scorned your own army, which is so numerous and so brave that none exceeding it either in courage or in numbers was ever assembled in any of our former wars.

[1] καὶ τότε, ὦ πολῖται, τοῦ μήτ' ὀρρωδεῖν μήτ' ἐκτρέπεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ μέγιστον παρακέλευσμα, ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρωτεύοντες τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου πάρεσιν, ὥσπερ ὁρᾶτε, κοινὰς ὑμῖν ποιησόμενοι τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τύχας, οἷς ἀφεῖσθαι στρατείας ὅ τε χρόνος [p. 272]

[9.1] “There is also this very great encouragement to you, citizens, neither to dread nor to shirk what is formidable, that the principal members of the senate are all present as you see, ready to share the fortunes of the war in common with you, though they are permitted by both their age and the law to be exempt from military service.

[2] ὁ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποδέδωκε καὶ ὁ νόμος. οὐκοῦν αἰσχρὸν μὲν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ φεύγειν τὰ δεινὰ, τούτους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡλικίαν διώκειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν γερόντων πρόθυμον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι τινα δύναται τῶν πολεμίων, ἀποθνήσκειν γε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλειν, τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον ἀκμάζον, οἷς ἔξεστιν εὐτυχῆσαι μὲν ἀμφοτέρα σῶσαι καὶ νικᾶν ἀσφαλῶς, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δρᾶσαι τι γενναῖον καὶ παθεῖν, μήτε τῆς τύχης πεῖραν λαβεῖν, μήτε τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν καταλιπεῖν;

[2] Would it not, then, be shameful if you who are in the vigour of life should flee from what is formidable, while these who are past the military age, pursue it, and if the zeal of the old men, since it lacks the strength to slay any of the enemy, should at least be willing to die for the fatherland, while the vigour of you young men, who have it in your power, if successful, to save both yourselves and them to be victorious, or, in case of failure, to suffer nobly while acting nobly, should neither make trial of Fortune nor leave behind you the renown that valour wins.

[3] οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὑπάρχειν καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα παρ' ἑτέροις, οὓς οὐδεὶς ὑμνήσει λόγος ἀξίως; πολλὰς δὲ καὶ περιβοήτους πράξεις οἰκείας τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν καρπώσεται γένος, ἣν τοῦτον ἔτι κατορθώσητε τὸν πόλεμον. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ κράτιστα ὑμῶν ἐγνωκόσι τὸ γενναῖον μὴ ἀκερδὲς γένηται καὶ τοῖς πέρα τοῦ δέοντος τὰ δεινὰ πεφοβημένοις μὴ ἀζήμιον ᾗ, πρὶν εἰς ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν, οἷων ἑκατέροις συμβήσεται τυχεῖν, ἀκούσατέ μου.

[3] Is it not an incentive to you, Romans, that just as you have before your eyes the record of the many wonderful deeds performed by your fathers, whom no words can adequately praise, so your posterity while reap the fruits of many illustrious feats of your own, if you achieve success in this war also? To the end, therefore, that neither the bravery of those among you who have chosen the best course may go unrewarded, nor the fears of such as dread what is formidable more than is fitting go unpunished, learn from me, before we enter this engagement, what it will be the fate of each of them to receive.

[4] ὦ μὲν [p. 273] ἄν τι καλὸν ἢ γενναῖον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπραξαμένῳ

μαρτυρήσωσιν οἱ τὰ ἔργα συνειδότες τὰς τ' ἄλλας ἀποδώσω παραχρῆμα τιμάς, ὥς ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐκάστοις ἐθισμῶν ὑπάρχει φέρεσθαι, καὶ γῆς ἔτι προσθήσω κλῆρον, ἐξ ἧς κέκτηται τὸ δημόσιον, ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι ὡς μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν δεηθῆναι: ὧ δ' ἂν ἡ κακὴ καὶ θεοβλαβῆς διάνοια φυγῆς ἀσχήμονος ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τοῦτω τὸν φευγόμενον ἀγχοῦ παραστήσω θάνατον: κρείττων γὰρ ἂν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις γένοιτο ὁ τοιοῦτος πολίτης ἀποθανών: καὶ περιέσται τοῖς οὕτως ἀποθανοῦσι μήτε ταφῆς μήτε τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων μεταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀζήλοις ἀκλαύστοις ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ θηρίων διαφορηθῆναι.

[4] To anyone who performs any great or brave deed in this battle, as proved by the testimony of those acquainted with his actions, I will not only give at once all the usual honours which it is in the power of every man to win in accordance with our ancestral customs, but will also add a portion of the land owned by the state, sufficient to secure him from any lack of the necessities of life. But if a cowardly and infatuate mind shall suggest to anyone an inclination to shameful flight, to him I will bring home the very death he endeavoured to avoid; for such a citizen were better dead, both for his own sake and for that of others. And it will be the fate of those put to death in such a manner to be honoured neither with burial nor with any of the other customary rites, but unenvied and unlamented, to be torn to pieces by birds and beasts of prey.

[5] ταῦτα δὴ προεγνωκότες ἴτε προθύμως ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, λαβόντες καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔργων καλῶν ἡγεμόνας, ὡς ἐν ἐνὶ τῷδε κινδύνῳ τὸ κράτιστον καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν ἅπασι τέλος λαβόντι τὰ μέγιστα ἔξοντες ἀγαθὰ, φόβου τυράννων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθερώσοντες, πόλει τῇ γειναμένῃ τροφείων δικαίας ἀπαιτούσῃ χάριτας ἀποδώσοντες, παῖδας, ὅσοις εἰσὶν ὑμῶν ἔτι νήπιοι, καὶ γαμετὰς γυναῖκας οὐ περιοψόμενοι παθεῖν πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἀνήκεστα, γηραιούς τε πατέρας τὸν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον ἡδιστον βιώσιναι παρασκευάσοντες.

[5] Knowing these things beforehand, then, do you all cheerfully enter the engagement, taking fair hopes as your guides to fair deeds, assured that by the hazard of this one battle, if it be attended by the best outcome and the one we all wish for, you will obtain the greatest of all advantages: you will free yourselves from the fear of tyrants, will repay to your country that gave you birth the gratitude she justly requires of you for your rearing, will save your children who are still infants and your wedded wives from suffering irreparable outrages at the hands of the enemy, and will render the short time your aged fathers have yet to live most agreeable to them.

[6] ὦ μακάριοι μὲν, οἷς ἂν ἐκγένηται τὸν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν, ὑποδεχομένων ὑμᾶς τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πατέρων: εὐκλεεῖς δὲ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς οἱ τὰ σώματα [p. 274] χαριούμενοι τῇ πατρίδι. ἀποθανεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὀφείλεται, κακοῖς τε καὶ

ἀγαθοῖς· καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐνδόξως μόνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

[6] Oh, happy those among you to whom it shall be given to celebrate the triumph for this war, while your children, your wives and your parents welcome you back! But glorious and envied for their bravery will those be who shall sacrifice their lives for their country. Death, indeed, is decreed to all men, both the cowardly and the brave; but an honourable and a glorious death comes to the brave alone.”

[1] ἔτι δ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ θάρσος τι δαιμόνιον ἐμπίπτει τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἅπαντες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα· θάρσει τε καὶ ἄγε. καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐπαινέσας τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενος, ἐὰν εὐτυχὲς καὶ καλὸν τέλος ἀκολουθήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, θυσίας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσειν χρημάτων καὶ ἀγῶνας καταστήσεσθαι πολυτελεῖς, οὕς ἄξει ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἀνὰ

[10.1] While he was still speaking these words to spur them to valour, a kind of confidence inspired by Heaven seized the army and they all, as if with a single soul, cried out together, “Be of good courage and lead us on.” Postumius commended their alacrity and made a vow to the gods that if the battle were attended with a happy and glorious outcome, he would offer great and expensive sacrifices and institute costly games to be celebrated annually by the Roman people; after which he dismissed his men to their ranks.

[2] πᾶν ἔτος, ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. ὥς δὲ τὸ σύνθημα τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρέλαβον καὶ τὰ παρακλητικὰ τῆς μάχης αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐνεκελεύσαντο, ἐχώρουν ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ φιλοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς ἄφ’ ἑκατέρων, ἔπειθ’ αἱ πεζαὶ φάλαγγες ὀπλισμούς τε καὶ τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσαι· καὶ γίνεται πάντων ἀναμιξ μαχομένων καρτερὸς ἀγὼν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα ἡ μάχη.

[2] And when they had received the watchword from their commanders and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they gave a shout and fell to, first, the light-armed men and the horse on each side, then the solid ranks of foot, who were armed and drawn up alike; and all mingling, a severe battle ensued in which every man fought hand to hand.

[3] ὥς δὲ πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἀμφοτέροις τῆς δόξης ἦν· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἐλπίσαντες μάχης δεήσειν σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες φοβήσιν, Λατῖνοι μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῆς σφετέρας ἵππου πιστεῦσαντες, ἧς οὐδὲ τὸ ρόθιον ὦντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἵππεῖς ἀνέξεσθαι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τολμηρῶς· καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦντες καταπλήξεσθαι [p. 275] τοὺς πολεμίους· ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων καταδοξάσαντες ἐν ἀρχαῖς τάναντία ἐώρων γινόμενα. οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων δέος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον θάρσος ἑκάτεροι τοῦ τε σωθήσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ νικῆσειν αἴτιον σφίσι νομίσαντες ἀγαθοὶ μαχηταὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν

ἐφάνησαν. ἐγίνοντο δὲ ποικίλαι καὶ ἀγχιστροφοὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τύχαι.

[3] However, both sides were extremely deceived in the opinion they had entertained of each other, for neither of them thought a battle would be necessary, but expected to put the enemy to flight at the first onset. The Latins, trusting in the superiority of their horse, concluded that the Roman horse would not be able even to sustain their onset; and the Romans were confident that by rushing into the midst of danger in a daring and reckless manner they should terrify their enemies. Having formed these opinions of one another in the beginning, they now saw everything turning out just the opposite. Each side, therefore, no longer founding their hopes of safety and of victory on the fear of the enemy, but on their own courage, showed themselves brave soldiers even beyond their strength. And various and sudden shifting fortunes marked their struggle.

[1] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν φάλαγγα τεταγμένοι Ῥωμαίων, ἔνθα ὁ δικτάτωρ Ποστούμιος ἦν λογάδας ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πρώτοις μαχόμενος, τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐξωθοῦσι μέρος, τρωθέντος ὕσσω τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον θατέρου τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν Τίτου καὶ μηκέτι δυναμένου τῇ χειρὶ

[1.1] First, the Romans posted in the centre of the line, where the dictator stood with a chosen body of horse about him, he himself fighting among the foremost, forced back that part of the enemy that stood opposite to them, after Titus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, had been wounded in the right shoulder with a javelin and was no longer able to use his arm.

[2] χρῆσθαι. Λικίνιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ περὶ Γέλλιον οὐδὲν ἐξητακότες οὔτε τῶν εἰκότων οὔτε τῶν δυνατῶν αὐτὸν εἰσάγουσι τὸν βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀφ' ἵππου καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον, ἄνδρα ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσι προσάγοντα. πεσόντος δὲ Τίτου μικρὸν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔμψυχον ἀράμενοι γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιούσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ πόδα: ἔπειτ' αὖθις ἔστησάν τε καὶ εἰς ἀντίπαλα ἐχώρουν, θατέρου τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν Σέξτου μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάντων τε καὶ τῶν [p. 276]

[2] Licinius and Gellius, indeed, without inquiring into the probabilities or possibilities of the matter, introduce King Tarquinius himself, a man approaching ninety years of age, fighting on horseback and wounded. When Titus had fallen, those about him, after fighting a little while and taking him up while he was yet alive, showed no bravery after that, but retired by degrees as the Romans advanced. Afterwards they again stood their ground and advanced against the enemy when Sextus, the other son of Tarquinius, came to their relief with the Roman exiles and the flower of the horse.

[3] ἄλλων ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ἐπιβοηθήσαντος αὐτοῖς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάλιν ἀναλαβόντες· αὐτοὺς ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεμόνες ἑκατέρως Τίτος Αἰβούτιος καὶ Μαμίλιος Ὀκταοῦιος λαμπρότατα πάντων ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ τρέποντες μὲν τοὺς ὑφισταμένους καθ' ὃ χωρήσειαν μέρος, ἀντικαθιστάντες δὲ τῶν σφετέρων τοὺς θορυβηθέντας, χωροῦσιν ἐκ προκλήσεως ὁμόσε, καὶ συρράξαντες πληγὰς κατ' ἀλλήλων φέρουσιν ἰσχυράς, οὐ μὴν καιρίους, ὁ μὲν ἱππάρχης εἰς τὰ στέρνα τοῦ Μαμιλίου διὰ θώρακος ἐλάσας τὴν αἰχμὴν, ὁ δὲ Μαμίλιος μέσον περονήσας τὸν δεξιὸν ἐκείνου βραχίονα· καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

[3] These, therefore, recovering themselves, fought again. In the meantime Titus Aebutius and Mamilius Octavius, the commanders of the foot on either side, fought the most brilliantly of all, driving their opponents before them wherever they charged and rallying those of their own men who had become disordered; and, then, challenging each other, they came to blows and in the encounter gave one another grievous wounds, though not mortal, the Master of the Horse driving his spear through the corslet of Mamilius into his breast, and Mamilius running the other through the middle of his right arm; and both fell from their horses.

[1] ἀποκομισθέντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὁ τεταγμένος αὖθις πρεσβευτῆς Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος τὴν τοῦ ἱππάρχου παρειληφώς ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστὰς σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ μικρὸν ἀντισχῶν χρόνον ἐξωθεῖται ταχέως τῆς τάξεως ἐπὶ πολὺ· ἦκον δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἱππέων τε καὶ ψιλῶν βοήθειαι, καὶ ὁ Μαμίλιος ἀνείληφώς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἑαυτὸν ἤδη παρῆν αὖθις ἄγων πλῆθος ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν καρτερόν· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὃ τε πρεσβευτῆς Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος, ὁ τὸν κατὰ Σαβίνων πρῶτος καταγαγὼν θρίαμβον καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως τεταπεινωμένον ἐκ [p. 277] τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πταίσματος ἀναστήσας, δόρατι πληγεῖς πίπτει, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ καὶ

[12.1] Both of these leaders having been carried off the field, Marcus Valerius, who had again been appointed legate, took over the command of the Master of the Horse and with his followers attacked those of the enemy who confronted him; and after a brief resistance on their part he speedily drove them far out of the line. But to this body of the enemy also came reinforcements from the Roman exiles, both horse and light-armed men; and Mamilius, having by this time recovered from his wound, appeared on the field again at the head of a strong body both of horse and foot. In this action not only Marcus Valerius, the legate, fell, wounded with a spear (he was the man who had first triumphed over the Sabines and raised the spirit of the commonwealth when dejected by the defeat it had received at the hands of the Tyrrhenians), but also many other brave Romans at his side.

[2] ἀγαθοί. περὶ δὲ τῷ πτώματι αὐτοῦ γίνεται καρτερὸς ἀγὼν Ποπλίου καὶ

Μάρκου τῶν Ποπλικόλα παίδων τὸν θεῖον ὑπερασπισάντων. ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν ἀσχύλευτόν τε: καὶ μικρὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἀναθέντες ἀπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ προθυμίας ὡσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβόντες, ἄθρόων περιχυθέντων σφίσι τῶν φυγάδων, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἅμα.

[2] A sharp conflict took place over his body, as Publius and Marcus, the sons of publicola, protected their uncle with their shields; but they delivered him to their shield-bearers undespoiled and still breathing a little, and sent him back to the camp. For their own part, such was their courage and ardour, they thrust themselves into the midst of the enemy, and receiving many wounds, as the Roman exiles pressed closely round them, they perished together.

[3] ἔξωθεῖται δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἡ Ῥωμαίων φάλαγξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ μέχρι τῶν μέσων παρερρήγνυτο. ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὁ δικτάτωρ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν σφετέρων, ἐβοήθει κατὰ τάχος ἄγων τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς. κελεύσας δὲ τὸν ἕτερον πρεσβευτὴν, Τίτον Ἑρμῆνιον, ἵλην ἱππέων ἄγοντα κατὰ νότου χωρεῖν τῆς σφετέρας φάλαγγος καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιστρέφειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοιντο ἀποκτείνει, αὐτὸς ἅμα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπὶ τὸ στίφος ὠθεῖται, κάπειδ' ἡ πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐγένετο πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει τὸν ἵππον ἀφειμένων τῶν χαλινῶν.

[3] After this misfortune the line of the Romans was forced to give way on the left for a long distance and was being broken even to the centre. When the dictator learned of the rout of his men, he hastened to their assistance with the horse he had about him. And ordering the other legate, Titus Herminius, to take a top of horse, and passing behind their own lines, to force the men who fled to face about, and if they refused obedience to kill them, he himself with the best of his men pushed on towards the thick of the conflict; and when he came near the enemy, he spurred on ahead of the rest with a loose rein.

[4] ἄθρόας δὲ γενομένης καὶ καταπληκτικῆς τῆς ἐλάσεως οὐ δεξάμενοι τὸ μακρὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τεθριωμένον οἱ πολέμιοι τρέπονται καὶ πίπτουσι συχνοί. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ πρεσβευτὴς [p. 278] Ἑρμῆνιος ἀνειληφῶς τοὺς φοβηθέντας ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν σφετέρων ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μамίλιον συνεστῶτας: καὶ συμπεσὼν αὐτῷ μεγίστῳ τε ὄντι καὶ ῥώμην ἀρίστῳ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνον τ' ἀποκτείνει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ σκυλεύειν τὸν νεκρὸν πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τινος ξίφει διὰ τῆς λαχόνος ἀποθνήσκει.

[4] And as they all charged in a body in this terrifying manner, the enemy, unable to sustain their frenzied and savage onset, fled and many of them fell. In the meantime the legate Herminius also, having rallied from their route those of his men who had been put to flight, brought them up and attacked the troops arrayed under Mamilius; and encountering this general, who both for stature and strength was the best man of his time, he not only killed him, but was slain himself while he was despoiling the body, someone having pierced

his flank with a sword.

[5] Σέξτος δὲ Ταρκύνιος τοῦ λαιοῦ τῶν Λατίνων κέρατος ἡγούμενος ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρατος ἐξεώθει τῆς στάσεως· ὥς δὲ τὸν Ποστόμιον ἐθεάσατο σὺν τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιφερόμενον ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάσης· ἐλπίδος εἰς μέσους αὐτοὺς ἵεται· ἔνθα δὴ κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν καὶ βαλλόμενος πανταχόθεν ὥσπερ θηρίον, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ πολλοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν ὁμόσε χωρησάντων ἀποθνήσκει. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἀθρόα γίνεται πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν Λατίνων φυγὴ καὶ τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἐρήμου καταλειφθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἄλωσις, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἔλαβον ὠφελείας.

[5] Sextus Tarquinius, who commanded the left wing of the Latins, still held out against all the dangers that beset him, and was forcing the right wing of the Romans to give way. But when he saw Postumius suddenly appear with the flower of the horse, he gave over all hope and rushed into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where, being surrounded by the Romans, both horse and foot, and assaulted on all sides with missiles, like a wild beast, he perished, but not before he had killed many of those who came to close quarters with him. Their leaders having fallen, the Latins at once fled *en masse*, and their camp, abandoned by the men who had been left to guard it, was captured; from this camp the Romans took much valuable booty.

[6] συμφορὰ τε αὕτη μεγίστη Λατίνοις ἐγένετο, δι' ἣν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκακώθησαν, καὶ φθόρος σωμάτων, ὅσος οὕτω πρότερον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τετρακισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ τρισχιλίων ἱππέων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, οἱ λειφθέντες ἐλάττους μυρίων ἐσώθησαν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα.

[6] Not only was this a very great defeat for the Latins, from the disastrous effects of which they suffered a very long time, but their losses were greater than ever before. For out of 40,000 foot and 3000 horse, as I have said, less than 10,000 survivors returned to their homes in safety.

[1] ἐν ταύτῃ λέγονται τῇ μάχῃ Ποστομίῳ τε [p. 279] τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένοις ἱππεῖς δύο φανῆναι, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει μακρῶ κρείττους, ὧν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσις ἐκφέρει, ἐναρχόμενοι γενειᾶν, ἡγούμενοί τε τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἵππου καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τῶν Λατίνων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι καὶ προτροπάδην ἐλαύνοντες. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν περὶ δεῖλην ὄψιαν τὸ τέλος λαβούσης τῆς μάχης, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὀφθῆναι δύο νεανίσκοι λέγονται, πολεμικὰς ἐνδεδυκότες στολὰς μήκιστοι τε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντες, αὐτοὶ τε φυλάττοντες ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὥς ἐκ μάχης ἠκόντων τὸ ἐναγώνιον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἰδρῶτι διαβρόχους ἐπαγόμενοι.

[13.1] It is said that in this battle two men on horseback, far excelling in both beauty and stature those our human stock produces, and just growing their first beard, appeared to Postumius, the dictator, and to those arrayed about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, striking with their spears all the Latins they encountered and driving them headlong before them. And after the flight of the Latins and the capture of their camp, the battle having come to an end in the late afternoon, two youths are said to have appeared in the same manner in the Roman Forum attired in military garb, very tall and beautiful and of the same age, themselves retaining on their countenances as having come from a battle, the look of combatants, and the horses they led being all in a sweat.

[2] ἄρσαντες δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἑκάτερον καὶ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπὸ τῆς λιβάδος, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀναδίδωσι λίμνην ποιοῦσα ἐμβύθιον ὀλίγην, πολλῶν αὐτοὺς περιστάντων καὶ εἴ τι φέρουσιν ἐπὶ κοινὸν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μαθεῖν ἀξιούντων, τὴν τε μάχην αὐτοῖς φράζουσιν, ὡς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι νικῶσιν· οὐς μεταχωρήσαντας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι λέγουσιν ὀφθῆναι, πολλήν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ποιουμένου [p. 280]

[2] And when they had each of them watered their horses and washed them at the fountain which rises near the temple of Vesta and forms a small but deep pool, and many people stood about them and inquired if they brought any news from the camp, they related how the battle had gone and that the Romans were the victors. And it is said that after they left the Forum they were not seen again by anyone, though great search was made for them by the man who had been left in command of the city.

[3] τοῦ καταλειφθέντος τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμόνος. ὡς δὲ τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἐπιστολὰς ἔλαβον οἱ τῶν κοινῶν προεστῶτες, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν δαιμόνων ἔμαθον, νομίσαντες τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν εἶναι ἄμφω τὰ φάσματα ὥσπερ εἰκὸς Διοσκούρων ἐπείσθησαν εἶναι τὰ εἶδωλα.

[3] The next day, when those at the head of affairs received the letters from the dictator, and besides the other particulars of the battle, learned also of the appearance of the divinities, they concluded, as we may reasonably infer, that it was the same gods who had appeared in both places, and were convinced that the apparitions had been those of Castor and Pollux.

[4] ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς παραδόξου καὶ θαυμαστῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπιφανείας ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ σημεῖα, ὃ τε νεῶς ὁ τῶν Διοσκούρων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκεύασεν ἡ πόλις, ἔνθα ὥφθη τὰ εἶδωλα, καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτῷ κρήνη καλουμένη τε τῶν θεῶν τούτων καὶ ἱερὰ εἰς τὸδε χρόνον νομιζομένη, θυσίαι τε πολυτελεῖς, ἃς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιτελεῖ διὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἱερέων ἐν μηνὶ Κυντιλίῳ λεγομένῳ ταῖς καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, ἐν ᾗ κατῴρθωσαν ἡμέρᾳ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον· ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἢ μετὰ τὴν

θυσίαν ἐπιτελουμένη πομπή τῶν ἐχόντων τὸν δημόσιον ἵππον, οἱ κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ λόχους κεκοσμημένοι στοιχηδὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχοῦμενοι πορεύονται πάντες, ὡς ἐκ μάχης ἦκοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι θαλλοῖς ἐλαίας, καὶ πορφυραῖς φοινικοπαρύφους ἀμπεχόμενοι τηβέννας τὰς καλουμένας τραβέας, ἀρξάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἱεροῦ τινος Ἄρεος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυμένου, διεξιόντες δὲ τὴν τ' ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρερχόμενοι, ἄνδρες ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι [p. 281] φέροντες, ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀριστεῖα ἔλαβον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καλὴ καὶ ἀξία τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὄψις. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιφανείας τῶν Διοσκούρων λεγόμενά τε καὶ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔμαθον:

[4] Of this extraordinary and wonderful appearance of these gods there are many monuments at Rome, not only the temple of Castor and Pollux which the city erected in the Forum at the place where their apparitions had been seen, and the adjacent fountain, which bears the names of these gods and is to this day regarded as holy, but also the costly sacrifices which the people perform each year through their chief priests in the month called Quintilis, on the day known as the Ides, the day on which they gained this victory. But above all these things there is the procession performed after the sacrifice by those who have a public horse and who, being arrayed by tribes and centuries, ride in regular ranks on horseback, as if they came from battle, crowned with olive branches and attired in the purple robes with stripes of scarlet which they call trabeae. They begin their procession from a certain temple of Mars built outside the walls, and going through several parts of the city and the Forum, they pass by the temple of Castor and Pollux, sometimes to the number even of five thousand, wearing whatever rewards for valour in battle they have received from their commanders, a fine sight and worthy of the greatness of the Roman dominion.

[5] ἔξ ὧν τεκμήραιτ' ἂν τις, ὡς θεοφιλεῖς ἦσαν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις.

[5] These are the things I have found both related and performed by the Romans in commemoration of the appearance of Castor and Pollux; and from these, as well as from many other important instances, one may judge how dear to the gods were the men of those times.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ποστόμιος ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν νύκτα κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φυλάττεσθαι διαδοὺς ἔθυε τὰ νικητήρια τοῖς θεοῖς. ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον ἐπικειμένῳ καὶ τὰς ὑπερπύρους ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπιτιθέντι σκοποὶ τινες ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων καταδραμόντες ἀγγέλλουσι πολέμιον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνειν στρατόν. ἦν δ' ἐκ τοῦ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνους ἐπιλεκτος ἀκμὴ σύμμαχος ἀπεσταλμένη Λατίνοις, πρὶν ἢ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι.

[14.1] Postumius encamped that night on the field and the next day he crowned those who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and having appointed guards to take care of the prisoners, he proceeded to offer to the gods the sacrifices in honour of the victory. While he still wore the garland on his head and was laying the first burnt offerings on the altars, some scouts, running down from the heights, brought him word that a hostile army was marching against them. It consisted of chosen youth of the Volscian nation who had been sent out, before the battle was ended, to assist the Latins.

[2] ὥς δὲ δὴ ταῦτ' ἔγνων, χωρεῖν ἅπαντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ χάρακι παρὰ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἑκαστον σημαίαις σιγὴν καὶ κόσμον φυλάττοντας, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἂ χρή πράττειν παραγγείλῃ. οἱ δὲ τῶν Οὐλοῦσκων ἡγεμόνες ἐξ ἀπόπτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβαλόντες ὡς εἶδον μεστὸν μὲν τὸ πεδῖον νεκρῶν, ὀρθοὺς δὲ τοὺς χάρακας ἀμφοτέρους, προίοντα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἑρυμάτων οὔτε πολέμιον οὔτε φίλον οὐδένα, τέως μὲν ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τίς ἦν ἢ κατειληφυῖα τύχη τὰ [p. 282] πράγματα ἀπόρως εἶχον συμβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀνασωζομένων ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔμαθον, ἐσκόπουν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων,

[2] Upon hearing of this he ordered all his men and to stay in the camp, each under his own standards, maintaining silence and keeping their ranks till he himself should give the word what to do. On the other side, the generals of the Volscians, encamping out of sight of the Romans, when they saw the field covered with dead bodies and both camps intact, and no one, either enemy or friend, stirring out of the entrenchments, were for some time amazed and at a loss to guess what turn of fortune had produced this state of affairs. But when they had learned all about the battle from those who were making their escape from the rout, they consulted with the other leaders what was to be done.

[3] τί χρή πράττειν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θρασυτάτοις αὐτῶν ἐδόκει κράτιστον εἶναι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξ ἐφόδου, τέως πολλοὶ μὲν ἔκαμον ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ἀπειρήκεσάν θ' ἅπαντες ὑπὸ κόπου ὄπλα τε ἄχρηστα τοῖς πλείστοις ἦν, τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμάς, τὰ δὲ κατεαγῶτα καὶ βοήθεια παρὰ τῶν οἰκοθεν ἀκραιφνῆς οὐπω παρῆν οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς, ἢ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν δύναμις πολλή τε οὔσα καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ὠπλισμένη καλῶς ἐμπειροπόλεμός τε καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένοις ἐξαπναιῶς παροῦσα, φοβερά καὶ τοῖς εὐτολμοτάτοις φανήσεσθαι ἔμελλε.

[3] The boldest of them thought it best to attempt to take the camp of the Romans by assault, while many of the foe were still disabled from their wounds and all were exhausted by toil, and the arms of most of them were useless, some having their edges blunted and others being broken, and no fresh forces from home were yet at hand to relieve them, whereas their own army was large and valiant, splendidly armed and experienced in war, and by coming suddenly upon men who were not expecting it was sure to appear formidable even to the boldest.

[1] τοῖς δὲ σωφρονεστάτοις οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ κινδύνευμα εἶναι ἐφαίνετο, ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ πολέμια τε καὶ νεωστὶ τὴν Λατίνων τοσαύτην δύναμιν ἀραμένοις ἄνευ συμμάχων ὁμόσε χωρεῖν μέλλοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνον ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι γῆ, ἔνθα εἴ τι συμβαίῃ παῖμα οὐδεμίαν ἔξουσι καταφυγὴν ἀσφαλῆ: τῆς δ' οἴκαδε σωτηρίας προνοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἡξιοῦν οὗτοι διὰ ταχέων καὶ μέγα κέρδος ὑπολαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἀπολαύσουσιν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας κακόν.

[15.1] But to the most prudent among them it did not seem a safe risk to attack without allies men who were valiant warriors and had just destroyed so great an army of the Latins, as they would be putting everything to the hazard in a foreign country where, if any misfortune happened, they would have no place of refuge. These advised, therefore, to provide rather for a safe retreat to their own country as soon as possible and to look upon it as a great gain if they sustained no loss from this expedition.

[2] ἑτέροις δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον ἐδόκει χρῆναι ποιεῖν, νεανικὸν μὲν ἀποφαίνουσι τὸ πρόχειρον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρμῆς, αἰσχροὺς δὲ τὸ παράλογον τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φυγῆς, ὡς κατ' εὐχὴν ληψομένων τῶν πολέμιων, ὁπότερον ἂν αὐτῶν ποιήσωσι. γνώμη δὲ [p. 283] τούτων ἦν ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι κρατύνασθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, πέμποντας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Οὐολούσκους δυεῖν θάτερον ἀξιοῦν ἢ δύναμιν ἑτέραν πέμπειν ἀξιοχρεὼν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους,

[2] But still others disapproved of both these courses, declaring that readiness to rush into battle was mere youthful bravado, while unreasoning flight back to their own country was shameful; for, whichever of these courses they took, the enemy would regard it as being just what they desired. The opinion of these, therefore, was that at present they ought to fortify their camp and get everything in readiness for a battle, and that, dispatching messengers to the rest of the Volscians, they should ask them to do one of the two things, either to send another army that would be a match for that of the Romans or to recall the army they had already sent out.

[3] ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσταλμένην μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ πιθανωτάτη τοῖς πλείστοις φανεῖσα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τέλει κυρωθεῖσα γνώμη ταῦτα παρήνει, πέμψαι τινὰς εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων: κατασκόπους ὀνόματι πρεσβευτῶν ἔξοντας τὸ ἀσφαλές, οἱ δεξιῶσονται τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ φράσουσιν, ὅτι σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων ἦκοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἄχθονται μὲν ὑστερήσαντες τῆς μάχης, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἢ μικράν τινα τῆς προθυμίας χάριν οἰσόμενοι, τῇ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνων τύχῃ μέγαν ἀγῶνα δίχα συμμάχων κατωρθωκότων συνήδονται: ἔξαπατήσαντες δ' αὐτοὺς τῇ φιланθρωπίᾳ τῶν λόγων καὶ πιστεῦειν ὡς φίλοις σφίσι κατασκευάσαντες, ἅπαντα κατασκέφονται καὶ δηλώσουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πληθὸς τ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὀπλισμοὺς καὶ παρασκευὰς καὶ εἴ τι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχουσι πράττειν. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκριβῶς σφίσι γένηται φανερά, τότε προθεῖναι βουλὴν, εἰτ' ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον

εἴη προσμεταπεμφαμένοις δύναιμιν ἑτέραν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπάγειν.

[3] But the opinion that prevailed with the majority and received the sanction of those in authority was to send spies to the Roman camp, assured of safety under the title of ambassadors, who should greet the general and say that, as allies of the Romans sent by the Volscian nation, they were sorry they had come too late for the battle, since they would now received little or no thanks for their zeal; but anyway they congratulated the Romans upon their good fortune in having won a great battle without the assistance of allies; then, after the ambassadors had tricked the Romans by the friendliness of their words and had got them to confide in the Volscians as their friends, they were to spy out everything and bring back word concerning the Romans' strength, their arms, their preparations, and anything they were planning to do. And when the Volscians should be thoroughly acquainted with these matters, they should then take counsel whether it was better to send for another army and attack the Romans or to return home with their present force.

[1] ὥς δὲ ταύτῃ προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ οἱ προχειρισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα καὶ παραχθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διεξῆλθον [p. 284] τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας λόγους, ὀλίγον ἐπισχῶν ὁ Ποστόμιος χρόνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπε: πονηρὰ βουλευματα, ᾧ Οὐολοῦσκοι, χρηστοῖς λόγοις ἀμφιέσαντες ἤκετε: καὶ πολεμίων ἔργα πράττοντες φίλων ἐξενέγκασθαι 4 βούλεσθε δόξαν.

[16.1] After they had adopted this proposal, the ambassadors they had chosen came to the dictator, and being brought before the assembly, delivered their messages that were intended to deceive the Romans. And Postumius, after a short pause, said to them: "You have brought with you, Volscians, evil designs clothed in good words, and while you perform hostile acts, you want us to regard you as friends.

[2] Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀπέσταλθε ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Λατίνοις συμμαχήσοντες καθ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὕστεροι τῆς μάχης ἤκετε καὶ κρατουμένους αὐτοὺς ὀρᾶτε, παρακρούσασθαι βούλεσθε ἡμᾶς τάναντία, ὧν ἐμέλλετε πράττειν, λέγοντες. καὶ οὐδ' ἡ φιλάνθρωπία τῶν λόγων, ἣν πλάττεσθε πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν οὐδὲ τὸ προσποιήμα ὑμῶν τῆς δεῦρο ἀφίξεως ὑγιές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μεστὸν δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. οὐ γὰρ συνησθησόμενοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐξαπέσταλθε, ἀλλὰ κατασκευόμενοι, πῶς ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας ἢ δυνάμεως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει: καὶ ἐστε πρεσβευταὶ μὲν λόγῳ, κατὰσκοποι δ' ἔργῳ.

[2] For you were sent by your nation to assist the Latins against us, but arriving after the battle and seeing them overcome, you wish to deceive us by saying the very opposite of what you intended to do. And neither the friendliness of your words, simulated for the present occasion, nor the pretence under which you are come hither, is sincere, but is full of fraud and deceit. For you were sent, not to congratulate us upon our good fortune, but to spy out the

weakness or the strength of our condition; and while you are ambassadors in name, you are spies in reality.”

[3] ἀρνουμένων δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πίστιν ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς παρέξεσθαι· καὶ αὐτίκα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῶν, ἃς ἔλαβε πρὸ τῆς μάχης τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν Λατίνων φερομένας, ἐν αἷς ὑπισχνοῦντο αὐτοῖς πέμψειν ἐπικουρίαν, προήνεγκε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας αὐτὰς προήγαγεν. ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἃς ἔλαβον ἐντολὰς διηγησαμένων, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος λίθοις ὥρμησε βαλεῖν τοὺς Οὐλοούσκους ὡς ἐαλωκότας ἐπ’ [p. 285] αὐτοφώρῳ κατασκόπους, ὁ δὲ Ποστόμιος οὐκ ὤρετο δεῖν ὁμοίους γενέσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κρεῖττον εἶναι λέγων καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερον εἰς τοὺς ἀποστείλαντας φυλάττειν τὴν ὀργὴν ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας, καὶ διὰ τὸ φανερόν ὄνομα τῆς πρεσβείας ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῆς κατασκοπῆς ἔργον ἀπολέσαι· ἵνα μήτε Οὐλοούσcois ἀφορμὴν παράσχουσιν εὐπρεπῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρεσβευτῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι σώματα σκηπτομένοις παρὰ τὸν ἀπάντων νόμον, μήτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχθρας πρόφασιν αἰτίας εἶναι εἰ καὶ ψευδοῦς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀλόγου γε οὐδὲ ἀπίστου.

[3] When the men denied everything, he said he would soon offer them the proof; and straightway he produced their letters which he had intercepted before the battle as they were being carried to the commanders of the Latins, in which they promised to send them reinforcements, and produced the persons who carried the letters. After these were read out and the prisoners had given an account of the orders they had received, the soldiers were eager to stone the Volscians as spies caught in the act; but Postumius thought that good men ought not to imitate the wicked, saying it would be better and more magnanimous to reserve their anger against the senders rather than against the sent, and to let the men go in consideration of their ostensible title of ambassadors rather than to put them to death because of their disguised task of spying, lest they should give either a specious ground for war to the Volscians, who would allege that their ambassadors had been put to death contrary to the law of nations, or an excuse to their other enemies for bringing a charge which, though false, would appear neither ill-grounded nor incredible.

[1] ἐπισχῶν δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἀπιέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκέλευσεν ἀμεταστρεπτῇ φυλακῇ παραδοὺς ἱππέων, οἱ προὔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐλοούσκων χάρακα. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς κατασκόπους εὐτρεπίεσθαι τὰ εἰς μάχην παρηγγεῖλε τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς ἐν τῇ κατοπίν ἡμέρᾳ παραταξόμενος. ἐδέησε δ’ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μάχης· οἱ γὰρ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Οὐλοούσκων πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀναστήσαντες τὴν στρατιάν ὥχοντο ἐπὶ

[17.1] Having thus checked the rash impulse of the soldiers, he commanded the men to depart without looking back, and put them in charge of a guard of horse, who conducted them to the camp of the Volscians. After he had

expelled the spies, he commanded the soldiers to get everything ready for battle, as if he were going to engage the next day. But he had no need of a battle, for the leaders of the Volscians broke camp before dawn and returned home.

[2] τὰ σφέτερα. ἀπάντων δὲ χωρησάντων αὐτῷ κατ' εὐχὴν θάψας τοὺς οἰκείους νεκροὺς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καθήρας [p. 286] ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔκπρεπεί θριάμβῳ κοσμούμενος ὄπλων τε σωρὸν ἐφ' ἀμάξαις πολλαῖς κομίζων καὶ χρημάτων στρατιωτικῶν παρασκευὰς ἀφθόνους εἰσφέρων, καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεντακοσίων ἀποδέοντας ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λαφύρων ἐξελόμενος τὰς δεκάτας ἀγῶνάς τε καὶ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα ταλάντων ἐποiei καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς ἐξεμίσθωσε Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Κόρῃ

[2] All things having now gone according to his wish, he buried his own dead, and having purified his army, returned to the city with the pomp of a magnificent triumph, together with huge quantities of military stores, followed by 5,500 prisoners taken in the battle. And having set apart the tithes of the spoils, he spent forty talents in performing games and sacrifices to the gods, and let contracts for the building of temples to Ceres, Liber and Libera, in fulfilment of a vow he had made.

[3] κατ' εὐχὴν. ἐσπάνισαν γὰρ αἱ τροφαὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ πολὺν αὐτοῖς παρέσχον φόβον ὥς ἐπιλείψουσαι, τῆς τε γῆς ἀκάρπου γενομένης καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀγορᾶς οὐκέτι παρακομιζομένης διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ἀνασκέψασθαι τὰ Σιβύλλεια τοὺς φύλακας αὐτῶν κελεύσας ὥς ἔμαθεν, ὅτι τούτους ἐξίλασασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ χρησμοὶ κελεύουσιν, εὐχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐποίησατο μέλλων ἐξάγειν τὸν στρατὸν, ἐὰν εὐετηρία γένηται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς, οἷα πρότερον ἦν, ναοὺς τ' αὐτοῖς καθιδρύσεσθαι καὶ

[3] It seems that provisions for the army had been scarce in the beginning, and had caused the Romans great fear that they would fail entirely, as the land had borne no crops and food from outside was no longer being imported because of the war. Because of this fear he had ordered the guardians of the Sibylline books to consult them, and finding that the oracles commanded that these gods should be propitiated, he made vows to them, when he was on the point of leading out his army, that if there should be the same abundance in the city during the time of his magistracy as before, he would build temples to them and also appoint sacrifices to be performed every year.

[4] θυσίας καταστήσεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν. οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες τὴν τε γῆν παρεσκεύασαν ἀνεῖναι πλουσίους καρπούς, οὐ μόνον τὴν σπόριμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δενδροφόρον, καὶ τὰς ἐπεισάκτους ἀγορὰς ἀπάσας ἐπικλύσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον: ἅπερ ὁρῶν αὐτὸς ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐψηφίσατο τὰς τῶν ναῶν τούτων κατασκευὰς. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τὸν τυραννικὸν ἀπωσάμενοι

πόλεμον εὐνοίᾳ θεῶν ἐν ἑορταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις ἤσαν. [p. 287]

[4] These gods, hearing his prayer, caused the land to produce rich crops, not only of grain but also of fruits, and all imported provisions to be more plentiful than before; and when Postumius saw this, he himself caused a vote to be passed for the building of these temples. The Romans, therefore, having through the favour of the gods repelled the war brought upon them by the tyrant, were engaged in feasts and sacrifices.

[1] ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων ἦκον ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐπιλεχθέντες οἱ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχοντες περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ἱκετηρίας καὶ στέμματα προεχόμενοι. οὗτοι παραχθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπέφαινον αἰτίους· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐν μόνον τοῦτο ἀμαρτεῖν ἔλεγον, ὅτι πονηροῖς ἐπείσθη δημαγωγοῖς ἴδια κέρδη παρσκευασμένοις.

[18] A few days later there came to them, as ambassadors from the Latin league, chosen out of all their cities. Those who had been opposed to the war, holding out the olive branches and the fillets of suppliants. These men, upon being introduced into the senate, declared that the powerful men in every city had been responsible for beginning the war, and said that the people had been guilty of this one fault only, that they had listened to corrupt demagogues who had schemed for private gain.

[2] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀπάτης, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖον ἀνάγκης μέρος ἦν, οὐ μεμπτὰς τετικένας δίκας ἐκάστην πόλιν ἔλεγον τῆς κρατίστης νεότητος ἀναιρεθείσης, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι πένθους καθαρὰν εὐρεῖν οἰκίαν, ἥξιουν τ' αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν σφᾶς ἦκοντας οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι διαφορομένους οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἴσων φιλονεικοῦντας συμμαχοῦς τε καὶ ὑπηκόους ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐσομένους, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ὁ δαίμων ἀφείλετο τοῦ Λατίνων ἀξιώματος,

[2] And for this delusion, in which necessity had had the greatest share, they said every city had already paid a penalty not to be despised, in the loss of its young men, so that it was not easy to find a single household free from mourning. They asked the Romans to receive them now that they willingly submitted and neither disputed any longer about the supremacy nor strove for equality, but were ready to be for all future time subjects as well as allies and to add the good fortune of the Romans all the prestige which Fortune had taken from the Latins.

[3] τοῦτο τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσθήσοντας εὐποτμίᾳ. τελευτῶντες δὲ τοῦ λόγου συγγένειαν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ συμμαχιῶν ἀπροφασίστων ποτὲ γενομένων ἀνεμίμησκον καὶ συμφορὰς ἀνέκλαιον τὰς καταληφόμενας τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, οἱ μακρῷ πλείους ἦσαν τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων, ὀδυρόμενοι παρ'

ἕκαστα καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀπτόμενοι πάσης τῆς γερονσίας καὶ τὰς ἱκετηρίας παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ Ποστομίου τιθέντες· ὥστε παθεῖν τι πρὸς τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τὰς δεήσεις αὐτῶν τὸ συνέδριον ἅπαν. [p. 288]

[3] At the end of their speech they made an appeal to kinship, reminded them of their unhesitating services as allies in the past, and bewailed the misfortunes that would fall on the innocent, who were far more numerous than the guilty, accompanying everything they said with lamentations, embracing the knees of all the senators, and laying the olive branches at the feet of Postumius, so that the whole senate was more or less moved by their tears and entreaties.

[1] ὥς δὲ μετέστησαν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ λόγος ἀπεδόθη τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἀποφαινεσθαι γνώμας, Τίτος μὲν Λάρκιος ὁ πρῶτος ἀποδειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευε μέγιστον εἶναι λέγων ἐγκώμιον ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω καὶ πόλεως ὅλης, εἰ μὴ διαφθαρήσεται ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς καὶ μετρίως φέροι τάγαθά.

[19] When the ambassadors had left the senate and permission to speak was given to the members who were wont to deliver their opinions first, Titus Larcus, who had been appointed the first dictator the year before, advised them to use their good fortune with moderation, saying that the greatest praise that could be given a whole state as well as to an individual was not to be corrupted by prosperity, but to bear good fortune with decorum and moderation;

[2] πάσας μὲν γὰρ τὰς εὐτυχίας φθονεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δ' ὅσαις πρόσσεστιν εἰς τοὺς ταπεινωθέντας καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα γενομένους ὕβρις καὶ βαρύτης· τῇ τύχῃ δ' οὐκ ἔῶν τι πιστεῦειν πολλάκις αὐτῆς πεῖραν εἰληφότας ἐπ' οἰκείois κακοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὡς ἀβέβαιός ἐστι καὶ ἀγχιστροφος· οὐδ' ἀνάγκην προσάγειν τοῖς διαφόροις τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων, δι' ἣν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τολμητὰ γίνονται

[2] for all prosperity is envied, particularly that which is attended with arrogance and rigour toward those who had been humbled and subdued. And he advised them not to put any reliance on Fortune, since they had learned from their own experience in both adversity and prosperity how inconstant and quick to change she is. Nor ought they to reduce their adversaries to the necessity of running the supreme hazard, since such necessity renders some men daring beyond all expectation and warlike beyond their strength.

[3] τινες καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μαχηταί· δέος δὲ σφίσις εἶναι λέγων, μὴ κοινὸν μῖσος ἐπισπάσωνται παρὰ πάντων ὅσων ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, ἐὰν πικρὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων ἀναπράττωνται δίκας, ὡς ἐκβεβηκότες ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν προῆλθον

ἐπιλαθόμενοι, καὶ πεποιηκότες τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡγεμονίαν ὡς πρότερον ἦν καὶ προστασίαν: τὰ τε ἁμαρτήματα μέτρια καὶ οὐ [p. 289] νεμεσητὰ εἶναι λέγων, εἴ τινες ἐλευθερίας περιεχόμεναι πόλεις καὶ ἄρχειν ποτὲ μαθοῦσαι τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀξιώσεως οὐ μεθιενται. εἰ δ' ἀνιάτως οἱ τῶν κρατίστων ὀρεχθέντες, ἐὰν διαμάρτωσι τῆς ἐλπίδος, ζημιώσονται, οὐδὲν ἔσσεσθαι τὸ κωλύον ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπολωλέναι: πᾶσι γὰρ εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας πόθον ἔμφυτον.

[3] He said they had reason to be afraid of drawing upon themselves the common hatred of all those they proposed to rule, if they should exact harsh and relentless penalties from such as had erred; for they would seem to have abandoned their traditional principles, forgetting to what they owed their present splendour, and to have made their dominion a tyranny rather than a leadership and protectorship, as it had been aforetime. He said that the error is a moderate and venial one when states that cling to liberty and have once learned to rule are unwilling to give up their ancient prestige; and if men who aim at the noblest ends are to be punished beyond possibility of recovery when they fail of their hope, there will be nothing to prevent the whole race of mankind from being destroyed by one another, since all men have an innate craving for liberty.

[4] πολλῶν τε κρεῖττονα καὶ βεβαιότεραν ἀποφαίνων ἀρχήν, ἥτις εὐεργεσίαις, ἀλλὰ μὴ τιμωρίαις κρατεῖν βούλεται τῶν ὑπηκόων: τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὖ νοίαν ἀκολουθεῖν, τῇ δὲ φόβον, ἀνάγκην δ' εἶναι φύσεως πάντα μάλιστα μισεῖσθαι τὰ φοβερά: τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδείγμασιν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαίνων ἐτύγχανον ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσας ἀλούσας κατὰ κράτος πόλεις οὐ κατασκάπτοντες οὐδὲ ἡβηδὸν ἀναιροῦντες οὐδ' ἐξανδραποδιζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης ποιοῦντες, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν κρατηθέντων παρὰ σφίσι κατοικεῖν πολιτείας μεταδίδόντες, μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πόλιν. κεφάλαιον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἦν ἀνανεώσεσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων, αἷς ἦσαν πεποιημένοι πρότερον, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μηδεμιᾷ πόλει μνησικακεῖν.

[4] He declared that a government is far better and more firmly established which seeks to rule its subjects by its benefits rather than by punishments; for the former course leads to goodwill and the latter to terror, and it is a fixed law of Nature that everything that causes terror should be particularly detested. And finally he asked them to take as examples the best actions of their ancestors for which they had won praise, recounting the many instances in which, after capturing cities by storm, they had not razed them nor put all the male population to the sword or enslaved them, but by making them Roman colonies and by giving citizenship to such of the conquered as desired to live at Rome, they had made their city great from a small beginning. The sum and substance of his opinion was this: to renew the treaty they had

previously made with the Latin league and to retain no resentment against any of the cities for the errors they had been guilty of.

[1] Σερουίλιος δὲ Σουλπίκιος περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀνανεώσεως τῶν σπονδῶν οὐδὲν ἀντέλεγεν: [p. 290] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρότεροι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Λατῖνοι, καὶ οὐχὶ τότε πρῶτον, ὥστε συγγνώμης τινὸς αὐτοῖς δεῖν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀπάτην προβαλλομένοις, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ πρότερον, ὥστε καὶ διορθώσεως σφίσι δεῖν, τὴν μὲν ἄδειαν ἅπασι συγκεχωρηῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διὰ τὸ συγγενές, τῆς δὲ γῆς τὴν ἡμίσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ κληροῦχος ἀποσταλῆναι Ῥωμαίων εἰς αὐτήν, οἳ τινες ἐκείνην καρπῶσονται καὶ

[20.1] Servius Sulpicius opposed nothing the other had said concerning peace and the renewal of the treaty; but, since the Latins had been the first to violate the treaty, and not now for the first time either — in which case they might deserve some forgiveness when they put forward necessity and their own deception as excuses — but often in the past too, so that they needed correction, he proposed that impunity and their liberty should be granted to all of them because of their kinship, but that they should be deprived of one half of their land and that Roman colonists should be sent thither to enjoy its produce and see to it that the Latins created no further disturbances.

[2] τοὺς ἄνδρας μὴδὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσαι σπουδάσουσι. Σπόριος δὲ Κάσσιος ἀνελεῖν τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεβούλευε θαυμάζειν λέγων ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐθελείαις τῶν παραινούντων ἀφεῖναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῖς ἀζημίους, εἰ μὴδὲ δύνανται καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι διὰ τὸν φθόνον τὸν ἔμφυτον τε καὶ ἀναφαίρετον, ὃν ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν αὐξομένην, ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτεχνῶνται πολέμους καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσονται τῆς ἐπιβούλου προαιρέσεως ἐκόντες, ἕως αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ δύστηνον ἐνοικεῖ πάθος: οἳ γε τελευτῶντες ὑπὸ τυράννῳ ποιήσασθαι, θηρίων ἀπάντων ἀγριωτάτῳ, συγγενῇ σφῶν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπάσας ἀνατρέψαντες τὰς ἐπὶ θεῶν ὁμολογίας, οὐκ ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἂν μὴ αὐτοῖς κατὰ γνώμην χωρήσῃ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δίκην οὐδεμίαν ὑφέξουσιν ἢ

[2] Spurius Cassius advised them to raze the Latin cities, saying he wondered at the simple-mindedness of those who urged letting their offences go unpunished, why they could not understand that, because of the inborn and ineradicable envy which the Latins felt towards the rising power of Rome, they were constantly fomenting one war after another against them and would never willingly give over their treacherous intent so long as this unfortunate passion dwelt in their hearts; indeed, they had finally endeavoured to bring a kindred people under the power of a tyrant more savage than any wild beast, thereby overturning all the covenants they had sworn by the gods to observe, induced by no other hopes than that, if the war did not succeed according to their expectation, they should incur either no punishment at all or a very slight one.

[3] τινὰ μικρὰν κομιδῇ. παραδείγμασι τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις, οἳ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτοὶ τ' ἀπωκίσθησαν καὶ Λατίνων ἅπασαι πόλεις, ἐπειδὴ φθονοῦσαν ἔγνωσαν τοῖς αὐτῶν [p. 291] ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἁμαρτήμασιν εὔρετο, μείζονος ἐπιβουλῆς ἀφορμὴν ποιησαμένην, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καθελεῖν ἔγνωσαν μῖα: ἐν ἴσῳ δόξαντες εἶναι τῷ μηδένα οἰκτεῖρειν τῶν τὰ μέτρια ἁμαρτανόντων τὸ μηδένα τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ

[3] He too asked them to take as examples the actions of their ancestors, who, when they knew that the city of Alba, of which both they themselves and all the other Latin cities were colonies, was envious of their prosperity and had made use of the impunity it had obtained for its first transgressions as an opportunity for greater treachery, resolved to destroy it in a single day, believing that to punish none of those who had committed the greatest and the most irremediable crimes was no better than to show compassion to none of those who were guilty of moderate errors.

[4] ἀδιόρθωτα ἀδικούντων. μωρίας δὲ πολλῆς εἶναι καὶ ἀναλγησίας ἔργον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ φιλανθρωπίας οὐδὲ μετριοτήτος: τὸν τῶν ἀποικισάντων σφᾶς φθόνον, ἐπεὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἔδοξεν εἶναι βαρὺς καὶ ἀφόρητος, οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν τῶν ὁμογενῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς τ' ἐν ἐλάττωσι πείραις ἐλεγχθέντας πολεμίους ἀφαιρέσει πόλεως ζημιώσαντας, παρὰ τῶν πολλάκις τὸ μῖσος ἀδιάλλακτον ἀποδειξαμένων μηδεμίαν εἰσπράξασθαι δικήν.

[4] It would be an act of great folly and stupidity, surely not one of humanity and moderation, for those who would not endure the envy of their mother-city, when it appeared beyond measure grievous and intolerable, to submit now to that of their mere kinsman, and for those who had punished enemies convicted in milder attempts of being such, by depriving them of their city, to exact no punishment now from such as had often shown their hatred of them to be irreconcilable.

[5] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Λατίνων ἅπασας ἐξαριθμησάμενος τῶν τ' ἀπολομένων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμοις Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἦν ἀναμνήσας, ἡξίου τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρήσεσθαι καὶ τοῦτοις, ὃν ἐχρήσαντο Ἀλβανοῖς πρότερον: τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσθεῖναι, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τοὺς μὲν εὐνοϊὰν τινα: πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποδειξαμένους ἔχοντας τὰ σφέτερα πολίτας ποιήσεσθαι, τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ὑφ' ὧν αἱ σπονδαὶ διελύθησαν, ὡς προδότας [p. 292] ἀποκτεῖναι: ὅσον δὲ τοῦ δήμου πτωχὸν καὶ ἀργὸν καὶ ἄχρηστον ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιήσεσθαι λόγῳ.

[5] After he had spoken thus and had enumerated all the rebellions of the Latins and reminded the senators of the vast number of Romans who had lost their lives in the wars against them, he advised them to treat these also in the same manner as they had formerly treated the Albans, namely, to raze their

cities and add their territory to that of the Romans; and as for the inhabitants, to make citizens of such as had shown any goodwill towards them, permitting them to retain their possessions, but to put to death as traitors the authors of the revolt by whom the treaty had been broken, and to make slaves of the poor, the lazy and the useless among the populace.

[1] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ δὲ δικτάτορος τὴν Λαρκίου γνώμην προελομένου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔτι λέξαντος τάναντία παρήσαν εἰσκληθέντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ληψόμενοι· καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος ὀνειδίσας αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐδέποτε σωφρονισθῆναι δυναμένην κακίαν· δίκαιον μὲν ἦν, ἔφη, τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἅτε διὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πράττειν ἐμέλλετε, εἰ κατωρθώσατε ἃς πολλάκις ἤλθετε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὁδοὺς· οὐ μέντοι Ῥωμαίους τὰ δίκαια πρὸ τῶν ἐπεικῶν προελέσθαι λογιζομένους, ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἰσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεον τῶν ἀδικουμένων καταπεφεύγασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῖς ἀζημίους ἀφιέναι θεῶν τε ὁμογνίων ἔνεκα καὶ τύχης ἀτεκμάρτου, παρ’ ἧς τὸ κράτος ἔσχον.

[21.1] These were the opinions expressed by the leading men of the senate, but the dictator gave the preference to that of Larcus; and, no further opposition being made to it, the ambassadors were called in to the senate to receive their answer. Postumius, after reproaching them with an evil disposition never to be reformed, said: “It would be right that you should suffer the utmost severity, which is just the way you yourselves were intending to treat us, if you had succeeded in the many attempts you made against us.” Nevertheless, he said, the Romans had not chosen mere rights in preference to clemency, bearing in mind that the Latins were their kinsmen and had had recourse to the mercy of those whom they had injured; but they were allowing these offences of theirs also to go unpunished, from a regard both to the gods of their race and to the uncertainty of Fortune, to whom they owed their victory.

[2] νῦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, παντὸς ἡλευθερωμένοι δέους πορεύεσθε, ἐὰν δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπολύσητε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παραδῶτε ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξελάσητε, τότε τοὺς περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους πρέσβεις πέμπετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσοντες τῶν μετρίων. ἀπῆσαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταύτας [p. 293] τὰς ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἦκον τοὺς τ’ αἰχμαλώτους ἀφεικότες καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας τῶν αὐτομόλων δεσμίους ἄγοντες καὶ τοὺς ἅμα Ταρκυνίῳ φυγάδας ἐξεληλακότες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ἀνθ’ ὧν εὗροντο παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἀρχαίαν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ποτὲ γενομένους διὰ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν ἀνενεώσαντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους συστάς πόλεμος τετρακαίδεκάετης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως αὐτῶν γενόμενος τοιαύτης ἔτυχε τελευτῆς.

[2] “For the present, therefore, go your way,” he said, “relieved of all fear; and after you have released to us the prisoners, delivering the deserters, and expelled the exile, then send ambassadors to us to treat of friendship and of an

alliance, in the assurance that they shall fail of naught that is reasonable.” The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed, and a few days later returned, having released the prisoners and expelled the exiles with Tarquinius from their cities, and bringing with them in chains all the deserters they had taken. In return for this they obtained of the senate their old treaty of friendship and alliance and renewed through the *fetiales* the oaths they had previously taken concerning it. Thus ended the war against the tyrants, after it had lasted fourteen years from their expulsion.

[3] Ταρκύνιος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὗτος γὰρ ἔτι λοιπὸς ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν, ὁμοῦ τι γεγωνὺς ἐνενηκονταέτης κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ἀπολωλεκὼς τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸν τῶν κηδεστῶν οἶκον καὶ γῆρας ἐλεεινὸν καὶ παρ' ἐχθροῖς διαντλῶν, οὔτε Λατίνων ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ἔτι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὔτε Τυρρηνῶν οὔτε Σαβινῶν οὔτ' ἄλλης πλησιοχώρου πόλεως ἐλευθέρας οὐδεμιᾶς, εἰς τὴν Καμπανίδα Κύμην ὤχετο πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μαλακὸν τυραννοῦντα τότε Κυμαίων· παρ' ᾧ βραχὺν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιβιούς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ θάπτεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φυγάδων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ κατέμειναν, οἱ δ' εἰς ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις σκεδασθέντες ἐπὶ ξένης τὸν βίον κατέστρεψαν.

[3] King Tarquinius — for he still survived of his family — being now about ninety years of age and having lost his children and the household of his relations by marriage, dragged out a miserable old age, and that too among his enemies. For when neither the Latins, the Tyrrhenians, the Sabines, nor any other free people near by would longer permit him to reside in their cities, he retired to Cumae in Campania and was received by Aristodemus, nicknamed the Effeminate, who was at that time tyrant of the Cumaeans; and after living a few days there, he died and was buried by him. Some of the exiles who had been with him remained at Cumae; and the rest, dispersing themselves to various other cities, ended their days on foreign soil.

[1] Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καταλυσασμένοις τοὺς ὑπαίθρους πολέμους ἢ πολιτικὴ στάσις αὐθις ἐπανίστατο τῆς μὲν βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης καθίζειν τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς [p. 294] ἀμφισβητήσεις, αἷς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλλοντο, κρίνεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰς συναλλαγὰς ἀμφισβητημάτων εἰς μεγάλους κλύδωνας καὶ δεινὰς προβεβηκότων ἀτοπίας τε καὶ· ἀναισχυντίας, τῶν μὲν δημοτικῶν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν σκηπτομένων διαλύειν τὰ χρέα, χώρας τ' αὐτοῖς κεκομμένης ἐν τῷ πολυτελεῖ πολέμῳ καὶ βοσκημάτων διεφθαρμένων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων αὐτομολίας καὶ καταδρομαῖς σπανισθέντων τῆς τε κατὰ πόλιν κτήσεως ἐξανηλωμένης ταῖς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν δαπάναις· τῶν δὲ δανειστῶν ταύτας μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς ὁμοίας ἅπασι γεγονέναι λεγόντων καὶ οὐ μόνοις τοῖς χρεωφειλέταις, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν δ' ἡγουμένων σφίσι μὴ μόνον, ἀ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφηρεθήσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ δεομένοις τισὶ τῶν 5 πολιτῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συνήλλαξαν, ἀπολωλέναι.

[22.1] After the Romans had put an end to the foreign wars, the civil strife

sprang up again. For the senate ordered the courts of justice to sit and that all suits which they had postponed on account of the war should be decided according to the laws. The controversies arising over contracts resulted in great storms and terrible instances of outrageous and shameless behaviour, the plebeians, on the one hand, pretending they were unable to pay their debts, since their land had been laid waste during the long war, their cattle destroyed, the number of their slaves reduced by desertion and raids, and their fortunes in the city exhausted by their expenditures for the campaign, and the money-lenders, on the other hand, alleging that these misfortunes had been common to all and not confined to the debtors only, and regarding it as intolerable that they should lose, not only what they had been stripped of by the enemy in the war, but also what they had lent in time of peace to some of the citizens who asked for their assistance.

[2] ἀξιοῦντων δ' οὔτε τῶν δανειστῶν οὐδὲν μέτριον ὑπομένειν οὔτε τῶν χρεωφειλετῶν ποιεῖν οὐδὲν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς τόκους ἀφιέναι, τῶν δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὰ τὰ συναλλάγματα διαλύειν: ἔξ ὧν σύνοδοι μὲν ἤδη κατὰ συστροφᾶς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁμοίαις ὄντων τύχαις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀντιπαράταξις κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ χειρῶν ἀψιμαχίαι, καὶ συντετάρακτο πᾶς ὁ πολιτικὸς

[2] And as neither the money-lenders were willing to accept anything that was reasonable nor the debtors to do anything that was just, but the former refused to abate even the interest, and the latter to pay even the principal itself, those who were in the same plight were already gathering in knots and opposing parties faced one another in the Forum and sometimes actually came to blows, and the whole established order of the state was thrown into confusion.

[3] κόσμος: ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ὁ Ποστόμιος, ἕως ἔτι τὸ τιμώμενον εἶχε παρὰ πάντων ὅμοιον πολέμῳ βαρεῖ καλὸν [p. 295] ὑπεκδῦναι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς χειμῶνας ἔγνω: καὶ πρὶν ἐκπληρῶσαι τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς χρόνον, τὴν τε δικτατορίαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ προθεὶς ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἡμέραν μετὰ τοῦ συνυπάτου τὰς πατρίους κατέστησεν ἀρχάς.

[3] Postumius, observing this, while he still retained the respect of all alike for having brought a severe war to an honourable conclusion, resolved to avoid the civil storms, and before he had completed the whole term of his sovereign magistracy he abdicated the dictatorship, and having fixed a day for the election, he, together with his fellow-consul, restored the traditional magistrates.

[1] παραλαμβάνουσι δὴ ὑπατοὶ πάλιν τὴν ἐνιαυσίον τε καὶ νόμιμον ἀρχὴν Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβῖνος καὶ Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Πρίσκοι: οἱ τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτω συμφέρον εἶδον ὁρθῶς, ὅτι δεῖ περισπᾶν τὸν ἐντὸς τειχὺς θόρυβον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους: καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ Οὐλοῦσκων ἔθνους τὸν ἕτερον σφῶν ἐξάγειν στρατιάν, τιμωρήσασθαι τ'

αὐτοὺς προαιρούμενοι τῆς ἀποσταλείσης κατὰ Ῥωμαίων Λατίνοις συμμαχίας καὶ προκαταλαβεῖν τὰς παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν ἔτι συνεσταλμένας. ἡγγέλλοντο γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι δυνάμεις ἤδη καταγράφειν ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ εἰς τὰ πλησίον ἔθνη πρεσβεύεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀφεστηκέναι τῶν πατρικίων καὶ νομίσαντες οὐ χαλεπὸν εἶναι πόλιν οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ νοσοῦσαν ἄρασθαι.

[23.1] The consuls who next took over the annual and legal magistracy were Appius Claudius Sabinus and Publius Servilius Priscus. They saw, rightly, that to render the highest service to the state they must divert the uproar in the city to foreign wars; and they were arranging that one of them should lead an expedition against the Volscian nation, with the purpose both of taking revenge on them for the aid they had sent to the Latins against the Romans and of forestalling their preparations, which as yet were not far advanced. For they too were reported to be enrolling an army with the greatest diligence and sending ambassadors to the neighbouring nations to invite them to enter into alliance with them, since they had learned that the plebeians were standing aloof from the patricians and thought that it would not be difficult to capture a city suffering from civil war.

[2] ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν βουλευσάμενοι καὶ δόξαντες ἅπασιν τοῖς συνέδροις ὀρθῶς βεβουλευῖσθαι προεῖπον ἥκειν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν ἅκμῃ χρόνον ὀρίσαντες, ἐν ᾧ τὴν καταγραφὴν [p. 296] τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔμελλον ποιεῖσθαι. ὥς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον αὐτοῖς οἱ δημοτικοὶ καλούμενοι πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάτερος εἶχε γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἔνθεν ἀρξάμενοι διεστῆκεσαν τε καὶ τάναντία πράττοντες ἀλλήλοις παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διετέλεσαν.

[2] The consuls, therefore, having resolved to lead an expedition against this people, and their resolution being approved of by the whole senate, they ordered all the men of military age to present themselves on the day they had appointed for making the levies of troops. But when the plebeians, though repeatedly summoned to take the military oath, would not obey the consuls, these were no longer both of the same mind, but beginning from this point, they were divided and continued to oppose one another during the whole time of their magistracy.

[3] Σερουιλίῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπεικεστέραν τῶν ὁδῶν πορεύεσθαι τῇ Μανίου Οὐαλερίου γνώμῃ τοῦ δημοτικωτάτου προσθεμένῳ, ὃς ἡξίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰάσεσθαι τῆς στάσεως μάλιστα μὲν ἄφεσιν ἢ μείωσιν τῶν χρεῶν ψηφισαμένους, εἰ δὲ μήγε κώλυσιν τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς τῶν ὑπερημέρων κατὰ τὸ παρόν, παρακλήσει τε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνάγκῃ τοὺς πέννητας ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον ἄγειν καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων μὴ χαλεπὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους, ὥς ἐν ὁμονοουσίᾳ πόλει, μετρίας δὲ τινας καὶ ἐπεικεῖς· κίνδυνον γὰρ ἂν εἶναι, μὴ πρὸς ἀπόνειαν τράπωνται συνελθόντες εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄνθρωποι τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεεῖς ἀναγκαζόμενοι στρατεῦεσθαι τέλεσιν οἰκείοις.

[3] For Servilius thought they ought to take the milder course, thereby adhering to the opinion of Manius Valerius, the most democratic of the senators, who advised them to cure the cause of the sedition, preferably by decreeing an abolition or diminution of the debts, or, failing that, by forbidding for the time being the haling to prison of the debtors whose obligations were overdue, and advised them to encourage rather than compel the poor to take the military oath, and not to make the penalties against the disobedient severe and inexorable, but moderate and mild. For there was danger, he said, that men in want of the daily necessities of life, if compelled to serve at their own expense, might get together and adopt some desperate course.

[1] Ἀππίου δ' ἦν γνώμῃ τοῦ κορυφαιοτάτου τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας αὐστηρὰ καὶ αὐθαδῆς μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τῷ δήμῳ μαλακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων τὰς ἀναπράξεις ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν, ἐφ' οἷς συνέβαλον δικαίως ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καθίζειν, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει μένοντα τῶν ὑπάτων κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐθισμοὺς καὶ [p. 297] τὰς τιμωρίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν ἐκλιπόντων οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν νόμοι δεδώκασιν, ἀναπράττεσθαι, εἴκειν δὲ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς μηδὲν ὅ τι μὴ δίκαιον μηδὲ

δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συγκατασκευάζειν πονηράν.

[24.1] But the opinion of Appius, the chief man among the leaders of the aristocracy, was harsh and arrogant. He advised that they should show no leniency toward the people in anything, but should even allow the money-lenders to enforce payment of the obligations upon the terms agreed upon, and should cause the courts of justice to sit, and that the consul who remained in the city should, in accordance with ancestral custom and usage, exact the punishments ordained by law against those who declined military service, and that they ought to yield to the people in nothing that was not just nor aid them in establishing a pernicious power.

[2] καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τρυφῶσι τελῶν ἀφειμένοι, ὧν ἐτέλουν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρότερον, καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ σῶμα τιμωριῶν, αἷς ἐκολάζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅποτε μὴ ταχέως ὑπηρετήσaiάν τι τῶν ἐπιταττομένων, ἐλεύθεροι γεγονότες. ἔαν δέ τι παρακινεῖν ἢ νεωτερίζειν προενεχθέντες ἐπιβάλονται, κατείρωμεν αὐτοὺς τῷ σωφρονοῦντι μέρει τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑγιαίνοντι πλείονι τοῦ νοσοῦντος φανησομένων.

[2] “Why, even now,” he said, “they are pampered beyond all measure in consequence of having been relieved of the taxes they formerly paid to the kings and freed from the corporal punishments they received from them when they did not yield prompt obedience to any of their commands. But if they go further and attempt any disturbance or uprising, let us restrain them with the aid of the sober and sound element among the citizens, who will be found more numerous than the disaffected.

[3] ὑπάρχει μὲν γ' ἡμῖν οὐ μικρὰ ἰσχὺς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν πατρικίων νεότης ἔτοιμος τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν: μέγιστον δὲ πάντων ὄπλον καὶ δυσκαταγώνιστον, ὃ χρώμενοι ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσομεν τῶν δημοτικῶν, τὸ τῆς βουλῆς κράτος, ὃ δεδιττόμεθα αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν νόμων ἰσάμενοι. ἔαν δ' ὑποκατακλινώμεθα αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως, πρῶτον αἰσχύνην ὀφλήσομεν, εἰ παρὸν ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πολιτεῦεσθαι δῆμῳ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιτρέψομεν: ἔπειτα δ' εἰς κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἦξομεν, εἴ τις ἐκθεραπεύσας: αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν κρείττονα τῶν νόμων κατασκευάσαιτο τυραννικὸς ἀνὴρ, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐθις ἀφαιρεθῆναι. τοιαῦτα [p. 298] διαφερομένων τῶν ὑπάτων κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅποτε συναχθεῖν συνέδριον καὶ συλλαμβανόντων πολλῶν ἑκατέρω, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ φιλονεικίας καὶ θορύβους καὶ λόγους ἀκόσμους, οἷς ἀλλήλους προὔπηλακίζον, ἀκούσασα, σωτήριον δὲ βούλευμα οὐδὲν καθισταμένη, διελύετο.

[3] We have on hand for the task no slight strength in the patrician youth who are ready to obey our commands; but the great weapon of all, and one difficult to be resisted, with which we shall subdue the plebeians, is the power of the senate; with this let us overawe them, taking our stand on the side of the laws. But if we yield to their demand, in the first place, we shall incur disgrace by

entrusting the government to the people when we have it in our power to live under an aristocracy; and secondly, we shall run no little danger of being deprived of our liberty again, in case some man inclined toward tyranny should win them over and acquire a power superior to the laws.” The consuls disputing in this manner, both by themselves alone and whenever the senate was assembled, and many siding with each, that body, after listening to their altercations and clamour and the unseemly speeches with which they abused one another, would adjourn without coming to any salutary decision.

[1] διατριβομένου δ' εἰς ταῦτα πολλοῦ χρόνου ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Σερουίλιος: ἦν γὰρ ἡ στρατεία κατὰ κλῆρον ἐκείνῳ προσήκουσα: πολλῇ δεήσει καὶ θεραπείᾳ παρασκευασάμενος τὸ δημοτικὸν συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, δύνανιν ἔχων οὐκ ἐκ καταλόγου προσηναγκασμένην, ἀλλ' ἐκούσιον, ὡς οἱ καιροὶ παρεκάλουν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἔτι τῶν Οὐλοῦσκων παρασκευαζομένων καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν οὔτε προσδεχομένων μετὰ δυνάμεως ἥξειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, οὕτω στασιαστικῶς πολιτευομένους καὶ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὗτ' εἰς χεῖρας ἥξειν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν οἰομένων: σφίσι δὲ πολλῇν ἐξουσίαν ὑπάρχειν ὅποτε βούλιντο τοῦ

[25.1] Much time being consumed in this wrangling, one of the consuls, Servilius (for it had fallen to his lot to conduct the campaign), having, by much entreating and courting of the populace, prevailed upon them to assist in the war, took the field with an army not raised by a compulsory levy but consisting of volunteers, as the times required. Meanwhile the Volscians were still employed in their preparations and neither expected that the Romans, divided into factions as they were and engaged in mutual animosities, would march against them with an army, nor thought they would come to close quarters with any who attacked them, but imagined that they themselves were at full liberty to begin the war whenever they thought fit.

[2] πολέμου ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦσθοντο πολεμεῖν δέον αὐτοὶ πολεμοῦμενοι, τότε δὴ καταπεπληγότες τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τάχος, ἱκετηρίας ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ γεραίτατοι προήεσαν ἐπιτρέποντες τῷ Σερουίλιῳ [p. 299] χρῆσθαι σφίσιν ὡς ἡμαρτηκόσιν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ τροφᾶς τῷ στρατεύματι παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τριακοσίους υἱοὺς εἰς ὀμηρείαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἴκων ἐπιλεξάμενος ὥχετο, λελυσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑπολαβών.

[2] But when they found themselves attacked and perceived that they must attack in turn, then at last the oldest among them, alarmed by the speed of the Romans, came out of their cities with olive branches and surrendered themselves to Servilius, to be treated as he should think fit for their offences. And he, taking from them provisions and clothing for his army and choosing out of the most prominent families three hundred men to serve as hostages, departed, assuming that the war was ended.

[3] ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦτ' οὐ λύσις, ἀναβολή δέ τις καὶ παρασκευῆς ἀφορμή τοῖς φθασθεῖσι τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐφόδου, ἀπελθόντος τε τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματος ἐξήπτοντο πάλιν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι τοῦ πολέμου τὰς τε πόλεις φραζάμενοι, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον ἦν ἀσφάλειαν σφίσι παρασχεῖν διὰ φυλακῆς κρείττονος ἔχοντες· συνήπτοντο δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ κινδύνου φανερώς μὲν Ἑρνικες καὶ Σαβῖνοι, κρύφα δὲ καὶ ἄλλων συχνοί. Λατῖνοι δὲ πρεσβείας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αἰτήσιν ἀφικομένης δῆσαντες τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς Ῥώμην ἤγαγον.

[3] In reality, however, this was not an end of the war, but rather a postponement, as it were, and an opportunity for those who had been surprised by the unexpected invasion to make their preparations; and the Roman army was no sooner gone than the Volscians again turned their attention to war by fortifying their towns and reinforcing the garrisons of any other places that were suitable to afford them security. The Hernicans and the Sabines assisted them openly in their hazardous venture, and many others secretly; but the Latins, when ambassadors went to them to ask for their assistance, bound the men and carried them to Rome.

[4] οἷς ἡ βουλὴ τῆς βεβαίου πίστεως χάριν ἀποδιδούσα καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα προθυμίας· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐκούσιοι συμπολεμεῖν· ὁ μάλιστα μὲν βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὤετο, δι' αἰσχύνης δ' ἔχειν αἰτήσασθαι, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀλόντας αὐτῶν ἐξακισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας προῖκα δωρησαμένη καὶ ὥς ἂν μάλιστα κόσμον ἢ δωρεὰ προσήκοντα τῇ συγγενείᾳ λάβοι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσθῆσιν ἀμφιέσασα ἐλευθέροις σώμασι πρεπούσαις. τῆς δὲ συμμαχίας οὐδὲν αὐτῇ ἔφθαι δεῖν τῆς Λατίνων ἱκανὰς λέγουσα εἶναι τὰς οἰκείας τῇ Ῥώμῃ δυνάμεις ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀφισταμένους. ταῦτ' ἐκείνοις [p. 300] ἀποκριναμένη ψηφίζεται τὸν κατ' Οὐολοῦσκων πόλεμον.

[4] The senate, in return for the Latins' steadfast adherence to their alliance and still more for the eagerness they showed to take part in the war (for they were ready to assist them of their own accord), granted to them a favour they thought they desired above all things but were ashamed to ask for, which was to release without ransom the prisoners they had taken from them during the wars, the number of whom amounted to almost six thousand, and that the gift might, so far as possible, take on a lustre becoming to their kinship, they clothed them all with the apparel proper to free men. As to the Latins' offer of assistance, the senate told them they had no need of it, since the national forces of Rome were sufficient to punish those who revolted. After they had given this answer to the Latins they voted for the war against the Volscians.

[1] ἔτι δ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καθεζομένης καὶ τινες εἶεν δυνάμεις τὰς ἐξελευσομένας σκοπούσης, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἐφάνη ῥάκος ἡμφιεσμένος, πῶγων βαθὺν καθεικῶς καὶ κόμην βοῶν καὶ ἐπικαλούμενος τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουρίαν. συνδραμόντος δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ὄχλου στάς,

ὄθεν ἔμελλε πολλοῖς καταφανῆς ἔσεσθαι, ἔφη, γεννηθεὶς ἐλεύθερος, ἐστρατευμένος τὰς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατείας, καὶ δευρὶν δεοῦσας τριάκοντα μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος, καὶ ἀριστεῖα πολλάκις εἰληφώς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, ἐπειδὴ κατέσχον οἱ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἄγοντες στενοχωρίας καιροί, χρέος ἡναγκάσθην λαβεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ διαλυθῆναι τὰς εἰσπραττομένας εἰσφοράς, ὥς τὸ μὲν χωρίον οἱ πολέμιοι κατέδραμον, τὰ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν αἱ σιτοδεῖαι κατανόησαν, ὄθεν διαλυσαίμι μου τὸ χρέος οὐκ ἔχων, ἀπήχθην δοῦλος ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς δυσὶν: ἐπιτάκτωντος δὲ τοῦ δεσπότης τῶν οὐ ράδιον ἔργον τι ἀντειπὼν αὐτῷ πληγὰς ἔλαβον μάστιγι πάνυ πολλάς.

[26.1] While the senate was still sitting and considering what forces were to be taken into the field, an elderly man appeared in the Forum, dressed in rags, with his beard and hair grown long, and crying out, he called upon the citizens for assistance. And when all who were near flocked to him, he placed himself where he could be clearly seen by many and said: "Having been born free, and having served in all the campaigns while I was of military age, and fought in twenty-eight battles and often been awarded prizes for valour in the wars; then, when the oppressive times came that were reducing the commonwealth to the last straits, having been forced to contract a debt to pay the contributions levied upon me; and finally, when my farm was raided by the enemy and my property in the city exhausted owing to the scarcity of provisions, having no means with which to discharge my debt, I was carried away as a slave by the money-lender, together with my two sons; and when my master ordered me to perform some difficult task and I protested against it, I was given a great many lashes with the whip."

[2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐρρίπτει τὸ ῥάκιον καὶ ἐδείκνυε τὸ στήθος μεστὸν τραυμάτων, τὰ δὲ νῶτα αἵματος ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἀνάπλεω. κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γινομένης ἥ τε βουλὴ διελύθη καὶ κατὰ [p. 301] τὴν πόλιν ὅλην δρόμος ἦν τῶν ἀπόρων τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην ἀνακλαιομένων καὶ βοηθεῖν τοὺς πέλας ἀξιούντων: ἔκ τε τῶν οἰκιῶν οἱ πρὸς τὰ χρέα δουλωθέντες ἐξώρμων κομῶντες, ἀλύσεις ἔχοντες οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πέδας οὐδενὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τολμῶντος αὐτῶν, εἰ δ' ἄψαιτο μόνον, ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διασπαρattoμένου.

[2] With these words he threw off his rags and showed his breast covered with wounds and his back still bleeding from the stripes. This raising a general clamour and lamentation on the part of all present, the senate adjourned and throughout the entire city the poor were running about, each bewailing his own misfortunes and imploring the assistance of the neighbours. At the same time all who had been enslaved for their debts rushed out of the houses of the money-lenders with their hair grown long and most of them in chains and fetters; and none dared to lay hold on them, and if anyone so much as touched them, he was forcibly torn in pieces,

[3] τοσαύτη λύττα τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ κατεῖχε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ

μεσθὴ τῶν ἐκφυγόντων τὰς ἀνάγκας ἦν ἡ ἀγορά. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀππίος δεῖσας τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κακῶν ἦν αἴτιος, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐδόκει ταῦτα γεγονέναι, φεύγων ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὥχετο. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ῥίψας τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα καὶ προκυλιόμενος τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐκάστου μετὰ δακρύων, μόλις αὐτοὺς ἔπεισεν ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπισχεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐποῦσαν ἦκειν, ὡς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμέλειάν τινα περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησομένης. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν κελεύσας μηδένα τῶν δανειστῶν ἐξεῖναι σῶμα πολιτικὸν πρὸς ἴδιον χρέος ἄγειν, ἕως ἂν ἡ βουλὴ περὶ αὐτῶν διαγνοίῃ, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ὅποι βούλονται ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι, διέλυσε τὸν θόρυβον.

[3] such was the madness possessing the people at that time, and presently the Forum was full of debtors who had broken loose from their chains. Appius, therefore, fearing to be attacked by the populace, since he had been the cause of the evils and all this trouble was believed to be due to him, fled from the Forum. But Servilius, throwing off his purple-bordered robe and casting himself in tears at the feet of each of the plebeians, with difficulty prevailed upon them to remain quiet that day, and to come back the next day, assuring them that the senate would take some care of their interests. Having said this, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that no money-lender should be permitted to hale any citizen to prison for a private debt till the senate should come to a decision concerning them, and that all present might go with impunity whithersoever they pleased. Thus he allayed the tumult.

[1] τότε μὲν οὖν ὥχοντο ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τῇ [p. 302] δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν οὐ μόνον ὁ κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συνέγγυς ἀγρῶν τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ πλήρης ἡ ἀγορά. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς συναχθείσης, ἵνα περὶ τούτων βουλευέσκειν, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, ὁ μὲν Ἀππίος δημοκόπον ἐκάλει τὸν συνάρχοντα καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν ἀπόρων ἡγεμόνα, ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ἐκεῖνον αὐστηρὸν καὶ αὐθάδη καὶ τῶν παρόντων τῇ πόλει κακῶν αἴτιον: τέλος δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν λόγων.

[27.1] Accordingly, they left the Forum for that time. But the next day there appeared, not only the inhabitants of the city, but also the plebeians from the neighbouring country districts and the Forum was crowded by break of day. The senate having been assembled to consider what was to be done about the situation, Appius proceeded to call his colleague a flatterer of the people and the leader of the poor in their madness, while Servilius called Appius harsh and arrogant and the cause of the present evils in the state; and there was no end to their wrangling.

[2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Λατίνων ἵππεῖς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαύνοντες τοὺς ἵππους παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεληλυθότας ἀγγέλλοντες τοὺς πολεμίους μεγάλῃ στρατῷ καὶ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀρίοις ἤδη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος τῶν τ' ἄλλων, ὅσοι πλοῦτους ἢ δόξας προγονικὰς εἶχον, οἷα δὴ περὶ μεγάλων κινδυνεύοντες ὠπλίζοντο διὰ τάχους:

[2] In the meantime some horsemen of the Latins came riding full speed into the Forum announcing that the enemy had taken the field with a great army and were already upon their own borders. Such were the tidings they brought. Thereupon the patricians and the whole body of the knights, together with all who were wealthy or of distinguished ancestry, since they had a great deal at stake, armed themselves in all haste.

[3] ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἄποροι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τοῖς δανείοις πιεζόμενοι, οὐθ' ὅπλων ἤπτοντο οὐτ' ἄλλως παρείχοντο τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπικουρίαν οὐδεμίαν, ἠδόμενοι δὲ καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν δεχόμενοι τὸν ἔξωθεν πόλεμον, ὡς τῶν παρόντων σφᾶς κακῶν ἐλευθερώσοντα, τοῖς δὲ δεομένοις ἀμύνειν ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰς ἀλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας, ἐπικερτομοῦντες ἡρώτων, εἰ τούτων φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον εἶη σφίσι πολεμεῖν: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη Οὐολούσκοις δουλεῦειν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὕβρεις τῶν πατρικίων ὑπομένειν: ἥ τε πόλις οἰμωγῆς καὶ [p. 303] θορύβου καὶ παντοίων γυναικείων ὀδυρμῶν ἐνεπύμπλατο.

[3] But the poor among them, and particularly such as were hard pressed by debt, neither took up arms nor offered any other assistance to the common cause, but were pleased and received the news of the foreign war as an answer to their prayers, believing that it would free them from their present evils. To those who besought them to lend their aid they showed their chains and fetters and asked them in derision whether it was worth their while to make war in order to preserve those blessings; and many even ventured to say that it was better for them to be slaves to the Volscians than to bear the abuses of the patricians. And the city was filled with wailing, tumult, and all sorts of womanish lamentations.

[1] ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ βουλευταὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σερουίλιον, ὃς ἐν τῷ παρόντι πιθανώτερος εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει, βοηθεῖν ἐδέοντο τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπεδείκνυνεν οὐκέτι προσδεχομένην πολιτικὰς φιλονεικίας καὶ ἡξίου νῦν μὲν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρεῖν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρησαμένους καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀνάστατον τὴν πατρίδα γινομένην, ἐν ἣ θεοὶ πατρῷοι καὶ θῆκαι προγόνων ἐκάστοις ἦσαν, ἃ τιμιώτατά ἐστι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις: γονέων τε αἰδῶ λαβεῖν οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐσομένων ἑαυτοῖς διὰ γῆρας ἀμύνειν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἔλεον ἃς αὐτίκα μάλα δεινὰς καὶ ἀφορήτους ὕβρεις ἀναγκασθησομένας ὑπομενεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ παίδων ἔτι νηπίων οὐκ ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ἀνατραφέντων οἰκτεῖραι λώβας καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς ἀνηλεεῖς:

[28.1] The senators, seeing these things, begged of the other consul, Servilius, who seemed in the present juncture to have greater credit with the multitude, to come to the aid of the country. And he, calling the people together in the Forum, showed them that the urgency of the moment no longer admitted of quarrels among the citizens, and he asked them for the time being to march

against the enemy with united purpose and not to view with indifference the overthrow of their country, in which were the gods of their fathers and the sepulchres of each man's ancestors, both of which are most precious in the eyes of all men; he begged them to show respect for their parents, who would be unable because of age to defend themselves, to have pity on their wives, who would soon be forced to submit to dreadful and intolerable outrages, and especially to show compassion for their infant children, who, after being reared for very different expectations, would be exposed to pitiless insults and abuses.

[2] ὅταν δὲ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον ἅπαντες ὁμοίαις προθυμίαις χρησάμενοι παραλύσονται, τότε δὴ σκοπεῖν, τίνα τρόπον ἴσην καὶ κοινὴν καὶ σωτήριον ἅπασι τὴν πολιτείαν καταστήσονται, μήτε τῶν πενήτων ἐπιβουλευόντων ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων οὐσίαις μήτ' [p. 304] ἐκείνων προπηλακίζόντων τοὺς ταῖς τύχαις ταπεινότερους; ἥκιστα γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα πολιτικά: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπικουρία τις ἔσται πολιτική, καὶ τοῖς συμβάλλουσι τὰ χρέα βοήθεια μετρία τοῖς γοῦν ἀδικουμένοις, καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν καὶ πάσας φυλάττον ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, πίστις ἐπὶ συναλλαγαῖς, οὐχ ἅπανσα καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐκ μόνης ἀναιρεθῆσεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως.

[2] And when by a common effort they had averted the present danger, then would be the time, he said, to consider in what manner they should make their government fair, impartial and salutary to all, one in which neither the poor would plot against the possessions of the rich nor the latter insult those in humbler circumstances — for such behaviour was anything but becoming to citizens — but in which not only the needy should receive some assistance from the state, but the money-lenders too, at least those who were suffering injustice, should receive moderate relief, and thus the greatest of human blessings and the preserver of harmony in all states, good faith in the observance of contracts, would not be destroyed totally and forever in Rome alone.

[3] ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ λεχθῆναι προσῆκε διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας εὐνοίας, ἣν ἔχων διετέλει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀπελογεῖτο, καὶ ἡξίου συνάρασθαι τῆς στρατείας αὐτῷ ταύτης, ἀνθ' ὧν πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦν, τῆς μὲν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιμελείας τῷ συνάρχοντι προσηκούσης, ἑαυτῷ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν πολέμων ἀποδοδομένης: ταῦτας γὰρ τὰς τύχας αὐτοῖς βραβεῦσαι τὸν κλῆρον. ὑπεσχῆσθαι δ' αὐτῷ ἔφη τὴν βουλὴν ἐμπεδώσειν, ὃ τι ἂν διομολογήσῃται τῷ πλήθει, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκείνοις, πείσειν τοὺς δημότας μὴ προδώσειν τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πατρίδα.

[3] After saying this and everything else that the occasion required, he spoke finally in his own behalf, about the goodwill which he had ever shown toward the people, and asked them to serve with him in this expedition in return for his zeal in their behalf; for the oversight of the city had been entrusted to his colleague and the command in war conferred upon himself, these duties

having been determined for them by lot. He said also that the senate had promised him to confirm whatever agreements he should make with the people, and that he had promised the senate to persuade the people not to betray their country to the enemy.

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν, ὅσοι ἂν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον [p. 305] ἐκστρατεύσωσι, τὰς τούτων οἰκίας μηδὲνα ἐξεῖναι μήτε πωλεῖν μήτ' ἐνεχυράζειν μήτε γένος αὐτῶν ἀπάγειν πρὸς μηδὲν συμβόλαιον μήτε κωλύειν τὸν βουλόμενον τῆς στρατείας κοινωνεῖν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἀπολειφθῶσι τῆς στρατείας, τὰς κατὰ τούτων πράξεις ὑπάρχειν τοῖς δανεισταῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκάστοις συνέβαλον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν οἱ πένητες, αὐτίκα συνέγνωσαν τε καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ πάντες εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμητο, οἱ μὲν ἐλπίσιν ὠφελειῶν ὑπαχθέντες, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηλάτου χάριτι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὸν Ἀππίον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τῶν ὑπομεινάντων προπηλακισμοὺς φεύγοντες.

[29.1] Having said this, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that no person should be permitted to seize, sell, or retain as pledges the houses of those Romans who should march out with him against the enemy, or hale their family to prison for any debt, and that none should hinder any one who desired from taking part in the campaign; but as for those who should fail to serve, the money-lenders should have the right to compel them to pay their debts according to the terms which they had each advanced their money. When the poor heard this, they straightway consented, and all showed great ardour for the war, some induced by hopes of booty and others out of gratitude to the general, but the greater part to escape from Appius and the abusive treatment to which those who stayed in the city would be exposed.

[2] παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ Σερουίλιος τὸ στράτευμα σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐλαύνει διαλιπὼν οὐδένα χρόνον, ἵνα συμμίξῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πρὶν εἰς Ῥωμαίων χώραν αὐτοὺς εἰσβαλεῖν: καὶ καταλαβὼν περὶ τὸ Πωμεντῖνον χωρίον ἐστρατοπεδευκότας καὶ τὴν Λατίνων χώραν προνομεύοντας, ὅτι παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὐ συνήραντο τοῦ πολέμου, περὶ δείλην ὄψιν παρὰ λόφον τινὰ ὥς εἴκοσι στάδια τῆς στρατοπεδείας αὐτῶν ἀφεστῶτα τίθεται τὸν χάρακα: καὶ αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐπιτίθενται Οὐλοοῦσκοι ὀλίγους τε δόξαντες εἶναι καὶ ὥς ἑξ ὁδοῦ μακρᾶς κατακόπους προθυμίας τ' ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πενήτων περὶ τὰ χρέα νεωτερισμοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ μάλιστα δοκοῦντας εἶναι.

[2] Servilius, having taken command of the army, lost no time, but marched with great expedition, that he might engage the enemy before they could invade the Romans' territory. And finding them encamped in the Pomptine district, pillaging the country of the Latins because these had refused their request to assist them in the war, he encamped in the late afternoon near a hill distant about twenty stades from the enemy's camp. And in the night his army was attacked by the Volscians, who thought they were few in number, tired

out, as was to be expected after a long march, and lacking in zeal by reason of the disturbances raised by the poor over their debts, which seemed then to be at their height.

[3] ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἀγωνισάμενος, ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς [p. 306] τε ἤδη ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμαθεν ἀτάκτως προνομεύοντας, ἀνοῖξα κελεύσας πυλίδας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀδήλως συχνάς, ἀφ' ἐνὸς παραγγέλματος ἐφῆκεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ στράτευμα. ἐξαπναιίου δὲ τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς Οὐλοῦσκοις προσπεσόντος ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ὑποστάντες πρὸς τῷ χάρακι μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες προτροπᾶδην καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων ἀπολέσαντες τραυματίαι τε οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπολωλεκότες εἰς τὸν χάρακα 6 διεσώζοντο.

[3] Servilius defended himself in his camp as long as the night lasted, but as soon as it was day, and he learned that the enemy were employed in pillaging the country without observing any order, he ordered several small gates of the camp to be opened secretly, and at a single signal hurled his army against the foe. When this blow fell suddenly and unexpectedly upon the Volscians, some few of them stood their ground, and fighting close to their camp, were cut down; but the rest, fleeing precipitately and losing many of their companions, got back safely inside the camp, the greater part of them being wounded and having lost their arms.

[4] ἐπομένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκ ποδὸς καὶ περισχόντων τὸ στρατόπεδον, βραχὺν τινα χρόνον ἀμυνάμενοι παρέδωσαν τὸν χάρακα πολλῶν ἀνδραπτόδων τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ὄπλων καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς γέμοντα. ἐάλω δὲ σώματα ἐλεύθερα συχνά, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν Οὐλοῦσκων, τὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῖς συναγωνισαμένων ἐθνῶν, χρήματά τε καὶ ὅσα χρυσοῦς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ἐσθῆς ὥσπερὰν πόλεως τῆς κρατίστης ἀλούσης πάνυ πολλὰ: τοῖς στρατιώταις ταῦτ' ἐφίεις ὁ Σερουίλιος ὡς ἕκαστος ὠφεληθεῖη καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρουσι διανείμασθαι κελεύσας καὶ τὸν χάρακα πυρὶ δούς, ἀναλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγχοτάτῳ Σουέσσαν Πωμεντιανήν. [p. 307] μεγέθει τε γὰρ περιβόλου καὶ πληθεσιν οἰκητόρων, ἔτι δὲ δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ πολὺ τῶν ταύτῃ ὑπερέχειν ἐδόκει, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἔθνους.

[4] When the Romans, following close upon their heels, surrounded their camp, they made only a short defence and then delivered up the camp, which was full of slaves, cattle, arms and all sorts of military stores. There were also many free men taken in it, some of them being Volscians themselves and others belonging to the nations which had assisted them; and along with these a great quantity of valuables, such as gold and silver, and apparel, as if the richest city had been taken. All of this Servilius permitted the soldiers to divide among themselves, that every man might share in the booty, and he ordered them to bring no part of it into the treasury. Then, having set fire to the camp, he marched with his army to Suessa Pometia, which lay close by.

For not only because of its size and the number of its inhabitants, but also because of its fame and riches, it far surpassed any city in that region and was the leader, so to speak, of the nation.

[5] περιστρατοπεδεύσας δ' αὐτήν καὶ οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν στρατὸν, ἵνα μηδένα χρόνον οἱ πολέμοι διαναπαύσαιντο μὴθ' ὕπνον αἰρούμενοι μήτε πολέμου παῦλαν δεχόμενοι, λιμῶ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ καὶ σπάνει συμμάχων παρατείνας εἶλεν αὐτοὺς ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ πάντας κατέσφαξεν. ἐπιτρέψας δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἐνταῦθα χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν οὐθενὸς οὐκέτι τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀμύνειν τι δυναμένον.

[5] Investing this place and calling off his army neither by day nor by night, in order that the enemy might not have a moment's rest either in taking sleep or in gaining a respite from fighting, he wore them down by famine, helplessness and lack of reinforcements, and captured them in a short time, putting to death all the inhabitants who had reached manhood. And having given permission to the soldiers to pillage the effects that were found there also, he marched against the rest of the enemy's cities, none of the Volscians being able any longer to oppose him.

[1] ὥς δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τεταπεινωμένα ἦν τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων πράγματα, προαγαγὼν τοὺς ὁμήρους αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ἄνδρας τριακοσίου, ἵνα δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχοιεν οἱ προσθέμενοι σφίσι πίστεις ὁμηρεῖων μὴ παρασπονδεῖν, μᾶστιξί τε ἠκίσατο πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψαι.

[30.1] When the Volscians had been thus humbled by the Romans, the other consul, Appius Claudius, caused their hostages, three hundred men in all, to be brought into the Forum, and to the end that those who had once given the Romans hostages for their fidelity might beware of violating their treaties, he ordered them to be scourged in the sight of all and then beheaded.

[2] ἀφικομένου τε ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις τοῦ συνυπάτου καὶ τὸν εἰωθότα δίδοσθαι θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς ἀγῶνα λαμπρὸν ἀγωνισαμένοις στρατηγοῖς ἀξιοῦντος λαβεῖν, ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο στασιαστὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ πολιτείας πονηρᾶς ἐραστήν, μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων [p. 308] οὐδεμίαν μοῖραν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο κατεχαρίσατο: καὶ ἔπεισε τὴν βουλὴν μὴ δοῦναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸν θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ὑβρίσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου εἰς αὐθάδειαν οὐκ εἰωθυῖαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐτράπετο: καλέσας γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ καὶ διεξελθὼν τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος τὸν φθόνον καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν προσηλακισμόν διηγησάμενος, ἔφη παρὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πράξεων καὶ τοῦ συναγωνισαμένου στρατεύματος ἔχειν τὴν τοῦ πομπεῦειν ἐπὶ καλοῖς τε καὶ εὐτυχέσιν ἔργοις ἐξουσίαν.

[2] And when his colleague returned a few days afterwards from his expedition and demanded the triumph usually granted by the senate to generals who had fought a brilliant battle, he opposed it, calling him a stirrer up of sedition and a partisan of a vicious form of government, and he charged him particularly with having brought no part of the spoils of war back to the public treasury, but with having instead made a present of it all to whom he thought fit; and he prevailed upon the senate not to grant him the triumph. Servilius, however, looking upon himself as insulted by the senate, behaved with an arrogance unusual to the Romans. For having assembled the people in the field before the city, he enumerated his achievements in the war, told them of the envy of his colleague and the contumelious treatment he had received from the senate, and declared that from his own deeds and from the army which had shared in the struggle he derived the authority to celebrate a triumph in honor of glorious and fortunate achievements.

[3] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν στεφανῶσαι τὰς ῥάβδους ἐκέλευσε καὶ αὐτὸς στεφανωσάμενος ἔχων τὴν θριαμβικὴν ἐσθῆτα προῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς προπεμπόμενος, ἔως εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὰ σκῦλα ἀνέθηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φθόνον μὲν ἔτι μείζονα παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπεσπάσατο, οἰκεῖον δ' ἑαυτῷ παρεσκευάσατο τὸ δημοτικόν.

[3] Having prescription thus, he ordered the rods to be crowned, and then, having crowned himself and wearing the triumphal garb, he led the procession into the city attended by all the people; and ascending the Capitol, he performed his vows and consecrated the spoils. By this action he incurred the hatred of the patricians still further, but won the plebeians to himself.

[1] ἐν τοιαύταις δ' ἀκαταστασίαις τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐκεχειρία τις ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου γενομένη θυσιῶν πατρίων ἔνεκα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιλαβοῦσαι λαμπραὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπέσχον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοῦ πλήθους διχοστασίαν. ἑορτάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται πολλῇ δυνάμει Σαβῖνοι τοῦτον ἐκ πολλοῦ φυλάξαντες τὸν χρόνον, ἀρχομένης ἔτι νυκτὸς ποιησάμενοι τὴν [p. 309] ἐπιθεσιν, ἵνα πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει γένωνται: καὶ ῥᾶστα ἂν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ τῶν ψιλῶν τινες ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς φάλαγγος, αὐλαῖς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀρπαγῆς ἔνεκα θόρουβον εἰργάσαντο.

[31.1] While the commonwealth was in such an unsettled condition a kind of truce that intervened on account of the traditional sacrifices, and the ensuing festivals, which were celebrated at lavish expense, restrained the sedition of the populace for the moment. While they were engaged in these celebrations the Sabines invaded them with a large force, having long waited for this opportunity. They began their march as soon as night came on, in order that they might get close to the city before those inside should be aware of their coming; and they might easily have conquered them if some of their light-armed men had not straggled from their places in the line and by attacking

farm-houses given the alarm.

[2] βοή τε γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο καὶ δρόμος τῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, πρὶν ἢ ταῖς πύλαις τοὺς πολεμίους προσελθεῖν. ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ κατὰ πόλιν θεωροῦντες μεταξύ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπικείμενοι καταλιπόντες τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ὥρμησαν· καὶ φθάνει τῷ Σερουιλίῳ συναχθεῖσα δύναμις αὐτοκέλευστος ἱκανή, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἔχων συντεταγμένην, προσπίπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὸ τε ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου τεταλαιπωρηκóσι καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένοις τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον.

[2] For an outcry arose at once and the husbandmen rushed inside the walls before the enemy approached the gates. Those in the city, learning of the invasion while they were witnessing the public entertainments and wearing the customary garlands, left the games and ran to arms. And, a sufficient army of volunteers rallying in good season about Servilius, he drew them up and with them fell upon the enemy, who were exhausted both by want of sleep and by weariness and were not expecting the attack of the Romans.

[3] ὥς δὲ συνέμιξαν εἰς χεῖρας, ἐγένετο μάχη τὸ μὲν ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐκατέρων ἀφηρημένη, οἱ δ' ὥς ἀπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἢ φάλαγξ φάλαγγι ἢ λόχος λόχῳ ἢ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ συνέπεσον, ἵππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὶ ἅμα πεφυρμένοι ἐμάχοντο. ἄρωγοὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπήεσαν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πόλεων οὐσῶν, οἱ τὸ κάμνον ἀναθαρρύνοντες ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχειν ταῖς τалаπωρίαις ἐποιοῦν. ἔπειτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσγενομένης σφίσι τῆς ἵππου πάλιν νικῶσι τοὺς Σαβίνους, [p. 310] καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους πάνυ συχνούς. τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄντας Σαβίνων, οἱ κατὰ θέας πρόφασιν ἀφιγμένοι προκαταλήψεσθαι τοῖς ἐποῦσι τὰ ἐρύματα τῆς πόλεως ἔμελλον, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς συνετέτακτο, ἀναζητοῦντες εἰς τὰ δεσμωτήρια κατετίθεντο. τὰς δὲ θυσίας, αἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο, διπλασίας τῶν προτέρων ψηφισάμενοι αὖθις ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἤσαν.

[3] When the armies closed, a battle ensued which lacked order and discipline because of the eagerness of both sides, but, as if guided by some chance, they clashed line against line, company against company, or man against man, and the horse and foot fought promiscuously. And reinforcements came to both sides, as their cities were not far apart; these, by encouraging such of their comrades as were hard pressed, caused them to sustain the hardships of the struggle for a long time. After that the Romans, when the horse came to their assistance, once more prevailed over the Sabines, and having killed many of them, returned to the city with a great number of prisoners. Then, seeking out the Sabines who had come to Rome under the pretence of seeing the entertainments, while actually intending to seize in advance the strong places of the city in order to help their countrymen in their attack, as had been concerted between them, they threw them into prison. And having voted that the sacrifices, which had been interrupted by the war, should be performed

with double magnificence, they were again passing the time in merriment.

[1] ἔτι δὲ πανηγυρίζουσιν αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταὶ παρήσαν ἐξ ἔθνους Ἀρουγκων, οἱ τῆς Καμπανῶν χώρας τὰ κάλλιστα πεδία κατεῖχον. οὗτοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἤξιουν τὴν Οὐλοούσκων τῶν καλουμένων Ἐχετρανῶν χώραν, ἣν ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Ἐχετρανοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι κληροῦχοις εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκπεμφθεῖσι διένειμαν, ἀποδιδόναι σφίσι καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωσιν, Ἀρουγκοὺς ἤξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγου χρόνου καὶ δίκας ληφομένους ὅσων διέθεντο τοὺς ὁμόρους κακῶν ἐκδέχεσθαι.

[32.1] While they were celebrating these festivals, ambassadors came to them from the Auruncans, who inhabited the fairest plains of Campania. These, being introduced into the senate, demanded that the Romans should restore to them the country of the Volscians called Ecetras, which they had taken from them and divided in allotments among the colonists they had sent thither to guard that people, and that they should withdraw their garrison from there; if they refused to do so, they might expect the Auruncans to invade the territory of the Romans promptly to take revenge for the injuries they had done to their neighbours.

[2] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τάδε ἀπεκρίναντο· ἀπαγγέλλετε, ὦ πρέσβεις, Ἀρουγκοῖς, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δικαιούμεν ὅσα κτᾶται τις ἀρετῇ πολεμίου ἀφελόμενος, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐγγόνις ὡς οἰκεῖα παραδιδόναι. πόλεμον δ' οὐ δέδιμεν τὸν Ἀρουγκων οὔτε πρῶτον οὔτε δεινότατον ἐσόμενον· ἀλλ' ἐν ἔθει ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει πᾶσι μάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ ἀρετῆς συναγώνισμά [p. 311] τι ἐσόμενον ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἀκαταπλήκτως δεξόμεθα.

[2] To these the Romans gave this answer: “Ambassadors, carry back the word to the Auruncans that we Romans think it right that whatever anyone possesses by having won it from the enemy through valour, he should leave to his posterity as being his own. And we are not afraid of war from the Auruncans, which will be neither the first nor the most formidable war we have been engaged in; indeed, it has always been our custom to fight with all men for the supremacy, and as we see that this will be a contest, as it were, of valour, we shall await it without trepidation.”

[3] μετὰ ταῦτ' Ἀροῦγκοι τε πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς οἰκείας δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἡγουμένου Σερουιλίου, συντυγχάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀγχοῦ πόλεως Ἀρικείας, ἣ διέχει σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τῆς Ῥώμης· καὶ στρατοπεδεύονται ἐκάτεροι ἐν ὄρεσιν ὄχυροῖς ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς χάρακας ἐκρατύναντο, προῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀγωνιούμενοι, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐξ ἑωθινῆς μέχρις ἡμέρας μεσοῦσης ἀντεῖχον, ὥστε πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γενέσθαι φόνον. φιλοπόλεμον γὰρ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἀρουγκων ἔθνος ἦν, καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ ὄψεως δεινότητι πολὺ τὸ θηριῶδες ἐχούσῃ φοβερώτατον.

[3] After this the Auruncans, who had set out from their own territory with a large army, and the Romans, with their own forces under the command of Servilius, met near the city of Aricia, which is distant one hundred and twenty stades from Rome; and each of them encamped on hills strongly situated, not far from one another. After they had fortified their camps they advanced to the plain for battle; and engaging early in the morning, they maintained the fight till noon, so that many were killed on both sides. For the Auruncans were a warlike nation and by their stature, their strength, and the fierceness of their looks, in which there was much of brute savagery, they were exceeding formidable.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ λέγεται τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἵππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κρατίστους γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν Αὐλὸν Ποστώμιον Ἄλβον, ὃς ἔσχε τὴν δικτάτορα ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, ἦκισθ' ὑπάσιμον ἦν καὶ κολωνοὺς τε πετρώδεις καὶ φάραγγας βαθείας εἶχεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκατέροις τὴν ἵππον οἶαν τ' εἶναι προσωφελεῖν.

[33.1] In this battle the Roman horse and their commander Aulus Postumius Albus, who had held the office of dictator the year before, are said to have proved the bravest. It seems that the place where the battle was fought was most unsuitable for the use of cavalry, having both rocky hills and deep ravines, so that the horse could be of no advantage to either side.

[2] ὁ δὲ Ποστώμιος παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβῆναι καὶ ποιήσας στίφος ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἔκαμνε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ πρανοῦς ὠθουμένοις χωρίου ἢ φάλαγξ, [p. 312] ἐν τούτοις συνάπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ αὐτίκα συνίστησιν αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ ἀνεκόπησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, θάρσος ἐνέπεσε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ φιλονεικία τοῖς πεζοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἵππεῖς: καὶ καθ' ἐν ἀμφοτέροι πυργηδὸν ἐξωθοῦσι τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν πολεμίων ἕως τοῦ λόφου: καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὸν χάρακα φεύγουσιν ἐπόμενοι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἔτι μαχομένοις κατὰ νώτου ἐπῆγον.

[2] Postumius, ordering his followers to dismount, formed a compact body of six hundred men, and observing where the Roman battle-line suffered most, being forced down hill, he engaged the enemy at those points and promptly crowded their ranks together. The barbarians being once checked, courage came to the Romans and the foot emulated the horse; and both forming one compact column, they drove the right wing of the enemy back to the hill. Some pursued that part of them which fled towards their camp and killed many, while others attacked in the rear those who still maintained the fight.

[3] τρεψάμενοι δὲ κάκεινους εἰς φυγὴν ἐπίπονόν τε καὶ βραδεῖαν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιουμένους πρὸς ὀχθώδῃ χωρία ἐδίωκον, τένοντάς τε ὑποκόπτοντες ποδῶν καὶ τὰς ἰγνῦς πλαγίοις τοῖς ξίφεσι διαιροῦντες, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βιασάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτου τοὺς φύλακας οὐ

πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐκράτησαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ διήρπασαν: ὠφελείας μέντοι οὐ πολλὰς εὔρον, ὅτι μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἵππους, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πολεμιστήριον χρῆμα ἦν. ταῦτα οἱ περὶ Σερονίλιον καὶ Ἀππίον ὕπατοι ἔπραξαν.

[3] And when they had put these also to flight, they followed them in their difficult and slow retreat to the hilly ground, cutting asunder the sinews of both their feet and knees with side blows of their swords, till they came to their camp. And having overpowered the guards there also, who were not numerous, they made themselves masters of the camp and plundered it. However, they found no great booty in it, but only arms, horses and other equipment for war. These were the achievements of Servilius and Appius during their consulship.

[1] μετὰ ταῦτα παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος Καίλιμοντανὸς καὶ Τίτος Οὐετούριος Γέμιος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Θεμιστοκλέους, ἐξηκοστῶ καὶ διακοσιοστῶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἔτει, μελλούσης εἰς τοῦπιόν τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα δευτερον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης. [p. 313] ἐπὶ τούτων Σαβῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν μείζονα παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ Μεδουλῖνοι Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντες πρὸς τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ὄρκους ἐποίησαντο περὶ συμμαχίας.

[34.1] After this Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Veturius Geminus assumed the office of consul, when Themistocles was archon at Athens, in the two hundred and sixtieth year after the foundation of Rome and the year before the seventy-second Olympiad (the one in which Tisicrates of Croton won the prize for the second time). In their consulship the Sabines prepared to lead out against the Romans a larger army than before, and the Medullini, revolting from the Romans, swore to a treaty of alliance with the Sabines.

[2] πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν οἱ πατρίκιοι παρεσκευάζοντο διὰ ταχέων ἐξιέναι πανστρατιᾷ: τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐμνησικάκου τῆς ψευσθείσης αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ὑποσχέσεως περὶ τῶν ἐπικουρίας δεομένων ἀπόρων, τάναντία ἐπαγόντων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ψηφίζομένων. κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ συλλεγόμενοι ὄρκοις ἀλλήλους κατελάμβανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι συνάρασθαι τοῖς πατρίκιοις πολέμου μηδενὸς καθ' ἓνα τῶν ἀπόρων κατισχυόμενοι κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας βοηθήσαντες. καὶ ἐγένετο πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ τὸ συνώμοτον ἐν ἀψιμαχίαις λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων ἐμφανές, μάλιστα δ' ἐδήλωσε τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προσήεσαν οἱ καλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν στρατολογίαν.

[2] The patricians, learning of their intention, were preparing to take the field immediately with all their forces; but the plebeians refused to obey their orders, remembering with resentment their repeated breaking of the promises which they had made to them respecting the poor who required relief, the votes that were being passed And assembling together a few at a time, they bound one another by oaths that they would no longer assist the

patricians in any war, and that to every one of the poor who was oppressed they would render aid jointly against all whom they met. The conspiracy was evident on many other occasions, both in verbal skirmishes and physical encounters, but it became especially clear to the consuls when those summoned to military service failed to present themselves.

[3] συναρπάσαι γὰρ τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου κελευσάντων οἱ πένητες ἄθροοι [p. 314] συστραφέντες τὸν τε φερόμενον ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ μεθιεμένους αὐτοὶ παίοντες ἀπήλυνον, καὶ οὔτε ἱππέων οὔτε πατρικίων, ὅσοι παρόντες τὰ γινόμενα κωλύειν ἤξιουν, ἀπείχοντο μὴ οὐ παίειν: καὶ δι' ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἦν ἀκοσμίας πλήρης καὶ θορύβου. ἅμα δὲ τῇ στάσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐξομένη καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμιων πρὸς καταδρομὴν παρασκευαζόμενα μείζω τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν. Οὐολούσκων δὲ πάλιν ἀπόστασιν βουλευσαμένων καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Αἰκανῶν πρεσβεία τε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκόων παρῆν ἄξιούντων σφίσι συμμαχεῖν ἐν τριβῷ τοῦ πολέμου κειμένοις.

[3] For whenever they ordered anyone of the people to be seized, the poor assembled in a body and endeavoured to rescue the one who was being carried away, and when the consuls' lictors refused to release them, they beat them and drove them off; and if any either of the knights or patricians who were present attempted to put a stop to these proceedings, they did not refrain from beating them too. Thus, in a short time the city was full of disorder and tumult. And as the sedition increased in the city, the preparations of the enemy for overrunning their territory increased also. When the Volscians again formed a plan to revolt, and the Aequians, as they were called, . . . ambassadors came from all the peoples who were subject to the Romans asking them to send aid, since their territories lay in the path of the war.

[4] Λατῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκον Αἰκανοὺς ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν λεηλατεῖν τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἤδη διηρπακέναι: οἱ δ' ἐν Κρουστομερείᾳ φρουροὶ πλησίον εἶναι Σαβίνους ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ πολλῇ χρωμένους προθυμίᾳ τὸ φρούριον πολεμεῖν: ἄλλοι δὲ τι ἄλλο κακὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντες γεγονὸς ἢ γενησόμενον καὶ βοήθειαν διὰ ταχέων αἰτησόμενοι. παρεγένοντο δ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ παρ' Οὐολούσκων πρέσβεις, ἄξιούντες ἀπολαβεῖν ἣν ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν χώραν, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι πολέμου.

[4] For example, the Latins said that the Aequians had made an incursion into their country and were laying waste their lands and had already plundered some of their cities; the garrison in Crustumerium declared that the Sabines were near that fortress and full of eagerness to besiege it; and others came with word of still other mischief which either had happened or was going to happen, and to ask for prompt assistance. Ambassadors from the Volscians also appeared before the senate, demanding, before they began war, that the lands taken from them by the Romans should be restored to them.

[1] συναθροίσης δὲ περὶ τούτου βουλῆς, κληθεὶς [p. 315] πρῶτος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Λάρκιος, ἀξιώσει τε προὔχειν δοκῶν καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώτατος, προελθὼν ἔλεξεν: ἔμοι, ὦ βουλή, ἃ μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι φοβερὰ καὶ ταχέως δεόμενα βοηθείας, οὔτε φοβερὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ οὔτε πάνυ κατεπείγοντα, πῶς χρὴ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπικουρῆσαι ἢ καθ' ὃν τινα τρόπον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι: ἃ δ' οὔτε μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν νομίζουσιν οὔτε ἀναγκαῖα ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀμελεία τε αὐτὰ ὥς οὐδὲν ἡμῶς βλάφοντα παραδόντες ἔχουσι, ταῦτα φοβερώτατά μοι φαίνεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχέως αὐτὰ ἐπιστήσομεν, ἐσχάτης ἀνατροπῆς καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν κοινῶν αἵτια, ἣ τε τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπειθεία τῶν οὐκ ἀξιούντων τὰ ἐπιταττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων πράττειν, καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀνήκοον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐλευθεριάζον χαλεπότης.

[35.1] The senate having been assembled to consider this business, Titus Larcus, esteemed a man of superior dignity and consummate prudence, was first called upon by the consuls to deliver his opinion. And coming forward, he said:

“To me, senators, the things which others regard as terrible and as requiring speedy relief appear neither terrible nor very urgent, I mean, how we are to assist our allies or in what manner repulse our enemies. Whereas the things which they look upon neither as the greatest of evils nor pressing at present, but continue to ignore as not likely to do us any injury, are the very things that appear most terrible to me; and if we do not soon put a stop to them, they will prove to be the causes of the utter overthrow and ruin of the commonwealth. I refer to the disobedience of the plebeians, who refuse to carry out the orders of the consuls, as well as to our own severity against this disobedient and independent spirit of theirs.

[2] οἶμαι δὲ μηδὲν ἡμῶς δεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σκοπεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὅπως ἐξαιρεθήσεται ταῦτ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μιᾷ πάντες γνώμῃ τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων αἰρούμενοι πολιτευσόμεθα. ὁμονοοῦσα μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις ἱκανὴ ἔσται καὶ φίλοις ἀσφάλειαν παρασχεῖν καὶ ἐχθροῖς δέος, στασιάζουσα δ' ὥσπερ νῦν τούτων οὐδέτερον ἂν δύναιτο διαπράξασθαι. θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐαυτὴν διεργάσαίτο [p. 316] καὶ παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διχα πόνου τὸ κράτος: ὃ, μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οἶομαι τοιαῦτα πολιτευομένων ὑμῶν γενήσεσθαι.

[2] It is my opinion, therefore, that we ought to consider nothing else at present than by what means these evils are to be removed from the state and how all of us Romans with one mind are to prefer public to private considerations in the measures we pursue. For the power of the commonwealth when harmonious will be sufficient both to give security to our allies and to inspire fear in our enemies, but when discordant, as at present, it can effect neither. And I should be surprised if it did not even destroy itself and yield the victory to the enemy without any trouble. Yes, by Jupiter and all the other gods, I

believe this will soon happen if you continue to pursue such measures.

[1] διωκόμεθα γὰρ ὡς ὀρᾶτε καὶ δύο πόλεις ἔχομεν, τὴν μὲν μίαν ὑπὸ πενίας τε καὶ ἀνάγκης ἀρχομένην, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ κόρου καὶ ὕβρεως. αἰδῶς δὲ καὶ κόσμος καὶ δική, ὑφ' ὧν ἅπανσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία σώζεται, παρ' οὐδενὸς μένει τῶν πόλεων. τοιγάρτοι χειρὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἤδη παρ' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνομεν κἂν τῷ βιασιτέρῳ τίθεμεν τὸ δικαιότατον, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία, τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐξολέσαι μετὰ τοῦ σφετέρου κακοῦ βουλευθέντες, ἢ τὸ ἐαυτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς φυλάττοντες μετὰ τοῦ

[36.1] “For we are living apart from one another, as you see, and inhabit two cities, one of which is ruled by poverty and necessity, and the other by satiety and insolence; but modesty, order and justice, by which alone any civil community is preserved, remain in neither of these cities. For this reason we already exact justice from one another by force and make superior strength the measure of that justice, like wild beasts choosing rather to destroy our enemy though we perish with him, than, by consulting our own safety, to be preserved together with our adversary.

[2] διαφόρου κοινῇ σεσῶσθαι. ὧν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι βουλὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων καθίσαντες, ἐπειδὴν ἀπολύσητε τὰς πρεσβείας. ἃ δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι παραινεῖν ἔχω, ταῦτ' ἐστίν: ἐπειδὴ Οὐλοῦσκοι μὲν ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἃ ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες ἔχομεν καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦσι μὴ πειθομένοις, τάδε λέγωμεν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι καλλίστας ὑπολαμβάνομεν κτήσεις εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας, ἃς ἂν κατάσχωμεν πολέμου λαβόντες κατὰ νόμον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιμεν μωρία τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀφανίσαι: παραδόντες [p. 317] δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσιν ὧν κοινωνητέον τε παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γενομένοις καταλιπεῖν αἰεὶ ἀγωνιούμεθα, τῶν νῦν γε ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη στερησόμεθα καὶ ἐαυτοὺς ὅσα πολεμίους βλάπομεν.

[2] I ask you to give much thought to this matter and to hold a session for this very purpose as soon as you have dismissed the embassies. As to the answers to be now given to them, this is the advice I have to offer. Since the Volscians demand restitution of what we are in possession of by right of arms, and threaten us with war if we refuse to restore it, let our answer be, that we Romans look upon those acquisitions to be the most honest and the most just which we have acquired in accordance with the law of war, and that we will not consent to destroy the fruits of our valour by an act of folly. Whereas, by restoring to those who lost them these possessions, which we ought to share with our children and which we shall strive to leave to their posterity, we shall be depriving ourselves of what is already ours and be treating ourselves as harshly as we would our enemies.

[3] Λατίνων δὲ τὸ εὖνουν ἐπαινέσαντες ἀναθαρσύνωμεν τὸ δεδιὸς ὡς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψομεν αὐτούς, ἔως ἂν τὸ πιστὸν φυλάσσωσιν, ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ

γενομένους δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ δύνάμιν ἱκανὴν ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς πέμφομεν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ. ταῦτας ἡγοῦμαι κρατίστας τε καὶ δικαιοτάτας ἔσσεσθαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἀπαλλαγιστῶν δὲ τῶν πρεσβεῶν πρώτην φημὶ χρῆναι βουλήν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν θορύβοις ἡμᾶς ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ταύτην οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

[3] As to the Latins, let us commend their goodwill and dispel their fears by assuring them that we will not abandon them in any danger they may incur on our account, so long as they keep faith with us, but will shortly send a force sufficient to defend them. These answers, I believe, will be the best and the most just. After the embassies have departed, I say we ought to devote the first meeting of the senate to the consideration of the tumults in the city and that this meeting ought not to be long deferred, but appointed for the very next day."

[1] ταύτην ἀποφηνάμενου τὴν γνώμην Λαρκίου καὶ πάντων ἐπαινεσάντων, τότε μὲν αἱ πρεσβεῖαι λαβοῦσαι τὰς εἰρημένας ἀποκρίσεις ἀπηλλάγησαν: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλήν οἱ ὕπατοι περὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν πολιτικῶν θορύβων προὔθεσαν σκοπεῖν. πρῶτος οὖν ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Πόπλιος Οὐεργίνιος, ἀνὴρ δημοτικός, τὴν διὰ μέσου πορευόμενος [p. 318] ὁδὸν ἔλεξεν: ἐπειδὴ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ προθυμίαν πλείστην εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶνας ἐπεδείξατο, Οὐολούσκοις καὶ Ἀρούγκοις πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπιούσιν ἀντιταξάμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν, οἶομαι δεῖν τοὺς συναραμένους ἡμῖν τότε καὶ τῶνδε τῶν πολέμων μετασχόντας ἀφεῖσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ σῶμα μήτε τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν κρατεῖσθαι: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ γονεῦσι τοῖς τούτων ἄχρι καὶ πάππων, καὶ παισὶν ἕως ἐγγόνων: τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀγωγίμους εἶναι τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν, ὥς ἐκάστοις συνέβαλον.

[37.1] When Larcius had delivered this opinion and it had received the approval of all, the embassies then received the answers that I have reported, and departed. The next day the consuls assembled the senate and proposed that it consider how the civil disorders might be corrected. Thereupon Publius Verginius, a man devoted to the people, being asked his opinion first, took the middle course and said: "Since the plebeians last year showed the greatest zeal for the struggles in behalf of the commonwealth, arraying themselves with us against the Volscians and Auruncans when they attacked us with a large army, I think that all who then assisted us and took their share in those wars ought to be let off, and that neither their persons nor their property ought to be in the power of the money-lenders; and that the same principle of justice ought to extend to their parents as far as their grandfathers, and to their posterity as far as their grandchildren; but that all the rest ought to be liable to imprisonment at the suit of the money-lenders upon the terms of their respective obligations."

[2] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τίτος Λάρκιος εἶπεν: ἐμοὶ δ', ὦ βουλή, δοκεῖ κράτιστον μὴ

μόνον τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα δῆμον ἐλεύθερον τῶν συμβολαίων ἀφεῖσθαι. μόνως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὁμονοοῦσαν ἐργασαίμεθα. τρίτος δὲ παρελθὼν Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὁ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει σχὼν ἔλεξεν:

[2] After this Titus Larcus said: “My opinion, senators, is that to those who proved themselves good men in the wars, but all the rest of the people as well, should be released from their obligations; for only thus can we make the whole state harmonious.” The third speaker was Appius Claudius, the consul of the preceding year, who came forward and said:

[1] αἰ μὲν, ὦ βουλὴ, ὅσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτων προὔτεθι λόγος, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εἰμὶ γνώμης, μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ τῷ δήμῳ μηδὲν τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ὃ τι μὴ νόμιμον μηδὲ καλόν, μήτε τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἐλαττοῦν, καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν μεταγινώσκω τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μοι φανέντων οὐδέν: ἢ πάντων ἂν εἶην ἀνθρώπων ἀφρονέστατος, εἰ πέρυσι μὲν ὕπατος ὢν ἀντιπράττοντός μοι τοῦ συνυπάτου καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπσειοντος ἀντέσχον [p. 319] καὶ διέμεινα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὔτε φόβῳ ἀποτραπείς οὔτε δεήσει οὔτε χάρισιν εἷζας, νῦν δ’ ἰδιώτης ὢν ρίψαιμι ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν καταπροδοίην:

[38.1] “Every time these matters have been up for debate, senators, I have always been of the same opinion, never to yield to the people any one of their demands that is not lawful and honourable, nor to lower the dignity of the commonwealth; nor do I even now change the opinion which I entertained from the beginning. For I should be the most foolish of all men, if last year, when I was consul and my colleague opposed me and stirred up the people against me, I resisted and adhered to my resolutions, undeterred by fear and yielding neither to entreaties nor to favour, only to demean myself now, when I am a private citizen, and to prove utterly false to the principle of free speech.

[2] εἴτε μου τὸ ἐλεύθερον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν ἕκαστος βούλεται ἀποκαλεῖν εὐγενὲς εἴτε αὐθαδὲς, ὅσον ἂν ζῶ χρόνον οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι τοῦ ἤδη καλῶς δεδογμένου, καὶ οὐδέποτε εἰσάξω χαριζόμενος τοῖς κακοῖς χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσάγοντας αὐτὰς ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενος ὁμόσε χωρήσω, λογιζόμενος, ὅτι πᾶσα κακία καὶ διαφθορὰ καὶ συλλήβδην ἀνατροπὴ πόλεως ἀπὸ χρεοκοπίας ἄρχεται.

[2] You may call this independence of mind on my part nobility or arrogance, as each of you prefers; but, as long as I live, I will never propose an abolition of debts as a favour to wicked men, but will go so far as to resist with all the earnestness of which I am capable those who do propose it, reasoning as I do that every evil and corruption and, in a word, the overthrow of the state, begins with the abolition of debts.

[3] καὶ εἴτε τις ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονίμου εἴτε διὰ μανίας τινός, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὸ ἴδιον ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιῶ σκοπεῖν, εἴτε ὅπωςδὴποτε οἰήσεται τάδε

λέγεσθαι, συγχωρῶ αὐτῷ νομίζειν, ὅπως βούλεται, μέχρι δὲ παντὸς ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ τὰ πάτρια πολιτεύματα εἰσηγησόμενοις. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τὰ χρέα ἀπαιτοῦσιν οἱ καιροί, μεγάλην δὲ βοήθειαν, ὃ μόνον ἔσται τῆς διχοστασίας φάρμακον ἐν τῷ παρόντι φράσω: δικτάτορα ἔλεσθε κατὰ τάχος, ὃς ἀνευθύνῳ χρώμενος ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ βουλῇν καὶ δῆμον ἀναγκάσει τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν: ἄλλη γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται τηλικούτου κακοῦ λύσις.

[3] And whether anyone shall think that what I say proceeds from prudence, or from a kind of madness (since I see fit to consider, not my own security, but that of the commonwealth), or from any other motive, I give him leave to think as he pleases; but to the very last I will oppose those who shall introduce measures that are not in accord with our ancestral traditions. And since the times require, not an abolition of debts, but relief on a large scale, I will state the only remedy for the sedition at the present time: choose speedily a dictator, who, subject to no accounting for the use he shall make of his authority, will force both the senate and the people to entertain such sentiments as are most advantageous to the commonwealth. For there will be of other deliverance from so great an evil."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν νέων ἐπιθορυβησάντων ὡς τὰ δέοντα εἰσηγουμένου, Σερουιλίου [p. 320] τ' ἀντιλέξων ἀνέστη καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων: ἡτῶντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐκ παρασκευῆς τ' ἀφικνουμένων καὶ βίᾳ πολλῇ χρωμένων,

[39.1] This speech of Appius was received by the young senators with tumultuous applause, as proposing just the measures that were needed; but Servilius and some others of the older senators rose up to oppose it. They were defeated, however, by the younger men, who arrived for that very purpose and used much violence; and at last the motion of Appius carried.

[2] καὶ πέρας ἐνίκησεν ἡ Ἀππίου γνώμη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ὕπατοι κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρῆσάμενοι τῶν πλείστων οἰόμενων τὸν Ἀππίον ἀποδειχθῆσεσθαι δικτάτορα, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῆς προστασίας δυνησόμενον, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπήλασαν, Μάνιον δ' Οὐαλέριον ἀδελφὸν Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τοῦ πρώτου ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ δημοτικώτατον δοκοῦντα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα γηραιὸν ἀπέδειξαν, αὐτὸ τὸ φοβερὸν οἰόμενοι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀποχρῆναι, ἀνδρὸς δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐπιεικοῦς τοῖς πράγμασι δεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξεργάσῃται νεώτερον.

[2] After this, when most people expected that Appius would be appointed dictator as the only person who would be capable of quelling the sedition, the consuls, acting with one mind, excluded him and appointed Manius Valerius, a brother of Publius Valerius, the first man to be made consul, who, it was thought, would be most favourable to the people and moreover was an old man. For they thought the terror alone of the dictator's power was sufficient, and that the present situation required a person equitable in all respects, that he might occasion no fresh disturbances.

[1] παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Οὐαλέριος καὶ προσελόμενος ἱππάρχην Κόιντον Σερουίλιον, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ συνυπατεύσαντος Ἀππίῳ Σερουιλίου, παρήγγειλε τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παρεῖναι. συνελθόντος δ' ὄχλου συχνοῦ τότε πρῶτον, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἀπέθετο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας εἰς φανεράν ἀπόνοιαν ἐτράπετο, προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν: ὦ πολῖται, εὖ ἴσμεν, ὅτι βουλομένοις ὑμῶν, ἐστὶν αἰεὶ πινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Οὐαλερίων γένους ἄρχειν ὑμῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐλεύθεροι τυραννίδος χαλεπῆς γεγόνατε καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν μετρίων ἀτυχήσιν τάχ' ἂν ἐπιμείναιτε [p. 321] ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἀπάντων δημοτικωτάτοις δοκοῦσι καὶ οὔσιν.

[40.1] After Valerius had assumed office and had appointed Quintus Servilius, a brother of the Servilius who had been the colleague of Appius in the consulship, to be his Master of the Horse, he summoned the people to an assembly. And a great crowd coming together then for the first time since Servilius had resigned his magistracy and the people who were being forced into the service had been driven to open despair, he came forward to the tribunal and said:

“Citizens, we are well aware that you are always pleased at being governed by any of the Valerian family, by whom you were freed are a harsh tyranny, and perhaps you would never expect to fail of obtaining anything that was reasonable when once you had entrusted yourselves to those who are regarded as being, and are, the most democratic of men.

[2] ὥστ' οὐ διδαχῆς ὑμῖν δεομένοις ὅτι βεβαιώσομεν τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον, οἷπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸ ἐδώκαμεν, οἱ λόγοι ἔσονται, ἀλλὰ παρακλήσεως μετρίας, ἵνα πιστεύητε ἡμῖν, ὃ τι ἂν ὑποσχώμεθα, ἐμπεδώσειν. ἡλικίας γάρ, ἢ τὸ φενακίζειν ἥκιστα ἐπιδέχεται, ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἥκομεν, καὶ ἀξιώσεως, ἢ τοῦ ῥαδιουργεῖν ἐλάχιστον φέρεται μέρος, ἀρκούντως ἔχομεν, χρόνον τε οὐχ ἐτέρωθι που τὸν λειπόμενον βιοτεύειν μέλλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑμῖν δίκας, ὧν ἂν ἐξαπατῆσαι δοκῶμεν, ὑφέξοντες.

[2] So that you to whom my words will be addressed do not need to be informed that we shall confirm to the people the liberty which we bestowed upon them in the beginning, but you need only moderate encouragement to have confidence in us that we shall perform whatever we promise you. For I have attained to that maturity of age which is the least capable of trickiness, and have been sufficiently honoured with public office, which carries it a minimum of shiftiness; and I am not intending to pass the remainder of my life anywhere else but among you, where I shall be ready to stand trial for any deception you may think I have practised against you.

[3] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὡς οὐ μακρῶν δεόμενος λόγων πρὸς εἰδότας, ἔασω. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖτε παθόντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων εἰκότως ἐπὶ πάντων ὑποπτεῦειν, ὁρῶντες αἰεὶ τινα τῶν παρακαλούντων ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους

ὑπάτων ὑποσχομένον, ὧν ἂν δέησθε, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς διαπράξεσθαι, μηδὲν δ' ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγοντα τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων: τοῦτο ὡς οὐ δικαίως ἂν ὑποπτεύοιτε καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, δυσὶν ἂν τοῖσδε μάλιστα πιστωσαίμην, τῷ τε μὴ ἂν ἐμοὶ τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ λειτούργημα, ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν ἐπιτηδειοτέρων, τῷ φιλοδημοτάτῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι καταχρήσασθαι: καὶ τῷ μὴ ἂν αὐτοκράτορι κοσμήσαι ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν τὰ δόξαντά μοι κράτιστα εἶναι καὶ διχ' ἐκείνης ἐπικυροῦν δυνήσομαι. [p. 322]

[3] Of this, then, I shall speak no further, since, as I have said, no lengthy arguments are needed for those who are acquainted with the facts. But there is one thing which, having suffered from others, you seem with reason to suspect of all: you have ever observed that one or another of the consuls, when they want to engage you to march against the enemy, promises to obtain for you what you desire of the senate, but never carries out any of his promises. That you can have no just grounds for entertaining the same suspicions of me also, I can convince you chiefly by these two considerations: first, that the senate would never have made the mistake of employing me, who am regarded as the greatest friend of the people, for this service, when there are others better suited to it, and second, that they would not have honoured me with an absolute magistracy by which I shall be able to enact whatever I think best, even without their participation.

[1] οὐ γὰρ δήπου συνεξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς ἐπιστάμενον τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ βουλευσάμενόν με μετὰ ταύτης συγκακουργεῖν ὑπολαμβάνετε. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα ὑμῖν εἰσέρχεται περὶ ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κακουργοτέρου, ... ὃ τι βούλεσθε χρώμενοι μοι ταύτης μὲν τῆς ὑποφίας ἐμοὶ πειθόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐλευθερώσατε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ὀργὴν μετὰθετε ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, οἳ πόλιν τε ὑμᾶς ἀφελοῦμενοι ἤκουσι καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων δούλους ποιήσοντες καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα δεινὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις νενόμισται, διαθεῖναι σπεύδοντες οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἶναι ἀγγέλλονται.

[41.1] “For surely you do not imagine that I am joining in their deception knowingly and that I have concerted with them to do you some injury. For if it occurs to you to entertain these thoughts of me, do to me what you will, treating me as the most depraved of all men. Believe, then, what I say and banish this suspicion from your minds. Turn your anger from your friends to your enemies, who have come with the purpose of taking your city and making you slaves instead of free men, and are striving to inflict on you every other severity which mankind holds in the greatest fear, and are now said to be not far from your confines.

[2] προθύμως οὖν ἀπολύσασθε τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ δεῖξατε αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ στασιάζουσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις κρείττων ἑτέρας ἐστὶν ὁμονοούσης: ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπιόντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἢ δίκας ὑφέξουσι τῆς τόλμης ἀξίας: ἐνθυμήθητε γάρ, ὅτι Οὐλοοῦσκοι καὶ Σαβῖνοι εἰσιν, ὧν πολλάκις ἐκρατήσατε μαχομένων, οἳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπάγοντες ὑμῖν, οὔτε σώματα νῦν

μειζονα λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς τῶν προτέρων ἀλκιμωτέρας κτησάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐχθρῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων [p. 323] καταφρονήσαντες ὑμῶν. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους τιμωρήσῃσθε, ἐγγυῶμαι ὑμῖν τὴν βουλὴν ἐγὼ τὰς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν χρεῶν φιλονεικίας καὶ ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο παρ' αὐτῆς αἰτῆσθε μέτριον, ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἣν ἂν παράσχησθε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, βραβεύσειν.

[2] Withstand them, therefore, with alacrity and show them that the power of the Romans, though weakened by sedition, is superior to any other when harmonious; for either they will not sustain your united attack or they will suffer condign punishment for their boldness. Bear in mind that those who are making war against you are Volscians and Sabines, whom you have often overcome in battle, and that they have night larger bodies nor braver hearts now than their ancestors had, but have conceived a contempt for you because they thought you were at odds with one another. When you have taken revenge on your enemies, I myself pledge that the senate will reward you, both by composing these controversies concerning the debts and by granting everything else you can reasonably ask of them, in a manner adequate to the valour you shall show in the war.

[3] τέως δ' ἀφείσθω πᾶσα μὲν οὐσία, πᾶν δὲ σῶμα, πᾶσα δ' ἐπιτιμία πολίτου Ῥωμαίου ἀρρυσίαστος ἀπὸ τε δανείου καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς συμβολαίου. τοῖς δὲ προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένοις κάλλιστος μὲν στέφανος πόλις ἦδε ἡ γειναμένη στᾶσα ὀρθή, καλὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῶν συνόντων ἔπαινος ὑπάρξει: καὶ ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν κόσμος ἱκανὸς οἶκόν τ' ἐπανορθῶσαι χρήμασι καὶ γένος ἐπιλαμπρῦναι τιμαῖς. παράδειγμά τε ὑμῖν ἀξιῶ γενέσθαι τοῦμὸν εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους πρόθυμον: ὑπεραγωνιοῦμαι γὰρ ὥς ὁ κράτιστα ἐρρωμένος ὑμῶν.

[3] In the mean time let every possession, every person, and every right of a Roman citizen be left secure are seizure for either debt or any other obligation. To those who shall fight zealously their most glorious crown will be that this city, which gave them birth, still stands intact, and glorious praise also from their fellow-soldiers will be theirs; and the rewards bestowed by us will be sufficient both to restore their fortunes by their value and to render their families illustrious by the honours bestowed. I desire also that my zeal in exposing myself to danger may be your example; for I will fight for my country as stoutly as the most robust among you."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι φενακισθησόμενος ὑπέσχετο συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ γίνεται δέκα στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα, ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἕκαστον. τούτων τρία μὲν ἐκάτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἔλαβε καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὅσον ἐκάστῳ προσεμερίσθη: τὰ δὲ τέτταρα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἱππεῖς ὁ δικτάτωρ. καὶ αὐτίκα παρασκευασάμενοι ὥχοντο διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ μὲν Αἰκανοὺς Τίτος Οὐετούριος, ἐπὶ δ' Οὐολούσκους Αὖλος Οὐεργίνιος, [p. 324] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δικτάτωρ Οὐαλέριος ἐπὶ Σαβίνους, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς γεραιτέροις καὶ ὀλίγῳ τινὶ στρατεύματι ἀκμαίῳ Τίτος Λάρκιος ἐφύλαττεν.

[42.1] While he was speaking, all the people listened with great pleasure, and believing that they were no longer to be imposed upon, promised their assistance in the war; and ten legions were raised, each consisting of four thousand men. Of these each of the consuls took three, and as many of the horse as belonged to the several legions; the other four, together with the rest of the horse, were commanded by the dictator. And having straightway got everything ready, they set out in haste, Titus Veturius against the Aequians, Aulus Verginius against the Volscians, and the dictator Valerius himself against the Sabines, while the city was guarded by Titus Larcus together with the older men and a small body of troops of military age.

[2] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐολούσκων πόλεμος ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔλαβε: πλήθει γὰρ ὑπεραίρειν πολὺ νομίσαντες τῶν προτέρων κακῶν ἀναμνησθέντες, ἀγωνισταὶ ταχίους ἢ φρονιμώτεροι ἀναγκασθέντες γενέσθαι θάπτον πρῶτοι ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἥνικα ὥφθησαν ἐν συνόψει στρατοπεδεύσαντες. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾷ πολλὰ μὲν δράσαντες γενναῖα, πλείω δὲ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομείναντες εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται, καὶ ὁ τε χάραξ αὐτῶν ἐάλω καὶ πόλις ἐπιφανῆς ἐκ πολιορκίας παρέστη: Οὐέλित्रαι δ’

[2] The Volscian war was speedily decided. For these foes, looking upon themselves as much superior in number and recalling the wrongs they had suffered, were driven to fight with greater haste than prudence, and were the first to attack the Romans, which they did too impetuously, as soon as the latter had encamped within sight of them. There ensued a sharp battle, in which, though they performed many brave deeds, they nevertheless suffered greater losses and were put to flight; and their camp was taken, and a city of note, Velitrae by name, reduced by siege.

[3] ὄνομα αὐτῇ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ Σαβίνων φρόνημα ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ ἐταπεινώθη χρόνῳ μιᾷ παρατάξει ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων βουλευθέντων ἐπικρατεῖν. ἔπειτα ἢ τε χώρα προὔνομεύθη, καὶ πολίχνηαι τινὲς ἐάλωσαν, ἐξ ὧν πολλὰ καὶ σώματα καὶ χρήματα οἱ στρατιῶται ἔλαβον. Αἰκανοὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐαυτῶν ὑφορῶντες ἐπεὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τέλος ἔχοντα ἐπύθοντο, χωρίοις τ’ ἐχυροῖς ἐπεκάθηντο καὶ εἰς μάχας οὐ προήεσαν, τάς τ’ ἀποχωρήσεις, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο, δι’ ὁρῶν ἢ δρυμῶν κρυφείας [p. 325] ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἄχρι τινὸς διαφέροντες τὸν πόλεμον: οὐ μέντοιγε διασώσασθαι ἀθῶον τὴν στρατιάν ἐδυνήθησαν ἐπιθεμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίοις κρημνώδεσι τολμηρῶς καὶ λαβόντων τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ κράτος. ἔπειτα φυγὴ τ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων γῆς ἐγένετο καὶ παραδόσεις τῶν πόλεων, αἷς ἔτυχον αὐτῶν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ καταλαβόμενοι, εἰσὶ δ’ ὧν καὶ ἐκ φιλονεικίας οὐκ ἐκλιπόντων τὰς ἄκρας ἀλώσεις.

[3] In like manner the pride of the Sabines was also humbled in a very short time, both nations having wished to win the war by a single pitched battle. After this their country was plundered and some small towns were captured,

from which the soldiers took many persons and great store of goods. The Aequians, distrusting their own weakness and learning that the war waged by their allies was at an end, not only encamped in strong positions and would not come out to give battle, but also effected their retreat secretly, wherever they could, through mountains and woods, and thus dragged out and prolonged the war for some time; but they were not able to preserve their army unscathed to the last, since the Romans boldly fell upon them in their rugged fastnesses and took their camp by storm. Then followed the flight of the Aequians from the territory of the Latins and the surrender of the cities they had seized in their first invasion, as well as the captured of some of the men who in a spirit of rivalry had refused to abandon the citadels.

[1] Οὐαλέριος δὲ κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν εἰωθότα θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης καταγαγὼν ἀπέλυσε τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, οὕτω τῆς βουλῆς καιρὸν εἶναι νομιζούσης, ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἀπαιτοῖεν οἱ ἄποροι: εἰς δὲ τὴν δορικτητον, ἣν Οὐολούσκους ἀφείλοντο, κληροῦχους ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιλέξας ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων, οἱ τὴν τε πολέμιαν φρουρήσειν ἔμελλον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιάζον ἔλαττον ἀπολείψειν.

[43] Valerius, having succeeded in this war according to his desire and celebrated the customary triumph in honour of his victory, discharged the people from the service, though the senate did not regard it as the proper time yet, fearing the poor might demand the fulfilment of their promises. After this he set out colonists to occupy the land they had taken from the Volscians, choosing them from among the poor; these would not only guard the conquered country but would also leave the seditious element in the city diminished in number.

[2] ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἡξίου τὴν βουλὴν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις αὐτῷ βεβαιῶσαι κεκομισμένην τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους πρόθυμον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ', ὅπερ πρότερον ἦν αντιοῦτο, τῇ γνώμῃ συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς νέοι καὶ βίαιοι καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες καὶ τότε ἀντέπραπτον καὶ πολλῇ καταβολῇ ἐχρῶντο, τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ δημοκόλακα ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ νόμων [p. 326] πονηρῶν ἀρχηγόν, ὧς δὲ μάλιστα ἠγάλλοντο οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν δικαστηρίων πολιτεύματι, τοῦτω πᾶσαν ἠφανικέναι τὴν τῶν πατρικίων δυναστείαν αἰτιώμενοι: σχετιάσας ὁ Οὐαλέριος πολλὰ καὶ ὥς οὐ δίκαια πάσχοι διαβεβλημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὀνειδίσας, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν καταλήψεσθαι σφᾶς τύχην τοιαῦτα βουλευσαμένους ἀνακλαυσάμενος, καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν τοιοῦτῳ κακῷ, τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάθους, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεῖον τι τῶν πολλῶν νοεῖν, ἀποθεσπίσας, ὥχετο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου: καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ἔλεξε:

[2] Having made these arrangements, he asked the senate to fulfil for him the promises they had made, now that they had received the hearty co-operation of the plebeians in the later engagements. However, the senate paid no regard

to him, but, just as before the young and violent men, who were superior to the other party in number, had joined together to oppose his motion, so on this occasion also they opposed it and raised a great outcry against him, calling his family flatterers of the people and the authors of vicious laws, and charging that by the very measure on which the Valerii prided themselves most, the one concerning the function of the assembly as a court of justice, they had totally destroyed the power of the patricians. Valerius became very indignant at this, and after reproaching them with having exposed him to the unjust resentment of the people, he lamented the fate which would come upon them for taking such a course, as might be expected in such an unhappy situation, uttered some dire prophecies, inspired in part by the emotion he was then under and in part by his superior sagacity. Then he flung himself out of the senate chamber; and assembling the people, he said:

[3] πολλὴν χάριν ὑμῖν εἰδώς, ὧ πολλῖται, τῆς τε προθυμίας, ἣν παρέσχεσθέ μοι ἐκούσιοι συναράμενοι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπεδείξασθε, μεγάλην μὲν ἐποιούμην σπουδὴν ἀμείψασθαι ὑμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποιούμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἤδη ποτὲ καταστῆσαι τὴν στάσιν ὑμῶν σύμβουλος καὶ διαιτητὴς ἀμφοῖν γενόμενος: κωλύομαι δὲ πράττειν αὐτὰ διὰ τοὺς οὐ τὰ βέλπιστα τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεχαρισμένα προαιρουμένους, οἳ πληθεῖ τ' ἐπικρατοῦντες τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ δυνάμει, ἣν τὸ νέον αὐτοῖς παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πράγματα, ἔρρωνται.

[3] “Citizens, feeling myself under great obligations to you both for the zeal you showed in giving me your voluntary assistance in the war, and still more for the bravery you displayed in the various engagements, I was very desirous of making a return to you, not only in other ways, by particularly by not breaking the promises I kept giving you in the name of the senate, and, as an adviser and umpire between the senate and you, by changing at last the discord that now exists between you into harmony. But I am prevented from accomplishing these things by those who prefer, not what is most advantageous to the commonwealth, but what is pleasing to themselves at the present moment, and who, being superior to all the rest both in number and in the power they derive from their youth rather than from the present situation, have prevailed.

[4] ἐγὼ δὲ γέρων τε δῆ, ὡς ὀρᾷτε, καὶ ἐτέρους τοιούτους ἔχω συμμάχους, ὧν ἢ ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ οὕσα ἰσχυρὸς ἀδύνατός [p. 327] ἐστίν ἔργῳ ἐπεξελεῖν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοια ἰδία πρὸς ἑκάτερον μέρος ἀπέχθεια φαινόμενη. τῇ τε γὰρ βουλῇ δι' αἰτίας εἰμὶ ὡς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος θεραπεύων καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαβέβλημαι, ὡς ἐκείνῃ μᾶλλον τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀποδεικνύμενος.

[4] Whereas I, as you see, an old man, and so are all my associates, whose strength consists in counsel which they are incapable of carrying out in action;

and what was regarded as our concern for the commonwealth has turned out to have the appearance of a private grudge against both sides. For I am censured by the senate for courting your faction and misrepresented to you as showing greater goodwill to them.

[1] εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος εὖ προπαθὼν ἐξέλιπε τὰς δι' ἐμοῦ τῇ βουλῇ γενομένας ὑποσχέσεις, ἐκείνᾳ μοι ἀπολογητέα ἦν, ὅτι ἐψεύσασθε ὑμεῖς, ἐν ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν κακούργημα ἦν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὁμολογηθέντα οὐ γέγονεν ὑμῖν ἐπιτελεῖν, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁ λόγος ἦδη ἀναγκαῖος γίγνεται μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ συνδοκοῦντα πεπόνθατε, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως πεφenaκίσμεθα καὶ παραλελογίσμεθα ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ὅς γε οὐχ ἅ κοινῇ ἡπάτημαι μετὰ πάντων μόνον ἀδικοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἴδια κακῶς ἀκήκοα, ὡς δὴ τὰ τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄλόντα οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς ἀπόροις ὑμῶν βουλόμενος ἴδιαν ὠφέλειαν περιποιήσασθαι παρασχὼν καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐσίας δημεύειν ἀξίων ἐκείνης γε κωλυούσης καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν, στρατιάς τ' ἐναντιουμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀφεικῶς, δέον ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀγρὰυλῖαις καὶ πλάναις [p. 328]

[44] "If, now, the people, after being treated well, had failed to keep the promises made by me to the senate in their name, my defence to that body must have been that you had violated your word, but that there was no deceit on my part. But since it is the promises made to you by the senate that have not been fulfilled, I am now under the necessity of stating to the people that the treatment you have met with does not have my approval, but that both of us alike have been cheated and misled, and I more than you, inasmuch as I am wronged, not alone in being deceived in common with you all, but am also hurt in my own reputation. For I am accused of having turned over to the poor among you, without the consent of the senate, the spoils taken from the enemy, in the desire to gain a private advantage for myself, and of demanding that the property of the citizens be confiscated, though the senate forbade me to act in violation of the laws, and of having disbanded the armies in spite of the opposition of the senators, when I ought to have kept you in the enemy's country occupied in sleeping in the open and in endless marching.

[2] ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ κατέχειν ὑμᾶς. ὠνειδισται δέ μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν κληρούχων εἰς Οὐλοῦσκους ἐκπομπή, ὅτι γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὐ τοῖς πατρικίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐχαρισάμην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπόροις ὑμῶν διένειμα: καὶ ὁ μάλιστα μοι τὴν πλείστην ἀγανάκτησιν παρέσχεν, ὅτι πλείους ἢ τετρακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἱππεῦσι προσκατελέγησαν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας βίωον εὐπορήσαντες.

[2] I am also reproached in the matter of sending the colonists into the territory of the Volscians, on the ground that I did not bestow a large and fertile country upon the patricians or even upon the knights, but allotted it to the poor among you. But the thing in particular which has occasioned the greatest indignation against me is that, in raising the army, more than four hundred

well-to-do plebeians were added to the knights.

[3] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζοντι μοι τὸ σῶμα ταῦτα προσέπεσε, δῆλον ἂν ἔργῳ ἐποίησα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οἷον ὄντα με ἄνδρα προὔπηλάκισαν: ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γέγονα καὶ οὐ δυνατὸς ἔτι ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῷ εἰμί ὅρῳ τε, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παύσαιτο ἡ στάσις ὑμῶν, ἀποτιθεμαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸ σῶμα ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ, εἰ τι οἴονται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξηπατῆσθαι, χρήσασθαι μοι ὅτι ἂν δικαιῶσι.

[3] If, now, I had been thus treated when I was in the vigour of my youth, I should have made it clear to my enemies by my deeds what kind of man they had abused; but as I am now above seventy years old and no longer capable of defending myself, and since I perceive that your discord can no longer be allayed by me, I am laying down my office and putting myself in the hands of any who may desire it in the belief that they have been deceived by me in any respect, to be treated in such manner as they shall think fit."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τὸ μὲν δημοτικὸν ἅπαν εἰς συμπάθειαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ προὔπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπιόντα: τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἔτι χαλεπωτέραν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν. εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τάδε ἐγίνετο: οἱ μὲν πένητες οὐκέτι κρύφα οὐδὲ νύκτωρ ὥς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη συνιόντες ἐβούλευον ἀπόστασιν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κωλύειν διανοομένη τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέταξε μήπω λυεῖν τὰ στρατεύματα. τῶν γὰρ τριῶν ταγμάτων ἑκάτερος ἔτι κύριος ἦν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὄρκοις κατειργομένων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν σημείων ἤξιον: τοσοῦτον [p. 329] ἴσχυσεν ὁ τῶν ὄρκων ἐν ἐκάστῳ φόβος. πρόφασις δὲ κατεσκευάσθη τῆς στρατείας, ὡς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Σαβίνων συνεληλυθότων εἰς ἓν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμῳ.

[45.1] With these words Valerius aroused the sympathy of all the plebeians, who accompanied him when he left the Forum; but he increased the resentment of the senate against him. And immediately afterwards the following events happened: The poor, no longer meeting secretly and by night, as before, but openly now, were planning a secession from the patricians; and the senate, with the purpose of preventing this, ordered the consuls not to disband the armies as yet. For each consul still had command of his three legions, which were restrained by their military oaths, and none of the soldiers cared to desert their standards, so far did the fear of violating their oaths prevail with all of them. The pretext contrived for leading out the forces was that the Aequians and Sabines had joined together to make war upon the Romans.

[2] ὡς δὲ προῆλθον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς οὐ πρόσω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔθεντο, συνελθόντες οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς ἓν ἅπαντες, ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων ὄντες κύριοι, Σικιννίου τινὸς Βελλοῦτου παροξύναντος αὐτοὺς ἀφίστανται τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ σημεῖα: τιμιώτατα γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτ' ἐπὶ στρατείας καὶ ὥσπερ ἰδρύματα θεῶν ἱερὰ

νομιζονται: λοχαγούς τε ἑτέρους καὶ περὶ πάντων ἄρχοντα τὸν Σικίννιον ἀποδείξαντες, ὅρος τι καταλαμβάνονται πλησίον Ἀνιήτος ποταμοῦ κείμενον, οὗ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης, ὃ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἱερὸν ὄρος καλεῖται.

[2] After the consuls had marched out of the city with their forces and pitched their camps near one another, the soldiers all assembled together, having in their possession both the arms and the standards, and at the instigation of one Sicinius Bellutus they seized the standards and revolted from the consuls (these standards are held in the greatest honour by the Romans on a campaign and like statues of the gods are accounted holy); and having appointed different centurions and made Sicinius their leader in all matters, they occupied a certain mount situated near the river Anio, not far from Rome, which from that circumstance is still called the Sacred Mount.

[3] τῶν δ' ὑπᾶτων καὶ λοχαγῶν μετακαλούντων αὐτοὺς ἅμα δεήσει καὶ οἰμωγῇ καὶ πολλὰ ὑποσχνουμένων ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Σικίννιος: τίνα γνώμην ἔχοντες, ὧ πατρίκιοι, οὓς ἀπηλάσατε ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων δούλους ἐποιήσατε, νῦν μετακαλεῖτε; ποῖα δὲ πίστει τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῖν ἐμπεδώσετε, ἃς πολλάκις ἤδη ψευσάμενοι ἐλέγχεσθε; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μόνοι τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦτε κατέχειν, ἅπτε μὴδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐνοχλούμενοι: ἡμῖν δ' ἀρκέσει πᾶσα γῆ, ἐν ᾗ ἂν τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἔχωμεν, ὅποια ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, νομιζεσθαι πατρίς. [p. 330]

[3] And when the consuls and the centurions called upon them to return, mingling entreaties and lamentations, and making many promises, Sicinius replied: “With what purpose, patricians, do you now recall those whom you have driven from their country and transformed from free men into slaves? What assurances will you give us for the performance of those promises which you are convicted of having often broken already? But since you desire to have sole possession of the city, return thither undisturbed by the poor and humble. As for us, we shall be content to regard as our country any land, whatever it be, in which we may enjoy our liberty.”

[1] ὡς δ' ἠγγέλθη ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν δρόμος, τοῦ μὲν δήμου καταλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν παρασκευαζομένου, τῶν δὲ πατρικίων ἀποτρέπειν ἀξιούντων καὶ βίαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις προσφέρειν: βοή τε περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πολὺς ἀνακλαυθμὸς ἦν λόγοι τε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἔργα πολέμιων ἐγίνοντο οὐκέτι διακρίνοντος οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἡλικίαν οὔτε ἑταιρίαν οὔτε ἀξίωσιν ἀρετῆς.

[46.1] When these things were reported to those in the city, there was great tumult and lamentation and running through the streets, as the populace prepared to leave the city and the patricians endeavoured to dissuade them and offered violence to those who refused to obey. And there was great clamour and wailing at the gates, and hostile words were exchanged and hostile acts committed, as no one paid heed any longer to either age, comradeship, or the

respect due to virtue.

[2] ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φρουρεῖν τὰς ἐξόδους: ἦσαν γὰρ δὴ ὀλίγοι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἔτι ἀντέχειν: ἐκβιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατέλιπον τὴν φυλακὴν, τότε ἤδη τὸ δημοτικὸν πολὺ ἐξεχείτο, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἦν ἀλώσει πόλεως ἐμφερές, οἰμωγὴ τε τῶν ὑπομενόντων καὶ κατάμεμψις ἀλλήλων ἐγένετο ἐρημουμένην τὴν πόλιν ὀρώντων. μετὰ τοῦτο βουλαὶ τε συχναὶ καὶ κατηγορίαι τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγίνοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔθνη ἐπετίθεντο αὐτοῖς προνομεύοντα τὴν γῆν ἄχρι τῆς πόλεως. οἱ μὲντοι ἀποστάται τὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπισιτισμὸν ἐκ τῶν πλησίων ἀγρῶν λαμβάνοντες, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν τὴν χώραν κακουργοῦντες, ἔμενον ὑπαίθριοι καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πέριξ φρουρίων ὑπελάμβανον συχνοὺς ἤδη γινομένους.

[2] When those appointed by the senate to guard the exits, being few in number and unable any longer to resist them, were forced by the people to desert their post, then at last the populace rushed out in great multitudes and the commotion resembled the capture of a city; there were the lamentations of those who remained behind and their mutual recriminations as they saw the city being deserted. After this there were frequent meetings of the senate and accusations against those who were responsible for the secession. At the same time the enemy nations also attacked them, plundering their territory up to the very city. However, the seceders, taking the necessary provisions from the fields that lay near them, without doing any other mischief to the country, remained in the open and received such as resorted to them from city and the fortresses round about, who were already coming to them in great numbers.

[3] οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰ χρέα καὶ τὰς καταδικὰς καὶ τὰς προσδοκωμένας ἀνάγκας διαφυγεῖν προαιρούμενοι συνέρρεον [p. 331] ὡς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοις ὁ βίος ἦν ἀργὸς ἢ ῥάθυμος ἢ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγεῖν οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἢ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζηλωτὴς ἢ φθονερὸς ταῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχίαις ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ συμφορὰν ἢ αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος τῇ καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ.

[3] Not only those who were desirous of escaping their debts and the sentences and punishments they expected, flocked to them, but many others also who led lazy or dissolute lives, or whose fortunes were not sufficient to gratify their desires, or who were devoted to vicious practices, or were envious of the prosperity of others, or because of some other misfortune or reason were hostile to the established government.

[1] τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ταραχὴ ἐνέπεσε πολλή καὶ ἐκπληξίς, καὶ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοεθνέσι πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤξόντων δέος. ἔπειθ' ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς παρακελεύσματος ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστοι πελάταις, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς αἷς ἤξειν ἐνόμιζον τοὺς πολεμίους παρεβοήθουν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια

φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐξήρσαν, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις τῆς πόλεως πεδίοις ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο: ὅσοι δὲ διὰ γῆρας ἀδύνατοι τούτων τι δρᾶν ἦσαν ἐπὶ

[47.1] At first great confusion and consternation fell upon the patricians, who feared that the seceders would at once come against the city together with the foreign enemies. Then, as if at a single signal, snatching up arms and attended each by his own clients, some went to defend the roads by which they expected the enemy would approach, others marched out to the fortresses in order to secure them, while still others encamped on the plains before the city; and those who by reason of age were unable to anything of the kind took their places upon the walls.

[2] τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐτάξαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποστάτας κατέμαθον οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις προστιθεμένους οὔτε τὴν χώραν δηοῦντας οὔτε ἄλλο βλάπτοντας οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τοῦ δέους ἐπαύσαντο: καὶ μεταθέμενοι τὰς γνώμας, ἐφ' οἷστε διαλλαγήσονται πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐσκόπουν: καὶ ἐλέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ συνεδρίου λόγοι παντοδαποὶ καὶ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διάφοροι, μετριώτατοι δὲ καὶ πρεπωδέστατοι ταῖς παρούσαις τύχαις, οὓς οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν ἔλεξαν διδάσκοντες, ὥς οὐδεμῶς κακίᾳ πεποιηται τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν συμφορῶν βιασθεῖς, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμβούλων ἐξηπατημένος, [p. 332] ὀργῇ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων, οἷα ἐν ἀμαθεῖ πληθεὶ γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ: ἐπειθ' ὅτι συνοίδασιν αὐτοῖς κακῶς βεβουλευμένοις οἱ πλείους καὶ ζητοῦσιν ἀναλύσασθαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας εὐσχήμονας ἀφορμὰς λαμβάνοντες: τὰ γοῦν ἔργα δρῶσιν ἤδη μετεγνωκότων, καὶ εἰ λάβοιεν ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου, ψηφισαμένης αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ διαλλαγὰς ποιησαμένης εὐπρεπεῖς, ἀγαπητῶς τὰ σφέτερα δέξονται.

[2] But when they heard that the seceders were neither joining the enemy, laying waste the country, nor doing any other mischief worth speaking of, they gave up their fear, and changing their minds, proceeded to consider upon what terms they might come to an agreement with them. And speeches of every kind, directly opposed to one another, were made by the leading men of these; but the most moderate speeches and those most suitable to the existing situation were delivered by the oldest senators, who showed that the people had not made this secession from them with any malicious intent, but partly compelled by irresistible calamities and partly deluded by their advises, and judging of their interest by passion rather than reason, as is wont to happen with an ignorant populace; and furthermore, that the greater part of them were conscious of having been ill advised and were seeking an opportunity of redeeming their offences if they could find plausible excuses for doing so. At any rate their actions were those of men who had already repented, and if they should be given good hope for the future by a vote of the senate granting them impunity and offering an honourable accommodation, they would cheerfully

take back what was their own.

[3] ἤξιουν τε ταῦτα παραινοῦντες μὴ χεῖρους ὀργὴν εἶναι τῶν κακίωνων τοῦς κρείττονας, μηδ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν χρόνον τὰς διαλλαγὰς, ὅτε ἢ νοῦν ἔχειν ἀναγκασθήσεται τὸ ἀνόητον, ἢ τῷ μείζονι κακῷ τοῦλαπτον ἰᾶσθαι ὅπλων παραδόσει καὶ σωμάτων ἐπιτροπῇ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεθὲν αὐτὸ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ ἀδυνάτου: μετρίως δὲ χρησαμένους ἀρχηγούς τῶν συμφερόντων βουλευμάτων γενέσθαι καὶ προτέρους ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς χωρεῖν ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν καὶ ἐπιτροπεύειν τοῖς πατρικίοις ὑπάρχει,

[3] In urging this course they demanded that men of superior worth should not be more implacable than their inferiors, nor defer an accommodation till the senseless crowd should be either brought to their senses by necessity or induced by it to cure a smaller evil by a greater, in depriving themselves of liberty as the result of delivering up their arms and surrendering their persons at discretion; for these things were next to impossible. But by treating the people with moderation they ought to set the example of salutary counsels, and to anticipate the others in proposing an accommodation, bearing in mind that while governing and administering the state was the duty of the patricians, the promoting of friendship and peace was the part of good men.

[4] 7 φιλόμητος δὲ καὶ εἰρήνης ... τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα τῆς βουλῆς οὐκ ἐν τῷδε μάλιστα ἐλαττώσεσθαι ἀπέφαινον, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὰς ἀναγκαίας συμφορὰς γενναίως φέροντες ἀσφαλῶς πολιτεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ δυσοργήτως ταῖς τύχαις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀνατρέφουσι τὸ κοινόν. ἀνοίας δ' ἔργον εἶναι τῆς εὐπρεπείας ὀρεγομένους [p. 333] τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὑπερορᾶν: ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τυγχάνειν, εἰ δ' ἐξείργοιτό τις θατέρου, τὰ σωτήρια τῶν εὐπρεπεστέρων νομιστέα ἀναγκαιότερα. τέλος δ' ἦν τῶν ταῦτα παραινοῦντων, πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι περὶ φιλίας, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμάρτηται ἀνήκεστον.

[4] They declared that the prestige of the senate would be most diminished, not by a policy of administering the government safely while bearing nobly the calamities that were unavoidable, but by a policy whereby, in showing resentment toward the vicissitudes of fortune, they would overthrow the commonwealth. It was the part of folly, while aiming at appearances, to neglect security; it was desirable of course, to obtain both, but if one must do without either, safety ought to be regarded as more necessary than appearances. The final proposal of those who gave these advice was that ambassadors should be sent to the seceders to treat of peace, since they had been guilty of no irreparable mischief.

[1] ἔδοκει ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προχειρισαμένη τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους διεπέμψατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ἐντειλαμένη πυνθάνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, τίνος δέονται καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι δικαίοις ἀξιοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφειν: εἰ γὰρ εἴη τι μέτριοι καὶ δυνατὸν τῶν αἰτημάτων, οὐκ ἐναντιώσεσθαι σφίσι τὴν βουλήν. νῦν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀποθεμένοις τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατιοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἄδειαν ὑπάρξειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον ἀμνηστίαν: ἔαν δὲ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευέωσι τῷ κοινῷ καὶ προθύμως κινδυνεύωσι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀμοιβὰς καλὰς καὶ

[48.1] This met with the approval of the senate. Thereupon they chose the most suitable persons and sent them to the people in the camp with orders to inquire of them what they desired and upon what terms they would consent to return to the city; for if any of their demands were moderate and possible to be complied with, the senate would not oppose them. If, therefore, they would now lay down their arms and return to the city they would be granted impunity for their past offences and amnesty for the future; and if they showed the best will for the commonwealth and cheerfully exposed themselves to danger in the service of their country, they would receive honourable and advantageous returns.

[2] λυσιτελεῖς. ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἐντολὰς κομισάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα διελέχθησαν. οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλ' ὑπεροψίαν καὶ βαρύτητα καὶ πολλὴν εἰρωνείαν τοῖς πατρικίοις ὄνειδισάντων, εἰ προσποιοῦνται μὲν ἀγνοεῖν, ὣν ὁ δῆμος δεῖται καὶ δι' ἃς ἀνάγκας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπέστη, χαρίζονται δ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἄδειαν τοῦ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως δίκην, ὥσπερ ἔτι κύριοι, τῆς βοήθειας γε αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι τῆς πολιτικῆς οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀθνείους πολέμους οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν [p. 334] ἐλευσομένους πανστρατιᾷ, πρὸς οὓς οὐδ' ἀντάραι δυνήσονται, οἳ οὐ σφέτερον ἡγοῦνται τὸ σωθῆναι ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συναγωνιουμένων εὐτύχημα: τέλος δὲ τοῦτον προσθέντων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἄμεινον ἤδη αὐτοὶ μαθόντες τὰς κατεχούσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπορίας, γινώσκονται πρὸς οἷους ἀντιπάλους αὐτοῖς ἔσται ὁ ἀγών, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατειναμένων:

[2] The ambassadors, having received these instructions, communicated them

to the people in the camp and spoke in conformity to them. But the seceders, rejecting these invitations, reproached the patricians with haughtiness, severity, and great dissimulation in pretending, on the one hand, to be ignorant of the demands of the people and of the reasons which had compelled them to secede from them, and, again, in granting them impunity from all prosecution for their secession, just as if they were still masters of the situation, though themselves standing in need of the assistance of their fellow-citizens against their foreign enemies, who would soon come with all their forces — enemies who could not be withstood by men who looked upon their preservation as not so much their own advantage as the good fortune of those who should assist them. They ended with the statement that when the patricians themselves understood better the difficulties that beset the commonwealth, they would know what kind of adversaries they had to deal with; and they added many violent threats.

[3] οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις οὐδὲν ἔτι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντειπόντες ἀπηλλάττοντο καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῖς πατρικίοις ἐδήλωσαν, ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἐν ταραχαῖς καὶ δειμασι πολλῶ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ πρόσθεν ἐγένετο, καὶ οὔτε ἡ βουλὴ πόρον εὐρεῖν οἷα τε ἦν οὔτ' ἀναβολάς, δυσφημιῶν δὲ καὶ κατηγοριῶν, αἷς οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῆς ἐποιοῦντο κατ'. ἀλλήλων, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἀκούουσα ἡμέρας διελύετο: οὔτε τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος, ὅσον ἔτι παρέμενεν εὐνοίᾳ τῶν πατρικίων ἢ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἠναγκασμένον, ὅμοιον ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου φανερώς τε καὶ κρύφα πολὺ μέρος διέρρει, βέβαιον δ' οὐδὲν τῶν καταλειπομένων ἐδόκει εἶναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι: καὶ γὰρ ἦν βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενος αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος: ἡμέραν ἔστησαν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν.

[3] To all of which the ambassadors made no further answer, but departed and informed the patricians of the representations made by the seceders. When those in the city received this answer, they were in much more serious confusion and fear than before; and neither the senate was able to find a solution of the difficulties or any means of postponing them, but, after listening to the taunts and accusations which the leading men directed at one another, adjourned day after day; nor were the plebeians who still remained in the city, constrained by their goodwill toward the patricians or their affection for their country, of the same mind as before, but a large part even of these were trickling away both openly and secretly, and it seemed that no reliance could be placed upon those who were left. In this state of affairs the consuls — for the period that still remained of their magistracy was short — appointed a day for the election of magistrates.

[1] ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπικυροῦν ἔδει συνελθόντας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, οὐδενὸς οὔτε μετιόντος τὴν ὑπάτειαν οὔτε διδομένην ὑπομένοντος λαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους [p. 335] ἐκ τῶν εἰληφότων ἥδη τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην δῆμῳ τε κεχαρισμένους ἄνδρας καὶ

ἀριστοκρατία, Πόστομον Κομίνιον καὶ Σπόριον Κάσσιον, ὑφ' οὗ Σαβῖνοι καταπολεμηθέντες τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέστησαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Διογνήτου.

[49.1] When the time came for them to assemble in the field to elect their magistrates, and no one either sought the consulship or would consent to accept it if offered, the people themselves chose two consuls from among those who had already held this magistracy and who were acceptable to both the people and the aristocracy, namely Postumus Cominius and Spurius Cassius, Cassius being the one through whose efforts the Sabines had been conquered and had resigned their claims to the leadership. This was in the seventy-second Olympiad, the year in which Tisicrates of Croton won the short-distance foot-race, Diognetus being then archon at Athens.

[2] οὗτοι παραλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν καλάνδαις Σεπτεμβρίαις θᾶπτον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν, πρὶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι διαπραξασθαι βουλὴν συγκαλέσαντες περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν δημοτικῶν λέγειν ἢ ξίου, ἦν τινα διάνοιαν ἔχει, πρῶτον ἀποφήνασθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἄνδρα ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ τότε ὄντα καὶ συνέσει δοκοῦντα τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἐπαινούμενον, ὅτι τῆς μέσης τάξεως ἦν, οὔτε τὴν αὐθάδειαν τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν αὖξων οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ ὅσα βουληθεῖν πράττειν ἐπιτρέπων, Ἀγρίππαν Μενήνιον: ὅς ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὴν βουλὴν παρεκάλει τάδε λέγων:

[2] Upon assuming office on the calends of September, earlier than had been customary with the former consuls, they convened the senate before attending to any other business and asked for an expression of its opinion concerning the return of the plebeians. The first senator they called upon to declare his views was a man, then in the maturity of his age, who was looked upon as a person of superior wisdom and was particularly commended for his political principles, since he pursued a middle course, being inclined and to increase the arrogance of the aristocratic party nor to permit the people to have their own way in everything — namely Agrippa Menenius. It was he who now urged the senate to an accommodation, speaking as follows:

[3] εἰ μὲν ἅπασιν, ὧ βουλῇ, τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην συνέβαινε εἶναι, καὶ μηδεὶς ἔμελλε ταῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλλαγαῖς ἐμποδῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ διαλυσόμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἴτε δικαίοις οὔσιν εἴτε μὴ, ὅμως ταῦτα προὔκειτο μόνον σκοπεῖν, δι' ὀλίγων ἂν ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσα λόγων, ἃ φρονῶ.

[3] “If all who are present, senators, chanced to be of the same opinion, and no one were going to oppose the accommodation with the people, but only the terms of it, be these just or unjust, on which we are to be reconciled with them were before you for consideration, I could have expressed my thoughts to you in few words.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο [p. 336] τινες οἴονται βουλῆς ἔτι δεῖν, πότερον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι συμβῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀφροσθηκότας ἢ πολεμεῖν, οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι ῥάδιον εἶναι μοι δι' ὀλίγης δηλώσεως, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν παραινεσαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διὰ πλειόνων διδάξαι λόγων τοὺς πρὸς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας ὑμῶν, ὅτι τάναντία συμπείθουσιν ἢ καὶ δεδίττεσθαι μέλλοντες ὑμᾶς τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπανορθώσεις ὀρρωδοῦντας τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀνιάτων ἱκανῶς ἀπερισκέπτως ἔχουσι. καὶ τοῦτο πεπόνθασι παρ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ὥστε λογισμῷ μὴ κρίνειν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ μανίᾳ.

[4] But since some consider that even this very point should be a matter for further consultation, whether it is better for us to come to an agreement with the seceders or go to war with them, I do not think it easy for me in a brief exposition of my views to advise you what ought to be done. On the contrary, a speech of some length is necessary, in order to show those among you who are opposed to the accommodation that they contradict themselves if, while intending to frighten you by playing on your fear of those difficulties that are the most trivial and easily corrected, they at the same time neglect to consider the evils that are greatest and incurable. And they have fallen into this predicament for no other reason than that in judging what is expedient they do not use reason but rather passion and frenzy.

[5] πῶς γὰρ ἂν οὗτοι λέγοιντο προορᾶσθαι τι τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν χρησίων ἢ δυνατῶν, οἳ τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι τηλικαύτην πόλιν καὶ τοσοούτων πραγμάτων κυρίαν ἤδη ἐπιφθονόν τε καὶ λυπηρὰν τοῖς περιοίκοις γιγνομένην, ἢ διχα τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δυνήσεσθαι κατέχειν τε καὶ σώζειν τὰ ἔθνη ῥαδίως, ἢ ἕτερον ἐπάξεσθαι δῆμον ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηροτέρου κρείττονα, ὃς αὐτοῖς προπολεμήσει τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν συμπολιτεύσεται, παρέχων καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πολέμους ἑαυτὸν μέτριον; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἕτερον ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν, ὃ πιστεύοντες ἀξιώσουσιν ὑμᾶς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλλαγὰς. [p. 337]

[5] For how can these men be said to foresee in their minds any course that is profitable or possible, when they imagine that a state so powerful and mistress of so extensive a dominion, a state that is calendar becoming an object of hatred, and a cause of offence to her neighbours, will easily be able either without the plebeians to hold and preserve the subject nations or else to bring some other people into the commonwealth, a better people in place of one most knavish, who will fight to preserve their supremacy for them and will live with them under the same government in profound quiet, behaving themselves with self-restraint in both peace and war? For there is no other possibility they could name that would justify their asking you not to accept the accommodation.

[1] ὣν ἑκάτερον ὅσης ἐστὶ μεστὸν εὐηθείας, ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι διαστασιασάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς

τῶν ταπεινότερων διὰ τοὺς οὔτε πολιτικῶς οὔτε μετρίως ταῖς ἀτυχίαις χρησαμένους, καὶ ὑπαναχωρησάντων μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς δεινὸν μήτε ἐργαζομένων μήτε διανοουμένων, ἀλλ' ὥς διαλλαγήσονται χωρὶς αἰσχύνης σκοπούντων, ἀγαπητῶς δεξιόμενοι τὸ συμβᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης πολλοὶ τῶν οὐκ εὖ διανοουμένων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνεπτέρωνται ταῖς γνώμας, καὶ τοῦτον οἴονται σφίσι παρεῖναι τὸν εὐκταῖον καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ

[50.1] “How utterly silly either of those two expedients is, I would have you consider from the facts themselves, bearing in mind that since the humbler citizens grew disaffected toward you because of those who treated their misfortunes as neither fellow-citizens nor men of self-restraint should, and withdrew, indeed, from the city, yet neither are doing to you, nor have any thought of doing, any other mischief, but are considering only by what means they may be reconciled to you without dishonour, many of those who are not well disposed toward you, joyfully seizing upon this incident presented to them by Fortune, have become elated in their minds and look upon this as the long-desired opportunity for breaking up your empire.

[2] καταλύσουσιν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν γε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι, Σαβῖνοι τε καὶ τὸ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνος, πρὸς τῷ μηδένα χρόνον ἐξαιρετον πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου, καὶ τοῖς ἔναγχος κακοῖς δυσανασχετοῦντες ληστεύουσιν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγρούς. Καμπανίας δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνίας ὅσα ἐνδοιαστῶς ἡμῶν ἀφείμενα διατελεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀφίσταται, τὰ δ' ἀφανῶς παρασκευάζεται. δοκεῖ τ' οὐδὲ τὸ Λατίνων συγγενὲς ἔτι βέβαιον ἡμῖν διαμένειν φίλιον εἰς πύστιν ἐλθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου πολὺ μέρος διαγγέλλεται νοσεῖν ἔρωτι κρατούμενον, ἧς ἅπαντες γλίσχονται, μεταβολῆς:

[2] Thus, the Aequians and Volscians, the Sabines and Hernicans, who in any case have missed no opportunity to make war against us, being now exasperated also at their late defeats, are plundering our fields. As to the parts of Campania and Tyrrhenia which have continued to be doubtful in their allegiance to us, some of them are openly revolting and others are secretly preparing to do the same. Not even the kindred race of Latins, as it seems, longer remains steadfastly loyal to us, though it entered into relations of confidence with us, but a large part even of this people is reported to be disaffected, succumbing to the passion for change which all men crave.

[3] οἱ δὲ τέως ἐπιστρατοπεδεύοντες ἑτέροις, νῦν αὐτοὶ τειχήρεις [p. 338] μένοντες καθήμεθα, γῆν τ' ἄσπορον ἀφεικότες καὶ αὐλὰς διαρπαζομένας ὀρῶντες λείαν τ' ἀπελαυνομένην καὶ θεράποντας αὐτομολοῦντας καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὃ τι χρησόμεθα τοῖς κακοῖς. καὶ ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἔτι διαλλαγήσεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζομεν τὸ δημοτικόν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον εἰδότες ἐνὶ καταλύσασθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν στάσιν;

[3] And we who used to besiege the cities of others now ourselves sit at home, pent within our walls, having left our lands unsown and seeing our farm-

houses plundered, our cattle driven off as booty, and our slaves deserting, without knowing how to deal with these misfortunes. While we suffer all this, do we still hope that the plebeians will become reconciled to us, even though we know that it is in our own power to put an end to the sedition by a single decree?

[1] οὕτω δὲ κακῶς ἔχόντων ἡμῖν τῶν ὑπαιθρίων οὐδὲ τὰ ἐντὸς τείχους δεινὰ ἦττον ἔστι φοβερά. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάσμεθα ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὔτε πλήθει αὐτοὶ ἀποχρῶντές ἐσμεν ὡς πρὸς τοσαῦτα πολέμιων ἔθνη, τοῦ δ' ὀλίγου καὶ οὐκ ἀξιωμαχοῦ πληρώματος τὸ πλεῖον ἔστι δημοτικόν, θῆτες καὶ πελάται καὶ χειρώνακτες, οὐ πάνυ βέβαιοι τεταραγμένης ἀριστοκρατίας φύλακες. αἱ τε νῦν αὐτομολίαι συνεχεῖς αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφροσθηκότας γινόμεναι,

[51.1] “While our affairs in the open country are in this unhappy state, the situation within the walls is no less terrible. For we have neither provided ourselves with allies well in advance, as if we expected to be besieged, nor are we, unaided, sufficiently numerous to resist so many hostile nations; and even of this small and inadequate army the greater part consists of plebeians — labourers, clients, and artisans — not altogether trustworthy guardians for a tottering aristocracy. Moreover, the continual desertion of these now to the seceders has rendered all the rest liable to suspicion.

[2] τὸ σὺμπαν ὑποπτον εἶναι παρεσκευάκασιν. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συγκομιδὴ κρατουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων τῆς γῆς ἀδύνατος οὔσα φοβεῖ τε ἤδη λιμόν, ἐπειδάν τ' ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ γενώμεθα ἔτι μᾶλλον φοβήσεται, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ μηδὲνα χρόνον ἡμᾶς εὐσταθεῖν ταῖς διανοίαις ἔων πόλεμος. ἅπαντα δ' ὑπερβάλλει τὰ δεινὰ γύναια τῶν ἀποστατῶν καὶ παῖδια νήπια καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς, ἐν ἐσθῇσιν [p. 339] ἐλβεῖναι καὶ σχήμασι πενθίμοις περιφθειρόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς κλαίοντες, ἰκετεύοντες, ἀπτόμενοι δεξιᾶς ἐκάστου καὶ γονάτων, ἀπολοφύρομενοι τὴν κατέχουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον καθέξουσιν ἐρημίαν, δεινὴ καὶ ἀνυπομόνητος ὄψις.

[2] But more than all these things, the impossibility of bringing in provisions while the country is in the power of the enemy already terrifies us, and when we are once in actual want, will terrify us still more; and, apart from this, the war allows not a moment's peace of mind. Yet surpassing all these calamities are the wretched wives, the infant children, and aged parents of the seceders wandering to and fro in the Forum and through every street, in pitiful garb and postures of mourning, weeping, supplicating, clinging to the hands and knees of everyone and bewailing the forlorn condition that afflicts them now and will according to them even more — a dreadful and intolerable sight!

[3] οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἔστιν οὕτως ὠμὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὅς οὐκ ἀνατρέπεται τὴν ψυχὴν ὁρῶν ταῦτα καὶ πάσχει τι πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων τύχας. ὥστ' εἰ

μέλλοιμεν ἀσπείστως πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἔχειν, ἀπαλλακτέον ἡμῖν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σώματα ἐκποδῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἄχρηστα εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐσόμενα, τὰ δ' ὡς οὐ διαμενοῦντα βεβαίως φίλα. ἀπελαυνομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων τις ἢ φυλάξουσα τὴν πόλιν ἔτι λειφθήσεται δυνάμεις; ἢ τίνοι πιστεῦσαντες ἐπικουρίᾳ τὰ δεινὰ τολμήσομεν ὑπομένειν; ἢ μέντοι οἰκεία ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ μόνη βέβαιος ἐλπίς, ἢ τῶν πατρικίων ἀκμή, βραχεῖά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μέγα φρονεῖν. τι οὖν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπομένειν εἰσηγούμενοι ληροῦσι καὶ φενακίζουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ φανερώς παραινοῦσιν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ διχα πόνου παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν;

[3] No one, surely, is of so cruel a nature as not to have his heart touched at seeing these things, or to feel some sympathy for the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures. So that, if we are not going to trust the good faith of the plebeians, we shall have to get rid of these persons also, since some of them will be of no use while we are under siege and the others cannot be relied on to remain friendly. But when these too are driven away, what forces will be left to defend the city? And depending upon what assistance shall we dare to encounter these perils? Yet as for our natural refuge and our only trustworthy hope, the patrician youth, they are few, as you see, and it behooves us not to let our spirits rise because of them. Why, then, do those who propose that we submit to war indulge in nonsense and deceive us, instead of openly advising us to deliver up the city at once to our enemies without bloodshed and without trouble?

[1] ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔγωγε τετύφωμαι ταῦτα λέγων καὶ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἀξιῶ δεδιέναι: τῇ πόλει δ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἤδη που κινδυνεύεται ἢ μεταβολή, πρᾶγμα οὐ χαλεπὸν, κατὰ πολλὴν τ' ἂν ἡμῖν εὐπέτειαν ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ τόπου θῆτά τε καὶ πελάτην ὄχλον εἰσδεῖξασθαι [p. 340] γένοιτο. τουτὶ γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ πολλοὶ θρυλοῦσι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῷ δημοτικῷ, καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι.

[52.1] “But perhaps I myself am infatuated when I speak thus, and am asking you to fear things that are not formidable. The commonwealth is very likely threatened with no other danger as yet than a change of inhabitants, a matter of no serious consequence; and it would be very easy for us to receive into the body politic a multitude of labourers and clients from every nation and place.

[2] εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς ἤκουσιν εὐθειας, ὥστε μὴ γνώμας εἰσηγεῖσθαι σωτηρίους, ἀλλ' εὐχὰς λέγειν ἀδυνάτους, οὓς ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, ποία μὲν ἡμῖν χρόνου δοθήσεται περιουσία περὶ ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα γινομένοις οὕτως ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῇ πόλει τῶν ἐχθρῶν; ποία δὲ συγγνώμη τῷ χρονισμῷ καὶ τῇ μελλήσει τῶν ἐλευσομένων συμμάχων, ἐν οὗ χρονίζουσιν οὐδὲ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς; τίς δ' ὁ παρέξων τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀνὴρ ἢ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν συνάξων ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ παραπέμψων δεῦρο τὴν ἐπικουρίαν; ἔτι δὲ δῆ, οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας ἐκλείποντες καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετανασθισόμενοι τίνες

ἔσονται; πότερον οἱ οἰκήσεις τε καὶ ἐφέστια καὶ βίους καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις διὰ πατέρων ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ δόξαν οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἔχοντες; καὶ τις ἂν ὑπομείνειε τὰ οἰκεῖα παραλιπὼν ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων γλίσχρως μεταλαβεῖν κακῶν; οὐ γὰρ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς μεταληψόμενοι δεῦρο ἥξουσιν, ἀλλὰ κινδύνων καὶ πολέμου, ἐξ ὧν ἄδηλον,

[2] For this is the plan which many of the opponents of the plebeians keep prating of, and these by no means the most unimportant of them; to such a pitch of folly, indeed, have some already come, that instead of expressing salutary opinions they utter wishes impossible of realization. But I should like to ask these men: What superabundance of time will be afforded us to carry out these plans when the enemy is so near the city? What allowance will be made for the tarrying and delay of our auxiliaries who are to come, though we are in the midst of perils that do not tarry or delay? What man or what god will grant us security and will without molestation get together reinforcements from every quarter and conduct them hither? Besides, who are the people who will leave their own countries and remove to us? Are they such as have habitations, families, fortunes, and the respect of their fellow-citizens because of the distinction of their ancestors or a reputation for their own merit? And yet who would consent to leave behind his own blessings in order to share ignominiously the misfortunes of others? For they will come hither to share, not in peace and luxury, but in dangers and war, the successful issue of which cannot be foreseen.

[3] εἰ κατορθωθήσεται τὸ τέλος. ἢ τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ ἀνέστιον ἐπαξόμεθα πλῆθος, οἷον καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἀπελαθὲν ἦν, δηλονότι καὶ διὰ χρέα καὶ καταδίκας καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους ταύταις συμφορὰς ἀγαπητῶς ὅποι [p. 341] ἂν τύχη μεθιδρυσόμενον; ὃ κἂν τᾶλλα χρηστὸν ἦ καὶ μέτριον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ χαρισώμεθα, διὰ τοῦτο γέ τοι τὸ μῆτε οἰκεῖον εἶναι μῆτε ὁμοδιαίτον, μῆτε ἐθισμῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ἔσεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἔμπειρον, μακρῷ δὴ πού καὶ τῷ παντὶ κάκιον ἂν εἴη τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν.

[3] Or shall we bring in a multitude of homeless plebeians, like those driven from hence, who because of debts, judgments, and other like misfortunes will gladly remove to any place that may offer? But these, even though otherwise of a good and modest disposition — to concede them this much — yet just because of their being neither native born nor of like habits with us, and because they will not be acquainted with our customs, laws, and training, would no doubt be far, nay infinitely, worse than our own plebeians.

[1] τῷ μὲν τ' ἐπιχωρίῳ καὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων οἰκείων ὀμηρὰ ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ νῆ Δία τοῦ θρέψαντος αὐτοῦς ἐδάφους ὃ πόθος, ἀναγκαῖος ὦν ἅπασι καὶ οὐκ ἐξαιρετός; ὃ δ' ἐπικλητός γε οὗτοσι καὶ ἐπίσκηνος ὄχλος, εἰ γένοιτο ἡμῖν σύνοικος, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ τούτων ἐνθάδε ὄντος, ὑπὲρ τίνος ἂν ἀξιώσειε κινδυνεύειν ἀγαθοῦ, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῷ γῆς τε ὑπόσχοιτο μέρη δώσειν καὶ

πόλεως μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ τινὰ τοὺς νῦν κυρίους αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος, ὧν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν τοῖς πολλάκις ἀγωνισαμένοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολίταις μεταδιδόναι; καὶ ἴσως ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτοις ἀρκεσθεῖη δοθεῖσι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀξιώσειε μεταλαμβάνειν.

[53.1] “The natives have here their wives, children, parents, and many others that are dear to them, to serve as pledges; yes, and there is their fondness for the soil that reared them, a passion that is implanted in all men and not to be eradicated; but as for this multitude which we propose to invite here, this people without roof or home, if they should take up their abode with us having none of these pledges here, in defence of what blessing would they care to face dangers, unless one were to promise to give them portions land and some part or other of the city, after first dispossessing the present owners — things we refuse to grant to our own citizens who have often fought in their defence? And possibly they might not be content with even these grants alone, but would also insist upon an equal share of honours, of magistracies, and of all the other advantages with the patricians.

[2] οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέφομεν ἕκαστα τῶν αἰτουμένων, ἐχθροῖς τοῖς μὴ τυγχάνουσι χρησόμεθα; εἰ δὲ συγχωρήσαιμεν, [p. 342] ἡ πατρίς ἡμῖν οἰχήσεται καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καταλυομένη. καὶ οὐ προστίθημι ἔνταῦθα, ὅτι πολεμεῖν ἐπιτηδεῖων σωμάτων ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ, οὐ γεωργῶν οὐδὲ θητῶν οὐδὲ ἐμπόρων οὐδὲ τῶν περὶ τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας ἀσχολουμένων, οὓς ἅμα δεήσει μανθάνειν τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ πείραν αὐτῶν διδόναι: χαλεπὴ δὲ πείρα τῶν μὴ ἐν ἔθει: ἀνάγκη δὲ τοιούτους εἶναι τοὺς σύγκλυδας καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους μετανισταμένους.

[2] If, therefore, we do not grant them every one of their demands, shall we not have them as our enemies when they fail to obtain what they ask? And if we grant their demands, our country and our constitution will be lost, destroyed by our own hands. I do not add here that what we need at the present time is men trained to war, men of disciplined bodies; not husbandmen, labourers, merchants, or followers of menial trades, who will be obliged to learn military discipline and to give proof of their skill at one and the same time (and skill in any unwonted activity is difficult), such as a promiscuous collection of men resorting hither from every nation is bound to be.

[3] στρατιωτικὴν γὰρ οὔτε ὁρῶ συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν συνεστώσαν οὔτ', εἰ φανεῖη τις ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου, παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν παραδέξασθαι αὐτὴν τοῖς τείχεσι προχείρως, πολλὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστάμενος πόλεις ταῖς εἰσαχθείσαις ἐπὶ φυλακῇ στρατιαῖς δεδουλωμένας.

[3] As for a military alliance, I neither see any formed to assist us, nor, if any allies unexpectedly appeared, should I advise you to admit them inconsiderately within your walls, since I know that many a city has been

enslaved by troops introduced to garrison it.

[1] ἐνθυμούμενοι τε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἕτερα ἡμῖν εἴρηται πρότερον, ἔτι δὲ τῶν παρακαλούντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, ὅτι οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν μόνοις ἢ πρώτοις πενία πρὸς πλοῦτον ἐστασίασε καὶ ταπεινότης πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπάσαις ὡς εἶπεῖν καὶ μικραῖς καὶ μεγάλαις πόλεσι πολέμιον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ πλείονος τοῦ λειοτέρου καθίσταται: ἐν αἷς οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ κοινοῦ μετρίασαντες μὲν ἔσωσαν τὰς πατρίδας, αὐθαδεῖα δὲ χρησάμενοι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διώλεσαν:

[54.1] “When you consider these things as well as those that I have mentioned earlier, and recall, further, the considerations which encourage you to make the accommodation, namely, that we are not the only people, nor the first, among whom poverty has raised sedition against wealth, and lowliness against eminence, but that in nearly all states, both great and small, the lower class is generally hostile to the upper (and in all these states the men in power, when they have shown moderation, have saved their countries, but when they have acted arrogantly, have lost not only their goods, but their lives as well);

[2] καὶ ὅτι πᾶν χρῆμα, ὃ ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν σύνθετον ᾖ, νοσεῖν πέφυκε κατὰ τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μορίων, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ὡς οὔτε [p. 343] ἀνθρωπείου σώματος αἰεὶ τὸ κάμνον ἀποτεμεῖν χρή μέρος: αἰσχροῦ τε γὰρ ἢ ὄψις ἂν γίνοιτο τοῦ λειπομένου καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διαρκής: οὔτε πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τὴν νοσοῦσαν ἐξελαύνειν μοῖραν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν φθάνοι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων μερῶν τὸ σύμπαν ἀπολόμενον σὺν χρόνῳ: τῆς τ' ἀνάγκης ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅσον τὸ κράτος, ᾧ καὶ θεοὶ εἴκουσι μόνῃ, μὴ χαλεπαίνετε πρὸς τὰς τύχας, μηδ' ὡς ἀπάντων ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν ἐσομένων αὐθαδεῖας ἐμπιμπλασθε καὶ ἀμαθίας, ἀλλ' ἐπικλᾶσθητε καὶ εἴξατε παραδείγμασι χρησάμενοι τῆς εὐβουλίας μὴ τοῖς ὀθνείοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοις.

[2] and when you remember that everything that is composed of many parts is generally affected with a disorder in some one of them, and, furthermore, that neither the ailing part of a human body ought always to be lopped off (for that would be to render the appearance of the rest ugly and its term of life brief) nor the disordered part of a civil community to be driven out (since that would be the quickest way of destroying the whole in time through the loss of its separate parts); and when you consider also how great is the power of necessity, the one thing to which even the gods yield, be not vexed at your misfortunes nor allow yourselves to be filled with arrogance and folly, as if everything were going to succeed according to our wishes, but relent and yield, deriving examples of prudence, not from the actions of others, but from our own.

[1] καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἓνα καὶ πόλιν ὅλην ἐπὶ ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων φιλοτιμεῖσθαι χρή, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ὅπως ὁμολογούμεναι ταύταις ἔσσονται

σκοπεῖν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν ἤδη πολλοὺς πολεμίους, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἡδικήθητε, ὑποχειρίους λαβόντες, οὐτ' ἀνελεῖν οὐτ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβουλήθητε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκους καὶ κλήρους αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοτε, καὶ πατρίδας οἰκεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἔφυσαν, εἰάσατε, ἰσοψήφοις τ' εἶναι καὶ πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἤδη πρὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσασθε.

[55.1] “For the individual man and the state as a whole ought to emulate the most illustrious of their own actions and to consider how all their any other actions may correspond with these. Thus you yourselves, when in times past you subdued many of your enemies at whose hands you had suffered the greatest injuries, desired neither to destroy them nor to dispossess them of what was theirs, but restored their houses and lands to them and permitted them to live in the countries that had given them birth, and actually granted to some of them the privilege both of being your fellow-citizens and of exercising equal rights of suffrage.

[2] τοῦτου δ' ἔτι θαυμασιώτερον ἔργον ὑμῶν ἔχω λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς μεγάλα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμαρτόντας ἀφήκατε τῶν τιμωριῶν, εἰς αὐτοὺς. μόνους ἀποσκήψαντες τοὺς αἰτίους τὴν ὀργήν, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ τε [p. 344] Ἀντέμνας κληρουχήσαντες καὶ Κρουστομέρειαν καὶ Μεδύλλειαν καὶ Φιδήνην καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. τί γὰρ δεῖ πάντας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι νυνί, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἐκ πολιορκίας κρατηθέντας μετρίως ἐνουθετήσατε καὶ πολιτικῶς; καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡ κινδυνὸς τις διὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν ἢ φόγος, ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖται τε ὑμῶν τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ οὐδὲν ἡλάττωται τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς.

[2] But I have yet a more wonderful act of yours to relate, which is, that you have permitted many even of your own fellow-citizens who commit grievous offences against you to go unpunished, while you have visited your resentment solely upon those who were guilty. Of this number were the colonies sent out to Antemnae, Crustumerium, Medullia, Fidenae, and to many other places. But why should I now enumerate all those whom, after you had taken their towns by storm, you admonished mildly and as became fellow-citizens? And so far has the commonwealth been from incurring either danger or censure from this course, that your clemency is applauded and at the same time your security is not at all diminished.

[3] ἔπειτα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων φειδόμενοι τοῖς φίλοις πολεμήσετε, καὶ οἱ τὰ ὑποχείρια γενόμενα μεθιέντες ἀζήμια τοὺς συγκατακτησαμένους ὑμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ζημιώσετε, πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτῶν ὑμῶν παρέχοντες ἅπασιν τοῖς δεομένοις ἀσφαλῆ καταφυγὴν, ταύτης ἀπελαύνειν ὑπομενεῖτε τοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς, οἷς καὶ συνετράφητε καὶ συνεπαιδεύθητε καὶ πολλῶν ἐκοινωνήσατε κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους; οὐκ, ἐὰν τά γε δίκαια καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἔθεσι βούλησθε πράττειν καὶ χωρὶς ὀργῆς κρίνητε τὸ συμφέρον.

[3] After that will you, who spare your enemies, make war upon your friends? Will you, who permit the conquered to go unpunished, punish those who aided you in acquiring your dominion? Will you, who offer your own city as a safe refuge for all who stand in need of it, bring yourselves to drive out of that city the natives with whom you have been reared and educated and with whom you have shared many experiences both evil and good in peace as well as in war? No, not if you desire to act with justice and in conformity with your traditions, and if without passion you judge what is to your interest.

[1] ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δεῖ καταλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν, εἴποι τις ἄν, οὐχ ἥττον ἡμεῖς ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ πολλὴν παρεσχήμεθα προθυμίαν: πῶς δ' ἂν καταλυσαιμεθ' αὐτήν, τοῦτο πειρῶ λέγειν. ὁρᾷς γάρ, ὅση περὶ τὸν δῆμόν ἐστιν αὐθάδεια, ὃς οὔτε πέμπει πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ διαλύσεων αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν οὔτε τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἀποκρίνεται πολιτικὰς καὶ φιланθρώπους ἀποκρίσεις, ἀλλ' ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ εἰκάσαι ῥάδιον [p. 345] οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι βούλεται. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα τί παραινῶ

[56.1] “But, someone may say, we know as well as you that the sedition ought to be appeased, and we have laboured earnestly to that end. Undertake not to tell us *how* we may appease it. For you see how headstrong the people are grown: though they themselves are the offenders, they neither send to us to treat of an accommodation nor give to the men we have sent to them answers that are those of fellow-citizens or considerate, but indulge in haughtiness and threats, so that it is not easy to guess what they want. Hear, then, in what manner I advise you to act now in this situation.

[2] νῦν πράττειν, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐγὼ τὸν δῆμον οὕτ' ἀδιαλλάκτως οἶμαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν οὔτε δράσειν τι, ὣν ἀπειλεῖ, τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδακέναι περὶ τὰς διαλύσεις οἶμαι. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν τιμιωτάτην κατοικοῦμεν καὶ βίους καὶ οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς καὶ πάντα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐξουσίαις ἔχομεν: ὁ δ' ἄπολις καὶ ἀνέστιός ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ στέρεται σωμάτων βίου τε τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ εὐπορεῖ.

[2] For my part, I do not believe either that the people are irreconcilable toward us or that they will carry out any of their threats. My reason is that their actions do not agree with their words, and I judge that they are far more in earnest than we about the accommodation. For while we continue to live in our own country, which is most dear to us, and have in our own power our fortunes, our houses, our families, and everything that means most to us, they are without country or habitation, are bereft of their dearest relations, and lack for their daily bread.

[3] τίνος οὖν χάριν, εἴ τις ἔροίτο με, τὰς προκλήσεις οὐ δέχεται τὰς ἡμετέρας ὅμως κακοπαθῶν αὐτὸς τε οὐδὲν ἐπιπρεσβεύεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτι νῆ Δία,

φαῖν ἄν, ἄχρι τοῦδε λόγων ἀκούει παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὀρᾷ γινόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὔτε φιλάνθρωπον οὔτε μέτριον, ἐξηπατῆσθαι τε οἴεται πολλάκις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὑπισχνουμένων αἰεὶ τινα πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσεσθαι, μηδὲν δὲ προνοουμένων. πρεσβείας δὲ πέμπειν οὐχ ὑπομένει διὰ τοῦς ἐνθάδε κατηγορεῖν εἰωθότας αὐτοῦ δεδοικῶς τε μὴ τινος, ὧν ἄξιοί, διαμάρτη.

[3] If anyone should ask me for what reason, then, the people even under these miseries do not accept our invitations and why they do not on their own initiative send to treat with us, I should answer: Because, most assuredly, they thus far hear words from the senate, but see no act of kindness or moderation follow the words; and they feel that they have been often deceived by us, in that we are always promising to take some measures of relief for them, but taking none. They are unwilling to send envoys to us because of those who are accustomed to inveigh against them here and because they fear they may fail of some of their demands.

[4] τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοήτου περὶ αὐτὸν εἴη πάθος: καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ τινες, οἷς τὸ δύσερι τοῦτο καὶ φιλόνεικον ἔνεστιν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ οὐκ ἄξιοῦσιν ἡττᾶσθαι [p. 346] τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς αἰεὶ ζητοῦσι περιεῖναι τρόπου καὶ μὴ πρότερον χαρίζεσθαι τι, ἢ λαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον εὔπασχειν ὑποχείριον. ἐννοούμενος δὴ ταῦτα οἶμαι δεῖν πρεσβείαν ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς τοῦς δημοτικούς ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα πιστευομένων:

[4] Perhaps too they may be possessed by some feeling of senseless rivalry. And no wonder; since there are some even among us ourselves in whom this quarrelsome and contentious spirit resides, both in private and in public matters, men who cannot bear to be overcome by their adversaries, but are always seeking by any means whatever to get the better of them and never to confer a favour before they have subdued those who are to have the benefit of it.

[5] τοὺς δ' ἀποσταλῆσομένους ἄνδρας αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι παραινῶ, διαλυσομένους αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαίῳσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τῇ βουλῇ προσαναφέροντας: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἴσονται τοῦτο. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑπεροπτικοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ βαρεῖς μαθόντες, ὅτι ἀληθῶς σπουδάχετε περὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ εἰς ἐπεικεστέρας συγκαθήσουσιν αἰρέσεις, οὐδὲν ἄξιοῦντες οὔτε τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων. τὸ γὰρ ἡρεθισμένον ἅπαν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ταπεινὸν ἦ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπερηφανοῦντας ἀγριαίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἡμεροῦσθαι.

[5] In view of these considerations I think an embassy should be sent to the plebeians consisting of persons in whom they have the greatest confidence; and I advise that those to be sent be invested with full power to put an end to the sedition upon such terms as they themselves shall think fit, without again

referring anything to the senate. For if the plebeians, who now seem to be scornful and sullen, shall become aware of this, learning that you are in earnest regarding the accommodation, they will condescend to more moderate conditions and will demand nothing of us that is either dishonourable or impossible. For all men, when inflamed with anger, particularly those of humble condition, are wont to be enraged against those who treat them haughtily, but to be mild toward those who court their favour.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Μενηνίου θροῦς πολὺς ἐνέπεσε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ διελάλουν ἕκαστοι κατὰ συμμορίας, οἱ μὲν οἰκείως διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους πᾶσαν εἰσφέρεισθαι προθυμίαν, ὅπως κατὰξουσιν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐπειδὴ προσεilhέφσαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς τότε γνώμης ἀνδρῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον· οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοὶ [p. 347] καὶ περὶ παντὸς θέλοντες μὴ κινεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρίου κόσμου τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποροῦντες, ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσι, μεταθέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τὰς προαιρέσεις, μένειν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὐ δυνάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἀκέραιοι τε καὶ τῶν στάσεων οὐδετέρᾳ συμφιλονεικοῦντες εἰρήνην ἄγειν βουλόμενοι καὶ ὅπως μὴ τειχίρεις ἔσονται σκοπεῖν ἀξιοῦντες.

[57.1] When Menenius had thus spoken, a great murmuring broke out in the senate and the members consulted together, each with their own groups. Those who were favourably disposed toward the plebeians exhorted one another to devote every energy toward bringing the people back to their country, now that they had got as the champion of their present view the most distinguished man of the aristocratic party. The aristocrats, in turn, who above everything wished no change to be made in the traditional form of government, were at a loss how to act in the present juncture, being unwilling to change their principles and yet unable to persist in their resolutions. And those, again, who were neutral and sided with neither of the parties in their strife, desired to see peace prevail and demanded that the senate should consider means to prevent the city from being besieged.

[2] σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπαινέσας τὸν Μενήνιον τῆς γενναιότητος, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀξιώσας ὁμοίους ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι κηδεμόνας λέγοντάς τε ὅσα φρονοῦσι μετὰ παρρησίας καὶ πράττοντας δίχα ὅκνου τὰ δόξαντα, δεύτερον ἐκάλει τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξ ὀνόματος, ἀξίων γνώμην ἀποφύνασθαι, Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον ἀδελφὸν τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν, ἄνδρα παρ' ὄντιναοῦν τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν τῷ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένον.

[2] When silence reigned, the elder of the consuls praised Menenius for his magnanimity and asked the rest to show themselves equally loyal defenders of the state, not only by expressing their opinions frankly, but also by carrying out their resolutions without fear; and then he called upon a second senator by name in the same manner to deliver his opinion. This was Manius Valerius, a

brother of the Valerius who had assisted in delivering his country from the kings, a man acceptable to the people beyond any other member of the aristocratic party.

[1] ὃς ἀναστὰς πρῶτον ὑπεμύνησκε τὴν βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων πολιτευμάτων, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ προλέγοντος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι δεινὰ δι' ὀλιγωρίας ἐποίησαντο τοὺς λόγους: ἔπειτα ἤξιον τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς μὴ περὶ τῶν μετρίων νῦν ζητεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὴν στάσιν οὐκ εἶασαν ἐξαίρεθῆναι, ἥνικα μικρὰ ἦν ἔτι τῇ πόλει τὰ διαφέροντα, νῦν γέ τοι σκοπεῖν, ὅπως διὰ ταχέων παύσεται καὶ μὴ [p. 348] προελθοῦσα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσει τάχα μὲν ἀνίατος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δυσίατος καὶ πολλῶν αἰτία σφίσι γενομένη κακῶν: τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπέφαιναν ἐσομένην τῇ προτέρᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἵκαζε συμβῆσεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀπαλλαγὴν μόνον τῶν χρεῶν αἰτούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθείας δεῖσεσθαι τινος ἴσως, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀσφαλῆς διατελέσει:

[58.1] He, rising up, first called the attention of the senate to the policies he himself had pursued and reminded them that, though he had often foretold the dangers they would incur, they had made light of his predictions. He then requested that those who opposed the accommodation should not at this time inquire into the reasonableness of the terms, but, since they had been unwilling to allow the sedition to be appeased while the disputes in the state were still unimportant, that they would now at least consider by what means it might be speedily terminated and might not, by going on still further, insensibly become perhaps incurable, or in any case hard to be cured, and the cause of great evils to them. He told them that the demands of the plebeians would no longer be the same as before, and he did not imagine that the people would enter into a compact upon the same terms, asking merely for an abolition of their debts, but that they would possibly call for some assistance also, by which they might for the future live in safety.

[2] καταελύσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' οὗ παρῆλθεν ἡ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀρχὴ τὸν φύλακα τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ νόμον, ὃς οὔτε ἀποκτείνειν πολίτην ἄκριτον οὐδένα συνεχῶρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, οὐδέ γε τοὺς παρὰ τῇ κρίσει ἐλαττουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων δημοτικὸς παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς καταδικασαμένοις, ἔφειν δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐδίδου μεταφέρειν τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὃ τι ἂν ὁ δῆμος γνῶ, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον: ἀφηρηθῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημοτικῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσαν, ἧς ἐν τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις ἦσαν κύριοι, ὅπου γε καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θρίαμβον οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτοῖς εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρὶ παρ' ὄντιναοῦν ἄλλον ἐπιτηδεῖω ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς, Ποπλίῳ Σερουιλίῳ

[2] For since the institution of the dictatorship, he said, the law that safeguarded their liberty had been abolished, the law which allowed no citizen to be put to death by the consuls without a trial, nor any of the plebeians who had been tried and condemned by the patricians, to be delivered up to those

who had condemned them, but granted to those who desired it the right of appealing the decisions from the patricians to the people, and that the judgment of the people should be final. He added that almost all the other privileges enjoyed in former times by the plebeians had been taken away, since they had been unable to obtain from the senate even the usual military triumph for Publius Servilius Priscus, who had deserved this honour more than any other man.

[3] Πρίσκῳ. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκός τι πάσχοντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀθυμεῖν καὶ πονηρὰς ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐλπίδας, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε ὑπάτῳ οὔτε δικτάτορι κήδεσθαι αὐτῶν βουλευμένοις ἐξεγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπήλαυσέ τις αὐτῶν ὕβρεως καὶ ἀτιμίας διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν [p. 349] σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν. ταῦτα δ' ἀπειργάσθαι συγκύψαντας οὐ τοὺς χαριεστάτους τῶν πατρικίων, ὕβριστὰς δὲ τινὰς καὶ πλεονέκτας περὶ χρηματισμὸν ἄδικον δεινῶς ἐσπουδακότας, οἱ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις δανεισθέν τόκοις πολλὰ καταδουλωσάμενοι πολιτῶν σώματα, τούτοις τ' ὡμὰς καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ἀνάγκας προσφέροντες, ἀλλότριον ἐποίησαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικόν, ἑταιρίαν τε συστησάμενοι καὶ ταύτης ἀναδείξαντες Ἀππίον Κλαύδιον ἡγεμόνα, μισόδημον ἄνδρα καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν, δι' ἐκείνου πάντα φύρουσι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως. οἷς εἰ μὴ τὸ σωφρονοῦν μέρος τῆς βουλῆς ἐμποδῶν στήσεται, κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τινος καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν πόλιν. τελευτῶν δ' ἀπεφήνατο συνδοκεῖν τῇ Μενηγίου χρῆσθαι γνώμῃ, καὶ τὴν πρεσβειαν ἡξίου πέμπειν διὰ ταχέων: τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἀφικομένους πειρᾶσθαι μὲν ὥς βούλονται καταλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοίη τις αὐτοῖς, ἃ βούλονται, δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα.

[3] At this, he said, most of the people were distressed, as was to be expected, and entertained slender hopes of their security, since neither a consul nor a dictator had been able, even when they wished, to take care of their interests, but the zeal and care they showed for the people had actually gained for some of them abuse and ignominy. He declared that these things had been brought about by plotting, not on the part of the more cultivated men among the patricians, but on the part of some insolent and avaricious men desperately eager for unjust gain, who, having advanced a large amount of money at a high rate of interest and made slaves of many of their fellow-citizens, had, by treating these with cruel and arrogant harshness, alienated the whole body of the plebeians from the aristocracy, and having formed a faction and place at the head of it Appius Claudius, an enemy of the people and a champion of oligarchy, were through him throwing all the affairs of the commonwealth into confusion; and he declared that if the sober part of the senate did not oppose these men, the state was in danger of being enslaved and destroyed. He ended by saying that he concurred in the opinion of Menenius, and asked that the envoys might be sent immediately, and that upon arriving they should endeavour to appease the sedition upon such terms as they desired, but if these were not granted, they should accept such as were offered.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη κληθεὶς Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς ἐναντιουμένης τῷ δήμῳ στάσεως ἡγεμὼν ἀνὴρ μέγα φρονῶν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῦτ’ οὐκ ἄνευ δικαίας πάσχων αἰτίας· ὁ τε γὰρ ἴδιος αὐτοῦ βίος ὁ καθ’ ἡμέραν σώφρων καὶ σεμνὸς ἦν, ἣ τε προαίρεσις τῶν πολιτευμάτων εὐγενὴς καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα σώζουσα τῆς [p. 350] ἀριστοκρατίας· ὃς ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν τὴν Οὐαλερίου δημηγορίαν τοιοῦτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις:

[59.1] After him, Appius Claudius, who was leader of the faction that opposed the people, being called upon to express his opinion, rose up, a man who set a great value upon himself and not without just cause; for his private life was sober and dignified, while his political principles were noble and calculated to preserve the dignity of the aristocracy. He, taking as his starting point the speech of Valerius, spoke as follows:

[2] ἐν ἐλάττονι μὲν αἰτία ἂν Οὐαλέριος ἦν, εἰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφύνατο μόνην, τῶν δὲ τάναντία ἐγνωκότων μὴ κατηγορεῖ: περιῆν γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ κακῶν. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα συμβουλεύειν, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν δουλεύσομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων αὐτῷ καθήσματο κάμοῦ ἀψιμάχως ἐμνήσθη, πολλὴν ἀνάγκην ὀρῶ κάμοι περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν καὶ πρῶτον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς κατ’ ἑμαυτοῦ διαβολάς. ὠνείδισται γὰρ μοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτήδευμα οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτ’ εὐπρεπές, ὥς ἀπὸ παντὸς χρηματίζεσθαι προήρημαι τρόπου καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων ἀφῆρημαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ὥς ἡ ἀπόστασις τοῦ δήμου καὶ δι’ ἐμὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα γέγονεν: ὧν οὐδὲν ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν οὐδ’ ὑγιὲς ῥάδιον ὑμῖν μαθεῖν.

[2] “Valerius would have deserved less censure if he had merely expressed his own opinion, without inveighing against those who hold the opposite view, for in that case he would have had the advantage of not hearing an exposition of his own faults. However, since he has not been content with advising such a course as can end in nothing else than in making us slaves to the worst of the citizens, but has also attacked his opponents and had levelled some of his shafts at me, I find it quite necessary for me also to speak of these matters, and first to clear myself of the charges he has brought against me. For has reproached me with conduct neither seemly nor becoming to a citizen, charging that I have chosen to get money by every possible means and have deprived many of the poor of their liberty, and that the secession of the people took place chiefly because of me. Now it is an easy matter for you to learn that none of these allegations is true or well grounded.

[3] ἴθι γάρ, εἰπέ ὦ Οὐαλέριε, τινες εἰσὶν οὓς κατεδουλώσαμεν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χρέα; τίνες ἐν δεσμοῖς πολίτας ἔσχον ἢ νῦν ἔχω; τίς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὠμότητα ἢ φιλοχρηματίαν στέρεται τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τινὰ πολιτῶν καταδεδουλωθῆαι διὰ χρέος, ὥστε πολλοῖς πάνυ τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ προέμενος οὐδένα τῶν ἀποστερησάντων με πρόσθετον ἐποίησάμην οὐδὲ ἄτιμον, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσὶν

ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πάντες οἶδασί μοι χάριν φίλων τε καὶ [p. 351] πελατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐξετάζονται. καὶ οὐ λέγω ταῦτα κατηγορῶν ἐγὼ τῶν μὴ τὰ παραπλήσια ἐμοὶ πεπονηκότων οὐδ' εἴ τινες νόμῳ συγχωρούμενόν τι ἔδρασαν ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς οἶομαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς κατ' ἐμαντοῦ διαβολὰς ἀπολύομαι.

[3] For come, tell us, Valerius: Who are the people whom I have enslaved on account of their debts? Who are the citizens I have kept, or now keep, in prison? Which of the seceders is deprived of his country through my cruelty or avarice? Why, you can name none. For I am so far from having enslaved any one of the citizens for debt that, after advancing my own money to very great numbers, I have caused none of those who defrauded me to be either handed over to me or disfranchised, but all of them are free and all are grateful to me and are numbered among my closest friends and clients. I do not say this by way of accusing those who have not acted as I have, nor do I think any men guilty of wrong-doing because they have done what was permitted by law; I am merely attempting to clear myself of the accusations brought against me.

[1] ἃ δ' εἰς χαλεπότητα καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων προστασίαν ὠνειδισέ μοι, μισόδημόν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀποκαλῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας περιέχομαι, κοινὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστὶ κατηγορήματα, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε κρείττονες ὄντες ὑπὸ χειρόνων ἄρχεσθαι, οὐδ' ἦν παρελάβετε ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίστης τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτειῶν δημοκρατίας ἀφαιρεθῆναι.

[60.1] “As to my severity and my having acted as the patron of wicked men, with which he has reproached me, calling me an enemy of the people and a champion of oligarchy because I adhere to the aristocracy, these accusations apply equally to all those among you who, as men of superior worth, think it beneath you to be governed by your inferiors or to allow the form of government you have inherited from your ancestors to be overthrown by the worst of all constitutions, a democracy.

[2] οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ὀλιγαρχίαν ὄνομα θῇται τῇ τῶν κρατίστων ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ δὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος διαβληθὲν ἀφανισθῆσεται: ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλῷ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐπενέγκαιμεν ὀνειδος καὶ ἀληθέστερον, δημοκοπίαν καὶ τυραννικῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμίαν. οὐδενὶ γὰρ δὴ ἄδηλον, ὅτι πᾶς τύραννος ἐκ δημοκόλακος φύεται, καὶ ταχεῖα ὁδὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλομένοις ἢ διὰ τῶν κακίστων ἄγουσα πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας, οὓς θεραπεύων οὗτος διατετέλεκε καὶ

[2] For if this man sees fit to call the government of the best men an oligarchy, it does not therefore follow that the thing itself, because it is traduced by that appellation, will be destroyed. But we can bring a much juster and truer reproach against him, that of flattering the people and desiring tyrannical measures; for all the world knows that every tyrant springs from a flatterer of

the people and that the direct road for those who wish to enslave their country is that which leads to domination through the favour of the worst citizens — the very ones whom this man has ever courted and does not cease even to this day to court.

[3] οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος παύεται. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησαν οἱ φαῦλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ τηλικάῃτα ἐξαμαρτεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ φιλοπόλιδος [p. 352] τούτου ἐξηγέρθησαν, ὡς δὴ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐσόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν δίκην κρείττονα μοῖραν τῆς προτέρας ἔχοντες. μάθοιτε δ' ἂν, ὡς ἀληθὴ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγω, μνησθέντες, ὅτι δεδιττόμενος ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ πολέμου καὶ διαλλαγᾶς ἀναγκαιᾶς ἀποφαίνων ἅμα ἔφη καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀγαπήσουσιν οἱ πένητες ἀφεθέντες τῶν χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοήθειας δεήσονται τινος καὶ οὐκ ἀνέξονται ἔτι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἀρχόμενοι: τελευτῶν δ' ὑμᾶς ἡξίου στέργειν τὰ παρόντα καὶ συγχωρεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ δικαιοσύνη λαβεῖν, μὴ διακρίναντας μήτ' ἀπὸ καλῶν αἰσχροῦ μήτ' ἀπὸ δικαίων ἄδικα.

[3] For you know full well that these vile and low wretches would not have dared to commit such offences, had they not been urged on by this high and mighty man, this lover of his country, and made to believe that the act would be attended with no danger and that not only would they go unpunished, but their lot would even be improved by it. You will be convinced of the truth of what I say if you will recall that, while he was frightening you with a war and showing the necessity of an accommodation, he we are told you at the same time also that the poor would not be contented with an abolition of their debts, but would also call for some assistance, and would no longer submit to be governed by you as before. And in closing he exhorted you to acquiesce in the present state of affairs and to grant everything the people should think fit to demand as the conditions of their return, without distinguishing whether those demands were honourable or shameful, just or unjust.

[4] τοσαύτης ἄρα αὐθαδεῖας τὸ ἀνόητον οὗτος ἐμπέπληκε τῆς πόλεως ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος καὶ πάσας κεκαρπωμένος τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμὰς. ἄρ' ἦν σοι ἄξιον, Οὐαλέριε, καθ' ἐτέρων τὰ μὴ προσόντα ὄνειδη λέγειν τοιαύταις ὄντι κατηγορίαις ἐνόχῳ;

[4] With so much arrogance has the senseless multitude been inspired by this old man who has enjoyed every honour you could confer upon him. Did it, then, become you, Valerius, to utter against others the reproaches they have not deserved, when you yourself lie open to such accusations?

[1] καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου ῥηθείσας διαβολὰς ἀρκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα, ὑπὲρ δ' ὧν βουλευσόμενοι συνεληλύθατε δοκεῖ μοι δίκαιά τ' εἶναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν, οὐ μόνον ἃ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀπεφηνάμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐπιμένων ἀποφαίνομαι, μὴ συγχεῖν τὸν κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας, μηδὲ κινεῖν ἔθνη πατέρων ἀκίνητα, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖν ἐξ

ἀνθρώπων πιστὶν ἱερὸν χρῆμα, μεθ' ἧς ἅπανα πόλις [p. 353] οἰκεῖται ἀσφαλῶς, δῆμῳ τε μὴ εἴκειν ἀγνώμονι ἀδίκων ἔργων καὶ ἀθεμίτων χρῆζοντι:

[61.1] “As for the calamities which this man has uttered against me, what I have said suffices. But concerning the subject which you have met to discuss, it seems to me that what I not only proposed at first, but even now, continuing of the same opinion, still propose, was just, worthy of the commonwealth, and advantageous for yourselves, namely, not to disturb the form of our government nor to alter the unalterable customs of our ancestors, nor to banish from among men good faith, a sacred thing, through the possession of which every state dwells in security, nor to give way to a stupid populace which desires unjust and unlawful things.

[2] καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ὑποκατακλίνομαι τι τῆς γνώμης φόβῳ τῶν διαφόρων, οἳ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει δημοτικὸν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ συνιστάντες δεδίδτονται με, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἔρρωμαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ἀγανακτῶ τοῖς αἰτήμασι τοῦ δήμου διπλασίως: ὑμῶν τ' ὦ βουλή, τὸ παράλογον τῆς γνώμης τεθαύμακα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτῷ, ὅτε οὕτω φανερός ἦν πολέμιος, χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ κατακριμάτων ἀφέσεις αἰτουμένῳ, νῦν ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ πολεμίων δρᾶ, ταῦτ' εἰ συγχωρήσετε βουλευέσθε καὶ ὃ τι κἂν ἄλλο τι αὐτῷ δοκῇ: δόξει δὲ δήπου, καὶ πρῶτον ποιήσεται τῶν ἀξιομένων, ἰσότημον εἶναι καὶ

[2] And not only do I not retract any part of my opinion through fear of my adversaries, who endeavour to frighten me by rousing the plebeians in the city against me, but I am much more than ever confirmed in my resentment, and my indignation at the demands of the people is doubled. And I am surprised, senators, at the inconsistency of your judgment, in that, after refusing to grant to the people at their request an abolition of their debts and a discharge from the judgments against them before they were as yet openly your enemies, you now, when they are in arms and are committing acts of hostility, deliberate whether you will grant these demands and anything else they may think fit. They will think fit, of course, and will make it the first of their demands to have an equal share of honours with us and to enjoy the same privileges.

[3] τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μετέχειν. οὐκοῦν εἰς δημοκρατίαν περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα τὴν ἀμαθεστάτην, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτειῶν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀσύμφορον τοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν ἐτέρων; οὐκ, ἐάν γε σωφρονῇτε ὑμεῖς. ἢ πάντων ἂν εἴητε ἀφρονέστατοι, εἰ πρὸς ἐνὸς ἄρχεσθαι τυραννικοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι δῆμῳ τυραννίδι πολυκεφάλῳ νῦν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδώσετε, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ μετὰ χαρίτων αὐτῷ πείθοντι συγχωρήσετε ὑπὸ τ' ἀνάγκης κρατηθέντες καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἔξδν ἄλλο τι δρᾶν νῦν ἡμῖν παρὰ γνῶμην [p. 354]

[3] Will not the government then be transformed into a democracy, which of

all human constitutions, as I said, is the most senseless and the least expedient for you who presume to rule over others? It will not be, if you are in your right senses. Otherwise you would be the most foolish of all men if, after regarding it as intolerable to be governed by one tyrant, you should now deliver yourselves up to the populace, a many-headed tyranny, and grant these things to them, not as a gracious concession to their pleading, but constrained by necessity and, on the assumption that it is not in our power to do anything else now, yielding against your will.

[4] εἴξαντες. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον ἀντὶ τοῦ κολάζεσθαι ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν πλημμελήσῃ καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι δι’ αὐτὰ προσλάβῃ, πῶς δοκεῖτε αὐθαδὲς ἔσται καὶ ὑπερήφανον; μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὥς μετριάσει περὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις ὁ δῆμος, ἐὰν φανερόν αὐτῷ γένηται, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐψηφίσασθε οὕτως.

[4] And when this senseless multitude, instead of being punished for its offences, even obtains honours as a reward for those offences, how headstrong and arrogant do you think it will become? For do not encourage yourselves with the hope that the people will moderate their demands if it becomes known to them that you all concurred in this resolution.

[1] ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν τούτῳ Μενήνιος ἐψεύσθη τῆς δόξης, ἀνὴρ σώφρων, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπων τεκμαίρεται χρηστὰ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων. ἐγκρίσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος βαρὺς ὑπὸ τ’ αὐθαδείας, ἣ φιλεῖ περὶ τὸ κρατοῦν αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀφροσύνης, ἧς πλεῖστον ὄχλος μετέχει μέρος: καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, χρόνῳ γοῦν ὕστερον καὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ χρήματι, ὧν ἂν δεηθεῖς μὴ τύχῃ, τὰ ὅπλα λαβὼν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν σοβαρῶς ἐπιθήσεται. ὥστ’ εἰ τὰ πρῶτα συγχωρήσετε συμφέροντα εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἕτερόν τι χεῖρον εὐθύς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε καὶ αὐθις ἄλλο τούτου χαλεπώτερον, ὥς φόβῳ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ὑπακούσαντες, ἕως ἐκβάλωσιν ὑμᾶς τελευτῶντες τῆς πόλεως, ὥς ἐν πολλαῖς ἄλλαις καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν Συρακούσαις οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν πελατῶν ἐξηλάθησαν.

[62.1] “But in this matter Menenius, a prudent man who imputes good intentions to others judging them by himself, is very much mistaken. For they will urge you with an importunity grievous beyond all measure, encouraged both by arrogance, which tends always to accompany victory, and by folly, of which the multitude has so great a share. And if not at first, then certainly later, upon every occasion when their demands are not granted, they will take up arms and attack you violently in the same way as before. So that if you yield to their first demands as a matter of expediency, you will presently have something worse imposed upon you, and then something else still harsher than that, upon the supposition that your first concessions too flowed from fear, till at last they drive you out of the city, as has happened in many other places, and, most recently, at Syracuse, where the landowners were expelled by their clients.

[2] εἰ δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐναντιώσεσθε τοῖς αἰτήμασι, τί δὴ ποτ' οὐκ αὐτόθεν ἄρχεσθε ἐλεύθερα φρονήματα ἔχειν; κρεῖττον γὰρ ἂν' [p. 355] ἐλάττονος αἰτίας ὀρμηθέντας πρὶν ἢ βλαβῆναι τι ἀποδείξασθαι τὸ γενναῖον, ἢ πολλὰ ὑπομείναντας τότε ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ὅψε' ἄρξασθαι νοῦν ἔχειν. φοβείτω δ' ὑμῶν μηδὲνα μῆτε ὁ τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἀνασεισμὸς μῆτε ὁ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πόλεμος: μῆτε καταγινώσκετε τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης διασωσαί τὴν πόλιν.

[2] If, then, in your indignation in those circumstances you intend to oppose their demands, why do you not from this instant begin to assume the spirit of free men? For it is better the display your proud spirit on a slighter provocation to start with and before suffering any injury, than, after submitting to many injuries, than, after submitting to many injuries, to be indignant only then at what had happened, refuse to endure any more, and begin too late to be prudent. Let none of you be terrified either by the threatening clamour of the seceders or by this foreign war; and do not disparage our domestic forces as being insufficient to preserve the commonwealth.

[3] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν φυγᾶδων βραχεῖά ἐστιν ἰσχὺς καὶ οὔτε πολλὸν ἀνθέξει χρόνον διαμένουσα, ὥσπερ νῦν, ὑπαίθριος μένει ὑπὸ καλύβαις ὥρᾳ ἔτους χειμερίῳ, πορίζεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐχ ὅπως δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἔτι δυνησομένη ἐπειδὴν τὰ ὄντα ἀναλώσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλοθεν ὠνητὰ ἐπιδάσθαι διὰ πενίαν, οἷς οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν: οἱ δὲ πόλεμοι ταῖς περιουσίαις τῶν χρημάτων ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἀντέχουσιν: ἀναρχία τ' αὐτοῖς ὥς εἰκὸς καὶ στάσις ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας ἐμπεσοῦσα ταχὺ διαχεῖ καὶ διαλύσει τὰ βουλευόμενα.

[3] For the strength of the fugitives is slight, and they will not be able to hold out long in the open in huts during the winter season, as they are now doing; and far from being able to go on securing provisions by plundering when they have consumed their present store, they will not be able even to purchase any elsewhere and convey them to their camp, by reason of their poverty, since they have no money, either individually or in common, and wars, as a rule, can only be kept up by plenty of money. Besides, anarchy, in all probability, and sedition, growing out of anarchy, will seize them and soon confound and bring to naught their counsels.

[4] οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀξιώσουσιν οὔτε Σαβίνοις οὔτε Τυρρηνοῖς οὔτ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων παραδόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἐκείνοις δουλεύειν, ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτ' ἀφείλοντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σὺν ὑμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οὐδὲ πιστευθήσονται πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ κακῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ αἰσχροῦς ἀπολέσαι προθυμηθέντες, μὴ οὐχὶ ὅμοια δράσειν τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην. ἀριστοκρατεῖται δὲ [p. 356] καὶ τα ἔθνη τὰ πέριξ ὑμῶν ἅπαντα, καὶ το δημοτικὸν ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει μεταποιεῖται τῶν ἰσων, ὥστε οὐ δήπου οἱ προὔχοντες ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει

τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐκ ἔϋντες παρακινεῖν ὄχλον, τοῦτον εἰσδέχονται τὸν ἔπληυν
καὶ στασιαστὴν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, μὴ μεταδόντες αὐτοὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
σὺν χρόνῳ στερήσονται τῶν ἴσων.

[4] For surely they will not consent to deliver themselves up to either the Sabines or the Tyrrhenians or any other foreigners and become slaves to those whom they themselves together with you once deprived of their liberty; and, most important of all, men who have wickedly and shamefully endeavoured to destroy their own country will not even be trusted by these other nations, for fear they might treat the country that receives them in the same manner. For all the nations round us are governed by aristocracies, and the plebeians in no state lay claim to an equal share in the government; so that the leading men in every state, who do not permit their own populace to make any innovations, will doubtless never receive this foreign and seditious multitude into their country, lest, by permitting them to enjoy equal rights and privileges, they themselves should one day be deprived of their own position of equality.

[5] εἰ δ' ἄρα γε γνώμης ἀμάρτοιμι καὶ παραδέξαιτό τις αὐτοὺς πόλις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ διαγινώσκουσιν ὥς ἂν πολέμιοι τε ὄντες καὶ τὰ πολέμιων πεισόμενοι. ἔχομεν δ' αὐτῶν ὄμηρα πατέρας καὶ γαμετὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην συγγένειαν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εὐχόμενοι κρεῖττονα παρὰ θεῶν αἰτήσαιμεθα: οὐς ἐν ὅφει τῶν συγγενῶν στήσαντες ἀπολοῦμεν, εἰ τολμήσαιεν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, ὥς ταῖς ἐσχάταις λώβαις διαχρησόμενοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς, εἰ τοῦτο μάθοιεν, εὔ ἴστε, ὅτι λήψεσθε ἀντιβολοῦντας, ὀλοφυρομένους, παραδιδόντας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν διχα τῶν ὄπλων, ἅπαντα ὑπομένοντας. δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ τοιαίδε ἀνάγκαι καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐθάδεις λογισμοὺς κλάσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ μηδέν.

[5] But if I am mistaken after all, and any state should receive them, they would thereupon reveal themselves as enemies and men deserving to be treated as such. We have, as hostages for them, their parents, their wives, and the rest of their relations, and better hostages we could not ask of the gods in our prayers; let us place these in the sight of their relations, threatening, in case they dare to attack us, to put them to death under the most ignominious tortures. And once they understand this, be assured you will find them resorting to entreaties and lamentations, and delivering themselves up to you unarmed, and ready to submit to anything whatever. For such natural ties have remarkable power to upset all arrogant calculations and bring them to naught.

[1] ὧν μὲν ὀὐ χάριν τὸν ἐκ τῶν φυγάδων πόλεμον οὐκ ἀξιῶ δεδιέναι ταῦτ' ἔστι: τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν φοβερά οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐξετασθήσεται μέχρι λόγου τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, ὅσας ἡμῖν πείραν ἑαυτῶν ἔδωκαν, ἐλάττω τῆς δόξης διεφάνη. [p. 357] ὅσοι δ' οὐχ ἱκανὴν οἴονται τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῇδε μάλιστα ὀρρωδοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον, μαθέτωσαν οὐχ ἱκανῶς αὐτῆς ἦσθι μένοι.

[63.1] “These are the reasons why I do not think we should fear a war on the

part of the fugitives. As to the dangers from foreign nations, this is not the first time those dangers will have been proved to be such in words only, but even before this, whenever they have given us the opportunity of putting them to the test, they have been found less terrible than we apprehended. And let those who believe our domestic forces to be inadequate and dread war chiefly for this reason learn that they are not sufficiently acquainted with them.

[2] πρὸς μὲν γε τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντίπαλον χεῖρα ἔχομεν, εἰ βουλοίμεθα τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς ἀκμαϊοτάτους ἐλευθερῶσαι. κρεῖττον γάρ τῇν ἐλευθερίαν χαρίσασθαι τοῦτοις ἢ τῇν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ἔχουσι δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν πολλάκις ἡμῖν παραγενόμενοι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας.

[2] So far indeed as the seceders among the citizens are concerned, we shall have an adequate force to cope with them if we see fit to choose out the most vigorous of our slaves and give them their freedom. For it is better to grant these their freedom than to be deprived of our supremacy by the others. The slaves are already possessed of sufficient military skill by having attended us in many campaigns.

[3] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους αὐτοὶ τε χωρῶμεν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τοὺς πελάτας ἅπαντας ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ περίον. ἵνα δὲ πρόθυμον ᾖ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἄφεσιν αὐτῷ χαρισώμεθα τῶν χρεῶν, μὴ κοινήν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄνδρα. εἰ γάρ τι δεῖ τοῖς καιροῖς εἰζαντας μετριάσαι, μὴ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτ' ἔστω τὸ μέτριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, οἷς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰς χάριτας διδόναι δόξομεν, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἄλλης ἐπιδέῃ βοήθειας, ὥς ταύτης οὐκ οὔσης ἱκανῆς, τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων μεταπεμπώμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἀνακαλῶμεν.

[3] Against our foreign enemies let us not only march out ourselves with all possible alacrity, but let us take along all our clients and such plebeians as remain; and in order that they may be eager for the struggle, let us grant them an abolition of their debts, not to all collectively, but to each one individually. For if we must yield to the times and show some moderation, let not that moderation be extended toward such of the citizens as are our enemies, but towards such as are our friends, on whom we shall then seem to be bestowing favours, not under compulsion, but as the result of persuasion. And if still other assistance shall be needed, this being thought insufficient, let us send for the garrisons of the fortresses and recall the men from the colonies.

[4] τοῦτο δ' ὅσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἔγγιστα γενομένης τιμήσεως μαθεῖν ῥάδιον ἂν εἴη. τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐν ἡβῇ τετιμημένων, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εἴη μέρος ἑβδομον τὸ φυγαδικόν. οὐ λέγω δὲ τὰς Λατίνων τριάκοντα πόλεις, αἱ μετὰ πολλῆς εὐχῆς δέξαιντ' ἂν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας διὰ [p. 358] τὸ συγγενές, ἐὰν ψηφισήσθε αὐταῖς ἰσοπολιτεῖαν

μόνον, ἥς αἰεὶ διατελοῦσι δεόμεναι.

[4] How large the number of these is may be easily learned from the last census, when there were assessed 130,000 Romans of military age, of which the fugitives would not make a seventh part. I say nothing of the thirty cities of the Latin nation, which would be only too glad to fight our battles by reason of their kinship, if you would but grant them equal rights of citizenship, which they have constantly sought.

[1] ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐστὶ κράτιστον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ οὔτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐνεθυμήθητέ πω, οὔτε τῶν συμβούλων οὐδεὶς λέγει, τοῦτο προσθεῖς παύσομαι. οὐδενὸς οὕτω δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐτυχὲς ἔξειν τὸ τῶν ἀγώνων τέλος, ὥς στρατηγῶν ἀγαθῶν. τούτων ἢ μὲν ἡμετέρα πλουτεῖ πόλις, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων σπανίζουσιν.

[64.1] “But the greatest advantage in war is one which neither you yourselves have yet thought of nor any of your advisers mentions. This I will add to those I have named, and then make an end. There is nothing so essential to those who are to have their wars crowned with success as good generals. In these our commonwealth is rich, while there is a scarcity of them among our enemies.

[2] αἱ μὲν οὖν πολυοχλοῦσαι δυνάμεις, ὅταν λάβωσιν ἡγεμόνας οὐκ εἰδότας ἄρχειν, ἀσχημονοῦσι καὶ περὶ αὐταῖς σφάλλονται τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον κακοπαθοῦσιν, ὅσωπερ ἂν μείζονα ἔχωσι πόνον. οἱ δ’ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηλάται, κἂν μικρὰς λάβωσι δυνάμεις, ταχέως ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰς μεγάλας. ὥστ’ ἄχρις ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι δυναμένους ἄνδρας ἔχωμεν, οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν τῶν ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων.

[2] For very numerous armies, when led by generals who know not how to command, disgrace themselves and bring about their own defeat as a rule, and the larger their bulk is, the more liable they are to this fate; whereas good generals, even though the armies they receive are small, soon make them large. Hence, as long as we have generals able to command, we shall never lack men ready to obey.

[3] ἐνθυμούμενοι δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως μεμνημένοι μηδὲν ταπεινὸν μηδ’ ἀγεννὲς μηδ’ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ψηφίσθητε. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιστό με, τι πράττειν ὑμῖν παραινῶ; τουτὶ γὰρ ἴσως πάλοι γινώναι σπεύδετε. μηδένα μῆτε πρεσβείαν πέμπειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας, μῆτε ἄφειν ψηφίσασθαι τῶν χρεῶν, μῆτ’ ἄλλο ποιεῖν μηδέν, ὃ τι δόξειεν ἂν φόβου τεκμήριον εἶναι καὶ ἀμυχανίας; ἐὰν δὲ καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα κατέλθωσιν [p. 359] εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παράσχωσιν ὑμῖν βουλευσασθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, καθ’ ἥσυχίαν ἐξετάσαντας τότε χρῆσθαι μετριότητι πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰδότας, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἀνόητον, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὄχλος ᾗ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς αὐθάδεις γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐθάδεις ταπεινοῦσθαι.

[3] Bearing these things in mind, therefore, and recalling the achievements of the commonwealth, vote for nothing mean, ignoble, or unworthy of yourselves. What course of action, then, if anyone should ask me, do I advise you to take? For this is what you have probably long been eager to know. My advice, then, is neither to send ambassadors to the seceders nor to decree an abolition of their debts, nor to do anything else that might seem to betray fear or perplexity. But if they lay down their arms, return to the city, and leave it to you to consult about them at leisure, I advise you first to examine the situation and then to treat them with moderation, knowing as you do that all senseless creatures, particularly a rabble, behave themselves with arrogance toward the meek and with meekness toward the arrogant.”

[1] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου μεγάλη φωνὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἐξαισιος ἄχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κατεῖχε τὸ συνέδριον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ τὰ δικαιότερα πρὸ τῶν ἀδίκων οἰόμενοι δεῖν σκοπεῖν τῇ Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἤξιον μάλιστα μὲν τῇ κρείττονι προσχωρῆσαι μερίδι διαλογιζομένους, ὅτι βασιλικὸν ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, οὐ δημοτικόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς ἴσους καὶ μὴ κατισχύειν μηδετέραν τῶν στάσεων, διαριθμησαμένους δὲ τὰς γνώμας τῶν συνέδρων ταῖς πλείοσι γνώμαις στοιχεῖν.

[65.1] When Claudius had done speaking, a great clamour and prodigious tumult filled the senate-chamber for a long time. For those who were reputed to be of the aristocratic party and thought they ought to consider the more just course in preference to the unjust concurred in the opinion of Claudius, and asked the consuls preferably to join the better side, considering that the power of the magistracy they held derived from the kings, not from the people; but if they could not do this, then to keep themselves neutral and not bring pressure to bear upon either faction, but after counting the opinions of the senators, to align themselves with the majority.

[2] εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὑπεριδόντες αὐτοκράτορας αὐτοὺς ποιήσουσι τῶν διαλύσεων, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ’ ἐναντιώσεσθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ λόγοις τ’ ἄχρις ἂν ἐξῇ, χρώμενοι καὶ ὅπλοις, ὅταν ἀναγκαῖον γένηται· ἣν δὲ τοῦτο στίφος καρτερὸν καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπανα τῶν πατρικίων ἡ νεότης ταύτης εἶχετο τῆς προαιρέσεως.

[2] And if they scorned both these courses and themselves assumed the sole power of concluding the accommodation, they said they would not permit it, but would oppose them with the utmost vigour, with words as far as they could, and, if it should prove necessary, with arms. These were a powerful group, and almost all the young patricians adhered to this policy.

[3] οἱ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῇ Μενηνίου τε καὶ Οὐαλερίου γνώμῃ προσέκειντο καὶ μάλιστα οἱ προβεβηκότες ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς συμφοράς, ὅσαι καταλαμβάνουσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων. [p.

360] ἔξηπτῶμενοι δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν νέων καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τὸ τε φιλότιμον αὐτῶν ὑφορῶμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐπιπολασμόν, ὃν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, δεδιότες, ὡς οὐ πρόσω χειροκρασίας ἔλευσόμενον, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς εἴξειεν, εἰς δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τελευτῶντες ἐτράποντο.

[3] But all the lovers of peace espoused the opinion of Menenius and Valerius, particularly those who were advanced in years and remembered all the calamities which come upon states as the result of civil wars. Nevertheless, being overborne by the clamour and disorderly behaviour of the young men and viewing with concern their spirit of rivalry and fearing lest the insolence with which they treated the consuls might come close to violence unless some concession were made to them, they at last had recourse to weeping and entreating their opponents.

[1] λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης σὺν χρόνῳ διαλεχθέντες τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ὑπατοὶ τέλος ἐξήνεγκαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης τοιόνδε: ἡμεῖς, ὧ βουλή, μάλιστα μὲν ἡξιοῦμεν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ὁμογνωμονεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῦτα περὶ κοινῆς σωτηρίας βουλευομένους: εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εἴκειν τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι κάκεινοις εἰς ταύτην ἔλθοῦσι τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς ἴσης ὑπάρξει τυγχάνειν τιμῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁρῶμεν εἰς ἔριν ὑμᾶς ἐκπεπτωκότας ὀλεθριωτάτην τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νόσων καὶ πολλὴν τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὁμιλοῦσαν ὑμῶν τοῖς νέοις, νῦν μὲν ἐπεὶ βραχὺ τὸ λειπόμενον ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τέλος ἐν τούτῳ λαβεῖν τὰ δόξαντα ὑμῖν, ἅπιτ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου: εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα σύλλογον ἤξετε μετριώτεροι γενόμενοι καὶ γνώμας ἔχοντες ἀμείνους.

[66.1] The tumult being appeased and silence restored at last, the consuls after some consultation together pronounced their decision, as follows: "As for us, senators, what we desired most was that you should all be of one mind, particularly when you were deliberating about the public safety; but if that could not be, then we desired that the younger senators should yield to the older men among you and not contend with them, bearing in mind that when they have come to the same age they will receive the same deference from their juniors. But since we observe that you have fallen into strife, the most baneful of all human maladies, and that the arrogance dwelling in the young men among you is great, for the present, since the remaining part of the day is short and there is not time for you to reach a final decision, leave the senate-chamber and go home; and you will come to the next session more moderate in spirit and with better counsels.

[2] εἰ δὲ παραμενεῖ τὸ φιλονεικόν ὑμῖν, νέοις μὲν οὔτε δικασταῖς οὔτε συμβούλοις ἔτι τῶν συμφερόντων χρησόμεθα, [p. 361] ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνείρξομεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκοσίαν νόμῳ τάξαντες ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν, ὃν δεήσει τοὺς βουλευσόντας ἔχειν: τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ἀποδόντες λόγον αὐθις, ἔαν μηδὲν συμφέρωνται ταῖς γνώμαις, ταχεῖα τὴν φιλονεικίαν αὐτῶν

λῦσομεν ὁδῶ, ἣν ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς προακοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν.

[2] But if your contentiousness shall persist, we will no longer make use of young men either as judges or counsellors concerning what is advantageous, but for the future shall restrain their disorderly behaviour by fixing a legal age that senators must have reached. As to the older members, we shall again give them an opportunity of delivering their opinions; and if they do not agreed, we shall put an end to their strife by a speedy method which it is better you should hear of and learn beforehand.

[3] Ἰστε δήπου νόμον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχοντα, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, πάντων εἶναι κυρίαν τὴν βουλὴν, πλήν ἀρχὰς ἀποδειῖξαι καὶ νόμους ψηφίσαι καὶ πόλεμον ἐξευεγκεῖν ἢ τὸν συνεστῶτα καταλύσασθαι: τοῦτων δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸν δῆμον ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἢ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευόμεθα, ὥστε πολλὴ ἀνάγκη τὸν δῆμον ἐπικυρῶσαι τὰς ἡμετέρας γνώμας ψήφου γενόμενον κύριον.

[3] You are doubtless aware that we have had a law, as long as we have inhabited this city, by which the senate is invested with sovereign power in everything except the appointing of magistrates, the enacting of laws, and declaring or terminating of wars, and that the power of determining these three matters rests with the people, by their votes. Now at the present time we are discussing nothing other than war or peace, so that there is every necessity that the people should be given the opportunity to vote and confirm our resolutions.

[4] παραγγείλαντες δὴ τῷ πλήθει παρεῖναι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐπειδὴν ὑμεῖς ἀποδείξησθε τὰς γνώμας, ἀποδώσομεν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα νομίσαντες ἀρθῆναι τὴν ἔριν ὑμῶν: ὃ τι δ' ἂν οἱ πλείους ψηφίσωνται, τοῦθ' ἡγησόμεθα κύριον. ἄξιοι δὲ δήπου ταύτης εἰσὶ τῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ διαμένοντες εὖνοι τῇ πόλει καὶ μέλλοντες ἰσομοιρεῖν ἡμῖν κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν.

[4] We shall therefore summon them to present themselves in the Forum pursuant to this law, and after you have delivered your opinions, we shall take their votes, believing this to be the best means of putting an end to your strife; and whatever the majority of the people shall determine, we shall regard that as valid. This honour, I presume, is deserved by those who have remained loyal to the commonwealth and are to share both our good and bad fortune.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον: ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις παραγγεῖλαι κελεύσαντες ἅπανι τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰ φρουρία παρεῖναι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προαγορεύσαντες ἦκειν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθον ὅχλου μεστήν οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν [p. 362] καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν πατρικίων ἐξηττωμένας τῶν δεήσεων, αἷς ἐποιοῦντο σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀδυρμῷ πατέρες

τε καὶ παῖδια νήπια τῶν ἀποστατῶν, τῇ κυρίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξήρσαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ στενοχωρουμένην ἐκ

[67.1] Having said this, they dismissed the session; and during the following days they ordered proclamation to be made that all who were in the country and in the fortresses should present themselves, and they gave notice to the senate to assemble on the same day. When they found the city was thronged with people and that the sentiments of the patricians had yielded to the entreaties, tears and lamentations both of the parents and infant children of the seceders, they went on the appointed day to the Forum, which was completely packed with a concourse of all sorts of people who had been there from far back in the night.

[2] 8 πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἅπασαν ὄχλῳ παντοδαπῷ. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἥφαιστου, ἔνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτελεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήνεσαν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς κατὰ πλῆθος ἀφίξεως. ἔπειτα παρεκάλεσαν ἐκδέχεσθαι μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἕως ἂν γένηται τὸ προβούλευμα τῆς βουλῆς: τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἀγαθὰς παρήνουν ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὥς οὐ διὰ μακροῦ κομιουμένοις τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοὶ τε διελέχθησαν ἐπεικεῖς καὶ μετρίους λόγους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤξιουν χρηστὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀποδείκνυσθαι γνώμας. πρῶτον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάλουν τὸν Μενήνιον: ὃς ἀναστὰς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο λόγοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὴν βουλήν παρακαλῶν καὶ γνώμην ἀπεφώνησε τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιῶν πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας διὰ ταχέων αὐτοκράτορα τῶν διαλλαγῶν.

[2] And proceeding to the sanctuary of Vulcan, where it was custom for the people to hold their assemblies, they first commended them for their alacrity and zeal in attending *en masse*, and then advised them to wait quietly till the preliminary decree of the senate should be passed; and they exhorted the kinsmen of the seceders to entertain good hopes of getting back in a short time those who were dearest to them. After that they went to the senate-house, where they not only themselves spoke with reasonableness and moderation, but also asked the rest to deliver opinions that were expedient and humane. And ahead of all the others they called upon Menenius, who, rising up, spoke to the same effect as before, exhorting the senate to make the accommodation, and expressed the same opinion, asking that envoys should speedily be sent to the seceders with full powers in regard to the accommodation.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνίσταντο καλούμενοι καθ' ἡλικίαν οἱ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐσχηκότες ἀρχήν, οἷς ἅπασιν ἐδόκει τῇ Μενηνίου χρῆσθαι γνώμῃ, τέως καθῆκεν ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν Ἄππιον. ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς, ὁρῶ μὲν, ἔφησεν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένον, ὧ βουλή, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι κατάγειν τὸν δῆμον, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς ἀξιού: καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων [p. 363] ἐγὼ λείπομαι τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐκείνοις τ'

ἀπεχθῆς διαμένων καὶ ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρησιμος ὢν.

[68.1] After him the others who had held the office of consul, being called upon according to their age, rose up and all favoured adopting the opinion of Menenius, till it came to the turn of Appius to speak. He, rising up, said: “I see, senators, that it is the pleasure both of the consuls and of almost all the rest of you to bring back the people upon their own terms; and I alone am left of all those who opposed the accommodation, with the result that I continue to be hated by them and at the same time am no longer of any use to you.

[2] οὐ μὴν διὰ ταῦτά γ’ ἀποστήσομαι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων οὐδὲ καταλείψω τὴν τάξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκόν. ὅσω δ’ ἂν ἐρημότερος γένωμαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ μοι προελομένων, τοσοῦτω τιμιώτερος ὑμῖν ἔσομαι ποτ’ ἐν χρόνῳ, καὶ περιέσται μοι ζῶντι μὲν ἔπαινος, τελευτήσαντι δ’ ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων μνήμη. εἴη μὲν οὖν, ὦ Καπετώλιε Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἥρωές τε καὶ δαίμονες, ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐφορᾶτε, καλὴ καὶ συμφέρουσα πᾶσιν ἢ τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδος, καὶ φευσθεῖν ἐγὼ τῶν ἐλπίδων,

[2] Nevertheless, I shall not on this account depart from my former opinion nor willingly desert my post as a citizen; but the more I am abandoned by those who formerly espoused the same sentiments, the more I shall one day be esteemed by you; while I live, I shall be praised by you, and when I am dead, I shall be remembered by posterity. But do thou, Jupiter Capitolinus, and ye guardian gods of our city, ye heroes and divinities who keep watch over the land of the Romans, grant that the return of the fugitives may be honourable and advantageous to all, and that I may be mistaken in my forebodings regarding the future.

[3] ἄς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔχω χρόνου. ἐὰν δέ τι δεινὸν ἐκ τούτων καταλάβῃ τῶν βουλευμάτων τὴν πόλιν: ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν οὐκ εἰς μακράν: τούτοις μὲν ταχεῖαν ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοὶ δοίητε καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῇ, ἐμοὶ δ’, ὅς οὔτ’ ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ πώποτε τὰ ἥδιστα εἰλόμην λέγειν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων οὔτε νῦν προδίδωμι τὸ κοινὸν ἰδίαν καταπραπτόμενος ἀσφάλειαν,

[3] But if any misfortune should come upon the commonwealth as a result of these measures — and this will soon be manifest — may ye yourselves speedily correct them and grant safety and security to the commonwealth! And to me, who neither upon any other occasion ever chose to say the things that were most agreeable instead of those that were most profitable, nor am now betraying the state while securing my own safety, may ye be favourable and propitious!

[4] εὐμενεῖς εἴητε καὶ μειλίχιοι. θεοῖς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐχομαι, λόγων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖ: γνῶμην δ’, ἣν καὶ πρότερον ἀποφαίνομαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ

πόλιν διαμένοντας τῶν δημοτικῶν ἀφίσσθαι χρεῶν, τοῖς δ' ἀποστάταις πολεμεῖν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, τέως ἂν ἔτι διαμένωσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις. [p. 364]

[4] These are the prayers I address to the gods; for speeches are of no further use. The opinion I express is the same as before, namely, to relieve of their debts the people who remain in the city, but to make war upon the seceders with the utmost vigour as long as they remain in arms."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γνῶμαι τῇ Μενηνίου προσέθεντο, καὶ καθῆκεν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους, ὁρθῆς οὕσης ἀπάσης τῆς βουλῆς ἀνίσταται Σπόριος Ναύτιος, οἰκίας ἐν τοῖς πάνυ λαμπροτάτης διάδοχος: ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν τοῦ γένους Ναύτιος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Αἰνείᾳ στειλάντων τὴν ἀποικίαν, ὃς ἦν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερεὺς Πολιάδος καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀπηνέγκατο τῆς θεᾶς μετανιστάμενος, ὃ διεφύλαττον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων μεταλαμβάνοντες οἱ τοῦ γένους ὄντες τοῦ Ναυτίων: ὃς ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετὴν λαμπρότατος εἶναι τῶν νέων, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας τεύξεσθαι.

[69] Having said this, he ended. When the opinions of the older senators agreed with that of Menenius and it came to the turn of the younger members to speak, the whole senate being on tip-toe with suspense, Spurius Nautius rose up, the heir of a most illustrious family. For Nautius, the founder of the line, was one of those who took out the colony with Aeneas, being a priest of Athena Polias; and when he removed from Troy, he brought with him the wooden statue of that goddess, which the family of the Nautii guarded thereafter, receiving it in succession one from another. This man was esteemed the most illustrious of all the younger senators for his own merits as well, and it was expected that he would soon obtain the consulship.

[2] ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι κοινὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν νέων, ὡς οὔτε φιλονεικία τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας οὔτε αὐθαδεῖα χρησαμένων, ὅτε τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βουλῇ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα ἡμάρτανον διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γνῶμη σφαλέντων, τελευτῶν ἔφη τὸ πιστὸν τοῦτου παρέξεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν. συγχωρεῖν γοῦν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄμεινον φρονοῦσιν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν ἡγῶνται τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν, ὡς οὐδὲν σφῶν γε πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐναντιωσομένων, ἀλλὰ

[2] He began by making a general defence of all the younger senators, declaring that neither a spirit of rivalry towards their elders nor arrogance had induced them to adopt a position opposed to that of the others at the last meeting of the senate, and if they had committed any error, it had been a mistake in judgment due to their youth; and in conclusion he said that they would now give proof of this by changing their opinion. They consented at any rate that the others, as men of better judgment, should decree whatever they thought most conducive to the welfare of the state, assuring them that they, at least, would offer no opposition in this matter, but would follow the

advice of their elders.

[3] πεισομένων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ὅμοια δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νέων ἀποφνηαμένων ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τινῶν πάνυ τῶν Ἀππίου συγγενῶν ἐπαινέσαντες τὴν εὐκοσμίαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ παρακάλεσαντες εἰς πάντα [p. 365] τὰ κοινὰ τοιοῦτους ἑαυτοὺς παρέχειν πρεσβευτὰς εἵλοντο δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἐκτὸς ἐνὸς ἅπαντας ὑπατικούς. οἱ δ' ἀποδειχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε: Ἀγρίππας Μενήνιος Γαίου υἱὸς Λαϊνάτης, Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος Οὐολούσσου υἱὸς ... Πόπλιος Σερονίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς ... Πόπλιος Ποστούμιος Κοίντου υἱὸς Τούβερτος, Τίτος Αἰβούτιος Τίτου υἱὸς Φλαοῦιος, Σέρβιος Σολπίκιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Καμερῖνος, Αὔλος Ποστούμιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Βάλβος, Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος Αὔλου υἱὸς Καλιμοντανός.

[3] And when all the other younger members made the same declaration, except a very small number who were related to Appius, the consuls commended their dignified behaviour and exhorted them to conduct themselves in the same manner in all public matters; after which they chose as envoys ten men who were the most distinguished of the older senators, all but one being former consuls. Those appointed were the following: Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, the son of Gaius, Manius Valerius [Volusus], the son of Volusus, . . ., Publius Servilius [Priscus], the son of Publius, . . ., Publius Postumius Tubertus, the son of Quintus, Titus Aebutius Flavus, the son of Titus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, the son of Publius, Aulus Postumius Balbus, the son of Publius, and Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus, the son of Aulus.

[4] μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς διαλυθείσης οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνέγνωσαν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρήγαγον: ἀπάντων δ' ἀξιούντων τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς, μαθεῖν, εἶπον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πράττειν, ὅτῳ ἂν τρόπῳ δύνωνται, φιλίαν τῷ δήμῳ συνθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἄτερ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ καταγαγεῖν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐν τάχει.

[4] After this, the senate being dismissed, the consuls went to the assembly of the people, and having ordered the decree of the senate to be read, presented the envoys. And as everyone desired to be informed of the instructions which the senate had given them, the consuls declared openly that they had ordered them to reconcile the people to the patricians by any means they could without fraud or deceit and to bring the fugitives home speedily.

[1] ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες τὰς ἐντολάς αὐθημερὸν ἐξήρσαν. φθάσασα δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ἡ φήμη διήγγειλε τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου [p. 366] πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γινόμενα, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐκλιπόντες τὸ ἔρυμα ὑπήντων ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν οὖσι τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάνυ ταραχώδης καὶ στασιαστικῆς ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὖς τῇ γνώμῃ προιδεῖν τι τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅ τι νοήσειεν ὡς λάλος καὶ

κωτίλος οὐκ ἄδύνατος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος, ὁμώνυμος τῷ καταλύσαντι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐκπληρῶσαι δὲ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν βουλόμενος ἡξίου καὶ Βροῦτος ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πολλοῖς γέλως ἐπὶ τῇ κenoσπουδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσήρχετο, καὶ ὅτε βουλευθεῖεν ἐπισκώπτειν αὐτὸν Βροῦτον ἐπεκάλουν.

[70.1] The envoys, having received these instructions from the senate, when out of the city the same day. But the news of everything that had passed in the city reached those in the camp ahead of them, and presently all the plebeians left the encampment and met the envoys while they were still upon the road. Now there was in the camp a very turbulent and seditious man who had a shrewd mine for foreseeing something of the future far in advance, and he was not lacking in ability to express his thoughts, being a great talker and babbler. He had the same name, Lucius Junius, as the man who had overthrown the kings, and desiring to make the similarity of their names complete, he wished also to be called Brutus. To most people, it seems, he was a laughing-stock because of his vain pretentiousness, and when they wished to make sport of him, they called him by the nickname Brutus.

[2] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στρατοπέδου Σικίννιον διδάξας, ὡς οὐκ ἄμεινον εἴη τῷ δήμῳ ῥαδίως ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προτεινομένοις, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἀξιώσεως ἀτιμότεραν εὖρηται τὴν κάθοδον, ἀλλ' ἐναντιοῦσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τραγωδίαν τινὰ ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πράγμασι προσποιητόν, ὑποσχόμενός τ' αὐτὸς ἀναλήψεσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον τὰ τ' ἄλλα ὑποθέμενος, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἢ λέγειν, ἔπεισε τὸν Σικίννιον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Σικίννιος συγκαλέσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν.

[2] This man now showed Sicinius, who was the commander of the camp, that it was not to the best interest of the people to submit readily to the proposals that were offered, lest by beginning with too moderate a demand, they might find their return home less honourable, but to oppose them for a long time and to inject into the negotiations an element of play-acting; and after promising to take upon himself the defence of the people and suggesting everything else that was to be done and said, he prevailed upon Sicinius. Thereupon Sicinius, assembling the people, asked the envoys to state their reason for coming.

[1] παρελθὼν δὲ Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος, ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτῶν πρεσβύτατός τε καὶ δημοτικώτατος, ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν προθυμίαν τοῦ πλήθους εὐμενεστάταις φωναῖς καὶ προσηγορίαις, ἐπειδὴ σιωπῆς ἔτυχε [p. 367] τοιοῦτοῖς ἐχρήσατο λόγοις: οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἔτι τὸ κωλύόν ἐστιν, ὃ δημόται, κατιέναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ διηλλάχθαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας.

[71.1] Then Manius Valerius, who was the oldest of the envoys and most in sympathy with the common people, came forward, while the crowd testified their affection for him by the friendliest expressions and appellations; and

when he had secured silence, he spoke as follows:

“Nothing now hinders you, plebeians, from returning to your homes and being reconciled to the senators.

[2] Ἐψήφισται γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ καλὴν καὶ συμφέρουσαν ὑμῖν κάθοδον, καὶ γνῶμην πεποιήται μηδενὸς τῶν γεγονότων μνησικακεῖν: ἡμᾶς τε οὖς ἐγίγνωσκε φιλοδημοτάτους ὄντας καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαια τιμωμένους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδείξασα τῶν διαλύσεων, ἵνα μὴ δόξαις μὴδ’ εἰκασμοῖς χρώμενοι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνῶμης, ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἀκούσαντες, ἐφ’ οἷς ἀξιοῦτε καταλύσασθαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, ἂν ἥ μέτριόν τι τῶν αἰτημάτων καὶ μήτε τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μήτε ὑπ’ ἄλλης αἰσχύνης ἀνηκέστου κωλύηται, συγχωρῶμεν ὑμῖν μηκέτι τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου γνῶμην ἐκδεχόμενοι, μὴδ’ εἰς χρόνους μακροὺς καὶ φθόνους ἀντιπάλων ἀναβάλλοντες τὰ πράγματα.

[2] For the senate has voted you an honourable and advantageous return, and has decreed an amnesty for all that has happened. They have also sent us envoys, men whom they knew to be the greatest friends of the people and deservedly honoured by you, giving us full powers with respect to the accommodation, so that we may not judge of your sentiments by appearances or conjectures, but may learn from you yourselves upon what terms you think fit to put an end to the sedition, and, if there is any moderation in your demands and they are not impossible or precluded by some irreparable dishonour attached to them, we may grant them to you without waiting for the opinion of the senate or exposing the negotiations to long delays and to the jealousy of your adversaries.

[3] ταῦτα δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐψηφισμένης δέχεσθε ἄσμενοι τὰς χάριτας αὐτῶν, ὧς δημόται, μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς, ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν καὶ πολλὴν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδότες αὐτῆς, εἰ πόλις ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τοσοῦτων ἄρχουσα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνέδριον, ὃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει πάντων τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ καλῶν, οὐκ ὄν αὐτοῖς πάτριον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶκειν, ὑμῖν μόνοις ὑποκατακλίνονται τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐκόντες, καὶ οὔτε ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων ἐκατέροις ἡξίωσαν ὡς ὑποδεεστέροις κρείττονες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ πρότεροι περὶ [p. 368] διαλύσεως ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, οὔτε τὰς αὐθάδεις ὑμῶν ἀποκρίσεις, ἅς ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς προτέρους πρέσβεις, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ’ ὑπέμειναν ὑμῶν τὸ σοβαρὸν τοῦτο καὶ μειρακιῶδες τῆς αὐθαδεῖας βάρος, ὥσπερ ἂν παιδῶν ἀφρόνων χρηστοὶ πατέρες: καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν ὥοντο δεῖν καὶ τῶν δικαίων μειονεκτεῖν καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν, ὧς πολῖται, τὰ

[3] Since, then, the senate has passed this decree, do you receive their favours, plebeians, joyfully, with the greatest alacrity and enthusiasm, setting a high value upon so great good fortune and returning profound thanks therefor to the gods, in that the Roman commonwealth, which rules over so many people, and the senate, which has the command of all the blessings therein, though it is an established custom with them to yield to none of their adversaries, nevertheless willingly yield some of their dignity in favour of you alone. For they neither thought fit to enter into such a minute discussion of the rights of each side as might be expected from superiors when treating with their inferiors, but instead took the initiative themselves in sending envoys to propose an accommodation, nor did they receive with anger the haughty answers you gave to their former envoys, but endured this insolent and puerile exhibition of your arrogance as good parents would endure that of their foolish children; and they thought they ought to send another embassy and accept less than their full rights, and to submit to anything, citizens, that is reasonable.

[4] μέτρια. ἐπὶ δὴ τοσαύτης βεβηκότες εὐτυχίας μὴ μέλλετε λέγειν, ὧς δημόται, τίνων χρῆζετε μὴδ' ἐντρυφᾶτε ἡμῖν, καταλυσάμενοι δὲ τὴν στάσιν ἅπιτε χαίροντες εἰς τὴν γειναμένην τε καὶ θρεψαμένην ὑμᾶς πόλιν, ἣ τροφεὶά τε καὶ χάριτας οὐ χρηστὰς ἀπεδίδοτε, καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι ἔρημον καὶ μηλόβοτον. εἰ δὲ παρήσετε τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, εὐξέσθε πολλάκις ὅμοιον εὐρεῖν ἕτερον.

[4] Now that you have met with so great good fortune, do not delay, plebeians, to tell us what you desire and do not mock at us. But when you have put an end to the sedition, return with joy to your country which gave you your birth and rearing, blessings for which you made her a sorry recompense and return when you left her, as far as in you lay, to be desolate and a pasture for flocks. But if you let this opportunity slip, you will wish time and again for another.”

[1] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου παρελθὼν ὁ Σικίνιος οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔφη δεῖν λόγου τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν τοὺς εὖ βουλευομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς λόγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων σκοποῦντας: ἡξίου τε λέγειν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς βουλομένους ἅπασαν αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν ἀποθεμένους: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνάγκας κατακεκλεισμένοις οὔτ' ὄκνῳ οὔτ'

[72.1] When now Valerius had done speaking, Sicinius came forward and said that those who deliberated wisely ought not to examine the expediency of any measure from a single point of view, but should suggest to themselves the opposite view as well, particularly when affairs of so great moment were under consideration. Then he asked any who pleased to answer these proposals, laying aside all modesty and caution; for their situation, now that they were reduced to such distress, did not permit of their yielding to either hesitation or undue modesty.

[2] αἰσχύνῃ εἴκειν. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐπειδὴ πάντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀπέβλεπον ἐπιζητοῦντες τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ [p. 369] λέγοντα, ἐφαίνετο δ' οὐδεὶς: ὁ γὰρ Σικίνιος τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ἐχρῆτο λόγοις: παρέρχεται κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ βουλούμενος ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Βροῦτος καὶ τυχὼν ἐπισημασίας παρὰ τοῦ

[2] When there was silence, they all looked at one another to find out who would prospect for the common cause; but none appeared, though Sicinius repeated the same request several times. At last Lucius Junius, the man who wanted Brutus to be added to his name, came forward in accordance with his promise, and being received with general applause from the crowd, delivered a speech of the following tenor:

[3] πλήθους ἀθρόας τοιαύτην διέθετο δημηγορίαν: τὸ δέος ὑμᾶς, ὧς δημόται, τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἐντετηκὸς ἔτι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκπλήσσειν ἔοικε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τεταπεινωμένοι φέρειν τοὺς λόγους εἰς μέσον, οἷς εἰώθατε χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀκνεῖτε. οἴεται δ' ἴσως ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὸν πλησίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ λέξειν, καὶ πάντας μᾶλλον, εἴ τι κινδύνευμά ἐστιν, ὑπομενεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκώς, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκ τοῦ τολμηροῦ χρηστὸν περιγένηται, τούτου τὸ μέρος ἔξειν ἀδεῶς: κακῶς εἰδώς. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες τοῦτο ὑπολάβοιμεν, ἢ καθ' ἓνα ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ἀτολμία κοινὴ πᾶσιν ἔσται βλάβη, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἰδιὸν τις ἀσφαλὲς ἀποσκοπεῖ

[3] “It seems, plebeians, that the dread of the patricians is still so firmly rooted in your minds that it holds you in terror, and, humbled on that account, you shrink from uttering in public the arguments that you are wont to use to one another. For each one openly, perhaps, thinks that his neighbour will plead the common cause and that all the others rather than he will undergo any danger there may be, while he himself, standing in a place of safety, will enjoy, free from fear, his share of the benefit arising from the boldness of the other. But in this he is mistaken; for if we should all hold this opinion, the cowardice of each one of you will prove a common injury to all, and while every man consults his own safety, he will be destroying the common safety of all.

[4] τὸ μετὰ πάντων κοινὸν ἀπολεῖ. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε, ὅτι λέλυται τὸ δέος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις βεβαίως ἔχετε, νῦν γ' ἤδη μάθετε διδασκάλοις χρῆσάμενοι τούτοις. οἱ γὰρ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ βαρεῖς οὐκ ἐπιτάττοντες ὑμῖν ὡς πρότερον ἤκουσιν οὐδ' ἀπειλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ δεόμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς κατιέναι, καὶ ὡς ἐλευθέρους [p. 370] ἐξ ἴσου ἤδη ἄρχονται ὁμιλεῖν. τί οὖν ἔτι καταπέπληχθε αὐτοὺς καὶ σιωπάτε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεύθερα φρονεῖτε καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἤδη ποτὲ τοὺς χαλινοὺς λέγετε εἰς τὸ κοινόν, ἃ πεπόνθατε πρὸς αὐτῶν; ὧς οχέτλιοι,

[4] But even if you did not know before that you are freed from this dread and that you have your liberty secure as long as you have your arms, learn it now

at least, taking these men as your teachers. For these arrogant and stern men have not come with orders for you, as before, or with threats, but begging and beseeching you to return to your homes, and now begin to deal with you as with free men upon equal terms.

[5] τί δεδοίκατε; μή τι πάθητε ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθεροστομίας ἐμοὶ χρώμενοι; κινδυνεύσω γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰπεῖν τὰ δίκαια μετὰ παρρησίας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ Οὐαλέριος οὐδὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸ κωλύον ἀναστρέφειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῆς βουλῆς διδούσης τὴν κάθοδον καὶ προσεψηφισμένης τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ταῦτ' ἀποκρινοῦμαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα εἰρῆσθαι.

[5] Why, then, are you any longer in awe of them and why are you silent? Why do you not assume the spirit of free men, and having now broken at last the curb which held you, tell all men what you have suffered at their hands? Unhappy men, of what are you afraid? That you will suffer some harm if you follow my lead in giving free rein to the tongue? For I shall expose myself to the danger of declaring to them frankly the justice of your cause, concealing nothing. And since Valerius has said that nothing hinders you from going back to your homes, the senate having given you leave to return and having decreed you an amnesty besides, I shall give him this answer — that which is the very truth and must needs be told.

[1] ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τὰ κωλύοντά ἐστιν ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὄπλα ἐφ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τρία δὲ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τὰ φανερώτατα. πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἐγκαλοῦντες ἡμῖν ὡς ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἦκατε καὶ ἐν εὐεργεσίας οἶεσθε μέρει διδόναι τὴν κάθοδον: ἔπειθ', ὅτι οὐδὲν ὑποδηλοῦτε παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὰς δίκαιοις καὶ φιλανθρώποις ποιησόμεθα: τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ὅτι βέβαιον ἡμῖν, ὧν ἂν ὑπόσχησθε, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ πολλακίς ἐξαπατῶντες τε καὶ φενακίζοντες ἡμᾶς διατετελέκατε.

[73.1] “As for us, Valerius, there are many other reasons that hinder us from laying down our arms and putting ourselves in your power, but these three are the most important and the most obvious: First, because you have come to accuse us as if we had offended, and when you give us leave to return you count it as a favor to us; next, because when you invite us to an accommodation you do not give any hint upon what terms of justice and humanity we are to enter into it; and lastly, because there is no certainty of your fulfilling your promises to us, since time and again you have consistently deceived and deluded us.

[2] ἐρῶ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου χωρὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ἀρξάμενος: καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ λέγοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου χρὴ ἄρχεισθαι. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰ μὲν τι ἀδικοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὔτ' ἀδείας οὔτ' ἀμνηστίας: καίτοι γε [p. 371] οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενοῦμεν, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἄγῃ τὸ χρεών, τῇ τύχῃ καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡγεμόσιν. εἰ

δ' ἀδικούμενοι πρὸς ὑμῶν ταύτης ἡναγκάσμεθα τῆς τύχης πειραθῆναι, ἐν ᾗ ἔσμεν, τί οὐχ ὁμολογεῖτε κακοὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι συγγνώμης δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμνηστίας; νῦν δ', ἣν αἰτεῖσθε, ταύτην διδόναι λέγετε, καὶ ἥς ἀφεῖσθαι ζητεῖτε ὀργῆς, ταύτης ὡς ἀφιέντες μεγαληγορεῖτε, συγχέοντες τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων ἀξίωσιν ἀναστρέφοντες.

[2] I shall speak to each of these points separately, beginning with the matter of justice; for it is the duty of all who speak either in private or in public to begin with justice. Well then, if we are doing you any injustice, we do not ask for either impunity or an amnesty; though we do not choose even to share the same city with you any longer, but will live wherever Fate shall lead us, leaving it to Fortune and to the gods to direct our course. But if, suffering injustice at your hands, we have been compelled to experience this condition in which we now are, why do you not acknowledge that, having yourselves wronged us, *you* stand in need of pardon and an amnesty? But as it is, you profess to be giving the pardon for which you ought to be asking, and prate boastfully of acquitting us of the resentment of which you yourselves seek to be acquitted, thereby confusing the very essence of truth and reversing the very meaning of justice.

[3] ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθε, ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖτε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργετηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐ καλὰς ἀποδεδώκατε αὐτῷ τὰς ἀμοιβάς, μάθετε: ποιήσομαι δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἴστε καὶ αὐτοὶ πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους, καὶ πρὸς θεῶν, ἐάν τι ψεῦδος εἴπω, μὴ ἀνάσχησθε, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐλέγχετε.

[3] That you are not the victims, but the doers of injustice, and that you have not made handsome returns for the many great services you have received from the people in respect both to your liberty and to your sovereignty, learn from me now. I shall begin my argument with the matters you yourselves are acquainted with, and I beg of you in the name of the gods, if I make any false statement, that you will not tolerate it, but will promptly refute me.

[1] ἡμῖν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολίτευμα ἦν μοναρχία, καὶ μέχρι γενεᾶς ἐβδόμης ταῦτη χρώμενοι διετελέσαμεν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡγεμονίας ταῦτας οὐδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἡλαττώθη πώποτε ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα ὑπὸ τῶν τελευταίων: ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἔκαρπώσατο.

[74.1] “Our earliest government was monarchy, under which constitution we lived till the seventh generation. And during all these reigns the people never suffered any loss of rights at the hands of their kings, and least of all from those who reigned last, to say nothing of the many important advantages they enjoyed from their rule.

[2] χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτῶν θεραπείας, ἥ κολακεύοντας αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον

μὲν σφίσιν, ἐχθρὸν δ' ὑμῖν ἐβούλοντο εἶναι, ὃ ποιοῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τυραννικῶς ἐξάγοντες τὰς δυναστείας, κρατήσαντες πολέμῳ μακρῷ [p. 372] Συνέσσης, πόλεως πάνυ εὐδαίμονος, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μηδενὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κατασχεῖν καὶ πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ βασιλεῖς, οὐκ ἤξιωσαν, ἀλλὰ φέροντες εἰς μέσον ἔθηκαν ἅπασαν τὴν ὠφέλειαν: ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς χωρὶς ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κτήσεως πολλῆς οὐσης καὶ καλῆς ἀργυρίου πέντε μνᾶς κατ' ἄνδρα διανείμασθαι.

[2] For, besides the other methods the kings used of courting and flattering the people in order to win them to themselves and make them enemies to you — which is the practice of all rulers who aim at extending their power to tyranny — when they had made themselves masters of Suessa, a very prosperous city, after a long war, and had it in their power to grant no part of the spoils to anyone, but to appropriate the whole to themselves and surpass all other kings in riches, they did not think fit to do so, but brought out all the booty and placed it at the disposal of the army, so that, besides the slaves, cattle and the other spoils, which were many and of great value, every one of us received five minae of silver for his share.

[3] ὣν ἡμεῖς ἀμελήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τυραννικώτερον ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐξουσίαις οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον πλημμελοῦντες, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς, δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις τῆς μὲν τῶν βασιλέων εὐνοίας ἀπέστημεν, ὑμῖν δὲ προσεθέμεθα: καὶ συνεπαναστάντες αὐτοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν οἱ τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τοὺς μὲν ἐξηλάσαμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ φέροντες ἀνεθήκαμεν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρχήν. πολλάκις τε γενόμενον ἐφ' ἡμῖν μεταθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐξελασθέντας τὰς μεγάλας δωρεάς, ἃς ὑπέτεινον ἡμῖν, ἵνα δὴ τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πιστὸν ἐγκαταλίπωμεν, οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους καὶ συνεχεῖς πολέμους καὶ κινδύνους δι' ὑμᾶς ἀνηντλήσαμεν: καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἔτος ἑπτακαίδεκατον ἤδη τριβόμεθα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μαχόμενοι περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας.

[3] But we disregarded all this when they used their power more in the manner of tyrants to injure, not us, to be sure, but you; and resenting their behaviour, we gave up our affection for our kings and joined you, and rising with you against them, both those of us who were in the city and those in camp, we drove them out, and bringing to you their power, entrusted it to you. And though it was often possible for us to go over to the side of the expelled kings, yet we scorned to accept the lavish gifts they offered us to induce us to violate our pledge to you, but patiently endured many great and continuous wars and dangers on your account. And up to this time, which is the seventeenth year, we have been worn out with fighting against all mankind for our common liberty.

[4] ἀκαταστάτου μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας [p. 373] οὐσης: οἷα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τὰς αἰφνιδίως γινομένας: δυσὶ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσι Τυρρηνῶν, Ταρκυνιήταις τε καὶ Οὐιεντανοῖς

κατάγειν βουλομένοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ, παρακινδυνεύσαντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διηγωνισμεθα, καὶ μεγίστην ἀποδειξάμενοι προθυμίαν τοὺς τ' ἀντιπαθθέντας μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἀπεωσάμεθα, καὶ τῷ περιόντι τῶν ὑπάτων διεσώσαμεν τὴν ἀρχήν.

[4] For while the government was still unsettled — as often happens in the case of sudden revolutions — we ventured to contend with the two most renowned cities of the Tyrrhenians, Tarquinii and Veii, when they sought with a large army to restore the kings; and fighting, a few against many, and displaying the greatest enthusiasm, we not only overcame and drove back these foes, but preserved the power for the surviving consul.

[5] οὐ πολλοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον Πορσιναν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλέα κατάγειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἄξιοῦντα τοὺς φυγάδας τῇ τ' ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπήγετο, δυνάμει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ πολλοῦ συναχθείσαις, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόμαχον χεῖρα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατακλεισθέντες εἰς πολιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀμηχανίαν καὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀπορίαν, τῷ πάντα ὑπομεῖναι τὰ δεινὰ φίλον γενόμενον ἠναγκάσαμεν ἀπελθεῖν.

[5] Not long afterwards, when Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, was also endeavouring to restore the exiles both with the united forces of all Tyrrhenia commanded by himself and with those which the others had long before raised, we, though unprovided with an adequate army, and for that reason forced to undergo a siege and reduced to the last extremity and to a dearth of everything, yet by enduring all these hardships forced him to depart after first becoming our friend.

[6] τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα τρίτον κάθοδον τῶν βασιλέων παρασκευασαμένων διὰ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπαγομένων, ἀντιβολοῦντας ὑμᾶς ὀρῶντες καὶ ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐπιβόωμενον ἐταιρίας τε καὶ συντροφίας καὶ ὁμαιχμίας ἀναμιμνήσκοντας οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν: ἡγησάμενοι δὲ κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότατον ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁμόσε τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐχωρήσαμεν, μέγιστον δὴ κινδύνων ἀναρρίψαντες ἐκεῖνον, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τραύματα λαβόντες, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα συγγενῶν τε [p. 374] καὶ ἐταίρων καὶ ὁμοσκήνων ἀποβαλόντες, ἐνίκησαμεν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ἀπεκτείναμεν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν συγγένειαν ἅπασαν διεφθείραμεν.

[6] And last of all, when the kings for the third time sought to effect their restoration with the aid of the Latin nation and brought against us thirty cities, we, seeing you entreating, lamenting, calling upon every one of us, and reminding us of our friendship, our common rearing, and the campaigns we had shared together, could not bear to abandon you. But looking upon it as a most honourable and glorious thing to give your battles, we rushed into the midst of perils and hazarded on that occasion surely the greatest danger of all, in which, after we had received many wounds and lost many of our relations,

companions and comrades in arms, we overcame the enemy, killed their generals, and destroyed the whole royal family.

[1] ἃ μὲν δὴ εἰς τὸ συνελευθερῶσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων παρεσχόμεθα ὑπὲρ δυνάμιν διὰ τὸ ἑαυτῶν πρόθυμον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀναγκαιου μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸ καταστάντες ἢ ὑπ' ἀρετῆς, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἃ δ' εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων δυναστείαν τε περιβαλέσθαι μείζω ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόκησιν ἀκούσατε, καὶ ὅπως, ἐάν τι παρατρέψω τὸν λόγον ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, ἐναντιώσεσθέ

[75.1] “These are the services we rendered to assist you in freeing yourselves from the tyrants, exerting ourselves beyond our strength because of our enthusiasm, and engaging in the struggle quite as much through the promptings of our own valour as because of necessity. Now hear what we have done to gain for you the respect of and the rule over others, and to acquire for you a power greater than was at first expected; and, as I said before, if I deviate from the truth, you will contradict me.

[2] μοι. ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔδοξεν εἶναι βέβαιον, οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἐπὶ τούτου μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν ὀρμήσαντες, ἐχθρὸν δ' ἴσως ἅπαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους πόλεμον ἀναδείξαντες, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ κινδυνεύματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πλεονεξίας ταύτης ἀγῶνας τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὤεσθε δεῖν καταχρηῖσθαι σώμασιν.

[2] For you, when it seemed that your liberty was firmly assured, were not contented to stop there, but intent upon bold and new undertakings, and regarding as a possible enemy every creature who clung to liberty, and declaring war against almost all the world, in all the perils and in all the battles fought to support that greed for power you thought fit to waste our bodies.

[3] ὅσας μὲν οὖν πόλεις κατὰ μίαν καὶ δύο πολεμούσας ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τὰς μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως χειρωσάμενοι, τὰς δὲ τειχομαχίαις ἐλόντες ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσαμεν, ἐῷ. τί γὰρ δεῖ κατὰ μικρὸν λέγειν τὰς πράξεις τοσαύτην ἔχοντας λόγων ἀφθονίαν; ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνίαν ἅπασαν εἰς δώδεκα νενεμημένην ἡγεμονίας καὶ πολλῇ μὲν τῇ κατὰ γῆν, πολλῇ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν δυναστεία περιουσιάζουσας, [p. 375] τίνες ἦσαν οἱ συγκατακτησάμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες αὐτὴν ὑμῖν ὑπήκοον; Σαβίνους δὲ τουτουσὶ ἔθνος τηλικούτον, οἷς διὰ παντὸς ὁ περὶ τῶν πρωτείων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦν ἀγών, ποία παρέσχεν ὑμῖν βοήθεια μηκέτι διαμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν ἴσων; τί δέ; τὰς τῶν Λατίνων τριάκοντα πόλεις, οὐ μόνον δυνάμει μεγέθει ἐπαιρομένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικαιότερα ἀξιοῦν μεγάλα φρονούσας, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ καταδουλωσάμενοι καὶ παρασχόντες ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῶν πόλεων δεομένας καταφυγεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;

[3] I say nothing of all the cities that sometimes singly, sometimes two jointly, fought with you in defence of their liberty, some of which we overcame in pitched battles and others we took by storm and compelled them to become subjects to you. For what need is there to relate these actions in detail when we have such an abundance of material? But who were they who assisted you in acquiring and subjecting to you all Tyrrhenia, a country divided into twelve principalities and exceeding powerful on both land and sea? Whose assistance rendered the Sabines, this powerful nation which had ever contended with you for the primacy, unable any longer to contend for equality? And again, who subdued the thirty cities of the Latins, which not only gloried in the superiority of their forces but prided themselves on the superior justice of their demands? And who compelled them to fly to you imploring you to prevent their enslavement and the razing of their cities?

[1] ἔῴ τᾶλλα, ὅσα οὐπω διαστασιάζοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν γε μεταποιούμενοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλπίδων συνεκινδυνεύσαμεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τυραννίδα περιβεβλημένοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡμῖν ὥσπερ δούλοις παραχρῶμενοι ἐξηλέγχθητε, ἡμεῖς τ' οὐκέτι ὅμοιοι ταῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διανοίαις διαμένοντες, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ὑπήκοα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα ἐπανίστατο, ἀρξάντων μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως Οὐολούσκων, ἀκολουθησάντων δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν Ἑρνίκων Σαβίνων ἄλλων συχνῶν, ἐδόκει τε οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος εἶναι καιρὸς, εἰ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἦν, δεεῖν ἐξεργάσασθαι θάτερον, ἢ καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποδεῖξαι μετριωτέραν, ἄρα μέμνησθε, εἰς οἷαν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦλθετε καὶ ὥς ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας [p. 376] ἐγένεσθε, εἴτε μὴ συναρούμεθα τῶν ἀγώνων ὑμῖν, εἴτε ὀργῇ ἐφέντες ὥς τοὺς πολεμίους τρεψόμεθα, καὶ ὅσας δεήσεις καὶ ὑποσχέσεις ἐποιήσασθε;

[76.1] "I omit the other dangers in which we engaged along with you while we were not yet at odds with you and indeed laid claim ourselves to some share of the expected profits of empire. But when at last it was clear that the empire that you had gained was a tyranny, that you abused us like slaves, and that we no longer continued to entertain the same feelings towards you, and when almost all your subjects revolted, the Volscians setting the example, which was followed by the Aequians, the Hernicans, the Sabines, and many others, and a unique opportunity seemed to offer itself, if we chose to take advantage of it, to accomplish one of two things, either to overthrow your empire or to render it more moderate for the future, do you remember into what despair of your domination you fell and how you were in the last stage of discouragement lest we should either not assist you in the war or, indulging in our resentment, should go over to the enemy, and what entreaties and promises you made?"

[2] τί οὖν οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν ὑβρισμένοι τότε ἐποιήσαμεν; ἡττηθέντες τῶν δεήσεων καὶ πεισθέντες ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, αἷς ὁ βέλτιστος

οὗτοσὶ Σερουίλιος ὑπατεῦων τότε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐποιήσατο, οὐθὲν μὲν ἐμνησικακήσαμεν ὑμῖν τῶν πάλαι, χρηστὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίσαντες χρόνου, παρέσχομεν ὑμῖν ἑαυτούς, καὶ πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐν ὀλίγῳ κατεργασάμενοι χρόνῳ παρήμην ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς καὶ λείας καλὰς.

[2] What did we, the humble folk who had been treated outrageously by you, do then? We allowed ourselves to be overcome by the entreaties and prevailed upon by the promises which the excellent Servilius here, who was consul at the time, made to the people, and retained no resentment against you for the wrongs of the past, but conceiving good hopes of the future, we entrusted ourselves to you; and having subdued all your enemies in a short time, we returned with many prisoners and rich spoils.

[3] ἀνθ' ὧν τινὰς ἡμῖν χάριτας ἀπεδώκατε; ἄρα γε δικαίας καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀξίας; πόθεν; πολλοὺ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἐφεύσασθε μὲν γε καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐκελεύσατε τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τουτονὶ τὸν βέλτιστον, ᾧ κατεχρήσασθε πρὸς τὸν φενακισμόν, ἅμοιρον ἐποιήσατε τοῦ θριάμβου πάντων μάλιστ' ἀνθρώπων ἄξιον ὄντα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης τυχεῖν, οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς προσθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ὡς ὑπέσχεσθε ἡξίου καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ δῆλος ἦν.

[3] For these services what return did you make to us? One that was just and worthy of the dangers to which we had exposed ourselves? No, indeed; far from it! Why, you violated even the promises which you had ordered the consul to make to us in the name of the commonwealth; and this excellent man himself, whom you had basely used to trick us, you deprived of his triumph, though he of all men most deserved that honour, and you attached this disgrace to him for no other reason than because he asked you to perform the act of justice that you had promised and made it clear that he resented your deceit.

[1] ἔναγχος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου: τουτὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσθεῖς τῷ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγῳ παύσομαι: ὅθ' ὑμῖν Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Σαβῖνοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι μιᾷ [p. 377] γνώμῃ χρῆσάμενοι αὐτοὶ τ' ἐπανίσταντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλουν, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἠναγκάσθητε καταφυγεῖν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ φαύλους οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ βαρεῖς, πάντα ὑπισχνούμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς τότε σωτηρίας; καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν ἡμᾶς αὐθις δοκῇτε, ὃ πολλάκις ἐποιήσατε, προκάλυμμα τῆς ἀπάτης Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον τουτονὶ τὸν φιλοδημότατον ἄνδρα εὔρεσθε: ᾧ πιστεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ δικτάτορός τε καὶ ταῦτα χρηστοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνδρὸς φενακισθησόμενοι συνηράμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνικῶμεν οὐ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς ἀγῶνας ὑπομείναντες.

[77.1] “And just recently (for I shall add this one more instance to that part of

my discourse which relates to justice before I make an end), when the Aequians, the Sabines, and the Volscians with one accord not only rose against you themselves, but invited others to do likewise, were not you, the proud and stern, obliged to fly to us, the mean and despised, and to promise everything in order to secure your safety at that time? And that you might not seem to be intending to deceive us again, as you had often done before, you made use of Manius Valerius here, the greatest friend of the people, as a cover for your deceit; confiding in whom and believing ourselves in no danger of being imposed upon by a dictator, and least of all by a man who had treated us well, we assisted you in this war also, and having fought not a few battles, and those neither inconsiderable nor obscure, we overcame your enemies.

[2] θάττον δ' ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐλπίδα τέλος εἰληφότος τὸ κάλλιστον τοῦ πολέμου τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετε τοῦ χαίρειν καὶ πολλὴν εἰδέναι τῷ δήμῳ χάριν, ὥστε κατέχειν ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἡξιοῦτε ἄκοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς σημαίαις ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, ἵνα παρέλθῃτε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωντε. οὐχ ὑπομένοντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν φενακισμὸν οὐδὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου, ἀλλ' εἰσενέγκαντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ διαφέντος ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὰς δυνάμεις, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενοι ταύτην τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν τοῦτον ὑβρίσατε, τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμολογιῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐφυλάξατε, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρία τὰ μέγιστα παρηνομήσατε, τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βουλῆς καταλύσαντες καὶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [p. 378] διαφθείραντες καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἀνόνητον ποιήσαντες τὴν χάριν τῶν πόνων.

[2] But, once the war was ended in a most glorious manner and sooner than anyone had expected, you were so far from rejoicing and feeling yourselves under great obligation to the people, that you thought fit to keep us still in arms and under our standards against our will, that you might violate your promises as you had determined from the beginning. Then, when Servilius would not submit to the deceit nor to the dishonour of your action, but brought the standards into the city and sent the forces to their homes, you, making this an excuse for not doing us justice, insulted him and kept not a single one of your promises to us, but at one and the same time committed three most lawless acts, in that you destroyed the prestige of the senate, you ruined the credit of Servilius, and you deprived your benefactors of the recompense that was due to their labours.

[3] ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτοις ὅμοια πολλὰ ἔχοντες λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, ὧ πατρίκιοι, πρὸς ἵκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ὑμῶν τραπέσθαι, οὐδ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ δεινὰ δεδρακότες ἐπ' ἀδεία καὶ ἀμνηστία καθοδὸν λαμβάνειν. οὐ μὴν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι γε περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ παρόντι οἰόμεθα χρῆναι, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁμονομίας διαλεξόμενοι συνελγύθαμεν, ἀλλ' ἀμελεῖα καὶ λήθη παραδόντες αὐτὰ φέρομεν.

[3] Since, therefore, patricians, we have these and many other things of the like nature to allege against you, we do not think fit to have recourse to

supplicating and entreating you, nor, like men guilty of heinous crimes, to secure our return by accepting impunity and amnesty. However, we do not feel that we ought to enter into a minute discussion of these grievances at present, since we are met to treat of an agreement, but leaving them to indifference and oblivion, we simply put up with them.

[1] ἐφ' οἷς δὲ πρεσβεύετε καὶ τίνων δεόμενοι ἦκατε, τί οὐ λέγετε φανερώς; ἐπὶ ποίαις ἐλπίσι κατελθεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦτε; ποίαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ λαβόντας τύχην; τίνος ὑποδεχομένης ἡμᾶς εὐθυμίας ἢ χαρᾶς; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχρι τοῦδε φιλάνθρωπον ὑμῶν ἢ χρηστὸν προτεινομένων ἀκούομεν, οὐ τιμᾶς, οὐκ ἀρχᾶς, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνὸρθωσιν ἀπορίας, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν. καίτοι οὐ λέγειν ὑμᾶς ἐχρῆν, ἃ μέλλετε ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσαντες λέγειν, ἵνα προειληφότες ἤδη τι ἔργον ἀπ' εὐνοίας γενόμενον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ

[78.1] “But why do you not declare openly the terms of your mission and say plainly what you have come to ask? On the strength of what hopes do you ask us to return to the city? The prospect of what kind of fortune awaiting us are we to take to guide us on the way? The prospect of what cheer or joy that is going to receive us? For we have not as yet heard you promise any act of kindness or of benefit — no honours, no magistracies, no relief of our poverty, nor, in a word, anything else whatever. And yet it is not what you intend to do that you should tell us, but what you have already done, in order that, having already some action before us as an earnest of your goodwill, we may infer that the remaining actions will be of like nature.

[2] 9 τοιαῦτα ἔσεσθαι εἰκάσωμεν. οἶομαι τοίνυν πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι περὶ πάντων ἡκουσιν. αὐτοκράτορες, ὥσθ', ὃ τι ἂν πείσωμεν ἀλλήλους, τοῦτ' ἔσται κύριον. ἔστω ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ; γινέσθω τὰκόλουθα τοῦτοις; οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω. βούλομαι δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐσόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν μαθεῖν, ἐπειδὴν εἵπωμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιοῦμεν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ συγχωρηθῆ ταῦτα [p. 379] ὑπὸ τούτων, τίς ἐγγυητὴς ἔσται τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἡμῖν;

[2] I suppose, though, that they will answer to this that they are come with full powers in all matters, so that whatever we can persuade one another to accept is to be valid. Grant this to be so, and let the natural results follow; I offer no objections. But I desire to learn from them what is to happen afterwards, when we have stated the conditions upon which we think fit to return and these conditions have been accepted by them: Who will stand surety to us for the carrying out of the terms?

[3] τίνι πιστεύσαντες ἀσφαλείᾳ τὰ ὅπλα θήσομεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ καταστήσομεν αὐθις εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν τὰ σώματα; πότερον τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων γραφησομένοις, οὐ γὰρ δὴ γεγραμμένοις; καὶ τί πάλιν κωλύσει ἐτέροις ἀκυρωθῆναι ταῦτα ψηφίσμασιν, ὅταν Ἀππίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὅμοια φρονοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ φανῇ; ἢ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, οἳ τὰς ἐαυτῶν παρέχονται πίστεις; ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν

τούτων καὶ πρότερον ἡμῶς ἐξηπάτησαν. ἢ ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ὁμολογίαις δι' ὄρκων τὰ πιστὰ πορισάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν; ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν πιστὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ταύτην δέδοικα, ἣν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις ὄντων καταφρονουμένην ὄρῳ, καὶ τὰς ἀκουσίους συμβάσεις τοῖς ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθερίας μεταποιουμένους, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη καταμαθὼν, ἐπίσταμαι τοσοῦτον ἰσχυοῦσας χρόνον, ὅσον ἂν αὐτῶν αἱ ἀνάγκαι κρατῶσι.

[3] Trusting to what assurance shall we drop the arms from our hands and put our persons again in the power of these men? Shall we trust to the decrees of the senate that will be drawn up concerning these matters? For surely they have not been drawn up already. And what shall hinder these from being annulled in turn by other decrees, whenever Appius and those of his faction shall think fit? Or shall we trust to the high standing of the envoys who pledge their own good faith? But the senate has already made use of these men to deceive us. Or shall we trust to agreements sworn to by oaths taken in the name of the gods, gaining our assurance from these? But for my part, I am more afraid of this than of any other kind of assurance men can give, because I observe that it is treated contemptuously by those in positions of command, and because I understand, not now for the first time, but as the result of many experiences in the past, that forced agreements made by men desirous of ruling with those who strive to retain their freedom last only as long as the necessity exists which compelled those agreements.

[4] τίς οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη φιλία καὶ πίστις, ἐν ἧ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθόμεθα φυλάττοντες τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάτεροι καιροῦς; ὑποψία δὲ δὴ τὸ γε μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ διαβολαὶ συνεχεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων φθόνοι τε καὶ μίση καὶ πᾶς ἄλλη κακῶν ἰδέα καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τοῦ φθᾶσαι διολέσαντας τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἄγῶν, ὥς ἐν τῷ μέλλειν κειμένου τοῦ παθεῖν. [p. 380]

[4] What kind of friendship, therefore, and good faith is that under which we shall be obliged to court one another against our will while we each are watching for our own opportunities? And after this will come suspicions and continual accusations of one another, jealousies and hatreds and every other kind of evil, and a constant struggle to see which of us shall first effect the destruction of his adversary, each believing that in delay lies disaster.

[1] πολέμου δὲ πολιτικοῦ ὥς ἅπαντες ἴσασι κάκιον χρῆμα οὐδέν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν κρατηθέντα ἀτυχεῖ, τὰ δὲ κρατήσαντα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ περίεστι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ φίλτατα διολέσαι. ἐπὶ τοιαύταις δὲ τύχαις καὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐκταίης μήτε ὑμεῖς, ᾧ πατρίκιοι, καλεῖτε ἡμᾶς, μήτε ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπακούωμεν, ᾧ δημόται, ἀλλ', ὥς διήρηκεν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ τύχη, στέργωμεν. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν οὖν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ καρπούσθωσαν ἡμῶν δίχα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων ἀπολαυέτωσαν μόνοι, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀδόξους δημότας ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος:

ἀπαλλάττωμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ δαίμων ἄγῃ τόπον ἀλλότριον ἐκλιπεῖν νομίσαντες, οὐ πόλιν ἰδίαν.

[79.1] “There is no greater evil, as all are aware, than civil war, in which the conquered are unfortunate and the conquerors are unjust, and it is the fate of the former to be destroyed by their dearest ones, and of the latter to destroy those who are dearest to them. To such misfortunes and to such abhorred calamities do not summon us, patricians, nor let us, plebeians, answer their summons, but let us acquiesce in the fate which has separated us. No, let them have the whole city to themselves and enjoy it without us, and let them reap alone every other advantage after they have driven the humble and obscure plebeians from the fatherland. As for us, let us depart whithersoever Heaven shall conduct us, feeling that we are leaving an alien place and not our own city.

[2] οὔτε γὰρ ἡμῶν τινι ἐνθάδε ὑπολείπεται κλῆρος γῆς οὔτε πατρῶον ἐφέστιον οὔτε ἱερὰ κοινὰ οὔτε ἀξίωμα ὡς ἐν πατρίδι, ὧν περιεχόμενοι φιλοχωροῦμεν ἂν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην μένειν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων ἔλευθερία: ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ πόλεμοι διέφθειραν, τὰ δ' ἡ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις ἐξανήλωσε, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων δανειστῶν τούτων ἀφῆρέθημεν: οἷς τελευτῶντες ἡναγκαζόμεθα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κλήρους οἱ δέιλαιοι γεωργεῖν, σκάπτοντες φυτεύοντες ἀροῦντες ποιμνία νέμοντες ὁμόδουλοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δορικτήτοισι ἀνδραπόδοις ὄντες, οἱ μὲν ἀλύσει [p. 381] δεθέντες, οἱ δὲ πέδαις, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν θηρίων κλοιοῖς καὶ μύδροις.

[2] For there remains to none of us here either an allotment of land, or an ancestral hearth, or common sacrifices, or any position of dignity, such as one would possess in one's fatherland, the desire for which things might induce us to cling to this country even against our will; nay we have not even the liberty of our own persons which we have purchased with many hardships. For some of these advantages have been destroyed by the many wars, some have been consumed by the scarcity of the necessities of daily life, and of others we have been robbed by these haughty money-lenders, for whom we poor wretches are at last obliged to till our own allotments, digging, planting, ploughing, tending flocks, and becoming fellow-slaves with our own slaves taken by us in war, some of us being bound with chains, some with fetters, and others, like the most savage of wild beasts, dragging wooden clogs and iron balls.

[3] αἰκίας δὲ δὴ καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς καὶ μάστιγας καὶ πόνους ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰς νύκτα καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὠμότητα καὶ ὕβριν καὶ ὑπερηφάνιαν, ἣν ὑπεμείναμεν, ἐῷ. τοσούτων οὖν καὶ τηλικούτων ἀπῆλλαγμένοι κακῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὅση σπουδὴ καὶ δύναμις ἐκάστω πάρεστι φεύγωμεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄσμενοι τύχην καὶ θεὸν οἵπερ ἡμᾶς σώζουσιν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενοι, πατρίδα νομίζοντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν ἀρετήν.

πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑποδέξεται γῆ κοινωνούς, τὰ μὲν ἀλύπους ἐσομένους τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, τὰ δ' ὠφελίμους.

[3] I saw nothing of the tortures and insults, the stripes, the labours from dawn till dark, and every other cruelty, violence, and insolence that we have undergone. Accordingly, now that we are freed by Heaven from so many and great evils, let us gladly fly from them with all the eagerness and ability each of us possesses, taking as the guides of our journey Fortune and the god who ever preserve us, and looking upon our liberty as our country and our valour as our wealth. For any land will receive us as partners, since we shall be no cause of offence in any case to those who receive us, and in some cases shall actually be of service.

[1] παραδείγματα δὲ τούτων γενέσθωσαν ἡμῖν πολλοὶ τε Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ τε βάρβαροι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τούτων τε καὶ ἡμῶν πρόγονοι: ὧν οἱ μὲν μετ' Αἰνείου συναναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν τῇ Λατίνων γῇ πόλιν ὥκισαν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἐξ Ἑλλάδας ἀναστάντες Ῥωμύλου τὴν ἀποικίαν ἄγοντος ἐν τοῖδε τοῖς τόποις ἰδρύσαντο τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκλειπομένην.

[80.1] “Of this let many Greeks and many barbarians serve us as examples, particularly the ancestors of both these men and ourselves; some of whom, leaving Asia with Aeneas, came into Europe and built a city in the country of the Latins, and others, coming as colonists from Alba under the leadership of Romulus, built in these parts the city we are now leaving.

[2] ὑπάρχει τε ἡμῖν δύναμις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πλείων μόνον τῆς ἐκείνοις γενομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριπλασία, καὶ πρόφασις δικαιότερα τῆς μεταναστάσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ Ἰλίου μεταναστάντες ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἐξηλαύνοντο, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτόθεν ὑπὸ φίλων: ἐλεεινότερον δὲ δήπου τὸ πρὸς [p. 382] τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμύλῳ

[2] We have with us forces not merely a left larger than they had, but actually three times their number, and a more just cause for removing. For those who removed from Troy were driven out by enemies, but we are driven hence by friends; and it is a more pitiable experience doubtless to be expelled by one's own people than by foreigners.

[3] συναράμενοι τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ τῷ κτήσασθαι κρείττονα γῆν ὑπερεῖδον τῆς πατρίδας: ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἄπολιν καὶ τὸν ἀνέστιον ἐκλείποντες βίον, οὐτε θεοῖς ἐπιφθονον οὐτε ἀνθρώποις λυπηρὰν οὔτε γῇ τινι βαρεῖαν στέλλομεν ἀποικίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελαύνοντας ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κακώσαντες τὴν ἐκλειπομένην γῆν, οὐδ' ἄλλο μνημόσυνον οὐδὲν αἰωνίου καταλιπόντες ἔχθρας, ὡς ταῖς παρεσπονδημέναις φυγαῖς καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἀνάγκας κατακλεισθεῖσαις ἔθος ἐστὶ

[3] Those who took part in the expedition of Romulus scorned the country of

their ancestors in the hope of acquiring a better; but we, who are abandoning the life which had for us no city and no hearth, are going forth as a colony that will be neither hateful to the gods nor troublesome to men nor grievous to any country, and moreover we have not inflicted blood-shed and slaughter upon the kinsmen who are driving us forth, nor have we laid waste with fire and sword the country we are leaving, nor left behind any other memorial of an everlasting hatred, as is the usual practice of people who are driven into exile in violation of treaties and reduced to unenviable straits.

[4] δρᾶν. θεοὺς τε ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι καὶ δαίμονας, οἳ τὰ θνητὰ πάντα κατὰ δίκην ἄγουσι, καὶ καταλιπόντες ἐκείνοις ἀναπράξασθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκας, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀξιοῦμεν, οἷς ἐστιν ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τέκνα νήπια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες ἄρα γυναῖκες ἡμῖν ἐθελήσουσι κοινωνεῖν τῆς τύχης, τὰ σώματ' ἀπολαβεῖν. ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόχρη λαβεῖν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δεόμεθα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος. ἀλλ' εὐτυχεῖτε καὶ ζῆτε βίον, ὃν ἂν προαιρῆσθε, οὕτως ἀπολίτευτα καὶ ἀκοινωνήτα πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινότερους φρονοῦντες.

[4] And calling to witness the gods and other divinities who direct all human affairs with justice, and leaving it to them to avenge our wrongs, we make but this one request, that those of us who have left in the city infant children and parents, and wives, in case these shall be willing to share our fortunes, may get them back. We are satisfied to receive these, and we ask for naught else besides from our fatherland. But fare you well and lead the life you choose, you who are so unwilling to associate as fellow-citizens and to share your blessings with those of humbler estate."

[1] ὁ μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος τοιούτους εἰπὼν λόγους ἐπαύσατο: τοῖς δὲ παροῦσιν, ὅσα τε περὶ τῶν δικαίων εἶπεν, ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἐδόκει καὶ ὅσα τῆς ὑπεροφίας τοῦ συνεδρίου κατηγόρησε, μάλιστα δ' ἐν οἷς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς [p. 383] τῶν ὁμολογιῶν δόλου μεστὸν ἀπεδείκνυε καὶ ἀπάτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ὕβρεις τελευτῶν διῆλθεν, ἃς ἦσαν ὕβρισμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἕκαστον ἀνέμνησε κακῶν, οὐδεὶς ἦν στερρὸς οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅς οὐκ ἐξεχέιτο τοῖς δάκρυσιν καὶ ἀνεκλαίετο τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς: καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις συνέβαινε παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἦκουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις τὰ δάκρυα κατέχειν ἴσχυον ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίας, καὶ πολὺς ἦν χρόνος ἐν ᾧ κατηφεῖς καὶ δεδακρυμένοι καὶ

[81] With these words Brutus ended his speech. All who were present regarded as true everything he said about principles of justice, as also the charges he made respecting the arrogance of the senate, but particularly what he said to show that the assurance offered for the performance of the agreement was full of fraud and deceit. But when at the last he described the abuses which the people had suffered at the hands of the money-lenders, and put every man in mind of his own misfortunes, no one was so stout of heart as not to be melted

away by tears and to bewail their common calamities. And not only the people were affected in this manner, but likewise those who had come from the senate; for even the envoys could not restrain their tears when they considered the misfortunes that had arisen from the breaking up of the city, and for a long time they stood with eyes downcast and full of tears, and at a loss what to say.

[2] τί χρὴ λέγειν ἀποροῦντες εἰστήκεσαν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ τε πολὺς θρήνος ἐπαύσατο καὶ σιωπὴ κατέσχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, παρήλθεν ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅπερ ἐδόκει τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἡλικία τε προὔχειν καὶ ἀξιώσει, Τίτος Λάρκιος, ὃς δις ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος δυναστεία τῇ καλουμένῃ δικτατορίᾳ κράτιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων χρησάμενος ἱερὰν καὶ σεβασμοῦ μεστὴν ἐποίησε νομισθῆναι τὴν ἐπιφθονον ἀρχήν.

[2] But after this great lamentation had ceased and silence fell upon the assembly, there came forward to answer these accusations a man who seemed to excel the rest of the citizens in both age and rank. This was Titus Larcus, who had twice been chosen consul and had of all men made the best use of the power called the dictatorship, causing that invidious magistracy to be looked upon as sacred and worthy of all respect.

[3] ἐπιβαλλόμενος δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῖς δανειστικοῖς ἐγκαλῶν ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα διαπεπραγμένοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν πενήτων καθαπτόμενος ὡς οὐ δικαίως ἀξιούντων βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν ὀφειλημάτων ἢ χάριτι, καὶ ὡς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ὀρθῶς [p. 384] δι' ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τῷ μηθενὸς τῶν μετρίων παρ'

[3] He, undertaking to speak to the point of justice, now censured the money-lenders for having acted with cruelty and inhumanity, and now reproached the poor for unjustly demanding to be relieved of their debts through violence rather than as a favour, and told them they were in the wrong to direct their anger against the senate for their failure to obtain any reasonable concession from that body, instead of against those who were really to blame,

[4] αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ τοὺς αἰτίους: πειρώμενός τ' ἀποφαίνειν βραχὺ μὲν ὑπάρχον τοῦ δήμου τὸ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικοῦν, ὑπὸ δὲ μήκουσ ἀπορίας ἠναγκασμένον αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἀκολασία καὶ ὕβρει καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὰς ζῆν ἐφεικὸς καὶ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπηρετεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις παρεσκευασμένον, διακρίνεσθαι τε οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεεινῶν τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιланθρωπίας δεομένων τὰ μίσους ἄξια, καὶ τοιοῦτους τινὰς ἄλλους καθιστάμενος λόγους ἀληθεῖς μὲν, οὐχ ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς ἀκούουσι κεχαρισμένους, οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ θροῦς ἦν ἐφ' ἐκάστω πολὺς καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγανακτήσεις ὡς ἐξαίματτοντος τὰς λύπας, τῶν δ' ἐξομολογήσεις ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀποκρυπτομένου: ἔλαττον δὲ πολλῷ τοῦτ' ἦν θατέρου τὸ μέρος, ὥστ' ἠφανίζοντο τῷ πολλῷ καὶ περιῆν ἡ τοῦ ἀγανακτοῦντος βοή.

[4] He also endeavoured to show that, while there was a small part of the people whose offence was involuntary and who were forced by their extreme poverty to demand the remission of their debts, yet the greater part of them were abandoned to licence and insolence and a life of pleasure, and were prepared to gratify their desires by robbing others; and he thought a difference ought to be made between the unfortunate and the depraved, and between those who needed kindness and those who deserved hatred. And though he advanced other arguments of this kind, which, while true enough, were not pleasing to all his hearers, he could not persuade them; but everything he said was received with a great murmur, some being indignant at his opening their griefs afresh, and others owning that he concealed no part of the truth; but the latter group was much smaller than the other, so that it was drowned out by numbers, and the clamour of the indignant group prevailed.

[1] ὀλίγα δὲ τούτοις ἔτι προσθέντος τοῦ Λαρκίου καὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς προπετείας τῶν βουλευμάτων καθαφαμένου παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκὼς τότε Σικίννιος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐτράχυνε τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν λέγων, ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἂν δύναιτο μάλιστα τῶν λόγων καταμαθεῖν, οἷαι τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέξονται κατελθόντας 10 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

[82.1] After Larcus had added a few more remarks to those I have reported and had reproached the people for their uprising and the precipitancy of their resolutions, Sicinius, who was then at the head of the populace, replied and inflamed their passions still more, saying that from these words of Larcus in particular they might learn what honours and gratitude would await them when they returned to their country.

[2] οἷς γὰρ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν δεινῶν οὔσι καὶ δεομένοις τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοήθειας καὶ [p. 385] ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκουσιν οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπέρχεται μετρίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, τίνα χρὴ δοκεῖν παραστήσεσθαι διάνοιαν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐλπίδα χωρήσῃ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ γένηται τὰ νῦν ὑβριζόμενα τοῖς λόγοις ὑποχείρια τοῖς ἔργοις; ποίας ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοὺς ἀφέξεσθαι, ποίας αἰκίας, ποίας ὠμότητος τυραννικῆς;

[2] “For if to those who are in the direst straits, who are imploring the assistance of the people, come hither for that purpose, it does not occur even now to speak words of moderation and humanity, what sentiments must we expect them to entertain when things have succeeded according to their wishes, and when those who are now insulted by their words become subject to their deeds? From what arrogance, from what abusive treatment, from what tyrannical cruelty will they refrain?

[3] ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπόχρη δουλεῦειν ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον δεδεμένοις καὶ μαστιγουμένοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ πάσῃ λῶβῃ ἀπολλυμένοις, μὴ τριβετε τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντές τε καὶ

τῷ χεῖρε περιαγαγόντες ἀκολουθεῖτε αὐτοῖς: εἰ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν τις πόθος, μὴ ἀνέχεσθε αὐτῶν. ὑμεῖς τ', ὧ πρέσβεις, ἣ λέγετε, ἐφ' οἷς καλεῖτε ἡμᾶς δικαίους, ἢ μὴ λέγοντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄπτε: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι μεταδοίμεν ὑμῖν λόγου.

[3] But if you are contented to be slaves all your lives, to be bound, scourged, and destroyed by fire, sword, famine, and every other abuse, don't waste any time, but throw down your arms, offer your hands to be bound behind you, and follow them. But if you have any craving for liberty, do not bear with them. And as for you, envoys, either state the terms upon which you summon us or, if you will not do so, withdraw from the assembly. For after this we shall not give you leave to speak."

[1] ὥς δ' ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἐπεθορύβησαν ὥς τὰ δέοντα λελογισμένῳ συγκατατιθέμενοι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡσυχίας γενομένης Μενήγιος Ἀγρίππας, ὅσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου διέθετο καὶ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα πρεσβείαν τὴν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος αἰτιώτατος ἦν, διεσήμηνεν ὅτι βούλεται καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν. τοῖς δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη καὶ νυνὶ γέ τοι λόγων ὑπέλαβον ἀκούσεσθαι συμβάσεις ἀληθινὰς καὶ γνώμας σωτηρίους ἀμφοῖν ἐχόντων.

[83.1] When he had ceased speaking, all present shouted uproariously, showing that they approved of his reasoning and agreed with him. Then, when silence prevailed, Menenius Agrippa, he who had delivered the speech in the senate in behalf of the people and had, more than any other, brought about, by the motion he had offered, the sending of the envoys clothed with full powers, signified that he too wished to speak. The people looked upon this as the best thing they could ask, and now at least expected to hear proposals tending to a sincere accommodation and advice salutary to both parties.

[2] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπερρόθησαν ἅπαντες βοῇ μεγάλῃ λέγειν κελεύοντες: ἔπειτα [p. 386] ἐπέσχον, καὶ σιγῇ τοσαύτῃ κατέλαβε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥστε μὴθὲν διαλλάξαι τὸν τόπον ἐρημίας. ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὥς οἷόν τε ἦν, πιθανωτάτοις ἔδοξε χρῆσασθαι λόγοις καὶ τοῦ βουλήματος τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐστοχασμένοις, τελευτῶν δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας λέγεται μῦθόν τινα εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸν Αἰσώπειον τρόπον συμπλάσας πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντα, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν: ὅθεν καὶ μνήμης ἀξιοῦται ὁ λόγος καὶ φέρεται ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἱστορίαις. ἦν δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα 11 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦδε.

[2] And first they all roared their approval, calling to him with a great shout to speak; then they became quiet, and so great silence prevailed in the assembly that the place was as hushed as a desert. He seemed to employ in general the most persuasive arguments possible and those which gauged well the inclinations of his audience; and at the end of his speech he is said to have related a kind of fable that he composed after the manner of Aesop and that

bore a close resemblance to the situation of the moment, and by this means chiefly to have won them over. For this reason his speech is thought worthy of record and it is quoted in all the ancient histories. His discourse was as follows:

[3] ἡμεῖς ἀπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὧν δημόται, πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὔτε ἀπολογησόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης οὔτε ὑμῶν κατηγορήσοντες: οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ταῦτα καιρὸν ἔχειν οὐδ' εἶναι ταῖς κατεχούσαις τὸ κοινὸν τύχαις πρόσφορα: ἀλλὰ διαλύσοντες ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ μηχανῇ τὴν στάσιν καὶ καταστήσοντες εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον τὴν πολιτείαν, ἔχοντες δὲ τοῦτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοκράτορα. ὥστε περὶ μὲν τῶν δικαίων οὐδὲν ἂν οἴομεθα δεῖν, ὅπερ Ἰούνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτοσί, εἰς μακρὸν ἐκμηκύνειν χρόνον: ἐφ' οἷς δὲ φιланθρώποις διαλύσαι τὴν στάσιν οἴομεθα δεῖν, καὶ τίς ἢ βεβαιώσουσα τὰς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν ἔσται πίστις, περὶ τούτων,

[3] “We have been sent to you by the senate, plebeians, neither to excuse them nor to accuse you (for neither of these courses seemed to be opportune or suited to the conditions now disturbing the commonwealth), but to use every effort and every means to put an end to the sedition and to restore the government to its original form; and for that purpose we are invested with full powers. So that we do not think it at all necessary to discourse at great length, as Junius here has done, concerning principles of justice; but as regards the humane terms on which we think we ought to put an end to the sedition, and the assurance you shall have for the performance of our agreement, we shall tell you the decisions to which we have come.

[4] ἃ διεγνώκαμεν, ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἡμῖν ἐνθυμουμένοις, ὅτι πᾶσα θεραπεύεται στάσις ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, ὅταν ἐξαιρεθῶσιν αἱ παρασχοῦσαι τὴν διαφορὰν αἰτίαι, [p. 387] ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰς ἀρχηγούς τῆς διχοστασίας προφάσεις γνῶναι τε καὶ παῦσαι. εὐρόντες δὲ τὰς ἀποτόμους τῶν δανείων ἀναπράξεις τῶν παρόντων κακῶν αἰτίας γεγυνίας, οὕτως αὐτὰς διορθούμεθα. τοὺς ὀφείλοντας χρία καὶ μὴ δυναμένους διαλύσασθαι πάντα ἀφείσθαι τῶν ὀφλημάτων δικαιοῦμεν: καὶ εἰ τινων ἤδη τὰ σώματα ὑπερμέρων ὄντων ταῖς νομίμοις προθεσμίαις κατέχεται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλεύθερα εἶναι κρίνομεν: ὅσοι τε δίκαις ἀλόντες ἰδίαις παρεδόθησαν τοῖς καταδικασαμένοις, καὶ τούτους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι βουλόμεθα, καὶ τὰς καταγνώσεις αὐτῶν ἀκύρους ποιοῦμεν.

[4] When we considered that every sedition in any state is cured only when the causes that produced the disagreement are removed, we thought it necessary both to discover and to put an end to the primary causes of this dissension. And having found that the harsh exactions of debts have been the cause of the present ills, we are reforming those exactions as follows: We think it just that all those who have contracted debts and are unable to pay them should be relieved of their obligations; and if the persons of any who are default in their payments are already held under restraint by the limit for payment prescribed

by law, it is our decision that these also shall be free. As for those who have been convicted in private suits and handed over to the creditors who won their suits against them, it is our wish that these also shall be free, and we set aside their sentences.

[5] περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου συμβολαίων, ἃ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, τοῦτον ἐπανορθούμεθα τὸν τρόπον: περὶ δὲ τῶν ὕστερον ἐσομένων, ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου κοινῇ βουλευσομένοις φανῇ, νόμου κυρωθέντος, οὕτως ἐχέτω. οὐχὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τὰ διαστήσαντα ὑμᾶς ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὧς δημόται, καὶ τούτων εἰ τύχοιτε ἀποκρῆν ὑμῖν ὥεσθε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ὠρέγεσθε; δίδοται νῦν ὑμῖν: ἅπιτε ἤδη χαίροντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

[5] With regard to your debts of the past, therefore, which seemed to us to have led to your secession, we redress them in this manner; as to your future debts, whatever shall be approved of both by you, the people, and by the senate in joint consultation, after a law has been passed for that purpose, let it be so ordered. Are not these the things, plebeians, that divided you from the patricians? And did you not think it enough if you obtained these, without aiming at anything else? They are now granted to you. Return, then, to your country with joy.

[1] αἱ δὲ βεβαιώσουςαι τὰς ὁμολογίας ταύτας καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν παρέξουσαι πίστεις ἔσονται πᾶσαι νόμιμοι τε καὶ ἐν ἔθει τοῖς διαλυομένοις τὰς ἔχθρας. ἐπιψηφιεῖται μὲν ἡ βουλὴ ταῦτα καὶ νόμου [p. 388] τάξιν ἀποδώσει τοῖς γραφησομένοις: μᾶλλον δ' ὑπ' ὑμῶν ἐνθάδε γραφέσθω τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τούτοις πείσεται.

[84.1] “The assurances which shall confirm this agreement and secure to you the performance of it shall all be according to law and conformable to the practice of those who put an end to their enmities. The senate will confirm these arrangements by a vote and give the force of law to the conditions that shall be drawn up, But rather let your demands be drawn up by you here, and the senate will agree to them.

[2] τοῦ δὲ μενεῖν βέβαια τὰ συγχωρούμενα νῦν, καὶ μηδὲν ὕστερον ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξενεχθήσεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἀνάδοχοι, διδόντες ὑμῖν σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ γενεὰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐνέχυρα: ἔπειτα οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταί, ὅσοι τῷ ψηφίσματι συνεγγραφήσονται: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποτε ἀκόντων ἡμῶν γραφήσεται τι κατὰ τοῦ δήμου. οἱ γὰρ ἡγούμενοι τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ πρῶτοι τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας ἀποφαινόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν.

[2] That the concessions now made to you will stand firm and unchanged and that nothing contrary to them shall be carried out later by the senate, first, we envoys are your sureties, giving you our persons, our lives, and our families as

pledges; and in the next place, all the other senators who shall be named in the decree. For no decree will ever be drawn up contrary to the interests of the people so long as we oppose it, since we are the leading members of the senate and always deliver our opinions first.

[3] τελευταία δὲ πίστις ἅπασιν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἣν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀναίρησει χρόνος, ἢ δι' ὄρκων καὶ σπονδῶν ἐγγυητὰς θεοὺς ποιουμένη τῶν συμβάσεων: ὅφ' ἣς πολλοὶ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἐχθραὶ πικραί, πολλοὶ δὲ πόλεμοι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις συστάντες διηλλάγησαν. καὶ ταύτην εἴ τινα λαμβάνετε τὴν πίστιν, εἴτ' ὀλίγοις ἐπιτρέπετε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ ὅλης ὑμῖν δοῦναι τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς ὄρκους, εἴτε πάντας ἀξιοῦτε τοὺς ἐπιγραφομένους τοῖς δόγμασιν ὁμνύειν καθ' ἱερῶν ἢ μὴν βέβαια τὰ συγκείμενα φυλάττειν.

[3] The last assurance we shall give you is that in use among all men, both Greeks and barbarians, which no lapse of time shall ever overthrow, namely, the one which through oaths and treaties makes the gods sureties for the performance of agreements. Under this assurance many bitter enmities between private individuals and many wars that have arisen between states have been composed. Come now, accept this assurance also, whether you permit a few of the principal members of the senate to give you their oaths in the name of their whole body, or think fit that all the senators who are named in the decree shall swear over the sacrificial victims to maintain the agreement inviolable.

[4] δεξιὰς δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ πιστεῖς ἐπὶ θεῶν γιγνομένας μήτε σὺ διάβαλλε, Βροῦτε, μήτ' ἀναίρει τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιτήδευμα [p. 389] τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, μηδ' ὑμεῖς ἀνάσκησθε αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνοσίων καὶ τυραννικῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρέματα, ἃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς πολὺ ἀπέχει.

[4] Do not traduce, Brutus, assurances given under the sanction of the gods and confirmed by the pledging of hands and by treaties, nor destroy the noblest of all human institutions; and as for you, plebeians, do not permit him to mention the wicked deeds of impious and tyrannical men, deeds far removed from the virtue of the Romans.

[1] μίαν εἰπὼν ἔτι τὴν οὔτε ἀγνοουμένην ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀμφισβητουμένην παύσομαι. τίς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη; ἢ τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον εἰσάγουσα καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέρα ποιοῦσα σώζεσθαι τὰ μέρη. αὕτη μέντοι πρώτη καὶ μόνη συνάγει τε ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἔασει ποτὲ διχ' ἀλλήλων γενέσθαι. δεήσεται γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται δεόμενον τὸ μὲν ἀμαθὲς πλῆθος ἔμφρονος ἡγεμονίας, τὸ δ' ἡγεῖσθαι δυνάμενον βουλευτήριον τῶν ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων ὄχλων: καὶ οὐ δόξη μόνον τοῦτ' εἰκάσαντες,

[85.1] "I shall mention one other assurance which no man fails to know or

questions, and then have done. And what is that? It is the assurance that introduces the common advantage and preserves both parts of the state through their mutual assistance. This, after all, is the first and only assurance that draws us together, and it will never permit us to be sundered from each other. For the ignorant multitude will always need and never cease to need prudent leadership, while the senate, which is capable of leadership, will always need multitudes willing to be ruled. This we know, not merely as a matter of opinion and conjecture, but also by actual experience.

[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ πειραθέντες ἴσμεν. τί οὖν δεδιπτόμεθα καὶ πράγματα παρέχομεν ἀλλήλοις; τί δὲ λόγους πονηροὺς λέγομεν χρηστὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες ἐν χερσίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναπτύξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ χεῖρε περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις ἄπιμεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παλαιὰν τέρψιν τῶν ἡδίστων καὶ πόθον ἀπάντων γλυκύτατον ἀποληψόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦμεν ἀσφαλείας ἀγενήτους καὶ πιστεῖς ἀπίστους, ὥσπερ οἱ πολεμιώτατοι καὶ πάντα ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον. ἡμῖν μὲν, ὧ δημόται, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου μία πίστις ἀπόχρη περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἂν ποτε ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς, εἰ κατέλθοιτε, κακοὺς τροφὰς τε ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰς εἰδόσι καὶ [p. 390] ἐπιτηδεύματα νόμιμα τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ἣν πολλάκις ἀπεδείξασθε καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πολέμους.

[2] Why, then, do we terrify and trouble one another? Why do we speak evil words when we have kindly deeds in our power? Why do we not rather open our arms and, embracing one another, return to our country to find there our old-time enjoyment of the dearest pleasures and the satisfaction of a yearning that is sweetest of all, instead of seeking securities that come to naught and faithless assurances, as do the deadliest foes who suspect the worst of everything? As for us of the senate, plebeians, one assurance suffices, that you will never, if you return, behave yourselves badly toward us, and that is the knowledge we have of your excellent rearing, of your law-abiding habits, and of all your other virtues, of which you have given many proofs both in peace and in war.

[3] καὶ εἴ τι δι' ἀνάγκην τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐλπίδος τὰ συμβόλαια κοινῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τύχοι, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα πιστεύομεν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὔτε ὄρκων οὔτε ὁμήρων οὔτε ἄλλης πίστεως παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους οὐδεμιᾶς: ὑμῖν μέντοι γε πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀξιουμένων ἐναντιωσόμεθα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πίστεως, ἐφ' ἣ διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς Βροῦτος ἐπεχείρει, ταῦτα ἱκανά. εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῖν φθόνος οὐ δίκαιος ἐγκάθηται πονηρὰ περὶ τῆς βουλῆς διανοεῖσθαι πείθων, βούλομαι τινα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον εἰπεῖν λόγον, ὧ δημόται: καὶ μου πρὸς θεῶν μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ προσοχῆς ἀκούσατε.

[3] And if, in consequence of the need of assurance and hope, the contracts should be revised by us jointly, we are confident that in all other respects at least you will be good citizens, and we have no need of either oaths or hostages or any other assurances from the people. However, we shall oppose

you in nothing you desire. Concerning the matter of assurances, then, upon which subject Brutus endeavoured to malign us, this is enough. But if any groundless hatred is implanted in your minds, causing you to entertain a bad opinion of the senate, I desire to speak to that point also, plebeians, and I beg of you in the name of the gods to hear me with silence and attention.

[1] ἔοικέ πως ἀνθρωπεῖω σώματι πόλις. σύνθετον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν ἔστιν ἑκάτερον· καὶ οὔτε δύνανται ἔχει ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν οὔτε χρεῖας παρέχεται τὰς ἴσας.

[86.1] “A commonwealth resembles in some measure a human body. For each of them is composite and consists of many parts; and no one of their parts either has the same function or performs the same service as the others.

[2] εἰ δὴ λάβοι τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀνθρωπεύου σώματος ἰδίαν αἴσθησιν καθ’ αὐτὰ καὶ φωνήν, ἔπειτα στάσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι καθ’ ἓν γενομένοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα μόνην, καὶ λέγοιεν οἱ μὲν πόδες, ὅτι πᾶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπικείται τὸ σῶμα· αἱ δὲ χεῖρες, ὅτι τὰς τέχνας ἐργάζονται καὶ τάπιτήδεια ἐκπορίζουσι καὶ μάχονται πολεμίοις καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὠφελήματα παρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν· οἱ δὲ ὦμοι, ὅτι τὰ ἄχθη πάντα ἐπ’ [p. 391] αὐτοῖς κομίζεται· τὸ δὲ στόμα ὅτι φθέγγεται· ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ, ὅτι ὁρᾷ καὶ ἀκούει καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις περιλαβοῦσα πάσας ἔχει, δι’ ὧν σώζεται τὸ πρᾶγμα· εἴτα φαῖεν πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα· σὺ δ’, ὦ χρηστή, τί τοῦτων ποιεῖς ἢ τις ἔστιν ἡ σὴ χάρις ἡμῖν καὶ ὠφέλεια; ἀλλὰ σὺ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέχεις τοῦ πράττειν καὶ συγκατορθοῦν ἡμῖν τι τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπράττεις καὶ ἐνοχλεῖς καί, πρᾶγμα ἀφόρητον, ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ φέρειν ἀπανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν.

[2] If, now, these parts of the human body should be endowed, each for itself, with perception and a voice of its own and a sedition should then arise among them, all of them uniting against the belly alone, and the feet should say that the whole body rests on them; the hands, that they ply the crafts, secure provisions, fight with enemies, and contribute many other advantages toward the common good; the shoulders, that they bear all the burdens; the mouth, that it speaks; the head, that it sees and hears and, comprehending the other senses, possesses all those by which the thing is preserved; and then all these should say to the belly, ‘And you, good creature, which of these things do you do? What return do you make and of what use are you to us? Indeed, you are so far from doing anything for us or assisting us in accomplishing anything useful for the common good that you are actually a hindrance and a trouble to us and — a thing intolerable — compel us to serve you and to bring things to you from everywhere for the gratification of your desires.

[3] φέρε, τί οὐ μεταποιούμεθα τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιέμεθα πραγματειῶν, ἃς ἔνεκα ταύτης ὑπομένομεν; εἰ δὴ ταῦτα δόξειεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι δρῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον, ἔσθ’ ὅπως ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ διαρκέσαι

δυνηθείη τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν μὲν ἀναλωθείη, λιμῷ; οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἄλλως τις εἰπεῖν.

[3] Come now, why do we not assert our liberty and free ourselves from the many troubles we undergo for the sake of this creature?' If, I say, they should decide upon this course and none of the parts should any longer perform its office, could the body possibly exist for any considerable time, and not rather be destroyed within a few days by the worst of all deaths, starvation No one can deny it. Now consider the same condition existing in a commonwealth.

[4] τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ὑπολάβετε καὶ περὶ πόλεως. πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ συμπληροῦντα καὶ ταύτην ἔθνη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις εἰκότα, ὧν ἕκαστον ἰδίαν τινὰ τῷ κοινῷ χρεῖαν ὥσπερ τὰ μέλη τῷ σώματι παρέχεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγροὺς γεωργοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ μάχονται περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δ' ἐμπορεῦνται πολλὰς διὰ θαλάσσης ὠφελείας, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐργάζονται τέχνας. εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα πρὸς [p. 392] τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων συνηγμένην διαστασιάσειε καὶ λέγοι: σὺ δ' ἡμῖν, ὦ βουλή, τί ποιεῖς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῖς; οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοις: ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἀπαλλαγησόμεθ' αὐτοῦ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ἢ διὰ ποτὲ καὶ διχ'

[4] For this also is composed of many classes of people not at all resembling one another, every one of which contributes some particular service to the common good, just as its members do to the body. For some cultivate the fields, some fight against the enemy in defence of those fields, others carry on much useful trade by sea, and still others ply the necessary crafts. If, then, all these different classes of people should rise against the senate, which is composed of the best men, and say, 'As for you, senate, what good do you do us, and for what reason do you presume to rule over others? Not a thing can you name. Well then, shall we not now at last free ourselves from this tyranny of yours and live without a leader?'

[5] ἡγεμόνος οἰκήσομεν; εἰ δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθέντες τῶν συνηθῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων ἀποσταῖεν, τί κωλύσει ταύτην κακὴν κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ πολέμου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου κακοῦ; μαθόντες οὖν, ὦ δημότα, ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἡ λοιδορουμένη κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν γαστήρ τρέφει τὸ σῶμα τρεφομένη καὶ σώζει σωζομένη, καὶ ἔστιν ὥσει τις ἐστίασις κοινὴ τὸ πρόσφορον ἀπάντων καὶ τῆς διαλλαγῆς αἴτιον ἀποδιδούσα, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ διοικοῦσα τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἕκαστῳ προνοουμένη βουλή πάντα σώζει καὶ φυλάττει καὶ ἐπανορθοῖ, παύσασθε τὰς ἐπιφθόνους κατ' αὐτῆς φωνὰς λέγοντες, ὡς ἐξεβλήθητε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὡς ἀλῆται καὶ πτωχοὶ περιέρχεσθε δι' αὐτήν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰργασταὶ δεινὸν οὐδ' ἂν ἐργάσαιτο, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ καλεῖ καὶ ἀντιβολεῖ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἅμα ταῖς πύλαις ἀναπετάσασα ὑποδέχεται.

[5] If, I say, they should take this resolution and quit their usual employments,

what will hinder this miserable commonwealth from perishing miserably by famine, war and every other evil? Learn, therefore, plebeians, that just as in our bodies the belly thus evilly reviled by the multitude nourishes the body even while it is itself nourished, and preserves it while it is preserved itself, and is a kind of feast, as it were, provided by joint contributions, which as a result of the exchange duly distributes that which is beneficial to each and all, so in commonwealths the senate, which administers the affairs of the public and provides what is expedient for everyone, preserves, guards, and corrects all things. Cease, then, uttering those invidious remarks about the senate, to the effect that you have been driven out of your country by it and that because of it you wander about like vagabonds and beggars. For it neither has done you any harm nor can do you any, but of its own accord calls you and entreats you, and opening all hearts together with the gates, is waiting to welcome you.”

[1] τοιαῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Μενηνίου πολλάι καὶ ποικίλαι παρ’ ὅλην ἐγίγνοντο τὴν δημηγορίαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων φωναί. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτῶν τοῦ λόγου [p. 393] πρὸς ὀλοφυρμοὺς ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰς μελλούσας καθεῖξιν συμφορὰς τοὺς τε ὑπομένοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς ἀπελαυνομένους καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν ἀνεκλάυστο τύχας, δάκρυά θ’ ἀπάντων ἐξεχέϊτο καὶ μιᾷ βοῇ συμφρονήσαντες ἀνεβόησαν ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μὴ τριβεῖν τὸν χρόνον: ὀλίγου τε πάνυ ἐδέησαν ἀπιέναι διὰ τάχους ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντες καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν πραγματευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ παρελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπέσχε τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχειν τῷ δήμῳ λέγων, ὅσα ἢ βουλή ὑποσχέϊτο, καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῇ τῶν συγχωρηθέντων χάριν ἔχειν ἀξιῶν: δεδοικέναι μέντοι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φάσκων καὶ τοὺς αὖθις ποτε τυραννικοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιχειρήσοντας εἰ τύχοι,

[87.1] While Menenius was thus speaking, many and various were the cries uttered by the audience throughout his whole speech. But when at the close of it he had recourse to lamentations, and enumerating the calamities that would befall both those who remained in the city and those who were driven out of it, bewailed the misfortunes of both, tears flowed from the eyes of all and they cried out to him with one mind and voice to lead them back to the city without waste of time. And they came very near quitting the assembly that moment and entrusting all their affairs to the envoys without settling anything else relating to their security. But Brutus, coming forward, restrained their eagerness, saying that, while in general the promises made by the senate were advantageous to the people and he thought it very proper that the latter should feel very grateful to them for those concessions, he nevertheless feared the time to come and the tyrannical men who might one day if occasion offered, again attempt to make the people feel their resentment for what they had done.

[2] περὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῷ δήμῳ μνησικακεῖν. μίαν δ’ εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς

δεδοικόσι τοὺς κρείττονας μόνην ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην, εἰ γένοιτο αὐτοῖς φανερόν, ὅτι τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν οὐχ ὑπάρχει δύναμις: ἕως δ' ἂν παρῇ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ πονηρὰ δρᾶν, οὐκ ἔλλειψιν τοῖς πονηροῖς τὸ βούλεσθαι. ταύτης οὖν εἰ τύχοιεν τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι δεήσειν.

[2] There was one safeguard only, he said, any who were afraid of their superiors, and that was for them to be convinced that those who desired to injure them had not the power to do so; for as long as there was the power to do evil, evil men would never lack the will. If, therefore, the plebeians could obtain this safeguard, they would need nothing more.

[3] ὑποτυχόντος δὲ τοῦ Μενηνίου καὶ κελεύσαντος λέγειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἥς ἔτι τὸν δῆμον οἴεται δεῖσθαι, συγχωρήσατε, φησὶν, ἡμῖν ἄρχοντας ἀποδεικνύναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν ὅσουσδήτινας, οἵτινες ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς [p. 394] ἔσονται κύριοι, τοῖς δ' ἀδικουμένοις ἢ καπισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτῶν βοηθήσουσι καὶ οὐ περιόψονται τῶν δικαίων ἀποστεροῦμενον οὐθέν: τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ἀντιβολοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς δεδώκατε, εἰ μὴ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔργον εἶσιν αἱ διαλλαγαί, δοῦναι καὶ χαρίσασθαι.

[3] And Menenius, having replied and asked him to name the safeguard he thought the people still needed, he said: "Give us leave to choose out of our own body every year a certain number of magistrates who shall be invested with no other power than to relieve those plebeians to whom any injury or violence is offered, and to permit none of them to be deprived of their rights. This favour we entreat and beg you to add to those you have already granted us, if our accommodation is not one in word only, but a reality."

[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ὡς τούτων ἤκουσε, μεγάλῃ βοῇ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κατεχούσῃ τὸν τε ἄνδρα ἐπήγει, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει συγχωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ τοῦτο. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις μεταστάντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διαλεχθέντες ὀλίγα πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρήσαν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης παρελθὼν ὁ Μενήνιος εἶπε: τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα, ᾧ δημόται, μέγα καὶ πολλῶν μεστὸν ὑποψιῶν ἀτόπων: δέος τε καὶ φροντὶς ἡμᾶς εἰσέρχεται, μὴ ποτε δύο πόλεις ποιήσωμεν ἐν μιᾷ: πλὴν τὸ γ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι μέρος οὐδὲ πρὸς ταύτην ἐναντιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν.

[88.1] When the people heard these words, they cheered Brutus loud and long, and asked the envoys to grant them this also. These, having withdrawn from the assembly and conferred briefly, returned after a short time. And when silence prevailed, Menenius came forward and said: "This is a matter of great moment, plebeians, and one full of strange suspicions, and we feel some alarm and concern lest we shall form two states in one. However, so far as we ourselves are concerned, we do not oppose even this request of yours.

[2] τοῦτο μέντοι χαρίσασθε ἡμῖν, ὃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν: ἐπιτρέψατε τῶν

πρεσβευτῶν τισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένοις δηλῶσαι τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρ' αὐτῆς ἔχομεν, ὅπως ἂν βουλώμεθα, ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλλαγὰς αὐτοκράτορες ὄντες τῶν ὑποσχέσεων, αὐτοὶ γέ τοι λαβεῖν τοῦτ' οὐ δικαιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἡμῖν ἀπήντηται πρᾶγμα καινόν, ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ συνεδρίῳ φέροντες ἀναθήσομεν: πεπεισμεθα μέντοι κἀκείνῳ ταῦτ' αὐτὰ δόξειν ἅπερ ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐνθάδε μενῶ καὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ τι μέρος τῆς πρεσβείας, Οὐαλέριος δὲ πορεύσεται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν [p. 395]

[2] But grant us this privilege, which is also for your own interest. Allow some of the envoys to go to the city and inform the senate of these matters; for even though we have the power from them to conclude the accommodation in such a manner as we think fit and may at our own discretion make such promises in their name as we please, yet we do not think proper to take this upon ourselves, but since a new matter has been unexpectedly proposed to us, we will divest ourselves of our own power and refer the matter to the senate. However, we are persuaded that the senate will be of the same opinion as we are. I, therefore, will remain here together with some of the other envoys, and Valerius with the rest shall go to the senate."

[3] αὐτῷ. ἐδόκει ταῦτα: καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἤλαυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μέλλοντες δηλώσειν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ γενόμενα. προθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπᾶτων λόγον τοῖς συνέδροις, Οὐαλερίου μὲν ἦν γνώμη διδόναι καὶ ταύτην τῷ δήμῳ τὴν χάριν: Ἀππίος δέ, ὅσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν ἀντιοῦτο ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντέλεγε βοῶν καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος καί, ὅσων μέλλοι σπέρμα κακῶν βαλεῖν, τῇ πολιτεία προλέγων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὠρμηκότας, ὥσπερ εἶπον, διαλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν. γίνεται δὴ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὅσα οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ, πάντα εἶναι κύρια, καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν,

[3] This was agreed upon, and the persons appointed to inform the senate of what had happened took horse and rode in all haste to Rome. When the consuls had proposed the matter to the senators, Valerius expressed the opinion that this favour also should be granted to the people. On the other hand, Appius, who from the first had opposed the accommodation, spoke openly in opposition on this occasion also, crying out, calling the gods to witness, and foretelling what seeds of future evils to the commonwealth they were about to sow. But he was not able to prevail with the majority of the senate, who, as I said, were determined to put an end to the sedition. Accordingly, a decree of the senate was passed confirming all the promises made by the envoys to the people and granting the safeguard they desired.

[4] ἦν ἡτέιτο, ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦθ' οἱ πρέσβεις διοικησάμενοι τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ διεσάφησαν. μετὰ τοῦτο Μενηνίου παραινέσαντος τοῖς δημόταις ἀποστεῖλαι πινας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἷς ἡ βουλὴ τὰ πιστὰ δώσει, πέμπεται Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος, ὑπὲρ

οὐ πρότερον εἶρηκα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάρκος Δέκιος καὶ Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀφιγμένων οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψαν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν κατέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διαγράψαι παρακληθεὶς τὸν νόμον τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καθ' ὃν ἀποδείξουσι τὰς ἀρχάς.

[4] The envoys, having transacted this business, returned to the camp the next day and made known the decision of the senate. Thereupon Menenius advised the plebeians to send some persons to receive the pledges which the senate was to give; and pursuant to this, Lucius Junius Brutus, whom I mentioned before, was sent, and with him Marcus Decius and Spurius Icilius. Of the envoys who had come from the senate one half returned to the city with Brutus and his associates; but Agrippa with the rest remained in the camp, having been asked by the plebeians to draw up the law for the creation of their magistrates.

[1] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον πεποιημένοι τὰς πρὸς τὴν βουλήν συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 396] Φητιάλεις. νεμηθεὶς δ' ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὰς τότε οὔσας φράτρας, ἣ ὅπως βούλεται τις αὐτὰς προσαγορεύειν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι καλοῦσι κουρίας, ἄρχοντας ἐνιαυσίους ἀποδεικνύουσι τοῦσδε: Λεῦκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γάιον Σικίννιον Βελλοῦτον, οὓς καὶ τέως εἶχον ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Γάιον καὶ Πόπλιον Λικιννίους καὶ Γάιον Οὐίσκέλλιον Ροῦγαν.

[89.1] The next day Brutus and those who had been sent with him returned, having effected the agreement with the senate through the arbiters of peace who are called by the Romans *fetiales*. And the people, dividing themselves into the clans of that day, or whatever one wishes to term the divisions which the Romans call *curiae*, chose for their annual magistrates the following persons: Lucius Junius Brutus and Gaius Sicinius Bellutus, whom they had had as their leaders up to that time, and, in addition to these, Gaius and Publius Licinius and Gaius Visellius Ruga.

[2] οὗτοι τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτοι παρέλαβον οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ πρότερον εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίων, ὥσπερ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται. τελεσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τοῖς μὲν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἤκουσι καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει πάντα, περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλησαν: ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν συνεβούλευε τοῖς δημόταις ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀποδείξαι τὴν ἀρχὴν νόμῳ τε καὶ

[2] These five persons were the first who received the tribunician power, on the fourth day before the ides of December, as is the custom even to our time. The election being over, the envoys of the senate considered that everything for which they had been sent was now properly settled. But Brutus, calling the plebeians together, advised them to render this magistracy sacred and inviolable, insuring its security by both a law and an oath.

[3] 12 Ὀρκῷ βεβαιώσαντας αὐτῇ τὸ ἀσφαλές. ἐδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσι, καὶ γράφεται πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων ὅδε ὁ νόμος: δῆμαρχον ἄκοντα, ὥσπερ ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν, μηδεὶς μηδὲν ἀναγκάζετω δρᾶν μηδὲ μαστιγοῦτω μηδ' ἐπιταττέτω μαστιγοῦν ἑτέρῳ μηδ' ἀποκτινύντω μηδ' ἀποκτείνειν κελευέτω. ἂν δέ τις τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων τι ποιήσῃ, ἐξάγιστος ἔστω, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἱερά, καὶ ὁ κτείνας τινὰ τῶν ταῦτ'

[3] This was approved of by all, and a law was drawn up by him and his colleagues, as follows: "Let no one compel a tribune of the people, as if he were an ordinary person, to do anything against his will; let no one whip him or order another to whip him; and let no one kill him or order another to kill him. If anybody shall do any one of these things that are forbidden, let him be accursed and let his goods be consecrated to Ceres; and if anybody shall kill one who has done any of these things, let him be guiltless of murder."

[4] εἰργασμένων φόνου καθαρὸς ἔστω. καὶ ἵνα μηδὲ τὸ [p. 397] λοιπὸν τῷ δήμῳ ἐξουσία γένηται καταπαῦσαι τόνδε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἀκίνητος διαμείνῃ, πάντας ἐτάχθη Ῥωμαίους ὁμόσαι καθ' ἱερῶν ἧ μὴν χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον, ἀρὰ τε τῷ Ὀρκῷ προσετέθη, τοῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦσι τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς οὐρανίους ἵλεως εἶναι καὶ δαίμονας τοὺς καταχθονίους, τοῖς δὲ παραβαίνουσιν ἐναντία καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ δαιμόνων ὥς ἄγει τῷ μεγίστῳ ἐνόχοις. ἐκ τούτων κατέστη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος τὰ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα ἱερά εἶναι καὶ παναγῇ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διαμένει.

[4] And to the end that the people might not even in future be at liberty to repeal this law, but that it might forever remain unalterable, it was ordained that all the Romans should solemnly swear over the sacrificial victims to observe it for all time, both they and their posterity; and a prayer was added to the oath that the heavenly gods and the divinities of the lower world might be propitious to those who observed it, and that the displeasure of the gods and divinities might be visited upon those who violated it, as being guilty of the greatest sacrilege. From this the custom arose among the Romans of regarding the persons of the tribunes of the people as sacrosanct, which custom continues to this day.

[1] ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, βωμὸν κατεσκεύασαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας, ἐν ἧ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος αὐτοὺς τότε δειμᾶτος ὠνόμασαν, ὡς ἡ πάτριος αὐτῶν σημαίνει γλῶσσα, Διὸς Δειματίου: ᾧ θυσίας ἐπιτελέσαντες καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον αὐτοὺς τόπον ἱερὸν ἀνέντες, κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν.

[90.1] After they had passed this vote they erected an altar upon the summit of the mount where they had encamped, which they named in their own language the altar of Jupiter the Terrifier, from the terror which had possessed them at that time; and when they had performed sacrifices to this god and had

consecrated the place which had received them, they returned to the city with the envoys.

[2] ἀποδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς χαριστήρια, καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους πείσαντες ἐπικυρῶσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτου παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχον, ἐδεήθησαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσιν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν δύο καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι τοὺς ὑπηρετήσοντας τοῖς δημάρχους ὅσων ἂν δέωνται καὶ δίκας, ἃς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωνται ἐκεῖνοι, κρινοῦντας ἱερῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων τόπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίας [p. 398]

[2] After this they also returned thanks to the gods worshipped in the city, and prevailed upon the patricians to pass a vote for the confirmation of their new magistracy. And having obtained this also, they asked further that the senate should allow them to appoint every year two plebeians to act as assistants to the tribunes in everything the latter should require, to decide such causes as the others should refer to them, to have the oversight of public places, both sacred and profane, and to see that the market was supplied with plenty of provisions.

[3] ἐπιμελησομένους. λαβόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ συγχώρημα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἄνδρας, οὓς ὑπηρετάς τῶν δημάρχων καὶ συνάρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἐκάλουν. νῦν μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν ἀφ' ἑνὸς ὧν πράττουσιν ἔργων ἱερῶν τόπων ἐπιμελεῖται καλοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκέθ' ὑπηρετικὴν ἐτέρων ἔχουσιν, ὡς πρότερον, ἐπιτέτραπται δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ σχεδὸν ὅμοιασι πῶς κατὰ τὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς παρ' Ἑλληνισιν ἀγορανόμοις.

[3] Having obtained this concession also from the senate, they chose men whom they called assistants and colleagues of the tribunes, and judges. Now, however, they are called in their own language, from one of their functions, overseers of sacred places or aediles, and their power is no longer subordinate to that of other magistrates, as formerly; but many affairs of great importance are entrusted to them, and in most respects they resemble more or less the agoranomoi or “market-overseers” among the Greeks.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστη τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἐκομίσαστο ἡ πόλις, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων στρατιὰ κατελέγετο πολλὴν εἰσενεγκαμένου προθυμίας τοῦ δήμου καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου πάντα τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαντος. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων διακληρωσαμένων περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, Σπόριος μὲν Κάσσιος, ὃς ἔλαχε τὴν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὑπέμεινε μέρος τῆς κατειλεγμένης δυνάμεως τὸ ἀρκοῦν λαβών: Πόστουμος δὲ Κομίνιος ἐξῆγγε τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιὰν Ῥωμαίων τ' αὐτῶν ἀξιόχρεων ἄγων μοῖραν καὶ Λατίνων τι συμμαχικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον.

[91.1] When affairs had been settled and the commonwealth restored to its former state, an army was raised by the generals against their foreign foes, as the people now displayed great alacrity and in a short time got everything ready that was necessary for the war. The consuls having drawn lots for their official duties according to custom, Spurius Cassius, to whom the oversight of affairs in the city fell, remained at home, retaining a sufficient part of the forces which had been raised, while Postumus Cominius took the field with the rest of the army, consisting of not only an adequate part of the Romans themselves but also no small auxiliary force of Latins.

[2] κρίνας δὲ Οὐολούσκοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πρώτοις πόλιν αὐτῶν Λογγόλαν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνεται, ἐπιβαλομένων μὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μεταποιεῖσθαι τινος ἀρετῆς καὶ τινα στρατιὰν ὑπαίθριον ἀποστειλάντων, ἧ τοὺς ἐπίνοντας ἀνείρξειν [p. 399] ἐπίστευον, αἰσχυρῶς δ' ἀναγκασθέντων φυγεῖν πρὶν ἢ λαμπρὸν τι ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ γενναῖον οὐδὲν διαπραξαμένων. μῖα γοῦν ἡμέρα τῆς τε γῆς αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν ἄκοντι καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον.

[2] And deciding to attack the Volscians first, he took a city of theirs called Longula at the first assault, though the inhabitants undertook to make some show of bravery and sent some forces into the field in hopes of holding back the enemy; but these were put to shameful flight before they had performed any brilliant action and did not display the least courage even during the assault on their walls. At all events the Romans in one day not only possessed themselves of their country without effort, but also took their city by storm without much difficulty.

[3] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς τὰ τ' ἐγκαταληφθέντα χρήματα διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφείς καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν ἐξῆλγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' ἑτέραν πόλιν τῶν Οὐολούσκων, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Πόλουσκα, διάστημα δ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς Λογγόλας ἀπέχει. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ τολμήσαντος ὑπαντῆσαι διανύσας τὴν χώραν κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσι: τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς πύλας διακόψαντες, οἱ δὲ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες, αὐθημερὸν γίνονται καὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως κύριοι.

[3] The Roman general permitted the soldiers to divide all the goods left in the city, and then, leaving a garrison there, led his army against another city of the Volscians called Polusca, not far distant from Longula. When none dared to oppose him, he marched through the country with great ease and assaulted the walls; and then, some of the soldiers forcing open the gates and others scaling the walls, they made themselves masters of this city also that same day.

[4] ὡς δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινας ἐπιλέξας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσει ζημιώσας καὶ ὅπλα ἀφελόμενος, Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἠνάγκασεν ὑπηκόους.

[4] After the consul had taken the city he chose out a few of the inhabitants who had been the authors of the revolt and put them to death; and having punished the rest by taking away their effects and disarmed them, he obliged them to be subjects of the Romans for the future.

[1] καταλιπὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ βραχεῖαν τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν ἕνεκα φυλακῆς, τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κοριόλαν, πόλιν ἐπιφανῇ σφόδρα καὶ ὥσπερ ἂν μητρόπολιν τῶν Οὐλοῦσκων: ἔνθα καὶ δύναμις ἦν συνειλεγμένη καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐ ῥάδιον ἀλῶναι τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ἔνδον ἐκ πολλοῦ. [p. 400] ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίας ἀποκρούεται πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολέσας.

[92.1] He left in this city also a small part of the army as a garrison, and the next day marched with the rest to Corioli, a city of very great note and the mother-city, so to speak, of the Volscians. Here a strong force had been assembled, the walls were not easy to be taken, and everything necessary for war had been prepared long before by the inhabitants. The consul undertook to storm the walls and persisted in his efforts till late in the afternoon, but was repulsed by the enemy after he had lost many of his men.

[2] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κριούς τε καὶ γέρρα καὶ κλίμακας εὐτρεπισάμενος παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πειρασόμενος τῆς πόλεως, ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι πολλῇ χειρὶ μέλλουσιν Ἀντιάται βοηθεῖν τοῖς Κοριολάνοις κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐν ὁδῷ ἤδη, μερίσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν τῷ μὲν ἡμίσει τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω Τίτον Λάρκιον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν,

[2] The next day he got ready battering rams, mantlets, and scaling-ladders and was preparing to make an attempt against the city with his entire forces; but learning that the Antiates were planning to come with a large force to the assistance of the Coriolani because of their kinship with them, and that those chosen to make the expedition were already upon the march, he divided his army and determined to continue the assault on the city with one half of it, leaving Titus Larcus in command, with the other half to stop the advance of the approaching force.

[3] 13 τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ κωλύειν τοὺς ἐπιόντας διενоеῖτο. καὶ γίνονται δύο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀγῶνες: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐνίκων ἀπάντων μὲν προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένων, ἐνὸς δ' ἀνδρὸς ἄπιστον ἀρετὴν καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονας ἀποδειξαμένου πράξεις, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν πατρικίων καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμενων πατέρων, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Γάιος Μάρκιος, σώφρων δὲ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ἀνὴρ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθέρου μεστός. ἐγένετο δ' ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐκατέρας μάχης τοιόσδε: ὁ μὲν Λάρκιος ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς Κοριόλας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς: οἱ δὲ Κοριολάνοι μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀντιατῶν

βοηθεία, ἣν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ σφίσι παρέσσεσθαι ἐπίστευον, ἀνοιξαντες ἀπάσας τὰς πύλας ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρόοι.

[3] Thus two actions took place on the same day, and the Romans gained the victory in both, as all of them fought with great ardour and one man in particular displayed incredible bravery and performed deeds that beggar description. This man was of patrician rank and of no obscure lineage, Gaius Marcius by name; he was sober and restrained in his private life and had the spirit of a freeman in full measure. The circumstances of the two actions were as follows: Larcius, having marched out of the camp with his army at break of day, advanced to the walls of Corioli and assault the city in many places. The Coriolani, for their part, elated by their expectation of aid from the Antiates, which they were convinced would soon reach them, opened all their gates and made a general sally against the enemy.

[4] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐδέξαντο καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς τοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἔδοσαν, ἔπειτα πλείονων ἐπιόντων ὠθούμενοι κατὰ πρानοῦς χωρίου ἐνέκλιναν. [p. 401] τοῦτο κατιδὼν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρότερον ἔφην, ἴσταται σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ δέχεται τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τῶν πολέμιων στίφος: καταβαλὼν δὲ συχνοὺς αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐνέκλιναν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον, ἠκολούθει κτεινὼν αἰεὶ τοὺς ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐπικελευόμενος τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν σφετέρων ἀναστρέφειν τε καὶ θαρρεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι.

[4] The Romans sustained their first attack and wounded many of those who engaged them, but later, as the number of the assailants increased, they were forced down hill and gave way. Marcius, whom I mentioned before, upon seeing this, stood his ground with a few followers and awaited the solid mass of the enemy as they attacked. When he had struck down many of them and the rest gave way and fled toward the city, he followed, slaying, one after another, all who came within reach, and calling out without intermission to those of his own men who fled to face about, to take courage, and to follow him.

[5] οἱ δ' αἰδεσθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνέστρεφον αὐθις καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέκειντο παῖοντες καὶ διώκοντες, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου τοὺς συμπλακέντας ἕκαστοι τρεψάμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς τείχεσι: καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος θρασύτερον ἤδη κινδυνεύων προσωτέρῳ μᾶλλον ἐχώρει καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς γενόμενος ταῖς πύλαις συνεισέπιπτε τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. συνεισπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως φόνος ἐγίνετο ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πολὺς: τῶν μὲν ἀνὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, τῶν δὲ περὶ ταῖς ἀλίσκομέναις οἰκίαις μαχομένων.

[5] These, ashamed of their behaviour, rallied and pressed hard upon their opponents, smiting and pursuing them; and in a short time they had all routed their antagonists and were attacking the walls of the city. Marcius, exposing

himself now with greater boldness, kept advancing farther and farther, and coming to the very gates, entered along with those who were fleeing inside the walls. And when many others also forced their way inside with him, there ensued a great slaughter on both sides in many parts of the city, some fighting in the streets and others in defence of the houses that were being taken.

[6] συνελάμβανον δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τοῖς ἔνδον καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν βάλλουσαι τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς καλυπτῆρσι, καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἐκάστω τις ἰσχὺς καὶ δύνამις ἦν προθύμως ἐβοήθουν τῇ πατρίδι. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺν γε χρόνον τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντείχον, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐτράποντο καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλουν [p. 402] προσκείμενοι ταῖς ὠφελείαις χρημάτων τε πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἀνδραπόδων,

[6] Even women assisted the inhabitants in their struggle by hurling down tiles upon the enemy from the roofs; and everyone according to his strength and power bravely defended his native city. However, they did not hold out long against these perils, but were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. The city having been taken in this manner, most of the Romans turned to plundering the property found there, and continued for a long time intent on the booty, as there was a large quantity of money and a great number of slaves in the place.

[1] ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ὑποστάς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ λαμπρότατος ἀπάντων γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς τείχους ἀγῶσι, λαμπρότερος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιάτας συστάντι ἐφάνη. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτης ἐδικαίωσεν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς μάχης, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ κρατηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἀκολουθησάι δυνηθέντας ἐπαγόμενος ἐχώρει δρόμῳ, καὶ καταλαβὼν παρατεταγμένας ἤδη τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ μελλούσας εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι, τὴν τε ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος ἀναγγέλλει τοῖς σφετέροις, τεκμήριον αὐτῆς ἀποδεικνὺς τὸν καπνόν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπρησθεισῶν οἰκιῶν πολλὺς ἐφέρετο, καὶ δεηθεὶς τοῦ ὑπάτου κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον τῶν πολεμίων εἰλεῖτο.

[93.1] But Marcius, who had been the first and only man to sustain the shock of the enemy and had distinguished himself above all the Romans both in the storming of the city and in the struggles which took place inside the walls, gained greater distinction in the second battle, which was fought against the Antiates. For he resolved not to be absent from this action either, but as soon as the city was captured, he took with him the small number of men who were able to follow him, and advancing at a run, found the two armies already drawn up and on the point of engaging. He was the first to inform the Romans of the capture of the city, and as a proof of it showed them the smoke which was rising in great volume from the houses that had been set on fire. And having obtained leave of the consul, he drew up his men in a compact body opposite the strongest force of the enemy.

[2] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη τῆς μάχης, πρῶτος ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐχώρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἀποκτείνας εἰς μέσσην αὐτῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥθειται. οἱ δ' Ἀντιάται συστάδην μὲν οὐκέτι μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἐξέλειπον τὰς τάξεις καθ' οὓς γένοιτο ἐπιών, κύκλω δὲ περιστάντο ἄθροοι καὶ ἔβαλλον ὑποχωροῦντες ἐπιόντα τε καὶ ἐπόμενον. ὁ δὲ Πόστουμος ὡς ἔγνω [p. 403] τοῦτο, δείσας μὴ τι μονωθεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ πάθῃ, τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν νέων ἀρωγοὺς αὐτῷ πέμπει: κάκεῖνοι ποιήσαντες πυκνοὺς τοὺς λόχους ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν κατὰ μέτωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν τραπέντων, προσωτέρω προχωροῦντες εὐρίσκουσι τὸν Μάρκιον τραυμάτων μεστὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὀρώσι νεκροὺς τε κειμένους πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμιθανεῖς.

[2] As soon as the battle signals were raised, he was the first to come to grips with his opponents, and having killed many of those he encountered, he forced his way into the midst of their ranks. The Antiates no longer ventured to engaged him hand to hand, but leaving their ranks where he attacked, they surrounded him in a body, and retreating as he advanced and pursued them, they assailed him with their missiles. Postumus, being informed of this and fearing lest the man, thus isolated, might meet with some disaster, sent the bravest of the youth to his relief. These, doubling their files, charged the enemy; and when the first line failed to sustain their charge, but turned to flight, they pressed forward and found Marcius covered with wounds and saw many lying round him, some dead and others dying.

[3] μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη κοινῶς ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνα τὸν Μάρκιον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔτι διαμένοντας ἐν τάξει, κτείνοντες τοὺς ὑφισταμένους καὶ ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις παραχρῶμενοι. ἄξιοι μὲν δὴ λόγου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένοντο, κράτιστοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ προασπίσαντες τὸν Μάρκιον: ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρκιος, ὃς καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀναμφιλόγως αἰτιώτατος ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεσκόταξεν ἤδη, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ νικῇ φρονοῦντες καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνιρηκότες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν, πολλοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντες.

[3] Thereupon they advanced together under Marcius as leader against those of the enemy who still kept their ranks, killing all who made any resistance and treating them like slaves. Though all the Romans displayed notable valour in this action, and the bravest of them were those who defended Marcius, yet brave beyond all the rest was Marcius himself, who was without any doubt the chief cause of the victory. When at last it grew dark, the Romans retired to their camp greatly exulting in their victory, having killed many of the Antiates and carrying with them a great number of prisoners.

[1] τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας ὁ Πόστουμος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ Μαρκίου διεξῆλθε πολὺν καὶ στεφάνους αὐτὸν ἀριστείοις ἀνέδθησεν ἀμφοτέρων χαριστήρια τῶν ἀγώνων ἀποδιδούς. ἔδωρήσατο δ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ πολεμιστῇ στρατηγικοῖς ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένῳ καὶ δέκα σώμασιν αἰχμαλώτοις, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ποιήσας, οὓς βούλοιτο λαβεῖν, ἀργυρίῳ τε, [p. 404] ὅσον ἂν ἐξενέγκασθαι δύναιτο αὐτός, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης λείας πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς ἀπαρχαῖς.

[94.1] The next day Postumus, having assembled the army, spoke at length in praise of Marcius and crowned him with the crowns of valour, as rewards for his behaviour in both the actions. He also presented him with a war-horse adorned with the trappings belonging to that of a general, together with ten captives, leaving it to him to take such as he wished, and also as much silver as he could carry away himself, and many other fine first-fruits of the booty.

[2] βοῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐξ ἁπάντων μεγάλης, ὥς ἂν ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ

συνηδομένων, προσελθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος τῷ τε ὑπᾶτῳ χάριν εἶδέναι μεγάλην ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς, ὧν αὐτὸν ἡξίουσαν: οὐ μέντοι καταχρήσεσθαι γ' αὐταῖς, ἀρκεσθῆσεσθαι δὲ τῷ θ' ἔπῳ τῆς λαμπρότητος τῶν σημείων ἔνεκεν καὶ ἐνὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ, ὃς ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πρότερον ἀγάμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γενναιότητος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασαν τῆς ὑπεροψίας τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι μετρίως ἤνεγκε τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν. ἐκ τοῦτου Κοριολανὸς ἐπεκλήθη τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ πάντων ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιφανέστατος.

[2] When all raised a great shout in token of their approval and congratulation, Marcius came forward and said that he was very grateful both to the consul and to all the others for the honours of which they held him worthy; however, he would not avail himself of them all, but would be content with the horse, for the sake of the splendid trappings, and with one captive, who chanced to be a personal friend of his. The soldiers, who even before this had admired the man for his valour, now marvelled at him still more for his contempt of riches and for his moderation in such good fortune. From this action he was surnamed Coriolanus and became the most illustrious man of his age.

[3] τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιάτας μάχης τοῦτο λαβούσης τὸ τέλος αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Οὐλοῦσκων πόλεις διελύοντο τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔχθραν, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ὅμοια ἐκείνοις ἐφρόνουν, οἳ τ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤδη ὄντες, καὶ οἱ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέπαυντο. οἷς ἅπασιν ὁ Πόστουμος ἐπεικῶς χρησάμενος, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία, καὶ διαφῆκε τὴν στρατιάν. Κάσσιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν νεῶν τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Κόρης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ καθιέρωσεν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρμασι τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἵπποδρόμων ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἰδρυμένος τὰς ἀφέσεις, εὐξαμένου μὲν αὐτὸν Αὔλου Ποστουμίου τοῦ [p. 405] δικτάτορος ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀναθήσειν τοῖς θεοῖς, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Λατίνων στρατιάν, τῆς τε βουλῆς μετὰ τὸ νίκημα τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένης ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ποιήσασθαι πᾶσαν, τότε δὲ τοῦ ἔργου λαβόντος τὴν συντέλειαν.

[3] Such having been the outcome of the battle with the Antiates, the rest of the Volscian cities proceeded to give up their hostility to the Romans; and all who had sympathized with them, both those already in arms and those making their preparations for war, refrained. Postumus treated them all with moderation, and then, returning home, disbanded the army.

Cassius, the other consul, who had been left at Rome, in the mean time consecrated the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, which stands at the end of the Circus Maximus, being erected directly above the starting-places. Aulus Postumius the dictator had made a vow, when he was on the point of engaging the army of the Latins, to dedicate it to the gods in the name of the commonwealth, and the senate after the victory having decreed that this temple should be built entirely out of the spoils, the work was now completed.

[1] ἐγένοντο δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις ἀπάσας συνθῆκαι καιναὶ μεθ' ὄρκων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας, ἐπειδὴ παρακινήσαι τ' οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐν τῇ στάσει, καὶ συνηδόμενοι τῇ καθόδῳ τοῦ δήμου φανεροὶ ἦσαν, τοῦ τε πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἐτοιμῶς ἐδόκουν συνάρασθαι.

[95.1] At the same time, a new treaty of peace and friendship was made with all the Latin cities, and confirmed by oaths, inasmuch as they had not attempted to create any disturbance during the sedition, had openly rejoiced at the return of the populace, and seemed to have been prompt in assisting the Romans against those who had revolted from them.

[2] ἦν δὲ τὰ γραφέντα ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις τοιάδε: Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις εἰρήνη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔστω, μέχρις ἂν οὐρανὸς τε καὶ γῆ τὴν αὐτὴν στάσιν ἔχωσι: καὶ μήτ' αὐτοὶ πολεμείτωσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μήτ' ἄλλοθεν πολέμους ἐπαγέτωσαν, μήτε τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι πόλεμον ὁδοὺς παρεχέτωσαν ἀσφαλεῖς βοηθείτωσάν τε τοῖς πολεμουμένοις ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει, λαφύρων τε καὶ λείας τῆς ἐκ πολέμων κοινῶν τὸ ἴσον λαχανέτωσαν μέρος ἑκάτεροι: τῶν τ' ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων αἱ κρίσεις ἐν ἡμέραις γιγνέσθωσαν δέκα, παρ' οἷς ἂν γένηται τὸ συμβόλαιον. ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ταύταις μηδὲν ἐξέστω προσθεῖναι μηδ' ἀφελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὃ τι ἂν μὴ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λατίνοις ἅπασι δοκῇ.

[2] The provisions of the treaty were as follows: "Let there be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities as long as the heavens and the earth shall remain where they are. Let them neither make war upon another themselves nor bring in foreign enemies nor grant a safe passage to those who shall make war upon either. Let them assist one another, when warred upon, with all their forces, and let each have an equal share of the spoils and booty taken in their common wars. Let suits relating to private contracts be determined within ten days, and in the nation where the contract was made. And let it not be permitted to add anything to, or take anything away from these treaties except by the consent both of the Romans and of all the Latins."

[3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Λατῖνοι [p. 406] συνέθηκαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόσαντες καθ' ἱερῶν. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ θυσίας ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ βουλὴ χαριστηρίους ἐπὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλλαγαῖς, προσθεῖσα μίαν ἡμέραν ταῖς καλουμέναις Λατίναις ἑορταῖς δυσὶν οὔσαις, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἀνιερῶσαντος βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνίκησε Τυρρηνοὺς: τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τοῦ δήμου προσθέντος, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν ἐλευθέραν ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν: αἷς ἡ τρίτη τότε προσενεμήθη τῆς καθόδου τῶν ἀποστάντων 14 ἔνεκα.

[3] This was the treaty entered into by the Romans and the Latins and confirmed by their oaths sworn over the sacrificial victims. The senate also voted to offer sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their reconciliation

with the populace, and added one day to the Latin festival, as it was called, which previously had been celebrated for two days. The first day had been set apart as holy by Tarquinius when he conquered the Tyrrhenians; the second the people added after they had freed the commonwealth by the expulsion of the kings; and to these the third was now added because of the return of the seceders.

[4] τὴν δὲ προστασίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένων θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἀγώνων οἱ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπηρεταὶ παρέλαβον, οἱ τὴν νῦν ἀγορανομικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κοσμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πορφύρᾳ καὶ θρόνῳ ἐλεφαντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις, οἷς εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς.

[4] The superintendence and oversight of the sacrifices and games performed during this festival was committed to the tribunes' assistants, who held, as I said, the magistracy now called the aedileship; and they were honoured by the senate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other insignia that the kings had had.

[1] οὐ πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ τῆς ἐορτῆς τῶν ὑπατικῶν εἰς Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, ὁ νικήσας Σαβίνους καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν θρίαμβον ἐπιφανέστατον καταγαγών, ᾧ πεισθεῖσα ἡ βουλή τὴν κάθοδον ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς φυγάσι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος πιστεύσας ἀπέστη τῶν ὅπλων: καὶ αὐτὸν ἔθαψεν ἡ πόλις δημοσίᾳ καὶ καλλίστῃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ ταφῇ. οὐσία γὰρ οὐκ ἦν τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰς μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐκκομιδῆς καὶ ταφῆς ἀποχρῶσα: ὥστε [p. 407] καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ὡς ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν εὐτελεῶς ἐκκομίσαι τε καὶ

[96.1] Not long after this festival Menenius Agrippa, one of the ex-consuls, died. It was he who had overcome the Sabines and had celebrated a most notable triumph for that victory; and it was through his persuasion that the senate had allowed the seceders to return and that the populace, because of their confidence in him, had given up their arms. He was buried at the expense of the public and his funeral was the most honourable and the most splendid that has fallen to any man. His estate, it seems, was not sufficient to defray the expense of a magnificent funeral and burial, so that even the guardians of his children resolved after consultation to carry him out of the city and bury him like any ordinary person at little expense.

[2] θάψαι. οὐ μέντοι γε ὁ δῆμος εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὰ διελθόντες ἐγκώμια τῶν τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, τὴν τε σωφροσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν εἰς χρηματισμὸν ἐγκράτειαν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἄραντες τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, αἰσχιστον ἔφησαν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων ἄνδρα τηλικούτον ἀσήμεν καὶ ταπεινῆς κηδείας τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν: παρήνευσάν τε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δαπάνην ἀναδέξασθαι, καὶ συνεισενεγκεῖν κατ' ἄνδρα, ὅσον

[2] This, however, the people would not permit; but the tribunes, having assembled them and paid lengthy tributes to the achievements of Agrippa in both war and peace, lauding to the highest degree his moderation and his frugal manner of life, and, above all, his refraining from amassing riches, said it would be the most dishonourable thing imaginable that such a man should be buried in an obscure and humble manner by reason of his poverty; and they advised the people to take the expense of his funeral upon themselves and every man to contribute towards it such an amount as they, the tribunes, should assess.

[3] τάξωσι. τοῖς δ' ἀκούσασιν ἄσμενον ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτίκα φέροντος ἑκάστου τὸ ταχθὲν πολὺ τι χρῆμα συνήχθη διαφόρου. μαθοῦσα δὲ τοῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ δι' αἰσχύνης τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβε καὶ ἔκρινε μὴ κατ' ἄνδρα ἐρανισμῷ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον Ῥωμαίων περιδεῖν θαπτόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐδικαίωσε τὸ ἀνάλωμα γενέσθαι τοῖς ταμίαις ἐπιτρέψασα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. οἱ δὲ πολλῶν πάνυ μισθώσαντες χρημάτων τὰς παροχὰς κόσμῳ τε πολυτελεστάτῳ κοσμήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιχορηγήσαντες εἰς μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς.

[3] His audience gladly heard this proposal, and when each man had presently contributed the amount he was assessed, a large sum was collected. The senate, being informed of this, was ashamed of the business and resolved not to allow the most illustrious of all the Romans to be buried by private contributions, but thought it fitting that the expense should be defrayed from the public funds; and it entrusted the care of the matter to the quaestors. These let the contract for the furnishing of his funeral for a very large sum of money; and having arrayed his body in the most sumptuous manner, and furnished everything else that could tend to magnificence, they buried him in a manner worthy of his virtue.

[4] ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ δῆμος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἡξίωσε τὸ συνεισενεχθὲν διάφορον ἀποδιδόντων τῶν ταμιῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἰκτεῖρων τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ἐπιτηδεύωσι [p. 408] τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετῆς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τιμησις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων: ἐξ ἧς εὗρέθησαν ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκα πάντων μυριάδες αἱ τιμησάμεναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας πραχθέντα Ῥωμαῖοις ταῦτ' ἦν

[4] Thereupon the people, in emulation of the senate, refused on their part to receive back the sum they had contributed, when the quaestors offered to return it, but presented it to the children of the deceased in compassion for their poverty and to prevent them from engaging in any pursuits unworthy of their father's virtue. There was also a census taken at this time by the consuls, according to which the number of the citizens who registered was found to

amount to more than 110,000.

These were the acts of the Romans in this consulship.

BOOK VII

[1] Τίτου δὲ Γεγανίου Μακερίνου καὶ Ποπλίου Μηνυκίου τὴν ὕπατον ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων σίτου σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχευεν ἐκ τῆς ἀποστάσεως λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῶν πατρικίων μετὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ σπόρου: ἐξέλιπον δὲ τὴν χώραν οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κινήσει καὶ διέστησαν οἱ μὲν εὐχερέστεροι πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ θητικὸν μέρος ὡς τοῦς δημοτικούς: καὶ διέμειναν ἐξ ἐκείνου χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ὄντες, ἕως οὔ κατέστη καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ πόλις εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον διαλλαγεῖσα τῆς [p. 2]

[1.1] After Titus Geganius Macerinus and Publius Minucius had entered upon their consulship, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, which had its origin in the secession. For the populace seceded from the patricians after the autumnal equinox, just about the beginning of seed-time, and the husbandmen left their farms at the time of this uprising and divided, the more prosperous joining the patricians, while the labourers went over to the plebeians; and from that time the two classes remained aloof from each other till the commonwealth was composed and reunited, the reconciliation being effected not long before the winter solstice.

[2] χειμερινῆς τροπῆς. τὸν δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πᾶς ἐπιτελεῖται σπόρος ὠραῖος, ἔρημος ἡ χώρα τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διετέλεσεν, ὥστε μὴδὲ κατελθοῦσι τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἔτι ῥάδιον εἶναι δούλων τ' ἀποστάσει καὶ κτηνῶν ὀλέθρῳ, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον ἐργάζεσθαι κεκακωμένην, ἀφορμῆς τ' οὐ πολλοῖς εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ὀντα ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπαρχούσης οὔτε σπερμάτων οὔτε τροφῆς.

[2] During that interval, which is the season in which all pointing of corn is best done, the land was destitute of people to cultivate it, and remained so for a long time. So that even when the husbandmen returned, it was no longer easy for them to bring it back under cultivation, inasmuch as it had suffered both from the desertion of slaves and the loss of animals with which they were to cultivate it, and as few of the husbandmen had any store of grain on hand for the next year for either seed or food.

[3] ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα πρέσβεις διεπέμπετο πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Καμπανοὺς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πωμεντῖνον πεδῖον οἷτον ὅσον ἂν δύναιντο πλεῖστον ὠνησομένους: Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος καὶ Λεῦκιος Γεγάνιος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, Οὐαλέριος μὲν υἱὸς ὧν Ποπλικόλα, Γεγάνιος δὲ θατέρου τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἀδελφός.

[3] The senate, being informed of this, sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians and to the Campanians and also to the Pomptine plain, as it is called, to buy up all the corn they could, while Publius Valerius and Lucius Geganius were sent to Sicily; Valerius was a son of Publicola, and Geganius was brother to

one of the consuls.

[4] τύραννοι δὲ τότε κατὰ πόλεις μὲν ἦσαν, ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους νεωστὶ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τυραννίδα παρειληφώς, οὐχὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακοῦσιος, ὡς Λικίνιος γέγραφε καὶ Γέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφέων οὐθὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἀκριβῶς, ὡς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦργον, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ τὸ προστυχὸν ἀποφαινόμενοι.

[4] Tyrants ruled in the various cities at that time, and the most illustrious was Gelon, the son of Deinomenes, who had lately succeeded to the tyranny of Hippocrates, — not Dionysius of Syracuse, as Licinius and Gellius and many others of the Roman historians have stated, without having made any careful investigation of the dates involved, as the facts show of themselves, but rashly relating the first account that offered itself.

[5] ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποδειχθεῖσα πρεσβεία κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξέπλευσεν ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ὑβριλίδου, ἑπτακαίδεκα διελθόντων ἐτῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων, ὡς οὗτοι τε καὶ [p. 3] οἱ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες συγγραφεῖς ὁμολογοῦσι: Διονύσιος δ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὀγδοηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτει Συρακουσίοις ἐπαναστὰς κατέσχε τὴν τυραννίδα κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ μετ'

[5] For the embassy appointed to go to Sicily set sail in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, as these and almost all the other historians agree; whereas Dionysius the Elder, having made an uprising against the Syracusans in the eighty-fifth year after this, possessed himself of the tyranny in the third year of the ninety-third Olympiad, Callias, the successor of Antigenes, being then archon at Athens.

[6] Ἀντιγένη. ὀλίγοις μὲν οὖν ἔτεσι διαμαρτεῖν τῶν χρόνων δοιὴ τις ἂν ἱστορικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαίας καὶ πολυετείς συνταττομένοις πραγματείας, γενεαῖς δὲ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ὅλαις ἀποπλανηθῆναι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ὠρογραφίαις τοῦτο καταχωρίσας, ὥς πάντες ἠκολούθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ, τοσοῦτο μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις εὐρῶν ἀναγραφαῖς, ὅτι πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς Σικελίαν σῆτον ὠνησόμενοι καὶ παρῆσαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄγοντες ἦν ὁ τύραννος ἔδωκε δωρεάν, οὐκέτι μὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξετάσαι συγγραφέων, ὅστις ἦν τύραννος τότε Σικελίας, ἀβασανίστως δὲ πως καὶ κατὰ τὸ προστυχὸν θεῖναι τὸν Διονύσιον.

[6] Now an error of a few years in their dates might be allowed to historians who are composing works dealing with ancient events extending over many years, but a deviation from the truth by two or three generations would not be

permissible. But it is probable that the first writer to record this event in his annals — whom all the rest then followed — finding in the ancient records only this, that ambassadors were sent under these consuls to Sicily to buy corn and returned from thence with the present of corn which the tyrant had given them, did not proceed further to discover from the Greek historians who was tyrant of Sicily at that time, but without examination and at random set down Dionysius.

[1] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σικελίας πλέοντες πρέσβεις χειμῶνι χρησάμενοι κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ κύκλῳ τὴν νῆσον περιπλεῖν ἀναγκασθέντες χρόνιοι τε κατήχθησαν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐκεῖ διατρίψαντες ὥραν μετὰ θέρος ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Ἰταλίαν πολλὰς κομίζοντες ἀγοράς.

[2.1] The ambassadors who were sailing to Sicily, having met with a storm at sea and being obliged to sail round the island, were a long time in reaching the tyrant; then, after spending the winter season there, they returned to Italy in the summer bringing with them a great quantity of provisions.

[2] οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ Πωμεντῖνον ἀποσταλέντες πεδίον ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησαν ὡς κατάσκοποι πρὸς τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀναιρεθῆναι διαβληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ [p. 4] Ῥώμης φυγάδων, χαλεπῶς δὲ πάνυ διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἰδιοξένων αὐτὰ διασωῶσαι δυνηθέντες τὰ σώματα, διχα τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄπρακτοι.

[2] But those who had been sent to the Pomptine plain came very near being put to death by the Volscians as spies, the Roman exiles having accused them of being such. And having with very great difficulty been able to escape with their lives, through the zealous efforts of their personal friends there, they returned to Rome without their funds and without having effected anything.

[3] ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις συνέβη παθεῖν καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλιῶτιν ἀφικομένοις Κύμην. καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων διατρίβοντες, οἱ σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης φυγάδες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαπαιτῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπεχειρήσαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἀποτυχόντες δὲ τούτου ῥύσια κατασχεῖν ταῦτα τὰ σώματα παρὰ τῆς ἀπεσταλκυίας πόλεως ἤξιουν, ἕως ἀπολάβωσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν οὐσίας, ἃς ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀδίκως δεδημεῦσθαι, καὶ ταύτης ὥοντο δεῖν τῆς δίκης τὸν τύραννον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι κριτὴν.

[3] The same fate happened to those who went to Cumae. For many Roman exiles who had escaped with Tarquinius from the last battle, and were now residing in that city, at first endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant to deliver up the ambassadors to them to be put to death; and when they failed to gain this request, they asked that they might detain their persons as pledges till they should receive from the city that had sent them their own fortunes, which they declared had been unjustly confiscated by the Romans; and they thought it

proper that the tyrant should be the judge of their cause.

[4] ὁ δὲ τυραννῶν τότε τῆς Κύμης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ Ἀριστοκράτους, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἔνεκα γένους, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Μαλακὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ γνωριμωτέραν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔσχε τὴν κλῆσιν, εἴθ' ὅτι θηλυδρίας ἐγένετο παῖς ὦν καὶ τὰ γυναιξὶν ἀρμόττοντα ἔπασχεν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι τινες, εἴθ' ὅτι πρᾶος ἦν φύσει καὶ μαλακὸς εἰς ὀργήν, ὡς ἕτεροι γράφουσιν.

[4] The tyrant of Cumae at that time was Aristodemus, the son of Aristocrates, a man of no obscure birth, who was called by the citizens Malacus or “Effeminate” — a nickname which in time came to be better known than his own name — either because when a boy he was effeminate and allowed himself to be treated as a woman, as some relate, or because he was of a mild nature and slow to anger, as others state.

[5] ἀφορμαῖς δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁποῖαις ἐχρήσατο καὶ τινὰς ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς καὶ πῶς διώκησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστροφῆς θ' ὁποῖας ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἄκαιρον εἶναι δοκῶ μικρὸν ἐπιστήσας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διήγησιν: κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξελεθεῖν. [p. 5]

[5] It seems to me that it is not out of place to interrupt my account of Roman affairs at this point for a short time in order to relate briefly what opportunities he had to seek the tyranny, by what methods he attained to it, how he conducted the government, and to what end he came.

[1] ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Μιλτιάδου Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπκοῖς Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἣν Ἐρετριεῖς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἔκτισαν, Τυρρηνῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον κατοικοῦντες ἐκεῖθεν θ' ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐξελασθέντες σὺν χρόνῳ, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ὀμβρικοὶ τε καὶ Δαῦνιοι καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνελεῖν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν πρόφασιν τοῦ μίσους δικαίαν ὅτι μὴ

[3.1] In the sixty-fourth Olympiad, when Miltiades was archon at Athens, the Tyrrhenians who had inhabited the country lying near the Ionian Gulf, but had been driven from thence in the course of time by the Gauls, joined themselves to the Umbrians, Daunians, and many other barbarians, and undertook to overthrow Cumae, the Greek city in the country of the Opicans founded by Eretrians and Chalcidians, though they could allege no other just ground for their animosity than the prosperity of the city.

[2] τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς πόλεως. ἦν γὰρ Κύμη κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους περιβόητος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πλούτου τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν γῆν τε κατέχουσα τῆς Καμπανῶν πεδιάδος τὴν πολυκαρποτάτην καὶ λιμένων κρατοῦσα τῶν περὶ Μισσηνὸν ἐπικαιροτάτων. τοῦτοις ἐπιβουλευσάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντήκοντα μυριάδων, ἵππεῖς δὲ δυεῖν χιλιάδων

ἀποδέοντες εἶναι δισμύριοι. ἑστρατοπεδευκόσι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τέρας γίνεται θαυμαστόν, οἷον ἐν οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ μνημονεύεται γενόμενον οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος οὔτε βαρβάρου γῆς οὐδαμῶθι.

[2] For Cumae was at that time celebrated throughout all Italy for its riches, power, and all the other advantages, as it possessed the most fertile part of the Campanian plain and was mistress of the most convenient havens round about Misenum. The barbarians, accordingly, forming designs upon these advantages, marched against this city with an army consisting of no less than 500,000 foot and 18,000 horse. While they lay encamped not far from the city, a remarkable prodigy appeared to them, the like of which is not recorded as ever having happened anywhere in either the Greek or the barbarian world.

[3] οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα ῥέοντες αὐτῶν ποταμοί, Οὐολτοῦρνος ὄνομα θατέρῳ, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ Γλάνις, ἀφέντες τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ὁδοὺς ἀνέστρεψαν τὰ νάματα καὶ μέχρι [p. 6] πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἀναχωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς.

[3] The rivers, namely, which ran near their camp, one of which is called the Volturnus and the other the Glanis, abandoning their natural course, turned their streams backwards and for a long time continued to run up from their mouths toward their sources.

[4] τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ Κυμαῖοι τότε ἐθάρρησαν ὁμοσε τοῖς βαρβάροις χωρεῖν ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου ταπεινὰ μὲν τὰ κεινων μετέωρα θήσοντος, ὑψηλὰ δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι σφῶν ταπεινά. νείμαντες δὲ τὴν ἐν ἀκμῇ δύναμιν ἅπασαν τριχῇ, μιᾷ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρουροῦν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ τὰς ναῦς εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐδέχοντο. τούτων ἵππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἑξακόσιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντάκοσιοι: καὶ οὕτως ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀλίγοι τὰς τοσαύτας ὑπέστησαν μυριάδας.

[4] The Cumaeans, being informed of this prodigy, were then at last encouraged to engage with the barbarians, in the assurance that Heaven designed to bring low the lofty eminence of their foes and to raise their own fortunes, which seemed at low ebb. And having divided all their youth into three bodies, with one of these they defended the city, with another they guarded their ships, and the third they drew up before the walls to await the enemy's attack. These consisted of 600 horse and of 4500 foot. And though so few in number, they sustained the attack of so many myriads.

[1] ὡς δὲ κατέμαθον αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους, ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρουν ὁμοσε τὸν βάρβαρον τρόπον ἄνευ κόσμου πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς ἀναμῖξ ὡς ἅπαντας ἀναρπασόμενοι. ἦν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοις, αὐλῶν στενὸς ὄρεσι καὶ λίμναις περικλειόμενος, τῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ τῶν Κυμαίων σύμμαχος, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων πολέμιος.

[4.1] When the barbarians learned that they were ready to fight, they uttered their war-cry and came to close quarters, in the barbarian fashion, without any order, the horse and the foot intermingled, in the expectation of utterly annihilating them. The place before the city where they engaged was a narrow defile surrounded by mountains and lakes, a terrain favourable to the valour of the Cumaeans and unfavourable to the multitude of the barbarians.

[2] ἀνατρεπόμενοι γὰρ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συμπατούμενοι πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ τέλματα τῆς λίμνης, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους διεφθάρησαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν πεζὸς αὐτῶν στρατὸς ὁ πολὺς περὶ ἑαυτῷ σφαλεῖς, ἔργον δὲ γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενος, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διασκεδασθεὶς ἔφυγεν· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς συνῆλθον μὲν ὁμόσε καὶ πολὺν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὗτοι παρέσχον [p. 7] πόνον. ἀδύνατοι δ' ὄντες κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ στενοχωρίαν, καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου κερανοῖς καὶ ὕδασι καὶ βρονταῖς συναγωνισαμένου τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, δεισαντες εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται.

[2] For they were knocked down and trampled upon by one another in many parts of the field, but particularly around that the marshy edges of the lake, so that the greater part of them were destroyed by their own forces without even engaging the battle-line of the Greeks. Thus their huge army of foot defeated itself, and without performing any brave action dispersed and fled in every direction. The horse, however, engaged and gave the Greeks great trouble; yet being unable to surround their enemies by reason of the narrow space, and Heaven also rendering the Greeks some assistance with lightning, rain and thunder, they were seized with fear and turned to flight.

[3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πάντες μὲν οἱ τῶν Κυμαίων ἵππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἡγωνίσαντο, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὗτοι μάλιστα ὡμολογοῦντο αἵτιοι γενέσθαι, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Μαλακὸς ἐπικαλούμενος· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολεμίων οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μόνος ὑποστὰς καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. λυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἀποδόντες οἱ Κυμαῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταφὰς τῶν ἀποθανόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρὰς ποιησάμενοι περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων, ὅτῳ χρὴ τὸν πρῶτον ἀποδοῦναι στέφανον, εἰς πολλὴν κατέστησαν ἔριν.

[3] In this action all the Cumaean horse fought brilliantly, and they were allowed to have been the chief cause of the victory; but Aristodemus, nicknamed Malacus, distinguished himself above all the rest, for he alone sustained the attack of the enemy and slew their general as well as many other brave men. When the war was at an end and the Cumaeans had offered sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their victory and had given a splendid burial to those who had been slain in the battle, they fell into great strife concerning the prize for valour, disputing to whom they ought to award the first crown.

[4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκέραιοι κριταὶ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἐβούλοντο τιμῆσαι, καὶ ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἅπας μετ' ἐκεῖνον: οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ τὸν ἱππάρχην Ἱππομέδοντα, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα τοῦτω συνελάμβανεν: ἦν δ' ἀριστοκρατικὴ τότε παρὰ τοῖς Κυμαίοις ἡ πολιτεία, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐ πολλῶν τινων κύριος. στάσεως δὲ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἔριν ἀνισταμένης δεισαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, μὴ πρὸς ὄπλα καὶ φόνους χωρήσῃ τὸ φιλότιμον, ἔπεισαν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τάξεις συγχωρῆσαι τὰς ἴσας λαβεῖν τιμὰς ἐκάτερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

[4] For the impartial judges wished to bestow this honour upon Aristodemus, and the people were all on his side; but the men in power desired to confer it upon Hippomedon, the commander of the horse, and the whole senate championed his cause. The Cumaeans were at that time governed by an aristocracy, and the people were not in control of many matters. And when a sedition arose because of this strife, the older men, fearing that the rivalry might proceed to arms and bloodshed, prevailed on both parties to consent that each of the men should receive equal honours.

[5] ἀπὸ ταύτης γίνεται τῆς ἀρχῆς δήμου προστάτης ὁ Μαλακὸς Ἀριστόδημος καὶ λόγου πολιτικοῦ δύναμιν ἀσκήσας ἐξεδημαγώγει τὸ πλῆθος, πολιτεύμασί [p. 8] τε κεχαρισμένοις ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ τοὺς σφετεριζομένους τὰ κοινὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐξελέγχων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων εὖ ποιῶν: καὶ ἦν τοῖς προεσθηκόσι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπαχθὴς καὶ φοβερός.

[5] From this beginning Aristodemus became a champion of the people, and having cultivated proficiency in political oratory, he seduced the mob by his harangues, improved their condition by popular measures, exposed the powerful men who were appropriating the public property, and relieved many of the poor with his own money. By this means he became both odious and formidable to the leading men of the aristocracy.

[1] εἰκοστῷ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης ἦλθον ὡς τοὺς Κυμαίους Ἀρικηνῶν πρέσβεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς βοηθῆσαι σφίσιν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν πολεμουμένοις. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἃς ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν Πορσίνας, τὸν υἱὸν Ἄρροντα δοὺς τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔπεμψεν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν κτήσασθαι βουλόμενον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα λόγοις: ὃς ἐπολιόρκει τότε τοὺς Ἀρικηνοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν ὤετο.

[5.1] In the twentieth year after the engagement with the barbarians ambassadors from the Aricians came to the Cumaeans with the tokens of suppliants to beg their assistance against the Tyrrhenians who were making war upon them. For, as I related in an earlier book, Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, after making peace with Rome, had sent out his son Arruns with one half of the army when the youth desired to acquire a dominion for

himself. Arruns, then, at the time in question was besieging the Aricians, whom he had forced to take refuge inside their walls, and he expected to capture the city soon by famine.

[2] ταύτης τῆς πρεσβείας ἀφικομένης οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας μισοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστόδημον καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ τι κακὸν ἐξεργάσῃται περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, κάλλιστον ὑπέλαβον εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐκποδῶν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι σὺν εὐσχήμονι προφάσει. πείσαντες δὴ τὸν δῆμον ἀποστεῖλαι Ἀρικηνοῖς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειξάντες τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ὡς δὴ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, ἐξ ὧν ἢ κατακοπήσεσθαι μαχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηγῶν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανον ἢ κατὰ πέλαγος διαφθαρήσεσθαι.

[2] When this embassy arrived, the leading men of the aristocracy, who hated Aristodemus and feared he might do some harm to the established government, thought they had got a very fine opportunity to get rid of him under a specious pretence. They accordingly persuaded the people to send two thousand men to the aid of the Aricians and appointed Aristodemus as general, ostensibly because of his brilliant military achievements; after which they took such measures as they supposed would result in his either being destroyed in battle by the Tyrrhenians or perishing at sea.

[3] γενόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς κύριοι καταλέξαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐξελευσομένους τῶν μὲν [p. 9] ἐπισήμων καὶ λόγου ἀξίων οὐδένα κατέγραψαν, ἐπιλέξαντες δὲ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους τε καὶ πονηροτάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ τινὰς ὑπώπτειον νεωτερισμούς, ἐκ τούτων συνεπλήρωσαν τὸν ἀπόστολον: καὶ ναῦς δέκα παλαιὰς κάκιστα πλεούσας καθελκύσαντες, ὧν ἑτρηιάρχουν οἱ πενέστατοι Κυμαίων, εἰς ταύτας αὐτοὺς ἐνεβίβασαν θάνατον ἀπειλήσαντες, ἐὰν τις ἀπολειφθῇ τῆς στρατείας.

[3] For being empowered by the senate to raise the forces that were to be sent as auxiliaries, they enrolled no men of distinction or reputation; but choosing out the poorest and the most unprincipled of the common people from whom they were under continual apprehension of some uprisings, they made up out of these the complement of men who were to be sent upon the expedition. And launching ten old ships that were most unseaworthy and were commanded by the poorest of the Cumaeans, they embarked the forces on board these ships, threatening with death anyone who should fail to enlist.

[1] ὁ δ' Ἀριστόδημος τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν μόνον, ὥς οὐ λέληθεν αὐτὸν ἡ διάνοια τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτὸν ἀποστελλουσιν, ἔργῳ δ' εἰς προὔπτον ὄλεθρον, δέχεται μὲν τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀναχθεὶς δ' ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν διὰ ταχέων καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ πέλαγος ἐπιπόνως καὶ κινδυνωδῶς διανύσας ὁρμίζεται κατὰ τοὺς ἐγγιστα τῆς Ἀρικείας αἰγιαλοὺς: καὶ καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φυλακὴν ἀποκρῶσαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ὁδὸν οὐ πολλὴν οὔσαν διανύσας ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Ἀρικηνοῖς

[6.1] Aristodemus, merely remarking that he was not ignorant of the purpose of his enemies, namely, that in word they were sending him to the assistance of the Aricians, but in fact to manifest destruction, accepted the command, and hastily setting sail with the ambassadors of the Aricians, and accomplishing the voyage over the intervening sea with great difficulty and danger, came to anchor at points along the coast nearest to Aricia. And leaving a sufficient number of men on board to guard the ships, on the first night he made the march, which was not a long one, from the sea to the city and appeared unexpectedly to the inhabitants at dawn.

[2] θέμενος δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα καὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὰ τεῖχη πείσας προελθεῖν εἰς ὕπαιθρον προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς εὐθὺς εἰς μάχην. γενομένου δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγῶνος καρτεροῦ οἱ μὲν Ἀρικηνοὶ βραχὺν πάνυ διαμείναντες χρόνον ἐνέκλιναν ἄθροοι, καὶ γίνεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν φυγή· ὁ δ' Ἀριστόδημος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάσι Κυμαίων ὀλίγοις οὕσι πᾶν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου [p. 10] βάρος ὑποστὰς καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Τυρρηγῶν αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνας τρέπει τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ

[2] Then, encamping near the city and persuading the citizens who had fled for refuge inside the walls to come out into the open, he promptly challenged the Tyrrhenians to battle. And a sharp engagement ensuing, the Aricians after a very short resistance all gave way and again fled inside the walls. But Aristodemus with a small body of chosen Cumaeans sustained the united shock of the enemy, and having slain the general of the Tyrrhenians with his own hand, put the rest to flight and gained the most glorious of all victories.

[3] νίκην ἀναιρεῖται πασῶν λαμπροτάτην. διαπραξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν πολλαῖς δωρεαῖς ἀπέπλει διὰ ταχέων αὐτὸς ἄγγελος τοῖς Κυμαίοις τῆς αὐτοῦ νίκης βουλόμενος γενέσθαι· εἵποντο δ' αὐτῷ πολλαὶ πάνυ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν ὀλκάδες τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Τυρρηγῶν ἄγουσαι.

[3] After he had performed these achievements and been honoured with many presents by the Aricians, he sailed home immediately, desiring to be himself the messenger to the Cumaeans of his victory. He was followed by a great number of merchantmen belonging to the Aricians, laden with the spoils and prisoners taken from the Tyrrhenians.

[4] ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς Κύμης, ὁρμίσας τὰς ναῦς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιεῖται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσας, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀνδραγαθησάντων κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπαινούς διελθὼν ἀργὺρίον τε διαδοὺς αὐτοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν δωρεὰς εἰς κοινὸν ἅπασι καταθείς ἡξίου μεμνηῖσθαι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃν καταπλεύσωσιν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ἂν τις αὐτῷ ποτε

συμβαίνει κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὡς δύναμις ἐκάστῳ βοηθεῖν.

[4] When they arrived near Cumae, he brought his ships to shore, and assembling his army, inveighed vehemently against the chief men of the city and bestowed many praises upon the soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and having given money to every one of them man by man and placed at the joint disposal of all of them the presents he had received from the Aricians, he asked that they should remember these favours when they returned home, and if he should be threatened with any danger from the oligarchy, that every one of them should assist him to the utmost of his power.

[5] ἀπάντων δὲ πολλὰς ὁμολογούντων αὐτῷ χάριτας εἶδέναι τῆς τ' ἀνελπίστου σωτηρίας, ἦν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔσχον, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὐ σὺν κεναῖς χερσὶν ἀφιξέως, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς θᾶπτον ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου προήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγειλαμένων, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναιοτάτους δωρεῶν τε δόσει καὶ λόγων φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἅπαντας ἐξαπατάσαις ἐλπίσι διαφθείρας, [p. 11] ἑτοίμους ἔσχε συγκαταλῦσαι τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν.

[5] Then, when all acknowledged themselves to be under great obligations to him, not only for their unexpected preservation which they owed to him, but also for their not returning home with empty hands, and promised to sacrifice their own lives sooner than to abandon him to their enemies, he commended them and dismissed the assembly. After this he called into his tent those among them who were the most unprincipled and the most daring in action, and by means of largesses, fair words, and hopes which seduce all men, he bribed them in readiness to assist him in overthrowing the established government.

[1] οὓς συνεργοὺς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς λαβὼν καὶ ἃ δεήσει πράττειν ἐκάστοις ὑποθέμενος τοῖς τ' αἰχμαλώτοις, οὓς ἐπήγετο, προῖκα δοὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐνοίαν προσλάβῃ, κατέπλεε κεκοσμημέναις ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τοὺς τῶν Κυμαίων λιμένας. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατευομένων πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες καὶ πᾶσα ἢ ἄλλη συγγένεια, παῖδια τε καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες, ὑπὴντων ἐξιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρύων περιπλεκόμενοι καὶ καταφιλοῦντες καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις ἑκαστον ἀνακαλοῦμενοι προσηγορίαις.

[7.1] After he had secured these men as his assistants and participants with him in the struggle, and had acquainted each one with the part he was to play, and furthermore had set at liberty without ransom all the prisoners he was bringing along, in order to gain their goodwill also, he sailed with his ships decked out into the harbours of Cumae. When the soldiers disembarked, they were met by their fathers and mothers and all the rest of their kinsmen, their children and their wedded wives, who embraced them with tears and kisses and called each

of them by the most endearing terms.

[2] καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ πλῆθὺς ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπανα χαρᾷ καὶ κρότῳ δεξιουμένη τὸν ἡγεμόνα προὔπεμπεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπρόντα. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως ἀνιῶμενοι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ παραδόντες καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ὀλεθρον μηχανησάμενοι, πονηροὺς ὑπέρ τοῦ μέλλοντος εἶχον διαλογισμούς.

[2] And all the other citizens, receiving the general with joy and applause, conducted him to his house. But the chief men of the city, particularly those who had given him the command and concerted the other measures for his destruction, were vexed at these manifestations and felt sinister apprehensions regarding the future.

[3] ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδου τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς ὑστεριζούσας ὀλκάδας ἀνεδέχετο, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, ἔφη βούλεσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λάφυρα ἀποδεῖξαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὁ μὲν ἐδημηγόρει παρελθὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τὴν μάχην διεξήκει, οἱ δὲ παρασκευασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεργοὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἔχοντες ὑπὸ [p. 12] τοῖς ἱματίοις ξίφη κατὰ πλῆθος εἰσδραμόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀποσφάττουσιν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικούς.

[3] Aristodemus allowed a few days to pass, during which he performed his vows to the gods and waited for the merchantmen that were late in arriving, and then, when the proper time came, he said he desired to give the senate an account of the circumstances of the battle and to show them the spoils taken in the war. Then, the authorities having assembled in great numbers, he came forward and made a speech, in which he related everything that had happened in the battle; and while he was speaking, the accomplices in the plot with whom he had arranged matters rushed into the senate-house in a body with swords under their garments and killed all the members of the aristocracy.

[4] φυγὴ δ' ἐγένετο μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δρόμος, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, τῶν δ' ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, πλὴν τῶν συνειδόντων τὴν ἐπιθεσιν: οὗτοι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τοὺς ἐρυμνοὺς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελάμβανον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ λῦσας ἐκ τῶν δεσμωτηρίων τοὺς ἐπιθανατίους πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ καθοπλίσας ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν καὶ οἱ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αἰχμάλωτοι, φυλακὴν ἐκ τούτων καθίσταται περὶ τὸ σῶμα.

[4] Thereupon there ensued a flight of those who were in the forum and a rush of some to their houses and of others away from the city, except of such as were privy to the conspiracy; the latter in mean time captured the citadel, the dockyards, and the strong places of the city. The following night he released from the prisons all who were under sentence of death, of whom there were

many, arming them together with his friends, among whom were the Tyrrhenian prisoners, he formed out of these a bodyguard for himself.

[5] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλήν κατηγορίαν διαθέμενος τῶν φονευθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἔφη τετιμωρῆσθαι σὺν δίκῃ πολλακίς ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν φέρων παρεῖναι καὶ ἰσηγορίαν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ.

[5] When it was day, he assembled the people and after inveighing at length against the citizens who had been put to death by his orders, he said that those men, having often sought his life, had been justly punished by him, but that, as for the rest of the citizens, he had come to give them liberty, equal rights of speech, and many other advantages.

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἅπαντας ἐμπλήσας ἐλπίδων τοὺς δημοτικούς δύο τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καθίσταται πολιτευμάτων, οἷς ἅπανα χρῆται προοιμίους τυραννίς, γῆς ἀναδασμὸν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεισιν: τοῦτων δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑποσχεῖται ποιήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἕως ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ κοινὰ γένηται καὶ δημοκρατικὴν [p. 13]

[8.1] When he had said this and thereby filled all the common people with wonderful hopes, he established two institutions which are the worst of all human institutions and the prologues to every tyranny — a redistribution of the land and an abolition of debts. He promised that he would take upon himself the care of both these matters if he were appointed general with absolute power till the public tranquillity should be secured and they had established a democratic constitution.

[2] καταστήσωνται πολιτείαν. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ πλήθους τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δεξαμένου λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕτερον ἐπιφέρει βούλευμα, δι' οὗ παρακρουσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. σκηψάμενος γὰρ ὑποπτεῦειν ταραχὰς καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων εἰς τοὺς δημοτικούς διὰ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς τῶν δανείων ἀφέσεις, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος μηδὲ φόνοι πολιτικοί, μίαν εὕρισκεν ἔφη πρὶν εἰς τὰ δεινὰ ἐλθεῖν φυλακὴν, εἰ τὰ ὄπλα προενέγκαντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἅπαντες τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερώσειαν, ἵνα κατὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπόντων πολεμίων ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἀνάγκη τις καταλάβῃ, χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν, κεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὰ τέως παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν καλῷ.

[2] When the common people and the unprincipled rabble gladly accepted the proposal to pillage the goods of other men, Aristodemus conferred upon himself the supreme command, and proposed another measure by which he deceived them and deprived them all of their liberty. For pretending to suspect

that the rich would raise disturbances and insurrections against the common people on account of the redistribution of the land and the abolition of debts, he said the only means he could think of to prevent a civil war and the slaughter of citizens and to guard against these miseries before they happened, was for all of them to bring the arms out of their houses and to consecrate them to the gods, in order that they might make use of them against foreign enemies who should attack them, whenever the necessity should arise, and not against one another, and that in the mean time they would be suitably placed in the keeping of the gods.

[3] ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπεισθησαν, αὐθημερὸν ἀπάντων παρελόμενος Κυμαίων τὰ ὄπλα ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἐν αἷς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποκτείνας τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥς οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδειξάντας τὰ ὄπλα, μετὰ ταῦτα φυλακαῖς τρισὶ κρατύνεται τὴν τυραννίδα: ὧν ἥν μία μὲν ἐκ τῶν ῥυπαρωτάτων τε καὶ πονηροτάτων πολιτῶν, μεθ' ὧν κατέλυσε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν πολιτείαν, ἑτέρα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων δούλων, οὗς αὐτὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν ἀποκτείνοντας τοὺς αὐτῶν δεσπότας, τρίτη δὲ μισθοφόρος ἐκ τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων: οὗτοι δισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολέμια μακροῦ τῶν [p. 14]

[3] When they agreed to this also, he disarmed all the Cumaeans that very day, and during the following days he searched their houses, where he put to death many worthy citizens, alleging that they had not produced all their arms for the gods. After this he strengthened his tyranny by three sorts of guards. The first consisted of the filthiest and the most unprincipled of the citizens, by whose aid he had overthrown the aristocracy; the second, of the most impious knaves, whom he himself had freed for having killed their masters; and the third, a mercenary force, consisting of the most average barbarians, who amounted to no fewer than two thousand and were far better soldiers than any of the rest.

[4] ἄλλων ἀμείνους. ὧν δ' ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνδρῶν τὰς εἰκόνας ἀνελὼν ἐκ παντὸς ἱεροῦ καὶ βεβήλου τόπου, φέρων εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους τὰς ἰδίας ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἀνέστησεν: οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλήρους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ὑπαρξιν ἀναλαβὼν, ἐξελόμενος χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τυραννίδος ἦν ἄξιον κτῆμα, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς συγκατασκευάσασι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχαρίσατο, πλείστας δὲ καὶ μεγίστας δωρεὰς τοῖς ἀποκτείνασι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν δεσπότας ἐδίδου: οἱ δ' ἤξιουν ἔτι καὶ γυναιξὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θυγατρᾷ συνοικεῖν.

[4] He destroyed the statues of those he had put to death in all places both sacred and profane and set up his own in their stead; and seizing their houses and lands and the rest of their fortunes, he reserved for himself the gold and silver and everything else that was worthy of a tyrant, and divided the remainder among those who had aided him in gaining his power. But the most numerous and the largest gifts he made to the slaves who had killed their masters. Thereupon these insisted also on marrying the wives and daughters

of their late masters.

[1] γενεὰν δὲ τῶν πεφονευμένων τὴν ἄρρενα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν οὐθενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος, ὕστερον εἴτ' ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινὸς εἶτε κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λογισμόν οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ δέος ὑποτρέφεσθαι νομίσας ἐπεχείρησε

[9.1] At first he paid no attention to the male children of those who had been put to death, but afterwards, either at the direction of some oracle or influenced also by the reflection he any naturally make, that in them no small danger was being secretly reared up against him, he resolved to destroy them all in one day.

[2] μὲν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πᾶσαν ἀπολέσαι: δεήσει δὲ πολλῇ χρησαμένων ἀπάντων, παρ' οἷς ἔτυχον αἱ τε μητέρες αὐτῶν οὔσαι καὶ οἱ παῖδες τρεφόμενοι, χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν θανάτου μὲν ἀπολῶν παρὰ γνώμην, φυλακὴν δὲ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν, μή τι συστάντες μετ' ἀλλήλων βουλευσώσι κατὰ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἀπέναι πάντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλον ἄλλῃ καὶ δίαταν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς μηθενὸς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρους παισὶ μὴτ' ἐπιτηδεύματος μήτε μαθήματος μεταλαμβάνοντας, ἀλλὰ ποιμαίνοντάς τε καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἔργα πράττοντας, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν εὕρεθει [p. 15]

[2] But at the earnest entreaties of all the men with whom the children's mothers were living and the children themselves were being brought up, since he wished to grant them this favour also, he saved them from death, contrary to his intention. Taking precautions, however, against them, lest they should combine together and conspire against his tyranny, he ordered them all to depart from the city and to live in the country dispersed here and there, receiving instruction in no profession or branch of learning becoming to the children of freemen, but tending flocks and performing the other labours of the husbandmen; and he threatened with death anyone of them who should be found in the city.

[3] παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ καταλιπόντες τὰς πατρώας ἐστίας ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὥσπερ δοῦλοι διετρέφοντο τοῖς ἀποκτείνανσι τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν λατρεύοντες. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἐν μηθενὶ γένηται μήτε γενναῖον μὴτ' ἀνδρῶδες φρόνημα, πᾶσαν ἐκθηλῦναι ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὴν ἐπιτρεφομένην νεότητα τῆς πόλεως ἐπεβάλετο ἀνελὼν μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς ἐνοπλίους μελέτας, ἀλλάξας δὲ τὴν δίαταν, ἥ πρότερον οἱ παῖδες ἐχρῶντο.

[3] These children, accordingly, forsaking the houses of their fathers, were brought up in the country like slaves, serving the murderers of their fathers. And to the end that no noble or manly spirit might spring up in any of the rest of the citizens, he resolved to make effeminate by means of their upbringing all the youths who were being reared in the city, and with that view he

suppressed the gymnasiums and the practice of arms and changed the manner of life previously followed by the children.

[4] κομᾶν τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄρρενας ὥσπερ τὰς παρθένους ἐκέλευσεν ἑξανθιζομένους καὶ βοστρυχιζομένους καὶ κεκρυφάλοις τὰς πλοκαμίδας ἀναδοῦντας ἐνδύεσθαι τε ποικίλους καὶ ποδήρεις χιτωνίσκους, καὶ χλανιδίους ἀμπέχεσθαι λεπτοῖς καὶ μαλακοῖς, καὶ διαίταν ἔχειν ὑπὸ σκιαῖς· ἡκολούθουν τ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις μουσικολάκων παραπορευόμεναι παιδαγωγοὶ γυναῖκες σκιάδεια καὶ ῥιπίδας κομίζουσαι, καὶ ἔλουον αὐτοὺς αὖται κτένας εἰς τὰ βαλανεῖα φέρουσαι καὶ μύρων ἀλαβάστρους καὶ κάτοπτρα.

[4] For he ordered the boys to wear their hair long like the girls, to adorn it with flowers, to keep it curled and to bind up the tresses with hair-nets, to wear embroidered robes that reached down to their feet, and, over these, thin and soft mantles, and to pass their lives in the shade. And when they went to the schools kept by dancing-masters, flute-players and others who, like these, pay court to the Muses, their governesses attended them, taking along parasols and fans; and these women bathed them, carrying into the baths combs, alabaster pots filled with perfumes, and looking-glasses.

[5] τοιαύτῃ διαφθείρων ἀγωγῇ τοὺς παῖδας, ἕως ἐκπληρώσωσιν εἴκοσθὺν ἔτος, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον εἰς ἄνδρας εἶα τελεῖν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Κυμαίοις ἐνυβρίσας καὶ λωβησάμενος καὶ οὐτ' ἀσελγείας οὐτ' ὠμότητος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποσχόμενος, ὅτ' ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν ὑπελάμβανε τὴν τυραννίδα, γηραιὸς ὢν ἤδη δίκας ἔτισεν οὐ μεμπτὰς θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις πρόρριζος ἀπολόμενος. [p. 16]

[5] By such training he continued to enervate the youth till they had completed their twentieth year, and from that time permitted them to be considered as men. Having by these and many other methods abused and insulted the Cumaeans without refraining from any kind of lust or cruelty, when he thought himself secure in the possession of the tyranny, being now grown old, he was punished to the satisfaction of both gods and men and extirpated with all his family.

[1] οἱ δ' ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οἱ παῖδες τῶν πεφονευμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἦσαν, οὓς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἅπαντας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μῖα προελόμενος ἐπέσχεεν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οἷς ἔδωκε τὰς μητέρας αὐτῶν, ἐκλιπαρηθεῖς, καὶ κατ' ἀγροῦς κελεύσας διατρίβειν.

[10.1] Those who rose against him and freed their country from his tyranny were the sons of the citizens he had murdered, all of whom he had at first resolved to put to death in one day, but being prevailed upon by the entreaties of his bodyguards, to whom he had given their mothers, had refrained, as I

said,

[2] ὀλίγοις δ' ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κώμας διεξιὼν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶδεν αὐτῶν νεότητα, δέισας, μὴ συμφρονήσαντες ἐπαναστῶσιν αὐτῷ, φθάσαι διαχειρισάμενος ἅπαντας ἐβούλετο, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τινά: καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς φίλους ἐσκόπει μετ' αὐτῶν, δι' οἷου τρόπου ῥᾶστα τε καὶ τάχιστα λαθόντες ἀναireθῆσονται.

[2] and ordered them to live in the country. A few years later, as he was making a progress through the villages, he saw a large number of these youths, who made a brave appearance; and fearing they might conspire together and rise against him, he purposed to forestall them by putting them all to death before any one should be aware of his intention. Assembling his friends, accordingly, he considered with them how the youths might most easily and speedily be put to death in secret.

[3] τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ παῖδες, εἴτε μηνυθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδόντων τινός, εἴτ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων λογισμὸν ὑποτοπήσαντες, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὸν γεωργικὸν ἀρπάσαντες σίδηρον. ἦκον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικούροι κατὰ τάχος ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐν Καπτῇ Κυμαίων φυγάδες, ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοί τε καὶ πλείστους Καμπανῶν ἔχοντες ξένους οἱ Ἴππομέδοντος παῖδες τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Τυρρηρικὸν ἱππαρχήσαντος πόλεμον, αὐτοὶ θ' ὠπλισμένοι κάκεινοις κομίζοντες ὅπλα Καμπανῶν τε μισθοφόρων καὶ φίλων χεῖρα συγκροτήσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγην.

[3] The youths, being apprised of this, either by the information of some person who was acquainted with his purpose, or suspecting it themselves by reasoning from probabilities, fled to the mountains, taking with them the iron implements they used in husbandry. They were speedily joined by the Cumaeen exiles who resided in Capua, most distinguished of whom and possessing the largest number of friends among the Campanians were the sons of Hippomedon, who had been commander of the horse in the war against the Tyrrhenians. These were not only well armed themselves, but also brought with them arms for the youths as well as a goodly band of Campanian mercenaries and of their own friends which they had raised.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καθ' ἓν ἅπαντες ἐγένοντο, τοὺς ἀγροὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταθέοντες ἐφόδοις ληστρικαῖς ἐληλάτουν καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἀφίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν [p. 17] δεσποτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δεσμωτηρίων λύοντες καθώπλιζον, καὶ ὅσα μὴ δύναιτο φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν χρήματα ματα καὶ βοσκήματα τὰ μὲν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, τὰ δὲ κατέσφαττον. ἀπορουμένῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ, τίνα χρή

[4] When they had all united, they made descents after the manner of brigands and plundered the lands of their enemies, lured the slaves away from their masters, released the men confined in prisons and armed them, and whatever they could not carry or drive off they either burnt or killed.

[5] τρόπον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι μήτ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρονίζειν τόποις, ἀλλὰ νυκτὶ μὲν εἰς ὄρθρον, ἡμέρᾳ δ' εἰς νύκτα συμμετρεῖσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποστείλαντι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς χώρας διὰ κενῆς, παραγίνεται τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἠκισμένος τὸ σῶμα μᾶστιξιν ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς αὐτόμολος, ὃς ἄδειαν αἰτησάμενος ὑπέσχετο τῷ τυράννῳ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀποσταλησομένην σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔμελλον ἀυλίζεσθαι νύκτα οἱ φυγάδες.

[5] While the tyrant was at a loss to know in what manner he ought to make war upon them, because they neither made their attempts openly nor stayed long in the same places, but timed their raids either from the fall of night to the break of day or from daybreak to nightfall, and after he had often sent out the soldiers to the relief of the country in vain, one of the fugitives, sent by the rest in the guise of a deserter, came to him, his body torn with whips, and after suing for impunity, promised the tyrant to conduct any troops he should think fit to send with him to the place where the fugitives proposed to encamp the following night.

[6] ὃ πιστεῦσαι προαχθεὶς ὁ τύραννος αἰτοῦντι οὐθὲν καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ὁμηρον παρεχομένῳ πέμπει τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄγοντας ἱππεῖς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν μισθοφόρον δύναμιν, οἷς ἐνετείλατο μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς φυγάδας, εἰ δὲ μή γ' ὡς πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν δῆσαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατασκευαστὸς αὐτόμολος κατὰ τ' ἀτρίβεις ὁδοὺς καὶ διὰ δρυμῶν ἐρήμων ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ταλαιπωροῦσαν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως μέρη.

[6] The tyrant, being induced to trust this man, who asked nothing and offered his own person as a hostage, sent his most trusted commanders at the head of a large number of horse and the band of mercenaries with orders to bring to him in chains all the fugitives if they could, otherwise as many of them as possible. The pretended deserter then led the army during the whole night through untrodden paths and lonely woods, where they suffered greatly, till they came to the regions that were most remote from the city.

[1] οἱ δ' ἀποστάται τε καὶ φυγάδες ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸν Ἄορνον ὄρει πλησίον ὄντι τῆς πόλεως λοχῶντες, [p. 18] ὡς ἔμαθον ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν τοῦ τυράννου στρατιὰν συνθήμασι μηνυθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν, πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν περὶ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους διφθέρας ἔχοντας καὶ φακέλλους φρυγάνων κομίζοντας.

[11.1] In the meantime the rebels and fugitives, who lay in ambush on the mountain which lies near Lake Avernus and not far from Cumae, when they learned from the signals made by their scouts that the tyrant's army had marched out of the city, sent thither about sixty of the most resolute of their number, clad in goatskins and carrying faggots of brushwood.

[2] οὗτοι περὶ λύχνων ἄφ᾽ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ὡς χερνῆται παρεισπεσόντες ἔλαθον: ὡς δ' ἔνδον ἐγένοντο τοῦ τείχους ἐξελκύσαντες ἐκ τῶν φακέλλων ἃ κατέκρυπτον ξίφη, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες τόπον ἔπειτ' ἐκέϊθεν ὀρμήσαντες ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄορνον φερούσας πύλας τοὺς τε φύλακας αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι κοιμωμένους καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἅπαντας ἤδη τοῦ τείχους πλησίον ὄντας ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς πύλαις ὑποδέχονται, καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντες ἔλαθον.

[2] These men contrived to steal into the city by various gates about the time for lighting the lamps, being taken for labourers and thus escaping detection. Once inside the walls, they drew out the swords they had concealed in the faggots and all met in one place. And proceeding thence in a body to the gate that led to Lake Avernus, they killed the guards while they were asleep, and, all their own force, having by this time arrived near the walls, they opened the gates and received them into the city. All this they did without being discovered.

[3] ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἑορτὴ τις οὔσα δημοτελής, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἅπας ὁ κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλος ἐν πότοις ὦν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐπαθείαις. τοῦτο παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάσας διελθεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν φερούσας ὁδοὺς: καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ ταῖς θύραις πολλὴν τινα καὶ ἐγρηγορυῖαν εὔρον φυλακὴν, ἀλλὰ κάνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἤδη καθεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ μεθύνοντας ἀποσφάξαντες δίχα πόνου καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὡσάμενοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὔτε τῶν σωματῶν ἔτι κρατοῦντας οὔτε τῶν φρενῶν διὰ τὸν οἶνον προβάτων δίκην κατέσφαξαν: τὸν δ' [p. 19] Ἀριστόδημον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην συγγένειαν συλλαβόντες ἄχρι πολλῆς νυκτὸς αἰκίζόμενοι τε καὶ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν λυμαινόμενοι κακοῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

[3] For that night there happened to be a public festival; hence the whole population of the city was occupied in drinking and other pleasures. This afforded the fugitives an opportunity of marching through all the streets that led to the tyrant's palace without meeting any opposition; and even at the palace doors they did not find any considerable number of guards on the alert, but here also some were already asleep and others drunk, and these they killed without any difficulty. Then, rushing into the palace in a body, they found all the rest no longer masters of either their bodies or their wits because of wine, and they cut their throats as if they were so many sheep. And having seized Aristodemus himself with his children and the rest of his relations, they tore their bodies with whips and tortures until late in the night, and after inflicting on them almost every kind of punishment they put them to death.

[4] ἀνελόντες δὲ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν πρόρριζον, ὡς μήτε παιδία μήτε γυναικας μήτε συγγένειαν μηθενὸς αὐτῶν καταλιπεῖν καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἅπαντας ἐξερευνησάμενοι τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρας γενομένης προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα συγκαλέσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν

ἀποτίθενται τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν πάτριον καθίστανται πολιτείαν.

[4] Having wiped out the whole family of the tyrant, so as to leave neither children, wives, nor anyone related to them, and having spent the whole night in hunting down all the abettors of the tyranny, as soon as it was day, they proceeded to the forum. Then, calling the people together, they laid down their arms and restored the traditional government.

[1] ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἔτος ὁμοῦ τι τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον ἦδη τυραννοῦντα Κύμης οἱ σὺν Ταρκυνίῳ φυγάδες καθιστάμενοι τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐβούλοντο συντελέσασθαι δίκην. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων τέως μὲν ἀντέλεγον, ὥς οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἦκοντες τὸν ἀγῶνα οὔτ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, ἦν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολογήσασθαι δίκην.

[12.1] It was before this Aristodemus, then, when he had already reigned as tyrant of Cumae close to fourteen years, that the Roman exiles with Tarquinius presented themselves, asking him to decide their cause against the country. The Roman ambassadors opposed this for some time, alleging that they had not come to enter into a contest of this sort and had no authority to plead the cause for the commonwealth since the senate had entrusted no such power to them.

[2] ὥς δ' οὐθὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότα τὸν τύραννον ἑώρων ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη διὰ τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῶν φυγάδων, αἰτησάμενοι χρόνον εἰς ἀπολογίαν, καὶ διεγγυήσαντες τὰ σώματα χρημάτων ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῆς δίκης οὐθενὸς ἔτι φυλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ἀποδράντες ὥχοντο. θεράποντας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ σιτῶνι κομισθέντα χρήματα ὁ τύραννος κατέσχε.

[2] But when they availed naught with their plea and they saw the tyrant inclined to the other side because of the earnestness and entreaties of the exiles, they desired time to prepare a defence. And having deposited a sum of money as a pledge for their appearance, in the interval while the suit was pending and they were no longer guarded, they fled; whereupon the tyrant seized their servants, their pack-animals, and the money they had brought with them to purchase corn.

[3] ταύταις μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρεσβείαις τοιαῦτα παθούσαις ἀπράκτοις ἀναστρέφαι συνέβη, [p. 20] ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων οἱ πεμφθέντες κέγχρους τε καὶ ζέας συνωνησάμενοι ταῖς ποταμηγοῖς σκάφαις κατεκόμισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. αὕτη βραχὺν τινα χρόνον ἡ ἀγορὰ Ῥωμαίους διέθρεψεν: ἔπειτ' ἐξαναλωθεῖσα εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπορίας κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς. ἦν δ' οὐθὲν εἶδος ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς, ὃ οὐκ ἐπείραζον ἔτι, συνέβαινέ τ' οὐκ ὀλίγοις αὐτῶν, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν σπάνιν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς οὐκ εἰωθυίας ἐδωδῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἀρρώστων διακεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα, τοῖς δὲ παρημελημένοις διὰ πενίαν

καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως:

[3] It was the fate of these embassies, then, after being treated in the manner I have related, to return without having accomplished anything. But the ambassadors who had been sent to the cities in Tyrrhenia bought there a quantity of millet and spelt and brought it down to Rome in river-boats. This supply sustained the Romans for a short time, but its exhaustion brought them to the same straits as before. There was no sort of food to which men have ever been reduced through necessity that they did not venture to try; and it happened that not a few of them, by reason both of the scarcity and of the strangeness of the unaccustomed food, were either weakened in body or were neglected because of their poverty and entirely helpless.

[4] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ νεωστὶ κεκρατημένοι τῷ πολέμῳ Οὐολοῦσκοι, πρεσβειῶν ἀπορρήτοις διαποστολαῖς ἐνῆγον ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον, ὥς ἀδυνάτων ἐσομένων, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιθοίτο κεκακωμένοις πολέμῳ τε καὶ λιμῷ ἀντέχειν. θεῶν δὲ τις εὖνοια, οἷς φροντὶς ἦν μὴ περιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς Ῥωμαίους γενομένους, ἐκφανέστατα καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἀπεδείξατο. τοσοῦτος γὰρ τις ἄφνω εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῶν Οὐολοῦσκων φθόρος λοιμικὸς ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅσος ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τόπῳ μνημονεύεται γενόμενος οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος οὐτε βαρβάρου γῆς, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν καὶ τύχην καὶ φύσιν ἐρρωμένων τε καὶ ἀσθενῶν σωμάτων ὁμοίως διεργαζόμενος. [p. 21] ἐδήλωσε δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς πόλις ἐπιφανής τῶν Οὐολοῦσκων, Οὐέλιτραι ὄνομα αὐτῇ, μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος οὔσα τέως, ἧς ὁ λοιμὸς μίαν ὑπελείπετο μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν δέκα, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπῆνεγκε.

[4] When the Volscians, who had been recently conquered in war, became aware of this, they undertook by means of embassies sent out secretly to incite one another to war against the Romans, in the belief that if anyone should attack them while they were distressed both by war and famine, they would be unable to resist. But some benevolence of the gods, who were always careful not to permit the Romans to become subject to their enemies, manifested its power upon this occasion also in a most conspicuous manner. For so great a pestilence suddenly descended upon the cities of the Volscians as is not recorded to have occurred anywhere else in either the Greek or the barbarian world, destroying the people without distinction of age, condition, or sex, it mattered not whether their bodies were strong or weak.

[5] τελευτῶντες δ' οὖν ὅσοι περιῆσαν ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς πρεσβευσάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔφρασαν τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ παρέδωσαν τὴν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἐποίκους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰληφότες, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον τοὺς κληρούχους παρ' αὐτῶν ἦτουν.

[5] The extreme nature of the calamity was shown in the case of an important city of the Volscians named Velitrae, till then a large and populous place, of

which the plague left but one person out of every ten, attacking and carrying off all the rest. At last those who survived the calamity sent ambassadors to the Romans to inform them of their desolation and to deliver up their city to them. They had even before that time received a colony from Rome, for which reason they now desired colonists to be sent to them a second time.

[1] ταῦτα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαθοῦσι τῆς μὲν συμφορᾶς οἶκτος εἰσῆι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦντο δεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπὶ τοιαύταις τύχαις μνησικακεῖν, ὥς ἱκανὰς δεδωκόσι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ σφῶν δίκας ἀνθ' ὧν ἔμελλον δράσειν: Οὐελίτρας δὲ παραλαμβάνειν ἐδόκει κληρούχων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀποστολῇ πολλὰ τὰ συμφέροντα ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιλογιζομένοις.

[13.1] When the Romans learned of this, they felt compassion for their misfortunes and thought they ought to retain no resentment against their enemies when under so severe an affliction, since they had sufficiently atoned to the gods for what they had been intending to do. As to the city of Velitrae, they thought proper to accept it and to send a large colony thither, in consideration of the many advantages that would result to them from that measure.

[2] τὸ τε γὰρ χωρίον ἱκανὸν εἶναι ἐφαίνετο φυλακῇ ἀξιόχρεω καταληφθὲν οἷς ἂν νεωτερίζειν ἢ παρακινεῖν τι βουλομένοις ἢ μέγα κώλυμα καὶ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι: ἢ τ' ἀπορία τῆς τροφῆς ἢ κατέχουσα τὴν πόλιν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μετριώτερα γενήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύετο, εἰ μετασταίῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μοῖρα ἀξιόλογος. μάλιστα δ' ἡ στάσις ἀναρριπιζομένη, πρὶν ἢ πεπαῦσθαι καλῶς ἔτι τὴν προτέραν,

[2] For the place itself, if occupied by an adequate garrison, seemed capable of proving a serious check and hindrance to the designs of any who might be disposed to begin a rebellion or create any disturbance, and it was expected that the scarcity of provisions under which the city then laboured would be far less serious if a considerable part of the citizens removed elsewhere. But, above all other considerations, the sedition which was now flaring up again, before the former one was as yet satisfactorily appeased, induced them to vote to send out the colony.

[3] ἐνήγεν αὐτοὺς ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον. πάλιν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὁ δῆμος ἡρεθίζετο καὶ δι' ὀργῆς [p. 22] εἶχε τοὺς πατρικίους, πολλοὶ τε καὶ χαλεποὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο λόγοι τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πολλοῦ προείδοντο τὴν ἐσομένην τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν καὶ προὔμηχανήσαντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλεξήματα, τῶν δ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεγονέναι τὴν σιτοδείαν ἀποφαινόντων δι' ὀργὴν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ κακῶσαι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀναμνήσει τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

[3] For once more the plebeians were becoming inflamed, as before, and

growing exasperated against the patricians, were uttering many harsh words against them, some accusing them of neglect and indolence in not having long foreseen the scarcity of corn that was to occur, and taken the necessary precautions to avert the calamity, and others declaring that the scarcity had been brought about by their contrivance, because of their resentment and a desire to injure the plebeians when they remembered their secession.

[4] διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας ἡ τῶν κληρουχῶν ἀποστολὴ ταχεῖα ἐγένετο τριῶν ἀποδειχθέντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἡγεμόνων. τῷ δῆμῳ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἀσμένῳ τοὺς κληροῦχος διαλαγχάνειν ὡς λιμοῦ τ' ἀπαλλαγῆσομένῳ καὶ χώραν οἰκήσουσι εὐδαίμονα: ἔπειτ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸν λοιμόν, ὅς. ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι πόλει πολὺς γενόμενος τοὺς τ' οἰκήτορας διεφθάρκει καὶ δέος παρεῖχε, μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους ταῦτόν ἐργάσῃται, μεθίστατο κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τάναντία ἡ γνώμη, ὥστ' οὐ πολλοὶ τινες ἐφάνησαν οἱ μετέχειν βουλόμενοι τῆς ἀποικίας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἐλάττους ὧν ἡ βουλὴ ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἤδη σφῶν αὐτῶν κατεγνώκεσαν ὡς κακῶς βεβουλευμένων καὶ ὑπανεδύοντο τὴν ἔξοδον.

[4] For these reasons the colony was sent out promptly, three persons being appointed by the senate to be the leaders of it. The plebeians were pleased at first that lands were to be allotted to colonists, since they would thus be freed from the famine and inhabit a fertile country; but afterwards, when they bethought themselves of the pestilence which had raged violently in the city that was to receive them and had not only destroyed the inhabitants, but gave room to fear that it would treat the new settlers in the same manner, their feelings were gradually reversed. Consequently those who offered themselves to join the colony were not many, but far fewer than the senate had decreed; and these, moreover, were already blaming themselves for having been ill advised and were endeavouring to avoid going out.

[5] κατελήφθη μέντοι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ μὴ ἐκουσίως συναϊρόμενον τῆς ἐξόδου ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐξ ἀπάντων [p. 23] γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων κλήρῳ τὴν ἔξοδον, κατὰ δὲ τῶν λαχόντων, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν, χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους θεμένης ζημίας. οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ στόλος εἰς Οὐελίτρας εὐπρεπεῖ ἀνάγκῃ καταληφθεὶς ἀπεστάλη, καὶ ἕτερος αὖθις οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Νῶρβαν πόλιν, ἣ ἔστι τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους οὐκ ἀφανῆς.

[5] However, this element was included and likewise the others who had not willingly joined the colony, the senate having ordered that all the Romans should draw lots for completing the colony, and having fixed severe and inexorable penalties for those upon whom the lot fell, if they did not go. This colony, then, was sent to Velitrae after being recruited by a specious compulsion; and not many days after another colony was sent to Norba, which is no mean city of the Latins.

[1] ἐγένετο δ' οὐδέν τῶν ἐκ λογισμοῦ τοῖς πατρικίοις κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐλπίδα λωφῆσιν τὴν στάσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἔτι χεῖρους ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἦσαν καὶ πολλῇ τῇ καταβοῇ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τε συστροφὰς καὶ ἑταιρίας, ὀλίγοι μὲν συνιόντες τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτ' ἄνθρωποι συντονωτέρας ἤδη γινομένης τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐβόων.

[14.1] But nothing turned out according to the calculations of the patricians, insofar at least as their hope of appeasing the sedition was concerned; on the contrary, the people who were left at home were now more exasperated than before and clamoured violently against the senators in their groups and clubs. They met in small numbers at first, but afterwards, as the dearth became more severe, they assembled in a body, and rushing all together into the Forum, cried out for the tribunes.

[2] συναχθείσης δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας παρελθὼν Σπόριος Σικίνιος, ὃς ἦν τοῦ ἀρχείου τότε ἡγεμὼν, αὐτὸς τε πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς αὖξων ὡς μάλιστα ἐνῆν τὸν κατ' αὐτῆς φθόνον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡξίου λέγειν ἃ φρονοῦσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Σικίνιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀγορανόμους τότε ὄντας ἀνακαλῶν ἐκάτερον ἐξ ὀνόματος, οἱ καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀποστάσεως τῷ δήμῳ ἦρξαν, καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰσηγησάμενοι πρῶτοι αὐτῆς ἔτυχον.

[2] And these having assembled the people, Spurius Sicinius, who was then at the head of their college, came forward and not only inveighed at length against the senate himself, inflaming the hatred of the people against them as much as he could, but also demanded that the others should express their sentiments publicly, especially Sicinius and Brutus, who were then aediles, calling upon each of them by name; they had been the authors of the first secession of the people as well, and having introduced the tribunician power, had been the first to be invested with it.

[3] παρελθόντες δ' οὗτοι τοὺς κακοηθεστάτους τῶν λόγων ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευασμένοι διεξήεσαν, ἃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀκούειν ἦν βουλομένοις, ὡς ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων γένοιθ' ἢ περὶ τὸν [p. 24] σῆτον ἀπορία, ἐπεὶδὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀποστάσεως εὔρετο.

[3] These, having long before prepared the most malicious speeches, came forward and enlarged upon those points that were welcome to the multitude, alleging that the dearth of corn had been occasioned by the contrivance and treachery of the rich, against whose will the people had acquired the liberty by the secession.

[4] ἰσομοιρεῖν τ' οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς πένησι τοὺς εὐπόρους· ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τροφὰς ἐν ἀφανεί ἀποκειμένας

καὶ χρήματα, οἷς ὠνούμενοι τὰς ἐπεισάκτους ἀγορὰς ἐν πολλῇ ὑπεροφίᾳ ἦσαν τοῦ κακοῦ, τοῖς δὲ δημόταις ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' ἀπόρως ἔχειν: τὴν τ' ἀποστολὴν τῶν κληρούχων, ἣν ἐποιήσαντο εἰς νοσερὰ χωρία, ἐκβολὴν ἀποφαίνοντες εἰς προφανῇ καὶ μακρῷ χεῖρονα ὄλεθρον, αὖξοντες ὡς μάλιστα δυνατοὶ ἦσαν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ δεινὰ, καὶ τί πέρας ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ἀξιοῦντες μαθεῖν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντές τε τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοῦς αἰκισμῶν, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἔτυχον αἰκισθέντες, καὶ

[4] And they declared that the rich did not in the least bear an equal share of this calamity with the poor, since they had not only provisions secretly hoarded up, but also money to purchase imported foodstuffs, and thus could treat the calamity with fine scorn, whereas the plebeians had neither resource. As regarded the colony which they had sent out to a pestilential region, they declared it was a banishment to a manifest and much worse destruction; and exaggerating the evils with all their powers of speech, they asked to be informed what end there was to be of their miseries. They reminded them of the abusive treatment they had formerly received from the rich, and recounted many other things of this nature with great freedom.

[5] ἄλλα τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν διεξιόντες. τελευτῶν δ' ὁ Βρούτος εἰς ἀπειλὴν τινα τοιάνδε κατέκλεισε τὸν λόγον, ὡς εἰ βουλευθεῖεν αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι διὰ ταχέων προσαναγκάσων τοὺς ἐκκαύσαντας τὸ δεινὸν καὶ κατασβέσαι. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐκκλησία διελύετο.

[5] Finally, Brutus closed his speech with some such threats as this, that, if they would follow his advice, he would soon compel those who had kindled this mischief to extinguish it. After which the assembly was dismissed.

[1] οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν περίφοβοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῖς καινοτομουμένοις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου δημοκοπίαν εἰς μέγα τι κακὸν ἀποσκήψειν οἰόμενοι. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ παντοδαποὶ ὑπὸ τ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐρρήθησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λόγοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβυτέρων, τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν θεραπεύειν τὸν δῆμον ἀπάσῃ εὐπροσηγορίᾳ λόγων [p. 25] καὶ ὑποσχέσει ἔργων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ μετριωτέρους παρασκευάζειν, τιθέντας εἰς μέσον τὰ πράγματα καὶ μετὰ σφῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος παρακαλοῦντας σκοπεῖν.

[15.1] The next day the consuls assembled the senate, being terrified at this revolutionary behaviour and believing that the demagoguery of Brutus would end in some great mischief. And many proposals of every sort were made to that body both by the consuls themselves and also by the older senators. Some were of the opinion that they ought to court the populace by all possible expressions of kindness and by promises of deeds, and make their leaders more moderate by bringing the public business into the open and inviting them to join in their deliberations concerning the common advantage.

[2] τῶν δὲ μηθὲν ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν συμβουλευόντων πρὸς ὄχλον αὐθάδη καὶ ἀμαθῆ ἢ θρασεῖαν τε καὶ ἀνύποιστον δημοκόπων ἀνθρώπων μανίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν, ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν γεγονότων παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων αἵτιον, καὶ ὑποσχεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ἔξειν τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν δυνατὴν, τοῖς δὲ ταραττοῦσι τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ προαγορεύειν, ὡς εἰ μὴ παύσονται τὴν στάσιν ἀναρριπίζοντες ἀξίας τίσουσι δίκας.

[2] But others advised not to show any sign of weakness toward a headstrong and ignorant multitude and toward the bold and insufferable madness of creatures who courted the mob, but to declare in their own defence that the patricians were in of way to blame for what had happened and to promise that they would take all possible care to remedy the evil, and at the same time to reprimand those who were stirring up the people and warn them that if they did not desist from rekindling the sedition they would be punished as they deserved.

[3] ταύτης ἡγεῖτο τῆς γνώμης Ἄππιος, καὶ ἦν ἡ νικῶσα αὕτη πολλῆς ἐμπεσοῦσης πάνυ τοῖς συνέδροις φιλονεικίας: ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς αὐτῶν ἐξακουομένης ἐπὶ πολὺ ταραχθέντα συνδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀρθὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ

[3] The chief proponent of this view was Appius, and it was this opinion that prevailed, after such violent strife among the senators that even the people, hearing their clamour at a great distance, rushed in alarm to the senate-house and the whole city was on tip-toe with expectation.

[4] γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προελθόντες συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: ἦν δ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔτι τὸ λειπόμενον: καὶ παρελθόντες ἐπειρῶντο τὰ δόξαντα σφίσιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λέγειν. ἐνίσταντο δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐν μέρει οὐδ' ἐν κόσμῳ γινόμενος παρ' ἀμφοῖν [p. 26] ὁ λόγος. ἐβόων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐξέκλειον ἀλλήλους, ὥστε μὴ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν ὅ τι βούλονται συνιδεῖν.

[4] After this the consuls, going into the Forum, called the people together when not much of the day now remained; and coming forward, they attempted to inform them of the decision they had reached in the senate. But the tribunes opposed them, and thereupon neither the consuls nor the tribunes spoke in their turns nor observed any decorum in their debate; for they cried out together and endeavoured to prevent one another from speaking, so that it was not easy for those who were present to understand what they meant.

[1] ἐδικαίουν δ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν κρείττονα ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν ἀπάντων ἄρχειν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐαυτῶν εἶναι χωρίον ὥσπερ ἐκείνων τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἦν κρίνειν τε καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι, τούτων αὐτοὶ πᾶν ἔχειν τὸ κρίτος. συνηγωνίζετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἡ πλῆθὺς ἐπιβοῶσα καὶ ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς κωλύουσι

παρεσκευασμένη, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις οἱ πατρικιοὶ συστρέψαντες αὐτούς.

[16.1] The consuls thought it reasonable that, as they had the superior power, they should have the command of everything in the city, while the tribunes insisted that the assembly of the people was their particular sphere, as the senate was that of the consuls, and that whatever the people had the authority to judge and determine was subject to their power alone. The populace supported the tribunes, shouting their approval and being prepared, if necessary, to account any who attempted to hinder them, while the patricians rallied to the support of the consuls.

[2] ἐγίνετο δὲ πολὺς ἀγὼν περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι ἑκατέροις, ὥς ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τότε ἡττῇ παραχωρουμένης τῆς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατέρων δικαιώσεως. ἡλίος τε περὶ καταφορὰν ἦν ἤδη, καὶ συνέτρεχεν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἔμελλον, εἰ νῦξ ἐπιδραμεῖν τὴν ἔριν, εἰς πληγὰς τε καὶ λίθων χωρήσειν βολὰς.

[2] And a violent contest ensued, each side insisting not yielding to the other, as if their defeat on this single occasion would mean the giving up of their claims for all time to come. It was now near sunset and the rest of the population were running out of their houses to the Forum; and if night had descended upon their strife, they would have proceeded to blows and the throwing of stones.

[3] ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, προελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς ὑπάτους ἤξιον δοῦναι λόγον αὐτῷ, παύσειν ὑπισχνούμενος τὴν στάσιν. κάκεινοι δόξαντες σφίσι παρακεχωρηθῆναι, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων παρόντων οὐ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἡτήσατο τὴν χάριν, ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ λέγειν. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ Βροῦτος εἶπεν, ἠρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους τοιάνδε τινα

[3] To prevent this, Brutus came forward and asked the consuls to give him leave to speak, promising to appease the tumult; and they, looking upon this as a yielding to them, since, even though the tribunes were present, this leader of the people had not asked the favour of those magistrates, gave him leave. Then, when silence reigned, Brutus, instead of making a speech, merely put questions of the following nature to the consuls:

[4] ἐρώτησιν: ἄρα γ', ἔφη, μέμνησθ', ὅτι διαλυομένοις [p. 27] ἡμῖν τὴν στάσιν τοῦτο συνεχωρήθη τὸ δίκαιον ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὅταν οἱ δήμαρχοι συναγάγωσι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὁτουδήτινος, μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ συνόδῳ τοὺς πατρικίους μηδ' ἐνοχλεῖν; μεμνήμεθ', ἔφησεν ὁ Γεγάνιος. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ὑποφέρει: τί οὖν παθόντες ἐμποδὼν ἴστασθ' ἡμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔατε τοὺς δημάρχους ἃ βούλονται λέγειν; ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ταῦθ' ὁ Γεγάνιος: ὅτι οὐκ αὐτοὶ συνεκάλεσαν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ ὕπατοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡ σύνοδος ἐγένετο, οὐθὲν ἂν ἤξιοῦμεν οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν:

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡμεῖς συνηγάγομεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐχὶ τούτους ἀγορεύειν κωλύομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτοῖ

[4] “Do you remember,” he said, “that when we put an end to the sedition by an accommodation this right was granted to us — that when the tribunes should assemble the people to consider any matter whatever the patricians should not be present at the assembly or create any disturbance there?” “We remember,” answered Geganius. Then Brutus added: “What is the matter with you, then, that you oppose us and do not allow the tribunes to say what they please?” To this Geganius replied: “Because it was not the tribunes who assembled the people, but we, the consuls. If, now, the assembly had been called by them, we should not have presumed either to hinder them at all or to interfere; but since we ourselves assembled them, we do not hinder the tribunes from speaking, but we feel that it is not right that we should be hindered by them.”

[5] κωλύεσθαι οὐ δικαιοῦμεν. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ὑποτυχών: νικῶμεν, ἔφησεν, ὦ δημόται, καὶ παρακεχώρηται ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων ὅσα ἤξιοῦμεν. νῦν μὲν οὖν ἅπιτε καὶ παύσασθε φιλονεικοῦντες: αὐρίον δ' ὑμῖν ὑποσχοῦμαι φανεράν ποιήσιν ὅσην ἔχετε ἰσχύν. καὶ ὑμεῖς γ', ὦ δήμαρχοι, παραχωρήσατε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι: οὐ γὰρ εἰς τέλος παραχωρήσετε: μαθόντες δ' ὅσον ἔχει κράτος ὑμῶν ἢ ἀρχή: γνώσεσθε γὰρ οὐκ εἰς μακράν: ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ὑποδέχομαι ποιήσιν φανερόν: μετριωτέραν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσετε τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ἐὰν δὲ φενακίζων ὑμᾶς εὕρεθῶ, χρήσασθ' ὅ τι βούλεσθέ μοι.

[5] Then Brutus said: “We have won, plebeians, and our adversaries have yielded everything to us we desired. For the present, therefore, dap and cease your strife; to-morrow, I promise you, I will show you how great is the strength you possess. And do you, tribunes, yield the Forum to them for the present; for in the end you will not yield it. When you learn how great a power your magistracy is possessed of (for you will have that knowledge soon; I myself undertake to make it clear to you), you will render their arrogance more moderate. But if you find I am imposing upon you, do to me whatever you will.”

[1] οὐθενὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀντιλέξαντος ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑπολήψεις ἔχοντες [p. 28] ἑκάτεροι: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄποροι δοκοῦντές τι περιττὸν ἐξευρηκέναι τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ οὐκ εἰκὴ ὑποσχέσθαι πρᾶγμα τηλικούτον, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι περιφρονοῦντες τὴν κουφότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων τὴν τόλμαν ἕως λόγου χωρήσιν οἰόμενοι: μὴν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς συγκεχωρηῆσθαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔξω τοῦ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν. οὐ μὴν ἅπασί γ' εἰσῆι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὀλιγωρία τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ προσέχειν, μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἢ τοῦ

[17] None having opposed this, both parties left the assembly, but with very different impressions. The poor thought that Brutus had hit upon something extraordinary and that he had not made such an important promise rashly, while the patricians despised the levity of the man and thought the boldness of his promises would go no farther than words; for they imagined that no other power had been granted by the senate to the tribunes than that of relieving such plebeians as were unjustly treated. However, not all the senators, and least of all the older men, made so light of the matter, but they were upon their guard lest the madness of this man might occasion some irreparable mischief.

[2] ἄνδρὸς ἐξεργάσεται μανία. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς νυκτὶ κοινωσάμενος τοῖς δημάρχους ὁ Βροῦτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ παρασκευασάμενος χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην δημοτῶν κατέβαινε μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι καταλαβόμενοι τὸ Ἑφαιστεῖον, ἔνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἐκάλουν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον. πληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς· ὄχλος γὰρ ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον συνῆλθε· παρελθὼν Σικίνιος ὁ δῆμαρχος πολὺν μὲν ἐποίησατο κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λόγον, ἅπανθ' ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅσα κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη· ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς παρελθούσης ἡμέρας ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς κεκωλυμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἶη λόγου τυχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένος.

[2] The following night Brutus, having communicated his plan to the tribunes and having prepared a goodly number of the plebeians to support him, went down with them to the Forum; and possessing themselves before sunrise of the sanctuary of Vulcan, where the assemblies of the people were usually held, they called an assembly. When the Forum was filled (for a greater throng had assembled upon this occasion than ever before), Sicinius the tribune came forward and made a long speech against the patricians, reminding the plebeians of all they had suffered at their hands; then he told them about the day before, how he had been hindered by them from speaking and deprived of the power of his magistracy.

[3] τίνος [p. 29] γὰρ ἂν ἔτι γενοίμεθ', ἔφη, κύριοι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴδὲ τοῦ λέγειν ἐσόμεθα; πῶς δ' ἂν τινι ὑμῶν ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν δυναίμεθα, εἰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ συνάγειν ὑμᾶς ἀφαιρεθείημεν; ἄρχουσι γὰρ δήπου παντὸς ἔργου λόγοι, καὶ οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι οἷς εἰπεῖν ἂ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἔξεστιν, οὐδὲ πρᾶξαι ἂν ἐξείη, ἂ βούλονται. ἢ κομίζεσθ' οὔν, ἔφη, τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν δεδώκατε ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ μέλλετε βεβαιοῦν αὐτῇ τᾷσφαλές, ἢ νόμῳ γραφέντι κωλύσατε τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἡμῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσομένους.

[3] "What other power, indeed," he asked, "shall we have after this, if we are not allowed even that of speaking? How shall we be able to relieve any of you when unjustly treated by them, if we are deprived of the authority of assembling you? For words, I presume, are the beginning of all action; and it is obvious that those who are not allowed to say what they think will not be allowed to do, either, what they please. Either take back, therefore, the power

you have garden us,” he said, “unless you intend to establish it securely, or by a law duly enacted prevent all opposition to us for the future.”

[4] τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπικελεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου μεγάλῃ βοῇ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρειν, ἔχων αὐτὸν ἤδη γεγραμμένον ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ ψῆφον δίδωσι τῷ πλήθει περὶ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπενεγκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖσθαι ἀναβολῆς οὐδὲ μελλησμοῦ, μὴ τι ἄλλο κώλυμα γένηται πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων.

[4] When he had thus spoken and the people had cried out to him with a great shout to introduce the law, Sicinius, who had it already drawn up, read it to them and permitted the people to vote upon it immediately. For the business seemed to admit of no postponement or delay, lest some further obstacle should be interposed by the consuls.

[5] ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε ὁ νόμος: δημάρχου γνώμην ἀγορεύοντος ἐν δήμῳ μηδεὶς λεγέτω μηδὲν ἐναντίον μηδὲ μεσολαβείτω τὸν λόγον. ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, δίδότω τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐγγυητὰς αἰτηθεὶς εἰς ἔκτισιν ἧς ἂν ἐπιθῶσιν αὐτῷ ζημίας. ὁ δὲ μὴ δίδους ἐγγυητὴν θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω, καὶ τὰ χρήματ' αὐτοῦ ἱερὰ ἔστω. τῶν δ' ἀμφισβητούντων πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ζημίας αἱ κρίσεις ἔστωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου.

[5] The law was as follows: “When a tribune is delivering his opinion to the people, let no one say anything in opposition or interrupt him. If anyone shall act contrary to this, let him, if required, give sureties to the tribunes for the payment of the fine they shall impose upon him. If he refuses to give any surety, let him be punished with death and his goods be confiscated. And let the trials of those who protest against these fines take place before the people.”

[6] τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἐπιψηφίσαντες οἱ δημαρχοὶ διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆι πολλῆς γεγωνῶς μεστὸς εὐθυμίας, τῷ δὲ Βρούτῳ [p. 30] μεγάλην χάριν εἰδῶς, ἐκείνου δοκῶν εἶναι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ νόμου.

[6] After the tribunes had caused this law to be passed, they dismissed the assembly; and the people departed full of joy and very grateful to Brutus, whom they looked upon as the author of the law.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτο πολλαὶ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντιλογίαι, καὶ οὐθ' ὁ δῆμος ὅποσα ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο κύρια ἠγεῖτο, οὐθ' ὧν ὁ δῆμος γνοιῇ τῇ βουλῇ φίλον τι ἦν: ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι δὲ καὶ δι' ὑποψίας ἔχοντες ἀλλήλους διετέλουν. οὐ μὴν τό γε μῖσος αὐτῶν εἰς ἔργον τι ἀνήκεστον ἐχώρησεν, οἷα ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις φιλεῖ

[18.1] After this the tribunes had many controversies with the consuls over various matters, and not only did the people refuse to recognize as valid the decrees of the senate, but the senate also did not find acceptable anything that

the people determined; and both of them continued to be arrayed in hostile camps and to be suspicious of one another. However, their hatred did not lead to any irreparable mischief, as often happens in like disorders.

[2] γίνεσθαι ταραχαῖς. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πένητες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ὥρμησαν τῶν πλουσίων, ἔνθα ὑπελάμβανόν τινας εὐρήσειν ἀποκειμένας τροφάς, ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ ἀγορὰν ἀρπάζειν ἐπεβάλοντο, ἀλλ' ὑπομένοντες ὠνεῖσθαι πολλοῦ διαφόρου μικρά, καὶ ὅπότε ἔξαπορηθεῖεν ἀργυρίου τὰς ἐκ γῆς ρίζας τε καὶ βοτάνας σιτοῦμενοι ἠνείχοντο: οὐθ' οἱ πλούσιοι βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τῇ τ' οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν πελατῶν πολλῇ οὔσῃ κατασχεῖν αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠξίωσαν τοὺς μὲν ἐξελάσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ἀλλὰ διέμενον ὥσπερ οἱ σωφρονέστατα πολιτευόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς πατέρες εὐνοοῦσιν καὶ κηδομένη τῇ ὀργῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀμαρτὰδας αὐτῶν χρώμενοι.

[2] For, on the one hand, the poor did not attack the houses of the rich, where they suspected they should find stores of provisions laid up, nor attempt to raid the public markets, but consented to buy small quantities for a high price, and when they lacked money, they sustained life by using roots and grass for food. Nor, on the other hand, did the rich, in the confidence of their own strength and that afforded by their clients, who were very numerous, offer violence to the weaker citizens and aim at making themselves masters of the city by driving out some of the poor and putting others to death, but, like those fathers who conduct themselves most prudently toward their sons, they continued to display toward their errors the kind of displeasure that is benevolent and solicitous.

[3] τοιαύτης δὲ καταστάσεως οὔσης περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αἱ πλησιόχωροι πόλεις ἐκάλουν τοὺς βουλομένους οἰκεῖν παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας τε μεταδόσει καὶ ἄλλων φιλανθρώπων ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγόμεναι, αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου δι' εὐνοίαν τε [p. 31] καὶ ἔλεον τῆς συμφορᾶς, αἱ δὲ πλείους διὰ φθόνον τῆς πάλαι ποτὲ εὐτυχίας. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπαναστάντες πανοικεσία καὶ μεταθέμενοι τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐτέρωσε πολλοὶ πάνυ: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀνέστησαν αὖθις, ἐπειδὴ κατέστη τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ διέμειναν.

[3] While Rome was in this situation, the neighbouring cities invited any of the Romans who so desired to live among them, luring them by the offer of citizenship and the hopes of other kind treatment, some from the best of motives, because of good will and compassion for their misfortune, but the greater part through envy of their former prosperity. And very great numbers did remove with their whole families to live elsewhere, some of whom returned when the affairs of the city were composed, while others remained where they were.

[1] ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπᾰτοῖς ἐδόκει τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης στρατοπέδου ποιεῖσθαι καταγραφὴν καὶ ἐξάγειν ἔξω τὴν δύναμιν: εἰλήφεσαν

δ' ἀφορμὴν τῷ ἐγχειρήματι πρέπουσαν ἐπιδρομὰς τε καὶ λεηλασίας κακουμένης τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων θαμινὰ, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος χρηστὰ ἦν, ἐπιλογιζομένοις, ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς ἐκπεμφθείσης ὡς εὐπορωτέρᾳ μὲν ἔξουσι τῇ ἀγορᾷ χρῆσθαι οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐλάττους γενόμενοι, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις δὲ διάξουσι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν πολέμιων ἐπισιτιζόμενοι, λωφῆσει δ' ἡ στάσις, ὅσον ἂν ἡ στρατεία κατέχη χρόνον: μάλιστα δ' ἐφαίνετο ἔργῳ βεβαιώσειν αὐτῶν τὰς διαλλαγὰς συστρατευόντων ἀλλήλοις πατρικίων καὶ δημοτῶν ἡ γενησομένη παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἰσομοιρία.

[19] The consuls, observing these things, thought fit, with the approval of the senate, to levy an army and to march with the forces out of the city (they had found a plausible excuse for their plan in the frequent incursions and depredations of their enemies by which the country was being laid waste); and they also considered the other advantages that would result from this action, namely, that by sending an army into the field those, on the one hand, who were left, becoming fewer in number, would enjoy a greater plenty of provisions, while those under arms, by supplying themselves from the enemy's stores, would live in greater abundance, and the sedition would be in abeyance as long as the expedition lasted. But, above all, it seemed that if the patricians and plebeians served together, their sharing equally in both good and ill fortune amid the dangers of the war would effectually confirm their reconciliation.

[2] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπήκοον αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐκούσιον ὑπὴντα πρὸς τὴν καταγραφὴν: ἀνάγκην δὲ προσφέρειν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις οὐκ ἐδικαίουν τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων οἱ ὕπατοι: ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἐθέλονται τινες κατεγράφησαν [p. 32] ἅμα τοῖς πελάταις, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν ὀλίγον τι ἀπὸ

[2] But the plebeians were not inclined to obey them, nor willingly, as before, to offer themselves to enlist in the service; and the consuls did not think it wise to enforce the law against those who were unwilling to serve. But some patrician volunteers together with their clients were enlisted, and when they marched out of the city they were joined by a small number of plebeians.

[3] τοῦ δήμου μέρος συνεστράτευεν. ἡγεμῶν δὲ τῶν ἐξεληθόντων ἦν Γάιος Μάρκιος ὁ τὴν Κοριολάνων πόλιν ἐλὼν κἂν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας ἀριστεύσας μάχῃ, καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀραμένων τὰ ὅπλα δημοτῶν τοῦτον ἐξίοντα ὀρῶντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, οἱ μὲν δι' εὖνοιαν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐλπίδι: περιβόητος γὰρ ἦν ἡδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ δέος αὐτοῦ μέγα παρὰ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐγεγόνει.

[3] The army was commanded by Gaius Marcius, who had taken the city of Corioli and distinguished himself above all others in the battle against the Antiates; and the greater part of the plebeians who now took up arms were

encouraged to do so upon seeing him take the field, some of them out of affection for him, and others in the hope of a successful campaign; for he was already famous and the enemy had come to have great fear of him.

[4] αὕτη προελθοῦσα ἡ στρατιὰ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀντίου διχα πόνου σίτου πολλοῦ καταληφθέντος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων συχνῶν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν εὐπορωτέρα γεγонуῖα τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὥστε τοῖς ὑπομείνασι πολλὴν κατήφειαν καὶ κατὰμεμψιν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐμπεσεῖν, δι'

[4] This army, having advanced as far as the city of Antium without any trouble, captured a great deal of corn that they found in the fields, and many slaves and cattle; and after a short time it returned better supplied than before with all the necessities of life, so that those who had remained at home were greatly dejected and blamed their demagogues, through whom they felt they had been deprived of the same good fortune.

[5] οὕς ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἐδόκουν τῆς ὁμοίας εὐτυχίας. ὁ μὲν δὲ Γεγάνιος καὶ Μηνύκιος οἱ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεύοντες ἐν μεγάλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς χειμῶσι γενόμενοι καὶ πολλάκις ἀνατρέψαι κινδυνεύσαντες τὴν πόλιν οὐθὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διέσωσαν τὰ κοινὰ φρονιμώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ εὐτυχέστερον τοῖς συμβαίνουσι χρησάμενοι.

[5] Thus Geganius and Minucius, the consuls of this year, though involved in great and various storms and often in danger of wrecking the state, caused it no harm, but brought it safely through its perils by dealing with events rather with prudence than with good fortune.

[1] οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι Μάρκος Μηνύκιος Αὐγουρίνος καὶ Αὔλος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος δευτερον καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄνδρες [p. 33] οὐθ' ὅπλων οὐτε λόγων ἄπειροι, προνοίᾳ μὲν ἐχρήσαντο πολλῇ σίτου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγορᾶς ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν εὐτηριᾷ τῆς ὁμονοίας τοῦ πλήθους κειμένης: οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετο γ' αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα τούτων τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεισηλθεν ἅμα τῷ κόρῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ τῶν χρησαμένων αὐτοῖς ὕbris.

[20.1] The consuls appointed to succeed them, Marcus Minucius Augurinus and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who were both invested with this magistracy for the second time, being men not unskilled either in arms or in debate, took great care to supply the city plentifully with both corn and all other provisions, believing that the harmony of the masses depended on their well-being in this respect. Nevertheless, it was not their good fortune to obtain both these ends at the same time, but the surfeit of good things was accompanied by the insolence of those who had the benefit of them.

[2] καὶ τότε δὴ μέγιστος κατέλαβε τὴν Ῥώμην κίνδυνος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε ἥκιστ' ἐδόκει. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις πολλὴν

ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων τε καὶ μεσογείων ἔμπορίων σῆτον ὠνησάμενοι κατήγαγον δημοσίᾳ, οἳ τε διαμείβεσθαι τὰς ἀγορὰς εἰωθότες ἐκ παντὸς τόπου συνῆλθον, παρ' ὧν ἡ πόλις ὠνησαμένη τὸν φόρτον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ.

[2] And then it was that Rome was exposed once more to a very grave danger from a most unlikely source. For the ambassadors sent to buy corn, having purchased a large quantity at the public expense in both the maritime and the inland markets, brought it to the city; and the merchants also who used to trade in the markets flocked thither from all parts, of whom the commonwealth bought their lading with the public funds and kept it under guard.

[3] ἦλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ πρότερον ἀποσταλέντες πρέσβεις εἰς Σικελίαν Γεγάνιος καὶ Οὐαλέριος πολλὰς ἄγοντες ὀλκάδας, ἐν αἷς ἐκομίζοντο πυρῶν πέντε μυριάδες μεδίμνων Σικελικῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος ὠνητὸν ἦν βραχείας πάνυ τιμῆς, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ τύραννος ἀπεστάλκει προῖκα δοῦς καὶ τέλεσι παρακομίσας τοῖς ἰδίοις.

[3] Then too Geganius and Valerius, who had been sent earlier as ambassadors to Sicily, arrived with many merchantmen in which they brought fifty thousand Sicilian bushels of wheat, one half of it purchased at a very low price and the rest sent by the tyrant as a free gift to the Romans and conveyed at his own expense.

[4] ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ κατάπλους τῶν σιτηγῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Σικελίας, πολλὴ ζήτησις ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πατρικίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεικέστατοι αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοδημότατοι πρὸς τὰς κατεχούσας τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκας ἀποβλέποντες τὴν τε παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου δωρεὰν παρήνουν ἅπασαν διανεῖμαι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ τὸν ὠνηθέντα ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων [p. 34] χρημάτων σῆτον ὀλίγης αὐτοῖς ἀπεμπολῆσαι τιμῆς, διδάσκοντες ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἂν γένοιτο μάλιστα τῶν χαρίτων ἐπεικέστεραι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους αἱ τῶν πενήτων ὀργαί: οἱ δ' αὐθαδέστεροι καὶ ὀλιγαρχικώτεροι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ μηχανῇ κακοῦν ὥοντο δεῖν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καὶ συνεβούλευον τιμίας ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀγορὰς, ἵνα σωφρονέστεροι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην γένοιτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πολιτείας δίκαια νομιμώτεροι.

[4] When word was brought to the people in Rome that the ships had arrived from Sicily laden with corn, a long debate arose among the patricians concerning the disposal of it. For those among them who were the most reasonable and the greatest friends of the people, having in view the public necessary, advised them to distribute all the corn given by the tyrant among the plebeians, and to sell to them at a low price that which had been purchased with the public funds, pointing out that by these favours more than by any other means the animosity of the poor against the rich would be moderated.

On the other hand, those who were more arrogant and more zealous for the oligarchy thought that they ought to use every effort and every means to oppress the plebeians; and they advised making the provisions as costly as possible to them in order that they might through necessity become more moderate and more observant in general of the principles of justice prescribed by the constitution.

[1] τούτων ἦν τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολάνος ἐπικληθεὶς, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ κρύφα καὶ δι' εὐλαβείας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς καὶ θρασέως, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν. εἶχε γὰρ τινὰς ἔξω τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἰδίας προφάσεις νεωστὶ γενομένας, ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως ἐδόκει μισεῖν τοὺς δημοτικούς.

[21.1] One of this oligarchic party was that Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, who did not, like the rest, deliver his opinion with secrecy and caution, but with so much openness and boldness that many even of the plebeians heard him. It seems that, besides the general grievance against them which he shared with the others, he had lately received some private provocations that seemed to justify his hatred of the plebeians.

[2] ὑπατεῖαν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετιόντι ταῖς ἔγγιστα γενομέναις ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἔχοντι συναγωνιζομένους ὁ δῆμος ἐναντιωθεὶς οὐκ εἴασε δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν τόλμαν δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχων, μὴ τι διὰ ταῦτα νεωτερίσῃ περὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα δεδιώς, ὅτι συνελάμβανεν αὐτῷ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὸ τῶν πατρικίων πλῆθος ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν πρότερον.

[2] For when he had stood for the consulship at the last election, in which he had been supported by the patricians, the people had opposed him and would not permit that magistracy to be conferred on him, since his brilliant reputation and daring inclined them to caution, lest he might make some move to overthrow the tribuneship, and they were particularly apprehensive because the whole body of the patricians promoted his interest with a zeal they had never before shown for any other candidate.

[3] ταύτης τ' οὖν τῆς ὕβρεως ὀργῇ ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἀποκαταστήσαι προθυμούμενος αὐτὸς τ' ἀναφανδόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ἔπραττε τὴν τοῦ δήμου κατάλυσιν, καὶ [p. 35] τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνήγεν. ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρία μεγάλη νέων εὐγενῶν, οἷς ἦν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα βίων καὶ πελάται συχνοὶ συνεστηκότες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ὠφελείαις: οἷς ἐπαιρόμενος ἐφρυάττετο καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐπιφανείας.

[3] Marcius, therefore, being exasperated at this humiliation, and at the same time desirous of restoring the government to its ancient form, not only worked openly himself, as I have already said, to overthrow the power of the people,

but also urged his associates on to the same end. He had about him a large faction of young men of noble birth and of the greatest fortunes, as well as many clients who had attached themselves to him for the sake of the booty to be gained in the wars. Elated by these advantages, he assumed a haughty air, became conspicuous, and attained to the greatest distinction.

[4] οὐ μὴν εὐτυχοῦς γε διὰ ταῦτα καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε: συναχθείσης γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, πρώτων ἀποφνημαμένων τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας, ἐν οἷς οὐ πολλοὶ τινες ἦσαν οἱ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας ἀντικρυς ἀγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν εἰς τοὺς νεωτέρους ὁ λόγος, αἰτησάμενος ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν ὅσα βούλεται, καὶ τυχὼν ἐπισημασίας τε μεγάλης καὶ προσοχῆς λόγον διεξῆλθε κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τοιόνδε.

[4] And yet, for all this, he did not come to a fortunate end, as shall now be related. The senate having been assembled to consider the matters I have mentioned, and the older senators, according to custom, having delivered their opinions first, only a few of them declaring openly against the populace, when it came to the turn of the younger senators to speak, Marcius asked leave of the consuls to say what he wished; and meeting with loud acclaim and strict attention, he delivered the following harangue against the populace:

[1] ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἀπορίας βιασθεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἐποίησατο τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ὧ πατέρες, ἀλλὰ πονηρᾷ ἐλπίδι ἐπαρθεῖς ὡς καταλύσων τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ὑμῶν καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἐσόμενος τῶν κοινῶν κύριος, σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἡσθῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήματα ὀρώντας: ὧ γ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησε διαφθεῖραντι τὴν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια πίστιν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κειμένους ἀνελόντι νόμους μηθὲν ἄλλο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καινὴν δὲ καταστησάμενος ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ καθελεῖν τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν τυραννικὴν ἐξουσίαν περιβαλλόμενος, ὧ βουλή, τῷ νεωστὶ κυρωθέντι νόμῳ λελήθεν ὑμᾶς.

[22.1] “That the populace seceded, after him, not because of necessity and want, but because they were elated by the mischievous hope of destroying your aristocracy and of becoming themselves masters of the commonwealth, I think has become clear to nearly all of you when you observe the advantages which they gained by the accommodation. For they were not content, after they had destroyed the good faith which gave validity to their contracts and had abolished the laws made to secure it, to carry their meddling no farther, but introducing a new magistracy designed to overthrow that of the consuls, they made it sacred and inviolable by law, and have now, unobserved by you, senators, been acquiring a tyrannical power through this newly-enacted law.

[2] ὅταν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας πολλῆς οἱ [p. 36] προεστηκότες αὐτοῦ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ προβαλλόμενοι τὸ δὴ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτῶν βοηθεῖν διὰ

τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἄγωσι καὶ φέρωσιν, ὅς' ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, καὶ μηθεὶς ὁ κωλύσων τὰς παρανομίας αὐτῶν ἦ, μήτ' ἰδιώτης μήτ' ἄρχων δεδοικὼς τὸν νόμον, ὃς ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις θάνατον ἐπιτιθεὶς ζημίαν τοῖς ἐλευθέραν φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσι, τί προσῆκεν ὄνομα θέσθαι τῇ δυναστείᾳ ταύτῃ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἕτερον, ἢ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθείας καὶ πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσετε, τυραννίδα; εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὅλου τυραννοῦμεθα δήμου, τί τοῦτο διαφέρει; τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ταῦτό.

[2] For when their leaders, in their great power putting forward the specious pretence of coming to the aid of such plebeians as are wronged, sack and pillage whatever they please by virtue of that power, and when there is no man, either private citizen or magistrate, who will oppose their lawless deeds for fear of this law, which destroys even our liberty of speech as well as of action by imposing the penalty of death on all who utter a word befitting freemen, what other name ought to be given by sensible men to this domination but that which is the true one and which you would all own to be such, namely, a tyranny? And if we are under the tyranny, not of one man, but of a whole populace, what is the difference? For the effect of both is the same.

[3] κράτιστον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἑᾶσαι καταβαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπομεῖναι πρότερον, ὡς Ἀππίος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ δεινὰ προορώμενος ἤξιον, εἰ δὲ μή, νῦν γ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντας ἐξορύξαντας αὐτὴν πρόρριζον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, ἔως

[3] It would have been best, therefore, never to have permitted even the seed of this power to be sown, but rather to have submitted to everything, as the excellent Appius, who foresaw these mischiefs from afar, advised. But if that could not be, we ought now at least with one accord to pluck it up by the roots and cast it out of the city while it is yet weak and easily combatted.

[4] ἀσθενὴς ἐστὶ καὶ προσπολεμηθῆναι ῥαδία. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ πρώτοις ἡμῖν, ὦ βουλή, οὐδὲ μόνοις ἐξεγένετο παθεῖν, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη τοῖς εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἀνάγκας καταστᾶσι γνώμης ἀμαρτοῦσι τῆς ἀρίστης περὶ τὰ μέγιστα, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν τοῦ κακοῦ, τὰς αὐξήσεις πειρᾶσθαι καθαιρεῖν: καὶ ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ὧς ἀρχομένων σωφρονεῖν ἥττων οὕσα τῆς προνοίας, καθ' ἕτερον αὖ τρόπον οὐ χείρων οὕσα ἀναφαίνεται τῇ κωλύσει τοῦ τέλους ἀφανίζουσα τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀγνοηθέν. [p. 37]

[4] And we are not the first or the only persons to whom this experience has come, senators, but oft-times in the part many who have been reduced to unenviable straits and have failed to take the best counsel in matters of the greatest consequence, since they did not check the beginnings of the evil, have endeavoured to prevent its growth. And the repentance of those who are late in beginning to be wise, though inferior to foresight, yet, when viewed in another light, is seen to be no less valuable, since it wipes out the error originally made in ignorance by preventing its consequences.

[1] εἰ δὲ τισιν ὑμῶν δεινὰ μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔργα εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτὸν οἶονται δεῖν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, δέος δ' εἰσέρχεται, μὴ δόξωσι λῦειν τὰς ὁμολογίας πρότεροι καὶ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, γνώτωσαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχοντες, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι, οὐδ' ἀναιροῦντες τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνηρηκότας τιμωρούμενοι αὐτὸ δρῶσιν, ἀναίτιοι τε πρὸς θεοῦς ἔσονται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συμφέροντι τὰ δίκαια πράξουσι.

[23.1] “But if any of you, while looking upon the actions of the populace as outrageous and believing that they ought to be prevented from making any further mistakes, are nevertheless afraid of seeming to be the first to violate the agreement and transgress the oaths, let them know that, since they will not be the aggressors but will be repelling aggression, and will not be violating the agreement but rather punishing the violators of it, they will not only be guiltless towards the gods, but will also be doing an act of justice while they consult their own interest.

[2] μέγα δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι τοῦ λῦειν τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ παρασπονδεῖν οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἄρχει μέρος οὐκ ἄξιον ἐμμένειν, ἐφ' οἷς εὔρετο τὴν κάθοδον: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς δρᾶσαι τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνης κακοῦσθαι τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν ἤτησατο. χρῆται δ' αὐτῇ οὐκέτι εἰς ἃ δεῖ οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς εὔρετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ

[2] And let this be a strong argument that it is not you who are taking the first steps to break the agreement and violate treaty, but rather the plebeian element, by not observing the conditions upon which they obtained their return. For, after asking for the tribunician power, not in order to injure the senate, but to secure themselves from being injured by the senate, they no longer employ this power for the purposes they ought or on the terms on which they obtained it, but for the overthrow and destruction of the established government.

[3] καὶ συγχῦσει τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας. μέμνησθε γὰρ δήπου τὴν νεωστὶ γενομένην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ῥηθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ λόγους, ὅσων ἐπεδείξαντο αὐθάδειαν τε καὶ ἀκοσμίαν, καὶ νῦν, ἐφ' οἷου εἰσὶν αὐχήματος οἱ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ ἐστὶν ἅπαν τὸ τῆς πόλεως κράτος, ἧς αὐτοὶ κρατήσουσι πλείους ἡμῶν ὄντες.

[3] For surely you recall the recent assembly of the people and the harangues there made by their demagogues, what arrogance and unruliness they showed, and how these infatuated men vaunt themselves now, since they have discovered that the whole control of the commonwealth lies in the vote, which they will control, being more numerous than we.

[4] τί οὖν καταλείπεται ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀρξάντων ἐκείνων παρασπονδεῖν καὶ παρανομεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἄρξαντας, καὶ ἃ τέως ἀδίκως ἔχουσιν ἀφελέσθαι σὺν δίκῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν παῦσαι πλειόνων ἐφιεμένους: [p. 38] χάριν εἰδότες τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ εἴασαν αὐτοὺς τὰ πρῶτα πλεονεκτήσαντας εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτην ἐνέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναίσχυντίαν τε καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ὑφ' ἧς ὑμεῖς ἀναγκασθέντες τὰ τ' ἀπολωλότα πεῖρᾷσθε ἀναλαβεῖν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' ἧς προσῆκε φυλακῆς λαβεῖν.

[4] What, therefore, remains for us to do, now that they have begun to violate the compact and the law, but to repel to attacks of the aggressors, to deprive them justly of what they now unjustly possess, and for the future to put a stop to their craving for ever more and more? And we should return thanks to the gods for not having permitted them, when they had gained an unfair advantage at first, to act after that with moderation, but for having inspired them with this shamelessness and officiousness which have forced you to endeavour both to recover the rights you have lost and to guard with due care those that remain.

[1] καιρὸς δ' ὁ παρὼν οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος, εἴπερ γ' ἄρχεσθαι μέλλετε σωφρονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κεκάκωται αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δύναιτο πολὺν ἀντισχεῖν χρόνον ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας, εἰ σπανίους τε καὶ τιμίας ἔχοι τὰς ἀγοράς· ἀναγκασθήσονται δ' οἱ μὲν κάκιστοι καὶ οὐδέποτε τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ χαίροντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἐπεικέστεροι πολитеύεσθαι κοσμίως μηθὲν ἔτι ἐνοχλοῦντες ὑμῖν.

[24] "The present opportunity is favourable as no other, if you really intend to begin to act with wisdom, since the greater part of the plebeians are now reduced to dire straits by the famine and the rest cannot hold out for want of money if they find proves scarce and dear. The worst of them and those who were never pleased with the aristocracy will be forced to leave the city, and the more reasonable will be compelled to behave themselves in an orderly manner without giving you any further trouble.

[2] τὰς τ' οὖν ἀγορὰς διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχετε, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ὠνίων μηθὲν ἀνίετε, ἀλλ' ὅσου πλείστου ποτὲ ἦν τὰ ὠνία, τοσούτου καὶ νῦν αὐτὰ πωλεῖν ψηφίσασθε δικαίας ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντες καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους τὴν τ' ἀχάριστον τοῦ δήμου καταβολήν, ὡς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατασκευασθείσης τῆς σιτοδείας, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν καταφθοράν, ἣν ἐποίησαντο, τῆς γῆς, ἄγοντες αὐτὴν καὶ φέροντες ὥσπερ πολεμίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐξαίρεθείσας ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δαπάνας εἰς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τιν', ἃ ἡδίκησθε ὑπ' αὐτῶν: ἵνα καὶ [p. 39] γινώμεν ἤδη, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δεινόν, ὃ διαθήσουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἂν μὴ ποιῶμεν ἅπαντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καθ' ἡδονάς, ὡς οἱ δημαγωγοὶ αὐτῶν δεδιττόμενοι ἔλεγον.

[2] Keep the provisions, therefore, under guard, and abate nothing of the price of commodities, but pass a vote that they shall now be sold at as high a price as ever. For this you have just grounds and plausible excuses in the ungrateful clamour of the populace to the effect that the scarcity of corn was contrived by you, whereas it was occasioned by their own revolt and the desolation of the country which they caused when they pillaged it just as if it had been the territory of an enemy; and again in the disbursements from the treasury to the men sent to purchase corn, and in many other instances in which you have been wronged by them. By this means we shall also know at last what that

grievous treatment is which they are going to inflict upon us if we refuse to gratify the people in everything, as their demagogues threatened in order to frighten us.

[3] εἰ δ' ἀφήσετε καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν καιρὸν, πολλάκις εὕξεσθε τοιούτου τυχεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ εἰ γνοίῃ τοῦθ' ὁ δῆμος, ὅτι βουλευθέντες καταλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπετράπτεσθε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν βαρὺς ἐγκείσεται, πολέμιον μὲν τὸ βουλούμενον ὑμῶν ἡγούμενος, δειλὸν δὲ τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον.

[3] But if you let this opportunity also slip from your grasp, you will often pray for such another. Moreover, if the people should become aware that you desired to overthrow their power but were deterred, they will bear down much harder upon you, looking upon your desire as a proof of enmity and upon your inability to carry it out as evidence of cowardice."

[1] τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Μαρκίου διέστησαν αἱ γνώμαι τῶν συνέδρων, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο πολὺς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐναντίοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς παρὰ γνώμην ὑπομείναντες, ἐν οἷς ἢ τε νεότης ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσα ἦν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ πλουσιώτατοι τε καὶ φιλοτιμότατοι, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια βλάβαις, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐλαττώσει ἐπήνουν τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς γενναῖον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ

[25] After this speech of Marcius the opinions of the senators were divided and a great tumult arose among them. For those who from the beginning had opposed the plebeians and submitted to the accommodation against their will, among whom were almost all the youth and the richest and most ambitious of the older senators, some of them resenting the losses sustained in the loans they had made under contract and others their defeat when they sought office, applauded Marcius as a man of spirit and a lover of his country, who advised what was best for the commonwealth.

[2] λέγοντα· οἱ δὲ δημοτικὰς ἔχοντες τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν τρόπων καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον οὐ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐκτετιμηκότες τῆς τ' εἰρήνης οὐδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἤχοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην οὐ προσίεντο· ἡξιοῦν τε μὴ τοῖς βιαίοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι περιεῖναι τῶν ταπεινότερων, μηδ' ἀπρεπές, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ἐπιεικές, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γινόμενον· [p. 40] μανίαν τ' ἀπέφαινον αὐτοῦ τὴν συμβουλήν, οὐ παρρησίαν οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίαν. βραχὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ ἀσθενὲς ὃν περιεωθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ βιαιοτέρου.

[2] On the other hand, the senators whose sympathies were with the populace and who set no undue value on riches and thought nothing was or necessary than peace, were offended at his speech and rejected his advice. These

maintained that they ought to surpass the humbler citizens, not in violence, but in kindness, and that they ought to regard reasonableness as not unbecoming, but necessary, particularly when it was manifested out of goodwill towards their fellow-citizens; and they declared that the advice of Marcius was madness, not frankness of speech or liberty. But this group was small and weak, and hence was overborne by the more violent party.

[3] ταῦτα δ' ὀρῶντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι: παρήσαν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων: ἐβόων τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον λυμεῶνα καὶ ὄλεθρον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκάλουν πονηροὺς διεξιόντα κατὰ τοῦ δήμου λόγους, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύσειαν αὐτὸν οἱ πατρίκιοι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα θανάτῳ ζημιώσαντες ἢ φυγῇ, αὐτοὶ ποιήσιν τοῦτ' ἔλεγον.

[3] The tribunes, seeing this — for they were present in the senate at the invitation of the consuls — cried out and were in great conflict of mind, calling Marcius the pest and bane of the state for uttering malicious words against the populace; and unless the patricians should prevent his design of introducing civil war into the state by punishing him with death or banishment, they said they would do so themselves.

[4] θορύβου δ' ἔτι πλείονος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῶν δημάρχων γενομένου, καὶ μάλιστα' ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων τὰς ἀπειλὰς δυσανασχετούντων ἐπαρθεὶς τούτοις ὁ Μάρκιος αὐθαδέστερον ἤδη καθήπτετο τῶν δημάρχων καὶ θρασύτερον: εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε μέντοι, λέγων, τάραπτοντες τὴν πόλιν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐκδημαγωγοῦντες τοὺς ἀπόρους, οὐκέτι λόγῳ διοίσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ.

[4] When a still greater tumult arose at these words of the tribunes, particularly on the part of the younger senators, who bore their threats with impatience, Marcius, inspired by these manifestations, now attacked the tribunes with greater arrogance and boldness, saying to them: “Unless you cease disturbing the commonwealth and stirring up the poor by your harangues, I shall no longer oppose you with words, but with deeds.”

[1] ἡγριωμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ἔμαθον οἱ δῆμαρχοι πλείους ὄντας τοὺς βουλομένους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν ἐμμένειν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἀξιούντων, ἐξεδραμον ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κεκραγότες καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ὀρκίους ἐπικαλοῦμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ῥηθέντας λόγους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἐκάλουν.

[26.1] The senate being now embittered, the tribunes, finding that those who desired to take away the power granted to the people outnumbered those who advised adhering to the agreement, rushed out of the senate-house shouting and calling upon the gods who had been witnesses to their oaths. After this they assembled the people, and having acquainted them with the speech made

by Marcius in the senate, they summoned him to make his defence.

[2] ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκαλεῖτο, προπηλακίζων τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεῖρξεν, [p. 41] ἀγανακτήσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ δήμαρχοι παραλαβόντες τοὺς τ' ἀγορανόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συχνοὺς ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἔτυχεν ἔτι διατρίβων πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν τε πατρικίων πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἑταιρίαν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων.

[2] But when he paid no regard to them, but repulsed with abusive words the attendants by whom he was summoned, the tribunes grew still more indignant, and taking with them the aediles and many other citizens, ran to seize him; he chanced to be still standing before the senate-house, attended by a large number of the patricians and by the rest of his faction.

[3] ὡς δὲ συνεῖδον αὐτὸν οἱ δήμαρχοι, προσέταξαν τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ σώματος καί, εἰ μὴ ἐκὼν βούλεται ἀκολουθεῖν, βίᾳ ἄγειν· εἶχον δὲ τότε τὴν ἀγορανομικὴν ἐξουσίαν Τίτος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος καὶ Γάιος Οὐσέλλιος Ροῦγας. οἱ μὲν δὴ προσήεσαν ὡς ἐπιληψόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δὲ πατρικιοὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοι τοῦ ἔργου ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πρὸ δίκης ἄγεσθαι τινα σφῶν βίᾳ προὔστησαν τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τύπτοντες τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἀπήλασαν.

[3] When the tribunes caught sight of him, they ordered the aediles to lay hold of his person and, if he refused to follow them, to bring him away by force. The aediles at that time were Titus Junius Brutus and Gaius Visellius Ruga. These advanced with the intention of seizing him; but the patricians, looking upon it as a terrible thing that any one of their number should be forcibly carried away by the tribunes before being tried, placed themselves in front of Marcius, and striking all who approached him, drove them away.

[4] διαβοηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἐξεπήδων ἅπαντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῳν· οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὄντες καὶ χρημάτων ἔχοντες εὖ τὸν Μάρκιον ὑπερασπιοῦντες ἅμα τοῖς πατρικίοις καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀνακτησόμενοι πολιτείαν, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ ταῖς τύχαις καὶ βίου σπανίζοντες ἀμύνειν παρεσκευασμένοι τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύσωσιν· ἢ τ' αἰδῶς, ὑφ' ἧς κρατούμενοι τέως οὐδὲν ἐτόλμων εἰς ἀλλήλους παρανομεῖν, τότ' ἀνήρητο ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔδρασαν γ' οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐποῦσαν ἀνεβάλοντο, γνώμη τε καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν ὑπάτων εἰζαντες. [p. 42]

[4] The news of this occurrence having been spread through the whole city, all rushed out of their houses, the magistrates and the men of means with the purpose of assisting the patricians in protecting Marcius and of recovering their ancient form of government, and those of humble condition and straitened circumstances prepared to aid the tribunes and to carry out any

orders they might give. And the feeling of respect, which had hitherto restrained them from venturing to commit any lawless acts against one another, they had now abandoned. However, they did not commit any irreparable deed that day, but postponed a decision until the following day, out of deference to the advice and exhortations of the consuls.

[1] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρῶτοι καταβάντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ δήμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ παριόντες ἐκ διαδοχῆς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πατρικίων κατηγοροῦν ὡς ἔψευσμένων τὰς συνθήκας καὶ παραβεβηκότων τοὺς ὅρκους, οὓς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας τῶν πάλαι, πιστεῖς παραφέροντες τοῦ μὴ βεβαίως αὐτοὺς διηλλάχθαι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν τὴν τε τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ κατέσκευσαν, καὶ τὰς ἀποστολὰς τῶν κληρουχιῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐμηχανήσαντο μειώσεως τοῦ πλήθους ἕνεκα.

[27.1] The next day the tribunes were the first to descend to the Forum; and assembling the people, they came forward one after the other and preferred many charges against the patricians, alleging that they had violated their treaty and transgressed the oaths by which they had promised the people to forget and forgive the past. As proofs that they were not sincerely reconciled to the plebeians they pointed to the scarcity of corn which the patricians had brought about, to the sending out of the two colonies, and to all the other things they had contrived with a view to diminishing the number of the populace.

[2] πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκίου κατήπτοντο τοὺς ῥηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διεξιόντες, καὶ ὅτι καλούμενος εἰς ἀπολογίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤξιωσεν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγορανόμους τύπτων ἀπήλασεν. ἐκάλουν δὲ μάρτυρας τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους τῶν ἐκεῖ, τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους ὕβρεως ἅπαντας τοὺς τότε παρόντας κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δημοτικούς.

[2] After that they inveighed violently against Marcius, repeating the words he had spoken in the senate, and told them that, when he was summoned by the people to make his defence before them, he had not only not deigned to come, but had even driven away with blows the aediles who came to fetch them. They summoned, as witnesses of what had passed in the senate, the most honoured members of that body, and, as witnesses of the insult offered to the aediles, all the plebeians who had been present at the time in the Forum.

[3] ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντες ἐδίδουσιν, εἰ βουλομένοις εἴη, τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀπολογίαν, κατέχοντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν δῆμον, ἕως ἢ βουλὴ διαλυθῇ. ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων συνεδρεῦοντες οἱ πατρικιοὶ διαποροῦντες, εἴτ' ἀπολογητέον αὐτοῖς εἴη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβλήθησαν,

[3] Having spoken thus, they gave leave to the patricians to make their defence

if they wished; and for that purpose they kept the people together till the senate should be dismissed.

[4] εἴτε μενετέον ἐφ' ἡσυχίας. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πλείους γινῶμαι τὰ φιланθρωπότερα τῶν αὐθαδεστέρων προεἶλοντο, διαλύσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὸν σύλλογον προῆλθον [p. 43] εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰς τε κοινὰς ἀπολυσόμενοι διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου τὸν δῆμον ἀξιῶσונτες μὴτὲν βουλευῆσαι ἀνῆκεστον. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν Μηνύκιος ἔλεξε τοιαῦδε.

[4] For it happened that the patricians were holding a session concerning this very matter, debating whether they should clear themselves to the people of the charges that had been brought against them or should remain quiet. When the majority of the opinions inclined to humane rather than to stubborn measures, the consuls dismissed the meeting and came to the Forum with the intention both of refuting the charges brought against their whole order and of asking the people not to come to any irreparable decision against Marcius. And Minucius, the older of the consuls, coming forward, spoke as follows:

[1] ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς σιτοδείας ἀπολογία πάνυ βραχεῖα ἐστίν, ὧς δημόται, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς παρεξόμεθα ὧν ἂν λέγωμεν ἢ ὑμᾶς μάρτυρας. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀφορίαν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ἐπίστασθε δήπου καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα σπόρον γενομένην: τὴν τ' ἄλλην καταφθορὰν τῆς χώρας οὐ παρ' ἐτέρων ὑμᾶς δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας συνέβη, καὶ ὡς τελευτώσα ἡ πλείστη τε καὶ ἀρίστη γῆ πάντων ἐσπάνικε καρπῶν τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διαρπαζομένη, τὰ δ' ὑμῖν μὴ ἐπιχορηγοῦσα τοσούτοις οὔσι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἀποστροφὴν ἔχουσιν.

[28.1] “Our defence as regards the scarcity is a very brief one, plebeians, and we shall offer no other witnesses than you yourselves to prove the truth of what we allege. For surely even you yourselves know that the land produced no crops of grain for the reason that none was sown. And as for the general ruin of the land, you have no need to be informed by others to what cause it was due and by what means at last the largest and the most fertile part of the land has come to lack all crops, slaves, and cattle — partly because it was being laid waste by the enemy and partly because it was incapable of supplying you who are so numerous and have no other resource.

[2] ὥστ' οὐκ ἐξ ὧν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ διαβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ ἴστε, τὸν λιμὸν ἡγούμενοι γεγονέναι παύσασθε προσάπτοντες ἐπιβουλὴν ἡμετέραν τῷ πάθει καὶ

[2] Believe, then, that the famine was occasioned, not by what your demagogues charge, but by what you yourselves know to be true, and cease to attribute this misfortune to plotting on our part and to be angry with us when we are guilty of no wrongdoing.

[3] δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν ἀδικοῦντας. αἱ δ' ἀποστολαὶ τῶν

κληρούχων ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἐγένοντο, κοινῇ δόξαν ὑμῖν ἅπασι διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν χωρία εἰς πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεῖα, καὶ μεγάλα ὤνησαν ἐν καιρῷ σφόδρα ἀναγκαιῶ γενόμεναι τοὺς τ' ἐξιόντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους ὑμῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφθονωτέρων εὐποροῦσιν [p. 44] ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομείναντες ἦττον σπανίζουσι τῆς ἀγορᾶς: ἢ τ' ἰσομοιρία τῆς τύχης ἥς μετέσχομεν ὑμῖν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς οἱ πατρικιοὶ κλήρῳ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον, οὐ ψέγεται.

[3] As to the colonists, there was a necessity for sending them out since it was the unanimous decision of all of you to garrison places that will be of use in time of war; and sending them out when the occasion was so very urgent has proved of great advantage both to those who went out and to you who are left behind. For the colonists enjoy there a greater plenty of all the necessities of life, and those who remain here suffer less from the scarcity of provisions; and the principle of impartiality in sharing the decrees of Fortune, to which we patricians submitted along with you plebeians when we chose the colonists by lot, is not open to censure.

[1] τί οὖν παθόντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὧν κοινὰς ἔσχομεν τὰς γνώμας καὶ τὰς τύχας, εἴτε δεινῶν ὄντων, ὥς οὗτοι φασιν,

[29.1] “What, then, possesses the demagogues to find fault with us for those things in which both our opinions and our fortunes are the same, whether they are hurtful, as they say, or advantageous, as we think.

[2] εἴτ' ὠφελίμων, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθ'; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ νεωστὶ βουλῇ γενομένῃ διαβεβλήμεθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὥς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες μετριάσαι περὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, ὥς μνησικακοῦντες ὑμῖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ προθυμοῦμενοι κακῶσαι τὸ δημοτικόν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐγκλήματα ἔργοις ἀπολυσόμεθ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οὔτε κακὸν οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς ἐργασάμενοι τὴν τ' ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐφ' οἷς τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἔχειν, καὶ νῦν βεβαιοῦντες, τοῦ δὲ σίτου τὴν διάπρασιν ὥς ἂν ὑμῖν ἅπασι δόξη ποιησάμενοι. περιμείναντες οὖν, ἐάν τι μὴ γένηται τούτων, τότε κατηγορεῖτε ἡμῶν.

[2] As to the accusations they have made against us in connection with the recent meeting of the senate, to the effect that we did not think fit to show any moderation in the matter of the price of provisions, that we were plotting to abolish the tribunician power, that we still resented your secession and were eager to injure the plebeians in every way, and all the other like charges, we shall soon refute them by our actions, not only in doing you no injury, but also in confirming even now the tribunician power upon the same terms on which we then granted it to you, and in selling the corn at such price as you shall all of you determine. Have patience, therefore, and if any of these things are not performed, accuse us then.

[3] εἰ δὲ βουλευθῆιτε ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι τὰ διάφορα, δικαιότερον ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι τοῦ δήμου κατηγοροίμεν, ὅτι τὴν βουλὴν ὑμεῖς ἔχοιτε δι' αἰτίας. ἀδικεῖτε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὧς δημόται, καὶ μηθὲν ἀχθεσθῆτε ἀκούοντες, εἰ γ' οὐκ ἀναμείναντες τῆς γνώμης ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὸ τέλος κατηγορεῖν ἤδη αὐτῆς ἀξιοῦτε. [p. 45]

[3] But if you will carefully examine our differences, you will find that we patricians have greater reason to accuse the people than you have to blame the senate. For you wrong us, plebeians, — and be not offended at being told this, — if without waiting to learn the outcome of our deliberations you think fit to find fault with them already.

[4] καίτοι τις οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ῥᾶστον ἔργον ἂν γένοιτο συγχέαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκ πόλεως τοιαύτ' ἐγκαλοῦντι, ὧν ἡ πίστις μέλλουσα καὶ ἐν ἀδελφῷ ἔτι οὕσα οὐ φυλακὴ ἐστι τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τι κακόν, ἀλλὰ πρόφασις τοῦ ἀδικεῖν;

[4] Yet who does not know that it would be the easiest of all things for anyone who wished to do so to destroy and abolish from a state the spirit of harmony by charging others with designs of which the proof, being still in the future and not yet made, is no safeguard to the accused against suffering some injustice, but rather an excuse to the accuser for doing an injustice?

[5] καὶ οὐ τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν μόνον ὧν διαβάλλουσι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ συκοφαντοῦσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν οὐχ ἥττον ὧν πιστεύετε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆναι ἀγανακτεῖτε. χρῆν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἰ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐφοβεῖσθε ἀδικήματα, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁργὰς μελλούσας ἔχειν. νῦν δὲ φαίνεσθε ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα ἐγνωκέναι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον ἐν τῷ κακουργωτέρῳ τιθέναι.

[5] And it is not your leaders alone who deserve censure for accusing and calumniating the senate, but you yourselves no less than they for giving credit to them and resenting injuries before experiencing them. For what you ought to have done, if it was future acts of injustice that you feared, was to reserve your anger for the future also; but, as matters stand, it appears that you have reached your decision with greater haste than prudence and are assuming that greater safety lies in greater baseness.

[1] περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ δήμαρχοι διέβαλον, ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τοσαύτ' εἰρησθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, περὶ ὧν ἂν εἴπωμεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, συκοφαντοῦσι, καὶ διιστάναι τὴν πόλιν αἰτιῶνται, καὶ νῦν Γάιον Μάρκιον, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν, ἐλευθέρῳ φωνῇ χρησάμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦσιν ἢ φυγάδα ποιῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος, βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰ δίκαια εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς: καὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ μετρίους καὶ ἀληθεῖς ἐρῶ:

[30.1] “Concerning the acts of injustice with which the tribunes have charged

the senate as a body, I think what I have said sufficient. But since they also calumniate every one of us individually for whatever we say in the senate and charge that we are dividing the state, and since they are now endeavour you to put to death or banish Gaius Marcius, a man who loves his country and who expressed himself with frankness in discussing the public interests, I wish to tell you the rights of this matter also; and I ask you to consider whether what I shall say is not fair-minded and true.

[2] τοὺς λόγους. ὑμεῖς, ὦ δημόται, διαλλαττόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀποχρῆν ὑμῖν ὦεσθε τῶν δανείων ἀφεῖσθαι, καὶ βοηθείας ἕνεκα τῶν κατισχυομένων πενήτων ἄρχοντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡτήσασθε ἀποδεικνύναι, καὶ ταῦτ' [p. 46] ἀμφοτέρα πολλὴν εἰδότες ἡμῖν χάριν ἐλάβετε: καταλῦσαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τὴν βουλὴν ἄκυρον ποιῆσαι τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν προστασίας καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀνατρέψαι τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας οὗτ' ἡτήσασθε οὔτε μέλλετε.

[2] When you, plebeians, were treating for a reconciliation with the senate, you thought it enough for you to be discharged of your debts, and you desired leave to choose magistrates out of your own body to protect the poor from oppression; and when you obtained both these things, you were very grateful to us. But to undermine the office of the consuls, to take away the authority of the senate to protect the interests of the commonwealth, or to overthrow the established form of government are things you neither asked nor intended to ask.

[3] τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπιχειρεῖτε πάντα συγγεῖν ταῦτα νυνί; καὶ τίνι δικαίῳ πιστεύοντες τὰς τιμὰς ἡμῶν ζητεῖτε ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; εἰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσι τῆς βουλῆς φοβερὸν ποιήσετε τὸ μὴ μετὰ παρρησίας ἃ φρονοῦσι λέγειν, τί ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ προεστηκότες ὑμῶν ἐπεικέες; ἢ ποίῳ χρησάμενοι νόμῳ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν ἢ φυγῇ τῶν πατρικίων τινὰς ἀξιώσουσιν; οὔτε γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ νόμοι ταύτην διδόασιν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐθ' αἱ νεωστὶ γενομένηαι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁμολογία.

[3] What possesses you, then, that you attempt now to upset all these institutions? Or relying upon what principle of justice do you seek to take away the offices which belong to us? For if you are going to make it dangerous for the senators to express their sentiments with frankness, what fairness is to be expected from the language of your leaders? Or relying upon what law will they undertake to punish any of the patricians with death or banishment? For neither the old laws nor the agreements recently made with the senate give you this power.

[4] τὸ δ' ἐκβαίνειν τοὺς νομίμους ὅρους καὶ τὴν βίαν κρεῖττονα ποιεῖν τῆς δίκης οὐκέτι δημοτικόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εἰ τάληθ' ἐβούλεσθε ἀκούειν τυραννικόν. ἐγὼ δὴ παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὧν μὲν εὖρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς φιλανθρώπων μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, ὧν δ' οὐκ ἤξιώσατε διαλυόμενοι τὴν ἐχθραν τότε τυχεῖν μηδὲ νῦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι.

[4] But to transgress the bounds prescribed by the laws and to render force superior to justice is the mark, not of a democracy, but, if you desire to hear the truth, of a tyranny. For my part, I should advise you, while giving up none of the benefits which you obtained from the senate, not to lay claim, either, to any now which you did not then demand when you were treating for a reconciliation with them.

[1] Ἰνα δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν γένηται φανερόν, ὅτι οὐθὲν οὔτε μέτριον οὔτε δίκαιον ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ δημαγωγοί, ἀλλὰ παρανόμων τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἐφίενται μετενέγκαντες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς, οὕτω σκοπεῖτε καὶ ὑπολάβετε τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν [p. 47] πολιτευομένοις ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι πονηροὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς διατίθενται λόγους ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ καταλύουσι τὴν πατριον ἀριστοκρατίαν, καὶ διαστασιάζουσι τὴν πόλιν, ἅπαντα ταῦτα λέγοντας ἀληθῆ: ποιοῦσι γὰρ ταῦτα: καὶ τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ὅτι δυναστείαν περιβάλλονται μείζονα τῆς συγκεχωρημένης αὐτοῖς ἄκριτον ἀποκτείνειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ὃν ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ

[31.1] “But in order to make it still more plain to you that your demagogues are making demands that are neither moderate nor just, but are aiming at illegal in impossible ends, pray transfer the situation to yourselves and consider it in this light: Imagine that the senators are accusing your political leaders of delivering in your assembly malicious speeches against the senate, of endeavouring to overthrow the established aristocracy, of raising a sedition in the state — all of which they could assert with truth, since they are doing all these things — and, worst of all, of aiming at greater power than was granted them, in attempting to put to death without a trial anyone of our number they please; and imagine that the senators declare that the persons guilty of these crimes are to be put to death with impunity.

[2] τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας τεθνάναι νηποινί. πῶς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐνέγκαιτε τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ συνεδρίου; καὶ τί ἂν εἴποιτε; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσαιτε καὶ δεινὰ φαίητε πάσχειν, εἰ τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφαιρήσεται τις ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἐπιθείς τοῖς ἐλευθέρων φωνὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου φθεγξαμένοις;

[2] How would you bear this arrogance of the senate? And what would you say? Would you not become indignant and complain that you were treated outrageously if anyone deprives you of your freedom of speech and of your liberty by threatening to visit the extreme penalty upon any who have spoken frankly in behalf of the people?

[3] οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἔπειθ' ἃ παθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιτε αὐτοί, ταῦθ' ἐτέρους πάσχοντας ἀνέχεσθαι δικαιοῦτε; πολιτικά γ', ὧς δημόται, καὶ μέτρια ὑμῶν τὰ βουλευόμενα. τοιαῦτ' ἀξιοῦντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ βεβαιοῦτε τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῶν διαβολὰς ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμβουλευοντας τὴν παράνομον ὑμῶν δυναστείαν μὴ περιορᾶν αὐξομένην, τὰ δίκαια τῷ κοινῷ

[3] You cannot deny that you would. Then do you think it reasonable that others should bear what you yourselves would not submit to? Are these purposes of yours, plebeians, becoming to citizens and do they show moderation? By making such demands do you not yourselves confirm the truth of the charges brought against you and show that those who advise us not to permit your lawless domination to gain new strength have at heart the rights of the commonwealth? So it seems to me, at least.

[4] φρονοῦντας ἀποδείκνυτε; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ. ἀλλ' εἴ γε τάναντία βούλεσθε ὧν διαβέβλησθε ποιεῖν, ἐμοὶ συμβούλῳ χρησάμενοι μετριάσατε καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐφ' οἷς ἄχθεσθε, πολιτικῶς καὶ μὴ δυσοργήτως ἐνέγκατε. [p. 48] περιέσται γὰρ ὑμῖν μὲν, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσετε, ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀπεχθῶς διακειμένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετανοεῖν.

[4] But if you desire to do just the opposite of what you have been charged with doing, follow my advice, moderate your behaviour, and bear as fellow-citizens should, rather than with ill humour, the words which give you offence. For if you do this, you will have a double advantage: you will be regarded as good men and those who are hostile to you will repent.

[1] δίκαια μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προεχόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μεγάλα, ὥς γ' οὖν οἴομεθα, πείθομεν ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν: χρηστὰ δὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα ἔργα, οἷς χρῆσόμεθα οὐκ ὀνειδίσαι βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπεικεστέρους ποιῆσαι, — χωρὶς τῶν παλαιῶν τὰ νεωστὶ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ὑμῶν, — ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπιλελήσθαι βουλόμεθα, ὑμεῖς δὲ δίκαιοι ἐστε μεμνηῖσθαι.

[32.1] “These are the weighty considerations of justice — at least we so regard them — which we put forward in order to persuade you to make no mistakes; but as for our benefits and kindly services, which we shall mention, not from any desire to reproach you, but wishing to make you more reasonable, — apart from those of former times there are the recent ones in connection with your return, — we desire to forget them, though you have just reason to remember them;

[2] ἀναγκαζόμεθα δ' αὐτὰ παραφέρειν νυνὶ χρήζοντες ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν ὑμῖν δεομένοις ἐχαρισάμεθα, ταύτην παρ' ὑμῶν ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναι μήτ' ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων κράτιστον. ζημιωσόμεθα γὰρ οὐ μικρά, εὖ ἴστε, ὧν δημόται, τοιαύτης ἀποστερήσαντες ἀρετῆς τὴν πόλιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν δι' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑφεῖναι τῆς ὀργῆς δίκαιοι ἐστε μνησθέντες, ὅσους ὑμῶν ἔσωσεν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ μὴ λόγων μνησικακεῖν φαύλων, ἀλλ' ἔργων μεμνηῖσθαι καλῶν.

[2] but we are under the necessity of citing them at this time, asking that, for the many great favours we have bestowed upon you at your request, you will grant us this one on your part — neither to put to death nor to banish from the

state a man who loves his country and excels all others in the art of war. For it will be no small loss to us, as you well know, plebeians, if we deprive the commonwealth of such valour. Preferably, then, you ought to relent on his own account, calling to mind how many of you he has saved in the wars, and instead of retaining any resentment for his objectionable words, to remember his glorious deeds.

[3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις αὐτοῦ μεγάλα ὠφέλησαν. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχετε, ἡμῖν γέ τοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ χαρίσασθε αὐτὸν δεομένοις, καὶ διαλλάγητε ἤδη ποτὲ βεβαίως τὴν τε πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶχε, μίαν [p. 49] εἶναι ποιήσατε. εἰ δὲ πειθοῦσιν ἡμῖν οὐ συγχωρήσετε, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἡμεῖς βιαζομένοις ὑμῖν εἴσομεν, ἀλλ' ἥτοι φιλότητος ἀδόλου καὶ χαρίτων ἔτι μειζόνων ἦδε ἡ πῆϊρα τοῦ δήμου πᾶσιν αἰτία ἔσται, ἥ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου αὖθις ἄρξει καὶ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων.

[3] For his speech has done you no harm, whereas his actions have done you great service. However, if you cannot be reconciled to this man, at least as a favour to us and the senate yield him up to our entreaties, be at last firmly reconciled to us, and cause the commonwealth to be united as it was in the beginning. But if you do not yield to our persuasions, be assured that we shall not yield to your violence either; but this testing of the populace will be either the source of a sincere friendship and of still greater benefits for all, or the fresh beginning of civil war and irreparable evils."

[1] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Μηνυκίου διεξεληθόντος ὀρώντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τῇ τε μετριότητι τῶν λόγων καὶ τῇ φιланθρωπίᾳ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐπαγόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἤχθοντο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, μάλιστα δὲ Γάιος Σικίνιος Βελλοῦτος, ὁ πείσας τοὺς πένητας ἀποσιτῆναι τῶν πατρικίων καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἕως ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἐχθιστος ἀνὴρ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προηγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν τε δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν δεῦτερον ἤδη παρειληφώς, ἀπάντων ἥκιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐαυτῷ συμφέρειν ὁμονοῆσαι οἰόμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν κόσμον.

[33.1] After Minucius had spoken in this manner, the tribunes, seeing the populace moved by the moderation of his speech and the humanity of his promises, were offended and displeased, and particularly Gaius Sicinius Bellutus, the one who had persuaded the poor to secede from the patricians and had been appointed by them to be their general while they were in arms. He was a most bitter foe of the aristocracy, and having for that reason been raised by the multitude to a position of eminence and given the tribunician power for the second time already, he, least of all the demagogues, thought it to his interest that the commonwealth should become harmonious and recover its ancient good order.

[2] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔξειν ἔτι τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπελάμβανεν ἀριστοκρατίας πολιτευομένης, γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ τεθραμμένος ἀδόξως καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐθὲν ἀποδειξάμενος οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους οὔτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδυνεύουσιν, ὡς διεστασιακῶς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῇ κακῶν γεγονώς αἴτιος.

[2] For not only did he not expect to enjoy the same honours and powers any longer under an aristocracy, since he was of lowly birth, poorly educated, and had never distinguished himself in either war or peace, but he knew he should even be in peril of his life for having caused a sedition in the state and brought upon it many other evils.

[3] ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὴ ὅσα [p. 50] χρῆν λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν καὶ μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων βουλευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινους ἔσχεν ὁμογνώμονας, ἀνέστη καὶ μικρὰ περὶ τῆς κατεχούσης τὸν δῆμον ἀτυχίας ἀποδυσάμενος τοὺς θ' ὑπάτους ἐπήνεσεν, ὅτι λόγον ἡξίωσαν ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς δημόταις οὐχ ὑπεριδόντες αὐτῶν τῆς ταπεινότητος, καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις εἰδέναι χάριν ἔφησεν, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἤδη ποτὲ φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν πενήτων: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔφη μετὰ πάντων ἐκμαρτυρήσειν, ἐὰν ὅμοια παράσχωνται τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα.

[3] After he had considered, therefore, what he ought to say and do, and had consulted with his colleagues and gained their assent, he rose up, and after uttering a few words of commiseration over the unhappy lot of the plebeians, he commended the consul for vouchsafing to give them an account of their actions without despising their low condition, and also said he was grateful to the patricians if now at last they were taking some that for the preservation of the poor; and he declared that he should still more heartily join with all the rest in bearing witness to the fact if they would make their actions conform to their words.

[1] εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ δόξας μέτριος ὀργὴν εἶναι καὶ διαλλακτικὸς ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον παρεστηκότα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ λέγει: σὺ δέ, τί οὐκ ἀπολογῇ πρὸς τοὺς σαντοῦ πολίτας, ὧ γενναῖε, περὶ ὧν εἶπας ἐν τῇ βουλῇ; μᾶλλον δὲ τί οὐκ ἀντιβολεῖς καὶ παραιτῇ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα μετριωτέραν ἐπιθῶσί σοι ζημίαν; ἀρνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀξιῶσαιμί σε τοσοῦτων ἀνδρῶν εἰδότην οὐδ' εἰς ἀναισχύντους καταφεύγειν ἀπολογίας, Μάρκιον ὄντα καὶ φρόνημα μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἔχοντα: εἰ μὴ ἄρα τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις καλῶς ἔχει πείθειν ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὸν δῆμον, σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἄρα καλῶς ἔξει ταῦτό

[34.1] Having spoken thus and given the impression that he was moderate and conciliatory in disposition, he turned to Marcius, who stood near the consuls, and said: "And you, sir, why do you not clear yourself before your fellow-citizens in regard to what you said in the senate? Or rather, why do you not entreat them and deprecate their anger, that they may impose a milder penalty

upon you? For I would not advise you to deny the fact, as so many are acquainted with it, or to have recourse to shameless excuses, since you are Marcius and have a spirit above that of a man in private station — unless, indeed, it is seemly for the consuls and the patricians to intercede for you with the populace, but will not be seemly for you to do this same thing for yourself.”

[2] τοῦτο περὶ σεαυτοῦ ποιήσαντι; ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν οὐκ [p. 51] ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἡμαρτηκῶς ἄφρῃσι αἰτεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας, οὐδ' εἰς ὀλοφυρμούς καὶ δεήσεις καταφεύξεται παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἦτοι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀπαξιώσει τὴν ἀπολογία, ἢ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐθάδειαν φυλάττων οὐθὲν ὑποθωπεύσει τὸν δῆμον μετριάσας περὶ τοὺς λόγους; ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη.

[2] This he said, well knowing that a man of his proud spirit would never submit to be his own accuser, and, as if he had transgressed, to ask for a remission of his punishment or, contrary to his character, to have recourse to lamentations and entreaties, but that he would either scorn to make any defence at all or, preserving his innate arrogance, would indulge in no flattery of the populace by showing moderation in his words.

[3] γενομένης γὰρ ἡσυχίας καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπεσοῦσης ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς προθυμίας ἀπολύειν αὐτόν, εἰ τὸν παρόντα θεραπεύσειε καιρὸν, τοιαύτην αὐθάδειαν ἐπεδείξατο λόγων, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν κατεφρόνησεν, ὥστε παρελθὼν ἔξαρκος μὲν ὑπὲρ οὐθενὸς ἦν τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν εἰρημένων κατὰ τοῦ πλήθους, οὐδ' ὡς μεταγινώσκων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς οἴκτους καὶ παραιτήσεις ἐτρέπετο: ἀρχὴν δ' οὐδὲ δικασταῖς αὐτοῖς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι περὶ οὐδενὸς πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν νόμιμον: εἰ δὲ βουλήσεται τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴτ' ἔργων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτῶν εἴτε λόγων,

[3] And this is just what happened. For when silence prevailed and almost all the plebeians felt a strong desire to acquit him if he would make the most of the present opportunity, he showed such arrogance in his words and so great a contempt of the plebeians that he did not deny a single thing he had said in the senate against them, nor, as if he repented of what he had said, resort to appeals for pity or to prayers for mercy. Indeed, he absolutely refused even to let them be his judges in any matter, as having no lawful authority; but if anyone should think fit to accuse him before the consuls and require an accounting of either his words or his actions, he was ready to stand trial in a place appointed by law.

[4] ἔνθα νόμος ἐστὶν ἔτοιμος εἶναι δίκην ὑπέχειν. παρελθελυθέναι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ καλοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσων ταῖς παρανομίαις αὐτῶν καὶ πλεονεξίαις, αἷς ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τε τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον: τὰ δὲ συμβουλευσων ἐπισχεῖν ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ

συστεῖλαι τὰς ἀδίκους ἐπιθυμίας.

[4] He said that he had come before the plebeians since they themselves summoned him, partly to reprimand them for the lawlessness and the grasping for more power in which they had indulged both in connection with their secession and after their return, and partly to advise them now at last to check and restrain their unjust desires.

[5] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιστρεφῶς πάνυ καὶ θρασέως ἀπάντων αὐτῶν καθήπτετο καὶ μάλιστα τῶν δημάρχων. προσῆν δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ὡς πολίτου δῆμον ἀναδιδάσκοντος εὐλόγιστος αἰδῶς, οὐδ' ὡς ἰδιώτου [p. 52] πολλοῖς ἀπεχθομένου σῶφρων εὐλάβεια πρὸς τὰς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὀργάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐχθροῦ προπηλακίζοντος ἀδεῶς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἄκρατός τις χολή καὶ βαρεῖα τοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντος ὑπεροψία.

[5] After that he inveighed against them all with great vehemence and boldness, and particularly against the tribunes. In his speech there was not the calculated deference of the political leader instructing a popular assembly, nor the prudent caution of one in private station who, hated by many, faces the angry outbursts of his ruler, but rather the untempered wrath of an enemy fearlessly insulting those under his power and a harsh contempt for his victim.

[1] τοιγάρτοι λέγοντός τ' αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ πολὺς θόρυβος ἐγένετο τῇδε καὶ τῇδε θαμινὰ μεθελκομένοις, ὡς ἐν διαφόροις, πλήθεσι καὶ οὐ ταῦτ' αὖ βουλομένοις, τῶν μὲν ἡδόμενων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πάλιν ἀχθομένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο λέγων, ἔτι πλείων ἀνέστη βοή καὶ θόρυβος.

[35.1] For these reasons, while he was yet speaking, there arose a great tumult, his hearers frequently shifting their opinion now this way now that, as happens in crowds of diverse elements and different inclinations, some being pleased at his word and others in turn offended. And when he had done speaking, a still greater clamour and tumult arose.

[2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατρίκιοι κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν λέγοντες ἐπήνουν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ μόνον ἀπέφαινον ἔξ ἀπάντων σφῶν ἐλεύθερον, ὃς οὕτε πολέμιων ἔδειξεν ἐπὶόντων ὄχλον οὔτε πολιτῶν αὐθάδεις καὶ παρανόμους ἐκολάκευσεν ὀρμάς· οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς βαρὺν καὶ πικρὸν καὶ πολέμιων ἀπάντων ἐχθιστον αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν.

[2] For the patricians, calling him the bravest of men, commended him for his frankness of speech and said he was the only free man of their whole body, since he had neither feared a host of enemies advancing upon him nor flattered the insolent and illegal impulses of his fellow-citizens; on the other hand, the plebeians, chafing under his reproaches, called him overbearing and harsh and the bitterest of all enemies.

[3] προθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν εἶχόν τινες ἤδη, οἷς πολὺ προσῆν τὸ εὐχερές, ἐν

χειρῶν αὐτὸν διαφθεῖραι νόμῳ. συνήρουν δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ συνελάμβανον οἱ δῆμαρχοι, καὶ μάλιστα Σικίννιος ἐνεδίδου τοῖς βουλήμασι τὰς ἡνίας. τελευτῶν γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν αὐτοῦ καταδρομὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐξέκαυσε τῶν δημοτῶν, πολὺς ἐμπνεύσας τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τέλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ὅτι θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφίζεται τὸ [p. 53] ἀρχεῖον τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀγορανόμους ὕβρεως ἔνεκεν, οὗς τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελευσθέντας ὑφ' αὐτῶν τύπτων ἀπήλασεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρων τινῶν εἶναι τὸν προπηλακισμόν τὸν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας σφῶν γενόμενον ἢ τῶν κελευσάντων.

[3] And some who were very reckless were already doing their best to have him summarily put to death. In this they were assisted and abetted by the tribunes, and Sicinius in particular gave a loose rein to their desires. At any rate, after he had delivered a long tirade against Marcius and inflamed the minds of the plebeians, he became most vehement in his accusations and then pronounced sentence, saying that the college of the tribunes condemned him to death because of his insolence toward the aediles, whom he had day before driven away with blows when they were ordered by the tribunes to bring him before them; for they alleged that the insult committed by him against their assists was aimed at no others than those who had given them their orders.

[4] καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέταξεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον: ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον κρημνὸς ἐξαΐσιος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν βάλλειν τοὺς ἐπιθανατίους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀγορανόμοι προσήεσαν ὡς ἐπιληψόμενοι τοῦ σώματος, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι μέγα ἐμβοήσαντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄθροοι: ἔπειθ' ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρίκίους: καὶ ἦν πολλὴ μὲν ἔργων ἀκοσμία, πολλὴ δὲ λόγων ὕβρις παρ' ἀμφοῖν,

[4] Having said this, he commanded that he be led to the hill that overlooks the Forum; this is an exceeding high precipice from which they used to hurl those who were condemned to death. The aediles, accordingly, stepped forward in order to lay hold on him, but the patricians, crying out with a loud voice, rushed upon them in a body. Then the plebeians fell upon the patricians, and there followed many disorderly deeds and many insulting words on both sides, as they pushed and laid hold on one another.

[5] ὠθισμοὶ τε καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. κατελήφθη δὲ καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἠναγκάσθη τὰ παρακινουῦντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπᾶτων βιασαμένων εἰς μέσους καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἀναστέλλειν κελευσάντων τοὺς ὄχλους: τοσαύτη ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰδῶς ἦν τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτω τίμιον τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας μίμημα. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Σικίννιος ἀδημονῶν καὶ διαταραττόμενος εὐλαβείας τε μεστὸς ὢν, μὴ προσαναγκάσῃ τοὺς διαφόρους τοῖς βιαίοις τὰ βίαια λῦσαι, ἀποστῆναι τ' οὐκ ἀξιῶν τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος, ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐπεβάλετο, καὶ μένειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔκρινεν οὐ δυνατὸς ὢν, πολὺς ἐν τῷ σκοπεῖν, ὃ τι πρακτέον ἦν.

[5] However, the moving spirits in the tumult were restrained and compelled to

come to their senses by the consuls, who forced their way into the midst of the contending parties and ordered their lictors to keep back the crowds; so great respect did the men of those times feel for this magistracy and so much did they honour the semblance of the royal power. Whereupon Sicinius, being perplexed and disturbed, was filled with apprehension, lest he should force his adversaries to repel violence with violence; but he disdained to desist from his attempt after he had once engaged in it, and finding himself unable to adhere to his resolutions, he considered long what he ought to do.

[1] κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ἀμχανοῦντα Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος, ἐκεῖνος ὁ δημαγωγὸς ὁ τεχνησάμενος, [p. 54] ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίους αἱ διαλλαγαί, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ πόρους εὗρεῖν ἐν ἀπόροις, προσέρχεται μόνος μόνῳ καὶ ὑποτίθεται μὴ φιλονεικεῖν ἐγχειρήματι θερμῷ καὶ παρανόμῳ συναγωνιζόμενον, ὀρῶντα τοὺς τε πατρικίους ἅπαντας ἡρεθισμένους καὶ ἐτοίμους ὄντας, εἰ κληθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ καρτερώτατον μέρος ἐνδοιάζον καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπητῶς δεχόμενον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανεστάτου τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παράδοσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκρίτου.

[36.1] Seeing him in this perplexity, Lucius Junius Brutus, that demagogue who had contrived the terms of the accommodation, a man of great sagacity in all matters, but particularly in finding possible solutions in impossible situations, came to him and taking him aside, advised him not to persist contentiously in attempting to carry out a reckless and illegal undertaking when he saw not only that the whole body of the patricians was aroused to anger and ready, if the consuls called upon them, to rush to arms, but also that the sturdiest element among the populace were hesitating and in no mood readily to acquiesce in delivering up to death the most illustrious person in the city, and that without a trial.

[2] συνεβούλευε δ' αὐτῷ τότε μὲν εἶξαι καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς ὑπάτοις, μὴ τι μεῖζον κακὸν ἐργάσεται, προθεῖναι δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δίκην ὀρίσαντα χρόνον ὅσον δὴ τινα, καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φυλάς: ὅ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν: τυραννικὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ βίαιον, ὃ νῦν ἐπειρᾷτο διαπράττεσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον: πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ κατὰ νόμους ἀπολογίας τυχόντα τὸν ὑπαίτιον, ὃ τι ἂν τοῖς πλείοσι δικασταῖς δόξῃ, τοῦτο παθεῖν.

[2] He therefore advised him to yield for the present and not to take issue with the consuls, lest he should cause some greater mischief, but to appoint a trial for the man, setting some time or other for it, and let the citizens give their votes by tribes concerning him; and then to do whatever the majority of the votes should determine. For it was an act of tyranny and violence, he said, that Sicinius was now attempting to accomplish, in constituting the same person at once the accuser and judge and also the one to determine the degree of

punishment, whereas the procedure of all civil government is for the accused to have an opportunity to make his defence according to the laws and then to suffer such punishment as the majority of his judges may determine.

[3] πείθεται τούτοις ὁ Σικίννιος μηδὲν ὀρῶν βούλευμα κρείττον καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη: τὴν μὲν σπουδὴν ὀρᾷτε τῶν πατρικίων τὴν εἰς τὰ φονικὰ καὶ βίαια ἔργα, ὧς δημόται, ὡς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐθαδούς ὅλην ἀδικοῦντος τὴν πόλιν ἦττον τίθενται τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον. οὐ μὴν ὁμοίους γ' αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι χρὴ [p. 55] καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖσθαι οὗτ' ἄρχοντας πολέμου οὗτ' ἀμυνομένους: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ προβάλλονται τινες τὸν νόμον, ὧς βοηθοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀφαιροῦνται τῆς κολάσεως, ὅς οὐκ ἔῃ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐθέν' ἀποκεῖναι ἄκριτον, συγχωρήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο, καίπερ οὐδὲ νόμιμα πάσχοντες οὐδὲ δίκαια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ δεῖξωμεν, ὅτι τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς βιαιοῖς περιεῖναι τῶν ἀδικούντων ἡμᾶς πολιτῶν βουλόμεθα.

[3] Sicinius yielded to these arguments, as he saw no better plan; and coming forward, he said: "You see, plebeians, the eagerness of the patricians for deeds of bloodshed and violence, which induces them to prefer one arrogant man, who wrongs the whole commonwealth, to your entire body. Nevertheless, we ought not to imitate them and rush headlong to our ruin, either by beginning war or by defending ourselves against attack. But since some are putting forward the law as a specious pretence and are attempting to snatch him from punishment by rallying to the support of this law which allows no citizen to be put to death without a trial, let us concede them this claim, though we ourselves are not treated by them in either a lawful or a just manner; and let us show that we choose to surpass in reasonableness rather than in violence our fellow-citizens who injure us.

[4] Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἄπιτε καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα καιρὸν ἐκδέχεσθε οὐ πολὺν ἐσόμενον: ἡμεῖς δὲ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ κατεπείγοντα προθήσομεν χρόνον τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐφ' ὑμῶν συντελέσομεν. ὅταν δὲ γένησθε τῆς ψήφου κατὰ τὸν νόμον κύριοι, τιμήσατε αὐτῷ ἥς ἂν ἄξιον εὕρητε ζημίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοσαῦτα. τῆς δὲ τοῦ σίτου διαπραξέως τε καὶ διαθέσεως, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου γένηται, εἰ μὴ τις ἔσται τούτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ φροντίς, αὐτοὶ ἐπιμελησόμεθα. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[4] As for you, plebeians, depart, therefore, and wait for the destined moment, which will not be long in coming. We on our part will meanwhile get everything ready that is urgent, and having appointed a day for the man to make his defence, we will bring about his trial before you as judges. And when you are legally possessed of the right of giving your votes, inflict such punishment on him as you shall find he deserves. So much for this matter. As to the sale and distribution of the corn in the most equitable manner, if these men and the senate do not take some thought about it, we shall look after the

business. Having said this, he dismissed the assembly.

[1] μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλὴν ἐσκόπουν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, τίς ἂν γένοιτο τῆς παρούσης ταραχῆς λύσις. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοὺς δημότας, εὐώνους πάνυ καὶ λυσιτελεῖς ποιήσαντας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀγοράς· ἔπειτα πείθειν [p. 56] τοὺς προεσθηκότας αὐτῶν χάριτι τῆς βουλῆς παύσασθαι καὶ μὴ παράγειν τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοιεν εἰς μακροτάτους ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνους, ἕως ἂν μαρανθῶσιν αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὀργαί.

[37.1] After this the consuls assembled at the senate and considered with them at leisure by what means the present disturbance might be allayed. And they resolved, first, to win over the plebeians by selling the provisions to them at a very cheap and low price; and in the next place, to endeavour to prevail upon their leaders to desist from their purpose, as a favour to the senate, and not to bring Marcius to a trial; or, if they would not do this, to put it off to the most distant time possible, till the angry feelings of the multitude should die down.

[2] ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ πάντων ἐπαινεσάντων ἐκύρωσαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· τὰς τιμὰς εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων τῶν πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον, αἵτινες ἐγένοντ' ἐλάχισται πρὸ τῆς ἐμφυλίου στάσεως. παρὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντες τὴν μὲν ὀλοσχερῇ πάρεσιν οὐχ εὔροντο, τὴν δ' εἰς χρόνον ὅσον ἤξιουν ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβον· αὐτοὶ τε προσεμηχανήσαντο διατριβὴν ἑτέραν ἀφορμῇ τοῖςδε χρησάμενοι.

[2] Having passed these votes, they laid their decree relating to the provision before the popular assembly, and, as all praised it, they secured its ratification. It was to this effect: that the prices of commodities necessary for daily subsistence should be the lowest they had ever been before the civil strife. But from the tribunes, in spite of many entreaties, they were unable to obtain an absolute dismissal of the charges against Marcius, though they did get a postponement of his trial for as long a time as they asked. And they themselves contrived another delay by taking advantage of the following situation:

[3] τοὺς ἐκ Σικελίας ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου πρέσβεις καὶ παρακομίσαντας τῷ δήμῳ τὴν τοῦ σίτου δωρεὰν ἀποπλέοντας οἴκαδε Ἀντιάται πειρατήριον στείλαντες κατήγαγον ἀποσαλεύοντας οὐ πρόσω τῶν λιμένων καὶ τὰ τε χρήματ' αὐτῶν ὡς πολεμίων δι' ὠφελείας ἔθεντο, καὶ τὰ σώματα κατακλείσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ.

[3] When the ambassadors sent from Sicily by the tyrant had delivered to the people his present of corn to them, and having sailed for home, were now lying at anchor not far from the harbours of Antium, the Antiates, sending out a piratical force, brought them into port and not only treated their effects as

booty taken from an enemy, but also imprisoned the men themselves and kept them under guard.

[4] ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ ὕπατοι ἔξοδον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιάτας, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἤξιουν τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν· καὶ ποιησάμενοι τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ κατάλογον ἐξήρσαν ἀμφοτέροι, ψήφισμα κυρώσαντες ὑπὲρ ἀναβολῆς τῶν τ' ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ὣσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

[4] The consuls, being informed of this, caused a vote to be passed to make an expedition against the Antiates, since, when the Romans sent ambassadors to them, they had refused to offer any satisfaction; and having raised an army consisting of all who were of military age, both consuls took the field, after getting a decree of the senate ratified for the suspension of all private and public suits for as long a time as they should continue under arms.

[5] ἐγένετο δ' οὗτος οὐχ ὅσον ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ [p. 57] πολλῷ ἐλάττων. οἱ γὰρ Ἀντιάται μαθόντες ἐξεστρατευμένους πανδημεὶ Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀντέσχον χρόνον, δεόμενοι δὲ καὶ λιπαροῦντες τὰ τε σώματα τῶν ἀλόντων Σικελιωτῶν ἀπέδωσαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφαι.

[5] This, however, was not so long a time as they had expected, but much shorter. For the Antiates, hearing that the Romans had set out against them with all their forces, did not resist for even the briefest time, but having recourse to prayers and entreaties, delivered up both the persons of the Sicilians whom they had taken and their effects also, with the result that the Romans were under the necessity of returning to the city.

[1] διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁ μὲν Σικίνιος ὁ δῆμαρχος συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν προεῖπεν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ συντελεῖν ἔμελλε τὴν περὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου κρίσιν· καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς τε κατὰ πόλιν ὑπάρχοντας ἀθρόους ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν τῆς δίκης καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν διατρίβοντας ἀφεμένους τῶν ἔργων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαντᾶν, ὥς ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας ὅλης τῆς πόλεως τὴν ψῆφον ἀναληφσόμενοι· παρήγγελλε δὲ καὶ τῷ Μαρκίῳ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὥς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσουσι τῶν περὶ

[38.1] The army having been disbanded, Sicinius the tribune assembled the populace and announced the day on which he proposed of hold the trial of Marcius. He urged not only the citizens who lived at Rome to come *en masse* to decide this cause, but also those who resided in the country to leave their tasks to be present on the same day, intimating that they would be giving their votes for the liberty and the safety of the whole commonwealth. He summoned Marcius also to appear and make his defence, assuring him that he should be deprived of none of the privileges the law allowed in connection

with trials.

[2] τὰς κρίσεις νομίμων. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει βουλευσαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου μὴ περιορᾶν τὸν δῆμον ἐξουσίας τηλικαύτης κύριον γενόμενον. εὖρητο δ' αὐτοῖς τῆς κωλύσεως ἀφορμὴ δικαία καὶ νόμιμος, ἣ χρώμενοι πάντα διαλύσειν ὦντο τὰ τῶν ἀντιδίκων βουλευόμενα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρεκάλεσαν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ δήμου συνόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

[2] In the mean time the consuls, after they had consulted the senate, resolved not to permit the people to get control of so great power. They had found out a just and legal means of preventing it, by which they expected to defeat all the designs of their adversaries. After this they invited the leaders of the people to a conference, at which their friends also were present; and Minucius spoke as follows:

[3] καὶ ἔλεξε Μηνύκιος τοιάδε: ἡμῖν, ὧ δῆμαρχοι, δοκεῖ χρῆναι τὴν στάσιν ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μὴ φιλονικεῖν ἐναντία τῷ [p. 58] δήμῳ περὶ μηδενὸς χρήματος: μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ὀρώμεν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν βιαιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἤκοντας. ταύτης μέντοιγε τῆς γνώμης ἐπαινοῦντες ὑμᾶς τὴν βουλὴν οἴομεθα δεῖν ἄρξαι προβούλευμα ποιησαμένην, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάτριον. δύνασθε δ' ἂν καὶ

[3] “It is our opinion, tribunes, that we ought to endeavour with all our power to banish this sedition from the state and not to engage in rivalry with the people over any matter, especially when we see that you have turned from violent methods to just measures and to debate. But however commendable we may think this resolution of yours, we are of the opinion that the senate ought to take the initiative by passing a preliminary decree, as is our traditional practice.

[4] αὐτοὶ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι, τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχουσα ἡ βουλὴ διατετέλεκε, καὶ οὐθὲν πώποτε ὁ δῆμος, ὃ τι μὴ προβουλευόσειεν ἢ βουλή, οὐτ' ἐπέκρινεν οὐτ' ἐπεψήφισεν, οὐχ ὅτι νῦν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δ', ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξειε, ταῦθ' οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκφέροντες ἐπεκύρουν. μὴ δὴ τοῦτ' ἀφαιρέσθε τὸ δίκαιον ἡμῶν, μηδὲ ἀρχαῖον καλὸν ἔθος ἀφανίζετε: διδάξαντες δὲ τὸ συνέδριον, ὅτι δικαίου δεῖσθε καὶ μετρίου πράγματος, ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ, τούτου τὸν δῆμον ἀποδείξατε κύριον.

[4] For you yourselves can testify that from the time our ancestors founded this city the senate has always possessed this prerogative and that the people never determined or voted anything without a previous resolution of the senate, not only now, but even under the kings; for the kings laid the resolutions of the senate before the popular assembly to be ratified. Do not, then, deprive us of this right nor abolish this ancient and excellent custom; but showing the

senate that you desire a just and reasonable thing, do you grant the people authority to ratify any decree the senate shall pass.”

[1] ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων λεγόντων ὁ μὲν Σικίνιος οὐκ ἠνείχετο τῶν λόγων οὐδὲ ἥξιου τὴν βουλὴν οὐδενὸς ποιεῖν κυρίαν· οἱ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν ἐκείνῳ Δεκίου γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι συνεχώρουν γενέσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα, δικαίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιησάμενοι πρόκλησιν, ἣν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν μὴ

[39.1] While the consuls were thus speaking, Sicinius grew impatient at their words and refused to give the senate authority in any matter at all. But his colleagues, upon the advice of Decius, consented that the preliminary decree should be passed, after they themselves had made a just proposal which it was impossible for the consuls to refuse.

[2] δέξασθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ἥξιουν γὰρ τοὺς βουλευτὰς λόγον ἀποδόντας αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πράττουσι [p. 59] καὶ τοῖς συναγορεύειν ἢ τάναντία λέγειν βουλομένοις, ἐπειδὴν ἀκούσωσιν ἁπάντων τῶν βουλομένων, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς φανῇ δίκαιόν τε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρον ἀποφύνασθαι, φέρειν δὴ τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντας ὥσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον ὁμόσαντας· ὅ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους γινῶμαι καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον.

[2] They asked, namely, that the senators should grant a hearing to them, who were acting for the people, as well as to those who wished to speak in support of or against the accused, and that after hearing all parties who desired to express their views regarding what they thought just and advantageous to the commonwealth, they should then all give their opinions as in a court of justice, after taking the oath appointed by law; and whatever the majority of the votes determined, should be valid.

[3] συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὥσπερ ἥξιουν οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὸ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν· τῇ δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν μὲν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἡ βουλὴ· οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ δηλώσαντες αὐτῇ τὰ συγκείμενα τοὺς δημάρχους ἐκάλουν, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤκουσιν ἐκέλευον λέγειν. παρελθὼν δ' ὁ Δέκιος ὁ συγχωρήσας τὸ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι τοιοῦτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις.

[3] The tribunes having consented that the senate should pass the preliminary decree as the consuls desired, the meeting was dismissed for the time being. The next day the senate met in the senate-house, and after the consuls had acquainted them with the terms of the agreement they had made, they called the tribunes and bade them state why they were present. Thereupon Decius, who had consented that the preliminary decree should be passed, came forward and spoke as follows:

[1] οὐ λανθάνει μὲν ἡμᾶς, ᾧ βουλῇ, τὸ συμβησόμενον, ὅτι δι' αἰτίας ἐσόμεθα

παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφιξεως ἔνεκα, καὶ κατήγορον ἔξομεν τοῦ προβουλευματος ἄνδρα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἡμῖν, ὃς οὐκ ὤετο δεῖν, ἃ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ νόμος, ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῶν αἰτεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει τὸ δίκαιον λαμβάνειν. κίνδυνον δ' οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναρρίφομεν εἰς δίκην ὑπαχθέντες, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτόμολοι καὶ προδόται καταγνωσθέντες τὰ αἰσχιστά πισόμεθα.

[40.1] “We are not ignorant, senators, of what will happen, namely, that we shall be censured before the people for coming to you, and shall have as our accuser in the matter of the preliminary decree a man who is possessed of the same power as ourselves and who did not think we ought to ask of you that which the law gives us or to receive as a favour that which is our right. And if we are tried for this, we shall run no hazard, but shall be condemned as deserters and traitors and suffer the worst of punishments.

[2] ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι ταῦτα, ὅμως ὑπεμείναμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν [p. 60] τῷ τε δίκαιῳ πεποιθότες καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐπιτρέψαντες, οἷς ὁμόσαντες οἴσετε τὰς γνώμας. φαῦλοι μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς γ' ὡς περὶ τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων λέγειν καὶ πολὺ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐνδεέστεροι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα οὐ φαῦλα, ὑπὲρ ὧν λέξομεν. τούτοις οὖν προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἐὰν ὑμῖν δόξη δίκαιά τε καὶ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, συγχωρήσατε ἡμῖν αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἐκόντες.

[2] But though sensible of these things, we have consented to come to you, relying on the justice of our cause and trusting to the oaths under which you will express your opinions. We are indeed unimportant men to treat of such great and important subjects, and are far from equal to what the situation demands; but the matters we shall discuss are not unimportant. Attend, therefore, to these, and if they shall seem to you just and advantageous to the commonwealth — and, I may add, even necessary — permit us to obtain them of your own free will.

[1] ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ δίκαιου πρῶτον. ὑμεῖς δὴ, ὦ βουλή, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀπηλλάξατε συμμάχους ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ἧ νῦν ἐσμεν, κατεστήσατε, ἦν οὐ ψέγομεν, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐν ταῖς δίκαις τοὺς δημοτικούς ὁρῶντες, ὅποτε συμβαίῃ τι διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους: πολλὰ δ' ἦν ταῦτα: νόμον ἐκυρώσατε Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι, ἐξεῖναι τοῖς κατισχυομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων δημόταις προκαλεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον: καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὡς τὸν νόμον τόνδε τὴν τε πόλιν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ διεφυλάξατε καὶ

[41.1] “I shall speak first concerning the point of justice. After you had got rid of the kings with our assistance, senators, and had established our present constitution, with which we find no fault, you observed that the plebeians had always the worse of it in their suits whenever they had any difference with the

patricians, which frequently happened; and you accordingly sanctioned a law, on the advice of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls, permitting the plebeians, when oppressed by the patricians, to appeal their cases to the people; and by means of this law more than by any other measure you both preserved the harmony of the commonwealth and repulsed the attacks of the kings.

[2] τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπιόντας ἀπεώσασθε. τοῦτον δὴ προφερόμενοι τὸν νόμον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἅπαντες ἀδικεῖσθαι τε καὶ κατισχύεσθαι λέγομεν ὑπὸ Γαίου Μαρκίου τουδὶ, καλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὰ δίκαια παραγγέλλομεν ἐκεῖ λέγειν. καὶ προβουλευματος ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἔδει. περὶ ὧν γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶ νόμοι, περὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς τοῦ [p. 61] προβουλεύεσθαι κύριοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσαι: νόμου δ' ὄντος ἀκινήτου, κἂν μηδὲν ὑμεῖς προβουλεύσητε,

[2] It is in virtue of this law that we summon Gaius Marcius here to appear before the people because of the injustice and oppression which we all declare we have suffered at his hands, and we call upon him to make his defence before them. And in this case a preliminary decree was not necessary. For whereas in matters concerning which there are no laws you have the right to pass such a decree and the people have the right to ratify it, yet when there is an inviolable law, even though you pass no decree, that law must of course be observed.

[3] τούτῳ δῆπου χρηστέον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γ' ἂν εἴποι τις, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν ὄντων οἷς τὸ μειονεκτεῖν συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς κρίσεις κυρίαν εἶναι δεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον πρόκλησιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄκυρον. νόμου μὲν δὴ συγχωρήματι τῷδε ἰσχυριζόμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακινδυνεύσαντες ὑφ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι δικασταῖς ἤκομεν.

[3] For surely no one will say that this appeal to the people must be allowed in the case of private citizens who have got the worst of it in their trials, but not in the case of us, the tribunes.

[4] ἐπ' ἀγράφῳ δὲ καὶ ἀνομοθετήτῳ φύσεως δικαίῳ τόδε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὧ βουλή, μήτε πλέον ἔχειν ὑμῶν τὸν δῆμον μήτε μείον, ἐν γοῦν τῷ δικαίῳ, οἱ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους συνδιενέγκαντες ὑμῖν πολέμους καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ἐπιδειξάμενοι προθυμίαν, καὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἑτέροις ἐπιτάττειν τὰ δίκαια, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν παρασχόμενοι.

[4] Firmly relying, therefore, upon this concession of the law, and thus encouraged to run the risk of submitting our cause to you as our judges, we have come before you. And in virtue of an unwritten and unenacted natural right we make this demand of you, senators, that we may be in neither a better nor a worse condition than you at least in the matter of justice, inasmuch as

we have assisted you in carrying on many important wars and have shown the greatest zeal in getting rid of the tyrants, and have had no small part in enabling the commonwealth to take orders from none but to give laws to others.

[5] οὕτω δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τὸ μὴ μεῖον ἔχειν τῶν δικαίων ἀποδοίητε, ὦ πατέρες, εἰ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας εἰς τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρανομεῖν κωλύοιτε τὸν ἐκ [p. 62] τῆς δίκης ἐφιστάντες αὐτοῖς φόβον. ἀρχὰς μὲν δὴ καὶ προεδρίας καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ προὔχουσιν ἡμῶν οἰόμεθα δεῖν ἀπονέμειν: τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ δίκας ὧν ἂν τις πάθῃ προσηκούσας λαμβάνειν ἴσα καὶ κοινὰ τοῖς ἅμα πολιτευομένοις εἶναι δικαιοῦμεν.

[5] Now the most effectual means you could take, fathers, to put us in no worse a condition than yourselves in point of rights would be to stop those who are making illegal attempts against our persons and our liberty, by placing before their eyes the fear of a trial. So far as magistracies, special privileges, and offices are concerned, we believe we should bestow them upon those who excel us in merit and fortune; but to suffer no wrong, and to receive justice adequate to any wrongs one may sustain, are rights, we hold, which should be equal and common to all who live under the same government.

[6] ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀφιστάμεθ' ὑμῖν, οὕτως τῶν ἴσων καὶ κοινῶν οὐ μεθιέμεθα. ἱκανὰ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πολλῶν ἐνόντων καὶ ἄλλων λέγεσθαι.

[6] Accordingly, just as we yield to you the privileges that are illustrious and great, so we do not intend to give up those that are equal and common to all. Let this suffice concerning the point of justice, though there are many other things that might be said.

[1] ὥς δὲ καὶ συνοίσει τῷ κοινῷ ταῦθ' ὥς ὁ δῆμος ἀξιοῖ γινόμενα, μικρὰ διεξιόντος ἀνέχεσθέ μου. φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, τί μέγιστον οἶεσθε εἶναι τῶν καταλαβανόντων κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τοῦ ταχίστου τῶν ὀλέθρων αἵτιον, ἢ οὐχὶ τὴν διχοστασίαν εἴποιτ' ἄν; ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

[42] “Bear with me now while I explain to you in a few words how these demands of the people will also be advantageous to the commonwealth. For, come now, if anyone should ask you what you regard as the greatest of the evils that befall states and the cause of the swiftest destruction, would you not say it is discord? I, at least, think you would.

[2] τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὕτως ἡλίθιος ἐστὶν ἢ σκαιὸς ἢ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου μισῶν τὴν ἰσηγορίαν, ὃς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι δοθείσης ἐξουσίας τῷ δήμῳ κρίνειν ἅς ἐξεστὶν αὐτῷ δίκας κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πολιτευσόμεθα, εἰ δὲ τάναντία γνοίητε καὶ ἀφέλοισθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν: ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ ἀφαιρήσεσθε δίκην καὶ νόμον ἀφαιρούμενοι: στασιάζειν ἡμᾶς αὖθις

ἀναγκάσετε καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν; ἐξ ἧς γὰρ ἂν ἐξελασθῇ πόλεως δίκη καὶ νόμος, εἰς ταύτην στάσις εἰσπορεύεσθαι φιλεῖ καὶ πόλεμος.

[2] For who is there among you so stupid, so perverse, and immoderate a hater of equality as not to know that if the people are allowed to render judgment in causes in which the law gives them the authority, we shall live in harmony, whereas, if you decide to the contrary and deprive us of our liberty — for you will be depriving us of liberty if you deprive us of justice and law — you will drive us again into sedition and civil war? For if justice and law are banished from a state, sedition and war are wont to enter there.

[3] καὶ ὅσοι μὲν οὐκ [p. 63] ἦλθον εἰς πεῖραν ἐμφυλίων διαφορῶν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν κακῶν μὴτ' ἄχθονται τοῖς γεγονόσι δεινοῖς μῆτε κωλύουσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα. ὅσοι δ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους καταστάντες ἀγαπητῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἣν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆτει ποιησάμενοι τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, τίς εὐπρεπῆς ἢ μετρία πρόφασις ἀπολείπεται τούτοις, ἐὰν ἔτι ταῖς αὐταῖς συμφέρωνται τύχαις;

[3] Now in the case of those who have had no experience of civil calamities, it is no wonder if, because of inexperience of those evils, they neither grieve over the misfortunes that are past nor take early precautions to prevent others in the future; but for those who, when exposed as you were, to the gravest perils, thought themselves happy to be rid of them by making such a settlement of the evils as the situation demanded, what specious or reasonable excuse is left them if they meet again with the same misfortunes?

[4] τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑμῶν καταγνοίη πολλὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι μικρὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ στασιάζειν τοὺς δημότας πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπεμείνατε, ὧν ἕνια οὐτε κάλλιστα ἦν ἴσως οὐτε λυσιτελέστατα: νῦν δ' οὐτ' εἰς χρήματα βλάπτεσθαι μέλλοντες οὐτ' εἰς εὐδοξίαν οὐτ' εἰς ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἵνα χαρίζησθε τοῖς μισοδημοτάτοις, τὸ δημοτικὸν αὖθις ἐκπολεμώσετε; οὐκ,

[4] Who would not consider you guilty of great folly and madness when he calls to mind that although just a short time ago, in order to appease a sedition of the plebeians, you submitted to many things against your will, some of which were neither very honourable, perhaps, nor very advantageous, yet now, when you are not destined to be injured in either your fortunes or your reputation or, for that matter, in any of your public interests whatever, you are going to goad all plebeians into war again, to oblige the bitterest foes of democracy? No, not if you are wise.

[5] ἐάν γε σωφρονῇτε. ἡδέως δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐροίμην, τίνα γνώμην λαβόντες τότε τὴν κάθοδον ἡμῖν συνεχωρήσατε ἐφ' οἷς ἤξιοῦμεν, πότερα λογισμῶ προῖδόμενοι τὸ κράτιστον ἢ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ εἴξαντες; εἴτερ γὰρ ταῦθ' ὑπελαμβάνετε ὠφελιμώτατα εἶναι τῇ πόλει, τί οὐ μένετε καὶ νῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς;

εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενα ἄλλως γενέσθαι, τί χαλεπαίνετε γενομένοις; τὴν ἀρχὴν [p. 64] γὰρ ἴσως ἔδει μὴ συγχωρῆσαι, εἰ δύναμις ἦν ὑμῖν, συγχωρήσαντας δὲ μηκέτι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐγκαλεῖν.

[5] But I should like to ask you what motive induced you at the time to consent to our return upon the terms we desired. Did you foresee in the light of reason what was best, or did you yield to necessity? For if you thought those concessions to be of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth, why do you not adhere to them at present also? And if they were necessary and unavoidable, why are you disgruntled now that they have been made? Possibly you ought not to have granted them in the first place, if you could have avoided it, but once having granted them, you ought no longer to find fault with what is done.

[1] ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖτε, ὦ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τὰς διαλύσεις γνώμη τῇ βελτίστη κεχρῆσθαι ... οἷς ἀνάγκη εἶκιν ... τοῦ βέβαια τηρεῖν τὰ συγκείμενα. θεοὺς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐδώκατε τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπαρασάμενοι τοῖς παραβᾶσι τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ τε δίκαια ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, ἃ καὶ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς μεμνημένους τῶν ὄρκων, ὥς πρὸς εἰδότας ἅπαντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν.

[43.1] “For my part, senators, I think you used the best judgment in regard to the accommodation . . . to which you are obliged to yield . . . to observe faithfully the terms agreed upon. For you gave us the gods as sureties for the performance of the terms by invoking many grievous curses upon those who should violate the compact, both upon them and upon their posterity forever. But I do not know that it is necessary the weary you by saying any more in order to convince you, who are all well acquainted with the facts, that our demands are only what is just and advantageous, and that you are under every necessity of carrying them out, if you are mindful of your oaths.

[2] ὥς δ' οὐ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τόνδε μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα μήτε βίᾳ εἴξαντας μήτ' ἀπάτη παραχθέντας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίγμεθα, δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθότες ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρός, μάθετε, ὦ πατέρες, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναμνήσθητε: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι οὐ πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ἐρώ: καὶ ἅμα γνώμη χρήσασθε οἰκεία πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ἐνθυμηθέντες, εἰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἡμῶν ἐπεχειρήσῃ τις ἐν τῷ πλήθει τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν [p. 65] καθ' ὑμῶν, οἷα Μάρκιος ἐτόλμησεν ἐνθάδε εἰπεῖν, ποῖον ποτ' ἂν ὑμῖν παρέστη πρὸς αὐτὸν πάθος.

[2] Learn now, fathers, that it is a point of no small importance to us not to relinquish this contest, either yielding to force or deluded by trickery, but that we entered upon it because of the greatest necessity, having suffered outrageous treatment, and worse than outrageous, at the hands of this man. Or rather recall these facts from your own knowledge; for I shall say nothing that

is not known to all of you. And at the same time use your own judgment in passing upon what I am saying, reflecting how, if any of us had attempted in an assembly of the people to say or do such things against your class as Marcius dared to utter here, you would have felt towards him.

[1] τὰς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονομίας τῇ βουλῇ ἀκινήτους ὁμολογίας καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἄδαμαντίνους δεσμοῖς ἡσφαλισμένας, ἃς οὔτε ὑμῖν τοῖς ὁμωμοκόοσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐσομένοις καταλύειν θέμις, ἕως ἂν ἡ πόλις ἡδε οἰκῇται, πρῶτος ἐπεχείρησε λύειν ἐξ ὑμῶν οὐτοσὶ Μάρκιος οὕτω τέταρτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ γεγενημένας, οὐ σιγῇ πράττων τὴν κατάλυσιν, οὐδ' εἰς ἀφανές που καταδύς χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ πάντων παρόντων ὑμῶν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος, ὡς χρή τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν μηκέτι συγχωρεῖν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν, ἣ πρώτῃ καὶ μόνῃ τῆς ἐλευθερίας φυλακῇ

[44.1] “For Marcius here was the first man among you who endeavoured to dissolve our unalterable compact of unity with the senate, secured by bonds all but adamantine, a compact which it is unlawful for either you, who swore to its observance, or your posterity to dissolve as long as this city shall be inhabited. And this he did before the compact was in its fourth year, nor was it in silence, nor after he had slunk into some secret hole, that he worked for its abrogation, but he openly expressed the opinion in this very place, in the presence of you all, that you ought no longer to allow us the tribunician power, but ought to abolish the first and only safeguard of our liberty, relying on which we entered into the accommodation.

[2] πιστεύσαντες ἐποίησάμεθα τὰς διαλύσεις. καὶ οὐκ ἐνταῦθ' ἔστη τῆς ἀλαζονείας, ἀλλ' ὕβριν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν πενήτων καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἰσηγορίαν ὀνομάζων ἀφελέσθαι παρῆνει ταύτην ὑμῖν. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἦν τῶν τότε ὑπὸ τούτου ἀξιωθέντων, ἀναμνήσθητε, ὧ πατέρες, ὅτ' ἀπέφαινε καλὸν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ὀργάς, καὶ παρῆνει νῦν, ἐν ᾧ τετρύχωνται θ' ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας καὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον τῆς ἀναγκαίου σπανίζεται τροφῆς, ἅπαν αὐτὸ ἐπιτρίψαι, διακατασχόντας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπορίας τῶν [p. 66]

[2] Nor did this bluffing stop here, but giving to the liberty of the poor the name of insolence, and to equality that of tyranny, he advised you to deprive us of them. Call to mind, fathers, the most wicked of all the measures he then urged, when he declared it to be a fine opportunity for you to remember again all your resentment against the plebeians for their former offences, and advised that now, while they were distressed for want of money and had already for a long time lacked the necessities of life, you should crush their whole class by firmly holding the market to the same scarcity of provisions.

[3] ἐπιτηδεῖων τὴν ἀγοράν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθέξειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀλίγα σιτία πολλοῦ ὠνούμενους ἀργυρίου πένητας ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν

οἰχίσσονται τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείποντας, ὅσοι δ' ἂν ὑπομείνωσι τῷ κακοδαίμονεστάτῳ διαφθαρήσονται τῶν μόρων. οὕτω δ' ἄρα παρεφρόνει καὶ θεοβλαβῆς ἦν ταῦτα πείθων ὑμᾶς, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ἡδυνήθη καταμαθεῖν, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων ὧν προσετρίβετο τὰς τῆς βουλῆς σπονδὰς λυεῖν ἄξιῶν, ὅτι πένητες ἄνθρωποι τῆς ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐθὲν ἔτι φίλιον ἡγούμενοι.

[3] For we should not hold out for any length of time, he said, while paying a high price for little corn, poor men that we are, but some of us would leave the city and go elsewhere, while those who remained would perish by the most miserable of all deaths. But he was so senseless and infatuated in giving you this advice as not to be able to see even this — that, to say nothing of the other evils he was inflicting by asking the senate to dissolve its compact, such a multitude of poor men, when deprived of the necessities of life, would be compelled to attack the authors of their calamity, no longer regarding any one as a friend.

[4] ὥστ' εἰ μανέντες ὑμεῖς ἐπεκυρώσατε τὰς γνώμας αὐτοῦ, μηθὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπολωλέναι πλῆθος ἅπαν, ἢ μηδὲ τὸ τῶν πατρικίων περιλεῖσθαι γένος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀνδραποδωδῶς παρέσχομεν ἑαυτούς, οἱ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς μάρτυρας ὧν ἐπάσχομεν καὶ δαίμονας ἐπικαλεσάμενοι, πολλῶν ἂν ἐξεπληρώσαμεν, εὖ ἴστε, τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς νεκρῶν, καὶ μέγαν αἵματος κρατῆρα πολιτικοῦ στήσαντες οὕτως ἂν ἐδεξάμεθα τὴν ὀφειλομένην μοῖραν. τοιούτων ὑμῖν δυσσεβημάτων εἰσηγητής, ὧ πατέρες, ἐγένετο, καὶ τοιαῦτα δημηγορεῖν ὤτετο δεῖν.

[4] Consequently, if you had been so mad as to adopt his advice, it must have ended in one of these two ways, for there would have been no middle course: either the whole plebeian multitude would have perished, or even the patrician class would not have survived. For we should not have allowed ourselves to be banished or put to death in so slavish a manner, but, having called upon the gods and lesser divinities to be witnesses to our sufferings, be assured we should have filled the fora and the streets with many dead bodies, and after offering up a great bowl of the blood of our fellow-citizens, we should then have accepted our destined fate. Of such impious deeds, fathers, did he make himself the proponent, and such things did he think fit to demand in his harangue.

[1] καὶ οὐχὶ λέγειν μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος, ἐξ ὧν διαστήσει τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεχείρησε, πράττειν δ' οὐχ οἷα [p. 67] ἔλεγεν ἐπεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ στίφος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἅπασαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτοιμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχων, καλοῦμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἡμετέροις, ὅποτε κελευσθέντες ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοιντο, πληγὰς ἐντρίβεται, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων τῷ χεῖρε τελευτῶν ἀπέχεται.

[45.1] “Nor did Marcius merely undertake to utter words that would divide the city, yet refrain from acting in accordance with his words, but actually keeping about him a body of men ready for any service, he refuses to appear before our magistrates when summoned, and showers blows upon our assistants when at our command they endeavour to bring him away, and at last does not even refrain from offering violence to our own persons.

[2] ὥστε περίεστιν ἡμῖν, τὸ γ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον εἶναι μέρος, ὄνομα μὲν εὐπρεπὲς ἀσύλου ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ κείμενον ἔχειν, ἔργον δὲ τῶν ἀποδοδεομένων τῇ ἀρχῇ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν πράττειν. πῶς δ' ἂν ἑτέροις ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγουσι βοηθήσαιμεν, οἷς γε μηδ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τἀσφαλές; ταύτας μέντοι τὰς ὕβρεις οἱ πένητες ὑβριζόμενοι πρὸς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω τυραννοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἔτι μέλλοντος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπονθότες, ὧ βουλή, δεινὰ, τὰ δ' εἰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖον ὑμῶν μέρος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο παρασχεδὼν ἐλθόντες παθεῖν, ἄρα εἰκότως ἀγανακτοῦμεν καὶ βοηθείας τινὸς οἰόμεθα δεῖν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας συναγανακτήσεως τυχεῖν, ἐπὶ δίκην αὐτὸν ἴσῃν καὶ νόμιμον, ὧ βουλή, προσκαλοῦμενοι, περὶ ἣν ἅπανα ἡ πληθὺς μερισθεῖσα κατὰ φυλὰς λόγου δοθέντος τοῖς δεομένοις ἔνορκον ἐποίσει τὴν ψῆφον.

[2] The consequence is that, as far as in him lies, we bear the specious name of an ‘inviolable’ magistracy, a term given in mockery, but discharge not one of the functions assigned to that magistracy. For how shall we give relief to others who complain that they are injured, when we ourselves have no security? When, therefore, we, the poor, have been thus insulted by one man who, though not yet a tyrant, is nevertheless aiming at tyranny; when we have already suffered many indignities, and came near suffering others, had not the majority of you, fathers, prevented it, have we not good reason to resent this and to feel that we ought to obtain some assistance as well as your sympathy in our resentment, when we summon him to a fair and legal trial, in which the whole populace, divided into their tribes, will give their votes under oath after all who desire to speak have been heard?

[3] ἴθι ἐκεῖ, Μάρκιε, καὶ ταῦθ', ἃ μέλλεις λέγειν ἐνθάδε, πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ἀθρόους ἀπολογοῦ, εἴτε ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου [p. 68] τὰ κράτιστα συνεβούλευες τούτοις καὶ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα γενόμενα, εἴτε ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον λόγων εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν τοὺς ἀποφαινομένους ἐνθάδε τὰς γνώμας, εἴτε ὡς οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας οὐδὲ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἀλλ' ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ μαρὰ ταῦτα παραινεῖν προήχθης,

[3] Go thither, Marcius, and say in your defence before all the citizens in a body what you are intending to say here — either that with the best intention you gave the soundest advice to these senators and that your advice, if followed, would have been advantageous to the commonwealth, or that it is not right that those who deliver their opinions in this place should have to give an account of their words, or that it was not with premeditation or treacherous purpose, but in a momentary yielding to passion that you were led to give this

abominable advice, or whatever other defence you can offer.

[4] εἴθ' ὅτιδῆποτε ἄλλο ἀπολόγημα ἔχεις. καταβίβασον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ τυραννικῶν αὐχημάτων ἐκείνων σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον, ὧ πονηρέ, καὶ ποιήσον ἤδη ποτὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὅμοιον. ἡμαρτηκότος λαβὲ καὶ παραιτούμενου σχῆμα ταπεινὸν καὶ ἐλεεινόν, οἷον ἀπαιτοῦσιν αἱ συμφοραί. μὴ βιαζόμενος τοὺς κακῶς πεπονθότας, ἀλλ' ὑπερχόμενος ἀξίου σῶζεσθαι.

[4] Descend from that overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness to a more democratic behaviour, wretched man, and make yourself at last like other men. Assume the humble and piteous demeanour of one who has erred and is asking pardon, such a demeanour as your plight requires. Seek to save yourself, not by offering violence to those you have injured, but by courting their favour.

[5] γενέσθω σοι παράδειγμα τῆς ἐπεικειας, ἥ χρώμενος ἂν εἴης πρὸς τοὺς ἅμα πολιτευομένους ἀνεπίληπτος, τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τούτων ἔργα, οἱ τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσους νῦν αὐτὸς ὀράς, τοσαύτας δ' ἀρετὰς ἀποδεδειγμένοι καὶ πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικάς, ἃς οὐδ' ἐν πολλῷ πάνυ χρόνῳ διελεῖν ῥάδιον, οὐδὲν ὠμὸν οὐδ' ὑπερήφανον ἐξήνεγκαν τέλος καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων ἥρξαν συμβατηρίων αὐτοὶ πρότεροι προτείνοντες διαλλαγὰς, ὅτε διεῖλεν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ τύχη, καὶ τὰς συμβάσεις οὐχ ὥς ἑαυτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον ἄριστα ἔξειν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἡμεῖς ἡξιοῦμεν [p. 69] συνεχῶρησαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖς ταυτὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σιτοδοσίαν ἔναγχος τοῦ χρόνου προσκρούματα, ἐφ' οἷς δι' αἰτίας εἶχομεν αὐτούς, περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποίησαντο ἀπολύσασθαι.

[5] As an example of moderation, the practice of which would make you free from all reproach on the part of your fellow-citizens, take the actions of these worthy men. Though they are so many in number as you yourself see here present, and have displayed so many virtues both in war and in peace that I could not easily enumerate them in a very long time, yet they, the venerable and great, passed no cruel or haughty sentence against us, the common and humble folk, but even took the lead themselves in making overtures and offered us a reconciliation when Fortune had divided us from one another, and they agreed to make the compact upon the conditions we desired, rather than upon those they thought would be best for themselves; and finally, when the difficulties recently arose over the distribution of corn, for which we blamed them, they took great pains to remove these grounds of offence.

[1] ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς θεοβλαβείας τίνας οὐκ ἐποίησαντο δεήσεις ἀπάντων κοινῇ τε καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν δημοτικῶν παραιτούμενοί σε τῆς τιμωρίας; ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοσαύτην πόλιν ἐπιτροπευούσῃ καλῶς εἶχεν, ὧ Μάρκιε, δικαστὴν τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνεκαλοῦντο ὑπομένειν, σοὶ δ' ἄρ' οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει;

[46.1] “I omit all the rest. But in your own behalf, and to deprecate the punishment due to your madness, what intercessions did they not employ with all the plebeians both collectively and individually? Then, if it was seemly, Marcius, for the consuls and the senate, who have the oversight of so great a commonwealth, to submit to the judgment of the populace concerning any charges brought against them, is it not seemly also for you to do likewise?

[2] καὶ δεῖσθαι γε τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῆς σῆς οὔτοι μὲν ἅπαντες οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι, σὺ δὲ δι’ αἰσχύνης λαμβάνεις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόρη σοι ταῦτ’, ὧ γενναῖε, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τι καλὸν ἐξειργασμένος ὑψαυχενῶν καὶ μεγαληγορῶν περιέρχῃ καὶ μηδὲν ὑφείναι τοῦ φρονήματος ἀπομαχόμενος; ἔω γάρ, ὅτι καὶ λοιδορούμενος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προσεγκαλῶν καὶ ἀπειλῶν.

[2] And though these men all argued it as no disgrace to entreat the plebeians to acquit you, do you think this same course disgraceful for yourself? And is this not enough for you, sir, but, just as if you had performed some fine action, do you go about preening yourself and indulging in boastful talk, refusing to abate anything of your pride?

[3] ἔπειτ’ οὐ νεμεσᾷτε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ὧ πατέρες, εἰ τηλικούτων αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ μόνος, ἡλικίων οὐδ’ ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς; ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἀνεδέχεσθε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον ψηφισασθαι, τὸ μὲν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον ὑμῶν ἀγαπᾶν, μὴ δέχεσθαι δὲ χάριν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ κοινῇ βλάβῃ, ἀλλ’ ὑπομένειν ἀπολογούμενον καὶ δίκην ὑπέχοντα εἰ δέοι καὶ πάντα [p. 70]

[3] I say nothing, you see, of your also reviling, accusing, and threatening the people. And do you not resent his arrogance, fathers, in setting a greater value upon himself alone than even all of you set upon yourselves? And yet, even if you were all willing to vote to engaged in war for his sake, he ought to be satisfied with this proof of your goodwill and zeal and not to accept a private favour at the expense of the public injury, but to consent to make his defence, standing trial and, if need be, suffering any punishment.

[4] πάσχοντα. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἔργα ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔργοις ἀσκοῦντος, οὐ λόγοις. ἃ δὲ νῦν οὗτος βιάζεται, τίνος ἐστὶ σημεῖα βίου; ποίων μηνύματα προαιρέσεων, ὅρκους παραβαίνειν, δεξιὰς παρασπονδεῖν, ὁμολογίας ἀναιρεῖν, δήμῳ πολεμεῖν, εἰς ἀρχόντων σώματα ὑβρίζειν, καὶ μηδ’ ἐφ’ ἐνὶ τούτων τὸ σῶμα ὑπεύθυνον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἄκριτον ἀναπολόγητον μηδενὸς δεηθέντα μηθένα φοβηθέντα μηθενὶ τῶν τοσούτων πολιτῶν ἴσον γενόμενον ἀδεῶς περινοστεῖν; ἄρ’ οὐ τυραννικοῦ

[4] For such would be the behaviour of a good citizen who practises what is honourable in his actions, not merely in his words. But as for the violent deeds in which this man now indulges, of what kind of life do they give evidence?

Of what kind of principles is it an indication to violate oaths, to break solemn pledges, to nullify covenants, to make war upon the people, to abuse the persons of magistrates, and to refuse to make oneself accountable for any of these actions, but submitting to no trial, offering no defence, courting no man, fearing no man, and disdaining equally with any one of this great multitude of citizens, to strut about with impunity?

[5] τρόπου σημεία ταῦτ' ἐστίν; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. καὶ τοῦτον ὁμως εἰσὶ τινες οἱ παραψύχοντες καὶ παρακροτοῦντες ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐντέτηκε τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς μῖσος ἀδιάλλακτον, καὶ οὐ δύνανται συνιδεῖν, ὅτι οὐθὲν μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦ ταπεινοτέρου μέρους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φύεται τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν ὥς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ σεμνοτέρου: ἀλλ' οἷονται τοῦ διαφόρου φύσει καταδουλωθέντος καὶ δὴ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔξειν ἀσφαλῶς.

[5] Are not these the indications of a tyrannical disposition? I, at any rate, think so. And yet, encouraging and applauding this man are some of your own number, in whose minds is implanted an implacable hatred against the plebeians, and they cannot see that the growth of this evil threatens the humbler portion of the citizens no more than it does the more exalted portion, but imagine that when their adversary is enslaved their own situation will be secure.

[6] οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει τάληθές, ὧ γνῶμης ἀμαρτάνοντες τῆς ἀρίστης: διδάσκαλον δὲ τὴν πείραν ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος παρέχεται καὶ τὸν χρόνον λαβόντες, ὀθνεῖοις θ' ἅμα καὶ οἰκείοις σωφρονισθέντες παραδείγμασι γνοιητ' ἄν, ὅτι μοσχευομένη κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τυραννὶς καθ' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως μοσχεύεται, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἄρχεται, κρατήσασα δ' οὐδ' ὑμῶν φείσεται.

[6] But this is not so in reality, misguided men. If you will learn from the example afforded by Marcius and from history, and will be admonished by precedents both foreign and native, you will know that tyranny fostered against the people is fostered against the whole commonwealth, and that, though it begins at present with us, yet after it has gained strength it will not spare you either."

[1] τοιαῦτα διεξιόντος τοῦ Δεκίου καὶ τῶν [p. 71] ἄλλων δημάρχων ἃ παραλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐδόκει συναγορευσάντων, ἐπειδὴ γνῶμας ἔδει τοὺς συνέδρους ἀποφαίνεσθαι, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ὑπατικῶν καλούμενοι κατὰ τὸν εἰωθότα κόσμον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνίσταντο, ἔπειθ' οἱ τούτων ὑποδεέστεροι κατ' ἄμφω ταῦτα, τελευταῖοι δ' οἱ νεώτατοι λόγον μὲν οὐθέννα λέγοντες: ἔτι γὰρ ἦν δι' αἰσχύνης τότε Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο, καὶ νέος οὐδεὶς ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν σοφώτερον εἶναι πρεσβύτου: ἐπεκύρουν δὲ τὰς κειμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπατικῶν γνῶμας.

[47] After Decius had spoken in this manner and the rest of the tribunes had supported him by adding what they thought he had omitted, and it was now time for the senators to deliver their opinions, first the oldest and the most honoured of the ex-consuls, being called upon by the consuls in the customary order, rose up, and after them those who were inferior to them in both these respects, and last of all, the youngest senators, who made no speeches (for that was still looked upon then as disgraceful by the Romans, and no young man presumed to be wiser than an old man), but seconded the opinions delivered by the ex-consuls.

[2] ἅπανσι δὲ προσετάρτετο παριοὔσι καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μεθ' ὄρκου τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν. Ἀππίος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὅτι μισοδημότατος ἦν τῶν πατρικίων καὶ οὐδέποτε ταῖς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἡρέσκετο διαλλαγαῖς, οὐκ εἶα γενέσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα τοιοῦτοις λόγοις χρώμενος.

[2] It was required, however, that all the senators should come forward and give their votes upon oath as in a court of justice. Then Appius Claudius, whom I mentioned before as the greatest enemy to the plebeians of all the patricians, one who could never relish the agreement made with the plebeians, opposed the passing of the preliminary decree, speaking as follows:

[1] ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ηὐξάμην πολλάκις ἑμαυτὸν μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν τῆς γνώμης, ἣν εἶχον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλύσεων, ὡς οὔτε καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν οὔτε συμφέρουσαν ἡμῖν ὑπελάμβανον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδον καὶ διὰ παντός, ὅσάκις περὶ τοῦτου προὔτεθι σκοπεῖν, πρῶτός τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τελευτῶν μόνος, ἐπειδὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπέστησαν, ἡγαντιοῦμην: ὑμᾶς δ', ὧ βουλή, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κρεῖττω τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνοντας καὶ πάντα [p. 72] τῷ δήμῳ δικάια τε καὶ ἄδικα προθύμως χαριζομένους ἄμεινον ἐμοῦ δόξαι φρονεῖν.

[48.1] “For my part, I kept wishing and often prayed to the gods that I might be mistaken in the opinion I entertained concerning the accommodation with the populace, when I thought that the return of the fugitives would be neither honourable and just nor advantageous to us, and from first to last, whenever anything relating to this subject was proposed for our consideration, I was the first of all and finally the only one, after the rest had deserted me, who opposed it. And I also wished that you, senators, who have always hoped for the best and cheerfully granted to the populace all their demands, both just and unjust, might prove to be wiser than I.

[2] ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐχ, ὡς ἐβουλόμην τε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ηὐχόμην, τὰ πράγματα ὑμῖν κεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὤμην, καὶ περιστήκασιν αἱ χάριτες ὑμῖν εἰς φθόνους καὶ μίση, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ὑμῖν καὶ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ κενῆς, ὃ ῥᾶστόν ἐστι καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιεῖν σὺνηθες, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ νυνὶ γενησόμενον ὁρῶν ἐάσω. ἐξ ὧν δὲ τὰ τε παρελθόντα

ἐπανορθωσόμεθα, ὅσα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνιάτως ἔχει, καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἄμεινον φρονήσομεν,

[2] But now that things have not turned out for you as I wished and prayed, but rather as I expected, and now that the benefits you conferred have ended in envy and hatred, I shall forbear to censure you for your past errors or to cause you needless pain (which is a very easy thing to do and what everyone usually does), as I perceive that it will be out of place at this time. However, I shall endeavour to suggest to you how we may correct such of the past errors are not absolutely incurable and may act with greater wisdom in the present situation.

[3] ταῦτα πειράσομαι λέγειν. καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν, ὅτι μαίνεσθαι καὶ θανατᾶν δόξω πῖσιν ὑμῶν γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἐλευθέραν ἀποφαινόμενος ἐνθυμουμένοις, ἡλικίους ἔχει κινδύνους ὁ μετὰ παρρησίας λόγος, καὶ τὰς Μαρκίου συμφοράς, ὃς οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τι νυνὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα τρέχει, λογιζόμενοις.

[3] And yet I am not unaware that I shall appear to some of you to be mad and to be courting death in expressing my opinion freely concerning these matters, when they consider how great danger frankness of speech matters, and reflect on the plight of Marcius, who at this moment runs the risk of losing his life for no other reason.

[4] ἀλλ' οὐκ οἴομαι δεῖν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας πλείω ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ἢ τῆς κοινῆς ὠφελείας. δέδοται γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδύνους τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὧ βουλή, καὶ καθωσίωται τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶσιν, ὥστε ὃ τι ἂν τῷ δαίμονι δοκῇ, μετὰ πάντων τε καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη καὶ μόνος εὐγενῶς πείσομαι: ἕως δ' ἂν ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐδεὶς με ἀφέξει φόβος μὴ οὐχ ἄφρονῶ λέγειν. [p. 73]

[4] But I believe that I ought not to be more anxious for my personal safety than for the public welfare. For my body has already been given to the perils that attend your cause, senators, and devoted to the struggles in defence of the commonwealth; so that whatever Heaven pleases to ordain, I shall suffer it resolutely either with all of you or with a few, or, if necessary, even alone. But while I have life, no fear shall deter me from saying what I think.

[1] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἤδη ποτὲ ἀξιῶ βεβαίως μαθεῖν, ὅτι δυσμενῇ καὶ πολέμιον ἔχετε τῇ καθεστώσῃ πολιτείᾳ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μαλακισθέντες αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσατε μάτην θ' ὑμῖν ἀνήλωται καὶ καταφρονήσεως αἵτια γέγονεν, ὥς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην συγχωρηθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλ'

[49.1] "In the first place, I want you now at last to be firmly convinced of this, that your plebeian multitude is unfriendly and hostile to the established government, and that all the concessions you have through weakness made to

them have not only been wasted by you, but have even exposed you to contempt, as having been granted by you through necessity rather than from goodwill or sober choice.

[2] οὐκ ἂπ' εὐνοίας οὐδὲ κατὰ κρίσιν. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ οὕτως. ὅτ' ἀπέστη λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ὁ δῆμος ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ πολέμιος ὑμῖν ἐτόλμησεν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ γενέσθαι, ἀδικηθεὶς μὲν οὐδέν, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ χρέα τοῖς συμβεβληκόσι διαλῦσαι σκηπτόμενος, καὶ εἰ ψηφίσαισθε ὑμεῖς χρεῶν τ' ἀποκοπὰς καὶ ἄδειαν ὧν ἡμαρτε κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐθενὸς ἔτι δεήσεισθαι ἔφησεν, ἔγνωσαν οἱ πλείους ὑμῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντες γε, παρακρουσθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμβούλων, ὥς μὴ ποτε ὠφελον, ἀκυρῶσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τεθέντας νόμους καὶ μηθενὸς τῶν τότε γεγεννημένων μνησικακεῖν ἀδικημάτων.

[2] For look at it in this way: When the populace took up arms, and, seceding from you, ventured to become openly your enemies, albeit they had received no injury, but offered as an excuse their inability to discharge their debts and impunity for the offences they had committed during their secession, they would make no further demands, the greater part of you, though not all, misled by their advisers, voted — as would to Heaven they had not! — to abrogate the laws enacted in the interest of the public faith and to grant an amnesty for all the offences that had been committed at that time.

[3] οὐκ ἠγάπησε ταύτης τυχὼν τῆς χάριτος, ἥς μόνης μεμνημένος ἔφη πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἑτέραν ἔτι ταύτης ἦται μείζω καὶ παρανομωτέραν δωρεάν, ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι δημάρχους ἐξ αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀποδεικνύναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰσχύν, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ κατισχυομένοις [p. 74] τῶν πενήτων ἐπικουρία τις ὑπάρχη καὶ καταφυγή: ὥς δὲ ἀλήθες εἶχεν, ἐπιβουλευὼν τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν περιστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα

[3] But the plebeians were not satisfied with obtaining this favour, which they said was the only one they had mentioned when they seceded, but straightway asked for another concession still greater and more illegal than this — that leave should be granted them to choose tribunes from their own number every year — making our superior strength their excuse for this demand, to the end, forsooth, that some aid and refuge might lie open to the poorer citizens who were wronged and oppressed, though in reality they were plotting against our form of government and desired to change it to a democracy.

[4] βουλόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπεισαν ἡμᾶς οἱ σύμβουλοι τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἑᾶσαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ παραγινόμενον κακῷ, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς φθόνῳ, πολλά, εἴπερ ἄρα μέμνησθε, κεκραγότες ἐμοῦ καὶ μαρτυρομένου θεοῦς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὅτι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἄπαυστον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάξετε, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ὑμῖν προβέβηκε λέγοντος.

[4] This magistracy also those advisers of our prevailed upon us to admit into the commonwealth, though its introduction was to the public detriment and in particular would arouse hatred against the senate, and notwithstanding that I, if you recall, exclaimed against it and called both gods and men to witness that you would bring into the commonwealth endless civil war, and foretold everything that has since befallen you.

[1] τί οὖν ἐποίησεν ὁ χρηστὸς ἡμῖν δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσατε τὴν ἀρχήν; οὐκ ἐταμιεύσατο τὴν τοσαύτην χάριν οὐδ' ἔλαβεν αἰσχυνομένως αὐτὴν καὶ σωφρόνως, ἀλλ' ὥς δεδοικόσι τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἡμῖν ... ἔπειτα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἔφη δεῖν ἀποδειχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅρκοις ἐμπεδωθεῖσαν, κρείττω τιμὴν αἰτούμενος ἢς δεδώκατε ὑμεῖς τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ὑπεμείνατε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ στάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων κατ' ἐξωλείας ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ὠμόσατε.

[50.1] “What, then, did this fine populace of ours do after you had granted them this magistracy also? They did not make a prudent use of so great a benefit nor did they receive it with respect and modesty, but, just as if we were in fear and consternation because of their strength . . . then they said this magistracy ought to be declared sacred and inviolable and should be secured by oaths, thus demanding for it a greater honour than you yourselves have conferred upon the consuls. To this also you submitted, and standing over the parts of the sacrificial victims, you invoked utter destruction upon both yourselves and your posterity if you should violate your oath.

[2] τί οὖν ἐποίησε καὶ τούτου τυχών; ἀντὶ τοῦ χάριτας ὑμῖν εἰδέναι καὶ σώζειν τὸν πατριον κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πλεονεξιῶν καὶ ταύταις ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀφορμαῖς τῶν [p. 75] ὕστερον χρησάμενος νόμους τ' ἀπροβουλεύτους εἰσφέρει, καὶ τούτους ἐπιψηφίζει διχα τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, καὶ οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐκφέρητε δόγμασιν οὐ προσέχει τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοντων κατηγορεῖ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκβαίνουσι παρὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας συνθήκας: πολλὰ δ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐ δύναται στοχάσασθαι λογισμὸς ἀνθρώπινος: οὐ τὴν τύχην, ὥσπερ ἔχρην, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιγράφει διάνοιαν, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι θ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν σκηπτόμενος καὶ δεδιέναι, μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέλησθε ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβάλητε, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὑμῖν ταῦτα μηχανώμενος διατελεῖ, καὶ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ὃ δεδοικέναι φησίν, οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ φυλαττόμενος δῆλός ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ δρᾶσαι φθάσας.

[2] What, then, did they do when they had obtained this also? Instead of being grateful to you and maintaining our ancestral form of government, they began from these ill-gotten advantages, and making these illegal acts the steps to future encroachments, they not only introduce laws without a preliminary decree of the senate, but enact them without your concurrence; they pay no regard to the decrees you publish; they accuse the consuls of maladministration of the state; and if anything happens contrary to your

agreement with them — and there are many things which human reason cannot accurately foresee — they attribute it, not to chance, as they should, but to deliberate intention on your part; and while they pretend that designs are being formed against them by you and that they are afraid you may either deprive them of their liberty or expel them from their country, they themselves are continually forming these very designs against you, and plainly show that their only method of guarding against the mischief they claim to fear consists in being the first to inflict it.

[3] ἔδηλωσε δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὧν ἐξείργομαι μεμνηῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, μάλιστα δὲ Μάρκιον τουτονὶ τὸν φιλόπολιν ἄνδρα, οὗτε προγόνων ἀφανῶν ὄντα οὗτ' αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ λειπόμενον οὐθενὸς ἡμῶν, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ πονηρὰς ἐνθάδε γνώμας λέγειν, ἄκριτον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποκτείνειν.

[3] This they have often made apparent even before now, upon many occasions which I am prevented from mentioning at present, but particularly by their treatment of Marcius here, a lover of his country and a man who is neither of obscure birth nor inferior himself to any of us in valour, whom they accused of forming designs against them and of going evil advice in this place, and attempted to put to death without a trial.

[4] καὶ εἰ μὴ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ θ' ὕπατοι καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ τὰ κρεῖττω φρονοῦντες συνεστράφητε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν ἐπέσχετε αὐτῶν, ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ πάντ' ἂν ἀφηρέθητε, ὅσα οἱ πατέρες θ' ὑμῖν σὺν πολλοῖς κτησάμενοι πόνοις κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀγῶνας ἐκείνων ὑποστάντες ἔχετε, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν: οἱ δὲ γενναιότεροι [p. 76] καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπήσαντες αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέλλετε τῶν ἀγαθῶν βιώσεσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς ἂν πρότερον ἢ ταῦτ' ἀφηρέθητε, οἱ μὲν εὐθύς, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

[4] And if the consuls and the more sagacious among you had not become indignant at this action and joined together to restrain their illegal attempts, you would have been deprived in that one day of everything that your ancestors acquired with many labours and left to you, and of everything that you yourselves possess after undergoing on fewer struggles than they — of your prestige, your supremacy, and your liberty; while those of you who had more spirit and would not have been contented with life alone unless you were to live in the enjoyment of those blessings, would, either then or soon after, have chosen to lose your lives rather than lose these privileges.

[5] τί γὰρ ἂν τὸ κωλύσον ἦν οὕτως αἰσchrῶς καὶ κακῶς Μαρκίου τοῦδε ἀναρπασθέντος ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ κάμει μετὰ τοῦτον ἀπολωλέναι διασπασθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἠναντιώθησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐμέλλον ἐναντιώσεσθαι ταῖς παρανόμοις ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ δήμου; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠρκέσθη τοὺς δύο μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲ μέχρι

δεῦρ' ἔλθων ἀπέστη τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀρξάμενος ἅπαν τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ μὴ εἶκον ὥσπερ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐμπεσὼν παρέσυρεν ἂν καὶ κατήνεγκεν, οὐτ' εὐγενείας φειδόμενος οὐτ' ἀρετῆς οὐθ' ἡλικίας.

[5] For if once Marcius had been made away with in some shameful and dastardly a manner, like one all alone in a wilderness, what could have hindered me also, after him, and all of you who had ever opposed or were likely to oppose thereafter the unlawful attempts of the populace, from perishing by being torn in pieces by our enemies? For they would not have been satisfied with getting only the two of us out of the way, nor would they, after going thus far, have desisted from their lawless course, if we are to judge the future from the past; but having begun with us, they would have rushed down like a torrent in flood upon all who opposed them and did not submit to them, and would have swept them away and borne them off, sparing neither birth, merit nor age.

[1] ταύτας ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος, ὧ βουλή, τὰς καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων τὰς μὲν ἀπέδωκεν ἡδη, τὰς δ' ἀποδώσειν ἔμελλεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κωλύσον παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγένετο. ἄγε δὴ νῦν κάκεῖνα ἐνθυμήθητε πάλιν, ἃ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ γενναῖον καὶ σῶφρον ὑμῶν ἔργον ἔδρασεν, ἵνα γνῶτε,

[51.1] “These, senators, are the fine returns which the populace have either already made to you, or would have made, if it had not lain in your power to prevent them, for the many great benefits they have received from you. Now consider those things that they did after this magnanimous and prudent action on your part, in order that you may learn how you ought to deal with them.

[2] ὄντινα χρή τὸν τρόπον αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὡς ἔμαθεν ὑμῶν οὐκέτι φέροντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕβριν, [p. 77] ἀλλ' ὁμόσε χωρεῖν παρεσκευασμένους, ἔπτηξε καὶ μικρὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης καὶ μανίας ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι κατέβη, ἐπὶ τὸ δικάζεσθαι δ' ἐτράπετο: καὶ προειπὼν ἡμέραν ῥητὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς δίκην ὑφέζοντα, ἧς αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι κατήγορος τε καὶ μάρτυς καὶ δικαστής καὶ τοῦ

[2] Well then, as soon as they found you resolved no longer to bear their insolence but prepared to join issue with them, they were struck with terror, and recovering themselves slightly, as from a fit of drunkenness or madness, they desisted from violence and had recourse to legal action; and appointing a day, they summoned Marcius to appear then and stand his trial, at which they themselves were to be at once the accusers, the witnesses, and the judges, and the ones to determine the degree of the punishment.

[3] μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας κύριος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐνέστητε

νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐπὶ δίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὁρῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὅς' ἂν ὑμεῖς προβουλεύσητε, ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφίσαι κύριος, τῆς τ' αὐθαδείας, ἧς πολὺς ἔπνει τότε, ὑφεῖται νυνὶ καὶ δεησόμενος ὑμῶν ἥκει συγχωρῆσαι καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν.

[3] And since you opposed this also, because you thought that he was summoned, not to be tried, but to be punished, the populace, perceiving that they have absolute authority in no matter whatever, but only the power of ratifying your preliminary decrees, now abate their arrogance, which then blew so strong, and have come to beg that you will grant them this favour also.

[4] ἐνθυμούμενοι δὴ ταῦτ' αἴσθεσθε ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ μάθετε, ὅτι πάνθ', ὅσα μὲν εὐθέςτερα βουλευσάμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα ἐχαρίσασθε, αὐτῷ συμφορὰς ὑμῖν ἐνήνοχε καὶ βλάβας, ὅσα δὲ μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου στάντες τοῖς παρανόμοις αὐτοῦ καὶ βιαίοις ἤναντιώθητε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν εἰς δέον ἐκβέβηκε.

[4] Bearing this in mind, therefore, perceive at last and learn that all the privileges you have hitherto granted them, with greater guilelessness than prudent, have brought calamities and harm upon you, but that every courageous stand you have made against their illegal and violent acts has turned out advantageously.

[5] τί οὖν ὑμῖν ἐπισταμένοις ταῦτα παραινῶ πράττειν καὶ τίνα γνώμην ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἀποφαίνομαι; ὅσα μὲν ἐχαρίσασθε καὶ συνεχωρήσατε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἔχθραν διαλλαττόμενοι ὅπωςδῆποτε φυλάττειν κύρια, καὶ μὴ λύειν τῶν τότε συγχωρηθέντων μηθέν, οὐχ ὡς καλῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίων ὄντων: πόθεν γάρ; ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαιῶν καὶ μηκέτι δεχομένων διόρθωσιν: ὅσα δ' ἂν ἔξω τούτου βιαζόμενος καὶ παρανομῶν ἀκόντων ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῇ λαμβάνειν μήτε συγχωρεῖν [p. 78] αὐτῷ μήτ' ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ἀντιπράττειν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντας καὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ.

[5] What, then, do I advise you to do, now that you understand these things, and what opinion do I express upon the present question? Just this: As regards the privileges and concessions which you made to the populace at the time of your reconciliation, however you came to grant them, I advise you to adhere to them as valid and to abrogate none of the concessions you then made, not because they are honourable and worthy of the commonwealth — how could they be? — but because they are necessary and can no longer be remedied. But as to anything beyond this which they may endeavour to extort from you against your will by violence and illegal means, I advise you not to grant or allow it, but to oppose them both by words and by deeds, not only all of you as a body, but each one individually.

[6] οὐ γάρ, ἂν ἅπαξ ἀμάρτη τις εἴτ' ἀπαθηεῖς εἴτ' ἀναγκασθεῖς, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁμοία δεῖ πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μεμνημένους τᾶλλα ὅπως μὴ τοιαῦτα

γενήσεται σκοπεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστιν, ἃ κοινῇ πάντας ὑμᾶς οἶμαι δεῖν ἐγνωκότας εἶναι, καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀδίκους τοῦ δήμου πλεονεξίας παραινῶ.

[6] For it is not inevitable, if a person has erred once through either deception or necessity, that he should act in like manner in everything else, but mindful of that error, he ought to consider by what means his future conduct may not resemble it. This is the resolution which I think you ought all of you unitedly to have formed, and I advise you to be prepared against the unjust encroachments of the populace.

[1] ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ νυνὶ πρόκειται σκοπεῖν ὁμοιὸν ἔστι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγχειρήμασιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδίκοις καὶ παρανόμοις, καὶ οὐχ, οἷον ὁ δήμαρχος ἐξαπατῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπειρᾶτο ἀποφαινεῖν, δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον, μάθετε οἱ μήπω σαφῶς εἰδότες. ὁ μὲν οὖν νόμος ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν δημοτικῶν, ὃ Δέκιος ἐκρατύνετο μάλιστα, οὐ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγράφη τῶν πατρικίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῶν κατισχυομένων δημοτικῶν, ὥς αὐτός τε δηλοῖ γραφᾶς ἔχων οὐκ ἀμφιβόλους, καὶ

[52.1] “That this matter, which is the subject of your present consideration, is also of a piece with their other unjust and illegal attempts and not, as the tribune endeavoured to prove in order to deceive you, a just and reasonable request, let those among you now learn who are not yet certain of it. Well then, the law relating to the popular courts, the law upon which Decius relied for his chief support, was not enacted against you patricians, but for the protection of such plebeians as are oppressed, as the law itself, written in unequivocal terms, plainly shows, and as all of you, being perfectly acquainted with it, always declare to be the case.

[2] Ὑμεῖς τοῦτο πάντες ἀεὶ λέγετε καλῶς ἐπιστάμενοι. μέγα δὲ τοῦτο σημεῖον ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ παντὸς ἀμφισβητουμένου δικαίου κριτήριον εἶναι δοκεῖ κράτιστον, ὁ χρόνος ἐννεακαιδεκέτης ἡδη γεγονώς, ἐξ οὗ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ἐτέθη: ἐν ᾧ παντὶ Δέκιος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι δίκην οὐδεμίαν οὔτε δημοσίαν κατ' οὐδενὸς τῶν πατρικίων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δεδικασμένην, οὐτ' ἰδίαν: εἰ δὲ φήσει, [p. 79]

[2] Strong proof of this is afforded by the length of time it has been in force, which seems to be the best criterion in the case of every disputed principle of law; for nineteen years have now passed since this law was enacted, and during all this time Decius cannot point to a single instance of a trial, either public or private, brought against any patrician in virtue of this law. But if he shall assert that he can, let him produce it and we need no further discussion.

[3] δειξάτω καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι δεόμεθα λόγου. αἱ δ' ὁμολογίαι, καθ' ἃς διελύσασθε πρὸς τοὺς δημότας αἱ νεωστὶ γεγόμεναι: χρή γάρ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς μαθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πονηρὸς ἐξηγητὴς ὁ δήμαρχος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο: δύο ταῦτα

συγχωρήματα περιέχουσιν: ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς δημοτικοὺς τῶν χρεῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἀποδείκνυσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπικουρίας ἔνεκα τῶν κατισχυομένων καὶ κωλύσεως, ἄλλο δὲ παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐδέν.

[3] As to the agreement you recently entered into with the plebeians (for it is necessary that you should be informed about this also, since the tribune has shown himself an unscrupulous interpreter of it), it contains these two concessions — that the plebeians shall be discharged of their debts, and that these magistrates shall be elected annually for the relief of the oppressed and the prevention of injustice toward them; and except these, there is no other provision.

[4] μέγιστον δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι οὐθ' ὁ νόμος οὐθ' αἱ συνθήκαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου δικάζειν τῷ δήμῳ δεδώκασιν ἐξουσίαν, ὃ ποιεῖ νῦν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος. αἰτεῖται γὰρ αὐτὸ παρ' ὑμῶν τήμερον, ὡς πρότερόν γ' οὐκ ἔχων: οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν ἀξιώσει τι παρ' ἄλλων λαμβάνειν,

[4] But let the greatest indication to you that neither this law nor the compact has given the populace the power of trying a patrician be the present behaviour of the populace themselves. For they ask this power of you today, as not having possessed it hitherto; yet no one would ask to receive from others anything to which he is entitled by law.

[5] ὧν ἐστὶ νόμῳ κύριος. δίκαιον δὲ φύσεως ἀνομοθέτητον, ὃ βουλή, πῶς ἂν εἴη τοῦτο: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Δέκιος ὑμᾶς ὤετο δεῖν σκοπεῖν: τοῖς μὲν δημόταις, ἃς τ' ἂν φύγωσι δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ἃς ἂν ἐκείνους διώκωσι, τὸν δῆμον δικάζειν, τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις μὴθ' ὅταν ἐπάγωσιν τινα τῶν δημοτικῶν δίκην μὴθ' ὅταν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσωσι τοὺς πατρικίους τὰ νείκη διαιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτοις μὲν ἀμφοτέρω ἐξεῖναι πλεονεκτεῖν,

[5] And how can this, senators, be a natural, unwritten right — for Decius thought you ought to consider this — that the populace shall try all causes in which the plebeians are involved, whether the actions are brought against them by the patricians, or by them against the latter, while patricians, whether plaintiffs or defendants in any suit with the plebeians, shall not decide those controversies, but the plebeians shall be given the advantage in both cases, while we enjoy neither right?

[6] ἡμῖν δ' οὐδετέρου τῶν δικαίων μετέχειν; εἰ [p. 80] δὲ τι Μάρκιος ἀδικεῖ τὸν δῆμον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τῶν πατρικίων ὅστισοῦν καὶ δικαίως ἐστὶν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσεῖν, μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε κριθεὶς διδότης δίκας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ νόμιμον. εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ὃ Δέκιε, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἴσος ἔσται δικαστῆς καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν χαρίσαιο αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρων: οὗτοι δ' εἰ γένοιτο τῆς ψήφου κύριοι τὸν ἀδικοῦντα περὶ πλείονος ποιήσονται τῆς ἀδικουμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλεως, μέλλοντες ἄρ' ἂν καὶ ἐπιορκίαν καὶ μῖσος μὲν παρ' ἀνθρώπων, χόλον δὲ παρὰ θεῶν ἐκ τῆς

δίκης ἀποιοεσθαι καὶ μετὰ πονηρῶν ἐλπίδων ζῆν.

[6] But if Marcius or any other patrician whatsoever has injured the people and deserves either death or banishment, let him be punished after being tried, not by them, but here, as the law directs. Unless, forsooth, Decius, the populace will be impartial judges and would not show any favour to themselves when giving their votes concerning an enemy, whereas these senators, if they are empowered to vote in his case, will regard the wrong-doer as of more importance than the commonwealth that suffers from his wrongdoing, when as the result of their verdict they are sure to draw upon themselves a curse, the guilt of perjury, the detestation of mankind, and the anger of the gods, and to go through life haunted by dismal hopes!

[7] οὐκ ἀξιῶ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὑμᾶς, ὧς δημόται, σκοπεῖν, ἧ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παραχωρεῖν ὁμολογεῖτε δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ πολλὰς χάριτας εἰδέναι φατὲ τῆς προθυμίας, ἣν ἀπεδειξατο περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ὑμῶν. μάχεται ταῦτ' ἀλλήλοις: καὶ οὐκ ἔχει λόγον, οὓς ἐπαινεῖτε, τούτους φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ μὲν τῶν μειζόνων ἐπιτρέπειν, περὶ δὲ

[7] It is unworthy of you, plebeians, to entertain these suspicions about the senate, to whom you acknowledge that you concede honours, magistracies, and the most important powers in the commonwealth on the basis of merit, and to whom you say you feel very grateful for the zeal they showed for your return. These sentiments are inconsistent with one another; and it is not reasonable that you should fear those you commend and entrust the same persons with the more serious responsibilities while at the same time distrusting them in those of less consequence.

[8] τῶν ἄλλων ἀπιστεῖν. τί δ' οὐχὶ μιᾷ χρώμενοι γνώμῃ ἢ πάντα πιστεύετε αὐτοῖς ἢ περὶ πάντων ἀπιστεῖτε; ἀλλὰ προβουλευοῖσιν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια ἱκανοὺς εἶναι νομίζετε, δικάσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν προβουλεύουσιν οὐχ ἱκανοὺς. πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα περὶ τῶν δικαίων εἶχον, ὧς βουλή, λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

[8] Why do you not keep to one uniform judgment, either trusting them in everything or distrusting them in everything? But, on the contrary, you think them capable of passing a preliminary decree about principles of right, but not of sitting in judgment concerning these very principles involved in that decree. I had many other things to say concerning the rights of this matter, senators; but let this suffice.

[11] ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπειρᾶτο λέγειν Δέκιος, ὡς ἀγαθὸν μὲν ὁμόνοια, δεινὸν [p. 81] δὲ στάσις, καὶ θεραπεύοντες μὲν τὸν δῆμον ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πολιτευσόμεθα, κωλύσαντες δ' οὓς βούλονται τῶν πατρικίων ἀνδρηλατεῖν ἢ μαιφονεῖν εἰς πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον καταστησόμεθα, πολλὰ

λέγειν ἔχων ὀλίγοις πάνυ χρήσομαι.

[53.1] “But since Decius undertook to speak also on the subject of advantage, pointing out how excellent a thing harmony is and how terrible a thing sedition, and that, if we cultivate the populace, we shall live together in harmony, but if we hinder them from banishing whomsoever of the patricians they wish or murdering them, we shall be involved in a civil war, though I have many things to say upon this head, I shall content myself with very few.

[2] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι ἔχω Δέκιον τῆς εἰρωνείας: οὐ γὰρ ἡλιθιότητος γε: εἰ κρεῖττον οἶεται τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν ἑαυτὸν, ὃς ἄρτι παρελήλυθεν εἰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, ἡμῶν τῶν καταγεγηρακότων ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς πεποιηκότων τὴν πόλιν. ἔπειτ’ εἰ πείσειν ὑπέλαβεν ὑμᾶς, ὥς χρή παραδοῦναι τινα ἔκδοτον ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ταῦτα πολίτην ὑμέτερον καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν τινα πολιτῶν ἢ φαύλων, ἀλλ’ ὃν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρότατον ἡγεῖσθε εἶναι καὶ τὸν βίον σωφρονέστατον τὰ τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐθενὸς χεῖρονα.

[2] And first I have to marvel at the dissimulation — surely it is not lack of sense — of Decius, if he imagines that he is a better judge of the interests of the state, though he has just entered upon the administration of public affairs, than we who have grown old in it and have made the city a great from a small one; and, in the next place, if he supposed that he could persuade you that you had to deliver up any man to his enemies to be punished, particularly a fellow-citizen of yours and one who is not a person of no consequence or merit, but one whom you yourselves look upon as most brilliant in war, most exemplary in his private life, and inferior to none in handling public affairs.

[3] καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς πλείστην αἰδῶ ποιουμένους ἱκετῶν, καὶ μηδὲ πολεμίων τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐνθάδε ταύτης ἀποκλείοντας τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. εἰ δὲ τάναντία ἡμᾶς ἐγίνωσκες ἐπιτηδεύοντας, ὧς Δέκιε, ἀνόσια μὲν φρονοῦντας περὶ θεοῦς, ἄδικα δὲ πράττοντας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, τί ἂν ἡμῖν τούτου συνεβούλευες ἔργον ὑπομεῖναι δεινότερον, ἅφ’ οὗ πρόρριζοι καὶ πανώλεις, μισηθέντες θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις, διαφθαρησόμεθα;

[3] And these things he has dared to say, though he knows street you show the greatest respect for suppliants and do not exclude them from such humanity even those of your enemies who flee hither for refuge. Indeed, if you knew we practised the very contrary of all this, Decius, entertaining impious ideas about the gods and practising injustice towards men, what deed more dreadful than this could you have advised us to commit, by which we shall incur the hatred of both gods and men and be utterly and totally destroyed?

[4] οὐ δεόμεθά σου συμβούλου, Δέκιε, οὔτε περὶ πολιτῶν ἐκδόσεως οὔτε περὶ ἄλλου χρήματος ὧν ἡμῖν πρακτέον οὐδενός: οὐδὲ ὀφνειὰ φρονήσει

νέων ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκεῖα συμφέροντα κρίνειν οἰόμεθα δεῖν οἱ [p. 82] μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡλικίας διὰ πολλῆς πείρας κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐληλυθότες. πολέμου δ' ἀπειλᾶς, αἷς χρώμενοι φοβεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπαγομένας ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπανασεισθεῖσας τῇ συνήθει προῤῥότητι παραδόντες ἀκαταπλήκτως οἴσομεν.

[4] We have no need of your advice, Decius, either about delivering up any of our citizens or about any other business we have to transact. Nor do we believe that, in judging of our own interests, we should use a borrowed wisdom of youths — we who, through long experience of both good and evil fortune, have come to our present age. As for the threats of war with which you endeavour to terrify us — not now employed by you for the first time, but flaunted often in the past by many — leaving them to our habitual mildness to deal with, we shall bear them with intrepidity.

[5] καὶ εἰ δήπερ δράσετε τὰ ὅμοια οἷς λέγετε, ἀμυνόμεθα θεοὺς τε συναγωνιστὰς ἔχοντες, οἱ νεμεσῶσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι πολέμου ἀδίκου, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔξοντες χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην σύμμαχον. Λατῖνοι τε γὰρ ἅπαντες, οἷς νεωστὶ τὴν ἰσοπολιτείαν δεδώκαμεν, σὺν ἡμῖν στήσονται, ὥς περὶ πατρίδος ἤδη τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε ἀγωνιζόμενοι, αἱ τ' ἐνθὲνδε ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις πολλάι καὶ ἀγαθαὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμεναι σώζεσθαι τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀμυνοῦσιν αὐτῇ.

[5] And if you indeed try to do anything like what you threaten, we shall defend ourselves with the assistance both of the gods, who are always wroth with the aggressors in an unjust war, and of men, no small number of whom will be our allies. For all the Latins, to whom we lately granted equal rights of citizenship, will be on our side, fighting for this commonwealth as for a country now their fatherland, and the many flourishing cities colonized from Rome, counting it imperative that their mother-city should be saved, will come to her defence.

[6] εἰ δ' εἰς ἀνάγκην ἡμᾶς κατακλείσετε τῆς πανταχόθεν ἐπικουρίας περιέχεσθαι, ὑπομενοῦμεν, ὧ Δέκιε, καὶ θεράποντας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν προκαλοῦμενοι καὶ πολεμίους εἰς φιλίαν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κοινωσίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδων ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ὑμῖν. μηθενὸς δὲ τούτων δεήσειεν, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ πόλιν τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέχοντες, ἀλλ' εἴη μέχρι λόγων τὰ φοβερά ταῦτ' ἐλθεῖν, ἔργον δὲ μηθὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν γένοιτ' ἄχαρι.

[6] And if you reduce us to the necessity of embracing every kind of assistance, Decius, we shall submit to inviting even our slaves to liberty, our enemies to friendship, and all mankind to a share in our hopes of victory, and then join issue with you. But, O Jupiter and all ye gods who guard the Roman state, may there be no occasion for anything of this kind! Rather may these terrible threats go no farther than words and result in no deplorable act!"

[1] ταῦτα μὲν Ἀππίος εἶπεν. Μάνιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος ὁ δημοτικώτατος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ [p. 83] τὰς διαλλαγὰς πλείστην ἀποδειξάμενος προθυμίαν φανερώς καὶ τότε τῷ δήμῳ συνελάμβανε καὶ λόγον διεξῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς συγκείμενον φροντίδος, ἐπιτιμῶν μὲν τοῖς οὐκ ἔωσι μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ διαιροῦσι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ διὰ μικρὰς προφάσεις πολέμους ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἐμφυλίου· ἐπαινῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ συμφέρον καὶ κοινὸν ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντ' ἐλάττω τῆς ὁμονοίας τιθεμένων, διδάσκων, ὥς, εἰ γένοιτο τῆς δίκης ὁ δῆμος, ὥσπερ ἀξιοῖ, κύριος, καὶ ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου τὴν χάριν ἐκόντος λάβοι, τάχα μὲν οὐδ' ἐπέξεισιν ἄχρι τέλους, ἀλλ' ἄρκεσθéis αὐτῷ τῷ κεκρατηκέναι τοῦ σώματος ἐπεικέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπώτερον αὐτῷ χρήσεται.

[54.1] Thus Appius spoke. Then Manius Valerius, who was the greatest friend to the plebeians of all the senators and had shown the greatest zeal for the accommodation, upon this occasion also openly espoused their cause and delivered a speech, composed with much thought, in which he censured those senators who would not permit the commonwealth to remain united, but sought to divide the plebeians from the patricians and for trifling causes to rekindle the flames of strife. He then commended those who held that there was but one advantage to be considered and that the common advantage, and regarded everything else as secondary to harmony; and he showed them that, if the populace obtained the right to try this man, as they demanded, and received this privilege also with the consent of the senate, possibly they would not even press the prosecution to the end but, satisfied with having got him in their power, would treat him with lenity rather than severity.

[2] εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐκ παντὸς οἰομένων τρόπου τῶν δημάρχων τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι δεῖν νόμιμον τῇ δίκῃ τῆς ψήφου γενήσεται κύριος, ἀπολύσει τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς αἰτίας αἰδούμενος μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ κινδυνεῦον σῶμα, οὗ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἔχει μεμνησθαι, ἀνταποδιδούς δὲ ταύτην τὴν χάριν τῇ παρασχούσῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ βουλῇ καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσῃ

[2] And even if the tribunes should believe it to be necessary by all means to carry the case through to its lawful conclusion and the populace should thus be empowered to give their votes concerning him, they would acquit him of the charge, partly out of respect for the defendant himself, and partly by way of making this return to the senate for the favour it had granted by giving them this power and by opposing them in nothing that was reasonable.

[3] τῶν μετρίων. παρεῖναι μέντοι τῇ δίκῃ συνεβούλευε καὶ συναπολογεῖσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀξιοῦν μηθὲν διαγνῶναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χαλεπὸν τοὺς θ' ὑπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πατρικίους κατὰ πλῆθος ἀφικομένους: συνοίσειν [p. 84] γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ τῷ κινδυνεῦοντι καὶ τούτους εἰς σωτηρίας ῥοπήν: καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔχειν ταῖς γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελάτας ἕκαστον τοὺς αὐτοῦ παρακαλεῖν καὶ φίλους συνάγειν, καὶ εἴ τινας οἰκείως ἔχειν σφίσι τῶν δημοτικῶν δι' εὐεργεσίας

ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ τοὺτους νυνὶ τὴν πρότερον ὀφειλομένην χάριν ἐπὶ

[3] Nevertheless, he advised that not only the consuls, but all the senators and the rest of the patricians as well should be present in a body at the trial and assist Marcius in making his defence and entreat the people to come to no harsh decision concerning him, assure and them that the presence of these men also would contribute not a little toward turning the scales on the side of the defendant's acquittal' and he advised that they should not only thus assist him themselves by expressing their views, but that each of them should summon his own clients and assemble his friends, and if they thought that any of the plebeians were attached to them as the result of benefits they had received from them, they should ask these too to show their gratitude for former favours now when they were to give their votes.

[4] τῆς ψηφοφορίας ἀπαιτεῖν. τὸ τε φιλόχρηστον καὶ μισοπόνηρον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπέφηνεν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἔτι πλεῖον τούτου, ὃ πρὸς τὰς τύχας πάσχειν τι τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ ἐλεεῖν οἶδε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν, ὅταν εἰς ταπεινὰ πέσωσιν αὐτῶν αἱ

[4] He showed them also that there would be no small element among the populace which loved the right and hated the wrong, and an even larger number who knew how to sympathize with human misfortunes and to feel compassion for men in position of honour when their fortunes have suffered reverse.

[5] τύχαι. ὁ δὲ πλείων λόγος ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον παράκλησιν ἔχων νοουθετήσει μεμιγμένην καὶ δέησιν ἀνάγκῃ. ἡξίου γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ διστάναι τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτίαν ἔχει καὶ τυραννικὸς εἶναι διαβάλλεται διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ τρόπου, δέος τε παρέστηκεν ἅπασι, μὴ δι' αὐτόν ἀρχὴ γένηται στάσεως καὶ κακῶν ἀνγκέστων, ἃ φέρουσιν ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ἀληθεῖς καὶ κυρίας τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς μένοντα ἐν τῷ φθονουμένῳ τοῦ βίου, ἀλλὰ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν μεταλαβεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγουσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος παρασχεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεῦγειν ἄδικον ἔγκλημα λόγῳ μετὰ δίκης ἀπολυόμενον.

[5] But the greater part of his speech was addressed to Marcius himself, in which he joined exhortation to admonition, and entreaty to compulsion. For he begged of him, since he was accused of dividing the populace from the senate and also charged with being tyrannical by reason of his arbitrary manner, and since all men were filled with fear that because of him there would spring up sedition and all the irreparable evils which civil wars bring in their train, that he would not make true and valid the accusations against himself by persevering in his invidious way of life, but would change it to an humble deportment, submit his person to the power of those who complained of being injured, and not decline to clear himself by a just defence of an unjust charge.

[6] ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τε σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν, ἧς ὀρέγεται, λαμπρότατα καὶ τοῖς προυπηργμένοις [p. 85] ἔργοις ἀκόλουθα. εἰ δ' αὐθαδέστερος ἔσται μᾶλλον ἢ μετριώτερος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀξιώσει πάντα κίνδυνον δι' ἑαυτὸν ὑπομένειν, κακὴν μὲν ἦτταν, αἰσχρὰν δὲ νίκην τοῖς πεισθεῖσι προσάψειν αὐτὸν ἀπέφαιναν: ἦν τ' ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ τῶν καταλαμβανόντων κακῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐν ταῖς διχοστασίαις τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα ἐπιλεγόμενος.

[6] For that course was not only for saving his life the surest, he told him, but also, as regarded the reputation he coveted, the most brilliant, and it was in keeping with the deeds he had already performed; whereas, if he should show himself arrogant rather than moderate and expect the senate to expose themselves to every danger for his sake, he declared that the defeat he might bring to those who had listened to him would be disastrous, while a victory would be disgraceful to them. He then indulged in many lamentations and enumerated the most important and the most obvious evils that befall states in times of dissension.

[1] διεξιὼν δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων οὐ προσποιητῶν καὶ πεπλασμένων, ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶν, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀξιώσει προὔχων, ὡς ἔμαθε κινούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις τὸ συνέδριον, ἐκ τοῦ τεθαρρηκότος ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξύφαινε τῶν λόγων: εἰ δὲ τινες ὑμῶν, ὧ βουλευταί, λέγων, ταραττονται δοκοῦντες ἔθος εἰσάγειν πονηρὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἔάν τῳ δῆμῳ συγχωρήσητε ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ νομίζουσι τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν ἰσχὺν λαβοῦσαν γενήσεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ἀμαρτάνοντες τῆς δόξης καὶ τάναντία ἢ

[55.1] When he had related all these evils with many tears — tears that were not feigned and affected, but genuine — this man who was eminent for the dignity both of his years and of his merits, perceiving that the senate was moved by his words, proceeded then with confidence to deliver the remainder of his speech. “If any of you, senators,” he said, “are disturbed by the thought that you will be introducing a pernicious custom into the commonwealth if you grant the populace the power of giving their votes against the patricians, and entertain an opinion that the tribunician power, if considerably strengthened, will serve no good purpose, let them learn that their opinion is erroneous and their surmise is the opposite of what it should be.

[2] προσῆκεν ὑπειληφότες. εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ ἄλλο σωτηρίας αἴτιον ἔσται τῇ πόλει τῇδε καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μηδὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, ὁμονοοῦσαν δ' αἰεὶ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ περὶ πάντων χρωμένην διατελεῖν, ὁ δῆμος αἰτιώτατος ἔσται συμπαραληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα: καὶ τὸ μὴ μίαν εἶναι τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ κοινὰ πολιτείαν ἄκρατον μήτε μοναρχίαν μὴτ' ὀλιγαρχίαν [p. 86] μήτε δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μικτὴν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τούτων κατάστασιν, τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσει.

[2] For if anything is going to be the means of preserving this commonwealth and insuring that she shall never be deprived of her liberty or her power, but shall ever continue to be united and harmonious in all respects, the most effective instrument will be the populace if taken as partners in the administration of affairs; and what will benefit us above everything will be, not to have a simple and unmixed form of government administering the state, whether monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy, but a constitution combined out of all of these.

[3] ῥᾶστα γὰρ εἰς ὕβρεις ἀποσκήπτει καὶ παρανομίας τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γινόμενον, ὅταν δ' ἀνακερασθῇ πάντα μετρίως, τὸ παρακινεῖν μέρος αἰεὶ καὶ ἐκβαῖνον ἐκ τοῦ συνήθους κόσμου ὑπὸ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος καὶ μένοντος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἥθεσι κατείργεται. μοναρχία μὲν ὡμὴ καὶ αὐθάδης γενηθεῖσα καὶ τυραννικὰ διώκειν ἀρξαμένη ζηλώματα ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγων καὶ ἀγαθῶν καταλύεται.

[3] For each of these forms by itself alone very easily ends in wantonness and lawlessness; but when all of them are duly combined, the element which is inclined at any time to make innovations and to overstep the customary bounds is held in check by the element which is self-restrained and remains true to its own character. Thus monarchy, when it becomes cruel and insolent and begins to pursue tyrannical measures, is overthrown by a few good men.

[4] ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεστηκυῖα, ἣ χρῆσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς νυνί, ὅταν πλούτῳ καὶ ἐταιρίαις ἐπαρθεῖσα δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μηθένα ποιῇται λόγον, ὑπὸ δήμου φρονίμου καταλύεται. δῆμος δὲ σωφρονῶν καὶ κατὰ νόμους πολιτευόμενος ὅταν ἀκοσμεῖν ἄρξῃται καὶ παρανομεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνδρὸς βίᾳ καταληφθεὶς δικαιοῦται.

[4] And an oligarchy composed of the best men, which is your present form of government, when it has become elated by reason of its wealth and its bands of partisans, and pays no regard to justice or to any other virtue, is overthrown by a prudent democracy. And when a democracy that is moderate and governs in accordance with laws begins to be disorderly and lawless, it is taken in hand by the strongest man and set right by force.

[5] Ὑμῖν δ', ὦ βουλή, μονάρχου μὲν ἐξουσίας, ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς γένηται, τὰ δυνατὰ εὕρηται βοηθήματα. δύο τε γὰρ ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἀποδειξαντες τῆς πόλεως κυρίου καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἀόριστον χρόνον ἐπιτρέψαντες ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐνιαύσιον οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀποδείκνυτε φύλακας αὐτῶν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς κρατίστους τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτους, ἐξ ὧν ἦδε ἡ βουλή συνέστηκεν: Ὑμῶν δ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μένητε [p. 87] ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι κόσμῳ, φυλακὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχρι τοῦδε φαίνεσθε πεποιημένοι.

[5] You, senators, have devised all the precautions possible to prevent the monarchical power from degenerating into tyranny, for you have invested two

men instead of one with the supreme power of the commonwealth, and though you have entrusted this magistracy to them, not for an indefinite time, but only for a year, you nevertheless appoint, to keep watch over them, three hundred patricians, at once the best and the oldest, of whom this senate is composed. But you do not seem as yet to have appointed any to watch over you yourselves, to insure your remaining within proper bounds.

[6] καὶ περὶ μὲν ὑμῶν οὕτω ἔδεια, μὴ διαφθαρῇτε τὰς διανοίας ὑπὸ τε μεγέθους καὶ πλήθους ἀγαθῶν, οἳ τυραννίδος τε πολυχρονίου ἡλευθερώκατε τὴν πόλιν ἔναγχος καὶ οὕτω σχολὴν ἔσχέκατε ὑβρίζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ μακροὺς πολέμους· περὶ δὲ τῶν μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἐσομένων ἐνθυμούμενος ὅσας ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν φέρει μεταβολὰς δέδοικα, μὴ τι παρακινήσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου λάθωσιν εἰς μοναρχίαν τὸ πολίτευμα περιστήσαντες τυραννικὴν.

[6] Now as for you, I have no fear so far that you will permit your minds to be corrupted by the magnitude and number of your blessings, since you have only recently delivered the commonwealth from a long tyranny and because of the long and continuous wars have not yet had leisure to grow insolent and wanton. But with regard to your successors, when I consider how great changes the long course of time brings with it, I am afraid that the men of power in the senate may introduce some change and, unnoticed, transform the government into a tyrannical monarchy.

[1] ἔὰν οὖν κοινωνήσητε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν πολιτευμάτων, οὐθὲν ὑμῖν ἐνθάδε φύσεται κακόν, ἀλλ' ὁ πλεον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀξίων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς προσεταιρισάμενος τὸν βουλούμενον συννοσεῖν καὶ συναδικεῖν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ εἰκότα χρὴ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένους προνοεῖν· κληθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος καὶ σεμνὸς ἀποδώσει τῷ δήμῳ τῷ φαύλῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ λόγον ὧν πράττει τε καὶ διανοεῖται, καὶ ἀδικῶν φαίνεται δίκης, ἧς ἂν ἄξιος ᾖ, τεύξεται.

[56.1] “If, then, you admit the populace also to a share in the government, no evil will arise for you here. But the man who aims at greater power than the rest of his fellow-citizens and has formed a faction in the senate of all who are willing to share his disaffection and his crimes (for when we are deliberating concerning the commonwealth we ought to foresee every likely contingency), this great and august person, I say, when called upon by the tribunes to appear before the popular assembly, before the lowly and humble people, will have to give an accounting of both his actions and his purpose, and if found guilty, suffer the punishment he deserves.

[2] αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μὴ τρυφᾷ τηλικαύτης ἔξουσίας γενόμενος κύριος, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων ἐκδημαγωγούμενος τοῖς κρατίστοις πολέμῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὄχλῳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι τυραννίς· φυλάξει τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔασει παρανομεῖν ὁ διαφέρων φρονήσει ἀνὴρ δικτάτωρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἵρεθείς, ὅς

αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἀνυπευθύνῳ χρώμενος [p. 88] ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ τε νοσοῦν ἐξελεῖ τῆς πόλεως μέρος, καὶ τὸ μήπω διεφθαρμένον οὐκ ἔασει κακωθῆναι, ἔθῃ τε καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ζηλώματα βίων τὰ κράτιστα μεθαρμοσάμενος ἀρχὰς τ' ἀποδείξας ἃς ἂν ἡγῆται σωφρονέστατα τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐντὸς ἑξ μηνῶν διοικησάμενος ἰδιώτης αὐθις ἔσται τὸ τιμᾶσθαι μόνον ἐκ τούτων λαβὼν, ἄλλο δ' οὐθέν.

[2] And lest the people themselves, when vested with so great a power, should grow wanton and, seduced by the demagoguery of the worst men, make war upon the best citizens (for it is in the masses as a rule that tyranny springs up), some person of exceptional sagacity, created dictator by you, will guard against this evil and will not allow them to do anything lawless; for, being invested with absolute and irresponsible power, he will cut off the diseased part of the commonwealth and will not permit that which is as yet uninfected to be contaminated; he will reform in the best manner possible the habits, usages and aims of the citizens, and appoint such magistrates as he thinks will govern the south with the greatest prudence; and having effected these things within the space of six months, he will again become a private citizen, receiving no other reward for these actions than the honour.

[3] ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας τοῦθ' ἡγησάμενοι κράτιστον εἶναι μηθενὸς ἀπελάνετε τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγησομένας τῆς πόλεως, καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν ἐπικυροῦν, τοὺς δ' ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης διαγιγνώσκειν, ἃ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατά ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει διαπραττομένων, μεταδεδώκατε αὐτῷ καὶ οὐθενὸς τούτων αὐτοκράτορα πεποιήκατε τὴν βουλήν: οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων μεταδίδοτε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχῃ τὴν πόλιν ἀδικεῖν στάσιν εἰσάγων ἢ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος ἢ περὶ προδοσίας τοῖς πολεμίοις διαλεγόμενος ἢ τοιοῦτό τι ἄλλο κακὸν ἐπιχειρῶν πράττειν.

[3] Do you, then, bearing these things in mind, and believing that this is the most perfect form of government, debar the populace from nothing, but, even as you have granted them the right of choosing the magistrates who are to preside each year over the commonwealth, as well as confirming or invalidating laws, of declaring war and making peace — which are the greatest and the most important matters that come up for action in the commonwealth — and have not invested the senate with authority over any one of these matters, in like manner give them also a share in the courts, and particularly in the trials of those who are accused of crimes against the state by raising a sedition or aiming at tyranny or discussing a betrayal of the state with the enemy or attempt us some other mischief of like nature.

[4] ὅσω γὰρ ἂν φοβερώτερον κατασκευάσητε τὸ παραβαίνειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθῃ κινεῖν τοῖς ὕβρισταῖς καὶ πλεονέκταις, πολλοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες, τοσοῦτῳ κρεῖττον ὑμῖν ἔξει τὰ κοινά.

[4] For the more formidable you make it for the overbearing and self-seeking to transgress the laws and to alter your customs, by appointing many eyes to watch and many men to keep guard over them, the better will be the condition of your commonwealth.”

[1] ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἀνιστάμενοι πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ λοιποὶ ταύτῃ προσέθεντο τῇ [p. 89] γνώμῃ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔδει γράφεσθαι, λόγον αἰτησάμενος ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν· οἷος μὲν, ὧ βουλῇ, πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἐγὼ γέγονα, καὶ ὥς διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὖνοϊαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἐλήλυθα, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντηται μοι τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν, ἅπαντες ἴστε καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴσεσθε, ὅταν τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ

[57.1] After he had said this and other things to the same purport, he ended. And the rest of the senators who rose up after him, except a few, concurred in his opinion. When the preliminary decree of the senate was to be drawn up, Marcius, asking leave to speak, said: “You all know, senators, how I have acted with regard to the commonwealth, and that it is because of my goodwill toward you that I have come into this danger, and furthermore that your behaviour toward me has been contrary to my expectation; and you will know this even better when the action against me has ended.

[2] σχῆ τέλος. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡ Οὐαλερίου γνώμη νικᾷ, συνενέγκειε μὲν ταῦτα ὑμῖν, καὶ γενοίμην ἐγὼ κακὸς εἰκαστῆς τῶν ἐσομένων. ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὸ προβούλευμα γράφοντες εἰδῆτε ἐφ’ οἷς παραδιδόναι με τῷ δήμῳ μέλλετε, κάγῳ μὴ ἀγνοῶ, περὶ τίνος ἀγωνιοῦμαι, κελεύσατε δὴ τοὺς δημάρχους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, τί τὸ ἀδικημὰ ἐστίν, ἐφ’ οὗ μέλλουσί μου κατηγορεῖν, καὶ ποταπὸν ὄνομα ἐπιγράψουσι τῇ δίκῃ.

[2] However, since the opinion of Valerius prevails, may these measures prove of advantage to you and may I prove a poor judge of future events. But in order not only that you who are to draw up the decree may know upon what terms you going to deliver me up to the people, but that I also may not fail to know on what charge I am to defend myself, pray order the tribunes to declare in your presence what the crime is of which they intend to accuse me and what title they propose to give to the cause.”

[1] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔλεγε δοκῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, οἷς εἶπεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν δίκην ὑφ’ ἐξείναι, καὶ βουλόμενος ὁμολογήσαι τοὺς δημάρχους, ὅτι ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας μέλλουσιν αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς τυραννίδι ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτὸν ἠτιάσαντο καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἐκέλευον ἥκειν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολογησόμενον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τὸ ἐγκλημα εἰς μίαν αἰτίαν κατακλεῖσαι καὶ ταύτην οὕτ’ ἰσχυρὰν οὕτε τῇ βουλῇ κεχαρισμένην, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοῖς τε πράττοντες ἐξουσίαν ὅσα βούλονται ἐγκαλεῖν, καὶ βοήθειαν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοῦ Μαρκίου τὴν ἐκ τῶν συνέδρων οἰόμενοι. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν· ἄλλ’ ἥτοι, εἰ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γε κριθήσομαι τῇ

διαβολῇ, δίδωμι ἔμαυτὸν ὑπόδικον τοῖς [p. 90] δημόταις, καὶ μηδὲν ἔστω τὸ κωλύον γράφεσθαι τὸ

[58.1] He said this in the belief that he was to be tried for the words he had spoken in the senate, and also from a desire that the tribunes should acknowledge that they intend to accuse him on this charge. But the tribunes, after consulting together, charged him with aiming at tyranny and ordered him to come prepared to make his defence against that charge. For they were unwilling to confine their accusation to a single point, and that neither a strong one in itself nor acceptable to the senate, but were scheming to obtain for themselves the authority to bring any charges they wished against Marcius, and were expecting to deprive him of the assistance of the senators. Thereupon Marcius said: “Very well, if this is the charge on which I am to be tried, I submit myself to the judgment of the plebeians; and let there be nothing to prevent the drawing up of the preliminary decree.”

[2] προβούλευμα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν συνεδρῶν ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ ἐγκλήματι τὴν δίκην κατ’ ἀμφοτέρα, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ λέγειν ἃ φρονεῖ τις ἐν τοῖς συνέδροις ὑπαίτιον, καὶ ὅτι ῥαδίως ἀπολύσεται τὴν διαβολὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ βίον ἐξηκῶς σώφρονα καὶ ἀνεπιληπτον.

[2] The greater part of the senators too were well pleased that he was to be tried upon this charge, for two reasons — first, that to speak one’s mind freely in the senate was not going to render one liable to an accounting, and second, that Marcius, who had led a modest and irreproachable life, would easily clear himself of that accusation.

[3] γράφεται τὸ προβούλευμα μετὰ ταῦθ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης, καὶ χρόνος εἰς παρασκευὴν τῆς ἀπολογίας ὀρίζεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ μέχρι τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς: αἱ δ’ ἀγοραὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων δι’ ἡμέρας ἑνάτης. ἐν δὲ ταύταις συνιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὰς τ’ ἀμείψεις ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ὠνίων καὶ τὰς δίκας παρ’ ἀλλήλων ἐλάμβανον, τὰ τε κοινά, ὅσων ἦσαν κύριοι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ὅσα ἡ βουλὴ ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, ψήφον ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐπεκύρουν: τὰς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀγορῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας αὐτουργοὶ τ’ ὄντες οἱ

[3] After this the preliminary decree for the trial was drawn up and Marcius was given time till the third market-day to prepare his defence. The Romans had markets then, as now, every eighth day, upon which days the plebeians resorted to the city from the country and exchanged their produce for the goods they bought, settled their grievances in court, and ratified by their votes such matters of public business as either et laws assigned or the senate referred to them for decision; and as the greater part of them were small farmers and poor, they passed in the country the seven days intervening between the markets.

[4] πολλοὶ καὶ πένητες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διέτριβον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔλαβον οἱ δῆμαρχοι, προελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλεσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον καὶ πολλὰ ἐγκώμια τῆς βουλῆς διελθόντες καὶ τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς ἀναγνόντες προεῖπον ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν δίκην ἔμελλον ἐπιτελεῖν, εἰς ἣν ἅπαντες ἤξιουν ἥκειν τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων διαγνωσομένων.

[4] As soon, therefore, as the tribunes received the preliminary decree they went of the Forum, and calling the people together, gave great praise to the senate, and then, after reading the decree, appointed a day for holding the trial, at which they asked all the citizens to be present, as matters of the greatest moment were to be decided by them.

[1] ὡς δὲ διεβοήθη ταῦτα, πολλὴ σπουδὴ καὶ παράταξις ἐγένετο τῶν τε δημοτικῶν καὶ τῶν πατρικίων: τῶν μὲν ὡς τιμωρησομένων τὸν αὐθαδέστατον, [p. 91] τῶν δ' ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ὑποχείριος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ πᾶσα κινδυνεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δικαίωσις ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι ἀμφοτέροις. ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὄχλος, ὅσος οὕτω πρότερον, συνελθυσθὲς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔωθεν εὐθύς κατεῖχε τὴν ἀγορὰν: οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὴν φυλétιν ἐκκλησίαν, χωρία τῆς ἀγορᾶς περισχοίνισαντες, ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον αἱ φυλαὶ στήσεσθαι καθ' αὐτάς.

[59.1] When news of this was spread abroad, there was great enthusiasm and marshalling of both the plebeian and the patricians, the former feeling that they were about to avenge themselves upon the most arrogant of all men, and the latter striving earnestly to save the champion of the aristocracy from falling into the hands of his enemies; and to both parties it seemed that their whole claim to life and liberty was at stake in this trial. When the third market-day arrived, such a crowd of people from the country as had never before been known had come together in the city and held possession of the Forum from the very break of day. The tribunes then summoned the populace to the tribal assembly, first having roped off portions of the Forum in which the tribes were to take their places separately.

[2] καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησία κατ' ἀνδρὸς ψηφοφόρος ἢ φυλετικὴ πολλὰ δὲ ἐναντιουμένων τῶν πατρικίων, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, καὶ τὴν λοχίτιν ἀξιούντων συνάγειν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς πάτριον ἦν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, ὅτε μέλλοι ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ ὁτουδήτινος ὦν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἢ βουλή, ἐκάλουν μὲν οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν, ἱερὰ πρότερον ἐπιτελέσαντες, ἃ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐστί, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι γίνεται.

[2] And this was the first time the Romans ever met in their trial assembly to give their votes against a man, the patricians very violently opposing it and demanding that the centuriate assembly should be convened, as was their

time-honoured custom. For in earlier times, whenever the people were to give their votes upon any point referred to them by the senate, the consuls had summoned the centuriate assembly, after first offering up the sacrifices required by law, some of which are still performed down to our time.

[3] συνήγει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἄρειον πεδῖον ὑπὸ τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ σημείοις τεταγμένον ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἐπέφερον δὲ τὴν ψῆφον οὐχ ἅπαντες ἀναλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἑκάστοι λόχους, ὅποτε κληθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. ὄντων δὲ τῶν συμπάντων τριῶν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν [p. 92] λόχων καὶ τούτων εἰς ἕξ διηρημένων συμμορίας πρώτη μὲν ἑκαλεῖτο συμμορία καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπέφερον ἡ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὴν πρώτην λαμβανόντων τάξιν ἐν πολέμοις: ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἵππέων μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχοι, πεζῶν δ' ὀγδοήκοντα.

[3] The populace was wont to assemble in the field of Mars before the city, drawn up under their centurions and their standards as in war. They did not give their votes all at the same time, but each by their respective centuries, when these were called upon by the consuls. And there being in all one hundred and ninety-three centuries, and these distributed into six classes, that class was first called and gave its vote which consisted of those citizens who had the highest property rating and who stood in the foremost rank in battle; in this were comprised eighteen centuries of horse and eighty of foot.

[4] δευτέρα δ' ἐψηφοφόρει συμμορία τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὴν ὑποβεβηκυῖαν τάξιν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις μαχομένων καὶ ὀπλισμὸν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχόντων τοῖς πρωτοστάταις, ἀλλ' ἐλάττονα: τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους συντεταγμένον ἦν, προσέκειντο δ' αὐτοῖς δύο ἱλαί τεκτόνων καὶ χαλκοτύπων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἦσαν χειροτέχνη. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ συμμορίᾳ καλούμενοι λόχους μὲν ἐξεπλήρουν εἴκοσι, τίμημα δ' εἶχον ἑλαττον τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τάξιν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐλάττονα, καὶ ὅπλα οὐκ ἴσα τοῖς πρὸ

[4] The class that voted in the second place was composed of those of smaller fortunes who occupied an inferior position in battle and had not the same armour as the front-line fighters, but less; this multitude formed twenty centuries, and to them were added two centuries of carpenters, armourers and other artificers employed in making engines of war. Those who were called to vote in the third class made up twenty centuries; they had a lower rating than those of the second class and were posted behind them, and the arms they carried were not equal to those of the men in front of them.

[5] αὐτῶν ἔφερον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους καλούμενοι τίμημά τ' οὐσίας ἑλαττον εἶχον καὶ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλάμβανον καὶ ὀπλισμὸν εὐσταθέστερον εἶχον: διήρηντο δ' εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ οὕτοι λόχους: συνετάττοντο δὲ καὶ τούτοις δύο λόχοι βυκανιστῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν. πέμπτῃ δ' ἐκαλεῖτο

συμμορία τῶν ὀλίγου πάνυ τετιμημένων ἀργυρίου, ὅπλα δ' ἦν αὐτῶν σαννία καὶ σφενδόναι: οὗτοι τάξιν οὐκ εἶχον ἐν φάλαγγι, ἀλλὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ κοῦφοι συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς ὀπλίταις εἰς τριάκοντα λόχους διηρημένοι.

[5] Those next called had a still lower property rating and had a safer post in battle and their armour was lighter; these also were divided into twenty centuries, and arrayed with them were two centuries of horn-blowers and trumpeters. The class which was called in the fifth place consisted of those whose property was rated very low, and their arms were javelins and slings; these had no fixed place in the battle-line, but being light-armed men and mobile, they attended the heavy-armed men and were distributed into thirty centuries.

[6] οἱ δ' ἀπορώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐκ [p. 93] ἐλάττους τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὄντες ἔσχατοι τὴν ψῆφον ἀνελάμβανον, ἓνα μόνον ἔχοντες λόχον: οὗτοι στρατειῶν τ' ἦσαν ἐλευθεροὶ τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ εἰσφορῶν τῶν κατὰ τιμήματα γινομένων ἀτελεῖς καὶ δι'

[6] The poorest of the citizens, who were not less numerous than all the rest, voted last and made but one century; they were exempt from the military levies and from the war-taxes paid by the rest of the citizens in proportion to their ratings, and for both these reasons were given the least honour in voting.

[7] ἄμφω ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις ἀτιμώτατοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων λόχων, οὓς οἱ θ' ἵππεῖς ἐξεπλήρουν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λαμβάνοντες, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐφρονήσαιεν ἐπὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοι, τέλος εἶχεν ἡ ψηφοφορία, καὶ οὐκέτι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἕξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοις ἀνεδίδοτο ἡ ψῆφος: εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἡ δευτέρα συμμορία τῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι λόχων ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ ἡ τρίτη: καὶ τοῦτο συνέβαινεν, ἕως οὗ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐφρονήσωσιν ἐπὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοι.

[7] If, therefore, in the case of the first centuries, which consisted of the horse and of such of the foot as stood in the foremost rank in battle, ninety-seven centuries were of the same opinion, the voting was at an end and the remaining ninety-six centuries were not called upon to give their votes. But if this was not the case, the second class, composed of twenty-two centuries, was called, and then the third and so on till ninety-seven centuries were of the same opinion. Generally the points in dispute were determined by the classes first summoned, so that it was then needless to take those of the later classes.

[8] καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων κλήσεων τέλος ἐλάμβανεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεῖν τῶν ἐσχάτων. σπανίως δὲ που πρᾶγμα οὕτως ἐνδοιαζόμενον ἐνέπιπτεν, ὥστε μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου τῆς τῶν ἀπορωτάτων προελθεῖν: καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τέρας τοῦτο σχισθέντων διχα τῶν προτέρων δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν λόχων τὴν τελευταίαν ψῆφον ἐπενεχθεῖσαν ἐκείναις αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερα ροπῆς.

[8] It seldom happened that a matter was so doubtful that the voting went on till the last class was reached, consisting of the poorest citizens; and it was in the nature of a miracle when, in consequence of the first hundred and ninety-two centuries being equally divided, the addition of this last vote to the rest turned the scale one way or the other.

[9] οἱ μὲν οὖν συναγωνιζόμενοι Μαρκίῳ ταύτην ἡξιοῦν καλεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων ἐκκλησίαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τάχα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης κλήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχων ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι τὸν [p. 94] ἄνδρα, εἰ δὲ μὴ γ' ὑπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης. οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι ταῦθ' ὑφωρώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν φυλετικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὦντο δεῖν συνάγειν καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐκείνην ποιῆσαι κυρίαν, ἵνα μὴθ' οἱ πένητες τῶν πλουσίων μειονεκτῶσι μὴθ' οἱ ψιλοὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀτιμοτέραν χώραν ἔχωσι, μὴτ' ἀπερριμμένον εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας κλήσεις τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἀποκλείηται τῶν ἴσων, ἰσόψηφοι δὲ καὶ ὁμότιμοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις γενόμενοι μιᾷ κλήσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐπενέγκωσι κατὰ φυλάς.

[9] The supporters of Marcius, accordingly, demanded that this assembly based on the census should be called, expecting that he might perhaps be acquitted by the first class with its ninety-eight centuries, or, if not, at least by the second or third class. On the other hand, the tribunes, who also suspected this outcome, thought they ought to call the tribal assembly and to empower it to decide this cause, to the end that neither the poor might be at a disadvantage as compared with the rich nor the light-armed men have a less honourable station than the heavy-armed, nor the mass of plebeians, by being relegated to the last calls, be excluded from equal rights with the others, but that all the citizens might be equal to one another in their votes and equal in honour, and at one might give their votes by tribes.

[10] καὶ ἐδόκουν δικαιότερα οὗτοι τῶν ἐτέρων ἀξιοῦν δημοτικὸν οἰόμενοι δεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀλιγαρχικὸν εἶναι τὸ τοῦ δήμου δικαστήριον, καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων τὸ κοινὸν διάγνωσιν ἀπάντων εἶναι κοινήν.

[10] The claim of the tribunes seemed to be more just than that of the patricians in that they thought the tribunal of the people ought to be a popular, not an oligarchic, tribunal, and that the cognizance of crimes committed against the commonwealth ought to be common to all.

[11] συγχωρηθέντος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτου μόγις ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν δίκην ἐχρῆν λέγεσθαι, πρῶτος ἀνέβη Μηνύκιος, ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἔλεξεν οὕς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ λόγους ἢ βουλή: πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάσας τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμήσκων, ὅσας ἦν εἰληφώς ὁ δῆμος παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων, ἔπειτ' ἀξίων ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων μίαν ἀποδοθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δεομένοις σφίσιν ἀναγκαίαν χάριν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ

[60.1] The tribunes having with difficulty gained this point also from the

patricians, when it was time for the trial to be held, Minucius, one of the consuls, rose first and spoke as the senate had directed him. First he reminded the populace of all the benefits they had received from the patricians; and next he asked that in return for so many good offices they should grant at their request one necessary favour in the interest of the public welfare.

[2] τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῷ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπαινῶν μὲν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ ὄσης εὐδαιμονίας ἐκάτερον τούτων αἰτιὸν ἔστι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιλεγόμενος, κατηγορῶν [p. 95] δὲ διχοστασίας καὶ πολέμων ἐμφυλίων, ἐξ ὧν πόλεις αὐτάνδρους ἀπέφαιναν ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ ἔθνη ὅλα διολωλέναι: παρακαλῶν δὲ μὴ τὰ χεῖρω αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψαντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ σώφρονος τὰ μέλλοντα ὀρᾶν, μηδὲ τοῖς κακίοις τῶν πολιτῶν χρῆσθαι συμβούλοις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις σφίσι εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἦδεσαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους πολλὰ ὠφελημένην τὴν πατρίδα, οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαιοῶσιν ὡς μεταβιβημένοις τὴν φύσιν ἀπιστεῖν.

[2] In addition to this, he praised harmony and peace, told of the great good fortune which each of them brings to states, and inveighed against discord and civil wars, by which, he told them, many cities had been destroyed with all their inhabitants and whole nations had perished utterly. He exhorted them not to indulge their resentment so far as to prefer worse counsels to better, but with sober reason to contemplate future events, nor, again, to take the worst of their fellow-citizens for their advisers when deliberating concerning matters of the greatest importance, but rather those they esteemed the best, men from whom they knew their country had received many benefits in both peace and war and whom you would not have any reason to distrust, as if they had changed their natures.

[3] Ἐν δὲ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἀπάντων τῶν λόγων, μηδεμίαν αὐτοὺς ἐπενεγκεῖν κατὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου ψῆφον, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν δι' αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι τῆς δικῆς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναμνησκομένους, οἷος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσους κατῴρθωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας πολέμους, καὶ ὡς οὔτε ὅσια οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε προσήκοντα σφίσι ποιήσουσι, λόγων μὲν αὐτῷ μνησικακοῦντες φαύλων, ἔργων δ'

[3] But the sum and substance of his whole discourse was to persuade them to pass no vote against Marcius, but preferably to acquit him for his own sake, remembering what sort of man he had proved himself toward the commonwealth and how many battles he had won in fighting for both its liberty and its supremacy, and that they would be acting in neither a pious nor a just manner nor in a way worthy of themselves, if they held a grudge against him for his objectionable words, while feeling no gratitude for his splendid deeds.

[4] ἀχαριστοῦντες καλῶν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀφέσεως καλόν, ὅτε γ'

αὐτὸς ἦκει παρέχων τὸ σῶμα τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ στέρξων, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνοι περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνῶσιν. εἰ δ' οὐχ οἷοι τέ εἰσι διαλύσασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχουσιν, ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ δεησομένη περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄρεισιν, ἄνδρες οἱ κράτιστοι τῆς πόλεως τριακόσιοι, παθεῖν τι καὶ ἐπικλασθῆναι τὰς γνώμας, καὶ μὴ δι' ἐνὸς ἐχθροῦ τιμωρίαν τοσούτων δέησιν ἀπώσασθαι φίλων, ἀλλὰ [p. 96] πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν χάριτι δίκην ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ὑπεριδεῖν. ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις εἰπὼν τελευταῖον ἐκείνον ἐπέθηκε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι ψήφου μὲν ἐπαχθείσης, ἐὰν ἀπολύσωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόξουσιν ἀφεικέναι:

[4] The present occasion, too, he told them, was a splendid one for acquitting him, when he had come in person to surrender himself to his adversaries and was ready to acquiesce in whatever they should decide concerning him. If, however, they were unable to become reconciled to him, but were harsh and inexorable, he asked them to bear in mind that the senate, consisting of three hundred men who were the best in the city, was present to intercede for him, and begged them to feel some compassion and to soften their hearts, and not for the sake of punishing one enemy to reject the intercession of so many friends, but rather as a favour to many good men to disregard the prosecution of one man.

[5] ἐὰν δὲ κωλύσωσιν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν δίκην τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φανήσονται κεχαρισμένοι.

[5] Having said this and other things to the same purport, he ended his speech with this suggestion, that if they acquitted the man by taking a vote, they would seem to have freed him because he had done the people any wrong, whereas, if they prevented the trial from being completed, they would appear to have done so as a favour to those who interceded in his behalf.

[1] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Μηνυκίου παρελθὼν ὁ δήμαρχος Σικίνιος οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἔφη προδῶσιν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημοτῶν οὐτε τοῖς προδιδοῦσιν ἐπιτρέψειν ἐκὼν, ἀλλ' εἰ τῷ ὄντι παρέχουσιν οἱ πατρίκιοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ δίκην τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ἀναδῶσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἄλλο δὲ ποιήσειν παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐδέν.

[61.1] When Minucius had done speaking, Sicinius the tribune came forward and said that he would neither betray the liberty of the plebeians himself nor willingly permit others to betray it, but if the patricians really consented that the man should be tried by the plebeians, he would take their votes and do nothing more.

[2] μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Μηνύκιος εἶπεν: ἐπειδὴ πάντως, ὦ δήμαρχοι, ψῆφον ἐπενεχθῆναι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προθυμείσθε, μηθὲν ἔξω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος κατηγορεῖτε: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τυραννίδι αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν

εἰσηγγεῖλατε, τοῦτο διδάσκετε καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰς πίστεις φέρετε. λόγων δ', ὦν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσθε κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν εἰπεῖν, μήτε μέμνησθε μήτε κατηγορεῖτε. ἀφεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἦκειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐδικαίωσε.

[2] After this Minucius came forward and said: "Since you are eager, tribunes, that a vote shall be taken by all means concerning this man, let not your accusations go beyond the formal charge, but, as you have alleged that he aims at tyranny, show this and bring your evidence to prove it. But neither mention nor charge him with the words you accuse him of having spoken in the senate against the people. For the senate has voted to acquit him of this accusation and has thought proper that he should appear before the people upon specific charges." And he thereupon read out the preliminary decree.

[3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀνέγνω τὸ προβούλευμα. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τε καὶ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος κατέβη. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων πρῶτος μὲν διέθετο τὴν κατηγορίαν Σικίνιος [p. 97] ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς, πάνθ' ὅσα πράττων ἢ λέγων ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου διετέλεσεν εἰς κατασκευὴν τυραννίδος ἀναφέρων: ἔπειτα μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν δημάρχων εἰπέιν.

[3] Having said this and adjured them to adhere to it, he descended from the tribunal. Sicinius was the first of the tribunes to set forth the charge, which he did in a very studied and elaborate speech, attributing everything the man had continued to say or do against the people to a design to set up tyranny. Then, after him, the most influential of the tribunes spoke.

[1] ὥς δὲ παρέλαβεν ὁ Μάρκιος τὸν λόγον, ἀρξάμενος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας διῆλθεν, ὅσας ἐστρατευμένος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως στρατείας, καὶ ὅσους εἰληφὼς ἐπνικίους παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν στεφάνους πολέμιων τε τοὺς ληφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι: καὶ παρ' ἑκαστον τῶν λεγομένων τὰ τ' ἀριστεῖα ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μάρτυρας παρεῖχετο καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει.

[62.1] When Marcius was given an opportunity to speak, he began from his earliest youth and enumerated all the campaigns he had made in the service of the commonwealth, the crowns he had received from the generals as rewards of victory, the foes he had taken captive and the citizens he had saved in battle; and in each instance that he mentioned he displayed his rewards, cited the generals as witnesses, and called by name upon the citizens whom he had saved.

[2] οἱ δὲ παρήεσαν ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, μὴ τὸν αἴτιον σφίσι τῆς σωτηρίας ὡς πολέμιον ἀπολέσαι, μίαν τ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ψυχὴν αἰτούμενοι καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου χρῆσθαι, ὃ τι βούλονται.

ἦσαν δ' οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ γένους καὶ πολλὰ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμοι: ὧν τὰς τ' ὄψεις καὶ τὰς δεήσεις δι' αἰσχύνης ὁ δῆμος λαμβάνων εἰς οἴκτους καὶ δάκρυα ἐτράπετο.

[2] These came forward with lamentations and entreated their fellow-citizens not to destroy as an enemy the man to whom they owed their preservation, begging one life in return for many and offering themselves in his stead to be treated by them as they thought fit. The greater part of them were plebeians and men extremely useful to the commonwealth; and their countenances and their entreaties roused such a sense of shame in the people that they were moved to pity and tears.

[3] ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὁ Μάρκιος περιρρηξάμενος ἐπεδείξατο τὰ στέρνα τραυμάτων μεστὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπλεων τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐπύθετο, εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα εἶναι νομίζουσι σώζειν μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων τοὺς πολίτας, ἀπολλύναι δὲ τοὺς σωθέντας ἐν εἰρήνῃ: καὶ εἰ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενός τις τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλαύνει μέρος ἐκ πόλεως, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστα [p. 98] αὖξεται τε καὶ τρέφεται τυραννίς: ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅσον μὲν ἦν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρους ἐπεικὲς καὶ φιλόχρηστον ἀπολύειν ἐβόα τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' αἰσχύνης ἐλάβμβανεν, εἰ καὶ δίκην ὑπεῖχε τὴν ἀρχὴν περὶ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἀνὴρ τοσαυτάκις ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἀπάντων φυλακῆς.

[3] Then Marcius, rending his garments, showed his breast full of wounds and every other part of his body covered with scars, and asked them if they thought that to save one's fellow-citizens in war and to destroy in time of peace those thus saved were actions of the same kind of person, and if anyone who is endeavouring to set up a tyranny ever expels from the state the common people, by whom tyranny is chiefly abetted and nourished. While he was yet speaking, those of the plebeians who were fair-minded and lovers of the right cried out to acquit him, and were ashamed that a man who had so often scorned his own life to preserve them all was even being brought to trial in the first place upon such a charge.

[4] ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν φύσει βάσκανοι καὶ μισόχρηστοι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐκίνητοι στάσιν, ἤχθοντο μὲν ἀπολύειν τὸν ἄνδρα μέλλοντες, οὐκ εἶχον δ', ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλο ποιῶσι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὕρισκειν ἀφορμὴν τυραννίδος ἐπιθέσεως φαινομένην, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰς ψήφους ἀνελήφεσαν.

[4] Those, however, who were by nature malevolent, enemies of the right, and easy to be led into any kind of sedition were sorry they were going to have to acquit him, but felt that they could not do otherwise, since they could find no evidence of his having aimed at tyranny, which was the point upon which they had been called to give their votes.

[1] τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Δέκιος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ποιησάμενος

λόγους καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα περὶ τῆς δίκης γραφῆναι παρασκευάσας, ἀνέστη καὶ σιωπῇν γενέσθαι κελεύσας ἔλεξεν: ἔπειδή, ὦ δημόται, τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λεχθέντων ὑπὸ Μαρκίου λόγων, καὶ τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀκολουθησάντων ἔργων βιαιῶν τε καὶ ὑπερφηάνων ἀπολύνουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι κατηγορεῖν, ἀκούσατε, οἷον ὑμῖν ἔργον ἕτερον ἔξω τῶν λόγων ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ τυγχάνει διαπεπραγμένος, ὡς αὐθαδὲς καὶ τυραννικόν, καὶ οἷον ὑμῶν κατέλυσε νόμον αὐτὸς ἰδιώτης ὧν μάθετε.

[63.1] when this had been observed by Decius, the one who had spoken in the senate and prevailed on them to pass the decree for the trial, he rose up, and having commanded silence, said: "Since, plebeians, the patricians acquit Marcius of the words he spoke in the senate and of the violent and overbearing deeds that followed because of them, and do not permit us, either, to accuse him, hear what other deed, quite apart from words, this honourable man has been guilty of toward you, how insolent and tyrannical a deed, and learn what law of yours he, though a private citizen, has broken.

[2] ἴστε δὴπου πάντες, ὅτι τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων λάφυρα, ὅσων ἂν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχηι τυχεῖν δι' ἀρετὴν, δημόσια εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ τούτων οὐχ ὅπως τις ἰδιώτης γίνεται κύριος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς [p. 99] δυνάμεως ἡγεμῶν: ὁ δὲ ταμίας αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἀπεμπολᾷ καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρει τὰ χρήματα: καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ἐξ οὗ τῇδε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ὅπως κατέλυσέ τις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡτιάσατο μὴ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν: ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ Μάρκιος πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπεριδὼν αὐτοῦ κειμένου καὶ κυρίου ὄντος ἤξιωσε σφετερίσασθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἡμῶν, ὦ δημόται, λάφυρα, πέρυσι καὶ οὐ πάλαι.

[2] You all know, of course, that the law ordains that all the spoils we are able to take from the enemy by our valour shall belong to the public and that not only no private citizen has the disposition of them, but not even the general of our forces himself; but the quaestor, taking them over, sells them and turns the proceeds over to the public treasury. And this law, during all the time our city has been inhabited, not only has been violated by no one, but has not even been criticized as being a bad law. But Marcius here is there is and only man who, in contempt of this law while it stood and was valid, has thought fit, plebeians, to appropriate to himself the spoils which belong to us in common; and this was only last year, not long ago.

[3] ποιησαμένων γὰρ ὑμῶν καταδρομὴν τῆς Ἀντιατῶν γῆς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ βοσκήματα, πολλὴν δὲ σῖτον, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα χρήματα περιβαλομένων οὔτε τῷ ταμίᾳ ταῦτ' ἀπέδειξεν οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀποδόμενος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ διένειμε καὶ κατεχαρίσατο τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις ἅπασαν τὴν λείαν: τοῦτο δὴ τυραννίδος τεκμήριον εἶναι φημὶ τὸ ἔργον: πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὅς τοις ἑαυτοῦ κόλακάς τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας καὶ τῆς μελλούσης τυραννίδος συνεργοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων εὐηργέτει χρημάτων:

[3] For when you made an incursion into the territory of the Antiates and captured many prisoners, many cattle, and a great quantity of corn, together with many other effects, he neither reported these to the quaestor nor sold them himself and turned the proceeds over to the public treasury, but distributed and gave as a present to his own friends the entire booty. This action, now, I aver to be a proof of his aiming at tyranny. What else could it be, when he used the public funds to gratify his flatterers, his bodyguards, and the accomplices in the tyranny he meditated? And this I maintain to be an open violation of the law.

[4] καὶ νόμου κατάλυσιν εἶναι φανεράν ταύτην λέγω. δεῖν δὴ θάτερον ἀποφηνάτω παρελθὼν Μάρκιος, ἢ ὥς οὐ διένειμε τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις, ἃ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, ἢ ὥς ταῦτα ποιῶν οὐ καταλύει τοὺς νόμους· ὣν οὐδέτερον ἔξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα ἴστε, καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ οὐκ ἔνεσθ' ὑμῖν ἀποψηφισαμένοις αὐτοῦ τὰ δίκαια καὶ [p. 100] τὰ εὖορκα δοκεῖν ἐγνωκέναι. ἐάσας δὴ τοὺς στεφάνους καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα καὶ τὰ τραύματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τερατεῖαν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγε, ὦ Μάρκιε· παραδίδωμι γὰρ ἤδη σοὶ τὸν λόγον.

[4] Let Marcius, then, come forward and show one of two things — either that he did not distribute among his friends the spoils he took from the enemy's country, or that in doing so he is not violating the laws. But neither of these things will he be able to say to you. For you yourselves are acquainted with both matters — with the law and with what he did. And if you acquit him, your decision cannot possibly be regarded as in accordance with justice and your oaths. Say naught, then, about your crowns, your rewards of valour, your wounds, and all the rest of that claptrap, and answer to these points, Marcius: for now I yield the floor to you.”

[1] τοῦτο τὸ κατηγορήμα πολλὴν ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταβολήν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιεικέστεροί τε καὶ σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τοῦ ἀνδρός μαλακώτεροι τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἐγένοντο, τὸ δὲ κακότηες ἅπαν, ὃ τοῦ δήμου πλεῖστον μέρος ἦν, ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσαι τὸν ἄνδρα δήπου προθυμούμενον, ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς ταῦτ' ἐπερρώσθη μεγάλης ἀφορμῆς καὶ φανεραῖς

[64.1] This accusation caused a great shift in sentiment to the other side. For those who were more reasonable and were zealously working for the acquittal of Marcius, upon hearing these things, grew less confident, and all the malevolent, who constituted the larger part of the Potomac and were of course eager to destroy him at all costs, were still more encouraged in their purpose now that they had got hold of an important and clear ground for their attack.

[2] λαβόμενον. ἦν γὰρ ἀληθὴς ἡ τῶν λαφύρων διάδοσις, οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεώς γε πονηρᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ τυραννίδος, ὥς ὁ Δέκιος ἡτιᾶτο, γενομένη, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα

τῶν κατεχόντων τὰ κοινὰ κακῶν. στασιάζοντος γὰρ ἔτι καὶ διεστηκότος ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων τοῦ πλήθους τότε καταφρονήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι καταδρομὰς τῆς χώρας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ λεηλασίας συνεχεῖς· καὶ ὁπότε δόξειε τῇ βουλῇ τὴν κωλύσουσαν ταῦτα δύνανιν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐξήει τῶν δημοτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπέχαιρόν τε καὶ περιέωρων τὰ γινόμενα· ἡ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων χεὶρ οὐκ ἦν καθ'

[2] For the distribution of the spoils was a fact, though it had been made without any evil intent and not for the setting up of a tyranny, as Decius charged, but from only the best of motives and for the correction of the evils that beset the commonwealth. For as the sedition still continued at that time and the populace was then divided from the patricians, their enemies, despising them, made raids into their country and plundered it without intermission; and whenever the senate decided to send out an army to stop these raids, none of the plebeians would serve in it, but rejoiced at what was happening and permitted it to continue; and the force of the patricians alone was inadequate.

[3] ἑαυτὴν ἀξιόμαχος. τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέσχετο τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, στρατιὰν ἄξιν ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τοῦς πολεμίους καὶ δίκην λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν συνεκάλει τοὺς τε πελάτας καὶ τοὺς φίλους [p. 101] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἷς ἦν βουλομένοις ἀπολαῦσαι τι τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τύχης κατὰ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἀρετῆς. ὥς δ' αὐτῷ χεὶρ ἀξιόμαχος ἐδόκει συνεληλυθέναι, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐθέν πω προειδόμενος.

[3] Marcius, observing this, promised the consuls that he would march against the enemy with an army of volunteers if they would give him the command of it, and would soon take revenge on them; and having received authority to do so, he called together his clients and friends and such of the citizens as wished to share in the advantages expected from the general's good fortune in war and his valour. When he thought an adequate force had assembled, he led them against the enemy, who had no previous knowledge of his purpose.

[4] ἐμβαλὼν δ' εἰς χώραν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστὴν γενόμενος ἀφθόνου λείας κύριος ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπαντα τὰ ληφθέντα διανείμασθαι, ἵν' οἱ μὲν συναράμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τὸν τῶν πόνων καρπὸν κομισάμενοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας στρατείας ἀπαντῶσιν· οἱ δ' ἀποκνήσαντες ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅσων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἐξὸν μεταλαβεῖν, διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἀπεκωλύθησαν εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους γένωνται φρονιμώτεροι.

[4] And making an incursion into their country, which was well stocked with many good things, and capturing a vast amount of booty, he permitted his soldiers to divide up all the spoils among themselves, to the end that both those who had assisted him in this expedition, by receiving the fruit of their labours, might cheerfully engage in the service upon other occasions, and the

others who had declined it, considering all the benefits they had lost through their sedition, when they might have shared in them, might act with greater prudence in the case of future expeditions.

[5] διάνοια μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦδε ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ ἔργον: χόλῳ δ' ὑποῦλῳ καὶ φθόνῳ δυσμενῶν αὐτῇ καθ' αὐτὴν ἢ πρᾶξις ἐξεταζομένη δημαγωγία τις ἐφαίνετο εἶναι καὶ δεκασμὸς τυραννικὸς. ὥστε βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πᾶσα ἦν ἀνάπλευς ἢ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐθ' ὁ Μάρκιος πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶχεν, ὃ τι ἀπολογήσαιο, οὐθ' ὁ ὕπατος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, οἷα δὴ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτου φανείσης ἐπὶ σφίσι τῆς αἰτίας.

[5] Such was the intention of Marcius in this affair; but to the festering anger and envy of enemies the action, when considered by itself, appeared a kind of flattery of the people and a bribery tending toward tyranny. As a result the whole Forum was full of clamour and tumult and neither Marcius himself nor the consul nor anyone else had any answer to make to the charge, so incredible and unexpected did it appear to them.

[6] ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἀπελογεῖτο, ἀνέδωκαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν ψῆφον ταῖς φυλαῖς τίμημα ἐπιγράψαντες τῇ δίκῃ φυγὴν αἰδίων, κατὰ δέος, οἴμαι, τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα θανάτου αὐτῷ τιμησάντων. ὥς δ' ἐπεψήφισαν ἅπαντες, [p. 102] διαριθμουμένων τῶν ψήφων οὐ μέγα τὸ διάλλαγμα ἐφάνη. μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι τότε φυλῶν οὐσῶν, οἷς ἡ ψῆφος ἀνεδόθη, τὰς ἀπολουσὰς φυλὰς ἔσχεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐννέα: ὥστ' εἰ δύο προσῆλθον αὐτῷ φυλαί, διὰ τὴν ἰσοψηφίαν ἀπελέλυτ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἤξίου.

[6] When nothing further was said in his defence, the tribunes called upon the tribes to cast their votes, and fixed perpetual banishment as the penalty in the case. This, I suspect, was due to their fear that he could not be convicted if death were set as the penalty. After they had all voted and the votes were counted, the difference was found to be slight. For out of the twenty-one tribes that were then in existence and gave their votes Marcius had nine in favour of his acquittal; so that if two more tribes had joined his side, he would have been acquitted as the result of the equal division of the votes, as the law prescribed.

[1] αὕτη πρώτη κατ' ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου πρόσκλησις εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ δίκῃ. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ὕστερον λαμβάνουσι τὴν τοῦ δήμου προστασίαν ἔθος κατέστη καλεῖν οὓς δόξειε τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην ὑφέζοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου: καὶ ἐνθὲνδε ἀρξάμενος ὁ δῆμος ἦρθη μέγας, ἡ δ' ἀριστοκρατία πολλὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώματος ἀπέβαλε βουλῆς τε μετέχειν ἐπιτρέπουσα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ ἀρχὰς μετιέναι συγχωροῦσα ἱερῶν τε προστασίας λαμβάνειν οὐ κωλύουσα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τιμιώτατα ἦν καὶ ἴδια τῶν πατρικίων μόνων ἅπασι κοινωσαμένη, τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἄκουσα, τὰ δ' ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ σοφίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρὸν ἐρῶ.

[65] This was the first summoning of a patrician before the tribunal of the plebeians; and from this time it became customary for those who afterwards assumed the patronship of the people to summon to stand trial before the people any of the citizens they thought fit. From this beginning the people rose to great power, while the aristocracy lost much of its ancient dignity by admitting the plebeians into the senate and allowing them to stand as candidates for magistracies, by not opposing their presiding over sacrifices, and by sharing with all the citizens the other privileges that were most highly prized and had been the special prerogatives of the patricians, some of which concessions they made because of necessity and against their will, and others through foresight and wisdom; but of these matters I shall speak at the proper time.

[2] τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ ἔθος, λέγω δὲ τὸ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστεύοντας ἐπὶ δίκην, ἧς ὁ δῆμος ἐγίνετο κύριος, πολλὰς ἂν παράσχοι λόγων ἀφορμὰς τοῖς ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸ βουλομένοις ἢ φέγειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄξια τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔπαθον, αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀφαιρεθέντες: πολλοὶ δ' αὐθάδεις καὶ τυραννικοὶ τοὺς τρόπους λόγον [p. 103] ἀναγκασθέντες ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων δίκας τὰς προσηκούσας ἔδοσαν.

[2] However, this custom of summoning the men of power at Rome to a trial where the populace were always in control, would afford rich material for comment to those who are disposed either to commend or to blame it. For many good and worthy men have already been treated in a manner unworthy of their merits and have been put to a shameful and miserable death at the instigation of the tribunes, while many men of arrogant and tyrannical dispositions, being compelled to give an accounting of their lives and conduct, have suffered the punishment they deserved.

[3] ὁπότε μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γένοιτο αἱ διαγνώσεις, καὶ καθαιρεθεῖ τὰ τῶν μεγάλων αὐχήματα σὺν δίκῃ, μέγα τι καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι χρῆμα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπηνεῖτο, ὁπότε δ' ἀρετὴ φθονηθεῖσα ἀνδρὸς τὰ κοινὰ εὖ διοικοῦντος ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθεῖ, δεινὸν τι τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἔθους ἄρξαντες κατηγοροῦντο. πολλάκις τε βουλευσάμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πότερα χρὴ καταλῦσαι αὐτὸ ἢ φυλάττειν, οἷον παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρέλαβον, οὐθὲν ἐπέθηκαν τῇ βουλῇ πέρας.

[3] Whenever these verdicts were rendered with the best motives and the pride of the mighty was justly humbled, this institution appeared a great and admirable thing, and met with general praise, but when a virtuous and able statesman incurred hatred and was unjustly done away with, the rest of the world was shocked at the institution and the authors of it were condemned. The Romans have often deliberated whether they should repeal this institution or preserve it as they received it from their ancestors, but have never come to any final decision.

[4] εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφῆνασθαι περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων γνώμην, ἔμοι δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἔθος αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐξεταζόμενον χρησίμῳ εἶναι καὶ πόλει τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγκαιότατον, κρεῖττον δὲ καὶ χεῖρον γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τῶν δημάρχων τρόπους. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τύχῃσι τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἄνδρες δίκαιοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀναγκαιότερα τῶν ἰδίων τιθέμενοι, ὁ μὲν ἀδίκων τὰ κοινὰ τιμωρίαν δούς, ἣν προσῆκε, πολὺ δέος τοῖς ὅμοιαι παρεσκευασμένοις δρᾶν ἐνείργασατο, ὁ δ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ παριὼν οὔτε δίκην ἀσχήμονα ὑπέσχεεν οὔτ' εἰς αἰτίας ἀλλοτρίους τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κατέστη.

[4] If I am to express an opinion myself concerning matters of so great moment, I believe that the institution, considered by itself, is advantageous, and absolutely necessary to the Roman commonwealth, but that it becomes better or worse according to the character of the tribunes. For when this power falls into the hands of just and prudent men, who prefer the interest of the public to their own, the punishing as he deserves of one who has injured his country strikes terror into the minds of all who are prepared to mankind similar offences, while the good man who enters public life with the best intentions neither incurs the disgrace of being brother to trial nor is accused of wrongdoing inconsistent with his habits.

[5] ὅταν δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστοι καὶ φιλοκερδεῖς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας τύχῃσι, τάναντία τούτων γίνεται. ὥστ' οὐ τὸ ἔθος ἐπανορθοῦσθαι προσῆκεν ὡς ἡμαρτημένον, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ δήμου [p. 104] γενήσονται προστάται καὶ μὴ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τὰ μέγιστα εἰκῇ ἐπιτραπήσεται.

[5] But when wicked, intemperate and avaricious men gain so great power, the contrary of all this happens. Hence, instead of reforming the institution as faulty, they ought to consider by what means good and worthy men may become protectors of the people, and positions of the greatest importance may not be conferred at random on the first who chance to turn up.

[1] ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπεσοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων στάσις ἔσχε τοιαύτας αἰτίας καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατέσκηψε τὸ τέλος: ἐμήκυνα δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον τοῦ μὴ τινα θαυμάσαι, πῶς ὑπέμειναν οἱ πατρίκιοι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας ποιῆσαι τὸν δῆμον κύριον, οὔτε σφαγῆς τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν γενομένης οὔτε φυγῆς, οἷον ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐγένετο πόλεσι. ποθεῖ γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοῖς παραδόξοις ἀκούσματος τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τίθεται μόνῃ.

[66.1] Such were the causes and such was the outcome of the first sedition that arose among the Romans after the expulsion of the kings. I have related these at length, to the end that no one may wonder how the patricians ever consented to entrust the populace with so great power, when there had been no slaying or banishing of the best citizens, as has happened in many other

states. For everyone, upon hearing of extraordinary events, desires to know the cause that produced them and considers that alone as the test of their credibility.

[2] ἐλογιζόμεν οὖν, ὅτι μοι πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς δεήσει πιστὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔφην μόνον, ὅτι παρῆκαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς τὴν ἑαυτῶν δυναστείαν, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πολιτεῦεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐποίησαν τῶν μεγίστων κύριον, δι' ἧς δὲ συνεχωρήθη ταῦτ' αἰτίας παρέλιπον: διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπεξῆλθον ἀπάσας.

[2] I reflected, accordingly, that my account of this affair would gain little or no credit if I contented myself with saying that the patricians resigned their power to the plebeians and that, though they might have continued to live under an aristocracy, they put the populace in control of the most important matters, and if I left out the motives for their making these concessions; and for this reason I have related them all.

[3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὅπλοις ἀλλήλους βιασάμενοι καὶ προσαναγκάσαντες, ἀλλὰ λόγοις πείσαντες μεθῆρμους, παντὸς μάλιστ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἶναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν διεξελεῖν, οἷς τὸτ' οἱ δυναστεύσαντες ἐν ἑκατέροις ἐχρήσαντο. θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἴ τινες τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις ἀκριβῶς οἶονται δεῖν ἀναγράφειν, καὶ περὶ μίαν ἔστιν ὅτε μάχην πολλοὺς ἀναλίσκουσι λόγους, τόπων τε φύσεις καὶ ὅπλισμῶν ιδιότητος καὶ τάξεων τρόπους καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακλήσεις καὶ τᾶλλα διεξιόντες ὅσα τῆς νίκης αἷτια [p. 105] τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐγένετο: πολιτικὰς δὲ κινήσεις καὶ στάσεις ἀναγράφοντες οὐκ οἶονται δεῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν τοὺς λόγους, δι' ὧν αἱ παράδοξοι καὶ θαυμασταὶ πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν.

[3] And since they did not make this change in their government by using compulsion upon one another and the force of arms, but by the persuasion of words, I thought it necessary above all things to report the speeches which the heads of both parties made upon that occasion. I might express my surprise that some historians, though they think themselves obliged to give an exact account of military actions and sometimes expend a great many words over a single battle, describing the terrains, the peculiarities of armament, the ways the lines were drawn up, the exhortations of the generals, and every other circumstance that contributed to the victory of one side or the other, yet when they come to give an account of civil commotions and seditions, do not consider it necessary to report the speeches by which the extraordinary and remarkable events were brought to pass.

[4] εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μέγα ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι καὶ ζηλοῦσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄξιον ἀκεῖνο ἐγένετο κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν τὸ ἔργον, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστά ὄντα λαμπρότατον, τὸ μήτε τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καταφρονήσαντας τῶν πατρικίων ἐπιχειρήσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολὺν ἐργασαμένους τῶν κρατίστων φόνον ἅπαντα τὰκείνων παραλαβεῖν, μήτε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἢ διὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ξενικαῖς ἐπικουρίαις χρησαμένους διαφθεῖραι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν ἀδεῶς τὴν πόλιν:

[4] For if there is anything about the Roman commonwealth that is worthy of great praise and deserving of imitation by all mankind, or, rather, anything that surpasses in its lustre all the many things which deserve our admiration, it is in my opinion this fact — that neither the plebeians in contempt of the patricians took up arms against them, and after murdering many of the best men, seized all their fortunes, nor, on the other hand, the men in positions of dignity either by themselves alone or with the aid of foreign troops destroyed all the plebeians and after that lived in the city free from fear,

[5] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς ἢ παῖδας γονεῦσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ σῶφρονι περὶ τῶν ἴσων καὶ δικαίων διαλεγόμενους πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ διαλύεσθαι τὰ νείκη, ἀνήκεστον δ' ἢ ἀνόσιον ἔργον μηθὲν ὑπομεῖναι δρᾶσαι κατ' ἀλλήλων: οἷα Κερκυραῖοι τε κατὰ τὴν στάσιν εἰργάσαντο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σικελία πᾶσα καὶ συχναὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα προειλόμην ἀκριβεστέραν μᾶλλον ἢ βραχυτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν διήγησιν: κρινέτω δ' ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται.

[5] but conferring together about what was fair and just, like brothers with brothers or children with their parents in a well-governed family, they settled their controversies by persuasion and reason and never allowed themselves to commit any irreparable or wicked deeds against one another, such as the Corcyraeans committed at the time of their sedition, and also the Argives, the Milesians, and all Sicily, as well as many other states. For these reasons, therefore, I have chosen to make my narration accurate rather than brief; but

let everyone judge of the matter as he thinks fit.

[1] τότε δ' οὖν τῆς δίκης τοῦτο λαβοῦσης τὸ τέλος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀπελύετο προσειληφὼς ἀνόητον αὔχημα καὶ καθηρηκέναι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν οἰόμενος, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι κατηφεῖς τε καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ δι' αἰτίας [p. 106] ἔχοντες τὸν Οὐαλέριον, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δίκην: ἦν τ' οἰμωγὴ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν οἰκτειρόντων τε καὶ προπεμπόντων τὸν Μάρκιον.

[67] On the occasion in question, then, when the trial had resulted as I have related, the populace when dismissed had acquired a spirit of frantic jubilation and thought they had destroyed the aristocracy, whereas the patricians were cast down and dejected, and blamed Valerius, by whose persuasion they had been induced to entrust the trial to the populace; and there were lamentations and tears on the part of those who pitied Marcius and escorted him to his home.

[2] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος οὗτ' ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὥφθη τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας οὗτ' ἀποιμῶξας οὗτ' ἄλλο εἰπὼν ἢ δράσας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν: ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐδήλωσε τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ οἴκαδε ἀφικόμενος γυναικὰ τ' εἶδε καὶ μητέρα καταρρηγνυμένας τοὺς πέπλους καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτούσας καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς λέγειν τὰς ἀποζεγνυμένας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σφίσι θανάτοις ἢ φυγαῖς ἀναβώσας.

[2] But Marcius himself was not seen either to bewail or to lament his own fate or to say or do the least thing unworthy of his greatness of soul; and he showed still greater nobility and resolution when he reached home and saw his wife and mother rending their robes, beating their breasts, and uttering the lamentations natural in such calamities to women who are being separated from their dearest relations by death or banishment.

[3] οὐθὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς θρήνους τῶν γυναικῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀσπασάμενος δ' αὐτὰς μόνον, καὶ παρακαλέσας γενναίως φέρειν τὰς συμφοράς, τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐταῖς παρακαταθέμενος: ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παιδῶν ἦν δέκα γεγονώς ἔτη, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ἔτι ὑπαγκάλιος: ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν οὔτε φιλοφρονησάμενος οὔτε διοικησάμενος οἷς εἰς τὴν φυγὴν χρῆσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐξῆλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας οὐθενὶ δηλώσας, ὅποι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ποιήσοιτο.

[3] For he was not moved at all by the tears and lamentations of the women, but merely saluted them and exhorted them to bear their misfortunes with firmness; then, recommending his sons to them (the elder son was ten years old and the younger still a child in arms) and without showing any other mark of tenderness or making provision for what would be needed in his banishment, he departed in haste to the gates of the city, informing no one to

what place he proposed to retire.

[1] ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις καθῆκε μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, ὕπατοι δ' ἀπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Κόιντος Σουλπίκιος Καμερίνος καὶ Σέργιος [p. 107] Λάρκιος Φλαῦιος τὸ δεύτερον. ταραχαὶ δέ τινες ἐνέπιπτον ἐκ δειμάτων δαιμονίων τῇ πόλει συχναί: ὄψεις τε γὰρ οὐκ εἰωθυῖαι ἐφαινοντο πολλοῖς, καὶ φωναὶ ἠκούοντο οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ φθεγγομένου, γοναὶ τ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ βοσκημάτων πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκβεβηκυῖαι εἰς τὸ ἀπιστόν τε καὶ τερατῶδες ἐφέροντο, χρησμοὶ τ' ἥδοντο ἐν πολλοῖς χωρίοις, καὶ θειασμοῖς κάτοχοι γυναῖκες οἰκτρὰς ἐμαντεύοντο καὶ δεινὰς τῇ

[68.1] A few days after this the time came for the election of magistrates, and Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus and Spurius Larcius Flavius were chosen consuls by the people, the latter for the second time. Sundry disturbances fell upon the commonwealth as the result of prodigies, and these were many; for unusual sights appeared to many, and voices too were heard, though no one uttered them; births of children and cattle, so very abnormal as to approach the incredible and the monstrous, were reported; oracles were uttered in many places; and women possessed with a divine frenzy foretold lamentable and dreadful misfortunes to the commonwealth.

[2] πόλει τύχας. ἦψατο δέ τις καὶ νόσος τοῦ πλήθους λοιμικὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἐποίησε βοσκημάτων φθοράν: ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θάνατος οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄχρι νόσων τὸ δεινὸν ἐχώρησεν: τοῖς μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει κατὰ θεοῦ γενέσθαι γνώμην νεμεσῶντος, ὅτι τὸν ἄριστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξήλασαν τῆς πατρίδος, τοῖς δ' οὐθὲν τῶν γινομένων θεοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τυχηρὰ καὶ

[2] A kind of pestilence also visited the population and destroyed great numbers of cattle; however, not many persons died of it, the mischief going no farther than sickness. Some thought that these things had occurred by the will of Heaven, which was angry with them for having banished from the country the most deserving of all their citizens, while others held that nothing that took place was the work of Heaven, but that both these and all other human events were due to chance.

[3] ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀνθρώπεια εἶναι πάθη. ἔπειθ' ἦκέ τις ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἄρρωστος ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κομιζόμενος, Τίτος Λατίνιος ὄνομα, πρεσβύτερός τ' ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐσίας ἱκανῆς κύριος, αὐτουργὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦ βίου ζῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ. οὗτος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἐνεχθεὶς ἔφη δόξα καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα τὸν Καπιτώλιον Δία λέγειν αὐτῷ: ἴθι, Λατίνιε, καὶ λέγε τοῖς πολίταις, ὅτι μοι τῆς νεωστὶ πομπῆς τὸν ἡγούμενον ὀρησθήην οὐ καλὸν ἔδωκαν, ἵν' ἀναθῶνται τὰς ἐορτὰς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας ἐπιτελέσωσιν: οὐ γὰρ [p. 108]

[3] Afterwards, a certain man named Titus Latinius, being ill, was brought to the senate-chamber in a litter; he was a man advanced in years and possessed

of a competent fortune, a farmer who did his own work and passed the greater part of his life in the country. This man, having been carried into the senate, said that Jupiter Capitolinus had, as he thought, appeared to him in a dream and said to him: “Go, Latinus, and tell your fellow-citizens that in the recent procession they did not give me an acceptable leader of the dance, in order that they may renew the rites and perform them over again; for I have not accepted these.”

[4] δέδεγμαι ταύτας. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἔφησεν ἀνστὰς παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγήσασθαι τὸ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ἐν τι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀπατηλῶν ὑπολαβεῖν. ἔπειτ' αὐτῷ πάλιν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐπιφανέν ταὐτὸ εἶδωλον τοῦ θεοῦ χαλεπαίνειν τε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ κελευσθέντα, καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο δράσει διὰ ταχέων, ὅτι σὺν μεγάλῳ μαθήσεται κακῷ μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖν τῶν δαιμονίων. ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον ὄναρ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔφη ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, καὶ ἅμα δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα λαβεῖν, ἀνὴρ αὐτουργὸς καὶ γέρων ὀνείρατα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐκφέρειν ὅττειας καὶ δειμάτων μεστά, μὴ καὶ γέλωτα ὄφλη.

[4] He added that after awaking he had disregarded the vision, looking upon it as one of the deceitful dreams that are so common. Later, he said, the same vision of the god, appearing to him again in his sleep, was angry and displeased with him for not having reported to the senate the orders he had received, and threatened him that, if he did not do so promptly, he should learn by the experience of some great calamity not to neglect supernatural injunctions. After seeing this second dream also he had formed the same opinion of it, and at the same time had felt ashamed, being a farmer who did his own work and old, to report to the senate dreams full of foreboding and terrors, for fear of being laughed at.

[5] ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ νέον ὄντα καὶ καλὸν οὔτε ὑπὸ νόσων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλης τινὸς αἰτίας φανεραῖς ἀναρπασθέντα αἰφνιδίως ἀποθανεῖν: καὶ αὖθις τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄψιν φανείσαν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις δηλοῦν, ὅτι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς καταφρονήσεως τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τὴν μὲν ἦδη δέδωκε δίκην τὸν υἱὸν ἀφαιρεθείς,

[5] But a few days later, he said, his son, who was young and handsome, had been suddenly snatched away by death without any sickness or any other obvious cause. And once more the vision of the god had appeared to him in his sleep and declared that he had already been punished in part for his contempt and neglect of the god's words by the loss of his son, and should soon suffer the rest of his punishment.

[6] τὰς δ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον δώσει. ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ἔφη καθ' ἡδονὴν δέξασθαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ μέλλοι θάνατος αὐτῷ ἐλεύσεσθαι παρημεληκότι τοῦ βίου: τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐ ταύτην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀφορήτους καὶ δεινὰς ἐμβαλεῖν ἀλγηδόνας, ὥστε

μηδὲν ἄρθρον ἄνευ κατατάσεως τῆς ἐσχάτης δύνασθαι κινεῖν. τότε δὴ τοῖς φίλοις [p. 109] κοινωνάμενος τὰ συμβεβηκότα καὶ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. διεξιὼν δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐδόκει τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντα διεξῆλθεν ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ κλινιδίου καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναβοήσας ἀπῆει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως οἴκαδε ὑγιής.

[6] When he heard this, he said, he had received the threats with pleasure, in the hope that death would come to him, weary of life as he was; but the god did not inflict this punishment upon him, but sent such intolerable and cruel pains into all his limbs that he could not move a joint without the greatest effort. Then at last he had informed his friends of what had happened, and by their advice had now come to the senate. While he was giving this account his pains seemed to leave him by degrees; and after he had related everything, he rose from the litter, and having invoked the god, went home on foot through the city in perfect health.

[1] ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δέους ἀνάπλεως ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀχανὲς ἦν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔχων συμβαλεῖν, ὅ τι τὸ δηλούμενον ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίς ποτε ὁ τῆς πομπῆς ὀρχηστῆς προηγούμενος οὐ καλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφάνη. ἔπειτα λέγει τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναμνησθεὶς τὸ γενόμενον, καὶ πάντες ἐμαρτύρησαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε: ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος οὐκ ἀφανὲς θεράπωντα ἴδιον ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ θανάτου παραδούς τοῖς ὁμοδόλοις ἄγειν, ἵνα δὴ περιφανὲς ἡ τιμωρία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γένηται, δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μαστιγούμενον ἔλκειν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἦν τῆς πόλεως τόπος ἐπιφανὲς ἡγούμενον τῆς πομπῆς, ἦν ἔστελλε τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἡ πόλις.

[69.1] Upon this the senators were filled with fear and everyone was speechless with astonishment, being at a loss to guess what the god's message meant, and who was the leader of the dance in the procession who appeared unacceptable to him. At least one of them, recalling the incident, related it to the rest and all of them confirmed it by their testimony. It was this. A Roman citizen of no obscure station, having ordered one of his slaves to be put to death, delivered him to his fellow-slaves to be led away, and in order that his punishment might be witnessed by all, directed them to drag him through the Forum and every other conspicuous part of the city as they whipped him, and that he should go ahead of the procession which the Romans were at that time conducting in honour of the god.

[2] οἱ δ' ἄγοντες τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τὰς χεῖρας ἀποτεῖναντες ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ξύλῳ προσδήσαντες παρὰ τὰ στέρνα τε καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καὶ μέχρι τῶν καρπῶν διήκοντι παρηκολούθουν ξαίνοντες μάστιγι γυμνὸν ὄντα. ὁ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ κρατούμενος ἐβόα τε φωνᾶς δυσφήμους, ἃς ἡ ἀλγηδὼν ἐβούλετο, καὶ κινήσεις διὰ τὴν αἰκίαν ἀσχήμονας ἐκινεῖτο. τοῦτον δὲ πάντες ἐνόμισαν [p. 110] εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μηνυόμενον ὀρχηστὴν οὐ καλόν.

[2] The men ordered to lead the slave to his punishment, having stretched out both his arms and fastened them to a piece of wood which extended across his breast and shoulders as far as his wrists, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips. The culprit, overcome by such cruelty, not only uttered ill-omened cries, forced from him by the pain, but also made indecent movements under the blows. This man, accordingly, they all thought to be the unacceptable dancer signified by the god.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο γέγονα τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ μέρος, οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελούμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρελθεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα μοι χαριεστέρα γένηται προσθήκας λαβοῦσα θεατρικὰς καὶ λόγους ἀνθηροτέρους ἢ διήγησις, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν τι πιστώσῃται πραγμάτων, ὅτι τὰ συνοικίσαντα ἔθνη τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν Ἑλληνικὰ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀποικισθέντα τόπων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι βάρβαρα καὶ ἀνέστια:

[70.1] Since I have come to this part of my history, I believe I ought not to omit mention of the rites performed by the Romans on the occasion of this festival. I do this, not in order to render my narration more agreeable by dramatic embellishments and flowery descriptions, but to win credence for an essential matter of history, namely, that the peoples which joined in founding the city of Rome were Greek colonies sent out from the most famous places, and not, as some believe, barbarians and vagabonds.

[2] ὑπεσχόμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς, ἦν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν συνταξάμενος ἐξέδωκα, μυρίοις βεβαιώσειν τεκμηρίοις τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἔθνη καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα παλαιὰ παρεχόμενος αὐτῶν, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ κατ' ἐμὲ φυλάττουσι χρόνου, οἷα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐδέξαντο: οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀποχρῆν τοῖς ἀναγράφουσι τὰς ἀρχαίας καὶ τοπικὰς ἱστορίας, ὥς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων αὐτὰς παρέλαβον, ἀξιοπίστως διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαρτυριῶν οἰόμενος αὐταῖς δεῖν πολλῶν καὶ δυσαντιλέκτων, εἰ μέλλουσι πισταί

[2] For I promised at the end of the first Book, which I composed and published concerning their origin, that I would demonstrate this thesis by countless proofs, by citing time-honoured customs, laws and institutions which they preserve down to my time just as they received them from their ancestors. For I believe that it is not enough that those who write the early histories of particular lands should relate them in a trustworthy manner as they have received them from the inhabitants of the country, but that these accounts require also for their support numerous and indisputable testimonies, if they are to appear credible.

[3] φανήσεσθαι. ἐν αἷς πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα πάντων εἶναι πείθομαι τὰ γινόμενα καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων πατρίους σεβασμούς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχει Ἑλλάς τε καὶ βάρβαρος χώρα, καὶ οὐθὲν ἀξιοῖ καινοτομεῖν εἰς αὐτὰ ὑπὸ

[3] Among such testimonies I am convinced that the first and the most valid of all are the ceremonies connected with the established worship of the gods and other divinities which are performed in the various states. These both the Greeks and barbarian world have preserved for the greatest length of time and have never thought fit to make any innovation or intrenchment, being restrained from doing so by their fear of the divine anger.

[4] δειμάτων κρατούμενη μηνιμάτων δαιμονίων. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας, [p. 111] ἃς οὐ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν, καὶ χρόνος οὐθεὶς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἀπομαθεῖν ἢ παρανομήσαι τι περὶ τοὺς ὀργισμοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἔπεισεν οὗτ' Αἰγυπτίους οὐτε Λίβυας οὐτε Κελτοὺς οὐτε Σκύθας οὗτ' Ἰνδοὺς οὗτ' ἄλλο βάρβαρον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς· εἰ μὴ τινες ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐξουσίᾳ ποτὲ γενόμενοι τὰ τῶν κρατησάντων ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐπιτηδεύματα μεταλαβεῖν. τῇ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τοιαύτης οὐδέποτε πειραθῆναι συνέβη τύχης, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ τὰ δίκαια τάττει διὰ παντός ἐτέροισι.

[4] This has been the experience of the barbarians in particular, for many reasons which this is not the proper occasion for mentioning; and no lapse of time has thus far induced either the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Gauls, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other barbarian nation whatever to forget or transgress anything relating to the rites of their gods, unless some of them have been subdued by a foreign power and compelled to exchange their own institutions for those of their conquerors. Now it has not been the fate of the Roman commonwealth ever to experience such a misfortune, but she herself always gives laws to others.

[5] εἰ δὲ βάρβαρον αὐτῶν τὸ γένος ἦν, τοσούτου ἂν ἐδέξασαν αὐτοὶ τὰ πατρῶα ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐθισμοὺς ἀπομαθεῖν, δι' οὓς εἰς τοσαύτην προῆλθον εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὧν ἦρχον, ἐν καλῷ κατέστησαν τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς σφετέροις τιμᾶν νομίμοις· καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσεν ἅπαν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐβδόμην ἤδη κρατούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενεάν, εἴπερ ἦσαν βάρβαροι.

[5] If, therefore, the Romans had been originally barbarians, they would have been so far from forgetting their ancestral rites and the established customs of their country, by which they had attained to so great prosperity, that they would even have made it to the interest of all their subjects as well to honour the gods according to the customary Roman ceremonies; and nothing could have hindered the whole Greek world, which is now subject to the Romans for already the seventh generation, from being barbarized if the Romans had indeed been barbarians.

[1] ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἀποχρῆν ἂν ὑπέλαβε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ νῦν πραττόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει μηνύματα οὐ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑπολαβεῖν· ἐγὼ δ', ἵνα μὴ τις ἀσθενῇ τὴν πίστιν εἶναι ταύτην ὑπολάβῃ εἴτε κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν

ἀπιθανον ὑπόληψιν, ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κρατήσαντες ἀσμένως ἂν τὰ κρεῖττω μετέμαθον ἔθῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὑπεριδόντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου [p. 112] ποιήσομαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν τέκμαρσιν, ὅτ' οὐπω τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶχον ἡγεμονίαν οὐδὲ ἄλλην διαπόντιον οὐδεμίαν ἀρχήν, Κοίντῳ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῇ χρώμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾷς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἑτέρας: παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων, καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος.

[71.1] Anyone else might have assumed that the ceremonies now practised in the city were enough even by themselves to afford no slight indication of the ancient observances. But for my part, lest anyone should hold this to be weak evidence, according to that improbable assumption that after the Romans had conquered the whole Greek world they would gladly have scorned their own customs and adopted the better ones in their stead, I shall adduce my evidence from the time when they did not as yet possess the supremacy over Greece or dominion over any other country beyond the sea; and I shall cite Quintus Fabius as my authority, without requiring any further confirmation. For he is the most ancient of all the Roman historians and offers proof of what he asserts, not only from the information of others, but also from his own knowledge.

[2] ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐψηφίσατο μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγειν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, κατὰ τὰς γενομένας εὐχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος Αὐλοῦ Ποστομίου, ὅτ' ἐμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀποστάσας Λατίνων πόλεις κατὰγειν ἐπιχειρούσας Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: ἀναλοῦσθαι δ' ἔταξε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἶς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀργυρίου πεντακοσίας μνᾶς: καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου ταῦτ' ἐδαπάνων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν.

[2] This festival, therefore, the Roman senate ordered to be celebrated, as I said before, pursuant to the vow made by the dictator Aulus Postumius when he was upon the point of giving battle to the Latins, who had revolted from the Romans and were endeavouring to restore Tarquinius to power; and they ordered five hundred minae of silver to be expended every year upon the sacrifices and the games, a sum the Romans laid out on the festival till the time of the Punic War.

[3] ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐγίνετο νόμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς κατὰ τε πανηγυρισμοὺς καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχὰς καὶ ἐκεχειρίας, ἃ πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶναι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ περὶ πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας: ἀπόχρη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα ἐξετάζειν: τοιάδε.

[3] During these holidays not only were many other observances carried out according to the customs of the Greeks, in connection with the general assemblies, the reception of strangers, and the cessation of hostilities, which it would be a big task to describe, but also those relating to the procession, the sacrifice, and the games — these are sufficient to give an idea of those I do not

mention — which were as follows:

[1] πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἀγώνων, πομπὴν ἔστελλον τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ τὴν μεγίστην ἔχοντες ἔξουσίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τε καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵπποδρομον. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς πομπῆς πρῶτον [p. 113] μὲν οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσηβοι τε καὶ τοῦ πομπεῦειν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν, ἵππεῖς μὲν, ὧν οἱ πατέρες τιμήματα ἵππεων εἶχον, πεζοὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατεύεσθαι: οἱ μὲν κατ' ἵλας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ συμμορίας τε καὶ τάξεις ὡς εἰς διδασκαλεῖον πορευόμενοι: ἵνα φανερὰ γίνοιτο τοῖς ξένοις ἡ μέλλουσα ἀνδροῦσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀκμὴ πληθὺς τε καὶ

[72.1] Before beginning the games the principal magistrates conducted a procession in honour of the gods from the Capitol through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. Those who led the procession were, first, the Romans' sons who were nearing manhood and were of an age to bear a part in this ceremony, who rode on horseback if their fathers were entitled by their fortunes to be knights, while the others, who were destined to serve in the infantry, went on foot, the former in squadrons and troops, and the latter in divisions and companies, as if they were going to school; this was done in order that strangers might see the number and beauty of the youths of the commonwealth who were approaching manhood.

[2] κάλλος οἷα τις ᾗν. τούτοις ἡκολούθουν ἡνίοχοι τὰ τέθριππά τε καὶ τὰς συνωρίδας καὶ τοὺς ἄζεύκτους ἵππους ἐλαύνοντες: μεθ' οὓς οἱ τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἀγωνιστὰι τῶν τε κούφων καὶ τῶν βαρέων τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνοί, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν αἰδῶ καλυπτόμενοι. τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἔθος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέμενεν, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο παρ' Ἑλλήσιν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλέλυσται Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸ καταλυσάντων.

[2] These were followed by charioteers, some of whom drove four horses abreast, some two, and others rode unyoked horses. After them came the contestants in both the light and the heavy games, their whole bodies naked except their loins. This custom continued even to my time at Rome, as it was originally practised by the Greeks; but it is now abolished in Greece, the Lacedaemonians having put an end to it.

[3] ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας ἀποδυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνὸς Ὀλυμπίασι δραμὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος Ἄκανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ᾗν. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων δι' αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἅπαντες Ἕλληνες ὅλα γυμνὰ φαίνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγωνίαις τὰ σώματα, ὡς Ὅμηρος τεκμηριοῖ, μαρτύρων ἀξιοπιστότατος τε καὶ ἀρχαιότατος ὢν ζωννυμένους τοὺς ἥρωας ποιῶν. τὴν γοῦν Αἴαντος καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ Πατρόκλου ταφῇ γενομένην ἀφηγοῦμένους φησι:

τὼ δὲ ζωσαμένω βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα:

[p. 114]

[3] The first man who undertook to strip and ran naked at Olympia, at the fifteenth Olympiad, was Acanthus the Lacedaemonian. Before that time, it seems, all the Greeks had been ashamed to appear entirely naked in the games, as Homer, the most credible and the most ancient of all witnesses, shows when he represents the heroes as girding up their loins. At any rate, when he is describing the wrestling-match of Aias and Odysseus at the funeral of Patroclus, he says:

And then the twain with loins well girt stepped forth

Into the lists.

[4] καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερόν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴρου καὶ Ὀδυσσεύος πυγμῆς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν:

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς

ζώσατο μὲν ῥάκεσιν περὶ μήδεα, φαῖνε δὲ μηρούς

καλούς τε μεγάλους τε. φάνεν δὲ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι

στήθεά τε στιβαροὶ τε βραχίονες.

τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐκέτι βουλόμενον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποδελιῶντα εἰσάγων τάδε εἶρηκεν:

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφαν· Ἴρω δὲ κακῶς ὠρίνετο θυμός:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μνηστῆρες ἄγον ζώσαντες ἀνάγκη.

τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὃν οἱ φυλάττοντες μέχρι τοῦδε Ῥωμαῖοι διῆλοι εἰσιν οὐ προσμαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν ὕστερον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μεταθέμενοι σὺν χρόνῳ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς.

[4] And he makes this still plainer in the *Odyssey* upon the occasion of the boxing-match between Irus and Odysseus, in these verses:

He spake, and all approved; Odysseus then

His rags girt round his loins, and showed his thighs

So fair and stout; broad shoulders too and chest

And brawny arms there stood revealed.

And when he introduces the beggar as no longer willing to engage but declining the combat through fear, he says:

They spake, and Irus' heart was sorely stirred;

Yet even so the suitors girt his loins

By force and led him forward.

Thus it is plain that the Romans, who preserve this ancient Greek custom to this day, did not learn it from us afterwards nor even change it in the course of time, as we have done.

[5] ἡκολούθουν δὲ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ὀρχηστῶν χοροὶ πολλοὶ τριχῇ νενεμημένοι, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν, δεύτεροι δ' ἀγενείων, τελευταῖοι δὲ παιδων, οἷς παρηκολούθουν αὐλῆται τ' ἀρχαῖκοις ἐμφυσῶντες αὐλίσκοις βραχέσιν, ὡς καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνον γίνεται, καὶ κιθαρισταὶ λύρας ἐπαχόρδους ἐλεφαντίνας καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βάρβιτα κρέκοντες. ὦν παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλήσιν ἐκτέλειπεν ἡ χρῆσις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πάτριος οὔσα: παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἀπάσαις φυλάττεται ταῖς ἀρχαίαις θυηπολίαις.

[5] The contestants were followed by numerous bands of dancers arranged in three divisions, the first consisting of men, the second of youths, and the third of boys. These were accompanied by flute-players, who used ancient flutes that were small and short, as is done even to this day, and by lyre-players, who plucked ivory lyres of seven strings and the instruments called barbita. The use of these has ceased in my time among the Greeks, though traditional with them, but is preserved by the Romans in all their ancient sacrificial ceremonies.

[6] σκευαὶ δὲ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν ἦσαν χιτῶνες φοινίκεοι ζωστήρσι χαλκείois ἐσφιγμένοι, καὶ ξίφη παρηρτημένα, [p. 115] καὶ λόγχοι βραχύτεροι τῶν μετρίων: τοῖς δ' ἀνδράσι καὶ κράνη χάλκεα λόφοις ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένα καὶ πτεροῖς. ἤγεῖτο δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον χορὸν εἷς ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐνεδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ τῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα, πρῶτος εἰδοφορῶν τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ συντόνους κινήσεις ἐν τοῖς προκελευσματικοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ρυθμοῖς.

[6] The dancers were dressed in scarlet tunics girded with bronze cinctures, wore swords suspended at their sides, and carried spears of shorter than average length; the men also had bronze helmets adorned with conspicuous crests and plumes. Each group was led by one man who gave the figures of the dance to the rest, taking the lead in representing their warlike and rapid movements, usually in the proceusmatic rhythms.

[7] Ἑλληνικὸν δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιὸν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐνόπλιος ὀρχησις ἢ καλουμένη πυρρίχη, εἴτ' Ἀθηναῖς πρώτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῷ χορεύειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τὰπινίκια ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξαμένης, εἴτε παλαιότερον ἔτι Κουρήτων αὐτὴν καταστησάμενων, ὅτε τὸν Δία τιθηνούμενοι θέλγειν ἐβούλοντο κτύπῳ τε ὅπλων καὶ κινήσει μελῶν ἐνρhythμῳ καθάπερ ὁ μῦθος ἔχει.

[7] This also was in fact a very ancient Greek institution — I mean the armed dance called the Pyrrhic — whether it was Athena who first began to lead bands of dancers and to dance in arms over the destruction of the Titans in

order to celebrate the victory by this manifestation of her joy, or whether it was the Curetes who introduced it still earlier when, acting as nurses to Zeus, they strove to amuse him by the clashing of arms and the rhythmic movements of their limbs, as the legend has it.

[8] δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτου τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ὡς ἐπιχωρίου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν Ὅμηρος πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ἀσπίδος κατασκευῇ, ἣν Ἀχιλλεῖ δωρήσασθαι φησιν Ἥφαιστον. ὑποθέμενος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο πόλεις τὴν μὲν εἰρήνῃ κοσμουμένην, τὴν δὲ πολέμῳ κακοπαθοῦσαν, ἐν ἣ τὴν ἀμείνω καθίστησι τύχην ἑορτὰς ποιῶν καὶ γάμους καὶ θαλίας ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ ταῦτα λέγει:

κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον: ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν

αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες

ἰστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἐκάστη.

[p. 116]

[8] The antiquity of this dance also, as one native to the Greeks, is made clear by Homer, not only in many other places, but particularly in describing the fashioning of the shield which he says Hephaestus presented to Achilles. For, having represented on it two cities, one blessed with peace, the other suffering from war, in the one on which he bestows the happier fate, describing festivals, marriages, and merriment, as one would naturally expect, he says among other things:

Youths whirled around in joyous dance, with sound

Of flute and harp; and, standing at their doors,

Admiring women on the pageant gazed.

[9] καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον ἐν αὐτῇ λέγων διακεκοσμησθαι Κρητικὸν ἡιθέων τε καὶ παρθένων χορὸν ὧδε εἴρηκεν:

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις,

τῷ ἴκελον οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρεῖη

Δαίδαλος ἥσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

ἐνθα μὲν ἡιθεοὶ καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι

ὠρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.

κόσμον τ' αὐτοῦ ἀφηγοῦμενος, ἵνα δῆλον ἡμῖν ποιήσκειν, ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἄρρένων κινήσις ἐνόπλιος ἦν, τὰδε λέγει:

καὶ ῥ' αἱ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ μαχαίρας

εἶχον χρυσείας ἐξ ἄργυρέων τελαμώνων.

ἡγεμόνας τε τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ προκαταρχομένους εἰσάγων τοιάδε γράφει:

πολλὸς δ' ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περιῖσταθ' ὅμιλος

τερπόμενοι: δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοῦς

μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσους.

[9] And again, in describing another Cretan band of dancers, classing of youths and maidens, with which the shield was adorned, he speaks in this manner:

And on it, too, the famous craftsman wrought,

With cunning workmanship, a dancing-floor,

Like that which Daedalus in Cnossus wide

For fair-haired Ariadnê shaped. And there

Bright youths and many-suited maidens danced

While laying each on other's wrists their hands.

And in describing the dress of these dancers, in order to show us that the males danced in arms, he says:

The maidens garlands wore, the striplings swords

Of gold, which proudly hung from silver belts.

And when he introduces the leaders of the dance who gave the rhythm to the rest and began it, he writes:

And great the throng which stood about the dance,

Enjoying it; and tumblers twain did whirl

Amid the throng as prelude to the song.

[10] οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐναγωνίου τε καὶ κατεσπουδασμένης ὀρχήσεως τῶν χορῶν, ἣ παρὰ τὰς θυηπολίας τε καὶ πομπὰς ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ συγγενὲς ἂν τις αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἴδοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς κερτόμου καὶ τωθαστικῆς. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνοπλίους χοροὺς οἱ τῶν σατυριστῶν ἐπόμεπευον χοροὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἰδοφοροῦντες σίκιννιν. σκευαὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν τοῖς μὲν εἰς Σιληνοὺς εἰκασθεῖσι μαλλωτοὶ χιτῶνες, οὓς ἔνιοι χορταίους καλοῦσι, καὶ περιβόλαια ἐκ παντὸς [p. 117] ἄνθους: τοῖς δ' εἰς Σατύρους περιζώματα καὶ δοραὶ τράγων καὶ ὀρθότριχες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φόβαι καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια. οὗτοι κατέσκηπτόν τε καὶ κατεμιμοῦντο τὰς

σπουδαιᾶς κινήσεις ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα μεταφέροντες.

[10] But it is not alone from the warlike and serious dance of these bands which the Romans employed in their sacrificial ceremonies and processions that one may observe their kinship to the Greeks, but also from that which is of a mocking and ribald nature. For after the armed dancers others marched in procession impersonating satyrs and portraying the Greek dance called sicinnis. Those who represented Sileni were dressed in shaggy tunics, called by some chortaiοι, and in mantles of flowers of every sort; and those who represented satyrs wore girdles and goatskins, and on their heads manes that stood upright, with other things of like nature. These mocked and mimicked the serious movements of the others, turning them into laughter-provoking performances.

[11] δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν θριάμβων εἴσοδοι παλαιὰν καὶ ἐπιχώριον οὔσαν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν κέρτομον καὶ σατυρικὴν παιδιάν. ἐφέλται γὰρ τοῖς κατάγουσι τὰς νίκας ἱαμβίζειν τε καὶ κατασκώπτειν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς στρατηλάταις, ὡς Ἀθήνησι τοῖς πομπευταῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πρότερον ἅμα τοῖς σκώμμασι παροχουμένοις, νῦν δὲ ποιήματ' ἄδουσιν αὐτοσχέδια.

[11] The triumphal entrances also show that raillery and fun-making in the manner of satyrs were an ancient practice native to the Romans; for the soldiers who take part in the triumphs are allowed to satirise and ridicule the most distinguished men, including even the generals, in the same manner as those who ride in procession in carts at Athens; the soldiers once jested in prose as they clowned, but now they sing improvised verses.

[12] εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων ταφαῖς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις πομπαῖς προηγούμενους τῆς κλίνης τοὺς σατυριστῶν χοροὺς κινουμένους τὴν σίκιννιν ὄρχησιν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων κήδεσιν. ὅτι δ' οὔτε Λιγύων οὔτ' Ὀμβρικῶν οὔτ' ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων εὖρημα ἢ σατυρικὴ παιδιὰ καὶ ὄρχησις ἦν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήνων, δέδοικα, μὴ καὶ ὀχληρὸς εἶναι τισι δόξω, λόγοις πλείοσι πιστοῦσθαι ὁμολογούμενον πρᾶγμα βουλούμενος.

[12] And even at the funerals of illustrious persons I have seen, along with the other participants, bands of dancers impersonating satyrs who preceded the bier and imitated in their motions the dance called sicinnis, and particularly at the funerals of the rich. This jesting and dancing in the manner of satyrs, then, was not the invention either of the Ligurians, of the Umbrians, or of any other barbarians who dwelt in Italy, but of the Greeks; but I fear I should prove tiresome to some of my readers if I endeavoured to confirm by more arguments a thing that is generally conceded.

[13] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺτους κιθαρίζονται τ' ἄθροοι καὶ αὐληταὶ πολλοὶ

παρεξήεσαν: καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τε τὰ θυμιατήρια κομίζοντες, ἐφ' ὧν ἄρώματα καὶ λιβανωτὸς παρ' ὅλην ὁδὸν ἐθυμιάτο, καὶ οἱ τὰ πομπεῖα παραφέροντες ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια. τελευταῖα δὲ πάντων αἱ τῶν [p. 118] θεῶν εἰκόνες ἐπόμπευον ὥμοις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φερόμεναι, μορφάς θ' ὁμοίας παρέχουσαι ταῖς παρ' Ἑλλησι πλαττομέναις καὶ σκευὰς καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν εὐρεταὶ καὶ δοτῆρες ἀνθρώποις ἕκαστοι παραδίδονται, οὐ μόνον Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὕς Ἑλληνες ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ μυθολογοῦνται γενέσθαι, Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη παρ' Ἑλλησι: καὶ τῶν ὕστερον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ζεὺς παρέλαβε, μυθολογουμένων γενέσθαι, Περσεφόνης Εἰλειθυίας Νυμφῶν Μουσῶν Ὠρῶν Χαρίτων Διονύσου, καὶ ὅσων ἡμιθέων γενομένων αἱ ψυχαὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀπολιποῦσαι σώματα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν λέγονται, καὶ τιμὰς λαχεῖν ὁμοίας θεοῖς, Ἡρακλέους Ἀσκληπιοῦ Διοσκουῶν Σελήνης Πανὸς ἄλλων μυρίων.

[13] After these bands of dancers came a throng of lyre-players and many flute-players, and after them the persons who carried the censers in which perfumes and frankincense were burned along the whole route of the procession, also the men who bore the show-vessels made of silver and gold, both those that were sacred owing to the gods and those that belonged to the state. Last of all in the procession came the images of the gods, borne on men's shoulders, showing the same likenesses as those made by the Greeks and having the same dress, the same symbols, and the same gifts which tradition says each of them invented and bestowed on mankind. These were the images not only of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and of the rest whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve gods, but also of the son of still more ancient from whom legend says the twelve were sprung, namely, Saturn, Ops, Themis, Latona, the Parcae, Mnemosynê, and all the rest to whom temples and holy places are dedicated among the Greeks; and also of those whom legend represents as living later, after Jupiter took over the sovereignty, such as Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Liber, and the demigods whose souls after they had left their mortal bodies are said to have ascended to Heaven and to have obtained the same honours as the gods, such as Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, Helen, Pan, and countless others.

[14] καίτοι εἰ βάρβαροι ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκίσαντες καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην καταστήσαντες, τί προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνικοὺς ἅπαντας σέβειν θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ὑπερορᾶν; ἢ δεῖξάτω τις ἡμῖν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φῦλον ἕτερον, ὃ πάτριά ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τότε διαβαλλέτω ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὡς οὐχ ὑγιή.

[14] Yet if those who founded Rome and instituted this festival were

barbarians, how could they properly worship all the gods and other divinities of the Greeks and scorn their own ancestral gods? Or let someone show us any other people besides the Greeks among whom these rites are traditional, and then let him censure this demonstration as unsound.

[15] συντελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἐβουθύνουν εὐθύς οἱ θ' ὕπατοι καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἷς ὄσιον, καὶ ὁ τῶν θυπολιῶν τρόπος ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ [p. 119] παρ' ἡμῖν. χερνιψάμενοι τε γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερά καθαρῶ περιανγίσσαντες ὕδατι καὶ Δημητρίους καρπούς ἐπρράναντες αὐτῶν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, ἔπειτα κατευξάμενοι, θύειν τότε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις αὐτὰ ἐκέλευον. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτος ἔτι τοῦ θύματος σκυτάλῃ τοὺς κροτάφους ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πίπτοντος ὑπετίθεσαν τὰς σφαγίδας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δείραντές τε καὶ μελίσσαντες ἀπαρχὰς ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ἐκάστου σπλάγχνου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου μέλους, ἃς ἀλφίτοις ζέας ἀναδεύσαντες προσέφερον τοῖς θύουσιν ἐπὶ κανῶν: οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ὑφῆπτον καὶ προσέσπενδον οἶνον κατὰ

[15] After the procession was ended the consuls and the priests whose function it was presently sacrificed oxen; and the manner of performing the sacrifices was the same as with us. For after washing their hands they purified the victims with clear water and sprinkled corn on their heads, after which they prayed and then gave orders to their assistants to sacrifice them. Some of these assistants, while the victim was still standing, struck it on the temple with a club, and others received it upon the sacrificial knives as it fell. After this they flayed it and cut it up, taking off a piece from each of the inwards and also from every limb as a first-offering, which they sprinkled with grits of spelt and carried in baskets to the officiating priests. These placed them on the altars, and making a fire under them, poured wine over them while they were burning.

[16] τῶν ἀνγιζομένων. ἕκαστον δ' ὅτι κατὰ νόμους ἐγίνετο τοὺς ἀμφὶ θυσίαν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων κατασταθέντας, ἐκ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως γινῶναι ῥάδιον. καὶ γὰρ χερνιπτομένους εἰσάγει τοὺς ἥρωας καὶ οὐλαῖς χρωμένους ἐν οἷς φησι:

χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο.

τριχοτομοῦντάς τ' ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας καὶ τιθέντας ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ὥδε γράφων:

ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε.

σκυτάλαις τε παίοντας τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τὰ πεσόντα θύοντας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐμαίου ποιεῖ θυσίας:

κόψε δ' ἀπαρχόμενος σχίζῃ δρυός, ἣν λίπε κείων.

τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχῇ: τοὶ δ' ἔσφαζαν τε καὶ εὔσαν.

[16] It is easy to see from Homer's poems that every one of these ceremonies

was performed according to the customs established by the Greeks with reference to sacrifices. For he introduces the heroes washing their hands and using barley grits, where he said:

Then washed their hands and took up barley-grains.

And also cutting off the hair from the head of the victim and placing it on the fire, writing thus:

And he, the rite beginning, cast some hairs,

Plucked from the victim's head, upon the fire.

He also represents them as striking the foreheads of the victims with clubs and stabbing them when they had fallen, as at the sacrifice of Eumaeus:

Beginning then the rite, with limb of oak —

One he had left when cleaving wood — he smote

The boar, which straightway yielded up his life;

And next his throat they cut and singed his hide.

[17] ἀπαρχάς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν σπλάγχνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων [p. 120] λαμβάνοντας μελῶν, καὶ ταύτας ἀλφίτοις δεύοντας καὶ καθαγίζοντας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ποιεῖ θυσίας:

ὁ δ' ὠμοθετεῖτο συβώτης,

πάντοθεν ἀρχόμενος μελέων ἐς πίονα δημόν:

καὶ τὰ μὲν πυρὶ βάλλε παλύννας ἀλφίτου ἀκτῆϊ.

[17] And also at taking the first offerings from the inwards and from the limbs as well and sprinkling them with barley-meal and burning them upon the altars, as at that same sacrifice:

Then made the swineherd slices of raw meat,

Beginning with a cut from every limb,

And wrapping them in rich fat, cast them all

Upon the fire, first sprinkling barley-meal.

[18] ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πράττοντας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι: καὶ μῖα πίστει τῇδε ἀρκεύμενος οὐ βαρβάρους ἐπέισθην εἶναι τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων συνεληλυθότας Ἑλλήνας. ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύματα περὶ θυσίας τε καὶ ἐορτὰς ὁμοίως Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάρους τινὰς ἐπιτελεῖν ἐνδέχεται, πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπράττειν ἀπίθανον.

[18] These rites I am acquainted with from having seen the Romans perform them at their sacrifices even in my time; and contented with this single proof, I have become convinced that the founders of Rome were not barbarians, but Greeks who had come together out of many places. It is possible, indeed, that some barbarians also may observe a few customs relating to sacrifices and festivals in the same manner as the Greeks, but that they should do everything in the same way is hard to believe.

[1] λοιπὸν δ' ἔτι μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν ἐπετέλουν, ὀλίγα διελεῖν. πρῶτος ὁ τῶν τεθρίππων τε καὶ συνωρίδων καὶ τῶν ἄζεῦκτων ἵππων ἐγίνετο δρόμος, ὡς παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὸ

[73] It now remains for me to give a brief account of the games which the Romans performed after the procession. The first was a race of four-horse chariots, two-horse chariots, and of unyoked horses, as has been the custom among the Greeks, both anciently at Olympia and down to the present.

[2] ἀρχαῖον Ὀλυμπιασί τε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἀμίλλαις ἐπιτηδεύματα δύο τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνομοθετήθη φυλαττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ διακείμενα χρόνων, τὸ τε περὶ τὰ τρίπωλα τῶν ἀρμάτων, ὃ παρ' Ἑλλήσι μὲν ἐκκλέοιπεν, ἀρχαῖον ὃν ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ἡρωικόν, ᾧ ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας Ὅμηρος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις χρωμένους: [p. 121] δυσὶ γὰρ ἵπποις ἐζευγμένοις, ὃν τρόπον ζεύγνυται συνωρίς, τρίτος παρείπετο σειραῖος ἵππος ρυτῆρι συνεχόμενος, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρηωρῆσθαι τε καὶ μὴ συνεζεῦχθαι παρήγορον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί: ἕτερον δὲ παρ' ὀλίγαις ἔτι φυλαττόμενον πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσιν ἐν ἱερουργίαις πισὺν ἀρχαῖκαῖς, ὃ τῶν παρεμβεβηκότων τοῖς ἄρμασι δρόμος.

[2] In the chariot races two very ancient customs continue to be observed by the Romans down to my time in the same manner as they were first instituted. The first relates to the chariots drawn by three horses, a custom now fallen into disuse among the Greeks, though it was an ancient institution of heroic times which Homer represents the Greeks as using in battle. For running beside two horses yoked together in the same manner as in the case of a two-horse chariot was a third horse attached by a trace; this trace-horse the ancients called *parêoros* or “outrunner,” because he was “hitched beside” and not yoked to the others. The other custom is the race run by those who have ridden in the chariots, a race which is still performed in a few Greek states upon the occasion of some ancient sacrifices.

[3] ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἵππέων ἀμίλλαι λάβωνται, ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιηταὶ μὲν παραβάτας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν ἀποβάτας, τὸν σταδιαῖον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἵππικῶν δρόμων οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι τότε εἰσῆσαν δρομεῖς τε καὶ πύκται καὶ παλαιστοί. τρία γὰρ ἀθλήματα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήσι ταῦτ' ἦν, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τῇ

[3] For after the chariot races are ended, those who have ridden with the charioteers, whom the poets call parabatai and the Athenians apobatai, leap down from their chariots and run a race with one another the length of the stadium. And after the chariot races were over, those who contended in their own persons entered the lists, that is, runners, boxers, and wrestlers; for these three contests were in use among the ancient Greeks, as Homer shows in describing the funeral of Patroclus.

[4] ἐν δὲ τοῖς διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀθλημάτων χρόνοις Ἑλληνικώτατον καὶ κράτιστον ἀπάντων ἐθῶν ἀπεδείκνυντο, στεφανώσεις καὶ ἀναρρήσεις ποιοῦμενοι τιμῶν, αἷς ἐτίμων τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτας, ὡς Ἀθηνησιν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς ἐγίνετο θυσίαις, καὶ σκύλων, ὄσων ἐκ πολέμων λάβοιεν, ἐπιδείξεις τοῖς εἰς θέαν συνεληλυθόσιν.

[4] And in the intervals between the contests they observed a custom which was typically Greek and the most commendable of all customs, that of awarding crowns and proclaiming the honours with which they rewarded their benefactors, just as was done at Athens during the festivals of Dionysus, and displaying to all who had assembled for the spectacle the spoils they had taken in war.

[5] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔτε μηθένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον ἀπαιτούσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔτε μηκύνειν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἡρμοττε. καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολειπομένην διήγησιν ἐπανάγειν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀπαχθέντα ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη [p. 122] καὶ προηγησάμενον τῆς πομπῆς ἔμαθεν ἢ βουλή παρὰ τοῦ τὸ πραχθὲν ἀνανεωσαμένου, τοῦτον ὑπολαβοῦσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεσθαι τὸν οὐ καλὸν ἔπαρχον τῶν ὀρχηστῶν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀναζητήσασα τὸν τῷ θεράποντι λωβησάμενον καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσα, ἧς ἄξιος ἦν, ἐτέραν ἐψηφίσατο τῷ θεῷ πομπὴν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρους ἀπὸ διπλασίων χρημάτων ἢ πρότερον ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων συντελεσθέντα τῶν ὑπάτων τοιάδε ἦν.

[5] But as regards these customs, just as it would not have been right to make no mention of them when the subject required it, so it would not be fitting to extend my account farther than is necessary. It is now time to return to the narrative which we interrupted.

After the senate, then, had been informed, by the person who remembered the incident, of the circumstances relating to the slave who had been led to punishment by the order of his master and had gone ahead of the procession, they concluded that this slave was the unacceptable leader of the dancers mentioned by the god, as I have related. And inquiring after the master who had used his slave so cruelly, they imposed a suitable penalty upon him, and ordered another procession to be performed in honour of the god and other

games to be exhibited at double the expense of the former.

These were the events of this consulship.

[1] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀστύλος Κροτωνιάτης ἄρχοντας Ἀθηναίων Ἀγχίσου, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰοῦλος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος Ροῦφος, ἄνδρες ἥκιστα πολεμικοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τυχόντες, εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἠναγκάσθησαν κινδύνους καταστῆναι πολέμου καταρραγέντος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, δι' ὧν ἡ πόλις ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐκ βάρων ἀναιρεθῆναι.

[1.1] The consuls who were chosen after these were Gaius Julius Iulus and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy-third Olympiad (the one in which Astylus of Croton won the foot-race), when Anchises was archon at Athens. These magistrates, who were not in the least warlike men and for that reason chiefly had obtained the consulship from the people, were involved against their will in many great dangers, a war having broken out as a result of their rule which came near destroying the commonwealth from its foundations.

[2] ὁ γὰρ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολάνος, ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι αἰτίαν σχὼν καὶ φυγῇ αἰδίῳ ἐλασθεὶς, ἀγανακτῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τιμωρίᾳ [p. 124] παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, δι' οὗ δ' ἂν αὕτη γένοιτο τρόπου καὶ δι' οἷας δυνάμει ἀνασκοπῶν μίαν εὔρισκε Ῥωμαίοις τότε ἀντίπαλον ἰσχὺν τὴν Οὐολούσκων, εἰ κοινῇ χρῆσάμενοι γνώμῃ καὶ τυχόντες ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος ἐνστήσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον.

[2] For Marcius Coriolanus, the man who had been accused of aiming at tyranny and condemned to perpetual banishment, resented his misfortune and at the same time desired to avenge himself upon this enemies; and considering in what manner and with the aid of what forces he might accomplish this, he found that the only army which was then a match for the Romans was that of the Volscians, if these would agree together and make war upon them under an able general.

[3] ἐλογίζετο μὲν οὖν, ὥς εἰ πείσειε τοὺς Οὐολούσκους δεῖξασθαι τ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πολέμου, ῥαδίως αὐτῷ διαπεπράζεται τὸ ἔργον: ἐτάραττε δ' αὐτὸν ἡ συνειδησις, ὅτι πλειστάκις κατὰ τὰς μάχας δεινὰ δεδρακὼς ἦν αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας ἀφρηρημένος. οὐ μὴν ἀπέστη γε τῆς πείρας διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ χωρεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο καὶ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅτιοῦν.

[3] He reasoned, therefore, that if he could prevail on the Volscians to receive him and to entrust to him the command of the war, his purpose could easily be accomplished. On the other hand, he was disturbed by the consciousness that he had often brought calamities upon them in battle and had forced many cities to forsake their alliance with them. However, he did not desist from the

attempt because of the greatness of the danger, but resolved to encounter these very perils and suffer whatever might be the consequence.

[4] φυλάξας δὲ νύκτα καὶ ταύτην σκοταίαν ἦκεν εἰς Ἄντιον, τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν ἐν Οὐλοῦσcois πόλεων, ἥνικα περὶ δεῖπνον ἦσαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ, δι' εὐγένειάν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονοῦντος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλον ἄγοντος ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, ᾧ Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὄνομα ἦν, ἰκέτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γίνεται καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας.

[4] Having waited, therefore, for a night — and a dark one — he went to Antium, the most important city of the Volscians, at the hour when the inhabitants were at supper; and going to the house of an influential man named Tullus Attius, who by reason of his birth, his wealth and his military exploits had a high opinion of himself and generally led the whole nation, he became his suppliant by sitting down at his hearth.

[5] διηγησάμενος δ' αὐτῷ τὰς κατασχούσας αὐτὸν ἀνάγκας, δι' αἷς ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταφυγεῖν, μέτρια ἡξίου φρονῆσαι καὶ ἀνθρώπινα περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου καὶ μηκέτι πολέμιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν ὑποχείριον μηδ' εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐνθυμούμενον, [p. 125] ὡς οὐ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τύχαι.

[5] Then, having related to him the dire straits which had forced him to take refuge with his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation and humanity toward a suppliant and no longer to regard as an enemy one who was in his power, nor to exhibit his strength against the unfortunate and the humbled, bearing in mind that the fortunes of men are subject to change.

[6] δύναιο δ' ἄν, ἔφη, τοῦτ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μαθεῖν ἐμοῦ, ὅς ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει κράτιστός ποτ' εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων δοκῶν νῦν ἔρημος καὶ ἄπολις καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐρριμμένος τοῦτο πείσομαι, ὃ τι ἂν ἐχθρῷ ὄντι σοι δοκῇ. ὑπισχνοῦμαι δέ σοι τοσαῦτ' ἀγαθὰ ποιήσῃν Οὐλοῦσcous φίλος τῷ ἔθνει γενόμενος, ὅσα κακὰ εἰργασάμην ἐχθρὸς ὢν. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο γινώσκεις περὶ ἐμοῦ, χρῆσαι τῇ ὀργῇ παραχρῆμα καὶ θάνατον χάρισαί μοι τὸν τάχιστον αὐτοχειρίᾳ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς σεαυτοῦ καθιερεύσας τὸν ἰκέτην.

[6] “And this,” he said, “you may learn most clearly from my own case. For though I was once looked upon as the most powerful of all men in the greatest city, I am now cast aside, forsaken, exiled and abased, and destined to suffer any treatment you, who are my enemy, shall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promise you that I will perform as great services for the Volscians, if I become their friend, as I occasioned calamities to them when I was their enemy. However, if you have any other purpose concerning me, let loose your resentment at once and grant me the speediest death by sacrificing the

suppliant with your own hand and at your own hearth.”

[1] ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν ὁ Τύλλος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἀναστήσας θαρρεῖν τ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πεισόμενον καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀφιξέως ἔφη, τιμὴν τινα οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι καὶ ταύτην ἀποφαινόμενος: Οὐολούσκους τ' αὐτῷ πάντας ὑποσχέϊτο ποιήσιν φίλους ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος: καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐψεύσατο τῶν ὑποσχέσεων.

[2.1] While he was yet speaking these words Tullus gave him his hand and, raising him for the hearth, bade him be assured that he should not be treated in any manner unworthy of his valour, and said he felt himself under great obligations to him for coming to him, declaring that he looked upon even this as no small honour. He promised him also that he would make all the Volscians his friends, beginning with those of his own city; and not one of his promises did he fail to make good.

[2] χρόνου δέ τινος οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος βουλευόμενοι τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ σφᾶς, Μαρκίῳ τε καὶ Τύλλῳ, κινεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τύλλος αὐτίκα μάλα ἐβούλετο πᾶσαν τὴν Οὐολούσκων δύναμιν παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην χωρεῖν, ἕως ἐστασίαζε τε [p. 126] καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἀπολέμους εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος αἰτίαν πρῶτον ᾧετο δεῖν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν ἐνστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου διδάσκων, ὡς ἀπάσαις μὲν πράξεσι θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς κατὰ πολέμους, ὅσω μείζους τέ εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς ἀδήλους φιλοῦσι κατασκήπτειν τύχας. ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐολούσκοις ἐκεχειρία τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀνοχαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὔσαι σπονδαὶ τε διετεῖς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον χρόνῳ γενόμεναι.

[2] Soon afterwards Marcius and Tullus conferred together in private and came to a decision to begin war against the Romans. Tullus proposed to put himself immediately at the head of all the Volscians and march on Rome while the Romans were still at odds and had generals averse to war. But Marcius insisted that they ought first to establish a righteous and just ground for war; for he pointed out that the gods take a hand in all actions, and especially in those relating to war, in so far as these are of greater consequence than any others and their outcome is generally uncertain. It happened that there was at that time an armistice and a truce existing between the Romans and the Volscians and also a treaty for two years which they had made a short time before:

[3] ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀπερισκέπτως, ἔφη, καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιφέρης, τοῦ λελῦσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος ἔσῃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ἔξεις εὐμένες: ἐὰν δὲ περιμεινῇς, ἕως ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν, ἀμύνεσθαι δόξεις καὶ λελυμέναις σπονδαῖς βοηθεῖν. ὅπως δ' ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄρξειαν παρασπονδεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ δόξαιμεν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐπιφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνεύρηκα. δεῖ δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν

αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατηθέντας ἄρξει τῆς παρανομίας.

[3] “If, therefore, you make war upon them inconsiderately and hastily,” he said, “you will be to blame for the breaking of the treaty, and Heaven will not be propitious to you; whereas, if you wait till they do this, you will seem to be defending yourselves and coming to the aid of a broken treaty. How this may be brought about and how they may be induced to violate the treaty first, while we shall seem to be waging a righteous and just war against them, I have discovered after long consideration. It is necessary that the Romans should be deceived by us, in order that they may be the first to commit unlawful acts.

[4] ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐξαπάτης, ὃν ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ἀπόρρητον ἐφύλαττον ἀναμένων τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν, νῦν δὲ σοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἔργου ἔχεσθαι θᾶπτον ἐκφέρειν εἰς μέσον ἀναγκάζομαι, τοιόσδε ἐστίν: θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι μέλλουσι καὶ ἀγῶνας ἄγειν ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων σφόδρα λαμπροὺς, ἀφίζονται τε κατὰ θεᾶν ἐπὶ τούτους πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων.

[4] The nature of this deceit, which I have hitherto kept secret while awaiting the proper occasion for its employment, but am now forced, because of your eagerness for action, to disclose sooner than I wished, is as follows. The Romans are intending to perform sacrifices and exhibit very magnificent games at vast expense, at which great numbers of strangers will be present as spectators.

[5] τοῦτον ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον ἴθι καὶ σὺ καὶ Οὐολούσκων ὄσους δύνασαι πλείστους παρασκεύασον [p. 127] ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θεᾶν: ὅταν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει γένῃ, τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τινὰ σοι φίλων κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπιτιθεσθαι τῇ πόλει Οὐολοῦσκοι νύκτωρ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκουσι τὸ ἔργον ἄνθρωποι. εὔ γὰρ ἴσθι, ὡς εἰ τοῦτ' ἀκούσειαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκβαλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρέξουσιν ἀφορμὴν δικαίας ὀργῆς.

[5] Wait for this occasion, and then not only go thither yourself, but engage as many of the Volscians as you can to go also and see the games. And when you are in Rome, bid one of your closest friends go to the consuls and inform them privately that the Volscians are intending to attack the city by night and that it is for this purpose that they have come to Rome in so great numbers. For you may be assured that if they hear this they will expel you Volscians from the city without further hesitation and furnish you with a ground for just resentment.”

[1] ὡς δ' ἤκουσε ταῦθ' ὁ Τύλλος, ὑπερηγάσθη τε καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τῆς στρατείας ἀναβαλόμενος περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς καιρὸς, Ἰουλίου τε καὶ Πιναρίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἥδη παρειληφότων, ἡ κρατίστη τῶν Οὐολούσκων νεότης ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως, ὡς

ὁ Τύλλος ἡξίου, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγώνων θεάν· καὶ κατεσκήνουν οἱ πλείους ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις οὐκ ἔχοντες καταγωγὰς ἐν οἰκίαις τε καὶ παρὰ ξένοις, καὶ ὅποτε διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν πορεύοντο κατὰ συστροφὰς καὶ ἐταιρίας ἄθροοι διεξήεσαν, ὥστε καὶ λόγον ἤδη γίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑποψίας ἀτόπους.

[3.1] When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleased, and letting that opportunity for his expedition pass, employed himself in preparing for the war. When the time for the beginning of the festival had come, Julius and Pinarius having already succeeded to the consulship, the flower of the Volscian youth came from every city, as Tullus requested, to see the games; and the greater part of them were obliged to quarter themselves in sacred and public places, as they could not find lodgings in private houses and with friends. And when they walked in the streets, they went about in small groups and companies, so that there was already talk about them in the city and strange suspicions.

[2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσέρχεται τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου μηνυτής, ὡς ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέθετο, καὶ ὡς δι᾽ ἀπόρρητον πρᾶξιν κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ἐχθροῖς μέλλων ἐκφέρειν ὄρκους καταλαμβάνεται τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε τῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηδένα Οὐολούσκων μαθεῖν, ὅστις ἦν ὁ τὴν μήνυσιν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιημένος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρει [p. 128] τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς κατεψευσμένης μήνυσιν.

[2] In the mean time the informer suborned by Tullus, pursuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the consuls, and pretending that he was going to reveal a secret matter to his enemies against his own friends, bound the consuls by oaths, not only to insure his own safety, but also to insure that none of the Volscians should learn who had given the information concerning the alleged plot.

[3] ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀληθὴς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κληθεῖσα συνῆκτο, καὶ παραχθεὶς ὁ μηνυτής τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν λόγους. τοῖς δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει μεστὸν ὑποψίας τοσαύτην νεότητα ἐξ ἐνὸς ἔθνους διαφόρου σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν παρελθεῖν, προσελθούσης δὲ μηνύσεως, ἥς τὴν ἀπάτην ἠγνόουν, ἰσχὺν βεβαίαν ἢ δόξα ἔλαβεν, ἐδόκει θ' ἅπασιν ἀπαλλάττειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἥλιον δῦναι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πεισθεῖσιν ἐπικηρύξαι θάνατον, ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἵνα χωρὶς ὕβρεως καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, τοὺς ὑπάτους.

[3] The consuls believed his story and immediately convened the senate, summoning the members individually; and the informer, being brought before them and receiving their assurances, gave to them also the same account. The senators even long before this had looked upon it as a circumstance full of suspicion that such numbers of young men should come to see the games

from a single nation which was hostile to them, and now that information too was given, the duplicity of which they did not perceive, their opinion was turned into certainty. It was their unanimous decision, therefore, to send the men out of the city before sunset and to order proclamation to be made that all who did not obey should be put to death; and they decreed that the consuls should see to it that their departure took place without insult and in safety.

[1] ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυττον διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιόντες ἀπιέναι Οὐολούσκους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα μάλα κατὰ μίαν ἅπαντας ἐξιόντας πύλην τὴν καλουμένην Καπυϊνὴν, ἕτεροι δὲ παρέπεμπον τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις: ἔνθα μάλιστα ὤφθη, ὅσον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ ὡς ἀκμαῖον ἅπαν ὕφ' ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ κατὰ μίαν ἐξιόντων πύλην. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Τύλλος ἐξῆει διὰ ταχέων καὶ καταλαβὼν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς ὑστεροῦντας ἀνελάμβανεν.

[4.1] After the senate had passed this vote some went through the streets making proclamation that the Volscians should depart from the city immediately and that they should all go out by a single gate, the one called the Capuan gate, while others together with the consuls escorted them on their departure. And then particularly, when they went out of the city at the same time and by the same gate, it was seen how numerous they were and how fit all were for service. First of them to depart was Tullus, who went out in haste, and taking his stand in a suitable place not far from the city, picked up those who lagged behind.

[2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντες συνήχθησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενος πολλῇ καταβοῇ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐχρήσατο, δεινὴν καὶ ἀφόρητον [p. 129] ἀποφαίνων τὴν ὕβριν, ἣν ὕβρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦσαν Οὐολούσκοι μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: καὶ λέγειν ἠξίου ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἕκαστον καὶ πράττειν, ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὕβρεως Ῥωμαῖοι δίκας παρασχόντες τῆς παρανομίας. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ παραθήξας ἀνθρώπους ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[2] And when they were all gathered together, he called an assembly and inveighed at length against the Roman people, declaring that it was an outrageous and intolerable insult that the Volscians had received at their hands in being the only strangers to be expelled from the city. He asked that each man should report this treatment in his own city and take measures to put a stop to the insolence of the Romans by punishing them for their lawless behaviour. After he had spoken thus and sharpened the resentment of the Volscians, who were already exasperated at the usage they had met with, he dismissed the assembly.

[3] ὡς δ' ἀπαλλαγέντες εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐξαίροντες τὰ γενόμενα, ἡγανάκτει τε

πάντα πόλεις καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἡδύνατο: διαπρεσβευομένη δ' ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλην εἰς μίαν ἀγορὰν ἅπαντας ἡξίου Οὐολούσκους συνιέναι, ἵνα κοινῇ χρήσαιντο γνώμῃ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

[3] When they returned to their several cities and each related to his fellow citizens the insult they had received, exaggerating what had occurred, every city was angered and unable to restrain its resentment; and sending ambassadors to one another, they demanded that all the Volscians should meet together in a single assembly in order to adopt a common plan concerning war.

[4] ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τύλλου μάλιστα' ἐνάγοντος, καὶ συνήεσαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οἱ τ' ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ πολλὸς ἄλλος ὄχλος εἰς τὴν Ἐχेत्रανῶν πόλιν: αὕτη γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐν καλλίστῃ κεῖσθαι συνόδῳ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἢ πόλεις. ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων, οὓς εἶπον οἱ δυναστεύοντες ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει, ψῆφος ἀνεδόθη τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ ἦν ἡ νικῶσα γνώμη κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς Ῥωμαίων ἀρξάντων τῆς περὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρανομίας.

[4] All this was done chiefly at the instigation of Tullus. And the authorities from every city together with a great multitude of other people assembled at Ecetra; for this city seemed the most conveniently situated with respect to the others for a general assembly. After many speeches had been made by the men in power in each city, the votes of all present were taken; and the view which carried was to begin war, since the Romans had first transgressed in the matter of the treaty.

[1] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς τρόπον [p. 130] προθέντων σκοπεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσι παρελθόντων ὁ Τύλλος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς καλεῖν τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου πυνθάνεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἡ Ῥωμαίων καταλυθεῖ δύναμις: κράτιστα γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰδέναι, πῇ τε κάμνει τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ πῇ μάλιστα ἔρρωται. ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐβόων καλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἥ ἐβούλετο ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος ἀνέστη κατηφὴς καὶ δεδακρυμένος καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον τοιοῦτους διέθετο λόγους:

[5.1] When the authorities had proposed to the assembly to consider in what manner they ought to carry on the war against them, Tullus came forward and advised them to summon Marcius and inquire of him how the power of the Romans might be overthrown, since he knew better than any man both the weakness and the strength of the commonwealth. This met with their approval, and at once they all cried out to summon the man. Then Marcius, having found the opportunity he desired, rose up with downcast looks and with tears in his eyes and after a brief pause spoke as follows:

[2] εἰ μὲν ἡγούμην ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὅμοια γινώσκειν περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑπελάμβανον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπολογεῖσθαι:

ἐνθυμούμενος δ', ὥς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἥθεσιν εἰκός, εἶναι τινας, οἷς παραστήσεται δόξα οὐτ' ἀληθείας οὐτε προσήκουσα περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄτερ αἰτίας ἀληθοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἐξήλασέ με ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, παντὸς μάλιστα οἶομαι δεῖν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς φυγῆς ἐν κοινῷ

[2] "If I thought you all entertained the same opinion of my misfortune, I should not think it necessary to make any defence of it; but when I consider that, as is to be expected among many men of different characters, there are some to whom will occur the notion, neither true nor deserved by me, that the people would not have banished me from my country without a real and just cause, I think it necessary above all things first to clear myself publicly before you all in the matter of my banishment.

[3] πρὸς ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθέ μου, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ οἱ κράτιστα ἐγνωκότες, ἃ πέπονθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὥς οὐ προσήκόν μοι ταύτης πεπείραμαι τῆς τύχης διεξιόντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ποθεῖτε, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἀκοῦσαι, πρὶν, ὅποδός τις εἰμὶ ὁ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδειξόμενος, ἐξετάσαι. ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν, κἂν πρόσωθεν ἄρξωμαι, λόγος.

[3] But have patience with me, I adjure you by the gods, even those of you who are beside acquainted with the facts, while I relate what I have suffered from my enemies and show that I have not deserved this misfortune which has befallen me; and do not be anxious to hear what you must do before you have inquired what sort of man I am who am now going to express my opinion. The account I shall give of these matters will be brief, even though I begin from far back.

[4] Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολίτευμα ἦν μικτὸν ἔκ τε βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας: ἔπειτα ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤξιον ποιεῖν. συστάντες [p. 131] οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡγεμόνες ἐκέκρινον μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ κατέσχον ἀρίστην καὶ σωφρονεστάτην, ὥς ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι, καταστησάμενοι πολιτείαν. χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον τοῦτ' ἔτος οἱ πενέστατοι τε καὶ ἀργότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν πονηροῖς χρησάμενοι προστάταις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐξύβρισαν, καὶ τελευτῶντες καταλύειν τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐπεχείρουν. ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ τῆς βουλῆς προεστηκότες ἦχοντο καί, ὅπως παύσωνται τῆς ὕβρεως οἱ

[4] "The original constitution of the Romans was a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy. Afterwards Tarquinius, their last king, thought fit to make his government a tyranny; for which reason the leading men of the aristocracy, combining against him, expelled him from the state, and taking upon themselves the administration of public affairs, formed such a system of government as all men acknowledge to be the best and wisest. Not long ago, however, but only two or three years since, the poorest and idlest of the citizens, having bad men as their leaders, not only committed many other

outrages, but at last endeavoured to overthrow the aristocracy.

[5] κινουῦντες τὴν πολιτείαν, σκοπεῖν ἤξιουν. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἀριστοκρατικοὺς ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἀππίος ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἄξιος ἔνεκεν ἐπαινέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐγώ· καὶ λόγους ἐποιοῦμεθα διὰ παντὸς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλευθέρους οὐ δῆμῳ πολεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πονηροκρατίαν ὑφορώμενοι, οὐδὲ καταδουλώσασθαι τινα βουλόμενοι Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον ἅπασιν ἀξιοῦντες ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεδόσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι.

[5] At this all the leaders of the senate were grieved and thought they ought to consider how the insolence of these disturbers of the government could be stopped; but more active in this regard than the other aristocrats, were, of the older senators, Appius, a man deserving of praise on many accounts, and, of the younger men, I myself. And the speeches which on every occasion we made before the senate were frank, not by way of making war upon the populace, but from a suspicion we had of government by the worst elements; nor again from a wish to enslave any of the Romans, but from a desire that the liberty of all might be preserved and the management of public affairs be entrusted to the best men.

[1] ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ πονηρότατοι τοῦ πλήθους ἐκεῖνοι προστάται πρώτους ἔγνωσαν ἡμᾶς τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐναντιούμενους σφίσιν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ἅμ' ἅμ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἐπίφθονόν τε καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα γένηται, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ νεωτέρου τε καὶ εὐμεταχειριστοτέρου ἀρξάμενοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἄκριτόν με ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπολέσαι, [p. 132] ἔπειτ' ἔκδοτον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἤξιουν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ λαβεῖν: ἀποτυχόντες δ' ἀμφοτέρων προὔκαλέσαντο ἐπὶ δίκην, ἣν αὐτοὶ δικάσειν ἔμελλον, τυραννίδος ἐπιβαλόντες αἰτίαν.

[6.1] "This being observed by those most unprincipled leaders of the populace, they resolved to remove first out of their way the two of us who most openly opposed them — not, however, by attacking us both at once, lest the attempt should appear invidious and odious, but beginning with me who was the younger and the easier to be dealt with. In the first place, then, they endeavoured to destroy me without a trial; and after that they demanded that I be delivered up by the senate in order to be put to death. But having failed of both purposes, they summoned me to a trial in which they themselves were to be my judges, and charged me with aiming at tyranny.

[2] καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔμαθον, ὅτι δῆμῳ τύραννος οὐδεὶς πολεμεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων συστάς, ἀλλὰ τάναντία μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸ κράτιστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ μέρος: δικαστήριόν τ' οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν πάτριον ἀπέδωκάν μοι τὴν λοχίτιν καλέσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ὃ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι πονηρότατον εἶναι δικαστήριον καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ πλεον ἔχειν ἔμελλον οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύοντες

βίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ τὰ

[2] They had not learned even this much — that no tyrant makes war upon the populace by allying himself with the best men, but, on the contrary, destroys the best element in the state with the aid of the populace. And they did not give me the tribunal that was traditional, by summoning the centuriate assembly, but rather a tribunal which all admit to be most unprincipled — one set up in my case and mine alone — in which the working class and vagabonds and those who plot against the possessions of others were sure to prevail over good and just men and such as desire the safety of the commonwealth.

[3] κοινὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένων. τοσοῦτο δ' ἄρα μοι περιῆν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ὥστ' ἐν ὄχλῳ κρινόμενος, οὗ τὸ πλέον μισόχρηστον ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐχθρὸν ἐμοί, δυοὶ μόνον ἐάλων ψήφοις ἀποτιθεμένων τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, εἰ μὴ καταδικασθεῖην ἐγώ, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα πείσεσθαι πρὸς ἐμοῦ λεγόντων καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα κατ' ἐμοῦ χρησαμένων.

[3] This profit, then, and no more did I gain from my innocence, that, though tried by the mob, of which the greater part were haters of the virtuous and for that reason hostile to me, I was condemned by two votes only, even though the tribunes threatened to resign their power if I were acquitted, alleging that they expected to suffer the worst at my hands, and though they displayed all eagerness and zeal against me during the trial.

[4] τοιαῦτα δὴ πεπονθὼς ἐγὼ πρὸς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀβίωτον ἡγήσαμην τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι μοι βίον, εἰ μὴ λάβοιμι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξὸν μοι ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως, εἴτ' ἐν ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσιν ἡβουλόμεν κατὰ τὸ συγγενές, εἴτ' ἐν ταῖς νεοκτίστοις, ἃς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπώκισαν, οὐκ ἡβουλήθην, ἐφ' ὧν δὲ κατέφυγον, οὓς ἡπιστάμην πλεῖστα θ' ὑπὸ [p. 133] Ῥωμαίων ἡδικομένους καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθομένους, ἵνα κοινῇ μεθ' ὧν τιμωρησαίμην αὐτούς, ὅση μοι δύναμις, λόγοις τ', ἐνθα δεῖ λόγων, καὶ ἔργοις, ὅταν ἔργων δέη. χάριν τε τὴν μεγάλην ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς θ' ὑποδοχῆς μου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς τιμῆς, ἣ με τιμᾷτε οὐθὲν οὔτε μνησικακήσαντες οὔθ' ὑπολογισάμενοι ὧν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολεμίου ποτὲ ὄντος ἐπάθετε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους.

[4] After meeting with such treatment at the hands of my fellow citizens I felt that the rest of my life would not be worth living unless I took revenge upon them; and for this reason, when I was at liberty to live free from vexations either in any of the Latin cities I pleased, because of our ties of kinship, or in the colonies lately planted by our fathers, I was unwilling to do so, but took refuge with you, though I knew you had suffered ever so many wrongs at the hands of the Romans and had conceived the greatest resentment against them, in order that in conjunction with you I might take revenge upon them to the

utmost of my power, both by words what words were wanted, and by deeds, where deeds were wanted. And I feel very grateful to you for receiving me, and still more for the honour you show me, without either resenting or taking into account the injuries which you received from me, your erstwhile enemy, during the wars.

[1] φέρε δῆ, τίς ἂν εἶην ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δόξης καὶ τιμῶν, ὧν προσῆκε μοι παρὰ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πολίταις τυγχάνειν, παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων ἀποστερηθεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις πατριδος τε καὶ οἴκου καὶ φίλων καὶ θεῶν πατρῶων καὶ τάφων προγονικῶν καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου ἀπελασθεῖς ἀγαθοῦ, παρ' ὑμῖν δ' ἅπαντα ταῦθ' εὐρών, οἷς ἐκείνων χάριν ἐπολέμουν, εἰ μὴ γενοίμην χαλεπὸς μὲν οἷς ἀντὶ πολιτῶν ἐχθροῖς κέχρημαι, χρηστὸς δ' οἷς ἀντὶ πολεμίων φίλοις; ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' οὐδ' ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοίρα θεῖην ἂν, ὅστις μήτε τὸ πολεμοῦν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχει μήτε τὸ σῶζον ἑαυτὸν δι' εὐνοίας. πατριδα θ' ἡγοῦμαι οὐ τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην με πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἣς ἀλλότριος

[7.1] “Come now, what kind of man should I be if, deprived as I am of the glory and honours I ought to be receiving from my fellow citizens to whom I have rendered great services, and, in addition to this, driven away from my country, my family, my friends, from the gods and sepulchres of my ancestors and from every enjoyment, and if, finding all these things among you against whom I made war for their sake, I should not become harsh toward those whom have found enemies instead of fellow citizens, and helpful to those whom I have found friends instead of enemies? For my part, I could not count as a real man anyone who feels neither anger against those who make war upon him nor affection for those who seek his preservation. And I regard as my fatherland, not that state which has renounced me, but the one of which I, an alien, have become a citizen; and as a friendly land, not the one in which I have been wronged, but that in which I find safety.

[2] ὦν πολίτης γέγονα, γῆν τ' οὐκ ἐν ἧ ἡδίκημαι φίλην, ἀλλ' ἐν ἧ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχω. καὶ ἂν θεός τε συλλαμβάνῃ καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὡς εἰκὸς πρόθυμα ἦ, μεγάλην καὶ ταχεῖαν [p. 134] ἐλπίζω γενήσεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν. εὖ γάρ ἴστε, ὅτι πολλῶν ἤδη πολεμίων πειραθέντες Ῥωμαῖοι οὐθένas μᾶλλον ἔδεισαν ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ μᾶλλον σπουδάζοντες διατελοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἀσθενὲς ἀποδείξουσιν.

[2] And if Heaven lends a hand and your assistance is as eager as I have reason to expect, I have hopes that there will be a great and sudden change. For you must know that the Romans, having already had experience of many enemies, have feared none more than you, and that there is nothing they continue to seek more earnestly than the means of weakening your nation.

[3] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν πολέμῳ λαβόντες ὑμῶν ἔχουσι πόλεις, τὰς δὲ φιλίας ἐλπίδι παρακρουσάμενοι, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἐν ἅπαντες γενόμενοι κοινὸν ἐξενέγκητε κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον. ἐὰν οὖν τάναντία ὑμεῖς

ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι διατελῆτε καὶ μίαν ἅπαντες ἔχητε περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην, ὃ ποιεῖτε νυνί, ῥαδίως αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος παύσετε.

[3] And for this reason they hold a number of your cities which they have either taken by war or deluded with the hope of their friendship, in order that you may not all unite and engage in a common war against them. If, therefore, you will strive unceasingly to counteract their designs and will all be of one mind about war, as you are now, you will easily put an end to their power.

[1] ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἀγωνιεῖσθε καὶ πῶς χρήσεσθε τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὴ γνώμην ἀξιοῦτέ με ἀποφύνασθαι, εἴτ' ἐμπειρίαν μοι μαρτυροῦντες εἴτ' εὖνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα, φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν παραινῶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως εὐσεβῇ καὶ δικαίαν πορίσησθε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν. εὐσεβῆς δὲ καὶ δικαία τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἥτις ἂν γένοιτο καὶ

[8.1] “As to the manner in which you will wage the contest and how you will handle the situation, since you ask me to express my opinion — whether this be a tribute to my experience or to my goodwill or to both — I shall give it without concealing anything. In the first place, therefore, I advise you to consider how you may provide yourselves with a righteous and just pretext for the war. And what pretext for war will be not only righteous and just but also profitable to you at the same time, you shall now learn from me.

[2] ἅμα συμφέρουσα ὑμῖν, ἀκούσατέ μου. Ῥωμαίοις ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξασα γῆ βραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ λυπρά, ἡ δ' ἐπικτήτος, ἦν τοὺς περιοίκους ἀφελόμενοι ἔχουσι, πολλὴ καὶ ἀγαθή: καὶ εἰ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξιοῖεν ἀπολαβεῖν, οὐδὲν οὕτως μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενὲς οὐδ' ἄπορον, ὥς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄστει γενήσεται. [p. 135]

[2] The land which originally belonged to the Romans is of small extent and barren, but the acquired land which they possess as a result of robbing their neighbours is large and fertile; and if each of the injured nations should demand the return of the land that is theirs, nothing would be so insignificant, so weak, and so helpless as the city of Rome. In doing this I think you ought to take the lead.

[3] τούτου δ' οἶομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἄρξαι. πέμπετε οὖν πρέσβεις ὥς αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντες ἃς κατέχουσιν ὑμῶν πόλεις καὶ ὅσα τειχὴ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ ἐνετειχίσαντο ἀξιοῦντες ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βίᾳ σφετερισάμενοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχουσι πειθοντες ἀποδιδόναι. πολέμου δὲ μήπω ἄρχετε, πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποκρίσεις. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιήσητε, δεῖν ὦν βούλεσθε ὑπάρξει θάτερον ὑμῖν: ἢ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολήψεσθε ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης, ἢ καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν πρόφασιν εἰληφότες ἔσεσθε τοῦ πολέμου. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας τούτου πολεμεῖν, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσουσιν εἶναι καλόν.

[3] Send ambassadors to them, therefore, to demand back your cities which

they are holding, to ask that they evacuate all the forts they have erected in your country, and to persuade them to restore everything else belonging to you which they have appropriated by force. But do not begin war till you have received their answer. For if you follow this advice, you will obtain one of two things you desire: you will either recover all that belongs to you without danger and expense or will have found an honourable and a just pretext for war. For not to covet the possessions others, but to demand back what is one's own and, failing to obtain this, to declare war, will be acknowledged by all men to be an honourable proceeding.

[4] φέρε δὴ, τί ποιήσιν οἷσθε Ῥωμαίους ταῦθ' ὑμῶν προελομένων; πότερον ἀποδώσιν τὰ χωρία ὑμῖν; καὶ τί κωλύσει πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι τῶν ἄλλοτριων; ἥξουσιν γὰρ Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι γῆν ἀποληψόμενοι. ἢ καθέξειν τὰ χωρία καὶ μηθὲν τῶν δικαίων ποιήσιν; ὅπερ ἐγὼ νομίζω. οὐκοῦν ἀδικεῖσθαι πρότεροι λέγοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρήσετε καὶ συμμάχους ἔξετε, ὅσοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀπεγνώκασιν ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ αὐτὰ

[4] Well then, what do you think the Romans will do if you choose this course? Do you think they will restore the places to you? And if they do, what is to hinder them from relinquishing everything that belongs to others? For the Aequians, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians, and many others will come each to get back their own land. Or do you think they will retain these places and refuse all your just demands? That is my opinion. Protesting, therefore, that they wronged you first, you will of necessity have recourse to arms, and you will have for your allies all who, having been deprived of their possessions, despair of recovering them by any other means than by war.

[5] ἢ πολεμοῦντες οὐκ ἀπολήψεσθαι. κράτιστος δ' ὁ καιρὸς καὶ οἷος οὐκ ἕτερος ἐπιθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὃν ἢ [p. 136] τύχη τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπισθέντα παρεσκεύασεν, ἐν ᾧ στασιάζουσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσιν ἀπείρους πολέμου. ἃ μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι ἔδει λόγοις καὶ παραινέειν φίλοις, μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως εἰρημένα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστοτε προορᾷσθαι τε καὶ μηχανᾷσθαι δεήσει, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρέψατε διανοεῖσθαι.

[5] This is a most favourable and a unique opportunity which Fortune has provided for the wronged nations, an opportunity for which they could not even have hoped, of attacking the Romans while they are divided and suspicious of one another and while they have generals who are inexperienced in war. These, then, Rome the considerations which it was fitting to suggest in words and urge upon friends, and I have offered them in all goodwill and sincerity. But when it comes to the actual deeds, what it will be necessary to foresee and contrive upon each occasion, leave the consideration of those matters to the commanders of the forces.

[6] πρόθυμον γὰρ καὶ τοῦμὸν ἔσται, ἐν ᾧ ἂν με τάττητε τόπῳ, καὶ πειράσσομαι μηδενὸς εἶναι χείρων μήτε στρατιώτου μήτε λοχαγοῦ μήτε ἡγεμόνος· ἀλλὰ καταχρῆσθέ μοι λαβόντες, ὅπου ἂν μέλλω τι ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσιν, καὶ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι, εἰ πολεμῶν ὑμῖν μεγάλα βλάβειν δυνατὸς ἦν, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ἀγωνιζόμενος μεγάλα δυνήσομαι ὠφελεῖν.

[6] For my zeal also shall not be wanting in whatever post you may place me, and I shall endeavour to do my duty with no less bravery than any common soldier or captain or general. Pray take me and use me wherever I may be of service to you, and be assured that if, when I fought against you, I was able to do you great mischief, I shall also be able, when I fight on your side, to be of great service to you.”

[1] τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι λέγοντός τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔτι δῆλοι ἦσαν ἀγάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο μεγάλη βοῇ πάντες ἐπεσήμηναν ὡς τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθεμένῳ λόγον τ’ οὐθενὶ προθέντες ἐπικυροῦσι τὴν γνώμην. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόγματος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀνδρας ἐλόμενοι πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν· τῷ δὲ Μαρκίῳ ψηφίζονται βουλῆς τε μετουσίαν ἐν ἀπάσῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐξεῖναι πανταχόσε μετιέναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅποσα τιμώτατα ἦν παρ’

[9.1] Thus Marcius spoke. And the Volscians not only made it clear while he was yet speaking that they were pleased with his words, but, after he had done, they all with a great shout signified that they found his advice most excellent; and permitting no one else to speak, they adopted his proposal. After the decree had been drawn up they at once chose the most important men out of every city and sent them to Rome as ambassadors. As for Marcius, they voted that he should be a member of the senate in every city and have the privilege of standing for the magistracies everywhere, and should share in all the other honours that were most highly prized among them.

[2] αὐτοῖς, μετέχειν. καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὰς Ῥωμαίων ἀποκρίσεις [p. 137] ἀναμεῖναι, πάντες ἔργου εἶχοντο παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια· ὅσοι τ’ ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἄθυμοι τέως κακωθέντες ἐν ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις, τότε πάντες ἐπερρώσθησαν ὡς τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθαιρήσοντες ἰσχύν.

[2] Then, without waiting for the Romans’ answer, they all set to work and employed themselves in warlike preparations; and all of them who had hitherto been dejected because of their defeats in the previous battles now took courage, feeling confident that they would overthrow the power of the Romans.

[3] οἱ δ’ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πρέσβεις καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἔλεγον· ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοις περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον εἶναι φίλοις καὶ

συμμάχοις ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὸ πιστὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἀπέφαινον, εἰ κομίσαιντο γῆν τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ πόλεις, ἃς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφηρέθησαν: ἄλλως δ' οὐτ' εἰρήνην οὔτε φιλότητα βεβαίαν ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς: τὸ γὰρ ἀδικούμενον αἰεὶ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι φύσει. ἤξιουν τε μὴ καταστῆσαι σφᾶς εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου τῶν δικαίων ἀποτυγχάνοντας.

[3] In the mean time the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, upon being introduced into the senate, said that the Volscians were very desirous that their complaints against the Romans should be settled and that for the future they should be friends and allies without fraud or deceit. And they declared that it would be a sure pledge of friendship if they received back the lands and the cities which had been taken from them by the Romans; otherwise there would be neither peace nor secure friendship between them, since the injured party is always by nature an enemy to the aggressor. And they asked the Romans not to reduce them to the necessity of making war because of their failure to obtain justice.

[1] ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπον οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς οἱ σύνεδροι μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔκριναν ἃς χρὴ ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι, καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον ταύτην ἔδοσαν τὴν ἀπόφασιν. οὐ λανθάνετε ἡμᾶς, ὧ Οὐλοῦσκοι, φιλίας μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, πρόφασιν δ' εὐπρεπῇ λαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου. ἃ γὰρ ἤκετε παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτοῦντες, καλῶς ἐπίστασθε οὐδέποτε ληψόμενοι: χρήζετε γὰρ ἀδίκων τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων.

[10.1] When the ambassadors had thus spoken, the senators ordered them to withdraw, after which they consulted by themselves. Then, when they had determined upon the answer they ought to make, they called them back into the senate and gave this decision: "We are not unaware, Volscians, that it is not friendship you want, but that you wish to find a specious pretext for war. For you well know that you will never obtain what you have come to demand of us, since you desire things that are unjust and impossible.

[2] εἰ μὲν οὖν δόντες ἡμῖν τὰ χωρία ἔπειτα μεταδόξαν ὑμῖν νῦν ἀπαιτεῖτε, ἀδικεῖσθε [p. 138] μὴ κομιζόμενοι, εἰ δὲ πολέμῳ ἀφαιρεθέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ὄντες κύριοι, ἀδικεῖτε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιέμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ κρατίστας ἡγούμεθα κτήσεις, ἃς ἂν πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες λάβωμεν, οὔτε πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι νόμον τόνδε οὔτε αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἡγούμενοι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ θεῶν: ἅπαντάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήνας καὶ βαρβάρους εἰδότες αὐτῷ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐνδοίμεν ὑμῖν μαλακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἀποσταίμεν ἔτι τῶν δορικτήτων.

[2] If, indeed, having made a present to us of these places, you now, having changed your minds, demand them back, you are suffering a wrong if you do not recover them; but if, having been deprived of them by war and no longer

having any claim to them, you demand them back, you are doing wrong in coveting the possessions of others. As for us, we regard as in the highest degree our possessions those that we gain through victory in war. We are not the first who have established this law, nor do we regard it as more a human than a divine institution. Knowing, too, that all nations, both Greeks and barbarians, make use of this law, we will never show any sign of weakness to you or relinquish any of our conquests hereafter.

[3] πολλή γὰρ ἂν εἴη κακότης, εἴ τις ἅ μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐκτήσατο, ταῦθ' ὑπὸ μωρίας τε καὶ δειλίας ἀφαιρεθείη. πολεμεῖν τ' οὔτε μὴ βουλομένους ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζομεν, οὔτε προθυμουμένους παραιτούμεθα, ἂν δ' ἄρξησθε ἀμννοῦμεθα. ταῦτα Οὐολούσκοις ἀπαγγέλλετε καὶ λέγετε, ὅτι λήφονται μὲν πρότεροι τὰ ὅπλ' ἐκεῖνοι, θήσομεν δ' ἡμεῖς ὕστεροι.

[3] For it would be great baseness for one to lose through folly and cowardice what one has acquired by valour and courage. We neither force you to go to war against your will nor deprecate war if you are eager for it; but if you begin it, we shall defend ourselves. Return this answer to the Volscians, and tell them that, though they are the first to take up arms, we shall be the last to lay them down."

[1] ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Οὐολούσκων. συναχθείσης οὖν αὐθις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τοῦτο κυροῦται δόγμα κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθνους προειπεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τὸν πόλεμον. ἔπειθ' αἰροῦνται στρατηγούς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου Τύλλον τε καὶ Μάρκιον δυνάμεις τε ψηφίζονται καταγράφειν καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ ἄλλα παρασκευάσασθαι,

[1.1] The ambassadors, having received this answer, reported it to the Volscian people. Another assembly was accordingly called and a decree of the whole nation was passed to declare war against the Romans. After this they appointed Tullus and Marcius generals for the war with full power and voted to levy troops, to raise money, and to prepare everything else they thought would be necessary for the war,

[2] ὅσων ὑπελάμβανον δεήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ. μελλούσης δὲ διαλύεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ὁ Μάρκιος ἔφησεν: [p. 139] α μὲν ἐψήφισται τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν, ἔχει καλῶς καὶ γινέσθω κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἕκαστα καιρόν: ἐν ὧσιν δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα μέλλετε καταγράφειν καὶ ἄλλα εὐτρεπίζειν ἔχοντά τινας ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἀσχολίας καὶ διατριβάς, ἐγὼ καὶ Τύλλος ἔργου ἐχώμεθα. ὅσοις οὖν ὑμῶν βουλομένοις ἐστὶ προνομεῦσαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι λειάν, ἴτε σὺν ἡμῖν. ὑποδέχομαι δ' ὑμῖν, ἐὰν θεὸς συλλάβῃ, πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς δώσειν ὠφελείας.

[2] When the assembly was about to be dismissed, Marcius rose up and said: "What your league has voted is all well and good; and let each provision be carried out at the proper season. But while you are planning to enrol your

armies and making other preparations which, in all probability, will involve some to and delay, let Tullus and me set to work. As many of you, therefore, as wish to plunder the enemy's territory and to gain much booty, come with us. I undertake, with the assistance of Heaven, to give you many rich spoils.

[3] ἔτι γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι εἰσι Ῥωμαῖοι δύναμιν οὐπω συνεστηκυῖαν ὀρῶντες ὑμετέραν, ὥστ' ἄδεῶς ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει πᾶσαν ὅσῃν ἂν βουλώμεθα τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας καταδραμεῖν.

[3] For the Romans, observing that your forces have not yet been assembled, are as yet unprepared; so that we shall have an opportunity of overrunning as large a part of their country as we please without molestation."

[1] ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐξήεσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ ταχέων, πρὶν ἔκπυστα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ βουλευόμενα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενοι στρατιὰν ἐκούσιν: ἥς μέρος μὲν ὁ Τύλλος ἔχων εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ἵνα περισπάσειε τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ Μάρκιος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἤλασεν.

[12.1] The Volscians having approved of this proposal also, the generals marched out in haste at the head of a numerous army of volunteers before the Romans were informed of their plans. With a part of this force Tullus invaded the territory of the Latins, in order to cut off from the enemy any assistance from that quarter; and with the remainder Marcius marched against the Romans' territory.

[2] οἷα δ' ἀπροσδοκίτου τοῦ κακοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν διατρίβουσιν ἐπιπεσόντος πολλὰ μὲν ἐάλω σώματα Ῥωμαίων ἐλεύθερα, πολλὰ δ' ἀνδράποδα, βοῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων χρήμα οὐκ ὀλίγον: σῖτός θ' ὅσος ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις χώρα γεωργεῖται, τὰ μὲν ἡρπάσθη, τὰ δὲ διεφθάρη. τελευτώντες γὰρ καὶ πῦρ εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς φέροντες ἐνέβαλλον Οὐολούσκοι, ὥστε πολλοῦ χρόνου μῆδ' [p. 140]

[2] As the calamity fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken and many slaves and no small number of oxen, beasts of burden, and other cattle; as for the corn that was found there, the iron tools and the other implements with which the land is tilled, some were carried away and others destroyed. For at the last the Volscians set fire to the country-houses, so that it would be a long time before those who had lost them could restore them.

[3] ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὰς δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀποβαλόντας. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπασχον αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν κτήσεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ἔμειναν ἀσινεῖς: εἰ δὲ τινες ἐβλάβησαν, εἰς ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα ἔδοξαν βλαβῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις, ἵνα δι' ὑποψίας ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατρικιοὶ γένοιτο τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐξαίρεθει τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς

[3] The farms of the plebeians suffered most in this respect, while those of the patricians remained unharmed, or, if they received any damage, it seemed to fall only on their slaves and cattle. For Marcius thus instructed the Volscians, in order to increase the suspicion of the plebeians against the patricians and to keep the sedition alive in the state; and that is just what happened.

[4] ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ὥς γὰρ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ καταδρομὴ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γεγονυῖαν ἅπασιν τὴν συμφορὰν, κατεβόων μὲν τῶν πλουσιῶν οἱ πένητες ὥς ἐπαγόντων σφίσι τὸν Μάρκιον, ἀπελογοῦντο δ' οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ κακουργίαν τινὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτην ἀπέφαινον. βοηθεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἢ σώζειν τὰ περιόντα δι' ὑποψίαν τ' ἀλλήλων καὶ δέος προδοσίας οὐθεὶς ἤξιον: ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέστησεν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα παθόντας μὲν οὐδὲν δεινόν, δράσαντας δ' ὅσα ἤξιουν, καὶ πολλῶν εὐπορήσαντας χρημάτων.

[4] For when this raid upon the country was reported to the Romans and they learned that the calamity had not fallen upon all alike, the poor clamoured against the rich, accusing them of bringing Marcius against them, while the patricians endeavoured to clear themselves by declaring that this was some malicious trick on the part of the general. But neither of them, because of mutual jealousy and fear of treachery, thought fit either to come to the rescue of what was being destroyed or to save what was left; so that Marcius had full liberty to withdraw his army and to bring all his men home after they had done as much harm as they pleased, while suffering none themselves, and had enriched themselves with much booty.

[5] ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τύλλος ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων χώρας πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος ὠφελείας: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖ δύναμιν ἔσχον ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχησόμενοι ἀπαράσκευοὶ τ' ὄντες καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ δεινοῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσα πόλις ἐπῆρτο ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ θάπτον ἢ ὥς ἂν τις ὑπέλαβεν ἢ τε καταγραφὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρετεῖτο, ὅσων τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδει. [p. 141]

[5] Tullus also arrived a little later from the territory of the Latins, bringing with him many spoils; for there too the inhabitants had no army with which to engage the enemy, since they were unprepared and the calamity fell upon them unexpectedly. As a result of this every city of the Volscians was buoyed up with hope, and more quickly than anyone would have expected not only were the troops enrolled, but everything else was supplied that the generals needed.

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆκτο ἤδη πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις, ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ὁ Μάρκιος, ὅπως χρηστέον τοῖς λοιποῖς πράγμασιν. ἔφη δ' οὖν λέγων: ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Τύλλε, κράτιστον εἶναι νείμασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἡμᾶς

διχῆ: ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἕτερον ἡμῶν ἄγοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις μαχησόμενον, καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπομενοῦσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῖν ἰέναι μιᾷ κρῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα μάχη, εἰ δ' ἀποκνήσουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, στρατιᾷ νεοσυλλέκτῳ καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀπείροις πολέμου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἐπιτρέπειν, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιόντα πορθεῖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους περισπᾶν καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο κακὸν ὃ τι δύναιτο ποιεῖν.

[13.1] When all their forces were now assembled, Marcius took counsel with his colleague how they should conduct their future operations; and he said to him: "In my opinion, Tullus, it will be best for us to divide our army into two bodies; then one of us, taking the most active and eager of the troops, should engage the enemy, and if they can bring themselves to come to close quarters with us, should decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they hesitate, as I think they will, to stake their all upon a newly raised army and inexperienced generals, then he should attack and lay waste their country, detach their allies, destroy their colonies, and do them any other injury he can.

[2] τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων, μὴ λάθωσιν ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπιτεσόντες αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ πρᾶγμα αἰσχιστον πάθωμεν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἀπόντων ἐφιέμεθα τὰ παρόντα ἀφαιρεθέντες. ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντα ἤδη τείχη τ' ἀνορθοῦν, ὅσα πέπτωκε, καὶ τάφρους ἀνακαθαίρειν καὶ φρουρία ὄχυροῦν, ἵνα τοῖς γεωργοῦσι τὴν χώραν ὑπάρχωσι καταφυγαί, στρατιάν τ' ἄλλην προσκαταγράφειν καὶ τροφὰς τοῖς ἔξω οὖσιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν καὶ ὅπλα χαλκεύειν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πρᾶγμα ὁξέως ὑπηρετεῖν.

[2] And the other should remain here and defend both the country and the cities, lest the enemy fall upon these unawares, if they are unguarded, and we ourselves suffer the most shameful of all disgraces in losing what we have while endeavouring to gain what we have not. But it is necessary that the one who remains here should at once repair the walls of the cities that have fallen in ruin, clear out the ditches, and strengthen the fortresses to serve as places of refuge for the husbandmen. He should also enrol another army, supply the forces that are in the field with provisions, forge arms, and speedily supply anything else that shall be necessary.

[3] δίδωμι δέ σοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, εἴτε τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς εἴτε τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπομενούσης ἐθέλεις στρατηγεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ σφόδρα [p. 142] ἠγάσθη τὴν γνώμην ὁ Τύλλος, καὶ τὸ δραστήριον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰδὼς καὶ ἐπιτυχὲς ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνῳ τῆς ἔξω στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν.

[3] Now I give you the choice whether you will command the army that is to take the field, or the one which is to remain here." While he was speaking these words Tullus was greatly delighted with his proposal, and knowing the man's energy and good fortune in battle, yielded to him the command of the

army that was to take the field.

[1] καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσας ἦκεν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Κιρκαίαν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ κληροῦχοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου. ὥς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Κιρκαῖοι κρατουμένην σφῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ προσάγουσαν τῷ τείχει τὴν στρατιάν, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐξήρσαν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄνοπλοι παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀξιοῦντες: ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον ἐγένετο.

[14] Marcius, without losing any more time, came with his army to the city of Circeii, in which there were Roman colonists living intermingled with the native residents; and he took possession of the town as soon as he appeared before it. For when the Circeians saw their country in the power of the Volscians and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates, and coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, asked them to take possession of the town — a course which saved them from suffering any irreparable mischief.

[2] οὐτε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδένα, οὔτ' ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: ἐσθῆτα δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τροφὰς εἰς μῆνα ἱκανὰς καὶ ἀργυρίον τι μέτριον λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀλίγην μοῖραν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν τῆς τ' ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἕνεκα, μὴ τι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πάθωσι κακόν,

[2] For the general put none of them to death nor expelled any from the city; but having taken clothing for his soldiers and provisions sufficient for a month, together with a moderate sum of money, he withdrew his forces, leaving only a small garrison in the town, not only for the safety of the inhabitants, lest they should suffer some harm at the hands of the Romans, but also to restrain them from beginning any rebellion in the future.

[3] καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὕστερον νεωτερίσαι. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὥς ἡγγέλθη τὰ γενόμενα πολὺ πλείων ταραχὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν μὲν πατρικίων τὸν δῆμον ἔχόντων δι' αἰτίας, ὅτι πολεμιστὴν ἄνδρα καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς μεστὸν ψευδεῖ περιβαλόντες αἰτίαι τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθαν καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ἡγεμόνα Οὐλοῦσκοις γενέσθαι:

[3] When news of what had happened was brought to Rome, there was much greater confusion and disorder than before. The patricians reproached the populace with having driven from the state a man who was a great warrior, energetic, and full of noble pride, by involving him in a false charge and having thus caused him to become general of the Volscians;

[4] τῶν δὲ προεστηκότων τοῦ δήμου κατηγορίας τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιουμένων καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατεσκευάσθαι λεγόντων [p. 143] τὸν τε πόλεμον οὐ κοινὸν ἅπασι, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μόνοις ἐπάγεσθαι σκηπτομένων: καὶ ἦν τὸ κακοηθέστατον τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἅμα τούτοις.

στρατιάς δὲ καταγράφειν ἢ καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ κατεπείγοντα διὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθη καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατηγορίας οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν ἐλάμβανον.

[4] and the leaders of the populace in turn inveighed against the senate, declaring that the whole affair was a piece of treachery devised by them and that the war was being directed, not against all the Romans in common, but against the plebeians only; and the most evil-minded element among the populace sided with them. But neither party gave so much as a thought to raising armies, summoning the allies, or making the necessary preparations, by reason of their mutual hatreds and their actions of one another in the meetings of the assembly.

[1] τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συστραφέντες ἔπειθον ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς στασιωδεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν παύσασθαι τῶν εἰς τοὺς πατρικίους ὑποψιῶν τε καὶ κατηγοριῶν: διδάσκοντες ὥς εἰ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς φυγὴν τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, ἐὰν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πατρικίων προπηλακισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταύτῃ φρονῆσαι: καὶ κατέσχον οὗτοι τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πλήθους.

[15.1] This being observed by the oldest of the Romans, they joined together and sought to persuade the most seditious of the plebeians both in public and in private to put a stop to their suspicions and accusations against the patricians. If, they argued, by the banishment of one man of distinction the commonwealth had been brought into so great danger, what were they to expect if by their abusive treatment they forced the greater part of the patricians to entertain the same sentiments? Thus these men appeased the disorderliness of the populace.

[2] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολλοῦ θορύβου συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λατίνων παροῦσι ἐπὶ συμμαχίας αἴτησιν ἀπεκρίνατο, μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι σφίσι βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν κατὰ τὸ παρόν: αὐτοῖς δ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν στρατιὰν καταγράφειν καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως ἰδίου ἐκπέμπειν τε, ὅταν αὐτοὶ ἐκπέμψωσι δύναμιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συνθήκαις, αἷς ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ φιλίας, ἀπόρρητον ἦν τούτων ἑκάτερον.

[2] After the great tumult had been suppressed, the senate met and gave the following answer to the ambassadors who had come from the Latin League to ask for armed assistance: That it was not easy for them to send assistance for the time being; but that they gave the Latins leave to enrol their own army themselves and to send out their own generals in command of their forces until the Romans should send out a force; for by the treaty of friendship they had made with the Latins both these things were forbidden.

[3] τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐφῆκαν στρατόν τε [p. 144] συναγαγεῖν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ

τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρακαλεῖν, εἰς ὑπαιθρον δὲ μήπω τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντα εὐτρεπῇ γένηται. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ταῦτ' ἐπεκύρωσεν. ἦν δὲ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἐφθασαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρέδωκαν ἡμιτελῆ πάντα τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπάτοις.

[3] The senate also ordered the consuls to raise an army by levy, to guard the city, and to summon the allies, but not to take the field with their forces till everything was in readiness. These resolutions were ratified by the people. Only a short time now remained of the consuls' term of office, so that they were unable to carry to completion any of the measures that had been voted, but handed over everything half finished to their successors.

[1] οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, Σπόριος Ναύτιος καὶ Σέξτος Φούριος, στρατιὰν θ' ὅσην ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἐκ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κατεστήσαντο καταλόγου, καὶ φρυκτωρίας καὶ σκοποὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις φρουρίοις ἔταξαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας πραττομένων: χρήματά τε καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὅπλα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ ἡτοιμάσαντο.

[16.1] Those who assumed office after them, Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius, raised as large an army as they could from the register of citizens, and placed beacons and lookouts in the most convenient fortresses, in order that they might not be unaware of anything that passed in the country. They also got ready a great quantity of money, corn and arms in a short time.

[2] τὰ μὲν οὖν οἰκεῖα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐνῆν ἄριστα, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔτι δεῖν ἐδόκει: τὰ δὲ συμμαχικὰ οὐχ ἅπαντα ὑπήκουε προθυμῶς ἐκούσῃα τ' οὐκ ἦν, οἷα συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ὥστ' οὐδὲ προσαναγκάζειν αὐτὰ ἠξιοῦν φοβούμενοι προδοσίαν. ἤδη δὲ τινα καὶ ἀφίστατο αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις συνελάμβανε.

[2] These preparations at home, then, were made in the best manner possible, and nothing now seemed to be wanting; but the allies did not all obey their summons with alacrity nor were they disposed to assist them voluntarily in the war, so that the consuls did not think fit to use compulsion either with them, for fear of treachery. Indeed, some of the allies were already openly revolting from them and aiding the Volscians.

[3] πρῶτοι δ' ἦρξαν Αἰκανοὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἅμα τῷ συστήναι τὸν πόλεμον εὐθύς ἐλθόντες ὡς τοὺς Οὐολούσκους καὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ' ὄρκων συνθέμενοι, στρατιὰν τ' ἀπέστειλαν οὗτοι τῷ Μαρκίῳ πλείστην τε καὶ προθυμοτάτην. ἀρξαμένων δὲ τούτων [p. 145] πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων κρύφα συνελάμβανον τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις οὐκ ἀπὸ ψηφισμάτων οὐδ' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δόγματος ἀποστέλλοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς συμμαχίας, εἰ δὲ τισιν ἦν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας τῶν σφετέρων, οὐχ ὅπως

ἀποτρέποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρορμῶντες.

[3] The Aequians had begun the revolt by going at once to the Volscians as soon as the war arose and entering into an alliance with them under oath; and these sent to Marcius a very numerous and zealous army. After these had taken the lead, many of the other allies also secretly assisted the Volscians and sent them reinforcements, though not in pursuance of any votes or general decree, but if any of their people desired to take part in the campaign of Marcius, they not only did not attempt to dissuade them, but even encouraged them.

[4] ἐγγόνει τ' ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοσαύτη δύναμις περὶ τοὺς Οὐολούσκους, ὅσῃν οὐ πώποτ' ἔσχον, ὅτε μάλιστ' ἤκμαζον ταῖς πόλεσιν: ἦν ἐπαγόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἡμέρας συχνὰς ἐδήλου τῆς γῆς, ὅσῃν ἐν τῇ πρότερον εἰσβολῇ παρέλιπε.

[4] Thus in a short time the Volscians had got so large an army as they had never possessed when their cities had been in the most flourishing state. At the head of this army Marcius made another irruption into the territory of the Romans, and encamping there for many days, laid waste all the country which he had spared in his former incursion.

[5] σωμαίων μὲν οὖν ἐλευθέρων οὐκέτι πολλῶν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν: οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια συσκευασάμενοι παλαιότερον ἔτι κατεπεφεύγεσαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον φρούρια, εἴ τινα ἦν ἐχυρώτατα: τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα αὐτῶν, ὅσα οὐχ οἱοί τ' ἦσαν ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τοὺς νέμοντας θεράποντας λαμβάνει τὸν τε σῆτον τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλωσιν ἔτι κείμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρπούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντας,

[5] He did not, it is true, capture many persons of free condition on this expedition; for the inhabitants had long since fled, after getting together everything that was most valuable, some to Rome and others to such of the neighbouring fortresses as were most capable of defence; but he took all the cattle they had not been able to driven away, together with the slaves who tended them, and carried off the corn, that still lay upon the threshing-floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering or already gathered.

[6] τοὺς δὲ καὶ συγκεκομισμένους ἀναιρεῖται. προνομεύσας δὲ καὶ διαπορθήσας ἅπαντα οὐθενὸς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τολμήσαντος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιὰν βαρεῖαν οὖσαν ἤδη τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὠφελειῶν καὶ σχολῇ πορευομένην.

[6] Having ravaged and laid everything waste, as none dared to come to grips with him, he led homeward his army, which was now heavily burdened with the great amount of its spoils and was proceeding in leisurely fashion.

[1] οἱ δὲ Οὐλοῦσκοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κομιζομένης [p. 146] λείας ὀρῶντες καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀτολμίας ἀκούοντες, οἱ δὴ τέως τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λεηλατοῦντες ἀδεῶς τότε τὴν αὐτῶν γῆν ἠνείχοντο διηουμένην ὀρῶντες, αὐχίματός τε μεγάλου ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν ἡγεμονίας, ὥς δὴ ῥάδιον καὶ ἐν ἐτοιμῷ σφίσιν ὄν καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἰσχύν, θυσίας τε χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σκύλων ἀναθέσει τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐκόσμουσαν καὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντες ἐν ἐορταῖς καὶ εὐπαθείαις τὸν τε Μάρκιον ἀγάμενοι καὶ ὕμνοῦντες διετέλουν, ὥς εἴη τὰ τε πολέμια δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ στρατηγός, οἷος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε ἄλλος στρατηγὸς Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων οὐδεῖς.

[17.1] The Volscians, seeing the vast quantity of booty that was being brought home and hearing reports of the craven spirit of the Romans who, though they had hitherto been wont to ravage their neighbours' country, could now bear to see their own laid waste with impunity, were filled with great boastfulness and entertained hopes of the supremacy, looking upon it as an easy undertaking, lying ready to their hands, to overthrow the power of their adversaries. They offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods for their success and adorned their temples and market-places with dedications of spoils, and all passed their time in festivals and rejoicings; while as for Marcius, they continued to admire and celebrate him as the ablest of all men in warfare and a general without an equal either at Rome or in the Greek or barbarian world.

[2] μάλιστα δὲ τῆς τύχης αὐτὸν ἐμακάριζον ἅπαντα, ὅσοις ἐπιχειρήσειε, κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ προχωροῦντα ὀρῶντες διχα πόνον: ὥστ' οὐδεῖς ἦν τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεῦσιμον ἡλικίαν, ὃς ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὥρμητο μετέχειν τῶν πράξεων καὶ συνήεσαν ὥς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως.

[2] But above all they admired him for his good fortune, observing that everything he undertook easily succeeded according to his desire; so that there was no one of military age who was willing to be left behind by him, but all were eager to share in his exploits and flocked to him from every city.

[3] ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν Οὐλοῦσκων ἐπέρρωσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρεῖον εἰς ταπεινὴν καὶ ἄνανδρον κατέκλεισεν ἀμηχανίαν, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν πόλεις, ὅσαι τὸ πιστὸν διεφύλαττον, ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν: καὶ αὐτίκα ἐτοιμασάμενος, ὅσαι εἰς πολιορκίαν χρήσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ Τολερίνους ἐλάυνει τοῦ Λατίνων ὄντας ἔθρους.

[3] The general, after he had strengthened the zeal of the Volscians and reduced the manly fortitude of the enemy to a helplessness that was abject and anything but manly, led his army against the cities of their allies that still remained faithful to them; and having promptly prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, he marched against the Toleriensens, who belonged to the Latin nation.

[4] οἱ δὲ Τολερῖνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν συγκεκομικότες ἐδέχοντο αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα καὶ χρόνον μὲν [p. 147] τιν' ἀντεῖχον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν μαχόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατέτρωσαν· ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι δείλης ὀψίας ταλαιπωροῦντες πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐξέλιπον. τοῦτο

[4] These, having long before made the necessary preparations for war and transported all the effects they had in the country into the city, withstood his attack and held out for some time, fighting from their walls and wounding many of the enemy; then, after being driven back by the slingers and enduring hardships till the late afternoon, they abandoned many parts of the wall.

[5] καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε κλίμακας προσφέρειν κατὰ τὰ γυμνούμενα μέρη τοῦ περιβόλου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἵεται βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, καὶ διαρρήξας τοὺς μοχλοὺς παρέρχεται πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δ' ὑφ' ἐστιακῶς ταῖς πύλαις πολὺ καὶ καρτερὸν στίφος τῶν πολεμίων, οἳ δέχονται τ' αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διεκαρτέρουν ἀγωνιζόμενοι· πολλῶν δ' ἀναιρεθέντων τρέπονται οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ σκεδασθέντες ἔφευγον ἀνὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς.

[5] When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered some of the soldiers to plant ladders against those parts of the wall that were left unprotected, while he himself with the flower of his army hastened to the gates amid a shower of spears that were hurled at him from the towers; and breaking the bars asunder, he was the first to enter the city. Close to the gates stood a large and strong body of the enemy's troops, who stoutly withstood his attack and continued to fight for a long time; but when many of them had been killed, the rest gave way and, dispersing themselves, fled through the streets.

[6] ὁ δ' ἠκολούθει κτείνων τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους, ὅσοι μὴ τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντες εἰς ἱκεσίας ἐτράποντο· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ τείχους. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐξελόμενος ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ὅσα θεοῖς τ' ἀναθήματα καὶ κόσμος ταῖς Οὐολούσκων πόλεσιν ἔμελλε γενέσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε διαρπάσαι.

[6] Marcius followed, putting to death all whom he overtook except those who threw away their arms and had recourse to supplications. In the meantime the men who had ascended by the ladders were making themselves masters of the wall. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius set aside such of the spoils as were to be consecrated to the gods and to adorn the cities of the Volscians, and the rest he permitted the soldiers to plunder.

[7] ἦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθι σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα, πολὺς δὲ σῆτος,

ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι μιᾷ πάντα ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἡμέρα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες τὰ μὲν [p. 148] αὐτοί, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πολλὴν ἠναγκάσθησαν διατρίψαι χρόνον.

[7] Many prisoners were taken there, also a great deal of money and much corn, so that it was not easy for the victors to remove everything in one day, but they were forced to consume much time while, working in relays, they drove or carried away the booty, either on their own backs or using beasts of burden.

[1] ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐξεκεκόμιστο, τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βῶλαν Λατίνων ἑτέραν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ προεγνωκότες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκιος ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσων κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς· οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ περιμείναντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας, καὶ φερόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐν τάξει τε καὶ κόσμῳ συρράπτουσι τοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἔτι δὲ πλείους κατατραυματίσαντες τοὺς τε λοιποὺς αἰσχυρῶς ἀναγκάσαντες φυγεῖν ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

[18.1] The general, after all the prisoners and effects had been removed out of the city, left it desolate and drew off his forces to Bola, another town of the Latins. The Bolani also, as it chanced, had been apprised of his intended attack and had prepared everything necessary for the struggle. Marcius, who expected to take the town by storm, delivered his attacks upon many parts of the wall. But the Bolani, after watching for a favourable opportunity, opened their gates, and sallying out in force in regular array, engaged the front ranks of the enemy; then, after killing many of them and wounding still more and after forcing the rest to a shameful flight, they retired into the city.

[2] ὡς δ' ἔγνω τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Οὐολούσκων ὁ Μάρκιος· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχε παρὼν ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο· παρῆν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς σκεδασθέντας ἀναλαβὼν συνίστατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέστησεν εἰς τάξεις, ὑποδείξας, ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε προσβάλλειν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας.

[2] When Marcius learned of rout of the Volscians — for it chanced that he was not present in the place where this defeat occurred — he came up in haste with a few of his men, and rallying those who were dispersed in the flight, he formed them into a body and encouraged them. Then, having got them back in their ranks and indicated what they were to do, he ordered them to attack the town at the same gates.

[3] χρησαμένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Βωλανῶν τῇ αὐτῇ πείρᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐκδραμόντων οὐ δέχονται αὐτοὺς οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐγκλιναντες ἔφευγον

κατὰ [p. 149] τοῦ πρανοῦς, ὡς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέθετο: καὶ οἱ Βωλανοὶ τὴν ἀπάτην οὐκ εἰδότες ἐδίωκον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ἐγένοντο, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τῶν νέων ὁ Μάρκιος ὁμόσε τοῖς Βωλανοῖς ἐχώρει: καὶ γίνεται πολὺς αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα φόνος τῶν μὲν ἀμυνομένων, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων.

[3] When the Bolani once more tried the same expedient, sallying out in force, the Volscians did not await them, but gave way and fled down hill, as their general had instructed them to do; and the Bolani, ignorant of the ruse, pursued them a considerable way. Then, when they were at a distance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of chosen youth; and many of the Bolani fell, some while defending themselves and others while endeavouring to escape.

[4] ὁ δ' ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠθουμένοις φθάνει, πρὶν ἐπιρραχθῆναι τὰς πύλας εἰσβιασάμενος εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δ' ὁ στρατηγὸς ἅπαξ ἐγκρατὴς τῶν πυλῶν ἐγένετο, ἠκολούθει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Οὐλολούσκων πλῆθος, οἱ δὲ Βωλανοὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τε σώματα ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσαι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἅπασαν ἐκκομίσας τὴν λείαν σὺν χρόνῳ τε καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν.

[4] Marcius pursued those who were being pushed back toward the town and forced his way inside the walls before the gates could be slammed shut. When the general had once made himself master of the gates, the rest of the Volscian host followed, and the Bolani, abandoning the walls, fled to their houses. Marcius, having possessed himself of this city also, gave leave to the soldiers to make slaves of the inhabitants and to seize their effects; and after carrying away all the booty at his leisure and with full liberty, as before, he set fire to the town.

[1] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Λαβικανούς. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη τότε Λατίνων ἡ πόλις Ἀλβανῶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλαι ἄποικος. καταπλήξασθαι δὲ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἔνδον ἔκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθύς ἐπιών, ὅθεν μάλιστα ἔμελλον ὄψεσθαι τὴν φλόγα. οἱ δὲ Λαβικανοὶ τεῖχος εὖ κατεσκευασμένον ἔχοντες οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε μαλακὸν ἐνέδοσαν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον [p. 150] ἀπομαχώμενοι γενναίως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιβαίνοντας τοῦ

[19.1] From there he took his army and marched against the place called Labici. This city too belonged then to the Latins and was, like the others, a colony of the Albans. In order to terrify the inhabitants, as soon as he entered their territory he set fire to the part of the country from which the flames would most clearly be seen by them. But the Labicani, since they had well-constructed walls, neither became terrified at his invasion nor showed any

sign of weakness, but made a brave resistance and often repulsed the enemy as they were attempting to scale the walls.

[2] τείχους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήραξαν. οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος γ' ἀντέσχον ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναπαυόμενοι. πολλαὶ γὰρ προσβολαὶ καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐγίνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐλοῦσκων ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑποχωρούντων μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν κεκμηκότων, ἑτέρων δὲ προσιόντων νεαρῶν: πρὸς οὓς ἀγωνιζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενοι χρόνον ἐκλιπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ κόπου. παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὁ Μάρκιος τὴν πόλιν ἐξηνδραποδίστατο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε μερίσασθαι τὰς ὠφελείας.

[2] Notwithstanding this, they were not able to resist to the end, fighting as they were few against many and without the least respite. For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volscians, who fought in shifts, those who were fatigued continually retiring and other forces that were fresh taking their place; and the inhabitants, contending against these all day, without any respite even at night, were forced through exhaustion to abandon at walls. Marcius, having taken this city also, made slaves of the inhabitants and allowed his soldiers to divide the spoils.

[3] ἀναστήσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πεδανῶν πόλιν: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Λατίνων γένους: συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν στρατιὰν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα τῷ πλησιάζει τοῖς τείχεσιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. καὶ ταῦτ' αὖθις διαθεῖς ὅσα τὰς πρότερον ἀλούσας ἔωθεν εὐθύς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἦγεν ἐπὶ Κορβιῶνα.

[3] Thence he marched to Pedum — this also was a city of the Latins — and advancing with his army in good order, he took the town by storm as soon as he came near the walls. And having treated it in the same manner as the cities he had captured earlier, he led his forces at break of day against Corbio.

[4] ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἀπαντῶσιν ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων προτείνοντες ἱκετηρίας καὶ παραδιδόντες ἀμαχητὶ τὸ τεῖχος. οὓς ἐπαινέσας ὥς τὰ κράτιστα περὶ σφῶν βεβουλευμένους, ἐκέλευσεν ὧν ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ φέροντας ἡκεῖν ἀργυρίον τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ λαβὼν ὅσα προσέταξεν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Κοπιολανῶν [p. 151] πόλιν. παραδόντων δὲ κάκεινην τῶν ἔνδον ἀμαχητὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀγοράς τε παρασχόντων τῇ δυνάμει καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐπετέτακτο αὐτοῖς ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὥς διὰ φιλίας γῆς. πάνυ γὰρ δὴ

[4] When he was near its walls, the inhabitants opened their gates and came to meet him, holding out olive-branches instead of weapons and offering to surrender their walls without striking a blow. Marcius, after commending them for adopting the course that was to their best interest, ordered them to

come out bringing whatever his army required, both money and corn; and having obtained what he demanded, he led his forces to Corioli. When the inhabitants of this place also surrendered it without resistance and very readily supplied his army with provisions and money and everything else that he ordered, he led the army away through their territory as through a friendly land.

[5] καὶ τοῦτ' ἐσπούδαζεν, ὥς μηδὲν οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοῖς τὰς πόλεις πάθοιεν, ὧν φιλεῖ δρᾶν ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν ἀδήλωτον ἀπολαμβάνοιεν καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα, ὅσα κατέλιπον ἐπὶ τῶν κτήσεων, κομίζοιντο, αὐλίζεσθαι τ' οὐκ εἶα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἵνα μὴ τι γένηται δι' ἀρπαγῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἢ κλοπῆς κακόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσι κατεστρατοπέδευεν.

[5] For this too was a matter about which he always took great care — that those who surrendered their cities to him should suffer none of the ills incident to war, but should get back their lands unravaged and recover all the cattle and slaves they had left behind on their farms; and he would not permit his army to quarter itself in the cities, lest some mischief should result from their plundering or stealing, but he always encamped near the walls.

[1] ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀναστήσας τῆς πόλεως ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Βοίλλας, ἐπιφανῇ τότε οὔσαν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγαις πάνυ ταῖς ἡγουμέναις τοῦ Λατίνων γένους πόλεσιν ἐξεταζομένην. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ τῷ τ' ἐρύματι πιστευόντων ἐχυρῷ γε σφόδρα ὄντι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μαχησομένων παρακαλέσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι προθύμως καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπιβᾶσι τοῦ τείχους μεγάλας δωρεὰς ὑποσχόμενος ἔργου εἶχετο: καὶ γίνεται μάχη περὶ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καρτερὰ.

[20.1] Departing from this city, he led his army to Bovillae, which was then a city of note and counted as one of the very few leading cities of the Latin nation. When the inhabitants would not receive him, but trusted in their ramparts, which were very strong, and in the multitude of defenders who would fight from them, Marcius exhorted his men to fight ardently, promising great rewards to those who should first mount the walls, and then set to work; and a sharp battle took place for this city.

[2] οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἡμύνοντο τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ Βοίλλανοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξέθεον ἄθροοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐώθουν βίᾳ τοὺς ὑφισταμένους: φόβος τε [p. 152] πλεῖστος αὐτόθι τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνος τῆς τειχομαχίας πολὺς τοῦ τε κρατήσῃν τῆς πόλεως ἄπορος ἅπασιν ἢ ἐλπίς. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἄδηλον ἐποiei τὴν ἀπουσίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀντικαθιστὰς ἑτέρους, τῶν δὲ καμνόντων παρεθάρρυνε τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πονοῦν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς ὠθοῦμενος. ἦν δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαγωγὸς εἰς τὸ εὐψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. πάντα γὰρ ὑφίστατο κίνδυνον καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς πείρας ἀπελείφθη,

[2] For the Bovillani not only repulsed the assailants from the walls, but even threw open their gates, and sallying out in a body, forcibly thrust back down hill those who opposed them. Here the Volscians suffered very heavy losses and the battle for the walls continued a long time, so that all despaired of taking the town. But the general caused the loss of those who were slain to pass unnoticed by replacing them with others, and inspired with fresh courage those who were spent with toil by pressing forward himself to that part of the army which was in distress. Thus not only his words, but his actions also were incentives to valour; for he faced every danger and was not found wanting in any attempt till the walls were taken.

[3] τεῖχος. κρατήσας δὲ καὶ ταύτης σὺν χρόνῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διαφθείρας, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφανεστάτην νικην ἐξενεγκάμενος καὶ λάφυρα κάλλιστα καὶ πλεῖστα ἄγων, χρήμασι τε παμπόλλοις, ὧν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο: ἦν δ' αὐτόθι ὅσα ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων: πλουτίσας τὴν στρατιάν.

[3] When at length he had made himself master of this city also and had summarily put to death some of the inhabitants and made prisoners of the rest, he withdrew his forces, having won a most glorious victory and carrying off great quantities of the finest spoils, besides enriching his army with vast amounts of money he had got possession of in this city, where it was found in greater quantity than in any of the places he had captured.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτο χώρα θ', ὅσῃν διαπορεύοιτο, ὑποχείριος ἦν καὶ πόλις οὐδεμία ἦν αντιοῦτο ἔξω Λαουινίου, ἦν πρώτην τε πόλιν οἱ σὺν Αἰνεΐᾳ κατάραντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν Τρῶες ἔκτισαν, καὶ ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἦν γένος, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες πάντα πρότερον ὦοντο δεῖν ὑπομένειν, ἢ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπογόνους σφῶν Ῥωμαίους

[21.1] After this all the country he marched through submitted to him and no city made any resistance but Lavinium, which was the first city built by the Trojans who land in Italy with Aeneas, and the one from which the Romans derive their origin, as I have shown earlier. The inhabitants of this city thought they ought to suffer any extremity rather than fail to keep faith with their descendants.

[2] πιστὸν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ τειχομαχίαι [p. 153] τινὲς αὐτόθι καρτεραὶ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὀξεῖαι μάχαι: οὐ μὴν ἑάλω γε τὸ τεῖχος ἀπὸ κράτους τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει χρόνου δεῖν ἢ πολιορκία καὶ τριβῆς. ἀποστάς οὖν τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ Μάρκιος περιετάρρευε κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπεσταύρου, τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλάττων, ἵνα μήτ' ἀγορὰ μήτ' ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν προσγένοιτο.

[2] Here, therefore, some stubborn fighting took place upon the walls and some

sharp engagements before the ramparts; nevertheless, the walls were not carried by storm at the first assault, but their capture seemed to require time and unhurried persistence. Marcius accordingly gave over the attack on the walls and undertook to construct a ditch and a palisade around the town, while guarding all the roads so that neither provisions nor reinforcements might come to the inhabitants from outside.

[3] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τε κεκρατημένων ἤδη πόλεων τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀκούοντες καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ἐνοχλοῦμενοι ταῖς ἀφικνουμέναις ὡς αὐτοὺς ὀσημέραι παρὰ τῶν μενουσῶν ἐν τῇ φιλῖα καὶ δεομένων βοηθείας, τοῦ τε Λαουινίου τὸν περιτειχισμὸν ὀρρωδοῦντες ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα, καὶ εἰ τόδε τὸ φρούριον ἀλώσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν εὐθύς οἴομενοι, μίαν ὑπέλαβον ἕσεσθαι πάντων τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, εἰ

[3] The Romans, being informed both of the destruction of the cities that were already taken and of the exigency which had influenced those who had joined Marcius, and importuned by the embassies which came to them daily from those who continued firm in their friendship and besought their aid, and being alarmed, moreover, by the investment of Lavinium then in progress and believing that if this stronghold should be taken the war would promptly come to their own gates, thought the only remedy for all these evils would be to pass a vote for the return of Marcius.

[4] ψηφίσαιντο τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ ὃ τε δῆμος ἅπας ἐβόα τοῦτο, καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι νόμον εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ ἀκυρώσεως τῆς καταδίκης ἐβούλοντο· ἀλλ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἠναντιώθησαν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἄξιοῦντες τῶν δεδικασμένων λύειν οὐθέν. μὴ γενομένου δὲ προβουλεύματος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔτι προθεῖναι γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐδόκει.

[4] The entire populace shouted for this and the tribunes too wished to introduce a law for the annulment of his condemnation; but the patricians opposed them, being determined not to reverse any part of the sentence which had been pronounced. And as no preliminary decree was passed by the senate, the tribunes too no longer thought fit to propose the matter to the populace.

[5] ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀφ' ἧς δῆποτε αἰτίας ἡ βουλὴ σπουδάζουσα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μαρκίου τότε βουλομένη [p. 154] τῷ δήμῳ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἠναντιώθη: πότερα πείραν αὐτοῦ ποιουμένη τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῷ μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἐτοιμῶς ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν παρορμῶσα, ἢ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπολύσασθαι βουλομένη διαβολᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθενὸς ὧν ἔπραττεν ὁ ἀνὴρ μήτε αἰτία μήτε συνεργὸς εἶναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπόρρητον γενόμενον αὐτῆς τὸ βούλευμα συμβαλεῖν.

[5] It may well excite wonder what the motive was that led the senate, which hitherto had so warmly espoused the cause of Marcius, to oppose the populace

on this occasion when they wished to recall him — whether they were sounding out the sentiment of the populace and arousing them to greater zeal by their own reluctance to yield to them, or whether they wished to clear themselves of the accusations brought against them so that they might not be held to be either responsible for or accomplices in any of the acts of Marcius. For as their purpose was kept secret, it was difficult to conjecture what it was.

[1] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτομόλων τινῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς, εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, φυλακὴν τοῦ Λαουινίου τὴν ἄρκοῦσαν καταλιπών· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου τετταράκοντα ἀποσχῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους.

[22.1] Marcius, being informed of these events by some deserters, was so angry that he broke camp at once and marched on Rome, leaving a sufficient force to keep guard over Lavinium; and he straightway encamped at the place called the Cluilian Ditches, at a distance of forty stades from the city.

[2] μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοσοῦτος ἐνέπεσε θόρυβος ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς τείχεσι τοῦ πολέμου προσάξοντος, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ὄπλα λαβόντες ἔθρον ἄνευ παραγγέλματος, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατὰ πλῆθος ἐφέροντο χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς δούλους καθοπλίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι τῶν οἰκιῶν ἴστασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τ' ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρυμνοὺς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο, γυναικὲς τε λελυμέναι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς ἔθρον ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ δεόμεναι τῶν θεῶν ἀποστρέψαι τῇς πόλεως τὸν ἐπιόντα φόβον.

[2] When the Romans heard of his presence there, such confusion fell upon them, in their belief that the war would at once come to their walls, that some seized their arms and ran to the walls without orders, others went in a body to the gates without anyone to command them, some armed their slaves and took their stand on the roofs of their houses, and still others seized the citadel and the Capitol and the other strong places of the city; and the women, with their hair dishevelled, ran to the sanctuaries and to the temples, lamenting and praying to the gods to avert the danger that threatened.

[3] ὡς δ' ἦ τε [p. 155] νύξ παρῆλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, συνέδραμον ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προβουλεύσουσι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν κάθοδον, αὐτοὶ βουλεύσεσθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔφασαν ὡς προδιδόμενοι.

[3] But when the night had passed, as well as most of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared befell them, but Marcius remained quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the Forum and called upon the patricians to assemble in the senate-house, declaring that if they would not pass the preliminary decree for the return of Marcius, they themselves, as men who were being

betrayed, would take measures for their own protection.

[4] τότε δὴ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατρίκιοι ψηφίζονται πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἀποστεῖλαι πέντε ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, οὓς μάλιστα ἐκεῖνος ἡσπάζετο, περὶ διαλύσεώς τε καὶ φιλίας διαλεξιμένους. ἦσαν δ' οἱ προχειρισθέντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἶδε, Μάρκος Μηνύκιος καὶ Πόστουμος Κομίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Λάρκιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πινάριος καὶ

[4] Then at last the senators met in the senate-house and voted to send to Marcius five of their oldest members who were his closest friends, to treat for reconciliation and friendship. The men chosen were Marcus Minucius, Postumus Cominius, Spurius Larcus, Publius Pinarius and Quintus Sulpicius, all ex-consuls.

[5] Κόιντος Σολπίκιος, ἅπαντες ὑπατικοί. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἔγνω τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκιος, καθεζόμενος ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Οὐλοούσκων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ἔνθα πλεῖστοι ἔμελλον ἀκούσεσθαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐκέλευσε καλεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰσελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἤρξατο τοῦ λόγου Μηνύκιος, ὁ πλεῖστα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνον σπουδάσας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἐναντιωθείς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[5] When they came to the camp and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he seated himself in the midst of the most important of the Volscians and their allies, where very many would hear all that was said, and then ordered the envoys to be summoned. When these came in, Minucius, who during his consulship had been most active in his favour and had distinguished himself by his opposition to the plebeians, spoke first, as follows:

[1] ὅτι μὲν οὐ δίκαια πέπονθας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετ' αἰτίας αἰσχυρᾶς ἐξελασθεῖς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἅπαντες ἴσμεν: καὶ οὐδὲν οἰόμεθά σε ποιεῖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις. κοινὸς γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀπάντων φύσεως οὗτος [p. 156] ὁ νόμος, ἐχθρόν εἶναι τῷ δράσαντι τὸ πεπονθὸς κακῶς.

[23.1] “We are all sensible, Marcius, that you have suffered injustice at the hands of the populace in having been banished from your country under a foul accusation, and we do not regard it as anything strange on your part if you feel anger and resentment at your misfortunes. For common to the nature of all men is this law — that the injured party is an enemy to the aggressor.

[2] ὅτι δ' οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ σώφρονος ἐξετάζεις, οὓς ἀμύνεσθαι τε καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι σοι προσῆκεν, οὐδὲ μετριάζεις περὶ τὴν ἀνάπραξιν τῆς δίκης, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῳ τίθεσαι τὰ τ' ἀναίτια τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ τὰ φίλια τοῖς πολεμίοις, νόμους τε κινεῖς φύσεως ἀκινήτους καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνταράττεις ὅσια, καὶ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ ὅστις ἔφυς ἔτι μέμνησαι, τοῦτο τεθανυμάκαμεν.

[2] But that you do not examine in the light of sober reason who those are whom you ought to requite and punish, nor show any moderation in exacting that punishment, but class together the innocent with the guilty and friends with enemies, and that you violate the inviolable laws of Nature, confound the duties of religion, and, even as to yourself, no longer remember from whom you are sprung and what sort of man you are — that has seemed strange to us.

[3] ἤκομέν τ' ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πρέσβεις οἱ προὔχοντες ἡλικία τῶν πατρικίων καὶ περὶ σέ προθυμότατοι μεμιγμένην φέροντες δικαιολογίαν παραιτήσῃ, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιοῦμέν σε διαλύσεσθαι τὴν ἔχθραν, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπαγγελοῦντες· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἃ νομίζομεν εἶναι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφωρότατά σοι, ταῦτα παραινέσοντες.

[3] We have come now, the oldest of the patricians and the most zealous of your friends, sent by the commonwealth to present our defence mingled with entreaty, and to bring word upon what conditions we ask you to lay aside your enmity toward the populace; and furthermore, to advise you of the course which we believe will be the most honourable and advantageous for you.

[1] ἀρχέτω δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγος. συνέστη τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ παροξυνθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ ἦκον ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντές σε ἄκριτον, οἷς φοβερός ἦσθα. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐκωλύσαμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ παρέσχομέν σοι μηθέν, ὃ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν τότε παθεῖν. μετὰ τοῦτο προὔκαλοῦντό σε οἱ κωλυθέντες ἀνελεῖν ἐπὶ δίκην, αἰτίαςάμενοι πονηροῦς κατ' αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγους.

[24.1] “Let me speak first concerning the point of justice. The plebeians, inflamed by the tribunes, conspired against you and came with the intention of putting you to death without a trial, because they feared you. This attempt we of the senate prevented, and we permitted you to suffer no injustice on that occasion. Afterwards the same men who had been prevented from destroying you summoned you to trial, charging you with having uttered malicious words about them in the senate.

[2] ἐνέστημεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὡς οἴσθα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε λόγων ὑποσχέιν σε δίκας. ἀποτυχόντες [p. 157] καὶ τούτου τελευτῶντες ἦκον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αἰτιώμενοι σε τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν. ταύτην αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινας ἀπολογησάσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ πάμπλου ἀπείχες αὐτῆς, καὶ παρέσχες τοῖς δημοτικοῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἀναλαβεῖν.

[2] We opposed this too, as you know, and would not permit you to be brought to trial either for your opinion or for your words. Disappointed in this also, they came to us at last, accusing you at aiming at tyranny. This charge you yourself consented to answer, since you were far from guilty of it, and you permitted the plebeians to give their votes concerning you.

[3] ἡ βουλὴ δὲ καὶ τότε παρήν καὶ πολλὰς ἐποιεῖτο δεήσεις περὶ σοῦ. τίνος

οὐν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι τῶν συμβεβηκότων σοι κακῶν γεγόναμεν αἵτιοι, καὶ διὰ τί πολεμεῖς ἡμῖν τοσαύτην εὐνοίαν ἀποδειξαμένοις περὶ σέ κατὰ τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπαν ἐξελασθῆναι σε βουλούμενον εὐρέθη: δυσὶ γοῦν ψήφοις ἐάλως μόναίς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοῦτοις ἂν εἴης σὺν δίκῃ πολέμιος, οἷ σε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἀπέλυσαν.

[3] The senate was present on this occasion also and made many pleas in your behalf. Of which of the misfortunes, then, that have befallen you have we patricians been the cause? And why do you make war upon us who showed so much goodwill toward you during that contest? But, for that matter, not even all the plebeians were found to desire your banishment; at any rate, you were condemned by two votes only, so that you could not with justice be an enemy to those plebeians, either, who acquitted you as guilty of no wrongdoing.

[4] τίθημι δ', εἰ βούλει, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς δημόταις δόξαν, ὅλη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ φανέν ταύτῃ χρήσασθαι σε τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι σου τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς μῖσος; ἀλλ' αἱ γυναῖκές σε, ὦ Μάρκιε, τί δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο, ἀνθ' ὅτου πολεμεῖς αὐταῖς; ποῖαν ἐπενέγκασαι περὶ φυγῆς ψῆφον ἢ τίνας εἰποῦσαι κατὰ σοῦ πονηροῦς λόγους;

[4] I will assume, however, if you wish, that it was pursuant to the vote of all the plebeians and the judgement of the entire senate that you suffered this misfortune, and that your hatred against us all is just; but the women, Marcius, what wrong have they done to you that you should make war upon them? By what vote did they condemn you to banishment, or what malicious words did they utter against you?

[5] τί δ' οἱ παῖδες ἡμῶν δράσαντες ἢ διανοηθέντες ἀδικεῖν περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκός, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἀλῶ; οὐ τὰ δίκαια διαιτᾷς, ὦ Μάρκιε, καὶ εἰ τοῦτον οἶει δεῖν τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τῶν ἀναιτίων φεῖδεσθαι καὶ φιλιῶν, οὐκ ἄρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ [p. 158]

[5] And our children, what wrong have they done or contemplated doing that they should be exposed to captivity and to all the other misfortunes which they would presumably suffer if the city should be taken? You are not just in your judgements, Marcius; and if you think you ought to hate those who are guilty and your enemies in such a manner as not to spare even those who are innocent and your friends, then your way of thinking is not such as becomes a good man.

[6] φρονεῖς. ἵνα δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀφῶ, τί ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, ὦ πρὸς Διός, εἴ τις ἔροιστό σε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τάφους τῶν προγόνων τί παθῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνασκάπτεις καὶ τιμάς, ἃς κομίζονται παρ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀφαιρῇ; θεῶν δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεῶς τίνος ἀδικήματος ὄργῃ συλᾷς καὶ κατακαίεις καὶ ἀνατρέπεις καὶ σεβασμῶν οὐκ ἔῃς τυγχάνειν τῶν νομίμων; τί πρὸς

ταῦτα φαίης ἄν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐδὲν ὀρῶ.

[6] But, to omit all these considerations, what, in Heaven's name, could duty answer if anyone should ask you what injure you have received from your ancestors to induce you to destroy their sepulchres and to deprive them of the honours they receive from men? Or resentment at what injury has led you to despoil, burn and demolish the altars of the gods, their shrines and their temples, and to prevent them from receiving their customary worship? What could you say in answer to this? For my part, I see nothing that you could say.

[7] ταῦτά σοι περί τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὦ Μάρκιε, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οὓς ἀπολέσαι προθυμῇ κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθώς, τάφων τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πόλεως τῆς γειναμένης τε καὶ θρεψαμένης τὰ δίκαια εἰρήσθω.

[7] Let these considerations of justice suffice, Marcius, both in behalf of us of the senate and of the other citizens whom you are eager to destroy, even though you have suffered no wrong at their hands, and in behalf of the sepulchres, the sanctuaries and the city to which you owe both your birth and your rearing.

[1] φέρε, εἰ δὲ δὴ πάντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντάς σε γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις δίκας σοι δοῦναι προσῆκε, πάντας δὲ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἥρωας καὶ δαίμονας πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀνοίας, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαιρετον μηδ' ἀτιμώρητον ἀφείσθαι μέρος ὑπὸ σοῦ, οὐχ ἱκανὰς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων εἰσπέπραξαι δίκας τοσοῦτον μὲν φόνον ἐργασάμενος ἀνθρώπων, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ λωβησάμενος, τοσαύτας δὲ πόλεις ἐκ βάθρων ἀναστήσας, ἐορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας καὶ σεβασμοὺς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἀνεόρτους ἀναγκάσας [p. 159] γενέσθαι καὶ ἀθύτους καὶ τιμῶν νομίμων ἁμοίρους;

[25.1] “Come now, even if it were fitting that all men, even those who have not wronged you at all, together with their wives and children should make atonement to you, and that all the gods, the heroes and the lesser divinities, the city and the country, should reap the benefit of the tribunes’ folly, and that nothing whatever should be exempted, nothing go unrevengeed by you, have you not already exacted sufficient punishment from us all you slaying so many people, ravaging so much territory by fire and sword, razing to the ground so many cities, and doing away in many places with the festivals, the sacrifices and the worship of the gods and other divinities and compelling them to go without their festivals and sacrifices and to have no part in their customary honours?

[2] ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἠξιοῦν ἄνδρα, ὅτῳ φροντὶς ὁποσηοῦν ἀρετῆς ἐστίν, οὔτε συναναιρεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰ φίλια οὔτε χαλεπὸν ὀργὴν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαραίτητον εἰς τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δίκας παρ’

[2] For my part, I should have refused to believe that a man who had the least regard for virtue would either destroy his friends along with his enemies or show himself harsh and inexorable in his anger toward those who offend him in any way, especially after he has already exacted from them many severe retributions.

[3] αὐτῶν εἰληφότα πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας. ἃ μὲν οὖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἶχομεν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι σε περὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἃ δ’ ὑποτίθεσθαι σοι δι’ εὐνοίαν οἱ τιμιώτατοι φίλων ἤκοντες καὶ ὑποσχεῖσθαι διαλλαττομένῳ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, ταυτί: ἐν ᾧ τὸ δύνασθαι σοι μάλιστα ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔτι συλλαμβάνει μετριάσαι καὶ ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην ἐνθυμηθέντα, ὅτι μεταβολὰς ἔχει πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φιλεῖ διαμένειν, νεμεσᾶται τε πάντα ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ

ὑπερέχοντα, ὅταν εἰς ἄκρον ἐπιφανείας ἀφίκηται, καὶ τρέπεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ μηδέν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχει τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ μεγάλαυχα φρονήματα καὶ τοὺς ὄρους ἐκβαίνοντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.

[3] These, then, are the considerations we had to offer you by way of both clearing ourselves and asking to be lenient toward the plebeians; and the advice which we, your most valued friends, were ready to give you out of goodwill if you were bent on strife, and the promises we could make if you were ready to be reconciled to your country, are as follows: While your power is greatest and Heaven still assists you, we advise you to act with moderation and to husband your good fortune, bearing in mind that all things are subject to change and that nothing is apt to continue long in the same state. All things that wax too great, when they reach the peak of eminence, incur the displeasure of the gods and are brought to naught again. And this is the fate which comes especially to stubborn and haughty spirits and those that overstep the bounds of human nature.

[4] Ὑπάρχει δέ σοι νῦν ἀπάντων κράτιστα καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον: ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ πᾶσα ὥρμηται τὴν κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι σοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔτοιμός ἐστι νόμῳ κυρωθέντι λῦσαι τὴν ἀιφυγίαν. τί οὖν ἔτι κωλύει σε τὰς ἡδίστας καὶ τιμιωτάτας ὄψεις τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σωμάτων ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ κεκομίσθαι τὴν περιμάχητον πατρίδα ἄρχειν τε ὥσπερ σοι προσῆκεν [p. 160] ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεμόνων παισὶ τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις μέγιστον αὖχημα καταλιπεῖν; τοῦτων μέντοι τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἡμεῖς ἐγγυηταὶ πασῶν ἐσμεν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα γενησομένων. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς εἶχε ψηφίσασθαι

[4] It is in your power now to put an end to the war on the best possible terms; for the whole senate is eager to pass a vote for your return, and the populace is ready by a law ratifying the senate's vote to annul your sentence of perpetual banishment. What is there, then, to prevent you any longer from enjoying once more the most dear and precious sight of your nearest of kin, from recovering your fatherland that is so well worth fighting for, from ruling, as you ought, over rulers and commanding those who cdm others, and from bequeathing to children and descendants the greatest glory?

[5] σοι τὴν βουλήν ἢ τὸν δῆμον οὐθὲν ἐπικεῖς ἢ μέτριον, ἕως ἀντιπαρεστρατοπέδευκας ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πολέμιων ἔργα δρᾷς: εἰ δ' ἀποσταίης τῶν ὅπλων, ἥξει σοι τὸ περὶ τῆς καθόδου ψήφισμα φερόμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

[5] Moreover, we are the sureties that all these promises will be performed forthwith. For though at present it would not be well for the senate or the people to pass any mild or lenient vote in your favour while you are encamped against us and are committing hostile acts, yet if you lay down your arms, the decree for your return will soon come to you, brought by us.

[1] ἀγαθὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑπάρξει σοι διαλλαπτομένῳ, μένοντι δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ διαλυομένῳ τὸ μῖσος πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ δύο τὰ μέγιστα νυνὶ καὶ φανερώτατα ἐρῶ. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι δυσκόλου γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδυνάτου πράγματος πονηρὸν ἔρωτα ἔχεις, πόλεως τῆς Ῥωμαίων καθελεῖν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Οὐολούσκων ὅπλοις: ἔπειθ' ὅτι σοι κατορθώσαντι τε καὶ δὴ τυχόντι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρξει δυστυχεστάτῳ νομιζεσθαι. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν, ἄκουσον, ὦ Μάρκιε, μὴθὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μου τῶν λόγων τραχυνόμενος. σκόπει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου.

[26.1] “These, then, are the advantages you will reap by becoming reconciled; whereas, if you psi in your resentment and do not give up your hatred toward us, many disagreeable things will befall you, of which I shall now mention two as the most important and the most obvious. The first is that you have an evil passion for a thing that is difficult of accomplishment, or rather, impossible — the overthrow of the power of Rome, and that too by the arms of the Volscians; the second is that, alike if you succeeded and if you fail, it will be your lot to be looked upon as the most unfortunate of all men. Hear now, Marcius, the reasons that induce me to entertain this opinion concerning you, and take no offence at my frankness of speech.

[2] Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς οἴσθα καὶ σὺ, πολλὴ μὲν ἐστὶ νεότης ἐπιχώριος, ἥς εἰ τὸ στασιάζον ἐξαιρεθείη: γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην νυνὶ διὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους κοινοῦ συνίστασθαι φιλεῖ τὰ διάφορα: οὐχ ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι κρατήσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθνῶν οὐθέν: πολλή [p. 161] δ' ἡ Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τε καὶ ἀποίκων τῆς πόλεως ἰσχύς, ἣν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν ἐπικουρον ἤξειν προσδέχου: στρατηγοὶ τε οἶος σὺ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νέοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσοι παρὰ πάσαις οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι.

[2] Consider, first, the impossibility of the thing. The Romans, as you yourself know, have a numerous body of youth of their own nation, whom, if the sedition is once banished from among them — and banished it will now inevitably be by this war, since a common fear is wont to reconcile all differences — surely not the Volscians, nay, no other Italian nation either, will ever overcome. Great also is the power of the Latins and of our other allies and colonies, and that power, be assured, will soon come to our assistance. We have generals too of the same ability as yourself, both older men and young, in greater number than are to be found in any other states.

[3] μεγίστη δὲ πασῶν βοήθεια καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐλπίδας οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν ψευσαμένη συμπάσης τ' ἀμείνων ἀνθρωπίνης ἰσχύος, ἣ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοια, δι' οὗς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέραν εἰς τόδε χρόνου τὴν πόλιν τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν ὀγδόην ἤδη τὴν νῦν γενεάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσαν.

[3] But the greatest assistance of all, and one which in times of danger has never betrayed our hopes, and better too than all human strength combined, is the favour of the gods, by whom this city which we inhabit not only continues to this day to preserve her liberty for already the eighth generation, but is also flourishing and the ruler over many nations.

[4] μὴ δὲ Πεδανοῖς ἡμᾶς εἰκάσης μηδὲ Τολερινοῖς μηδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μικροπολίταις, ὧν κατέσχες τὰ πολίχνια: καὶ γὰρ ἦττων ἂν τις σου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἢ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν καὶ φαυλότητα ἐρυμάτων ἐβιάσατο: ἀλλ' ἐνθυμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεων καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θείου παροῦσαν αὐτῇ τύχην,

[4] And do not liken us to the Pedani, the Toleriensens, or the peoples of the other petty towns you have seized; for a general less able than yourself and with a smaller army than this great host of yours could have reduced small garrisons and slight defences. But consider the greatness of our city, the brilliance of her achievements in war, and the good fortune that abides with her through the favour of the gods, by which she has been raised from a small beginning to her present grandeur.

[5] δι' ἣν ἐκ μικρᾶς τοσαύτη γέγονε. καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἣν ἄγων ἔργω τοσῶδε ἐπιχειρεῖς, μὴ νόμιζε ἡλλάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μέμνησο ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν στρατιὰν ἐπάγη, οὗς ἡμεῖς οἶδε οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν πολλαῖς ἐνικῶμεν μάχαις, ὡσάκις ἡμῖν ἐτόλμησαν εἰς πόλεμον καταστῆναι: ὥστε σὺν τοῖς χείροσιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλων ἴσθι πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἡττωμένοις διὰ παντὸς πρὸς τοὺς νικῶντας ἀεὶ.

[5] As for your own forces, at the head of which you are undertaking so great an enterprise, do not imagine that they have changed, but bear clearly in mind that you are leading against us an army of mere Volscians and Aequians, whom we here who are still living were wont to defeat in many battles, yes, as often as they dared to come to an engagement with us. Know, then, that you are going to fight with inferior troops against those that are superior to them, and with troops that are accustomed to defeat every time against those that are always victorious.

[6] εἰ δὲ δὴ τάναντία τούτων ἦν, ἐκεῖνό γε τοι θαυμάζειν [p. 162] ἄξιον, πῶς λέληθέ σε πολεμικῶν ὄντα πραγμάτων ἔμπειρον, ὅτι τὸ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμον οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου παραγίνεσθαι φιλεῖ τοῖς θ' ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τάλλότρια πορευομένοις: οἱ μὲν γ' οὐδέν, ἐὰν μὴ κατορθώσωσι, βλάπτονται, τοῖς δ' οὐδέν, ἐὰν πταίσωσι, καταλείπεται: καὶ τοῦ σφάλεσθαι τὰς μεγάλας δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ τὰς κρείττους ὑπὸ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αἴτιον ἦν. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνος ἱκανὸς θάρσος ἐνθεῖναι τινι καὶ μὴ προϋπάρχον φύσει. εἶχον ἔτι πλείω λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[6] Yet even if the contrary of this were true, it would still be a matter for wonder how you, who are experienced in warfare, could have failed to observe that courage in the face of danger is not apt to be felt in equal measure by those who fight for their own blessings and by those who set out after what belongs to others. For the latter, if they do not succeed, suffer no loss, whereas the others, if they are defeated, have nothing left. And this is the chief reason why large armies have often been beaten by smaller ones and superior forces by inferior ones. For necessity is formidable, and a struggle in which life itself is at stake is capable of inspiring boldness in a man which was not already his by nature. I had many other things to say concerning the impossibility of your undertaking, but this is enough.

[1] εἷς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος, ὃν εἰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ κρινεῖς, ὀρθῶς τ' εἰρησθαι δόξει καὶ παραστήσεται σοι μεταμέλεια τῶν πραπτομένων. τίς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος; οὐδενὶ θνητῷ φύντι θεοὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι βεβαίαν ἐπιστήμην ἔδωκαν ἔχειν, οὐδ' ἂν εὖροις ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, ὅτῳ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε τὰ πράγματα μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσης τῆς τύχης.

[27.1] “I still have one argument left which, if you will judge of it by reason rather than in anger, will not only seem to you to have been well made, but will also cause you to repent of what you are doing. What is this argument? That the gods have not given it to any mortal creature to possess sure knowledge of future events, and you will not find in all past time a man for whom all his undertakings succeeded according to his plan and whom Fortune thwarted in none.

[2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονήσει προὔχοντες ἑτέρων, ἣν ὁ μακρὸς βίος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μαθήματα φέρει, πρὶν ἐγχειρεῖν ὅτῳδῆποτε ἔργῳ, τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον οἶονται δεῖν σκοπεῖν, οὐ θάτερον μόνον, ὃ βούλονται γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρὰ [p. 163] γνώμην ἐκβησόμενον: μάλιστα δ' οἱ τῶν πολέμων ἡγεμόνες, ὅσω μειζόνων τε γίνονται πραγμάτων κύριοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἢ σφαλμάτων ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναφέρουσιν. ἔπειτ' ἂν μὲν εὖρωσι μηδεμίαν ἐνοῦσαν ἢ μικρὰς καὶ ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ μὴ κατορθῶσαι βλάβας, ἅπτονται τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν δὲ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας,

[2] For this reason alone those who excel others in prudence — the fruit of a long life and many lessons from experience — think that they ought, before beginning any enterprise whatever, first to consider its possible outcome — not only the one which they desire for themselves, but also the one which will be contrary to their judgement. And this is particularly true of commanders in wars, the more so because the affairs of which they have charge are of greater importance and because everybody imputes to them the responsibility for both victories and defeats. Then, if they find that no loss inheres in failure, or few

and small losses, they set about their undertakings, but if the losses might be many and serious, they abandon them.

[3] ἀφίστανται. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ σὺ ποιήσον καὶ σκόπει πρὸ τῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν σφαλῇς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μὴ πάντα ὑπάρξῃ, τί συμβήσεται σοι παθεῖν. δι' αἰτίας μὲν ἔσῃ παρὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, μέμψῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν, ὡς μείζουσιν ἐπιχειρήσας πράγμασιν ἢ δυνατοῖς: στρατιᾶς δ' ἡμετέρας πάλιν ἐκεῖσε ἀφικομένης καὶ φθειρούσης τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν: οὐ γὰρ ἀνεξόμεθα μὴ ἀντιτιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν: дуεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις θατέρου, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, οἷς αἴτιος ἔσῃ συμφορῶν μεγάλων, αἰσχροῦς ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἢ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οὓς ἀποκτενῶν τε καὶ

[3] Do you too, then, follow their example, and before you resort to action, consider what it will be your fate to suffer if you fail in this war and all conditions do not favour you. You will be reproached by those who have received you and you will also blame yourself for having undertaken greater things than are possible; and when our army in turn marches into their territory and lays it waste — for we shall never submit to such injuries without avenging ourselves on our aggressors — you will not be able to avoid one of these two fates: you will be put to death in a shameful manner either by those very men, in whose eyes you will be to blame the great misfortunes, or by us, whom you came to slay and to enslave.

[4] δουλωσόμενος ἦλθες. τάχα δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι, πρὶν ἐν τῷ παθεῖν τι κακὸν γενέσθαι, διαλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἔκδοτον ἀξιώσειαν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ σε παραδιδόναι: ὁ πολλοὶ βάρβαροί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς τοιαύτας καταστάντες τύχας ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑπομεῖναι. ἄρα γε μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ταῦτ' εἶναι σοι δοκεῖ καὶ δεόν αὐτῶν ὑπεριδεῖν ἢ κακῶν συμπάντων τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; [p. 164]

[4] But perhaps those others, before they become involved in any misfortune, may, in the attempt to effect an accommodation with us, think fit to deliver up to us to be punished — a course to which many, both barbarians and Greeks, have been obliged to submit when reduced to such extremities. Do you look upon these as small matters unworthy of your consideration and believe that you ought to overlook them, or rather as the worst evils of all to suffer?

[1] φέρε, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ κατορθώσης, τί τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσται σοι καὶ περιμάχητον ἀγαθόν, ἢ τίνας ἐξοίσῃ δόξας; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξέτασον. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν φιλτάτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων ὑπάρξει σοι στερέσθαι σωμάτων, μητρὸς ἀθλίας, ἢ γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ σοὶ πόνων οὐ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδίδως: ἔπειτα γαμετῆς σῶφρονος, ἢ διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ χρεῖᾳ κάθηται πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα τὰς σὰς φυγὰς ὁδυρομένη: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις τέκνων дуεῖν, οὓς ἐχρῆν ἀγαθῶν προγόνων ὄντας ἀπογόνους καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων τιμὰς εὐδοχοῦντας ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι.

[28.1] “Come now, if you do succeed, what wonderful, what enviable advantage will be yours, or what glory will you gain? For this also you must consider. In the first place, it will be your fate to be deprived of those who are dearest and nearest of kin to you — of an unhappy mother, to whom you are making no honourable return for your birth and rearing and for all the hardships she underwent on your account; and again, of a faithful wife, who through yearning for you sits in solitude and widowhood, lamenting every day and night your banishment; and furthermore of two sons who ought, being descendants of worthy ancestors, to benefit from their honours by being held in high esteem in a flourishing fatherland.

[2] ὧν ἀπάντων οἰκτρὰς καὶ ἀτυχεῖς ἀναγκασθήσῃ θεωρεῖν καταστροφάς, εἰ τολμήσεις προσάγειν τοῖς τείχεσι τὸν πόλεμον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ φείσονται τῶν σῶν οὐθενὸς οἱ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων κινδυνεύοντες καὶ εἰς τὰ ὅμοια κακῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ πάσχοντες, ἀλλ’ εἰς αἰκισμοὺς αὐτῶν δεινοὺς καὶ ὕβρεις ἀνηλεεῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἰδέαν προπηλακισμοῦ χωρήσουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν βιαζόμενοι: καὶ τούτων οὐχ οἱ δρῶντες, ἀλλ’ ὁ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεῖς αἴτιος ἔσῃ:

[2] But you will be forced to behold the pitiable and unhappy deaths of all these if you dare to bring the war to our walls. For surely no mercy will be shown to any of your family by those who are in danger of losing their own and are treated by you with the same cruelty. On the contrary, they will proceed to inflict on them dreadful tortures, pitiless indignities and every other kind of abuse, if they are forced thereto by their calamities. And for all these things it will not be those who do them that are to blame, but you, who impose the necessity upon them.

[3] ἡδονὰς μὲν δὴ τοιαύτας καρπῶσῃ κατὰ γνώμην χωρήσαντός σοι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ζῆλον καὶ τιμὰς, ὧν ὀρέγεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, σκόπει ποίας τινάς: μητροκτόνος κεκλήσῃ καὶ παιδοφόνος καὶ γυναικὸς ἀλιτήριος καὶ πατρίδος ἀλάστωρ, καὶ οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε σπονδῶν οὔθ’ ἔστιαι, ὅποι ποτ’ [p. 165] ἂν ἀφίκη, κοινωνεῖν ἐθελήσῃ σοι τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων οὐθεῖς, αὐτοῖς τ’ οὐκ ἔσῃ τίμιος, οἷς εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ταῦτα δρᾷς, ἀλλὰ καρπωσάμενοι τινα ἕκαστος τούτων ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἀσεβημάτων ὠφέλειαν μισήσουσι τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ τρόπου.

[3] Such will be the pleasures you will reap if this enterprise of yours succeeds; but as for praise and emulation and honours, which good men ought to strive for, consider of what nature they will be. You will be called the slayer of your mother, the murderer of your children, the assassin of your wife, and the evil genius of your country; wherever you go, no man who is pious and just will be willing to let you partake with him in sacrifices or libations or in the hospitality of his home; and even by those for whom out of friendliness you perform these services you will not be held in honour, but every one of them, after reaping some advantage from your impious actions, will detest your

arrogant manner.

[4] ἔῴ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ μίσους, ὃ παρὰ τῶν ἐπικεστώτων ἔξεις, καὶ φθόνος ἀπαντήσεται πολὺς ἐκ τῶν ἴσων καὶ φόβος ἐκ τῶν ἡσσόνων καὶ δι' ἄμφω ταῦτ' ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπά, ὅσα εἰκὸς συμπεσεῖν ἀνδρὶ ἐρήμῳ φίλων καὶ ἐν ξένη ὄντι γῇ. τὰς γὰρ δὴ παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπιπεμπομένας τοῖς ἀνόσια καὶ δεινὰ διαπραξαμένοις ἐρινύας ἔῴ, ὑφ' ὧν αἰκιζόμενοι ψυχὰς τε καὶ σώματα κακοὺς μὲν διαντλοῦσι βίους,

[4] I forbear to add that, besides the hatred which you will encounter on the part of the most fair-minded men, you will have to face much envy from your equals and fear from your inferiors and, in consequence of both the envy and the fear, plots and many other disagreeable things which are likely to befall a man destitute of friends and living in a foreign land. I say nothing, indeed, of the Furies sent by the gods and other divinities to punish those who have been guilty of impious and dreadful deeds — those Furies tormented by whom in both soul and body they drag out a miserable life while awaiting a pitiable death.

[5] οἰκτρὰς δ' ὑπομένουσι τελευτάς. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὦ Μάρκιε, μετὰγνωθι καὶ παῦσαι μνησικακῶν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι: τύχην τε πάντων αἰτίαν ἡγησάμενος ὧν πέπονθας πρὸς ἡμῶν ἢ δέδρακας ἡμᾶς κακῶν, ἅπθι χαίρων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ κόμισαι μητρός τε περιβολὰς προσηνεστάτας καὶ γυναικὸς τε φιλοφροσύνας ἡδίστας καὶ τέκνων ἀσπασμοὺς γλυκυτάτους, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος ὀφείλημα κάλλιστον τῇ γειναμένῃ σε καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα παιδευσάμενῃ πατρίδι.

[5] Bearing these things in mind, Marcius, repent of your purpose and give up your grudge against your country; and regarding Fortune as having been the cause of all the evils you have suffered at our hands or have inflicted on us, return with joy to your family, receive a mother's most affectionate embraces, a wife's sweetest welcome, and give yourself back to your country as a most honourable repayment of the debt you owe to her for having given birth and rearing to so great a man."

[1] τοιαῦτα διεξελθόντος τοῦ Μηνυκίου μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπε: σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἅμα τούτῳ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φίλος εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος, εἴ τι δύναμαι, ποιεῖν [p. 166] ἀγαθόν, ὅτι μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε πολίτης ὑμέτερος ἦν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττον, ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀναγκαίοις ἐγένεσθε καιροῖς χρήσιμοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐκ ἀπεστράφητέ με καταφρονήσει τῆς τότε τύχης, ὥς οὔτε φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμενον ἔτι οὗτ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, ἀλλὰ χρηστοὶ καὶ βέβαιοι διεμείνατε φίλοι μητρός τε τῆς ἐμῆς κηδόμενοι καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων, καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς κουφοτέρας ποιοῦντες ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιμελείαις.

[29.1] Minucius having spoken in this manner, Marcius after a short pause

replied:

“To you, Minucius, and to all others who have been sent here with him by the senate I am a friend and am ready to do you any service in my power, because not only earlier, when I was your fellow citizen and had a share in the administration of public affairs, you assisted me in many times of need, but also after my banishment you did not turn from me in contempt of my then unhappy fate, as if I were no longer able either to serve my friends or to hurt my enemies, but you continued to show yourselves good and staunch friends by taking care of my mother, my wife and my children, and alleviating their misfortune by your personal attentions.

[2] τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέχθομαι τ' ὡς δύναμαι μάλιστα καὶ πολεμῶ καὶ οὐδέποτε μισῶν αὐτοὺς παύσομαι· οἱ μὲ ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' οἷς τιμᾶσθαι προσῆκεν, ὡς τὰ μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότα περὶ τὸ κοινὸν αἰσχροῶς ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὔτε μητέρα αἰδεσθέντες τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε παῖδια ἐλεήσαντες οὔτ' ἄλλο πάθος ἡμερον οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς λαβόντες τύχαις.

[2] But to the rest of the Romans I am as hostile as I can be and am at war with them, and I shall never cease to hate them; for they, in return for the many glorious achievements for which I deserved honour, drove me out of my country with ignominy, as being guilty of the most grievous crimes against the commonwealth, and showed neither respect for my mother, nor compassion for my children, nor any other humane field in view of my misfortunes.

[3] μαθόντες δὲ τοῦτο, εἰ μὲν αὐτοὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν, λέγετε μηθὲν ὀκνοῦντες, ὡς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσαντες τῶν δυνατῶν, περὶ δὲ φιλίας καὶ διαλλαγῶν, ἃς ἀξιοῦτέ με ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς καθόδου, παύσασθε διαλεγόμενοι. πάνυ γὰρ ἀγαπητῶς δεξαίμην ἂν εἰς τοιαύτην κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα ἢ κακία φέρεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν κακούργων τιμωρίας οἱ μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότες ὑπομένουσιν.

[3] Now that you have been informed of this, if you desire anything from me for yourselves, declare it without hesitation, in the assurance that you shall fail of naught that is in my power; but as regards friendship and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into with the populace in the hope that they will let me return, discuss it no more. Great indeed would be the satisfaction with which I should accept restoration to a city like this, in which vice receives the rewards of virtue and the innocent await the punishment of criminals!

[4] ἐπεὶ, φέρε, πρὸς θεῶν εἴπατέ μοι, τίνος ἀδικήματος αἰτία ταύτης ἐγὼ πεπειράμαι τῆς τύχης, ἢ ποῖον ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔργον ἀνάξιον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ προγόνων; πρῶτην ἐστρατευσάμην [p. 167] ἔξοδον κομιδῇ νέος ὢν, ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς βίᾳ κατιόντας ἡγωνιζόμεθα. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης

ἀριστείοις ἀνεδούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ στεφάνοις πολίτην ὑπερασπίσας
καὶ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας.

[4] For come, tell me, in Heaven's name, with what crime am I charged that I should have experienced this misfortune? Or what course have I pursued that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my first campaign when I was very young, at the time we fought against the kings who were endeavouring to bring about their restoration by force. As a result of that battle I was crowned by the general with a wreath of valour for having saved a citizen and slain an enemy.

[5] ἔπειθ' ὅσας ἄλλας ἵππικὰς καὶ πεζικὰς ἡγωνισάμην μάχας, ἐπιφανῆς ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐγενόμην καὶ τὰριστεῖα ἐξ ἀпасῶν ἔλαβον: καὶ οὔτε πόλις ἐκ τειχομαχίας ἐάλω τις, ἧς οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἐπέβην ἢ μόνος ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὔτε φυγὴ πολεμίων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐγένετο, ἧς οὐκ ἐμὲ αἰτιώτατον γενέσθαι πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὠμολόγουν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν λαμπρῶν ἢ γενναίων ἐν πολέμοις ἔργων οὐθὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτ' εὐτολμίας εἴτ' εὐτυχίας ἐπράχθη.

[5] After that, in every other action I was engaged in, whether of the horse or foot, I distinguished myself in all and from all received the rewards for valour. And there was neither any town taken by storm whose walls I was not the very first or among the first few to mount, nor any flight of the enemy from the field of battle where all who were present did not acknowledge that I had been the chief cause of it, nor any other signal or brave action performed in war without the assistance of either my valour or my good fortune.

[1] καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι τις καὶ ἕτερος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοσαῦτα, λέγειν: ἀλλὰ πόλιν ὅλην τις δύναιτ' ἂν καυχήσασθαι στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς ἐλὼν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Κοριολανῶν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ στρατιὰν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἐπίκουρον τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἀφικομένην;

[30.1] "These are exploits, it is true, that some other brave man also might perhaps be able to cite in his favour, even if not so many of them; but what general or captain could boast of capturing an entire city, as I captured Corioli, and also of putting to flight the enemy's army on that very same day, as I did that of the Antiates when it came to the assistance of the besieged?

[2] ἔῷ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς ἀποδειξάμενος, ἐξόν μοι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δ' ἄργυρον ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὐκ ἠξίωσα, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθονον ὡς μάλιστα βουληθεὶς ἐμαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἓνα μόνον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβον καὶ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ξένον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸν δ' ἄλλον πλοῦτον [p. 168]

[2] I refrain from adding that after I had given such proofs of my valour, when

I might have received out of the spoils a large amount of gold and silver, as well as slaves, beasts of burden and cattle, and much fertile land, I refused, but desiring to secure myself as far as possible against envy, took only a single war-horse out of the spoils and my personal friend from among the captives, and all the rest of the wealth I brought and turned over to the state.

[3] εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἔθηκα φέρων. πότερον οὖν τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἦν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέχειν, ἢ τιμὰς λαμβάνειν, καὶ πότερον ὑπὸ τοῖς κακίστοις γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ τὰ δίκαια τάττειν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἡττοσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτά με ἀπῆλασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἀκόλαστος καὶ πολυτελής καὶ παράνομος ἦν; καὶ τίς ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι τινα διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς παρανόμους ἡδονὰς ἢ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντα ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα ἢ χρημάτων στερόμενον ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ συμφορᾷ χρησάμενον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν με οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἠτιάσατο οὐδὲ διέβαλεν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἐμαρτυρεῖτό μοι καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι βίος.

[3] Did I, then, for these actions deserve to suffer punishments, or to receive honours? To become subject to the basest of the citizens, or myself to issue orders to my inferiors? Or perhaps it was not for these reasons that the populace banished me, but rather because in my private life I was unrestrained, extravagant and lawless? And yet who can point to anyone who because of my lawless pleasures has either been banished from his country, or lost his liberty, or been deprived of his money, or met with any other misfortune? On the contrary, no one even of my enemies ever accused or charged me any of these things, but all bore witness that even my daily life was irreproachable.

[4] ἀλλ' ἡ προαιρεσις, νῆ Δία, φαίη τις ἂν, ἡ τῶν πολιτευμάτων σου μισηθεῖσα ταύτην ἐξειργάσατό σοι τὴν συμφορὰν. ἐξὸν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι τὴν κρείττω μερίδα τὴν χειρόνα εἴλου καὶ διετέλεις ἅπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων, ἐξ ὧν καταλυθήσεται μὲν ἡ πάτριος ἀριστοκρατία, κύριος δ' ἔσται τῶν κοινῶν ὄχλος ἀμαθής καὶ πονηρός. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τάναντία ἔπραπτον, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ ὅπως ἡ βουλή τῶν κοινῶν διὰ παντὸς ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ ὁ πάτριος διαμενεῖ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας προϋνοοῦμην.

[4] 'But, great heavens, man,' some one may say, 'it was your political principles that aroused hatred and brought this misfortune upon you. For when you had it in your power to choose the better side, you chose the worse, and you continued to say and do everything calculated to effect the overthrow of the established aristocracy and to put the whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of an ignorant and base municipal.' But I, Minucius, pursued a course the very reverse of that, and sought to provide that the senate should always administer the public business and that the established constitution should be maintained.

[5] ἀντὶ τούτων μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἃ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν

ζηλωτὰ εἶναι ἐδόκει, τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ταύτας καὶ μακαρίας κεκόμισμαι παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμοιβάς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου μόνον ἐξελασθεῖς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον [p. 169] ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπαίρουσά με κεναῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἥνικα τοῖς δημάρχοις τυραννίδα περιβαλλομένοις ἤναντιοῦμην, ὡς αὐτὴ παρέξουσα τὸ ἀσφαλές, ἐπειδὴ κίνδυνόν τιν' ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ὑπείδετο,

[5] In return, however, for these honourable principles, which our forefathers thought worthy of emulation, I have received this happy, this blessed reward from my country — to have been banished, not by the populace alone, Minucius, but, long before that, by the senate, which encouraged me at first with vain hopes while I was opposing the tribunes in their efforts to establish a tyranny, promising that it would itself provide for my security, and then, upon the first suspicion of any danger from the plebeians, abandoned me and delivered me up to my enemies!

[6] ἀπέστη καὶ παρέδωκέ με τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. σὺ μέντοι τότε αὐτὸς ὕπατος ἦσθα, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ὅτι τὸ προβούλευμα τὸ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἐγένετο, καὶ ἥνικα Οὐαλέριος ὁ παραδιδόναι με τῷ δήμῳ παραινῶν σφόδρα ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις εὐδοκίμει, κἀγὼ δεδιώς, μὴ ψήφου δοθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων ἁλῶ, συνέγγνων καὶ παρέξιεν ἐμαυτὸν ὑπεσχόμεν ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.

[6] But you yourself were consul at the time, Minucius, when the senate passed the preliminary decree concerning my trial and when Valerius, who advised delivering me up to the populace, gained great applause by his speech, and I, fearing that, if the question were put, I should be condemned by the senators, acquiesced and promised of appear voluntarily for trial.

[1] ἴθι δὴ μοι, Μηνύκιε, ἀποκρίναι, πότερα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῆς τιμωρίας ἄξιος ἐφάνην εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα ἐπολιτευόμην τε καὶ ἔπραττον, ἢ τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἅπασι ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε καὶ πάντες με ἀπηλάσσετε, φανερὸν ὅτι πάντες οἱ ταῦτα βουληθέντες ἀρετὴν μισεῖτε, καὶ τόπος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεχόμενος καλοκαγαθίαν: εἰ δὲ βιασθεῖσα ἡ βουλὴ συνεχώρησε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, οὐ γνώμης, ὁμολογεῖτε δήπου πονηροκρατεῖσθαι καὶ μηδεὶς εἶναι τὴν βουλὴν ὣν ἂν προέλῃται κυρία.

[31.1] “Come, answer me, Minucius, did I seem to the senate also to deserve punishment for having promoted and pursued the best measures, or to the populace only? For if you were all of the same opinion at that time and if all of you banished me, it is plain that all of you who were of this mind hate virtue and that there is no place in your city for loyalty to principle. But if the senate was forced to yield to the populace and its action was the result of compulsion, not of conviction, you senators admit, I take it, that you are governed by the baser element and that the senate has not the power to act in any matter as it thinks fit.

[2] ἔπειτ' εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξιοῦτέ με κατελθεῖν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ κρεῖττον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος ἄρχεται; πολλὴν ἄρα κατεγνώκατέ μου μανίαν. φέρε, καὶ δὴ πέπεισμαι καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ ἀξιοῦτε, κατελήλυθα, τίς ἢ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται μου διάνοια καὶ τίνα βίον ζήσομαι; πότερα τάσφαλές καὶ ἀκίνδυνον [p. 170] αἰροῦμενος ἀρχάς τε καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ, ὧν ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι, μετιὼν θεραπεύειν ὑπομενῶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τοῦτων ἐξουσίαν ὄχλον; πονηρὸς ἄρα ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γενήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι τῆς προτέρας ἀρετῆς ὄφελος.

[2] After this do you ask me to return to such a city, in which the better element is governed by the worse? Then you have judged me capable of an act of sheer madness! But come, suppose that I have been persuaded, and having put an end to the war as you desire, have returned home; what sentiments shall I entertain after this, and what manner of life shall I live? Shall I choose the safe and secure course, and, in order to obtain magistracies, honours and the other advantages of which I think myself worthy, consent to court the mob which has the power of bestowing them? In that case I shall change from a worthy to a base citizen and shall reap no benefit from my former virtue.

[3] ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦθεσι μένων καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας φυλάττων ἐναντιώσομαι τοῖς μὴ ταῦτὰ προαιρουμένοις; εἴτα οὐ πρόδηλον, ὅτι πολεμήσει μοι πάλιν ὁ δῆμος καὶ δίκας ἐτέρας πάλιν ἀξιώσει λαμβάνειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἐγκλημα ποιούμενος, ὅτι τῆς καθόδου δι' ἐκείνου τυχὼν οὐ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ πολιτεύομαι; οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν.

[3] Or, maintaining the same character and observing the same political principles, shall I oppose those who do not make the same choice? Then is it not obvious that the populace will again make war upon me and insist on exacting fresh penalties, making this very point their first charge against me, that after obtaining my return at their hands I do not humour them in the measures I pursue? You cannot deny it.

[4] ἔπειτ' ἀναφανήσεται τις ἕτερος Ἰκιλίῳ παραπλήσιος ἢ Δεκίῳ θρασὺς δημαγωγός, ὃς αἰτιάσεται με διιστάναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πράττειν ἐπιβουλὴν ἢ προδιδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἢ τυραννίδι, ὥσπερ καὶ Δέκιος ἠτιάσατο, ἐπιχειρεῖν ἢ ἄλλο ἀδικεῖν, ὅτιδήποτ' ἂν αὐτῷ

[4] Then some other bold demagogue, an Icilius or a Decius, will appear who will accuse me of setting the citizens at variance with one another, of forming a plot against the populace, of betraying the commonwealth to the enemy, or of aiming at tyranny, even as Decius charged me, or of any other crime that may occur to him; for hatred will never be at a loss to find an accusation.

[5] φανῆ: οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσει τὸ μισοῦν αἰτίας. ἤξει τε πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκλήμασι καὶ ταυτὶ φερόμενα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πέπρακται μοι τούτῳ, ὅτι χώραν ὑμῶν τέτμηκα καὶ λείαν ἀπελήλακα καὶ πόλεις ἀφῆρημαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους τοὺς μὲν πεφόνευκα, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδέδωκα. ταῦτ' ἐὰν οἱ κατηγοροὶ λέγωσι, τί φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπολογούμενος ἢ τινὶ βοηθεῖα χρῆσθαι;

[5] And, besides the other charges, there will also be brought up presently all the things I have done in this war — that I have laid waste your country, driven off booty, taken your towns, slain some of those who defended them and delivered up others to the enemy. If my accusers charge me with these things, what shall I say to them in my defence, or on what assistance shall I rely?

[1] ἄρ' οὐ φανερόν, ὅτι καλλιλογεῖτε καὶ εἰρωνεύεσθε, ὦ Μηνύκιε, ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργῳ περιθέντες ἀνοσίῳ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάθοδόν μοι δίδοτε, ἀλλὰ σφάγιόν [p. 171] με τῷ δήμῳ κατάγετε, τάχα μὲν καὶ βεβουλευμένοι τοῦτο πράττειν: οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔτι μοι χρηστὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν: εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε — τίθημι γάρ —

[32.1] “Is it not therefore plain, Minucius, that your envoys are indulging in fair words and dissimulation, cloaking with a specious name a wicked design? For surely it is not my restoration that you are offering me, but you are taking me back to the populace as a sacrificial victim, perhaps because you have actually planned to do this (for it no longer occurs to me to hold any good opinion of you);

[2] οὐδὲν ὦν πείσομαι προορώμενοι, τί οὖν ἔσται μοι τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγνοίας ἢ μωρίας ὄφελος, κωλύειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν οἷοι ἦτε δυνησομένων, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαζομένων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν οὐ συνοίσει μοι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἥδε, ἣν ὑμεῖς μὲν κάθοδον καλεῖτε, ἐγὼ δὲ ταχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον, οὐ πολλῶν οἶομαι δεῖν ἔτι λόγων: ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἢ τιμὴν ἢ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων, ὦ Μηνύκιε, πρόνοιαν ἔχειν με ἡξιούς, εὖ ποιῶν, ἀλλ' αἰσχιστά μοι καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα πραχθήσεται πεισθέντι ὑμῖν, ἄκουσον ἐν τῷ μέρει.

[2] but if you wish it so — I am merely assuming this — that it is because you do not foresee any of the things that I shall suffer, what advantage shall I gain from your ignorance or folly, since you will not be able to prevent anything even if you are so disposed, but are compelled to gratify the populace in this too, as in everything else? Now to show that from the point of view of my safety there will be no gain to me in this— ‘restoration,’ as you call it, but I a quick road to destruction, not many more words are called for, I think; but to prove that I will not enhance my reputation, either, or my honour, or my piety — for you, Minucius, asked me to take these into consideration, and rightly — but that, on the contrary, I shall be acting in a most shameful and impious

manner if I follow your advice, pray hear in turn what I have to say.

[3] ἐγὼ πολέμιος ἐγενόμην τούτοις Οὐολούσκοις καὶ πολλὰ ἠδίκησα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῇ πατρίδι πράπτων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κλέος. οὐκοῦν προσῆκε μοι τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, μισεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἠδικημένων; εἰ γοῦν τι τῶν εἰκότων ἐγένετο. ἀνέτρεψε δ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦθ' ἡ τύχη, καὶ εἰς τάναντία μετέθηκε τὰς ἀξιώσεις. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν τούτοις ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἀφείλεσθέ με πάντα τὰμὰ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ποιήσαντες ἐρρίψατε: οὗτοι δ' οἱ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ [p. 172] παθόντες, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ

[3] I became an enemy to these men here and did them many injuries during the war while I was acquiring sovereignty, power and glory for my country. Was it not fitting, therefore, that I should be honoured by those I had benefited and hated by those I had injured? Certainly, if what one could reasonably expect had happened. But Fortune upset both these expectations and reversed the two principles. For you Romans, on whose account I was an enemy to these men, deprived me of all my possessions, and making a nobody of me, cast me off; while they, who had suffered those dire evils at my hands, received me into their cities, the resourceless, homeless, humbled outcast.

[4] ἄπολιν ὑπεδέξαντό με ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιήσαι μόνον οὕτω λαμπρὸν καὶ μεγαλόψυχον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτεῖαν ἔδοσαν μοι ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πόλεσι καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς, αἱ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσιν. ἐγὼ τᾶλλα: ἀλλὰ νυνὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδεδείχασί με αὐτοκράτορα τῆς ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς καὶ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πεποιήκασιν μόνῳ.

[4] And not content with doing this only, an action so splendid and magnanimous, they also conferred on me citizenship in all their cities, as well as the magistracies and honours that in their country are highest. To omit the rest, they have now appointed me supreme commander of the expeditionary force and have committed to me alone all the interests of their state.

[5] φέρε δὴ, τίνα λαβὼν καρδίαν προδοίην ἂν ἔτι τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν τηλικαύταις κεκόσμημαι τιμαῖς, οὐθὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὐτ' ἔλαττον ἀδικηθεῖς; εἰ μὴ ἄρα αἱ χάριτες αὐτῶν ἀδικοῦσί με, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐμαί: καλὴν γε δόξαν οἴσει μοι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γνωσθεῖσα ἡ παλιμπροδοσία. τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ με ἀκούσας, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν φίλους, ὑφ' ὧν εὖ πάσχειν μοι προσῆκε, πολέμιους εὐρών, τοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, ὑφ' ὧν ἐχρῆν με ἀπολωλέναι, φίλους, ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν μὲν τὰ μισοῦντα, φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ φιλοῦντα, τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἔσχον;

[5] Look you, with what heart would I now betray these men by whom I have been decked with such honours, when I have suffered no injury, great or small, at their hands? Unless, indeed, their favours are injurious to me, as

mine are to you! A fine reputation forsooth, throughout all the world will such double treachery bring me, when it shall be known! Who would not praise me on hearing that when I found my friends, from whom I had the right to expect kindness, to be my enemies, and my foes, by whom I should have been put to death, to be my friends, instead of hating those who hate me and loving those who love me, I took the opposite view!

[1] ἴθι δὴ σκόπει καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, Μηνύκιε, οἷά μοι νῦν τ' ἀπήντηται καί, ἔάν ἄρα πεισθεῖς ὑμῖν προδῶ τὴν τούτων πίστιν, οἷα τὸν λοιπὸν ὑπάρξει μοι βίον. νῦν μὲν γε πάσης πράξεως, ἧς ἂν ἄψωμαι καθ' ὑμῶν, συλλαμβάνουσί μοι, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷς πείρας ἀποτυγχάνω.

[33.1] “Come now, Minucius, consider next the matter of the gods’ treatment of me, what it has shown itself to be at present and, if I do let you persuade me to betray the trust reposed in me by these people, what it will be for the rest of my life. At present they assist me in every enterprise I undertake against you and in no attempt am I unsuccessful.

[2] καὶ τοῦτο πηλίκον οἴεσθε εἶναι τεκμήριον εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος [p. 173] οὐχ ὅσιον ἐγὼ πόλεμον ἐνεστησάμην, ἅπαντα χρῆν ἐναντία μοι γίνεσθαι τὰ παρὰ θεῶν: ὅποτε δ’ οὐρίῳ πνεοῦσῃ κέχρημαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους τύχῃ, καὶ ὅποσοις ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι πράγμασι κατ’ ὀρθὸν ἅπαντά μοι χωρεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι εὐσεβῆς εἰμι ἀνήρ καὶ

[2] And how weighty a testimony to my piety do you consider that? For surely, if I had undertaken an impious war against my country, the gods ought to have opposed me in everything; but since I enjoy the favouring breeze of Fortune in the wars I wage and everything that I attempt goes steadily forward for me, it is evident that I am a pious man and that my choice of conduct has been honourable.

[3] πράξεις προήρημαι καλὰς. τί οὖν, ἔάν μεταβάλωμαι καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα αὖξειν, τὰ δὲ τούτων ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν ζητῶ, γενήσεται μοι; ἄρ’ οὐχὶ τάναντία, καὶ πονηρὰν νέμεσιν ἔξω παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου τοῖς ἡδικημένοις τιμωρόν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ ταπεινοῦ μέγας διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγενόμην, οὕτως αὖθις ἐκ μεγάλου ταπεινὸς γενήσομαι, καὶ τὰμὰ παθήματα παιδεύματα γενήσεται τοῖς ἄλλοις;

[3] What, then, will be my fate if I change my course and endeavour to increase your power and humble theirs? Will it not be just the reverse, and shall I not incur the dire wrath of Heaven which avenges the injured, and just as by the help of the gods I from a low estate have become great, shall I not in turn from a being brought again to a low estate, and my sufferings become lessons to the rest of the world?

[4] ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρίσταται περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου φρονεῖν, καὶ πείθομαι γε τὰς ἐρινύας ἐκείνας τὰς φοβερὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τοῖς ἀνόσιόν τι διαπραξαμένοις, ὧν καὶ σὺ ἐμνήσθης, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τότε μοι

παρακολουθήσειν ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αἰκίζομένας, ὅταν ἐγκαταλίπω καὶ
προδῶ τοὺς σῶσαντάς με ἀπολωλότες ὑπ’ ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σῶσαι πολλὰς
καὶ καλὰς προσθέντας εὐεργεσίας, οἷς ἐγγυητὰς ἔδωκα θεοὺς, ὥς ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ
κακῷ τὴν ἄφιξιν ποιησάμενος καὶ φυλάξων τὴν εἰς τόδε χρόνου καθαρὰν
καὶ ἀμίαντον συνοῦσάν μοι πίστιν.

[4] these are the thoughts that occur to me concerning the gods; and I am
persuaded that those Furies you mentioned, Minucius, so frightful and
inexorable toward those who have committed any impious deed, will dog my
steps and torment both my soul and body only when I abandon and betray
those who preserved me after you had ruined me, and, at the same time as
they preserved me, conferred upon me many fine marks of their favour, and to
whom I gave the gods as guarantors of my pledge that I had not come among
them with the purpose of doing them any injury and that I would keep with
them the faith which I have hitherto preserved pure and untarnished.

[1] ὅταν δὲ φίλους ἔτι καλῆς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς ἐξέλασαντάς με καὶ πατρίδα
τὴν ἀπαρνησαμένην, φύσεως τε νόμους ἀνακαλῆ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁσίων
διαλέγῃ, [p. 174] φαίνη μοι τὰ κοινότατα καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγνοούμενα
μόνος ἀγνοεῖν: ὅτι τὸ φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον οὐτ’ ὅψεως ὀρίζει χαρακτήρ οὐτ’
ὀνόματος θέσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς χρείαις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δηλοῦται τοῦτων
ἐκάτερον, φιλοῦμέν τε πάντες τὰ ὠφελοῦντα καὶ μισοῦμεν τὰ βλάπτοντα,
οὐκ ἀνθρώπων τινῶν ἡμῖν τόνδε θεμένων τὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ ἀνελούντων ποτὲ
αὐτόν, ἔάν τάναντία αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐξ ἅπαντος
τοῦ χρόνου πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθήσεως μετειληφόσι κείμενον καὶ εἰς αἰὲ
διαμενοῦντα παραλαβόντες:

[34.1] “When you call those still my friends, Minucius, who banished me and
that nation my country which has renounced me, when you appeal to the laws
of Nature and discuss the obligations of religion, you seem to me to be
ignorant of the most common facts, of which no one but you is ignorant —
namely, that a friend or an enemy is not determined either by the lineaments
of a face or by the giving of a name, but both are made manifest by their
services and by their deeds, and that we all love those who do us good and
hate those who do us harm. No men laid down this law for us nor will men
ever annul it if the opposite course seems to them better; on the contrary, it
has been enacted from the beginning of time by the universal nature for all
creatures endowed with sense, a heritage of man to remain in force forever.

[2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φίλους τ’ ἀπαρνούμεθα, ὅταν ἀδικήσωσι, καὶ ἐχθροὺς
φίλους ποιούμεθα, ὅταν τις ἡμῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν ὑπάρξῃ χάρις, πόλιν τε τὴν
γειναμένην ἡμᾶς, ὅταν μὲν ὠφελῇ, στέργομεν, ὅταν δὲ βλάπτῃ,
καταλείπομεν, οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἀγαπῶντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον.

[2] For this reason we renounce our friends when they injure us and make
friends of our enemies when some kindly service is done for us by them; and

we cherish the country that gave us birth when it helps us, but abandon it when it harms us, since our affection is based, not on the place, but on the benefit it confers.

[3] καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οὕτως ἐπέρχεται καθ' ἓνα φρονεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεσιν ὅλαις καὶ ἔθνεσιν, ὥστε ὁ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρώμενος οὐδὲν ἕξω τῶν θείων ἀξιοῖ νομίμων, οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ δικαίωσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττοντα ἑμαυτὸν τὰ τε δίκαια ἡγοῦμαι πράττειν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσιώτατα: καὶ οὐ δέομαι δικαστὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τοὺς εἰκασμῶ καὶ δόξῃ τεκμαιρομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπους, ἐπειδὴ θεοῖς ἀρέσκοντα πράττω. οὐ γὰρ [p. 175] ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω πράγμασι θεοὺς ἔχων αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας, εἶγε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἤδη τὰ μέλλοντα.

[3] These are the sentiments not merely of individual persons in private life, but of whole cities and nations. Consequently, whoever applies this principle demands nothing not sanctioned by religious usage and does nothing that contravenes the common judgement of all mankind. I, therefore, consider that in doing these things I am doing what is just, advantageous and honourable, and at the same time what is most holy in the eyes of the gods; and I do not care to take as judges of my conduct mere men who infer the truth from guesswork and opinion, since the gods are pleased with what I do. Nor do I agreed that I am undertaking impossible things when I have the gods as my guides therein — not, at least, if one is to judge of the future by the past.

[1] περὶ δὲ τῆς μετριότητος, ἐφ' ἣν παρακαλεῖτέ με, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος μὴδ' ἐκ βάθρων ὅλην ἀναστῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἶχον μὲν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, λέγειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ τοῦτου κύριος οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ στρατηγός εἰμι τῆς δυνάμεως, πολέμου δὲ καὶ εἰρήνης οὗτοι κύριοι: ὥστε παρὰ τούτων αἰτεῖσθε γ'

[35.1] “As regards the moderation which you recommend to me and your plea that I should not utterly destroy the Roman race or overthrow the city from its foundations, I might answer, Minucius, that this is not in my power to decide, nor should your plea be addressed to me. No, I am general of the army, but as to war and peace these men here have the decision; so apply to them for a truce as a step toward reconciliation, and not to me.

[2] ἀνοχὰς ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ. οὐ μὴν ταύτην γε δίδωμι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς σέβων τοὺς πατρώους καὶ τάφους αἰδούμενος προγόνων καὶ γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἔφυν, γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ὑμῶν ἐλεῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖεις οὕσι τὰ πατέρων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἤξει σφάλματα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ Μηνύκιε, τοὺς προχειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, τάδε ἀποκρίνομαι: ἐὰν ἀποδῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐολούσκοις χώραν τε ὅσῃν αὐτοὺς ἀφήρηνται καὶ πόλεις ὅσας κατέχουσιν ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τοὺς

ἐποίκους, φιλίαν τε ποιήσωνται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον καὶ ἰσοπολιτείας μεταδῶσιν ὥσπερ Λατίνοις ὄρκους καὶ ἄράς κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τὰ συγκεείμενα ποιησάμενοι, [p. 176] διαλύσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον, πρότερον δὲ οὐ.

[2] Nevertheless, because I revere the gods of my fathers and respect the sepulchres of my ancestors and the land which gave me birth, and feel compassion for your wives and children, on whom, though undeserving, will fall the errors of their fathers and husbands, and, not least of all, on account of you men, Minucius, who have been chosen envoys by the commonwealth, I answer as follows: If the Romans will return to the Volscians the land they have taken from them and the cities they hold, first recalling their colonists, and if they will enter into a league of perpetual friendship with them and give them equal rights of citizenship, as they have done in the case of the Latins, confirming their covenant by oaths and by imprecations against those who may violate it, I will put an end to the war against them, and not until then.

[3] ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πάνυ ἐπιστρεφῶς ταῦτα διαλέγεσθε: καλὸν τοι τὰς ἰδίας ἔκαστον ἔχοντα κτήσεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ ζῆν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ μηθένα δεδοικέναι μήτ' ἐχθρὸν μήτε καιρὸν, αἰσχροὺς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιεχομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ὑπομένειν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπάντων κινδυνεύουσιν ἀγαθῶν: τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπιδείκνυτε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἴσα κατορθοῦσι τε καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσι γινόμενα γῆς ἀλλοτρίας γλιχομένοις, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, προστίθετε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἡδικομένων προσλαβεῖν βουλομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ κρατῶσι, καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ γυναῖκας ἐπιδεῖν τὰ αἰσχίστα πασχούσας καὶ παῖδας εἰς ὕβριν ἀγομένους καὶ γονεῖς δούλους ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ἐπὶ γῆρως ὁδῶ γινομένους.

[3] So carry this report back to them, and discuss very earnestly with them also, in the same way as you have with me, these considerations of justice — how fine a thing it is for everyone to enjoy his own possessions and to live in peace, but how disgraceful it is for a people, by clinging to the possessions of others, to expose themselves to an unnecessary war, in which they will run the hazard of losing even all their own blessings. Point out to them also how unequal are the prizes that reward success and failure when men covet the territory of others. Add too, if you please, that people who desire to seize the cities of those they have wronged, if they do not overcome them, are deprived of both their own territory and city, and in addition to this see their wives suffer the greatest indignities, their children led away to contumely, and their parents upon the threshold of old age become slaves instead of free men.

[4] καὶ ἅμα διδάσκετε τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τούτων τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αἰτιάσασθαι Μάρκιον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ δεινῶ περιπεσεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον

ἀναιρήσονται μέχρι παντός φιλοχωροῦντες ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοτριοις.

[4] And at the same time point out to the senators that they would not be able to impute the blame for these evils to Marcius, but to their own folly; for though they have it in their power to practise justice and to incur no disaster, they will hazard their all by their continual fondness for the possessions of others.

[5] ἔχετε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις: τούτων οὐθὲν ἂν εὔροισθε παρ' ἐμοῦ πλέον, ἀλλ' ἄπιτε καὶ σκοπεῖτε, ὃ [p. 177] τι πρακτέον ὑμῖν: ἕως δὲ βουλευσῆσθε, δίδωμι χρόνον ὑμῖν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ σὴν τε χάριν, ὦ Μηνύκιε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἕνεκα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάξω: μεγάλα γὰρ ἂν βλάπτοισθε μενούσης αὐτῆς ἐνθάδε. τῇ δὲ τριακοστῇ προσδέχεσθέ με ἡμέρᾳ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ληψόμενον.

[5] “You have my answer, and you will get nothing further from me. Depart, then, and consider what you must do. I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the meantime, to show my regard for you, Minucius, as well as for the rest of you envoys, I will withdraw my army from your territory, since it would cause you great injury if it remained here. And on the thirtieth day expect my return in order to receive your answer.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη καὶ διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις εἶτε κατ' ἀλήθειαν πεπυσμένος, ὅτι μέλλοι τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικουρίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀφικέσθαι, ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφησεν, εἶτ' αὐτὸς πλάσάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἵνα μὴ δόξειε χαριζόμενος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καταλελοιπέναι τὸν πόλεμον.

[36.1] Having thus spoken, Marcius rose up and dismissed the conference; and the following night he broke camp about the last watch and led his army against the rest of the Latin cities, either having actually learned that some reinforcements were to come from them to the Romans, as he declared at the time in his harangue to the Romans, or having invented the report himself, in order that he might not seem to have given up the war to gratify the enemy.

[2] ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ Λογγόλᾳ καὶ δίχα πόνου γενόμενος αὐτῆς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ τὰς ἑτέρας ἐξανδραποδισάμενός τε καὶ διαρπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν Σατρικανῶν ἤλαυνε πόλιν. ἐλὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων ὠφελείας μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἑχέτραν, τὴν λοιπὴν ἀναλαβὼν δύνάμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἄλλην τὴν καλουμένην Κετίαν. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς καὶ διαρπάσας εἰς τὴν Πολυσκανῶν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν. οὐ δυνηθέντων δ' ἀντισχεῖν τῶν Πολυσκανῶν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν καὶ τοὺτους ἐπὶ [p. 178] τὰς ἐξῆς ἐχώρει. Ἀλβιήτας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μογίλλανους ἐκ τειχομαχίας αἰρεῖ, % χωριελανούς δὲ καθ' ὁμολογίας

[2] And attacking the place called Longula, he gained possession of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the same manner as he had treated the others, by making slaves of the inhabitants and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of Satricum, and having taken this also, after a short resistance by the townspeople, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty taken in these two towns to Ecetra, he marched with the rest of his forces to another town, called Cetia. After gaining possession of this place also and pillaging it, he made an irruption into the territory of the Poluscini; and when these were unable to withstand him, he took their city also by storm, and then proceeded against the others in order: the Albietes and the Mugillani he took by assault and the Chorielani by capitulation.

[3] γενόμενος δ' ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα πόλεων ἑπτὰ κύριος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγων πολὺ πλείω στρατιὰν τῆς προτέρας καὶ σταδίου ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως ὀλίγῳ πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Τυσκλανοὺς φέρουσαν ὁδὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰς Λατίνων ἐξήρει τε καὶ προσήγετο πόλεις, Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὰς ἐπιταγὰς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀπέλθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ ὑπηκόων γῆς, καὶ καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον πρέσβεις ἀποστείλωσι τοὺς διαλεξομένους περὶ φιλίας, προβουλεῦσαι τὸ συνέδριον, ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις φίλοι, καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν: ἔως δ' ἂν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μένοντες αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔργα πράττωσι πολεμίων,

[3] Having thus made himself master of seven cities in thirty days, he returned toward Rome with an army much larger than his former force, and encamped at a distance of a little more than thirty stades from the city, on the road that leads to Tusculum

When Marcius was capturing or conciliating the cities of the Latins, the Romans, after long deliberation over his demands, resolved to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, but if the Volscians would depart from their territory and from that of their allies and subjects and, putting an end to the war, send ambassadors to treat for friendship, the senate would pass a preliminary vote fixing the terms on which they should become friends and would lay its resolution before the people; but as long as the Volscians remained in their territory and in that of their allies committing hostile acts they would pass no friendly vote.

[4] μηθὲν αὐτοῖς ψηφίσεσθαι φιλάνθρωπον. πολὺς γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ λόγος τοῦ μηθὲν δρᾶσαι ποτ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος μηδὲ φόβῳ πολεμίων εἷξαντας, σπείσασθαι δὲ τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ παρασχοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους χαρίζεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν ὅτου δέοιντο τῶν μετρίων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις φυλάττουσα ἢ πόλις κατὰ τε

τοὺς ὀθνείους καὶ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διατετέλεκε. [p. 179]

[4] For the Romans always made it a great point never to do anything at the dictation of an enemy or to yield to fear of him, but when once their adversaries had made peace and acknowledged themselves their subjects, to gratify them and concede anything in reason that they asked. And this proud spirit the commonwealth had continued to preserve down to our own time amid many great dangers in both their foreign and their domestic wars.

[1] ταῦτα ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἑτέρους ἐλομένης δέκα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας τὸν ἄνδρα μὴτὲν ἐκφέρειν ἐπιτάγμα βαρὺ μὴδ' ἀνάξιον τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ ἀναστήσαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πειθοῖ καὶ διὰ λόγων συμβατηρίων ταῦτα πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν, εἰ βούλεται βεβαίους τε καὶ εἰς αἰὶ διαμενούσας ποιήσασθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τῶν πόλεων, ὡς τῶν γε ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἢ καιροῦ συγχωρουμένων καὶ ιδιώταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἅμα τῷ μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς ἢ τὰς ἀνάγκας εὐθύς διαλυομένων: οἱ μὲν ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς πρέσβεις ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Μαρκίου πορευθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ διελέγοντο φυλάττοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως.

[37.1] The senate, having passed this decree, chosen ten other men from among the ex-consuls as envoys to ask Marcius not to make any demand that was severe or unworthy of the commonwealth, but laying aside his resentment and withdrawing his forces from their territory, to endeavour to obtain his demands by persuasion and conciliatory language, if he wished to make the compact between the two states firm and enduring, since all concessions made either to individuals or to state under compulsion of some necessity or crisis become void at once when the crisis or the necessity changes. The envoys appointed by the senate, as soon as they were informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him and used many tempting arguments, preserving also in their discussions, however, the dignity of the commonwealth.

[2] ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, συνεβούλευε δὲ κρεῖττον τι βουλευσαμένους ἥκειν τριῶν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν: ταύτας γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι μόνας ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου. βουλομένων δὲ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἀπειλήσας ὡς, εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν, ὡς κατασκόποις χρήσεται: κάκεῖνοι σιωπῇ ἀπὸντες εὐθὺς ὥχοντο.

[2] But Marcius gave them no answer except to advise them to reach some better decision and then return within three days; for they should have a truce from war for that period only. And when the envoys desired to make some answer to this, he would not permit it, but ordered them to quit the camp immediately, threatening, if they refused, to treat them as spies. Thereupon

they at once withdrew in silence.

[3] μαθόντες δ' οἱ βουλευταὶ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβων τὰς αὐθάδεις ἀποκρίσεις %5τε καὶ ἀπειλὰς τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιὰν μὲν ὑπερόριον ἐξάγειν οὐδὲ τότε [p. 180] ἔψηφισαντο, εἴτε τὸ ἀπειροπόλεμον τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν: νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν αὐτῶν: εὐλαβηθέντες, εἴτε τὴν ἀτολμίαν τῶν ὑπάτων: ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ δραστήριον ἦν: σφαλερὰν ἡγησάμενοι τηλικοῦτον ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἀγῶνα, εἴτ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐναντιουμένου πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδὸν δι' οἰωνῶν ἢ χρησμῶν Σιβυλλείων ἢ τινος ὀττειας πατρίου, ὧν οὐκ ἠξιοῦν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ὑπερορᾶν: φυλάττειν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελεστέρα φυλακῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων τοὺς ἐπὶόντας ἀμύνεσθαι διέγνωσαν.

[3] The senators, upon being informed by the envoys of the haughty answer and threats of Marcius, did not even then vote to send out an expeditionary force, either because they feared the inexperience of their troops, most of whom were new recruits, or because they regarded the timidity of the consuls — there was indeed no boldness for action in them at all — as a serious risk in undertaking so great a struggle, or perhaps too because Heaven opposed their expedition by means of auspices, Sibylline oracles, or some traditional religious scruple — warnings which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect as do those of to-day. However, they resolved to guard the city with greater diligence and to repel from their ramparts any who should attack them.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τῆς τ' ἐλπίδος οὕτω ἀφιστάμενοι ὥς δυνατὸν ὑπάρχον ἔτι μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ μείζονι καὶ τιμιωτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ δεηθεῖεν αὐτοῦ, ψηφίζονται τοὺς θ' ἱεροφάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τιμὴν τινα ἱερὰν ἢ λειτουργίαν περὶ τὰ θεῖα δημοτελῇ λαβόντες εἶχον: εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερεῖς καὶ θεραπευταὶ θεῶν πάννυ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι διαφανέστατοι τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τ' οἴκους πατέρων καὶ ἀρετῆς οἰκείας ἀξίωσιν: ἔχοντας ἅμ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀργιαζομένων τε καὶ θεραπευομένων θεῶν τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἀμπεχομένους ἐσθῆτας ἀθρόους ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων πορεύεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς φέροντας τοῖς προτέροις λόγους.

[38.1] While they were so engaged and were making their preparations, and were not yet ready to give up all hope, believing that Marcius could still be persuaded to relent if they sent a larger and more dignified embassy to intercede with him, they voted to send the pontiffs, the augurs, and all the others who were invested with any sacred dignity or public ministry relating to divine worship (there are among them large numbers of priests and ministers religion, these also being distinguished beyond their fellows not only for their ancestry, but for their reputation for personal merit as well), and that these, carrying with them the symbols of the gods whose rites and worship they performed, and wearing their priestly robes, should go in a body to the enemy's camp bearing the same message as the former envoys.

[2] ὥς δ' ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἔλεξαν, ὅσα ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν, [p. 181] οὐδὲ τοῦτοις ἔδωκεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀπόκρισιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν συνεβούλευεν ἀπὸντας, εἰ θέλουσιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἢ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἡξοντα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπεῖπε μὴ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.

[2] When they arrived and delivered the message with which the senate had charged them, Marcius returned no other answer even to them concerning their demands, but advised them either to depart and do as he commanded, if they wished to have peace, or to expect the war to come to their very gates; and he forbade them to attempt any negotiations with him for the future.

[3] ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀπέτυχον τῆς πείρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαλλαγῆς ἀπογνόντες ὥς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο τοὺς μὲν ἀκμασιότατους ὑπὸ τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις %5τάξαντες, τοὺς δ' ἀφειμένους ἤδη στρατείας, οἷς ἔτι τὰ σώματα ἱκανὰ ἦν κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν.

[3] When the Romans failed in this attempt also, they gave up all hope of reconciliation and prepared for a siege, disposing the ablest of their men beside the moat and at the gates, and stationing upon the walls those who had been discharged from military service but whose bodies were still capable of enduring hardships.

[1] αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὥς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ, καταλιποῦσαι τῆς οἴκοι μονῆς τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ὀλοφυρόμεναι τε καὶ προκυλιόμεναι τῶν ξοάνων: καὶ ἦν ἅπας μὲν ἱερὸς τόπος οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ ἱκετείας γυναικῶν ἀνάπλευς, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τοῦ Καπετωλίου Διὸς ἱερὸν.

[39.1] In the meantime their wives, seeing the danger now at hand and abandoning the sense of propriety that kept them in the seclusion of their homes, ran to the shrines of the gods with lamentations and threw themselves at the feet of their statues. And every holy place, particularly the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was filled with the cries and supplications of women.

[2] ἔνθα δὴ τις αὐτῶν γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχουσα καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τότ' οὕσα καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανωτάτη, Οὐαλερία μὲν ὄνομα, Ποπλικόλα δὲ τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν ἀδελφή, θείῳ τινὶ παραστήματι κινηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω κρηπῖδος ἔστη τοῦ νεῷ καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας πρῶτον μὲν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἀξιοῦσα μὴ καταπεπλῆχθαι τὸ δεινόν: ἔπειτα ὑπέσχετο μίαν εἶναι σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα τῇ πόλει, ταύτην δ' ἐν αὐταῖς εἶναι μόναις καταλειπομένην, ἔαν [p. 182]

[2] Then it was that one of them, a matron distinguished in birth and rank, who was then in the vigour of life and quite capable of discreet judgement, Valeria by name and sister to Publicola, one of the men who had freed the

commonwealth from the kings, moved by some divine inspiration, took her stand upon the topmost step of the temple, and calling the rest of the women to her, first comforted and encouraged them, bidding them not to be alarmed at the danger that threatened. Then she assured them that there was just one hope of safety for the commonwealth and that this hope rested in them alone, if they would do what required to be done.

[3] ἐθέλησωσι πράττειν, ἃ δεῖ. καὶ τις εἶπεν ἐξ αὐτῶν: καὶ τί πράττουσαι ἂν ἡμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες διασωῶσαι δυνηθεῖμεν τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειρηκότων; τίς ἢ τοσαύτη περὶ ἡμᾶς τὰς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταλαιπώρους ἐστὶν ἰσχὺς; οὐχὶ ὀπλων, ἔφησεν ἡ Οὐαλέρια, καὶ χειρῶν δεομένη; τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἀπολέλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις; ἀλλ' εὐνοίας καὶ λόγου. βοῆς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένης καὶ δεομένων ἀπασῶν φανερόν ποιεῖν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπικουρία, λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς:

[3] Upon this one of them asked: “And what can we women do to save our country, when the men have given it up for lost? What strength so great do we weak and miserable women possess?” “A strength,” replied Valeria, “that calls, not for weapons or hands — for Nature has excused us from the use of these — but for goodwill and speech.” And when all cried out and begged of her to explain what this assistance was, Valeria said:

[4] ταύτην ἔχουσαι τὴν πιναρὰν τε καὶ ἄκοσμον ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παραλαβοῦσαι γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπαγόμενα βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐετουρίας τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς οἰκίαν: καὶ πρὸ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς τὰ τέκνα θεῖσαι, δεώμεθα μετὰ δακρύων ἡμᾶς τ' οἰκτεῖραςαν τὰς μηθενὸς κακοῦ αἰτίας καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις οὔσαν πατρίδα προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων, ἄγουσαν τοὺς θ' υἱωνοὺς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπάσας: ἀκολουθῶμεν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ παιδία ἐπαγόμενα: ἔπειτα ἰκέτιν γενομένην τοῦ τέκνου, ἀξιοῦν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηδὲν

[4] “Wearing this squalid and shabby garb and taking with us the rest of the women and our children, let us go to the house of Veturia, the mother of Marcius; and placing the children at her knees, let us entreat her with tears to have compassion both upon us, who have given her no cause for grief, and upon our country, now in the direst peril, and beg of her to go to the enemy’s camp, taking along her grandchildren and their mother and all of us — for we must attend her with our children — and becoming the suppliant of her son, to ask and implore him not to inflict any irreparable mischief on his country.

[5] ἀνήκεστον κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὀλοφυρομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντιβολουσῆς οἴκτος τις εἰσελεύσεται τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λογισμὸς ἡμερος. οὐχ οὕτω στερρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον ἔχει καρδίαν, ὥστ' ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γόνασι κυλιομένην.

[5] For while she is lamenting and entreating, a feeling of compassion and a

tender reasonableness will come over the man. His heart is not so hard and invulnerable that he can hold out against a mother who grovels at his knees.”

[1] ὥς δ' ἐπήγεσαν αἱ παροῦσαι τὸν λόγον, [p. 183] εὐξαμένη τοῖς θεοῖς πειθῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν περιθεῖναι τῇ δεήσει προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένου, αἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παραλαβοῦσαι τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρκίου μητρὸς ἀθρόαι. ἰδοῦσα δ' αὐτὰς προσιούσας ἡ τοῦ Μαρκίου γυνὴ Οὐολουμνία πλησίον καθημένη τῆς ἐκυρᾶς ἐθαύμασέ τε καὶ εἶπε: τίνος δεόμεναι, γυναῖκες, ἐληλύθατε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς οἰκίαν δούστηνον καὶ ταπεινὴν;

[40.1] This advice having been approved of by all the women who were present, she prayed to the gods to invest their plea with persuasion and charm, and then set out from the sanctuary, followed by the others. Afterwards, taking with them the rest of the women, they went in a body to the house of Marcius' mother. His wife Volumnia saw them approaching as she sat near her mother-in-law, and being surprised at their coming, asked: “What is it you want, women, that so many of you have come to a household that is distressed and in humiliation?” Then Valeria replied:

[2] καὶ ἡ Οὐαλερία ἔλεξεν: ἐν ἐσχάτοις οὔσαι κινδύνοις καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ νήπια ταῦτα καταπεφεύγαμεν ἰκέτιδες ἐπὶ σέ, ὦ Οὐετουρία, τὴν μόνην καὶ μίαν βοήθειαν, ἀξιοῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν οἰκτεῖραι τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα, ἣν οὐθενὶ πῶποτε γενομένην ὑποχείριον μὴ περιίδης ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ὑπ' Οὐολούσκων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἰ δὴ καὶ φείσονται αὐτῆς κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ' οὐ πρόρριζον ἐπιχειρήσουσιν ἀνελεῖν: ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιβολοῦσαι καὶ τῶν δυστήνων παιδίων τούτων, ἵνα μὴ πέσωμεν εἰς ἐχθρῶν ὕβριν οὐθενὸς οὔσαι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὑμῖν κακῶν αἰτία.

[2] “Because we are in the direst peril, both we ourselves and these children have turned as suppliants to you, Veturia, our one and only succour, entreating you, first, to take compassion on our common country and not to permit this land, which has never fallen under any man's hand, to be robbed of its freedom by the Volscians — even supposing that they will spare it after subduing it and not endeavour to destroy it utterly; and next, imploring you in our own behalf and in behalf of these unfortunate children that we may not be exposed to the insolence of the enemy, since we are the cause of none of the evils that have befallen your family.

[3] εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ ψυχῆς ἡμέρου καὶ φιланθρώπου καταλειπομένη μερίς, ἐλέησον, ὦ Οὐετουρία, γυνὴ γυναῖκας κοινωνησάσας ἱερῶν ποτε καὶ ὀσίων, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ σεαυτῆς Οὐολουμνίαν τε τὴν ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς ἰκέτιδας ἡμᾶς φερούσας τὰ νήπια ταυτὶ καὶ αὐτὰς γενναίας ἴθι πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πείθε καὶ [p. 184] λιπάρει καὶ μὴ ἀνῆς δεομένη, μίαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν χάριν αἰτοῦσα παρ' αὐτοῦ σπείσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας καὶ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δεομένην ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν πατρίδα:

πίσεις γάρ, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ οὐ περιόψεται σε ἔρριμμένην παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶν ἀνήρ εὐσεβής.

[3] If there remains in you any portion of a gentle and humane spirit, do you, Veturia, as a woman, have mercy on women who once shared with you the same sacrifices and rites, and taking with you Volumnia, the good wife of Marcius, and her children, and us suppliant women — ourselves too of noble birth — carrying in our arms these infants, go to your son and try to persuade him, implore him, and cease not to entreat him, asking of him this one favour in return for many — to make peace with his fellow citizens and return to his country that longs to get him back. For you will persuade him, be assured; a man of his piety will not permit you to lie prostrate at his feet.

[4] καταγαγοῦσα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴ τ' ἀθάνατον ἔξεις κλέος ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τηλικούτου κινδύνου καὶ φόβου ῥυσαμένη τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ἡμῖν τιμῆς τινος αἰτία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔσῃ, ὅτι τὸν οὐ δυνηθέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνων διασκεδασθῆναι πόλεμον αὐταὶ διελύσαμεν: ἐκείνων τ' ἀληθῶς ἔγγονοι τῶν γυναικῶν φανησόμεθα, αἱ τὸν συστάντα Ῥωμύλῳ πρὸς Σαβίνους πόλεμον αὐταὶ πρεσβευσάμεναι διελύσαντο καὶ συναγαγοῦσαι τοὺς θ' ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὰ ἔθνη μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποίησαν τὴν πόλιν.

[4] And when you have brought your son back to Rome, not only will you yourself most likely gain immortal glory for having rescued your country from so great a danger and terror, but you will be the cause to us also of some honour in the eyes of our husbands for having ourselves put an end to a war which they had been unable to stop; and we shall show ourselves to be the true descendants of those women who by their own intercession put an end to the war that had arisen between Romulus and the Sabines and by bringing together both the commanders and the nations that made this city great from a small beginning.

[5] καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, ὃ Οὐτετουρία, τὸν υἱὸν κομίσασθαι, ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα, σῶσαι τὰς ἑαυτῆς πολιτίδας, κλέος ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τοῖς ἐσομένοις καταλιπεῖν. δὸς ἡμῖν ἐκοῦσα καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν χάριν καὶ σπεῦσον, ὃ Οὐτετουρία: βουλὴν γάρ ἢ χρόνον ὁ κίνδυνος ὀξὺς ὢν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται.

[5] It is a glorious venture, Veturia, to recover your son, to free your native land, to save your countrywomen, and to leave to posterity an imperishable reputation for virtue. Grant us this favour willingly and cheerfully, and make haste, Veturia; for the danger is acute and admits of no deliberation or delay."

[1] ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα καὶ πολλὰ προεμένη δάκρυα ἐσίγησεν: ὀδυρομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν καὶ πολλὰς δεήσεις ποιουμένων μικρὸν ἐπισχοῦσα ἡ Οὐτετουρία καὶ δακρύσασα εἶπεν: εἰς ἀσθενῆ [p. 185] καὶ λεπτὴν ἐλπίδα καταπεφεύγατε, ὃ Οὐαλερία, τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀθλίων

γυναικῶν βοήθειαν, αἷς ἡ μὲν εὐνοία ἡ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα πάρεστι καὶ τὸ θέλγειν σῶζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, οἳ ποτὲ εἰσιν, ἡ δ' ἰσχύς καὶ

[41.1] Having said this and shed many tears, she became silent. And when the other women also lamented and added many entreaties, Veturia, after pausing a short time and weeping, said:

“It is a weak and slender hope, Valeria, to which you have turned for refuge — the assistance of us wretched women who feel indeed affection for ought to country and a desire for the preservation of the citizens, no matter what their character, but lack the strength and power to do what we wish.

[2] τὸ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν ἃ θέλομεν ἄπεστιν. ἀπέστραπται γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐαλέρια, Μάρκιος, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ κατέγνων δίκην, καὶ μεμίσηκε τὴν οἰκίαν ὅλην ἅμα τῇ πατρίδι: τοῦτο δ' ὑμῖν οὐ παρ' ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ Μαρκίου μαθοῦσαι λέγειν ἔχομεν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀλοὺς τὴν δίκην ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων, καταλαβὼν ἡμᾶς καθημένας ἐν πενθίμοις τρύχεσι, ταπεινάς, κρατούσας ἐν τοῖς γόνασι τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ στενοῦσας τε οἷα εἰκὸς καὶ ἀνακλαιομένας τὴν καθέξουσαν ἡμᾶς τύχην στερομένας ἐκείνου, στὰς μικρὸν ἄπωθεν ἡμῶν ἄδακρυς ὥσπερ λίθος καὶ ἀτενής:

[2] For Marcius has turned away from us, Valeria, ever since the people passed that bitter sentence against him, and has hated his whole family together with his country. This we can tell you as a thing we learned from the lips of none other than Marcius himself. For when, after his condemnation, he came home, escorted by his friends, and found us sitting there in garments of mourning, abased, clasping his children upon our knees, uttering such lamentations as one would expect in the circumstances and bewailing the unhappy fate which would come upon us when bereft of him, he stood at a little distance from us, tearless as a stone and unmoved, and said:

[3] οἴχεται, φησὶν, ὑμῖν Μάρκιος, ὦ μῆτερ ἅμα καὶ σὺ, ὦ Οὐολουνμία, κρατίστη γυναικῶν, ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι γενναῖος ἦν καὶ φιλόπολις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνας. ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἀγαθαῖς, οὕτω φέρετε τὰς συμφορὰς μηδὲν ἄσχημον ποιοῦσαι μηδὲ ἀγεννές, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα παραμύθια τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρημίας ἔχουσαι τρέφετε ἀξίως ὑμῶν τε καὶ τοῦ γένους: οἷς θεοὶ δοῖεν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθοῦσι τύχην μὲν κρείττονα τοῦ πατρός, ἀρετὴν δὲ μὴ χείρονα: καὶ χαίρετε. ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ ἤδη καταλιπὼν τὴν οὐκέτι [p. 186] χωροῦσαν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πόλιν. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοὶ κτήσιοι καὶ ἐστία πατρώα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε.

[3] ‘Marcius is lost to you, mother, and to you also, Volumnia, best of wives, having been exiled by his fellow citizens because he was a brave man and a lover of his country and undertook many struggles for her sake. But bear this

calamity as befits good women, doing nothing unseemly or ignoble, and with these children as a consolation for my absence, rear them in a manner worthy both of yourselves and of their lineage; and when they have come to manhood, may the gods grant them a fate better than their father's and valour not inferior to his. Farewell. I am departing now and leaving this city in which there is no longer any room for good men. And ye too, my household gods and hearth of my fathers, and ye other divinities who preside over this place, farewell.'

[4] ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἡμεῖς μὲν αἱ δυστυχεῖς αἷς τὸ πάθος ἀπῆται φωνὰς ἀναβοῶσαι καὶ παίουσαι τὰ στήθη περιεχύθημεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀσπασμοὺς κομιοῦμεναι: τῶν δὲ παιδίων τούτων ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἦγον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τὸ νεώτερον εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκάλης: ὁ δ' ἀποστραφεὶς καὶ παρωσάμενος ἡμᾶς εἶπεν: οὔτε σὸς υἱὸς ἔτι, μήτερ, ἔσται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον Μάρκιος, ἀλλ' ἀφήρηται σε τὸν γηροβοσκὸν ἢ πατρίς, οὔτε σὸς ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' εὐτυχοῖς ἕτερον ἄνδρα λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστερον ἐμοῦ, οὐθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ τέκνα φίλτατα, πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὀρφανοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι παρὰ

[4] When he had thus spoken, we unhappy women, uttering the cries which our plight called for, and beating our breasts, clung to him to receive his last embraces. I led the elder of these his sons by the hand, and the younger his mother carried in her arms. But he turned away, and thrusting us back, said: 'No longer shall Marcius be your son henceforth, mother, but our country has deprived you of the support of your old age; nor shall he be your husband, Volumnia, from this day, but may you be happy with another husband more fortunate than I; near shall he be your father, dearest children, but, orphans and forsaken, you will be reared by these women till you come to manhood.'

[5] ταῦταις, ἕως εἰς ἄνδρας ἔλθητε, τροφήσεσθε. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἄλλ' οὐθὲν οὔτε διοικησάμενος οὔτ' ἐπιστεῖλας οὔθ' ὅποι πορεύεται φράσας ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἄδουλος, ἄπορος, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐφῆμερον ὁ δύστηνος ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τροφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἤδη τοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ φεύγει τὴν πατρίδα, πάντας ἡμᾶς ἄλλοτριους ἑαυτοῦ νενόμικεν, οὐ γράφων οὐθὲν, οὐκ ἐπιστέλλων, οὐ

[5] With these words and nothing else — without arranging any of his affairs, sending any messages, or saying whither he was going — he went out of the house alone, women, without a servant, without means, and without taking from his own stores, wretched man, even a day's supply of food. And for the fourth year now, ever since he was banished from the country, he has looked upon us all as strangers to him, neither writing anything nor sending any messages nor caring to have news of us.

[6] τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι βουλόμενος. πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν οὕτω σκληρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον, ὦ Οὐαλερία, τίνα ἰσχύειν ἔξουσιν αἱ παρ' ἡμῶν δεήσεις, αἷς

οὐτ' ἀσπασμῶν μετέδωκεν οὔτε φιλημάτων οὐτ' ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης [p. 187] οὐδεμιᾶς τὴν τελευταίαν πορευόμενος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁδόν;

[6] On such a mind, so hard and invulnerable, Valeria, what force will the entreaties of us women have, to whom he gave neither embraces nor kisses nor any other mark of affection when he left his house for the last time?

[1] ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτου δεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, ὦ γυναῖκες, καὶ πάντως θέλετε ἀσχημονούσας ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν, ὑπολάβετε παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κάμῃ καὶ Οὐλούμνιαν ἀγούσας τὰ παιδία: τίνας ἐρῶ πρῶτον ἢ μητὴρ ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγους, καὶ τίνα δέησιν ποιήσομαι τοῦ υἱοῦ; λέγετε καὶ διδάσκετέ με. φείσασθαι παρακαλῶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλάται καὶ μηθὲν ἀδικῶν; οἰκτίρμονα δὲ καὶ συμπαθεῖ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς γενέσθαι, παρ' ὧν οὐτ' ἐλέου μετέσχεν οὔτε συμπαθείας; ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δ' ἄρα καὶ προδοῦναι τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους αὐτοῦ τὴν φυγὴν, οἳ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον, οὐ πολέμιων μῖσος, ἀλλὰ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν εὖνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπεδείξαντο;

[42.1] “But if you desire it so, women, and firmly wish to see us act an unbecoming part, just imagine that I and Volumnia with these children have come into his presence. What words shall I, his mother, first address to him and what request shall I make of my son? Tell me and instruct me. Shall I exhort him to spare his fellow citizens, by whom he was exiled from his country though guilty of no crime? To be merciful and compassionate to the plebeians, from whom he received neither mercy nor compassion? Or perhaps to abandon and betray those who received him when an east and, notwithstanding the many calamities he had previously inflicted on them, showed to him, not the hatred of enemies, but the affection of friends and relations?

[2] τίνα ψυχὴν λαβοῦσα ἀξιώσω τὸν υἱὸν τὰ μὲν ἀπολέσαντα φιλεῖν, τὰ δὲ σώσαντα ἀδικεῖν; οὐκ εἰσὶν οὗτοι μητρὸς ὑγιαίνουσης λόγοι πρὸς υἱὸν οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἃ δεῖ λογιζομένης πρὸς ἄνδρα: μηδ' ὑμεῖς βιάζεσθε, γυναῖκες, ἃ μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δικαῖά ἐστι μήτε πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσια, ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄφετε τὰς ἐλεεινάς, ὡς πεπτῶκαμεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, κεῖσθαι ταπεινάς μηθὲν ἔτι πλέον ἀσχημονούσας.

[2] What courage can I pluck up to ask my son to love those who have ruined him and to injure those who have preserved him? These are not the words of a sane mother to her son nor of a wife who reasons as she should to her husband; nor ought you, either, women, to compel us to ask of him things that are neither just in the sight of men nor right in the eyes of the gods, but permit us miserable women to lie abased as we have been cast down by Fortune, committing no further unseemly act.”

[1] πανσαμένης δ' αὐτῆς τοσοῦτος ὁδυρμὸς ἐκ τῶν παρουσῶν γυναικῶν

ἐγένετο, καὶ τηλικαύτη [p. 188] κατέσχε τὸν οἶκον οἰμωγῇ, ὥστ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος ἔξακουσθῆναι τῆς πόλεως τὴν βοήν καὶ μεστοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐγγυὺς τῆς οἰκίας στενωποὺς ὄχλου.

[43.1] After she had done speaking there was so great lamentation on the part of the women present and such wailing pervaded the household that their cries were heard over a great part of the city and the streets near the house were crowded with people.

[2] Ἐπειθ' ἡ τε Οὐαλερία πάλιν ἑτέρας ἐξέτεινε μακρὰς καὶ συμπαθεῖς δεήσεις, αἱ τ' ἄλλαι γυναῖκες αἱ κατὰ φιλίαν ἢ συγγένειαν ἑκατέρω τῶν γυναικῶν προσήκουσαι, καὶ παρέμενον λιπαροῦσαι τε καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμεναι, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὃ τι πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολλὰς δεήσεις, εἶξεν ἡ Οὐετουρία καὶ τελέσειν τὴν πρεσβειαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέσχετο τὴν τε γυναῖκα τοῦ Μαρκίου παραλαβοῦσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὰς βουλομένας.

[2] Then Valeria again indulged in fresh entreaties that were long and affecting, and all the rest of the women who were connected by friendship or kindred with either of them remained there, beseeching her and embracing her knees, till Veturia, not seeing how she could help herself in view of their lamentations and their many entreaties, yielded and promised to perform the mission in behalf of their country, taking with her the wife of Marcus and his children and as many matrons as wished to join them.

[3] αἱ μὲν δὴ περιχαρεῖς γενόμεναι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμεναι συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ προσήγγειλαν τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς ὑπάτοις: οἱ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινέσαντες συνεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ συγχωρητέον αὐταῖς, γνωμηδὸν ἐπυνθάνοντο. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθησαν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγοι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας διετέλεσαν ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν βουλευόμενοι.

[3] The women rejoiced exceedingly at this and invoked the gods to aid in the accomplishment of their hopes; then, departing from the house, entreaty informed the consuls of what had passed. These, having commended their zeal, assembled the senate and called upon the members to deliver their opinions one after the other whether they ought to permit the women to go out on this mission. Many speeches were made by many senators, and they continued debating till the evening what they ought to do.

[4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει κινδύνεμα γυναῖκας ἅμα τέκνοις εἰς πολέμιων στρατόπεδον πορευομένας ἔασαι: εἰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσι τῶν νενομισμένων ὁσίων περὶ τε πρεσβείας καὶ ἱεσίας δόξειε [p. 189] μηκέτι προίεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἀμαχητὶ σφῶν ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν: ἡξιοῦν τ' αὐτὰς μόνον ἔασαι τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Μαρκίῳ γυναῖκας

ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πορευομένας. ἕτεροι δ' οὐδὲ ταύταις ὤντο δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ ταύτας παρήνουν φυλάττειν, ὅμηρα νομίσαντας ἔχειν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχέγγυα τοῦ μηδὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀνήκεστον ὑπ'

[4] For some argued that it was no small risk to the commonwealth to permit the women with the children to go to the enemy's camp; for if the Volscians, in contempt of the recognized rights of ambassadors and suppliants, should decide not to let them go afterwards, their city would be taken without a blow. These men, therefore, advised permitting only the women who were related to Marcius to go, accompanied by his children. Others believed that not even these should be allowed to go out, and advised that they too should be carefully guarded, considering that in them they had hostages from the enemy, to secure the city from suffering any irreparable injury at their hands.

[5] αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πάσαις συνεβούλευον συγχωρῆσαι ταῖς βουλομέναις γυναιξὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, ἵνα σὺν μείζονι ἀξιώματι αἱ τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσήκουσαι ποιήσωνται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος δέησιν. τοῦ δὲ μηθὲν αὐταῖς συμβῆσσεσθαι δεινὸν ἐγγυητὰς ἀπέφαινον ἐσομένους θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον, οἷς καθοσιωθεῖσαι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσονται: ἔπειτα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτόν, πρὸς ὃν ἔμελλον πορεύεσθαι,

[5] Still others advised giving leave to all the women to go who so desired, in order that the kinswomen of Marcius might intercede more impressively for their country; and to insure that no harm should befall them, they said they would have as sureties, first, the gods, to whom the women would be consecrated before making their petition, and next, the man himself to whom they were going, who had kept his life pure and unstained by any act of injustice or impiety.

[6] πάσης ἀδίκου τε καὶ ἀνοσίου πράξεως καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἐσχηκότα τὸν βίον. ἐνῖκα δ' ὅμως ἡ συγχωροῦσα γνώμη ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν ἔξοδον μέγιστον ἀμφοῖν ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσα, τῆς μὲν βουλῆς τοῦ φρονίμου, ὅτι τὰ κράτιστα καὶ γεννησόμενα προείδετο οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τηλικοῦδε ὄντος ἐπιταραχθεῖσα: τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὅτι πολέμιος ὢν ἐπιστεύετο μηδὲν ἀσεβήσειν εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον τῆς πόλεως μέρος κύριος αὐτοῦ καταστάς.

[6] However, the proposal to allow the women to go prevailed, implying against compliment to both parties — to the senate for its wisdom, in that it perceived best what was going to happen, without being disquieted at all by the danger, though it was great, and to Marcius for his piety, inasmuch as it was not believed that he would, even though an enemy, do anything impious toward the weakest element of the state when he should have them in his power.

[7] ὥς δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγράφη, προελθόντες οἱ ὕπατοι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν σκότους ὄντος ἤδη τὰ δόξαντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεσάφησαν καὶ προεῖπον ἥκειν ἅπαντας [p. 190] ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προπύργους ἐξιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν κατεπειγόντων ἔλεγον ἐπιμελῆσθαι.

[7] After the decree had been drawn up, the consuls proceeded to the Forum, and summoning an assembly when it was already dark, announced the senate's decision and gave notice that all should come early the next morning to the gates to accompany the women when they went out; and they said that they themselves would attend to all urgent business.

[1] ὅτε δ' ἤδη περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἦν, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἄγουσαι τὰ παιδιά μετὰ λαμπάδων ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ παραλαβοῦσαι τὴν Οὐετουρίαν προῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ζεύγη τε ὀρικά καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τᾶλλα φορεῖα ὡς πλεῖστα παρασκευασάμενοι καθεζομένας αὐτὰς προὔπεμπον ἄχρι πολλοῦ. παρηκολούθουν δ' αὐταῖς οἱ τ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συχνοὶ σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ δεήσεσι τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπιφανεστέραν αὐταῖς ποιοῦντες.

[44.1] When it was now break of day, the women, leading the children, went with torches to the house of Veturia, and taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the meantime the consuls, having got ready spans of mules, carts, and a great many other conveyances, seated the women in them and accompanied them for a long distance. The women were attended by the senators and many other citizens, who by their vows, commendations and entreaties lent distinction to their mission.

[2] ὥς δ' εὐσύνοπτοι πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσιοῦσαι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγένοντο, πέμπει τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὁ Μάρκιος κελεύσας μαθεῖν, τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσίων ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τί παραγένοιτο. μαθὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἤκουσιν ἐπαγόμεναι παιδιά, προηγείται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐθαύμασε τῆς τόλμης τὰς γυναῖκας, εἰ γνώμην ἔσχον εἰς χάρακα πολέμιων ἄτερ ἀνδρῶν φυλακῆς ἐλθεῖν ἄγουσαι τὰ τέκνα, οὗτ' αἰδοῦς ἔτι τῆς ἀρμοστούσης γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις καὶ σώφροσι προνοοῦμεναι τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἄσυνήθεσιν ὀρᾶσθαι, οὔτε κινδύνων λαβοῦσαι δέος, οὕς ἀναρριπτεῖν ἔμελλον, εἰ τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν δικαίων ἐλομένοις σφίσι, δόξειε κέρδος [p. 191]

[2] As soon as the women, while still approaching at a distance, could be clearly seen by those in the camp, Marcius sent some horsemen with orders to learn what multitude it was that advanced from the city and what was the occasion of their coming. And being informed that the wives of the Romans together with their children had come to him and twenty they were led by his mother, his wife and his sons, he was at first astonished at the assurance of the

women in resolving to come with their children into an enemy's camp without a guard of men, neither showing regard any longer for the modesty becoming to free-born and virtuous women, which forbids them to be seen by men who are strangers, nor becoming alarmed at the dangers which they would run if his soldiers, preferring their own interests to justice, should think fit to make a profit and advantage of them.

[3] αὐτὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὠφέλειαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν, ὑπαντᾶν τῇ μητρὶ προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔγνω σὺν ὀλίγοις, τοὺς τε πελέκεις, οὓς προηγεῖσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔθος ἦν, ἀποθέσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους, ὅταν ἐγγὺς τῆς μητρὸς γένηται, καταστεῖλαι.

[3] But when they were near, he resolved to go out of the camp with a few of his men and to meet his mother, after first ordering his lictors to lay aside the axes which were customarily carried before generals, and when he should come near his mother, to lower the rods.

[4] ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἔθος, ὅταν ὑπαντῶσι ταῖς μείζουσιν ἀρχαῖς οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται: ἦν δὴ τότε συνήθειαν φυλάττων ὁ Μάρκιος, ὡς ἐξουσία μείζονι μέλλων. εἰς ταῦτόν ἦξειν, πάντ' ἀπέθετο τὰ τῆς ἰδίας παράσημα ἀρχῆς. τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτόν ἦν αἰδὼς καὶ πρόνοια τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας.

[4] This is a custom observed by the Romans when inferior magistrates meet those who are their superiors, which continues even to our time; and it was in observance of this custom that Marcius, as if he were going to meet a superior power, now laid aside all the insignia of his own office. So great was his reverence and his concern to show his veneration for the tie of kinship.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, πρώτη μὲν αὐτῷ δεξιωσομένη προσῆλθεν ἡ μήτηρ πένθιμά τ' ἡμφιεσμένη τρύχη καὶ τὰς ὀράσεις ἐκτετηκυῖα ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ἐλεεινὴ σφόδρα. ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἰδὼν ἄτεγκτος τέως καὶ στερρός, οἷος ἅπασι τοῖς ἀνιανοῖς ἀντέχειν, οὐθὲν ἔτι τῶν λελογισμένων φυλάττειν ἱκανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥχετο φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἡσπάζετο καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις φωναῖς ἀνεκάλει καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κλαίων τε καὶ περιέπων κατεῖχεν ἐκκλυμένην καὶ ῥέουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ τῶν ἀσπασμῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἄλις εἶχε, τὴν γυναῖκα προσελθοῦσαν δεξιωσάμενος ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις εἶπεν:

[45.1] When they came near to one another, his mother was the first to advance toward him to greet him, clad in rent garments of mourning and with her eyes melting with tears, an object of great compassion. Upon seeing her, Marcius, who till then had been hard-hearted and stern enough to cope with any distressing situation, could no longer keep any of his resolutions, but was carried away by his emotions into human kindness, and embracing her and kissing her, he called her by the most endearing terms, and supported her for a

long time, weeping and caressing her as her strength failed and she sank to the ground. After he had had enough of caressing his mother, he greeted his wife when with their children she approached him, and said:

[2] ἀγαθῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον ἐποίησας, ὦ Οὐολουμνία, μείνασα παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ μου καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλιποῦσα τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτῆς ἔμοιγε πασῶν ἡδίστην [p. 192] κεχάρισαι δωρεάν. μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν παιδίων ἐκάτερον προσαγόμενος καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀσπασμοὺς ἀποδοὺς, ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε, τίνος δεομένη πάρεστιν. ἡ δὲ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἔφησεν ἐρεῖν, οὐθενὸς γὰρ ἀνοσίου δεήσεσθαι, παρεκάλει τ' αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος εἰώθει χωρίῳ

[2] “You have acted the part of a good wife, Volumnia, in living with my mother and not abandoning her in her solitude, and to me you have done the dearest of all favours.” After this, drawing each of his children to him, he gave them a father’s caresses, and then, turning again to his mother, begged her to state what she had come to ask of him. She answered that she would speak out in the presence of all, since she had no impious request to make of him, and bade him be seated where he was wont to sit when administering justice to his troops.

[3] δικάζειν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἐν τούτῳ καθίσας. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐδέξατο ὥς δὴ περιουσίᾳ τε πολλῇ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν αὐτῆς χρῆσόμενος καὶ ἐν καλῷ ποιούμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ἐλθὼν δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν βῆμα πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν δίφρον καὶ θεῖναι χαμαί, μητρὸς ὑψηλότερον οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν τόπον ἔχειν, οὐδ’ ἐξουσίᾳ χρῆσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνης οὐδεμιᾶ· ἔπειτα παρακαθιστάμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν θ’ ἡγεμόνων καὶ λοχαγῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑάσας παρεῖναι τὸν βουλούμενον, ἐκέλευσε τὴν μητέρα λέγειν.

[3] Marcius willingly agreed to her proposal, thinking, naturally, that he should have a great abundance of just arguments to use in combating his mother’s intercession and that he should be giving his answer where it was convenient for the troops to hear. When he came to the general’s tribunal, he first ordered the lictors to remove the seat that stood there and to place it on the ground, since he thought he ought not to occupy a higher position than his mother or use against her any official authority. Then, causing the most prominent of the commanders and captains to sit by him and permitting any others to be present who wished, he bade his mother speak.

[1] καὶ ἡ Οὐετουρία παραστησαμένη τὴν τε: γυναικὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἔκλαιεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὀρώσα μέχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἐκίνησεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔλεον. ἔπειτ’ ἀναλαβοῦσα αὐτὴν ἔλεξεν:

[46.1] Thereupon Veturia, having placed the wife of Marcius with his children and the most prominent of the Roman matrons near her, first wept, fixing her eyes on the ground for a long time, and roused great compassion in all who were present. Then, recovering herself, she said:

[2] αἱ γυναῖκες, ὦ Μάρκιε τέκνον, τὰς ὕβρεις ἐνθυμούμεναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συμφορὰς τὰς συμβησομένας [p. 193] αὐταῖς, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένηται, πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀπογνοῦσαι βοήθειαν, ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσι διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐθάδεις καὶ σκληρὰς ἔδωκας ἀποκρίσεις, ἄγουσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοῖς πενθίμοις τούτοις ἡμφισμέναι τρῦχεσι κατέφυγον ἐπ’ ἐμέ, τὴν σὴν μητέρα, καὶ Οὐολουμνίαν, τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα, δεόμεναι, μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὰς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθοῦσας· οὐθὲν μὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ’ ἔλαττον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτοῦσαι, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ, ὅτ’ εὐτυχοῦμεν, εὖνοιαν ἔτι παρασχόμεναι, καὶ, ὅτ’ ἐπταίσαμεν, συμπάθειαν.

[2] “These women, Marcius, my son, mindful of the outrages and other calamities which will come upon them if our city falls into the power of the enemy, and despairing of all other assistance, since you gave haughty and harsh answers to their husbands when they asked you to end the war, took their children, and clad in these rent garments of mourning, turned for refuge to me, your mother, and to Volumnia, your wife, begging us not to permit them to suffer the greatest of all human evils at your hands, as they have never done us any injury, great or slight, but showed much affection for us while we were still prosperous, and compassion when we met with adversity.

[3] ἔχομεν γὰρ αὐταῖς μαρτυρεῖν, ἐξ οὗ σὺ ἀπῆρας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ἡμεῖς δ’ ἔρημοι καὶ τὸ μηθὲν ἔτι οὔσαι κατελειπόμεθα, συνεχῶς τε παραγινομέναις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ παραμυθουμέναις τὰς συμφορὰς ἡμῶν καὶ συναλγούσαις. τούτων δὴ λαμβάνουσαι μνήμην ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ σὴ γυνὴ ἢ συνοικουρούσα μετ’ ἐμοῦ τὰς ἱκεσίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπεστράφημεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπεμείναμεν, ὥς ἡξιουν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ποιήσασθαι δεήσεις.

[3] For we can bear them witness that since you withdrew from your country and we were left desolate and no longer of any account, they constantly visited us, alleviated our misfortunes, and condoled with us. So, remembering all this, neither I nor your wife, who lives with me, rejected their entreaties, but brought ourselves to come to you, as they asked, and to make our supplications in behalf of our country.”

[1] ἔτι δ’ αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν· ἀδυνάτων δεομένη, μήτερ, ἐλήλυθας ἀξιοῦσα προδοῦναι με τοῖς ἐκβαλοῦσι τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, καὶ τοῖς ἅπαντά με ἀφελομένοις τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς χαρισαμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν· οἷς ἐγὼ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε παραλαμβάνων θεοὺς [p. 194] τε καὶ δαίμονας ἐγγυητὰς ἔδωκα, μήτε προδώσειν τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν μήτε προκαταλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν μὴ

[47.1] While she was yet speaking Marcius interrupted her and said: “You have come demanding the impossible, mother, when you ask me to betray those who have cast me out those who have received me, and to those who have deprived me of all my possessions those who have conferred on me the greatest of human blessings — men to whom, when I accepted this command, I gave the gods and other divinities as sureties that I would neither betray their state nor end the war unless all the Volscians agreed to do so.

[2] θεοὺς τε δὴ σεβόμενος, οὓς ὤμοσα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενος, οἷς τὰς πίστεις ἔδωκα, πολεμήσω Ῥωμαίοις ἄχρι τέλους. ἐὰν δ’ ἀποδιδῶσι τὴν χώραν Οὐολούσκοις, ἣν κατέχουσιν αὐτῶν βίᾳ, καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιήσονται πάντων αὐτοῖς μεταδιδόντες τῶν ἴσων ὥσπερ Λατίνοις, διαλύσομαι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον: ἄλλως δ’ οὔ.

[2] Both out of reverence, then, for the gods by whom I swore and out of respect for the men to whom I gave my pledges I shall continue to make war upon the Romans to the last. But if they will restore to the Volscians the lands of theirs which they hold by force, and will make them their friends, giving them an equal share in all privileges as they have to the Latins, I will put an end to the war against them, otherwise not.

[3] ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὧ γυναικες, ἅπιτε καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα καὶ πείθετε αὐτοὺς μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀδίκως, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπᾶν, ἐὰν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν τις αὐτοὺς ἔῃ, μηδ’ ὅτι πολέμῳ λαβόντες ἔχουσι τὰ Οὐολούσκων, περιμένειν, ἕως πολέμῳ πάλιν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀποχρήσει τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μόνον ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων ἴδια ἀξιώσουσιν ἔχειν. ἐὰν δὲ περιεχόμενοι τῶν μηθὲν ὑποτίς προσηκόντων πᾶν ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπομένωσι φυλάττοντες τὸ αὐθαδες, ἐκείνους αἰτιάσεσθε τῶν καταληφόμενων κακῶν, οὐ Μάρκιον οὐδὲ Οὐολούσκους οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα.

[3] As for you women, then, depart and carry this word to your husbands; and persuade them to cease their unjust fondness for possessions of others and to be content if they are permitted to keep what is their own, and not, just because they now hold the possessions of the Volscians which they took in war, to wait till they are in turn deprived of them in war by the Volscians. For the conquerors will not be satisfied with merely recovering their own possessions, but will think themselves entitled also to those that belong to the conquered. And if, by clinging to what is not theirs at all, the Romans persist in their arrogance and are willing to suffer anything whatever, you will impute to them, rather than to Marcius, the Volscians or anyone else, the blame for the miseries that shall befall them.

[4] σοῦ δέ, ὦ μῆτερ, ἐν μέρει πάλιν υἱὸς ὢν ἐγὼ δέομαι μὴ με παρακαλεῖν

εἰς ἀνοσίους πράξεις καὶ ἀδίκους, μηδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σεαυτῇ τεταγμένην πολεμίους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους: ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ γενομένην ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον πατρίδα τε νέμειν, [p. 195] ἣν ἐγὼ νέμω, καὶ οἶκον, ὃν ἐγὼ κέκτημαι, τιμὰς τε καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἐμάς, καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἐμῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγουμένην φίλους τε καὶ πολεμίους οὕσπερ ἐγώ: ἀποθέσθαι τ' ἤδη τὸ πένθος, ὃ διὰ τὰς ἐμάς ὑπέμεινας, ὧ ταλαίπωρε, φυγὰς, καὶ παύσασθαι τιμωρουμένην με τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ.

[4] And of you, mother, I, who am your son, beg in my turn that you will not urge me to wicked and unjust actions, nor, ranging yourself on the side of those who are the bitterest foes both to me and to yourself, regard as enemies your nearest of kin, but that, taking your place at my side, as is right, you will make the land where I dwell your fatherland, and your home the house I have acquired, and that you will enjoy my honours and share in my glory, looking upon my friends and enemies as your own; also that you will lay aside the mourning which, unhappy woman, you have endured because of my banishment, and cease to avenge yourself upon me by this garb.

[5] ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὧ μῆτερ, ἀγαθὰ κρείττονα ἐλπίδων καὶ μεῖζονα εὐχῆς παρὰ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήντηται, ἡ δὲ περὶ σοῦ φροντίς, ἣ τὰς γηροβοσκοὺς οὐκ ἀπέδωκα χάριτας, ἐντετευκὺς τοῖς σπλάγχχνοις πικρὸν ἐποίει καὶ ἀνόνητον ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον. εἰ σὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ τάξεις σεαυτὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κοινωνεῖν ἐβελήσεις ἀπάντων, οὐθενὸς ἔτι μοι δεήσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν.

[5] For though all other blessings, mother, have been conferred on me both by the gods and men above my hopes and beyond my prayers, yet the concern I have felt for you, whose old age I have not cherished in return for all your pains, has so sunk into my inmost being as to render my life bitter and incapable of enjoying all my blessings. But if you will take your place by my side and consent to share all I possess, no longer will any of the blessings which fall to the lot of man be lacking to me."

[1] παυσαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ Οὐετουρία ἐπισχοῦσα χρόνον, ἕως ὃ τῶν περιστηκότων ἔπαινος ἐπαύσατο πολὺς τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ γενόμενος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν: ἀλλ' ἔγωγέ σε, ὧ Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὔτε προδότην Οὐολούσκων γενέσθαι ἀξιῶ, οἳ σε φεύγοντα ὑποδεξάμενοι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις ἐτίμησαν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσαν, οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, οὓς ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς, ὅτε τὰς δυνάμεις παρελάβανες, ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης ἰδίᾳ καταλύσασθαι τὴν ἔχθραν βούλομαι: μηδ' ὑπολάβης τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα τοσαύτης ἀναπεπληῆσθαι θεοβλαβείας, ὥστε τὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον υἱὸν εἰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ

[48.1] When he had ended, Veturia, after waiting a short time till the great and long-continued applause of the bystanders ceased, spoke to him as follows:

“But I, Marcius, my son, neither ask you to become a traitor to the Volscians who received you when an exile and, among other honours, entrusted you with the command of their army, nor do I desire that, contrary to the agreements and to the sworn pledges you gave them when you took command of their forces, you should arbitrarily, without the general consent, put an end to enmity. Do not imagine that your mother has been filled with such fatuousness as to urge her dear and only son to shameful and wicked actions.

[2] ἀνοσίους πράξεις παρακαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης [p. 196] ἀποστῆναι σε ἀξιῶ τοῦ πολέμου, πείσαντα τοὺς Οὐολούσκους μετριάσαι περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἔθνεσι καλὴν καὶ πρέπουσαν. τοῦτο δὲ γένοιτ’ ἂν, εἰ νῦν μὲν ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγάγοις ἐνιαυσίους ποιησάμενος ἀνοχάς, ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλων τε καὶ δεχόμενος ἀληθῆ φιλίαν πράττοις καὶ

[2] On the contrary, I ask you to withdraw from the war only with the general consent of the Volscians, after you have persuaded them to use moderation with regard to an accommodation and to make such a peace as shall be honourable and seemly for both nations. This may be done if you will now withdraw your forces, first making a truce for a year, and will in the meantime, by sending and receiving ambassadors, work to bring about a genuine friendship and a firm reconciliation.

[3] διαλλαγὰς βεβαίας. καὶ εὖ ἴσθι: Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ὅσα μῆτε τὸ ἀδύνατον μῆτ’ ἄλλη τις ἀδοξία προσπεσοῦσα κωλύσει, πάντα ὑπομενοῦσι πράττειν λόγῳ καὶ παρακλήσει πειθόμενοι, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δ’ , ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν ἀξιοῖς, οὐθὲν ἂν πώποτε χαρίσαιντο ὑμῖν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ’ ἔλαττον, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν πάρεστί σοι καταμαθεῖν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐξ ὧν Λατίνοις συνεχώρησαν ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων: Οὐολούσκοι δὲ πολλὸ τὸ αὐθαδὲς ἔχουσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει τοῖς μεγάλα εὐτυχήσασιν.

[3] And be well assured of this: the Romans, in so far as no impossible condition or any dishonour attaching to the terms prevents, will consent to perform them all if won over by persuasion and exhortation, but if compulsion is attempted, as you now think proper, they will never make any concession, great or small, to please you, as you may learn from many other instances and particularly from the concessions they recently made to the Latins after these had laid down their arms. As to the Volscians, on the other hand, their arrogance is now great, as happens to all who have met with signal success;

[4] ἐὰν δὲ διδάσκης αὐτοὺς, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν εἰρήνη παντός ἐστι πολέμου κρείττων, σύμβασις δὲ φίλων κατὰ τὸν ἐκούσιον γινομένη τρόπον τῶν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης συγχωρηθέντων βεβαιότερα, καὶ ὅτι σωφρόνων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν μὲν εὖ πράττειν δοκῶσι, ταμιεύεσθαι τὰς τύχας, ὅταν δ’ εἰς ταπεινάς καὶ φαύλας ἔλθωσι, μηθὲν ὑπομένειν ἀγεννές: καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ ἐπείκειαν ἐπαγωγὰ παιδεύματα εὐρηται [p. 197] λόγων, οὕς

ὕμεις οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττοντες μάλιστα ἔπιστασθε, ἵστε ὅτι τοῦ τε αὐχήματος, ἐφ' οὗ νῦν εἰσιν, ἐκόντες ὑποβήσονται καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐξουσίαν σοι τοῦ πράττειν, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνῃς συνοίσειν.

[4] but if you point out to them that ‘any peace is preferable to any war,’ that ‘a voluntary agreement between friends is more secure than concession extorted by necessity,’ and that ‘it is the part of wise men, when they seem to be prosperous, to husband their good fortune, but when their fortunes become low and paltry, to submit to nothing that is ignoble,’ and if you make use of such other instructive maxims conducive to moderation and reasonableness as have been devised, maxims with which you politicians in particular are familiar, be assured that they will voluntarily recede from their present boastfulness and give you authority to do anything you believe will be to their advantage.

[5] ἔάν δ' ἀντιπράττωσί σοι καὶ τοὺς λόγους μὴ προσδέχωνται ταῖς διὰ σέ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν σὴν γενομέναις περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχαις ὥς αἰεὶ διαμενούσαις ἐπαιρόμενοι, τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῖς ἀφίστασο φανερώς, καὶ μῆτε προδότης γίνου τῶν πεπιστευκότων μῆτε πολέμιος τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων: ἀσεβὲς γάρ ἐκάτερον. ταῦτα ἤκω δεομένη σου γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ σοῦ, Μάρκιε τέκνον, οὐτ' ἀδύναθ', ὥς σὺ φῆς, πάσης τ' ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνοσίου συνειδήσεως καθαρὰ.

[5] But if they oppose you and refuse to accept your proposals, being elated by the successes they have gained through you and your leadership, as if these would always continue, resign publicly the command of their army and make yourself neither a traitor to those who have trusted you nor an enemy to those who are nearest to you; for to do either is impious. These are the favours I have come begging you to grant me, Marcius, my son, and they are not only not impossible to grant, as you assert, but are free from any consciousness on my part of an unjust or impious intent.

[1] φέρε, ἀλλὰ δόξαν αἰσχροῦν οἴσεσθαι δέδοικας, ἐὰν ἃ παρακαλῶ σε πράττης, ὥς ἀχάριστος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐξελεγχθησόμενος, οἳ σε πολέμιον ὄντα ὑποδεξάμενοι πάντων μετέδωκαν ὧν τοῖς φύσει πολίταις μέτεστιν ἀγαθῶν: ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ἃ μεγάλα ποιεῖς τοῖς λόγοις αἰεὶ.

[49.1] “But come, you are afraid perhaps that if you do what I urge you will incur a shameful reputation, believing that you will stand convicted of ingratitude to your benefactors, who received you, an enemy, and shared with you all the advantages to which their native-born citizens are entitled; for these are the things you constantly stress in your remarks.

[2] οὐκ ἀποδέδωκας οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ νενίκηκας ἀπειρῶ δὴ τινι μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει χαρίτων τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων εὐεργεσίας; οὗς ἀγαπητὸν ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντων μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν, ἐὰν ἐλευθέρως οἰκῶσι

τὰς πατρίδας, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῶν κυρίους εἶναι βεβαίως παρεσκευάκας, [p. 198] ἀλλὰ καὶ πεποίηκας ἤδη σκοπεῖν, πότερα καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον, ἢ μετέχειν αὐτῆς

[2] Have you not, then, made them many fine returns, and have you not by the favours you have bestowed, while high limitless in magnitude and number, surpassed the kindnesses received from them? Though they regarded it as enough and as the greatest of all blessings if they could continue to live as freemen in their native cities, you have not only made them securely their own masters, but have also brought it about that they are already considering whether it is better for them to destroy the dominion of the Romans or to have an equal share in it by forming a joint commonwealth.

[3] Ἐξ Ἰσοῦ κοινὴν καταστησαμένους πολιτείαν. ἔω γὰρ λέγειν, ὅσοις κεκόσμηκας ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύροις τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, καὶ πηλίκους κεχάρισαι τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις πλοῦτους. τοὺς δὴ τοσοῦτους διὰ σὲ γενομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τηλικαύτης βεβηκότας εὐτυχίας οὐ δοκεῖς ἀγαπήσειν οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὀργιεῖσθαι σοὶ καὶ ἀγανακτήσειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος αἷμα ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπισπείσῃς; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι.

[3] I say nothing of all the spoils of war with which you have adorned their cities nor of the great riches you have bestowed upon those who accompanied you on your expeditions. Do you believe that those who through your aid have become so great and have entered upon such prosperity will not be content with the blessings they have, but will be angry with you and indignant if you do not also spill by their hands your country's blood? For my part, I do not believe so.

[4] εἷς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος ἰσχυρὸς μὲν, ἐὰν λογισμῷ κρίνης αὐτόν, ἀσθενὴς δ', ἐὰν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὁ περὶ τῆς οὐ δικαίως μισουμένης ὑπὸ σοῦ πατρίδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ κόσμῳ πολιτευομένη τὴν οὐ δικαίαν κατὰ σοῦ κρίσιν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ νοσοῦσα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι σαλευομένη, οὔτε πᾶσα τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην τότε ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος πονηροῖς προστάταις χρησάμενον.

[4] I have still one point left to speak of — a strong one if you judge of it by reason, but weak if you judge by passion. I refer to the unjust hatred you bear toward your country. For the commonwealth was neither in a state of health nor governed according to the established constitution when she pronounced that unjust sentence against you, but was diseased and tossed in a violent tempest; nor did the state as a whole entertain this opinion at that time, but only the baser element in it, which had followed evil leaders.

[5] εἰ δὲ δὴ μὴ τοῖς κακίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ ὥς οὐ τὰ κράτιστα πολιτευόμενος ἀπηλάθης ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδ' οὕτω σοὶ προσῆκε μνησικακεῖν πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ

καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πολιτευομένων τὰ παραπλήσια συνέβη παθεῖν: καὶ σπάνιοι δὴ τινές εἰσιν, οἷς οὐκ ἀντέπνευσε πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀρετὴν [p. 199]

[5] Yet supposing not only the worst of the citizens, but all the rest of as well had been of this mind, and you had been banished by them as not acting for the best interests of the state, not even in that case did it become you to bear any resentment against your country. For it has fallen to the lot of many others, you know, of those whose policies were prompted by the best motives, to have the same experience, and few indeed are those who have not, because of their reputation for virtue, felt the breath of unjust envoy on the part of their political rivals.

[6] φθόνος ἐκ τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ἄδικος. ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνως, ὧς Μάρκιε, φέρουσι καὶ μετρίως ἅπαντες οἱ γενναῖοι τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ πόλεις μεταλαμβάνουσιν, ἐν αἷς οἰκήσαντες οὐθὲν λυπήσουσι τὰς πατρίδας: ὥσπερ καὶ Ταρκύνιος ἐποίησεν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐπικαλούμενος: ἱκανὸν ἐν παράδειγμα καὶ οἰκεῖον: ὃς συνελευθερώσας ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς πολίτας, ἔπειτα διαβληθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς συμπράττων πάλιν τοῖς τυράννοις τὴν ἀθοδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελασθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἐμνησικακεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας αὐτόν, οὐδ' ἐπεστράτεψε τῇ πόλει τοὺς τυράννους ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ἐποίει τεκμήρια τῶν διαβολῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡμῶν Λαουίνιον ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἐβίω χρόνον εὖνους ὧν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ φίλος.

[6] But all who are high-minded, Marcius, bear their misfortunes like men and with moderation, and remove to other cities in which they can dwell without causing harm to their fatherland. This was the case with Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus. (A single instance and one from our own history will suffice.) He had assisted in freeing his fellow citizens from the tyrants, but was later accused before them of attempting in turn to restore these tyrants and for that reason was himself banished from his country; yet he retained no resentment against those who had exiled him, nor would he march against his country bringing with him the tyrants nor commit acts that would substantiate the charges made against him, but retiring to Lavinium, our mother-city, he spent the remainder of his life there, continuing loyal to his country and its friend.

[1] ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅμως, καὶ δεδόσθω τοῖς τὰ δεινὰ παθοῦσι μὴ διακρίνειν εἴτε φίλιον εἴη τὸ κακῶς δεδρακὸς εἴτ' ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ' ἴσην πρὸς ἅπαντας ὀργὴν ἔχειν: ἔπειτ' οὐχ ἱκανὰς εἰσπέπραξαι παρὰ τῶν ὑβρισάντων σε δίκας γῆν τ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρίστην πεποικηκώς μηλόβοτον καὶ πόλεις διατεπορθηκώς συμμαχίδας, ἃς πολλοῖς πόνοις κτησαμένη κατέσχε, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη ταῦτ' ἔτος εἰς πολλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν κατακεκλεικώς αὐτοὺς ἀπορίαν; ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν ἀγριαίνουσιν καὶ [p. 200]

[50.1] “Conceding the point nevertheless, and granting the right to all who have suffered grievously not to distinguish whether those who have injured them are friends or aliens but to direct their anger against all impartially, even so have you not taken a sufficient revenge on such as abused you, now that you have turned their best land into a sheep-walk, have utterly destroyed the cities of their allies, which they had acquired and held at the cost of many hardships, and have reduced them now for the third year to a great scarcity of provisions? But you carry your wild and mad resentment even to the point of enslaving them and razing their city;

[2] μαινομένην ὀργὴν προάγεις· καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις φέροντάς σοι τῶν τε ἐγκλημάτων ἄφεςιν καὶ κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας ἐνετράπης, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οὐς τὸ τελευταῖον ἔπεμψεν ἡ πόλις, ἱερὰ στέμματα θεῶν ἔχοντας καὶ προτείνοντας γηραιοὺς ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπήλασας, αὐθαδεῖς καὶ δεσποτικὰς ὡς κεκρατημένοις ἀποκρίσεις δοῦς.

[2] and you showed no regard even for the envoys sent to you by the senate, men of worth and your friends, who came to offer you a dismissal of the charges and leave to return home, nor yet for the priests whom the commonwealth sent at the last to you, old men holding before them the holy garlands of the gods; but these also you drove away, giving a haughty and imperious answer to them as to men who had been conquered,

[3] ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, πῶς ἐπαινέσω ταῦτα τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ ὑπέραυχα καὶ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ἐκβεβηκότα δικαιώματα ὁρῶσα καταφυγὰς εὐρημένας ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ παραιτήσεις, ὧν ἂν ἐξαμαρτάνωσι περὶ ἀλλήλους, ἱκετηρίας καὶ λιτὰς καὶ τὸ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡδικομένους τὸ ἀδικοῦν ταπεινόν, θεῶν ἡμῖν ταῦτα τὰ ἔθη καταστησάμενων· ὅφ’ ὧν μαραινεται πᾶσα ὀργὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεεῖ· τοὺς δ’ αὐθαδεῖα χρησαμένους καὶ λιτὰς ἱκετῶν ὑβρίσαντας, ἅπαντας νεμεσωμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ εἰς συμφορὰς καταστρέφοντας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς.

[3] For my part, I cannot commend these harsh and overbearing claims, which overstep the bounds of human nature, when I observe that a refuge for all men and the means of securing forgiveness for their offences one against another have been devised in the form of suppliant boughs and prayers, by which all anger is softened and instead of hating one’s enemy one pities him; and when I observe also that those who act arrogantly and treat with insolence the prayers of suppliants all incur the indignation of the gods and in the end come to a miserable state.

[4] αὐτοὶ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον οἱ ταῦτα καταστησάμενοι καὶ παραδόντες ἡμῖν θεοὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους εἰσὶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ εὐδιάλλακτοι, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤδη μεγάλα [p. 201] εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντες εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τὸν χόλον ἐξιλάσαντο· εἰ μὴ σύ, ὦ Μάρκιε, ἀξιοῖς τὰς μὲν τῶν θεῶν ὀργὰς

θητὰς εἶναι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους. δίκαια μὲν οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ σεαυτῷ πρέποντα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι αὐτῇ, ἀφείλεις τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετανοοῦσθι γε καὶ διαλλαττομένη καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἀφείλετο σοὶ νῦν ἀποδιδούσθι.

[4] For the gods themselves, who in the first place instituted and delivered to us these customs, are disposed to forgive the offences of men and are easily reconciled; and many have there been ere now who, though greatly sinning against them, have appeased their anger by prayers and sacrifices. Unless you think it fitting, Marcius, that the anger of the gods should be mortal, but that of men immortal! You will be doing, then, what is just and becoming both to yourself to your country if you forgive her her offences, seeing that she is repentant and ready to be reconciled and to restore to you now everything that she took away from you before.

[1] εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ ταύτην δός, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν, παρ' ἧς οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἔχεις οὐδ' ὧν ἀντιποιήσαιτ' ἂν τις καὶ ἕτερος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα καὶ οἷς ἅπαντα τὰ λοιπὰ κέκτησαι, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. δανείσματα γὰρ ἔχεις ταῦτ' ἐμά, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεται με ταῦτ' οὐθεὶς οὔτε τόπος οὔτε καιρός, οὐδέ γ' αἱ Οὐλοῦσκων οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαι συμπάντων καὶ χάριτες τοσοῦτον ἰσχύουσιν οὐδ' ἂν οὐρανομήκεις γένωνται, ὥστε τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐξαλείψαι καὶ παρελθεῖν δίκαια: ἀλλ' ἐμὸς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔσθι καὶ πρώτῃ πάντων τὰς τοῦ βίου χάριτας ὀφειλήσεις ἐμοί, καὶ ὧν ἂν δέωμαι διχα προφάσεως ὑπουργήσεις.

[51.1] “But if you are indeed irreconcilable to her, grant, my son, this honour and favour to me, at least, from whom you have received, not the boons that are of least value nor those to which another also might lay claim, but rather those that are the greatest and most precious and have enabled you to acquire everything else you possess — namely, your body and your soul. These are loans you have from me, and neither place nor time will ever deprive me of them, nor will the benefactions of the Volscians or of all the rest of mankind together, even if they should reach the heavens in magnitude, avail to efface and surpass the rights of Nature; but you will be mine forever, and to me before all others you will owe gratitude for your life, and you will oblige me in everything I ask without alleging any excuse.

[2] τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος ὥρισεν ἅπασιν τοῖς αἰσθήσεως καὶ λόγου μετεληφόσι τὸ δίκαιον, ὃ πιστεῦουσα, Μάρκιε τέκνον, κάγω δέομαι σου μὴ ἐπάγειν πόλεμον τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἴσταμαι σοι βιαζομένῳ. ἢ προτέρα οὖν ἐμὲ τὴν ἐναντιομένην σοι μητέρα ταῖς ἐρινύσι προθυσάμενος αὐτοχειρίᾳ [p. 202] τότε τοῦ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἅπτου πολέμου, ἢ τὸ μητροκτόνον ἄγος αἰδούμενος εἶξον τῇ σεαυτοῦ

[2] For this is a right which the law of Nature has prescribed for all who partake of sense and reason; and putting my trust in this law, Marcius, my

son, I too beg of you not to make war upon your country, and I stand in your way if you resort to violence. Either, therefore, first sacrifice with your own hand to the Furies your mother who opposes you and then begin the war against your country, or, if you shrink from the guilt of matricide, yield to your mother, my son, and grant this favour willingly.

[3] μητρὶ καὶ δός, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν χάριν ἐκών. νόμον μὲν οὖν τόνδε, ὃν οὐθεὶς πώποτε ἀνελεῖ χρόνος, τιμωρὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα οὐκ ἀξιῶ, Μάρκιε, μόνῃ τιμῶν, ἧς οὐτός μοι δίδωσιν, ἅμοιρος ἐκ σοῦ γενέσθαι: ἔργων δὲ χρηστῶν ὑπομνήσεις, ἵν' ἀφ' ὃν νόμον, σκόπει πάλιν ὡς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας: ἦτις ὄρφανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα σε παραλαβοῦσα νήπιον διέμεινα ἐπὶ σοὶ χήρα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς παιδοτροφίας ἀνήντλησα πόνους, οὐ μήτηρ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατήρ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ φίλτατά σοι γενομένη.

[3] Having this law, then, which no lapse of time will ever repeal, to avenge my wrongs and be my ally, I cannot consent, Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of honours to which it entitles me. But leaving this law aside, consider in turn the reminders I have to give you of the good offices you have received from me, human many and how great they are. When you were left an orphan by your father, I took you as an infant, and for your sake I remained a widow and underwent the labours of rearing you, showing myself not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a sister, and everything that is dearest.

[4] ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἦλθες, ἐξὸν μοι τότε ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν φροντίδων ἐτέρῳ γημαμένην καὶ ἕτερα τέκνα ἐπιθρέψαι καὶ πολλὰς γηροβοσκούς ἐλπίδας ἐμαυτῇ καταλιπεῖν, οὐκ ἠβουλήθην, ἀλλ' ἔμεινα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔστερξα βίον, ἐν σοὶ μόνῳ πάσας τιθεῖσα τὰς ἐμαυτῆς ἡδονάς τε καὶ ὠφελείας: ὧν ἔψευσάς με τὰ μὲν ἄκων, τὰ δ' ἐκών, καὶ πασῶν ἀτυχεστάτην ἐποίησας μητέρων. ποῖον γὰρ χρόνον, ἀφ' οὗ σε εἰς ἄνδρας ἦγαγον, ἄνευ λύπης ἢ φόβου διετέλεσα, ἢ πότε ἱλαρὰν ἔσχον ἐπὶ σοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πολέμους ἐπὶ πολέμοις στέλλοντα ὀρώσά σε καὶ μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις ἀναιρούμενον καὶ τραύματ' ἐπὶ τραύμασι λαμβάνοντα;

[4] When you reached manhood and it was in my power to be freed from these cares by marrying again, to rear other children, and lay up many hopes to support me in my old age, I would not do so, but remained at the same hearth and put up with the same kind of life, placing all my pleasures and all my advantages in you alone. Of these you have disappointed me, partly against your will and partly of your own accord, and have made me the most wretched of all mothers. For what time, since I brought you up to manhood, have I passed free from grief or fear? Or when have I possessed a spirit cheerful on your account, seeing you always undertaking wars upon wars, engaged in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon wounds?

[1] ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ ἐπολιτεύου καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔπραττες, [p. 203] ἡδονὴν τινα

ἐκαρπυσάμην ἢ μήτηρ ἐγὼ διὰ σέ; τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ μάλιστα ἡτύχουν στάσεως πολιτικῆς μέσον ὀρώσά σε κείμενον. ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἀνθεῖν ἐδόκεις πολιτεύμασι καὶ πολὺς ἔπνεις ἐναντιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φόβου μεστὰ ἦν ἐνθυμουμένη τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὥς ἐπὶ μικρᾷ αἰωρεῖται ῥοπῆς, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκουσμάτων τε καὶ παθημάτων μαθοῦσῃ, ὅτι τοῖς ἐπισήμοις ἀνδράσι θεία τις ἐναντιοῦται νέμεσις ἢ φθόνος τις ἀνθρώπινος πολεμεῖ: καὶ ἦν ἄρα μάντις ἀληθὴς ὡς μήποτε ὠφελον τῶν ἐκβησομένων. κατηγωνισατό γ' οὖν σε πολὺς ἐπιρράξας ὁ πολιτικὸς φθόνος καὶ ἀνήρπασεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος: ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτά μου βίος, εἰ δὴ καὶ βίον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀφ' οὗ με καταλιπὼν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδίοις τούτοις ἀπῆλθες, ἐν τούτῳ δεδαπάνηται τῷ ῥύπῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πενθίμοις τρύχεσι τούτοις.

[52.1] “But from the time when you took up the life of a statesman and engaged in public affairs have I, your mother, enjoyed any pleasure on your account? Nay, it was then that I was most unhappy, seeing you placed in the midst of civil strife. For those very measures which seemed to make you flourish and blow strong in popularity as you opposed the plebeians in behalf of the aristocracy filled me with fear, as I called to mind what the life of man is, how it hangs nicely suspended as in a balance, and had learned from many instances what I had heard and experienced that a kind of divine vengeance opposes men of prominence or a certain envy of men makes war upon them; and I proved a true prophet of what was to be — would to Heaven I had not! At any rate, you were overpowered by the ill-will of your fellow citizens, which burst upon you violently and snatched you away from your country; and my life thereafter — if, indeed I ought to call it life since you departed leaving me and these children, too, desolate — has been spent in this squalor and in these rent garments of mourning.

[2] ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπάντων ταύτην ἀπαιτῶ σε χάριν, μηδέποτε σοι βαρεῖα γενομένη μηδ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσομένη χρόνον, ἕως ἂν ζῶ, διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τοῦς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ παύσασθαι τὸν ἀμείλικτον χόλον φυλάσσοντα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος: κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἀξιούσα λαβεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐμαυτῆς ἴδιον μόνης.

[2] In return for all this I, who was never a burden to you nor ever shall be as long as I live, ask this favour of you — that you will be at last be reconciled to your fellow citizens and cease nursing that implacable anger against your country. In doing this I am but asking to receive what will be a boon common to us both, and not mine alone.

[3] σοὶ τε γάρ, ἐὰν πεισθῇς καὶ μηθὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐξεργάσῃ, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον ἔχειν συμβήσεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς χόλου καὶ ταραγματος δαιμονίου: ἐμοὶ τε ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τε καὶ πολιτίδων τιμὴ ζώσῃ τε παρακολουθοῦσα τὸν βίον εὐδαίμονα ποιήσῃ, καὶ [p. 204] μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀποδιδομένη καθάπερ εἰκὸς εὐκλείαν ἀθάνατον οἶσει.

[3] For you, if you hearken to me and commit no irreparable deed, will have a mind free and unvexed by any heaven-sent wrath and disquiet, while as for me, the honour I shall receive from the men and women of the city, attending me while I live, will make my life happen, and being paid to my memory after my death, as I may well expect, will bring me everlasting fame.

[4] καὶ εἴ τις ἄρα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους ψυχὰς ἀπολυθείσας τοῦ σώματος ὑποδέξεται τόπος, οὐχ ὁ καταχθόνιος καὶ ἀφεγγής ὑποδέξεται τὴν ἐμήν, ἐν ᾧ φασὶ τοὺς κακοδαίμονας οἰκεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Λήθης πεδῖον, ἀλλ' ὁ μετέωρος καὶ καθαρὸς αἰθήρ, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐκ θεῶν φύντας οἰκεῖν λόγος εὐδαιμόνα καὶ μακάριον ἔχοντας βίον: οἷς διαγγέλλουσα τὸ σὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὰς σὰς χάριτας, αἷς αὐτὴν ἐκόσμησας, αἰεὶ τινὰς αἰτήσεται σοὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἀμοιβὰς καλὰς.

[4] And if there is in very truth a place which will receive men's souls when released from the body, it is not that subterranean and gloomy place where, men say, the unhappy dwell, that will receive mine, nor the region called the Plain of Lethe, but the pure ether high up in the heavens, where, as report has it, those who are sprung from the gods dwell, enjoying a happy and a blessed life; and to them my soul will relate your piety and the acts of kindness with which you honoured her, and will ever ask the gods to requite you with glorious rewards.

[1] ἐὰν δὲ προπηλακίσῃς τὴν σεαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ ἄτιμον ἀπολύσῃς, ὃ τι μὲν αὐτῷ σοὶ συμβήσεται διὰ ταῦτα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, μαντεύομαι δ' οὐδὲν εὐτυχές. ὅτι δ' ἐὰν καὶ ἄλλα πάντα εὐδαιμονῇς, ἔστω γάρ, ἢ δι' ἐμὲ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς συμφορὰς παρακολουθήσουσά σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀνήσουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ὁδύνη πάντων ἀγαθῶν σοὶ ἀνόνητον ποιήσει τὸν βίον, εὖ οἶδα.

[53.1] "If, however, you treat your mother with indignity and send her away unhonoured, what you yourself will have to suffer for this I cannot say, though I presage no happiness. But even if you should be fortunate in all other respects — for let that be assumed — yet your compunction because of me and my afflictions, haunting you and never giving respite to your soul, will rob your life of the enjoyment of all its blessings; this I do know full well.

[2] οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεται Οὐτετουρία τὴν δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὕβριν ἐν τοσοῦτοις μάρτυσιν ὕβρισθεῖσα τὸν ἐλάχιστον βιώσαι χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄμμασιν ἐμαυτὴν διαχρήσομαι, βαρεῖαν ἄρὰν καὶ δεινὰς ἐρινύας ἀντ' ἐμαυτῆς καταλιποῦσά σοι τιμωροῦς.

[2] Veturia, for one thing, after this cruel and irreparable ignominy received before so many witnesses, will not bear to live for a moment; nay, I will kill myself before the eyes of all of you, both friends and enemies, leaving to you in my stead a grievous curse and dire furies to be my avengers.

[3] ὦν μὴ δεήσειεν, ὧ θεοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φύλακες ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ' εὐσεβεῖς

καὶ καλοὺς δοίητε Μαρκίῳ λογισμούς· καὶ ὥσπερ ἄρτι προσιούσῃ μοι τοὺς τε πελέκεις ἀπέθετο καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους [p. 205] ἔκλινε καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἔθηκε χαμαὶ καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα, οἷς κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτοκράτορας ἀρχὰς νόμος, τὰ μὲν ἐμείωσε, τὰ δ' ἐκποδὼν εἰς τέλος ἐποίησε δῆλον ἅπασιν βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄρχειν αὐτῷ προσήκεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἄρχεσθαι· οὕτω καὶ νῦν τιμίαν καὶ περιβλεπτόν με ποιήσετε, καὶ χαρισάμενος τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα ἀντὶ κακοδαιμονεστάτης εὐδαιμονεστάτης ἀποδείξειέ με πασῶν γυναικῶν.

[3] May there be no occasion for this, O gods who guard the empire of the Romans, but inspire Marcius with sentiments of piety and honour; and just as a little while ago at my approach he ordered the axes to be laid aside, the rods to be lowered, and his chair to be taken from the tribunal and placed on the ground, and as for all the other observances by which it is the custom to honour supreme magistrates, he moderated some and did away with others altogether, desiring to make it clear to all that though it was fitting that he should rule all others, by his mother he should be ruled, even so may he now also make me honoured and conspicuous, and by giving me back our common country as a favour, render me, instead of the most ill-starred, the most fortunate of all women.

[4] εἰ δὲ ὅσιόν ἐστι καὶ θεμιτὸν υἱοῦ γόνασι μητέρα προσκυλίσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ λειτούργημα ὑπομενῶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τῆς πατρίδος.

[4] And if it is right and lawful for a mother to grovel at the feet of her son, even to this and every other posture and office of humility will I submit in order to save my country.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὴν χαμαὶ καὶ περιπλέξασα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Μαρκίου κατεφίλησε. πεσοῦσης δ' αὐτῆς αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα πᾶσαι κωκυτὸν ὀξὺν καὶ μακρόν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντες Οὐολούσκων οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο τὴν ἀήθειαν τῆς ὄψεως, ἀλλ' ἀπεστράφησαν. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος ἀναλόμενος ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ περιπεσὼν τῇ μητρὶ ἀνίστησιν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὀλίγον ἐμπνέουσας, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ πολλὰ ἐκχέας δάκρυα εἶπε· νικᾷς, ὦ μητερ, οὐκ εὐτυχῇ νίκην οὔτε σεαυτῇ οὔτ' ἐμοί· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πατρίδα σέσωκας, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόστοργον υἱὸν ἀπολώλεκας. [p. 206]

[54.1] With these words she threw herself upon the ground, and embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, she kissed them, As soon as she fell prostrate, all the women cried out together, raising a loud and prolonged wailing; and the Volscians who were present at the assembly could not bear the unusual sight, but turned away their eyes. Marcius himself, leaping up from his seat, took his mother in his arms, and raising her up from the ground scarcely breathing, embraced her, and shedding many tears, said: “Yours is

the victory, mother, but a victory which will be happy for neither you nor me. For though you have saved your country, you have ruined me, your dutiful and affectionate son.”

[2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπήει κελεύσας ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἔνθα τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον σκοπούμενος σὺν αὐταῖς, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, διετέλεσεν. ἦν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς τοιάδε: περὶ μὲν τῆς καθόδου μήτε τὴν βουλὴν τέλος μηθὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον μήτ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπιψηφίζειν, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς Οὐλοῦσcois εὐτρεπῇ γένηται τὰ περὶ φιλίας καὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου: αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναστήσαντα ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς ἀπάγειν: ὑποσχόντα δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀποδειξάμενον ἀξιοῦν τοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιάν, μάλιστα μὲν φιλίᾳ δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ συνθήκας ποιήσασθαι δικαίας, αὐτῷ τὴν ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ μὴ σφαλῆναι περὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐπιτρέψαντας.

[2] After saying this, he retired to his tent, bidding his mother, his wife, and his children follow him; and there he passed the rest of the day in considering with them what should be done. The decisions they reached were as follows: That the senate should lay no proposal before the people providing for his return nor should the latter pass any vote till the Volscians should be ready to consider friendship and the termination of the war; that Marcius should break camp and lead his army away as through friendly territory; and that after he had given an accounting to the Volscians of his conduct in the command of their army and recounted the services he had done them, he should ask those who had entrusted him with the army, preferably to admit their enemies into friendship and to conclude a just treaty with them, commissioning them to see that the terms of the agreement were fair and free from guile;

[3] εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις σφίσιν αὐθαδεῖας ἀναπιπλάμενοι μὴ δέχοντο τὰς διαλλαγάς, ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ αἰρεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἢ παρακινδυνεύσαντας ὀψιδήτηνι παραδοῦναι τὰς δυνάμεις σὺν μεγάλῃ διδασθῆσεσθαι βλάβῃ τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος αἴρεσιν. τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα δικαῖά τε καὶ ὅσια εἶναι, φήμους τ' ἀγαθῆς ἐφ' ἣ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐσπουδάξε παρὰ πᾶσι τευξόμενα, τοιάδε ἦν.

[3] but if, becoming puffed up with arrogance over their successes, they should reject an accommodation, he should resign the command they had given him. For they thought that the Volscians would either not bring themselves to choose another commander, for want of a good general, or, if they did run the hazard of handing over their forces to any chance person, they would learn through heavy losses to choose what was advantageous. Such were the subjects of their deliberation and such were the decisions they reached as just and right and calculated to win the good opinion of all men — a thing which Marcius had most at heart.

[4] ἔτάραπτε δέ τις αὐτὴ ὑποψία δέος ἔχουσα, μή ποτε ἀλόγιστος ὄχλος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καταπεπολεμηκέναι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἤδη ὦν δι' ὀργῆς ἀκράτου λάβῃ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν κᾶπταια ὡς προδότην αὐτὸν οὐδὲ λόγου μεταδοὺς αὐτοχειρίᾳ φθάσῃ [p. 207] διολέσας. ἐδόκει οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δεινότερον εἶη κινδύνευμα σὺν ἀρετῇ σώζουσι τὴν πίστιν ὑπομένειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου ἦν ἤδη, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐξήρισαν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς: ἔπειθ'

[4] But they were troubled by a suspicion, not unmixed with fear, that an unreasoning mob, now buoyed up with the hope that they had completely crushed their foes, might take their disappointment with uncontrolled anger and as a result put Marcius to death with their own hands as a traitor without even granting him a hearing. However, they determined to submit even to this or to any other danger still more formidable which they might incur in honourably keeping faith.

[5] αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήρισαν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοὺς τοῖς παροῦσι, δι' ἃς ἔμελλε λύειν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεηθεὶς συγγνῶναι τ' αὐτῷ καί, ἐπειδὴν οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται, μεμνημένους ὧν ἔπαθον εὔ τοῦ μὴ ἐν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνῆκεστον παθεῖν συναγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ διαλεχθεὶς παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύοντας.

[5] When it was now near sunset, they embraced one another and left the tent, after which the women returned to the city. Then Marcius in an assembly of the troops laid before those present the reasons why he intended to put an end to the war; and after earnestly beseeching the soldiers both to forgive him and, when they returned home, to remember the benefits they had received from him and to strive with him to prevent his suffering any irreparable injury at the hands of the other citizens, and after saying many other things calculated to win their support, he ordered them to make ready to break camp the following night.

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὡς ἔμαθον, ὅτι λέλυται σφῶν ὁ κίνδυνος: ἔφθασε γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν παρουσίαν προλαβοῦσα ἡ φήμη: σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν ἔθεον ἔξω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀσπασμοῦς καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων εἰς ἀδόκητον εὐτυχίαν ἄνθρωποι καταστάντες πράττουσι τε καὶ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, τὰ μὲν ἄθροοι,

[55.1] When the Romans heard that their peril was over — for the report of it was brought before the arrival of the women — they left the city with great joy, and running out to meet them, embraced them, sang songs of triumph, and now all together and now one by one showed all the signs of joy which men who emerge out of great dangers into unexpected good fortune exhibit in both their words and actions.

[2] τὰ δε καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀποδεικνύμενοι. ἔκεινεν μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἐν θαλείαις τε καὶ εὐπαθείαις διετέλεσαν, τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ βουλὴ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Μαρκίου γνώμην ἀπεδείξαντο εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβάλλεσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτέρους τὰς δοθησομένας αὐτῷ τιμὰς· ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξιν ἔπαινον τ' ἀποδεδόσθαι τῆς προθυμίας παλαιᾷ δημοσίᾳ γραφῇ [p. 208] μνήμην οἷσοντα ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων αἰώνιον, καὶ γέρας, ὃ τι ἂν αὐταῖς λαβούσαις ἡδιστόν τε καὶ τιμιώτατον ἔσεσθαι μέλλῃ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε ταῦτα.

[2] That night, then, they passed in festivities and merry-making. The next day the senate, having been assembled by the consuls, resolved, in the case of Marcius, to postpone to a more suitable occasion such honours as were to be given to him, but as for the women, that not only praise should be bestowed upon them for their zeal, the same to be expressed by a public decree which should gain for them eternal remembrance on the part of future generations, but also a gift of honour, whatever to those receiving it would be most pleasing and most highly prized; and the people ratified this resolution.

[3] ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξι βουλευσαμέναις εἰσῆλθεν ἐπιφθόνου μὲν δωρεᾶς μηδεμιᾶς δεῖσθαι, ἀξιοῦν δ' ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι τὴν βουλήν ἐπὶ τύχης γυναικῶν ἰδρῦσασθαι ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο λιτὰς χωρίῳ, θυσίας τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος αὐτῇ συνιούσας ἐπτελεῖν ἐν ᾗ τὸν πόλεμον ἔλυσαν ἡμέρᾳ. ἡ μέντοι βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐψηφίσαντο χρημάτων τέμενός τ' ὠνηθὲν καθιερωθῆναι τῇ θεῷ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶν καὶ βωμόν, ὡς ἂν οἱ ἱερομνήμονες ἐξηγῶνται, συντελεσθῆναι, θυσίας τε προσάγεσθαι δημοτελεῖς καταρχομένης τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικός, ἣν ἂν ἀποδείξωσιν αὐταὶ λειτουργὸν τῶν ἱερῶν.

[3] It occurred to the women after some deliberation to ask for no invidious gift, but to request of the senate permission to found a temple to Fortuna Muliebris on the spot where they had interceded for their country, and to assemble and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day on which they had put an end to the war. However, the senate and people decreed that from the public funds a precinct should be purchased and consecrated to the goddess, and a temple and altar erected upon it, in such manner as the pontiffs should direct, and that sacrifices should be performed at the public expense, the initial ceremonies to be conducted by a woman, whichever one the women themselves should choose to officiate at the rites.

[4] ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἱέρεια μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπεδείχθη τότε πρῶτον ἡ τὴν γνώμην αὐταῖς εἰσηγησαμένη περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας Οὐαλέρια καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου πείσασα συλλαβέσθαι σφίσι τῆς ἐξόδου. θυσίαν δὲ πρώτην αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καταρχομένης τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Οὐαλέριας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν τῷ τέμενι βωμοῦ, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνασταθῆναι, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ τοῦ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῇ νέᾳ σελήνῃ, ἣν Ἕλληνες μὲν

νουμηνίαν, Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 209] δὲ καλάνδας καλοῦσιν: αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ λύσσασα τὸν πόλεμον ἡμέρα. Ἐνιαντῷ δ' ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην θυσίαν ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων νεῶς συνετελέσθη τε καὶ καθιερώθη Κοιντιλίου μηνὸς ἑβδόμη μάλιστα κατὰ σελήνην:

[4] The senate having passed this decree, the woman then chosen by the others to be priestess for the first time was Valeria, who had proposed to them the embassy and had persuaded the mother of Marcius to join the others in going out of the city. The first sacrifice was performed on behalf of the people by the women, Valeria beginning the rites, upon the altar raised in the sacred precinct, before the temple and the statue were erected, in the month of December of the following year, on the day of the new moon, which the Greeks call noumēnia and the Romans calends; for this was the day which had put an end to the war.

[5] αὕτη δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶν ὁ προηγούμενη τῶν Κοιντιλίων νωνῶν ἡμέρα. ὁ δὲ καθιερώσας αὐτὸν ἦν Πρόκλος Οὐεργίνιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

[5] The year after the first sacrifice the temple built at public expense was finished and dedicated about the seventh army of the month Quintilis, reckoning by the course of the moon; this, according to the Romans' calendar, is the day before the nones of Quintilis. The man who dedicated the temple was Proculus Verginius, one of the consuls.

[1] εἴη δ' ἂν ἀρμόττον ἱστορίας σχήματι καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν οἰομένων μήτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς παρ' ἀνθρώπων χαιρεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς μήτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ ἀδίκοις πράξεσιν ἀγανακτεῖν, τὸ δηλῶσαι τὴν γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις, ὡς αἱ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν περιέχουσι γραφαί, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν εὐλαβεστέροις περὶ τὸ συνέχειν, ἃς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων δόξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρέλαβον, ἀμεταμέλητος ἢ τοιαύτη προαίρεσις καὶ βεβαία διαμένῃ, τοῖς δ' ὑπερορῶσι τῶν πατρίων ἔθισμῶν καὶ μηθενὸς ποιοῦσι τὸ δαιμόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν κύριον μάλιστα μὲν ἀναθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν, εἰ δ' ἀνιάτως ἔχουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ κακοδαιμονεστέροις εἶναι.

[56.1] It would be in harmony with a formal history and in the interest of correcting those who think that the gods are neither pleased with the honours they receive from men nor displeased with impious and unjust actions, to make known the epiphany of the goddess at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the books of the pontiffs, to the end that by those who are more scrupulous about preserving the opinions concerning the god which they have received from their ancestors such belief may be maintained firm and undisturbed by misgivings, and that those who, despising the customs of their forefathers, hold that the gods have no power over man's reason, may, preferably, retract their opinion, or, if they are incurable, that they may become

still more odious to the gods and more wretched.

[2] ἰστορεῖται τοίνυν, ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πάσας ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τὰς εἰς τὸν νεῶν τε καὶ τὸ ξόανον δαπάνας, ἕτερον δ' ἄγαλμα κατασκευασαμένων τῶν γυναικῶν ἅφ' ὧν αὐταὶ συνήνεγκαν [p. 210] χρημάτων, ἀνατεθέντων τ' αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀνιερώσεως ἡμέρᾳ, θάτερον τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων, ὃ κατασκευάσανθ' αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐφθέγγετο πολλῶν παρουσῶν γλώττῃ Λατίνῃ φωνήν εὐσύνετον τε καὶ γεγωνόν: ἥς ἐστὶ φωνῆς ἐξηρμηνευόμενος ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον τοιόσδε: ὁσίω

[2] It is related, then, that when the senate had ordered that the whole expense both of the temple and of the statue should be defrayed from the public treasury, and the women had caused another statue to be made with the money they themselves had contributed, and both statues had been set up together on the first day of the dedication of the temple, one of them, the one which the women had provided, uttered some words in Latin in a voice both distinct and loud, when many were present. The meaning of the words when translated is as follows: "You have conformed to the holy law of the city, matrons, in dedicating me."

[3] πόλεως νόμῳ γυναῖκες γαμεταὶ δεδώκατέ με. οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰς παραδόξους φωνάς τε καὶ ὄψεις, πολλῇ ταῖς παρούσαις ἐνέπιπτεν ἀπιστία, μὴ ποτ' οὐ τὸ ξόανον εἴη τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀνθρωπίνη δέ τις φωνή: μάλιστα δ' ὅσαι πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσαι τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον, οὐκ ἰδοῦσαι τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν, ταύτην εἶχον τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἰδούσας ἀπιστίαν. ἔπειτ' αὐθις πληθύνοντος τοῦ νεῶ καὶ σιωπῆς πλείστης κατὰ δαίμονα γενομένης ἐν μείζονι φωνῇ ταῦτ' οὗτο ξόανον ἐφθέγγετο τὴν αὐτὴν λέξιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι εἶναι τὸ ἀμφίλογον. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλή ὡς.

[3] The women who were present were very incredulous, as usually happens in the case of unusual voices and sights, believing that it was not the statue that had spoken, but some human voice; and those particularly who happened at the moment to have their mind on something else and did not see what it was that spoke, showed this incredulity toward those who had seen it. Later, on a second occasion, when the temple was full and there chanced to be a profound silence, the same statue pronounced the same words in a louder voice, so that there was no longer any doubt about it.

[4] ταῦτ' ἔμαθεν ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας ἄλλας καὶ σεβασμούς, οὓς ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ παραδῶσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν ἔθει κατεστήσαντο τῇ τῆς ἱερείας χρησάμεναι γνώμῃ, τῷ ξοάνῳ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔπειτα στεφάνους ἐπιτιθέναι μήτε χεῖρας προσφέρειν γυναῖκας, ὅσαι δευτέρων ἐπειράθησαν γάμων, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν καὶ θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποδεδοῦσθαι ταῖς νεογάμοις. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὔτε παρελθεῖν τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔτε πλείονα περὶ αὐτῆς [p. 211] ποιεῖσθαι λόγον.

ἐπάνειμι δ', ὅθεν εἰς τοῦτον ἐξέβην τὸν λόγον.

[4] The senate, upon hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices and rites to be performed every year, such as the interpreters of religious rites should direct. And the women upon the advice of their priestess established it as a custom that no women who had been married a second time should crown this statue with garlands or touch it with their hands, but that all the honour and worship paid to it should be committed to the newly-married women. But concerning these matters it was fitting that I should neither omit the native account nor dwell too long upon it. I now return to the point from which I digressed.

[1] μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ὁ Μάρκιος περὶ τὸν ὀρθρον ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιάν ἀπῆγεν ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Οὐλοῦσκων ἐγένετο, πάντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβε, δωρησάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἑαυτῷ δ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπολιπόμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ἡ μὲν οὖν κοινωνήσασα τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτῷ στρατιὰ πλουτῶ βαρεῖ ἀφικομένη τὴν τ' ἀνάπαυλαν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐδέξατο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δι' εὐνοίας εἶχε τὸν ἄνδρα, συγγνώμης τ' ἄξιον ἡγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ τέλος ἐπέθηκε τῷ πολέμῳ

[57.1] After the departure of the women from the camp Marcius roused his army about daybreak and led it away as thor a friendly country; and when he came into the territory of the Volscians, he divided among the soldiers all the booty he had taken, without reserving the least thing for himself, and then dismissed them to their homes. The army, accordingly, which had shared in the battles with him, returning loaded with riches, was not displeased with the respite from war and felt well disposed toward him and thought he deserved to be forgiven for not having brought the war to a successful end out of regard for the lamentations and entreaties of his mother.

[2] μητρὸς οἴκτους καὶ λιτὰς ἐντραπεῖς. ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπομείνας νεότης φθονοῦσα μὲν τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γενομένοις τῶν πολλῶν ὠφελειῶν, διημαρτηκυῖα δ' ὧν ἥλπισεν, εἰ καθαιρεθῇ τὸ Ῥωμαίων φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης, ἐτραχύνετο πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πικρὰ σφόδρα ἦν: καὶ τελευτῶσα, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μίσους ἡγεμόνας ἔλαβε τοὺς πλείστον ἐν τῷ ἔθνει δυναμένους, ἐξηγριώθη τε καὶ ἔργον ἔδρασεν ἀνόσιον.

[2] But the young men who had remained at home, envying those who had seen active service the great booty they had won, and being disappointed in their hopes of seeing the pride of the Romans humbled by the capture of their city, were incensed against the general and very bitter; and at last, when they found as leaders of their hatred the men of the greatest power in the nation, they grew wild with rage and committed an impious deed.

[3] ἦν δὲ Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὁ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν παραθήξας ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν

ἐταιρίαν ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως οὐκ ὀλίγην. τοῦτῳ δ' ἄρα ἐδέδοκτο παλαιότερον ἔτι τὸν φθόνον οὐ δυναμένῳ κατέχειν, εἰ μὲν εὖ πράξας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν διαφθείρας εἰς Οὐολούσκους ἔλθοι, [p. 212] κρύφα καὶ σὺν δόλῳ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτῶν τῆς πείρας ἀτελῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἀναστρέψειεν, ὥς προδότην παραδόντα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταιρίᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι:

[3] The one who in particular whetted their anger again Marcius was Tullus Attius, who had about him a large faction collected out of every city. This man had, in fact, long since resolved, being unable to control his jealousy, that if Marcius succeeded and returned to the Volscians after destroying Rome, he would make away with him secretly and by guile, or if, failing in his attempt, he came back leaving the task unfinished, he would deliver him over to his faction as a traitor and have him put to death — a plan which he now proceeded to carry out.

[4] ὅπερ ἐποίει τότε, καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην κατηγόρει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ψευδῇ τεκμαιρόμενος ἀληθεσί καὶ οὐ γενησόμενα εἰκάζων γεγενημένοις: ἐκέλευε τ' ἀποθέμενον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν λόγον ὑπέχειν τῆς στρατηγίας. ἦν δὲ τῆς ὑπομενούσης στρατιᾶς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἠγεμὼν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κύριος τοῦ τε συναγαγεῖν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοῦ καλεῖν, ὃν βούλοιο, ἐπὶ δίκην.

[4] And getting together a considerable band, he brought charges against him, drawing false inferences from things that were true and, from what had happened, surmising things street were not going to happen; and he kept bidding him resign his command and give an account of his conduct. For, as I said before, Tullus was general of the forces which had been left in the cities, and had authority both to call an assembly and to summon to trial any man he pleased.

[1] ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐδίκαιον, περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν διεφέρετο λόγον ἀξιῶν ἀποδοῦναι πρότερον τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειτ', ἐὰν ἅπασι δόξη Οὐολούσκοις, ἀποθήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῦτων δ' οὐ μίαν ὥετο πόλιν δεῖν, ἐν ἣ τὸ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύλλου διέφθαρτο μέρος, γενέσθαι κυρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἅπαν εἰς τὴν ἔννομον ἀγορὰν συναχθέν, εἰς ἣν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευέσθαι μέλλοιεν, ἐξ ἀπάσης πόλεως προβούλους ἀποστέλλειν.

[58.1] Marcius did not think proper to oppose either of these demands, but objected to their order, insisting he ought first to give an account of his conduct in the war, after which he would resign his command if all the Volscians should so decide. But he thought that no single city in which the greater part of the citizens had been corrupted by Tullus ought to be given sole authority in the matter, but rather the whole nation meeting in their lawful assembly, to which it was the custom for them to send deputies from every

city when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greatest importance.

[2] ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα καλῶς εἰδῶς, ὅτι δεινὸς εἶπεῖν ἀνὴρ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων λόγον ἀποδιδούς ἐν ἡγεμονικῷ ἀξιῶματι μένων πείσει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοσούτου δεήσει τιμωρίαν προδοτῶν ὑποσχεῖν, ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερος ἔτι καὶ τιμιώτερος ὑπ' [p. 213] αὐτῶν ἔσται, τὸν τε πόλεμον, ὅπως ἂν βούληται, καταλύσασθαι συγχωρησάντων ἀπάντων γενήσεται κύριος.

[2] This Tullus opposed, well knowing that Marcius, eloquent as he was, when he came to give an account of the many splendid actions he had performed, if he still retained a general's prestige, would persuade the multitude, and would be so far from suffering the punishment of a traitor that he would actually become still more illustrious and be more highly honoured by them, and would be authorized by general consent to put an end to the war in such manner as he pleased.

[3] καὶ ἦν μέχρι πολλοῦ λόγων τε καὶ ἀντιμαχήσεων τῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις γινομένων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πολὺς ἀγών· ἔργῳ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν οὐδετέρῳ βιάσασθαι τὸν ἕτερον τῆς ἰσοτιμίου ἀρχῆς ἀξιῶσει κρατυνόμενον.

[3] And for a long time there was great strife as they daily engaged in arguing and wrangling with one another in the assemblies and the forum; for it was not possible for either of them to employ force against the other, since both were protected by the prestige of an equal command.

[4] ὥς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐγένετο πέρας, ἡμέραν προειπῶν ὁ Τύλλος, ἐν ἣ τὸν Μάρκιον ἐκέλευσεν ἡκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθησόμενον καὶ δίκην ὑφέξοντα τῆς προδοσίας, θρασυτάτους τ' ἄνδρας εὐεργεσιῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἀρχηγοὺς ἀνοσίῳ ἔργῳ γενέσθαι, παρῆν εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολλῇ κατηγορίᾳ ἐχρήσατο τοῦ Μαρκίου, καὶ εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν, τῷ δήμῳ παρεκελεύετο παῦειν αὐτὸν ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει.

[4] But when there was no end to their contention, Tullus appointed a day on which he commanded Marcius to appear for the purpose of laying down his office and standing trial for treason; and having encouraged some of the most daring, by hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in an impious deed, he appeared at the assembly on the day appointed, and coming forward to the tribunal, inveighed at length against Marcius and exhorted the people to use all the force at their command to depose him if he would not voluntarily resign his power.

[1] ἀναβάντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν βοή τε πολλὴ κωλύουσα τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρίας τῆς περὶ τὸν Τύλλον ἐγένετο· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 'παῖε' καὶ 'βάλλε' φωνοῦντες περισστανται αὐτὸν οἱ θρασυτάτοι καὶ

συναράττοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἀποκτινύουσιν. ἔρριμμένον δ' αὐτοῦ χαμαὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ τε παραγενόμενοι τῷ πάθει καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη νεκροῦ ὄντος ἀφικόμενοι τὸν τ' ἄνδρα τῆς τύχης ὠδύροντο ὥς οὐ καλὰς εἰληφότα παρὰ σφῶν ἀμοιβάς, ἐπιλεγόμενοι πάντα ὅσα τὸ κοινὸν ὠφέλησε, καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας τὸν [p. 214] φόνον ἐπόθουν λαβεῖν ὥς ἀνόμου ἔργου καὶ ἀσυμφόρου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξαντας, ἄνευ δίκης ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ

[59.1] When Marcius had ascended the tribunal in order to make his defence, a great clamour arose from the faction of Tullus, hindering him from speaking; then, with cries of "Hit him," "Stone him," the most daring surrounded him and stoned him to death. While he lay where he had been hurled upon the ground in the forum, both those who had been present at the tragedy and those who came there after he was dead bewailed the misfortune of the man who had found so ill a return from them, recounting all the services he had rendered to their state, and they longed to apprehend the murderers for having set the example of a deed that was lawless and prejudicial to their cities, in killing a man, and him a general, by an act of violence without a trial.

[2] τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ταῦθ' ἡγεμόνα. μάλιστα δ' ἡγανάκτουν οἱ ταῖς στρατείαις αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ζῶντι αὐτῷ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἐγένοντο κωλυταὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, τὰς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ὀφειλομένας ἔγνωσαν ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας, συμφέροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅσων ἔδει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τιμὴν.

[2] But most indignant were the men who had taken part in his campaigns; and since they had been unable, while he was living, to prevent his misfortune, they resolved to show fitting gratitude after his death by bringing into the forum everything that was necessary for the honour owed to brave men.

[3] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντ' εὐτρέπιστο, θέντες ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἐκπρεπεστάτῳ ἡσκημένης κόσμῳ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἔχοντα ἐσθῆτα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι κελεύσαντες λάφυρά τε καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους καὶ μνήμας ὧν εἶλε πόλεων, ἤραντο τὴν κλίνην οἱ λαμπρότατοι τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πολέμους ἔργοις; καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ὃ μάλιστα ἦν ἐπιφανές, ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεσκευασμένην πυράν, συμπροπεμπούσης τὸ σῶμα τῆς πόλεως ὅλης μετ' οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ

[3] When all was ready, they laid him, dressed in the garb of a supreme commander, on a couch adorned in a most sumptuous manner, and ordered the booty, the spoils and the crowns, together with the representations of the cities he had taken, to be carried before his bier; and the young men who were the most distinguished for their military achievements took up the bier, and carrying it to the most conspicuous suburb, placed it on the funeral pile that had been prepared, the whole population of the city accompanying the body with lamentations and tears.

[4] δακρύων. ἔπειτα κατασφάξαντές τ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαρξάμενοι πάντων, ὅσων ἄνθρωποι βασιλεῦσιν ἢ στρατιᾷς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ πυραῖς ἀπάρχονται, παρέμειναν οἱ μάλιστα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀσπαζόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ μαρανθῆναι τὴν φλόγα, κᾷπειτα συναγαγόντες τὰ λείψανα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ χώματι ὑψηλῷ διὰ πολυχειρίας ἐργασθέντι μνηῖμα ἐπίσημον ἐργασάμενοι.

[4] Then, when they had slain a large number of victims in his honour and offered up all the first-offerings that people make at the funeral piles of kings and commanders of armies, those who had been most closely attached to him remained there till the flames died down, after which they gathered together his remains and buried them in that very place, constructing an imposing monument by heaping up a high mound with the assistance of many hands.

[1] Μάρκιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχεν, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ [p. 215] πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἡδονάς, ὅσαι ἄρχουσι νέων, ἐγκρατής, τὰ τε δίκαια οὐκ ἀπὸ νόμου μᾶλλον ἀνάγκης διὰ τιμωριῶν δέος ἀκούσιος ἀποδιδούς, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν τε καὶ πεφυκῶς πρὸς αὐτὰ εὖ, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν ἀρετῆς μοίρᾳ τὸ μῆθ' ἐν ἀδικεῖν τιθέμενος, οὐ μόνον τ' αὐτὸς ἀγνεύειν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας προθυμούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζειν δικαίων:

[60.1] Such was the end of Marcius, who was not only the greatest general of his age, but was superior to all the pleasures that dominate young men, and practised justice, not so much through compulsion of the law with its threat of punishment and against his will, but voluntarily and from a natural propensity to it. He did not regard it as a virtue to do no injustice, and not only was eager to abstain from all vice himself, but thought it his duty to compel others to do so too.

[2] μεγάλοφρων τε καὶ δωρηματικὸς καὶ εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ὧν ἐκάστῳ δέοι τῶν φίλων, ὅποτε γνοίῃ, προχειρότατος, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς χείρων τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν: καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ στασιάζον τῆς πόλεως ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐγένετο, μεγίστην ἂν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου πολιτευμάτων ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν δυνατῷ ἦν ἅμα πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι φύσει, οὐδὲ φύσεται τις ἀπὸ θνητῶν καὶ ἐπικήρων σπερμάτων περὶ πάντ' ἀγαθός.

[2] He was both high-minded and open-handed and most ready to relieve the wants of his friends as soon as he was informed of them. In his talent for public affairs he was inferior to none of the aristocratic party, and if the seditious element of the city had not hindered his measures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greatest accession of power from those measures. But it was impossible that all the virtue should be found together in a human being's nature, nor will anyone ever be created by Nature from mortal and perishable seed who is good in all respects.

[1] ἔκειντο γ' οὖν ταύτας ὁ δαίμων τὰς ἀρετὰς χαρισάμενος ἑτέρας οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς κῆρας τε καὶ ἄτας προσῆψε. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶν καὶ φαιδρὸν οὐκ ἔπῃν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρόποις, οὐδὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν πέλας ἔν τ' ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ προσαγορεύεσιν, οὐδὲ δὴ τὸ εὐδιάλλακτον καὶ μετριοπαθές, ὅποτε δι' ὀργῆς τῷ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἢ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπικοσμοῦσα χάρις· ἀλλ'

[61.1] In any case the divinity who bestowed these virtues upon him added to them unfortunate blemishes and fatal flaws. For there was no mildness or cheerfulness in his character, no affability in greeting and addressing people that would win those whom he met, nor yet any disposition to conciliate or placate others when he was angry with them, nor that charm which adorns all human actions; but he was always harsh and severe.

[2] ἀεὶ πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ἔβλαψε, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἢ περὶ τὰ δίκαια [p. 216] καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων ἄκρατος τε καὶ ἀπαράπειστος καὶ οὐθὲν τῷ ἐπικεῖ διδοῦσα ἀποτομία· ἔοικε τ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσόφων, ὅτι μεσότητές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκρότητες αἱ τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δ' ἡ δικαιοσύνη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐλλείπουσα τοῦ μετρίου πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα αὐτοῖς τ' οὐ λυσιτελῆς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτ' αἰτία μεγάλων συμφορῶν, καὶ εἰς θανάτους οἰκτροῦς καὶ

[2] And it was not alone these qualities that hurt him in the minds of many, but, most of all, his immoderate and inexorable sternness in the matter of justice and the observance of the laws, and a strictness which would make no concessions to reasonableness. Indeed, the dictum of the ancient philosophers seems to be true, that the moral virtues are means and not extremes, particularly in the case of justice. For by its nature it not only may fall short of the mean, but also may go beyond it, and is not profitable to its possessors, but is sometimes the cause of great calamities and leads to miserable deaths and irreparable disasters.

[3] λῦμας ἀνηκέστους καταστρέφουσα. Μάρκιόν γ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἄρα, ὃ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξήλασε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησεν, ἢ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἄκρον δίκαιον. τοῖς τε γὰρ δημόταις εἴκειν τὰ μέτρια δέον καὶ ἐφίεναι τι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ μὴ δίκαια ἀντιλέγων μῖσος ἤγειρε καὶ ἐξηλάσθη πρὸς αὐτῶν· τῆς τε Οὐολούσκων στρατηγίας εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαλλαγῆναι παρὸν καὶ μετενέγκασθαι τὴν οἴκησιν ἐτέρωσέ ποι, τέως ἂν ἡ κάθοδος αὐτῷ δοθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς καὶ ὄχλων ἀμαθίαις σκοπὸν, οὐκ ἤξιωσεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεύθυνον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ σῶμα παρασχεῖν τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦς ὣν ἔπραξε κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἴ τι φαίνοιτο ἀδικῶν τὴν κατὰ νόμους ὑποσχεῖν δίκην, τῆς ἄκρας δικαιοσύνης οὐ καλοῦς ἀπέλαβε μισθούς. [p. 217]

[3] In the case of Marcius, at any rate, it was nothing else but his passion for exact and extreme justice that drove him from his country and deprived him of the enjoyment of all his other blessings. For when he ought to have made reasonable concessions to the plebeians, and by yielding somewhat to their desires to have gained the foremost place among them, he would not do so, by opposing them in everything that was not just he incurred their hatred and was banished by them. And when it was in his power to resign the command of the Volscian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove his habitation to some other place till his country had granted him leave to return, instead of offering himself as a target for the plotting of his enemies and the folly of the masses, he did not think fit to do so; but regarding it as his duty to put his person at the disposal of those who had entrusted him with the command and after giving an account of his conduct during his generalship, if he were found guilty of any misconduct, to undergo the punishment ordained by the laws, he received a sorry reward for his extreme justice.

[1] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅμα τοῖς σώμασι διαλυομένοις καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅτιδήποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο, συνδιαλύεται, καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐθὲν ἔτι ἐστὶν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μακαρίους ὑπολάβω τοὺς μηθὲν μὲν ἀπολαύσαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθόν, δι' αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην ἀπολομένους. εἰ δ' ἄφθαρτοι μέχρι τοῦ παντός αἱ ψυχαὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἡμῶν οὔσαι καθάπερ οἴονται τινες, ἢ χρόνον τινὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι διαμένουσι, μήκιστον μὲν αἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐλάχιστον δ' αἱ τῶν κακῶν, ἀποχρῶσα τιμὴ φαίνοιτ' ἄν, οἷς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦσιν ἠναντιώθη τὰ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἢ παρὰ τῶν ζώντων εὐλογία καὶ μνήμη μέχρι πλείστου παραμείνασα χρόνον:

[62.1] Now if when the body perishes the soul also, whatever that is, perishes together with it and no longer exists anywhere, I do not see how I can conceive to seem to be happy who have received no advantage from their virtue but, on the contrary, have been undone by this very quality. Whereas, if our souls are perchance forever imperishable, as some think, or if they continue on for a time after their separation from the body, those of good men for a very long time and those of the wicked for a very short period, a sufficient reward for those who, though they have practised virtue, have suffered the enmity of Fortune, would seem to be the praise of the living and the continuance of their memory for the longest period of time. And that was the case with this man,

[2] ὁ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ συνέβη. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Οὐλολοῦσκοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπένθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς τῶν ἀρίστων γεγόμενον ἐν τιμῇ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πάθος ἐγνώσθη, μεγάλην συμφορὰν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, πένθος ἐποίησαντο ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ: καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ἃ νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαιῶς ποιεῖν κήδεσιν, ἀποθέμενα χρυσόν τε καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον μέλασιν ἀμφιασμοῖς χρώμενα τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον.

[2] For not only the Volscians mourned his death and still hold him in honour as having proved himself one of the best of men, but the Romans also, when they were informed of his fate, looked upon it as a great calamity to the commonwealth and mourned for him both in private and in public; and their wives, as it is their custom to do at the loss of those who are nearest and dearest to them, laid aside their gold and purple and all their other adornment, and dressing themselves in black, mourned for him for the full period of a year.

[3] ἔτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ὁμοῦ τι πεντακοσίων ἤδη διαγεγονότων εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον οὐ γέγονεν ἐξίτηλος ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμη, ἀλλ' ἄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος [p. 218] ἀνὴρ. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατασχὼν Ῥωμαίους κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς Οὐλοῦσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείας Μάρκιον λαβούσης ἡγεμόνα, μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχὼν τοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀνελεῖν ἐκ βάθρων, τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

[3] And though nearly five hundred years have already elapsed since his death down to the present time, his memory has not become extinct, but he is still praised and celebrated by all as a pious and just man.

Thus ended the danger with which the Romans had been threatened by the expedition of the Volscians and Aequians under the command of Marcius, a danger that was greater than any to which they had ever been exposed before and came very near destroying the whole commonwealth from its foundations.

[1] ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίгаῖς ὕστερον ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν ὕπαιθρον Ῥωμαῖοι πολλῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀγόντων ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ προελθόντες ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς σφετέρας κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσὶν, ἴδιον ἑκατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρυμνοτάτοις καταστησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἔδρασάν γε οὐδὲν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον, ἀλλ' ἀνέστρεψαν ἄπρακτοι, καίτοι καλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων δρᾶσαι τι γενναῖον.

[63.1] A few days later the Romans took the field with a large army commanded by both consuls, and advancing to the confines of their own territory, encamped on two hills, each of the consuls placing his camp in the strongest position. Nevertheless, they accomplished nothing, either great or little, but returned unsuccessful, though excellent opportunities had been afforded them by the enemy for performing some gallant action.

[2] πρότεροι γὰρ ἔτι τούτων Οὐλοῦσκοι τε καὶ Αἰκανοὶ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἤγαγον γνώμην ποιησάμενοι μὴ ἀνεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλ', ἕως ἔτι καταπεπληχθαι τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐδόκουν, χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτό, ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιον διὰ δέος παραστησόμενον. στασιάσαντες δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ὄπλα ἥρπασαν καὶ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, οὔτε κατὰ τάξιν οὔτ'

ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φύρδην καὶ ἀναμίξ, ὥστε πολὺν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι φόνον: καὶ εἰ μὴ δὺς ὁ ἥλιος ἔφθασεν, ἅπασαι ἂν αὐτῶν αἰ δυνάμεις διεφθάρησαν. τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ λυοῦσῃ τὸ νεῖκος ἀκούσιοι εἰζαντες διεκριθῆσαν τ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδίους χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν: ἔωθεν [p. 219] δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆσαν ἐκάτεροι ἐπὶ

[2] It seems that even before their expedition the Volscians and the Aequians had led an army against the Roman territory, having resolved not to let the opportunity slip, but to attack their adversaries while they seemed to be sit panic-stricken; for they thought that in their fear they would surrender of their own accord. But quarrelling among themselves over the command, they rushed to arms, and falling upon one another, fought without keeping their ranks or receiving orders, but in confusion and disorder, so that many were killed on both sides; and if the sun had not set in time to prevent it, all their forces would have been utterly destroyed. But yielding reluctantly to the night which put an end to the quarrel, they separated and retired to their own camps; and rousing their forces at dawn, both sides returned home.

[3] τὰ σφέτερα. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι παρὰ τ' αὐτομόλων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων, οἱ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδρασαν, ἀκούσαντες, οἷα κατέσχε λύσσα καὶ θεοβλάβεια τὰ πολέμια, οὔτε συνεπέθεντο τῷ κατ' εὐχὴν δοθέντι καιρῷ τριάκοντα σταδίων οὐ πλεῖον ἀπέχοντες, οὐτ' ἀπιόντας ἐδίωξαν, ἐν ᾧ κεκμηκότας καὶ τραυματίας καὶ ὀλίγους ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀτάκτους χωροῦντας ἀκραιφνεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι ῥαδίως ἂν διέφθειραν πασσυδί.

[3] The consuls, though they learned both from deserters and from prisoners who had escaped during the action itself what fury and madness had possessed the enemy, neither embraced an opportunity so desirable when it offered, though they were no more than thirty stades distant, nor pursued them in their retreat — a situation in which their own troops, being fresh and following in good order, might easily have destroyed to a man those of the enemy, who were fatigued, wounded, reduced from a large to a small number, and were retiring in disorder.

[4] λύσαντες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς χάρακας ἀπῆσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: εἴτ' ἀρκοῦμενοι τῷ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθέντι ἀγαθῷ, εἴτ' οὐ πιστεύοντες ἀνασκήτῳ στρατιᾷ τῇ σφετέρᾳ, εἴτε περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι τὸ μηδ' ὀλίγους τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλεῖν. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ πολλῇ ἦσαν δειλίας δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φερόμενοι: καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔξοδον ἔτι ποιησάμενοι παρέδωκαν τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπάτοις τὴν ἀρχήν.

[4] But they too broke camp and returned to Rome, either being contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops, who were undisciplined, or considering it very important not to lose even a few of their own men. When they got back to Rome, however, they found themselves in great disgrace and had to bear the stigma of cowardice

for their behaviour. And without undertaking any other expedition they surrendered their magistracy to their successors.

[1] τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γαῖος μὲν Ἀκύλλιος καὶ Τίτος Σικκιος, ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων, τὴν ὑπατείαν παρείληφesan. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ προθέντων λόγον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ὑπάτων πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο πρεσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς Ἑρνίκας αἰτήσουσαν ὡς παρὰ φίλων τε καὶ ἐνσπόνδων δίκας νομίμους: ἡδίκητο γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐλοουσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐπιστρατείαν ληστέiais τε καὶ καταδρομαῖς τῆς ὁμορουσῆς αὐτοῖς γῆς: ἔως δ' ἂν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσιν ἀποκρίσεις, στρατιὰν ὅσην δύνανται πλείστην καταγράφειν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πρεσβειῶν [p. 220] ἀποστολαῖς παρακαλεῖν σῖτόν τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ πολυχειρίας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἐν τάχει.

[64.1] The next year Gaius Aquilius and Titus Siccus, men experienced in war, succeeded to the consulship. The senate, when the consuls had brought up the war for consideration, voted, first, to send an embassy to the Hernicans to demand, as from friends and allies, the customary satisfaction; for the commonwealth had suffered wrongs at their hands at the time of the attack of the Volscians and Aequians through brigandage and incursions into the part of the Roman territory that bordered on their own; and they voted further that while waiting to receive their answer the consuls should enrol all the forces they could, summon the allies by sending out embassies, and great ready corn, arms, money, and all the other things necessary for the war, by employing a large number of men and using haste.

[2] ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέψαντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἃς παρὰ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, ὅτι συνθήκας μὲν οὐ φασιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κοινῇ γενομένης οὐδέποτε, τὰς δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα Ταρκύνιον ὁμολογίας αἰτιῶνται λελύσθαι τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης: εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς χώρας ἐγένοντο διὰ λησθηρίων, οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδιωτῶν ἀδικήματα μετιόντων τὰ ἴδια, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ταῦτα δράσαντας παρέχειν οἷοι τ' εἶσιν ἐπὶ δίκην, ἕτερα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι λέγοντες καὶ ἀντεγκαλοῦντες,

[2] When the ambassadors returned from the Hernicans, they reported to the senate the answer they had received from them, to the following effect: They denied that there had ever been a treaty between them and the Romans by act of the public, and they charged that the compact they had made with King Tarquinius had been dissolved both by his expulsion from power and by his death in a foreign land; but if any depredations had been committed or incursions made into the territory of the Romans by bands of robbers, they said these had not been made by the general consent of their nation, but were the misdeeds of individuals pursuing their private ends, and that they were unable to deliver up to justice even the men who had done these things, since

they claimed that they themselves had also suffered similar wrongs and had the same complaints to make; and they said that they cheerfully accepted the war.

[3] ἄσμενοί τ' εἰσι δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο νείμασθαι τὴν καταγραφεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων στρατιᾶν τριχῇ: τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἄγοντα Γάϊον Ἀκύλλιον τὸν ὑπάτον ὁμόσε τῇ Ἑρνίκων στρατιᾷ χωρεῖν: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἤδη ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις: τὴν δ' ἑτέραν Τίτον Σικκίον ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους ἄγειν, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τρίτην μερίδα παραλαβόντα Σπόριον Λάρκιον, ὃς ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἑπαρχος τὴν ἑγγιστα τῆς πόλεως χώραν φυλάττειν: τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατὰλογον, ὅσοι δύνανται εἶχον ἐπιβαστᾶζειν ὅπλα, ταχθέντας ὑπὸ σημαίαις τὰς τ' ἄκρας φρουρεῖν [p. 221] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, μὴ τις αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων γένηται ἔφοδος ἐξεστρατευμένης τῆς νεότητος ἀθρόας: ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Αὔλον Σεμπρώνιον Ἀτρατῖνον, ἄνδρα τῶν ὑπατικών. ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ.

[3] The senate, upon hearing this, voted that the youth already enrolled should be divided into three bodies, and that with one of these the consul Gaius Aquilius should march against the army of the Hernicans (for these were already in arms), that Titus Siccus, the other consul, should lead the second against the Volscians, and that Spurius Larcus, who had been appointed prefect of the city by the consuls, should with the remaining third part defend the portion of the country that lay nearest to the city; that those who were above the military age but were still capable of bearing arms should be arrayed under their standards and guard the citadels of the city and the walls, to prevent any sudden attack by the enemy while all the youth were in the field, and that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, one of the ex-consuls, should have the command of this force. These orders were presently carried out.

[1] Ἀκύλλιος μὲν οὖν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῇ Πραϊνεστηνῶν χώρᾳ τὸν Ἑρνίκων στρατὸν ὑπομένοντα καταλαβὼν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὥς ἐδύνατο μάλιστ' ἀγχοτάτω σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσχῶν ὀλίγω πλείους διακοσίων: τρίτῃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἡμέρᾳ, προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐν τάξει καὶ τὰ σημεῖ ἁράντων τῆς μάχης, ἀντεξῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ κατὰ τέλη.

[65.1] Aquilius, one of the consuls, finding the army of the Hernicans waiting for him in the country of the Praenestines, encamped as near to them as he could, at a distance of a little more than two hundred stades from Rome. The second day after he had pitched his camp the Hernicans came out of their camp into the plain in order of battle and gave the signal for combat; whereupon Aquilius also marched out to meet them with his army duly drawn up and disposed in their several divisions.

[2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἄγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἀλλήλων ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ψилоὶ σαυνίων τε βολαῖς καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ λίθοις ἀπὸ σφενδόνης μαχόμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα ἵππεῖς ἵππεῦσι συρράπτουσι κατ' ἴλας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τῷ πεζῷ κατὰ σπεῖρας μαχόμενον. ἔνθα δὴ καλὸς ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκθύμως ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον οὐδέτεροι τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῦ χωρίου, ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθησαν, εἰκόντες. ἔπειτα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡρξάτο κάμνειν φάλαγξ, οἷα διὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνου τότε πρῶτον ἠναγκασμένη ὁμιλεῖν πολέμῳ.

[2] When they drew near to one another, they uttered their war-cries and ran to the encounter; and first to engage were the light-armed men, who, fighting with javelins, arrows, and stones from their slings, gave one another many wounds. Next, horsemen clashed with horsemen, charging in troops, and infantry with infantry, fighting by cohorts. Then there was a glorious struggle as both armies fought stubbornly; and for a long time they stood firm, neither side yielding to the other the ground where they were posted. At length the Romans' line began to be in distress, this being the first occasion in a long time that they had been forced to engaged in war.

[3] τοῦτο συνιδὼν Ἀκύλλιος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀκμῆτας ἔτι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλαττομένους [p. 222] ὑπὸ τὰ κάμνοντα τῆς φάλαγγος ὑπελθεῖν μέρη, τοὺς δὲ τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας ὀπίσω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπέναι. οἱ δ' Ἑρνικες ὡς ἔμαθον κινουμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς λόχους φυγῆς τ' ἄρχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπέλαβον, καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐμβάλλουσι πυκνοῖς τοῖς λόχοις εἰς τὰ κινούμενα τῶν πολεμίων μέρη, καὶ οἱ ἀκραιφνεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπόνοντας αὐτοὺς δέχονται· καὶ ἦν αὖθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων μάχη καρτερὰ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἑρνίκων ἐξεπληροῦντο λόχοι τοῖς ἀκμῆσιν ὑποπεμπομένοις εἰς τὰ κάμνοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

[3] Aquilius, observing this, ordered that the troops which were still fresh and were being reserved for this very purpose should come up to reinforce the parts of the line that were in distress and that the men who were wounded and exhausted should retire to the rear. The Hernicans, learning that their troops were being shifted, imagined that the Romans were beginning flight; and encouraging one another and closing their ranks, they fell upon those parts of the enemy's army that were in motion, and the fresh troops of the Romans received their onset. Thus once more, as both sides fought stubbornly, there was a strenuous battle all over again; for the ranks of the Hernicans were also continually reinforced with fresh troops sent up by their generals to the parts of the line that were in distress.

[4] ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν ἦν ἤδη, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἵππεῖς ὁ ὕπατος νυνὶ δὴ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι, ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος τῆς ἴλης. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τινα δεξάμενοι χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐγκλίνουσι, καὶ γίνεται φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τῶν

Ἑρνίκων κέρας ἐπόνει τ' ἤδη καὶ ἐξέλειπε τὴν τάξιν, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἔτι ἀντεῖχε καὶ περιῆν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δεξιοῦ: μετ' ὀλίγον μέντοι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνέδωκεν.

[4] At length, late in the afternoon, the consul, encouraging the horsemen now at least to acquit themselves as brave men, led the squadron in a charge at the enemy's right wing. This, after resisting them for a short time, fell back, and a great slaughter ensued. While the Hernicans' right wing was now in difficulties and no longer keeping its ranks, their left still held out and was superior to the Romans' right; but in a short time this too gave way.

[5] ὁ γὰρ Ἀκύλλιος τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν νέων ἐπαγόμενος παρεβοήθει κάκεῖ παραθαρρύνων τε καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς εἰωθότας ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἀριστεύειν μάχαις, τὰ τε σημεῖα τῶν λόχων, ὅσοι μὴ ἐρρωμένως ἐδόκουν ἀμύνεσθαι, παρὰ τῶν σημειοφόρων ἀρπάζων εἰς μέσους ἐρρίπτει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τὸ δέος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννόμου τιμωρίας, εἰ μὴ ἀνασώσαιντο τὰς σημαίας, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι [p. 223] ἀναγκάσῃ: τῷ τε κάμνοντι αὐτὸς παρεβοήθει μέρει ἀεὶ, τέως ἐξέωσε τῆς στάσεως καὶ θάτερον κέρας. ψιλωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄκρων οὐδὲ τὰ μέσα παρέμεινε.

[5] For Aquilius, taking with him the best of the youth, hastened to the rescue there also, and exhorting his men and calling by name upon those who had been wont to distinguish themselves in former battles, and seizing from their bearers the standards of any centuries that did not seem to be fighting resolutely, he hurled them into the midst of the enemy, in order that their fear of the punishment prescribed by the laws in the case of failure to recover the standards might compel them to be brave men; and he himself continually came to the relief of any part that was in distress, till he dislodged the other wing also from its position. Their flanks being now exposed, even the centre did not stand its ground.

[6] φυγὴ δὴ τῶν Ἑρνίκων τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τεταραγμένη τε καὶ ἄκοσμος, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς κτείνοντες ἠκολούθουν. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα προθυμία παρὰ τὸν τότ' ἀγῶνα τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ ἐνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμιῶν πειρᾶσθαι τινὰς ἐπιβαίνειν ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσομένους: ὧν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι γιγνομένην ὁρῶν ὁ ὕπατος, σημαίνειν κελεύσας τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν κατεβίβασε τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἄκοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, δείσας, μὴ ἐξ ὑπερδεξιῶν βαλλόμενοι σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης βλάβης ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποχωρεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης εὐκλειαν ἀφανίσωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ γὰρ ἦν περὶ δύοσιν ἡλίου: χαίροντές τε καὶ παianiζοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

[6] It became a flight then for the Hernicans, a flight back to their camp in confusion and disorder; and the Romans pursued, cutting them down. Such ardour, indeed, came upon the Roman army in that struggle that some of the

men endeavoured even to mount the ramparts of the enemy's camp in the hope of taking it by storm. But the consul, perceiving that their ardour was hazardous and detrimental, ordered the signal for a retreat to be sounded and thus brought down from the ramparts against their will those who were coming to blows with the enemy; for he feared that they would be forced by the missiles hurled down upon them from above to retire with shame and great loss and would thus efface the glory of their earlier victory. On that occasion, then, it being now near sunset, the Romans made their camp rejoicing and singing songs of triumph.

[1] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ φόφος τ' ἠκούετο πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Ἑρνίκων καὶ βοή, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφαίνετο σέλα λαμπάδων. ἀπογνόντες γὰρ ἔτι ἀνθέξειν ἑτέρα μάχῃ καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἔγνωσαν αὐτοκέλευστοι· καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ βοήν τοῦτ' ἦν. ὥς γὰρ ἕκαστοι δυνάμεως εἶχον καὶ τάχους, ἔφευγον ἐπιβοῶντές τ' ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπιβοῶμενοι, τῶν δ' ὑπολειπομένων διὰ τραύματα ἢ νόσους [p. 224]

[66.1] The following night there was much noise and shouting heard in the camp of the Hernicans, and the lights of many torches were seen. For the enemy, despairing of being able to hold their own in another engagement, had resolved to leave their camp of their own accord; and this was the cause of the disorder and shouting. For they were fleeing with all the strength and speed which each man was capable of, calling to and being called by one another, without showing the least regard for the lamentations and entreaties of those who were being left behind on account of their wounds and sickness.

[2] οἰμωγὰς καὶ λιτανείας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέμενοι. τοῦτ' ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πεπυσμένοι δὲ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρότερον, ὅτι δύναιμις Ἑρνίκων ἑτέρα μέλλοι βοηθὸς ἥξειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καὶ τὴν βοήν τε καὶ παραγῆν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀριζεῖ γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, τὰ τ' ὅπλα ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὸν χάρακα περιστεφανώσαντες, μὴ τις ἔφοδος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο νύκτωρ, τοτὲ μὲν ὅπλων κτύπον ἐποιοῦν ἀθρόοι, τοτὲ δ' ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ὀρμώμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπηλάλαζον. τοῖς δ' Ἑρνίξι καὶ ταῦτα δέος μέγα παρεῖχε, καὶ ὥς διωκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων σποράδες ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἔθειον.

[2] The Romans, who knew nothing of this but had been informed earlier by the prisoners that another army of Hernicans was intending to come to the aid of their countrymen, imagined that this shouting and tumult had been occasioned by the arrival of those reinforcements, and they accordingly took up their arms once more, and forming a circle about their entrenchments, for fear some attack might be made upon them in the night, they would now make a din by all clashing their weapons together at the same time and now raise their war-cry repeatedly as if they were going into battle. The Hernicans were greatly alarmed at this also, and believing themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed and fled, some by one road and some by another.

[3] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἵππεῖς, ὡς οὔτε δύναιμις ἑτέρα παρῆι σύμμαχος τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἳ τε τῇ προτέρᾳ παραταξάμενοι μάχῃ πεφεύγασιν, ἔξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀκύλλιος τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων αἰρεῖ μεστὸν ὄντα ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὄπλων, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας τῶν πεφευγόντων λαμβάνει, τὴν τε ἵππον ἐκπέμπας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ τὰς ὕλας πολλῶν γίνεται σωμάτων ἐγκρατὴς· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὴν Ἑρνίκων γῆν ἐπήει λεηλατῶν ἀδεῶς, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ὑπομένοντος εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀκύλλιος ἔδρασεν.

[3] When day came and the horse sent out to reconnoitre had reported to the Romans that not only was there no fresh force coming to the enemy's assistance, but that even those who had been arrayed in battle the day before had fled, Aquilius marched out with his army and seized the enemy's camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms, and also took captive their wounded, not fewer in number than those who had fled; and sending the horse in pursuit of such as were scattered along the roads and in the woods, he captured many of them. Thereafter he overran the Hernican's territory and laid it waste with impunity, no one any longer daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.

[1] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Τίτος Σικκίος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐλοούσκους, ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν Οὐελιτρανῶν χώραν [p. 225] εἰσέβαλεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦν Τύλλος Ἄττιος ὁ τῶν Οὐλοούσκων ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην συσκευασάμενος στρατιάν, γνῶμην ἔχων τὰ συμμαχικὰ Ῥωμαίων κακῶσαι πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ὁ Μάρκιος ἔδρασεν, ὅτ' ἤρχετο τοῦ πολέμου, δόξας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φόβῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι διαμένειν καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύουσι πέμψειν ἐπικουρίαν. ὡς δ' ὤφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἀλλήλας αἱ δυνάμεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀναβαλόμεναι συνήεσαν εἰς ταῦτόν.

[67.1] The other consul, Titus Siccus, who had been sent against the Volscians, took with him the flower of the army and made an irruption into the territory of Velitiae. For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was there with the most vigorous part of the army, which he had assembled with the intention of first harassing the Romans' allies as Marcius had done when he began the war, thinking that the Romans still continued in the same state of fear and would not send any assistance to those who were incurring danger for their sake. As soon as the two armies were seen by and saw each other, they engaged without delay.

[2] ἦν δ' ὁ χῶρος ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐν ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἔδει γενέσθαι, λόφος πετρώδης πολλαχῇ περικατεαγῶς, ἔνθα οὐδετέροις ἡ ἵππος ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμη. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ θέμενοι, εἰ παρόντες τῷ ἀγῶνι μηδὲν προσωφελήσουσιν, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ὑπάτου προσελθόντες ἄνθρωποι, εἶσαι σφᾶς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων

μάχεσθαι πεζούς, εἰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι.

[2] The ground between their camps on which the battle would have to take place was a rocky hill broken away in many parts of its circuit, where the horse could be of no use to either side. The Roman cavalry, observing this, thought it would be a shame for them to be present at the action without assisting in it; and coming to the consul in a body, they begged him to permit them to quit their horses and fight on foot, if this seemed best to him.

[3] Κάκεϊνος πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς καταβιβάζει τ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ σὺν ἑαυτῷ τεταγμένους εἶχεν ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτὰς τοῦ κάμνοντος ἑσομένους· καὶ ἐγένοντο τῆς τότε νίκης λαμπρᾶς σφόδρα γενομένης οὗτοι Ῥωμαίοις αἵτιοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν ἀμφοτέρων πλήθει τ' ἀνθρώπων ὡς μάλιστα ἦν καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς ὁμοιότροπον, τάξεώς τε κόσμῳ καὶ μάχης ἐμπειρίᾳ κατὰ τ' ἐπαγωγὰς καὶ ὑποχωρήσεις πληγὰς τ' αὐτὰ καὶ φυλακὰς παραπλήσιον.

[3] He commended them heartily, and ordering them to dismount, drew them up and kept them with him to observe any part of the line that might be hard pressed and to go to its relief; and they proved to be the cause of the very brilliant victory which the Romans then gained. For the foot on both sides were remarkably alike both in numbers and in armament, and were very similar in the tactical formation of their lines and in their experience in fighting, whether in attacking or retreating, or again in dealing blows or in warding them off.

[4] μετέμαθον γὰρ οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι πάντα τὰ πολέμια, ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἔσχον [p. 226] ἡγεμόνα, καὶ εἰς τὰ Ῥωμαίων προσεχώρησαν ἔθῃ. διέμενον οὖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγχωμάλως αἱ φάλαγγες ἀγωνιζόμεναι, καὶ ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἀνώμαλος οὕσα ἑκατέροις πολλὰ εἰς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων παρείχετο. οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διχῇ νειμάντες ἑαυτοὺς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ πλάγια τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες διὰ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς κατόπιν ἐπιρράπτουσιν.

[4] For the Volscians had changed all their military tactics after securing Marcius as their commander, and had adopted the customs of the Romans.

Accordingly, the legionaries of the two armies continued fighting the greater part of the day with equal success; and the unevenness of the terrain afforded each side many advantages against the other. The Roman horsemen having divided themselves into two bodies, one of these attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, stormed across it against their rear.

[5] ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν εἰσακοντίζοντες τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τοῖς ἵππικοῖς ξίφεσι μακροτέροις οὕσι κατὰ βραχιόνων παίοντες καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύλας καταφέροντες, πολλῶν μὲν τὰς ἀμυνομένας, ἢ σκεπούσας τὰ

σώματα χεῖρας αὐτοῖς σκεπάσμασι τε καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις ἀπέκοπτον, πολλοὺς δὲ γονάτων τε καὶ ἀστραγάλων πληγαῖς βαθείαις ἀπὸ κρατίστης βάσεως ἐρρίπτουν ἡμιθανεῖς.

[5] Thereupon some of them hurled their spears at the Volscians, and others with their cavalry swords, which are longer than those of the infantry, struck all whom they encountered on the arms and slashed them down to the elbows, cutting off the forearms of many together with the clothing that covered them and their weapons of defence, and by inflicting deep wounds on the knees and ankles of many others, hurled them, no matter how firmly they had stood, half dead upon the ground.

[6] περιειστήκει τε πάντοθεν τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις τὸ δεινόν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέκειντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων τε καὶ τῶν κατόπιν οἱ ἵππεῖς, ὥστε ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα τόλμης τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀποδειξάμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες οἱ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τε τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου κέρως ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεξιὸν τε παρερρηγμένον εἶδον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπιόντας σφίσι τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς, ἐξελίξαντες τοὺς λόχους βάδην ἀπεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων [p. 227]

[6] And now danger encompassed the Volscians on every side, the foot pressing them in front and the horse on their flank in the rear; so that, after having displayed bravery beyond their strength and given many proofs of hardihood and experience, nearly all who held the right wing were cut down. When those arrayed in the centre and on the other wing saw their right wing broken and the Roman horse charging them in the same manner, they caused their files to countermarch and retired slowly to their camp; and the Roman horse followed, keeping their ranks.

[7] ἱππεῖς ἐν τάξει ἠκολούθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἐρύματι ἦσαν, ἑτέρα γίνεται μάχη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς περισταυρώμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ χάρακος ὀξεῖα καὶ παλιντροπος. πονουμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ ὕπατος κελεύσας τοῖς πεζοῖς ὕλην προσενέγκαντας ἀποχωῶσαι τὰς τάφρους, πρῶτος ἐχώρει κατὰ τὸ ἐπίβατον ἔχων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐχυρωτάτας τοῦ χάρακος πύλας· ἀναστείλας δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας τῶν πυλῶν διακόψας ἐντὸς ἐγεγόνει τῶν ἐρυμάτων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶόντας τῶν σφετέρων πεζῶν ἐδέχετο.

[7] When they were near the ramparts, there ensued another battle, as the horsemen endeavoured to surmount the breastworks of the camp in my different places — a battle that was sharp and of shifting fortunes. When the Romans found themselves hard pressed, the consul ordered the foot to bring brushwood and fill up the ditches; then, putting himself at the head of the bravest horsemen, he advanced over the passage they had made to the strongest gate of the camp, and having driven back the defenders in front of it and cut asunder the portcullis, he got inside the ramparts and let in those of his foot who followed.

[8] Τύλλος δ' Ἄττιος ἔχων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ εὐτολμοτάτους Οὐλοούσκων ὁμόσε αὐτῷ χωρεῖ καὶ πολλὰ ἔργα γενναῖα ἀποδειξάμενος· ἦν γὰρ ἀγωνιστὴς μὲν πολέμων σφόδρ' ἄλκιμος, στρατηγῆσαι δ' οὐχ ἱκανός· ὑπὸ κόπου τε καὶ πλήθους τραυμάτων καταπονηθεὶς ἀποθνήσκει. τῶν δ' ἄλλων Οὐλοούσκων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χάραξ ἤλίσκετο, οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες πρὸς ἰκεσίας τῶν κεκρατηκότων ἐτράποντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἀπεσώθησαν.

[8] Here Tullus Attius encountered him with the sturdiest and most daring of the Volscians, and after performing many gallant deeds — for he was a very valiant warrior, though not competent as a general — at last, overcome by weariness and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. As for the other Volscians, as soon as their camp was being taken, some were slain while fighting, others threw down their arms and turned to supplicating the conquerors, while some few took to flight and got safely home.

[9] ἀφικομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγέλων, οὓς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὕπατοι, μεγίστη χαρὰ τὸν δῆμον κατέσχε, καὶ αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς χαριστηρίου

ἐψηφίσαντο θυσίας, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις τὴν τῶν θριάμβων τιμὴν προσέθεσαν. οὐ μέντοι τὴν αὐτὴν γ' ἀμφοτέροις· ἀλλὰ Σικκίῳ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φόβου μείζονος ἡλευθερωκέναι ἐδόκει τὴν πόλιν [p. 228] τὸν Οὐολούσκων ὕβριστὴν καθελὼν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὴν μείζονα πομπὴν ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ εἰσῆλσεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄγων τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν συναγωνισαμένην δύναμιν ἄρματι παρεμβεβηκῶς χρυσοχαλίνων ἵππων τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμφιεσμένος ἐσθῆτα, ὡς περὶ τοὺς μείζονας θριάμβους νόμος. Ἀκυλλίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐλάττονα θρίαμβον ἀπέδοσαν, ὃν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν οὐαστὴν· δεδήλωται δέ μοι διὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἦν ἔχει διαφορὰν οὗτος πρὸς τὸν μείζονα:

[9] When the couriers sent by the consuls arrived in Rome, the people were filled with the greatest joy, and they immediately voted sacrifices of thanksgiving for the gods and decreed the honour of a triumph to the consuls, though not the same to both. For as Siccius was thought to have freed the state from the greater fear by destroying the insolent army of the Volscians and killing their general, they granted to him the greater triumph. He accordingly drove into the city with the spoils, the prisoners, and the army that had fought under him, he himself riding in a chariot drawn by horses with golden bridles and being arrayed in the royal robes, as is the custom in the greater triumphs.

[10] καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ πεζὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πομπῆς ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

[10] To Aquilius they decreed the lesser triumph, which they call an ovation (I have earlier shown the difference between this and the greater triumph); and he entered the city on foot, bringing up the remainder of the procession. Thus that year ended.

[1] οἱ δὲ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ὑπατείαν παραλαβόντες Πόπλιος Οὐεργίνιος καὶ Σπόριος Κάσσιος τρίτον τότ' ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος, τὰς τε πολιτικὰς καὶ τὰς συμμαχικὰς ἀναλαβόντες δυνάμεις ἐξήγον εἰς τὴν ὕπαιθρον, Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Κάσσιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Οὐολούσκων, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἐξόδους. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ὀχυρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐκ τῶν ἀργῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὴν τε γῆν περιέωρων δηουμένην καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς ἐμπιμπράμενας, ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος ὄσσην ἐδύνατο πλείστην αὐτῶν γῆν κείρας τε καὶ λωβησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐξῆι μαχοῦμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν.

[68.1] These consuls were succeeded by Proculus Verginius and Spurius Cassius (the latter being then chosen consul for the third time), who took the field with both the citizen forces and those of the allies. It fell to the lot of Verginius to lead his army against the Aequians and to that of Cassius to march against the Hernicans and the Volscians. The Aequians, having fortified their cities and removed thither out of the country everything that was most valuable, permitted their land to be laid waste and their country-houses

to be set on fire, so that Verginius with great ease ravaged and ruined as much of their country as he could, since no one came out to defend it, and then led his army home.

[2] Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ καὶ Ἑρνικες, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κάσσιος ἐστράτευσε, γνώμην μὲν ἐποίησαντο δηουμένης τῆς χώρας [p. 229] περιορᾶν καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις: οὐ μὴν ἔμεινάν γ' ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις χώρας τ' ἀγαθῆς κειρομένης, ἣν οὐ ῥαδίως ἀνακτήσεσθαι ἔτι ἤλπισαν, οἴκτῳ ὑπαχθέντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασιν οὐ σφόδρα ἐχυροῖς οὔσιν, εἰς ἃ κατεπεφεύγεσαν, ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου δεησομένους: Οὐολοῦσκοι μὲν πρότεροι, καὶ θᾶπτον οὔτοι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον ἀργύριον τε δόντες, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ ὕπατος ἔταξε, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ὑπηρετήσαντες: καὶ οὔτοι μὲν ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔσεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν οὐθενὸς ἔτι μεταποιούμενοι τῶν ἴσων.

[2] The Volscians and the Hernicans, against whom Cassius took the field, had resolved to permit their land to be laid waste and had taken refuge in their cities. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resolution, being overcome with regret at seeing the desolation of a fertile country which they could not expect to restore easily to its former condition, and at the same time distrusting the defences in which they had taken refuge, as these were not very strong; but they sent ambassadors to the consul to sue for a termination of the war. The Volscians were the first to send envoys and they obtained peace the sooner by giving as much money as the consul ordered and furnishing everything else the army needed; and they agreed to become subject to the Romans without making any further claims to equality.

[3] Ἑρνικες δ' ὕστεροι, ἐπειδὴ μεμονωμένους ἑαυτοὺς εἶδον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τε καὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος πολλὴν κατηγορίαν πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτῶν διαθέμενος πρῶτον ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν κεκρατημένων τε καὶ ὑπηκῶν ποιήσαντας, τότε διαλέγεσθαι περὶ φιλίας: τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν εἰπόντων ποιήσιν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ μέτρια ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον τε, ὃ κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἔθος ἦν ἔξ μηνῶν διδοῖσθαι καὶ διὰ μηνὸς τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν.

[3] After them the Hernicans, seeing themselves isolated, treated with the consul for peace and friendship. But Cassius made many accusations against them to their ambassadors, and said that they ought first to act like men conquered and subjects and then treat for friendship. When the ambassadors agreed to do everything that was possible and reasonable, he ordered them to furnish the amount of money it was customary to give each soldier as pay for six months, as well as provisions for two months; and in order that they might raise these supplies he granted them a truce, appointing a definite number of days for it to run.

[4] ἔως δ' [p. 230] ἂν ταῦτ' εὐπορήσωσι, τάξας τινὰ χρόνον ἡμερῶν ἀνοχὰς

αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τοῦ πολέμου. Ὑπηρετησάντων δ' αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τῶν Ἑρνίκων διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς φιλίας διαλεξομένους ἀποστειλάντων αὖθις, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κάσσιος ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς φιλίαν, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ γενήσονται δικαίοις αἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθηκαί, Κάσσιον τὸν ὕπατον γνῶναι τε καὶ στήσαι, ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, τοῦτ' εἶναι σφίσι κύριον.

[4] When the Hernicans, after supplying them with everything promptly and eagerly, sent ambassadors again to treat for friendship, Cassius commended them and referred them to the senate. The senators after much deliberation resolved to receive this people into their friendship, but as to the terms on which the treaty with them should be made, they voted that Cassius the consul should decide and settle these, and that whatever he approved of should have their sanction.

[1] ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀναστρέψας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Κάσσιος θρίαμβον κατάγειν ἤξιον δεῦτερον ὥς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν κεχειρωμένος, χάριτι μᾶλλον ἀρπάζων τὸ τίμιον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ λαμβάνων, ὃς οὐτε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐκ τειχομαχίας, οὐτ' ἐν ὑπαιθρῷ μάχῃ στραπὶν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος αἰχμάλωτα καὶ σκῦλα, οἷς κοσμεῖται θρίαμβος, ἔμελλε κατάγειν. τοιγάρτοι δόξαν αὐθαδείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις φρονεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ πρῶτον φθόνον ἤνεγκε.

[69.1] The senate having passed this vote, Cassius returned to Rome and demanded a second triumph, as if he had subdued the greatest nations, thus attempting to seize the honour as a favour rather than to receive it as a right, since, though he had neither taken any cities by storm nor put to rout an army of enemies in the field, he was of lead home captives and spoils, the adornments of a triumph. Accordingly, this action first brought him a reputation for presumption and for no longer entertaining thoughts like those of his fellow citizens.

[2] διαπραξάμενος δὲ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι τὰς πρὸς Ἑρνίκας ἐξήνεγκεν ὁμολογίας· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀντίγραφοι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους γενομένων, ἐφ' αἷς πάνυ ἤχθοντο οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τε καὶ τιμιώτατοι καὶ δι' ὑποψίας αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς [p. 231] τοῖς συγγενέσι Λατίνοις τοὺς ἄλλοεθνεῖς Ἑρνίκας τυγχάνειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς πολλὰ εὐνοίας ἔργα ἐπιδειξαμένοις τοὺς μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν δεδρακότας τῶν αὐτῶν φιλανθρώπων μετέχειν, τῇ τε ὑπεροψίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀχθόμενοι, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τιμηθεὶς οὐκ ἀντετίμησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἴσοις, οὐδὲ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν συνέδρων, ἀλλ' ὥς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει γράψας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς ὁμολογίας.

[2] Then, when he had secured for himself the granting of a triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with the Hernicans, which was a copy of the

one that had been made with the Latins. At this the oldest and most honoured of the senators were very indignant and regarded him with suspicion; for they were unwilling that the Hernicans, an alien race, should obtain the same honour as their kinsmen, the Latins, and that those who had done them the least service should be treated with the same kindness as those who had shown them many instances of their goodwill. They were also displeased at the arrogance of the man, who, after being honoured by the senate, had not shown equal honour to that body, but had produced a treaty drawn up according to his own pleasure and not with the general approval of the senate.

[3] ἦν τ' ἄρα τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς εὐτυχεῖν σφαλερὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρῆμα καὶ ἀσύμφορον: αὐχμηρὰς τε γὰρ ἀνοήτου πολλοῖς αἴτιον γενόμενον λανθάνει καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀρχηγὸν ἐκβαίνουσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν: ὃ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκείνῳ συνέβη. τρισὶ γὰρ ὑπατείαις καὶ δυσὶ θριάμβοις μόνος τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τετιμημένος σεμνότερον ἑαυτὸν ἤγε καὶ μοναρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐλάμβανε πόθον: ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ὅτι τοῖς βασιλείας ἢ τυραννίδος ἐφιεμένοις ῥάστη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτῃ πασῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἢ τὸ πλῆθος εὐεργεσίαις τισὶν ὑπαγομένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ διδόντος τὰ κοινὰ σιτεῖσθαι ἐθίζουσα, ταύτην ἐτράπετο: καὶ αὐτίκα οὐθενὶ προειπὼν: ἦν γὰρ τις χώρα δημοσία πολλῇ παρημελημένη τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπορωτάτων κατεχομένη, ταύτην ἔγνω τῷ δήμῳ διανέμειν.

[3] But it seems that to be successful in many undertakings is a dangerous and prejudicial thing for a man; for to many it is the hidden source of senseless pride and the secret author of desires that are too ambitious for our human nature. And so it was with Cassius. For, being the only man at that time who had been honoured by his country with three consulships and two triumphs, he now conducted himself in a more pompous manner and conceived a desire for monarchical power. And bearing in mind that the easiest and safest way of all for those who aim at monarchy or tyranny is to draw the multitude to oneself by sundry gratifications and to accustom them to feed themselves out of the hands of the one who distributes the possessions of the public, he took that course; and at once, without communicating this intention to anyone, he determined to divide among the people a certain large tract of land belonging to the state which had been neglected and was then in the possession of the richest men.

[4] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδ' ἐλθὼν ἠρκέσθη, τάχ' ἂν αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τὸ ἔργον ἐχώρησε: νῦν δὲ πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενος στάσιν οὐ μικρὰν ἤγειρεν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ εὐτυχὲς τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ συνέβη. Λατίνους τε γὰρ ἡξίου τῇ καταγραφῇ τῆς χώρας συμπεριλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς νεωστὶ [p. 232] προσληφθέντας εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Ἑρνικας οἰκεῖα ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάσας τὰ ἔθνη.

[4] Now if he had been content to stop there, the business might perhaps have gone according to his wish; but as it was, by grasping for more, he raised a violent sedition, the outcome of which proved anything but fortunate for him.

For he thought fit in assigning the land to include not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had only recently been admitted to citizenship, and thus to attach these nations to himself.

[1] ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς τῇ μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλεσε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς τεθριαμβευκόσι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων αὐτῷ λόγον, οὗ κεφάλαια ἦν ταῦτα:

[70.1] Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph he called the multitude together in assembly, and coming forward to the tribunal, according to the custom of those who have triumphed, he first gave his account of his achievements, the sum of which was as follows:

[2] ὅτι τῆς μὲν πρώτης ὑπατείας τυχὼν τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ἀντιποιοῦμενον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μάχῃ νικήσας ὑπήκοον ἠνάγκασε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι: ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπάτος τὴν ἐμφύλιον ἔπαυσε τῆς πόλεως στάσιν καὶ κατήγαγε τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, Λατίνους δὲ συγγενεῖς μὲν ὄντας τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, αἰεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτῇ φθονοῦντας, εἰς φιλότητα συνήγαγε τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας μεταδούς, ὥστε μηκέτι ἀντίπαλον, ἀλλὰ πατρίδα τὴν Ῥώμην νομίζειν.

[2] that in his first consulship he had defeated in battle the Sabines, who were laying claim to the supremacy, and compelled them to become subject to the Romans; that upon being chosen consul for the second time he had appeased the sedition in the state and restored the populace to the fatherland, and had caused the Latins, who, though kinsmen of the Romans, had always envied them their supremacy and glory, to become their friends by conferring upon them equal rights of citizenship, so that they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their fatherland;

[3] τρίτον δὲ καταστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν Οὐολούσκους τ' ἠνάγκασε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνος μέγα τε καὶ ἄλκιμον καὶ πλησίον σφῶν κείμενον βλάπτειν τε καὶ ὠφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα ἱκανώτατον ἐκούσιον ὑπηγάγετο.

[3] that being for the third time invested with the same magistracy, he had not only compelled the Volscians to become their friends instead of enemies, but had also brought about the voluntary submission of the Hernicans, a great and warlike nation situated near them and quite capable of doing them either the greatest mischief or the greatest service.

[4] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις διεξελθὼν ἡξίου τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους πρόνοιαν ἔχοντι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν ἔξοντι χρόνον. [p. 233] τελευτῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοσαῦτ' ἔφη καὶ τηλικαῦτ' ἀγαθὰ ποιήσιν τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ φιλεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὸ δημοτικόν:

καὶ ταῦτ' ἔφη ποιήσιν οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

[4] After recounting these and similar achievements he asked the populace to pay good heed to him, as to one who then had and always would have a greater concern for the commonwealth than any others. He concluded his speech by saying that he would confer upon the populace so many benefits and so great as to surpass all those who were commended for befriending and saving the plebeians; and these things he said he would soon accomplish.

[5] διαλύσας δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ χρόνον οὐδὲ ἀκαριαῖον διαλιπὼν τῇ κατοπιν ἡμέρᾳ συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὁρθὴν καὶ περιφοβὸν οὔσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοις· καὶ πρὶν ἑτέρου τινὸς ἄρξασθαι λόγου τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ φυλαχθεῖσαν γνώμην εἰς μέσον ἔφερεν, ἀξιῶν τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ ὁ δῆμος τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος γέγονε τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὸ ἑτέρων ἄρχειν συλλαβόμενος, πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῷ νειμάντας, ὅση πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δημοσία, ἔργῳ δὲ τῶν ἀναιδεστάτων τε καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ κατεσχηκότων πατρικίων, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου πεμφθείσης σφίσι δωρεᾶς σιτικῆς, ἣν προῖκα δέον ἅπαντας διανείμασθαι τοὺς πολίτας ὠνητὴν ἐλάβμβανον οἱ πένητες, ἀποδοθῆναι τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ὠνησαμένοις ἐξ ὧν εἶχε τὸ κοινὸν χρημάτων.

[5] He then dismissed the assembly, and without even the slightest delay called a meeting the next day of the senate, which was already in suspense and terrified at his words. And before taking up any other subject he proceeded to lay before them openly the purpose which he had kept concealed in the popular assembly, asking of the senators that, inasmuch as the populace had rendered the commonwealth great service by aiding it, not only to retain its liberty, but also to rule over other peoples, they should show their concern for them by dividing among them the land conquered in war, which, though nominally the property of the state, was in reality possessed by the most shameless patricians, who had occupied it without any legal claim; and that the price paid for the corn sent them by Gelon, the tyrant of Sicily, as a present, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens as a free gift, the poor had got by purchase, should be repaid to the purchasers from the funds held in the public treasury.

[1] εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς, ἀχθομένων ἅπαντων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο ὃ τε συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Οὐεργίνιος πολλὴν ἐποίησατο κατηγορίαν ὥς στάσιν εἰσάγοντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ τιμιώτατοι, μάλιστα δ' Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος· καὶ μέχρι πολλῆς ὥρας ἡγριωμένοι τε καὶ τὰ [p. 234] αἰσχιστα κατ' ἀλλήλων ὀνειδὴ λέγοντες οὗτοι διετέλεσαν.

[71.1] At once, while he was still speaking, a great tumult arose, the senators to a man disliking his proposal and refusing to countenance it. And when he had

done, not only his colleague Verginius, but the oldest and the most honoured of the senators as well, particularly Appius Claudius, inveighed against him vehemently for attempting to stir up a sedition; and until a late hour these men continued to be beside themselves with rage and to utter the severest reproaches against one another.

[2] ταῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐκκλησίας συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος ἐξεδημαγῶγει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας λόγους εἰσέφερε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων. ὁ δ' Οὐεργίνιος τὴν βουλὴν ὁσημέραι συνάγων μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο φυλακάς τε καὶ κωλύσεις νομίμους.

[2] During the following days Cassius assembled the populace continually and attempted to win them over by his harangues, introducing the arguments in favour of the allotment of the land and laying himself out in invectives against his opponents. Verginius, for his part, assembled the senate every day and in concert with the patricians prepared legal safeguards and hindrances against the other's designs.

[3] καὶ ἦν στίφος ἑκατέρω τῶν παρακολουθούντων τε καὶ φυλακὴν τῷ σώματι παρεχόντων πολὺ: τὸ μὲν ἄπορον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ πάντα τολμᾶν πρόχειρον ὑπὸ τῷ Κασσίῳ τεταγμένον, τὸ δ' εὐγενέστατόν τε καὶ καθαρώτατον ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ.

[3] Each of the consuls had a strong body of men attending him and guarding his person; the needy and the unwashed and such as were prepared for any daring enterprise were ranged under Cassius, and those of the noblest birth and the most immaculate under Verginius.

[4] τέως μὲν οὖν τὸ χεῖρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεκράτει μακρῷ θατέρου προὔχον, ἔπειτα ἰσόρροπον ἐγένετο προσνειμάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῶν δημάρχων τῇ κρείττονι μοίρᾳ: τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει δεκασμοῖς τ' ἀργυρίου καὶ διανομαῖς τῶν δημοσίων διαφθειρόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀργὸν καὶ πονηρὸν εἶναι, τάχα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν φθόνον, ὅτι τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτης οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἦρξαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεσθηκότες, ἀλλ' ἕτερος: οὐθέν δὲ κωλύει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος, ὃ πρὸς τὴν αὕξησιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλάμβανον μείζονα γενομένην ἢ τῇ πόλει συνέφερεν.

[4] For some time the baser element prevailed in the assemblies, being far more numerous than the others; then they became evenly balanced when the tribunes joined the better element. This change of front on the part of the tribunes was due perhaps to their feeling that it was not best for the commonwealth that the multitude should be corrupted by bribes of money and distributions of the public lands and so be idle and depraved, and perhaps also to envy, since it was not they themselves, the leaders of the populace, who had been the authors of this liberality, but someone else; however, there is no

reason why their action was not due also to the fear they felt at the increase in Cassius' power, which had grown greater than was to the interest of the commonwealth.

[5] ἀντέλεγον οὖν ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὗτοι [p. 235] πρὸς τοὺς εἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου νόμους διδάσκοντες τὸν δῆμον, ὡς οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον, ἃ διὰ πολλῶν ἐκτήσατο πολέμων, ταῦτα μὴ Ῥωμαίους νείμασθαι μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατίνους αὐτοῖς ἰσομοιρεῖν τοὺς μὴ παραγενομένους τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοὺς νεωστὶ προσελθόντας πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν Ἑρνίκας, οἷς ἀγαπητὸν ἦν πολέμῳ προσαχθεῖσι τὸ μὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι χώραν.

[5] At any rate, these men in the meetings of the assembly now began to oppose with all their power the laws which Cassius was introducing, showing the people that it was not fair if the possessions which they had acquired in the course of many wars were not to be distributed among the Romans alone, but were to be shared equally not only by the Latins, who had not been present in those wars, but also by the Hernicans, who had but lately entered into friendship with them, and having been brought to it by war, would be content not to be deprived of their own territory.

[6] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούων τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς τῶν δημάρχων προσετίθετο λόγοις ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι μικρὸν τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἔσται λόγου τὸ ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἐσόμενον ἐκάστῳ λάχος, εἰ μεθ' Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων αὐτὴν νεμήσονται, τοτὲ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου μετεπίθετο δημαγωγοῦντος, ὡς προδιδόντων αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρικίοις τῶν δημάρχων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τῆς κωλύσεως εὐπρεπῇ τὴν Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων ἰσομοιρίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἔφη νόμῳ περιλαβεῖν ἰσχύος τῶν πενήτων ἕνεκα καὶ εἴ τις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶσαι τὰ δοθέντα κωλύσαι, κρεῖττον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς πολλοῖς μικρὰ λαβοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἢ πολλὰ ἐλπίσασιν ἀπάντων ἀποτυχεῖν.

[6] The people, as they listened, would now assent to the representations of the tribunes, when they recalled that the portion of the public land which would fall to the lot of each man would be small and inconsiderable if they shared it with the Hernicans and the Latins, and again would change their minds as Cassius in his harangues charged that the tribunes were betraying them to the patricians and using his proposal to give an equal share of the land to the Hernicans and the Latins as a specious pretence for their opposition; whereas, he said, he had included these peoples in his law with a view to adding strength to the poor and of hindering any attempt that might thereafter be made to deprive them of what had been once granted to them since he regarded it as better and safer for the masses to get little, but to keep that little undiminished, than to expect a great deal and to be disappointed of everything.

[1] τοῦτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Κασσίου θαμινὰ μεταπειθοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὸν ὄχλον παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων, Γάιος Ῥαβολήιος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄφρων, τὴν τε διχοστασίαν τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπέσχετο παύσειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσειν φανερόν, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπισημασίας δὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ μεγάλης καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπῆς: οὐχὶ ταῦτ', εἶπεν, ὦ [p. 236] Κάσσιε, καὶ σὺ Οὐεργίνιε, τὰ κεφάλαιά ἐστι τοῦ νόμου; ἐν μὲν, εἰ χρὴ τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν κατ' ἄνδρα διανεμηθῆναι, ἕτερον δ', εἰ χρὴ καὶ Λατίνους καὶ Ἑρνίκας μέρος αὐτῆς λαβόντας ἔχειν; ὁμολογησάντων δ' αὐτῶν:

[72.1] While Cassius by these arguments frequently changed the minds of the multitude in the meetings of the assembly, one of the tribunes, Gaius Rabuleius, a man not lacking in intelligence, came forward and promised that he would soon put an end to the dissension between the consuls and would also make it clear to the populace what they ought to do. And when a great demonstration of approval followed, and then silence, he said: "Are not these, Cassius and Verginius, the chief issues of this law — first, whether the public land should be distributed with an equal portion for everyone, and second, whether the Latins and the Hernicans should receive a share of it?"

[2] εἶεν δὴ: σὺ μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ Κάσσιε, ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀξιόις τὸν δῆμον, σὺ δὲ δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, λέξον ἡμῖν, πότερα θάτερον ἀκυροῖς τῆς. Κασσίου γνώμης μέρος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἰσομοίρους ἡμῖν Ἑρνίκας τε καὶ Λατίνους ποιεῖν, ἢ καὶ θάτερον μόνον ἀκυροῖς ἀξιῶν οὐδὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν τὰ κοινά; ταυτὶ γὰρ ἀπόκριναι μοι μηδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος.

[2] And when they assented, he continued: "Very well. You, Cassius, ask the people to vote for both provisions. But as for you, Verginius, tell us, for Heaven's sake, whether you oppose that part of Cassius' proposal which relates to the allies, believing that we ought not to make the Hernicans and the Latins equal sharers with us, or whether you oppose the other also, holding that we should not distribute the property of the state even among ourselves. Just answer these questions for me without concealing anything."

[3] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργινίου τῇ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ἀντιλέγειν ἰσομοιρίᾳ, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ πᾶσι δόξειε, διανέμεσθαι συγχωρεῖν, ἐπιστρέψας ὁ δῆμαρχος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον εἶπεν: ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῆς γνώμης μέρος ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνδοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀντιλέγεται πρὸς θατέρου, ἰσότημοι δ' ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε βιάσασθαι θατέρῳ τὸν ἕτερον, ὃ μὲν δίδοται δοταὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἤδη λάβωμεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ δ' ἀμφισβητοῦσιν,

[3] When Verginius said that he opposed giving an equal share of the land to the Hernicans and the Latins, but consented to its being divided among the Roman citizens, if all were of that opinion, the tribune, turning to the multitude, said: "Since, then, one part of the proposed measure is approved of

by both consuls and the other is opposed by one of them, and as both men are equal in rank and neither can use compulsion on the other, let us accept now the part which both are ready to grant us, and postpone the other, concerning which they differ.”

[4] ἀναβαλόμεθα. ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς τὰ πράτιστα ὑποθεμένῳ καὶ καταλῦειν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ ποιοῦν διχοστασίαν μέρος ἀξιοῦντος, ἀπορῶν, ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ οὐτ’ ἀναθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην προαιρούμενος οὔτε μένειν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἀντιπραττόντων τῶν δημάρχων δυνάμενος, τότε [p. 237] μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ταῖς δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἄρρωστιαν σκηπτόμενος οὐκέτι κατέβαινεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀλλ’ ὑπομένων ἔνδον ἐπραγματεύετο βίᾳ καὶ χειροκρασίᾳ κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον: καὶ μετεπέμπετο Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν.

[4] The multitude signified by their acclamations that his advice was most excellent and demanded that he strike out of the law that part which gave occasion for discord; whereupon Cassius was at a loss what to do, and being neither willing to withdraw his proposal nor able to adhere to it while the tribunes opposed him, he dismissed the assembly for that time. During the following days he feigned illness and no longer went down to the Forum; but remaining at home, he set about getting the law passed by force and violence, and sent for as many of the Latins and Hernicans as he could to come and vote for it.

[5] οἱ δὲ συνήεσαν ἄθροοι, καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου μεστή ξένων ἦν ἡ πόλις. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσε κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἀπιέναι τοὺς μὴ κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, χρόνον ὀρίσας οὐ πολὺν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τάναντία ἐκέλευσε κηρύττειν παραμένειν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας, ἕως ἂν ἐπικυρωθῇ ὁ νόμος.

[5] These assembled in great numbers and presently the city was full of strangers. Verginius, being informed of this, ordered proclamation to be made in the streets that all who were not residents of the city should depart; and he set an early time limit. But Cassius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed — that all who possessed the rights of citizens should remain till the law was passed.

[1] ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πέρας, δείσαντες οἱ πατρίκιοι, μὴ ψήφων θ’ ἄρπαγαὶ καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαὶ γένωνται καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα φιλεῖ βίαια συμβαίνειν ἐν ταῖς στασιαζούσαις ἐκκλησίαις εἰσφερομένου τοῦ νόμου, συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ὡς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἅπαξ βουλευσόμενοι.

[73.1] There being no end of these contests, the patricians, fearing that when the law came to be proposed there would be stealing of votes, recourse to violence, and all the other forcible means that are wont to be employed in

factionous assemblies, met in the senate-house to deliberate concerning all these matters once and for all.

[2] Ἀππίος μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην οὐκ εἶα συγχωρεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διανομὴν διδάσκων, ὡς χαλεπὸς ἔσται καὶ ἀλυσιτελὴς σύννοικος ὄχλος ἀργὸς ἐθισθεὶς τὰ δημόσια λιχνεῦειν, καὶ οὐθὲν ἑάσει ποτὲ τῶν κοινῶν οὔτε κτημάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἔτι κοινὸν μένειν: αἰσχύνῃς τ' ἄξιον πρᾶγμα εἶναι λέγων, εἰ Κασσίου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς πονηρὰ καὶ ἀσύμφορα πολιτευομένου καὶ τὸν δῆμον διαφθείροντος, ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐπικυρώσουσιν ὡς δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα: ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν, ὡς οὐδ' ἡ χάρις ἢ παρὰ τῶν πενήτων, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ διανεμείμαντο [p. 238] τοῖς συγχωρήσασι καὶ ἐπιψηφισαμένοις, ὑπάρξει, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ τῷ προθέντι τὴν γνώμην Κασσίῳ καὶ δόξαντι ἡναγκακῆναι τὴν βουλὴν ἄκουσαν ἐπικυρώσαι.

[2] Appius, upon being asked his opinion first, refused to grant the distribution of land to the people, pointing out that an idle multitude accustomed to devour the public stores would prove troublesome and unprofitable fellow citizens and would never allow any of the common possessions, whether property or money, to continue to be held in common. He did note that it would be a shameful thing if the senators, who had been accusing Cassius of introducing mischievous and disadvantageous measures and of corrupting the populace, should then themselves by common consent ratify these measures as just and advantageous. He asked them also to bear in mind that even the gratitude of the poor, if they should divide up among themselves the public possessions, would not be shown to those who gave their consent and sanction to this law, but to Cassius alone, who had proposed it and was believed to have compelled the senators to ratify it against their will.

[3] προειπὼν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις ἕτερα τελευτῶν τάδε συνεβούλευσεν: ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων βουλευτῶν ἐλέσθαι δέκα, οἵτινες ἐπελθόντες τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν ἀφοριοῦσι, καὶ εἰ τινα ἐξ αὐτῆς κλέπτοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι τινες ιδιώται κατανέμουσιν ἢ ἐπεργάζονται διαγνόντες ἀποδώσουσι τῷ δημοσίῳ. τὴν δ' ὀρισθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γῆν διαιρεθεῖσαν εἰς κλήρους ὅσους δὴ τινας καὶ στήλαις εὐκόσμοις διαγραφεῖσαν τὴν μὲν ἀπεμποληθῆναι παρήναι καὶ μάλιστα περὶ ἧς ἀμφίλογόν τι πρὸς ιδιώτας ἦν, ὥστε τοῖς ὠνησαμένοις μὴ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιποιησομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κρίσεις, τὴν δὲ πενταετὴ μισθοῦν χρόνον: τὸ δὲ προσιὸν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων ἀργύριον εἰς τοὺς ὀψωνιασμοὺς τῶν στρατευομένων ἀναλοῦσθαι καὶ εἰς τὰς μισθώσεις ὧν οἱ πόλεμοι χορηγιῶν δέονται:

[3] After saying this and other things to the same purport, he ended by giving them this advice — to choose ten of the most distinguished senators to go over the public land and fix its bounds, and if they found that any private persons were by fraud or force grazing or tilling any part of it, to take

cognizance of this abuse and restore the land to the state. And he further advised that when the land thus delimited by them had been divided into allotments, of whatever number, and marked off by pillars duly inscribed, one part of it should be sold, particularly the part about which there was any dispute with private persons, so that the purchasers might be involved in litigation over it with any who should lay claim to it, and the other part should be let for five years; and that the money coming in from these rents should be used for the payment of the troops and the purchase of the supplies needed for the wars.

[4] νῦν μὲν γάρ, ἔφησεν, ὁ φθόνος τῶν πενήτων ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὅσοι σφετερισάμενοι τὰ κοινὰ διακατέχουσι, δίκαιός ἐστι: καὶ οὐθὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ πάντας διανείμασθαι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦσιν, ἢ τοὺς ἀναιδεστάτους τε καὶ ὀλίγους κατέχειν: ἐὰν δ' ἀφισταμένους αὐτῆς [p. 239] ὁρῶσι τοὺς νῦν καρπομένους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὄντως κοινὰ γινόμενα, παύσονται φθονοῦντες ἡμῖν, τὴν τ' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα διανομῆς τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπανήσουσι μαθόντες, ὅτι λυσιτελεστέρα τῆς μικρᾶς ἐκάστω

[4] “For, as things now stand,” he said, “the envy of the poor against the rich who have appropriated and continue to occupy the public possessions is justified, and it is not at all to be wondered at if they demand that the public property should be divided among all the citizens rather than held by a few, and those the most shameless. Whereas, if they see the persons who are now enjoying them give them up and the public possessions become really public, they will cease to envy us and will give up their eagerness for the distribution of our fields to individuals, once they have learnt that joint ownership by all the citizens will be of greater advantage to them than the small portion that would be allotted to each.

[5] μερίδος ἢ κοινῇ μετὰ πάντων ἔσται κτῆσις. διδάσκωμεν γάρ αὐτοὺς, ἔλεγεν, ὅσον τὸ διάφορον, καὶ ὡς εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος τῶν πενήτων γῆδιον οὐ μέγα λαβὼν καὶ εἰ τύχοι γείτονας ὀχληροὺς ἔχων οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἔσται τοῦτο γεωργεῖν δι' ἀπορίαν, οὔτε τὸν μισθωσόμενον ὅτι μὴ τὸν γείτονα εὐρήσει: εἰ δὲ μεγάλοι κληροὶ ποικίλας τε καὶ ἀξιολόγους ἔχοντες γεωργοῖς ἐργασίας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ μισθοῖντο, πολλὰς οἴσουσι προσόδους: καὶ ὅτι κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, ὅταν ἐξίωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου τὸν ἐπισιτισμόν τε καὶ ὀψωνιασμόν λαμβάνειν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ἕκαστον εἰσφέρειν τεθλιμμένων ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν βίων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ συμπορίζειν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπιβαρησομένων.

[5] Let us show them, in fact,” he said, “what a great difficult it makes, and that if each one of the poor receives a small plot of ground and happens to have troublesome neighbours, he neither will be able to cultivate it himself, by reason of his poverty, nor will he find anyone to lease it of him but that neighbour, whereas if large allotments offering varied and worthwhile tasks for the husbandmen are let out by the state, they will bring in large revenues;

and that it is better for them, when they set out for the wars, to receive both their provisions and their pay from the public treasury than to pay in their individual contributions each time to the treasury out of their private estates, when, as sometimes happens, their means of livelihood are scanty and will be still further cramped by providing this money.”

[1] ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου καὶ σφόδρα δόξαντος εὐδοκιμεῖν δευτερος ἐρωτηθεὶς Αὐλὸς Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατίνος ἔλεξεν: Ἀππίον μὲν οὐ νῦν ἔχω πρῶτον ἐπαινεῖν, ὡς φρονῆσαι τε ἱκανώτατον πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ γνώμας τὰς καλλίστας τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτας ἀποδεικνύμενον βέβαιον [p. 240] τε καὶ ἀμετακίνητον ἐν τοῖς κριθεῖσι καὶ οὔτε φόβῳ εἰκοντα οὔτε χάρισιν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάζων διατελῶ τοῦ τε φρονίμου καὶ τῆς γενναιότητος, ἣν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἔχει. γνώμην τ’ οὐχ ἑτέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ταύτην ἀποδείκνυμαι, μικρὰ ἔτι προσθεὶς αὐτῇ, ἃ μοι παραλίπειν Ἀππίος ἐδόκει.

[74.1] After Appius had introduced this motion and appeared to win great approval, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who was called upon next, said:

“This is not the first time that I have had occasion to praise Appius as a man highly capable of grasping eventualities long in advance, and as one always offering the most excellent and useful opinions, a man who is firm and unshaken in his judgements and neither yields to fear nor is swayed by favour. For I have never ceased to praise and admire him both for his prudence and the noble spirit he shows in the presence of danger. And it is not a different motion that I offer, but I too make the same one, merely adding a few details which Appius seemed to me to omit.

[2] Ἑρνίκας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λατίνους, οἷς νεωστὶ δεδώκαμεν τὴν ἰσοπολίτειαν, οὐδ’ αὐτὸς οἶμαι δεῖν κληρουχεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα. οὐ γάρ, ἐξ οὗ προσῆλθον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἡμῖν, ταύτην τὴν γῆν κτησάμενοι ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδύνοις οὐθενὸς ἄλλου προσωφελήσαντος ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. ἀποκρινόμεθ’ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὰς μὲν πρότερον ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν κτήσεις, ὅσας ἕκαστοι εἶχομεν, ὅτε τὴν φιλίαν συνετιθέμεθα, ἰδίας τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτους ἑκάστοις δεῖ μένειν, ὅσων δ’ ἂν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὰς συνθήκας ἐποιησάμεθα, κοινῇ στρατεύσαντες ἐκ πολέμου κύριοι γενώμεθα, τούτων ὑπάρξει τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστοις λάχος.

[2] As regards the Hernicans and the Latins, to whom we recently granted equal rights of citizenship, I too think they ought not to share in the allotment of our lands; for it was not after they entered into friendship with us that we acquired this land which we now occupy, but still earlier, when by our own perilous efforts, without the assistance of anyone else, we took it from our enemies. Let us give them this answer: that the possessions which each of us already had when we entered into the treaty of friendship must remain the peculiar and inalienable property of each, but that in the case of all that we

may come to possess through war when taking the field together, from the time we made this treaty, each shall have his share.

[3] ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε τοῖς συμμάχοις ὡς ἀδικουμένοις ὀργῆς παρέξει δικαίας προφάσεις, οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ δέος, μὴ δόξη τὰ κερδαλεώτερα πρὸ τῶν εὐπρεπεστέρων αἰρεῖσθαι. τῇ τε αἰρέσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς Ἄππιος ἡξίου ὀριστὰς γενέσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς, πάνυ εὐδοκῶ. πολλὴν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' οἶσει παρρησίαν πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' ἄχθονται κατ' ἀμφοτέρας, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῶν δημοσιῶν οὐθὲν ἀπολαύουσι κτημάτων, [p. 241] καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν τινες οὐ δικαίως αὐτὰ καρποῦνται. ἔαν δὲ δημοσιωθέντα ἴδωσι καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσόδους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανωμένας, οὐδὲν ὑπολήφονται σφίσι διαφέρειν τῆς γῆς ἢ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καρπῶν μετέχειν.

[3] For this arrangement will neither afford our allies any just excuses for anger, as being wronged, nor cause the populace any fear of appearing to prefer their own interests to their good name. As to the appointment of the men proposed by Appius to delimit the public land, I quite agree with him. For this will afford us great frankness in dealing with the plebeians, since they are now displeased on both accounts — because they themselves reap no benefit from the public possessions and because some of us enjoy them contrary to justice. But if they see them restored to the public and the revenues therefrom applied to the necessary uses of the commonwealth, they will not suppose that it makes any difficult to them whether it is the land or its produce that they share.

[4] ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι 1 τῶν ἀπόρων ἐνίους μᾶλλον εὐφραίνουσιν αἱ ἀλλότριαι βλάβαι τῶν ἰδίων ὠφελειῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀποχρῆν γ' οἶομαι τούτων ἑκάτερον ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γράφειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἄλλης τινὸς οἶομαι δεῖν θεραπείας μετρίας τὸν δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν: ἦν μετὰ μικρὸν ἐρῶ, τὴν αἰτίαν πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἀποδειξάμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν καὶ τοῦτο πρακτέον ἡμῖν.

[4] I need not mention, of course, that some of the poor are more delighted with the losses of others with now their own advantages. However, I do not regard the entering of these two provisions in the decree as enough; but we ought in my opinion to gain the goodwill of the populace and relieve them by another moderate favour also, one which I shall presently name, after I have first shown you the reason, or rather the necessity, for our doing this also.

[1] ἴστε δῆπου τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ῥηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου λόγους, ὅτ' ἦρετο τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον τοῦτον Οὐεργίνιον, ἦντινα γνώμην ἔχει περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας, πότερα τοῖς μὲν πολίταις συγχωρεῖ διανέμειν τὰ δημόσια, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις οὐκ ἔἴ, ἢ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ' ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖ μέρος λαγχάνειν. καὶ οὗτος ὠμολόγησε τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέρος οὐ κωλύειν τῆς κληρουχίας, ἔαν ἅπανσι ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι δοκῇ: καὶ ἡ συγχώρησις ἦδε τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν συναγωνιστὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον

[75.1] “You are aware, no doubt, of the words spoken by the tribune in the assembly when he asked one of the consuls, Verginius here, what his opinion was concerning the allotment of the land, whether he consented to divide the public possessions among the citizens but not among the allies, or would not consent that even we should receive a share of what belongs to us all in common. And Verginius admitted that he was not attempting to hinder the allotting of the land so far as it related to us Romans, if this seemed best to everybody. This concession not only caused the tribunes to espouse our cause, but also rendered the populace more reasonable.

[2] τί οὖν μαθόντες, ἃ τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν, νῦν ἀναθησόμεθα; ἢ τί πλέον ἡμῖν ἔσται τὰ γενναῖα καὶ τὰ καλὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ ἄξια τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολιτευομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ πειθωμεν τοὺς χρησόμενους; οὐ [p. 242] πείσομεν δέ, καὶ τοῦτ’ οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ. χαλεπώτερα γὰρ ἂν τῶν μὴ τυγχανόντων ἀποτίσειαν οἱ ψευσθέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα μὴ κομιζόμενοι. οἰχίσεται δὴ πάλιν φέρων αὐτοὺς ὁ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν πολιτευόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔτι μεθ’ ἡμῶν στήσεται.

[2] What has come over us, then, that we are now to change our mind about what we then conceded? Or what advantage shall we gain by pursuing our noble and excellent principles of government, principles worthy of our supremacy, if we cannot persuade those who are to make use of them? But we shall not persuade them, and this not one of you fails to know. For, of all who fail to get what they want, those will feel the harshest resentment who are cheated of their hopes and are not getting what has been agreed upon. Surely the politician whose principle it is to please will run off with them again, and after that not one even of the tribunes will stand by us.

[3] τί οὖν ὑμῖν πράττειν παραινῶ καὶ τί προστίθημι τῇ Ἀππίου γνώμῃ, μάθετε, ἀλλὰ μὴ προεξαναστήτε μηδὲ θορυβήσητε, πρὶν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, ἃ λέγω. τοῖς αἰρεθησομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς χώρας καὶ περιορισμὸν εἴτε δέκα ἀνδράσιν εἴθ’ ὅσοισιδήποτ’ ἐπιτρέψατε διαγνῶναι, τίνα τ’ αὐτῆς δεῖ καὶ ὁπόσῃν κοινὴν εἶναι πάντων καὶ κατὰ πενταετίαν μισθουμένην αὖξιν τὰς τοῦ ταμείου προσόδους; ὁπόσῃν τ’ αὖ καὶ ἦντινα τοῖς δημόταις ἡμῶν διαιρεθῇναι; ἦν δ’ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κληροῦχον ἀποδείξωσι γῆν, ὑμᾶς διαγνόντας εἴθ’ ἅπασιν εἴθ’ οἷς δὴ οὐκέτ’ ἔστι κλῆρος εἴτε τοῖς ἐλάχιστον ἔχουσι τιμῆμα εἴθ’ ὅπως ἂν βούλησθε κατανεῖμαι; τοὺς δ’ ὀριστὰς αὐτῆς ἀνδρας καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ψήφισμα, ὃ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ἐξοίσετε, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ λειπόμενός ἐστι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὑπάτοις χρόνος, τοὺς εἰσιόντας ὑπάτους, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς κράτιστα δοκῇ ἔξεν, ἐπιτελέσαι.

[3] Hear, therefore, what I advise you to do, and the amendment I add to the motion of Appius; but do not rise up or create any disturbance before you have heard all I have to say. After you have appointed commissioners,

whether ten or whatever number, to inspect the land and fix its boundaries, empower them to determine which and how great a part of it should be held in common and, by being let for five years, increase the revenues of the treasury, and again, how great a part and which should be divided among our plebeians. And whatever land they appoint to be allotted you should allot after determining whether it shall be distributed among all the citizens, or among those who have no land as yet, or among those who have the lowest property rating, or in whatever manner you shall think proper. As regards the men who are to fix the bounds of the land and the decree you will publish concerning its division and everything else that is necessary, I advise, since the present consuls have but a short time to continue in office, that their successors shall carry out these purposes in such manner as they think will be for the best.

[4] οὐτε γὰρ ὀλίγων τηλικαῦτα πράγματα δεῖται χρόνων, οὐτε ἡ νῦν στασιάζουσα ἀρχὴ φρονιμώτερον ἂν καταμάθοι τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς μετ' αὐτὴν ἀποδειχθσομένης, [p. 243] ἐὰν ἐκείνη γ', ὥσπερ ἐλπίζομεν, ὁμονοῇ. χρήσιμον δὲ πρᾶγμα ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἥκιστα σφαλερὸν ἀναβολή, καὶ πολλὰ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μετατίθησι: καὶ τὸ μὴ στασιάζον ἐν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αἴτιον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἀποφαινομαι γνώμην: εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο κρεῖττον εἰσηγεῖται, λεγέτω.

[4] For not only do matters of such moment require no little time, but the present consuls, who are at variance, can hardly be expected to show greater insight in discovering what is advantageous than their successors, if, as we hope, the latter shall be harmonious. For delay is in many cases a useful thing and anything but danger, and time brings about many changes in a single day; furthermore, the absence of dissension among those who preside over the public business is the cause of all the blessings enjoyed by states. As for me, this is the opinion I have to express; but if anyone has anything better to propose, let him speak."

[1] παυσασμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐθεὶς τῶν μετ' ἐκείνον ἐρωτηθέντων ἑτέραν γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται: γράφεται δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τοιόνδε: ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατικῶν αἰρεθῆναι δέκα τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, οἵτινες ὀρίσαντες τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν ἀποδείξουσιν, ὅσῃν τε δεῖ μισθοῦσθαι καὶ ὅσῃν τῷ δήμῳ διαιρεθῆναι:

[76.1] When Sempronius had ended, there was much applause from those present, and not one of the senators who were asked their opinion after him expressed any different view. Thereupon the decree of the senate was drawn up to this effect: that the ten oldest ex-consuls should be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land and to declare how much of it ought to be let and how much divided among the people;

[2] τοῖς δ' ἰσοπολίταις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, ἐὰν τινα ὕστερον ἐπικτήσωνται κοινῇ στρατευσάμενοι, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ὑπάρχειν

μέρος: τὴν δ' αἵρεσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῶν κλήρων καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι τοὺς εἰσιόντας ἐπιτελέσαι ὑπάτους. τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεχθὲν τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἔπαυσε τῆς δημαγωγίας, καὶ τὴν ἀναρριπιζομένην ἐκ τῶν πενήτων στάσιν οὐκ εἶασε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν.

[2] that those enjoying the rights of citizens and the allies, in case they later acquired more land by a joint campaign, should each have their allotted share, according to the treaties; and that the appointment of the decemvirs, the distribution of the allotments, and everything else that was necessary should be carried out by the incoming consuls. When this decree was laid before the populace, it not only put a stop to the demagoguery of Cassius, but also prevented the sedition that was being rekindled by the orator from going any farther.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἐνεστώσης, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἄστυλος Συρακούσιος, Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχων ἦν Λεώστρατος, Κοίντου Φαβίου καὶ Σερουίου Κορνηλίου τὴν [p. 244] ὑπατείαν παρειληφότων, ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων νέοι μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιφανέστατοι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ γ' ἀξιώσεις προγόνων, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐταιρίας τε καὶ πλοῦτους μέγα δυνάμενοι, καὶ ὥς νέοι τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ χεῖρους, Καίσιων Φάβιος, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ καταλύσαντος τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τὴν ταμιευτικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκκλησίαν συνάγειν ὄντες κύριοι, τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ Σπόριον Κάσσιον καὶ τολμήσαντα τοὺς περὶ τῆς διανομῆς εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμους εἰσηγγεῖλαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τυραννίδος αἰτία: καὶ προειπόντες ἡμέραν ῥητὴν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ὥς ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν δίκην ἀπολογησόμενον.

[77.1] The following year, at the beginning of the seventy-fourth Olympiad (the one at which Astylus of Syracuse won the foot-race), when Leosttratus was archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius had succeeded to the consulship, two patricians, young indeed in years, but the most distinguished of their body because of the prestige of their ancestors, men of great influence both on account of their bands of supporters and because of their wealth, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their ability in civil affairs, namely, Caeso Fabius, brother of the then consul, and Lucius Valerius Publicola, brother to the man who overthrew the kings, being quaestors at the same time and therefore having authority to assemble the populace, denounced before them Spurius Cassius, the consul of the preceding year, who had dared to propose the laws concerning the distribution of land, charging him with having aimed at tyranny; and appointing a day, they summoned him to make his defence before the populace.

[2] ὅχλου δὲ πλείστου συναχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν συγκαλέσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τὰ τ' ἐμφανῆ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα ὡς

ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρηστῷ γενόμενα διεξήεσαν: ὅτι Λατίνοις μὲν πρῶτον, οἷς ἀπέχρη πολιτείας κοινῆς ἀξιοθῆναι μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγουμένοις, εἰ καὶ ταύτης τύχοιεν, οὐ μόνον ἦν ἥτουν πολιτείαν ὕπατος ὦν ἐχαρίσατο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων, ἐὰν κοινὴ γένηται στρατεία, τὴν τρίτην ἐψηφίσατο δίδοσθαι: ἔπειθ' Ἑρνικας, οὓς πολέμῳ χειρωθέντας ἀγαπᾶν ἐχρῆν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἀφαιρέσει τινὶ ζημιωθείεν, φίλους μὲν ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ἐποίησε, πολίτας δ' ἀνθ' ὑποτελῶν, γῆς τε καὶ λείας, [p. 245] ἦν ἂν ἐκ παντὸς κτήσωνται, τὴν ἑτέραν ἔταξε λαμβάνειν τρίτην μερίδα.

[2] When a very large crowd has assembled upon the day appointed, the two quaestors called the multitude together in assembly, and recounting all his overt actions, showed that they were calculated for no good purpose. First, in the case of the Latins, who would have been content with being accounted worthy of a common citizenship with the Romans, esteeming it a great piece of good luck to get even so much, he had as consul not only bestowed on them the citizenship they asked for, but had furthermore caused a vote to be passed that they should be given also the third part of the spoils of war on the occasion of any joint campaign. Again, in the case of the Hernicans, who, having been subdued in war, ought to have been content not to be punished by the loss of some part of their territory, he had made them friends instead of subjects, and citizens instead of tributaries, and had ordered that they should receive the second third of any land and booty that the Romans might acquire from any source.

[3] ὥστε μεριζομένων εἰς τρεῖς κλήρους τῶν λαφύρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπηκόους τε καὶ ἐπήλυδας διμοιρίας λαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' αὐθιγενεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας τρίτην μερίδα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυεῖν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων θάτερον ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς συμβησόμενον, ἐὰν τινας ἑτέρους διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας προέλωνται ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμῆσαι δωρεαῖς, αἷς Λατίνους τ' ἐτίμησαν καὶ τοὺς μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἀποδειξαμένους Ἑρνικας. μῖα γὰρ καταλειπομένης αὐτοῖς τρίτης μερίδος, ἢ οὐχ ἔξειν, ὅ τι δώσουσιν ἐκείνοις μέρος ἢ τὰ ὅμοια ψηφισαμένους μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπειν.

[3] Thus the spoils were to be divided into three portions, the subjects of the Romans and aliens receiving two of them and the natives and dominant race the third part. They pointed out that as a result of this procedure one or the other of two most absurd situations would come about in case they should choose to honour any other nation, in return for many great services, by granting the same privileges with which they had honoured not only the Latins, but also the Hernicans, who had never done them the least service. For, as there would be but one third left for them, they would either have no part to bestow upon their benefactors or, if they granted them the like favour, they would have nothing for themselves.

[1] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διεξήεσαν, ὅτι δημεῦσαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαλόμενος οὔτε τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οὔτε τῷ συνυπάτῳ δοκοῦν,

βίᾳ κυροῦν ἐμέλλησε τὸν νόμον, ὃς οὐ καθ' ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἦν ἀσύμφορός τε καὶ ἄδικος, ὅτι προβουλευσαι δεόν τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰ δόξειεν ἐκείνῳ κοινήν ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἐν τέλει τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐποιεῖ τὴν χάριν:

[78.1] Besides this they went on to relate that Cassius, in proposing to give to the people the common possessions of the state without a decree of the senate or the consent of his colleague, had intended to get the law passed by force — a law that was inexpedient and unjust, not for this reason alone, that, though the senate ought to have considered the measure first, and, in case they approved of it, it ought to have been a joint concession on the part of all the authorities, he was making it the favour of one man,

[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ πάντων σχετλιώτατον, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν δόσις ἦν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, ἔργῳ δ' ἀφαίρεσις, Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν κτησαμένων αὐτὴν μίαν μοῖραν ληφομένων, Ἑρνίκων δὲ καὶ Λατίνων, ἧς οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς μετῆν, τὰς δύο: καὶ ὥς οὐδὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐναντιωθεῖσι καὶ παραλύειν [p. 246] ἐκ τοῦ νόμου θάτερον ἀξιοῦσι μέρος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν τῶν ἐπηλύδων, ἐπείσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημάρχοις καὶ συνυπάτῳ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένοις τάναντία πράττων διετέλεσε.

[2] but also for the further reason — the most outrageous of all — that, though it was in name a grant of the public land to the citizens, it was in reality a deprivation, since the Romans, who had acquired it, were to receive but one third, while the Hernicans and the Latins, who had no claim to it at all, would get the other two thirds. They further charged that even when the tribunes opposed him and asked him to strike out the part of the law granting equal shares to the aliens, he had paid no heed to them, but continued to act in opposition to the tribunes, to his colleague, to the senate, and to all who consulted the best interests of the commonwealth.

[3] διεξεληθόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μάρτυρας αὐτῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ποιησάμενοι, μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους τῆς τυραννίδος παρείχοντο πίστεις, ὥς χρήματά τε συνενέγκαιεν αὐτῷ Λατῖνοι καὶ Ἑρνικες καὶ ὅπλα παρασκευάσαιντο καὶ συμπορεύοιντο ὥς αὐτὸν οἱ θρασύτατοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέων ἀπόρρητά τε ποιοῦμενοι βουλευτήρια καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἕτερα ὑπηρετοῦντες, καὶ παρείχοντο τοὺς τοῦτων μάρτυρας πολλοὺς μὲν ἄστούς, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχίδων πόλεων, οὔτε φαύλους οὔτ'

[3] After they had enumerated these charges and named as witnesses to their truth the whole body of the citizens, they then at length proceeded to present the secret evidences of his having aimed at tyranny, showing that the Latins and the Hernicans had contributed money to him and provided this with arms, and that the most daring young men from their cities were resorting to him, making secret plans, and serving him in many other ways besides. And to

prove the truth of these charges they produced many witnesses, both residents of Rome and others from the cities in alliance with her, persons who were neither mean nor obscure.

[4] ἀφανείς. οἷς ἐπίστευσεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ οὔτε λόγοις ἔτι ὑπαχθεῖς, οὓς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς συγκειμένους διέθετο, οὔτ' οἴκτῳ ἐνδοὺς τριῶν μὲν αὐτῷ παίδων μεγάλην παρεχόντων εἰς ἔλεον ἐπικουρίαν, πολλῶν δ' ἄλλων συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἐταίρων συνολοφυρομένων, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργων, δι' οὓς ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ἦλθε τιμῆς φειδῶ λαβὼν τινα, καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην.

[4] In these the populace put confidence; and without either being moved now by the speech which the man delivered — a speech which he had prepared with much care, — or yielding to compassion when his three young sons contributed much to his appeal for sympathy and many others, both relations and friends, joined in bewailing his fate, or paying any regard to his exploits in war, by which he had attained to the greatest honour, they condemned him.

[5] οὕτως τ' ἄρα ἦν πικρὸς πρὸς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τιμήματι τῆς δίκης μετρία ὀργῇ ἐχρήσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου ἐτίμησεν. εἰσῆι γὰρ αὐτὸν δέος, μὴ φυγὰς ἐλασθεῖς [p. 247] ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνὴρ στρατηγῆσαι πολέμους τῶν τότε δεινότατος ὅμοια δράσῃ Μαρκίῳ τὰ τε φίλια διαβάλλων καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ συνιστὰς καὶ πόλεμον ἄσπειστον ἐπαγάγῃ τῇ πατρίδι. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῆς δίκης λαβούσης ἀγαγόντες οἱ ταμίαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρημόν, ἀπάντων ὀρώντων ἔρριψαν κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀλόντων ἡ κόλασις.

[5] Indeed, they were so exasperated at the name of tyranny that they did not moderate their resentment even in the degree of his punishment, but sentenced him to death. For they were afraid that if a man who was the ablest general of his time should be driven from his country into exile, he might follow the example of Marcius in dividing his own people and uniting their enemies, and bring a relentless war upon his country. This being the outcome of his trial, the quaestors led him to the top of the precipice that overlooks the Forum and in the presence of all the citizens hurled him down from the rock. For this was the traditional punishment at that time among the Romans for those who were condemned to death.

[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτερος τῶν παραδεδομένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγων τοιόσδε ἐστίν· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν, ἐπειδὴ κάκεῖνος πεπίστευται ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀξιοχρέοις φέρεται, μὴ παρελθεῖν. λέγεται δὴ πῖσιν, ὡς ἀδήλου πᾶσιν οὔσης ἔτι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσκευαζομένης τυραννίδος, πρῶτος ὑποπτεύσας ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης βασάνου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάσας ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν· ἔπειτα κελεύσας ἐλθεῖν τὸν υἱὸν μηνυτῆς τε καὶ κατηγορος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο:

καταγνούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκτεινε.

[79.1] Such is the more probable of the accounts that have been handed down concerning this man; but I must not omit the less probable version, since this also has been believed by many and is recorded in histories of good authority. It is said, then, by some that while the plan of Cassius to make himself tyrant was as yet concealed from all the world, his father was the first to suspect him, and that after making the strictest inquiry into the matter he went to the senate; then, ordering his son to appear, he became both informer and accuser, and when the senate also had condemned him, he took him home and put him to death.

[2] τὸ μὲν οὖν πικρὸν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὀργῆς εἰς υἱοὺς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ μάλιστα' ἐν τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀπωθεῖται τὴν πρόφασιν: ἐπεὶ καὶ πρότερον Βροῦτος ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐδικαίωσε κατὰ τὸν τῶν κακούργων νόμον ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ πελέκεσι τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, [p. 248] ὅτι συμπράττειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν κάθοδον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μάλλιος τὸν Γαλαπικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ πόλεμον τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας ἔνεκα τοῖς ἀριστείοις στεφάνοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἀπειθείαν δ' ἐπικαλῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθη φρουρίῳ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐξῆλθεν ἀγωνιούμενος, ὡς λιποτάκτην ἀπέκτεινε.

[2] The harsh and inexorable anger of fathers against their offending sons, particularly among the Romans of that time, does not permit us to reject even this account. For earlier Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his sons to die in accordance with the law concerning malefactors, and they were beheaded because they were believed to have been helping to bring about the restoration of the kings. And at a later time Manlius, when he was commander in the Gallic war and his son distinguished himself in battle, honoured him, indeed, for his bravery with the crowns given for superior valour, but at the same time accused him of disobedience in not staying in the fort in which he was posted but leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to take part in the struggle; and he put him to death as a deserter.

[3] καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ πατέρες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ μείζουσιν αἰτίαις, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐλάττοσιν, οὔτε φειδῶ τῶν παίδων οὔτ' ἔλεον ἔσχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, ὥσπερ ἔφην, προβεβλήσθαι τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀπιθάνον: ἐκεῖνα δέ με ἀνθέλκει τεκμηρίων ὄντα οὔτ' ἐλάχιστα οὔτ' ἀπιθانا καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἄγει συγκατάθεσιν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κασσίου ἢ τ' οἰκία κατεσκάφη, καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀνεῖται ὁ τόπος αὐτῆς αἰθριος ἔξω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Γῆς, ὃν ὑστέροις ἢ πόλις κατεσκεύασε χρόνους ἐν μέρει τινὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνέλαβεν: ἐξ ὧν ἀπαρχὰς ἐν ἄλλοις τε ἱεροῖς ἀνέθηκε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ τοὺς χαλκεούς ἀνδριάντας ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντας,

[3] And many other fathers, some for greater and others for lesser faults, have shown neither mercy nor compassion to their sons. For this reason I do not feel, as I said, that this account should be rejected as improbable. But the following considerations, which are arguments of no small weight and are not lacking in probability, draw me in the other direction and lead me to agree with the first tradition. In the first place, after the death of Cassius his house was razed to the ground and to this day its site remains vacant, except for that part of it on which the state afterwards built the temple of Tellus, which stands in the street leading to the Carinae; and again, his goods were confiscated by the state, which dedicated first-offerings for them in various temples, especially the bronze statues to Ceres, which by their inscriptions show of whose possessions they are the first-offerings.

[4] ἄφ' ὧν εἰσι χρημάτων ἀπαρχαί. εἰ δέ γ' ὁ πατήρ μηνυτής τε καὶ κατήγορος καὶ κολαστὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, οὐτ' ἂν ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη οὔτε ἡ οὐσία ἐδημεύθη. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ οὐθὲν ἰδιὸν ἐστὶ κτῆμα [p. 249] ζώντων ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν παιδῶν, ὃ τι βούλονται διατιθέναι, τοῖς πατράσιν ἀποδέδοται. ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν δήπου τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν τοῦ μηνύσαντος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδικήμασιν ἀφαιρῆσθαι καὶ δημεύειν ἡ πόλις ἤξει. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῷ προτέρῳ συγκατατίθεμαι τῶν λόγων μᾶλλον: ἔθηκε δ' ἀμφοτέρους, ἵνα ἐξῇ τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις, ὁποτέρῳ βούλονται τῶν λόγων, προσέχειν.

[4] But if his father had been at once the informer, the accuser and the executioner of his son, neither his house would have been razed nor his estate confiscated. For the Romans have no property of their own while their fathers are still living, but fathers are permitted to dispose both of the goods and the persons of their sons as they wish. Consequently the state would surely never have seen fit, because of the crimes of the son, to take away and confiscate the estate of his father who had given information of his plan to set up a tyranny. For these reasons, therefore, I agree rather with the former of the two accounts; but I have given both, to the end that my readers may adopt whichever one they please.

[1] ἐπιβαλλομένων δέ τινων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτείνειν τοῦ Κασσίου δεινὸν τὸ ἔθος ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀσύμφορον: καὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσαστο ἀφεῖσθαι τὰ μειράκια τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ ζῆν, μήτε φυγῇ μήτ' ἀτιμία μήτ' ἄλλῃ συμφορᾷ ζημιωθέντα. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχώριον γέγονεν ἕως τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς διατηρούμενον ἡλικίας, ἀφεῖσθαι τιμωρίας ἀπάσης τοὺς παῖδας, ὧν ἂν οἱ πατέρες ἀδικήσωσιν, ἐὰν τε τυράννων ὄντες υἱοὶ τύχωσιν, ἐὰν τε πατροκτόνων, ἐὰν τε προδοτῶν, ὃ

[80.1] When the attempt was made by some to put to death the sons of Cassius also, the senators looked upon the custom as cruel and harmful; and having assembled, they voted that the penalty should be remitted in the case of the boys and that they should live in complete security, being punished by neither

banishment, disfranchisement, nor any other misfortune. And from that time this custom has become established among the Romans and is observed down to our day, that the sons shall be exempt from all punishment for any crimes committed by their fathers, whether they happen to be the sons of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors — treason being among the Romans the greatest crime.

[2] μέγιστόν ἐστι παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀδίκημα. οἳ τε καταλῦσαι τὸ ἔθος τοῦτ' ἐπιβαλόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ τε καὶ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἐπὶ Σύλλα πατέρων ἀφελόμενοι τὸ μετιέναι τὰς πατριούς ἀρχὰς καὶ βουλῆς μετέχειν καθ' ὃν ἐδυνάστευον αὐτοὶ χρόνον, ἐπίφθονόν τ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ νεμεσητὸν θεοῖς ἔργον ἔδοξαν ἀποδείξασθαι. τοιγάρτοι δίκη μὲν [p. 250] ἐκείνοις σὺν χρόνῳ τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτή παρηκολούθησε, δι' ἣν ἐκ μεγίστου τέως αὐχρήματος εἰς ταπεινότατον πτώμα κατήχθησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γυναικάς ἔτι λείπεται.

[2] And those who attempted to abolish this custom in our times, after the end of the Marsic and civil wars, and took away from the sons of fathers who had been proscribed under Sulla the privilege of standing for the magistracies held by their fathers and of being members of the senate as long as their own domination lasted, were regarded as having done a thing deserving both the indignation of men and the vengeance of the gods. Accordingly, in the course of time a justifiable retribution dogged their steps as the avenger of their crimes, by which the perpetrators were reduced from the greatest height of glory they had once enjoyed to the lowest depths, and not even their posterity, except of the female line, now survives;

[3] τὸ δ' ἔθος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ὁ τοὺτους καθελὼν ἀνὴρ ἀποκατέστησε. παρ' Ἑλλήσι δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐνίοις ὁ νόμος ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ τυράννων γενομένους οἱ μὲν συναποκτίννυσθαι τοῖς πατράσι δικαιοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἀειφυγία κολάζουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῆς φύσεως χρηστοὺς παῖδας ἐκ πονηρῶν πατέρων ἢ κακοὺς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων εἴτε ὁ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀμείνων νόμος εἴτε τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθος κρεῖττον, ἀρίημι τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν: ἐπάνειμι δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

[3] but the custom was restored to its original status by the man who brought about their destruction. Among some of the Greeks, however, this is not the practice, but certain of them think it proper to put to death the sons of tyrants together with their fathers; and others punish them with perpetual banishment, as if Nature would not permit virtuous sons to be the offspring of wicked fathers or evil sons of good fathers. But concerning these matters, I leave to the consideration of anyone who is so minded the question whether the practice prevalent among the Greeks is better or the custom of the Romans is superior; and I now return to the events that followed.

[1] μετὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Κασσίου θάνατον οἱ μὲν αὐξάνοντες τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν θρασύτεροι τε καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν: οἱ δ' ἐν ἀφανεί τῆς δόξης φερόμενοι καὶ βίου εἰς ταπεινὰ συνεστάλησαν, καὶ ὡς ἄριστον ἀπολωλεκότες φύλακα τῆς δημοτικῆς μερίδος πολλὴν ἄνοιαν ἐαυτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ καταδικῇ κατηγοροῦν. τοῦτου δ' αἷτιον ἦν, ὅτι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας οὐκ ἔπραττον οἱ ὕπατοι, δεόν αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας τ' ἀποδείξαι δέκα τοὺς ὀριοῦντας τὴν γῆν καὶ γνώμην εἰσηγήσασθαι πόσῃν τ' αὐτῆς καὶ

[81.1] After the death of Cassius those who sought to extend the power of the aristocracy had grown more daring and more contemptuous of the plebeians, while those of obscure reputation and fortune were humbled and abased, and feeling that they had lost the best guardian of the plebeian order, accused themselves of great folly in having condemned him. The reason for this was that the consuls were not carrying out the decree of the senate regarding the allotting of the land, though it was their duty to appoint the decemvirs to fix the boundaries of the land and to present a proposal as to how much of it ought to be distributed, and to whom.

[2] τίσι δεήσει νεμηθῆναι. συνήεσαν τε πολλοὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐκάστοτε διαλεγόμενοι, καὶ [p. 251] ἐν αἰτία τοὺς προτέρους εἶχον δημάρχους ὡς προδεδωκότας τὸ κοινόν: ἐκκλησίαι τε συνεχεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε δημάρχων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς ὑποσχέσεως. ταῦτα συνιδόντες οἱ ὕπατοι γνώμην ἐποίησαντο πολέμων προφάσει τὸ παρακινεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος καὶ ταραττόμενον καταστεῖλαι: ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ λησθηρίοις τε ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων καὶ καταδρομαῖς τισιν ἢ γῇ βλαπτομένη.

[2] Many met in groups, always discussing this duplicity and accusing the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth; and there were continual meetings of the assembly called by the tribunes then in office, and demands for the fulfilment of the promise. The consuls, perceiving this, determined to repress the turbulent and disorderly element in the city, taking the wars as a pretext. For it chanced that their territory was at that very time harassed by bands of robbers and forays from the neighbouring cities.

[3] τιμωρίας μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἕνεκα προὔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου σημεῖα, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς πόλεως κατέγραφον: οὐ προσιόντων δὲ τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν ἀπόρων ἀδύνατοι ὄντες τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκην τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι προσφέρειν: προειστήκεσαν γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ δῆμαρχοι καὶ κωλύσειν ἔμελλον, εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἢ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐκλείπόντων τὴν στρατείαν ἄγειν ἢ τὰ χρήματα φέρειν: ἀπειλαῖς χρησάμενοι πολλαῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες τοῖς ἀνασειοῦσι τὸ πλῆθος, λεληθυῖαν ὑποψίαν κατέλιπον ὡς δικτάτορα ἀποδειξόντες, ὃς ἔμελλε καταλύσας τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὴν τυραννικὴν καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον μόνος ἔξειν ἐξουσίαν.

[3] To punish these aggressors, then, they brought out the war standards and began to enrol the forces of the commonwealth. And when the poor did not come forward to enlist, the consuls, being unable to make use of the compulsion of the laws against the disobedient — for the tribunes defended the plebeians and were prepared to prevent any attempt to seize either the persons or the goods of those who failed to serve — made many threats that they would not yield to those who were stirring up the multitude, leaving with them a lurking suspicion that they would appoint a dictator, who would set aside the other magistracies and alone by himself possess a tyrannical and irresponsible power.

[4] ὥς δὲ ταύτην ἔλαβον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν οἱ δημοτικοί, δέισαντες, μὴ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀποδείξωσι πικρὸν ὄντα καὶ χαλεπὸν, πάντα πρὸ τοῦτου πάσχειν ὑπέμενον.

[4] As soon as the plebeians had entertained this suspicion, fearing that Appius, a harsh and stern man, would be the one appointed, they were ready to submit to anything rather than that.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεγράφη τὰ στρατεύματα, παραλαβόντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Κορνήλιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν χώραν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαν λείαν ἐν [p. 252] αὐτῇ ἀπήλασε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβευσασμένων τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων, καὶ ἀνοχὰς τοῦ πολέμου συνέθετο ἐνιαυσίους. Φάβιος δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν δύναμιν ἔχων εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν γῆν ἐνέβαλεν: ἔπειτ' ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων.

[82.1] When the armies had been enrolled, the consuls took command and led them out against their foes. Cornelius invaded the territory of the Veientes and drove off all the booty that was found there, and later, when the Veientes sent ambassadors, he released their prisoners for a ransom and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Aequians, and from there into that of the Volscians.

[2] χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα οὐ πολλὸν ἠνέσχοντο οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι διαρπαζομένων αὐτοῖς καὶ κειρομένων τῶν ἀγρῶν: ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὥς οὐ πολλῇ δυνάμει παρόντων ἐξεβοήθουν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας τὰ ὄπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἄθροοι, ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔφθασαν ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφανέντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου, μεγάλην ἂν αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο τροπὴν: νῦν δὲ προαισθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ὁ ὕπατος διὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐπὶ τὰς κατασκοπὰς, ἀνακλήσει ταχεῖα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀναλαβὼν, τάξιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε τὴν εἰς πόλεμον ἀρμόττουσαν.

[2] For a short time the Volscians permitted their lands to be plundered and laid waste; then, conceiving contempt for the Romans, as they were not

present in any great force, they snatched up their arms and set out from the territory of the Antiates in a body to go to the rescue of their lands, having formed their plans with greater precipitancy than regard for their own safety. Now if they had surprised the Romans by appearing unexpectedly to them while they were dispersed, they might have inflicted a severe defeat upon them; but as it was, the consul, being informed of their approach by those he had sent out to reconnoitre, by a prompt recall drew in his men, then dispersed in pillaging, and put them back into the proper order for battle.

[3] τοῖς δὲ Οὐλοῦσcois σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ θάρσει χωροῦσιν, ὥς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη συνεστῶσα ἐν κόσμῳ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις, δέος ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον ὄψιν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς ἀσφαλείας οὐδεμία φροντίς, τῆς δ' ἰδίας ἐκάστῳ σωτηρίας πρόνοια. ὑποστρέψαντες δὴ ὥς εἶχον ἕκαστοι τάχους ἔφευγον ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς: καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγον δὲ τι στίφος, ὃ μάλιστα ἦν συντεταγμένον, εἰς ὄρους τινὰ κορυφὴν ἀναδραμὸν καὶ θέμενον ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὄπλα τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα [p. 253] διέμενε: ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις φρουρὰν περιστήσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τῷ λόφῳ καὶ πάσας διακλείσαντος ὅπλοις τὰς ἐξόδους, λιμῷ βιασθὲν ὑποχείριον γίνεται καὶ

[3] As for the Volscians, who were advancing contemptuously and confidently, when the entire army of the enemy unexpectedly appeared, drawn up in orderly array, they were struck with fear at the unlooked-for sight, and no longer was there any thought for their common safety, but every man consulted his own. Turning about, therefore, they fled, each with all the speed he could, some one way and some another, and the greater part got back safely to their city. A small body of them, however, which had been best kept in formation, ran up to the top of a hill, and standing to their arms, remained there during the following night; but when in the course of the succeeding days the consul placed a guard round the hill and closed all the exits with armed troops, they were compelled by hunger to surrender and to deliver up their arms.

[4] παραδίδωσι τὰ ὄπλα. ὁ δ' Ὑπάτος τὴν τε λείαν, ὅση ἐπέτυχε, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς ταμίαις, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήνεγκε τὸ ἀργῦριον. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τελευτώντος ἤδη τοῦ ἔτους. ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔδοξε τοῖς πατρικίοις ἡρεθισμένον ὁρῶσι τὸν δῆμον καὶ μεταμελόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Κασσίου καταδικῇ, διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν ἔχειν, μὴ τι παρακινήσειε πάλιν εἰς δεκασμῶν ἐλπίδα καὶ κλήρων διανομῆς ὑπαχθεῖς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς δημαγωγῆσαι δυνατοῦ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας λαβόντος ἀξίωμα. ἐφαίνετο δ' αὐτοῖς ῥᾶστα κωλυθῆσεσθαι τούτων τινὸς ὀρεγόμενος, εἰ γένοιτο Ὑπάτος ἀνὴρ ἥκιστα δημοτικός.

[4] The consul, after ordering the quaestors to sell the booty he had found, together with the spoils and the prisoners, brought the money back to the city.

And not long afterwards, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he returned home with them, as the year was now drawing to its close.

When the election of magistrates was at hand, the patricians, perceiving that the people were exasperated and repented of having condemned Cassius, resolved to guard against them, lest they should create some fresh disturbance when encouraged to hope for bribes and a distribution of allotments by some man skilful in the arts of the demagogue who should have gained the prestige of the consulship. And it seemed to them that the people would be most easily prevented from realizing any of these desires if a man who was at least democratic in his sympathies should become consul.

[5] βουλευσάμενοι δὴ τοῦτο κελεύουσι μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν κατηγορησάντων τοῦ Κασσίου, Καίσωνα Φάβιον ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τοῦ τότε ὑπατεύοντος Κοῖντου, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄνδρα ἀριστοκρατικόν. τούτων δὲ μετιόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν κωλύειν μὲν οὐχ οἱοί τ' ἦσαν οἱ δημοτικοί, καταλιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὥχοντο ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.

[5] Having come to this decision, they ordered Caeso Fabius, one of the two persons who had accused Cassius, and brother to Quintus, who was consul at the time, and, from among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the aristocratic party, to stand for the consulship. When these offered themselves for the office, the plebeians, though they could do nothing to prevent it, did leave the comitia and withdraw from the Field.

[6] τὸ γὰρ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας κύρος ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἦν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τιμήματα ἔχοντας, καὶ σπάνιον τι ἦν, ὃ ἐπεκύρουν οἱ διὰ μέσου: ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος λόχος, [p. 254] ἐν ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστον τε καὶ ἀπορώτατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος ἐψηφοφόρει, μιᾶς, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου κύριος ἦν.

[6] For in the centuriate assembly the balance of power in voting lay with the most important men and those who had the highest property ratings, and it was seldom that those of middling fortunes determined a matter; the last century, in which the most numerous and poorest part of the plebeians voted, had but one vote, as I stated before, which was always the last to be called for.

[1] παραλαμβάνουσι δὴ τὴν ὑπατείαν κατὰ τὸ ἑβδομηκοστόν τε καὶ διακοσιοστόν ἔτος ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μამέρκου υἱὸς καὶ Καίσων Φάβιος Καίσωνος υἱός, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Νικοδήμου. οἷς κατ' εὐχὴν συνέβη μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐπιταραχθῆναι διχοστασίας πολέμων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων ἄλλοεθνῶν.

[83.1] Accordingly, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamercus, and Caeso Fabius, the son of Caeso, succeeded to the consulship in the two hundred and seventieth year after the settlement of Rome, when Nicodemus was archon at Athens. It chanced fortunately that their consulship was not disturbed at all by

strife, since the state was beset by foreign wars.

[2] ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν οὖν ἔθνεσι καὶ τόποις Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων φιλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαι ἐμφυλίους τε καὶ ἐνδήμους ἐγείρειν πολέμους, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχουσιν, ὅσοι πολεμιστὴν καὶ κακόπαθον αἰροῦνται βίον ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας πόθῳ. χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ μαθοῦσαι τοῦ πλείονος ἐφίεσθαι φύσεις ἐξειργόμεναι τῶν συνήθων ἔργων καρτερεῖν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων αἰετίνας ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἔχθρας, κρείττονας ἡγούμενοι τῶν ἐντοπίων πολέμων τοὺς ἄλλοδαπούς.

[2] Now in all nations and places, both Greek and barbarian, respites from evils from abroad are wont to provoke civil and domestic wars; and this happens especially among those peoples who choose a life of warfare and its hardships from a passion for liberty and dominion. For natures which have learned to covet more than they have find it difficult, when restrained from their usual employments, to remain patient, and for this reason the wisest leaders are always stirring up the embers of some foreign quarrels in the belief that wars waged abroad are better than those fought at home.

[3] τότε δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ δαίμονα τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεσον αἱ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπαναστάσεις. Οὐλοῦσκόι γάρ, εἴτε τῇ πολιτικῇ Ῥωμαίων κινήσει πιστεύσαντες ὥς ἐκπεπολεμμένου τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει, εἴτε τῆς προτέρας ἡττης ἀμαχητὶ γενομένης αἰσχύνῃ παροξυνθέντες, εἴτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς οὖσαις μέγα φρονήσαντες,

[3] Be that as it may, at the time in question, as I said, the uprisings of the subject nations occurred very fortunately for the consuls. For the Volscians, either relying on the domestic disquiet of the Romans, in the belief that the plebeians had been brought to a state of war with the authorities, or stung by the shame of their former defeat received without striking a blow, or priding themselves on their own forces, which were very numerous, or induced by all these motives, resolved to make war upon the Romans.

[4] εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα πάντα πολεμεῖν [p. 255] Ῥωμαίοις διέγνωσαν, καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐξ ἅπασης πόλεως τὴν νεότητα, μέρος μὲν τινὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων πόλεις ἐστράτευσαν, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ, ἣ πλείστη τ' ἦν καὶ κρατίστη, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἥξοντας δέχεσθαι ἤμελλον. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξε διχῇ νέμειν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ τὴν Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ τὴν Οὐλοούσκων λεηλατεῖν.

[4] And assembling the youth from every city, they marched with one part of their army against the cities of the Hernicans and Latins, while with the other, which was very numerous and powerful, they proposed to await the forces which should come against their own cities. The Romans, being informed of

this, determined to divide their army into two bodies, with one of which they would keep guard over the territory of the Hernicans and Latins and with the other lay waste that of the Volscians.

[1] διακληρωσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς δυνάμεις, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τὸ μὲν ἐπικουρεῖν μέλλον τοῖς συμμάχοις στράτευμα Καίσιων Φάβιος παρέλαβε, θάτερον δὲ Λεύκιος ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν ἦγε πόλιν. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τῶν ὀρίων καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, τότε μὲν ἀντικατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ λόφου, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξιόντων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τῶν πολεμίων θαμινὰ καὶ προκαλουμένων εἰς μάχην, ἥνικα τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχειν καιρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις: καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπικελεύσει χρῆσάμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν: καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ σὺνθηες ἀλαλάξαντες ἄθροοι κατὰ σπεῖρας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους συνέβαλλον.

[84.1] The consuls having drawn lots for the armies according to their custom, the army that was to aid their allies fell to Caeso Fabius, while Lucius at the head of the other marched upon Antium. When he drew near the border and caught sight of the enemy's army, he encamped for the time opposite to them upon a hill. In the days that followed the enemy frequently came out into the plain, challenging the consul to fight; and when he thought he had the suitable opportunity, he led out his army. Before they engaged, he exhorted and encouraged his troops at length, and then ordered the trumpets to sound the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry, attacked in close array both by cohorts and by centuries.

[2] ὡς δὲ τὰς λόγχας καὶ τὰ σαυνία καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ἐκηβόλα ἐξανάλωσαν, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη συρράπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἴση τόλμη τε καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἑκάτεροι χρώμενοι: ἦν τε, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, παραπλήσιος αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τρόπος, καὶ οὔτε ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὰς μάχας, ἧς χρώμενοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεκράτουν, [p. 256] οὔτε τὸ καρτερικὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἐν τοῖς πόνοις διὰ πολλῶν ἡσκημένον ἀγώνων ἐπεκράτει: τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιον ἡγεμόνα Ῥωμαίων οὐ τὸν ἀφανέστατον στρατηλάτην ἔσχον: ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον ἑκάτεροι τῆς χώρας, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστησαν οὐχ ὑφίεμενοι.

[2] After they had used up all their spears and javelins with the rest of their missile weapons, they drew their swords and rushed upon each other, both sides showing equal intrepidity and eagerness for the struggle. Their manner of fighting, as I said before, was similar, and neither the skill and experience of the Romans in engagements, because of which they were generally victorious, nor their steadfastness and endurance of toil, acquired in many battles, now gave them any advantage, since the same qualities were possessed by the enemy also from the time that they had been commanded by Marcius, not the least distinguished general among the Romans; but both sides stood firm, without quitting the ground on which they had first taken their

stand.

[3] ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι ὑπεχώρουν ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει δεχόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. στρατήγημα δὲ τοῦτ' ἦν, ἵνα διασπάσωσι τ' αὐτῶν τὰς τάξεις καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξιοῦ γένωνται χωρίου.

[3] Afterwards the Volscians began to retire, a little at a time, but in order and keeping their ranks, while receiving the Romans' onset. But this was a ruse designed to draw the enemy's ranks apart and to secure a position above them.

[1] οἱ δ' ὑπολαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν φυγῆς ἠκολούθουν βάδην μὲν ἀπιοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δρόμῳ χωροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἐθεάσαντο, ταχέϊα καὶ αὐτοὶ διώξει καὶ ἀσυντάκτῳ χρώμενοι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τελευταῖοι τε καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες λόχοι νεκροὺς τ' ἐσκύλευον, ὡς κεκρατηκότες ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν τῆς χώρας ἐτράποντο.

[85.1] The Romans, supposing that they were beginning flight, kept pace with them as they slowly withdrew, they too maintaining good order as they followed, but when they saw them running toward their camp, they also pursued swiftly and in disorder; and the centuries which were last and guarded the rear fell to stripping the dead, as if they had already conquered the enemy, and turned to plundering the country.

[2] μαθόντες δ' οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι ταῦτ' οἱ τε δόξαν παρασχόντες φυγῆς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῦ χάρακος ἐπλησίασαν, ὑποστραφέντες ἔστησαν, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες ἐξέδραμον ἄθροοι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη; γίνεται τ' αὐτῶν παλίντροπος ἢ μάχη; οἱ μὲν γὰρ διώκοντες ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐδίωκον. ἔνθα πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ Ῥωμαίων θνήσκουσιν οἷα εἰκὸς ὠθούμενοι κατὰ πρανοῦς χωρίου καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι κυκλωθέντες.

[2] When the Volscians perceived this, not only did those who had feigned flight face about and stand their ground as soon as they drew near the ramparts of their camp, but those also who had been left behind in the camp opened the gates and ran out in great numbers at several points. And now weight fortune of the battle was reversed; for the pursuers fled and the fugitives pursued. Here many brave Romans lost their lives, as may well be imagined, being driven down a declivity as they were and surrounded a few by many.

[3] ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἔπασχον, ὅσοι πρὸς σκυλὰ τε καὶ [p. 257] ἄρπαγὰς τραπόμενοι τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ τε καὶ τάξει ὑποχωρεῖν ἀφῆρέθησαν: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δ' αἰχμάλωτοι ἐλήφθησαν. ὅσοι δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαραχθέντων διεσώθησαν, ὅπῃ τῆς ὥρας τῶν ἱππέων αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα. ἐδόκει τ' αὐτοῖς συλλαβέσθαι τοῦ μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρεῖναι χειμῶν πολὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρραγεῖς καὶ σκότος, οἷον ἐν ταῖς βαθείαις ὁμίχλαις γίνεται, ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄκνον τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως παρέσχεεν οὐ

δυναμένοις τὰ πόρρω καθορᾶν.

[3] And a like fate was suffered by those who had turned to despoiling the dead and to plundering and now found themselves deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly and regular retreat; for these too were overtaken by the enemy, and some of them were killed and others taken prisoner. As many as came through safely, both of these and of the others, who had been driven from the hill, returned to their camp when the horse came to their relief late in the day. It seemed, moreover, that their escape from utter destruction had been due in part to a violent rainstorm that burst from the sky and to a darkness like that occurring in thick mists, which made the enemy reluctant to pursue them any farther, since they were unable to see things at a distance.

[4] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιάν ὁ ὕπατος ἀπῆγε σιγῇ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ, λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους προνοοῦμενος; καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ πόλει λεγομένη Λογγόλα περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν, γήλοφον ἱκανὸν ἐρύκειν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκλεξάμενος. ἔνθα ὑπομένων τοὺς τε ὑπὸ τραυμάτων κάμνοντας ἀνεκτᾶτο θεραπείαις, καὶ τοὺς ἀδημονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πάθους αἰσχροῦ παραμυθούμενος ἀνελάμβανε.

[4] The following night the consul broke camp and led his army away in silence and in good order, taking care to escape the notice of the enemy; and late in the afternoon he encamped near a town called Longula, having chosen a hill strong enough to keep off any who might attack him. While he remained there, he employed himself both in restoring with medical attention those who suffered from wounds and in raising the spirits of those who were disheartened at the unexpected disgrace of defeat by speaking words of encouragement to them.

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν: Οὐολοῦσκοι δ', ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα τ' ἐγένετο καὶ ἔγνωσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκλελοιπότες τὸν χάρακα, προσελθόντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. σκυλεύσαντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθνήτας, οἷς σωθήσεσθαι ἐλπὶς ἦν, ἀνελόμενοι ταφάς τε ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν, [p. 258] εἰς τὴν ἐγγυτάτῳ πόλιν Ἄντιον ἀνέστειλαν: ἔνθα παιανίζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ θύοντες ἐν ἅπασιν ἱεροῖς εἰς εὐπαθείας καὶ ἡδονὰς ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐτράποντο.

[86.1] While the Romans were thus occupied, the Volscians, as soon as it was day and they learned that the enemy had left their entrenchments, came up and made camp. Then, having stripped the dead, taken up those whom, though half dead, there was hope of saving, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the nearest city; and there, signing songs of triumph for their victory and offering sacrifices in all their temples, they devoted themselves during the following days to merry-making and pleasures.

[2] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε νίκης διέμειναν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπεχειργάσαντο, καλὸν

ἂν αὐτοῖς εἰλήφει τέλος ὁ ἄγων. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἂν ἦν, εἰ ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, κρεῖττονα τοῦ προδῆλου θανάτου τὴν ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενοι φυγὴν. νῦν δὲ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας νίκης δόξαν ἀπέβαλον.

[2] Now if they had rested content with their present victory and had attempted nothing further, their struggle would have had a glory end. For the Romans would not have dared to come out again from their camp to give battle, but would have been glad to withdraw from the enemy's country, considering inglorious flight better than certain death. But as it was, the Volscians, aiming at still more, threw away the glory of their former victory.

[3] ἀκούοντες γὰρ παρὰ τε κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἀποδεδρακότων, ὅτι κομιδῇ τ' εἰσὶν οἱ σωθέντες Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τραυματῖαι, πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο καταφρόνησιν, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ ὄπλα ἀρπάσαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς. πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴπετο κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ ἅμα ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν.

[3] For hearing both from scouts and from those who escaped from the enemy's camp that the Romans who had saved themselves were very few, and the greater part of these wounded, they conceived great contempt for them, and immediately seizing their arms, ran to attack them. Many unarmed people also followed them out of the city to witness the struggle and at the same time to secure plunder and booty.

[4] ἐπεὶ δὲ προσβαλόντες τῷ λόφῳ τὸν τε χάρακα περιέστησαν καὶ τὰ περισταυρώματα διασπᾶν ἐπεχείρουν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς πεζοὶ μαχόμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐξέδραμον ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἔπειτα τούτων κατόπιν οἱ καλούμενοι τριάριοι πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους: οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατευομένων, οἷς τὰ στρατόπεδα [p. 259] ἐπιτρέπουσι φυλάττειν, ὅταν ἐξίωσιν εἰς τὴν μάχην, καὶ ἐφ' οὓς τελευταίους, ὅταν ἀθρόα γένηται τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ φθορά, σπανίζοντες ἐτέρας ἐπικουρίας καταφεύγουσι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. οἱ δ' Οὐόλοῦσκοι

[4] But when, after attacking the hill and surrounding the camp, they endeavoured to pull down the palisades, first the Roman horse, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, sallied out against them, and, behind the horse, those they call the triarii, with their ranks closed. These are the oldest soldiers, to whom they commit the guarding of the camp when they go out to give battle, and they fall back of necessity upon these as their last hope when there has been a general slaughter of the younger men and they lack other reinforcements.

[5] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμενον

ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν μειονεκτοῦντες ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τέλος ὀλίγα μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου ἐργασάμενοι, πλείω δ' αὐτοὶ παθόντες κακὰ ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ πεδιον. ἔνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐξέταπτον τὴν δύναμιν καὶ προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀντεξήρισαν.

[5] The Volscians at first sustained their onset and continued to fight stubbornly for a long time; then, being at a disadvantage because of the nature of the ground, they began to give way and at last, after inflicting slight and negligible injuries upon the enemy, while suffering more themselves, they retired to the plain. And encamping there, during the following days they repeatedly drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight; but these did not come out against them.

[6] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι συνεκάλουν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δυνάμεις καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ἐξελοῦντες πολυχειρίᾳ τὸ φρούριον: ῥαδίως τ' ἂν ἐξειργάσαντο μέγα ἔργον ὑπάτου τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυνάμεως ἢ βίᾳ κρατήσαντες ἢ καὶ ὁμολογίαις: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων ἔτι εὐπόρει τὸ χωρίον: ἔφθη δὲ πρότερον ἐπικουρία Ῥωμαίους ἐλθοῦσα, ὑφ' ἧς ἐκωλύθησαν οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος.

[6] When the Volscians saw this, they held them in contempt, and summoning forces from their cities, made preparations to capture the stronghold by their very numbers. And they might easily have performed a great exploit by taking both the consul and the Roman army either by force or even by capitulation, since the place was no longer well supplied with provisions either; but reinforcements came in time to the Romans, thus preventing the Volscians from bringing the war to the most glorious conclusion.

[7] ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Καίσιων Φάβιος μαθὼν, ἐν αἷς ἦν τύχαις ἢ παραταξαμένη Οὐολοῦσκοις δυνάμεις, ἐβούλετο μὲν ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἅπασαν ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν εὐθύς ἐπιέναι τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ φρούριον. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ θυομένῳ τε καὶ οἰωνοῖς χρωμένῳ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ, ἀλλ' [p. 260] ἦγαντιοῦτο πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, τὰς δὲ κρατίστας ἐπιλεξάμενος σπείρας ἀπέστειλε τῷ συνάρχοντι.

[7] It seems that the other consul, Caeso Fabius, learning to what straits the army had been reduced which had been arrayed against the Volscians, proposed to march as quickly as possible with all his forces and fall at once upon those who were besieging the stronghold. Since, however, the victims and omens were not favourable when he offered sacrifice and consulted the auspices, but the gods opposed his setting out, he himself remained behind, but chose out and sent his best cohorts to his colleague.

[8] αἱ δὲ διὰ τ' ὁρῶν ἀφανῶς καὶ νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ ποιησάμεναι τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰσηλθὼν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς πολεμίους λαθοῦσαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Αἰμίλιος

θρασύτερος ἐγγέγονει τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τῷ τε πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ εἰκῇ πίσυνοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς μάχην ἐπαρθέντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέντες αὐτοὺς ἀναβῆναι καθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ πολλὰ πονεῖν περὶ τῷ σταυρώματι ἐάσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη τῆς μάχης διασπάσαντες κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸν χάρακα ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς χεῖρας καταστάντες τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων λίθοις τε καὶ σαυνίοις καὶ λόγχαις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἔβαλλον, βέλος δ' οὐδὲν ἄσκοπον ἦν πεπιλημένων γ' ἐν βραχεῖ χωρίῳ πολλῶν.

[8] These, making their way covertly through the mountains and generally by night, entered the camp without being perceived by the enemy. Aemilius, therefore, had become emboldened by the arrival of these reinforcements, while the enemy, rashly trusting to their numbers and elated because the Romans did not come out to fight, proceeded to march up the hill in close order. The Romans permitted them to come up at their leisure and to spend their strength on the palisade; but when the signals for battle were raised, they pulled down the ramparts in many places and fell upon the enemy. Some of them, coming to close quarters, fought with their swords, while others from the ramparts hurled at their assailants stones, javelins and spears; and no missile failed of a mark where many combatants were crowded together in a limited space.

[9] ἀπαράττονται δὴ τοῦ λόφου πολλοὺς σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες οἱ Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαντες μόγις εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποσώζονται χάρακα. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὥς ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τέως ὄντες ἤδη κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν: ἐξ ὧν ἐπισιτισμοὺς καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσων σπάνις ἦν ἐν τῷ χάρακι, ἐλάμβανον.

[9] Thus the Volscians were hurled back from the hill after losing many of their number, and turning to flight, barely got safely back to their own camp. The Romans, feeling themselves secure at last, now made descents into the enemy's fields, from which they took provisions and everything else of which there was a dearth in the camp.

[1] ἐπειδὴ δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν [p. 261] καιρὸς, ὁ μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δι' αἰσχύνης ἔχων ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐσχήμοσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν τὸ κράτιστον ἀπολωλεκώς τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὁ δὲ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὤχετο: καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οἷς μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλετο δοθῆναι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀνδράσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὐ προὔθηκε τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ μετήεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκόντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μετιόντων τοὺς τε λόχους ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀνέδωκεν.

[87.1] When the time for the election of magistrates arrived, Aemilius remained in camp, being ashamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had lost the best part of his army. But his colleague, leaving his subordinate officers in camp, went to Rome; and assembling the people for the election, he declined to propose for the voting those among the ex-consuls on whom the populace wished the consulship to be bestowed, since even these men were not voluntary candidates, but he called the centuries and took their votes in favour of such as sought the office.

[2] οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν, οὓς ἡ βουλὴ προεῖλετο καὶ οἷς παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ σφόδρα τῷ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένοι. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ὕπατοι ὃ τε νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προθέντος τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὑπάτου, Μάρκος Φάβιος Καίσιωνος υἱός, καὶ Λεύκιος

Οὐαλέριος Μάρκου υἱός, ὁ τὸν τρὶς ὕπατευσαντα Κάσσιον κρίνας ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ

[2] These were men the senate had selected and ordered to canvass for the office, men not very acceptable to the populace. Those elected consuls for the ensuing year were Marcus Fabius, son of Caeso, the younger brother of the consul who conducted the election, and Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus, the man who had accused Cassius, who had been thrice consul, of aiming at tyranny and caused him to be put to death.

[3] ἀποκτείνας. οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἡξίουσαν ἑτέρους καταγράφειν, ἵνα τὸ ἐλλειπὲς ἀναπληρωθῇ τῶν λόγων. καὶ δόγμα ποιησάμενοι βουλῆς προὔγραφαν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ παρῆναι τοὺς ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν στρατεύσιμον ἔδει. μετὰ τοῦτο θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ λόγοι τῶν πενεστάτων στασιώδεις οὐκ ἀξιούντων οὔτε βουλῆς δόγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν οὔτε ὑπάτων ἐξουσίᾳ πειθαρχεῖν, ὅτι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας [p. 262] ὑποσχέσεις ἐψεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτούς: συνιόντες τε κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ὠνειδίζον αὐτοῖς προδοσίαν καὶ κατεβόων ἐπικαλοῦμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν.

[3] These men, having taken office, asked for the levying of fresh troops to replace those who had perished in the war against the Antiates, in order that the gaps in the various centuries might be filled; and having obtained a decree of the senate, they appointed a day on which all who were of military age must appear. Thereupon there was a great tumult throughout the city and seditious speeches were made by the poorest citizens, who refused either to comply with the decrees of the senate or to obey the authority of the consuls, since they had violated the promises made to them concerning the allotment of land. And going in great numbers to the tribunes, they charged them with treachery, and with loud outcries demanded their assistance.

[4] τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐδόκει καιρὸς ἀρμόττων εἶναι πολέμου συνεστῶτος ὑπερορίου τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας ἀναζωπυρεῖν, εἷς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάιος Μαίνιος οὐκ ἔφη προδώσειν τοὺς δημοτικούς, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις στρατιὰν καταγράφειν, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἀποδείξωσι τοὺς ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας γῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα γράψαντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενέγκωσιν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πρόφασιν ποιουμένων τοῦ μηθὲν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν, ὣν ἡξίου, τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα πόλεμον, οὐκ ἔφη προσέξειν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ

[4] Most of the tribunes did not regard it as a suitable time, when a foreign war had arisen, to fan domestic hatreds into flame again; but one of them, named Gaius Maenius, declared that he would not betray the plebeians or permit the consuls to levy an army unless they should first appoint commissioners for fixing the boundaries of the public land, draw up the decree of the senate for

its allotment, and lay it before the people. When the consuls opposed this and made the war they had on their hands an excuse he says not granting anything he desired, the tribune replied that he would pay no heed to them, but would hinder the levy with all his power.

[5] κωλύσειν ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει τὴν καταγραφὴν. καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα: οὐ μὴν ἰσχυρὸς γε μέχρι τέλους. οἱ γὰρ ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ παρακειμένῳ πεδίῳ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς διφρούς ἔθηκαν: ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατάλογον, καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὺς ἄγειν οὐχ οἷοι τ' ἦσαν, εἰς χρήματα ἐξήμιουν: ὅσοις μὲν χωρία ὑπῆρχεν, ἐκκόπτοντες ταῦτα καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καθαιροῦντες: ὅσων δὲ γεωργικὸς ὁ βίος ἦν ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κτήμασι, τούτων ἄγοντές τε καὶ φέροντες τὰ παρεσκευασμένα πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ζεύγη τε βοικὰ καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφόρα καὶ σκευὴ παντοῖα, οἷς γῆ τ' ἐξεργάζεται καὶ καρποὶ συσκομίζονται.

[5] And this he attempted to do; nevertheless, he could not prevail to the end. For the consuls, going outside the city, ordered their generals' chairs to be placed in the near-by field; and there they not only enrolled the troops, but also fined those who refused obedience to the laws, since it was not in their power to seize their persons. If the disobedient owned estates, they laid them waste and demolished their country-houses; and if they were farmers who tilled fields belonging to others, they stripped them of the yokes of oxen, the cattle, and the beasts of burden that were on hand for the work, and all kinds of implements with which the land is tilled and the crops gathered.

[6] ὁ δὲ κωλύων τὴν καταγραφὴν δημάρχος οὐθὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν ἦν δυνατός. [p. 263] οὐδενὸς γὰρ εἰσι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν κύριοι: περιγέγραπται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπαυλισθῆναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς θέμις, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἓνα καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαι θύουσιν αἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαὶ κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους τῷ Διὶ θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσαι.

[6] And the tribune who opposed the levy was no longer able to do anything. For those who are invested with the tribuneship possess no authority over anything outside the city, since their jurisdiction is limited by the city walls, and it is not lawful for them even to pass a night away from the city, save on a single occasion, when all the magistrates of the commonwealth ascended the Alban Mount and offer up a common sacrifice to Jupiter in behalf of the Latin nation.

[7] τοῦτο διαμένει μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων τὸ ἔθος, τὸ μηθενὸς εἶναι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημάρχους κυρίους: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας, ὃς μέγιστος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων ἐγένετο, ἡ κινήσασα πρόφασις ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἄλλαις δόξασα μειζων εἶναι καὶ μόνη ἀποχρῶσα διαστῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἦδε ἦν, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων

τινὲς ἐξεληλάσθαι τῆς πόλεως αἰτιώμενοι βία πρὸς τοῦ τότε κατέχοντος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μηδενὸς εἶεν ἔτι κύριοι, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέχοντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅποι τράπωνται, κατέφυγον.

[7] This custom by which the tribunes possess no authority over anything outside the city continues to our times. And indeed the motivating cause, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans which occurred in my day and was greater than any war before it, the cause which seemed more important and sufficient to divide the commonwealth, was this — that some of the tribunes, complaining that they had been forcibly driven out of the city by the general who was then in control of affairs in Italy, in order to deprive them henceforth of any power, fled to the general who commanded the armies in Gaul, as having no place to turn to.

[8] ὁ δὲ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ χρησάμενος, ὡς ἀρχῇ δήμου παναγεῖ τὸ κράτος ἀφαιρεθείη παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τῶν προγόνων αὐτὸς ὁσίως καὶ σὺν δίκῃ βοηθῶν αὐτὸς τε σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήγαγε.

[8] And the latter, availing himself of this excuse and pretending to come with right and justice to the aid of the sacrosanct magistracy of the people which had been deprived of its authority contrary to the oaths of the forefathers, entered the city himself in arms and restored the men to their office.

[1] τότε δ' οὖν οἱ δημόται τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲν ἀπολαύοντες ὑφεῖντο τοῦ θράσους καὶ προσιόντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας τεταγμένοις [p. 264] τὸν ἱερὸν ὄρκον ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς σημαίας κατεγράφοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐλλειπὲς τῶν λόχων ἐξεπληρώθη, διεκκληρώσαντο τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν στρατοπέδων οἱ ὕπατοι: καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποσταλεῖσαν δύναμιν παρελάμβανεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος τὴν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις στρατοπεδεύουσαν ἄγων τοὺς νεωστὶ καταγραφέντας.

[88.1] But on the occasion of which we are now speaking the plebeians, receiving no assistance from the tribunician power, moderated their boldness, and coming to the persons appointed to raise the levies, took the sacred oath and enlisted under their standards. When the gaps in the several centuries had been filled, the consuls drew lots for the command of the legions; as a result, Fabius took over the army which had been sent to the assistance of the allies, while Valerius received the one which lay encamped in the country of the Volscians, and took with him the new levies.

[2] μαθοῦσι δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐδόκει στρατιάν θ' ἑτέραν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιήσασθαι χωρίῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν αὐτῶν ἔτι προπετὲς κινδύνευμα ὡς πρότερον ὑπομένειν. ἐγεγόνει ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων, ἀμφοτέροις τε παρέστη τοῖς

ἡγεμόσι τῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοία περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη, τὰ ἑαυτῶν φυλάττειν ἐρύματα, ἐάν τις ἐπιῇ, τοῖς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς βία κρατηθησομένοις μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν.

[2] When the enemy were informed of his arrival, they resolved to send for another army and to encamp in a place of greater strength, and no longer out of contempt for the Romans to expose themselves to reckless danger, as before. These resolutions were quickly carried out; and the commanders of the two armies both came to the same decision regarding the war, namely, to defend their own entrenchments if they were attacked, but to make no attempt upon those of the enemy in the expectation of carrying them by assault.

[3] καὶ ὁ διὰ μέσου χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων τριβόμενος; οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς τέλος γε διαμένειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἐδυνήθησαν. ὅποτε γὰρ ἐπισιτισμοῦ χάριν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεῖων τινός, ὧν ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει, μοῖρᾳ τις ἀποσταλεῖη τῆς στρατιᾶς, συμβολαὶ τ' αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ πληγαί, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ ἀεὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔμενε: πολλάκις δὲ συμπλεκομένων ἀλλήλοις ἀπέθνησκόν τ' οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τραυματίαι πλείους ἐγίνοντο.

[3] And meanwhile not a little time was wasted, because of their fear of making any attack upon each other. Nevertheless, they were not able to abide by betray resolutions to the end. For whenever any detachments were sent out to bring in provisions or anything else that was necessary to the two armies, there were encounters and blows were exchanged, and the victory did not always rest with the same side; and since they frequently clashed, not a few men were killed and more wounded.

[4] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἀπαναλούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδεμία ποθὲν ἐπικουρία [p. 265] ἐξεπλήρου, τὸ δὲ τῶν Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἠκόντων πολλὴν αὖξησιν ἐλάμβανε: καὶ τοῦτω ἐπαρθέντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν δύναμιν ὡς εἰς μάχην.

[4] For the Romans the wastage of their army was made good by no replacements from any quarter; but the army of the Volscians was greatly increased by the arrival of one effort after another, and their generals, elated at this, led out the army from the camp ready for battle.

[1] ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ παραταξαμένων ἰσχυρὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἴση πάντων χρωμένων προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἐκάστου παρ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον τιθεμένου:

[89.1] When the Romans also came out and drew up their forces, a sharp engagement ensued, not only of the horse, but of the foot and the light-armed troops as well, all showing equal ardour and experience and every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone.

[2] ὥς δὲ νεκροὶ τ' αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐν ᾧ ἐτάχθησαν χωρίῳ, πεσόντες ἔκειντο, καὶ ἡμιθνήτες ἔτι πλείους τῶν νεκρῶν, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἔτι διαμένοντες ὀλίγοι ἦσαν, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτοι δρᾶν τὰ πολέμου ἔργα δυνάμενοι βαρυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων τὰς εὐωνύμους χεῖρας διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμπεπηγόντων βελῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐόντων ὑπομένειν τὰς προσβολάς, τετραμμένων δὲ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων τὰς ἀκμάς, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ κατεαγόντων ὅλων, οἷς οὐθὲν ἔτι ἦν χρῆσθαι, τοῦ τε κόπου, ὅς δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἀγωνιζομένοις αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, παραλύνοντος τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἀσθενεῖς ποιοῦντος, ἰδρῶτος δὲ καὶ δίψης καὶ ἄσθματος, οἷα ἐν πνιγρᾷ ὥρᾳ ἔτους τοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνιζομένοις συμπίπτειν φιλεῖ, παρ' ἀμφοτέροις γινομένων, τέλος οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἀξιόλογον ἢ μάχη, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς [p. 266] ἀμφοτέροι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνακαλουμένων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας: καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἀντικαθήμενοι παρεφύλαττον ἀλλήλων τὰς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων γινομένας ἐξόδους.

[2] At last, however, the bodies of the dead on both sides lay in great numbers where they had fallen at the posts assigned to them, and the men who were barely alive were even more numerous than the dead, while those who still continued the fight and faced its dangers were but few, and even these were unable to perform the tasks of war; for their shields, because of the multitude of spears that had stuck in them, weighed down their left arms and would not permit them to sustain the enemy's onsets, and their daggers had their edges blunted or in some cases were entirely shattered and no longer of any use, and the great weariness of the men, who had fought the whole day, slackened their sinews and weakened their blows, and sweat, thirst, and want of breath afflicted both armies, as is wont to happen when men fight long in the stifling heat of summer. Thus the battle came to an end that was anything but remarkable; but both sides, as soon as their generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, gladly returned to their camps. After that neither army any longer ventured out for battle, but lying over against one another, they kept watch on each other's movements when any detachments went out for supplies.

[3] ἔδοξε μέντοι καὶ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολὺς, ὥς δυναμένη τότε νικᾶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων δύναιμις ἐκουσία μηδὲν ἦν ἐργάσασθαι λαμπρὸν διὰ μῖσός τε τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ ὀργήν, ἣν εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ τῆς κληρουχίας. αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν ὑπάτον ὥς οὐχ ἱκανὸν στρατηγεῖν ἡτιῶντο, γράμματα πέμποντες ὥς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἑαυτῶν ἔκαστοι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γινόμενα τοιαῦτ' ἦν: ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ δαιμόνια σημεῖα ἐφαίνετο δηλωτικὰ θείου χόλου κατὰ τε φωνὰς καὶ ὄψεις ἀήθεις.

[3] It was believed, however, according to the report common in Rome, that the tendency, though it was then in their power to conquer, deliberately refused to perform any brilliant action because of hatred for the consul and the

resentment they felt against the patricians for having played a tricking of them in the matter of the allotment of land. Indeed, the soldiers themselves, in letters they sent to their friends, accused the consul of being unfit to command.

While these things were happening in the camp, in Rome itself many prodigies in the way of unusual voices and sights occurred as indications of divine wrath.

[4] πάντα δ' εἰς τοῦτο συνέτεινεν, ὥς οἱ τε μάντιες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ συνενέγκαντες τὰς ἐμπειρίας ἀπεφαίνοντο, ὅτι θεῶν χολοῦσθαι τινες οὐ κομίζονται τὰς νομίμους τιμὰς οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ ὁσίως ἐπιτελουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν. ζήτησις δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὴ ἐκ πάντων ἐγένετο, καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ μήνυσις ἀποδίδοται τοῖς ἱεροφάνταις, ὅτι τῶν παρθένων μία τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, Ὀπιμία ὄνομα αὐτῇ, τὴν παρθενίαν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα μιαίνει τὰ ἱερά.

[4] And they all pointed to this conclusion, as the augurs and the interpreters of religious matters declared, after pooling their experiences, that some of the gods were angered because they were not receiving their customary honours, as their rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner. Thereupon strict inquiry was made by everyone, and at last information was given to the pontiffs that one of the virgins who guarded the sacred fire, Opimia by name, had lost her virginity and was polluting the holy rites.

[5] οἱ δ' ἔκ τε βασάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξεων [p. 267] μαθόντες, ὅτι τὸ μνησόμενον ἦν ἀδικημα ἀληθές, αὐτὴν μὲν τῆς κορυφῆς ἀφελόμενοι τὰ στέμματα καὶ πομπεῦσαντες δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐντὸς τείχους ζῶσαν κατῶρυξαν: δύο δὲ τοὺς ἐξελεγχθέντας διαπραξάσθαι τὴν φθορὰν μαστιγώσαντες ἐν φανερῷ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καλὰ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰμαντεύματα ὡς ἀφεικότων αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν τὸν χόλον, ἐγένετο.

[5] The pontiffs, having by tortures and other proofs found that the information was true, took from her head the fillets, and solemnly conducting her through the Forum, buried her alive inside the city walls. As for the two men who were convicted of violating her, they ordered them to be scourged in public and then put to death at once. Thereupon the sacrifices and the auguries became favourable, as if the gods had given up their anger against them.

[1] ὥς δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν χρόνος, ἐλθόντων τῶν ὑπάτων πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ παράταξις ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους περὶ τῶν παραληψομένων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐβούλοντο τοὺς δραστηρίους τε καὶ ἥκιστα δημοτικούς ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπάτειαν προαγαγεῖν: καὶ μετῆει τὴν ἀρχὴν κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου τοῦ πολεμιοτάτου τῷ δήμῳ δοκοῦντος εἶναι, μεστὸς αὐθαδείας ἀνὴρ καὶ θράσους, ἑταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις ἀπάντων πλεῖστον τῶν καθ'

ἡλικίαν δυνάμενος· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ τῶν πεῖραν ἥδη δεδωκότων τῆς ἐπιεικείας τοὺς προνοησομένους τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ὀνομάζων ἡξίου ποιεῖν ὑπάτους. αἱ τ' ἀρχαὶ διειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἀνέλυσον ἐξουσίας.

[90.1] When the time for the election of magistrates arrived and the consuls had returned to Rome, there was great rivalry and marshalling of forces between the populace and the patricians concerning the persons who were to receive the chief magistracy. For the patricians desired to promote to the consulship those of the younger men who were energetic and least inclined to favour the plebeians; and at their behest the son of the Appius Claudius who was regarded as the greatest enemy of the plebeians stood for the office, a man full of arrogance and daring and by reason of his friends and clients the most powerful man of his age. The populace, on their part, named from among the older men who had already given proof of their reasonableness those who were likely to consult the common good, and desired to make them consuls. The magistrates also were divided and sought to invalidate one another's authority.

[2] ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὕπατοι καλοῖεν τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀποδείξοντες τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπάτους, οἱ δὴμαρχοι τοῦ κωλύειν ὄντες κύριοι διέλυσον τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια, ὁπότε δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι [p. 268] καλοῖεν ὡς ἀρχαιρεσιάσοντα τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τοὺς λόχους καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδιδόναι. κατηγορίαι τ' ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀψιμαχίαι καθ' ἐταιρίας συνισταμένων, ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τινὰς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχεῖν τὴν στάσιν τῶν ὀπλων.

[2] For whenever the consuls called an assembly of the multitude, to announce the candidates for the consulship, the tribunes, by virtue of their power to intervene, would dismiss the comitia; and whenever the tribunes, in turn, called an assembly of the people to elect magistrates, the consuls, who had the power of calling the centuries together and of taking their votes, would not permit them to proceed. There were mutual accusations and continual skirmishes between them, each side uniting in factional groups, with the result that even angry blows were exchanged and the sedition stopped little short of armed violence.

[3] ταῦτα μαθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ πολὺν ἐσκόπει χρόνον, ὃ τι χρήσεται τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυναμένη τὸν δῆμον οὔτ' εἴξαι βουλομένη. ἦν δ' ἡ μὲν αὐθαδεστέρα γνώμη δικτάτορα ἐλέσθαι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἕνεκα, ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται κράτιστον εἶναι· τὸν δὲ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς τε νοσοποιοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἡμάρτηται ταῖς πρότερον ἀρχαῖς ἐπανορθώσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὃν βούλεται, καταστησάμενον ἀνδράσι τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ἀρχάς.

[3] The senate, being informed of all this, deliberated for a long time how it should deal with the situation, being neither able to force the populace to submit or willing to yield. The bolder opinion in that body was for appointing a dictator, whomever they should considered to be the best, for the purpose of the election, and that the one receiving this power should banish the trouble-makers from the state, and if the former magistrates had been guilty of any error, that he should correct it, and then, after establishing the form of government he desired, should hand over the magistracies to the best men.

[4] ἡ δ' ἐπεικεστέρα μεσοβασιλεῖς ἐλέσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἄνδρας, οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅπως κράτισται γενήσονται, προνοηθῆναι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥνπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐκλιπόντων ἐγίνοντο. ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πλειόνων ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν μεσοβασιλεὺς Αὐλὸς Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος:

[4] The more moderate opinion was for choosing oldest and most honoured senators as interreges to have charge of the election and see that it was carried out in the best manner, just as elections were formerly carried out upon the demise of their kings. The latter opinion having been approved by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was appointed interrex by the senate and all the other magistracies were suspended.

[5] αἱ δ' ἄλλαι κατελύθησαν ἀρχαί. οὗτος ἐπιτροπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ἀστασίαστον ὅσας ἐξῆν ἡμέρας ἔτερον ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν, Σπόριον Λάρκιον. κάκεῖνος συγκαλέσας τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν [p. 269] καὶ τὰς ψήφους κατὰ τὰ τιμήματα ἀναδούς, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων εὐδοκήσεως ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους, Γαῖον Ἰούλιον, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Ἰουλον, ἐκ τῶν φιλοδήμων, καὶ Κόιντον Φάβιον Καίσιωνος υἱὸν τὸ δεῦτερον ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν.

[5] After he had administered the commonwealth without any sedition for as many days as it was lawful, he appointed another interrex, according to their custom, naming Spurius Larcius. And Larcius, summoning the centuriate assembly and taking their votes according to the valuation of their property, named for consuls, with the approval of both sides, Gaius Julius, surnamed Iulus, one of the men friendly to the populace and, to serve for the second time, Quintus Fabius, the son of Caeso, who belonged to the aristocratic party.

[6] καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ πεπονθῶς εἶασε τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δεῦτερον, μισῶν τὸν Ἄππιον καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἀτιμασθῆναι ἐδόκει σφόδρα ἠδόμενος: τοῖς δ' ἐν τέλει διαπεπραγμένοις δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνδύσοντα τῷ δήμῳ μαλακὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν παρελθεῖν, κατὰ γνώμην ἐδόκει κεχωρηκέναι τὰ τῆς διχοστασίας.

[6] The populace, who had suffered naught at his hands in the former consulship, permitted him to obtain this power for the second time because

they hated Appius and were greatly pleased that he seemed to have been deprived of an honour; while those in authority, having succeeded in advancing to the consulship a man of action and one who would show no weakness toward the populace, thought the dissension had taken a course favourable to their designs.

[1] ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς Αἰκανοὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λατίνων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἀπῆλασαν ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα πολλὰ ληστρικῇ ἐφόδῳ χρησάμενοι: Τυρρηνῶν δ' οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς πολλὴν ἡδίκησαν προνομαῖς. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸν μὲν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον εἰς ἕτερον ἀναβαλομένης χρόνον, παρὰ δὲ Οὐιεντανῶν δίκας αἰτεῖν ψηφισαμένης, Αἰκανοὶ μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησε, καὶ οὐθεὶς ὁ κωλύσων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐφαίνετο, θράσει ἐπαρθέντες ἀλογίστῳ ληστρικὴν μὲν οὐκέτι στρατείαν ἔγνωσαν ποιεῖσθαι, δυνάμει δὲ βαρεῖα ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρτώνα κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσι: καὶ διαρπάσαντες τὰ τ' ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆραν εὐπορίαν πολλὴν ἀγόμενοι.

[91.1] During the consulship of these men the Aequians, making a raid into the territory of the Latins after the manner of brigands, carried off a great number of slaves and cattle; and the people of Tyrrhenia called the Veientes injured a large part of the Roman territory by their forays. The senate voted to put off the war against the Aequians to another time, but to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The Aequians, accordingly, since their first attempts had been successful and there appeared to be no one to prevent their further operations, grew elated with an unreasoning boldness, and resolving no longer to send out a mere marauding expedition, marched with a large force to Ortona and took it by storm; then, after plundering everything both in the country and in the city, they returned home with rich booty.

[2] Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ [p. 270] πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἤκοντας ἀποκρινάμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶησαν οἱ προνομεύοντες τὴν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν, ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐθὲν τῶν δικαίων ποιήσαντες: καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπιτυχάνουσι τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς λείαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἄγουσι. ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα πολεμεῖν τ' ἐψηφίσατο Οὐιεντανοῖς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατίαν.

[2] As for the Veientes, they returned answer to the ambassadors who came from Rome that those who were ravaging their country were not from their city, but from the other Tyrrhenian cities, and then dismissed them without giving them any satisfaction; and the ambassadors fell in with the Veientes as these were driving off booty from the Roman territory. The senate, learning of these things from the ambassadors, voted to declare war against the Veientes and that both consuls should lead out the army.

[3] ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἀμφιλογία, καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ τὸν

πόλεμον οὐκ ἔῶντες ἐκφέρειν τῆς τε κληρουχίας ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἧς γε πέμπτον ἔτος ἐψηφισμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου κενῇ πιστεύσαντες ἐλπίδι ἐξηπάτηντο, καὶ κοινὸν ἀποφαίνοντες πόλεμον, εἰ κοινῇ χρήσεται γνώμη πᾶσα Τυρρηνία τοῖς ὁμοεθέσι

[3] There was a controversy, to be sure, over the decree, and there were many who opposed engaging in the war and reminded the plebeians of the allotment of land, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, though the senate had passed the decree four years before; and they declared that there would be a general war if all Tyrrhenia by common consent should assist their countrymen.

[4] βοηθοῦσα. οὐ μὴν ἴσχυσάν γ' οἱ τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοι, ἀλλ' ἐκύρωσε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ τῆς βουλῆς δόγμα τῇ Σπορίου Λαρκίου γνώμῃ τε καὶ παρακλήσει χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὕπατοι: στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ μείναντες ἡμέρας συχνάς, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀντεξῆγον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰς δυνάμεις, προνομεύσαντες αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ὅσῃν ἐδύναντο πλείστην ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. ἄλλο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη.

[4] However, the arguments of the seditious speakers did not prevail, but the populace also confirmed the decree of the senate, following the opinion and advice of Spurius Larcius. Thereupon the consuls marched out with their forces and encamped apart at no great distance from the city; but after they had remained there a good many days and the enemy did not lead their forces out to meet them, they ravaged as large a part of their country as they could and then returned home with the army. Nothing else worthy of notice happened during their consulship.

BOOK IX

[1] τῷ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει διαφορᾷς γενομένης τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθησομένων ὑπάτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠξιοῦν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγεῖν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῷ κεχαρισμένων· γνωσιμαχήσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος τέλος συνέπεισαν ἀλλήλους ἀφ' ἑκάστης μερίδος ὑπατον αἰρεθῆναι· καὶ ἀποδείκνυται Καίσιων μὲν Φάβιος τὸ δεῦτερον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ τὸν Κάσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι κρίνας, Σπόριος δὲ Φούριος ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι [p. 272] Καλλιάρχου, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐστράτευσε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ

[1.1] The following year, a dispute having arisen between the populace and the senate concerning the men who were to be elected consuls, the senators demanding that both men promoted to that magistracy should be of the aristocratic party and the populace demanding that they be chosen from among such as were agreeable to them, after an obstinate struggle they finally convinced each other that a consul should be chosen from each party. Thus Caeso Fabius, who had accused Cassius of aiming at a tyranny, was elected consul, for the second time, on the part of the senate, and Spurius Furius on the part of the populace, in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, Calliades being archon at Athens, at the time when Xerxes made his expedition against Greece.

[2] τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἄρτι δὲ παρειληφόντων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν Λατίνων τε πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν δεόμενοι πέμψαι σφίσι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μετὰ δυνάμει, ὃς οὐκ ἔασει προσωτέρῳ χωρεῖν τὴν Αἰκανῶν καταφρόνησιν, καὶ Τυρρηνία πᾶσα ἠγγέλλετο κεκινημένη καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ χωρήσουσα εἰς πόλεμον. συνήχθη γὰρ εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ Οὐιεντανῶν δεηθέντων συνάρασθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων μαίων πολέμου, τέλος ἐξήνεγκεν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Τυρρηγῶν μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας· καὶ ἐγένετο χεῖρ ἀξιόμαχος ἡ τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς ἐκουσίως τοῦ πολέμου συναραμένη. ταῦτα μαθοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων ἔδοξε στρατιάς τε καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξεῖναι, τὸν μὲν Αἰκανοῖς τε πολεμήσοντα καὶ Λατίνοις τιμωρὸν ἐσόμενον, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ

[2] They had no sooner taken office than ambassadors of the Latins came to the senate asking them to send to them one of the consuls with an army to put a check to the insolence of the Aequians, and at the same time word was brought that all Tyrrhenia was aroused and would soon go to war. For that nation had been convened in a general assembly and at the urgent solicitation of the Veientes for aid in their war against the Romans had passed a decree that any of the Tyrrhenians who so desired might take part in the campaign; and it was a sufficiently strong body of men that voluntarily aided the Veientes in the war. Upon learning of this the authorities in Rome resolved to raise armies and also that both consuls should take the field, one to make war

on the Aequians and to aid the Latins, and the other to march with his forces against Tyrrenhia.

[3] Τυρρηνίας ἄξοντα τὰς δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραττε δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος τῶν δημάρχων εἷς· καὶ συνάγων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ὁσημέραι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις ἀπήτει παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔφη συγχωρήσειν οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ πόλεμον οὔτε τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ψηφίζομένων ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας ἀποδείξωσι πρότερον ὀριστὰς τῆς δημοσίας χώρας, καὶ διέλωσι τὴν γῆν, ὡς [p. 273]

[3] All this was opposed by Spurius Icilius, one of the tribunes, who, assembling the populace every day, demanded of the senate the performance of its promises relating to the allotment of land and said that he would allow none of their decrees, whether they concerned military or civil affairs, to take effect unless they should first appoint the decemvir so fix the boundaries of the public land and divide it among the people as they had promised.

[4] ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ. ἀπορουμένη δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἀμηχανούσῃ, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὑποτίθεται σκοπεῖν, ὅπως διαστήσεται τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων πρὸς αὐτόν, διδάσκων, ὅτι τὸν κωλύοντα καὶ ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς βουλῆς ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστι παῦσαι τῆς δυναστείας, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἕτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχόντων τάναντία πράττῃ καί, οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐμποδῶν γένηται,

[4] When the senate was at a loss and did not know what to do, Appius Claudius suggested that they should consider how the other tribunes might be brought to dissent from Icilius, pointing out that there is no other method of putting an end to the power of a tribune who opposes and obstructs the decrees of the senate, since his person is sacred and this authority of his legal, than for another of the men of equal rank and possessing the same power to oppose him and to order to be done what the other tries to obstruct.

[5] ταῦτα κωλύη. συνεβούλευέ τε τοῖς αὖθις παραληφόμενοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπάτοις τοῦτο πράττειν καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἔξουσί τινας ἀεὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἰκείους σφίσι καὶ φίλους· μίαν εἶναι λέγων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀρχείου κατάλυσιν, ἐὰν στασιάζωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες.

[5] And he advised all succeeding consuls to do this and to consider how they might always have some of the tribunes well disposed and friendly to them, saying that only method of destroying the power of the college was to sow dissension among its members.

[1] ταύτην εἰσηγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου δόξαντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς παραινεῖν οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατώτατοι, πολλῇ θεραπείᾳ διεπράξαντο τοὺς τέτταρας ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων οἰκείους τῇ βουλῇ

[2.1] When Appius had expressed this opinion, both the consuls and the more influential of the others, believing his advice to be sound, courted the other four tribunes so effectually as to make them well disposed toward the senate.

[2] γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν λόγῳ μεταπειθεῖν τὸν Ἰκίλιον ἐπεχείρουν ἀποστῆναι τῶν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολιτευμάτων, ἕως οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι τέλος· ὡς δ' ἦναντιοῦτο καὶ διώμνυτο λόγον τε τὸν αὐθαδέστερον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ δήμου παρόντος, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν βούλοιο Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους κρατήσαντας [p. 274] τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδεῖν, ἢ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν χώραν τὴν δημοσίαν ἀφεῖναι, δόξαντες ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι καλὴν πρὸς αὐθαδεῖαν τοσαύτην τοῦ τάναντία λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν λόγον ἠδέως δεξαμένου, κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἔφησαν, καὶ φανερώς ἔπραττον, ὅσα τῇ βουλῇ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοκοίη:

[2] These for a time endeavoured by argument to persuade Icilius to desist from his course with respect to the allotment of land till the wars should come to an end. But when he kept opposing them and swore that he would continue to do so, and had the assurance to make a rather insolent remark in the presence of the populace to the effect that he had rather see the Tyrrhenians and their other enemies masters of the city than leave unpunished those who were occupying public land, they thought they had got an excellent opportunity for opposing so great insolence both by their words and by their acts, and since even the populace showed displeasure at his remark, they said they interposed their veto; and they openly pursued such measures as were agreeable to both the senate and the consuls. Thus Icilius being deserted by his colleagues, no longer had any authority.

[3] μονωθεῖς δ' Ἰκίλιος οὐδενὸς ἔτι κύριος ἦν. μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡ στρατιὰ κατεγράφετο καὶ, ὅσων ἔδει τῷ πολέμῳ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ: καὶ διὰ τάχους οἱ ὑπατοὶ διακληρωσάμενοι τὰ στρατεύματα ἐξήεσαν, Σπόριος μὲν Φούριος ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις, Καίσιων δὲ Φάβιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς.

[3] After this the army was raised and everything that was necessary for the war was supplied, partly from public and partly from private sources, with all possible alacrity; and the consuls, having drawn lots for the armies, set out in haste, Spurius Furius marching against the cities of the Aequians and Caeso Fabius against the Tyrrhenians.

[4] Σπορίῳ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρησεν οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς στρατείας ἐξεγένετο χρήματά τε καὶ σώματα λαβεῖν. ἐπῆλθε γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσαν ὅσην οἱ πολεμίοι χώραν κατεῖχον, ἄγων καὶ φέρων, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπαντα ἐχαρίσατο.

[4] In the case of Spurius everything succeeded according to his wish, the

enemy not daring to come to an engagement, so that in this expedition he had the opportunity of taking much booty in both money and slaves. For he overran almost all the territory that the enemy possessed, carrying and driving off everything, and he gave all the spoils to the soldiers.

[5] δοκῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον εἶναι φιλόδημος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας ἐθεράπευσε τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ, ἐπειδὴ παρήλθεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς στρατείας, ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν ὀλόκληρόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῆ χρήμασιν εὖπορον κατέστησε τὴν πατρίδα.

[5] Though he had been regarded even before this time as a friend of the people, he gained the favour of the multitude still more by his conduct in this command; and when the season for military operations was over, he brought his army home intact and unscathed, and made the fatherland rich with the money he had taken.

[1] Καίσιων δὲ Φάβιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, οὐδενὸς [p. 275] χεῖρον στρατηγήσας, ἀφηρέθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔπαινον παρ' οὐδέν ἁμάρτημα ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ δημοτικὸν οὐκ εἶχε κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ, ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὑπάτον Κάσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι προσαγγείλας ἀπέκτεινεν.

[3.1] Caeso Fabius, the other consul, though as a general his performance was second to none, was nevertheless deprived of the praise that his achievements deserved, not through any fault of his own, but because he did not enjoy the goodwill of the plebeians from the time when he had denounced and put to death the consul Cassius for aiming at a tyranny.

[2] οὐτε γὰρ ὅσα δέοι σὺν τάχει στρατηγῷ κελεύσαντι τοὺς ὑπηκόους πειθαρχεῖν, οὐθ' ὅσα τῷ προθύμῳ καὶ πρέποντι χρησαμένους βίᾳ κατασχεῖν, οὐθ' ὅσα λάθρα τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων χωρία εἰς πλεονεξίαν εὐθετα σφετερίσασθαι, οὐτ' ἄλλο πράττειν οὐδὲν ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, ἐξ οὗ τιμὴν τινα ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν ἐξοίσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν αὐτῶν, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα διετέλουν, ἐκείνῳ θ' ἦττον λυπηρὰ ἦν καὶ τῇ πόλει βλάβης οὐ μεγάλης ἄξια, ὃ δὲ τελευτῶντες ἐξειργάσαντο κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὸν ἦνεγκε καὶ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην ἀμφοῖν.

[2] For they never showed any alacrity either in those matters in which men under authority ought to yield a prompt obedience to the orders of their general, or when they should through eagerness and a sense of duty seize positions by force, or when it was necessary to occupy advantageous positions without the knowledge of the enemy, or in anything else from which the general would derive any honour and good repute. Most of their conduct, to be sure, by which they were continually insulting their general was neither very troublesome to him nor the occasion of any great harm to the commonwealth; but their final action brought no small danger and great disgrace to both.

[3] γενομένης γὰρ παρατάξεως ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῶν λόφων, ἐφ’ οἷς ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἀμφοτέροι, πάσῃ τῇ παρ’ ἑκατέρων δυνάμει, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναγκάσαντες ἄρξαι φυγῆς, οὐτ’ ἠκολούθησαν ἀπιοῦσι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ ἐπικελεύοντος οὔτε παραμεινάντες ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τὸν χάρακα ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ’ ἑάσαντες ἀτελεῖς ἔργον καλὸν ἀπῆσαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεῖαν.

[3] For when the two armies had arrayed themselves in battle order in the space between the hills on which their camps were placed, using all the forces on either side, and the Romans had performed many gallant deeds and forced the enemy to begin flight, they neither pursued them as they retreated, notwithstanding the repeated exhortations of the general, nor were they willing to remain and think the enemy’s camp by siege; on the contrary, they left a glorious action unfinished and returned to their own camp.

[4] ἐπιχειρησάντων δ’ αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ὕπατον ἀναγορεῦσαι τινων μέγα [p. 276] ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι κακιζούσῃ τῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς πολλοὺς σφῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπολωλεκότα δι’ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ στρατηγεῖν: καὶ ἄλλῃ πολλῇ βλασφημίᾳ καὶ ἀγανακτῆσει χρῆσάμενοι λύειν τὸν χάρακα καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤξιουν, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἐσομένους, ἐὰν ἐπίωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, δευτέραν ὑπομεῖναι μάχην.

[4] And when some of the soldiers attempted to salute the consul as imperator, all the rest joined in a loud outcry, reproaching and taunting their commander with the loss of many of their brave comrades through his want of ability to command; and after many other insulting and indignant remarks they demanded that he break camp and lead them back to Rome, pretending that they would be unable, if the enemy attacked them, to sustain a second battle.

[5] καὶ οὔτε μεταδιδάσκοντος ἐπειθοντο τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, οὐτ’ ὀλοφυρομένου καὶ ἰκετεύοντος ἔπασχόν τι πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις, οὐτ’ ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἀνατάσεις, ὅποτε καὶ ταύταις χρήσαιτο, δι’ εὐλαβείας ἐλάβανον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντα τραχυνόμενοι ταῦτα διέμενον. τοσαύτη δ’ ἀναρχία καὶ καταφρόνησις τοῦ ἡγεμόνος πᾶσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν παρέστη, ὥστε περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξαναστάντες τὰς τε σκηνὰς ἔλυσον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀνελάβανον καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐβάσταζον οὐδενὸς κελεύσαντος.

[5] And they neither gave heed when their commander endeavoured to show them the error of their course, nor were moved by his entreaties when he turned to lamentations and supplications, nor were they alarmed by the violence of his threats when he made use of these too; but they continued exasperated in the face of all these appeals. Indeed, some of them were possessed with such a spirit of disobedience and such contempt for their general that they rose up about midnight and without orders from anyone proceeded to strike their tents, take up their arms, and carry off their wounded.

[1] ταῦθ' ὁ στρατηγὸς μαθὼν ἠναγκάσθη πᾶσι δοῦναι τὸ παράγγελμα τῆς ἐξόδου δεισας τὴν ἀναρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ θράσος. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ φυγῆς ἀνασωζόμενοι τάχει πολλῶ συνάπτουσι τῇ πόλει περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγνοήσαντες, ὅτι φίλιον ἦν στράτευμα, ὅπλα τ' ἐνεδύοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνεκάλουν, ἢ τ' ἄλλη πόλιν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, ταραχῆς ἐγεγονέι μεστή καὶ θορύβου· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνέωξαν αὐτοῖς τὰς πύλας οἱ φύλακες, ἢ λαμπράν τε ἡμέραν γενέσθαι καὶ γνωσθῆναι τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα. [p. 277]

[4.1] When the general was informed of this, he was forced to give the command for all to depart, so great was his fear of their disobedience and audacity. And the soldiers retired with as great precipitation as if they were saving themselves from a rout, and reached the city about daybreak. The guards upon the walls, not knowing that it was an army of friends, began to arm themselves and call out to one another, while all the rest of the city was full of confusion and turmoil, as if some great disaster had occurred; and the guards did not open the gates to them till it was broad day and they could distinguish their own army.

[2] ὥστε πρὸς τῇ αἰσχύνῃ, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα ἠνέγκαντο, καὶ κίνδυνον οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον αὐτοὺς ἀναρρῖψαι, σκότους ἀπὸντας διὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἀτάκτως. εἰ γ' οὖν τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ παντὸς ἀπιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἠκολούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσεν ἅπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τὴν στρατιάν. τῆς δ' ἀλόγου ταύτης ἀπάρσεως ἡ φυγῆς τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μῖσος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, αἵτιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ φθόνος τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς, ἵνα μὴ θριάμβου καταγωγῇ

[2] Thus, in addition to the ignominy they incurred in deserting their camp, they also exposed themselves to great danger in returning in the dark through the enemy's country, without observing any order. Certainly, if the Tyrrhenians had learned of it and had followed close on their heels as they departed, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. The motive of this unaccountable withdrawal or flight was, as I have said, the hatred of the populace against the general and the begrudging of any honour to him, lest he should be granted a triumph and so acquire the greatest glory.

[3] κοσμηθεὶς ἐπιφανέστατος γένηται. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἄπαρσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς τ' αὐτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν καὶ τραυματίας ἀράμενοι ἀπῆνεγκαν τὰς τε καταλειφθείσας ἐν τῷ χάρακι παρασκευάς — πολλὰ δ' ἦσαν ὡς εἰς χρόνιον παρεσκευασμένα πόλεμον — διεφόρησαν, καὶ ὡς δὴ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐγγυτάτω λεηλατήσαντες ἀπῆγον τὴν στρατιάν.

[3] The next day the Tyrrhenians, having learned of the withdrawal of the Romans, stripped their dead, took up and carried off their wounded, and

plundered all the stores they had left in their camp, which were very abundant as having been prepared for a long war; then, like conquerors, they laid waste the adjacent territory of the enemy, after which they returned home with their army.

[1] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι, Γνάϊος Μάλλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος τὸ δεῦτερον ἄρχειν αἵρεθείς, ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς ποιησαμένης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν, ὅσον ἂν πλεῖστον δυνηθῶσι, προὔθηκαν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τὸν κατάλογον ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς. γινομένου δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ κωλύσει τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐνὸς τῶν δημάρχων, Τεβερίου Ποντοφικίου καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ψήφισμα ἀνακαλουμένου, θεραπεύσαντες τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ [p. 278] τινας, ὥσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὕπατοι, διέστησαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ.

[5.1] The succeeding consuls, Gnaeus Manlius and Marcus Fabius (the latter chosen for the second time), in pursuance of a decree of the senate ordering them to march against the Veientes with as large an army as they could raise, appointed a day for levying the troops. When Tiberius Pontificius, one of the tribunes, opposed them by forbidding the levy and called upon them to carry out the decree relating to the allotment of land, they courted some of his colleagues, as their predecessors had done, and thus divided the college of tribunes, after which they proceeded to carry out the will of the senate with full liberty.

[2] γενομένης δὲ τῆς καταγραφῆς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξήρσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, δύο μὲν ἐκάτερος ἄγων Ῥωμαίων τάγματα τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καταγραφέντων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ ταύτης χεῖρα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποίκων τε καὶ ὑπηκῶν ἀποσταλεῖσαν. ἀφίκετο δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων ἔθνους διπλάσιον τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπικουρικόν. οὐ μὴν ἐχρήσαντό γε παντί: πολλὴν δὲ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἶδέναι φήσαντες τῆς προθυμίας ἀπέλυσαν τῆς ἀποσταλείσης δυνάμεως τὴν ἡμίσειαν.

[2] The levy being completed in a few days, the consuls took the field against the enemy, each of them having with him two legions of Romans raised in the city itself a force no less numerous sent by their colonies and subjects. Indeed, there came to them from the Latin and the Hernican nations double the number of auxiliaries they had called for; they did not, however, make use of this entire force, by stating that they were very grateful for their zeal, they dismissed one half of the army that had been sent.

[3] ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τρίτον ἐκ δυεῖν ταγμάτων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ στρατὸν, φύλακα τῆς χώρας ἐσόμενον, εἴ τις ἐτέρα δύναμις πολέμιων ἐκ τοῦ ἄδοκῆτου φανεῖη: τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, οἷς ἔτι δύναις ἦν ὄπλων χρήσεως, ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπον ἄκρας τε καὶ τείχη φυλάζοντας.

[3] They also drew up before the city a third army, consisting of two legions of the younger men, to serve as a garrison for the country in case any other hostile force should unexpectedly make its appearance; the men who were above the military age but still had strength sufficient to bear arms they left in the city to guard the citadels and the walls.

[4] ἀγαγόντες δὲ πλησίον τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως τὰς δυνάμεις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ λόφοις δυσὶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀφ' ἑσθιᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις ἐξεστρατευμένη πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πολλή τε καὶ ἀγαθή. συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας οἱ δυνατώτατοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πενέστας ἐπαγόμενοι, καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ στρατοῦ

[4] When the consuls had led their forces close to the city of Veii, they encamped on two hills not far apart. The enemy's army, which was both large and valiant, had also taken the field and lay encamped before the city. For the most influential men from all Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependents, with the result that the Tyrrhenians' army was not a little larger than that of the Romans.

[5] μεῖζον τὸ Τυρρηγικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγω. τοῖς δ' ὑπᾶτοις τὸ τε πληῆθος ὁρῶσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ὅπλων πολὺ δέος ἐνέπεσε, μὴ ποτ' οὐχ ἱκανοὶ [p. 279] γένωνται στασιαζούσῃ δυνάμει τῇ σφετέρᾳ πρὸς ὁμονοοῦσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιταξάμενοι ὑπερβαλέσθαι: ἐδόκει τ' αὐτοῖς ὀχυρωσαμένοις τὰ στρατόπεδα τριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον ἐκδεχομένοις, εἴ τινα δώσει πλεονεξίας ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων θράσος ἀλογίστω καταφρονήσει ἐπαρθέν. ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ ψιλῶν συμπλοκαὶ βραχεῖαι, μέγα δ' ἡ λαμπρὸν ἔργον οὐδέν.

[5] When the consuls saw the numbers of the enemy and the lustre of their arms, great fear came upon them lest, with their own forces rent by faction, they might not be able to prevail when arrayed against the harmonious forces of the enemy; and they determined to fortify their camps and to prolong the war in the hope that the boldness of the enemy, encouraged by an ill-advised contempt for them, might afford them some opportunity of acting with advantage. After this there were continual skirmishes and brief clashes of the light-armed troops, but no important or signal action.

[1] οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ τριβῇ τοῦ πολέμου δειλίαν τ' ὠνειδίζον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην, καὶ ὥς παρακεχωρηκότων αὐτῶν σφίσι τῆς ὑπαίθρου μέγα ἐφρόνουν. καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπήρθησαν εἰς ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου στρατοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν τῶν ὑπᾶτων δόξαντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν.

[6.1] The Tyrrhenians, being irked by the prolongation of the war, taunted the Romans with cowardice because they would not come out for battle, and

believing that their foes had abandoned the field to them, they were greatly elated. They were still further inspired with scorn for the Roman army and contempt for the consuls when they thought that even the gods were fighting on their side.

[2] τοῦ γὰρ ἑτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Γναίου Μαλλίου κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἔμπεσὼν τὴν τε σκηνὴν διέσπασε καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὅπλων τὰ μὲν ἐσπύλωσε, τὰ δὲ περιέκαυσε, τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος ἠφάνισεν· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν λαμπρότατον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἵππων, ὃ παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἔχρητο, καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τινάς.

[2] For a thunderbolt, falling upon the headquarters of Gnaeus Manlius, one of the consuls, tore the tent in pieces, overturned the hearth, and tarnished some of the weapons of war, while scorching or completely destroying others. It killed also the finest of his horses, the one he used in battle, and some of his servants.

[3] λεγόντων δὲ τῶν μάντεων τοῦ τε χάρακος ἄλωςιν προσημαίνειν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπώλειαν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Μάλλιος ἀπήγε περι μέσας νύκτας ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

[3] And when the augurs declared that the gods were foretelling the capture of the camp and the death of the most important persons in it, Manlius roused his forces about midnight and led them to the other camp, where he took up quarters with his colleague.

[4] μαθόντες οὖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἀπανάστασιν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ, δι' ἧς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, [p. 280] παρὰ τινων αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες ἐπήρθησάν τε ταῖς γνώμαις ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὡς πολεμοῦντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον ἐλπίδα κρατήσκειν αὐτῶν· οἳ τε μάντις ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλοθι που δοκοῦντες ἐξητακέναι τὰ μετάρσια, πόθεν τε αἱ τῶν κεραυνῶν γίνονται βολαὶ καὶ τίνες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἀπίνοντας τόποι, θεῶν τε οἷς ἕκαστοι ἀποδίδονται καὶ τίνων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν μηνυταί, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρήνουν διαιρούμενοι τὸ γενόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σημεῖον κατὰ τὰδε.

[4] The Tyrrhenians, learning of the general's departure and hearing from some of the prisoners the reasons for his action, grew still more elated in mind, since it seemed that the gods were making war upon the Romans; and they entertained great hopes of conquering them. For their augurs, who are reputed to have investigated with greater accuracy than those anywhere else the signs that appear in the sky, determining where the thunderbolts come from, what quarters receive them when they depart after striking, to which of the gods each kind of bolt is assigned, and what good or evil it portends, advised them to engage the enemy, interpreting the omen which had appeared to the

[5] ἐπειδὴ τὸ βέλος εἰς ὑπάτου σκηνὴν κατέσκηψεν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ στρατήγιον ἐνῆν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἄχρι τῆς ἐστίας ἠφάνισεν, ὅλη προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ χάρακος ἐκλειψιν βίᾳ κρατηθέντος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὄλεθρον.

[5] Since the bolt had fallen upon the consul's tent, which was the army's headquarters, and had utterly destroyed it even to its hearth, the gods were foretelling to the whole army the wiping out of their camp after it should be taken by storm, and the death of the principal persons in it.

[6] εἰ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν, ἔμειναν ἐν ᾧ κατέσκηψε χωρίῳ τὸ βέλος οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτό, καὶ μὴ μετηνέγκαντο τὰ σημεῖα ὡς τοὺς ἑτέρους, μιᾶς τε παρεμβολῆς ἀλώσει καὶ ἐνὸς ὀλέθρῳ στρατοῦ τὸ νεμεσῶν αὐτοῖς δαιμόνιον ἀπεπλήρωσεν ἂν τὸν χόλον: ἐπειδὴ δὲ σοφώτεροι τῶν θεῶν εἶναι ζητοῦντες εἰς τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καταλιπόντες ἔρημον τὸν τόπον, ὡς οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θεοῦ προδηλοῦντος τὰς συμφοράς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τόποις, κοινὸς ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἦξει χόλος, τοῖς τ' ἀπαναστᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις.

[6] "If, now," they said, "the occupants of the place where the bolt fell had remained there instead of removing their standards to the other army, the divinity who was wroth with them would have satisfied his anger with the capture of a single camp and the destruction of a single army; but since they endeavoured to be wiser than the gods and changed their quarters to the other camp, leaving the place deserted, as if the god has signified that the calamities should fall, not upon the men, but upon the places, the divine wrath will come upon all of them alike, both upon those who departed and upon those who received them.

[7] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀλῶναι σφῶν τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα βίᾳ θείας ἐπιθεσπιζούσης ἀνάγκης οὐ περιέμειναν τὸ χρεών, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ [p. 281] παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἐκεῖνος ὁ χάραξ ὁ τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑποδεξάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀλώσεται βίᾳ κρατηεῖς.

[7] And since, when destiny had foretold that one camp should be taken by storm, they did not wait for their fate, but of their own accord handed their camp over to the enemy, the camp which received the deserted camp shall be taken by storm instead of the one that was abandoned."

[1] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν μάντεων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀκούσαντες μέρει τινὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐρημωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταλαμβάνονται στρατοπεδείαν ὡς ἐπιτειχισμα ποιησόμενοι τῆς ἑτέρας: ἦν δὲ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰοῦσι κωλύσεως ἐν καλῷ κείμενον. πραγματευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα, ἐξ ὧν πλεονεκτῆσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλον, ἐξῆγον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τὰς δυνάμεις.

[7.1] The Tyrrhenians, hearing this from their augurs, sent a part of their army to take possession of the camp deserted by the Romans, with the intention of making it a fort to serve against the other camp. For the place was a very strong one and was conveniently situated for intercepting any who might come from Rome to the enemy's camp. After they had also made the other dispositions calculated to give them an advantage over the enemy, they led out their forces into the plain.

[2] μενόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ἡσυχίας προσιπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ τολμηρότατοι καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος ἰστάμενοι, γυναῖκάς τ' ἀπεκάλουν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν τοῖς δειλοτάτοις τῶν ζώων εἰκέναι λέγοντες ἐκάκιζον, καὶ дуεῖν θάτερον ἡξιοῦν: εἰ μὲν ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς περὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀρετῆς, καταβάντας εἰς τὸ πεδίον μιᾷ τὸν ἀγῶνα κρῖναι μάχῃ, εἰ δ' ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι κακοί, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ δίκας ὑποσχόντας, ὧν ἔδρασαν, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν μεγάλων ἑαυτοὺς ἄξιον.

[2] Then, when the Romans remained quiet, the boldest of the Tyrrhenians rode up and, halting near the camp, called them all women and taunted their leaders, likening them to the most cowardly of animals; and they challenged them to do one of two things — either to descend into the plain, if they laid claim to any warlike valour, and decide the contest by a single battle, or, if they owned themselves to be cowards, to deliver up their arms to those who were their betters, and after paying the penalty for their deeds, never again to hold themselves worthy of greatness.

[3] τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ὁσημέραι καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν ὡς λιμῷ προσαναγκάσοντες παραστῆναι. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι περιεώρων τὰ γινόμενα μέχρι πολλοῦ, δι' ἀνδρῖαν μὲν ἢ μαλακίαν οὐδεμίαν — ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμοι ἦσαν — τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐθελόκακόν [p. 282] τε καὶ ἀπρόθυμον, διαμένον ἐν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ἐξ οὗ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας διεστasiaσαν, ὑφορώμενοι: ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔναυλα καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἦν, ἃ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔγκοτον τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον τιμῆς αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσαντο, παραχωρήσαντες τῆς νίκης τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσι καὶ φυγῆς ὄνειδος οὐκ ἀληθὲς ὑπομείναντες, ἵνα μὴ καταγάγῃ τὸν ἐπινίκιον θρίαμβον ὁ ἀνὴρ.

[3] This they did every day, and when it had no effect, they resolved to block them off by a wall with the purpose of starving them into surrender. The consuls permitted this to go on for a considerable time, not through any cowardice or weakness — for they were both men of spirit and fond of war — but because they feared the soldiers' wilful shirking of duty and their apathy, which had persisted among the plebeians ever since the sedition over the allotment of land. For they still had ringing in their ears and fresh before their eyes the shameful behaviour, unworthy of the commonwealth, which the soldiers, because of their begrudging the honour that would come to the consul, had been guilty of the year before, when they had yielded up the

victory to the vanquished and endured the false reproach of flight in order that their general might not celebrated the triumph awarded for victory.

[1] βουλόμενοι δὴ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξελεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ καταστῆσαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμόνοιαν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ εἰς ἓν τοῦτο πᾶσαν εἰσφερόμενοι βουλήν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κολάσει μέρους τινὸς σωφρονέστερον ἀποδοῦναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν, πολὺ καὶ αὐθαδὲς ὑπάρχον καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχον, οὔτε πειθοῖ προσαγαγέσθαι λόγων τοὺς οὐδὲ πεισθῆναι βουλομένους, δύο ταύτας ὑπέλαβον ἔσεσθαι τῶν στασιαζόντων αἰτίας τῆς διαλλαγῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιεικεστέρας μετεilverφόσι φύσεως — ἐνῆν γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ — τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς τῶν πολεμίων αἰσχύνην, τοῖς δὲ δυσαγώγοις ἐπὶ τὸ καλόν,

[8.1] Desiring, therefore, to banish sedition from the army once and for all and to restore the whole rank and file to their original harmony, and devoting to this single end all their counsel and all their thought, since it was not in their power by punishing some of them to reform the rest, who were numerous, bold, and had arms in their hands, or to attempt by the persuasion of words to win over those who did not even wish to be persuaded, they assumed that the following two motives would bring about the reconciliation of the seditious: first, for those of a more reasonable disposition (for there was an admixture of these also among the mass of the troops), the shame of being taunted by the enemy, and second, for those who were not easily led to adopt the honourable course, the thing of which all human nature stands in dread — necessity.

[2] ἦν ἅπαντα δέδοικεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀνάγκην. ἵνα δὴ ταῦτα γένοιτο ἀμφοτέρα, ἐφῆκαν τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγῳ τ' αἰσχύνειν κακίζοντας σφῶν ὡς ἀνάνδρον τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἔργοις ὑπεροψίας τε καὶ καταφρονήσεως πολλῆς γινομένοις ἀναγκάζειν ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐκουσίως [p. 283] εἶναι μὴ βουλομένους. γινομένων γὰρ τούτων πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατήγιον ἅπαντας ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ καταβοῶντας καὶ κελεύοντας ἡγεῖσθαι σφῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη.

[2] In order, however, to accomplish both these results, they allowed the enemy not only to shame them by words, but also by repeated deeds of scorn and contempt to compel those to show themselves brave men who were not disposed to be so of their own accord. For if these insults should be continued, they had great hopes that all the soldiers would come to headquarters, giving vent to their indignation, reproaching the consuls, and demanding that they lead them against the enemy; and that is just what happened.

[3] ὡς γὰρ ἦρξαντο τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ χάρακος ἀποταφρεύειν τε καὶ ἀποσταυροῦν οἱ πολέμιοι, δυσανασχετήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, τέως μὲν κατ' ὀλίγους, ἔπειτ' ἀθρόοι συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκεκράγεσάν τε καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλουν, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἡγήσεται σφίσι τῆς ἐξόδου, δίχα ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς

πολεμίους ἔλεγον ἐξελεύσεσθαι.

[3] For when the enemy began to block the outlets of the camp with ditches and kinds, the Romans, growing indignant at their action, ran to the tents of the consuls, first in small numbers and then in a body, and crying out, accused them of treachery, and declared that if no one would lead them in a sortie, they themselves would take their arms and without their generals sally out against the enemy.

[4] ὥς δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνετο τοῦτο, παρῆναι τὸν χρόνον, ὃν περιέμενον, οἱ στρατηγοὶ νομίσαντες ἐκέλευον τοῖς ὑπηρέταις συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν: καὶ προελθὼν Φάβιος τοιαύδε εἶπε:

[4] This being the general cry, the consuls thought the opportunity for which they had been waiting had now come, and they ordered the lictors to call the troops to an assembly. Then Fabius, coming forward, spoke as follows:

[1] βραδεῖα μὲν ἡ ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν γίνεται περὶ ὧν ὑβρίζεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἄνδρες στρατιῶται τε καὶ ἡγεμόνες: καὶ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐκάστου χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος ὕστερον φαινόμενον ἄωρόν ἐστι. παλαιότερον γὰρ ἔτι τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔδει πράττειν, ὅτε πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἶδετε καταβαίνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων καὶ μάχης ἄρχειν βουλομένους. τότε γὰρ δήπου καλὸς ὁ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἦν ἀγὼν καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων φρονήματος ἄξιος. νῦν δ' ἀναγκαῖος ἤδη γίνεται, καὶ οὐδ', ἂν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ

[9.1] “Long delayed is your indignation at the insults you are receiving from the enemy, soldiers and officers, and the eagerness which you one and all have to come to grips with your opponents, by showing itself much too late, is untimely. For you should have done this still earlier, when you first saw them come down from their entrenchments and eager to begin battle. Then, no doubt, the contest for the supremacy would have been glorious and worthy of the Roman spirit; as things are, it is already becoming a matter of necessity, and however successful its outcome may be, it will not be equally glorious.

[2] τέλος, ὁμοίως καλός. εὖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖτε ὅμως ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν βραδυτῆτα βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰ [p. 284] παραλειφθέντα ἀναλαβεῖν, καὶ πολλὴ χάρις ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὁρμῆς, εἴ γ' ὑπ' ἀρετῆς γίνεται: κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅψε' ἄρξασθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν ἢ μηδέποτε: εἴτ' οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμοίους ἔχετε περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμούς, καὶ ἡ προθυμία τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρμῆς ἅπαντας ἢ αὐτὴ κατεῖληφε.

[2] Yet even now you do well in desiring to atone for your slowness and to retrieve what you have lost by neglect, and great thanks are due to you for your eagerness to follow the best course, whether this springs from valour — for it is better to begin late to do one's duty than never — or whether indeed you have all come to the same logical conclusions as to what is example, and

the same eagerness for rushing into battle has seized all of you.

[3] νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα, μὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας προσκρούσματα τῶν δημοτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει μεγάλης αἵτια τῷ κοινῷ γένηται βλάβης: ὑποψία τε ἡμᾶς κατείληφεν, ὥς ἡ περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καταβολή καὶ ἀγανάκτησις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως παρὰ πάντων γίνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς πολέμιους προθυμεῖσθε

[3] But as it is, we are afraid that the grievances of the plebeians against the authorities over the allotment of land may be the cause of great mischief to the commonwealth. And the suspicion has come to us that this clamour and indignation about a sortie do not spring from the same motive with all of you, but that while some desire to go out of the camp in order to take revenge on the enemy, others do so in order to run away.

[4] τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ δ' ὡς ἀποδρασόμενοι. ἐξ ὧν δὲ παρέστηκεν ἡμῖν ταῦθ' ὑποπτεύειν, οὐ μαντεῖαι εἰσιν οὐδὲ στοχασμοί, ἀλλ' ἔργα ἐμφανῆ καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα παλαιά, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ γενόμενα, ὥς ἅπαντες ἴστε, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολέμιους τούτους πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐξελθοῦσης στρατιᾶς, καὶ τῆς πρώτης μάχης τὸ κράτιστον ἡμῖν λαβούσης τέλος, δυνηθέντος ἂν τοῦ τότε ἄγοντος ὑμᾶς ὑπάτου Καίσιωνος, ἀδελφοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ τουδὶ καὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ἐξελεῖν καὶ νίκην τῇ πατρίδι καταγαγεῖν λαμπροτάτην, φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ δόξης τινές, ὅτι δημοτικὸς οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ τὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς πένησι διετέλει πολιτευόμενος, τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνασπᾶσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἀπέδρασαν [p. 285] ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, οὔτε τὸν κίνδυνον ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν καταληφόμενον αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως καὶ χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπιόντας ἐκ πολέμιας γῆς καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν νυκτί, οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνῃ, ὅση καθεῖξεν αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν, ὑπολογισάμενοι, ὅτι παρεχώρουν τοῖς πολέμοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μέρος, καὶ ταῦθ' οἱ

[4] As for the reasons which have induced us to entertain these suspicions, they are neither divinations nor conjectures, but overt deeds, and deeds, too, that happened, not long ago, but only last year, as you all know. For when a large and excellent army had taken the field against this very enemy and the first battle had had the most successful outcome for us, so that your commander at the time, the consul Caeso, my brother here, could not only have taken the enemy's camp, but also have brought back a most glorious victory for the fatherland, some of the soldiers, begrudging him the glorious because he was not a friend of the people and did not constantly pursue such a course as was pleasing to the poor, struck their tents the first night after the battle and without orders ran away from the camp, neither taking thought for the danger they would incur in retreating from a hostile country in disorderly fashion and without a general, and that too in the night, nor taking into account all the disgrace that was sure to come upon them for yielding the supremacy to the enemy, as far at least as in them lay, and yielding it, moreover, as victors to

the vanquished.

[5] νικήσαντες τοῖς κεκρατημένοις. τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀρρωδοῦντες, ὧ ταξίARCHOI TE καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ στρατιῶται, τοὺς οὐτ' ἄρχειν δυναμένους οὐτ' ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένους πολλοὺς καὶ αὐθάδεις ὄντας καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντας ἐν χερσίν, οὐτε πρότερον ἐβουλόμεθα μάχην συνάπτειν οὐτε νῦν ἔτι θαρσοῦμεν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις συμμάχοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, μὴ κωλύματα καὶ βλάβαι γένωνται τοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ καθ'

[5] Being afraid, therefore, tribunes, centurions, and soldiers, of these men who are neither able to command nor willing to obey, who are numerous and bold and have their weapons in their hands, we have been unwilling hitherto to join battle and dare not even now, with such men to support us, engage in a life-and-death struggle, lest they prove hindrances and detriments to those who are displaying all the alacrity in their power.

[6] ἑαυτοὺς πρόθυμα παρεχομένοις. εἰ μέντοι κάκεινων ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὸν νοῦν ἄγει νυνὶ καὶ καταβαλόντες τὸ στασιάζον, ὅφ' οὗ νῦν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα βλάπτεται τὸ κοινόν, ἢ γε δὴ εἰς τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναβαλόμενοι καιροὺς, ἐπανορθώσασθαι βούλονται τὰ παρελθόντα ὀνειδῇ τῇ νῦν ἀρετῇ, μηδὲν ἔτι τὸ κωλύσον ἔστω χωρεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδας.

[6] If, however, Heaven is turning the minds of even these men to better ways at the present time, and if, laying aside their seditious spirit, from which the commonwealth is suffering very great harm, or at least postponing it till times of peace, they wish to redeem their past disgraces by their present valour, let there be no further hindrance to your advancing against the foe, setting before your eyes the fair hopes of victory.

[7] ἔχομεν δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ κυριωτάτας, αἷς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνόητον ἡμῖν παρέχει, οἷ γε πλήθει στρατιᾶς μακρῶ προὔχοντες ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦτ'ω [p. 286] μόνῳ δυνηθέντες ἂν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας τόλμας τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἀντέχειν ἀπεστερήκασι τῆς μόνης ὠφελείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαναλώσαντες τὸ πλεῖον τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος εἰς τὰς τῶν φρουρίων φυλακάς.

[7] "We have many resources for winning, but greatest and most decisive are those afforded us by the folly of the enemy. For though they far exceed us in the size of their army, and for that reason alone might have withstood our courage and experience, they have deprived themselves of their only advantage by using up the greater part of their forces in garrisoning the forts.

[8] ἔπειτα δέον αὐτοὺς σὺν εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ σώφρονι πράττειν ἕκαστα, ἐνθυμουμένους, πρὸς οἷους ἄνδρας καὶ πολὺ ἁλκιμωτέρους αὐτῶν ὁ κίνδυνος ἔσται, θρασέως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦσιν, ὡς ἄμαχοι τινες καὶ ὡς ἡμῶν κατατεπληγόντων αὐτοὺς. αἱ γοῦν ἀποταφρεύσεις

καὶ αἱ μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἡμῶν καθιπεύσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίσματα τοῦτο δύναται.

[8] In the next place, when they ought to act with caution and sober reason in everything they do, bearing in mind against what kind of men, actually far superior to them in valour, the hazard will be, they enter the struggle recklessly and incautiously, as if forsooth they were some invincible warriors and as if we stood in terror of them. At any rate, their digging of ditches round our camp, their riding up to our entrenchments, and their many insults both in word and actions indicate this.

[9] ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀγώνων μεμνημένοι πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν οἷς αὐτοὺς ἐνικᾶτε, χωρεῖτε μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα: καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος χωρίῳ ταχθῇ, τοῦθ' ὑπολαβέτω καὶ οἶκον εἶναι καὶ κλῆρον καὶ πατρίδα: καὶ ὃ τε σώζων τὸν παραστάτην ἑαυτῷ πράττειν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβέτω, καὶ ὃ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν πέλας ἑαυτὸν ἡγείσθω τοῖς πολεμίοις προδιδόναι. μάλιστα δ' ἐκεῖνο μεμνησθαι προσῆκεν, ὅτι μενόντων μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχομένων ὀλίγον τὸ ἀπολλύμενόν ἐστιν, ἐγκλινάντων δὲ καὶ φευγόντων κομιδῇ βραχὺ σωζόμενον.

[9] Bearing these thoughts in mind, then, and remembering the many glorious battles of the past in which you have overcome them, enter with alacrity into this contest also. And let every one of you look upon the spot in which he shall be posted as his house, his lot of land, and his country. Let him who saves the man beside him feel that he is effecting his own safety, and let him who forsakes his comrade feel that he is delivering himself up to the enemy. But, above all, you should remember this, that when men stand their ground and fight their losses are small, but when they give way and flee very few are saved."

[1] ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ [p. 287] καὶ πολλὰ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐκχέοντος δάκρυα, λοχαγῶν τε καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ᾧ συνήδει τι λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐν μάχαις ἀποδειξαμένῳ, κατ' ὄνομα ἀνακαλοῦντος, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς ἀριστεύουσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην φιλάνθρωπα δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου πρὸς τὸ τῶν πράξεων μέγεθος, τιμὰς τε καὶ πλοῦτους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας βοηθείας, ἀναβοήσεις ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγίνοντο θαρρεῖν τε παρακελευομένων καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀξιούντων.

[10.1] While he was yet uttering these encouragements to bravery and accompanying his words with many tears, calling by name each one of the centurions, tribunes, and common soldiers whom he knew to have performed some gallant action in battle, and promising to those who should distinguish themselves in this engagement many great rewards in proportion to the magnitude of their deeds, such as honours, riches, and all the other

advantages, shouts arose from all of them as they bade him be of good cheer and demanded that he lead them to battle.

[2] ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο, προέρχεται τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, Μάρκος Φλαβολήιος ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς μὲν καὶ αὐτουργός, οὐ μὴν τῶν ἀπερριμμένων τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀλκιμος, καὶ δι' ἄμφω ταῦτα ἐνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἀρχῇ κεκοσμημένος, ἧ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἑκατονταρχίας ἔπεσθαι τε καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ὑπηρετεῖν κελεύει ὁ νόμος. τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ πριμοπίλους καλοῦσιν.

[2] As soon as he had done speaking, there came forward from the throng a man named Marcus Flavoleius, a plebeian and a small farmer, though not one of the rabble but one celebrated for his merits and valiant in war and on both these accounts honoured with the most conspicuous command in one of the legions — a command which the sixty centuries are enjoined by the law to follow and obey. These officers the Romans call in their own tongue *primipili*.

[3] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ — ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ἰδεῖν — στάς, ὅθεν ἅπανιν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι φανερός, Ἐπεὶ τοῦτ', ἔφησεν, ὦ ὕπατοι, δεδοίκατε, μὴ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν οὐχ ὅμοια γένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης πίστεως παρέξομαι: καὶ ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ πολῖται τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ τύχης, ὅσοι [p. 288] διεγνώκατε εἰς ἴσον καταστῆσαι τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λόγοις,

[3] This man, who, besides his other recommendations, was tall and fair to look upon, taking his stand where he would be in full view of all, said: “Since this is what you fear, consuls, that our actions will not agree with our words, I will be the first to give you in my own name the greatest pledge I can give. And you too, fellow citizens and sharers of the same fortune, as many of you as are resolved to make your actions match your words, will make no mistake in following my example.”

[4] οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοιτε ταῦτ' οἰοῦντες ἑμοί. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀνατείνας ὥμοσε τὸν ἐπιχώριόν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κράτιστον ὄρκον, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ. τοῦτον ὁμόσαντος τοῦ Φλαβοληίου τὸν ὄρκον πολλὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο: καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ τε ὕπατοι ἀμφοτέροι ταῦτ' οἰ τὰς ἐλάττους ἔχοντες στρατηγίας χιλίαρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοί, τελευτῶσα

[4] Having said this, he held up his sword and took the oath traditional among the Romans and regarded by them as the mightiest of all, swearing by his own good faith that he would return to Rome victorious over the enemy, or not at all. After Flavoleius had taken this oath there was great applause from all; and immediately both the consuls did the same, as did also the subordinate officers, both tars and centurions, and last of all the rank and file.

[5] δ' ἡ πλῆθς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, πολλὴ μὲν εὐθυμία πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε, πολλὴ δὲ φιλότης ἀλλήλων, θάρσος τ' αὖ καὶ μένος· καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ μὲν ἵπποις χαλινοὺς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἔθηγον, οἱ δὲ τὰ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ὄπλων ἐξέματτον· καὶ ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἦν ἔτοιμος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἢ στρατιά.

[5] When this had been done, great cheerfulness came upon them all and great affection for one another and also confidence and ardour. And going from the assembly, some bridled their horses, others sharpened their swords and spears, and still others cleaned their defensive arms; and in a short time the whole army was ready for the combat.

[6] οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῆς ἐξόδου σφίσι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνας, ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ τὸν στρατόν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατιόντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἰδόντες ἐθαύμασάν τε καὶ ἀντεπεξήεσαν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει.

[6] The consuls, after invoking the gods by vows, sacrifices, and prayers to be their guides as they marched out, led the army out of the camp in regular order and formation. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them come down from their entrenchments, were surprised and marched out with their whole force to meet them.

[1] ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀμφοτέροι κατέστησαν, καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἔθεον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἵππεῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ [p. 289] πεζοὶ πεζοῖς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πολλὺς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο φόνος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων κέρας, οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Μάλλιος, ἐξέωσαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μέρος, καὶ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐμάχοντο πεζοί. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκυκλοῦντο.

[1.1] When both armies had come into the plain and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they raised their war-cries and ran to close quarters; and engaging, horse with horse and foot with foot, they fought there, and great was the slaughter on both sides. The troops on the right wing of the Romans, commanded by Manlius, one of the consuls, repulsed the part of the enemy that stood opposite to them, and quitting their horses, fought on foot. But those on the left wing were being surrounded by the enemy's right wing,

[2] ἦν γὰρ ἡ Τυρρηγῶν φάλαγξ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὑπερπετῆς τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγῳ μείζων τῆς ἐτέρας. παρερρήγνυτο δὴ ταύτῃ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐλάμβανεν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τούτου κέρως Κόιντος Φάβιος, πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος ὢν, ὁ δις ὑπατεύσας· καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἀντεῖχε τραύματα λαμβάνων παντοδαπά, ἔπειτα λόγχῃ βληθεὶς εἰς τὰ στέρνα μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ἐλθούσης τῆς αἰχμῆς ἔξαιμος γενόμενος πίπτει.

[2] since the Tyrrhenians' line at this point outflanked that of the Romans and

was considerably deeper. Thus the Roman army was being broken in this sector and was receiving many blows. This wing was commanded by Quintus Fabius, who was a legate and proconsul and had been twice consul. He maintained the fight for a long time, receiving wounds of all kinds till, being struck in the breast by a spear, the point of which pierced his bowels, he fell through loss of blood.

[3] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, Μάρκος Φάβιος — ἦν δὲ κατὰ μέσην τὴν φάλαγγα τεταγμένος — τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν λόχων ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν Καίσωνα Φάβιον ἀνακαλεσάμενος, παρήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ προελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ παρήλλαξεν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων κέρας, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κυκλουμένους. ἔμπεσὼν δ' αὐτοῖς φόνον τε τοῖς ἐν χερσὶ ποιεῖ πολὺν καὶ φυγὴν τῶν πρόσω, τὸν τ' ἀδελφὸν ἔτι ἔμπνέοντα καταλαβὼν αἵρεται.

[3] When Marcus Fabius, the other consul, who commanded in the centre, was informed of this, he took with him the best of the centuries, and summoning Caeso Fabius, his other brother, he passed beyond his own line, and advancing a long way, till he had got beyond the enemy's right wing, he turned upon those who were encircling his men, and charging them, caused great slaughter among all whom he encountered, and also put to flight those who were at a distance; and finding his brother still breathing, he took him up.

[4] ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιβιοῦς ἀποθνήσκει: τοῖς δὲ τιμωροῦσιν αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἔτι πλείων παρέστη καὶ μείζων [p. 290] πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον: καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς προνοοῦμενοι σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς μέσους ἔμπεσόντες τοὺς μάλιστα συνεσθηκότας τῶν πολεμίων, σωροὺς ἐξεπλήρουν νεκρῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔκαμεν ἡ

[4] The man lived only a short time after that; but his death filled his avengers with still more and greater anger against the foe and, heedless now of their own lives, they rushed with a few followers into the densest ranks of the enemy and made large heaps of their dead bodies.

[5] Τυρρηνῶν φάλαγξ, καὶ οἱ πρότερον ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν κεκρατημένων ἀνεκόπησαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες κέρας κάμνοντες ἤδη καὶ φυγῆς ἄρχοντες, ἔνθα ὁ Μάλλιος ἦν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς. παλτῷ γάρ τις βαλὼν τὸν Μάλλιον διὰ τοῦ γόνατος ἄχρι τῆς ἰγνύας διήρεισε τὴν λόγχην: καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ πέριξ ἄραντες ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τεθνηκέναι δόξαντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ παραβηθησάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐνέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνα.

[5] In this part of their line, therefore, the Tyrrhenians were hard pressed, and those who earlier had forced their enemies to give ground were now repulsed by those they had conquered; but those on the left wing, where Manlius was,

though they were already in distress and beginning to flee, put their opponents to flight. For when Manlius had been struck in the knee with a javelin by an opponent who thrust the point through to the hamstrings, and those about him took him up and were carrying him back to the camp, the enemy, believing the Roman commander to be dead, took heart and, the rest coming to their assistance, pressed hard upon the Romans who now had no commander.

[6] ἡναγκάσθησαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ Φάβιοι καταλιπόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρασ τῷ δεξιῷ βοηθεῖν· καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσιόντας αὐτοὺς στίφει καρτερῶ μαθόντες τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀποτρέπονται, πυκνώσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόχους ἐμάχοντο ἐν τάξει, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀπέβαλον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτειναν.

[6] This obliged the Fabii to quit their left wing once more and rush to the relief of the right; and the Tyrrhenians, learning that they were approaching in a strong body, gave over further pursuit, and closing their ranks, fought in good order, losing a large number of their own men, but also killing many of the Romans.

[1] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, οἱ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου καταλαβόμενοι Τυρρηνοὶ συνθήματος ἀρθέντος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου σὺν τάξει πολλῷ καὶ προθυμίᾳ μεγάλῃ χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἠπείγοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων χάρακα, ὡς οὐκ ἀξιοχρέω δυνάμει [p. 291] φυλαττόμενον. καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἀληθής. Ἔξω γὰρ τῶν τριαρίων καὶ ὀλίγων ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐμπόρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ· γίνεται τε πολλῶν εἰς ὀλίγον συνελασθέντων χωρίον· περὶ γὰρ. ταῖς πύλαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν· ὅξεια καὶ χαλεπὴ μάχη, καὶ νεκροὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλοί.

[12.1] In the meantime the Tyrrhenians who had possessed themselves of the camp abandoned by Manlius, as soon as the signal for battle was given at headquarters, ran with great haste and alacrity to the other camp of the Romans, suspecting that it was not guarded by a sufficient force. And their belief was correct. For, apart from the triarii and a few younger troops, the rest of the crowd then in the camp consisted of merchants, servants and artificers; and with many crowded into a small space — for the struggle was for the gates of the camp — a sharp and severe engagement followed, and there were many dead on both sides.

[2] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ὃ τε Μάλλιος ὕπατος ἐκβοηθῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἵππευσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἵππος ἔπεσε συγκατενεχθεὶς καὶ ἀδύνατος ὦν ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων, ἀποθνήσκει καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι νέοι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦτ' εὐθύς ὁ χάραξ ἡλίσκετο, καὶ τέλος εἶχε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὰ

[2] During this action the consul Manlius was coming out with the cavalry to

the relief of his men, when his horse fell; and he, falling with him and being unable to rise because of his many wounds, died there, and likewise many brave young men at his side. After this disaster the camp was soon taken, and the Tyrrhenians' prophecies had their fulfilment.

[3] μαντεύματα εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔταμιεύσαντο τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔσχον τὸν χάρακα, τὰς τ' ἀποσκευὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέσχον καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰσχυρῶς ἀπελθεῖν ἠνάγκασαν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναψύχοντες τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ πλείους καλὴν ἄγρην ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφηρεύθησαν. ὥς γὰρ ἀπηγγέλη θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἡ τοῦ χάρακος ἄλωσις, ἠπείγετο σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἵππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν.

[3] Now if they had husbanded the good fortune that was then theirs and had kept the camp under guard, they would have got possession of the Romans' baggage and forced them to a shameful retreat; but as it was, by turning to plundering what had been left behind and from then on refreshing themselves, as most of them did, they allowed a fine booty to escape out of their hands. For as soon as word of the taking of the camp reached the other consul, he hastened thither with the flower of both horse and foot.

[4] καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα περιεστεφάνωσαν τὸν χάρακα, μάχη τ' αὐτῶν γίνεται καρτερὰ τῶν μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλομένων τὰ σφέτερα, τῶν δέ, μὴ πασσυδὶ διαφθαρεῖν ἄλόντος τοῦ χάρακος, δεδοκῶτων. χρόνου δὲ γινομένου πλείονος καὶ τῶν Τυρρηγῶν πολλὰ πλεονεκτούντων — ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔξ [p. 292] ὑπερδεξιῶν τε χωρίων καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης κεκμηκότας ἡ μάχη — Τίτος Σικκίος ὁ πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος, κοινωσάμενος τῷ ὑπάτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκέλευε σημαίνειν, καὶ

[4] The Tyrrhenians, informed of this approach, formed a circle round the camp and a sharp battle occurred between them, as the Romans endeavoured to recover what was theirs and the enemy feared being annihilated if their camp should be taken. When considerable time passed and the Tyrrhenians had many advantages, since they fought from higher ground and against men spent with fighting the whole day,

[5] καθ' ἓν ἅπαντας γενομένους μιᾷ προσβάλλειν πλευρᾷ τοῦ χάρακος, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας εἴασε μέρη κατὰ τινα εἰκότα λογισμόν, ὃς οὐκ ἔψευσατο αὐτόν, ὅτι σωθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐλπίσαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ μεθήσονται τοῦ χάρακος, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὲ τούτου γενόμενοι κυκλώσεως τε πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης καὶ οὐδεμιᾷς ὑπαρχούσης ἐξόδου ἀναγκαῖον ἔξουσιν τὸ εὐτόλμον.

[5] Titus Siccius, the legate and proconsul, after communicating his plan to the consul, ordered that a retreat should be sounded and that all the men should assemble in a single body and assault one side of the camp where it was most

easy of attack. He left free from attack the parts next the gates, reasoning plausibly — and in this he was not deceived — that if the Tyrrhenians saw any hope of saving themselves, they would abandon the camp, whereas, if they despaired of this, finding themselves surrounded on all sides and no way of escape left, necessity would make them brave.

[6] γενομένης δὲ καθ' ἓν χωρίον τῆς προσβολῆς οὐκέτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐτράποντο, ἀλλ' ἀνοιξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεσώζοντο χάρακα.

[6] And when the attack was directed against one point only, the Tyrrhenians no longer resisted, but opening the gates, made their way back in safety to their own camp.

[1] ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπεώσατο, παρεβοήθει πάλιν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. αὕτη μεγίστη λέγεται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις μάχη, πλήθει τ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ τῷ ἀγχιστροφῷ τῆς τύχης. αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων ἡ κρατίστη τε καὶ ἐπιλεκτος ἀκμὴ δισμυρίων μάλιστα πεζῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τῶν συντεταγμένων τοῖς τέτταρσι τάγμασιν ἵππεων ὁμοῦ τι χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, ἀποίκων δὲ καὶ συμμάχων ἑτέρα τοσαύτη.

[13.1] The consul, after he had averted the danger, returned once more to the assistance of those who were in the plain. This battle is said to have been greater than any the Romans had previously fought as regards not only the numbers of the combatants, but also the time it lasted and its sudden turns of fortune. For of the Romans themselves from the city the flower and choice of their youth consisted of about 20,000 foot and some 1200 horse attached to the four legions, while from their colonies and allies there was another force equally large.

[2] χρόνος δ' ἐμῆκύνθη τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς μεσημβρίας [p. 293] ἀρξάμενος μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου. τὰ δὲ τῆς τύχης μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆδε καὶ τῆδε νίκαις τε καὶ ἥτταις ταλαντευόμενα διέμεινεν: ὕπατου δὲ θάνατος ἐγένετο καὶ πρεσβευτοῦ δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, ὧσιν οὐδέπω πρότερον. τὸ μέντοι κράτος τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐδόκει περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους γεγονέναι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν χάρακα οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἀνέζευξαν.

[2] As for the duration of the battle, it began a little before noon and lasted till sunset. Its fortunes continued for a long time shifting to and fro with alternating victories and defeats. A consul was slain, as well as a legate who had himself been twice consul, and many other commanders, tribunes and centurions — more indeed than in any previous battle. But the victory in the struggle seemed to rest with the Romans, for this one reason alone, that the Tyrrhenians left their camp the following night and withdrew.

[3] τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἄρπαγὰς τῆς ἐκλειφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν παρεμβολῆς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τραπόμενοι καὶ ταφὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν σφετέρων νεκρῶν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν χάρακα. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάμενοι τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις λαμπρῶς τὰς ἀριστείους ἀπέδοσαν τιμὰς, πρῶτῳ μὲν Καίσωνι Φαβίῳ τῷ τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀδελφῷ μέγала καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα ἀποδειξαμένῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Σικκίῳ, τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ τὸν χάρακα ἀνασώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ Φλαβοληίῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ τάγματος, τοῦ θ' ὄρκου χάριν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὰ

[3] The next day the Romans turned to plundering the camp which had been abandoned by the Tyrrhenians, and having buried the dead, returned to their own camp. There, having called an assembly of the soldiers, they distributed the rewards of valour to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, as follows: first, to Caeso Fabius, the consul's brother, who had performed great and remarkable exploits; next, to Siccius, who had brought about the recovery of their camp; and third, to Marcus Flavoleius, the commander of the legion, on account of both the oath he had taken and the prowess he had shown in the midst of danger.

[4] δεινὰ ῥώμης. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μείναντες ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρακος, ὡς οὐδείς ἄντεπεξῆει τῶν πολεμίων μαχησόμενος, ἀπήεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου. πάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ ἀγῶνι κάλλιστον τέλος εἰληφότε, τὴν ἐπινίκιον τιμὴν τοῦ θριάμβου τῷ περιόντι ὑπάτῳ προσθεῖναι βουλομένων, ἡρνήσατο τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν ὁ ὕπατος, οὔτε ὅσιον εἶναι [p. 294] λέγων οὔτε θεμιτὸν ἐπ' ἀδελφοῦ θανάτῳ καὶ συνάρχοντος ἀποβολῇ πομπεῦειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν: ἀποθεὶς δὲ τὰς σημαίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀπωμόσατο, δεῖν ἔτι μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον λειπομένων, ἀδύνατος, ὦν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι πράττειν. ἔταλαιπῶρει γὰρ ὑπὸ τραύματος ἐξαισίου καὶ ἦν κλινοπετής.

[4] After attending to these things they remained a few days in the camp; then, when none of the enemy came out to fight against them, they returned home. Though all in the city wished to honour the surviving consul with the victor's reward of a triumph because of a most glorious outcome to a very great battle, the consul declined the favour they offered, saying that it was neither right nor lawful for him to ride in procession and wear a crown of laurel after the death of his brother and the loss of his colleague. But after putting away the standards and dismissing the soldiers to their homes he resigned the consulship when two months still remained to complete his year's term, since he was no longer capable of performing the duties of the office. For he was still suffering from a horrible wound and obliged to keep his bed.

[1] ἐλομένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μεσοβασιλεῖς τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔνεκα, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μεσοβασιλέως συγκατέσαντος εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τοὺς λόχους, ἀποδείκνυται Καίσων Φάβιος ὁ τὰ ἀριστεῖα λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένου, τὸ τρίτον ὕπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος

Οὐεργίνιος. οὗτοι διαλαχόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήρσαν εἰς τὴν ὕπαιθρον:

[14.1] The senate chose interreges to preside at the election of magistrates, and the second interrex having assembled the centuries in the Field, Caeso Fabius, the one who had been awarded the prize for valour in the battle, and brother to the man who had abdicated his magistracy, was chosen consul for the third time, and with him Titus Verginius. These, having drawn lots for the armies, took the field, Fabius to war against the Aequians, who were plundering the fields of the Latins, and Verginius against the Veientes.

[2] Φάβιος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων προνομεύουσι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγρούς, Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ στρατὸν ἐλευσόμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας διὰ τάχους ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λεηλατουμένης τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἡνείχοντο, ὥστε πολλῶν κρατῆσαι χρημάτων τὸν ὕπατον καὶ σωματῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας ἐξ ἐφόδου. Οὐιεντανοὶ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐντὸς τειχους μένοντες, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἔδοξαν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπέθεντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑσκεδασμένοις ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία καὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τετραμμένοις τῆς λείας.

[2] The Aequians, when they learned that an army was going to come against them, hastily evacuated the enemy's country and returned to their own cities; and after that they permitted their own territory to be ravaged, so the consul possessed himself at the first blow of large amounts of money, many slaves, and much booty of other sorts. As for the Veientes, they at first remained within their walls; but as soon as they thought they had a favourable opportunity, they fell upon the enemy as they were dispersed over the plains and occupied in seizing booty.

[3] ἔχοντες δὲ πολλὴν καὶ συντεταγμένην δύναμιν ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς, [p. 295] καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας, οὓς μὲν ἀποκτείνουσιν, οὓς δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπουσι: καὶ εἰ μὴ Τίτος Σικκίος πρεσβευτῆς τότε ὦν στίφει συντεταγμένῳ πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων παραβοηθήσας ἐπέσχευεν αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ κωλύσον ἦν ἅπασαν ἀπολέσθαι τὴν στρατιάν. ἐκείνου δ' ἐμποδῶν γενομένου συνελθεῖν ἔφθασαν οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ καθ' ἕνα διεσκεδασμένοι: πάντες δ' ἐν ταύτῳ γενόμενοι λόφον τινὰ καταλαμβάνονται περὶ δείλην ὄψιαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἐν τούτῳ ἔμειναν.

[3] And attacking them with a large army in good order, they not only took away their booty, but also killed or put to flight all who engaged them. Indeed, if Titus Siccius, who was legate at the time, had not come to their relief with a body of foot and horse in good order and held the foe in check, nothing could have prevented the army from being utterly destroyed. But when he got in the enemy's way, the rest of the troops, who had been scattered one here and one there, succeeded in getting together before it was too late; and being now all united, they occupied a hill late in the afternoon and remained there the

following night.

[4] ἐπαρθέντες δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῷ κατορθώματι πλησίον τοῦ λόφου τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλουν ὥς κατακεκλεικότες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς χωρίον, ἔνθα οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔμελλον ἔξειν, καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰ ὅπλα. γίνεται τ' αὐτῶν συχνοῦ ἐλθόντος ὄχλου δύο στρατεύματα περὶ τὰς ἐπιμάχους λαγόνas τοῦ λόφου, πολλὰ τ' ἄλλα φρουρία βραχύτερα κατὰ τοὺς ἦττον ἐπικαίρους τόπους: καὶ πάντα ἦν μεστὰ

[4] The Veientes, elated by their success, encamped near the hill and sent for their forces in the city, imagining that they had shut up the Romans in a place where they could not get any provisions, and that they would soon force them to deliver up their arms to them. And when a multitude of their men had arrived, there were now two armies posted on the two sides of the hill that could be assailed, as well as many smaller detachments to guard the less vulnerable positions; and every place was full of armed men.

[5] ὅπλων. ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Φάβιος γραμμάτων παρὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀφικομένων ἐπιγνούς, ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτοις εἰσὶν οἱ κατακλεισθέντες ἐν τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς βοηθήσει, λιμῷ ἀλῶναι, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐιεντανούς σὺν τάχει: καὶ εἰ μᾶ βραδύτερον ἡμέρᾳ διήνυσσε τὴν ὁδόν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὤνησεν, ἀλλὰ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ἐκεῖ [p. 296] στρατιὰν κατέλαβε. πιεζόμενοι γὰρ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ κατέχοντες τὸν λόφον ἐξῆλθον ὥς τὸν εὐπρεπέστατον αἵρησόμενοι τῶν θανάτων, καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμάχοντο κεκμηκότες οἱ πλείους τὰ σώματα λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ τῇ

[5] The other consul, Fabius, learning from a letter that came from his colleague that the troops shut up on the hill were in the direst straits and would be in danger of being reduced by famine unless someone came to their relief, broke camp and marched in haste against the Veientes. Indeed, if he had been one day later in completing his march, he would have been of no help, but would have found the army there destroyed. For the men holding the hill, distressed by the lack of provisions, had sallied out, ready to choose the most honourable death; and having engaged the enemy, they were then fighting, though the bodies of most of them were weakened by hunger, thirst, want of sleep, and every other hardship.

[6] ἄλλῃ κακώσει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ὥς τὸ τοῦ Φαβίου στρατεῦμα προσιδὼν ὦφθη πολὺ τε καὶ συντεταγμένον, θάρσος μὲν ἔφερε τοῖς σφετέροις, δέος δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις: καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ οὐκέτι ἀξιόμαχοι εἶναι νομίσαντες πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ ἀκμῆτα δύναμιν εἰς ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν, ὥχοντο ἐκλιπόντες τοὺς χάρακας. ὥς δ' εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔλθον αἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέραι, στρατόπεδόν τε ποιοῦνται μέγα πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐχυρῷ, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόθι διατρίψαντες καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν χώραν

ληλατήσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν.

[6] But after a short time, when the army of Fabius, which was very large and drawn up in order of battle, was seen approaching, it brought confidence to their own men and fear to the enemy; and the Tyrrhenians, believing themselves no longer to be strong enough to engaged in battle with a valiant and fresh army, abandoned their camps and withdrew. When the two armies of the Romans had come together, they made a large camp in a strong position near the city; then, after remaining there many days and plundering the best part of the territory of the Veientes, the generals led the army home.

[7] ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφειμένας ἀπὸ τῶν σημαιῶν, τὴν εὐζωνον ἀναλαβόντες νεότητα, ἣν τ' αὐτοὶ συντεταγμένην εἶχον καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων παροῦσαν, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὰ προσκείμενα τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ πεδία, καὶ διαρπάζουσι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὄντα μεστὰ. κατέβησαν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων οἱ γεωργοὶ χιλοῦ τε τῶν βοσκημάτων ἔνεκα καὶ ἐργασίας τῶν ἀγρῶν πιστεύοντες τῇ σφετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ προκαθημένη καὶ οὐ φθάσαντες ἀπελθούσης ἀνασκευάσασθαι πάλιν, οὐκ ἐλπίσαντες τοσαῦτα [p. 297] κεκακωμένους τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς ταχεῖαν οὕτως ἀντεπιχειρήσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ποιήσεσθαι.

[7] When the Veientes heard that the forces of the Romans had been discharged from the standards, taking the light-armed youth, not only their own which they had already assembled, but also that of their neighbours which was then present, they made an incursion into the plains bordering upon their own territory, which were full of corn, cattle and men, and plundered them. For the husbandmen had come down from the strongholds to get feed for their cattle and to till their lands, relying upon the protection of their army, which then lay encamped between them and the enemy; and after this army had retired, they had made no hasten to move back, as they did not expect the Veientes, after having suffered so many defeats, to make a return attack so promptly against the foes.

[8] αὕτη χρόνου μὲν μήκει βραχεῖα ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐμβολή, πλήθει δὲ χώρας, ἣν ἐπῆλθον, ἐν τοῖς πάνυ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἀχθηδόνα σὺν αἰσχύνη Ῥωμαίοις ἀήθη παρέσχεν ἄχρι Τιβέριος τε ποταμοῦ καὶ ὄρους Ἰανίκλου στάδια τῆς Ῥώμης οὐδ' εἴκοσιν ἀφεστῶτος ἀφικομένη. ἡ κωλύσουσα γὰρ δύναμις ἐπὶ πλεῖον χωρεῖν τὰ πολέμια οὐκ ἦν ὑπὸ σημαίαις. ἔφθασε γοῦν τὸ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν στράτευμα πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν τε καὶ λοχισθῆναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπελθόν.

[8] This irruption of the Veientes into the Romans' country, though brief in point of the time it lasted, was very serious with respect to the amount of territory they overran; and it caused the Romans unusual vexation, mingled with shame, since it extended as far as the river Tiber and Mount Janiculum,

which is not twenty stades from Rome. For there was no force then under the standards to stop the enemy's further progress; at any rate, the army of the Veientes had gone before the Romans could assemble and be assigned to centuries.

[1] συναχθείσης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ σκέψεως γενομένης, τίνα χρὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τρόπον, ἢ νικῶσα ἦν γνώμη, στρατεύμα συνεσθηκὸς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις, ὃ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔξει τὴν χώραν θυραυλοῦν καὶ αἰεὶ μένον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐλύπει δ' αὐτοὺς ἢ τ' εἰς τοὺς φρουροὺς δαπάνη πολλὴ σφόδρα ἐσομένη, τοῦ τε κοινοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς στρατείας ἐξαναλωμένου καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων ἀπειρηκότων ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀποσταλησομένων φρουρῶν καταγραφὴ τίνα τρόπον ἂν γένοιτο, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐκουσίῳ γέ τινων προκειμένων [p. 298] ἀπάντων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωρεῖν ὑποσθησομένων.

[15.1] When the senate was later called together by the consuls and had deliberated in what manner the war should be carried on against the Veientes, the opinion which prevailed was to maintain a standing army upon the frontiers, which should keep guard over the Roman territory, camp ing in the open and always remaining under arms. But the expense of maintaining the garrisons, which would be very great, grieved them, since the public treasury was exhausted as a result of the continual campaigns, and their private fortunes had prove unequal to the burden of the war-taxes. And they were grieved still more by the problem of enlisting the garrisons which were to be sent out, how that could be accomplished, there being little probability that a few men would, willingly at least, serve as a bulwark in defence of all and submit to hardships, not in successive shifts, but continuously.

[2] ἀδημονούσης δ' αὐτῆς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῦτοις συγκαλέσαντες οἱ δύο Φάβιοι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ σφετέρου γένους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο τῇ βουλῇ τοῦτο τὸ κινδύνευμα αὐτοὶ περὶ πάντων ἐκόντες ὑπομενεῖν, πελάτας τε τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ φίλους καὶ τέλεσι τοῖς ἰδιοῖς, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ὁ πόλεμος διαμένη, στρατευόμενοι.

[2] While the senate was troubled on both these accounts, the two Fabii assembled all the members of their clan, and having consulted with them, promised the senate that they themselves would voluntarily undertake this risk in defence of all the citizens, taking along with them their clients and friends, and would at their own expense continue in arms as long as the war should last.

[3] ἀγασθέντων δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων τοῦ γενναίου τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρ' ἐν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τιθεμένων, κλεινοὶ καὶ περιβόητοι καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὄντες ἐξήρσαν ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα σὺν εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις. ἡγήτο δ' αὐτῶν Μάρκος Φάβιος ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει καὶ νικήσας τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς τῇ μάχῃ, τετρακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἐπαγόμενος, ὧν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον

πελατῶν τε καὶ ἑταίρων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἕξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες. εἴτετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων δύναμις, ἥς ἡγεῖτο Καίσιων Φάβιος ὁ ἔτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

[3] All admired them for their noble devotion and placed their hopes of victory in this single undertaking; and while they were being acclaimed and their names were on the lips of all, they took their arms and marched forth, accompanied by vows and sacrifices. Their leader was Marcus Fabius, the man who had been consul the preceding year and had conquered the Tyrrhenians in the late battle; those he took with him were about four thousand in number, the greater part of them being clients and friends, while of the Fabian clan there were three hundred and six men. They were followed a little later by the Roman army under the command of Caeso Fabius, one of the consuls.

[4] γενόμενοι δὲ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρας πλησίον, ὃς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχει τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ὅχθου τινὸς ἀποτόμου καὶ περιρρῶγος ἐπετειχίζον αὐτοῖς φρούριον ἱκανὸν φυλάττεσθαι τοσαύτη στρατιᾷ τάφρους τ' ὀρυζάμενοι περὶ αὐτὸ διπλᾶς καὶ πύργους ἐγείραντες πυκνοῦς· καὶ ὠνομάσθη τὸ φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Κρεμέρα. οἷα δὲ πολυχειρίας τ' ἐργαζομένης καὶ ὑπάτου συλλαμβάνοντος,

[4] When they came near the river Cremera, which is not far from the city of the Veientes, they built upon a steep and craggy hill a fortress to command their territory, as large as could be garrisoned by an army of such size, surrounding it with a double ditch and erecting frequent towers; and the fortress was named Cremera, after the river. Since many hands were employed at this work and consul himself assisted them, it was completed sooner than might have been expected.

[5] θᾶπτον ἢ κατὰ δόξαν ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἔργον. καὶ μετὰ [p. 299] τοῦτ' ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν παρήλασεν ἐπὶ θάτερα τὰ μέρη τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἐστραμμένα Τυρρηνίαν, ἔνθα ἦν τοῖς Οὐιεντανοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, οὐδέποτε στρατὸν ἦξιν Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖ προσδεχομένοις. περιβαλλόμενος δὲ πολλὴν λείαν ἀπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ νεόκτιστον φρούριον, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ κατ' ἀμφότερα, τῆς τ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῶν πολεμίων τιμωρίας ἔνεκα, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν ἔμελλε παρέξειν εὐπορίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτ' εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκεν, οὔτε τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἰδιώταις ἀπένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ζεύγη βοεῖκὰ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα εἰς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν, τοῖς περιπόλοις τῆς χώρας ἐχαρίσατο.

[5] After that the consul marched out with the army and went past the city to the other side of the territory of the Veientes, the side facing toward the rest of Tyrrhenia, where the Veientes kept their herds, not expecting that a Roman army would ever come there; and having possessed himself of much booty, he

returned home to the newly erected fortress. This quarry afforded him great satisfaction for two reasons — first, because he had so promptly retaliated upon the enemy, and again, because it would furnish abundant supplies to the garrison of the stronghold. For he neither turned over any part of the spoils to the treasury nor distributed any to the soldiers, but presented all the cattle, the beasts of burden, the yokes of oxen, the iron, and the other implements of husbandry to the patrols of the country.

[6] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν στρατιάν. τοῖς δὲ Οὐιεντανοῖς μετὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ χωρίου κακῶς πάνυ τὰ πράγματα εἶχεν, οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἔτι δυναμένοις ἀσφαλῶς γεωργεῖν οὔτε τὰς ἐξωθεν εἰσαγομένας ἀγορὰς δέχεσθαι.

[6] After accomplishing this he led the army home. The Veientes found themselves in very dire straits after the erection of the frontier stronghold, since they could no longer either till their land in safety or receive the provisions that were imported from abroad.

[7] νείμαντες γὰρ εἰς τέτταρα μέρη τὴν στρατιάν οἱ Φάβιοι, τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ διεφύλαττον τὸ χωρίον, τοῖς δὲ τρισὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν πολέμιων ἄγοντες τε καὶ φέροντες αἰεὶ διετέλουν· καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένων χειρὶ οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ εἰς χωρία ἐνέδραις κατεχόμενα ὑπαγομένων, περιῆσαν ἀμφοτέρως καὶ πολλοὺς νεκροὺς ποιήσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπῆσαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον. ὥστ' οὐδ' ὁμόσε χωρεῖν [p. 300] αὐτοῖς ἔτι οἱ πολέμιοι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τειχῆρεις μένοντες τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κλέπτοντες τὰς ἐξόδους διετέλουν, καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐτελεῖτα.

[7] For the Fabii had divided their army into four bodies, with one of which they guarded the stronghold, while with the other three they continually pillaged the enemy's country; and often, when the Veientes openly attacked them with a considerable force or endeavoured to entice them into places beset with ambuscades, the Fabii had the advantage in both situations, and after killing many of them, would retire safely to their stronghold. Consequently the enemy no longer dared to engage them, but remained shut up within their walls for the most part, and only ventured out by stealth. Thus ended that winter.

[1] τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου τ' Αἰμιλίου καὶ Γαίου Σερουιλίου τὴν ὑπατείαν παρειληφότων ἀπηγγέλη Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι Οὐολοῦσκοι καὶ Αἰκανοὶ συνθήκας πεποιήνται στρατιᾶς κατ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐξάγειν, καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλοῦσι· καὶ ἦν ἀληθὴ τὰ λεγόμενα. θᾶπτον γοῦν ἢ προσεδόκα τις ἀμφοτέροι τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες ἐδήλουν τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι χώραν, ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐσομένων Ῥωμαίων τῷ τε Τυρρηνικῷ πολέμῳ ἀντέχειν καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντας δέχεσθαι.

[16.1] The next year, when Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius had assumed

the consulship, the Romans were informed that the Volscians and the Aequians had entered into an agreement to lead out armies against them at the same time, and that they would soon make an irruption into their territory. And this information was true. At all events, sooner than anyone was expecting, both nations with their armies were ravaging the parts of the Roman territory that adjoined their own, in the belief that the Romans would not be able to cope with the Tyrrhenian war and at the same time to withstand their own attack.

[2] καὶ ἕτεροι αὖθις ἦκοντες ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Τυρρηνίαν ἀπήγγελλον ὅλην καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι Οὐιεντανοῖς κοινήν ἀποστέλλειν συμμαχίαν. κατέφυγον γὰρ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐξελεῖν δι' ἑαυτῶν τὸ φρούριον Οὐιεντανοί, συγγενείας τε ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ φιλίας καὶ ὅσους μετ' αὐτῶν ἦραντο πολέμους διεξιόντες· ἀντὶ πάντων δὲ τούτων ἀξιοῦντες συνάρασθαι σφίσι τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου, ὡς σφῶν τε προκαθημένων Τυρρηνιας ὅλης καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνακωχεύόντων τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ῥέοντα κατὰ πάντων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πεισθέντες ὑπέσχοντο πέμψειν αὐτοῖς [p. 301]

[2] And again other messengers came reporting that all Tyrrhenia had become hostile to them and was prepared to send joint reinforcements to the Veientes. For the latter, finding themselves unable to destroy the fortress by themselves alone, had turned to them for help, reminding them of their kinship and friendship, and enumerating the many wars they had waged in common. In view of all this, they asked them to assist them in their war against the Romans, since they were now serving as a bulwark for all Tyrrhenia and stemming the torrent of war which was rushing from Rome upon all the peoples of their race. The Tyrrhenians were persuaded, and promised to send them as large a force of auxiliaries as they asked for.

[3] ὅσην ἠξίουσιν σημμαχίαν. ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο τρισσὰς ἐκπέμψειν στρατιάς, καὶ γενομένων ἐν τάχει τῶν καταλόγων Λεύκιος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς ἐπέμφθη· συνήρατο δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξόδου Καίσιων Φάβιος, ὁ νεωστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος, δεηθεὶς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐν Κρεμέρᾳ συγγενέσιν, οὓς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρουρήσοντας τὸ χωρίον ἐξήγαγε, συνεῖναι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγώνων μετέχειν· καὶ ἐξῆλθε σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξουσίᾳ κοσμηθεὶς ἀνθυπάτῳ.

[3] The senate, being informed of this, resolved to send three armies into the field; and the levies were speedily raised. Lucius Aemilius was sent against the Tyrrhenians; and taking part in the expedition with him was Caeso Fabius, the man who had recently resigned the consulship, having now asked leave of the senate to join his kinsmen on the Cremera whom his brother had led out to garrison that place, and to take part in the same contests as they; and invested with the proconsular power, he set out with his followers.

[4] Γάιος δὲ Σερουίλιος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐστράτευσεν· Σερούιος δὲ Φούριος ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνος. ἑκάστῳ δ' αὐτῶν δύο μὲν τάγματα Ῥωμαίων εἵλετο, Λατίνων δὲ καὶ Ἑρνίκων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς δυνάμεως. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουίῳ κατὰ νοῦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐχώρησε καὶ σὺν τάχει. μιᾷ γὰρ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς μάχῃ καὶ ταύτῃ δίχα πόνου, τῇ πρώτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκπλήξας ἐφόδῳ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδήλου τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καταπεφευγόντων εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα.

[4] Gaius Servilius, the other consul, marched against the Volscians, and Servius Furius, the proconsul, against the Aequians. Each of them was at the head of two legions of Romans and an equally strong force of Latins, Hernicans and the other allies. In the case of the proconsul Servius the war went according to his wish and was soon over. For in a single battle he routed the Aequians, and that without any trouble, having terrified the enemy at the first onset; and thereafter he laid waste their country, as the people had taken refuge in their forts.

[5] Σερουιλίῳ δὲ θατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ αὐθαδείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωρήσαντι πολὺ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντησε, καρτερῶς πάνυ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντιταξαμένων, ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθη πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολέσας μηκέτι χωρεῖν ὁμοσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑπομένων ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ ψιλῶν [p. 302]

[5] But Servilius, one of the consuls, having rushed into battle in a precipitate and headstrong fashion, found himself greatly disappointed in his expectations, with the result that after losing many brave men he was forced to give up engaging in pitched battles with them any longer, but remaining in his camp, to carry through the war by means of skirmishes and engagements of the light-armed troops.

[6] συμπλοκαῖς διαφέρειν ἔγνω τὸν πόλεμον. Λεύκιος δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς, εὐρύων ἐξεστρατευμένους πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Οὐιεντανοὺς καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολὺ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐπικουρικόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μελλήσας ἔργου εἶχετο· ἡμέραν δ', ἀφ' ἧς τὸν χάρακα ἔθετο, διαλιπὼν ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς μάχην, θρασέως πάνυ τῶν Οὐιεντανῶν ὁμοσε χωρύντων. ἰσορρόπου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γινομένου τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐνσεiei τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, καί, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διεσάλευσεν, ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐχώρει, ὅπου μὲν ἱππασίμον εἶη χωρίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων μαχόμενος, ὅπου δ' ἀνιππον ἀποκαταβαίνων τε καὶ πεζὸς ἀγωνιζόμενος. πονούντων δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων οὐδ' οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' ἐξέωσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντες ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα.

[6] Lucius Aemilius, who had been sent against the Tyrrhenians, finding that the Veientes had taken the field before their city together with a large number

of auxiliaries of the same race, set to work without further delay; and letting only a single day pass after making camp, he led out his forces to battle, in which the Veientes joined with great confidence. When the contest continued doubtful, he took the horse and charged the right wing of the enemy; then, after throwing that into confusion, he proceeded to the other wing, fighting on horseback where the ground would permit, and where it would not, dismounting and fighting on foot. When both of the enemy's wings were in distress, those in the centre could no longer hold out either, but were thrust back by the Roman foot; and after that they all fled to their camp.

[7] ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ἠκολούθει τοῖς φεύγουσι συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρε. γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τοῦ χάρακος καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐκείνην τε παρέμεινε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κόπῳ τε καὶ τραύμασι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ἀπειρηκότων ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται τοῦ χάρακος. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ, ὡς εἶδον ἐπιβαίνοντας ἡδὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοῖς περισταυρώμασιν, ἐκλιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη.

[7] Aemilius followed them in their flight with his army in good order and killed many of them. When he came near their camp, he attacked it with relays of fresh troops, remaining there all that day and the following night; and the next day, when the enemy were spent with weariness, wounds and want of sleep, he made himself master of the camp. The Tyrrhenians, when they saw the Romans already mounting the palisades, left their camp and fled, some to the city and some to the neighbouring hills.

[8] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἔμεινεν ὁ ὕπατος, [p. 303] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς μάχασι ταῖς ἐκπρεπεστάταις δωρεαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα ἐν τῷ χάρακι ὑποζύγια τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ σκηνὰς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν πολλῇ εὐπορίᾳ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ὡς ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας πώποτε μάχης. ἀβροδιαίτον γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολυτελές τὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἔθνος ἦν οἴκοι τε καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, περιηγόμενον ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλούτου τε καὶ τέχνης ἔργα παντοῖα πρὸς ἡδονὰς μεμηχανημένα καὶ τρυφάς.

[8] That day the consul remained in the enemy's camp; and on the next day he rewarded with the most magnificent presents those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and gave to the soldiers all the beasts of burden and slaves that had been left behind in the camp, together with the tents, which were full of many valuables. And the Roman army found itself in greater opulence than after any former battle. For the Tyrrhenians were a people of dainty and expensive tastes, both at home and in the field carrying about with them, besides the necessities, costly and artistic articles of all kinds designed for pleasure and luxury.

[1] ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἱκετηρίας φέροντας ἀπέστειλαν ὡς τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλεξομένους. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὀλοφυρόμενοί τε καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ τᾶλλ', ὅσα ἐπαγωγὰ ἦν εἰς ἔλεον, μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων διεξιόντες πείθουσι τὸν ὕπατον ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν διαλεξομένους, ἕως δ' ἂν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφίκωνται φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, μηδὲν αὐτῶν κακουργεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἴνα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται ταῦτα πράττειν, σῖτόν τε ὠμολόγησαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ διμήνου παρέξειν, καὶ χρήματα εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν [p. 304]

[17.1] In the course of the following days the Veientes, yielding at last to their misfortunes, sent their oldest citizens to the consul with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. These men, resorting to lamentations and entreaties and with many tears rehearsing every argument calculated to arouse compassion, endeavoured to persuade the consul to let them send ambassadors to Rome to treat with the senate for a termination of the war, and until the ambassadors should return with the senate's answer, to do no injury to their country. In order to obtain these concessions, they promised to supply the Roman army with corn for two months and with money for their pay for six months, as the victor commanded.

[2] ἔξ μηνῶν, ὡς ὁ κρατῶν ἔταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὕπατος λαβὼν τὰ κομισθέντα καὶ διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ποιεῖται τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνοχάς. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀκούσασα καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου γράμματ' ἀναλεξαμένη πολλὴν ποιουμένον παράκλησιν καὶ παραινοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα καταθέσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον, δόγμα ἐξήνεγκε διδόναι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς ἤτοῦντο οἱ πολέμιοι: ἐφ' οἷς δὲ δίκαιοις αὕτη γενήσεται, τὸν ὕπατον καταστήσασθαι Λεῦκιον Αἰμίλιον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ

[2] And the consul, after receiving what they brought and distributing it among his men, made the truce with them. The senate, having heard the ambassadors and received the letter of the consul, in which he earnestly recommended and urged putting an end to the war with the Tyrrhenians as soon as possible, passed a decree to grant peace as the enemy desired; as to the terms on which the peace should be made, they left them for the consul Lucius Aemilius to determine in such manner as he should think best.

[3] φανῇ κράτιστα ἔξειν. ταύτας λαβὼν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ὁ ὕπατος σπένδεται πρὸς τοὺς Οὐιεντανούς, ἐπεικεστέρα μᾶλλον ἢ συμφορωτέρα τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι ποιησάμενος εἰρήνην, οὔτε χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος οὔτε χρημάτων ἄλλων ἐπιθεῖς ζημίαν, οὔτε ὁμήρων δώσει τὸ πιστόν ἐν τοῖς συγκειμένοις βεβαιωσάμενος.

[3] The consul, having received this answer, concluded a peace with the Veientes that was more equitable than advantageous to the conquerors; for he

neither took far from them any part of their territory, nor imposed on them any further fine of money, nor compelled them to give hostages as security for the performance of their agreement.

[4] τοῦτ' αὐτῷ μέγαν ἤνεγκε φθόνον, καὶ τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις χάριτας αἷτιον ἐγένετο. ἐνέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτουμένῳ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αἰτιώμενοι τῶν συνθηκῶν, ὅτι οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης αὐτὰς ἔπραξεν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν λάβῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐπὶ Οὐλοῦσκους αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάγειν ἐπικουρίας τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἕνεκα, εἰ δύναιτο κατορθώσας τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον — ἦν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον — ἀφανίσει τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀμαρτήμασιν ὀργάς. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο τῆς βουλῆς [p. 305] ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ κατηγορίαν, ὡς ἀχθομένης ἐπὶ τῷ λελύσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμον. ἔφη δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ὑπεροφίας τῶν πενήτων ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων ἀπαιτῶσι τὰς περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας ὑποσχέσεις,

[4] This action brought upon him great odium and was the reason for his not receiving from the senate the rewards due for his success; for when he requested the customary triumph, they opposed it, censuring his arbitrary behaviour in the matter of the treaty, in that he had concluded it without their concurrence. But lest he should take this action as an insult and evidence of their anger, they ordered him to march with his army against the Volscians in order to bear aid to his colleague, on the chance that if he succeeded in the war there — for he was a man of great bravery — he might blot out the resentment for his former errors. But Aemilius, angry at this slight upon his honour, inveighed violently against the senate in the popular assembly, accusing them of being displeased that the war against the Tyrrhenians was ended. He declared that they were doing this with treacherous intent and through contempt of the poor, lest these, when freed from foreign wars, should demand the performance of the promises concerning the allotment of land with which they had been cajoled by them for so many years already.

[5] πολλοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη φενακίζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὁμοία εἰπὼν καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἀκράτου τῶν πατρικίων ὄνειδῃ κατασκεδάσας, τὴν τε συστρατευσάμενην αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀπέλυσσε τῶν σημείων καὶ τὴν μετὰ Φουρίου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου διατρίβουσιν ἐν Αἰκανοῖς μεταπεμφάμενος ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα: ἐξ ὧν πολλὴν πάλιν ἐποίησεν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς δημάρχους κατηγορεῖν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ διιστάναι τοὺς πένητας ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων.

[5] After he had in his ungovernable resentment poured forth these and many similar reproaches against the patricians, he not only dismissed from the standards the army that had served under him, but also sent for the forces that were tarrying in the country of the Aequians under Furius the proconsul and dismissed them to their homes. Thereby he once more gave the tribunes a

considerable warrant for accusing the senators in the meetings of the assembly and sowing dissension between the poor and the rich.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τούτους παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Γάιος Ὁράτιος καὶ Τίτος Μενήνιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Σκάμανδρος Μιτυληναῖος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φαίδωνος. τούτοις κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὁ πολιτικὸς θόρυβος ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ ἡρεθισμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ οὐδὲν ἑὼντος ἕτερον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ἕως ἂν μερίσῃται τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἴξε τὰ παρακινουῦντα καὶ παραττόμενα τῇ ἀνάγκῃ συγχωρήσαντα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας ἐκούσια ἦλθε.

[18.1] These consuls were succeeded by Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius in the seventy-sixth Olympiad (the one at which Scamander of Mitylene won the foot-race), when Phaedo was archon at Athens. The new consuls were at first hindered from transacting the public business by the domestic disturbance, the populace being exasperated and not permitting any other public business to be carried on until they should divide up among themselves the public land; but after a time the seditious and turbulent elements yielded to necessity and came in voluntarily to be enlisted.

[2] Τυρρηνῶν γὰρ αἱ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνδεκα πόλεις [p. 306] ἀγορὰν ποιησάμεναι κοινὴν κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Οὐιεντανῶν ἔθνους, ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον οὐ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης κατελύσαντο, καὶ δεεῖν θάτερον αὐτοὺς ἡξιοῦν πράττειν, ἢ λυεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογηθέντα

[2] For the eleven cities of the Tyrrhenians which had had no part in the peace, holding a general assembly, inveighed against the Veientes for having put an end to the war with the Romans without the general consent of the nation, and demanded that they do one of two things — either break the compact they had made with the Romans, or join with the Romans in making war upon the rest of the Tyrrhenians.

[3] ἢ πολεμεῖν σφίσι μετ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης τὴν ἀνάγκην ἡτιῶντο, ὅπως δ' ἂν αὐτὴν καταλύσαιτο εὐπρεπῶς εἰς κοινὸν ἐτίθεσαν σκοπεῖν. ἔπειτα ὑποτίθεται τις αὐτοῖς ἔγκλημα ποιησαμένοις τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τῆς Κρεμέρας καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπ' αὐτῆς, λόγῳ μὲν πρῶτον ἄξιοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πειθῶσι, πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου.

[3] But the Veientes laid the blame for the peace upon necessity, and proposed that the assembly consider how they might break it with decency. Upon this someone suggested to them that they should make formal complaint of the erection of the frontier stronghold on the Cremera and of the failure of its garrison to withdraw from there, and then should first make an oral demand that they evacuate the place, and, if they refused, should lay siege to the

fortress and make this action the beginning of the war.

[4] ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἀπηλλάττοντο ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Οὐιεντανοὶ μὲν ἀποστείλαντες πρεσβείαν ὥς τοὺς Φαβίους ἀπήτουν παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ φρούριον, Τυρρηγία δὲ πᾶσα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Φαβίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιστειλάντων ἔγνωσαν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκπορεύεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν τ' ἀπὸ Τυρρηγίας ἐπαγόμενον σφίσι καὶ τὸν ἔτι πρὸς Οὐολούσκους συνεστῶτα.

[4] Having agreed on this course, they left the assembly; and not long afterwards the Veientes sent ambassadors to the Fabii to demand from them the fortress, and all Tyrrhenia was in arms. The Romans, learning of these things through letters from the Fabii, resolved that both the consuls should take the field, one to command in the war that was coming upon them from Tyrrhenia and the other to prosecute the war which was still going on with the Volscians.

[5] Ὅρατιος μὲν οὖν ἄγων δύο τάγματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Οὐολούσκους. Μενήνιος δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν ἑτέραν ἄγων ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. παρασκευαζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τριβοντος τὸν [p. 307] χρόνον ἔφθη τὸ ἐν Κρεμέρᾳ φρούριον ἐξαιρεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ Φαβίων γένος ἅπαν ἀπολλόμενον. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατασχούσης τοὺς ἄνδρας συμφορᾶς διττὸς φέρεται λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἦττον πιθανός, ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπτόμενος. θήσω δ' αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους, ὡς παρέλαβον.

[5] Horatius, accordingly, marched against the Volscians with two legions and an adequate force of the allies, and Menenius was preparing to set out against the Tyrrhenians with another force of equal size; but while he was making his preparations and losing time, the fortress on the Cremera was destroyed by the enemy and the entire Fabian clan perished. Concerning the disaster that befell these men two accounts are current, one less probable and the other coming nearer to the truth. I shall give them both as I have received them.

[1] τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασιν, ὅτι θυσίας ἐπιστάσης πατρίου, ἣν ἔδει τὸ Φαβίων ἐπιτελέσαι γένος, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον ὀλίγους ἐπαγόμενοι πελάτας ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ προῆσαν οὔτε διερευνώμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς οὔθ' ὑπὸ σημαίαις τεταγμένοι κατὰ λόχους, ῥαθύμως δὲ καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ διὰ φιλίας γῆς πορευόμενοι.

[19.1] Some say that when the time was at hand for a traditional sacrifice which devolved upon the Fabian clan, the men set out from the fortress, attended by a few clients, to perform the rites, and proceeded without reconnoitring the roads or marching ranged in centuries under their standards, but negligently and unguardedly as in time of peace and as if they were passing through friendly territory.

[2] οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ προεγνωκότες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ἐλόχησαν τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν συντεταγμένην ἔχοντες οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἠκολούθουν. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασαν οἱ Φάβιοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις, ἐξαναστάντες τοῦ λόχου οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν δύναιμις προσέβαλεν ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν: καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόναις, οἱ δὲ τόξοις, οἱ δὲ σαυνίοις τε καὶ λόγχαις στοχαζόμενοι, τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἅπαντας κατειργάσαντο.

[2] The Tyrrhenians, having learned of their departure in advance, placed one part of their army in ambush at a spot along the road, and followed son after with the rest of their forces in regular formation. When the Fabii drew near the ambuscade, the Tyrrhenians who were lying in wait there rose up and fell upon them, some in front and others in flank, and a little later the rest of the Tyrrhenian force attacked them from the rear; and surrounding them on all sides and shooting at them, some with slings, some with bows, and others hurling javelins and spears, they overwhelmed them all with the multitude of their missiles.

[3] οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἦπτον ἔμοιγε πιθανὸς φαίνεται εἶναι λόγος. οὔτε γὰρ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου θυσίας ἔνεκα [p. 308] τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς σημαίαις τοσοῦτους ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφειν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος βουλῆς, δυναμένων τῶν ἱερουργιῶν καὶ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τῶν μετεχόντων μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, προβεβηκότων δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις: οὔτ' εἰ πάντες ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μηδεμία μοῖρα τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐν τοῖς ἐφεστίοις ὑπελείπετο, πάντας εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸ φρούριον ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν: ἤρκουν γὰρ ἂν καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἀφικόμενοι συντελέσαι περὶ τοῦ γένους ὅλου τὰ ἱερά. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι πιστὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος.

[3] Now this account seems to me to be the less credible. For not only is it improbable that so many serving under the standards would have returned from the camp to the city because of a sacrifice without a decree from the senate, when the rites might have been performed by others of the same clan who were advanced in years; but even if they had all gone from the city and no part of the Fabian clan was left in their homes, it is improbable that all who held the fortress would have abandoned the guarding of it, since even three or four of them would have sufficed to return to Rome and perform the rites for the whole clan. For these reasons, then, this account has not seemed to me to be credible.

[1] ὁ δ' ἕτερος, ὃν ἀληθέστερον εἶναι νομίζω περὶ τε τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῦ φρουρίου, τοίοςδε τις ἐστίν. ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τὸ κατορθοῦν ἐν ταῖς πείραις συνεχῶς προσωτέρω προχωροῦντων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι στρατιὰν συκνήν ἐν τοῖς ἔγγιστα χωρίοις λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ἔπειτ' ἀποστέλλοντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ποιμένας τε καὶ βουκόλια καὶ φορβάδων ἀγέλας ἵππων ἐπὶ νομῇν τῷ λόγῳ προὔκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα: οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες τοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους συνήρπαζον καὶ τὰ

[20.1] The other account concerning the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of the fortress, which I regard as being nearer to the truth, is somewhat as follows. As the men went out frequently to forage and, encouraged by the continued success of their forays, advanced even farther, the Tyrrhenians got ready a numerous army and encamped in the near neighbourhood unperceived

by the enemy. Then, sending out of their strongholds flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and drove of mares as if to pasture, they lured the garrison to these; and the men, coming out, seized the herdsmen and rounded up the cattle.

[2] βοσκήματα περιήλυνον. τοῦτο συνεχῶς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ποιοῦντες καὶ προαγόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους αἰεὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπειδὴ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν τὸ προνοητικὸν τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ταῖς συνεχέσιν ὠφελείαις δελεάσαντες, ἐγκαθίζουσι λόχους ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τῶν [p. 309] χωρίων νύκτωρ, καὶ ἕτεροι τὰς ὑπερδεξιούς τῶν πεδίων καταλαμβάνονται σκοπίας: τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προπέμψαντες ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνόπλους, ὡς δὴ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν νομέων, ἀφῆκαν ἐκ τῶν χωρίων πολλὰς ἀγέλας.

[2] The Tyrrhenians kept doing this and drawing the enemy ever farther away from their camp; then, when they had destroyed in them all thought for their safety by enticing them with constant booty, they placed ambuscades at night in the most suitable positions, while others occupied the heights that commanded the plains. The next day, sending ahead a few armed men, as if to serve as a guard for the herdsmen, they drove out a large number of herds from their strongholds.

[3] ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλῃ τοῖς Φαβίοις, ὅτι τοὺς πλησίον ὑπερβαλόντες λόφους ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὴ τινὶ χρόνῳ μεστὸν εὐρήσουσι τὸ πεδῖον παντοίων βοτῶν, καὶ τὴν φυλάττουσαν αὐτὰ χεῖρα οὐχ ἱκανήν, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακὴν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντες: καὶ διανύσαντες σπουδῇ καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιφαίνονται τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν βοσκημάτων συντεταγμένοι: κἀκεῖνοι οὐ δεξάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Φάβιοι, ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ δὴ ὄντες, τοὺς τε νομεῖς συνελάμβανον καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα περιήλυνον.

[3] When word was brought to the Fabii that if they went over the neighbouring hills they would in a very short time find the plain covered with cattle of all sorts with a guard insufficient to defend them, they went out of the fortress, leaving an adequate garrison there. And covering the distance speedily in their eagerness, they appeared before the guards of the cattle in battle array. These did not await their attack, but fled, and the Fabii, thinking themselves now quite secure, set about seizing the herdsmen and rounding up the cattle.

[4] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες κατὰ πολλὰ χωρία προσπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσκεδασμένοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν οὐχ οἷοι τ' ὄντες, ἐνταῦθ' ἀπόλλυνται. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότες ἦσαν προθυμοῦμενοι τι καταλαβέσθαι χωρίον ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄρη σπεύδοντες εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπίπτουσι λόχον ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ὑποκαθήμενον. καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερὰ καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἐκατέρων πολὺς. ἀπέωσαντο δ' οὖν καὶ τοὺτους ὁμως, καὶ πληρώσαντες τὴν φάραγγα νεκρῶν ἀνέδραμον ἐπὶ λόφον οὐ ῥάδιον ἄλῶναι: ἐν ᾧ τὴν

[4] Thereupon the Tyrrhenians, rising up from ambush in many places, fell upon them from all sides. The greater part of the Romans, being scattered and unable to assist one another, were killed upon the spot; but those who were in a body, being eager to reach a secure position and hastening toward the hills, fell into another ambuscade that lay concealed in the woods and glens. Here a sharp battle took place between them and there was great slaughter on both sides. But nevertheless they repulsed even these foes, and after filling the ravine with dead bodies, they ran up to the top of a hill that was not easy to take, and there passed the following night in want of the necessary provisions.

[1] τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ μαθόντες τὴν κατασχοῦσαν τοὺς σφετέρους τύχην οἱ κατέχοντες τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν πλεῖον ἀπόλωλε τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἐν ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον ἐν ὄρει πολιορκεῖται κατακεκλεισμένον ἐρήμῳ, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα τις αὐτοῖς ἤξει βοήθεια, σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων φθάσουσιν ἐξαιρεθέντες, ἐξήεσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὀλίγους πάνυ καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ φύλακας. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοί, πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπικαταδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν χωρίων κυκλοῦνται τε, καὶ πολλὰ γενναῖα ἔργα ἀποδειξαμένους διαφθεῖρουσιν ἅπαντας σὺν χρόνῳ.

[21.1] The next day those who were holding the fortress, upon being informed of the disaster that had befallen their companions — namely, that the greater part of the army had been destroyed in their pursuit of plunder and the bravest of them were shut up and besieged on a lonely mountain, and that if some aid seems reach them promptly they would soon be destroyed for want of provisions — set out in haste, leaving very few in the fortress to guard it. These troops, before they could join their companions, were surrounded by the Tyrrhenians, who rushed down upon them from their strongholds; and though they displayed many feats of valour, they were in time all destroyed.

[2] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν λόφον καταλαβόμενοι λιμῷ τε καὶ διψῇ πιεζόμενοι ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔγνωσαν: καὶ συμπεσόντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐμάχοντο: καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν τῶν πολεμιῶν φόνον, ὥστε τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς μάχης πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους. οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοί πλεῖον ἢ τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος ἀπολωλεκότες καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ δείσαντες, μικρὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰ ὅπλα διὰ τῶν ἀνακλητικῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ δίοδον, ἐὰν τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθῶνται καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐκλίπωσιν.

[2] Not long afterwards those also who had seized the hill, being oppressed by both hunger and thirst, resolved to charge the enemy; and engaging, a few against many, they continued fighting from morning till night, and made so great a slaughter of the enemy that the heaps of dead bodies piled up in many places were a hindrance to them in fighting. Indeed, the Tyrrhenians had lost

above a third part of their army, and fearing for the rest, they now gave the signal for a retreat and stopped fighting for a short time; and sending heralds to the men, they offered them their lives and a safe-conduct if they would lay down their arms and evacuate the fortress.

[3] οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς προκλήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐγενῆ θάνατον αἰρουμένων ἐπήεσαν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐκ διαδοχῆς, συστάδην μὲν καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκέτι μαχόμενοι, πρόσωθεν δὲ βάλλοντες ἀθροοὶ λόγχαις καὶ χερμασί, καὶ ἦν νιφετῷ παραπλήσιος [p. 311] ἢ πληθὺς τῶν βελῶν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συστρεφόμενοι κατὰ λόχους προσέτρεχον αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑφισταμένοις καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πέριξ ὑπέμενον.

[3] When the others refused their offer and chose the death befitting men of noble birth, the Tyrrhenians renewed the struggle, attacking them in relays, though no longer fighting at close quarters in hand-to-hand combat, but standing in a body and hurling javelins and stones at them from a distance; and the multitude of missiles was like a snow-storm. The Romans, massing by companies, rushed upon their foes, who did not stand their ground, and though they received many wounds from those surrounding them, they stood firm.

[4] ὥς δὲ τὰ τε ξίφη πολλοῖς ἄχρηστα ἦν τὰ μὲν ἀπεστομωμένα τὰς ἀκμὰς, τὰ δὲ κατεαγότα, καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ πέριξ Ἴττος ἐχόμενα διετέθρυπτο, ἔξαιμοι τε οἱ πλείους καὶ καταβελεῖς καὶ παράλυτοι τὰ μέλη διὰ πληθος τραυμάτων ἦσαν, καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ χωροῦσιν ὁμόσε: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσπίπτοντες ὥσπερ θηρία δόρατά τ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων, καὶ ξίφη δραπτόμενοι κατὰ τὰς ἀκμὰς ἀπέσπων, καὶ περικυλίωντες εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα συνεφύροντο θυμῷ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ δυνάμει διαγωνιζόμενοι.

[4] But when the swords of many had become useless, some having their edges blunted and others being broken, and the borders of their shields next the rims were hacked in pieces, and the men themselves were for the most part bled white and overwhelmed by missiles and their limbs paralysed by reason of the multitude of their wounds, the Tyrrhenians scorned them and came to close quarters. Then the Romans, rushing at them like wild beasts, seized their spears and broke them, grasped their swords by the edges and wrenched them out of their hands, and twisting the bodies of their antagonists, fell with them to the ground, locked in close embrace, fighting with greater rage than strength.

[5] ὥστ' οὐκέτι συνήεσαν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ τε καρτερικὸν ἐκπληττόμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, ἣν προσεilhήφεσαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ ζῆν δεδιότες: ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες αὖθις ἔβαλλον ἀθροοὶ καὶ ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ τελευτώντες ἐγκατέχωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν. διαφθείραντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ

φρούριον, ἔχοντες τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κεφαλὰς,

[5] Hence the enemy, astonished at their endurance and terrified at the madness that had seized them in their despair of life, no longer ventured to come to grips with them, but retiring again, stood in a body and hurled at them sticks, stones, and anything else they could lay their hands on, and at last buried them under the multitude of missiles. After destroying these men they ran to the fortress, carrying with them the heads of the most prominent, expecting to take the men there prisoners at their first onset.

[6] ὥς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοὺς ἐκεῖ παραληψόμενοι. οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γ' αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐλπίδα τὸ ἔργον: οἱ γὰρ καταλειφθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ ζηλώσαντες τὸ εὐγενὲς τοῦ θανάτου τῶν θ' ἐταίρων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξῆλθον ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, καὶ πολὺν ἀγωνισάμενοι χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἑτέροις ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν: [p. 312] τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔρημον οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ παρέλαβον. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πιστότερος ἐφαίνετο πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου: φέρονται δ' ἐν γραφαῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀξιοχρεοῖς ἀμφοτέροι.

[6] However, the attempt did not turn out according to their hopes; for the men who had been left there, emulating the noble death of their comrades and kinsmen, came out of the fortress, though very few in number, and after fighting for a considerable time were all destroyed in the same manner as the others; and the place was empty of men when the Tyrrhenians took it. To me now this account appears much more credible than the former; but both of them are to be found in Roman writings of good authority.

[1] τὸ δὲ συναπτόμενον τούτοις ὑπὸ τινων οὕτ' ἀληθὲς ὃν οὔτε πιθανόν, ἐκ παρακούσματος δέ τινος πεπλασμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἄξιον μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἀνεξέταστον. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τινες, τῶν ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίων Φαβίων ἀπολομένων ὅτι ἐν μόνον ἐλείφθη τοῦ γένους παιδίον, πρᾶγμα οὐ μόνον ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[22.1] The addition to this account which has been made by certain writers, though neither true nor plausible, but invented by the multitude from some false report, does not deserve to be passed over without examination. For some report that after the three hundred and six Fabii had been slain, there was only one boy left out of the whole clan, thereby introducing a detail that is not only improbable, but even impossible;

[2] ἀδύνατον εἰσάγοντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἀτέκνους τε καὶ ἀγάμους ἅπαντας εἶναι δυνατόν ἦν τοὺς ἐξελθόντας εἰς τὸ φρούριον Φαβίους. ὁ γὰρ ἀρχαῖος αὐτῶν νόμος γαμεῖν τ' ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐπάναγκες τρέφειν: ὃν οὐκ ἂν δήπου κατέλυσαν οἱ Φάβιοι μόνοι πεφυλαγμένον ἄχρι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων.

[2] for it is not possible that all the Fabii who went out to the fortress were unmarried and childless. For not only did the ancient law of the Romans

oblige all of the proper age to marry, but they were forced also to rear all their children; and surely the Fabii would not have been the only persons to violate a law which had been observed by their ancestor down to their time.

[3] εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο θείη τις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γ' οὐκ ἂν ἔτι συγχωρήσειε, τὸ μηδ' ἀδελφούς αὐτῶν εἶναι τισιν ἡλικίαν ἔτι παιδῶν ἔχοντας. μύθοις γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα γε καὶ πλάσμασιν ἔοικε θεατρικοῖς. οἱ δὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι παῖδας ἔτι ποιεῖν εἶχον ἡλικίαν, τοσαύτης κατασχούσης τὸ γένος ἐρημίας οὐκ ἂν ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἑτέρους παῖδας ἐποίησαντο, ἵνα μήτε ἱερὰ ἐκλειφθῇ πατρῴα μήτε δόξα τηλικαύτη διαφθαρή γένους;

[3] But even if one were to admit this assumption, yet he would never make the further assumption that none of them had any brothers still in their childhood. Why, such institutions resemble myths and fictions of the stage! Besides, would not as many of their fathers as were still of an age to beget children, now that so great a desolation had come upon their clan, have begotten other children both willingly and unwillingly, in order that neither the sacrifices of their ancestors might be abandoned nor the great reputation of the clan be extinguished?

[4] εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὐδὲ πατέρες αὐτῶν τισιν ἐλείποντο, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἰς ταῦτο συνῆλθεν [p. 313] ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξ καὶ τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τὰ ἀδύνατα: μὴ παῖδας αὐτοῖς καταλειφθῆναι νηπίους, μὴ γυναῖκας ἐγκύους, μὴ ἀδελφούς ἀνήβους, μὴ πατέρας ἐν ἀκμῇ. ταύτη μὲν δὴ τὸν λόγον ἐξετάζων οὐκ ἄληθῇ νενόμικα,

[4] Unless, indeed, none even of their fathers were left and all the conditions which would render it impossible to perpetuate the clan combined together in those three hundred and six men — namely, that they left behind them no infant children, no wives with child, no brothers still under age, no fathers in the prime of life.

[5] ἐκεῖνον δ' ἀληθῆ: τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν, Καίσιωνός τε καὶ Κοίντου καὶ Μάρκου τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὰς συνεχεῖς ἑπτὰ ὑπατείας, ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι πείθομαι Μάρκῳ παιδίον, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων οἴκου λοιπόν.

[5] Testing the story by such reasoning, I have come to the conclusion that it is not true, but that the following is the true account. Of the three brothers, Caeso, Quintus, and Marcus, who had been consuls for seven years in succession, I believe that Marcus left one young son, and that this boy was the one who is reported to have been the survivor of the Fabian house.

[6] οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει τῷ μηκέτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῇ τινα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἐνὸς τοῦδε ἀνδρωθέντος γενέσθαι ταύτην παραστῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους ἐστὶ λοιπός: οὐχ ὥς μηδενὸς ἄλλον ὄντος, ἀλλ' ὥς μηδενὸς ἐκείνοις ὁμοίου, ἀρετῇ

τεκμαίρομένοις τὸ συγγενές, οὐ φύσει: καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταῦθ' ἱκανά.

[6] There is no reason why it should not have been because no one else of the clan became famous and illustrious except this one son, when he had grown to manhood, that most people came to hold the belief that he was the only survivor of the Fabian clan — not, indeed, that there was no other, but that there was none like those famous three — judging kinship on the basis of merit, not of birth. But enough on this subject.

[1] οἱ γοῦν Τυρρηνοὶ τοὺς τ' ἄνδρας διαφθείραντες καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Κρεμέρᾳ φρούριον παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦγον τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔτυχε δ' οὐ μακρὰν κατεστρατοπεδευκῶς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Μενήνιος οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ: καὶ ὅτε ἡ Φαβίων συγγένεια καὶ τὸ πελατικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τριάκοντά που σταδίους ἀπέλχεν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο τόπου, δόξαν τ' οὐκ ὀλίγοις παρέσχε, γνοὺς ἐν οἷσι κακοῖς ἦσαν οἱ Φάβιοι, μηδεμίαν [p. 314] αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι φροντίδα τῆς τ' ἀρετῆς καὶ

[23.1] After the Tyrrhenians, then, had destroyed the Fabii and taken the fortress on the Cremera, they led their forces against the other army of the Romans. It chanced that Menenius, one of the consuls, lay encamped not far away in an insecure position; and when the Fabian clan and their clients perished, he was only some thirty stades from the place where the disaster occurred — a circumstance which gave many people reason to believe that, though aware of the dire straits of the Fabii, he had shown no concern for them because of the envy he felt of their valour and reputation.

[2] δόξης τοῖς ἀνδράσι φθονῶν. τοιγαροῦν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑπαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς δίκην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἐάλω. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπένθησεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀρετὰς ἀποκειραμένη, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ δόξαν αὐτοῖς αἴτιον γεγονέναι τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως εἶχεν: τὴν δ' ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο, μέλαινάν τε καὶ ἀποφράδα τίθεται, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔργου ἐν ταύτῃ χρηστοῦ ἄρξαιτο, τὴν τότε συμβῆσαν αὐτῇ τύχην ὀττευομένην.

[2] Accordingly, when he was later brought to trial by the tribunes, this was the chief ground for his condemnation. For the people of Rome deeply mourned their having shorn themselves of the valour of so many and so brave men and were severe and inexorable toward all whom they suspected of having been responsible for so great a calamity; and they regard the day on which the disaster occurred as black and inauspicious and will begin no useful labour on it, looking upon the disaster which then occurred on that day as a bad omen.

[3] ὥς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ, συνιδόντες αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον — ἦν δ' ὑπὸ λαγόνι κείμενον ὄρους — τῆς τ' ἀπειρίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πλεονέκτημα

ἀγαπητῶς ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν πλευρὰν τοῦ λόφου οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν. καταλαβόμενοι δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόρυμβον ἔθεντο ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἀσφαλῶς ἀναβιβάσαντες ὑψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ βαθεῖα τάφρῳ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὠχυρώσαντο.

[3] When the Tyrrhenians came near the Romans and observed the situation of their camp, which lay under a flank of a hill, they felt contempt for the inexperience of the general and gladly grasped the advantage presented to them by Fortune. They at once marched up the opposite side of the hill with their horse and gained the summit without opposition. Then, having possessed themselves of the height above the Romans, they made camp there, brought up the rest of their army in safety, and fortified the camp with a high palisade and a deep ditch.

[4] εἰ μὲν οὖν συνιδὼν ὁ Μενήνιος, οἷον ἔδωκε πλεονέκτημα τοῖς πολέμοις, μετέγνω τε τὴν ἁμαρτὰδα καὶ εἰς ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπήγαγε χωρίον τὴν στρατιάν, σοφὸς ἂν ἦν, νῦν δὲ δι' αἰσχύνης λαμβάνων τὸ δοκεῖν ἡμαρτηκέναι [p. 315] καὶ τὸ αὐθαδὲς πρὸς τοὺς μεταδιδάσκοντας φυλάττων, μετὰ αἰσχύνης ἄξιον πτῶμα ἔπεσεν.

[4] Now if Menenius, when he perceived what an advantage he had given the enemy, had repented of his error and removed his army to a safer position, he would have been wise; but as it was, being ashamed to be thought to have made a mistake, and maintaining an obstinate front toward those who advised him to change his plans, he came a merited fall which brought disgrace as well.

[5] οἷα γὰρ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων αὐτοῦ τόπων οἱ πολέμοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκάστοτε ποιοῦμενοι πολλὰ ἐπλεονέκτουν, ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν ἀγομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀρπάζοντες, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ ὕδωρ ἐκπορευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενοι: καὶ περιεισθῆκει τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ μήτε καιροῦ εἶναι κυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔμελλε ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε τόπου, ᾧ δοκεῖ μεγάλα εἶναι κατηγορήματα ἡγεμόνων στρατηγίας ἀπειρών: τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἀμφοτέρα, ὡς ἐβούλοντο,

[5] For as the enemy were constantly sending out detachments from places that commanded his camp, they had many advantages, not only seizing the provisions which the merchants were bringing to the Romans, but also attacking his men as they went out for forage or for water; and it had come to the point where the consul did not have it in his power to choose either the time or the place of combat — which seems to be strong evidence of the inexperience of a general — whereas the Tyrrhenians could do both as they wished.

[6] εἶχε ταῦτα. καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀπαναστῆσαι τὴν στρατιάν ὁ Μενήνιος

ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἔξαγαγὼν παρέταξεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, καταφρονήσας τῶν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑποτιθεμένων. καὶ οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέγα εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενοι κατέβαινον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ διπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες.

[6] And not even then could Menenius bring himself to move his army away from there; but leading out the troops, he drew them up ready for battle, scorning all who offered salutary advice. The Tyrrhenians, looking upon the folly of the general as a piece of great good fortune, came down from their camp with numbers fully twice those of their foe.

[7] ὡς δὲ συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, φόνος ἐγίνετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολὺς οὐ δυναμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν. ἐξεώθουν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχον καὶ τῶν ἐφεσθηκότων κατόπιν — ἐτάξαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ βάθος — ἐμπτώσει πολλῇ συνεργούμενοι. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων λοχαγῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἐγκλίνασα ἔφευγεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, καὶ τὰς τε σημαίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας συλλαμβάνουσι [p. 316] καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν γίνονται κύριοι. καὶ

[7] When they engaged, there was a great slaughter of the Romans, who were unable to keep their ranks. For they were forced back by the Tyrrhenians, who not only had the terrain as an ally, but were also helped by the vigorous pressure of those who stood behind them, their army being drawn up with deep files. When the most prominent centurions had fallen, the rest of the Roman army gave way and fled to the camp; and the enemy pursued them, took away their standards, seized their wounded, and got possession of their dead.

[8] κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς λοιπῆς ἡμέρας προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν νύκτα ἀφέντες αἰροῦσι τὸν χάρακα ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἔνδον, καὶ γίνονται πολλῶν σωματῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποσκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἔσχον οἱ φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα διέσωσαν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες.

[8] Then they shut them up in their camp and besieged them; and delivering numerous attacks during all the rest of the day, without desisting even at night, they captured the camp, which the Romans had abandoned, and took many prisoners and a great quantity of booty; for those who fled had not been able to pack up their belongings, but were glad to escape with their bare lives, many not keeping even their arms.

[1] οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὴν τ' ἀπώλειαν τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ χάρακος μαθόντες — ἥκον γὰρ οἱ πρῶτοι διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης — εἰς μέγαν θόρυβον ὥσπερ εἰκὸς κατέστησαν:

καὶ ὥς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλευσομένων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν τὰ τείχη περιστεφάνουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐτάξαντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως κατελαμβάνοντο.

[24.1] When those at Rome heard that their army was destroyed and their camp taken — the first who had saved themselves from the rout arrived while it was still deep night — they fell into great confusion, as may well be imagined; and expecting the enemy to come against them at any moment, they seized their arms and some formed a circle about the walls, others stationed themselves before the gates, and still others occupied the heights in the city.

[2] ἦν δὲ δρόμος ἄτακτος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ βοή συμμιγής, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέγεσι τῶν οἰκῶν εἰς ἀλκὴν καὶ ἀγῶνα εὐτρεπής ὁ κατοικίδιος ὄχλος, πυρσοὶ τε συνεχεῖς, οἷα δὴ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκοταῖα ταύτῃ, ὑπὸ λαμπάδων καὶ ἀπὸ τεγῶν τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦροντο, ὥστε συναφὲς εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῖς πρόσωθεν ὁρῶσι τὸ

[2] There was a disorderly running to and fro throughout the entire city and a confused clamour; on the roofs of the houses were the members of each household, prepared to defend themselves and give battle; and an uninterrupted succession of torches, as it was in the night and dark, blazed through lanterns and from roofs, so many in number that to those seeing them at a distance it seemed to be one continuous blaze and gave the impression of a city on fire.

[3] σέλας καὶ δόξαν ἐμπιπραμένης πόλεως παρασχεῖν. καὶ [p. 317] εἰ τότε οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ὠφελειῶν ὑπεριδόντες ἐκ ποδὸς τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἠκολούθησαν, ἅπασ' ἂν διέφθαρτο ἡ στρατεὺσα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δύναιμις, νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τε τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων ἐν τῷ χάρακι τραπόμενοι καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὰ σώματα δόντες μεγάλου αὐχήματος ἑαυτοὺς ἐστέρησαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ σταδίους ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκκαίδεκα ἀποσχόντες ὄρος, ἐξ οὗ σύνοπτός ἐστιν ἡ Ῥώμη, τὸ καλούμενον Ἰάνικλον, καταλαμβάνονται, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἀκώλυτοι κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὑπεροψίαν, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ὀράτιον ἄγοντα τὴν ἐν Οὐολούσκοις δύναμιν.

[3] And if the Tyrrhenians at that time had scorned the booty to be got from the camp and had followed on the heels of the fleeing Romans, the whole army which had taken the field against them would have been destroyed; but as it was, by turning to plundering everything which had been left behind in the camp and to resting their bodies, they deprived themselves of a great opportunity for boasting. The next day they led their forces against Rome, and when they were about sixteen stades from the city, they occupied the mount called Janiculum, from which the city is in full view. And using that as a base of operations, they pillaged the territory of the Romans without hindrance,

holding those in the city in great contempt, till the other consul, Horatius, appeared with the army which had been among the Volscians.

[4] τότε δὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητα καθοπλίσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑπαιθρον. ὥς δὲ τὴν τε πρώτην μάχην ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτὼ τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἑλπίδος ἱερὸν ἐνίκησαν τε καὶ ἀπέωσαντο τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην αὖθις ἐτέρᾳ πλείονι δυνάμει τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐπελθόντων παρὰ ταῖς Κολλῖναις καλουμέναις πύλαις ποιησάμενοι λαμπρῶς ἡγωνίσαντο, καὶ ἀνέπνευσαν ἐκ τοῦ δέους, καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτ' ἐτελεύτα.

[4] Then at last the Romans thought themselves safe, and arming the youth that were in the city, they took the field; and having not only in the first battle, which was fought at the distance of eight stades from the city near the temple of Hope, overcome their opponents and driven them back, but also, after that engagement, having fought brilliantly with them again near the gate called the Colline, when the Tyrrhenians had come against them with another and larger army, they recovered from their fear. Thus ended that year.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει περὶ τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα [p. 318] τροπὰς Σεξτίλιου μηνὸς παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἄνδρες ἔμπειροι πολέμων Σερουῖος τε Σερουίλιος καὶ Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος, οἷς ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πόλεμος καίτοι μέγας καὶ χαλεπὸς ὦν χρυσὸς ἐφαίνετο παρὰ τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους ἐξεταζόμενος. ἀσπόρου γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χειμῶνι διὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ πλησίου ὄρους καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καταδρομὰς γενομένης, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἔτι τὰς ἐξῶθεν ἐπισταγόντων ἀγορὰς σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ σίτου τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχε μεστήν οὔσαν ὄχλου τοῦ τε κατοικιδίου καὶ

[25.1] The following year, about the summer solstice, in the month of August, Servius Servilius and Aulus Verginius succeeded to the consulship, both being men of experience in warfare. To them the Tyrrhenian war, though great and difficult, seemed pure gold in comparison with the conflict inside the city walls. For since the land had gone unsown the preceding winter because the enemy had fortified the adjacent hill against them and had kept up incessant raids, and since not even the merchants any longer imported the usual provisions from outside, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, as the city was then crowded not only with its permanent population, but also with a multitude that had flocked thither from the country.

[2] τοῦ συνερρηκότος ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡβῃ πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑνδεκα μυριάδας ἦσαν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς ἔγγιστα τιμήσεως εὐρέθη, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παιδῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκετικῆς θεραπείας ἐμπόρων τε καὶ παιδῶν καὶ τῆς οἰκετικῆς θεραπείας ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ἐργαζομένων τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας μετοίκων — οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐξῆν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε κάπηλον οὔτε χειροτέχνην βίον ἔχειν — οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ τριπλάσιον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους: οὓς οὐκ ἦν παραμυθῆσθαι ῥάδιον ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ συντρέχοντας εἰς

τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ καταβοῶντας τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἐπὶ τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσίων κατὰ πλῆθος ὠθομένους, καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἄτερ ὠνῆς τὰς ἀποκειμένας αὐτοῖς τροφάς.

[2] For of adult citizens there were more than 110,000, as appeared by the latest census; and the number of the women, children, domestics, foreign traders and artisans who plied the menial trades — for no Roman citizen was permitted to earn a livelihood as a tradesman or artisan — was not less than treble the number of the citizens. This multitude was not easy to placate; for they were exasperated at their misfortune, and gathering together in the Forum, clamoured against the magistrates, rushed in a body to the houses of the rich and endeavoured to seize without payment the provisions that were stored up by them.

[3] οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι συνάγοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατηγοροῦντες τῶν πατρικίων ὥς αἰεὶ τι κακὸν [p. 319] ἐπὶ τοῖς πένησι μηχανωμένων, καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πώποτε δεινὰ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν ἀτέκμαρτόν τε καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἀνθρώποις τύχην, ἐκείνων ἔργα λέγοντες,

[3] In the meantime the tribunes assembled the people, and by accusing the patricians of always contriving some mischief against the poor, and calling them the authors of all the evils which had ever happened at the caprice of Fortune, whose whims men can neither foresee nor guard against, they inspired them with insolence and bitter resentment.

[4] ὕβριστὰς εἶναι πικροὺς ἐξειργάσαντο. τοιοῦτοις συνεχόμενοι κακοῖς οἱ ὕπατοι πέμπουσι τοὺς συνωνησομένους σῖτον ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἔταξαν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ἐαυτῶν βίον πλείονα τοῦ μετρίου παραθεμένους, τιμὴν ὀρίσαντες ἀποχρῶσαν. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μηχανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ἐπέσχον τῶν πενήτων τὰς παρανομίας καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ἔλαβον τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς.

[4] The consuls, beset by these evils, sent men with large sums of money to the neighbouring districts to purchase corn, and ordered all those who had stored up more than a moderate amount of corn for their own subsistence to turn it over to the state; and they fixed a reasonable price for it. By these and many other like expedients they put a stop to the lawless actions of the poor and thus got respite for their preparations for war.

[1] ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐβράδυνον ἀγοραί, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τειχους τροφῆς ἐχόμενα πάντα κατανάλωτο, ἀποστροφὴ δὲ τῶν κακῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἑτέρα, ἀλλὰ дуεῖν θάτερον ἐχρῆν, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει παρακινδυνεύσαντας, ἢ τειχήρεις μένοντας ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ στάσεως διαφθαρήναι, τὸ κουφότερον αἰρούμενοι τῶν κακῶν ἔγνωσαν ὁμοσε χωρεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων δεινοῖς.

[26.1] But when the provisions from outside were slow in coming and all the food supplies in the city had been consumed and there was no other means of averting the evils but to choose one of two courses — either to hazard an engagement with all their forces, in order to drive the enemy out of the country, or by remaining shut up within the walls to perish both by famine and by sedition — they chose the lesser of these evils and resolved to go forth to meet the perils from the enemy.

[2] προαγαγόντες δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως περὶ μέσας νύκτας διέβησαν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ σχεδίαις καί, πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι, πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προελθόντες ἔταξαν ὡς εἰς μάχην τὸν στρατόν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν τῶν κεράτων Οὐεργίνιος, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Σερουίλιος.

[2] Marching out of the city, therefore, with their forces, they crossed the river about midnight on rafts, and before it was broad daylight encamped near the enemy. The next day they came out of their camp and drew up their army for battle, Verginius commanding the right wing and Servilius the left.

[3] ἰδόντες [p. 320] δ' αὐτοὺς εὐτρεπεῖς ὄντας οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα σφόδρα ἐχάρησαν, ὡς ἐνὶ τῷ τότε κινδύνῳ κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντι τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθελοῦντες ἀρχήν, εἰδότες, ὅτι πᾶν, ὅσον ἦν κρᾶτιστον στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκείνον ὥρμητο, καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχοντες, ἐν ᾗ πολὺ τὸ κοῦφον ἦν, ῥαδίως αὐτῶν κρατήσειν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μετὰ Μενηνίου δύναμιν ἐν δυσχωρίαις παραταξαμένην σφίσιν ἐνίκησαν. γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολυχρονίου μάχης πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναντες Ῥωμαίων, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείονας τῶν σφετέρων ἀποβαλόντες ἀνεχώρουσιν βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα.

[3] The Tyrrhenians, seeing them ready for the contest, rejoiced greatly, believing that by this single battle, if it turned out according to their wish, they would overthrow the empire of the Romans; for they knew that all their foes' best soldiery was entered in this contest, and they entertained the hope, which was very ill founded, of defeating them with ease, since they had conquered the troops of Menenius when these had been arrayed against them in a disadvantageous position. But after a sharp and protracted battle, in which they killed many of the Romans but lost many more of their own men, they began to retreat gradually toward their camp.

[4] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐεργίνιος τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων οὐκ εἶα διώκειν τοὺς σφετέρους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι μένειν, ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρως ἐδίωκε τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπόμενος ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις ἐγένετο, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ Τυρρηνοί, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησάντων, ἐνσείουσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ὀλίγον τινα δεξάμενοι χρόνον ἐγκλίνουσι τὰ νῶτα, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ λόφου διωκόμενοι σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο.

[4] Verginius, who commanded the right wing, would not permit his men to pursue the enemy, but urged them to rest content with the advantage they had gained; Servilius, however, who was posted on the other wing, pursued the foes who had faced him, following them for a long distance. But when he reached the heights, the Tyrrhenians face about and, those in the camp coming to their aid, they fell upon the Romans. These, after receiving their attack for a short time, turned their backs and, being pursued down hill, were slain as they became scattered.

[5] μαθὼν δὲ Οὐεργίνιος, ἐν οἷαις ἦν τύχαις ἢ τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας κατέχουσα στρατιά, πᾶσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τάξει πλαγίαν ἤγε διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ὁδόν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ νώτου τῶν διωκόντων τοὺς σφετέρους, μέρος μὲν τι ταύτῃ καταλείπει τῆς στρατιάς κωλύσεως ἕνεκεν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθησόντων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἄγων ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς πολέμοις. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σερουιλίου θαρσήσαντες τῇ [p. 321] παρουσίᾳ τῶν σφετέρων ὑποστρέφουσι τε καὶ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο. κυκλωθέντες δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ οὔτε πρόσω διεκπορευθῆναι δυνάμενοι διὰ τοῦς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας, οὔτ' ὀπίσω φεῦγειν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα διὰ τοῦς κατόπιν ἐπιόντας, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως,

[5] When Verginius was informed of the plight of the left wing of the army, he led his entire force in battle array by a transverse road that passed over the hill. Then, finding himself in the rear of those who were pursuing his troops, he left a part of his army there to block any who should be sent from the camp to the relief of their comrades, and he himself with the rest attacked the enemy. In the meantime the troops also under Servilius, encouraged by the arrival of their comrades, faced about and, standing their ground, engaged. The Tyrrhenians, being thus surrounded by both forces and being unable either to break through in front, by reason of those who engaged them, or to flee back to their camp, by reason of those who attacked them in the rear, fought bravely but unsuccessfully, and were almost all destroyed.

[6] ἀτυχῶς δ' οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν. γενομένης δ' οἰκτρᾶς νίκης περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν εὐτυχὲς τέλος εἰληφότος τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι πρὸ τῶν νεκρῶν καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ηὔλισαντο, οἱ δὲ κατέχοντες τὸ Ἰάνικλον Τυρρηνοὶ, ἐπειδὴ οὐδεμία παρὰ τῶν οἴκοθεν ἦρχετο ἐπικουρία, καταλιπεῖν ἔκριναν τὸ φρούριον, καὶ ἀναστρατοπεδεύσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπῆραν εἰς τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν ἐγγυτάτω σφίσι τῶν Τυρρηνίδων πόλεων κειμένην.

[6] The Romans having thus gained a melancholy victory and the outcome of the battle being not altogether fortunate, the consuls encamped before the bodies of the slain and there spent the following night under the open sky.

The Tyrrhenians who were occupying the Janiculum, when no reinforcements came to them from home, decided to abandon the fortress; and breaking camp

in the night, they withdrew to Veii, which lay nearest to them of the Tyrrhenian cities.

[7] τοῦ δὲ χάρακος αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατήσαντες τὰ τε χρήματα διαρπάζουσιν, ὅσα ὑπελείποντο ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγῇ φέρεσθαι, καὶ τραυματίας λαμβάνουσι πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀπολειφθέντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν ἐστρωμένους.

[7] The Romans, having possessed themselves of their camp, plundered all the effects which the enemy had left behind as being impossible to carry away in their flight, and also seized many of their wounded, part of whom had been left in their tents, while others lay scattered all along the road.

[8] ἀντείχοντο γὰρ τινες γλιχόμενοι τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ καὶ διεκαρτέρουν παρὰ δύναμιν ἀκολουθοῦντες, εἴτα βαρυνομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν μελῶν ἡμιθνήτες κατέρρεον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν: οὗς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες ἀνείλοντο: καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ἦν καθελόντες τὸ φρούριον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἄγοντες ἦκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτησάντων κομίσαντες οἰκτρὰν ὄψιν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις διὰ πληθὸς [p. 322]

[8] For some, eager to be on their way home, were holding out and with hearts stout beyond their strength were persisting in following their comrades; then, when their limbs grew heavy, they collapsed half dead to the ground. These the Roman horsemen slew as they advanced a good distance along the road. And when there was no longer any sign of the enemy, the army razed the fortress and returned to the city with the spoils, carrying with them the bodies of those who had been slain in the battle — a piteous sight to all the citizens by reason both of the number and of the valour of those who had perished.

[9] τε καὶ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀπολομένων. ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕθ' ἐορτάζειν ὡς καλὸν ἀγῶνα κατορθώσας ἡξίου, οὕτε πενθεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς τὰς ἀναγκαίους ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας, τὴν δ' ἐπνίκιον τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις. μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀγοραῖς ἐπλήσθη παντοδαπῆς ἡ πόλις τῶν τε δημοσίᾳ πεμφθέντων καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων ἐμπορεύεσθαι πολλὸν εἰσαγαγόντων σῖτον, ὥστ' ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πάντας εὐετηρίᾳ γενέσθαι.

[9] Accordingly, the people did not think it fitting either to hold festival as for a glorious victory or to mourn as for a great and irreparable calamity; and the senate, while ordering the required sacrifices to be offered to the gods, did not permit the consuls to conduct the triumphal procession in token of a victory. A few days later the city was filled with all sorts of provisions, as not only the men who had been sent out by the commonwealth but also those who were accustomed to carry on this trader had brought in much corn; consequently, everybody enjoyed the same abundance as aforetime.

[1] καταλυθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πολέμων ἢ πολιτικῇ στάσις αὖθις ἀνεκαίετο τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν ταραπτόντων τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πολитеύματα διεσκέδασαν αὐτῶν ἀντιταπτόμενοι πρὸς ἕκαστον οἱ πατρίκιοι, τὴν δὲ κατὰ Μενηνίου δίκην τοῦ νεωστὶ ὑπατεύσαντος καίτοι πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο διαλύσαι:

[27.1] The foreign wars being now ended, the civil dissensions began to flare up again as the tribunes once more stirred up the populace. And though all their other measures were defeated as the result of marshalling their forces against every proposal, yet they were unable to suppress the accusation against Menenius, the late consul, in spite of all their efforts,

[2] ἀλλ' ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς δίκην ὑπὸ δυεῖν δημάρχων Κοίντου Κωνσιδίου καὶ Τίτου Γενυκίου, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτούμενος τῆς στρατηγίας τοῦ πολέμου τέλος οὔτ' εὐτυχὲς οὔτ' εὐπρεπὲς λαβούσης, μάλιστα δὲ διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ Φαβίων ὀλέθρῳ καὶ τῇ Κρεμέρας ἀλώσει, δικάζοντος τοῦ δημοτικοῦ ὄχλου κατὰ φυλάς, οὐ παρ' ὀλίγας ψήφους ὤφλεν, υἱὸς ὢν Ἀγρίππα Μενηνίου τοῦ καταγαγόντος ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν δῆμον καὶ διαλλάξαντος πρὸς τοὺς πατρίκίους, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ἡ βουλὴ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων λαμπροτάταις [p. 323] ἐκόσμησε ταφαῖς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ Ῥωμαῖον ἐνιαύσιον ἐπένθησαν χρόνον πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν ἀποθέμεναι.

[2] but he was brought to trial by Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, two of the tribunes. And being called upon to give an accounting of his conduct of the war, the outcome of which had been neither fortunate nor honourable, and being blamed particularly for the destruction of the Fabii and the capture of Cremera, he was condemned by no small majority of the votes when the plebeians passed judgement upon him by tribes — even though he was the son of Agrippa Menenius who had brought the populace home after their secession and reconciled them with the patricians, the son of a man whom the senate after his death had honoured with a most magnificent funeral at the public expense and for whom the Roman matrons had mourned for a whole year, laying aside their purple and gold.

[3] οὐ μέντοι θανάτου γ' αὐτὸν οἱ καταδικασάμενοι ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτίσματος, ὃ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς νῦν ἐξεταζόμενον βίους γέλωτος ἂν ἄξιον φανείη, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἀνθρώποις αὐτουργοῖς οὔσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ζῶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πενίαν κληρονομήσαντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφειδὲς ἦν καὶ βαρὺ, δισχιλίων ἀριθμὸς ἀσσαρίων. ἦν δ' ἀσσάριον τότε χάλκεον νόμισμα βάρος λιτριάον, ὥστε τὸ σύμπαν ὄφλημα ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα εἰς ὀλκὴν χαλκοῦ γενέσθαι.

[3] However, those who convicted him did not impose death as the penalty, but rather a fine — one which if compared with the fortunes of to-day would appear ridiculous, but to the men of that age, who worked their own farms and aimed at no more than the necessities of life, and particularly to Menenius,

who had inherited poverty from his father, was excessive and oppressive, amounting to 2000 asses. The as was at that time a copper coin weighing a pound, so that the whole fine amounted to sixteen talents of copper in weight.

[4] καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπίφθονον ἐφάνη τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἐπανορθώσασθαι βουλόμενοι αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν χρηματικὰς ἔπαυσαν ζημίας, μετήνεγκαν δ' εἰς προβάτων ἐκτίσματα καὶ βοῶν, τάξαντες καὶ τούτων ἀριθμὸν ταῖς ὕστερον ἐσομέναις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἐπιβολαῖς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μενηνίου καταδικῆς ἀφορμὴν αὐθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ὀργῆς καὶ οὔτε τὴν κληρουχίαν ἐπέτρεπον ἔτι αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι,

[4] And this appeared invidious to the men of those days, who, in order to redress it, abolished all pecuniary fines, changing them to payments in sheep and oxen, and limiting the number even of these in the case of all fines to be imposed thereafter by the magistrates upon private persons. From this condemnation of Menenius the patricians took fresh occasion for resentment against the plebeians and would neither permit them to carry out the allotment of lands nor make any other concession in their favour.

[5] οὐτ' ἄλλο ἐβούλοντο ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μετέμελε τῶν δεδικασμένων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐπύθετο: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἔτι συνῆλθεν ὁμιλίας, οὐδ' ἐν δημοσίῳ τινὶ πρὸς οὐδενὸς ὤφθη τόπῳ, ἔξόν τ' αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἐκτίσαντι μηδενὸς ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν καινῶν — ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῦ [p. 324] τὴν καταδικὴν ἀπαριθμεῖν — οὐκ ἤξιωσεν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου τὴν συμφορὰν τιμησάμενος οἴκοι μένων καὶ οὐδένα προσιέμενος ὑπὸ τ' ἀθυμίας καὶ σίτων ἀποχῆς μαρανθεὶς ἀπέστη τοῦ βίου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ πραχθέντα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τοιάδε ἦν.

[5] And not long afterwards even the populace repented of having condemned him, when they learned of his death. For from that time he no longer entered into any intercourse with his fellow men nor was seen by anyone in any public place; and though it was his privilege by paying his fine not to be excluded from any public doings — for not a few of his friends were ready to pay the fine — he would not accept their offer, but rating his misfortune as a capital sentence and remaining at home and admitting no one, wasted away through dejection and abstinence from food, and so perished. These were the events of that year.

[1] Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐάλεριου Ποπλικόλα καὶ Γαίου Ναυτίου παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕτερος ἀνὴρ πάλιν τῶν πατρικίων Σερούιος Σερούιλιος, ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι ὑπατεύσας ἔτει, μετ' οὐ πολὺν ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι χρόνον εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα ἤχθη. οἱ δὲ προθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δίκην δύο τῶν δημάρχων ἦσαν, Λεύκιος Καιδικίος καὶ Τίτος Στατίος, οὐκ ἀδικήματος, ἀλλὰ τύχης ἀπαιτοῦντες λόγον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Τυρρηνοῦς μάχην ὡσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ὁ ἀνὴρ θρασύτερον μᾶλλον

ἢ φρονιμώτερον, ἐδιδώθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἀθρόων ἐπεξελθόντων καὶ τῇν κρατίστην νεότητα ἀπέβαλεν.

[28.1] When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Nautius had succeeded to the consulship, another of the patricians, Servius Servilius, who had been consul the preceding year, was put on trial for his life not long after laying down his magistracy. Those who cited him to trial before the populace were Lucius Caedicius and Titus Statius, two of the tribunes, who demanded an accounting, not for any crime, but for his bad luck, inasmuch as in the battle against the Tyrrhenians he had pressed forward to the enemy's camp with greater daring than prudence, and being pursued by the garrison, who rushed out in a body, had lost the flower of the youth.

[2] οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπάντων ἐφάνη τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀγώνων βαρύτατος, ἡγανάκτουν τε συνιόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ δεινὸν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ τὰς εὐτολμίας τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὸ μηδένα κινδυνον ὀκνεῖν, ἐὰν ἐναντιωθῇ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἰς κατηγορίαν ἄξουσιν οἱ μὴ στάντες παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ: δειλίας τε καὶ ὄκνου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὑφ' ὧν [p. 325] ἐλευθερία τ' ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἡγεμονία καταλύεται, τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀγῶνας αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐλογίζοντο.

[2] This trial was regarded by the patricians as the most grievous of all; and meeting together, they expressed their resentment and indignation if boldness on the part of generals and their refusal to shirk any danger were going to be made a ground for accusations, in case Heaven opposed their plans, on the part of those who had not faced the dangers; and they reasoned that such trials would in all probability be the cause of cowardice, shirking and the lack of any further initiative on the part of commanders — the very weaknesses through which liberty is lost and supremacy undermined.

[3] παρακλήσει τε πολλῇ ἐχρῶντο τῶν δημοτικῶν μὴ καταγνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν δίκην, διδάσκοντες, ὡς μεγάλα βλάψουσι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ζημιοῦντες.

[3] They earnestly implored the plebeians not to condemn the man, pointing out that they would do great harm to the commonwealth if they punished their generals for being unfortunate.

[4] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνέστη χρόνος, παρελθὼν εἰς τῶν δημάρχων κατηγορήσε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, Λεύκιος Καϊδίκιος, ὅτι δι' ἀφροσύνην τε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν ἀπειρίαν εἰς πρόδηλον ἄγων ὄλεθρον τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπώλεσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμήν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα τοῦ κακοῦ γνῶσις ἐγένετο τῷ συνυπάτῳ, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἄγων τὰς δυνάμεις τοὺς τε πολέμιους ἀνέστειλε καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔσωσε, μηδὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ κωλῦσον ἅπασαν ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἑτέραν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμίσειαν ἀντὶ διπλασίας εἶναι τὴν πόλιν.

[4] When the time for the trial was at hand, Lucius Caedicius, one of the tribunes, came forward and accused Servilius of having through his folly and inexperience in the duties of a general led his forces to manifest destruction and lost the finest manhood of the army; and he declared that if his colleague had not been informed promptly of the disaster and had not by bringing up his forces in all haste repulsed the enemy and saved their own men, nothing could have prevented the other army from being utterly destroyed and the state from being reduced henceforth to one-half its former members.

[5] τοιαῦτ' εἰπὼν μάρτυρας ἐπηγάγετο λοχαγούς τε, ὅσοι περιῆσαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν τινας, οἱ τὸ ἐαυτῶν αἰσχρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἡττῇ τε καὶ φυγῇ ζητοῦντες ἀπολύσασθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡτιῶντο τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα δυσποτηρίας. ἔπειτ' οἶκτον ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τότε τεθνηκότων καταχεάμενος πολὺν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐξήσας, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, ὅσα εἰς φθόνον κοινῇ κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λεγόμενα τοὺς μέλλοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δεήσεισθαι ἀνείρξειν ἔμελλεν ἐκ πολλῆς ὑπεροψίας διελθὼν, παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον.

[5] After he had thus spoken, he produced as witnesses all the centurions who had survived and some of the rank and file, who in the effort to wipe out their own disgrace arising from that defeat and flight were ready to blame the general for the ill success of the engagement. Then, having poured out many words of commiseration for the fate of those who had lost their lives upon that occasion, exaggerated the disaster, and with great contempt of the patricians dwelt at length upon everything else which by exposing their whole order to hatred was sure to discourage all who were intending to intercede for the man, he gave him an opportunity of speaking.

[1] παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὁ Σερουίλιος εἶπεν: εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ δίκην με κεκλήκατε, ὧ πολλῖται, [p. 326] καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἔτοιμός εἰμι ἀπολογήσασθαι: εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν κατεγνωσμένην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσται μοι πλεον ἀποδείξαντι, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶ, λαβόντες τὸ σῶμα ὃ τι πάλαι βούλεσθε χρῆσθε.

[29.1] Taking up his defence, Servilius said: "If it is to a trial, citizens, that you have summoned me, and you desire an accounting of my generalship, I am ready to make my defence; but if it is to a punishment all determined, and no advantage is to accrue to me for showing that I have not wronged you in any way, take my person and deal with it as you have long desired to do.

[2] ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ κρεῖττον ἀκρίτῳ ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον, ἢ λόγου τυχόντι καὶ μὴ πείσαντι ὑμᾶς: δόξαμι γὰρ ἂν σὺν δίκῃ πάσχειν, ὃ τι ἂν μου καταγνώτε, ὑμεῖς τ' ἐν ἐλάττονι αἰτίᾳ ἔσεσθε ἀφελόμενοι μου τὸν λόγον καί, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εἴ τι ἀδικῶ ὑμᾶς ἀδηλόν ἐστιν, ἔτι ταῖς ὀργαῖς χαρισάμενοι. ἔσται δέ μοι ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καταφανής, θορυβῶ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ εἰκάζοντι, πότερον ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἢ ἐπὶ δίκην κεκλήκατέ

[2] Indeed, for me it is better to die without a trial than after getting a chance to plead my cause and then failing to convince you — since I should in that case seem to suffer deservedly whatever you determined against me — and you on your part will be less blameworthy for depriving me of the right to plead my cause and for indulging your angry passions while it is still uncertain even whether I have done you any wrong. And your intention will be evident to me by the manner in which you give me a hearing: by your clamour and by your silence I shall judge whether it is to vengeance or to judgement that you have summoned me.”

[3] με. ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπέσχε: σιγῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐμβοησάντων θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ὅσα βούλεται λέγειν, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον πάλιν ἔλεξεν: ἀλλ’ εἴ τοι δικασταῖς ὑμῖν, ὧ πολλῖται, καὶ μὴ ἐχθροῖς χρήσομαι, ῥαδίως πείσειν ὑμᾶς οἶομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λόγων, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες ἴστε. ἐγὼ κατέστην ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν τῷ κρατιστῷ Οὐεργινίῳ, καθ’ ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτειχίσαντες ὑμῖν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λόφον πάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς ὑπαίθρου ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν τοῦ καταλύσειν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τάχει. λιμὸς δὲ πολλὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ στάσις καὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ πράττειν ἀμηχανία.

[3] Having said this, he stopped, And when silence followed and then the majority cried out to him to be of good courage and say all that he wished, he resumed his plea and said: “Well then, citizens, if you are to be my judges and not my enemies, I believe I shall easily convince you that I am guilty of no crime. I shall begin my defence with facts with which you are all familiar. I was chosen consul together with that most excellent man, Verginius, at the time when the Tyrrhenians, having fortified against you the hill that commands the city, were masters of all the open country and entertained hopes of speedily overthrowing our empire. There was a great famine in the city, and sedition, and perplexity as to what should be done.

[4] τοιοῦτοις δὴ καιροῖς ἐπιστὰς οὕτω ταραχώδεσι καὶ [p. 327] φοβεροῖς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἅμα τῷ συνάρχοντι ἐνίκησα διτταῖς μάχαις καὶ ἠνάγκασα καταλιπόντας τὸ φρουρίον ἀπελθεῖν: τὸν δὲ λιμὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔπαυσα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου πληρώσας τὰς ἀγοράς, καὶ τοῖς μετ’ ἐμὲ ὑπάτοις τὴν τε χώραν παρέδωκα ὅπλων πολεμίων ἐλευθέραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑγιῇ πάσης νόσου πολιτικῆς, εἰς ἣς κατέβαλον αὐτὴν οἱ δημαγωγοῦντες.

[4] Having been brought face to face with so turbulent and so formidable a crisis, I together with my colleague overcame the enemy in two engagements and obliged them to abandon the fort and leave the country, while I soon put an end to the famine by supplying the markets with abundant provisions; and I handed over to my successors not only our territory freed from hostile arms but also our city cured of every political distemper with which the demagogues had infected it. For what wrongdoing, then, am I accountable to you — unless to conquer your enemies is to wrong you?

[5] τίνος οὖν ἀδικήματος ὑπεύθυνός εἰμι ὑμῖν; εἰ μὴ τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολέμιους ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν. εἰ δ' ἀποθανεῖν τισι τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὐτυχῶς ἀγωνιζομένοις συνέπεσε, τί Σερουίλιος τὸν δῆμον ἀδικεῖ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ θεῶν τις ἐγγυητὴς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῆς ἀπάντων ψυχῆς τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων γίνεται, οὐδ' ἐπὶ διακειμένοις καὶ ῥητοῖς τὰς ἡγεμονίας παραλαμβάνομεν, ὥσθ' ἀπάντων κρατῆσαι τῶν πολέμιων καὶ μηδὲνα τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλεῖν. τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ τὰ μεγάλα ἔργα μεγάλων ἀεὶ κινδύνων ὠνούμεθα.

[5] And if some of the soldiers happened to lose their lives in the battle while fighting successfully, in what way has Servilius wronged the people? For naturally no god offers himself as surety to generals for the lives of all who are going into battle; nor do we receive the command of armies upon stated terms and conditions, namely that we are to overcome all our enemies and lose none of our own men. For who that is a mere mortal would consent to take upon himself all the consequences both of his judgement and of his luck? No man, I say; but our great successes we always buy at the cost of great hazards.

[1] καὶ οὐκ ἔμοι ταῦτα πρῶτῳ πολέμοις ὁμόσε χωρήσαντι συνέβη παθεῖν, ἅπασι δ' ὡς εἶπεῖν, ὅσοι μάχας παρακεκινδυνευμένας σὺν ἐλάττοσι ταῖς σφετέραις δυνάμεσι πρὸς μείζονας τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐποίησαντο. ἐδίωξαν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοὺς καὶ [p. 328]

[30.1] “Moreover, I am not the first to whom it has fallen to suffer this fate when engaging the enemy, but it has happened to practically all who have risked desperate battles against enemy forces more numerous than their own. For there have been instances when generals after chasing their foes have themselves been put to flight, and while slaying many of their opponents have lost still more of their own men.

[2] ἀπώλεσαν ἔτι πλείους τῶν σφετέρων. ἐῷ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἡττηθέντες σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τε καὶ βλάβῃ μεγάλῃ ἀνέστρεψαν, ὢν οὐδεὶς τῆς τύχης δέδωκε δίκας: ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ συμφορὰ, καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὡς δ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μεγάλη τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ χαλεπὴ ζημία. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγῶγε τοσούτου δέω λέγειν, ὃ πάντες οἱ μέτριοι δίκαιον εἶναι φήσουσιν, ὡς οὐ δεῖ με τύχης εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τοιόνδε ἀγῶνα ὑπέμεινεν εἰσελθεῖν, ἐγὼ μόνος οὐ παραιτοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ συγχωρῶ τὴν τύχην ἐξετάζεσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν οὐχ ἥττον τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεῖνο προειπών:

[2] I shall not add that many even after meeting utter defeat have returned home with ignominy and great loss, yet not one of them has been punished for his bad luck. For the calamity itself is a sufficient punishment, and to receive

no praise, as is inevitable, even without anything else, is a great and grievous penalty for a general. Nevertheless, I for my part am so far from maintaining — what all reasonable men will allow to be just — that I do not have to render an accounting of my luck, that, even though no one else was ever willing to submit to such a trial, I alone do not decline to do so, but consent that my luck be inquired into as well as my judgement — after I have first made this one statement:

[3] ἐγὼ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις τὰς τε δυστυχεῖς καὶ τὰς εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἔργων πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ ποικίλων ὁρῶ κρινομένας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ τέλους; καὶ ὅταν μὲν τοῦτο χωρήσῃ κατὰ νοῦν, κἄν τὰ μεταξὺ πολλὰ ὄντα μὴ καθ' ἡδονὰς γένηται, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπαινουμένας ὑπὸ πάντων ἀκούω καὶ ζηλουμένας καὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς νομιζομένας τύχης; ὅταν δὲ πονηρὰς λάβωσι τελευτάς, καὶ ἐὰν ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου γένηται, οὐ τῇ σπουδαίᾳ τύχῃ

[3] I observe that men's undertakings, both unsuccessful and successful, are judged, not by the several operations in detail, which are many and various, but by the final outcome. When this turns out according to their hopes, even though the intermediate operations, which are many, may not be to their liking, I nevertheless hear the undertakings praised and admired by all and regarded as the consequences of good luck; but when these measures lead to bad results, even though every measure before the final outcome is carried out with the greatest ease, they are ascribed, not to the good, but to the bad luck of their authors.

[4] τῶν πραξάντων ἀποδιδομένας, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακῇ. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν σκοπὸν προιδόντες αὐτοὶ ἐξετάζετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην, ἥ παρὰ τοὺς πολέμους κέχρημαι. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν εὕρητε ἡττημένον με ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πονηρὰν [p. 329] καλεῖτέ μου τὴν τύχην, ἐὰν δὲ κεκρατηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀγαθὴν: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τύχης, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι φορτικοὶ πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ αὐτῆς λέγοντες, ἔχων ἔτι πλείω λέγειν παύσομαι.

[4] So, taking this as the target, do you yourselves consider what has been my luck in the various wars; and if you find that I was vanquished by the enemy, call my luck bad, but if I was victorious over them, call it good. On the subject of luck, now, I could say still more; however, as I am not unaware that all who discuss it are tiresome, I will desist.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς γνώμης κατηγοροῦσί μου προδοσίαν μὲν οὐ τολμῶντες ἐπικαλεῖν οὐδ' ἀνανδρίαν, ἐφ' οἷς αἱ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν γίνονται κρίσεις, ἀπειρίαν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν καὶ ἀφροσύνην, ὅτι κίνδυνον ὑπέμεινα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων ὡσάμενος, βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ὑμῖν, προχειρότατον μὲν τοῦτ' ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γενομένοις πάνυ ῥάδιον καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ παραβάλλεσθαι πράγμασι καλοῖς χαλεπὸν καὶ ὀλίγων: καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ

γεγονότα φαίνεται, ὅποῖα ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅποῖα ἔσται: ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰσθήσει καὶ πάθεισι καταλαμβάνομεθα, ταῦτα δὲ μαντείαις καὶ δόξαις εἰκάζομεν, ἐν αἷς πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλόν: καὶ ὅτι ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων ἔστι λόγῳ στρατηγεῖν πολέμους ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ

[31.1] “But since they censure my judgement also, not daring, indeed, to accuse me of treachery or cowardice, the charges on which other generals are tried, but accuse me of inexperience in the duties of a general and imprudence, in that I undertook an unnecessary risk in pressing forward to the enemy’s camp, I wish to render you an accounting on that point, too, since I can make the very obvious retort that it is very easy and lies within the power of any man to censure past actions, whereas to venture upon glorious exploits is difficult and within the power of but few; also that it is not so apparent what future events will be as what past events are, but, on the contrary, we apprehend the latter by perception and our experiences, while we conjecture the others by divination and opinions, in which there is much that is deceptive; and again, that it is the easiest thing in the world for people to conduct wars by talk when they stand far from the danger, which is what my accusers do.

[2] βεβηκότας, ὃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἔμοῦ. ἀλλ’ ἵνα ταῦτ’ ἀφῶ, φέρε πρὸς θεῶν εἵπατέ μοι, μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι βιάσασθαι φρούριον ἐπιβαλόμενος καὶ πρὸς ὑψηλὰ χωρία τὰς δυνάμεις ἀγαγών; ἢ πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μὲν κατῴρθωσαν, τοῖς δ’ οὐκ ἐχώρησεν ἡ πεῖρα κατὰ νοῦν; τί δήποτ’ οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφέντες ἐμέ [p. 330] κρίνετε, εἰ ταῦτ’ ἀστρατηγησίας καὶ ἀφροσύνης ἔργα νομίζετε; πόσα δ’ ἄλλα τούτου τολμηρότερα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεισι πράττειν, ὅταν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ λελογισμένον ἦκιστα οἱ καιροὶ δέχωνται;

[2] But, to waive all this, tell me, in the name of the gods, do you regard me as the first or the only man who ever attempted to capture a stronghold by force and led his men against lofty positions? Or have not many others of your generals done the sam, some of whom have succeeded, while the attempt of others has not turned out as they wished? Why in the world, then, did you let the others off but now try me, if you consider these actions to be marks of incapacity and imprudence in a general? How many other undertakings more daring than this does it occur to your generals to attempt when times of crisis will by no means admit of the safe and well-considered course?

[3] οἱ μὲν γε τὰς σημαίας ἀρπάσαντες τῶν σφετέρων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα τοῖς βλακεύουσι καὶ ἀποδειλιῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιου παραστῇ τὸ εὐψυχον ἐπισταμένοις, ὅτι τοὺς μὴ ἀνασώσαντας τὰ σημεῖα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν δεῖ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἀποθανεῖν: οἱ δ’ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολέμιων χώραν ἐμβαλόντες ἔλυσαν τὰ ζεύγματα τῶν ποταμῶν, οὓς διέβησαν, ἵνα τοῖς φεύγειν διανοοῦμένοις ἄπορος ἢ τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐλπίς φανεῖσα θάρσος παραστήσῃ καὶ μένος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις: οἱ δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα κατακαύσαντες ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκαν τοῖς σφετέροις ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας, ὅσων

δέονται, λαμβάνειν.

[3] Some indeed have snatched the standards from their own men and hurled them among the enemy, in order that the indolent and cowardly might perforce gain courage, since they knew that those who failed to recover those standards must be put to death ignominiously by their generals. Others, after invading the enemy's country, have destroyed the bridges over the rivers what they had crossed, in order that any who entertained thoughts of saving themselves by flight might find their hope vain and so be inspired with boldness and resolution in the battles.

[4] ἔῴ τᾶλλα μυρία ὄντα λέγειν, καὶ ὅσα τολμηρὰ ἔργα καὶ ἐνθυμήματα ἕτερα στρατηγῶν ἱστορία τε καὶ πείρα παραλαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ψευσθέντων τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπέσχε δίκας. εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἔχει τις ὑμῶν αἰτιάσασθαι με, ὅτι προβαλὼν τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς προὔπτον ὄλεθρον, αὐτὸς ἔξω τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ σῶμα εἶχον. εἰ δὲ μετὰ πάντων τ' ἐξηταζόμεν καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλαττόμεν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετεῖχον τύχης, τί ἀδικῶ; καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ ταῦθ' ἱκανὰ εἰρήσθω.

[4] Still others by burning their tents and baggage have imposed on their men the necessity of supplying themselves out of the enemy's country with everything they needed. I omit mentioning all the other instances of the kind, which are countless, and the many other daring actions and expedients of generals that we know of from both history and our own experience, for which no general was ever punished when disappointed in his helps. Unless, indeed, someone among you can bring the charge against me that when I exposed the others to manifest destruction I kept myself out of danger. But if I took my place in the line with all the rest, was last to withdraw and shared the same fortune with the others, of what crime am I guilty? Concerning myself, then, let this suffice.

[1] περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πατρικίων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὑμῶν μῖσος, ὃ διὰ τὴν κωλυθεῖσαν [p. 331] κληρουχίαν ἔχετε, καὶ ἐμὲ λυπεῖ, καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ κατηγορὸς αὐτὸ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορίας, βούλομαι βραχέα εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

[32.1] "But concerning the senate and the patricians I wish to say a few words to you, since the general hatred you plebeians bear toward them because they prevented the allotment of land hurts me also, and since my accuser too did not conceal this hatred, but made it no small part of his accusation against me.

[2] ἔσται δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας ὁ λόγος: ἄλλως γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ δυναίμην λέγειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἀκούειν συμφέρει. οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ὅσια, ὧς δημόται, τῶν μὲν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς εὔρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλῶν οὐσῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὐκ εἰδότες αὐτῇ χάριν: εἰ δὲ τι δεομένοις ὑμῖν, ἐξ οὗ συγχωρηθέντος μεγάλα βλάπτοιτ' ἂν τὸ κοινόν, οὐ φθονοῦσα ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ

συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως ὀρώσα, ἡναντιώθη, τοῦτο δι' ὀργῆς λαμβάνοντες.

[2] And I shall prospect with frankness; for I could not speak in any other fashion, nor would it be to your interest to hear me if I did. You are not doing right in the eyes of men or the gods, plebeians, if, on the one hand, you show no gratitude for the many great benefits you have received from the senate, but, on the other hand, because, when you demanded a measure the concession of which would bring great harm to the public, the senate, not in any spirit of animosity toward you, but having in view the welfare of the commonwealth, opposed it, you angrily resent its action.

[3] ἔδει δ' ὕμῃς μάλιστα μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ βουλευόμενα αὐτῆς γενόμενα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ δεχομένους ἀποστῆναι τῆς σπουδῆς: εἰ δ' ἀδύνατοι ἦτε κατασχεῖν ἀσύμφορον ἐπιθυμίαν λογισμῷ σώφρονι, μετὰ τοῦ πείθειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦν τυγχάνειν,

[3] But what you ought to have done was, preferably, to accept the senate's decisions as having been made with the best of motives and for the good of all and then to have desisted from your selfish striving; but if you were unable to restrain your inexpedient desire by means of sober reason, you should have sought to obtain these same ends by persuasion and not by violence.

[4] ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι. αἱ γὰρ ἐκούσιοι δωρεὰ τοῖς τε προεμένοις ἡδίοις τῶν ἡναγκασμένων εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσι βεβαιότερα τῶν μὴ τοιούτων. ὁ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ λογιζέσθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὥσπερ θάλαττα ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπανισταμένων, ἀνακινούμενοι τε καὶ ἀγριαίνόμενοι οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ διακεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἔατε. τοιγάρτοι παρέστη ἡμῖν κρείττονα ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὸν πόλεμον: ὅταν [p. 332] μὲν γε πολεμῶμεν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιοῦμεν, ὅταν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγωμεν, τοὺς φίλους. καίτοι, ὧς δημόται, εἰ μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ βουλευόμενα τοῦ συνεδρίου καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ἡγεῖσθ' εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἐστί, τί οὐχὶ καὶ

[4] For voluntary gifts are not only more pleasing to those who grant them than such as are extorted by force, but are also more lasting to those who receive them than those which are not freely given. Of this truth you, however, as Heaven is my witness, take no account, but you are continually stirred up by your demagogues and roused to fury even as is the sea by winds that spring up one after another, and you do not permit the commonwealth to remain calm and serene for even the briefest space of time. The result, therefore, is that we prefer war to peace; at any rate, when we Romans are at war, we hurt our enemies, but when at peace, our friends.

[5] τοῦθ' ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι; εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπλῶς τὴν βουλήν τῶν δεόντων οἴεσθε φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰσχροῶς καὶ κακῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύειν, τί δὴ ποτ' οὐχὶ μεταστησάμενοι αὐτὴν ἀθρόαν, αὐτοὶ ἄρχετε

καὶ βουλευέτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πολέμους ἐκφέρετε, ἀλλὰ περικνίξετε αὐτὴν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ διαλύετε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀναρπάζοντες ἐν ταῖς δίκαις; ἄμεινον γὰρ ἢν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν κοινῇ πολεμεῖσθαι, ἢ

[5] And yet, plebeians, if you regard all the resolutions of the senate as excellent and advantageous, as they really are, why do you not assume this also to be one of them? If, however, you believe that the senate takes no thought at all for the things it should, but governs the commonwealth dishonourably and basely, why in the world do you not abolish it bag and baggage and yourselves govern and deliberate and wage wars in defence of our empire, rather than pare it down and destroy it by degrees by making away with its most important members in your trials? For it would be better for all of us to be attacked together in war than for each one separately to be the victim of false accusations.

[6] καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ συκοφαντεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι τούτων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀλλ' οἱ συνταράττοντες ὑμᾶς δημαγωγοὶ οὗτ' ἄρχεσθαι ὑπομένοντες οὗτ' ἄρχειν εἰδότες. καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ἀφροσύνῃ τε καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ πολλάκις ἂν ὑμῖν τόδε τὸ σκάφος ἀνετράπη, νῦν δ' ἢ τὰ τούτων σφάλματα ἐπανορθοῦσα καὶ ἐν ὀρθῇ παρέχουσα ὑμῖν τῇ πόλει πλεῖν, ἢ πλεῖστα δεινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσά ἐστι βουλή.

[6] However, it is not you, as I said, who are the authors of these disorders, but rather the demagogues, who keep you stirred up and who are neither willing to be ruled nor capable of ruling. Indeed, so far as their imprudence and inexperience could accomplish it, this ship of yours would have foundered many times over; but as it is, the power which corrects their errors and enables your commonwealth to sail on an even keel is the senate, so greatly maligned by them.

[7] ταῦτ' εἶθ' ἡδέα ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἀκοῦειν εἴτ' ἀνιαρά, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἴρηται μοι καὶ τετόλμηται: καὶ μᾶλλον αἰροίμην ἂν παρρησίᾳ συμφερούση τῷ κοινῷ χρώμενος ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑμῖν λέγων σεσῶσθαι. [p. 333]

[7] These remarks, whether they are pleasant for you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered and hazarded by me in all sincerity; and I had rather lose my life by using a freedom of speech that is advantageous for the commonwealth than save it by flattering you."

[1] τοιοῦτους εἰπὼν λόγους καὶ οὐτε πρὸς ὀλοφυρμοὺς καὶ ἀνακλαύσεις τῆς συμφορᾶς τραπόμενος, οὗτ' ἐν δεήσεσι καὶ προκυλισμοῖς ἀσχήμοσι ταπεινὸς φανείς, οὗτ' ἄλλην ἀγεννῇ διάθεσιν ἀποδειξάμενος οὐδεμίαν παρέδωκε τὸν λόγον τοῖς συναγορευεῖν ἢ μαρτυρεῖν βουλομένοις. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι παριόντες ἀπέλυνον αὐτὸν τῆς αἰτίας, μάλιστα δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὁ κατὰ

τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύσας χρόνον καὶ τῆς νίκης αἴτιος εἶναι δοκῶν: ὃς οὐ μόνον ἀναίτιον αὐτὸν ἀπέφαινε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν τὰ πολέμια καὶ στρατηγῶν φρονιμώτατον ἐπαινέσθαι

[33.1] Having spoken in this manner and without either resorting to lamentations and wailings over his misfortune or abasing himself by entreaties and unseemly grovelling at the feet of anyone, and without displaying any other mark of an ignoble nature, he yielded the floor to those who desired to speak or bear witness in his favour. Many came forward and sought to clear him of the charge, and particularly Verginius, who had been consul at the same time with him and was regarded as having been the cause of the victory. He not only declared Servilius to be innocent, but argued that, as the bravest of men in war and the most prudent of generals, he deserved to be praised and honoured by all.

[2] τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων ἡξίου. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὸν οἴονται τέλος εἰληφέναι τὸν πόλεμον ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν χάριν εἶδέναι: εἰ δὲ πονηρὸν ἀμφοτέρους ζημιοῦν: κοινὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου τύχας γεγονέναι. ἦν δ' οὐ μόνον ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ βίος πειθων, ἐν ᾗ πασιν ἐξητασμένος ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς.

[2] He said that if they thought the war had ended favourably, they ought to feel grateful to both commanders, but if unfavourably, they ought to punish them both; for not only their plans, but also their actions and the fortunes meted out to them by Heaven had belonged to them both. Not only were the man's words convincing, but his whole life as well, which had been tested in all manner of good deeds.

[3] προσῆν δὲ τούτοις, ὃ πλεῖστον ἐκίνησεν οἶκτον, ὄψεως σχῆμα συμπαθές, οἷον περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεπονθότας ἢ μέλλοντας πάσχειν τὰ δεινὰ γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ δοκοῦντας ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν αἴτιον σφίσι τῆς συμφορᾶς, μαλακωτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὡς ἐδήλωσαν. ἀναδοθεισῶν γὰρ τῶν ψήφων οὐδεμία φυλὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός κατεψηφίσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν [p. 334] τὸν Σερουίλιον καταλαβὼν κίνδυνος τοιοῦτου τέλους ἔτυχεν.

[3] He had moreover — and this it was that stirred the greatest compassion — a look of fellow-suffering, such a look as one is apt to see on the faces of those who themselves have suffered calamities or are about to suffer them. Hence even the relations of the men who had lost their lives in the battle and seemed irreconcilable to the au of their misfortune became softened and laid aside their resentment, as they presently made evident. For when the votes had been taken, not a single tribe condemned him. Such was the outcome of the jeopardy in which Servilius had been placed.

[1] οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατιὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνοῦς

ἄγοντος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου. συνέστη γὰρ αὖθις ἡ Οὐιεντανῶν δύναμις προσθεμένων αὐτοῖς Σαβίνων, οἱ τέως ὀκνοῦντες αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἀδυνάτων ἐφιεμένοις, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε Μενηνίου φυγὴν ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν τοῦ πλησίου τῆς Ῥώμης ὄρους, τεταπεινώσθαι νομίσαντες τὰς τε δυνάμεις τὰς Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως ἡττηθῆναι, συνελάμβανον τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς πολλὴν ἀποστείλαντες δύναμιν.

[34.1] Not long afterwards an army of the Romans marched out against the Tyrrhenians under the command of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls. For the forces of the Veientes had again assembled and had been joined by the Sabines. The latter had hitherto hesitated to assist them in the war, fearing that they were aiming at the impossible; but now, when they learned both of the flight of Menenius and of the fortifying of the hill close to the city, concluding that the forces of the Romans had been humbled and that the spirit of the commonwealth had been broken, they proceeded to aid the Tyrrhenians, sending them a large body of troops.

[2] οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τῇ τε σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει πεποιθότες καὶ τῇ Σαβίνων νεωστί ἡκούσῃ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Τυρρηνῶν ἐπικουρίας περιμένοντες προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν τῇ πλείονι τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ὡς οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε χωρήσοντος, ἀλλὰ дуεῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἓκ τειχομαχίας αἰρήσοντες τὴν πόλιν ἢ λιμῷ κατεργασόμενοι.

[2] The Veientes, relying night on their own forces and on those of the Sabines which had just come to them, and expecting reinforcements from the rest of the Tyrrhenians, were eager to march on Rome with the greater part of their army, in the belief that none would oppose them, but that they should either take the city by storm or reduce it by famine.

[3] ἔφθασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ὁ Οὐαλέριος, ἐν ᾧ ἔτι ἔμελλον ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοὺς ὑστεριζοντας συμμάχους ἀνέμενον, αὐτὸς ἀγαγὼν Ῥωμαίων τὴν κρατίστην ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρικόν, οὐκ ἓκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἔξοδον, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα λήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλε. προελθὼν γὰρ ἓκ [p. 335] τῆς Ῥώμης περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν καὶ διαβάς τὸν Τέβεριν οὐ μακρὰν ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν: ἔπειτ' ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιὰν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἦγεν ἐν τάχει, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι θατέρῳ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπέβαλε.

[3] But Valerius forestalled their plan, while they were still delaying and waiting for the allies who tarried, by setting out himself with the flower of the Roman youth and with the auxiliary force from the allies, not openly, but in such a manner as would conceal his march from the enemy so far as possible. For, advancing from Rome in the later afternoon and crossing the Tiber, he encamped at a short distance from the city; then, rousing the army about midnight, he marched in haste and, before it was day, attacked one of the

enemy's camps.

[4] δύο γὰρ ἦν στρατόπεδα χωρὶς μὲν τὸ Τυρρηνῶν, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα. πρώτη δὲ προσαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τῇ Σαβίνων στρατοπεδείᾳ, καθυπνωμένων ἔτι τῶν πλείστων καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἀξιολόγου φυλακῆς, οἷα ἐν φιλίᾳ τε γῇ καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἀγγελλομένων, ἔξ ἐφόδου γίνεται ταύτης ἐγκρατῆς. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ἔτι ὄντες κατεσφάγησαν, οἱ δ' ἀνιστάμενοι ἄρτίως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐνδυνάμενοι, οἱ δ' ὠπλισμένοι μὲν, σποράδες δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον χάρακα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθάρησαν.

[4] For there were two camp s, separate but at no great distance from one another, one of the Tyrrhenian and the other of the Sabines. The first camp he attacked was that of the Sabines, where most of the men were still asleep and there was no guard worth mentioning, inasmuch as they were in friendly territory and felt great contempt for the enemy, whose presence had not been reported from any quarter; and he took it by storm. Some of the Sabines were slain in their beds, others just as they were getting up and arming themselves, and still others, who, though armed, were dispersed and fighting in disorder; but the larger part of them were intercepted and destroyed by the Roman horse while they were endeavouring to escape to the other camp.

[1] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλόντος τοῦ τῶν Σαβίνων χάρακος ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Οὐαλέριος ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ Οὐιεντανοὶ χωρίον οὐ πάνυ ἐχυρὸν κατειληφότες. λαθεῖν μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι ἐνεδέχετο τοὺς προσιόντας τῷ χάρακι: ἡμέρα τε γὰρ ἦν ἤδη λαμπρά, καὶ τῶν Σαβίνων οἱ φυγόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τὴν θ' αὐτῶν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἔλασιν: ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦ καρτεροῦ τοῖς [p. 336]

[35.1] The camp of the Sabines having thus been taken, Valerius led his forces to the other camp, where the Veientes lay, having occupied a position that was not very strong. Here it was not possible for the attackers to approach the camp without being seen, since it was now broad daylight and the fleeing Sabines had informed the Tyrrhenians both of their own disaster and of the advance of the Romans against the others; hence it was necessary to attack the enemy with might and main.

[2] πολεμίοις συμφέρεσθαι. γίνεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἀγωνιζομένων πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὀξεῖα μάχη καὶ φόνος ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς, ἰσόρροπός τε καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ ταλαντευομένη τῇδε καὶ τῇδε ἡ κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου. ἔπειτ' ἐνέδοσαν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἐξωσθέντες ἵππου καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸν χάρακα, ὁ δ' ὑπατος ἠκολούθει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῶν ἐρυμάτων — ἦν δὲ φαῦλως κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλές — προσέβαλε κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τὸ τε λοιπὸν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος

ἐπιταλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἀναπαυσάμενος.

[2] Then, as the Tyrrhenians ought to before their camp with all possible vigour, a sharp action ensued, with great slaughter on both sides; and the decision of the battle was equally balanced, shifting to and fro for a long time. At last the Tyrrhenians, forced back by the Roman horse, gave way and retired to their camp. The consul followed, and when he came near their ramparts — these had been poorly constructed and the place, as I said, was not very secure — he attacked them in many places at once, continuing his exhausting efforts all the rest of that day and not even resting the following night.

[3] οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ ταῖς συνεχέσι κακοπαθείαις ἀπειρηκότες ἐκλείπουσι τὸν χάρακα περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰς πλησίον ὕλας ἐσκεδάσθησαν. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῦτου τοῦ χάρακος ἐγκρατὴς ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ τε λάφυρα, ὅσα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰλήφει τῶν στρατοπέδων, διένειμε τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις πολλὰ ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀριστεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐκόσμιε στεφάνοις.

[3] The Tyrrhenians, exhausted by their continual hardships, left their camp at break of day, some fleeing to their city and others dispersing themselves in the neighbouring woods. The consul, having made himself master of this camp also, rested his army that day; then, on the next day he distributed to the men who had shared in the fighting the spoils, great in quantity, which he had taken in both camps, and honoured with the customary crowns those who had distinguished themselves in the battles.

[4] ἦν δ' ὁ κράτιστα πάντων ἀγωνίσασθαι δόξας καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν δύναμιν Σερουίλιος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ὑπατεύσας ἔτει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου δίκην ἀποφυγών, πρεσβευτὴς τότε τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συμπεμφθεὶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριστείᾳ τῇδε τὰς νομιζόμενας εἶναι μεγίστας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δωρεὰς οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἐξενεγκάμενος. μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας [p. 337] νεκροὺς ὁ ὕπατος καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ταφὰς ποιησάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν καὶ πλησίον τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως καταστήσας προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἔνδον.

[4] The man who was regarded as having fought with the better bravery of all and put the troops of the Veientes to flight was Servilius, the consul of the preceding year, who had been acquitted in his trial before the populace and now had been sent along as legate to Valerius; and in consideration of the superior valour he showed upon this occasion he was the first to receive the rewards which among the Romans are the most esteemed. After that the consul, having stripped the enemy's dead and buried his own, marched away with his army, and encamping near the city of the Veientes, challenged those inside to give battle.

[5] ὥς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐξῆει μαχησόμενος ἄπορον ὁρῶν χρῆμα ἐκ τειχομαχίας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν ἐχυρὰν σφόδρα ἔχοντας πόλιν, τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμῶν εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων ἐνέβαλε. ληλατήσας δὲ κάκεινην ἔτι ἀκέραιον οὔσαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ βαρεῖαν ἤδη τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὠφελείαις ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν δῆμος πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὄντι ἐστεφανωμένος ὑπὴντα λιβανωτοῖς τε θυμῶν τὴν πάροδον καὶ κρατῆρσι μελικράτου κεκραμένοις ὑποδεχόμενος τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν τοῦ θριάμβου πομπὴν ἐψηφίσατο.

[5] But when none ventured out to fight and he saw that it would be a difficult matter to capture them by assault, occupying as they did a city that was exceedingly strong, he overran a great part of their country and then invaded that of the Sabines. For many days he plundered their territory too, which was still untouched, and then, since his baggage train was now heavily laden with booty, he led his troops homeward. While he was yet a long way from the city he was met by the people, who, crowned with garlands, perfumed the route with frankincense as he entered and received the army with bowls of honeyed wine. And the senate decreed to him the celebration of a triumph.

[6] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ναύτιος, ᾧ προσέκειτο κατὰ κλῆρον ἡ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων φυλακὴ, βραδυτέραν ἐποίησατο τὴν ἔξοδον· οὗτ' ἀπορία οὗτ' ὄκνω τοῦ κινδύνου κρατηθεὶς, τὴν δ' ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πρὸς Οὐιεντανοὺς πολέμου караδοκῶν, ἴν' ἔαν τι συμβῇ παταῖσμα περὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν ἐν ἐτοιμῷ τις ὑπάρχῃ τῇ πόλει συνεστῶσα δύναμις, ἡ κωλύσει τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἔαν ὥσπερ οἱ πρότερον ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιτειχίζειν τινὰ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως χωρία ἐπιβάλονται.

[6] The other consul, Gaius Nautius, to whom the defence of their allies the Latins and the Hernicans had fallen by lot, had delayed taking the field, not because he was swayed by any irresolution or fear of danger, but because he was awaiting the uncertain outcome of the war with the Veientes, to the end that, if any misfortune should befall the army employed against them the commonwealth might have another force assembled in readiness to hinder the enemy from making an irruption into the country, in case this foe, like those who had earlier marched against Rome, should attempt to fortify any places as a threat to the city.

[7] ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων πόλεμος, ὃν ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι τέλος εὐτυχὲς ἔσχε· καὶ παρῆσαν τινες ἀγγέλλοντες [p. 338] μάχῃ νικηθέντας ἀπεληλυθέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς τοῖς συμμάχοις ἔτι δεῖν βοήθειας κατὰ τὸ παρόν· ὁ μέντοι Ναύτιος οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ πράγματα καλῶς σφίσιν ἐχώρησεν, ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιάν.

[7] In the meantime the war brought upon the Latins by the Aequians and the

Volscians had been happily concluded and messengers had arrived announcing that the enemy, defeated in battle, had left the territory of the Latins and that these allies no longer stood in any need of assistance for the present. Nevertheless, Nautius, after affairs in Tyrrhenia had taken a happy turn for the Romans, marched out with his army.

[8] ἐμβαλὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς διεξελθὼν ἔρημον ἀφειμένην, ἀνδραπόδων μὲν καὶ βοσκημάτων ὀλίγων πάνυ ἐκράτησεν, ἀρούρας δ' αὐτῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ σίτου ὄντος ἐμπρήσας καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς λωβησάμενος οὐδενὸς ὁμόσε χωροῦντος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν· ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπράχθη.

[8] Then, having invaded the country of the Volscians and overrun a great part of it which they had left deserted, he possessed himself of a very few slaves and cattle, and having set fire to their fields, the corn being then ripe, and done not a little other damage to their farmsteads, as none came to oppose him, he led his army home. These were the things accomplished in the consulship of those men.

[1] οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι τοὺτους ὕπατοι Αὐλὸς Μάλλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Φούριος, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Οὐιεντανοῦς ἄγειν, ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν. καὶ λαχὼν Μάλλιος ἐξῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ ταχέων, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ Οὐιεντανοὶ τειχίρεις γενόμενοι τέως μὲν ἀντείχον καὶ διεπρεσβέοντο πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Τυρρηνοῖς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ συμμαχήσαντας αὐτοῖς Σαβίνους, βοήθειαν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι σφίσι διὰ

[36.1] Their successors in the consulship, Aulus Manlius and Lucius Furius, after the senate had voted that one of them should march against the Veientes, drew lots, according to their custom, to determine which should command the expedition. And the lot falling to Manlius, he speedily led out the troops and encamped near the enemy. The Veientes, being shut up within their walls, defended themselves for some time; and sending ambassadors both to the other cities of Tyrrhenia and to the Sabines who had lately assisted them, they asked them to send them aid promptly.

[2] ταχέων. ὥς δ' ἀπάντων ἀπετύγχανον καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀπαναλώκεσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ λιμοῦ βιασθέντες ἐξῆλθον ὥς τὸν ὕπατον, ἰκετηρίας φέροντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τ' αὐτῶν καὶ τιμώτατοι, περὶ καταλύσεως δεόμενοι [p. 339] τοῦ πολέμου. τοῦ δὲ Μαλλίου κελεύσαντος αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον τ' εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἐνιαυτοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ διμήνου τροφὰς ἀποφέρειν, ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τῶν διαλύσεων, ἐπαινέσαντες ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ταχέων τὸ τ' ὀψώνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου συγχωρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου κατενέγκαντες ἀργύριον ἤκον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγγνώμης

ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι τυχεῖν ἤξιουν, καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου.

[2] But when they failed of everything they asked for and had consumed all their provisions, the oldest and most honoured among them, compelled by necessity, came out of the city to the consul with the tokens of suppliants, begging for an end to the war. Manlius ordered them to bring money for a year's pay for the army and provisions for two months and after doing this to send envoys to Rome to treat with the senate for peace. And they, having approved these conditions and speedily brought the pay for the army, together with the money which the consul permitted them to pay in lieu of the corn, came to Rome; and being introduced into the senate, they sought to obtain forgiveness for the past and for the future to be freed from the war.

[3] πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρα τὰ μέρη λόγων ἐνίκησεν ἡ σπένδεσθαι παραινοῦσα τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον γνώμη, γίνονται τ' ἀνοχαὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς αὐτοὺς τεσσαρακονταετεῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν πολλὰς τῇ πόλει τῆς εἰρήνης χάριτας εἰδότες, ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὸν πεζὸν θρίαμβον αἰτήσάμενος, ἔλαβεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τιμησις ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ τιμησάμενοι πολῖται σφᾶς τ' αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ παῖδας ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριοχιλίων τε καὶ δέκα μυριάδων.

[3] After many arguments on both sides, the motion prevailed to put an end to the war by a treaty, and a truce was granted to them for forty years. Then the envoys departed, feeling very grateful to the commonwealth for the peace. And Manlius, coming to the city, requested and received an ovation for having put an end to the war. There was also a census in this consulship; the number of the citizens who registered their own names, their wealth, and the names of their sons who had reached manhood was a little over 103,000.

[1] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους παραλαβόντες τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος τὸ τρίτον, καὶ Οὐπίσκος Ἰούλιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος, [p. 340] Ἀθήνησι δ' ἄρχοντας Χαρητος, ἐπίπονον σφόδρα καὶ ταραχῶδη τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσαν, εἰρήνην μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολέμων — ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γὰρ ἦν πάντα τὰ διάφορα — ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων αὐτοὶ τ' εἰς κινδύνους ἀθρόοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δεήσαντες ἀπολέσαι. ὥς γὰρ ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν στρατειῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν εὐθύς ὥρμησε τῶν δημοσίων ἀγρῶν.

[37.1] These consuls were succeeded by Lucius Aemilius Mamercus (elected for the third time) and Vopiscus Julius, in the seventy-seventh Olympiad (the one at which Dandes of Argos won the foot-race), when Chares was archon at Athens. The administration of the new consuls was very difficult and turbulent; they enjoyed peace, it is true, from foreign wars — for all their

quarrels were in a state of quiet — but through the dissensions at home they were not only themselves exposed to dangers, but came near destroying the commonwealth as well. For as soon as the populace had a respite from military expeditions, they at once became eager for a distribution of the public lands.

[2] ἦν γάρ τις ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις θρασὺς καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἀνὴρ, Γναῖος Γενύκιος, ὁ παραθήγων τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πενήτων. οὗτος ἐκκλησίας συνάγων ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἐκδημαγωγῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους προσηνάγκαζε τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας συντελεῖν. οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον οὐ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῇ λέγοντες ἐπιτετάχθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετὰ Κάσσιον καὶ Οὐεργίνιον ὑπάτοις, πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγράφη: καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' εἶναι νόμους εἰς αἰὲ κυρίους ἃ ψηφίζεται τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλὰ πολιτεύματα καιρῶν ἐνιαύσιον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν.

[2] It seems there was among the tribunes a certain bold man, not wanting in eloquence, Gnaeus Genucius, who whetted the passions of the poor. This man, by assembling the populace on every occasion and cajoling the needy, was endeavouring to force the consuls to carry out the decree of the senate concerning the allotment of lands. But the consuls kept refusing to do, alleging that this duty had been assigned by the senate, not to them, but to the consuls who immediately followed Cassius and Verginius, with reference to whom the preliminary decree had been drawn up. At the same time they pointed out that decrees of the senate were not laws continuing in force forever, but measures designed to meet temporary needs and having validity for one year only.

[3] ταύτας προβαλλομένων τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀδύνατος ὢν ὁ Γενύκιος αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάσαι μείζονα ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἰταμὴν ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο. τοῖς γὰρ ὑπατεύσασι τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἔτος Μαλλίῳ τε καὶ Λευκίῳ δίκην ἐπήνεγκε δημοσίαν, καὶ προεῖπεν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολογησομένους, ὀρίσας ἄντικρυς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς δίκης, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀποδείξαντες τοὺς δέκα ἄνδρας, οὓς ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλή, [p. 341]

[3] When the consuls put forward these excuses, Genucius, finding himself unable to employ compulsion against them, since they were invested with a superior authority, took a bold course. He brought a public suit against Manlius and Lucius, the consuls of the preceding year, and summoned them to appear before the populace and make their defence, specifying openly the ground for the action, which was that they had wronged the populace in not appointing the decemvirs directed by the senate to distribute the allotments of land.

[4] τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν τῶν κλήρων διανομήν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ὑπάτων ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, δώδεκα γενομένων τῶν μεταξὺ ἀρχείων, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐγγράφη, τοὺτους δὲ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας μόνους τῆς ψευθοείσης ὑποσχέσεως, ἐπεικεῖς ἔφερεν αἰτίας· καὶ τελευτῶν ἔφη μόνως ἂν οὕτως ἀναγκασθῆναι τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τότε ὄντας ὑπάτους κληρουχῆσαι τὴν γῆν, ἐὰν ἐτέρους τινὰς ἴδωσι δίκην τῷ δήμῳ διδόντας, ἐνθυμηθέντας, ὅτι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται ταὐτὸ παθεῖν.

[4] And he advanced plausible reasons for not bringing to trial some of the other consuls, though there had been twelve consulships in the interval since the senate had drawn up this decree, and for accusing only these men of violating the promise. He ended by saying that the only way the present consuls could be compelled to allot the land would be for them to see some others punished by the populace and thus be reminded that it would be their fate to meet with the same treatment.

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ παρακαλέσας ἅπαντας ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, καθ' ἱερῶν τ' ὁμόσας ἢ μὴν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορεῖν, ἡμέραν προεῖπεν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν δίκην ἐμελλεν ἐπιτελέσειν. τοὺς δὲ πατρικίους, ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα, πολὺ δέος εἰσέρχεται καὶ φροντίς, ὅτῳ χρή τρόπῳ τοὺς τ' ἄνδρας ἐκλύσασθαι τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὸ θράσος ἐπισχεῖν. καὶ δὴ ἐδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ψηφισαίτο κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἐνισταμένους καὶ εἰ δέοι καὶ εἰς ὄπλα χωροῦντας.

[38.1] After he had said this and exhorted them all to be present at the trial and had solemnly sworn over the victims that he would persist in his resolution and prosecute the men with all possible vigour, he appointed a day for holding the trial. The patricians, upon learning of this, felt great fear and concern, wondering what course they ought to take to secure the men's acquittal of the charge and also to put a stop to the boldness of the demagogue. And they resolved, in case the populace should pass any vote to the prejudice of the consular power, to prevent them from carrying it out, by opposing them with all their power and even resorting to arms if that should be necessary.

[2] οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ γε τῶν βιαιῶν οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ταχεῖαν λαβόντος τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ παράδοξον τὴν λύσιν· μίᾳ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ οὔσης ἔτι λοιπῆς τῇ δίκῃ νεκρὸς Γενύκιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κοίτης εὗρέθη, σημεῖον οὐδὲν ἔχων οὔτε σφαγῆς [p. 342] οὔτ' ἀγχόνης οὔτε φαρμάκου οὔτ' ἄλλου τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θανάτων οὐδενός. ὡς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πάθος, καὶ προηnéχθη τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, δαιμόνιον τι κωλύσεως συγκύρημα ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη

[2] But they had no need to use any violent means, as the danger was dispelled in a sudden and unexpected manner. For when only one day remained till the trial, Genucius was found dead on his bed without the least sign of stabbing,

strangling, poisoning, or any of the other means of killing as the result of a plot. As soon as this unhappy occurrence was known and the body had been brought into the Forum, the event was looked upon as a kind of providential obstacle to the trial, which was straightway dismissed.

[3] διελέλυτο. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα δημάρχων ἀνακαλεῖν τὴν στάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Γενυκίου κατεγίνωσκον πολλὴν μανίαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι διετέλεσαν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκαν ὡς ὁ δαίμων ἐκοίμησε τὴν στάσιν, οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔτι κατέλαβε κίνδυνος, νῦν δ' εἰς αὐθάδειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τραπόμενοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, ὅσον ἐστίν, ἐπιδείξει βουλόμενοι, κακὰ ἐξειργάσαντο μεγάλα. προθέντες γὰρ στρατολογίαν καὶ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούοντας ταῖς τ' ἄλλαις ζημίαις καὶ πληγαῖς ῥάβδων προσαναγκάζοντες εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἐποίησαν τραπέσθαι τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ πλεόν, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης μάλιστ' αἰτίας.

[3] For none of the other tribunes dared to revive the sedition, but they even looked upon Genucius as having been guilty of great madness. Now if the consuls had not committed any further act of officiousness, but had let the dissension, as Heaven had put it to sleep, remain so, no further danger would have beset them; but as it was, by turning to arrogance and contempt for the plebeians and by desiring to display the extent of their power, they brought about great mischiefs. For, having appointed a day for levying troops and endeavouring to coerce the disobedient by various punishments, including even scourging with rods, they drove the greater part of the plebeians to desperation. This was caused particularly by the incident I shall now relate.

[1] ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν τὰ πολέμια λαμπρός, Βολέρων Πόπλιος, ἡγεμονίαν ἐσχηκώς λόχων ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρατείαις, τότε ἅντ' λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτης πρὸς αὐτῶν κατεγράφετο. ὡς δ' ἦναντιοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἤξιον χώραν ἀτιμωτέραν λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἡμαρτηκώς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις στρατείαις, δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἐκέλευσαν τὴν ἐσθῆτά τε περικαταρρῆξαι καὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὸ σῶμα ξαίνειν.

[39.1] A certain man of the plebeians, famous for his exploits in war, Volero Publius, who had commanded centuries in the late campaigns, was now listed by the consuls as a common soldier instead of a centurion. Upon his objecting to this and refusing to take a lower rank when he had been guilty of misconduct in the former campaigns, the consuls, offended at his frankness, ordered the lictors to strip him and lash his body with their rods.

[2] ὁ δὲ νεανίας τοὺς τε δημάρχους [p. 343] ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί, εἴ τι ἀδικεῖ, κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπέχειν ἤξιον. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν οἱ ὕπατοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἄγειν καὶ τύπτειν ἐπεκελεύοντο, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ταμίας τῆς δίκης γίνεται.

[2] The young man called upon the tribunes for assistance, and asked, if he were guilty of any crime, to stand trial before the plebeians. When the consuls paid no heed to him but repeated their orders to the lictors to take him away and flog him, he regarded the insult as intolerable and took justice into his own hands.

[3] τὸν τε γὰρ πρῶτον προσελθόντα τῶν ῥαβδούχων παίων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐναντίαις πυγμαῖς νεανίας καὶ ἐρρωμένος ἀνὴρ ἀνατρέπει καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις προσελθεῖν κελευσάντων δεινὸν τι τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐφάνη: καὶ αὐτίκα συστραφέντες ἄθροοι καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες τὸ παρακλητικὸν τῆς ἀλλήλων ὀργῆς τὸν τε νεανίσκον ἐξήρπασαν καὶ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἀπέστησαν παίοντες καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὥρμησαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ καταλιπόντες ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφυγον,

[3] The first lictor who approached him he struck squarely in the face with his fists, and being a young man and vigorous, he knocked him down; and the next one likewise. When the consuls in their anger ordered all their attendants to approach him at the same time, the plebeians who were present thought it an outrageous thing. And immediately gathering together in a body and shouting the cry used to incite one another's resentment, they snatched the young man away and repulsed the lictors with blows, and at last made a rush against the consuls; and if those magistrates had not left the Forum and fled, the mob would have done some irreparable mischief.

[4] ἀνῆκεστον ἂν τι κακὸν ἐξειργάσαντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διειστῆκει πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, καὶ οἱ τέως ἡσυχάζοντες δήμαρχοι τότε ἡγριοῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγοροῦν. περιειστῆκει τε ἡ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας στάσις εἰς ἕτερον μείζονα διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἀγῶνα. οἱ μὲν γε πατρίκιοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὡς καταλυομένης αὐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας συναγανακτοῦντες τὸν ἐπιβαλεῖν χεῖρας τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τολμήσαντα κατὰ

[4] As a result of this incident the whole city was divided, and those tribunes who till then had remained quiet grew wild with rage and inveighed against the consuls. Thus the dissensions over the land-allotment had turned into another quarrel of greater consequence because of the contest concerning the form of government. On the one hand the patricians, believing that the power of the consuls was being destroyed, shared their indignation and demanded that the man who had dared to lay hands on their attendants should be hurled down from the precipice.

[5] κρημοῦ βαλεῖν ἠξιοῦν. οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ συστρέψαντες αὐτοὺς κατεβόων τε καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μὴ προδιδόναι [p. 344] σφῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄγειν καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατηγορεῖν καὶ δίκης τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν ἠξιοῦν τυχεῖν, ὅτι τὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενον τὴν ἐκ τῶν δημάρχων βοήθειαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κρίσιν ὑπέχειν, εἴ τι πλημμελεῖ, βουλούμενον,

οὐδετέρου τυχεῖν εἶσαν τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοίρᾳ τὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ πολίτην ἔθεντο παίειν ἐπικελευόμενοι.

[5] On the other hand the plebeians, assembling together, raised a loud clamour and exhorted one another not to betray their liberty, but to carry the matter before the senate, to accuse the consuls and to endeavour to ought to be some justice from them because they had refused to permit a man who had invoked the assistance of the tribunes and asked to be tried before the populace, in case he were guilty of any wrongdoing, to obtain either of these rights, but had treated him like a slave, though he was free born and a citizen, when they ordered him to be beaten.

[6] ἀντιτεταγμένων δὴ τούτων καὶ οὐδετέρων εἴξαι βουλομένων τοῖς ἑτέροις, ἅπας ὁ λοιπὸς τῆς ὑπατείας ἐκείνης ἔδαπανήθη χρόνος, οὔτε πολεμικαῖς πράξεσι κοσμηθεὶς καλαῖς οὔτε πολιτικαῖς λόγου ἄξιας.

[6] The two parties being thus arrayed against one another and neither being willing to yield to the other, all the remaining time of this consulship was consumed without being marked either by any glorious exploits in war or by achievements at home worthy of mention.

[1] ἐπιστάντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ὕπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχθησαν Λεύκιος Πινάριος καὶ Πόπλιος Φούριος. ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ τοῦ ἔτους εὐθύς ὅττειας τινὸς ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη καὶ φόβου δαιμονίου τεράτων τε καὶ σημείων πολλῶν γινομένων. καὶ οἱ τε μάντεις ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ χόλου δαιμόνων μηνύματα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἀπέφαινον, ἱερῶν τινων οὐχ ὁσίως οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἐπιτελουμένων.

[40.1] The election of magistrates being at hand, Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius were chosen consuls. At the very beginning of this year the city was filled with a kind of religious awe and fear of the gods owing to the occurrence of many prodigies and omens. All the augurs and the pontiffs declared that these occurrences were indications of divine anger, aroused because of some rites were not being performed in a pure and holy manner.

[2] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ νόσος ἐνέσκηπεν εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ καλουμένη λοιμική, καὶ θάνατος, ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὰς ἐγκύμονας. ὠμοτοκοῦσαι τε γὰρ καὶ νεκρὰ τίκτουσαι συναπέθνησκον τοῖς βρέφεσι, καὶ οὔτε λιτανεῖται πρὸς ἔδεσι καὶ βωμοῖς γινόμεναι θεῶν, οὔτε καθαρτήριοι θυσίαι περὶ τε πόλεως καὶ οἰκων ἰδίων ἐπιτελοῦμεναι παῦλαν αὐταῖς ἔφερον τῶν κακῶν.

[2] And not long afterwards the disease known as the pestilence attacked the women, particularly such as were with child, and more of them died than ever before; for as they miscarried and brought forth dead children, they died together with their infants. And neither supplications made at the statues and altars of the gods nor expiatory sacrifices performed on behalf of the state and

of private households gave the women any respite from their ills.

[3] ἐν [p. 345] τοιαύτῃ δὲ συμφορᾷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γίνεται μὲνυσις ὑπὸ δούλου τινός, ὅτι μία τῶν ἱεροποιῶν παρθένων τῶν φυλαττουσῶν τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ Ὀρβινία τὴν παρθενίαν ἀπολώλεκε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ θύει τὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ οὔσα καθαρὰ. κάκεῖνοι μεταστήσαντες αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ προθέντες δίκην, ἐπειδὴ καταφανὴς ἐγένετο ἐλεγχθεῖσα, ῥάβδοις τ' ἐμαστιγῶσαν καὶ πομπεύσαντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν.

[3] While the commonwealth was suffering from such a calamity, information was given to the pontiffs by a slave that one of the Vestal virgins who have the care of the perpetual fire, Urbinia by name, had lost her virginity and, though unchaste, was performing the public sacrifices. The pontiffs removed her from her sacred offices, brought her to trial, and after her guilt had been clearly established, they ordered her to be scourged with rods, to be carried through the city in solemn procession and then to be buried alive.

[4] τῶν δὲ διαπραξαμένων τὴν ἀνοσίαν φθορὰν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, τὸν δ' ἕτερον οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκοποι συλλαβόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενοι καθάπερ ἀνδράποδον ἀπέκτειναν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἡ κατασκήψασα εἰς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ὁ πολὺς αὐτῶν φθόρος μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον εὐθύς ἐπαύσατο.

[4] One of the two men who had perpetrated the impious defilement killed himself; the other was seized by the pontiffs, who ordered him to be scourged in the Forum like a slave and then put to death. After this action the pestilence which had attacked women and caused so great a mortality among them promptly ceased.

[1] ἡ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου διαμένουσα ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσις, ἣν οἱ δημόται πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἐστασίαζον, ἀνίστατο πάλιν. ὁ δ' ἐξεγείρων αὐτὴν δήμαρχος ἦν Πόπλιος Βολέρων, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ τοῖς περὶ Αἰμίλιόν τε καὶ Ἰούλιον ὑπάτοις ἀπειθήσας, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀντὶ λοχαγοῦ στρατιώτην κατέγραφον, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων τοῦ δήμου προστάτης — γένος τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἦν καὶ τεθραμμένος ἐν πολλῇ ταπεινότητι καὶ ἀπορίᾳ — ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων βασιλικὸν ἔχουσαν ἀξίωμα τέως πρῶτος ἔδοξεν ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπειθεῖα ταπεινῶσαι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον διὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, [p. 346] ἃς ἐποιεῖτο μετιῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων,

[41.1] But the sedition raised by the plebeians against the patricians, which had long continued in the city, was starting up again. The person who stirred it up was Volero Publius, one of the tribunes, the same man who the year before had disobeyed the consuls Aemilius and Julius when they would have listed him as a common soldier instead of a centurion. He was chosen by the poor as

leader of the populace, not so much for any other reason — for he was not only of common birth, but had been brought up in great obscurity and want — but because he was regarded as the first person in private life who by his disobedience had humbled the consular power, which till then had been invested with the royal dignity, and still more by reason of the promises he had made, when he stood candidate for the tribunate against the patricians, to deprive them of their power.

[2] ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἰσχύν. ὃς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ λωφῆσαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου χόλου τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν, συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν νόμον εἰσφέρει περὶ τῶν δημαρχικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, μετὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς φρατριακῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν κουριᾶτιν, ἐπὶ τὴν φυλετικὴν. τίς δὲ τούτων διαφορὰ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἐγὼ σημανῶ.

[2] This man, as soon as it was possible for him to attend to public business, now that the divine anger had abated, called an assembly of the populace and proposed a law concerning the tribunician elections, transferring them from the assembly of the clans, called by the Romans the curiate assembly, to the tribal assembly. What the difference was between these assemblies I will now point out.

[3] τὰς μὲν φρατριακὰς ψηφοφορίας ἔδει προβουλευσαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους κατὰ φράτρας τὰς ψήφους ἐπενέγκαντος, καὶ μετ' ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου σημείων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν μηδὲν ἐναντιωθέντων, τότε κυρίας εἶναι: τὰς δὲ φυλετικὰς μήτε προβουλεύματος γενομένου μήτε τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ οἰωνοσκοπῶν ἐπιθεσπισάντων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τελεσθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν τέλος ἔχειν. καὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν τεττάρων δημάρχων οἱ συνεισφέροντες αὐτῷ δύο δήμαρχοι τὸν νόμον: οὗς προσεταιρισάμενος ἐλαττόνων ὄντων τῶν μὴ ταῦτα βουλομένων περιῆν.

[3] In order that the voting in the curiate assembly might be valid it was necessary that the senate should pass a preliminary decree and that the plebeians should vote on it by curiae, and that after both these votes the heavenly signs and omens should offer no opposition; whereas, in the case of the voting of tribal assembly, neither the preliminary decree of the senate was necessary nor the sanction of the priests and augurs, but it was only necessary that it should be carried through and completed by the members of the tribes in a single day. Now of the other four tribunes there were two who joined with Volero in proposing this law; and by enlisting the co-operation of these two he carried the day, as those who were not of the same mind were in the minority.

[4] οἱ δ' ὕπατοι καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ πάντες οἱ πατρίκιοι κωλύειν ἐπεχείρουν τὸν νόμον: ἀφικόμενοι τε κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐν ἣ προεῖπον οἱ δήμαρχοι κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον ἡμέρᾳ, παντοδαποὺς διῆλθον λόγους, τῶν θ'

ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἄλλου παντός, ὅτω βουλομένῳ ἦν, τὰς ἐνούσας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διεξιόντος ἀτοπίας. ἀντιλεξάντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων [p. 347] καὶ αὖθις τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας τῶν λόγων ἐκμηκυνθείσης, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διέλυσεν εἰς νύκτα συγκλεισθεῖς ὁ χρόνος. προθέντων δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν, καὶ συνελθόντος ἔτι πλείονος εἰς αὐτὴν ὄχλου τὸ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ

[4] But the consuls, the senate, and all the patricians sought to prevent the law from passing; and coming to the Forum in great numbers on the day appointed by the tribunes for ratifying the law, they delivered all kinds of speeches, the consuls, the oldest senators and everyone else who so desired enumerating the absurdities inherent in the law. When the tribunes had argued on the other side and the consuls had spoken a second time and the verbal skirmishing had lasted a long while, that assembly at least was dispersed by the closing in of night-time. The tribunes having again appointed the third market-day for the consideration of the law and an even greater throng flocking to the Forum on that day, the same thing happened as before.

[5] συνέβη γενέσθαι πάθος. τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Πόπλιος ἔγνω μήτε τοῖς ὑπατοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἔτι τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν μήτε πατρικίους ἔαν τῇ ψηφοφορίᾳ παρεῖναι: καθ' ἑταιρείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ κατὰ συστροφὰς ἅμα τοῖς ἐαυτῶν πελάταις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὔσι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεῖχον, ἐπικελεύοντές τε τοῖς κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ νόμου καὶ θορυβοῦντες τοὺς ἀπολογουμένους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πράττοντες, ἀκοσμίας τε καὶ βίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις ἐχομένης μηνύματα.

[5] Publius, perceiving this, resolved neither to permit the consuls to inveigh against the law again nor to allow patricians to be present at the voting. For the patricians in their partisan bands and in groups together with their clients, who were numerous, occupied many parts of the Forum, shouting encouragement to those who inveighed against the law and noisily interrupting those who defended it, and doing many other things that were indications of the disorder and violence that there would be in the voting.

[1] ἐπέσχε δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλευματα ὄντα τυραννικὰ ἑτέρα συμπεσοῦσα θεήλατος συμφορὰ. νόσος γὰρ ἤψατο λοιμικὴ τῆς πόλεως, γενομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πλεονάσασα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην: καὶ οὗτ' ἀνθρωπινῇ βοήθειᾳ ἤρκει τοῖς κάμνουσιν οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οἱ τε σὺν πολλῇ θεραπευόμενοι φροντίδι, καὶ οἷς μηδὲν ἐγίνετο τῶν δεόντων, ἀπέθνησκον: οὔτε λιτανεῖται θεῶν καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἐφ' οὓς ἄνθρωποι τελευταίους ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ἀναγκάζονται καταφεύγειν συμφοραῖς, οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα τε [p. 348] γινόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ καθαρμοὶ τότε προσωφέλουν, διέκρινε τε τὸ πάθος οὐχ ἡλικίαν, οὐ φύσιν, οὐ Ῥώμην ἢ ἀσθένειαν σωμάτων, οὐ τέχνην οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν δοκούντων κουφίζειν τὴν νόσον, ἀλλὰ γυναιξὶ τ' ἐνέπιπτε καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γηραιοῖς καὶ νέοις.

[42.1] These designs of Publius, pointing toward a tyranny, were checked by a fresh calamity sent from Heaven. For the city was visited with a pestilence, which occurred, indeed, in the rest of Italy also, but was especially prevalent in Rome. No human assistance could relieve the sick; but alike whether they were attended with great care or received none of the necessary attentions, they died all the same. No supplications to the gods nor sacrifices nor the final refuge to which men under such calamities are compelled to have recourse — private and public expiations — contributed any help at that time; and the disease made no distinction of age or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, of skill, or of any other of the agencies supposed to lighten the malady, but attacked both men and women, old and young.

[2] οὐ μὴν πολὺν κατέσχε χρόνον, ὅπερ αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ σύμπασαν διαφθαρῆναι τὴν πόλιν: ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦ δίκην ἢ πυρὸς ἀθρόα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπεσοῦσα τὴν τε προσβολὴν ὀξείαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταχεῖαν ἔλαβεν. ὥς δὲ τὸ δεινὸν ἐλώφησεν, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὧν ὁ Πόπλιος, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο κυρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ περιόντι χρόνῳ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἐπιστάντων, μετῆει πάλιν τὴν δημαρχίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπὶόντα ἐνιαυτὸν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τοῖς δημόταις ὑπισχνόμενος: καὶ ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν δῆμαρχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δύο τῶν συναρχόντων.

[2] However, it did not last long — a circumstance which saved the city from utter destruction; but, like a river in flood or a conflagration, falling upon the people with full force, it made a sharp attack and a speedy departure. As soon as the calamity abated, Publius, whose magistracy was near expiring, since he could not get the law confirmed during the remainder of his term, as the election of magistrates was at hand, stood again for the tribuneship for the following year, making many big promises to the plebeians; and he was again chosen tribune by them, together with two of his colleagues.

[3] οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀντεμηχανήσαντο πικρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μισόδημον καὶ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσοντα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν προαγαγεῖν, Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον, υἱὸν Ἀππίου, τοῦ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ἐναντιωθέντος. καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἀντειπόντα καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐλθεῖν βουληθέντα ἔνεκα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, οὐδὲν ἧττον προὔβουλεύσαν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντ' ἀπόντα ὕπατον.

[3] The patricians, to meet this situation, contrived to advance to the consulship a man of stern disposition and an enemy of the populace, one who would not diminish in any respect the power of the aristocracy, namely, Appius Claudius, the son of that Appius who had most strongly opposed the populace in the matter of their return. And though he protested much and even refused to go to the field for the election, they nevertheless passed the preliminary vote and appointed him consul in his absence.

[1] τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν κατὰ [p. 349] πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν — οἱ

γὰρ πένητες ἐξέλιπον τὸ πεδῖον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε ὀνομασθέντα ἤκουσαν — παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος Σαβῖνος, οὔτε τὰς φύσεις οὔτε τὰς προαιρέσεις ἔχοντες ὁμοίας.

[43.1] After the election had been carried through quite easily — for the poorer people left the field as soon as they heard Appius named — Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Appius Claudius Sabinus succeeded to the consulship, men alike neither in their dispositions nor in their principles.

[2] Ἀππίου μὲν γὰρ ἦν γνώμη περισπᾶν περὶ τὰς ἔξω στρατείας τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πένητα δῆμον, ἵνα τῶν τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εὐπορῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πόνοις, ὧν ἐν χρεῖα μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει διαπραττόμενος, ἥκιστα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου διοικοῦσι τὰ κοινὰ δυσμενῆς τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ᾗ: πολέμου δὲ πᾶσαν ἔσσεσθαι πρόφασιν εὐλόγον ἀπέφαινεν ἡγεμονίας ἀντιπιοιουμένην πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπιφθονουμένην, κατὰ τε τὸ εἶκός τοις γεγονόσιν ἤδη τὰ μέλλοντα εἰκάξειν ἡξίου, ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὅσαι ἤδη κινήσεις ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι πᾶσαι κατὰ τὰς ἀναπαύλας ἐγένοντο τῶν πολέμων.

[2] For it was the opinion of Appius that the idle and needy populace should be kept employed in military expeditions abroad, in order that, while supplying themselves from the enemy's country by their own toils with an abundance of the daily necessities of which they were in the greatest need and at the same time accomplishing results advantageous to the commonwealth, they might be least likely to be hostile and troublesome to the senators who were administering public affairs. He declared that any excuse for making war would be justifiable for a state that laid claim to supremacy and was envied by all; and he asked them, applying the principle of probability, to judge what was to happen in the future by what had already taken place in the past, adding that all the commotions which had occurred in the commonwealth in the past had happened during the respites from war.

[3] Κοιντῷ δ' οὐκ ἐδόκει πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐδένα, ἀγαπητὸν ἀποφαίνοντι, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκάιους τε καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐπαγομένους κινδύνους καλούμενος ὁ δῆμος εὐπειθὴς γένοιτο, καὶ διδάσκοντι, ὥς εἰ βίαν προσάξουσιν τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις εἰς ἀπόνειαν ἀναγκάσουσιν ἐλθεῖν τὸ δημοτικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν Ὑπατοι: ἐξ ὧν κινδυνεύουσιν αὐτοὺς δεῦν θάτερον, ἢ δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνων καταπαῦσαι τὴν στάσιν, ἢ θεραπεῦειν αἰσχροῦς ὑπομεῖναι [p. 350]

[3] Quintius, on the other hand, thought they ought not to wage any war. He declared they ought to be satisfied if the populace, when called upon to face the inevitable dangers brought upon them from outside, yielded ready obedience; and he showed that if they attempted to use force with the disobedient they would drive the plebeians to desperation, as the consuls

before them had done. As a result, they would run the risk either of putting down the sedition with bloodshed and slaughter or of submitting to a shameful courting of the plebeians.

[4] τὸ δημοτικόν. ἦν δ' ἡ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκείνου ἡγεμονία τῷ Κοιντίῳ προσήκουσα, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων μηδὲν ἄκοντος ἐκείνου ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον δήμαρχοι οὐθὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες τὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ οὐ δυνηθέντα νόμον ἐπικυρωθῆναι πάλιν εἰσέφερον, προσγράψαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἀρχεῖον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ψηφοφορεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπικυροῦσθαι δεήσει, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ ταύτόν: ὅπερ ἦν ἄρα τῆς μὲν βουλῆς κατάλυσις φανερά, τοῦ δὲ δήμου δυναστεία.

[4] In that month the command belonged to Quintius, so that the other consul was bound to do nothing without his consent. In the meantime Publius and the other two tribunes without further delay were again proposing the law which they had been unable to get ratified the year before, with this additional provision that the college of aediles should also be chosen in the same assemblies, and that everything else that was to be done and ratified by the populace should be voted on in like manner by the members of the tribes. This, now, clearly meant the overthrow of the senate and the dominance of the populace.

[1] τοῦτο μαθοῦσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις φροντὶς εἰσῆει καὶ λογισμός, ὅπως ἂν ἐν τάχει καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ παρακινεῖν καὶ στασιάζον ἐξαίρεθῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄππιος ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καλεῖν γνώμην ἐδίδου τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν: εἰ δὲ τινες ἐνάτια θήσονται σφίσι τὰ ὄπλα, τούτους ἐν πολεμίων ποιεῖσθαι μοῖρα.

[44.1] When the consuls were informed of this, they grew anxious and considered by what means the commotion and sedition might speedily and safely be removed. Appius advised summoning to arms all who wished the constitution of their fathers to be preserved, and if any opposed them, to look upon them as enemies.

[2] ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος λόγῳ πείθειν ὤετο δεῖν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὥς δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς ὀλέθρια βουλευόμενα φερομένους: ἐσχάτης μανίας ἔργον εἶναι λέγων, ἃ παρ' ἐκόντων ἔξεστι φέρεσθαι τῶν συμπολιτευομένων, ταῦτα παρ' ἀκόντων βούλεσθαι λαμβάνειν.

[2] But Quintius thought they ought to use persuasion with the plebeians and convince them that through ignorance of their own interest they were being led into pernicious counsels. He said that it was the extreme of folly to wish to obtain from their fellow citizens against their will the things which they might receive by their consent.

[3] ἔπαινεσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον [p. 351] τὴν Κοιντίου γνώμην παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ ὕπατοι λόγον ἤτοῦντο παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ χρόνον. μόλις δ' ἀμφοῖν τυχόντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ἦν ἡτήσαντο παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμέραν, ὅχλου παντοδαποῦ συνελθλυθότος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὃν ἀμφοτέραι παρεσκευάσαντο σύμμαχον ἑαυταῖς ἐκ παρακλήσεως αἱ

[3] The advice of Quintius being approved of by the other members of the senate, the consuls went to the Forum and asked the tribunes to give them a hearing and to appoint a time for it. And having obtained both requests with difficulty, when the day they had asked of them had come, the Forum being filled with a great concourse of people of all sorts, which the magistrates on both sides had got together under instructions to support them, the consuls presented themselves with the intention of speaking against the law.

[4] ἀρχαί, παρήσαν ὡς κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ νόμου. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοίντιος, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπεικῆς ὦν ἀνὴρ καὶ δῆμον οἰκειώσασθαι λόγῳ πιθανώτατος, πρῶτος αἰτησάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἐπιδέξιόν τινα καὶ κεχαρισμένην ἅπασι διεξῆλθε δημηγορίαν, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου λέγοντας εἰς πολλὴν ἐλθεῖν ἀμχανίαν, οὔτε δικαιότερα λέγειν ἔχοντας οὔτ' ἐπεικέστερα.

[4] Quintius, accordingly, who was a fair-minded man in all respects and most capable of winning over the populace by his eloquence, first desired leave to speak, and then made an adroit speech that was acceptable to everybody, with the result that those who spoke in favour of the law were reduced to great embarrassment, finding nothing to say that was more just or more reasonable.

[5] καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ προεῖλετο, συγγνοὺς ἂν ὁ δῆμος, ὡς οὔτε δίκαια οὔθ' ὅσια ἀξίῳ ἐλυσε τὸν νόμον: νῦν δ' ἐκείνου λόγον διελθόντος ὑπερήφανον καὶ βαρὺν ἀκουσθῆναι πένησι χαλεπὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμείλικτος καὶ εἰς ἔριν ἦλθεν ὅσην οὔπω πρότερον.

[5] And if his colleague had not chosen to continue his officiousness, the populace, being fully aware that their demands were neither just nor right, would have rejected the law. But as it was, he delivered a speech that was haughty and offensive to the ears of the poor, so that they became exasperated and implacable and fell into greater strife than before.

[6] οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔλευθέροις τε καὶ πολίταις ὁ ἀνὴρ διαλεγόμενος, οἱ τοῦ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον ἢ λῦσαι κύριοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀτίμοις ἢ ξένοις ἢ μὴ βεβαίως ἔχουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσιάζων, πικρὰς καὶ ἀνυπομονήτους ἐποίησατο κατηγορίας, τῶν τε χρεῶν τὰς ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν ἀπόστασιν προφέρων, ὅτε τὰ ἱερὰ σημεῖα ἀρπάσαντες ὥχοντο ἐκ [p. 352] τοῦ στρατοπέδου φυγὴν ἐπιβάλλοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἐκούσιον: τοὺς θ' ὄρκους ἀνακαλούμενος, οὓς ὤμοσαν τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τῆς γειναμένης αὐτοῦς

γῆς ἀναλαμβάνοντες, οἷς κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρήσαντο.

[6] For he did not talk to them as if they were free men and his fellow citizens who had power to confirm or reject the law, but domineering over them as if they were outcasts or foreigners or men whose liberty was precarious, he uttered bitter and intolerable reproaches, upbraiding them with the abolition of their debts and with their desertion of the consuls when they snatched up the consuls and quit the camp, imposing voluntary banishment upon themselves; and he appealed to the oaths they had sworn when they took up arms in defence of the country which had given them birth, only to turn them against that very country.

[7] τοιγάρτοι θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἔφησεν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, εἰ θεοὺς μὲν ἐπιорκήσαντες, ἡγεμόνας δὲ καταλιπόντες, πόλιν δ' ἔρημον τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι μέρος ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ δὲ πίστεως συγχύσει καὶ νόμων ἀνατροπῇ καὶ πολιτεύματος πατρίου φθορᾷ ποιησάμενοι τὴν κάθοδον, οὐ μετριάζουσιν οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς δύνανται πολίτας ἑαυτοὺς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινος ὀρέγονται πλεονεξίας καὶ παρανομίας, τοτὲ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐξεῖναι σφίσιν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύναι, καὶ ταύτας ἀνυπευθύνους ποιοῦντες καὶ παναγεῖς: τοτὲ δ' εἰς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων καθιστάντες οὓς αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα δικαστήρια, οἷς περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς ἢ πόλις πρότερον ἔδωκε κρίνειν, μεταφέροντες ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης φυλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ῥυπαρώτατον ὄχλον: τοτὲ δὲ νόμους εἰσφέροντες οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι κατὰ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τυραννικοὺς καὶ ἀνίσους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ προβουλευσαί περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν τῇ βουλῇ καταλείποντες, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτῆς τὴν [p. 353] τιμὴν, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς εἶχεν ἀναμφίλεκτον χρόνου,

[7] Therefore their conduct was not at all strange, he said, if, after being guilty of perjury to the gods, deserting their generals, leaving the city undefended as far as in them lay, and returning home in order to violate the public faith, subvert the laws and overthrow the constitution of their fathers, they showed no moderation and could not behave themselves like good citizens, but were always aiming at some selfish encroachment and violation of the laws. At one time they were demanding the right to choose for themselves their own magistrates and making these unaccountable for their actions and sacrosanct; again, they were putting on trial for their lives such of the patricians as they saw fit, and transferring the legitimate courts, to which the commonwealth had formerly entrusted the trial of causes involving death or banishment, from the most incorruptible senate to the vilest mob; and yet again, the labourers for hire and the homeless were introducing tyrannical and unfair laws against the men of noble birth, without leaving to the senate the power even of passing the preliminary decree concerning those laws, but depriving that body of this honour also, which it had always enjoyed undisputed under both kings and tyrants.

[8] βασιλευομένης τε καὶ τυραννουμένης τῆς πόλεως. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις ὅμοια προσθεῖς καὶ οὐδενὸς οὔτε πικροῦ πράγματος οὔτε βλασφήμου ὀνόματος φεισάμενος, τελευτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι προσέθηκεν τὸν λόγον, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἡ πληθὺς ἡγανάκτησεν, ὅτι χρόνον οὐδένα παύσεται στασιάζουσα περὶ παντὸς χρήματος ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπὶ παλαιᾷ νοσήσει νόσον, ἕως ἂν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσία διαμένη: διδάσκων, ὅτι πράγματος παντὸς πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ὅπως εὐσεβεῖς ἔσονται καὶ δίκαιοι. φιλεῖν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπερμάτων χρηστοὺς γίνεσθαι καὶ εὐτυχεῖς τοὺς καρπούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κακοὺς καὶ ὀλεθρίους.

[8] After he had uttered many other reproaches of like nature and withheld neither any bitter fact nor any opprobrious word, he concluded with this declaration — which gave greater offence to the multitude than all the rest — that the commonwealth would never cease being divided into factions over every matter, but would always suffer from some fresh distemper following the old as long as the tribunician power should last. He pointed out that it is important to examine the beginnings of every political and public institution, to see that they shall be righteous and just; for from good seeds are wont to come good and wholesome fruit, and from bad seeds evil and deadly fruit.

[1] εἰ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μεθ' ὁμονοίας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶ πάντων ἀγαθῷ παροῦσα σὺν οἰωνοῖς τε καὶ ὀττειαῖς, πολλῶν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτία, χαρίτων, ὁμοφροσύνης, εὐνομίας, ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου, μυρίων ἄλλων: νῦν δέ, βία γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγε καὶ παρανομία καὶ στάσις καὶ πολέμου δέος ἐμφυλίου καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις τί οὖν ἔτι καὶ μέλλει χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι ποτ' ἢ σωτήριον τοιαύτας λαβούσης τὰς ἀρχάς; ὥστε περίεστιν ἡμῖν ἴασιν καὶ ἀλεξήματα τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων ἐξ αὐτῆς κακῶν ζητεῖν, ὅποσα εἰς ἀνθρώπινον πίπτει λογισμόν, μενούσης ἔτι τῆς [p. 354]

[45.1] “If, now,” he said, “this magistracy had been introduced into the commonwealth harmoniously, for the good of all, entering in with the sanction of both omens and religious rites, it would have been the source of many blessings to us — kindly services, harmony, wholesome laws, hopes of blessings from Heaven, and countless any other benefits. But as it is, since it was introduced by violence, lawlessness, sedition, the fear of civil war, and by everything mankind most abhors, what good or salutary thing can one now expect will ever come of it when it had such beginnings? So that it is vain for us to seek for a cure and for the aids which human reason suggests against the evils that are continually springing out of it, so long as the pernicious root remains.

[2] πονηρᾶς ῥίζης. οὐ γὰρ ἔσται πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν δαιμονίων χόλων, ἕως ἂν ἦδε ἡ βάσκανος ἐρινὺς καὶ φαγέδαινα ἐγκαθημένη πάντα σήπη καὶ διαφθείρη τὰ καλὰ. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται λόγος καὶ καιρὸς

ἐπιτηδειότερος, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι χρή, πᾶσαν εἰρωνεῖαν ἀφείς τάδε ὑμῖν λέγω: οὐθ' ὅδε ὁ νόμος οὗτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, ὃν οὐχ ἡ βουλὴ προβουλεύσει, κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ἀγωνιοῦμαι περὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, κἂν εἰς τὰ ἔργα δέῃ χωρεῖν οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐναντιουμένων λελεῖψομαι: καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε, ὅσην ἰσχὺν ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων κράτος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς μαθήσεσθε.

[2] For we shall have no end of outbursts of the divine wrath, no deliverance from them, while this malignant curse and cancer, firmly imbedded in our body politic, corrupts and destroys all that is wholesome. But for the discussion of this subject another occasion will be more suitable. For the moment, since it is necessary to compose the present disturbances, I put aside all equivocation and say this to you: Neither this nor any other law shall become valid during my consulship without a preliminary decree of the senate; on the contrary, I will fight for the aristocracy not only with words, but, if it shall be necessary to proceed to deeds, I shall not be outdone by its opponents even in these. And if you did not know before the extent of the consular power, you shall learn it during my term of office."

[1] Ἀππίος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ πλείστου ἀξιώματος τυγχάνων, Γάιος Λαιτώριος, ἀνὴρ ἔν τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἐγνωσμένος εἶναι ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ἀνίσταται πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπολογησόμενος: καὶ διῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον πολλὺν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος: ὡς πολλὰς μὲν καὶ χαλεπὰς στρατείας οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πένητες ἐστρατεύσαντο, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ὅτε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἄν τις ἡτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκβολὴν ἐλευθερίαν κτῶμενοι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἡγεμονίαν: [p. 355]

[46.1] Thus Appius spoke; and, on the side of the tribunes, the oldest and most highly respected, Gaius Laetorius, a man acknowledged to be of no mean courage in warfare and not without ability in public affairs, rose up to answer him; and he delivered a long speech in behalf of the populace, beginning with the earliest times. He showed that the poor whom Appius maligned had made many hard campaigns not only under their kings, when one might say their action was due to compulsion, but also after the expulsion of the kings, when they were acquiring liberty and supremacy for the fatherland.

[2] ἄμοιβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐκομίσαντο παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων, οὐδ' ἀπήλαυσαν οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς πολέμῳ ἁλόντες ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἣν ἀνασώσασθαι βουλόμενοι καταλιπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν τὴν πατρίδα πόθῳ γῆς ἑτέρας, ἐν ἧ τὸ μὴ ὑβριζεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὕσιν ὑπάρξει: καὶ οὔτε βιασάμενοι τὴν βουλὴν οὔτε πολέμῳ προσαναγκάσαντες εὗροντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα κάθοδον, ἀξιούσῃ δὲ καὶ δεομένῃ τὰ ἐκλειφθέντα ἀπολαβεῖν εἰζάντες ἔδωκαν.

[2] But they had received no recompense from the patricians nor enjoyed any

of the public advantages, but, like captives taken in war, had been deprived by them even of their liberty, to recover which they had been compelled to leave their country in their yearning for another land in which they might live as free men without being insulted. And they had obtained their return to their possessions neither by offering violence to the senate nor by resorting to the compulsion of war, but by yielding to it when it asked and implored them to receive back their abandoned possessions.

[3] τοὺς θ' ὄρκους διεξήρει καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ γενομένας ἀνεκαλείτο· ἐν αἷς ἦν ἀμνηστία μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων, ἔπειτ' ἐξουσία τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι, τιμωροὺς μὲν ἐσομένους σφίσιν αὐτοῖς,

[3] He mentioned the oaths and appealed to the terms of the compact which had been made to induce them to return, among which there was, first, a general amnesty, and then for the poor the power of choosing magistrates who should assist them and oppose those who would do violence to them.

[4] τοῖς δὲ κατισχύειν βουλομένοις ἀντιπάλους. διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοῦς νόμους ἐπεδείκνυτο, οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς μεταγωγῆς, ὡς ἔδωκεν ἡ βουλὴ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν κρίνειν οὓς ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξειε τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψηφοφορίας, ὃς οὐκ ἔτι τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κουριᾶτιν ἐποίει τῶν ψήφων κυρίαν.

[4] After recounting these matters, he cited the laws which the people had not long before ratified, both the one concerning the transfer of the courts, by which the senate had granted to the people the power to try any of the patricians they should think fit, and also the one concerning the manner of their voting, which no longer made the centuriate assembly, but rather the tribal assembly, responsible for the voting.

[1] διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον, ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄππιον· ἔπειτα σὺ τολμᾷς, εἶπε, λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῦτοις, δι' οὓς μεγάλη μὲν [p. 356] ἐκ μικρᾶς, ἐπιφανῆς δ' ἐξ ἀδόξου γέγονεν ἡ πόλις; καὶ στασιαστὰς ἐτέρους ἀποκαλεῖς καὶ φυγαδικὴν τινα τύχην ὄνειδιζεις, ὥσπερ οὐχ ἀπάντων ἔτι τούτων μεμνημένων τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι στασιάσαντες οἱ σοὶ πρόγονοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἐνθάδ' ἰδρύθησαν ἰκέται; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν ἐαυτῶν πατρίδα πόθῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καλὸν ἔργον ἐπράττετε, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ

[47.1] When he had finished his defence of the populace, he turned to Appius and said: “After this do *you* dare revile these men through whom the commonwealth, once small, has become great, and, once obscure, illustrious? And do you call your opponents seditious and reproach them for a fate akin to exile, as if all these men here did not still remember what befel your own family — that your ancestors, having raised a sedition against the authorities

and abandoned their country, settled here as suppliants? Unless, indeed, your folk, when they forsook their country through a desire for liberty, did a noble thing, but Romans, when they did the same thing as you, did an ignoble thing!

[2] ὁμοία ὑμῖν δεδρακότες οὐ καλόν. τολμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυῖαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν, καὶ πείθεις τουτουοῖ καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν πενήτων ἐπικουρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ μεγάλαις ἡσφαλισμένην ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκαις, ὧ μισοδημότατε καὶ τυραννικώτατε; καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄρα ἐδυνήθης μαθεῖν, ὅτι τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ σεαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ταῦτα λέγων λοιδορῇ; καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ διαναστᾶσα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὧν οὐκέτι τὰς ὑπερφηανίας καὶ τὰς ὕβρεις ὑποφέρειν ἡξίου, τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχεῖον κατεστήσατο, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως ἐτέρους ἐποίησε τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας κυρίου.

[2] Do you dare also to revile the tribunician power as having been introduced into the commonwealth for a mischievous purpose and do you attempt to persuade these men here to abrogate this sacred and inviolable protection of the poor, safeguarded as it is by powerful sanctions which stem from both gods and men, O greatest enemy of the populace and most tyrannical of men? Have you not been able, then, to learn even this, that in saying these things you traduce both the senate and your own magistracy? For the senate, having risen against the kings, whose arrogance and insults they resolved to bear no longer, established the consulship, and before they had expelled the kings, invested others with the royal authority.

[3] ὥσθ' ἃ περὶ τῆς δημαρχίας λέγεις, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεληλυθυίας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ διχοστασίας ἔλαβε, ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὑπατείας λέγεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἄλλη τις εἰσήγαγε πρόφασις, ἀλλ' ἡ

[3] So that everything you say against the tribunician power as having been introduced for a mischievous purpose, since it had its origin in sedition, you say against the consulship also; for there was no other ground for introducing that magistracy than the sedition of the patricians against the kings.

[4] πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν πατρικίων στάσις. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτά σοι διαλέγομαι, ὡς χρηστῷ καὶ μετριῷ πολίτῃ, ὃν ἅπαντες ἴσασιν οὗτοι σκαιὸν ὄντα διὰ γένος καὶ [p. 357] πικρὸν καὶ μισόδημον καὶ τὸ θηριῶδες ὑπὸ φύσεως οὐδέποτ' ἐξημερῶσαι δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμόσε χωρῷ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐπιπροσθεν ποιησάμενος τῶν λόγων, καὶ δεικνυμι, ὅσῃν ἰσχὺν ὁ δῆμος ἔχων λέληθέ σε, ὃν οὐκ ἡσχύνθης ἀνέστιον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καλῶν, καὶ ὅσον ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ δυναμένη, ἣν δε ὁ νόμος ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ εἶκιν ἀναγκάζει; παρεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπασαν εἰρωνεῖαν ἔργου ἔξομαι.

[4] But why do I talk thus with you as with a good and fair-minded citizen, when all these men here know that you are by inheritance mischievous, harsh and an enemy of the populace, and that you can never tame your inborn

savagery? Why do I not rather come to grips with you, preferring actions to words, and show you how great is the strength, all unknown to you, of the populace, whom you were not ashamed to call homeless and vile, and how great is the power of *this* magistracy, to which the law obliges you to give way and submit? I too shall lay aside all equivocation and set to work.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὄρκον, ὅσπερ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἦν, διομοσάμενος ἢ τὸν νόμον ἐπικυρώσειν ἢ τοῦ ζῆν μεθήσεσθαι, σιωπῆς γενομένης ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐναγωνίου προσδοκίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλει δρᾶν, ἐκέλευσε μεταχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν Ἀππιον. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους παραστησάμενος καὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ὃν ἦγε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκοθεν, ἀπεμάχετο μὴ παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, σιωπὴν ὑποκηρυξάμενος ὁ Λαιτώριος ἀνεῖπεν, ὅτι τὸν ὕπατον εἰς φυλακὴν κελεύουσιν ἀπάγειν οἱ δῆμαρχοι.

[48.1] Having said this and sworn the strongest oath in use among the Romans that he would either get the law ratified or abandon life, the multitude meanwhile having become silent and being in an agony of expectation concerning what he was going to do, he ordered Appius to leave the assembly. And when Appius, instead of obeying, placed the lictors about him, together with the crowd which he had brought from home for that purpose, and obstinately refused to leave the Forum, Laetorius, after bidding the heralds to command silence, announced that the tribunes ordered the consul to be led away to prison.

[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσῆγεν ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιληψόμενος: τῶν δὲ ῥαβδούχων ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιτυχὼν παίων αὐτὸν ἀπῆλασε. κραυγῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γενομένης μεγάλης καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἵεται αὐτὸς ὁ Λαιτώριος παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀμύνειν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀππιον στίφος ἔχοντες νέων πολλὸν καὶ καρτερόν ὑφίστανται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λόγοι [p. 358] τ' ἀσχήμονες ἐγένοντο εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ καταβοαὶ καὶ σωμάτων ὠθισμοί: καὶ τελευτώσα εἰς χεῖρας ἀπέσκηπεν ἡ ἔρις, καὶ εἰς λίθων ἥρξατο προβαίνειν βολὰς.

[2] Upon this the assist by his command advanced in order to seize the person of Appius, but the foremost lictor with a successful blow drove him back. When those present raised a great outcry and showed their resentment, Laetorius himself rushed forward after appealing to the crowds to assist him, while Appius, supported by a numerous and vigorous body of young men, stood his ground. There followed unseemly words between the factions and shouting and the pushing of body against body; and at last the strife broke out into blows and they began to throw stones.

[3] ἐπέσχε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ μὴ προσωτέρω χωρῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ Κοίντιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, δεόμενός τε πάντων καὶ λιπαρῶν σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἀψιμαχοῦντας

ωθοῦμενος. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λειπόμενον βραχὺ

[3] But a stop was put to this and the mischief was prevented from proceeding farther by Quintius, the other consul, who together with the oldest senators implored and entreated them all to desist, and thrust himself into the midst of the contending parties. Moreover, there was little of the day left, so that, albeit reluctantly, they separated.

[4] μέρος, ὥστ' ἀκούσιοι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διελύθησαν. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις αἱ τ' ἀρχαὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐνεκάλουν, ὁ μὲν ὕπατος τοῖς δημάρχους, ὅτι καταλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠξιοῦν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν ὕπατον ἀπάγειν κελεύσαντες, τῷ δ' ὑπάτῳ οἱ δημαρχοί, ὡς ἐμβεβληκότες πληγὰς σώμασιν ἱεροῖς καὶ καθωσιωμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου — καὶ ὁ Λαιτώριος τὰ ἴχνη τῶν πληγῶν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι φανερά — ἣ τε πόλις ὅλη διοιδοῦσα καὶ ἀγριαινομένη διειστῆκει.

[4] During the following days not only did the magistrates indulge in accusations against one another, the consul charging the tribunes with a desire to invalidate his authority by ordering a consul to be led away to prison, and the tribunes charging the consul with having struck those whose persons were sacred and made inviolate by the law — Laetorius, indeed, bore on his face the marks, still visible, of the blows — but the whole city, filled with rage and fury, was rent with faction.

[5] ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐφρούρει τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα τοῖς δημάρχους, οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐκλείπων τὴν φυλακὴν: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ συνιοῦσα πολλὴν καὶ ἐπίπονον ἐποιεῖτο ζητησιν, ὅπως χρῆ παῦσαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, τοῦ τε κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος ἐνθυμουμένη, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ αὐτὰ παρειστῆκει φρονεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κοίντιος εἴκειν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μέτρια ἠξίου, ὁ δ' Ἄππιος μέχρι θανάτου ἀντέχειν. [p. 359]

[5] Then the populace together with the tribunes proceeded to guard the Capitol both day and night without intermission. The senate assembled and entered into a long and difficult consideration of the proper means of putting a stop to the sedition, being sensible not only of the magnitude of the danger but also that not even the consuls had succeeded in being of one mind; for Quintius advised yielding to the populace in everything that was reasonable, whereas Appius proposed to resist till death.

[1] ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πέρας, χωρὶς ἐκάστους ἀπολαμβάνων ὁ Κοίντιος, τοὺς τε δημάρχους καὶ τὸν Ἄππιον, ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναγκαιότερα ἡγεῖσθαι ἠξίου. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἤδη πεπειροτέρους γεγονότας, τὸν δὲ συνάρχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐθαδείας μένοντα πείθει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λαιτώριον, ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν τ' ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων καὶ

[49.1] When no end would come to the strife, Quintius took each party aside separately, the tribunes and Appius, and begged, besought and implored them

to regard the public interests as more vital than their private concerns. And observing that the tribunes had become milder but that his colleague persisted in the same arrogance, he undertook to persuade Laetorius and his colleagues to refer all their complaints, both private and public, to the determination of the senate.

[2] τῶν δημοσίων τὴν βουλὴν ποιῆσαι κυρίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο διεπράξατο, συνεκάλει τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος δεηθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπράττειν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλει τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀποφαίνεσθαι γνώμας.

[2] When he had accomplished this, he assembled the senate, and after bestowing great praise upon the tribunes and begging his colleague not to act against the safety of the state, he then proceeded to call upon those who were wont to express their opinions.

[3] πρῶτος δὲ κληθεὶς Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας γνώμην ἀπεφώνηατο τήνδε: ὅσα μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ ὁ ὕπατος, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπαθον ἢ ἔδρασαν ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδ' οἰκείας πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν εἰς αὐτὰ κατέστησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι δίκην: περὶ δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ὕπατος Ἀππίος οὐκ ἔῃ νόμον ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκφέρειν, προβουλεύσαι μὲν περὶ τοῦτου τὸ συνέδριον: τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς θ' ὁμονοίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅταν ἡ ψῆφος περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφέρηται, καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας.

[3] Publius Valerius Publicola, who was called upon first, expressed the following opinion: That the mutual accusations of the tribunes and the consul relating to what they had suffered or done in the tumult, since they had gone so far, not with malice aforethought or for personal advantage, but out of rivalry in their zeal for the public welfare, should be publicly dismissed and that no suit should be brought because of them. As to the proposed law, since the consul would not allow any law to be presented to the assembly without a preliminary vote of the senate, he advised that the senate should vote upon it first; also that the tribunes together with the consuls should take care to preserve harmony and decorum among the citizens when the vote should be taken concerning it.

[4] ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀπάντων εὐθὺς ἀνέδωκε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ψῆφον ὁ Κοιντιος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν Ἀππίου κατηγορήσαντος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν [p. 360] δημάρχων ἀντιλεξάντων, ἐνῖκα παρὰ πολλὰς ψήφους ἢ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρειν ἄξιουσά γνῶμη. ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ προβουλεύματος αἱ τε ἴδιαι τῶν ἀρχόντων διαφοραὶ διελύθησαν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγαπητῶς δεξιόμενος τὸ συγχώρημα τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεψήφισε τὸν νόμον.

[4] This advice being approved of by all, Quintius immediately put the question to the senate concerning the law, and after many objections offered by Appius and many rejoinders made by the tribunes the motion to lay it before the populace was carried by a large majority. The preliminary decree having been thus passed, the private differences of the magistrates were composed; and the populace, gladly accepting this concession of the senate, ratified the law.

[5] ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὰ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων ἀρχαιρέσια μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διχα οἰωνῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀπτείας ἀπάσης αἱ φυλετικαὶ ψηφοφοροῦσιν ἐκκλησίαι. αὕτη λύσις ἐγένετο τῆς τότε κατασχούσης ταραχῆς τὴν πόλιν.

[5] From that time down to our own the tribunes and the aediles have been chosen in the tribal assemblies without auspices or any other religious observances. This was the end of the tumult which disturbed the commonwealth at that time.

[1] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ στρατιάς ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίοις καταγράφειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκπέμπειν ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους. δυνάμεις γὰρ ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξεληλυθῆναι ἡγγέλλοντο μεγάλαι καὶ προνομεύειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους. παρασκευασθεισῶν δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων σὺν τάχει Κοιντίος μὲν Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων ὥχετο, Ἄππιος δὲ Οὐολούσκοις, κλήρῳ διαλαχόντες τὰς ἀρχάς. συνέβη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκατέρῳ τὰ εἰκότα πάσχειν:

[50.1] Not long afterwards the Romans decided to enrol armies and to send out both consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians; for it was reported that large forces from both these nations had taken the field and were then pillaging the territories of the Romans' allies. The armies being soon ready, Quintius set out to make war against the Aequians and Appius against the Volscians, these commands having fallen to them by lot. And the fortunes of each of the consuls were such as might have been expected.

[2] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Κοιντίῳ προσενεμηθεῖσα στρατιὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ μετριότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀσπαζομένη πρόθυμος ἦν εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐπιταττόμενα, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοκέλευστος ὑφίστατο κινδυνεύματα δόξαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ τιμὴν πράττουσα: καὶ διεξῆλθε πολλὴν τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας λεηλατοῦσα οὐ τολμώντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ ἧς λάφυρα πολλὰ καὶ ὠφελείας μεγάλας ἐκτήσατο. [p. 361] χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψασα παρῆν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄγουσα.

[2] The army assigned to Quintius, pleased with the fairness and moderation of their general, were eager to carry out all his orders, and undertook most of the hazards unbidden, thereby achieving glory and honour for their commander.

They overran a large part of the country of the Aequians and plundered it, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement; and from it they acquired great booty and rich spoils. After tarrying a short time in the enemy's country they returned to the city without any losses, bringing their general home illustrious because of his exploits.

[3] ἡ δὲ τῷ Ἀππίῳ συνεξελθοῦσα δύναμις μίσει τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὑπερεῖδε τῶν πατρίων. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐθελοκακοῦσα ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ ὀλιγοροῦσα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος διετέλεσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μάχεσθαι ἔδει τῇ Οὐολούσκων στρατιᾷ, κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς τάξιν οὐκ ἤξιωσε τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι: ἀλλ' οἳ τε λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι αὐτῶν, οἳ μὲν τὰ σημεῖα ῥίψαντες, οἳ δὲ τὴν τάξιν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἔφευγον.

[3] But the army that went out with Appius because of their hatred of him disregarded many of the principles of their ancestors. In fact, during the whole campaign they not only played the coward deliberately and treated their general with contempt, but particularly when they were to engage the army of the Volscians and their commanders had drawn them up in order of battle, they refused to come to grips with the enemy, but both the centurions and the antesignani, some throwing away their standards and others quitting their posts, fled to the camp.

[4] καὶ εἰ μὴ θαυμάσαντες τὸ παράλογον τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ δεισαντες, μὴ ἐνέδρα τις ᾗ, τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον διώξεως ἀπετράποντο, τὸ πλεῖον ἂν μέρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων διέφθαρτο. ἐποιοῦν δὲ ταῦτα φθόνῳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἵνα μὴ καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ὁ ἀνὴρ διαπραξάμενος θριάμβῳ τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιλαμπρυνθῇ τιμαῖς.

[4] And if the enemy, wondering at their unexpected flight and fearing there might be an ambush, had not turned back from pursuing them farther, the greater part of the Romans would have been destroyed. The troops acted thus because of the grudge they bore to their general, lest he should win a brilliant engagement and so obtain the distinction of a triumph and the other honours.

[5] τῇ δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου τῆς ἀδόξου φυγῆς, τὰ δὲ παρακαλοῦντος αἰσχιστον ἔργον ἀναλύσασθαι καλῶ ἀγῶνι, τὰ δ' ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ στήσονται παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, χρῆσεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἀπειθεῖα τε διεχρῶντο καὶ καταβοῇ καὶ ἀπάγειν σφᾶς ἐκέλευον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὡς ἀδύνατοι ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἀντέχειν: κατεδήσαντο γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς ὑγιεῖς χρῶτας ὡς τραυματίαι: ὥστε ὁ Ἀππίος [p. 362] ἠναγκάσθη ἀπάγειν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ οἱ Οὐολούσκοι ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπόμενοι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.

[5] And the following day, when the consul alternately upbraided them for their inglorious flight, exhorted them to redeem their most disgraceful conduct

by a noble effort, and threatened to invoke the laws against them if they would than stand firm in the face of danger, they broke out into disobedience, clamoured against him and bade him lead them out of the enemy's country, alleging that they were no longer able to hold out by reason of their wounds; for most of them had bound up the sound parts of their bodies as if they had been wounded. Hence Appius was obliged to withdraw his army from the enemy's country, and the Volscians, pursuing them as they retreated, killed many of them.

[6] ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ φιλικῇ ἐγένοντο, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπατος καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας ἔφη χρῆσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν λιποτακτῶν κολάσει. καὶ πολλὰ δεομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει μετριάσαι, καὶ μὴ συμφορὰν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προσθεῖναι τῇ πόλει, λόγον οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκύρωσε τὴν κόλασιν.

[6] As soon as they were in friendly territory, the consul assembled the troops, and after uttering many reproaches said that he would inflict upon them the punishment ordained against those who quit their posts. And though the legates and the other officers earnestly besought him to use moderation and not to heap one calamity after another upon the commonwealth, he paid no heed to any of them but confirmed the punishment.

[7] καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε, ὧν οἱ λόχοι ἔφυγον, καὶ οἱ πρόμαχοι τῶν σημείων, ὅσοι τὰ σημεῖα ἀπολωλέκεσαν, οἱ μὲν πελέκει τοὺς αὐχένας ἀπεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ ξύλοις παιόμενοι διεφθάρησαν: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους ἀπὸ δεκάδος ἐκάστης εἷς ἀνὴρ ὁ λαχὼν κλήρῳ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέθνησκεν. αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις πάτριός ἐστι κατὰ τῶν λιπόντων τὰς τάξεις ἢ προεμένων τὰς σημαίας ἢ κόλασις. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' αὐτὸς τε μισούμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσον ἔτι περιῆν κατηφὲς καὶ ἄτιμον ἐπαγόμενος, τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καθηκόντων ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

[7] Thereupon the centurions whose centuries had run away and the antesignani who had lost their standards were either beheaded with an axe or beaten to death with rods; as for the rank and file, one man chosen by lot out of every ten was put to death for the rest. This is the traditional punishment among the Romans for those who desert their posts or yield their standards. Afterwards, the general, an object of hatred himself and leading back, dejected and disgraced, what was left of his army, the elections being now at hand, returned to the fatherland.

[1] ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ὑπάτων Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τιβερίου Αἰμιλίου βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸν ὑπὲρ κληρουχίας πάλιν εἰσήγον λόγον: καὶ προσιδόντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡξίουν βεβαιῶσαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐποίησατο ἡ βουλὴ Σπορίου Κασσίου καὶ Πρόκλου [p. 363] Οὐεργινίου ὑπατευόντων, δεόμενοι τε καὶ λιπαροῦντες.

[51.1] When Lucius Valerius (for the second time) and Tiberius Aemilius had been appointed as the next consuls, the tribunes after a short delay brought up again the question of the land-allotment; and coming to the consuls, they asked them, with prayers and entreaties, to fulfil for the populace the promises which the senate had made in the consulship of Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius.

[2] καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι αὐτοῖς συνλαμβάνον ἀμφοτέροι, Τιβέριος μὲν Αἰμίλιος κότον τινὰ παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἄλογον ἀναφέρων, ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον αἰτουμένῳ καταγείν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοῦ δήμου τὴν ὀργὴν βουλόμενος, ἣν εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σπορίου Κασσίου θανάτῳ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντα βασιλείᾳ ταμίας τότ' ὢν Οὐαλέριος, ἄνδρα τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γενομένων ἐπιφανέστατον ἐν ἡγεμονίαις τε πολέμων καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσιν, ὃς καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας πολίτευμα πρῶτος εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὡς δῆμον ἀναιρούμενος πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἐμισήθη.

[2] Both consuls favoured their request, Tiberius Aemilius bringing up an old and not unreasonable grudge against the senate because it had refused a triumph to his father when he asked for it, and Valerius from a desire to heal the anger of the populace directed against him because of the death of Spurius Cassius, whom he, being quaestor at the time, had caused to be put to death for aiming at tyranny. Cassius had been the most distinguished of his contemporaries both in military commands and in civil affairs; moreover, he was the first to introduce into the commonwealth the measure concerning the allotment of lands and for that reason in particular was hated by the patricians as one who preferred the populace to them.

[3] τότε δ' οὖν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς προθήσειν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν δημοσίων κλήρων λόγον, καὶ τῆς ἐπικυρώσεως τοῦ νόμου συναρεῖσθαι, πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς οἱ δήμαρχοι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ λόγους διεξῆλθον ἐπεικεῖς. οἷς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέξαντες οἱ ὕπατοι, ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίας δόξαν ἀπενέγκαιντο, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἡξίου.

[3] At the time in question, at any rate, when the consuls promised them to bring up in the senate the question of the division of the public lands and to assist in securing the ratification of the law, the tribunes trusted them, and going to the senate, they spoke with moderation. And the consuls, desiring to avoid any appearance of contention, said nothing in opposition, but asked the oldest senators to express their opinions.

[4] ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος ὑπ' αὐτῶν κληθεὶς Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων πατήρ: ὃς ἔφη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον ἔσσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, πάντων εἶναι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ μὴ ὀλίγων, τῷ τε δήμῳ πείθοντι ὑπουργεῖν συνεβούλευεν, [p. 364] ἵνα χάρις ἢ παραχώρησις αὐτῶν γένηται. πολλὰ γὰρ

καὶ ἄλλα μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης συγκεχωρηκέναι: τοὺς τε κατέχοντας τὰς κτήσεις ὧν ἐκαρπώσαντο χρόνων λαθόντες ἡξίου χάριν εἶδέναι, κωλυομένους δὲ μὴ φιλοχωρεῖν.

[4] The first person called upon was Lucius Aemilius, the father of one of the consuls, who said it seemed to him that it would be both just and for the interest of the commonwealth that the possessions of the public should belong to all and not to a few, and he advised them to support the plea of the populace, in order that this concession on their part might be regarded as a favour; for many other things which they had not granted them by choice they had yielded through necessity. He felt also that those who were occupying these possessions ought to be grateful for the time they had enjoyed them without being detected, and when peeved from using them longer should not cling to them obstinately.

[5] ἔφη τε σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, ὃ πάντες ὁμολογήσειαν ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι, τὰ μὲν δημόσια καινὰ πάντων εἶναι, τὰ δ' ἴδια ἐκάστου τῶν νόμῳ κτησαμένων: καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἦδη τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γεγονέναι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα τὴν γῆν διανέμειν ψηφισαμένης. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τὸτ' αὐτὴν βεβουλεῦσθαι, ἵνα μήτε γῆ χέρσος ᾖ, καὶ ὁ τὴν πόλιν οἰκουρῶν πέννης ὄχλος μὴ ἄργός, ὥσπερ νῦν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς φθονῶν, ἐπιτρέφεται δὲ τῇ πόλει νεότης ἐν ἐφεστίοις καὶ κλήροις πατρώοις, ἔχουσά τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς τεθράφθαι μέγα φρονεῖν:

[5] He added that, along with the principle of justice, the force of which all would acknowledge, according to which the public possessions are the common property of all and private possessions the property of the one who has acquired them according to law, the action had also become unavoidable now through the action of the senate, which seventeen years before had ordered that the land be divided. And he declared that it had reached this decision at that time in the public interest, to the end that neither the land should go uncultivated nor the multitude of poor people dwelling in the city should live in idleness, envying the advantages of the others, as was now the case, and that young men might be reared up for the state in the homes and on the lands of their fathers, deriving also some pride of spirit from the very rearing.

[6] ἐπεὶ τοῖς γ' ἀκλήροις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κτημάτων, ἃ μισθοῦ ἐργάζονται, γλίσχρως διατρεφομένοις, ἢ ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐμφύεσθαι ἔρωτα γενεᾶς τέκνων, ἢ ἐμφύντα πονηρὸν ἐκφέρειν καρπὸν καὶ οὐδ' εὐτυχίῃ, ἐκ ταπεινῶν τε συμπορισθέντα οἷα εἰκὸς γάμων,

[6] For such as have no lands of their own and live miserably off the possessions of others which they cultivate for hire either do not feel any desire at all to beget children, or, if they do, produce a sorry and wretched offspring, such as might be expected of those who are the fruit of humble marriages and

are reared in beggared circumstances.

[7] καὶ ἐν κατεπτωχευμέναις τραφέντα τύχαις. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυμαι, τὰ τε προβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ διὰ τὰς μεταξὺ παραχᾶς [p. 365] παρειλκυσμένα ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς ὑπάτους, καὶ τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν διανομὴν ἀνδρας ἀποδεικνύναι.

[7] “As for me, then,” he said, “the motion I make is that the consuls should carry out the preliminary decree which was then passed by the senate and has since been delayed by reason of the intervening disturbances, and appoint the men to divide the land.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Αἰμίλιου δεύτερος κληθεὶς Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ τῷ πρόσθεν ὑπατεύσας ἔτει, τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἀπεφώνησεν διδάσκων, ὡς οὐθ' ἡ βουλὴ διανεῖμαι τὰ δημόσια προαίρεσιν ἔσχε: πάλαι γὰρ ἂν εἰληφέναι τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτῇ τέλος: ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον καὶ διαγνώσιν ἑτέραν ἀνεβάλετο, παῦσαι προθυμουμένη τὴν τότε κατασχοῦσαν στάσιν, ἣν εἰσήγεν ὁ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν ὕπατος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δίκας δοῦς καλᾶς:

[52.1] Aemilius having spoken thus, Appius Claudius, who had been consul the preceding year, being the second person called upon, expressed the contrary opinion, pointing out that neither the senate had had any intention of dividing the public possessions — for in that case its decree would long since have been carried out — but had deferred it to a later time for further consideration, its concern being to put a stop to the sedition then raging, which had been stirred up by the consul who was aiming at tyranny and afterwards suffered deserved punishment;

[2] οὐθ' οἱ μετὰ τὸ προβούλευμα λαχόντες ὕπατοι τέλος τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις ἐπέθεσαν ὀρῶντες, ὅσων εἰσελεύσεται κακῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀρχὴ συνεθισθέντων τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πενήτων διαλαγχάνειν: αἱ τε μετ' ἐκείνους πεντεκαίδεκα ὑπατεῖαι πολλῶν αὐταῖς ἐπαχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κινδύνων οὐδὲν ὑπέμειναν, ὃ μὴ συνέφερε τῷ κοινῷ πράττειν, διὰ τὸ μὴδ' ἐξεῖναι σφίσι κατὰ τὸ προβούλευμα τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀποδεικνύειν,

[2] nor had the first consuls chosen after the preliminary decree put the vote into effect, when they saw what a source of evils would be introduced into the state if the poor were once accustomed to get by allotment the public possessions; nor did the consuls of the following fifteen years, though they were threatened with many dangers from the populace, consent to do anything that was not in the public interest, for the reason that no authority even was given to them by the preliminary decree to appoint the land commissioners, but only to those first consuls.

[3] ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκείνοις ὑπάτοις. ὥστ' οὐδ' ὑμῖν, ἔφησεν, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, καὶ σὺ Αἰμίλιε, γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς εἰσφέρειν, οὐς οὐκ ἐπέταξεν ὑμῖν τὸ συνέδριον, οὔτε καλῶς ἔχει, προγόνων οὔσιν ἀγαθῶν, οὔτ'

ἀσφαλῶς. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ προβουλευματος, ὥς οὐ κρατεῖσθε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον ὑπατεύσαντες χρόνοις, [p. 366]

[3] “So that for you men also, Valerius, yes, and you too, Aemilius, to propose allotments of land which the senate did not direct you to carry out is neither honourable, descended as you are from worthy ancestors, nor is it safe. As regards the preliminary decree, then, let this suffice to show that you who have become consuls so many years afterwards are not bound by it.

[4] ταῦθ' ἱκανά. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιασαμένους τινὰς ἢ λαθόντας σφετερίσασθαι τὰ δημόσια βραχὺς ἀπαρκεῖ μοι λόγος. εἰ γὰρ τις οἶδε καρποῦμενόν τινα, ὣν οὐκ ἔχει κτῆσιν ἀποδεῖξαι νόμῳ, μήνυσιν ἀπενεγκάτω πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ κρινάτω κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς οὐ νωστὶ δεήσει γράφειν: πάλαι γὰρ ἐγράφησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἠφάνικε χρόνος.

[4] As for any who may, either forcibly or stealthily, have appropriated to themselves the public possessions, a few words will serve my purpose. If anyone knows that another is enjoying the use of property to which he cannot support his title by law, let him give information of it to the consuls and prosecute him according to the laws, which will not have to be drawn up afresh; for they were drawn up long since, and no lapse of time has abrogated them.

[5] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐποιεῖτο λόγους Αἰμίλιος, ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ τῆς κληρουχίας ἐσομένης, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνέλεγκτον ἔῃσαι βούλομαι. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τὸ αὐτόθι μόνον οὗτός γ' ὄρᾶν, τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐ προσκοπεῖν, ὅτι μικρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων τοῖς ἀργοῖς καὶ

[5] But since Aemilius has spoken also about the advantage of this measure, asserting that the allotting of the land will be for the good of all, I do not wish to leave this point either unrefuted. For he, it seems to me, looks only to the present, and does not foresee the future, namely, that the granting of a portion of the public possessions to the idle and the poor, which now seems to him of small importance, will be the cause of many great evils,

[6] ἀπόροις πολλῶν ἔσται καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιον. τὸ γὰρ ἔθος τὸ συνεισπορευόμενον ἅμα τούτῳ καὶ διαμένον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ὀλέθριον ἔσται καὶ δεινόν: οὐ γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ τὰς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τυγχάνειν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αὖξει καὶ πονηροτέρας ποιεῖ. τεκμήρια δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τούτων τὰ ἔργα: τί γὰρ δεῖ τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἢ τοῖς Αἰμιλίου προσέχειν;

[6] since the custom thereby introduced will not only continue in the state, but will for all time prove pernicious and dangerous. For the gratification of evil desires does not eradicate them from the soul, but rather strengthens them and renders them still more evil. Let the facts convince you of this; for why should

you pay any attention to words, either mine or those of Aemilius?

[1] ἴστε δῆπου πάντες, ὅσους ἐχειρωσάμεθα πολεμίους, καὶ ὅσην γῆν προύνομεύσαμεν, καὶ ὅσα λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἀλόντων χωρίων ἐλάβομεν, ὧν οἱ πολέμιοι στερόμενοι τέως εὐδαίμονες ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ νῦν [p. 367] καθεστῆκασιν ἀπορία: καὶ ὅτι τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀπηλάσθησαν οὐδὲ μείων ἐκτήσαντο ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς οἱ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὀδυρόμενοι.

[53] “You all know, to be sure, how many enemies we have overcome, how much territory we have ravaged, and how great spoils we have taken from the towns we have captured, the loss of which has reduced the enemy from their former prosperity to great want, and that those who now bewail their poverty were excluded from none of these spoils nor had less than their share in the distribution of them.

[2] ἄρ’ οὖν διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐπικτήσεις ἐπανορθωσάμενοι φαίνονται τι τῆς παλαιᾶς τύχης καὶ προεληλυθότες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῖς βίοις; ἐβουλόμεν μὲν ἂν καὶ θεοῖς εὐξάμην, ἵνα ἥττον ἦσαν ἐπίσκοινοι λυπηροὶ τῇ πόλει, νῦν δ’ ὀρᾷτε γὰρ καὶ ἀκούετε αὐτῶν ὀδυρομένων, ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτῃ εἰσὶν ἀπορία. ὥστ’ οὐδ’ εἰ ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν αἰτοῦνται, καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτων λάβοιεν, ἐπανορθώσονται τοὺς βίους.

[2] Do they appear, then, to have improved their former condition at all by these further acquisitions or to have attained to any distinction in their lives? I could wish and have prayed to the gods that they might do so, in order that they might have been to a less extent mere transients, a nuisance to the city. But as it is, you see and hear them complaining that they are in the direst want. So that not even if you should receive what they now ask for — aye, still more than that — will they effect any improvement in their lives.

[3] οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τύχαις αὐτῶν ἐνοικεῖ τὸ ἄπορον, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς τρόποις: οὐς οὐχ οἷον ὁ βραχύς οὗτος ἐκπληρώσει κληῖρος, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ αἱ σύμπασαι βασιλέων τε καὶ τυράννων δωρεαί. δράσομέν τ’, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸς ἡδονὴν θεραπεύουσι τοὺς κάμνοντας ἰατροῖς. οὐ γὰρ τὸ νοσοῦν ὑγιασθήσεται τῆς πολιτείας μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀπολαύσει τῆς νόσου. καθόλου τ’, ὧ βουλή, πολλῆς ὑμῖν δεῖ ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φροντίδος, ὅπως ἂν σώσητε πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ διαφθειρόμενα τὰ ἡθῆ τῆς πόλεως.

[3] For their poverty is not inherent in their condition in life, but in their character; and not only will this small portion of land not supply their lack of that, but not even all the largesses of kings and despots would do so. If we make this concession also to them, we shall be like those physicians whose treatment of the sick is to tickle their palates. For the diseased part of the commonwealth will not be cured, but even the sound part will catch the disease. In general, senators, you need to take much care and thought how you

may preserve with all possible zeal the morals of the commonwealth which are being corrupted.

[4] ὁρᾶτε γάρ, εἰς ἃ προελήλυθεν ἡ τοῦ δήμου ἀκοσμία, καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξιοῖ: ὧ γ' οὐ μετεμέλησε τῶν ἐνθάδε πραπτομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπεδείξατο ἀκοσμίαν, ὅπλα τε ῥίψας καὶ τάξεις ἐκλιπὼν καὶ [p. 368] σημεῖα πολεμίοις προέμενος καὶ φυγῇ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπονειδίστω χρησάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀφαιρησόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς νίκης δόξαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάθος.

[4] For you see to what lengths the unruliness of the populace has gone and that they no longer care to be governed by the consuls; indeed, they were so far from repenting of what they did here that they showed the same unruliness in the field too, throwing away their arms, quitting their posts, abandoning their standards to the enemy and resorting to disgraceful flight before ever coming to grips with them, as if they could rob me alone of the glory of the victory without robbing the fatherland at the same time of the renown it would gain at the expense of their enemies.

[5] καὶ νῦν Οὐλοῦσκοις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἴσταται τρόπαια, καὶ κοσμεῖται τοῖς ἡμετέροις λαφύροις τάκείνων ἱερὰ καὶ ἐν αὐχήμασιν, ἡλίκους οὐπώποτε αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰσιν τέως ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τε καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων δεόμεναι ἡγεμόνων.

[5] And now trophies are being erected by the Volscians over the Romans, their temples are being adorned with spoils taken from us and their cities vaunt themselves as never before — those cities which were wont aforetime to beseech our generals to save them from slavery and total destruction.

[6] ἄρα γε δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κατορθώμασι χάριν αὐτοῖς ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, καὶ δημοσίαις ἐπικοσμεῖν δωρεαῖς κληρουχήσαντας τὴν γῆν, ἧς πολέμιοι κρατοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τούτους εἶναι μέρος; ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ τούτοις ἐγκαλεῖν, οἷς δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν τε καὶ δυσγένειαν ὀλίγος ἐστὶ τῶν καλῶν λόγος, ὁρῶντας, ὡς οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσι πᾶσιν ἔτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκεῖ φρόνημα, ἀλλ' αὐθάδεια μὲν ἢ σεμνότης καλεῖται πρὸς ἐνίων, μωρία δ' ἢ δικαιοσύνη, μανικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ ἡλίθιον τὸ σῶφρον; ἃ δὲ μισητὰ παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις ἦν, ταῦτα πυργοῦται τε νῦν καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλίκα φαίνεται τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις ἀγαθὰ, ἀνανδρία καὶ βωμολοχία καὶ κακοήθεια καὶ τὸ πανούργως σοφὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἱταμὸν καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων εὐπειθές: ἃ πολλὰς ἤδη πόλεις [p. 369]

[6] Is it just, then, or becoming in you to feel gratitude to you for such successes and to honour them with public grants by dividing up the land which, so far as they are concerned, is in the enemy's possession? Yet why should we accuse those who because of their lack of education and because of

their low birth pay little regard to matters of honour, when we see that no longer in the character of all even of your own number does the ancient proud spirit dwell, but, on the contrary, some call gravity haughtiness, justice folly, courage madness, and modesty stupidity? On the other hand, those qualities that were held in detestation by the men of former times are now extolled and appear to the corrupt as wonderful virtues, such as cowardice, buffoonery, malignity, crafty wisdom, rashness in undertaking everything and unwillingness to listen to any of one's betters — vices which ere now have laid hold on and utterly overthrown many strong states.

[7] ἰσχυρὰς λαβόντα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέτρεψε. ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ βουλή, εἴθ' ἡδέα ἐστὶν ἀκούειν εἴτ' ἀνιάρᾳ, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας καὶ παρρησίας εἴρηται, τοῖς μὲν πεισθησομένοις ὑμῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα πεισθῇτε, ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι χρήσιμα καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλῆ: ἐμοὶ δ', ὅς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας ἀναιροῦμαι, πολλῶν ἐσόμενα κινδύνων αἵτια. προορᾶν γὰρ ἱκανός εἰμι τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐκ λογισμοῦ, καὶ παραδείγματα ποιοῦμαι τάλλοτριά πάθη τῶν ἐμᾶυτοῦ.

[7] These words, senators, whether they are pleasing to you to hear or vexatious, have been uttered in all sincerity and frankness. To those among you who will be persuaded — if indeed you will be persuaded — they will prove both useful at the present time and a source of security for the future; but to me, who in the interest of the public good am bringing private hatreds upon myself, they will be the cause of great dangers. For reason enables me to foresee what will happen; and I take the misfortunes of others as examples of my own."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀποφνημαμένων ἢ μὲν βουλή διελύετο. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες τὴν ἀποτυχίαν ἀπήεσαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως τιμωρήσονται τὸν ἄνδρα: ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις δίκη τὸν Ἀππίον ὑπαγαγεῖν θάνατον ἐχούσῃ τὸ τίμημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρός κατηγορήσαντες παρεκάλουν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθησομένην ἡμέραν ὡς διοίσοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

[54.1] After Appius had spoken thus and almost all the others had expressed the same opinion, the senate was dismissed. The tribunes, angry at their failure, departed and after that considered how they might take revenge on the man; and they decided, after long deliberation, to bring him to trial on a capital charge. Then, having accused him before the popular assembly, they asked all to be present on the day they should appoint in order to give their votes concerning him.

[2] ψῆφον. ἃ δὲ κατηγορεῖν ἔμελλον, ταῦτ' ἦν: ὅτι πονηρὰς ἐτίθει κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας, καὶ στάσιν εἰσήγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημάρχῳ χεῖρας ἐπήνεγκε παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους, καὶ στρατιᾶς ἡγησάμενος σὺν βλάβῃ τε

καὶ αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλῃ ἀνέστρεψε. ταῦτα προειπόντες ἐν τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ῥητὴν τινα ἀποδείξαντες ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τέλος ἔφησαν ἐπιθήσειν τῇ δίκῃ, παρήγγειλαν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι τὸτ' ἀπολογησομένῳ.

[2] The charges they planned to bring against him were these: that he had been spring mischievous opinions against the populace and introducing sedition into the commonwealth, that he had laid hands on a tribune contrary to the sacred laws, and that after taking command of the army he had returned home with great loss and disgrace. After announcing these accusations to the populace and appointing a definite day on which they said they would hold the trial, they summoned him to appear on the day named and make his defence.

[3] ἀγανακτούντων δ' ἀπάντων τῶν πατρικίων καὶ παρεσκευασμένων [p. 370] ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ σώζειν τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄππιον παρακαλούντων εἶξαι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ σχῆμα ταῖς παρούσαις τύχαις ἀρμόττον μεταλαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔφη ποιήσῃν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὔτ' ἀγεννὲς οὔτε τῶν προγεγονότων ἔργων ἀνάξιον, μυρίους δ' ἂν ὑπομεῖναι θανάτους πρότερον ἢ γονάτων ἄψασθαι τινος: τοὺς θ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεῖσθαι παρεσκευασμένους διεκώλυεν εἰπών, ὡς διπλασίως ἂν αἰδεσθεῖν ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντας ἑτέρους ὀρών, ἃ μὴδ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν πρέποντα ἡγεῖται.

[3] All the patricians resented this proceeding and were prepared to use every effort to save Appius, and they urged him to yield to the occasion and to assume a bearing suitable to his present fortunes; but he declared that he would do nothing ignoble or unworthy of his former conduct, and that he would rather die a thousand deaths than cling to the knees of any man. And though his friends were prepared to make entreaties in his behalf, he would not permit it, saying that he would be doubly ashamed to see others doing for him things which he thought unbecoming even for him to do for himself.

[4] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις λέγων, καὶ οὔτ' ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξας οὔτε τὸ τῆς ὄψεως γαῦρον ἀλλοιώσας οὔτε φρονήματός τι ὑφέμενος, ὡς εἶδεν ὀρθὴν καὶ μετέωρον ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγων ἔτι λειπομένων ἡμερῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

[4] After he had said this and many other things of like nature and neither changed his dress, altered the haughtiness of his looks nor abated anything of his proud spirit, when now he saw the whole city intent upon his trial and on tiptoe with expectation, and only a few days were left, he made away with himself;

[5] οἱ μὲν δὴ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ νόσον ἐσκήπτοντο γενέσθαι τοῦ θανάτου αἰτίαν: προενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ μὲν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ προσιὼν τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἤξιον τὴν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἔθει Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ἐπὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς

ἀγορεύεσθαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγον ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς διελθεῖν.

[5] his relations, however, pretended that he had died a natural death. When his body was brought into the Forum, his son went to the tribunes and consuls and asked them to assemble the people for him in the manner usual upon such occasions and give him leave to deliver the eulogy over his father according to the practice of the Romans at the funerals of worthy men.

[6] οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι καλουμένης ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐνίσταντο, καὶ παρήγγελλον τῷ μεираκίῳ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀποφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ὁ δῆμος γ' ἠνέσχετο οὐδὲ περιεῖδε τὴν ὕβριν, ἅτιμον ἐκβληθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐπέτρεψε τῷ μεираκίῳ [p. 371] τὰς νομιζομένας ἀποδοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ τιμὰς. Ἀππίος μὲν οὖν τοιαύτης τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν.

[6] But the tribunes, even while the consuls were calling the assembly, vetoed it and bade the youth take away the body. However, the people would not permit this nor allow the body to be cast out in dishonour and ignominy, but gave leave to the youth to render the customary honours to his father. Such was the end of Appius.

[1] οἱ δ' ὕπατοι καταγράψαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: Λεύκιος μὲν Οὐαλέριος Αἰκανοῖς πολεμήσων, Τιβέριος δ' Αἰμίλιος Σαβίνοις. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν τῆς στάσεως καιρὸν ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς κακώσαντες ἀπῆλθον λείαν ἄφθονον περιβαλόμενοι. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν πολλάκις εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ἐν ἐχυρῷ χωρίῳ κείμενον κατέφυγον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι προήεσαν εἰς μάχην.

[55.1] The consuls, having enrolled the armies, led them out of the city, Lucius Valerius to fight against the Aequians and Tiberius Aemilius against the Sabines; for these nations had made an incursion into the Romans' country on the occasion of the sedition and after plundering much of it had returned home with rich booty. The Aequians came to an engagement repeatedly; but after receiving many wounds they fled to their camp, which was situated in a strong place, and from that time no longer came out to fight.

[2] ὁ δὲ Οὐαλέριος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐκπολιορκεῖν αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκωλύθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου. προιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἤδη ἔργου ἐχομένῳ ζόφος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γίνεται καὶ ὄμβρος πολὺς, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ. διασκεδασθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὃ τε χειμῶν εὐθύς ἐπαύσατο καὶ πολλὴ κατέσχε τὸν τόπον αἰθρία. τοῦτο τε διὴ τὸ ἔργον ὀπτευσάμενος ὁ ὕπατος, καὶ τῶν μάντεων κωλυόντων ἔτι πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποτραπεῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐκάκου, καὶ ὅση ἐπέτυχε λεία τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄπασαν ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐφείς, ἀπῆγεν ἐπ'

[2] Valerius endeavoured to take their camp by storm but was prevented by the

gods from doing so. For as he was advancing and already setting himself to the task darkness descended from the sky, and a heavy rain, accompanied by lightning and terrible thunder claps. Then, as soon as the army had scattered, the storm ceased and the sky over the place became perfectly clear. The consul looking upon this as an omen and the augurs forbidding him to besiege the place any longer, he desisted and laid waste the enemy's country; then, having yielded as spoils to the soldiers all the booty he came upon, he led the army home.

[3] οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν. Τιβερίῳ δ' Αἰμιλίῳ διεξιόντι τὴν πολεμίαν σὺν πολλῇ καταφρονήσει κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι προσδοκῶντι ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ ἦλθεν ἡ Σαβίνων δύναμις καὶ γίνεται μάχη αὐτῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως μεσοῦσης μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένη μέχρι δύσεως ἡλίου. [p. 372] σκότους δ' ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ἀνεχώρουν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας οὔτε νικῶσαι οὔτε λειπόμεναι.

[3] As for Tiberius Aemilius, while he was overrunning the enemy's country with great contempt of them at first and no longer expecting anyone to oppose him, the army of the Sabines came upon him and a pitched battle took place between them, beginning about noon and lasting till sunset; but when darkness came on, the two armies retired to their camps neither victorious nor yet outmatched.

[4] ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις νεκροὺς τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκήδευσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ χάρακας ἐξωρῶξαντο, καὶ γνώμας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶχον ἑκάτεροι, διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔχειν καὶ μηκέτι ἄρχειν μάχης. ἔπειτα σὺν χρόνῳ τὰς σκηνὰς λύσαντες ἀπῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις.

[4] During the following days the commanders paid the final offices to their dead and constructed ramparts for their camps; and both of them had the same intention, which was to defend their own positions and not to engage in another action. Then, after a time, they struck their tents and withdrew their forces.

[1] ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτει, κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ὀγδόην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἣν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Παρμενίδης Ποσειδωνιάτης Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος Θεαγενίδου, κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Ῥωμαίων Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος Καίλιμοντανὸς καὶ Τίτος Νομίκιος Πρίσκοις. ἄρτι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφόντων ἀγγέλλεται στρατιὰ Οὐολούσκων πολλὴ παροῦσα. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν περιπολίων τι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταληφθὲν ἐκαίετο: ἦν δ' οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ὁ καπνὸς ἠγγελλετοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πάθος.

[56] The year following their consulship, in the seventy-eighth Olympiad (the one at which Parmenides of Posidonia won the foot-race), Theagenides being annual archon at Athens, Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus and Titus Numicius

Priscus were made consuls. They had no sooner entered upon their magistracy than news was brought that a numerous army of Volscians was at hand. And not long afterwards one of the guard-houses of the Romans was on fire after being taken by assault; it was not far from Rome and the smoke informed the people in the city of the disaster.

[2] τότε μὲν οὖν — καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔτι νύξ — ἱππεῖς τινὰς ἀποστείλαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ταξάμενοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τοῖς εὐζωνοτάτοις, ἐξεδέχοντο τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἀγγελίας· ὥς δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἐγένετο, καὶ συνήθροιστο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμεις, [p. 373] ἦγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ διαρπάσαντες καὶ κατακαύσαντες τὸ φρούριον ἀπήεσαν διὰ τάχους.

[2] Thereupon, it being still night, the consuls sent some horsemen out to reconnoitre, and stationing guards upon the walls and posting themselves before the gates with the troops which were most lightly equipped, they waited for the report of the horsemen. Then, as soon as it was day and the forces in the city had joined them, they marched against their foes. These, however, after plundering and burning the fort, had retired in haste.

[3] τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ ὕπατοι σβέσαντες τὰ ἔτι καιόμενα καὶ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἀπήεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὰς τ' οἰκείας ἔχοντες δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξήεσαν ἀμφοτέρω, Οὐεργίνιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν, Νομίκιος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις κατὰ

[3] The consuls extinguished what was still burning, and leaving a guard over the place, returned to the city. A few days later they both took the field with not only their own forces but those of the allies as well, Verginius marching against the Aequians and Numicius against the Volscians; and the campaigns of both proceeded according to plan.

[4] γνώμην τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐχώρησεν. Οὐεργινίῳ τε γὰρ Αἰκανοὶ δηοῦντι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόχον πινὰ ὑποκαθίσαντες ἐν ὕλαις ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἔμελλον ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, διήμαρτον τῆς ἐλπίδος ταχείας γενομένης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰσθήσεως καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς, ἐξ ἧς πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων οἱ Αἰκανοὶ ἀπέβαλον· ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰς πεῖραν ἐτέρας μάχης ἔτ' ἦρχοντο.

[4] The Aequians, when Verginius was laying waste their country, not only did not dare come to an engagement, but even when they placed an ambush of chosen men in the woods with orders to fall upon their enemies when they were scattered, they were disappointed of their hopes, inasmuch as the Romans soon became aware of their design and a sharp action ensued, in which the Aequians lost many of their men; the result was that they would no longer even try the fortune of another engagement.

[5] Νομικίῳ τ' ἄγοντι τὴν στρατιάν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν, ἣ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τότε τῶν Οὐολούσκων πόλεσιν ἦν, οὐδεμία ἡναντιώθη δύναμις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν τευχῶν ἀναγκάζοντο ἕκαστοι ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἢ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἢ πολλή ἐτμήθη, καὶ πολίχνη τις ἐπιθαλάττιος ἐάλω, ἣ ἐπινείῳ τε καὶ ἀγορᾷ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἐχρῶντο, ἐκ θαλάττης τε καὶ διὰ λησθηρίων τὰς πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενοι ὠφελείας. ἀνδράποδα μὲν οὖν καὶ χρήματα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπορικοὺς φόρτους ἡ στρατιὰ συγχωρήσει τοῦ ὑπάτου [p. 374] διήρπασε, τὰ δ' ἐλεύθερα σώματα, ὅποσα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος ἔφθη διειργασμένος, ἐπὶ τὸ λαφυροπώλιον ἀπήχθη. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ νῆες τῶν Ἀντιατῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μακραὶ καὶ ἄλλα νεῶν ὄπλα τε καὶ παρσκευαί.

[5] Neither did any army oppose Numicius as he was marching on Antium, which was at that time among the foremost cities of the Volscians; but the people were forced in every instance to defend themselves from their walls. In the meantime not only was the greater part of their country laid waste, but also a small town on the coast was taken which they used as a station for their ships and a market for the necessities of life, bringing thither the many spoils they took both from the sea and by raids on land. The slaves, goods, cattle and merchandise were seized as plunder by the army with the consul's permission; but all the free men who had not lost their lives in the war were taken away to be sold at an auction of spoils. There were also captured twenty-two warships belonging to the Antiates together with rigging and equipment for ships besides.

[6] μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου τὰς τ' οἰκίας ἐνεπιμπρασαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεωσοίκους κατέσκαπτον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἥρειπον ἐκ θεμελίων: ὥστε μὴδ' ἀπελθόντων σφῶν χρηστὸν ἔτι τοῖς Ἀντιάταις εἶναι τὸ φρούριον. ταῦτα τε δὴ ἐπράχθη χωρὶς ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἔτι καινὴ στρατεία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, ἣν δηώσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὕτως ἐτελεύτα.

[6] After that at the consul's command the Romans set fire to the houses, destroyed the docks and demolished the wall to its foundations, so that even after their departure the fortress could be of no use to the Antiates. These were the exploits of the two consuls while they acted separately. They afterwards joined forces and made an incursion into the territory of the Sabines; and having laid it waste, they returned home with the army. Thus that year ended.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Τίτου Κοιντίου Καπετωλίνου καὶ Κοίντου Σερουιλίου Πρίσκου τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παρειληφόντων ἢ τ' οἰκεία δύναμις Ῥωμαίων ἅπασα ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦν, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἐκούσια παρῆν, πρὶν ἐπαγγελθῆναι αὐτοῖς στρατείαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' εὐχάς τε ποιησάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ καθήραντες τὸν στρατὸν ἐξήεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

[57] The next year, when Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Quintus Servilius

Priscus had succeeded to the consulship, not only were the Romans' forces all under arms, but the allied contingents as well presented themselves of their own accord before they were notified of the expedition. Thereupon the consuls, after they had offered upon their vows to the gods and performed the lustration of the army, set out against their enemies.

[2] Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Σερουίλιος ἤλασεν, οὔτ' εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν οὔτ' ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὕπαιθρον: μένοντες δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἡνείχοντο γῆς τ' αὐτοῖς τεμνομένης καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων θεραπείας τ' αὐτομολούσης: ὥστε κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὠφελείας τε βαρεῖς [p. 375] καὶ αὐχήμασι λαμπροῦς, καὶ ἡ μὲν Σερουιλίου στρατεία τοῦτ' ἔσχεν τὸ τέλος:

[2] The Sabines, against whom Servilius marched, neither drew up for battle nor came out into the open, but remaining in their fortresses, permitted their land to be laid waste, their houses to be burned and their slaves to desert, so that the Romans retired from their country entirely at their ease, loaded down with spoils and exulting in their success. This was the outcome of the expedition led by Servilius.

[3] οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Κοιντίῳ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους — συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ προαγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν πόλεως ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο — θάπτον ἢ βάδην χωροῦντες ἐπιφαίνονται αὐτοῖς: καὶ οὐ πολὺν τόπον τοῦ χάρακος αὐτῶν ἀποσχόντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ὤφθησάν τε καὶ εἶδον ἐκείνους χωρίῳ ταπεινῷ ὄντι τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἔθεντο, τοῦ μὴ δεδοικέναι τὰ πολέμια πλήθει μακρῷ προὔχοντα δόξαν ποιῆσαι βουλόμενοι.

[3] The forces which had marched under Quintius against the Aequians and the Volscians — for the contingents from both nations who were to fight in behalf of the rest had joined together and had encamped before Antium — advancing at a quick pace, suddenly appeared before them and set down their baggage not far from the enemy's camp in the place where they had first been visible to each other, even though it was a low position; for they wished to avoid the appearance of fearing the enemy's numbers, which were much larger than their own.

[4] ὥς δ' εὐτρεπῇ τὰ εἰς μάχην ἐκατέροις ἅπαντα ἦν, ἐξήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἡγωνίζοντο μέχρι μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας οὔτ' εἶκοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτ' ἐπιβαίνοντες, αἰεὶ τε τὸ κάμνον μέρος ἀνισοῦντες τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις τεταγμένοις ἐκατέροι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μάλιστα οἱ Αἰκανοὶ καὶ Οὐολούσκοι πλήθει τῶν Ῥωμαίων προὔχοντες ἀνέφερον καὶ περιῆσαν, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐχόντων ἴσον τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος.

[4] When everything was ready for battle on both sides, they advanced into the plain, and engaging, fought till midday, neither yielding to nor charging their

opponents, and both sides continually bringing up to equal strength with the enemy, by means of the troops held in reserve, any part of their line that was in distress. In this respect particularly the Aequians and Volscians, being more numerous than the Romans, rallied and had the advantage, since their foes' numbers were not equal to their ardour.

[5] ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος ὀρώων νεκρούς τε πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν περιόντων τοὺς πλείους τραυματίας ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν, δείσας δέ, μὴ δόξαν παράσχη τοῖς πολεμίοις φυγῆς, παρακινδυνευτέον σφίσιν εἶναι ἔγνω. ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ὃ μάλιστα ἔκαμνεν, τοῖς σφετέροις παρεβοήθει.

[5] Quintius, seeing many of his men dead and the greater part of the survivors wounded, was on the point of recalling his forces, but fearing that this would give the enemy the impression of a flight, he decided that they must make a bold stroke. Choosing, therefore, the best of his horse, he hastened to the aid of his men on the right wing, which was hardest pressed.

[6] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν [p. 376] αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀνανδρίας, τὰ δ' ὑπομιμνήσκων τῶν προτέρων ἀγώνων, τὰ δὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃς καταλήψεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, τελευτῶν εἶπεν οὐκ ἀληθές, ὃ μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις θάρσος παρέστησε, τοῖς δὲ πολέμοις δέος. ἔφη γάρ, ὅτι θάτερον αὐτῶν ἤδη κέρας ἐξέωσε τοὺς πολέμιους καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦδη ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων χάρακος.

[6] And upbraiding the officers themselves for their want of courage, reminding them of their former exploits, and showing them to what shame and danger they would be exposed in fleeing, he ended with an untruth, which more than anything else inspired his own men with confidence and the enemy with fear. For he told them that their other wing had already put the enemy to flight and was by now close to their camp.

[7] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐνσείει τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων συστάδην ἐμάχετο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τόλμα τις ἐμπίπτει τοῖς κάμνουσι τέως, καὶ ὠθοῦνται ἅπαντες ὥσπερ ἕτεροί τινες γεγονότες· καὶ οἱ Οὐλοῦσκοι — τῇδε γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἐτάξαντο — μέχρι πολλοῦ διακαρτερήσαντες ἐνέκλιναν. ὥς δὲ τούτους ὁ Κοῖντιος ἀπέωσατο, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον παρήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τάξιν, καὶ ἐδείκνυε τοῖς ἐκεῖ πεζοῖς τὸ ἡττώμενον τῶν πολέμιων μέρος, καὶ παρεκελεύετο μὴ λείπεσθαι ἀρετῇ τῶν ἑτέρων.

[7] Having said this, he charged the enemy, and dismounting from his horse, he and the chosen horsemen with him fought hand to hand. Upon this a kind of daring came to those whose spirits till then had flagged, and as if they had become different men, all pressed forward; and the Volscians — for these stood opposite to them — after holding out for a long time, gave way. Quintius, having repulsed these opponents, mounted his horse and, riding along to the other wing, showed to the foot posted there the part of the enemy which was defeated, and exhorted them not to be behind the others in valour.

[1] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' οὐδὲν ἔτι διέμενε τῶν πολέμιων, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα ξυνέφευγον. οὐ μέντοι διώξις γ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπετράποντο, ὑπὸ κόπου τὰ σώματα παρειμένοι καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἔτι ὅμοια ἔχοντες. ὀλίγων δὲ [p. 377] διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ἃς ἐσπείσαντο ταφῆς τε τῶν οἰκείων νεκρῶν καὶ θεραπείας τῶν κεκμηκότων ἔνεκα, παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλλείποντα, ἑτέραν ἡγωνίσαντο μάχην περὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι.

[58.1] After this no part of the enemy stood their ground but all fled together to their camp. The Romans, however, did not pursue them far, but promptly turned back, as their bodies were spent with toil and their weapons no longer what they had been. But after a few days had passed, for which they had made a truce in order to bury their dead and care for their sick, and they had supplied themselves with whatever was lacking for the war, they fought another battle, this time about the camp of the Romans.

[2] προσελθούσης γὰρ ἄλλης δυνάμεως τοῖς Οὐολούσκοις τε καὶ Αἰκανοῖς ἐκ τῶν πέριξ χωρίων οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ὄντων, ἐπαρθείς ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ πενταπλάσιοι τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν οἱ σφέτεροι, τὴν τε παρεμβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐν ἐχυρῷ οὔσαν ὁρῶν κράτιστον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἤγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κύκλῳ περιστήσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ λάθοιεν ἀπίοντες.

[2] For, reinforcements having come to the Volscians and Aequians from the neighbouring forts round about, their general grew elated because his forces were actually five times as large as those of the enemy, and observing that the Romans' camp was not strongly situated, he thought this was a most excellent opportunity for attacking them. Having so reasoned, he led his army to their camp about midnight, and surrounding it with his men, kept it under guard so that the Romans should not steal away.

[3] ὁ δὲ Κοίντιος, ὡς ἔμαθε τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐδέξατο καὶ περιμείνας, ἕως ἡμέρα τ' ἐγένετο καὶ ὥρα πληθουούσης μάλιστ' ἀγορᾶς, κάμνοντας ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθόμενος ὑπὸ τ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀκροβολισμῶν, καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόχους οὐδὲ ἐν τάξει προσάγοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ κεχυμένους καὶ σποράδας, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος ἐξέδραμεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἱππέων: καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἠκολούθουν.

[3] Quintius, upon being informed of the numbers of the enemy, welcomed this move and bided his time till it was day and about the hour of full market. Then, perceiving that the enemy were already suffering both from lack of sleep and from the flying missiles and that they were advancing neither by centuries nor by ranks but widely extended and scattered, he opened the gates of the camp and sallied out with the flower of the horse; and the foot, closing their ranks, followed.

[4] οἱ δὲ Οὐολοῦσκοι καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὸ μανικὸν τῆς ἐφόδου βραχὺν ἀνασχόμενοι χρόνον ἀνακροῦνται τε καὶ ἅμα ὑποχωροῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ — ἦν γὰρ τις οὐ πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπικεινῶς — εἰς τοῦτον οὖν ἀνατρέχουσιν [p. 378] ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενοι τε καὶ αὐθις εἰς τάξιν καταστησόμενοι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο καταστῆναι τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποδὸς

ἡκολούθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμοιοι πλῆσαντες, ὥς μάλιστα ἦν δυνατόν τοῦς λόχους, ἵνα μὴ καταραχθῶσι πρὸς ἄναντες χωρίον βιαζόμενοι.

[4] The Volscians were astonished at their boldness and at the madness of their onset and, after holding out for a brief time, were repulsed and at the same time began to retire from the camp; and, as there stood not far from it a hill of moderate height, they hastened up this hill with the intention of both resting themselves and forming in line of battle again. But they were unable to form their lines and to recover themselves, for the enemy followed at their heels, closing their ranks as much as possible in order not to be hurled back while trying to force their way up-hill.

[5] καὶ γίνεται μέγας ἀγὼν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, νεκροὶ τε πίπτουσι πολλοὶ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων. καὶ Οὐολούσκοι πλῆθει τε ὑπερέχοντες καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου προσειληφότες ἀσφαλές, οὐδετέρου τούτων οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀπήλαυσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐκβιασθέντες τὸν τε λόφον ἐξέλιπον καὶ

[5] There followed a mighty struggle which lasted a large part of the day, and many fell on both sides. The Volscians, though superior in numbers and having the added security of their position, got no benefit from either circumstance; but being forced from their position by the ardour and bravery of the Romans, they abandoned the hill and while fleeing toward the camp the greater part of them were killed.

[6] ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα φεύγοντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον. οὐ γὰρ εἶασαν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἡκολούθησαν καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπετράποντο, ἢ τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτῶν ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος. γενόμενοι δὲ σωμάτων τ' ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐγκατελήφθη τῷ χάρακι καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὀπλων καὶ χρημάτων παμπόλλων κύριοι, τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτόθι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένος ὁ ὕπατος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν οὐ πλείω ἀπέχουσαν τριάκοντα σταδίων ἤγε τὴν δύναμιν.

[6] For the Romans never left them as they pursued, but followed at their heels and did not desist till they had taken their camp by storm. Then, having seized all the persons who had been left behind in the camp and taken possession of the horses and arms and huge quantities of baggage, they encamped there that night. The next day the consul, having prepared everything that was necessary for a siege, marched with his army to Antium, which was not more than thirty stades distant.

[7] ἔτυχον δὲ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τοῖς Ἀντιάταις Αἰκανῶν τινες ἐπικούριοι παρόντες καὶ φυλάττοντες τὰ τείχη: οἳ τότε δείσαντες τὸ Ῥωμαίων τολμηρὸν δρασμὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως [p. 379] ἐπεχειροῦν ποιεῖσθαι. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς Ἀντιάταις γνώσεως κωλυόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο

παράδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιούσι τὴν πόλιν.

[7] It chanced that some reinforcements sent by the Aequians to the Antiates for their protection were in the city and were guarding the walls. These men, dreading the boldness of the Romans, were now attempting to escape from the city; but being prevented from leaving by the Antiates, who had notice of their intention, they resolved to deliver up the city to the Romans when they should attack it.

[8] τοῦτο μαθόντες ἐκ μηνύσεως οἱ Ἀντιᾶται τῷ τε καιρῷ εἴκουσι, καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευσάμενοι παραδιδόασιν τῷ Κοιντίῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Αἰκανοὺς μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελθεῖν, Ἀντιάτας δὲ φρουρὰν δεῖξασθαι καὶ τὰ κελεύόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ποιεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις κύριος γενόμενος τῆς πόλεως ὁ ὕπατος, καὶ λαβὼν ὀψωνία τε καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσων ἔδει τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας, ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν: ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ ὑπαντήσῃ τε φιλανθρώπῳ ἐδέξατο, καὶ θριάμβου πομπῇ ἐτίμησεν.

[8] The Antiates, being informed of this, yielded to the situation, and concerting measures with the Aequians, surrendered the city to Quintius upon the terms that the Aequians should have leave to depart under a truce and that the Antiates should receive a garrison and obey the commands of the Romans. The consul, having made himself master of the city upon these terms and having received provisions and everything that was needed for the army, placed a garrison there and then led his forces home. In consideration of his success the senate came out to meet him, gave him a cordial welcome and honoured him with a triumph.

[1] ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους ἔτει ὕπατοι μὲν ἦσαν Τιβέριος Αἰμίλιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος, ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ἀδελφῶν υἱὸς τῶν ἡγησαμένων τε τῆς ἀποσταλείσης φρουρᾶς εἰς Κρεμέραν, καὶ διαφθαρέντων ἐκεῖ σὺν τοῖς πελάταις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν δημάρχων ἀνακινούντων πάλιν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ, καὶ συναγωνιζομένου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς Αἰμιλίου δόγμα ἐπεκύρωσε, θεραπεῦσαι τε καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τοὺς πένητας βουλομένα, διανεῖμαι τινα μοῖραν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας, ἣν τῷ προτέρῳ

[59.1] The following year the consuls were Tiberius Aemilius (for the second time) and Quintus Fabius, the son of one of the three brothers who had commanded the garrison that was sent out to Cremera and had perished there together with their clients. As the tribunes, supported by Aemilius, one of the consuls, were again stirring up the populace over the land-allotment, the senate, wishing both to court and to relieve the poor, passed a decree to divide among them a certain part of the territory of the Antiates which they had taken by the sword the year before and now held.

[2] ἔτει δόρατι ἐλόντες κατέσχον. καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἡγεμόνες τῆς κληρουχίας

Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπιτωλίνος, ὃ παρέδωσαν Ἀντιᾶται σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος [p. 380] Φοῦριος καὶ Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος. ἦν δ' οὐκ ἀγώνισμα πᾶσι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι Ῥωμαίων ἡ διανομή τῆς χώρας ὡς ἀπελαινόμενοις τῆς πατρίδος, ὀλίγων τ' ἀπογραφασμένων ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐπιτρέψαι Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς ἀποικίας μετέχειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰς Ἄντιον ἀποσταλέντες κατένεμον τὴν γῆν τοῖς σφετέροις, μοῖράν τινα ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀντιάταις ὑπολειπόμενοι.

[2] Those appointed as leaders in the allotting of the land were Titus Quintius Capitolinus, to whom the Antiates had surrendered themselves, together with Lucius Furius and Aulus Verginius. But the masses and the poor among the Romans were dissatisfied with the proposed assignment of land, feeling that they were being banished from the fatherland; and when few gave in their names, the senate resolved, since the list of colonists was insufficient, to permit such of the Latins and Hernicans as so desired to join the colony. The triumvirs, accordingly, who were sent to Antium divided the land among their people, leaving a certain part of it to the Antiates.

[3] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ στρατεία τῶν ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο, Αἰμιλίου μὲν εἰς τὴν Σαβίνων χώραν, Φαβίου δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν. καὶ τῷ μὲν Αἰμιλίῳ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μείναντι χρόνον οὐδεμία δύναμις ὑπήντησε μαχουμένη περὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς αὐτὴν κείρας, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις. Φαβίῳ δ' Αἰκανοί, πρὶν εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐλθεῖν στρατιᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἢ τειχῶν ἀλίσκομένων, ἐπεκρηκεύσαντο περὶ διαλλαγῶν καὶ φιλίας.

[3] Meanwhile both consuls took the field, Aemilius marching into the country of the Sabines and Fabius into that of the Aequians. Aemilius, though he remained a long time in the enemy's country, encountered no army ready to fight for it, but ravaged it with impunity; then, when the time for the elections was at hand, he led his forces home. To Fabius the Aequians, even before they were compelled to do so by the destruction of their army or the capture of their walls, sent heralds to sue for a reconciliation and friendship.

[4] ὁ δ' ὕπατος δύο τε μηνῶν τροφὰς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δύο χιτῶνας κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἀργύριον εἰς ὀψωνιασμόν ἑξαμήνου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο κατήπειγεν εἰσπραξάμενος, ἀνοχὰς ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὕρωνται τὰς διαλύσεις. ἡ μὲντοι βουλή ταῦτα μαθοῦσα τῷ Φαβίῳ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοκράτορι διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς, [p. 381] ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρήται.

[4] The consul, after exacting from them two months' provisions for his army, two tunics for every man and six months' pay, and whatever else was urgently required, concluded a truce with them till they should go to Rome and obtain the terms of peace from the senate. The senate, however, when informed of

this, gave Fabius full power to make peace with the Aequians upon such terms as he himself should elect.

[5] μετὰ τοῦτο συνθηῆκαι γίνονται ταῖς πόλεσι μεσιτεῦσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ ὑπάτου τοιαίδε: Αἰκανοὺς εἶναι Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας, ἀποστέλλειν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μηδὲν ὅτι μὴ στρατιάν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς παραγγελῇ, τέλεσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκπέμποντας αὐτάς. ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν Φάβιος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχὰς ἅμα τῷ συνυπάτῳ κατέστησεν.

[5] After that the two nations by the mediation of the consul made a treaty as follows: the Aequians were to be subject to the Romans while still possessing their cities and lands, and were not to send anything to the Romans except troops, when so ordered, these to be maintained at their own expense. Fabius, having made this treaty, returned home with his army and together with his fellow consul nominated magistrates for the following year.

[1] ἦσαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι Σπόριος Ποστόμιος Ἀλβῖνος καὶ Κόιντος Σερουίλιος Πρίσκος τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπὶ τούτων ἔδοξαν Αἰκανοὶ παραβαίνειν τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους νεωστὶ γενομένας ὁμολογίας ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας:

[60.1] The consuls named by them were Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Servilius Priscus, the latter for the second time. In their consulship the Aequians were held to be violating the agreements lately made with the Romans, and this for the following reason.

[2] Ἀντιατῶν ὅσοι μὲν εἶχον ἐφῆστια καὶ κλήρους ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὰ τ' ἀπομερισθέντα σφίσι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν κληρουχῶν ἀφορισθέντα κτήματα γεωργοῦντες ἐπὶ ῥηταῖς τισι καὶ τεταγμέναις μοίραις, ἃς ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτέλουν: οἷς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἦν, ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς προθύμως τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τοὺς Λατίνων ἀγροὺς ἐλήστευον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ὅσοι τολμηροὶ τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν συνελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ληστηρίων.

[2] All the Antiates who possessed homes and allotments of land remained in the country cultivating not only the lands assigned to them but also those which had been taken from them by the colonists, tilling the latter on the basis of certain fixed shares which they paid to the colonists out of the produce. But those who had no such possessions left the city, and being heartily welcomed by the Aequians, were using their country as a base from which to ravage the fields of the Latins. As a consequence, such of the Aequians too as were bold and needy joined with them in their raids.

[3] ταῦτα Λατίνων ἀποδυρομένων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀξιούντων ἢ στρατιάν πέμπειν ἢ συγχωρῆσαι σφίσι αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄρξαντας πολέμου ἀμύνασθαι, μαθόντες οἱ σύεδροι στρατιάν [p. 382] μὲν οὕτ' αὐτοὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν

οὔτε Λατίνοις ἐπέτρεψαν ἐξάγειν, πρεσβευτὰς δ' ἐλόμενοι τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ τὰς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος συνθήκας ποιησάμενος, ἀπέστειλαν ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς δόντες πυνθάνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους, πότερα κοινῇ γνώμῃ τὰ ληστήρια ἐξαποστέλλουσιν εἰς τε τὴν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν — ἐγένοντο γάρ τινες καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν καταδρομαὶ τῶν φυγᾶδων — ἢ τῶνπραπτομένων οὐδενός ἐστι τὸ κοινὸν αἵτιον· καὶ ἐὰν φῶσιν ἰδιωτῶν ἔργα εἶναι μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ δήμου, τὰ θ' ἥρπασμένα ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐργασασμένους τὰδικήματα ἐκδότους αἰτεῖν.

[3] When the Latins complained before the senate of their situation and asked them either to send an army to their relief or to permit them to take vengeance themselves on those who had begun the war, the senators, on hearing their complaint, neither voted to send an army themselves nor permitted the Latins to lead out theirs, but choosing three ambassadors, of whom Quintus Fabius, who had concluded the treaty with the Aequian nation, was the leader, they sent them out with instructions to inquire of the leaders of the nation whether it was by general consent that they were sending out these bands of brigands into the territory of the allies and also into that of the Romans — for there had been some raids into the latter too by the fugitive Antiates — or whether the state had no hand in any of the things that were going on; and if they should say that the acts complained of were the work of private persons without the consent of the people, they were to demand restitution of the stolen property and ask for the surrender of those who had committed the wrongs.

[4] ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀκούσαντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ Αἰκανοὶ πλαγίας αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν ἀποκρίσεις, τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς λέγοντες γνώμης γεγονέναι, τοὺς δὲ δράσαντας οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐκδιδόναι, πόλιν τ' ἀπολωλεκότας καὶ ἀλήτας γεγονότας σφῶν τ' ἐν τῇ πενίᾳ

[4] Upon the arrival of the ambassadors the Aequians, having heard their demands, gave them an evasive answer, saying, indeed, that the plundering had not been done by public consent, yet refusing to deliver up the perpetrators, who, after losing their own city and becoming wanderers, had in their destitution become suppliants of the Aequians.

[5] ἰκέτας. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φάβιος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ τὰς ψευθεσίας πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁμολογίας ἀνακαλοῦμενος, ὡς εἶδεν εἰρωνευομένους τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ εἰς βουλὴν χρόνον αἰτουμένους ξενισμοῦ τε χάριν ἐπικατέχοντας αὐτόν, ὑπέμεινέ τε κατοπτεῦσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα βουλόμενος· καὶ διεξιὼν ἅπαντα τόπον κατὰ πρόφασιν [p. 383] θεωρίας δημόσιόν τε καὶ ἱερὸν, τὰ τ' ἐργαστήρια πλήρη ὀρῶν ἅπαντα πολεμικῶν ὄπλων, τῶν μὲν ἡδη συντετελεσμένων, τῶν δ' ἔτι ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, ἔγνω τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν.

[5] Fabius resented this and appealed to the treaty which they had violated; but seeing that the Aequians were dissembling, asking time for deliberation and

seeking to detain him under the pretence of hospitality, he remained there in order to spy upon what was going on in the city. And visiting every place, both profane and sacred, on the pretext of seeing the sights, and observing the shops full of weapons of war, some already completed and others still in the making, he perceived their intention.

[6] καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν, ἃ τ' ἤκουσε καὶ ἃ εἶδε. κάκεινῃ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσασα τοὺς εἰρηνοδικὰς ἐψηφίσαστο πέμπειν καταγγελοῦντας Αἰκανοῖς τὸν πόλεμον, ἂν μὴ τοὺς τ' Ἀντιατῶν φυγάδας ἀπελάσωσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δίκας τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ὑπόσχωνται. οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ θρασυτέρας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐποίησαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀκούσιοι δέχεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν.

[6] And returning to Rome, he reported to the senate what he had heard and what he had seen. The senate, without hesitating any longer, voted to send the fetiales to declare war against the Aequians unless they expelled the Antiate fugitives from the city and promised satisfaction to the injured. The Aequians gave a rather bold answer to the fetiales and admitted that they not unwillingly accepted war.

[7] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Ῥωμαίοις στρατιὰν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι, εἴτε τοῦ δαιμονίου κωλύοντος, εἴτε διὰ τὰς νόσους, αἱ κατέσχον τὴν πληθὺν ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ἔτους· ἀλλὰ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγη τις ἐξελθοῦσα δύναμις, ἥς ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Σερουίλιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐν τοῖς Λατίνων ὄροις διέτριπεν.

[7] But the Romans were unable to send an army against them that year, either because Heaven forbade it or because of the maladies with which the population was afflicted during a great part of the year; however, for the protection of their allies a small army marched forth under Quintus Servilius, one of the consuls, and remained on the frontiers of the Latins.

[8] ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Πιστίου Διὸς Σπόριος Ποστόμιος ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ καθιέρωσε μηνὸς Ἰουνίου ταῖς καλουμέναις Νώναις ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου λόφου, κατασκευασθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου, τῆς δὲ νομιζομένης παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνιερώσεως οὐ τυχόντα ὑπ' ἐκείνου. τότε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαν ὁ Ποστόμιος ἔλαβεν [p. 384] αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τούτων λόγου ἄξιον ἐπράχθη.

[8] At Rome his colleague, Spurius Postumius, consecrated the temple of Dius Fidius upon the Quirinal hill on the day called the nones of June. This temple had been built by Tarquinius, the last king, but had not received at his hands the dedication custom among the Romans. At this time by order of the senate the name of Postumius was inscribed on the temple. Nothing else worth relating happened during that consulship.

[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν

Κορίνθιος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεδμήδου, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατείαν Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐίβουλανός· Κοϊντίος μὲν τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, Φάβιος δὲ τὸ δεύτερον. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ ἀμφοτέροις στρατιάς μεγάλας καὶ εὖ παρεσκευασμένας παραδοῦσα ἐξέπεμψε.

[61.1] In the seventy-ninth Olympiad (the one at which Xenophon of Corinth won the foot-race), Archedemides being archon at Athens, Titus Quintius Capitolinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus succeeded to the consulship, Quintius being elected by the people to that office for the third time and Fabius for the second. Both of them the senate sent into the field, giving them large and well-equipped armies.

[2] Κοϊντίος μὲν οὖν ἐτάχθη φυλάττειν τὴν σφετέραν γῆν, ὅση τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμορος ἦν, Φάβιος δὲ τὴν Αἰκανῶν δημοῦν· καὶ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις ὑπομένοντας αὐτὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰς παρεμβολὰς ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐκάτεροι χωρίοις κατεστήσαντο, προήεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον Αἰκανῶν προκαλεσαμένων καὶ ἀρξάντων τῆς μάχης, καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκθύμως καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ παρ' ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος τιθέμενος.

[2] Quintius was ordered to defend the part of their territory which adjoined that of the enemy, and Fabius to plunder the country of the Aequians. Fabius found the Aequians waiting for him on their own borders with a large force. After both sides had placed their camps in the most advantageous positions, they advanced into the plain, the Aequians being the challengers and beginning the battle; and they continued fighting spiritedly and with perseverance for a great part of the day, each man placing his hopes of victory in no one but himself.

[3] ὥς δὲ τὰ ξίφη τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς πληγὰς ἄχρηστα ἐγγόνει, σημερινῶν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοῦς χάρακας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀγών μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐκέτ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὲ τινες συμπλοκαὶ ψιλῶν περὶ τε ὕδασι καὶ ἐν ἀγοραῖς παραπομπαῖς συνεχεῖς· κἂν τούτοις μέντοι τὰ πολλὰ

[3] But when the swords of the greater part of them had become useless from repeated blows, the generals ordered the retreat to be sounded and the men returned to their camps. After this action no pitched battle was again fought by them, but there were sundry skirmishes and constant clashes of the light-armed troops as they went to fetch water and escorted convoys of provisions; and in these encounters, moreover, they were as a result evenly matched.

[4] ἦσαν ἰσόρροποι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο χρόνῳ, μοῖρᾳ [p. 385] τις ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰκανῶν στρατιᾶς παρελθοῦσα καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς ἀφυλάκτους ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, ἣ πλεῖστον ἀφειστήκει τῆς ὁμόρου καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'

ἀφύλακτος ἦν· ἔξ ἧς ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς συνήρπασε καὶ χρήματα, λαθοῦσά τε τοὺς σὺν τῷ Κοιντίῳ περιπόλους τῆς σφετέρας γῆς ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκέϊα. τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὴν παρεῖχεν αἰσχύνην τοῖς ὑπάτοις.

[4] While this was going on, a detachment of the Aequians' army, marching by other roads, made an irruption into the part of the Roman territory which lay at a very great distance from the common boundary and was for that reason unguarded; and seizing there many persons and goods, they returned to their homes without being discovered by the patrols under Quintius who were guarding their own territory. This happened continually and brought much disgrace upon the consuls.

[5] ἔπειτα μαθὼν διὰ κατασκόπων τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Φάβιος ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν Αἰκανῶν τὴν κρατίστην δύναμιν, ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καταλιπὼν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθε νύκτωρ ἱππέων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰκανοὶ διηρπακότες τὰ χωρία, οἷς ἐνέβαλον, ἀπῆεσαν ἐπαγόμενοι πολλὰς ὠφελείας, ὁ δὲ Φάβιος οὐ πολὺ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ τὴν τε λείαν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ μάχῃ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας νικᾷ γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδες ἐμπειρίᾳ ὁδῶν λαθόντες τοὺς διώκοντας κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν χάρακα.

[5] Later Fabius, learning through scouts and prisoners that the best of the Aequians' forces had gone out of their camp, set out himself in the night with the flower of the horse and foot, leaving the oldest men in the camp. The Aequians, after plundering the regions which they had invaded, were returning home with many spoils. But they had not proceeded far when Fabius suddenly appeared before them, took away their booty, and defeated in battle those who valiantly withstood him; the rest scattered, and being familiar with the roads, escaped their pursuers and fled to their camp for refuge.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἀνεκρούσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ παρὰ δόξαν σφίσι γενομένη, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὑπὸ νύκτα ὥχοντο καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξήεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἀλλ' ἠνείχοντο σῆτόν τε, ὃς ἐν ἀκμῇ τότε ἦν, συγκομιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀγέλας βοσκημάτων ἀπελαυνόμενας ὀρῶντες, χρήματά τε διαρπαζόμενα καὶ αὐτὰς πυρὶ διδομένας καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς ἀγομένους. τοῦτο διαπραξάμενος [p. 386] ὁ Φάβιος, ἐπειδὴ παραδοῦναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἑτέροις ἔδει, τὴν δύναμιν ἀναστήσας ἀπῆγγε· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Κοίντιος ἐποίει.

[6] When the Aequians had been checked by this unexpected disaster, they broke camp and departed as night came on; and after that they ventured out no more from their city, but submitted to seeing their corn, which was then ripe, carried off by the enemy, their herds of cattle driven away, their effects seized, their farm-houses given to the flames and many prisoners led away. After these achievements Fabius, the time having come for the consuls to hand over

their power to their successors, took his army and returned home; and Quintius did the same.

[1] ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέδειξαν ὑπάτους Αὐλὸν Ποστόμιον Ἄλβον καὶ Σερούιον Φούριον. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεωστὶ παρειλήφεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων Λατίνων ἄγγελοι Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ σπουδὴν διαπεμφθέντες ἦκον. οὗτοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν διεσάφουν Ἀντιατῶν τὰ πράγματα οὐ βέβαια εἶναι, κρύφα τε διαπρεσβευσόμενων πρὸς αὐτοὺς Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἀναφανδὸν εἰσιόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγοραῖς προφάσει πολλῶν Οὐλοούσκων, οὓς ἐπήγοντο οἱ πρότερον ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν Ἀντιατῶν, ὅτ' ἐκληρουχεῖτο διὰ πενίαν καὶ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς ἀπαυτομολήσαντες,

[62.1] When they came to Rome, they named Aulus Postumius Albus and Servius Furius consuls. These had just taken over their magistracy when messengers from the Latin allies, sent in haste to the Romans, arrived. These, being introduced into the senate, informed them that the situation at Antium was precarious, since the Aequians were sending envoys thither in secret and large numbers of Volscians were resorting to the city openly on the pretext of trading; they were being brought there by those who had left Antium earlier because of poverty, when their lands were allotted among the Roman colonists, and had deserted to the Aequians, as I have related.

[2] ὥσπερ ἔφην. συνδιεφθάρθαι τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἅμα ἡγγελλον καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων συχνούς: καὶ εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθήσονται φυλακῇ ἀξιόχρεω, ἀναστήσεσθαι τινα ἔλεγον κάκεῖθεν ἀπροσδόκητον Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον. τούτων οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἕτεροι πεμφθέντες ὑφ' Ἑρνίκων ἡγγελλον ἐξεληλυθέναι μεγάλην δύναμιν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἐγκαθεζομένην ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ γῇ φέρειν τε πάντα καὶ ἄγειν, στρατεύειν δ' ἅμα τοῖς Αἰκανοῖς καὶ Οὐλοούσκους τὴν πλειὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν παρεχομένους.

[2] At the same time they reported that along with the natives many also of the colonists had been corrupted, and that unless their pursue were forestalled by means of an adequate garrison an unexpected war would break out in that quarter also against the Romans. Not long after this other messengers, sent by the Hernicans, brought word that a large force of Aequians had set out and now lay encamped in the hernican's country, where they were plundering everything, and that the Volscians were joining with the Aequians in the expedition, contributing the larger part of the army.

[3] πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν Ἀντιατῶν ταραττοῦσι τὰ πράγματα — ἦκον γὰρ ἀπολογησόμενοι τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο [p. 387] οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονοῦντες — φυλακὴν ἑτέραν πέμψαι, ἣ ἔμελλε δι' ἀσφαλείας ἔξειν τὴν πόλιν: ἐπὶ δ' Αἰκανοὺς ἄγειν τὴν στρατὸν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούιον Φούριον: καὶ ἐγένετο ταχεῖα ἀμφοῖν ἡ ἑξέδοδος.

[3] In view of all this the senate voted, first, with reference to those among the Antiates who were creating the disturbances — for some of them had come to Rome to defend their conduct and had made it clear that they had no honest purpose — to send another garrison to keep the city safe; and second, with reference to the Aequians, that Servius Furius, one of the consuls, should lead the army against them; and both forces promptly set out.

[4] οἱ δ' Αἰκανοὶ μαθόντες ἐξεληλυθυῖαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑρνίκων ἐχώρουν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ πολὺ διαστάντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πολέμιοι ἦκον διάπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης ληψόμενοι.

[4] The Aequians, upon learning that the Roman army had taken the field, departed from the country of the Hernicans and went to meet it. When the two armies came in sight of one another, they encamped that day not far apart; and the next day the enemy advanced toward the camp of the Romans in order to ascertain their intentions.

[5] ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐξήεσαν εἰς μάχην, ἀκροβολισμοῖς χρησάμενοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον δράσαντες σὺν μεγάλῳ αὐχήματι ἀπῆλθον. ὁ μέντοι Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἐκλιπὼν τὸν χάρακα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ: τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐ λίαν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν: μετεστρατοπέδευσατο ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἔνθα τάφρον τ' ὠρύξατο βαθυτέραν καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλετο ὑψηλότερον. τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ταῦθ' ὀρώσι πολὺ θράσος προσεγένετο: καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς ἀφίκετο στρατιὰ παρὰ τοῦ Οὐλοούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔθνους, οὐδὲν ἔτι διαμελλήσαντες ἐπῆγον τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι.

[5] Then, when the Romans did not come out to fight, they engaged in skirmishes, and without performing any noteworthy exploit retired with great boasting. But the Roman consul on the following day left his entrenchments — for the place was not very safe — and shifted his camp to a more advantageous position, where he dug a deeper trench and threw up a higher rampart. The enemy, seeing this, were greatly emboldened, and still more so when an army came to their assistance from both the Volscian and the Aequian nations; so that without further delay they led their forces against the camp of the Romans.

[1] ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος ἔσται ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ δύνამις ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη, πέμπει τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων γράμματα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κομίζοντας, δι' ὧν ἡξίου ταχεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν, ὥς κινδυνευούσης ὅλης διαφθαρῆναι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς.

[63.1] The consul, realizing that the army under his command would not be strong enough to contend against both these nations, sent some of his horsemen to Rome with letters in which he asked that reinforcements might

speedily reach him, as his whole army was in danger of being destroyed.

[2] ταῦτ' ἐπλεξάμενος [p. 388] ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ Ποστόμιος — ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι νύκτες μάλιστα, ὅτε οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀφίκοντο — διὰ κηρύκων πολλῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν συνεκάλει: καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς, πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι, Τίτον μὲν Κοίντιον τὸν ὑπατεύσαντα τὸ τρίτον, ἔχοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν νέων πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς, ἀρχῇ κοσμηθέντα ἀνθυπάτῳ χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου: Αὐλὸν δὲ Ποστόμιον τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις συναγαγόντα, ἃς ἔδει χρονιώτερον συνελθεῖν, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ τάχους ἐγγένηται βοηθεῖν. ἡμέρα δ' ἦδη.

[2] When his colleague Postumius had read the letter — it was about midnight when the horsemen arrived — he sent out numerous heralds to call the senators together from their homes; and before it was broad daylight a decree was passed by them that Titus Quintius, who had been thrice consul, should take the flower of the young men, both fortune than horse, and, invested with proconsular power, should march against the enemy and attack them immediately; also that Aulus Postumius, the other consul, should get together the rest of the troops, whose assembling would require more time, and go to the assistance of the others as speedily as possible.

[3] διέφωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κοίντιος συνήγαγε τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἄνδρας: καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τοῦθ' ὑποπτεύσαντες ἔμενον οἱ Αἰκανοὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσβάλλειν τῷ χάρακι αὐτῶν καὶ διανοηθέντες ὥς βίᾳ καὶ πλήθει ἄλωσόμενον ἐξῆλθον ἀθρόοι διχῇ νειμάντες αὐτούς.

[3] By the time day began to break Quintius got together the volunteers, about five thousand in number; and after waiting only a short time he led them out of the city. The Aequians, suspecting this move, remained where they were; and having determined, before reinforcements should come to the Romans, to attack their camp, in the belief that it would be taken by main strength and superior numbers, they sallied out in force after dividing themselves into two bodies.

[4] γίνεται τε μέγας ἀγὼν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἰταμῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιβαινόντων τοῖς προτειχίσμασι κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη, καὶ οὔτε παλτῶν οὔτε βελῶν ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν οὔτε χερμαδῶν ἀπὸ σφενδόνης ἀφιεμένων ἀδιαλείπτως βολαῖς ἀνειργομένων. ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε ὕπατος καὶ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν ἀναπετάσαντες [p. 389] τὰς πύλας, ἅμα τοῖς ἀκμαιοτάτοις ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, κατ' ἄμφω τε τὰ μέρη τῆς προσβολῆς συρράξαντες αὐτοῖς ἀποτρέπουσι τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντας τῷ χάρακι. τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ὕπατος ἐπ' ὀλίγον διώξας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους ἀνέστρεψεν:

[4] There ensued a mighty struggle, lasting throughout the entire day, as the

enemy boldly mounted the outworks in many places and were not repulsed, though exposed to a continual shower of javelins, missiles shot from bows, and stones thrown by slings. Then it was that the consul and the legate, after encouraging one another, both opened the gates at the same time, and sallying out against their opponents with the best of their men, engaged them where they were attacking on both sides of the camp, and repulsed those who were mounting the ramparts.

[5] ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευτὴς Πόπλιος Φούριος ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ προθυμίας φερόμενος ἄχρι τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἦλασε διώκων τε καὶ κτείνων. ἦσαν δὲ δύο σπεῖραι περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλείους ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσαι χιλίων. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι περὶ πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα γενόμενοι, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσήεσαν, ἱππεῖς δ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ περιελάσαντες κατὰ

[5] When the enemy had been routed, the consul pursued for a short distance those who had been arrayed opposite to him, and then returned. But his brother and legate, Publius Furius, inspired by courage and ardour, drove ahead, pursuing and slaying, till he came to the enemy's camp. He had with him two cohorts, not exceeding a thousand men. Upon learning of this, the enemy, who were about five thousand, advanced against him from their camp. These attacked the Romans in front, while their horse, circling round them, fell upon their rear.

[6] νώπου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐφίστανται. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ κυκλωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ σὺν τῷ Ποπλίῳ καὶ δίχα τῶν σφετέρων ἀποληφθέντες, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς σῶζεσθαι παραδοῦσι τὰ ὄπλα· προὔκαλοῦντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο χιλίους Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰχμαλώτους λαβεῖν, ὥς διὰ τούτων διαλύσεις εὐρησόμενοι καλὰς τοῦ πολέμου· καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις μηδὲν ἀνάξιον πρᾶξαι τῆς πόλεως, μαχόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων ἅπαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

[6] The troops of Publius, when thus surrounded and cut off from their own army, though they had it in their power to save their lives by giving up their arms — for the enemy urged them to do so and were extremely anxious to take prisoner a thousand of the bravest Romans, in order to obtain through them an honourable peace — nevertheless scorned the enemy and exhorting one another to do nothing unworthy of the commonwealth, all died fighting after they had killed many of the enemy.

[1] διαφθαρέντων δὲ τούτων ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τῷ προτερήματι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν τε τοῦ Ποπλίου κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ δορατίου [p. 390] πεπηγυῖαν ἀνατείνοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὥς δὴ τούτῳ καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς ἔνδον καὶ ἀναγκάσοντες παραδοῦναι σφίσι τὰ ὄπλα. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πρὸς μὲν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐλεός τις

παρέστη καὶ ἀνεκλάοντο αὐτῶν τὴν τύχην, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα θράσος διπλάσιον ἐνέφυ, καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον ἀποθανεῖν, πρὶν εἰς πολεμίων χειρὰς ἔλθεῖν, καλὸς ἔρως.

[64.1] When these men had been slain, the Aequians, elated by their success, advanced to the camp of the Romans, bearing aloft, fixed to their spears, the heads of Publius and the other prominent men, hoping to terrify the troops inside by this spectacle and compel them to surrender to them their arms. But though the Romans were indeed somewhat stirred by compassion at the fate of the slain and lamented their misfortune, yet they were inspired with a double boldness for the struggle and with a noble passion either to conquer or to die like their comrades rather than fall into the enemy's hands.

[2] Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα παρεστρατοπεδευκόντων τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἄγρυπνοι τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπισκευάζοντες τὰ πεπονηκότα τοῦ χάρακος διετέλεσαν, τὰ τ' ἄλλα, οἷς ἀπερύκειν ἔμελλον αὐτοὺς, εἰ πειραθεῖεν πάλιν τειχομαχεῖν πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς αἱ τε προσβολαὶ πάλιν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ὁ χάραξ διεσπᾶτο κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη: καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξιόντων κατὰ συστροφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξεκρούσθησαν οἱ Αἰκάνοι, πολλάκις δ' ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων οἱ θρασύτερον ἐπεξιόντες.

[2] That night, accordingly, while the enemy bivouacked beside their camp, the Romans went without sleep as they repaired the damaged portions of their camp and made ready the other means, of many and various kinds, with which to ward off the enemy if they should attempt again to breach their walls. The next day the assaults were renewed and the rampart was torn apart at many points. Often the Aequians were repulsed by sorties of massed troops from the camp, and often the men who rushed out to recklessly were beaten back by the Aequians. And this kept happening all day long.

[3] καὶ τοῦτο δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο: ἔνθα ὁ θ' ὕπατος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σαννίῳ διὰ τοῦ θυρεοῦ διαπερονηθεὶς τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρόν, καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμάχοντο: ἦδη δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειρηκόσιν ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιφαίνεται περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν προσίων Κοίντιος, ἄγων τὴν ἐθελούσιον ἐπικουρίαν τῶν ἀκμασιότατων, οὓς ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσιόντας ἀνέστρεφον ἀφέντες [p. 391] τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀτελῆ: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῖς ἀποῦσι τοὺς ὑστερίζοντας ἐφόνευν.

[3] In these encounters the Roman consul was wounded in the thigh by a javelin that pierced his shield; wounded also were many other persons of distinction who fought at his side. At last, when the Romans had reached exhaustion, Quintius unexpectedly appeared in the late afternoon with his reinforcement of volunteers composed of the choicest troops. When the enemy saw these approaching, they turned back, leaving the siege and completed; and the Romans, sallying out against them as they withdrew, set

about slaying the laggards.

[4] οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺν γε χρόνον ἐδίωξαν ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τάχους ἀνέστρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον ἑκάτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μένοντες ἐν ταῖς παρεμβολαῖς ἄχρι πολλοῦ.

[4] They did not pursue them for long, however, weakened as most of them were by their wounds, but speedily returned. After this both sides acted upon the defensive, remaining a long time in their camps.

[1] ἔπειτ' Αἰκανῶν τε καὶ Οὐολούσκων ἑτέρα δύναμις καλὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσα καιρὸν ἔχειν προνομεῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν, ἐξεστρατευμένης αὐτῶν τῆς κρατίστης δυνάμεως, ἐξῆλθε νυκτός· καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα εἰς τὴν προσωτάτω χώραν, ἔνθα τοῖς γεωργοῖς δέος οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐδόκει, πολλῶν γίνονται χρημάτων καὶ

[65.1] Later another force of Aequians and Volscians, thinking they now had a fine opportunity to plunder the Romans' country while their best troops were in the field, set out in the night; and invading the remotest part of the land, where the husbandmen thought there was nothing to fear, they gained possession of much booty and many captives.

[2] σωμάτων ἐγκρατεῖς. οὐ μὴν καλὰς γ' οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἔσχον ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὰς. ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπᾶτων Ποστόμιος ἄγων τὴν συναχθεῖσαν ἐπικουρίαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ χάρακι πολεμουμένοις, ὥς ἔμαθε τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιφαίνεται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου.

[2] But in the end their return from there proved neither glorious nor fortunate. For the other consul, Postumius, who was bringing the reinforcements he had got together for the relief of the Romans besieged in their camp, when he learned what the enemy were doing, appeared before them unexpectedly.

[3] οἱ δ' οὔτε κατεπλάγησαν οὔτ' ἔδεισαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' ἀποθέμενοι σχολῇ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ λάφυρα εἰς ἓν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν καὶ φυλακὴν τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ συντεταγμένοι χωροῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἄξια λόγου ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντ' ὀλίγοι μὲν πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι — συνέρρεον γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συχνοὶ ἥδη διεσκεδασμένοι — ψιλῇ [p. 392] ὀπλίσει πρὸς ἄνδρας ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησάν τε πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νεκροὺς καὶ μικροῦ ἐδέησαν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ καταληφθέντες τρόπαια τῶν ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναστήσαι.

[3] They were neither astonished nor terrified at his approach, but when they had leisurely deposited their baggage and booty in a single strong place and left a sufficient guard to defend it, the rest marched in good order to meet the Romans. And when they had joined combat, they performed notable deeds, though they fought few against many — for large numbers came streaming in

to oppose them from their farms, to which they had earlier scattered — and lightly-armed against men whose bodies were entirely protected. They killed many of the Romans and, though intercepted in a foreign land, came very near erecting trophies over those who had come to attack them.

[4] ἀλλ' ὁ γ' ὑπάτος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, ἀχαλινώτοις ἐπελάσαντες τοῖς ἵπποις κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον τε καὶ ἄριστα μαχόμενον αὐτῶν μέρος, διασπῶσι τὴν τάξιν καὶ καταβάλλουσι συχνούς. διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν προμάχων καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ἀποτραπεῖσα ἐνέκλινεν εἰς φυγὴν, οἳ τε φυλάττοντες τὰς ἀποσκευὰς μεθέμενοι αὐτῶν ἀπὸντες ὥχοντο ἀνὰ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη. κατ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ πάνυ πολλοί, χώρας τ' ἄπειροι ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου διωκόμενοι.

[4] But the consul and the Roman horsemen who were with him, all chosen men, charging with their horses unbridled that part of the enemy which was firmest and fought best, broke their ranks and killed a goodly number. When those in the front line had been slain, the rest of the army gave way and fled; and the men appointed to guard the baggage abandoned it and made off by way of the near-by mountains. In the action itself only a few of them were slain, but very many in the rout, as they were both unacquainted with the country and pursued by the Roman horse.

[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, πεπυσμένος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Σερούσιος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν συνύπατον δεισας, μὴ ὑπαντήσωσιν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διακλείσωσι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁδοῦ, περισπᾶν αὐτοῦς διανοεῖτο προσβολὰς ποιοῦμενος τῷ

[66.1] While these things were occurring, the other consul, Servius, being informed that his colleague was coming to his assistance and fearing that the enemy might go out to meet him and prevent him from getting through to him, planned to divert them from this purpose by delivering attacks upon their camp.

[2] χάρακι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθάσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν σφετέρων, ἣν ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ περισωθέντες ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς, λύσαντες τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπῆραν, οὐχ ἅπαντα πεπραχότες, ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. [p. 393]

[2] But the enemy forestalled him; for as soon as they learned of the disaster that had befallen their forces, the report being brought by those who had survived the pillaging expedition, they broke camp the first night after the battle and retired to their city without having accomplished all that they desired.

[3] χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἔν τε ταῖς μάχαις καὶ κατὰ τὰς προνομὰς τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας ἐν τῇ τότε φυγῇ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν προτέρων

ἀπέβαλον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπὸ καμάτων τε καὶ τραυμάτων βαρυνόμενοι σχολῇ προβαίνοντες ἐγκαταλιπόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν μελῶν ἐπιπτον, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ὑπὸ δίψης φλεγόμενοι: οὓς οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς καταλαμβάνοντες ἐφόνεον.

[3] For, besides those who had lost their lives in the battles and the pillaging expeditions, they lost many more stragglers in their retreat at this time than on the former occasion. For those who were overcome by fatigue and their wounds marched slowly, and when their limbs failed them, they fell down, particularly at the fountains and rivers, as they were parched with thirst; and the Roman horse, overtaking them, put them to the sword.

[4] οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντα ἐκ τοῦ τότε ἀγῶνος εὐτυχηκότες ἀνέστρεψαν, ἄνδρας μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκεσαν, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἀπάντων λαμπρότατον γενόμενον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι: νίκην δ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττονα τῇ πόλει φέροντες ἀνέστρεψαν. ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπράχθη.

[4] Nor did the Romans, either, return home completely successful from this campaign; for they had lost many brave men in the several actions and a legate who had distinguished himself above all the rest in the combat; but they did return with a victory second to none for the commonwealth. These were the achievements of that consulship.

[1] τῷ δὲ κατόπιν ἔτει Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου καὶ Ποπλίου Σερουιλίου Πρίσκου παρειληφότων τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους ἔργον ἀπεδείξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πολιτικόν, ὑπὸ νόσου κακωθέντες ὥς οὐπὼ πρότερον λοιμικῆς: ἣ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἵππων τε φορβάδων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλαις προσῆλθεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων εἰς τ' αἰπόλια καὶ ποιμνας κατέσκηψε, καὶ διέφθειρεν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα: ἔπειτα τῶν νομέων τε καὶ γεωργῶν ἤψατο, καὶ διελθοῦσα διὰ πάσης τῆς χώρας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπεσε.

[67.1] The next year, when Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius Priscus had assumed office, the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of mention either in war or at home, as they were afflicted by a pestilence more severely than ever before. It first attacked the studs of mares and herds of cattle and then seize upon the flocks of goats and sheep and destroyed almost all the live-stock. After that it fell upon the herdsmen and husbandmen, and having spread through the whole country, it invaded the city.

[2] θεραπόντων μὲν οὖν καὶ θητῶν καὶ τοῦ πένητος ὄχλου πλῆθος ὅσον διέφθειρεν, οὐ ράδιον ἦν εὐρεῖν. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξαις σωρηδὸν οἱ θνήσκοντες [p. 394] ἀπεκομίζοντο, τελευτῶντες δ', ὧν ἐλάχιστος ἦν ὁ λόγος, εἰς τὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρον ὠθοῦντο. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸ τέταρτον μέρος συνελογίσθη διεφθαρμένον, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ θ' ὑπατοὶ ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους.

[2] It was no easy matter to discover the number of servants, labourers and poor people who were carried off by it. For at first the dead bodies were carried away heaped up in carts and at last the persons of least account were shoved into the river that flows past the city. Of the senate the fourth part was estimated to have perished, including not only both consuls but also most of the tribunes.

[3] ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ἡ νόσος περὶ τὰς καλάνδας τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, διέμεινε δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὅλον, ἅπασαν ὁμοίως καταλαμβάνουσα καὶ διεργαζομένη φύσιν τε καὶ ἡλικίαν. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις γνώσεως τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν Ῥώμην κακῶν, καλὸν ἡγησάμενοι καιρὸν εἶναι Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς, συνθήκας τε καὶ ὄρκους ἐποίησαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμμαχίας· καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια, ὡς εἶχον ἀμφοτέροι τάχους, ἐξῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις.

[3] The pestilence began about the calends of September and continued all that year, seizing and destroying people without distinction of sex or age. When the neighbouring peoples learned of the evils that were afflicting Rome, the Aequians and the Volscians, thinking they had an excellent opportunity to overthrow her supremacy, concluded a treaty of alliance with each other, confirmed by oaths; and after making the preparations necessary for a siege, both led out their forces as speedily as possible.

[4] ἵνα δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφέλαιντο τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπικουρίαν εἰς τὴν Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων γῆν πρῶτον ἐνέβαλον. ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν πολεμουμένων ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίας παράκλησιν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Λεύκιος Αἰβούτιος ἐκείνην ἔτυχε τὴν ἡμέραν τεθνηκώς, Πόπλιος δὲ Σερουίλιος ἐγγὺς ὦν τοῦ θανάτου· ὃς ἔτι ὀλίγον ἐμπνέων συνεκάλει

[4] In order to deprive Rome of the assistance of her allies, they first invaded the territories of the Latins and the Hernicans. When envoys from the two nations which were attacked came to the senate to beg assistance, it chanced that one of the consuls, Lucius Aebutius, had died that very day, while Publius Servilius was at the point of death.

[5] τὴν βουλὴν. τῶν δ' οἱ πλείους ἡμιθνήτες ἐπὶ κλινιδίῳ κομισθέντες καὶ συνεδρεύσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγγέλλειν τοῖς σφετέροις, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἢ βουλὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει, μέχρις ἂν ὁ ὕπατος ῥαίσιη, καὶ ἡ [p. 395]

[5] Though he could barely breathe, he convened the senate, of whom the larger part were brought in half dead in litters; and after deliberating, they instructed the envoys to report to their countrymen that the senate gave them leave to repulse the enemy by their own courage till the consul should recover

and the army that was to participate with them in the conflict should be assembled.

[6] συναγωνιουμένη δύναμις αὐτοῖς συναχθῆ. ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἀποκριναμένων Λατῖνοι μὲν ὅσα ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀνασκευασάμενοι φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιεῶρων ἀπολλύμενα. Ἑρνικες δὲ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ λύμῃ καὶ διαρπαγῇ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆλθον. ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλόντες τῶν σφετέρων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους ἀποκτείναντες τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκβιασθέντες εἰς τὰ τεῖχη κατέφυγον, καὶ οὐκέτι μάχης ἐπειρῶντο.

[6] When the Romans had given this answer, the Latins removed everything they could out of the country into their cities, and keeping their walls under guard, permitted everything else to be destroyed. But the Hernicans, resenting the ruin and desolation of their lands, took up their arms and marched out. And though they fought brilliantly and, while losing many of their own men, slew many more of the enemy, they were forced to take refuge inside their walls and no longer risked an engagement.

[1] Αἰκανοὶ δὲ καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι προνομήσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Τυσκλάνων ἀγροὺς ἀφίκοντο. διαρπάσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου παρῆσαν εἰς τοὺς Γαβίνων ὄρους. ἐλάσαντες δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἀδεῶς τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνοῦντο.

[68.1] When the Aequians and Volscians had laid waste the Hernicans' territory, they came unopposed to the lands of the Tusculans. And having plundered these also, none offering to defend them, they arrived at the borders of the Gabini. Then, passing through their territory also without opposition, they advanced upon Rome.

[2] ἐθορύβησαν μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μὴν κρατῆσαι γ' αὐτῆς ἡδυνήθησαν: ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐξασθενοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σώματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀπολωλεκότες ἀμφοτέρους — καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουίλιος ἐτεθνήκει νεωστὶ — καθοπλισάμενοι παρὰ δύναμιν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέστησαν, τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ὄντος ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ὅσος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ κύκλος: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ λόφοις κείμενα καὶ πέτραις ἀποτόμοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὠχυρωμένα τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὀλίγης δεόμενα φυλακῆς: τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ [p. 396] Τεβέριος τετειχισμένα ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐστὶ τεττάρων πλῆθρων μάλιστα, βάθος δ' οἷον τε ναυσὶ πλεῖσθαι μεγάλαις, τὸ δὲ ῥεῦμα ὥσπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ὅξυ καὶ δῖνας ἐργαζόμενον μεγάλας: ὃν οὐκ ἔνεστι πεζοῖς διελθεῖν εἰ μὴ κατὰ γέφυραν, ἣ ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ μία ξυλόφρακτος, ἣν ἔλυνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις.

[2] They caused the city enough alarm, it is true, yet they could not make themselves masters of it; on the contrary, the Romans, though they were

utterly weakened in body and had lost both consuls — for Servilius had recently died — armed themselves beyond their strength and manned the walls, the circuit of which was at that time of the same extent as that of Athens. Some sections of the walls, standing on hills and sheer cliffs, have been fortified by Nature herself and require but a small garrison; others are protected by the river Tiber, the breadth of which is about four hundred feet and the depth capable of carrying large ships, while its current is as rapid as that of any river and forms great eddies. There is no crossing it on foot except by means of a bridge, and there was at that time only one bridge, constructed of timber, and this they removed in time of war.

[3] Ἐν δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμαχώτατόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰσκυλίων καλουμένων πυλῶν μέχρι τῶν Κολλίων, χειροποιήτως ἐστὶν ὄχυρόν. τάφρος τε γὰρ ὁρώρκεται πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλάτος ἧ βραχυτάτη μείζων ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, καὶ βάθος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τριακοντάπου: τεῖχος δ' ὑπερανέστηκε τῆς τάφρου χώματι προσεχόμενον ἔνδοθεν ὑψηλῷ καὶ πλατεῖ, οἷον μήτε κριοῖς κατασεισθῆναι μήτε ὑπορυττομένων τῶν θεμελίων ἀνατραπῆναι.

[3] One section, which is the most vulnerable part of the city, extending from the Esquiline gate, as it is called, to the Colline, is strengthened artificially. For there is a ditch excavated in front of it more than one hundred feet in breadth where it is narrowest, and thirty in depth; and above this ditch rises a wall supported on the inside by an earthen rampart so high and broad that it can neither be shaken by battering rams nor thrown down by undermining the foundations.

[4] τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μάλιστα' ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων, πεντήκοντα δὲ ποδῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος: ἐν ᾧ τότε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τεταγμένοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἀνεῖρξαν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε χελώνας χωστρίδας εἰδόντων κατασκευάζειν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε τὰς καλουμένας ἐλεπόλεις μηχανάς. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολέμιοι ἀπογνόντες τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπήεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ δηώσαντες τὴν χώραν, ὅσῃν διεξῆλθον, ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

[4] This section is about seven stades in length and fifty feet in breadth. Here the Romans were drawn up at that time in force and checked the enemy's assault; for the men of that day were unacquainted with the building of either sheds to protect the men filling up ditches or the engines called helepoleis. The enemy, therefore, despairing of taking the city, retired from the walls, and after laying waste all the country through which they marched, led their forces home.

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους ἀντιβασιλεῖς ἐλόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἔνεκα, ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν, [p. 397] ὅταν ἀναρχία κατάσχη τὴν πόλιν, ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον καὶ Τίτον Οὐετούριον Γέμινον. ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς ἢ τε νόσος ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὰ πολιτικά ἐγκλήματα ἀναβολῆς ἔτυχε, τὰ τ' ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινά, πειραθέντος μὲν αὖθις τὸ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας

πολίτευμα κινεῖν ἑνὸς τῶν δημάρχων Σέξτου Τιτίου, κωλύσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ εἰς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ὑπερθεμένους καιροὺς.

[69.1] The Romans, after choosing interreges, as they are called, to preside at the election of magistrates — a course they are accustomed to take whenever a state of “anarchy,” or lack of a regular government, occurs — elected Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius Geminus consuls. In their consulship the pestilence ceased and all civil complaints, both public and private, were postponed. Sextus Titius, one of the tribunes, endeavoured, it is true, to revive the measure for the allotment of land, but the populace would not permit it and deferred the matter to more suitable times.

[2] προθυμία τε πολλή πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε τιμωρῆσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὸν τῆς νόσου καιρόν· καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσαντος κατεγράφοντο τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐχόντων στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν οὐδ', εἴ τινα ὁ νόμος ἀπέλυνεν, ἀξιοῦντος ἐκείνης ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς στρατείας· νεμηθείσης δὲ τριχλῇ τῆς δυνάμεως μία μὲν ὑπελείφθη φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν, ἥς ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Φούριος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός· αἱ δὲ δύο σὺν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τ'

[2] A great eagerness came upon all to take revenge on those who had made expeditions against the city on the occasion of the pestilence. And the senate having straightway voted for war and the people having confirmed the decree, they proceeded to enrol their forces; and no man who was of military age, not even if the law exempted him, wished to be left out of the expedition. The army having been divided into three bodies, one of them, commanded by Quintus Furius, an ex-consul, was left to defend the city, while the other two marched out with the consuls against the Aequians and the Volscians.

[3] Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔτυχεν ἤδη γεγονός· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κρατίστη δύναμις ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ἐθνῶν συνελθοῦσα ὑπαίθριος ἦν ὑπὸ δυσὶν ἡγεμόσι, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρνίκων γῆς, ἐν ᾗ τότε ἦν, ἀρξαμένη πᾶσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοον· ἡ δ' ἦττον ἐκείνης χρησίμη τὰ οἰκεῖα πολιίσματα ὑπελείφθη φυλάττειν, μὴ

[3] This same course had also been taken already by the enemy. For their best army, assembled from both nations, was in the field under two commanders, and intended to begin with the territory of the Hernicans, in which they were then encamped, and to proceed against all the territory that was subject to the Romans; their less useful forces were left to guard their towns, lest some sudden attack might be made upon them by enemies.

[4] τις ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιος πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὰ γένηται. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευομένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει [p. 398] κράτιστον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐπιχειρεῖν, κατὰ τοιόνδε τινὰ λογισμόν, ὅτι διαλυθήσεται τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν στράτευμα, εἰ πύθοντο ἕκαστοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐν

τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κινδύνοις, καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγήσεται τὰ σφέτερα σώζειν, ἢ τὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν φθεῖρειν. Λοκρήτιος μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἰκανῶν ἐνέβαλεν, Οὔετούριος δ' εἰς τὴν Οὐολούσκων. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἔξω πάντα ἀπολλύμενα περιορῶντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ φρουρία εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ.

[4] In view of this situation the Roman consuls thought it best to attack their foes' cities first; for they reasoned to this effect, that the allied army would fall apart if each of the two nations learned that their own possessions were in the direst peril, and that they would think it much more important to save their own possessions than to destroy those of the enemy. Lucretius accordingly invaded the country of the Aequians and Veturius that of the Volscians. The Aequians, for their part, permitted everything outside their walls to be destroyed, but guarded their city and their fortresses.

[1] Οὐολοῦσκοι δ' ὑπὸ τε θράσους καὶ αὐθαδείας προαχθέντες τοῦ τε Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος ὥς οὐκ ἀξιομάχου ὄντος πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος συμφέρεσθαι καταφρονήσαντες ἐξῆλθον ἀγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Οὔετουρίου κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάσχειν στρατιὰ νεοσύλλεκτος ἔκ τε πολιτικοῦ καὶ γεωργικοῦ πρὸς καιρὸν συνελθόντος ὄχλου συναχθεῖσα, ἐν ἣ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον ἦν καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρον, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρησεν:

[70.1] The Volscians, however, inspired by rashness and arrogance and despising the Roman army as inadequate to cope with their own large numbers, came out to fight in defence of their land and encamped near Veturius. But, as usually happens with an army of fresh levies composed of a crowd of both townsmen and farmers got together for the occasion, of which many are not only unarmed but also unacquainted with danger, the Volscian army dared not so much as encounter the enemy;

[2] ἀλλ' ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδῳ διαταραχθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐτ' ἀλαλαγμὸν οὔθ' ὅπλων κτύπον ἀνασχόμενοι, προτροπάδην ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ τείχη: ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις τῶν ὁδῶν καταληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, πολλῶ δὲ πλείους παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὠθουμένους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιδιωκόντων.

[2] but the greater part of them, thrown into confusion at the first onset of the Romans and unable to endure either their war-cry or the clash of their arms, fled precipitately inside the walls, with the result that many of them perished when overtaken in the narrow parts of the roads and many more when they were crowding about the gates as the cavalry pursued them.

[3] Οὐολοῦσκοι μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ χρῆσάμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ [p. 399] σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡτιῶντο τῆς ἀφροσύνης, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι παρακινδυνεύειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατιᾶς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνες, πυνθανόμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα πολεμούμενα γενναῖόν τι καὶ οὔτοι δρᾶν

ἐβουλευσάντο, ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγειν ὡς εἶχον ὀργῆς τε καὶ τάχους, τὸν στρατὸν, κατὰ τοιάνδε τινα καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαν, ὅτι δυεῖν ἔργων καλῶν θάτερον αὐτοῖς κατορθῶσαι ὑπάρξει, ἢ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν ἐλεῖν, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγκασθησομένων πολέμουμένη

[3] The Volscians, therefore, having met with this disaster, reproached themselves for their folly and were unwilling to hazard another engagement. But the generals who commanded the armies of the Volscians and Aequians in the field, when they heard that their possessions were being attacked, resolved to perform some brave action on their part also, namely, to take their army out of the country of the Hernicans and Latins and lead it against Rome in their present mood of anger and haste. For they too had some such thought as this in mind, that they should succeed in one or the other of two glorious achievements — either to take Rome, if it was unguarded, or to drive the enemy out of their own territory, since the consuls would be forced to hasten to the relief of their own country when it was attacked.

[4] τῇ πατριδί βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἦγον τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιταχύνοντες, ἵν' ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου τῇ πόλει συμμίζαντες εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχωνται.

[4] Having come to this decision, they made a forced march, in order that they might fall upon the city unexpectedly and immediately get to work.

[1] ἀφικόμενοι τε μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως, μαθόντες τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ῥώμης ὅλον πληθύνοντα ὀπλων, καὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τέτταρας ἔξεστρατευμένας σπεύρας, ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων ἑκάστην, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ ἀπετράποντο, τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει χώραν, ἣν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρέλιπον εἰσβολῇ, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν.

[71.1] Having got as far as the city of Tusculum and learning that the whole circuit of Rome was lined with armed men and that four cohorts of six hundred men each were encamped before the gates, they abandoned their march on Rome; and encamping, they laid waste the district close to the city, which they had left untouched on their former incursion.

[2] ἐπιφανέντος δ' αὐτοῖς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Λευκίου Λοκρητίου καὶ θεμένου τὴν παρεμβολὴν οὐ πρόσω καλὸν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι καιρὸν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λοκρητίῳ τὴν ἑτέραν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν σύμμαχον, ἥς Οὐετούριος ἡγεῖτο, συνάψαι μάχην, θέμενοι τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς καὶ δύο σπεύρας ἐπ' αὐταῖς καταλιπόντες, οἱ λοιποὶ προῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον: [p. 400] καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ κατὰ

[2] But when one of the consuls, Lucius Lucretius, appeared and made camp not far from them, they thought this an excellent opportunity to join battle before the other army of the Romans, commanded by Veturius, should come

to the assistance of Lucretius; and placing their baggage on a certain hill and leaving two cohorts to defend it, the rest advanced into the plain. Then they engaged the Romans and acquitted themselves bravely in the conflict for a long time;

[3] τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐγίνοντο μέχρι πολλοῦ. μαθόντες δ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ νώτου φρουρῶν τινες καταβαίνουσιν ὑπὲρ ὄχθου στρατιὰν ὑπέλαβον ἥκειν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, καὶ δείσαντες, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν, οὐκέτι διέμειναν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι οἱ θ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέροι γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι πίπτουσι, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοί: οἱ δὲ φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι πατρίδας σκεδασθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

[3] but some of them, being informed by the guards in the rear that an army was coming down over a hill, assumed that the other consul had arrived with the forces under his command, and fearing to be hemmed in between the two armies, they no longer stood their ground, but turned to flight. In this ancient both their generals fell after performing the deeds of valiant men, and likewise many other brave men fighting at their side. Those who escaped from the battle scattered and every man retired to his own city.

[4] ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν ἄδειαν λαβὼν ὁ Λοκρῆτιος ἔφθειρε τὴν Αἰκανῶν γῆν, καὶ Οὐετούριος τὴν Οὐολούσκων, ἕως ὃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπέστη καιρός. τότε δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ κατήγαγον ἀμφοτέροι τοὺς ἐπινικίους θριάμβους: Λοκρῆτιος μὲν, ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου παρεμβεβηκώς, Οὐετούριος δὲ πεζὸς εἰσελαύνων. δύο γὰρ οὗτοι θρίαμβοι δίδονται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔχοντες ἴσα, τῷ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἵππικόν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πεζικόν, διαφέροντες.

[4] As a result of this victory Lucretius laid waste the country of the Aequians in great security, and Veturius that of the Volscians, till the time for the elections was at hand. Then both of them, breaking camp, returned to Rome with their armies and celebrated the triumphs awarded for victories, Lucretius entering the city in a chariot drawn by four horses and Veturius on foot. For these two triumphs are granted to generals by the senate, as I have stated; they are equal in other respects, but differ in this, that one is celebrated in a chariot and the other on foot.

BOOK X

[1] μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τορύμβας Θεσσαλὸς ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλέους· ὕπατοι δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πόπλιος Οὐολούμνιος καὶ Σερούιος Σολπίκιος Καμερῖνος. οὗτοι στρατιὰν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐξήγαγον οὔτε ἐπὶ τιμωρίας ἀναπράξει τῶν ἀδικούντων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους οὔθ' ὥς διὰ φυλακῆς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐξόντες· τῶν δ' ἐντὸς τείχους κακῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο, μὴ τι δεινὸν ὃ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάς ἐξεργάσῃται.

[1.1] The year after their consulship occurred the eightieth Olympiad (the one at which Torymbas, a Thessalian, won the foot-race), Phrasicles being archon at Athens; and Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were chosen consuls at Rome. These men led no army into the field, either to take revenge on those who had injured the Romans themselves as well as their allies or to keep guard over their possessions, but they devoted their attention to the domestic evils, fearing lest the populace might organize against the senate and work some mischief.

[2] ἐταράττετο γὰρ αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀναδιδασκόμενος, ὅτι πολιτειῶν κρατιστὴ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐστὶν [p. 2] ἡ ἰσηγορία, καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἡξίου διοικεῖσθαι τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια. οὐπω γὰρ τότε ἦν οὔτ' ἰσονομία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὔτ' ἰσηγορία, οὐδ' ἐν γραφαῖς ἅπαντα τὰ δίκαια τεταγμένα· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔταπτον τοῖς δεομένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ

[2] For they were being stirred up again by the tribunes and instructed that the best of political institutions for free men is an equality of rights; and they demanded that all business both private and public should be carried on according to laws. For at that time there did not exist as yet among the Romans an equality either of laws or of rights, nor were all their principles of justice committed to writing; but at first their kings had dispensed justice to those who sought it, and whatever they decree was law.

[3] τὸ δίκαιον ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοῦτο νόμος ἦν. ὥς δ' ἐπαύσαντο μοναρχοῦμενοι, τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεῦουσιν ἀνέκειτο τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα καὶ ἡ τοῦ δικαίου διάγνωσις, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ὁτουδήτινος ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δίκαια οἱ διαιροῦντες ἦσαν.

[3] After they ceased to be governed by kings, along with the other functions of royalty that of determining what justice is devolved upon the annual consuls, and it was they who decided what was just between litigants in any matter whatsoever.

[4] τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀκόλουθα ἦν· κομιδῇ δ' ὀλίγα πινὰ ἐν ἱεραῖς

ἦν βύβλοις ἀποκείμενα, ἃ νόμων εἶχε δύναμιν, ὧν οἱ πατρίκιοι τὴν γνῶσιν εἶχον μόνοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβάς, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι τε καὶ γεωργοῦντες διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς ἄστὺ καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἄπειροι ἔτι ἦσαν.

[4] These decisions as a rule conformed to the character of the magistrates, who were appointed to office on the basis of good birth. A very few of them, however, were kept in sacred books and had the force of laws; but the patricians alone were acquainted with these, because they spent their time in the capital, while the masses, who were either merchants or husbandmen and came down to the capital only for the markets at intervals of many days, were as yet unfamiliar with them.

[5] τὸ δὲ πολίτευμα τοῦτο πρῶτος μὲν ἐπείρασεν εἰσαγαγεῖν Γάιος Τερέντιος δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει, ἀτελὲς δὲ ἠναγκάσθη καταλιπεῖν τοῦ τε πλήθους ὄντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπιτηδὲς ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ γῇ τὰς δυνάμεις κατασχόντων, ἕως ὃ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς παρέλθῃ χρόνος. [p. 3]

[5] The first attempt to introduce this measure establishing an equality of rights was made by Gaius Terentius in the preceding year, while he was tribune; but he was forced to leave the business unfinished because the plebeians were then in the field and the consuls purposely detained the armies in the enemy's country till their term of office expired.

[1] τότε δ' αὐτὸ παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Αὐλὸν Οὐεργίνιον δῆμαρχοι τελειῶσαι ἐβούλοντο: ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγκασθεῖεν πολιτεύεσθαι, πάντα ἐπιμηχανώμενοι διετέλουν οἱ τε ὕπατοι καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἱ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι: βουλαὶ τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο πείραι τε παντοδαύταις ἀρχαῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἄδηλον ἅπασιν ἦν, ὅτι μεγάλη τις καὶ ἀνήκεστος ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς φιλονεικίας ἀναστήσεται τῇ πόλει συμφορά.

[2.1] At the time in question Aulus Verginius and the other tribunes took up the measure and wished to carry it through. But in order to prevent this from happening and that the magistrates might not be compelled to conduct the government in accordance with laws, the consuls, the senate and all the rest of the citizens of greatest influence in the commonwealth kept resorting to all manner of devices. There were many sessions of the senate and continual meetings of the assembly, and attempts of all kinds were made by the magistrates against one another; from all of which it was manifest to everyone that some great and irreparable mischief to the commonwealth would arise out of this contention.

[2] συνήπτετο δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς καὶ τὰ θεῖα δαίματα προσγενόμενα, ὧν ἓν ἰα οὕτ' ἐν δημοσίαις εὕρισκετο γραφαῖς οὕτε κατ' ἄλλην φυλαττόμενα μνήμην οὐδεμίαν.

[2] To these human reasonings were added the terrible portents sent by the gods, some of which were neither found recorded in the public archives nor were the memory of them preserved by any other means.

[3] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ σέλα φερόμενα καὶ πυρὸς ἀνάψεις ἐφ' ἐνὸς μένουσαι τόπου γῆς τε μυκήματα καὶ τρόμοι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, μορφαὶ τ' εἰδῶλων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοιαι δι' ἄερος φερόμεναι καὶ φωναὶ ταράττουσαι διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια συνέπιπτεν, εὕρισκετο καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ γεγονότα ἦττον τε καὶ μᾶλλον: οὗ δὲ ἄπειροί τε καὶ ἀνήκοοι ἔτι ἦσαν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἐταράχθησαν, τοιόνδ' ἦν: νιφετὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέσκηπεν εἰς γῆν πολὺς οὐ χιόνα καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ σαρκῶν θραύσματα ἐλάττω τε καὶ μείζω.

[3] As for all the flashes shooting through the sky and outbursts of fire continuing in one place, the rumblings of the earth and its continual tremblings that occurred, the spectres, now of one shape and now of another, flitting through the air and voices that disturbed men's minds, and everything else of that nature which took place, all these manifestations were found to have occurred in times past as well, to either a greater or lesser degree. But a prodigy which they were unfamiliar with as yet and had never heard of, and the one which caused them the greatest terror was this: There descended upon the earth from heaven what appeared to be a heavy snowstorm, only it brought down, instead of snow, pieces of flesh, some smaller and some larger.

[4] τούτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μετάρσια προσπετόμεναι πτηνῶν [p. 4] ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι τοῖς στόμασιν ἤρπαζον, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐνεχθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ τε τῇ πόλει καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς μέχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κείμενα ἦν οὔτε χροᾶν μεταβάλλοντα, οἷαν ἴσχουσι παλαιοῦμεναι σάρκες, οὔτε σηπεδόνι διαλυόμενα, ὥς τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν πονηρόν.

[4] Most of these while still in mid air were seized by flocks of birds of every kind, which flew up and snatched them in their beaks; but those pieces which fell to the ground, both in the city itself and in the country, lay there a long time without either changing to such a colour as pieces of flesh acquire with time, or becoming rotten, and no bad smell was given off by them.

[5] τοῦτο τὸ τέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μάντεις οὐχ οἶοι τ' ἦσαν συμβαλεῖν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις εὐρέθη χρησμοῖς, ὅτι πολέμιων ἄλλοεθνῶν παρελθόντων εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καταλήψεται τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοεθνεῖς πολέμου στάσις ἐμφύλιος, ἣν χρῆν ἀρχομένην ἐξελαύνοντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θεοὺς παραιτουμένους θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἀποτρέψαι τὰ δεινά: καὶ

[5] The native soothsayers were unable to conjecture the meaning of this prodigy; but in the Sibylline books it was found that the city would be involved in a struggle to prevent the enslavement of its citizens after foreign

enemies had penetrated inside the walls, and that this war against the foreigners would begin with civil strife, which they must banish from the city in its inception, invoking the gods by sacrifices and prayers to avert the dangers; then they would gain the victory over their enemies.

[6] κρείττους ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ὥς δ' ἐξηνέχθη ταῦτ' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, ἱερὰ μὲν πρῶτον ἔθυσαν, οἷς ἡ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια ἀνέκειτο, θεοῖς ἔξακεστηρίοις τε καὶ ἀποτροπαιοῖς, ἔπειτα συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ σύνεδροι παρόντων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐσκόπουν.

[6] When this had been announced to the multitude, the priests who were in charge of such matters first sacrificed victims to the gods who remedy and avert evils; after which the senate assembled in the senate-house, the tribunes being also present, and considered means of safeguarding and preserving the commonwealth.

[1] τὸ μὲν οὖν καταλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα καὶ μιᾷ χρήσασθαι γνώμῃ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, ὥς ὑπετίθεντο οἱ χρησμοί, πάντες ὡμολόγουν: ὅπως δ' ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων ἀρξαμένων εἴκειν τοῖς ἑτέροις τὸ διάφορον παύσαιτο στασιάζον, οὐ [p. 5]

[3.1] As for putting an end to their mutual recriminations and acting with unanimity concerning public affairs, as the oracles advised, all were in agreement; but how this was to be brought about, and which party should take the first step by yielding to the other the point at issue and thus put an end to the dissension, caused them no little embarrassment.

[2] μικρὰν αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν ἀπορίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπάτοι καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς προεστῶτες τοὺς εἰσφέροντας καινὰ πολιτεύματα δημάρχους καὶ καταλύειν ἀξιοῦντας τὸν πατριον τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον αἰτίους ἀπέφαινον τῆς ταραχῆς. οἱ δὲ δημαρχοὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔλεγον ἀνάξιον δρᾶν οὔτε ἄδικον οὔτε ἀσύμφορον εὐνομίαν εἰσάγειν βουλομένους καὶ ἰσηγορίαν: τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι τῆς στάσεως ἔλεγον ἀνομίαν αὖξοντας καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ

[2] For the consuls and the leaders of the senate declared that the tribunes who were proposing new measures and demanding the overthrow of the time-honoured constitution were to blame for the disturbance. On the other hand, the tribunes denied that they were asking for anything that was either unjust or disadvantageous when they wished to introduce a good system of laws and equality of rights, but declared that the consuls and the patrician would be to blame for the dissension if they increased the spirit of lawlessness and greed and emulated the usual practices of tyrants.

[3] ζηλοῦντας τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἔθῃ. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια παρ' ἑκατέρων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐλέγετο, καὶ προὔβαινε διὰ κενῆς ὁ χρόνος: ἐν

ὧ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε δημοσίων οὔτε ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἔτελεῖτο. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐγένετο τῶν προὔργου, λόγων μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ κατηγοριῶν, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ δῆμαρχοι ἀπέστησαν: συναγαγόντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ νόμον εἰσοίσειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤξιουν.

[3] These and many like reproaches were uttered by each side for many days and the time passed in vain; meanwhile no business in the city, either public or private, was being brought to completion. When nothing worth while was being accomplished, the tribunes desisted from the kind of harangues and accusations they were wont to make against the senate; and calling an assembly of the populace, they promised them to bring in a law embodying their demands.

[4] ἔπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀναβαλόμενοι τὸν παρασκευασθέντα νόμον ἀνέγνωσαν: κεφάλαια δὲ αὐτοῦ τάδε ἦν: ἄνδρας αἰρεθῆναι δέκα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἀγορᾶς ἐννόμου τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτους, οἷς ἔστι πλείστη πρόνοια τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς: τοὺς δὲ συγγράψαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ πάντων νόμους τῶν τε κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων [p. 6] εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξευγκεῖν: τοὺς δὲ συγγραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν νόμους κείσθαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ταῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδειχθησομέναις ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ὄρους τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων.

[4] This being approved of by the populace, they read without further delay the law which they had prepared, the chief provisions of which were as follows: That ten men should be chosen by the people meeting in a legitimate assembly, men who were at once the oldest and the most prudent and had the greatest regard for honour and a good reputation; that these men should draw up the laws concerning all matters both public and private and lay them before the people; and that the laws to be drawn up by them should be exposed in the Forum for the benefit of the magistrates who should be chosen each year and also of persons in private station, as a code defining the mutual rights of citizens.

[5] τοῦτον προθέντες τὸν νόμον ἐξουσίαν ἔδωσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τρίτην ἀγοράν. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νέοι, κατήγοροι τοῦ νόμου, λόγους διεξιόντες ἐκ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς: καὶ

[5] After the tribunes had proposed this law, they gave leave to all who so desired to speak against it, appointing the third market-day for this purpose. Many in fact — and those not the least important of the senators, both old and young — did speak against the law, delivering speeches that were the result of much thought and preparation; and this went on for many days.

[6] τοῦτ' ἔφ' ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο συχνὰς. ἔπειτα οἱ δῆμαρχοι δυσχεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦ χρόνου λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι τοῖς κατηγοροῖς τοῦ νόμου προέθεσαν, ἡμέραν δὲ ἀποδείξαντες, ἐν ἣ κυρώσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον, παρῆναι τοὺς δημότας εἰς αὐτὴν παρεκάλουν ἄθροους, ὥς οὐκέτι ταῖς μακραῖς δημηγορίαις ἐνοχληθισομένους, ἀλλ' ἐποιούντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον κατὰ φυλάς. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα ὑποσχόμενοι διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[6] Then the tribunes, chafing at the loss of time, would no longer permit the opponents of the law to speak against it, but appointing a day for ratifying it, urged the plebeians to be present in force, assuring them that they should not be bored by any more long harangues but should give their votes by tribes concerning the law. After making these promises the tribunes dismissed the assembly.

[1] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ τε ὕπατοι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων οἱ πλεῖστον δυνάμενοι τραχύτερον ἤδη αὐτῶν προσιόντες καθήπτοντο λέγοντες, ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν αὐτοῖς νόμους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ τούτους ἀπροβουλεύτους. συνθήκας γὰρ εἶναι κοινὰς πόλεων τοὺς νόμους, οὐχὶ μέρους τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκούντων. τοῦ τε πονηροτάτου ὀλέθρου καὶ ἀνηκέστου καὶ οὐδ' εὐσχήμονος ἀρχὴν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι πόλεσι τε καὶ οἴκοις, ὅταν τὸ

[4.1] After this the consuls and the most influential of the patricians, going to the tribunes, upbraided them more harshly than before, saying that they would not permit them to propose laws, and especially laws not recommended by a preliminary decree of the senate. For laws were compacts of states affecting all alike, and not of a single portion of the residents of states. They further pointed out that it is the first step in the most wicked, irremediable and indecent ruination for both states and households when the worst element prescribes laws for the best.

[2] κάκιστον τῷ κρατίστῳ νομοθετῇ. ποῖαν δὲ ὑμεῖς, [p. 7] ἔφασαν, ὧ δῆμαρχοι, νόμων εἰσφορᾶς ἢ ἀναιρέσεως ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε; οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς μὲν δικαίοις ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλάβετε, τοῖς δ' ἀδίκουμένοις ἢ κατισχυομένοις τῶν πενήτων βοηθεῖν ἠτήσασθε τοὺς δημάρχους, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν; εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἦν τις ὑμῖν δύναμις, ἦν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου βιασάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἐλάβετε, ὑποκατακλινομένης ἐκάστῳ πλεονεκτήματι τῆς βουλῆς, οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτην νῦν ἀπολωλέκατε τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν;

[2] “And what authority,” they asked, “have you, tribunes, to introduce or to abrogate laws? Did you not receive this magistracy from the senate upon explicit terms? Did you not ask that the tribunes might come to the assistance of those of the poor who were injured and oppressed, but should meddle with nothing else? But, be that as it may, even if you previously possessed some power which you had wrongfully extorted from us, because the senate weakly gave in to each encroachment of yours, have you not lost even this power now

through the changed character of your elections?

[3] οὐτε γὰρ βουλῆς δόγμα ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὐτε αἱ φρᾶτραι τὴν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν, οὐτε ἱερὰ προθύεται τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἃ κατὰ νόμους ἐχρῆν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, οὐτε ἄλλο τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁσίων οὐθὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας γίνεται. τίνος οὖν ὑμῖν ἔτι μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ σεβασμοῦ δεομένων, ὧν ἔν τι καὶ ὁ νόμος ἦν, ἐξαρηνησαμένοις ἅπαντα τὰ νόμιμα;

[3] For neither a decree of the senate appoints you any longer to the magistracy, nor do the curiae give their votes concerning you, nor are there offered up to the gods before your election the sacrifices appointed by the laws, nor is anything else done in connexion with your magistracy that is holy in the eyes of the gods or right in the sight of men. What share have you, then, any longer in any of the things that are holy and call for reverence — of which the law was one — now that you have renounced everything lawful?"

[4] ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔλεγον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ νέοι αὐτῶν καθ' ἑταιρίας διεξιόντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπικειστέρους τῶν δημοτῶν ὁμιλίας ἀνελάμβανον κεχαρισμέναις, τοὺς δ' ἀπειθεῖς καὶ παραχώδεις ἀπειλαῖς κατεπλήττοντο κινδύνων, εἰ μὴ συμφρονήσαιαν: ἤδη δέ τινας τῶν πάνυ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀπερριμμένων, οἷς οὐθενὸς τῶν κοινῶν παρὰ τὰ ἴδια κέρδη φροντίς ἦν, παίοντες ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδα ἀνείργον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. [p. 8]

[4] These were the arguments that the older and the young patricians, going about the city in organized groups, used with the tribunes. The more fair-minded of the plebeians they sought to win over by friendly intercourse, and the refractory and turbulent they attempted to terrify with threats of dangers which they would incur unless they came to their senses. Indeed, in the case of some who were very poor and abject and cared naught for the public interests in comparison with their own advantage, they drove them out of the Forum with blows as if they had been slaves.

[1] ὁ δὲ πλείστους τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων ἑταίρους καὶ μέγιστον τῶν τότε νέων δυνάμενος Καίσιων Κοιντίος ἦν, υἱὸς Λευκίου Κοιντίου τοῦ καλουμένου Κικιννάτου, ᾧ γένος τ' ἦν ἐπιφανὲς καὶ βίος οὐθενὸς δεύτερος, ἀνὴρ ὀφθῆναι τε κάλλιστος νέων καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων λαμπρότατος φύσει τε περὶ λόγους κεκρημένος ἀγαθῇ: ὃς ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐτε λόγων φειδόμενος, ὧν βαρὺ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀκούειν, οὐτ' ἔργων ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπεχόμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν πατρίκιοι τίμιον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις εἶχον καὶ μένειν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ἡξιοῦν αὐτοὶ παρασχεῖν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑποσχούμενοι: οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντων δὴ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐμίσουν.

[5.1] But the person who was attended with the largest number of followers and

had the most influence of all the young men at that time was Caeso Quintius, the son of Lucius Quintius called Cincinnatus, a man of both illustrious birth and of a fortune inferior to none, the handsomest of youths to look upon, distinguished above all others in warfare, and possessing a natural talent for speaking. This he freely indulged at that time against the plebeians; and he neither spared words hard for free men to listen to nor refrained from deeds that matched his words. For these reasons the patricians held him in great esteem and urged him to continue on his dangerous course, promising to afford him impunity; but the plebeians hated him above all men.

[2] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνωσαν οἱ δῆμαρχοι πρῶτον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, ὡς καταπληξόμενοι τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν νέων καὶ προσαναγκάσοντες σωφρονεῖν. γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι λόγους τε καὶ μάρτυρας πολλοὺς εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀδικήματος δημοσίου, θανάτου τιμησάμενοι τὴν δίκην. παραγγείλαντες δ' αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος, ὃν ἔταξαν τῇ δίκῃ, συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν μακροὺς ἐποίησαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους, διεξιόντες ὅσα βία διατεπραγμένος ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τοὺς δημότας, ὧν τοὺς πεπονθότας αὐτοὺς παρήγον μάρτυρας.

[2] This man the tribunes determined to remove out of the way first, expecting to terrify the rest of the youths and compel them to act sensibly. Having come to this decision and got ready their accusations and numerous witnesses, they brought him to trial for a crime against the state, for which they fixed death as the penalty. When they had summoned him to appear before the populace and the day they had appointed for the trial had come, they called an assembly and delivered lengthy speeches against him, enumerating all the acts of violence he had committed against the plebeians and presenting as witnesses the victims of his acts in person.

[3] ὡς δὲ παρέδωκαν τὸν λόγον, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ μεираκίον οὐχ ὑπῆκουε καλούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλ' ἥξιου τοῖς ιδιώταις αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡτιῶντο παθεῖν [p. 9] κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπέχειν δίκας, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τῆς κρίσεως γινομένης: ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς φέροντας τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ μεираκίου τοὺς δημοτικούς ὀρῶν ἀπελογεῖτο τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ψευδῆ τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλήs συγκείμενα κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδεικνύς:

[3] When they gave him leave to speak, the youth himself, being called upon to make his defence, refused, but asked the right to give satisfaction to the private persons themselves for the injuries of which they accused him, the hearing to take place before the consuls. His father, however, observing that the plebeians were offended by the haughtiness of the youth, endeavoured to excuse him by showing that most of the accusations were false and deliberately invented against his son;

[4] ὅσα δ' οὐκ ἐνῆν ἀρνήσασθαι μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα καὶ οὐκ ἄξια δημοσίας

ὀργῆς εἶναι λέγων καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ δι' ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας μεираκιώδους γεγονότα ἐπιδεικνύμενος, δι' ἣν πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ συμβῆναι δρᾶσαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἐν ἀψιμαχίαις, πολλὰ δ' ἴσως καὶ παθεῖν, οὔτε ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ

[4] that the instances which he could not deny were slight and trivial and not deserving the resentment of the public, and that not even these had proceeded from design or insolence, but from a youthful ambition which had led him to do many unpremeditated things in scrimmages — perhaps to suffer many too — since he was neither at the prime of life nor at the best age for clear judgement.

[5] ὄντι οὔτε φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ. ἡξίου τε τοὺς δημοτικοὺς μὴ μόνον ὀργὴν μὴ ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἤμαρτεν εἰς ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι περὶ ὧν ἅπαντας εὖ ποιῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διετέλεσε, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις ἐλευθερίαν κτώμενος, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι ἡγεμονίαν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ εἰ ποτε ἀμάρτοι τι φιλανθρωπίαν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ διεξήει τάς τε στρατείας πάσας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἅπαντας, ἐξ ὧν ἀριστεῖα καὶ στεφάνους παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔλαβε, πολιτῶν τε ὁπόσων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπερήσπισε καὶ

[5] And he asked the plebeians not only to entertain no resentment for the offences which he had committed against a few, but even to feel grateful for the services he had constantly rendered to them all in the wars while trying to secure liberty for his fellow citizens in private life, supremacy for his country, and for himself, if he should be guilty of any offence, friendly consideration and succour from the people generally. He proceeded to enumerate all the campaigns and all the battles in which he had received from his generals rewards of valour and crowns, how many citizens he had shielded in battle, and how often he had been the first man to scale the enemy's walls.

[6] τείχεσι πολέμιων ὁσάκις πρῶτος ἐπέβη. τελευτῶν δ' εἰς οἴκτους κατέβαινε καὶ δεήσεις, ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐπιεικείας βίου τε, ὃς ἐμαρτυρεῖτο αὐτῷ πάσης καθαρὸς διαβολῆς, μίαν ἀπαιτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριν, φυλάξαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ. [p. 10]

[6] And at last he ended with appeals to their compassion and with entreaties; in consideration of his fairness toward all men and of his life in general, which stood approved as free from all reproach, he asked of the people one single favour — to safeguard his son for him.

[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἦδετο πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τὸ μεираκίον τῷ πατρὶ πρόθυμος ἦν. ὁ δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὀρῶν, ὅτι μὴ δόντος ἐκείνου δίκην ἀφόρητον ἔσται τὸ θράσος τῶν αὐθαδῶν μεираκίων, ἀνίσταται καὶ φησιν:

[6.1] The people were exceedingly pleased with this speech and were eager to grant the life of the youth to his father. But Verginius, perceiving that if he were not punished the boldness of the headstrong youths would become

intolerable, rose up and said:

[2] σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Κοίντιε, ἢ τε ἄλλη μαρτυρεῖται πᾶσα ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς εὖνοια, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ τιμᾶσθαί σοι πάρεστιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ μειρακίου βαρύτης καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ὑπερηφανία παραίτησιν ἢ συγγνώμην οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδέχεται: ὅστις ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἤθεσι τραφεὶς οὕτως οὕσι δημοτικοῖς καὶ μετρίοις, ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσμεν, τῶν μὲν σῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τυραννικὴν δὲ αὐθάδειαν καὶ βαρβάρων ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν ἠγάπησε, καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων ζῆλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰσαγήοχεν.

[2] “As for you, Quintius, not only all your other merits, but also your goodwill toward the plebeians is amply attested, and for these you have received honour. But the offensive behaviour of this youth and his haughtiness toward us all admit of no palliation or pardon; for though nurtured in your principles, which are so democratic and moderate, as we are all aware, he despised your ways of life and grew fond of a tyrannical arrogance and a barbarian insolence, and has introduced into our commonwealth an emulation of base deeds.

[3] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐλάνθανέ σε τοιοῦτος ὧν, νῦν ὅτ' ἔγνωκας ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκαιος ἂν εἴης: εἰ δὲ συνήδεις τε καὶ συνέπραττες οἷς προεπηλάκιζε τὴν τῶν πενήτων πολιτῶν τύχην, πονηρὸς ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦσθα, καὶ ἡ τῆς καλοκἀγαθίας δόξα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου σοι περιγέγονεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι ἠγνόεις αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντα τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἐγὼ σοι τοῦτ' ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν. ἀπολύων δὲ σε τοῦ τότε συναδικεῖν ἡμᾶς μέφομαι τοῦ

[3] If, therefore, you were unaware hitherto of his character, now that you know it, you ought in justice to be indignant on our account; but if you were privy to and took part in the foul abuse he was wont to pour out upon the unhappy lot of the poor citizens, then you too were base and did not deserve the reputation for uprightness that has come to you. But that you did not know him to be unworthy of your excellence I myself can bear you witness. Nevertheless, though I acquit you of joining with him in injuring us at that time, I blame you for not joining with us now in resenting those injuries.

[4] νῦν ἡμῖν μὴ συναγανακτεῖν. ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον μάθης, ἡλίκον ἄρα τῇ πόλει κακὸν ἐπιτρέφων ἐλάνθανες, ὡς ὠμὸν καὶ τυραννικὸν καὶ οὐδὲ φόνου πολιτικοῦ καθαρὸν, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ φιλότιμον ἔργον καὶ ἀντιπαρεξέτασον [p. 11] αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀριστείας: καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι συνεπαθεῖτε ἀρτίως οἰκτιζομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρα καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοιοῦτου φρεῖσασθαι πολίτου.

[4] And that you may know better how great a bane you have reared up unwittingly against the commonwealth, how cruel and tyrannical and not even free from the murder of his fellow citizens, listen to an ambitious exploit of his and balance it against the rewards of valour he received in the wars. And

as many of you plebeians as were just now affected with the compassion which this man endeavoured to arouse, consider whether it is after all well for you to spare such a citizen.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συναρχόντων Μάρκον Οὐολούσκιον καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἃ σὺ νοιδε τῷ μεираκίῳ. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ πολλῆς ἔξ ἁπάντων προσδοκίας μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Οὐολούσκιος εἶπεν:

[7.1] Having spoken thus, he asked Marcus Volscius, one of his colleagues, to rise up and tell what he knew about the youth. When all had become silent and full of expectation, Volscius, after a short pause, said:

[2] ἐγὼ μάλιστα ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ὧ πολλῖται, δίκην ἰδίαν, ἣν ὁ νόμος δίδωσι μοι, παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθώς; κωλυθεὶς δὲ τούτου τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἶς εἶναι, νῦν γ' ἡνίκα ἔξεστι μοι τὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος σχῆμα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, λήψομαι. ἃ δὲ

[2] “I should have preferred, citizens, to receive from this man private satisfaction, such as the law affords me, for the terrible and worse than terrible wrongs I have suffered; but having been prevented from obtaining this by reason of poverty and lack of influence and because of my being one of the common crowd, now, when it is possible, I shall take the rôle of a witness, since I can not take that of an accuser. Hear from me, then, the things I have suffered, how cruel, how irreparable they were.

[3] πέπονθα, ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἀδελφὸς ἦν μοι Λεύκιος, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἠγάπησα. οὗτός μοι συνεδείπνει παρὰ φίλῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀναστάντες τῆς ἐχομένης νυκτὸς ὥχόμεθα. διεληλυθόσι δ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀγορὰν περιτυγχάνει Καίσων οὕτοσὶ κωμάζων σὺν ἑτέροις ἀγερώχοις μεираκίοις. καὶ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔσχωπτόν τε καὶ ὕβριζον εἰς ἡμᾶς, οἷα μεθύοντες ἂν νέοι καὶ αὐθάδεις ὡς ἂν εἰς ταπεινοὺς καὶ πένητας ὕβρισαιεν, ὡς δ' ἠγανακτοῦμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐλευθερον ῥῆμα εἰς τοῦτον εἶπε. δεινὸν [p. 12] δ' ἠγησάμενος οὕτοσὶ Καίσων ἀκοῦσαι τι, ὧν οὐκ ἐβούλετο, προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ παίων καὶ λακτιζων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὠμότητα καὶ ὕβριν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἀποκτείνει.

[3] I had a brother, Lucius, whom I loved above all men. He and I supped with a friend and afterwards, as night came on, we rose and departed. When we had passed through the Forum, Caeso here fell in with us as he was revelling with other insolent youths. At first they laughed at us and abused us, as young men when drunk and arrogant are apt to abuse the humble and poor; and when we were vexed at them, Lucius spoke out frankly to this man. But Caeso here, thinking it outrageous to have anything said to him that he did not like, ran up to him, and beating and kicking him and showing every other form of cruelty and abuse, killed him.

[4] ἔμοῦ δὲ κεκραγότες καὶ ἀμυνομένου τοσαῦτα ὅσα ἐδυνάμην, ἐκεῖνον ἤδη νεκρὸν κείμενον ἀφείξ ἔμὲ πάλιν ἔπαιε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἀκίνητόν τε καὶ ἄφωνον εἶδεν ἐρριμμένον, δόξας εἶναι νεκρὸν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὗτος μὲν ἀπὼν ὥχετο χαίρων ὥσπερ ἐπὶ καλῷ ἔργῳ: ἡμᾶς δὲ οἱ παραγενόμενοι μετὰ ταῦτα αἵματι πεφυρμένους αἵρουσι καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπεκόμισαν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν μου Λεύκιον νεκρὸν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐμὲ δὲ ἡμιθανῆ καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγας.

[4] And when I cried out and was doing all I could to defend him, Caeso, leaving my brother Lucius where he already lay dead, fell to beating me in turn, and ceased not until he saw me cast down upon the ground motionless and speechless, so that he took me to be dead. After that he went away rejoicing, as if over a noble deed. As for us, some persons who came along later took us up, covered with blood, and carried us home, my brother being dead, as I said, and I half dead and having little hope of living.

[5] ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο Ποπλίου Σερουιλίου καὶ Λευκίου Αἰβουτίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔχόντων, ὅτε ἡ μεγάλη νόσος κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, ἥς ἀπελαύσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀμφοτέρω. τότε μὲν οὖν δίκην οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν μοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τεθνηκότων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων: Λευκίου δὲ Λοκρητίου καὶ Τίτου Οὐετουρίου παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν ὑπὸ δίκην ἐκωλύθη διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκλελοιπότες ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν πόλιν.

[5] This happened in the consulship of Publius Servilius and Lucius Aebutius, when the city was attacked by the great pestilence, which both of us caught. At that time, therefore, it was not possible for me to obtain justice against him, since both consuls were dead; then, when Lucius Lucretius and Titus Veturius had succeeded to the office, I wished to bring him to trial, but was prevented by the war, both consuls having left the city.

[6] ὥς δὲ ἀνέστρεψαν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶν, ὅσάκις προσέλθοιμι — καὶ ταῦτα δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἴσασι — πληγὰς ἐλάμβανον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ πέπονθα, ὧς δημόται, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρημένα πρὸς ὑμᾶς. [p. 13]

[6] After they returned from the campaign, I often cited him to appear before those magistrates, but as often as I approached them — as many of the citizens know — I received blows from him. These are the things I have suffered, plebeians, and I have related them to you with complete truthfulness."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ κραυγὴ τε ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο καὶ ὁρμὴ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς δίκην. ἀλλ' οἳ τε ὑπατοὶ ἐμποδὼν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν δημάρχων οἱ πλείους πονηρὸν ἔθος οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ καθαρώτατον οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποστερεῖν

λόγου τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένους.

[8.1] After he had finished speaking, an outcry arose from those who were present and many rushed to take vengeance out of hand; but they were prevented both by the consuls and also by the majority of the tribunes, who were unwilling to introduce a pernicious custom into the commonwealth. Indeed, the most honourable element among the plebeians too was unwilling to deprive of a defence those who were in jeopardy of their lives.

[2] τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπέσχε τὴν τῶν θρασυτέρων ὁρμὴν ἢ τοῦ δικαίου πρόνοια, καὶ ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ δίκη, οὐ μικρᾷς ἐμπεσοῦσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζητήσεως ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος, εἴτ' ἐν δεσμοῖς αὐτὸ δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τέως, εἴτ' ἐγγυητὰς δοῦναι τῆς ἀφίξεως, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡξίου: καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο χρήμασι διεγγυηθὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα μέχρι δίκης.

[2] Upon this occasion, therefore, a regard for justice restrained the impulse of the bolder spirits, and the trial was put off; though no small contest and questioning arose concerning the defendant's person, whether he should be kept in chains in the meantime or should give sureties for his appearance, as his father required. The senate, assembling, ordered that if bail were offered his person should be free till the trial.

[3] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συναγαγόντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ μεираκίου τὴν δίκην, ἐκύρωσαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς δέκα ὄντας ἐπράξαντο τὰ περὶ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ὁμολογηθέντα χρήματα.

[3] The next day the tribunes assembled the populace and, the youth not appearing for trial, they caused a vote to be passed for his condemnation and compelled his sureties, ten in number, to pay over the sums agreed upon in case of their failure to produce his person.

[4] Καίσων μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ περιπεσὼν ἐπιβουλῇ, κατασκευασαμένων ἅπαντα τῶν δημάρχων καὶ Οὐολουσκίου ψευδῇ μαρτυρήσαντος, ὡς ἐγένετο φανερὸν σὺν χρόνῳ, φεύγων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν ὤχητο: ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οὐσίας ἀπεμπολήσας καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν χρήματα ἀποδοὺς ἑαυτῷ χωρίον ἐν μικρὸν ὑπολειπόμενος πέραν τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ, [p. 14] ἐν ᾧ ταπεινὴ τις ἦν καλύβη, γεωργῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ δούλων ὀλίγων ἐπίπονον καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἔζη βίον ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ πενίας, οὔτε πόλιν ὁρῶν οὔτε φίλους ἀσπαζόμενος οὔθ' ἐορτάζων οὔτ' ἄλλης εὐφροσύνης οὐδεμιᾶς ἑαυτῷ μεταδιδούς.

[4] Caeso, accordingly, having fallen a victim to a plot of this sort — for the tribunes had contrived the whole business and Volscius had borne false witness, as became clear later — went into exile in Tyrrhenia. His father sold the greater part of his estate and repaid the sureties the sums agreed upon,

leaving nothing for himself but one small farm lying on the other side of the river Tiber, on which there was an humble cottage; and there, cultivating the farm with the help of a few slaves, he led a laborious and miserable life because of his grief and poverty, neither visiting the city nor greeting his friends nor taking part in the festivals nor allowing himself any other pleasure.

[5] τοῖς μέντοι δημάρχοις πολὺ τὸ παράλογον ἐγένετο τῆς ἐλπίδος. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπαύσατο ἡ τῶν νέων φιλοτιμία σωφρονισθεῖσα τῇ Καίσωνος συμφορᾷ, πολὺ δὲ χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλείων ἐγένετο ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις καταγωνιζομένη τὸν νόμον· ὥστ' οὐθὲν ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο διαπραξασθαι δαπανηθέντος εἰς ταῦτα τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα πάλιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξεν αὐτούς.

[5] The tribunes, however, were greatly disappointed in their expectations; for the contentiousness of the young men, far from being chastened by the unhappy fate of Caeso, grew much more vexatious and excessive as they fought the law with both actions and words. The result was that the tribunes were unable to accomplish anything more, the whole time of their magistracy being taken up with these contests. The populace, however, chose them again as their magistrates for the following year.

[1] Ποπλίου δὲ Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα καὶ Γαίου Κλαυδίου Σαβίνου τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων κίνδυνος ὅσος οὕτω τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχευεν ἐξ ἄλλοεθνοῦς πολέμου, ὃν παρήγαγεν ἐντὸς τείχους ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις, ὡς οἱ τε Σιβύλλειοι χρησμοὶ προὔλεγον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου φανέντα προεθέσπισε τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ. διγηγήσομαι δὲ τὴν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ πόλεμος εἰσῆλθε, καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα τοῖς ὑπάτοις κατὰ τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα.

[9.1] When Publius Valerius Publicola and Gaius Claudius Sabinus had assumed the consular power, a danger greater than ever before came upon Rome from a foreign war; and it was brought upon her by the civil dissension inside the walls, as both the Sibylline oracles and the portents sent by Heaven had foretold the year before. I shall relate not only the cause from which the war arose, but also the action taken by the consuls during that contest.

[2] οἱ παρειληφότες τὸ δεῦτερον τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κυρώσειν τὸν νόμον, ὁρῶντες τῶν τε ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον, Γάιον Κλαύδιον, ἔμφυτον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἔχοντα μῖσος διὰ προγόνων καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἀπάσῃ μηχανῇ κωλύειν τὰ γινόμενα, τῶν τε νέων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους εἰς ἀπόνοιαν φανερὰν προεληλυθότας, οὓς οὐκ ἐνῆν τῷ βιαίῳ καταγωνίσασθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ [p. 15] δήμου τὸ πλεῖον ὑποκατακλινόμενον ταῖς θεραπαίαις τῶν πατρικίων καὶ προθυμίαν οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ νόμου τὴν αὐτὴν παρεχόμενον, ἱταμωτέραν ὁδὸν ἐγνώσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα πορεύεσθαι, δι' ἧς καταπλήζονται μὲν τὸν δῆμον, ἀναβαλοῦσι δὲ τὸν ὑπάτον.

[2] The men who had assumed tribuneship for the second time in the hope of securing the ratification of the law, observing that one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, had an inborn hatred of the plebeians, inherited from his ancestors, and was prepared to defeat the plans afoot by every possible means, that the most influential of the youths had reached the point of open desperation, with no possibility of their being subdued by forcible means, and above all, that most of the populace were yielding to the blandishments of the patricians and no longer exhibiting the same zeal for the law, resolved to take a bolder course toward their goal, by which they expected to dumbfound the populace and unseat the consul.

[3] πρῶτον μὲν κατεσκεύασαν φήμας λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παντοδαπάς: ἔπειτ' ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας συνήδρευον ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ, μεταδιδόντες οὐθενὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οὔτε βουλευματος οὔτε λόγου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι πράττειν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, πλασάμενοι γράμματα καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάσαντες ἀναδοθῆναι σφίσιν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνώτος καθημένους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ὡς διήλθον αὐτά, παίοντες τὰ μέτωπα καὶ

[3] First, then, they caused all manner of rumours to be spread throughout the city; afterwards they sat in council publicly throughout the whole day from early morning without admitting any outsiders to their counsels and discussions. Then, when it seemed to them to be the proper time for putting their plans into execution, they forged letters and contrived to have these delivered to them by an unknown person as they sat in the Forum; and as soon as they had perused them, they sprang up, beating their foreheads and assuming downcast countenances.

[4] κατηφεῖς τὰς ὄψεις ποιήσαντες ἀνίστανται. πολλοῦ δὲ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνεῖναι γεγραμμένον μαντευομένου σιωπὴν προκηρύξαντες εἶπον: ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κινδύνοις, ὧ πολῖται, τὸ δημοτικόν: καὶ εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις εὖνοια προείδετο τῶν ἄδικα πάσχειν μελλόντων, εἰς δεινὰς ἂν ἅπαντες ἤλθομεν συμφοράς. αἰτούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον, ἕως τῇ βουλῇ δηλώσωμεν τὰ προσαγγελθέντα καὶ μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης πράξωμεν τὰ

[4] And when a large crowd had flocked together and was conjecturing that some dreadful intelligence was contained in the letters, they ordered the heralds to proclaim silence and then said: "Your plebeians are in the gravest peril, citizens; and if some benevolence of the gods had not provided for those who were on the point of suffering injustice, we should all have fallen into dire calamities. We ask you to have a little patience till we acquaint the senate with the information we have received and after consulting with them take the necessary measures."

[5] δέοντα. ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ὥχοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους. ἐν ὧσιν δὲ ἡ βουλὴ

συνήγετο χρόνῳ, πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ λόγοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίνοντο, τῶν μὲν ἓκ [p. 16] παρασκευῆς ἃ παρηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων κατὰ συστροφῆς λαλούντων, τῶν δέ, ἃ μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ γένηται, ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγελμένα τοῖς δημάρχοις λεγόντων.

[5] Having spoken this, they went to the consuls. While the senate was assembling, many reports of all kinds circulated in the Forum, as some persons, by previous arrangement, talking in groups, retailed the stories suggested to them by the tribunes, and others named the things they most dreaded to have happen as the matters that had been reported to the tribunes.

[6] ἔφη δ' ὁ μὲν τις Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους ὑποδεξαμένους Καίσωνα Κοίντιον τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καταδικασθέντα ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολλὰς δυνάμεις ἀγείραντα μέλλειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν: ὁ δέ τις ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης τῶν πατρικίων τὸν ἄνδρα κατάγεσθαι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἵνα ἢ φυλακὴ καταλυθῇ νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῶν δημοτικῶν: ὁ δέ τις οὐχ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοὺς πατρικίους ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα βεβουλευμένους,

[6] One said that the Aequians and the Volscians, having received Caeso Quintius, the man condemned by the populace, had chosen him general of both nations with absolute power, had raised numerous forces, and were upon the point of marching on Rome; another said that by the concerted plan of the patricians he was being brought back by foreign troops in order that the magistracy which was the guardian of the plebeians might be abolished now and forever; and still another said that not all the patricians had decided on this course, but only the young men.

[7] ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς νέους. ἐτόλμων δέ τινες λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη κρυπτόμενος καὶ μέλλοι καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν τόπων τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους. ὅλης δὲ κραδαινομένης ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν δεινῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πάντων ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων δι' ὑποψίας καὶ φυλακῆς, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι παρελθόντες ἐδείκνυσαν τὰ προσαγγελλόμενα. ἦν δὲ ὁ τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενος Αὐλὸς Οὐεργίνιος καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε:

[7] Some ventured to state that Caeso was actually inside the city, in hiding, and was about to seize the most advantageous positions. While the whole city was shaken by expectation of these calamities and all men suspected and were on their guard against one another, the consuls assembled the senate, and the tribunes, going in, acquainted them with the reports that were being received. The one who addressed them on behalf of the others was Aulus Verginius, and he spoke as follows:

[1] ὅσον μὲν χρόνον οὐθὲν ἀκριβὲς ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο τῶν προσαγγελλομένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ φῆμαι μετέωροι, καὶ τὸ βεβαιῶσον αὐτὰς οὐθὲν ἦν,

ὠκνοῦμεν, ὧ βουλῇ, φέρειν τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους εἰς μέσον, παραχᾶς τε ὑποπτεύοντες ἔσεσθαι μεγάλας, [p. 17] οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ δεινοῖς ἀκούσμασι, καὶ δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχοντες, μὴ ταχύτερα δόξωμεν ὑμῖν βεβουλεῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα.

[10.1] “As long as there seemed to us to be nothing definite about the dangers that were being reported, but there were only vague rumours and nothing to confirm them, we were reluctant, senators, to lay before you the reports about them, both because we suspected there would be great disturbances, as would be likely in a time of dreadful rumours, and also because we were afraid of appearing to you to have acted with greater precipitancy than prudence.

[2] οὐ μὴν ὀλιγωρίᾳ γ' αὐτὰ παραδόντες ἀφήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅση δύναμις ἡμῖν ἦν ἐπιμελῇ ζητησιν ἐποιούμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια, ὑφ' ἧς αἰὲ σωζόμεθα κοινῇ, καλῶς ποιούσα τὰ κεκρυμμένα βουλευματα καὶ τὰς ἀνοσίους ἐπιχειρήσεις τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν εἰς φῶς ἄγει, καὶ γράμματα πάρεστιν ἡμῖν, ἃ δεδэгμεθα νεωστὶ παρὰ ξένων εὐνοίαν ἡμῖν ἐνδεικνυμένων, οὓς ὕστερον ἀκούσεσθε, καὶ συντρέχει τε καὶ συνάδει τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιστελλομένοις τὰ ἐνθένδε μηνυόμενα, καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκέτι μέλλησιν οὐδ' ἀναβολὴν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα ἐπιδέχεται, πρὶν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, ὑμῖν πρῶτοις ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ἀπαγγεῖλαι διέγνωμεν αὐτά.

[2] We did not, however, ignore or neglect these reports, but inquired with all possible diligence into the truth of them. And since the divine providence, by which our commonwealth is ever preserved, is rightly bringing to light the hidden plans and wicked attempts of those who are enemies to the gods; since we have letters, just now received from foreign friends, who thus show their goodwill to us and whose names you shall later hear; since information given here at home coincides and agrees with the reports sent in from outside; and since these matters no longer admit of delay or postponement, being at our very doors, we have decided to report them to you, as is proper, before laying them before the populace.

[3] ἵστε δὴ συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγεννημένην ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐνεῖναι μὲν τι λέγεται μέρος οὐ πολὺ καὶ τῶν εἰς τόδε συλλεγομένων τὸ συνέδριον πρεσβυτέρων, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν ἔξω τῆς βουλῆς ἱππέων, οὓς οὕτω καιρὸς οἴτινές εἰσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν.

[3] Know, then, that a conspiracy has been formed against the populace by men of prominence, among whom, it is said, there is a small number — not many — even of the older men who meet in this chamber, though the larger number are knights who are not members of the senate, whose names it is not yet the time to tell you.

[4] μέλλουσι δ' οὖν, ὥς πυνθανόμεθα, σκοταίαν φυλάξαντες νύκτα κοιμώμενοις ἡμῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἥνίκα οὔτε προιδεῖν τι τῶν γινομένων οὔτε

φυλάξασθαι καθ' ἓν γεγόμενοι δυνάμεθα: ἐπιπεσόντες δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἡμᾶς κατασφάττειν καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἄλλους τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας ποτὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ [p. 18] ἐλευθερίας ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐναντιωσομένων. ὅταν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκποδὼν ποιήσωνται, τότε ἤδη κατὰ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἡγοῦνται διαπράξασθαι παρ' ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναιρεθῆναι διὰ κοινοῦ ψηφίσματος τὰς γενομένας ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁμολογίας.

[4] They intend, now, as we learn, to take advantage of a dark night and attack us while we are asleep, when we can neither provide against anything that is taking place nor get together in a body to defend ourselves, and, rushing into our houses, to cut the throats, not only of us tribunes, but of all the other plebeians also who have ever opposed them in defence of their liberty or may oppose them for the future.

[5] ὁρῶντες δέ, ὅτι ξενικῆς αὐτοῖς χειρὸς εἰς τὰ πράγματα δεῖ κρύφα παρασκευασθείσης καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης μετρίας, ἄνδρα προσειλήφασιν εἰς ταῦτα τῶν ὑμετέρων φυγᾶδων Καίσιωνα Κοιντίον ἡγεμόνα, ὃν ἐπὶ φόνοις πολιτῶν καὶ διαστάσει τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεγχθέντα διεπράξαντό τινες τῶν ἐνθάδε μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἀλλ' ἄθῳον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, κάθοδόν τε πράξειν ὑπέσχηνται καὶ ἀρχὰς προτείνονται καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλους μισθοὺς τῆς ὑπουργίας.

[5] And after they have made away with us, they believe that then at last they will easily bring about the abrogation, by a unanimous vote on your part, of the compacts you made with the populace. But perceiving that they need for their purpose a body of foreign troops secretly got in readiness — and that no moderate force — they have to this end adopted as their leader one of your exiles, Caeso Quintius, a man whom, though convicted of the murder of his fellow citizens and of raising a sedition in the state, some of the members of this body contrived to save from paying the penalty, letting him go out of the city unharmed, and have promised to restore him to his country and are offering him magistracies and honours and other rewards for his help.

[6] κάκεῖνος ὑπέσχηται στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐλοούσκων ἄξειν ἐπίκουρον, ὅσης ἂν δεηθῶσιν: ἤξει τε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους κρύφα κατ' ὀλίγους εἰσάγων καὶ σποράδας, ἢ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις, ὅταν οἱ τοῦ δήμου προεσθηκότες ἡμεῖς διαφθαρώμεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν πενήτων χωρήσει, ἐάν τινες ἄρα περιέχωνται τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

[6] And he on his part has promised to bring to their assistance as large a force of the Aequians and Volscians as they shall ask for. He himself will soon appear at the head of the most daring, whom he will introduce into the city secretly, a few at a time and in small bodies; the rest of the force, as soon as we who are the leaders of the populace are destroyed, will fall next upon the rest of the poor, if any of them cling to their liberty.

[7] ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ βεβούλευνται ὑπὸ σκότους καὶ μέλλουσι δρᾶν, ὧ βουλῇ, δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ἔργα, οὔτε θεῶν φοβηθέντες χόλον οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνην ἔντραπέντες νέμεσιν. [p. 19]

[7] These are the dreadful and wicked plans, senators, which they have concocted under cover of darkness and intend to carry out without either fearing the anger of the gods or heeding the indignation of men.

[1] ἔν τοσούτῳ δὴ κινδύνῳ σαλεύοντες ἰκέται γινόμεθα ὑμῶν, ὧ πατέρες, ἐπισκίηπτοντες θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, οἷς κοινῇ θύομεν, καὶ πολέμων ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, οὓς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους σὺν ὑμῖν ἡράμεθα, μὴ περιδεῖν ὡμὰ καὶ ἀνόσια ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παθόντας ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι τε καὶ συναγανακτῆσαι τιμωρίας ἡμῖν συνεισπράξαντας παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλευσαμένων τὰς προσηκούσας, μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ πάντων, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, παρὰ τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀθεμίτου συνωμοσίας.

[1.1] “Being tossed about on such a rough sea of perils, fathers, we come to you as suppliants, calling to witness the gods and lesser divinities to whom we sacrifice in common; and reminding you of the many great wars we have waged side by side with you, we implore you not to allow us to suffer this cruel and wicked fate at the hands of our enemies, but to assist us and share our indignation, joining with us in exacting suitable punishment from those who have formed these designs — from all of them preferably, but if that may not be, then at least from the authors of this nefarious conspiracy.

[2] πρῶτον δὲ πάντων ἀξιούμεν ὑμᾶς, ὧ βουλῇ, ψηφισασθαι πρᾶγμα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτον, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μηνυομένων ζήτησιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν δημάρχων γίνεσθαι. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀκριβεστάτας ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ζητήσεις, ἃς ἂν οἱ κινδυνεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιήσωνται.

[2] First of all we ask, senators, that you will pass a measure that is in every respect just, to the effect that the investigation of the matters of which we have been informed shall be conducted by us, the tribunes. For, apart from the justice of this request, those investigations are bound to be strictest which are made by those whose own lives soldier in danger.

[3] εἰ δὲ τινες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἷοι μηδὲ καθ' ἓν εὐγνωμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λέγοντας ἀντιτάττεσθαι, ἥδεως ἂν πυθοίμην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνουσι τῶν ἀξιουμένων καὶ τί μέλλουσιν ὑμᾶς πείθειν: πότερα μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι ζήτησιν, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδεῖν ἔργον οὕτω μέγα καὶ μιαρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνιστάμενον; καὶ τίς ἂν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας ὑγιαίνειν φήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ συνδιεφθάρθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεδιότας, ἵνα μὴ γένωνται καταφανεῖς, ἀποσπεύδειν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν; οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως προσέχοιτε δήπου τὸν νοῦν.

[3] If there are any among you who are not disposed to show a conciliatory spirit at all, but oppose every man who speaks in favour of the populace, I

should like to inquire of them what there is in our demands that displeases them and what course they intend to recommend to you. Will it be to make no investigation whatever, but to ignore so awful and abominable a plot that is forming against the populace? Yet who would say that those who take that line are honest, and are not rather tainted with the same corruption and sharers in the conspiracy, and then, because they are afraid they will be discovered, vigorously oppose the inquiry into the truth? To such, surely, you would not rightly pay any heed.

[4] ἡ τῆς διαγνώσεως τῶν μηνυομένων οὐχ ἡμᾶς εἶναι κυρίους ἀξιώσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς [p. 20] ὑπάτους; τί οὖν τὸ κωλύον ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ δήμου λέγειν, ἐάν τινες ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συστάντες πράττωσι τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου κατάλυσιν, ὅτι τὴν περὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐξέτασιν αὐτοὺς δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου φυλακὴν; τί οὖν ἐκ τούτου συμβήσεται; μηδεμίαν πώποτε γενέσθαι ζητήσιν περὶ μηθενὸς πράγματος ἀπορρήτου.

[4] Or will they demand that those who are to have authority to determine the truth of these reports shall be, not we, the tribunes, but the senate and the consuls? What, then, is to prevent the leaders of the populace also from saying the same thing in case some plebeians, conspiring against the consuls and the senate, should plot the abolition of the latter — that, namely, the investigation of the plebeians would justly be made by the very men who have assumed the protection of the populace? What, then, will be the consequence of this procedure? Why, that no inquiry will ever be made into any secret matter.

[5] ἀλλ' οὐθ' ἡμεῖς ἂν ταῦτ' ἀξιώσαιμεν: ὕποπτος γὰρ ἡ φιλοτιμία: ὑμεῖς τ' οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ποιοῖτε τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια ἀξιοῦσι καθ' ἡμῶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ κοινοὺς ἡγοῦμενοι τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροὺς. οὐδενὸς μέντοιγε, ὦ βουλὴ, τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς τάχους δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κίνδυνος ὀξὺς, καὶ ἡ μέλλουσα τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἄωρος ἐν οὐ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς. ὥστ' ἀφέντες τὸ φιλονεικεῖν καὶ λόγους διεξιέναι μακροὺς ψηφίσασθε ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ κοινῇ συμφέρειν ἦδη.

[5] But, just as we would never make this demand — for partisan zeal arouses suspicion — so you would not be doing right in paying heed to those who insist upon the same course against us; on the contrary, you should look upon them as the common enemies of the state. However, senators, nothing is so necessary in the present juncture as haste; for the danger is acute, and delay in providing for our security is unseasonable in the presence of dangers that delay not. Do you, therefore, putting aside your rivalry and your long harangues, pass at once whatever decree seems conducive to the public good."

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πολλή τις ἔκπληξις κατέσχε τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀμηχανία: διελογίζοντό τε καὶ συνελάλουν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς χαλεπὸν ἑκάτερον ἦν, καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ζητήσεις ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ

κοινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος, καὶ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν. ὑποπτεῦσας δ' αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην ἀνέστη τῶν ὑπάτων ἄτερος, Γάιος Κλαύδιος καὶ

[12.1] When he had thus spoken, great consternation and embarrassment came upon the senate. They discussed and talked over with one another the difficulty of either course — either to grant or to refuse the tribunes permission to make investigations by themselves of a matter of general concern and great importance. And one of the consuls, Gaius Claudius, suspecting their intentions, rose up and spoke as follows:

[2] ἔλεξε τοιαῦδε: οὐ δέδοικα, Οὐεργίνιε, μὴ με ὑπολάβωσιν [p. 21] οὔτοι κοινωνῶν εἶναι τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἣν ἐφ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πράττεσθαι λέγετε, ἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ δεδιότα ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τινος ἐνόχου ταῖς αἰτίαις ὄντος ἀνεστάναι τάναντία ὑμῖν ἐροῦντα: ὁ γὰρ βίος ἀπολύει με πάσης ὑποψίας τοιαύτης. ἃ δὲ νομίζω τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ διχα πάσης εὐλαβείας ἐρῶ.

[2] “I am not afraid, Verginius, that these men here will imagine that I am an accomplice in the conspiracy which you say is being formed against you and the populace, and that then, out of fear for myself or for some relation of mine who is guilty of this charge, I have risen to oppose you; for the whole course of my life clears me of any suspicion of the sort. But what I consider to be advantageous for both the senate and the people I will say in all good faith and without reservation.

[3] πολλοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνειν δοκεῖ μοι Οὐεργίνιος, εἴ τινα ὑπείληφεν ἡμῶν ἐρεῖν, ἢ ὡς ἀνεξέταστον ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ πρᾶγμα οὕτως ὄν μέγα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἢ ὡς οὐ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι τῇ ζητήσῃ τοῦς ἀνειληφότας τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχήν. οὐθεὶς οὔτε ἡλίθιος ἐστὶν οὕτως οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους, ὥστε ταῦτα λέγειν.

[3] Verginius seems to me to be greatly, or rather totally, mistaken if he imagines that any of us will say either that a matter of so great importance and necessity ought to be left uninvestigated or that the magistrates of the populace ought not to take part in or be present at the inquiry. No man is so foolish or so ill-disposed toward the populace as to say that.

[4] τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιστό με, παθῶν, ἃ συγχωρῶ καὶ φημι δίκαια εἶναι, τοῦτοις ἀντιλέξων ἀνέστην, καὶ τί βούλεται μοι ὁ λόγος, ἐγὼ νῆ Δία φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. παντὸς οἶομαι δεῖν πράγματος, ὧ βουλή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις τοῦς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἀκριβῶς σκοπεῖν: οἷα γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰι τύχωσιν οὔσαι, τοιοῦτους ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ τοῦς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους.

[4] If, then, anyone should ask me what possessed me to rise up to oppose those measures which I agree to and admit to be just, and what my purpose is in speaking, by Heaven I will tell you. I believe, senators, that sensible men ought to examine minutely the beginnings and basic principles of every

measure; for of whatever nature these may be, such also must be all discussion about them.

[5] φέρε δὴ, τίς ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος ὑπόθεσις ἐστὶ καὶ τί τὸ βούλευμα τῶν δημάρχων, ἀκούσατέ μου. οὐκ ἐνῆν τούτοις οὐδέν, ὧν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πράττειν ἐπιβαλλόμενοι διεκωλύθησαν, ἐπιτελέσασθαι νῦν ὑμῶν τε ἐναντιουμένων αὐτοῖς ὡς πρότερον καὶ [p. 22] τοῦ δήμου μηκέθ' ὁμοίως συναγωνιζομένου. συνιδόντες δὴ τοῦτο ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς τ' ἀναγκασθεῖητε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς εἶξαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπαντα ὅσ'

[5] Well then, learn from me what the basic principle of this measure is and what the purpose of the tribunes is. These men would not be able to carry out now any of the undertakings they were prevented from accomplishing last year if both you were to oppose them as before and the populace were no longer to espouse their quarrel with the same zeal. Since they were aware of these difficulties, they considered by what means not only you might be compelled to yield to them contrary to your judgement, but the populace also might be forced to assist them in everything they should desire.

[6] ἂν ἀξιῶσι συμπράττειν. ἀληθῆ μὲν οὖν καὶ δικαίαν ὑπόθεσιν οὐδεμίαν εὑρισκόν, δι' ἧς ἐκάτερον τούτοις ἔσται, πολλὰ δὲ βουλευμάτων πειράζοντες καὶ στρέφοντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸ πρᾶγμα τελευτῶντες ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα λογισμόν ἤλθον: αἰτιασώμεθα συνίστασθαι τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου, καὶ σφάττειν διεγνώκена τοὺς παρέχοντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀσφαλές.

[6] But finding no true or just basis for gaining both these ends, after trying various plans and turning the matter this way and that, they at last hit upon some such reasoning as this: 'Let us accuse some prominent men of a conspiracy to overthrow the power of the populace and of having decided to cut the throats of those who assure the safety of the populace.'

[7] καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ παρασκευάσαντες λέγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν ἤδη πιστὰ εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξῃ — δόξει δὲ διὰ τὸ δέος — ἐπιστολάς μηχανησώμεθα πολλῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγνώτος ἀναδοθῆναι: ἔπειτ' ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἀγανακτῶμέν τε καὶ σχετλιάζωμεν καὶ τοῦ ζητεῖν τὰ προσηγγελέμενα αἰτῶμεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

[7] And after we have contrived to have these reports talked about for a long time throughout the city and when the multitude at last believe them to be trustworthy — and they will do so because of their fear — let us devise a way to have letters delivered to us in the presence of many by an unknown person. Then let us go to the senate, express our indignation, make angry complaints and demand authority to investigate the reports.

[8] ἐάν τε γὰρ ἀντιλέγωσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι, ταύτην ληψόμεθα τοῦ διαβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀφορμήν, καὶ οὕτως ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικόν

ἡγριωμένον αὐτοῖς ἔτοιμον ἡμῖν εἰς ἃ βουλόμεθα ὑπάρξει: ἔάν τε συγχωρῶσι, τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πλεῖστα ἡμῖν ἐναντιωθέντας πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ νέους ἐλαύνωμεν, ὥς εὐρηκότες ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους.

[8] For if the patricians oppose our demand, we will seize this opportunity to malign them before the populace, and by this means the whole body of the plebeians will become enraged against them and will be ready to support us in everything we desire; and, on the other hand, if they grant it, let us banish those of them who are of the most noble birth and have opposed us the most, both older men and young, as persons we have discovered to be guilty of the charge.

[9] ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἄρα τὰς καταγνώσεις δεδιότες ἢ συμβήσονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ μηθὲν ἔτι ἀντιπράττειν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὴν ποιήσομεν ἐρημίαν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου. [p. 23]

[9] These men, then, in their fear of being condemned, will either come to terms with us to make no further opposition or else will be compelled to leave the city. By this means we shall thoroughly devastate the opposition.'

[1] ταῦτα τὰ βουλευόμενα ἦν αὐτῶν, ᾧ βουλῇ, καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον ὃν ἑώρατε συνεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς, οὗτος ὁ δόλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑφαίνετο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκτυον κατὰ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων ἱππέων ἐπλέκετο. καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτ'

[13.1] "These were their plans, senators, and during the time you saw them holding sessions this plot was being spun by them against the best of your members and this net was being woven against the noblest of the knights. To prove that this is true requires very few words on my part.

[2] ἐστὶ, βραχέος μοι πάνυ δεῖ λόγου. φέρε γὰρ εἵπατέ μοι, Οὐεργίνιε, οἱ τὰ δεινὰ πεισόμενοι, παρὰ τίνων ἐδέξασθε τὰ γράμματα ξένων; τῶν ποῦ κατοικούντων, ἢ πόθεν ὑμᾶς εἰδόντων, ἢ πῶς τάνθαδε συνεδρευόμενα ἐπισταμένων; τί ἀναβάλλεσθε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐρεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑποσχεῖσθε, ἀλλ' οὐ πάλα λέγετε; τίς δ' ὁ τὰ γράμματα κομίσας ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ ἐστι; τί οὐ κατὰγετε αὐτὸν εἰς μέσον, ἵν' ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἀρξώμεθα ζητεῖν, εἴτε ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, εἴτε ὥς ἐγὼ φημι πλάσματα ὑμέτερα;

[2] For come, tell me, Verginius and you others who are to suffer these dreadful evils, who are the foreign friends from whom you received the letters? Where do they live? How did they become acquainted with you? Or by what means do they know what is being discussed here? Who do you defer naming these man and keep promising to do it later on, instead of having named them long since? And who is the man who brought the letters to you? Why do you not bring him before us, that we may begin first of all with him to pursue the inquiry whether these reports are true or, as I maintain, your own fictions?

[3] αἱ δὲ δὴ συνῴδουσαι τοῖς ξενικοῖς γράμμασι μηνύσεις παρὰ τῶν ἐνθάδε τινες τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων γενόμεναι; τί κρύπτετε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγετε; ἀλλ' οἴμαι τῶν μήτε γενομένων μήτε ἐσομένων ἀδύνατον εὐρεθῆναι πιστίν.

[3] And the informations that come from persons here, which you say agree with the foreign letters, what are they and by whom given? Why do you conceal the proofs and not ring them to light? But I suspect it is impossible to find proof of such things as neither have happened nor will happen.

[4] ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ βουλή, μηνύματα οὐ κατὰ τούτων συνωμοσίας, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑμῶν δόλου καὶ πονηρᾶς γνώμης, ἣ κέχρηται κρύψαντες οὗτοι: τὰ γὰρ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοᾷ. αἵτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον τῆς ἀρχῆς μεγάλῃ καθοπλίσαντες ἐξουσίᾳ, ὅτε Κοίντιον Καίσιωνα τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ [p. 24] κρίνειν ἐπ' αἰτίαις ψευδέσιν εἰάσατε, καὶ τοσοῦτον φύλακα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀναρπαζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν περιεῖδετε. τοιγαροῦν οὐκέτι μετριάξουσιν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓνα τῶν εὐγενῶν περικόπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἤδη περιβαλόντες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐλαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως:

[4] These are indications, senators, not of a conspiracy against the tribunes here, but of treachery and an evil purpose against you which these men have been secretly cherishing. For the facts themselves cry aloud. But you senators are to blame for this, since you made the first concessions to them and armed their senseless magistracy with great power when you permitted Caeso Quintius to be tried by them last year on false charges and permitted so great a defender of the aristocracy to be destroyed by them.

[5] καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν οὐθένα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἄγοντες ὥς κοινωνοῦντα τῶν ἀπορρήτων δεδίττονται καὶ μισόδημον εὐθύς εἶναι φασί, καὶ προλέγουσιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑφ' ἑξόντα τῶν ἐνθάδε ῥηθέντων δίκας.

[5] For this reason they no longer show any moderation nor do they lop off the men of birth one by one, but are already rounding up the good men *en masse* and expelling them from the city. And, in addition to all the other evils, they demand that no one of you even speak in opposition to them, but by exposing him to suspicions and accusations as an accomplice in those secret plots they try to terrify him and promptly call him an enemy of the populace and cite him to appear before their assembly to stand trial for what he has said here.

[6] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕτερος ἔσται καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότερος τοῖς λόγοις, νυνὶ δὲ συντεμῶ τὸν λόγον καὶ παύσομαι τὰ πλείω διατεινόμενος: φυλάττεσθαι ὑμῖν παραινῶ τοῦσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ὥς συνταράττοντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλων ἐκφέροντας ἀρχὰς κακῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐνθάδε μὲν ταῦτα λέγω, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀποκρύψομαι, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖ παρρησίᾳ δικαίᾳ χρήσομαι, διδάσκων ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπικρέμαται δεινόν, ὅτι μὴ κακοὶ καὶ

δόλιοι προστάται πολέμιων ἔργα ἐν προσποιήματι φίλων διαπραττόμενοι.

[6] But another occasion will be more suitable for discussing this matter. For the present I will curtail my remarks and will cease running on at greater length, merely advising you to guard against these men as disturbers of the commonwealth and as publishing the germs of great evils. And not here alone do I say these things, while intending to conceal them from the populace; on the contrary, I shall there also employ a frankness that is merited, showing them that no mischief hangs over their heads unless it be wicked and deceitful leaders who under the guise of friendship are doing the deeds of enemies.”

[7] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ ὑπάτου κραυγὴ τε καὶ πολὺς ἔπαινος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ λόγου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔτι μεταδόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλλογον. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν Οὐεργίνιος ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν κατηγορεῖ τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἀπελογεῖτο [p. 25] τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους διεξιὼν, οὓς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπικεικότεροι τῶν δημοτικῶν κενὸν ὑπώπτευνον εἶναι τὸν φόβον, οἱ δ' εὐηθέστεροι πιστεύοντες ταῖς φήμαις ἀληθῆ: ὅσοι δὲ κακοήθεις ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἀεὶ δεόμενοι, τοῦ μὲν ἐξετάζειν τάληθές ἢ ψεῦδος οὐκ εἶχον πρόνοιαν, ἀφορμὴν δὲ διχοστασίας ἐζήτουν καὶ θορύβου.

[7] When the consul had thus spoken, there was shouting and much applause by all present; and without even permitting the tribunes to reply, they dismissed the session. Then Verginius, calling an assembly of the populace, inveighed against both the senate and the consuls, and Claudius defended them, repeating the same things he had said in the senate. The more fair-minded among the plebeians suspected that their fear was unwarranted, while the more simple-minded, giving credence to the reports, thought it real; but all among them who were ill-disposed and were forever craving a change did not have the foresight to examine into the truth or falsehood of the reports, but sought an occasion for sedition and tumult.

[1] ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ παραχῇ τῆς πόλεως οὕσης ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους πατέρων τε οὐκ ἀφανῶν καὶ χρήμασι δυνατός, Ἄππιος Ἑρδώνιος ὄνομα, καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐπεβάλετο εἶθ' ἑαυτῷ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος εἴτε τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει πράττων ἀρχὴν καὶ κράτος εἴτ' ὀνόματος ἀξιοθῆναι βουλούμενος μεγάλου. κοινωσάμενος δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀφηγησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινοις ἐδόκει συνήθοριζε τοὺς πελάτας καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων οὓς εἶχεν εὐτολμοτάτους: καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων μάλιστα, ὅπλα τε καὶ τροφὰς καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων δεῖ πολέμῳ πάντα εὐτρεπισάμενος,

[14.1] While the city was in such turmoil, a man of the Sabine race, of no obscure birth and powerful because of his wealth, Appius Herdonius by name, attempted to overthrow the supremacy of the Romans, with a view either of

making himself tyrant or of winning dominion and power for the Sabine nation or else of gaining against name for himself. Having revealed his purpose to many of his friends and explained to them his plan for executing it, and having received their approval, he assembled his clients and the most daring of his servants and in a short time got together a force of about four thousand men. Then, after supplying them with arms, provisions and everything else that is needed for war, he embarked them on river-boats and,

[2] εἰς σκάφας ποταμηγούς ἐνεβάλετο. πλεύσας δὲ διὰ τοῦ Τεβέριος ποταμοῦ προσέσχε τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τὸ Καπιτώλιόν ἐστιν οὐδ' ὅλον στάδιον ἀπέχον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι τηνικαῦτα νύκτες, καὶ πολλή καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἡσυχία, ἣν συνεργὸν λαβὼν ἐξεβίβασε τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀκλείστων πυλῶν: [p. 26] εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες ἱεραὶ πύλαι τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατὰ τι θέσφατον ἀνειμέναι, Καρμεντίδας αὐτὰς καλοῦσιν: ἀναβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν εἶχε τὸ φρουρίον. ἐκέιθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ὡσάμενος, — ἔστι δὲ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ

[2] sailing down the river Tiber, landed at that part of Rome where the Capitol stands, not a full stade distant from the river. It was then midnight and there was profound quiet throughout the entire city; with this to help him he disembarked his men in haste, and passing through the gate which was open (for there is a certain sacred gate of the Capitol, called the porta Carmentalis, which by the direction of some oracle is always left open), he ascended the hill with his troops and captured the fortress.

[3] προσεχῆς, — κάκεινης ἐγεγόνει κύριος. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ γνώμη μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων τόπων τοὺς τε φυγάδας εἰσδέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἰς ἔλευθερίαν καλεῖν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσιν ὑποσχέσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας, οἱ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες διὰ φθόνου καὶ μίσους εἶχον τὰς ὑπεροχὰς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἄσμενοι ἂν ἐλάβοντο, κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὠφελειῶν. ἡ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένη καὶ πλανῶσα ἐλπίς, ὡς οὐθενὸς ἀτυχήσοντα τῶν προσδοκωμένων, ἡ πολιτικὴ στάσις ἦν, δι' ἣν οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ὑπελάμβανε τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἔτι γενήσεσθαι.

[3] From there he pushed on to the citadel, which adjoins the Capitol, and took possession of that also. It was his intention, after seizing the most advantageous positions, to receive the exiles, to summon the slaves to liberty, to promise the needy an abolition of debts, and to share the spoils with any other citizens who, being themselves of low condition, envied and hated those of lofty station and would have welcomed a change. The hope that both inspired him with confidence and deceived him, by leading him to believe that he should fail of none of his expectations, was based on the civil dissension, because of which he imagined that neither any friendship nor any intercourse would any longer exist between the populace and the patricians.

[4] ἂν δὲ ἄρα μηθὲν αὐτῷ τούτων κατὰ νοῦν χωρῇ, τηνικαῦτα Σαβίνους τε πανστρατιᾷ καλεῖν ἐδέδοκτο καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλησιοχώρων ὅσοις ἂν ἦ βουλομένοις ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφθόνου ἀρχῆς.

[4] And if none of these expectations should turn out according to his wish, he had resolved in that event to call in not only the Sabines with all their forces, but also the volsicians and as many from the other neighbouring peoples as desired to be delivered from the hated domination of the Romans.

[1] συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ πάντων διαμαρτεῖν ὧν ἤλπισεν οὔτε δούλων αὐτομολησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτε φυγάδων κατελθόντων οὔτε ἀτίμων καὶ καταχρέων τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος ἀντὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἀλλαξαμένων, τῆς τε ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας οὐ λαβούσης χρόνον ἱκανὸν εἰς παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου: τρισὶ γὰρ ἢ τέτταρσι ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις τέλος εἰλήφει τὰ πράγματα [p. 27] μέγα δέος καὶ πολλὴν ταραχὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρασχόντα.

[15.1] It so happened, however, that all his hopes were disappointed; for neither the slaves deserted to him nor did the exiles return nor did the unfranchised and the debtors seek their private advantage at the expense of the public good, and the reinforcements from outside did not have time enough to prepare for war, since within three or four days all told the affair was at an end, after causing the Romans great fear and turmoil.

[2] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐάλω τὰ φρούρια, κραυγῆς ἄφνω γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους οἰκούντων τοὺς τόπους, ὅσοι μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐσφάγησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ δεινὸν ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα συνέτρεχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα χωρία τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς ἀναστεπταμένους αὐτῆς τόπους πολλοὺς σφόδρα ὄντας, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα πεδία: ὅσοι δ' ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ παρηκμακότη ἦσαν καὶ ῥώμης σώματος ἐν τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ, τὰ τέγη τῶν οἰκιῶν κατεῖχον ἅμα γυναιξίν ὡς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀγωνιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας: ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει μεστὰ εἶναι πολέμου.

[2] For upon the capture of the fortresses, followed by a sudden outcry and flight of all those living near those places — save those who were slain at once — the mass of the citizens, not knowing what the peril was, seized their arms and rushed together, some hastening to the heights of the city, others to the open places, which were very numerous, and still others to the plains near by. Those who were past the prime of life and were incapacitated in bodily strength occupied the roofs of the houses together with the women, thinking to fight from there against the invaders; for they imagined that every part of the city was full of fighting.

[3] ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὡς ἐγνώσθη τὰ κεκρατημένα τῆς πόλεως φρούρια καὶ ὅστις ἦν ὁ κατέχων ἀνῆρ τοὺς τόπους, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προελθόντες εἰς

τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι προσκαλεσάμενοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔλεγον, ὅτι τῷ μὲν συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦσι πράττειν ἐναντίον, δίκαιον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι τηλικούτον ἀγῶνα μέλλοντα τὸν δῆμον ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι καὶ διωρισμένοις ἐπὶ τὸ

[3] But when it was day and it came to be known what fortresses of the city were taken and who the person was who had possession of them, the consuls, going into the Forum, called the citizens to arms. The tribunes, however, summoned the populace to an assembly and declared that, while they did not care to do anything opposed to the advantage of the commonwealth, they thought it just, when the populace were going to undertake so great a struggle, that they should go and meet the danger upon fixed and definite terms.

[4] κινδύνευμα χωρεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν λέγοντες, ὑπισχνοῦνται τε ὑμῖν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ πίστει βούλονται δοῦναι τὰς ἐπὶ θεῶν, ὅτι καταλυθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν ἀποδεῖξαι νομοθέτας καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι, συνελευθερώμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα· εἰ δὲ οὐθὲν ἀξιοῦσι [p. 28] ποιεῖν τῶν μετρίων, τί κινδυνεύομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προιέμεθα μηθενὸς ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντες ἀπολαύσεσθαι;

[4] “If, therefore,” they went on to say, “the patricians will promise you, and are willing to give pledges, confirmed by oaths, that as soon as this war is over they will allow you to appoint lawgivers and for the future to enjoy equal rights in the government, let us assist them in freeing the fatherland. But if they consent to no reasonable conditions, why do we incur danger and give up our lives for them, when we are to reap no advantage?”

[5] ταῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου πειθομένου καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένοντος ἀκούειν τῶν ἄλλο τι παραινούντων ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος οὐθὲν ἡξίου δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης συμμαχίας, ἥτις οὐχ ἑκούσιος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μετρίῳ βοηθεῖν βούλεται τῇ πατρίδι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοὺς πατρικίους ἑαυτῶν σώμασι καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς πελατῶν ὀπλισμένους, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐθελούσιον αὐτοῖς συναρεῖται τοῦ πολέμου, μετὰ τούτων πολιορκεῖν τὰ φρούρια· ἐὰν δὲ μηδ’ οὕτως ἀξιόχρεως ἢ δύναμις αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκῇ, Λατίνους τε καὶ Ἑρνίκας παρακαλεῖν, ἐὰν δ’ ἀνάγκη, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν μνησικακοῦντας σφίσι παρακαλεῖν.

[5] While they were speaking thus and the people were persuaded and would not listen to even a word from those who offered any other advice, Claudius declared that he had no use for such allies, who were not willing to come to the aid of the fatherland voluntarily, but only for a reward, and that no moderate one; but the patricians by themselves, he said, taking up arms in their own persons and in the persons of the clients who adhered to them,

joined also by any of the plebeians who would voluntarily assist them in the war, must with these besiege the fortresses. And if even so their force should seem to them inadequate, they must call on the Latins and the Hernicans, and, if necessary, must promise liberty to the slaves and invite all sorts of people rather than those who harboured a grudge against them in times like these.

[6] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Οὐαλέριος ἀντέλεγε πρὸς ταῦτα οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν ἡρεθισμένον τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τελῶς τοῖς πατρικίοις, εἴξαι τε συνεβούλευε τῷ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους τὰ γε δίκαια ἀντιτάττειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς διατριβὰς τὰ μέτρια καὶ εὐγνώμονα.

[6] But the other consul, Valerius, opposed this, believing that they ought not to render the plebeians, who were already exasperated, absolutely implacable against the patricians; and he advised them to yield to the situation, and while arraying against their foreign foes the demands of strict justice, to combat the long-winded discourses of their fellow citizens with terms of moderation and reasonableness.

[7] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰ κράτιστα ἐδόκει λέγειν, προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῇ διεξελθὼν τελευτῶν τῆς δημηγορίας [p. 29] ὤμοσεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ δῆμος συνάρηται μετὰ προθυμίας τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, συγχωρήσιν τοῖς δημάρχοις προθεῖναι τῷ πλήθει τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν, ὃν εἰσέφερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσονομίας, καὶ σπουδάσειν, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῇ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δήμῳ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα οὐθὲν αὐτῷ πεπρωμένον ἐπιτελέσαι τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πλησίον οὔσης τῆς τοῦ θανάτου μοίρας.

[7] When the majority of the senators decided that this advice was the best, he appeared before the popular assembly and made a decorous speech, at the end of which he swore that if the people would assist in this war with alacrity and conditions in the city should become settled, he would permit the tribunes to lay before the populace for decision the law which they were trying to introduce concerning an equality of laws, and would use his utmost endeavours that their vote should be carried into effect during his consulship. But it was fated, it seems, that he should perform none of these promises, the doom of death being near at hand for him.

[1] λυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν συνέρρεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας ἕκαστοι τόπους, ἀπογραφόμενοι τε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὀμνύντες ὅρκον. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐποῦσαν νύκτα ὅλην ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ λοχαγοὶ τε προσενέμοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐτάττοντο σημείας συνεπιρρέοντος καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀγροὺς διατρίβοντος ὄχλου.

[16.1] After the assembly had been dismissed in the late afternoon, they all flocked to their appointed places, giving in their names to the generals and

taking the military oath. During that day, then, and all the following night they were thus employed. The next day the centurions were assigned by the consuls to their commands and to the sacred standards; and the crowd which lived in the country also in great numbers flocked in.

[2] γενομένων δὲ διὰ τάχους πάντων εὐτρεπῶν μερισάμενοι τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὕπατοι κλήρω διείλοντο τὰς ἀρχάς. Κλαυδίω μὲν οὖν ὁ κληρὸς ἀπέδωκε τὰ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπέλθῃ στρατιὰ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπικούροις: ὑποψία γὰρ ἅπαντας κατέλχε μεγάλης σφόδρα κινήσεως, καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἅπαν ὡς ὁμοῦ συνεπιησόμενον σφίσιν ἐφοβοῦντο: Οὐαλερίῳ δὲ τὰ φρουρία πολιόρκεῖν ὁ δαίμων ἐφῆκεν.

[2] Everything being soon made ready, the consuls divided the forces and drew lots for their commands. It fell to the lot of Claudius to keep guard before the walls, lest some army from outside should come to the relief of the enemy in the city; for everybody suspected that there would be very serious turmoil, and they feared that all their foes would fall upon them at the same time with united forces. To Valerius Fortune assigned the siege of the fortresses.

[3] ἐτάχθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἡγεμόνες ὅσα τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς [p. 30] ἦν καθέξοντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀγούσας ὁδοὺς ἕτεροι κωλύσεως ἔνεκεν τῶν ἀποστησομένων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δούλων τε καὶ ἀπόρων, οὓς παντὸς μάλιστα ἐφοβοῦντο. ἐπικουρικὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔφθασε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικόμενον, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ Τυσκλάνων μόνον ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀκουσάντων τε καὶ παρασκευασαμένων, οὓς ἦγε Λεύκιος Μάμιλιος, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος, ἔχων τὴν μεγίστην ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ἀρχήν: καὶ συνεκινδύνεον οὗτοι τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ μόνοι καὶ συνεξεῖλον τὰ φρουρία πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἀποδειξάμενοι.

[3] Commanders were appointed to occupy the other strong places also that lay within the city, and others were posted in the streets leading to the Capitol, to prevent the slaves and the poor from going over to the enemy — the thing of which they were most afraid. No assistance reached them in time from any of their allies save only from the Tusculans, who, the same night they heard of the invasion, had made ready to march, their commander being Lucius Mamilius, a man of action, who held the chief magistracy in their city at that time. These alone shared the danger with Valerius and aided him in capturing the fortresses, displaying all goodwill and alacrity.

[4] ἐγένετο δ' ἡ προσβολὴ τοῖς φρουρίοις πανταχόθεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον οἰκιῶν ἀσφάλτου καὶ πίσεως πεπυρωμένης ἀγγεῖα σφενδόναις ἐναρμόττοντες ἐπέβαλλον ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον: οἱ δὲ συμφοροῦντες αὐτῶν φακέλλους φρυγάνων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀποτόμοις τῆς πέτρας βωμοὺς ἐγείροντες ὑψηλοὺς ὑψήπτον ἀνέμῳ παραδιδόντες τὰς φλόγας ἐπιφόρῳ. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν ἀνδρείοτατοι, πυκνώσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἐχώρουν ἄνω κατὰ

[4] The fortresses were attacked from all sides; some of the attackers, fitting vessels of bitumen and burning pitch to their slings, hurled them over the hills from the roofs of neighbouring houses, and others, gathering bundles of dry faggots, raised lofty heaps of them against the steep parts of the cliff and set them on fire when they could commit the flames to a favourable wind. All the bravest of the troops, closing their ranks, went up by the roads that had been built to the summits.

[5] τὰς χειροποιήτους ὁδοὺς. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε τοῦ πλήθους, ὥ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἀντιπάλων προεῖχον, ὄφελος οὐθὲν διὰ στενῆς ἀνιοῦσιν ὁδοῦ καὶ πληθοῦσης προβόλων ἄνωθεν ἐπικαταραπτομένων, ἐνθα συνεξισωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τῷ πολλῷ τὸ ὀλίγον: οὔτε τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὑπομονῆς, ἣν πολλοῖς % καταστήσαντες πολέμοις [p. 31] εἶχον, οὐδεμία ὄνησις πρὸς ὀρθίους βιαζομένοις σκοπᾶς. οὐ γὰρ συστάδην μαχομένους ἔδει τὸ εὐτολμον καὶ καρτερικὸν ἀποδείξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκηβόλοις χρῆσθαι μάχαις.

[5] But neither their numbers, in which they were greatly superior to the enemy, were of any service to them when they were ascending by a narrow road, full of broken fragments of rock the came crashing down upon them from above, where a small body of men would be a match for a large one; nor was their constancy in dangers, which they had acquired by their training in many wars, of any advantage to them when forcing their way up steep heights. For it was not a situation that called for the display of the daring and perseverance of hand-to-hand fighting, but rather for the tactics of fighting with missiles.

[6] ἦσαν δὲ τῶν μὲν κάτωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα βαλλομένων βραδεῖαι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, εἰ καὶ τύχοιεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, αἱ πληγαί: τῶν δ' ἀφ' ὕψους κάτω ῥιπτομένων ὀξεῖαι καὶ καρτεραὶ συνεργούντων τοῖς βλήμασι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔκαμνόν γε οἱ προσβάλλοντες τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρουν ἀναγκοφαγοῦντες τὰ δεινὰ οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαυόμενοι τῶν πόνων. τέλος δ' οὔν ὑπολιπόντων τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν σωματῶν ἐξαδυνατούντων τρίτῃ τὰ φρούρια ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἡμέρᾳ.

[6] Moreover, the blows made by missiles shot from below up to lofty targets were slow on arrival and ineffective, naturally, even if they hit their mark, while the blows of missiles hurled down from above came with high speed and violence, the very weight of the weapons contributing to the force with which they were thrown. Nevertheless, the men attacking the ramparts were not easily discouraged, but bravely endured the hard rations of unavoidable dangers, ceasing not from their toils either by day or by night. At last, when the missiles of the besieged gave out and their strength failed them, the Romans reduced the fortresses on the third day.

[7] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπέβαλον,

κράτιστον δέ, ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀπάντων ὠμολόγητο, τὸν ὕπατον: ὃς οὐκ ὀλίγα τραύματα λαβὼν οὐδ' ὥς ἀφίστατο τῶν δεινῶν, ἕως ἐπικαταραγεῖς αὐτῷ πέτρος ὑπερμεγέθης ἐπιβαίνουντι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἅμα τὴν τε νίκην αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. ἀλίσκομένων δὲ τῶν φρουρίων ὁ μὲν Ἑρδώνιος — ἦν γὰρ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος διάφορος καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος — ἄπιστόν τι χρῆμα περὶ αὐτὸν ποιήσας νεκρῶν ὑπὸ πλήθους βελῶν ἀποθνήσκει, τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια καταλαβομένων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ζῶντες ἐάλωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους σφάττοντες [p. 32] ἑαυτοὺς ἢ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὠθοῦντες διεφθάρησαν.

[7] In this action they lost many brave men, among them the consul, who was universally acknowledged to have been the best of them all; he, even after he had received many wounds, did not retire from danger until a huge rock, crashing down upon him as he was mounting the other wall, snatched from him at once the victory and himself life. As the fortresses were being taken, Herdonius, who was remarkable for his physical strength and brave in action, after piling up an incredible heap of dead bodies about him, perished under a multitude of missiles. Of those who had aided him in seizing the fortresses some few were taken alive, but the greater part either killed themselves with their swords or hurled themselves down the cliffs.

[1] τοῦτο τὸ τέλος λαβόντος τοῦ ληστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν πολιτικὴν πάλιν ἀνερρίπιζον οἱ δήμαρχοι στάσιν ἀξιοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος ὑπάτου τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τεθνηκώς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Οὐαλέριος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς τοῦ νόμου. ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος μέχρι μὲν τινος παρεῖλκε τὸν χρόνον τοτὲ μὲν καθαρμούς τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτελῶν, τοτὲ δὲ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστηρίους ἀποδιδούς, τοτὲ δ' ἀγῶσι καὶ θεαῖς ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εὐπαθείας.

[17.1] The war with the brigands being thus ended, the tribunes rekindled the civil strife once more by demanding of the surviving consul the fulfilment of the promises made to them by Valerius, who perished in the fighting, with regard to the introduction of the law. But Claudius for a time kept procrastinating, now by performing lustrations for the city, now by offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, and again by entertaining the multitude with games and shows.

[2] ὥς δ' αἱ σκῆψεις αὐτῷ πᾶσαι κατανάλωντο, τελευτῶν ἔφη δεῖν εἰς τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὑπάτου τόπον ἕτερον ἀποδειχθῆναι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου πραχθέντα οὔτε νόμιμα οὔτε βέβαια ἔσεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔννομά τε καὶ κύρια. ταύτῃ διακρουσάμενος αὐτοὺς τῇ προφάσει προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ τὸν συνάρχοντα ἐμελλεν ἀποδείξειν. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ δι' ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ συνεδρίου συνέθεντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὅτῳ παραδώσουσι τὴν ἀρχήν.

[2] When all his excuses had been exhausted, he finally declared that another

consul must be chosen in place of the deceased; for he said that the acts performed by him all would be neither legal nor lasting, whereas those performed by two of them would be legitimate and valid. Having put them off with this pretence, he appointed a day for the election, when he would nominate his colleague. In the meantime the leading men of the senate, consulting together in private, agreed among themselves upon the person to whom they would entrust the magistracy.

[3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἐνέστη χρόνος, καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐκάλεσεν, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον οἱ τ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχοι τῶν ἱππέων καὶ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τῶν τὸ μέγιστον τιμημα ἔχόντων Λεύκιον Κοίντιον Κικιννᾶτον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ὕπατον, οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Καίσωνα Κοίντιον εἰς ἀγῶνα θανάτου καταστήσαντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὴν πόλιν ἠνάγκασαν [p. 33] ἐκλιπεῖν: καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι κληθείσης ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν τάξεως — τρισὶ γὰρ ἦσαν λόχοις πλείους οἱ διενέγκαντες τὴν ψῆφον λόχοι τῶν ὑπολειπομένων — ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀπῆει συμφορὰν βαρεῖαν ἡγούμενος, ὅτι μισῶν αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς ἔσται κύριος, ἡ βουλὴ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὸν ὕπατον καὶ ἄξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.

[3] And when the day appointed for the election had come and the herald had called the first class, the eighteen centuries of knights together with the eighty centuries of foot, consisting of the wealthiest citizens, entering the appointed place, chose as consul Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, whose son Caeso Quintius the tribunes had brought to trial for his life and compelled to leave the city. And no other class being called to vote — for the centuries which had voted were three more in be than the remaining centuries — the populace departed, regarding it as a grievous misfortune that a man who hated them was to be possessed of the consular power. Meanwhile the senate sent men to invite the consul and to conduct him to the city to assume his magistracy.

[4] ἔτυχε δὲ τῆνικαῦτα ὁ Κοίντιος ἄρουράν τινα ὑπεργαζόμενος εἰς σποράν, αὐτὸς ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς σχίζουσι τὴν νειὸν βοιδίοις ἀχίτων, περιζωμάτιον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον. ἰδὼν δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ χωρίον εἰσιόντων τὸ τε ἄροτρον ἐπέσχε καὶ πολὺν ἡπὸρει χρόνον, οἵτινές τε εἶεν καὶ τίνος δεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκοιεν: ἔπειτα προσδραμόντος τινὸς καὶ κελεύσαντος κοσμιώτερον ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν καλύβη καὶ

[4] It chanced that Quintius was just then ploughing a piece of land for sowing, he himself following the gaunt oxen that were breaking up the fallow; he had no tunic on, wore a small loin-cloth and had a cap upon his head. Upon seeing a crowd of people come into the field he stopped his plough and for a long time was at a loss to know who they were or what they wanted of him; then, when some one ran up to him and bade him make himself more presentable, he went into the cottage and after putting on his clothes came out to them.

[5] ἀμφιεσάμενος προῆλθεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν παράληψιν αὐτοῦ παρόντες ἡσπασάντο τε ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἀλλ' ὑπατον καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα περιέθεσαν τοὺς τε πελέκεις καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραστήσαντες ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡξιοῦν. κἀκεῖνος μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν καὶ δακρύσας τοσοῦτον εἶπεν: ἄσπορον ἄρα μοι τὸ χωρίον ἔσται τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ κινδυνεύσομεν οὐχ ἔξειν, πόθεν διατραφῶμεν. ἔπειτ' ἀσπασάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παραγγείλας ὤχετο εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

[5] Thereupon the men who were sent to escort him all greeted him, not by his name, but as consul; and clothing him with the purple-bordered robe and placing before him the axes and the other insignia of his magistracy, they asked him to follow them to the city. And he, pausing for a moment and shedding tears, said only this: "So my field will go unsown this year, and we shall be in danger of having not enough to live on." Then he kissed his wife, and charging her to take care of things at home, went to the city.

[6] ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρου τινὸς χάριν εἶπεῖν προήχθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερόν γένηται πᾶσιν, οἷοι τότε ἦσαν οἱ τῆς [p. 34] Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προεσθηκότες, ὡς αὐτουργοὶ καὶ σώφρονες καὶ πενίαν δικαίαν οὐ βαρυνόμενοι καὶ βασιλικὰς οὐ διώκοντες ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδομένας ἀναινόμενοι: φανήσονται γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐοικότες ἐκείνοις οἱ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τάναντία πάντα ἐπιτηδεύοντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, δι' οὓς ἔστηκεν ἔτι τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ σώζειν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιότητα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις.

[6] I am led to related these particulars for no other reason than to let all the world see what kind of men the leaders of Rome were at that time, that they worked with their own hands, led frugal lives, did not chafe under honourable poverty, and, far from aiming at positions of royal power, actually refused them when offered. For it will be seen that the Romans of to-day do not bear the least resemblance to them, but follow the very opposite practices in everything — with the exception of a very few by whom the dignity of the commonwealth is still maintained and a resemblance to those men preserved. But enough on this subject.

[1] ὁ δὲ Κοϊντιος παραλαβὼν τὴν ὑπατείαν πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαυσε τοὺς δημάρχους τῶν καινῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ σπουδῆς προειπών, ὡς εἰ μὴ παύσονται ταράττοντες τὴν πόλιν ἀπάξει Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στρατείαν κατὰ

[18.1] Quintius, having succeeded to the consulship, caused the tribunes to desist from their new measures and from their insistence upon the proposed law by announcing that if they did not cease disturbing the commonwealth he would give notice of an expedition against the Volscians and would lead all the Romans out of the city.

[2] Οὐλοῦστων παραγγείλας. ἐπεὶ δὲ κωλύσειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον οἱ δήμαρχοι στρατοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καταγραφὴν, συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι πάντες ὁμωμόκασι τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, ἀκολουθήσειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐφ’ οὓς ἂν καλῶνται πολέμους, καὶ μήτε ἀπολείψειν τὰ σημεῖα μήτε ἄλλο πράξειν μηθὲν ἐναντίον τῷ νόμῳ: παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἔφη κρατούμενους ἅπαντας τοῖς ὄρκοις.

[2] When the tribunes said they would not permit him to enrol an army, he called an assembly of the populace and declared that since they had all taken the military oath, swearing that they would follow the consuls in any wars to which they should be called and would neither desert the standards nor do anything else contrary to law, and since he had assumed the consular power, he held them all bound to him by their oaths.

[3] εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διομοσάμενος χρήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ σημεῖα καταφέρειν: καὶ ἴνα, ἔφη, πᾶσαν ἀπογνῶτε δημαγωγίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπατείας, οὐ πρότερον ἀναστήσω [p. 35] τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας, πρὶν ἢ πᾶς ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς μοι διέλθῃ χρόνος. ὥς οὖν ἐν ὑπαιθρῷ χειμάσοντες παρασκευάσασθε τὰ εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδεια.

[3] Having said this and sworn that he would invoke the law against those who disobeyed, he ordered the standards to be brought out of the temples. “And to the end,” he added, “that you may renounce all agitation by demagogues during my consulship, I will not withdraw the army from the enemy’s country until my whole term of office has expired. Expect therefore, to pass the winter in the field and prepare everything necessary against that time.”

[4] τοῦτοις καταπληξάμενος αὐτοὺς τοῖς λόγοις ἐπειδὴ κοσμιωτέρους εἶδε γεγονότας καὶ δεομένους ἀφελθῆναι τῆς στρατείας, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι τὰς ἀναπαύλας τῶν πολέμων, ἐφ’ ᾧ τε μηθὲν ἔτι παρακινεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἔαν αὐτὸν ὥς βούλεται τὴν ἀρχὴν τελεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια διδόναι τε καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ’ ἀλλήλων.

[4] Having terrified them with these threats, when he saw that they had become more orderly and begged to be let off from the campaign, he said he would grant them a respite from war upon these conditions, that they create no more disturbances but allow him to administer his office as he wished to the end, and that in their dealings with one another they give as well as receive strict justice.

[1] καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου δικαστήριά τε ἀπεδίδου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐκ πολλῶν παρελκυσμένα χρόνων, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτὸς ἴσως καὶ δικαίως διέκρινε δι’ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεζόμενος, εὐπρόσοδόν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἀφικνουμένοις ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχε καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀριστοκρατικὴν οὕτως

φανῆναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε μήτε δημάρχων δεηθῆναι τοὺς διὰ πενίαν ἢ
δυσγένειαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ταπεινότητα ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων κατισχυομένους,
μήτε καινῆς νομοθεσίας πόθον ἔχειν ἔτι τοὺς ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι
βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ χαίρειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῇ τότε κατασχούσῃ
τὴν πόλιν εὐνομίᾳ.

[19.1] The tumult having been appeased, he restored of all plaintiffs recourse to courts of law, a matter for a long time delayed; and he himself decided most suits, with fairness and justice, sitting on the tribunal the whole day and showing himself easy of access, mild and humane to all who came to him for judgement. By this means he made the government seem so truly an aristocracy that neither tribunes were needed by those who through poverty, humble birth or any other point of inferiority were oppressed by their superiors, nor was any desire for new legislation longer felt by those who wished for a government based on equal rights; but all were contented and pleased with the law and order which then came to prevail in the commonwealth.

[2] ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον ἐτέλεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν διδομένην τὸ δεύτερον μηδὲ [p. 36]

[2] Not only for these actions was Quintius praised by the populace, but also for refusing the consulship when, upon his completion of the appointed term of office, it was offered to him a second time, and for not even being pleased when that great honour was tendered him.

[3] ἀγαπήσαι τηλικαύτην λαμβάνοντα τιμὴν. κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ βουλὴ πολλὰς προσφέρουσα δεήσεις, ἐπεὶ τὸ τρίτον οἱ δήμαρχοι διεπράξαντο μὴ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ παύσοντα τῶν καινῶν πολιτευμάτων, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὁρῶσα οὐκ ἀναινόμενον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. ὁ δ' οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων ἐπαινεῖν ἔφη τὸ ἀπαραχώρητον τῆς ἐξουσίας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἰς ὁμοίαν ἐκείνοις ἤξειν διαβολήν.

[3] For the senate attempted to retain him in the consulship, using many entreaties, because the tribunes for the third time had so managed that they did not have to lay down their office; for they were confident that he would oppose the tribunes and make them drop their new measures, partly out of respect and partly out of fear, and they also saw that the populace did not refuse to be governed by a good man.

[4] συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν κατηγορίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀποτιθεμένων τὰς ἀρχὰς διαθέμενος ὄρκους τε διομοσάμενος ἰσχυροὺς περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήψεσθαι πάλιν τὴν ὑπατείαν, πρὶν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν προτέραν ἀρχήν, προεῖπεν ἀρχαιρεσίῳ ἡμέραν: ἐν ᾗ καταστήσας ὑπάτους ἀπῆει πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκείνο καλύβιον καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν ἔζη βίον ὡς πρότερον.

[4] But Quintius answered that he not only did not approve of this unwillingness on the part of the tribunes to give up their power, but he would not himself incur the same censure as they had. Then he called an assembly of the populace, and having inveighed in a long speech against those who would

not resign their magistracies, and taken solemn oaths with reference to his refusal to take the consulship again before he had retired from his first term, he announced a day for the election; then on the appointed day having named the consuls, he returned to that little cottage of his and lived, as before, the life of a farmer working his own land.

[1] Κοίντου δὲ Φαβίου Οὐίβολανοῦ παρειληφότος τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸ τρίτον καὶ Λευκίου Κορνηλίου καὶ τελούντων πατρίους ἀγῶνας Αἰκανῶν ἄνδρες ἐπιλεκτοὶ πλῆθος ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλισμῷ τ' εὐζώνῳ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον σκοτούς ἔτι ὄντος ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται Τυσκλάνων, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους, ἀφέστηκε δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἔλαττον σταδίων ἑκατὸν.

[20.1] Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the third time) and Lucius Cornelius having succeeded to the consulship and being employed in exhibiting the traditional games, a chosen body of the Aequians, amounting to about six thousand men and lightly equipped, set out from their confines by night and came, while it was still dark, to the city of Tusculum, which belongs to the Latin race and is not less than a hundred stades distant from Rome.

[2] εὐρόντες δὲ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πύλας τε ἀκλειστους καὶ τεῖχος ἀφύλακτον αἰροῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς Τυσκλάνοις, ὅτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τὰ τε ἄλλα μετὰ προθυμίας συμπράττοντες διετέλουν, καὶ [p. 37] ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μόνοι συνήραντο τοῦ

[2] And finding the gates not locked and the walls unguarded, it being a time of peace, they took the town by assault, to gratify their resentment against the Tusculans because these were always zealously assisting the Romans and particularly because they alone had aided them in their struggle when they were besieging the Capitol.

[3] πολέμου. ἄνδρας μὲν οὐ πολλοὺς τινὰς ἐν τῇ καταλήψει διέφθειραν, ἀλλ' ἔφθασαν ἤδη αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ὥσάμενοι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἔνδον, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσοι ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρωσ φυγεῖν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, γυναῖα δὲ καὶ παιδία καὶ θεράποντας αὐτῶν ἠνδραποδίσαντο καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

[3] The Aequians did not kill very many men in taking the city, since those inside, except such as were unable to flee because of illness or age, had forestalled them by crowding out three other gates just before the capture of the place; but they made slaves of their wives, children and domestics, and plundered their effects.

[4] ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τὸ δεινὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῶν διαφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ βοηθεῖν ὥοντο δεῖν τοῖς φυγάσι κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόναι, ἀντέπραπτον δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι στρατιὰν οὐκ ἔωντες καταγράφειν, ἕως ἂν ἡ περὶ τοὺς νόμους διενεχθῇ ψῆφος. ἀγανακτοῦσης δὲ

τῆς βουλῆς καὶ διατριβὴν λαμβανούσης τῆς στρατείας ἔτεροι παρήσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἀποσταλέντες, οἳ τὴν Ἀντιατῶν πόλιν ἤγγελλον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἄφεστηκέναι, μιᾷ χρησαμένων γνώμῃ Οὐολούσκων τε τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐποίκων καὶ μερισαμένων τὴν γῆν. Ἑρνίκων τε ἄγγελοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς παρήσαν χρόνους δηλοῦντες, ὅτι Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν δύναμις πολλὴ ἐξελέλυθε καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἤδη γῇ.

[4] As soon as news of the disaster was brought to Rome by those who had escaped capture, the consuls thought they ought to assist the fugitives promptly and restore their city to them; but the tribunes opposed them and would not permit an army to be enrolled until a votes should be taken concerning the law. While the senators were expressing their indignation and the expedition was being delayed, other messengers arrived, from the Latin nation, reporting that Antium had openly revolted by the joint action of the Volscians, who were the original inhabitants of the place, and of the Romans who had come to them as colonists and had received a portion of the land. Messengers from the Hernicans also arrived during these same days, informing them that a large force of Volscians and Aequians had marched forth and was already in the country of the Hernicans.

[5] τούτων ἅμα προσαγγελλομένων οὐδεμίαν ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ πανστρατιᾷ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξιέναι: [p. 38] ἔάν δέ τινες ἀπολειφθῶσι τῆς στρατείας Ῥωμαίων ἢ

[5] All these things being reported at the same time, the senators resolved to make no further delay, but to go to the rescue with all their forces, and that both consuls should take the field; and if any of the Romans or the allies should decline to serve, to treat them as enemies.

[6] τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι. εἰξάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν δημάρχων καταγράψαντες τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις μεταπεμψάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξήεσαν ὑπολιπόμενοι φυλακὴν τῇ πόλει τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς ἐπιχωρίου στρατιᾶς. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Τυσκλάνων ὄντας Αἰκανοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε διὰ

[6] When the tribunes also yielded, the consuls, having enrolled all who were of military age and sent for the forces of the allies, hastily marched out, leaving a third part of their own army to guard the city. Fabius, accordingly, marched in haste against the Aequians who were in the Tusculans' territory.

[7] τάχους. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἤδη διηρπακότες τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ὑπέμενον φυλάττοντες τὴν ἄκραν: ἔστι δὲ σφόδρα ἐχυρὰ καὶ οὐ πολλῆς δεομένη φυλακῆς. τινὲς μὲν οὖν φασι τοὺς φρουροὺς τῆς ἄκρας

ιδόντας ἐξιοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης τὴν στρατιάν — εὐσύνοπτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐκ μετεώρου τὰ μεταξὺ χωρία πάντα — ἐκόντας ἐξελθεῖν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐκπολιορκηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου καθ' ὁμολογίαν παραδοῦναι τὸ φρούριον, τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν αἰτήσαμένους καὶ ζυγὸν ὑποστάντας.

[7] Most of these had already left the city after plundering it, but a few remained to guard the citadel, which is very strong and does not require a large garrison. Some state that the garrison of the citadel, seeing the army marching from Rome — for all the region lying between may be easily seen from a height — came out of their own accord; others say that after being reduced by Fabius to the necessity of surrendering they handed over the fortress by capitulation, stipulating that their lives should be spared and submitting to pass under the yoke.

[1] ἀποδοὺς δὲ τοῖς Τυσκλάνοις τὴν πόλιν Φάβιος περὶ δειλὴν ὥσιν ἀνίστησι τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἤλυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀκούων περὶ πόλιν Ἀλγιδὸν ἀθρόας εἶναι τὰς τε Οὐλοούσκων καὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις. ποιησάμενος δὲ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς σύντονον ὁδὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκόσιν ἐν πεδίῳ [p. 39] καὶ οὔτε τάφρον περιβεβλημένοις οὔτε χάρακα, ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ τε γῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει τοῦ ἀντιπάλου.

[21.1] After Fabius had restored the city to the Tusculans, he broke camp in the late afternoon and marched with all possible speed against the enemy, upon hearing that the combined forces of the Volscians and the Aequians lay near the town of Algidum. And having made a forced march all that night, he appeared before the enemy at early dawn, as they lay encamped in a plain without either a ditch or a palisade to defend them, inasmuch as they were in their own country and were contemptuous of their foe.

[2] παρακελευσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γίνεσθαι πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολήν, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ συναλαλάξαντες εἶποντο: τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔτι κοιμώμενοι ἐφονεύοντο, οἱ δ' ἄρτιως ἀνεστηκότες καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιχειροῦντες τραπέσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάννυντο.

[2] Then, exhorting his troops to acquit themselves as brave men should, he was the first to charge into the enemy's camp at the head of the horse, and the foot, uttering their war-cry, followed. Some of the enemy were slain while they were still asleep and others just as they had got up and were attempting to defend themselves; but most of them scattered in flight.

[3] ἀλόντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σώματα πλὴν ὅσα Τυσκλάνων ἦν, οὐ πολὺν ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας χρόνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑχέτρωνων πόλιν ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἣ τότε ἦν τοῦ Οὐλοούσκων ἔθνους ἐπιφανεστάτη τε κὰν τῷ

[3] The camp having been taken with great ease, Fabius permitted the soldiers to keep for themselves the booty and the prisoners, except those who were Tusculans. Then, after a short stay there, he led them to Ecetra, which was at that time the most prominent city of the Volscian nation and the most strongly situated.

[4] στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ προελεύσεσθαι τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς μάχην, ὥς οὐδεμία ἐξῆι στρατιά, τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐδήλου ἀνθρώπων μεστὴν οὔσαν καὶ βοσκημάτων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν αἰφνιδίου γεννηθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐφόδου. ἐφείς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν ὁ Φάβιος καὶ πολλὰς ἐν τῇ προνομῇ διατριψας ἡμέρας ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν.

[4] When he had encamped near this city for many days in hopes that those inside would come out to fight, and no army issued forth, he laid waste their land, which was full of men and cattle; for the Volscians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack upon them, had not had time to remove their possessions out of the fields. These things also Fabius permitted his soldiers to plunder; and after spending many days in ravaging the country, he led the army home.

[5] ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀντίῳ Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Οὐλοῦσκους ἐλαύνων ἐπιτυγχάνει στρατιᾷ πρὸ τῶν ὁρίων [p. 40] αὐτὸν ὑποδεχομένη. παραταξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν φονεύσας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεψάμενος ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οὐ τολμώντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκέτι χωρεῖν εἰς μάχην πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἔκειρεν, ἔπειτα τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ περιεχαράκου. τότε δὴ πάλιν ἀναγκασθέντες ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ, πολὺς καὶ ἀσύντακτος ὄχλος, καὶ συμβαλόντες εἰς μάχην ἔτι κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενοι κατακλείονται τὸ δεῦτερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως φεύγοντες.

[5] The other consul, Cornelius, marching against the Romans and Volscians in Antium, found an army awaiting him before their borders; and arraying his forces against them, he killed many, and after putting the rest to flight, encamped near the city. But when the inhabitants no longer ventured to come out for battle, he first laid waste to their land and then surrounded the city with a ditch and palisades. Then indeed the enemy were compelled to come out again from the city with all their forces, a numerous and disorderly multitude; and engaging in battle and fighting with less bravery than before, they were shut up inside the city a second time, after a shameful and unmanly flight.

[6] ὁ δ' ὕπατος οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν ἔτι δοὺς κλίμακας προσέφερε τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ κριοῖς ἐξέκοπτε τὰς πύλας. ἐπιπόνως δὲ καὶ ταλαιπώρως τῶν ἔνδον ἀπομαχομένων οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθεὶς κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν.

χρήματα μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἐνῆν, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφέρειν, ἀνδράποδα δὲ τοὺς ταμίας παραλαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα πωλεῖν: τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐσθῆτα καὶ τροφὰς καὶ ὅς' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐδύναντο ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν.

[6] But the consul, giving them no log any rest, planted scaling-ladders against the walls and broke down the gates with battering-rams; then, as the besieged with difficulty and painfully tried to fight them off, he with little trouble took the town by storm. He ordered that such of their effects as consisted of gold, silver and copper should be turned in to the treasury, and that the slaves and the rest of the spoils should be taken over and sold by the quaestors; but to the soldiers he granted the apparel and provisions and everything else of the sort that they could use for booty.

[7] ἔπειτα διακρίνας τῶν τε κληρούχων καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀντιατῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτίους — ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ — ῥάβδοις τε ἠκίσατο μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν δύναμιν.

[7] Then, selecting both from the colonists and from the original inhabitants of Antium those who were the most prominent and had been the authors of the revolt — and there were many of these — he ordered them to be scourged with rods for a long time and then beheaded.

[8] τοῦτοις ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσιοῦσι τε ἀπήντησε καὶ θριάμβους ἀμφοτέροις καταγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσατο: καὶ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πρεσβευσαμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐποίησατο συνθήκας περὶ καταλύσεως [p. 41] τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν αἷς ἐγράφη, πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας ἔχοντας Αἰκανοὺς, ὧν ἐκράτουν, ὅτε αἰ σπονδαὶ ἐγίνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι ὑπηκόους, ἄλλο μὲν ὑποτελοῦντας μηθὲν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις συμμαχίαν ἀποστέλλοντας ὁσηνδῆποτε, ὥστερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. καὶ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

[8] After accomplishing these things he too led his army home. The senate went to meet these consuls as they approached the city and decreed that they both should celebrate a triumph. And when the Aequians sent heralds to sue for peace, they concluded with them a treaty for the termination of the war, in which it was stipulated that the Aequians should retain the cities and land which they possessed at the time of the treaty and be subject to the Romans without paying any tribute, but sending to their assistance in time of war a certain number of troops, like the rest of the allies. Thus ended that year.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος Ναύτιος τὸ δεῦτερον αἰρεθεὶς καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος παραλαβόντες τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν τέως μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτικῶν δικαίων πόλεμον ἐντὸς τείχους ἐπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς ἅμα Οὐεργινίῳ δημάρχους τοὺς τέταρτον ἔτος ἤδη τὴν αὐτὴν κατασχόντας ἀρχήν.

[22.1] The following year Gaius Nautius (chosen for the second time) and

Lucius Minucius succeeded to the consulship, and were for a time waging a war inside the walls, concerning the rights of citizens, against Verginius and the other tribunes, who had obtained the same magistracy now for the fourth year.

[2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἔθνῶν πόλεμος ἐπεγένετο τῇ πόλει, καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθῶσιν, ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἐποιοῦντο κατάλογον καὶ μερισάμενοι τριχῇ τὰς τε οἰκείας καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις μίαν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοῖραν κατέλιπον, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Κόιντος Φάβιος Οὐίβολανός, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς αὐτοὶ παραλαμβάνοντες ἐξήεσαν διὰ ταχέων, ἐπὶ μὲν Σαβίνους Ναύτιος, ἐπὶ δ'

[2] But when war was brought upon the commonwealth by the neighbouring peoples and there was fear that they might be deprived of their empire, the consuls gladly accepted the opportunity presented to them by Fortune; and having held the military levy, and divided both their own forces and those of the allies into three bodies, they left one of them in the city, commanded by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, and themselves taking the other two, they marched out in haste, Nautius against the Sabines and Minucius against the Aequians.

[3] Αἰκανοὺς Μηνύκιος. ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀφειστήκει τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, Σαβῖνοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ μέχρι Φιδήνης πόλεως ἤλασαν, ἧς ἐκράτουν Ῥωμαῖοι — τετταράκοντα δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διὰ μέσου τῶν πόλεων στάδιοι — Αἰκανοὶ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φυλάττοντες τὰ τῆς νεωστὶ γενομένης συμμαχίας δίκαια, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πράττοντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

[3] For both these nations had revolted from the Roman rule at the same time. The Sabines had done so openly, and had advanced as far as Fidenae, which was in the possession of the Romans; the two cities are forty stades apart. As for the Aequians, though nominally they were observing the terms of the alliance they had recently made, in reality they too were acting like enemies;

[4] ἐπὶ γὰρ τοὺς συμμάχους [p. 42] αὐτῶν Λατίνους ἐστράτευσαν, ὡς οὐ γενομένων αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμολογιῶν περὶ φιλίας. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Γράγχος Κοίλιος, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς αὐτοκράτορι, ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλικώτερον ἐξήγαγεν. ἐλάσας δὲ μέχρι Τύσκλου πόλεως, ἦν Αἰκανοὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐνιαυτῷ καταλαβόμενοι καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξεκρούσθησαν, ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνήρπασε καὶ βοσκήματα, ὅσα κατέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντας ἐφθειρεν.

[4] for they had made war upon the Latins, the allies of the Romans, claiming that they had made no compact of friendship with that nation. Their army was commanded by Cloelius Gracchus, a man of action who had been invested with absolute authority, which he increased to more nearly royal power. This

leader, marching as far as the city of Tusculum, which the Aequians had taken and plundered the year before, only to be driven out of it by the Romans, seized a great number of men and all the cattle he found in the fields, and destroyed the crops, which were then ripe.

[5] ἀφικομένης δὲ πρεσβείας, ἣν ἀπέστειλεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μαθεῖν ἄξιοῦσα, τί παθόντες Αἰκανοὶ πολεμοῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχοις, φιλίας τ' αὐτοῖς ὁμωμοσμένης νεωστὶ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ γενομένου προσκρούσματος τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ παραινούσης τῷ Κοιλίῳ τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν οὓς εἶχεν ἀφιέναι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάγειν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡδίκησεν ἢ κατέβλαψε Τυσκλάνους δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διέτριψεν ὁ Γράγχος οὐδ' εἰς λόγους τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐρχόμενος, ὥς ἐν ἀσχολίαις δὴ

[5] When an embassy arrived, sent by the Roman senate, which demanded to know what provocation had induced the Aequians to make war upon the allies of the Romans, though they had recently sworn to a treaty of peace with them and no cause of offence had since arisen between the two nations, and the envoys advised Cloelius to release the Tusculan prisoners whom he held, to withdraw his forces and to stand trial for the injuries and damage he had done to the Tusculans, he delayed a long time without even giving audience to them, pretending that he was occupied with some business or other.

[6] τισι γεγονώς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις, κάκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐπισταλέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς λόγους διεξῆλθον: θαυμάζω. φησὶν, ὑμῶν, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, τί δὴ ποτ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἡγεῖσθε πολέμιους, καὶ ὑφ' ὧν οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθατε, ἀρχῆς καὶ τυραννίδος ἕνεκα, Αἰκανοῖς δ' οὐ συγχωρεῖτε παρὰ τούτων Τυσκλάνων ἐχθρῶν ὄντων ἀναπράττεσθαι δίκας, οὐθενὸς ἡμῖν διωμολογημένου περὶ αὐτῶν,

[6] And when he did see fit to have them introduced and they had delivered the senate's message, he said: "I wonder at you, Romans, why in the world, when you yourselves regard all men as enemies, even those from whom you have received no injury, because of your lust for dominion and tyranny, you do not concede to the Aequians the right to take vengeance on these Tusculans here, who are our enemies, inasmuch as we made no agreement with regard to them at the time we concluded the treaty with you.

[7] ὅτε τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐποιούμεθα συνθήκας. εἰ μὲν [p. 43] οὖν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἰδίων ἀδικεῖσθαι τι ἢ βλάπτεσθαι λέγετε ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τὰ δίκαια ὑφέξομεν ὑμῖν κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας: εἰ δὲ περὶ Τυσκλάνων ἀναπραξόμενοι δίκας ἤκετε, οὐθεὶς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ τούτων λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταύτην λαλεῖτε τὴν φηγόν: δεῖξας αὐτοῖς τινα πλησίον πεφυκυῖαν.

[7] Now if you claim that any interest of your own is suffering injustice or injury at our hands, we will afford you proper indemnity in accordance with

the treaty; but if you have come to exact satisfaction on behalf of the Tuscans, you have no reckoning with me on that subject, but go talk to yonder oak” — pointing to one that grew near by.

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοιαῦτα ὕβρισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ εὐθὺς ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξήγαγον τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν καὶ τοὺς Φητιάλεις καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἱερεῖς ἔπεμψαν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενοι θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθέντες τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν ὅσιον ἀναγκασθήσονται πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ὑπατον ἀπέστειλαν.

[23.1] The Romans, though thus insulted by the man, did not immediately give way to their resentment and lead their army forth, but sent a second embassy to him and likewise the priests called *fetiales*, calling the gods and lesser divinities to witness that if they were unable to obtain satisfaction they should be obliged to wage a holy war; and after that they sent out the consul.

[2] ὁ δὲ Γράγχος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσιόντας ἔμαθεν, ἀναστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἀπῆγε προσωτέρω, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπομένων, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τοιαῦτα προαγαγέσθαι χωρία, ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτήσιν ἔμελλεν: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. φυλάξας γὰρ αὐλῶνα περικλειόμενον ὄρεσιν, ὡς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τοῦτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκοντες αὐτὸν, ὑποστρέφει τε καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἔξω φέρουσαν ὁδόν.

[2] When Gracchus learned that the Romans were approaching, he broke camp and retired with his forces to a greater distance, the enemy following close at his heels. His purpose was to lead them on into a region where he would have an advantage over them; and that is what in fact happened. For waiting until he found a valley surrounded by hills, he then, as soon as the Romans had entered it in pursuit of him, faced about and encamped astride the road that led out of the valley.

[3] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνεβεβήκει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐχ ὃν ἐβούλοντο ἐκλέξασθαι τόπον εἰς στρατοπεδεῖαν, ἀλλ' ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς, ἔνθα οὐθ' ἵπποις χιλὸν εὐπορον ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὅρεσι περικλειομένου [p. 44] τοῦ τόπου ψιλοῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις, οὐθ' ἑαυτοῖς τροφᾶς ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας συγκομίζειν, ἐπειδὴ κατανάλωντο ἅς οἰκοθεν ἔφερον, οὐτε μεταστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀντικαθημένων καὶ κωλύοντων τὰς ἐξόδους. βιάσασθαι τε προελόμενοι καὶ προελθόντες εἰς μάχην ἀνεκρούσθησαν καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβόντες εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κατεκλείσθησαν χάρακα. ὁ δὲ Κοῖλιος ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ προτερήματι τούτῳ περιετάρφευε τε αὐτοὺς καὶ περιεχαράκου καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπιδας εἶχε λιμῷ πιεσθέντας παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τὰ ὄπλα.

[3] As a consequence the Romans were unable to choose for their camp the place they preferred, but had to take the one the situation offered, where it was not easy either to get forage for the horses, the place being surrounded by hills

that were bare and difficult of access, or to bring in provisions for themselves out of the enemy's country, since what they had brought from home had been consumed, nor yet easy to shift their camp while the enemy lay before them and blocked the exits. Choosing, therefore, to force their way out, they engaged in battle and were repulsed, and after receiving many wounds were shut up again in the same camp. Cloelius, elated by this success, began to surround the place with a ditch and palisades and had great hopes of forcing them by famine to deliver up their arms to him.

[4] ἀφικομένης δ' εἰς Ῥώμην περὶ τούτων ἀγγελίας Κόιντος Φάβιος ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος ἀπὸ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ὅσον ἦν ἀκμαϊότατόν τε καὶ κράτιστον ἐπιλέξας μέρος ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψε τῷ ὑπάτῳ. ἤγεῖτο δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Τίτος Κοϊντίος ὁ ταμίας ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός.

[4] The news of this disaster being brought to Rome, Quintus Fabius, who had been left as prefect in charge of the city, chose out of his own army a body of the fittest and strongest men and sent them to the assistance of the consul; they were commanded by Titus Quintius, who was quaestor and an ex-consul.

[5] πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Ναύτιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Σαβίνοις στρατιᾶς ὄντα γράμματα διαπέμψας τὰ τε συμβάντα τῷ Μηνυκίῳ διεσάφησε καὶ αὐτὸν ἤκειν ἡξίου διὰ ταχέων. κάκεῖνος ἐπιτρέψας τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τὸν χάρακα φυλάττειν αὐτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἵππευσιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνει συντόνῳ χρησάμενος ἵππασιαι· εἰσελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης ἐβουλεύετο σὺν τῷ Φαβίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει δικτάτορος δεῖσθαι ὁ καιρὸς, ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην [p. 45] Λεύκιον Κοϊντίον Κικιννᾶτον. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὥχετο πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον,

[5] And sending a letter to Nautius, the other consul, who commanded the army in the country of the Sabines, he informed him of what had happened to Minucius and asked him to come in haste. Nautius committed the guarding of the camp to the legates and he himself with a small squadron of cavalry made a forced ride to Rome; and arriving in the city while it was still deep night, he took counsel with Fabius and the oldest of the other citizens concerning the measures that should be taken. When all were of the opinion that the situation required a dictator, he named Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus to that magistracy. Then, having attended to this business, he himself returned to the camp.

[1] ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος Φάβιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς παραληφόμενους τὸν Κοϊντίον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τότε ὁ ἀνὴρ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων τι διαπραττόμενος· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν προσιόντα ὄχλον καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκειν ἐσθῆτά τ' ἐλάμβανεν εὐπρεπεστέραν καὶ ὑπαντήσων αὐτοῖς ἐπορεύετο.

[24.1] Fabius, the prefect of the city, sent men to invite Quintius to come and assume his magistracy. It chanced that Quintius was on this occasion also engaged in some work of husbandry; and seeing the approaching throng and suspecting that they were coming after him, he put on more becoming apparel and went to meet them.

[2] ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν, ἵππους τ' αὐτῷ φαλάροις κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρέπεσι προσῆγον καὶ πελέκεις ἅμα ταῖς ῥάβδοις εἰκοσιτέτταρας παρέστησαν ἐσθῆτά τε ἀλουργῇ καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα, οἷς πρότερον ἢ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκεκόσμητο ἀρχή, προσήνεγκαν. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν, ὅτι δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδείκται τῆς πόλεως, οὐχ ὅπως ἠγάπησε τηλικαύτης τιμῆς τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαγανακτήσας εἶπεν: ἀπολεῖται ἄρα καὶ τοῦτου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ καρπὸς διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀσχολίας, καὶ πεινῆσομεν ἅπαντες κακῶς.

[2] When he drew near, they brought to him horses decked with magnificent trappings, placed beside him twenty-four axes with the rods and presented to him the purple robe and the other insignia with which aforetime the kingly office had been adorned. Quintius, when he learned that he had been appointed dictator, far from being pleased at receiving so great an honour, was actually vexed, and said: "This year's crop too will be ruined, then, because of my official duties, and we shall all go dreadfully hungry."

[3] μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς πολίτας λόγον ἐν τῷ πλήθει διεξελθὼν ἐξεγεῖραι τὰς ψυχὰς δυνάμενον ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς ἔπειτα συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίας μεταπεμφάμενος ὑπάρχην τ' ἀποδείξας Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἡμελημένων μὲν διὰ πενίαν, τὰ δὲ πολέμια γενναῖον, ἐξῆγε συγκεκροτημένην ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν ταμίαν Τίτον [p. 46] Κοϊντίον ἀναδεχόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, λαβὼν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐκείνῳ δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

[3] After that he went into the city and first encouraged the citizens by delivering a speech before the populace calculated to raise their spirits with good hopes; then, after assembling all the men in their prime, both of the city and of the country, and sending for the forces of the allies, he appointed as his Master of Horse Lucius Tarquinius, a man who because of his poverty had been overlooked, but valiant in war. After which he led out his forces, now that he had them assembled, and joined Titus Quintius, the quaestor, who was awaiting his arrival; and taking with him Quintius' forces also, he led them against the enemy.

[4] ὡς δὲ κατώπτευσε τὴν τῶν χωρίων φύσιν, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς μετεώροις ἔταξεν, ὡς μήτε βοήθεια παραγένετο τοῖς Αἰκανοῖς ἑτέρα μήτε τροφαί, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἔχων προῆγεν ἐκτεταγμένην ὡς εἰς μάχην. καὶ ὁ Κοῖλιος οὐθὲν ὑποδείσας — ἥ τε

γὰρ δύναμις ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδόκει ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πολέμια — δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐπιόντα, καὶ

[4] After observing the nature of the places in which the camps lay, he posted a part of his army on the heights, in order that neither another relief force nor any provisions might reach the Aequians, and he himself marched forward with the remainder arrayed as for battle. Cloelius, unmoved by fear — for the force he had was no small one and he himself was looked upon as no craven in spirit when it came to fighting — awaited his attack, and a severe battle ensued.

[5] γίνεται μάχη καρτερά. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς πολέμους ἀναφερόντων τὸν πόνον τῶν τε ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ κάμνον μέρος αἰεὶ ἐπιβοηθούντων τοῖς πεζοῖς ἡσσηθεῖς ὁ Γράγχος κατακλείεται πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χάρακα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Κοίντιος περιταφρεύσας αὐτὸν ὑψηλῷ χάρακι καὶ πύργοις πυκνοῖς περιλαβὼν, ἐπεὶ κάμνοντα ἔμαθε τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ σπάνει, αὐτὸς τε προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο συνεχεῖς πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ τῷ Μηνυκίῳ

[5] After this had continued for a long time, and the Romans because of their continuous wars endured the toil, and the horse kept relieving the foot wherever the latter were hard pressed, Gracchus was beaten and shut up once more in his camp. After that Quintius surround edit with a high palisade, fortified with many towers; and when he learned that Gracchus was in distress for want of provisions, he not only himself made continual attacks upon the camp of the Aequians, but also ordered Minucius to make a sortie on the other side.

[6] προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξιέναι μερῶν. ὥστε ἡναγκάσθησαν οἱ Αἰκανοὶ τροφῆς τε ἀπορούμενοι καὶ συμμάχων βοήθειαν ἀπεγνωκότες πολιορκούμενοι τε πολλὰ χρόνον ἰκετηρίας ἀναλαβόντες ἐπιπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Κοίντιον περὶ φιλίας διαλεγόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Αἰκανοῖς ἔφη σπένδεσθαι καὶ δίδοναι [p. 47] τοῖς σώμασι τὴν ἄδειαν τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀποθεμένοις καὶ καθ' ἓνα διεξιούσιν ὑπὸ ζυγόν, Γράγχῳ δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς σὺν ἐκείνῳ βουλευσάσι τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὡς πολεμίους χρήσασθαι, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτοῖς ἄγειν τοὺς ἄνδρας δεδεμένους.

[6] Consequently the Aequians, lacking provisions, despairing of aid from any allies, and besieged on many sides, were compelled to send envoys to Quintius with the tokens of suppliants to treat for peace. Quintius said he was ready to make peace with the rest of the Aequians and grant them immunity for their persons if they would lay down their arms and pass under the yoke one at a time; but as for Gracchus, their commander, and those who had planned the revolt with him, he would treat them as enemies, and he ordered them to bring these men to him in chains.

[7] ὑπομενόντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Αἰκανῶν τελευταῖον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνο προσέταξεν: ἐπειδὴ Τύσκλον πόλιν Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ Τυσκλάνων παθόντες κακόν, ἀντιπαρασχεῖν ἑαυτῷ πόλιν τῶν σφετέρων, Κορβιῶνα, τὰ ὅμοια διαθεῖναι.

[7] When the Aequians consented to do so, the last demand he made of them was this — that, inasmuch as they had enslaved the inhabitants of Tusculum, a city in alliance with the Romans, and plundered it, though they had received no injury from the Tusculans, they should in turn put at his disposal one of their own cities, Corbio, to be treated in like manner.

[8] ταύτας λαβόντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Αἰκανῶν προήεσαν καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρήσαν ἄγοντες τὸν Γράγχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ δεδωμένους: αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα θέντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν παρεμβολὴν διαπορευόμενοι, καθάπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσε, διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος καθ' ἓνα ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ τὴν Κορβιῶνα κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας παρέδοσαν, τὰ ἐλεύθερα σώματα μόνον ἐξελθεῖν αἰτησάμενοι, περὶ ὧν διήλλαξαν τοὺς Τυσκλάνων αἰχμαλώτους.

[8] The envoys, having received this answer, disappeared, and not long afterward returned, bringing with them in chains Gracchus and his associate. They themselves, laying down their arms, left their camp and, pursuant to the general's orders, marched through the Roman camp one by one under the yoke; and they delivered up Corbio according to their agreement, merely asking that the inhabitants of free condition might leave the city, in exchange for whom they released the Tusculan captives.

[1] παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Κοίντιος τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκέλευσε φέρειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα διελεῖσθαι κατὰ λόχους ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς τε σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενομένοις στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἅμα Κοιντίῳ τῷ ταμίᾳ προαποσταλῆσι. τοῖς δὲ μετὰ Μηνυκίου τοῦ ὑπάτου κατακλεισθεῖσιν [p. 48] ἐν τῷ χάρακι μεγάλην ἔφη δεδωκέναι δωρεὰν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐκ θανάτου ῥυσάμενος.

[25.1] Quintius, having taken possession of Corbio, ordered choicest of the spoils to be carried to Rome and permitted all the rest to be distributed by centuries both to the troops that had been with him and to those that had been sent ahead with Quintius the quaestor. As for the forces which had been shut up in their camp with Minucius the consul, he said that he had already bestowed a great gift upon them in delivering them from death.

[2] ταῦτα πράξας καὶ τὸν Μηνύκιον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγκάσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ κατήγαγε λαμπρότατον ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνων θρίαμβον, ἐν ἡμέραις ἐκκαίδεκα ταῖς πάσαις, ἀφ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, στρατόπεδόν τε σώσας φίλιον καὶ πολεμίων δύναμιν ἀκμάζουσαν καθελὼν πόλιν τε αὐτῶν πορθήσας καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτῆς ὑπολιπὼν τὸν τε ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ἀλύσει δεδωμένους ἀγαγών.

[2] After doing these things and forcing Minucius to resign his magistracy, he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph more brilliant than that of any other general, having in the space of sixteen days in all from that on which he had received the magistracy saved an army of his fellow citizens, defeated a first-rate force of the enemy, plundered one of their cities and left a garrison in it, and brought back the leader of the war and the other prominent men bound in chains.

[3] καὶ ὁ μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοῦ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν εἰς ἑξάμηνον εἰληφώς οὐκ ἐχρήσατο παντὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλὰ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδοὺς ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε βουλῆς δεομένης γῆν τε ὅσην ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς δορικτήτου καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐπανορθῶσαι τὴν πενίαν πλούτῳ δικαίῳ, ὃν ἀπὸ πολεμίων κάλλιστον ἐκτήσατο τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις, οὐκ ἡξίωσε, φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν δωρεὰς προσφερόντων μεγάλας καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ τιθεμένων ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς τῆς προθυμίας οὐθὲν τῶν διδομένων ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο χωρίον, καὶ τὸν αὐτουργὸν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μετελήφει βίον, μεῖζον φρονῶν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ

[3] But — what most of all was worthy of admiration about him — though he had received so great power for six months, he did not take full advantage of the law, but having called the people together in assembly and given them an account of his achievements, he abdicated his magistracy. And when the senate wanted him to accept as much of the conquered land as he wished, together with slaves and money out of the spoils, and to relieve his poverty with deserved riches which he had acquired most honourably from the enemy by his own toils, he refused to do so. Also when his friends and relations offered him magnificent gifts and placed their greatest happiness in assisting such a man, he thanked them for their zeal, but would accept none of their presents. Instead, he retired again to that small farm of his and resumed his life of a farmer working his own land in preference to the life of a king, glorying more in his poverty than others in their riches.

[4] ἢ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ πλούτῳ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ναύτιος, ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, νικήσας Σαβίνους ἐκ [p. 49] παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πολλὴν καταδραμῶν ἀπήγγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις.

[4] Not long afterwards Nautius also, the other consul, returned to Rome with his forces, after defeating the Sabines in a pitched battle and overrunning a large part of their country.

[1] μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή καὶ πρώτη, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολύμναστος Κυρηναῖος, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἄρχων Καλλίας, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρέλαβε Γάιος Ὀράτιος καὶ Κόιντος Μηνύκιος. ἐπὶ τούτων Σαβῖνοι πάλιν στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πολλὴν τῆς χώρας

αὐτῶν ἐδῆσαν, καὶ ἦκον οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀθρόοι κρατεῖσθαι πάντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ μεταξὺ Κρουστομερείας τε καὶ Φιδίηνης λέγοντες.

[26.1] After these consuls came the eighty-first Olympiad (the one at which Polymnastus of Cyrenê won the foot-race), the archon at Athens being Callias, in whose term of office Gaius Horatius and Quintus Minucius succeeded to the consulship at Rome. During their term of office the Sabines made another expedition against the Romans and laid waste much of their territory; and the country people who had fled from their fields arrived in great numbers, reporting that all the country between Crustumerium and Fidenae was in possession of the enemy.

[2] Αἰκανοὶ τε οἱ νεωστὶ καταπολεμηθέντες ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις αὖθις ἦσαν: καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκμαιότατοι αὐτῶν νυκτὸς ἐλάσαντες ἐπὶ Κορβιώνᾳ πόλιν, ἣν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ Ῥωμαίοις παρέδοσαν, τὴν τε φρουρὰν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κοιμωμένην εὐρόντες κατέσφαξαν πλὴν ὀλίγων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἀφυστεροῦντες, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεγάλῃ χειρὶ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρτῶνα τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνονται, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἐργάσασθαι, ταῦτα δι' ὀργὴν τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν διέθεσαν.

[2] The Aequians also, who had been recently conquered, were once more in arms. The flower of their army, marching by night to the city of Corbio, which they had handed over to the Romans the year before, and finding the garrison there asleep, put all to the sword except a few who chanced to be late to bed. The rest of the Aequians marched in great force to Ortona, a city of the Latin nation, and took it by storm; and the injuries they were unable to inflict on the Romans they inflicted in their resentment on the Romans' allies.

[3] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡβῃ πάντας, πλὴν εἴ τινες διέφυγον εὐθὺς ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἀπέκτειναν, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γηραιὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἠνδραποδίσαντο, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα δύναμις ἦν αὐτοῖς φέρειν συσκευασάμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν, [p. 50] πρὶν ἅπαντας ἐπιβοηθῆσαι Λατίνους, ἀνέστρεψαν.

[3] For they put to death all the men who were in the prime of life except those who had escaped at once while the city was being taken, and enslaved their wives and children together with the aged; then, hastily gathering together all the possessions they could carry off, they returned home before all the Latins could come to the rescue.

[4] τοῦτων δὲ ἅμα προσαγγελλομένων ὑπὸ τε Λατίνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς διασωθέντων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ στρατιὰν ἐκπέμπειν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους πορεύεσθαι: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δήμαρχοι πέμπτον ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες ἐξουσίας ἐκώλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ἐποίουν ἔτεσιν, ἐνιστάμενοι ταῖς στρατολογίαις τῶν ὑπάτων, τὸν ἐντὸς τεῖχους πρῶτον ἀξιοῦντες καταλυθῆναι πόλεμον ἀποδοθείσης τῷ

δήμῳ τῆς περὶ τοῦ νόμου διαγνώσεως, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσχυροῦς εἰσέφερον, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανε πολλοὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπιφθόνους διεξιοῦσι λόγους.

[4] As news of these disasters was brought simultaneously both by the Latins and by those of the garrison who had escaped, the senate voted to send out an army and that both consuls should take the field. But Verginius and his fellow tribunes, who held the same power for the fifth year, sought to prevent this, as they had also done in the preceding years, opposing the levies announced by the consuls and demanding that the war inside the walls should first be terminated by allowing the populace to decide about the law which the tribunes were trying to introduce regarding an equality of rights; and the populace joined with them in uttering many invidious charges against the senate.

[5] ἔλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ οὔτε τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπομενόντων προβουλευσάι τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξευγκεῖν τὸν νόμον, οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων συγχωρῆσαι βουλομένων τὴν καταγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τῆς στρατιᾶς γενέσθαι, λόγων τε πολλῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν, ἃς ἐποιοῦντο κατ' ἀλλήλων ἓν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς μάτην ἀναλίσκομένων, ἕτερα τις εἰσαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ πολιτεία καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὸ συνέδριον, τὴν μὲν τότε κατέχουσιν στάσιν ἐπράυνεν, ἑτέρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐγένετο πλεονεκτημάτων αἰτία τῷ δήμῳ. διηγῆσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν δυναστείαν ὃν τρόπον ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε.

[5] But as the time dragged on and neither the consuls would consent to a preliminary vote by the senate or to the laying of the law before the populace, nor the tribunes to allow the levies to be made and the army to take the field, and many speeches were made and charges hurled back and forth both in the meetings of the assembly and in the senate, all in vain, another measure that was introduced against the senate and misled its members did indeed appease the dissension then raging, but proved the source of many other great gains to the populace. I shall now give an account of the manner in which the populace secured this power.

[1] φθειρομένης καὶ διαρπαζομένης τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γῆς, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὥς δι' ἐρημίας ἐλαυνόντων κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδεμίαν [p. 51] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξελεύσεσθαι δύναμιν διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσιν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγον, ὥς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἔσχατον τοῦτο βουλευσόμενοι.

[27.1] While the territory of both the Romans and their allies was being laid waste and plundered and the enemy marched through it as through a solitude, in the confidence that no army would come out against them by reason of the dissension then raging in the city, the consuls assembled the senate with the intention of deliberating finally this time about the whole situation.

[2] ῥηθέντων δὲ πολλῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἔρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Λεύκιος Κοϊντίος, ὁ τῷ παρελθόντι γενόμενος ἔτει δικτάτωρ, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τὰ πολέμια δεινότατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ δοκῶν εἶναι φρονιμώτατος, γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο τήνδε: μάλιστα μὲν πείθειν τοὺς τε δημάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν οὐθὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατεπείγουσαν εἰς ἑτέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι καιροὺς ἐπιτηδειότερους, τὸν δ' ἐν χερσὶν ὄντα καὶ ὅσον οὕτω τῇ πόλει πλησιάζοντα πόλεμον ἄρασθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν μετὰ πολλῶν κτηθεῖσαν ἡγεμονίαν πόνων αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως ἀπολομένην.

[2] After many speeches had been made, the person who was first asked his opinion was Lucius Quintius, who had been dictator the year before, a man who had the reputation of being not only the ablest general but also the wisest statesman of his time. The opinion he expressed was as follows: That they should preferably persuade both the tribunes and the rest of the citizens to postpone to more suitable times their decision regarding the law, which was not at all pressing at the moment, and to undertake with all alacrity the war that was at hand and all but at their gates, and not to allow their empire, which they had acquired with many toils, to be lost in a shameful and pusillanimous fashion.

[3] ἔὰν δὲ μὴ πείθεται ὁ δῆμος, τοὺς πατρικίους ἅμα τοῖς πελάταις καθοπλισμένους τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν παραλαμβάνοντας, οἷς ἦν ἐκοῦσι συνάρασθαι τοῦ καλλίστου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνος, χωρεῖν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεοὺς, ὅσοι φυλάττουσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν, ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐξόδου ποιησαμένους.

[3] But if the populace would not be persuaded, he advised that the patricians should arms themselves together with their clients, and associating with themselves such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this most glorious struggle for the fatherland, to engage in the war with alacrity, taking as leaders of the expedition all the gods who protect the Roman state.

[4] συμβήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς δεῦν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δικαίων θάτερον, ἢ νίκην ἐξενέγκασθαι πασῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ ποτε ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἐξηνέγκαντο λαμπροτάτην, [p. 52] ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν εὐψύχως ἀγωνιζομένοις ἀποθανεῖν. ταύτης μέντοι τῆς καλῆς πείρας οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀπολείψεσθαι ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς κράτιστα ἐρρωμένοις παρῶν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ πρεσβυτέρων, οἷς ἐστὶν ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς λόγος.

[4] For one or the other of two honourable and just destinies would be theirs: they would either win a victory more brilliant than all which they or their ancestors had ever won, or die fighting bravely for the noble prizes that victory brings with it. He added that neither he himself would be wanting in this glorious enterprise, but would be present and fight with a spirit equal to that of the most robust, nor would any of the others of the older men be

wanting who had any regard for liberty and a good name.

[1] ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι ταῦτ' ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐθεὶς ἦν ὁ τάναντια ἐρῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν. συνελθόντος δ' ὥς ἐπὶ καινοῖς ἀκούσμασι παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου παρελθὼν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Ὁράτιος ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐκόντας ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντος αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν παρελθὼν πάλιν ὁ ὕπατος εἶπε:

[28.1] All the others approving of this advice and there being no one to speak in opposition, the consuls called an assembly of the populace; and when all the people of the city had come together in expectation of hearing something new, Gaius Horatius, one of the consuls, came forward and attempted to persuade the plebeians to submit willingly to this campaign also. But as the tribunes opposed this and the populace gave heed to them, the consul again came forward and said:

[2] καλὸν γ', ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον ἐξειργάσασθε διασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν δῆμον: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι μέρος πάντ' ἀπολωλέκαμεν, ὅσα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες ἢ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν πόνοις κτησάμενοι κατέσχομεν ἀγαθὰ.

[2] “A fine and wonderful thing, indeed, have you tribunes accomplished, Verginius, in dividing the populace from the senate; and, so far as it rests with you, we have lost all the advantages which we possessed, whether inherited from our ancestors or acquired by our own toils.

[3] οὐ μὴν ἡμεῖς γ' ἀκονιτὶ μεθησόμεθα αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα χωρήσομεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰς ἀγαθὰς προβαλλόμενοι τῶν ἔργων ἐλπίδας: καὶ εἴ τις ἄρα θεὸς ἐπισκοπεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ δικαίους ἀγῶνας, καὶ ἢ τὴν πόλιν τήνδε [p. 53] αὖξουσα ἐκ πολλοῦ τύχη μήπω προλέλοιπεν αὐτήν, κρείττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐσόμεθα: εἰ δέ τις ἄρα ἐνέστηκε δαίμων καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, οὗτοι τὸ γ' ἐν ἡμῖν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον ἀπολεῖται, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπάντων κράτιστον θάνατον αἰρησόμεθα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος.

[3] As for us, however, we shall not part with them without a struggle, but shall take up arms along with all who desire the preservation of the fatherland and shall enter the struggle holding before our deeds the buckler of fair hopes. And if any god watches over noble and just struggles, and if Fortune, which long has been exalting this commonwealth, has not yet abandoned it, we shall have the victory over our enemies; or, if any divide is opposed to and stands in the way of the preservation of the commonwealth, at any rate our affection and zeal for it will not perish, but we shall choose the best of all deaths — to die for the fatherland.

[4] Ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντες οἰκουρεῖτε ἅμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ὧ καλοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι προστάται τῆς πόλεως, ἐγκαταλιπόντες, μᾶλλον δὲ προδόντες ἡμᾶς, οἷς οὗτ' ἂν νικήσωμεν ἡμεῖς ὁ βίος ἔσται καλός, οὗτ'

[4] As for you, stay here and keep house with the women, O fine and noble protectors of the commonwealth, after abandoning, or rather betraying, us; but life for you will be neither honourable, if we conquer, nor safe, if things go otherwise with us.

[5] ἂν ἄλλως χωρήσῃ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλής: εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐκείνη τῇ ψυχρᾷ ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὡς διαφθαρέντων τῶν πατρικίων ὑμᾶς ἐάσουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ταύτην ὑπολογιζόμενοι τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, καὶ συγχωρήσουσιν ὑμῖν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα νῦν ἔχετε, καρποῦσθαι, ὧν ὑμεῖς ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα ἐφρονεῖτε πολλὴν μὲν γῆν ἀπετέμεσθε, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψατε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀφανισθησόμενα τρόπαια καὶ

[5] Unless, indeed, you are buoying yourselves up with the bleak hope that when the patricians are all destroyed the enemy will spare you in consideration of this service and will allow you to enjoy your country, your liberty, your empire and all the other blessings you now have, notwithstanding that you, when you displayed the noblest spirit, deprived these very enemies of much land, razed many of their cities and enslaved their inhabitants, and erected many great trophies and monuments of your enmity against them which not even all time to come will ever blot out.

[6] μνημεῖα τῆς ἔχθρας ἀνεστήσατε. ἀλλὰ τί τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, ὃς οὐδέποτε πονηρὸς ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὑμῖν, ὧ Οὐεργίνιε, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ταῦτα πολιτευομένοις; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἀνάγκη μηδὲν ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν, δέδοκται τε καὶ οὐθὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλύσον ἄρασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐγκαταλιποῦσι καὶ προδοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ἥξει δίκη [p. 54] τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτή παρὰ θεῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα διαφύγητε τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων κόλασιν.

[6] But why do I charge this against the populace, which never became cowardly of its own accord, and not rather against you tribunes, Verginius, who are the authors of these fine measures? We, then, who must needs show no ignoble spirit, have taken our resolution and nothing shall hinder us from undertaking the struggle in defence of the fatherland; but upon you, who abandon and betray the commonwealth, will come a punishment not to be scorned, as vengeance from the gods, if so be that you escape the punishment of men; yet you will not escape that either.

[7] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταύτην διαφεύξεσθε: καὶ μὴ με δεδίττεσθαι ὑπολάβητε, ἀλλ' εἴ ῥ' ἴστε, ὅτι οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε φύλακες τῆς πόλεως, ἐὰν κρείττω

τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γένηται, φρονήσουσιν ἃ προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς φρονεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἤδη βαρβάρους μὲν τισιν ἀλικομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς νοῦν ἦλθε μήτε γυναικῶν αὐτοῖς παραχωρῆσαι μήτε παιδῶν μήτε πόλεων, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ

[7] And do not imagine that I am trying to terrify you, but be assured that those of us who will be left behind here to guard teach shall, in case the enemy should prove victorious, show that spirit which it befits them to show. Have there not indeed been instances already of barbarians who, when they were on the point of being captured by the enemy, resolved not to yield to them either their wives, their children or their cities, but to burn the cities and slay their dear ones?

[8] κατασφάζει, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἄρα, οἷς ἐτέρων ἄρχειν πάτριόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραστήσεται ταῦτα περὶ ἐαυτῶν φρονεῖν; οὐχ οὕτως ἀγεννεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀρξάμενοι τότε χωρήσουσι πρὸς τὰ φίλια. πρὸς ταῦτα ὀρῶντες ἐκκλησιάζετε καὶ νόμους εἰσφέρετε καινοὺς.

[8] And will it fail, then, to occur to the Romans, to whom it is a heritage from their fathers to rule over others, to show this same spirit in their own case? They will never be so degenerate, but will begin with you who are their worst enemies and only afterwards turn to their loved ones. Consider these matters before you hold your assemblies and introduce new laws.”

[1] ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρεστήσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πατρικίων κλαίοντας, οὓς ἰδόντες πολλοὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα ἐδύναντο. γενομένης δὲ πολλῆς συμπαθείας πρὸς τε τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς

[29.1] After he had said this and many things to the same purport, he brought before them the oldest patricians in tears, at sight of whom many of the plebeians could not even themselves refrain from weeping. When great compassion had been aroused both by the age and the dignity of these men, the consul, after a short pause, said:

[2] τὰς ἀξίας μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ὁ ὕπατος: οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, ἔφησεν, ὧ πολλῖται, οὐδὲ κατὰ γῆς δύνεσθε, εἰ οἶδε οἱ γέροντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν νέων τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλήφονται, ἀλλ' ὑπομενεῖτε ἀπολειφθῆναι τούτων ἡγουμένων, οὓς αἰ πατέρας ἐκαλεῖτε; ὧ σχέτλιοι ὑμεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ πολλῖται [p. 55] ταύτης ἀξιοὶ λέγεσθαι τῆς γῆς, ἣν ἔκτισαν οἱ τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐνέγκαντες, οἷς καὶ δι' ὅπλων καὶ διὰ πυρὸς ὁδοὺς ἀσφαλεῖς θεοὶ παρέσχον.

[2] “Are you not ashamed, citizens, and ready to sink beneath the earth, when these old men are going to take up arms in defence of you who are young? Will you bear to abandon these leaders whom you always called fathers? Wretched men that you are, and unworthy even to be called citizens of this land settled by men who carried their fathers on their shoulders, men to whom

the gods granted a safe passage through arms and through fire!”

[3] ὥς δὲ κατέμαθεν ὁ Οὐεργίνιος ἀγόμενον τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, δεδοικῶς, μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην κοινωνεῖν ὑπομεινῇ τοῦ πολέμου, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· ἡμεῖς οὐτ’ ἐγκαταλείπομεν οὔτε προδίδομεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, οὐδ’ ἂν ἀπολειφθῆμεν ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἡξιώσαμεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπολειφθῆναι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆν αἰρούμεθα σὺν ὑμῖν καὶ πάσχειν, ὅ τι ἂν τῷ

[3] When Verginius perceived that the people were moved by these words, he was afraid lest, contrary to his desire, they might consent to join in the war; and coming forward, he said: “As for us, we are neither abandoning nor betraying you, fathers, nor would we desert you, even as we have hitherto never declined taking part in any expedition; on the contrary, we choose both to live with you and to suffer with you whatever Heaven shall decree.

[4] δαίμονι δοκῇ, μεθ’ ὑμῶν. πρόθυμοι δ’ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγονότες ἀξιοῦμεν μετρίας παρ’ ὑμῶν τυχεῖν χάριτος, ὥσπερ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων ἰσομοιροῦμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαιῶν τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν, νόμους καταστησάμενοι φύλακας τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οἷς ἅπαντες ἀεὶ χρησόμεθα.

[4] But since we have at all times been zealous in your service, we desire to receive from you a moderate favour — that, even as we share the common dangers with you, so we may also enjoy an equality of rights, by instituting as safeguards of our liberty laws which we shall all alike use always.

[5] εἰ δὲ προσίσταται τοῦθ’ ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολίταις ταύτην συγχωρῆσαι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ θανάτου τιμᾶσθε τὸ μεταδοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἰσηγορίας, οὐκέτι φιλονεικοῦμεν ὑμῖν· αἰτησόμεθα δ’ ἑτέραν παρ’ ὑμῶν χάριν, ἥς τυχόντες ἴσως ἂν οὐδὲ καινῶν ἔτι δεηθῆμεν νόμων. εἰσέρχεται δ’ ἡμᾶς εὐλάβεια, μὴ ποτε οὐδὲ ταύτης τύχωμεν, ἐξ ἧς τῇ βουλῇ μὲν οὐδέν ἔσται βλάβος, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τιμὴ τις ὑπάρξει καὶ φιλανθρωπία.

[5] However, if this proposal offends you and you do not deign to grant this favour to your fellow citizens, but regard it as a capital crime to give the populace an equal share of rights, we shall no longer contend with you; but we shall ask another favour of you, upon obtaining which we may possibly no longer stand in need of new laws. We have a shrewd suspicion, however, that we shall not obtain even this favour — one which, while doing no injury to the senate, will bring to the populace a kind of honour and general goodwill.”

[1] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα τῇ βουλῇ συγχωροῦντες οὐθενὸς ἄλλου ἁμαρτήσονται τῶν μετρίων, καὶ κελεύοντος λέγειν [p. 56] ὅτου δέονται, ὀλίγα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς συνάρχουσιν ὁ

[30.1] When the consul replied that if the tribunes would yield on this measure to the senate they would be denied nothing else that was reasonable, and

ordered him to state what they desired, verginius, after a short conference with his colleagues, said he would announce it in the senate.

[2] Οὐεργίνιος, ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἔφησεν ἐρεῖν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναγαγόντων τὸ συνέδριον τῶν ὑπάτων παρελθόντων καὶ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἅπαντα εἰσενεγκάμενος ἠτήσατο διπλασιασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν προισταμένην τοῦ δήμου, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν πέντε δημάρχων δέκα εἰς ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσθαι. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βλάβην οὐδεμίαν ὦντο τῷ κοινῷ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ διδόναι καὶ μὴ ἀντιπράττειν παρήνουν, ἄρχοντος τῆς γνῶμης Λευκίου Κοιντίου,

[2] Thereupon, when the consuls had convened the senate, Verginius came forward, and after presenting to that body all the just demands of the populace, asked that the magistracy which protected the populace should be doubled and that instead of five tribunes ten should be chosen every year. Most of the senators thought this would cause no harm to the commonwealth and advised granting it without offering any opposition;

[3] τοῦ τότε μέγιστον ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κράτος. εἷς δὲ μόνος ἀντέλεγε Γάιος Κλαύδιος, υἱὸς Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου, τοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῖς εἰσηγήμασι τῶν δημοτικῶν, εἴ τινα μὴ νόμιμα ἦν, ἐναντιωθέντος διαδεδεγμένος τὰ πολιτεύματα τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ὅτ' αὐτὸς εἶχε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν κωλύσας δοθῆναι τοῖς δημάρχοις τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑπέων τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ διαβαλλομένων ἐξέτασιν, καὶ μακρὸν διεξελθὼν λόγον ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι μετριώτερος μὲν ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρηστότερος ἔσται διπλασιασθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀνοητότερος δὲ καὶ βαρύτερος.

[3] this opinion was first offered by Lucius Quintius, who at that time had the greatest authority in the senate. Only one person, Gaius Claudius, spoke against it. He was the son of Appius Claudius, who had on every occasion opposed the measures of the plebeians when any of them were contrary to law; he had inherited the political principles of his father, and when he himself was consul, had prevented the inquiry concerning the knights accused of conspiracy from being committed to the tribunes. This man made a long speech, pointing out that the populace, if their magistracy were doubled, would not be any more moderate or worthy, but more stupid and more troublesome.

[4] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισι παραλήψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ὕστερον ἀποδειχθισομένους, ὥστε μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας αὐθις θις προθήσειν λόγον καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσοτιμίας, καὶ [p. 57] πάντας ἐξῆξ ζητήσιν, ὃ τι λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες τὸ μὲν τοῦ δήμου κράτος αὐξήσουσι, τὰς δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τιμὰς καταλύσουσι. καὶ σφόδρα ἐκίνησε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος. ἔπειτα μετήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κοίντιος διδάσκων,

[4] For the tribune seem to be chosen thereafter, he said, would not receive the magistracy upon certain definite terms, so as to adhere to the established customs, but would again bring up the question of the allotment of lands and that of an equality of privileges, and all of them in turn would seek both by their words and by their actions to increase the power of the populace and abolish the privileges of the senate. This speech had a great effect upon most of the senators.

[5] ὅτι πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. ἦττον γὰρ ὁμονοήσῃν τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἐλαττόνων, μίαν δὲ βοήθειαν εἶναι τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἢν Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον τὸν Γαίου πατέρα πρῶτον ἰδεῖν, ἐὰν στασιάζῃ τὸ ἀρχεῖον καὶ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῇ.

[5] Then Quintius brought them over again by showing that it was to the interest of the senate that there should be many champions of the populace. For there would be less harmony among many than among a few, and there was just one way of relieving the commonwealth, a way that Appius Claudius, the father of Gaius, had been the first to perceive — namely, if there should be dissension and lack of unanimity in the college of tribunes.

[6] ἐδόκει τε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ γίνεται δόγμα βουλῆς: ἐξεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ δέκα δημάρχους καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι, τῶν δὲ τότε ὄντων ἐν ἀρχῇ μηθέν. τοῦτο τὸ προβούλευμα οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον λαβόντες ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ κυρώσαντες τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γραφέντα νόμον δέκα δημάρχους εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπέδειξαν.

[6] This opinion prevailed, and the senate passed a decree that the populace should be permitted to appoint ten tribunes each year, but that no one of the men then in office should be eligible. Verginius and his colleagues, having got this preliminary decree from the senate, laid it before the populace; and when they had secured the ratification of the law embodying the measure, they chose ten tribunes for the following year.

[7] παυσασμένης δὲ τῆς στάσεως καταγράψαντες τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ ὕπατοι διεκκληρώσαντο τὰς ἐξόδους: Μηνυκίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ κατὰ Σαβίνων πόλεμος ἐδόθη, Ὀρατίῳ δὲ ὁ κατ' Αἰκανῶν, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξήρσαν ἀμφοτέροι. Σαβῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὰς πόλεις διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες ὑπερεῖδον ἀγομένων τε καὶ φερομένων ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, Αἰκανοὶ δὲ τὴν ἐναντιωσομένην Ῥωμαίοις δύναμιν ἀπέστειλαν.

[7] After the sedition was appeased the consuls enrolled their forces and drew lots for their commands. To Minucius fell the war against the Sabines and to Horatius that against the Aequians; and both set out in haste. The Sabines garrisoned their cities and permitted everything in the country districts to be pillaged; but the Aequians sent an army to oppose the Romans.

[8] ἀγωνισάμενοι δὲ λαμπρῶς οὐχ οἷοι τε ἐγένοντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων

ὑπερβαλέσθαι δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἥναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ πολίχνιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιοῦντο. Ὅρατιος δὲ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους [p. 58] καὶ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν κακῶσας τοῦ τε Κορβιῶνος τὰ τείχη κατασπάσας καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνελών ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' οἴκου.

[8] Though they fought brilliantly, they were unable to overcome the Roman army, but were compelled to retire to their cities after the loss of the small town in defence of which they were fighting. Horatius, after putting the enemy to flight, ravaged a large part of their country, razed the walls of Corbio and demolished the houses to their foundations, then led his army home.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου καὶ Σπορίου Οὐεργινίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔχόντων στρατιὰ μὲν ὑπερόριος οὐδεμία ἐξῆλθε Ῥωμαίων, πολιτικά δέ τινα προσκρούσματα τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους συνέστη πάλιν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχον οἱ δήμαρχοι παρασπάσαντές τι τῆς ὑπατικῆς δυναστείας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκκλησίας μόνον ἦσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι κύριοι, βουλὴν δὲ συνάγειν ἢ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦτο τὸ γέρας.

[31.1] The following year, when Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius were consuls, no army of the Romans went out of their borders, but there were fresh outbreaks of civil strife between the tribunes and the consuls, as a result of which the former wrested away some part of the consular power. Before this time the power of the tribunes was limited to the popular assembly and they had no authority either to convene the senate or to express an opinion there, that being a prerogative of the consuls.

[2] οἱ δὲ τότε δήμαρχοι πρῶτοι συγκαλεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο τὴν βουλὴν Ἰκιλλίου τὴν πεῖραν εἰσηγησαμένου, ὃς ἡγεῖτο μὲν τοῦ ἀρχείου, δραστήριος δὲ τις ἦν ἀνὴρ καὶ ὡς Ῥωμαῖος εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατος. εἰσέφερε γάρ τι καὶ οὗτος πολίτευμα καινὸν ἀξιῶν ἀπομερισθῆναι τοῖς δημόταις τόπον εἰς οἰκιῶν κατασκευᾶς τὸν καλούμενον Αὐεντῖνον. ἔστι δὲ λόφος ὑψηλὸς ἐπικεικῶς, οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἐμπεριεχόμενος τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐχ ἅπας τότε ὠκεῖτο, ἀλλ'

[2] The tribunes of the year in question were the first who undertook to convene the senate, the experiment being made by Icilius, the head of their college, a man of action and, for a Roman, not lacking in eloquence. For he too was at that time proposing a new measure, asking that the region called the Aventine be divided among the plebeians for the building of houses. This is a hill of moderate height, not less than twelve stades in circuit, and is included within the city; not all of it was then inhabited, but it was public land and thickly wooded.

[3] ἦν δημόσιός τε καὶ ὕλης ἀνάπλεως. τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰσάγων ὁ

δήμαρχος τοῖς τότε ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προσήει δεόμενος τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γραφέντα νόμον προβουλευσαί τε καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀναβαλλομένων [p. 59] δὲ καὶ παρελκόντων τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν χρόνον πέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων τις ἀπήλασε τὸν ὑπηρέτην κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ἰκίλλιος καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ, συνέλαβον τὸν ῥαβδοῦχον καὶ ἀπῆγον ὡς ῥίψοντες κατὰ τῆς πέτρας.

[3] In order to get this measure introduced, the tribune went to the consuls of the year and to the senate, asking them to pass the preliminary vote for the law embodying the measure and to submit it to the populace. But when the consuls kept putting it off and protracting the time, he sent his attendant to them with orders that they should follow him to the office of the tribunes and call together the senate. And when one of the lictors at the orders of the consuls drove away the attendant, Icilius and his colleagues in their resentment seized the lictor and led him away with the intention of hurling him down from the rock.

[4] οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι βιάσασθαι μὲν ἢ τὸν ἀγόμενον ἀφελέσθαι, καίτοι δεινὰ δοκοῦντες ὑβρίσθαι, ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων βοήθειαν. οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισχεῖν ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν ἄλλων τινὶ ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ’

[4] The consuls, though they looked upon this as a great insult, were unable to use force or to rescue the man who was being led away, but invoked the assistance of the other tribunes; for no one but another tribune has a right to stop or hinder any of the actions of those magistrates.

[5] ἑτέρου δημάρχου τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτος. τοῖς δ’ ἄρα πᾶσιν ἦν ταῦτα κατ’ ἀρχὰς δεδογμένα μήτ’ εἰσηγήσασθαι τινα καινὸν πολίτευμα μηθὲν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ βαλόμενον, ἐὰν μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκῇ, μήτε ἐναντιωθῆναι τινα τοῖς πραττομένοις, ὅς’ ἂν αἱ πλείους γινώμει δοκιμάσωσι: καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἱερὰ θύσαντες ὄρκους ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις: οὕτως οἰόμενοι μάλιστα τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀκατάλυτον ἔσεσθαι κράτος, ἐὰν τὸ στασιάζον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναιρεθῇ.

[5] Now the tribunes had all come to this decision at the outset, that no one of their number should either introduce any new measure on his own initiative, unless they all concurred in it, or oppose any proceedings which met with the approval of the majority; and just as soon as they had assumed their magistracy they had confirmed this agreement by sacrifices and mutual oaths, believing that the power of the tribuneship would be most effectively rendered impregnable if dissension were banished from it.

[6] τοῦτο δὴ φυλάττοντες τὸ συνωμόσιον εἶπον ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν φύλακα τῆς

ἀρχῆς τῶν ὑπάτων, κοινήν ἀπάντων εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν γνώμην, οὐ μὴν διέμεινάν γ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ [p. 60] συνεδρίου παραιτουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆκαν, τὸν τε φθόνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ πράγματος, ὅτι πρῶτοι ἔμελλον θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ποιήσαντα, καὶ δεδοϊκότες, μὴ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ πατρίκιοι τραπέσθαι.

[6] It was in pursuance, then, of this sworn compact that they ordered the consuls' guardian to be led away, declaring this to be the unanimous decision of their body. Nevertheless, they did not persist in their resentment, but released the man at the intercession of the oldest senators; for they were not only concerned about the odium that would attend such a procedure, if they should be the first to punish a man by death for obeying an order of the magistrates, but also feared that with this provocation the patricians might be driven to take desperate measures.

[1] μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ κατηγορίαν πολλήν τῶν δημάρχων ἐποιήσαντο: παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁ Ἰκίλλιος περὶ τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ὀργῆς ἀπελογεῖτο τοὺς ἱεροὺς προφερόμενος νόμους, καθ' οὓς οὔτε ἄρχοντι οὔτ' ἰδιώτῃ συνεχωρεῖτο πράττειν οὐδὲν ἐναντίον δημάρχῳ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ συγκαλεῖν τὴν βουλήν ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς οὐθὲν εἴη πεποιηκὼς ἄτοπον, πολλοὺς καὶ

[32.1] After this action the senate was assembled and the consuls indulged in many accusations against the tribunes. Then Icilius took the floor and attempted to justify the tribunes' resentment against the lictor, citing the sacred laws which did not permit either a magistrate or a private citizen to offer any opposition to a tribune; and as for his attempt to convene the senate, he showed them that he had done nothing out of the way, using for this purpose many arguments of every sort, which he had prepared beforehand.

[2] παντοδαποὺς εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευασάμενος λόγους. ὥς δ' ἀπελύσατο ταύτας τὰς κατηγορίας, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου νόμον εἰσέφερεν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦδε: ὅσα μὲν ἰδιῶται τινες εἶχον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου κτησάμενοι, ταῦτα τοὺς κυρίου κατέχειν: ὅσα δὲ βιασάμενοι τινες ἢ κλοπῇ λαβόντες ὠκοδομήσαντο, κομισαμένους τὰς δαπάνας, ἃς ἂν οἱ διαιτηταὶ γνῶσι, τῷ δήμῳ παραδιδόναι: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἦν δημόσια, χωρὶς ὧνῃς τὸν δῆμον παραλαβόντα διελέσθαι.

[2] After answering these accusations, he proceeded to introduce his law concerning the hill. It was to this effect: All the parcels of land held by private citizens, if justly acquired, should remain in the possession of the owners, but such parcels as had been taken by force or fraud by any persons and built upon should be turned over to the populace and the present occupants reimbursed for their expenditures according to the appraisal of the arbitrators; all the remainder, belonging to the public, the populace should receive free of

cost and divide up among themselves.

[3] ἔδιδασκέ τε, ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ στασιάζειν ἔτι περὶ τῆς δημοσίας χώρας τοὺς πένητας, ἦν οἱ πατρίκιοι κατεῖχον. ἀγαπήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως λαχόντας [p. 61] μέρος, ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἔξεστι διὰ τοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους αὐτὴν πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ δυνατοὺς.

[3] He also pointed out that this measure would be advantageous to the commonwealth, not only in many other ways, but particularly in this, that it would put an end to the disturbances raised by the poor concerning the public land that was held by the patricians. For he said they would be contented with receiving a portion of the city, inasmuch as they could have no part of the land lying in the country because of the number and power of those who had appropriated it.

[4] τοιοῦτων ῥηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ὁ μὲν ἀντιλέγων Γάιος Κλαύδιος ἦν μόνος, οἱ δὲ συγκαταίνοντες πολλοί, καὶ ἔδοξε δίδοναι τῷ δήμῳ τὸν τόπον. μετὰ τοῦτο ἱεροφαντῶν τε παρόντων καὶ οἰωνοσκόπων καὶ ἱεροποιῶν δεῖν καὶ ποιησαμένων τὰς νομίμους εὐχὰς τε καὶ ἄρας ἐν τῇ λοχίτιδι ἐκκλησίᾳ συναχθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ νόμος ἐκυρώθη, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ γεγραμμένος, ἣν ἀνέθεσαν ἐν τῷ Αὐεντίνῳ

[4] After he had spoken thus, Gaius Claudius was the only person who opposed the law, while many gave their assent; and it was voted to give this district to the populace. Later, at a centuriate assembly called by the consuls, the pontiffs being present together with the augurs and two sacrificers and offering the customary vows and imprecations, the law was ratified. It is inscribed on a column of bronze, which they set up on the Aventine after taking it into the sanctuary of Diana.

[5] κομίσαντες εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου συνελθόντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὰ τε οἰκόπεδα διελάγχανον καὶ κατωκοδόμουν ὅσον ἕκαστοι τόπον δυνηθεῖεν ἀπολαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις καὶ ἔτι πλείους συνιόντες οἰκίαν κατεσκευάζοντο μίαν ἐτέρων μὲν τὰ κατάγεια λαχανόντων, ἐτέρων δὲ τὰ ὑπερῶα. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν οἰκήσεων ἔδαπανήθη.

[5] When the law had been ratified, the plebeians assembled, and after drawing lots for the plots of ground, began to build, each man taking as large an area as he could; and sometimes two, three, or even more joined together to build one house, and drawing lots, some had the lower and others the upper stories. That year, then, was employed in building houses.

[1] ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παρειλήφεσαν Τίτος Ῥωμίλιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐτετούριος, δῆμαρχοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Λεῦκιον Ἰκίλλιον τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχειν ἐξῆς αἰρεθέντες, οὐχ ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ ποικίλος τις ἐγένετο καὶ

μεγάλων μεστὸς πραγμάτων. ἥ τε γὰρ πολιτικὴ στάσις ἤδη μεμαράνθαι δοκοῦσα ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πάλιν ἀνεκινεῖτο, καὶ πόλεμοι τινες ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοεθνῶν ἀνέστησαν, οἳ κακὸν μὲν [p. 62] οὐθὲν διαθεῖναι τὴν πόλιν ἠδυνήθησαν, οὐ μικρὰν δὲ ὠφέλειαν τὸ στασιάζον ἀνελόντες ἐξ αὐτῆς.

[33.1] The following year, when Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius had succeeded to the consulship and Lucius Icilius and his colleagues were tribunes, chosen to hold the office for the second time in succession, was not all of one tenor, but varied and fraught with great events. For the civil strife, which seemed to have died down at last, was again stirred up by the tribunes, and some foreign wars arose which, without being able to do the commonwealth any harm, did her a great service by banishing the dissension.

[2] ἐγκύκλιον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ἔθει ἦν ἡδὴ τῇ πόλει πολεμουμένη μὲν ὁμονοεῖν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀγοῦσθαι στασιάζειν. τοῦτο συνιδόντες ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ὑπάτους ἀρχὰς παραλαβόντες κατ' εὐχὰς μὲν εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπανασταίῃ πόλεμος ἐλάμβανον: ἡσυχάζοντων δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων αὐτοὶ κατεσκεύαζον ἐγκλήματα καὶ προφάσεις πολέμων, ἅτε ὀρῶντες διὰ μὲν τοὺς πολέμους μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα γινομένην τὴν πόλιν, διὰ δὲ

[2] For it had by now become the regular and customary thing for the commonwealth to be harmonious in time of war and to be at odds in time of peace. All who assumed the consulship, being well aware of this, regarded it as an answer to prayer if a foreign war arose; and when their enemies were quiet, they themselves contrived grievances and excuses for wars, since they perceived that through its wars the commonwealth became great and flourishing, but through seditions humiliated and weak.

[3] τὰς στάσεις ταπεινὴν καὶ ἀσθενῆ. οἷς ὅμοια γνόντες οἱ τότε ὑπατοὶ στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν ἔκριναν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδοικότες, μὴ τι διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄρξωνται ταραττεῖν ἀργοὶ καὶ πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ἰδόντες, ὅτι δεῖ περισπᾶσαι τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀρθῶς. δεόν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐν νοσοῦσῃ πόλει μετρίαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς στρατολογίαις ἐπὶ τὸ βίᾳ προσαναγκάζειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐτράποντο, οὔτε παραιτήσιν οὔτε συγγνώμην οὐδενὶ διδόντες οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις εἷς τε τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν πικρῶς χρώμενοι.

[3] The consuls of that year, having come to this same conclusion, decided to make an expedition against the enemy, fearing that idle and poor men might because of the prevailing peace begin to raise disturbances; but though they were right in perceiving that the multitude ought to be kept employed in foreign wars, they erred in what they subsequently did. For, whereas they ought, in view of the sickly condition of the commonwealth, to have made the levies with moderation, they resorted instead to violence and compulsion in dealing with the disobedient, granting neither excuse nor pardon to anyone,

but harshly imposing the penalties ordained by the laws upon both their persons and their property.

[4] ταῦτα ποιοῦντων αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν αὖθις εἰλήφεσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τοῦ δημαγωγεῖν τὰ πλήθη· καὶ συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ τ' ἄλλα τῶν ὑπάτων κατεβόων, καὶ ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκέλευσαν εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον ἀπάγειν τὴν [p. 63] δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπικαλεσαμένους, τῆς τε στρατολογίας ἀπολύειν ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς δὴ μόνοι ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔχοντες. ὥς δ' οὐθὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρεφεστέρας ἔτι τὰς καταγραφὰς ἐώρων γινομένας,

[4] While they were doing this, the tribunes took occasion to stir up the masses again with their harangues; and calling an assembly, they denounced the consuls on various scores, but particularly for having ordered many citizens to be haled to prison even though they had invoked the protection of the tribunes; and they said that they themselves on their own responsibility released the people from the levy, having as they did authority to do so under the laws.

[5] ἔργοις κωλύειν ἐπεβάλλοντο. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῷ κράτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρεθισμοὶ τέ τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. συνηγωνίζετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις ἢ τῶν πατρικίων νεότης, τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὁ πένης καὶ ἀργὸς ὄχλος.

[5] When this had no effect and they saw the levies being carried out with still greater strictness, they undertook to obstruct them by deeds; and when the consuls resisted with the power of their magistracy also, there were sundry provocations and acts of violence. The consuls were supported by the young patricians, and the tribunes by the poor and idle multitude.

[6] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν παρὰ πολὺ κρείττους ἐγένοντο τῶν δημάρχων οἱ ὑπατοί, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις πλείονος ὄχλου συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, δόξαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι προσειληφέναι χεῖρα ἀξιόμαχον ἐκκλησίας τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας κακῶς διακειμένους ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλεγον ἀποθῆσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοήθεια.

[6] That day the consuls proved much superior to the tribunes; but in the course of the following days, as increasing numbers flocked into the city from the country, the tribunes thought they had now acquired an adequate force, and holding one assembly after another, they exhibited their assistants, who were in a bad condition from the blows they had received, and said they would resign their magistracy if they did not get some assistance from the populace.

[1] συναγανακτοῦντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλήθους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὥς τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑφέξοντας λόγον. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὸν νοῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρήσαν — ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

τούτων συνεδρεύοντες — καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδέοντο μὴθ' αὐτοὺς τὰ αἰσχιστά πεπονθότας ὑπεριδεῖν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν, διεξιόντες ὅσα ἦσαν πεπονθότες [p. 64] ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς συνωμοσίας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ

[34.1] The multitude sharing in their resentment, the tribunes summoned the consuls to appear before their assembly in order to render an account of their actions. But as these paid no heed to them, they went to the senate, which happened to be deliberating about this very matter, and coming forward, asked the members not to permit either the tribunes themselves to be treated in a most outrageous manner or the populace to be deprived of their assistance. They enumerated all the injuries they had received at the hands of the consuls and their faction, who had insulted not only their authority but also their persons;

[2] σώματα προπηλακισθέντες. ἡξίουں τε дуεῖν θάτερον ποιεῖν τοὺς ὑπάτους: εἰ μὲν ἄρνοῦνται μηδὲν ὦν οἱ νόμοι κεκωλύκασιν εἰς τὰ τῶν δημάρχων πλημμελῆσαι σώματα, παραγενομένους εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπομόσαι, εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν ὄρκον, ἦκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δημότας λόγον ὑφέξοντας: ἀναδώσειν γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς φυλαῖς τὴν ψῆφον.

[2] and they asked that the consuls do one of two things — either, in case they denied that they had done any wrong against the persons of the tribunes contrary to the laws, that they go before the popular assembly and make their denial under oath, or, if they could not bring themselves to take that oath, that they appear before the plebeians to render an account of their conduct; and they (the tribunes) would take the vote of the tribes concerning them.

[3] οἱ δ' ὕπατοι πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπελογοῦντο διδάσκοντες, ὅτι τῆς ὕβρεως οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄρξειαν αὐθαδεῖα χρῆσάμενοι καὶ τολμήσαντες εἰς ὑπάτων σώματα παρανομεῖν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπηρεταῖς τε καὶ ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιτάττοντες ἄγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄρχοντας, οἷς τὸ πάντων ἀποδέδοται κράτος, ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ τολμήσαντες ὁμόσε χωρεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἰταμωτάτοις τῶν δημοτικῶν:

[3] The consuls defended themselves against these charges by saying that the tribunes had begun the violence by their arrogant behaviour and by daring to commit lawless acts against the persons of the consuls, first by ordering their attendants and the aediles to hale to prison magistrates in whom the whole power of the commonwealth is vested, and later by entering the struggle themselves together with the boldest of the plebeians.

[4] τάς τε ἀρχὰς διδάσκοντες ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ἡ μὲν ὑπατική τὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἔχουσα κράτος, ἡ δὲ δημαρχική τῆς βοήθειας ἕνεκα παρεληλυθυῖα τῶν κατισχυομένων, ἧ τοσοῦτου δεῖν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὸς ψῆφον ἀναδιδόναι τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων

πατρικίων τοῦ φαυλοτάτου ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἂν μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται. ἡπείλουν τε, ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι ψῆφον ἀναδῶσι τοῖς δημόταις, αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅπλα περιθῇσιν τοῖς πατρικίοις.

[4] They pointed out how great a difference there is between the two magistracies — between the consulship, in which the royal power resides, and the tribuneship, which was introduced for the relief of the oppressed and, far from having the right to take the vote of the masses against one of the consuls, has not been given authority to do so against even the meanest of the other patricians, unless the senate shall so vote. And they threatened that they themselves would arm the patricians when the tribunes should take the votes of the plebeians.

[5] τοιοῦτων δὴ ῥηθέντων λόγων [p. 65] δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἐξήνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ τέλος, ἵνα μήτε τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν μειώσῃ μήτε τὴν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐκάτερον ὁρῶσα μεγάλων κινδύνων αἴτιον ἐσόμενον.

[5] After such recriminations had lasted the whole day, the senate came to no decision, being unwilling to lessen the power of either the consuls or the tribunes, since they saw that either course would be stand attended with great dangers.

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκειθεν ἀπηλάθσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι βοήθειαν οὐδεμίαν εὐρόμενοι, ἐσκόπουν αὖθις ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀφικόμενοι. ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τοῖςαραχωδεστάτοις ἀπέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δημοτικούς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναλαμβάνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείθεν ὁρμωμένους ποιεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, ἐπειδὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἔλυσαν ἐκεῖνοι τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καταλύοντες τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.

[35.1] When the tribunes were repulsed there also, failing to get any help, they went again to the popular assembly and considered what they ought to do. Some, particularly the most turbulent, thought the plebeians should take arms and again withdraw from the city to the Sacred Mount, where they had encamped on the first occasion, and from there make war against the patricians, since these had violated the compact they had made with the populace by openly overthrowing the tribunician power.

[2] τοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐδόκει μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς πόλεως μηδὲ κοινὰ πάντων ἐγκλήματα ποιεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἰδίᾳ τινὲς εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους παρενόμησαν, ἔάν τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τοῖς νόμοις λαμβάνωσιν, οἳ κελεύουσιν ἢ ποινὴν τίνειν ἢ τεθνάναι τοὺς ὑβρίσαντας τὰ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα. τοῖς δὲ χαριεστέροις οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐφαίνετο καλῶς ἔχειν, οὔτε τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὔτε φόνον ἄκριτον ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπάτων, οἷς ἡ μεγίστη ὑπέκειτο ἀρχή, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους [p. 66] αὐτοῖς μεταφέρειν τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ

τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας παρ' ἑκείνων λαμβάνειν.

[2] But the majority thought they ought not to leave the city nor to bring charges against all the patricians as a body for the lawless acts committed by some particular persons against the tribunes, provided they could obtain the relief offered by the laws, which ordain that those who have insulted the persons of the tribunes may be put to death with impunity. The more intelligent did not regard either course as fitting, either to leave the city or to put persons to death without a trial, and particularly consuls, who held the chief magistracy, but they advised them to transfer their resentment to those who were assisting the consuls and to exact from these the punishment ordained by the laws.

[3] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν θυμῷ φερόμενοι δρᾶσαι τι οἱ δήμαρχοι κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τῆς βουλῆς προήχθησαν, οὐθὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέναι τὴν πόλιν· οὕτως ἔτοιμοι πάντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον. νῦν δ' ἀναβαλόμενοι τὰ πράγματα καὶ δόντες ἑαυτοῖς χρόνον εἰς ἀμείνω λογισμὸν αὐτοὶ τε μετριώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὀργὰς ἐπράυναν.

[3] Now if the tribunes had been carried away by their passion that day to do anything against the consuls or the senate, nothing would have prevented the commonwealth from being destroyed by its own hands, so ready were all to rush to arms and engage in civil war. But as it was, by deferring matters and giving themselves time for better reasoning, they not only themselves grew more moderate, but also appeased the resentment of the multitude.

[4] ἔπειτα ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις τὴν τρίτην ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐσομένην ἀγορὰν προειπόντες, ἐν ᾗ τὸν δῆμον συνάξουσιν καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσιν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀργυρικὴν, διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ἀπέστησαν καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τῇ δεήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ ἐντιμοτάτων τὴν χάριν ἀνατιθέναι λέγοντες.

[4] Then, during the following days, they announced the third market-day from that one as the day when they would assemble the populace and impose a monetary fine upon the consuls; after which they dismissed the assembly. But when the time drew near, they refrained from imposing even this fine, alleging that they granted the favour at the intercession of men who were the oldest and most honoured.

[5] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναγαγόντες τὸν δῆμον ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰς μὲν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ὕβρεις ἀφείκασιν χαρισάμενοι πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δεομένοις, οἷς οὐκ ἦν ὅσιον ἀντιλέγειν, ὧν δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἡδικεῖτο κωλυταὶ τε καὶ τιμωροὶ ἔσεσθαι. προθήσειν γὰρ αὐθις τὸν τε περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας νόμον ἔτη τριάκοντα παρειλκυμένον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἰσονομίας, ὃν οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν δήμαρχοι προθέντες οὐκ ἐπεψήφισαν.

[5] After that they assembled the populace and told them that they had pardoned the insults to themselves, doing this at the request of many worthy men whom it was not right to refuse, but that as for the wrongs done to the populace, they would both avenge them and prevent their recurrence. For they would again propose not only the law concerning the allotment of land, the enactment of which had been postponed for thirty years, but also the one concerning an equality of laws, which their predecessors had proposed but had not put to vote.

[1] ταῦθ' ὑποσχόμενοι καὶ ὁμόσαντες ἀπέδειξαν ἡμέρας, ἐν αῖς ἀγορὰν ποιήσονται τοῦ δήμου [p. 67] καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἀναδώσουσι περὶ τῶν νόμων: ἐπιστάντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πρῶτον εἰσέφερον τὸν χωρονομικὸν νόμον καὶ πολλοὺς διελθόντες λόγους ἐκάλουν, εἴ τις τῷ νόμῳ συναγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν δημοτικῶν.

[36.1] Having made these promises and confirmed them by oaths, they appointed days on which they would hold an assembly of the populace and take their votes concerning the laws. When the time came, they first proposed the agrarian law, and after discussing it at great length, called upon any of the plebeians who so desired to speak in favour of the law.

[2] πολλῶν δὲ παριόντων καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πράξεις, αἷς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπέδειξαντο, προφερομένων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ὅτι πολλὴν ἀφελόμενοι γῆν τοὺς πολέμιους αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰλήφασιν μοῖραν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις δυνατοὺς ἐσφετερισμένους ὀρώσιν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ καρπούμενους ἐκ τοῦ βιαιοτάτου, ἀξιούντων τε μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡδονάς τε καὶ ὠφελείας, καὶ τοῦ πληθους ἀσμένως ἀκούοντος τοὺς λόγους, ὁ μάλιστα ἐπὶρρώσας τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ὑπομένειν τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων διαπραξάμενος ἦν Λεύκιος Σικκίος, Δεντάτος ἐπικαλούμενος, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλας ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις διεξελθὼν.

[2] Many came forward, and enumerating the exploits they had performed in the wars, expressed their indignation that they who had taken so much land from their enemies had received no part of it themselves, while they saw that those who were powerful by reason of their riches and their friends had appropriated and now enjoyed, by the most violent means, the possessions that belonged to all; and they demanded that the populace should share, not only in the dangers that were undertaken for the common good, but also in the pleasures and profits that resulted from those dangers. And the multitude listened to them with pleasure. But the one who encouraged them the most and refused to tolerate even a word from the opponents of the law was Lucius Siccus, surnamed Dentatus, who related very many great exploits of his own.

[3] ἦν δ' ὀφθῆναι τε θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ дуεῖν δέοντα ἐξήκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανὸς εἶπεῖν τε ὡς

στρατιώτης οὐκ ἄδύνατος. ἔφη δ' οὖν παρελθών: ἐγὼ, ὦ δημόται, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων εἰ βουλοίμην λέγειν, ἐπλίμποι ἄν με ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος. αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κεφάλαια δι' ἐλαχίστων ὡς ἐμὴ

[3] He was a man of remarkable appearance, was in the very prime of life, being fifty-eight years old, capable of conceiving practical measures and also, for a soldier, eloquent in expressing them. This man, then, came forward and said:

“If I, plebeians, should choose to relate my exploits one by one, a day’s time would not suffice me; hence I shall give a mere summary, in the fewest words I can.

[4] δύναμις ἐρῶ. τετταρακοστὸν μὲν ἔτος ἐστὶ μοι τοῦτο, ἐξ οὗ στρατεύομαι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, τριακοστὸν δ' [p. 68] ἐξ οὗ στρατιωτικῆς αἰετινος ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνων, τοτὲ μὲν σπεύρας ἡγούμενος, τοτὲ δ' ὅλου τάγματος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων Γαίου Ἀκυλλίου καὶ Τίτου Σικκίου, οἷς ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τὸν κατὰ Οὐολούσκων πόλεμον. ἤμην γὰρ τότε ἑπτακαικισσέτης, ἐταπτόμην δ' ἔτι ὑπὸ λοχαγῶ.

[4] This is the fortieth year that I have been making campaigns for my country, and the thirtieth that I have continued to hold some military command, sometimes over a cohort and sometimes over a whole legion, beginning with the consulship of Gaius Aquillius and Titus Siccus, to whom the senate committed the conduct of the war against the Volscians. I was then twenty-seven years of age and in rank I was still under a centurion.

[5] γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς καὶ τροπῆς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τῆς σπεύρας πεπτωκότος, τῶν δὲ σημείων κρατουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, μόνος ἐγὼ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων κίνδυνον ἀράμενος τὰ τε σημεῖα διέσωσα τῇ σπεύρα καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέστειλα καὶ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν αἰσχύνῃ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αἰώνιῳ, δι' ἣν θανάτου κακίων ὁ λοιπὸς ἂν αὐτοῖς βίος ἦν, αἴτιος ἐγενόμην φανερώς, ὡς αὐτοὶ τε ὠμολόγουν χρυσῶ με ἀναδῆσαντες στεφάνῳ, καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος Σικκίος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἡγεμόνα τῆς σπεύρας ἀποδείξας.

[5] When a severe battle occurred and a rout, the commander of the cohort had fallen, and the standards were in the hands of the enemy, I alone, exposing myself in behalf of all, recovered the standards for the cohort, repulsed the enemy, and was clearly the one who saved the centurions from incurring everlasting disgrace — which would have rendered the rest of their lives more bitter than death — as both they themselves acknowledged, by crowning me with a golden crown, and Siccus the consul bore witness, by appointing me commander of the cohort.

[6] ἑτέρου τε πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος ἐνστάτος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τε στρατοπεδάρχην τοῦ τάγματος ἡμῶν συνέβη πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν αἰτὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι,

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ τάγματος ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν τ' ἀετὸν ἀνεκομισάμην καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην ἔσωσα: ὃς ἐμοὶ τῆς τότε βοηθείας χάριν ἀποδιδούς τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ τάγματος ἀφίστατό μοι καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἐδίδου, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἀξιῶν ᾧ τὸν βίον ἐχαρισάμην τούτου παρελῆσθαι [p. 69] τὰς τιμὰς ἃς εἶχε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις εὐφροσύνας. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγασθεὶς με ὁ ὕπατος τοῦ πρώτου τάγματος ἀπέδωκε τὴν στρατοπεδαρχίαν ἀπολωλεκότος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἡγεμόνα.

[6] And in another battle that we had, in which it happened that the primipilus of the legion was thrown to the ground and the eagle fell into the enemy's hands, I fought in the same manner in defence of the whole legion, recovered the eagle and saved the primipilus. In return for the assistance I then gave him he wished to resign his command of the legion in my favour and to give me the eagle; but I refused both, being unwilling to deprive the man whose life I had saved of the honours he enjoyed and of the satisfaction resulting from them. The consul was pleased with my behaviour and gave me the post of primipilus in the first legion, which had lost its commander in the battle.

[1] ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ᾧ δημόται, τὰ φανερώσαντά με καὶ εἰς ἡγεμονίας προαγαγόντα γενναῖα ἔργα. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀνόματος ἤδη λαμπροῦ τυγχάνων φανερὸς ἦμην, ἅπαντας ὑπέμενον τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας αἰδούμενος τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀφανίσαι. καὶ διετέλεσα πάντα τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον στρατευόμενος καὶ τάλαιπωρῶν καὶ οὐδένα κίνδυνον δεδιὼς οὐδὲ ὑπολογιζόμενος: ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἀριστεῖα καὶ σκῦλα καὶ στεφάνους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς παρὰ

[37.1] "These, plebeians, are the noble actions which brought me distinction and preferment. After I had already gained an illustrious name and was famous, I submitted to the hardships of all the other engagements, being ashamed to blot out the memory of the honours and favours I had received for my former actions. And all the time since then I have continued to take part in campaigns and undergo their hardships without fearing or even considering my danger. From all these campaigns I received prizes for valour, spoils, crowns, and the other honours from the consuls.

[2] τῶν ὑπάτων ἔλαβον: ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μεμάχημαι, τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα εἴληφα καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ νώτου δ' οὐθέν. καὶ τούτων δώδεκά ἐστιν, ἃ συνέβη μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβῖνος Ἑρδώνιος τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατελάβετο.

[2] In a word, during the forty years I have continued to serve I have fought about one hundred and twenty battles and received forty-five wounds, all in front and not one behind; twelve of these I happened to receive in one day, when Herdonius the Sabine seized the citadel and the Capitol.

[3] Ἀριστεΐα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐξενήνεγμαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδησάν με οἱ σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολιορκητικούς πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς πολέμιων τείχεσι καὶ κατασχών, ὀκτώ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθην: πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοῦς στρεπτοῦς περιανχενίου, ἐξήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν περιβραχιόνια χρύσεα, δόρατα δ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα, [p. 70] φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν, % ὧν ἑννέα ἦσαν, οὓς μονομαχῆσαι τινα ἡμῶν προκαλεσαμένους ἐκούσιος ὑποστὰς ἐνίκησα.

[3] As to rewards for valour, I have brought out of those contests fourteen civic crowns, bestowed upon me by those I saved in battle, three mural crowns for having been the first to mount the enemy's walls and hold them, and eight others for my exploits on the battlefield, with which I was honoured by the generals; and, in addition to these, eighty-three gold collars, one hundred and sixty gold bracelets, eighteen spears, twenty-five splendid decorations, . . . nine of whom I voluntarily encountered and overcame when they challenged someone of our men to fight in single combat.

[4] οὗτος μέντοι Σικκίος, ὃ πολῖται, ὁ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔτη στρατευσάμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοσαύτας δὲ μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος, τοσούτοις δὲ τετιμημένος ἀριστείοις, ὁ μηδὲνα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας πῶποτε μηδ' ἀπειπάμενος ἄλλη ἐν παρατάξεσι καὶ ἐν τειχομαχίαις καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς καὶ ἐν ἵππεῦσι καὶ μετὰ πάντων καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ μόνος, καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ὁ συγκατακτησάμενος τῇ πατρίδι πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν γῆν, τοῦτο μὲν ἦν Τυρρηνοὺς τε παῖ Σαβίνους ἀφείλεσθε, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν Αἰκανῶν καὶ Οὐλοῦσκων καὶ Πωμεντίνων κρατήσαντες ἔχετε, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχω μοῖραν ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβὼν, οὐδ' ὑμῶν, ὧς δημόται, τῶν τὰ ὅμοια ταλαιπωρησάντων οὐδεῖς· οἱ δὲ βιαϊότατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀναιδέστατοι τὴν καλλίστην κατέχουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη κεκάρπωνται οὔτε δωρεὰν παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες οὔτε χρημάτων πριάμενοι οὔτε ἄλλην δικαίαν κτῆσιν οὐδεμίαν αὐτῆς ἀποδεῖξαι δυνάμενοι.

[4] Nevertheless, citizens, this Siccus, who has served so many years in your defence, fought so many battles, been honoured with so many prizes for valour, who never shirked or declined any danger, but . . . in pitched battles and assaults upon walled towns, among the foot and among the horse, with all, with a few, and alone, whose body is covered be with wounds, and who has had a share in winning this country much fertile land, both that which you have taken from the Tyrrhenians and the substitutes and that which you possess after conquering the Aequians, the Volscians and the Pometini — this Siccus, I say, has not received even the least portion of this land as his to possess, nor has any one of you plebeians who have shared in the same hardships. But the most violent and shameless men of the city hold the finest part of it and have had the enjoyment of it for many years, without having either received it from you as a gift or purchased it or being able to show any other just title to it.

[5] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡμῖν ταλαιπωρήσαντες, ὅτ' αὐτὴν ἐκτῶμεθα, πλεῖον ἡξιοῦν ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ἣν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτω δίκαιον οὐδὲ πολιτικὸν ὀλίγους σφετερίσασθαι [p. 71] τὰ κοινὰ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἶχέ γε τινα λόγον ἢ πλεονεξία τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὁπότε δ' οὐθὲν ἔχοντες ἐπιδείξασθαι μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον, ἀνθ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα βίᾳ κατέσχον, ἀναισχυνοῦσι καὶ οὐδ' ἐξελεγχόμενοι μεθιένται αὐτῶν, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο;

[5] If, indeed, they had borne an equal share of the hardships with the rest of us when we were acquiring this land and had then demanded to have a larger share of it than we, while it would not, even so, have been either just or democratic that a few should appropriate what belongs to all in common, yet there would at least be some excuse for the greed of these men; but when, though they cannot point to any great or daring deed of theirs in payment for which they seized by force the possessions that belong to us, they act in this shameful manner and even when convicted do not give them up, who can bear it?

[1] ἐπεὶ φέρε πρὸς Διός, εἴ τι τούτων ἐγὼ ψεύδομαι, δεῖξάτω τις ὑμῖν τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων παρελθόντων, τίνας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ καλὰς πράξεις προεχόμενος ἐμοῦ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῖ: πότερον ἔτη πλείω στρατευσάμενος ἢ μάχας πλείους ἀγωνισάμενος ἢ τραύματα πλείω λαβὼν ἢ στεφάνοις καὶ φαλάροις καὶ σκύλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπινικίοις κόσμοις ὑπερβαλόμενος, δι' ὃν ἀσθενέστεροι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι γεγόνασιν ἐπιφανεστέρα δὲ καὶ μείζων ἢ πατρίς; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ δέκατον ἐπιδειξάτω μέρος, ὧν ὑμῖν ὑπέδειξα ἐγώ.

[38] “Come now, if aught of what I have said is false, in Heaven’s name let one of these grand men come forward and show what illustrious and noble achievements he relies on to claim a larger share of the land than I. Has he served more years, fought more battles, received more wounds, or excelled me in the number of crowns, decorations, spoils, and the other ornaments of victory — in fact, shown himself a man by whom our enemies have been weakened and our country rendered more illustrious and powerful? Nay, let him show the tenth part of what I have cited to you.

[2] ἀλλὰ τούτων γ' οἱ πλείους οὐδ' ἂν πολλοστήν ἔχοιεν προενέγκασθαι μοῖραν τῶν ἐμῶν: ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τῷ φαυλοτάτῳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου φανεῖεν τὰ ἴσα κακοπαθήσαντες. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἢ λαμπρότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οὐδὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν φίλων: οὐδ' ἡγοῦνται κοινὴν οἰκεῖν πόλιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἰδίαν, ὥσπερ οὐ συνελευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κληρονομίαν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς: οἳ γε — τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ὑβρίζοντες ἡμᾶς μικρὰ καὶ μείζω διατελοῦσιν, ὥς ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε, [p. 72]

[2] But of these men the majority could not produce even the smallest fraction of my exploits; and some would be found not to have undergone as many hardships as the meanest plebeian. For their brilliancy does not lie in arms, but in words, nor is their power exerted against their enemies, but against their friends; and they do not regard the commonwealth in which they dwell as belonging to all alike, but as their own private property — as if they had not been aided by us in gaining their freedom from tyranny, but had received us as an inheritance from the tyrants. I say nothing of the other insults, small and great, which they continue to heap upon us, as you all know;

[3] σιωπῶ, — ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο προεληλύθασιν ὑπερηφανίας, ὥστ' οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀξιοῦσι τίνα ἡμῶν ἀφιέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθέραν οὐδὲ διᾶραι τὸ στόμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας Σπόριον Κάσσιον, τρισὶ μὲν ὑπατεῖαις κεκοσμημένον, δυσὶ δὲ θριάμβοις λαμπροτάτοις, τοσαύτην δὲ δεινότητα περὶ τε τὰς στρατηγικὰς πράξεις καὶ περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ βουλευόμενα ἀποδειξάμενον, ὅσων οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε γενομένων, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα αἰτιασάμενοι τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ψευδέσι καταγωνισάμενοι μαρτυρίαις δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ὅτι φιλόπολις ἦν καὶ φιλόδημος,

[3] but they have gone so far in their arrogance that they forbid any one of us even to utter a free word in behalf of our country or even to open our mouths. Nay, they accused Spurius Cassius, who first proposed the allotment of land, a man who had been honoured with three consulships and two most brilliant triumphs and had shown greater ability in both military undertakings and political counsels than anyone of that age — this man, I say, they accused of aiming at tyranny and defeated him by means of false testimony, for no other reason than because he was a lover of his country and a lover of the people, and they destroyed him by shoving him over the cliff.

[4] ὥσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ διέφθειραν. Γναῖον δὲ Γενύκιον δῆμαρχον ὄντα ἡμέτερον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πολίτευμα μετὰ τὸ ἔτος ἐνδέκατον ἀνενοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς ὑπατεῦσαντας ἐν τῷ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ κατέστησεν ὑπὸ δίκην ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ψηφισμάτων τῆς βουλῆς, ἃ περὶ τῶν γεωμόρων ἐψηφίσατο, ἐπεὶ φανερώς οὐχ οἶοι τ' ἦσαν ἀνελεῖν, μῖα πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δίκης ἀφανῶς ἀνήρπασαν.

[4] And again, when Gnaeus Genucius, one of our tribunes, revived this same measure after the lapse of eleven years and summoned the consuls of the preceding year to trial for having neglected to carry out the decree which the senate had passed respecting the appointment of the commissioners to divide the land, since they could not destroy him openly, they made away with him secretly the day before the trial.

[5] τοιγάρτοι πολλὺς ἐνέπεσε τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα φόβος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸ κινδύνευμα τοῦτο ὑπέδυ, ἀλλὰ τριακοστὸν ἔτος τοῦτο ἀνεχόμεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι τῇν ἐξουσίαν ἀπολωλεκότες.

[5] In consequence, great fear came upon the succeeding tribunes, and not one of them would thereafter expose himself to this danger, but for now the thirtieth year we endure this treatment, as if we had lost our power under a tyranny.

[1] ἐῷ τᾶλλα: ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, ὅτι τοῖς κατισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν ἡξιουν βοηθεῖν, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους ἐποιήσατε τῷ νόμῳ, τί [p. 73] οὐ πεπόνθασι τῶν δεινῶν; οὐχὶ τυπτόμενοι καὶ λακτιζόμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομειναντες ἀπηλάσθησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς; καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἀνέχεσθε καὶ οὐ ζητεῖτε, ὅπως παρ' αὐτῶν λήψεσθε δίκας ταῖς γοῦν ψήφοις, ἐν αἷς μόναις ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἀποδειξασθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

[39.1] “The other things I pass over; but your present magistrates, because they thought it their duty to help those of the plebeians who were oppressed, though by law you had made these magistrates sacred and inviolable, what dreadful treatment have they not suffered? Were they not driven out of the Forum with blows, kicks and every form of outrage? And you, do you endure to suffer such treatment and not seek means of taking revenge on the

perpetrators, at least by your votes, in which alone you can show your freedom?

[2] ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ δημόται, φρόνημα λαβόντες ἐλευθερὸν καὶ τὸν γεωμωρικὸν νόμον εἰσφέροντων τῶν δημάρχων ἐπικυρώσατε μηδὲ

[2] But even now, plebeians, pluck up the courage of free men and, now that the tribunes propose it, ratify the agrarian law, not tolerating even a word from those of the opposite opinion.

[3] φωνὴν ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν τάναντία ἀξιούντων. ὑμεῖς δ', ὧ δήμαρχοι, παρακλήσεως μὲν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐ δεῖσθε· καὶ γὰρ ἥρξατε αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑποκατακλίνεσθε, καλῶς ποιοῦντες· ἐὰν δ' ἐκ τῶν νέων αὐθάδεια καὶ ἀναίδεια ὑμῖν ἐμποδῶν γένηται τοὺς καδίσκους ἀνατρεπόντων ἢ τὰς ψήφους ἀρπάζοντων ἢ ἄλλο τι περὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἀκοσμοῦντων, δεῖξατε αὐτοῖς ἥν ἔχει τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἰσχύν.

[3] As for you, tribunes, you need no exhortation to do this task, since you began it and in not yielding do well. And if the self-willed and shameless young men obstruct you by overturning the voting-urns, snatching away the ballots or committing any other disorders in connexion with the voting, show them what power your college possesses.

[4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔξεστι παῦσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας, τοὺς ιδιώτας οἷς πρὸς τὰ βίαια ὑπηρεταῖς ἐκείνοι χρῶνται καταστήσαντες ὑπὸ δίκην, ἀνάδοτε τῷ δήμῳ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ψήφους, αἰτιασάμενοι παρὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους βιάζεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν.

[4] And since you cannot depose the consuls from power, bring to trial the private persons whom they use as the agents of their violence and take the votes of the populace concerning them, after charging them with attempting to violate and overthrow your magistracy contrary to the sacred laws."

[1] τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος οὕτως οἰκείως διετέθη πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοσαύτην [p. 74] ἀπεδείξατο ἀγανάκτησιν πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἔφην καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς, μηδὲ λόγον ἔτι βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀντιλεξόντων ὑπομένειν.

[40.1] When he had spoken to this effect, the plebeians were so won over by his words and showed so great indignation against their adversaries that, as I said at the outset, they were unwilling to tolerate even another word from those who were intending to speak against the law.

[2] ὁ μέντοι δήμαρχος Ἰκίλλιος ἀναστὰς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔφη πάντα ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν Σικκίον καὶ μακρὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διεξῆλθε· τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόναι λόγου τοῖς ἀντιλέξαι βουλομένοις οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπέφαινε οὔτε πολιτικόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμου τῆς ζητήσεως γινομένης, ὃς ἔμελλε κρεῖττονα ποιήσῃ τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας. ταύτη γὰρ ἀφορμὴ χρήσεσθαι τοὺς

μηδὲν ἴσως καὶ δικαίως τοῖς πολλοῖς φρονοῦντας τοῦ ταραττεῖν πάλιν καὶ διστάναι τὰ

[2] Icilius the tribune, however, rose and said that everything else Siccus had said was excellent, and he praised the man at length; but as to not permitting those who wished to oppose the measure to speak, that, he declared, was neither just nor democratic, especially as the debate was about a law which would make justice superior to violence. For such an opportunity would be used by those who entertained no sentiments of equality and justice toward the masses to disturb them again and cause factious divisions about the interests of the commonwealth.

[3] συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀποδείξας ἡμέραν τοῖς κατηγοροῖς τοῦ νόμου διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι συναγαγόντες ἰδιωτικὸν συνέδριον πατρικίων τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ἀνθούτων ἐδίδασκον αὐτοὺς, ὡς κωλυτέος εἴη σφίσι ὁ νόμος, λόγοις μὲν πρῶτον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πειθῶσι τὸν δῆμον, ἔργοις. ἐκέλευόν τε ἅπασιν ἥκειν ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις τε καὶ πελάταις, ὅσοις ἂν ἕκαστοι πλείστοις δύνωνται.

[3] Having spoken thus and assigned the following day to the opponents of the law, he dismissed the assembly. The consuls, on their side, called a private meeting of those patricians who were the bravest and in the highest repute in the city at the time, and showed them that they must hinder the law from passing, first by their words, and if they could not persuade the populace, then by their deeds. They bade them all come early in the morning to the Forum with as many friends and clients as each of them could get together;

[4] ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστήριον ἐστῶτας ὑπομένειν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέρη συστρέψαντας ἑαυτοὺς διασπῆναι, ὥστε διελιγῆσθαι τὸ δημοτικὸν διεσπασμένον καὶ κωλύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἓν συνελθεῖν. ἐδόκει ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεῖχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων. [p. 75]

[4] then some of them should take their stand round the tribunal itself and the comitium and remain there, while others, forming in groups, took up positions in many different parts of the Forum, in order to keep the plebeians divided and hinder them from uniting in one body. This seemed to be the best plan, and before it was broad daylight the greater part of the Forum was occupied by the patricians.

[1] μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι παρήσαν, καὶ λέγειν ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ νόμου κατηγορεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν παριόντων οὐθενὸς ἐξάκουστος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τε καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῶν ἐκκλησιαζόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπέκελευόν τε καὶ

ἐπεθάρρυνον τοὺς λέγοντας, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλον τε καὶ κατεβόων. ἐκράτει δὲ οὔτε ὁ τῶν συλλαμβανόντων ἔπαινος, οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων θόρυβος.

[41.1] After that the tribunes and the consuls appeared and the herald bade anyone who so desired to speak against the law. But though many good men came forward, the words of none of them could be heard by reason of the tumult and disorderly behaviour of the assembly. For some cheered and encouraged the speakers, while others were for throwing them out or for shouting them down; but neither the applause of the supporters nor the clamour of the opponents prevailed.

[2] ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μαρτυρομένων, ὅτι τῆς βίας ὁ δῆμος ἄρχει λόγον οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπομένειν, ἀπελογοῦντο οἱ δήμαρχοι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἤδη πέμπτον ἔτος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες λόγων οὐθὲν ποιοῦσι θαυμαστόν, εἰ μὴ ἀξιοῦσιν ὑπομένειν ἐώλους καὶ κατημαξευμένας ἀντιλογίας.

[2] When the consuls were incensed at this and protested that the populace had begun the violence by refusing to tolerate a word, the tribunes attempted to justify them by saying that, inasmuch as the plebeians kept hearing the same arguments for now the fifth year, they were doing nothing remarkable if they did not care to put up with stale and trite objections.

[3] ὥς δὲ τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ταῦτα ἐδαπανήθη, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆτει τὰς ψήφους, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν πατρικίων διίστασθαι τε βουλομένοις κατὰ φυλὰς τοῖς δημόταις ἐμποδῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψήφων τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ταῦτα ἀφιέναι τύπτοντές τε καὶ

[3] When most of the day had been spent in these contests and the populace insisted upon giving their votes, the youngest of the patricians, regarding the situation as no longer endurable, hindered the plebeians when they wished to divide themselves by tribes, took away the voting-urns from those who were in charge of them, and beating and pushing such of the attendants as would not part with them, sought to drive them from the comitium.

[4] ὠθοῦντες ἐξέβαλλον. κεκραγόντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ εἰς μέσους αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένων ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπεχώρουν καὶ παρεῖχον ὅποι βούλονται χωρεῖν ἄδεῶς, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου δήμου τὸ ἐπόμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ κατ' [p. 76] ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα μέρη τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ θορύβου καὶ ἀταξίας κινούμενον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ παρίεσαν, ὥστ' ἀνωφελὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων βοήθεια. τέλος δ' οὔν ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πατρικιοὶ καὶ οὐκ εἴασαν ἐπικυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον.

[4] But when the tribunes cried out and rushed into their midst, the youths made way for those magistrates and permitted them to go in safety wherever they wished, but of the rest of the populace they did not let pass either those who were in the tribunes' train or those who in various parts of the Forum

were endeavouring amid the uproar and disorder to move toward them; hence the assistance of the tribunes was of no avail.

[5] οἱ δὲ προθυμότατα συλλαβέσθαι δόξαντες τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐκ τριῶν οἰκιῶν ἦσαν, Ποστόμιοι καὶ Σεμπρώνιοι καὶ τρίτοι Κλοίλιοι, γένους τε ἀξιώσει λαμπρότατοι καὶ ἑταιρίαις μεγάλα δυνάμενοι πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις ἐπιφανεῖς; καὶ τοῦ μὴ κυρωθῆναι τὸν νόμον οὗτοι ὠμολογοῦντο αἰτιώτατοι γενέσθαι.

[5] In the end, at any rate, the patricians prevailed and would not permit the law to be ratified. Those who were reputed to have assisted the consuls with the greatest zeal on this occasion were of three families, the Postumii, the Sempronii, and third, the Cloelii, all of them men most illustrious for the dignity of their birth, very powerful because of their bands of followers, and distinguished for their wealth, their reputation and their exploits in war. These, it was agreed, were the chief agents in preventing the law from being ratified.

[1] τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παραλαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐσκόπουν, ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασι, κοινὸν μὲν τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογούμενον εἰληφότες, τὸ μὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἄγειν ὑπὸ τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἰδιώτας, ὧν κολαζομένων ἔμελλε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλάττων ἔσεσθαι λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁ Σικκίος ὑπετίθετο: περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς αἰτίας ἀχθησομένων ὅσον εἶναι χρή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὃ θήσονται τῇ δίκῃ, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος πηλίκον ἔσται τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπιμελῇ

[42.1] The next day the tribunes, having associated with themselves the most prominent plebeians, considered how they should deal with the situation, after adopting the general principle, accepted by all, not to bring the consuls themselves to trial, but only their attendants who held no office, since their punishment would be a made of less concern to most citizens, as Siccus suggested. But the number of the persons to be indicted, the name that should be given to the offence, and the amount of the fine were matters to which they gave careful consideration.

[2] ποιούμενοι ζήτησιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν χαλεπώτεροι τὰς φύσεις ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζόν τε καὶ φοβερώτερον ἅπαντα ταῦτα προάγειν παρήνουν, οἱ δ' ἐπεικέστεροι τὸναντίον ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον καὶ φιланθρωπότερον, ὃ [p. 77] δὲ ταύτης ἡγούμενος τῆς γνώμης καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς ἦν Σικκίος, ὁ τοὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τῆς κληρουχίας διελθὼν λόγους.

[2] Now while those who were naturally more truculent advised going in all these matters to a greater and more terrifying length, and the more reasonable, on the contrary, to a more moderate and humane extent, the man who took the lead for the latter opinion and won the assent of the others was Siccus, who

had made the speech in the popular assembly in favour of the land-allotment.

[3] ἔδοξε δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν πατρικίων ἑᾶσαι, Κλοιλίους δὲ καὶ Ποστομίους καὶ Σεμπρωνίους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄγειν, ὧν ἔπραξαν ὑφέζοντας δικας: ἐγκαλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων, οὓς περὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκύρωσεν ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος, οὐθενὶ δεδωκότων ἐξουσίαν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς δημάρχους ὑπομένειν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐκεῖνοι κατασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυσαν ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν.

[3] They resolved, then, to let the rest of the patricians alone, but to bring the Cloelii, the Postumii and the Sempronii before the popular assembly to stand trial for their acts; and to make the charge against them that, whereas the sacred laws, which the senate and the assembly had enacted concerning the tribunes, had given no one authority to compel the tribunes to submit, like the other citizens, to anything against their will, these men had restrained them and prevented them from carrying through the deliberation concerning the law.

[4] τιμῆμα δ' ἐφάνη ταῖς δίκαις ὀρίσαι μήτε θάνατον μήτε φυγὴν μήτ' ἄλλο ἐπιφθονον μηδέν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς γένηται σωτηρίας αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἱερὰς εἶναι Δήμητρος, τὸ μετριώτατον ἐκλεξαμένοις τοῦ νόμου μέρος.

[4] As for the penalty in these trials, they decided to fix neither death, banishment, nor any other invidious punishment, lest that very thing should become the cause of their salvation, but that their estates should be consecrated to Ceres — thus choosing the mildest punishment provided by the law. While this was going on the time arrived when the trials of the men were to take place.

[5] ἐγίνετο ταῦτα, καὶ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔδει συντελεῖσθαι δικας. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων τοῖς παραληφθεῖσιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον — ἔτυχον δ' οἱ κράτιστοι παρακληθέντες — ἔδόκει συγχωρεῖν τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπιτελέσαι τὰς δικας, ἵνα μὴ τι μεῖζον κωλυθέντες ἐξηργάσωνται κακόν, καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐπιτρέπειν ἀγριαινομένοις εἰς τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκχεῖαι τὴν χολήν, ἵνα πιθασώτεροι γένωνται τὸ λοιπόν, λαβόντες ὀποσηνοῦν παρὰ τῶν [p. 78] ἐχθρῶν δικην, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς εἰς χρήματα ζημίας εὐδιόρθωτον ἐχούσης τοῖς πεπονθόσι τὴν συμφορὰν:

[5] The consuls and the other patricians who had been invited to the senate-house — the most influential had been summoned — decided to let the tribunes carry out the trials, lest, if they were hindered, they might do some greater mischief, and to allow the enraged plebeians to spend their fury upon the goods of these men, to the end that they might be milder for the future,

after taking some revenge, however slight, upon their enemies, particularly since a monetary fine was a misfortune that could easily be made up to the sufferers. And so in fact it turned out.

[6] ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. ἀλόντων γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους τὰς δικας, ὃ τε δῆμος ἀγριαίνόμενος ἐπαύσατο, καὶ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐδόκει τις ἀποδεδόσθαι μετρία καὶ πολιτικὴ βοήθεια, τοῖς τε ἀνδράσι τὰς οὐσίας οἱ πατρίκιοι παρὰ τῶν ὠνησαμένων ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τῆς ἴσης λυσάμενοι τιμῆς ἀπέδωκαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατεπείγοντα δεινὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρησαμένων τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτῶν διελέλυτο.

[6] For when the men had been condemned by default, the populace ceased from its anger, and also it seemed that a moderate and statesmanlike power of rendering assistance had been restored to the tribunes, while as for the convicted men, their estates were ransomed by the patricians from those who had purchased them from the treasury for the same price they had paid for them and were restored to the owners. As a result of their handling the matter in this fashion the pressing dangers were dispelled.

[1] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν τῶν δημάρχων τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου εἰσφερόντων λόγον αἰφνιδίως τις ἀπαγγελεῖσα πολεμίων ἔφοδος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Τυσκλάνων πόλιν, αἰτία κωλύσεως ἀποχρῶσα ἐγένετο. τῶν γὰρ Τυσκλάνων κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικομένων καὶ λεγόντων, ὅτι δυνάμει πολλῇ πάρεισιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν αὐτῶν ἤδη διηρπάκασιν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἐὰν μὴ τις γένηται ταχεῖα ἐπικουρία, φθάσουσιν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀράμενοι, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαστο βοηθεῖν ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ στρατολογίαν προθέντες ἐκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα.

[43.1] Not long afterwards, when the tribunes again introduced the subject of the law, the sudden announcement that enemies had made an attack upon Tusculum furnished a sufficient reason for preventing such action. For the Tusculans, coming to Rome in great numbers, said that the Aequians had come against them with a large army, that they had already plundered their country, and unless some assistance were speedily sent, they would be masters of the city within a few days. Upon this the senate ordered that both consuls should go to the rescue; and the consuls, having announced a levy, summoned all the citizens to arms.

[2] ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τις καὶ τότε στάσις ἐναντιουμένων τῇ καταγραφῇ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας οὐ συγχωροῦντων ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων: ἔπραξαν δ' οὐθέν. [p. 79] συνελθοῦσα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ γνώμην ἀπεδείξατο, τοὺς πατρικίους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πελάταις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος γινομένης ὅσια εἶναι τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς, τοῖς δ' ἐγκαταλείπουσι τοὺς ὑπάτους τάναντία.

[2] On this occasion also there was something of a sedition, as the tribunes opposed the levy and would not permit the punishments ordained by law to be inflicted on the disobedient. But they accomplished nothing. For the senate met and passed a resolution ordering that the patricians should take the field with their clients, and declaring that to such of the other citizens as were willing to take part in this expedition undertaken for the preservation of the fatherland the gods were propitious, but to those who deserted the consuls they were unpropitious.

[3] ὡς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πολλοὶ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκόντες ὑπέμειναν: οἱ μὲν ἐπεικέστατοι δι' αἰσχύνην, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπικουρήσουσι πόλει συμμάχῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὖνοιαν αἰεὶ τι πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν βλαπτομένη: ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Σικκίος ἐκεῖνος ὁ κατηγορήσας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν σφετερισσαμένων τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν, σπεῖραν ἐπαγόμενος ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ στρατεῦσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὥραν εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδ' ἔπιπτον ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν νόμων, τιμῶντες δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας, ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι.

[3] When the decree of the senate was read in the assembly, many also of the populace voluntarily consented to enter the struggle, the more respectable moved by shame if they should not succour an allied city which because of its attachment to the Romans was always suffering some injury at the hands of its foes. Among these was Siccus, who in the popular assembly had inveighed against those who had appropriated the public land, and he brought with him a cohort of eight hundred men; these were, like himself, past the military age and not subject to the compulsion of the laws, but as they honoured him because of his many great services, they did not think it right to desert him when he was setting out to war.

[4] καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐξελθοῦσης τότε δυνάμεως ἐμπειρία τε ἀγώνων καὶ τῇ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ εὐτολμία μακρῷ τοῦ ἄλλου ἄμεινον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ χάριτι καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν πρεσβυτάτων ὑπαχθέντες εἵποντο. ἦν δὲ τι μέρος, ὃ τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις γινομένων πάντα κίνδυνον ἔτοιμον ἦν ὑπομένειν. καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου δύναμις ἐξῆλθε πλήθει τε ἀποχρῶσα καὶ παρασκευαῖς κεχηρημένη λαμπροτάταις.

[4] Indeed, this contingent of the force which set out at that time was far superior to the rest of the army in point both of experience in action and of courage in the face of dangers. The majority of those who followed along were led to do so out of goodwill toward the oldest citizens and because of their exhortations. And there was a certain element which was reduce to undergo any peril for the sake of the booty that is acquired in campaigns. Thus in a short time an army took the field that was sufficient in numbers and most splendidly equipped.

[5] οἱ μὲν οὖν [p. 80] πολέμιοι προακούσαντες, ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιάν, ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαύνοντες καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐστρατοπεδευκότας αὐτοὺς πόλεως Ἀντίου πλησίον ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ χωρίῳ καὶ τίθενται τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῆς ἐκείνων οὐ πρόσω.

[5] The enemy, who had learned in advance that the Romans intended to lead out an army against them, were returning homeward with their forces. But the consuls, making a forced march, came up with them while they lay encamped on a high and steep hill near the city of Antium and placed their camp not far from that of the foe.

[6] τέως μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπέμενον ἀμφοτέροι παρεμβολαῖς, ἔπειτα καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αἰκανοὶ τῆς οὐ προεπιχειρήσεως καὶ πλῆθος οὐχ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἀγοράς τ' αὐτῶν περιέκοπτον ἐξιόντες καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ προνομὴν ἀποστελλομένους ἢ χόρτον ἵπποις ἀνεκροῦντο καὶ τοῖς πρὸς ὕδρεϊαν καταβαίνουσιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπετίθεντο, προὔκαλοῦντό τ' αὐτοὺς πολλάκις εἰς μάχην.

[6] For some time both armies remained in their camps; then the Aequians, despising the Romans for not having taken the initiative in attacking, and judging their army to be insufficient in numbers, sallied out and cut off their provisions, drove back those who were sent out for provender or fodder for their horses, fell suddenly upon those who went for water, and challenged them repeatedly to battle.

[1] ταῦθ' ὁρῶσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει μηκέτι διατρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἦν δ' ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐξουσία Ῥωμιλίῳ προσήκουσα, καὶ ὁ τὸ σύνθημα διδοὺς καὶ εἰς τάξιν καθιστὰς ἄρχειν τε καὶ παύεσθαι μάχης τὸν καιρὸν ταμιεύων ἐκείνος ἦν: ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκέλευσεν ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ προῆγεν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὸν στρατὸν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτασσεν ἵππεῖς τε καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς κατὰ σπεῖρας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐκάστους τόποις, τὸν δὲ Σικκίον καλέσας λέγει:

[44.1] The consuls, seeing this, resolved to put off the fighting no longer. During those days it was Romilius' turn to decide whether to fight or not, and it was he who gave the watchword, drew up the army and determined the proper moment both for beginning and for ending battle. He, having ordered the battle standards to be raised and led his army out of the camp, posted the horse and foot according to their companies, each in their proper places, and then, summoning Siccus, said:

[2] ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Σικκίε, μαχοῦμεθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνθάδε, σὺ δ' ἐν ὧσιν μέλλομεν εἶτι καὶ [p. 81] παρασκευαζόμεθα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀμφοτέροι, χώρει τὴν πλαγίαν ἐκείνην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐνθα ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ παρεμβολή, καὶ μάχην τίθεσο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χάρακι, ἴν' ἢ περὶ τῷ

φρουρίῳ δείσαντες οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχόμενοι καὶ βοηθεῖν προθυμοῦμενοι
νῦν τὰ τε δείξωσι καὶ εὐκατέργαστοι γένωνται, καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἐν ἀναχωρήσει
ταχεῖα, καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁδὸν ἅπαντες βιαζόμενοι, ἢ μένοντες αὐτόθι τὸν χάρακα
ἀποβάλωσιν.

[2] “We, Siccius, are going to engage the enemy here; but as for you, while we are still waiting and preparing on both sides for the contest, do you march by yonder transverse road to the top of the hill where the enemy’s camp is placed and give battle to the men inside, in order that those who are engaged with us may either, fearing for their stronghold and eager to relieve it, show their backs and thus be easily defeated, as likely they will be when they are making a hasty retreat and are all forcing their way into one road, or may, by staying here, lose their camp.

[3] οὐτε γὰρ ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις ἀξιόμαχος ἐστίν, ὥς εἰκάσειεν ἄν
τις, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρυμνῷ τοῦ τόπου δοκοῦσα εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἀσφαλές: ἢ τε ἅμα σοι
δύναμις ἀποχρῶσα γένοιτ’ ἄν, ἄνδρες ὀκτακόσιοι πολλῶν ἀθληταὶ πολέμων,
τεταραγμένους σκηνοφύλακας ἀπροσδόκητοι προσπεσόντες τῷ τολμηρῷ
ἐλεῖν.

[3] For not only is the force guarding it not a match for you, in all probability, believing as it does that its whole security depends on the natural strength of the position, but the force with you, eight hundred men, veterans of many wars, should be sufficient to capture by a bold stroke mere tent-guards when thrown into confusion by your unexpected attack.”

[4] καὶ ὁ Σικκίος ἔφησεν: ἄλλ’ ἔγωγε ἅπαντα μὲν ἔτοιμος ὑπηρετεῖν: τὸ
μέντοι ἔργον οὐ ῥάδιον ὥσπερ σοι δοκεῖ. ὕψηλὴ τε γὰρ ἡ πέτρα καὶ
ἀπτότομος, ἐφ’ ἧς ὁ χάραξ, ὁδὸν τε οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶ φέρουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔξω
τῆς μιᾶς, ἣ καταβήσονται οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, φυλακὴν τ’ εἰκὸς
ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι ἐν αὐτῇ: καὶ ὀλίγη δὲ πάνυ καὶ φαύλη τις οὖσα τύχη, πρὸς
πολλῷ πλείονα ἢ τὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ δύναμιν ἀντέχειν οἷα τε ἔσται, τὸ τε χωρίον
αὐτὸ παρέξει τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ μὴ ἀλώσεσθαι τὸ ἀσφαλές.

[4] And Siccius replied: “For my part, I am ready to obey in everything; but the task is not so easy as it seems to you. For the cliff on which the camp is situated is lofty and steep, and I see no road leading to it except the one by which the enemy will come down against us, and it is probable that there is an adequate guard placed over it; but even if it should chance to be a very small and weak one, it will be able to hold out against a much larger force than the one I have, and the place itself will afford the guard security against being captured.

[5] ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν ἀνάθου τὴν γνώμην — ἡ πεῖρα γὰρ ἐπισηφαλής — εἰ δὲ
πάντως ἔγνωσται σοι δύο τίθεσθαι μάχας ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ, δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων
ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τάξον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. [p. 82] οὐ

γὰρ κλέφοντες τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καὶ φανερώς ἐξελοῦντες ἄνιμεν.

[5] Do then, if possible, reconsider your purpose, for the attempt is hazardous; but if you are absolutely determined to fight two battles at the same time, then order a sufficient force of chosen men to follow me and the older men. For we are not going up to take the place by surprise, but by main force and openly.”

[1] ἔτι δ’ αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν τὰκόλουθα ὑπολαβὼν ὁ ὕπατος εἶπεν: οὐ πολλῶν δεῖ λόγων, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὑπομένεις πράττειν τὰ προσταττόμενα, χώρει διὰ ταχέων καὶ μὴ παραστρατήγῃ, εἰ δὲ ἀφίστασαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκεις τὸν κίνδυνον, ἑτέροις εἰς τὸ ἔργον χρήσομαι.

[45.1] Although Siccus wanted to go on and finish his explanation, the consul interrupted him and said: “There is no need of many words. But if you can bring yourself to obey my orders, go at once and do not play the general; if, however, you decline and run away from the danger, I shall use other men for the task.

[2] σὺ δὲ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη στρατευσάμενος καὶ κατατετρωμένος ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκὼν ἦλθες, ἄπιθι μῆτε ὁμιλήσας πολέμοις μῆτ’ ἰδὼν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀκόνα πάλιν τοὺς λόγους, οἷς χρήσι κατὰ

[2] As for you, who fought those hundred and twenty battles and served those forty years and whose body is covered with wounds, since you came voluntarily, depart without either encountering the enemy or seeing them; and instead of your arms, sharpen once more your words which you will expend without stint against the patricians.

[3] τοῦ φθόνου τῶν πατρικίων. ποῦ νῦν ἐκεῖνά σου τὰ πολλὰ ἀριστεῖα, οἱ στρεπτοὶ καὶ τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ οἱ τῶν ὑπάτων στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν μονομαχιῶν λάφυρα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη βαρύτης, ἣν τότ’ ἠνεσχόμεθα σου λέγοντος; ἐν ἐνὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ βασανιζόμενος, ἔνθα κίνδυνος ἦν ἀληθινός, ἐξητάσθης οἷος ἦσθα, ὡς ἀλαζῶν καὶ δόξῃ

[3] Where now are those many prizes given you for valour, those collars, bracelets, spears, and decorations, those crowns from the consuls, those spoils gained in single combat, and all your other tiresome boasting which we had to endure hearing from you the other day? For when you were tested in this single instance where the danger was real, you proved what sort of man you were — a braggart practising bravery in imagination, not in reality.”

[4] τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπιτηδεύων, οὐκ ἀληθεῖα. καὶ ὁ Σικκίος δυσανασχετῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδεσιν: οἶδα, φησὶν, ὦ Ῥωμίε, ὅτι δεῖν πρόκειται σοι θάτερον ἢ ζῶντα [p. 83] διεργάσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀποδοῦναι δόξαν αἰσχίστην ἐνεγκάμενον δειλίας, ἢ κακῶς καὶ ἀδήλως κατακοπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κἀγὼ τις ἔδοξα εἶναι τῶν ἀξιούντων ἐλευθερά φρονεῖν:

οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄδην, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐγνωσμένον ἀποστέλλεις με θάνατον:

[4] Siccus, stung by these reproaches, answered: "I am aware, Romilius, that the choice lies before you either to destroy me while alive and make me a mere nobody bearing the most shameful reputation for cowardice, or that I shall die a miserable and obscure death, hacked to pieces by the enemy, because I too seemed to be one of those who insist on showing the spirit of free men. For you are sending me, not to a doubtful, but to a predetermined death.

[5] πλὴν ὑπομενῶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ πειράσομαι φανεῖς ψυχὴν οὐ κακὸς ἢ κρατῆσαι τοῦ χάρακος, ἢ μὴ τυχὼν τῆς ἐλπίδος εὐγενῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὑμᾶς δ', ὧ συστρατιῶται, μάρτυρας ἀξιῶ γενέσθαι μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ἐὰν πύθησθε τὸν ἐμὸν μόρον, ὅτι με ἀπώλεσεν ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῶν λόγων ἐλευθερία.

[5] Yet I will undertake even this task and endeavour, showing myself no coward, either to capture the camp or, failing in that, gallantly to die. And I ask you, fellow soldiers, if you hear of my death, to bear witness for me to the rest of the citizens that I fell a sacrifice to my valour and to my great frankness of speech."

[6] ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάτον ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ δακρύσας τοὺς τε συνήθεις ἅπαντας ἀσπασάμενος ὥχετο τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἄγων κατηφεῖς καὶ δεδακρυμένους ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ πορευομένους: καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ πᾶσα στρατιὰ δι' οἴκτου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβεν ὡς οὐκέτι ὀφομένη τοὺς ἄνδρας.

[6] Having thus answered the consul, with tears in his eyes, and embraced all his intimate friends, he set out at the head of his eight hundred men, all dejected and weeping, believing that they were taking the road to death. And all the rest of the army were moved to compassion at the sight, expecting to see these men no more.

[1] ὁ δὲ Σικκίος ἑτέραν ἀποστραφεῖς, οὐχ ἦν ὁ Ῥωμίλιος ὑπελάμβανε, παρὰ τὴν λαγὼνα τοῦ ὄρους ἦγεν. ἔπειτα — ἦν γὰρ τις δρυμὸς ὕλην βαθεῖαν ἔχων — εἰς τοῦτον ἄγων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἴσταται τε καὶ φησιν: ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀπεστάλμεθα, ὥσπερ ὀρᾶτε, ἀπολούμενοι. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τὴν πλαγίαν χωρῆσειν ὁδόν, ἣν ἀναβαινοντας ἀμείχανον ἦν μὴ οὐ φανεροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἄξω κατ' ἀδην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁδὸν καὶ πολλὰς [p. 84] ἐλπίδας ἔχω τριβῶν ἐπιλήψεσθαι τινων, αἱ κατὰ κορυφῆς ἄξουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα: καὶ ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ἔχετε.

[46.1] Siccus, however, turned off by a different road, not the one which Romilius had in mind, and marched along the flank of the hill. Then — for there was a thicket with a heavy growth of trees in it — he led his men into it, halted there and said: "We have been sent by the commander, as you see, to perish. For he expected us to take the transverse road, which we could not

possibly have ascended without coming into full view of the enemy. But I will lead you by a way that is out of the enemy's sight and I have great hopes of gaining some paths that will bring us over the summit to their camp. So I bid you have the best of hopes."

[2] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἦγε διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καὶ πολὺν ἤδη διεληλυθὼς τόπον εὕρισκει κατὰ δαίμονα ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀγροῦ ποθεν ἀπὼντα, ὃν τοῖς νεωτάτοις συλλαβεῖν κελεύσας ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖται τῆς ὁδοῦ. κἀκεῖνος αὐτοὺς ἄγων περὶ τὸ ὄρος σὺν πολλῷ χρόνῳ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τὸν παρακείμενον τῷ χάρακι λόφον,

[2] Having said this, he led the way through the thicket, and after going a good distance, by good fortune came upon a man who was on his way home from a farm somewhere; and ordering him to be seized by the youngest men of his company, he took him for his guide. This man, leading them round the hill, brought them after along time to the height adjacent to the camp, from which there was a short and easy descent to their goal.

[3] ὅθεν ἦν ταχεῖα καὶ εὐεπιφορος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁδός. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο χρόνῳ, συνήεσαν αἱ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ αἱ τῶν Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις ὁμόσε καὶ καταστᾶσαι ἐμάχοντο, πλήθει τ' ἀγχώμαλοι οὔσαι καὶ ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ προθυμίαν παρεχόμεναι τὴν αὐτήν: καὶ διέμειναν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσόρροποι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις, τοτὲ δ' ὑποχωροῦντες, ἵππεῖς τε ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ ἑκατέρω

[3] While this was happening, the forces of the Romans and of the Aequians engaged and fought steadfastly, since they were equally matched and displayed the same ardour. For a long time they continued to be evenly balanced as they now attacked one another and now withdrew, horse against horse and foot against foot; and prominent men fell on both sides.

[4] ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς. ἔπειτα κρίσιν λαμβάνει ὁ πόλεμος ἐπιτελεῖ. ὁ γὰρ Σικκιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Αἰκανῶν, ἀφύλακτον εὐρόντες ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τοῦ χάρακος — ἐπὶ γὰρ θάτερα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ἐστραμμένα μέρη πᾶσα ἡ φυλάττουσα αὐτὸν δύναμις ἐτράπετο κατὰ θεάν τοῦ ἀγῶνος — ἐπεισπεσόντες κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν κατὰ κορυφῆς γίνονται τῶν φυλάκων.

[4] Then the battle took a definite turn. For Siccius and his men, when they came near the camp of the Aequians, found that part of it unguarded, since the entire force appointed to guard it had gone to the other side that faced the field of battle, in order to witness the conflict; and bursting into the camp with great ease, they found themselves immediately overhead in relation to the guards.

[5] ἔπειτ' ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς: οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα [p. 85] δεινοῦ ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτους εἶναι δόξαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕτερον ἡκεῖν ὑπατον ἄγοντα τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἐρρίπτουν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος

ἐαυτούς, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα οἱ πολλοὶ φυλάξαντες. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σικκίον τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους αὐτῶν φονεύοντες καὶ τοῦ χάρακος κρατήσαντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ.

[5] Then, uttering their war-cry, they attacked them on the run. The garrison, confounded by this unexpected danger and not imagining that their assailants were so few in name, but supposing that the other consul had arrived with his army, hurled themselves out of the camp, most of them not even holding on to their arms. Siccus and his men slew all of them they overtook, and after possessing themselves of their camp, marched against those who were in the plain.

[6] οἱ δὲ Αἰκανοὶ τοῦ χάρακος τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν σφετέρων αἰσθόμενοι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας ὀρῶντες, οὐκέτι γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀλλὰ διασπᾶσαντες τὰς τάξεις ἔσωζον ἐαυτούς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς· ἔνθα ὁ πλεῖστος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο φόνος. οὐ γὰρ ἀνίεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νυκτὸς διώκοντες τε καὶ κτείνοντες τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους.

[6] The Aequians, perceiving from the flight and outcries of their men that their camp had been taken, and then, not long afterwards, seeing the enemy falling upon their rear, no longer displayed any valour, but broke their ranks and endeavoured to save themselves, some by one way and some by another. And here they met with their greatest loss of life; for the Romans did not give over the pursuit till night, killing all whom they captured.

[7] ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος τ' αὐτῶν διαφθείρας καὶ λαμπρότατα ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος Σικκίος ἦν, ὅς, ἐπειδὴ τέλος ἔωρα τὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἔχοντα σκότους ὄντος ἤδη, τὴν σπεῖραν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν κρατηθέντα ὑπὸ σφῶν χάρακα ἀνέστρεφε μεγάλης χαρᾶς καὶ πολλοῦ μεστὸς ὦν αὐχήμετος.

[7] The man who slew the largest number of them and performed the most brilliant deeds was Siccus, who, when he saw that the enemy's resistance was at an end, it being now dark, returned with his cohort to the camp which they had taken, filled with great joy and much exultation.

[8] οἱ τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἀθῶοι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς πάντες οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν παθόντες ὦν προσεδόκησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἐξενεγκάμενοι, πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα ὀνομάζοντες ἀπλήστως εἶχον ἀσπασμῶν τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοφρονήσεων ἡδονάς. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν [p. 86] Ῥωμαίων φάλαγξ ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐαυτῆς χάρακα.

[8] All his men, safe and uninjured, having not only suffered none of the calamities they had expected, but also won the greatest glory, called him their father, their preserver, their god, and every other honourable appellation, and could not sate themselves with embracing him and showing every other mark

of affection. In the meantime the rest of the Roman army with the consuls was returning from the pursuit to their camp.

[1] μέσαι τ' ἤδη νύκτες ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ Σικκίος μνησικακῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποστολῆς εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται τὴν δόξαν ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ κατορθώματος. κοινωνάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ὀρθῶς ἐφαίνετο, καὶ οὐθείς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐθαύμαζε τῆς τε φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς τόλμης τὸν ἄνδρα, λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας ἀναλαβεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνθρώπους ὅσους ἐν τῷ χάρακι κατέλαβε τῶν Αἰκανῶν καὶ ἵππους καὶ τᾶλλα ὑποζύγια κατέκοψεν· ἔπειτα ὑφῆψε τὰς σκηνὰς ὀπλων τε καὶ σίτου καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδείων γεμούσας τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων, ὧν ἐκ τῆς Τυσκλάνων λείας ἐπήγοντο πολλῶν πάνυ ὄντων.

[47.1] It was now midnight when Siccus, full of resentment against the consuls for having sent him to his death, resolved to take from them the glory of the victory; and having communicated his intention to his companions and received their approval, every one of them admiring the sagacity and daring of the man, he took his arms and ordering the rest to do the same, he first slaughtered all the Aequians he found in the camp, as well as the horses and beasts of burden; then he set fire to the tents, which were full of arms, corn, apparel, warlike stores and all the other articles, very many in number, which they were carrying off as part of the Tusculan booty. After everything had been consumed by the flames, he left the camp about break of day, carrying with him nothing but his arms, and after a hurried march came to Rome.

[2] ὥς δ' ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἠφάνιστο, περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀπῆει φέρων οὐθὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ διανύσας σπουδῇ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Ῥώμην παρῆν. ὥς δ' ὤφθησαν ἄνθρωποι καθωπλισμένοι παιανίζοντές τε καὶ σπουδῇ χωροῦντες αἵματι πολλῷ πεφυρμένοι, δρόμος ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία τῶν βουλομένων ἰδεῖν τ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ἀκοῦσαι.

[2] As soon as armed men were seen singing paeans of victory and marching in haste, all covered with blood, the people flocked to them, earnestly desiring both to see them and to hear their exploits.

[3] οἱ δὲ μέχρις ἀγορᾶς ἐλθόντες ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς δημάρχοις τὰ γενόμενα, κάκεῖνοι συναγαγόντες ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἅπαντας λέγειν. ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συναχθέντος [p. 87] παρελθὼν ὁ Σικκίος τὴν τε νίκην αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεφάνισε, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακοσίων, οὓς ἀποθανομένους ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ὑπατοί, ὃ τε χάραξ ὁ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἢ παραταξαμένη τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἠναγκάσθη φυγεῖν:

[3] When they had come as far as the Forum, they gave an account to the tribunes of what had pas; and those magistrates, calling an assembly, ordered

them to tell their story to all. When a large crowd had gathered, Siccius came forward and not only announced to them the victory, but also described the nature of the battle, showing that by his own valour and that of the eight hundred veterans with him, whom the consuls had sent to be slain, the camp of the Aequians had been taken and the army arrayed against the consuls had been put to flight.

[4] ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς μηδενὶ τῆς νίκης ἐτέρῳ τὴν χάριν εἶδέναι καὶ τελευτῶν ἔτι προσέθηκεν ἐκείνον τὸν λόγον, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα σώζοντες ἤκομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν κεκρατημένων οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἐξενεγκάμενοι.

[4] He asked them to give thanks for the victory to no one else, and ended by adding these words: "We have come with our lives and our arms safe, but have brought with us nothing else, great or small, of the things we captured."

[5] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον εἰς οἶκτόν τε καὶ δάκρυα προὔπεσεν ὁρῶν μὲν τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀρετάς, ἀγανακτῶν δὲ καὶ νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἐπιβαλομένοις τοιοῦτων ἀνδρῶν ἐρημῶσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐγεγόνει δέ, ὃ προὔλαβεν ὁ Σικκίος, μῖσος εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν.

[5] The populace, upon hearing this, burst into compassion and tears, as they observed the age of the men and recalled their deeds of valour; and they were filled with resentment and indignation against those who had attempted to deprive the commonwealth of such men. For his report, as Siccius foresaw, had drawn upon the consuls the hatred of all the citizens.

[6] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα μετρίως ἤνεγκεν, ἢ οὔτ' ἐψηφίσατο αὐτοῖς πομπὴν θριάμβων οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἀγῶσι γινομένων. τὸν μέντοι Σικκίον ὁ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, δήμαρχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἧς κύριος ἦν τιμῆς ἀποδιδούς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν τότε πραχθέντων τοιάδ' ἦν.

[6] Indeed, not even the senate took the matter lightly; for it voted them neither a triumph nor any of the other honours usually bestowed for glorious engagements. As for Siccius, however, when the time for the elections came, the populace made him tribune, granting him the honour of which they had the disposal. These were the most important of the events at that time.

[1] ἔν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτει Σπόριος Ταρπήιος καὶ Αὔλος Τερμήνιος παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀρχήν: οἱ τὰ τ' ἄλλα θεραπεύοντες [p. 88] τὸν δῆμον διετέλεσαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν δημάρχων δόγμα προεβούλευσαν, ἐπειδὴ πλέον μὲν οὐδὲν ἑώρων τοῖς πατρικίοις γινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ κωλύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῖσος, καὶ βλάβας δὲ ἰδίας καὶ συμφορὰς τοῖς προθυμότερα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοις.

[48.1] These consuls were succeeded the following year by Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Terminus, who constantly courted the populace in all matters and in particular secured the preliminary decree of the senate for the measure of the tribunes; for they saw that the patricians reaped no advantage from their opposition, but, on the contrary, that the most zealous champions of their cause drew upon themselves envy and hatred, as well as private losses and calamities.

[2] μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς δέος ἤγαγεν ἡ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν συμφορὰ νηυσὶ γενομένη δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παθόντων, οὐδεμίαν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εὐρομένων βοήθειαν. Σικκίος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸν Αἰκανῶν στρατὸν αὐτῷ χάρακι ἀράμενος δήμαρχος τὸτ' ἀποδειχθεὶς, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ θύσας εἰσιτήρια κατὰ νόμον, πρὶν ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο διαπράξασθαι τῶν κοινῶν, προεῖπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Τίτον Ῥωμίλιον ἥκειν ἀπολογησόμενον ἀδικήματος δημοσίου δίκην ἐπὶ δικαστῇ τῷ δήμῳ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδείξας τοῦ ἀγῶνος.

[2] But they were chiefly alarmed by the recent misfortune of the consuls of the preceding year, who had been severely treated by the populace and had been unable to get any help from the senate. For Siccius, who had destroyed the army of the Aequians, camp and all, and had now been made a tribune, as I stated, on the very first day of his magistracy, after offering the usual inaugural sacrifices and before transacting any other public business, had in a meeting of the assembly cited Titus Romilius to appear before the tribunal of the populace to make his defence against a charge of injuring the state; and he had set a day for his trial.

[3] Λεύκιος δὲ τὸτ' ἀγορανομῶν, δήμαρχος δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτει γεγινώς, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν περυσινῶν ὑπάτων Γάιον Οὐτετούριον εἰς ὁμοίαν δίκην προσεκαλέσατο. πολλῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρόνῳ σπουδῆς τε καὶ παρακλήσεως ἀμφοτέρων οἱ μὲν ὑπόδιοι πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιοῦντο, ὑπισχνουμένον αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ νέων οὐκ ἔασειν τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι.

[3] And Lucius, who was then aedile and had been tribune the year before, had summoned Gaius Veturius, the other consul of the preceding year, to a similar trial. During the interval before the trial much partisan zeal and encouragement were shown to both of the accused, and they accordingly placed great hopes in the senate and made light of the danger, as both the older number younger senators promised them that they would not allow the trial to be carried out.

[4] οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι πάντα ἐκ πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενοι καὶ οὔτε δεήσεις οὔτε [p. 89] ἀπειλὰς οὔτε κινδυνὸν οὐδένα ὑπολογιζόμενοι, ἐπεὶ καθῆκεν ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καιρὸς, ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον: ἦν δὲ παλαιότερον ἔτι συνερρηκῶς ἐκ

τῶν ἀργῶν ὁ χερνήτης καὶ αὐτουργὸς ὄχλος, καὶ προσνεμηθεὶς τῷ κατὰ πόλιν τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐνέπλησε καὶ τοὺς φέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν στενωπούς.

[4] But the tribunes, who had long been providing against all contingencies and paid no heed to either entreaties, threats or any danger, when the time for the trial came, called a meeting of the popular assembly. Even before this the crowd of day-labourers and husbandmen had flocked in from the country and, being added to the city throng, filled not only the Forum, but all the streets that led to it.

[1] πρώτη μὲν οὖν εἰσῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ Ῥωμιλίου δίκη. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Σικκίος τὰ τε ἄλλα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅσα ὑπατεῶν βία εἰς τοὺς δημάρχους ἔδοξε διαπράξασθαι, καὶ τελευτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν διεξίημι τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ σπεῖρα γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: καὶ παρείχετο αὐτῶν μάρτυρας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν συστρατευσαμένων οὐ δημοτικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρικίους: ἐν οἷς ἦν νεανίας οὐκ ἀφανὴς οὔτε κατὰ γένους ἀξίωσιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάνυ ἀγαθός: Σπόριος Οὐεργίνιος ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

[49.1] The first trial to be held was tombstone of Romilius. Siccus, coming forward, charged him with all the acts of violence he was reputed to have committed against the tribunes while he was consul, and then at the end related the plot which the general had formed against him and his cohort. He produced as witnesses to support his charges the most prominent men who had served with him in the campaign, not plebeians alone, but patricians as well. Among them there was a youth distinguished both for the rank of his family and for his own merit, and a most valiant soldier. His name was Spurius Verginius.

[2] οὗτος ἔφη Μάρκον Ἰκίλλιον, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σικκίου σπεύρας υἱόν, ἡλικιώτην αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλον ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς ἐξόδου βουλευθείς, ὡς ἐπὶ θάνατον ἐξιόντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, Αὔλον Οὐεργίνιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον, πρεσβευτὴν τότε συστρατευόμενον, παρακαλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους,

[2] This youth related that, desiring to get Marcus Icilius, the son of one of the men in the cohort of Siccus, a youth of his own age and friend, released from that expedition, since he believed that he with his father would be going out to his death, he had summoned Aulus Verginius, his uncle, who was a legate on that campaign, and with him had gone to the consuls asking that this favour be granted to them.

[3] ἀξιῶν σφίσι ταύτην δοθῆναι τὴν χάριν: ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐπελθεῖν δάκρυα τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τοῦ ἐταίρου προανακλαιόμενῳ, τὸν δὲ νεανίαν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰς δεήσεις ἐποιεῖτο, πεπυσμένον ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν καὶ λόγον αἰτησάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς [p. 90] μὲν δεομένοις πολλὴν οἶδε χάριν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσειεν τυχὼν χάριτος,

ἥτις αὐτὸν ἀφελεῖται τὸ πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβές, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολειφθεῖη τοῦ πατρός, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον, ὅσω γ' ἀποθανούμενος ἔρχεται, καὶ πάντες τοῦτο ἴσασιν: ἀλλὰ συνεξιών ἐπαμυνεῖτε, ὅσα δύναται, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνω κοινωνῶς ἔσται τύχης.

[3] And when the consuls refused, he said that he himself had wept and lamented in advance the misfortune of his friend, but that the young man for whom he had interceded, being informed of this, went to the consuls, and asking leave to speak, said that, while he was very grateful to those who were interceding for him, he would not be content to accept a favour that would deprive him of the opportunity of showing his filial devotion, and that he would not desert his father, particularly when the other was going to his death, as everyone knew, but that he would go out with him, defend him to the utmost of his power and share the same fortune with him.

[4] ταῦτα τοῦ μειρακίου μαρτυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι πρὸς τὴν τύχην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρήλθον ὃ τε πατήρ Ἰκίλλιος καὶ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔλεξαν, οὐκέτι κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα οἱ πλείους ἐδύναντο τῶν δημοτικῶν.

[4] After the young man had given this testimony, there was not a single person who did not feel some emotion at the fate of those men. And when the Icili themselves, father and son, were called as witnesses and gave an account of their experience, most of the plebeians could no longer refrain from tears.

[5] ἀπολογηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου καὶ διελθόντος λόγον οὔτε θεραπευτικὸν οὔτε ἀρμόττοντα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγα φρονοῦντα διπλασίως ἔτι ἐπερρώθησαν εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὀργὴν οἱ πολῖται. καὶ γενόμενοι τῶν ψήφων κύριοι κατέγνωσαν ἀδικεῖν οὕτως, ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις τῶν φυλῶν ἀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἦν δὲ τὸ τίμημα τῆς δίκης ἀργυρικόν,

[5] Then, when Romilius made his defence and delivered a speech that was neither deferential nor suited to the occasion, but haughty and boastful of the irresponsible power of his magistracy, the majority were doubly confirmed in their resentment against him. And upon being permitted to give their votes, they found him so clearly guilty that he was condemned by the votes of all the tribes. The pun in his case was a fine, amounting to 10,000 asses.

[6] ἀσάρια μυρία. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄνευ προνοίας τινὸς ὁ Σίκκιος ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς τε πατρικίοις ἐλάττων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σπουδὴ γένηται, καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαμάρτωσι περὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅτι εἰς ἀργύριον ζημιώσεται ὁ ἄλοὺς καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον, καὶ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ πρὸς τὴν [p. 91] τιμωρίαν ὀρμὴ προθυμοτέρα μῆτε ψυχῆς ἄνδρα ὑπατικὸν μῆτε πατρίδος ἀποστεροῦσιν. Ῥωμιλίου δὲ καταδικασθέντος οὐ πολλὰς ὕστερον ἡμέραις καὶ Οὐετούριος ἐάλω: τίμημα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνω ἐπεγέγραπτο

ἀργυρικόν, ἡμιόλιον θατέρου.

[6] Siccius, now, did not do this, it seems to me, without some purpose, but to end that the patricians, on the one hand, might be less zealous in Romilius' behalf and might commit no irregularities in connexion with the voting when they reflected that the condemned man would be punished with nothing more than a fine, and that the plebeians, on their side, were not going to deprive an ex-consul of either his life or his country. A few days after the condemnation of Romilius, Veturius likewise was condemned; his punishment was also set down in the indictment as a fine, one-half as much again as the other.

[1] ταῦτα δὴ λογιζομένοις τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπάτοις πολὺ παρέστη δέος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτά παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρόνοια, ὥστ' οὐκέτι ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τὰς γνώμας, ἀλλὰ φανερώς τὰ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευόμενοι διετέλουν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας νόμον ἐκύρωσαν, ἵνα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐξῇ πάσαις τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἢ παρανομοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν ζημιοῦν. τέως γὰρ οὐχ ἅπανιν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις μόνοις.

[50.1] As they thought about these trials the consuls then in office were in no little fear, and they took good care to avoid suffering the same fate at the hands of the populace after the expiration of their consulship; hence they no longer concealed their purposes but openly directed all their measures in the interest of the populace. First, then, they got a law ratified by the centuriate assembly permitting all the magistrates to fine any persons who were guilty of disrespectful conduct or illegal attempts against their authority. For until then none but the consuls possessed this power.

[2] τὸ μέντοι τίμημα οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ζημιοῦσιν, ὅποσον εἶναι δεῖ, κατέλιπον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ὥρισαν, μέγιστον ἀποδείξαντες ὄρον ζημίας δύο βοῦς καὶ τριάκοντα πρόβατα. καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἄχρι πολλοῦ διέμεινεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλαττόμενος.

[2] They did not leave the amount of the fine, however, to the discretion of those who should impose it, but limited the sum themselves, making the maximum fine two oxen and thirty sheep. This law long continued in force among the Romans.

[3] ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐσπούδαζον οἱ δήμαρχοι κοινούς ἐπὶ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις γράφειν καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον φυλαχθησομένους, διάγνωσιν ἀπέδωκαν τῇ βουλῇ. ἐλέχθησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἀμφοτέρα καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν φέροντες λόγοι, ἐνίκα δ' ἡ τὰ δημοτικώτερα πρὸ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν εἰσάγουσα Τίτου Ῥωμιλίου γνώμη, παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν τῶν τε [p. 92]

[3] In the next place, they referred to the consideration of the senate the laws which the tribunes pressed to have drawn up, that should bind all the Romans

alike and be observed forever. Many speeches were made on both sides by the best men, some tending to persuade the senate to grant the request and some to oppose it. But the opinion that prevailed was that of Titus Romilius, which supported the interest of the populace against that of the oligarchy, both patricians and plebeians.

[4] πατρικίων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν γενομένη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανον πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς δημοτικοῖς φρονήσειν τε καὶ λέξειν τὸν ἄνδρα νεωστὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δίκην ἐαλωκότα· ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν αὐτῷ γνώμην ἐρωτηθέντι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἀποκρίνασθαι — ἦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ ἡλικίαν — ἔλεξεν:

[4] For they supposed that a man who had recently been condemned by the populace would both think and say everything that was opposed to the plebeians. But he, when it was the proper time for him to speak, that is, when he was called upon to deliver his opinion in his turn — he was of the middle rank in point of both dignity and age — rose up and said:

[1] ἂ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πέπονθα, ὧ βουλή, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἔνεκα, φορτικὸς ἂν εἶην ἔγωγε ἐν εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς λέγων· μνήμην δὲ αὐτῶν ποιοῦμαι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἔνεκεν, ἵν' εἰδῇτε, ὅτι οὐ κολακεία τοῦ δημοτικοῦ ἐπιτρέψας ἐχθροῦ μοι ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τὰ συμφέροντα ἐρῶ. θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηθεὶς, εἰ πρότερόν τε πολλακίς καὶ ἡνίκα ὕπατος ἦν τῆς ἐτέρας προαιρέσεως γενόμενος νῦν ἐξαίφνης μεταβέβλημαι· μηδὲ ὑπολάβητε дуεῖν θάτερον ἢ τότε βεβουλεῦσθαι με κακῶς ἢ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰ δόξαντα οὐκ ὀρθῶς.

[51.1] “I should be wearisome to you, senators, if I related what I have suffered at the hands of the populace and showed that it is not because of any wrongdoing on my part but because of my attachment to you, when you yourselves know the facts so well. I am forced, however, to mention these matters in order that you may know that in what I am going to say I am not condescending to flattery of the populace, which is hostile to me, but stating from the best of motives what is to the advantage of the commonwealth. Let no one wonder, if I, who was of a different opinion both earlier upon many occasions and when I was consul, have now suddenly changed; and do not imagine either that my sentiments were then ill grounded or that I am now altering them without good reason.

[2] ἐγὼ γάρ, ὧ βουλή, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον τὰ ὑμέτερα ἰσχυρὰ ἡγούμην, ὥσπερ ἐχρῆν ἀριστοκρατίαν αὖξων περιεφρόνουν τὸ δημοτικόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ σωφρονισθεὶς κακοῖς μετὰ μεγάλων μισθῶν ἔμαθον, ὅτι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ βουλομένου τὸ δυνάμενον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα αἰρομένους περιείδετε ἀναρπασθέντας [p. 93] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις εἴξαντες, οὐκέθ'

[2] For as long as I thought your party strong, senators, I exalted the aristocracy, as was my duty, and despised the plebeians; but having been chastised by my own misfortunes and having learned at great cost that your power is less than your will and that, yielding to necessity, you have already permitted many who undertook the struggle in your behalf to be snatched away to destruction by the populace, I no longer entertain the same sentiments.

[3] Ὅμοια ἔγνωκα. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν μάλιστα μήτ' ἐμαυτῷ συμβῆναι μήτε τῷ συνάρχοντι μου ταῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες ἡμῖν συμπαθεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς τέλος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔξεστιν ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ταῦτά ἐτέρους προῖδέσθαι, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι παρακαλῶ. κράτιστα γὰρ οἰκεῖται πόλις ἢ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα μεθαρμοττομένη, καὶ συμβούλων ἄριστος ὁ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀποδεικνύμενος γνώμην: βουλευόνται τ' ἄριστα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οἱ παραδείγματα ποιούμενοι τὰ γεγονότα τῶν ἐσομένων.

[3] I could have wished that, if possible, those misfortunes for which you all show your sympathy with us had not happened either to myself or to my colleague; but since our misadventure is over and you have it in your power to correct what lies in the future and to see to it that others do not suffer the same misfortunes, I urge you, both all in common and each one by himself, to make good use of the present situation. For that state is best governed which adapts itself to circumstances, and that man is the best counsellor who expresses his opinion without regard to personal enmity or favour but with a view to the public advantage; and those persons deliberate best concerning the future who take past events as examples of those that are to come.

[4] Ὑμῖν δ', ὧ βουλή, ὁσάκις ἐνέστη τις ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, αἰεὶ τι μειονεκτεῖν ἐξεγένετο τὸ μὲν ἀκούειν κακῶς, τὸ δ' εἰς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν θανάτους τε καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἐκβολὰς ζημιωθῆναι. καίτοι τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτύχημα πόλει μεῖζον ἢ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν περικόπτεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὐ σὺν δίκῃ; ὧν ὑμῖν φεῖδεσθαι παραινῶ καὶ μήτε τοὺς νῦν ἄρχοντας προβαλόντας εἰς κίνδυνον πρόδηλον, ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλιπόντας ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς μετανοεῖν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων τινά,

[4] As for you, senators, it has happened that whenever a dispute or contention has arisen with the populace you have always come off at a disadvantage, sometimes having evil spoken of you and sometimes being punished by the death, the abuse and the banishment of illustrious men. And yet what greater misfortune could happen to a state than to have its best men lopped off, and that undeservedly? I advise you to spare these men and not to have to repent of first exposing to manifest danger and then deserting in the moment of peril either the present magistrates or anyone else who is of the slightest value to the commonwealth.

[5] οὗ τι καὶ μικρὸν ὄφελος τῷ κοινῷ. κεφάλαιον δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ὑμῖν παραινῶ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι τοὺς μὲν [p. 94] εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοὺς δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας: οἵτινες αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς κρατίστους νόμους καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀρμόττοντας βίοις οἴσουσι δεῦρο. ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς τότε ὑπάτους προθεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ σκοπεῖν, τίνας ἐλέσθαι δεήσει νομοθέτας καὶ ἥντινα ἔξοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ χρόνον ὅσον καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ φαίνεται συνοίσειν, στασιάζειν δὲ μηκέτι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν μηδ' ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἀναιρεῖσθαι συμφορὰς ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ νόμων φιλονεικοῦντας, οἳ κἂν εἰ μὴτὲν ἄλλο τὴν γέ τοι δόξαν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔχουσιν εὐπρεπῇ.

[5] The substance of my advice is that you choose ambassadors and send some of them to the Greek cities in Italy and others to Athens, to ask the Greeks for their best laws and such as are most suited to our ways of life, and then to bring these laws here. And when they return, that the consuls then in office shall propose for the consideration of the senate what men to choose as lawgivers, what magistracy they shall hold and for how long a time, and to determine everything else in such a manner as they shall think expedient; and that you contend no longer with the plebeians nor add calamities to your calamities, particularly by quarrelling over laws which, if nothing else, have at least a respectable reputation for dignity."

[1] τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ συνελαμβάνοντο τῆς γνώμης ἀμφοτέροι πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγκείμενα διεξιόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν συχνοὶ, καὶ ἐγένοντο πλείους οἱ ταύτῃ

[52.1] After Romilius had spoken to this effect, both consuls supported his opinion in long and carefully prepared speeches, and so did many other senators; and those who espoused this opinion were in the majority.

[2] προστιθέμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ. μέλλοντος δὲ γράφεσθαι τοῦ προβουλευματος ἀναστὰς ὁ δήμαρχος Σικκίος ὁ τῷ Ῥωμιλίῳ προσθεὶς τὴν δίκην πολλὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διῆλθε λόγον ἐπαινῶν τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἴδια ἔχθῃ κρείττονα γίνεσθαι τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς γνώμης τὰ συμφέροντα ἀποδειξασθαι:

[2] When the preliminary decree was about to be drawn up, the tribune Siccus, who had brought Romilius to trial, rising up, made a long speech in his behalf, praising him for changing his opinion and for not preferring his private grudges to the public good, but delivering with sincerity the advice that was advantageous.

[3] ἀνθ' ὧν, ἔφη, ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀποδίδωμι τιμὴν καὶ χάριν: ἀφίημι τῶν ἐκτισμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν διαλλάττομαι: νικᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς χρηστὸς ὧν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δήμαρχοι παριόντες ὠμολόγουν. οὐ μὴν ὃ γε Ῥωμίλιος ὑπέμεινε ταύτην [p. 95] λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας

τοὺς δημάρχους τῆς προθυμίας ἀποδώσειν ἔφη τὴν καταδίκην. ἱερὰν γὰρ ἤδη τῶν θεῶν εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε ὅσια ποιεῖν ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἃ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ νόμος:

[3] “In consideration of which,” he said, “I offer him this honour and this favour: I remit the fine imposed on him at the trial and reconcile myself with him for the future. For he has overcome us by his probity.” The rest of tribunes came forward and made the same agreement. Romilius, however, would not consent to accept this favour, but having thanked the tribunes for their goodwill, he said he would pay the fine, because it was already consecrated to the gods and he should be doing something unjust and unholy if he deprived the gods of what the law gives them. And he acted accordingly.

[4] καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως. γραφέντος δὲ τοῦ προβουλευματος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐπικυρώσαντος τοῦ δήμου πρέσβεις ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμους ληψόμενοι, Σπόριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος Σολπίκιος καὶ Αὔλος Μάλλιος: οἷς τριήρεις τε παρεσκευάσθησαν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἄλλος κόσμος εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποχρῶν. καὶ τὸ ἔτος ἐτελεύτα.

[4] The preliminary decree having been drawn up and afterwards confirmed by the populace, the ambassadors who were to get the laws from the Greeks were chosen, namely, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius; and they were furnished with triremes at the public expense and with such other appointments as were sufficient to display the dignity of the Roman empire. And thus the year ended.

[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Λύκος Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Χαιρεφάνους, ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης συνοικισμού, Ποπλίου Ὁρατίου καὶ Σέξτου Κοιντιλίου διαδεδεγμένων τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, λοιμικὴ νόσος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσκηψε μεγίστη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου χρόνου μνημονευομένων: ὅφ’ ἧς οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν πάντες ἀπολέσθαι, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μάλιστα διεφθάρησαν, οὔτε τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀρκούντων ἔτι βοηθεῖν τοῖς καμάτοις,

[53.1] In the eighty-second Olympiad (the one at which Lycus of Larissa in Thessaly won the foot-race), Chaerephanes being archon at Athens, when three hundred years were completed since the founding of Rome, and Publius Horatius and Sextus Quintilius had succeeded to the consulship, Rome was afflicted with a pestilence more severe than any of those recorded from past time. Almost all the slaves were carried off by it and about one half of the citizens, as neither the physicians were able any longer to alleviate their sufferings nor did their servants and friends supply them with the necessaries.

[2] οὔτε οἰκείων ἢ φίλων τὰναγκαῖα ὑπηρετοῦντων. οἱ [p. 96] γὰρ ἐπικουρεῖν ταῖς ἐτέρων βουλόμενοι συμφοραῖς ἀπτόμενοί τε καματηρῶν σωμάτων καὶ

συνδαισιώμενοι τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνοις νόσους μετελάμβανον, ὥστε πολλὰς οἰκίας ἐξερημωθῆναι δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων. ἦν τε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταχέως λωφῆσαι τὴν νόσον αἷτιον τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν νεκρῶν γινόμενον.

[2] For those who were willing to relieve the calamities of others, by touching the bodies of the diseased and continuing with them, contracted the same diseases, with the result that many entire households perished for want of people to attend the sick. Not the least of the evils the city suffered, and the reason why the pestilence did not quickly abate, was the way in which they cast out the dead bodies.

[3] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τε αἰσχύνῃς καὶ εὐπορίας τῶν πρὸς τὰς ταφὰς ἐπιτηδείων ἔκαιόν τε καὶ γῇ παρεδίδουσιν τοὺς νεκρούς, τελευτῶντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ καλοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπιτηδεῖα οὐκ ἔχοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις τῶν στενωπῶν φέροντες ἐρρίπτουν τῶν ἀπογενομένων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον: ἀφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκακοῦντο πρὸς τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰς ἡϊόνας.

[3] For though at first, both from a sense of shame and because of the plenty they had of everything necessary for burials, they burned the bodies and committed them to earth, at the last, either through a disregard of decency or from a lack of the necessary equipment, they threw many of the dead into the sewers under the streets and cast far more of them into the river; and from these they received the most harm.

[4] ἐκκυμαιομένων γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων βαρεῖα καὶ δυσώδης προσπίπτουσα καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ἐρρωμένοις ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποφορὰ ταχείας ἔφερε τοῖς σώμασι τὰς τροπὰς, πίνεσθαι τε οὐκέτι χρηστὸν ἦν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κομισθὲν ὕδωρ, τὰ μὲν ἀτοπία τῆς ὁσμῆς, τὰ δὲ τῷ πονηρὰς τὰς ἀναδόσεις ποιεῖν τῆς τροφῆς.

[4] For when the bodies were cast up by the waves upon the banks and beaches, a grievous and terrible stench, carried by the wind, smote those also who were still in health and produced a quick change in their bodies; and the water brought from the river was no longer fit to drink, partly because of its vile odour and partly by causing indigestion.

[5] καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ δεινὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ [p. 97] τῶν ἀγρῶν: καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπόνησεν ὄχλος ἀναπιμπλάμενος, καὶ προβάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τετραπόδων ἅμα διαιτωμένων, τῆς νόσου. ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐλπίδος τι ὑπῆν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν ἐπικουρήσοντος, ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τε θυσίας καὶ καθαρμούς ἐτράποντο: καὶ πολλὰ ἐνέωτερίσθη Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ὄντα ἐν ἔθει περὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ.

[5] These calamities occurred not only in the city, but in the country as well; in

particular, the husbandmen were infected with the contagion, since they were constantly with their sheep and the other animals. As long as most people had any hopes that Heaven would assist them, they all had recourse to sacrifices and expiations; and many innovations were then made by the Romans and unseemly practices not customary with them were introduced into the worship of the gods.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέγνωσαν οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γινομένην οὐδ' ἔλεον, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα λειτουργίας ἀπέστησαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ τῶν τε ὑπάτων ἄτερος ἀποθνήσκει, Σέξτος Κοιντίλιος, καὶ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος Σπόριος Φούριος, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τέτταρες,

[6] But when they found that the gods showed no regard or compassion for them, they abandoned even the observance of religious rites. During this calamity Sextus Quintilius, one of the consuls, died; also Spurius Furius, who had been appointed to succeed him, and likewise four of the tribunes and many worthy senators.

[7] τῶν τε βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί. ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τᾶλλα ἔθνη, ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμια ἦν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασάν γε προαγαγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἢ αὐτῇ νόσος κατέσκηπεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις.

[7] While the city was afflicted by the pestilence, the Aequians undertook to lead out an army against the Romans; and they sent envoys to all the other nations that were hostile to the Romans, urging them to make war. But they did not have time to lead their forces out of their cities; for while they were still making their preparations, the same pestilence fell upon their cities.

[8] διῆλθε δ' οὐ μόνον τὴν Αἰκανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὴν Σαβίνων γῆν, καὶ σφόδρα ἐκάκωσε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτου συνέβη καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἀφεθεῖσαν λιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λοιμῷ συνάψαι. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὰς νόσους οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν εἰς ἱστορίας ἀφήγησιν ἔλθειν ἄξιον. [p. 98]

[8] It spread not only over the country of the Aequians, but also over those of the Volscians and the Sabines, and grievously afflicted the inhabitants. In consequence, the land was left uncultivated and famine was added to the plague. Under these consuls, then, by reason of the pestilence nothing was done by the Romans, either in war or at home, worthy of being recorded in history.

[1] εἰς δὲ τοῦπιόν ἔτος ὕπατοι μὲν ἀπεδείχθησαν Λεύκιος Μενήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Σήστιος: ἡ δὲ νόσος εἰς τέλος ἐλώφησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο θυσίαι τε χαριστήριοι θεοῖς ἐπετελοῦντο δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπιφανεῖς λαμπραῖς

πάνυ χορηγοῦμενοι δαπάναις, ἐν εὐπαθείαις τε καὶ θαλίαις ἢ πόλιν ἦν ὥσπερ εἰκός· καὶ πᾶς ὁ χειμέριος χρόνος ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἐδαπανήθη.

[54.1] For the following year Lucius Menenius were chosen consuls; and the pestilence finally ceased. After that public sacrifices of thanksgiving were performed to the gods and magnificent games celebrated at great expense; and the people were engaged in rejoicings and festivals, as may be imagined. Indeed the whole winter season was thus spent.

[2] ἀρχομένου δ' ἔαρος σῆτός τε πολὺς καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἦχθη χωρίων, ὁ μὲν πλείων δημοσίᾳ συνωνηθεὶς, ὁ δὲ τις καὶ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν ἐμπόρων κομιζόμενος. ἔκαμνε γὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ σπάνει τῆς τροφῆς ὁ λαὸς χέρσου τῆς γῆς ἀφειμένης διὰ τὰς νόσους καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν γεωργῶν.

[2] In the beginning of spring a large quantity of corn was brought in from many places; most of it was purchased with the public money, but some was imported by private merchants. For not least of the people's hardships was the dearth of provisions, the land having lain uncultivated by reason of the pestilence and the death of the husbandmen.

[3] ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τ' Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις φέροντες τοὺς νόμους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσήεσαν οἱ δῆμαρχοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀξιοῦντες ἀποδεῖξαι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς νομοθέτας. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅτῳ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξειαν τρόπῳ προσκαθημένους καὶ λιπαροῦντας, ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πράγματι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ προὔβαλλοντο λέγοντες ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρὸν, καὶ δεόν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπάτους πρῶτον ἀποδεῖξαι,

[3] At the same time the ambassadors arrived from Athens and the Greek cities in Italy, bringing with them the laws. Thereupon the tribunes went to the consuls and asked them to appoint the lawgivers pursuant to the senate's decree. The consuls did not know how to get rid of their solicitations and importunities, but as they disliked the business and were unwilling for the aristocracy to be overthrown during their consulship, they resorted to a specious excuse, saying that the time for the election of magistrates was at hand and, as it was their duty first to name the new consuls,

[4] ποιῆσαι δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποδειχθέντων δὲ [p. 99] τῶν ὑπάτων μετ' ἐκείνων ἔλεγον ἀνοίσειν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν διάγνωσιν. συγχωροῦντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων προθέντες ἀρχαιρέσια πολλῷ τάχιον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον καὶ Τίτον Γενύκιον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαν ἀποθέμενοι τὴν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδα, ὡς ἑτέρους ἤδη δεόν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῖς δημάρχοις προσεῖχον, ἀλλὰ διακλέψαι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῆς ὑπατείας διεννοοῦντο.

[4] they would do so soon, and when these were appointed, they would in conjunction with them refer the matter of the lawgivers to the senate for its consideration. When the tribunes consented to this, they appointed the election much earlier than had been the custom with past elections, and nominated Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius for consuls; then, laying aside all thought for the public business, as if it were now the concern of others, they no longer paid any heed to the tribunes, but determined to pass the remaining time of their consulship in evasion of their duty.

[5] ἔτυχε δὲ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν Μενήνιον ἄρρωστία τις καταλαβοῦσα χρόνιος. ἤδη δὲ τινες ἔφασαν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐμπεσοῦσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ τηκεδόνα δυσπαλάλακτον ἐργάσασθαι νόσον. ταύτην δὲ προσλαβὼν τὴν πρόφασιν ὁ Σήστιος ὡς οὐδὲν οἷός τ' ἦν πράττειν μόνος ἀπεωθεῖτο τὰς τῶν δημάρχων δεήσεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἄρχοντας ἤξιου τρέπεσθαι.

[5] It chanced that one of them, Menenius, was seized with a chronic illness; indeed, some said that a wasting disease, which had come upon him because of grief and despondency, had made his malady hard to be cured. Sestius, availing himself of this additional excuse and pretending that he could do nothing alone, kept rejecting the pleas of the tribunes and advising them to apply to the new consuls.

[6] οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὃ τι πράττωσιν, ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον οὔπω τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρειληφότας ἠναγκάζοντο καταφεύγειν, τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καταμόνας συντυγχάνοντες; καὶ τέλος ἐξεργάσαντο τοὺς ἄνδρας μεγάλας ὑποτείνοντες ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς, εἰ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πράγματα ἔλοιτο, τιμῆς καὶ δυναστείας.

[6] Thus the tribunes, since there was nothing else they could do, were forced to have recourse to Appius and his colleague, who had not yet entered upon their magistracy, and would now plead with them in the meetings of the assembly and now in private conferences. And at last they overcame these men by holding out to them great hopes of honour and power if they would espouse the cause of the populace.

[7] εἰσῆλθε γάρ τις τὸν Ἄππιον ἐπιθυμία ξένην ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι καὶ νόμους καταστήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι ὁμονομίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ μίαν ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν [p. 100] πόλιν ἄρξαι τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. οὐ μέντοι καὶ διέμεινέ γε χρηστὸς ἀρχῇ κοσμηθεὶς μεγάλῃ, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεσε τελευτῶν εἰς φιλαρχίαν ἀπαραχώρητον ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διαφθαρεὶς καὶ ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐλάσαι. περὶ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον διαλέξομαι καιρὸν.

[7] For Appius was seized with a desire to be invested with an alien magistracy, to establish laws for the fatherland and to set an example to his fellow citizens of harmony and peace and the recognition by them all of the

unity of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, when he had been honoured with this great magistracy, he did not preserve his probity but, corrupted by the greatness of his authority, succumbed to an irresistible passion for holding office and came very near to running into tyranny; all which I shall relate at the proper time.

[1] τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα πείσας, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ δήμαρχοι, παρελθὼν πολλοὺς καὶ φιланθρώπους διεξῆλθε λόγους: κεφάλαια δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δημηγορίας τοιάδε ἦν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀποδειχθῆναι τοὺς νόμους καὶ παύσασθαι στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι παντὸς μάλιστα δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην φανεράν: τοῦ δ' ἀποδείξει τοὺς νομοθέτας αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οὐπω παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Μενήνιον ὑπάτοις οὐχ ὅπως ἐναντιώσονται πράσσουσι τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργήσουσι καὶ πολλὰ ἐῖσονται χάριν.

[55.1] At any rate, at the time in question he took this resolution with the best of motives and prevailed upon his colleague to do the same; and since the tribunes repeatedly invited him to appear before the assembly, he came forward and spoke many words of goodwill. The substance of his speech was as follows: That both he and his colleague held it to be a matter of the first importance that the lawgivers should be appointed and that the citizens should cease quarrelling over equal rights; and they were declaring their opinion openly. But for the appointing of the lawgivers they themselves had no authority, since they had not yet entered upon their magistracy; however, not only would they not oppose Menenius and his colleague in carrying out the decree of the senate, but they would actually assist them and be very grateful to them.

[2] ἂν δ' ἀναδύωνται σκῆψιν προβαλλόμενοι τὴν νέαν ἀρχήν, ὥς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἑτέρους ἄρχοντας ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν παραληφόμενους ἀποδεικνύειν ἡμῶν ἤδη κεκυρωμένων ὑπᾶτων, οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἐκόντες γὰρ ἀποστήσασθαι τῆς ὑπατείας τοῖς ἀνθ' αὐτῶν αἰρεθησομένοις, ἂν καὶ τῇ

[2] If the others, however, should decline to carry out the decree, using the new magistracy as an excuse, claiming that it was not lawful for them, now that new consuls had been confirmed, to create other magistrates who would receive consular power, they said that so far as they themselves were concerned there would be nothing to prevent the present consuls from acting. For they would willingly resign the consulship to such magistrates as should be appointed in their stead, provided the senate too should approve of it.

[3] βουλῇ ταῦτα δοκῇ. ἐπαινοῦντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ [p. 101] τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάντων κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὡσαμένων,

ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Σήστιος τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγεῖν μόνος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μενήνιος ἀδύνατος ἦν παρεῖναι διὰ τὴν νόσον, προὔθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων λέγειν. ἐλέχθησαν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πολλοὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων λόγοι τῶν τε παραινούντων κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἀξιούντων τοὺς πατρίους φυλάττειν ἔθισμούς.

[3] The populace praising them for their goodwill and rushing in a body to the senate-house, Sestius was forced to assemble the senate alone, Menenius being unable to attend by reason of his illness, and proposed to them the consideration of the laws. Many speeches were made on this occasion also both by those who contended that the commonwealth ought to be governed by laws and by those who advised adhering to the customs of their ancestors.

[4] Ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ τῶν εἰς νέωτα μελλόντων ὑπατεύειν γνώμη, ἣν Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ἀπεφήνατο, ἄνδρας αἰρεθῆναι δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς. τούτους δ' ἄρχειν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀποδειχθῶσιν ἡμέρας, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἣν εἶχον οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὰς τ' ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πάσας καταλελῦσθαι, τέως ἂν οἱ

[4] The motion that carried was made by the men who were to serve as consuls for the next year; it was delivered by Appius Claudius, who was first called upon, and was as follows: That ten persons be chosen, the most distinguished members of the senate, and that these govern for a year from the day of their appointment, possessing the same authority over all the affairs of the commonwealth as the consuls and, before them, the kings had enjoyed; that all the other magistracies be abrogated for as long a time as the decemvirs held office;

[5] δέκα τύχωσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. τούτους δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔκ τε τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐκόμισαν οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐκλεξαμένους τὰ κράτιστα καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει πρόσφορα νομοθετήσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν, ἐὰν ἡ τε βουλὴ δοκιμάσῃ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, κύρια εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα εἶναι χρόνον, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὅσαι ἂν ὕστερον ἀποδειχθῶσι, κατὰ τούτους τοὺς νόμους τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ συμβόλαια διαρεῖν καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἐπιτροπεύειν.

[5] that these men select both from the Roman usages and from the Greek laws brought back by the ambassadors the best institutions and such as were suitable to the Roman commonwealth, and form them into a body of laws; that the laws drawn up by the decemvirs, if approved by the senate and confirmed by the people, should be valid for all time, and that all future magistrates should determine private contracts and administer the affairs of the public according to these laws.

[1] τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα λαβόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ

ἀναγνόντες ἐν τῷ [p. 102] δῆμῳ πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ προθέντος τὴν γνώμην Ἀππίου διεξῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες οἱ δῆμαρχοι τοὺς τ' ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπάτους ἤκειν ἤξιουν ἐμπεδῶσοντας τῷ δῆμῳ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, κάκεῖνοι παρελθόντες ἐξωμόσαντο τὰς ὑπατείας.

[56.1] The tribunes, having received this decree, went to the assembly and after reading it before the populace, bestowed much praise upon the senate and upon Appius, who had proposed it. And when the time came for the election of magistrates, the tribunes called an assembly and asked the consuls-elect to come and fulfil their promises to the populace; and they, appearing, resigned their magistracy.

[2] τοὺτους ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ θαυμάζων διετέλει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νομοθέτας ψηφοφορεῖν ἔδει πρῶτους εἴλετο τῶν ἄλλων: καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ὑπὸ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας Ἀππίος μὲν Κλαύδιος καὶ Τίτος Γενύκιος, οὓς ἔδει εἰς τοῦτιδον ἄρχειν ἔτος, Πόπλιος δὲ Σήστιος ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπατεύων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ κομίσαντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς νόμους, Σπόριος Ποστόμιος καὶ Σερούιος Σολπίκιος καὶ Αὔλος Μάλλις, εἷς δὲ τῶν ὑπατευσάντων τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν Τίτος Ῥωμίλιος, ὁ τὴν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ δίκην Σικκίου κατηγορήσαντος ἀλούς, ἐπειδὴ γνώμης ἐδόκει ἄρξαι δημοτικῆς: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν Γάιος Ἰούλιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐετούριος καὶ Πόπλιος Ὀράτιος, ἅπαντες ὑπατικοί: αἱ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τε καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ταμιῶν καὶ εἰ τινες ἦσαν ἄλλαι πάτριοι Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχαὶ κατελύθησαν.

[2] The populace kept praising and admiring them, and when they were to vote for lawgivers, made them their first choice. Those chosen at the election by the centuriate assembly were Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius, who were to have been consuls for the following year; Publius Sestius, consul of that year; the three who had brought the laws from the Greeks, Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius and Aulus Manlius; one of the consuls of the preceding year, Titus Romilius, the man who had been condemned when tried before the populace on a charge brought by Siccus and was now chosen because he was thought to have offered a motion favourable to the populace; and, from among the other senators, Gaius Julius, Titus Veturius and Publius Horatius, all ex-consuls. At the same time the offices of the tribunes, aediles, quaestors and any other traditional Roman magistrates were abrogated.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει παραλαβόντες οἱ νομοθέται τὰ πράγματα πολιτείας κόσμον τοιόνδε τινὰ καθίστανται: εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν τὰς τε ῥάβδους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς ὑπατικῆς εἶχεν ἐξουσίας, ὃς βουλὴν τε [p. 103] συνεκάλει καὶ δόγματα ἐπεκύρου καὶ τᾶλλα ἔπραττεν, ὅσα ἡγεμόνι προσῆκεν: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συστέλλοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικώτερον τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπιφθονον ὀλίγῳ τινὶ διήλλαττον ὀφθῆναι τῶν πολλῶν: εἴτ' αὖθις ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καθίστατο, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐγίνετο παραλλὰξ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστου

τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ παραλαμβάνοντος εἰς συγκαίμενον τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν.

[57.1] The next year the lawgivers took over the administration of affairs and established a form of government of the following general description. One of them had the rods and the other insignia of the consular power, assembled the senate, certified its decrees, and performed all the other functions belonging to the head of the state; while the others, by way of reducing the invidious character of their office to the more democratic level, differed in appearance but little from the mass of citizens. Then another of them in turn was vested with this authority, and thus it went on in rotation for a year, each one in succession receiving the command for a certain number of days as agreed upon.

[2] ἅπαντες δ' ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ καθεζόμενοι διήτῳ τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὅποσα πρὸς τε ὑπηκόους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκρωμένους τῆς πόλεως ἐγκλήματα τυγχάνοι γινόμενα, μετὰ πάσης ἀνασκοποῦντες ἕκαστα ἐπεικείας τε καὶ

[2] But all of them sat from early morning arbitrating cases involving private and public contracts in which complaints might arise between citizens and the subjects and allies of the Romans and peoples of doubtful allegiance to Rome, examining each case with complete fairness and justice.

[3] δικαιοσύνης. ἐδόκει δὲ ἄριστα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἢ Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἐπιτροπευθῆναι. μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἢ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πρόνοια καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ βίαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἀντίταξις: ἐλέχθη τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν, ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσει διήμου προστατῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχείων τῇ πόλει μιᾷ διοικήσεως ἅπαντα ἡγεμονίας σὺν φρονος, ἧς ἀρχηγὸς Ἀππίος εἶναι ἐδόκει.

[3] That year the Roman commonwealth seemed to be exceedingly well governed by the decemvirs. Above all they were commended for their care of the plebeians and for opposing, in defence of the weaker parties, every kind of violence; and it was said by many that the commonwealth would have no further need of champions of the populace or any of the other magistracies so long as a single wise leadership was directing all the affairs of the state. Of this régime Appius was looked upon as the head,

[4] καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἔπαινον ἐκεῖνος ἐφέρετο παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἃ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου χρηστότητος ἔφερεν αὐτῷ δόκῃσιν, ἀλλὰ [p. 104] πολὺ μᾶλλον ἃ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπιτηδεύων διετέλει, κατὰ τ' ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλανθρώπους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν πενήτων φιλοφρονήσεις.

[4] and all the praise that belonged to the whole decemvirate was given by the populace to him. For he gained a reputation for probity not only by those things which he did in concert with his colleagues from the best motives, but

much more by the manner in which he conducted himself personally, as in the matter of greetings, friendly conversation and other kindly courtesies toward the poor.

[5] οὗτοι οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες συγγράψαντες νόμους ἕκ τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγράφων ἐθισμῶν προὔθηκαν ἐν δέκα δέλτοις τῷ βουλομένῳ σκοπεῖν, δεχόμενοι πᾶσαν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν εὐαρέστησιν ἀπευθύνοντες τὰ γραφέντα. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἐν κοινῷ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεδρεῦοντες καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ποιοῦμενοι τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐξέτασιν.

[5] These decemvirs, having formed a body of laws both from those of the Greeks and from their own unwritten usages, set them forth on ten tables to be examined by any who wished, welcoming every amendment suggested by private persons and endeavouring to correct them in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. For a long time they continued to consult in public with the best men and to make the strictest scrutiny of their code of laws.

[6] ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀποχρώντως ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς τὰ γραφέντα ἔχειν, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγόντες οὐθενὸς ἔτι μεμφομένου τοῖς νόμοις προβούλευμα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκύρωσαν. ἔπειτα τὸν δῆμον καλέσαντες εἰς τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ἱερομνημόνων τε καὶ οἰωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων παρόντων καὶ τὰ θεῖα ὡς νόμος ἐξηγησαμένων ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς λόχοις τὰς ψήφους.

[6] When they were satisfied with what was written, they first convened the senate and, no fresh objection being made to the laws, they got a preliminary decree passed concerning them. Then, having summoned the people to the centuriate assembly, the pontiffs, the augurs and the other priests being present and having directed the performance of the religious rites according to custom, they gave the centuries their ballots.

[7] ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς νόμους, στήλαις χαλκαῖς ἐγχαράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐκλεξάμενοι τόπον. καὶ ἐπειδὴ βραχὺς ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς χρόνος ὁ λειπόμενος ἦν, συναγαγόντες τοὺς βουλευτὰς προὔθεσαν ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσίῳ οἷα χρὴ γενέσθαι σκοπεῖν.

[7] And when the people too had ratified the laws, they caused them to be engraved on bronze pillars and set them up in order in the Forum, choosing the most conspicuous place. Then, as the remaining time of their magistracy was short, they assembled the senators and proposed for their consideration what kind of magistrates should be chosen at the next election.

[1] πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκησεν ἡ γνώμη τῶν παραινούντων δεκαδρχίαν αὐθις ἀποδεῖξαι τῶν κοινῶν κυρίαν. ἀτελής τε γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία ἐφαίνετο, [p. 105] ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὀλίγου συντεθεῖσα χρόνου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη κεκυρωμένοις, ἵνα ἐκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες ἐν αὐτοῖς μένοιεν, ἐδόκει δὲ τινος ἀρχῆς

αὐτοκράτορος δεῖν. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα πείσαν αὐτοὺς προελέσθαι τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἣν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσις, ὃ παντὸς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο.

[58.1] After a long debate the opinion of those prevailed who favoured choosing a decemvirate again to be the supreme power in the state. For not only was their code of laws manifestly incomplete, in view of the short time in which it had been compiled, but in the case of the laws already ratified some magistracy absolute in power seemed necessary in order that willingly or unwillingly people might abide by them. But the chief motive that induced the senate to give the preference to the decemvirate was the suppression of the tribunician power, which they desired above everything.

[2] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν κοινῷ σκοποῦμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ πρωτεύοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο μεταπορεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδιότες, μὴ παραχώδεις τινὲς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι κακὸν τι μέγα ἐργάσωνται. ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ δεξαμένου καὶ μετὰ πλείστης προθυμίας ἐπιψηφίσαντος αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες προεῖπον τὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καιρὸν, μετήρσαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐντιμότεστοι τε καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πατρικίων.

[2] This was the result of their public deliberations; but in private the leading men of the senate resolved to canvass for this magistracy, fearing that certain turbulent spirits, if they gained such power, might cause some great mischief. The popular assembly having gladly received the resolution of the senate and confirmed it with the greatest enthusiasm, the decemvirs themselves appointed the time for the election; and those among the patricians who were most distinguished for both their dignity and age stood candidates for the magistracy.

[3] ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινούμενος ἦν ὁ τῆς τότε δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμὼν Ἄππιος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δημοτικὸς ὄχλος ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡξίου κατέχειν ὥς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἄμεινον ἡγησομένου. ὁ δ' ἀναίνεσθαι μὲν προσεποιεῖτο κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν ἡξίου λειτουργίας καὶ ὀχληρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφθόνου. τελευτῶν δ' ὥς ἐλιπάρουν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες αὐτὸς τε ὑπέμενε μετέναι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τῶν συμπαραγγελλόντων τοὺς ἀρίστους αἰτίαςάμενος οὐχ ἡδέως πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν διὰ τὸν φθόνον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις συνηγωνίζετο φανερώς.

[3] Upon this occasion Appius, who was the chief of that decemvirate, received great praise from everybody and the whole crowd of plebeians desired to continue him in the magistracy, believing that no one else would govern better. He at first pretended to refuse it and asked them to excuse him from a service that was both troublesome and invidious; but at last, when they all pressed him, he not only consented to seek the office himself, but also, accusing the best of the rival candidates of being ill disposed toward him through envy, openly espoused the candidacy of his friends.

[4] ἀποδεικνυταὶ τε πάλιν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις λοχίτισι νομοθέτης τὸ δεῦτερον: σὺν δ' αὐτῷ Κόιντος [p. 106] μὲν Φάβιος ὁ καλούμενος Οὐίβολανὸς ὁ τρίς ὑπατεύσας, ἀνὴρ ἀνεπίληπτος εἰς τὸδε χρόνου γενόμενος περὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἡσπάζετο, Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Σέργιος καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Μάνιος Ραβολήιος, ἄνδρες οὐ πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς: ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν Κόιντος Ποιτέλλιος καὶ Καίσιων Δουέλλιος καὶ Σπόριος Ὅππιος: προσελήφθησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀππίου κολακείας ἕνεκα τῶν δημοτικῶν, διδάσκοντος ὅτι δίκαιόν ἐστι μιᾶς ἀρχῆς κατὰ πάντων ἀποδεικνυμένης εἶναι τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐν αὐτῇ.

[4] Thus he was again chosen in the centuriate assembly as a lawgiver, for the second time, and with him Quintus Fabius, surnamed Vibulanus, who had been thrice consul, a man adorned with every virtue and without reproach up to that time. From among the other patricians those favoured by Appius and chosen were Marcus Cornelius, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius and Manius Rabuleius, men of no great distinction; and from among the plebeians, Quintus Poetelius, Caeso Duilius and Spurius Oppius. For these also were taken in by Appius in order to flatter the plebeians; he pointed out that, as only one magistracy was appointed to govern all the citizens, it was just that the populace also should be represented in it.

[5] εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ἐφ' ἅπασι τούτοις καὶ δοκῶν κράτιστος εἶναι βασιλέων τε καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγησαμένων τῆς πόλεως παραλαμβάνει πάλιν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν ἐπὶόντα ἐνιαυτόν. ταῦτα κατ' ἐκείνην ἐπράχθη τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον.

[5] Thus Appius, who was in great repute for all these actions and was looked upon as superior to both their kings and the annual magistrates who had governed the state, assumed the magistracy again for the following year. These were the things done by the Romans during that decemvirate, and there was nothing else worth relating.

[1] ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἔτει παραλαβόντες τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σὺν Ἀππίῳ Κλαυδίῳ δέκα ἄνδρες εἰδοῖς μαίαις, ἥγον δὲ τοὺς μῆνας κατὰ σελήνην, καὶ συνέπιπτεν εἰς τὰς εἰδοὺς ἡ πανσέληνος:

[59.1] The following year Appius Claudius and the other decemvirs, having received the consular power on the ides of May (for the Romans reckoned their months by the course of the moon, and the full moon fell on the ides),

[2] πρῶτα μὲν ὄρκια τεμόντες ἀπόρρητα τῷ πλήθει συνθήκας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο περὶ μηδενὸς ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὃ τι δ' ἂν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν δικαιώσῃ, τοῦθ' ἅπαντες ἡγεῖσθαι κύριον τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν καθέξειν διὰ βίου καὶ μηδὲνα παρήσειν ἕτερον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα [p. 107] ἰσοτιμοὶ τε πάντες ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξειν δυναστείαν, βουλῆς μὲν ἢ δήμου ψηφισμασι σπανίως καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ τἀναγκαῖα χρώμενοι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας ποιοῦντες.

[2] first of all took a solemn oath, without the knowledge of the populace, and made a compact among themselves not to oppose one another in anything, but that whatever was approved by any one of them should be ratified by all the others; and they agreed that they would hold their magistracy for life and admit no other person into the government, that they would all enjoy the same honours and possess the same power, and that they would rarely make use of the votes of the senate or populace and then only in absolutely necessary cases, but would do almost everything on their own authority.

[3] ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐν ἣ παραλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῖς θεοῖς προθύσαντες ἃ νόμος — ἱερὰν δὲ ταύτην ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ παντὸς μάλιστα ὀπτεῦνται μήτ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἀηδὲς ἐν αὐτῇ μήτ' ἰδεῖν — ἔωθεν εὐθύς ἐξήεσαν οἱ δέκα τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἅπαντες ἐπαγόμενοι.

[3] When the day came on which they were to enter upon their magistracy, after they had offered the usual initial sacrifices to the gods (for the Romans look upon this day as holy and particularly make it a point of religion neither to hear nor to see anything disagreeable during its course), the decemvirs set out early in the morning, each one accompanied by the insignia of royalty.

[4] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὡς ἔμαθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι φυλάττοντας τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μέτριον σχῆμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ διαμειβομένους τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς πρότερον, εἰς πολλὴν ἤλθε δυσθυμίαν καὶ κατήφειαν.

[4] When the people saw that they no longer preserved the same democratic and modest form of leadership or passed on the insignia of royalty from one to another, as before, they fell into great despair and dejection.

[5] ἐφόβουν θ' οἱ προσηρτημένοι ταῖς δέσμασι τῶν ῥάβδων πελέκεις, οὓς ἔφερον οἱ προηγούμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκάστου δώδεκα ὄντες ἀναστέλλοντες ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν πληγῖς τὸν ὄχλον, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐγένετο πρότερον. κατελύθη γὰρ εὐθύς τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν μονάρχων ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς δημοτικοῦ Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν μεταλαβόντος, ᾧ πάντες οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὕπατοι καλοῦ πράγματος δόξαντι

ἄρξαι τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντες οὐκέτι ταῖς δέσμασι τῶν ῥάβδων προσήρτων τοὺς πελέκει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐξόδους τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

[5] They were terrified by the axes attached to the bundles of rods which were borne by the lictors, twelve of whom preceded each of the decemvirs and with blows forced the throng back from the streets, as had been the practice formerly under the kings. This custom, however, had been abolished, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, by Publius Valerius, a friend of the populace, who succeeded to their power, and all the consuls after him, following the good example he was felt to have set, no longer attached the axes to the bundles of rods except when they went out of the city either upon military expeditions or upon other occasions;

[6] πόλεμον δ' ἐξάγοντες ὑπερόριον ἢ τῶν ὑπηκόων πράγματα ἐπισκεψόμενοι, τότε καὶ τοὺς πελέκει ταῖς ῥάβδοις προσελάμβανον, [p. 108] ἵνα τὸ τῆς ὄψεως φοβερόν, ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἢ δούλων γινόμενον, ἥκιστα φαίνεται τοῖς πολίταις ἐπαχθές.

[6] but when they set out on a foreign war or inspected the affairs of their subjects, they then added the axes to the rods. This was in order that the terrifying sight, as one employed against their enemies or slaves, might give as little offence as possible to the citizens.

[1] τοῦτο δὴ θεασαμένοις ἅπασιν, ὃ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σημεῖον ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, πολὺ παρεισθίκει δέος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀπολωλέκεναι νομίζουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἐλομένοις ἀνθ' ἐνός. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς ὄχλους οἱ δέκα ἄνδρες καὶ γνόντες, ὅτι δεῖ φόβῳ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, ἑταιρίαν ἕκαστοι συνῆγον ἐπιλεγόμενοι τοὺς θρασυτάτους τῶν νέων καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους.

[60.1] When, therefore, they all saw this token, which was considered to be a mark of the kingly power, they were in great fear, as I said, believing that they had lost their liberty and chosen ten kings instead of one. The decemvirs having by this means struck terror into the masses and made up their mind that they must rule them by fear thereafter, each of them formed a faction, choosing from among the youth those who were most daring and most attached to their persons.

[2] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ τῶν ταπεινῶν ταῖς τύχαις τοὺς πλείους φανῆναι τυραννικῆς κόλακας ἐξουσίας, τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος ἀλλεξαμένους τὰς αὐτῶν ὠφελείας, οὔτε παράδοξον οὔτ' ἀνέλπιστον ἦν: τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων εὐρεθῆναι συχνοὺς ἔχοντάς τι καὶ ἐπὶ πλοῦτῳ καὶ ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ μέγα φρονεῖν τοὺς ὑπομένοντας συγκαταλβεῖν τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερίαν, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν ἅπασιν εἶναι ἐδόκει: οἱ δὲ πάσαις κολακεύοντες ἡδοναῖς, ὅποσαι πεφύκασιν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν, κατὰ

πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἤρχον τῆς πόλεως, βουλὴν μὲν ἢ δῆμον ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μερίδι
πιθόμενοι, πάντων δὲ αὐτοῖ νομοθέται τε καὶ δικασταὶ γινόμενοι, καὶ
πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτινύντες [p. 109] τῶν πολιτῶν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφαιρούμενοι
τὰς οὐσίας ἀδίκως.

[2] Now the fact that most men of no means and low condition showed themselves flatterers of a tyrannical power and preferred their private advantages to the public good, was neither extraordinary nor surprising; but that there were found many even of the patricians who, though they had some reason, on the basis of either wealth or birth, to feel great pride, nevertheless consented to join with the decemvirs in destroying the liberty of their country, that seemed an amazing thing to everybody. But the decemvirs, by humouring people with all the pleasures that are calculated to subdue mankind, governed the commonwealth with great ease, holding the senate and people in no account, but becoming themselves both the lawgivers and the judges in all matters, putting many of the citizens to death and stripping others of their estates unjustly.

[3] Ἰνα δ' αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς τὰ γινόμενα ἔχη παράνομα καὶ δεινὰ ὄντα ὡς δὴ
σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ πραττόμενα, δικαστήρια ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ χρήματι ἀπεδίδουσιν:
ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τε κατήγοροι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκ τῶν συγκατασκευαζόντων
τὴν τυραννίδα ὑποπεμπόμενοι, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων
ἀποδεικνύμενα, οἱ διημεῖβοντο ἀλλήλοις καταχαριζόμενοι τὰς δίκας.

[3] In order, however, that their acts, illegal and cruel as they were, might have a specious appearance and seem to be carried out in accordance with justice, they appointed courts to try every matter; but the accusers, chosen from among the instruments of their tyranny, were suborned by the decemvirs themselves and the courts filled with men of their factions, who gratified one another by turns in rendering their decisions.

[4] πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ δέκα
ἔκρινον, ὥστ' ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ μειονεκτοῦντες τῷ δικαίῳ προσνέμειν
ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐταιρίαις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἔχειν,
καὶ ἐγένετο σὺν χρόνῳ πλεῖον τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ διεφθαρμένον
καὶ νοσοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤξιουν ἔτι μένειν ἐντὸς τείχους, οἷς τὰ πραττόμενα
ὑπὸ τῶν δεκαδάρχων ἀνιάρᾳ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τὸν τῶν
ἀρχαιρεσίων σκοποῦντες χρόνον ὡς ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὰς
δυναστείας, ὅταν τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκτελέσωσι χρόνον, καὶ ἀποδειξόντων
ἐτέρας ἀρχάς.

[4] Many complaints, and those not the ones of least importance, the decemvirs decided by themselves. Hence the litigants who had less right on their side were under the necessity of attaching themselves to the factions, since they could not otherwise be sure of success; and in time the corrupted and infected element in the city became more numerous than the sound element. For those

to whom the doings of the decemvirs were obnoxious would not consent even to remain any longer within the city's walls, but retired to the country while awaiting the time for the election of magistrates, in the expectation that the decemvirs would resign their power after completing their year's term and would appoint other magistrates.

[5] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον τοὺς λοιποὺς συγγράψαντες νόμους ἐν δέλτοις δυοῖ καὶ ταύτας ταῖς πρότερον ἐξενεχθείσαις προσέθηκαν: ἐν αἷς καὶ ὁδε ὁ νόμος ἦν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς πατρικίοις πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἐπιγαμίας συνάψαι: δι' οὐδὲν ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ μὴ συνελθεῖν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν τὰ ἔθνη γάμων ἐπαλλαγαῖς καὶ οἰκειότητων κοινωνίας συγκερασθέντα.

[5] As for Appius and his colleagues, they caused the remaining laws to be inscribed on two tables and added them to those they had published before. Among these new laws was this one, that it should not be lawful for the patricians to contract marriages with the plebeians — a law made for no other reason, in my opinion, than to prevent the two orders from coming together in harmony when once blended together by intermarriages and ties of affinity.

[6] ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἐπέστη [p. 110] χρόνος, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες τοῖς τε πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς καὶ τοῖς νεωστὶ γραφεῖσι νόμοις, οὔτε βουλῆς ψήφισμα ποιήσαντες οὔτε δήμου διέμειναν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς. λχι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστή καὶ τρίτη, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου, τὴν δὲ ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεῖχεν Ἀππίος μὲν Κλαύδιος τρίτον ἔτος ἡγούμενος τῆς δεκαδαρχίας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν παρελθόντα ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρξαντες δεῦτερον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας μένοντες.

[6] And when the time for the election of magistrates was at hand, the decemvirs bade a hearty farewell to both the ancestral customs and the newly-written laws, and without asking for a vote of either senate or people, continued in the same magistracy.

[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκᾳ στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου καταλύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐπεχείρησαν ἐρριζωμένην ἤδη τὴν δυναστείαν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ τίνων ἀνδρῶν ἡγησαμένων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ διὰ ποίας αἰτίας καὶ προφάσεις, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν πειράσσομαι διελθεῖν ἀναγκαίας ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι καὶ καλὰς τὰς τοιαύτας μαθήσεις ἅπασιν μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δ' ὅσοι περὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον θεωρίαν καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς διατρίβουσι πράξεις.

[1.1] In the eighty-third Olympiad (the one at which Criso of Himera gained the prize), Philiscus being archon at Athens, the Romans abolished the decemvirate which had governed the commonwealth for three years. I shall now endeavour to relate from the beginning in what manner they attempted to do away with this domination which was already deeply rooted, who the leaders were in the cause of liberty, and what their motives and pretexts were. For I assume that such information is necessary and an excellent thing for almost everyone, but particularly for those who are employed either in philosophical speculation or in the administration of public affairs.

[2] τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον — ἵν' ἐπὶ τούτου ποιήσωμαι τὸν λόγον — ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυσὶ ναυμαχίαις καὶ πεζομαχίᾳ [p. 112] μιᾷ καταγωνισάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον τριακοσίας ἄγοντα μυριάδας αὐτοὶ σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις οὐ πλείους ὄντες ἔνδεκα μυριάδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς αἱ πράξεις ἐγένοντο, βούλονται παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας μαθεῖν, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκούσαι, δι' ἃς τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα ἔργα ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόνες τῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορῆσαι, καὶ μηδενὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνήκοοι γενέσθαι τῶν συντελεσθέντων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

[2] For most people are not satisfied with learning this alone from history, that the Persian War, to take that as an example, was won by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who in two battles at sea and one on land overcame the barbarian at the head of three million troops, though their own forces together with their allies did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand; but they wish also to learn from history of the places where those actions occurred, to hear of the causes that enabled those men to perform their wonderful and astonishing exploits, to know who were the commanders of the armies, both Greek and barbarian, and to be left ignorant of not a single incident, one may say, that happened in those engagements.

[3] ἥδεται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια παντὸς ἀνθρώπου χειραγωγούμενη διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκούουσα τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ

πραπτόμενα ὁρώσα. οὐδὲ γ' ὅταν πολιτικὰς ἀκούσωσι πράξεις, ἀρκοῦνται τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πέρας τῶν πραγμάτων μαθόντες, ὅτι συνεχώρησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τειχὴ τε καθελεῖν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ ναῦς διατεμεῖν καὶ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου δημοκρατίας ὀλιγαρχίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεῖξαι κυρίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἀξιούσι καὶ τινες ἦσαν αἱ κατασχοῦσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγκαι, δι' ἃς ταῦτα τὰ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τινες οἱ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς λόγοι καὶ ὑπὸ τινων ῥηθέντες ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάντα, ὅσα παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς πράγμασι, διδαχθῆναι.

[3] For the minds of all men take delight in being conducted through words to deeds and not only in hearing what is related but also in beholding what is done. Nor, indeed, what they hear of political events, are they satisfied with learning the bare summary and outcome of the events, as, for instance, that the Athenians agreed with the Lacedaemonians to demolish the walls of their city, to break up their fleet, to introduce a garrison into their citadel, and, instead of their traditional democratic, to set up an oligarchy to govern the state, and permitted all this without so much as fighting a battle with them; but they at once demand to be informed also of the necessity which reduced the Athenians to submit to such dire and cruel calamities, what the arguments were that persuaded them, and by what men those arguments were urged, and to be informed of all the circumstances that attended those events.

[4] τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐν οἷς ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὅσοι μὴ λόγων, ἀλλ' ἔργων καλῶν ἄσκησιν ἡγοῦνται τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, [p. 113] τὸ μὲν ἡδεσθαι τῇ παντελεῖ θεωρίᾳ τῶν παρακολουθοῦντων τοῖς πράγμασι κοινὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει: χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς περιγίγνεται τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους καιροὺς μεγάλα τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας ὠφελεῖν, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὰς ἐκούσας ἐπὶ τὰ συμφέροντα διὰ τοῦ λόγου.

[4] Men who are engaged in the conduct of civil affairs, among whom I for my part include also those philosophers who regard philosophy as consisting in the practice of fine actions rather than of fine words, have this in common with the rest of mankind, that they take pleasure in a comprehensive survey of all the circumstances that accompany events. And besides their pleasure, they have this advantage, that in difficult times they render great service to their countries as the result of the experience thus acquired and lead them as willing followers to that which is to their advantage, through the power of persuasion.

[5] ῥᾶστα γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ τε ὠφελοῦντα καὶ βλάπτοντα καταμανθάνουσιν, ὅταν ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων ταῦτα πολλῶν ὁρώσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς φρόνησιν μαρτυροῦσι καὶ πολλὴν σοφίαν. διὰ ταύτας δὴ μοι τὰς αἰτίας ἔδωξεν ἅπαντα ἀκριβῶς διελεῖν τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας,

[5] For men most easily recognize the policies which either benefit or injure them when they perceive these illustrated by many examples; and those who advise them to make use of these are credited by them with prudence and great wisdom. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I have determined to report in accurate detail all the circumstances which attended the overthrow of the oligarchy, in so far as I consider them worthy of notice.

[6] ὅσα δὴ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν ἄξια ἡγοῦμαι. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων ἀρξάμενος, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτία γενέσθαι μὴ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν παρθένον ἀμαρτηθέντων Ἀππίω διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα: προσθήκη γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τελευταία τῆς ὀργῆς τῶν δημοτῶν αἰτία μυρίων ἄλλων προηγησαμένων, ἀλλ' ἂφ' ὧν ἥρξατο πρῶτον ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ὑβρίζεσθαι. ταῦτα πρῶτον ἔρῳ καὶ διέξιμι πάσας ἐφεξῆς τὰς ἐν τῇ τότε καταστάσει γενηθείσας παρανομίας.

[6] I shall begin my account of them, however, not with the final incidents, which most people regard as the sole cause of the re-establishment of liberty, — I mention the wrongs committed by Appius with regard to the maiden because of his passion for her, — since these were merely an aggravation and a final cause for the resentment of the plebeians, following countless others, but I shall begin with the first insults the citizens suffered at the hands of the decemvirate. These I shall mention first, and then relate in order all the lawless deeds committed under that régime.

[1] πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἦν ἡ δόξασα γενέσθαι τοῦ κατὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μίσους πρόφασις, ὅτι συνύφηναν [p. 114] τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχὴν τῇ προτέρᾳ δήμου τε ὑπεριδόντες καὶ βουλῆς καταφρονήσαντες: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοὺς χαριεστάτους Ῥωμαίων, οἷς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἦν, οὓς μὲν ἐξήλαννον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἰτίας ἐπιφέροντες ψευδεῖς καὶ δεινάς, οὓς δὲ ἀπεκτιννυσαν, κατηγοροῦς τε αὐτοῖς ὑποπέμποντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐταίρων καὶ τὰς δίκας ταύτας αὐτοὶ δικάζοντες: μάλιστα δ' ὅτι τοῖς θρασυτάτοις τῶν νέων, οὓς εἶχον ἕκαστοι περὶ αὐτοὺς, ἐφῆκαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

[2.1] The first ground for the hatred against the oligarchy seems to have been this, that its members had joined their second term of office immediately to their first, thus showing alike their scorn of the people and their contempt of the senate. Another was their treatment of the most reputable Romans who were dissatisfied with their actions, some of whom, on the strength of false and heinous accusations, they were expelling from the city and others they were putting to death, suborning some of their own faction to accuse them and themselves trying these cases. But more than anything else was the licence they gave to the most audacious of the young men by whom each of them was always attended, to plunder and pillage the goods of those who opposed their administration.

[2] οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἀλούσης πολέμῳ κατὰ κράτος τῆς πατρίδος οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον ἀφηρεοῦντο τοὺς νόμῳ κτησαμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς γαμετὰς αὐτῶν τὰς εὐμόρφους παρενόμουν καὶ εἰς θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους καθύβριζον καὶ πληγὰς τοῖς ἀγανακτοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις ἐδίδοσαν: καὶ παρεσκεύασαν, ὅσοις ἀφόρητα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἐδόκει, καταλιπόντας τὴν πατρίδα γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐξοικίζεσθαι πόλεις, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς Λατίνων μὲν διὰ τὸ % ἀσθενές, Ἑρνίκων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἔναγχος γενομένην αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἰσοπολιτείαν. ὥσθ', ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, τελευτῶντες αὐτοὶ κατελείφθησαν οἱ φιλοτύραννοι, καὶ οἷς μηδεμία τῶν κοινῶν φροντίς ἦν.

[2] These youths, as if the country had been taken by force of arms, not only stripped the legal owners of their effects, but even violated their wives, when these were beautiful, abused such of their daughters as were marriageable, and when any showed resentment, they beat them like slaves. Thus they bright it about that those who found these proceedings intolerable left their country along with their wives and children and removed to the neighbouring cities, where they were received by the Latins on account of their affinity and by the Hernicans in acknowledgement of the right of citizenship lately granted to them by the Romans. Consequently, as was to be expected, there were in the end none left behind but the friends of tyranny and such as had no concern for the public good.

[3] οὐτε γὰρ οἷ γε πατρίκιοι διέμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει θωπεύειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, [p. 115] ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τοῖςπραττομένοις ἀδυνατοῦντες, οὐθ' οἱ καταγραφέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτικὸν συνέδριον, οὓς ἐπάναγκες ἔδει παρῆναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους ἀνασκευασάμενοι πανοικεσία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους ἀφέντες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διέτριβον.

[3] For neither the patricians, who were unwilling to flatter the rulers and yet were unable to oppose their actions, remained in the city, nor did those necessary to the magistrates; but the greater part of these also had removed with their entire families and, leaving their houses empty, were now living in the country.

[4] τοῖς δὲ ὀλιγαρχικοῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν αἱ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἐγίνοντο φυγαὶ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἔνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀκολάστοις τῶν νέων πολὺ τὸ αὐθαδὲς προσεγίνετο μηδ' ὄψει δυναμένοις ἰδεῖν, οὓς ἔμελλον ἀσελγὲς τι πράττοντες αἰσχύνεσθαι.

[4] The oligarchical faction, however, was pleased with the flight of the most distinguished men, not only for many other reasons, but particularly because it greatly increased the arrogance of the licentious youth not to have before their eyes those persons whose presence would have made them blush whenever they committed any wanton act.

[1] ἔρημουμένης δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος ἔθνου τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἅπαν ἀπολωλεκυίας ἀφορμὴν κρατίστην ὑπολαβόντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὰς τε ὕβρεις ἃς ὑβρίσθησαν ἀποτίσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἀπολωλότα ἀναλαβεῖν, ὡς νοσοῦσης διὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὔτε συστῆναι οὔθ' ὁμονοῆσαι οὔτ' ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἔτι δυνησομένης, παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλαύνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν στρατεύμασι μεγάλοις.

[3.1] Rome being thus deserted by her best element and having lost every vestige of her liberty, the nations which had been conquered by her thought they now had the most favourable opportunity both to avenge the insults they had received and to repair the losses they had sustained, believing that the commonwealth was sick because of the oligarchy and would no longer be able either to assemble its forces or to act in concord or to take hold of the affairs of state; and accordingly they prepared everything that was necessary for war and marched against Rome with large armies.

[2] καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σαβῖνοι ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ὁμοτέρμονα καὶ πολλῆς γενόμενοι λείας ἐγκρατεῖς φόνον τε πολὺν ἐργασάμενοι τοῦ γεωργικοῦ πλήθους ἐν Ἡρήτῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν· διέστηκε δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡ πόλις αὕτη τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους πλησίον οὔσα [p. 116]

[2] At one and the same time the Sabines made a raid into that part of the Roman territory that bordered on theirs and, after possessing themselves of much booty and killing large numbers of husbandmen, encamped at Eretum (this town is situated near the river Tiber at the distance of one hundred and forty stades from Rome),

[3] Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ. Αἰκανοὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Τυσκλάνων γῆν ἐμβαλόντες ὁμορον οὔσαν σφίσι καὶ πολλὰ δηώσαντες αὐτῆς ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ πόλει τίθενται τὸν χάρακα. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν οἱ δέκα τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον, τεταραγμένοι συνεκάλουν τὰς ἐταιρείας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἐσκόπουν.

[3] and the Aequians made a raid into the territory of the Tusculans that adjoined their own, and having laid waste much of it, placed their camp at the town of Algidum. When the decemvirs were informed of the attack of their enemies, they were confounded, and assembling their organized bands, they consulted with them what measures they ought to take.

[4] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπερόριον ἀποστέλλειν στρατιὰν καὶ μὴ περιμένειν, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔλθωσι τὴν πόλιν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις, ἅπασιν ἐδόκει· παρεῖχε δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα κλητέον καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθομένους τῇ πολιτείᾳ· ἔπειθ' ὅποιαν τινὰ δεήσει τὴν καταγραφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ποιήσασθαι, πότερον αὐθάδῃ καὶ μισοπόνηρον οἷας ἔθος ἦν ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἢ φιλάνθρωπον

καὶ μέτριον.

[4] That they ought to send an army outside their borders and not wait till the enemies' forces advanced to Rome itself was the opinion of all; but they were in great perplexity, first, whether they should call to arms all the Romans, even those who hated their administration, and second, in what sort of way they should make the levy, whether in an arbitrary and uncompromising manner, as had been the practice of both the kings and the consuls, or with indulgence and moderation.

[5] ἔδόκει τ' αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο μικρᾶς εἶναι ζητήσεως ἄξιον, τί τὸ κυρῶσον ἔσται τὴν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην καὶ τὴν στρατολογίαν ψηφιοῦμενον, πότερα τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον, ἐπεὶ δι' ὑποψίας ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑκάτερον, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ δέκα. τέλος δ' οὖν πολλὰ βουλευσάμενοι τὴν βουλὴν ἔγνωσαν συγκαλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὅπως τὸν τε πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνη ψηφιεῖται καὶ τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ

[5] They thought that another point also deserved no small consideration, namely, who were to ratify their decisions regarding war and to vote the levy, whether the senate or the plebeians, or neither, since they were suspicious of both, but instead the decemvirs should confirm their own decisions. At last, after long consultation, they concluded to assemble the senate and prevail on that body to vote for war and to allow them to make the levy.

[6] καταγραφὴν ἐπιτρέψει ποιήσασθαι. εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ [p. 117] συνεδρίου κυρωθεῖη τούτων ἑκάτερον, πρῶτον μὲν εὐπειθεῖς ἔσεσθαι πάντας ὑπελάμβανον ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας καταλελυμένης, ἢ μόνῃ κατὰ νόμους ἐξῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐπιταττομένοις: ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ εἴ τι δόξειν ὑπηρετοῦντες τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὰ κυρωθέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνης πράττοντες κατὰ νόμους ἀνειληφέναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πολέμου.

[6] For if both these measures were ratified by the senate, they imagined, first, that all would yield ready obedience, particularly since the tribunician power had been suppressed, which alone could legally oppose the orders of those in power; and, in the next place, that if they were subservient to the senate and carried out its orders, they would appear to have received in a legal manner their authority to begin war.

[1] ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἑταίρων καὶ συγγενῶν τοὺς ἀγορεύσοντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰς συμφερούσας αὐτοῖς γνώμας καὶ τοῖς μὴ ταῦτ' αὖ προαιρουμένοις ἐναντιωσομένους προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ παραστησάμενοι τὸν κήρυκα τοὺς βουλευόντας ἐξ ὀνόματος καλεῖν ἐκέλευον.

[4.1] After they had taken this resolution and had prepared those of their friends

and relations who were to deliver in the senate the opinions that would further their cause and to oppose those who did not entertain the same sentiments, they went to the Forum, and bringing forward the crier, ordered him to summon the senators by name. But not one of the moderates paid heed to them.

[2] ὕπηκουε δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν μετρίων οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος βοῶντος καὶ παριόντος οὐδενὸς εἰ μὴ τῶν κολακευόντων τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ κάκιστον τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μέρος, οἱ μὲν τότε ὄντες κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ περὶ μηδενὸς πῶποτε συγκαλέσαντες τὴν βουλήν, τότε πρῶτον ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι καὶ συνέδριον ἦν τι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἔδει περὶ τῶν κοινῶν σκοπεῖν.

[2] When the crier shouted repeatedly and no one appeared but the flatterers of the oligarchy, among whom was to be found the most profligate element of the city, everyone who happened to be in the Forum at the time marvelled that the decemvirs, who had never assembled the senate on any account, recognized then for the first time that there was also among the Romans a council of worthy men whose duty it was to consult about the public interests.

[3] οἱ δέκα δὲ ταῦθ' ὀρῶντες ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄγειν: πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰς πλείους ἐρήμους ἀφειμένας εἰς τὴν ὕστεραιαν ἀνεβάλοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ [p. 118] χρόνῳ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν. πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου προελθὼν Ἄππιος, ὁ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμὼν, ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι διχόθεν ἀπὸ τε Αἰκανῶν καὶ Σαβίνων ἐπάγεται τῇ Ῥώμῃ πόλεμος: καὶ διεξῆλθε λόγον ἐκ πολλῆς συγκείμενον ἐπιμελείας, οὗ τέλος ἦν ψηφισασθαι στρατοῦ καταγραφὴν καὶ διὰ τάχους ποιῆσαι τὴν ἔξοδον, ὡς οὐ διδόντος ἀναστροφῇν τοῦ καιροῦ.

[3] The decemvirs, observing that the senators did not answer to their names, attempted to have them brought from their houses; but learning that the greater part of these had been left empty, they deferred the matter till the next day. In the meantime they sent into the country and summoned them from thence. When the senate-chamber was full, Appius, the chief of the decemvirate, came forward and informed them that war was being made upon Rome from two sides, by the Aequians and by the Sabines. And he delivered a very carefully prepared speech, the upshot of which was to get them to vote for the levying of an army and sending it out speedily, since the crisis admitted of no delay.

[4] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνίσταται Λεῦκιος Οὐαλέριος ἐπωνυμίαν Ποῦτις, ἀνὴρ μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς προγόνοις: πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Οὐαλέριος ἦν ὁ τὸν Σαβῖνον Ἐρδώνιον ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέχοντα τὸ Καπετώλιον, καὶ τὸ μὲν φρουρίον ἀνακτησάμενος, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποθανών: πάππος δὲ πρὸς πατρός Ποπλικόλας ὁ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν καταστησάμενος.

[4] While he was thus speaking, Lucius Valerius, surnamed Potitus, rose up, a man who thought very highly of himself because of his ancestry; for his father was that Valerius who took the Capitol by siege when it was occupied by Herdonius the Sabine and recovered the fortress, though he himself lost his life in the action, and his grandfather on his father's side was Publicola, who expelled the kings and established the aristocracy.

[5] παριόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι καταμαθὼν Ἀππίος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τι λέξειν ἐλπίσας· οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τόπος, εἶπεν, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, σὸς, οὐδὲ προσήκει σοι νῦν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅταν οἶδε οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τιμιώτεροί σου γνώμην ἀγορεύσωσι, τότε καὶ σὺ κληθεὶς ἐρεῖς ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ· νῦν δὲ σιώπα καὶ κάθησο. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἔφησεν ὁ Οὐαλέριος, ἀνέστηκα ἐρῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μειζόνων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρων, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἶομαι δεῖν πρῶτον ἀκοῦσαι τήν βουλήν.

[5] Appius, observing him as he was still coming forward and expecting he would say something against him, said: "This is not your turn, Valerius, and it is not fitting for you to speak now. But when these senators who are older and more honoured than you have delivered their opinions, then you also will be called upon and will say what you think proper. For the present be silent and sit down." "But it is not about these matters that I have risen to speak," Valerius said, "but about others of greater moment and more urgent, of which I think the senate ought first to hear.

[6] εἴσονται δ' [p. 119] ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσωσιν οὗτοι, πότερα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀναγκαιότερα τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς συγκεκλήκατε, ἢ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεχθησόμενα. ἀλλὰ μὴ μ' ἀποστέρει λόγου βουλευτήν ὄντα καὶ Οὐαλέριον καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως λέγειν βουλόμενον. ἐὰν δὲ φυλάττης τὴν συνήθη πρὸς ἅπαντας αὐθάδειαν, δημάρχους μὲν ποίους ἐπικαλέσομαι; καταλέλυσται γὰρ ἡ τῶν κατισχυομένων πολιτῶν βοήθεια ὑφ' ὑμῶν.

[6] And from what they shall hear they will know whether these matters for which you decemvirs have assembled them are more necessary to the commonwealth than those which I shall speak about. Well, then, do not refuse the floor to me, who am a senator and a Valerius and one who desires to speak in the interest of the safety of the commonwealth. But if you persist in your usual arrogance toward everybody, what tribunes shall I call upon to assist me? For this relief to oppressed citizens has been abolished by you decemvirs.

[7] καίτοι τίνος ἔλαττον τοῦτο κακόν, ὅτε Οὐαλέριος ὧν Ποτίτιος ὡς εἷς τῶν ἐλαχίστων οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλὰ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας δέομαι; οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπεστερήμεθα, ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ παρειληφότες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστεύοντας τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντας καλῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν, ὅτι διὰ κενῆς τοῦτο ποιῶ, φανεράν δὲ βουλόμενος πᾶσι γενέσθαι τὴν συνωμοσίαν ὑμῶν, ὅτι συγκεχύκατε τὰ τῆς

πόλλως καὶ μίαν ἅπαντες γνῶμην ἔχετε: μᾶλλον δὲ σὲ μόνον ἐπικαλοῦμαι, Κόιντε Φάβιε Οὐιβολανέ, τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ὑπατείαις κοσμοῦμενον, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ἔτι ἔχεις. ἀλλ' ἀνίστασο καὶ βοήθει τοῖς κατισχυομένοις: εἰς σὲ γὰρ ἀποβλέπει τὸ συνέδριον. [p. 120]

[7] And yet what greater wrong is there than this, that I, a Valerius, like a man of the lowest rank, do not enjoy equality, but stand in need of the tribunician power? However, since we have been deprived of that magistracy, I call for assistance upon all of you who together with this man have assumed the power of that magistracy also and exercise dominion over the commonwealth. I am not unaware, to be sure, that I do this in vain, but I desire to make your conspiracy mag to all and show that you have thrown the affairs of the commonwealth into confusion and that you all have the same purpose. Rather, I call upon you alone, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, you who have been honoured with three consulships, in case you still preserve the same sentiments. Rise up, therefore, and relieve the oppressed; for the eyes of the senate are fixed upon you."

[1] ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ὁ Φάβιος ἐκάθητο ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος, Ἄππιος δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δέκα πάντες ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκώλυον αὐτὸν λέγειν. θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ κατασχόντος τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἀγανακτούντων, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὀρθῶς ἡγουμένων, ἀνίσταται Μάρκος Ὀράτιος ὁ Βαρβᾶτος ἐπικληθεὶς ἀπόγονος Ὀρατίου τοῦ συνυπατεῦσαντος Ποπλίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Ποπλικόλῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ δεινὸς καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἄδύνατος, Οὐαλερίῳ δ' ἐκ παλαιοῦ φίλος: ὃς οὐκέτι κατασχὼν τὴν χολὴν ἔφρησε:

[5.1] When Valerius had spoken thus, Fabius sat still through shame and made no answer; but Appius and all the other decemvirs, leaping up, sought to hinder Valerius from going on. Upon this, a great tumult filled the senate-chamber, the greater part of the senators expressing their resentment, while those who belonged to the decemvirs' faction justified what they said. Then Marcus Horatius, surnamed Barbatus, a descendant of that Horatius who had been consul with Publius Valerius Publicola after the expulsion of the kings, rose up, a man of great ability in warfare and not lacking in eloquence, and long a friend to Valerius. This man, unable longer to contain his resentment, said:

[2] θαῦτόν μ' ἀναγκάσετε, Ἄππιε, τοὺς χαλινοὺς διαρρηῆξαι οὐκέτι μετριάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἐκείνον ἐνδυνάμενοι, οἳ γ' οὐδὲ λόγου τυχεῖν ἔατε τοὺς περὶ σωτηρίας τῶν κοινῶν βουλομένους λέγειν. πότερον ὑμῶν ἐξελήλυθεν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας, ὅτι σῶζονται μὲν οἱ Οὐαλερίων ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐξελασάντων τὴν τυραννίδα, λείπεται δὲ διαδοχὴ τῆς Ὀρατίων οἰκίας, οἷς πατριὸν ἔστιν. ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς καταδουλουμένοις τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μόνοις;

[2] “You decemvirs will very soon force me, Appius, to break through all restraint by your want of moderation and by acting the part of the haughty Tarquin, — you who do not even grant a hearing to those who desire to speak in the interest of the safety of the commonwealth. Has it slipped your mind that there still survive the descendants of that Valerius who banished the tyranny and that there are left successors of the house of the Horatii in whom it is hereditary to oppose, both with others and alone, those who would enslave their country?”

[3] ἢ τοσαύτην κατεγνώκατε καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἀνανδρίαν, ὥστ’ ἀγαπήσιν ἐάν τις ἐξ ἡμῶν ὅπωςδῆποτε, [p. 121] ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας δὲ καὶ παρρησίας μὴτ’ ἐρεῖν μῆτε πράξειν μηθέν; ἢ μεθύετε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας; ὑμεῖς Οὐαλερίου λόρον ἀφελείσθε ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς βουλευτῶν τινες ὄντες ἢ ποίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες νόμιμον; οὐκ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθητε τῶν κοινῶν προστάται; οὐ παρώχηκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν χρόνος; οὐκ ἰδιῶται τῷ νόμῳ γεγόνατε; ταῦτ’ εἰς τὸν δῆμον βουλευέσθε ἐξενεγκεῖν.

[3] Or have you decided that both we and the rest of the Romans have so mean a spirit that we shall be content to be permitted to enjoy life on any terms whatever and will neither say nor do anything in favour of liberty and freedom of speech? Or are you intoxicated with the greatness of your power? Who are you men, of what legal magistracy do you hold, that you are going to deprive Valerius or any other senator of the privilege of speaking? Were you not appointed leaders of the commonwealth for a year? Has not the term of your magistracy expired? Have you not become private citizens by law? Plan to lay these matters before the people.

[4] τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ κωλύον ἔσται τὸν βουλόμενον ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔχετε, κατηγορεῖν; ἀνάδοτε τοῖς πολίταις ψῆφον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου, πότερα δεῖ μένειν τὴν δεκαδάρχian ὑμῶν, ἢ τὰς πατρίους πάλιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀρχάς; κἄν τοῦτο μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ὑπομείνῃ, πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν κατάστασιν ἔχετε καὶ κωλύετε λέγειν, ὅποσα βούλεται τις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἄξιοι γὰρ ἂν εἴημεν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι χειρόνα τούτων πάσχειν ἐφ’ ὑμῖν γενόμενοι καὶ ρυπαίνοντες αἰσχροῦ βίῳ τὰς ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς. [p. 122]

[4] For what is going to hinder any of us from assembling them and from challenging the authority which you are exercising contrary to the laws? Permit the citizens to vote upon this very point, whether your decemvirate shall continue or the traditional magistracies be re-established; and if the people are so mad as to submit to the former course, then enjoy once more the same régime and prevent anyone from saying what he wishes in defence of his country. For we should deserve to suffer not only this but even a worse fate if we let ourselves get into your power and sullied by a disgraceful life both our own virtues and those of our ancestors.”

[1] ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ δέκα περιίστανται κεκραγότες καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐπανασείοντες ἐξουσίαν καὶ ῥίψειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντες κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσει. ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἀνέκραγον ὡς καταλυομένης σφῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μεστὸν ἦν ἀγανακτήσεως τε καὶ θορύβου τὸ συνέδριον.

[6.1] While he was still speaking, the decemvirs surrounded him, crying out, menacing him with the tribunician power, and threatening to throw him down from the rock if he would not be silent. Upon which all cried out, feeling that their liberty was being taken away; and the senate-chamber was full of indignation and turmoil.

[2] τοῖς μέντοι δέκα μετέμελεν εὐθέως τῆς τε κωλύσεως τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ὡς ἡρεθισμένην εἶδον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι τὴν βουλήν: ἔπειτα προσελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀππίος καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν θορυβούντων βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον, ἐπειδὴ κατέστειλε τὸ ταραττόμενον αὐτῶν:

[2] However, the decemvirs, when they saw that the senators were exasperated at their behaviour, repented promptly both of their having refused permission to speak and of their threat. Then Appius, coming forward, asked those who were creating a divc to have patience a moment; and having quieted their disorder, he said: "Not one of you, senators, do we deprive of the privilege of speaking, provided he speaks at the proper time; but we do restrain those who are too forward and rise up before they are called upon.

[3] οὐδένα ὑμῶν, εἶπεν, ἀποστεροῦμεν, ὧ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, λόγου, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ λέγη, τοὺς δ' ἐπιπολάζοντας καὶ πρὶν ἢ κληθῆναι προεξανισταμένους εἴργομεν. μηδὲν οὖν ἀγανακτεῖτε, καὶ γὰρ Ὅρατιῳ καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τόπῳ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐθισμόν καὶ κόσμον ἀποδώσομεν, ἑάν γε περὶ ὧν βουλευσόμενοι συνελήλυθατε, περὶ

[3] Be not, therefore, offended. For we shall give leave, not only to Horatius and Valerius, but also to every other senator, to deliver his opinion in his turn according to the ancient custom and decorum, provided they speak about the matters which you have assembled to consider and about no extraneous subject;

[4] τούτων λέγωσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω: ἐὰν δὲ δημαγωγῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διαστασιάζωσι τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα δημηγοροῦντες, οὐδὲν τότε: τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν τοῦ κωλύειν τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ὧ Μάρκε Ὁράτιε, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ὅτε ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὐτῆς οὕτω παρελήλυθεν, ὥσπερ σοι δοκεῖ.

[4] but if they endeavour to seduce you by popular harangues and to divide the commonwealth by speaking of matters that are not to the point, then to none

of them ever. As for the power to restrain the disorderly, Marcus Horatius, we do possess it, having received it from the people when they voted to us both the magistracy of the consuls and that of the tribunes; and the term of it has not yet expired, as you think.

[5] οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθημεν, οὐδ' εἰς [p. 123] ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ὠρισμένον, ἀλλ' ἕως ἄν καταστησώμεθα πᾶσαν τὴν νομοθεσίαν. συντελέσαντες οὖν, ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν ἔχομεν, καὶ κυρώσαντες τοὺς λοιποὺς νόμους, τότε ἀποθησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς βουλομένοις ὑμῶν ὑφέξομεν. τέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττώσομεν οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας οὐδὲ

[5] For we were not appointed for a year or for any other definite period, but until we should have instituted the whole body of laws. When, therefore, we have completed what we propose and have got the remaining laws ratified, we shall then resign our magistracy and give an account of our actions to any of you who desire it. In the meantime we shall relax nothing either of the consular or of the tribunician power.

[6] τῆς δημαρχικῆς. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ὡς τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι, γνώμας ἀξιῶ παριόντας ὑμᾶς λέγειν, πρῶτους μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ σὺνηθες καὶ πρέπον ὑμῖν, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἔπειτα τοὺς μέσους, τελευταίους δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους.

[6] As to the war, now, in what manner we may repulse our enemies most quickly and gloriously, I ask you to come forward and deliver your opinions — first the oldest members, as is customary and fitting for you, next those of a middle age, and last the youngest.”

[1] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκάλει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον Γάιον Κλαύδιον. ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς τοιαύτην διέθετο δημηγορίαν: ἐπειδὴ με πρῶτον γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἀξιοῖ Ἀππίος, ὃ βουλή, τιμῶν διὰ τὸ συγγενές, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προσήκει, καὶ δεῖ με ἃ φρονῶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους εἰπεῖν, πρὶν ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, ἐκεῖνο βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξετάσαι, τίσιν ἐπαρθέντες ἐλπίσιν Αἰκανοὶ καὶ Σαβῖνοι πόλεμον ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιόντες λεηλατεῖν, οἱ τέως ἀγαπῶντες καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὴν χάριν εἰδότες, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἶα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο μάθητε, καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἥτις ἔσται κρατίστη μαθήσεσθε.

[7.1] Having said this, he proceeded to call first upon his uncle, Gaius Claudius, who, rising up, delivered a speech about as follows:

“Since Appius desires me to deliver my opinion first, senators, showing me this honour because of our relationship, as becomes him, and since I must say what I think concerning the war with the Aequians and the Sabines, I should like, before declaring my own sentiments, to have you inquire what hopes

have encouraged the Aequians and Sabines to venture to make war upon us and to invade and lay waste our country, nations which till now were quite satisfied and most grateful to Heaven if they were permitted to enjoy their own land in security. For if you once know what those hopes are, you will also know what means of deliverance from war with these nations will be most effectual.

[2] ἑκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἀκούσαντες, [p. 124] ὅτι σεσάλευται καὶ νοσεῖ τὸ πάτριον ἡμῶν πολιτεύμα ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν οὔτε ὁ δῆμος εὖνους ἐστὶν οὔτε οἱ πατρίκιοι, καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀκούσαντες — τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές οὕτως ἔχει, τὰς δ' αἰτίας ἐπισταμένοις ὑμῖν οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν — ὑπέλαβον, εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἡμᾶς κατάσχοι πόλεμος ἅμα τοῖς ἐντὸς τειχους κακοῖς, καὶ δόξειε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δύναμιν ἐξάγειν τὴν προπολεμήσουσαν τῆς γῆς, οὔτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον ἅπαντας ἦξειν ἐκ προθυμίας ὡς πρότερον, ἀπεχθῶς διακειμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς: οὔτε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις χρῆσεσθαι κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραγενομένων δεδοικότας, μὴ τι μεῖζον ἐργάσωνται κακόν, τοὺς τε ὑπακούσαντας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας ἢ καταλείπειν τὰ σημεῖα ἢ παραμένοντας ἐθελοκακῆσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

[2] Well, then, when they heard that our time-honoured constitution has for a long time been shaken and is diseased and that neither the populace nor the patricians are well disposed toward those who are at the head of the commonwealth — and this they heard not without reason, since it is the truth, though I have no need to state the causes to you who are well acquainted with them — they assumed that if any foreign war should come upon us in addition to these domestic evils and the magistrates should resolve to march out with an army in defence of the country, neither the citizens would all present themselves cheerfully, as before, to take the military oath, because of their hostility to the magistrates, nor would these inflict the punishments ordained by law upon those who did not present themselves, lest they should occasion some greater mischief; and that those who did obey and take up arms would either desert the standards or, if they remained, would deliberately play the coward in battle.

[3] ὣν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἦλπισαν: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὁμονοοῦσα πόλις ἀπτηται πολέμου, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφέρον ἅπασι φαίνεται τοῖς τ' ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, μετὰ προθυμίας ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦσι καὶ οὔτε πόνον οὔτε κίνδυνον οὐδένα ὀκνοῦσιν.

[3] And none of these hopes was ill grounded; for when a harmonious state undertakes a war and all, both rulers and ruled, look upon their interests as identical, all go to meet the perils with alacrity and decline no toil or danger;

[4] ὅταν δὲ νοσοῦσα ἐν αὐτῇ, πρὶν ἢ τὰ ἔνδον καταστήσασθαι, τοῖς ὑπαιθριοῖς ὁμόσε χωρῇ πολεμίοις, καὶ παραστῇ τῷ μὲν πλήθει λογισμός, ὅτι

οὐχ ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν κακοπαθοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα βεβαιότερον αὐτῶν ἕτεροι ἄρχωσι, τοῖς δ' ἡγεμόσιν, ὅτι πολέμιον ἔχουσιν οὐχ [p. 125] ἥττον τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τὸ οἰκεῖον, νοσεῖ τὰ ὅλα καὶ πᾶσα ἱκανὴ δύναμις τὰ τοιαῦτα στρατεύματα καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ φθεῖραι.

[4] but when a state which suffers from sickness within itself engages with its enemies outside before composing its internal disorders, and the rank and file stop to consider that they are undergoing hardships, not for their own advantage, but to strengthen the domination of others over them, and the generals reflect that their own army is no less hostile to them than is the foe, everything is diseased and any force is sufficient to defeat and destroy such armies.

[1] ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧ βουλή, τὰ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐνθυμήματα, οἷς πεπιστευκότες ἐμβεβλήκασιν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀγανακτήσαντες τῷ καταφρονεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαρθέντων ὡς ἔχομεν ὀργῆς δύναμιν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ψηφισώμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἂ προὔλαβον ἐκέينوι συμβῆῃ,

[8.1] “These, senators, are the reasonings of both the Sabines and the Aequians, and because they believed them to be valid, they have invaded our territory. So if we, showing our resentment at being scorned by them in their exalted state of mind, vote in our present wrathful state to lead out an army against them, I fear that all they anticipated may happen to us, or rather, I know full well that it will come to pass.

[2] μᾶλλον δ' εὖ οἶδα συμβησόμενα. ἐὰν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τἀναγκαιότατα καταστησώμεθα — ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἢ τ' εὐκοσμία τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὸ πᾶσι ταῦτ' ἀσφαλὲς φαίνεσθαι — ἐξελάσαντες μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν νῦν ἐπιχωριάζουσαν ὕβριν καὶ πλεονεξίαν, ἀποδόντες δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον σχῆμα τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πτήξαντες οἱ νῦν θρασεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡξουσιν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, τάς τε βλάβας % ... θούμενοι καὶ περὶ διαλλαγῶν διαλεξόμενοι, ὑπάρξει τε ἡμῖν ὁ πάντες ἂν εὐξαιντο οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες, χωρὶς ὅπλων διατεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον.

[2] But if we establish the conditions that are of primary importance and most necessary — and these are good order on the part of the multitude and the recognition by all citizens that their interests are identical — by banishing from the state the insolence and greed which are now the fashion and by restoring the constitution to its ancient form, these enemies who are now so bold will cower and, hurling their weapons from their hands, will soon come to us to make amends for the injuries they have caused and to treat for peace, and we shall have it in our power — a thing which all men of sense would wish — to have put an end to the war without resorting to arms.

[3] ταῦτα δὴ λογισμένους ἡμᾶς οἶομαι δεῖν τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου

βουλὴν, ἐπειδὴ ταραχωδῶς ἡμῖν [p. 126] ἔχει τὰ ἐντὸς τειχοῦς, ἑᾶσαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας δὲ καὶ κόσμου πολιτικοῦ προθεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ λέγειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξεγένετο ἡμῖν, πρὶ εἰς τοῦτο καταστῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς κληθεῖσι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραγμάτων εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς εἶχε τῶν γιγνομένων διαγνῶναι.

[3] In view of these considerations I believe we ought to defer the consideration of the war for the present, since our affairs within the city's walls are in a turbulent state, and, instead, give leave to everyone who so desires to speak in favour of harmony and good order among our citizens. For we never had the opportunity, until the war brought us to this pass, of deciding in a meeting called by this government about the business of the commonwealth, whether any of the measures being taken were satisfactory.

[4] πολλῆς γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτιμήσεως ἄξιος ἦν, εἴ τις ἐκεῖνον ἀφείλς τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τοῦτῳ λέγειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἡξίου: οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν βεβαίως, ὅτι τοῦτον ὑπερβαλόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον ἑτέρου δυνησόμεθα τυχεῖν ἐπιτηδαιοτέρου. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλεται τις εἰκάζειν, πολὺς ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔσται χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ περὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν συνελευσόμεθα βουλευσόμενοι.

[4] For, had there been such an opportunity, great censure would be deserved by anyone who had neglected that occasion and only at this time saw fit to talk about these matters. Nor could anyone say for certain that, if we let this opportunity pass as unsuitable, we shall be able to find one that is more suitable. For if one cares to judge the future by the past, it will be a long time before we meet again to consider any matter of the public business.

[1] ἀξιῷ δ' ὑμᾶς, Ἄππιε, τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀπὸ τῶν συμφερόντων οὐχὶ τὸ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ λυσιτελοῦν ὀφείλοντας σκοπεῖν, ἐάν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθ' ἡδονὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας λέγω, μὴ μοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ λοιδορίᾳ καὶ προπηλακισμῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, [p. 127] ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξας, ἐν οἷῳ κλύδωνι τὰ πράγματα σαλεύει τῆς πόλεως, τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν ἥτις ἔσται φράσω.

[9.1] "I ask this, Appius, of you men who are at the head of the commonwealth and are in duty bound to consult the common interest of all rather than your private advantage, that if I speak some truths with frankness instead of trying to please you, you will not be offended on that account, when you consider that I shall not make my remarks with any intent to abuse and insult your magistracy, but in order to show in how great a sea the affairs of the commonwealth are tossed and to point out what will be both their safety and their reformation.

[2] ἅπασι μὲν γὰρ ἴσως, ὅσοις τῇ πατρίδι ... δωσιν, ἀναγκαῖός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ

τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων λόγος, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὅτι γνώμης ἄρχειν ἤξιωμα διὰ τιμῆν: αἰσχύνῃ δὲ καὶ μωρία πολλὴ πρῶτον ἀναστάντα μὴ οὐχ ἃ δεῖ πρῶτον ἐπανορθώσασθαι λέγειν. ἔπειθ' ὅτι συμβέβηκεν ὄντι θείῳ πρὸς πατρός Ἀππίου τοῦ προεστηκότος τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡδεσθαι τε πάντων μάλιστα, ὅταν εὔ τὰ κοινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπεύηται, καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι παντὸς ὁτουδήτινος μᾶλλον, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς.

[2] It is perhaps incumbent upon all who . . . for the fatherland to speak of the matters that are for the public interest, and this is true particularly in my case. First, because I have been asked, as an honour due me, to take the lead in expressing my opinion, and it would be a shame, yes a great folly, for the man who rises up first not to mention the things that need to be reformed first. In the next place, because it has fallen to me, as the paternal uncle of Appius, the chief of the decemvirs, both to be pleased more than all others when the commonwealth is well governed by them and to be grieved above anyone else when it is not so governed.

[3] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι ταύτην πολιτείας διαδέδεγμαι προαίρεσιν ἐκ προγόνων τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων λυσιτελῶν αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον ἴδιον ὑπολογίζεσθαι, ἣν οὐκ ἂν προδοίην ἐκὼν εἶναι δέ μοι ταύτην τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν καὶ οὐκ ἂν κατασχύναιμι τὰς ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετάς.

[3] Besides these motives, I have inherited it as a political principle from my ancestors to prefer the interests of the public to my own private advantages and to take thought for no personal danger, a principle that I would not willingly betray and thus dishonour the virtues of those men.

[4] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καθεστῶσης πολιτείας, ὅτι πονηρῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει, καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες αὐτῇ, μέγιστον ὑμῖν [p. 128] γενέσθω τεκμήριον πάντες οἱ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες ὃ μόνον οὐδ' ἄγνοεῖν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁσημέραι καταλιπόντες τὰς πατρώας ἐστίας οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἅμα γυναῖξί καὶ τέκνοις μεταπιθέμενοι τὰς οἰκήσεις, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντας τῆς πόλεως ἀγρούς: καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν πατρικίων πολλοὶ τὰς κατ' ἄστυ ποιοῦνται διατριβάς ὥς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τὸν βίον ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

[4] As to the present form of government, that it is in a bad state and that almost everyone is dissatisfied with it, let this be the strongest proof for you, the one thing you cannot be ignorant of, that the most respectable of the plebeians are daily abandoning their ancestral hearths and fleeing out of the city, some with their wives and children removing to the neighbouring cities and others to country districts that lie farthest from Rome. And even of the patricians not many continue to reside in the city as they formerly did, but the greater part of these also are living in the country.

[5] καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν, ὅτε καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες οἱ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἢ φιλίαν προσήκοντες ὑμῖν ὑπομένουσιν ἐντὸς τειχους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἐρημίαν ποθεινοτέραν ἡγοῦνται τῆς πατρίδος; ὅτε γοῦν ἐδέησεν ὑμῖν καλέσαι τὴν βουλήν, ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν καθ' ἓνα καλοῦμενοι συνῆλθον, οἷς πάτριον ἦν ἅμα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ

[5] Yet why should I speak of the others when only a few even of the senators, and those such as are attached to you either by relationship or friendship, remain within the walls, while the rest regard solitude as more desirable than their native city? At any rate, when you found it necessary to assemble the senate, the members came together only when summoned from their country seats one by one — these men with whom it was a time-honoured custom to keep watch over the fatherland in conjunction with the magistrates and to shirk none of the public business.

[6] μηδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν. ἄρ' οὖν τάγαθὰ φεύγοντας ὑπολαμβάνετε ἀνθρώπους καταλιπεῖν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας ἢ τὰ κακά; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τὰ κακά. καίτοι τίνος ἔλαττον οἶσθ' εἶναι κακὸν πόλει καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἣ πολλῶν οἰκείων δεῖ σωμαμάτων, εἰ μέλλει βεβαίως καθεῖξιν τὴν τῶν προσοικων ἀρχήν, τὸ καταλείπεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐρημοῦσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, οὔτε πολέμου κατασχόντος αὐτὴν οὔτε νόσου λοιμικῆς οὔτ' ἄλλης θεηλάτου συμφορᾶς οὐδεμιᾶς; [p. 129]

[6] Do you imagine, then, that it is to flee from their blessings or rather from their evils that men abandon their native lands? For my part, I think it is from their evils. And yet what greater evil do you think there is for a commonwealth, particularly for that of the Romans, which needs many troops of its own nationals if it is to maintain firmly its sovereignty over its neighbours, than to be abandoned by the plebeians and deserted by the patricians, when oppressed neither by war, pestilence nor any other calamity inflicted by the hand of Heaven?

[1] βούλεσθε οὔν ἀκοῦσαι, τινες εἰσὶν αἱ βιαζόμεναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλιπεῖν αἰτίαι ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους προγόνων καὶ ἐξερημοῦν ἐφέστια καὶ κτήσεις πατέρων καὶ πᾶσαν ἡγεῖσθαι γῆν ἀναγκαιοτέραν τῆς πατρίδος; οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ αἰτίας ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει. ἐγὼ δὴ φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι.

[10.1] “Do you wish, then, to hear the reasons that are compelling these men to abandon temples and sepulchres of their ancestors, to desert hearths and possessions of their fathers, and to look upon every land as dearer to them than their own? For these things are not taking place without reason. Well, then, I will inform you and conceal nothing.

[2] κατηγορίαι γίνονται τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν, Ἀππίε, πολλαὶ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν: εἰ μὲν ἀληθεῖς ἢ ψευδεῖς οὐδὲν δέομαι ζητεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, γίνονται δ' οὖν ὁμως. οὐδεὶς δ', ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἔξω τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐταίρων οἰκείως τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔχει πράγμασιν. οἱ μὲν γ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, οἷς προσῆκεν ἱερᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καρποῦσθαι τιμὰς, αἷς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦντο, ἄχθονται τούτων ἀπελαινόμενοι δι' ὑμᾶς τὰς προγονικὰς ἀξιώσεις ἀπολωλεκότες.

[2] Many charges are being brought against the magistracy of you decemvirs, Appius, and by many people. Whether they are true or false I do not care to inquire at present, but at any rate they are being brought. And not a man, I say, outside of your own partisans is well disposed toward the present state of affairs. For the men of worth, descended from men of worth, who ought to hold the priesthoods and the magistracies and to enjoy the other honours which were enjoyed by their fathers, are indignant when they are excluded from these by you and thus have lost the dignities of their ancestors.

[3] οἱ δὲ τὴν διὰ μέσου τάξιν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ἀπράγμονα διώκοντες ἡσυχίαν, χρημάτων τ' ἀδίκους ἀρπαγὰς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὑμῖν καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς εἰς γαμετὰς ὁδύρονται γυναῖκας καὶ παροινίας εἰς θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους καὶ

[3] The men of middle rank in the state, who pursue a life of tranquillity free from public duties, accuse you of snatching away their property unjustly and lament the insults you offer to their wedded wives, your drunken licentiousness toward their marriageable daughters, and many other grievous abuses.

[4] ἄλλας ὕβρεις πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς. τὸ δὲ πενέστατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος οὐτ' ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔτι κύριον γινόμενον οὔτε ψηφοφοριῶν οὐτ' εἰς ἐκκλησίας καλούκενον οὐτ' ἄλλης πολιτικῆς φιλανθρωπίας μεταλαμβάνον οὐδεμιᾶς, διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ὑμᾶς μισεῖ καὶ τυραννίδα καλεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν. [p. 130]

[4] And the poorest part of the populace, who have no longer the power either of choosing magistrates or of giving their votes upon other occasions, who are not summoned to assemblies and do not share in any other political courtesy, hate you upon all these accounts and call your government a tyranny.

[1] πῶς οὖν ἐπανορθώσετε ταῦτα καὶ παύσεσθε δι' αἰτίας παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὄντες; τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσθ' ὑπόλοιπον εἰπεῖν. εἰ προβούλευμα τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιήσαντες ἀποδοίητε τῷ δήμῳ διαγνῶναι, πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ πάλιν ὑπάτους τ' ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ δημάρχους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὰς πατρίους, ἢ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας.

[11.1] “How, then, shall you reform these matters and cease being the object of accusations among your fellow citizens? For this remains to be discussed.

You can do so if you will procure a preliminary decree of the senate and restore to the people the right of deciding whether they prefer to appoint consuls, tribunes and the other traditional magistrates once more or to continue under the same form of government as at present.

[2] ἔάν τε γὰρ ἀγαπῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ὀλιγαρχούμενοι καὶ μένειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας ψηφίσωνται, κατὰ νόμον ἔξετε καὶ οὐ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχήν: ἔάν τε ὑπάτους πάλιν αἰρεῖσθαι βουλευθῶσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀποθήσεσθε νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ οὐ δόξετε ἀκόντων ἄρχειν τῶν ἴσων: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τυραννικόν, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἐκόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν ἀριστοκρατικόν.

[2] For if all the Romans are content to be governed by an oligarchy and vote that you shall continue in possession of the same power, you will hold your magistracy in accordance with law and not by force; whereas, if they wish to choose consuls again and all the other magistrates as aforetime, you will resign your power in a legal manner and avoid the imputation of governing your equals without their consent. For the latter course is tyrannical, but to receive the magistracies with the consent of the governed is the mark of an aristocracy.

[3] τοῦ δὲ πολιτεύματος τούτου πρῶτον οἶμαι δεῖν ἄρξαι σὲ καὶ παῦσαι τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ κατασταθεῖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν, Ἀππιε, λυσιτελεῖ γέ ποθ' ἡμῖν γενομένην, νῦν δ' ἐπαχθῇ. ἃ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πεισθῆναι μοι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἐπιφθονον ἐξουσίαν ταύτην κερδανεῖς, ἄκουσον.

[3] And of this measure I think that you, Appius, ought to be the author and thus put an end to the oligarchy instituted by yourself, which was once an advantage to us but is now a grievance. Hear, now, what you will gain by following my advice and resigning this invidious power.

[4] ἔάν μὲν ὅλον ὑμῶν τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γένηται προαιρέσεως, διὰ σὲ πάντες ὑπολήφονται τὸν ἄρξαντα καὶ τούτους γεγενῆσθαι χρηστούς: ἔάν δ' οὗτοι φιλοχωρῶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ παρανόμῳ δυναστείᾳ, σοὶ μὲν ἅπαντες εἴσονται τὴν χάριν, ὅτι μόνος ἐβουλήθης δίκαια ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ θέλοντας σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ μεγάλῃ βλάβῃ παύσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[4] If your whole college is actuated by the same principle, everyone will think that it is because of you who set the example that the others too have become virtuous, whereas if these others are too fond of their illegal power, all will feel grateful to you for being the only person who desired to do what was right, and they will force out of office with ignominy and great hurt those who refuse to resign it.

[5] ὁμολογίας δὲ καὶ πίστει ἀπορρήτους εἶ [p. 131] τινὰς ἀλλήλοις δεδώκατε θεοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι — τάχα γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ὑμῖν πέπρακται — φυλαττομένας ἀνοσίους εἶναι νόμιζε ὡς κατὰ πολιτῶν καὶ πατρίδος,

καταλυομένας δ' εὐσεβεῖς. θεοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ καλαῖς καὶ δίκαιαις παραλαμβάνεσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὁμολογίας, οὐκ ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἀδίκαις.

[5] And if you have entered into any agreements and given secret pledges to one another, invoking the gods as witnesses, — for it is possible that you may have done something even of this nature, — look upon the observance of these agreements as impious, since they were made against your fellow citizens and your country, and the breaking of them as pious. For the gods like to be called in as partners for the performance of honourable and just agreements, not of those that are shameful and unjust.

[1] εἰ δὲ διὰ φόβον ἐχθρῶν ὀκνεῖς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, μὴ σοι κίνδυνοί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπαχθῶσι, καὶ δίκας ἀναγκασθῆς ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δέδοικας. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μικρόθυμος οὐδ' ἀχάριστος ἔσται ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων σου μεμνησθαι, τῶν δ' εὐεργεσιῶν ἐπιλελῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρεξετάζων τὰ νῦν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἠγήσεται συγγνώμης ἄξια, ταῦτα δ' ἐπαίνων.

[12.1] “However, if it is through fear of your enemies that you hesitate to resign your magistracy, lest they should form some dangerous designs against you and you should be compelled to give an account of your actions, your fear is not justified. For the Roman people will be neither so mean-spirited nor so ungrateful as to remember your faults and forget your good services, but offsetting your past errors by your present merits, will look upon the former as deserving of forgiveness and the latter of praise.

[2] ὑπάρξει δέ σοι καὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἔργων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ὄντων ὑπομνησκειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χάριν εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπολογίαις τε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ κατηγορήματα πολλαῖς: τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἤμαρτες, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων τις ἀγνοοῦντός σου: τοῦτο δ', ὥς οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦσθα τὸν πράττοντα κωλύειν ἰσότιμον ὄντα: τοῦτο δ', ὥς ἐτέρου τινὸς ἔργου χρησίμου χάριν ἠναγκάσθης ἀβούλητόν τι ὑπομεῖναι.

[2] You will also have the opportunity of reminding the people of the many fine actions you performed before the establishment of the oligarchy, of claiming the gratitude due for these as a means to assist and save you, and of employing many lines of defence against the charges. For example, that you yourself did not commit the wrong, but one of the others without your knowledge; or that you had no power to restrain the person who did the deed, since he was of equal authority with yourself; or, again, that you were forced to submit to something undesirable for the sake of something else which was useful.

[3] πολὺς γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος, εἰ πάσας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι βουλοίμην τὰς ἀπολογίας. καὶ οἷς μηδὲν ἀπολόγημα ὑπάρχει μήτε δίκαιον μήτ' ἐπιεικές,

ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ παραιτούμενοι [p. 132] πραῦνουνσι τὰς τῶν ἡδικομένων ὀργάς, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἄνοιαν ἡλικίας καταφεύγοντες, οἱ δ' εἰς πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας, οἱ δ' εἰς μέγεθος ἀρχῆς, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν ἅπαντας πλανῶσαν τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοὺς τύχην.

[3] Indeed, it would be a long story if I chose to enumerate all the lines of defence open to you. And even those who can make no defence that is either just or plausible, by acknowledging their guilt and craving pardon soften the resentment of the injured parties, some by falling back on the folly of youth, and others on their association with wicked men, some on the greatness of their power, and still others on Fortune that misleads all human calculations.

[4] ἐγὼ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστάντι ὑποσχοῦμαι πάντων ἀμνηστίαν ὑπάρξειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐν κακοῖς εὐπρεπεῖς.

[4] I myself promise you, if you resign your magistracy, that all your faults shall be forgotten and that the people shall be recalled to you upon such terms as in your unfortunate situation will be honourable.

[1] ἀλλὰ δέδοικα, μὴ πρόφασις μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῆς ὁ κίνδυνος ἢ τοῦ μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς — μυρίοις γοῦν ὑπῆρξε τυραννίδας ἀποθεμένοις μηδὲν δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν παθεῖν — , αἱ δ' ἀληθεῖς ὥσιν αἰτίαι φιλοτιμία κενὴ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς δόξης διώκουσα καὶ πόθος ἡδονῶν ὀλεθρίων, ἃς οἱ τυραννικοὶ φέρουσι βίοι.

[13.1] “But I fear that the danger is not the real ground for your not resigning your magistracy — at all events, men without number have been able to lay aside their tyrannies without suffering any harm at the hands of their fellow citizens — but that the true causes are a vain ambition, which pursues the phantom of honour, and a yearning for those pernicious pleasures which the life led by tyrants brings in its train.

[2] εἰ δὲ βούλει μὴ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰς σκιάς τῶν τιμῶν καὶ τῶν εὐημεριῶν διώκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἀληθεῖς τιμὰς, ἀπόδος τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τιμὰς λάμβανε παρὰ τῶν ἴσων καὶ ζήλου τύγχανε παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων καὶ κλέος ἀθάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος κατάλιπε τοῖς ἐγγόνοις. αὗται γὰρ εἰσι βέβαιοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς τιμαὶ καὶ ἀναφαίρετοι χαριέστατοι

[2] If, however, instead of pursuing the vain images and shadows of the honours and enjoyments, you wish to enjoy the real honours themselves, then restore the aristocracy to your country, receive honours from your equals and gain the praise of posterity, and in exchange for your mortal body leave an immortal renown to your descendants. For these are lasting and real honours, which can never be taken from you and afford the greatest pleasure without any regrets.

[3] τε καὶ ἀμεταμέλητοι. τρέφε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἡδόμενος, ὧν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα δόξεις γεγονέναι δυναστείαν βαρεῖαν αὐτῆς ἀφελόμενος. [p. 133] ποιῆσαι δὲ τούτων παραδείγματα τοῦς προγόνους ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων οὐδεὶς ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξουσίας δεσποτικῆς οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐπονειδίστοις τοῦ σώματος ἐδούλευσεν ἡδοναῖς. τοιγάρτοι καὶ ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἐπαινεῖσθαι.

[3] Nourish your soul by finding pleasure in your country' welfare, of which you will be regarded as the chief author by delivering her from a grievous domination. In doing this take your ancestors as your examples, bearing in mind that not one of those men aimed at despotic power or became a slave to the shameful pleasures of the body. For these reasons it was their fortune not only to be honoured while they lived, but after their death to be praised by those who came after them.

[4] μαρτυρεῖται γάρ τοι παρὰ πάντων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, ἣν ἐκβαλοῦσα τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις κατεστήσατο, βεβαιότατοι φύλακες ἐγένοντο. καὶ μηδὲν τῶν σεαυτοῦ λαμπροτάτων λόγων τε καὶ πράξεων ἐπιλανθάνου. καλαὶ γὰρ αἱ πρῶται σου τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔργων ὑποθέσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ μεγάλας ἐπέθρεψαν ἡμῖν ἀρετῆς ἐλπίδας, αἷς ἀκολούθως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν σ' ἅπαντες ἀξιοῦμεν.

[4] For all bear witness that they were the stoutest guardians of the aristocracy which our state established after banishing the kings. And by no means forget your own most splendid words and deeds. For your first principles of political action were honourable and inspired in us great hopes of your virtue; and we all ask you to act in future in conformity with those principles.

[5] ἀναχώρει δὴ πάλιν εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ φύσιν, Ἄππιε τέκνον, καὶ γίνου τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν πολιτευμάτων μὴ τυραννικός, ἀλλ' ἀριστοκρατικός καὶ φεῦγε τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλοῦντας, δι' οὓς ἐξέβης τῶν χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ παρεπλάγχθης τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει λόγον, ὅφ' ὧν ἂν γένηται τις ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ κακός, ὑπὸ τούτων πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐκ πονηροῦ γενέσθαι χρηστόν.

[5] Revert, then, once more to your own character, Appius, my son, and in your choice of policies do not espouse the cause of tyranny, but that of the aristocracy; and shun the pleasure-seeking companions who were the cause of your departing from honest practices and of your straying from the straight path. For it is unreasonable to suppose that those through whose influence a man has been changed from good to bad will change him back again from an evil to a virtuous man.

[1] ταῦτά σοι πολλάκις ἐβουλήθην ὑποθέσθαι μόνῳ μόνος εἰς λόγους παραγενόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντα διδάξαι, τὰ δ' ὡς ἀμαρτάνοντα

νουθετῆσαι: [p. 134] καὶ παρεγενόμην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀπῆλασαν δέ με οἱ σοὶ παῖδες ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οὐ σχολὴν ἄγειν σε λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἕτερά τινα πράττειν ἀναγκαιότερα, εἰ δὴ τί σοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας ἀναγκαιότερον ᾔν.

[14.1] “This advice I have often desired to give you, if I could have a private conversation with you, not only by way of instructing one who is ignorant, but also of reproving one who errs; and I have gone more than once to your house. But your servants turned me away, saying that you had no leisure for private matters, but were attending to other more urgent business — if, indeed, anything could be more urgent for you than respect for your family!

[2] τάχα δ' οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ κελευσθέντες οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γνόντες διέκλεισάν με τῆς εἰσόδου, καὶ βουλοίμην οὕτως τάληθές ἔχειν. τὸ πρᾶγμα δὴ με ἠνάγκασε τοῦτο διαλεχθῆναι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς σέ περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ πρὸς μόνον οὐκ ἔξεγενετο. καιρὸν δ' ἔχει πάντη λέγεσθαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα παρ' ἀνθρώποις μᾶλλον, Ἀππιε, ἢ

[2] Perhaps it was not by your command but of their own accord that they barred my entrance, and I could wish that this were the truth of the matter. This experience, then, has forced me to talk to you in the senate about the matters I wished to discuss with you, since I got no opportunity of doing so by ourselves alone; and things that are honourable and advantageous, Appius, may be mentioned seasonably anywhere in public rather than nowhere.

[3] μηδαμῇ. ἀποδεδωκώς δὴ σοι τὰ τοῦ γένους ὀφειλήματα μαρτύρομαι θεοὺς, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς κοιναῖς θυσίαις γεραίρομεν οἱ τῆς Ἀππίου γενεᾶς διάδοχοι, καὶ προγόνων δαίμονας, οἷς μετὰ θεοὺς δευτέρας τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀποδίδομεν κοινάς, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τούτους γῆν, ἣ κατέχει τὸν σὸν μὲν πατέρα, ἐμὸν δ' ἀδελφόν, ὅτι σοι παρέσχημαι ψυχὴν τε καὶ φωνὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένην, καὶ ἐπανορθῶν τὰς ἀγνοίας σου κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀξιῶ σε μὴ τοῖς κακοῖς ἰᾶσθαι τὰ κακά, μηδὲ τῶν πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀπολέσαι, μηδ' ἵνα τῶν [p. 135] ἴσων τε καὶ κρείττονων ἄρχῃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων τε καὶ κακίωνων ἄρχεσθαι.

[3] Having now performed for you the duty I owe to our family, I protest by the gods, whose temples and altars we who carry on the succession of the Appian family honour with common sacrifices, and by the genii of our ancestors, to whom after the gods we pay the next honours and gratitude in common, and, above all these, by the earth, which holds your father and my brother, that I have put at your disposal both my mind and my voice to give you the best advice. And now, desiring to correct your ignorance as best I may, I ask you not to attempt to cure the evils by evils, nor, by aiming at too much, to lose even what you already have, nor again, by attempting to rule over your equals and your superiors, to be ruled yourself by those who are inferior and baser.

[4] πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔτι σοι λέγειν βουλόμενος ὀκνῶ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω βουλευματα ὁ θεὸς ἄγει σε, καὶ ταῦτα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἴρηκα, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω, διακενῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρῶ. ἔχετε, ὦ βουλή, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως, τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς καταλύσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει θορύβων τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως. εἰ δέ τις ἕτερα τούτων κρείττω ἐρεῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα νικάτω.

[4] I should like to say much more to you upon many subjects, but hesitate to do so. For if God is leading you to better resolutions, even this that I have said is more than sufficient; but if to worse, then what I have still to say will also be said in vain. You now have my opinion, senators, and you who are at the head of the commonwealth, concerning the means both of putting an end to the war and of reforming the civil disorders. If anyone, however, shall offer better advice than this, let the best prevail."

[1] τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος Κλαυδίου καὶ πολλὴν ἐλπίδα τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρασχόντος, ὡς ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀππίος μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἤξιωσεν εἰπεῖν: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγαρχῶν προελθὼν Κορνῆλιος Μάρκος: ἡμεῖς μὲν, ἔφησεν, ὦ Κλαύδιε, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμφερόντων αὐτοὶ διαγινώσμεθα τῆς σῆς οὐδὲν δεόμενοι βουλῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ ἐσμέν, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν διαφερόντων ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ φίλων οὐ σπανίζομεν, οἷς, ἐάν τι δεῖ,

[15.1] After Claudius had spoken thus and given the senate great reason to hope that the decemvirs would resign their power, Appius did not see fit to make any answer to his advice. But Marcus Cornelius, one of the other members of the oligarchy, advanced and said: "We, Claudius, shall ourselves decide about our own interests without any need of your advice. For we are of the age best qualified for prudence, so that we are ignorant of nothing that concerns us, and we do not lack for friends whom we may take as advisers if necessary.

[2] συμβούλοις χρῆσόμεθα. παῦσαι δὴ πρᾶγμα ποιῶν ἄωρον, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος οὐ δεομένοις συμβουλῆς γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενος. τῷ Ἀππίῳ δ' εἴ τι βούλει παραινεῖν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι — τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθέστερον — ὅταν ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, λοιδορήσῃ. νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πόλεμον, περὶ οὗ κέκλησαι γνώμην ἀποδειξόμενος, ὃ τι σοι φαίνεται [p. 136] λέγε καὶ παῦσαι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος φλυαρῶν.

[2] Cease, then, doing an unseasonable thing in expressing your opinions as an older man to those who do not need advice. As for Appius, if you wish to give him any admonition or abuse — for this is the truer form of it — when you have left the senate-chamber, you may abuse him. For the present, state what you think about the war with the Aequians and Sabines, the matter regarding which you have been called upon to deliver your opinion, and cease talking idly of things that are beside the point."

[3] μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνίσταται πάλιν ὁ Κλαύδιος κατηφῆς καὶ μεστοὺς ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρῦων καὶ φησιν: Ἀππίος μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως ἄξιον ἡγεῖται με, ὦ βουλή, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον ἐναντίον ὑμῶν: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέκλεισέ μοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἄβατον ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ. εἰ δὲ χρὴ

[3] After him Claudius rose up again, with downcast countenance and with tears in his eyes, and said: “Appius does not think me, his uncle, worthy even of an answer, senators, in your presence; but, just as he shut his own house against me, so he does everything in his power to render the senate-chamber here inaccessible to me likewise. And if I must speak the truth, I am even driven out of the city.

[4] τάληθές λέγειν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελαύνομαι. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι δυναίμην ὁρᾶν ἀνάξιον γεγονότα τῶν προγόνων καὶ τυραννικὴν ἐξηλωκότα παρανομίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνασκευασάμενος ἅπαντα τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς Σαβίνους ἅπειμι, πόλιν οἰκήσων Ῥήγιλλον, ἐξ ἧς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστί, καὶ μενῶ τὸν λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ χρόνον, ἕως ἂν οὗτοι κατέχωσι τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἀρχήν. ἐπειδὰν δ' οἷα μαντεύομαι περὶ τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν γένηται — γενήσεται δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν —

[4] For I could no longer bear the sight of him, now that he has become unworthy of his ancestors and has emulated the lawlessness of tyrants, but removing all my effects and my household to the Sabines, I shall live at Regillum, the city from which our family comes, and shall remain there for the future as long as these men continue in possession of this fine magistracy. But when the fate I foresee shall have overtaken the decemvirate — and it will overtake them soon — I shall then return.

[5] τότε παρέσομαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα: περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ταύτην ὑμῖν, ὦ βουλή, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυμαι, μηδὲν ψηφίζεσθαι περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος, ἕως ἀποδειχθῶσι νέαι ἀρχαί. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πολὺν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου κινήσας ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ φιλελευθέρῳ τῆς γνώμης ἐκάθισε. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναστὰς Λεῦκιος Κοϊντίος ὁ καλούμενος Κικιννᾶτος [p. 137] καὶ Τίτος Κοϊντίος Καπετωλῖνος καὶ Λεῦκιος Λουκρήτιος καὶ πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ πρωτεύοντες δέκα τοῦ συνεδρίου τῇ Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσετίθεντο.

[5] So much concerning myself. As to the war, I give you this advice, senators, to pass no vote concerning anything whatever until new magistrates are appointed.” After he had thus spoken and received great applause from the senate for the noble spirit and the love of liberty that his words breathed, he sat down. And after him Lucius Quintius, surnamed Cincinnatus, Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Lucius Lucretius, and all the leading men of the senate rose up one after another and supported the motion of Claudius.

[1] ἔφ' ὧ διαταραχθέντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον ἐβουλευσάντο μηκέτι καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ βουλῆς ἀξίωσιν συμβούλους καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑταιρίαν. καὶ παρελθὼν Μάρκος Κορνήλιος ἀνίστησι Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃς Κοίντῳ Φαβίῳ Οὐίβουλανῷ συνυπάτευσε τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύοντι, δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ πολιτικοὺς διεξελεῖν λόγους οὐκ ἀδύνατον.

[16.1] Appius and his colleagues, being disturbed at this, resolved no longer to call upon others for advice according to their age or senatorial rank, but according to their friendship and attachment to themselves. And Marcus Cornelius, coming forward, asked Lucius Cornelius to rise, — his brother, who had been colleague to Quintus Fabius Vibulanus in his third consulship, a man of action and not without eloquence in political debates. This man, rising up, spoke as follows:

[2] οὗτος ἀναστὰς ἔλεξε τοιάδε: θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἦν καὶ τοῦτ', ὧ βουλή, εἰ ταύτην ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχουσιν, οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενοι καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιοῦντες τῶν συνέδρων, τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν προσκρουσμάτων ἀπέχθειαν ἀδιάλλακτον πρὸς τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς πόλεως, οὓς ἐχρῆν% οἷόν τε δεῖ φυλάττειν, καὶ τοῖς νέοις παραινεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἀγῶνας, καὶ μὴ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ φίλους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀντιπάλους.

[2] This also was surprising, senators, that men of the age of those who preceded me in declaring their opinions and claim to be the foremost men of the senate, think fit to maintain unrelenting their enmity, derived from political clashes, toward those who are at the head of the commonwealth, when they ought to be exhorting the young men also to engage from the highest motive in competition for noble rewards, and to regard, not as enemies, but as friends, those who are their rivals in striving for the public good.

[3] πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστιν, εἰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας [p. 138] ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα μεταφέρουσι καὶ συναπολέσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐχθροῖς βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ σωθῆναι μετὰ πάντων τῶν φίλων. ὑπερβολὴν γὰρ ἀνοίας τούτοις καὶ οὐ πόρρῳ θεοβλαβείας πεποιήκασιν οἱ πρόεδροι τῆς βουλῆς ἡμῶν.

[3] And much more surprising still than this it is that they transfer their private animosities to the affairs of the commonwealth and choose rather to perish with their enemies than to be saved with all their friends. This is an excess of folly and not far from a Heaven-sent madness which the presiding officers of our senate have been guilty of.

[4] οὗτοι γὰρ ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι μετιόντας αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχήν, ἥς

αὐτοὶ νῦν κατηγοροῦσιν, ἐνίκησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐπιτηδειότεροι φανέντες, αἰεὶ πολεμοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πόλεμον ἀδιάλλακτον, καὶ εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκουσιν εὐθειας, μᾶλλον δὲ μανίας, ὥσθ', ἵνα τούτους διαβάλλωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅλην ὑπομένουσιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν πατρίδα:

[4] For these men, displeased because others who appeared more worthy defeated them at the election when they were candidates for the decemvirate, — a magistracy which they themselves now inveigh against, — continually wage an unrelenting war against them and have come to this pitch of folly, or rather of madness, that in order to slander these men to you they are willing to overthrow the whole country.

[5] οἱ γ' ὁρῶντες μὲν ἀνάστατον τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένην, ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅσον οὐπὼ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐλεύσεσθαι — τὸ γὰρ διὰ μέσου χωρίον οὐ πολὺ — ἀντὶ τοῦ παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρορμᾶν τοὺς νέους ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ βοηθεῖν, ὅση γοῦν ἐν τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐστὶν ἰσχὺς, περὶ πολιτείας κόσμου νῦν ἀξιοῦσιν ὑμᾶς σκοπεῖν καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν: καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δύνανται συνιδεῖν, ὅτι γνώμας ἀσυμφόρους εἰσφέρουσι, μᾶλλον δ' εὐχὰς ἀδυνάτους ἔχουσιν. [p. 139]

[5] For although they see that our land has been laid waste by our enemies and though they see that these foes will come almost immediately against Rome (the distance separating us is not great), instead of exhorting and urging the young men to fight for their country and going themselves to her relief with all alacrity and enthusiasm, so far at least as there is strength in men so aged, they ask you now to consider the form of government, to create new magistrates, and to do everything rather than injure the enemy; and they cannot see even this itself, that they are introducing inopportune motions, or rather uttering impracticable wishes.

[1] σκοπεῖτε γὰρ οὕτως: προβούλευμα γενήσεται τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἔπειτ' ἐξοίσουσιν οἱ δέκα τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὀρίσαντες ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τρίτην. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἀληθῶς γένοιτό τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ψηφιζομένων κύριον, ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ νόμους γένηται; ἔπειθ' ὅταν αἱ φυλαὶ διενέγκωσι τὴν ψήφον, τότε αἱ νέαι % παραιτοῦνται τὴν πόλιν ἀρχαί

[17.1] “For consider the matter in this light. There will be a preliminary vote of the senate for the election of magistrates; then the decemvirs will lay this resolution before the people after appointing the third market-day thereafter for its consideration. For how can anything that is voted by the people become really valid if it is not done in accordance with the laws? Then, after the tribes have given their votes, the new magistrates will take over the administration of the commonwealth and propose to you the consideration of the war.

[2] καὶ προθήσουσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξύ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν χρόνοις τοσούτοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἔλθωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ προσαγάγωσι τοῖς τείχεσι, τί ποιήσομεν, Κλαύδιε; ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς νῆ Δία: μείναθ', ἕως ἂν ἀποδείξωμεν ἐτέρας ἀρχάς. Κλαύδιος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔπεισε περὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου πράγματος μήτε προβουλεύειν μήτ' εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκφέρειν μήτε δυνάμεις καταγράφειν, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ περὶ

[2] During the interval before the election, which will be such a long one, if our enemies march up to the city and approach the walls, what are we going to do, Claudius? We shall say to them, by heaven: 'Wait until we have appointed other magistrates. For Claudius persuaded us neither to pass a preliminary decree concerning any other matter nor to lay anything else before the people nor to enrol forces until we have settled everything relating to the magistracies as we wish.

[3] τὰς ἀρχὰς καταστήσωμεν ὡς βουλόμεθα. ἅπιτ' οὖν, καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσητε ὑπάτους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθείσας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα γεγονότα ἡμῖν εὐτρεπῇ, τόθ' ἤκετε περὶ διαλλαγῶν ποιησόμενοι τοὺς λόγους, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἥρξασθε ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν οὐδὲν προπεπονηότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν: καὶ ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐβλάβαστε κατὰ τὰς ἐμβολὰς εἰς χρημάτων λόγον,

[3] Depart, therefore, and when you hear that the consuls and the other magistrates have been appointed and that we have all the necessary preparations made for war, then come and make your pleas for peace, since you injured us first without any provocation on our part. And for whatever damage you have caused us in your raids, so far as property is concerned, pay us in full in accordance with justice;

[4] ἅπαντα ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου διαλύσατε. τὸν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν ὄλεθρον οὐχ ὑπολογιούμεθα ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἴ τινα γύναια ἐλεύθερα ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας ἐπειράθη στρατιωτικῆς [p. 140] οὐδ' ἄλλο τῶν ἀνηκέστων οὐδὲν. κἀκεῖνοι ταῦτα προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν μετριάσουσι καὶ συγχωρήσαντες τῇ πόλει νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπῇ ποιήσασθαι, τότε ἤξουσιν ἱκετηρίας φέροντες ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ παραδιδόντες ἡμῖν ἑαυτούς.

[4] but the slaying of our husbandmen and any insults and drunken abuse offered by your soldiers to women of free condition or any other irreparable mischief we shall not include in your account.' And they doubtless in response to this invitation of ours will show moderation, and after permitting us to choose new magistrates and to make our preparations for war, will then come with olive branches in their hands instead of arms and deliver themselves up to us!"

[1] ὦ πολλῆς μὲν εὐθειας τούτων, οἷς ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔρχεται τοιαῦτα ληρεῖν,

πολλῆς δ' ἀναληθείας ἡμῶν, εἰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος βουλευόμενοι.

[18.1] “Oh, the great folly of these men who can think of uttering such nonsense, and our own great stupidity if, when they say such things, we show no displeasure, but submit to hearing them, as if we were consulting in the interest of our enemies and not out of ourselves and our country!

[2] οὐκ ἀνελοῦμεν ἐκ μέσου τοὺς φλυάρους; οὐ ταχεῖαν ψηφιοῦμεθα τῇ ὑπονοθευομένῃ χώρᾳ τὴν βοήθειαν; οὐ καθοπλιοῦμεν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πόλεις αὐτοὶ στρατευσόμεθα; ἀλλ' οἴκοι μένοντες καὶ τοῖς δέκα λοιδορούμενοι καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς καθιστάντες καὶ περὶ κόσμου πολιτικοῦ σκοποῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντ' ἐάσομεν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύομεν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῆς πόλεως, ὥς ἐάσαντες τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθεῖν;

[2] Shall we not remove these triflers from our midst? Not vote speedy relief to the land that is being ravished? Not arm all the youth of Rome? Not march ourselves against the cities of our enemies? Or shall we stay at home and, abusing the decemvirs, installing new magistrates and considering a form of government as if we were at peace, let everything in the country fall into the enemy's hands, and at last run the hazard of being enslaved ourselves and seeing our city laid in ruins as the result of our having allowed the war to approach our walls?

[3] οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιαινόντων ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλευματα, ὧ πατέρες, οὐδὲ προνοίας πολιτικῆς τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεχθειῶν ἡγουμένης ἀναγκαιότερα, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικίας ἀκαίρου καὶ δυσμενείας ἀβούλου καὶ φθόνου κακοδαίμονος, ὅς οὐκ ἔῃ τοὺς [p. 141] ἔχοντας αὐτὸν σωφρονεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τούτων φιλονεικίας ἐάσατε χαίρειν, ἃ δὲ ψηφισάμενοι τῇ πόλει σωτήρια καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα ἔσεσθε βεβουλευμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φοβερὰ, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι λέγειν.

[3] Such counsels, fathers, are not those of men in their senses nor do they spring from the political foresight which regards the public advantages as more essential than private animosities, but rather from an unseasonable contentiousness, an ill-starred enmity, and an unfortunate envy which does not permit those who are under its influence to show sound judgement. Dismiss, however, from your minds the rivalries of these men; but the measures which you should pass if your counsels are to prove salutary to the commonwealth, becoming to yourselves and formidable to our foes, I shall now attempt to indicate.

[4] νῦν μὲν τὸν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσατε καὶ τὰς

δυνάμεις μετὰ πλείστης προθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς καταγράφετε τὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους ἐξελευσομένας. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος ἡμῖν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ, καὶ ἀναστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αἱ δυνάμεις εἰρήνης γενομένης, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας σκοπεῖτε, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τοὺς δέκα περὶ πάντων, ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπραξαν, καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς ψηφοφορεῖτε καὶ δικαστήρια καθίζετε καὶ τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἑκατέρου τούτων ἀξίους, ὅταν ἐφ' ὑμῖν γένηται ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρα, μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ καιροὶ δουλεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καιροῖς τὰ πράγματα.

[4] For the present, vote your approval of the war against the Aequians and Sabines and enrol with the greatest alacrity and expedition the forces that are to set out against both. And after the war is terminated in the happiest manner for us and our forces return to the city upon the conclusion of peace, then not only considered the form of government, but also call the decemvirs to account for all their actions during their administration, vote for new magistrates and establish courts and honour with both these offices those who are worthy of them when both are in your power; for you must know that opportunities do not wait upon events, but events upon opportunities."

[5] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου Κορνηλίου τὴν γνώμην οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνιστάμενοι χωρὶς ὀλίγων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο προαιρέσεως: οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ταῦτα προσήκοντα ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι, οἱ δ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τοὺς δέκα τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦν γάρ τι καὶ κατεπτηχὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἐκ τῶν συνέδρων.

[5] When Cornelius had delivered this opinion, those who rose up after him were, with few exceptions, of the same advice, some looking upon these measures as necessary and suited to the present juncture, and others yielding to the times and paying court to the decemvirs through dread of their magistracy; for no small part of the senators actually stood in awe of their power.

[1] ὥς δ' αἱ πλείους γνῶμαι διηγορεύθησαν, καὶ παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖν ἐδόκουν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυροῦντες [p. 142] τῶν ἑτέρων, τότε Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐκάλουν, ὃν ἔφην εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχαῖς βουλόμενόν τι λέγειν κεκωλύσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀναστὰς τοιοῦτους διεξῆλθε λόγους:

[19.1] After most of the senators had delivered their opinions and those who declared for war appeared to be much more numerous than the others, the decemvirs then called upon Lucius Valerius among the last. He was the one, as I have related, who had wished to say something at the very beginning of the debate but had been prevented by them. And now rising, he delivered a speech of the following tenor:

[2] τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν δέκα ὁρᾶτε, ὧ πατέρες, οἱ κατ' ἀρχάς τ' οὐκ

ἐπέτρεψάν μοι λέγειν ὅσα προηροῦμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀποδεδώκασι λόγον ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὅτι τῇ τε Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσθέμενος οὐδὲν ὠφελήσω τὸ κοινὸν ὀλίγων αὐτῇ συνειρηκώτων: ἑτέραν τε γνώμην παρὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αὐτοῖς ἀποφηνάμενος, κἂν τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθῶμαι, διακενῆς ἐρραψωδικῶς ἔσομαι.

[2] “You see, fathers, the plot of the decemvirs who not only at first would not allow me to say to you all that I had proposed, but now have assigned to my turn to speak among the last, with this in mind, as we may reasonably assume, that, if I concur in the opinion of Claudius, I shall render no service to the commonwealth, since few have supported it, and again, if I deliver an opinion different from those they themselves have expressed, however excellent my advice may be, I shall have recited my piece in vain.

[3] εὐαρίθμητοι γὰρ τινές εἰσιν οἱ μετ’ ἐμὲ ἀναστησόμενοι, οὓς ἐὰν ἅπαντας ὁμογνώμονας λάβω, τί γενήσεται μοι πλέον οὐδὲ πολλοστήν ἔξοντι μοῖραν τῶν Κορνηλίῳ συναγορευόντων; οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ ταῦθ’ ὑφορώμενος ὀκνήσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην εἰπεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσητε πάντων, ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἔσται τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι.

[3] For those are easily counted who are to rise up after me, and even if I shall have them all agreeing with me, what advantage will it give me when I shall not have the smallest fraction of those who side with Cornelius? However, in spite of these misgivings I shall not hesitate to express my opinion. For when you have heard everybody, you will have it in your power to choose what is best.

[4] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς δεκαδαρχίας, ὃν τρόπον ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσα Κλαύδιος ὁ βέλτιστος εἶπε, καὶ ἐμοὶ νομίσαστε εἰρηῇσθαι, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ψήφισμα: καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα εἴρηται τῷ

[4] Concerning the decemvirs, therefore, and the manner in which they look after the commonwealth, consider that everything the most excellent Claudius has said has been said by me also and that new magistrates ought to be chosen before any decree is passed concerning the war; for this point also was treated by him in the best manner.

[5] ἀνδρὶ κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορνήλιος εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀπάγειν ἐπειράτο τὴν γνώμην πολλοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ χρόνους ἀποφαίνων ταῖς πολιτικαῖς οἰκονομίαις γενησομένους ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ χλευάζειν [p. 143] ἐπεχειρεῖ πράγματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια χλευασμῶν, οἷς παρακρουσάμενος ὑμᾶς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥχετο φέρων, ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν Κλαυδίου γνώμην διαλέξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς: ὥς μὲν γὰρ ἀσύμφορος, οὐδὲ τῶν διασυράντων αὐτὴν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν: καὶ διδάξω, πῶς ἂν ἢ τε χώρα δι’ ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο, καὶ δίκην δοῖεν οἱ

τολμήσαντες αὐτὴν κακῶς ποιεῖν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀπολάβοιμεν ἀριστοκρατίαν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα γένοιτο συναγωνιζομένων ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μηδενὸς τάναντία πράττειν ἀξιοῦντος, σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν ἀποδεικνύμενος ὑμῖν, τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παραδείγματα φέρων. ἔνθα γὰρ ἡ πεῖρα διδάσκει τὸ συμφέρον, τί δεῖ στοχασμῶν ἐκεῖ;

[5] But since Cornelius endeavoured to show that his motion is impracticable, pointing out that the intervening period devoted to matters of civil administration would be a long one, while the war is at our doors, and since he attempted to ridicule things that do not deserve ridicule and by that means seduced and carried away most of you with him, I for my part shall also talk to you about the motion of Claudius, showing that it is not impracticable; for that it is disadvantageous to no one even of those who derided it has ventured to allege. And I shall show you how our territory may be made secure, how those who have dared to do it injury may be punished, how we may recover our ancient aristocracy, and how these things may all come about at the same time with weight concurrence of all the citizens and without the least opposition. All this I shall do, not through the display of any wisdom, but by citing your own actions as precedents for you to follow; for where experience teaches what is advantageous, what need is there of conjectures?

[1] μέμνησθε, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἔθνῶν ὥσπερ νῦν δυνάμεις ἐνέβαλον, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, αἱ δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέραι χρόνον Γαίου Ναυτίου καὶ Λευκίου Μινυκίου τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐχόντων, ἕνατον ἢ δέκατον ἔτος οἶμαι τοῦτι.

[20.1] “You recall that forces from these same nations as at present made incursions, partly into our territory and partly into that of our allies, both at the same time, when Gaius Nautius and Lucius Minucius were consuls, some eight or nine years ago I believe it was.

[2] τότε τοίνυν ἀποστειλάντων ὑμῶν νεότητα πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη τῷ μὲν ἑτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς δυσχωρίας ἀναγκασθέντι κατακλεῖσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον πρᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξεγένετο, πολιορκεῖσθαι δ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι καὶ κινδυνεῦειν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀλῶναι: Ναυτίῳ δ' ἀντικαθημένῳ Σαβίνων μάχας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τίθεσθαι πρὸς [p. 144] τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ μηδ' οἶω τ' εἶναι τοῖς κάμνουσι τῶν σφετέρων βοηθεῖν. ἦν τ οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι τῆς ἐν Αἰκανοῖς στρατιᾶς ἀναρπασθείσης οὐδ' ἡ Σαβίνους πολεμοῦσα ἀνθέξει συνελθόντων εἰς τὸ αὐτό

[2] When on that occasion you had sent out numerous and brave youths against both these nations, it chanced that one of the consuls, being obliged to encamp in a difficult position, was unable to accomplish anything, but was besieged in his camp and in danger of being captured for want of provisions, while Nautius, who was encamped against the Sabines, was under the necessity of fighting battles with the same foes continually and could not even go to the

aid of his fellow Romans who were in distress. And there was no doubt that if the army which was encamped among the Aequians should be destroyed, the other, that was carrying on the war against the Sabines, would not be able to hold out either when both armies of our enemies should have united.

[3] τῶν πολέμιων ἀμφοτέρων. τοιούτων δὴ κινδύνων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐντὸς τείχους ὁμονοούντων τίνα βοήθειαν εὗρασθε ὑμεῖς περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελθόντες; ἥπερ ὤνησεν ὁμολογουμένως πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ φερομένην τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἀτυχὲς πτώμα ὥρθωσεν, ἀρχὴν ἀπεδείξατε μίαν αὐτοκράτορα πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας καταλύσαντες ἀρχάς, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι δικτᾶτωρ ἀπεδέδεικτο Λεύκιος Κοϊντίος ὁ βέλτιστος,

[3] When the commonwealth was encompassed by such dangers and even the people inside the city walls were not harmonious, what relief did you yourself hit upon — a relief which is acknowledged to have helped your whole cause and to have rectified the commonwealth when it was rushing to a miserable downfall? Assembling in the senate-chamber about midnight, you created a single magistracy with absolute authority over both war and peace, abrogating all the other magistracies; and before day came, the most excellent Lucius Quintius had been appointed dictator, although he was not even in the city at the time, but in the country.

[4] οὐδ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγρῷ. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴστε δήπου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιοχρέους παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τὸ κινδυνεῦον στρατόπεδον ἐρρύσατο καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἐτιμωρήσατο καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβε: καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μόναις ἀπαντα διαπραξάμενος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο σαθρὸν ἦν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπανορθωσάμενος ἀπέθετο τὰς ῥάβδους: καὶ τὸ κωλύον οὐδὲν ἐγένετο νέαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυρωθῆναι μιᾷ βουλευμένων [p. 145] ὑμῶν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παράδειγμα μιμησαμένους ἡμᾶς οἴομαι δεῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, δικτᾶτορα ἐλέσθαι, πρὶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελθεῖν: ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπερβαλώμεθα τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκέτι συνάξουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ δέκα βουλευσομένους ὑπὲρ οὐδενός:

[4] You know, of course, the deeds which this man performed after that, how he got ready adequate forces, rescued the army which was in danger, chastised the enemy and took their general prisoner; and how, after accomplishing all this in only fourteen days and reforming whatever else was corrupt in the commonwealth, he laid down the rods. Nothing hindered you then from creating a new magistracy in one day when you wished to do so.

[5] ἵνα δὲ καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἢ τοῦ δικτᾶτορος ἀνάρρησις γένηται, τὴν μεσοβασιλείον ἀρχὴν ἐλέσθαι, τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκλέξαντας τῶν πολιτῶν: ὃ ποιεῖν σὺνηθές ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ὅταν μῆτε βασιλεῖς ἔχητε μῆτε ὑπάτους μῆτ' ἄλλην νόμιμον ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὥσπερ νῦν οὐκ ἔχετε. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδράσι

τούτοις παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος,

[5] This example, then, I think we ought to imitate, since there is nothing else we can do, and choose a dictator before we leave this chamber. For if we neglect this opportunity, the decemvirs will never assemble us again to deliberate about anything. And in order that the appointment of a dictator shall also be in accordance with the laws, we should create an interrex, choosing the most suitable person from among the citizens; for this is the customary thing for you to do when you have neither kings, consuls nor any other legal magistrates, which is the case at present, since these men's term of office has expired and the law has taken their rods from them.

[6] καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφήρηται. ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἃ παραινῶ πράττειν, ὧ πατέρες, ὑμῖν, καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ δυνατά. ἦν δὲ Κορνήλιος εἰσηγεῖται γνώμην, κατάλυσις ὁμολογουμένη τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὑμῶν ἔστιν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἅπαξ ὅπλων οἱ δέκα γένωνται κύριοι τῇδε τῇ προφάσει τοῦ πολέμου, δέδοικα μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς χρήσωνται. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀποθέσθαι τὰς ῥάβδους, ἧ που γε τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθήσονται; λογιζόμενοι δὴ ταῦτα φυλάττεσθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν προβλέπετε. κρείττων γὰρ ἢ πρόνοια τῆς μεταμελείας καὶ τὸ μὴ πιστεῦειν τοῖς πονηροῖς σωφρονέστερον τοῦ προπιστεῦσαντας κατηγορεῖν.

[6] This is the course I advise you to take, fathers, one that is both advantageous and practicable; whereas the motion proposed by Cornelius is confessedly the overthrow of your aristocracy. For if the decemvirs once get arms in their hands under this excuse of war, I fear they will use them against us. For is it at all likely that those who refuse to lay down their rods will lay down their arms? Taking these considerations into account, then, beware of these men and forestall any treachery on their part. For foresight is better than repentance, and it is more prudent not to trust wicked men than to accuse them after they have betrayed your trust.”

[1] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Οὐαλερίου κεχαρισμένην τοῖς πλείοσιν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν εἰκάσαι ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνων ἀνισταμένων [p. 146] — ἦν δ' αὐτῶν τὸ νέον τῆς βουλῆς μέρος τὸ λειπόμενον — ταῦτα ἡγουμένων κράτιστα εἶναι πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπεδείξαντο τὰς ἐαυτῶν γνώμας, καὶ τέλος ἔδει τὰ βουλευόμενα λαβεῖν, Οὐαλέριος μὲν ἡξίου διαδικασίαν τοὺς δέκα προθεῖναι ταῖς γνώμαις, αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς καλοῦντας, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συνέδρων ἀναθέσθαι βουλομένοις τὰς προτέρας ἀποφάσεις ταῦτα λέγων πιθανὸς ἦν:

[21.1] This opinion of Valerius pleased the majority of the senators, as was easy to conclude from their acclamations; and since those who rose up after him (those still remaining were the younger members of the senate) with few exceptions considered his measures the best, as soon as they all had delivered their own opinions and the discussion was due to be ended, Valerius asked the

decemvirs to propose a division on the various opinions by calling upon all the senators over again from the beginning, and this request met with the approval of many of the senators who desired to retract their former opinions.

[2] Κορνήλιος δ' ὁ συμβουλευὼν τοῖς δέκα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀπεμάχετο κεκρισθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη λέγων καὶ τέλος ἔχειν νόμιμον ἀπάντων ἐψηφικόντων, ἡξίου τε διαριθμεῖν τὰς γνώμας καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν.

[2] But Cornelius, who advised giving the command of the war to the decemvirs, strenuously opposed this, declaring that the matter was already decided and legally ended, since all had voted; and he demanded that the votes be counted and that no further innovation be admitted.

[3] τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ὑφ' ἑκατέρου μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας τε καὶ κραυγῆς, καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου διαστάντος πρὸς ἑκάτερον, τῶν μὲν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πολιτεύματος βουλομένων τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συλλαμβανόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰ χεῖρω προαιρουμένων καὶ ὅσοις κινδυνὸς τις ὑπωπτεῦετο ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔσεσθαι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ συναγορευόντων: λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν οἱ δέκα τοῦ πράττειν ὃ τι δόξειεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου ταραχήν, τῇ Κορνηλίου προστίθενται γνώμη. καὶ παρελθὼν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, Ἄππιος, ἔφη:

[3] When these proposals were urged by both men with great contention and shouting, and the senate split toward one side and the other, the party desiring to correct the disorder in the government backing Valerius, and the party which espoused the worse cause and suspected that there would be some danger from the change giving their support to Cornelius, the decemvirs, taking advantage of the dissension in the senate to do as they saw fit, sided with the opinion of Cornelius.

[4] περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμου συνεκαλέσαμεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλὴ, διαγνωσομένους, καὶ λόγον ἀπεδώκαμεν ἅπανσι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἄχρι τῶν νεωτάτων ἐν [p. 147] τῷ προσήκοντι καλοῦντες ἕκαστον τόπῳ. τριῶν δ' ἀποδειξαμένων γνώμας διαφόρους, Κλαυδίου τε καὶ Κορνηλίου καὶ Οὐαλερίου τελευταίου, διέγνωτε περὶ αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς οἱ λοιποί, καὶ παριῶν ἕκαστος ἀπεφήνατο πάντων ἀκουόντων, ἥ προσετίθετο γνώμη.

[4] And Appius, one of their number, coming forward, said: "It was the war with the Aequians and Sabines, senators, which we called you together to deliberate about, and we have given all of you who so desired leave to speak, calling upon each one from the foremost down to the youngest in the proper order. And three senators having given different opinions, namely Claudius, Cornelius, last of all Valerius, the rest of you have come to your decision concerning them and each one has come forward and declared in the hearing of all which opinion he supported.

[5] ἀπάντων δὴ γεγονότων κατὰ νόμον, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς πλείοσιν ὑμῶν Κορνήλιος ἐδόκει τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθέσθαι, τοῦτον ἀπεφηνάμεθα νικᾶν καὶ τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τούτου γνώμην γράψαντες ἐκφέρομεν. Οὐαλέριος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτες ὅταν αὐτοὶ τύχωσιν ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς, δίκας τ' ἤδη τέλος ἐχούσας ἀναδίκους ποιείτωσαν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς φίλον ᾖ, καὶ βουλευματα διεγνωσμένα ὑπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν ἄκυρα καθιστάτωσαν.

[5] Everything, therefore, having been done according to law, since the majority of you thought that Cornelius gave the best advice, we declare that he prevails, and we are engrossing and publishing the motion he made. Let Valerius and those who are leagued with him, when they shall obtain the consular power themselves, grant a rehearing, if they like, to causes already determined and annul resolutions passed by you all."

[6] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα κελεύσας ἀναγνῶναι τὸ προβούλευμα, ἐν ᾧ τὴν καταγραφὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς δέκα παραλαβεῖν ἐτέτακτο, διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον.

[6] Having said this and ordered the clerk to read the preliminary decree, in which it had been ordered that the enrolling of the army and the command of the war should be assumed by the decemvirs, he dismissed the meeting.

[1] μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς ἐταιρίας σοβαροὶ καὶ θρασεῖς περιήεσαν ὡς δὴ κρείττους τῶν ἐτέρων γεγονότες καὶ διαπεπραγμένοι μηκέτι καταλυθῆναι σφῶν τὴν δυναστείαν, ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ ὅπλων καὶ

[22.1] After that those of the oligarchical faction went about swaggering and insolent, as if they had gained a victory over their adversaries and had contrived that their power could no longer be overthrown when once they should be in control of arms and an army.

[2] στρατιᾶς γένωνται κύριοι: οἱ δὲ τὰ βέλπιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονοῦντες ἀνιαρῶς διακείμενοι καὶ περιφόβως ὡς οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἔτι γενησόμενοι κύριοι καὶ διέστησαν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, τῶν μὲν ἀγεννεστέρων τὰς [p. 148] φύσεις ἅπαντα συγχωρεῖν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἀναγκαζομένων καὶ κατανέμειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς ἑταιρίας, τῶν δ' ἦττον φοφοδῶν ἀφισταμένων τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδος καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα βίον μεθαρμοττομένων: ὅσοις δὲ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς τρόποις ἦν, ἰδίας ἑταιρίας κατασκευαζομένων καὶ συμφρονούντων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας.

[2] But the men who had the best interests of the commonwealth at heart were in great distress and consternation, imagining that they should never again have any share in the government. These split into many groups, those of less noble dispositions feeling obliged to yield all to the victors and join the oligarchical bands, and such as were less timorous abandoning their concern for the public interests in exchange for a carefree life; but those who had great nobility of character employed themselves in organizing bands of their own and planning together for their mutual defence and for a change in the form of government.

[3] τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑταιριῶν ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τολμήσαντες ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς δεκαδαρχίας εἰπεῖν, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Μάρκος Ὁράτιος, φραζάμενοί τε τὰς οἰκίας ὅπλοις καὶ φυλακὴν θεραπόντων καὶ πελατῶν καρτερὰν περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ βιαίου παθεῖν μηθὲν μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ δολίου.

[3] The leaders of these groups were the men who had first dared to speak in the senate in favour of abolishing the decemvirate, namely Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius; and they had surrounded their houses with armed men and had about their persons a strong guard of their servants and clients, so as to suffer no harm from either violence or treachery.

[4] ὅσοις δ' οὔτε θεραπεύειν τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίαν βουλομένοις ἦν οὔτε μηδενὸς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἐν ἀπράκτῳ ζῆν ἡσυχία καλὸν ἐδόκει, πολεμεῖν τ' ἀνὰ κράτος οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ καθαιρεθῆναι δυναστείαν τηλικαύτην ἀνόητον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, κατέλιπον τὴν πόλιν. ἡγεμῶν δὲ τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν ἐπιφανὴς Γάιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ τοῦ κορυφαιοτάτου [p. 149] τῆς δεκαδαρχίας Ἀππίου θεῖος, ἐμπεδῶν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, αἷς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀξίῳ οὐκ ἔπεισεν. ἡκολούθει δ' αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ἑταίρων ὄχλος,

[4] Those persons, again, who were unwilling either to court the power of the victors or to pay no attention to any of the business of the commonwealth and to lead a quiet, carefree life, and to whom the carrying on of open warfare, since it was not easy for so great a power to be overthrown, seemed to be senseless, quitted the city. At the head of these was a distinguished man,

Gaius Claudius, uncle to Appius, the chief of the decemvirate, who by this step fulfilled the promises he had made to his nephew in the senate when he advised but failed to persuade him to resign his power.

[5] πολὺς δὲ πελατῶν. τοῦτου δ' ἄρξαμένου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πολιτικὸν πλῆθος οὐκέτι λάθρα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἀθρόον ἐξέλιπε τὴν πατρίδα, τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀγανακτοῦντες τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπεβάλλοντο μὲν κωλύειν πύλας τ' ἀποκλείσαντες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τινὰς συναρπάσαντες, ἔπειτα — δέος γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν αὐτοῖς, μὴ πρὸς ἀλκὴν οἱ κωλυόμενοι τράπωνται, καὶ λογισμὸς ὀρθὸς ὡς κρεῖττον εἶη σφίσιν ἐκποδῶν εἶναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ μένοντας ἐνοχλεῖν — ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἀφῆκαν τοὺς θέλοντας ἀπέναι, οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλήρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπελείπετο ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγαῖς φέρεσθαι λειποστρατίαν ἐπενεγκόντες ἐδήμευσαν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἑταίροις ὥσανεῖ παρὰ

[5] He was followed by a large crowd of his friends and likewise of his clients. Following his lead, the multitude also of citizens that were left, no longer privately or in small groups, but openly and in a body, abandoned their country, taking with them their wives and their children. Appius and his colleagues, being vexed at this, endeavoured at first to stop them by closing the gates and arresting some of the people. But afterwards, becoming afraid lest those they were attempting to stop should turn and defend themselves, and rightly judging it to be better for themselves that their enemies should be out of the way than that they should remain and make trouble, they opened the gates and permitted all who so wished to depart; after the houses and estates, however, and all the other things that they left behind because they could not carry them away in their flight, the decemvirs nominally confiscated these to the treasury, bringing against their owners a charge of desertion, but in reality they bestowed these possessions on their own followers, pretending that the latter had purchased them from the public.

[6] τοῦ δήμου πριαμένοις ἐχαρίσαντο. ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματα προστεθέντα τοῖς προτέροις πολλῶ δυσμενεστέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ τοὺς δημοτικούς. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἐπεξήμαρτον ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας διαμεῖναι χρόνον: ἡ γὰρ φυλάττουσα τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν στάσις ἔτι διέμενεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, [p. 150] διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν αὐξηθεῖσα χρόνων,

[6] These grievances, added to the former, greatly inflamed the hostility of the patricians and plebeians against the decemvirs. If, now, they had not added any fresh crime to those I have related, I think they might have retained the same power for a considerable time; for the sedition which maintained that power still continued in the city and had been increased by many causes and by the great length of time it had lasted, and because of the sedition each of the two parties rejoiced in the other's misfortunes,

[7] οἱ δὲ ἦν ἔχαιρον ἑκάτεροι τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς· οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πατρικίων τεταπεινωμένον ὀρώντες καὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν κοινῶν οὔσαν κυρίαν, οἱ δὲ πατρικιοὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντα ἰσχύν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν δημορχικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα ἀφείλαντο· αὐθαδεῖα δὲ πολλῇ πρὸς ἄμφω τὰ μέρη χρώμενοι καὶ οὗτ' ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μετριάζοντες οὗτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει σωφρονοῦντες ὁμονοῆσαι πάντας ἠνάγκασαν καὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, ὅπλων γενηθέντας κυρίου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

[7] the plebeians in seeing the spirit of the patricians humbled and the senate no longer possessing authority over any of the business of state, and the patricians in seeing the people stripped of their liberty and without the least strength since the decemvirs had taken from them the tribunician power. But the decemvirs, by treating both parties with great arrogance and by showing and moderation in the army nor self-restraint in the city, forced the parties to unite and to abolish their magistracy as soon as the war had put arms into their hands.

[8] τὰ δ' ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ δι' ἃ κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου — τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα προπηλακίζοντες ἐξηγρίωσαν — τοιάδε ἦν.

[8] Their last crimes, for which they were overthrown by the people, whom they had particularly enraged by their abuses, were as follows.

[1] ὅτε τὸ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ψήφισμα ἐκύρωσαν, καταγράφαντες ἐν τάχει τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τριχῇ νείμαντες δύο μὲν τάγματα κατέλιπον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλακῆς τῶν ἐντὸς τείχους ἕνεκεν· ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν δύο τούτων ταγμάτων Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ προεστηκὼς τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Σπόριος Ὀππιος. τρία δὲ ἔχοντες ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ Σαβίνους Κόιντος Φάβιος καὶ

[23.1] After they had secured the ratification of the decree of the senate for the war, they hastily enrolled their forces and divided them into three bodies. Two legions they left in the city to keep guard over matters inside the walls; and Appius Claudius, the chief of the oligarchy, together with Spurius Oppius commanded these two. Quintus Fabius, Quintus Poetelius and Manius Rabuleius marched out with three legions against the Sabines.

[2] Κόιντος Ποιτέλιος καὶ Μάνιος Ραβολήσιος. πέντε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα παραλαβόντες Μάρκος τε Κορνήλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Μάρκος Σέργιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ τελευταῖος Καίσιων Δουέλλιος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον ἀφίκοντο· συνεστρατεύετο δ' [p. 151] αὐτοῖς Λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπικουρικὸν οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐχώρει κατὰ νοῦν τοσαύτην μὲν οἰκείαν δυνάμιν ἐπαγομένοις, τοσαύτην δὲ συμμαχίαν.

[2] Marcus Cornelius, Lucius Minucius, Marcus Sergius, Titus Antonius, and last, Caeso Duilius, taking over the five remaining legions, arrived for the

campaign against the Aequians. They were accompanied by an auxiliary force both of Latins and other allies that was as large as the citizen army. But nothing succeeded according to their plans, even though they were leading such large forces of both their own and allied troops.

[3] οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν, ὅτι νεοσύλλεκτοι ᾗσαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι, πλησίον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ τὰς τ' ἀγορὰς ἀγομένας ἀφηροῦντο λοχῶντες τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ προνομὰς ἐξιοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἵππεῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθοιεν ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς πρὸς φάλαγγα μαχόμενοι πανταχῇ πλέον ἔχοντες ἀπῆσαν, ἐθελοκακούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς καὶ οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πειθομένων οὔτε ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις βουλομένων.

[3] For their foes, despising them because their troops were new recruits, encamped over against them, and placing ambushes in the roads, cut off the provisions that were being brought to them and attacked them when they went out for forage; and whenever cavalry clashed with cavalry, infantry with infantry, and phalanx against phalanx, the Sabines always came off superior to the Romans, not a few of whom voluntarily played the coward in their encounters and not only disobeyed their officers but refused to come to grips with the foe.

[4] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους στρατεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι κακοῖς σωφρονισθέντες ἐκόντες ἔγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα: καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἀναστήσαντες τὸν στρατὸν ἀπῆγον ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀνάξευξιν, ἕως ἐπὶ πόλιν Κρουστομέρειαν, ἣ ἐστὶν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας θέμενοι τὴν παρεμβολὴν πολλὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων πληγὰς καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ μένειν ἀξιοῦντες ὡς ἐπανορθωσόμενοι τὰς ἐλαττώσεις οἴκτιστα πράγματα ἔπαθον.

[4] Those, accordingly, who had set out against the Sabines, grown wise amid these minor misfortunes, resolved to quit their entrenchments of their own accord; and breaking camp about midnight, they led the army back from the enemy's territory into their own, making their withdrawal not unlike a flight, till they came to the city of Crustumium, which is not far from Rome. But those who had made their camp at Algidum in the country of the Aequians, when they too had received many blows at the hands of the enemy and still resolved to stand their ground in the midst of these dangers in hopes of retrieving their reverses, suffered a most grievous disaster.

[5] ὡσάμενοι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοὺς ὑποστάντας τοῦ χάρακος καταβαλόντες ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων: καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἀμυνομένους [p. 152] ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τραυματῖαι τε οἱ πλείους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες ἀπολωλεκότες εἰς πόλιν Τύσκλον

ἀφικνοῦντο: σκηνὰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα καὶ θεράποντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν οἱ πολέμιοι διήρπασαν.

[5] For the enemy, having thrust forward against them and cleared palisades of those who defended them, mounted the ramparts, and possessing themselves of the camp, killed some few while fighting but destroyed the greater part in the pursuit. Those who escaped from this rout, being most of them wounded and having almost all lost their arms, came to the city of Tusculum; but their tents, beasts of burden, money, slaves, and the rest of their military provisions became the prey of the enemy.

[6] ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἐχθροὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ οἱ τέως ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τὸ μῖσος, φανεροὺς ἐποίουν αὐτοὺς τότε χαίροντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις τῶν στρατηγῶν: καὶ ἦν ἡδη καρτερὰ χεὶρ περὶ τὸν Ὀράτιον τε καὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον, οὓς ἔφην ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἑταιρειῶν.

[6] When the news of this defeat was brought to the people in Rome, all who were enemies of the oligarchy and those who had hitherto been concealing their hatred revealed themselves now by rejoicing at the misfortunes of the generals; and there was now a strong body of men attached to both Horatius and Valerius, who, as I said, were the leaders of the aristocratical groups.

[1] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συνάρχουσιν ὄπλα τε καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον καὶ τᾶλλα ὧν ἐδέοντο ἐπεχορήγουν τὰ τε δημόσια καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ ἐκ πολλῆς ὑπεροφίας λαμβάνοντες, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνδρῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἐξ ἀπάσης φυλῆς τοὺς ὄπλα φέρειν δυναμένους ἀπέστειλαν, ὥστ' ἐκπληρωθῆναι τοὺς λόχους: τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμελῆ φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο φρουραῖς τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους καταλαμβάνόμενοι τόπους, μὴ τι λάθωσι παρακινήσαντες οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου συνεστῶτες.

[24.1] Appius and Spurius supplied their colleagues who were in the field with arms, money, corn and everything else they stood in need of, taking all these things with a high hand, whether public or private property; and enrolling all the men in every tribe who were able to bear arms in order to replace those who had been lost, they sent them out so that the centuries might be filled up. They also kept strict guard over matters in the city by garrisoning the most critical positions, lest the followers of Valerius should foment some disorders without their knowledge.

[2] ἐπέσκηπτόν τε δι' ἀπορρήτων τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων συνάρχουσι τοὺς ἐναντιούμενους σφίσι διαφθεῖρειν, [p. 153] τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἀδήλως, ὧν δ' ἐλάττων ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φανεροῦ, προφάσεις αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐπιφέροντας, ἵνα δικαίως δόξωσιν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ἐγένετο ταῦτα: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ προνομᾷ ἀποστελλόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' ἀγορὰν παραπέμψαι

κομιζομένην, οἱ δ' ἄλλας τινὰς ἐπιτελέσασθαι πολεμικάς χρείας, ἔξω γενόμενοι τοῦ χάρακος οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι ὤφθησαν.

[2] They also gave secret instructions to their colleagues in the army to put to death all who opposed their measures, the men of distinction secretly, and those of less account even openly, always using some specious excuses to make their death seem deserved. And these things were being done. For some, being sent out by them for forage, others to convoy provisions that were being brought in, and some to perform other military tasks, when they were once out of the camp, were nowhere seen again,

[3] οἱ δὲ ταπεινότατοι φυγῆς ἄρχειν κατηγορηθέντες ἢ τὰ ἀπόρρητα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκφέρειν ἢ τάξιν μὴ φυλάττειν, ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ καταπλήξεως ἔνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπώλλυντο. ἐγίνετο δὲ διχόθεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄλεθρος, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους συμπλοκαῖς διαφθειρομένων, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ποθούντων κατάστασιν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπολλυμένων.

[3] while the humblest men, being accused of being the first to take flight or of carrying secret information to the enemy or of quitting their posts, were being put to death publicly in order to strike terror into the rest. Two causes, therefore, contributed to the destruction of the soldiers: the friends of the oligarchy were perishing in the skirmishes with the enemy, while those who longed for the aristocratic régime were being slain by the orders of the generals.

[1] πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄλπιον ἐγίνετο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων καίτοι συχνῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἐλάττων τοῖς πλήθεσι λόγος ἦν, ἐνὸς δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανεστάτου τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πλειστάς ἀρετὰς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις ἀποδειξαμένου θάνατος ὥμους καὶ ἀνόσιος ἐπιτελεσθεὶς ἐν θατέρῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἔνθα οἱ τρεῖς ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἅπαντας ἐτοίμους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν τοὺς ἐκεῖ.

[25.1] Many crimes of this nature were committed in the city also by Appius and his colleague. The destruction of most of the victims, numerous as they were, was a matter of no great concern to the masses; but the cruel and wicked death of one man, who was the most distinguished of the plebeians and had performed the most gallant exploits in war, only to be murdered now in that one of the camps where the three generals commanded, disposed everyone there to revolt.

[2] ἦν δ' ὁ φονευθεὶς Σικκίος, ὁ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἀριστεῖα λαβὼν, ὃν ἔφην ἀπολελυμένον ἤδη στρατείας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκούσιον τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς συνάρασθαι πολέμου, [p. 154] σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωκότων ἤδη τὰς κατὰ νόμον στρατείας εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπαγόμενον: μεθ' ὧν ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν

ὑπάτων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολέμιων εἰς πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐδόκει, τοῦ τε χάρακος ἐκράτησε καὶ τῆς ὀλοσχεροῦς νίκης αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπατοῖς.

[2] The man assassinated was that Siccus who had fought the hundred and twenty battles and had received prizes for valour in all of them, a man of whom I have said that, when he was exempt from military service by reason of his age, he voluntarily engaged in the war against the Aequians at the head of a cohort of eight hundred men who had already completed the regular term of service and followed him out of affection for him; and having been sent with these men by one of the consuls against the enemy's camp, to manifest destruction, as everyone thought, he not only made himself master of their camp, but enabled the consuls to gain the complete victory they did.

[3] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει διεξιόντα λόγους κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἀνάνδρων τε καὶ ἀπειρῶν πολέμου, ἐκποδῶν ποιῆσαι σπεύδοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον εἰς ὁμιλίας προὔκαλοῦντο φιλανθρώπους καὶ συνδιαπορεῖν σφίσιν ἡξιουν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ἐπανορθωθείη τὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἁμαρτήματα λέγειν παρεκάλουν, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἔπεισαν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Κρουστομερείᾳ χάρακα αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα πρεσβευτικήν. ἔστι δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατον τε καὶ τιμιώτατον ὁ πρεσβευτὴς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξουσίαν μὲν ἄρχοντος ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν, ἀσυλίαν δὲ καὶ σεβασμὸν ἱερῶς.

[3] This man, who kept making many speeches in the city against the generals in the field, accusing them of both cowardice and inexperience in warfare, Appius and his colleague were eager to remove out of the way, and to that end they invited him to friendly conversations and asked him to consult with them concerning affairs in camp, urging him to tell how the mistakes of the generals might be corrected; and at last they prevailed upon him to go out to the camp at Crustumerium invested with the authority of a legate. The position of legate is the most honourable and the most sacred of all dignities among the Romans, possessing as it does the power and authority of a magistrate and the inviolable and holy character of a priest.

[4] ὡς δ' ἀφίκετο, φιλοφρονουμένων αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δεομένων συστρατηγεῖν μένοντα, καὶ τινὰς καὶ δωρεὰς τὰς μὲν διδόντων ἤδη, τὰς δ' ὑπισχνουμένων, ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν καὶ τῇ γοητεῖᾳ τῶν λόγων οὐ συνειδὼς ὡς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐγένετο, στρατιωτικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον [p. 155] ἀπλοῦς τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπέιθετο αὐτοῖς, ὅσα συμφέρειν ὑπελάμβανε, καὶ πρῶτον πάντων παρήγει μετὰγειν τὴν παρεμβολὴν εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας: τὰς τε βλάβας διεξιὼν τὰς τότε γινομένας καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐπιλογιζόμενος, ὅσας ἔμελλον ἔξειν μεταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι.

[4] When he arrived at the camp and the generals there gave him a friendly greeting and asked him to remain and command in conjunction with them,

also offering him some presents on the spot and promising others, Siccus, deceived by these wicked men and not conscious that the charm of their conversation was due to a plot, he being a military man and of a simple nature, not only made other recommendations, such as he thought advantageous, but, first of all, advised them to move their camp from their own territory to that of the enemy, recounting the losses they were then suffering and also estimating the advantages they would gain by shifting their camp.

[1] οἱ δ' ἄσμένως δέχεσθαι τὰς παραινέσεις σκηψάμενοι: τί οὖν, ἔφασαν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνῃ τῆς ἀναζεύξεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον προκατασκεψάμενος; ἐμπειρίαν δ' ἱκανὴν ἔχεις τῶν τόπων διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας, λόχον δέ σοι δώσομεν ἐπιλέκτων νέων εὐζώνῳ ἐσταλμένων ὀπλίσει: σοὶ δὲ ἵππος τε διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν παρέστω, καὶ ὀπλισμὸς ὁ τοῖς τηλικούτοις πρέπων.

[26.1] The generals, professing that they were glad to accept his advice, said: "Why, then, do you not take charge yourself of the army's removal, after first looking out a suitable position for it? You are sufficiently acquainted with the region because of the many campaigns you have made, and we will give you a company of picked youths fitted out with light equipment; for yourself there shall be a horse, on account of your age, and armour suitable for such an expedition."

[2] ὑποδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σικκίου καὶ φιλοῦς αἰτήσαντος ἑκατὸν ἐπιλέκτους οὐδένα χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἐκπέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐταίρων τοὺς ἱταμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενοι, οἷς ἐπέσκηψαν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους μισθοὺς τῆς ἀνδροφονίας ὑποσχόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺ προελθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εἰς χωρίον ἦλθον ὀχθηρὸν καὶ στενόπορον καὶ χαλεπὸν ἵππῳ διεξελεθεῖν, ὅτι μὴ βάδην ἀνιόντι, διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα τῶν ὄχθων, σύνθημα δόντες ἀλλήλοις στίφος ἐποιοῦν ὥς ἅμα χωρήσοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀθρόοι. θεραπόντων δὲ τις ὑπασπιστὴς τοῦ Σικκίου τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθὸς εἰκάσας [p. 156] τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μηνυτὴς γίνεται τῷ δεσπότῃ.

[2] Siccus having accepted the commission and asked for a hundred picked light-armed men, they sent him without delay while it was still light; and with him they sent the hundred men, whom they had picked out as the most daring of their own faction, with orders to kill the man, promising them great rewards for the murder. When they had advanced a long distance from the camp and had come to a hilly region where the road was narrow and difficult for a horse to traverse at any other pace than a walk as it climbed, by reason of the ruggedness of the hills, they gave the signal to one another and formed in a compact mass, with the intention of falling upon him all together in a body.

[3] κάκεῖνος ὡς ἔγνω κατακλειόμενον αὐτὸν εἰς δυσχωρίας, ἔνθα οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλάσαι τὸν ἵππον, καθάλλεται τε καὶ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸν

ὄχθον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖη πρὸς αὐτῶν, τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν μόνον ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὑπέμεινεν. Ὀρμησάντων δὲ ἅμα πάντων πολλῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει μὲν περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα, τραυματίζει δὲ καὶ διπλασίους. ἐδόκει δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας διαφθεῖραι μαχόμενος, εἰ συνήεσαν ὁμοσε.

[3] But a servant of Siccus, who was his shield-bearer and a brave warrior, guessed their intention and informed his master of it. Siccus, seeing himself confined in a difficult position where it was not possible to drive his horse at full speed, leaped down, and taking his stand upon the hill in order to avoid being surrounded by his assailants, with only his shield-bearer to aid him, awaited their attack. When they fell upon him all at once, many in number, he killed some fifteen of them and wounded twice as many; and it seemed as if he might have slain all the others in combat if they had come to close quarters with him.

[4] οἱ δ' ἄρα συμφρονήσαντες, ὡς ἄμαχον εἶη χρῆμα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιεν αὐτὸν συστάδην, τῆς μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀπείχοντο μάχης, προσωτέρω δ' ἀποστάντες ἔβαλλον οἱ μὲν σαννίοις, οἱ δὲ χερμάσιν, οἱ δὲ ξύλοις· τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν προσελθόντες ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων τῷ ὄχθῳ καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ κεφαλῆς κατεκύλιον ὑπερμεγέθεις ἄνωθεν πέτρας, ἕως ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας βαλλομένων καὶ βάρους τῶν ἄνωθεν ἐπικαταραττομένων διέφθειραν αὐτόν. Σικκιος μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχεν.

[4] But they, concluding that he was an invincible prodigy and that they could never vanquish him by engaging hand to hand, gave over that way of fighting, and withdrawing to a greater distance, hurled javelins, stones and sticks at him; and some of them, approaching the hill from the flanks and getting above him, rolled down huge stones upon him till they overwhelmed him with the multitude of the missiles that were hurled at him from in front and the weight of the stones that crashed down upon him from above. Such was the fate of Siccus.

[1] οἱ δὲ διαπραξάμενοι τὸν φόνον ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄγοντες τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ διέσπειραν λόγον, ὡς ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμίων λόχος τὸν τε Σικκιον ἀποκτείνειε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄνδρας, οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχεν, αὐτοῖς τε πολλὰ τραύματα λαβόντες [p. 157] μόλις αὐτοὺς ἀποφύγοιεν. καὶ ἐδόκουν ἅπασι πιστὰ λέγειν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθέ γ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐν ἔρμηϊα τοῦ φόνου γεγονότος καὶ μηδένα μηνυτὴν ἔχοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἅπαντα ἐπισκοποῦσης τὰ θνητὰ πράγματα δίκης ἐξηλέγχθησαν τεκμηρίοις ἀναμφισβητήτοις.

[27.1] Those who had accomplished his murder returned to the camp bringing their wounded with them, and spread a report that a body of the enemy, having suddenly come upon them, had killed Siccus and the other men whom they first encountered and that they themselves after receiving many wounds had escaped with great difficulty. And their report seemed credible to

everyone. However, their crime did not remain concealed, but though the murder was committed in a solitude where there was no possible informant, by the agency of fate itself and that justice which oversees all human actions they were convicted on the strength of incontrovertible evidence.

[2] οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταφῆς τε δημοσίας ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τιμαῖς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαφόρου, διὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι πρεσβύτης ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἀπολυόμενος εἰς κίνδυνον ἐκούσιον ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος, ψηφίζονται συνελθόντες εἰς ἓν ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν παρακομισθῇ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων δι' εὐλάβειαν, μὴ τινα παράσχοιεν αὐτοῖς ὑποψίαν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλῆς καλῶ καὶ προσήκοντι ἔργῳ ἐνιστάμενοι,

[2] For the soldiers in the camp, feeling that the man deserved both a public funeral and distinctive honour above other men, not only for many other reasons, but particularly because, though he was an old man and exempted by his age from contests of war, he had voluntarily exposed himself to danger for the public good, voted to join together from the three legions and go out to recover his body, in order that it might be brought to the camp in complete security and honour. And the generals consenting to this, for fear that by opposing a worthy and becoming action they might create some suspicion of a plot in regard to the incident, they took their arms and went out of the camp.

[3] λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐξῆρσαν. ἐλθόντες δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὡς εἶδόν οὔτε δρυμοὺς οὔτε φάραγγας οὔτ' ἄλλο χωρίον, ἔνθα ὑποκαθίζειν ἐστὶ λόχους ἔθος, ἀλλὰ φιλὸν καὶ περιφανῆ καὶ στενόπορον ὄχθον, δι' ὑποψίας ἔλαβον εὐθέως τὸ πραχθέν: ἔπειτα τοῖς νεκροῖς προσελθόντες ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὸν τε Σικκίον αὐτὸν ἀσκύλευτον ἐρριμμένον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἐν [p. 158] θαύματι ἦσαν, εἰ πολέμιοι κρατήσαντες ἐχθρῶν μῆτε

[3] When they came to the spot and saw neither woods nor ravines nor any other place of the sort customary for the setting of ambushes, but a bare hill exposed on all sides and reached by a narrow pass, they at once began to suspect what had happened. Then, approaching the dead bodies and seeing Siccus himself and all the rest cast aside but not despoiled, they marvelled that the enemy, after overcoming their foes, had stripped off neither their arms nor their clothes.

[4] ὄπλα περιεῖλαντο μῆτ' ἐσθῆτα περιέδυσαν. διερευνώμενοί τε τὰ περίεξ ἅπαντα ὡς οὔτε στίβον ἵππων οὔτ' ἵχνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν εὕρισκον ἔξω τῶν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, πρᾶγμα ἀμήχανον ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι πολεμίους ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς σφετέροις ἀφανεῖς, ὥσπερ πτηνοὺς τινὰς ἢ διοπετεῖς. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φίλων τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπολωλέναι,

[4] And when they examined the whole region round about and found neither tracks of horses nor footsteps of men besides those in the road, they thought it impossible that enemies till then invisible could have suddenly burst into view of their comrades, as if they had been creatures with wings or had fallen from heaven. But, over and above all these and the other signs, what seemed to them the strongest proof that the man had been slain, not by enemies, but by friends, was that the body of no foeman was found.

[5] τὸ μηδὲνα τῶν πολεμίων εὐρεθῆναι νεκρόν. οὐ γὰρ ἀκονιτί γ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἀποθανεῖν Σικκίον, ἄνδρα καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνυπόστατον, οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπασπιστήν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πεσόντας ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς γενομένης τῆς μάχης. ἐτεκμήραντο δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Σικκίος πολλὰς εἶχε πληγὰς τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ χερμάδων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ σαννίων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ μαχαίρων, καὶ ὁ ὑπασπιστής· οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀνηρημένοι πάντες μαχαίρων ἢ χερμάδων ἢ σαννίων, βέλους δὲ οὐδεμίαν.

[5] For they could not conceive that Siccius, a man irresistible by reason of both of his strength and of his valour, or his shield-bearer either, or the others who had fallen with him would have perished without offering a stout resistance, particularly since the contest had been waged hand to hand. This they conjectured from their wounds; for both Siccius himself and his shield-bearer having had many wounds, some from stones, others from javelins, and still others from swords, whereas those who had been slain by them all had wounds from swords, but none from a missile weapon.

[6] ἀγανάκτησις δὴ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο πάντων καὶ βοή καὶ πολὺς ὀδυρμός· ὥς δὲ κατωλοφύραντο τὴν συμφορὰν ἀράμενοι καὶ κομίσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, πολλὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβόων, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἡξιοῦν κατὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἀποκτεῖναι νόμον τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους· εἰ δὲ μή, δικαστήριον αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι [p. 159] παραχρῆμα. καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ κατηγορεῖν μέλλοντες αὐτῶν.

[6] Thereupon they all gave way to resentment and cried out, making great lamentation. After bewailing the calamity, they took up the body, and carrying it to the camp, indulged in loud outcries against the generals, and they demanded, preferably, that the murderers be put to death in accordance with military law, or else that a civil court be assigned to them immediately; and many were those who were ready to be their accusers.

[7] ὥς δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν εἰσήκουον ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τ' ἄνδρας ἀπεκρύψαντο καὶ τὰς δίκας ἀνεβάλοντο φήσαντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ λόγον ἀποδώσειν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖν, μαθόντες ὅτι τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα ἦν, τὸν μὲν Σικκίον ἔθαιπτον, ἐκκομιδὴν τε ποιησάμενοι λαμπροτάτην καὶ πυρὰν νήσαντες ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαρχόμενοι κατὰ δύναμιν, ὧν νόμος ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν τιμὴν φέρεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἡλλοτριοῦντο πάντες καὶ γνώμην εἶχον

ὡς ἀποστησόμενοι. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ Κρουστομέρειαν καὶ Φιδήνην στράτευμα διὰ τὸν Σικκίου τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ θάνατον ἐχθρὸν τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν.

[7] When the generals paid no heed to them, but concealed the men and put off the trials, telling them they would give an accounting in Rome to any who wished to accuse them, the soldiers, convinced that the generals had been the authors of the plot, proceeded to bury Siccius, after arranging a most magnificent funeral procession and erecting an immense pyre, where every man according to his ability presented the first-offerings of everything that is usually employed in rendering the last honours to brave men; but they were all becoming alienated from the decemvirs and had the intention of revolting. Thus the army that lay encamped at Crustumerium and Fidenae, because of the death of Siccius the legate, was hostile to the men who stood at the head of the government.

[1] τὸ δ' ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας καθιδρυμένον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει πλῆθος ἅπαν διὰ ταύτας ἐξεπολεμώθη τὰς αἰτίας πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν, Λεῦκιος Οὐεργίνιος, οὐδενὸς χείρων τὰ πολεμικά, λόχου τινὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πέντε τάγμασιν ἐτάχθη τοῖς ἐπ' Αἰκανοῦς στρατευσαμένοις.

[28.1] The other army, which lay at Algidum in the territory of the Aequians, as well as the whole body of the people at Rome became hostile to them for the following reasons. One of the plebeians, whose name was Lucius Verginius, a man inferior to none in war, had the command of a century in one of the five legions which had taken the field against the Aequians.

[2] τοῦτῳ θυγάτηρ ἔτυχεν οὔσα καλλίστη τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρθένων τὸ πατρῶον ὄνομα φέρουσα, ἣν ἐνεγγυήσατο Λεῦκιος εἰς ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων υἱὸς Ἴκιλίου τοῦ πρώτου τε καταστησαμένου τὴν δημαρχιᾶν [p. 160]

[2] He had a daughter, called Verginia after her father, who far surpassed all the Roman maidens in beauty and was betrothed to Lucius, a former tribune and son of the Icilius who first instituted and first received the tribunician power.

[3] κῆν ἐξουσίαν καὶ πρώτου λαβόντος. ταύτην τὴν κόρην ἐπιγάμον οὔσαν ἤδη θεασάμενος Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς δεκαδρχίας ἡγεμῶν ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐν γραμματιστοῦ — ἣν δὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τότε τῶν παιδῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν — εὐθύς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους τῆς παιδὸς ἐάλω καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν ἐγένετο πολλὰ — κίς ἀναγκαζόμενος παριέναι τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἤδη κρα-

[3] Appius Claudius, the chief of the decemvirs, having seen this girl, who was now marriageable, as she was reading at the schoolmaster's (the schools for

the children stood at that time near the Forum), was immediately captivated by her beauty and became still more frenzied because, already mastered by passion, he could not help passing by the school frequently.

[4] τοῦμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἠδύνατο πρὸς γάμον αὐτὴν λαβεῖν ἐκείνην τε ὀρώων ἐγγεγυημένην ἐτέρῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων γυναῖκα γαμετήν, καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἄξιῳ ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους ἀρμόσασθαι γάμον, δι' ὑπεροψίαν τῆς τύχης καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀνέγραψε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειράθη διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τὴν κόρην, καὶ προσ- ἐπεμπέ τινας αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰς τροφούς αὐτῆς γυναῖκας — ἣν γὰρ ὀρφανὴ μητρὸς ἢ παῖς — διδούς τε πολλὰ καὶ ἔτι πλείονα τῶν διδομένων ὑπισχνούμενος. παρ- ηγγέλλετο δὲ τοῖς πειρωμένοις τὰς τροφούς μὴ λέγειν, τίς ὁ τῆς κόρης ἐστὶν ἐρώων, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν δυναμένων τις εὖ ποιεῖν οὕς βουλευθεῖη καὶ κακῶς.

[4] But, as he could not marry her, both because he saw that she was betrothed to another and because he himself had a lawfully-wedded wife, and furthermore because he would not deign to take a wife from a plebeian family through scorn of that station and as being contrary to the law which he himself had inscribed in the Twelve Tables, he first endeavoured to bribe the girl with money, and for that purpose was continually sending women to her governesses (for she had lost her mother), giving them many presents and promising them still more than was actually given. Those who were tempting the governesses had been instructed not to tell them the name of the man who was in love with the girl, but only that he was one of those who had it in his power to benefit or harm whom he wished.

[5] ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλακῆς ἐώρα τὴν κόρην κρείττονος ἢ πρότερον ἀξιουμένην, φλεγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἱταμωτέραν ἔγνω βαδίζειν ὁδόν. μετα- πεμψάμενος δὴ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πελατῶν, Μάρκον Κλαύδιον, ἄνδρα τολμηρὸν καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔτοιμον, τὸ τε πάθος αὐτῷ διηγέεται καὶ διδάξας, ὅσα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο καὶ λέγειν, ἀποστέλλει συχνοὺς [p. 161]

[5] When they could not persuade the governesses and he saw that the girl was thought to require an even stronger guard than before, inflamed by his passion, he resolved to take the more audacious course. He accordingly sent for Marcus Claudius, one of his clients, a daring man and ready for any service, and acquainted him with his passion; then, having instructed him in what he wished him to do and say, he sent him away accompanied by a band of the most shameless men.

[6] τῶν ἀναιδεστάτων ἐπαγόμενον. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς παρθένου καὶ φανερώς ἄγειν ἐβούλετο δι' ἀγορᾶς. κραυγῆς δὲ γε- νομένης καὶ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου κωλυόμενος ὅποι προηρεῖτο τὴν κόρην ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρα- γίνεται. ἐκάθητο δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τηνικαῦτα μόνος Ἀππίος χρηματίζων τε καὶ δικάζων τοῖς δεομένοις.

βουλομένου δ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν κραυγὴ τε καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν ἐκ τοῦ περιεστῶτος ὄχλου, πάντων ἄξιούντων περι- μένειν, ἕως ἔλθωσιν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης; καὶ ὁ

[6] And Claudius, going to the school, seized the maiden and attempted to lead her away openly through the forum; but when an outcry was raised and a great crowd gathered, he was prevented from taking her whither he intended, and so betook himself to the magistracy. Seated at the time on the tribunal was Appius alone, hearing causes and administering justice to those who applied for it. When Claudius wished to speak, there was an outcry and expressions of indignation on the part of the crowd standing about the tribunal, all demanding that he wait till the relations of the girl should be present; and Appius ordered it should be so.

[7] Ἄππιος οὕτως ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν. ὥς δ' ὀλίγος ὁ μεταξὺ χρόνος ἐγεγόνει, καὶ παρῆν ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος τῆς παρθένου Πόπλιος Νομιτώριος φίλους τε πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐμφανής, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Λεύκιος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνεγγυημένος τὴν κόρην, χεῖρα περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων νέων δημοτικῶν καρτερὰν. ὥς δὲ τῷ βήματι προσ- ῆλθεν, ἀσθμαίνων ἔτι καὶ μετέωρος τὸ πνεῦμα λέγειν ἤξιον, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τολμήσας ἄψασθαι παιδὸς ἀστῆς καὶ τί βουλόμενος.

[7] After a short interval Publius Numitorius, the maiden's maternal uncle, a man of distinction among the plebeians, appeared with many of his friends and relations; and not long afterwards came Lucius, to whom she had been betrothed by her father, accompanied by a strong body of young plebeians. As he came up to the tribunal still panting and out of breath, he demanded to know who it was that had dared to lay hands upon a girl who was a Roman citizen and what his purpose was.

[1] σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης Μάρκος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς παιδὸς ἐπιλαβόμενος τοιοῦτον διεξῆλθε λόγον: οὐδὲν οὔτε προπετὲς οὔτε βίαιον πέπρακται μοι περὶ τὴν κόρην, Ἄππιε Κλαύδιε: κύριος δ' αὐτῆς ὢν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄγω. ὦν δὲ τρόπον ἐστὶν ἐμή, μάθε. [p. 162]

[29.1] When silence had been obtained, Marcus Claudius, who had seized the girl, spoke to this effect: "I have done nothing either rash or violent in regard to the girl, Appius Claudius; but, as I am her master, I am taking her according to the laws. Hear now by what means she is mine.

[2] μοι θεράπεινα πατρικὴ πολλοὺς πάνυ δουλεύουσα χρόνους. ταύτην κύουσιν ἢ Οὐεργίνιου γυνὴ συνήθη καὶ εἰσοδιαν οὔσαν ἔπεισεν ἔάν τέκη, δοῦναι τὸ παιδίον αὐτῇ. κάκεινὴ φυλάττουσα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτης τῆς θυγατρὸς πρὸς μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐσκήψατο νεκρὸν τεκεῖν, τῇ δὲ Νομιτωρίᾳ δίδωσι τὸ παιδίον: ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ὑποβάλλεται καὶ τρέφει παιδῶν οὐτ' ἄρπενων οὔτε θηλειῶν οὔσα μήτηρ.

[2] I have a female slave who belonged to my father and has served a great many years. This slave, being with child, was persuaded by the wife of Verginius, whom she was acquainted with and used to visit, to give her the child when she should bear it. And she, keeping her promise, when this daughter was born, pretended to us that she had given birth to a dead child, but she gave the babe to Numitoria; and the latter, taking the child, palmed it off as her own and reared it, although she was the mother of no children either male or female.

[3] πρότερον οὖν ἐλάνθανέ με ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ διὰ μηνύσεως ἐπιγνοὺς καὶ μάρτυρας ἔχων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἐξητακῶς ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων καταφεύγω νόμον, ὃς οὐ τῶν ὑποβαλλομένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μητέρων εἶναι τὰ ἔκγονα δικαιοῖ, ἐλευθέρων μὲν οὐσῶν ἐλεύθερα, δοῦλων δὲ δοῦλα, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα κυρίους,

[3] Hitherto I was ignorant of all this; but now, having learned of it through information given me and having many credible witnesses and having also examined the slave, I have recourse to the law, common to all mankind, which declares it right that the offspring belong, not to those who palm off others' children as their own, but to their mothers, the children of freeborn mothers being free, and those of slave mothers slaves, having the same masters as their mothers.

[4] οὐς ἂν καὶ αἱ μητέρες αὐτῶν ἔχωσι. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἀξιῶ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπαίνης ἄγειν καὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν βουλούμενος, ἐὰν ἀντιποιῇται τις ἐγγυητὰς καθιστὰς ἀξιοχρέους ἄξειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην: εἰ δὲ ταχεῖαν βούλεται τις γενέσθαι τὴν διάγνωσιν, ἔτοιμος ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν τὴν δίκην αὐτίκα μάλα, καὶ μὴ διεγγυᾶν τὸ σῶμα μηδ' ἀναβολὰς τῷ πράγματι προσάγειν: ὁποτέραν δ' ἂν οὔτοι βουλευθῶσι τῶν αἰρέσεων, ἐλέσθωσαν. [p. 163]

[4] In virtue of this law I claim the right to take the daughter of my slave woman, consenting to submit to a trial and, if anyone puts in a counter claim, offering sufficient securities that I will produce her at the trial. But if anyone wishes to have the decision rendered speedily, I am ready to plead my cause before you at once, instead of offering pledges for her person and interposing delays to the action. Let these claimants choose whichever of these alternatives they wish."

[1] τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος Κλαυδίου καὶ πολλὴν προσθέντος δέησιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐλαττωθῆναι τῶν ἀντιδίκων, ὅτι πελάτης ἦν καὶ ταπεινός, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τῆς κόρης θεῖος ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα εἰρηθῆσαι προσήκοντα εἶπε: πατέρα μὲν οὖν εἶναι τῆς κόρης λέγων Οὐεργίνιον ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ὃν ἀποδημεῖν στρατευόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως: μητέρα δὲ γενέσθαι Νομιτωρίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, σῶφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα, ἣν οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀποθανεῖν: τραφεῖσαν δὲ τὴν

παρθένον, ὥς ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ ἀστῇ προσῆκεν, ἄρμοσθῆναι κατὰ νόμον Ἰκίλιῳ, καὶ τέλος ἂν ἐσχηκέναι τὸν γάμον,

[30.1] After Claudius had spoken thus and had added an urgent plea that he might be at no disadvantage as compared with his adversaries because he was a client and of humble birth, the uncle of the girl answered in few words and those such as were proper to be addressed to a magistrate. He said that the father of the girl was Verginius, a plebeian, who was then abroad in the service of his country; that her mother was Numitoria, his own sister, a virtuous and good woman, who had died not many years before; that the maiden herself, after being brought up in such a manner as became a person of free condition and a citizen, had been legally betrothed to Icilius, and that the marriage would have taken place if the war with the Aequians had not intervened.

[2] εἰ μὴ θᾶπτον ὁ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς ἀνέστη πόλεμος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξύ χρόνοις οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα διεληλυθότων ἐτῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρήσαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν Κλαύδιον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ γάμων ἡ παῖς ἔσχεν ὥραν καὶ διαφέρειν δοκεῖ τὴν ὄψιν, ἐρῶντα ἤκειν ἀναίσχυτον συκοφάντημα πλάσαντα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀπάσαις οἰομένου δεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου χαρίζεσθαι.

[2] In the meantime, he said, no less than fifteen years having elapsed, Claudius had never attempted to allege anything of this sort to the girl's relations, but now that she was of marriageable age and had a reputation for exceptional beauty, he had come forward with his allegation after inventing a shameless calumny, not indeed on his own initiative, but coached by a man who thought he must by any and every means gratify his desires.

[3] τὴν μὲν οὖν δίκην αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀπολογήσεσθαι παραγενόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς: τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀντιποίησιν, ἣν ἔδει γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, αὐτὸς ποιεῖσθαι θεῖος ὢν τῆς κόρης καὶ τὰ δίκαια ὑπέχειν, οὐδὲν ἀξιῶν οὔτε ξένον οὔτε ὃ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [p. 164] ἀποδίδοται Ῥωμαίοις δίκαιον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, σώματος εἰς δουλείαν ἐξ ἐλευθερίας ἀγομένου μὴ τὸν ἀφαιρούμενον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν φυλάττοντα κύριον εἶναι μέχρι δίκης.

[3] As for the trial, he said the father himself would defend the cause of his daughter when he returned from the campaign; but as for the claiming of her person, which was required according to the laws, he himself, as the girl's uncle, was attending to that and was submitting to trial, in doing which he was demanding nothing either unprecedented or not granted as a right to all other Roman citizens, if indeed not to all men, namely, that when a person is being haled from a condition of freedom into slavery, it is not the man who is trying

to deprive him of his liberty, but the man who maintains it, that has the custody of him until the trial.

[4] ἔφη τε διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας προσήκειν τῷ Ἀππίῳ φυλάττειν τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀνέγραψεν: ἔπειθ' ὅτι τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἡγεμῶν: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι μετὰ τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν δημαρχίαν προσειλήφει, ἧς εἶναι κράτιστον ἔργον τοῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ ἐρήμοις τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν.

[4] And he said that it behooved Appius to maintain that principle for many reasons: first, because he had inscribed this law among the others in the Twelve Tables, and, in the next place, because he was chief of the decemvirate; and furthermore, because he had assumed not only the consular but also the tribunician power, the principal function of which was to relieve such of the citizens as were weak and destitute of help.

[5] ἡξίου τε τὴν καταπεφευγῦῖαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλεῆσαι παρθένον, μητρὸς μὲν ὄρφανὴν οὖσαν ἔτι πάλαι, πατρὸς δ' ἔρημον ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, κινδυνεύουσαν οὐ χρημάτων ἀποστερηθῆναι προγονικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ὃ πάντων μέγιστον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν, τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐλευθερίας. ἀνακλυσάμενος δὲ τὴν ὕβριν, εἰς ἣν ἔμελλεν ἢ παῖς παραδοθήσεσθαι, καὶ πολὺν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κινήσας ἔλεον περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς δίκης ἔφη τελευτῶν:

[5] He then asked him to show compassion for a maiden who had turned to him for refuge, having long since lost her mother and being at the moment deprived of her father and in danger of losing not only her ancestral fortune but also her husband, her country, and, what is regarded as the greatest of all human blessings, her personal liberty. And having lamented the insolence to which the girl would be delivered up and thus roused great compassion in all present, he at last spoke about the time to be appointed for the trial, saying:

[6] ἐπειδὴ ταχεῖαν αὐτῆς βούλεται γενέσθαι τὴν κρίσιν Κλαύδιος, ὁ μὴδὲν ἡδικῆσθαι φάμενος ἐν τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, ἕτερος μὲν ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἀγωνιζόμενος δεῖνὰ πάσχειν ἔλεξε καὶ ἡγανάκτει κατὰ τὸ εἶκός, ὅταν εἰρήνη γένηται καὶ πάντες ἔλθωσιν οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τότε [p. 165] τὴν δίκην ἀξιῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὅτε καὶ μαρτύρων εὐπορία καὶ φίλων καὶ δικαστῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἔσται τοῖς δικαζομένοις, πολιτικὰ καὶ μέτρια πράγματα προφέρων καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων συνήθῃ πολιτείᾳ:

[6] "Since Claudius, who during those fifteen years never complained of any injury, now wishes to have the decision in this cause rendered speedily, anyone else who was contending for a matter of so great importance as I am would say that he was grievously treated and would naturally feel indignant, demanding to offer his defence only after peace is made and all who are now in camp have returned, at a time when both parties to the suit will have an

abundance of witnesses, friends and judges — a proposal which would be democratic, moderate and agreeable to the Roman constitution.

[7] ἡμεῖς δ', ἔφη, λόγων οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὔτ' εἰρήνης οὔτ' ὄχλου φίλων καὶ δικαστῶν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς δικασίμους χρόνους τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀναβαλλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν σπάνει φίλων καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἴσοις δικασταῖς καὶ παραχρῆμα ὑπομένομεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τοσοῦτον αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ σοῦ χρόνον, Ἀππιε, ὅσος ἱκανὸς ἔσται τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κόρης ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου παραγενθέντι τὰς ἰδίας ἀποδύρασθαι τύχας, καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν δίκην ἀπολογήσασθαι.

[7] But as for us," he said, "we have no need of speeches nor of peace nor of a throng of friends and judges, nor are we trying to put the matter off to the times appropriate for such decisions; but even in war, and when friends are lacking and judges are not impartial, and at once, we are ready to make our defence, asking of you only so much time, Appius, as will suffice for the father of the girl to come from camp, lament his misfortunes, and plead his cause in person."

[1] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νομιτωρίου λέξαντος καὶ τοῦ περιστηκότος ὄχλου μεγάλῃ βοῇ διασημήναντος, ὡς δίκαια ἀξιοῖ, μικρὸν ἐπσχῶν χρόνον Ἀππίος· ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν νόμον, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἄγνοῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς διεγγυήσεως τῶν εἰς δουλείαν ἀγομένων κείμενον, ὃς οὐκ ἔῃ παρὰ τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις εἶναι τὸ σῶμα μέχρι δίκης, οὐδὲ καταλύσαιμι ἂν ὃν αὐτὸς ἔγραφα ἐκῶν· ἐκεῖνο μέντοι δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι, δεῖν ὄντων τῶν ἀντιπιοιυμένων, κυρίου καὶ πατρός, εἰ μὲν ἀμφοτέροι παρῆσαν, τὸν πατέρα κρατεῖν τοῦ σώματος μέχρι δίκης.

[31.1] Numitorius having spoken to this effect and the people who stood round the tribunal having signified by a great shout that his demand was just, Appius after a short pause said: "I am not ignorant of the law concerning the bailing of those who are claimed as slaves, which does not permit their persons to be in the power of the claimants till the hearing of the case, nor would I willingly break a law which I myself draughted. This, however, I consider to be just, that, as there are two claimants, the master and the father, if they were both present, the father should have the custody of her person till the hearing;

[2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἄπρεστι, τὸν κύριον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιοχρεούς δόντα καταστήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅταν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς παραγένηται. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν [p. 166] καὶ τοῦ τιμήματος καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἐλαττωθῆναι περὶ τὴν δίκην, πολλὴν ποιήσομαι πρόνοιαν, ὧ Νομιτῳρίε.

[2] but since he is absent, the master should take her away, giving sufficient sureties that he will produce her before the magistrate when her father returns. I shall take great care, Numitorius, concerning the sureties and the amount of their bond and also that you defendants shall be at no disadvantage in respect

of the trial. For the present, deliver up the girl.”

[3] νῦν δὲ παράδος τὴν κόρην. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐξενέγκαντος Ἀππίου πολὺς μὲν ὄδυρμός ὑπὸ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν γυναικῶν ἐγίνετο καὶ κοπετός, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἐκ τοῦ περιστηκότος ὄχλου τὸ βῆμα. ὁ δὲ μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν κόρην Ἰκίλιος ἐμφύεται τε αὐτῆς καὶ φησιν: οὐκ ἐμοῦ γε ζῶντος, Ἄππιε, ταύτην ἀπάξεται τις.

[3] When Appius had pronounced this sentence, there was much lamentation and beating of breasts on the part of the maiden and of the women surrounding her, and much clamour and indignation on the part of the crowd which stood about the tribunal. But Icilius, who intending to marry the girl, clasped her to him and said:

[4] ἀλλ’ εἴ σοι δέδοκται τοὺς νόμους καταλύειν, τὰ δὲ δίκαια συγχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, μηκέτι τὴν ὀνειδίζομένην ὑμῖν ἄρνού τυραννίδα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ἀποκόψας τράχηλον ταύτην τε ἀπαγαγεῖν, ὅπου σοι δοκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους καὶ γυναῖκας, ἵνα δὴ μάθωσιν ἤδη ποτὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δοῦλοι γεγονότες ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι μεῖζον φρονῶσι τῆς τύχης.

[4] “Not while I am alive, Appius, shall anyone take this girl away. But if you are resolved to break the laws, to confound our rights, and to take from us our liberty, deny no longer the tyranny you decemvirs are reproached with, but after you have cut off my head lead away not only this maiden whithersoever you choose, but also every other maiden and matron, in order that the Romans may now at last be convinced that they have become slaves instead of free men and may no longer show a spirit above their condition.

[5] τί οὖν ἔτι μέλλεις, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦμὸν ἐκχεῖς αἷμα πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς; ἴσθι μέντοι σαφῶς, ὅτι ἤτοι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει Ῥωμαίοις ὁ θάνατος οὐμὸς ἢ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν.

[5] Why, then, do you delay any longer? Why do you not shed my blood before your tribunal in the sight of all? But know of a certainty that my death will prove the beginning either of great woes to the Romans or of great blessings.”

[1] ἔτι δ’ αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν οἱ μὲν ῥαβδοῦχοι κελευσθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνεῖργον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς κεκριμένοις [p. 167] ἐκέλευον: ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς παιδὸς ἀπάγειν ἐβούλετο τοῦ θείου καὶ τοῦ μνηστήρος ἀντεχομένην. ἰδόντες δὲ πένθος ἐλεεινὸν οἱ περὶ τὸ βῆμα πάντες ἀνέκραγον ἅμα καὶ παρ’ οὐδὲν ἠγησάμενοι τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίαν ὠθοῦνται τοῖς βιαζομένοις ὁμόσε, ὥστε δεῖσαντα τὴν ἐπιφορὰν αὐτῶν τὸν Κλαύδιον τὴν τε κόρην ἀφεῖναι καὶ ὑπὸ

[32.1] While he wished to go on speaking, the lictors by order of the magistrate kept him and his friends back from the tribunal and commanded them to obey

the sentence; and Claudius laid hold on the girl as she clung to her uncle and her betrothed, and attempted to lead her away. But the people who stood round the tribunal, upon seeing her piteous grief, all cried out together, and disregarding the authority of the magistrate, crowded upon those who were endeavouring to use force with her, so that Claudius, fearing their violence, let the girl go and fled for refuge to the feet of the general.

[2] τοὺς πόδας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καταφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἄππιος καταρχὰς μὲν εἰς πολλὴν ταραχὴν κατέστη ἡγριωμένους ἅπαντας ὁρῶν καὶ πολλὴν ἠπόρει χρόνον, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα τὸν Κλαύδιον καλέσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ μικρὰ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς ἐδόκει, τοῖς τε περιεστῶσι διασημήνας ἡσυχίαν παρασχεῖν λέγει τοιάδε:

[2] Appius was at first greatly disturbed as he saw all the people enraged, and for a considerable time was in doubt what he ought to do. Then, after calling Claudius to the tribunal and conversing a little with him, as it seemed, he made a sign for the bystanders to be silent and said:

[3] ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβές, ὧ δημόται, περὶ τῆς διεγγυήσεως τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ τραχνομένους ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὁρῶ, παρίημι: χαρίζεσθαι δ' ὑμῖν βουλόμενος πέπεικα τὸν ἔμαντοῦ πελάτην ἔἶσαι μὲν τοῖς συγγενέσι τῆς παρθένου δοῦναι τὴν διεγγύησιν, ἕως ὃ

[3] “I am waiving the strict letter of the law, citizens, relative to the bailing of her person, inasmuch as I see you growing exasperated at the sentence I have pronounced; and desiring to gratify you, I have prevailed upon my client to consent that the relations of the maiden shall go bail for her till the arrival of her father.

[4] πατήρ αὐτῆς παραγένηται. ἀπάγεσθε οὖν, ὦ Νομιτώριε, τὴν κόρην, καὶ τὴν ἐγγύην ὁμολογεῖτε περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἡμέραν. ἀπόχρη γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ὑμῖν οὗτος ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε Οὐεργινίῳ τήμερον καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ὥρων αὔριον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος δεῦρο ἀγαγεῖν. πλείονα δ' αὐτῶν χρόνον αἵτουμένων οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀποκρινάμενος ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν διφρον ἐκέλευσεν ἄραι.

[4] Do you men, therefore, take the girl away, Numitorius, and acknowledge yourselves bound for her appearance to-morrow. For this much time is sufficient for you both to give Verginius notice to-day and to bring him here from the camp in three or four hours to-morrow.” When they asked for more time, he gave no answer but rose up and ordered his seat to be taken away.

[1] ὡς δ' ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀδημονῶν καὶ μαινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, ἔγνω μηκέτι μεθέσθαι [p. 168] τῆς παρθένου τοῖς συγγενέσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγύην προαχθῇ, μετὰ βίας αὐτὴν ἀπάγειν, ἑαυτῷ τε πλείονα φυλακὴν περιστησάμενος, ὡς μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων βιασθείη, καὶ τὰ πέραν τοῦ βήματος ἐταίρων τε καὶ πελατῶν ὄχλῳ προκαταλαβών.

[33.1] As he left the Forum, sorely troubled and maddened by his passion, he determined not to relinquish the maiden another time to her relations, but when she was produced by her surety, to take her away by force, after first placing a stronger guard about his person, in order to avoid suffering any violence from the crowds, and occupying the neighbourhood of the tribunal ahead of time with a throng of his partisans and clients.

[2] ἵνα δὲ σὺν εὐσχήμονι δικῆς τοῦτο πράττη προφάσει, μὴ παραγεννηθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγύην τοῦ πατρός, ἐπιστολὰς δοὺς τοῖς πιστοτάτοις ἵππεῦσιν ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ τάγματος, ὅφ' οὗ ἦν Οὐεργίνιος, ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν κατέχειν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἐπιμελεῖ φυλακῇ, μὴ λάθῃ πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ διαδράς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος.

[2] That he might do this with a plausible show of justice when the father should fail to appear as her surety, he sent his most trusted horsemen to the camp with letters for Antonius, the commander of the legion in which Verginius served, asking him to detain the man under strict guard, lest he learn of the situation of his daughter and steal away from the camp unobserved.

[3] ἔφθησαν δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ κόρῃ προσήκοντες, Νομιτωρίου τε υἱὸς καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ἰκιλίου, προαποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχομένης ἔτι τῆς καταστάσεως, νεανίαί λήματος πλήρεις ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος καὶ μετὰ μάστιγος ἐλαθεῖσι τοῖς ἵπποις πρότερον διανύσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ

[3] But he was forestalled by two relations of the girl, namely a son of Numitorius and a brother of Icilius, who had been sent ahead by the rest at the very beginning of the affair. These, being young and full of spirit, drove their horses with loose rein and under the whip, and completing the journey ahead of the men sent by Appius, informed Verginius of what had taken place.

[4] τὰ πεπραγμένα διασαφηνίσαντες. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αἰτίαν ἀποκρυψάμενος, ἀναγκαίου δὲ τινος συγγενοῦς σκηψάμενος πεπύσθαι θάνατον, οὗ τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τε καὶ ταφὴν αὐτὸν ἔδει ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀφίεται καὶ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἤλαυνε μετὰ τῶν μειρακίων κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς διωγμὸν ἔκ τε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως δεδοικώς: ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη.

[4] He, going to Antonius and concealing the true reason for his request, pretended that he had received word of the death of a certain near relation whose unless and burial he was obliged by law to perform; and being given a furlough, he set out about lamp-lighting time with the youths, taking by-roads for fear of being pursued both from the camp and from the city — the very thing which actually happened.

[5] ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς δεξάμενος περὶ πρώτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν, [p. 169] ἴλην ἀπέστειλεν ἵππεων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως

ἑτεροὶ πεμφθέντες ἱππεῖς δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐφρούρουν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου φέρουσαν ὁδόν. ὥς δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀππίῳ τις τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἐληλυθότα παρὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν, ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν γενόμενος παρῆν μετὰ πολλοῦ στίφους ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τῆς κόρης συγγενεῖς.

[5] For Antonius, upon receiving the letters about the first watch, sent a troop of horse after him, while other horsemen, sent from the city, patrolled all night long the road that led from the camp to Rome. When Appius was informed by somebody of the unexpected arrival of Verginius, he lost control of himself, and going to the tribunal with a large body of attendants, ordered the relations of the girl to be brought.

[6] προσελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Κλαύδιος τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν διεξελθὼν λόγους ἡξίου τὸν Ἀππίον γενέσθαι δικαστὴν τοῦ πράγματος μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενον, τὸν τε μηνυτὴν παρεῖναι λέγων καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν αὐτὴν παραδούς· ἐφ' οἷς ἄσαι πολὺς ὁ προσποιητὸς σχετλιασμὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ τεύξεται τῶν ἴσων τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥς πρότερον, ὅτι πελάτης ἦν αὐτοῦ· καὶ παρακλήσις, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐλεεινότερα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δικαιοτέρα ἀξιοῦσι βοηθεῖν.

[6] When they had come, Claudius repeated what he had said before and asked Appius to act as judge in the matter without delay, declaring that both the informant and the witnesses were present and offering the slave woman herself to be examined. On top of all this there was the pretence of great indignation, if he was not to obtain the same justice as other people, as he had previously, because he was a client of Appius, and also an appeal that Appius should not support those whose complaints were the more pitiful, but rather those whose claims were the more just.

[1] ὁ δὲ τῆς κόρης πατήρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγγενεῖς ἀπελογοῦντο περὶ τῆς ὑποβολῆς πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγοντες, ὥς οὐτ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν εἶχεν ὑποβολῆς εὐλογον ἢ Νομιτωρίου μὲν ἀδελφῇ, Οὐεργίνιου δὲ γυνῇ, παρθένος γαμηθεῖσα νέῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλοὺς τοῦ γάμου τεκοῦσα χρόνους· οὐτ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἐβούλετο γένος ἀλλότριον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εἰσαγαγεῖν, δούλης ἀλλοτρίας ἂν ἐλάμβανε παιδίον μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας κατὰ γένος ἢ φιλίαν αὐτῇ προσηκούσης, παρ' ἧς πιστῶς τε ἅμα [p. 170]

[34.1] The father of the girl and her other relations made a defence with many just and truthful arguments against the charge that she had been substituted for a still-born child, namely, that the sister of Numitorius, wife of Verginius, had had no reasonable ground for a substitution, since she, a virgin, married to a young man, had borne a child no very considerable time after her marriage; and again, if she had desired ever so much to introduce the offspring of another woman into her own family, she would not have taken the child of someone else's slave rather than that of a free woman united to her by

consanguinity or friendship, one from whom she would take it in the confidence and indeed certainty that she could keep what she had received.

[2] καὶ βεβαίως ἔξει τὸ ληφθέν. ἔξουσίαν τε ἔχουσιν ὅποῖον ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν, ἄρρεν ἂν ἐλέσθαι παιδίον μᾶλλον ἢ θήλυ. τεκοῦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῶν τέκνων δεομένην στέργειν καὶ τρέφειν, ὃ τι ἂν ἡ φύσις ἐξενέγκῃ, ὑποβαλλομένην δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀντὶ

[2] And when she had it in her power to take a child of whichever sex she wished, she would have chosen a male child rather than a female. For a mother, if she wants children, must of necessity be contented with and rear whatever offspring nature produces, whereas a woman who substitutes a child will in all probability choose the better sex instead of the inferior.

[3] τοῦ χειρόνος εἰκὸς εἶναι λαβεῖν. πρὸς τε τὸν μηνυτὴν καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας, οὓς ὁ Κλαύδιος ἔφη πολλοὺς καὶ ἀξιοχρέους παρέξεσθαι, τὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων παρείχοντο λόγον, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἡ Νομιτωρία πρᾶγμα σιγῆς δεόμενον καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ὑπηρετηθῆναι προσώπου δυνάμενον, φανερώς ἔπραττε καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων ἐλευθέρων, ἵν' ἐκτραφεῖσαν τὴν κόρην ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων τῆς μητρὸς ἀφαιρεθεῖ.

[3] As against the informer and the witnesses whom Claudius said he would produce in great numbers, and all of them trustworthy, they offered the argument from probability, that Numitoria would never have done openly and in conjunction with witnesses of free condition a deed that required secrecy and could have been performed for her by one person, when as a result she might see the girl she had reared taken away from her by the owners of the girl's mother.

[4] τὸν τε χρόνον οὐ μικρὸν ἔλεγον εἶναι τεκμήριον τοῦ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγειν τὸν κατηγορον· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τὸν μηνυτὴν οὔτε τοὺς μάρτυρας κατασχεῖν ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἀπόρητον τὴν ὑποβολήν, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρότερον εἶπεῖν.

[4] Also the lapse of time, they said, was no slight evidence that there was nothing sound in what the plaintiff alleged; for neither the informer nor the witnesses would have kept the substitution a secret during fifteen years, but would have told of it before this.

[5] διαβάλλοντες δὲ τὰς τῶν κατηγορῶν πίστεις οὗτ' ἀληθεῖς οὔτε πιθανὰς ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν ταύταις ἡξιοῦν τὰς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὰς καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμους γυναῖκας ὀνομάζοντες, ἃς ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Νομιτωρίαν ἐγκύμονα γενομένην ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν γαστέρα ὄγκου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ τόκου καὶ τῆς λοχείας παραγενομένης διὰ [p. 171] τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τικτόμενον τὸ παιδίον ἰδοῦσας ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ ἀνακρίνειν ἡξιοῦν.

[5] While discrediting the plaintiff's proofs as neither true nor probable, they asked that their own proofs might be weighed against them, and named many

women, and those of no mean note, who they said had known when Numitoria came with child by the size of her abdomen. Besides these they produced women who because of their kinship had been present at her labour and delivery and had seen the child brought into the world, and asked that these be questioned.

[6] ὁ δὲ πάντων τεκμήριον ἦν περιφανέστατον ἔκ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλῶν καὶ γυναικῶν μαρτυρούμενον οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων, τοῦτ' ἔλεγον τελευτῶντες, ὅτι τῷ γάλακτι τῆς μητρὸς ἐτράφη τὸ παιδίον: ἀμήχανον δ' εἶναι γάλακτος πληρωθῆναι μαστοὺς γυναικὶ μὴ τεκούσῃ.

[6] But the clearest proof of all, which was attested by both men in large numbers and women, freemen and slaves as well, they brought in at the last, stating that the child had been suckled by her mother and that it was impossible for a woman to have her breasts full of milk if she had not borne a child.

[1] ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια παρεχομένων αὐτῶν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἐναντίον δέξασθαι δυνάμενα καὶ πολὺν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς κόρης ἔλεον καταχεομένων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες, ὅσοι συνήκουον τῶν λόγων, τῆς τε μορφῆς οἶκτον ἐλάμβανον,

[35.1] While they were presenting these arguments and many others equally weighty and incontrovertible and were pouring forth a stream of compassion over the girl's misfortunes, all the others who heard their words felt pity for her beauty

[2] ὁπότε εἰς τὴν παρθένον ἴδοιεν: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐσθῇτι οὔσα πιναρᾷ καὶ κατηφὲς ὀρώσα καὶ τὸ καλὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκτῆκουσα τὰς ἀπάντων ἥρπαζεν ὄψεις, οὕτως ὑπεράνθρωπός τις ὥρα περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ χάρις ἦν: καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀνεκλαίοντο παράλογον, εἰς οἷας ὕβρεις καὶ προσηλακισμοὺς ἐλεύσοιτο ἐξ οἷων ἀγαθῶν.

[2] as they cast their eyes upon her, — for being dressed in squalid attire, gazing down at the ground, and dimming the lustre of her eyes with tears, she arrested the eyes of all, so superhuman a beauty and grace enveloped her, — and all bewailed the perversity of Fortune when they considered what abuses and insults she would encounter after falling from such prosperity.

[3] εἰσῆιε τ' αὐτοὺς λογισμός, ὅτι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας νόμου καταλυθέντος οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ κωλύον καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας καὶ θυγατέρας τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῃ παθεῖν. ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ πολλὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια ἐπιλογιζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλαλοῦντες ἔκλαιον.

[3] And they began to reason that, once the law which secured their liberty was violated, there was nothing to prevent their own wives and daughters also from suffering the same treatment as this girl. While they were making these

and many like reflections and communicating them to one another, they wept.

[4] ὁ δὲ Ἀππίος, οἷα δὴ [p. 172] φύσιν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀνὴρ καὶ ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διεφθαρμένος, οἰδῶν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ζέων τὰ σπλάγχνα διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς παιδός, οὔτε τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ἀπολογουμένων προσεῖχεν οὔτε τοῖς δάκρυσιν αὐτῆς ἐπεκλᾶτο, τὴν τε συμπάθειαν τῶν παρόντων δι' ὀργῆς ἐλάμβανεν, ὡς αὐτὸς δὴ πλείονος ὦν ἄξιος ἐλέου καὶ δεινότερα ὑπὸ τῆς δεδουλωμένης αὐτὸν εὐμορφίας πεπονθώς.

[4] But Appius, inasmuch as he was not by nature sound of mind and now was spoiled by the greatness of his power, his soul turgid and his bowels inflamed because of his love of the girl, neither paid heed to the pleas of her defenders nor was moved by her tears, and furthermore resented the sympathy shown for her by the bystanders, as though he himself deserved greater pity and had suffered greater torments from the comeliness which had enslaved him.

[5] διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα οἰστρῶν λόγον τε ὑπέμεινεν εἰπεῖν ἀναισχυντον, ἐξ οὗ καταφανῆς ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὅτι τὸ συκοφάντημα κατὰ τῆς κόρης αὐτὸς ἔγραψε καὶ ἔργον ἐτόλμησε τυραννικὸν πρᾶξαι καὶ ὠμόν.

[5] Goaded, therefore, by all these emotions, he not only had the effrontery to make a shameless speech, by which he made it clear to those who suspected as much that he himself had contrived the fraudulent charge against the girl, but he also dared to commit a cruel and tyrannical deed.

[1] ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν λεγόντων ἡσυχίαν γενέσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπειδὴ σιωπὴ τ' ἐγένετο, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὄχλος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἐπιθυμία γνώσεως τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθησομένων προαχθεῖς, πολλάκις ἐπιστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον τῇδε καὶ τῇδε καὶ τὰ στίφη τῶν ἐταίρων, οἷς διειλήφει τὴν ἀγορὰν, τοῖς

[36.1] For while they were still pleading their cause, he commanded silence; and when there was quiet and the whole crowd in the Forum began moving forward, prompted by a desire to know what he would say, he repeatedly turned his glance here and there, his eyes taking count of the bands of his partisans, who by his orders had posted themselves in different parts of the Forum, and then spoke as follows:

[2] ὄμμασι διαριθμησάμενος τοιάδ' εἶπεν: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος, ὦ Οὐεργίνιε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ σὺν τούτῳ παρόντες, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀκήκοα, ἀλλὰ παλαιότερον ἔτι πρὶν ἢ τήνδε τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. ὃν τρόπον δ' ἔγνω, ἀκούσατε. ὁ πατὴρ ὁ Μάρκου Κλαυδίου [p. 173] τοῦδὲ τελευτῶν τὸν βίον ἡξιώσέ με τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καταλειπόμενον ἐπιτροπεύσαι: πελάται δ' εἰσὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἡμῶν ἐκ προγόνων.

[2] “This is not the first time, Verginius and you who are present with him, that I have heard of this matter, but it was long ago, even before I assumed this

magistracy. Hear, now, in what way it came to my knowledge. The father of Marcus Claudius here, when he was dying, asked me to be the guardian of his son, whom he was leaving a mere boy; for the Claudii are hereditary clients of our family.

[3] Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιτροπείας μήνυσις ἐγένετό μοι περὶ τῆς παιδός, ὡς ὑποβάλοιτο αὐτὴν Νομιτωρία λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς Κλαυδίου δούλης, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξετάσας ἔμαθον οὕτως ἔχον. ἐφάπτεσθαι μὲν οὖν ἑμαυτοῦ προσήκε μοι, βέλτιον δὲ ἡγησάμην τοῦτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν καταλιπεῖν, ὅποτε γένοιτο ἀνὴρ, εἴτε βουλευθῇ τὴν παιδίσκην ἀπάγειν, εἴτε διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς τρέφοντας αὐτὴν χρηματισθεὶς ἢ χαρισάμενος.

[3] During the time of my guardianship information was given me regarding this girl, to the effect that Numitoria had palmed her off as her own child after receiving her from the slave woman of Claudius; and upon investigating this matter, I found it was so. Now I might myself have claimed what I had a right to claim, but I thought it better to leave the power of choice to my ward here, when he should come to man's estate, either to take away the girl, if he thought fit, or to come to an accommodation with those who were rearing her, by taking money for her or making a present of her.

[4] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις ἐγὼ μὲν εἰς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ἐγκυλισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν Κλαυδίου πραγμάτων εἶχον ἐν φροντίδι. τοῦτω δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν ἴδιον ἐξετάζοντι βίον καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδίσκης ἢ μήνυσις ἀπεδόθη καθάπερ ἐμοὶ πρότερον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄδικον ἀξιοῖ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θераπεινῆς γεγонуῖαν ἀπάγειν βουλόμενος.

[4] Since that time, having become involved in public affairs, I have given myself no further concern about the interests of Claudius. But he, it would seem, when taking account of his estate, also received the same information concerning the girl which had previously been given to me; and he is making no unjust demand when he wishes to take away the daughter of his own slave woman.

[5] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλήλους ἔπεισαν αὐτοί, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν: ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἦλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα, μαρτυρῶ τ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα καὶ κρίνω εἶναι τοῦτον τῆς παιδίσκης κύριον.

[5] Now if they had come to terms with one another, it would have been well; but since the matter has been brought into litigation, I give this testimony in his favour and declare him to be the girl's master."

[1] ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν ἀκέραιοι τε καὶ τῶν τὰ δίκαια λεγόντων παράκλητοι τὰς χεῖρας ἄραντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέκραγον ὀδυρμῷ [p. 174] καὶ ἀγανακτήσει μεμιγμένην κραυγὴν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κόλακες τὴν ἐπικελεύουσάν τε καὶ θάρσος ἐμποῖησαι δυναμένην τοῖς κρατοῦσι φωνήν. ἡρεθισμένης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ παντοδαπῶν γεμούσης

λόγων τε καὶ παθῶν σιωπὴν γενέσθαι κελεύσας Ἄππιος ἔλεξεν:

[37.1] When they heard this, all who were unprejudiced and ready to be advocates for those who plead the cause of justice held up their hands to heaven and raised an outcry of mingled lamentation and resentment, while the flatterers of the oligarchy uttered their rallying cry that was calculated to inspire the men in power with confidence. While the Forum was seething filled with cries and emotions of every sort, Appius, commanding silence, said:

[2] εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε διαστασιάζοντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀντιστρατηγοῦντες ἡμῖν οἱ ταραχώδεις, μηδαμῇ χρήσιμοι μὴτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ μῆτε κατὰ πολέμους, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης σωφρονισθέντες εἴξετε. μὴ τούτους οἴεσθε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Καπετωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας φρουροὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους ἡμῖν παρεσκευάσθαι μόνον, ὅμῃς δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον ὑποκαθημένους καὶ πάντα σήποντας τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἑάσειν.

[2] “If you do not cease dividing the city into factions and contending against us, you trouble-makers, useless fellows everywhere whether in peace or in war, you shall be brought to your senses by compulsion and so submit. Do not imagine that these guards on the Capitol and the citadel have been made ready by use solely against foreign foes and that we shall be indifferent to you who sit idle inside the walls and corrupt all the interests of the commonwealth.

[3] γνώμην δὴ λαβόντες κρείττονα ἢς ἔχετε νῦν ἄπιτε, οἷς μὴ τι πρᾶγμα, καὶ πράσσετε τὰ ἑαυτῶν, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε: σὺ δ' ἄγου τὴν παιδίσκην ἔχων, Κλαύδιε, μηδὲνα δεδοικῶς δι' ἀγορᾶς:

[3] Adopt, then, a better disposition than you have at present and be off with you, all you who have no business here, and mind your own affairs, if you are wise. And do you, Claudius, take the girl and lead her through the Forum without fearing anyone; for the twelve axes of Appius will attend you.”

[4] οἱ γὰρ Ἀππίου σε προπέμψουσι δώδεκα πελέκεις. ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στένοντες καὶ τὰ μέτωπα παίοντες καὶ τὰ δάκρυα κατέχειν οὐ δυνάμενοι παρεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἀπῆγε τὴν παῖδα τῷ πατρὶ περιπεπλεγμένην καὶ καταφιλοῦσαν καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις φωναῖς ἀνακαλοῦσαν. ἐν τοιούτοις δὴ κακοῖς Οὐεργίνιος ὦν ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται πατρὶ μὲν ταλαίπωρον καὶ πικρόν, ἔλευθέρῳ δ' ἀνδρὶ

[4] After he had spoken thus, the others withdrew from the Forum, sighing, beating their foreheads, and unable to refrain from tears; but Claudius began to lead away the girl as she held her father close, kissing him and calling upon him with the most endearing words. Finding himself in so sore a plight, Verginius thought of a deed that was grievous and bitter indeed to a father, yet becoming to a free man of lofty spirit.

[5] καὶ μεγαλόφρονι πρέπον. αἰτησάμενος γὰρ ἔξουσίαν ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τοὺς τελευταίους ἀσπασμοὺς ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι μόνῃ μόνος, ὅποσα βούλεται, [p. 175] πρὶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτὴν ἀπαχθῆναι, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μικρὸν ἀναχωρησάντων ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκλυομένην τε καὶ καταρρέουσαν καὶ κατέχουσαν τέως μὲν ἀνεκαλεῖτό τε καὶ κατεφίλει καὶ τὰς λιβάδας ἐξέματτε τῶν δακρῶν, ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων, ὡς ἦν ἐγγὺς ἐργαστηρίου μαγειρικοῦ, μάχαιραν ἐξαρπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης παίει τὴν θυγατέρα διὰ τῶν σπλάγχων τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν:

[5] For he asked leave to embrace his daughter for the last time as a free woman and to say what he thought fit to her in private before she was taken from the Forum, and when the general granted his request and his enemies withdrew a little, he held her up and supported her as she was fainting and sinking to the ground, and for a time called her by name, kissed her, and wiped away her streaming tears; then, drawing her away by degrees, when he came close a butcher’s shop, he snatched up a knife from the table and plunged it into his daughter’s vitals, saying only this:

[6] ἔλευθέραν σε καὶ εὐσχήμονα, τέκνον, ἀποστέλλω τοῖς κατὰ γῆς προγόνοις: ζῶσα γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξῆν ἔχειν ἀμφοτέρα διὰ τὸν τύραννον. κραυγῆς δὲ γενομένης ἡμαγμένην ἔχων τὴν σφαγίδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνάμεστος αἵματος γενόμενος, ᾧ προσέφυρεν αὐτὸν ἡ σφαγὴ τῆς κόρης, ἔθει διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐμμανῆς ἐπὶ

[6] “I send you forth free and virtuous, my child, to your ancestors beneath the earth. For if you had lived, you could not have enjoyed these two blessings because of the tyrant.” When an outcry was raised, holding the bloody knife in his hand and covered as he was himself with blood, with which the slaying of the girl had besprinkled him, he ran like a madman through the city, calling the citizens to liberty.

[7] τὴν ἔλευθερίαν τοὺς πολίτας καλῶν. διεκπαισάμενος δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνέβη τὸν ἵππον, ὃς ἦν παρεσκευασμένος αὐτῷ, καὶ συνέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, Ἰκίλιου τε καὶ Νομιτωρίου τῶν ἀγαγόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος νεανίσκων καὶ τότε συμπροπεμπόντων. ἡκολούθει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλος ὄχλος δημοτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ὥστε τοὺς σύμπαντας ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίου γενέσθαι. [p. 176]

[7] Then, forcing his way out through the gates, he mounted the horse that stood ready for him and hastened to the camp, attended this time also by Icilius and Numitorius, the young men who had brought him from the camp. They were followed by another crowd of plebeians, not small in number, but amounting to some four hundred in all.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ἄππιος, ὡς τὸ περὶ τὴν κόρην ἐπέγνω πάθος, ἀναπηδᾷ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ

δίφρου καὶ διώκειν τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἐβούλετο πολλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἄκοσμα. περιστάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἀξιούντων ἀπῆει πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀγανακτῶν.

[38.1] When Appius learned of the girl's fate, he leaped up from his seat and was minded to pursue Verginius, meanwhile both saying and doing many indecorous things. But when his friends stood round him and besought him to do nothing reckless, he departed full of resentment against everybody.

[2] ἤδη δ' αὐτῷ κατ' οἰκίαν ὄντι προσαγγέλλουσι τῶν ἐταίρων τινές, ὅτι περὶ τὸ πτώμα τῆς κόρης Ἰκίλιος τε ὁ κηδεστὴς καὶ Νομιτώριος ὁ θεῖος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις τε καὶ συγγενέσιν ἐστῶτες ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ καλοῦσι τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

[2] Then, when he was already home, some of his followers informed him that Icilius, the betrothed of Verginia, and Numitorius, her uncle, together with her other friends and relations, standing round her body, were charging him with crimes speakable and unspeakable and summoning the people to liberty.

[3] ὁ δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς εἶχε πέμπει τῶν ῥαβδούχων τινὰς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοὺς κεκραγότες καὶ τὸ πτώμα μεταφέρειν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς: ἀφρονέστατον πρᾶγμα ποιῶν καὶ τοῖς τότε καιροῖς ἥκιστα ἀρμόττον. δέον γὰρ ἀποθεραπεύειν τὸν ὄχλον ὀργῆς εἰληφότα δικαίαν πρόφασιν, εἰζάντα μὲν ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα χρόνῳ, ὕστερον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπολογούμενον, τὰ δὲ παραιτούμενον, τὰ δ' ἑτέραις πισὶν εὐεργεσίαις ἀναλαβόντα, ἐπὶ τὸ βιαίότερον ἐνεχθεὶς εἰς ἀπόνειαν αὐτοῦς ἠνάγκασε τραπέσθαι.

[3] In his rage he sent some of the lictors with orders to hale to prison those who had raised the clamour and to remove the body out of the Forum, thereby doing a most imprudent thing and one by no means suited to that crisis. For when he ought to have courted the multitude, by yielding to them for the moment and afterwards justifying some of his actions, seeking pardon for others, and making amends for yet others by sundry acts of kindness, he was carried away to more violent measures and forced the people to resort to desperation.

[4] οὐ γὰρ ἀνέσχοντο τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἔλκειν τὴν νεκρὰν ἢ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν, ἀλλ' ἐμβοήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς σὺν ὠθισμῷ τε καὶ πληγαῖς τῶν βιαζομένων ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθη ἀκούσας [p. 177] ταῦθ' ὁ Ἄππιος ἅμα συχνοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ πελάταις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πορεύεσθαι παιεῖν κελεύων καὶ ἀνείργειν ἐκποδῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐξόδου Οὐαλέριος τε καὶ

[4] For instance, they would not permit it when the lictors attempted to drag away the body or hale the men to prison, but shouting encouragement to one another, they indulged in both pushing and blows against them when they attempted to use violence and drove them out of the Forum. As a result,

Appius, on hearing of this, was obliged to proceed to the Forum, accompanied by numerous partisans and clients, whom he ordered to beat and hold back out of the way the people who were in the streets.

[5] Ὅρατιος, οὗς ἔφην ἡγεμονικωτάτους εἶναι τῶν ἀντιποιοιμένων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, πολλήν καὶ ἀγαθὴν νεότητα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἄγοντες ἴστανται πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον ἐγίνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς λόγους ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ προπηλακιστὰς κατὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις παρείχοντο παιοντές τε καὶ ἀνατρέποντες τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας.

[5] But Valerius and Horatius, who, as I have said, were the chief leaders of those who desired to recover their liberty, having learned of his purpose in thus coming forth, came bringing with them a large and brave company of youths and took their stand before the body; and when Appius and his followers drew near, they first proceeded to harsh and bitter taunts against the power of the decemvirs, and then, suiting their actions to their words, they struck and knocked down all who engaged with them.

[1] ὁ δ' Ἄππιος ἀδημονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς κολάσεως καὶ οὐκ ἔχων, ὅ τι χρήσεται τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὴν ὀλεθριωτάτην ἔγνω βαδίζειν ὁδόν. ὥς γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ πληθους αὐτῷ διαμένοντος οἰκείου ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκάλει τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρανομίαν τε καὶ ὕβριν, ἐξουσίᾳ δημαρχικῇ καὶ ἐλπίδι κούφῃ ἐπαίρομενος, ὅτι συναγανακτήσας ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ

[39.1] Appius, sorely troubled by this unexpected setback and not knowing how to deal with the men, resolved to take the most pernicious course. For, feeling that the populace still remained friendly to him, he went up to the sanctuary of Vulcan, and calling an assembly of the people, he attempted to accuse those men of violation of the law and of insolent behaviour, being carried away by his tribunician power and the vain hope that the people would share his resentment and permit him to throw the men down from the cliff.

[2] παρήσει ῥῖψαι τοὺς ἀνδρας κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἕτερον τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλαβόμενοι καὶ τὸ πτώμα τῆς παρθένου θέντες, ὅθεν ὑπὸ πάντων ὀφθῆσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἑτέραν συνήγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλήν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ τ' Ἀππιου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγαρχῶν κατηγορίαν.

[2] But Valerius and his followers took possession of another part of the Forum, and placing the body of the maiden where it would be seen by all, held another assembly of the people and made a sweeping accusation of Appius and the other oligarchs.

[3] ἔμελλέ τε, ὅπερ εἰκὸς [p. 178] ἦν, οὗς μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὗς δ' ὁ τῆς κόρης ἔλεος δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν διὰ τὸ ἀτυχὲς κάλλος παθοῦσης, οὗς δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας καταστάσεως πόθος εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

παρακαλῶν πλείους τῶν ἑτέρων συνάξειν, ὥστ' ὀλίγους τινὰς ὑπολειφθῆναι περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον, αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν τινες οὐκέτι τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς αὐτῶν ἀκροώμενοι, διὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις, ἀλλ', εἰ γένοιτο ἰσχυρὰ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἄσμενοι χωρήσειν ἐπ'

[3] And it was bound to happen, as one would expect, that with some being attracted thither by the rank of the men, others by their compassion for the girl who had suffered dreadful and worse than dreadful calamities because of her unfortunate beauty, and still others by their very yearning for the ancient constitution, this assembly would be better attended than the other, so that just a few were left round Appius, consisting solely of the oligarchical faction; and among those there were some who for many reasons no longer paid heed to the oligarchs themselves, but, if the cause of their opponents should become strong, would gladly turn against the others.

[4] ἑκείνους, ἐρημούμενον δὴ θεωρῶν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἄππιος ἠναγκάσθη μεταγνῶναι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὃ καὶ μάλιστ' ὤνησεν αὐτόν. ἐπιβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ πλήθους καλὰς ἔτισεν ἂν αὐτῷ τὰς δίκας.

[4] Appius, accordingly, seeing himself being deserted, was obliged to change his mind and leave the Forum, a course which proved of the greatest advantage to him; for if he had been set upon by the plebeian crowd, he would have paid a fitting penalty to them.

[5] μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐξουσίας ὅσης ἐβούλοντο τυχόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἐνεφοροῦντο τῶν κατ' ὀλιγαρχίας λόγων καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐξεδημαῶγουν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξηλλοτρίωσαν τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄχλον οἱ τῆς κόρης συγγενεῖς κλίνην τε κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἷον ἐδύναντο πολυτελέστατον παρασκευάσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τοῦ σώματος διὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων τῆς πόλεως ποιησάμενοι στενωπῶν, ὅθεν ὑπὸ πλείστων ὀφθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

[5] After that Valerius and his followers, having all the authority they wished, indulged themselves in anti-oligarchic speeches and by their harangues won over those who still hesitated. The dissatisfaction of the citizens at large was still further increased by the relations of the girl, who brought her bier into the Forum, prepared all the funeral trappings on the most costly scale they could, and then bore the body in procession through the principal streets of the city, where it would be seen by the largest number of people.

[6] ἐξεπήδων γὰρ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν γυναῖκες τε καὶ παρθέναι τὸ πάθος ἀποδυρόμεναι, αἱ μὲν ἄνθη καὶ στεφάνους βάλλουσαι κατὰ τῆς κλίνης, αἱ δὲ τελαμῶνας ἢ μίτρας, αἱ δὲ ἀθύρματα κόμης [p. 179] παρθενικά, καὶ που τινὲς καὶ πλοκάμων ἀποκειράμεναι βοστρύχους.

[6] In fact the matrons and maidens ran out of their houses lamenting her fate,

some throwing flowers and garlands upon the bier, some their girdles or fillets, others their childhood toys, and others perhaps even locks of their hair that they had cut off;

[7] ἄνδρες τε συχνοὶ λαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν πλησίων ἐργαστηρίων τὰ μὲν ὠνή, τὰ δὲ χάριτι συνεπεκόσμουσαν τοῖς προσφόροις δωρήμασι τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν, ὥστε περιβόητον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι τὸ κῆδος, καὶ προθυμίαν ἅπαντας καταλαβεῖν τῆς τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καταλύσεως. ἄλλ' οἱ φρονούντες τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὄπλα ἔχοντες μέγα παρεῖχον αὐτοῖς δέος, οἳ τε περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον οὐκ ἤξιουν αἵματι πολιτικῷ τὸ νεῖκος διαιεῖν.

[7] and many of the men, either purchasing ornaments in the neighbouring shops or receiving them as a favour, contributed to the funeral pomp by the appropriate gifts. Hence the funeral was much talked about throughout the entire city, and all were seized with an eager desire for the overthrow of the oligarchs. But those who favoured the cause of the oligarchy, being armed, kept them in great fear, and Valerius and his followers did not care to decide the quarrel by shedding the blood of their fellow citizens.

[1] τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ πόλιν ἐν τοιαύταις ἦν ταραχαῖς. Οὐεργίνιος δ', ὃν ἔφην αὐτόχειρα γενέσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς, ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἐλαύνων τὸν ἵππον ἀφικνεῖται περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀλγιδῷ χάρακα, τοιοῦτος οἶος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδραμεν, αἵματι πεφυρμένος ἅπας καὶ τὴν μαγειρικὴν σφαγίδα διὰ

[40.1] Affairs in the city, then, were in this state of turmoil. In the meantime Verginius, who, as I have related, had slain his daughter with his own hand, rode with loose rein and at lamp-lighting time came to the camp at Algidum, still in the same condition in which he had rushed out of the city, all covered with blood and holding the butcher's knife in his hand.

[2] χειρὸς ἔχων. ἰδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰς φυλακὰς φυλάττοντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ τ' ἦσαν ὃ τι πέπονθεν εἰκάσαι, καὶ παρηκολούθουν ὡς ἀκουσόμενοι μέγα πρᾶγμα καὶ δεινόν. ὃ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπορεύετο κλαίων καὶ διασημαίνων τοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἀκολουθεῖν: ἐξέτρεχον δ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν ἃς διεπορεύετο μεταξύ δειπνοῦντες ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι φανοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ λαμπάδας, ἀγωνίας πλήρεις καὶ θορύβου περιεχόμενοι [p. 180]

[2] When those who were keeping guard before the camp saw him, they could not imagine what had happened to him, and they followed along in the expectation of hearing of some great and dreadful occurrence. Verginius for the time continued on his way, weeping and making signs to those he met to follow him; and from the tents which he passed the soldiers, who were then at supper, all ran out in a body, full of anxious suspense and consternation, carrying torches and lamps; and pouring round him, they accompanied him.

[3] περὶ αὐτὸν ἠκολούθουν. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸν ἀναπεπταμένον τοῦ στρατοπέδου

τόπον ἦλθεν, ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινὸς στάς, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων ὀρᾷσθαι, διηγεῖτο τὰς καταλαβούσας αὐτὸν συμφοράς, μάρτυρας τῶν λόγων παρεχόμενος τοῦς σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ κατέμαθεν ὀλοφυρομένους τε πολλοὺς καὶ δακρύοντας, εἰς ἰκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, μὴ περιδεῖν μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀτιμώρητον γενόμενον μήτε τὴν πατρίδα προπηλακίζομένην. λέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα πολλὸ τὸ βουλόμενον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀκούειν καὶ ἐπικελευόμενον λέγειν ἐγίνετο.

[3] But when he came to the open space in the camp, he took his stand upon an elevated spot, so as to be seen by all, and related the calamities that had befallen him, offering as witnesses to the truth of his statements those who had come with him from the city.

When he saw many of them lamenting and shedding tears, he turned to supplications and entreaties, begging them neither to permit him to go unavenged nor to let the fatherland be foully abused. While he was speaking thus, great eagerness was shown by them all to hear him and great encouragement for him to speak on.

[4] τοιγάρτοι καὶ θρασύτερον ἤδη καθήπτετο τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας διεξιῶν, ὡς πολλῶν μὲν ἀφείλοντο τὰς οὐσίας οἱ δέκα, πολλῶν δὲ πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο τὰ σώματα, παμπόλλους δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, γυναικῶν τε ὕβρεις καὶ παρθένων ἐπιγάμων ἄρπαγὰς καὶ παίδων ἐλευθέρων προπηλακισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτῶν παρανομίας τε καὶ ὁμότητας ἐκλογιζόμενος:

[4] Accordingly, he now assailed the oligarchy with greater boldness, recounting how the decemvirs had deprived many of their fortunes, caused many to be scourged, forced ever so many to flee from the country though guilty of no crime, and enumerating their insults offered to matrons, their seizing of marriageable maidens, their abuse of boys of free condition, and all their other excesses and cruelties.

[5] καὶ ταῦτ', ἔφη, προπηλακίζουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ μήτε νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες μήτε ψηφίσματι βουλῆς ἢ δήμου συγχωρήματι λαβόντες, — ὁ γὰρ ἐνιαύσιος αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος, ὃν ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐτέροις παραδοῦναι τὰ κοινά, παρελήλυθεν, — ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ βιαιοτάτου τῶν τρόπων, πολλὴν δειλίαν καὶ μαλακίαν καταγνόντες ἡμῶν ὥσπερ γυναικῶν.

[5] “And these abuses,” he said, “we suffer at the hands of men who hold their power neither by law nor by a decree of the senate nor by the consent of the people (for the year’s term of their magistracy, after serving which they should have handed over the administration of affairs to others, has expired), but by the most violent of all means, since they have adjudged us great cowards and weaklings, like women.

[6] εἰσελθέτω δὴ λογισμὸς ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ὧν τ' αὐτὸς πέπονθε καὶ ὧν οἶδεν

ἐτέρους παθόντας· καὶ εἴ τις ὑμῶν δελεαζόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἡδοναῖς πῖσιν ἢ χάρισιν οὐ πεφόβηται τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν οὐδὲ δέδοικε, [p. 181] μὴ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔλθοι ποτὲ σὺν χρόνῳ τὰ δεινὰ, μαθὼν ὅτι τυράννοις οὐδέν ἐστι πιστόν, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ εὐνοίας αἱ τῶν κρατούντων δίδονται τισι χάριτες, καὶ

[6] Let every one of you consider both what he has suffered himself and what he knows others to have suffered; and if any one of you, lured by them with pleasures or gratifications, does not stand in dread of the oligarchy or fear that the calamities will eventually come upon him too some day, let him learn that tyrants know no loyalty, that it is not out of goodwill that the favours of the powerful are bestowed, and all the other truths of like purport; then let him change his opinion.

[7] πάντα τὰ ὅμοια τοῦτοις, μεταγνώτω· καὶ μιᾷ διανοίᾳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἐλευθεροῦτε ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων τὴν πατρίδα, ἐν ἣ θεῶν τε ὑμῖν ἱερὰ ἴδρυται καὶ θῆκαι προγόνων εἰσίν, οὓς ὑμεῖς τιμᾶτε μετὰ θεοῦς, καὶ γηραιοὶ πατέρες τροφεῖα πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια τῶν πόνων ἀπαιτοῦντες, γυναῖκες τε κατὰ νόμους ἐγγυηθεῖσαι καὶ· θυγατέρες ἐπίγαμοι φροντίδος οὐ μικρᾶς δεόμεναι τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ γοναὶ παίδων ἀρρένων, οἷς ὀφείλεται τὰ

[7] And becoming of one mind, all of you, free from these tyrants your country, in which stand both the temples of your gods and the sepulchres of your ancestors, whom you honour next to the gods, in which also are your aged fathers, who demand of you many acknowledgements such as the pains they have bestowed upon your rearing deserve, and also your lawfully betrothed wives, your marriageable daughters, who require much solicitous care on the part of their parents, and your sons, to whom are owed the rights deriving from Nature and from your forefathers.

[8] δίκαια φύσεως προγόνων. οἰκίας γὰρ δὴ καὶ κλήρους καὶ χρήματα σὺν πολλοῖς κτηθέντα πόνοις ὑπὸ πατέρων καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σιωπῶ· ὣν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔξεστι βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἄν ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα τυραννησθε.

[8] I say nothing indeed of your houses, your estates and your goods, which have been acquired with great pains both by your fathers and by yourselves, none of which things you can possess in security so long as you live under the tyranny of the decemvirs.

[1] οὔτε σωφρόνων οὔτε γενναίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἀλλότρια κτᾶσθαι δι’ ἀνδραγαθίαν, τὰ δ’ οἰκεῖα περιορᾶν ἀπολλύμενα διὰ μαλακίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς μὲν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐλοῦσκους καὶ Σαβίνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους περιοίκους ἅπαντας πολεμεῖν μακροὺς καὶ ἀδιαλείπτους πολέμους ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παρὰ νόμον ἄρχοντας ὑμῶν μὴ θέλειν ἄρασθαι τὰ ὄπλα ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. [p. 182]

[41.1] “It is the part neither of prudent nor of brave men to acquire the possessions of others by valour and then to allow their own to be lost through

cowardice, nor, again, to wage long and incessant wars against the Aequians, the Volscians, the Sabines, and all the rest of your neighbours for the sake of sovereignty and dominion and then to be unwilling to take up arms against your unlawful rulers for the sake of both your security and your liberty.

[2] οὐκ ἀναλήψεσθε τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πατρίδος; οὐ παραστήσεται λογισμὸς ὑμῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν γονέων ἄξιος, οἱ διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν Ταρκυνίου παιδῶν ὑβρισθείσης καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην ἑαυτὴν διαχρησαμένης, οὕτως ἠγανάκτησαν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ παρωξύνθησαν καὶ κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἠγήσαντο τὴν ὕβριν, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον Ταρκύνιον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν πολίτευμα κατέλυσαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπεῖπον μηδένα Ῥωμαίων ἄρχειν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχήν, αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς μεγίστους ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων ἄρας,

[2] Will you not recover the proud spirit of your country? Will you not come to a decision worthy of the virtue of your ancestors who, because one woman was outraged by one of Tarquin's sons and because of this calamity put herself to death, became so indignant at her fate and so exasperated, looking upon the outrage as one done to them all alike, that they not only banished Tarquin from the state, but even abolished the monarchy itself and forbade that anyone should thereafter rule over Romans for life with irresponsible power, not only binding themselves by the most solemn oaths, but also invoking curses upon their descendants if in any respect they should act to the contrary?

[3] ἔάν τι παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶσι, καταρασάμενοι; ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐνὸς οὐκ ἤνεγκαν ἀκολάστου μεираκίου τυραννικὴν ὕβριν εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐλεύθερον γενομένην, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολυκέφαλον τυραννίδα πάσῃ παρανομίᾳ τε καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ χρωμένην καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον χρησομένην,

[3] Then, when they refused to bear the tyrannical outrage committed by one licentious youth upon one person of free condition, will *you* tolerate a many-headed tyranny that indulges in every sort of crime and licentiousness and will indulge still more if you now submit to it?

[4] ἔὰν νῦν ἀνάσχησθε, ὑπομενεῖτε; οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο διαφέρουσα τὴν ὄψιν ἐτέρων, ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ φανεροῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ προπηλακίζειν Ἀππίος ἐπεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν εἰσι πολλαὶ τοῖς μὲν θυγατέρες, τοῖς δὲ γαμεταί, τοῖς δὲ νεανία παῖδες εὐπρεπεῖς, οὓς τί κωλύσει πρὸς ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν δέκα τυράννων ἢ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀππίου ταῦτ' ἀπαθεῖν; εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγυητής, ὥς, ἔὰν τὰς ἐμὰς ταύτας συμφορὰς ἀτιμωρήτους ἐάσητε, οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμῶν πολλοὺς τὰ ὅμοια δεινὰ ἦξει, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς [p. 183] θυγατρὸς ὁ τυραννικὸς ἔρως προελθὼν στήσεται, καὶ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σώματα παιδῶν τε καὶ παρθένων σωφρονήσει. πολλῆς μέντοι μωρίας καὶ σκαιότητος, σαφῶς ἴστε, τὰ νοούμενα ταῦθ' ὥς οὐκ ἔσται λέγειν.

[4] I am not the only man who had a daughter superior in beauty to others whom Appius had openly attempted to violate and besmirch, but many of you also have daughters or wives or comely young sons; and what shall hinder these from being treated in the same manner by another of the ten tyrants or by Appius himself? Unless, indeed, there is some one of the gods who will guarantee that if you permit these calamities of mine to go unavenged the same misfortunes will not come upon many of you, but having pursued its way only as far as my daughter, this lust of tyrants will stop and toward the persons of others, both youths and maidens, will grow chaste!

[5] ἀόριστοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν τυράννων ἐπιθυμίαι κατὰ τὸ εἶκός, οἷα δὲ μήτε νόμον ἔχουσαι κωλυτὴν μήτε φόβον. ἔμοι τε δὲ πράττοντες τιμωρίαν δικαίαν καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλειαν, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτ' ἀπάθητε, παρασκευαζόμενοι διαρρήξατε ἤδη ποτὲ τοὺς χαλινούς, ὧς σκέτλιοι:

[5] Know of a certainty, however, that it is the part of great folly and stupidity to say that these imagined crimes will not come to pass. For the desires of tyrants are naturally limitless, inasmuch as they have neither law nor fear to check them. Therefore, by effecting for me a just vengeance and also by procuring for yourselves security against suffering the same mistreatment, break now at last your bonds, O miserable me; look up toward liberty, your eyes fixed upon her.

[6] ἀναβλέψατε ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ἐπὶ τίνι γὰρ ἑτέρᾳ προφάσει μᾶλλον ἀγανακτήσετε ἢ ταύτῃ, ὅτε τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν θυγατέρας ὡς δούλας ἀπάγουσιν οἱ τύραννοι καὶ μετὰ μαστίγων νυμφαγωγοῦσιν; ἐν ποίῳ δὲ τὸ ἐλεύτερον φρόνημα ἀναλήψεσθε καιρῷ τὸν νῦν παρέντες, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔχετε;

[6] What other ground for indignation greater than this will you have, when the tyrants carry off the daughters of citizens like slaves and with the lash lead their brides home? On what occasion will you regain the spirit of free men if you let slip the present one when your bodies are protected by arms?"

[1] ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνεβόησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τιμωρήσιν ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν λόχων ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλουν ἀξιοῦντες ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλοὶ παριόντες ἐθάρρουν λέγειν, εἴ τι δεινὸν ἦσαν πεπονθότες.

[42.1] While he was yet speaking, most of the soldiers cried out, promising to avenge him, and called upon the centurions by name, demanding immediate action; and many, coming forward, made bold to speak openly of any ill-treatment they had suffered.

[2] μαθόντες δὲ τὰ γενόμενα οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες, οὓς ἔφην ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ταγμάτων, δείσαντες, μὴ τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ὄχλων ὀρμὴ γένηται, συνέδραμον εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον πάντες καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως παύσουσι τὴν ταραχὴν, τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄπλα περιστησάμενοι.

[2] Upon learning of what had happened, the five men, who, as I have stated, had the command of these legions, fearing lest some attack might be made upon them by the rabble, all ran to the general's headquarters and considered with their friends how they might allay the tumult by surrounding themselves with an armed guard of their own faction.

[3] ὡς δ' ἐπύθοντο [p. 184] ἀπεληλυθότας ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς λήξαντά τε καὶ παυσάμενον τὸν θόρυβον, ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τοῖς πλείοσι δεδογμένον ἦν δι' ἀπορρήτων συνωμοσιῶν ἀπόστασιν πράττειν καὶ συνελευθεροῦν τὴν πατρίδα, ἔκριναν, ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα τάχιστα γένηται, τὸν μὲν ἐκταράττοντα τοὺς ὄχλους Οὐεργίνιον συλλαβόντας ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἀναστήσαντας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν κρατίστην αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐγκαθημένους δηοῦν, περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραττομένων μηδὲν τοὺς σφετέρους ἔτι ἑῶντας πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ὠφελείας, τὰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐσομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε ἀγῶνας.

[3] But being informed that the soldiers had retired to their tents and that the disturbance was abated and ended, and being unaware that most of the centurions had secretly conspired to revolt and to unite in freeing their country, they resolved that as soon as it was day they would seize Verginius,

who was stirring up the rabble, and keep him in custody, and then, breaking camp and leading their forces against the enemy, would settle down in the best part of their territory and lay it waste, thus keeping their men from meddling any longer with what was going on in the city, partly because of the booty they would acquire and partly because of the battles that would be waged in each instance to secure their own safety.

[4] ἐγίνετο δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκ διαλογισμοῦ: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον εἶασαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ καλοῦμενον εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον ἀπελθεῖν, ὑποπτεῦντες, μὴ τι πάθοι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν διαληφθέντα λόγον, ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγαγεῖν τοὺς λόχους ἐβούλοντο, κατωνειδιζον λέγοντες: ὥς καλῶς ἡμῶν ἐστρατηγήκατε καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα καὶ νῦν λαβόντες ἐλπίδας ἀκολουθῶμεν ὑμῖν, οἵτινες ὅσην οὕτω πρότερον ἕτεροι Ῥωμαίων [p. 185] ἡγεμόνες ἔκ τ' αὐτῆς ἄγοντες τῆς πόλεως στρατιὰν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀγείραντες, οὔτε τινὰ νίκην ἢ βλάβην ἐποίησατε κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνανδρίαν τε καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἀπεδείξασθε, κακῶς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν χώραν ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καταδηωθεῖσαν πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀπόρους ἡμᾶς ἐποίησατε ἀπάντων, ὅσοι κρατοῦντες τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνικῶμεν ταῖς μάχαις, ὅτε ὑμῶν κρείττους ἦσαν στρατηγοί: τρόπαιά τε καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνιστᾶσι καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα διηρπακότες ἔχουσι τὰ ἡμέτερα.

[4] But they succeeded in none of their calculations; for the centurions would not even permit Verginius to go to the generals' headquarters when he was sent for, suspecting that he might suffer some harm; nay, they even heaped scorn upon the intercepted report that the generals wished to lead the troops against the enemy, saying: "How skilfully you have commanded us in the past, that now also we should take hope and follow you — you who, after assembling a greater army both from the city itself and from our allies than any other generals in the past, have not only failed to gain any victory over the enemy or to do them any harm, but on the contrary have shown a lack of both courage and experience by encamping in cowardly fashion, and also, by permitting your own territory to be ravaged by the enemy, have made us beggars and destitute of all the means by which, when we were superior to our foes in equipment, we conquered them in battle when we had better generals than you! And now our foes erect trophies to commemorate our defeats and are in possession of our tents, our slaves, our arms and our money, which they have seized as plunder."

[1] ὁ δὲ Οὐεργίνιος ὑπὸ τ' ὀργῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι δεδοικέναι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐθαδέστερον αὐτῶν καθήπτετο λυμεῶνας τε καὶ ὀλέθρους τῆς πατρίδος ἀποκαλῶν καὶ παραινῶν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἅπασιν ἀραμένους τὰ σημεῖα οἴκαδε ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν.

[43.1] Verginius, moved by anger and no longer standing in awe of the generals, now inveighed against them with greater assurance, called them despoilers

and plagues of their country, and exhorting all the centurions to take up the standards and lead the army home.

[2] ὁρρωδούντων δ' ἔτι τῶν πολλῶν τὰ ἱερὰ σημεῖα κινεῖν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καταλιπεῖν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτ' ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι πᾶσι νομιζόντων· ὃ τε γὰρ ὄρκος ὁ στρατιωτικὸς, ὃν ἀπάντων μάλιστα ἐμπεδοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύει τοὺς στρατευομένους, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἄγωσιν, ὃ τε νόμος [p. 186] ἀποκτείνειν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας:

[2] But most of them were still afraid to remove the sacred standards, and again, did not think it either right or safe at all to desert their commanders and generals. For not only does the military oath, which the Romans observe most strictly of all oaths, bid the soldiers follow their generals wherever they may lead, but also the law has given the commanders authority to put to death without a trial all who are disobedient or desert their standards.

[3] ἢ τὰ σημεῖα καταλιπόντας ἀκρίτως· ταῦτα δὴ δι' εὐλαβείας αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ὁρῶν Οὐεργίνιος ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι λέλυκεν αὐτῶν τὸν ὄρκον ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὴ νόμῳ μὲν ἀποδείχθέντα δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄρχειν τῶν δυνάμεων, ἡ δὲ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐξουσία παράνομος ἦν ὑπερβαλοῦσα τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον, εἰς ὃν ἀπεδείχθη. τὸ δὲ τοῖς μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἄρχουσι ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον οὐκ εὐπειθειαν εἶναι καὶ εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ'

[3] Verginius, accordingly, perceiving that these scruples kept them in awe, proceeded to show them that the law had set aside their oath, since it is necessary that the general who commands the forces should have been legally appointed, whereas the power of the decemvirs was illegal, inasmuch as it had exceeded the term of a year, for which it had been granted. And to do the bidding of those who were commanding illegally, he declared, was not obedience and loyalty, but folly and madness.

[4] ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι ἡγούμενοι καὶ παρακελυόμενοι τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ τι καὶ θάρσος ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαβόντες αἶρονται τὰ σημεῖα καὶ προῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος. ἔμελλον δ', ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐν ποικίλοις τ' ἦθεσι καὶ οὐχ ἅπασιν τὰ κράτιστα διανοουμένοις, ἔσεσθαι τινες οἱ μένοντες ἅμα τοῖς ὀλιγάρχαις καὶ στρατιώταις καὶ λοχαγοῖς, πλὴν οὐ τοσοῦτοι τὸ

[4] The soldiers, hearing these arguments, approved of them; and encouraging one another and inspired also by Heaven with a certain boldness, they took up the standards and set out from the camp. However, as was to be expected among men of various dispositions and not all of them entertaining the best intentions, there were bound to be some, both soldiers and centurions, who remained with the oligarchs, though they were not so numerous as the others, but far fewer.

[5] πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ἐλάττους παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἑτέρων. οἱ δ' ἐξεληθόντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐπιπορευθέντες ἑσπέρας καταλαβούσης παρήσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐδενὸς ἐξαγγείλαντος αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον, καὶ συνετάραζαν τοὺς ἔνδον οὐ μετρίως πολέμιον οἰομένους στρατὸν εἰσεληλυθέναι: κραυγὴ τε καὶ δρόμος ἄτακτος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν γε διέμεινεν ἡ ταραχὴ χρόνον, ὥστε κακὸν τι γενέσθαι δι' αὐτὴν. διεξιόντες γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐβόων, ὅτι φίλοι τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς πόλεως εἰσεληλυῇσιν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅμοια παρείχοντο τοῖς λόγοις ἀδικοῦντες οὐδένα. [p. 187]

[5] Those who departed from the camp marched throughout the entire day, and when evening came on, arrived in Rome, no one having announced their approach. Hence they caused the inhabitants no slight dismay, since they thought that a hostile army had entered the city; and there was shouting and disorderly running to and fro throughout the city. Nevertheless, the confusion did not last long enough to produce any mischief. For the soldiers, passing through the streets, called out that they were friends and had come for the good of the commonwealth; and they made their words match their deeds, as they did no harm to anyone.

[6] ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ἀουεντῖνον — ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἐμπεριεχομένων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόφων οὗτος ἐπιτηδειότατος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι — περὶ τε τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν τίθενται τὰ ὄπλα, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κρατυνάμενοι τὸν χάρακα καὶ χιλιάρχους δέκα τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδείξαντες κυρίους, ὧν ἡγεμῶν ἦν Μάρκος Ὀππιος, ἔμενον ἐφ' ἡσυχίας.

[6] Then, proceeding to the hill called the Aventine, which of all the hills included in Rome is the most suitable for an encampment, they put down their arms near the temple of Diana. The following day they strengthened their camp, and having appointed ten tribunes, at the head of whom was Marcus Oppius, to take care of their common interests, they remained quiet.

[1] ἦκον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικούροι μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φιδῆνῃ στρατιᾶς οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων λοχαγοὶ πολλὴν δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενοι, ἄλλοτρίως μὲν ἔτι πάλαι διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατηγούς, ἐξ οὗ Σικκίον τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπέκτειναν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, δεδιότες δ' ἄρξαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως πρότεροι, ὡς οἰκείων ὄντων τῇ δεκαδαρχίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ πέντε ταγμάτων, τότε δ', ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόστασιν ἐπέγνωσαν, ἀγαπητῶς τὸ συμβᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης δεξάμενοι.

[44.1] There soon came to them as reinforcements from the army at Fidenae the ablest centurions of the three legions there, bringing with them a large force. These had long been disaffected toward the generals at Fidenae, ever since those men had caused the death of Siccus the legate, as I have related, but were afraid of beginning the revolt earlier, because they considered the five legions at Algidum to be attached to the decemvirate; but at the time in

question, as soon as they heard of the revolt of the others, they were glad to embrace the opportunity presented to them by Fortune.

[2] ἡγεμόνες δὲ καὶ τούτων τῶν ταγμάτων ἦσαν δέκα χιλιάρχοι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀποδειχθέντες, ὧν ἐπιφανέστατος Σέξτος Μάλιος ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς εἴκοσι χιλιάρχοις ἐπέτρεψαν ἅπαντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀπέδειξαν δύο προβούλους, Μάρκον Ὀππιον καὶ Σέξτον Μάλιον· οὗτοι βουλευτήριον ἐξ ἁπάντων καταστησάμενοι τῶν λοχαγῶν,

[2] These legions also were commanded by ten tribunes, who had been appointed during their march, the most prominent of whom was Sextus Malius. After joining the others, they put down their arms and left it to the twenty tribunes to speak and act in all matters as representatives of the whole group. Out of these twenty they appointed two persons, Marcus Oppius and Sextus Malius, who were the most prominent, to determine policies. These established a council consisting of all the centurions and handled all matters in conjunction with them.

[3] μετ' ἐκείνων ἅπαντα διετέλουν πραγματευόμενοι. ἀδήλου δ' ἔτι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν οὔσης Ἄππιος μὲν, οἷα δὴ συγγινώσκων ἑαυτῷ τῆς παρούσης [p. 188] ταραχῆς αἰτίῳ γεγονότι καὶ τῶν προσδοκωμένων δι' αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι κακῶν, οὐκέτι τῶν κοινῶν οὐδὲν ἡξίου πράττειν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἶκον ἔμενεν· ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως Σπόριος Ὀππιος, διαταραχθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ αὐτός, ὥς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἐχθρῶν σφίσιν ἐπιθησομένων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠκόντων, ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν οὐδὲν νεωτερίσαντας αὐτοὺς, ὑφέμενος τοῦ δέους ἐκάλει τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων κατ' ἄνδρα μεταπεμπόμενος.

[3] While their intentions were not as yet generally known, Appius, inasmuch as he was conscious of having been the cause of the present disturbance and of the evils that were expected to result from it, no longer thought fit to transact any of the public business, but stayed at home. Spurius Oppius, however, who had been placed in command of the city together with him, although he too had been alarmed at first, believing that their enemies would immediately attack them and had indeed come for this purpose, nevertheless, when he found that they had attempted nothing revolutionary, relaxed from his fear and summoned the senators from their homes to the senate-house, sending for each one individually.

[4] ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν συλλεγομένων ἦκον οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιδήνῃ στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνες ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ καταλελειφθαι τοὺς χάρακας ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν πείθοντες ἀξίαν τοῦ πράγματος ὀργὴν κατ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγορεύειν γνώμην ἕκαστον ἔδει, Λεύκιος μὲν Κορνήλιος ἔφη δεῖν ἀπεῖναι τοὺς ταχθέντα εἰς τὸν Ἀουεντῖνον αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χάρακας, καὶ τὰ κελευόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτελεῖν

μηδενὸς ὄντας τῶν γεγονότων ὑποδίκους, πλὴν τῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως μόνων:

[4] While these were still assembling, the commanders of the army at Fidenae arrived, full of indignation that both the camps had been abandoned by the soldiers, and they endeavoured to persuade the senate to resent this action as it deserved. When the senators were to deliver their opinions one after another, Lucius Cornelius declared that the soldiers who were posted on the Aventine must return that very day to their camps and carry out the orders of their generals, though they should not be subject to trial for anything that had happened, save only the authors of the revolt, who should be punished by the generals.

[5] τοῦτοις δὲ προσθεῖναι δίκας τοὺς στρατηγούς. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶσι ταῦτα, βουλευεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ συνέδριον ὡς ἐκλελοιπότες τὴν τάξιν, ἐφ' ἣν ἐτάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, καὶ περὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἡσεβηκότων ὄρκον. Λεύκιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος [p. 189]

[5] If, however, they did not do as commanded, the senate should deliberate concerning them as concerning men who had abandoned the post to which they had been assigned by their generals and had violated their military oath. Lucius Valerius

[6] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένους εὔρομεν, οὔτε μηδὲνα ποιήσασθαι λόγον ἤρμοττεν, οὔτω σεμνῶν ὄντων καὶ τοσαύτην ἐχόντων διαφορὰν παρὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς νομοθεσίας, οὔτε περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος προβαίνειν ἐκμηκύναντας τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν.

[6] But it behooved me neither to make no mention of the Roman laws which I found written on the Twelve Tables, since they are so venerable and so far superior to the codes of the Greeks, nor to go on and extend my account of them farther than was necessary.

[1] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς δεκαδαρχίας τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν πρῶτοι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἐπὶ τῆς λοχίτιδος ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Ποτῖτος καὶ Μάρκος Ὀράτιος Βαρβᾶτος, αὐτοὶ τε δημοτικοὶ τὰς φύσεις ὄντες καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ταύτην διαδεδεγμένοι τὴν πολιτείαν, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις φυλάττοντες, ἃς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς, ὅτ' ἀποθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα συνέπειθον αὐτοὺς, ὡς πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ πολιτευσόμενοι, νόμους ἐκύρωσαν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις λοχίτισι, δυσχεραίνοντων μὲν τῶν πατρικίων, αἰδουμένων δ' ἀντιλέγειν, ἄλλους τέ τινας, οὓς οὐ δέομαι γράφειν, καὶ τὸν κελεύοντα τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τεθέντας ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις νόμους ἅπασι κεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ ἴσου, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς λοχίτισιν ἐκκλησίαις τεθησομένοις. τιμωρίαι δὲ προσέκειντο τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἢ

παραβαίνουνσι τὸν νόμον,

[45.1] After the overthrow of the decemvirate the first persons to receive the consular office from the people in a centuriate assembly were, as I have stated, Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Horatius Barbatus, who were not only of their own nature favourable to the populace, but had also inherited that political creed from their ancestors. In fulfilment of the promises they had made to the plebeians, when they persuaded them to lay down their arms, that in their administration they would consult all the interests of the people, they secured the ratification in centuriate assemblies of various laws, most of which I need not mention, laws with which the patricians were displeased though they were ashamed to oppose them, and particularly the one which ordained that the laws passed by the populace in its tribal assemblies should apply to all the Romans alike, having the same force as those which should be passed in the centuriate assemblies. The penalties provided for such as should abrogate or transgress this law, in case they were convicted, were death and the confiscation of their estates.

[2] ἔάν ἀλῶσι, θάνατος καὶ δήμευσις τῆς οὐσίας. οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἐξέβαλε τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις τῶν πατρικίων, αἷς ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς πρότερον, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες [p. 190] τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων τεθεῖσι νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν, οὐδ' ὅλως τὰ ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπικυρούμενα κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης δόγματα νομίζοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἴδιον: ὅτι δ' ἂν ἡ λοχίτις ἐκκλησία γνῶ, τοῦθ' ἡγούμενοι σφίσι τ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις τετάχθαι.

[2] This law put an end to the controversies previously carried on by the patricians against the plebeians when they refused to obey the laws enacted by the latter and would not at all regard the measures passed in the tribal assemblies as joint decrees of the whole state, but as merely private matters for the plebeians only; whereas they considered that any resolution the centuriate assembly passed applied not only to themselves but to the rest of the citizens as well.

[3] εἴρηται δὲ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς φυλετικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ πένητες ἐκράτουν τῶν πατρικίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς λοχίτισιν ἐκκλησίαις οἱ πατρίκιοι παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλάττους ὄντες περιῆσαν τῶν δημοτικῶν.

[3] It has been mentioned earlier that in the tribal assemblies the plebeians and the poor prevailed over the patricians, whereas in the centuriate assemblies the patricians, though far less numerous, had the upper hand over the plebeians.

[1] τούτου κυρωθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ νόμου σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ὥσπερ ἔφην δημοτικοῖς εὐθύς οἱ δήμαρχοι καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἦκειν νομίζοντες, ἐν ᾧ τιμωρήσονται τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀππιον, εἰσαγγελίας ὦντο δεῖν ποιήσασθαι

κατ' αὐτῶν, οὐχ ἅμα πάντας ὑπάγοντες ὑπὸ τὴν δίκην, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀλλήλους ὠφελῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα: ῥᾶον γὰρ οὕτως ὑπελάμβανον εὐμεταχειρίστους ἔσεσθαι.

[46.1] When this law, together with some others of a popular nature, as I have related, had been ratified by the consuls, the tribunes immediately, believing a fitting occasion had arrived for punishing Appius and his colleagues, thought they ought to bring charges against them, but not to put them all on trial at the same time, in order to prevent their helping one another in any way, but one by one; for they concluded that in this way they would be easier to manage.

[2] σκοποῦμενοι δ' ἀπὸ τίνος ἂν ἄρξαιτο ἐπιτηδειοτάτου, τὸν Ἀππίον πρῶτον ἔγνωσαν εὐθύνειν τῶν τ' ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ἕνεκα μισοῦμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τῶν νεωστὶ περὶ τὴν παρθένον γενομένων παρανομιῶν. ἐλόντες μὲν γὰρ τοῦτον εὐπετῶς ἐδόκουν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κρατῆσιν, εἰ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων ἄρξαιτο, μαλακωτέρας ὑπελάμβανον τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ τελευταίους κρινομένους ἔσεσθαι, [p. 191] συντονωτέρας οὕσας ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀγῶσιν, ὃ

[2] And considering which one of them would be the most suitable to begin with, they determined to call Appius to account first, since he was hated by the people, not only because of his other crimes, but particularly because of his recent lawless acts with regard to the maiden. For they judged that if they convicted him they would easily get the better of the others, whereas, if they should begin with those of humbler station, they imagined that the resentment of the citizens, which is always more violent in the earlier trials, would be milder toward the most eminent men if they were tried last — as had often happened before.

[3] πολλάκις ἤδη συνέβη. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι συνέσχον τοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἀππίου δὲ Οὐεργίνιον ἔταξαν ἄνευ κλήρου κατηγορεῖν. εἰσαγγέλλεται δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸν δῆμον Ἀππίος ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐεργίνιου κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ αἰτεῖται χρόνον εἰς ἀπολογία. ἀπαχθεὶς δ' εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον, ἵνα φυλάττηται μέχρι δίκης — οὐ γὰρ ἐδόθη διεγγύησις αὐτῷ — πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀποθνήσκει, ὥς μὲν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπόληψις ἦν ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς τῶν δημάρχων, ὥς δ' οἱ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολύσασθαι βουλόμενοι διεφήμεζον, αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀναρτησάμενος βρόχῳ.

[3] Having resolved upon this course, they took the decemvirs into custody and appointed Verginius to be the accuser of Appius without drawing lots. Thereupon Appius was cited before the tribunal of the people to answer an accusation brought against him in their assembly by Verginius; and he asked for time to prepare his defence. He was haled to prison to be guarded until his trial, as bail was not allowed him; but before the day appointed for the trial came, he met his death in prison, — according to the suspicion of most

people, by order of the tribunes, but according to the report of those who wished to clear them of this charge, by hanging himself.

[4] μετ' ἐκείνον Σπόριος Ὀππιος εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὑφ' ἑτέρου τῶν δημάρχων Ποπλίου Νομιτωρίου καὶ τυχῶν ἀπολογίας ἀπάσαις ἀλίσκεται ταῖς ψήφοις καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐθημερὸν ἀποθνήσκει. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν δέκα πρὶν εἰσαγγελθῆναι φυγαῖς αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσαν. τὰς δ' οὐσίας τῶν ἀνηρημένων καὶ τῶν πο ... οἱ ταμίαι τῆς πόλεως ἀνέλαβον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

[4] After him, Spurius Oppius was brought before the tribunal of the people by another of the tribunes, Publius Numitorius, and being allowed to make his defence, was unanimously condemned, committed to prison, and put to death the same day. The rest of the decemvirs punished themselves by voluntary exile before they were indicted. The estates both of those who had been put to death and of those who had made their escape were confiscated by the quaestors.

[5] εἰσαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ Μάρκος Κλαύδιος ὁ τὴν παρθένον ἐπιβαλόμενος ὡς δούλην ἀπάγειν ὑπὸ τοῦ μνηστήρος αὐτῆς Ἰκιλίου: καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιτάξαντα παρανομεῖν Ἀππίον ἀναφέρων θανάτου μὲν ἀπολύεται, φυγῇ δ' αἰδίῳ ζημιοῦται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ὑπηρετησάντων τι παράνομον τοῖς ὀλιγάρχαις οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν ἀγῶνα δημόσιον, [p. 192] ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἄδεια ἐδόθη. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα εἰσηγησάμενος ἦν Μάρκος Δοέλλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἀχθομένων ἤδη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν πολέμιων γενέσθαι προσδοκῶντων.

[5] Marcus Claudius, who had attempted to take away the maiden as his slave, was also accused by Icilius, her betrothed; however, by putting the blame on Appius, who had ordered him to commit the crime, he escaped death, but was condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the others who had been the instruments of the decemvirs in any crime, none had a public trial, but impunity was granted to them all. This course was proposed by Marcus Duilius, the tribune, when the citizens were already showing irritation and were expecting that . . . would be . . . enemies.

[1] ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἐπαύσαντο ταραχαί, συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλὴν οἱ ὕπατοι δόγμα κυροῦσιν ἐξάγειν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους διὰ ταχέων. ἐπικυρώσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς Οὐαλέριος μὲν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τ' Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους: συνῆλθε γὰρ ἀμφότερα τὰ ἔθνη.

[47.1] After the domestic disturbances ceased, the consuls assembled the senate and procured the passing of a decree that they should lead out the army in all haste against the enemy. And the people having ratified the decree of the senate, Valerius, one of the consuls, marched with one half of the army against the Aequian and the Volscians; for these two nations had joined

forces.

[2] ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοὺς Αἰκανοὺς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων κατορθωμάτων αὖχημα προσειληφότας καὶ εἰς πολλὴν καταφρόνησιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως προελθόντας, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐβούλετο ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασυτέρους ποιῆσαι δόξαν οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρασχών, ὥς ὀρρωδῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πάντα δεδιότως ἐποίει.

[2] Understanding that the Aequians had gained assurance from their former successes and had come to entertain a great contempt for the Roman forces, he wished to increase their confidence and boldness by creating the false impression that he dreaded coming to close quarters with them, and in every move he simulated timidity.

[3] χωρίον τε γὰρ εἰς στρατοπεδεῖαν ὑψηλὸν καὶ δυσπρόσιτον ἐξελέξατο τάφρον τε βαθεῖαν περιεβάλετο καὶ χάρακας ἤγειρεν ὑψηλοῦς. προκαλουμένων δὲ τῶν πολέμιων αὐτὸν εἰς μάχην πολλακίς καὶ κακιζόντων [p. 193] τὴν ἀνανδρίαν ἠνείχετο μένων ἐφ' ἡσυχίας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὴν κρατίστην τῶν πολέμιων δύναμιν ἐπὶ προνομῇ τῆς Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων γῆς ἐξεληλυθυῖαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χάρακι φυλακὴν οὔτε πολλὴν καταλειπομένην οὔτ' ἀγαθὴν, τοῦτον εἶναι νομίσας τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐξῆγε κεκοσμημένην τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρέστησεν ὥς εἰς μάχην.

[3] For instance, he chose for his camp a lofty position difficult of access, surrounded it with a deep ditch, and erected high ramparts. And when the enemy repeatedly challenged him to battle and taunted him with cowardice, he bore it with patience and remained quiet. But upon learning that their best forces had set out to plunder the territory of the Hernicans and the Latins and that there was left in the camp a garrison that was neither large nor able, he thought this was the fitting moment, and leading out his army in regular formation, he drew it up as for battle.

[4] οὐδενός τ' ἀντεπρόντος ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπέιχε, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἦγεν οὐ σφόδρα ὄχυράν οὔσαν. μαθόντες δὲ πολιορκούμενον τὸν χάρακα οἱ προσεξεληλυθότες ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς ταχέως ἦκον, πλὴν οὐχ ἅμα καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ, σποράδες δὲ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ὥς ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἐπιφαινόμενοι: οἳ τ' ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπεὶ τοὺς σφετέρους προσιόντας ἐθεάσαντο, θρασύτεροι γεγονότες ἐξῆλθον ἄθροοι.

[4] Then, when no one came out to meet him, he held it in check that day, but on the next day led it against their camp, which was not very strong. When the enemy's detachments which had earlier gone out after forage heard that their camp was besieged, they speedily returned, though they did not put in an appearance all together and in good order, but scattered and in small parties, everyone coming up as he could; and those in the camp, as soon as they saw their own men approaching, took courage and sallied out in a body.

[5] καὶ γίνεται μέγας ἀγὼν καὶ φόνος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολλός, ἐν ᾧ νικήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τε συστάδην μαχομένους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιδιώκοντες, οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, οὓς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, τοῦ δὲ χάρακος αὐτῶν κρατήσαντες χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον περιεβάλοντο. Οὐαλέριος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀδεῶς ἤδη τὴν γῆν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιὼν ἐδήλου.

[5] Upon this, a great battle ensued, with much slaughter on both sides, a battle in which the Romans, gaining the victory, put to flight those who fought in closed ranks, and pursuing those who fled, killed some and made others prisoners; and taking possession of their camp, they seized much money and vast booty. After accomplishing this, Valerius now freely overran the enemy's country and laid it waste.

[1] Μάρκος δ' Ὀράτιος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Σαβίνων πόλεμον ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὸν συνάρχοντα ἔγνω προαγαγὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος τὰς δυνάμεις [p. 194] ἀντεπῆγε θᾶπτον ὅλη δυνάμει πρὸς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀριθμὸν τοὺς Σαβίνους καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐμπειροτάτους: ἐνεδειξάντο γὰρ φρόνημά τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων κατορθωμάτων πολλὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιμαχομένους, καὶ κοινῶς πάντες καὶ ἰδίως ὁ τοῦτων προηγούμενος: ἦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[48.1] Marcus Horatius, who had been sent out to prosecute the war against the Sabines, when he learned of the exploits of his colleague, likewise marched out of camp and promptly led all his forces against the Sabines, who were not inferior in numbers and were thoroughly acquainted with the art of war. For they displayed spirit and great boldness against their opponents in consequence of their former successes, not only all of them in common, but particularly their commander; for he was both a good general and also a gallant fighter at close quarters.

[2] πολεμιστῆς κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος: καὶ τῶν ἱππέων μεγάλην προθυμίαν παρασχομένων νίκην ἀναιρεῖται λαμπροτάτην, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνας τῶν πολεμίων, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλειόνων αἰχμαλώτων τετυχηκώς τοῦ τε χάρακος αὐτῶν ἐρήμου κρατήσας, ἐν ᾧ τὴν τ' ἀποσκευὴν τῶν πολεμίων πολλὴν εὔρε καὶ τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἐληίσαντο, αἰχμαλώτους τε πάνυ πολλοὺς τῶν σφετέρων ἀνεσώσατο. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν ἀνασκευασάμενοι τὰς ὠφελείας οἱ Σαβῖνοι διὰ καταφρόνησιν.

[2] And since the cavalry displayed great zeal, he won a most brilliant victory, killing many of the enemy and taking far more of them prisoners, and also gaining possession of their abandoned camp, in which he found not only the baggage of the enemy in great quantity but also all the booty they had taken from the Romans' territory, and rescued a great many of his own people who had been taken prisoner. For the Sabines, in their contempt of the Romans, had not packed up and sent away their booty before the battle.

[3] τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφέλειαν ἐφῆκε ποιεῖσθαι προεξελλόμενος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ὅσα τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερώσειν ἔμελλε: τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν ἀπέδωκε.

[3] The effects belonging to the enemy he allowed the soldiers to take as spoils after he had first selected such a portion of them as he intend to consecrate to the gods; but the booty he restored to the owners.

[1] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆγεν εἰς Ῥώμην τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Οὐαλέριος ἦκεν, ἦν τ' ἀμφοτέροις μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἑλπίς ἐπιφανεῖς κατὰξιν θριάμβους. [p. 195]

[49.1] After accomplishing these things he led his forces back to Rome, and Valerius arrived at about the same time. Both of them, being greatly elated by their victories, expected to celebrate brilliant triumphs; however, the matter did not turn out according to their expectation.

[2] οὐ μὴν ἐχώρησέ γε αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐλπίδα τὸ ἔργον. συναχθεῖσα γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ κατεστρατοπεδευκόντων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον πεδιον, καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων μαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπινίκιον οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι θυσίαν πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐναντιωθέντων αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, μάλιστα δὲ Κλαυδίου Γαίου:

[2] For the senate, having been convened in their case while they lay encamped outside the city in the Field of Mars, as it was called, and being informed of the exploits of both, would not permit them to perform the triumphal sacrifice, since many of the senators opposed their demand openly,

[3] θεῖος δ' ἦν οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, Ἀππίῳ τῷ καταστησαμένῳ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ νεωστὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀναιρεθέντι: τοὺς τε κυρωθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν νόμους προβαλλομένου, δι' ὧν ἡλάττωσαν τὸ τῆς βουλῆς κράτος, καὶ τᾶλλα πολιτεύματα, ὅσα οὗτοι πολιτευόμενοι διετέλεσαν: τελευταίαν δὲ τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὓς προὔδωκαν τοῖς δημάρχοις, τῶν μὲν ἀπώλειαν, τῶν δὲ δήμευσιν, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας,

[3] and particularly Gaius Claudius, uncles, as I have stated, to Appius who had established the oligarchy and had been put to death recently by the tribunes. Claudius reproached them for the laws they had got enacted by which they had weakened the power of the senate and for the other policies they had constantly pursued; and, last of all, he told of the killing of some of the decemvirs, whom they had betrayed to the tribunes, and the confiscation of the estates of the others, in violation, as he claimed, of their oaths and covenants;

[4] διεξιόντος. τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συνομολογηθέντα τοῖς πατρικίοις πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐπ' ἀδεία τε πάντων γενέσθαι καὶ ἀμνηστία τῶν προτέρων: τὸν τ' Ἀππίου θάνατον οὐκ αὐτοχειρίᾳ γενέσθαι λέγοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιβούλως

ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων πρὸ δίκης, ἵνα μήτε λόγου τύχη κρινόμενος μήτ' ἔλθου, ὥς, εἰ κατέστη γοῦν εἰς κρίσιν ἀνὴρ, ἀπέφυγεν ἂν γένους ἀξίωμα παρεχόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τὸ κοινὸν εὖ πεποικῶς ὄρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἐπιβώμενος, αἷς ἄνθρωποι πιστεύοντες [p. 196] εἰς διαλλαγὰς συνέρχονται, τέκνα τε καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ταπεινὸν σχῆμα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ φέρων εἰς οἶκτον ἐφελκόμενα τὸ πλῆθος. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα κατηγορήματα τῶν ὑπάτων κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκχέαντος

[4] for he maintained that the compact entered into by the patricians with the plebeians had been made on the basis of a general amnesty and impunity for what was past. He added that Appius had not perished by his own hand, but by the treachery of the tribunes before his trial, in order that he might not by standing trial either get a chance to speak or obtain mercy, — as might well have been the case if the man had come into court citing in his defence his illustrious lineage and the many good services he had rendered to the commonwealth, appealing too to the oaths and pledges of good faith, on which men rely when accommodating their differences, bringing forward his children and relations, displaying even the humble garb of the suppliant, and doing many other things that move the multitude to compassion.

[5] Κλαυδίου Γαΐου, καὶ πάντων τῶν παρόντων, ἔδοξεν ἀγαπᾶν αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι δίκας· θριάμβων δὲ καταγωγῆς ἢ τινων τοιοῦτων συγχωρήσεων οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀξιους εἶναι τυγχάνειν.

[5] When Claudius had poured out all these accusations against the consuls and all who were present had expressed their approval, it was decided that the consuls ought to be content if they were not punished; but that they were not in the least worthy of celebrating triumphs or of gaining any concessions of that sort.

[1] ἀποψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὸν θριάμβον ἀγανακτοῦντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον καὶ δεινὴν ὕβριν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὑβρίζεσθαι συνεκάλεσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς κατηγορήσαντες, συναγορευσάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν δημάρχων καὶ νόμον εἰσηγησαμένων, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαμβάνουσι τὴν καταγωγὴν τοῦ θριάμβου, πρῶτοι Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων τοῦτο εἰσηγησάμενοι τὸ ἔθος.

[50.1] The senate having rejected their request for a triumph, Valerius and his colleague were indignant, and feeling that they had been grievously affronted, they called the multitude to an assembly; and after they had uttered many invectives against the senate and the tribunes had espoused their cause and introduced a law for the purpose, they obtained from the people the privilege of celebrating a triumph, being the first of all the Romans to introduce this custom.

[2] ἔκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν εἰς ἐγκλήματα καὶ διαφορὰς οἱ δημοτικοὶ καθίσταντο

πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους· παρῳξυνον δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ δῆμαρχοι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκκλησιάζοντες καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς λέγοντες. ἦν δ' ἡ μάλιστα ἐρεθίζουσα τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπόληψις, ἦν ἐκεῖνοι παρεσκεύασαν ἰσχυρὰν γενέσθαι, φήμαις τ' ἀδεσπότοις καὶ εἰκασμοῖς [p. 197] αὐξηθεῖσα οὐκ ὀλίγοις, ὥς καταλυσόντων τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς νόμους, οὓς ἐκύρωσαν οἱ περὶ Οὐαλέριον Ὑπατοί: δόξα τ' ἰσχυρὰ καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσα τοῦ πίστις εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς κατεῖχε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων πραχθέντα τῶν ὑπάτων ταῦτ' ἦν.

[2] This gave occasion to fresh accusations and quarrels on the part of the plebeians against the patricians; they were egged on by the tribunes, who called assemblies every day and uttered many invectives against the senate. But the thing which exasperated the masses most was the suspicion, which the tribunes had contrived to strengthen and was increased by unavowed reports and not a few conjectures, that the patricians were going to abolish the laws which had been enacted by Valerius and his colleague; and a strong opinion to this effect, which was little less than a conviction, possessed the minds of the masses. These were the events of that consulship.

[1] οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐξῆς ὑπατεῦσαντες ἐνιαυτὸν Λάρος Ἑρμίνιος καὶ Τίτος Οὐεργίνιος· καὶ οἱ παρὰ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, Μάρκος Γεγάνιος
...

[51.1] The consuls of the following year were Lar Herminius and Titus Verginius; and they were succeeded by Marcus Geganius
.

[1] μηδὲν δ' αὐτῶν ἀποκρινομένων, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτούντων παρελθὼν αὐθις Σκάπτιος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα: ἔχετ', ἔφη, παρακεχωρημένον, ἄνδρες πολῖται, παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν διαφορομένων, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἑαυτοῖς μηδὲν προσηκούσης ἀντιποιοῦνται: πρὸς ταῦτα ὀρῶντες τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ εὖορκα ψηφίσασθε.

[52.1] When they made no answer but continued to feel aggrieved, Scaptius again came forward to the tribunal and said: "There you have the admission, citizens, from our adversaries themselves that they are laying claim to territory of ours which in no wise belongs to them. Bearing this in mind, vote for what is just and in conformity with your oaths."

[2] ταῦτα τοῦ Σκαπτίου λέγοντος αἰδῶς εἰσῆει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐνθυμουμένους, ὥς οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' εὐπρεπὲς ἡ δίκη λήψεται τέλος, ἂν τινα ἀμφισβητουμένην ὑφ' ἐτέρων χώραν δικαστῆς αἰρεθεῖς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος μηδέποτ' αὐτῆς ἀντιποιησάμενος ἑαυτῷ προσδικάσῃ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἀφελόμενος· καὶ πολλοὶ σφῶδρα ἐλέχθησαν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ πράγματος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς βουλῆς λόγοι διακενῆς.

[2] While Scaptius was thus speaking, a sense of shame came over the consuls

as they considered that the outcome of this trial would be neither just nor seemly if the Roman people, when chosen as arbiters, should take away any disputed territory claimed by others and award it to themselves, after having never before put in a counter-claim to it; and a great many speeches were made by the consuls and by the leaders of the senate to avert this result, but in vain.

[3] οἱ γὰρ ἀνειληφότες [p. 198] τὰς ψήφους πολλὴν μωρίαν εἶναι λέγοντες ἑτέρους περιορᾶν τὰ σφέτερα κατέχοντας, καὶ οὐκ εὐσεβὲς ἐξοίσειν τέλος ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἐὰν Ἀρικηνοὺς ἢ Ἀρδεάτας κυρίους ἀποδείξωσι τῆς ἀμφισβητήσιμου γῆς ὁωμοκότες ὧν ἂν εὖρωσιν αὐτὴν οὕσαν τούτων ἐπικρινεῖν: τοῖς τε δικαζομένοις ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, ὅτι τοὺς ἀποστερουμένους αὐτῆς δικαστὰς ἠξίωσαν λαβεῖν, ἵνα μὴδ' ὕστερον ἔτι σφίσιν ἐγγένηται τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνακομίσασθαι κτῆσιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ μεθ' ὅρκου δικάσαντες ἑτέρων ἐπέγνωσαν εἶναι.

[3] For the people, when called to give their votes, declared it would be great folly to permit what was theirs to remain in the possession of others, and they thought they would not be rendering a righteous verdict if they declared the Aricians or the Ardeates to be the owners of the disputed land after having sworn to award it to those to whom they should find that it belonged. And they were angry with the contending parties for having asked to have as arbiters those who were being deprived of this land, with this end in view, that they might not even afterwards have it in their power to recover their own property which they themselves as sworn judges had decreed to belong to others.

[4] ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες τρίτον ἐκέλευσαν τεθῆναι καδίσκον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἐκάστην φυλὴν, εἰς ὃν ἀποθήσονται τὰς ψήφους: καὶ γίνεται πάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος τῆς ἀμφιλόγου χώρας κύριος. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπράχθη.

[4] The people, then, reasoning thus and feeling aggrieved, ordered a third urn, for the Roman commonwealth, to be placed before each tribe, into which they might put their voting tablets; and the Roman people were declared by all the votes to be the owners of the disputed land. These were the events of that consulship.

[1] Μάρκου δὲ Γενυκίου καὶ Γαίου Κοιντίου τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων αἱ πολιτικαὶ πάλιν ἀνίσταντο διαφοραὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἀξιούντων ἅπασιν Ῥωμαίοις ἐξεῖναι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν — τέως γὰρ οἱ πατρίκιοι μόνον μετήεσαν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς λοχίσις ἐκκλησίαις ἀποδεικνύμενοι — νόμον τε συγγράψαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν εἰσέφερον οἱ τότε δημαρχοῦντες ἐκτὸς ἐνὸς Γαίου Φουρνίου πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ συμφρονήσαντες, ἐν ᾧ τὸν δῆμον ἐποιοῦντο [p. 199] κύριον τῆς διαγνώσεως καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, εἴτε πατρίκιους βούλοιο μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατείαν

εἶτε δημοτικούς.

[53.1] When Marcus Genucius and Gaius Quintius had assumed office, the political quarrels were renewed, the plebeians demanding that it be permitted to all Romans to hold the consulship; for hitherto the patricians alone had stood for that office and been chosen in the centuriate assembly. And a law concerning the consular elections was drawn up and introduced by the tribunes of that year, all the others but one, Gaius Furnius, having agreed upon that course; in this law they empowered the populace to decide each year whether they wished patricians or plebeians to stand for the consulship.

[2] ἐφ' οἷς ἡγανάκτουν οἱ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ μετέχοντες συνεδρίου καταλυομένην τὴν ἐαυτῶν δυναστείαν ὀρῶντες καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν ὥοντο δεῖν πρότερον ἢ τὸν νόμον κύριον ἔἶσαι γενέσθαι: ὄργαι τε καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ ἀντιπράξεις ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς ἐν ἰδίοις τε συλλόγοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδους, ἀπάντων τῶν πατρικίων πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡλλοτριωμένων τοὺς δημοτικούς.

[2] At this the members of the senate were offended, seeing in it the overthrow of their own domination, and they thought they ought to endure anything rather than permit the law to pass; and outbursts of anger, recriminations and obstructions continually occurred both in private gatherings and in their general sessions, all the patricians having become to all the plebeians.

[3] καὶ λόγοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν προΐσταμένων τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐλέχθησαν, ἐπεικέστεροι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰομένων ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἁμαρτάνειν τοὺς δημοτικούς, τραχύτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν νομιζόντων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ φθόνου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα συγκεῖσθαι.

[3] Many speeches also were made in the senate and many in the meetings of the popular assembly by the leading men of the aristocracy, the more moderate by men who believed that the plebeians were misled through ignorance of their true interests and the harsher by men who thought that the measure was concocted as the result of a plot and of envy toward themselves.

[1] ἐλκομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου διακενῆς ἦκον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἄγγελοι λέγοντες, ὅτι πολλῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλουσιν ἐλαυνεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι, δεόμενοι βοήθειαν ἀποστεῖλαι σφίσι διὰ ταχέων ὥς ἐν τρίβῳ τοῦ πολέμου κειμένοις.

[54.1] While the time was dragging along with no result, messengers from the allies arrived in the city reporting that both the Aequians and the Volscians were about to march against them with a large army and begging that assistance might be sent them promptly, as they lay in the path of the war.

[2] ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ Τυρρηγῶν οἱ καλούμενοι Οὐιεντανοὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι

πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, Ἀρδεῖται τ' αὐτῶν οὐκέτι ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι τῆς ἀμφιλόγου χώρας ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, ἣν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος αἰρεθεὶς δικαστῆς αὐτῷ προσεδίκασεν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ.

[2] Those Tyrrhenians also who were called Veientes were said to be preparing for a revolt; and the Ardeates no longer gave allegiance to the Romans, being angry over the matter of the disputed territory which the Roman people, when chosen arbiters, had awarded to themselves the year before.

[3] ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ψηφίζεται στρατιὰν καταγράφειν [p. 200] καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐξάγειν δυνάμεις. ἀντέπραπτον δὲ τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέροντες ἔχουσι δ' ἐξουσίαν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δήμαρχοι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἀφαιρούμενοί τε τοὺς ἀγομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, καὶ τιμωρίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔωντες λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων.

[3] The senate, upon being informed of all this, voted to enrol an army and that both consuls should take the field. But those who were trying to introduce the law kept opposing the execution of their decisions (tribunes have authority to oppose the consuls) by liberating such of the citizens as the consuls were leading off to make them take the military oath and by not permitting the consuls to inflict any punishment on the disobedient.

[4] πολλὰ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξιούσης ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ τὴν φιλονεικίαν καταβαλεῖν, ὅταν δὲ τέλος οἱ πόλεμοι λάβωσι, τότε προτιθέναι τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν νόμον, οἶδε τοσούτου ἐδέησαν εἶξαι τοῖς καιροῖς, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναντιώσεσθαι τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς βουλῆς ἔλεγον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἑάσειν δόγμα περὶ οὐδενὸς κυρωθῆναι πράγματος, ἔαν μὴ τὸν ὑπ'

[4] And when the senate earnestly entreated them to put aside their contentiousness for the time being and only when the wars were at an end to propose the law concerning the consular elections, these men, far from yielding to the emergency, declared that they would oppose the decrees of the senate on any subject to be ratified unless the senate should approve by a preliminary decree the law they themselves were introducing.

[5] αὐτῶν εἰσφερόμενον προβουλεύσῃ νόμον. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτ' ἀπειλῆσαι προήχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὄρκους, οἵπερ εἰσὶ μέγιστοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πίστεως διομοσάμενοι, ἵνα μηδὲ τι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων αὐτοῖς πεισθεῖσιν ἐξῇ καταλύειν.

[5] And they were so far carried away that they thus threatened the consuls not only in the senate, nature in the assembly of the people, swearing the oath which to them is the most binding, namely by their good fortune, to the end that they might not be at liberty to revoke any of their decisions even if convinced of their error.

[1] πρὸς δὴ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ταύτας ἐσκόπουν, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, οἱ πρεσβύτατοί τε καὶ κορυφαίοτατοι τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, συναχθέντες [p. 201] εἰς τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν σύλλογον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοὶ καθ’

[55.1] In view of these threats the oldest and most prominent of the leaders of the aristocracy were assembled by the consuls in a private meeting apart by themselves and there considered what they ought to do.

[2] ἑαυτούς. Γάϊος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος ἥκιστα δημοτικὸς ὢν καὶ ταύτην διαδεδεγμένος ἐκ προγόνων τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐθαδεστέραν γνώμην εἰσέφερε, μήτε ὑπατείας μήτ’ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τῷ δήμῳ παραχωρεῖν μηδεμιᾶς· τοὺς δὲ τάναντία πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ὅπλοις κωλύειν, ἐὰν μὴ πείθωνται τοῖς λόγοις, φειδῶ μηδεμίαν ποιουμένους μήτ’ ἰδιώτου μήτ’ ἄρχοντος. ἅπαντας γὰρ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας τὰ πάτρια κινεῖν ἔθη καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πολιτεύματος τὸν ἀρχαῖον διαφθεῖρειν ἀλλοτρίους καὶ πολεμίους εἶναι τῆς πόλεως.

[2] Gaius Claudius, who by no means favoured the plebeians and had inherited this political creed from his ancestors, offered a rather arrogant motion not to yield to the people either the consulship or any other magistracy whatever, and, in the case of those who should attempt to do otherwise, to prevent them by force of arms, if they would not be convinced by arguments, giving no quarter to either private person or magistrate. For all who attempted to disturb the established customs and to corrupt their ancient form of government, he said, were aliens and enemies of the commonwealth.

[3] Τίτος δὲ Κοϊντίος οὐκ εἶα τῇ βίᾳ κατείργειν τὸ ἀντίπαλον, οὐδὲ δι’ ὅπλων καὶ δι’ αἵματος ἐμφυλίου χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ δημοτικόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δημάρχων σφίσιν ἐναντιωσομένων, οὓς ἱεροὺς εἶναι καὶ παναγεῖς ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ὅρκους κατ’ ἐξωλείας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων, ἐὰν τι παραβαίνωσι τῶν συγκεκριμένων, κατομοσάμενοι.

[3] On the other hand, Titus Quintius opposed restraining their adversaries by violence or proceeding against the plebeians with arms and civil bloodshed, particularly since they would be opposed by the tribunes, “whose persons our fathers had decreed to be sacred and sacrosanct, making the gods and lesser divinities sureties for the performance of their compact and swearing the most solemn oaths in which they invoked utter destruction upon both themselves and their posterity if they transgressed a single article of that covenant.”

[1] ταύτῃ προσθεμένων τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρακληθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Κλαύδιος· οὐκ ἄγνωῶ μὲν, ἔφησεν, ἡλικίων κρητὶς καταβληθήσεται συμφορῶν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψωμεν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοῦ νόμου ψῆφον λαβεῖν· οὐκ ἔχων δ’ ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὐδὲ δυνάμενος [p. 202] τοσούτοις οὓσιν μόνος ἀντιλέγειν, εἰκὼ τοῖς βουλήμασι

τοῖς ὑμετέροισι.

[56.1] This advice being approved of by all the others who had been invited to the meeting, Claudius resumed his remarks and said: “I am not unaware of how great calamities to us all a foundation will be laid if we permit the people to give their votes concerning this law. But being at a loss what to do and unable alone to oppose so many, I yield to your wishes.

[2] δίκαιον γὰρ ἀποφαινεσθαι μὲν ἕκαστον ἃ δοκεῖ τῷ κοινῷ συνοίσειν, πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων κριθεῖσιν. ἐκέينو μέντοι παραινεῖν ὑμῖν ὥς ἐν χαλεποῖς καὶ ἀβουλήτοις πράγμασιν ἔχω, τῆς μὲν ὑπατείας μήτε νῦν μήθ’ ὕστερον παραχωρεῖν μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν πατρικίων, οἷς μόνοις ὀσιὸν τε καὶ

[2] For it is right that every man should declare what he thinks will be of advantage to the commonwealth and then submit to the decision of the majority. However, this advice I have to give you, seeing that you are involved in a difficult and disagreeable business, — not to yield the consulship either now or hereafter to any but patricians, who alone are qualified for it by both religion and law.

[3] θεμιτὸν ἔστι τυγχάνειν: ὅταν δ’ εἰς ἀνάγκην κατακλεισθῇτε ὥσπερ νῦν μεταδιδόναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, χιλιάρχους τε ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποδείκνυτε, ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ὀρίσαντες ὅσον δὴ τινα — ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁκτὼ ἢ ἑξ ἀποχρῆς δοκεῖ — ἐν τε τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι μὴ ἐλάττονες ἀριθμὸν ἔστωσαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τῶν δημοτικῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες οὔτε τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν εἰς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους καταβαλεῖτε οὔτε δυναστείας ἀδίκους ἑαυτοῖς κατασκευάζεσθαι δόξετε μηδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ μεταδιδόντες τοῖς δημοτικοῖς.

[3] But whenever you are reduced, as at present, to the necessity of sharing the highest power and magistracy with the other citizens, appoint military tribunes instead of consuls, fixing their number as you shall think proper — in my opinion six or eight suffice — and of these men let the patricians not be fewer than the plebeians. For in doing this you will neither debase the consular office by conferring it upon mean and unworthy men nor will you appears to be devising for yourselves unjust positions of power by sharing no magistracy whatever with the plebeians.”

[4] ἐπαινεσάντων δ’ ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην καὶ οὐδενὸς τάναντία λέγοντος: ἀκούσας, ἔφη, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὑμῖν ἔχω παραινεῖν. ἡμέραν προειπόντες, ἐν ἣ τὸ προβούλευμα ἐπικυρώσετε καὶ τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, λόγον ἀπόδοτε τοῖς ἀπολογουμένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῦσι: ῥηθέντων δὲ τῶν λόγων, ὅταν καθήκη τὰς [p. 203] γνώμας ἐρωτᾶν, μήτ’ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ἄρξησθε μήτ’ ἀπὸ κοιντίου τουδὲ μήτ’ ἀπ’ ἄλλου τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδενός, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλοδημοτάτου τῶν βουλευτῶν Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀξιοῦτε Ὅρατιον εἶ τι βούλεται λέγειν. ὅταν δὲ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων γνώμας ἐξετάσητε, τότε τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμᾶς κελεύετε λέγειν.

[4] When all approved this opinion and none spoke in opposition, he said: "Hear now the advice I have for you consuls also. After you have appointed a day for passing the preliminary decree and the resolutions of the senate, give the floor to all who desire to say anything either in favour of the law or in opposition to it, and after they have spoken and it is time to ask for the expression of opinions, begin neither with me nor with Quintius here nor with anyone else of the older men, but rather with Lucius Valerius, who of all the senators is the greatest friend of the populace, and after him ask Horatius to speak, if he wishes to say anything. And when you have found out their opinions, then bid us older men to speak.

[5] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐναντιουμένην γνώμην τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀποδείξομαι πάσῃ τῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος — τουτὶ γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρει — τὸ δὲ περὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων πολιτευμα, εἰ βουλομένοις ἐστίν, εἰσηγεῖσθω Τίτος Γενύκιος οὗτος: πρεπωδεστάτῃ γὰρ ἡ γνώμη καὶ ὑποψίαν ἥκιστα παρέξουσα γένοιτ' ἂν, ἐὰν οὗτος αὐτὴν ὁ

[5] For my part, I shall deliver an opinion contrary to that of the tribunes, using all possible frankness, since this tends to the advantage of the commonwealth. As for the measure concerning the military tribunes, if it is agreeable, let Titus Genucius here propose it; for this motion will be the most fitting and will create the least suspicion, Marcus Genucius, if introduced by your brother here."

[6] σὸς ἀδελφός, ὦ Μάρκε Γενύκιε, λέγῃ. ἐδόκει καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ὑποτιθεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου, τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις δέος ἐνέπιπτε πρὸς τὴν ἀπόρρητον τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνουσίαν ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι τοῦ δήμου μεγάλῳ γενομένην, ἐπειδὴ κατ' οἰκίαν τε συνήδρευσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, καὶ οὐδένα τῶν προεστηκότων τοῦ δήμου κοινωνὸν τῶν βουλευμάτων παρέλαβον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συνέδριον αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν φιλοδημοτάτων συναγαγόντες ἀλεξήματα καὶ φυλακὰς ἀντεμηχανῶντο πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, αἷς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ὑπώπτευνον.

[6] This suggestion was also approved, after which they departed from the meeting. But as for the tribunes, fear fell upon them because of the secret conference of these men; for they suspected that it was calculated to bring some great mischief upon the populace, since the men had met in a private house and not in public and had admitted none of the people's champions to share in their counsels. Thereupon they in turn held a meeting of such persons as were most friendly to the populace and they set about contriving defences and safeguards against the insidious designs which they suspected the patricians would employ against them.

[1] ὥς δὲ καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔδει γενέσθαι, συγκαλέσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πολλὰς ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ εὐκοσμίας ποιησάμενοι [p. 204] παρακλήσεις πρῶτοις ἀπέδωκαν λέγειν τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις δημάρχους τὸν νόμον.

[57.1] When the time had come for the preliminary decree to be passed, the consuls assembled the senate and after many exhortations to harmony and good order they gave leave to the tribunes who had proposed the law to speak first.

[2] καὶ παρελθὼν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν Γάιος Κανολήιος περὶ μὲν τοῦ δίκαιον ἢ συμφέροντα εἶναι τὸν νόμον οὐτ' ἐδίδασκεν οὐτ' ἐμέμνητο: θαυμάζειν δ' ἔφη τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅτι βεβουλευμένοι τε καὶ κεκριότες ἤδη κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἀδοκίμαστον πρᾶγμα καὶ βουλῆς δεόμενον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπεχείρησαν εἰσφέρειν, καὶ λόγον ἀπέδωκαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς προαιρουμένοις, εἰρωνεῖαν εἰσάγοντες οὐτε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἡλικίας ἀρμόττουσαν, οὐτε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκουσαν.

[2] Then Gaius Canuleius, one of these, came forward and, without trying to show that the law was either just or advantageous or even mentioning that topic, said that he wondered at the consuls, who, after already consulting and deciding by themselves what should be done, had attempted to bring it before the senate as if it were a matter that had not been examined and required consideration, and had then given all who so chose leave to speak about it, thereby introducing a dissimulation unbecoming both to their age and to the greatness of their magistracy.

[3] πονηρῶν τ' ἀρχᾶς ἔφη πολιτευμάτων αὐτοὺς εἰσάγειν ἀπόρρητα βουλευτήρια συνάγοντας ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἅπαντας τοὺς βουλευτάς εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων συνέδρων τῶν ἀπελαθέντων τῆς κατοικιδίου βουλῆς ἦττον ἔφη θαυμάζειν, Μάρκου δὲ Ὀρατίου καὶ Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου τῶν καταλυσάντων τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὑπατικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐπιτηδεῖων τὰ κοινὰ βουλεύειν, τὴν ἀπαξίωσιν τῆς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παρακλήσεως ἐκπεπληῆχθαι, καὶ οὐ δύνασθαι συμβάλλειν ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ δικαίῳ, εἰκάζειν δὲ μίαν αἰτίαν, ὅτι πονηρὰς καὶ ἀσυμφόρους γνώμας εἰσηγεῖσθαι μέλλοντες κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο παρακαλεῖν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ συνέδρια τοὺς φιλοδημοτάτους, ἀγανακτήσαντας δηλονότι καὶ οὐ περιοφεμένους [p. 205] οὐδὲν ἄδικον πολιτεύμα κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενον.

[3] He said that they were introducing the beginnings of evil policies by assembling secret councils in private houses and by summoning to them not even all the senators, but only such as were most attached to themselves. He was not so greatly surprised, he said, that the other members had been excluded from this senatorial house party, but was astounded that Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius, who had overthrown the oligarchy, were ex-

consuls and were as competent as anyone for deliberating about the public interests, had not been thought worthy to be invited to the meeting. He could not imagine on what just ground this had been done, but he could guess one reason, namely that, as they intended to introduce wicked measures prejudicial to the plebeians, they were unwilling to invite to these councils the greatest friends of the populace, who would be sure to express their indignation at such proposals and would not permit any unjust measure to be adopted against the interests of the people.

[1] τοιαῦτα Γαΐου Κανοληίου μετὰ πολλοῦ σχετλιασμοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τῶν μὴ παραληφθέντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον βουλευτῶν πρὸς ὀργὴν δεξαμένων τὸ πρᾶγμα παρελθὼν ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γενύκιος ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πρᾶννειν τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ἐπειρᾶτο διδάσκων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν φίλους παραλάβοιεν, οὐχ ἵνα τι κατὰ τοῦ δήμου διαπράξαιντο, ἀλλ' ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων βουλευσάιντο, τί πράττοντες οὐδ' ὁποτέραν δόξουσιν ἐλαττοῦν τῶν αἱρέσεων, πότερον ταχεῖαν ἀποδιδόντες τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν ἢ

[58.1] When Canuleius had spoken thus with great indignation and the senators who had not been summoned to the council resented their treatment, Genucius, one of the consuls, came forward and endeavoured to justify himself and his colleague and to appease the anger of the others by telling them that they had called in their friends, not in order to carry out any design against the populace, but in order to consult with their closest intimates by what course they might appear to do nothing prejudicial to either one of the parties, whether by referring the consideration of the law to the senate promptly or doing so later.

[2] χρονιωτέραν. Ὅρατιον δὲ καὶ Οὐαλέριον οὐκ ἄλλης τινὸς χάριν αἰτίας μὴ παραλαβεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τις ὑποψία περὶ αὐτῶν παρ' ἀξίαν ἦ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ὥς μεταβεβλημένων τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας, ἐὰν ἄρα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας γένωνται γνώμης, τῆς ἀξιούσης ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου διάγνωσιν εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἅπασι τοῖς παραληφθεῖσιν ἢ συντομωτέρα διάγνωσις ἀμείνων ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῆς βραδυτέρας, πράττειν ὥς ἐκείνοις ἐφάνη.

[2] As for Valerius and Horatius, he said their only reason for not inviting them to the council had been to prevent the plebeians from entertaining any unwarranted suspicion of them as of men who had changed their political principles, in case they should embrace the other opinion, which called for putting off the consideration of the law to a more suitable occasion. But since all who had been invited to the meeting had felt that a speedy decision was preferable to a delayed one, the consuls were following the course thus favoured.

[3] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ θεοὺς ἐπομοσάμενος ἦ μὴν τάληθ' ἴλεγειν καὶ τοὺς

παρακληθέντας ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἔφη, πᾶσαν ἀπολύσεσθαι διαβολὴν οὐ λόγοις,

[3] Having spoken thus and sworn by the gods that he was indeed speaking the truth, and appealing for confirmation to the senators who had been invited to the meeting, he said that he would clear himself of every imputation, not by his words, but by his actions.

[4] ἀλλ' ἔργοις. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι κατηγορεῖν καὶ ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ νόμου διεξέλθωσι τὰ δίκαια, [p. 206] πρῶτους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρώτησιν τῆς γνώμης καταλέγειν οὐχὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ τιμιωτάτους τῶν βουλευτῶν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸ γέρας, οὐδὲ τοὺς δι' ὑποψίας ὄντας παρὰ τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χρηστὸν οὔτε λέγοντας οὔτε φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι φιλοδημοτάτους.

[4] For after all who desired to speak in opposition to the law or in favour of it had given their reasons, he would first call for questioning as to their opinions, not the oldest and the most honoured of the senators, to whom this privilege among others was accorded by established usage, nor those who were suspected by the plebeians of neither saying nor thinking anything that was to their advantage, but rather such of the younger senators as seemed to be most friendly to the populace.

[1] ὑποσχόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν τοῖς βουλομένοις λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κατηγορήσων οὔτ' ἀπολογησόμενος οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου παρήει, παρελθὼν αὖτις ἐρωτᾷ πρῶτον Οὐαλέριον, τί τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρει, καὶ τί προβουλευῆσαι τοῖς συνέδροις παραινέι.

[59.1] After making these promises he gave leave to any who so desired to speak; and when no one came forward either to censure the law or to defend it, he came forward again, and beginning with Valerius, asked him what was to the interest of the public and what preliminary vote he advised the senators to pass.

[2] ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς καὶ πολλοὺς διεξελθὼν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων λόγους ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρους προϋσταμένων, καὶ καταριθμησάμενος ἅπαντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς κατασχόντας τὴν πόλιν κινδύνους ἐκ τῶν τάναντία πολιτευομένων, τοῖς τ' ἀπεχθῶς ἐσχηκόσι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἅπασιν ἀλυσιτελὲς γενόμενον ἀποδείξας τὸ μισόδημον, ἐπαίνους τε πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ δήμου ποιησάμενος, ὡς αἰτιωτάτου τῇ πόλει γεγονότος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις διεξῆλθε, τελευτῶν ἔφη μὴ δύνασθαι πόλιν ἐλευθέραν εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τις τὴν ἰσότητ' ἀνέλῃ:

[2] Valerius, rising up, made a long speech concerning both himself and his ancestors, who, he said, had always been champions of the plebeian party to

the advantage of the commonwealth. He enumerated all the dangers from the beginning which had been brought upon it by those who pursued the contrary measures and showed that a hatred for the populace had been unprofitable to all those who had been actuated by it. He then said many things in praise of the people, alleging that they had been the principal cause not only of the liberty but also of the supremacy of the commonwealth. After enlarging upon this and similar themes, he ended by saying that no state could be free from which equality was banished;

[3] ἔφη τε δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν μὲν νόμον [p. 207] δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν ἀξιοῦντα πᾶσι μετεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς γε δὴ βίον ἀνεπίληπτον ἐσχηκόσι καὶ πράξεις ἀποδεδειγμένοις τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἀξίας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν οὐκ ἐπιτῆδειον εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διάγνωσιν ἐν πολεμικαῖς ὑπαρχούσης ταραχαῖς τῆς πόλεως:

[3] and he declared that to him the law, indeed, seemed just which gave a share in the consulship to all Romans, — to all, that is, who had led irreproachable lives and had performed actions worthy of that honour, — but he thought the occasion was not suitable for the consideration of this law when the commonwealth was in the midst of war's disturbances.

[4] συνεβούλευέ τε τοῖς μὲν δημάρχοις ἔαν τὴν καταγραφὴν γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον μὴ κωλύειν τῶν καταγραφέντων, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις, ὅταν τὸ κράτιστον τέλος ἐπιθῶσι τῷ πολέμῳ, πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὸ περὶ τοῦ νόμου προβούλευμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ γραφῆναι τ' ἤδη καὶ διομολογηθῆναι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων.

[4] He advised the tribunes to permit the enrolling of the troops and not to hinder them when enrolled from taking the field; and he advised the consuls, when they had ended the war in the most successful manner, first of all things to lay before the people the preliminary decree concerning the law. These proposals, he urged, should be reduced to writing at once and agreed to by both parties.

[5] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Οὐαλερίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ὅρατιου — δευτέρῳ γὰρ τούτῳ λόγον ἀπέδωκαν οἱ ὕπατοι — ταῦτ' ὁ πάθος ἅπασιν τοῖς παροῦσι συνέβη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸν νόμον βουλόμενοι τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνώσεως ἀγαπητῶς ἀκούσαντες, τὸ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπάναγκες εἶναι σφίσι προβουλεῦσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς ἀπεδέξαντο: οἱ δὲ κύριον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου κριθῆναι προαιρούμενοι τὸ μὲν ὡμολογημένον δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν νόμον ἀσμένως ἤκουον, τὸ δ' εἰς ἑτέρους ἐκπίπτειν χρόνους τὸ προβούλευμα πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐλάμβανον.

[5] This opinion of Valerius, which was supported by Horatius (For the consuls gave him leave to speak next), had the same effect upon all who were present. For those who desired to do away with the law, though pleased to hear that its

consideration was postponed, nevertheless accepted with anger the necessity of passing a preliminary decree concerning it after the war; while the others, who preferred to have the law approved by the senate, though glad to hear it acknowledged as just, were at the same time angry that the preliminary decree was put off to another time.

[1] θορύβου δέ, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ γενομένου διὰ τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτῆς εὐαρεστεῖν [p. 208] ἀμφοτέρους παρελθὼν ὁ ὕπατος τρίτον ἡρώτα Γάϊον Κλαύδιον, ὃς ἐδόκει τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς ἐτέρας τάξεως τῆς ἐναντιουμένης τοῖς δημοτικοῖς αὐθαδέστατος εἶναι καὶ δυνατώτατος.

[60.1] An uproar having broken out as the result of this opinion, as was to be expected, since neither side was pleased with all parts of it, the consul, coming forward, asked in the third place the opinion of Gaius Claudius, who had the reputation of being the most haughty and the most powerful of all the leaders of the other party, which opposed the plebeians.

[2] οὗτος ἐκ παρασκευῆς διεξῆλθε λόγον κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν, πάνθ' ὅσα ἔδοξε πώποτε ἐναντία τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς ὑπομιμνήσκων, οὗ κεφάλαιον ἦν, εἰς ὃ κατέσκηπτεν ἡ γνώμη, μηδεμίαν ἀποδιδόναι τῇ βουλῇ διάγνωσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου τοῦς ὑπάτους, μήτ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ μήτ' ὕστερον, ὥς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰσφερομένου καὶ συγχεῖν μέλλοντος ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας.

[2] This man delivered a prepared speech against the plebeians in which he called to mind all the things the populace had ever done contrary, as he thought, to the excellent institutions of their ancestors. The climax with which he ended his speech was the motion that the consuls should not permit to the senate any consideration of the law at all, either at that time or later, since it was being introduced for the purpose of overthrowing the aristocracy and was bound to upset the whole order of their government.

[3] γενομένου δέ πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἔτι πλείονος θορύβου τέταρτος ἀνίσταται κληθεὶς Τίτος Γενύκιος, ἀδελφὸς θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων: ὃς ὀλίγα διαλεχθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατεχόντων καιρῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι δεῖν ἀνάγκη τῶν χαλεπωτάτων θάτερον αὐτῇ συμπεσεῖν, ἢ διὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔριδας καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἰσχυρὰ τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ποιῆσαι πράγματα, ἢ τοῦς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφερομένους ἀποτρέψασθαι βουλομένη κακῶς τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ πολιτικὸν διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον:

[3] When even more of an uproar was caused by this motion, Titus Genucius, who was brother to one of the consuls, was called upon in the fourth place. He, rising up, spoke briefly about the emergencies confronting the city, how it was inevitable that one or the other of two most grievous evils should befall it, either through its civil strifes and rivalries to strengthen the cause of its enemies, or, from a desire to avert the attacks from the outside, to settle

ignominiously the domestic and civil war;

[4] ἔφησε, δεῖν ὄντων κακῶν, ὧν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἄκοντας ὑπομεῖναι, τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖν εἶναι λυσιτελέστερον, τὸ συγχωρῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ τὴν βουλὴν παρασπᾶσαι τι τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις [p. 209] τε καὶ πολεμίοις καταγέλαστον ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν.

[4] and he declared that, there being two evils to one or the other of which they were bound to submit unwillingly, it seemed to him to be more expedient that the senate should permit the people to usurp a portion of the orderly constitution of the fathers rather than make the commonwealth a laughing-stock to other nations and to its enemies.

[5] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τὴν δοκιμασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παραγεννηθέντων ἐν τῷ κατ' οἰκίαν συνεδρίῳ γνώμην εἰσέφερεν, ἣν εἰσηγήσατο Κλαύδιος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ἀποδειχθῆναι, τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων, τρεῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν δημοτικών, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ὑπατικήν: ὅταν δὲ τελῶσιν οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ καθήκη νέας ἀρχᾶς ἀποδεικνυσθαι, τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐθις συνελθόντας διαγνῶναι, πότερον ὑπάτους ἢ χιλιάρχους βούλονται παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἅπασι δόξη ψῆφον ἐπενέγκασι, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον. ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν.

[5] Having said this, he offered the motion which had been approved by those who had been present at the meeting held in a private house, the motion made by Claudius, as I related, to the effect that, instead of consuls, military tribunes should be appointed, three from the patricians and three from the plebeians, these to have consular authority; that after they had completed the term of their magistracy and it was time to appear the new magistrates, the senate and people should again assemble and decide whether they wished consuls or military tribunes to assume the office, and that whichever course met with the approval of all the voters should prevail; moreover, that the preliminary decree should be passed each year.

[1] ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Γενουκίου πολὺς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνιστάμενοι μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες ταῦτα συνεχώρουν κράτιστα εἶναι. γράφεται δὴ τὸ προβούλευμα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸ μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς οἱ δήμαρχοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα καλέσαντες τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, πολλοὺς διέθεντο τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαίνους, καὶ παραγγέλλειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἐθέλουσι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἅμα τοῖς πατρικίοις.

[61.1] This motion of Genucius was received with general applause, and almost all who rose up after him conceded that this was the best course. The preliminary decree was accordingly drawn up by order of the consuls; and the tribunes, receiving it with great joy, proceeded to the Forum. Then they called an assembly of the people, and after giving much praise to the senate, urged

such of the plebeians as cared to do so to stand for this magistracy together with the patricians.

[2] οὕτω δ' ἄρα κοῦφόν τι πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία διχα λόγου γινομένη καὶ ταχὺ μεταπίπτον ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη, μάλιστα δ' ἢ τῶν ὄχλων, ὥσθ' οἱ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι τέως τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταλαβεῖν καὶ, εἰ μὴ δοθείη τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ἢ καταλείψοντες τὴν [p. 210] πόλιν ὡς πρότερον, ἢ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων αὐτὸ ληψόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ συγχῶρημα ἔλαβον, ἀπέστησαν εὐθύς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπὶ θάτερον μετέβαλον.

[2] But such a fickle thing, it seems, is desire apart from reason and so quickly does it veer the other way, particularly in the case of the masses, that those who hitherto had regarded it as a matter of supreme importance to have a share in the magistracy and, if this were not granted to them by the patricians, were ready either to abandon the city, as they had done before, or to seize the privilege by force of arms, now, when they had obtained the concession, promptly relinquished their desire for it and transferred their enthusiasm in the opposite direction.

[3] πολλῶν γέ τοι δημοτικῶν παραγγελλόντων τὴν χιλιarchίαν καὶ κατεσπουδασμένας ποιουμένων τὰς δεήσεις, οὐδένα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἄξιον εἶναι ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ γενόμενοι τῆς ψήφου κύριοι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων μετιόντας αὐτὴν ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς χιλιάρχους ἀποδεικνύουσιν, Αὔλον Σεμπρώνιον Ἀτρατῖνον καὶ Λεύκιον Ἀτίλιον Λοῦσκον καὶ Τίτον Κλύλιον Σικελόν.

[3] At any rate, though many plebeians stood for the military tribuneship and used the most earnest solicitations to obtain it, the people thought none of them worthy of this honour but, when they came to give their votes, chose the patrician candidates, men of distinction, namely Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius Luscus and Titus Cloelius Siculus.

[1] οὗτοι παραλαμβάνουσι πρῶτοι τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Διφίλου. μετασχόντες δ' αὐτῆς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἡμέρας ἀποτίθενται κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐθισμόν ἐκούσιοι, θεοπέμπτων τινῶν σημείων κωλυτηρίων αὐτοῖς τοῦ

[62.1] These men were the first to assume the proconsular power, in the third year of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Diphilus was archon at Athens. But after holding it for only seventy-three days they voluntarily resigned it, in accordance with the ancient custom, when some heaven-sent omens occurred to prevent their continuing to conduct the public business.

[2] πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ γενομένων. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπειπαμένων ἢ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα μεσοβασιλεῖς ἀποδείκνυσι. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προειπόντες ἀρχαιρέσια καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν διάγνωσιν ἀποδιδόντες, εἴτε βούλεται

χιλιάρχους εἴτε ὑπάτους ἀποδείξαι, κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθισμοῖς, ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν πατρικίων μετιέναι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν· καὶ γίνονται πάλιν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ὕπατοι Λεύκιος Παπίριος Μογιλλᾶνος καὶ Λεύκιος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀτρατῖνος, ἐνδὸς [p. 211]

[2] After these men had abdicated their power, the senate met and chose interreges, who, having appointed a day for the election of magistrates, left the decision to the people whether they desired to choose military tribunes or consuls; and the people having decided to abide by their original customs, they gave leave to such of the patricians as so desired to stand for the consulship. Two of the patricians were again elected consuls, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, brother to one of the men who had resigned the military tribuneship.

[3] τῶν ἀποθεμένων τὴν χιλιarchίαν ἀδελφός. αὗται δύο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχαὶ Ῥωμαίων αἱ τὸ μέγιστον ἔχουσαι κράτος ἐγένοντο: πλὴν οὐκ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς Ῥωμαικαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἀμφοτέραι φέρονται, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς μὲν οἱ χιλιάρχοι μόνον, ἐν αἷς δ' οἱ ὕπατοι, ἐν οὐ πολλαῖς δ' ἀμφοτέροι, αἷς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἄνευ λογισμοῦ συγκατατιθέμεθα, πιστεύοντες δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τε καὶ ἀποθέτων βιβλίων μαρτυρίαις.

[3] These two magistracies, both invested with the supreme power, governed the Romans in the course of the same year. However, both are not recorded in all the Roman annals, but in some the military tribunes only, in others the consuls, and in a few both of them. I agree with the last group, not without reason, but relying on the testimony of the sacred and secret books.

[4] ἄλλο μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς οὔτε πολεμικὸν οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἔργον ἱστορίας ἄξιον ἐπράχθη, συνθήκαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν ἐγένοντο περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ συμμαχίας: ἐπρεσβεύσαντο γὰρ ἀποτιθέμενοι τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐγκλήματα παρακαλοῦντες φίλοι Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχοι. ταύτας τὰς συνθήκας τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχεῖον ἐπεκύρωσε.

[4] No event, either military or civil, worthy of the notice of history happened during their magistracy, except a treaty of friendship and alliance entered into with the Ardeates; for these, dropping their complaints about the disputed territory, had sent ambassadors, asking to be admitted among the friends and allies of the Romans. This treaty was ratified by the consuls.

[1] τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ πάλιν ὑπάτους ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου κατασταθῆναι παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν τῇ διχομνήιδι τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Μάρκος Γεγάνιος Μακερῖνος τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ Τίτος Κοίντιος Καπιτωλῖνος τὸ πέμπτον.

[63.1] The following year, the people having voted that consuls should again be appointed, Marcus Geganius Macerinus (for the second time) and Titus

Quintius Capitolinus (for the fifth time) entered upon the consulship on the ides of December.

[2] οὗτοι διδάξαντες τὴν βουλὴν, ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πράγματα διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν ὑπάτων στρατείας ἡμελημένα παρεῖται, πάντων δ' ἀναγκαιότατον τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν βίων νόμιμον, ἐξ ὧν ὁ τ' ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἐγινώσκετο καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσφορὰς ἕκαστον τελεῖν, οὐδεμιᾶς τιμήσεως ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα [p. 212] ἐτῶν γενομένης ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκίου Κορνηλίου καὶ Κοίντου Φαβίου ὑπατείας: ὥστε καταλιπεῖν οἱ πονηρότατοί τε καὶ ἀσελγέστατοι Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τόπον μεταλαμβάνειν, ἐν ᾧ περίεστι ζῆν αὐτοῖς, ὡς προήρηνται.

[2] These men pointed out to the senate that many things had been overlooked and neglected by reason of the continuous military expeditions of the consuls, and particularly the most essential matter of all, the custom relating to the census, by which the number of such as were of military age was ascertained, together with the amount of their fortunes, in proportion to which every man was to pay his contributions for war. There had been no census for seventeen years, since the consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius, so that . . . the basest and most licentious of the Romans shall leave (be left?), but remove to some place in which they may live as they have elected to live.

The Biography



Relief found in Neumagen near Trier: a teacher with three discipuli, c. AD 185. In Rome Dionysius was a teacher of rhetoric, most likely giving private lessons; in one of his treatises addressed to a pupil he refers to 'our daily exercises.'

INTRODUCTION TO DIONYSIUS by Earnest Cary



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LIFE OF DIONYSIUS

THE few facts known about the life of Dionysius are virtually all given us by the author himself. At the close of the preface to the *Roman Antiquities* (chap. 8) he announces himself as Dionysius, the son of Alexander, and a native of Halicarnassus. He also informs us (chap. 7) that he had come to Italy at the time when Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war in the middle of the 187th Olympiad (late in 30 B.C. or in 29), and that he had spent the following twenty-two years in acquainting himself with the language and the literature of the Romans, in gathering his materials, and in writing his History. The preface is dated (chap. 3) in the consulship of Nero and Piso (7 B.C.), and the first part, at least, of the work must have been published at that time. It is generally assumed that the entire History appeared then; but in Book VII. (70, 2) Dionysius refers to Book I. as having been already published. This leaves it an open question in how many instalments and at what intervals he issued the work. We do not know the exact date of his birth; but two casual statements in the History enable us to fix it within certain limits. He cites the disastrous campaign of Crassus against the Parthians as an event of his own lifetime (ii. 6, 4); and in describing the erection of the original Capitol he states that the new edifice, 'built in the days of our fathers,' stood on the same foundations as the old (iv. 61, 4). The first of these passages shows that he was born at least as early as 53, and perhaps as early as 54 or 55, since the reference may very well be to the whole Parthian expedition. The second allusion is more indefinite. The new Capitol, begun by Sulla shortly after the burning of the old structure in 83, was formally dedicated by Catulus in 69; nevertheless, as late as the beginning of 62 Caesar, in bringing charges of embezzlement against Catulus, claimed that many parts of the temple were still but half finished and accordingly wished to have Pompey entrusted with the completion of the work. We do not know how much justification there was for Caesar's action, though it is evident that it was primarily a political move; in any case, he was unsuccessful, and Catulus' name remained on the pediment of the temple. Whether Dionysius knew of Caesar's charges or attached any importance to them we can only conjecture. Egger, taking these charges seriously, argued that Dionysius must have been born after 63; yet it is just as natural to believe that the historian dated the temple by the official dedication. The two passages, then, give as extreme limits for the date of Dionysius' birth 69 and 53, with some possibility of the narrower limits of 62 and 55. Modern scholars have generally assumed a date between 60 and 55, from the feeling that Dionysius must have been a fairly young man when he came to Rome and undertook to master a new language and literature. The only other reference in an ancient author to the time when Dionysius lived is even more indefinite than those just quoted. Strabo (ca. 63 B.C. — ca. 21 A.D.), in speaking of Halicarnassus, names, as authors who claimed that city as their birthplace,

Herodotus, Heracleitus the poet, and, 'in our time,' Dionysius the historian (xiv. 2, 16).

Halicarnassus had declined greatly in importance after the time of Maussolus, and finally suffered grievously at the hands of the pirates not far from the time when Dionysius was born. It was given a new lease of life by Quintus Cicero while he was serving as governor of Asia (61-58), if we may believe the enthusiastic tribute paid him by his brother. Such was the city in which Dionysius apparently spent his youth and early manhood. Whether he composed any of his rhetorical treatises while still residing there is uncertain; but it is generally held that they were all written at Rome.

In Rome Dionysius was a teacher of rhetoric, probably giving private lessons; in one of his treatises addressed to a pupil he refers to 'our daily exercises.' From these shorter works, which took the form of letters addressed to friends, patrons or pupils, we learn the names of a number of his friends and associates; but unfortunately they are, with one or two exceptions, otherwise unknown to us. Aelius Tubero may have been the historian and jurist who was consul in 11 B.C., the same historian who is praised in the *Antiquities* (i. 80, 1). Melitius Rufus, a pupil, and his father, whom Dionysius calls a most valued friend, were evidently Romans. Cn. Pompcius Geminus may well have been a Greek, in spite of his name; Ammaeus also was probably a Greek, and so almost certainly were Demetrius and Zeno. Caecilius of Calacte, who is styled a dear friend, was a rhetorician and historian of whom a good deal is known. In the introduction to the *History* (chap. 7) Dionysius states that he gained some of his information orally from most learned men (Romans by implication) with whom he came in contact. It would be interesting indeed to know the names of some of these men and how intimately he associated with them; but, with the possible exception of Aelius Tubero, he nowhere names a contemporary Roman author, although he pays tribute to the many excellent works that were being produced in his day, — histories, speeches and philosophical treatises, — by both Romans and Greeks. From the circumstance that he gives particular credit to the ruling classes of Rome for the recent purification of literary taste, Roberts suggests that he may have been 'influenced more directly... by the Roman men of affairs with whom (or with whose sons) his vocation brought him into contact than by any Roman man of letters.' One avowed purpose in writing his *History* was to make a grateful return to Rome for the education and other advantages he had enjoyed there; and this certainly suggests that he felt he had been made welcome in Rome.

We have no information regarding the date of his death. If he was the author of the summary of his *History* in five books which Photius (Cod. 84) attributes to him, he doubtless wrote this after the publication of the large work, and so must have lived for some little time at least after 7 B.C. There are several passages in his shorter works in which he promises to discuss this or that topic 'if I have the time,' or 'if it is possible,' or 'if Heaven keeps us

safe and sound.' These have sometimes been taken to indicate that he was already an old man or in poor health; but it is by no means necessary to put such a construction upon his words.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

The work which Dionysius undoubtedly regarded as his masterpiece and the practical embodiment of his theories regarding historical writing was the *Roman Antiquities*. It treated the history of Rome from the earliest legendary times down to the beginning of the First Punic War, the point at which Polybius' history began. The work was in twenty books, of which the first ten are preserved, together with the greater part of the eleventh. Of the remaining books we have fragments amounting all told to a little more than the average length of one of the earlier books. Most of these fragments come from the great collection of historical extracts made at the direction of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus in the tenth century.

In his preface Dionysius lays down two principles as fundamental for historians, first, that they should choose subjects noble and lofty and of great utility to their readers, and, second, that they should use the greatest care and discrimination in gathering their materials. He then proceeds to justify his own choice of subject and to describe the careful preparation he had made for his task. In two chapters, obviously imitated from Polybius' introduction, he gives a brief survey of the empires of the past, from the Assyrian to the Macedonian, with a glance at the Greek hegemonies, and points out how greatly Rome had surpassed them all, both in the extent of her dominion and in the length of time it had already endured. He then undertakes to answer the anticipated criticism of those who might censure him for choosing the humble beginnings of Rome as his particular theme when there were so many glorious periods in her later history that would furnish excellent subjects. He declares that the Greeks for the most part were ignorant of Rome's early history, having been misled by baseless reports that attributed the founding of the city to some homeless wanderers, at once barbarians and slaves, and hence were inclined to rail at Fortune for unfairly bestowing the heritage of the Greeks upon the basest of barbarians. He promises to correct these erroneous impressions and to prove that Rome's founders were in reality Greeks, and Greeks from no mean tribes; he will also show that Rome from the very beginning produced countless instances of men as pious, just and brave as any other city ever did, and that it was due to these early leaders and to the customs and institutions handed down by them that their descendants advanced to so great power. Thus he hopes to reconcile his Greek readers to their subjection to Rome. He points out that there had been no accurate history of Rome written by Greeks, but only summary accounts, and even the Romans who had written histories of their country in Greek had passed lightly over events occurring before their own days. He feels, therefore, that in this earlier period of Rome's history he has found a noble theme virtually untouched as yet. By treating this period adequately he will confer immortal glory upon those worthy men of early Rome and encourage their descendants

to emulate them in leading honourable and useful lives; at the same time he will have the opportunity of showing his goodwill toward all good men who delight in the contemplation of great and noble deeds, and also of making a grateful return to Rome for the cultural advantages and other blessings that he had enjoyed while residing there. He declares, however, that it is not for the sake of flattering the Romans that he has turned his attention to this subject, but out of regard for truth and justice, the proper objects of every history. He then describes his preparation for his task, — the twenty-two years he had spent in familiarizing himself with the language and literature of the Romans, the oral information he had received from the most learned men, and the approved Roman histories that he had read. Finally, he announces the period of Roman history to be covered in his work and the topics to be treated. He will relate the wars waged by Rome with other peoples and the seditions at home, her various forms of government, the best of her customs and the most important of her laws; in short, he will picture the whole life of the ancient city. As regards the form of his History, it will not be like the works of those who write of wars alone or treat solely of political constitutions, nor will it be monotonous and tiresome like the annalistic histories of Athens; but it will be a combination of every style, so as to appeal alike to statesmen and to philosophers as well as to those who desire mere undisturbed entertainment in their reading of history.

More than once in the course of his History (v. 56, xi. 1; cf. vii. 66) Dionysius interrupts his narrative to insist on the importance of acquainting the reader not only with the mere outcome of events, but also with the causes, remote as well as proximate, that led up to them, the circumstances in which the events occurred and the motives of the chief participants, — in fact, the whole background of the action. Such information, he says, is of the utmost importance to statesmen, in order that they may have precedents for the various situations that may confront them and may thus be able to persuade their fellow-citizens when they can adduce numerous examples from the past to show the advantage or the harm of a given course of action. Dionysius here shows an understanding of the true function of history, as he does also, in a measure, in his various protestations of devotion to the truth, though he nowhere sets up such a strict standard of absolute impartiality as did Polybius (i. 14, 4).

Unfortunately, in spite of these high ideals which Dionysius tried to keep before him, his *Antiquities* is an outstanding example of the mischievous results of that unnatural alliance between rhetoric and history which was the vogue after the time of Thucydides. The rhetoricians regarded a history as a work of art whose primary purpose was to give pleasure. Events in themselves seem to have been considered as of less importance than the manner in which they were presented. Hence various liberties could be taken with the facts in order to produce a more telling effect; and as long as this was done not out of fear or favour, but simply from the desire to make the account more effective,

the writer was not conscious of violating the truth. Dionysius doubtless thought that he was living up to his high ideals; but he was first and foremost a rhetorician and could see history only through a rhetorician's eyes. The desire to please is everywhere in evidence; there is a constant straining after rhetorical and dramatic effects.

In conformity with the rhetorical tradition, he interlarded his narrative with speeches which he managed to insert on every possible occasion from the third book onward. One technical purpose which they were intended to serve — to give variety to the narrative — is clear from the very circumstance that there are scarcely any speeches at all in Books I. and II., which have a sufficiently diversified narrative to require no further efforts at variety, whereas from Book III. onward the speeches occupy very nearly one-third of the total text. Dionysius himself occasionally felt the need of some justification of his insertion of so many speeches and argued that, inasmuch as the crisis under consideration was settled by discussion, it was therefore important for the reader to know the arguments that were advanced on both sides (vii. 66; xi. 1). Yet he had no adequate conception of the talents required for carrying out this ambitious programme successfully. Possessing neither the historical sense nor psychological insight, nor even any special gift of imagination, he undertook to compose speeches for any and all occasions by the simple process of following certain stereotyped rhetorical rules. The main argument of many of his speeches he doubtless found already expressed in his sources, either in some detail or in the form of a brief résumé, while in other cases there was probably a mere form of statement that implied a speech at that point, numerous instances of each of these methods can be seen in Livy (who was not one of his sources) on the occasions where Dionysius inserts a speech. But it was little more than the main argument at best that he took over from his sources in most of the speeches of any length. The speeches were the part of a history in which the author was expected to give the freest reign to his rhetorical talents; and that Dionysius did not fail to make full use of this opportunity is evident from the many imitations of the classical Attic prose writers that are found in his speeches. One of his fundamental principles for the acquiring of a good style was the imitating of classical models, and in the speeches of the *Antiquities* we see how it was to be done. Not only do we find single phrases and sentences from Demosthenes, Thucydides and Xenophon paraphrased and amplified, but even the tenor of entire passages in those authors is imitated. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that these speeches fail almost completely to perform their true function of revealing the character and the motives of the different speakers. Nor are they redeemed by any profound thoughts, unless in the imitated passages, or by any original sentiments; for the most part they are little more than a succession of cheap platitudes and rhetorical commonplaces. Indeed, we might almost believe at times that we were reading the declamations of Dionysius' own pupils.

It has generally been suspected that Dionysius invented a good many of his

speeches outright, inserting them at points where there was no indication of any speech in his sources. One fairly clear instance of the sort is found in his account of Coriolanus (viii. 5-8). After giving much the same account as Livy does of the trick played on the Romans by Attius Tullus at Coriolanus' suggestion in order to provoke them into giving the Volscians a just cause for going to war, Dionysius then represents Coriolanus as summoned by the Volscian leaders to advise them how best to prosecute the war. Coriolanus, in a speech clearly modelled upon the one addressed to the Spartans by the exiled Alcibiades (Thuc vi. 89 ff.), says much by way of self-justification, and finally offers a fresh plan for providing the Volscians with a just ground for war. There is no valid excuse for this second plan, the first one having already proved successful; Dionysius clearly wished to offer a parallel in his History to the famous episode in Thucydides. It is quite probable that several other speeches in this long account of Coriolanus also originated with Dionysius. Yet it must be remembered that he drew largely on the late annalists, some of whose histories were very voluminous; and he may have found at least hints of speeches more frequently than has generally been supposed.

Quite in keeping with the tiresome speeches of the *Antiquities* are the long, circumstantial accounts of such events as Dionysius chose to emphasize in his narrative, and the cumulation of pathetic or gruesome details in tragic situations. His account of the combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii, followed by Horatius' slaying of his sister, occupies ten chapters (iii. 13-22) as against but three in Livy (i. 24-26); and there is even a greater disproportion in the length of their accounts of the events leading up to the combat (Dionys, iii. 2-12, Livy i. 22 f.) due in part to several long speeches in Dionysius. The outstanding instance of prolixity in the *Antiquities* is the account of Coriolanus. The events leading up to his exile (including 15 speeches) require 48 chapters (vii. 20-67), whereas Livy relates them in one-half of a single chapter (ii. 34, 7-12); the remaining events to the end of his life are told by Dionysius in 62 chapters (viii. 1-62), and by Livy in 6 (ii. 35-40). Almost everywhere in the extant portions of Dionysius his account is longer than that of Livy; but this relative fullness of detail was not maintained to the end of the History. To the struggle between the orders and to the Samnite wars he devoted less than four books (part of xiv and xv.-xvii), where Livy has more than six (vi.-xi and part of xii.). In other words, for events nearer his own day, for which the traditions should have been fuller and more reliable, he contented himself with a briefer narrative than for the earlier periods, which for most historians had been full of doubt and uncertainty, thereby exactly reversing the logical procedure of Livy. An exception is seen in his detailed account of the war with Pyrrhus, a war which aroused his special interest for more reasons than one. Nowhere is his fondness for minute detail more out of place than in his accounts of tragic events, such as the encounter of the triumphant Horatius with his sister, Tullia's behaviour when she forces the driver of her car to continue on his way over the dead body of

her father, the grief of Lucretius when his daughter slays herself, Verginius' slaying of his own daughter, and Veturia's visit to the camp of her son Coriolanus. By his constant effort to make us realize the full pathos or horror of the scene he defeats his own purpose. The dignified restraint shown by Livy in relating these same events is far more impressive.

Dionysius perhaps felt that he was making a distinct contribution toward the solidarity of the Graeco-Roman world when he undertook to prove, as his principal thesis, the Greek origin of Rome's founders. Not only did he trace the Aborigines back through the Oenotrians to Arcadia, but he even showed that the ancestors of the Trojans had come originally from that same district of Greece; other Greek elements represented in the population of early Rome were the Pelasgians, naturally of Greek origin, Evander and his company from Arcadia, and some Peloponnesian soldiers in the following of Hercules, who had remained behind in Italy when that hero passed through the peninsula on his return from Spain to Argos. None of the various details of this theory was original with Dionysius, for he cites his authorities at every step; but he may have been the first to combine these separate strands of tradition into a single, comprehensive argument. The entire first book is devoted to the proving of this thesis; and the argument is further strengthened at the end of Book VII. by a detailed comparison of the ceremonies at the Ludi Romani with early Greek religious observances. As we saw from his introduction, he hoped by this demonstration to reconcile his fellow Greeks to Rome's supremacy; at the same time, he obviously understood the Romans of his day well enough to realize that, far from regarding Rome's glory as thereby diminished in any way, they would feel flattered by the thought of such a connexion with the heroic age of Greece. Incidentally, the proving of his thesis afforded him an excellent opportunity for dealing with the legendary period and thus giving greater variety to his work. But the acceptance of this theory was bound to give him an inverted view of the course of Roman history. Instead of recognizing the gradual evolution of the people and their institutions from very rude beginnings, he sees an advanced stage of civilization existing from the very first; and Rome's kings and later leaders are in such close contact with the Greek world that they borrow thence most of the new institutions that they establish from time to time. Thus he assumes that the *celeres*, the senate, the two consuls with joint powers, and the custom whereby the members of each *curia* dined together on holy days, were all based on Spartan models; that the division of the citizens into patricians and plebeians followed a similar division at Athens; that Servius Tullius organized a Latin League on the analogy of the Amphictyonic League of Greece, and that even the dictatorship was suggested by the practice followed in various Greek cities of appointing an *aisymnetes* to deal with a particular emergency. Dionysius probably found most, if not all, of these institutions thus explained in his sources; in about half of the instances he qualifies his statement by the words 'in my opinion,' but this does not seem a sufficient criterion for deciding the

authorship of these views.

Dionysius is so ready to praise Rome's ancient heroes and institutions on every occasion, with never a word of disapprobation, that his impartiality may well be questioned. On a number of occasions he praises the piety and other virtues of the early Romans, which secured for them the special favour of Heaven; once (xx. 6) he styles them the most holy and just of Greeks. A number of their laws and practices, especially some of those said to have been instituted by Romulus, are declared to be superior to those in vogue among the Greeks. Thus, Romulus' policy of colonizing captured cities and sometimes even granting them the franchise is contrasted with the ruthless practices of the leading Greek states and their narrow-minded policy of withholding the rights of citizenship from outsiders (ii. 16 f., xiv. 6); and his laws regarding marriage and the *patria potestas* are described as better than the corresponding Greek practices (ii. 24-27). Romulus is praised also for rejecting such of the myths as attributed any unseemly conduct to the gods and all grosser forms of religious worship (ii. 18 f.). Indeed, our historian even approves of the Roman censorship, the inquisitorial powers of which were not limited, as in Athens and Sparta, to the public behaviour of the citizens, but extended even inside the walls of private homes (xx. 13). But it is not the Greeks alone who are contrasted unfavourably with the old Romans; Dionysius is just as ready to point out to the Romans of his own day their failure to maintain the high standards set by their ancestors. He contrasts the spirit of mutual helpfulness and forbearance that characterized the relations of the plebeians and patricians in the early days with the era of bloodshed that began under Gaius Gracchus (ii. 11); similarly, he praises the simplicity of the first triumph (ii. 34), the excellent grounds on which Servius Tullius granted the franchise to manumitted slaves (iv. 24), the deference shown by the early consuls to the authority of the senate (v. 60), and the lawful and modest behaviour of the dictators down to the time of Sulla (v. 77), contrasting each of these practices and institutions with the evil forms they assumed in later days. In one instance (viii. 80) he leaves it to the reader to decide whether the traditional Roman practice or the practice of the Greeks which some had recently wished to introduce at Rome, was the better. The pointing of all these contrasts is part of the historian's function as moralist, the function which he had in mind when in his *Letter to Pompeius* (chap. 3) he said that the attitude of Herodotus toward the events he was describing was everywhere fair, showing pleasure in those that were good and grief at those that were bad. Dionysius doubtless endeavoured to be fair and sincere in his judgments; but he was, nevertheless, biased in favour of the Romans and in favour of the senatorial party, the Optimates of his own day. He even attempts to palliate one or two of the less savoury incidents associated with Rome's beginnings: he pictures Romulus as plunged into the depths of grief and despair at the death of Remus; and again, as addressing words of comfort and cheer to the captured Sabine maidens, assuring them that their seizure was in accordance

with a good old Greek custom, and that it was the most distinguished way for women to be married! Livy makes no attempt to save the character of Romulus in the first instance, and in the second stops far short of Dionysius.

In the matter of religion, also, Dionysius makes no concealment of his attitude. He frequently refers to a divine providence. He speaks scornfully of the professors of atheistic philosophies, 'if philosophies they should be called,' who deny that the gods concern themselves with the affairs of mortals (ii. 68, 2; viii. 56, 1). He, for his part, is assured that the gods do sometimes intervene on behalf of the righteous (ii. 68 f.) and also to punish the wicked, as in the case of Pyrrhus (xx. 9 f.). The Romans, in particular, because of their piety and other virtues, had frequently been the recipients of divine favour, while the designs of their enemies were brought to naught (v. 54, 1; vi. 13; vii. 12, 4; viii. 26, 3). The gods, he holds, manifest their will through portents, and the disregarding of these may be severely punished, as in the case of Crassus (ii. 6. 4). Hence he recorded from time to time a goodly number of portents which he regarded as particularly noteworthy. With respect to the myths, he looked upon many of them, in which the gods played shameful parts, as blasphemous (ii. 18, 3); and, though he recognized that some of the Greek myths had a certain value as allegorical interpretations of natural phenomena, or as consolations in misfortune or other similar ways, he nevertheless felt that for the ignorant mass of mankind they did more harm than good, and he was more inclined himself to accept the Roman religion (ii. 20). It is to be observed that in relating myths he nowhere implies his own belief in them, but generally introduces them with some qualifying phrase, such as 'it is said,' 'they say,' etc.

Dionysius doubtless made what he considered to be a thorough study of Roman political institutions; but his narrative constantly shows that he came far short of a real understanding of many of them. His failure to distinguish accurately between patricians and senators and between the *patrum auctoritas* and a *senatus consultum* is a source of no little confusion; but, worse still, he often uses the Attic term *προβούλευμα* (preliminary decree) both for *senatus consultum* and for *patrum auctoritas*. His frequent use of 'patricians' for 'senators' is easily explained when we compare Livy, who constantly uses the word *patres* for both patricians and senators. This ambiguous term was doubtless found by both historians in their sources; indeed, in a few instances Dionysius carelessly retained the word as 'fathers' (v. 33, 2; vi. 69, 2). In making his choice between the renderings 'patricians' and 'senators' he seems to have adopted the former wherever the *patres* seemed to be opposed as a class to the plebeians (e g., iv. 8, 2; viii. 82, 4; ix. 42, 3). The term *patrum auctoritas* was apparently no better understood by Livy than by Dionysius; even for the early period he several times represents the *auctoritas* as preceding the vote of the comitia, and after the Publilian law of 339, which required the *auctoritas* to be given before the people voted, he uses *patrum auctoritas* and *senatus consultum* indiscriminately. There is, in fact, every

reason for believing that the term *patrum auctoritas* had become obsolete even in the time of the older annalists who were Livy's chief sources. But Dionysius, with sources before him that probably showed no greater misunderstanding of this term than does Livy, made matters much worse as the result of his assumption that the *patrum auctoritas*, and indeed any decree of the senate, was usually a preliminary decree to be ratified by the people. This view justified him in using the word *προβούλευμα*, the name given to the programme of business prepared by the Athenian Boule for the consideration of the Ecclesia. It can hardly have been the desire to use the word *προβούλευμα* that led him to adopt its essential implications; for he often uses *δόγμα* or *φήρυγμα* in the same way for a decree of the senate that was to be ratified by the people. He must have had some reason in the first place for believing that the *patrum auctoritas* was a necessary preliminary to action by the people. We know that it was customary for the consuls, as a matter of practical convenience, to ask the senate's advice and secure its approval before bringing any important matter before the people, inasmuch as the action taken in the comitia would have to receive the *patrum auctoritas* later in order to be valid. If Dionysius was aware of this custom but not of its purpose, he might well reason that it was absurd for the senate to give its approval more than once to the same business, and hence, since he knew the *patrum auctoritas* was required for all votes of the people, he would naturally identify this term with the preliminary approval of the senate. It is true this view of the matter seems to be directly opposed to an important statement which he makes at the very outset. When defining the powers of the senate and of the people as established by Romulus, he states that the senate was to ratify the decisions of the people, but adds that in his own day the reverse principle was followed, the decrees of the senate then requiring the approval of the people (ii. 14, 3). The natural implication of his statement is that the change had come about in fairly late times, but he nowhere in the extant books has anything more definite to say on the subject. In a very few instances he speaks of the 'patricians' (doubtless to him identical with the senators) as ratifying a vote of the people afterwards, e.g., in the case of the election of Numa (ii. 60, 3) and the appointment of the first tribunes (vi. 90, 2); but as early as the election of Ancus Marcius he represents the people as ratifying the choice of the senators (iii. 36, 1), and a little later speaks of this as the normal procedure (iv. 40, 2; 80, 2). In the last passage he is more explicit, declaring it to be the duty of the senate to consider in advance (*τροβουλεύειν*) all matters relating to the general welfare, and the duty of the people to ratify their decision. It is fairly evident, then, that Dionysius' own theory was that a *προβούλευμα* of the senate had been necessary from the beginning. If his narrative occasionally violates this theory in practice, it is probably either because his sources were so explicit in particular instances that he felt he could not contradict them, or because he was negligent now and then and forgot to make his practice conform consistently to his theory.

Another important matter in which he failed to make theory and practice coincide at all times will be mentioned a little later. It is not clear whether he believed the *plébiscita*, also, required a *προβούλευμα*; his language is at times ambiguous and his accounts of the procedure in the case of various *plébiscita* are inconsistent with one another. He held the mistaken view that all senators were patricians, even under the republic; for he believed that plebeians were made patricians before being admitted to the senate (ii. 47, 1; v. 13, 2). But it is not in constitutional matters only that he made serious errors; there is confusion also in his account of religious matters. Thus, he uses 'haruspex' for 'augur' in ii. 22, 3, and his account of the duties of the pontifices (ii. 73) contains many errors.

A few words must be said about Dionysius' chronology. His date for the founding of Rome was 751 B.C., two years later than that adopted by Varro; and this difference between the two chronologies remains constant for the first 304 years of the city down to the time of the decemvirs (the period covered by Books I.-X.). At that point the gap widens: — Dionysius represents the decemviral rule as continuing for a third year, while Varro assigned to it only two years. Accordingly, for the halfdozen years covered by Book XI. Dionysius' dates are three years later than those of Varro. The fragments of the last nine books do not give any dates; but three sporadic references in the earlier books to events of the third and first centuries B.C. show that for this late period his dates are the same as Varro's. Dionysius devotes two chapters (i. 74 f.) to explaining how he arrived at the date 751 for the founding of the city, and for fuller information refers the reader to a separate work that he had published to show how the Roman chronology was to be reduced to the Greek. There are other passages also which bear witness to the particular interest he felt in matters of chronology. Notwithstanding all the attention he devoted to this side of his work, modern scholars have for the most part been very harsh in their judgments of him in this very regard, accusing him of carelessness generally in the matter of his dates and, in particular, of following one system of chronology for the period treated in his History and another for events nearer his own day. Our historian had to wait long for his vindication; but one of the most recent investigators in the field of Roman chronology, Oscar Leuze, has come ably to his defence and shown that at least the more important of these charges of inaccuracy rest upon misunderstanding of Dionysius' real meaning or of his usage.

Like most of the later Greek historians, Dionysius uses the reckoning by Olympiads, usually adding the name of the Athenian archon. From the beginning of the republic he normally gives the Greek date only for the first year of each Olympiad, identifying the intervening years merely by the names of the Roman magistrates. As the Athenian official year began in mid-summer and the Olympiads year of the historians either in mid-summer or early autumn, whereas the Roman consular year began, in later times, on January 1, though in earlier times at various seasons of the year, the Greek historians

were confronted with an awkward problem in synchronizing Roman and Greek dates. The solution apparently followed by Dionysius, and probably by Polybius and Diodorus also, was to adopt the later Roman year of uniform length for all periods of Roman history, and to identify a given Roman year with the Olympiad year in the course of which it began, rather than with that in which it ended (as is the modern practice). The dates given in the notes of the present edition follow this principle, only a single year being indicated as the modern equivalent of the Greek year, instead of parts of two years. Thus Olymp. 7, 1 is identified as 751 B.C. instead of 752/1. The only exceptions are a few dates of non-Roman events, where Dionysius was probably not concerned with the exact Roman equivalent.

Dionysius was in theory opposed to the annalistic method of writing history. In his *Letter to Pompeius* (chap. 3) he criticized Thucydides' chronological arrangement of events, by winters and summers, as seriously interrupting the continuity of the narrative, and praised Herodotus for adopting the topical order. Yet when he himself was to write a history of Rome he evidently found it impracticable to avoid following the annalistic method in vogue among the Romans. For the regal period, it is true, he arranges the events of each reign under the two headings of wars and peaceful achievements. But beginning with the establishment of the republic, he treats the events of each year by themselves, first naming the consuls or other chief magistrates. For the greater part of the period that he covers this method could cause no confusion, as the military campaigns were of short duration; and it had the further advantage of avoiding monotony, since the narrative was constantly alternating between wars abroad and dissensions at home.

As regards his sources, Dionysius states in his preface (chap. 7) that he had consulted the works of the approved Roman historians, — Cato, Fabius Maximus (Servilianus?), Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Aelius (Tubero), Gellius, Calpurnius (Piso) and many others, — and that he had also derived information from conversations with the most learned men. And at the end of Book I. (chap. 89) he refers to his careful reading of many works by both Greek and Roman writers on the subject of the origin of the Romans. His claim certainly appears to be justified, so far at least as Book I. is concerned. In this one book he cites no fewer than thirty Greek authors, most of them historians or logographers, and seven Roman writers, — Cato, Tubero and Piso, of those named above, and Fabius Pictor, Lucius Alimentus, C. Sempronius (Tuditanus) and Varro. To the last-named he owns his indebtedness for his account of the old cities of the Aborigines (chaps. 14 f.); but he probably owes considerable more to him in this book in places where he has not named his source. After the birth of Romulus and Remus there was scarcely any further occasion for using Greek sources; and he usually mentioned the Roman historians only in cases where there were divergent traditions. He naturally considered it to be his task as a historian to reconcile the different traditions so far as possible and present a smooth, uninterrupted

narrative; and in the main he has succeeded very well in doing so. But now and then he found such divergences among his sources that he could not ignore them. In such cases he presents the two or more versions and either expresses his own preference or, quite often, leaves the decision to the reader. At times he makes the decision with the greatest confidence, especially in matters of chronology. He is prompt to discover anachronisms, and rebukes rather sharply the historians who have carelessly perpetuated them; Licinius Macer and Cn. Gellius are thus censured on two occasions (vi. 11,2; vii. 1, 4), also Fabius Pictor (iv. 6 f.; 30, 2 f.), while Calpurnius Piso Frugi is named in one instance (iv. 7, 5) as the only one to give the correct version. It is generally recognized that he followed the late annalists as his principal sources; their histories were generally very voluminous, and in them he could find the full, detailed accounts which he frequently gives. His political orientation is that of the annalists of Sulla's time, who were strong champions of the senate's supremacy. They wrote their annals as propaganda, deliberately falsifying their account of events from time to time in order to make it appear that the senate had held from the first, or at least from the beginning of the republic, the same dominant position in the State

that it held in the second and first centuries before Christ. They did this by representing the senate as having been consulted in early times on various occasions where tradition made no mention of any action on its part. Dionysius seems to have held the extreme view that even under the monarchy the senate had played a dominant part, the king's power being limited much as at Sparta (ii. 14, 1 f.; cf vi. 66, 3). This was his theory; but in actual practice his narrative mentions very few specific occasions where the senate was consulted by the king, and we gain the impression that the power of the latter was virtually supreme. But from the moment of the establishing of the republic his account of events is in strict agreement with his theory. His failure to reconcile practice and theory earlier argues a lack of inventiveness either on his part or on that of his sources; it probably did not seem worth the trouble to work out the details. This view of the senate's original supremacy was the view taken also by Cicero in his *De Republica*; but it was not the view of Livy, who followed earlier annalists and rightly held that the senate had only gradually gained its wide powers. It is just such differences in orientation as this that make it fairly certain that Dionysius was not using Livy as his source in the numerous passages where their accounts seem at first sight strikingly similar. Besides the authors cited by Dionysius, he also mentions a number of inscriptions, both at Rome and elsewhere, and there are sporadic references to the *annales maxi mi*, the records of the censors, etc.; but he does not say that he had seen any of these himself, and it is probable that he found the references in the annalists.

The first historian to cite Dionysius was Plutarch, who modelled his style upon that of the *Antiquities*. Schwartz held that Dionysius was Plutarch's sole source for his *Coriolanus*, but this view is opposed by Bux. The *Romulus* and

Numa may each contain a little from the *Antiquities*, the *Camillus* is chiefly based on Livy. Dionysius is twice quoted in the *Pyrrhus*, but not enough of his account is preserved to enable us to make any accurate comparison between the two.

SCRIPTA RHETORICA

The shorter works of Dionysius have generally gone under the name of *Scripta Rhetorica*; but they contain more of literary criticism than of technical rhetoric. They are all in the form of letters addressed to some literary friend, patron or pupil. There is no internal evidence to show whether they were composed before or after the *History* was published; but it is generally assumed that Dionysius wrote them from time to time during the years that he was engaged upon his great work. Although no absolute dates can be assigned to these several treatises, the relative order in which they were composed can be determined in most cases by means of the frequent references in one to what the writer has already discussed or proposes to discuss in another. The order in which Roberts arranges them is as follows:

1. *First Letter to Ammaeus.*
2. *On the Arrangement of Words.*
3. *On the Ancient Orators.*
4. *On the Style of Demosthenes.*
5. *On Imitation*: Books I., II.
6. *Letter to Cn. Pompeius.*
7. *On Imitation*; Book III.
8. *On Dinarchus.*
9. *On Thucydides.*
10. *Second Letter to Ammaeus.*

Egger would transpose the second and third items, seeing a greater maturity of judgment in the treatise on the *Arrangement of Words*. As regards the *Dinarchus*, he says we can be sure only that it was later than the *Ancient Orators*.

The treatise on *Imitation* is known to us only from fragments. Only the first half of the study of the *Ancient Orators* is preserved, treating of Lysias, Isocrates and Isaeus; in the second part Demosthenes, Hyperides and Aeschines were discussed. The treatise on the *Style of Demosthenes* is thought to be an enlarged edition of the discussion of Demosthenes in the earlier series. Other Works which have been lost were on the *Choice of Words*, on *Figures*, and on *Political Philosophy*, the latter a defence of the rhetoric of Isocrates and his school against its Epicurean detractors. The early editions attributed to Dionysius an *Ars Rhetorica*, but this is no longer held to be his work.

For a detailed account of the *Scripta Rhetorica* the reader is referred to Max. Egger, *Denys d' Halicarnasse*, pp. 20-246; a brief survey of these works may be found in W. Rhys Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: — The Three Literary Letters*, pp. 4-34. Roberts also gives (pp. 209-19) a bibliography of

the *Scripta Rhetorica* down to the year 1900.

To his labours as literary critic Dionysius brought a wide and thorough acquaintance with the works of the Attic prose writers, a discriminating taste, and great industry and zeal. His chief merit as a critic lies in his purity of taste; he rejoiced in the recent triumph of Atticism over Asianism and did his best to strengthen that victory. His rhetorical works have much in common with those of Cicero, due to their both using many of the same sources. Like Cicero, Dionysius held Demosthenes in the greatest admiration; but this excessive admiration for one man seems to have made him unfair in his judgment of others: — he tended to judge all the prose writers by the standards he set up for the orators. In other respects as well he is often narrow and superficial in his criticisms, and his manner is too dogmatic.

The first reference to Dionysius as a rhetorician in any extant author is in Quintilian, who merely names him three times in lists of rhetoricians. In the third century the circle of Libanius paid some attention to him. From the fifth century onward he was regarded by the Byzantines as the supreme authority on rhetoric.

MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts used by Jacoby for the first ten books of the *Antiquities* are as follows:

- A. — Chisianus 58, 10th cent.
 - B. — Urbinas 105, 10th-11th cent.
 - C. Coislinianus 150, 16th cent.
 - D. — Regius Parisinus 1654 and 1655, 16th cent.
 - E. — Vaticanus 133, 15th cent.
 - F. — Urbinas 106, 15th cent.
- C and E also contain Book XI.; F contains only I.-V.

The MSS. used for Book XI. and those for the Fragments of XII.-XX. will be listed in Vol. VII.

A and B are by far the best of the MSS.; the others are all late, and some of them, especially C and D, contain numerous interpolations. The *editio princeps* was based on D. B was first used by Hudson, but he contented himself with giving its readings in his notes. The translators Beilanger and Spelman were prompt to adopt most of the good readings of B, and many were taken into the text by Reiske. Ritschl was the first to make a comparative study of A and B. As a result of his first investigation, based on insufficient evidence, he was inclined to rate A much higher than B; but later he showed a better appreciation of the good readings found only in B, and concluded that a sound text must rest upon a judicious use of both A and B, — a conclusion in which Jacoby heartily concurred. Kiessling based his edition on B so far as possible.

The individual symbols of the late MSS. appear very infrequently in Jacoby's (and the present) critical apparatus, since these MSS. are rarely of any service in establishing the text. An occasional good reading found only in the margin of D (Dmg) may have been entered by R. Stephanus himself; in any event such readings are evidently based on conjecture rather than on the authority of any manuscript.

EDITIONS

The important editions of the *Antiquities* follow:

Robert Estienne (Stephanus), Paris, 1546. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text. Books I.-XI. Based on the very inferior Cod. Reg. Paris. 1654-55.

Friedrich Sylburg. Frankfort, 1586. Books I.-XI. and the *Excerpta de Legationibus*, translation (Gelenius' version revised) and notes. Sylburg made use, chiefly in his notes, of two MSS., a Romanus (not to be identified) and a Venetus (272). Reprinted in careless form at Leipzig in 1691.

John Hudson. Oxford, 1704. Books I.-XI. with the *Excerpta de Legationibus* and *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, a revision of Portus' Latin translation, and notes of various scholars. Hudson was the first to use the Urbinas (which he called Cod. Vaticanus), but cited its readings only in the notes.

J. J. Reiske, Leipzig, 1774-75. The text and translation of Hudson's edition with Reiske's own notes added. Too late to accomplish much in Vol. I., Reiske discovered that the printer was faithfully reproducing all the typographical errors of Hudson's edition; but from Book III. 21 onward he corrected the proof sheets and also for the first time inserted the good readings of B in the text. Dionysius is often cited by the pages of this edition.

Adolf Kiessling, Leipzig (Teubner), 1860-70. Based on B, so far as possible.

Carl Jacoby, Leipzig (Teubner), 1885-1905; Index, 1925.

Adolf Kiessliug-Victor Prou, Paris (Didot), 1886. Greek text and Latin translation (Portus revised). An unfortunate edition. Kiessling, after getting the work fairly started, dropped it completely; and Prou, who was called upon to complete the task, was far from possessing Kiessling's critical ability. Jacoby recognized the hand of Kiessling through the greater part of Books I.-III.; from that point on the edition has virtually no critical value.

Besides these complete editions of the *Antiquities*, selected chapters were edited by D. C. Grimm (*Archaeologiae Romanae quae ritus Romanos explicat Synopsis*), Leipzig, 1786; J. J. Ambrosch (i. 9-38; ii. — 1-29; ii. 30-56; ii. 64-74) in four academic Festschriften, Breslau, 1840-46; Fr. Ritschl (i. 1-30), Bonn, 1846. Angelo Mai published at Milan, in 1816, some fragments from an epitome contained in a Milan MS., Cod. Ambrosianus Q 13 sup., and its copy, A 80 sup. These are now included (as the *Excerpta Ambrosiana*) among the Fragments of Books XII.-XX.

TRANSLATIONS

The first Latin translation of the *Antiquities* (Books I.-XI.) was that of Lapus (or Lappus) Biragus, published at Treviso in 1480, three-quarters of a century before the first edition of the Greek text appeared. It possesses a special interest because it was based on two MSS., not as yet identified with any now extant, which were placed at the translator's disposal by Pope Paul II. Ritschl argued that one of these must have belonged to the better class of MSS. now represented by A and B, since the translation contains most of the additions to the text of the *editio princeps* that are found in one or both of the older MSS. Lapus' translation was reprinted, 'with corrections,' but also with a multitude of fresh typographical errors, at Paris in 1529, and again, as revised by Glareanus, at Basle in 1532. A fresh translation of Books I.-X. by Gelenius, based on the text of the *princeps*, appeared at Basle in 1549; for Book XI. he merely reprinted Lapus' translation. Sylburg (1586) revised the translation of Gelenius and added his own version of Book XI. Aemilius Portus brought out a new translation (Lausanne, 1588); and this translation was adopted in the editions of Hudson and Reiske, and, with numerous corrections, in that of Kiessling-Prou.

An Italian translation by Francesco Venturi appeared at Venice in 1545, one year before the *editio princeps*. The translator names as his sources a Greek copy, very difficult to read, and a Latin translation [Lapus] full of errors. Apparently no serious use was made of the manuscript; it may well have proved to be generally inferior to Lapus' reading. In any case, Venturi's translation, with the exception of a few minor changes which were probably due to conjecture, presupposes the same Greek text as that of Lapus. Another Italian translation was published by M. Mastrofini, Rome, 1812-13.

A French version by G. F. le Jay (Paris, 1722) was loudly acclaimed by the admirers of the translator as representing perfection itself; but the two men who next translated the *Antiquities*, Bellanger and Spelman, showed that it was a servile translation of Portus' Latin version, errors and all. The following year Bellanger brought out, anonymously, his own translation, based on Hudson's text and the good readings of B contained in Hudson's notes. It is a smooth, fluent translation, but often rather free and at times little more than a paraphrase. It was reprinted later under Bellanger's own name.

In German there have been translations by J. L. Benzler (1752; reprinted 1771-72) and by G. J. Schaller and A. H. Christian (Stuttgart, 1827-50). Benzler's version was quite free, that of Schaller (Books I.-IV.) accurate and scholarly; the part translated by Christian has not been seen by the present translator.

The only English version to appear hitherto is that of Edward Spelman, which was published with notes and dissertations at London in 1758. It is a good and, for the most part, fairly close translation of Hudson's text (Books

I.-XI.) as improved by the good readings of the Urbinas and occasional conjectural emendations. See further on p xlv.

The Greek text here presented is based on the edition of Jacoby, but departs rather frequently from his text. All significant departures are indicated in the critical notes, but not, as a rule, minor details of orthography, elision and crasis, or corrections of obvious typographical errors that appear in his edition. Jacoby -was fairly consistent in following out the principles “which he had established with greater or less probability in two preliminary studies of Dionysian usage. But in the case of some phrases and combinations of vowels for “which he could not show that elision or crasis is normally to be expected, he vacillated in his attitude toward the MSS., sometimes following them in permitting hiatus and at other times emending; the present edition follows the MSS. (or some MS.) in all such cases. The MSS. are likewise followed in their spelling of the various forms of adjectives such as *χαλκοῦς* and *χρυσοῦς*, which appear in the contracted and the uncontracted forms with about equal frequency; Jacoby occasionally emended an uncontracted form. He adopted the late spellings *ἐπαύσθην* and *ηλάσθην* wherever they have the authority of any MS., and occasionally elsewhere; in the present text the Attic forms *ἐπανθην* and *ἠλάθην* are everywhere restored.

The present editor has permitted himself the liberty of spelling a few Latin proper names in the Greek text in the manner that many an editor would have liked to spell them, but as only a few of the earlier editors ventured to do in actual practice, and then only in the case of part of the names. It is hard to believe that Dionysius would have written such forms, for example, as *Φαίστυλος* for *Φανστυλος* (compare his correct form *Φανστίνος*), *Λωρεντόν* (in Book I.) for *Λαύρεντον* (the form found in Book V.; cf. *Λαυρεντίνοι* and *Λαυρέντιο*), or *Λαῦνα* for *Λαοῦνία* in such a context as i. 59, 3 (and if he wrote the correct form here, he must have used it elsewhere).

The critical apparatus lists only the more important variants and emendations; many simple emendations made by the early editors and adopted in subsequent editions are passed over in silence. No fresh collations of the MSS. have been available; but here and there an obvious error in Jacoby's report has been corrected or a suspicious entry queried.

The present translation is based on that of Spelman. His rendering of numerous passages, more especially in the speeches, is so spirited and so idiomatic, and often requires so few changes to make it seem thoroughly modern in tone, that it seemed desirable to use what was best of it in preparing this version for the Loeb Classical Library. If Spelman had been at his best more uniformly, a mild revision, to bring his translation into accord with the present Greek text, would have been all that was required. But the quality of his English is very uneven. He constructs a good many long, cumbersome sentences, in imitation of the Greek, shows an excessive fondness for the absolute use of the participle, and at times uses a vocabulary that seems more

Latin than English. Where he thus departs from a good English style, and wherever his rendering is not sufficiently close to the Greek for the present purpose, changes have been freely made, some of them very drastic. No attempt has been made to preserve the antique flavour that characterizes Spelman's rendering, as a whole, inasmuch as the passages which he has rendered most successfully from other points of view are usually the most modern in diction. He did not translate the fragments; they appear here in English for the first time. The notes with which Spelman accompanied his version were scholarly and useful in their day, but have not the same interest now; accordingly, an entirely new set of notes has been prepared for this edition.

For the convenience of the reader parallel passages from Livy have been indicated in the notes, beginning with i. 64.

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SIGLA

A = Chisianus 58.

B = Urbinas 105.

C = Coislinianus 150.

D = Regius Parisinus 1654 and 1655.

E = Vaticanus 133.

F = Urbinas 106.

O = All the MSS.

R = All the MSS. not otherwise cited. a, b, and occasionally c, added to the symbol of a MS. indicate the successive hands; mg denotes a marginal entry.

Steph. = *editio princeps* of R. Stephanus.

Steph. = notes of H. Stephanus.

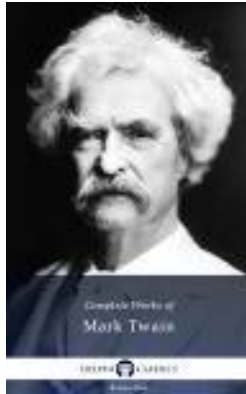
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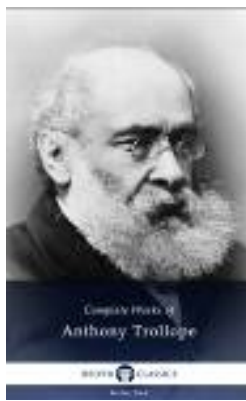
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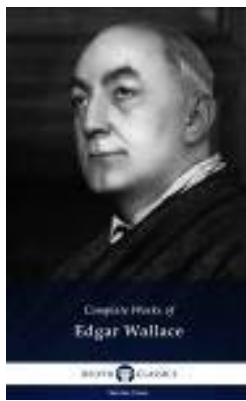
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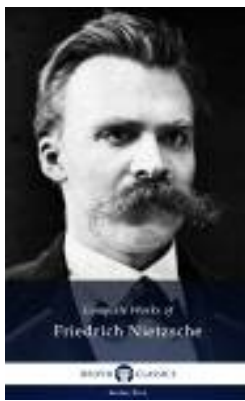
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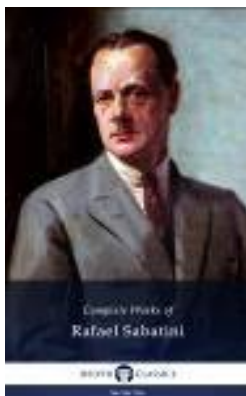
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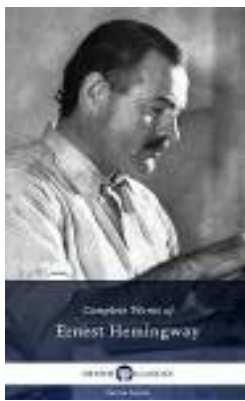
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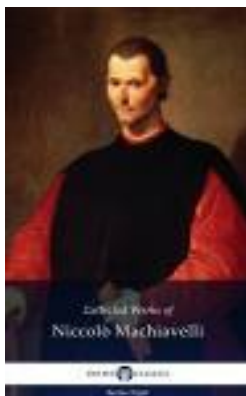
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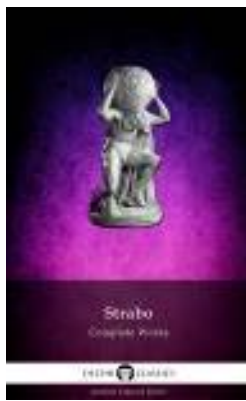
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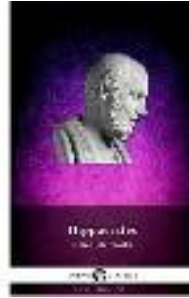


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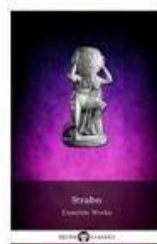
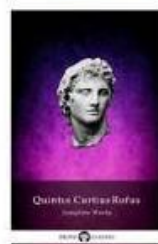
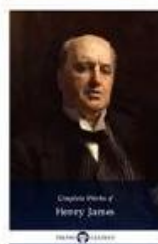
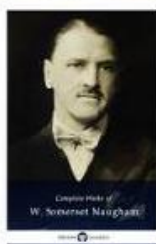
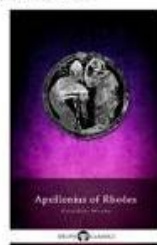
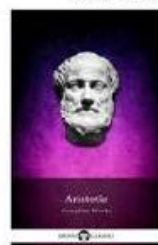
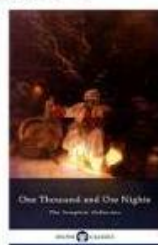
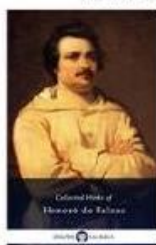
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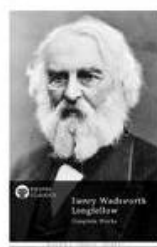
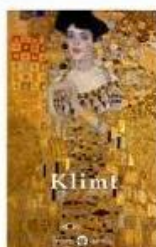
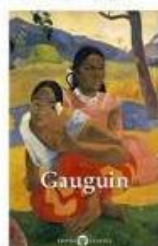
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